

Leiden Indo-European
Etymological Dictionary Series

Edited by

Alexander Lubotsky

VOLUME 7

Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the other Italic Languages

By

Michiel de Vaan



BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON
2008

ISSN: 1574-3586

ISBN: 978 90 04 16797 1

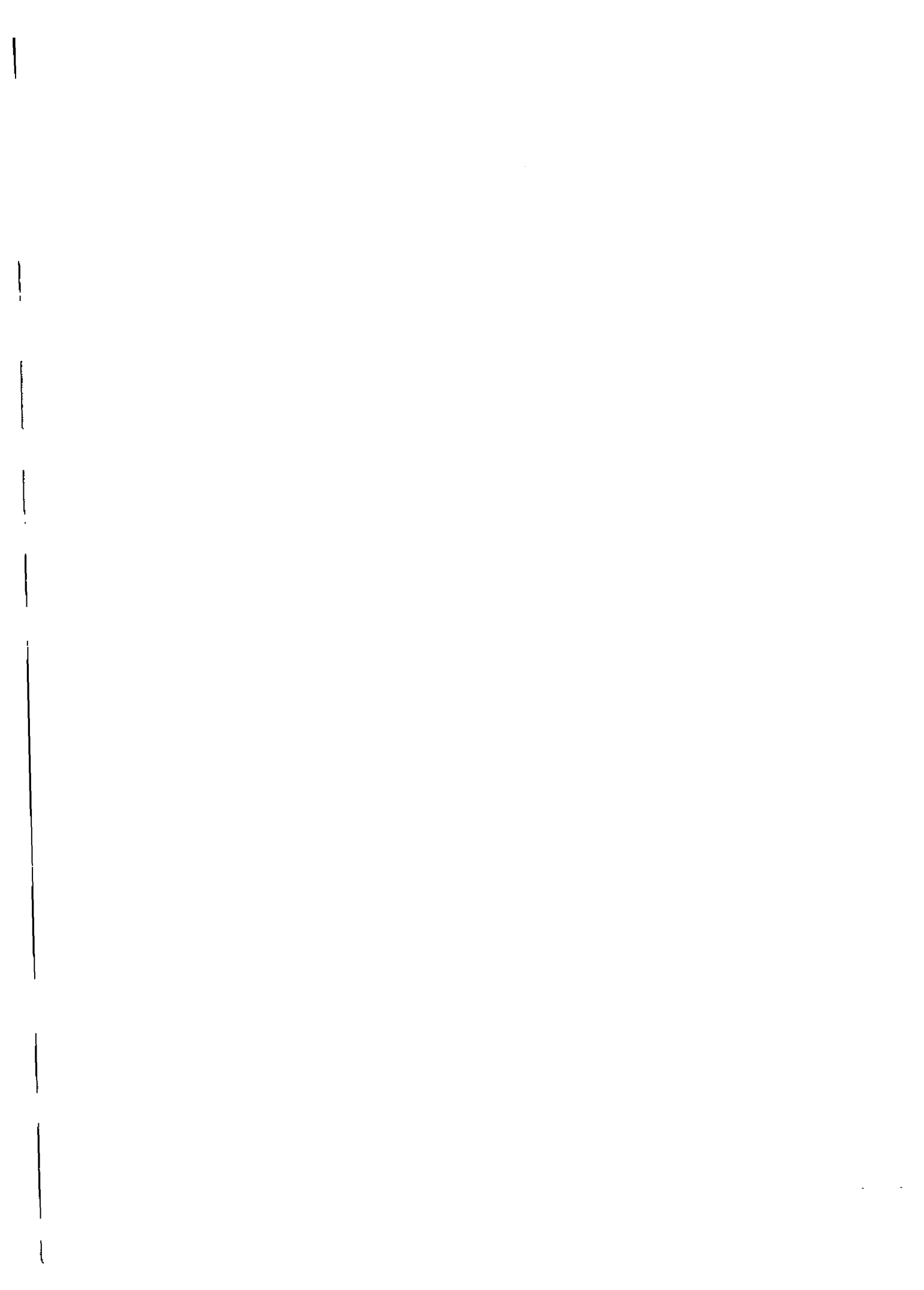
Copyright 2008 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.
Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Hotei Publishing,
De Gruyter Mouton, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Brill Publishers,
De Gruyter Publishers, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers and VSP.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in
a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical,
photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill NV
provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center,
2 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA.
Fees are subject to change.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE.....	vii
ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS.....	ix
A. Languages, texts and authors.....	ix
B. Reconstruction, grammar and text.....	xii
C. Symbols.....	xiii
INTRODUCTION.....	1
1. Aim of this dictionary.....	1
2. Definition of Italic.....	1
3. Research method.....	2
4. From Proto-Indo-European to Latin.....	4
4.1 Reconstructable stages.....	4
4.2 The phonology of Proto-Indo-European, Proto-Italic and Latin.....	6
5. The entries.....	10
5.1 Selection of entries.....	10
5.2 The entries.....	10
5.3 Dating.....	10
5.4 Derivatives.....	11
5.5 Proto-Italic.....	12
5.6 Italic cognates.....	12
5.7 Proto-Indo-European.....	12
5.8 Indo-European cognates.....	12
5.9 Etymology.....	13
5.10 Bibliography.....	13
6. Periodization of Latin.....	14
DICTIONARY.....	17
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	693
Abbreviations of literature.....	693
Authors.....	694
INDICES.....	723

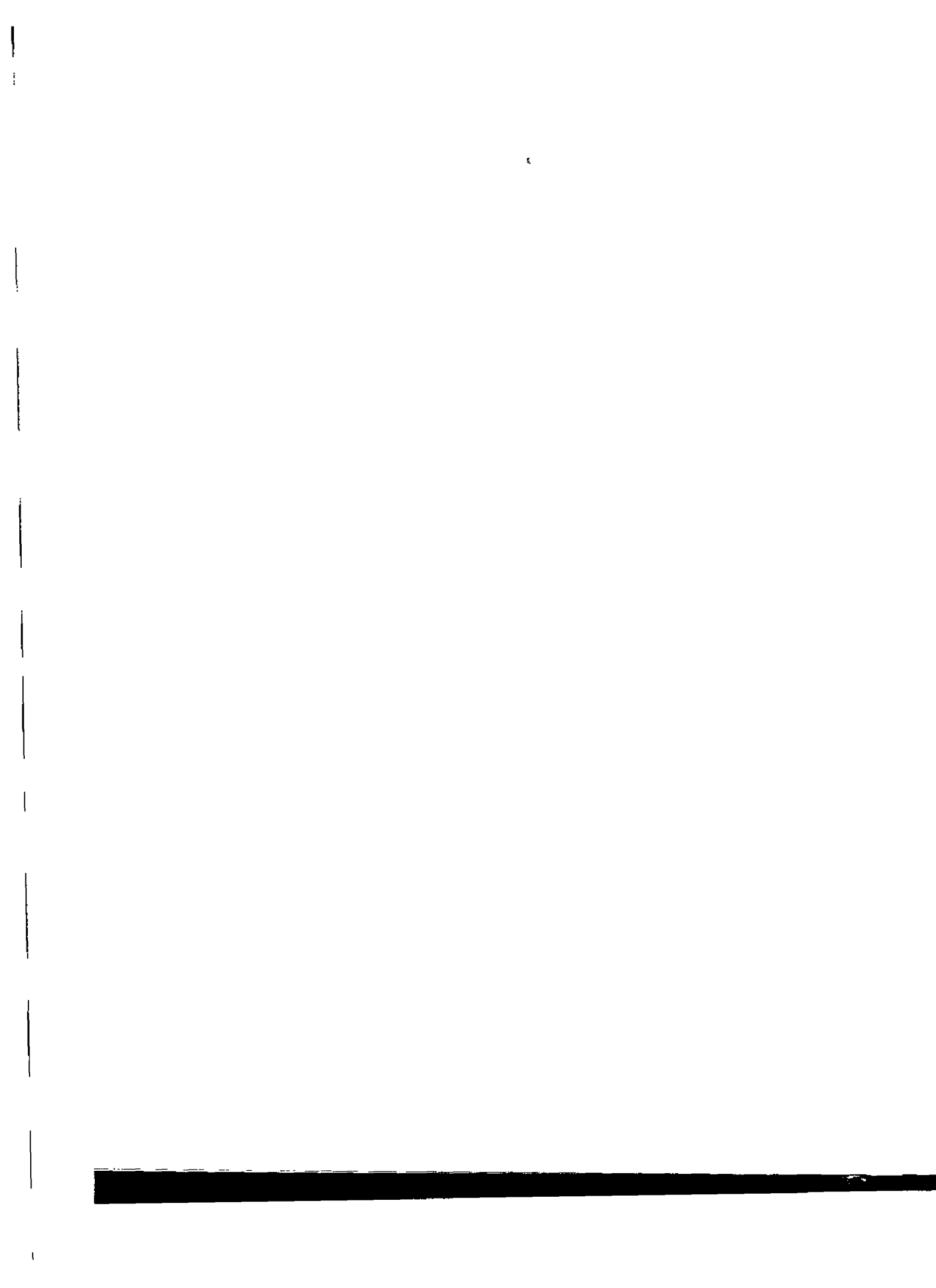


PREFACE

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.



ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

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

It.	Italic	NHG	New High German
Juv.	Juvenal	Non.	Nonius Marcellus
Khot.	Khotanese	Norw.	Norwegian
Khwar.	Khwarezmian	Nov.	Novius (<i>comm.</i>)
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	OCor.	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. <i>ex F.</i>	Paulus Diaconus <i>ex Festo</i>
Naev.	Gnaius Naevius	PBr.	Proto-British
Nem. <i>Cyn.</i>	M. Aurelius Olympius Nemesianus, <i>Cynegetica</i>	PCl.	Proto-Celtic
		Petr.	Petronius

PGm.	Proto-Germanic	Sis.	Sisenna
Phryg.	Phrygian	Skt.	Sanskrit
Pi.	Pindar	Slv.	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 <i>Naturalis Historia</i>	ŚrSū.	Śrauta Sūtra
Plut.	Plutarchus	Ter.	Terence
Po.	Polish	Thess.	Thessalian
Pompon.	L. Pomponius	Titin.	Titinius
Presam.	Pre-Samnite	ToA	Tocharian A
Prisc.	Priscian	ToAB	Tocharian A and B
PRom.	Proto-Romance	ToB	Tocharian B
Prop.	Propertius	Toch.	Tocharian
PSab.	Proto-Sabellic	Turp.	Sextus Turpilius
PSl.	Proto-Slavic	U.	Umbrian
PTo.	Proto-Tocharian	Ukr.	Ukrainian
Quad.	Quadrigarius	Ulp.	Ulpian
Quint.	Quintilianus	USorb.	Upper Sorbian
Rhet.Her.	Rhetorica ad Herennium	Vell.	C. Velleius Paterculus
Ru.	Russian	Ven.	Venetic
RuCS	Russian Church Slavic	Verg.	Virgil
RV	Rigveda / Rigvedic	Vest.	Vestinian
Sab.	Sabellic	Vitr.	Vitruvius
Sall.	Sallust	VLat.	Vulgar Latin
SCAsc.	Senatus Consultum de Asclepiade (CIL I 588)	VMax.	Valerius Maximus
SCBac.	Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus	VOLat.	Very Old Latin
SCr.	Serbo-Croatian	Vol.	Volscian
SeCS	Serbian Church Slavic	W.	Welsh
Sen.	Seneca	WGm.	West-Germanic
Serv.	Servius Maurus Honoratus	X.	Xenophon
		YAv.	Young Avestan
		Žem.	Žemaitian

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
cp ₂	second member of a compound	nom.	nominative
dat.	dative	num.	numeral
denom.	denominative	obl.	oblique
desid.	desiderative	opt.	optative
dial.	(in) dialects	p.	page
dim.	diminutive	p.c.	personal communication
du.	dual	pf.	perfect
dub.	dubious	pers.	personal
e.g.	for example	pl.	plural
encl.	enclitic	PN	personal name
f.	feminine	postpos.	postposition
fthc.	forthcoming	ppa.	active perfect participle
fut.	future	ppp.	passive past participle
fut.II	future perfect	pr.	present
gen.	genitive	pref.	prefix
gent.	gentilicium	prep.	preposition
gdve.	gerundive	pret.	preterite
H	any PIE laryngeal	prev.	preverb
h _{1/2}	h ₁ or h ₂	pron.	pronoun
I, II, III, IV	1 st , 2 nd , 3 rd , 4 th conjugation	ps.	passive
		ptc.	participle
		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 <i>or</i> 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 **n-* in compounds (even if it would be hard to agree on a single complete lexical correspondence shared by Latin and at least two other branches of IE). The verb *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 **[ʔ]*. 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 *cōlēī* ‘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 *cōlēī*, 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 **-isyo-*
- 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 **-b^hos* (while maintaining ins.pl. **-b^hi*)
- 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 Staij 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	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k̑</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>kʷ</i>
	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ǵ</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>gʷ</i>
	<i>bʰ</i>	<i>dʰ</i>	<i>ǵʰ</i>	<i>gʰ</i>	<i>gʷʰ</i>
fricatives		<i>s</i>			
laryngeals			<i>h₁</i>	<i>h₂</i>	<i>h₃</i>
liquids		<i>l</i>			
		<i>r</i>			
nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>			
semivowels	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>			
vowels	<i>e</i>	<i>o</i>			
	<i>ē</i>	<i>ō</i>			

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

stops	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>kʷ</i>
	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>gʷ</i>
fricatives	<i>f</i>	<i>β</i>	<i>χ</i>	<i>χʷ</i>
		<i>s</i>		
laryngeals			(<i>H</i>)	
glides	<i>w</i>	<i>j</i>		
liquids		<i>l</i>		
		<i>r</i>		
nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		
vowels	<i>i</i>	<i>ī</i>		<i>u</i> <i>ū</i>
		<i>e</i> <i>ē</i>		<i>o</i> <i>ō</i>
			<i>a</i> <i>ā</i>	
diphthongs	<i>ei</i>			<i>oi</i> <i>ou</i>
		<i>ai</i>	<i>au</i>	

Note 1: The series of PIE stops traditionally termed ‘voiced aspirate’ yields voiceless fricatives in word-initial position in Latin and Sabellic, voiced fricatives word-internally in Sabellic, and voiced stops (merging with the old voiced stops) word-internally in Latin. The Latin stops probably go back to voiced fricatives, as is shown by the variant forms of Lat. *ab-* (see s.v.). This points to a complementary distribution of Proto-Italic voiceless word-initial fricatives vs. voiced word-internal ones. In other words, there was one fricative phoneme with two allophones (see Stuart-Smith 2004: 196-198, and the critique of her phonemic interpretation by Kortlandt 2007: 150). I will note voiceless fricatives in my PIt. reconstructions, but it seems likely that they were voiced word-internally. After nasals and sibilants, the PIE voiced aspirates probably did not change into fricatives, but remained stops.

Note 2: Most Italic phonetic developments conditioned by the presence of laryngeals can be dated to the Italo-Celtic period, or before. The argument given by Schrijver 1991: 454 for the retention of **h₃eu-* as distinct from **ou-* in PIt. on account of *bovem*, *-is* and *ovis*, has been rendered irrelevant by the novel interpretation in Vine 2006a. The different vocalization of PIE sequences **HNC-* according to which PIE laryngeal these sequences contained (Schrijver 1991: 56-65) suggests the survival of three different laryngeals until after the Italo-Celtic period; the vocalization may be an early PIt. development. Another phenomenon ascribed to the presence of consonantal laryngeals in PIt. by Schrijver 1991: 473f. is the preservation of *mo-* in open syllable in *mora* (I am less convinced about *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 Staaïj (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 phonological changes which I assume to have taken place between PIE and (the last stage of) Proto-Italic (van der Staaïj 1995: 48-66, Schrijver 2006). The first number of each section indicates the order in the relative chronology of sound changes, whereas the second digit stakes no such claim.

A. Before Proto-Italo-Celtic split up:

1.1 PIE **h₁e > *e*, **h₂e > *a*, **h₃e > *o*

1.2 PIE **eh₁ > *ē*, PIE **eh₂ > *ā*, PIE **eh₃, *oH > *ō* before a consonant

1.3 PIE **iH, *uH > ī, ū* before a consonant

1.4 PIE **t* > **tʰ* (and **-ddʰ-* > **-dʰd-*?)

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* > **CRāC*

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 **tʰ* > **ss*

3.2 **CLHV* > *CaLV-* (e.g. *calēre, valēre, palma*)

3.3 **CNHV* > [*CāNV-*] (e.g. *similis, sine, tenuis*)

3.4 **HLC-* > *aLC-* (*argentum*)

3.5 **h_{1/2/3}NC-* > *e/a/oNC-* (*umbilicus, ambi*)

3.6 **p_l(R)k^w-* > **k^w_l(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, *p, *χ, *χ^w*

4.4 PIE **ouV* > **awV* in pretonic position (Thurneysen-Havet-Vine's law)
(Lat. *lavō* etc.)

5.1 **p-* > **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 **r, *l* > **or, *ol* (Lat. *mорий etc.*)

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

The phonological developments between Proto-Italic and Old Latin are too numerous to discuss here. For details, I refer to the main handbooks in the field: Sommer 1914, Leumann 1977, Sommer / Pfister 1977, Schrijver 1991, Sihler 1995, Meiser 1998,

Baldi 1999, Weiss *ftch.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 Staij 1995: 37, Meiser 1998: 52):

stops	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k^w</i>
	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g^w</i>
fricatives	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>h</i>	
glides	<i>w</i>	<i>j</i>		
liquids		<i>l</i>		
		<i>r</i>		
nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		
vowels	<i>i</i>	<i>ī</i>		<i>u</i> <i>ū</i>
		<i>e</i> <i>ē</i>	<i>o</i> <i>ō</i>	
		<i>a</i> <i>ā</i>		
diphthongs	<i>ei</i>	<i>eu</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>au</i> <i>oi</i> <i>ou</i> <i>ui</i>

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

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

2. Word-initial stress. Word-initial stress is assumed to have applied in Etruscan and in Latin, Faliscan, and the Sabellic languages. The main Sabellic clues to initial stress are the occurrence of syncope of short vowels in front of word-final **-s* (Meiser 1986: 59-62), which may date to the Proto-Sabellic period, and syncope of word-internal short vowels in front of single consonants and **-sC-* in the different Sabellic languages individually (Benediktsson 1960, Meiser 1986: 131f.). In VOLat we find syncope of short vowels in final **-tos*, **-tis*, **-ros*, **-ris*, and maybe in final **-li* and **-ri* (Meiser 1998: 73f.). In internal syllables of VOLat., the effects of initial stress are syncope of short vowels in open medial syllable, and weakening (merger) of short vowels and diphthongs in non-initial syllable. For the Sabellic languages:

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 $\pi\beta\epsilon$ '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 *ftbc.* for Greek, Derksen 2008 for Slavic and Derksen *ftbc.* 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:

6 th century – 240 BC	Very Old Latin (VOLat.)
240 – 50 BC	Old Latin (OLat.)
50 BC – 3 rd /4 th c.	Classical Latin (CLat.)
3 rd /4 th c. – 5 th /6 th 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, 122)
M. Porcius Cato (234 – 149)	Afranius (born ±150)
Terence (±195 – 159)	Cassius Hemina (mid 2 nd c.)
Pacuvius (220 – ±130)	

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 Mancina (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 Spolegium

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. **āpā*- [f.].

PIE **h₂ēp*-s [nom.sg.], **h₂ep*-, **h₂p*- ‘water’ [f.]. IE cognates: Skt. *áp*-/*ap*- ‘water’ [f.], *dvīpá*- ‘island’ [n./m.] < **dui-Hpa*- ‘having water on two sides’, Av. *āp*-/*ap*- [f.] ‘water’, YAv. *duuaēpa*- [m.] ‘island’, OP *ap*- [f.] ‘water’ < Ilr. **Hāp*-, **Hap*-; OPr. *ape*, Lith. *ùpė* [f.], Latv. *upe* ‘river, brook’; ToAB *āp* [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. *āmoveō*, *āfluō*, *āvellō*, *ābitō*); *abs*- before voiceless stops: *aspellō*, *asportāre*, *aspernārī*, *abstineō*, *abstulī*, *abstrahō*, *abs tē*, *abscēdō*; *au*- only in *auferō* ‘to carry away’ (Pl.+), *aufugiō* ‘to run away’ (Pl.+). The distribution of the simplex *ab*, *abs*, *ā* follows the same rules as above, except that *abs* is rare, and we usually find *ā* in front of stops and *s*.

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

PIE **h₂ep*-. IE cognates: Skt. *āpa* ‘away, off’, *apa*- ‘without’, Av. *apa*-, OP *apa*- ‘away, from’, Gr. *ἀπό*, *ἔπο* ‘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*, *obducere*, *sub dīvō*. The original locus of *af* was in front of *l*- and *v*- followed by a back-vowel; this implies that the bilabial stop was assimilated to the following labial(ized) continuant, and *af* was probably pronounced as [aβ]; thus Vine 1993: 188. By the time of Cicero, *af* was considered to be archaic, and used only sporadically in account books. The form *abs* is probably a Latin or Italic creation on the model of *ec* vs. *ex*; it might also be compared with Gr. *ἄψ*. Its occurrence in front of *p,t,c* is understandable, but not its occurrence (surfacing as *ā*-) in front of voiced labials as opposed to *ab*- before voiced dentals. It is unlikely that Plt. **ap* would have been replaced by **aps* only in front of

dentals. It is therefore conceivable that \bar{a} - 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 $*a\beta$ - 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, preverbal au - replaces ab - 'away' only before two verbs in f -. Usually, it is said that $*au$ - was retained for the purpose of avoiding confusion between ad - and ab - in front of f , but this is more than questionable: ab - and au - would have coexisted for a while with the same meaning, and au - would have been lost without a trace except in front of f -. The complementary distribution is conspicuous, and suggests that au - developed out of ab -. In view of Vine's demonstration that af was probably pronounced as $[a\beta]$, it is likely that au - was the regular outcome of $[a\beta]$ in front of f -. The explanation of au - as regular from $*ab$ goes back at least to Bréal 1894. Younger formations such as \bar{a} -*fuī* and \bar{a} -*fore* to *abesse* form no counter-argument, since \bar{a} - 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 *ftbc*. → *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. \bar{a}] (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. *-In-* in Oscan is unknown.

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

abiēs, **-etis** 'fir-tree' [f. *i*] (Pl.+)

Pit. $*abiēts$ (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 If.

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

Plt. **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. ὀλλομι. This seems more likely to me. As Praust 2005 and Neri 2007: 31-33 have independently concluded, Latin *aboleō* and Gr. ὀπόλλομι 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.) *i?*] (Pl.+)

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

It is generally assumed that *accipiter* contains *acu-* < PIE **HH₁ku-* ‘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.+).

Plt. **akēje/o-*.

PIE **h₂ek₁-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 attestations of *acor* suggest that it was derived from *aceō*.

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

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

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

Plt. **ak-er-*.

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

The Latin tree can be connected with PGm. **axi/ur-*, but further connections are uncertain. In Greek, we find tree-names with a similar form in ἄκατος ‘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.+); *ācrufolius* ‘tree with prickly leaves, holly’ (Cato).

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

PIE **h₂ék-ro-* ‘sharp’. IE cognates: Gr. ἄκρος ‘highest, outermost’, OLith. *āštras*, Lith. *aštrūs*, Latv. *ass*, OCS *ostrъ*, Ru. *óstryj* ‘sharp’ < BSl. **ásro-*.

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 **h₂ék-* 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 **h₂ok-ri-* ‘sharpness’ or **h₂ék-ro-* ‘sharp’. IE cognates: see s.v. *acer*.

Nussbaum 1999a: 392-400 assumes that Lat. *acerbus* contains the same PIE suffix which in other adj. yields Lat. *-idus*; its origin is disputed. While Nussbaum reconstructs *-idus* as PIE **-id^ho-*, Balles (2003: 22) proposes to derive the suffix from PIE **X-i-* ‘X-ness’ + **-d^hh₁-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-* > **akrþos* (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.*), *acupēns* (Lucil.+) / *acipēns* (Hor.+) ‘a fish, probably the sturgeon’ (Pl.+); *acinus* [m./n.] ‘grape or other berry; also the seeds of grapes’ (Cato+).

Plt. *aku-.

PIE *h₂ek-u- ‘pointed’. IE cognates: Lith. *āšutas* ‘hair of a horse’s tail or manes’, OCS *osъtbъ* ‘thistle’ < BSl. *asuto-.

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 *acupēns*, with regular *u* in front of *p*, is attested with older authors than *acipēns*. Forms in *aqui-* (*aquipēns* 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 *h₂ek-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. *adpiud* 'as long as', *arnipo* 'as long as not' < **ad-(nē-)k^wod*; 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', Olc. *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.

adepts, -ipls '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 PIIt. form **ad-leip-a* 'sticking onto' > Sab. **ad-řep-a* >> *ař-řep-a* > **ařepa-*, which was then borrowed into Latin, where it was interpreted as a consonant stem. Others have regarded *adepts* 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 *adepts*, 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. **mei-*. → *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 esumu* 'at this *esumu*'.

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-/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 *aniṣ* 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-awiṣo-* > syncopated **ad-audo-*, the second *d* might have been dissimilated to *l*, yielding a stem **adūlo-* ‘who is eager towards something’, ‘flatterer’. From this, the verb *adūlārī* would have been derived.

Bibl.: WH I: 14, EM 9f. → *aveō*

aedēs, -is ‘dwelling-place; temple’ [f. *i*] (Lex XII, Andr.+; nom.sg. also *aedis*)

Derivatives: *aedicula* ‘small room, small house’ (Pl.+); *aedilis* (Pl.+), ‘magistrate, aedile’ (Elog.Scip. *aidilis*), *aedilicius* ‘of or connected with an aedile’ (Pl.+), *aedilitās* ‘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. **aiṣ-* ‘fireplace’. It. cognates: Fal. **efiles, efile** [nom.pl. or sg.]; O. **aldil** [nom.sg.], **aidilis** [nom.pl.], Vol. *aidiles* [nom.pl.] borrowed from Latin.

PIE **h₂(e)id^h-* ‘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 *h₂eǵd^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.+).

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

PIE *h₂eǵ-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. *ragūotas* 'horned' to *rāgas* 'horn', Gr. *χολώτος* 'angry' to *χόλος* 'anger'. The connection of ToA *ekār*, ToB *aik(a)re* 'empty' with *aeger* is less probable because of the semantics.

Bibl.: WH I: 16, EM 10, IEW 13, Nussbaum 1996: 3, 1998c: 8.

aemidus 'swollen' [adj. *o/ā*] (Paul. *ex F.*)

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

PIE *h₂eǵd-m(n)- 'swelling'. IE cognates: Gr. *οιδέω* 'to swell, become swollen', *οιδάω* '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 *h₂eǵd- 'to swell'. According to Nussbaum 1999a: 405, the ultimate starting-point could be **h₂eǵd-m(n)-*, similar to Gr. *οἶδμα* which has *o*-grade. For Latin, we might reconstruct a derivational basis **h₂eǵd-m(n)-i-* or **h₂eǵd-sm-i-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 16, EM 10, IEW 774, Schrijver 1991: 38, Klingenschmitt 1982: 256, Nussbaum 1999a: 379, 401, 405, LIV *h₂eǵd-.

aemulus 'emulous, rival' [adj. *o/ā*] (Lucr.+)

Derivatives: *aemulus* [m.] 'rival' (Ter.+), *aemula* (Pl.+) 'female rival', *aemulārī* 'to rival, emulate' (Pl.+).

PIt. **aimo-*.

PIE *h₂eǵi-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 **aik^wos*, but there is no convincing etymology available.

Bibl.: WH I: 17f., EM 11.

aerumna ‘task; distress’ [f. *ā*] (Pl.+)

The word is often regarded as a loan from Greek αἰρομένη, but there is no example in Greek of the use of the f. of this participle as a noun meaning ‘burden’. Borrowing from an Etruscan source has been claimed repeatedly, but is impossible to prove.

Bibl.: WH I: 18f., EM 12, Biville 1990 II: 103f.

aeruscō, -āre ‘to beg’ [v. I] (Gel., Paul. *ex F.*)

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

PIE **h₂is-ske/o-* [pr.], **h₂eis-os-* [n.] ‘request’. IE cognates: Skt. *ichāti*, YAv. *isaite* ‘to seek’, Arm. *hayc’em* ‘to beg’ < **h₂eis-ske-*, *ayc* ‘investigation’; Lith. *ieškóti*, Latv. *iēškāt*, 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 **h₂eis-*. → *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*).

Plt. **ajos, -es-* [n.]; **ajes-no-*, **ajes-n-ejo-* [adj.] ‘made of bronze’. It. cognates: U. *ahesnes* [abl.pl.] < **-no-*, O. *αιζνω* [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. *āyas-*, Av. *aīyah-* ‘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. αἰγύλωψ ‘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 **h₂eid^h-teh₂t-*, **h₂eid^h-tu-* ‘burning, heat’. IE cognates: see s.v. *aedēs*.

Most handbooks assume that *aestās* and *aestus* show the regular development of PIE **-d^ht-* 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-h₂id^h-e/o-* > Lat. **ai^{d^h}-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 **h₂eid^h-*. → *aedēs*

aestimō, *-āre* ‘to estimate’ [v. I] (Pl.+; OLat. *aestimāre*)

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 *aestimāre* 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|jittiu̯m** [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. αἶνυμαί ‘to take, seize’, ἐξ-αιτός ‘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.+).

Plt. **aiwo-* [m.] ‘period, age’, **aiwo-tāt-* [f.] ‘age’. It. cognates: O. *aítateis* [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’, *áyú-* [adj., m.] ‘full of life, lively’, Av. *āiiu-* [n.] ‘life, lifetime, time’, OAv. *yauuaē-jī-* [adj.] ‘living forever’, Gr. αἰψεί, αἰέξ, αἰῶ, αἰέν [adv.] ‘forever’ < **aiyes-*, αἰόν [m.] ‘lifetime, time, duration’, Gr. οὐ, Arm. *oč*’, Alb. *as* ‘not’ < **h₂oiu(-k^we)*; 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.+).

Plt. **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 Plt. *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'.

Plt. **ag^wno-* [m.] 'lamb', dim. **ag^wnelo-*.

PIE **h₂eg^w-no-* 'lamb'. IE cognates: OIr. *úan*, W. *oen*, OCo. *oin*, Bret. *oan* 'lamb' < **Hog^wno-*, Gr. *ἀμνός* < **h₂eg^wno-*, OCS *agne* [n. *nt*], ORu. *jagnja*, SCr. *jagne* [n.] 'lamb' < **h₂eg^w-n-ent-*; OE *ēanian* 'to yeap' < **aun-*.

It is uncertain whether U. *habina* 'sacrificial animal' belongs here, since the exact meaning does not appear clearly from the context. It has been suggested that the preform was **ag^wnīna* > **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* < **ag^wnlo-* < **ag^wnelo-* demonstrates that the labial feature in **-g^wn-* must have been present up to the Latin syncope at least. Greek and Latin together point to PIE **h₂eg^wno-*, and **g^w* is confirmed by BSl. If **g^w* lost its labial feature at a very early stage in Pre-Celtic, *Hog^wno-* would have yielded PCl. **ogno-* which regularly yields OIr. *úan*, MW *oen*. PGM. **awna-* seems to require **g^{wh}*, but **aw-* may also be due to contamination with **awi-* 'sheep'; in that case, Germanic does not disprove **g^w*.

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.+), *subigitātrix* (Pl.), *subigitātiō* 'erotic fondling' (Pl.); *circumagere* 'to drive round, wind' (Cato+),

peragere ‘to perform, finish’ (Enn.+); (4) *iūrigāre* ‘to quarrel’ (Pl.+); *litigāre* ‘to litigate’ (Pl.+); *nāvigāre* ‘to go by ship’ (Pl.+); *pūrigāre* ‘to clean, purify’ (> *purgō*) (Pl.+); *fatigāre* ‘to tire, exhaust’ (Pac.+); *fastigāre* ‘to taper, make pointed’ (Caes.+); *castigāre* ‘to reprimand, reprove’ (Pl.+); *vectigal* (Cato+) ‘revenue, income’; *aureax* (Paul. *ex F.*) / *aurīga* (Var.+) ‘charioteer’.

Plt. *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’ < Plt. *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’; Olc. *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 *exilis* must (if it belongs here) also have been built directly on *exigere* (as **exig-(s)li-*, since **ex-ag(s)li-* might be expected to yield ***exēlis*). (4) These forms show the root of *agō* as a second member of compounds. Dunkel 2000a explains the derivatives in *-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 *litigāre* < **stlū(i)-ag-*. The derivatives in *-igāre*, *-ig-* are based on *i*-stems: *fatigāre* < **fati-* + *h₂ǵ-o- (cf. *affatim*); *fastigāre* < *b^hrsti-h₂ǵ-; *castigāre* < *k^hsti-h₂ǵ-o; *vectigal* < *ueǵ^h-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 *aīio*, *aīs* (*aīs* 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.*).

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

PIE *h_{1/2}eǵ-ie/o- ‘to say’. IE cognates: Gr. aor. ἦ ‘said’ (< *h₁e-h₁eǵ-t) > ἦμι ‘I say’, pf. ἕνωγα ‘I order’, Arm. *ar-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 Plt. **ag-* 'to say': word-internal *a* and their sporadic, relatively late attestation suggest that they were derived from *adigō* 'to drive, force', sb. *ad-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.+)

Plt. **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 **h₂eIH-* 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+).

Plt. **alfo-* 'white'. It. cognates: U. *alfu* [acc.pl.n.], *alfir, alfer* [abl.pl.n.] 'white'.

PIE **h₂elb^h-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 *lebedь*, probably do not belong here. Also uncertain is the appurtenance of many other IE geographical names such as the river-names Gr. Ἄλφειός, 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 **h₂olb^h-o-*, 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. ἤλεός ‘distraught, crazed’ (Dor. *ἄλεός) 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 **VI-* 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 *eĩmės*, *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)lg^h/ǵ-* ‘(to be) cold’. IE cognates: Molc. *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 ?**h₂el(ǵ)^h-*.

alica ‘emmer groats’ [f. *ā*] (Cato+)

The form and meaning are almost the same as in Gr. ἄλιξ, -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* ,[*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. **aljo-*, Gr. ἄλλος, Arm. *ayl*, Go. *aljīs* '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 **alīnus* 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* 'elsewhere'. 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*, Olc. *allr*, OHG OS *al*, OE *eall* 'all, every' < PGm. **alla-* < **h₂el-no-*; ToA *ālak*, ToB *allek*, *alek* [adj.] 'other' < PTo. *alle-kā* < **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. *ālksnis*, *ēlksnis*, dial. *aliksniis* 'alder', dial. *ālksna*, *ēlksna* 'alder thicket, marsh, dale' < BSl. **a/el(i)snio-*; Ru. *ol'xá* 'alder', dial. *ēlxá*, *etxá*, Bulg. *elxá*

'alder, spruce' < BSl. **a/elisaH*; OIc. *plr*, 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*, *aliturum*)

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-tail*, pret. *alt* 'to feed, raise', MW *alu*, MBret. *halaff* 'to calve', OIr. *comaltae* 'comrade', MW *cyfeillt* 'serf', W. *cyfaill* 'friend' (< **komal-tjo-*), Gr. *ἀναλτος* 'insatiable', *ἀλδαίνω* 'to make grow, strengthen' (< **h₂el-d-*), *νεῶλής* 'fresh, powerful, rested' (< **neo-αλ-ής* 'newly fed'), Go. OE *alan* (pret. *ōl*) 'to grow up', OIc. *ala*, OE *alan* 'to raise', Go. *alands* 'growing up', *alips* '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. *öld*; Go. *alpeis* '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.).

Plt. **alu-* 'bitter substance'.

IE cognates: Gr. ἀλύδ(ο)μιον 'sharp, bitter (in Sophron)' (Hsch.); Lith. *alius* 'beer', RuCS ORu. *olb* 'fermented liquor, strong drink' < BSl. **alu-*; OIc. *ǫl* [n.] 'beer, drink feast', OE *ealu(ǣ)* [n.], MDu. *aal* 'beer', OS *alo-fat*, MHG *al-schaf* 'drinking bowl' < PGm. **alu(b)-* '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(ο)μιον 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 Plautus to Laberius)

Derivatives: *alveus* 'cavity' (Pl.+).

Plt. **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. *aūlas*, Latv. *aūle* 'leg of a boot', Lith. *aulỹs*, Latv. *aūlis*, RuCS *ulii* '(bee)hive', SIn. *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. *ana-* 'up, onto' [prep.]: in U. **am-paritu, am-pentu, an-seriato, an-stintu, an-stiplatu, an-tentu**, O. *ana:faKET*.

Plt. **ana* 'up'.

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

Unrelated are: Lat. *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: *ambiāxiō-que* (Paul. *ex F.*), *ambiegus* (Var., but Paul. *ex F. ambegus*), *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 **h₂mb^hi* ‘to, around’. IE cognates: Gaul. *ambi-*, OIr. *imb-* [pref.] ‘around’; Skt. *abhi* ‘to, towards, against, upon’, *abhi* ‘surrounded by, directed to, very’, OAv. *aibī*, YAv. *aībi*, *auui*, OP *abiy* [adv., prev.] ‘towards, against, upon’, Gr. ὀμφί [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 seem very reliable: they may be based on a contemporary analysis of the compounds. The PIE preverb might have developed from **h₂nt-b^hi*, 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-b^hoH* ‘both’. IE cognates: Skt. *ubhā*, *ubhāu* [du.m.], *ubhé* [du.f.] ‘both’,

ubháya- [adj.] ‘on both sides, in both ways’, OAv. *uba-*, YAv. *uua-* ‘both’ < $*(h_2u-)b^hóH-$; Gr. ἄμφω; Lith. *abù*, OCS *oba*, *obě*, Go. *bai* [m.], *ba* [n.] ‘both’, *bajops*, OS *bē thie*, OE *bā þā*, OHG *beide*, *bēde*, OIc. *báðir*, gen. *beggja*; ToA *āmpī*, 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 b^h -case form of the word $*h_2ent-$ ‘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. *anafrīss* 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: Ū. *amb-oltu* ‘must go around’ < $*-ala-tōd$.

PIE $*h_2elh_2-$ / $*h_2lh_2-$ [pr.] ‘to wander’. IE cognates: Gr. ἀλάομαι ‘to wander, roam’, Latv. *aluōt* ‘to roam’.

Lat. (*amb*)*ulāre* and Umbrian $*ala-$ can both continue a PIE root present $*h_2elh_2-$ > $*ala-$. 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 $*h_2elh_2-$. → *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. *ammai* ‘mother’ [dat.sg.].

PIE $*h_2em(m)-h_2-$. IE cognates: Gr. ἀμμή ‘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. $*h_2emh_2-th_2-$ ‘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.+)

Plt. $*afni-$ ‘river’.

PIE $*h_2eb^h-n-$ ‘river’. IE cognates: OIr. *aub*, gen. *abae* ‘river’ < $*abō$, *-en-s*, OIr. *abann*, MW *afon* ‘id.’ < PCl. $*abon-$; Hit. *hapa-* [c.] ‘river’, *hapae-*^z ‘to wet, moisten’, Pal. *hāpna-* [c.], CLuw. *hāpa/i-*, HLuw. *hapa/i-* ‘river’, Lyc. *χba(i)-* ‘to irrigate’ < PAnat. $*h_2ebo-$ ‘river’ < PIE $*h_2eb^h-o-$.

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; 5If.

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.+), *inimīcītia* ‘enmity, ill will’ (Pl.+); *amor* ‘sexual passion, love’ (Naev.+).

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

PIE $*h_3mh_3-$ ‘to take hold of’. IE cognates: OIr. *nāmae* ‘enemy’ (< $*n-h_3mh_3(e)nt-$); Skt. pr. *amīṣi*, *amānti* ‘to take hold of; swear’, *āma-* [m.], OAv. *āma-*, YAv. *ama-* [m.] ‘attacking power’; Gr. *δμνῶμι* ‘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’. Plt. $*ama-$ could reflect PIE $*h_3mh_3-$ in front of a vowel, cf. Schrijver 1991: 318. Schrijver 1991: 398ff. argues that the stative meaning of *amāre* and the presence of a derivative *amor* point to a stative verb $*ama-ē-$. Its formation must then post-date Plt., since Marr. *amatens* is not likely to have a stative suffix $*-ē-$, and has the transitive meaning ‘receive’ of the IE cognates. The form *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 decasulative from an ins. in $*-ih_1$ plus $*-ko-$ (parallel cases in Latin are *pudīcus* ‘chaste’ and *mendīcus* ‘needy’). The PIE root is reconstructed with initial $*h_2-$ in LIV, but Gr. points to $*h_3-$.

Bibl.: WH I: 40, EM 29, IEW 778, Rix 1999: 523-24, LIV $*h_2emh_3-$. → *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-uēn-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-ur-o-, and it seems unlikely that *amuēno- would yield *amoenus* (rather than *amuīnus). Hence, *amoenus* remains unexplained. It is conceivable that it is a loanword, given the similarity with Gr. antonyms such as σμειός, 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 PIIt. **ama-* was analysed as **am-a-* at a certain point; cf. *amicus*. The meaning of *ampla* must represent some idiomatic use of *amplus*. Whether *ames* belongs here too, is uncertain.

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

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.+).

PIIt. **ambi-drewo-* 'running around, servant'.

PIE *h₂mb^hi-dreu-o-. IE cognates: Skt. pr. *drāvati*, aor. *ádudrot* [3s.act.], caus. *drāváyati* '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 PIIt. 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 *drey-.

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*).

Plt. **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. *anās*, OCS *onъ* ‘that, he’ < PIE *h₂en-o-.

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

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

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

Plt. **anati-*.

PIE *h₂enh₂-ti- ‘duck’. IE cognates: Skt. *āti-* [f.] ‘duck’, Gr. (Ion.) νῆσσα, (Att.) νῆττα [f.] < PGr **nātia*, OPr. *antis*, Lith. *ántis* [f.], CS *oty*, Ru. *útka*, SCr. *ùtka* ‘duck’ < BSl. **anǵt-*.

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.*).

Plt. **ambi-k^(w)olo-*.

PIE *h₂mb^hi-k^wolh₁-os ‘going towards/around’. IE cognates: OIr. *buachail* [m.] ‘cowherd’; Skt. *abhicārá-* ‘witchcraft’ (AV+), *abhicara-* ‘servant, companion’ (cf. *pari-cará-* ‘servant’), OP *ābicarīś* [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 liturgical use, and is hence preserved only by glossators. It was replaced in daily speech by *famulus* and *servus*. The word was reanalysed as a diminutive *anc-ulus*, to which a new dim. **ank-elela* > *ancilla* was formed, which is the normal female counterpart of *servus* in Latin.

Bibl.: WH I: 45, EM 32, IEW 639f., Rix 1994a: 30-34, LIV *k^welh₁-. → *colō*

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

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

Plt. **anko-* ‘bended’.

PIE *h₂(e)nk^w-o- [adj.] ‘bending’. IE cognates: Skt. *ānkas-* [n.] ‘turn (in a road)’, *añkasá-* [m./n.] ‘side, groin (of a horse)’, YAv. *qxnah-* [n.] ‘rein’, *aka-* [m.] ‘hook’, Gr. ἄγκων ‘bend (of the arm), nook’, ἄγκος ‘valley’, OIc. *angr* ‘bay’. Hit. *hai(n)k^{-u(ri)}*, *hink^{-a(ri)}*, *hi(n)k^{-zi}* ‘to bestow, bow’ reflects *h_{2/3}einK- 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. *anxi*, ppp. *anctum*] (Pl.+)

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

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

PIE **h₂emǵ^h-e/o-* ‘to tie, tighten’; **h₂emǵ^h-os* ‘narrowness, anxiety’, **h₂emǵ^h-os-to-* ‘characterized by narrowness’, **h₂emǵ^hu-* ‘narrow’. IE cognates: Hit. *hamank⁻ⁱ* / *hamelink-* ‘to tie, betroth’ < **h₂m-ón-ǵ^h-* / **h₂m-n-ǵ^h-*; Skt. *amhú-*, Av. *qzu-* ‘narrow’, Gr. *ἄγγω* ‘to squeeze, strangle’, Arm. *anjowk* ‘narrow’, OCS *uvęsti*, Is. *uvęzō* ‘to tie’ (< **h₂eu-h₂mǵ^h-*), RuCS *qziti* ‘to constrain, torture’, Ru. *úzit* ‘make narrow, straiten’ (< **h₂omǵ^h-*), 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 **h₂emǵ^h-*.

anguis ‘snake’ [m., f. *i*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *anguīmus* ‘of a snake’ (Cato+), *anguilla* ‘eel’ (Varro, Sen.+) / *anguila* (Pl.).

PIt. **ang^v-i-* ‘snake’.

PIE **h₂(e)ng^{wh}-i-* ‘snake’. IE cognates: Mir. *escung* ‘eel’ (lit. ‘water-snake’), OPr. *angis*, Lith. *angis*, acc.sg. *āngi* ‘snake’ < **h₂e/ong^{wh}-*, Ru. *už*, gen.sg. *užá*, Po. *wqz* ‘id.’ (< PSl. **qžb* < **h₂e/ong^{wh}-iō-*), OHG *unc* ‘id.’ < **h₂ng^{wh}-*.

Anguis can be derived from PIE **h₂(e)ng^{wh}-i-* ‘snake’. Several IE languages reflect a similar preform **h₂e/og^{wh}-* 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 *anguīmus*, *anguilla* can be derived as **anguīn-lā*. Katz 1998b: 322ff. analyzes *anguilla* as *anguis* ‘snake’ + Lat. *illa* ‘worm’ (gloss CGL II 77.10). He reconstructs *illa* as **ēlyā-* ‘eel’, based on an imaginative comparison with Gr. *ἔγγελος* ‘eel’ and Hit. *Illuyankaš* ‘mythical dragon’ which is rightly rejected by Driessen 2005: 42f. Driessen suggests that the Plautine variant *anguila* 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 *qǵbъ*, Ru. *úgol*, gen. *uglá* ‘corner’ < PSl. **qǵbъ*, 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 ‘gasp, 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. *āniti* [pr.] ‘to breathe’, *prāṇá-* [m.] ‘breath, breathing out, air’, Go. **-anan* ‘to breathe’, pret. *uz-on*, ToB *anāššām* ‘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 sacrificial 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’ < **sēyo-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. *x'āθra-* [n.] 'well-being', YAv. *apairiīāθra-* '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.+).

Plt. **ansā-* 'handle'.

PIE *h₂ens-h₂- 'handle, grip'. IE cognates: Lith. *q̄sà*, Latv. *ūosa* 'handle of a pot' < **ansā*; with different suffix Mlr. *éisi* pl. (f.?) 'part of the harness of a chariot-horse, reins', Gr. ῥίνα [n.pl.] 'reins', Myc. *a-ni-ja lanhiail*, dat. pl. *a-ni-ja-pi* [f.]; OPr. *ansis* 'kettle-hook', Latv. *ūoss* 'handle' < **h₂ens-i-*, OIc. *æs* '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.+)

Plt. **χans-*.

PIE **ǵ^hh₂ens* [nom.], **ǵ^hh₂ns-os* [gen.] 'goose'. IE cognates: OIr. *gēiss* 'swan', Skt. *haṁsá-* [m.], Gr. χίψ, -ός [m. f.], Dor. Boeot. χάψ, OPr. *sansy*, Lith. *žq̄sis* [f.], acc. *žq̄si*, Ru. *gus*, Po. *gęs* (< PSl. **ǵosb*), 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)

Plt. **an(a)tā-* 'post, pillar'.

PIE *h₂enHt-h₂- 'door-post'. IE cognates: Skt. *ātā-* [f.] pl., YAv. *qiθiiā-* [f.pl.] 'door-post', *aθā-* [pl.] 'house' < Ilr. **HanHt-*, **HnHt-*; Arm. *drand(i)* 'doorpost, threshold'; OIc. *qnd* '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.*).

PIt. **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. *and* ‘for, instead of’, Go. *and(a)-* ‘toward, along’.

In word-final position, **-i* became *-e*, but original *-i* is still visible in *antiae*, in the inflexion of *antēs*, and in *antīquus*. Both *antiae* and *antēs* must be regarded as recent nominalizations of **anti*; *antiae* presupposes an adj. **antios*. *Antīquus* reflects PIE **h₂enti-h₃k^o-o-* ‘facing the front’, cf. Skt. *nyāñc-* ‘facing downward’, adv. *nīcā* ‘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.).

PIt. **amu-* ‘old woman’.

PIE **h₂enH-o-* ‘old woman’. IE cognates: Hit. *hanna-*, Lyc. *χῆνα-*, Arm. *han* ‘grandmother’, OPr. *ane* ‘old mother’, Lith. *anyta* ‘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 accommodate 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.+).

PIt. **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.] (Liy., inscr.).

Plt. **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 *veprъ*, Ru. *vepr* 'boar' < BSl. **ueprio-*; Thracian *έβροϝ* '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).

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

PIE **h₂uer-i(e/o)-* 'to cover'. IE cognates: Skt. pr. *vṛṇóti* (RV+), *ūrmuté*, aor. *ávar* [23s.act.], pf. *vavāra* [3s.act.], caus. *vārāya-* 'to cover, enclose', *vṛtá-* 'enclosed', OAv. *vərənauuaitē* [3s.pr.sb.med.], *ni-uuarānī* [1s.aor.sb.] 'to enclose', YAv. *aiβi.vərənuuaiti* 'to hide' < Ilr. **Huar-*; Gr. *ᾠπορ* 'crowbar, porch, porter' (Hsch.) (< **h₂uor-o-*); Lith. *atvérti* 'to open', (*už*)*vėrti*, *su-vėrti* 'to shut', OCS *za-vrěti* 'id.', Cz. *otevřiti*, SCr. *otvòriti* 'to open'; Lith. *vařtai*, SCr. *vrāta* 'gate'.

Lat. *ap-* probably continues PIE **h₂(e)p* 'off' which is reflected in Lat. *ab*, O. U. *ap-*, *af-*. In Plt. **ap-wer-je-*, the **w* after the labial stop was lost, cf. *oportet* < **ap-wort-* and U. *subocau* < **sub-wok^w-*. This loss may have been Plt. according to Meiser 1986: 185, cf. Lat. *probus*, Paelign. *pros* < **pro-b^hwos*. The antonym **ap-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 **H₂uer-*. → *aperire*, 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. *āpara-* ‘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 *ʾff* ‘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* / *pi-*, CLuw., HLuw. *pija-*, Lyc. *pije-* ‘to give’, Skt. *āpa*, 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 PIIt., cf. Schrijver 2003: 75. Whether this goes back to a PIE *i*-pr. is uncertain, since other IE languages mainly show a perfect. Kloekhorst 2006a argues that Hit. *pāi*, *pianzi* ‘to give’ goes back to a PIE *i*-pr. 3s. **h₁p-ó-i-ei*, 3p. **h₁p-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*

apricus ‘sunny’ [adj. *o/ā*] (Cic.+)

Antonym of *opācus* ‘shady’. Nussbaum (p.c.) suggests that *apricus* represents a derivative in **-Hk^o-* ‘-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*

aprilis ‘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. *apricus*. Differently Neri 2007: 67, who posits **h₁p-r-* to **h₁(e)p(-i)* ‘toward’. The suffix *-īlis* can be analogical to the months *Quintilis* and *Sextilis* (Leumann 1977: 350).

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

apud ‘at, beside’ [prep.] (Andr.+)

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

Not used in compounds or as an adverb, which may point to a recent origin from a nominal expression. Possibly cognate with *apiō* ‘to tie’, in which case *apud* may reflect an old pf. ptc. **ap-wot* ‘having reached’ > ‘in close connection’ (IEW, EM). However, the synchronic pf. has long *ē*: *coepī*. A different solution would be to derive *apud* from **ad-pod(V)*, with the preverb *ad* ‘to’ and the word for ‘foot’. The latter is found in *op-pidum* ‘what obstructs the feet, barrier’ > ‘fortress’ < **op-pedo-*; for the existence of the *o*-grade in Italic, cf. *tri-pudium* ‘three-step dance’ < Plt. **tri-podo-*. An original noun **ad-pod-* may have meant ‘the foot/side of sth.’ and have come to be used as a preposition (cf. French *chez* < *casa* ‘house’). In order to arrive at *apud*, however, a preform **ad-pod(i)* is required, which is difficult, if only since *ad* synchronically takes the accusative. One might suggest irregular loss of a final syllable from **ad-podV(C)* in unstressed position. Another solution would be to compare BSl. words for ‘bottom’, Lith. *pādas* ‘sole, metatarsus, floor of a stove’, Latv. *pads* ‘stone floor’, ORu. *podь*, Cz. *půda*, SCr. *pôd*, gen.sg. *pôda* ‘floor, bottom’ < BSl. **podo-*, which Derksen 2008 reconstructs as PIE **h₂po-d^hh₁-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. **aχ^wō* ‘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. *ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *aquilinus* ‘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/ā*] (Pl.+)

The Romans derives this colour from *aqua* ‘water’, which EM reject because they cannot imagine water being black. Still, this seems a more likely derivation to me than from *aquila* ‘eagle’, as assumed by Cohen 2004: 32.

Bibl.: WH I: 60f., EM 42, IEW 23. → *aqua*

āra ‘altar’ [f. *ā*] (Lex Reg., Pl.+; OLat. *asa* quoted by various CLat. and LLat. authors)

Plt. **āsā-*. It. cognates: O. *aasai* [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. *āsa-* (m.) ‘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*

arāneus ‘spider’ [m. *o*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *arāneus* [adj.] ‘of spiders’ (Col.+), *arānea* ‘spider’s web, cobweb’ (Pl.+), ‘spider’ (Cat.+).

IE cognates: Gr. *ἀράχνη* ‘spider’, *ἀράχνιον* ‘cobweb’, *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. *-khn-* was adopted as Latin *-cum-* in *dracuma* and *Alcumena* (cf. Leumann 1977: 103). Alternatively, the Gr. and Lat. words could have been independently borrowed from a common source **araksn-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 61, EM 42, IEW 55-61.

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

Derivatives: *arbitrārī* 'to witness, judge' (Pl.+), *arbitrātus*, *-ūs* 'decision, judgement'; *arbitrium* / *arbitrium* 'arbitration, settlement' (Lex XII, Cic.+).

It. cognates: U. *aṛputrati* [abl.sg.] 'according to the judgement'.

U. *aṛ-* 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 Plt. short vowel. The connection with *baetō* 'to go' is the only straightforward formal connection, but this verb has no certain etymology. The distinction Latin *b* : U. *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. *arbores* Paul. *ex F.*)

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

Plt. **arbōs* [m.].

PIE **h₃rd^h-ōs*, *-os-* 'height, uprightness'.

Arbor can be connected with *arduus* 'high' < **h₃rd^h-* 'upright, high', and go back to PIE **h₃rd^h-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 **h₃rd^h-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+).

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

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

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

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

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

Derivatives: *abarcēre* 'to keep away' (Paul. *ex F.*, CIL), *coercēre* 'to confine, restrain' (Cato+), *exercēre* 'to exercise, keep busy' (Pl.+), *exercitus*, *-iūs* 'physical exercise, army' (Naev.+), *porcēre* 'to prevent' (Enn.+).

Plt. **ark-eje/o-* 'to contain, keep out', **ark-o-* 'who builds'. It. cognates: C *trībarakavúm* [inf.], *trībarakattíns* [3p.pf.sb.], *trībarakattuset* [3p.fut.pf.] 'to build (houses)' < **trēb-ark-ā-* [v.], probably derived from a noun **trēb-ark-(o-* 'house-builder'; O. *trībarakkiuf* [nom.sg.] 'building' < **trēb-ark-iōn-s*.

PIE **h₂(o)r^(k)-eje/o-* 'to hold'. IE cognates: Hit. *har(k)-^z* 'to hold, have' (< root pl **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 verb **h₂r^(k)-eh₁-*, but in view of the transitive meaning 'to keep out', I prefer a causative verb (with generalized root shape *arc-* for **ork-*).

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^(k)-*. → *arceō*, *arx*, *parcō*

arcessō, -ere / accersō, -ere 'to summon, send for' [v. III; pf. *arcessivī* / *-iī*, pp[er] *arcessitum*] (Pl.+; pr. *accers-*, *arcess-* Pl. Ter. Cato, pf. *arcess-* Cic.+; several *i*-conforms, cf. TLL)

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

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

The stem occurs in two variants, *accers-* and *arcess-*, which suggests that one developed from the other by an unusual metathesis or an analogical replacement. Both variants seem to have been *sprachwirklich* in Plautus' times. The pr. is productive from Pl. onwards, whereas the pf. is hardly attested before Cicero. Since the pf. clearly favors the variant *arcess-*, one might hypothesize that *arcess-* was in the process of ousting *accers-*, and that the latter must therefore be the original form. Nussbaum 2007b gives two more arguments for regarding *accersō* as original: the noun *dorsum* > *dossum* shows a phonetic change of **rs* > *ss*; a verb in *-cessō* meaning 'go get' would be favoured by its semantic neighbours *capessō* and *(ex)petessē*. Nussbaum suggests that *accersō* may reflect **ad-kers-s-e/o-*, an *s*-present to the root **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-*²¹ / *ark-* 'to chant, intone', which is reconstructed as **h₁erk^w-* 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 influenced by *accīre* 'to summon' (Pl.+).

Bibl.: WH I: 63, EM 44, Bartalucci 1963, Meiser 2003: 237, LIV 1. *(^k)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.+).

Plt. **arkuo-* / **ark^wo-* 'bow'.

IE cognates: Go. *arhazna*, OIc. *or*, *orvar*, OE *earh* 'arrow' < PGm. **arχ^wō*, -*az-*; Gr. ἄρκυθος [f.], Latv. *ērcis* 'juniper' [m.], Ru. *rakita*, Cz. *rokyta*, SCr. *rākita* 'brittle willow' < PSI. **ork^hta*.

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

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. ἑρωδιός (H.), also ἑρωδιός, ῥωδιός (Hipponax), ἄρωδιός (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).

Plt. **arḫwo-*.

PIE **h₃rd^h-uo-* 'high, upright'. IE cognates: OIr. *ard*, W. *ardd* 'high' < PCl. **ard-uo-*, Skt. *ūrdhvā-* 'tending upwards, upright, high', YAv. *arəδβa-* 'risen, upright, erect', Gr. ὀρθός 'upright, standing', OIc. *orðugr* 'steep'.

Celtic and Ilr. point to **Hrd^huo-*, while Greek shows that the laryngeal was probably **h₃-*. Long *ū-* of Skt. is not explained with certainty, but note that the sequence *urC-* is extremely rare in Skt. (only in *urvārā-* 'field' < Ilr. **HrH-uar-*), so that *ūrdhvā-* might be the regular outcome of Ilr. **Hrd^hua-*. Since *-*rd^h-* 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 $*h_3rd^huo-$. PIE $*h_3rd^h-$ could be a derivative of $*h_3r-$ '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.); *adarēscere* 'to become dry' (Cato), *exārēscere* 'to dry up' (Pl.+), *perārēscere* 'to dry up thoroughly' (Varro+).

PIt. $*ās-ē-$ 'to be dry'.

PIE $*h_2eh_1s-eh_1-$ 'to be dry'. IE cognates: ToA *asatār*, ToB *osotār* 'dries up'.

Lat. *ardeō* is derived from *ār(i)du*s, 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 PIIt. $*āsā-$ 'hearth', or from another derivative of the PIE root noun $*h_2eh_1s-$.

Bibl.: WH I: 65, EM 45, IEW 68-69, Schrijver 1991: 53f., Harðarson 1994, LIV $*h_2eh_1s-$. → *āra*, *assus*

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

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

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

PIE $*h_2rǵ-nt-o-$ [n.] 'silver'. IE cognates: Gaul. *arganto-*(*magus*), OIr. *argat*, W. *arian* 'silver', Skt. *rajatā-* 'silver-coloured; silver' (Skt. *ra-* is probably secondary for $*r-$), Av. *ərəzata-*, OP *rdata-* [n.], Arm. *arcat* 'silver' (suffix like *erkat* 'iron').

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

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'.

PIIt. $*argu-$ 'bright'.

PIE $*h_2erǵ-u-$ 'white'. IE cognates: Hit. *arkuuae-zi* 'to make a plea' (< $*arkuue/a-zi$ < $*arkuie/a-$, Melchert 1998, < PIE $*h_2orǵ-u-je-$ 'to make clear', Kloekhorst 2008: 206); Skt. *ārju-na-* 'white, light', Gr. *ἀργυρος*, Myc. *a-ku-ro* 'silver', Gr. *ἀργυρος* 'gleaming white', ToA *ārki*, ToB *ārkwī* '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*

ariēs, -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'. IĒ cognates: OIr. *heirp, erb* [f.] 'she-goat, doe, roe' < PCl. **erbā-*; Gr. *ἔριφος* 'kid', maybe Arm. *oroj* 'lamb' (< **er-oj*), *erinj* 'young cow'.

Since PIIt. **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.+).

PIIt. **armo-*, **armnto-*.

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

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.+).

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

PIE **h₂(e)rH-mo-* ‘arm’. IE cognates: Skt. *īrmá-* ‘arm, shoulder(-joint)’, Av. *arāma-*, OPr. *irmo* ‘arm’, Lith. *irmédė* [f.] ‘gout’ (‘‘arm-eating’’) < PIE **h₂rH-mó-*; OCS *ramo*, Cz. *rámě*, SCr. *rāme* ‘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+).

Plt. **araje/o-*.

PIE **h₂erh₃-ie/o-* ‘to plough’, **h₂erh₃-tro-* [n.]. IE cognates: Mlr. *airim*, W. *arddu*, Gr. ἀρόω, Lith. *árti*, Is. *ariù*, Latv. *art*, OCS *orati*, Is. *orjō*, Go. *arjan* ‘to plough’; Mlr. *arathar*, Arm. *arawr*, Lith. *árklas* ‘plough’ < BSl. **arH-tlo-*, OCS *ralo*, Cz. *rádlo* ‘id.’ < **arH-d^hlo-*, Oic. *arōr* < 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, -ficus* (Var. *artufices*) ‘practitioner, craftsman’ (Pl.+), *artificium* ‘skill, craft’ (Cic.+).

Plt. **arti-*.

PIE **h₂r-tí-* ‘the fitting’. IE cognates: OAv. *arāiti-*, YAv. *aši-* [f.] ‘reward’, Gr. ἄρτι ‘just, exactly’, ἄρτιν ‘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 I. **h₂er-* → *arma*

artus ‘close, firm’ [adj. o/ā] (Pl.+)

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

Plt. **arto-* [adj.].

PIE **h₂r-tó-* ‘fitted’. IE cognates: Skt. *ṛtá-* ‘truthful; truth, agreement’, Av. *aša-* [n.]

'truth', YAv. **arata-*.

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

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.+).

Plt. **artu-* [m.].

PIE **h₂r-tú-* 'juncture, ordering'. IE cognates: Skt. *ṛtú-* [m.] 'fixed time, order, rule', Av. *ratu-* 'section of time, period', Gr. ἄπτύς 'arrangement', ἄπτών 'friendship and arrangement or decision' (Hsch.), ἄπτῶ '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.+)

Plt. **arow-i-* 'entrails'?

Gr. ὀπύα 'sausage' (WH I 71), a title of a comedy by Epicharmus, might attest to a Sicilian form **arui-* or **orui-* (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. ὀπβίβνη '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.), *arvus* [adj.] 'ploughed, cultivated' (Var., Cic.).

Plt. **ara/owo-*. It. cognates: U. *arvamen* [acc.sg. + *-en*], *arven* [loc.sg. + *-en*] [f.] 'field' vel sim. U. *arvia*, *aruvia*, *arviu*, *arvio* [acc.pl.] 'grain' < **arvio-*.

PIE **h₂erh₃-uo-* 'ploughable'. IE cognates: OIr. *arbor*, gen.sg. *arbae* 'grain', W. *erw* 'acre', Skt. *urvārā-* 'arable land', Gr. ἄρουρα 'sowing-land' < PIE **h₂erh₃-ur, -uen-*.

The adj. *arvus* 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.+)

Plt. *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 Plt. 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.+), *sēmīs* ‘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 *libra* and *nummus* would also be loanwords. For *bēs*, WH assume a compound of *duo + gen.sg. *ass(is) ‘two parts of an *as*’ > *duass > *duess > *dwess > *bess > *bēs*.

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. ἄξις [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. *ō*] (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 οἰστρος ‘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 30If., Leumann 1977: 179, EIEC 34.

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

Derivatives: *asperāre* 'to make rough' (Varro+), *exasperāre* 'id.' (Liv.+).

Plt. **aspi-ro-?*

PIE **h₂esp-i-* 'cutting'? IE cognates: CLuw. *hašp-* 'to cut down'; Gr. ἄσπις, -ίδος 'shield'.

Possibly from **ab-sper-o-* 'rejecting, repulsive', similar to Skt. *apa-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. ἄσπις '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 **sp^herH-*. → *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.

ássyr '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 *laserl*. 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 *assyrr* 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. → *sanguīs*

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

Plt. **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[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-^hstu-* < **-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’, *atquē* ‘but, nevertheless’ (Pl.+), *at-avus* ‘great-great-great-grandfather’ (Pl.+).

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

PIE **h₂et(i)* ‘back, away’. IE cognates: Gaul. *ate-*, OIr. *aith-* ‘again’, Gr. ἄτ-ἄπ ‘nevertheless, but’, Lith. *at-*, *ata-* ‘back’, OCS *otъ*, Ru. *ot(o)* ‘from’, Go. *ap-þan* ‘but’.

Final *-t* in Latin is explained from PIIt. **-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-k^we*, 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’ < PCI. **āti-*; Pal. *hāri*, [3s.], *hānta* [3p.] ‘to be warm’, Av. *ātarš*, gen.sg. *āθrō* ‘fire’ < PIt. **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 PCI. **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. **atrōk^w-*.

PIE **h₂h₁-tr-* ‘fireplace’?

Probably a derivative of the adj. *āter* ‘black’ and the PIE root **h₃ek^w-* ‘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-Hk^w-* ‘looking like a fireplace’ > ‘blackened’, making this hypothesis somewhat cumbersome.

Bibl.: WH I: 77, EM 54, IEW 775ff., Schrijver 1991: 54, 77, LIV **h₃ek^w-*. → *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. *ἄρτα* ‘little father’, Alb. *at*, OCS *otъcъ*, 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' + **d^hh₁-ie/o-* 'to render'. IE cognates: Hit. *au-*ⁱ / *u-* 'to see, look' < **h₂ou-* / **h₂u-*, CLuw. *aya* (interj.) 'look!'; Skt. *āvīṣ* 'evidently', Av. *āuiš* < Ir. **Hāuiš*, Gr. *αῖω* 'to perceive, hear', *ἐπιστός* 'known', *αἰσθάνομαι* 'to perceive' < **h₂(e)ui-s-(d^h)-* '(to make) manifest'; Lith. *ovyje* 'in reality', OCS *(j)avě* 'manifestly' < **h₂ēu-ēis* (or loanword from Iranian?).

Audiō probably represents a cp. of **h₂eui(s)* 'manifest' and the root **d^heh₁-*. *Audīre* and *oboedīre* can be explained in the most straightforward way if we assume that the PIt. compound originally was **auis-ḡ-je/o-*, in the way argued earlier by Pedersen and Solmsen, see the summary in Martzloff 2006: 548-555: **awizdijō* > **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. *ukṣāti*; caus. *vakṣaya-* 'to make strong'),

Av. *uxšiiia-* '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-*.

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).

Plt. **auksla-*.

IE cognates: Skt. *ukhā-*, *ukhā-* 'boiler, pan'; Gr. ἰχνός 'furnace' (maybe from **ιχνός*, cf. **Ἐφ-ιχνος*, Attic *ἠιχνε[ύεσθαι]*), Myc. *i-po-no*; Go. *auhns*, OSwe. *oghn* 'oven' < PGm. **uyna-*, **uyná-*; OIc. *ofn*, OE *ofen*, OHG *ovan* < PGm. **ofna-* < **ufna-*.

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 ἔψω 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. *ae* (*s*-stem) 'ear', Av. *uši* [du.] 'two ears', Gr. οὖς, οὐρατος, Dor. ὠς < **ous*, **ous-n-to-*, Alb. *vesh*, OPr. *āusins* [acc.pl.], Lith. *ausis* [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-klut-eh₂-ie/o-*. The Latin metathesis to *-cult-* could be justified via a stage with syllabic **ʃ*: **aus-klut-ā-* > **áuskʃtā-* > *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 **h₂eus-ōs*, *-os-m*, **h₂us-s-ós* [f.] 'dawn'. IE cognates: Skt. *uṣās* [nom.sg.], *uśás* [gen.sg.], Av. *uśah-* [f.], Gr. ἔως, Ion. ἦώς, Dor. ἄφώς, ἄφώρ, 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', *ἄρχι-αυρος* 'near the morning' < **h₂eus-r-*; Lith. *aušrà*, Latv. *āustra* '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. *αὔ* 'again, on the contrary', Gr. *αὔτε, 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. **aweksna-*.

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

ovēs [m.], SCr. *ōvas* 'id.' < PSl. **ovьsь* < PBSl. **awiž(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 **-igʰ-* 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. *avasā-* [n.] 'refreshment, food', *aviśyānt-* 'longing for food', *aviśyā-* [f.] 'gluttony', *aviśyú-* 'gluttonous', *āvayat* [3s.ipf.act.] 'to eat, digest', YAv. *auuan̄ha-* [n.] 'provision'; Arm. *aviwn̄* '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 **ou-éie-* would confirm his view of **ou* > **ai̯* 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 **h₂eu-*.

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

Derivatives: *avīcula* '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*, *aeif*, *auiei* [acc.pl.], *avis*, *aves*, *aveis* [abl.pl.] 'bird' (< **ai-*); *aiie* [dat./loc. sg.] 'bird-watching'; *aviekate* [dat.sg.f., analysis uncertain]; *aviekla*, *aiiecla* [abl.sg.f.], *avieklufe* [acc.pl.m. + *-en*], *aiiehclu*, *aiieclu* [acc.pl.m.], *aiieclir*, *aiiehcleir* [abl.pl.m.] 'auguralis' < **awjē-kdo-* < **-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. *αιετός* 'eagle' < **h₂eyi-eto-*, Arm. *haw* 'bird'.

Lat. *auspex* < **aii-speks*, *auceps* < **aii-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.

**h₂u_{éi}-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 *v̥ddhi* 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. *ae* 'grandson' < **au̯io-*; MW *ewythr*, Bret. *eontr* 'uncle' < **au̯ontīr* < **h₂eu-on-tēr/tr(i)o-* (vel sim.); Hit. *huhha-*, CLuw. *hūha-*, HLuw. *huha-*, Lyc. *χuge-*, Arm. *haw* (gen. *hawow*) 'grandfather', OPr. *awis*, Lith. *avīnas*, OCS *ujb*, SCr. *ujāk* 'uncle on mother's side' < BSl. **au̯io-*; Go. *awo* 'grandmother', OIc. *á* '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^s-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 **h₂ek^s-(i)-* 'axle, arm-pit'. IE cognates: W. *echel*, Bret. *ahel* 'axle, axis', Skt. *ākṣa-* 'axle', YAv. *aša-* 'arm-pit', Gr. ἄξων [m.] 'axle'; Gr. ἄμαξα [f.] 'four-wheeled cart' (< PIE **sm-h₂ek^s-ih₂-*); OPr. *assis*, Lith. *ašis* [m.], CS *osъ*, Ru. *os* [f.] 'axle, axis' < **h₂ek^s-i-*; OHG *ahsa*, OE *eax* 'axle' < PGm. **axsō-*, OIc. *qxull* 'id.' (<

**axsula-*), OIc. *axl*, 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 **h₂ek(s)-* in 'axle' might be derived from the root **h₂eg-* '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 *ftic.*). 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.' < PCI. **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. *bàkstelėti* 'to thrust', Latv. *bakstīt* '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. **boḃjo-*.

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' < PCI. **bod-io-*. The limited distribution and initial **b-* render PIE origin unlikely. If we assume a preform **bad'ios*, 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*, **ɰ* and PIE labiovelars. The latter solution seems slightly more attractive; there are no counterexamples with *bo-* < PIE **bʰo-* in Latin.

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

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

Derivatives: *adbūtēre* 'to approach' (Pl.), *ēbūtēre* 'to go out' (Pl.), *imbūtēre* 'to enter' (Pl.), *interbūtēre* 'to fail' (Pl.), *perbūtēre* 'to perish' (Andr.+), *praeterbūtēre* 'to go past' (Pl.), *prōbūtēre* 'to go forward' (Pac.), *rebūtēre* 'to return' (Pl.), *trānsbūtēre* '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 decomposed form. A possibly cognate form is U. *ebetraf* [acc.pl.], maybe 'city border', if from **ex-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 **bagelos* (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.+).

Plt. **balbo-*.

PIE **bl-bl-* 'meaningless twaddle, stammering'. IE cognates: Skt. *balbalā-karōti* 'stammers', Gr. βαμβαλόζω 'to have chattering teeth', Lith. *balbāsyti*, *blebēnti*, *blebēti* 'to chatter', Ru. *bolobólitʹ*, Bulg. *blaból'v*, *balból'v* 'to blether', SCr. *blābositi*, 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 φάλλαίνα, 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 *φαλλον. 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 **b^hl-*.

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. *barždq*), Latv. *bārda*, OCS *brada*, Ru. *borodá* 'id.' < BSl. **bordá?*, Lith. *barzdótas*, OCS *bradatyi* 'bearded'; OHG *bart*, OE *beard*, OFr. *berd* [m.] < Gm. **bard-a-*?

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

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. *bučiūoti* 'to kiss', NHG *Buss*, Eng. *buss*, Swe. *puss* 'kiss'. It seems likely that *bāsium* has a similar source.

Bibl.: WH I: 97f., EM 67.

bellum 'war, warfare' [n. *o*] (Naev.+; older *duellum*, e.g. in Pl.)

Derivatives: *bellicus/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 **d^hus-* 'to breathe'), a preform **d^hues-lo-* has been proposed for *bēlua*. Pokorny 1959 is very sceptical, since initial **d^hu-* 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.+).

PIt. **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-* < Plt. **far(s)fā-*. Both rules are ad hoc, as Driessen 2001: 58f. rightly points out (see also the reaction in Katz 2006), and, moreover, the translation of *berber* as ‘firm’ is a guess. The two other examples which Katz adduces for his rule (a), viz. *masturbor* and *orbis*, are too uncertain to establish this development.

Bibl.: WH I: 101, EM 69.

bēstia ‘beast, animal’ [f. *ā*] (Pl.+)

Uncertain etymology, cf. *bēhua*.

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.*).

Plt. **dwi-* ‘two’.

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

Long *ī* in *biduum* ‘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. *διφύης* ‘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 **dwi-* ‘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. *vi-* < **(H)ui-* ‘apart’, which Lubotsky 1994 has reconstructed as **dwi-* ‘(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/bafō/, /p/bibāfō/ [Is.fut.] 'I will drink' (Lejeune 1990); Sicel πῖβε [2s.ipv.act.] 'drink!'.

PIE **pi-ph₃-e/o-* [pr.] 'to drink'. IE cognates: Gaul. *ibeti-s* 'drink!' < **pibete*, OIr. *ibid*, *ib*, MW *yuet*, MCo. *eva* 'to drink', MBret. *euaff*, *yvet* < PCl. **pibe/o-*; Skt. *pibati*, Arm. *əmpem* 'to drink' < **pimb-* (Klingenschmitt 1982: 156). Less certain OAlb. *pīi* /pī/ '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 πῖβε, 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*

bills 'bile' [f. *ī*] (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. *pīlum* '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 **b^heid-* '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.+; *dvīs* Cic. *Orator* 153)

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

PIt. **dwis*.

PIE **dwis* 'twice'. IE cognates: Skt. *dvīṣ*, Av. *biš*, Gr. *δίς*, MHG *zwir* 'twice'.

The multiplicative **dwis* 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 **dwi-no-*, which can be compared with Gm. **twi-na-* in OHG *zwīnal*, *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 **g^wet-u-* 'pitch, resin'. IE cognates: OIr. *be(i)the* 'buxus', MW *bedw* 'birches', Co. *bedewen* 'poplar', Bret. *bezuen* 'birch' < PCl. **g^wetujā-* (if OIr. was borrowed

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

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 **betuiā*). 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 **mlh₂-d-no-* (to PIE **melh₂-* 'to grind?') > **blādno-* > *blandus*. EM suggest an original meaning 'having a flattering voice' in which case a connection with *balbus* and *blatiō* comes in view.

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 *sibilāre*, *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: *benē* '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 **duh₂-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 *benignus* is phonetic from *i in front of gn, cf. Leumann 1977: 113. Nussbaum 2003 points to the unlikelihood 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. δύναιμι 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. 1x, 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+).

Plt.nom.sg. **g^wous* / **g^wōs*, acc.sg. **g^wōm*, gen.sg. **g^wowos*, acc.pl. maybe **g^wōns*. 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. **boúediín** '?' has been etymologized as **bou-ed-io-* 'place where cattle are fed', but the meaning of the word is unknown.

PIE nom.sg. **g^weh₃-u-s*, acc.sg. **g^weh₃-u-m* or **g^wh₃-eu-m*, nom.pl. **g^wh₃-eu-es*, dat.pl. **g^wh₃-u-b^hos* 'cow'. IE cognates: Olr. *bó* 'cow'; Skt. *gāṁs*, acc. *gām*, OAv. nom.sg. *gāuš*, acc.sg. *gām* 'bull, cow', Myc. *qo-o* (acc.pl.?), Gr. βούς, gen.sg. βοός, acc.sg. Dor., H. βῶν, Arm. *kov* (*u*-stem), Latv. *gūovs* 'cow', Ru. *govjádó* (dial.), Cz. *hovádo*, SCr. *gòvedo* 'head of cattle' (< **g^wh₃-eu-* + *-nd-*), OHG *chuo*, ToA *ko*, *ki*, ToB *keu* 'cow'.

From Plt. nom.sg. **g^wous* or **g^wōs*, acc.sg. **g^wōm*, we would expect Latin nom.sg.

*ūs/*vōs, acc. *vōm. Initial *b-* cannot be the regular reflex in Latin of PIE *g^{w-}, 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 βουῶς 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 *g^wh₃-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 *y before *m. In his view, however, the PIE stem was *g^wou-.

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+).

Plt. **mreχ-u(-i-)*. It. cognates: maybe SPic. *brīmeidinai* [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 *mrǵ^h-ú- 'short'. IE cognates: Skt. *múhuḥ*, *múhu* 'suddenly', *muhūrtá-* [n.] 'short time, moment' (for **mṛhú-*), Av. *mərəzu-*, Oss. *morz* 'short' < Plr. **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. *i*] 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 **mreǵ^hu-i-* > **breg^hui-* > *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 **mreǵ^h-is-mHo-* introduced **y* from the positive, and then regularly developed via **mreǵisema* > **mrouisema* > **brouisema* > **brouisma* > *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.+).

Plt. **g^wrūto-*.

PIE **g^wrh₂-u-to-* 'heavy'. IE cognates: Latv. *grūts* 'heavy'; see further s.v. *gravis*.

Generally regarded as a (Sabellic) dialect word with PIE **g^w-* > **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 **g^wrH-ú-to-* would have regularly metathesised to **g^wruH-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.+).

Plt. **bukkā-*?

The meaning 'mouth' is secondary, and was originally used in a derogatory way. EM suspect Celtic origin, because it resembles *beccus* 'beak' (Suet.+), and because PN such as *Buccus*, *Buccō*, *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. *žába* 'toad') uncertain. In addition, if

inherited, BSl. reflects PIE *g^web-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 *b^huel-. Formally, *-bulcus* could be derived from a noun *b^holk-o- ‘supporter’ to a root *b^helk- 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 **bifulcus* which may hide a Sabellic form with regular *f* from -b^h-.

Bibl.: WH I: 119, EM 74, Lindner 2002: 218f., LIV ?*b^helk-. → *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.+)

Plt. **kak(k)-*.

IE cognates: Mlr. *caccaim*, W. *cachu*; Gr. *κακκῶ* 'to shit', *κάκκη* '(human) faeces', Arm. *k'akor* 'manure', Ru. *kakat*, 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. *kakūbh-* [f.] 'peak, top', *kakubhá-* 'lofty, excelling', *kakuhá-* 'id.'; *kakūd-* [f.] 'peak' (RV+), *kakūd-mant-* 'having a hump' (RV+); *kākūd-* [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. *kakūbh-*, Schrijver 1991 concludes on a possibly reduplicated form **kekub^h-* of a root *(s)kub^h- or *k^wub^h-. 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'.

Plt. **kādo/i-*.

PIE *k(e)h₂d-o/i- 'hatred, anger'. 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 *keh₂d-.

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+), *stillicidium* 'a dripping liquid, stillicide' (Varro, Lucr.+).

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

PIE *(ke-)kh₂d-? 'to fall'. IE cognates: Skt. *śad-* 'to fall' (pf. *śasāda*, 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 **kad-*.

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.*).

PIt. **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. **χαιχα-*. Skt. *kekara-* is probably not related (Schrijver 1991: 266), nor is Gr. *κακίαç* '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+), *caedūus* 'ready for felling' (Cato+); *caelum* 'chisel' (Varro+), *caelāre* 'to adorn, engrave' (Enn.); *caementum* 'small stones, rubble' (Enn.+); *caestus, -ūs* 'strip of leather, boxing-glove' (Pl.+); *cāia* 'cudgel' (Isidorus), *cāiāre* '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.] 'murderer 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.+), *trāncīdere* 'to strike across the whole body' (Pl.).

PIt. **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* < PIt. **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* < PIt. **kaid(s)mento-*. A stem **caes-* was metanalyzed from the ppp. and led to *caestus* << **kaissu-* < **kaid-tu-*, *ancaesa* <

**ambi-caesa*. The forms *caīāre* 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/ff-i*?

PIE **keh₂i-lo-* 'whole'. IE cognates: OPr. *kails* 'hail!', *kailūstiskan* 'health' [acc.sg.f.], OCS *čělъ*, ORu. *kělъ* (Novg.) 'whole', *čeljō* 'to heal' < BSl. **kailo-*, Go. *hails* 'whole, healthy' < PGm. **χaila-*.

The comparison with Skt. *kévala-* 'characteristic, own, secluded' < **kaiuelo-* has led to a reconstruction **kaiuelo-lib^h* 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 **kaiuelo-* 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 *caeli*] (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. *kaīla* '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. *skaidrus*, Latv. *skaidrs* 'clear', Lith. *skáistas*, *skaistūs* '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 *цѣль* ‘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. *svīnīt* ‘to soil oneself’ is invalidated by the same objections: the Latin form does not point to **k(u)oinom*. *Obscaeniūs* is probably unrelated, see s.v.

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

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

PIt. **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*, *sēmōdius*. Semantically, the meaning ‘who has combed hair’ is not necessarily the same as ‘having long hair’. A direct connection with Skt. *késa-* ‘hair on the head’ is impossible if this derives from Ilr. **kaiča-*. Skt. *késara-* ‘hair (of the brow)’, *késaravant-* ‘having manes’ (of a horse) are uncertain: these may belong

to *késa-*, with an occasional dissimilation of *ś* to *s* in some traditions. The appurtenance of Lith. *kaĩšti*, *-šiu* '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. *skaidrus*, *skáidrus* 'clear, bright', *skáistas*, *skaistūs* '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(ē)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' < **kltó-*.

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

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

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. **kāλαδ-* 'spotted' (cf. Gr. *κηλίς*, Dor. *κᾰλίς* 'stain, spot') was borrowed into Latin, where it joined the *idus*-adjectives. U. *kal-* may also be a borrowing from Greek. Schrijver 1991 reconstructs a PIE root **kel-*, based on the comparison with Skt. *karkī-* 'white cow', MoP *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.

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

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

PIt. **kāl-i-* 'dark'(?).

IE cognates: Gr. *κηλάς, -άδος* [f.] 'mottled, windy' (epithet of clouds), *κηλίς, -ῖδος* (Dor. *κᾰλίς*) 'stain, spot', *κηλίγη* '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 *k^wIH-ik- regularly yielded the Greek form (with *u*-colouring of the anaptyctic vowel to the left of *l) and the Italic ones (with *sk^w- > *sk-, and subsequent spread of the pure velar to the *s*-less form of Latin); thus Schrijver 1991: 207. The connection of Skt. *kalása-* '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: OIr. *calath*, *calad*, W. *caled* 'hard' < *kal-eto-, maybe Gaul. *Caleti*, *Caletes*; Ru. *kalit* 'to heat, roast', SCr. *káliti* 'to temper, case-harden' < *kHI- (?).

Indo-European origin is uncertain. Hamp 1985a reconstructs *kHI-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 *kaletō- '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 *k^wlh₁- 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.+).

Plt. **kela-* / **kal-* [pr.]. It. cognates: U. *kařetu*, *kařitu*, *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, -I 'to deceive' [v. III] (Lex XII, Pl.+; also 'to be deceived' Pac.+)

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

Plt. **kālwe/o-* [pr.].

PIE **kh₂l-u-* (Schrijver) or **klh₁-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 **l_y* > 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 **(k)elh₁-*.

calvus 'bald' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pompon.+)

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

Plt. **kale/owo-*. It. cognates: O. PN *kaiúviels* [gen.sg.], *kalaviis* [nom.sg.] 'Calvius'.

PIE **klH-e/o_yo-* 'bald'. IE cognates: Skt. *āti-kulva-* 'exceedingly thin-haired', *kulva-* 'bald, thin-haired', YAv. *kauruua-* 'thin-haired' < **klH-uo-*.

Since **l_y* yields Lat. *ll* (cf. most recently Nussbaum 1997: 190-192 in defense of this), *calvus* must go back to **kalV_yo-*. 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. *kulkšnis* '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. *kĭk* 'hip, thigh' < BSl. **kulʔk-* [f.] < PIE **kHk^(w)-(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 **-k^w-* (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. *κάμπω* 'to bend, curve', *καμπή* 'bow, curvature', Lith. *kaĩpas* 'corner', *kuĩpti* 'to bend (intr.)', *kuĩpas* 'curved', OCS *kǫtь* '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 *κρῆνός* '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. *candūī*] (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. *chāndas-* [n.] 'hymn of praise' < **skend-os-*, *candrá-* 'brilliant' < **kend-ro-*; Alb. *hënë* 'moon' < **skondnā*.

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. *cāndrá-*) or **knd-no-* (Alb. *hënë*).

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 **kuōn* [nom.sg.], **kuon-m* [acc.sg.], **kun-os* [gen.sg.] 'dog'. IE cognates: OIr. *cú* (gen.sg. *con*), W. *ci*, pl. *cwn* 'dog'; Hit. *kuwan/kun-* [c.] 'dog-man', HLuw. *swan(i)-* 'dog'; Skt. *śvā* [nom.sg.], *śvānam* [acc.sg.], *śūnas* [gen.sg.] 'dog', *śunī-* [f.] 'bitch', YAv. *span-* [m.] 'dog', *sūnīš* [f.pl.] 'bitch', *spaka-* 'dog-like', Gr. *κύων*, *κύνος*, *κύνα* [m./f.]; Arm. *šown*, OPr. *sunis*, Lith. *šuõ*, Latv. *suns*, Go. *hunds*, OIc. *hundr*, OE *hund*, OHG *hunt*, Toch. *ku* [m.] (obl. ToA *kom*, ToB *kwem*) '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. *cecini*, ppp. *cantum*] (Carmen Saliare, Pl.+)

Derivatives: *cantāre* 'to sing' (Naev.+), *cantitāre* 'to sing(repeatedly)' (Ter.+), *cantor* 'singer' (Pl.+), *cantus*, *-ūs* 'singing, song' (Andr.+), *cantiō* 'song' (Pl.+); *canor*, *-ōris* [m.] 'song, music', *canōrus* 'resonant, loud' (Pl.+); *cantilēna* 'refrain'

(Ter.+); *carmen*, *-inis* 'song' (Lex XII+); *vāticinārī* 'to prophesy, rave' (Pl.+); Lat. *-cen*, *-inis* [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. *aṛkani* [acc.sg.] '(ritual) song' < **ad-kan-īom*.

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. ἡ-καυός 'singing early' = 'cock', maybe καυαγή 'noise'; Go. *hana*, OHG *hano* 'cock', OIc. *hæna*, OHG *huon* 'hen' < PGm. **χ_{an-}* / *χ_{ōn-.}

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 *-cinōr* stem from *vāticinōr*, 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 **χ_{an-}* 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*, *tībīcen* < **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* < **-feros* 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 **^(k)h₁s-no-* 'grey'. IE cognates: W. *ceinach* 'hare'; Skt. *śasā-* [m.] (< **śasa-* < **^(k)h₁-es-*), Khot. *saha-*, OPr. *sasins* [m.], OHG *haso*, OE *hara*, OIc. *heri* 'hare', OHG *hasan* 'grey, shining', OIc. *hoss* (**χ_{as-ua-}*), OE *hasu* 'grey-brown', MHG *heswe* 'bleak' (< PIE **^(k)h₁-(o)s-*).

Together with *cascus*, *cānus* < **kasnos* points to PIt. **kasno-* 'grey' < PIE **^(k)h₁s-no-*, which is cognate with the word for 'hare' in other IE languages. Lubotsky 1989 connects several other words in initial **^(k)-* meaning 'grey': OIr. *cíar* 'dark-brown' < **^(k)h₁-ei-ro-*, OIc. *hárr*, OE *hār* 'grey, old' < PGm. **χ_{aira-}*, RuCS *šěrb*, OCz. *šěry*, Po.

szary 'grey' < PSl. **xoiro-* < **kh₁-oi-ro-*. Thus, the root ultimately was **kh₁-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 156, EM 94, IEW 533, Lubotsky 1989: 56f., Schrijver 1991: 91, Untermann 2000: 374. → *casus*

caper, -rī 'he-goat, buck' [m. o] (Caes.+)

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

Plt. **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.), *concupilāre* '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.+), *captivus* 'taken prisoner' (Naev.+); *anticipāre* 'to occupy beforehand' (Varro+), *nuncupāre* 'to declare, appoint' (Lex XII, Pac.+), *occupāre* 'to seize to oneself, take possession' (Andr.+); *recuperāre* 'to recover, get back' (Cato+), *reciperātor* 'assessor' (Pl.+); *capessō, -ere* 'to grasp, seize' (pf. *-īvī*, ptc.fut.act. *-īturus*) (Naev.+; Pac. 1x *capissam*); *praecipuus* 'special, exceptional' (Pl.+); *hosticapās* 'who captures enemies' (Paul. ex F.), *urbicapus* 'who captures cities' (Pl.); *capistrum* 'halter, band' (Cato+); *accipere* 'to take, receive' (Naev.+), *concupere* '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. *κάρτω* 'to gulp down', *κωπή* 'grip'; Go. *haban* 'to have' < **kap-eh₁-je/o-*, Go. *haffjan* 'to heave, lift', OHG *heffen* < **kap-je/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 *capīvus* 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 PIIt. 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 *capīō* and *haban*, *haffjan* require a root **kap-*, Latin *habēō* and Go. *giban* require **g^ha/eb^h-* (which must be connected with OIr. *gaibid*). According to Schrijver apud Boutkan-Siebinga (2005), this is reminiscent of the alternation **kap- / *g^hab^h-* in the word for 'he-goat', Lat. *caper*. Since this is probably a non-IE loanword, *capīō* 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 **g^hab^h-* 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 Umrbian 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 **kapsō-* ‘container’ from *capiō*, or built directly on a Plt. *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 *skopъcbъ* ‘eunuch’, *skapiti* ‘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. *i*] (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. *praecipēs* Pl., acc.sg. *praecipem* Laev., abl.sg. *praecipē* Enn.); *occipitium* ‘the back of the head’ (Pl.+); *sinciput, -itis* ‘half-head, cheek’ (Pl.+).

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

IE cognates: OIr. *cúāch*, W. *çawg* ‘cup’ < **kapuko-*; Gō. *haubiþ* ‘head’, Olc. *hofuð*, Olc. *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, praecipēs* also point in this direction. Parker 1988: 237f. argues that *anceps, praecipēs* are *i*-stem compounds **ambi-kaput-i-*, **prai-kaput-i-*, regularly weakened to **prai-kepeti-s* > **praekepets* > *praecipēs*. 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'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.+).

PIt. **karkr(o)-*.

PIE **kr-kr-* 'circular'? IE cognates: Gr. κάρκρως '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 branch, twig, esp. of figs' < **krd-* and κρόδαξ '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.+).

PIt. **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 *castigāre* is explained by Dunkel 2000a: 95 from **k̑Hs-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 **kes-*. → *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 **krh₂-* 'to break', as in Skt. *śynāti* 'breaks', Av. *asarāta-* 'unbroken', *sari-* [m.] 'piece, sherd'; Gr. *κεραύζω* '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 **krh₂-* '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 **kes-*. → *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. *καρύϊνος* '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 *καρύϊνος* *'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-₂ieh₂-*; Gr. *κάρινη* 'penalty', *αὐτόκαρνος* 'self-punishing' (Hsch.); Lith. *káirinti* 'to

provoke', Latv. *karināt* 'to pester', CS *korь* 'contumely', SCr. *kôr* (dial.) 'reproach', OHG *harawēn*, OE *hierwan* 'to mock'; ToA *kār̥n-*, 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 *carinantibus* in 458 for metrical reasons. The verb was probably derived from an adj. **karīno-* 'abusing, insulting', which itself might be derived from an ins.sg. **karih₁* to an *i*-stem noun **kari-* 'abuse, insult', To this, we can connect PCI. **k₁jā-* 'blame'. There appear to be several IE forms of the type **kor-*, **kr-n-*, but these do not yield a clear etymology for *carināre*.

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

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, -ficus* 'executioner; scoundrel' (Naev.+), *carnu/ificina* 'the work of an executioner, execution' (Pl.+), *carnu/ificius* [adj.] 'of a hangman'.

Plt. **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' < PCI. **skara-*, Lith. *skirti*, Is. *skiriū* 'to separate, distinguish'.

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

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+)

Plt. **karp-i/eno-*.

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

Plt. *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.) < *k₁rp-ié/ó-, *k(é)rp-; Gr. καρπός 'fruit', Myc. *ka-po*, Lith. *kerpù, kīrpti* 'to chop, cut', Latv. *cīrpt* 'to shave', OCS *počrěti* 'to scoop, draw' < *(s)k(e)rp-; OHG *herbist*, OE *hærfest* 'autumn' ('time of reaping' < *karpistos), OIc. *harfr* [m.], *herfi* [n.] 'harrow' < *korp-. Compare *sker-b^h- 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 *k₁rp- in front of another consonant (Schrijver 1991: 495f.), e.g. in the ppp. *k₁rp-to- or aor. *k₁rp-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 *κρᾶτος was remade into καρπός on the analogy of the verb *kerp-.

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

carrō, -ere 'to card (wool)' [v. III] (Naev., Pl)

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

Plt. *kars-e-.

PIE *(s)ker-s- 'to comb (wool)'. IE cognates: Lith. *karšti, karšiù*, Latv. *kārst* '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+).

Plt. *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. *kārs* 'lustful', Go. *hors* 'adulterer' < PIE *keh₂-ro-; OIr. *carae* 'friend' < *kh₂r-ent-

(denom. OIr. *caraid* 'to love', W. *caru*); Skt. pr. *kāyamāna-*, pf. *caké* '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 ⁶ 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. Ilr. **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 *kotьcb* 'cell, nest', OCz. *kot* 'booth, stall (market)', SCr. *kôt* (dial.) 'sty for domestic animals', OE *headōr* [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.+)

Plt. **kas-ko-* 'grey'.

PIE **k̑h₁s-ko-* / **k̑h₂(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')

Plt. **kās(s)ejo-*?

IE cognates: Latv. *kūsāt* 'to boil', OCS *kvasь* 'leaven, fermented drink', SCr. *kvās* 'sour milk', OCS *vь(s)-kysnōti*, *-kysěti* 'to turn sour', *kysělb* 'sour', Cz. *kysati* 'to turn sour, rot' < BSl. **kuʔs-*.

This word has mostly been reconstructed as **kwāt-so-* and connected with the root **kyath₂-* 'to boil, bubble' (LIV); cf. Go. *hwapō* 'foam', Skt. *kvāthant-* 'fuming'. Yet **y* should not be lost in Latin, and the discussion in Schrijver 1991 shows that no etymology can be found which does not require some poorly-founded assumptions. In Schrijver's view, intervocalic *-s-* does not have to point to **ss*, but may be explained as a dialectal characteristic in urban Latin. He argues in favor of a connection with the Slavic words for 'sour' and Latv. 'to boil', for which he reconstructs a root **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. *hōtr*, *hatr*, 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 **kad^h-* 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 basic meaning of **kat-* might be ‘to string together, plait’. A connection with the forms for ‘hut, cabin’, advocated in IEW, seems unlikely.

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

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

PIt. **kastro-*.

PIE **ks-tro-* ‘knife’. IE cognates: Skt. *śas-* ‘to slaughter’, *śāstra-* [n.] ‘knife, dagger’ (Br.+); Gr. *κεάζω* ‘to split’, Myc. *ke-ke-me-no- lkekesmeno-* ‘?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 **kes-* ‘to cut’. If connected with Skt. *śāstrá-* < **ke/os-tro-*, Latin *castr-* must reflect **ks-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 **kes-*.

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

Derivatives: *castellum* ‘fortified settlement’ (Sis.+); *prōce/astrīa* ‘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 **ks-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 **kes-* 'to cut'. The latter seems more likely since it has provided the basis Plt. **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 **kes-*.

catēna 'chain' [f. *ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *catēlla* 'light chain' (Cato+).

Plt. **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.+).

Plt. **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.).

Plt. **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.+).

Plt. **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. *kōt* '(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. *σκούλαξ* '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 **k_h₃-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 PIIt. reconstruction.

Bibl.: WH I: 183f., EM 106, IEW 542, Schrijver 1991: 91, LIV **k_h₃-*. → *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 **d^h*, 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. *kaīla* [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 *cohuma* for the further etymology.

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

caulis ‘stem, stalk, penis’ [m. i] (Cato+)

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

PIt. **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. *kaūls* ‘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] (Lucret.+; also *cōrus*)

PIt. **kawero-*.

PIE **kh₁u-er-o-* ‘northern (wind?)’. IE cognates: Lith. *šiáurė* ‘north’ < **keh₁ur-*, *šiúras, šiúrūs* ‘cold, northern’ << **kuHr-* < **kh₁ur-*; OCS *severь* ‘north’, SCr. *sevēr*, Sln. *sever* < **keh₁uer-o-*.

If the Latin and BSl. forms are cognate, *caurus* can derive from **kh₁u-er-o-* with vocalization of the laryngeal. The ablaut **-r-/er-* shows that **(u)r-* is a suffix, the root being **kh₁u-(r)-*. WH and EM also adduce Go. *skūra windis* ‘storm (of wind)’, OHG *skūr* ‘rain shower’ and Arm *c’owrt* ‘cold’. As argued in de Vaan 1999: 40f., these forms are probably not cognate. The connection of *caurus* with MW *cawad* ‘gust, shower’, OBret. *couatou* ‘showers’ (but not OIr. *cúa*, which is a ghost word) is confirmed by Schrijver 1995: 337, who reconstructs PIE **k(e/o)uH-Vt-* > PCl. **kouVt-* or **kuuVt-*. This would confirm that **-r-* in Latin and BSl. belongs to the suffix.

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.+).

Plt. **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 **keh₂ud^h-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.+).

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

PIE **kou₁-éie-* 'to perceive'. IE cognates: Skt. *ā-kuvāte* 'intends', *ā-kūta-* 'intention'; Skt. *kavī-*, Av. *kauui-* [m.] 'seer, poet, wise man' < **kouH-i-*; Gr. *κοέω* 'to perceive, understand', Gr. *ῥυο-σκόος* '(priest) who observes the sacrifice', SCr. *čūti* 'to hear', OHG *scouwōn* 'to watch' < **(s)kou₁-*.

The pr. **kaw-ē-* can be explained from pre-Plt. **kou(H)-éie-* by means of Thurneysen-Havet-Vine's unrounding of PIE **ou* in PIE pretonic position (Vine 2006a: 225). The pf. *cāvī* can be phonetically regular from **kawe-wai*, ppp. *cautus* < **kawitos* < **kouH-e-to-*. The U. form **kawetē-* must be derived from a nominal form **kawe-to-* (a Plt. 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)keu₁-*.

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.+).

Plt. **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.) < **kóuo-*, Gr. *κοῖλος* 'hollow' < **kófilos*; Arm. *soyl* 'cavity' < **keulo-*; maybe Alb. *thellë* 'deep'.

If *cavus* belongs to Av. *sūra-* 'hollow', Skt. *śūna-* 'emptiness', Gr. *κύαπ* 'hole, eye of a needle' < PIE **kuH-* 'to swell', we must reconstruct **kouH-o-* for the Latin form. Vine 2006a: 235f. posits a PIE oxytone adj. **kouH-ó-*, since he reformulates Thurneysen-Havet's Law in the sense that unrounding of **ou* > **au* only occurred in pretonic position (with regard to the PIE place of the accent). Greek *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-d'h₁-(s)leh₂* 'striking joke' by Hackstein 2002a: 18 is impossible: this would yield **kewi̯pa(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 **k^heh₁-*. → *cumulus, inciens*

-ce 'here, there' [ptcle.]. Lat. *-ce* or *-c* in: *ecce* 'look!' (s.v.), *hic(e)*, *hicine*, *hoco* [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 **ke+i-p(e)*.

PIt. **ke*. It. cognates: Pael. *ecuc*, O. *ek(úk)*, U. *eso* [nom.sg.f.], O. *ekik*, 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.] < **-d^hi*.

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. **ekcum** 'similarly' (**ed-ke-om?*). A suffix *-k* also in: O. *izic*, U. **erek** 'this' (s.v. *is*). Initial *ce-*: O. *cebust* '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 *sb* 'this', Gm. **χ_i-*, **χ_e-* '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. *cebmust* 'he will have come over' to the root *g^m- '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.+); *abscēdere* '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'); *nesesse* [adv.] 'essential, inevitable' (Naev.+), *necessus/um esse* 'to be indispensable' (SCBac.+), *necessitās* 'constraint, need' (Pl.+), *necessarius* 'necessary' (Pl.+).

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

PIE *kiesd^h- 'to drive away; (intr.) go away'. IE cognates: Skt. *sedhati* (< *śiazd^h-) 'to drive, chase away', OAv. *siiazdaṭ* [3s.aor.sb.] 'will chase away', *siiōzdūm* [2p.aor.ipv.] 'banish', *sīzdiiamna-* 'withdrawing', YAv. ⁺(*fra*)*siiazdaīia-* 'to chase away' < Ilr. *śiazd^h- / *śīzd^h-.

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. *nesesse* (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-* (< *śiazd^h-) 'to chase away, (intr.) withdraw' from PIE *kiesd^h-, possibly an original cp. *kies-d^hh₁-. The Latin development of *-ezd- > -ēd- matches the similar development of *-Vzd- in *audiō* and *crēdō*.

Lat. *nesesse* 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, *nessis* does not occur independently. Pariente 1975: 24 therefore assumes that **necessum est* phonetically yielded **nessesest*, and that *nesesse* 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.+), *celebrāscere* 'to become famous' (Acc.), *celebrāre* 'to celebrate, praise' (Acc.+).

PIt. **kelisri*-?

The etymology of *celeber* is unknown, cf. Nussbaum 1999a and Bader 1983. Phonetically, **kelesri*-, **kelisri*-, maybe **kelVd^hli*- 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 *-*d^hli*- 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.+).

PIt. **kel-i-r/li*- 'fast'.

PIE **kel-i*- 'speeding'. IE cognates: Gr. κέλωμαι, aor. (έ)κέκλετο 'to spur on', κέλλω (< **kel-je/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 **-plis* in Latin to -*āris* and **-pris* when the root contains *l*, the PIE suffix may have been *-*li*-. The noun *celōx* represents a loan from Gr. κέλης with influence from *vēlōx*, or is a rhyming formation to *vēlōx* with *ce-* from *celer*; cf. Nussbaum 1999a: 388.

Bibl.: WH I: 194f., EM 110, IEW 548, LIV **kel*- 'to incite'.

cella 'store, larder' [f. *ā*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *cellārius* [adj.] 'of a store-room' (Pl.), [m.] 'storekeeper' (Pl.+), *cellula* 'small room' (Ter.+).

PIt. **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 **kēl*- '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 possible 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.+).

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

PIE **kel-n-H-* (thus Schrijver) << **kl-né/n-H-* (thus LIV) 'to rise'. IE cognates: Lith. *kélti*, Is. *keliū* 'to lift', *kilti*, Is. *kylū* 'to stand up'.

The pr.ind. is sometimes attested with *-ē-* (2nd cj.): Pl. *praecellet* Ix, Cic.+ *excellēt*, *-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.), *prōcella* 'violent wind, storm' (Pl.+), *recellere* 'to swing back, recoil' (Lucr.+).

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

PIE **-kel-n-h₂-e/o-* 'to beat'. IE cognates: Gr. *ἀπο-κλάς* 'breaking', *κλάω* 'to break' < **kla(s)je/o-*, Lith. *kálti*, Is. *kalū* 'to beat', Latv. *kalīt* 'id.', maybe Lith. *kélmās* 'tree trunk'; OCS *klati*, Is. *koljō* 'to kill', Ru. *kolót* 'to prick, stab' < BSl. **kolʔ-* '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.+)

PIt. **kēl-e/o-*.

PIE **kēl-* 'hiding-place'? IE cognates: Skt. *śárman-* 'shelter, cover', *śaraṇá-* 'protecting, defending' (RV+), *ā-śāra-* [m.] 'shed, shelter' (AV); OHG *hāla* 'the hiding', MHG *hāle* 'concealment', Olc. *hæli* [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 **kel-e-* is continued in Latin *occulere*.

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

cēna 'meal' [f. *ā*] (Carmen Saliare, Naev.+; *cēsna*s Paul. *ex F.* 2x)

Derivatives: *cenāre* 'to have dinner' (Naev.+), *cenāticus* 'of a dinner' (Pl.+), *cenātus* 'having dined' (Pl.+), *cenāculum* 'top-story, attic' (Pl.+).

PIt. **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. *kṛntāti* '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 **krt-* 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. *-cēsum*] (Andr.+)

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

PIt. **-kend-e/o-*.

PIE *(s)kend- [aor.] 'to shine, appear'. IE cognates: Skt. *chadáyati*, Av. *sađaiia-* < **sknd-eie-*, aor. Skt. *achān* 'to appear, please' < **sknd-s-*, pf. Skt. *śāsād-*, 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 Ilr. 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*

cēnsēō 'to estimate, think, give an opinion; recommend, decide' [v. II; pf. *cēnsuī*, ppp. *cēnsu*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *cēnsus*, *-ūs* 'registration; wealth' (Pl.+); *cēnsor* 'magistrate' (Elog.Scip.+), *censōrius* '(of a censor' (Pac.+); *cēnsiō* 'assessing, rating' (Pl.+); *cēnsūra* 'the office of censor' (Cic.+); *accensus* [m.] 'supernumerary, attendant' (Pl.+), *percensēre* 'to survey, inspect' (Varro+), *suscensēre* 'to be angry with' (Pl.+).

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' < **kns-ā-*. O. *censtomen* [acc.sg. + *-en*] 'census'; O. **keenzstur**, *censtur* [nom.sg.], **kenzsur**, *censtur* [nom.pl.] 'censor', borrowed from Latin. O. **kensturineis** [gen.sg.m.] 'Cēnsōrinus', honorary cognomen; O. *κενσορατη* [loc.sg.] 'the office of censor', inner-Oscan derivative of **kensor-*.

PIE **kns-eh₁-* / **kns-eie-* 'to announce'. IE cognates: Skt. *śams-*, Av. *sqh-* 'to speak solemnly', OAv. pr. *sāṅgha-*.

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-eh₁-* 'to be estimated', or both. Later, a diathesis opposition would have been created by opposing *censē* + *-tur* to *censē-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.+), *quingentī* '500' (Pl.+; Paul. ex F. cites *quincen-*), *sescentī* '600' (Pl.+), *octingentī* '800' (Pl.+), *nōngentī* '900' (Cic.+); *centumplex* 'hundredfold' (Pl.).

PIt. **kntom*.

PIE **dk̑mtom* 'hundred'. IE cognates: OIr. *cét*, MW *cant*, Skt. *śatá-*, Av. *satəm* 'hundred', Lyc. *s̑nta* 'unit of ten or hundred', Gr. *ἑκατόν*, Lith. *šim̑tas*, OCS *st̑to*, Go. *hund*, OHG *hund*, ToB *kante*, ToA *kānt* 'hundred'.

The form *centum* directly goes back to PIE. Lat. *-centī* functions as an adj., and surfaces as *-genī* 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 **dk̑mtom* but already **kmtom*. PIE **dk̑mto-* 'hundred' probably derives from PIE **dekm̑* '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. *κάρια* 'onions' among the *Κηρυνηται* (Hsch.).

Probably a loanword from an unknown language; the same word might be reflected in Gr. *κάρια*.

Bibl.: WH I: 201, EM 114.

-ceps, -cu/īpis 'taking' [m./f., adj. p]: *auceps*, *-cupis* 'bird-catcher, fowler' (Pl.+); *deinceps* [adv.] 'in succession, next' (Var.+); *forceps*, *-īpis* 'tongs, pincers' (Cato+); *inceps* [adv.] 'subsequently' (Fest., gloss.); *manceps*, *-u/īpis* 'contractor, agent' (Pl.+); *mūniceps*, *-īpis* 'citizen or native of a community' (Lucil.+); *particeps*, *-īpis* 'participant, sharer' (Andr.+); *princeps*, *-īpis* 'first; initiator' (Pl.+); *quarticeps*, *-īpis*, *quinticeps*, *sexticeps*, *terticeps* 'fourth, fifth, sixth, third in order' (Varro); *vesticeps*, *-īpis* 'sexually mature' (Paul. *ex F.*, Apul.+)

Derivatives: *mancu/īpium* 'confiscation, ownership, slave' (Lex XII+), *mūnicipium* 'community, municipality' (CIL+), *participium* 'participle' (Varro+), *prīncipium* 'start, origin' (Pl.+).

PIt. **-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. κᾰρός ‘wax’, Gr. κηρίον ‘honeycomb’, Lith. *korỹs* ‘honeycomb’, Latv. *kāres* ‘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. *śiṛṣān-* ‘head, top’, YAv. *sarah-* ‘head’, Gr. κάρᾱ [n.], gen.sg. κρᾱάτος ‘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. **kerh₂sro-* ‘in the head’, itself an adj. made to a loc.sg. **kerh₂-s-er* ‘in the head’ (to PIE **kerh₂-s-*, **kerh₂-es-* ‘head’).

Bibl.: WH I: 203, EM 114f., IEW 574-577, Nussbaum 1986, Schrijver 1991: 96. → *ceruus*, *cervix*, *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*, *şerfer*, *serfer* [gen.sg.], *çerfe*, *şerfe* [dat.sg.], *serfe* [voc.sg.] of the god’s name ‘Cerrus’ < **keres-o-*, male counterpart of Ceres; O. *kerríúí*, *kerriúí* [dat.sg.m.], *kerríúái* [dat.sg.f.], *kerriúin* [loc.sg. + *-en*], *kerríúúís* [dat.pl.m.], *kerríúúáis* [dat.pl.f.], Pael. *ceria*, *cerria* [nom.sg.f.], Marr. *cerria* [nom.sg.f.], *cerie* [dat.sg.f.?] ‘belonging to Ceres’, U. *şerfiar* [gen.sg.f.], *çerfie*, *şerfie* [dat.sg.f.], *çe* [fi], *şerfi* [dat.sg.m.?], *şerfia* [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 **kerh_{1/3}-os* [n.] 'nourishment' (> 'grain'); adj. **kerh_{1/3}-ēs* 'with nourishment'. IE cognates: Gr. *κοπέωμι* 'to satiate, feed', Lith. *šerti*, ls. *šeriù* 'to feed'; OHG *hirso*, OS *hirsi* [m.] 'millet' < PGM. **χersja-* < **kerh_{1/3}-s-io-* 'like grain'.

The spelling *Cerus* might reflect *Cerrus*, which would better match the Sabellic forms. Eichner (1993b: 84f.) reconstructs **kerh₁-ēs*, **kerh₁esos*, a poss.adj. of the type *ψευδής*, to a noun **kerh₁os* 'growth' (Arm. *ser*, *seroy*). Sab. **keroso-* 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 **kerh_{1/3}-* 'to feed' with **k^(w)reh₁-* 'to grow' is difficult because of the schwebeablaut and the different semantics. Thus, *Cerēs* derives from **kerh_{1/3}-* '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 **kerh₃-*.

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.+), *crīminārefi* '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-*), *κρίτος* 'separate'; OCS *krai* 'edge, end, shore' < **kroh₁i-*, Latv. *krijāt* 'skin', Ru. *kroit*, SCr. *krōjiti* '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. *κρίτος*. 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 **kērh₂-o-* 'skull, head'. IE cognates: see s.v. *cerebrum*.

Explained by Nussbaum 1986 as **kērh₂-o-nou-* 'inclining the head' > **kēronou-* > **kērou-* > *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. *κρίτός* '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*

cervix, **-īcis** 'neck' [f. *k*] (Pl.+)

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

WH suggest original **kers-ueik-s* 'head band' to *vincīre*, but this is semantically very doubtful. The suffix recalls that of *coxendix* '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. *zarūani(ia)-* [adj.] 'of a horn' < **kr-uen-*, Hit. ^(SI)*karāuar* / *karaun-* 'horn, antlers'; Av. *sruuā-* 'horn, nail', Gr. *κεράός* 'horned'; OPr. *sirwis* 'roebuck' < **kr(H)-u-*, *curwis* 'ox', Lith. *kārvė* '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.m/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 PIIt. **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.+)

PIIt. **keiwe*.

PIE **ké* '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 **ké* (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-eje/o-* 'to throw, shake'. IE cognates: OCS *kyvati*, Cz. *kývati*, Slv. *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-b^h* 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 **-b^h-*. 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*] (Lucret.+)

Probably an onomatopoeic formation, with reduplication. Compare *cicōnia* 'stork', a bird also characterized by its clattering 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.+)

Plt. **kiker-*.

IE cognates: Gr. κίκερροι ‘pale’ (Hsch.); Arm. *siseṛn* ‘chick-pea’, Alb. *thjer* ‘lentil’. Alb. *thjer* might reflect **kíkér-* (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. *siseṛn* could reflect **ke/oiker-n-*, which together with Latin would rather point to a loanword from an unknown source. Gr. κπιός ‘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 **kōh₂n-*. 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.+).

Plt. pr. **ki-eje-?* aor. **kei-?* ppp. **kito-* ‘stirred’.

PIE aor. *(*k*)ei(h₂)- ‘to start to move’, ppp. *(*k*)i(h₂)-to-. IE cognates: Gr. aor. ἔκικε ‘started to move’, κίκατο ‘they moved’ (Hsch.), pr. κίνυμαι ‘to be moved’ < *(*k*)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 **k^(h)ei_{h2}-*.
→ *concinno*, *cunctus*

cilium 'the eyelid' [n. o] (Plin.+)

Derivatives: *supercilium* 'eyebrow' (Pl.+).

PIt. **kel-jo-* [n.] 'eyelid'.

PIE **kel-io-* 'hiding'. IE cognates: see w.v. *cēlō*, *occulō*.

Since *cilium* is more recent than *supercilium*, the former can be interpreted as a back-formation to the latter (WH, EM). If indeed derived from the root **kel-* 'to hide', we must still assume that a noun **kilium* 'eyelid' existed, since the eyelid can 'hide' the eye, whereas the eyebrow does not have such a function. Thus, *supercilium* may originally have meant 'what is above the *cilium*'.

Bibl.: WH I: 214f., EM 120, IEW 553f., Leumann 1977: 294, LIV 1. **kel-* '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. *śyāvā-* 'dark, black' < **k₁ie_{h1}-uó-* (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. *cinxi*, 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*, *sihиту anśihitu* [acc.pl.m.], *śihitir anśihitir*, *sihitir anśihitir*, *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. *kāñcate* '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-*, *śépha-* '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. **keipō-* 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. κίρκος 'ring', also κίρκος (Hell.), κίρκωω '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*, *çimo* [adv.] 'back' < **ki-mo-* 'on this side', U. *çive* 'outside, in front' < loc.sg. of **kiyo-*. Theoretically, a preform **keim/yo-* is also possible.

PIE **k*i 'this here'. IE cognates: Hit. *kā-* / *kū-* / *ki-*, Pal. *kā-* 'this', *kijāt* 'here', CLuw. *zā-* / *zi-* 'this' < PIE **k*o-, **k*i-, OPr. *schis*, Lith. *šis*, OCS *sb* 'this'; Go. *himma* 'to this', *hina* 'this' [acc.], Go. *hidrē* 'hither'.

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 **k*i remained alive as a separate word until quite recently; it shifted from being a pronoun to a preposition. PIE **k*i is a variant of **k*e '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 (*thua 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.+), *cīvilis* 'of the citizens, civil' (Lucr.+), *cīvitās* 'an organized community, state' (Pl.+).

Plt. **keiwi-* 'society'. It. cognates: O. *ceus* [nom.sg.] 'citizen'.

PIE **k*ei-uo- 'friendly, intimate, dear'. IE cognates: Skt. *śivá-* 'favourable', Latv. *siēva* '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. **k*ei-uo- 'socially close' continued in other IE languages. This would also explain why the derivatives *cīvicus*, *cīvilis* 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 **k*ei- '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 **k*i- 'this (here)' (> Skt. *śivá-*), with full grade **keiwo-* 'close'.

Bibl.: WH I: 224, EM 124, IEW 540, Untermann 2000: 395, LIV **k*ei-.

clādēs, -ls ‘destruction, disaster, defeat’ [f. *ē/i*] (Pl.+)

PIt. **klādē-*, obl. **klād-*.

PIE **klh₂-d^heh₁-* ‘beating, destruction, disaster’. IE cognates: Gr. *κλάω* ‘to break’, Lith. *kálti* ‘to beat (with a hammer)’, Ru. *kolót*, SCr. *klati* ‘to slaughter’.

Schrijver 1991 has argued that no cognate forms of the root **klh₂-* ‘to beat’ can be found outside Italic with a certain dental enlargement. Hence, he reconstructs a PIE compound of the type Skt. *śraddhā-* ‘trust, belief’ < **kred-d^heh₁-*. In view of the circumflex accentuation of Lithuanian nouns in *-dē*, one might also envisage **-d^heh₁-* 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 **kelh₂-*, the final laryngeal of which would be necessary for *καλύπτω*. Yet this stem has variants with different labials in Greek (*καλυπ/β/φ-*), and no forms without this suffix, or with *e*-grade. The Greek forms are not taken into account by LIV, who reconstruct only an *aniṭ* 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: *clāmōr* ‘shout, cry’ (Pl., *clāmōs* 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 *clāmōr*.

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.+); *praecclārus* '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* 'debarment' (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 ?**kleuH-* → *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-* + *-iþo-*. 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* /κλαρι-φόρος/, Gr. ep. Ion. κληίς, ἴδος 'bar, bolt', Dor. κλαίς, Att. κλείς, κλειδός < PGr. **klāuī-* based on a noun **klāu(o)-*. Denominative pr. κλείω, Old Attic κλήω, Hdt. κληίω 'to shut' < **κλαῤῥ-ie-*. SCr. *ključ* 'hook, seedling, key', gen.sg. *ključa* [m.], Ru. *ključ* 'key', SCr. *ključka* 'hook, door-knob' [f.], Ru. *ključá* 'walking-stick' < **kleh₂u-k-*; Lith. *kliūti*, 3s. *kliūna* 'to brush against, be caught in, obstruct' < *klh₂u-*; OHG *sliozan* 'to shut', *shuzzil* 'key', *sloz* 'lock' < **skleu-d-*. Maybe here also Olc. *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 (**kleuh₂k-* << **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: *clēmēntia* 'clemency' (Ter.+), *inclēmēnter* 'rudely' (Pl.+).

WH adopt an earlier suggestion by Bréal and Osthoff, positing **klejomenos* 'leaning' > **klēmenos* > **klēmēns*, 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 *clinō*, 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* < **deiṽos* ‘god’. Thus also *oleum*, *balneum*. But the examples of shortening of **ē* > *e* all occur in front of word-final *-us*, *-um*. The answer will thus depend on the relative chronology. If the reduction of the medial vowel precedes the loss of **-w-*, we expect an outcome **klēwoment* > **klēwiment* > **klīwiment-* > **clīment-*. An ad hoc solution to our problem might be an analogical remodelling of **clīment-* into *clēmēt-* on the example of *vēmēt-*. If the reduction of medial vowels occurred after *w*-loss, the result might have been **klēwoment-* > **klēoment-*. 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: Mlr. *cluain* ‘deceit’, Gr. κλέπτω ‘to steal’, κλέπος [n.], κλέπτης [m.] ‘thief’, κλοπή ‘theft, secret act’, ἐπι-κλοπος ‘deceitful’, κλοπός, κλώψ ‘thief’, OPr. *auklipts* ‘hidden’, Go. *hlifan* ‘steal’, ToB sb. *kālypi-* ‘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 **kli-ent-* ‘who leans’. IE cognates: Skt. aor. *ásret* ‘leaned’, YAv. *ni-srīta* ‘is handed over’, Skt. *śrayate* ‘to lean’, Alb. *fle* ‘to sleep’ (< **kloi-eie-*?), Lith. *šlieti*, 3s. *šlieja* ‘to lean, rest (against)’, *šliėti*, 3s. *šlieja* ‘id.’, Latv. *sliet*, Is. *slienu* ‘to support, erect, (-tiēs) lean’ < **klei-*.

PIE **kli-ent-* is in origin an act. ptc. of the root aorist **klei-/k̑li-* ‘to lean’.

Bibl.: WH I: 233, EM 127, IEW 600ff., Meiser 1998: 183, LIV **klei-*. → *-clīnō*, *clītella*, *clīvus*

clīngō, -ere ‘to gird / close’ [v. III?] (hapax legomenon: Paul. ex F. ‘clingere, cingere, a Graeco κοκλῶν dici manifestum est’)

PIt. **kleng-e/o-*?

IE cognates: Lith. *klénkti* ‘to walk with difficulty’, Latv. *klencēt* ‘to hobble’, OCS *klečęšta* [nom.du.] ‘kneeling’, SCr. *kléčati* ‘to kneel’ < **klenk-*; OHG *lenk**, *lenc**

'left' < *kleng-o-, OE *hlanc* [adj.] 'slim' < *klong-o-, OIc. *hlekk* [m. i] 'chain, ring', OE *hlence* [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. BSI. 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+); *trīclīnium* 'dining-room' (Naev.+); *clīnāmen* 'a turning aside' (Lucr.).

PIt. *kl(e)in-e/o-.

PIE *kl-n(e)-i- 'to lean to, bend' (often replaced by *kli-n-). IE cognates: YAv. *-sirinaoiti* 'leans', Gr. κλίνω, Lesb. κλίνωω 'to cause to lean' < PGr. *klin-ī-e/o-, OHG *hlinēn*, OE *hlinian* 'to lean'.

Lat. *trīclīnium* is a calque on Gr. τρικόλινον '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 *klej-. → *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 *klei-tro/h₂- 'instrument for leaning, supporting'. IE cognates: MIt. *clithar* 'shelter', Go. *hleipra* 'tent' < *-tro-; OHG (*h*)leitara, OE *hlæd(d)er* 'ladder' < *-d^hro-.

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 *klej-. → *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/oīwo-*.

PIE **kloi-uo-* 'slope, hill' or **klei-uo-* 'sloping'. IE cognates: Lith. *šleīvas* 'bow-legged', Go. *hlaiw*, Old Norse *hlaiwa*, OHG OS *hlēo* 'grave mound'.

Lat. *clīvius* was used in the religious practice of auspices (*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 **klei-*. → *cliēns*, *-clīmō*, *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' (1x Serv.).

PIt. **klowā-*.

PIE **kleuH-o-* 'clean'. IE cognates: W. *clir* 'clean' < **kluH-ro-*, Gr. κλύζω 'to wash' < **klu-d-*, Lith. *šlioti* 'to sweep', *šliota* 'broom' < **kleh₃u-tei* or *(*ke-*)*kloH-tei*, Go. *hlūtrs* 'clean' < **kluH-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 **klowā-*, 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* < **kleuH-e/o-*. For the root, Derksen (fthc.) reconstructs **kłh₃-u-*, whereas Rasmussen posits **kłeh₁-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-* < **kHu-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 **kleuH-*.

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. *kduíu* [1s.pr.] 'I am called' < **klu-ē-ō*.

PIE **kl(é)u-* [aor.] 'to hear', **klu-to-* 'known'. IE cognates: Skt. aor. *ásrot* 'heard', OAv. *sraotū* 'must hear', Gr. aor. κλύτε 'hear!', them. έκλυον, Latv. *sluv*, *sluvēt* 'to become known', OCS *sluti*, 1s. *slovq* 'to count as, be called'; nasal pr. Olr. *ro-cluinethar*, Skt. *śṛṇóti* 'hears', YAv. *surunaoiti*, ToB *kalnem*, ToA *kālñiñc* 'to resound'. Ppp. Olr. *cloth* [n.] 'fame', Skt. *śrúta-*, 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 *kleu-.

clūnis 'buttocks, haunch (of animals)' [m.f. *i*] (Pl.+)

PIt. *klouni-.

PIE *klou-ni- 'hip, buttock'. IE cognates: W. *chun* 'haunch', Skt. *śróni-* 'buttock, hip, loin', Av. *sraoni-* 'id.', Lith. *šlaunis* 'haunch, hip', OIc. *hlaun* 'buttocks, loin'. Maybe Gr. κλόνης '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 + *χorti-.

PIE *ǵ^hr-ti- 'enclosure' or 'bundle'. IE cognates: Skt. *hárati* 'takes, brings'.

Cohors looks like a *ti*-derivative to a verbal root, possibly to PIE *ǵ^her- 'to take, grab', maybe even a compound *kom-ǵ^her-.

Bibl.: WH I: 242f., EM 131, IEW 442f., Leumann 1977: 345, LIV ?.*ǵ^her-. → *hortus*

cohūm 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: *cohūm* 'vault of the sky' (Enn.); *incohāre* 'to start making' (Enn.+), *incohātus* 'unfinished, only begun' (Pl.+).

PIt. *koχo- 'hole' or 'tie, juncture'. It. cognates: O. **kahad** [3s.pr.cj.], καηας [2s.pr.cj.?] maybe 'to take' < *kag^h-? U. *cehefi* [inf.ps.], **kukehes** [*com* + 2 or 3s.fut.] 'to take/get' < *kaχ-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 *cohūm*, *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 *cohūm* with a yoke. In order to connect *cohūm* with the Sabellic root **kaχ-* 'to take', only **kh₂g^h-* would be possible, but such a root violates the PIE root structure constraints. Since we further only find Germanic and Celtic nominal forms in **kag^h-*, 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 **^(k)ag^h-*. → *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 have meant 'made of a sieve', which makes less sense. It seems preferable to connect *culleus* 'bag', but the details are unclear; an IE origin seems distant anyway.

Bibl.: WH I: 244, EM 131. → *culleus*

collis 'hill' [m. *i*] (Pac.+)

Derivatives: *collīnus* 'belonging to hills' (Varro+).

Plt. **kolni-*.

PIE **kolH-n-* 'hill'. IE cognates: Gr. *κολώνη* 'hill', also *κολωνός* (*Hymn to Ceres*+) < **kolH-ōn-o/h₂-*, Lith. *kálnas* 'hill', Latv. *kalns* '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)u-i-* equally possible; this is true as far as the phonetics are concerned, but the pervasive *n*-stems in the other languages (only Baltic has **kolH-u-*) 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^wol(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. *kāklas* ‘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. *kolesē*, 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. Mlr. *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: *colōmus* ‘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+); *accōlere* ‘to live near’ (Naev.+), *accōla* [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.+); *inquilīmus* ‘inmate, lodger’ (Cic.+). Maybe *Exquiliae* ‘one of the hills of Rome’ (Varro+).

Plt. *k^vele/o- [pr.], *k^wolō-no-? It. cognates: U. ařpeltu [3s.ipv.II]?

PIE *k^welh₁-e/o- ‘to go round’. IE cognates: Skt. *cāraṭi*, Av. *cara-* ‘to move, walk’, Gr. πέλωμαι ‘to move (intr.)’, Cret. τέλωμαι ‘I will be’, ἀμφιπέλωμαι ‘to surround’, Alb. *sjell* ‘turn, bring’ < *k^wel-e/o-; Gr. τέλος [n.] ‘goal’, Lith. *kelys* ‘knee’ < *k^wel-; OCS *kolěno* ‘knee, descent’, OCS *kolo*, gen.sg. *kolesē* ‘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 -IC-. If *inquilīmus* (which is not attested before Cicero) is to be trusted, it probably shows the development *-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’.

PIE **kel-ōs*, acc.sg. -os-m ‘cover, covering’. IE cognates: Skt. *śāras-* ‘skin on milk’, OHG *hulis(a)* ‘hull, shell’, MHG *hulst* ‘cover’.

Latin **kelōs* is an animate collective, built to an *s*-stem PIE **kel-os-* ‘cover’. This might be directly preserved in Skt. *śāras-*, 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. *vārṇa-*).

Bibl.: WH I: 247, EM 133, IEW 553f., Nussbaum 1999a: 387, Stüber 2002: 116, LIV 1.**kel-*. → *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-d^hro-* ‘winding itself’, whereas EM consider *colubra* a possible loanword from Gr. *χέλυδρος* ‘amphibious serpent’ (Nicander, *Th.*411). The etymology with the suffix **-d^hro-* 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’ < **k^welh₁-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 **k^welh₁-os-* existed beside it, which is unwarranted – but not impossible, cf. Slavic *kolo* ‘wheel’ (<< **k^wolh₁-o-*).

Bibl.: WH I: 248, EM 133, IEW 928. → *colus*

cōlum ‘strainer, sieve’ [n. o] (Cato+)

PIE **k^wot-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. *quātum* ‘basket’ denotes more or less the same object as *cōlum*, it seems preferable to look for a joint solution for both. See s.v. *quātus/m*.

Bibl.: WH I: 248f., EM 134, IEW 518, Schrijver 1991: 462. → *quātus/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 *golǫbъ* ‘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/embī/o-* 'blue', whence 'dove'. Whereas a suffix **-b^ho-* 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' < **xulma-* < **klH-mo-*.

Lat. *culmen* arose in the foursyllabic oblique case-forms: nom. **kelamen*, gen. **kelamenos* > **kolamen*, **kolamenos* > **kolamen*, **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 **k^welH-e/o-* 'to turn', of course, but the semantic shift from 'going around' to 'pillar' is difficult (although not impossible: the pillars of a portico or a temple together usually 'surround' the sanctuary).

Bibl.: WH I: 249f., EM 134, IEW 544, Schrijver 1991: 326f., LIV **kelH-*. → *-cellō*
l, collis

colus, -ī/-ūs 'distaff' [m./f. o/u] (Pl.+)

It. cognates: **k^welū-*.

PIE **k^welh₁-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 **k^welh₁-* '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 *colōr* 'colour' < **cover*, and to postulate a semantic link between 'colour' or

'cover' and 'beestings'. Yet this is not semantically straightforward (see WH), nor is the suffix *-tero-* normally used to derive comparatives from any adjective.

Bibl.: WH I: 247, EM 133. → *colōr*

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 **kóm* 'with' (+ ins.). IE cognates: OIr. *con-* 'with', pref. Gaul. *com-*, OIr. *com-* (proclit. *con-*), W. *cyf-*, *cyn-*, Co. *kev-*; Hit. *-kkan* '?' (locative 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: *concedere* vs. *cedere*, *complere* vs. *plere*, *colloqui* vs. *loqui*, *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*), *compugnare*, 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 **k^wo*, 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 **kóm*, 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 *sv-* 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 Molr. *cuinneog*, Gael. *contrán* 'Angelica silvestris', Lith. pl. *šveñdrai* 'reed, reed-mace, Typha latifolia', MoDan. *quander* 'Angelica silvestris', OIc. *hvonn* 'Angelica silvestris'. These alleged cognates have been studied in detail by Heiermeier 1980, who concludes that the evidence is uncertain or simply does not exist. Therefore, this connection can be abandoned. No alternative etymology is available.

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.+).

Plt. **kom-i-t-* ‘going together’ or (pl.) ‘who come together’.

PIE **-h₁i-t-* ‘going, goer’.

A compound of *com-* plus the root for ‘to go’, enlarged with a PIE suffix **-t-*. The nom.sg. *-es* must be due to analogical replacement of **-is* by *-es* on the model of *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.+).

Plt. **kom-smi-?*

PIE **smi-* ‘smile’? IE cognates: Skt. *smáyate* ‘smiles’, Gr. φιλο-μειδής ‘who likes to laugh’, Latv. *smiēt* ‘to laugh’, OCS *smijati se*, ToB *smiyām* ‘smiles’.

The etymology **ko-smi-* (cf. WH) is based on an interpretation of *cōmis* as ‘smiling (to/along)’. Eichner 1993a: 212, 230 proposes to derive VOLat. *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 **smej-*.

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.).

Plt. **kom-kid-ño-* ‘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^h)eih₂-*. → *caedō, cieō*

condiō, -īre ‘to season, flavour (food)’ [v. IV] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *condimentum* (Pl.+) ‘seasoning, condiment’, *conditiō* ‘method of preserving (food)’ (Varro+), *conditīvus* ‘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. **kneiχ^h-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-D^h*, 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 **Kneig^{uh}-*. → *nītor*

cōnor, -ārī ‘to make an effort, attempt’ [v. I; ppp. *conātum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *cōnātus, -ūs* ‘effort, attempt’ (Ter.+), *cōnāmen* ‘effort’ (Lucret.+).

PIt. **kōnāje/o-* ‘to attempt’.

PIE **kōn-* ‘ascent’? IE cognates: MW *di-gawn, di-chawn* ‘works; is able’, Av. *āsanaoiti* ‘ascends’, *sanaŋ* ‘ascended’, Gr. *ἐγ-κονέω* ‘to be quick and active’, *δῆκονος* ‘servant’, Arm. med. *snaw* ‘was raised’, SCr. *kāniti* ‘to intend’.

LIV reconstructs PIE **kōnh₁-je-*, adopting a specific type of presents posited by Klingenschmitt 1978. In my view, the existence of this type is unwarranted. Isebaert reconstructs **kōn-eh₂je-*, whereas Tremblay, who connects Iranian **san-*, reconstructs the root as **ken-* ‘to be raised, moved’. Tremblay assumes that this type of verbs derives from lengthened-grade thematic adjectives which in their turn are based on nouns with *o*-grade. Hence, **kon-o-* >> **kōn-o-* [adj.] >> **kōn-eh₂je-* [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., Sihier 1995: 528, Tremblay 1998, Isebaert 1992: 205, LIV **kenh₁-*, **ken-*.

conquiniscō, -ere ‘to crouch down’ [v. III; pf. *conquēxī*] (Pl., Pompon.)

Derivatives: *ocquiniscere* ‘to bend over before someone’ (Pompon.).

The pf. *-quēx-* contains an original long vowel, since short **k^weks-* would yield **-cox-*. From a stem **k^weg-*, we can explain the present via **-k^weg-no-* > **-k^wigno-* > **-quīno-*, remade into *-quīniscō*. That is, if *-quī-* has long *ī*, which is not certain – the dictionaries give it as short. For the adv. *cozzim*, see s.v. *coxa*. The IE etymology is unknown.

Bibl.: WH I: 262, EM 138, Leumann 1977: 536, LIV **k^wejt-*, **k^wenk-*.

cōnsulō, -ere ‘to consult’ [v. III; pf. *consuluī*, ppp. *consultum*; 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-sel₁-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. **-slije/o-* (<< **s(e)lh₁-e/o-*), Gr. εἶλον ‘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-sel₁-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-sel₁-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-sel₁-od-e/o-*, but as a present to this root, Latin only has *sedeō*. If the noun **kom-sel₁-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(g)-. → *tangō*

contiō 'meeting, assembly' [f. n] (Pl.+; *coventionid* [abl.sg.] SCBac.)

PIt. *ko(m)-wentiōn-.

PIE *g^wm-ti- 'the coming'. IE cognates: Skt. *gāti-* [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 CILat. 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 *g^wem-. → *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 *kom- 'with'.

Latin has *contrō-* in the cps. *contrōversia* and *contrōversus*, see s.v. *vertō*. The existence of O. *contrud* suggests that the Latin forms are not merely recent innovations on the model of other adverbs in *-trō-*, *-trā-*, but continue a 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-tumēō* ‘to be proud’ (also presupposed by *contumēlia*, see below) to *tumēō* ‘to be swollen’.

Bibl.: WH I: 267, EM 140, Leumann 1977: 376. → *tumēō*

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*, *tumēō*

convexus ‘curving outwards, arching’ [adj. *o/ā*] (Cic.+)

Derivatives: *dēvexus* ‘sloping downward, inclined’ (CIL 1.583+), *subvexus* ‘sloping upwards from below’ (Liv.).

PIt. **weχso-?*

PIE **ueǵ^h-* ‘to carry’.

Lat. *-vexus* may contain **-veK-* or **-vaK-*. The connection, made by WH, with Skt. *vāñcati* ‘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 **vektēre* (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 **ueǵ^h-so-*, derived from a PIE *s*-present.

Bibl.: WH I: 268f., EM 141, IEW 1134f., Leumann 1977: 617, LIV **ueǵ^h-*. → *vehō*, *vexō*

convīcium ‘angry noise; mockery’ [n. *o*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *convīciārī* ‘to scold’ (Varro+).

Etymology disputed. The older suggestion that it represents **uek^w-* 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 *vīnciō* ‘to tie’ much more attractive: mockery and scolding can be described as

'encircling' someone. In that case, *kom-uoik-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.+).

Plt. *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^wto-; Skt. *pācanti* 'they cook', YAv. *pacaiti* 'bakes', Skt. *pācyate* 'ripens'; Gr. πέσσω, Att. πέττω < *pek^w-ie-, Myc. *a-to-po-go*, Gr. ἄτρο-κόπος 'bread-baker', Alb. *pjek*, Lith. *kėpti*, OCS *pešti*, Is. *pekō* 'to bake', ToAB *pāk-* 'to cook, ripen'.

The oldest forms are probably *coquere* (< *pek^w-e/o-), the noun *coquus* (< *pok^wos), and maybe the ppp. *coctus* (< *pe/ok^wto-). 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^w-.

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. **kērd*, gen.sg. **krd-o/es* ‘heart’. IE cognates: OIr. *crīde* ‘heart’, W. *craidd* (< PCl. **kred-jo-*); Hit. ^(UZU)*ker / kard(i)-* [n.] ‘heart, center’, Pal. *kārt-*, CLuw. *zārt-*, HLuw. *zart(i)-* < **kēr*, gen. **krdios*, Skt. *hṛd-* ‘heart’, nom.sg. *hārdi*, Gr. κῆρ, καρδίᾱ (Att.), καρδίη (H.), Arm. *sirt*, Lith. *širdis*, 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 **krd-* of the PIE noun. The dim. *corculum* represents **kord-keło-*, 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. *ī*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *corbīta* ‘ship-load; cargo ship’ (Pl.+), *corbula* ‘(small) basket’ (Pl.+).

PIt. **k(o)rfi-* ‘basket’.

PIE **k(o)rb^h-i-* ‘basket, wickerwork’? IE cognates: Lith. *karbas* ‘basket’, Latv. *kārba* ‘bag made from alder or birch bark’, Ru. *kórob* ‘box, basket’, Sln. *kraba* ‘box’ < PSI. **korb^h*, **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 **b^h*. The root structure **k-b^h* was irregular in PIE, and would point either to a loanword, or to an original root **skrb^h-*. 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. κάρρος [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)

Plt. **korjo-*.

PIE **k(o)r-io-* 'torn off'. IE cognates: Skt. *cārman-*, Av. *caraman-* 'hide, skin', OCS *kora*, Cz. *kāra*, SCr. *kōra* '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.*).

Plt. **kornik-*, **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* < PSI. **s(v)örka* '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.+).

Plt. **kornu-*, **korno-* 'horn'.

PIE **k₁m-o-* >> **k₁m-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. *śṛṅga-* 'horn' < **k₁rn-g^(w)-*; Lith. *stirna* 'roe', Latv. pl. *sirnas*, RuCS *srъna* 'id.' < *k₁rH₂-nh₂-*; Go. *haur̥n* 'horn', OHG Olc. *horn* < PGM. **χurna-*; OHG (*h*)*rind*, OE *hrīðer* [n.] 'horned animal' < **k₁r-én-to-*, OE *hrýðer*, Dutch *rund* 'cow' < **k₁r-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 *cornū*, 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 **k₁r-* ‘horn’, but only Celtic and Gm. seem to share **k₁r-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 **k₁r-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 **k₁r-* is usually regarded as the derivational basis for **k₁r-h₂-* ‘head, skull’, from which Latin *cerebrum* is derived. This presupposes that **k₁r-* indicates the material (‘bone, horn’), with **ker-h₂-* indicating a collective ‘head’ or ‘made of bone’ (or ‘top?’), and **k₁r-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*, *cernuus*, *cervix*, *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).

Plt. **korno-* ‘cornel cherry, cherry’.

IE cognates: Gr. κράνον ‘cornel cherry tree’, κράνεια ‘id.’, Lith. *Kirnis* ‘divine protector of the cherry’; Gr. κέρυκος ‘bird-cherry’.

The Lithuanian form *Kirnis* might also derive from **k₁rno-*, 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. κέρυκος 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.+).

Plt. **korp-os-*.

PIE **k₁rp-os-*, **k₁rp-* ‘body’. IE cognates: Mlr. *cri* ‘body’ < **k₁rp-?*; Skt. *kṛp-ā* [RV; ins.sg.f.] ‘appearance’, OAv. *kəhrpām* [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 **Hriǵ-(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 **rei*^(ǵ)-. → *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. *kr̥ntāti*, YAv. *kərənta-* 'to cut', Arm. *k'ert'em* 'to peel off the skin', Lith. *kir̃sti (kertū)* '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 **χerδō-* '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. **k_ǵ-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.*).

Plt. **koso/ulo-* 'hazel'.

IE cognates: OIr. *coll*, OW *coll* 'hazel' < **koslo-*, OLith. *kasūlas* 'hunter's spear, stick, bush', OHG *hasal*, Olc. *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)k'er-*. This seems a long shot. There may be a connection with *queror*, *questus sum* 'to lament', if initial *coru-* reflects **k^weru-*. But the details are unclear, as is the suffix. The only word which formally comes close as far as the suffix is concerned is the verb *aeruscō* 'to beg', maybe from **h₂eis-os-ko-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 280, EM 145.

corvus 'raven' [m. *o*] (Pl.+)

Plt. **korwo-*.

PIE **k^r(h₂)-uo-* 'crow, raven'. IE cognates: see s.v. *cornīx*.

All IE languages show words in **k^r-* denoting 'crow', 'raven', or similar birds, and thus are clearly onomatopoeic. The many Latin colour adjectives in *-vus* show that the suffix **-uo-* must once have been productive. There is no good match for the formation of *corvus* outside Italic. WH connect it with Mlr. *crú*, glossed as 'raven', but this word is only found twice in the expression *crú fechtó* i. *badb* 'raven of battle?' This expression 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.*).

Plt. **kōt-* 'whetstone'; **kōti-* 'sharp point, rock'.

PIE **ke/oh₃-t-* 'sharpening'. IE cognates: Skt. *śā-* 'to sharpen', Arm. *sowr* 'sharp' < **ke/oh₃-ro-*. Av. *saēni-* 'pointed', OE *hān* 'whetstone' < **ke/oh₃-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 **keh₃-*. → *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, *kostь* 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’; **kokednī-k-* ‘hip’.

PIE **kōks-h₂-* ‘limb, joint’; **kokse-dn-iH-*. IE cognates: OIr. *coss* ‘foot’, Skt. *kākṣa-*, 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 *kapśaṇi*, ToB *kektseñe* ‘body’ < PIE **kokedon-*. 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 **krH-s-r-on-* ‘the one with antennae, hornet’. IE cognates: OPr. *sirsilis*, OLith. *širšuō*, Latv. *siṛsuonis*, CS *sršěň*, SCr. *sṛšljēnj*; OHG *hornuz*, NHG *Hornisse*, MoE *hornet*; MoDu. *horzel*, all ‘hornet’.

PIE **kr-h₂-s-* meant ‘head’, whence **kr-h₂-s-ró-* ‘what is in/on the head’ > ‘antennae, horns’. Lat. *crābrō* and the cognates here given (**krHs-r-en-* with dissimilation of the second **r* in Balto-Slavic) indicate ‘the one with antennae, hornet’.

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 **ker-h₂* [nom.], **kr-h₂-os* [gen.], **kr-éh₂* [loc.], **kr-éh₂* [coll.] ‘head’? IE

cognates: Hit. *ketkar* [adv.] 'at the head (of), on top' < PIE **ked*- + **kr*(*h*₂), Gr. ἐπὶ κάπ 'head down', ἀνὰ κάπ 'upwards' < **kr*; κάπα [n.], κάπη (ep.) 'head' < **kr*-*eh*₂-.

There is no way in which *crās* can be formally connected with Av. *sūrām* 'early in the morning', *sūrīm* '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* < **kre**h*₂-(e)s, gen.sg. (maybe replacing earlier **krh*₂ós) of the PIE stem **ker*-*h*₂- 'head' which is reconstructed by Nussbaum 1986. The word for 'head' could have shifted to 'front' (cf. *ante*), which, used as a partitive genitive, might have been used for 'up front, at the front' → 'tomorrow'. The reconstruction **kr*-*eh*₂-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 **ǵ*^hr- 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. *i*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *crāticula* 'grid-iron' (Cato+), *crāfire* 'to bush-harrow' (Plin.).

Plt. **krāti*- 'wickerwork'.

IE cognates: OPr. *corto* 'fence'; Go. *haurds* 'door', OHG *hurd* 'hurdle'.

If from PIE, *crātis* must continue either **Kreh*₂-*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*-*th*₂-. 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*).

Plt. **kre**zde/o*-.

PIE **krēd*-*d*^h*eh*₁- 'to place (in?) the heart' > 'believe'. IE cognates: OIr. *creitid**, *creiti*, W. *credu*, Co. *krysi*, *cregy*, OBret. *critim*, Bret. *crediff* < PCl. **krēd*-*dī*-

'believe'; Skt. *śraddhā-* [f.] 'confidence, devotion', Av. *zrazdāiti-* [f.] 'trust, confidence, belief', OAv. *zrazdā-* [adj.] 'affectionate, trusting, believing'; YAv. *zras-ca dāt* '[and] may she believe'.

In view of Avestan *-zd-* (< **d̥d*) and Celtic unlenited **-d-*, we may well assume that **-dd̥-* yielded pre-Latin **-dzd-*, whence **zd*. Hence, we can reconstruct **kr̥ed-d^hh₁-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 **kr̥ed-* 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 **k̥ērd-*. Tremblay 2004: 581-585 explains **kr̥ed-* as an original loc.sg. **kr̥-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, krematru** [acc.pl.] '?' < **krema-tro-*?

IE cognates: Gaul. *curmi*, κόρμια, κοῦρμι, OIr. *cuirm*, W. *cwrwrf*, 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 **krb^h-* 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 **kerβ̥-* < **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 ?*(*k*)remH-. → *carbō*

U. **krenkatrum, krikatru, cringatru** [acc.sg.] 'an object which the priest wears across his shoulder', maybe 'belt, girdle'.

PIt. **kreng/kā-tro-* [n.].

PIE **kreng^h-o-* 'round, curved'. IE cognates: OCS *krōgъ*, Cz. *kruh*, SCr. *krūg* 'circle' < **krong^h-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. **kreng^ho-* 'round'.

Bibl.: IEW 935-938, Meiser 1986: 75, Untermann 2000: 404, LIV ?*(s)kreng^h-. →

creō, -āre 'to procreate; be born; cause' [v. I] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *creātrix* 'mother, creatress' (Lucret.+); *prōcreāre* 'to bring forth, produce' (Pl.+), *recreāre* 'to re-create, restore' (Pl.+).

PIt. **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 **krejā*. 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. *crepūī*, 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.+); *perterrīcrepus* 'making a crackling sound' (Lucr.); *concrepāre* 'to make a noise' (Pl.+), *discrepāre* 'to differ in sound or opinion' (Acc.+), *discrepitāre* 'to be out of harmony' (Lucr.), *increpāre* 'to make a sharp or loud noise' (Pl.+), *percrepāre* 'to resound, speak loudly' (Lucil.+).

PIt. **krepa-*; **kropaje-*.

PIE **krep-/kṛp-* [aor.] 'to rattle, crackle', **kṛ(o)p-(e)ie/o-* [pr.]. IE cognates: Hit. *karp(īje/a)-^{ta(ri)}* 'to be angry, rage', *karpī-* [c.] 'anger', Skt. *kṛpate* 'to wean, mourn', s-aor.med. *akrapīṣṭa*, Ru. *kropotá* 'fight'.

Varro's *per-crepis* may be an old remnant of a 3rd-conj. verb *crepere*, or a back-formation to *crepūī*. 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^(u)RepH-*, *?*KrepH-*.

crēscō, -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 increase, 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-pro-* 'growing, in large numbers'.

PIE **k^(w)reh₁-* [pr./aor.] 'to become bigger, stronger'. IE cognates: SeCS *okrijati* 'to recover', OCz. *křati*, pr. *krěji*, Ru.dial. *krejāt* 'to heal', Ukr. *krijaty* 'to become healthy', Bulg. *krēja* 'to become weak, be ill' < PSI. **krējō* '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 **kerh₃-* 'to feed', but the position of the ablaut vowel is problematic; cf. s.v. *Cerēs*. Hill 2006: 196 derives *crēber* from **k^(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 **kerh₃-*. → *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' < PCI. nom.sg. **k^wrūat-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 unconvincing, since 'clay' is not 'sifted earth', but at most 'fine sand', 'as fine as sifted earth'. More attractive is Pedersen's connection (apud WH) of *crēta* with the Celtic words for 'mud, clay' in initial **k^wr-*. Celtic and Latin can jointly go back to a PIE stem **k^wreh₁-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 PCI. 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.

cribrum 'sieve' [n. *o*] (Pl.+)

PIt. **kreipro-*.

PIE **krei-d^hro-* '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. *hrís* 'shrubs', OE *hrīs* 'branch, brush'.

One may detect a Latin stem **kris-* 'crest, plume, hair' in *crīnis* and in Lat. *crista* and *crispus*. IEW compares Celtic and Gm. verbs in **kris-* or **krīs-* 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 **krītse/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*] (Lucret.+)

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. *kṛkara-*, *krakara-*, *kṛkaṇa-* [m.] 'kind of partridge', Av. *kahrkatāt-* 'cock'; Lith. *krokoti*, ORu. *krakati* 'to croak', OPr. *kracto* 'black woodpecker', Lith. *kr(i)ōkti* 'to rattle, grunt', OCS *krǫknŏti* '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. → *cornīx*, *corvus*

crūdus 'raw, bloody, rough, cruel' [adj. *o/a*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *crūdītās* 'indigestion' (Varro+); *crūdēlis* 'cruel' (Enn.+), *crūdēlitās* 'cruelty' (Acc.+).

Plt. **krowoþo-*.

PIE **kreuh₂-od^h-o-* (?) 'raw'. IE cognates: Mlr. *cruaid* 'hardy, harsh, stern'.

If the root had zero grade, *crūdus* can reflect a dissimilation of **kruh₂-ro-* > **krūro-* > **krūdo-* (cf. Av. *xrūra-* 'bloody' < **kruh₂-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 **kreuh₂-id^h-o-*, but this would only work via **krewiþo-* > **krowido-* with syncope of **i*, since unsyncopeated (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/og^w-od^h-o-*, which would lead to a reconstruction **kreuh₂-od^h-o-* for *crūdus*; note the semantic relationship between 'naked' and 'raw'. For Mlr. *cruaid*, Driessen (p.c.) suggests the loss of **u* between two identical rounded vowels with resulting vowel contraction: **kreuh₂-od^h-i-* > PC1. **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.+).

Plt. **kruwnto-* [adj.].

PIE **kruh₂-(e/o)nt-* 'bloody, raw'.

The closest comparandum in form and meaning is YAv. *xruuant-* 'bloody, gory', which may be a derivative in possessive **-e/ont-* to PIE **kruh₂-* 'blood, gore' (Olr. *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. **kruh₂-nt-o-* 'blood, gory' > Lat. *cruentus*. Alternatively, it might be assumed that *cruentos* was built on a PIE loc.sg. **kruH-en-* to the root noun **kruH-*. The formation may be compared with that of Skt. *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.+)

Plt. **kruwōs* [m.] 'blood'.

PIE **kruh₂-ōs* 'blood'. IE cognates: Olr. *crú* 'id.', W. *crau*, Mlr. *cruaid* 'hardy, harsh, stern', Skt. *kraviṣ-* '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 Ilr. and Gr. lends credibility to a reconstruction **kruh₂-ōs* for *cruor*.

Bibl.: WH I: 294f., EM 152, IEW 621f. → *crūdus*, *cruentus*

crūs, -ris ‘(lower) leg, shank’ [n. *r*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *crūsculum/s* ‘little shank’ (Pl.); *crūricrepida* [m.] ‘one who has chains clanking about his legs’ (Pl.), *crūrifragius* [m. PN] ‘broken-shin’ (Pl.).

Plt. **krūs-*.

Together with Arm. *srunk* ‘[pl.] calf, shin’, Lat. *crūs* could go back to a root **kruH-*; but the Armenian form might also represent a loanword from Iranian **sraun-*, as argued by Georgiev 1962 and Beekes 2003: 175. Georgiev tries to derive *crūs* from the same stem as *clūnis*, but this requires too many unwarranted assumptions.

Bibl.: WH I: 295, EM 153, IEW 624.

crusta ‘crust, shell; thin slab, leaf’ [f. *ā*] (Lucret.+)

Derivatives: *crustulum* ‘small cake or pastry’ (Pl.+), *crustum* ‘cake, pastry’ (Verg.+).

Plt. **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. *kriūsti* ‘to crush’, OCS *sv-krušq*, *-krušiti* ‘to break into pieces’, Lith. *krušà* ‘hail’, CS *kruxa* ‘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 *krošce* ‘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 Ilr. **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.), *cruciābilitēr* ‘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.*).

Plt. **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*; Olc. *hryggr* ‘backbone’, OE *hrycg*, OS *hruggi*, OHG(h) *rukki* ‘back’; Olc. *hrúga*, *hraukr*

'heap', OE *hrēac*, MoDu. *rook*.

Originally an *i*-stem? Leumann explains the suffix of *cruc-iāre* as based on the dat.sg. *cruci*, 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 ?*(^l)eubh₂-. → -*cumbō*

cucūlus 'cuckoo; fool' [m. *o*] (Pl.+; variant *cucullus*) IE cognates: Mlr. *cūach*, W. *cog* 'cuckoo'; Skt. *kokilā-*, *kóka-* [m.] 'id.' < **kouk-*; Gr. κόκκυξ, -ῦγος [m.] 'id.' (dissimilated from **κυκκυ-*), κόκκυ 'cry of the cuckoo'; Lith. *kukūoti*, lett. *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 *cuccubire* '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. κύκουον and σίκουον 'fig'.

Bibl.: WH I: 299f., EM 154, Leumann 1977: 382.

cucurbita 'gourd' [f. *ā*] (Varro+)

Derivatives: *cucurbitivus* '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. κέασαι 'to cleave', Lith. *kāuti, kāuju*, Latv. *kaūt* 'to hit', OCS *kovati*, 1s. *kovq* 'to forge' < **kouH-*, Olc. *hoggva*, OHG *houwan* 'to hew, beat' < **kouH-*; ToA *ko-*, ToB *kau-* 'to kill' < **keh_{2u-}*; ToA *kot-*, ToB *kaut-* 'to split' < **keh_{2u-d}^he-*.

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 **keuh_{2-d}^hō* > **keuad^hō* > **kouad^hō* > **koudō* > *cūdō*, whereas *caudex* would reflect **kouh_{2-d}^hek-* > **kouad^hek-* > **kauadek-* > *kaudek-* (if **u* and **d^h* were contiguous, **d^h* would yield *b* (cf. *iūbeō*). Since the unrounding of **ouV* > **auV* 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/ouh_{2-d}^hh₁-o-* 'placing a strike' > with laryngeal loss **ke/ou-d^hh₁-o-*, from which (when verbalized) *cūdō* would derive; yet in **d^h* was in direct contact with **u*, we would expect a Latin outcome **cūbō*. Hackstein and LIV assume a PIE root enlargement **-d^h-* 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 **kuh_{2-d-}* (with laryngeal metathesis), while *cauda* and *caudex* reflect **keh_{2u-d-}*; see also Vine 2006a: 232f.

Bibl.: WH I: 300f., EM 154, IEW 535, Benedetti 1988: 76f., Schrijver 1991: 285-288, LIV **keh_{2u-}* 'to hit, cleave'. → *cauda, caudex*

cūius 'whose' [adj. *o/ā*; OLat. *quius*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *cūiās, -ātis* [adj.] 'of what country, from which place?', *cūiusnam* 'of whatever person?' (Pl.).

PIt. **k^wosjo-* 'whose'. It. cognates: O. *pūiu* [nom.sg.f.], *pūieh* [gen.sg.m.], PalU. *poiei* [dat.sg.m.] 'whose'.

PIE **k^wosio* [gen.sg.]. IE cognates: Gr. ποῖος [adj.] 'what kind of'.

Built on the gen.sg. *cuius* 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 probably 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 *kūrcā-* '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 **k^uH-ló-* 'sharp'. IE cognates: OIr. *cuil* [f.] 'fly', W. *cylionen* 'midges' < **kūli-*; Skt. *śūla-* [m. / n.] 'spear'.

Due to Dybo's shortening of long pretonic vowels in front of resonants (cf. Schrijver 1991: 343), Italic-Celtic **kūlV-* would yield Latin *culV-*. Of course, the place of the accent is uncertain: Skt. would point to initial accent, but since *śūla-* is a noun, it may have secondarily acquired initial accentuation.

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 < **κολεφ-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 **k^olh₂-mo-* 'stalk, stem, straw'. IE cognates: Gr. *κάλαμος* 'reed, straw', *καλάμη* 'stubble' < **k^olh₂-em-*, Latv. *saļms*, OPr. *salme*, CS *slama*, Ru. *solóma*, SCr. *slāma* 'straw' < **k^olH-m-eh₂*; OHG *hal(a)m* 'stalk, straw'.

Greek requires **k^olh₂-em-h₂-*, whereas BSl. and Gm. agree on **k^olh₂-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 **k^olH-* '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)kolh_{2/3}-tro-* ‘instrument for cleaving’. IE cognates: Hit. *iškalla-ⁱ / iškall-* ‘to slit, split, tear’ < **skólh_{2/3-} / *sklh_{2/3-}*; Gr. σκόλλω ‘to stir up, hoe’ (if from **sklh_{2/3}-je/o-* > **sklje/o-*), Arm. *c’elaw* ‘split, tore’ [pret.], Lith. *skilti* ‘to strike fire’, *skélti* ‘to cleave, strike fire’.

If connected with a root in *-l*, *cūlter* might belong to the root PIE **(s)kelh_{2/3-}* ‘to split, cleave’; the ablaut of the root cannot be decided for *cūlter*. 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’ < PCI. **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 **kHu-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. **k^wom* 'when'. It. cognates: U. **pumpe** 'whenever' < **k^wom-k^we*; O. **pún, pun, pon**, U. **pune, puni, ponne, pone** 'when' < **k^wom-de*; O. **punum** 'id.' < **k^wom-de + -um*.

PIE **k^wom* [acc.sg.m.]. IE cognates: OPr. *kan*, Lith. (dial.) *ką* 'when'; OCS *ko-gda* < **ko-g(o)da*; Go. *hvan* '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. *cubūī*, 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.+), *concupina* 'concubine' (Pl.+), *concupinātus, -ūs* 'concubinage' (Pl.+), *concupitus, -ūs* 'sexual intercourse' (Pl.+), *concupius* [adj.] 'of the bed, of lying down' (Pl.+), *dēcumbere* 'to lie down' (Pl.+), *dīscumbere* '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. **qūpat** [3s.pr.], Marr. *cibat, encubat* [3s.pr.] 'lies (buried)'.

IE cognates: MW *kyscu*, MCo. *koska*, MBret. *cousquet* 'to sleep' < PCI. **kuq-ske/o-* < **kub-ske/o-*.

Because of **b* and the restriction to Italo-Celtic, PIE origin of **kub-* is uncertain. If PIE, the nasal present and class I conjugation point to a laryngeal-final root **kubH-*. However, *-āre* is strange for a stative meaning; for this reason, LIV considers **^(k)ubh₂-éh₁-je- > *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 ?**^(k)ubh₂-*. → *cacūmen, cubitus*

cumulus 'heap, pile' [m. o] (Lucil.+)

Derivatives: *cumulāre* 'to gather, pile up' (Pl.+), *accumulāre* 'to pile up' (Lucr.+).

PIt. **kumo-*.

PIE **k^huh₁-mo-* 'heap'. IE cognates: Gr. *κῶμα, -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 **k^huh-* '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 **kueh₁-*. → *cavus*, *inciens*

cūnae ‘cradle’ [f.pl. *ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *incūnābula*, *-ōrum* ‘(apparatus for the) cradle’ (Pl.+).

PIt. **koina-* ‘cradle’.

PIE **koi-no-* ‘lair, cradle’ (vel sim.). IE cognates: Hit. *kī^{aa(ri)}*, Pal. *kī-*, CLuw. *zī-*, Lyc. *si-* ‘to lie’ < **kei-(t)o*; Skt. *śāye*, *śere*, Av. *saēte*, *sōire*; Gr. *κεῖται* ‘to lie’, *κοῖτος* [m.], *κοίτη* ‘lair’, *ἄκοιτις* ‘spouse’, OIc. *hið*, *hiði* [n.] ‘a bear’s lair’ (< **kei-to-*); PIE **koi-mo-* in OIr. *cóim*, *cóem* ‘dear’; Latv. *sàime* ‘family’, OCS *sěmьja* ‘household, slaves’; Go. *haim̃s* ‘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 **kei-* ‘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. **kei-*.

cūnctor, *-ārī* ‘to be slow, hesitate’ [v. I] (Pl.+; Pl., Enn., Acc. also active *cunctāre*)

Derivatives: *cunctātiō* ‘hesitation’ (Acc.+).

PIt. **konkito-* ‘hanging (intr.)’.

PIE **konk-(e)ie-* ‘to hang (tr.)’. IE cognates: Hit. *kānkⁱ-*, *kank-* ‘to hang (tr.), weigh’ < **konk-* / **knk-* (Kloekhorst 2008: 437); Skt. *śānkate* ‘is afraid, fears’ (< **kēnk-to*), Go. *hāhan* ‘to leave in uncertainty’, OE *hōn* ‘to hang (tr.)’ (< **konk-*), OIc. *hengja* ‘to hang, suspend’ (< **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 **kenk-*.

cunctus 'whole, all' [adj. *o/ā*] (Carmen Arvale (acc.pl.m. *conctos*), Pl.+)

Plt. **kom-kito-* 'collected'.

PIE **ki-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. *pankaḡas*, 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 **^(f)kih₂-*. → *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. *sūka-* 'sting (of an insect)', Av. *sūkā-* 'needle', but these presuppose a root **kuH-* 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 **kūoin-*. Schrijver rejects this as too speculative. Indeed, nothing is certain. For all we know, *cuniō* is a derivative of (the stem of) *cunmus* 'vagina'; for the semantics, cf. Dutch *kont* 'arse', Eng. *cunt* 'vagina'.

Bibl.: WH I: 131f., EM 158, IEW 628, Schrijver 1991: 265. → *caenum*, *inquinō*

cunmus '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' < **χub-an-*.

We may distinguish a root **kut-* meaning 'bag', 'scrotum', and metaphorically also 'female pudenda'. Lat. *cunmus* 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. **kūp-*.

IE cognates: Skt. *kūpa-* [m.] ‘pit, hole’ (EWAia I: 385); Gr. κύπη ‘gap, hole’ (Hsch.) (*ū?*), κύπελλον ‘beaker’, κύπρος [m.] ‘corn measure’; OIc. *hjúfr* ‘ship’s hull’, OE *hýf* ‘beehive’ <PGm. **χūfa-*.

Probably a non-IE loanword **kūp-* which was borrowed by and from many languages. This explains, among others, the vacillating length of the *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.+); *concupiscere* ‘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. **kuprī**, **qupírīh** [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: OIc. *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. *kūpėti*, 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 *-iscere* 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. **k^wōr*.

PIE **k^wōr* <**k^wor* ‘where?’. IE cognates: Skt. *kár-hi* ‘when?’, Go. *hvar*, OIc. *hvar* ‘where’ <**k^wor*, OE *hwær*, OS OHG *hwār* ‘where’ <**k^wēr*. From the stem **k^wu-*,

compare Alb. *kur* 'when', Lith. *kur̃* 'where'.

For the phonetics, cf. *fūr* 'thief' < *b^hōr. 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^wōr 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 **kōisā-*. 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', *pissiumi* 'I will see', OIr. *ad-cí** 'to see', *do-écei** 'to regard' (< **de-en-*) < PCl. pr. *k^wis-e/o-; OIr. sb. *ce-* (dep.) < *k^weis-se/o-; OAv. *cōišť*, 2p. *cəuuīštā*, YAv. *cōišťa* 'to grant, allot', OAv. *cinas*, *cīsmahī*, 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 **kōisa-*, possible etymologies for *cūra* are PIIt. **kōis-* and *k^wois- (if *k^wo- > *co-* preceded **ṷoi-* > **ṷei-*) '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 *-h₂. 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 I: 314, EM 159, IEW 611, Sihler 1995: 171, Untermann 2000: 407, LIV *k^weis-

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*, *convenire*), 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., *cecurrīt* 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.+), *dēcūrrere* ‘to run down; travel’ (Lucr.+), *dēcursus* ‘downrush, course’ (Lucr.+), *excūrrere* ‘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.+), *occurrsāre* ‘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.).

Plt. **korse/o-* [prī] ‘to run’; **korso-* ‘chariot’.

PIE **krs-e/o-* ‘to run’; **krs-o-* ‘running > chariot’. IE cognates: Gaul. **karros* (> Lat. *carrus*), Olr. *carr* ‘vehicle’, W. *car* < PCl. **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. *cursum* must be secondary for ***kostus* < **korstus* < **krs-to-* (for the phonetics, cf. *tostus* < **tʰs-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. *cursum*. 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 reflected both as *or* and as *ur* in Latin; no phonetic conditioning has been found. We may therefore accept the traditional etymology *k_ṛs- > *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.*^(k)ers-. → *arcessō*, *equirria*?

curtus 'mutilated, circumcised; imperfect' [adj. *o/ā*] (Lucil.+)

PIt. *korto-.

PIE *kr-to- 'cut off'. IE cognates: Hit. *karš(īe/a)-^{zi}* '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. *skirti* 'to separate'; OHG *sceran* 'to shave, cut off', OIc. *skera* 'to cut off'.

Lat. *curtus* seems to reflect *kr-to- > *korto- > *kurto-, with the development *orC > urC (see s.v. *currō* for this problem). WH derives *curtus* from the root *(s)ker- 'to cut off', whereas EM and Meiser 1998 connect it with *k^wer- 'to cut', on the basis of Hit. *kuerzi*. The verbal forms of *k^wer- mainly mean 'to cut' (Hit. *kuerzi*) or 'to make' (in Ilr., Skt. *kṛnóti*), 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-uo-? IE cognates: OIr. *corr*, MW *cwrr* 'hooked' < *kurso-; Gr. *καρτός* '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 *k_ṛ-uo-. Yet the words connected are of very different forms and meanings, and there is no verbal root PIE *(s)kr- meaning 'to turn'. The best connection seems to be with the Celtic words for 'hooked' from *kurso-; Gr. *καρτός* 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. *kú rass*, 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-spīd-*, a compound of *curis* ‘spear’ and a Plt. noun **spis, spīdos* ‘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 98If.

custōs, -ōdis ‘guardian’ [m., f. *d*] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: *custōdēla* ‘custody’ (Pl.+); *custōdia* ‘protection, guard’ (Naev.+); *custōdīre* ‘to keep safe, guard’ (Pl.+), *concustōdīre* ‘to watch over’ (Pl.+); *subcustōs* ‘deputy keeper’ (Pl.).

The currently accepted etymology is **kusto-sd-* ‘who sits near the hidden/near the treasure’, proposed by Nowicki 1978. The element *-sd-* would be the zero grade of **sed-* ‘to sit’, and **kusto-* < **kud^h-to-* ‘hidden’ as in Go. *huzd*, OHG *hort* and Gr. κεύθω ‘to hide’. Apart from the difficulty of a development **-d^ht-* > *-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.+).

Plt. **kuti-*.

PIE **kHu-t-i-* 'skin, hide'. IE cognates: MW *eskit*, Co. *eskit*, *esgis* 'shoe' (< **ped-skūt-*); Gr. σκῦτος [n.] 'leather, skin', Gr. ἐγκυτί 'onto the skin' < **kHut-*; OPr. *keuto* 'skin', Lith. *kiđutas* '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. ἐγκυτί, 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.+), *etiāmdum* 'yet, already' (Pl., Ter.), *interdum* 'sometimes' (Pl.+), *nēdum* 'still less' (Ter.+), *nequedum* or *necdum* 'and not yet' (Pl.+), *nōndum* 'not yet' (Pl.+), *primūmdum* 'in the first place' (Pl.+), *quīdum* 'why?' (Pl., Ter.), *vixdum* 'scarcely' (Ter.+).

Plt. **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. *dī*, *de*, *dī-*, OW *dī*, W. *dī-*; Bret. *dī*; Olr. *dī* 'from' < **dē*; Olr. *do*, *du* < PCI. **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-k^we* and *dōnicum* < **dō-ne-k^wom*. Lat. *dōnelique* is probably a recent remake on the model of *nec/neque*. (4) *dum* < **dom* [acc.sg.m/n.] ‘as far as this, as long as’. The temporal specialization may have occurred under the influence of *tum* and *cum*.

PIE probably had an indeclinable particle **de*, **do* ‘here, there’, see s.v. *-de* and *endo*. Like some of the other particles (**ke/*ki*, **h₂eu*, **g^he/*g^ho*), 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.+)¹ ‘detrimental, causing loss’, *damnāre* (Pl.+)² ‘to penalize, condemn’; *condēmnāre* (Pl.+)³ ‘to pass sentence, condemn’; *damnās estō* (Cato+)⁴ < **damnātus estō* ‘he must be condemned to’.

Plt. **dapno-*.

PIE **dh₂p-no-* ‘expense, investment’.

Bibl.: WH I: 322, EM 163f., IEW 176f., LIV **deh₂p-*. → *daps*

daps, -is ‘sacrificial meal, feast’ [f. *p*] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *dapsālis* ‘sacrificial’ (Cato+), *dapsilis* ‘plentiful, abundant’ (Naev.+).

Plt. **dap-*.

PIE **dh₂p-s* ‘sacrificial meal, portion’. IE cognates: Hit. *tappala-* ‘person responsible for court cooking’; Gr. *δόπτω* (**δαπτω*) ‘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: OIr. *dúas* 'gift, reward, recompense given to poets'; Skt. *dúvas-* [n.] 'gift, sacrifice, homage' < **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' < **k^wom-de*; O. *punum* 'when' < **k^wom-de* + *-um*.

PIE **de* 'here, there'. IE cognates: MW *hwinn*, OIr. *sund* < PCI. **so-de* 'this', OIr. *suide*, n. *sodain* < **so-de-so* 'that', **sin-de* (anaphoric pronoun) > article **sindos*, f. *sindā*, OIr. *fēin*, *fadéin* 'own, self' < **sue-de-sin*, OIr. *céin*, *cadéin*, *caresin* < **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 **k^wu-*. Furthermore, *-de* is contained in *clandestinus* '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. *dēbūi* (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 *boŕii* ‘bigger, better’, f. *boŕši*, n. *boŕje*, SCr. *bōljī* ‘better’ < **bol-(i)is-io-*.

The expression *dēbil homō* in Enn. may have been formed on the model of *vigil* (thus Leumann). Originally, *dēbilis* is a compound of the denominative type *in-ermis* ‘unarmed’ to *arma* ‘arms’. Although this type retained productivity into Latin, the isolation of *dēbilis* 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 *dēbilis* 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’, *sēdecim* ‘sixteen’, *septem/ndecim* ‘seventeen’; *decu/imus* ‘tenth’ (Naev.+), *decu/ima* ‘a tenth part, tithe’ (Pl.+), *decumānus* [adj.] ‘related to the tenth’ (Lucil.+); *decīē(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. **dekm* ‘ten’; **dekamo-* ‘tenth’; the ordinal **dekmtō-* may be preserved in O. **dekmtāsio-*; **dekuria* ‘group of ten’, **oinos/m-dekm* ‘eleven’. It. cognates: U. *desenduf* [acc.pl.f.] ‘twelve’ < **desen* ‘ten’ + *duf* < **duōns* ‘two’ [acc.pl.mf.]; O. δεκμας ‘a tithe’ < **dekm-o-*; O. *dekmanniūis* [dat.abl. or loc.pl.] ‘?’ probably < **dekemānjo-* ‘who guards the tithes’; maybe O. *degetasis* [nom.sg.m.], *degetasiūs* [nom.pl.m.], *deketasiūi* [dat.sg.m.] ‘?’ (attr. to *meddiss*), probably **dekm-to-* ‘tenth’ + **-āsios* ‘who is responsible for a tenth’. U. *tekuries*, *dequrier* [dat.abl.pl.] ‘?’; also U. *tekvias* [nom.pl. or gen.sg.] ‘?’?

PIE **dekm* ‘ten’, **dekm-to-* ‘tenth’. IE cognates: OIr. *deich*, W. *deg*, Skt. *dāśa*, YAv. *dasa*, Gr. δέκα, Arm. *tasn*, Go. *taihun*, ToA *šāk*, ToB *šak* ‘ten’; Gaul. *decametos*, Celtib. *tekametam*, Skt. *daśamā-*, Av. *dasama-*, Gr. δέκατος ‘tenth’.

Lat. *decem*, U. *desen* < PIt. **dekm*. In *-decim*, the *i* is not well explained. It is often believed to be due to a metathesis of **-dicem* > **-decim*, but a metathesis of two vowels is extremely rare in IE languages, and hence unlikely. The numerals in *decim* probably have *-dec-* from *decem* ‘ten’ and *-im* on the model of the ordinal numbers in *-decimus*. The ordinal **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*

deceit 'to add grace; be right' [v. II; pf. *deciuit*; 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.+); *dignus* 'appropriate, worthy' (Pl.+), *dignāre* 'to consider worthy' (Pac.+), *dignitās* 'dignity, excellence' (Pl.+); *dēdecus, -oris* 'discredit' (Pl.); *condecet* 'it is fitting for' (Pl.+).

Plt. **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 **dek-eh₁-*, **dek-es-* 'which is received' > 'decoration' > 'dignity', **dek-no-*. IE cognates: Olr. *dech* 'best' < **dek-os*: Skt. pr. *dāṣṭi, dāṣat-* [ptc.act.]; pr. *dāṣati* [3s.act.]; pr. *dāṣnōti* [3s.act.]; *dāś-* [f.] 'worship', *daśasyati* 'to render service' < *dekes-ie/o-*; Gr. pr. *δέχομαι / δέκομαι*, aor. *δέξασθαι*, 3p. *δέχεται*, 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 *deceit*. 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 **dek-*. → *dexter, discō, doceō*

dēcrepitus 'worn out (with age), decrepit' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

Plt. **krep-eto-* 'strong / quick'.

PIE **krep-eto-* 'strong'. IE cognates: Mlr. *crim* 'quick', W. *cryf*, Bret. *kreñv* 'strong' < PCI. **krimo-* < **krep-mo-* (cf. Hamp 1960-61); OCS *krěpъ* 'strong' < PBSl. **kre?p-*, OIc. *hræfa* '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.

dēfrutum ‘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+).

PIt. **fruto-*.

PIE **b^hru-to-* ‘boiled’. IE cognates: W. *brwd*, f. *brod*, Bret. *brout* ‘warm, fervent’ < **b^hruto-*, OIr. *bruth* [n.] < **-tu-*, *bruite* ‘boiled, broth’ < **-tio-*; OHG *prod*, OE *broð*, OIc. *broð* [n.] ‘broth’ < **b^hruto-*.

Lat. *f* is the reflex of **b^h-* 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 **b^hr(e)h₁u-/b^hruh₁-* ‘to whirl, seethe’ from a root **b^hru-* ‘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 **b^her_u-*. → *fermentum*, *ferveō*

dēleō ‘to remove, efface’ [v. II; pf. *dēlēvī*, ppp. *dēlētum*] (Cato+)

Derivatives: *dēlētilis* [adj.] ‘that erases’ (Varro), *dēlētiō* ‘destruction’ (Lucil.).

PIt. **ol-eje/o-*.

PIE **h₃elh₁-eie/o-* ‘to destroy’. IE cognates: Hit. *hallanna/i-* ‘to trample down, to flatten (fields and plants)’, Gr: *ῥᾶλλωμι*, -*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. *dēlēvī* 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 persistence 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*

dēlicus ‘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 *lid-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*, *esídum* 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*, *quid*; *tam*

dēns, -tīs 'tooth' [f. *t*] (Lex XII+; abl.sg. *dentē*, gen.pl. *dentium*, Varro *dentum*)

Derivatives: *dentātus* 'with teeth' (Pl.+); *ēdentāre* 'to knock the teeth out of' (Pl.+), *ēdentulus* 'toothless' (Pl.); *dentifrangibulus* 'that breaks teeth' (Pl.), *dentilegus* 'one who collects teeth' (Pl.); *bidens*, *-ntis* 'with two teeth or points' (Acc.+), *bidens*, *-ntis* [m./f.] 'sacrificial animal, esp. sheep' (Lab.+).

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.dāntan-* [adj.] 'with shapeless teeth', MoP *dandān* 'tooth'; Gr. Ionic *ὀδών*, later *ὀδούς* 'tooth', *ἄδός* '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. *dantų*, Ru. *desná* 'gum', Go. *tunþus*, OHG *zand*. From the same root: Lith. *úodas*, Latv. *uóds* 'gnat' < **ōdas* < **ōdos* < **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(ē)ns-o-* ‘thick’. IE cognates: Gr. *δαρός* ‘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 *densāre* 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 *δαρός* can only be upheld if PIE **s* was indeed retained after **η* in Greek, which is disputed.

Bibl.: WH I: 341f., EM 169f., IEW 202f.

deus ‘god, deity’ [m. *o*] (VOLat.+; nom.sg. *deiuos* (Düenos inscr.), *deiva* (Pisaurum, 3^d c.); CLat. *deus*, nom.pl. *dī, deī, dīi*, gen.pl. *deōrum, deum*, dat.abl.pl. *dīs, deīs, dīis, dibus*)

Derivatives: *dea* ‘goddess’ (Pl.+); *dīvus* [m./adj.] ‘a god; godlike’ (CIL, Andr.+), *dīus* [adj.] ‘divine’ (Enn.+); *dīvīnus* ‘id.’ (inscr., Pl.+ (variants: *deīnus, dīnus* CIL, Pl.), *dīvīnitus* [adv.] ‘by divine inspiration’ (Pl.+).

PIt. **deiwo-*. It. cognates: Ven. *deivos* [acc.pl.] ‘god’; O. *deivaī* [dat.sg.f.], *deivas* [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: OIc. *día* ‘god’, OW *duiutit* ‘divinity’; Skt. *devá-*, Av. *daēnuua-* [m.] ‘god’, OPr. *deywis*, Lith. *diēvas*, Latv. *dīevs* ‘god’; OIc. *Týr* ‘name of a wargod’, pl. *tívar* ‘gods’, OE *Tīw*, OHG *Zio* ‘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 **u* 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) brought

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* > *dīū*, 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. *dīū*).

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*, *dīū*, *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*, *dextrōorsum* (Pl.+) [adv.] 'toward the right-hand side'.

Plt. **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. + *ist*] 'right'; U. *desua*, *dersua*, *tesvam* [acc.sg.f.], *dersua* [abl.sg.f.] 'right' [adj.] (*o/ā*) < **deksuo-* or **deksiwo-*.

PIE **deks-tero-* 'right, right-hand side', **deks-(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. **deyou* < **deksoujā* 'right (side)' << **deks(i)wo-* 'right'; Skt. *dākṣina-*, Gr. δεξιτερός, δεξιός '(to the) right (side)', Myc. PN *de-ki-si-wo* /*deksiwos*/, Gr. δεξιφος, δεξιότης 'dexterity, cleverness' (Pamphyl.), Alb. *djathë* 'right', Lith. *dėšinas*, 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 PCI. **deks-wo-* and with Germanic **teḡswō(n)-*. For PIE, Beekes assumes doublets **deks* and **deks-i* 'right(-hand side)', from which *tero-*derivatives could be derived. Stüber (2002: 77) suggests that **deks* might contain the *s*-stem noun **dekos* 'what is fitting, proper' (see s.v. *decet*). In Stüber 2006, she proposes to regard **deks-iwo-* as analogical to the word for 'left' < **skeh₂iwo-* and **leh₂iwo-* (see s.v. *scaevus*, *laevus*). PIE **deksitero-* would be a more recent derivative in **-tero-* on the basis of **deksiwo-*.

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 dīū* 'in the open air'.

Bibl.: WH I: 347, EM 172, IEW 183ff., Leumann 1977: 106, 325. → *deus*, *diēs*, *dīū*

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* 'slandering' (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', *indiciūm* '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.+).

Plt. 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. **dadikatted** [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**, **meddīs**, *meddis* [nom.sg.], μεδεκον [acc.sg.], **medikeis** [gen.sg.], **medikei** [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. μεδεκων [acc.sg.] to f. **med-de/ikā-* 'female judge', O. **meddikiai**, **medikkiai**, 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. **deik-e/o-* 'to show', aor. **deik-s-*, root noun **-dik-s*. IE cognates: Skt. *dis-* 'to show': *disánt-* [ptc.act.], *disāmāna-* [ptc.med.]; *dides-* [pr.]; *diṣṭā-* 'shown

(direction)'; *dīs-* [f.] 'direction, point of the compass'; OAv. *daēdōišť* [3s.inj.act.], aor. *dāiš* [2s.inj.act.], *dōišā* [1s.sb.act.], *dōišť* [2s.ipv.act.] 'to show'; Gr. δείκνυμι 'to show'; δίκη 'manner, custom'; Go. *ga-teiħan* 'to indicate, proclaim', OHG *zihan* 'to show; incriminate'.

The relative chronology shows that *dictātor* and *dictātrix* (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 *vindicīt* (Lex XII) < **vim dicit*, and *index* analogical to *indicāre*. *Praecō* shows syncope from **praidikō* > **praedkō* > *praecō*.

Bibl.: WH I: 348f., EM I 72f., 320, IEW 188f., Benveniste 1969 II: 107ff., Leumann 1977: 94, 267, 549, Schrijver 1991: 164, 216, Untermann 2000: 154, 159f., 455ff., 753, LIV 1. *dejǵ-

diēs, diēi '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.+).

Plt. **diē-*. It. cognates: O. *iúklei* [loc.sg.] 'day' < **djo-kelo-* << **djou-kelo-*; O. *zicolom* [acc.sg.], *ziculud* [abl.sg.], *zicel[ei]* [loc.sg.], *zicolom* [gen.pl.] 'day' < **dijē-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. *diēs* is based on the disyllabic Plt. acc.sg. **dijēm* (Lat. *diem*) < PIE **di(i)eu-m* '(god of the) sky', with *di-* analogically from gen.sg. **diwos*. A new stem **dijē-* was created on the basis of this acc.sg., and became one of the sources for the fifth declension: the endings were largely adapted to those of the first declension (*ā*-stems). Oscan **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.)

Plt. **perno-dino-* 'of the foremost day' > 'of the day after', **noweno-dino-* 'of the ninth day'.

PIE **di-n-* 'day' (>> **-dino-* 'of a day'). IE cognates: OIr. *demus* 'period of time', *trēdemus* '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 *dnъ* 'day' [m.], *dnъe* [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, dūi, 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-uant-* 'enemy'; Skt. *dveṣ-* 'to hate', *dveṣas-* 'hate, enmity, hater, enemy', *a-dveṣá-* 'not hostile'; Gr. *δειδω* 'to fear' < pf. **δέ-δφοι-α*; Att. *δέδουκα* < **δέ-δφοι-κα*, aor. *δείσαι* (II.) < **δφεϊ-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 appellat*; 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 **duei-*.

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*).

Plt. **dis-* 'in two, apart'; **dus-* 'bad' (in *difficilis*). It. cognates: possibly U. *disleralinsust* [3s.fut.pf.] '?will have gone wrong' < **dis-leis-?*

PIE **dus* 'into two > bad', **dui-* 'two, into two'. IE cognates: Gr. *διά* 'in two, apart,

through' [adv.], 'through' [prep.] < *δισ-α; also δα- in δαφονός, 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 < *δισ-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, δισ- 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.+), *disciplinōsus* 'well-trained' (Cato).

Plt. **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.+)

Plt. **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. *diūtius*, *interdiū* [adv.] ‘by day’ (Cato+), *interdius* [adv.] ‘by day’ (Pl.+), *quamdiū* ‘how long, as long as’ (Pl.+); (4) *diurnus* ‘of the day; daily’ (Cic.+), *diutinus* ‘lasting for a long time’ (Pl.+); *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. **-diwo-* ‘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 *dīūs*, which is suspected to be attested in *nudiustertius* and *mediusfidius*, might be the old nom.sg. **dijēus* > **dīēus* (syllabic **di-* analogically from the gen.sg.), with monophthongization of **eu* > *ū*. (2) The adverb *dīus* can directly represent the PIE gen.sg. **dijōs* ‘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 *dīu*, 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*, *cītius*. (4) The adj. *diurnus* has probably adopted *-urnus* from *nocturnus* ‘by night’. The adj. *diutinus* has the suffix *-tinus* which is also found in other temporal adj., e.g. *crastinus*. Maybe it is PIE **-t-ino-* (cf. *vermus*, Gr. *εἰσπνός* ‘in the spring’). The adj. in *-duūm* 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. **djowjō-* ‘of Jupiter’; it may thus reflect **dijō-* (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*, *-dīnus*

O. *diuvil(u)*, *iūvilu*, *iūvil(ú)* [nom.sg.], *diuvilam*, *iūvilam* [acc.sg.], *iūvilas*, *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-elilā-* would undergo syncope in open second syllable, the suffix *-ila-* could be explained from **-īlā-*, 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. *ī*] (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. *dīvisī*, ppp. *dīvisum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *dīvidia* 'vexation' (Naev.+), *dīvidus* 'separated' (Acc.+), *dīviduus* 'divided into two or more parts' (Pl.+).

PIt. **dis-wi-ḡ-e/o-*.

PIE *(d)ui-d^hh₁- 'to separate, distinguish'. IE cognates: Skt. *ávidhat* [3s.aor.act.] 'allotted', OAv. *vīda-* 'to devote oneself to'; ToAB *wātk-* 'to separate, distinguish' < **uid^h(h₁)-sk-e/o-*.

The original PIE verb **dui-d^hh₁-* (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 **d^heh₁-*. → *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.+), *datātīm* '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, dīrsa, dērsa* [3s.pr.sb.], *dīrsans, dīrsas* [3p.pr.sb.], *titu, tetu, dītu, teřtu, tertu, dīrstu* [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, dīrsust* [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, andīrsafust* [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 *dē/ōh₃-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.' < *doh₃/dh₃-, Skt. pr. *dādāti*, aor. *ádāt*, OAv. pr. *dadā-*, YAv. *dadāiti*, Gr. *δίδωμι* 'to give', aor. *ἔδωκα*, *ἔδομεν*, *δῶς* 'gift', Arm. *tam* 'I give', *etow* 'I gave', OAlb. *dhæ* '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 **d^hid^hare* 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 **-d^here*, 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 **dī-* 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); *condire* 'to season, flavour' (Pl.+), *condimentum* 'seasoning, spice' (Pl.+), *conditiō* 'method of preserving food' (Varro+), *conditāneus* 'suitable for preserving' (Varro), *conditivus* 'suitable for preserving' (Cato⁺); *perditus*, *-ūs* 'ruination' (Pl.); *subditivus* 'spurious' (Pl.+).

Plt. pr. **-pō*, **-pas*, etc.; pf. **-pēpai*, ppp. **-pato-*. It. cognates: O. **prúffed** [3s.pf.], **prúftúset** [3p.pf.ps.n.], **prúftas sú[nt]** [3p.pf.ps.f.] 'to erect' < **profefet*, **profato-* < pf. **pro-d^he-d^hh₁-e-*, ppp. **pro-d^hh₁-to-*; O. **manafum** [1s.pf.?], **aamanaffed**, **aamanafed**, **amanafed** [*ā-* + 3s.pf.], **emanafed** [*ē-* + 3s.pf.] 'to commission, order' < pf. **man-fe-f* < **man-* 'hand' + **d^he-d^hh₁-*.

PIE pr. **d^hi-d^hh₁-* 'to put', aor. **d^h(é)h₁-*. 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' < **d^hh₁-oi-*, Hit. *titta-*ⁱ/*titti-* 'to install, assign' < **d^hi-d^hh₁-oi-*, Skt. *dhā-*, Av. *dā-* 'to put, make', Gr. *τίθημι*, aor. *ἔθηκα*, pl. *ἔθεμεν*, Lith. *dėti* 'to lay, put', OCS *děti* 'do, say', Toch. *tā-* 'place, set'.

Verbal compounds in *-dō* can represent either PIE *deh₃- 'to give' or *d^heh₁- '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 *d^heh₁-. The Latin reflex *-d-* is regular only after certain consonants, but not in absolute anlaut, where *f-* results from *d^h-. Thus, *-dere* may reflect an athematic aorist *d^hh₁-si, possibly thematized to *d^hh₁-e/o-. It is also possible that the forms go back to the PIE reduplicated present, e.g. 1p. *d^hi-d^hh₁-mes > Plt. **-pīpames* > **-p̄pames*.

Bibl.: WH I: 362f., EM 178f., IEW 235ff., Schrijver 1991: 402, Klingenschmitt 1992: 111, Untermann 2000: 448f., 585, LIV *d^heh₁-. → *crēdō, dō, dare*

doceō 'to tell, inform; teach' [v. II; *docuī, doctum*] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *docilis* 'ready to learn' (Cic.+), *doctor, -ōris* 'teacher' (Lucret.+), *doctrīna* 'teaching, instruction' (Pl.+), *doctus* 'learned, wise' (Pl.+), *documentum* 'example' (Pl.+), *documen, -inis* [n.] 'warning, caution' (Lucret.); *perdocēre* 'to inform, instruct' (Naev.+).

Plt. **dok-eje-*.

PIE **dok-eje/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+).

Plt. **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 that '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 *dobly* 'barrel' [f. *ū*], *doblyve* [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.+).

Plt. **dolaje-*.

PIE **dolh₁-ie/o-* ‘to cut repeatedly’ or **d(e)lh₁-ie/o-* ‘to cut’. IE cognates: Lith. *dūti*, 1s. *delū* ‘to wear off, disappear’ (Žem.), Latv. *dūlt*, Is. *dēlu* ‘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-d^hreh₂-*) 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 **delg^h-* ‘to cut, hew’ (Olr. *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+).

Plt. **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.+).

Plt. **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. *dāmūnas-* ‘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.+).

Plt. **domaje-*.

PIE **domh₂-eie/o-* 'to tame'. IE cognates: OIr. *daimid**, *daim* 'to allow, give in', MW *aðef* '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*¹ 'to control', caus. *damáyati* (RV+), *damítár-* [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-*. → *redimīō*

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.+).

Plt. **domo-* [f.] 'house'.

PIE **dōm*, **dem-* 'house'; **dom-o-?* IE cognates: Skt. *dām-* [n.], Av. *dam-*, Skt. *dāma-* [m.] 'house', Gr. *δόμος* 'house, layer of bricks', Lith. *nāmas* 'house' < **dom-o-*; Gr. *δμῶς*, *-ωός* [m.] 'slave, servant' < **dmōu-*, 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. *δμῶς* 'slave' < **dm-ou-*). There are *o*-stems in Lithuanian and Ilr., 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*. Plt. **-om-*, **-oNC-* mostly became *-um-*, *-uNC-* in Latin, but this change is sometimes impeded by a preceding dental: *domāre*, *tongeō*, *longus*. Hence, *domus* may be the regular outcome of Plt. **domos*.

The adj. *domesticus* cannot contain an *s*-stem **domes-* (for which there is no evidence), but was rather formed to its antonym **rowestikos* (> *rūsticus*), cf.

Leumann 1977: 339. For *domicilium*, WH suggest an abstract **domo-kol-io-* ‘house-dwelling’ from **domo-* + **k^wel-* + *-ium*. Phonologically more regular would be **-k^wol-io-*, since **-k^wel-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, 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’. → *dōminus*

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. *dūneis* [gen.sg.] n. ‘gift’; O. *δουνακλου* [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. *duōnis* ‘gift’, OCS *danъ* ‘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 **dr̥m-je-* 'to sleep'. IE cognates: CS *drěmati*, Ru. *dremát'*, SCr. *drijěmati* '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.lx; 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^hh₂u-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^hHu-o-* 'of two forms, double'. Leumann 1977 suggests an original ins.pl. **du-b^hi* 'on two sides', remade into an adjective; yet in view of Gr. *διφύης* 'with two shapes', a connection with **b^hh₂u-* '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. **doux-e-*, **(-)duk-aje-* [v.], **(-)duk-* [m.].

PIE **deuk-e/o-* [pr.] 'to draw', **-duk-* [in compounds]. IE cognates: MW Is. *dygaf*, 3s. *dwc* 'to lead, bring', OBret. 3s. *duc* 'carries', MCo. 3s. *dek, deg* 'takes' < PCI. **duke/o-*; Hit. *tukzi-, tukkanzi-* 'cultivation of plants and animals' [c.] < **duk-(ent)-i-* (Melchert 1999), Oss. *duc-īdōc-* 'to milk', Gr. *δα-δύσσομαι* 'to be distracted', *ἐνδुकέως* '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-ducāre* 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-* (acc. **dueh₂m*, gen. **duh₂os?*) 'far, long'. IE cognates: Hit. *tūyan* 'to this side', *tūyaz* 'from afar' < PIE **dueh₂-m*, Skt. *dāvīyas-* 'further, more distant', sup. *daviṣthá-*, OP *duvaiṣtam* [adv.] 'very long, very far', Gr. *δῆν* 'long, far' (< **δράν*), Dor. *δάν, δοάν* < **dueh₂-m*; Arm. *tev* 'duration' < **deuh₂-*; Ru. *dave* (dial.) 'recently, yesterday' [adv.] < PSI. **davě* < PIE **dōuh₂-*, 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. *δῆν* 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 **dōuh₂-*. 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* 'concrēdidero' 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.

PIt. 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**, **purtuviðu**, **purtuветu**, **purtuetu**, *purdouitu* [3s.ipv.II], **purtuvies** [2s.fut.], **purtius**, **purtitius**, **purtinçus**, *purdinsiuust*, *purdinsus*, *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-nkj-* vs. **dī-* < **dū-* < **duH-*, ppp. **dīto-*. Maybe U. *dia* [3s.sb.ps.?] 'one can'? < **dīāt/r* < **duh₃-j-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. *dīvas-* [n.] 'gift, oblation, favour' < **duH-as-*, Lith. *daviaū*, *dāvė* 'I, he gave', *dovanà* 'gift', Latv. *dāvana* 'gift', OCS *-davati*, Ru. *davát* 'to give' < BSl. **doγya?*.

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-je- > *douje-*, 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' (Lucret.+); *dulcifer* 'containing sweetness' (Pl., Enn.).

PIt. **dulkwi-* 'sweet'.

IE cognates: Gr. γλυκύς [adj.] 'sweet', Myc. *de-re-u-ko* perhaps *ldleukos*, 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 **dʎkus*, while Lat. could show **dʎk- > *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. **dūs*mo-.

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]. **duyo*; Hit. *tān* 'for the second time' < **duoióm*, HLuw. *twali*- 'two', *twisu* 'twice', Lyc. *kbi*- '(an)other' < **dui*-; Skt. *dváu* / *duváu* / *dvā* [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', *erkotasán* 'twelve', Alb. *dy*, Lith. m. *dū*, OCS *dvъa* 'two' < PIE **duo-h₁*, Lith. *dvi*, OCS *dvě* < 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 **dui-pod*- by **du-pod*- or **duō-pod*-. Latin has replaced **dui*- 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 **duo* and **duyo* 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, durable' [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)h₂ro-* 'far, long'. IE cognates: Skt. *dūrā-* 'far, distant', Av. *dūrāt* 'from afar', *dūrē* 'far', OP *dūrai* 'far and wide', *duvaištam* 'very long, very far'; Gr. *δηρός* 'long, too long', Dor. *δᾶρός*, mostly *δηρόν*, *δᾶρόν* [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 **duh₂ro-* (Iir., Latin) and **dueh₂ro-* (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. *dvitīya-* 'second', OAv. *daibitiia-*, YAv. *bitiia-* 'second', *ādbitīm* [adv.] 'two times' < PIir. **dwi-t(i)ja-*; ToA *wāt*, ToB *wate* 'second' < **dwi-to-*.

PIt. **du-tjo-* probably replaces PIE **dwi-tio-*, cf. U. *dupursus* 'biped' for **dwi-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. **ēχ^wrio-*.

PIE **h₁ēg^{wh}-ro-* or **h₁eh₁g^{wh}-ro-* (or **h₁(o)g^{wh}-r-o-*) 'drinking'. IE cognates: Hit. *eku-^{zi}/aku-* *ṛeg^w-*, *ṛg^w-/* 'to drink, drink to, toast', Pal. *ahu-* 'drink', CLuw. *ū-*, 2s.pr.act. *ūtis* 'drink(?)', HLuw. inf.gen. BIBERE-*u-na-sa* 'drink'; Gr. *νήφω* 'to be sober', Dor. *vāφε* (*vā-* is of secondary origin, cf. Weiss 1994: 97) < **nēg^{wh}ō* < **ne-h₁(e)h₁g^{wh}-e/o-* 'not-drink'; ToAB *yok-* 'to drink', *yokiye* ~ *yoko* [n. f.] 'thirst; desire' < PTo. **yok-* < **yek^v-* < PIE **h₁e-h₁g^{wh}-*.

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 *νήφωv*, -οvος (whence the verb *νήφειv*). 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. **eplo-*.

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.+), *edācītās* ‘voracity’ (Pl.+), *edō* ‘glutton’ (Varro), *edūlia*, *-ium* [n.pl.] ‘eatables’ (Afran.+), *ellum* ‘spoon’ (gloss.); *ēscā* ‘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.), *ēsuriō* ‘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: OIr. *ithid*, *-ith* ‘eats’, *ethait* ‘they eat’ < **ed-*, sb. *estir* < **ed-*; MW *ys* ‘eats’ (denominal); Hit. *ed⁻²¹* / *ad-*, Pal. *ad-*, CLuw. *ād-/ad-* ‘to eat’, HLuw. *ád-*, Skt. *ádmi*, *átī*, *adánti* ‘id.’, Gr. *ἔδω* ‘to eat, devour’, inf. *ἔδμεναι* (H.), fut. *ἔδομαι*, Arm. *owtem*, OLith. *edmi* ‘to eat’, Lith. *ėsti* ‘feeds’ (of animals), *ėskà* ‘food’, OCS *jasti* ‘to eat’, 1s. *jamь*, 3s. *jastь* < *h₁ed-tei*, *jadь* ‘poison’ < **h₁ed-o-*, Go. *itan*, OHG *ezzan*, OIc. *eta* < **ed-e/o-*, ToB *mätsts-* ‘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-*, *ēscā* < **ed-sk-a*. The derivational basis for *edūlis* is unknown. According to Risch 1954, *ēsurire* was formed as an antonymous formation to **satur-ire* ‘to be satisfied’, giving rise to the class of desideratives in *-urire*. Like Keller 1982: 88f., I doubt whether the adj. *vēscus* is related to *vēscor*, since the meaning can only be connected via a complicated chain of shifts. One may alternatively suggest a compound of *vē-* (taken from *vēsāmus*, *vēgrandis*) ‘unlike, under-/over-’ and **ēsko-* ‘nourishing’ or **ēskā-* ‘food’.

For PIE, the assumption of a long vowel in the root (as per Meiser 1998 and LIV) is unnecessary: the long vowel in Latin is due to Lachmann’s Law, the long vowel in Lithuanian to Winter’s Law. In Hittite, the normal root present ablaut is found. For Old Irish, Schumacher’s assumption (2004: 378) of an original ablaut **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. *yāknāntār* ‘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⁻¹* / *akk-* ‘to die, be

killed' is reconstructed as **Hóʳ-ei*, **Hʳ-énti* to a root **h₁βeʳ-* 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 **h₁eǵH-*. → *aiō*

egō 'I' [pron. pers. Is. nom.] (VOLat.+; Ardea, vase inscr. (CIL 474) *ego*; *egō* Pl.+)

Plt. **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. *azām*, *as-cī*, YAv. *azam*, OP *adam* < *h₁eǵHom*; Gr. *ἔγω*, Lesb. ep. Dor. also *ἔγών*, Lac. Tarent. *ἔγώνη* < **h₁eg-* + *-e/oH*; Arm. *es*; OPr. *es*, *as*, Lith. *ąš*, OLith. *eš*, Latv. *es*, OCS *azъ*, Ru. *ja*, ORu. (*j*)*azъ* < BSl. **eʒʒ(-um)*; Go. *ik*, OHG *ih*, OS *ic*, Runic *ek*, *ik*, Oic. *ek*, encl. *-ika* < PGM. **éka*"; ToA *ñās* [m.], *ñuk* [f.], ToB *ñas* '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 Ilr., 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. */eikwässāti-/*, while **eikvases-** may represent a noun */eikwässī-/*. The forms probably go back to a compound with a second element **wassī-* and **wasso-* (> **wassāto-*). Meiser 1986 interprets **eikvasatis** as 'containing a formula', and etymologizes **eik-** as **agiko-* 'speech, formula' and **vasi-** < **wassī-* < **h₂u(e)d-ti-* 'speaking' (to Skt. *vādati*). Yet this does not explain the *-a-*, and is furthermore tautological. Weiss 2007a: 367-369 suggests that the second elements **-wässī-* and **-wässāti-* derive from a *ti*-abstract **wässī-* < **ueh₂d^h-ti-* and a *to*-verbal adjective **wässō-* < **ueh₂d^h-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 **h₁ǵeǵ-jo-* 'speech', as in U. **aiu** [nom.pl.] (Meiser 1986: 205). The cp. would then reflect Plt. **ajjo-* + **ko-wässī-*.

Bibl.: Meiser 1986: 250f., Untermann 2000: 204-206. → *aiō*, *vādō*

O. **eitiuвам**, *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. III; pf. *ēmī*, ppp. *ēptum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: (1) *em* particle 'here you are', *emāx* 'fond of buying' (Cato+), *empticius* 'obtained by purchase' (Varro+), *emptor* 'buyer' (Pl.+), *empturire* '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.+), *dēptiō* '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 making 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, surēmpsī* (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.+), *absūmedō* '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: Olr. *arfoim* 'to receive, allow' < **ari-wo-em-*, 3s.sb.rel. *ar-a:foíma* < **ari-wo-em-*, pret. *ar-fóet* < PCl. **em-o-*; OPr. *īmt*, Lith. *īmti*, 3s.pr. *ima*, 3s.pret. *ēmē*, Latv. *jeimt* 'to take', OCS *jēti*, 1s. *imq*, 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 *ēptus* 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. ἦν, ἦν [interj.] ‘hey!’.

Interjection which calls the attention. At least a part of the Latin attestations, esp. from Verg. on, will represent the identical Greek word ἦν. According to Leumann, *ēn* derives from **est-ne* ‘is it not?’. For the OLat. usage with *umquam*, this seems quite conceivable; the blunt rejection by WH is unmotivated. But it seems doubtful whether all syntactic uses in Lat. can be explained either from **estne* or from the Greek use of ἦν; hence, it remains possible that Latin inherited a particle **ēn*.

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.); *indūpedīre* ‘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. ἔνδοϛ ‘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 ἔνδοϛ). 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.+)

Plt. **eno-* 'that one', **enim* [acc.sg.]. It. cognates: O. **inim, inim, inim, ini**, εινεμ, *inim*, Pael. *inim li(:)ni(:)ml*, U. **ene, eiŋe, enem** 'and' *léneml* < **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 *omъ* '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 Plt. **eno-*. This is reminiscent of Skt. *aná* [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 Plt. stem. The isolated Plt. form **enim* may point to the earlier existence of pronominal variants with an additional **-i*, as found e.g. in Hittite *aši / uni / ini* 'that (one)' < **h₁ós+i*, **h₁óm+i*, **h₁i+m+i* (Kloekhorst 2008: 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.).

Plt. **ensi-* 'sword'.

PIE **(h₁e)ns-i-* 'sword, large knife'?

All the alleged IE cognates are uncertain: the connection with Skt. *así-* [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-y*, 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'.

Plt. **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 **ǵ-χafros* > **en-hābros* > 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 I: 406, EM 197. → *habeō*

eō, ire 'to go' [v. irr.] (Lex XII, Pl.+). Forms: pr. *eō, is, it, imus, itis, eunt*; ptc. *iēns, euntis*; 3p.pr.ind. *obīnunt, prōdīnunt, redīnunt* (Enn.); pf. IV: *iī / iṽi* (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.+), *antiḍire* '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.+), *inītāre* 'to enter habitually' (Pac.), *initus, -ūs* 'entry' (Lucr.+), *initium* 'start, original form' (Ter.+), *inītiāre* '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-^z*, CLuw. HLuw. *i-* 'to go' < **h₁ei-/*h₁i-*, Hit. *ijanna-* / *ijanni-* 'to march', Hit. *je/a-^{na(n)}* 'to go, come, walk'

< *h₁i-ie/o-, *paǵi-^{zi}* ‘to go, pass’, HLuw. *pa-* ‘to go’ < *h₁pói + *h₁(e)i-, *we-^{zi}* / *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. *eimi*, OGS *iti*, Is. *idō* ‘to go’; Go. *iddja* ‘went’; ToB *yam* ‘goes’, ToA *yīñc* ‘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 *ivī* is recent. Whether the pf. *ivī* 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 *-inunt* 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 *h₁ej-. → *iter*; *queō*; *comes*

epulum ‘public feast’ [n. o] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *epulae* [f.pl.] ‘sumptuous meal, banquet’ (Pl.+), *epulōmus* ‘banqueter’ (Paul. *ex F.*), *epulārī* ‘to dine sumptuously’ (Acc.+), *coepulōmus* ‘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 unconvincing, 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^h-u-* ‘horse’. IE cognates: Gaul. *epo-*, OIr. *ech* ‘horse’; Hit. **ekku-* [c.], CLuw. *āššu-* or *azzu-* [c.], HLuw. *ásu-*, Lyc. *esb-* ‘horse’ < PANat. **Hek-u-*; Skt. *ásva-* ‘horse’, Av. *aspa-*; Myc. *i-qo*, Gr. ἵππος ‘horse’, ἵππότης ‘horse rider’, Arm. *ēs* ‘horse’; OPr. *aswinan* ‘horse milk’, Lith. *ašvīenis* ‘stallion’; OE *eoh*, OIc. *jór*, ToB *yakwe*, ToA *yuk* ‘horse’.

The original Latin paradigm must have been **ekos*, acc.sg. **ekom*, gen.sg. **ek^hī-*; the stem *equ-* was generalized from the oblique cases. The noun *equus* < **ek^h(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^h-u-* ‘horse’, which was thematized to **h₁ek^huo-* 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 **ǵ^hēr-* ‘hedgehog’. IE cognates: Gr. χήρ ‘hedgehog’ (only attested in Hesych), χοῖρος ‘porcupine’ < **ǵ^horjo-*, 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 *lēr(-i)-*, which can be connected with Greek χήρ if Latin earlier had **hēr* < **ǵ^hēr(-)*. This may reflect a PIE root noun nom.sg. **ǵ^hēr-s* to the root **ǵ^her-* ‘to be excited, be bristly’ found in *horior* and others.

Bibl.: WH I: 413f., EM 200, IEW 445, LIV **ǵ^hers-*. → *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-erctiōnēs*).

PIt. **erk-i-*.

PIE **h₁rk-i-* ‘to divide’? IE cognates: Hit. *ārkⁱ* / *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. *ārk_i*, 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-jé-* 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. *aršyti* ‘to tear up’ < **h₁or^(k)-* 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/oġ-o-*. IE cognates: see s.v. *regō*.

In the collocation **ē re/oġō* 'from the direction of', the middle vowel was syncopated, whence *ergō*. Lat. *corgō* < **com re/oġō* 'with the direction'. Since no other IE language shows a thematic noun **h₃roġ-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 **h₃reġ-*.
→ *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. *ṛcchāti*, Gr. *ῥρχομαι*).

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.+), *erilis* 'of a master' (Pl.+).

PIt. **eso-* 'master'.

PIE **h₁esh₂-ó-* 'master'. IE cognates: Gaul. *Esus*, *Aesus* 'important god of the Gauls'; Hit. *išhā-* 'master, lord' [c.].

The most obvious connection is with the Gaulish deity **Eso/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. *εύς* '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. **erVg^w-o-*?

IE cognates: Mlr. *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. *-ivθος*, 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.+), *etsi* '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-k^we*; Skt. *āti*, Av. *aiti* 'beyond, over, to', Gr. *ἔτι* 'still, also, further', NPhr. *ετι* 'and'; Go. *ib* 'but', *id-weit* [n.] 'reproach', Olc. *iðja-grænn* 'green again', OHG *it(i)-wiz* [n.], OE *ed-wit* [n.] 'disgrace' < PGm. **ib(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-māle* [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 *h₁eg^h, *h₁ég^hs 'out'. IE cognates: OIr. *ess-*, W. *eh-* 'out', OIr. *echtar*, MW *eithyr* 'outside'; Gr. ἐξ 'from, out of', ἔσχατος 'outmost, last' (< *ek^hs-katos); OPr. *is*, *assa*, *assae*, Lith *iš*, Latv. *iz* 'from, out of', OCS *iz* 'out' < BSl. *iz (*is) < *h₁eg^h(s) [*i- of BSl. is unexplained].

The original sup. *extimus* < **ekstamo-* was eventually replaced by *extrēmus* < **eksterzemo-* < **ekster-isamo-*. The cp. *extrinsecus* was built from **exterim* '(to) the outside' and *-secus*. Sabellic continues the *s*-less variant of the PIE preposition *h₁eg^h 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 *lintheus* 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 *lintheum*, 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-?* **sp^herH-?* → *spernere*

ex(s)ul, -is 'banished person' [m. /] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *ex(s)ulāre* 'to be banished' (Pl.+), *ex(s)ilium* 'exile' (Pl.+) [only <*exul-*> and <*exil-*> in inscr.].

PIt. **ek(-)s(-)VI-* (or derived from a verb in **ek(-)s(-)VI-*).

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* < **baḥ-nō*? Farther removed are Gr. φακός 'lentil' and Alb. *bathë* 'horse-bean' < **b^(h)ak-*.

No PIE word can be reconstructed. Since the Italic, Slavic and Germanic words are similar in form and meaning, they are probably independent loanwords from a European substratum word of the form **bab-* (or similar) 'bean'.

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 **d^hHb^h-ro-* 'craftsman'? IE cognates: Arm. *darbin* 'smith' (< **dabr-ino-*); Lith. *dabà* 'nature, habit, character', *dabař* 'now', *dabnūs* 'smart, well-dressed, elegant', OCS *podoba* 'ornamentation, decency', Ru. *dóba* (dial.) 'time, measure', OCS *dobrŭ* '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 **d^hHb^h-*. The BSl. words meaning 'nature' and 'good' (with short vowel in front of *b* < **b^h*) and the Gm. words **dab-*, **dōb-* could go back to PIE **d^hob^h-*. 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 **d^hab^h-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 436f., EM 208, IEW 233f., Schrijver 1991: 102, Untermann 2000: 254, LIV **d^heHb^h-* 'to fit'.

faciō, -ere 'to make' [v. III; pf. *fēcī*; ppp. *factum*. sb. *faxō, faxim, faxīs*, pr.ipv. *fac*] (VOLat.+; Duenos inscr. *feced /fēked/* 'fēcīt', Praeneste (315BC) *fecid*, Corchiano (4th c. BC) *feced*, Lacus Fucinus *fecront*, Paestum *fecere* 'fēcērent'; 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.+);

prōficiō '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, -ficus* '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', *-ficiū* 'the office of...';

afficere 'to have an effect on, influence' (Pl.+), *afficiō* '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.+).

Pit. **fak-i-* [pr.], **fēk-* / **fak-* [aor.]. It. cognates: Ven. **vhagsto, hvagsto, vhasto** [3s.pret.] 'made' < **fak-s-to*; Fal. **faced** (Berenguer Sánchez – 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. **αα:φακετ** [3s.pf.] 'has erected'. O. **fakinss** [acc.pl.] 'deeds' < **fak-jon-*. U. **façefe<I>e** [acc.sg.f.] 'fit to be sacrificed' < **faki-fli-* < **-d'li-*. Maybe U. **anfetaf** [acc.pl.f.]. O. **praefucus** [nom.sg.] 'praefect' (calque on the Latin term). For Fal. **fifiked** and **ffifjiqod**, see s.v. *fiŋō*.

PIE **d^heh₁-* 'to put' [aor.]; **d^hh₁-k-* 'to make', **d^hh₁-k-i-* [pr.]. IE cognates: Gr. aor. **ἐθήκα** '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 **d^heh₁-*, 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 **d^h₁k-*. → *-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.+); *dēfaeficāre* ‘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+).

Plt. **fāgo-*.

PIE **b^heh₂g-o-* ‘oak’ / ‘beech’. IE cognates: Gaul. **bāgos* ‘beech’ (in French place names), Gr. φηγός, Dor. φᾶγός [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. **huzь* ‘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.), *falsiūrius* ‘swearing falsely’ (Pl.), *falsiloquus* ‘speaking deceitfully’, *falsimōnia* ‘deception’ (Pl.); *refellere* ‘to refute’ (Ter.+).

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

PIE **sg^{wh}₂(e)l-n-* ‘to stumble’. IE cognates: Skt. (Br.+) *skhalate* [3s.pr.med.] ‘to stumble, fail’, MP *škarwīdan* ‘to stumble, stagger’; Gr. σφάλω ‘to bring down’, σφάλομαι ‘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 Ilr., Arm. and Gr. forms are very close in meaning and form, and can be connected if Gr. continues a labiovelar. The correspondence is irregular inasmuch as it seems to require a PIE voiceless aspirate stop, but this might be due to an original heavier cluster of consonants in (pre-)PIE, cf. Lubotsky 2006 on PIE **T_sperH-* ‘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)g^hh₂el-*.

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. *dilgė* ‘nettle’, Lith. *dilgūs* ‘stinging, smarting’, OIc. *dálkr* ‘pin, spine, dagger, knife’ [m.], OE *delg* ‘clasp’, *dalc* ‘bracelet’.

The suggested connection with Sicilian *Záγκλη, Δανκλῆ* ‘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 **d^hlg-*, 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 **d^hH-m-*, connecting Latin *fatīgō*, OIr. *ded-* ‘to vanish’, and OIc. *dási* ‘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*

fāmex/-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.+).

Plt. **famelos* 'slave', **famelia* 'household'. It. cognates: Pael. *famel*, O. **fml** [nom.sg.] 'slave' < **famelos*, O. *famelo* [nom.sg.], U. **fameñias** [nom.pl.?] 'household' < **fameliā-*.

PIE **d^hh₁-m-elo-* 'fundament'. IE cognates: Gr. θεμεῖλια [n.pl.] 'fundaments' (from metrical lengthening of θεμέλια), θεμέλιος 'belonging to the fundamentals', θεμούςς 'expositions, admonitions' (Hsch.), θέμις 'justice, law'.

Rix 1994a interprets Plt. **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 **d^hh₁-m-elo-* 'fundament'. The latter was probably a diminutive to **d^hh₁-mo-* 'basis'. This explanation implies that a semantic shift from 'basis' to 'house, dwelling-place' took place at some point; compare the meanings of Skt. *dhāman-* 'law; dwelling-place'.

Bibl.: WH I: 452f., EM 215, IEW 235ff., Benveniste 1969 II: 102-105, Rix 1994a: 35ff., Untermann 2000: 262-264, LIV **d^heh₁-*.

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+).

Plt. **fasno-* 'temple'. It. cognates: O. **fīsnú** [nom.sg.], **fīsnam**, **fīsnam**, Pael. *fesn(am)* [acc.sg.], U. **fesnafe** [acc.pl. + -en], *fesnerē* [abl.pl. + -en] 'temple' < PSab. **fēsna-*.

PIE **d^hh₁s-no-* 'divine, holy; consecrated place'. IE cognates: see s.v. *fēriae*.

Fānum represents a derivative in **-no-* from the root **d^hh₁s-* 'gift' which is also reflected in *fēriae* (see there for the further etymology). According to Schrijver, U. *fesna-* may continue an original plural (collective) **d^heh₁s-n-h₂* to the sg. **d^hh₁-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 **d^heh₁-*. → *fērālis*, *fēriae*

far, **-rris** 'husked wheat, emmer; grain, flour' [n. r] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: *farīna* 'flour' (Pl.+ (< **farrīna*), *fārinārius* 'of flour' (Cato+), *farrāceus* 'of emmer' (Varro+), *farrāgō*, *-inis* 'mixed crop of inferior grains' (Varro+), *farrārius*, *farreārius* 'for grain' (Cato).

Plt. **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: OIr. *bairgen* 'bread, loaf', W. Co. Bret. *bara* 'bread'; OCS *brašъno* 'food', ORu. *borošъno* '(farinaceous) food', SCr. *brāšno* 'flour, food' < **b^harsinom*; 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 **b^hars-*, 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 *b^hars- '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.

farcīō, -ire '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.+), *fartacula* 'small dish of stuffing' (Titin.), *fartor* 'one who fattens birds for table' (Pl.+), *fartum* 'sausage; stuffing' (Varro+), *fartūra* 'the stuffing' (Varro+); *confercire* 'to pack closely together' (Varro+), *confertus* 'thronging' (Enn.+), *effercire* 'to cram' (Pl.+), *suffarcināre* 'to stuff a person by padding out his clothes' (Pl.+).

Plt. **fark-je-* 'to stuff', **fark-to-*, **fark-ti-*.

IE cognates: Gr. φράσσω, Att. φράπτω '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 **b^h-k^w* (**D^h-T*) is non-PIE. This might be a reason to reconstruct **b^hreg-*, or to regard the word as non-IE.

Bibl.: WH I: 456f., EM 216f., IEW 110f., Steinbauer 1989: 165ff., Schrijver 1991: 488f., 495f., LIV **b^hrek^w-*. → *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+)

Plt. **X-ḥo-* 'having X parts' >> **X-ḥāsjo-* 'having X parts, in X ways'.

PIE **-d^hh₁-o-*. IE cognates: Skt. *dvidhā* [adv.] 'twofold, in two ways', *tridhā* 'threefold'.

Lat. *-fāriam* has been derived from *fārī* 'to say' as *-fās-io-* 'having *n* utterances', but the alleged semantic development to 'in *n* ways' is obscure. Much more attractive is the solution proposed by Weiss 2007a: 373f. He posits a Plt. or PIE adj. **tri-d^hh₁-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 Plt. **ḥ* after *ā* and before *i*, the *-f-* must be explained differently. Weiss adopts the solution which has been generally accepted for *īnferus*, viz., that **-ḥāsio-* was interpreted as being in word-initial position because **ḍui-*, **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 *b^hrHǵ- ‘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: *nefastus* ‘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 *b^heh₂-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. *b^heh₂-. → *for*, *fārī*

fascinum/s ‘evil spell; penis’ [n./m. o] (Paul. ex F., Verg.+)

IE cognates: Gr. βάσκανος, -ων ‘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. ī] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *fascia* ‘ribbon, band’ (Varro+), *fasciculus* ‘bundle, bunch’ (Cato+), *fascīna* ‘bundle’ (Cato), *fasciola* ‘ribbon, band’ (Varro).

PIt. **faski-* ‘bundle’.

IE cognates: Ōlr. *basc* ‘necklace’, W. *beich* ‘burden’, Bret. *bec’h* ‘load’ < PCl. *b^(h)*askio-*.

An Italo-Celtic correspondence *b^h*aski(o)-* ‘bundle’, for which no PIE etymology is available. Greek words such as φάκελος ‘bundle’ and βάσκειοι ‘bundles of osiers’ (Hsch.) are probably unrelated, since they show irregular alternations within Greek, and do not have exactly the same preform *b^h*aski(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 *b^hrs-tí- ‘top, point’. IE cognates: OHG *burst*, *borst*, OE *byrst* ‘bristle’ < *b^hrs-tí-; Skt. *bhṛṣṭī-* ‘point’, YAv. *vouru.barəšti-* ‘name of a part of the earth which

lies in the northwest' are derived from a root **bh₁rs* 'to whet' by EWAia II: 273, 277, but this does not seem certain.

EM suppose that *fastīgāre* was backformed 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 **b^hrs-ti-* would yield pre-Latin **b^harsti-* by means of Schrijver's rule that **r > ar* in front of CCC. The (nominal) root **b^hrs-* is found without suffix in Celtic: Ir. *barr*, W. *bar*, Bret. *barr* 'top' < **b^hrs-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: *fastidium* 'disdain, aversion' (Pl.+), *fastidiōsus* 'critical, squeamish' (Pl.+), *fastidire* 'to show aversion to, scorn' (Pl.+), *fastidiliter* 'in the manner of one who is hard to please' (Varro).

Plt. **fars-tu-?*

PIE **b^hrs-tu-* 'top, point'?

Lat. *fastidium* reflects a cp. **fastu-taid-o-*, with haplology, to *taedet* 'to be averse' (Pl.+). The only reasonable connection of *fastus* is with **farsti-* 'top'; this would imply a semantic shift from 'top' to 'haughtiness' which is conceivable, but the *u*-stem is not attested independently. Also, *fastidium* would be a tautology.

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: *confitēri* 'to admit' (Lex XII+), *infitiās ire* 'to deny; disown' (Pl.+), *prōfitēri* 'to declare, promise' (Pl.+).

Plt. **fat-ē-*. It. cognates: O. **fatium** [inf.] 'to speak'.

PIE **b^hh₂-to-* 'spoken' and/or **-b^hh₂-t-* 'who speaks'. IE cognates: Gr. *-φατος* 'said'.

At first sight, *fatēri* seems based on **fa-to-* 'said', but Leumann avows his reticence to derive an *ē*-verb directly from a ppp. EM regard *confitēri* and *prōfitēri* as older than *fatēri*, 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 **infitiāe* may continue **in-fato-* 'unsaid'. The ppp. *fassus* < **fat-to-* must be a recent derivative from **fat-*; the old ppp. of *fāri* 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. **b^heh₂-*. → *for, fās*

fatīgō, -āre 'to tire out, harass' [v. I] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *affatim, ad fatim* 'amply, sufficiently' (Andr.+), *fatiscere/-scī* 'to split open; become weary' (Pac.+), *dēfe/atīgāre* 'to exhaust, tire out' (Pl.+), *dēfetiscī* (ppp. *dēfessus*) 'to suffer exhaustion, become worn out' (Pl.+), *fessus* 'tired, exhausted' (Varro+).

Plt. **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 **d^hH-* ‘to vanish’ by WH is gratuitous. Theoretically, we would need a form **b^hHt-* or **d^hHt-* 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.

Plt. **fatowo-* ‘of speech’. It. cognates: O. **fatuveís** [gen.sg.], **fatoufe** [voc.sg.] maybe = *Fatuus*.

PIE **b^hh₂-tu-* ‘speech’.

Lat. *fatuus* looks like a derivative from a nominal or verbal stem **fat-* or an adj. **fatu/o-*, 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 *Fatuvys* 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. **b^heh₂-*. → *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.+).

Plt. **fawe/ono-*; **fawōn(-jo)-*. It. cognates: U. *fons*, *fos* [nom.sg.m.], *foner* [gen.sg.f.], *foner* [nom.pl.] ‘merciful’ < **fVu(V)ni-* (Schrijver).

PIE **b^hh₂u-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 **b^hh₂u-* ‘to become’, it becomes possible to derive *Faunus* from a similar preform as *fons*, viz. Plt. **fauVno-* < **b^hh₂u-e/ono-* ‘favourable’. Theoretically, **b^hh₂eu-no-* would also yield Plt. **fauno-*, but we have no other evidence for an ablaut grade **b^hh₂eu-* in Plt., nor would it be expected in view of **b^heh₂u-* 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 favourable. *Favōnius* was regarded by the Romans as the herald of spring and the start of new vegetation (e.g. Cato *Agr.* 50.1, Cicero *Ver.* 5.27, Lucretius 1.11, Vitruvius 2.9.1). The connection of *Favōnius* with *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 **b^hh₂u-eh₁-* ‘to be favourable to’. IE cognates: OIr. *báe* ‘profit, benefit’ < **b^heh₂u-io-*, Skt. *bhūṣ-* ‘to exert oneself for someone’.

Because of the rule **-ouV-* > *-avV-*, *faveō* might reflect **foueō*, but the hapax *fove* is unreliable (see also Vine 2006a: 225f.). Lat. *faustus* << **foustus* < **faves-to-*. Schrijver 1991 rejects the etymologies **b^houH-eie-* ‘to make someone grow’ (for semantic reasons) and **d^hog^{wh}-eie-* ‘to make warm’ (for phonetic reasons). He opts for PIE **g^{wh}ou-eie-* ‘to worship’, derived from PIE **g^{wh}u-* ‘to heed, worship’. Lubotsky 1995 points out that the semantics of **g^{wh}u-* 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 **b^hh₂u-*, from which OIr. *báe* ‘profit, benefit’ can be derived as **b^heh₂u-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 **b^hh₂u-eh₁-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 464ff., 468, EM 220f., IEW 453, Schrijver 1991: 441f., Lubotsky 1995: 225, Untermann 2000: 302, LIV **d^heu-* ‘run’. → *Faunus*, *fīō*, *fuī*

favilla ‘ashes’ [f. *ā*] (Ter.+)

PIt. **fawV-*.

PIE **d^houH-ǵ-* ‘smoke / smoking’.

WH and EM do not doubt the appurtenance of *favilla* to *foveō* ‘make warm’ < ‘burn’; WH reconstruct **foiilla*, EM **d^hg^{wh}-* > *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 **d^hog^{wh}-*, 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 **d^huH-* ‘to smoke’. If Thurneysen-Havet’s Law applied in Vine’s formulation (i.e. in

pretonic position with PIE place of the accent), *favilla* must reflect a stem form *d^houH-V- with unaccented first syllable. Of the various possible scenarios to arrive at such a form, Vine's first proposal is the following: PIE *d^houh₂-i- 'smoke, soot', ins.sg. *d^houh₂-ih₁ 'with smoke, with soot' > deriv. Plt. **ῥοῦῖ-νό-* 'smoky, sooty' > **ῥαῦῖνό-* > deriv. **ῥαῦῖν(ε)λᾶ-* '(small) smoky stuff' = 'ashes'. Another possible starting point would be a PIE *o*-stem *d^houh₂-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 *d^heg^{uh}-, *d^hueh₂-. → *foveō, fūmus*

favus 'honeycomb' [m. *o*] (Varro+)

Etymology unknown. One might follow WH and derive *favus* from PIE *b^huH- / *b^hh₂u- '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 *b^houh₂-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 *b^hueh₂-uo- > **ῥαῦο-* 'being' > **ῥαῦο-* 'building', but this reconstruction is unsupported by other evidence.

Bibl.: WH I: 469, EM 222, Schrijver 1991: 444.

faux, -cis 'pharynx, throat' [f. *i*] (Pl.+; usually pl. *faucēs, -ium*; only sg. case form abl. *faucē*)

Etymology unknown.

Bibl.: WH I: 469f., EM 222.

fax, -cis 'torch; a light' [f. *k*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *facula* 'torch' (Pl.+); *facēs* (Paul. *ex F.*; meaning not indicated); *facētus* 'clever, adept' (Pl.+), *inficētus* 'boorish, humourless' (Pl.+), *facētia* 'cleverness, joke' (also pl. *-ae*) (Pl.+).

Plt. **ῥwak*^(w)-(ē-).

IE cognates: Lith. *žvākė* 'candle'; Gr. *φῶψ* '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. *φῶψ* is uncertain, since it is a hapax from Hesych. Schrijver (p. 461) conjectures that it represents a remake of Gr. *φῶς* 'light' on the model of *ὄψ* 'eye', in which case it would not belong here. Since the Lith. form, might reflect PIE **g^huok-*, this removes the need to reconstruct a root-final labiovelar, though it is still a possibility. In Latin, **ῥuo-* would have been unrounded to **ῥua-* in open syllable, i.e. in the oblique case forms. The root structure *D^h-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 **ǵ^hu-* (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. **fex^wri-*.

PIE **d^heg^{wh}-ro-* 'burning' > **d^heg^{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^heg^{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.*).

PIt. **f(w)esro-* or **fex^wro-*.

PIE **d^hues-ro-* 'the smoking' or **d^heg^{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^hues-ro-* 'smoking' more or less: we would only need to assume a semantic shift from 'the smoking' to 'the purifying'. The development **d^hue-* > *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^heg^{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.+)

PIt. **fēk-odno-?*

PIE **d^heh₁-k-?* IE cognates: see *fēmina*.

Latin has seven gerunds in -*cundus*: *secundus* (< **sek^w-omeno-?*), *fācundus*, *fēcundus*, *irācundus*, *iūcundus*, *verēcundus* and *rubicundus*. Apart from *secundus* (which can hardly have led to the recognition of -*cundus*), the only form which may have had an original **k* is *fēcundus*. It is usually derived from **d^heh₁-(i)-* 'to suck', but this verb is homophonous to **d^heh₁-* 'to put', and may well in origin be the same verb. Since 'to put' takes a *k*-suffix in some Italic, Greek and Phrygian forms (see s.v. Lat. *faciō*), some of the forms meaning 'to suckle' may also have had this suffix. In view also of *fēlix* 'fortunate', *fēnum* and *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 *d^heh₁(i)-. → *fēlix*, *fēlō*, *fēmina*, *fēmus*, *fētus*, *filius*

fel, fellis 'bile, gall' [n.] (Pl.+)

IE cognates: Gr. χόλος 'gall, wrath', χολή 'bile'; Lith. *tulžis*, Latv. *žul(k)ts* 'bile' < ḡ^hlh₃-; OCS *zlbčb* 'bile' [f.], Ru. *žělč'*, SCr. *žuč*, gen.sg. *žüci*; 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 *ḡ^h-, but if *fel* is from from *ḡ^helH- 'yellow', initial *f-* instead of **h-* must be a dialectal feature. If the root was *b^hl(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' < **b^helego-*?

The connection with W. *bele* is possible, but *fēlēs* can go back to other preforms than **b^hel-*. 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.

fēlix, -icis 'fruitful; fortunate' [adj. k] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *fēlicitās* 'luck' (Ter.+), *īnfēlix* 'unlucky, unhappy' (Pl.+), *īnfēlicitās* 'misfortune' (Ter.+), *īnfēlicāre* 'to bring bad luck' (Pl.+).

Plt. **fēl(w)ī-* 'suckling'.

PIE *d^heh₁-l(u)-i-. IE cognates: OIr. *deil* 'female pig', *dela*, *delech* 'having udders, milch cow' < *d^heh₁-l-o/h₂; Skt. *dhāri-* [adj.] 'sucking' (AV) < *d^heh₁-l/ru-, Gr. θήλυς 'female' < *d^heh₁-lu-, θηλή 'breast, nipple', Arm. *dayl* 'beestings' < *d^hh₁-l-i-, Latv. *dēls* 'son', *dēle* 'leech', Lith. *dėlė* 'id.' < *d^heh₁-lo-/lh₂.

Lat. *fēlix* developed from 'suckling' or 'with young' to 'fruitful' and 'fortunate'. We find different extensions (*-u-, *-i-, *-o-, *-h₂-) of a nominal stem *d^heh₁-l-, which in itself must have meant 'sucking animal' (cf. also *filius*). This means that *fēlix* may be a very old f. of an *l*-stem adj., or a relatively early (hyper)feminization to *d^heh₁-li- or *d^heh₁-lu- to *d^heh₁-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 *d^hh₁(-i)- 'to suck, suckle'. → *fēcundus*, *fēlare*, *fēmina*, *fēnus*, *fētus*, *filius*

fēlō, -āre 'to suck (milk)' [v. I] (Varro+)

Derivatives: *fellāre* 'to suck (sexually)' (Cat.+).

Plt. **fēlo-*. It. cognates: U. *feliuf, filiu* [acc.pl.m.] 'suckling' < **fēlio-*.

PIE **d^heh₁-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. **d^heh₁-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 **d^heh₁(i)-*. → *fēcundus, fēlīx, fēmina, fēnus, fētus, filius*

fēmina 'woman, female' [f. *ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *fēminīnus* 'female, of a woman' (Titinius+).

Plt. **fēmanā-*.

PIE **d^heh₁-mh₁n-h₂-* '(the one) nursing, breastfeeding'. IE cognates: PIE **d^heh₁-* in Skt. pf. *dadhūr* 'they have sucked', caus. *dhāpāya-*, inf. *dhātave* 'to drink', (*payo*)-*dhā-* [adj.] 'sucking (milk)'; Gr. pr.inf. *ϕῆσθαι*, aor. *ϕῆσατο* 'he sucked', Latv. *dēt, dēju* 'to suck', OCS *děva* 'virgin, maiden', CS *děť*, Ru. *děti* 'children'. PIE **d^heh₁-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. *dojq* 'to breast-feed, nurse' (< **d^hoih₁-* or *d^hoh₁-*), Go. *daddjan*, OHG *tāju* 'to suck'; OIr. *denaid**, *-den**, pret. *did*, W. *dynu* 'id.' < PCl. **di-na-*.

An original pr.ptc.med. of the root **d^heh₁-* 'to nurse', without the *i*-extension which many IE languages show.

Bibl.: WH I: 476f., EM 224, IEW 241f., Schrijver 1991: 344, LIV **d^heh₁(i)-*. → *fēcundus, fēlīx, fēlāre, fēnus, fētus, filius*

femur, -inis 'thigh' [n. *n*] (Pl.+; secondary forms: nom.sg. *femen* Ampellius, *femus* Apul., gen.sg. *femoris* Cic.+)

PIE **d^hen-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 **d^hen-ur, -uen-s* 'bow'. Semantically, this is not problematical; cf. also Janda 1998. Yet phonetically, there is no indication that **n_u* yielded (*n*)*m* in Latin.

Bibl.: WH I: 477, EM 224, Janda 1998.

-fendō, -ere 'to hit, strike' [v. III; *-fendī, -fēnsūm*]: *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' (Lucret.+).

Plt. **χ^w(e)nd-*.

PIE **g^{wh}en-d^h-* 'to hit, strike' or ipv.sg. **g^{wh}nd^hi*. IE cognates: OIr. *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- / kuṃa(n)-* 'to kill', Lyc. 3p *qānti* 'they destroy'; Skt. pr. 3s. *hānti*, 3p. *ghnānti* 'to kill'; Gr. *δαίνω*, Arm. *jnem* 'to strike'; Lith. *ginti* 'to protect, defend', 3s. *gina* (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^wn-, 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^hi 'strike!' (thus LIV).

Bibl.: WH I: 332f., EM 224f., IEW 491ff., Leumann 1977: 166, 603, Sihler 1995: 510, LIV *g^{wh}en-.

fēnum / faenum 'hay' [n. o] (Cato+)

Derivatives: *faenārius* 'of hay' (Cato+); *faenisex*, *-cis* 'a mower' (CIL, Varro+), *faeniscia* 'the mowing' (Cato+); *faeniculum* 'fennel' (Pl.+).

Plt. **fēno-* [n.].

PIE *d^heh₁-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^heh₁-no- 'the yield' to the root *d^heh₁-. 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^heh₁(i)-. → *-dō*, *-dere*, *fēcundus*, *fēlix*, *fēmina*, *filius*

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^heh₁-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^heh₁(i)-. → *fēnum*

fērālis 'of the dead, funerary' [adj. ī] (Verg.+)

Derivatives: *Fērālia, -ium* [n.pl.] 'festival of the dead (21 Feb.)' (Varro+).

Plt. **fēs-āli-* 'religious'.

PIE *d^heh₁-s-o- 'divine, holy'. IE cognates: see s.v. *fēriae*.

WH and Leumann 1977 assume that *fērālis* 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 *fēstus* 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 *fērālis*. WH connect *fērālis* with words for 'to breathe, rage', and reconstruct **d^hyēs-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 **d^her-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 **d^her-*. → *firmus*

fer(c)tum 'a kind of sacrificial cake' [n. o] (Cato+)

Plt. **ferkto-*.

PIE **b^herg-to-* 'roasted'? IE cognates: Skt. pr. *bhrjjāti* 'to fry' (Middle Indic for **bhrjyāti?*), *bhrjjana-* [n.], *bhrāstra-* 'frying-pan' [n.] (metathesized from **bharāstra-?*); Khot. *brjjs-*, MP *brištan* 'to fry, roast'; Lith. *birgelas* 'kind of beer'.

The cluster *rci* 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 **b^hr-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 **b^her-ǵ-* 'to roast' (Vine 1986). This root might be an enlarged variant of PIE **b^hr-* '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 **b^herg-to-* 'stuffed' > 'cake'.

Bibl.: WH I: 486f., EM 230, IEW 137, Leumann 1977: 217, Schrijver 1991: 255, LIV **b^herg-*. → *farciō, ferveō?*

fēriae 'religious festival' [f.pl. *ā*] (Pl.+; Paul. ex *F. fesiae*)

Derivatives: *fēriātus* 'keeping holiday' (Pl.+); *fēstus* [adj.] 'holiday' (Pl.+), *fēstivus* 'festal, excellent' (Pl.+), *fēstivitās* 'festivity, charm' (Pl.+), *prōfēstus* 'ordinary, working' (Pl.+).

Plt. **fēs-io-* 'holiday', **fēs-to-* 'holiday'. It. cognates: O. *fīsiāis, fīsiāis, fīsiāis* [dat.abl.pl.] '(religious) holidays' < **fēsja-*.

PIE **d^heh₁-s-io-*, **d^heh₁-s-to-* 'divine, holy'. IE cognates: Skt. *dhiṣā* 'approximately: with impetuosity'; Gr. *θεός* 'god', *θεσφατός* 'decreed by a god' < **d^hh₁-s-o-*, Arm. pl.

dik 'gods' < *d^heh₁-s-.

These words seem to be derived from a PIE *s*-stem *d^heh₁-s- 'religious gift' or 'rite' (cf. Av. *dāh-* /*da?ah-* '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^heh₁- → *fānum*, *fērālis*

feriō, -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(-je)-*.

The etymology is based on the assumption that *feriō* belongs to the root for 'to pierce', attested with *o*-grade in *forāre* and several BSl. and Gm. cognates. Since this was a laryngeal-final root, *feriō* cannot go back directly to a PIE *e*-grade, since *b^herH-*je-* would yield Latin **feraje-* > **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^herH- → *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. (*te*)*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.+), *īferius* 'used in offerings' (Cato+), *īferiae* [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. **ferē/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. *fjerríns* [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. **b^her-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. *bhāra-*, Av. *bara-*, Gr. φέρω, Phryg. αβ-βερετ, Arm. *berem*, Alb. *bie* 'to bear, carry', Lith. *ber̃ti*, *ber̃ti* 'to scatter, OCS *brati*, 1s. *ber̃o* 'to gather, select', Go. *bairan*, ToB act. *parām*, 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. *barāθrī-* 'giving birth', i.e. **b^her-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 **b^her-*, **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 **b^her-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 *ǵ^hueh₁(-)r-* ‘wild animal’ (> **ǵ^hueh₁ro-*). IE cognates: Gr. φῆρ, -ός, OPr. [acc.pl.] *swīrins*, Lith. *žvėris*, Latv. *zvērs*, OCS *zvěrb*, SCr. *zviĵer* [i], Bulg. *zviar* ‘wild animal’ < BSl. **žueǰri-*; ToB *šerwje* ‘hunter’ (< **ǵ^huēr-uō-*).

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]jēro-h₂kw-* ‘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. **b^heru-e/o-* ‘to be hot, boil’. IE cognates: OIr. *berbaid*, W. *berw* ‘to boil’ < **b^her-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 *servēscere* (whence *servēfacere*) 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 *servēre* goes back to **forvēre* from a caus. **b^hor-γ-eie-*; the *e*-grade would then have been adopted from *fervere*. Yet there is no discernable difference in meaning between *servō* and *serveō*, 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 *servēre* before the time of Plautus. The rise of *servēre* 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 **b^herū-*. → *dēfrutum*, *fermentum*

festinō, -āre 'to make haste, hurry' [v. I] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *festinus* 'quick, in a hurry' (Sall.+), *praefestināre* 'to make great haste' (Pl.+), *praefestinātim* 'in great haste' (Sis.); *confestim* 'immediately' (Naev.+).

Plt. **fristī-* 'haste'.

PIE **b^hristi-*. IE cognates: W. *brys* 'haste; speedy', MBret. *bresic*, *brezec* 'swift, hurried' < **b^hris(s)ti-*.

The form *confestim* points to an earlier noun **festi-*. Schrijver 1990 reconstructs a noun **festi-* 'hurry' from a root **b^hris-* which he also finds in Celtic, and compares it with Skt. *bhrī-*. Vine 1999c assumes that *festinus* is older than *festināre*, in spite of its more recent attestation. In that case, there would have been an ins.sg. **fris-tī* 'with haste' from which **fris-tī-no-* was derived. Even if the actually attested *festinus* is regarded as a more recent creation, Vine argues, *festināre* may have been built on an earlier adj. **festīno-*. Vine's explanation is attractive semantically, since the earlier explanation of *festināre* as a denominative to an alleged noun **festi-on-* 'haste' does not explain the meaning 'to haste' (one would expect 'to be a haste', which is nonsense). Italo-Celtic **b^hristi-* might be connected with **b^hriH-* 'to cut' (Skt. *bhrīnānti* 'they wound', YAv. *pairi.brīnaṅha* 'you have cut', RuCS *brijō*, *briti* 'to shave'). The bare root would be **b^hri-*, 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. → *īnfestus*

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*

fētīālis 'one of the college of twenty priests of Rome' [m. *i*] (Varro+)

Plt. **fēti-āli-*.

PIE **d^heh₁-ti-* 'the putting, making'. IE cognates: Skt. *-dhiti-* [f.] 'id.', Av. *ni-dāiti-*

'concealment', Gr. $\vartheta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ [f.] 'setting, position', Lith. *dėtis* 'load', OCS *blago-děti* 'benediction', Go. *gadeds* 'adoption', *missadeþs* 'crime', OIc. *dáð*, OHG *tāt* 'deed'.

A substantivized adjective meaning 'of the (religious) congregation'. Thus, the inherited noun **fēti-* < **d^heh₁-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 **d^heh₁-*. → *-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.+).

Plt. **fēto-*.

PIE **d^heh₁-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 **d^heh₁(i)-*. → *fēcundus*, *fēlix*, *fēlare*, *fēnus*, *fētus*, *fīlius*

fiber, **-brī** 'beaver' [m. *o*] (Pl.+; also *feber* Varro+)

Plt. **fifro-* / **fefro-* 'beaver'.

PIE **b^he-b^hr-ú-*, **b^he-b^hr-o-* (or **b^hi-b^hr-o-*) 'brown; brown animal, beaver'. IE cognates: Gaul. *bebru-* (in PN); Skt. *babhrī-* 'red-brown; brown horse', Av. *baβra-* 'beaver', OPr. *bebrus*, Lith. *bēbras*, *bēbras*, *bebrūs*, *bēbrus*, Latv. *bēbrs*, CS *bebrǔ*, *bobrǔ*, Ru. *bobr*, gen.sg. *bobrá*, SCr. *dābar*, Slv. *bóbār*, *bébār* '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 **b^heb^hr-*, 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 **b^hib^hr-*. 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 **b^hruH-no-* 'brown', the *u-* stem may be older (for this type, cf. Skt. *dadru-* 'skin disease', *-ta-tu-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^{wh}iH-lo-*. PIE **g^{wh}iH-s-ro-* would yield a form **fīsra*, 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. σῦkov, Boeot. τῦkov, Arm. t'owz 'fig'.

Loanword from another language in the Mediterranean. The word may have been adopted into pre-Latin in the form **θūko-* or **ḡiko-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 492, EM 232.

fidō, -ere 'to trust' [v. III; ppp. *fisum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *fidus* 'faithful, reliable' (Pl.+), *infidus* 'faithless, treacherous' (Pl.+); *fidūcia* '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.+), *perfidiosus* 'treacherous' (Pl.+); *confidere* 'to put one's trust in, be sure' (Pl.+), *confidentia* 'self-confidence' (Naev.+), *confidentiloquus* 'speaking audaciously' (Pl.), *diffidere* 'to have no confidence in' (Pl.+).

PIt. **feip-* [v.], **feip-* [adj.], **fiḡ-ē-* [f.], **foip-* [m.], **feip-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-jo-* '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^heid^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', *besē* 'faith', *bindem* 'to be convinced, believe'; OCS *běda* 'distress, necessity' < **b^hoid^h-eh₂*, *běditi* 'to force, persuade', Is. *běždō* < **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. *fidus* < **b^heid^h-o-* and the noun

fidēs < *b^hid^h-eh₁-. The adj. *fidē-lis* was derived from *fidēs*. This noun was interpreted by Meillet as a remake of PIE *k^red-d^heh₁- ‘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. πειθό ‘persuasion’ < *-ō(i) and proposes a stem *b^hid^h-Hi-, with different paradigmatic ablaut: *-Hō, -Hoi-m, *-Hei-s in Greek, *-Hēi-s, *-Hēi-m, *i-ós in Latin. I do not see the need to reconstruct a laryngeal: nom.sg. *b^hid^h-ēi, acc.sg. *b^hid^h-ei-m would also work. The *s*-stem *foedus* has probably replaced **fidōs*, -*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 *b^hoid^h-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 *b^heid^h-.

figō, -ere ‘to drive in, insert; to fasten’ [v. III; *fixī, fictum*] (SCBac., Pl.+; *vivere* Paul. *ex F.*)

Derivatives: *offivēbant* ‘they shut with bars’ (gloss); *affigere* ‘to fix, attach’ (Pl.+), *cōnfigere* ‘to fasten together; pierce’ (Pl.+), *dēfigere* ‘to plant, stick’ (Pl.+), *infigere* ‘to drive, implant’ (Lucil.+), *offigere* ‘to drive in, fasten’ (Pl.+), *suffigere* ‘to fix beneath’ (Pl.+); *fixus* [secondary ppp.] ‘set, established’ (Lucr.+); *fibula* ‘bolt, peg, pin’ (Cato+). It. cognates: possibly O. *fiikus* [2s.fut.pf.] ‘to make(?)’ < **fi-fig-us-s* (Kortlandt 2007: 153); reluctantly Untermann 2000 for U. *fiktu, afikta* [3s.ipv.II] ‘?’.

PIE *d^heig^w-e/o- or *d^hiHg^w-ē/o-. IE cognates: Lith. *dīęgti* ‘to plant, sting’; maybe ToB 3s.sb. *tsākam* ‘bites’.

The forms *vivere* and *offivēbant* retain the regular intervocalic reflex of *g^w. The *g* was later introduced analogically from the perfect. *Fibula* < **fiwibula* < **fiye-d^hla*. LIV explains *fiwō* from the thematization of the weak stem *d^hiHg^w- of a PIE root present (or rather a root aorist?). The reconstruction of the root-internal laryngeal is based on Toch. *tsāk-*, which may rather belong to a root in PIE **d-*. The acute and the long vowel of Lith. *dýgti* ‘to sprout’ can be explained from Winter’s Law. For Baltic and Latin, a root *d^heig^w- would suffice.

Bibl.: WH I: 492, 495f., EM 232, 234, IEW 243f., Sihler 1995: 583, Untermann 2000: 279, LIV *d^heiHg^w-.

filius ‘son’ [m. o] (Lex XII, Andr.+)

Derivatives: *filia* ‘daughter’ (Andr.+), *filiohus* ‘little son’ (Pl.+).

Pit. **filio/ā-* ‘son, daughter’. It. cognates: Ven. *filia* [nom.sg.] ‘daughter’, Fal. *fileo*, *hileo*, *fiō*, *fi*, *f*. [nom.sg.m.] ‘son’, *filea* [nomsg.f.], *file(ai)* [dat.sg.f.] ‘daughter’; U. *fel* (abbreviated) probably a loan from Latin.

PIE *d^h(e)h₁i-l- ‘suckling, child’. IE cognates: see s.v. *fēlix* and *fēmina*.

A PIE *l*-adj. meaning ‘suckling’ can be reconstructed both from the PIE root *d^heh₁- and from its extended variant *d^hh₁-i-. The U. suffix *-*io-* after *d^heh₁-l- is matched in Latin by *fil-ius* after *d^hh₁-i-. Although Latin *fil-* can reflect **feil-*, Faliscan *fileai* shows Pit. **fil-*.

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 *d^heh₁(-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 *b^hel-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* < **behun-ôn-*, Dan. *bylne* < **buln-*.

It is uncertain which spelling is the oldest, but since *filiX* might be an assimilation from *felix*, the latter form might be original (or **felex*). The suffix *-ik-* or *-ek-* is found in other plant names (*larix* 'larch', *cārex, rumex*), and can have been added secondarily. The stem **fel-* has been identified with PIE *b^hel- '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 I: 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. **fi(s)lo-*.

PIE *g^{wh}iH-(s-)lo- 'sinew, sinew thread'. IE cognates: MW *gieu*, W. *gīau* 'sinew, nerves', OCo. *goiuen*, MCo. (lenited) *ieyw* < **gi-* < **gi-* < PIE *g^{wh}iH-; Skt. *jyá-* 'tendon, bow-string', Av. *jiiā-* 'bow-string' < Ilr. **jiHaH-*, Gr. βίός 'bow; bow-string' < *g^{wh}iH-o-; Arm. *jil* 'sinew, cord' < *g^{wh}iH-sl; OPr. *pettegislo* 'back vein', Lith. *gýsla*, Latv. *dzi(k)sla* 'vein, sinew' < Proto-Baltic **giHla*; OCS *žila*, Ru. *žila*, SCr. *žila*, Sln. *žila* 'vein' < PSl. **žila*.

The unenlarged root is shown by Ilr. and Greek, but they also have initial *g^w- instead of *g^{wh}-. In BSl. and Celtic, the velar is uncertain, whereas Arm. needs *g^w 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*

flumum 'excrement, dung' [n. o] (Cato+; var. *fimur* [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. *flumur* '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+), *infindere* ‘to cleave’ (Acc.+).

Pit. **find-e-*. It. cognates: maybe Hern. **hvidas** /fidas/ [2s.pr.sb.] ‘to break’.

PIE pr. *b^hi-n-d- ‘to cleave’. IE cognates: Celtib. *bidetuā* [3s.ipv.] ‘to split?’, *robiseti* [3s.sb.] < PCI. **bid-e/o-*, **bid-se-*; Skt. pr. *bhinātti*, aor. *abhedam*, pf. *bibhēda* ‘to split’, *bhinnā-* ‘split’, *bhīd-* [f.] ‘splitting’, *pūr-bhīd-* ‘breaking the walls’, YAv. *astō.bid-* ‘who breaks a bone’; Gr. *φείδομαι* ‘to spare’, Go. *beitan*, OE *bītan*, NHG *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 *b^hejd-.

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’, **fiḡlo-* ‘who forms’, **fiḡ-tlo-* ‘cake, offering’, **feiḡo-* [m.] ‘wall’. It. cognates: Fal. **fifiked** [3s.pf.], **f(i)iqod** [3p.pf.], **fitā** [nom.sg.f. of ppp.] ‘to produce’; Presam. (Tortora A2) *fēfikēd* ‘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-* < **d^hig^h-tl-h₂-?* O. **fifikus** [2s.fut.pf.] < **fi-fig-us-s?* Maybe also U. **fiktu**, **afikta** [3s.ipv.II] ‘?’.

PIE pr. *d^hi-n-ḡ^h-, aor. *d^h(e)ig^h-; noun *d^heig^h-(o-?) ‘wall’. IE cognates: Verb: Celtib. inf. *ambi-tinkounei* ‘to build’, OIr. *dingid**, *-ding* ‘to oppress’ < PCI. **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. *žiēsti*, *žiedžiū* ‘to mould (from clay)’, OCS *zъdati*, *zъdъ* ‘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.], *τοιχος* [m.] ‘wall’, OPr. *seydis* ‘id.’, Cz. *zed’*, gen.sg. *zdi*, SCr. *zid* ‘stone wall’; Go. *daigs* ‘dough’, ToA *tseke* ‘sculpture’.

The presence of *g* in *figulus* suggests an origin as **d^hig^h-lo-*; in *fig-ūra* and *effig-ia*, also with *g* instead of *h*, the element *fig-* must be analogical from *fingō*. Lat. *fitilla* < **d^hig^h-tla-*, cf. Vine 1986, who explains *fitilla* for **fictilla* as a dialectal form. The O. noun ***feiho-** ‘wall’ matches nouns in **d^heig^h-(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-Pocchetti 2001, LIV *d^heig^h-.

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.+), *affīnis* [m.] ‘a relation by marriage; neighbour’ (Pl.+), *affīnitās* ‘relationship (by marriage)’ (Pl.+), *confinis* ‘adjacent, akin’ (Varro+), *confinium* ‘common boundary’ (Pl.+), *dēfinīre* ‘to fix, settle, define’ (Pl.+), *dēfinitiō* ‘definition, marking’ (Varro+), *īnfinītus* ‘indefinite, unlimited’ (Varro+), *praefinīre* ‘to prescribe, determine’ (Ter.+); *perfinēs* ‘perfringās’ (Fest.).

PIt. *fīni-? *fī/eig^wsni-?

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 *b^hiH-ni- to *b^hiH- ‘to hit, strike’, especially in view of *perfinēs* ‘you must strike’. Bammesberger 1990 connects PGm. *baina- ‘bone, leg’ and OIc. *beinn* ‘straight’, which may suggest that *baina- originally referred to a pole or an upright boundary mark. Whereas PGm. *baina- could go back to *b^hoiH-n-o-, Lat. *finis* could reflect *b^hiH-n-i-.

Bibl.: WH I: 502f., EM 236f., IEW 243f., Leumann 1977: 343. → *figō*, *perfinēs*

fiō, **fieri** ‘to happen, become’ [v. IV] (Andr.+). Forms: pr. *fiō*, *fīs*, *fit*, *fīmus*, *fītis*, *fīunt*, ipv. *fī*, *fite*, *fitō*, ps. *fitur*, *fitum est*, inf. *fiere* (Enn.), *fieri* (elsewhere), sb. *fiam*, ipf. *fiēbam*.

Derivatives: *dēfieri* ‘to be lacking’ (Pl.+), *īnfit* ‘begins’ (Pl.+), *superfieri* ‘to be superfluous’. As pr. to -*faciō*: *cōnfieri* ‘to be done, happen’ (Ter.+), *interfieri* ‘to be destroyed’ (Pl.+).

PIt. *fwije/o-. It. cognates: O. **fiiet**, **fiiet** [3p.pr.], U. **fuia** [3s.pr.sb.], **fuiest** [3s.fut.], *fīto* [ppp., acc.sg.n.] ‘to take place, happen’ < *fū-*ie/o-*. The vowel *ī* can be directly from *ū, or from the *pius*-rule. The U. ppp. *fīto-* may reflect *fū-to-.

PIE *b^h₂u-ie/o- ‘to become’. IE cognates: Gaul. *biiete* ‘you are/must be’, OIr. *biuu* ‘I am’, *biūd*, *biūth*, *·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’ < *biie/o- < PCl. *buiie/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- > *-ūiV-, or 2. a development (e.g.) 3s. *b^hHu-ie-ti > *b^huieti > *fuieti > *fuit > *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*, *fīunt*

retain the long vowel in front of hiatus. Maybe U. **fuia** retains **fū-* in front of *-*iā-*? Since *fierī* does not normally have a pf., the form *fitum* in Andr. must be a nonce-formation, cf. Meiser 1986.

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 *b^hueh₂- → *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 *d^her-mo- 'holding'. IE cognates: Skt. *dhar-* 'to hold, keep, bear, support', *dhárman-* [n.] 'support, firm hold, fixed order, law', Av. *dar-* 'to hold'. Lith. *daryti* 'to do' < *d^hor-, *derėti*, 3s. *dēra* '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' (Lucret.+).

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.+); *diffilāgitāre* 'to importune on all sides' (Pl.).

Plt. **flāg-e/o-* 'to whip'.

PIE **b^hl(e)h₍₂₎g-e/o-?* IE cognates: Olc. *blaka, blakra* 'to hit back and forth', *blak* 'a blow', *blekkja* (< **blakjan*) 'to hit'; Lith. *blokšti, blaškiū* 'to swing back and forth'.

All built on an iterative *flāg-itāre* to an earlier, unattested verb **flāg-ere*. The original meaning was 'to whip somebody as a punishment', whence 'to scold'; cf. WH. This means that this word family is connected with *flagrum* 'whip', and that the stem appears as *flag-r-* in the latter and *flāg-V-* here. This would match Schrijver's rule (1991: 191) of a development **CRHCC* > *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 ?**b^hleh₂g-*. → *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. **flagiúi, flagiúi** [dat.sg.] of *flagio-*, an epithet of Iuppiter.

PIE **b^hlg-ro-* 'burning', **b^hlg-mh₂-* 'flame'. IE cognates: see *fulgō*.

The verb is probably a denom. of an adj. **flagro-* 'burning'. Schrijver (1991: 485) posits a rule PIE **R̥DC* > Latin *RaDC*, which serves to explain **flagro-* < **b^hlg-ro-*, among other forms. The noun *flamma* reflects a noun **flag-ma* from a zero grade **b^hlg-m-* which is striking next to PIE **b^hlog-mo-* > Gr. φλογμός 'flame'.

Bibl.: WH I: 510f., 513, EM 238f., IEW 124f., Schrijver 1991: 477ff., Meiser 1998: 64, Untermann 2000: 289f., LIV **b^hle^(g)-*. → *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 **b^hlHg-ro-*.

See s.v. *flāgitō*.

Bibl.: WH I: 511f., EM 238, IEW 154, Schrijver 1991: 185, 191, LIV ?**b^hleh₂g-*.

flāmen, -inis 'certain kind of priest, flamen' [m. n] (Varro+)

Derivatives: *Flāminius* 'a Roman gentilicium' (Varro+).

PIt. **flā(d)men*-? **flagsmen*-? 'sacrificial act'.

PIE **b^hleh₂(d)-mn* 'sacrifice'? **b^hlg-s-mn* 'burnt offering'? IE cognates: Go. *blotan* 'to honour through sacrifice', OHG *bluozan* 'to sacrifice', Oic. *blóta* 'to sacrifice' < **b^hleh_{2/3}d-*.

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 **b^hleh₂-mn* (a n. with *e*-grade), but **b^hleh₂-d-mn* is also possible. A connection with **b^hlg-* 'to shine, burn' would yield **b^hlg-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: *flavescere* 'to turn yellow' (Cato+).

PIt. **flāwo-*.

PIE **b^hleh₃-uo-* 'yellow'? IE cognates: Mlr. *blá* 'yellow'; OHG *blāo*, OE *blāw*, Oic. *blár* 'blue' < PGM. **blēya-*.

Schrijver derives *flāvus* from a root **b^hlh₃-* 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 **b^hleh₃-uo-* > **b^hleh_{1/2}-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 **b^hlh₁-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 **b^hleh₃-*. → *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+); *inflectere* 'to bend (inwards), turn' (Pl.+), *inflexus*, *-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 **b^hleK-*, **d^hleK-*, **g^{wh}leK-*, 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. **b^hleh₁-/*b^hlh₁-* or **b^hleh₁-ie/o-* 'to bleat, cry'. IE cognates: Hit. *paluae^{zi}* 'to cry out, shout for joy' (< **b^hlh₁-uo-je-?*; cf. Kloekhorst 2008: 623); RuCS *blējati*, Ru. *bléjat* 'to bleat, (dial.) 'speak, chatter, cry', Cz. *bleti* (arch.), Latv. *blēt* 'to bleat' < **b^hleh₁-*; MHG *blæjen* 'to bleat' < **blē-*; OHG *blāzzen*, OE *blætan*, MDu. *blāten* < **blē-t-* < PIE **-d-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 515f., EM 240, IEW 154f., Schrijver 1991: 403, Meiser 1998: 188, LIV **b^hleh₁-*. → *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 **b^hleiǵ-e/o-* or **b^hliH-ǵ-e/o-* 'to hit, crush'. IE cognates: Gr. *φλίβω* 'to rub, crush'; Lith. *bláizyti* 'to tear off', Latv. *blaizīt* 'to squeeze, beat, rub', *bliēzt* 'to beat, hew' < **b^hloiǵ-*, CS *blizъ* 'near, close', Ru. *blizyj* (dial.) 'short-sighted', Ru. *blizkij* 'near, close' < **b^hliǵ-*. Less certain: Go. *bliggwan*, OHG *bliuwan* 'to hit' < PGm. **bliwwan-* < **b^hliH-u-?*

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 **g^w*, 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 **b^hli-* with different enlargements in different branches.

Bibl.: WH I: 517, EM 240, IEW 160f., Schrijver 1991: 230f., LIV **b^hleiǵ-*.

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+), *conflāre* 'to blow on, bring about' (Pl.+), *dēflāre* 'to blow away' (Varro+), *diffflāre* 'to disperse by blowing' (Pl.+), *efflāre* 'to emit, breathe out' (Pl.+), *inflāre* '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. **b^hleh₁-/*b^hlh₁-* '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 *b^hlh₁-. The ppp. might directly reflect *b^hlh₁-to-, as Schrijver posits, but of course it can be secondary. The pr. is explained by Schrijver (1991: 402) from *b^hlh₁-C-, the zero grade of the PIE root present (accepted by Meiser 1998), because he expects **faije/o-* as the outcome of the latter. LIV reconstructs *b^hlh₁-je-, but does not say how **flaje-* > *flā-* arises from this preform. Alternatively, one might separate 'to blow' from 'to cry', since the semantics are sufficiently different, and reconstruct PIE *b^hlh₂- 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 I20ff., Schrijver 1991: 177, 402f., Meiser 1998: 124, LIV *b^hleh₁-. → *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 *b^hloh_{1/3}-ro- or *b^hleh₃-ro- 'blossoming'. IE cognates: OIr. *blár*, W. *blawr* 'grey'; Mlr. *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 *b^hlh₃-, in the vein of Schrijver 1991 (see s.v. *flāvus*), but for *flōrus* itself, a root *b^hlh₁- would also do.

Bibl.: WH I: 513, EM 241, IEW 160, Schrijver 1991: 177, 298, 301, LIV *b^hleh₃-. → *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+); *flōrififer* 'producing flowers' (Lucret.+).

PIt. **flōs(-)* 'flower', **flōs-ā-* 'goddess of flowers'. It. cognates: Vest. *flusare* [abl.sg.m.] month name, from **flōs-āri-* 'of Flōra'; O. *fluusai* [dat.sg.] the goddess 'Flōra'; O. f<l>*uusasiais* [dat.abl.pl.] 'Flōrālia', feast of Flōra < **flōs-āsio-*.

PIE *b^hleh₃-ōs 'blossoming' > 'flower'. IE cognates: OIr. *bláth*, W. *blawd* 'flower, bloom', OCo. *blodon*, LCo. *bledzhan* 'flower' < **blātu-* < PIE *b^hleh₃-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, Sahrijver 1991: 131, 1995: 179, Sihler 1995: 310, Untermann 2000: 290-293, Stüber 2002: 76, LIV *b^hleh₃- → *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.+), *prāfluere* 'to flow forth, overflow' (Naev.+), *prōfluvius* 'fluctuating' (Caecil.), *prōfluvium* 'a discharge' (Lucr.+).

PIt. **flow-e/o-*.

PIE *b^hleuH-(e/o-) 'to flow (over)'. IE cognates: Gr. Att. φλέω 'to abound', φλόω 'to seethe, boil over'; Lith. *bliāuti*, 3s. *bliāuna* 'to bleat, sob, weep', Latv. *bjāūt* 'to bleat, bellow', OCS *bļьvati*, Is. *bļujō* 'to vomit', Ru. *blevát*' (vulg.) < PIE *b^hleuH-.

Leumann regards the spelling *flu-* as irregular for **flo-*, having been introduced from compounds where **flo-* 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 **flu-* < **flo-*, but *cōnflūges* and the pf. *flūxī* seem to require a stem **flūg-*. Hence, Meiser reconstructs *b^hleug^w-. 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.*b^hleuH-.

focus 'hearth, fireplace' [m. o] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *foculus* 'small stove' (Cato+).

A connection with Lat. *fax* 'torch' and Lith. *zvākė* 'candle' is formally impossible, since Pre-Lat. **fwakV-* would not yield *foc-*. Any etymology positing PIE *D^h-k^(w) would violate the PIE root structure constraints. Hamp 1992 proposes to explain *focus* as a back-formation to *foculus*, which he explains from **fweklo-* < **d^hg^wh-e-tlo-* 'hearth'. Yet this is chronologically difficult: initial **g^w* > PIt. **χ^we-* is expected to yield **fe-*, and could only yield **fo-* if the simplification of **χ^w-* > *f-* were dated after *-*we-* >

-wo-, which happened in the fifth c. BC. But that is rather late for the change $\chi^w \rightarrow f$.
Bibl.: WH I: 521, EM 243, IEW 495, Hamp 1992.

fodiō, -ere 'to pierce; to dig' [v. III; pf. *fōdī*, ppp. *fossum*; *fodīrī* Cato Ix] (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. **fob-i-*.

PIE $*b^h od^h i-$ 'to poke, dig'. IE cognates: Hit. *padda-* / *padd-* 'to dig (the ground)' < $*b^h od^h h_2-$; OPr. *boadis* 'stab' [m.], *embaddusisi* 'they stick', Lith. *bèsti*, 3s. *bēda* 'to stick, drive (into), dig', Latv. *best* 'dig, bury', Lith. *badyti*, Latv. *badīt* 'to butt, prick'; OCS *bosti*, Is. *bodq*, 1s.aor. *basъ* 'to stab', SCr. *bōsti*, *bōdēm* < BSl. **bed-*, **bod-*; ToA *pātar* 'they ploughed' < $*b^h od^h-$.

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: $*b^h od^h (i-)$. The Latin *i*-stem conjugation might be a rest of the PIE suffix, which surfaces as $*-ie/o-$ in this category in other branches of IE.

Bibl.: WH I: 521, EM 243, IEW 113f., Leumann 1977: 568, Schrijver 1991: 411, Meiser 1998: 212, LIV $*b^h ed^h h_2-$.

foedus 'foul, unclean; fearful, repugnant' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *foedāre* 'to wound, dishonour, make unclean' (Pl.+).

Plt. **fo(j)ipō-* 'afraid'.

PIE $(*b^h e-)b^h oiH-/b^h iH-$ [pf.] or $*b^h oH-i-$ [pr.] 'to be afraid'. IE cognates: Skt. *bibhāya* 'is afraid', ptc. *bibhīvāms-*, YAv. *biβiuuā* 'afraid'; OPr. *biātwei*, Lith. *bijóti(s)*, Latv. *bītiēs* 'to fear, be scared', OCS *bojati se* 'id.' < BSl. $*b(o)i(?)a?$; OHG *bibēt* (< PGm **bi-bai-*) [3s.pr.act.] 'to tremble' (from an old pf.).

If the original meaning was 'awful, frightful, terrible' (thus surmised by WH, and reiterated by Nussbaum), the adj. can be derived from PIE $*b^h iH-$ '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. $(*b^h e-)b^h oiH-$ (preserved in Skt. and Slavic) 'to be afraid', or from an *o*-grade *i*-present $*b^h oH-i-$ (cf. Hamp 1985b).

Bibl.: WH I: 522f., EM 244, IEW 161f., Nussbaum 1999a: 390f., LIV $*b^h eih_2-$.

foeteō 'to stink' [v. II] (Pl.+; variants *faet-*, *fēt-*)

Derivatives: *foetidus* 'stinking' (Pl.+).

Plt. **fwoit-* / **fwōje/ot-* 'smoking, smelly'.

PIE $*d^h uoh_2-i-$ 'to smoke'. IE cognates: OIr. *dé* [f.], gen. *dīad* 'smoke', Mir. *dethach*

'id.' < **duijot-* < **d^huh₂-i-ot-* (see s.v. *suffiō* for the phonetics); Hit. *tuhhuai-* / *tuhhui-* [c.] 'smoke' < PIE nom. **d^huéh₂-u-ōi-s*, acc. **d^huh₂-u-ói-m*, gen. **d^huh₂-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 OIr. *dé* 'smoke'. Tocharian and Hittite show that the full grade of **duh₂-* was of the type **dueh₂-*, so that we could assume a basis **d^huoh₂-i-t-* (> **fwoit-*) or **d^huoh₂-i-e/ot-* (> **fwōje/ot-*) for the verb *foetēre*. The *i*-stem derivative which forms the basis of Italo-Celtic **d^huoh₂-i-t-*, **d^huh₂-i-ot-* may be attested in Hit. *tuhhuai-* / *tuhhui-* 'smoke'.

Bibl.: WH I: 499f., EM 244, IEW 261-67, Leumann 1977: 65, Schrijver 1995: 292, Kloekhorst 2008: 895. → *fimum*, *suffiō*, *fūmus*, *fūligō*

folium 'leaf' [n. o] (Pl.+)

Plt. **folio-*.

PIE **d^holH-io-* 'leaf'. IE cognates: W. *dail* 'foliage' < **d^hlH-ih₂-*; Gr. aor. ἔβαλον, pr. θάλλω 'to flourish, grow', θάλος [n.] 'sprout', *θαλύς, -ύ [n.] (only in gen.pl. θαλέων), θαλερός 'flourishing', θαλέω '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' < **b^hol-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 **b^hl-*. 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 **d^hlH-* '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 **d^halh₁-*. → *fulvus*

follis 'bag, sack; ball, testicles' [m. i] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *follitus* 'enclosed in a sack' (Pl.), *folliculus* 'bag, skin, husk' (Lucil.+).

The meaning suggests a connection with PCI. **bol-* as in OIr. *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).

Plt. **fonti-*. It. cognates: possibly U. *funtlere*, *fondlire* [abl.pl. + *-en*] '?', a certain locality; maybe **fontelo-*.

PIE **d^honh₂-ti-* 'flowing'. IE cognates: Skt. *dhanⁱ* 'to run, to flow', pr. *dhánva*

[2s.ipv.act.], OP *danu*[...] [3s.pr.] 'flows' < IE **d^hénh₂-u-*; maybe Av. *dānu-* 'river', Oss. *don* 'water, river' < Plr. **dānā-*, ToB *tsnamo** 'flowing', ToA sb. *tsnāntār*, ptc.pf. *tsno* 'to flow' < **tsān-* < PIE **d^hen-*.

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 **d^hénh₂-* with a final laryngeal, neither hypothesis is very attractive: the zero grade **d^hnh₂-ti-* would yield Lat. **fnātis*, whereas an old root noun would yield **d^honh₂ > *fona*. One might instead posit a *ti*-stem **d^honh₂-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 **d^hénh₂-* '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.+), *infāmia* 'disgrace, bad reputation' (Pl.+), *infāmis* 'of ill repute' (Pl.+), *fāmigerābilis* 'famous' (Varro), *fāmigerātiō* 'gossip' (Pl.), *fāmigerātor* 'a gossip' (Pl.), *fāmōsus* 'infamous, 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' (Eñn.+), *infāns*, *-ntis* 'unable to speak; infant' (Pl.+), *infantia* 'muteness; childhood' (Lucr.+), *infandus* 'unspeakable, monstrous' (Ter.+), *nefāns*, *-ntis* 'wicked' (Lucil.), *praefārī* 'to recite; say beforehand' (Cato+), *prōfārī* 'to give warning, speak out' (Andr.+).

Plt. **fā-* 'to speak', **fato-* 'said', **fāmo/a-* 'tale', **fā-plo-* '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-*: *afaamaateδ*, *afamaateδ* [3s.pf.], unclear *αταμαατεν[ς]* [3p.pf.] 'to order', denom. to a noun **fāma-*; O. *fatuveis* [gen.sg.], *fatofε* [voc.sg.] maybe 'Fatuus' < **fatowo-*.

PIE pr. **b^heh₂/*b^hh₂-* 'to speak', **b^heh₂-mo/h₂-* 'speech'. IE cognates: Gr. φημί, Dor. φᾶμί, Aeol. φᾶμι 'I say'; Gr. φήμη, Dor. Aeol. φάμα '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. *bājati* '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. **fāto-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 437f., 444, 450, 525f., EM 245, IEW 105f., Schrijver 1991: 142, 405, Untermann 2000: 253f., 267f., LIV 2. **b^heh₂-*. → *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 **b^hor-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: '*fordicidia*, *-ōrum* [n.pl.] 'festival at which pregnant cows were sacrificed' (Varro+).

PIt. **for(i)dā-*.

PIE **b^hori-d-* 'giving birth'? IE cognates: Lith. *ber̃(g)ždžias* 'barren (of a cow)', *ber(g)ždẽ* 'barren cow', RuCS *brěžda*, *brěž(d)a* 'pregnant', Ru. *berěžaja* (dial.) 'mare in foal' < **b^herdio-* 'carrying, pregnant'.

The initial syllable of the BSl. words is circumflex (suggesting **-d^h-* in the suffix rather than **-d-*), but Latin *forda* cannot reflect **-rd^h-* (which would yield **forba*). Thus, Latin and BSl. continue two independent formation on the basis of PIE **b^hr-*. Nussbaum 1999a proposes that Latin *forda* was built on an *i*-stem **b^hori-* '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 **b^her-*. → *ferō*

forfex, -icis 'tongs, pincers; shears, scissors' [f. (m.) *k*] (Celsus+; also *forpex*)

PIt. **forfo-* 'shearing', **forpāje/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 **b^hrd^h-o-* [adj.]. IE cognates: Gr. *πέρω* 'to capture, take in', *πολίπορθος* '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. *πέρω* 'to capture, take in', *πολίπορθος* 'capturing cities' (Janda 2000: 230-240), in which case the U. verb could be denominal to an adj. **b^hrd^h-o-* 'capturing, harvesting, shearing'.

Bibl.: WH I: 526, EM 247, IEW 138, Untermann 2000: 302f., LIV **b^herd^h-*. → *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 **d^her-* 'to shit', which is otherwise only attested in enlarged form in other branches of IE: Lith. *derkti* 'to make dirty' < **d^her-k-*, OIc. *drita* (*dreit*), OHG *trīzan* 'cacāre' (maybe a Gm. rhyming formation to **skūta-* 'to shit'), Ru. dial. *dristáto* 'to suffer from diarrhoea', Bulg. *driskam*, *drištǎ*. 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 **b^her-* 'to carry', e.g. iterative **b^her-b^hor-je-* 'to bring (away) repeatedly' seems at least equally likely; or *foria* might be a derivative from *forāre* 'to pierce', as 'piercing' (cf. German *Durchfall*).

Bibl.: WH I: 527f., EM 247, IEW 256. → *ferō*, *forō*

foris 'door' [f. *ī*] (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 **d^huōr-*, **d^hur-* 'door'. IE cognates: OIr. *dorus* [m.·u] , *Dor*, *Duir* [toponyms], W. *dor*, Bret. *dor* < PCI. **duorā*, **duro-* 'door'; Hit. *andūrza* [adv.] 'inside, indoors' < **h₁n-d^hur-*, Skt. *dvār-* [f. (du.pl.)] 'door, gate', YAv. *duuar-*, OP *duvar(a)-* 'gate', Gr. *θύρᾱ* 'door', Myc. *o-pi-tu-ra-jo lopithuraiōil* 'door-keeper', Arm. *dowr-k'* [pl.] 'door', Alb. *derë* < **d(y)ōr-om/ā*, Lith. pl. *dūrys*, OCS *dvъrbъ* < BSl. **dvir-*, **dur-*; Go. *daur* [n.], OHG *turi*, OIc. *dyrr* < **d^hur-(i-)*, ToB *twere* 'door' < **d^huoro-*.

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 **d^huōr*, **d^huor-*, **d^hur-* 'door', maybe used as a plural or dual tantum; Greek, Albanian (possibly) and Latin (and Celtic) show an additional derivative **d^hu(o)r-h₂-* '(set of) door(s)'. The Latin *i*-stem was probably derived from **d^huor-* (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 **d^hur-*, 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 I: 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 **moru-o/ī*-(?). IE cognates: OIr. *moirb*, W. *myr*, Bret. *merien* 'ant' < **morui*-; Skt. *vamrā*- 'ant', *valmīka*- [m.] 'ant-hill'; Av. *maoiri*-, Oss. *mælzog/mulzug*, Pašto *mežay*, Sogd. *ym'wrc* < PIr. **marui(ka)*-, Sogd. *zm'wr'k*, Khwar. *zmwrk*, MP, MoP *mōr* < **maruaka*-; Gr. μύρμηξ, -ηκος 'ant', μύρμος, βύρμαξ βόρμαξ, ὄρμικας (with β- and zero < **r*-); RuCS *mravъbъ*, ORu. *morovej*, Po. *mrówka*, SCr. *mrāv* 'ant' < **moru-iH*-; OIc. *maurr* < **mour-o*-, Far. *meyra* < **maurōn*-, Dan. *myre*, OE *mýre*, ME *mire*, MDu. *miere*, Crimean Go. *miera* < **neur(j)ōn*- [f.] 'ant'; ToB *warme**, nom.pl. *warmi* 'ant' < **urmo*-.

The word for 'ant' is difficult to reconstruct because of the deviating forms; probably, taboo distortions took place in many languages. This process can still be observed in modern dialects, for instance of Dutch and German. Latin *f*- might go back to **m*- via a dissimilation of **m*- - *m* > **f* - *m*. Meillet (1918) assumes an intermediate stage **[b]* (voiced labial fricative), which he regards as an argument for the view that all PIE **b^h* changed to **b̥* before yielding Latin *f*-. In the IE branches, we find the stem structures **moru-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. μορμῶ, -οῦς 'bogy, monster', μορμύσσομαι 'to frighten', μόρμπορος, 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^oormo-*.

PIE **g^{wh}o/er-mo-* ‘warm’. IE cognates: Skt. *gharmá-* ‘heat, glow’, Av. *garama-* ‘warm; heat’, OP *garma-pada-* ‘the fourth month (June-July)’ < **g^{wh}or-mó-*; Gr. *θερμός*, Arm. *ǰerm* ‘warm’ < **g^{wh}er-mó-*; maybe Alb. *zjarm* ‘heat’ < **g^{wh}ermo-* (cf. de Vaan 2004b: 82); OPr. *gorme* ‘heat’, Latv. *gar̃me* ‘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}imos*; 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^{wh}er-*. → *forceps*, *formus*

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^oorno-*.

PIE **g^{wh}r-no-* ‘heat’ or ‘oven’. IE cognates: OIr. *gorn* ‘fire’ < **g^{wh}or-no-*; Skt. *ghṛná-* ‘heat, glow’ [n.], *ghṛñi-* ‘hot time, heat’ [f.], Alb. *zjarrë* ‘fire’ < **g^{wh}er-no-* [n.] or **g^{wh}er-os-* [n.] (de Vaan 2004b: 82), RuCS *gr̃no* ‘cauldron, pot, oven’ [n.], Ru. *gorn* ‘blacksmith’s hearth’ [n.], gen.sg. *górna*; *gornó* ‘blacksmith’s hearth, clay-oven’ < **g^{wh}ino-*.

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-* > *formus*.

Bibl.: WH I: 533f., EM 248, IEW 493ff., Leumann 1977: 48, Sihler 1995: 43, Meiser 1998: 64, LIV **g^{wh}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-h₂-* ‘hole’? IE cognates: Lith.

bārti, 3s. *bāra* 'to scold, accuse, forbid', Latv. *bārti* 'to scold, blame', OCS *brati* (*se*), 1s. *borjō* 'to fight', Ru. *borót* 'to overpower' < *b^horH-, 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 *b^horH-(i-) 'to pierce many times, bore'. If the final laryngeal was vocalized in Latin, we can assume a phonetic development *b^horHje- > **foraje-* > *forā-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 481f., EM 248, IEW 133ff., Schrijver 1991: 216, LIV *b^herH-. → *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.+); *fortūitus* 'by chance, random' (Pl.+), *fortūna* 'fortune, favourable outcome' (Naev.+), *fortūnātus* 'fortunate, lucky' (Naev.+), *fortūnātīm* 'prosperously' (Enn.), *fortūnāre* 'to make fortunate' (Pl.+), *īnfortūnātus* 'unfortunate' (Pl.+), *īnfortūnium* 'misfortune' (Pl.+).

Plt. **forti-* [f.] 'luck', **fortu-* 'luck'. It. cognates: Pael. *forte* [gen.sg.?] **forteis*, maybe borrowed from Latin.

PIE *b^hr-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 *tī-* 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 *b^her-. → *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.+).

Plt. **forkti/o-*. It. cognates: O. *fortis* [comp., nom.acc.sg.n., adv.] 'stronger'; maybe borrowed from Latin.

PIE *b^horg-to- 'stuffed'? *d^h(o)rǵ^h-to- 'strong, robust'? IE cognates: Skt. caus: *nī barhayati* 'to lay low', pr. **byṃha-*, aor. *barh-* 'to make strong', *pāri-byṛdha-* [ppp.] 'firm, strong', *dvibārhas-* [adj.] 'with double strength', *byhānt-* 'great, large', YAv. *us* .. *barəzaiia-* 'to make strong / big', *barəzah-* [n.] 'height', *barəšna* [ins.sg.] 'elevated place, height', YAv. *barəzant-* 'rising high, high, loud' < b^h(e)rǵ^h-, OIr. *brí* 'hill', *Brigit* (woman's name), Arm. *barjr* 'high', ToA *pārkār* 'long' // Skt. *dṛṃha-* 'to make firm', pf. *dādṛhānā-* [ptc.med.] 'holding fast', ptc. *dṛḍhā-* (< **dṛḍhā-*) 'fixed, firm, solid', OAv. *dīdarəžō* [2s.desid.inj.act.] 'to desire to fasten', *dərəz-* 'fetter', YAv. *darəzaiia-* 'to fasten', *dərəzra-* 'strong, firm'; Lith. *diržti* '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 *b^h/d^h/g^{wh} + (o)r + K-. Within Latin, *farciō* ‘to stuff’ seems the best semantic match which would also satisfy the phonetics: PIE *b^horg-to- would yield *forcto-. A connection with PIE *b^herg^h- ‘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 *d^h-, not if they continue PIE *d- (as LIV suspect). Semantically, this would be satisfactory.

Bibl.: WH I: 535f., EM 249f., IEW I40f., Untermann 2000: 304f., LIV *b^herg^h- / *d^herg^h-. → *firmus*

forum ‘market place, public space; place where the fruit was laid for pressing (Cato+)’ [n. o; *forus* Lucil., Pompon., CIL] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: *forus* ‘deck (on a ship); passage (in a beehive); rows of benches (in a stadium)’ (Enn.+), *forēnsis* ‘of the forum, public’ (Varro+).

PIt. **furo-* ‘(room) near the door’. It. cognates: U. *furu*, *furo* [acc.sg.] ‘forum’.

PIE *d^huor-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 *d^huor-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: *favīsaefavissae* [f.pl.] ‘vaults, subterranean chambers’ (Gel.+).

The connection with Gr. χεία, H. χείη ‘serpent’s den’ must be dismissed. It is uncertain that *fovea* and *favīsaefavissae* 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. **foχ^veje/o-*

PIE *d^hog^{wh}-eie- ‘to burn’. IE cognates: MĪr. *daig*, gen.sg. *dega* ‘fire, pain’; Skt. *dāhati*, caus. *dāhāyati*, YAv. *dažaiti* ‘burns’, Gr. τέφρα ‘ashes’, Alb. *djeg* ‘to burn’, *n-dez* ‘to ignite’; Lith. *dègti* ‘to burn’, OCS *žěsti*, 1s. *žěgo*, Toch. *tsāk-* ‘to burn up, consume by fire’, *tsāk^{-l}* ‘to illuminate’.

Schrijver 1991: 278 concludes that *fō-* probably reflects unsyncopated **fowi-* < **fowe-*. Thus, *fōculum* < **fowe-culum*, *fōmentum* < **fowe-mentum*. Apart from

fōculum, all derivatives appear quite late. The pf. *fōvī* has developed by contraction from **fowe-wai*. *Foveō* escaped the delabialization of **ou* > **au* because **g^{wh}* had not changed into **ɣ* at that time (Schrijver 1991, Vine 2006a: 212).

Bibl.: WH I: 466f., EM 250, IEW 240f., Schrijver 1991: 277ff., 448, Meiser 1998: 206, LIV **d^heg^{wh}*. → *favilla, 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. *drāgēs*, Latv. *dradzi*, OCS *droždbje* 'dregs' < BSl. **dro(z)gi(?)a?*; OIc. *dregg* 'yeast, dregs'. Alb. *dra* 'dregs, sediment' (maybe to *dregē* 'scab, sore', Demiraj 1997) may have **drag-*, but **drab-* also seems possible. With **-b-*: MĪr. *drab* 'dredgs', Ru. *drob* 'yeast', OHG pl. *trebir* 'husks (of grapes)' < **d^hrab^h*-. 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, floppy', 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. **braks* 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 **d^hreg^h*- 'to drag' or **d^hreh₂g^h*- 'to soil' yielded a form **d^hrag^h*- '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 **b^hrh₁g-ro-* 'smelling'. IE cognates: MĪr. *brén* 'putrid, foul', MW *braen*, B *brein* 'putrid, corrupt' < PCI. **bragno-* < **b^hrh₁g-no-*; OĪr. *braig(a)id**, *braig* 'to fart, break wind' < **brag-ie-*, OĪr. *broimm*, W. *bram*, Co. Bret. *bramm* 'fart' < **brag-smn*; MHG *bræhen* < **brēkjan* 'to smell' < **b^hreh₁g-*; OHG *braccho*, MLG, MDu. *bracke* 'hound' < **b^hrh₁g-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 **b^hrHg-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 **b^hrHg-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 540, EM 251, IEW 163, Leumann 1977: 166, Schrijver 1991: 185f., 1995: 170f., Schumacher 2004: 232.

frāga, -ōrum ‘strawberry’ [n.pl. o] (Vergilius+)

Plt. *frāgo*-.

IE cognates: Alb. (Eastern Geg) *drathe*, (Tosk) *dredhë* ‘strawberry’.

The meaning of *frāga* closely matches that of Alb. *dredhë*, and the two may reflect *d^hrHǵ-o-. It seems unlikely that the word indicated ‘strawberry’ in PIE, however, and it may well be a loanword. An alternative connection of *frāga* with Gr. ῥάξ, ῥαγός ‘grape’, ῥώξ ‘grape’ is possible if one starts from *srāg-; 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.

frangō, -ere ‘to break’ [v. III; pf. *frēgī*, ppp. *frāctum*] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: *fragēscere* ‘to become subdued’ (Acc.), *fragilis* ‘fragile, crackling’ (Lucret.+), *fragmen* ‘a piece broken off’ (Sis.+), *fragmentum* ‘fragment’ (Lucil.+), *fragor* ‘the breaking, crash, roar’ (Lucret.+), *fragōsus* ‘brittle, rugged’ (Lucret.+); *cōnfringere* ‘to destroy, ruin’ (Andr.+), *cōnfragōsus* ‘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’ (Lucret.+), *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.], **frago-* [ppp.].

PIE *b^hr-n-ǵ- [pr.] ‘to break’, *b^hrg-to- [ppp.]. IE cognates: Go. *brikan*, OHG *brehhan* ‘to break’ < *b^hreg/ǵ-.

The long vowel of *frāctus* is due to Lachmann’s Law. Schrijver 1991 argues that Latin and Irish have continued a PIE root present *b^hreg-/ *b^hrg- in different ways, whereas LIV opts for an old athematic aorist. The latter seems more likely in view of the meaning. Since the Irish forms which Schrijver connected in 1991 are now connected with *fragrāre*, it may be that Gm. continues the old root aorist, and Latin the nasal present.

Bibl.: WH I: 539, 541, EM 251, IEW 165, Schrijver 1991: 137, 478, 483f., LIV *b^hre(ǵ)-. → *suffrāgium*

frāter, -trīs ‘brother; member of a fraternity, friend’ [m. r] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *frāterculus* ‘little brother’ (Pl.+), *frāterculāre* ‘to swell up (of a boy’s breasts at puberty)’ (Pl.); *frāternus* ‘of a brother’ (Pac.+).

Plt. **frāter-*. It. cognates: Ven. [f.] *hraterei* [dat.sg.], U. **frater**, *frater* [nom.pl.], O. **fratrūm**, U. **fratrum**, *fratru*, *fratrom* [gen.pl.], *fratrus* [dat.pl.], **fratruspe(r)** [abl.pl. + -per] ‘brother’; U. **fratreks**, *fratrexs* [nom.sg.m.], *fratrecei* [dat.sg.m.], *fratreca* [abl.sg.f.] ‘belonging to the brotherhood’ **frātr-iko-*; U. *fratreceate* [loc.sg.?] ‘the office of a *fratrex*’ < **frātrikāto-*.

PIE *b^hrēh₂-tr- ‘brother’. IE cognates: OIr. *bráthair*, W. *brawd*; Skt. *bhrātar-*, Av. OP *brātar-* ‘brother’, Gr. φράτηρ [m.] ‘member of a brotherhood’, ἀφρήτωρ ‘not

bound by social ties', Phryg. βρωτερε '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'.

For PIE 'brother', Pinault (2007: 276f.) assumes an etymology $*b^hr\acute{e}h_2-$ 'group of males borne by the same mother' > $*b^hr\acute{e}h_2-tr$ 'belonging to the $*b^hr\acute{e}h_2$ '. 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.+), *dēfraudūdāre* 'to cheat' (Pl.+); *fraudulentus* 'dishonest' (Pl.+), *fraudentia* '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.).

Plt. $*frawV-$. 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. *dhrūti-* 'deception, error', *-dhrūt-* 'deceiving', YAv. *drānuaiiāt* 'will deceive', Parth. *dr'w-* 'to seduce' < $*d^h(r)o-$.

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 $*frōs$, $*frōis$, 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. *dhrūti-* 'deception', *varuna-dhrūt-* '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: $*frou-$.

Bibl.: WH I: 543, EM 252, 257, IEW 277, Szemerényi 1989: 33ff., Schrijver 1991: 444, Untermann 2000: 301, LIV 2. $*d^hreu-$.

fraxinus 'ash-tree' [f. *o*] (Enn.+)

Plt. $*frakse/ino-$.

PIE $*b^hrHg-s-e/ino-$. IE cognates: Skt. *bhūrjā-* 'kind of birch', Oss. *bærz* / *bærzæ* 'birch', OPr. *berse*, Lith. *béržas*, Latv. *bērzs*, CS *brěza*, Ru. *berěza*, OIc. *björk*, OHG *birihha* 'birch'.

The quantity of the *a* is unknown, but Schrijver convincingly argues that short *ā* 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 *b^herHǵ-/ *b^hrHǵ- ‘birch’ acquired the meaning ‘ash-tree’, and became formally influenced by the PIE paradigm of *Heh₃-s- ‘ash’ (Lat. *ornus*). The new *s*-stem *b^herHǵ-(ō)s, gen.sg. *b^hrHǵ-s-os ‘ash’ was extended by means of the suffix *-eno- or *-ino- (cf. *alnus*, *farnus*, *ornus*, *quernus*). The resulting *b^hrHǵ-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 *b^hreh₁ǵ- ‘to shine’, it probably refers to the white bark 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. *bhrāja-*, YAv. *brāza-* ‘shines’.

Bibl.: WH I: 544, EM 252, IEW 139f., Schrijver 1991: 186ff., LIV *b^hreh₁ǵ-. → *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.).

Plt. **freme/o-*.

PIE *b^hrem-e/o- ‘to hum, rumble’. IE cognates: W. *brefu* ‘to bleat, roar’, Parth. *brm-*, MP *brām-* ‘to cry’ < Ilr. **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 *sēŕ* root is also conceivable (Meiser 2003).

Bibl.: WH I: 544f., EM 252f., IEW 142f., Meiser 2003: 125, LIV *b^hrem-.

frendō, -ere ‘to grind one’s teeth’ [v. III; ppp. *frēsum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *nefrēns*, -ndis ‘not able to chew yet, infant’ (Andr.+).

Plt. **χ^wrend-*.

PIE *g^{wh}rend^(h)-e/o-. IE cognates: Lith. *gręsti*, Is. *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’ < *-nd^h-.

The morphology of the adj. *ne-frend-* ‘not grinding its teeth’ is odd: one would expect **in-frend-* (Badér 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 *-d^h-, whereas Baltic need *-d- (Winter’s Law). Are these different dental suffixes to an earlier root *g^{wh}ren-?

Bibl.: WH I: 545, EM 253, IEW 459, Schrijver 1991: 186, Sihler 1995: 163f., LIV *g^{(u)h}rend-.

frēnum ‘horse’s bridle or harness’ [n. o; nom.acc.pl. usually *frēnī*, *frēnōs*] (Acc.+)

Derivatives: *infrenāre* ‘to curb, restrain’ (Acc.+), *effrēnātus* ‘unrestrained’ (Acc.+), *refrēnāre* ‘to hold back, restrain’ (Varro+).

Plt. **frēno-*.

PIE *d^hr-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’, vjz. ‘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 *frēmum* 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 **d^her-*. → *frētus*

frequēns ‘occurring at close intervals’ [adj. *nt*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *frequentāre* ‘to populate, occupy, visit’ (Pl.+), *infrequens* ‘not crowded, absent’ (Pl.+); *fraxāre* ‘to go the watchman’s rounds’ (Paul. *ex F.*), *flaxāre* ‘id.’ (gloss.).

Nussbaum 2007b connects *frequēns* with *fraxāre*. Semantically, this is quite attractive. Formally, the forms could go back to a root **b^hrk^w-*: *frequens* < **b^hrek^w-*, whereas the zero grade **b^hrks-* would yield **farks-* (> **farsā-*) by Schrijver’s rule (1991: 495f.). The preform **farks-* could then have been leveled to **fraks-* by analogy with **frek^w-*. Note that a **b^hrk^w-* would have an unusual PIE root structure **D^h-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 **b^hrek^u-*. → *farciō*

fretum ‘sea strait’ [n. *o*] (Naev.+; also *fretus*, *-ūs* / *-ī*)

Derivatives: *fretāle* ‘frying-pan’ (Apicius)?

Schrijver defends the etymology **b^hr-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 **D^h-T* is not a canonical root structure, so that we cannot reconstruct a root **b^hrt-*.

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 **d^hr-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 **d^her-* ‘to hold’, unattested as a verb but continued in *firmus* and *ferē*, or **b^her-* ‘to bear’ as in *ferre*. Semantically, since **d^her-* 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 *d^her-. → *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. φρῦγω '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' < Plr. **bra(i)j-* has secondary *i*-vowels, cf. Cheung 2007. The absence of a *pf* 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+), *frīgīdus* 'cold' (Pl.+), *frīgīdārium* 'cold room' (Lucil.+), *frīgēdō* 'cold' (Varro); *perfrīgēfacere* 'to make very cold' (Pl.), *perfrīgēscere* 'to become very cold' (Varro+), *refrīgērāre* 'to cool down (tr.)' (Cato+), *refrīgēscere* 'to cool down (intr.)' (Cato+).

Plt. **srīgos-* [n.], **srīgēd-n-*.

PIE **sriHǵ-o/es-* 'frost, bitter cold'. IE cognates: Gr. ῥῦγος 'cold, frost', ῥῦγιον 'colder', pf. ἔρῦγα 'to be cold', pr. ῥῦγέω (Pi.+), ῥῦγεδανός 'ghastly, terrible'.

In view of the zero grade in the root, which is unusual for *s*-stems, Schrijver considers the possibility that Gr. ῥῦγος 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. ῥῦγεδανός jointly point to an apparent *n*-stem **srīgēd-(ō)n-*, from earlier **srīge-(e)d-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 547, EM 254, IEW 1004, Schrijver 1991: 231, Stüber 2002: 152, LIV ?**sreiH(ǵ)-*.

friō, -āre 'to pulverize, crumble' [v. I] (Varro+)

Derivatives: *infriāre* 'to crumble ingredients in or on' (Cato+); *fricāre* 'to rub, chafe' (Pl.+; pf. *fricūi* >> *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), *frīvuscūm* 'slight quarrel' (Ulp.), *refrīvus* 'shredded' (Fest., Plin.).

Plt. **fri-ā-*, **fri-k-*, **fri-wo-*.

PIE **b^hriH-o-*, **b^hriH-uo-* 'cut'. IE cognates: OIr. *bríeid**, *bría* 'to hurt, damage' <

**brei-ase/o-* [pr.sb.], Skt. pr. *bhrīnānti*, YAv. *pairi.brīna-* 'to cut (around)', *brōiθra-* 'blade'; OCS *briti*, Cz. *bříti* (arch.) 'to shave'.

The verb *friāre* can be denominal to an adj. **frio-* < **b^hriH-o-*, while *re-frīvus* and *frīvolus* continue an adj. **b^hriH-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 **b^hreiH-*.

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 **b^hrm-* for 'brim, bud', whereas EM regard the etymology as unsure. Solmsen (*ZVS* 35, 474ff.) compared Ru. *děrn* 'lawn, grass', Gr. *ὄρῶνα* 'herbs, flowers', which might go back to a stem **d^hr(o)n-*. Yet in order to connect Lat. *frond-* to this, a suffix *-*d-* or *-*dī-* 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 **b^hr-n-* 'load, yield, fruit' to the root **b^her-*, the nom.sg. of which would have been **b^h(e)rōn*. To this, a suffix *-*d^h-* could have been added (as in *glāns* 'acorn'), yielding **b^hr-on-d^h-*.

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 **b^hrVnT-* meaning 'side' or 'steep', but their meaning is not specific enough. Semantically, it is tempting to compare *frōns* with PIE **h₃b^hruH-* 'eyebrow', but a putative formation **h₃b^hrōuH-nt-* > **frōwant-* would have a suffix *-*nt-* that remains unaccounted for, and might phonetically rather be expected to yield **frūnt-*. If *frendō* 'to grind one's teeth' is indeed an extension of a root **g^{wh}ren-*, *front-* might reflect **g^{wh}ron-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.).

Plt. pr. **frūg-je/o-*, root noun **frūg-*. It. cognates: U. *frif, fri* [acc.pl.] 'fruits' < **b^hrūg-*; O. **fruktatiuf** [nom.sg.] 'usufruct' < **frūgtātiōn-* built to **frūg-i-tā-* < **b^hrūg-ito-*, ppp. of **b^hrūg-io-* 'to use'.

PIE pr. *b^hruHg-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 *frūniscere* < **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 ?*b^hreuH(ǵ)-.

frustum 'crumb, fragment' [n. o] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *frustulentus* 'full of crumbs' (Pl.), *frustātīm* 'in little pieces' (Pompon.+), *frustillātīm* 'id.' (Pl.+).

PIt. **frusto-*.

PIE *b^hrus-to- 'broken'. IE cognates: OIr. *bruīd* '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' < * *Brus-*, OE *briesan*, *brȳsan* 'to break, bruise' < * *Brausija-*; maybe Alb. *breshër* 'hail' < * *b^hreus-n-*.

Latin *frustum* could represent an isolated Latin reflex of a root *b^hrus- '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' < * *d^hrus-*. This is phonetically equally possible, but the presence of verb forms from *b^hrus- in Celtic and Germanic renders a derivation of *frustum* from *b^hrus- more likely (because of *-to-).

Bibl.: WH I: 553, EM 257, IEW 171, Schrijver 1995: 341, LIV *b^hreus-.

frutex, -icis 'shrub, bush; shoot, 'blockhead'' [f. k] (Pl.+)

PIt. **frut-*.

Since the root of OE *breowan* 'to brew' is now reconstructed as *b^hréuH- '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 * *b^hruto-*), 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 *b^hoi-ko-? *b^hou-ko-? IE cognates: OIr. *bech* 'bee' [m.] < * *b^heko-*; OPr. *bitte*, Lith. *bītė*, Latv. *bīte* < * *b^hi-t-*, OCS *bъčela*, *bьčela* 'bee' < * *b^hi-kele-*; OIc. *bý* [n.], MoDu. *bij*, OHG *bini* [n.], OHG *bīa* [f.], OE *bēo* 'bee' [f.] < * *b^hi-ōn-*, * *b^hi-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 **b^hoi-* does not occur elsewhere. Since Celtic has **b^he-* in OIr. *bech*, it might be the case that we are dealing with an onomatopoeic word **b^he/i-*; Latin **b^hoi-* 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 **b^houk^vo-*, which is unlikely (cf. Weiss 1995), **b^hou-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.), *fugitivus* '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.).

Plt. pr. **fug-i-*, pf. **foug-*, subst. **fug-(ā-)*.

PIE pr. **b^hug-i-* 'to flee', pf. **(b^he-)b^houg-* (or root aorist **b^heug-*). IE cognates: Gr. φεύγω, aor. φυγῆν, pf. πέφευγα 'to flee', φύγα-δε 'on the flight', φύζα [f.] 'flight, panic', φυγή 'flight, exile'; Av. *būj(i)-* [f.] 'penance, atonement', *būjaṭ* 'frees', *burjainti* 'they free', *būjaitamna-*, MP *bōz-* 'to free, release'.

Bibl.: WH I: 556f., EM 258, IEW 152, Schrijver 2003: 66, LIV 1. **b^heug-*.

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 proverbial cp., see s.v. *sum*.

Plt. 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. *fufḡod* [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. **b^h(e)h₂u-* 'to become', pf. **b^he-b^hh₂(o)u-*, -ppp. **b^hh₂u-tó-* (> *futūrus*). IE cognates: OIr. 3s. *boi* 'was', 3p. *báatar*, MW *bu*, MCo. *bue*, OBret. *a-bu* 'was' < pf. **bu-b(u)-*; Skt. *ábhūt* 'has become' [3s.aor.]; Gr. *ἔφῶν* '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-Pocchetti 2001, Meiser 2003: 201, LIV *b^hueh₂-. → *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. *d^h/b^h-(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. φάλακς [m.] 'rib (of a ship)', φάλαγγς, -γγος 'beam' and OIc. *bjalki* [m.], OHG *balko* 'beam' (< PIE *b^helg-?). These are connected with the verbal root *b^helg^h- 'to swell', from which words for 'beam' seem to be derived in Baltic: Lith. *balžiena* 'longbeam', Latv. *bālziēns*, *bēlziēns* '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 *b^hel- with different velar suffixes.

Bibl.: WH I: 559, EM 258f., IEW 122f., LIV ?*b^helk-.

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 *b^hlg-e/o- 'to shine'. IE cognates: Skt. *bhārgas-* 'radiance, splendour' (appurtenance uncertain; schwebe-ablaut?); Gr. φλέγω 'to burn', Gr. φλόξ, -γός 'flame', φλογμός 'flame'; OHG *blecchen* 'to make visible' < PGM. *blakjan; ToAB *pālk-* 'to shine', ToB *pālketār* 'burns' < *b^hlg-.

From VOLat. *folg- from *fļg-. 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* < *fļgos, -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 *b^hlg-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 *b^hle(ǵ)-. → *flagrō*

fulica 'a water-bird (the coot?)' [f. *ā*] (Afran.+)

Derivatives: *fulix*, *-icis* 'heron' (Cic.).

The suffix *-ik-* is found in other bird-names too. *Fulica* is often compared with OHG *belihha*, *-o*, NHG *Belche* 'coot' < PGm. **bel-ik-* < **b^hel-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 **b^he/olH-* 'white' (Lith. *bālas*, OCS *bělb* '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.

fūligō, -inis 'soot' [f. *n*] (Pl.+)

PIt. **fūli-* 'smoke'.

PIE **d^huh₂-li-* 'smoke, dust'. IE cognates: Mlr. *dūil* 'desire'; Skt. *dhūli-*, *dhūli* [f.] 'dust', *dhūlikā* 'fog', Lith. *dūlis*, Latv. *dūlis* 'smoke used in bee-culture'.

Latin derivation to an original *i*-stem **d^huH-li-* 'dust', which may be derived from an adj. **d^huh₂-lo-* 'smoking, dusty'.

Bibl.: WH I: 560, EM 259, IEW 261-67, Leumann 1977: 368, Schrijver 1991: 233, 342, LIV **d^hueh₂-*. → *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 **d^he/olH-uo-* 'yellow'?

The theoretical preforms for *fulvus* were listed by Driessen 2005: **b^h/d^h/g^{wh}/ġ^hu + *-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. *gėltas* 'yellow' < PIE **ġ^helh₃-* 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/d^helH-uo-*. Latin *fulvus* could, in theory, reflect the same preform **d^helH-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', *detin* 'yellow', *deṭb* 'yellow, blond', which could point to a root **d^hlH-*, **d^helH-* 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.+).

Plt. **fūmo-*.

PIE **d^huh₂-mó-* ‘smoke, fume’. IE cognates: Skt. *dhūmá-* ‘smoke, fume’, Gr. *θυμός* ‘spirit’, OPr. *dumis* ‘smoke’, Lith. pl. *dūmai* ‘smoke’, OCS *dymъ* ‘smoke’; OHG *toum* ‘steam’.

In a preform **d^huHmó-* 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 *fūligō* 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 **d^hueh₂-* ‘to smoke’ (intr.). → *fimum*, *foeteō*, *fūligō*, *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 **b^hond^h-h₂-* ‘tie, strap’, a derivative of the verbal root **b^hend^h-* ‘to bind’ attested in 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.+), *confūsicius* (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+), *affundere* ‘to pour, extend’ (Pl.+), *prōfundere* ‘to pour forth’ (Naev.+); *fūtis, -is* ‘water-vessel’ (Varro), *exfūtī* ‘effusī’ (Paul. ex F.).

Plt. **χund-(e/o-)*. It. cognates: maybe Fal. **huti[c]ilom** [acc.n.?] ‘?’; uncertain U. *hondu* [3s.ipv.II] ‘throw down!’(?).

PIE pr. **ǵ^hu-n-d-* ‘to pour’, pf. *(*ǵ^he-*)**ǵ^h(o)u-*; noun **ǵ^he/ou-ti-?* IE cognates: Hit. *kūtt-, kutt-* [c.] ‘wall’ < **ǵ^heut-, ǵ^hut-*; Skt. *juhōti* ‘pours; sacrifices’ < **ǵ^hi-ǵ^h(e)u-*, *ā-huti-* [f.] ‘offering’, Av. *ā-zūiti-* [f.] ‘clarified butter, sacrificial fat’ < **-ǵ^huti-*, Gr. *χέω* < pr. **ǵ^héu-e-*, aor.intr. *ἔχυτο* ‘to pour’, *χυτός* ‘spilled’, *πάραχυ* [adv.] ‘completely’; Go. *giutan*, ToB. *ku-* ‘to pour’.

See Kümmel 2004b: 357 on *confūsicius*. Initial *f* < PIE **ǵ^h-* 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* < **ǵ^heu-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 **ǵ^heu-*, *?*ǵ^heud-*.

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 **b^hud^h-n-ó-* 'bottom', probably < **b^hud^h-mn-ós*, gen.sg. of **b^hud^h-men-*. IE cognates: Mlr. *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.] < **b^hud^h-mē/ōn*, **b^hud^h-(m)n-ós* (thus Kroonen 2006: 21-23).

The Latin form is due to metathesis of PIE **b^hud^hnó-* to Italo-Celtic **b^hund^hó-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 564, EM 261, IEW 174, Schrijver 1991: 501.

fungor, -ī 'to perform; go through, enjoy; die; function' [v. III; *fūctus 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. **b^hu-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-*) < PCI. **bunge/o-*; Skt. pr. *bhuñjaté*, *bhuñjate* [3p.], *-bhuñjant-* [ptc.act.], aor. *má 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. **b^heug-*.

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 **sp^hong-* 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* lx Cato)

Derivatives: *fūniculus* 'thin rope, cord' (Cato+); *fūnambululus* 'tightrope walker' (Ter.+); *sēmifūnium* 'half-length of rope' (Cato).

PIt. **χ^woini-*.

PIE **g^{wh}oiH-ni-* or **g^{wh}oHi-ni-* 'rope'. IE cognates: see s.v. *filum*.

Since the meaning is very close to *filum*, *fūnis* might represent an *o*-grade derivative

of the root *g^{wh}iH- or *g^{wh}Hi- 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>mus*, 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 *b^heih₂- ‘to be afraid’, viz. as *b^hoih₂-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 *d^he/ou-nēs- ‘the passing away’ from the root *d^heu- ‘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 *d^heuh₂-nēs- ‘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 *b^hōr ‘thief’ [m.]. IE cognates: Gr. φῶρ ‘thief’.

It has been assumed that *fūr* was borrowed from Greek. Yet it is questionable whether Greek φ- would be rendered with Latin *f*- so early: in view of the many derivatives, the word seems to have been in the language well before Plautus. Also, PIE *-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 *b^hrtom, with the zero-grade of the root of *fūr*. Lat. *furtīvus* would have been formed on the basis of *b^hrtos > **furtos*.

Bibl.: WH I: 569, EM 262f., IEW 128-39, Schrijver 1991: 120, Forssman 1992: 309, LIV *b^her-. → *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 *ǵ^h-, 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. *žer̃gti* ‘to spread the legs’, *žirklės* ‘scissors’ presuppose a root *ǵ^h(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 **g^horka* > **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 **g^her-* 'to rub', as advocated by WH and IEW, is phonetically impossible. *Furfur* might derive from a root **g^hur-* (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' (Lucret.+); *perfurere* 'to rage' (Lucret.+).

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 **b^herh₂-*.

furvus 'dark-coloured, dusky' [adj. o/ā] (Varro+)

Plt. **fuswo-*.

PIE **d^hus-uo-* 'dark, black, brown'. IE cognates: OIr. *donn* 'dun, light brown', MW *dwinn* '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 **d^hus-uo-* > **furuo-*, with the suffix **-uo-* which is also found in many other colours (*flāvus, fulvus, helvus*, etc.). The root **d^hus-* is found in several colour adjectives referring to a brown, dark colour, all with suffixes that are abundant in colour adjectives. It might be connected with PIE **d^hues-* '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.+).

Plt. **fusko-*.

PIE **d^hus-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: *fūstitudinūs* [adj.] ‘stick-beating’ (Pl.).

Plt. **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 **b^heHud-*, 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 **b^hud-*, this does not work. Still, I think that the connection with the Gm. words is possible; see s.v. *-fütō*.

Bibl.: WH I: 573, EM 264, IEW 112, Hill 2003: 229ff., LIV ?*b^heud-. → *-fütō*

O. futir [nom.sg.], **fuutrei**, **futurei** [dat.sg.], **futureis** [gen.sg.?] ‘daughter’.

Plt. **fuxtēr*, **fuxtros*.

PIE **d^hugh₂-tēr*, *-tr-os* ‘daughter’. IE cognates: Gaul. *duxtir*, Celtib. *tuater*; Hit. MUNUS *duttarrijata/i-* [c.] a female functionary, HLuw. *tuwatra/i-*, Lyc. *kbatra-* ‘daughter’ < PAnat. **duegr-*, **dugtr-* (Kloekhorst 2008: 902ff.), Skt. *duhitār-*, OAv. *dugādar-*, YAv. *duyōdar-*, Gr. *θυγάτηρ*, *-τρός*, Arm. *dowštr*, OPr. *duckti*, Lith. *duktė*, OCS *dъšti*, gen.sg. *dъštere*, Ru. *doč’*, gen.sg. *dóčeri*; Go. *dauhtar*, OIc. *dóttir*, OHG *tohter*, ToB *tkācer* ‘daughter’.

The Oscan forms point to */futr-/* < **fuxtr-*. 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.

-fütō, **-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.+)

Plt. **füt-?*

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 **b^hu(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 **g^heu-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 ?*b^heud-. → *fūstis*, *futuō*

futuō, -ere 'to fuck' [v. III] (Cat.+)

Might be derived from the root *-fūt-* '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' < **ǵ^hu-tu-* to the root **ǵ^heu-* '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 poultry' (Pl.+), *gallīnārius* 'one who looks after poultry' (Varro+).

IE cognates: W. *galw* 'to call' < PCI. **galmo-*; 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, -ιδος* '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. *γάρος* '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, -ire '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

gōgōnīv ‘murmuring’, Ru. *gugnīvyj*, Bulg. *gāgniv* ‘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 Plt. **gangn-* (in which **a* would be difficult to explain) would not normally develop to *gann-*. WH therefore invoke onomatopoeic change in this word, which is possible.

Bibl.: WH I: 582, EM 267, IEW 352.

garriō, -īre ‘to chatter, jabber’ [v. IV] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *garrulus* ‘talkative’ (Pl.+).

Plt. **gārje/o-?*

PIE **ǵ(e)h₂r-ie/o-* ‘to shout’? IE cognates: OIr. *gairid**, *·gair*; MW *garōu* ‘to shout’ < PCI. **gar-je/o-* < PIE **ǵeh₂r-*, OIr. *gáir*, W. *gawr* ‘shout’ < PCI. **gāri-* ‘shout, call’, OIr. *gairm* ‘shouting, calling’, W. Bret. *garm* < PCI. **garsman-* ‘cry, shout’; Khot. *ysār-* ‘to sing’, Sogd. *z’ry*, *z’r’k*, *z’r’y* ‘compassionate; pitiful’, Khwar. *zrj̄-* ‘to announce, reveal, speak about (sorrow)’, Oss. Iron *zælyn/zæld* ‘to sound’, (caus.-iter.) Iron *zaryn/zard*, Digoron *zarun/zard* ‘to sing’ < Plr. **zaHr-* (**zarH-?*) ‘to bewail the deceased’; Gr. γῆρυς f. ‘voice, speech’, Dor. γᾶρυς, -υος < **geh₂ru-*; 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 */gār-/* 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.+).

Plt. **gāwep-ē-* [v.] or **gāwīpo-* [adj.].

PIE **ǵeh₂u-ed^h-* ‘to rejoice’ or **ǵeh₂u-i-d^hh₁-o-* ‘rejoicing’. IE cognates: Gr. γάνυμαι ‘to brighten up, be glad’ < **gh₂-n-u-*, γαίω ‘to take pride in’ < **ǵāp-jō*; γηθέω ‘rejoice’, Dor. γᾶθέω, pf. γέγηθα < **geh₂d^h-*; 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)d^h-*, the participle *gāvīsus* 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 **gāvidere* was built (like *ārdere* ‘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 *-id^ho- (Nussbaum 1999a). If the present was built on a suffix *-d^h-, 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)eh₂u-.

gǎvia '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. *gǎius* 'jay' is close in form and meaning, which would point to a (onomatopoeic?) root *gǎ-. If one assumes a short vowel in *gavia*, it can be derived from *gou-i-éh₂-, and connected with a PIE root *guh₂-. This remains uncertain.

Bibl.: WH I: 584, EM 268, IEW 403, LIV *geuh₂-.

gelus, -ūs 'cold, frost, ice' [m. *u*] (Andr.+; *gelum* [n.] Cato+, marginally *gelū* [n.])

Derivatives: *gelidus* 'cold, icy' (Cato+), *gelāre* 'to freeze' (Sen.+); *gelicidium* 'a frost' (Cato+); *congelāre* 'to cause to freeze' (Varro+).

PIt. *gelus, *gel-ou- [m.].

PIE *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 *xlady* 'coolness, cool breeze', Ru. *xólod* 'cold' < PSI. *xōlady '(the) cold' << PIE *ǵold^ho-?

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- < *jemno-; Skt. *yamá-* 'twin', *yamī-* [f.] 'twin sister', OAv. *yāma-* [m.] 'twin' < IIr. *iamHa- < *imHo-; Latv. *jūmis* 'pair'.

Traditionally, *geminus* is connected with IIr. *iamá- 'twin' because of the meaning; this is supported by the OIr. cognate, which still shows *je-*. If correct, Latin has analogically introduced *g-* from elsewhere, probably from *gignō* 'to give birth to', *genus* 'offspring'.

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.+).

Plt. **gebmā-* ‘bud, sprout’.

PIE **ǵeb-m-* ‘sprout, bud’. IE cognates: Lith. *žėmbėti* ‘to germinate, sprout’, 3s. *žėmbi*, OCS *prožębnŋti* ‘to germinate’.

The meaning ‘bud, sprout’ is primary. There are two competing traditional etymologies. WH and IEW prefer a derivation **ǵemb^h-nā* to the root **ǵemb^h-* ‘to bite’, whereas others have suggested a connection with **gem-* ‘to press’ (Lat. *gemō*). The second etymology is semantically unconvincing, and leaves the geminate *-mm-* unexplained. The first etymology is based on (or at least thought to be strengthened by) the similar forms of Lith. *žėmbti* (colloq.) ‘to cut slantwise, sharpen’, 3s. *žėmbia*, OCS *zębomi* ‘to pull out’ on the one hand, and Lith. *žėmbėti* ‘to germinate, sprout’, 3s. *žėmbi*, OCS *prožębnŋti* ‘to germinate’ on the other. Yet the accentuation of these verbs is different, a problem which was seen by IEW, but solved in an unsatisfactory way, viz. by assuming a lengthened grade present for Lith. *žėmbėti*. Since the meanings ‘to cut’ and ‘to germinate’ are difficult to derive from one another, and since the accentual difference may go back to different root-final consonants, we can reconstruct **ǵemb^h-* 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*, *flamma*). Whether Germanic words can be connected (Olc. *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.+).

Plt. **gene/o-?*

PIE **Gen(H)-* ‘to call’? IE cognates: Gr. *γέγωνα* [pf.] ‘to shout so as to make oneself heard’, ToA *ken-* ‘to call’.

Lat. *gemō* has been connected with Gr. *γέμω* ‘to be full’ by most scholars, but the assumed semantic change from ‘to grasp; to press’ to ‘groan, moan’ is hard to imagine. This point is stressed by Vine 2007, who instead proposes to connect Gr. *γέγωνα* and ToA *ken-* ‘to call’ < (**ge-*)*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.+).

Plt. **gemu-*.

PIE **ǵen-u-* [f.] ‘jaw’. IE cognates: OIr. *gin* [m. *u*] ‘mouth’, W. *gen* ‘cheek’, pl. *geneu* < PCl. **gemu-*; Skt. *hānu-* [f.], YAv. **zanauua* [du.], Khot. *ysamuva* ‘jaw’ < IIr.

**f^(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. *zuóds* < **gonH-d'o-* or **gon-d-o-*; Go. *kinnus* [f.] 'cheek', Oic. *kinn* [f.] 'slope' < PGm. **kinnu-* (< **genu-/genuo-*); ToA *śanwem* [du.f.] 'jaws' < PIE **gēnu-* (root vocalism after ToA *kanwem* 'knees'?).

Originally the same word **genu-* 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.+)

Plt. **g(e)mro-*.

PIE **g(e)m-ro-* 'son-in-law'. IE cognates: Skt. *jāmātar-* [m.] 'son-in-law', YAv. *zāmātar-* [m.] 'id.', *zāmaoiia-* 'id.' < Ilr. **jāma(Htar)-*; YAv. *zāmanā-* [f.] 'reward, payment, wages', Khot. *ysamtha* 'payment for use', Sogd. 'wz'm- 'to repay, requite, condemn', Bactr. ωζ- 'to be liable' < Plr. **zam-* 'to repay, reward'; Gr. γαμβρός 'son-in-law' < **gm-ro-*, denom. γαμέω 'to marry'; Alb. *dhëndër, dhândër* 'son-in-law, bridegroom'. From a different preform: Lith. *žentas* [m.] 'son-in-law, brother-in-law', Latv. *znuóts* 'id.', OCS *zētb* 'bridegroom', Ru. *zját'* 'son-in-law, brother-in-law' < **genh₃-to/i-* (Derksen 2008: 543).

The *m* of Ilr. and Greek cannot go back to *n*, and the Greek form can hardly reflect a *seŕ* root. If the root was **gm-*, we can explain *gener* from **gmros* > **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: *gentilis* [m.] 'a member of the same gens' (Lex XII+), *gentilitās* 'members of a gens' (Varro+), *gentilicius* 'of a gens' (Varro+).

Plt. **genti-*.

PIE **gēnh₁-ti-* 'child'. IE cognates: Skt. *prá-jāti-* [f.] 'birth, production', Av. *frazainti-* 'offspring, posterity'; Gr. γένεσις 'birth'; Oic. *kind* 'kind, race' < **kenōi-*, OE *gecynd*, OHG *gikunt* 'origin, race' < **kunōi-*.

The original meaning is 'clan', that is, 'people of the same descent'. Schrijver argues that Lat. **genti-* is a relatively recent formation, since PIE **gēnh₁-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, **gēnh₁-ti-* 'child' and **gēnh₁-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 **gēnh₁-*. → *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. **genū*.

PIE **ǵen-u(-h₁ dual)*, **ǵen-u-* (obl.) 'both knees'. IE cognates: OIr. *glūn* [n.], W. *pen-(g)lin*, Co. *penglin*, Bret. *penn-glin* 'knee' < **glūn-*; Hit. ^(UZU)*genu-* / *ganu-* [n. > c.] 'knee' < **ǵén-u-* / **ǵn-eu-*; Skt. *jānu-*, in cp. *jñu-*, Av. *zānu-*, *fra-šmu-* 'holding the knee forward'; Gr. γόνυ 'knee', γνόξ [adv.] 'with bent knee' (Il.), πρόχλυ 'kneeling', Arm. *cownr* < **ǵomu-*, with an *r*-addition to older *u*-stem; Alb. *gju* / *gjū* [m.] 'knee', Buzuku pl. *glunj* < PAIb. **glun-*; Go. *kniu*, OHG *chniu*, OIc. *kné* < PGm. **knewa-*; ToA *kanwem* [m.du.], ToB *keni** [m.du.] 'knees' < PTo. **kenw-* < PIE **ǵomu-*.

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.+), *digerere* '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. **ǵifri-* 'hump', **ǵifro-* 'hump-backed'.

PIE *geib^h? IE cognates: Lith. *geibūs* 'gawky, plump', *geibstū*, *geibti* '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 *geib^h-, 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.); *ingenus* '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 *benignus* 'kind, generous' (Pl.+), *bignae* 'twins' (Paul. *ex F.*), *malignus* 'ungenerous, grudging' (Pl.+), *prīvīgnus* 'stepson' (CIL 1.583.22+).

It. cognates: O. **genetaī** [dat.sg.] 'daughter' (?) < *gēnh₁-to-. Second -e- is problematic: because of the general Sabellic syncope of word-internal vowels, one would expect *genatā- > *gentā-.

PIE pr. *gī-ǵnh₁-e/o- 'to engender', aor. *gēnh₁-; *gēnh₁-tor- [m.]; in cp. *-ǵnh₁-o- > PIE *-ǵn-o-; *gēnh₁-o/es- 'race, offspring', *gēnh₁-mn- 'germ, seed'. IE cognates: OIr. *gainidir**, *gainedar*, W. *geni*, Co. *genys* [ppp.], Bret. *guenell* 'to be born' < PCl. *gan-jo-; OIr. *gniid*, *gni* 'to do', MW *gweini* 'to serve', MCo. *gonis* 'to work', MBret. *go(u)nit* 'to earn' < PCl. *(yo-)gn-ijo- (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' < *gēnh₁-s-u-; PIIr. *janH- > Skt. *janī* 'to be born, produce, create', pr. *jāna-*, pr. *jāya-* 'be born', s-aor. *ājanīṣṭa*, red.aor. *ājījanat* 'has produced, has created'; ta-ptc. *jātā-*; *jā-* [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. *janítár-* [m.], *jánitar-* [m.] (in the RV only with *jajāna*), *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’, *jātū-bharman-* ‘protector by birth’, OP *dātū-vahya-* [m.] PN; PIIr. **janH-tu-* ‘tribe’ > Skt. *jantú-* [m.] ‘creature, tribe’, OAv. *hu-zēntu-* ‘of good lineage, noble’, YAv. *zantú-* [m.] ‘region’. Gr. γίγνομαι ‘to become’, aor. ἔγενετο; 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. *cnawł* ‘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 *kān-* ‘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 **ǵenatos*. The adj. *genetivus* also preserves medial *-e-* from the stage **gene-tos* of the ppp.; according to Leumann, its preservation in *genetivus* 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 four-syllabic oblique caseforms. Still, an inner-Latin formation on the pr. stem *gen-* cannot be excluded. Of the compounds in *-gena*, *-genus*, *-genius*, *-gnus*, only the last type seems to be inherited: the meaning has moved away from literal ‘to beget’, the morphology is synchronically opaque, and the other three types are only attested in CLat. The noun *genius* is derived from PIE by IEW, who compares among others Gm. **kunja-* (Go. *kuni* ‘race’), but the meaning of *genius* clearly shows its dependance on *genus* and/or the verbal stem, and it can easily be secondary. The cp. in *-gena* are regarded as calques on Greek -γενής by Leumann 1977: 280. *Malignus* was created as an antonym to *benignus*, as the exclusive meaning ‘ungenerous’ (not: ‘unkind’) indicates; thus Nussbaum 2003. *Privignus* < **preiwo-gno-* ‘born separately’ > ‘stepson’; the reflex *-ignus* instead of expected **privognus* 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. *gūnga* 'hunch, lump' and Germanic words meaning 'ball' and 'winding': OIc. *kokkr* '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+), *quadrāgēsīmus* 'fortieth' (Varro+), *quadrāgiē(n)s* 'forty times' (Varro+); *quīnquāgēnārius* 'of, containing fifty' (Cato+), *quīnquāgēsīēs* '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.+); *nōnāgēsīmus* 'ninetieth' (Varro+).

PIt. **trīgmta* 'thirty', **k^wadrāgmta* 'forty'.

PIE **tri-/k^wtr-* etc. + *-dkmt-h₂* > **tridkmt₂*, **k^wdradkmt₂* > **tri?kmt₂*, **k^wdra?kmt₂* > **tri?gmt₂*, **k^wdra?gmt₂* > **trīgmta*, **k^wadrāgmta*.

The ordinal *-c/gēsīmus* reflects < **-gēssamo-* < **-gen^ttamo-* < **-g^{nt}-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^r* 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 **k^wtr-dkmt-* was lenited (voiced) in the consonant cluster, as was the **k* in the second member in all forms. Final *-ā* for expected **-ā* is explained by Klingenschmitt (1992: 92) as analogical to final *-ī* in *vīgintī* 'twenty'. The higher decades have adopted *-āgintā* from 'thirty' and 'forty'. The expected form of 'fifty' would have been **penk^we-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* < **septm-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. **χlapro-*.

PIE **g^hlh₂d^h-ro-* ‘smooth’. IE cognates: Lith. *glodius*, Latv. *glūošs* ‘smooth’, OCS *gladъkъ*, Ru. *gládkij*, SCr. *glādak* ‘smooth, even’ < PIE **g^hleh₂d^h-*; OHG *glat* ‘smooth, shiny’, OIc. *gladr* ‘shiny’ < PIE **g^hlh₂d^h-*.

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-* (Olr. *claideb* is a loanword from W.).

The close connection with Celtic words for ‘sword’, together with the imperfect match of initial consonants, and the semantic field of weaponry, suggests that Latin borrowed a form **gladio-* or **kladio-* (a hypothetical variant of attested British Celtic **kladimo-* ‘sword’) from PCl. or from a third language.

Bibl.: WH I: 603, EM 275f., IEW 545ff.

glāns, -andis ‘acorn’ [f. *nd*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *glandium* ‘delicate kernel (in meat)’ (Naev.); *glandifer* ‘acorn-bearing’ (Lucr.); *iūglāns* ‘walnut’ (Varro+).

PIt. **g^wland(i)-* < **g^wlānd-*.

PIE **g^wlh₂-n-d^(h)-(i)-* ‘acorn’. IE cognates: Skt. *gula-* ‘acorn, penis, clitoris’ (uncertain); Gr. βάλανος ‘acorn’ < **g^wlh₂-eno-*, Arm. *kalin*, gen. *kalnoy* ‘acorn’ (but **g^wlh₂-eno-* would give *-an-* in Arm.); maybe Alb. *lënd*, Tosk *lëndë* ‘acorn’; OPr. *gile* ‘acorn, oak’, Lith. *gilė* ‘acorn’, *gylė* (dial.), Latv. *zīle* < **g^wlh₂-eh₁*; RuCS *želudъ*, Ru. *želud’*, SCr. *žělūd* ‘acorn’ < PSI. **žělqdb* < **g^welh₂-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 **grH-ro-* > **grāros* 'pebble, corn' > deriv. **grārejos* 'of pebbles' > diss. **glārejos*. But this depends on the original meaning of *grānum*: if this was 'ripened, aged', it is unlikely that *glārea* is cognate.

Bibl.: WH I: 605, EM 276, IEW 390f. → *grānum*

glēba 'lump of earth, clod' [f. *ā*] (Cato+; <*glæb-*> mainly in Pliny)

Derivatives: *glēbārius* 'who cuts off lumps' (Varro).

IE cognates: Lith. *glėbti*, 3s. *glėbia* 'to embrace, clasp, (dial.) take care of', Lith. *glėbys* 'embrace, armful', Latv. *glēbt* 'to guard, protect' < **glēb^h-*.

If *glēba* is older than *glæba*, 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 **glēb^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.+)

Plt. **glīs*.

PIE **ǵlh₂-i-* 'husband's sister, aunt' > 'weasel'. IE cognates: Skt. *giri-* [f.] 'sister-in-law', Gr. γαλέη, γαλή (Ar.+) 'weasel, marten' (the word originally indicated the skin), γαλήόπις 'weasel-eyed', γαλιάγκων 'with an arm like a weasel', γαλιδευς '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 **ǵlh₂-i-* '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.+).

PIt. **glemos, -es-*.

PIE **glem-o/es-* [n.]. IE cognates: OIr. *glomar* ‘gag, curb’; Lith. *glomoti* ‘to embrace’, *gļēžti* ‘to grab together; rumple’, Latv. *gļēžt* ‘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.² 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?)³ **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.+).

PIt. **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 *Plt. *gnōs-* 'to know' (see s.v. *ignōrō*) or of PIE **ǵne/oh₃-ri-* 'knowledge', cf. Gr. γνῶριμος 'well-known, familiar'.

Bibl.: WH I: 609f., EM 277. → *gnārus*, *ignōrō*

glōs, -ris 'husband's sister, brother's wife' [f. *r*] (Pl.+)

Plt. **glōs-*.

PIE **ǵloh₂-u-* 'husband's sister'. IE cognates: Skt. *giri-* [f.] 'sister-in-law', Gr. γάλας, -ω 'husband's sister, brother's wife', γάλις 'γαλαός' (Hsch.) < PGr. *γαλ-αφ-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).

Plt. **gloufe/o-* [v.], **glouf(s)ma-*.

PIE **gleub^h-e/o-* 'to split', **gle/oub^h-(s)mh₂-*. IE cognates: Gr. γλόφω 'to carve out', OHG *klioban*, OE *clēofan*, OIc. *kljúfa* 'to cleave' < **gleub^h-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)leub^h-*.

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.).

Plt. **gloiten-* 'glue'; **glūtos?*

PIE **ǵloh₁-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’, *gliėti* ‘to putty’, *gléima* ‘slime’, Latv. *gleīmas* ‘sticky liquid’, Lith. *gliemežys* ‘snail’ < PIE *gleh₁i-m-; Ru. *glej* (dial.) ‘clay, loam’, SCr. *glěj* (dial.) ‘kind of clay’ < PSl. *glejb < PIE *glh₁i-; RuCS *glěmь*, Ru. *glen* ‘moisture, juice’, Bulg. *glen* (dial.) ‘waterplant, duckweed’, Sln. *glěn* (dial.) ‘mucus, sediment, clay, waterplant’ < PIE *gloH₁i-n-; Ru. *hlina*, Cz. *hlina*, Bulg. *glina* ‘clay’ < PSl. *glina < PIE *gleH₁i-n-; OE *clæg*, 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 < *glh₁i-to-, with laryngeal metathesis, or < *gleh₁i-to-. The *n*-stem inflection in Latin *gloiten- might be secondary after *unguen* ‘ointment’, or hide an earlier *r/n*-stem ‘glue’. The Hesych gloss 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: *gluttire* ‘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. *gl₁tb ‘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.+), *prōgnārīter* ‘with full knowledge’ (Pl., Enn.); *gnāruris* [adj.] ‘having knowledge’ (Pl.); *gnārīgāre* ‘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.).

Plt. *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’, γνώριζω ‘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 Plt., judging by the U. forms; it is denominal to the adj. *gnāro-. Leumann 1977: 550 interprets *gnār-igāre* as a rhyming formation to *clārīgāre* 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. *kurčlasiu* [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 **k_ṛk-* and be cognate with Skt. *kṛśá-*, Av. *kərəsa-* 'lean, meagre', OIc. *horr* (**hurha-*) 'leanness', Lith. *karšėti*, *káršti* 'to grow old'. Yet PIE **k_ṛk-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. *gorkati* 'to coo', Ru. (dial.) *gorkat* < PSl. **gorkati*; 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 **grēh₂-* 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.: *adgredimur* (Pl.), *aggreditur* (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.+); *aggredi*, *-gressus* ‘to advance, approach’ (Pl.+), *congrēdi* ‘to meet, join battle’ (Pl.+), *congressus*, *-ūs* ‘meeting, encounter’ (Lucr.+), *dēgredi* ‘to depart, go down’ (Pl.+), *dīgredi* ‘to go away’ (Ter.+), *ingredi* ‘to enter, begin’ (Pl.+), *indugredi* ‘to enter’ (Lucr.), *prōgredi* ‘to advance, proceed’ (Pl.+), *regredi* ‘to go back’ (Pl.+); *aggretus* ‘departure’, *ēgretus* ‘surge’? (Paul. *ex F.*).

Plt. **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. **grindje/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/gradīri*. 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* – *experīri*. The noun *grallae* precludes a preform **grad^h-lā-* (which would yield **grabulae*), unless the noun was derived from **grad^h-* 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 *grędę*, *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 *aggrētus* ‘departure’ and *ēgrētus* ‘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+)

Plt. **grā(s)men-* / **grasmen-*.

PIE **g^hrh₁-(s)-mn-* ‘grass’. IE cognates: Go. *gras*, OHG *gras*, OIc. *gras* ‘grass’; OE *grōwan*, OIc. *gróa*, OHG *gruoen* ‘to grow’ < **g^hroh₁-ie/o-*; OS *grōni*, OHG *gruoni* ‘green’ < **g^hroh₁-ni-*.

Latin *grāmen* can be from **g^hrh₁-mn-*, but the connection with Gm. **grasa-* point to **g^hrh₁-s-mn-* as another possibility. PGm. **grasa-* ‘grass’ cannot be derived by

regular rules from *ǵ^hrh₁-s-, but it might contain a secondary full grade which was made to the lengthened grade of the verb *ǵ^hroh₁-ie-. The restricted distribution (Latin and Gm.) and the difficult *a* of Gm. *grasa₁ 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 *gr̃mēžd̃b* 'pus in the eyes', SCr. *k̃rmēlj*, *k̃rmēlj* 'fester in the corners of the eyes'; OIc. *kramr* [adj.] 'damp', Go. *grammīpa* 'moisture' (if for **krammīpa*).

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.+), *grandire* 'to make large' (Pl.+), *grandescere* 'to increase in size' (Lucr.+), *granditās* 'advanced condition' (Sis.+); *grandaevitās* 'agedness' (Pac., Acc.), *grandaevus* 'of great age' (Lucil.+); *pergrandis* 'very large' (Pl.+), *pergrandescere* 'to grow very large' (Acc.), *praegrandis* 'exceptionally large' (Pac.+), *vēgrandis* 'far from large' (Pl.+).

WH and IEW connect Gr. βρένθος 'pride' and OCS *gr̃d̃b* 'breast' < **gra/ond-i-*. Yet Latin *grand-* cannot be explained from a root **g^{wh}rd^h-*, and the semantic connection between 'breast' and 'pride', and between 'breast' and 'large', is gratuitous. Vennemann 1998b proposes to regard *grandis* and Basque *handi* 'big' as two survivors of an earlier Vasconian substrate; yet the number of ad hoc assumptions which is necessary to explain the Basque side of this comparison is rather large.

Bibl.: WH I: 617f., EM 281, IEW 485.

grandō, -inis 'hail' [f. *n*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *grandinat* 'it hails' (Pac.+).

PIt. **grand-* / **gradn-*?

PIE *ǵ^hreh₃-d-ōn, *ǵ^hrh₃-d-n- 'hail'. IE cognates: Skt. (RV+) *hrādūni-* 'hail', Sogd. *žyōn* 'hail'; Arm. *karkowt*, gen.dat.sg. *karkti*, ins. *karktiw* 'hail'; OCS *grad̃b*, Ru. *grad*, SCr. *grād*, gen.sg. *grāda* 'hail' < BSl. **grōd-o-*.

Rasmussen 1984 explains the BSl. cognates from nom.sg. **grōHd-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-grōd-i-* < **gr-grōHd-i-*, a reduplicated *i*-adjective. This, then, would point to an originally verbal root **grh₃d-*. Since two plain voiced stops cannot

co-occur in one PIE root, and since **-d-* is often found as a root enlargement, the root is likely to have been **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 **ɣ*); 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).

Plt. **grāno-*.

PIE **grh₂-no-* 'which has ripened, fruit, grain'. IE cognates: OIr. *grán* [n.], W. *grawn*, Co. *gronen*, Bret. *greun* 'grain' < PCl. **grāno-*; Pashto *zaṇai*, *zaṛai* 'kernel, seed', OPr. *syrne* 'grain', Lith. *žirnis* [m.], Latv. *ziņnis* [m.] 'pea', OCS *zrѣno* [n.], Ru. *zernó* [n.], SCr. *zrno* [n.] 'grain' < BSl. **žirn-*; Go. *kaurn*, OHG *korn* 'grain' < PGM. **kurna-*.

There are two possible root etymologies: either **grH-no-* means 'which has ripened', and belongs to the root 'to be(come) old, ripen' (Skt. *járanti* 'they let grow old'), or it means 'which has been pounded, ground' and belongs to a root 'to rub, ground'. Yet in the latter case, the root would be without attested finite verb forms, and also, the semantics would be less evident: 'grains' and 'seeds' *cān* 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 **gerh₂-*.

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.+), *ingrātūs* 'against the wishes of' (Pl.+), *ingrātificus* 'ungrateful' (Acc.); *grātulārī* 'to give thanks, congratulate' (Naev.+), *congrātulārī* 'to congratulate' (Pl.+); *grātuītus* 'free of charge' (Pl.+).

Plt. **g^wrāto-* 'grateful', **g^wrāt-* 'mercy, grace', **g^wrāti-* 'mercy'; **g^wrātu-* 'grace'? It. cognates: O. *brateis*, *brateis*, βρατης, β[ρα]τησις, Vest. *brat.*, Pael. *brat.*, *brais* [gen.sg.], O. βρατωμ, Pael. *bratom* [acc.sg.] to *brāta-* or *brāti-* 'grace, mercy' < **g^wrā-t-*.

PIE **g^wrH-to-* 'praised (in a song)'. IE cognates: W. *barnu*, MBret. *barn* 'to judge' < PIE **g^wer-n-H-*; OIr. *bráth* [m.], W. *brawd* 'judgement', Gaul. βρατου 'out of gratitude' < PIE **g^wrH-tu-* 'proclamation'; Skt. pr. *grṇāti*, *grṇtē* 'to praise, honour, welcome', *gūrtá-* 'welcome'; *gūrti-* [f.] 'praising, song of praise'; OAv. *aibījaratar-* [m.] 'who welcomes'; YAv. *auui garante* 'welcomes'; Skt. *gir-* [f.] 'song of praise, invocation'; Alb. *grah* 'to rouse' < **g^wrH-sk-*; OPr. *girtwei* 'to praise', Lith. *girtas* 'praised', *girti*, Latv. *dziŗt* 'to praise, boast' < PIE **g^wrH-*; Lit. *gėras* 'good', if < PIE **g^werH-o-*. OCS *žrbcb* [m.] 'priest', Ru. *žrec* [m.] < PSl. **žrbcb*; OCS *žrbti* / *žrbti*, 1s. *žrbq*, ORu. *žereti*, *žreti*, *žrbti* 'to sacrifice' < PIE **g^wrH-*; OCS *gramb*, *grano* 'verse, line' < **g^worH-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 *g^uerH-.

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.+).

Plt. **g^wra(w)u-*. It. cognates: maybe O. **bravūs** 'heavy?' < **g^wreh₂-u-o-*.

PIE **g^wreh₂-u-* 'heavy'. IE cognates: Skt. *gurū-* 'heavy', Khot. *ggarka-* 'heavy, respectable', Gr. *βαρύς* 'heavy', Latv. *grūts* 'heavy, pregnant' (< **g^wrh₂-u-to-*), Go. f.pl. *kaurjos* 'weighty, oppressive', ToB *krāmār* 'weight, heaviness', ToA *krāmārts* 'heavy'.

As with other PIE *u*-stem adjectives, Plt. **g^wrau-* < PIE **g^wreh₂-u-* 'heavy' was remade into an *i*-stem within Italic. In view of the *o*-stem O. **bravūs** < **g^wrau-* << **g^wrau-*, 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.+)

Plt. **grem-o-*.

PIE **h₂gr-em-* 'to gather'? IE cognates: Skt. *grāma-* [m.] 'train, troop', *grām(ā)yā-* 'relating to a village', Sogd. *γr'm'k* 'riches', MP *grāmag* 'wealth, property', Khwar. *γr'm* 'weight, burden' < Ilr. **(H)grāma-*; Gr. *ἀγείρω* 'to gather'; Lith. *grūmulas* 'lump', OCS *gramada* 'heap, pile', SCr. *gramáda* 'clod, pile of firewood' < PSł. **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 Ilr., 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 ?*h₂(g)er-.

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.+).

Plt. *g^wreg-.

PIE *g^wreg- 'group, herd'. IE cognates: Khot. *ham-grīs-*, (caus.) *hamga'j-* (*hamggalj-*) 'to gather, assemble', Gr. γάρφα [n.pl.] 'heaps, lots (of people)', γέφυρα 'heaps' (Hsch.), γαργαίρω 'to swarm', Lith. *gūrguolė* 'heap'. Probable loanwords from Latin are Olr. *graig* [n. i] 'flock of horses', MW *gre* 'herd' < *gregi-.

The cp. *ēgregius* is based on a prepositional phrase *ē grege, while *sēgregāre* was built on *sē grege 'beside the herd'. Lat. *grex* might contain the 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^wrg-je/o- > Plt. *grj-ya- >> *grj-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.+).

Plt. *grōmo- 'heap'.

PIE *h₂gr-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 be 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 syllable for the a vowel change, compare the change *e > o /m,w _ CV_[non-front] discussed by Schrijver 1991: 466-470. Note also that the raising of *ē to Lat. *ī* is conditioned in a similar way, viz. by -i- in the next syllable.

Bibl.: WH I: 623, EM 283, IEW 376ff. → *gremium*

grunda 'roof' [f. ā] (only in glossaries)

Derivatives: *suggrunda* 'projecting ledge or sill on a building' (Varro+), *suggrundium* 'id.' (Vittr., Plin.).

PIt. **χronda-*.

PIE **g^hrond^h-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' < **g^hrnd^h-h₂-*, OIc. *grind* 'gate made of spars or bars, fence, dock, store-houses' [f.], OE *grindel*, OS *grindil* 'bolt', OHG *grintil* 'bolt, plowbeam' < **g^hrend^h-*.

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 **g^hrond^h-o-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 623f., EM 283f., IEW 459f.

grundiō, -ire 'to grunt' [v. IV] (Caecil.+; the more recent variant is *grunnīre*)

IE cognates: Gr. γρῦ 'certain sound, among others, the grunting of swine', γρούζω 'to grunt', γρούλλος 'piglet'; OE *grun(n)ian*, OHG *grunzian*, NHG *grunzen*, OE *grunnetan*, MoE *to grunt* < PGm. **grunnatjan-*.

The suffix *-ire* 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 **-g^hr(e)uh₁-e/o-* 'to rush in'. IE cognates: Gr. ἔχραον 'attacked', ζα-χρηής 'furious' if from **χρῶϝ-*; Lith. *griáuti*, Is. *griáuju* 'to destroy', *griúti*, Is. *griyvù* 'to crumble'.

Although *-gruō* is only attested in cp., there are enough good examples of word-initial **g^hr-* > 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 **g^hreh₁u-*. → *ruō*

grūs, -uis 'crane' [f. *u*] (Lucil.+)

Derivatives: *gruere* 'to crunkle' (Suet., Paul. *ex F.*).

PIt. **grū-*.

PIE **gérh₂-ōu-s*, **grh₂-eu-*, **grh₂-u-os* 'crane'; also **g(e)rh₂-n-*. IE cognates: W. Co. Bret. *garan* 'crane', Gaul. *tri-garanos* 'with three cranes' < PIE **gérh₂no-*; Gr. γέρανος [f.(m.)] 'crane', maybe Myc. *ke-re-na-i* dat.pl. /*kerenāhi*/ < **gérh₂-n-*; Gr. γέρην (or γερήν) < **gérh₂-ēn*; Arm. *k'rownk*; Lith. *gėrvė*, Latv. *dzērve* < **gérH-ueh₁-*, Ru. *žurávl'* [m.], ORu. *žeravlb* [m.], SCr. *žěřāv* 'crane' < PIE **gérh₂-ōu-*; OIc. *trani* [m.], OLG *crano*, OE *cran* [m.] 'crane' < PGm. **krana(n)-* < **gréh₂-(u)n-?*; OHG *chranuh* [m.], OE *cranoc*, *cormuc* [m.] 'id.' < **kranaka-*.

The PIE cognates point to a *u*-stem **grh₂-u-* 'crane'. Lat. *grūs* can be the phonetic result of metathesised **gruh₂-* in a nom.sg. **grh₂-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 *gl̋tati*, 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. *gūmt* 'to seize', SeCS *žęti*, Is. *žęmę* 'press, squeeze', Ru. *žat*, 3s. *žmęt* 'press, squeeze' < PSl. **žęti* < BSl. **gem-*, **gm-ti*; Lith. *gāmalas*, *gāmulas* 'lump, chunk'; RuCS *gomola*, *gomula*, ORu. *gomola* 'lump', Cz. *homole* 'cone', SCr. *gōmoļa* 'pile (of cheese)' < BSl. **gomolo-*, *-ā-*; OE *cumbol* 'wound, ulcer', OIc. *kumla* 'to crush'; Toch. pret. *lkāmā-l*, past ptc. *lkākāmā-l* 'to carry, wear' < PTo. **kemā-*.

Lat. *gumia* is often explained as a borrowing from Umbrian **gomio-*, but the meaning is not the same as 'pregnant'.

Bibl.: WH I: 626, EM 285, Untermann 2000: 310, Meiser 2003: 229, LIV **gem-*.

gurdus 'blockhead, dolt' [m. *o*] (Lab.+)

PIt. **g^word-o-* 'heavy, stubborn'.

PIE **g^wrd-o-*. IE cognates: Gr. βραδύς 'slow', Lith. *gurdūs* 'id.', Latv. *guŗds* 'tired', OCS *gr̋dvъ*, Ru. *górđyj* '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-* < **-r-* after a labiovelar (Meiser 1998: 63), so that **g^wrd-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. *f*] (Lucil.+)

Derivatives: *ęgurgitāre* 'to pour forth in floods' (Pl.), *ingurgitāre* 'to pour in by

streams, drench' (Naev.+); *gurguliō* 'gullet, throat' (Pl.+).

PIE *g^w_r[h₃]*g^w[r_h]₃-et- 'devouring'?

Both *gurgus* 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^uer_h₃-. → *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 *g(e)us- [aor.] 'to taste', *gus-tu- 'taste', *gusto- 'tasted'. IE cognates: OIr. *do·goa** 'to choose' << **tu-gus-o-*, sb. *do·gó* < **-geus-se/o-*, OIr. *guss* 'excellence'; Hit. *kūša-* 'daughter-in-law, bride', ^{LU}*kūša-* 'son-in-law' < *g^eus-o- 'the chosen one' (Rieken 1999: 258), *kukuš-^{zi}* 'to taste'; Skt. *jōṣati* 'to enjoy', ppp. *juṣṭá-*, *juṣṭa-* 'welcome, wished, agreeable', *juṣṭi-* [f.] 'favour', *jōṣa-* [m.] 'satisfaction', Av. *zaōša-* [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. *kīusan* 'to test', OIc. *kjósa* 'to choose', OHG OS *kiosan* < *g^eus-e/o-; Go. *kausjan* 'to test, taste'; Go. *ga-kusts* [f.] 'test', OFr. *kest*, OE *cyst* [m.] 'choice' < *g^us-ti-; Go. *kustus* 'test', OE *cost* 'choice, excellence', OIc. *kostr* 'selection' < *g^us-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 *g^eus-.

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.+), *habiturire* ‘to be eager to have’ (Pl.), *habitus* [adj.] ‘in a good physical condition’ (Pl.+), *habitus, -ūs* ‘condition, character, dress’ (Lucr.+); *abhibere* ‘to hold at a distance’ (Pl.), *adhibere* ‘to apply, bring into play, consult’ (Pl.+), *cohibere* ‘to hold together, contain, restrain’ (Pl.+), *diribere* ‘to distribute’ (Varro+), *exhibere* ‘to produce, exhibit’ (Pl.+), *inhibere* ‘to exert; restrain, check’ (Pl.+), *perhibere* ‘to bestow; regard as, call’ (Pl.+), *posthibere* ‘to treat as less important’ (Ter.+), *praebere* ‘to put forward, present, provide’ (Pl.+), *praebia, -ōrum* ‘prophylactic charms, amulets’ (Naev.+), *praebitiō* ‘the supplying’ (Varro+), *praehibere* ‘to provide’ (Pl.); *prōhibere* (also *prōbere* Lucr.) ‘to keep off, prevent, forbid’ (Pl.+), *redhibere* ‘to return; take back’ (Pl.+); *manubiae* [f.pl.] ‘prize-money, gain’ (Naev.+), *manubiārius* ‘concerned with booty’ (Pl.); *manubrium* ‘handle, haft’ (Pl.+).

Plt. pr. **χab/f-ē*- ‘has taken > has, holds’ (> Latin *habere*, 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-*: **neĩrhabas** [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!’, Olr. *gaibid*, *gaib* ‘to take’ < PCI. **gab-i-*; MW *caffael* ‘to get’, MCo. *kavoēs*, MBret. *caffout* < **kab-* << **gab-ei-tu* (Schrijver 2003: 74); Skt. *gābhasti-* [m.] ‘hand, fore-arm’, YAv. *gauua-* [m.] ‘hand (of daēvic beings)’, *asəngō.gauua-* ‘with hands made of stone’, Khot. *ggoštā* ‘hand’, Wa. *gawust* ‘fist’ < PIIr. **gab^ha-*; Lith. (dial.) *gābana* [f.], Latv. *gabana* ‘armful (of hay)’, Lith. *gabėnti*, 3s. *gabėna* ‘to transport, remove’, *gabūs* ‘gifted, clever, skilful, (dial.) greedy’, *gebėti*, 3s. *gėba* ‘be able, be capable’, *gobūs*, *gobšūs* ‘greedy’; Belorussian *habác*, Cz. *habati* ‘to seize’, Slv. *gābati* ‘to be in need, starve, die’.

The pr. *habitāre* is a frequentative of *habere*. 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-gėbau* 'I have brought'. Because of the acute accent in Lith. and the long *ē* in the Oscan pf., Schrijver reconstructs the root as **g^h(e)h₁b^h-*. 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 **g^hab^(h)-* and BSl. **gab-*, **gē/āb-* point to a PIE root **g^hHb^h-* or a non-IE loanword **g^hab^(h)-*; Ilr. **gab^h-* could only be cognate if reflecting **g^hHe/ob^h-*.

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^he)Hb-* → *dēbeō*, *enubrō*

haedus 'young goat-buck, kid' [m. o] (Pl.+; variants *ēdus*, *fēdus* (Varro), *aedus*, *faedus*)

Derivatives: *haedillus* 'kid' (Pl.), *haedimus* 'of a kid' (Varro+).

PIt. **χaido-*.

IE cognates: Go. *gaitis* [m.], OHG *geiz*, OS *gēt*, OIc. *geit* 'goat' < PGm. **gait-s* [nom.].

The restricted distribution, together with the impossibility to derive this word from a known IE root, suggest a loanword **g^haid-* '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 **g^heh₂-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: *hālītāre* ‘to exhale’ (Enn.+), *hālītus, -ūs* (m.) ‘an exhalation, vapour’ (Lucr.+); *exhālāre* ‘to exhale’ (Pac.+), *redhālāre* ‘to breathe back’ (Lucr.).

PIt. **anaslo-* ‘breath’ > **anaslāje-* ‘to breathe’.

PIE **h₂enh₁-slo-* ‘a breathing’. IE cognates: OIr. *anaid, -ana* ‘to wait, remain’, MW *kynhamu* ‘to pronounce’, MBret. *ehanaff* ‘to dwell’ < PCI. **ana-*; Skt. pr. *ániti* [3s.act.], *ánīti* [3s.ipf.act.] ‘to breathe’, YAv. *āntiiā parāntiiā* [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 four-syllabic 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 **ǵ^hr-h₂-* (morphologically difficult) to the root **ǵ^her-* ‘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 **hreuþ-* ‘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,

Provençal *garouno* 'drainage canal', the *Guareca* (*Garonna* 1156 AD) in the Spanish province Zamora. Since reed thrives excellently in shallow water, it is conceivable that Lat. *harundō* derives from the same source as Gaul. **garunda-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 634, EM 289, IEW 68.

haruspex, -icis 'diviner, priest who inspects the organs of sacrificial animals' [m. *k*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *haruspica* 'female diviner' (Pl.); (*h*)*ariolus* 'soothsayer' (Naev.+), *hariola* 'female soothsayer' (Pl.), (*h*)*ariolārī* 'to prophesy' (Pl.+), *hariolātīō* 'prophecy' (Enn.+).

Plt. **χaruspek-* 'diviner', **χario-*. It. cognates: Fal. **harasp[ex]**, **harisp[ex]** [nom.sg.] 'haruspex'.

PIE **ǵ^hrH-u-* 'intestines'. IE cognates: Skt. *hirā-* 'vein', Lith. *žarnà* 'intestine, hose', Oic. *gorn* 'intestines' < **ǵ^horH-nh₂-*.

There is vacillation between *haruspex* and (*h*)*arispex*, but *-u-* is earlier and better attested; also, Hellenistic Greek has borrowed the word as ἀρούσπικα. *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 **ǵ^hrH-* '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: Mlr. *gat* 'osier, withe', Mlr. *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-*, Mlr. *-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: Olr. *gáu*, *gó*, acc. *goí* 'falsehood', ME *geu*, W. *gau* 'lie, deceit' < **gouā-*.

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 **ǵ^hou-i-d^hó-* 'false', which could be compared with PCI. **gowā-* 'lie, deceit' (as

Eichner does). The root could be identified as *g^heu- 'to hide', which we find with different enlargements in Ilr. *g^(h)auj^h- (Skt. *gúhā* [adv.] 'in secret', *gúhate*, YAv. *guza-*, OP *apa-gaudaya-* 'to hide') and Gr. κεύθω 'to hide' if from PIE *g^heud^h-. 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^(u)heug^h-.

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.+).

Pf. 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 *αὔσῳ (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 *h₂eus-ie- 'to scoop'.

hebes, -etis 'blunt, weak' [adj. ῥ] (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 *g^hed- '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.+).

Plt. **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 **b^h*, **d^h* or **g^{wh}*, not **g^h*.

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.+).

Plt. **χeliwo-*.

PIE **ǵ^helh₃-i-uo-* 'yellow, green'. IE cognates: Skt. *hāri-*, Av. *zairi-* 'yellow, greenish' < PIE **ǵ^hel(h₃)i-* or **ǵ^holh₃i-*, Skt. *hīri-* 'yellow' (in cp.) < **ǵ^hlh₃i-*; Gr. *χλωρός* 'pale green, greenish yellow' < **ǵ^hlh₃-ró-*; Lith. *žėlvas* 'greenish' < **ǵ^helh₃-uo-*, *žėlti* 'to grow, flourish', Latv. *zēlt*, OCS *zelenъ* 'green', Ru. *zelėnyj* < **ǵ^helh₃-en-*; OHG *gelo* < PGM. **gelwa-*, Olc. *gulr* 'yellow' < PGM. **gula-*.

Ilr. shows an *i*-stem adj., which must also be assumed as the basis for the Latin form. The latter was extended with **-uo-*, as in some other colour adjectives. Leumann and Sihler reconstruct **ǵ^helswo-* > **hellwo-* > *helvus*, but the PIE preform is based only on Lith. *geļšvas*, 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 **ǵ^her-d^h-* posited by WH and IEW is impossible if the root of *grāmen* is **ǵ^hrh₁-*. No viable alternative is available.

Bibl.: WH I: 639f., EM 291f., IEW 454.

hērēs, -ēdis 'heir' [m. *d*] (Lex XII+; Naev. acc.sg. *hērem*)

Derivatives: *hērēditās* 'inheritance' (Pl.+), *hērēdium* 'hereditary estate' (Lex XII apud Plin., Varro+); *exhērēs, -dis* 'disinherited' (Pl.+).

Plt. **χērēd-*.

PIE **ǵ^heh₁ro-* 'derelict' + *-ēd-*. IE cognates: Gr. *χῆρος* 'orphaned, empty', *χῆρα*

‘widow’, *χηρωσταί* ‘who divide the property of somebody who died without sons, usurpers’.

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 **g^heHr-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. **g^heh₁ro-* ‘derelict’ identical to Gr. *χηρος*. 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) **g^heh₁ro-* 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 **g^heh₁ro-* 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 **g^heh₁-*.

heri ‘yesterday’ [adv.] (Naev.+; also *here* Ter., 1x *herī* Ter.)

Derivatives: *hesternus* ‘of yesterday’ (Pl.).

Plt. **hes-i*.

PIE **g^hdi-es* ‘yesterday’, **g^hdi-es-tro-* ‘of yesterday’. IE cognates: OIr. *indé*, MW *doe*, OCo. *doy* ‘yesterday’ < PCI. **ydes(i?)*; Skt. *hyás*, Bal. *zī*, *zik*, Oss. *znon/æzinæ* < Ilr. **j^hias*, Gr. *χθές*, Alb. *dje*, OIc. *i gær* ‘yesterday’, Go. *gistra-dagis* ‘tomorrow’, OE *giestron*, OHG *gesteron* ‘yesterday’ < **g^hes-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 Plt. **-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 **g^hes-tro-* as attested in Germanic. It is uncertain whether word-internal **-i-* belongs to the original form, since it is only attested in Ilr. 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 **g^hdi-es* ‘at that day’ with the pronominal stem **g^he/o-* and the gen.sg. of **di-* ‘day’, the stem possibly reflected in Skt. *sadyáh* ‘within one day’. The zero-grade of the pronoun **g^he/o-* would then be a very archaic trait of the compounds. In simplifying the initial cluster **g^hdj-*, 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*, **χα(-ī)*, **χod*. It. cognates: Fal. **hac** [acc. or abl.sg.f.] 'this', **hec**, **he**, **fe** [adv.] 'here' < **g^hei-ke*; possibly U. *-hont*, *-ont*, *-font*, **-hunt**, **-unt**, **-hu** as second element of pron. *eri/era-hunt* 'the same' (cf. *is*, *īdem*).

PIE **g^he/o-* 'this' **-ke* 'here'. IE cognates: Skt. *gha*, *ghā* [ptcle.] 'certainly, at least', OCS *že* 'now, and, even'; or Skt. *hi*, Av. *zī* 'then, well, indeed', Gr. *vaí-χι* 'surely, indeed, well' < PIE **g^hi*.

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* < **g^hei-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^h* 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); *hibernus* 'of winter' (Pl.+), *hibernāre* 'to spend the winter' (Varro+); *bīmus* 'two years old' (Cato+), *trīmus* 'three years old' (Pl.+), *quadrīmus* 'four years old' (Pl.+), *quadrīmulus* 'only four years old' (Pl.).

PIt. **χiem-* 'winter', **χeim-r-ino-* 'wintry', **-χim-o-* 'n winters old'.

PIE **g^héiōm*, **g^hiém-m*, **g^him-ós* 'winter'; loc.sg. **g^heim-en?* IE cognates: Olr. *gaim*, Gaul. *giamoni*, *giamon*, *giamo*, *giam*, *gia* (Coligny), OW *gaem*, MW *gaeaf*, OCo. *goyf*, OBret. *g(u)oiam*, Bret. *goañv* 'winter' < PCl. **giem-i-*, Olr. *gaimred*, W. *gaeafrawd* 'winter' < **giemi-rāto-*; Hit. *gimm-* [c.], *gimmant-* [c.] 'winter' < **g^him-n-(ent-)*, *gimanniē/a-zi* 'to spend the winter'; Skt. *himá-* 'cold, frost', *himā-* [f.] 'winter' (RV+), *hēman* [loc.sg.] 'in winter', *hemantá-* (RV+) [m.] 'winter', OAv. *zimō* [gen.sg.], YAv. *ziiā* [nom.sg.m.], acc.sg. *ziiqm(ca)*, gen.sg. *zāmō*, *zamahe* 'winter', Skt. *hāyaná-* 'year', YAv. *zaiiana-* [adj.] 'wintry', [n.] 'wintertime' < **g^heimn-o-*; Gr. *χίον* '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.' < **g^heim-*; Germ. **-gim(ro)-* in animal names,

e.g. Lex Salica **aingim-* ‘one year old’; ToA *śarme* ‘winter’ < **ǵ^hi-em-ro-* << **ǵ^hi-em-*, ToB **śiñc-* ‘winter’ < **śimāñc-*.

Lat. *hibernus* < **heibrinos* < **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 **ǵ^hi-em-* of the acc.sg., but retains full grade of the root in the derivation **heimrino-* ‘wintry’. The double zero grade **ǵ^hi-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 **ǵ^hh₁i-eh₂-*; **ǵ^hih₁-ské-* ‘to gape, be wide open’. IE cognates: OCS *zinōti* ‘to open (one’s mouth)’, Ru. *razinut*’, SCr. *zīnuti* ‘to yawn’; Lith. *žiōti*, OCS *zijati*, Is. *zējō / zijajō* ‘to open (one’s mouth)’, Ru. *zijāt*’ ‘to yawn’, SCr. *zijati* ‘id.’ < BSL. **ziaʔ-aʔ-*; Oic. *gina* ‘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 **ǵ^hh₁i-* plus **-eh₂-*, like Lithuanian *žiōti*. Since PIE **ǵ^heh₁-* means ‘to leave, allow’, it is conceivable that **ǵ^hh₁i-* represents an earlier *i*-present **ǵ^hh₁i-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 647f., EM 295, IEW 419ff., Schrijver 1991: 243, LIV **ǵ^heh₁i-*.

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 **herk^w-*, but 'goat' and 'wolf' are no good friends. In general, words for 'goat' lack a PIE etymology. A possible source is the word for 'rough-haired', see *hirtus*.

Bibl.: WH I: 649, EM 296, IEW 445f. → *hirtus*

hirtus 'hairy, shaggy' [adj. o] (Lucil.+)

Derivatives: *hirsūtus* 'hairy, rough' (Cic.+).

Plt. **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 **ǵ^hers-*, it is unclear how *-s-* could be lost from a preform **ǵ^hers-to-* > **hersto-*. Alternatively, **herto-* might belong to the *s*-less variant of the root, **ǵ^her-* (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 **ǵ^hers-*. → *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. But 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 **hoi* (loc.sg.; thus Meiser, who then regards **diēd* as the replacement of an older loc.sg.). I see no way to decide this point. In any case, a preform **hō diēd* could have yielded **hōdiēd* in the syntagm. The adj. *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 **ǵ^helh₃-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. Ix, *homōnēs* Andr. Ix)

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 **d^hǵ^h(e)m-ōn* [nom.sg.], **d^hǵ^hm-on-m* [acc.sg.] 'earthling, human'. IE cognates: Olr. *duine*, W. *dyn*, Co. Bret. *den* 'man' < PCl. **donjo-*; OPr. *smunents, smūnets* 'man', OLith. *žmuō* 'person', Lith. *žmogùs* 'man', *žmónēs* '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 PCI. **don-jo-* 'man' if from **d^hg^h-om-io-*. Thus, we arrive at a PIIt. stem **χe/om-on-* 'man', which may with Nussbaum 1986: 187ff. be explained as PIE **d^hg^h(e)m-ōn* [nom.sg.], **d^hg^hm-on-m* [acc.sg.] 'earthling', derived from a loc.sg. in **-én* to the word **d^heg^h-m-* 'earth' (see s.v. *humus*). In view of the cognate Baltic and Germanic words for 'man' which also require a structure **d^hg^hm-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 after long **ō*, so that it would have to have been restored from the oblique cases, in particular the acc.sg. **hōm* >> **hōmem*. Also, in *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 **g^hd^hoim-*. 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 **g^hon-* or **g^hon-*, 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+).

PIIt. **χor(s)d-ejo-* 'barley'.

IE cognates: Hit. *karaš-* [n.] 'wheat, emmer-wheat' (< **g^hersd-*), Gr. κριθή, ep. nom.acc.sg. κρῖ 'barley', Arm. *gari*, gen. *garwoy* 'wheat' < **g^hrjo-*; Alb. *drithë* 'cereal, grain' < **g^hr(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 *g^h(e/o)rsd-, but Greek has no -s- and the vowel can hardly reflect PIE *e or *ɣ. Greek and Albanian could reflect *g^hriT- (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.+), *hortātrix* 'female inciter' (Pac.+); *adhortārī* 'to urge, exhort' (Pl.+), *cohortārī* 'to exhort, rouse' (Pl.+), *dēhortārī* 'to discourage, dissuade' (Pl.+).

Plt. pr. *χ_{erj}-/χ(o)r-ei-, aor. *χ_r-ē-, ppp. *χ_{orto}-. It. cognates: Ven. [†]*horeionte* 'glad' (for <*horvionte*> [nom.du.m.]; Lejeune 1974: 82, 246, Meiser 2003: 66). U. **heri** [3s.pr.?], O. **heri**ad, U. **heri**ei [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' < *χ_{er}-je-; Pael. *herentas* [nom.sg.], O. **herentateis**, **herettates** [gen.sg.], **herentatei**, **heretatei** [dat.sg.] 'name of a goddess', probably *χ_{erent}-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' < *χ_{er}-je-s (for **heris**, **heri**) , < *χ_{er}-jē-s/d (for *herie*, *heriei*) . U. *pisher* 'whoever' < *χ_{er}-V-s. Opinions differ on the reconstruction of the suffix; Schrijver 2003 conjectures pr. *χ_{er}-i- beside aor. *χ_{er}-ē-.

PIE pr. *g^her-i-, aor. *g^hr-eh₁- 'to enjoy' < 'to be excited' < 'to stick out' (?) IE cognates: Skt. *hāryati* 'to enjoy', *haryatā-* 'enjoyable', OAv. *zara-* 'aim, goal' < IIr. *j^har(H)-; Gr. χαίρω 'to be glad', aor. ἐχάρην, χάρις [f.] 'enjoying, favour, pleasure' < *g^hrH-i-; OHG. *ger* < *gera- 'eager, zealous', OHG. *gerno* 'eager, readily', OIr. *gor* 'pious' < *g^hor-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. *g^her-. → *horreō*

hörnus 'grown, produced in this year' [adj. o] (Hor.+)

Derivatives: *hörnō* [adv.] 'this year' (Pl.+), *hörnōtimus* 'of this year's growth' (Cato+).

Most scholars assume that *hörnus* is a derivative in *-ino- of **ho-iōr(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? Szemerényi (1960a: 114) has suggested that "**hōr(i)mus* is from a Gr. **ὄπιμός*, or transformed in Latin from the attested *ὄπιμος* '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; pfī -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.+), *horrificabilis* '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 **g^hrs-eh₁-* 'to be stiff, surprised'. IE cognates: Skt. *hárṣate*, *hṛṣyati* 'to be delighted', pf. *jāhṛṣāṇá-* [ptc.med.], caus. *harṣayati*; *hṛṣitá-* 'glad, excited', *ghṛṣu-* 'lively, agile', YAv. *zarāšiiamna-* '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 **g^hrs-* may be an *s*-extended variant of PIE **g^hr-* 'to stick out; be excited' which is found in *horior*. The palatovelar was depalatalized in IIr. in the zero-grade **g^hrs-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 659, EM 299f., IEW 445f., Schrijver 1991: 495, LIV **g^hers-*. → *horior*

horreum 'storehouse for grain' [n. o] (Pl.+)

No agreed etymology. It is tempting to compare the preforms **g^h(o)r-to-* and **g^hor-d^ho-* (> Lat. *hortus*) and **g^hrti-* (> *cohors*) from a root **g^her-* 'to grab'. Even though no *s*-formations from this root are known (as WH point out), it does not seem impossible that *horreum* goes back to a preform **g^hr-so-* > PIIt. **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. **g^her-*.

hortus 'garden' [m. o] (Lex XII+; in OLat. probably also 'villa', Pliny)

PIt. **χorto-*. It. cognates: O. *húrz* [nom.sg.], *húrtuí* [dat.sg.], *húrtúm* [acc.sg.], *húrtín* [loc.sg. + -en] 'enclosure'.

PIE **g^h(o)r-to-* and **g^hor-d^ho-* '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. *grhá-* 'house', YAv. *garāda-* 'dwelling-place of the daevas' < PIE **g^hrd^ho-*; Go. *gards* 'house', OIc. *garðr* 'fence, yard', OE *geard*, OHG *gart* [m.] 'circle'; Go. *garda* 'fence, cattle-yard', OFr. *garda* 'garden', OS *gardo*, OHG *garto* < **PIE *g^hord^ho-* / **g^hortó-*; Lith. *gaĩdas* 'pen, enclosure', *gardis* 'fence'; OCS *gradъ* 'town, garden', Ru. *górod* 'town' < PIE

*g^hord^hos.

For PIE, we can reconstruct two nouns, *g^h(o)rto- and *g^h(o)rd^ho-, 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 *g^hr- 'to enclose'. Within Latin, *hortus* may be connected with *cohors*, a stem in *-ti-, which would then be a derivative *g^hr-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 *g^hr-to- 'enclosed' and *g^hor-d^ho- '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.*g^her-. → *cohors*

hospes, -itis 'guest, visitor; host, entertainer' [m. *t*] (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 *gospodъ*, Ru. *gospód* 'the Lord, god' < *g^host(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, *compotire* 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 *foctis* 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 *g^hosti- 'stranger, guest'. IE cognates: OCS *gostъ*, Ru. *gost*', SCr. *gōst*, gen. *gōsta*, Go. *gasis*, OHG *gast*, Olc. *gestr* 'guest'.

In theory, 'guest' could be derived from the root *g^{(u)h}es- (in that case, rather *g^hes-) '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 *g^ho-sth₂-i- 'standing apart', from the stem *g^he/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 *g^hes '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^{(u)h}es-. → *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', (Naev.+); *hostia* 'sacrificial animal' (Pl.+)
[*foetia* in Paul. ex F.], *hostiātus* 'provided with a sacrificial victim' (Pl.).

PIt. *χosto-.

PIE *ǵ^hosto- '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* 'substitute' (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 *ǵ^hes 'to take, give in exchange', with which he connects the word for 'hand' PIE *ǵ^hes-r, and Greek ξένος 'foreign; guest' < *ǵ^hs-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. *húntram* [acc.sg.f.], *huntrus* [nom. or acc.pl.m.], *huntras* [gen.sg., nom. or acc.pl.f.], *huntruīs* [dat.pl.m.] 'who is below' < *ǵ^hom(i)-tero-; U. *hutra*, *hondra* 'underneath' [prep. + acc.], petrified case-form of **hom-tero-*; U. *hodomu* [abl.sg.m.] 'who is most below' < *ǵ^hom-tmHo-. Possibly the deity U. *hunte*, *honde* [dat.sg.] < *ǵ^hom-to- 'who is below'.

PIE *d^hǵ^h-ōm [nom.sg.], *d^hǵ^h-em-m [acc.sg.], *d^hǵ^h-m-os [gen.sg.] 'earth'. IE cognates: Olr. *dú* 'place, spot', Hit. *tēkan* / *takn-* [n.], CLuw. *tijamm(i)-*, HLuw. *takam-* 'earth', Skt. *kṣāḥ*, gen.sg. *jmás*, Av. *zā*, acc.sg. *zqm*, Gr. *χθών*, Alb. *dhe*, Lith. *žėmė*, OCS *zemlja*, ToB *kem*, ToA *tkam* '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.+), *coniectrix* ‘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.+); *iacāre* ‘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-ē-* ‘to lie down’.

PIE aor. **(H)ieh₁-*, pr. **(H)ih₁-k-(i-)* ‘to throw, let go’. IE cognates: Hit. *peje^{zi}/pej-* (>> *pejje/a-*) ‘to send’) < PIE **h₁poi +*h₁βieh₁-ti, *h₁βih₁-enti*; Gr. ἵημι ‘to send (away), let go, throw, hurl’ < pr. **(H)i-(H)ieh₁-*, aor. ἔηκα, ἦκα, inf. ἔμεναι, εἶναι, fut. ἦσω, Myc. (*jo-*)*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)ih₁k-* (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 **H₁ieh₁-*.

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.)

Plt. **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. **iātā* (or **iantā*), gen. **iātras*; Gr. εἰσατέρες, -έπων [f. (pl.)] ‘wife of the husbands brother’, voc. εἰσατερ, gen. -τερος (Hdn.), sg. ἐνατηρ, -τρι, -τερα (in late Anat. inscr.); Arm. *nēr*, gen. *niri* (**ienH-* > **Hin-* > *ən-* > *n-*, cf. Kortlandt 1997a); OLith. *jentē*, Lith. *intė* ‘husband brother’s wife, wife’s sister, daughter-in-law’, Latv. *ietere, iētaļa* ‘id.’; CS *jetry* ‘husband’s brother’s wife’, *jetrvě* [gen.sg.], Ru. *játrov* (dial.), ORu. *jatry*, OCz. *jatrev*, SCr. *jětrva, jětrva, jětrva* < PSl. **jetry* (*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 *-ik-* may be recent, and **ienitrik-* may have adopted *-i-* from an earlier form **ie/aniter-*. Alternatively, the f. *iānitrix* ‘portress, gate-keeper’ (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) of Janus’ (Varro+), *iānitor* ‘doorkeeper’ (Pl.+), *iānitrix* ‘female doorkeeper’ (Pl.+).

Plt. **jānu-* ‘door’.

PIE **ieh₂-n-u-* ‘passage’. IE cognates: OIr. *áth* ‘ford, passage’ < PCI. **iātu-*; Skt. *yāti* ‘to go, travel’, *yayí-* ‘hastening, running’, *yātar-* [m.] ‘charioteer’, *yéṣṭha-* ‘going the fastest’; Lith. *jóti* ‘to go, ride’, Latv. *jāt* ‘to drive, to go’; CS *jaxati* ‘ride’, Ru. *éxat*, SCr. *jähati* ‘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.+), *imibi* ‘there’ (Pl.+).

PIt. **ipei / *ifei* ‘there’. It. cognates: U. *ife, ife* [adv.] ‘there’ < **ib^hei*; U. *ifont* [adv.] ‘at the same place’ = *ife* + particle *-hont*.

PIE **h₁i-d^hei* or **h₁i-b^hei*. IE cognates: Skt. *ihá, idha* ‘here’, OAv. *idā*, YAv. *īda* ‘here, in the same way’ < PIE **h₁i-d^he*; possibly Gr. *ἰθα(ι)γενής* ‘born from a lawful marriage, indigenous’; OCS *kъde* ‘where’ < **k^wu-d^he*.

Theoretically, *ibī* can directly reflect **ib^hei*, with a suffix that recalls the ins.pl. ending **-b^hi*. It is also possible that *ibī* has adopted *-b-* from *ubī* ‘where’, in which *b* can reflect **d^h*. In that case, the deictic suffix **-d^hi* (also **-d^he*) is the origin. In view of the closely parallel formation of Skt. *ihá*, I have a slight preference for a preform in **-d^hei*.

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. **ike/o-* [pr.].

PIE pr. **h₂i-h₂ik⁻e/o-* ‘to hit, pierce’, ?pf. **h₂i-h₂ik⁻*, ppp. **h₂ik⁻-to-*. IE cognates: Gr. *αἶχμη* ‘point of a spear, spear’, Myc. *ai-ka-sa-ma* /*aiksmā*/; OPr. *aysmis* ‘spit’, Lith. *iēšmas* ‘spit, bayonet’ < **h₂eik(s)mo-*; OPr. *ayculo* ‘needle’, Ru. *iglá*, SCr. *igla* ‘id.’ < PS1. **jbg^hlā* < **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, εἰσειδομ, εἰζίδομ [nom.sg.m.], *íússu, íúsu, íusúm* [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 *lid-deml*. 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, eídúis*, [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)

Plt. **jek^wor* [n.], **jek^wen-*.

PIE **iek^w-r/n-* [n.] 'liver'. IE cognates: Skt. *yákṛt*, gen.abl.sg. *yaknás* 'liver' (RV+), loc.sg. *yakani* (AV), Av. *yakarə* (see de Vaan 2003: 68f.), Khot. *gyagarrā* (< **jakṛna-*), MP *jagar*, MoP *jīgar*, Oss. *igær* 'liver'; Gr. ἥπαρ, gen.sg. ἥπατος 'liver', OCS *ikra* 'roe', Ru. *ikrá* 'roe, spawn, caviar, calf (of the leg)', *ikró* (dial.) < PSI. *jǫkrà*, *jǫkro* < PIE **ik^w-r-eh₂*; OPr. *yccroy* '(anat.) calf', Lith. *ikras* [m.] 'fish-egg, (anat.) calf, [pl.] roe, spawn, caviar'; OPr. *lagno* [iagno], Lith. *jėknos* (dial.) [m.], *jekanas* (Bretkūnas) 'liver' [m.], Latv. *aknas* [nom.pl.f.] < PIE **iek^w-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 **iok^w-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', *yáṣtar-*, *yaṣtar-* [m.] 'sacrificer', *yájyu-* 'praiseworthy', Av. *yaza-* 'to worship', *iṣta-*, *yašta-* [ppp.], *yaṣtar-* 'worshipper', OP *yada-* 'to worship', *ā-yadana-* [n.] 'sacrificial place'; Gr. ἅγιος (Hdt.), ἅγιός (H.) 'holy', ἕζομαι (< **ǵjjoμαι*) '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-īe/o-* ‘to sacrifice’ (to Gr. ἄζομαι). The verb *iaientāre* would have been built on an *nt*-stem **iaiient-* < **iag-īent-*. 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 **H₁ǵ-*.

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’ (Lucret.+), *ignifer* ‘bearing fire’ (Lucret.+).

PIt. **ḡni-* ‘fire’.

PIE **h₁ǵ^w-ni-* ‘(a) fire’. IE cognates: Hit. *akniš* ‘a deity’ (borrowed from Ilr.), Skt. *agnī-* ‘fire’, Lith. *ugnis*, OCS *ōgnjь*, Ru. *ogón*’, SCr. *ōganj* ‘fire’ [m.] < Late-BSl. **ugni-* < Early-BSl. **ungni-* < PIE **h₁ǵ^w-ni-*; Skt. *āngāra-* ‘coal’, Sogd. *’nk’yr* ‘hearth’ < **angārijā-*, Arm. *acowl* ‘coal’, Lith. *anglis* [m.], Latv. *uogle*, OCS *oglb* [m.], Ru. *úgol* ‘coal’ < BSl. **onǵlis* < PIE **h₁ǵ^w-l-*.

Lat. *ignis* shows a development from PIE **Hǵ^w-ni-* > **Hǵngni-* > **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’ (Lucret.+).

PIt. **gnōs-(e/oⁱ-)*.

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 *kñasāst* ‘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. ἰλια [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*

īmāgō, -inis 'picture, image' [f. *n*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *imitāre* (Andr., Var.), *imitārī* 'to copy, imitate' (Pl.+).

Plt. **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. *yāma-* '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.+), *imbricator* 'who causes rain' (Enn.+).

PIt. **ɲfr-i-* 'cloud'. It. cognates: O. *anafrīss* 'to the rain deities [dat.pl.]

PIE **nb^h-r-o-* '(rain) cloud'. IE cognates: Skt. *abhrá-* 'cloud', Av. *afra-* '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 **nb^hro-* '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 **h₁en-d^hh₁-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-d^hh₁uh₁-to-* 'having in-placement' to a *u*-stem **en-d^hh₁-u-* 'in-placement'; the latter noun Weiss regards as a substantivization of an earlier adj. compound **en-d^hh₁-o-* 'placed/placing in'. The verb *imbuō*, then, continues an etymon made up of **h₁en* 'in' and **d^heh₁-* 'to put', which apparently was applied especially to drenching something or someone in a liquid, steeping clothes in dye, etc. The reflex *b* of **d^h* 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-b^huh₂-je/o-* 'to plant; attach (oneself)', cognate with Gr. ἐμφύω 'to grow on; to plant'. Formally this is possible, although Latin normally has *fu-* for this root; but semantically I see no reason why we should connect 'to drench' with 'to grow'.

Bibl.: WH I: 682, EM 310.

immō 'rather, on the contrary' [ptcle. introducing the correction of a preceding statement, giving a negative answer to a question] (Naev.+)

Plt. **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 **moh*₂ (thus Kloekhorst 2008: 384), or maybe **moh*₁, an *o*-grade variant of **meh*₁ '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 *nd^h-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.+).

Plt. **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. -**in**, Vest. -(*e*)*n*, U. -**en**, -*em*, -*eme*, SPic. -**in**, -**en** 'in, at (loc.), into (acc.), for (gen.)'. As preverb: O. **em**-, Pael. *em*-, *in*-, U. *en*-.

PIE **h*₁(e)n 'in', **h*₁entos '(from) inside'. IE cognates: Olr. *in*-, *en*-, *i*ⁿ, OW, OBret. *en*, *in* 'in', W. *yn*-; Skt. *ānīka*-, YAv. *ainika*- [m.] 'face' < **h*₁eni-h₃k^w-o-; Gr. *ἐν*, *ἐνι*, Arm. *i*, OPr. *en*, Latv. *ie*- 'in', Lith. *j* 'in(to)' [prep. / pref.], OCS *ъ(н)*, Ru. *в(о)*, 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 **h*₁en, BSl. requires a zero grade **h*₁n.

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-*.

Plt. **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 *ἀv-*; also *νη-*, *vā-*, *vω-* < **n-h_{1/2/3}C-*; 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’ (Lucret.+); *inānilogista* [m.] ‘babblers’ (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 **kuH-* ‘to swell’. The formal aspects of this etymology are disputed. According to Thurneysen’s rule (cf. Meiser 1998: 86 and Schrijver 1991: 322-324), **ū* became *ī* before **j*, yielding a phonetic change **kuH-je-* > **kūje-* > **kīje-*. Yet according to Schrijver 2003 and 2006: 50, the sequence **kuH-je-* would undergo a development to **kwīje-* in Proto-Italo-Celtic, whence we expect Lat. **quī-*. This problem is absent from the other examples for Schrijver’s rule (*pūs*, *suffire*, *fieri*) 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. inciēns propinqua partui*) as opposed to *gravidā* 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 **k_ueh₁-*. → *cavus*, *cieō*, *cumulus*

indiges, -etis ‘epithet of certain gods’ [m., adj. *tl*] (Verg.+)

Derivatives: *indigitāre* ‘to invoke (deities) by certain formulas’ (Varro+), *indigitāmenta* [n.pl.] ‘certain formulas used in invoking deities’ (Paul. *ex F.*).

Plt. **end[o]-ag-et-* ‘working within’.

The noun *indiget-* can be a derivative in **-o/et-* of a compound **endo-ag-o-* ‘working within (the community)’, cf. *inter-pret-* ‘go-between’, *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*, *endō*

indulgeō 'to be indulgent' [v. II; pf. *indulsī*, ppp. *indultum*] (Ter.+)

Derivatives: *indulgitās* 'leniency' (Caelius, Sisenna).

PIt. **-dolχ-ē-*.

PIE **dlǵ^h-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. *dṛmha-* [pr.], *dṛhya* [2s.ipv.act.] 'to fix, make firm', OAv. *dīdərəžō* [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)IVg-*. *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 **dlHg^h-*) 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 **delǵ^h-* 'to be hard, get fixed'. If the verb was a causative **dolǵ^h-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 **-eh₁-*, *indulgeō* might be derived from a negated form of an adj. **n-dlǵ^h-ro-* 'not hard'. Thus **n-dlǵ^h-eh₁-* 'not to be hard toward' = 'to be lenient toward, indulge'.

Bibl.: WH I: 694f., EM 315, IEW 196f., Schumacher 2004: 271f., LIV **delǵ^h-*.

indūtiaē '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.

inferus '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.); *infermus* 'of the underworld; further down' (Pac.+); *infra* [adv.; prep.] 'below' (Pl.+).

PIt. **enpero-* 'lower'. It. cognates: Fal. *ifra* 'beneath' [adv.].

PIE **nd^hero-* 'lower', **nd^hmHo-* 'lowest'. IE cognates: Gaul. *anderon* [gen.pl.] 'gods of the underworld'(?); Skt. *ādharma-*, YAv. *aḍara-* 'lower', ms <'dl> *ēr* 'low', YAv. *adairi* 'below'; Go. *undar*, OHG *untar*, *untari* 'under'.

Nom.sg. *īferus* 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 **d^h* underwent treatment as if in anlaut because **en-* was metanalysed as the preposition 'in' and **-d^hero-* 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.+).

Plt. **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 *fastigium* 'top, summit', *fastus* 'pride' < **b^hrst-*, but this yields no sense. The etymology of *īfestus* 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 *festināre*, *confestim* contain a noun **festi-* 'hurry' < **fristi-*, this would match *īfestus* ('rushing in'), but not so well *manifestus*. Thus, maybe the two must be separated.

Bibl.: WH I: 698f., EM 317, 385, IEW 259. → *festinō*

ingēns, -entis 'huge, vast, numerous' [adj. *nt*] (Pl.+)

Plt. **mgānt-*.

PIE **mg-(e)h₂-(e)nt-*. IE cognates: Skt. *mahāntam* [acc.sg.f.], *mahatī* [f.] 'great, big', YAv. *mazānt-* 'id.' < Ilr. **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. *ābhva-*, since the latter is endocentric, whereas *ingēns* would have to be exocentric. Muller's proposal (1926) of a derivative in **-nt-* to PIE **mg-* is more promising. Since a theoretical preform **mg-nt-* 'great' would yield Lat. **magēnt-* (cf. *magnus* < **mg-no-*), we may derive *ingēns* from PIE **mg-h₂-ént-* (> **ingant-* > *ingent-*) or **mg-éh₂-(e)nt-* (> **ingānt-* > **ingant* > **ingent-*). Thus, the Latin form would have the same two suffixes as Ilr.

Bibl.: WH I: 700, EM 317, IEW 373ff., Schrijver 1991: 484. → *magnus*

inguen, -inis 'swelling on the groin, bubo; groin' [n. *n*] (Lucil.+)

Plt. **ng^wen-*.

PIE **ng^w-ēn, -n-os* 'the nude one'. IE cognates: Gr. ἄδην, -ένοϛ [f., m.] 'gland'.

Schrijver 1991 and Beekes (fthc.) separate the Greek word from Latin and North-Germanic (Olc. *økkvenn* 'thick, clodded', Molc. *økk* [m.] 'glans, gland, tumour' < PGm. **enkua-* < IE **eng^wo-*), 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 (their 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 I: 131, EM 318, Schrijver 1991: 265. → *caenum, cuniō*

īnsece / inquā 'to say' [v. irr.] (Andr.+); pr.ipv. *īnsece, īnseque* (Andr., Enn.), pf. *īnsexit* (Enn.) 'to tell'; pr.ind. *inquā* (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' < PCI. **sek^w-e/o-*; Gr. pr. ἐν(ν)έπω < **en-sek^w-*; aor. ἐνισπέϊν, ipv. ἔσπετε < **ἔν-σπ-ετε*; ἐνίσσω < **si-sék^w-/sk^w-*; Lith. (dial.) *sėkti*, 3s. *sėka* 'to tell'; Oic. *segja*, OS *seggian* 'to say' < IE **sok^wéje-*.

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 *inquā* < **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 I: 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^w-*. → *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 **s_ulH-eh₁-* ‘to be(come) swollen’. Similarly LIV. To my mind, the inner-Latin chronology of the meanings points to the derivation from *soleō*.

Bibl.: WH I: 704, EM 318f., LIV **suelH-*. → *soleō*

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*

īnstauro, -āre ‘to repeat, restore’ [v. I] (Cic.+)

Derivatives: *restaurāre* ‘to restore, rebuild’ (Tac.+).

Plt. **stauro-* ‘big, strong’.

PIE **sth₂u-ro-* (>> **steh₂u-ro-*) ‘big, strong’. IE cognates: Skt. *sthūrā-*, 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 **instūrāre*. According to EM, *restaurāre* replaced *īnstauro* because the meaning ‘re-’ is unusual for *in-*. A nominal form **stauro-* could reflect PIE **sth₂u-ro-*, which reminds us of Skt. *sthūrā-* ‘big, strong’ < **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*, Olc. *staurr*). The full grade can be due to influence from the verb.

Bibl.: WH I: 705f., EM 319, IEW 1004ff. → *stō*

instigāre ‘to incite, provoke’ [v. I] (Ter.+)

Plt. **steig-(e/o-)*.

PIE **steig-* ‘to prick, sting’. IE cognates: Skt. *āti 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-taēya-* ‘having two sharp edges’, *brōiθrō.taēža-* ‘sharp due to the blade’, *tiyra-* ‘cutting, pointed, sharp’ (in cp. *tīzi-*), Gr. *στίζω* ‘to sting, tattoo’, *στίγμα* [n.] ‘stab, brand’; NHG *stechen* ‘to sting’, *Distel* ‘thistle’ (< PGm. **pīhstila-*).

Probably a denominal verb to **steig-(o-)* 'sharp point', or a Latin compound verb in *-āre* derived from an earlier present **stige/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. *vāσος*, Rhod. *vāσσοσ*.

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. *antará*, YAv. *antara* 'between, within' < **enter*, Skt. *ántara-*, YAv. *antara-* 'interior' < **entero-*; Skt. *ántama-*, YAv. *antama-* 'most intimate'; Gr. ἔντερα [pl.] 'intestines', Arm. *anderk*; RuCS *jatro* 'liver, (pl.) entrails', SCr. *jětra* 'liver' < PSl. **jětrō* < **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. *įščios* [f.pl.] 'womb, entrails, interior', Latv. *iekšas* 'entrails' < **n-s-tio-*.

Lat. *inter* continues the PIE locative 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. f] (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 **interpretārī*. A root **pret-* has been proposed for Go. *frapjan* and Lith. *pràsti* ‘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. **enterpōress* > **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. **pter-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 **uih₁-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-wīwītāre* < **en-ueg^{wh}-i/etā-*, a frequentative of the root of *voveō*. Yet the frequentatives are normally built on the ppp., but *vōtus* < **uogeto-* shows *o*-vocalism.

Bibl.: WH I: 713f., EM 321, IEW 1123f., Schrijver 1991: 231, LIV **uejh₁-*. → *invītus*

invītus ‘unwilling’ [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

PIt. **η-wīto-* ‘unwilling’.

PIE **n-uih₁-to-* ‘not turned to, not pursuing’. IE cognates: Skt. *viyānti* [3p.act.] ‘they pursue’, *vītā-* ‘turned to’, YAv. *viia-* ‘to pursue’, *vītar-* [m.] ‘pursuer’; Gr. ἕμαι ‘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.).

Plt. **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', Mlr., Molr. *icht* 'people' < PCI. **iextV-*; OHG *jehan*, OS *gehan* 'to express, utter', OHG *jih* 'confession'. Lith. *juōkas* 'laugh, laughter, (pl.) joke(s)', Latv. *juōks* '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.+).

Plt. **so-pe-so* >> **e(s)-pe-so*. It. cognates: O. *essuf*, *esuf*, U. *esuf* [pron.] '(he) himself' or 'there', maybe < **eps(o) + -ōn-s*.

PIE **soso* 'that'.

The oldest forms are compounds of inflected *is*, *es*, *id* + *-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 Plt. 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*

ira 'anger, rage' [f. *ā*] (Naev.+; Pl. <*eira*>)

Derivatives: *irācundus* 'irascible' (Pl.+), *irācundia* '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. οἶμα 'spring, rush' < **h₁ois-mo-*; Skt. *īṣ-* 'refreshment, strength', ToB *aise* 'power'.

The spelling *eira* is found in a word-play with *ēra* 'mistress', which might point to an (archaic) pronunciation [e:ra] 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-*.

irritō, *-āre* 'to provoke, annoy, excite' [v. I] (Pl.+)

PIt. **rīto-* 'stirred'.

PIE **h₃riH-to-* 'whirled, stirred'. IE cognates: Mlr. *rīan* 'river, sea'; Skt. *rīyate* 'to flow (producing whirlpools), whirl', *riṇāti* 'to make flow, make run'; Gr. ὀρίνω, Lesb. ὀρίνω 'to whirl'; Ru. *réjat* 'to stream fast, flow', *rīnut* 'to stream, flow'; OE *rið* '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. **eieei* > *eī* > *ei*, abl.m.n. *eōd* > *eō*, nom.f. *ea*, acc.f. *eam*, dat.f. *ee* >> *ei*, abl.f. *eād* > *eā*; pl. nom.m. *eeis* (CIL), *eī*, *eīs* (Pl.) > *iī*, *iīs*, acc.m. *eōs*, nom.acc.n. *ea*, gen.m.n. *eum* (Paul. ex F., CIL) >> *eōrum*, dat.abl.m.n. *eieis* (CIL) > *iīs*, >> *ibus* (Pl.+), nom.f. *ee*, 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. *lak*, U. *eam* [acc.sg.f.], O. *idik*, *idik*, *idic*, U. *eřek* [nom.acc.sg.n.], O. *eiseis*, *elseis*, *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*, *erucum* (+ *-com*) [abl.sg.m.n.], O. *eisak*, U. *erak* [abl.sg.f.], O. *elsei*, *esei*, *eizeic* [loc.sg.m.n.], SPic. *esmen*, *esmin* [idem + *-en*], O. *e]isai* [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-*, **ejo-*, **eiso-*, **esmo-* with or without particle **-ke*: **i-* in nom.sg.m., nom.acc.sg.n.; **ejo-* in nom.sg.f., acc.sg.pl.f.; **esm-* in dat.loc.sg.m.n.; **eiso-* in remaining case forms. Nom.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 (hè)* '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. *ī* [nom.acc.sg.n.], YAv. *īm* [nom.sg.f.], *imam* [acc.sg.m.], OP *iyam* [nom.sg.m.f.] < **h₁i-*; Skt. *ayám* [nom.sg.m.], *ásmāi* [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.) *iv* 'eum, eam', Gr. *μiv, viv*; Lith. *jis* 'he', *ji* '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. *eiūs* 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 Staij 1995: 112-123, Schrijver 1997b: 51-70, Meiser 1998: 159-161, Untermann 2000: 355-358. → *-ce, -de, -dem, ibī, idem, ipse, iste, ita*

iste, ista, istud 'that of yours' [pron., pron. adj.] (Naev.+); gen.sg. *istiūs*, dat.sg. *istiī*, but Pl.Cato also gen.sg.m. *istiī*, dat.sg.f. *istae*

Derivatives: *istic, -aec, -uc* [pron. adj.] 'that of yours' (Pl.+); *istīc* 'over there' (Pl.+), *istīnc* '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 identified with the PIE pronoun **so-/*to-* (see Lat. *so-*). The asigmatic nom.sg.m. **so* was apparently replaced (maybe already in Italo-Celtic) by **to*. It has been proposed that, alternatively, this may have been the uninflected particle **-te*, but since all Italic

languages show inflection (unlike with **-ke*), this seems less likely.

Bibl.: WH I: 72If, EM 324, IEW 281-286, Leumann 1977: 470, van der Staaïj 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.+).

Plt. **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. *itthā, itthād* 'here, there', Av. *ipā* '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: 722f, 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.+)

Plt. **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-tēr*, 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 281, 286, Sihler 1995: 429. → *cēterus*, *is*

iuba 'mane; plume' [f. *ā*] (Enn.+)

Derivatives: *iubātus* 'having a mane' (Naev.+).

PIt. **jubā-*.

PIE **(H)jud^h-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 51 If., Leumann 1977: 279, LIV **H₁jud^h-*. → *iubeō*

iubar, -aris 'the first light of day; brightness' [n. *r*] (Enn.+; 1x *iubār* Enn.)

PIt. **dju-faos, dju-fās-*.

PIE **diu-b^heh₂-es-* 'having/bringing the light of daytime'. IE cognates: OIr. *bán* 'white'; Skt. *bhās-* [n.] 'light, radiance, gleam, glow' < **b^heh₂-s-*, *bhāsas-* [n.] 'splendour', maybe HLuw. *pihas-* 'splendor, might' < **b^hēh₂-o-*; Skt. *bhāti*, 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 **b^heh₂-*, 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. **b^heh₂-*. → *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 **Hioud^h-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. *yūdiia-* 'to fight', *aspāiiaoda-* [m.] 'horse warrior'; Gr. ὕσμινη (< Gr. **husmó-*) [f.] 'battle, fight'; Lith. *judūs* 'belligerent'; Lith. *judėti* 'to move (intr.)'; ToA *yutk-* 'to care for' < **jeud^h-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 **iub-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 51 If., Meiser 1998: 209, LIV **H₁jud^h-*.

iūbilō, -āre ‘to let out whoops’ [v. I] (Varro+)

Derivatives: *iūgere* ‘to utter its natural cry’: *mīlvi dicuntur cum vocem emittunt* (Paul. ex F.).

PIt. **iū*.

PIE **iū*. IE cognates: Gr. *ιὺ* ‘interjection of amazement’, *ἰυγίη*, *ἰυγμός* ‘crying’, *ἰὺξω* (fut. *ἰὺξω*) ‘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 *sībilare* ‘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. *ī*] (Pl.+)

PIt. **j(o)u-gī-*.

PIE **h₂iu-g^wih₃-* ‘having eternal life, living forever’. IE cognates: Av. *yauuaējī-* ‘living forever’; Gr. *ὕγις* ‘sound, healthy’; Go. *ajukduþs* ‘eternity’ < **ajuki-dūþi-*, OE *ēce*, *æce* ‘eternal’ < **ajuki-*.

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-g^wih₃-*. Weiss assumes that **g^w* 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. *āiuu*, 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+); *iūnipelirus*, *-ī* [f.] ‘juniper-berry; juniper-tree’ (Cato+).

PIt. **joiniko-*.

IE cognates: Mlr. *ain* ‘reeds, rushes’ (< OIr. **oin* < **ioini-*); OIc. *einir*, Swed. *en* ‘juniper’ if from **jainia-*.

According to WH, *iuncus* derives from **ioini-* by means of the common *ko*-suffix. It developed from **ioiniko-* > **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) *coni(u)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.+), *quadriugus* '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+).

PIt. **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.], *yunákté* [3s.med.] 'to yoke', YAv. *yunjinti* [3p.pr.], Gr. ζεύνομαι, Lith. *jūngti*, 3s. *jūngia* 'to tie, join, yoke', Latv. *jūgt*. (2) Hit. *iūk-*, ^(GIS)*iuka-* [n.] 'yoke, pair' < **iéug-*, **iugo-*, Hit. *iuga-* 'yearling', *tājuga-* '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. ζεύγος [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 *juj*, MoP *juj*, Gr. ζυγόν, Arm. *lowc*, Lith. *jūngas*, Latv. *jūgs*, OCS *igo*, Ru. *ígo* 'yoke' < PSl. **jǫǵo*; Go. *juk* 'pair', OHG *joh*, OIc. *ok* 'yoke'; (8) Gr. ζεύγμα '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-jug-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 *jeug-
→ *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. *Diouei* [Falerii, Mesagne], *Iouei* [Praeneste, Spoleto], *Iouī*, abl. *Ioue*; nom.pl. *Iouēs* (Cic.)

Derivatives: *Diesptr* [nom. Praeneste], *Diespiter*, *-tris* (Pl., Var.+), *Dispiter* (Paul. ex F.) ‘father Jupiter’; *Vēdiouis*, *Vēiouis* ‘an ancient deity, considered to be an underworld counterpart of Jupiter’, *Vēdius* ‘name of a Roman gens’ (Sen.+).

Plt. nom. **djous*, acc. **d(i)jēm*, gen. **dīwos*, dat. **djowei* >> Plt. (1) nom. **dijēs*, acc. **dijēm*, (2) nom. **djous*, acc. **djowem*, gen. **djowes*, dat. **djowei*. Sab. adj. **djow-jo-* ‘of Jupiter’. It. cognates: (1) O. δωφης, *lúveis*, *zoves* [gen.], Mars. *ioue*, O. διουφει, ζωφηι, ιουφηι, *diúvei*, *iúveí*, *iuveí*, U. *iuve*, *iue* [dat.], U. *di*, *dei* [voc.] ‘Zeus’ < gen. **djoweis*, dat. **djowei*, voc. **dijē* (and **djou* in *iupater*). O. *dipatir* [nom.], Presam. διποτερες, Marr. *ioues patres*, u. *iuvip(atres?)* [gen.], U. *iuepatre*, *iue patre* [dat.], *iupater* [voc.] ‘Iuppiter’. Possibly Presam. *iioφuoi* /*Iowijōi*/ (in Tortora AI), but the ending does not fit. (2) U. *iuvie*, *iuvl*, *ioui*, *iouie*, Vol. *iouio*, O. διοφιοι [dat.sg.m.], U. *ioui* [acc.sg.m.], U. *iuiu*, *iuiu* [abl.sg.m.], *iouie*, *iouie* [voc.sg.m.], Pael. *iouiois*, Marr. *iouies* [dat.pl.m.], Marr. *iouia* [nom.sg.f.?], O. δωφιας, Marr. *iouias* [gen.sg.f.], U. *iuvie*, *iouie* [dat.sg.f.], O. *iúvia* [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. *diúviai* [dat.sg.f.] ‘of Iuppiter’ (? for **diúviai*?).

PIE nom. **diēus*, voc. **dieu*, acc. **diēm* (< **dieum*), gen. **dīuos* (>> Plt. **dieuos*), dat. **dīuei*. IE cognates: OIr. *diē* (*día*), OW *did* [m.] ‘day’; Hit. ^(d)*šīu-*, ^(d)*šīuna-*, Pal. *tiuna-*, Lyd. *ciw-* ‘god’ < **diēu-*, Skt. *dyāv-* [m.f.] ‘heaven, god of the sky, Father Sky, day’ (*dyáuh* [nom.sg.], *dyàuh* [voc.sg.], *dyām* / *divam* [acc.sg.], *divā* [instr.sg.], *divé* [dat.sg.], *divás* / *dyóh* [gen.abl.sg.], *dyávi* / *divi* [loc.sg.]), YAv. *dīiaoš* ‘of the hell’, Mýc. dat. *di-we* /*diwei*/, Gr. nom. Ζεύς, voc. Ζεῦ, gen. Δι(φ)ός, dat. (loc.) Δι(φ)ί, dat. also Διφεί (e. g. Διφεί-φίλος), acc. Ζῆν, since H. also Δί-α, Ζῆν-α; Arm. *tiv* ‘day(-time)’; OCS *dbždb* ‘rain’ < PIE **dus-diu-* ‘bad weather, rainstorm’. In combination with PIE **ph₂tēr*: Gr. Ζεὺς πατήρ, Skt. *dyáuh pitā*.

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 Plt. **djou-*. These can be derived from a single PIE paradigm for ‘(god of the) sky, day-light’, which phonetically split in two in Plt. and yielded two new stems with semantic specialization. Syllabic **dij-* in the nom.acc.sg. can stem from the oblique cases (gen.sg. **dīwos*, 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 **diēwm* > **diowem* in Plt., 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 **ph₂tēr-* ‘father’, meaning ‘Zeus’. Both members were

originally declined, and the voc.sg. **diēu 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).

PIt. **jowas-* or **jūs-*.

PIE *(e/o)uH-s- 'broth, soup'. IE cognates: Skt. *yūṣ-* 'soup, broth', Khot. *yūṣ* 'id.', Gr. ζῦμη '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. *jícha* 'liquid, sauce, (arch.) soup' < PSI. **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. ζῦμη 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. *jaūti*, 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/iūrāre* 'to swear' (Pl.+), *ēiū/erāre* 'to reject under oath', *pēiie/iūrāre* 'to swear falsely' (Pl.+), *pēiūriōsus* '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.] 'possessing power (of life)'; OAv. *yaoš* 'life, health'; Skt. *āyus-* 'life, life span', Av. *āiū-* [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(-k^we)*.

The noun *iūs* probably reflects an *s*-stem **ieuos* > **iouos* > *iūs*, with *iūstus* as a

to-derivative. The verb *iūrāre* reflects a denominative verb Plt. **jowes-ā-je-*. The verb (*ob*)*iūrgāre*, with spellings (*ob*)*iūrigāre* in Pl., and *iūrgium*, seem to be based on a noun **iūrāgo-* < **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/iūrāre* 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. *āiiu-*.

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*

iuuencus ‘young bull’ [m. o] (Lucr.+)

Derivatives: *iuuencā* ‘young cow, heifer’ (Varro+).

Plt. **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. *ieuanic* ‘youth’ < PCI. **juuanko-*, Skt. *yuvaśá-* ‘young’, Go. *jugga-laups* ‘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. *Iuuencus* can be explained as a Sabellism, or as influenced by *iuvenis* and *iuuentus*.

Bibl.: WH I: 735, EM 330, IEW 510f., Schrijver 1991: 321f., Meiser 1998: 81, 91, Untermann 2000: 354. → *iuvenis*

iuuenis ‘young man’ [m. ī] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *iuuentūs* ‘youth’ (Pl.+), *iuuenta* ‘youth’ (Lab.+), *iuuentās* ‘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.+).

Plt. **juwen-* ‘young’, **jūniōs* ‘younger’. It. cognates: maybe U. *iouies* [dat.pl.], *iouie* [acc.pl.] ‘?’, party of able-bodied men: **iey-iē-*?

PIE **h₂iu-h₁n-* ‘who possesses vital force’ > ‘young’; comp. **h₂iu-h₁n-iōs*. IE cognates: Skt. *yūvan-* ‘young; young man’, YAv. *yuuānəm* [acc.sg.], *yūnəm* [gen.pl.] ‘youth’, *yōišta-* ‘youngest’; *yauua* [m.] ‘youth’; Lith. *jáunas* ‘young’, OCS *junъ* < PIE **h₂iu-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 *iuuenis* is probably due to *iuuentūs*, where *-e-* was phonetically retained. The comparative *iūnior* occurs beside *iuuenior*, suggesting that it represents a contraction of the latter. The abstract *iuuentūs* is clearly more original than *iuuenta* and *iuuentās*. 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 **iūn-* ‘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 1998: 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.+).

Plt. **ijow-*.

PIE **h₁i-h₁euH-(e/o-)* [pr.] 'to help'. IE cognates: OIr. *con-oí*, *-oat* 'to protect'; Skt. pr. *āvati*, pf. *āva* [3s.act.], *ta*-ptc. *ūta-* 'to help, protect', OAv. *auuāmī* [1s.pr.] 'to help, care', *uz-ūiθiūi* [inf.] 'to protect'.

Pf. *iūvī* < **iūwa-wī*, *iūtus* < **iūwatos*. This suggests an earlier stem **iūwa-*, as is preserved in some forms of the verb *iuvere* < Plt. **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 Plt. 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.+).

Plt. **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’ (Lucret.); *labrum* ‘lip, brim’ (Naev.+), *labellum* ‘lip’ (Pl.+), *collabellāre* ‘to make by putting lips together’ (Lab.).

PIt. **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.+), *collabefieri* ‘to collapse’ (Lucret.); *lābī*, pf. *lāpsus* ‘to glide, slip’ (Pl.+); *lābēs, -is* ‘fall (of earth), landslip; disaster’ (Pl.+), *lābōsus* ‘slippery’ (Lucret.), *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’ (Lucret.), *prōlābī* ‘to slide forwards’ (Acc.+).

PIE **lh₂b-eh₂-*, **leh₂b-e/o-*, **leh₂b-eh₁-* ‘weak’. IE cognates: OCS *slabъ*, Ru. *slabyj*, SCr. *slāb* ‘weak’ < PIE **slob-(n)o-* (according to Derksen 1996: 83, Latv. *slābs*, *slābēns* ‘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/γάλαχος [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 *ἀπέλᾱκα); λακίς, -ίδος 'rent, rending; tatters of clothes', λακίζω 'to tear', λάκη 'rags' among the Cretans (Hsch.), λάκημα 'rent, piece, fragment' (pap.); Po. *lach*, 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 *lh₂ki- ‘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.

laciō, -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. *ēlicūī*), *inlicire* (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.); *laccessere* ‘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.prēt.] ‘?offered’; O. **kellaked** as 3s.pf. **ke-le-lak-ed* in the analysis of Untermann 2002: 492f.

WH connect **lak-* to the root **lak^w-* of *laqueus* ‘loop, rope’. Whereas **k^wt* > *ct* and **k^ws* > *x* are unproblematic, the supposed development **k^wi* > *ci* (in *lakit*, *dēliciae*) is uncertain; one would rather expect *-qui-*, as in *reliquium*. Similarly, one would expect **laquessere* and *-lequebra*. Therefore, we must assume a PIIt. stem **lak-*. It is possible to connect this with *lacer* ‘torn, tearing’ if *laciō* originally meant ‘to draw, attract’. Note that the simplex verb is only attested by Paulus *ex F.*, and hence likely to be a nonce form. The others are all compounds, in which *-lak-* may simply have meant ‘to draw’. The technical words *collic-*, *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 *laciō*. 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 **dr̥k-h₂(e)kru-* 'eye-bitter'. IE cognates: OIr. *dér*, W. *deigr* 'tear', Hit. *išhahru-* [n.] 'tear(s), weeping' < **s* + **h₂ekru-*?, Skt. *ásru-*, YAv. *asrū* [pl.], Gr. *δάκρυ*, Arm. *artasuk'* [pl.], Lith. *āšara*, OHG *zahar*, ToB *akrūna* [obl.pl.] 'tear'.

Many investigators regard the word as a loanword from Greek *δάκρυμα* / *δάκρυμα* 'tear'. EM give the following arguments for this view: if the form were genetically related to the Greek form, i.e., 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 *δάκρυμα* / *δάκρυμα* itself is relatively recent (unattested before the fifth century), and it never becomes the normal word for 'tear' in Greek (which is *δάκρυον*). If the Latin word was inherited, the origin is still problematic: PIE **dr̥k-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, **dr̥k-h₂ekru-* 'eye-bitter'. The plural to this word must have been **(dr̥k-)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. *lōkva* < **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 [ʎ], 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*, Is. *līdu* ‘to clear (land)’, Lith. *lįdymas, lįdīmas* ‘clearance’) have been connected with Lith. *lėisti* ‘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.+).

Plt. **laiwo-*.

PIE **leh₂i-uo-* or **lh₂ei-uo-* ‘left’. IE cognates: Gr. λα(φ)ός ‘left’, OCS *lěvъ*, Ru. *lěvyj*, Scr. *lījevī* ‘id.’, ToB *laiwo* ‘lassitude’ (< **-ueh₂-*).

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 **leh₂i_uo-* (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+)

Plt. **lala* (vel sim.).

IE cognates: Gr. λαλέω ‘to talk, chat, prattle’, λάλος ‘chattering’, λαλία ‘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. *lām* (dial.) 'knee-joint, underground passage', Bulg. *lam* 'pit, (dial.) quarry'.

In theory, Latv. *lāma* and Latin *lāma* may both go back to **leh₂-mo-*, but the isolated position of *lāma* and the possibility that the Baltic words derive from the root **lem-* 'to break' render the connection rather uncertain.

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.*)?

Plt. **lamb-*.

PIE **lh₂-m-P-* 'to lick'. IE cognates: Gr. λαφύσσω 'to devour', λάπτω 'to lick', λάπτειν, λάπτει; 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.).

Plt. **lāmnto-* 'howling', **lātro-* 'barking'.

PIE **leh₂-mn-to-* 'howling, crying', **leh₂-tro-* 'barking'. IE cognates: Skt. *rāyati* 'barks', YAv. *gāvtrō.raiiañt-* 'shouting songs' (if from PIE **l-*); Arm. *lam* 'to weep, bewail'; Lith. *lōti*, 1s. *lōju*, OCS *lajati*, 1s. *lajō* '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-

lāmīna ‘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 *vlbna*, Ru. *vólna* (dial.) / *volná* (dial.), SCr. *vūna*, 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.+), *languescere* ‘to grow weak, fall ill’ (Lucr.+), *languidus* ‘faint, exhausted’ (Acc.+).

PIt. *(s)lāng-u-.

PIE **sl-n-ĝ-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’, λαγός ‘hare’ (< *λαγ(ο)-ω[υσ]-ός ‘with slack ears’); λαγγόζω ‘to slacken’; OIc. *slakr*, OS *slac*, OE *slæc* ‘weak, floppy’, MLG *lak*, ToA *slākkār* ‘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-* < **slĝ-so-*. In **langu-*, *-a-* may have arisen phonetically in front of three consonants in **slnĝw-* (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 **slHĝ-*, 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 **ste(ĝ)-*. → *laxus*

lanius 'butcher' [m. o] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *laniarium* 'butcher's shop' (Varro), *laniēna* 'id.' (Pl.+), *laniēmus* '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-je-*, W. *llafasu* 'id.', Co. *lauasos* 'to be allowed'; Gr. *ωλεμέες* 'without pause' < **h₃lem-?*; Lith. *lėmti* 'to decide, determine', OCS *lomiti*, Ru. *lomit* 'to break'; OHG *lam* 'lame' < **lom(H)-*.

Leumann explains the suffix of *laniēna* from dissimilation of **lani-īna*, whereas WH regard it as Etruscan. Since *lanista* is explained as Etruscan by the Romans, WH regard the whole word family *lani-* as Etruscan. This seems somewhat rash to me. A connection with **lem(H)-* 'to break' is semantically attractive, viz. *lanius* as 'the breaker (of bones)', cf. Dutch *beenhouwer* 'butcher'. A development **lomio-* > **lanio-* can be regarded as the same unrounding after *l-* which Schrijver 1991: 475 posits for *lacus* 'lake'. Since *m* generally has a rounding influence on a preceding vowel (cf. later **em* > *om*), it follows that **lomio-* became **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.+), *lapidarius* 'of stone-cutting' (Pl.+), *lapidōsus* 'stony' (Varro+), *lapillus* 'small stone' (Varro+); *lapičida* 'stone-cutter' (Varro+), *lapičidinae* [f.pl.] (Cato+), *lapidicinae* [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*, *vepetín*, *vepeten*, *iepeten*, *vepetin* [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 **IVpVd-*.

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* : *lār-* 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.); *dālargīrī* ‘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 compromises the etymology given by WH and IEW. They suggest an original form **lajes-ago-* ‘carrying fat’ with a stem **laj-es-* ‘fat, bacon’ which they also perceive in *lāridus* and maybe *laetus*. Yet it is wholly uncertain that *lār-* in these words goes back to **lāsV-*, it is furthermore uncertain that Gr. λάρινός contains **laje(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. λάρινός ‘fatted, fat’ may well be derived from λάρός

(II.) 'delicious, sweet', sup. λῆρώτατος. Beekes (fthc.) proposes a base *λα(ῑ)αρος or *λα(ῑ)ερος, and a possible connection with ἀπολαύω 'to enjoy' < *lh₂u-. It seems likely that Latin *lāridum* is a loan from Greek **lārinós* 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.+), *lascīvībundus* '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. λιλαιομαι 'to desire strongly' < **li-las-je-*, ληνίς 'a Bacchante'; Lith. *lokšniūs* 'sensitive' < *lh₂s-n-, Ru. *lasyj* 'greedy, eager, affectionate' < *lh₂s-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' < *lh₁d-, *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 **IHC-* > **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+).

Plt. **latē-*.

PIE *lh₂-to- ‘hidden’. IE cognates: Gr. λανθάνω, λήθω, aor. λαθεῖν ‘to be hidden’, λάθρη, -ᾱ ‘secretly’ < *(e)h₂-d^h-; λῆτο□/ λήτο ‘he forgot’ (Hsch.) < *leh₂-; OCS *lajati*, OCz. *lákati*, USorb. *lakać* ‘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: *lātitudō* ‘breadth, broadness’ (Cato+); *dīlātāre* ‘to make wider, spread’ (Varro+); *stlatta* ‘large cargo-boat’ (Gel., Paul. ex F.), *stlātārius* ‘conveyed by a *stlatta*’ (Enn.+).

Plt. **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 *stblati* ‘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 *lis* ‘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 OIr. *sliss*, W. *ysthys* '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 PCI. **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.+).

PIt. **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 **ou* > **au* in PIE pretonic position, sketches a possible scenario: PIE **lou-ó-* 'praising' > PIIt. **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' < PCI. **louatro-*, Gr. λούω, 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 *lēapor* '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-éje/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* < **lawāpro-* and *-lūbrum* < **lowapro-* 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 **-d^hro-*. 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 eclūtro* as *lē-lūtrōl* '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 **slg̑-so-* 'weak, faint'. IE cognates: see *languēō*.

Schrijver's rule **RDC* > **RaDC* can explain *laxus* < **lagso-* < **slg̑-so-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 758, EM 348, IEW 959f., Schrijver 136f., 165, LIV **sle^(g)-*. → *languēō*

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. **lexe/o-* 'to lie down', **lekto/u-* 'bed'. It. cognates: Fal. *lectet* [3s.pr.] 'lies' (with a stop, of analogical origin?). SPic. *veiat* 'lies' < **lexjā-*.

PIE **leg^h-e/o-* [pr.] 'to lie', **leg^h-tu-*. IE cognates: OIr. *laigid*, *laig* 'to lie down' < PCI. **leg-e/o-*, Gr. λέγεται 'sleeps' (Hsch.), aor. λέκτο, λέξο, -λέχθαι, -λέγμενος 'to lie down', λέχος [n.] 'lair, bed', λέκτρον 'lair, (nuptial) bed'; OCS *-leže*, *-lego* 'laid down', Go. *ligan*, OIc. *liggja* 'to lie', ToB *lyasām* 'lies'.

WH rightly notice that a nominal formation **leg^h-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 **leg^h-tlo-*, but Gr. λέκτρον and the root-inherent *l-* would rather have us expect **leg^h-tro-*. An alternative solution is to posit a *tu*-stem **leg^h-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 **leg^h-*.

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.+), *dīliger* '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.+), *perlligere* '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* // *lēxel* [2p.pr.], *pelegief* [2s.ipv.?] 'to read?', but the endings remain unexplained. Possibly O. *leginum* [acc.sg.], *leginei* [dat.sg.] maybe 'host'.

PIE pr. **leg-e/o-* 'to collect', ppp. **leg-to-*. IE cognates: Gr. λέγω, aor. ἔλεξα 'to collect, count; speak', λόγος [m.] 'account, word'; Alb. *mb-ledh* 'to collect'. Possibly, also OIr. *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' < **yo-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 **diligere* ‘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 **leg-*. → *lēx*, *lignum*

lemurēs, -um ‘evil spirits of the dead’ [m.pl. *r*] (Hor.+)

Derivatives: *lemurī* (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 Latīn 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.+), *dēlēnīficus* ‘soothing’ (Pl.+).

Plt. **lēni-*.

PIE **leh₁-n(o/i)-* ‘lazy, slow’. IE cognates: Lith. *lėnas*, Latv. *lēns*, *lēns* ‘lazy’, OCS *lěnrъ*, Ru. *ljánoj* (dial.) / *lenój* (dial.), OCz. *léný*, SCr. *lījen* ‘lazy, slow’ < BSl. **le?nos* / **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.), *lēnōqinium* ‘brothel-keeping, allurements’ (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 **d̥k(o)n-i-d-* ‘nit’. IE cognates: OIr. *sned* [f.], W. *nedd, nedden*, Co. *nedhen* [sing.], Bret. *nez, nezenn* < PCl. **snidā-* ‘nit’; Gr. *κοβίδες* ‘eggs of lice, nits’ [f.pl.], Arm. *anic* ‘louse’ < **Hnid-* < **knid-?*; Alb. (Geg) *thēnī* < **kon-id-*; Lith. *glinda*, Latv. *gnīda*, Ru. *gnīda*, SCr. *gnjīda*, Sln. *gnīda* ‘nit’ < BSl. **gni?da?* < **knid-* < PIE **knid-*; OE *hnutu* [f.], OHG *(h)niz* ‘nit’ < **knid-*.

The IE cognates differ in anlaut to such an extent that the reconstruction of one PIE preform is very difficult. Gr. and Alb. reflect **konid-*, while Gm., Slavic, and, with some special pleading, also Armenian, reflect **knid-*. These two forms obviously seem related. In Baltic, we find a second nasal after **i*, and (probably) dissimilation of the first **n* to **l*. Like Baltic, Latin also has a postvocalic nasal, but the first nasal has disappeared. A problematic feature is the vowel *e*, since PIE **e* is often raised to *i* in Latin before *nC*, but **i* never appears to be lowered in front of nasals. Finally, Celtic **snid-* is comparable to Latin in that it has a dental 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 **knid-*, one might assume influence from other nouns for small insects (for *lēns* one may think of PIE **luHs-* ‘louse’ – unattested in Italic), but, alternatively, there could also be a phonetic reason. For instance, if PIE had an initial consonant cluster, e.g. **dknid-*, this could have been dissimilated in various ways: Italic **dkni-n-d-* > **dklind-* > **dlind-* > regular **lind-*; Celtic **dknid-* > **dnid-* > **snid-*. Armenian *anic*, with irregular *an-* < **kn-*, may then reflect **dknid-* > **dnid-* > **h₁nid-* > **anid-* (but one would expect **enid-*). The noun may be related with PIE **knid-* ‘to scratch’ as reflected in Gr. *κνίζω* ‘to prick, irritate’, OIc. *hnita* ‘to thrust’.

Bibl.: WH I: 783, EM 351, IEW 436f., 608, LIV **kneid-*. → *nidor*

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 *lešta*, Ru. *ljač*, OHG *linsa* ‘lentil’.

The similarity between Slavic, Gm. and Latin seems too great to be coincidental, but a common preform cannot be reconstructed. Like other agricultural terms, ‘lentil’ may have been borrowed from a non-IE language in Europe.

Bibl.: WH I: 783, EM 351.

lentus ‘pliant, flexible; tough; sticky; slow’ [adj. *o/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. *łęt* (dial.) ‘twig, switch’ < PSl. **łotъ* < **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. *lāpas* ‘leaf’, Latv. *lapa* ‘leaf’, Ru. *lépest* ‘petal’; Lith. *lepūs* ‘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 **lopit* (cf. *lanius* maybe from **lomio-*). The semantics could then be interpreted as ‘peels off, unveils’ > ‘affects, damages’. The semantic connection with the Gr. words is not compelling, but the change in meaning of Gr. *λεπτός* from ‘peeled’ to ‘refined’ renders the change of Lat. *lepōs* from ‘what has been peeled’ to ‘refinement’ conceivable.

Bibl.: WH I: 785, EM 352, IEW 678, 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 *lětb* ‘it is possible, allowed’ [f.], Ru. *let*’ (arch.) ‘it is possible, allowed’ < **leh₁-ti-*; OCS *lěto* ‘summer, year’, Ru. *lěto* ‘summer, (pl.)

age, years' < PIE *leh₁-tóm; OIc. *lād*, OE *lād* '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. δᾶήρ, Arm. *taygr*, Lith. *dieveris* / *dieveris*, Latv. *diēveris*, Ru. *déver'*, SCr. *djěvēr* < BSl. **daʔiuer-*; 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. *laigiú* 'lighter, poorer', MW *llei* 'less', Skt. *raghú-* 'fleet, fast', YAv. *rəuui-* [adj.f.] 'agile, fast, quick', sup. *rəñjišta-*, Gr. ἐλαχός 'small, little', Alb. *lehtë*, Lith. *leñgvas* 'light', OCS *lęgvъ*, Ru. *lęgkij*, Go. *leihts*, OHG *liht*, OIc. *léttir*, ToB *lan̄k_utse* '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: *levāre* 'to polish' (Varro+), *levāmentum* '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. *λίτός* [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. *lġanakdīkei* [dat.sg.] name of a goddess; O. *lġatús* [nom.pl.], *lġatúis* [dat.pl.] 'envoy', probably a loanword from Latin.

PIE **lēg-* '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 **lēg-*. → *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 **lub^h-ro-* 'leaf, rind'. IE cognates: OIr. *luib*, MĪr. *luibh* f. 'herb', *lub-gort* 'garden', Alb. *labē* '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. *liobas* 'bast', Latv. *luobas* 'peel', Ru. *lub* 'bast' < BSl. **loub-o-*; Go. *lubja-leis* 'who knows poisons', Olc. *lyf* [f.] 'medicinal herbs', OE *lybb* [n.] 'poison, magic' < **lub^h-*; Go. *laufs* [m.], *lauf* [n.] 'leaf, foliage', OE *leaf*, OHG *loub* [n.] < PIE **loub^h-*.

Since several IE languages show forms in **lub^h-* meaning 'bast, leaf', *liber* has been reconstructed as **lubro-*, and compared with the vacillation in Latin between *libet*

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 **lub^h-* 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-.

liber 'free' [adj. *o/ā*] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: *liberāre* 'to free, release' (Pl.+), *liberālis* 'of free men, generous' (Naev.+), *liberālitās* 'generosity' (Ter.+), *liberātor* 'one who sets free' (Pl.+); *libertās* 'freedom' (Naev.+), *libertus* [m.] 'freedman' (Pl.+), *liberta* 'freedwoman' (Pl.+), *libertīna* 'freedwoman' (Pl.+), *libertīnus* 'freedman' (Pl.+); *liberī*, *-(ōr)um* [m.pl.] 'children' (Pl.+); *Liber*, *-erī* 'Italian god of vegetation' (Andr.+).

Plt. **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 **leud^h-i-ōno-* 'he of the people'.

PIE **h₁leud^h-ero-*. IE cognates: Gr. ἐλεύθερος 'free'; Lith. *liáudis* 'lower people', CS Ru. *ljud* 'people', OCS *ljudbje*, Ru. *ljúdi* [pl.] 'men, people' < IE **h₁leud^h-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 *libertās* on the model of *honestus* vs. *honestās*. The BSl. and Gm. noun **h₁leud^h-* 'people' derives from a verb **h₁leud^h-* 'to grow'; the deity *Liber* shows that **h₁leud^h-* originally meant 'to grow' in Latin too. The derived adj. **h₁leud^h-ero-* originally indicated one 'belonging to the people', hence 'free' in Latin *liber* and Gr. ἐλεύθερος. The change of the pl. *liberī* to 'children' is explained by Benveniste (1969 I: 324) from legal terminology, in which the legitimate 'children' of a free couple were denominated as 'free ones'.

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 **h₁leud^h-*.

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/ibidō* [f.] 'desire, lust' (Pl.+), *libidinitās* 'lustfulness' (Lab.); *prōlubium* 'desire' (Naev.+); *allubēscit* 'is pleasing' (Pl.+); Lat. *-libet* 'any, whichever' in *quīlibet* 'whoever/whatever you please', etc.

Plt. **luf-ē-* 'to desire'. It. cognates: O. *loufir* 'or' [pr.sb.impers.] < **loub^h-ē/ī-r.*

PIE **lub^h-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' < Ilr. **l(a)ub^h-*; OCS

ljubъ ‘sweet, pleasant’, Ru. *ljubój* ‘any, either’ < *leub^h-o-, CS *ljuby* [f.], gen.sg. *ljubovъ* ‘love’ < *leub^h-uH, OCS *ljubo*, Ru. *libo* ‘or’; OCS *ljubiti*, Ru. *ljubít* ‘to love’ < *leub^h-; 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 *leub^h-.

libō, -āre ‘to pour a libation’ [v. I] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *libāmentum* ‘sacrificial offering, taste’ (Varro+), *libum* ‘sacrificial cake’ (Enn.+); *dēlibāre* ‘to remove, take a small piece from’ (Enn.+), *dēlibūtus* ‘thickly smeared, imbued’ (Pl.+).

Plt. **leifo-* / **loifo-* ‘sacrificial cake’, **lifū-* ‘greasy’.

PIE **h₂le/oib^h-o-* [n.], **h₂lib^h-u-* [adj.]. IE cognates: Gr. ἀλείφω ‘to anoint’, ἄλειφαρ ‘unguent’.

Steinbauer 1989: 120-122 regards *libāre* as an original denominal verb ‘to make a sacrificial cake’ to *libum*. It is uncertain, then, whether the noun continues **leib-* or **loib-*, with the change of **oi* > *i* between velar *l* and a labial. The ppp. *dēlibūtus* has short *i*; it indirectly points to a denominal verb **dēlibūere* 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 **h₂lib^h-* which *libum* 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*

libra ‘pound (measure of weight) (Lex XII, Pl.+); pair of scales (Varro+)’ [f. *ā*] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: *librāre* ‘to make level, balance’ (Cato+), *librārius* [adj.] ‘of a pound’s weight’ (Cato+), *libella* ‘small silver coin; plumb-line’ (Pl.+); *sēlibra* ‘half a libra’ (Cato+), *simbella* ‘a coin worth half a libella’ (Varro); *collibrāre* ‘to measure’ (Cato), *dēliberāre* ‘to consider carefully, consult’ (Pl.+); *libripēns, -ndis* ‘one who holds the balance’ (Lex XII+).

Plt. **leipra-* ‘pound’.

Dēliberāre must be due to influence of *liberāre* ‘to free’ on **dē-librāre* ‘to weigh’. The weight *sēlibra* was probably derived from *libra* on the model of *sēmodius* ‘half a modius’ < **sēmi-modius*. *Libella* < **librala*. *Simbella* < **sembella* < **sēmbella* < **sēmibella*, with haplology < **sēmilibella*. 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 *-*d^hro-* 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. *likítud, 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 ?*leik-. → *pollūceō*

licium 'thread, cord' [n. o] (Lex XII, Lucil.+)

Derivatives: *bilix, -īcis* 'having a double thread' (Verg.), *trilix, -īcis* 'having a triple, thread' (Verg.+).

Eichner 1995: 68f. interprets the form *louiquiod* on the Forum cippus as a mistaken rendering of **loiquiod = *loik^hiōd*, abl.sg. of **loik^hio-* '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. *liēn, -ēnis* (Pl.) with iambic shortening)

Derivatives: *liēnōsus* 'affected by a disorder of the spleen' (Pl.+).

PIt. **liχēn-*.

PIE **splǵ^h-ēn, -en-* 'spleen'. IE cognates: OIr. *selg*, MBret. *felch*, Skt. *plīhán-*, Av. *spərəzan-*, Khot. *spuljei* 'spleen' < IIr. **splǵ^hán-*, Gr. *σπλήν* 'spleen', *σπλάγγνα* 'intestines', Arm. *p'aycałn* 'spleen', Lith. *blužnis*, Latv. *liēsa* '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 **splǵ^h-* was apparently replaced by **(s)liǵ^h-*, 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.+), *lignēolus* 'id.' (Lucil.+), *lignārī* 'to collect firewood' (Pl.+).

PIt. **legno-*.

PIE **leg^(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-* [eɣn] > -*ign-* is regular. Ritter 2004 prefers to derive *lignum* from **leg^h-* ‘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+); *līctor* ‘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 *līctor* and of *religiō* to this verb is uncertain. The fact that the simplex *ligāre* does not occur before Catullus, all the earlier verbs being compounds, suggests a basis **lig-e/o-* or **leg-e/o-*. Semantically, the root **lig-* ‘to tie’ is a more likely source. Rather than being a denominal verb, *-*lig-ā-* seems to be of the factitive type (*capere* – *occupāre*). Apart from Alb. *lidh*, which can be explained in various ways, there are no certain cognates.

Bibl.: WH I: 800, EM 357f., 569, IEW 668, LIV **leǵ-*.

līlium ‘lily’ [n. o] (Varro+)

Probably a borrowing from an (eastern) Mediterranean language, compare in the first place Gr. *λεῖριον* ‘lily, narciss’. A similar designation is Coptic *hrêri*, *hlêli* ‘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. *rāmbate* (RV), *lāmbate* ‘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. *līmitú[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-k"-ē- (which Solta regards as identical with the root of *linguō* 'to leave', rather than from *ylink"-). 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/oh₁i-mo- 'slime, slimy'. IE cognates: OS *lēmo*, OE *lām*, OHG *leim* 'loam' < PGm. *laima/ōn-; OPr. *slayx*, Lith. *sliėkas*, Latv. *sliėka* 'earth-worm' < *sloiH-k-; Latv. *sliėnas*, OCS *sliny* [nom.pl.], Ru. dial. *slina*, SCr. *slina* 'saliva' < *sleh₁i-n-h₂; Ru. *slimák* (dial.) 'snail, slug' < *sleh₁i-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. λαμῶν ‘meadow’, λιμῆν ‘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-ǵ^h-* [pr.] ‘to lick’. IE cognates: OIr. *ligid^{*}*, *-lig^{*}*, MW *lhyu*, MBret. *leat* ‘to lick’ < PCl. **lige/o-*; Skt. *rédhi/ledhi* [3s.pr.], ppa. *ririhvāms-*, Gr. λείχω, Arm. *līzanem*, Lith. *liēžti*, OCS *lizati*, Is. *ližq* ‘to lick’ < BSl. **leiž-*, OE *liccian*, OHG *leckōn* < **liǵ^h-n-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 806, EM 360, IEW 668, Schumacher 2004: 450, LIV **leiǵ^h-*.

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’ < **fan̥χuā-* < **d^h-*.

PIE **dn̥ǵ^h-uh₂* ‘tongue’. IE cognates: OIr. *tengae*, MW *tafawt* ‘tongue’ < **tn̥ǵ^h-*, Skt. *jihvā-* ‘id.’, Av. *hizuuā-*, Arm. *lezow*, OPr. *insuwis*, Lith. *liežuvis*, OCS *jęзыкъ*, Go. *tuggo*, OHG *zunga*, Oic. *tunga* < **dn̥ǵ^h-*, ToA *kāntu*, ToB *kantwo* ‘tongue’ < **tānkwo*.

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 **d^h-*, which must be due to association with another word in **d^h-* (but which?), cf. van der Staij 1995: 23. The absence of the development **g^v > b* in Oscan suggests that ‘tongue’ had the structure **-ǵ^huH-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. **dn̥ǵ^h-uh₂-os* at a later, pre-Italic stage. We find tabooistic or simply associative (with ‘to lick’) changes of the phonological form of ‘tongue’ in many Indo-European languages.

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. ὀλίπειν '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 **lei^w-* > *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 **h₂lei^h-*.

linquō, -ere 'to leave' [v. III; pf. *liquī*, 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. **lik^w-(e/o)-*, **(le-)loik^w-*, **lik^wto-* 'to leave'; **-lik^w-e/ow-o-* 'remaining'.

PIE pr. **li-n-k^w-*, pf. **(le-)loik^w-*, ppp. **lik^wto-*. IE cognates: OIr. *léicid**, *·léici** 'to let (go), leave' < PCl. **lik^we/o-*; Skt. *riṅákti*, pf. *riréca*, YAv. pr. *irinaxti* 'to leave'; Gr. ἀμπάνω, λείπω [pr.] 'to let, leave'; Arm. *lk'anem* 'id.', OPr. *po-linka* '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 **-lik^w-e/ow-o-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 808f., EM 361, IEW 669f., Leumann 1977: 136, Meiser 1998: 98, LIV **leik^h-*.

linum 'flax plant, linseed; linen' [n. o] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *līnea* 'string, cord; line' (Pl.+), *līneāre* 'to make straight' (Pl.+); *lin-teum* 'piece of linen cloth, towel, sail' (Pl.+), *lin-teolum* 'piece of linen' (Pl.+), *lin-teō* 'weaver of linen' (Pl.).

PIt. **līno-* [n.].

IE cognates: Gr. λίνον 'linen', OPr. *lynno* 'flax', Lith. *linas* 'flax (plant)', [pl.] *linai* 'flax (fibres)', Latv. *lini* 'flax' [pl.], CS *lěnъ*, Ru. *lěn*, 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. **līnteus* is somewhat surprising, and suggests an unattested noun **līnto-* 'linen' as its basis. The variation between **līno-* and **līnto-* in Latin, to which **līno-* 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* 'inflammation or watering of the eyes' (Pl.+).

PIt. **l(e)ipo-*?

PIE **l(e)ip-* '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.+); *liquī* '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. *flíuch* 'moist', W. *gw lith* [m.] 'dew'; ToA [inf.] *lyiktsi* 'to wash', ToB [pr.] *laikanaträ* 'washes', *likšan-* '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 *liquī* < **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^w-*. → *lixa*, *pollingō*

lira 'furrow' [f. *ā*] (Columella+)

Derivatives: *dēlirus* 'insane' (Lucr.+), *dēlirāre* 'to be mad; deviate from the balks (in ploughing)' (Pl.+), *dēliritās* 'insanity' (Lab.), *dēlirāmentum* '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-lirus* probably developed from **dē līrād(i)re* '(to go) off the track'.

Bibl.: WH I: 338, 812f., EM 362f., IEW 671, LIV **leis-*.

lis, -tis 'lawsuit; dispute' [f.] (Lex XII+; arch. Cic. et aliter *stlis*, inscr. *stl.ivd. = stlitibus iudicandis*)

Derivatives: *litigare* 'to go to law, dispute' (Pl.+), *litigium* 'quarrel, lawsuit' (Pl.+).

PIt. **slī-ti-* 'accusation, dispute'.

PIE *sliH-ti-? IE cognates: OIr. *liid**, *-lī** ‘to accuse’, MW *lliw* ‘proof, accusation’ < PCI. **lijē/o-* < *sliH-e/o-, OIr. *lithech* ‘accused person’ < **liti-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 *tī*-stem as Latin. Gusmani 2002 connects Lat. *līs* with PGM. **sleitān* ‘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 **sliþa-* ‘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.

litō, -āre ‘to obtain or give favourable omens’ [v. I] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *litātīō* ‘obtaining favourable omens’ (Pl.+).

Denominative to a noun **lita*, which was probably borrowed from Gr. λιτή ‘request’ < **λιτᾶ*, 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/lītos* [n.].

PIE **leit-os-* ‘going’? IE cognates: Av. *iriθīia-* ‘to die’, ppa. *irīriθuš-* ‘dead’, Go. *ga-leiþan* ‘to go’, ToB *lita*, ToA *līt* [pret.], ToB *laitaþ*, ToA *letaþ* [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. → *limus 2, obliquus*

lividus 'of a dull or greyish-blue colour; envious' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *livescere* 'to become dull blue' (Lucr.+), *livor* 'bluish discoloration, envy' (Pl.+).

Plt. **(s)le/oivo-* or **(s)livo-*.

PIE **(s)l(e/o)iH-uo-* 'plum-coloured, blueish'. IE cognates: OIr. *lí*, W. *lliw* 'colour' < **(s)liH- μ -*; Ru. *sliva* 'plum', SCr. *šljīva* 'id.' < **sliH-ueh₂-*, OHG *slēha*, OE *slāh*, MoDu. (dial.) *sleeuw* 'sloe' < PGm. **slaiχ(y)a/ō-*.

Since the other IE languages point to a derivative in **-uo-*, the Latin word family must be based on *livēre* (only attested after Cic.) or on *lividus*, which replaced **livos*. The original ablaut grade of Latin *liv-* cannot be determined.

Bibl.: WH I: 816, EM 364, IEW 965, Schrijver 1991: 231. → *luridus*

lixa 'water, lye' [f. *ā*] (Nonius)

Derivatives: *lixivus* '(probably) liquid, flowing' (Cato+); *elixus* 'boiled' (Pl.+), *prōlixus* 'having extensive growth, extended, long' (Ter.+), *prōlīxītūdō* 'great length' (Pac.); maybe *lixula* 'kind of cheese pancake' (Varro).
Pit. **wl(e)ik^wso-* 'fluid, flowing'.
PIE **ul(e)ik^w-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 *elixus* it must have been 'boiling out'.

Bibl.: WH I: 816f., II: 370, EM 364, 538, LIV **uleik^w-*. → *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. *zalu^{knu}-zi* 'to lengthen' < **dlug^h-n(e)u-*; PIE **dlh₁g^h-o-* in Skt. *dīrghá-*, OAv. *darəga-*, OCS *dlǫgъ*, SCr. *dǫg*, Lith. *ilgas*, Alb. *gjatē* 'long' (+ **-tā-*); Gr. *δολιχός* (< **dolh₁-i-g^h-o-?*), *ένδελεχής* '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.), **doli^g-*, **del^g-* (Gr.), **dlong^h-* (Lat., Gm.) and **dlh₁g^h-* (Itr., BSI., 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. *děl* (poet.) [f. *i*] 'length' < PSI. **dǫlb*, OCS *prodlǫ* '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)lok^w-e/o-*.

PIE **tlok^w-* 'to talk'. IE cognates: OIr. *ad-tluchedar* 'gives thanks', *do-tluchedar*

‘demands’; Ru. *tolk* ‘meaning’.

The ppp. *locūtus* must be analogical after e.g. *solūī* : *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 Plt. 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.+), *lōrica* ‘corselet or cuirass’ (Pl.+), *lōricāre* ‘to cover with a cuirass’ (Varro+); *lōripēs*, *-dis* ‘having deformed feet’ (Pl.+).

IE cognates: Gr. εὔληρα, Dor. αὔληρα [pl.], Hsch. ἄβληρα ‘reins’ (< **ā-φληρο-*?), Arm. *lar* ‘cord’.

Beekes (fthc.) regards the alternation ε-/α- within Greek as inexplicable; he therefore suspects Pre-Greek origin. If εὔληρα reflects **ηυληρα* (which would not fit the hexameter), Proto-Greek may have had **āulēra*. 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 *lōrica*, a separate loanword etymology is often proposed, viz. from Gr. θώραξ ‘cuirass’, Ion. θώραξ, or both could be from an unknown Mediterranean language. Yet WH reject this solution, arguing that *lōrica* 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.+)

Plt. *(*s*)*loufre/o-ko-*.

PIE **sle/oub^h-rō-* ‘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: *lucifer* ‘bringing gain’ (Pl.), *lucrificābilis* ‘profitable’ (Pl.), *lucrifuga* [m.] ‘spendthrift’ (Pl.), *lucripeta* [adj.m.] ‘avaricious’.

Plt. **luklo-* > dissim. **lukro-*.

PIE **lh₂u-tlō-* ‘seizure, gain’. IE cognates: Gr. ἀπολαύω ‘to enjoy’, λεία, Dor. λαῖα (< **lāφ-īā*) ‘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)** 'to travel, campaign' < *lóh₂-/*léh₂-, Gr. λα(φ)ός 'men, army', OIr. *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.).

Plt. **lukto-*.

PIE *lug-to- 'bent'. IE cognates: OIr. *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.*leu^(g)-. → *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.+).

Plt. **louko-* 'sacred grove'. It. cognates: Ven. *louki* [gen.sg.] 'sacred grove', O. *lúvkei* [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. *laūkas* 'field, land', Latv. *laūks* 'field, clearing in the woods', OHG *lōh* 'clearing'.

For the derivation of *Lūcīna* from *lūcus* 'sacred grove', cf. Leumann 1960.

Bibl.: WH I: 828, EM 368, IEW 687-690, Lejeune 1974: 336, Untermann 2000: 439f., LIV *leuk-. → *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.+), *lūdicerē* [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.); *lūsīō* 'play, sport' (Varro+), *lūsītāre* 'to amuse oneself' (Pl.+), *lūsor* 'player' (Pl.+); *allūdīāre* 'to play with' (Pl.+), *allūdere* 'to play, jest' (Ter.+), *collūsor* 'fellow gambler' (Lucil.+), *collūsīm* '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.).

Plt. *loid-e/o- ‘to play’, *loido- ‘play’.

PIE *loid- ‘to let go frequently, play’. IE cognates: Mlr. *laídid* ‘impels’, Gr. λίνδεσθαί ‘to contend’ (Hsch.), λίζει ‘plays’ (Hsch.), Alb. *lind* ‘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. *laīst* ‘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.+).

Plt. *loug-eje- [v.], *loug-os-ri-?

PIE *loug-eie- ‘to swallow, gasp’. IE cognates: Olr. *loingid* ‘to eat’ < *(s)lu-n-g-; Gr. λυγανώμενον ‘sobbing’ (Hsch.), λύζω ‘to have the hiccup, sob’ < *(s)lug-ǵé-, 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 bemoan (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.).

Plt. **londwo-* 'loins'.

PIE **londʰ-u-o-*. IE cognates: HLuw. *la-tara/i-* *llandri(ya)-* 'to expand (a country)', Skt. *rāndhra-* 'loin (of animals); weak spot on the body; cavity' < **londʰ-ro-*; OCS *lědvięę* [f.pl.] 'loins, insides, kidneys', Ru. *ljádveja* (arch.) 'thigh' < **lendʰ-u-*; Oic. *lend*, OHG *lentin* 'kidneys', OE *lendemu* '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' < **lěndʰ-o-*; Go. Oic. OS OE *land*, OHG *lant* 'land' < **londʰ-o-*; Lith. *lendū* 'to creep, sneak (into)'.

Gotō 1985 has argued that Skt. *rāndhra-* can be connected with *lumbus* and with Gm. **landa-* 'land', under the assumption of a PIE verb **lendʰ-e-* 'to sink, go down' (Lith. *lendū* '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. *lendū*, 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-* < **londʰ-ro-* '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.).

Plt. **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. III; pf. *luī* (*lūī* Varro)] (Acc.+)

Derivatives: *luēlla* 'expiation' (Lucr.), *luēs, -is* 'plague, affliction' (Cic.+); *reluere* 'to redeem' (Caecil.).

PIt. **luwe/o-*.

PIE aor. **l(é)uH-* 'to cut loose', pf. **louH-?* IE cognates: OIr. *as-loi** 'to flee' < PCl. **eks-luue/o-*; Skt. *luṅāti* '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. *liāuti* 'to stop', PSI. **lēviti* '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.+), *lupīnus* 'of a wolf' (Pl.+), *lupīnum* 'the lupin (plant)' (Cato+), *lupīnārius* 'of lupins' (Cato), *lupillum/s* 'lupin-seed' (Pl.).

PIt. **luk^wo-?* **lupo-?*

PIE **ulk^wo-* 'wolf'. IE cognates: Skt. *vṛka-*, YAv. *vahrka-* [m.], MP *gurg*, Gr. *λύκος* [m.], Lith. *vil̃kas*, Latv. *vilks*, ORu. *vьlkъ* [m.] < **u^lk^wo-*, Go. *wulfs* [m.], ToB *walkwe* [m.] 'wolf'.

The earlier derivation of *lupus* from PIE **ulk^wo-* 'wolf' requires two ad hoc assumptions: metathesis to **luk^wo-* 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: *lūrōr* '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)loīH-. 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: *luscīōsus* '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 haplogy from **luscī-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 PCI. verb **luk-e/o-* 'to see', as in MW *adolwyn* 'to beseech', *gorllwyn* 'to expect, observe' (Schumacher 2004: 459f.); also MW *llygat*, MCo. *logas* [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. *udrā-*, YAv. *udra-* 'otter', Gr. ὕδρα, ὕδρα 'water-snake', OPr. *wudro*, Lith. *ūdra*, Ru. *výdra* 'otter' < PSI. **ýdra* < BSl. **ú?dra?*, OHG *ottar*, OÍc. *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 d̄rag 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 **leu-*. → *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*^{ma} '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', λέωσσω 'to see'; OPr. *luckis* 'torch, log', RuCS *lučb* 'ray, light, shining', Cz. *louč* 'torch' < *louki-, OCS *lučiti se* '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-δ-ro-. 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. *leu(g)-. → *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 *mh₂k-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' < **makyo-*, OIr. *macc* < **makkyo-*; Hit. *maklant-* 'thin, meagre' < **m(e)h₂k-lo-nt-*, Av. *masah-* 'size', Gr. μακρός 'long', μήκος [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).

PIt. **mākerō-* 'soaked / kneaded'.

PIE **meh₂ǵ-*? IE cognates: Gr. μάσσω, Att. μάρτω 'to knead' (for *μάζω on the basis of the aor. ξμαξα), aor.ps. μαρῆναι, Gr. μάγμα [n.] 'kneaded mass, smear'; Arm. *macanim* 'to thicken, stick together'; OCS *mazati* 'to anoint', CS *mazb* 'unction' [f.]; Molc. *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 soaking', 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 **mag-*.

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+).

PIt. **makto-* 'honoured, blessed', **mak-mn(-to)-* 'offering, sacrifice'.

PIE **mh₂k-(e/o)-* 'to make long'.

Driessen (p.c.) proposes a connection with PCl. **make/o-* 'to raise, nourish' from 'to make long' (see s.v. *macer*). Latin 'honoured' (e.g. *macte 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* < **mag^h-tis*, while *mactus* would be the thematic variant **mag^hto-*. 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. *mādati* 'to rejoice, get intoxicated', OAv. *mada-* 'intoxication', YAv. *maḍaite* '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 OIr. *maidid* 'breaks, bursts' is unconvincing. The Ilr. and Gr. words can be connected under the assumption that Ilr. *mad-* reflects PIE **meh₂d-* (cf. Lubotsky 1981) and Gr. and Latin *mad-* are the regular outcome of **mh₂d-*.

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 *manṛti* 'to beckon', Gr. μηνύω, Dor. μᾶνύω '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-*, *-jō/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' < **ma-i-mo-*.

PIE **mǵ-no-* 'great', **mǵ-i(V)s-* 'greater'. IE cognates: OIr. *maige* 'large' < **magio-*, *magdae* 'vast', *māl* '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. *makkešš-^{zi}* 'to become numerous', *makmu-^{zi}* 'to multiply' < **mǵh₂-*; Skt. *māhi-* 'large', *mahānt-* 'great', Av. *maziiah-* 'bigger, more', *mazišta-* 'biggest', OAv. *mazōi* [dat.sg.], *mazbīš* [ins.pl.], YAv. *mazānt-* 'big', Gr. *μέγας*, Arm. *mec*, Alb. *madh* 'large', Go. *mikils*, OE *micel*, OIc. *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. *šamankurūant-* [adj.] 'bearded'; Skt. *śmāsru-* [n.] 'beard', Arm. *mawrow-k'* 'beard', Alb. *mjekrē* 'chin, beard' [f.], Lith. *smākras*, *smakrà* 'chin', Latv. *smakrs* 'chin' < **smok-ro-*.

Māla reflects **smaks(V)la*, whereas *maxilla* can be from **smakslela*, or has the productive suffix *-illa*. Plt. **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 *-illa* 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.+).

Plt. **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 four-syllabic **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-* > **moltilo-* > **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-*.

Plt. **malo-*. It. cognates: O. *mallom*, *malom* [acc.sg.], *mallud*, *malud* [abl.sg.] 'bad, evil' < O. **mahuo-* or **maljo-*, or a borrowing from Latin.

PIE **mol-o-* 'bad'? IE cognates: Olr. *mell* 'destruction', Gr. μέλεος 'idle; unhappy', maybe βλασφημέω 'to slander'; Arm. *mel* 'sin', Lith. *mėlas* 'lie', Latv. *mālds* '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: Mlr. *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 attractive, 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*, *μολόχᾱ*) ‘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. *mēmë*, 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. *mānthanti* [3pl.act.], aor. *āmanthiṣ-*, pr.ps. *mathyá-* ‘to whirl round, rub, rotate stick to produce fire, shake’,

mathitá- ‘rubbed out’, *manthá-* [m.] ‘stirred drink’, Oss. *yzmæntyn / (æ)zmæntun* ‘to shake, stir around’; Lith. *męsti*, 3s. *meñčia* ‘to mix’, OCS *męsti*, Is. *męto*, Ru. *mjasti* (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 beyond ‘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.mānaiia-* ‘to wait’, OP *mānaya-* ‘to expect’; Gr. μένω ‘to remain, stay’, μίμνω ‘id.’, μωνή ‘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 PIIt., 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.+), *mancuipium* 'confiscation, ownership, slave' (Lex XII+), *mancuipāre* 'to transfer, sell' (Pl.+), *ēmancipāre* 'to release, make subservient' (Pl.+); *manuip(u)lus* 'handful, bundle, unit' (Pl.+), *manuip(u)lāris* [m.] 'common soldier', *manip(u)lātīm* '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.+), *manuifestus* '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', *aamanafed*, *aamanafed*, *amanafed* [3s.pf.] 'to commission', *emanafed* [3s.pf.] 'id.' < **man-fe-f* 'to put at hands' (+ prev. *ā*-, *ē*-) < **-d^he-d^hh₁-*; U. *mantrahclu*, *mantraklu*, *mandraclō* [acc.sg.] '?'.

PIE **mon-u*- 'hand'. IE cognates: OIr. *muin* 'protection, patronage', Hit. *manijahhⁱ* '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*- + **(d^he)d^hh₁*- '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-terglo-*. It is disputed whether the Plt. stem was **man-* or **manu-*. The only form which seems to be impossible from **manu-* is the U. acc.pl. **manf, which Schrijver argues to be a consonant stem: **man-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. *maniiāhh-* '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 Plt. **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+)'.
Plt. **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.+).

Plt. **mark-ē-* [v.], **morko-* [adj.].

PIE **mrk-eh₁-* 'to be soaked, be weak', **mork-o-* 'weak'. IE cognates: Hit. *markīe/a⁻²ⁱ* 'to disapprove of, refuse' < **mrk-ie/o-*; Skt. pr. *pra-mṛcyati*, caus. *marcāyati*, aor. *mṛkṣīṣṭa* 'to damage, hurt', *mṛktá-* 'hurt', *marká-* [m.] 'destruction, death', *mṛc-* 'the injuring, injure', OAv. *mərənc-* / *mərəng-* [pr.], *marəṣāitē* [3s.aor.sb.med.] 'to destroy', *marəka-* 'ruin', YAv. *mahrka-* [m.] 'death', *ahu-mərəṣ* [nom.sg.] 'destroying life', Oss. *marg* 'poison'; Lith. *mirkti* 'to become weak, soaked', *meṛkti* 'to soak', Ukr. *morokvá* (dial.) 'quagmire, swamp', MHG *meren* 'to dip bread into water or wine' < **merxen* < **merk-*. Maybe here Mir. *brén*, W. *braen*, Bret. *brein* 'rotten, foul' < **mrekno-*, **mrakn(i)o-*; but these may also contain **b^hr-*, 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. *mārės* < **moriā*, OCS *morje*, Ru. *móre* [n.], *morjā* [nom.pl.] < **morio-*, Go. *mari-saihw̥s*, OIc. *marr* 'sea', OHG *mari*, *meri* 'sea, lake'.

Mare has resulted from unrounding of **mo-* in open syllable. The adj. *mariscus* is considered to be obscure, but may well be a derivative of *mare*. Note that **mor-i-* referred to any large body of water, e.g. a lake. Lat. *mari-timus* may have been modelled on *fini-timus* and *ex-timus*. If the isolated Ossetic form is a loanword from Gothic, the etymon **mori* is restricted to the European languages.

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 **mrg̥-n-* 'border'. IE cognates: OIr. *mruig* 'territory, area', W. *bro* 'country, land', Gaul. PN *Brogi-māros*, ethnonym *Allobroges* 'Foreigners' < PCl. **mrog-i-*; Hit. *mārk-*¹ / *mark-* 'to divide, separate' < **m(o)rg̥-*; MoP *marz* 'region' < **morg̥-*; 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. *mārya-* 'young man', YAv. *mairiia-* [m.] 'scoundrel, villain', Bac. *μαρηγο* 'servant', Gr. *μῆραξ* [m./f.] 'girl, boy' < **mer-jo-*; OPr. *mergo*, *-u*, *-a* 'maiden', Lith. *marti* 'girl, bride (without children)' < **mor-t-iH-*, Lith. *mergà* 'girl' < **merg^h-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. *i*] (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 **-ino-*), μαμερτιοι [dat.sg.m.], **mamertials**, **mamertiais** [abl.pl.f.] 'of Mars' (**-io-*); U. **marte**, **martl**, **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 **māyo/ert-* (*Māvort-*, *maurte*) to *Mārt-*. The latter change would be regular if interpreted as **māwarts* > *Mārs* (loss of **w* between two identical vowels); dat.sg. *maurte* must be from a different dialect, or maybe shows the development in threesyllabic forms of the paradigm. The *o* in *Māvors* must then be secondary. Yet the preceding change of intervocalic **m* > **w* is unique; it could be interpreted as a dissimilation to the first *m-*, but it is still completely isolated. Hence, one might consider a foreign origin of the name **māmart-*, possibly with a sound in the second syllable which was neither *m* nor *v*, written with *m* in VOLat. and in Oscan.

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. *i*] (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-(ō)s* / **mh₂-ēs*, **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(i)-* '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. *matyā-* '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, mātrīs ‘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. *maatreis*, U. *matres*, *matrer* [gen.sg.], SPic. *matereih* [dat.sg.?] ‘mother’.

PIE **méh₂-tr-* ‘mother’. IE cognates: Skt. *mātár-*, Av. *mātar-*, MoP *mādar*, Gr. μήτηρ, Arm. *mayr* ‘mother’, Alb. *motër* ‘sister’, Lith. *mótė*, OCS *mati*, OHG *muoter*, OIr. *máithir*, ToB *mācer*, ToA *ṃācar* ‘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. μά ‘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+); *immāturus* ‘unripe, not mature’ (Pl.+), *praemāturus* ‘very early, prompt’; *Mātūta* ‘the goddess of Dawn’ (Lucret.+), *mātūtīmus* ‘of early morning’ (Acc.+).

PIt. **mātu-* ‘ripeness’. It. cognates: maybe O. *maatúis* [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 **-te/ou-* (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. **mexei*, abl. **med*, gen. **me/oi*; poss. **mejo-*. It. cognates: Ven. *mejo*, *mejo*, *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. **h₁meǵ^hio*, abl. **h₁med*, gen.loc. **h₁moi* 'me'; **h₁mo-* [adj.] 'my'. IE cognates: Skt. *mām* [acc.], *máyā* [ins.], *māhyam* [dat.], *mát* [abl.], *māma* [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 **mexei* 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', *μηδομαι* '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)inus* ‘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. **mebio-*. It. cognates: O. **mefiai** [loc.sg.f.], **mefi[ú]** [nom.sg.f.], SPic. **mefiūm** [loc.sg. + *-en*] ‘middle’; maybe SPic. **mefistruī** [dat.sg.m/n.] ‘?’ if from **mef-istero-*.

PIE **med^hi-o-* ‘middle’. IE cognates: Gaul. *Medio-lānum*, *-mātrici*, OIr. *mid-* (**medhu-*) ‘mid-’, Mlr. *mide* ‘middle’, OIr. *i-mmedōn* ‘in medio’, Skt. *mādhyā-*, OAv. *maidīia-*, YAv. *maidīia-* ‘middle’, Gr. μέσος, μέσσοσ [adj.] ‘middle’, OIc. *miðr*, OHG *mitti* [adj.] ‘located in the middle’.

Lat. *dīmidius* < **dis-medi-*. Wachter 2004: 377 explains *medioxumus* as **medio-* + **ksomo-* ‘earth’ < **d^hg^homo-*, but there is no evidence that PIE **d^hg^h* 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 **-d^hi* occurs as a recognizable suffix in some adverbs of place (Skt. *ādhi* ‘on’, Gr. *-ὄτι*), 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. *smjor* [n.], OE *smeoro*, OHG *smero* ‘fat’ < **smerua-*.

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. **meix(j)e-*, **(-)ming-e/o-*.

PIE pr. **h₃meiǵ^h-(i)e-*, pr. **h₃mi-n-ǵ^h-* ‘to urinate’. IE cognates: Skt. *áva mehanti* [3p.act.] ‘they piss’, *amiham* [1s.aor.], *mehayati* [caus.], *mihé* [inf.], Av. *maēza-*, Gr. ὀμείχω, Lith. *mỹžti*, Latv. *mīzt*, SCr. *mīžati* ‘to urinate’, Sln. *m(ə)zėti* ‘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 **h₃meiǵ^h-*.

mel, mellis 'honey' [n. /] (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' < **mēlit*, **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', μάλλον 'more, rather' (for *μέλλον?), μάλιστα 'mostly, quite especially'.

The PIE etymology is weak, since Gr. μάλα shows no trace of an *e*-grade, and the root is not attested in other derivatives. Words for 'good' can have many origins, and are frequently renewed. Alternatively, one might connect μέλω 'be anxious, care for', Hit. *māl* 'mind', CLuw. *māl-* 'thought, idea' < **mol-* (Kloekhorst 2008: 545f.).

Bibl.: WH II: 63, EM 394f., IEW 720 → *mulier*, *multus*

membrum 'body part, limb, member' [n. *o*] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: *membrātīm* '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. *māmsá-* 'meat', *māms-pácanī-* [adj.f.] 'used for cooking meat', *mās* [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. *mīesa*, OCS *měso*, Ru. *mjásò* 'meat' < **mēms-om*; CS *mězdra* 'inner side of a rind', Ru. *mězdrá* 'inner side (of hide)', OPo. *miqzdra*, *mięzdra* '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*

meminī ‘to remember’ [v. pf.] (Naev.+; ipv. *mementō*)

Derivatives: *commeminnisse* ‘to remember’ (Pl.+), *comminnīscī* [pf. *commentus sum*] ‘to think up, invent, feign’ (Pl.+), *recomminnīscī* ‘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.+), *inmemorābilis* ‘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.

Plt. pf. **me-mon-*, **me-mn-*, ppa. **me-mn-os-*, ppp. **mn-to-*, pr. **men-i(e)-*; It. cognates: maybe Ven. *metlon* ‘offering’ if from **men-ilo-*; maybe O. *memnim* [acc.sg.] ‘?’ < **me-m(e)n-i(H)o-*.

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’ < PCI. **manje/o-*; Skt. *mānyate* [pr.] ‘to think, believe, consider’, *āmata* [3s.aor.med.], *-mamnāte* [3d.pf.med.], *matā-* ‘thought, regarded as’; Av. *mainiia-* ‘to invent, think’; Gr. *μαίνομαι* ‘to rage’, pf. *μέμωνα*, pl. *μέμαμεν* ‘to intend to’, Gr. *-ματος* ‘thought’; Lith. *miñti* ‘to recall’, *minėti*, 3s. *mini* ‘to mention’, OCS *mněti* ‘to think’, Is. *mnjō*, 3s. *mnit* < **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.), *mendīcītās* 'destitution' (Pl.+), *mendīcāre* 'to beg, be a begger' (Pl.+), *mendīcābulum* 'a beggar's instrument' (Pl.+), *mendīculus* 'beggarly' (Pl.).

PIt. **m(e)ndo-/ā-*.

IE cognates: OIr. *mennar* 'blemish' (< **mend-rā-*), *mind* 'sign, mark' (< **mṛdu?*), W. *mann* 'place', *mann geni* 'birthmark'; Hit. *mant-* 'something harming', Lyd. *mētti-* (something negative), Lyc. *mēte-* 'harm' < **mond-* (?).

Probably, *menda* is based on the old plural of *mendum*, even if *menda* is attested somewhat earlier. If OIr. *mind* is cognate, we have an Italo-Celtic correspondence **m(e)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-d'h₁-* '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. ī] (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.+); *mentīri* 'to lie' (Pl.+), *ēmentīri* 'to falsify, invent' (Pl.+).

PIt. **mṛti-*.

PIE **mn-ti-* [f.] 'thought, mind'. IE cognates: Skt. *mati-* [f.] 'thought, mind', Av. **maiti-*, Lith. *mintis* 'thought, idea', OCS *pamętb* '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.+).

PIt. **messā-* '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** < PIt. **menssa-* (Meiser 1986: 77) is cognate with *mēnsa*, its phonological form would show that the analogical participle 'measured' had already been formed in PIt. (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. *mās-* [m.] ‘moon, month’, OAv. *mā* [nom.sg.] /*maHah/*, YAv. *māh-* ‘moon’, *māṅha-* [m.] ‘moon, month’, **māhiia-* ‘monthly’, OP *māh-* ‘month’; Gr. (Att.) *μήν* [m.], gen.sg. *μηνός* ‘moon’, Ion. *μείς* [m.], Lesb. *μήννος* [gen.sg.]; Lith. *mėnuo* (gen.sg. *mėnesio*) , Lith. *mėnesis* ‘moon, month’, Latv. *mēness* ‘moon’ < **meh₁n-es-*; OCS *měsęcb* ‘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 Ilr., 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 *muñd* ‘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*

meō, -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.+); *sēmīta* [f.] ‘side-path, track, pavement’ (Pl.+), *sēmītātīm* ‘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. *vi mayante* 'they alternate', *ápa mayeta*, 'he should loan', *máyas-* 'refreshment, enjoyment', YAv. *fra-mita-* 'changed', *maiiāh-* [n.] 'satisfaction, pleasure'; Gr. *ἀμείβω* (< **h₂mei-g^h-*) 'to exchange, change'; Lith. *mít* 'to exchange'; Lith. *maĩnas* 'exchange'; OCS *měna* 'exchange, change'; OCS *minŏti*, 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.*mei-. → *moenia*, *mīmus*

merda 'dung, excrement' [f. *ā*] (Hor.+)

Plt. **(s)merd-ā-*.

PIE **smerd-h₂-* 'stench'. IE cognates: Lith. *smirdėti*, 3s. *smirdi* / *smirda* 'to stink' < **smrd-*, *smardas*, Latv. *smārds* '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.+), *immetitō* 'unjustly' (Pl.+), *immetitō* '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., MĪr. *mart* [o], *mairt* [i] 'death fate', MW *marth* 'untimely death', OW *marth* 'wonder', Co. *marth*, Bret. *marzh* 'miracle' < **mr^h-sto*, *-sti-*; Gr. *μείρομαι* 'receive one's share', pf. Aeol. *ἐμμορε* 'participate' < **sé-smor-e*, Ion. *εἴμαρται* < **sé-smr^h-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 **mṛ-to-* ‘received as one’s share’; this would be a close match to the Celtic words **mṛ-sto/i-* discussed by Schrijver 2004. A derivation from I. *(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 **h₂mer/lǵ-* ‘to wipe’ (Skt. *marj-*, Av. *marz-*, Gr. ὀμόργνυμι ‘to wipe’ maybe Gr. ἀμέλω ‘to milk’), since the semantic connection is not straightforward. Lat. *mergae* and Gr. ἀμέργω may continue a separate PIE root **h₂merǵ-*, 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.+).

PIt. **mezge/q-*.

PIE **mesg-e/o-* ‘to sink, wash’. IE cognates: Skt. *mājanti* [3p.pr.] ‘to sink, plunge under’; Lith. *māzgóti*, Latv. *mazgāt* ‘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.).

PIt. **mesVlā-* ‘blackbird’.

IE cognates: W. *mwyalch* ‘blackbird’, Bret. *moualc’h* < PBrit. **mijalx* < **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-*, **amale/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. **-meti?*

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', *smāt* 'together', Av. *maṭ* '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+), *cōmmētīrī* 'to pace out, measure' (Pl.+), *dīmētīrī* 'to measure out, weigh out' (Pl.+), *permētīrī* 'to traverse, measure exactly' (Pl.+); *ensor* [m.] 'land-surveyor, measurer' (Lucil.+), *immēnsus* 'immeasurable' (Lucret.+).

PIt. **mēti-*.

PIE **meh₁-ti-* 'measurement'. IE cognates: Gr. -μῆτις 'wisdom, skill', OE *mæd* f. 'measure' < **meh₁-ti-* 'measuring'; Skt. *mīmīte* [3s.med.], *mīmīhi* [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. *maīia-* 'to measure', *māta-* 'formed'; Ru. *méra*, Sln. *měra* '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. *mėsti*, 1s. *metù* 'to throw', Lith. *mėtas* 'year, time', *mātas* 'measure'; CS *mesti* 'to throw, sweep' (1sg. *metǫ*), Ru. *mestí* 'to sweep'. Unrelated: Hit. *ānš-*, *hane/išš-^{zi}* 'to wipe', CLuw. *am(ma)šša-* / *am(ma)šši(ia)-* 'to wipe' < **h₂(o)mh₁-s-*, *hamešha-* 'spring, time of harvest' < **h₂meh₁-sh₂o-*, Gr. ἄμν

‘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, *messai* replaced **messi* on the model of its antonym *serui* ‘I sowed’. The root etymology is disputed. Schrijver hesitantly posits a root *h₂m- with different suffixes: *h₂m-et- in *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* (*metui*, *metutum*) ‘to be afraid of, fear’ (Pl.+), *praemetuere* ‘to dread in advance’ (Lucr.+); *metūliculōsus* ‘apprehensive, awful’ (Pl.+).

Plt. **met-u-*.

Lat. *metūliculōsus* was formed on the basis of *periculōsus* ‘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 than the traditional connection with Gr. (σ)μικρός ‘small’. Semantically, I see no objections.

Bibl.: WH II: 85, EM 402, IEW 966f. → *micō*

micō, -āre ‘to quiver, dart, flash’ [v. I; pf. *micui*] (Enn.+)

Derivatives: *dimicāre* ‘to fight, contend’ (Sis.+), *emicāre* ‘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 ?*mei^(k)h₂-.

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. *migrō-.

PIE *h₂mi-g^w-ro- 'changing'. IE cognates: Gr. ἀμείβω 'to change', ἀμοιβός 'changing', ἀμοιβή 'change'.

Probably a denominal verb to *migrō-, which can be a ro-adj. to the same stem *h₂mig^w- as reflected in Gr. ἀμείβω. A labiovelar suffix is rare in PIE.

Bibl.: WH II: 86, EM 402, IEW 713, Schrijver 1991: 20, LIV *h₂meig^h-. → meō

mīles, -itis 'soldier' [m. i] (Pl.+; /mīless/ Pl. *Aul.*528)

Derivatives: *militāre* 'to serve as a soldier' (Pl.+), *militāris* 'of the army, of soldiers' (Pl.+), *militārius* 'soldierlike' (Pl.); *militia* 'military service' (Pl.+).

Mīles 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 **mīlit-* to **mīlit-* by analogy with the other nouns); or, if the literal meaning of the suffix -it- was already opaque, 'thousand-man'.

Bibl.: WH II: 87, EM 402. → mille

mīlium 'millet' [n. o] (Cato+)

Derivatives: *miliāria* 'bird fattened for eating, ortolan; dodder' (Varro+).

Plt. *meljo-?

PIE *mélh₂-i [n.]? IE cognates: Gr. μελίμη [f.] 'millet', Lith. *málnos* f. pl. 'kind of millet'.

If from **meliom* with *i*-mutation (of the type *nihil, similis*), *mīlium* can be cognate with Gr. μελίμη. 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. *millia, mīlia*, gen. *mīlium*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *miliārium* 'milestone, column, vessel' (Cato+), *miliārius* 'of a thousand, belonging to the thousands' (Varro+), *mīliē(n)s* [adv.] 'a thousand times' (Pl.+).

Plt. **smīxeslī*.

PIE **sm-ih₂-ǵ^hes-l-ih₂* 'having one thousand'. IE cognates: Skt. *sahásra-*, Av. *hazaŋra-* < Ilr. **saj^hasra-* < PIE **sm-ǵ^héslo-* 'having one thousand'; Gr. χίλιοι, Ion. χεῖλιοι, Aeol. χέλλιοι 'thousand' < PGr **k^hehlijō-* < PIE **ǵ^hesli(H)o-* 'of a thousand'.

Double *-ll-* in *mille* can be interpreted as indicating palatal *l*, not necessarily double **-ll-*. The mostly accepted etymology as **sm-ih₂-ǵ^hes-l-ih₂* 'one thousand' is based on the comparison with the Ilr. forms for 'thousand' which reflect **sm-ǵ^hes-lo-*, and with the Greek form. Adjectival **ǵ^hes-lo-* 'heap' was substantivised to f. *ǵ^heslih₂-*, and 'one' consequently acquired the f. form. Meiser 1998 posits a phonetic development from **sm-ih₂-ǵ^hes-l-ih₂* > Plt. **smīxeslī* > **mīhēli* > **mīhīle* > *mille*. He attributes final short **-i* in Plt. to loss of the final laryngeal in **-ih₂*, but this development is not certainly attested (its reconstruction for the *ā*-stems is uncertain). Alternatively, Plt. 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.).

Plt. **(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.).

Plt. **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-ueh₂-* 'provided with a mind, intelligent'. It was proposed by Rix 1981: 117ff., who posited a sound law *-*su-* > Latin -*rv-*, also for *acervus*, *protervus*, *caterva* and *furvus*. Since the deity *Menerva* is attested in Etruscan from the sixth c. onwards, the sound law must have taken place before that time. Rix admits that beside Latin, also Faliscan and Umbrian qualify as possible sources for the Etruscan word, and hence for **su* > *rv*. The raising of **men-* to *min-* is regarded as irregular, but in view of the same problem found in *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*, -*oris* [n.] 'smaller number, less' (Pl.+), *minus* [adv.] 'less', *minusculus* 'somewhat smaller' (Pl.+), *minu/imus* 'smallest, least' (Pl.+), *mīscellus* '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.+); *ministrāre* 'to assist, perform' (Pl.+), *administer* 'helper' (Varro+), *ministra* 'female helper' (Varro+); (2) *minuere* [*minuī*, *minūtum*] 'to reduce in size, lessen' (Pl.+), *minūtus* 'small, short' (Pl.+), *minūtulus* 'very small' (Pl.+), *minūtum* 'gradually' (Cato+), *minūtātum* 'id.' (Varro+); *comminuere* 'to break into pieces, smash' (Pl.+), *dēminuere* 'to diminish, deduct' (Pl.+), *dēminūtiō* 'reduction, deduction' (Varro+), *imminuere* 'to diminish, reduce' (Pl.+).

PIt. **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-u-* 'small, little', comp. **meih₁-iōs-*, -*is-* 'less', **mi-n(e)-h₁-* 'to make less' >> **mi-n(e)-u-*. IE cognates: Skt. *mināti*, *minānti* 'to damage, diminish', Gr. μείων 'smaller', μινύθω 'to disappear, to lessen'; OCS *mъnjii* 'smaller, lesser, younger', *mъnjъši* [f.], *mъnje* [n.], Ru. *mén'sij* [m.] 'smaller, lesser, younger' < **mi-n-i(e/o)s-jo-*, Go. *mins* 'less', *minniza* 'smaller, lesser' < **minūiza-*; ToB *maiwe* 'small, young'.

Lat. *minimus*, *minister* (< **minos-tero-*) are derived from **minōs*, -*os-* by means of productive processes. Lat. *mīscellus* < **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 **miŋu-(j)e-* 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 I. **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 *smær(e)* 'lips', *gāl-smær(e)* 'inclined to laughter' < PGm. **smairja-*, OE *smæran* 'to mock'; Skt. *smáyate* 'smiles', Gr. φίλο-μμειδής 'who likes to laugh', Latv. *smiēt* 'to laugh', OCS *smijati se*, ToB *smiyām* '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*

miscēō '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 **mik-sk-e/o-*. IE cognates: OIr. *mescaid* 'mixed, confuses', W. (*cy-*)*mysgaf* 'I mix'; Skt. *mīcchamāna-* [ptc.med.] 'vivid', *meksáyati* 'to mingle, stir', *mimikṣú-* 'desiring for mixing [with milk] (of Soma)', *mīsrá-* 'mixed, blended'; Gr. μείγνυμι 'to mingle, mix', μίσγω 'id.', aor.ps. μύγηται, Lith. *mīšras* 'mixed, blended', *maišýti*, 3s. *maišo* 'to mix', OCS *měsiti* 'to mingle, mix' < **moik-*; 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 **miscē/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. **mixxī* < **misk-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 **mejk-*.

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’ (Duenos₂inscr., Tibur base)

PIt. **mīto-* ‘exchanged’.

PIE *(*h₂*)*mi(H)-to-*.

Lat. *mitat* /*mīt(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.+); *commītīgāre* ‘to soften’ (Ter.).

PIt. **mīti-*.

PIE **m(e)h₁i-ti-* ‘soft’. IE cognates: W. *mwydion* ‘soft parts’ < **meit-* < **meh₁i-ti-*, OIr. *mīn* ‘soft’ < **miHni-* < **mh₁i-ni-*, W. *mwyn* ‘tender, mild’, Bret. *moan* ‘thin, fine’ < PCI. **meino/ā/i-* < **meh₁i-n-*; Skt. *māyas-* ‘refreshment, enjoyment’, YAv. *maīyah-* [n.] ‘satisfaction, pleasure’ < **meiH-os-*, OPr. *mijls*, Lith. *miélas*, Latv. *mīļš* ‘nice, sweet, dear’, OCS *milь* ‘pitiable’, Ru. *milyj* ‘sweet, dear’ < **m(e)iH-lo-*.

Possibly, PIIt. **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', *mōiθaṭ* '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) *modō* 'just, only' (Pl.+), *admodum* 'to a great extent, completely' (Naev.+), *commodum* 'even now, just' (Pl.+), *praemodum* 'exceedingly' (Andr.+), *quōmodō* '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.+), *moderātīm* '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+).

Plt. **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' < **medesuo-*; (2) O. **meddiss**, **meddis**, *meddis* [nom.sg.], $\mu\epsilon\delta\epsilon\kappa\omicron\nu$ [acc.sg.], **medikeis** [gen.sg.], **medikei** [dat.sg.], **medikid** [abl.sg.], **meddiks**, $\mu\epsilon\delta\delta\epsilon\iota\zeta$ [nom.pl.], Marr. *medix*, Mars. *medis*, *meddiss* [nom.sg.], Pael. *medix*, Vol. *medix* [nom.pl.] 'local official, magistrate, judge' < **med(-V(s))-dik-* 'saying law'; O. $\mu\epsilon\delta\epsilon\kappa\omicron\nu$ [acc.sg.] 'female *meddix*'; O. **meddikkiai**, **meddikiai**, **medikkiai**, $\mu\epsilon\delta\iota\kappa\iota\alpha\iota$ [loc.sg.] 'the office of *meddix*' < **meddik-iā-*; O. *medicim* [acc.sg.], *meddixud* [abl.sg.], $\mu\epsilon\delta\delta\iota\kappa\epsilon\nu$ [loc.sg. + *en*] 'office and/or place of the *meddix*' < **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. $\mu\eta\delta\epsilon\alpha$ 'counsels, plans', Arm. *mit* 'thought' < **mēd-os-*.

Schrijver rejects the earlier explanation of *modus* < **mod-o-* on the strength of O. **meddiss** < **med(V)-dik-*. In his view, **medo-* turned to Lat. **modo-* phonetically, and similarly in the nom.sg. of the *s*-stem **med-os* > **modos*. The rounded vowel then spread in the *s*-stem paradigm. To his advantage one may adduce the fact that U. *meřs* can be the nom.sg. of the *m*. *o*-stem **medo-*; but O. **meddiss** may contain a root noun **med-*. A conclusive argument in favour of **medo-* may be that **modo-* would regularly yield **mado-*, at least, by Schrijver's rules. From the *s*-stem, Latin *modestus* < **medes-to-* was derived (matched by U. *mersto-*), as well as *moderāre* < **medes-ā-*. The \bar{e} -grade in Greco-Armenian **mēd-os-* can stem from the verb, cf. Gr. $\mu\eta\delta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$. 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: *moenire*, *mūnire* 'to fortify, safeguard' (Lex XII+; *moen-* in Pl.), *mūnitiō* 'defence work, fortification' (Sis.+); *admoenire* 'to besiege' (Pl.+), *circummoefūnire* 'to surround with a wall' (Pl.+), *commoefūnire* 'to surround with fortifications' (Pl.+).

Plt. **moini-* 'protective wall'.

PIE **(H)moi-ni-* 'construction'? IE cognates: OIr. *do-dimen** 'to fix, tie' < PCl. **mi-nu-*, Skt. pr. *minotu* [3s.ipv.act.], aor. *ameṣṭa* [3s.med.], pf. *vi mīmāya*, ta-ptc. *mitá-* 'to fix, establish, build', YAv. *bərəzi-mita-* 'highly built'; Latv. *miet* '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. *mei-. → *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-je-* 'to labour', **mel-e/os-* [n.] 'trouble'.

PIE **mel-e/os-* [n.], **mōl(-o)-* .

There is a slight possibility that *molestus* reflects **mōlesto-* with pretonic shortening of *-*VH-* in front of a resonant. More likely is an original *s*-stem **melos, -es* 'trouble, obstacle' > **molos*, from which *mo-* was introduced into **melesto-* (thus Schrijver 1991: 469f.). The absence of unrounding to **malesto-* confirms this analysis. This also discredits an origin as **m(e)h₃-l-* (thus LIV), which would not yield 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', μῶλος '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.+), *mollire* '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. *mṛdu-* 'delicate, soft', Gr. *βλαδύς 'powerless' (in βλαδεῖς Hsch.) The appurtenance of the Gr. forms is uncertain.

Mollis < **molwi-* < **mollwi-* < **moldui-* < **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-* > **moldu-sko-* > *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+), *moletrina* '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’ < PCI. **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. *maļt* ‘to grind, mill’ < **molH-*, OCS *mlěti*, Ru. *molót*, Is. *meljú* ‘to grind, mill’ < **mlH-*, **melH-*, Go. *malan* < **molH-*. Skt. *mṛṇāti*, *mṛṇāti* ‘to crush, grind’ < **ml/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. *lemele-* 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.+); *Monētia* ‘title of Juno; temple where money was coined’ (Andr.+).

Pit. **moneje-*. It. cognates: maybe SPic. **múfqlúm** [nom.sg.?] if ‘monument’.

PIE **mon-eiē-* ‘to make think of, remind’. IE cognates: Skt. *mānáyati* ‘to honour, respect’, OAv. *mānaiia-*, YAv. *maṇaiian* [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.+)

Plt. **monjo-* 'neck'.

PIE **mon-i-* 'neck'. IE cognates: OIc. *muin* [f.] 'upper part of the back between shoulders and neck', MW *mwn*, OBret. *mun* 'neck' < PCI. **moni-*, OIr. *muinēl*, MW *mwnwgył* 'neck' < **moni-klo-*; Skt. *mānyā-* [f.] 'neck', *maṇi-* [m.] 'ornament carried around the neck', YAv. *zarənu-maini-* 'with a golden neck-ornament' (an epithet of a vulture), *pairi-māniia-* 'neck-protection', *manaōθrī-* [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 *-li*-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 Plt. **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.+); *prōmuntūōrium* 'headland, promontory, spur' (Pac.+).

Plt. **monti-*.

PIE **mon-ti-* 'protrusion, height'. IE cognates: W. *mynydd*, OCo. *menit*, OBret. *monid* 'mountain' < **mon-io-*; Av. *maiti-* 'mountain, height' < **mn-ti-*; OIc. *mōnir* 'ridge of a roof' < **mōni-*, *mæna* 'to tower'.

The meaning of *prōmuntūōrium* 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.+).

Plt. **morH-ā-* 'delay'.

PIE **morh₂-*. IE cognates: OIr. *maraid*, **mair* 'lasts, remains' < PCI. **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 Plt. – 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.).

Plt. **mor-fo-*?

PIE **mor-b^ho-*?

Morbus cannot continue an adj. in **-id^ho-*, such as *acerbus* ‘sour’, since **morīþo-* would normally yield **moridus*. Thus, the suffix is more likely to be PIE **-b^ho-*, 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-b^ho-* 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. *sām-marditoḥ* [inf.] ‘to crush’, *mṛditá-* ‘smashed, crushed’, OAv. *mōrandaṭ* (< **mṛ-n-d-*) [3s.pr.inj.act.] ‘to ruin, crush’, OP *vimardatiy* [pr.], *viyamarda* [ipf.] ‘to crush’; Gr. ἀμείρω ‘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. ἤμειρα).

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.).

Plt. **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-^{z1}/* 'to disappear, vanish' < **mer-/***mr-*, *marnu-^{z1}* 'to make disappear'; Skt. pr. *mriyáte* (< **mr-ie-*), aor. *mar-/mṛ-*, pf. *mamāra*, caus. *mārāyati* 'to kill', *martave* [inf.] 'to die', *mṛtá-* 'died, dead', *a-mṛta-* (< **ṛ-mṛto-*) 'immortal'; YAv. *miriia-* 'to die', *mərətā-* 'died', *aməša-* 'immortal'; Gr. (Hsch.) *ἐμoptεν* [3s.ipf.act.] 'died', *ἄμβροτος* 'immortal'; Arm. *meṛani-* 'to die'; Go. *maurþr* 'murder'; Lith. *mir̃ti* 'to die', OCS *mrěti* 'to die', *mьrtvь*, Ru. *měrtvyj*, SCr. *mrtav* 'dead'.

Morticīnus might be based on an earlier adj. **mortiko-*. The change of PIE **mr̥tu-* to **mr̥tuuo-* (conditioned by *t*?) was Plt. judging by Ven. **murtuvo-**. The formation of **mr̥tu-* 'dead' for PIE **mr̥to-* (as in Slavic) may be due to a contamination with **mr̥uo-* 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.+)

Plt. **morto-*?

PIE **mr-to-* 'crushed'? IE cognates: Hit. *marr̥ije/a-^{ta(ri)}*, *marr̥a^{ta(ri)}-* 'to melt (down), dissolve, boil' < **me/orH-je-*; Skt. pr. *prá ni mṛñhi* [2s.ipv.act.], *mṛṇa-* 'to grab, crush', Gr. *μάρναμαι* 'to fight, battle', *μαραίνω* 'to quench, destroy', OIc. *merja* 'to hit, destroy'.

Could be based on a Plt. 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 **mr̥h₂-*, 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.+), *morigerātīō* 'indulgence' (Afran.); *mōrōsus* 'hard to please' (Pl.+).

Plt. **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), *dēmōvēre* 'to divert, remove' (Pl.+), *dīmovēre* 'to cleave, part' (Lucr.+), *ēmōvēre* 'to remove, expel' (Pl.+), *obmovēre* 'to offer up' (Cato+), *prōmovēre* 'to propel, push forward' (Ter.+), *removēre* 'to remove, banish' (Pl.+), *summōvēre* '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)ōtal* '?' < **kom-mow-e/i-to-* 'moved'.

PIE **m(i)euH₁-* [aor.] 'to move'. IE cognates: Hit. *mauⁱ* / *mu-*, *maušš-* 'to fall' < **mouh₁-* / **muh₁-*, *mum(m)ija/e^{zi}* < **mumaiⁱ* < **mh₁u-oi-*; Skt. pr. *-mīvantī-* [ptc.act.f.] 'pushing down', ps. *-mīvyamāna-* [ptc.] (< PIE **mih₁-u-*), ° *mūta-* (< **muh₁-tó-* < **m₁juh₁-tó-*) in *kāma-mūta-* 'impelled by love', Av. *a-muiiamna-* 'motionless', YAv. *aiua.mīuua-* 'to clear away', Khot. *mvīr-* 'to move'; Lith. *māučyti* 'to bathe', Latv. *maūt* 'submerge, swim', *maudāt* 'bathe' < **mouH-*, OCS *myti* 'to wash' < **muH-*; ToB *mīw-*, 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 *rūsus*, *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. **maweje-* < PIE **mouH-eie* (cf. Vine 2006a), or from other stative presents in **-ē-je-*.

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 **mieuh₁-*. → *suō*

mox 'soon' [adv.] (Pl.+)

PIt. **moks(u)*.

PIE **moK(-)s̃(-)* 'soon'. IE cognates: OIr. *mó* [adv.], *mos-* [prev.] 'soon', MW *moch* 'soon'; Skt. *makṣū* '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 IIr. 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', *ἀμυχί* 'rent, wound', *ἄμυγμα* 'rending'; *ἀμυκάλαι* 'arrow-tips', *ἀμύσχεσθαι* 'to scratch the flesh with one's nails' (Hsch.); Lith. *mūšti*, 3s. *mūša* 'to beat', Latv. *mustavas* [nom.pl.] 'warping beam'.

The vowel length of *mu-* is disputed: the syllable is long in OLat. poetry, which seems to point to *mū|crō*. The appurtenance of Lith. *mūšti* 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 **me/ouk-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*, *mūcyate*, aor. *āmugdhvam* [2p.med.ath.], *āmucat* [3s.act.them.] 'to release, set free', YAv. *fra-muxti-* [f.] 'binding loose (shoes)', *paiti.šmuxta-* [adj.] 'wearing shoes', Gr. *μύσσομαι* 'to blow one's nose', *μυκτήρ*, *-ῆρος* [m.] 'nostril', *μύξα* 'slime, mucus', *μύζων* [m.] 'kind of mullet'; Lith. *maūkti* 'to pull, peel, skin', *mūkti*, 3s. *mūnka* 'to walk away', *smūkti* 'to glide (off)', Po. *smukać* 'to brush', Ru. (dial.) *smýkat* 'to milk'; Cz. *mknouti* 'to move', SCr. *màknuti* 'move' < PSl. **mьknoti*.

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': Mlr. *mocht* 'weak' < **muk-to-*; Oic. *mjúkr*, Latv. *mukls* 'marshy'.

Bibl.: WH I: 402f., EM 417, 421, IEW 744f., LIV **meuk-*.

mūgiō, *-īre* 'to low, moo, bellow' [v. IV] (Varro+)

Derivatives: *mūginārī* '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-*, ^{GIS}*mūkar-* / *mukn-* 'noisy instrument, rattle' < **meug-r*, **mugnos*; Gr. *μῦκάομαι* 'to low, bellow', *μύζω* 'to mutter, moan', Lith. *mūkiù*, *mūkti* 'bellow', Ru. *myčát*, 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. *mulsi*] (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)lk̑-eie- 'to touch repeatedly'. IE cognates: Skt. pr. *mṛśáse* [2s.med.], s-aor. *mṛkṣata*, pf. *māmṛśúr*, 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 **h*₂- for PIE because of a possible connection with **h*₂melǵ- 'to milk' (then **h*₂ml-ǵ/k-). This is possible, but unproven.

Bibl.: WH II: 120f., EM 418, IEW 724, Untermann 2000: 484, LIV *Hmelǵ-.

mulgeō 'to milk' [v. II; pf. *mulsi*, ppp. *mulctum*] (Cato+)

Derivatives: *immulgēre* 'to milk (into)' (Andr.+); *prōmulgāre* 'to make widely known' (Cic.+); *mulctra* / -um [f./n.] 'milking-pail' (Verg.+).

Plt. **molgeje-*.

PIE **h*₂mlǵ-eie- 'to milk'. IE cognates: OI. *mligid** 'to milk' < PCI. **mlige/o-* < **h*₂mlǵ-; Gr. ἀμῆλω 'to milk', Alb. *mjel*, Lith. *mélžu* < **h*₂mlǵ-, OCS *mľbzq* < **h*₂mlǵ-, OHG *melchan*, OE *melcan*, ToA *mālkant* (ptc.).

Originally a PIE iterative pr. 'to milk'; in view of the OI. 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 **h*₂melǵ-.

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* >> **muliēr* > *mulier*. The older etymology (Sommer 1914: 454, WH, IEW) interprets *mulier* as an original comparative to the stem of *mollis* 'soft, weak', namely as **m̥l-ies-ī*; more correct would be **m̥ld-ies-ī*, but this would yield **mollierī* > **mullier* with a palatal *l*. Klingenschmitt 1992: 130 proposes a comparative to the stem of *melior* 'better': **m̥l-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)

Plt. **molwo-*.

PIE **ml-uo-?* IE cognates: Lith. *mul̃vas* '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. *mēl̥ns* 'black') since Plt. **melano-* would not yield Lat. *mullus*; he proposes **ml-uo-* instead.

Bibl.: WH II: 122f., EM 419, IEW 720f.

multus 'numerous, many' [adj. *o/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+).

Plt. **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. *múltasikad* [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. μόλα 'very, quite', μάλλον '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).

Plt. **musklo-* / **mukslo-*.

IE cognates: Gr. μύκλος 'lascivious; pack-mule', μυγλός 'Phocaeen name of a breeder-ass' (Hsch.) < **μυκοσλός*, 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).

Plt. **mudno-*?

PIE **mud-no-* 'happy'? IE cognates: Skt. *múd-* [f.] 'joy, delight', *móda-* [m.] 'joy, delight', *módate* 'to be happy', Lith. *mudr̥is*, 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* 'toilet' are identical, but semantically, they seem close enough. A woman's toilet can be interpreted as her 'equipment', which may be derived from 'world'. The Latin usage may have been influenced by Gr. κόσμος 'order; ornament, jewelry'. The etymology is unknown: the connection with Etruscan *mund-* cannot be established as long as its meaning is unknown.

Bibl.: WH II: 127f., EM 420f.

mūnus, -eris 'function, task, duty' [n. r] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *mūnusculum* 'small gift' (Pl.+), *mūnerāre* 'to bestow' (Pl.+), *mūnerālis* 'relating to the giving of presents' (Pl.+), *mūnerigerulus* 'bearer of presents' (Pl.); *moelūnia, -ōrum* 'duties, functions' (Pl.+); *commūnis* 'common, general' (Naev.+; OLat. *comoin-*), *moelūnis* 'obliged, indebted' (Pl.+), *commūnitus* [adv.] 'jointly' (Varro), *commūnicāre* 'to share, communicate' (Pl.+); *mūniceps, -ipis* 'native, citizen 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. **múimkú, múinik.** [nom.sg.f.], **muinikam** [acc.sg.f.], **múmikad** [abl.sg.f.], **múiní[kúm]** [nom.acc.sg.n.], **múimkei** [loc.sg.n.] 'common' < **mōin-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. *meni-* '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/h₂-*.

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.**mej-*. → *meō, migrō, moenia, mūtūus*

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. *mūrmura-* [m.] 'crackling fire', -ā [f.] name of a river, *marmara-* 'roaring', Gr. *μoρμύρω* 'roar and boil', Arm. *mīmṛ-am*, -*im* (< **mūrmur-*), Lith. *murmėti*, *murm(D)ėnti* 'to grumble, murmur', Cz. *mrmrati*, SCr. *mṛmṛati*, Bulg. *mārmórja* 'id.' < PSl. **mǝrm(ǝ)rati*, Ru. *mormúlit'* (dial.) 'grumble, chatter', SCr. *mṛmljiti* 'to mumble, grumble' < PSl. **mǝrm-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'.

Pomērium < **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.**mei-*. → *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.+), *mūstēlinus* '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. *mūś-* 'mouse, rat', YAv. *mūš-* [f.] 'name of a Pairikā', Gr. *μῦς* 'mouse', OHG *mūs*; OCS *myšb*, Sln. *miš* 'mouse' < PSl. **mýšb*; ToB *mašcītse** 'mouse, rat' < PTo. **māst'ātse* < **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. *mūstricula* < **mūstro-ke-lā-* according to Schaffner, which would be due to the comparison of a shoemaker's last with the teeth of a

weasel. This seems convincing. The use of the dim. for the weasel can be due to its small size compared with other similar animals (marten, polecat) or because it was domesticated and used as a pet animal (Schaffner 2006a: 39).

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.+)

Plt. **musko/ā-*.

PIE **mu-s-*. IE cognates: Gr. *μῦα* < **μυσja* 'fly'; Arm. *mown*, Gen. *mnoy* 'mosquito', Alb. *myzë, mizë*; OPr. *muso*, Lith. *musė, muso*, Latv. *mūsa, muša* 'fly'; OCS *muxa*, Ru. *míxa*, Cz. *moucha* 'fly' < **mousā*, OCS *mšica* 'mosquito, locust', Ru. (dial.) *mšica* 'midge, gnats, small insects'; OIc. *mý* [n.] < **mūja-* 'mosquito', OE *mycg*, OS *muggia*, OHG *mucka*.

Quite possibly an onomatopoeic form **mu* for the humming sound which flies and mosquitoes make. The *s*-extension is found in Latin, BSl., Greek and Gm.

Bibl.: WH II: 133, EM 424, IEW 752.

mūscus 'moss' [m. *o*] (Cato+)

Derivatives: *muscōsus* 'mossy' (Varro+).

Plt. **mūsko-*.

PIE **mūs-ko-* 'moor, moss'. IE cognates: Lith. *mūsaĩ* [m.] / *mūsos* [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 / mūtō 'penis' [m. n] (Lucil.+)

Derivatives: *mūtō/ūnium* 'penis' (Lucil.+), *mū/ōetīnus* 'phallic' (Lucil.).

Plt. **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'(?), *nimuwīza-* [c.] 'child', Lyc. *muwēte-* 'descendance?'; Hit. *mūri-* 'bunch'; Gr. *μῦριος* [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. *μῦριος* '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.).

Plt. **mūto-*.

PIE **mū-to-*. IE cognates: Skt. *mūka-* 'dumb', *mūni-* [m.] 'ascetic, hermit', Gr. *μῦκος, μῦτις, μῦττός, μῦδος, μῦναρός*, Hsch. *μῦνδός* '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.), *mūtuitēr* 'reciprocally' (Varro); *mūtāre* 'to exchange, replace' (Pl.+), *mūtātīō* 'exchange, change' (Pl.+), *mūtābilitās* 'liability to change' (Lucret.+), *commūtāre* 'to change, alter' (Pl.+), *commūtābilis* 'variable' (Varro+), *commūtātīō* 'change, reversal' (Acc.+), *commūtātus, -ūs* 'change' (Lucret.), *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' (Lucret.+).

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 PIIt. **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 **mei₂th₂-*. → *meō*, *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. *aná* [adv.], *anána* [instr.sg.m.], *anáya* [instr.sg.f.], *anáyoṣ* [gen.loc.du.] 'through this', OAv. *aná* [instr.sg.], *anáiš* [instr.pl.], YAv. *ana* [instr.sg.], Arm. *ayn* 'ille', *na* 'is', *noyn* 'idem', Lith. *ánàs* 'that', OCS *онъ* '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*

nancīscor, -ī 'to acquire, get' [v. III; ppp. *nactum* >> *nānctum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *nanciō*, -ere / *nancor*, -ī 'to acquire' (Lex XII, Gracch., Fest.).

PIt. pr. **nank-(i-)*, ppp. **nak-to-*.

PIE pr. **h₂n-n-k-* 'to reach', pf. **h₂ne-h₂no(n)k-*, ppp. **h₂nk-to-*. IE cognates: OIr. *ar-ic** 'to decide', *do-ic** 'to come', *ro-ic** 'to reach', MW *renghi*, *rynghu* 'to reach', *kyfrang*, *kyfreing* 'meets, fights' < PCl. pr. **-an-n-ke/o-*, OIr. *ro-ánaic** [3s.pf.] 'to reach' < PCl. **-ānonk-*. Skt. pr. *áśnóti*, aor. *ánaṣ*, *naṣ*, *prá ṅak* [3s.inj.] (< IE **h₁é-h₂nek-i*), Skt. pf. *ānámsa* (< IE **h₂e-h₂no(n)k-e*) 'to reach, attain', Skt. ppp. *á-sam-aṣṭa-* 'not yet reached'; OAv. *frąštā* [3s.aor.med.], *frōsiīāt* / *fra aṣjāt* [3s.aor.opt.act.], *nāšāmā* [1p.s-aor.sb.] 'to reach', *ašta-* 'arrived', YAv. *auua.ašnaoiti* [pr.] 'to reach, hit'; Gr. *ποδ-ηλεκής* 'reaching down to the feet', *διηλεκής*, Att. *διᾱλεκής* '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)k̑-*. The Italo-Celtic nasal present **h₂n-n-k̑-* may have phonetically yielded Plt. **nank-* (Schrijver has a phonetic rule for this, cf. p. 491ff.), and if a concurring form pr. **h₂n-ne-k̑-* > ***anek-* ever existed, it was ousted with the support of the perfect **ānonk-*. The *a*-vocalism of the pr. Plt. **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 **h₂nek̑-*.

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.+).

Plt. **nās-* [f.], **nāsi-*, **nāso-* 'nose'.

PIE **Hneh₂-s-*, **Hnh₂-es-*, **Hnh₂-s-* 'nose'. IE cognates: Skt. *nas-* [f.] 'nose' (*nāsā* [nom.du.], *nasōs* [gen.du.], *nasi* ° [loc.sg.]), *nāsā-* [f.] 'nose', *nāsikā-* [f.] 'nose', *urūnasā-* 'with a broad nose', *pavīnasā-* 'with a nose like a rim', YAv. *nāṅha* [nom.acc.du.?], *nāṅhanaṭ* [abl.sg.] 'nose' (secondary *n*-stem), OP *nāham* [acc.sg.] 'nose'; Lith. *nósis*, Latv. *nāss* < **(H)neh₂-s-*, 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-)Plt. stem **nās-*, an *i*-stem and an *o*-stem. It appears that the PIE word was often used in the dual ('the nostrils'), and the dual of a f. root noun in PIE would have ended in nom.acc. **-h₁e* > Plt. **-e*. When the dual (lost in Latin) was reinterpreted as a plural, **nāse* may have been remade into **nāses* (with the regular pl. ending of C-stems) or **nāsoi* (as an *o*-stem). Other scenarios may be envisaged. The non-rhotacized *-s-* is difficult to explain, other than possibly being a remnant from pre-rhotacism times, from a different social layer. The PIE root cannot be identified with that of *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+).

Plt. **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* + **k₁nt-i* 'born with (from the same mother)'; Go. *-kunds* 'originating from', OIc. *kundr* 'son', OE *heofon-kund*, OIc. *ás-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 Plt. still had an ablauting suffix. Lat. *praegnās* is explained by Schwyzler 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.šg. 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 **ǵneh₁-*. → *nātīnor*

nassa 'fish-trap made of wickerwork' [f. *ā*] (Pl.+)

Plt. **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. *nāhya-* '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 **Hned^h-*. → *nōdus*

nātīnor, *-ārī* 'to be busy' [v. I] (Cato apud Fest.)

Derivatives: *natinatio dicebatur negotiatio et natinatores ex eo seditiosa negotia gerentes* (ibidem).

Plt. **gnāti-*.

PIE *ǵnh₁-ti- 'birth, production'.

A possible origin from *nāyātīnor 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) > Plt. *ǵnāti-, from which an adj. *ǵnātīno- '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.

Plt. *(g/s)nati-.

PIE *nHt-? IE cognates: Gr. *νότος* [n.] 'back; wide surface'.

The connection between *natis* and Gr. *νότος*, 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.

natrīx, -icis 'water-snake; penis' [f. *k*] (Lucil.+)

Plt. *(s)natriks.

PIE *(s)nh₁-tr-ih₂- 'who spins round [f.], snake'. IE cognates: OIr. *nathir*, gen.sg. *nathrach* 'adder, snake' < *natri-iek-, W. *neidr* 'snake' < *natri, Co. *nader*, MBret. *azr*, Bret. *aer*; Go. *nadre* [gen.pl.], Oic. *naōr* [m.], *naōra* [f.] 'adder' < *nh₁-tr-; OE *næddre*, OS *nādra*, OHG *nātara*, *nātra* [f.] 'adder' < *neh₁-tr-.

Derived from the root of *sneō* 'to spin'. For the outcome *nāt- < *(s)nHt-, cf. Schrijver 1991: 170f.

Bibl.: WH II: 147, EM 431, IEW 767, Schrijver 1991: 149, 169, LIV *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.+).

Plt. *nau-, *nāw-.

PIE *neh₂-u- 'ship'. IE cognates: OIr. *náu*, *nó* 'ship', Skt. *náu-* [f.] (nom.sg. *náus*, acc. *nāvam*, gen. *nāvás*), Khot. *no*, Oss. *naw/nawæ* 'boat' < Ilr. **naHu-*, Skt. *nāvya-*, YAv. *nāuu(a)ia-*, OP *nāviyā* [adj.f.] 'to be crossed only by boat' < Ilr. **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-k^we* 'and not'. It. cognates: O. *nep*, U. *nep* 'not' maybe < **ne-k^we*. 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-k^we*, Skt. *ná* 'not', *naca* 'and not', Lith. *nė*, Latv. *ne*, OCS *ne* 'not', Go. *ni* 'not' < **ne*, *nih* '(strongly) not' < **ne-k^we*.

Neque < **ne-k^we* '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*, *audin*.

PIt. **-ne*.

PIE **-ne*. IE cognates: Skt. *ná* 'as, like', Av. *yaθ-na* 'namely', Gr. Thess. *ὄνε*, *τόνε*, *τάνε*, OLith. *ne* 'as', Lith. *nė*, *nėgi*, *nėgu* 'than' (after comp.), *nei* 'as', Latv. *ne* 'than'; OCS, SCr. *neže* 'than' < **ne-g^we*.

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. *nī*, O. *neip*, *nip*, *nep*, U. *ne*, *neip* 'not' < **nē*, **nē-k^we*; Marr. *nipis* [nom.sg.], O. *ne.phim* [acc.sg.] 'nobody' < **nē* **k^wis*.

PIE **nē*. IE cognates: OIr. *nó*, W. *neu*, OBret. *nou* 'or' < **ne-ue*; 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 Plt. **nē-we* can be compared with Celtic **ne-ue* < PIE **ne-ue*, 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.+).

Plt. **nefelā-*.

PIE **neb^h-e-lo-* 'small cloud'. IE cognates: MW *nyfel* 'clouds', Gr. *νεφέλη* 'cloud', Oic. *nifl* 'darkness, haze', *njól* 'night', OHG *nebul*, OS *neþal* 'darkness, haze'.

Bibl.: WH II: 151, EM 434, IEW 315, Meiser 1998: 103, LIV 1.**neb^h-*. → *imber*, *nimbus*

nectō, -ere 'to weave, twine together' [v. III; pf. *nex(u)ī*, ppp. *nexum*] (Lex XII, Pl.+)

Derivatives: *nexilis* 'plaited, intertwined' (Varro+), *nexus, -ūs* 'binding, bond' (Lucret.+), *nexere* (also *-āre*) 'to bind, plait' (Andr.+); *adnectere* 'to tie on, attach' (Varro+), *cōnectere* 'to join, relate' (Pl.+), *cōnexus, -ūs* 'connection' (Lucret.+), *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. *nāhyanti* 'to bind together', *sām-naddha-* 'bound together' (RV+), *upānāh-* [f.] 'shoe, sandal', YAv. *naska-* 'collection of texts', *naða-* 'headgear' < Ir. **Hnad^h-*. This remains a remote possibility since there is no evidence for **-d^h-* in Latin. An alternative etymology would be to connect *nectō* with the root **h₂nk-* 'to reach' (see s.v. *nancīscor*), for which LIV reconstructs a root aorist **h₂nek-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 155f., EM 435, IEW 758f. → *flectō, plectō*

nefronēs, 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'.

Plt. **nex^hron-*.

PIE **neg^{wh}-ro-* 'kidney'. IE cognates: Gr. *νεφροί* 'kidneys', OHG *nioro*, Oic. *nýra*, OSwe. *nūire* 'kidney' < PGm. **neurōn-*.

The Latin evidence points to *o*-vocalism: **nefron(d)-*. This can be connected with a PIE stem **neg^{wh}-ro-* 'kidney', extended by an *n*-stem (as in Gm.), to which Latin then added a suffix **-d^(h)-*. Judging by *febris* 'fever' < **d^heg^{wh}-ri-*, the cluster **-g^{wh}r-* > Plt. **-χ^r-* 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.+)

PIt. **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. *véμος* 'forest', Gal. *νεμητων* '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 I. **nem-*. → *numerus*

neō 'to spin' [v. II; pf. *nēvī*, ppp. *nētum*] (Pl.+)

PIt. **(s)nē(je)-*.

PIE **(s)neb₁-/*(s)nh₁-* [pr.] 'to spin'. IE cognates: Mir. *sniid*, *-sní* 'spins, restores', W. *nyddu*, MCo. *nedha*, MBret. *nezaff* 'to spin' < PCI. **snije/o-*; Gr. 3s. *νή*, 3p. *νῶσι*, ipf. *ἐννη* (Aeol.), inf. *νήν* '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 **-je/o-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 159f., EM 437, IEW 973, Schrijver 1991: 403, Schumacher 2004: 598f., LIV **sneh₁-*. → *natix*, *nervus*

nepōs, -ōtis 'grandson, -daughter; descendant; playboy' [m. (f.) *i*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *nepōtulus* 'grandson' (Pl.), *neptis, -is* [f.] 'granddaughter, female descendant' (Afran.+).

PIt. **nepōt-* [m.], **neptī-* [f.].

PIE **h₂nep-ōt-* 'male descendant other than son, grandson, nephew', **h₂nep-t-ih_{1/2}*

'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.], *náptuh* [gen.abl.sg.] 'descendant, grandson', OAv. *našsu* [loc.pl.m.] (< PIlr. **napt-su*), YAv. *napā*, *napāsə* (t-) [nom.sg.], *napātəm* [acc.sg.], *naptārəm* [acc.sg.] *našədrō* [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. *naptī-* 'daughter, granddaughter', YAv. *napti* [f.] 'granddaughter' < IIr. *(H)*napt-iH-*, Alb. *mbešë* 'niece', OLith. *neptė* 'granddaughter', RuCS *nestera* 'niece', OHG *nift(a)* 'niece'; (3) adj.: Skt. *naptriya-* '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. *nećāk* '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 *-ik-* 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 **neb^h-tu-* 'moisture'? IE cognates: YAv. *napta-* [adj.] 'moist', *aifi.naptim* [absol.] 'moistening'.

Rix 1981: 123 (= 2001: 291) supports the derivation from an abstract **neb^h-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 **neb^htuh₁-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 1.**neb^h-*. → *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 – ανδρία, νέρωνας – ανδρείους ... οί Σαβίνοι; 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(eis)* [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. *ānnara/i-* 'virile', Skt. *nar-* 'man, hero' (*nāram* [acc.sg.], *nāras* [nom.pl.], *ṛn̄*

[acc.pl.]), Av. *nar-* (OAv. *nā* [nom.sg.], *narām* [acc.sg.], *narāš* [gen.sg.]), Gr. ἀνίρ, NPhryg. *avap*, 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+).

PIt. *(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.], νεῦρά [f.] ‘string, sinew’; Arm. *neard* ‘sinew’; ToB *šāura* [pl.] ‘sinews’. Hit. *išhunauuar* is a ghost word, see Kloekhorst 2008: 396.

Nervus probably stems from **neuros* by metathesis. A similar development can be seen in *parvus* < **pauro-*. PIIt. *(s)neuro- is a thematization of PIE *(s)neh₁ur.

Bibl.: WH II: 165, EM 439, IEW 977, Schrijver 1991: 269, LIV *snéh₁-. → *matrix*, *neō*

O. **nessimas** [nom.pl.f.], **nessimass** [acc.pl.f.], **nesimum** [gen.pl.n.], **nesimois** [abl.pl.n.], U. **nesimeis** [loc.sg.n.] ‘next’.

PIt. *ness- ‘next’

PIE *nesd-is- ‘nearer’? IE cognates: OIr. *nessa* [comp.], OW *nes*, MCo. *nes*, MBret. *nes* ‘nearer’, Bret. *nes* ‘near’ < PCI. **nessa-* (<< **nedda-*, Jasanoff 1988-90: 185); Gaul. *neDDamon* [gen.pl.], OIr. *nessam* ‘nearest, next’, W. *nessaf*, OCo. *nesheuīn*, Co. *nessa*, Bret. *nessaff* ‘nearer’ < PCI. **nessamo-* (< **nezd-isamo-*? Jasanoff 1988-90: 172); Skt. *nédīyas-* ‘closer, very close’, *nédiṣṭha-* ‘closest, next’, Av. *asna-* [adj.] ‘close’ (< **nzd-no-*), YAv. *nazdiīō* [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 PIIt. **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.+).

Plt. **nek-*. It. cognates: maybe U. *ninctu* [3s.ipv.II] '?' (prayer for hurting the opponent).

PIE **nek-s* [f.] 'death'. IE cognates: Skt. *násyati* [3s.act.] 'to perish, disappear', aor. *nésat* [3s.inj.act.], pf. *nanāša* [3s.act.], ppp. *naštá-*, OAv. *anqsaṭ* [3s.aor.act.], *nqsaṭ* [3s.aor.inj.act.] 'to disappear', Av. *nasii-* 'to stray from', *našta-* 'having missed', Av. *nas-* 'distress, misfortune', *nasu-* 'corpse', Gr. *νεκρός* [m.] 'body, dead person', *vékōc* '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 **nek-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 **nek-*. → *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.+).

Plt. **nei*. It. cognates: O. *nei* 'except' < **ne* + *ī*; O. *neip*, *neip*, *nei*, U. *neip*, *neip* 'not' maybe < **ne-ī-k*^{id} 'nothing'.

PIE **nei*. IE cognates: OAv. *naē-* 'not' in Av. *naē-čiš* 'none', OP *naiy*, *nai-* 'not', Lith. *neī* '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] (Lucret.+)

Derivatives: *nīdōricupius* 'who loves the smell of cooking' (Pl.+).

Plt. **knei/īd-os-*.

PIE **knei(H)d-os-* 'itch'? IE cognates: Gr. Att. *κνίσα*, Hom *κνίση* 'smell, fume', Gr. *κνίδη* 'nettle' < **knīd-*, *κνίζω* 'scratch, irritate (skin)' < **knīd-je-*, Latv. *kniest* 'to itch', Lith. *kniedėnti* 'to clinch', OIc. *hmiss* (< **knīd-to*) 'cooking odour', OE *hnītan* 'to sting', OIc. *hnīta* 'strong odour', OIc. *knīta* 'wound'.

Under the assumption that Gr. *κνίω-* continues **knīd-s-*, and that a 'strong smell' is derived from a verb 'to itch, sting', *nīdor* could belong here. The vowels are difficult to reconcile: Lat. and Gm. can have **iH*, **eiH* or **ei*, Baltic can have **ei(H)*, but Greek has **iH* in **knīd-* and **knīd-* in *κνίζω*.

Bibl.: WH II: 166, EM 441, IEW 562f., Meiser 1998: 112, LIV **kneīd-*. → *lēns*

nīdus 'nest' [m. o] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *nīdāmenta*, *-ōrum* [n.pl.] 'nesting materials' (Pl.), *nīdulārī* 'to build a nest' (Varro apud Non.+).

Plt. **nizdo-*.

PIE **nisdo-* 'nest'. IE cognates: Mlr. *net*, W. *nyth* 'nest, dwelling', Skt. *nīdá-* [m.] 'nest, lair', Arm. *nist* 'residence, settlement', Lith. *lizdas*, Latv. *ligzds* 'nest', OCS *gnězdo*, Ru. *gnezdó*, ScR. *gnijězdo* 'nest', OHG *nest* 'nest'.

A PIE compound consisting of **ni* 'down' and the root **sd-* 'to sit'.

Bibl.: WH II: 167, EM 441, IEW 884-887, Meiser 1998: 29, LIV **sed-*. → *sedeō*, *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.).

Plt. **nefos-*?

PIE **néb^h-os* [n.], gen. *-és-os* 'cloud'. IE cognates: Hit. *nēpiš* [n. > c.], CLuw. *tappaš-* [n.], HLuw. *tipas-* [n.] 'sky, heaven', Skt. *nābhaḥ* [n.] 'cloud, sky', Av. *nabah-* 'sky', Gr. *véφος* [n.] 'cloud', OCS *nebo*, Lith. *debešis* 'sky'; MP *namb*, MoP *namb* 'dew, haze', *nem* 'moist'?

Nimbus might be connected to *nebula* 'cloud' and *imber* 'shower of rain' < **n(e)b^h-*. One might explain the *-m-* in *nimbus* by assuming that *nimbus* continues **neb^h-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: *nimum/s* [adj.] 'excessive, too much' (Naev.+).

Plt. **ne *meijis* (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. **meih₁-* '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' (Lucret.+), *niveus* 'of snow, snow-white' (Naev.+).

Plt. **sneiwe/o-* 'to snow' [pr.], **sning^{wh}-* 'to snow', **sn(e)iw-* 'snow' [m.].

PIE pr. **sneig^{wh}-e/o-* 'to snow', **sn(e)ig^{wh}-* [m.] 'snow'. IE cognates: OIr. *snigid*,

·*snig** 'to snow' < **snig*^w*e/o-* or **snigje/o-*, OIr. *snechtae*, MW *nyf* [m.] 'snow', Skt. aor. *asnihat* [3s.act.], caus. *sneháyat* (RV) [3s.act.] 'to lie down; lay down', YAv. *snaēžana-* [adj.] 'slavering', *snaēža-* 'to snow' (Hr. **snaij*^w*-ja-*), Sogd. *šnyš-*, Gr. *veíφei* 'it is snowing', *víφa* [acc.sg.], Lith. *sniŋga* 'it snows', *įsnaigas* 'snow', Latv. *sniegs*, OCS *sněgъ*, Go. *snaiws*, OHG *snēo* 'snow'.

Lat. *nix* < nom. **sniks*, gen. *nivis* < gen. **snix*^w*os*. 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 **sneig*^{wh}*-*.

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 *nītēlā* 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. *nitūī*] (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. **kniχ*^w*-et-* [pr.], **kniχ*^w*-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 **nī* 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 **jet-*. → *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. *snaid, sná** 'to swim' < PCl. **snā(-je/o-)*, Skt. pr. *snātas* [3d.act.], *snāñ-* [ptc.act.f.], caus. *snāpāya-*, ta-ptc. *snātā-* 'to bathe, wash', YAv. *us...snaiia-* 'to wash out', *fra-snaiia-* 'to wash clean', *fra-snāta-* 'washed', *usnāiti-* [f.] 'washing off', Gr. *νίχω*, Dor. *νίχω* 'to swim', Gr. *véω*, ipf. *ἐννεοῦν*, aor. *νεῦσαι* 'to swim' < **snā-*; ToB *nāsk-* 'to bathe'.

Natāre was built to a ppp. **nātos*. Whether its preform was **nh₂to-* or **snh₂to-* 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.+); *noxā* 'injurious behaviour, punishment, harm' (Andr.+), *noxia* 'wrongdoing, damage' (Lex XII+), *noxius* 'guilty, harmful' (Pl.+), *innoxius* 'innocent, harmless', *noxitūdō* 'wrongdoing' (Acc.), *obnoxius* 'indebted, liable, submissive' (Pl.+), *obnoxiosus* 'subject, subordinate' (Pl.+).

PIt. **nokeje-* 'to cause death'.

PIE **nok^h-eie-* 'to make disappear, cause death'. IE cognates: Skt. *nāśāya-* 'to make disappear, destroy', OP *vināṣayatiy* [3s.pr.act.] 'to damage'.

The s-sb. *noxit* and the noun *noxā* 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 *noxā*.

Bibl.: WH II: 153-155, EM 440, 455, IEW 762, LIV **nek^h-*. → *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.+), *nōminītāre* 'to call' (Lucr.+), *nōminālis* 'of nouns' (Varro), *nōminātīm* 'by name, specifically' (Pl.+), *nōminātus*, *-ūs* 'noun' (Varro), *nōminātivus* '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 prenomēn' (Varro), *prōnōmen* 'pronoun' (Varro+); *nuncupāre* 'to declare, pronounce, appoint' (Lex XII+).

PIt. *nōm-n-. It. cognates: O. *numneis* [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-* / *lamm-* [n.], HLUw. *álamān-* [n.], Lyc. *alāman-* 'name', Skt. *nāman-*, Av. *nāman-* [n.], *nāma*, *nāmā* [adv.] 'named, by name', Gr. *ὄνομα* 'name', *ῥώνυμ(v)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-* / *hann-* 'to judge, sue' (< *h₃ne-h₃noh₃-) and Gr. *ὄνομα* 'to blame, repudiate'. LIV reconstructs initial *h₂-, which requires that Gr. *o-* be secondary (assimilation to the second *o?*). Beekes reconstructs initial *h₃- for *ὄνομα* and Arm. *anown*, which seems compelling: Arm. can have *h₂ or *h₃, but Greek only *h₃. Others have reconstructed initial *h₁- on the strength of Gr. personal names *Ἐνομα-κρατίδας* and *Ἐνομαντιάδας* 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. *nanā*, MoP *nana* 'mother', Gr. *vávνας* [m./f.] 'uncle, aunt', *vévνος* 'uncle', Alb. *nënë* '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: OI. *snī* '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. =*nnaš* '(to) us, our', HLUw. =*nz* 'us' < **-nos*; Skt. *nās* [acc.], *nas* [gen.dat.] 'us', OAv. *nā* [acc.] < **nās*, *nā* [gen.dat.] < **nas*, YAv. *nō* [acc.gen.dat.] < **nās*; Av. *ahma* 'us' < **ns-me*; Gr. nom. *ἡμεῖς*, acc. *ἡμᾶς*, Ion. *ἡμέας*, Dor. nom. *ἄμέες*, acc. *ἄμέ*, Aeol. nom. *ἄμμεες*, acc. *ἄμμε* < PGr. **ἄσμε* < 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 PIIt. 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: *ignōtus* 'ignorant; unknown' (Naev.+); *noscitāre* '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.+), *ignōscere* 'to forgive' (Pl.+), *internōscere* 'to know apart' (Pl.+), *pernōscere* 'to get to know well' (Pl.+).

PIIt. **gnāske-* / **gnōske-*.

PIE pr. **ǵnh₃-ské-*, 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-; Skt. pr. *jānāti*, pf. *jajñivāms-*, *jānús-* [ptc.], aor. *ájñāyi* 'to know, recognize', ppp. *á-jñāta-* 'unknown', *jñātá-* 'known, recognized'; YAv. *paiti.zana-* 'to acknowledge, comprehend', *žnātar-* [m.] 'knower', *žnōišta-* 'who knows the best'; OP *dān-* [ipf.], *xšnāsa-* [pr.sb.] 'to learn, know', Khot. *paysān-* 'to recognize'; Gr. γινώσκω 'id.', aor. ἔγνω, ppp. -γνωτός 'known', often γνωστός; γνώμων 'knower', γνώσις 'inquiry, knowledge'; Arm. *čanač'em* < *ǵnH₃-sk-*i-* (assimilated from **canač'em*), Alb. *njoh*, 23s.pr. *njeh* < *ǵnV-sk-, Lith. *žinóti* 'to know', OPr. *posinnat*, Latv. *zināt* 'to confess'; OCS *znati*, 1s. *znajō*, Ru. *znat'* 'to know'; Go. *kunnan*, OHG *kunnan* 'to know, be able'; ToA *āknats*, ToB *aknātsa* 'foolish, stupid; fool' < PTo. **āknātsā-* < *ǵ-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 *ignōscere* 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, ἀπργνώς, 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. *sentio*. 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.+)

Plt. *(*ks*)*nowātlo-*.

PIE *ks-n(e)-u- [pr.] ‘to scrape’. IE cognates: Skt. *áva kṣṇaumi* [pr.], *kṣṇvāná-* [ptc.med.] ‘to whet, sharpen’, **kṣṇút-* [adj.] ‘-sharpened’, *kṣṇótra-* [n.] ‘whetstone’; *kṣurá-* ‘razor, sharp knife’; OAv. *xšnáuš* [3s.aor.act.], *xšnáuuīšā* [2s.pr./aor.opt.med.] ‘to hear’, YAv. *hu-xšnuta-* ‘well-sharpened’, OP *ā-xšnauvaiy/ā-xšnūmiy* ‘I hear’, *ā-xšnūdiy* ‘hear!’.

Instrument noun **sneṽākdo-* < **ksneṽākdo-* based on a verb stem *(*ks*)*neṽā-*, which is itself derived from a PIE stem **ksneu-* ‘to scrape (so as to make smooth), sharpen’. The retention of *-ov-* proves PIE **-euV-* rather than **-ouV-*, which would have yielded **-aw-* (at least, in pretonic position). Vine (2006: 214-216) posits an original deverbal adj. **ksnéu-o-* ‘(scraped) smooth’ whence a factitive ‘to make smooth’ or denominative present **ksneu-eh₂-ie/o-* would have been formed in Italic. In view of the meaning, 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 **kes-* ‘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 **ksneu-*, **kseu-*. → *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+); *nōmus* ‘ninth’ (Cato+), *Nōnae* [f.pl.] ‘the ninth day before the Ides’ (Enn.+), *nōnālis* ‘of the Nones’ (Varro), *nōnāgintā* ‘ninety’ (Varro+), *nōnāgēsimus* ‘ninetieth’ (Varro+), *nōmussis* ‘the sum of nine asses’ (Varro+); *nūndinae* [f.pl.] ‘market day (held every ninth day)’ (Lex XII+), *nūndinālis* ‘of market-days’ (Pl.+), *internūndinum* (Lucil.+) ‘period of nine days’.

PIt. **newn* ‘nine’.

PIE **h₁neun* ‘nine’, **h₁neun-o-* ‘ninth’. IE cognates: OIr. *nói n-*, W. Co. *naw*, Skt. *náva*, Av. *nāuua*, Gr. *έννέα*, Arm. *inn*, Alb. *nëndë*, Lith. *devyni*, OCS *devętb*, Go. OHG *niun*, Tòch. *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 *nōmus* ‘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 *nōmus*.

Bibl.: WH II: 179f., 188, EM 446f., IEW 318f., Schrijver 1991: 17, 275, 278-281, Meiser 1998: 172, van der Staij 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. *nēya-* 'new, fresh', *nēyahh-* 'to renew', CLuw. *nāya/i-* 'new', Skt. *nāva-*, YAv. *nauua-* 'new, young', Gr. *véος*, Myc. *ne-wo*, Cypr. *νερό-στατος* 'new, young'; OCS *novъ*, Ru. *новъ*, ToA *ñu*, ToB *ñuwe* 'new, young' < **neuo-*; Gaul. *Nevio-*, *Novio-*, OIr. *nuē*, W. *newydd*, OBret. *nouuid*, *neuued*, Bret. *neuez*, Skt. *nāvya-*, Lith. *naūjas*, Go. *niujis* 'new' < **neuio-*; Gr. *veáω* 'to work fallow land', *veavίας* 'youth, young man' (< **neuā-n-*), *veapός* 'young, fresh', *vηpός* 'fresh' < **neua-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 **neuVr-*. Hence, *noverca* is probably a recent formation made to *novus*; the suffix is unclear. PIE **neuo-* may originally be derived from the word **nu* 'now'.

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. *i*] (abl.sg. *nocte*, gen.pl. *noctium*) (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *nox* 'by night' (Lex XII+); *noctū* 'at night' (Naev.+), *noctua* 'night bird, little owl' (Pl.+), *noctūinus* '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. **nok^(w)-t-*.

PIE **nóg^{wh}-t-s* [nom.sg.], **nég^{wh}-t-s* [gen.sg.] 'night'. IE cognates: OIr. *innocht* 'tonight', Hit. *neku-zi* 'to become night' (< **nég^{wh}-ti*), *nekuz* [adv.] 'in the evening' (= gen.sg.); Skt. *nákt-* 'night' (nom.sg. *nák*, acc.sg. *náktam*), Av. *upa.naxturušū* [adj.loc.pl.] 'bordering on the night' for **naxtarə-?*, Waxī *nayd* 'night', Gr. *vùξ* (*vúκτ-*) 'night' (< **nok^wts*), *vúκτωp* [adv.] 'at night', *vúκτεpός* 'nightly', *vúκτεpίς*, *-ίδος* [f.] 'bat', *vúκτεpινός* 'nightly'; -*vυχ-* e.g. *év-vυχ-ος*, *év-vύχ-ιος* 'nightly, in the night', *vύχιος* 'nightly', *vυχεύω* 'to wake through the night'; Lith. *naktis* 'night' (gen.pl. *nakt-ų*), OCS *noštъ* 'night'; Go. *nahts* 'night'.

The form *nox* 'at night' is regarded as the remainder of an old gen.sg. **nok^w-t-es* (Leumann 1977: 431), but phonetically more likely is a gen.sg. **nok^w-t-s*, as Meiser assumes. Pinault 2006a explains *nox* 'at night' from an old loc.sg. **nok^wt* > **nok*, which was remade into *nox* by analogy with *dīus* 'by day'. He also assumes that *noctū*

and *noctūrnus* presuppose a loc.sg. **nok^{wh}t-eu*, which was made at an earlier stage on the example of loc.sg. **dieu* ‘by day’. *Noctua* is derived from *nox* ‘night’ or *noctū* ‘at night’. *Nocturnus* follows *diurnus* ‘daily’, *vespernus* ‘of the evening’, and probably reflects **noctū-rino-* (or it has acquired *-rnus* directly at a more recent stage). Verbal forms are only attested in Anat., the word for ‘night’ must be an old root noun from this root. On the strength of the lenis consonant *-k-* in Hittite (normally from **g^w* or **g^{wh}*) and Greek *-vυχ-*, 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^h-*.

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)nouþ-(i-)*.

PIE **(s)ne/oud^h-*. IE cognates: W. *nudd* ‘haze’; YAv. *snaoda-* ‘clouds’, *snaodənt-* ‘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^h-*, to be compared with Skt. *prá-snauti* ‘drips, drops’, *prá-smuta-* ‘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/ouþ-é/o-*.

Long *ō* in *cōnūbium* is supposed to prove original **sn-*. A connection with Gr. *νύμφη* ‘bride’ must be dismissed. *Nūbere* has been compared with RuCS *snuḃiti* ‘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/epo-* '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-* (< PIt. **bagnaka-*) 'naked', Gr. *γυμνός* (< **gog^wno-* < **nog^wno-*), Arm. *merk* (< **meg^wro-* < **neg^w-ro-*), OPr. *nognan* 'leather', Lith. *núogas* 'naked', OCS *nagъ* 'naked' (< PIE **nog^w-o-*); Go. *naqaps*, OE *nacod*, MoDu. *naakt* (< **nog^wot/d^h-o-*), OIc. *nakinn*, OFr. *naken* (< **nog^wno-?*).

The adj. can be explained via a phonetic development **nog^wopo-* > **nowodo-* > **noodo-* > **nōdo-* > *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(-ō/oi)*. IE cognates: Hit. *nu* [ptcle.] 'and, but', Pal. *nu*, *nū*, Hit. *ki-nun* 'now', CLuw. *nānun* 'now', Skt. *nūnām* 'now, indeed', OAv. *nūrām*, YAv. *nūrām*, *nūrąm*, OP *nūram* 'now', MP *nūn* 'now', Gr. *νῦ*, *νῦν*, *νῦν* 'now', Lith. *nūn*, *nūnai* 'now, today', OCS *nyně*, CS *něně*, Ru. *nýne* 'now, today', *nóne* (dial.) 'now, today', Go. *nu*, OHG *nū*, late MHG *nūn* 'now'.

Like some other languages, Latin preserves traces of the PIE adv. **nū* (in *nūper*) and of extended **nū-n(V)* (in *nunc* < **num-ce*). In (**num*), final *-m* might reflect PIE **-n* (for which hardly any good evidence is available in Latin), or a remake of earlier **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-r*, **n(o)m-n-ós*; Gr. *véμω* 'to dispense, distribute', *βομή* [f.] 'pasture', *βομός* [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.+), *remūntius* '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. *nāvate*), 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. *-nūi*, 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·noi** 'to promise' (< **eks-nou-*), *ad·noi** 'to entrust', MW *dineu*, MBret. *dinou* 'to pour forth, flow' < PCl. **neye/o-*; Gr. *νεύω* [pr.] 'to nod, beckon' (< **neu-s-* or < **véω* with introduction of *ve-* from the aorist). Less clearly: Skt. *-nauti* [3s.act.pr.], caus. *āti-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. **smuso-* >> **smusū-*.

PIE **snusó-* [f.] 'daughter-in-law'. IE cognates: Skt. *smuṣā-*, Sogd. *šwnšh*, Oss. *nostæ*, MoP *suna*, *sun(h)ār* 'daughter-in-law', Gr. *vuός* [f.] 'daughter-in-law'; Arm. *now*, gen.sg. *nowoy* [f.], SeCS *snəxa*, Ru. *snoxá*, SCr. *snàha* < BSl. **snus-eh₂-*, 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-ih₂-* 'female nurser'. IE cognates: Skt. *prá-smauti* [3s.act.] 'to drip, release liquids', *prá-smuta-* 'releasing mother's milk'. Appurtenance of Gr. *váω* 'to flow, stream' (< **váṷ-jō*) 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 **sneh₂-* 'to bathe, swim', pointing to an analysis **sn-u-* and **sn-h₂-*.

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: Olr. *cnú* [f.], gen. *cnáo*, *cnó*, acc. *cnói*, MW *cneu* 'nuts', LCo. *knyfan* 'a nut', MBret. *cnou*, Bret. *kraoñ* 'nuts' < PCl. nom. **knūs*, obl. **knuy-* (< **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. *ἐπι*, *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 Hitt. *āppa*, CLuw. *āppa* 'back, again' probably reflect **h₂op-*, and go together with Gr. *ὀπι-σθεν* '(from) behind', Myc. *o-pi*, *ὀπέ* 'afterwards', *ὀπι(-)* (Aeol. and in cp.).

Bibl.: EM 454, Lejeune 1974: 337, IEW 323ff., Leumann 1977: 157f., Hamp 1981a, Schrijver 1991: 50f., Sihler 1995: 203f., 368, 440, Meiser 1998: 153, Untermann 2000: 799f., 812f., 816f.

obliquus '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 *obliquus*. Yet a root **lī-* with different suffixes **-mo-* and **-k^vo-* 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), *oblīvīōsus* 'forgetful' (Pl.+), *oblīvīō* 'forgetting, oblivion' (Varro+).

Schrijver follows Sommer 1914: 602 in assuming an original verb **ob-līvēre* 'to be smooth' < **ob-leiwē-* < **leh₁i-*u*-eh₁-*, a stative verb derived from the adj. **leh₁i-*u*-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. λίναιμι 'to dodge', Gm. **linnan* 'to stop', Skt. -*līyate* '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-*ie*/o-*. The ptc. *oblītus* would stem from **ob-lītus*, 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 66If., Schrijver 1991: 284, Meiser 1998: 92. → *lēvis*

obscāenus '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*, *obscāenus* 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 **skēH(i)-*. → *scaevus*

obscūrus 'dark, gloomy' [adj. *o/ā*] (Lenn.+)

Derivatives: *obscūrāre* 'to obscure (heavenly bodies or sources of light), darken' (Pl.+), *obscūridicus* 'speaking obscurely' (Acc.), *obscūrītās* 'darkness, obscurity' (Varro+).

PIt. **skoi-ro-*.

PIE **skoh₂-i-ro-* 'dark, shady'? IE cognates: Gr. σκίπων [n.] (description of a white parasol or canopy); Go. *skeirs*, Olc. *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-k^wois-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* < **skeh₂iyo-* 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^h-et-* [f.] ‘harrow’. IE cognates: W. Bret. *oged* ‘harrow’, Gr. ὀξίνα ‘an agricultural implement with iron teeth, drawn by oxen’ (Hsch.); OPr. *aketes*, Lith. *akėčios*, dial. *ekėčios* [nom.pl.f. *ā*], Latv. *ecē(k)šas* ‘harrow’, Ru. *osét* ‘granary, rack for drying grain’ [f.], Pl. *jesieć* (dial.) ‘grain sieve’ < BSl. **eś-et-i-*, OHG *egida*, OE *egeðe* < PGm. **axepō-*.

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*]quol^oto^od)

Derivatives: *occultāre* ‘to conceal’ (Pl.+).

PIt. **kele/o-*.

PIE *kel-e/o- 'to hide'. IE cognates: OIr. *ceilið**, *ceil*, OW *kelu*, MBret. *keles* 'to hide' < PCl. *kel-e/o-, OE *helan* 'to hide'; Go. *huljan* 'to shroud' < *kl-je-.

Present from *ob* + *kele-. The spelling ⁵*-quol-* in SCBac. is hypercorrect for *-cul-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 198, EM 111, IEW 553f., Schumacher 2004: 394f., LIV *kel-. → *cella*, *cēlāre*, *clam*, *color*

ōcior 'faster, swifter' [adj.comp. *r*] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: sup. *ōcissimus* (Ter.+) / *ōximē* (Paul. ex F.).

Plt. *ōk-.

PIE *h₁oh₁k-u- 'quick', *h₁oh₁k-ios- 'quicker'. IE cognates: OW *diauc*, MW *diawg*, Co. *dioc*, OBret. *diochi*, Bret. *diek* 'lazy' < PCl. *dī-ākV- 'lazy', lit. 'un-swift'; Skt. *āśi-* 'quick', comp. *āśīyas-*, sup. *āśīṣṭha-*, Av. *āsu-* 'quick, fast', comp. *āsiiah-*, sup. *āsišta-*, Gr. ὀκύς 'fast, swift', ὀκιστος 'fastest'; Ru. *jástreĭb*, ORu. *jastrjabъ*, *jastreĭbъ*, Po. *jastrzqb* 'hawk', SCr. *jāstrijeb* 'kite' < PSl. *jastřebъ.

The etymology *h₁k- rests on the identification with PIE *h₁ekū(-o)- 'horse'. If this is abandoned, *h₃k- 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.+).

Plt. *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. *okrei* [loc.sg.?] 'castle, upper town'.

PIE *h₂ok-r-i- 'sharp edge'. IE cognates: Mlr. *ochair* 'edge', W. *ochr*, Skt. *catur-āsri-* [adj.] 'four-angled' (RV); *āsri-* [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 *h₂ek-ro- 'sharp'.

Bibl.: WH II: 199, EM 457, IEW 18-22, Leumann 1977: 403, Schrijver 1991: 51, Untermann 2000: 79 If. → *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).

Plt. *oktō 'eight', *oktāwo- 'eighth'.

PIE *h₃(e)ktéh₃ 'eight', *h₃kt(e)h₃-uó- 'eighth'. IE cognates: OIr. *ocht n-*, W. *wyth*, Bret. *eiz* '8', OIr. *ochtmad* '8th'; Skt. *aṣṭá*, *aṣṭáu* [nom.acc.] '8', *aṣṭamá-* '8th', *aṣṭī-* '80', YAv. *ašta* '8', *aštama-* '8th', *aštāiti-* '80', Gr. ὀκτώ '8', ὄγδοϋς, ὄγδοος '8th', ὄγδοήκοντα '80', OPhryg. *otuvoi vetei* 'in the eighth year', Alb. *tetë* '8'; Lith. *aštuoni*

'8', Go. *ahtau*; ToB *okt*, ToA *okät* '8'.

The ordinal seems to show a change of **-ōyos* > **-āyos*, 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.+); *ūnocus* 'that has one eye' (Pl.+); *exoculāre* 'to deprive of eyes' (Pl.+).

Plt. **ok(e)lo-*.

PIE **h₃e/ok^w-(e)lo-* 'eye'. IE cognates: Skt. *akṣnás* [gen.sg.], *akṣ-ī* [nom.acc.du.] 'eye', *an-ākṣ-* 'without eyes, blind' < **h₃e/ok^w-s-*, YAv. *aši* [nom.acc.du.n.] 'eye', Gr. ὄψ [f., gen. ὀπός 'eye, face', ὄσσε [nom.acc.du.n.] 'eyes' < **h₃k^w-i-*, OPr. *ackis* 'eyes' [nom.p.], *ackins* [acc.pl.], Lith. *akis*, 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^w-*.

ōdī 'to hate' [v. pf. only, ppp. *ōsum*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *ōdibilis* 'odious' (Acc.), *odium* 'hatred, boredom' (Pl.+), *odiōsus* 'offensive, boring' (Pl.+), *odiōssicus* 'disagreeable' (Pl.).

Plt. **ōd-* 'to hate', **odio-* 'hatred'.

PIE pf. **h₃e-h₃(o)d-* 'to hate', **h₃e/od-io-* 'hatred'. IE cognates: Gr. aor. ὀδύσ(σ)ασθαί 'to be angry, grumble', pr. οὐδύεται 'contends' (Hsch.) (pr. **ōdúomai* from a noun **ōd-u-* '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.+).

Plt. **odelo-* 'to smell', **odōs* 'odour'.

PIE pr. **h₃ed-/*h₃d-* 'to smell'. IE cognates: Gr. ὀζω (Ion. Att.) 'to smell', plqpf. ὀδῶδει, Gr. ὀδμή, ὄσμή 'odour, scent', Arm. *hot* 'smell' < **h₃ed-*, Lith. *uosti*, 3s. *uodžia*, Latv. *uōst* '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.+).

Plt. **olno-* > **ollo-*. It. cognates: O. *ūlleis* [gen.sg.m.], *ulum* [acc.sg.m.], *ūlam* [acc.sg.f.], *ulas* [gen.sg.f.], *olu* [gen.pl.m.] 'that one' < **ol-*; U. *ulu, ulō* '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 Plt. 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*, Mlr. *elae* [f.] < PCl. **eljā?*, W. *alarch*, pl. *eleirch* 'swan' < **alarko-* << **elar-sko-* < **el-ŕ-sko-*; Ru. *lébed'* [m.], Cz. *labut'*, SCr. *lābūd* 'swan' < **h₂elb^h-ond-i-* (?); OIc. *elptr*, *qlpt* [f.], OHG *albiz*, *elbiz*, OE *ælbitu*, *iel fetu* [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* < **uoluō* has *o*, but in a special phonetic surrounding. The nom.sg. may have regularly been **elōr* < **elŕ*, 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 **h₂elb^h-* (as in *albus* 'white'), but with difficulties, since the Slav. accentuation does not match. Maybe **-b^h-* 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. **ok^ws-mn-* 'sighting, omen'?

PIE **h₃ek^w-s-* '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-zī* / *h-* 'to believe, trust' < **h₂zēH*. Oettinger 1979: 361 reconstructs **h₂e/oh₃-s-mn* 'trust'. Yet semantically I am not convinced by this etymology. Others have reconstructed **h₃ek^w-s-mn* 'a sighting', the meaning of which seems closer to 'omen'. Note Gr. *ὄμμα*, *-ατος* 'eye' < **ōpma* < **h₃ék^w-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 **h₃ek^w-* '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. *aīβii-āxšaiia-* 'to watch', Gr. fut. *ὄψομαι* 'to see'). Thus, *ōmen* could be formed from a PIE *s*-present. Meier-Brügger 1992 derives *ōmen* from **h₁2og^w-smen* 'speech, what was predicted' to *aiō* < **h₁2eg^w-*. 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-Hoǵ-.

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* < **ongⁿen-*.

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 *h_{1/3}e/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 l.*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. *anije/a-zī* 'to work; to carry out, to produce, to treat', Pal. *anije/a-* 'to work', CLuw. *ānni-* 'to carry out' < *h₃n-je/o-; Skt. *ānas-* 'heavy cart', *anaḍvāh-* [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. Ἐβοσίχθων, which I find unconvincing. Kloekhorst (2008: 179ff.) argues that Melchert's scenario is problematic within Anatolian, and instead proposes to regularly derive *an(n)ia-* from PIE *h₃n-je/ó-.

Bibl.: WH II: 210, EM 462, IEW 321f., Lubotsky 1990: 132, Schrijver 1991: 50.

opācus ‘sheltered, shady’ [adj. *o/ā*] (Lucret.+)

Derivatives: *opācare* ‘to make shady; darken’ (Pac.+).

Opācus has since long been compared with Skt. *āpāka-* ‘turned away from’ and OCS *opaky* ‘the other way round, behind one’s back’, Ru. *opak(o)* (dial.) ‘back’, but these must be reconstructed as PIE **h₂epo-h₃k^w-* ‘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 theoretical 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+), *operimentum* ‘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 **H₂er-*. → *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-* < **oui-polh₂ó-* ‘sheep-driver’ (or **oui-ph₂-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. *pīvan-* ‘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: nol-*, *-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 Plt. **-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.+)

Plt. **op-wort-(ē-)*.

PIE **ue-u(o)rt-* [pf.] 'to turn'.

The original meaning is thought to be 'it befits, it comes to one', and the form is derived from **op* 'towards' plus a form of the root **uert-* 'to turn'. WH assume an original causative **uort-eie-*, yet a transitive form does not fit the meaning. Therefore, **op-uort-ē-* (> **oport-ē-*, with a sound change dated to Plt. 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 **uert-*. → *vertō*

oppidum '(fortified) town; barriers' [n. o] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *oppidō* 'utterly, entirely' (Pl.+).

Plt. **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. *padā-* [n.] 'footstep, piece of ground', OAv. *pada-*, YAv. *pađa-* [n.] 'footstep', OP *pati-padam kar-* 'to retreat', Gr. *πέδov* 'ground, earth', Arm. *het* 'footprint', OPr. *pedan* 'ploughshare', Lith. *pėdà*, (dial.) *pėdas* 'footprint', Latv. *pēda* '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/i* ‘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. *afnaŋ’hant-* ‘rich in property’ < **h₃ep-nos-*, Gr. *δμπνη* [f.] ‘food, corn’ < **h₃ep-n-h₂-?*

Lat. *officium* < **opi-fak-io-*. The existence of different derivatives in the IE branches, and also of an *s*-stem (see s.v. *opus*), may point to a PIE root noun **op-*. Livingston (2004: 73-82) explains *opulentus* and the other adj. in *-ulentus* as dissimilated from **-owent-o-*, on the model of the semantic proximity of adj. in *-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.+), *adoptāficius* ‘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. *pīja-*, Lyc. *pīje-* ‘to give’, Skt. *āpa*, YAv. *āpa* ‘has reached’ (< IE pf. **h₁e-h₁(o)p-*); maybe Alb. (*j*)*ep* ‘gives’, Is. (*j*)*ap*.

Vine 1999a: 520f. explains U. **upetu** from a PIE iter. **op-eie-*; to the resulting pr. **opē-*, Latin could have made a ppp. **opto-*, from which *optāre* was derived as a frequentative. The connection with *opīnor* 'to suspect' is difficult for semantic reasons; EM regard it with scepticism. A connection with *op-* 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/lopēt/* is contained in the Duenos inscr. sequence *noisiopetoitesiai*, which is merely a guess. The original form of the hapax *praedotiant* 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. **h₃p-*. → *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' (Lucret.+), *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.], *οπισανω* [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. *hauuapaṇha-* [n.] 'creativity', MoP *xūb* 'good'; OE *efnen* 'to perform' (< PGm. **aḥnjan*), 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); *orbīta* '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 **h₃orb^h-i-* ‘turning thing’. IE cognates: Hit. *harp-^{ua(ri)}* / *harp-^{zi}* ‘to change allegiance, join’ < **h₃erb^h-to*, ^(GIS)*harpa/i-* [c.] ‘pile, heap’; Gr. ἀρφύρτων ‘disk (in Lydian) (Weiss 2006: 261); ToAB *yerpe* ‘disc / surface / image’ (vel sim. = Skt. *bimba*) < **h₃ērb^ho-*.

The etymology of *orbis* is much disputed, see Untermann 2000. Klingenschmitt 1980: 214ff. reconstructs **h₂(o)r-d^hh₁-i-*, which he interprets as ‘where the spokes (of a wheel) are attached’ = ‘felly’ to Skt. *arā-* ‘spoke of a wheel’. While formally possible, this explanation lacks formal matches in other IE languages, and is therefore less attractive. Driessen 2001 posits **h₁ōrb^h-(i-* for Latin, with shortening by Osthoff’s law. But it may also be **h₁orb^h-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 **h₃erb^h-* ‘to turn’ (**h₂erb^h-* cannot be completely excluded), a meaning he arrives at by comparing the Hit. verb *harp-* ‘to change allegiance, join’. Latin *orbīta* 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 **orb^h-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*

orbis ‘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 **h₃orb^h-o-* ‘turning, what/who is turned over’ > ‘inheritance / heir’. IE cognates: OIr. *orb* [m.] ‘heir; inheritance’ < **orbo-*, *orb(b)e*, *orpe* [n.] ‘inheritance’ < **orbijō-*, Hit. *harp-^{ua(ri)}*, *harp-^{zi}* ‘to change allegiance, join’ < **h₃erb^h-to* [med.], *harpa/i-* ‘pile, mound’, Gr. ὀρφανός ‘orphaned’, ὀρφοβόται ‘orphan’s guardian’ (Hsch.), ὀρφωσεν ‘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 **h₃rb^h-* ‘to turn’ here had the specific meaning ‘to change membership from one social class to another’. Armenian and Greek can have **h₃rb^h-*, **h₃orb^h-* or **Horb^h-*, the other languages **h₃orb^h-* or **Horb^h-*.

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.+).

Plt. **ord-i-* 'row, arrangement'.

PIE **h₂or-d-*?

Long initial *ō-* must be secondary (see s.v. *ōrdō*). The original meaning seems 'to be put in a certain order' (medium tantum), especially as a weaving term, of the threads which are laid in a pattern. The verb can be interpreted as a denominative to a stem **ordi-*, or as a derived present **ord-je-*. Lat. *exordium* must be derived from *exordīri*, cf. Leumann 1977: 294, unless there was an original stem **ord-*, from which *exordium* and *ordō* 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: *ordināre* 'to place in rows, arrange' (Cic.+), *ordinārius* 'regular, normal' (Cato apud Fest., Liv.+); *ornāre* 'to prepare, equip, adorn' (Pl.+), *ornātus* 'well-equipped' (Ter.+), *ornātus*, *-ūs* 'equipment, adornment' (Pl.+), *ornāmentum* 'equipment, ornament' (Andr.+); *adornāre* 'to prepare (tr./intr.); adorn' (Pl.+), *exornāre* 'to equip, prepare; adorn' (Pl.+), *subornāre* 'to supply, equip' (Cic.+).

Plt. **ord-n-* 'row, order'.

PIE **h₂or-d-*?

The length of the initial *ō-* is probably secondary, as in other words with **VrC-*; cf. Leumann 1977: 114. The original denom. to *ōrdō* was *ōrnāre* < **ōrd-n-āre* < **orde/on-ā-* (cf. type *nomināre*); this has retained the specialized meaning of 'to adorn'. The more recently attested *ordināre* was made as a denominative to *ōrdō* when the link between the latter and *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, *-īri* 'to appear above the horizon, rise' [v. IV; pr. *oritur*, ppp. *ortum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *origō*, *-inis* [f.] 'beginning, source' (Cato+), *aborīginēs*, *-um* [pl.] 'race of pre-Roman people' (Cato+); *aborīri* '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.+), *adorīri* 'to attack, assail' (Naev.+), *coorīri* 'to spring forth, be born' (Pl.+), *exorīri* 'to appear, arise' (Pl.+), *exortus*, *-ūs* 'rising, emergence' (Pac.+), *oborīri* 'to rise up, occur' (Pl.+), *suborīri* 'to come into being' (Lucr.+).

Plt. **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 *ʎ-no- 'shoot' (M. Weiss, p.c.).

PIE *h₃r-i- 'to rise'. IE cognates: Hit. *arai-* / *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.], *īrte* [3s.pr.med.] (< PIIr. *Hi-Har-, *Hi-Hr-), *ṛṇóti* [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. *arənao* 'to set in motion'; Gr. *ὀρνυμι* 'to urge, incite' (< *h₃r-n(e)u-), *ὄρω* [3s.aor.med.] 'to rise, rush on', Arm. *y-arnem* '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.+) *

PIt. *osVno-.

PIE *Hh₃-o/es-. IE cognates: OIr. (*h*)*uinnius* 'ash' < **ōnnistu-*, MW coll. *onn*, sing. *onnen*, OCo. *onnen*, Bret. coll. *onn*, *ounn* 'ash-tree' < **osnā/-os*; OPr. *woasis* (< **ōsi-s*), Lith. *úosis* [m.], Latv. *uosis* [m.], Ru. *jásen*, Cz. *jasan*, SCr. *jāsēn* 'ash-tree' < BSl. **oʎs-en-* (> Slav.), **oʎs-i-o-* (> Balt.) < PIE *Heh₃-s-; Arm. *hac* 'i' 'ash-tree', Alb. *ah* 'beech' [m.], Olc. *askr*, OHG *asc* 'ash-tree' < *Hh₃-o/es-ko-, Gr. *ὄζυα* '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* 'successful suppliant' (Ter.), *perōrāre* 'to plead, argue' (Lex XII+), *inōrātus* 'not pleaded' (Enn.+), *inexōrābilis* 'relentless' (Ter.+).

PIt. *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 Gavouille 2001 on the difference between *orāre* and *dicere* 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. *ā-aryanti* 'they acknowledge' and Ru. *orát'* 'to shout', since nothing suggests a meaning 'to shout' for the Latin verb, nor does it seem onomatopoeic. If *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.+), *ostium* 'door, entrance; aperture, mouth' (Pl.+), *ostiārius* 'janitor' (Varro+), *ōscitāre/ī* 'to gape, yawn' (Pl.+).

Plt. **ōs-*.

PIE **h₃eh₁-os, -es* [n.] 'mouth'. IE cognates: OI. *á* 'mouth', Hit. *aiš / išš-* [n.] 'mouth' (< **h₃eh₁-os*, gen. **h₃h₁-s-os?*), CLuw. *āaš-* [n.] 'mouth', Skt. *āś-* [n.] 'mouth', *ās-ā* [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.+), *ossiculātīm* 'bone by bone' (Lucil.); *ossifraga* 'kind of vulture' (Lucr.+), *exos* 'boneless' (Lucr.+), *exossāre* 'to remove the bones from' (Pl.+).

Plt. 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*, Mlr. *asna* 'rib' < **astVn-* (appurtenance uncertain, see below); Hit. *haštāi / hašti-* [n.] 'bone(s), strength', CLuw. *hāš-* 'bone' < **h₃esth₁-ōi, -i-*; Skt. *ásthi-* [n.] 'bone' (ins.pl. *asthábhiḥ*, gen.sg. *asthnás*, gen.pl. *asnám* < **asthnám*), *asthanvánt-* 'having bones', OAv. *astantāt-* [f.] 'materialness', YAv. *ast-* 'bone, body with bones' (gen.sg. *astō, astasca*, nom.pl. *asti*, gen.pl. *astam*, instr.pl. *azdābīš-ca*), Av. *astuuant-* '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. *ossum*. 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 Ir.). An ablaut **h₂est-/*h₂ost-* would point to a root noun, and the suffixes **-h₂-* (also **-i-?*) and **-n-* would originally be different extensions. The suffix **-n-* seems to be attested in Ir., Celtic and Venetic. If the hypothetical PIE root noun was an 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. ἄ-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 bovom' (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. *hāui-*, Lyc. *χawa-* 'sheep'; Skt. *ávi-* [m./f.] 'sheep, ram', gen.sg. *ávyas*, Skt. *avikā-* [f.] 'little sheep', *ávya-* 'from sheep', Gr. *δίς*, *ῥίς* 'sheep', gen.sg. *ῥίος*, Gr. *οἶος* 'from sheep'; Arm. *hoviw* 'shepherd'; Lith. *avis*, Latv. *avs* 'sheep'; OCS *ovьca*, Ru. *ovcá* < PSl. **oui-k-jā-*; Go.

awistr, OHG *ewist* 'sheepfold' < **oui-stH-*; ToB *awi* [nom.pl.f.] 'ewe'.

Ovis can reflect Plt. **ówis* under the assumption put forward by Vine 2006a that stressed **ów-* did not undergo unrounding to **aw-*. The appurtenance of *aububulcus* is extremely uncertain according to Schrijver (1991: 439), but Vine (2006: 233) adopts the view that the original gloss may have run *aubulcus* 'pastor ouium', in which case *au-* could reflect pretonic **oui-* 'sheep' under Vine's formulation of Thurneysen-Havet's Law; see also Lindner 2002: 218f. Some scholars assume initial **h₂o-*, ignoring or explaining away Armenian *ho-*. See Pinault 1997: 191ff. for arguments against **h₃e-* and in favour of **h₂e-* (Toch. **ā-*). The only alternative to **h₃e-* would be a static paradigm **h₂oui-* / **h₂eui-*, while assuming that Arm. and Anat. have the *o*-vocalism of the former variant, and the *h-* of the latter; this seems less plausible.

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.+)

Plt. **owā-*.

The Gr. verb εὐάζω 'to cry for joy' is probably denominal to cries such as εὔα (H.), εὔαι (-αῖ) (Ar.), εὔαν (E.). Yet the Latin word cannot be a borrowing, since it requires the Plt. change of **eu* > **ou*.

Bibl.: WH II: 229f., EM 472, IEW 347, Schrijver 1991: 37, 449.

ōvum 'egg' [n. o] (Enn.+)

Plt. **ōw(j)om*.

PIE **h₂ōuiom* 'egg'. IE cognates: OW *ui*, MW *wy* [m.], OCo. *uy*, Co. *oy*, Bret. *uy*, *vi* 'egg' < PCl. **āuio-*; Av. *aēm* (acc.sg.), Khot. *āhaa-*, MP *xāyag*, Khwar. *y'k* < Plr. **āuīa(-ka)-*; Gr. εὔον (Ion.-Att.), ὄον (Hell.), ὄιον (Sappho); Arm. *jow*, gen. *jowoy* < **iōio-* << **ōio-*; Po. *jajo*; *jaje* (obs.), SCr. *jáje* 'egg' < PSl. **āje*, OCS *ajce*, Ru. *jajcō*, Cz. *vejce* 'egg' < PSl. **ajъce*; Alb. *ve*, *voe*; Crimean Go. *ada*, Olc. *egg*, OHG *ei*, OE *æg* 'egg' < PGm. **ajjaz-*.

Schindler 1969 reconstructs **ō-h₂uiom*, with a preposition **ō*. Yet apart from Ilr. **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. *-uī*) 'to cause dissatisfaction, cause to regret' (Pl.+), *paenitūdō* 'regret' (Pac.), *pae/ēmūria* '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 **pēi-* is 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+).

Plt. **palāto-*.

PIE **plh₂-o/u-* 'flat, wide'?

Since the 'palate' can be referred to as a 'flattened' or 'vaulted' part, and since hills are also often referred to as 'flat' or 'vaulted' (if their form so suggests), a derivation of *Palātium* from *palātum* is quite conceivable. *Palātum* could be an adj. in *-āto- to a stem **pal-(V-)* 'flat, broad', e.g. **plh₂-o-* or **plh₂-u-*, cf. Hit. *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+).

Plt. **palejā-* [f.].

PIE **p(e)lh₁-* 'chaff'. IE cognates: Skt. *palāva-* 'chaff, husk' < **pelH-ōu(-)*, OPr. *pelwo*, Lith. *pēlūs*, Latv. *peļus* [pl.] 'chaff', OCS *plěvy* [nom.pl.f.], Ru. *polóva*, SCr. *pljěva* 'chaff' < PIE **pelH-u-(eh₂)*; Gr. πάλλω 'to swing, sway' < **plh₁-n-*, aor. πάλοτο (άν-, κατ-έπολοτο), 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.+), *palliōlātum* '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' (Lucret.+).

Plt. **palwo-* 'pale, grey'.

IE cognates: Lith. *paivas* 'light yellow, straw-coloured', RuCS *plavъ* 'white', Ru. *polóvyj* 'pale yellow, sandy', SCr. *plāv* 'pale blue, with light hair' < BSl. **poluo-*, OIc. *folr*, 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 **poluo-*, but this would not explain Latin *-a-*. One might posit **ph₂el-*, but that would be ad hoc. Alternatively, we are dealing with a loanword **paluo-* 'pale, grey' into the European languages.

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 **CIHC-*. Admittedly, the fact that four branches show a *h₂-*stem but seem to have different ablaut of the primary suffix (**-m-* in Celtic and Germ., **-em-* in Lat. and Gr.), and especially the separation of Celtic and Italic, are embarrassing.

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.+).

PIt. **palūd-*.

IE cognates: Skt. *palvala-* [n.] 'pond, pool'; OPr. *pelky* 'marsh', Lith. *pėlkė* 'marsh, Žem. puddle', Latv. *peļce* '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 unconvincing.

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.).

PIt. **pand-n-*, **pat-*. It. cognates: O. *patanai* [dat.sg.] '?', name of a deity; O. *patensins* [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. *πίτυνμι* 'to spread out, open', aor. *ἐπέτασ(σ)α*.

I assume that the PIE nasal pr. yielded (pre-)PIt. **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. *patensins* (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 *pāgi*’ (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+).

Plt. **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. *pājrā-* ‘solid, firm’, *pājas-* [n.] ‘surface, face’, YAv. *pāzan* ‘hant- [adj.] (meaning unknown), Khot. *pāysa-* ‘surface’, Gr. πήγνυμι ‘to attach, to join’, Gr. εὖ-πυργής ‘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* ‘pastille’ (Hor.+), *pānicī* [pl.] ‘bakers’ (Pl.), *pānicum* ‘Italian millet’ (Cato+); *pānificium* ‘the making of bread’ (Varro+).

Plt. **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 *pīnj*, 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.], πῆνη [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. πῆνη, πῆνος 'yarn'. In the meaning 'abcess', *pānus* is compared with Ru. *puk* 'bunch, bundel', OCS *pōčiti se* 'be inflated', Ru. *pūčit* '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)pVI-.

IE cognates: OPr. *penpalo* 'quail', OPr. *pepelis*, [pl.] *pippalins* 'bird', Lith. *piepala*, Latv. *paipala*, Ru. *pérepel*, Cz. *přepel*, *křepel* 'quail', OIc. *fjfrildi*, OE *fifealde*, OHG *fifaltra*, MHG *fifalter* 'butterfly' < PGm. *fifalōrōn-.

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', *pleh₃- 'to swim, float', *pelh₁- '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 *perh₂- '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. *pepercī* (*parcuīt, parsī*)] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *parcus* ‘economical, stingy’ (Pl.+), *parciter* ‘sparingly’ (Pompon.+), *perparcē* ‘very stingily’ (Ter.), *parsimōnia* ‘thrifl’ (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+).

Plt. **pe-ark-e/o-* [pr.].

PIE **h₂er^(k)-(e/o-)* ‘to hold’.

LIV’s connection of *parcō* with Skt. *prk-* ‘to fill, mix with’ is unconvincing semantically. Keller 1992: 164 (fn. 21) and Weiss 1993: 49-53 propose **pe-h₂erk-* ‘to hold off’ > **pārk-* + *-e/o-* > *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 **h₂er^(k)-*. → *arceō*

pāreō ‘to submit, obey’ [v. II; pf. *pāruī*, ppp. *paritum*] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *pāret* ‘appears, seems’ (Cic.+); *appārēre* ‘to be visible, appear’ (Naev.+), *appāritor* ‘attendant’ (Cato+), *compārēre* ‘to be seen, appear’ (Pl.+).

Plt. **pās-ē-*.

PIE **peh₂-s-* [pr.] ‘to watch, see’?. IE cognates: Arm. *hayim* ‘to see’, Alb. aor. *pashē* ‘I saw’.

Within Latin, it is possible to connect *pār*: *pārēre* would then be a stative verb **pārē-* or **pāsē-* ‘to be visible’, and maybe **pār-i-* ‘visible, obvious’ > ‘seeming’ > *pār* ‘equal’ (cf. German *gleich*). If the meaning of the root **pHr/s-* was ‘to see’, the obvious connection is with PIE **pHs-* as in Albanian aor. *pashē* ‘I saw’, of which we would then be able to prove **h₂*. For *pār*, *paris*, an ablaut **peh₂s-/ *ph₂s-* would have to be assumed. The meaning of this preform would be so close to **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. f.] (Lex XII+)

IE cognates: OIc. *sparri* [m.] ‘pillar, beam’, OHG *sparro* ‘roof-beam, pole’ < **sporH-en-*?

The alleged connection with Gm. words in *spar-* ‘beam’ < **spor-* is a mere paper reconstruction.

Bibl.: WH II: 254, EM 483, IEW 990f., Leumann 1977: 373, Schrijver 1991: 293.

pariō, -ere ‘to give birth to, bear’ [v. III; pf. *peperi*, ppp. *partum*] (VOLat.+; Garigliano *nei pari* [2s.ipv.act. /*paril* or /*parīl*] ‘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), *perīclūtārī* '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. *reperitum*].

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/i/-je-*.

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/i* 'to find, experience' is explained by Schrijver 2003: 79 in the sense that 'to discover' can be interpreted as 'I bring about that sth. is produced or produces itself to me'; he therefore leaves open the possibility that these compounds contain the thematic suffix **-je/o-*. One might also start from 'to bear', from which the deponent verbs meaning 'to experience' are easily understood (in which case thematization is not necessary). The identity of the pf. and ppp. also speaks in favour of the identification of these two verbs as one. The noun *perīclum* < **perī-tlo-* can hardly have been built to the compound verbs, but must represent an older formation. Probably **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/i* provides support for the reconstruction of an **i/ei-* present. Of course, for the compounds in *-perīre/i* we cannot be sure whether they contain **par-* or **per-*.

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.+), *imperīōsus* '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.+).

Plt. **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' << PCI. **φarna-* (-e- from the sb.), OIr. *rath* [n.], MW *rat* 'mercy' < **φrato-*; Skt. *pr̥ṇāti* [3s.act.], aor. *pūrdhī* [2s.ipv.act.], pf. *-pupūryās* [2s.opt.act.] 'to give, grant', *sadā-pr̥ṇá-* [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 **prH_{je-}* > **parāje-*. This is accepted by LIV. This will not work with our phonetic rules: **prH_{je-}* 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.+)

Plt. **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' < **spraua-* < **spreh₂-u-?*; Gr. *σποργύλος* 'sparrow', OPr. *spurglis* 'sparrow' (< **sprg-*), MHG *sperke*, Go. *sparwa*, OE *spearwa*, OHG *sparo* < **spor(H)u-en-*, OIc. *sporr* < **spor(H)uo-*.

Plt. **parVsā-* may reflect earlier **pHr-Vs-* or **prHV-s-*. This might be an *s*-less variant of the forms **sprH-* for (mainly) 'sparrow' in other European languages; but since none of the other forms matches exactly, the etymology remains uncertain. Like other bird-names, these could be loanwords from a non-IE language.

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 *lūpiter*, etc. The connection with Gr. *πηός*, Dor. *πῶός* '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+), *particulātīm* '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 *par(tī)tiō* 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-*, **pāplo-* [n.].

PIE pr. *peh₂-s- 'to protect, herd', pr. *p(e)h₂-sk-e/o-; *peh₂-d^hlo- [n.]. IE cognates: Hit. *pahš-^{a(ri)}*, *pahš'* 'to protect, observe', *pahšnu-^{zi}* 'to protect' < *péh₂s-o, *póh₂s-, *ph₂s-neu-; Skt. *pāti* [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*, Is. *paṣq* 'to pasture', Ru. *pastí* 'to pasture, herd', SCr. *pāsti* 'to pasture, look after' < *peh₂s-; Gr. *ποιμῆν* [m.] 'shepherd', Lith. *piemuō* [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* > **passrs*, **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, successful' (Pl.+), *impetrīre* 'to seek a favourable omen' (Pl.+), *perpetrāre* 'to complete, carry out' (Pl.+).

Plt. **pater-*, **patrijo-*, **patre/ow-*. It. cognates: Ven. *pater* [nom.], O. **patir** [nom.sg.], **patereí**, Mars. *patre*, SPic. **patereih** [dat.sg.] 'father'.

PIE **ph₂tēr-*, *-tér-m*, **-tr-ós* 'father', **ph₂tr-iHo-* 'of a father', **ph₂tr-u-* 'father's brother'. IE cognates: Skt. *pítár-*, OAv. *ptā* [nom.], *patarām* /*ptāram*/ [acc.], *pitrē* [dat.], *fədrōi* /*fōrail*/ [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. *pitryva-* (Br+), YAv. *tūiriia-* [m.] 'father's brother', Khwar. (')*fcwr* (< Plr. **ftūrja-*), Pash. *trə* 'uncle' (< **pt̥(u)ija-*) < **ph₂tr-uio-*, Gr. πάτωρ 'male relative, esp. father's brother' < **ph₂tr-ōu-s*, OHG *fatureo*, *fetiro* 'id.' (< PGM. **fadur(u)ī-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.+).

Plt. **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.+), *perpauillum* '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 cooccurrence of *paucus*, *paullus* and *pauillus* seems to suggest that *paullus* developed from **pauk-slo-* and *pauillus* 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 *pauillus* 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.+), *paupertūnus* '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: OIr. *omun*, MW *ouyn*, MCo. *own*, Bret. *oun* 'fear' < PCI. **ofno-* < **pouno-* (McCone 1992b), OIr. *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 *pāvīō*.

Bibl.: WH II: 266, EM 489, IEW 827, Schrijver 1991: 446. → *paviō*, *pudeō*

paviō, -īre 'to thump, pound, strike' [v. IV] (Cato+)

Derivatives: *pavimentum* 'pavement' (Cato+), *pavicula* 'rammer' (Cato+); *dēpavīre* 'to beat thoroughly' (Naev.+).

Plt. **pawje/o-*. It. cognates: O. *pavmentum* borrowed from Latin.

PIE **ph₂u-ie/o-* 'to hit'. IE cognates: Gr. *παίω* 'to strike, hit' < **ph₂u-ie/o-*, Lith. *pjáuuti*, 3s. *pjáuna* 'to cut', Latv. *pļaiņ* 'to mow, harvest' < **peh₁u-* (or **p̄ieh₂-u-*). Maybe ToB 3p. *pyakar* 'they struck down', Gr. *παίω* 'to hit', ToAB *putk-* 'to divide'.

LIV follows Hackstein 1993: 161 in reconstructing a pr. **pi(e)h₂-u-ie/o-* which would have lost the first **j* in Plt. due to dissimilation (LIV) or simple phonetic loss (Hackstein). Root-initial **p̄i-* 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-* > **m̄juh₁-C-* > **muHC-*. A similar development may account for **pih₂u-i-* > **ph₂u-i-*; the absence of laryngeal metathesis may be due to the following **j* 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 **p̄ieh₂-*, 1. **peuH-*. → *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.+), *pāciscere* 'to arrange by negotiation, betroth', pf. *pactum* (Naev.+), *compaciscī* 'to make an agreement' (Pl.), *compa/ectum* 'agreement' (Pl.+), *dēpeciscī* 'to come to terms, agree' (Ter.+), *pācificārī* 'to be reconciled' (Pl.); *paciō* 'pactiō' (Fest.).

Plt. **pāk-* 'agreement, peace', **pak-e/o-* 'to make an agreement', **pako-* '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 **peh₂k-* 'agreement', **ph₂k-(e/o-)* 'to make an agreement'. IE cognates: Skt. *pāśa-* [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 **peh₂k-*. → *pangō*

-pe [ptc. encl.]

Derivatives: *nempe* 'of course, to be sure' (Pl.+), *quippe* 'for, indeed' (Pl.+), *quispiam* 'some, someone' (Naev.+), *uspiam* 'somewhere, anywhere' (Pl.+).

Plt. **-pe*.

PIE **pe*. IE cognates: CLuw. HLuw. *pa-/ppa* [encl. adverbs.], Lith. *kaip* 'how?'.

Lat. *-pe* can be connected with Lith. *-p*, and will reflect a discourse particle; *-piam*

'any at all' < *-*pe iam*. Maybe PIE *k^wid-pe is reflected in Lat. *quippe* and HLuvian *lkwipal* 'indeed', Lycian, Milyan *tibe=kibe* 'or' (Melchert 2002). The theoretical possibility that -*pe* is the Sabellic form of -*que* < *-k^we 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 invalid).

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)tk-* < **pe-pk-* [v.], **p(e)tk-en-* [m.]. IE cognates: Gr. *πέκω* 'to comb, shear', Lith. *pèšti* 'to pluck', Gr. *πέκτω* 'to comb, shear', OHG *fehlan* 'to fight'; Gr. *κτεῖς*, *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-pk-* to have dissimilated to **petk-*, whence was derived the *n*-stem **petk-n-* / **ptk-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. **pek-*.

pectus, -oris 'breast, chest' [n. *r*] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *pectorālis* 'of the breast' (Varro+).

PIt. **pektos-*.

IE cognates: Olr. *ucht* 'breast, chest' [n., m. *u*] < **puktu-*.

Olr. *ucht* < **puktu-* provides a likely cognate, if it reflects earlier **pektu-*. The earlier connection with Toch. *pāśśām* 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.+), *pecūnus* '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.), *peculātus, -ūs* 'embezzlement of public money or property' (Pl.+), *dēpeculātus, -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 **pek-u-* [n.] 'cattle', **pek-os, -es-* [n.] 'what is being fleeced' > 'cattle/wool'. IE cognates: Skt. *paśú-* [m.] 'cattle, animal', *paśu-* [n.] 'id.', *paśumánt-* 'equipped with cattle, rich in cattle', Av. *pasu-* [m.] 'cattle', OAv. *kamnašsuuā* 'due to a small stock of cattle', YAv. *fšūman-* 'raising cattle', OPr. *pecku* 'cattle', Lith. *pėkus* 'id.', Go. *faihu* [n.] 'property, money', OHG *fihu* [n.] 'cattle' < PGm. **fexu*; 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 **pek-u-*. Pinault 1997 suggests that *-ū* may phonetically derive from **-ēu* in a collective **pkēu/*pkū-* 'small cattle' (for which he sees evidence in Tocharian **śā* (ToB *śānta*) 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. **pek-*. → *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 Ir. **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-elo-*.

PIE **psed-e/o-* 'to fart'. IE cognates: Gr. βδέω 'to fart' < *βzδέω < **psd-e-*, Lith. *bezdėti*, 3s. *bēzda*, Latv. *bezdēt*, Ru. *bzdēt*, SCr. *bàzdjeti* 'to fart'.

The structure of the root suggests an onomatopoeic formation. There is no guarantee that *pōdex* was derived from **psed-* '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 **psed-*.

peīior '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 *peīior* 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.+), *pellitus* 'covered with skins' (Varro+), *pellio* '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. *plėnā* 'membrane' < **pl-ēn-(i)ā-*; OCS *pelena* 'band for swathing children', Ru. *pelenā* 'shroud, (dial.) nappy', Sln. *plėna* 'bandage' < **pel-en-h₂-*, OHG *fel*, *-lles*, OE *fell*, Oic. *fjall* [n.] 'hide' < PGm. **fel-n-*.

The structure of the IE derivatives suggests a root **pel-*, which may have meant 'to strip, skin', but no independent forms of such a root are attested.

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* 'counterpressure' (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-* << **palna-*, 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', *πλήτο* 'he approached'.

Semantically, the appurtenance to PIE forms meaning 'to approach, go to' can be justified by assuming a shift from 'to approach sth., bring closer to' > 'push, impel'. The frequentative *pultāre* (2) and Ven. *poltos* point to an original ppp. **pultos* < **poltos*, which was replaced by *pulsus*. PIIt. **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* : *adoritur*. 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, PIIt. **pelnā-* (ppp. **pelto-* << **plāto-*) and PIIt. **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. *pēnsūm*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: (1) *pēnsūm* ‘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.+), *perpendicularum* ‘vertical line, plumb-line’ (Cato+), *suspendere* ‘to hang, leave hanging’ (Pl.+); *compendium* ‘gain, saving’ (Pl.+), *compendiārius* ‘short’ (Varro+), *dispendium* ‘expense, cost’ (Pl.+), *impedium* ‘cost, payment’ (Varro+), *impendiōsus* ‘spendthrift’ (Pl.), *stipendium* ‘regular payment, military service’ (Pl.+), *suspendium* ‘hanging oneself’ (Pl.+); *compēnsāre* ‘to counterbalance, make up’ (Varro+), *dispēnsāre* ‘to pay, administer’ (Pl.+), *dispensātor* ‘administrator’ (Varro+); *appendix, -icis* ‘anything subordinate’ (Varro+); *libripens, -ndis* ‘one who holds the balance, paying salary’ (Lex XII+); (2) *pendere* ‘to be suspended, hang’ (Pl.+), *pēnsilis* ‘hanging down, suspensible’ (Pl.+); *dēpendere* ‘to hang down’ (Pl.+), *impendere* ‘to be suspended, lour’ (Pl.+), *prōpendere* ‘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. *spęndžia* ‘to set a trap’, OCS *pędb*, Ru. *pjad.* ‘span’ [f.] < **p(e)nd-i-*, CS *poditi* ‘to push, chase’, Ru. *púdit* / *pudít* ‘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. *pēnsūm* 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*, *peñior*, 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*, allegedly '*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' < **póth₂-r*, **pith₂-én-s* or **peth₂-(ō)r*, **peth₂-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. *penėti*, Is. *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.+): *aliquantisper* 'for some time' (Pl.+), *nūper* 'recently' (Pl.+), *parumper* 'for a short while' (Pl.+), *paulisper* 'id.' (Pl.+), *pauillisper* 'bit by bit' (Pl.+), *quantisper* 'for how long?' (Caecil.+), *semper* 'always' (Naev.+), *tantisper* '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**, *-per*, [postpos. + abl.] 'for', O. *per-*, Pael. *pe-*, U. *per-*, **per-**, SPic. **per-** 'before, past' < *pers < *per + -s; O. *p̄rum* '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. περί, περι 'round about, around, extremely, with regard to', Lith. *per̃* 'over, around, through', OCS *prě-*, Ru. *pére-* 'over, through, very, exceedingly' < *per; OCS *prědъ* 'in front', Ru. *péred(o)* 'before, in front of' < *per-d^h₁h₁-om; Go. *fairra* 'far'.

Latin shows the following different usages: the prep. *per* 'through, across', which also occurs as a verbal prefix (*peragō*, *percipiō*, etc.); a prefix *per-* 'very' suffixed to adjectives: *perbonus*, *pertristis*, etc.; finally, *-per* suffixed to adverbs indicates the number of times or duration. The meaning of *-per* accords well with the preposition 'through', and has arisen from the use of *per* as a postposition; this usage is confirmed by the Sabellic evidence. The 'intensifying' prefix *per-* 'very' is explained by Leumann from metanalysis of the postposition *-per*, which seems unlikely in view of the different meanings. These adj. show the same semantics of *per-* as in verbal compounds, viz. 'thoroughly': *percellō* 'to knock down', *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.+).

Plt. *perno- 'foremost'. It. cognates: U. *perne* [dat.sg.n.?] 'what comes before' < *pernōi to *perno-; O. *pernai* [dat.sg.] name of a deity, probably 'the foremost'; U. *pernaias* [acc.pl.f.], *pernaies* [abl.pl.f.] < *pernaio- 'placed in front'.

PIE *per(H)no- 'past, last'. IE cognates: Lith. *pėrnai* 'last year', Go. *fairneis* 'far'.

From a preform *perno-diē(d), syncope to *perndiē and subsequent syllabification as -en- explain the outcome *perendiē*.

Bibl.: WH II: 287, EM 498, IEW 810-816, Untermann 2000: 537f. → *diēs*, *-dinus*

*perfināre 'to break' [v. I] (*perfinas* 'perfringas' Fest.)

Plt. *fina-.

PIE *b^hi-n-H- 'to hit'. IE cognates: OIr. *benaid*, *-ben* 'to strike', MW *edfynaf* 'to tear apart' (*ati-), MBret. *benaff* 'to cut' < PCI. *bina-; OCS *biti* 'to beat', SCr. *biti* '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 *fīnis* 'border' also belongs here.

Bibl.: WH I: 503, EM 498, IEW 117f., Schrijver 1991: 407, Schumacher 2004: 226ff., LIV *b^hejH-. → *fīnis*

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. *pėrgas* '(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.+).

Plt. **persnā-*.

PIE **tspērsn-h₂-* ‘heel’. IE cognates: Hit. *paršna-* [c.] ‘unknown body-part, heel?’ < **p(e)rsno-*, *paršnae-^{zi}* ‘to squat down, crouch (?)’ (denom. to *paršna-*), Skt. *pārṣni-* [f.], YAv. *pāšna-* [n.], Khot. *pārrā-*, Gr. *πτέρπη* [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 **TspērH-* ‘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.+).

Plt. **pero-* ‘on the other side’.

PIE **per-o-*.

Possibly an adv. in **-ām* to **pēro-*, 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’.

Plt. **per-ske/o-* ‘to provide’.

IE cognates: see s.v. *pariō*.

See Untermann, who dismisses the proposed identity with the root of *parcō* (thus still LIV) on formal grounds; semantically, it is not convincing either. Untermann derives a *sk-pr.* **per-ske-* from the root **perh₃-* ‘to provide’. From this root, we find the Lat. pr. *pariō* < **perh₃-i-*. The *sk*-present could have been formed within Italic from the root, explaining why we do not find a larygeal reflex from PIE **perh₃sk-* > **perask-*.

Bibl.: Untermann 2000: 542f., LIV **perk-*.

pertica ‘long straight shoot of a tree, rod, wand’ [f. *ā*] (Pl.+)

Plt. **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. *πτόρπιος* [m.] ‘sprout, twig’, Skt. *kāpṛith-* ‘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+), *pediolus* '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+), *compedire* 'to shackle' (Pl.+), *expedire* 'to release, make ready, achieve' (Pl.+), *expeditiō* 'military operation, raid' (Naev.+), *impedire* 'to restrict, obstruct' (Pl.+), *impedimentum* 'obstacle' (Pl.+), *indupedire* 'to obstruct' (Lucr.), *praepedire* 'to bind, hinder' (Pl.+), *praepedimentum* '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.+).

Plt. **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.] < **k^oetur-pōd-*; U. **ahtrepuřatu**, **atrepuřatu**, **ahatripursatu**, **atripursatu**, **atropusatu** [3s.ipv.II] 'to dance the *tripudium*'.

PIE nom.sg. **pōd-s*, acc.sg. **poed-m*, acc.sg. **pd-os*, loc.sg. **ped-i* [m.] 'foot'. IE cognates: Olr. *is* 'under' (< **pēd-su?*), *ed* 'space, interval' (< **pedo-*), Hit. *pāt-* / *pat-*, *pata-* [c.], CLuw. *pāta/i-*, HLuw. *pada/i-*, Lyc. *pede/i-* 'foot, leg' < **pod-/ *pd-*, Skt. *pāt* [nom.sg.], *padā* [instr.sg.] [m.] 'foot', Skt. *dvi-pād- cātuṣ-pad-* 'bipeds and quadrupeds', YAv. *pad-* [m.], OP *pāda-* 'foot', YAv. *aγmō.paidī-* [f.] 'wearing sandal straps on the feet'; Gr. (Dor.) *πός*, 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 Plt. Most other derivatives are transparent. *Peciolus* is probably from **pediciolus*. The meaning of *-pedire* seems to be derived from *-pedēs* 'fetters'. *Repedāre* might be built on *peda* 'footprint', although this is only attested in Festus; alternatively, it may belong to a Plt. form **pedo-*, if O. **pedú** goes back to such a stem.

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 ire* 'to go down, be destroyed', *pessum dāre* 'to destroy' (Pl.+)

Plt. **ped-tu-* or **pet-tu-*.

PIE **ped-tu-* or **pet-tu-* 'falling'. IE cognates: (1) Skt. *pádyate* 'moves, falls', aor. *pad-*, *niṣ-pád-* [f.] 'excrement', YAv. *paidiia-* 'to go in', *nī ... paidiia-* 'to lie down, copulate', OP *ni-padiy* 'in ambush', OCS *pasti*, Is. *padq* '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* < **per²-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. *petivī*, ppp. *petitum*] (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.), *appetessere* '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' (Lucret.+), *repetere* 'to get back, demand in return, repeat' (Pl.+), *suppetere* 'to be available, give backing' (Pl.+), *suppetiae* [f.pl.] 'assistance' (Pl.+).

Plt. **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. **-pet-e/o-*, OIr. *én*, W. *edn* 'bird' < **petno-* [m.]; Hit. *pattai* 'to run, fly, flee', ^{LU}*patteiant* '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 *i*-pf. was formed by analogy with *cupiō*, *cupivī*, which is semantically close. Yet the pf. *cupivī* was in-existent before the first century BC, or, in any case, it is unattested before Catullus. Kloekhorst 2008: 655ff. has argued that the Hit. verb *pattai* 'to run, fly, flee' goes back to an *i*-pr. **pth₁-ói-/*pth₁-i-* (or: **pt-ói-/*pt-i-*) and the noun *patteiant* to **pth₁-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+).

Plt. **piko-*, **peikā-*. It. cognates: U. *peico* [acc.sg.], *peiqu* [abl.sg.] < **piko-*; U. *peica* [acc.sg.], *peica* [abl.sg.] < **pikā-*; U. *piquier* [gen.sg.] name of a deity in *piquier martier*, compared with Lat. *Picus Martius*.

PIE **(s)piko-?* IE cognates: Skt. *pikā-* 'cuckoo', OPr. *picle* 'fieldfare', OHG *speh(t)*, OIc. *spætr*, Swed. *spett*, Dan. *spætte*.

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. *pikā-* 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.).

Plt. **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. **faiχ-* 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.**peī(ǵ)-*.

pignus, -eris/ -oris 'pledge, surety, hostage' [n. r] (Pl.+)

Plt. **peg-nos-*.

PIE **peh₂ǵ-n-*? IE cognates: Skt. *pajrā-* 'solid, rocky'; see also s.v. *pangō*.

The etymology is uncertain, since one can imagine a meaning 'pledge, surety' to have originated from many different concrete usages. WH and IEW favour **pik/g-no-* 'festgestecktes' to *pingō* (also Manessy-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. *ehpeilatasset* [3p.pf.ps.] 'to erect (a stele)' < **ē-* 'out' + a denom. verb to **pīla-*.

Etymology unknown.

Bibl.: WH II: 302, EM 506f., Untermann 2000: 201 f.

pilleus (-m) 'felt cap' [m. (n.) *o*] (Pl.+)

IE cognates: Ru. *polst'*, Po. *pilść*, SCr. *pūst* (dial.) 'felt' < PSl. **p_olstb*, OHG *filz* 'felt' [m.].

Driessen 2004: 30 considers *pilleus* to be unrelated to Gr. *πίλος* 'felt' (< **pis-lo-*), and etymologically obscure.

Bibl.: WH II: 303f., EM 507, IEW 830.

pīlus 'hair' [m. *o*] (Varro+)

Derivatives: *pīla* 'ball' (Pl.+), *pīlōsus* 'hairy' (Varro+); *dēpīlātus* 'having one's hair plucked' (Lucil.+); *compīlāre* 'to rob, steal' (Pl.+).

The appurtenance of *pīla* 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* 'painting, picture' (Pl.+), *pigmentum* 'paint, tint' (Pl.+); *appingere* 'to paint on, add' (Varro+), *dēpingere* 'to paint, describe' (Pl.+).

Plt. *ping-e/o- 'to paint', *pikto- 'painted'.

PIE *pi-n-k- 'to paint, adorn'. IE cognates: MW *goruc* [3s.], MCo. *gruk* 'made' [suppl. pret. to 'make'] < **uor-ūk-* < PCl. *-*φi-φoik-* [pf.]; Skt. *piṃśati* [3s.act.] 'to adorn, carve out', aor. *piśāná-* 'adorning', *piśtá-* 'adorned', YAv. *fra-pixšta-* 'id.', *pis-* 'adornment', YAv. *aṅku.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. *piēšti* 'to draw lines, adorn', OCS *pъsati* 'to write', OHG *fēh* 'multicoloured' < PGm. **faiχ-*; ToB *piñkem*, ToB A *pikiñc* 'they paint, write'.

Most IE forms show a root **piġ-*; Latin seems to require **pi(ġ)-*, but can also go back to a nasal present **pi-n-k-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 I. **peġg-*, **peġk-*.

pinguis 'fat, greasy' [adj. *i*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *pinguēdō* 'fatness' (Varro+), *pinguitūdō* 'fatness, greasiness' (Cato+), *pinguēscere* 'to grow fat' (Lucr.+).

Plt. **pingu-*?

PIE **piH-n-* 'fat'? IE cognates: Skt. *pīvan-* 'fat, swollen' [adj.], *páyas-* [n.] 'milk', Av. *paēman-* 'mother's milk' [n.], MoP *pīnu* 'sour milk', Gr. πῖαρ [n.] 'fat, tallow' (< **piH-ur*), Lith. *pienas*, Latv. *piēns* '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 **piHuo-* 'fat' with **finguis* < **b^hng^h-u-i-* (Gr. παχύς 'thick') seriously be considered (WH). *Pinguis* can only continue PIE **b^hng^h-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. Ilr. **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.+), *pistrilla* 'id.' (Ter.).

Plt. **pīns-* 'to grind', **pistlo-* 'pounder, mortar'.

PIE **pi-n-s-* 'to grind' [pr.]. IE cognates: Skt. *piṃśati* [3s.act.], *piṃśānti* [3p.act.] 'to crush, grind', *piśtá-* 'ground', YAv. *piśant-* 'crushing, bruising', *pištra-* [m.] 'bruise, injury', MP *pist* 'flour', Gr. πτίσσω 'to winnow grain, bray', ἀπιστος 'unground',

πίσμα 'peeled or winnowed grain', πῖλος [m.] 'felt', πῖλέω 'to make felt' < *pis-lo-; Lith. *paisyti* 'to cut off the beards of chaff, to peel', *pisti* 'to mate', RuCS *pъchati* 'to thrust, sprout', OCS *pъšeno* '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. πίνυς, -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. *pīppakā* 'a species of bird', Gr. ππ(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.

pīrum 'pear' [n. o] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *pīrus* [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 *pīru-* 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.+), *piscinārius* 'of fishponds' (Pl.+), *piscinēnsis* 'haunting swimming-baths' (Lucil.), *pisculentus* 'teeming with fish' (Pl.+).

Plt. **piski-* 'fish'.

PIE **pisk-* 'fish'. IE cognates: OIr. *īasc* < **peisko-*, gen.sg. *ēisc* 'fish'; Go. *fisks* [m.], Olc. *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. *piskor* 'muray' < PSI. **peis-(s)k-*. Yet these could also be derived from the verb 'to squeak' (OCS *piskati*, Ru. *piščát*), cf. Lith. *pyplỹs* 'loach, gudgeon' vs. *pypti* '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+).

Plt. **pwījo-*. It. cognates: Pael. *pes* [nom.sg.m.], Vol. *pihom* [nom.sg.n.], O. **pihiúí** [dat.sg.m.], Marr. *peai* [dat.sg.f.], O. *πεθεδ* [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 **pījo-* 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 **pwījo-* 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 > **puHīio-* > **pwiHjo-* > **pwījo-* > **pījo-*. See the discussion s.v. *fiō*.

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+).

Plt. **pik-*.

PIE **pik-* 'pitch'. IE cognates: Gr. πίσσα, Att. πίττα f. 'pitch' < **pik-ja*, πίττάκιον 'writing tablet', Lith. *pikis*, Latv. *piķis* 'pitch', OCS *рѣсьль* '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.+).

Plt. **plak-ē-*, **plāk-ā-*.

PIE **pl(e)h₂3k-* 'to agree/be pleasant'. IE cognates: ToAB *plāk-* 'to agree', ToA *plākām*, 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.).

Plt. **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. *faisflokun* '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+).

Plt. *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 Plt. *plānt-, shortened to *plant- in accordance with Osthoff's Law (cf. Schrijver 1991: 223). Since the suffix usually indicates an agent, the noun might also be derived from *plh₂- 'to approach'. Since this verb mainly means 'to push, thrust' in Latin (cf. *pellō*), the sole of the foot might be denominated as the part which 'beats' against the ground when walking.

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.+).

Plt. *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. *plāns* 'flat, even, thin', *plāns* '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.+).

Plt. *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. *palūae*-^{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+), *plēbiscitum* ‘resolution of the *plebs*’ (Pl.+).

PIt. **plēbū-*, **plēbū-* [f.], **plēpro-* [adj.]. It. cognates: O. **plīfrikis** [nom.sg.] ‘plēbicus’.

PIE **pléh₁-d^h-uh₁* [nom.], *-uh₁-m* [acc.], **-ueh₁-s* [gen.] ‘fullness’. IE cognates: Gr. *πληθός*, *-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-* < **-b_w-* can hardly be explained from a HD paradigm, and instead proposes a proterodynamic inflection. The Oscan adj. goes back to **plēbriko-* ‘of the people’, which suggests an earlier adj. **pleh₁-d^h-ro-*. The noun may have been formed on the basis of the present stem **pleh₁-d^h-* attested in OAv. *frāda-* ‘to stimulate, thrive’, Gr. *πλήρω* ‘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: (I) *plectilis* ‘plaited’ (Pl.+); *amplectī* [pr.ptc. *amplectēns* Andr.] ‘to hold in the arms, grasp, embrace’ (Andr.+), *plexus*, *-ūs* ‘clasping, embrace’ (Lucret.+), *amplexārī* ‘to clasp, welcome’ (Pl.+), *complexū-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.+), *implicāscere* 'to seize' (Pl.+), *perplicātus* 'tangled' (Lucr.), *replicāre* 'to fold back, bend back' (Cato+); (3) *supplex*, -icis [adj.] 'suppliant' (Pl.+), *supplicāre* 'to entreat, worship' (Pl.+), *supplicium* 'satisfaction, entreaty' (Pl.+).

Plt. *plekt-, *-plek-ā-.

PIE *plek-t-e/o- 'to plait, twine'. IE cognates: Skt. *praśna-* [m.] 'turban', YAv. *arazatō.frašna-* [adj.] 'having a golden helmet/coat of mail' < *ple/ok-no-, Gr. πλέκω 'to braid, wind, twine', πλόκος [m.] 'twine, wreath', πλοχμοί [m.pl.] 'locks of hair', OCS *plesti*, 1s. *pletō* 'to plait', Ru. *plestí*, SCr. *plèsti* < *plekt-; OIc. *flétta*, OHG *flehtan* 'to plait'.

Lat. *plectere* represents an inherited verb *plek-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 *flex-, as reflected in Go. *ga-plaihan* '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 *plek-. → -plex

plector 'to be punished, be beaten' [v. III] (Pl.+)

IE cognates: Lith. *plékti* '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.+), *explēmunt* (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. *prñāti* [3s.act.], s-aor. *aprās* [23s.act.], root aor. *aprāt* [3s.act.] ‘to fill’, *pūrñá-* ‘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’, *πλήτο* ‘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 Plt. **plē-* or **plē-je-*, probably built on a PIE root aorist **pleh₁-*. The full grade *-ē-* was introduced into the adj. **plh₁-no-*. The full grade may have been inherited in the **ro-*adj., and was certainly inherited in the *t-*stem **plē-t-*. According to Leumann 1977: 275, *locuplēt-* contains **loculus* ‘money-bag’ as its first member. But it may simply be ‘rich in lands’.

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.+).

Plt. **-plek-s*. It. cognates: maybe U. **tuplak** [acc.sg.n.] ‘?’.

PIE **dui-plk-* ‘twofold’. IE cognates: Gr. *δίπλαξ*, *-κος* ‘in two layers, double’; subst. ‘mantle’, *τρίπλαξ* ‘threefold’ < **-plk-s*.

Probably, *duplex* was the archetype of this category of compounds. In *duplex*, *du-* is the productive form of ‘two’, taken from *duo*. EM derive *-plex* from **plek-* ‘to plait, twine’, hence ‘-fold’. Semantically this seems a good match. WH argue that *-plex* did not derive from **plek-* ‘to plait’ but from (the root of) *plaga* ‘surface, area’, but this seems much less likely to me. Full grade *duplex* is probably cognate with zero-grade **du-i-plk-* in Greek. The appurtenance of the U. form **-plak**, the meaning of which is unknown, is difficult from a root **plk-*.

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 I: 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+).

Plt. **plou(k)-smo-?*

PIE **ple/ou/(k)-(s)mo-*.

Probably a deverbial 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. *plūksna* 'feather' (< **plunHk-sneh₂*), WH and EM seem to favour a derivative in **-smo-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 324f., EM 516, IEW 838, LIV **pleu-*, **pleuk-*. → *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. *μόλυβδος* 'lead', but more probably to Celtic **pl(o)ud^ho-* – 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^h* 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 (**βǎldūn/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. *plūī*] (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.+).

Plt. **plow-e/o-* 'to rain'.

PIE **pleu-e/o-* [pr.] 'to swim, float'. IE cognates: OIr. *luithir*, *fo-luathar* 'to fly, move' (< **plou-éie-*), *lūid^h*, *-lú^h* 'to drink' < **plus-e/o-* (?) 'to drench' < **pleu-s-*, OIr. *loimm*, MW *llymeit*, MBret. *mo(u)mm* 'a swallow, a drink' (< **plus-mn*); Skt. *pláva-* 'to swim, float', *plutá-* 'flooded, swimming', *plavá-* [m.] 'light raft, float', YAv. *fra-frāuuaiia-* 'to make sth. float away', *dunmō.fru-* '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 **pleu-*. → *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. ἀπλόος, ἀπλοῦς ‘single, simple’, διπλόος, διπλοῦς ‘double, twofold’, Lyc. *thiplē* ‘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. *i?*] (Lex XII+; *plous* SCBac.,)

Derivatives: *plūrēs* [adj. pl.] (Carmen Arvale *pleoris* [acc.pl.], Cic. 1x *ploueres* ‘more (in number)’ (Pl.+), *plūrimus* (*plourime* 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’ (<< **lēš* < **pleh₁-is*, cf. Jasanoff 1988-90); Skt. *prāyah*, *prāyena* [adv. < comp.] ‘for the most part’, Av. *frāiiāh-* ‘more, too much’, *frāēšta-* ‘most’; Gr. πλέων ‘more’, πλεῖστος ‘most, biggest’ < **pleh₁-is-*, *-istHō-*; Oic. *fleiri* ‘more’, *fleistr* ‘most’ < **ploh₁-is-*, *-istHō-*.

It is uncertain whether *plūs* and *plūrimus* reflect **plous-* or **plois-*. The texts contain several archaic or pseudo-archaic spellings (*plous*, *pleor-*, *plour-*, *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 *plourime* 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 *pleu-is, which would mean a stem *pleu- plus the suffix *-is. Thus: *pleh₁-u- > *pleu- > comp. *pleu-is. Via *plouis > *plous this would yield *plūs*. For the superlative *plour-* > *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. *plaūtas* 'sweating shelf, bath shelf, sideboard', Latv. *plāuts* 'shelf', Slovincian *plūto*, SCr. *plūtō* (Prčanj), *plūto* (Dubrovnik) 'flotsam' [n.] < BSl. *plo?utó- or *ploutó-; Oic. *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: *politiō* 'glossy surface; the weeding of cornfields' (Cato+), *politor* 'polisher, weeder' (Cato+); *dēpolitiō* 'careful cultivation' (Varro), *expolire* 'to smooth

down, finish off, adorn' (Pl.+), *perpolire* 'to polish up' (Varro+); *interpolis* [adj.; also -us] 'made as new, refurbished' (Pl.+), *interpolāre* 'to make as new, touch up' (Pl.+).

PIt. **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 *polire* belonged to the jargon of the fullers, and that *interpolāre* meant 'to repair' a piece of clothing. The old explanation that *polire* would be a back-formation to the pf. *po-līvī* of *po-linere* 'to besmear' has been rejected by WH and EM. It was reinstated by Seldeslachts 2001: 85-87; yet although the hypothesized semantic shift from 'besmear' to 'smoother, 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 *polire* is denominal to an adj. **poli-* < **polh₂-i-* 'flat' (adopting Schrijver's 2003 interpretation of the presents in *-ī-* < **-ije/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.).

PIt. **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.+).

PIt. **polnē-* 'to be full' > 'to be strong'.

PIE **pl-n-eh₁-* 'to fill'. IE cognates: see s.v. *pleō*.

McCone 1991: 21 and Rix 1995a: 401 propose to derive *pollē-* from **polnē-* <

*p_l-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)flow' < PCl. *-*qlini*-; and semantically, 'be full' > 'be strong' is defensible. 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)*- > *plēō*, which continues the PIE root aorist.

Bibl.: WH II: 332, EM 519, IEW 840f., LIV **pleh₁*-. → *plēō*

pollex, -icis 'thumb, big toe' [m. *k*] (Cato+)

PIt. **-liχ-s*.

The alleged connection with CS *palъcb*, Ru. *pálec* 'finger', SCr. *pālac* 'thumb, big toe' < PSl. **palъcb* < **pōl*- does not explain Lat. *pollex*. Meier-Brügger 1990 proposes to explain *pollex* from **por-lik^h*-s 'which is licked over' to the root **leig^h*- '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 **leig^h*-. → *lingō*

pollingō, -ere 'to prepare for the funeral, lay out' [v. III; *pollīnxī*, *pollicitum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *pollīnctor* 'who prepares a corpse for the funeral' (Pl.+).

PIt. **(por-)(w)li-n-k^w-e/o-*.

PIE **uleik^w*- [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-g^w*- 'to wash' with dissimilation of **por-ning-* > **porling-* > *polling-*, the etymology as **por-wlink^w*- '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 **uleik^h*-. → *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 /ō/ 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 *IHu-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 -*ūere*, 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 *leu-. → *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), *appōnere* '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/ō-.

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 *tkei-. → *po-, sinō*

pōns, -tis 'bridge, plank' [m. i] (Enn.+)

Derivatives: *dēpontāre* 'to throw from a bridge' (Varro); *pontu/īfex, -fīcis* 'one of the college of priests of Rome' (Pl.+), *pontificālis* 'of a pontifex' (Varro+), *pontificius* 'of a pontifex' (Cato+).

Plt. *pont-.

PIE *pōnt-h₁-s, *pnt-éh₁-m, *pnt-h₁-ós 'road'. IE cognates: Skt. *pánthā-* [m.] 'road, path, course' (*pánthās* [nom.sg.], *pánthām* [acc.sg.], *pathās* [gen.abl.sg.], *pathī* [loc.sg.]),

OAv. *paṽō* [abl.sg.], *paṽī* [loc.sg.], *paṽō* [acc.pl.], *padabīš* [instr.pl.], YAv. *paṽtā* [nom.sg.], *paṽtəm* [acc.sg.], *paṽa* [instr.sg.] (secondary *paṽtānəm* [acc.sg.], *paṽtānō* [nom.pl.]), OP *paṽim* [acc.sg.], Oss. *fændæg* 'path, road'; Gr. *πάτος* [m.] 'path', *πόντος* [m.] 'sea', Arm. *hown* 'ford', OPr. *pintis*, OCS *poṽtъ* [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 **k^we/o-k^wlo-m* 'neck' (> Lith. *kāklas* '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.+), *populātīm* '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.+).

Plt. **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**, **pupřices**, **pupřes** [gen.sg.], **pupřike**, **pupřice** [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 Plt. **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. *πελέα*, 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).

PIt. **por-*. It. cognates: Fal. **por-** in **porded**, U. *pur-* in *pur-doui-*.

PIE **pr-* 'forth'. IE cognates: Gr. *παρ* 'further, beside' (Ion.Att. >> *παρά*), Go. *faur*, OS *for*, *fur* 'for, before'; Gr. *πόρρω*, *πόρσω* (Pindar) 'forth' (but H. *πρόσ(σ)ω*).

Latin *por-* regularly continues PIE **pr-*, while *porrō* could reflect **p(o)rsō(d)*. The Praenestine form is not an ablative. Nussbaum (1994: 173) tentatively suggests a preform **pr-s* (with adverbial *-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+)

PIt. **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' < PCI. **pr̥ikā-*; OHG *furuh*, OE *furh* 'furrow', OIc. *for* [f.] 'canal, ditch' < PGM. **furχō-*; maybe Lith. *peršėti* '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.).

PIt. **pork-o-* It. cognates: U. **purka**, *porca* [acc.pl.] 'sow'.

PIE **pórk-o-* 'digger, pig'. IE cognates: Av. *parāsa-*, Khot. *pāsa* (< **parsa*), Kurd. *purs*, OPr. *praštian*, Lith. *paršas*, CS *prasę* [n. nt], gen.sg. *prasęte*, Ru. *porosja*, *porosënok* [m.], *porosjāta* [nom.pl.], SCr. *prāse*, gen.sg. *prāseta* 'piglet' < PSI. **pōrs-nt-*, OHG *far(a)h* [n.], OE *farh* [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+).

PIt. **porso-*.

PIE *prso-. IE cognates: Gr. πράσον [n.] 'leek'; also Skt. *parśá-* 'sheaf, bundle', YAv. *parša-* [m.] 'ear (of corn)', Gr. Περσεφόχεια PN?

The Latin and Greek words have mostly⁴ 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 Ilr. and possibly in the theonym Περσεφόχεια, 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+), *portorium* '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.+).

Plt. *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. *pritu-; Av. *parətu-* [m.] 'crossing, bridge', MP *puhl* 'bridge'; OHGfurt, OE *ford* < PGM. *furđū-, OIc. *fjorðr* 'bay, fjord' < *ferđ/pu-.

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 *pr̥tuh₁-no-. *Op-portūnus* has the productive lengthening of the stem vowel for derivatives from *u*-stems.

Bibl.: WH II: 343-345, EM 523f., IEW 816f., Untermann 2000: 546, 615f., LIV 1.*per-. → *per*, *por-*, *portō*

portō, -āre 'to transport, carry' [v. I] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *apportāre* 'to carry, bring' (Pl.+), *asportāre* 'to carry off, remove' (Pl.+), *comportāre* 'to carry, transport' (Pl.+), *dēportāre* 'to bring, convey' (Pl.+), *dēportātiō* 'taking home' (Cato+), *exportāre* 'to carry out, export' (Pl.+), *importāre* 'to bring in, cause' (Pl.+), *reportāre* 'to bring back' (Pl.+).

Plt. *portō/ā-. It. cognates: U. *purtatu*, *portatu* [2/3s.ipv.II], *portaia* [3s.pr.sb.], *portust* [3s.fut.pf.] 'to bring, carry' < *portā-je-.

PIE *prto- 'passed, crossed' or *port-o- 'passage, crossing'. IE cognates: Skt. pr. *pīparti* [3s.act.], aor. *pārṣ-* 'to bring across', Av. (*fra*)*frā* [1s.sb.aor.act.] 'to cross',

YAv. *pāraia-* ‘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. *poposci*] (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.+).

Plt. pr. **pork-ske/o-* (>> Sab. **perk-ske-*), aor. **prek-* >> **perk-* (>> Plt. pf. **pe-pork-* >> Lat. **pe-pork-ske-*). It. cognates: U. **pepurkurent** [3p.fut.pf.], O. *comparascuster* [3s.fut.pf.ps.] ‘to demand/decide’; O. **kūmparakineis** [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-je/i-*, 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’ < PCI. **parkske/o-* < **parkske-*, OW MW *erchi*, MCo. *erghi* ‘to order’, MBret. *archaff* ‘to ask, beg’ < PBr. **ark-i-* << PCI. **parkske/o-*, Skt. pr. *prchāmi*, Av. *parasa-* ‘to ask’, OP *pati-prsa-* ‘to read’, *prsa-* ‘to interrogate, punish’, Arm. *(e-)harc* ‘[aor.] ‘asked’, Lith. *prašyti*, OCS *prositi*; Go. *frainnan*; 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.+), *posticus* [adj.] ‘at the back’ (Pl.+), *posticulum* ‘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)-sk^w-eh₁* 'following'; Gr. (dial.) *πός* 'at, to'; Lith. *pàs* 'at, on'; OCS *pozdě* 'late', Ru. *pózdj* (dial.) < **pos(t)-d^h₁-o-*.

Whereas *posterus* seems to be the old comparative, matched by Sabellic forms, *posterior* must be a secondary formation built on it. Nevertheless, it too can be found in O. *pústiris*. Lat. *postrēmus* reflects **poster-isamo-*, while *pōne* was formed from **post-ne*. Lat. *postīcus* reflects PIE **posti-h₃k^w-o-* 'facing the back', cf. *antīcus*. The primary PIE form seems to have been **pos*, extended by means of **-ti* in PIE or in PIIt. 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.)

PIIt. **po(r)sti-*.

PIE **pr-sth₂-i-* 'standing forth' or **po-sth₂-i-* 'standing upright'. IE cognates: (1) Skt. *prsthá-* 'back, mountain-ridge, top', YAv. *paršta-* [m.] 'back, spine, support in the back', Lith. *piřstas*, OCS *prbstь* '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.+).

PIIt. **poti-* 'master, in control of', **pot-ē-* 'to be master'. It. cognates: O. *pútiad*,

putiād [3s.pr.sb.], **pútians**, **putiāns** [3p.pr.sb.] ‘to be able’ < **pot-ē-*.

PIE **pót-i-*. IE cognates: Skt. *pāti-* [m.] ‘lord, master’, Av. *paiti-* [m.] ‘lord, husband’, OP **daṽa-pati-* ‘commander of ten soldiers’; Gr. *πόσις* [m.] ‘husband’; OLith. *patis*, Lith. *pàts* [m.] ‘id.’, Go. *brub-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-je-* > *potire* 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.+), *pōtātīq̄* ‘drinking party’ (Pl.+), *pōtātor* ‘drinker’ (Pl.+), *pōtītāre* ‘to drink habitually’ (Pl.+); *ēpōtāre* ‘to swallow, drink down’ (Pl.+), *perpōtāre* ‘to drink heavily’ (Pl.+); *pōsca* (Pl.+), *pōscūm* (Pl.+), *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-¹* / *paš-* ‘to swallow, gulp down’, CLuw. *pašš-* ‘to swallow’ < **poh₃-s-*; Skt. aor. *apāt* [3s.act.], *pānti* [3p.sb.] ‘to drink’, *pītā-* ‘drunk’, *pātār-*, *pātār-* [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 παραι, 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. *stallit* 'to stand', OCS *postolati*, Is. *postelijq*, Ru. *stlat* 'to spread'; PGM. **stalla-* 'place, stable' (whence **stall-ija-* 'to place') < **stol-no-* or **sth₂-d'lo-*?

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, prānsūm*), *prānsor* 'who takes lunch' (Pl.+); *imprānsus* 'not having had breakfast' (Pl.+), *dēprāns, -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 *dēprāns* from an agent noun **prāns* < **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*

pratum ‘meadow’ [n. o] (Pl.+)

Plt. **prāto-*.

PIE **prh₃-to-* ‘allotted’?

WH and IEW connect OIr. *ráith*, *ráth* ‘earthen wall’ < *(p)rāt-, but this is semantically unconvincing. 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, prehensum*] (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 / apprehendere* ‘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.+).

Plt. *(*prai-*)*χend-* ‘to seize’ [pr.], *(*prai-*)*χod-ā-* ‘booty’.

PIE **g^h-n(e)-d-* [pr.] ‘to grab’ >> **g^h(e)nd-*, **g^hod-h₂-* [f.]. IE cognates: OIr. *ro-geinn*, MW *genni* ‘to be situated’ < PCl. **gan-n-d-e/o-*; Gr. *χαυδάνω* ‘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 spelled *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 **g^hed-*. → *hedera*

premo, -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. *pṛt-*, YAv. *parət-* [f.] 'battle, strife, fight' < **pṛ-t-*, Lith. *peĩti*, Latv. *pērt* 'to beat, lash', Ru. *perét*, 3s. *prēt* 'to go, make one's way, drag', Cz. *přiti* '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-* (>> *tremuĩ*). *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 original stem would have been **pres-*, the pr. *prem-* being an innovation on the basis of *tremō*. Italic **pres-* might be an *s*-present to PIE **per-* 'to hit', but this remains guesswork.

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. *prāti*, Av. *paiti*, Gr. *πρότι*, *πρωτί*, *πρός*, OCS *protivъ*, *protivq* '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: *precāri* 'to ask, pray' (Andr.+), *precāriō* [adv.] 'as a suppliant, asking a favour' (Pl.+), *precātor* 'suppliant' (Pl.+); *comprecāri* 'to pray to, invoke' (Pl.+), *dēprecāri* 'to beg the removal of, beg mercy' (Pl.+), *dēprecātiō* 'entreaty, plea' (Pl.+).

PIt. **prek-*.

PIE **prek-* [f.] 'question'. IE cognates: W. *rheg* 'gift; curse' < PCl. **prek-* (Hamp 1977); Skt. *prās-* [f.] 'dispute, questioning, statement or assertion in a debate or lawsuit', OAv. *f(a)rasā-* [f.] 'question'.

Root noun **prek-* to the root of *poscō* and *procus*.

Bibl.: WH II: 346, EM 534, IEW 821f., Sihler 1995: 116, LIV **prek-*. → *poscō*, *procus*

prior 'in front, ahead, earlier' [adj.comp. r] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: (1) *priusquam* [cj.] 'earlier than, before', *prīdem* [adv.] 'formerly, long

ago' (Pl.+), *pr̄diē* [adv.] 'the day before, in the time preceding' (Pl.+); (2) *pr̄mus* 'furthest in front, foremost' (Naev.+), *adpr̄mus* 'the very first' (Andr.+), *pr̄mānus* 'belonging to the first legion' (Cato+), *pr̄mārius* 'leading, excelling' (Pl.+), *pr̄mātus*, *-ūs* 'supremacy' (Varro+), *pr̄mitus* [adv.] 'at first' (Lucil.+), *pr̄mulus* 'first' (Naev.+), *pr̄mōris* [adj.] 'first member or part, nearest' (Cato+), *pr̄nceps*, *-cipis* 'first, earliest, leading' (Pl.+), *pr̄ncipium* 'start, origin' (Pl.+), *appr̄mus* 'very first, most excellent' (Andr.+); (3) *pr̄scus* 'ancient, of old' (Enn.+), *pr̄stinus* 'antique, ancient, previous' (Pl.+).

PIt. comp. **pr̄̄-jos-* 'earlier, former', n. **pr̄̄-is*, sup. **pr̄̄-isamo-* 'first'. It. cognates: Pael. *pri-* 'in front of', maybe U. *pri-*, *pri-* in *prinuvatu-* < **pri-*; Pael. *prismu* [nom.sg.f.] fem. praenomen; Pael. *pritrōme* [acc.sg. + *-en*] 'further' < **pr̄̄-tero-*.

PIE **pr(e)i* 'before'. IĒ 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 **pr̄̄i*. The PIE ancestry of *pr̄̄i* 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 *pr̄nceps* < **pr̄mo-kap-*. The sup. *prior* reflects **pr̄̄-iōs*, and its zero grade **pr̄̄-is* seems to have been used as *pr̄is-* in *pr̄idem* < **pr̄is-dem* 'long ago' and in the adj. **pr̄is-ko-* > *pr̄iscus* and *pr̄is-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*, *pr̄ivus*

pr̄ivus 'peculiar, individual' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *pr̄ivāre* 'to deprive of, rob' (Pl.+), *pr̄ivātus* 'private, of a citizen' (Lex XII+), *pr̄ivātīm* 'privately, separately' (Pl.+); *pr̄ivīgna* 'step-daughter' (Titin.+).

PIt. **prei-wo-* 'separate, individual'. It. cognates: U. *prever* [abl.pl.m.], *preve* [adv.] 'one at a time, separately'; O. *preiuvatud* [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*, *prō-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* 'p̄rimum'; 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. *πρωί* 'early, in the morning', Latv. *pruōjām* '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 **b^hr-* 'to bring'. IE cognates: Skt. *pra-bhar-*, Av. *fra-bar-* 'to bring, offer'.

Originally an adj. **pro-fro-* < PIE **pro-b^hr-o-* 'what is brought up against someone (as a reproach)'.
Bibl.: WH II: 365f., EM 537, Hamp 1997: 125, LIV **b^her-*. → *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-b^hu-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-b^h(h₂)u-o-*. IE cognates: Skt. *pra-bhú-* [adj.] 'excelling, excellent'; Gr. *ὑπερφου* [adv.] 'excessively' (Att.), *ὑπερφυής* 'excessive', *ὑπερφίαλος* 'arrogant' (if

< **-phuwalos* with de Lamberterie), ὑφέαρ ‘mistletoe’ (< **h₂iu-b^heh₂u-r* or **h₂iu-b^hēu-r* (?) ‘ever-growing’).

The Sab. forms show that there was a Plt. form **profo-*; hence, we must start from a thematized form in **-b^hu-o-* < **-b^hHu-o-*, with loss of the PIE laryngeal in the compound. In or after Plt., **w* was lost after a labial obstruent (cf. *aperio, operio*). Skt. has a *u*-stem which might be an internal formation of Skt. *Superbus* is not found in Sab., which may be coincidental; but since *superbus* functions more or less as an antonym to *probus*, *superbus* might be an inner-Latin formation. De Lamberterie 1994: 334 has suggested that Gr. ὑπέρφου ‘excessively’ represent the same formation as *superbus*.

Bibl.: WH II: 366, EM 537, IEW 146-150, Meiser 1998: 121, Untermann 2000: 583-585, LIV **b^hueh₂-*. → *fuī*

procerēs, -um ‘leaders, society’ [m.pl. *r*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *procī, -um* [pl.] ‘class of leading citizens in the Servian constitution’ (Cic., Fest.).

Plt. **proko-* ‘who is at the front, leader’?

PIE **pro-k(o)-*. IE cognates: Gr. πρόκα ‘immediately’, OCS *prokъ* ‘remaining’, *pročъ* ‘remaining’ [adj.]; *proče* ‘further, then’ [adv.], Ru. *prok* ‘use, benefit’ [m.], *próčij* ‘other’ [adj.]; *proč’* ‘away’ [adv.] < PIE **pro-k(i)ǵ-*.

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.+)

Plt. **k(r)ēro-*.

PIE **kreh₁-ro-* ‘growing’. IE cognates: see s.v. *crēscō*.

Schrijver regards the usual connection with *crēscō* as very uncertain, since it is not compelling that ‘tall’ derives from ‘growing upward’. I think this is too pessimistic. Rieken 2003: 45 reconstructs a PIE adj. **kērh₁o-* ‘growing’ which she recognizes in HLuw. *zī+ra/i-la-mi-i* ‘fruitful, thriving’ < **zīra-* ‘growth’ < **kēro-*. She analyzes *prōcērus* as orig. **‘having a high growth’* and *sincērus* **‘of one growth, unmixed, real’*. This is possible, but the meaning ‘fruitful, thriving’ of HLuw. is less clearly connected with ‘to grow, increase’ than *prōcērus*. Hence, I still regard a dissimilation of **prō-krēros* > *prōcērus* quite possible.

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.+)

Plt. **pro-k(w)o-* ‘at the front’?

PIE **pro* ‘in front of’.

Lat. *procul* might be a derivative of PIE **pro-ko-* 'at the front', hence **prokelo-*. Schaffner 1996 compares PGM. **niḡuula-* 'down, directed downwards' < **ni-ḡue-lo-* and Skt. *viśva-* 'all, whole' < **ui-ḡyo-*, and posits **proculo-* < **prokyolo-* < PIE **pro-ḡue-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-g^we/ol-io-*, with cognate forms such as MW *ryvel*, W. *rhyfel* 'war' < PCI. **ro-bel-*, *bel* 'hits, strikes', *erdīfel* 'smites' (< **ari-dī-bel-*), Lith. *gēlti*, 3s. *gēlia* 'ache, sting, bite', and OHG *quelan* 'to be in pain', OE *cwelan* 'to die'. Yet in the relative chronology, the Plt. lenition of **g^w* to **w* precedes the Latin development of **-owe/oCV-* > **-ouCV-* > *-ūC-*, so that one would expect **pro-g^welio-* to yield **prūlium* or, like *mōtus*, **prōlium*. Klingenschmitt's proposal may be salvaged if the root sequence **wel-* was restored at a later stage, but no cognate forms are extant in Latin that would seem to conserve such a root. If we are to explain *proe-* from an earlier disyllabic sequence, the syllable boundary must have been present until quite recently. An alternative candidate would be a preform **pro-ḡel-io-*, but there is no PIE root **g^hel(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-πρό* ‘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: *proprium* ‘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: MŪ *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. *prīṇanti* [3p.act.], *āpriyamāna-* [neg.ptc.med.], aor. *préṣat* [3s.sb.act.] ‘to please’, *prīṭá-* ‘pleased, satisfied’, OAv. *friiṇmahī* (for **frinmahī*) [1p.pr.act.] ‘to satisfy’, *frīnāi* [1s.pr.sub.med.] ‘to please’, YAv. *frīnāmahi* [1p.pr.act.] ‘to satisfy’, *huuā-frita-* ‘very much loved’, *friṭa-* ‘dear, loved’, OE *frīd-hengest* ‘horse that is well-cared for’, OHG *frīten* ‘to look after’, OCS *prijati* ‘to take care of’, *prijatelb* ‘friend, beloved’, Go. *frijon* ‘to love’, Go. *frijonds*, Olc. *frændi*, 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. *proprium* 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-oi-* / **sph₁-i-*; Skt. *sphirá-* ‘fat’, *sphāya-* ‘to become fat, increase’, OCS *spěti* ‘to succeed’, Ru. *spei* ‘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 **sp^heh₁-*. → *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-wo-* with regular change of **su* to *rv*. The preform would be a contamination of **pro-petēs* 'inclined, hasty' (Gr. *προπετής* 'falling down, precipitate') and **petes-wo-* 'provided with impetus'. This seems at least better than other solutions.

Bibl.: WH II: 377, EM 541, IEW 825f., LIV 2. **peth₂-*. → *petō*

prūina 'hoar-frost, rime' [f. *ā*] (Pac.+)

Plt. **prus-wo-* 'freezing'.

PIE **prus-wo-* 'sprinkling, drop'. IE cognates: Skt. *pruṣvā / 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: **prusūina* > **prurwīna* > **pruwīna* (dissimilation of *r*) > **prūina* > *prūina*. Skt. *pruṣvā* 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 **preus-*. → *prūriō*

prūrlō, -īre 'to itch, tingle' [v. IV] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *prūna* 'glowing charcoal' (Cato+).

Plt. **prou-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. *pruṣṇuvānti* [3p.act.], *pruṣṇute* [3s.med.], aor. *pruṣā* [1s.sb.act.], ppp. *pruṣitā-* 'to (be)sprinkle, wet'; maybe Lith. *praūsti* 'to wash', SCr. *prskati*, Sln. *prskati* '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 **preus-*. → *prūina*

-pte 'emphasis' [ptcle.] (Naev.+; *meōpte, meāpte, tuōpte, tuāpte*, etc.)

Plt. **-pe/o-te*.

PIE **-pe/o + *-te*. IE cognates: Lith. *-pāt*.

Occurs mainly after poss. adj. (*meus, tuus, suus*) and sporadically after personal pronouns and *is*. Traditionally, *-pte* is explained as a syncopated form of **-pote* < **-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 ποτε), Hit. *-pat* < **pat(V)* (not **-i*), Lith. *-pāt* 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.+), *pūblicāmus* [adj.] ‘contractor, publican’ (Pl.+), *pūblicitus* ‘publicly, at public expense’ (Pl.+), *pūblicāre* ‘to make public property, exhibit’ (Naev.+).

IE cognates: Skt. *pūmāms-* ‘male, man’ (nom.sg. *pūmān*, acc. *pūmāmsam* (< **pu-mos-m*), loc.pl. *pūmsū*), 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*, *publicai* (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. *pūmāms-* ‘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’ explanation from Skt. and PIE morphology. Schrijver 1991 favours the older explanation by Pedersen from a compound of **pu-* ‘man’ (as in Skt. *pūmān*?) and **dʰeh₁-* ‘to put’ (for the formation, cf. *plēbēs*), e.g. **pe/ou-dʰeh₁-*; 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. *pudui*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *pudor*, *-ōris* 'shame, decency' (Pl.+), *pudīcus* 'sexually pure, chaste' (Pl.+), *pudīcītia* 'chastity, virtue' (Pl.+), *impudēns* 'shameless' (Andr.+), *impudentia* 'shamelessness, immodesty' (Pl.+), *impudīcus* 'unchaste, immoral' (Pl.+), *impudīcītia* '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 frightened'. 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.+), *puerilis* 'of a boy/child' (Pl.+), *puerilitās* '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 **perk-* 'variegated' with a dissimilation of **perk-ro-* to **pelk-ro-*, but one would rather expect a dissimilation of the second **r* to **perko-* in such a case. No etymology.

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. *plūṣi-*, Sogd. *βš'h* < PIr. **fršā-*, Yidgha *frīyo* < PIr. **fruši-kā-*, Gr. *ψύλλα* (< **psul-*), Arm. *low* (< PIE **plus*); Alb. *plesht* [m.]; Lith.

blusà, RuCS *bl̥cha*, 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 **puṣl-*, 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-(F)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-* < **p/*- 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. *plaučiai* [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-mōn* '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-mōn* 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 intermediary, 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. **pe/olaw(-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 **peIH-u-(h₂)* 'chaff' seen in Skt. *palāva-* 'chaff, husk', OPr. *petwo*, Lith. *pēlūs* 'chaff', Ru. *polóva* (see s.v. *palea*), but Schrijver 1991 objects that the semantic connection of 'dust' with 'chaff' is unconvincing. 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 **πυγμαῖος*. 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.), *pūgilātus*, *-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)-g/k-*. IE cognates: Gr. πύξ ‘with the fist’, πύγμα [f.] ‘fist, fist-fight’, πυγών, -όνοϛ [m.] ‘certain measure, distance from the elbow to the first finger-joint’; ἔχε-πευκῆϛ ‘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 *pūgnāculum* suggests that it is an abbreviated form of *prōpūgnāculum*, rather than an immediate derivative of *pūgnāre* (Serbat 1975: 194).

Bibl.: WH II: 383f., EM 543-546, IEW 828, Meiser 2003: 189, LIV **peu(ǵ)-*.

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 ‘stem 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*).

Plt. **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. *πῦρός*, Arm. *howr*, Go. *fon*, gen. *funins*, Olc. *funi* [m.] Olc. *fúrr, fyrr, fyri*, OHG OS OFr. *fiur*, OHG also *fuir* ‘fire’; ToA *por*, ToB *puwār, 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 **pjech₂-*. → *paviō, pūrus*

pūrus ‘clean, pure’ [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *impūrus* ‘dirty, foul’ (Pl.+), *impūritia* ‘impurity’ (Pl.+), *impūrātus* ‘filthy’ (Pl.+).

Plt. **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, pūrai* ‘winter corn’, Latv. *pūrs* ‘grain measure’, RuCS *pyro* ‘spelt’, Ru. *pyréj* ‘couch-grass’, Gr. *πῦρός*, Dor. *σπῦρός* ‘wheat’ [m.] < **puHro-* ‘wheat’ (< **‘clean?’*).

Latin and Celtic show a stem **pūro-* ‘clean’ which is cognate with Ilr. **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. **peuH-*. → *paviō*, *pūs*, *pūr(i)gō*

pūs, pūris ‘pus’ [n. *r*] (Lucil.+)

Derivatives: *pūrentus* ‘with much pus’ (Cato+); *suppūrāre* ‘to fester under the surface’ (Cato+); *pūtēre* ‘to rot, stink’ (Pl.+), *pūtīdus* ‘rotting, rotten’ (Pl.+), *pūtēscere* ‘to begin to rot’ (Cato+), *expūtēscere* ‘to rot away’ (Pl.+), *pūtor* ‘rottenness’ (Cato+); *puter*, *-tris* [adj.] ‘rotten, foul, 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+).

Plt. **pūs-* ‘pus’, **pūto-* ‘rotten’, **putri-* ‘rotten’.

PIE **puH-o/es-* [n.] ‘pus’, **puH-to-*, **puH-tro-* ‘rotten’. IE cognates: Olr. *othar* ‘sickness, sick man’ < **putro-*; Skt. *puvas-* [n.] ‘pus’ < **puH-os*, *pūyati* ‘to rot, stink’, *pūti-* ‘foul, stinking’, YAv. *puia-* ‘to decay’, *pūiti-* [f.] ‘becoming foul, decay’; Gr. πύον [n.], πύος [n.] ‘pus’, πύός [m.] ‘animal milk’, πύομαι ‘to rot, decay’; Lith. *puvėsis* ‘piece of mouldered wood, (pl.) rotten stuff’, Latv. *puvesis* ‘pus’ < **puH-es-io-*, Lith. *pūti* ‘to rot, decay’; OIc. *fúinn* [adj.] ‘rotten’.

Nom.acc.sg. *pūs* 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 Olr. 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. **peuH-*.

pustula ‘blister, pustule, bubble’ [f. *ā*] (Tibullus+; variants *pūsula*, *pussula*)

Derivatives: *praepūtium* ‘foreskin of the penis’ (Varro+).

IE cognates: PIE **pus-*: Skt. *pūsyati* ‘thrive, flourish’, Lith. *pūslė* ‘blister, bladder’, Ru. *pūxlyj* ‘chubby’, *pūxnut* ‘to swell’, Norw. *føysa* ‘swell’; PIE **put-*: Lith. *pūsti*, 3s.pr. *puñta*, pret. *pūto* ‘to swell’, Lith. *pūsti*, 3s. *pūčia* ‘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 *pih₂-. → *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.], *pukelel* [gen.sg.?], Mars. *puclefs*, Pael. *puclois* [dat.pl.], SPic. *puqlloh* [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 *pŕtica* ‘bird’, Ru. *pótká* ‘bird’, Cz. *pták* ‘bird’, all < BSl. *put- ‘bird’.

Lat. *pullus* < *put-slo-, as shown by the dim. *pusillus* < *pussillo- < *putslo-lo-. Thus, whereas Sabellic continues PIE *putlo-, Latin has inserted an -s-. The dim. *putillus* was productively built to *putus*. The latter seems the most basic form *puto-, but it is attested only in Empirical Latin in a conjectural form. The form *pūsus* might be a back-formation to *pusillus*. Romance continues a VLat. preform *pūtus with the characteristic geminate consonant of expressive words. A connection of the stem *put- with *puer* is difficult to establish.

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. *quaesivī*, ppp. *quaesitum*] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *quaeritāre* ‘to keep looking for, seek’ (Pl.+); *quaesitiō* ‘searching’ (Pl.+), *quaestiō* ‘examination, inquiry’ (Pl.+), *quaestōr* ‘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+), *conquīsitor* ‘inspector’ (Pl.+), *exquīrere* ‘to ask about, inquire’ (Pl.+), *exquīsītum* ‘with diligence’ (Varro), *inquīrere* ‘to investigate’ (Pac.+), *inquīsītus* ‘unexamined’ (Naev.+), *perquīrere* ‘to search everywhere’ (Pl.+), *perquīsitor* ‘one who hunts out’ (Pl.), *requīrere* ‘to seek, inquire’ (Pl.+), *requīritāre* ‘to seek repeatedly’ (Pl.).

PIt. *kwai-s-e/o- [pr.]. It. cognates: O. *kvaistsur*, κραιστωρ [nom.sg.], *kvaisturei*, *kvaizstur*, Mārs. *gestur* [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 *-ētio- or *-etiā- from *kvestur*.

PIE *kueh₂-i- [pr.] ‘to acquire’. IE cognates: Gr. πέπᾶμαι (Dor. Argos), fut. πᾶσομαι ‘to get, acquire’; OPr. *quoi* ‘I, you want’, *quāits* ‘desire’, Lith. *kviēsti* ‘to invite’; Possibly also OAlb. 3s. *kaa* ‘he has’ < PIE *kuoh₂-e [pf.] ‘has got’ (thus Matzinger 2003).

The etymology as *kwois- 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. *kueh₂-i- to a root *kueh₂- ‘to acquire’. For this root, he compares Gr. πέπᾶμαι (Dor. Argos), fut. πᾶσομαι ‘to possess, to acquire’ < *kueh₂-. The pr. *quaesō* can be interpreted as a recharacterized, new desiderative *kwais-s-e/o-. This seems to

me the best proposal to date. Leumann 1977: 591 suggests that the suffix *-ī-* in *quaesivī*, *-ītus* would have been analogically adopted from semantic neighbours such as *cupīre* and *petere*, *-ivī*. But the *ī*-pf. is well-established in Plautus for *quaesivī*, 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 *quaesivī* can then continue an *s*-aorist **kʷais-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 **(k)ʷeh₂-*.

quālus/m 'wicker basket' [m./n. o] (Pl.+; pl. *quāla* Cato)

Derivatives: *quasillum/s* 'small wicker basket' (Cato+).

Plt. **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 *košb* 'big basket of wickerwork' < **kʷos-jo-*. In that case, Lat. *quālus* / *cōlum* would go back to **kʷos-lo-*, with **uo* > **ua* in the case of *quālus*. But it is unlikely that **sl* had become **l* before this unrounding (which was Proto-Italic, cf. Schrijver 1991: 475), in which case the condition for the unrounding (viz. an open syllable) was not given. A connection with *quatiō* 'to shake, toss', which is rejected by WH, is advocated by Leumann 1977: 208, and seems quite conceivable to me: cf. Dutch *door-slag* 'sieve' to *slaan* 'to beat'. This would imply an instrument noun **quat-slo-* 'sieve', which would have been formed after PIE **kuot-i-* 'to shake' became Plt. **kwat-i-* (Schrijver 1991: 462f.). Whereas Schrijver reconstructs PIE *o*-grade, LIV assumes a secondary *a*-grade present to an *ē*-aorist (unattested in Latin). The only way which I see to connect *cōlum* with these forms, is by assuming that a *slo*-derivative was formed from **kuot-* before the sound change to **kwat-*, and another one after this sound change. Thus: **kuot-slo-* > **kʷosslo-* > **kʷōlo-* > *cōlum*; and **kʷat-slo-* > **kʷasslo-* > *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)kʷeh₁t-*. → *cōlum*, *quatiō*

quatiō, -ere 'to shake, toss, hurry along' [v. III; ppp. *quassum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *quassus*, *-ūs* 'shaking' (Pac.+), *quassāre* 'to shake repeatedly, damage' (Naev.+), *conquassāre* 'to shake violently' (Cato+); *concutere* 'to agitate, strike' (Pl.+), *discutere* 'to shatter, disperse' (Lucil.+), *excutere* 'to shake out, throw off' (Pl.+), *percutere* 'to strike heavily, kill' (Pl.+).

Plt. **kwat-i-*.

PIE **(s)kuot-i-?* IE cognates: Lith. *kūsti*, 3s. *kūnta* 'to recover', *kutėti*, 3s. *kūta* '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 **k^wat-* ‘to shake, strew’.

Bibl.: WH II: 399f., EM 552f., IEW 632, Schrijver 1991: 260, 462f., Meiser 2003: 115, LIV **(s)k^weh₁t-*. → *quālus*

quattuor ‘four’ [num. indecl.] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *quattuordecim* ‘14’; *quater* [adv.] ‘four times, on four occasions’ (Pl.+), *quaterni* ‘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+), *quadrāgēni* ‘forty at a time’ (Cato+), *quadrāgēnārius* ‘holding 40 units’ (Cato+), *quadrāgiēs* ‘40 times’ (Varro+), *quadringenti* ‘400’ (Pl.+), *quadrini* (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. **k^wetwōr* (>> Lat. **k^watwōr*), nom.m.f. **k^we/atwores*, n. **k^wetwora*; **k^watworto-*. It. cognates: maybe the Ven. theonym *trumusiati-* contains **k^wtru-* ‘four’; O. *pettiur* ‘four’ (< **k^wetur*), *petiopert*, *petirupert* [acc.pl.n. + *-pert*] ‘four times’ (< **k^wetūr-*), Festus 226 *petoritum Gallicum vehiculum: alii Osce quod hi quoque pitora quattuor vocent*. U. *peturpursus* ‘quadruped’ [dat.pl.] < **k^wetur-pōd-*.

PIE **k^wétuōr* [nom.n.], **k^wétuores* [nom.m./f.], **k^wtuérns* [acc.m/f.], **k^wturom* [gen.] ‘four’, **k^wturó-* (>> **k^wtūr-tó-*) ‘fourth’, **k^wturs* ‘four times’; **k^wtur-* in compounds; **k^wt(u)r-dkmt-* ‘forty’. IE cognates: OIr. *ceth(a)ir* [m.], *cetheoir* [f.], MW *pedair* [f.] ‘four’; Skt. *catváras* [nom.m.], *catúras* [acc.m.], *catvári* [nom.acc.n.], *cátasras* [nom.acc.f.] ‘four’, *catúr* [adv.] ‘four times’, YAv. *caṽṽārō* [nom.m.], *caturō* [acc.m.], *caturam* [gen.], *catayrō* [acc.f.] ‘four’, *caṽṽarasat-* ‘forty’, *caṽru-dasa-* ‘fourteenth’, *caṽrus* [adv.] ‘four times’; Gr. τέτορες ‘four’ (Dor.), πίσυρες (H.) [nom.pl.], τέτρασι [dat.pl.], τέτρατος ‘fourth’, τετρα- ‘four’; Arm. č‘ork’, Lith. *keturi*, OCS *četyre*, Go. *fidwor*, ToA *štwar*, ToB *štwer* ‘four’.

Lat. *quattuor* as opposed to Sab. *pet-* has introduced **k^wat-* with secondary *-a-* from the oblique case forms with PIE **k^wt-*, and from the other usages of ‘four’ with a zero-grade root, such as in compounds **k^wtru-*. 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 **k^wtr-dkmt-* ‘40’ and in the ordinal ‘fourth’. The same element *quadr-* was then used in other compounds. For ‘fourth’, Schrijver posits **k^wtūrto-* > **k^wduṽrto-* > **k^waduṽorto-*, and then loss of **d* in front of **u*, as in *suāvis*, hence **k^wquorto-* > *quārtus*. The long *ā* in *quadrāginta* must be phonetic, and can be explained from **k^wtr-dkmt-* > **kwadr-Hkmt-* (Kortlandt 1983a), and subsequent **-drHk-* > **drāk*. In *quadringenti*, medial *-n-* must be analogical to *quingenti*. Most of the secure *quadru-* spellings occur in front of a labial, cf. Coleman 1992: 424. For *quater*, Coleman suggests PIE

*k^wturs (Skt. *catih*) > *quaturs > *quatrus > *quats > *quater*.

Bibl.: WH II:394f., 399-401, EM 553f., IEW 643f., Lejeune 1974: 330, Leumann 1977: 486, 488, 492, Schrijver 1991: 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. (Madonna-inscr.)+)

Derivatives: *quisque*, *quaeque*, *quidque* [pron.] 'every', *quodque* [adj.] 'every'.

Plt. **-k^we*. It. cognates: Ven. **-kve**, Fal. **-cue** 'and', O.U. **-p**, **-p**, O. **-p]e** 'and'.

PIE **-k^we* '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 not 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 **h₁ej-*. → *eō*

quercus 'oak-tree' [f. *u*] (Enn.+)

Derivatives: *querneus* 'of oak' (Cato+), *querquētum* 'a wood of oaks' (Varro+).

Plt. **k^werk^wu/o-*.

PIE **perk^w-o/u-* '(kind of) oak'. IE cognates: OHG *ferheih*, Langob. *ferha* 'kind of oak', Olc. *fjorr* [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 - k^w -> *k^w - k^v-*. The oldest attestations are of a *u*-stem, but since the cognate Gm. forms can also be explained from a stem in **-χ^wa-*, 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 Plt. *o*-stem. IEW and other handbooks also connect Go. *fairhus* 'world', OHG *fer(a)h*, OE *feorh* 'life, soul' < **perk^w-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. *pauruatā-* ‘mountains’, Gr. *πεῖρα* ‘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. *pērkūons* ‘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 **perk^w-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. **k^wes-e/o-* / **kwes-e/o-*.

IE cognates: Skt. *śvásiti* ‘to hiss, snort’, *śúsma-* [m.] ‘hissing, roaring’, YAv. *suši* [du.f.] ‘the lungs’; Olc. *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 **k^weh₂s-* ‘to cough’ which is reflected in Gm. (OHG *huosto*, OE *hwōsta* ‘cough’), BSl. (*kósēti* ‘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 **k^wes-*.

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. **k^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*, *paēi*, *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. *puus*, 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* < **sui* '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-diyou*; 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. *has* '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^weh₂li-*, *quantus* < **k^wānto-* < **k^weh₂nt-*.

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(i)ā-* [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. *počijō* '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^hieh₁-.

quīnque 'five' [num. indecl.] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: *quīndecim* 'fifteen' (Lex XII+), *quīnquāgintā* 'fifty' (Pl.+), *quīnquāgēnārius* 'containing fifty of anything' (Cato+), *quīnquāgēsīēs* 'fifty times' (Pl.), *quīngenī* 'five hundred' (Pl.+); *quīnquātrūs*, -uum [f.pl.] 'festival of Minerva, lasting five days in March' (Pl.+), *quīnquertiō* 'one who competes in the pentathlon' (Andr.); *quīnī* 'five at a time' (Pl.+), *quīnārius* 'containing five each; coin worth five asses' (Varro+), *quīnavicēnārius* 'relating to twenty-five' (Pl.), *quīncunx*, -ncis 'a pattern of five, five-twelfths' (Varro+); *quīn(c)tus* 'fifth' (Pl.+), *quīntānus* 'of the fifth' (Varro+), *Quīntīlis* 'name of the fifth month' (Varro+).

PIt. *k^wenk^we 'five', *k^w(e)nk^wto- 'fifth'. It. cognates: O. **pumperlas**, **pumperias** [nom.pl.] , **pumperiais** [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^we 'five', *pnk^w-(t)o- 'fifth'. IE cognates: OIr. *cóic*, W. *pypm*, Skt. *pāñca* 'five', *pāñcamá-* 'fifth', *pakthá-* PN, *pañktí-* [f.] 'set of five', YAv. *pañca* 'five', *puxda-* 'fifth', Gr. *πέντε*, Thess., Lesb. *πέμπτε* 'five', *πέμπτος* 'fifth', Arm. *hing* 'five'; Alb. *pesë*, OCS *peťь*, Ru. *pjat* 'five', OCS *peťь*, Ru. *pjátyj* 'fifth', Lith. *penki* 'five', *peñktas* 'fifth', Go. *fimf* 'five', OHG *fimfto* 'fifth', ToA *pāñ*, ToB *piś* 'five'.

PIt. *k^wenk^we yielded *k^wink^we by regular sound change. Subsequently, the *k in the ordinal *k^winkto- was spirantized and the preceding vowel phonetically lengthened: *k^winχto-. Finally, the spirant was lost, yielding *quīntus*. From the ordinal, *ī* was analogically introduced into the cardinal **quinque* >> *quīnque*. Lat. *quīnī* < *k^wenk^w-(s)no-, *quīncunx* < *quīnqu- + *uncia*. The -ā- in *quīnquāgintā* for **quīnquēgintā* 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. ī] (Enn.+; usually pl.)

Derivatives: *quirūtāre* '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, *qđirīti-* 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 **k^wes-*, **k^wis-*, **k^wer-*, **k^wir-*. Also **kuHi-s-*, zero-grade to *quaerō*, is theoretically possible. But since Roman legend has it that *Quiris* 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, -pīam, -quam, -que, -vīs*; for *aliquis* 'someone', see s.v. *alius*.

PIt. interrog.: m.f.sg. nom. **k^wis*, acc. **k^wim*, ins. **k^wī*, n.sg. nom.acc. **k^wid*; nom.pl. m.f. **k^wēs*, acc. **k^wins*, n. nom.acc. **k^wī* (>> **k^wia*), dat.abl. **k^wifos*; indef.: **k^wisk^wis* 'whoever', **k^widk^wid* 'whatever'. It. cognates: Presam. *νεπς* [nom.sg.], *νεπες* [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, svaipid* [nom.sg.n.] 'who? what?', 'every'; U. **piři** < +-ī; U. **peře**, *persi, persei, perse, pirsī, 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. **pimpīh** [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. **k^we* // **k^wis*, acc. **k^wim*, gen. **k^weso*, dat.loc. **k^wesm-*, ins. **k^wih₁*, n. nom.acc. **k^wid*; nom.pl. m.f. **k^weies*, acc. **k^wins*, n. nom.acc. **k^wih₂* 'who, what; someone, something'. IE cognates: OIr. *cia*, W. *pwɣ*, Co. *pyw*, Bret. *piou* 'who' < **k^wei*; Hit. *kui-* / *kue-* / *kuua-* 'who, what' < **k^wi-*, **k^we-*, **k^wo-*, Pal. *kui-*, CLuw. *kui-*, HLuw. *kwi-*, Lyd. *qi-*, Lyc. *ti-* 'who, what', Skt. *kim* 'what, which; why, what for', *ná-kih* 'nullus', *mā-kih* 'ne quis', *kīdṛś-* 'what sort of', *cid* [enc.ptcle.] 'even, indeed', Av. *mā ciš* 'no one', YAv. *cim* 'because', Av. *-cīš*, OP *-ciy* [encl.] 'indeed; -ever'; Gr. *τίς* [m. f.], *τί* [n.] 'who? which?', *τις, τι* 'someone, something', OCS *čb-to* 'what'.

The paradigm of the indef. pronoun is a mixture of reflexes of **k^wo-* and **k^wi-*; for the forms reflecting **k^wo-* (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. **k^wī* < **k^wih₁*. It is also found in some compound adverbs, such as *nēquīquam*. The cj. *quia* continues the PIE nom.acc.pl. n. **k^wih₂*.

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-Pocchetti 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. **k^woti*.

PIE **k^we/o-ti* 'how many'. IE cognates: Skt. *kāti* 'how many', YAv. *caiti* 'how much, how many times?' < Ilr. **čati* < PIE **k^weti?*; Gr. *πόσος* 'how great, how many' < **k^wótjo-*, Bret. *pet* 'how many'.

Cottīdiē from **k^woti diēs* 'how many days?', with influence from *postrīdiē*. The reflex *co-* < **k^wo-* 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.+), *ravidus* '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. *ἐραμαι* '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 **rab^h-* 'to be in violent commotion', which may be seen also in Khot. *ārūh-* 'to move, shake' (+ **ā-*), *bārāh-* (*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.*reb^h-.

racēmus 'bunch, cluster (of grapes or other fruit)' [m. o] (Bibaculus+)

IE cognates: Gr. *ράξ, ράγος* 'grape', *ρώξ, ρωγός* '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' (Lucret.+).

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. *ράδιξ*, *-ῖκος* 'branch, twig', Go. *waurts*, OE *wyrt*, MHG *wurz* < **urh₂d-i-*, OIc. *rót* < **ureh₂d-*; Alb. *rrëzë*, Geg *rrëzë* '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' < PCI. **rasd-e/o-* 'to scrape, scratch'.

Lat. *rāmentum* < **rād-m-*, *rāllum* < **rād-lo-*. The adj. *rāllus* is used with *tunica*, and it may belong here if it meant 'smoothly woven, polished' < **rād-lo-*; but note that this is morphologically a strange formation. EM derive *rāllus* from *rārus*, but then one would rather expect **rārulus*. Lat. *rāstrum* has often been explained from **rād-tro-*, but Serbat 1975: 316 points out that the length of *ā* is unproven, and that *rāstrum* could go back to **rad-tro-* < **rHd-tro-*. Since this word family is only found in Italo-Celtic, a PIE origin is uncertain. If **rasd-* is a secondary full grade for **rsd-*, one might consider an original root present **r(e)sd-* (thus Meiser 2003); but not **Hrsd-*, which would give Lat. **Vrsd-*.

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 */rajjal*. 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' (Lucret.+), *rāmulus* 'little branch' (Cato+); *rāmes*, -*itis* [f.] >> *rāmex*, -*icis* 'the lungs; varicocele' (Pl.+).

Plt. **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. *ράδιξ*, -*ῦκος* 'branch, twig', showing that **ur(e)h₂*- could mean either 'branch' or 'root'. Gr. *ράδαμνος* [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+)

Plt. **rā-nā*-?

Onomatopoeic form, probably from a sound "rā". In theory, the root could be ?**reh₂(i)*- 'to roar' as reconstructed by LIV for BSI. 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] (Lucret.+)

Derivatives: *rancidus* 'rotten' (Lucret.+).

No etymology.

Bibl.: WH II: 417, EM 564.

rapiō, -ere 'to seize, take away' [v. III; pf. *rapuī*, ppp. *raptum*] (Naev.; *surrapsit* [s-fut.] Pl.)

Derivatives: *rapidus* 'strong-flowing, quick' (Pl.+), *rapāx* 'greedy, rapacious, predator' (Pl.+), *raptiō* 'carrying off' (Ter.+), *raptor* 'robber, abductor' (Pl.+), *raptāre* 'to carry away by force, drag off' (Pl.+), *rapister*, -*trī* 'robber' (Lucil.), *raptim* 'in a rush' (Lucret.+), *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.+), *surrū/ipere*, *surpere* 'to steal' (Pl.+), *subreptīcius* 'stolen' (Pl.+); *rapsāre* 'to hurry along' (Caes.+).

Plt. **rap-i-* 'to seize'.

PIE **h₁rp-i-* [pr.] 'to seize'. IE cognates: Gr. ἐρέπτομαι 'to devour, snatch away' < **rep-je/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-*, *rapīō* 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 *rapīō* 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: *rāpicus* 'of turnips' (Cato+), *rāpa* 'turnip' (Varro+), *rāpīna* 'turnip-crop, turnip-field' (Cato+), *rāpula* 'small turnip' (Titin.+).

Plt. **rāpo-*.

IE cognates: Gr. ῥάπυς, ῥάφυς [f.] 'turnip', ῥάφανος, ῥαφάνη 'radish', Lith. *rapé* 'turnip', RuCS *repa*, OHG *ruoba*, *ruoppa* 'turnip'.

This cannot be a regular PIE word: Latin, Baltic and OHG *ruoba* require **aH*, Slavic has /ē/, 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.), *rāreuter* 'seldom' (Andr.+), *rāritūdō* 'looseness, openness' (Lucr.+), *rārēscere* 'to thin out, open out' (Lucr.+), *rārēfacere* 'to make less solid' (Lucr.+).

Antonym of *dēnsus*. EM state that Lat. *rāreuter* was formed on the example of *frequentē*. *Rārus* has been connected with PIE **h₂erH-* 'to disappear, perish' by EM, but this is not obvious semantically. Others connect Gr. ἐρήμιος '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 ἐρήμιος 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. ī] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *ratītus* 'bearing the figure of a raft' (Lucil.+).

Plt. **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 **h₁rth₁-* (see s.v. *rēmus*), *ratis* might be interpreted as **Hrh₁ti-* '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. *lohā-* [m.] 'reddish metal', MP *rōy* 'copper, brass' < PIE **h₁roud^h-o-*, OCS *ruda*, Ru. *rudá*, Scr. *rúda* 'ore' < PIE **h₁roud^h-h₂-*, Oic. *rauđi* 'red iron ore'.

Because of *-au-* and intervocalic *-d-*, *raudus* cannot be an inherited word from PIE **h₁r(e/o)ud^h-os* 'red'; we would expect Lat. **rūbus*. *Raudus* is probably a loanword from another IE language, in which **-d^h-* 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.+), *rāviāre* 'to be hoarse' (Pl.+), *rausūrus* 'about to become hoarse' (Lucil.).

Plt. **rawo-*.

PIE **h₃rouH-ó-* 'roaring'. IE cognates: Skt. *ruvāti* [pr.], *rauti* [pr.], *rava-* [pr.] 'to roar', aor. *árāvūt*; *ráva-* [m.] 'roaring, howling, noise', YAv. *uruuatō* [gen.sg.] 'roaring', Khwar. *rw-* 'to grunt', Gr. ὠρούμαι 'to howl, roar, complain', OCS *rjuti* 'to howl'.

If *raucus* reflects **rawVko-*, all forms can go back to Plt. **rawo-* or **rowo-*. Schrijver dismisses *rāviāre* (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*, *ruvāti* '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 *græg*, MoE *gray*, OFr. *grē*, OS *grā*, *grē*, OHG *grāo* 'grey' < **grē-uo-*.

The form (*g*)*rāvāstellus* (mss. *rāvīstellus* and *grāvāstellus*) presupposes **(g)rāvāster*.

With van der Staaïj 1995: 57, I assume that PIE $*g^hr-$ 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 $*g^hrh_1-uo-$ for Italic beside $*g^hreh_1-uo-$ for Germanic, but the ablaut would be disturbing. If a full grade, Schrijver suggests that original $*g^hreh_3-uo-$ may have been delabialized to $*g^hreh_2-uo-$ in Latin and to $*g^hreh_1-uo-$ 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.).

PIt. $*wre$. It. cognates: U. **re-** ‘again’ in *restatu*, *revestu*.

PIE $*ure$ ‘back’. IE cognates: Alb. *rrë-* [prev.] ‘back’; Ru. *rak*, gen.sg. *rāka*, SCr. *rāk*, Sl. *rāk* < PSI. $*rākъ$ ‘crayfish, lobster’ < $*ure-h_3k^wo-$ ‘looking backwards’ (Klingenschmitt 2004).

The only acceptable etymology has recently been proposed by Klingenschmitt 2004, who reconstructs $*ure$ ‘back’, The form *red-* is analogical to *prōd-* beside *prō-*, and from metanalysis in verbs such as *reddō* < $*re-di-dō$. Dunkel 1979 explains *reciprocus* as a nominalization of $*re-k^ve$ $*pro-k^ve$ ‘both backwards and forwards’, and connects it with other Skt. and Gr. instances of two semantically opposed preverbs coordinated by $*k^ve$ ‘and’. The first labiovelar was apparently delabialised in front of the following *p* and $*k^ve$; if Klingenschmitt’s etymology of *re* as $*ure$ is correct, there would even have been a fourth labial consonant in the word $*ure-k^ve$ $*pro-k^ve$. The resulting $*(u)reke-prok^vo-$ 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*] (PI.+)

PIt. $*wre-kent(i)-$.

PIE $*ken-t-$ ‘young, new’. IE cognates: Mlr. *cana*, *cano* ‘wolf cub’; Gaul. *Cintu-gnatus*, OIr. *cét-* ‘first’, MW *cynt*, MCo. *kens*, Bret. *kent* ‘earlier’ < PCI. $*kento/u-$; Skt. *kanyā-*, Av. *kaine*, *kainīn-* ‘girl’ < *kaniHn-* < PIE $*ken-iHn-$ (or $*keniHn-$?), Skt. *kanīna-* ‘young’, Gr. *καivός* ‘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.+).

Plt. **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+), *regimēn* [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* (> *dirigere* 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.+).

Plt. **reg-e/o-*. It. cognates: Marr. *regen[ai]* [dat.sg.] ‘queen’ (suffix vowel unclear), O. *peyo* ‘?’ maybe gen.pl. **rēgom*; U. *rehte* [adv.] ‘right’.

PIE **h₃reg-c/o-* ‘to stretch, direct’. IE cognates: OIr. *a-traig* ‘to stand up’, MW *reaf*, 3s. *re* ‘to stand up’ < PCI. **rege/o-*, MCo. *gorre* ‘to put’, MBret. *go(u)rren* ‘to raise, rise’ < **uor-rege/o-*; Skt. *raj-* ‘to stretch, direct (oneself)’ (pr. *rñjānti* [3p.act.], *rñjate* [3p.med.]), *rāji-* [f.] ‘direction’, YAv. **rāzaiia-* ‘to draw a line; lead’, *hqm.rāzaiia-* ‘to rise, become erect’, OP *rāsta-* ‘straight, right, true; [n.] ‘justice’; Gr. *ὀπέγω* ‘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 **h₃rēg-s-*. *Corgō* and *ergō* reflect **co-rogō* and **ē-rogō* ‘from the direction of’, from a noun or adj. **rogo-* ‘direction’ or ‘stretching’, which seems to be continued by the

verb *rogāre* 'to request' too. The etymology of *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 *expergīscor*. 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 **-ī-*, we are free to look for other solutions. Klingenschmitt himself notes that verbs in *-īscō* sometimes alternate with verbs in *-ēscō* (*conticisc-* Pl., *perdolisc-* Acc.); the origin of this alternation is uncertain, but in view of *tacēre*, *dolēre*, it seems that *-ē-* was original. The verbs in *-ēscō* have spawned new compound verbs in *-ēfaciō* in OLat., cf. Leumann 1959: 277ff.: *calēscō* > *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*

rēm̄us 'oar' [m. o] (Andr.+)

Derivatives: *rēm̄ex*, *-igis* 'oarsman, rower' (Pl.+), *rēm̄igium* 'outfit of oars; rowing' (Pl.+); *birēm̄is* 'having oars arranged in pairs' (Sis.+), *triresmos* [acc.pl.f.] (CIL 1.25, Columna Rostrata), *trirēm̄is* (Caes.+), 'having three oars', [*quinqueresm*]os 'ship with oars arranged in five' (CIL 1.25), *septeresm̄om* 'ship with oars arranged in seven' (CIL 1.25).

PIt. **rē(s)mo-* 'oar'.

PIE **h₁reh₁-(s)mo-* 'oar'. IE cognates: OIr. *raid*, *·rá* 'to row' < **rā-je-* < **h₁roh₁-ie/o-*; Skt. *aritar-* 'rower, ferryman', *aritra-* [n.] 'oar' < **h₁erh₁-ter-*, *-tro-*, Gr. *épētēs* [m.] 'rower', *épéσσω* 'to row', *épετμόν* 'oar', Lith. *irti* 'to row', *irklas* 'oar'; Olc. *róa*, OE *rōwan*, MHG *rüejēn* 'to row', OHG *ruodar*, OE *rōðor* '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 **rēs̄mo-*. 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. *arítár-*, 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*, *rēmigiūm* 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: OIr. *áru* [f. *n*] ‘kidney, gland’, W. *arenn* [f.] ‘kidney, testicle’ < PCI. **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. *strėnos* [f.pl.] ‘loins’, dial. also *srėnos*, Latv. *striena* ‘loins’ < Proto-Baltic **srēn-?*, 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. *πάχις* ‘spine’, since there is evidence for a PGr. anlaut cluster **ur-*. Alternatively, one could connect the Celtic words for ‘kidney’. The etymology as unreduplicated **h₂r-en-* next to PCI. **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 *-d^(h)-*. IEW connects OP *naiba-* ‘beautiful’ and OIr. *nóib* ‘holy’, but this remains a mere root comparison.

Bibl.: WH II: 429, EM 570, IEW 760. → *niteō*

reor, rēri ‘to think, believe’ [v. II; ppp. *ratus* ‘constitutional, determined’] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *ratiō* ‘calculation, account, reason’ (Pl.+), *ratiuncula* ‘small account’ (Pl.+), *irritus* ‘not ratified, unrealized’ (Pl.+).

Plt. **rē-(je/o-)* ‘to think’, **rato-* ‘thought, counted’.

PIE **Hreh₁-* [aor.?], **Hrh₁-to-* [ppp.]. IE cognates: Go. *raþjo* ‘number, account’,

ga-raḡana 'counted', OS *rethia*, OHG *radja*, *reda* '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 *ratio* was derived from *ratus*, either directly (cf. the model *nātus* : *nātio*) or via an earlier *ti*-abstract **ratis* 'reckoning'. The PIE root **Hreh₁-* might also be the basis of PIE **(H)reh₁d^h-* 'to bring in order, arrange'. Schrijver ascribes the root to PIE **h₂r-* 'to fix'; another candidate would be **h₁réh₁-* 'to ask, investigate' (Hit. *ar(ije/a)-^{zi}* 'to consult an oracle' < **h₁rh₁-jé/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.+).

Plt. **rep-nt-*.

PIE **h₁rep-nt-* [aor.ptc.] 'seizing'.

WH, IEW and Leumann assume **urep-* 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.+).

Plt. **rēp-e/o-*.

PIE **h₁reh₁p-* or **h₁rēp-* 'to creep'. IE cognates: Lith. *rėplióti* 'to creep', *roplóti*, Latv. *rāpāt*, *rāpt* '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.+).

Plt. **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' (*rayim* [acc.sg.], *rāyáh* [gen.abl.sg.]), Av. *raii-i-* 'wealth' (OAv. *rāiiō* [gen.abl.sg.], YAv. *raēm* [acc.sg.]).

The nom.sg. *reh₁is would have become Lat. *reis > *rīs, the acc.sg. *reh₁-i-m > *rim. The dat.sg. *reh₁iei > *rēiei > 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: *restio* 'dealer in rope' (Pl.+), *resticula* 'small cord' (Cato+).

Plt. *reskti- 'rope'.

PIE *Hresg-ti- 'rope, cord'. IE cognates: Skt. *rājju-* [f.] 'rope, string', Sogd. *ryzy* (*/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+).

Plt. *rēti-.

Maybe original m. *rētis, pl.n. *rētia; thus Niedermanjn apud EM 572. The sg. *rēte* would then be a back-formation. Schrijver argues that the proposed connection with *rārus* must be given up on formal grounds. If BSL forms such as Lith. *rētas* 'rare, thin, slow', *rētis* 'sieve', *rēsti*, Is. *rentù* 'to become rare', Latv. *rēns* '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 well be a loanword. Rosén 1995 suggests borrowing from a Semitic source, cf. Biblical Hebrew *rešet* 'net (for fishing and bird-catching)', Ugaritic *ršt* '(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'.

Plt. *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-vānt-* 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 **h₃rēg-s*, **h₃rēg-m* [m.] 'ruler, king'. IE cognates: OI. *ri* (gen.sg. *rig*) [m.] 'king', *rige* 'kingdom' (= Skt. *rājyá-* [n.] 'rule, reign'); Skt. *rāj-* 'king' (nom.sg. *rāt*), 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-ino-* '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 **h₃rēg-*.

rīca 'garment to cover the head' [f. ā] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *rīēcīnium* 'kind of shawl' (Lex XII+), *rīcīmus* 'made from a *rica*' (Varro+).

PIt. **wreikā-*.

PIE **ureik-h₂-*. IE cognates: Av. *uruuisiia-* 'to rotate, revolve' < **urik-je/o-*, Gr. *ῥουκόσ* 'fluid, flabby' < **uroik-o-*; Lith. *rišti*, 3s. *riša* 'to tie, bind', OHG *rīho* [m.] 'knee-bend', MDu. *wrīghe* 'instep of the foot' < **urēik-ō-*, gen.sg. **-k-n-ós*; ME *wrāh* 'wrong' < **uroik-ó-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 433, EM 573, IEW 1158f., Schaffner 2001: 573f., LIV **ureik-*.

ridica 'wooden stake for supporting vines' [f. ā] (Cato+)

The connection with Gr. *ῥεπίδω* 'to prop, support' is very uncertain.

Bibl.: WH II: 434, EM 573, IEW 860.

rideō 'to laugh' [v. II; pf. *rīsī*, ppp. *rīsum*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *rīdibundus* 'in a state of laughter' (Pl.+), *rīsīō* 'laughing' (Pl.), *rīsus*, *-ūs* 'laughter' (Pl.+), *rīdīculus* 'funny, absurd' (Pl.+), *rīdiculārius* 'concerned with jokes' (Pl.+), *rīsītāre* '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. *wrīdate* '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.+).

Plt. **rig-ē-*.

PIE *Hrīg-eh₁- 'to be stretched, be stiff'. IE cognates: Olr. *rigid*, *rig** 'to stretch, rule', OBret. *diren* 'to lead' < **rige/o-* 'to stretch', Olr. *do-rig** 'to lay bare', MW *gwarwy* 'to play', MBret. *aeren* 'to tie' < PCI. **rig-e/o-* 'to tie', Olr. *ringid** 'to torture' < **ringe/o-*; OHG *reihhōn*, *reihhen*, OE *ræc(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-*, **reiǵ^(g)-*.

rigō 'to irrigate, make wet' [v. I] (Lucr.+)

Derivatives: *irrigāre* 'to make wet, irrigate' (Pl.+), *irriguus* 'flooded, drenched' (Pl.+), *irrigivus* 'well-watered' (Cato), *irrigātiō* 'irrigation' (Varro+).

Plt. **rig-ā-* 'to lead toward'. It. cognates: maybe O. *regaturei* [dat.sg.] m. epithet of Iuppiter, **regā-tor-*?

PIE *Hrīg- '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 **reg-* '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 ?**reg-*. → *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. *rifa* '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', νήπιτος '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 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+); *dērivāre* 'to divert, pass on' (Ter.+).

PIt. **rīwo-* 'stream'.

PIE **h₃riH-uo-* 'whirling'. IE cognates: Mlr. *rīan* 'river, sea' < **reino-*; Skt. pr. *rīyate* 'to flow (producing whirlpools), whirl', *riṅāti* 'to make flow, make run', *rīt-*

‘flowing, dripping’, *rīti-* [f.] ‘stream, motion’, YAv. *aīfi.iritīm ah-* ‘to defile with dirt’; *auui...iriti* ‘crapped on’, *airiti-* [f.] ‘crapping on’; Gr. ὀρίνω, Lesb. ὀρίνωω ‘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-h₂-*.

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’, *riśā-* ‘jerked, torn, broken’ < **h₁rik-*; *ā rikha* [2s.ipv.], *likhā-* (AV+) ‘to scratch’, *rekhā-* [f.] ‘streak, line’; Gr. ἐπέκω ‘to break (up), tear (up)’; OHG *riga*, MHG *rīhe* ‘row’.

The v. *rixārī* is probably denominative 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*

rōbur, -oris ‘oak-tree; strength’ [n. *r*] (Cato+; nom.acc.sg. *rōbus* Cato, *rōbor* Varro)

Derivatives: *rōbustus* ‘made of oak; strong’ (Cato+), *rōborāre* ‘to give strength to’ (Varro+); *robōsem* [acc.sg.] (Paul. *ex F.*).

PIt. **roupos* [n.] ‘red substance’.

PIE **h₁reud^h-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. → *rōbus, ruber*

rōbus ‘kind of red’ [adj. *o/ā*] (Juv.+)

Derivatives: *rōbus* ‘kind of wheat’ (Col.), *rōbīgō* ‘rust, rust-like coating’ (Pl.+), *rōbīgīnōsus* ‘rusty’ (Pl.+), *Rōbīgus* ‘deity supposed to avert rust from crops’ (Varro), *Rōbīgālia* [n.pl.] ‘festival in honour of Rōbīgus’ (Varro+).

PIt. **roupo-* ‘red’.

PIE **h₁re/oud^h-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.+).

PIt. **(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' (< **-duol-*); Skt. *rādati* [pr.], *rarāda* [3s.pf.] 'to dig, furrow, open the way', *raditā-* 'gnawed, bitten', YAv. *rādaiti* '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. *rādati*, which may reflect **raHd-* with laryngeal loss in front of **-dC-* (but in which form? it is a thematic present), or it can be connected with the Gm. root **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-*. → *rādīx*

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.+).

PIt. **rogo-* 'request' or 'stretching out'.

PIE **h₃rog-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 **h₃reg-*. → *regō, rogius*

rogus 'funeral pyre' [m. o] (Lex Reg., Lex XII+)

PIt. **rog-o-* 'what is erected, pile'.

PIE **h₃rog-o-* [adj.] 'erected'.

Derived from *regō* 'to erect'.

Bibl.: WH II: 440f., EM 576, IEW 854-857. → *regō, rogius*

rōs, rōris 'dew' [m. r] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *rōscidus* 'wet with dew, dewy' (Varro+), *rōrulentus* 'wet with dew' (Cato+), *rōrāre* 'to shed moisture, drip' (Varro+); *rōrifera* 'bringing light rain or dew' (Lucr.+).

Plt. *rōs.

PIE *h₁rōs, *h₁ros- ‘dew, juice’. IE cognates: Skt. *rása-* [m.] ‘juice, liquid’, YAv. *raṅhā-* [f.] ‘name of a mythical stream’, Sogd. *r’k* ‘vein, blood vessel’ (< Plr. **raha-ka-*), Lith. *rasà*, OCS *rosa* ‘dew’; Hit. *ārš-^{zi}* / *arš-* ‘to flow’, *aršanu-^{zi}* ‘to let flow’, CLuw. *ārššija-* ‘to flow’ < *h₁(e)rs-, Skt. *ārṣati* ‘to stream, flow’.

If the word for ‘dew’ is indeed derived from ‘to stream’, we must assume schwebe-ablaut. The resemblance in form and meaning is too great to reject this etymology.

Bibl.: 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: Olr. *reithid**, *reith*, OW OBret. *redec*, MCo. *resek* ‘to run, flow’ < PCl. **rete/o-*; Lith. *rātas* ‘wheel, circle, ring, (pl.) cart’, Latv. *rats* ‘wheel, (pl.) cart’, OHG *rad* ‘wheel’ [n.]; Skt. *rātha-*, YAv. *raṣa-* [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 pr. *(*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.+), *rubrica* ‘red ochre, red clay’ (Pl.+), *rubricōsus* ‘rich in red clay’ (Cato+); *russus* ‘red, red-haired’ (Enn.+), *russescere* ‘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’, **ru^hto-* ‘red’. It. cognates: U. *rufro* [acc.pl.m.], *rufra* [acc.pl.f.], *rufre* [gen.sg.m.] ‘red’.

PIE *h₁rud^h-ró- [adj.] ‘red’. IE cognates: Skt. *rudhirá-* ‘red, bloody’, Gr. *ἐρυθρός*, RuCS *rodŕv*, ToB *rätre* ‘red’; Olr. *rondaid**, *roind** ‘to paint red’ < PCl. **runde/o-*.

Hill 2003: 224f. explains *russus* from **rud^h-to-* to *rubeo*, because thematization of an *s*-stem is expected to yield **rūsus* < **reud^h-s-o-*. The verbal use of the root **rud^h-* 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.+), *rūductus* ‘full of small stones’ (Cato+).

There are two competing etymologies. The connection with OHG *grioz* 'sand, grave' 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. *h₁rud^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*

rūdō, -ere 'to roar, bellow' [v. III; pf. *rudīvi*] (Varro+)

PIt. **roud-/rud-*.

PIE *h₃r(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. *ruvāti* 'roar', Gr. ὠρούμαι 'to howl, roar', Lat. *rūmor* < *h₃ru-, final *-d- may have been a suffix, and the initial laryngeal may be *h₃-.

Bibl.: WH II: 447, EM 579, IEW 867f., LIV **reudH-*. → *ravus*, *rūmor*

rūfus 'red, tawny, red-haired' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *rūfuhus* 'reddish' (Pl.+).

PIt. **roufo-* 'red'. It. cognates: U. *rofu* [acc.pl.m.], *rofa* [acc.pl.f.] 'red'.

PIE *h₁roud^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. *rauþs* '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 *h₁roug-h₂- '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', ὀρυγή 'noise, roaring', ὠρούμαι '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 ὠρυγή, 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/fī* '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-rōγ* 'belch', Gr. ἐρεύγομαι 'to belch out, vomit', also ἐρυγγάνω, Arm. *orcam* < **orucam* < **erucam*, Lith. *ráugėti* 'to belch', *ráugas* 'leaven, tannine' < *h₁rouǵ-o-, *ráugti* 'to leaven, pickle', OHG *ita-rucken* 'to ruminate', OE *rocettan* < PGm. **rukātjan* '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)reuǵ-.

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. *ruvāti* 'to roar', *rāva-* [m.] 'roaring, howling, noise', YAv. *uruuant-* 'roaring', Gr. ὠρούομαι 'to howl', OCS *rjuti*, Is. *ροφ* 'to roar'.

WH and IEW derive *rūmor* from the root of Skt. *ruvāti* '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' (Lucret.+), *dīrumpere* 'to break

apart' (Pl.+), *erumpere* 'to burst out, sprout' (Cato+), *eruptiō* 'sudden rush, discharge' (Sis.+), *irruptiō* 'violent entry, assault' (Pl.+), *interrumpere* 'to break up, interrupt' (Pl.+); *rūpēs*, *-is* 'cliff, crag' (Acc.+), *rupex*, *-icis* 'uncivilized person' (Lucil.+).

Plt. **ru-n-p-*, **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. *rūtum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *ruīna* 'headlong rush, collapse, remains' (Lucret.+), *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: Olr. *rúathar* 'assault'; Gr. ὀρούω 'to hurry', Alb. *ra* [3s.aor.] 'to fall (down); strike, hit' (< Palb. **(a)rau-*?); Bel., Ukr. *rux* 'movement, bustle', gen.sg. *rūxu*, 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.], *rāvat* [3s.sb.act.] 'to wound, hurt', ppp. *rutá-*, Lith. *ráuti* 'to tear out, pull', Lith. *ravėti* 'to weed', Ru. *ryt'*, Is. *róju* 'to dig', SCr. *rīti* 'dig', OCS *rylo* 'spade', Ru. *rylo* 'snout, mug', SeCS *rōvati*,

ORu. *r̥vati*, 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)-eh₂-*.

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 **reuH-*.

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: OIc. *róe* 'flat field' < **royesiā-*, Av. *rauuaḥ-* [n.] 'open space', *rauuaš-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. *raūsti* 'to toss, dig', OCS *rušiti* 'to destroy'; yet this would not explain Lat. *-p-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 455, EM 583, LIV **reus-*.

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*)*sablo-* / *(*p*)*saflo-* / *(*p*)*sablo-*.

IE cognates: Gr. ψάμμος [f.], (ψ)άμμαθος, 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, *sācris* 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'; **sagrāje-* 'to dedicate, sacrifice'; **sagrāsio-* '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. σακοπο [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.], **sakraitir**, **sak<r>ahiter** [3s.pr.sb.ps.], **sakrafir** [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' < **sagrā-klo-*; Pael. *sacaracirix*, Marr. *sacracrix* [nom.sg.] title of a priestess < **sagrā-trīx*; O. σακαρακιδιμα [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. **sahtúm** [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. *sanšie*, *sanši*, *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: Hitt. *šāklāi-* [c.] 'custom, rites' (< **seh₂k-lōi-*), *zankila¹- / zankil-* 'to fine, punish' (< **sh₂nk-i + *(o)h₁-?*); Celtib. *sancilistara* 'money-fine'?

According to Forssman 1992: 308, *sācer* is a *v̥ddhi*-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^hoh₁-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 *deh₃- ‘to give’, in which an *e*-grade can be reconstructed. Strunk translates ‘he who has the gift of the sacred’, whereas Nussbaum posits ‘having contributions intended for the sacrifice’, ‘having sacred endowments’. Since Latin has a stem *dōs*, *dōtis* ‘dowry’, it seems most straightforward to interpret *sacerdōs* as *sacer-dōt-* ‘who has a sacred endowment’. But an analysis as an original governing compound is not excluded. Nussbaum (p. 415, fn. 107) offers philological arguments to show that the combination of *sakros plus *deh₃-(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 *deh₃-. → *dō*, *sacer*

saeculum ‘generation, breed, lifetime’ [n. *o*] (Pl.+)

PIt. *sai-tlo-.

PIE *seh₂i-tlo- [n.] (or *sh₂ei-tlo-) ‘lifespan’. IE cognates: W. *hoedl*, Bret. *hoazl* > *hoal* ‘lifespan, age’ < PCl. *saitlo-; Hit. *išhai*ⁱ / *išhi*- ‘to bind’, CLuw. *hišhija*-, HLuw. *hishi*- ‘to bind’ < *sh₂-oi- / *sh₂-i-; Skt. pr. *syāti, *sināti* [3s.act.], pf. *ā siṣāya* [3s.act.] ‘to bind’.

Bibl.: WH II: 460f., EM 587f., IEW 889-891, Rasmussen 1989: 59, Schrijver 1991: 269, LIV *sh₂ei- → *saeta*

saepēs, -is ‘hedge, fence’ [f. *i*] (Varro+; *saeps* [nom.sg.] Varro, Cic.)

Derivatives: *saepire* [pf. *saepsi*, ppp. *saeptum*] ‘to surround, enclose’ (Pl.+), *saepimentum* ‘enclosure’ (Varro+), *saepuōsus* ‘recondite’ (Pac.); *cōnsaepire* ‘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 *seh₂i- ‘to tie’. IE cognates: Gr. αἰπός, also αἰπός ‘steep’? αἰψα [adv.] ‘quickly’.

The adv. *saepe* < *saepi [n.] is the result of a semantic shift from ‘closely packed’ > ‘close to each other’ > ‘often’ (cf. Italian *spesso* ‘often’ < *spissus* ‘thick, dense’). In view of the meaning ‘to bind’ of *sh₂i-, it is tempting to derive *saepi- ‘packed, fenced’ from PIE *seh₂i-p-, but a (productive) suffix *-p- is unknown.

Bibl.: WH II: 461f., EM 588, IEW 878, Schrijver 1991: 278, Untermann 2000: 668, LIV *sh₂ei-.

saeta ‘hair of an animal; fishing-rod’ [f. *ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *saetiger* ‘bristly’ (Lucr.+).

PIt. *saitā-.

PIE *seh₂i-to- or *sh₂éi-to- 'cord'. IE cognates: Skt. *sétu-* [m.] 'band, fetter, bridge', YAv. *haētu-* [m.] 'dam', OPr. *saytan* 'strap, belt', Lith. *siėtas, saĩtas* 'tie', OCS *sětb* '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: *saevire* '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. *aiōvrής* 'irritating' < **saiyo-*, Go. *sair*, OHG *sēr* 'pain' < PGm. **sairo-*.

Since 'to rage' and '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-ijā* [f.]; Hit. *šāgāi-* 'omen', *šākiie/a-zi* 'to give a sign, reveal'; Gr. *ηγέομαι* 'to direct, lead', Go. *sokjan*, MoE *seek* 'to search' < **seh₂ǵ-*, 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)j-*. 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: *salinum* ‘salt-cellar’ (Pl.+), *salinator* ‘operator of a salt-works’ (Cato+), *salillum* ‘little salt-cellar’ (Pl.+), *salarius* ‘of salt’ (Varro+); *sallere* [ppp. *salsum*] ‘to salt’ (Lucil.+), *sallire* ‘to salt’ (Cato+), *salsus* ‘salted, salty’ (Pl.+), *salsamentum* ‘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 **sēh₂-l-s* [nom.], **sh₂-él-m* [acc.], **sh₂-l-ós* ‘salt’; **sh₂-l-d-* (or **sh₂el-d-* or **seh₂-l-d-*) ‘salt’. IE cognates: OIr. *salann* ‘salt’ [n.], W. *halen*; Gr. ἅλς ‘salt’ [m.]; Latv. *sāls* ‘salt’ [f.], Lith. Žem. *sólymas* [m.] ‘saltpan’ < nom.sg. **sēh₂-l-s*, OPr. *sal*, OCS *solъ*, Ru. *sol’* ‘salt’ [f.] < **sh₂el-*; Lith. *saldūs* ‘sweet’, OCS *sladъkъ*, Ru. *solódkiĭ* (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/salū*, ppp. *saltum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *sāltus*, *-ūs* ‘jump, leap; narrow passage, woodland’ (Naev.+); *absilire* ‘to rush away’ (Lucr.+), *dēsilire* ‘to jump down, dismount’ (Pl.+), *dissilire* ‘to burst apart’ (Lucr.+), *īnsilire* ‘to jump on’ (Pl.+), *prōsilire* ‘to rush forth, gush’ (Pl.+), *resilire* ‘to jump back, recoil’ (Lucr.+), *subsilire* ‘to jump up’ (Pl.+), *trānsilire* ‘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 **sh₂-l-ie/o-* ‘to jump’, **sh₂-l-to-*. IE cognates: OIr. *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-je/o-*, aor. ἄλλτο, red.pr. ἰάλλω ‘to stretch out, send out’ < **si-sl-*, ToB pret.med.

salāte 'jumped', ToB *salamo*, ToA *salat* 'flying' < *sl-, *sel-, *sol-.

It is assumed e.g. by LIV that Latin *sal-* arose from *sl- in front of -i- or *-i-. Yet in view of *horior* and *morior* < *-r̥ie/o-; it seems that *sl̥i- would phonetically yield *sol̥i-; similarly, for Celtic, *sl̥tro- would yield *sil̥tro-, but we find *sal̥tro-. 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 *sIH-V- 'dirty yellow'. IE cognates: Ir. *sal* [f.] 'dirt', *salach*, W. *halawg* 'dirty' < *sal- < PIE *sIH-V-; OPr. *salowis*, Ru. *solovéj*, SCr. *slāvūj* 'nightingale' < *sal-u- (< *solH-uo- 'grey?'); Ru. *solóvyj* 'light bay', *solovój* 'yellowish grey', CS *slavoočije* 'state of having green eyes, glaucitas' [n.]; OHG *salō*, gen. *salwes* 'dirt', Oic. *sōlr* 'dirty yellow' < PIE *solH-μ-.

If *salīva* is indeed cognate with BSl. and Gm. *solH-μ- '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. *έλικη* 'willow' (Boeot. *φελικών* does not certainly contain the same word); OHG *salaha*, Oic. *selja* < *salkiōn-, OE *sealh* 'willow' < *salko-.

Italo-Celtic *salik- may reflect PIE *sIH-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. *saltem* 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 *salīō*; 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*, σαλας, Marr. *salaus*, *salas* [nom.sg.m.], U. *sahuom*, *sahuom*, *saluo* [acc.sg.m.n.], *saluam*, *sahua* [acc.sg.f.], *salua*, *sahua* [acc.pl.f.] ‘whole, healthy’; Pael. praenomen *saluta* < **salūt-*; Pael. *saluatur* [nom.sg.] a certain official < **salwā-tor-* (not borrowed from Latin).

PIE **sIH-u-* ‘whole’. IE cognates: Hit. *šalli-* ‘big, main’ < **solH-i-* (Kloekhorst 2008: 709ff.), Skt. *sārva-* ‘whole, all’, YAv. *hauruua-* ‘undamaged, whole’, OP *haruva-* ‘whole, all together’, Gr. ὅλος, Ion., H. οὔλος ‘whole, complete’, Alb. *gjallë* ‘alive’, ToA *sahu* [adv.] ‘wholly, totally’.

Salūs and *salūbris* seem to presuppose a verb **saluerē*, 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 **sahuwo-* 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-* / **sIH-u-* ‘wholeness’, with an ins.sg. **sIH-u-h₁* from which *salū-t-* and **salū-pli-* 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. *ásrj-* (*ásrjk* nom.sg., *asnás* gen.sg.), Gr. ἄσρ, 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. → *assyri*; *saniēs*

saniēs 'ulcer, wound matter' [f. *ē*] (Enn.+)

Saniēs 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.+); *īnsānus* 'mad' (Pl.+), *īnsānīre* 'to be mad, rave' (Pl.+), *īnsānia* 'madness' (Pl.+).

Plt. **sāno-*. It. cognates: maybe U. *sanēs* [abl.pl.f.?] '?', attribute of certain sacrificial objects.

PIE **seh₂-no-*. IE cognates: Skt. *ava-sātār-* [m.] 'liberator', *ava-sāna-*, OAv. *auuanhāna-* [n.] 'resting-place' (**unharnessing*) < **seh₂-* 'to tie'.

The reconstruction **seh₂-no-* is purely mechanical. *Sānus* might be derived from the root **seh₂-* 'to tie', meaning 'which is in place, in order', or maybe from the root **sh₂-* 'to satisfy' seen in *satis* 'enough', Lith. *sotūs* 'satisfied'.

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. *sabardūh-* [epithet, esp. of a dairy-cow], OAv. *hābuaunt-* [adj.] 'juicy?' < **sab-uant-*, Arm. *ham*, Olc. *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* (>> *sapūī*)] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *sapor* 'flavour, taste' (Varro+); *dēsipere* 'to lose one's reason' (Pl.+), *īnsipientia* 'folly' (Pl.+), *īnsipiens* 'unwise, foolish' (Pl.+), *resipere* 'to recall the flavour of' (Varro+), *resipīscere* 'to regain consciousness, come to one's senses' (Pl.+).

Plt. **sap-i-*; pf. **sēp-?* It. cognates: O. *sipus* [nom.sg.m.], Vol. *sepu* [abl.sg.] 'knowing' < ptc.pf.act. **sēp-wōs* < **seh₁p-* 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. *sapivī* 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.+), *sarcinātrix* '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. ἔρκος [n.] 'fence, enclosure, net', ὄρκάνη 'fence'; maybe also ὄρκος [m.] 'oath', ToB *šark-* 'to surpass, be better'.

Latin -ar- can be the product of a vocalization *C_rCC > 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. *ṣṛñī-* [f.] 'sickle', Khot. *harraa-* 'saw' (< PIt. *h₁naka-).

Schrijver (1991: 493) regards *sarr-* as the older variant in view of Romance *re-sarriō and the noun *sarrītor*. If so, *sarri- would have changed to sāri- according to the *mamilla*-development, cf. Leumann 1977: 184. This, however, does not explain long ā. In view of *narrāre* < *gnārāre, it seems more likely that sāriō is old and *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. *šarhije/a^{zi}* 'to attack(?)' and Gr. ῥώομαι 'to hurry, rush forward' is less attractive semantically, and presupposes /sar-l/, 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. *sirpis*, 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.+), *satiētās* 'satiety, abundance' (Pl.+), *satiāre* 'to satisfy, content' (Lucr.+), *īnsatiētās* '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-* 'satiating, satisfaction', **satu-ro-* 'well-fed'.

PIE **sh₂-ti-* 'satisfaction, satiation', **s(e)h₂-tu-* 'satiating'. 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-*, ἄμεναι (II.), aor. ἄσαι, ἄσασθαι (ep.) 'to satiate oneself', Arm. *at-ok* 'full, full-grown', Lith. *sótus* 'satisfied, full', Latv. *sāts* 'satisfied, copious', OCS *syтъ*, Ru. *sýtyj*, SCr. *sīt* 'satisfied' (the origin of Sl. **y* is obscure), Go. *saps* 'satisfied, full' < **sh₂-to-*.

WH interpret *satis* as a petrified nom.sg. of a noun **sati-* 'satisfaction', while *sat* would hail from antepreconsonantal **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. **saturō-* '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 I. **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. ξῦω 'to plane, scratch', ξυρόν, ξυρός 'razor', Lith. *skūsti* 'to plane'.

Vine 2004: 624 compares U. *sauitu*, and posits and adj. **ksou-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 **sawVkiō-* > *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 *kseu-. → *novācula*

saxum 'rock, boulder' [n. o] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *saxeus* 'of stones and rock' (Andr.+), *saxātilis* 'living among rocks' (Pl.+).

PIt. *saks-o-.

IE cognates: OIc. *sax*, OHG *sahs* 'knife'?

PIt. *saks- cannot go back to the root *sek- of *secāre*, since -a- would remain unexplained. *Saxum* can only be cognate with the Gm. words for 'knife' if these reflect a root *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 *skb^h-ro- [v.] 'to scratch, plane', *skob^h-i-. IE cognates: Lith. *skōbti*, Is. *skabiū* '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-skb^h-, but it is not certain that this verb originally had a pf. at all. Cognate forms are PGm. *skabanan 'to plane' and Lith. *skōbti*, which in view of their meaning and the sixth class of Gm. *skabanan may well continue an iterative stem *skob^h-. 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 *skab^h-.

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. σκαίός 'left' < *skaiuos; Skt. *chāyā*- 'shadow, reflection', YAv. *a-saiia-* [adj.] 'that does not cast a shadow', Gr.

σκιᾶ [f.] 'shadow', Gr. σκηνή, Dor. σκᾱνᾶ 'tent, booth, stage', Alb. *hije* 'shadow', Latv. *seja*, dial. *seīja* 'face'; OCS *senь*, SCr. *sjěn* 'shadow', ORu. *stěнь* '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 *skeh₂-(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 *skeH(i)- → *laevus*, *obscaemus*, *obscurus*

scalpō, -ere 'to scratch, carve' [v. III; pf. *scalpsī*, ppp. *scalptum*] (Sis.+)

Derivatives: *scalpurrire* '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.+).

Plt. **skalp-*?

PIE *sk(e)lp- 'to split off'? IE cognates: Lith. *sklembti* 'slide off, slide down'?; OHG *scelifa* 'outer skin', MLG *schelver* 'peeled off part', *schulvern* 'to flake off'; OE *scielfe* 'floor, planks', *scielf* [m.] 'top rock' < PGm. **skelf-* 'to split (off)'.

Latin *scalp-* might be cognate with Lith. **sklemb-* and PGm. **skelf-*; Latin could have a secondary full grade *scalp-* from **sklp-*, or phonetic **sklp-* > **skalp-* in preconsonantal position.

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+).

Plt. **skambno-*.

PIE *skmb^h-no- 'support'. IE cognates: Skt. pr. *skabhnāti*, pf. *cāskāmbha* 'to consolidate, prop', *skambhá-* [m.] 'prop, support, pillar', YAv. *fra-scinbaitia-* 'to consolidate', *fra-skamba-* [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 Ir. **skmb^h-*, the noun may be reconstructed as **skmb^h-no-*, with vocalization of *CRCC- > *CaRCC- yielding **skamb^hno-*, as per Schrijver 1991: 498.

Bibl.: WH II: 487, EM 599, IEW 916, Leumann 1977: 201, Schrijver 1991: 431, LIV ?*skeb^hH-.

scandō, -ere 'to ascend, mount' [v. III; pf. *scandī*, ppp. *scānsūm*] (Cato+)

Derivatives: *scālae* [f.pl.] 'ladder, stairways' (Pl.+), *scānsiō* 'climbing' (Varro+); *ascendere* 'to go up, rise, attain' (Andr.+), *ascēnsiō* 'ascent' (Pl.+), *cōnscondere* '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.), *trānscondere* 'to go beyond, cross' (Lucret.).


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' < PCI. **skan-n-de/o-*, W. *cy-chwynnu* 'to arise, start' < **kom-skendo-*, Skt. pr. *skándati*, pf. *casákanda*, 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 I. **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 **-b^h-*, 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 I. **(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*, Is. *skantù* 'to jump'.

For the semantic link between 'to jump' and 'gush forth', cf. English *spring*. Schrijver 1991 hesitantly considers original **sket-*, but admits that there is no evidence for *e*-grade. LIV proposes a root **skHt-*, which would in theory yield **skat-* in Baltic and Italic. I think that *scat-* could also reflect secondary vocalization of the sequence **skt-*, compare *pat-* < **pt-* (s.v. *pandō*).

Bibl.: WH II: 490, EM 600, IEW 950, Schrijver 1991: 432, LIV ?**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*, OIc. *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 **sk^wh₂el-*, 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: OIc. *sceid*, *scé** 'to vomit, spit' < PCI. **skei-e/o-*; Skt. pr. *chindhi* [2s.ipv.act.], *chinātti* [3s.act.], aor. *chedma* [1p.inj.act.], pf. *cichidūh* [3p.act.], *cichéda* [3s.act.], ta-ptc. *chinná-* 'to break, split up', YAv. *auua.hisidīia-* 'to split in two', *a-sista-* 'unsplit, unharmed', Gr. σχιζω 'to split, cut through' (with unclear *-χ-*), Arm. *c'tim* (< **c'it-im*) 'to tear, scratch', Lith. *skiesti*, Is. *skiedžiū* 'to separate, divide', OCS *cěditi* 'to strain' < BSl. **(s)koi?d-*, OIc. *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 **sk^hejd-*. → *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.+), *sciūs* ‘cognizant, skilled’ (Pac.+), *scientia* ‘knowledge’ (Varro+); *scīscere* (*scīvī, scītum*) ‘to get to know, approve’ (Pl.+), *scīscītārī* ‘to try to get to know, inquire’ (Pl.+); *nesciūs* ‘unknown, not knowing’ (Pl.+), *nescīre* ‘not to know; some-’ (Naev.+); *cōnsciūs* ‘sharing knowledge, conscious’ (Pl.+), *īnsciēns* ‘not knowing, stupid’ (Pl.+), *īnscientia* ‘ignorance’ (Caecil.+), *īnscītus* ‘ignorant’ (Pl.+), *īnscītia* ‘ignorance’ (Pl.+), *īnsciūs* ‘ignorant, unaware’ (Varro+); *cōnsciūscere* ‘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. **chyāti* [3s.act.] ‘to cut open, skin’, *āva-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 **sk^heh₂(i)-* ‘to cut’, which is more likely **skh₂-*. Thus, the *ya*-present of Skt. *-chyāti* 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-je/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-*, **sk^heh₂(i)-*. → *secō*

scīpiō ‘stick’ [m. *n*] (Pl.+)

PIt. **skeip-?*

PIE **skeip-o-* ‘pole, stick’. IE cognates: Gr. *σκίπτων* ‘staff, stick’, *σκοῖτρος* 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.] 'off for bulrushes; a basket from bulrushes' (Pl.+).

Plt. **skerpo*-?

No etymology. Formally, it might go back to **skerp*- (cf. *firmus* and inscr. *Mirqurios*, *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)scrībēre* 'to add in writing, reckon' (Pl.+), *ascrīptīvus* 'enrolled in addition' (Pl.+), *cōnscrībēre* 'to enroll, compose' (Pl.+), *cōnscrībīllāre* 'to cover with scribbling' (Varro+), *dēscrībēre* 'to draw, mark, describe' (Pl.+), *discrībēre* 'to allot, separate' (Ter.+), *exscrībēre* 'to write out, transcribe' (Pl.+), *īnscrībēre* 'to inscribe, record' (Pl.+), *praescrībēre* 'to lay down, prescribe' (Ter.+), *subscrībēre* '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' < **skrib^hto*-; possibly PalU. *skerfs* '?' [nom.sg.] < **skrib^hi*-.

PIE *skreib^h-e/o- 'to carve', *skrib^h-to-? IE cognates: Latv. *skrīpāt* 'to scratch, scribble, write down'; OIc. *hrífa* 'scratch, tear' < *krīp/b^h-. Unclear: Mlr. *scrip(a)id* 'scratches', Gr. σκάρπιφος 'outline, sketch', σκαρπιάομαι '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 ?*s^(k)reib^h-.

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. *kreivas* 'crooked, curved, wrong', Ru. *krivój* 'crooked' < *krei-uo-. 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 *skrob^h-i- 'hollow, pit', IE cognates: Lith. *skrebėti*, Is. *skrebù* 'to rattle, crunch', Ru. *skrestí*, Is. *skrebú* 'to scratch, plane'; Latv. *škrabt* 'to scratch, plane', Po. *skrobać*; OE *screpan* 'schaben, kratzen'.

BSl. points to a root in *-b^h-, 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 *skrob^h-h₂-. IE cognates: see s.v. *scrobis*.

WH and IEW's suggestion that *scrōfa* was borrowed from Gr. γρομφάς, -άδος 'old sow' (Hsch.) cannot be accepted: it does not explain the Latin form, and there is no guarantee that the word existed early enough in Greek. It seems much more likely that *scrōfa* is a non-Roman dialect form from *skrōf-ā- 'scratcher, digger', since pigs are often denominated on account of the rummaging way they search for food; see s.v. *porcus*. If *scrōfa* is a borrowing, we cannot be sure about its original vowel: it might have been *o, which the Romans borrowed as 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+); *scrip(t)ulum* 'certain small unit of measurement' (Varro+).

It is assumed that *scrip(t)ulum* got its *-i-* (and sometimes *-t-*) under the influence of *scriptum*. 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.).

Plt. **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. *skriúð* [n.] 'valuables, garment', OHG *scrutōn*, *scrodōn*, *scrutilōn* 'to investigate'.

Certainly not borrowed from Gr. γρότη [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)rsa* to a root **skers-* 'to jump'. Yet this is a mere root etymology, without obvious cognates, and semantically unconvincing. 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.+).

Plt. **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' < PCI. *skeito- [n.]; OPr. *staytan* [*scaytan*] 'shield', Lith. *skiētas*, Latv. *škiēts* 'reed (in a loom)' < *skoi-to-; OCS *štīť*, Ru. *ščit*, gen. *ščítá* [m.] 'shield', Po. *szczyt* 'top, summit' < *skeito-, OE *skæð*, *scēað*, OHG *sceida* 'sheath', OIc. *skeið* f. 'loom', pl. 'sheath' < PGm. *skaid-i-; OIc. *skið* [n.] 'billet, snow-shoe, ski', OE *scīd*, OHG *scīt* 'stick, billet', OIc. *skiði* [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. *sibi*)

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.], *sifei*, Pael. *sef*<e>*i*, U. *seso* [dat.] 'him-, herself' < acc. *sē-om, dat. *seb^hei, *seso* maybe < *soi + (e)psom/d; O. *suveis* [gen.sg.m.], *suvad*, *súvad* [abl.sg.f.], *suvam*, *suva* [acc.sg.f.], σουφεν [loc.sg.n. + -en], U. *svesu*, *sueso* [loc.sg.n./f.], Marr. *suam*, Pael. *sua* [acc.sg.f.], *suois* [dat.pl.m.], SPic. *súais* [abl.pl.f.], *súhúh* [abl.sg.m.] 'his, her' < *swo- (U.), *sowo- (O., ŠPic.); U. *surur*, *suror* 'just so' < *swō-swōs, *suront*, *sururont*, *sururo* 'just so' < *swōs-ont.

PIE *sē [acc.], *seue [gen.], *seb^hio [dat.] 'oneself', *suó- 'own'. IE cognates: OIr. *fēin*, *fadēin* < *sue-(de-)sin 'own, self', OAv. *hōi*, YAv. *hē*, *sē* 'he, she' [gen.dat.], OP -šaiy [gen.dat.] < *so/ei, YAv. *hūuāuuōiia* < *suab^hia 'for himself', Gr. *ἑ*, *έ*, Pamph. *ῥhe* 'oneself' < *sue, nom. σφεῖς 'they (themselves)', acc. Ion.H. σφέας, Aeol. H. Dor. σφε, dat. σφίσι(v), Aeol. Ion. H. Dor. σφι(v) < *s-b^h-, 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. *x^va-*, YAv. *hauua-*, Gr. *ός*, *έός*, Lith. *sāvas*, 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(y)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^woterōd-k^wid.

The abl.sg. (*swēd? >) *sēd originally meant 'per se, for itself', whence 'however, but' as cj. and 'without, away' as prēp.; 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: *sēcūla* '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. *šākk-¹* / *šakk-* 'to know, pay attention

to' < *sokh₁-/*skh₁-, OCS *sěšti*, Is. *sekq* 'to cut', Ru. *seč* 'to cut to pieces, beat', Scr. *sjěci* '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 Plt. 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 (Olr. *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. *šakkān*, Aram. *sakkān* '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.] 'depository, intermediary, trustee' (Pl.+), *altrim secus*, *altrinsecus* [adv.] 'on the other side' (Pl.+), *extrinsecus* [adv.] 'from without, on the outside', *utrimque()secus* [adv.] 'on both sides'.

Plt. **sekwo*s [nom.sg.m.] 'separate'.

PIE **se-kuo-* 'for/by oneself, separate'. IE cognates: Olr. *sech* (+ acc.) 'past; without', W. *heb*, Co. *heb*, OBret. *hep* 'without' < PCI. **sekuā* 'separately' [ins.sg.?].

The older explanation is that *secus* continues a ppa. *(*se-*)*sek*^v-*os-* 'following'. Klingenschmitt 1980 objects that Celtic 'without' can hardly be explained on the basis of the meaning of **sek*^v-, and furthermore that the lenition which the preposition causes in Olr., W. and Co. suggests a vowel-final form in *-*ā* or *-*o*. Klingenschmitt proposes an adj. **se-kuo-* 'separate, by itself', with the element *se-* 'apart' of Latin *sē-*, *se-*, *so-*, and the suffix *-*kuo-* from Skt. *viśva-* 'all'. The suffix *-ester* in *sequester* ('the third party') follows the example of *equester* and others.

Bibl.: WH II: 506, 518f., EM 608f., 615f., IEW 896f., Leumann 1977: 352, Klingenschmitt 1980: 208-214; Meiser 1986: 246ff., LIV 1.*sek^v-. → *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.+), *assiduius* 'wealthy, constantly present, incessant' (Lex XII+), *cōnsēdāre* 'to check, stop' (Cato+), *cōnsessus*, *-ūs* 'gathering' (Afran.+), *dēsīdēre* 'to remain seated, be idle' (Pl.+), *dēsīdia* 'idleness' (Pl.+), *dēsīdiābula*, *-ōrum* 'a life of idleness' (Pl. IX), *dēsīdiōsus* 'idle' (Varro+), *īnsīdiae* [f.pl.] 'ambush, trap' (Pl.+), *īnsīdiārī* '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, govern' (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.+), *supersedere* '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. *sid* 'peace', W. *hedd* 'peace', Skt. pf. *sasāda* [3s.act.], them.aor. *āsadat* [3s.act.], aor.ps. *āsādi*, ppp. *sattā-* 'to sit down, settle down', OP *niyaśādaya-* 'to set down, establish', Gr. ἔζομαι 'to sit down', Lith. *sėdėti*, Latv. *sēdēt*, 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. *i*] (Lex XII+)

PIt. **seg-et-* 'seed' > 'sown land'.

PIE **seg-e/o-* 'to adhere, fasten'. IE cognates: MW *hēu*, Is. *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', *niṣaṅgin-* 'carrying a quiver', OP *frāha⁽ⁿ⁾jam* [1s.ipv.act.] 'to hang out', Lith. *sėgti*, 3s. *sėga* 'to fasten, pin', OCS *prisešti* 'to touch', Sl. *sěči* 'hold out one's hand, try to keep up with' < BSl. **seng-*, Ru. *posjagát* 'to encroach, infringe', OCz. *sahati* 'to touch, reach for' < PSl. **segati*.

Schumacher 2004: 563 justifies the semantic shift from 'to adhere' to Celtic 'to sow' via the steps 'to imprint' > 'put in' > 'sow'. The tutelary goddess of corn at the time of sowing *Sēia* (Pliny) could be derived from **Seg-ja*.

Bibl.: WH II: 509f., EM 611f., IEW 887, LIV 1. **seg-*.

sēgnis 'slothful, inactive' [adj. *i*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *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. ἥκα '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

*seh₁k-. Yet the latter is translated as 'to arrive' by LIV, which does not fit *sēgnis* nor Gr. ἥκ- '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.), *simūtū* [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.+).

Plt. **sm-per* 'once and for all', **sm+plak-* 'simple', **sm-plo-* 'single', **sm-l(i?)-* [n.] 'once; together'.

PIE *sm- [in cp.] 'one'. IE cognates: Skt. *sakṣt*, 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. → *mille*, *sēmi-*, *similis*, *sincērus*, *singulū*.

sēmi- 'half' [pref.] (Pl.+; *sēm-* before vowels, sometimes *sē-* before *m-*)

Derivatives: *sēlibra* 'half a libra' (Cato+), *sēmodius* 'half a modius' (Cato+), *sēstertius* 'having the value of two-and-a-half' (Varró+), *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*).

Plt. **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. → *libra*, *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+).

Plt. **seno-* 'old; old man', **sen-ek-* 'old man'. It. cognates: O. *senateis*, *senateis*, σενατηις, σενατηις [gen.sg.] 'senate', borrowed from Latin *senātus*.

PIE **sen-(o-)* 'old'. IE cognates: OIr. *sen*, W. *hen* 'old' < PCI. **seno-*, Skt. *sána-*, Av. *hana-* 'old', Gr. ἔνοχος 'old, stale, of last year', Arm. *hin*, Lith. *sēnas*, Latv. *seņs*

'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: OIr. *do-essim** 'to pour out' (< *tu-eks-sem-e/o-), MW *gwehynnu* 'to pour out, empty' (< *yo-), OBret. *douhinnom* 'to scoop(?)' (< *tu-yo-sem-de/o-); Lith. *sėmti* 'to scoop'.

There is no obvious formal or semantic obstacle to the etymological connection with PIE *semH-, but in the absence of other cognate forms in Latin, it is still basically a root etymology. The instrument *persillum* could reflect *per-sem-lo- or *per-sm-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*

sentīō, -īre 'to sense, feel' [v. IV; pf. *sensī*, ppp. *sēnsūm*] (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.+), *assentātīō* 'flattering' (Pl.+), *assentātrīx* 'woman who flatters' (Pl.), *assentātiuncula* 'piece of flattering' (Pl.), *assentīre* 'to agree, approve' (Pl.+), *cōsentāneus* 'fitting, appropriate' (Pl.+), *cōsentīre* '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. *sintėti*, 3s. *sīnti* 'to think', OCS *seštъ* 'sensible, wise' < BSl. *s(e)nt- 'think'; *sent- 'go' in OIr. *set* 'road' < *sentu-, PGM. *sandjan- 'to send', *sinḡa- '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; *sepeli(v)ī, sepultum*] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: *sepelībilis* 'in conditions to be buried' (Pl.+); *sepulcrum* 'tomb, grave' (Pl.+), *sepultūra* 'burial' (Lucr.+).

PIt. **sepel-je/o-* 'to bury', **sepel-to-* 'buried', **sepel-tlo-* 'grave'.

PIE **sepel-ie/o-* 'to honour'. IE cognates: Skt. *saparyāti* 'to honour, worship'; Skt. pr. *sāpanti* [3p.act.], pf. *sepur* 'to take care, honour', OAv. *haptī* [3s.pr.act.] 'watches, restrains himself, preserves'; *hafšī* [2s.pr.act.] 'you hold(?)'; Gr. *ἔπω* 'to take care of, commit, do'.

The presence of *-e-* instead of *-i-* in the second syllable in front of *l* exilis may be due to assimilation to *e* in the first syllable (cf. *teget-*). Whereas *sepelīre* could be a denom. to an adj. **sepelo-*, this cannot be the case for Skt. *saparyāti*; 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-je/o-* was derived. Hence, the formation **sepel-je/o-* must be old. Lat. *sepultus* and *sepulcrum* probably have analogical *sepul-* < **sepel-to-*, *-tlo-* (on the model of, e.g., *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, -unīcis* 'seven-twelfths' (Varro+), *septēnī* [adj.pl.] 'seven apiece' (Pl.+); *septuāgintā* 'seventy' (Varro+), *septuennis* 'seven years old' (Pl.+).

PIt. **septm*, **septmo-*.

PIE **septm̥* 'seven', **s(e)ptm-ó-* 'seventh'. IE cognates: OIr. *secht n-*, W. *saith*, Hit. *šiptamiġa-* [n.] 'liquid from seven substances' < **septm-io-*, *šaptaminzu* [adj?] 'sevenfold?' < **sptm-in-*; Skt. *saptá* 'seven', *saptátha-*, *saptamá-* 'seventh', Av. *hapta-* 'seven', *haptaṭa-* 'seventh', Gr. *ἑπτά* 'seven', Lith. *septyni*, 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'

(Lucret.), *obsequi* 'to comply with, devote oneself' (Pl.+), *obsequium* 'compliance, service' (Pl.+), *obsequella* 'compliance, obedience' (Pl.+), *obsequiosus* 'compliant' (Pl.), *obsecula* [f.] 'devotee' (Laev.), *pedisequus* 'male attendant' (Pl.+), *pedisequa* 'female attendant' (Pl.+), *persectāri* 'to follow up, investigate' (Pl.+), *persequi* 'to follow persistently, seek out' (Pl.+), *prōsequi* 'to accompany, furnish' (Pl.+), *subsequi* '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+), *insecundus* 'next in order' (Pl.), *obsecundāre* 'to act in compliance' (Ter.+).

PIt. *sek^w-e/o- 'to follow', *sek^w-to- 'followed', *sek^wondo- 'following'.

PIE *sek^w-e/o- [med.] 'to follow, accompany'. IE cognates: OIr. *seichidir** 'to follow' < *sek^w-ī- << *sek^w-e/o-; Skt. pr. *sácate*, *śisakti* 'to follow, go after', Av. *haca-* 'to accompany', Gr. *ἕπομαι* 'to follow'; Lith. *sekti*, Latv. *sekt* 'to follow, go after'; Go. *saihan* 'to see'.

The original ppp. *sekto- yielded the denominal verb *sectāri* and its derivatives, and was subsequently replaced by *secūtus* on the model of the verbs in -uō. The adj. *secundus* < *sek^wo-ndo- 'following' came to be used as the ordinal 'second'.

Bibl.: WH II: 519, EM 616, IEW 896f., Schumacher 2004: 564, LIV 1. *sek^w- → *insece*, *secus*, *socius*

serēnus 'clear, unclouded' [adj. o/ā] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *serēscere* 'to become dry' (Lucret.).

PIt. *(k)seró- 'dry'.

PIE *Kseh₁-ró- 'dry'. IE cognates: Gr. *ξηρός* 'dry, arid', *ξηρόν* [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. *ξηρόν* is less clear.

Bibl.: WH II: 520, EM 616f., IEW 625, Schrijver 1991: 338, Meiser 1998: 75.

sērius 'important, serious' [adj. o/ā] (Naev.+)

PIt. *sēr-jo-.

PIE *seh₁-ro- 'slow, heavy'.

Schrijver subscribes to WH and IEW's etymology as *swēr- 'weighty'. This begs the question of the reflex of *sw- in Latin: *swe- yields so-, *swā- yields suā-, and *suēscō* seems to show that *swē- yields suē-. This means that *sērius* is more likely to reflect *sē- without *-w-. The long vowel can hardly stem from compensatory lengthening of a lost consonant in front of -r-. In view of the meaning 'weighty, serious', it is tempting to link *sērius* with *sevērus*, and assume contraction across *-w-: *sewērio- > *sērio-. However, according to the established rule (cf. Meiser 1998: 92), the preform accented as *sewērio- would not lose *-w-. The following alternative may be considered: since 'important' can be derived from 'weighty', *sērius* may be 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).

Plt. **si-se/o-* 'to sow', aor. **sē-*, ppp. **sato-* 'sown', **sēmn* 'seed'. It. cognates: O. *seemunef* [dat.sg.], Pael. *semumu* [gen.pl.?], a deity; possibly U. *sehmeniar*, *sehemeniar* [gen.sg.], *seme.nies*, *sehmenier* [dat.abl.pl.] '?', kind a feast or gathering.

PIE **si-sh₁-e/o-* [pr.] 'to sow', **seh₁-/*sh₁-* [aor.], **sh₁-to-*; **seh₁-mn* [n.] 'seed'. IE cognates: Lith. *sėti*, Latv. *sēt* 'to sow', Lith. *sėmenys* 'linseed, flaxseed', OCS *sěti*, SCr. *šijati* '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)h₁-*; 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-soh₁/sh₁-*; yet such presents usually show the *o*-grade in the daughter languages.

Bibl.: WH II: 512, 522, EM 617f., IEW 889-891, Schrijver 1991: 94, 412, Meiser 1998: 192, 205, Untermann 2000: 660, 662f., LIV **seh₁-*.

serō, -ere 2 'to link, join' [v. III; pf. *seruī*, ppp. *sertum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: (1) *seriēs* 'series, sequence' (Varro+), *serilia* [n.pl.] 'plaited material' (Pac.+); *asserere* 'to lay claim to' (Pl.+), *cōnserere* 'to join, engage in' (Pl.+), *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.+), *ēdisertāre* 'to relate in detail' (Pl.+), *īnserere* 'to put in, introduce' (Andr.+; Andr. *īnserimuntur*), *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.).

Plt. **sere/o-*, ppp. **s(er)to-*. 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. εἶπω 'to knit together', aor. εἶποι, ἔποι, ἔποια pl. 'earhangers'; OLith. *sėris* 'thread'; OIc. *sørvi* [n.] 'collar' < PGm. **sarūija-*, Go. *sarwa* [n.pl.] < PGm. **sarūa-?* ToB *šarm* [n.], ToA *šurm* 'motive, cause; basis, ground' < **s(u)er-mn*.

Sermō cannot be connected with O. *sverrunef* [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: *serpens* [f./m.] 'snake, serpent' (Cato+), *serpullum* 'any sort of thyme' (Cato+); *disserpere* 'to spread outwards' (Lucr.+), *prōserpere* 'to creep out' (Pl.+).

Plt. **serpe/o-*.

PIE **serp-e/o-* 'to creep'. IE cognates: Skt. *sárpati* 'to creep, crawl', *sarpá-* [m.] 'snake, adder', Gr. ἔρπω 'to creep, crawl, go', ἐρπετόν [n.], Aeol. ὄρπετον 'animal that goes on all fours', ἔρπουλλος [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+).

Plt. **sersā-* 'saw'.

PIE **sers-h₂-* 'cutting off'.

Within Latin, the best connection is with *sāriō* 'to hoe, weed', which would point to a root **srs-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 524, EM 619, Schrijver 1991: 493. → *sāriō*

serum 'whey; any similar fluid' [n. *o*] (Cat.+)

Plt. **sero-* [n.] 'liquid'.

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.+).

Plt. **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 I. **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.+); *cōservus* 'fellow slave' (Pl.+), *cōserva* 'female fellow slave' (Pl.+), *cōservitium* '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.+), *cōservāre* '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. *serevkiđimaden* [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. *anserīaia* [1s.pr.sb.], *aserio* [2s.ipv.], *azeriatu*, *aseriatu* [3s.ipv.II], *anzeriatu*, *anzeriato*, *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', *haurīua-* 'id.', *haurīua-* 'protecting' (*pašuš-haurīuō spā* 'sheep-dog'), *haratar-* 'guardian', *hāra-* 'guarding'; possibly Gr. *ὄπις* [m.] 'watcher, guard(ian)' < **sor-uo-*, Gr. *ὀπάω* 'to look, perceive, see', Ion. also *ὀπέω* (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 I.*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 I.*seh₁(i)-. → *sērus*

sevērus 'stern, strict, severe' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *sevērītās* 'sternness, seriousness' (Ter.+), *sevērītūdō* 'seriousness' (Pl.+), *assevērāre* 'to declare, affirm' (Pl.+).

PIt. **seχwēro-* 'steadfast'.

PIE **seǵ^h-ur/-un-* 'holding'. IE cognates: Skt. *sáhuri-* 'victorious, strong' (RV) < PIE **soǵ^h-ur*, Skt. *sáhvan-* 'powerful', Gr. *ἐχυρός* 'strong, secure', *ἐπέχυρον* 'pledge security', *ὄχυρός* 'strong, secure', maybe *σθένος* [n.] 'strength, power' < **sg^h-uēn-* (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 **seǵ^h-uēr-o-* [adj.] 'steadfast, tough', a possessive *o*-derivative of a hysterokinetic nom.-acc. **seǵ^huēr* 'steadfastness, toughness'". The latter formation can be interpreted as a collective derived from a n. **seǵ^h-ur/-uēn-* 'holding'.

Bibl.: WH II: 528, EM 621, IEW 1165f., Meiser 1998: 82, LIV **seǵ^h-*.

sex 'six' [num. indecl.] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *sexāgintā* 'sixty' (Cato+), *sexāgēsīmus* '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.+), *sextilis* [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. *śás-* 'six', *śóḍaśa* 'sixteen', YAv. *xšuuas̥* 'six', *xšuuas̥.dasa-* 'the sixteenth'; Gr. *ἕξ*, Dor. *πέξ*, Arm. *vec*, Alb. *gjashtë*, Lith. *šeši*, OCS *šestъ*, 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 *quadrāginta*. 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.+), *nīsī* 'except if, unless, but that, but' (Pl.+).

Plt. **sei* [loc.sg.] 'in this' > 'thus'. It. cognates: Vol. *sepis* 'if someone' < **sei pis*; U. *sopir* 'id.' < **suepis* < **suai pis*; O. **svai, svai, suae**, U. **sve, sue**, SPic. **suai** [cj.] 'if; whether' < **suai* [loc.sg.f.?).

PIE **so-* 'this'.

Lat. *sīve, seu* < **sei-we*, *sīn* < **sei-ne*, *sīc* < **sei-ke*. The original meaning of Plt. **sei* was 'so', which developed into a conditional. The older meaning is preserved in the expression *sī 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 **ē* (< **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 **-plo-*). 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.+); *sīcīlis* [f.] 'sickle' (Enn.+), *sīcīlicula* 'small sickle' (Pl.), *sīcīlire* 'to go over with a sickle' (Varro+), *sīcīlimenta, -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.+).

Plt. **siskwo-*?

PIE **si-sk-u-* 'dry'? IE cognates: MIr. *sesc* 'dry, barren, infertile', MW *hysp* 'dry' < **siskuV-*; Skt. *á-sāscuṣī-* 'not drying up', Av. *hišku-* 'dry', Khot. *škala* 'dry places', Gr. *ἔσκατο φωνή* 'the voice broke down', *ἰσχνός* 'dry, arid'; Lith. *sėkti* '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 **seikʷ-* 'to pour', positing **sikʷ-ko-* 'defective as regards water, dried out' (cf. Fruyt 1986: 164). Yet this is semantically cumbersome, and morphologically unusual.

Bibl.: WH II: 533, EM 623, IEW 893f., Sihler 1995: 200, LIV **sek-*.

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.+).

Plt. **sīzd-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. *śīdati*, Av. *hiḍa-* 'to sit down', Gr. *ἴζω* 'id.', Arm. *nsti-* (< **ni-sisde-*) 'to sit'; OPr. *sindants* 'sitting', OCS *sěsti*, 1s. *sedō* 'to sit down' < **sind-* << **sīzd-*.

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: *consīderāre* 'to examine, contemplate' (Pl.+), *dēsīderāre* 'to miss (Pl.); to desire (younger)', *dēsīderium* 'desire' (Enn.+).

Plt. **sīd/pos-* [n.] 'mark, target'.

The old connection with **sueid-* 'to shine' is not very specific. According to Rix 1985: 345ff., *sīdus* and Gr. *ῥόδός* 'straight, just' represent a secondary development of the root PIE **seHd^h-* 'to achieve a goal'. The verb *consīderāre* 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. ἵβύς, but this just means 'straight, just', without a clear connotation of 'mark, target'; furthermore, Cretan f. εἰφέια may point to PGr. *εἰβύς (De Lamberterie 1990: 287f.). Formally, Rix considers a derivation from a PIE reduplicated form **si-sHd^h-u-* > **sisd^hu-* > **sizdu-* > **sīdu-*, whence analogical introduction of **sīd-* into an *s*-stem **seHd^hos-* 'goal' (to Skt. *sādhate* 'to reach the goal' < Ir. **saHd^h-*). Yet the PIE date of the development to **sīd^h-* as assumed by Rix seems unlikely, and, in any case, Ir. does not show it. So we must look for an alternative etymology. By way of speculation, one might think of a derivative **sh₂i-d^hh₁-o-* 'binding' to **sh₂-i-* 'to tie, fasten' (cf. *saeculum*), whence a n. *s*-stem **sh₂id^hh₁os-* 'binding post, pole' > PIt. **sīpos-* 'goal'.

Bibl.: WH II: 534, EM 623f., IEW 1042, LIV **seHd^h-*.

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.+), *īnsīgne* [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. *silūī*] (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 *sh_{1/2}i-ló- 'silent'. IE cognates: Go. *ana-silan* 'to become quiet' (pret.3s. *sa winds anasilaida* 'the wind dropped') < *sil-ē-, OE *sālnēs(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 *skolbka* '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; off/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.+).

Plt. *semali- 'alike, together'. It. cognates: maybe U. *sumel* [adv.] if 'simultaneously' < *somal (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. σπύρη (-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. σπύρη 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 *цѣль* ‘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: Olr. *sain-* ‘especially, different’, W. *han-* ‘separate’ < PCl. **sani* < **snHi*; Skt. *sanutār* [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-g^h*- 'single'.

The older etymology as **sem-ġno-* to the root **ġenh₁-* 'to be born' must be dismissed. Meiser suggests that *singulī* contains a distributive particle **-g^h*-, 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. **seng^w-ol-to-?*

PIE **seng^{w(h)}*- .

Leumann suggests an original verb **sing-ulāre* with the same suffix found in other verbs of sound, e.g. *sibilāre*, and the same kind of derivative as in *tumultus*. Lat. *singultus* cannot represent a ppp. **singulitus* under the normal rules of syncope (cf. Schrijver 1991: 273). Thus, it may have been built directly on the model of other words in *-ultus*. The root *sing-* has been compared with PIE **seng^{w(h)}*- '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 **seng^w*- '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. *sasāna* 'to win, gain', *go-śāñi-* [adj.] 'winning cows', Av. *hana-* 'to obtain'.

Next to *laevus* and *scaevus*, the meaning 'left' for *sinister* must be a more recent development. If *-is-* represents the PIE comparative suffix **-is-*, to which an extra **-tero-* was added, the root can be **sin(H)-* or **sen(H)-*. WH connect the root **senh₂-* 'to obtain' (Skt. *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.+); *dēsinerere* '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.],

kšáyat [3s.sb.act.] ‘to live, stay’, OAv. *šāēiti* ‘he lives’, *šiiēinti* ‘they are on somebody’s side’, Myc. *ki-ti-je-si* /*ktijensi*/ ‘they live’, Gr. κτίζειν, κτίσσαι ‘to found, build’, (ἐν)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 **t₁k_i-* ‘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: **t₁kei-* ‘to build’, factitive **t₁k_i-n-* ‘to have so. build sth.’ > ‘to put in place’ (*situs*, *pōnō*) > ‘to let, allow’ (*sinō*). Thus, I prefer the derivation from PIE **t₁kei-* ‘to build, dwell’; this can be regarded as an *i*-present to the root **te₁k-* ‘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(i)-*, **te₁k-*, **t₁kei-*. → *pōnō*, *sileō*

sinus ‘cavity, fold, breast’ [m. *u*] (Ter.+)

Derivatives: *īnsinuāre* ‘to work oneself into favour, make one’s way in’ (Pl.+).

Plt. **simu-*.

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. *stefī*, 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. *statūs* [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’ < PCI. **sista/o-*, OIr. *sessam* ‘standing’, MW *gwaessaf* ‘support’ < **sistamu-* [m.]; Skt. pr. *tīṣṭhati*, YAv. *hištaiti* ‘to stand’, OP *aištātā* (< **a-hištā-*) [3s.ipf.]; Gr. ἵστημι, Dor. ἵστᾶμι ‘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: *sitiŕe* 'to be thirsty' (Pl.+).

PIt. **(k)siti-*.

PIE **d^hg^{wh}i-ti-* 'destruction, perishing'. IE cognates: Skt. *kṣay-* 'to destroy, perish', YAv. *jināiti* 'destroys', *ajiiamna-* 'undiminishing', Gr. hom. $\varphi\theta\upsilon\omega$, Att. $\varphi\theta\upsilon\omega$ 'to vanish, perish', aor. $\epsilon\varphi\theta\upsilon\tau\omicron$.

Apparently, the PIE cluster **d^hg^{wh}-* metathesized into **g^{wh}d^h-* in a prestage of Italic, yielding **k^p-* and finally *s-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 548, EM 629f., IEW 487, Meiser 1998: 96, LIV **d^hg^{wh}i-*. → *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 **d^hg^{wh}i-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 **d^hg^{wh}i-*. → *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. \acute{o} [m.], $\acute{o}\zeta$ [m.], η [f.] 'this, he, she', oblique and n. $\tau-$; Lith. *tàs*, *tà*, OCS *tv*, *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 **h₁og^{wh}-r-i-* 'drinking'.

The adj. probably continues the negating prefix *sē-* plus (the preform of) *ēbrius*

'drunk'. The \bar{o} would seem to point to a preform $*so-$ or $*swe-$ (cf. Meiser 1986: 247f.), but such a preform is uncertain: the other instances of $s\bar{e}-$ can be explained from Plt. $*se(d)-$. 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 $s\bar{o}-$. But in that case, the preform could also be $*se-obrio-$, with $seo- > s\bar{o}-$. In a footnote, LIV refers to the suggestion by Rasmussen and Zeilfelder that *sōbrius* might reflect $*se-h_3g^{wh}rio-$ with $*h_3$. Yet the semantic shift of $*s(u)e$ and/or $*s\bar{e}d$ 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 $*h_1eg^{wh}-$. → *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').

Plt. $*swekuro-$ 'father-in-law', $*swekrū-$ 'mother-in-law'.

PIE $*suékuro-$ [m.] 'father-in-law', $*suekrúh_2-$ (< $*suekrh_2$) [f.] 'mother-in-law'.

IE cognates: Skt. *śváśura-*, YAv. *x'asura-*, Gr. *έκυρός*, Lith. *šėšuras* (< $*sešuras$ by assimilation), OHG *swehur* [m.] 'father-in-law', NHG *Schwager* [m.] 'brother-in-law' (< $*suékuró-$ '*belonging to the father-in-law'); Skt. *śvaśrū-*, Sogd. *γwšh*, OCS *svekry* [f.], OHG *swigar* [f.] 'mother-in-law'.

The transition of the original \bar{u} -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: *šocia* 'female partner' (Pl.+), *sociennus* 'partner' (Pl.), *societās* 'partnership, fellowship' (Enn.+); *cōnsociāre* 'to bring into alliance, associate' (Pl.+), *dissociāre* 'to separate' (Lucr.+).

Plt. $*sokjo-$. It. cognates: Fal. **soc[ia]** [dat.sg.f.], **soc[ia]** [voc.pl.f.] 'girlfriend, concubine'.

PIE $*sok^{w}(h_2)-i-o-$ '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 $*sok^{w}h_2-oi-$; 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 Ilr. contains an *i*-stem derived from a collective $*sok^{w}-h_2-$ 'comrades', there is no certainty that Germ. and Latin are also derived from the same h_2 -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 *sok^w-i- 'comrades' or an adj. *sok^w-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.*sek^h- → *sequor*

sodālis 'member of a fraternity' [m. *i*] (VOLat.+ : nom.sg. *suodales* Lapis Satricanus)

Derivatives: *sodālitās* 'association, group' (Pl.+), *sodālicium* 'fraternity, partnership' (Lucil.+).

PIt. **sweḫāli-*.

PIE **sue-d^hh₁-* 'custom, to get accustomed'. IE cognates: Skt. *svadhā-* [f.] 'custom, peculiar nature' < **sue-d^heh₁-* (or **sue-d^hh₁-eh₂-?*), Gr. ἔθος [n.] 'custom, usage' < (diss.) **héhōs* < **ḗéhōs*; Go. *sīdus* [m.] 'custom' (< **s(u)e-d^hh₁-u-?*).

An Italic derivative in *-*āli-* of a stem **swed^h-* < PIE **sue-d^hh₁-* 'custom', a syntagm which is also reflected in Skt. and Gr. With a first member **suē* or **sueh₁*, it is also found in *suēscō* (see s.v.). An alternative etymology would be **swe-d-āli-* to Gr. ἴδιος, Dor. φίδιος, Arg. ἡίδιος 'own, private' < PGr. **ḗhedio-* < **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'; Olr. *súil* [f.] 'eye' > **sūl-i-*, Skt. *svār-* (*sívar-*) [n.] 'sun' (nom.sg. *svār* (< **súH₁* < **sHur* < **sh₂ul*), gen.sg. *súras*, dat.sg. *sūrē*), OAv. *huuarā* [n.], gen.sg. *x^hāng* < **hu₂an^h*; YAv. *huuarā*, gen.sg. *hū* / *hūrō*; Skt. *sūrya-* [m.] 'sun, deity of the sun', Gr. ep. ἡέλιος, Dor. Aeol. Arc. ἠέλιος, Dor. (trag.) also ἄλιος 'sun' < PGr. **soāfélios* < **seh₂uel-io-*; Lith. *sáulė*, Latv. *saūle*, OCS *slonbce* [n.], Ru. *sólnce* < BSl. **sa^hul-/s^hul-*; Go. *sauil* [n.], OIc. OE *sōl* [f.] < **seh₂uel-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.+), *īsolēns* 'unaccustomed,

unfamiliar' (Ter.+), *obsolēscere* 'to be forgotten about, become tarnished' (Varro+), *obsolētus* 'worn-out' (Cic.).

Plt. **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.+)

Plt. **solipō-*.

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*

solum 'high-backed chair, throne; bath-tub; sarcophagus' [n. *o*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *soliar*, *-āris* [n.] 'covering for a throne' (Varro+).

Plt. **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.+); *sōlōx* [adj.] ‘coarse, raw’ (Lucil.+).

Plt. **solno-* ‘whole’. It. cognates: O. *sullus* [nom.pl.m.], *sullum*, *sulum*, *solu* [gen.pl.m.], *sullas* [acc.pl.f.], Pael. *solois* [dat.pl.m.], O. *súllad* [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 Plt. **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, Plt. **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 Plt. 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. *sōlōx* ‘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.+).

Plt. **sōl-*.

PIE **sōlh₂-* ‘mercy, comfort’. IE cognates: Gr. *ἰλάσκομαι* /*hīlā-l*-, *ἴλαμαι* ‘to appease’, maybe Arm. *alač’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.+).

Plt. **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 68If., 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 *sētra* 'better' < **sōliza-*, but the semantics are unconvincing and the root is not otherwise attested. Semantically, *sōlus* could be connected with the PIE root **siH-* 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-je/o-*, *šupparuant-* 'sleepy?'; Skt. *svápna-* [m.] 'sleep, dream', *svápnya-* [n.] 'dream, vision', *dusvápnyam* 'nightmare', Av. *x^vafna-* [m.] 'sleep, dream', Gr. *ὑπνος* [m.] 'sleep', *ὑπαρ* 'reality', Arm. *k'own*, Alb. *gjumë* 'sleep', Lith. *sāpnas*, Latv. *sāpnis* 'dream', OCS *сънь*, Ru. *son* 'sleep'; Oic. *svefn*, ToA *spām*, ToB *spane* '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 Ilr. **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 **sʷep-*. → *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.+).

PIt. 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: Olr. *seinnid**, *seinn* 'to play (a musical instrument)' < PCI. **sʷanna-*, MW *honni* 'to announce' < PCI. iter. **sʷonn-ī-*; Skt. pr. *svanayan* [3p.], aor. *ásvanīt*, intens. *saniṣvanat* [3s.] 'to sound, hum', YAv. *x'anaṭ.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 **sʷenh₂-*.

sōns, sontis 'guilty' [adj. *nt*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *sonticus* 'genuine, valid' (Lex XII+); *īnsōns* 'innocent' (Pl.+).

PIt. **sont-* 'being'.

PIE nom. **h₁és-nt-s* (>> **h₁s-ont-s*), acc. **h₁s-ént-m*, gen. **h₁s-nt-ós* 'existing, real'. IE cognates: Hit. *ašant- /?sant-/* 'true, real', Skt. *sánt-* 'being, real, good', *ásat-* 'not being', *satyá-* 'true, real', Av. *haiθiia-* 'id.' < **h₁snt-io-*, Gr. *ὄν, ὄντ-ος* 'being', OPr. nom.sg. *sins*, dat.sg. *sentismu*, OLith. acc.sg.m. *santj*, Lith. *sąs, sañcio* (>> *ėsqs, ėšqs* m., *ėsanti* f.), Latv. *esuots* 'being', OCS *sy*, gen.sg.m. *sqšta*, Olc. *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', **suōp-s*, **suop-m*, **suep-s* [m.] 'sleep'; **suo/ep-r*, **sup-n-os* [n.]. IE cognates: OIc. *sæfa* '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-ŕ* which would yield Lat. *sopor*. The consistent *-ōr*-inflexion in the rest of the paradigm could have arisen analogically. Gr. ὕπαιρ might be quoted in support (but this could be analogical to ὄναρ 'dream'), as well as Hit. *šuppariije/a-^{zi}* 'to sleep' < **sup-r-je/o-*, *šupparuant-* '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 **srob^h-eie-* [iter.] 'to take various sips, slurp'. IE cognates: Hit. *šarāp-ⁱ* / *šarip-* 'to sip' < **srob^h-* / **srb^h-*, Gr. ῥοπέω 'to slurp, gulp', ῥόφημα 'thick broth, soup', Arm. *arbi* 'he drank', Alb. *gjerp* 'slurp' < **sorb-eie-*, Lith. *surbiù, surbti* 'to suck', *srēbti*, Is. *srebiù* 'to eat (liquid food) with a spoon', OCS *srěbati*, Ru. *serbátb* 'to slurp', ORu. *serebl'u*, Sln. *srěbljem* 'to slurp'.

If one assumes that this root had a full grade **sreb^h-* in PIE (as Lith. and Gr. seem to indicate), Latin *sorb-* must be secondary, since original **srob^h-* 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 **syb^h-*, 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 **sVrb^h-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 561f., EM 636, IEW 1001, Klingenschmitt 1982: 272f., LIV **sreb^h-*.

sorbus 'service-tree' [f. *o*] (Veranius+)

Derivatives: *sorbum* 'service-berry' (Cato+).

No etymology. The connection with Ru. *sorobalina* 'rose hip, blackberry', Lith. *serbentà*, *serbeñtas* 'redcurrant, blackcurrant', *siřbñi* '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.+).

Plt. **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. ὄραξ '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.+).

Plt. **swesōr-* [f.] 'sister', **(kom-)swesr-ino-* 'belonging to the sister'.

PIE **sue(-)sr-* 'sister' (nom.sg. **suésōr*, gen.sg. **suesrós*). IE cognates: OIr. *siur* 'sister' [f.], Skt. *svásar-*, YAv. *x'anhar-* [f.], MoP *xwāhar/xwahar* 'sister', Gr. ἑοπ 'daughter, nephew' (Hsch.); Arm. *k'oyr* 'sister'; OPr. *swestro*, Lith. *sesuō*, OCS *sestra*, Ru. *sestrá*, Sln. *sestra*, Go. *swistar* 'sister'; OCS *sestrinъ* 'of the sister', Lith. *seserėnas* '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. *sorti*)

Derivatives: *sortire/ī* 'to draw lots, cast votes, acquire' (Pl.+), *sortitiō* 'lottery' (Varro+), *sortitus, -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. *t*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *sospitāre* 'to preserve, defend' (Pl.+), *sospitālis* 'salutary' (Pl.+); *Sospita / Sīspita* 'cult-title of Juno at Lanuvium'; Lanuv.inscr. *Sei/ispit-*.

PIt. **swe-spat-* 'self-prospering'?

PIE **-sph₁-t-* 'prospering'. IE cognates: see s.v. *spēs*.

An earlier connection with Skt. *s_uvastī-* 'welfare, happiness' was rejected by WH, but has been revived by Meier-Brügger 1979, who posits PIE **h₁su-ns-ti-* 'good return' for both of them. Latin *sospes* would be from a compound **h₁su-ns-ti-* + **poti-* 'lord'. Yet his solution is impossible for various reasons. First of all, he compares **g^hosti-poti-* (> Lat. *hospes, -itis*), but this is a noun, not an adj. Secondly, **su-ns-ti-* would normally yield Latin **sunsti-*. In Skt., the compound could be syllabified as **Hsu-ns-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 **suensti-pit-* and **suinsti-pit-* (with pre-syncope vowel assimilation) is fanciful. Steinbauer 1989: 260 suggests that *sospes* is for */sōspes/* from **soispes*; next to *Sīspita*, this would show an alternation **oi / *ei* which would be reminiscent of *i/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 unsuccessful, another possibility may be proposed here. In view of *locu-plēt-* and *antistes, praestēs, 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.+).

Plt. **sparg-*.

PIE **sp(e)r-g-* 'to strew'. IE cognates: Hit. *išpār-ⁱ* / *išpar-* 'to spread out, strew' < **spór-* / **spr-*, *išpamu-^{zi}* 'to strew', Gr. *σπείρω* 'to strew, sow'.

Most handbooks connect *spargō* with Skt. *sphūjati* 'to roar, thunder', Gr. *σφαστρέομαι* 'to hiss, crackle', Oic. *spraka* 'to crackle, crash', Lith. *spìrgti* 'to hiss (of roasted meat)', from PIE **sp^h/b^hh₂g-*. 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. *sprekelen* < **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 **spēr-* '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 **sp^herh₂g-*, 3. **spēr-*.

sparus 'hunting-spear, javelin' [m. o] (Lucil.+; also *sparum*)

Plt. **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+), *cōnspiciārī* 'to catch sight of, perceive' (Pl.+), *conspicillum* 'lookout-post' (Pl.), *dēspectus*, -*ūs* 'view from a height' (Lucr.+), *dēspicere* 'to look down on, despise' (Pl.+), *dēspiciārī* 'to despise' (Pl.+), *dēspiciātus*, -*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.), *susplicere* 'to look up at, admire' (Pl.+), *suspiciārē* 'to imagine, suspect' (Pl.+), *suspiciō* 'suspicion' (Pl.+), *suspiciōsus* 'wary, suspicious' (Ter.+); (3) *aspectāre* 'to look at, regard' (Pl.+), *circumspectāre* 'to look round, examine' (Pl.+), *circumspectātrīx* 'female spy' (Pl.+), *expectāre* 'to wait for, hope for, expect' (Pl.+), *expectātiō* '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.+).

Plt. **spekje/o-* [pr.], **speks-* [aor.], **spekto-* [ppp.], **spek-* [m.]. It. cognates: U. **speture** [dat.sg.].

PIE **spek-ie/o-* [pr.] 'to look', **spek-s-* [aor.], **spek-* [m.] 'who sees'. IE cognates: Skt. pr. *pásyati*, aor. *áspaṣta* [3s.aor.med.], pf. *paspaśé* [3s.med.] 'to look at, guard, notice'; *ánu-spaṣta-* 'guarded'; *spás-* [m.] 'spy'; Av. *spasiiia-* 'to discover, perceive', *auui.spaṣta-* '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 **spek-*. → *avis*, *haruspex*

spernō, -ere 'to dissociate, reject, spurn' [v. III; pf. *sprēvī*, ppp. *sprētum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *aspernārī* 'to scorn, reject' (Pl.+), *aspernābilis* 'negligible' (Acc.+).

Plt. **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-* / *išpar-* 'to trample' < **sp^(h)erh_{2/3}-*; Skt. pr. *sphurāti*, 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. *speŗt* 'to kick out, push'; Olc. *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 **sp^herH-*. → *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.), *īnsperātus* ‘unexpected’ (Pl.+); *exspēs* ‘hopeless’ (Acc.+).

Plt. **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. *spėti* ‘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 **sp^heh₁-*. → *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+).

Plt. **speikā-/*spīka-*.

PIE **speig-/*spīHg-*. IE cognates: Lith. *speigliai* ‘thorns’; OHG *speihha*, OS *spēca* [f.], MDu. *spēke*, OE *spāca* [m.] ‘spoke’ < **spaikōn-*, OIc. *spīkr*, MHG *spīcher*, 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+).

Plt. **speinā-/*spīna-*. It. cognates: maybe U. **spīnia, spīna** [acc.sg.], **spīnīama, spīnamāř** [acc.sg. + *-ad*] ‘?’.

PIE **spein-/*spīHn-*. IE cognates: Latv. *spīna* ‘rod’, OPo. *spīna* ‘spine’, Ru. *spīnā* ‘back, spine’; OS OHG *spīnela, spēnula* ‘hairpin’, MHG *spēnel* ‘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. *pyškėti* '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. **fis-* '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', *σπιδόνον* 'thick, coagulated', *σπιδόεν* 'black, big' (Hsch.); Lith. *spisti* (< **spit-*), Is. *spintū* 'to begin to swarm (of bees), gather'.

The most likely cognate seems to be the Greek word family in *σπιδ-* 'thick, wide'; *spissus* might be a derivative in **-to-* to this basis. The meaning of Lith. *spisti* is further removed. Since *spissus* is reminiscent of *crassus, grossus*, it may contain an expressive geminate – hence a possible preform would also be **spīsus*.

Bibl.: WH II: 576, EM 643, IEW 983f.

splendeō 'to shine; be bright' [v. II] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *splendidus* 'bright, brilliant' (Enn.+), *splendor* 'brightness, brilliance' (Pl.+).

PIt. **splnd/pē-*.

PIE **splnd^(h)-eh₁-* 'to be manifest'. IE cognates: Olr. *sluindid* 'to express, declare, name', OW *istlinnit* 'profatur, loquitur', W. *ysthwn* 'kind, connection' < **splondeie-* 'to make manifest'.

The semantic development seen in Celtic renders it conceivable that **splnd^(h)-* is related to PIE **(s)pelH-* 'to speak in public' which LIV reconstructs for Arm. *arā-spel* 'legend, proverb', Go. *spill* [n.] 'tale', ToB *pällātār*, ToA *pällāntār* '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. *spālis* 'beard (= part of the stalk of flax)', pl. *spāliai* '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 *peđb*, 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 *meffa* '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' < **spōnd-*, 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. *spáinē*, OCS *pěna*, Ru. *pěna*, 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. *spuī*, 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. **spū-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. *spiāuti*, Latv. *spļāūt*, CS *plbvatī*, 1s. *pljujō*, Ru. *plevát*, Go. *speiwan*, Olc. *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 **spt̥ieuh-*.

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.+), *squālītās* ‘dirtiness’ (Acc.+), *squālītūdō* ‘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 */squāhus/* 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^ho- > -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. *supš*, *subs* 'own' < **su-b^ho-*; Go. *silba*, OIc. *sjálfr*, OE *self*, OHG *selb* < PGm. **selba-* 'self' < **s(u)elb^ho-*.

The pronoun seems to originate from suffixation of **-b^ho-* 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. <nemedmalostatod>)]

PIt. **(s)ta(je)-tōd* 'must steal'.

PIE **(s)th₂-ie/o-* 'to steal'. IE cognates: OIr. *táid* 'thief' [m.], Hit. *tāje/a-^{zi}* 'to steal' < **teh₂-je/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*, Is. *tajō* 'to conceal', *tatb* '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 tātōdl* or */nē mēd malo stātōdl*. The second option is favoured by Rix 1985b: 200-211, the first one by Eichner 1988-90. Eichner argues that metrical analysis would support his view (which is rather questionable) and that an original root form **stā-* 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 statodl*. In the end, the analysis remains uncertain. The verb could be a root present or a verb **(s)th₂-ie/o-* of the type *dāre*, *stāre*: since Ilr., Slavic and Hit. show a suffix **-ie-*, we may assume this for Latin, too. In view of the Ilr. evidence, the PIE root must be reconstructed with *s*-mobile.

Bibl.: IEW 1010, Meiser 1998: 4, LIV 1.*teh₂-.

stāgnum ‘standing water, pool’ [n. *o*] (Enn.+)

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(ǵ)-*.

stēlla ‘star’ [f. *ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *stēllāns* ‘starry’ (Lucr.+), *stēllumicāns* ‘shining with stars’ (Varro), *stēl(l)iō* ‘kind of lizard, gecko’ (Verg.+).

PIt. **stērīā-*.

PIE **h₂stēr-s*, **h₂ster-* [m.] ‘star’. IE cognates: OIr. *ser*, W. *seren* (pl. *ser*), Co. *sterenn* (pl. *steyr*), Bret. *sterenn* ‘star’ < PCI. **ster-*; OIr. *sell* [m.] ‘iris’ < **stillo-*, Mlr. *sellaid* ‘to see’, MW *syllu* ‘to gaze’, Bret. *sellout* ‘to watch’ < PCI. **stīrlo-* ‘star’ < **h₂stēr-lo-*; Hit. *hašter(a)-* [c.] ‘star’ (nom.sg. *hašterza* /*Hsterf*/) < **h₂ster-*; Skt. *tārah* [nom.pl.], *stṛbhīh* [instr.pl.], Av. *star-* [m.] (YAv. acc.sg. *stāram*, nom.pl. *stārō*, acc.pl. *strāuš* for **strāš*, gen.pl. *strəm*), Khot. *stāraa-* ‘star’; Gr. ἀστήρ, -έρος, Arm. *astl*, Go. *stairno*, ToB *šcirye* ‘star’.

Schrijver 1995 has established that OIr. *sell* ‘iris’ can go back to PCI. **stīrlo-*; together with Lat. *stēlla*, this points to an Italo-Celtic formation **stēr-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.+), *stercolerāre* ‘to supply with dung, manure’ (Cato+), *stercorōsus* ‘rich in manure’ (Cato+), *stercolerārius* ‘of dung, manure’ (Cato+), *stercolerātiō* ‘manuring’ (Varro), *sterculīnum* (or *sterculīnum*) ‘manure-heap, midden’ (Pl.+).

PIt. **sterkos-* [n.].

PIE **sterk-o-* ‘befoulment, excrements’. 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 **sterk^v-*. 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 **k* rather than **s*. If it does, Lith. has PIE **terk-* without *s*-mobile; and Celtic may have a new full grade on the basis of the zero grade PCI. **(s)trik-*. Kloekhorst 2008: 416-418 proposes to connect the Hit. forms mentioned.

Bibl.: WH II: 589, EM 647, IEW 1031f., Leumann 1977: 327, Schrijver 1995: 453f., Stüber 2002: 153, LIV ?**(s)terk-*.

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. *starī-* [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+), *strāmenticius* '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: Olr. *sernaid** 'to spread, build', MW *gwassarnu* 'to spread under' < PCI. pr. **starna-*; Skt. *stṛṇāti* 'to spread out, extend, strew', *pra-stará-* [m.] 'straw, sacrificial straw', YAv. *fra-starənāiti* [act.], *fra-starənata* [med.] 'to spread out, extend', *starāta-* 'strewn, spread', *stairiš-* [n.] 'straw' < Ilr. **starH-*; Gr. *στόρνυμι, ἐστόρεσα* [aor.] 'to extend, strew out', *στροτός* '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: Ml̥r. *sreod* 'sneezing', W. *trew*, *ystrew* 'sneezing', LCo. *striwhi*, Bret. *streviañ* 'to sneeze' < **str̥u-*?, Gr. *παραμός* [m.] 'the sneezing', aor. *παραεῖν*, pr. *πάρπνομα* 'to sneeze', Arm. *p'ringam*, *p'rnem* '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-*.

stīlla 'drop of liquid' [f. *ā*] (Cic.+)

Derivatives: *stīllicidium* 'the falling of drops, trickle, drip' (Varro+), *stīllāre* 'to fall in drops, drip' (Varro+), *stīllātīm* 'drop by drop' (Varro); *dēstīllāre* 'to drip down, off' (Varro+), *exstīllāre* 'to drip away, water' (Pl.+), *īnstīllāre* 'to pour in drop by drop' (Cato+); *stīria* 'icicle' (Verg.+).

PIt. **stī/eir-(lā-)*.

IE cognates: Gr. *στύλη* 'drop'; Lith. *stỹrti* 'to become stiff', Norw. *stīra*, Oic. *stīra* 'to be(come) rigid, stiff'.

Stīlla 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 *stīlla* 'drop', *stīria* may have referred to the form of drops and icicles, which would leave the connection with 'stiff' unfounded. Gr. *στύλη* 'drop' cannot be directly compared with *stīlla*; 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.+), *extinguere* '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. *stiggan* '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. *stingan* 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-*. → *in-stīgāre*

stīpō, -āre 'to compress, surround' [v. I] (Varro+)

Derivatives: *stīpātor* 'bodyguard, attendant' (Varro+); *obstīpus* 'slanted, inclined' (Enn.+), *in-stīpāre* 'to pack closely' (Cato); *stīpes, -itis* [m.] 'tree trunk, stick' (Cato+).

PIt. **stei/īpo-*.

PIE **steip-o-* 'stiff, erect'. IE cognates: Lith. *stipti*, Is. *stimpū* 'to stiffen, grow rigid', *stiprius* 'strong', *stiēpti* 'to stretch'; OE *stif*, MHG *stif* 'stiff, erect' < **steifa-*, MLG *stīvele* 'support', Olc. *stifla* '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+), *instipulārī* 'to stipulate for' (Pl.+); *stipendium* 'regular cash payment, campaign' (Pl.+; *stipendium metri causa* in Enn.).

PIt. **stip-* 'stalk' > 'payment', **stip-elo-* 'straw'. It. cognates: U. *steplatū, stiplatū, anstiplatū* [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. *stīrpti* '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 **stīrp-*.

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.+), *stativus* 'standing still, permanent' (Varro+), *stator* 'who establishes' (Varro+); *abstāre* 'to keep at a distance' (Pl.+), *a(d)stāre* 'to stand by, stand waiting' (Naev.+), *antēstāre* '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.+), *cōstituere* 'to place, arrange' (Pl.+), *dēstituere* 'to set up, abandon' (Naev.+), *īstituere* 'to organize, establish' (Pl.+), *praestituere* 'to fix' (Pl.+), *prōstituere* 'to expose, prostitute' (Pl.+), *restituere* 'to set up again, restore' (Pl.+); (3) *superstes*, *-stītis* '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.+), *cōnstabilis* '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', **stablo-* [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.], *staietud* [3s.pf.?] 'to stand', SPic. *adstaeoms* [1p.pr.], *adstaiuh* [3p.pf.?] 'to erect' or 'to place beside', O. *eestint* [3p.pf.] 'to exist', SPic. *praietait* [3s.pr.], *praietaint* [3p.pr.], *prajistaiuh* [3p.pf.?] 'to stand up' < **sta-iē-*; U. *stakaz est* [3s.pf.ps.] 'to establish', denom. to a noun **stā-k-*; Mars. *state* [dat.sg.] name of a deity; O. *stait* '?' [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. *stafatasset* [3p.pf.ps.], *σταβαλονο* [gdve. nom.pl.n.] 'to erect', denom. v. **stafā-o-* to **staflo-* 'place' < **sth₂-d^hlo-*; U. *stafarem* [acc.sg.f.], *stafare* [acc.sg.n.] '?' < **staf-āri-*; U. *stafli* '?'.

PIE **sth₂-eh₁-ie/o-* 'to stand', **st-n(e)-h₂-* 'to place', **sth₂-to-* 'placed', **sth₂tu-* 'placement', **sth₂-d^hlo-* 'a place'. IE cognates: OIr. *ad-tá* 'to be (situated)', OW *-tau* 'is', MCo. *otte*, *atta* 'there is', OBret. *to* 'it is' < PCI. **tā-je/o-*; Arm. *stanam* [med.] 'to acquire', Alb. *shon* 'to add', OPr. *postāt* 'to become', Lith. *stóti*, Latv. *stāt* 'to stand', OCS *stati*, Is. *stanǫ* 'to stand, become', *stojati*, Is. *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-ēje-*, which is also found in Sabellic (U. *stahie-*, 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-*. → *īnstauro*, *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. *steln* '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. **streg-sno-*?

PIE **streg-sno-*?

Often compared with Gr. σπρηής 'rough, harsh', σπρῆνος [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) Olc. *þrek(r)*, OE *þracu* 'force' < **treg-*, Olc. *sterkr* < **sterg-*. There are no good verbal cognates for these nominal forms *(s)terg-, hence the PIE character remains uncertain.

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. **strepelo-*.

PIE **strep-e/o-*. IE cognates: Olc. *þrefa* 'to quarrel', Olc. *þrapt* [n.] 'gossip', OE *þraeft*, 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. τέτριγα, 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), *strictivus* 'picked (of fruit)' (Cato), *strigilis* [f.] 'oil-scraper' (Pl.+), *praest(r)īgiae* [f.pl.] 'trick, deceit' (Pl.+), *praestīgiātor* 'trickster, juggler' (Pl.+), *praestīgiātrix* '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^h-e/o-* 'to draw, tie'. IE cognates: OCS *strišti*, 1s. *strigō* 'to cut, shave', OHG *strihhan* 'to brush', OE *strīcan* 'to brush (past), rub, wander' < **strig-*; Mlr. *srengim* 'to draw, drag', Khot. *strīs-* (*strīs-*, *str(r)ī-*) 'to become stiff', *pastramj-* 'to repress' < Plr. **stranj-*, Gr. στραγγός 'twisted, crooked', Olc. *strenja* 'to bind together', OE *stengan* 'to attach' < **strengh^h-*.

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 belong to 'stretch') and *striga* 'strip, row'. It appears that a merger occurred of two different PIE verbs, **strig-* 'to brush, strip' and **strengh^h-* '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^h-*.

strūma 'swelling of the lymphatic glands' [f. *ā*] (Cic.+)

In theory, a connection with Gm. words in PIE **strūd-* (Olc. *strútr* 'top', OE *strūtan* 'to stand still', NHG *strotz* 'stiff', MHG *strüz* 'resistance') is possible, but the semantic link is not compelling, and the late attestation in Latin makes an IE etymology less certain.

Bibl.: WH II: 606f., EM 657, IEW 1022-1027.

struō, -ere 'to arrange, construct, compose, build' [v. III; pf. *strūxī*, ppp. *strūctum*] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: *struēs, -is* [f.] 'heap, pile; row of sacrificial cakes' (Cato+), *struix, -icis* [f.] 'heap, pile' (Andr.+); *cōstruere* 'to pile up, arrange' (Sis.+), *exstruere* 'to heap up, construct' (Pl.+), *instruere* 'to build, arrange, equip' (Pl.+), *instrūmentum* 'equipment' (Cato+), *industria* 'diligent activity' (Pl.+), *industrius* 'active' (Pl.+), *industriōsē* 'diligently' (Cato+), *indostruum* 'industrial' (Paul. ex F.).

PIt. **strow-e/o-*. It. cognates: U. **struhçla**, **struçla**, *strușla*, *strusla* [acc.sg.], **struhçlas** [gen.sg.] f. 'kind of sacrificial cake' < **struwi-k-elā?*

PIE **streu-e/o-* 'to strew'. IE cognates: OIr. *sruid** 3s. 'to throw', *as·sroíther* '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 **streu-*.

studeō 'to devote oneself, 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)teud-*. → *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. *përtyt* '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)teup-*.

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*, OIc. *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 *surd-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 *surd-to- regularly developed into *swarsso- 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 unconvincing.

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. *svādū-* [m.], *svādvī-* [f.] 'sweet', pr. *svādanti* [3p.act.], caus. *svādāya-* 'to make savoury', *svāttā-* 'made savoury', OAv. *hudama-* 'sweetness', YAv. *x'āsta-* 'cooked, made done', Bal. *wād* 'salt' (< Plr. *h₂uāda-); Gr. ῥήδύς 'sweet, tasting good, pleasant', OE *swōt* 'sweet', OHG *suozī*, 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 *sueh₂d-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. *σπ* (+ loc.), U. *su* (+ abl.) ‘under’, as a preverb U. *sub-* (before vowel), *su-* (before vowel or consonant: *sumtu* < **sup-emptu*, *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. *ὑπο*, *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 2005: 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. *σῦφap* [n.] ‘wrinkled skin’, as proposed by WH, is doubtful on account of the deviant meaning. Latin and Greek might have borrowed a word in **sūb^h-* 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. *ἴκω*, *ἰκάνω*, *ἰκνέομαι* [pr.], *ἰκέσθαι* [aor.] ‘to come, reach’, *ἐνεῖκαι* ‘to carry off’ < **en-seik-*; Lith. *siekti*, 3s. *siekia* ‘to try to reach, strive for’, *saikas*, *siekas*, Latv. *sieks* ‘unit of dry measure’; ToB *siknam*, sb. *saikam* ‘to set a foot’.

The older etymology with **sek^w-* ‘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 **sejk-*.

sūcus 'juice' [m. o] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *sūcidus* 'fresh, juicy' (Varro+), *cōnsūcidus* 'fresh, juicy' (Pl.).

PIt. **souko-*.

PIE **souk-o-* 'juice' (or **seuk-o-?*). IE cognates: W. *sugno* 'to suck', MBret. *sunaff* 'juice', W. *sugnedydd* 'pump' (< **seuk-n-?*); Latv. *sūkt*, OCS *съсати*, Is. *ς̣ς̣σ̣*, Ru. *сосát* '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 **suk-* in Celtic, BSl. and in some Germanic forms, and as **sug-* in other Germanic forms and in Latin *sūgō*. It is unlikely that this goes back to a root **su-* with different root enlargements, so we must surmise that the root originally was **suk-* or **sug-*, and changed to **sug-* or **suk-* in certain phonetic environments. Both Latin and Germanic conserve both variants. Schrijver 2001: 423 regards the vacillation in root-final stop as a sign that these words for 'to suck' and 'juice' were borrowed from (a) 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 **sūk/g-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 622f., EM 662, IEW 912f., LIV **seuk-*. → *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. **swe/oid-ōs-*.

PIE **sueid-s-* 'sweat' (coll.), **suoid-o-* [m.] 'sweat'. IE cognates: W. *chwys*, Co. *whys*, Bret. *chouez* 'sweat' < **suīdso-?*, Skt. *svéda-* [m.], YAv. *x^vaēda-* 'sweat', *x^vīsa-* 'to start sweating'; Gr. ἰδρώς, -ῶτος [m.], ep. acc. ἰδρῶ 'sweat' < **suīd-r-os-*; ἰδίω 'to sweat', εἶδος (Hsch.), ἴδος [n.] 'sweat' < **sueidos-*; Arm. *k'irtn*, Alb. *dīrsë* < **suīd-r-*; Latv. *sviēdri* [pl.] 'sweat' < **suoidro-*; OHG *sweiz*, OE *swāt*, ToB *syelme* 'id.'.

Sūdāre was probably formed on the basis of a m. **swoīdo-* '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 **swoīd-*) into the *s-*stem.

Bibl.: WH II: 623, EM 662f., IEW 1043, Rix 1985: 341-343, Stüber 2002: 156-158, LIV 1.**sueīd-*.

sūdus 'clear, bright (weather), dry' [adj. o/ā] (Pl.+)

PIt. **swoīdo-*.

PIE **suoid-o-* 'bright'.

According to Lubotsky 1985, followed by Schrijver 1991: 54, *sūdus* belongs to the IE adj. for 'dry' such as Lith. *saūsas*, and reflects **h₂sus-do-*. Nussbaum 1999a: 381 stresses that *sūdus* refers to bright skies rather than to the absence of rain, and proposes an etymology **suoid-o-* 'bright', which he connects with Lith. *svisti*, Is. *svindū* 'to dawn', *svidėti*, *svydėti* (Daukša) 'to shine', Latv. *svīst*, Is. *svīdu* '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 ?.**sueīd-*.

suēscō, -ere 'to become accustomed to' [v. III; pf. *suēvī*, ppp. *suētum*] (Lucr.+)

Derivatives: *assuēscere* 'to become or make accustomed' (Pl.+), *assuētūdō* 'custom, intimacy' (Varro+), *cōnsuēscere* 'to become or make accustomed' (Pl.+), *cōnsuētīō* 'sexual intercourse' (Pl.), *cōnsuētūdō* 'custom, disposition, intimacy' (Pl.+), *cōnsuēfacere* 'to make accustomed' (Ter.+), *dēsūēscere* '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+).

PIt. **swē(p)-sk-e/o-*.

PIE **sue(h₁-)d^hh₁-* 'to make one's own, get accustomed'. IE cognates: Gr. εἶωθα 'to be used, use', Lesb. εἶωθα < PGr. *σέ-σφωθ-α < **se-suoh₁-d^h*- (thus Schrijver; or from **se-sueh₁-d^h*- with analogical -o-?), Gr. ἥθος [n.] 'custom, usage' < **sueh₁-d^hh₁-os-*; Go. *swes* 'own; property' [adj./n.], OHG OS *swās*, OE *swæs*, OIc. *sváss* 'dear' < **suēd^h-s-o-*.

Suēscere is an inchoative formation in *-ske/o- based on a PIE syntagm **suē-d^hh₁-* or **sueh₁-d^hh₁-* 'to make into one's own', which may have as its first member the acc.sg. **sue* 'self, own' (> **suē* in monosyllable) or the ins.sg. **sueh₁-*. In Latin, the compound verbs are clearly older than the simplex *suēscere*, which must be regarded as a back-formation. The adj. *mansuētus* < **manu-suēto-* is probably older than *mansuēs*, which was formed on the model of *inquiēs* : *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'.

PIt. **-pūje/o-?*

PIE **d^huh₂-ie-*. IE cognates: Hit. *tuhhae-^{zi}* 'to produce smoke' < PIE **d^huh₂-o-je/o-* (denominal to a noun **d^huh₂-o-*), Hit. *antu^uahhaš-* / *antu^hš-* 'man' < nom. **h₁n-d^huēh₂-ōs*, gen.sg. **h₁n-d^huh₂-s-ós*; Gr. θύω 'to sacrifice', CS *duti* 'to blow', SIn. *dīti* 'to smell, blow', ToB *twasastār* 'burns, shines', ToA *twāsiš* 'burns'.

Exfir might be a corrupted form or derivation of **exfiō*. The phonetic development leading from PIE **d^huH-je/o-* to *-fiō* is disputed. Most scholars seem to assume **d^huH-je-* > **d^hūje-* > **fūje-* > *fije-* (unrounding by means of the 'pius-Law'); whereas Kortlandt (2007: 136) posits a development **d^huHie/o-* > **-d^hwīō* > *-fiō*.

Bibl.: WH I: 499, EM 663, IEW 261-267, Schrijver 1991: 322-325, Kloekhorst 2008: 188, 886, LIV **d^hueh₂-*. → *fimum, foeteō, fūligō, 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.+).

PIt. **-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 **b^hrāg-* '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. **souge/o-* '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 **seuk-*. → *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. ἔλκω 'to draw, drag', ὄλκος [adj., m.] 'attractive, trailing; hauling-engine for ships; furrow', Alb. *helq*, *heq* 'to draw' (< **solkeje/o-*), OE *sulh* [f.] 'plough' < **s/k-*, ToB *sālk-* 'to draw out'.

In theory, *sulcus* can reflect PIE **s/k-o-* or **solko-*. In view of Gr. ὄλκος, 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. *sarpīs-* [n.] 'melted butter, lard', *syprā-* [adj.] 'greasy, smooth, sleek', Gr. ὄλιπη [f.] 'oil-flask', Alb. *gjalpē* 'butter', OHG *salba* 'ointment, salve', ToA *šālyp*, ToB *šalype* '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.+), *cōsēns, -tis* [adj./noun] (Var., CIL; only in *dī cōsēntes* '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.+), *praesesse* 'to be in charge' (Pl.+), *prōdesse, prōsum* 'to be of use' (Naev.+), *subesse* 'to be underneath' (Pl.+), *superesse* 'to be higher, remain'.

Plt. 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. *futu* [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-si-*).

PIE pr. **h₁es-/*h₁s-* 'to be'. IE cognates: Gaul. *ipūi, imi* 'I am', OIr. *is*; W. *ys* [3s.pr.], *oedd* [pret.], Co. *us, vs*, OBret. *is* 'is' < PCI. **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. *syát*, pf. *ása*], Av. *ah-/h-*, OP *amiy* 'I am', *haⁿtiy* 'they are', Gr. Att. *εἶμι* (= *ēmi*, Aeol. *ἔμμυ*, Dor. *ἦμί*), 2s. *εἶ*, 3s. *ἐστί*, 1p. *εἶμὲν*, 2p. *ἐστέ*, 3p. *εἰσὶ* (Dor. *ἐντι*) 'to be'; Alb. *jam* 'I am', 2s. *je*, 3s. *është / ā(n)shtë*; 2s.sb. (*të*) *jesh*, 1s.ipf. *jeshë*; OPr. *ašmai* [1s.], *ast, est* [3s.], OLith. *esmi*, Lith. *ėsti* OCS *jesmь, jestь*; Ru. *est*, Cz. *jsem, jest*; OPo. *jeśm*; Po. *jest*; Bulg. *e*; SCr. *jèsam, sam, jèst*; Slv. *sàm, jè*; Go. *im, is, ist* [123s.], *sind* [3p.] 'to be'.

In *cōsēntes*, 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 Plt. **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. *upamā-*, YAv. *upəma-* 'upmost, highest, closest' < Ilr. **(H)upmHa-*, Gr. ὑπάτος 'upmost, highest'; OE *ufemest* 'highest'.

The Ilr. 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. *sīvyā-* 'to sew', *syūtā-* 'sewn up', *syūman-* [n.] 'band, thong, bridle', *sūtra-* [n.] 'wire, line, cord', Khot. *hīya* 'sewn stuffs' < **siuHC* < PIE **siHuC-*; Lith. *siūti*, Latv. *šūt*, SCr. *šiti*; 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 **j* (cf. *pūs*, *inciēns*) is explained by Meiser from 'dissimilatory retention' of *ū* between two **j*'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 **sjeuH-*. → *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.+), *insuper* [adv., prep.] 'on top; above, over' (Pl.+), *superāre* 'to surpass, defeat, climb over' (Naev.+), *superior* 'higher, stronger' (Pl.+), *suprēmus* 'highest, last' (Lex XII+), *supernē* [adv.] 'at a higher level, on top' (Lucr.+), *supermus* '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’ < **u_oper-*; Skt. *upári*, YAv. *upairi* ‘above, over’, OP *upariy* ‘over, on’, Skt. *úpara-* [adj.] ‘below, under, later’, YAv. *upara-* ‘upper, higher’, Gr. *ὑπέρ*, *ὑπερ* ‘over, above’, Gr. *ὑπερός* [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.*).

Plt. **sup-i-*, *-sup-āje-* ‘to throw’.

PIE **sup-i-* ‘to throw’. IE cognates: Lith. *sùpti*, 3s. *sùpa* ‘to rock, cradle’; OCS *suti*, Is. *σῦρρ*, Cz. *souti* (obs.), SCr: *sàsūti* ‘to pour, strew’ < BSl. **soup-*, ORu. *съръ* ‘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 Plt. 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 **sV̄p-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.+).

Plt. **soupo-* ‘on the top, upside down’. It. cognates: U. *sopam*, *sopa* [acc.sg.], **supaf**, **supa** [acc.pl.f.], **supes** [abl.pl.f.], **supa**, *sopo*, *supo* [acc.pl.n.], **supa** [acc.sg.f. or pl.f. or n.] ‘part of the sacrificed animal, guts’.

PIE **h₁eup-(o-)* ‘up, above’. IE cognates: Gaul. *Uxello-dumum*, *Uxama* [topon.], OIr. *úasal*, W. *uchel*, Co. *huhel*, Bret. *uhel* ‘high’ < PCI. **ou(x)selo-* ‘high’ < PIE **h₁oup-s-* ‘high’, Gaul. (*a*) *uz*, OIr. *ós* [+dat.], W. *uch*, Co. (*a*) *ugh* ‘above’ < PCI. **ouxso-* < PIE **h₁oups-o-*; Hit. *ūpp^{zi}* ‘to come up (of the sun)’ < **h₁eup-ti*; Gr. *ὑψη* [adv.] ‘on high, above’; Ru. *výše*, SCr. *višē*, Sln. *vīše* ‘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 *isōpa* can reflect Plt. **soup-*, **soip-* or **sop-*. If Latin *suppus* stems from **sūpus* via the *littera*-rule, then both may reflect Plt. **soupo-* < PIE **seup-o-*, an internal derivative to **sup* 'below, upwards'. The meaning of Plt. **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. ὑπτιος 'supine, upside down' from ὑπό, with the pl. τὰ ὑπτια often referring to the belly of quadrupeds. This solution would imply that Italic also evidences the full grade of PIE **h₁up-* which is furthermore found in Hittite, Germanic, Slavic and Celtic.

Bibl.: WH II: 634, EM 660, 669, IEW 1106f. → *sub*

surdus 'deaf; muted' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *absurdus* 'ridiculous, awkward' (Pl.+).

Since 'deaf' often has two semantic sides, viz. 'who cannot hear' and 'who is not heard', *ab-surdus* can be explained as 'which is unheard of', and regularly belongs to *surdus*. According to WH and IEW, *surdus* might belong to the PIE root **suer-* 'to sound', but this leaves the semantics unexplained, since *surdus* means 'unheard' or 'not hearing'. If *ab-surdus* was original, it may have meant 'off hearing' (> 'unheard of'), in line with other compounds in *ab-*. Then *surdus* would have originally meant 'hearing', but changed its meaning to 'not hearing' under the influence of *absurdus*. This is very speculative, of course.

Bibl.: WH I: 5, II: 634, EM 4, 669, IEW 1049f., Nussbaum 1999a: 381, LIV 1. **suer-*.

sūrus 'post, stake' [m. *o*] (Enn.+)

Derivatives: *surculus* 'twig, stick' (Cato+), *surculārius* 'living among twigs' (Varro+); *sūra* 'calf of the leg' (Pl.+)?

No certain etymology. The length of the first vowel in *sūrus* is uncertain; if it was long, it may be connected with *sūra* 'calf of the leg': the 'post, stake' would have been denominated after the body-part, as is often the case. If it was short *sūrus*, it might be cognate with Skt. *svāru-* 'sacrificial post, stake'.

Bibl.: WH II: 634f., EM 669f., IEW 1050.

susurrus 'whisper, soft rustling' [m. *o*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *susurrāre* 'to whisper, make a soft rustling sound' (Ter.+).

Plt. **su-sur(r)-o-*, **swer-*. It. cognates: O. *sverruneī* [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. *svāra-* 'to make a sound, snort', OAv. *x'araiθiia-* [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 **suer-* ‘to resound’. O. *sverrun-* could mean ‘speaker’ < ‘resounder’; possible reconstructions are then **suer-es-ōn-* or **suer-īōn-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 637, EM 670, IEW 1049f., Schrijver 1995: 57, Untermann 2000: 726f., Schumacher 2004: 608f., LIV I. **suer-*.

sūs, sūis ‘pig, sow’ [m., f. *ū*] (Pl.+; acc. *suem*, acc.pl. *suēs*, dat.abl.pl. *sūbus, sūbus, 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’ < **sū-*; 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 **suh_{1/3}s* [nom.], **suh_{1/3}-os* [gen.] ‘pig, swine’ (orig. ‘sow’). IE cognates: Skt. *sūkarā-* [m.] ‘wild boar’, YAv. *hū-*, MP *xūg*, Gr. *ύς*, gen.sg. *ύός*, Alb. *thi* ‘pig’; OHG, OE *sū* ‘sow’, OIc. *syr* ‘sow’.

According to Schrijver, the alternation between nom.acc. *sū-s, -m* and oblique case forms *sū-* led to the introduction of *su-* in compounds such as *su-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 **suh_{1/3}-* ‘to be full’ which Kloekhorst 2008: 785-798 reconstructs for Hit. *šunna-ⁱ* / *šunn-* [pr.] ‘to fill’ (< **su-nó-h_{1/3}-* / **su-n-h_{1/3}-*), *šūu-* / *šūuay-* ‘full’ (< **souh_{1/3}-(o)u-*) and Hit. *šūue/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-b^h-eh₁-* ‘to be melting’. IE cognates: OIr. *taīd**, *taa** ‘to melt, dissolve’ < **tā-je/o-*, MW *tođi*, OBret. *teuziff* ‘to melt’ < **tā-de/o-*, Oss. *taj-* ‘to thaw, melt’, Gr.

τήκω, Dor. τάκω 'to melt', τᾶκερός 'melting, soft', Arm. *t'anam* 'to make wet', SeCS *tájati* 'to thaw', Ru. *tájat* 'to melt, thaw, dwindle'.

The original meaning 'to be melting' is only attested in Andr.; from 'melt away', the meaning developed to 'waste away', which is the basis of all subsequent attestations in Latin. In theory, the root enlargement reflected in Latin *-b-* could be PIE **b* or **b^h*, since **b* is a very rare phoneme in PIE, **b^h* 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 atrium and the peristyle' (Varro+).

Plt. **taff/plā-* 'board'. It. cognates: U. *tafle e* [loc.sg. + *-en*] [f.] 'instrument for transporting the sacrificial fire'.

PIE **th₂-d^hlo-*?

The etymology is uncertain. If the original form was Plt. **taflā-*, one may analyze it as a root **ta-* plus the instrument suffix PIE **-d^hlo-*. 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. *tacui*, 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.+).

Plt. **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. **þaxē-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. ἔπτᾱξα, 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 disgust’ [Pompon.+; ppp. *pertisum* 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. τᾱλῖς -ῖδος ‘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. τᾱλῖκος ‘of such an age’, Lith. *tōlei* ‘until’, OCS *toli* ‘to such a degree’, *tolb* ‘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 \bar{a} -stems), as EM object, *taxillus* would prove that *tālus* goes back to **tākslo-*. The suggested connection with W. *sawdl*, OIr. *sāl* 'heel' < PCI. **stātlā-* 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.+), *tantisper* '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-?*; maybe Vol. *atahus* [3s.fut.pf.] '?' < **ad-tah-us-t* or \bar{a} -. The reflex *h* < **g* is irregular, cf. Untermann.

PIE pr. **th₂-n-g-* 'to touch', ppp. **th₂-to-*, **-teh₂-g-* in cp. IE cognates: Gr. *τεταγών* 'having seized', Go. *tekan* 'to touch', *taitok* 'touched', Oic. *tók* 'took', ToB *cešām, 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. → *contāmināre*

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. *tárūna-* '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. *taūras*, Latv. *tàurs* [m.] 'aurochs', OCS *turb* 'bull', Ru. *tur* (gen. *túra*) , SCr. *tūr* '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 **tok^w-so-* from the root **tek^w-* 'to flow, run, flee', which in some contexts is used as 'to shoot'. Latin *taxus* could then be from a zero-grade **tk^w-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.+), *tegeŋcula* '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.+), *obteŋgere* 'to cover, protect, conceal' (Pl.+), *pertegere* 'to cover completely' (Pl.+).

Plt. **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. *stāgs* '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-*. → *fignum*

tellūs, -ūris 'ground, earth' [f. *r*] (Varro+)

Derivatives: *meditullium* 'the interior of a country, centre' (Cic.+).

Plt. **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 *tbla* [pl.], ORu. *tblo* 'foundation, bottom' < PIE **tIH-o-*; OPr. *talus* 'floor', Lith. *pātalas* '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 Plt. **tela-* < **telH-*. Thus, the

earth would have been referred to as 'bearer' or 'support' (of the sky, or of the creatures and objects on the earth); the *o*-stem **t(e)IH-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.+).

PIt. **temesi* [loc.sg.]

PIE **temH-os-* [n.] 'darkness'. IE cognates: Skt. *tāmas-* [n.] 'darkness, blinding', Av. *tamah-* [n.] 'darkness'; Lith. *tėmti* '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.+).

PIt. **tēmo-* 'intoxication' or 'intoxicating substance'.

PIE **tēmH-* 'intoxication'. IE cognates: Skt. pr. *tāmyati* [3s.act.], aor. *tamat* [3s.sb.act.], *tāmṛá-* 'dark red, copper-red', Arm. *t'mrim* 'to become stunned' < **tēm-*; NHG *dämisch*, *dämlisch* < PGm. **þēm-i-*.

Lat. *abstēmius* can be regarded as a hypostasis from **abs tēmō*; together with *tēmulentus* 'containing *tēmo-*', this points to an original *o*-stem **tēmo-* 'intoxication', which may continue a PIE root noun. Long *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.+), *contemptrix* 'she who despises' (Pl.+), *contemnificus* 'scornful' (Lucil.).

PIt. **(kom-)tmne/o-*.

PIE **tm-n(e)-h₁-* 'to cut'. IE cognates: MĪr. *tamnaid* 'cuts' (prob denominal), Gr.

τάμνω, Att. τέμνω 'to cut', aor. ἔταμον, Att. ἔτεμον, Lith. *tinti*, 3s. *tina* 'to whet, (colloq.) beat', Ru. *tjat'* (arch.), Is. *tmu* 'to beat', Sln. *těti*, 1s. *tnēm* 'to chop' < BSl. **tin?tei*; Gr. στέμβω 'to shake about, agitate'.

The compound *contemnere* is the older verb, from which *temnere* has been backformed more recently. The etymology is disputed: the meaning 'scorn' has probably developed from a more concrete meaning, for which two candidates have been advanced: PIE **stemb-* 'shake violently, pound' (WH, EM, Szemerényi 1995: 414; in fact, it is likely that this is a non-IE root, because of **-b-*, because of the unexplained variants in Greek and because it has few reliable cognates outside Greek) and PIE **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 **teng^h-*, reconstructs **teng^hsmō-*, 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 **teng^h-* '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. *tempti* 'to pull, stretch', 3s. *tempia*, Oic. *þomb* 'bow', ToB *campām*, A *cāmpāš* '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 *antenna* 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.+), *temporalis* ‘denoting time, temporary’ (Varro+), *tempestās* ‘occasion, season, weather, storm’ (Lex XII+), *tempestivus* ‘ready at the proper time, ripe’ (Cato+), *tempestūs, -ūtis* ‘tempestās’ (Varro), *intempestus* ‘at the wrong time, nightly’ (Enn.+), *intempestivus* ‘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.] / *intemperies* ‘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-tivus* and the verb **tempes-āje-* > *temperāre*. The meaning ‘to restrain, modify’ of the latter shows the semantic shift from ‘stretching’ to ‘measuring’ which we also find in *templum*. This means that the noun **tempos-* still meant ‘measure’ in Plt. The noun *tempora* ‘side of the forehead’ is also generally accepted to be the same word, having developed from ‘stretchings’ to ‘stretched skin’ > ‘temple’. IEW and Stüber compare OIc. *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. *tetini* 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. *tāmisrā-* [f.] 'dark night', YAv. *tq̄ra-* [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. *tetini* (>> *tenui*), 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.tamūia* [1s.opt.med.], *pairi .. tanauua* [1s.sb.act.] ‘to keep away (from)”; Gr. *τείνω* ‘to stretch, pull tight’, *τόνυται* ‘to stretch (intr.)’, *τόνος* [m.] ‘tension, cord, string, tone, sound’, *ἀλι-τενής* ‘extending to the sea’; Go. *ufspanjan* ‘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 *tenuis* [n.] and its petrified form *tenuis*. Meiser (1998: 183) explains *tenuis* from a ppa. **tn-yos* ‘stretching to’, but this seems less likely: the meaning does not point to an original perfect, and reduplication is absent whereas *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. *tárūna-* ‘young, tender, fresh’, Av. *tauruna-* ‘young’; [m.] ‘boy’, Oss. *tærȳn*, *tyryn/taerna* ‘boy’; Gr. *τέρυ* ‘weak, soft’ (Hsch.), *τερόνης* ‘worn-out ass, infirm old man’ (Hsch.), Gr. *τέριον* ‘soft, delicate’.

Since Ilr. 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+).

Plt. *t_h(a)u-.

PIE *tn_h₂-(e)u- 'thin'. IE cognates: OIr. *tanae*, W. *teneu*, C. *tanow*, Bret. *tanao* 'delicate, thin' < PCl. **tana_{yo}*- < *tn_h₂-eu-o-; Skt. *tamú*- 'thin, slender', MP *tanuk* 'thin, flat', Gr. *ταναός* 'thin, elongated, expanding far', *τανύ*- [pref.] 'thin, slender' < *tnHu-; Lith. *tėvas* 'thin, slender, high (of voices)', Latv. *tiēvs* 'thin, slender' < *tenh₂-u-ó-; OCS *тънѣкъ*, Ru. *tónkij*, Sln. *tānak* 'delicate, fine' < *tnHu-k-; OHG *dunni*, OIc. *þunnr* 'thin' < *tnHu-.

The Plt. *u*-stem adj. was remade into an *i*-stem, yielding *t_h(a)ui- > *ten(a)ui- > *temis*. The PIE root form *tn_h₂- 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+).

Plt. *tep-ē- 'to be warm'.

PIE *(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' (< Plr. **tapah*-); OCS *teplotь* [f.] 'warmth', Ru. *těplyj*, Cz. *teplý* 'hot' < *tep-lo-, OCS *topiti*, 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: *abstergere* 'to wipe clean, wipe off' (Pl.+), *circumtergere* 'to wipe round about' (Cato), *dētergere* 'to wipe away, trim' (Andr.+), *extergere* 'to wipe clean' (Pl.+); *mantēlum* 'hand-towel, napkin' (Lucil.+), *mantēlium* (Varro+) 'hand-towel, napkin'.

Plt. *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 *-tergere* 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)terg^h- (if *-rg^h- > Lat. -rg-); but Kloekhorst 2008: 411 reconstructs the Skt. words as **stelg^h*-, 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(ḡ)- or *(s)terg^h-.

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-dārśa-* ‘easily seen, conspicuous’, Av. *daras-* ‘to look’, *darasa-* [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: *terminus* ‘boundary-post’ (Naev.+), *termō* ‘finishing-post in a race’ (Enn.+), *terminālis* ‘marking a boundary’ (Varro+), *termināre* ‘to mark the boundaries, limit’ (Lucr.+); *dētermināre* ‘to delimit’ (Pl.+).

PIt. **ter-mn-* [n.] ‘boundary stone’. It. cognates: Ven. **termonios** [acc.pl.m.] ‘of the boundary’ < **ter-mon-io-*; Presam. *τερμωνι* [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 Sabellic **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 *aniť* variant of **terh₁-* ‘to rub’?

Bibl.: WH II: 671, EM 686, IEW 1074f., Lejeune 1974: 339, Leumann 1977: 371, Untermann 2000: 745-748, Lazzarini-Pocchetti 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+), *terebrā* [f.] 'drill' (Pl.+), *terebrāre* 'to drill a hole' (Pl.+), *exterebrāre* 'to extract with an auger' (Pl.+), *termentum* 'sore caused by friction' (Pl.+), *trībulum* 'threshing-sledge' (Varro+; Varro *trivolum*), *trībulāre* 'to press, squeeze' (Cato+), *trītīcum* 'wheat' (Pl.+), *trītīceus* '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* 'lintheum 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. *τηρητός* 'bored through', Gr. *τριβω* 'to rub, wear out'; Lith. *tirti* 'to investigate', SeCS *trēti*, 1s. *tərɔ*, 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-*, **treig^u-*. → *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' (Lucret.+); *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.], *tereis* [gen.sg.], *teref* [loc.sg.] [n.] 'area' < **ters-o-*.

PIE **ters-h₂-* 'dry land'. IE cognates: OIr. *tír* 'territory; dry' [n.], OW *tír* < **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. *tír* 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: *terrītāre* 'to (try to) scare' (Pl.+), *terribilis* 'frightening' (Enn.+), *terrīcula/-um* 'object of terror, boggy' (Lucil.+), *terror* 'terror, extreme fear' (Naev.+); *terrificus* 'terrifying' (Lucret.+), *terrificāre* 'to alarm' (Lucret.+); *absterrēre* 'to frighten away, deter' (Pl.+), *dēterrēre* 'to discourage' (Pl.+), *exterrēre* 'to scare' (Enn.+), *perterrēre* 'to terrify' (Pl.+), *perterrēfacere* 'to make extremely frightened' (Ter.+).

Plt. **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. *trāsanti* [3p.act.], caus. *trāsaya-* 'to tremble, be afraid', YAv. *vrāṅhaiia-* 'to scare', *tārāsa-* 'to be afraid', *taršta-* 'scared, afraid', OP *trsa-* 'to be scared'; Gr. *τρέω* 'to be scared, tremble, flee', *ἄτρεστος* 'fearless'; Lith. *trišėti* 'to tremble, to shiver'.

Since the other IE languages show an ablaut **trs-* : **tres-*, *terreō* can reflect neither PIE **ters-* nor **tors-* (with replacement of **torr-* by **terr-* on the model of *terror*, as assumed by WH and EM). LIV compares *tertius* 'third' < **tritio-* and reconstructs **tros-eie-* > (post-)Plt. **trseje-* > 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.³; n.pl. *tesca* Var. / *tesqua* Hor. Luc., dat.abl.pl. *tesquīs*)

The vacillation between *tesc-* and *tesqu-* points to **tesk^w-* or **teskw-*, which yielded *tesc-* in the nom.acc.sg. The meaning is established by Chanut 1980 as 'terrain of difficult access, crags, maquis'. He argues that the use of *tescum* as 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-k^wo-*, which would have yielded **tesk^wo-* 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: *testātīm* '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 **tek-* 'to build' is unlikely for semantic reasons; also the outcome of PIE **-tk-* (if we would reconstruct a reduplicated form **te-tk-o-*) in Latin is uncertain (*s* seems most likely, cf. *situs*); see also s.v. *texō*. The word *testa* is probably a loanword, as words for vessels often are.

Bibl.: WH II: 675f., EM 688f., IEW 1058f.

testis 'witness' [m. i] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *testēs*, *-ium* [m.pl.] 'testicles' (Pl.+), *testiculī* [m.pl.] 'testicle' (Varro+), *testimōnium* 'evidence in court, testimony' (Lex XII+), *testārī* 'to invoke as a witness, testify' (Lex XII+), *testāmentum* 'will, testament' (Pl.+), *intestātus* 'without having made a will, without having called a witness' (Lex XII+), *intestābilis* 'disqualified from calling witnesses, shameful' (Lex XII+); *antestārī* 'to call as a witness' (Lex XII+), *dētestātum* 'testatione denuntiātum' (Lex XII), *obtestārī* 'to beseech, invoke' (Pl.+).

PIt. **tri-sto/i-*. It. cognates: O. *trīstaamentud* [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 *testī-*. 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*, τῶττο [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. τῶττιδ [abl.sg. of **toutio-*]; O. *túvtiks* [nom.sg.m.], τούτικες [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*, Olc. *þjóð* 'people' < PGm. **þeupó-*, OE *geþiedan* '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-Pocetti 2001.

texō, -ere 'to weave, construct' [v. III; pf. *texuī*, ppp. *textum*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *textilis* 'woven, plaited' (Lucr.+), *textor* 'weaver' (Pl.+), *textrinum* 'place of weaving, of constructing' (Enn.+), *textus, -ūs* 'structure' (Lucr.+), *textūra* 'structure, weaving' (Lucr.+); *tēla* 'cloth on a loom, spider's web, plan' (Pl.+), *subtilis* [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 **tek-s-* [pr.] 'to fashion'. IE cognates: Hit. *takš-zi* 'to devise, undertake' < **teks-/tk-*, MHG *dehsen* 'to break flax'; Skt. pr. *tákṣati* [3p.act.], *tādhi* [3s.ipv.act.], *tāṣṭi* [3s.act.], pf. *tatákṣa* [3s.act.], ppp. *taṣṭá-* 'to hammer, form, fashion', *tāṣṭar-* [m.] 'carpenter, master', Av. *tašaṭ* [3s.aor.inj.], OAv. *tāšt* [3s.pr.inj.] 'to fashion', *tašta-* 'created'; YAv. *auui* . . . *tāṣṭi* [3s.pr.act.].

Lat. *tēla* < **teks-lā-*, *subtilis* < **subtēli-*. Meiser 1998 argues that *texō* does not belong to the pr. **te-tk-* 'to build' but to a root **tek-s-*, seen in Gr. τέχνη 'skill', OHG *dehsala* 'axe', OIr. *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-tk-* 'to fashion'. For Latin *tex-*, this implies that it can either go back to PIE **tek-s-*, or to **te-tk-* 'to fashion'. Since the outcome of word-internal **-tk-* is uncertain, but might rather be single *-s-* (in *ursus*, where the cluster is preceded by *r*), I have a preference for **tek-s-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 619f., 678, EM 662, 690, IEW 1058f., Sihler 1995: 225, Meiser 1998: 96f., 2003: 127, LIV 2. **tek-*, **tetk-*. → *tignum*

tibia '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.

tignum '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 *tek-no- 'product'.

Lat. *tignum* 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 **tegitillum*). As for the PIE etymology, WH and IEW derived *tignum* from a word *(s)teg- for 'stake', which is unattractive since this root is not otherwise attested in Italic. It seems more likely that *tignum* derives from *(s)teg- 'to cover', which yields other constructional terminology such as *tectum* 'roof, ceiling, dwelling' and *tēgula* 'roof-tile'. However, since *tignum* has no evident connotation of 'cover', one could also connect it with **tek-* 'to fashion', but this has the preform **teks-* in all certain Latin derivatives (see s.v. *texō*).

Bibl.: WH II: 681, EM 691, IEW 1014, Meiser 1998: 81, 122. → *tegō*, *texō*

tilia 'lime-tree' [f. *ā*] (Verg.+)

IE cognates: Gr. *πελέα* 'elm-tree', Myc. *lpterewal*.

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 **stjēH-* (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. *tinxi*, ppp. *tinctum*] (Lucr.+; var. *tinguō* Varro)

Derivatives: *attingere* 'to smear on' (Rhet.Her. +), *intinguere* 'to plunge in, colour' (Pl.+).

PIt. **teng-e/o-*.

PIE **teng-* 'to make wet' [pr.], maybe **teng-s-* [aor.]. IE cognates: Gr. *τέγω* 'to make wet', aor. *τέγα*, 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)-.

titiō 'piece of burning wood' [m. *n*] (Varro+)

PIt. **tī-ti-* 'heating'.

PIE **tih₁-ti-*. IE cognates: OIr. *tinaid*, *tin** 'to melt, disappear' < PCI. **ti-ni-*, OIr.

úathad [n.] 'small quantity', MW *odit* [m.] 'rarity' < **au-tī-to-* 'melting away'; Hit. *zē-^{a(rī)}* / *z-* 'to cook (intr.), be cooked' < **tjēh₁-o-*, *zanu-^{zi}* 'to cook (tr.)' < **tih₁-neu-*, *zinni-^{zi}* / *zinn-* 'to end, finish' < **tī-n(e)-h₁-*; OE *ðīnan* 'to wet; become wet', Oīc. *þíðr* '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 *tī*-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 **teih₁-*.

tōfus 'volcanic rock, tufa' [m. o] (Verg.)

Plt. **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.+).

Plt. **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 **toñsli-lā-*. Lat. **tonsli-* can be regarded as *l*-derivative to **tens-* 'to stretch', or as an instrument noun in **-slo/i²* 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.+); *tolūtīm* [adv.] 'at a trot' (Pl.+), *tolūtīlis* '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.+).

Plt. **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. ἔτλᾶν 'to endure, endeavour', aor. ἐτάλασσα 'endeavoured', τάλαντα [n.pl.] 'scales', Go. *þulan* 'to endure, bear', ToB *tallam* '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 *lānus* < *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, *tolūtīm* 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 *teuh₂-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. *towamn > *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**, τανγινυδ, τανγινυοτ [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. *tonūi*, ppp. *tonitum*] (Pl.+; Ip.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)tonh₂-eie-* (Eichner 1974: 58; but the meaning of *tonāre* is not causative), a derivative from the noun *tonus* (Schrijver 1991: 396, as one of the possibilities; but *tonus* does not mean ‘thunder’, and is attested too recently), or an iterative **(s)tonh₂-eie/o-*, as Skt. *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 un|verbation 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. *tīrpti* 'to coagulate, grow stiff', OCS *trpēti* 'to suffer'; OHG *derb/p*, OE *þeorf*, Olc. *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*, *-ōrum* [n.pl.] 'gripping 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. **tork^w-eie-* 'to twist', **tork^w-to-* [ppp.]. It. cognates: maybe O. **turumīad** [3s.pr.sb.] 'may he tremble/suffer' (vel sim.) if denom. to a noun **tork^w-mo-* 'vexed' (but see also s.v. *tremō*).

PIE **tork^w-eie-* 'to twist'. IE cognates: Hit. *tar(k)u^{-zi}* 'to dance' (**/tark^w-/*) < **terk^w-/*trk^w-*, Skt. *tarkaya-* 'to consider', *niṣ-ṭarkyā-* 'what can be unscrewed', *tarku-* 'spindle', Khot. *hataljs-* 'to flutter' (< PIr. **fra-tark-*) < Ilr. **tark-* 'to move to and fro, turn'; ToB *tārk-* 'to turn'.

A causative verb **tork^w-eie-*; the noun *tormentum* reflects **tork^w-mn-to-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 692f., EM 696, IEW 1077, Untermann 2000: 778, LIV **terk^w-*.

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. *tṛṣyant-* [ptc.act.], aor. *tṛṣa-* 'to be thirsty', root

aor. *τῆσανά-* ‘thirsty’, caus. *vi-taršaya-*, *τῆσά-* ‘sharp, stinging, raw’, YAv. *taršu-* ‘dry, not fluid’; Gr. *τέρσομαι* ‘to become dry’; OHG *derren* ‘to make dry’, *durst* ‘thirst’, Go. *þaurusjan** ‘to be thirsty’.

As M. Weiss points out to me, Lat. *torrens* can be explained as a ptc. ‘the dry one’ to a stative pr. **trs-eh₁-* ‘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. **torg^wo-*.

PIE **torg^w-o-* ‘grim, angry’. IE cognates: Hit. *tarkūyant-* ‘looking angrily’ < **trg^w-ent-*, *tarkūya* [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. *tāti* [adv.] ‘so many’, Gr. *τόσσοσ, τόσοσ* [adj.] ‘so big, so much’ < **toti-ō-*.

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/i*] (Pl.+; nom.sg. *trabēs* Enn., Varro)

Derivatives: *trabēcula* 'small wooden beam' (Cato+), *trabica* 'kind of boat' (Pac.+), *trabālis* 'off/for wooden beams' (Enn.+).

PIt. **trab-* 'wooden beam' (> Latin), **treb-* 'to build, dwell' (> U.), **trēb-* 'house' (> Sab.). It. cognates: O. **trībúm**, τρειβ[ωμ [acc.sg.], **tribud** [abl.sg.] [f.] 'house' < **trēb-*; O. **tríbarakavúm**, **tríbarakav[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-īē/je-*. O. **tribuf** [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: Olr. *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. **tribuf** 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.+), *attractāre* 'to touch, handle' (Pl.+), *attractātus, -ūs* 'the handling' (Pac.+), *pertractāre* 'to pass the hand over, handle' (Pl.+), *pertractāte* 'in a hackneyed manner' (Pl.); *trāma* 'warp' (Pl.+).

PIt. **traxelo-*.

IE cognates: OIr. *tethraig** [pret.] 'ran away, receded' < PCI. **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. *trāg* ‘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⁽ⁱ⁾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^wilno-* ‘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’ < PCI. **tarjē/o-* < **trh₂-ié-*; Hit. *tarhu-^{zi}* ‘to prevail, be able’ < **térh₂-u-ti*, **trh₂-u-énti*, ^d*Tarhunna-*, CLuw. ^d*Tarhuuant-* / *Tarhunt-*, HLuw. *Tarhunt-* / *Tarhunza-*, Lyc. *Trqqñt-* ‘the Storm-God’ < **trh₂-uént-s*, **trh₂-unt-ós*; Skt. pr. *tāra-*, *-tirá* ‘to pass, overcome’, *tarantá-* [m.] PN, *tūrva-* ‘to overcome’, YAv. *tītara-*, *tauruuaiti-* ‘id.’, Gr. τρᾶνής *‘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.+; *tremonti* [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. *turumiad* [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. *trem̃ti* 'to shake up', *trimti* 'to tremble', ToA *trāmās* [3s.], *tārmiñc* [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 *trepety* '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 I. **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 *tribusiati* contains **tri-* 'three'; O. *trīs* [nom.pl.f.], *trīs* [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.], *triuper*, *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.

tribriču [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), *trih₂dkomth₂ 'thirty'. IE cognates: OIr. *trí*, *tri* [m.], *tre* [n.], *teoir* [f.], W. Bret. *tri* [m.], *teir* [f.] 'three'; Skt. *tráyās* [nom.pl.m.], *tisrás* [f.], *trī́* [nom.acc.pl.n.] 'three', *trimsát-* [f.] 'thirty', *ṛtīya-* 'third', YAv. *ṛrāiiō*, *ṛraiias-ca* [nom.pl.m.], *tišrō* [nom.pl.f.], *ṛrī* [nom.acc.pl.n.] 'three', *ṛrisant-* [f.] 'thirty', *ṛritiia-* 'third', *ṛrišuuā-* [n.] 'one third'; Skt. *trīs*, YAv. *ṛriš* 'thrice'; Gr. τρεῖς, Cret. τρέες [nom.pl.m.f.], Gr. *τριϋς (OAtt. τρις) [acc.pl.], τρισί [dat.pl.], τρία [nom.acc.pl.n.]; Lith. *trys*, OCS *trъje* [m.], *tri* [f.]; Olc. *ḫrír* [nom.pl.m.], Go. *ḫrins* [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.], *trifiper* [abl.sg. + -per] 'trinity, district'.

PIE *tri-d^hh₁-u- 'tripartite division'.

Weiss (2007a: 369-376) bases his account of the etymology of *tribus* on a PIE or Plt. adjectival compound *tri-d^hh₁-o- 'rendered in three, tripartite', which could be compared e.g. with Skt. multiplicatives in -dhā < *-d^heh₁- such as *tridhā* 'threefold', and with thematized derivatives of it such as Lith. *iñdas* 'plate' < *-d^hh₁-o-. The adj. *tri-d^hh₁-o- would have been substantivized by conversion to a u-stem *tri-d^hh₁-u- 'tripartite thing', 'a third', yielding Plt. *tribu- (the u-stem points to a rather old formation; cf. Lith. *vidūs* 'middle'). Since we have no other certain evidence for the development of Plt. intervocalic *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, embarrass' (Pl.+).

Uncertain etymology. One might compare Toch. *treiK- in ToB aor. *traiksa* 'missed,

did not succeed', sb. *trīsām* '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 **k^htur-*, 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. **χ^hat-* '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 *drīste* '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.+).

Plt. **treude/o-*.

PIE **treud-(e/o-)* 'to push, thrust'. IE cognates: W. *cythrudd* 'to vex', Lith. *triūšas* 'work, effort, pains', OCS *trudb* 'labour, work', SCr. *trūd* 'effort, labour, work' < **troud-o-*; Go. *us-priutan* 'to maltreat', OIc. *þrjóta* 'to lack', OHG *-driozan* 'to cause sorrow'; Alb. *tredh* 'castrates' (uncertain).

The Latin verb can be compared to Gm. **preutan*, suggesting a thematic verb with *e*-grade.

Bibl.: WH II: 710, EM 704, IEW 1095f., LIV **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.+), *trucidāre* ‘to slaughter, butcher’ (Lucr.+), *trucidātiō* ‘slaughter’ (Cato+).

IE cognates: MW *drwg*, MCo. *drok*, MLr. *droch-* ‘bad’ < PCl. **druko-*.

If we follow Hamp 1978 in positing PIE **dr-* > Latin *tr-* also in initial syllable, *trux* can be connected with PCl. **druko-* ‘bad’. The verb *trucidāre* has been variously explained as a haplogitized form of **truki-kidāre*, a denominal verb to a compound **truki-kaido-* ‘hacking savagely’ (to *caedō*); or from **k^wtru-kaidāre* ‘hacking in four pieces’, with the reduced form of ‘four’. Yet a form **k^wtru-* ‘four’ is unattested elsewhere in Latin (in itself not really a counterargument), and the meaning of underlying **k^wtru-kaid-o-* would be a ‘(having) four hackings’; why ‘to slaughter’ was expressed by means of the numeral ‘four’ would remain unexplained. Hence, I derive *trucidāre* from **truk(o)-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, tibi*] (VOLat.+)

Derivatives: *tuus* ‘your’ (Andr.+).

Plt. **tū* [nom.], **tē* [acc.], **toi* [gen.], **tefei* [dat.], **ted* [abl.] ‘you’, **towo-* [adj.] ‘you, your’. It. cognates: O. *tiium, tiū* [nom.], U. *tiom, tiu, tio, teio*, SPic. *tiom* [acc.], U. *tefe, tefe*, O. *tif[ei]*, *tfei*, SPic. *tefeī, tefeh* [dat.] ‘you’ < nom. **tū-om*, acc. **tē-om*, dat. **teb^hei*; 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)vām* [nom.], *t_(u)vām* [acc.], *tūbhya(m)* [dat.], *t_(u)vāt* [abl.], *tāva* [gen.], *tvā, tuvā* [acc.encl.], *te* [gen.abl.dat.encl.], OAv. *tuuām* [nom.], *ϑβqm* [acc.], *taibiiō, taibiiā* [dat.], *tauuā* [gen.], *ϑβa-* [adj.poss.]; OP *tuvam* [nom.], *ϑuvām* [acc.] < Ir. **tuH-am* [nom.], **tuaH-am* [acc.], **taua* [gen.]; Gr. *τῦ* (Dor), *τῦνῆ* (Dor, Hom), *σέ, τρέ* [acc.], *τεός, σός* [adj.]; Lith. *tū*, 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 *tibia* '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. *tibia*.

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.+), *tūtāre/ī* 'to watch over, protect' (Naev.+), *Tūtānus* 'deity giving protection' (Varro+), *Tūtīlīna* 'goddess giving protection' (Varro+), *tūtēla* 'guardianship, protection' (Pl.+); *contuērī* [also *contuī* Pl. to Lucr.] 'to look at, see' (Pl.+), *contuītus, -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. *ūt tavīti*, pf. *tūtāva* 'to be strong', *tavás-* 'strong, powerful', OAv. *tauuā* [1s.pr.sb.act.], YAv. *fra-tuīā* [2s.pr.opt.act.] 'to be able', *tauant-* 'capable, competent'; *tūtauua* [pf.] 'is possible'; Gr. ταύς 'great, much' (Hsch.), σῶς, σάος 'safe and sound' (< **tueh₂us, *tuh₂-u-os*); Lith. *tūkti* 'to become fat (of cattle)', RuCS *tyti* 'to become fat'.

Tūtus is the old ppp. belonging to *tuor* (whence *tūtāre, tūtor*). *Tuor* and *tueor* might reflect earlier **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-)tough₂-e* 'is strong' > 'protects', cf. the Ir. 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.+)

Plt. **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.+).

Plt. **tum-ē-*.

PIE **tum-eh₁-* 'to be swelling'. IE cognates: MW *tyfu*, MCo. *tevi*, Bret. *teñviñ* 'to grow' < PCI. **tum-ī-* < **tum₂eh₁-*, Skt. *tūmra-* 'strong, thick', *tūtumā-* '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 Ir., 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. **g^mm-* and **g^mh₂-* 'to come').

Bibl.: WH II: 715f., EM 707, IEW 1080-85, Schrijver 1991: 340, 530, Schumacher 2004: 646, LIV **tjem-*. → *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.+).

Plt. **(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. *dō-tuit*, arch. *dī-tuitt* 'to crumble, fall' < PCI. **-tud-e/o-*, MW *kystuð* 'fate'; Skt. pr. *tudāti*; 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?* **b^h?*) would have been added to the bare root, of which no other forms occur in Italic. There is also no known PIE root *(s)*terb^h-* with the appropriate meaning. One might think of Gr. στρέφω 'to turn': a zero-grade form *(s)*trb^h-h₂* 'turmoil' > Pit. **tyf-ā-* > pre-Latin **torbā-* > **torba*, with a dialectal variant *turba* (normally, *-orb-* remains, cf. *orbis*, *morbis*, 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. τὺρβη 'noise, commotion', σύρβᾶ, Att. τὺρβᾶ [adv.] 'confused' (< PGr. **k̄iurb-*? **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), *turdēlice* 'magpie (?)' (Varro).

Pit. **torzdo-*.

PIE *(s)tr(o)sd^ho- '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’, *čěrnij drozd* ‘blackbird’ < BSl. **(s)trozdo-* < PIE **(s)trozd^ho-*; OIc. *þrǫstr* ‘thrush’ [m.] (< **þrastu-* < **trozd^h-*), OHG *drosela*, OS *throsla*, MHG *drostel*, OE *þrostle* (< **þrustlō-*), OE *ðrysce*, MoE *thrush* (< **þruskjōn*).

Since **or* and **r* merge in pre-Latin, *turdus* could reflect **torzdo-* or **trzd-*; but since Celtic, BSl. and Gm. have **-ro-*, chances are that *turdus* continues **trzdo-*. The hypothesis by Bracchi (1999: 87) that **t(o)rzdo-* would reflect a compound **trs-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: *tussire* ‘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 **k^veh₂s-* ‘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.+), *ūbertās* 'abundance' (Enn.+); *exūberāre* 'to flow copiously, be abundant' (Acc.+).

PIt. **ouþ-r-*.

PIE **h₁ouHd^h-r* 'udder', **h₁euHd^h-n-s?* IE cognates: Skt. *údhar / údhan-* [n.] 'udder' < Ilr. **HuHd^har-*, Gr. *ούθαρ, -ατος* [n.], Ru. *výmja*, gen.sg. *výmeni* 'udder' < PSl. **výmę*, Ru. *údit* 'to ripen, fill (with)' < PIE **HouHd^h-?*; OHG *ūtrin* [dat.sg.], MHG *ūter, iuter*, OS OE *ūder* [n.] 'udder' < **ūd^h-*, OIc. *ju(g)r*, OE *ieder*, OFr. *iāder* < **eud^h-*.

According to Schrijver, **HuHd^h-* would have become **wap-*, whereas **He/ouHd^h-* > **owap-* would have yielded **ūd-*. Hence, we must posit the loss of the second laryngeal before it could vocalize. For this loss to happen, the root must have had *o*-grade. The adjective *über* is mostly explained from the use of the noun as an adjective (as in *vetus* 'old' < **uetos* 'year'), but Sihler posits an *i*-stem **oud^h-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. **k^wu-b^h/fei* 'where'. It. cognates: O. *puf*, U. *pufe, pufe* [adv.] 'where' < **k^wu-b^h/d^hei*.

PIE **k^wu-d^hi/-b^hi* 'where'. IE cognates: Skt. *kūha*, OAv. *kudā* 'where', YAv. *kudat* 'where from', OCS *kъde* 'where, when' < **k^wu-d^he*.

Theoretically, *ubī* can reflect **k^wub^hei* or **k^wud^hei*. The suffix **-b^hi* would be the PIE ins. ending, whereas **-d^hei* could be an Italic innovation for **k^wu-d^he* 'where' as encountered in Ilr. and Slavic. In view of the latter correspondence, a preform PIt. **k^wupei* seems slightly more likely. Hit. *ku-wa-pi* 'where, when' reflects **k^wó-b^hi*, 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.+), *imultus* '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 unconvincing. 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. ἔλκος [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-wood' (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 *ēlmboum*, MoE *elm*, OIc. *almr* (NHG *Ulme*, MoDu. *olm* borrowed from Latin and Old French).

Ulmus can reflect PIIt. **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 **IVm-* (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. *ā*] (Catullus+)

Plt. **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', *arəθnā* [du.] 'two elbows', OP *arašnīs* [acc.pl.] 'ell', Gr. ὠλένη [f.], ὠλήν, -έρος [f.] 'elbow, underarm', ὠλλόν 'elbow' (Hsch.) (< **ōl-n-om*), OPr. *woaltis* 'ell', *woltis* 'forearm', Lith. *úolektis*; Latv. *uólektis* 'ell' < **HoHl-ek-ti-*, OPr. *alkunis*, Lith. *alkūnė*, *elkūnė* (arch., dial.) 'elbow', Latv. *ēlkuonis* 'elbow' < **HHol-k-*, OCS *lakъtb* [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 Ir. 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-ēn-* 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.+).

Plt. **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. ὠλάω, ὠλακτέω 'to bark', Lith. *ulula baņgos* 'the waves are howling', OHG *ūla* 'owl'.

Onomatopoeic verb for a *u*-like sound. Possibly, **ul-* or **uhul-* was already PIE, but this cannot be proven.

Bibl.: WH II: 813f., EM 744f., IEW 1105.

umbilicus ‘navel, centre’ [m. o] (Pl.+)

PIt. *omb-(e/o)l- >> *omb-elo- (or *ombi- >> *ombi-lo-).

PIE *h₃nb^h-(e/o)l- ‘navel’. IE cognates: OIr. *imbliu* ‘navel’ < PCI. *embli-*ion-* < PIE *h₃nb^h-li-; Skt. *nābhya-* [n.] ‘hub (of wheel)’, *nābhi-* [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’ < PIIt. *Hnāb^h-, *Hnab^hia-; Gr. ὀμφαλός [m.] ‘navel, navel string; knob, center’; OPr. *nabis* ‘hub, navel’, Latv. *naba* ‘navel’, OHG *naba*, OE *nafu*, OIc. *nof* ‘hub’, OHG *nabalo*, *nabulo*, *napulo*, OE *nabula*, *nafela*, OIc. *nafli* ‘navel’ < PGm. *nabulōn-.

Latin *umbilicus* has a complex suffix, which in theory can be explained in several ways. In view of the *l*-suffixes in Celtic, Greek and Gm., it seems likely that *umbilicus* too contains an original *l*-stem. This was then thematized to *-(e)lo-, after which the suffix *-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 *h₃nb^h-n- ‘hub, navel’. IE cognates: OHG *amban*, *ambon* [m.], OS *ambon* [acc.pl.] ‘belly’ < PGm. *amban- < *h₃e/onb^h-n-.

Either an Italic formation on the basis of a PIE root noun *h₃nb^h-, or a shared innovation with Germanic.

Bibl.: WH II: 814, EM 745, IEW 314f., Schrijver 1991: 61f. → *umbilicus*

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. *unksmė*, *paūnksmė* ‘shade’, *uñksnė* = *paūnksnė*, *ūnksna* ‘shade’, maybe Latv. *ūksme* ‘hiding-place’.

Generally connected with Lith. *ūnksna* ‘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+), *ūlīgīnōsus* ‘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)g^w-* 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 **ug^w-* is not well-established, being based mainly on Germanic forms (Olc. *vōkr* 'wet'). Weiss therefore derives *ūmidus* and *ūmor* from an adj. **uh₁-mo-*, which he also sees in Lith. *ūmas* 'quick', dial. 'fresh, not dried out'. If *ūrīna* and Skt. *vār-* 'water' are also derived from this root, it provides a solid etymological basis for **uh₁-mo-*. The appurtenance of *ūligō* is uncertain: according to Weiss (p. 145), *ūligō* was probably created analogically to *ūmidus* and **ūmo-* on the model of *fūligō*. Yet we cannot exclude that *ūligō* 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.] /*ontsel* 'shoulder' < **omes(e)i*.

PIE **h₂om-es-* 'shoulder'. IE cognates: Skt. *āmsa-* [m.] 'shoulder', Oss. (Iron) *on* 'shoulder-blade' < Plr. **anha-*, Gr. ὄμος [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. **k^wum*.

PIE **k^wom*.

Probably from **k^wum + -quam*, **k^wum* replacing **k^wom* 'when' [acc.sg.] (see s.v. *cum*) on the model of *ubī* < **k^wu-*; a similar replacement took place in *uter* << **k^wo-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. (Lucret.+), *aduncus* 'id.' (Enn.+); *inuncāre* 'to catch on a hook' (Lucil.+).

PIt. **onko-*.

PIE **h₂onk-o-* 'hook'. IE cognates: Skt. *anḱá-* [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 *řkotě* [f.] 'hook', ORu. *ukotě* [f.] 'claw, anchor' < PSI. **řkotě*.

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. *uātar* / *uitēn-* [n.] ‘water’ < **uód-r*, **ud-én-*, Skt. *udán-* [n.], Gr. *ὕδωρ*, *-ατος* [n.], Alb. *ujē*, Lith. *vanduō*, *-eñs*, OCS *voda*, Go. *wato* [n.] (dat.pl. *watnam*), OIc. *vatn*, OS *watar*, OHG *wazzar* ‘water’, ToA *wār*, ToB *war* < PTo. **wār* (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 **h₃ng^h-u-* ‘nail’, **h₃ng^h-l-h₂-* ‘nail’. IE cognates: ÓIr. *ingen* [f.], MW *ewin*, Bret. *ivin* ‘nail’ < **h₃ng^h-u-*, Gr. *ὄνυξ*, *-υχοῦς* ‘nail, claw, hoof’ [m.], Arm. *elowngn* ‘nail’, OPr. *nage* ‘foot’, Lith. *nāgas* ‘nail, claw’, *nagà* ‘hoof’, OCS *noga*, Ru. *nogá* ‘foot, leg’ < **h₃nog^h-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. **ong*^w-e- 'to anoint', **ong*^w-en- 'ointment'. It. cognates: U. *umtu* [3s.ipv.II] 'to anoint' < **ombetōd*, U. *umen* [acc.sg.], *umne* [abl.sg.] 'ointment' < **omben* < **ong*^w-en.

PIE **h₃eng*^w-e/o- [pr.] 'to anoint', **h₃éng*^w-n [nom.acc.], **h₃ng*^w-én-s [gen.] 'fat, butter' [n.]. IE cognates: OIr. *imb*, MW *ymen-yn*, Bret. *amann* 'butter' < **h₃ng*^w-n; Skt. pr. *anákti*, *añjánti* [act.], *añkté*, *añjaté* [med.] 'to anoint, smear', *añjas-* [n.] 'anointment', YAv. *viiāxti-* [f.] 'adornment, make-up'; Arm. *awcanem* 'I anoint'; OPr. *anctan*, OHG *ancho* 'butter'.

The thematic present of PIIt. may directly reflect a PIE thematic present, but it might also be built on an earlier nasal present **h₃n-né-g*^w-ti / **h₃n-n-g*^w-énti, with simplification of the zero grade to **h₃ng*^w-. 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 **h₂eng*^u-. → *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. οἰνῆ 'one (at dice)', OPr. *ainan* [acc.s.], Lith. *vienas*, Latv. *viēns* '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-uo*-.

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.+), *redivivus* 'second-hand' (Cic.+); *indūtus*, *-ūs* [m.] 'the putting on' (Var.+); *indūtīlis* 'that can be put on, detachable' (Cato); *indūmentum* 'garment' (Gaius 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. *aōθra-* 'shoes', Arm. *haganim* 'to put on', Lith. *aūti*, 3s. *aūna*, 3s.pret. *āvē*, 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 I: 695 against a connection with *indusium*, which has short u. The original meaning of the root seems to have been 'to adorn', which developed into 'put on' after Anatolian split off the IE family.

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*

urupa 'hoopoe; kind of pickaxe' [f. ā] (Vарто+; Pl.)

IE cognates: Gr. ἐποποιὶ ποπόπο 'cry of the hoopoe', ἔποψ, -οπος 'hoopoe', Arm. *բորօր*, Po. *hupək*, LG *Hupphupp*, OHG *wituhopfo*, OṢ *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.+).

Plt. **worf-(i-)* (> *urbs*), **werf-ā-* (> *uerfale*). It. cognates: U. *uerfale* 'area for taking auspices' [loc. or abl.sg.?] < **werf-āli-* [n.].

PIE *u(o)rb^h-(i-) 'enclosure'. IE cognates: Hit. *uarpa-* [n.] 'enclosure', *uarpae-zi* 'to suppress, conquer' < **uorP-o-*; ToA *warpi*, ToB *werwiye* 'garden' < **uorP-o-*, ToA *wārp-* 'to surround', ToB *wārp-* 'to enclose'.

The three most frequent pre-2000 etymologies (connecting *urbs* with PIE *g^hord^h-o- 'enclosure', Latin *orbis* 'circle', and PIE *b^hrg^h- 'fortress', respectively) are dismissed by Driessen 2001, who presents a novel etymology (foreshadowed by a remark in Meiser 1998). Basing himself on the meaning of U. *uerfale*, he hypothesizes that *urbs* may originally have referred to an 'enclosed area for taking auspices' (p. 50), which gradually came to indicate the inhabited settlement when this extended more and more across the original *templum*. Latin *urbs* may phonologically reflect PIE *u(o)rb^h/d^h-(i-), whereas U. *uerfale* can continue **uerb^h/d^h-h₂*. Since Hittite and Tocharian contain words of the form **uVrP-* meaning 'to enclose', 'garden', Driessen decides that *urbs* is from a root **u(e/o)rb^h-*.

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: *exurgere* 'to squeeze out' (Pl.+).

Plt. **worg-eje/o-*.

PIE **u(o)rǵ^h-eie-?* IE cognates: Lith. *veržti*, 3s. *veržia* 'to string, tighten, squeeze', CS *otvřesti*, 1s. *otvřezō* 'to untie', Ru. *otvėrzt'* (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.+).

Plt. **ūr-īno-* 'watery'.

PIE **u(e/o)h₁-r* [n.] 'water'. IE cognates: Olr. *fir* 'milk', OW *gwir(-awt)* 'strong drink' < **ueh₁r-ó-* 'milky', CLuw. *uār* 'water', Skt. *vār-* [n.] 'water' (often disyllabic in RV), YAv. *vāra-* 'rain' (m.) < Pllr. **uaHr-* < PIE **ue/oh₁-r*; OIc. *úr* [n.] 'drizzle' → *yra* [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 *meiō*, *mingō*, apart from onomatopoeia like **pissō*. According to WH, the meaning 'urine' of *ūrīna* may have been influenced by Gr. οὔρον '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. οὔρεῖν '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 antecorsonantal position, as in **dkmtom* 'hundred', **-dkomth₂* '-ty' and **dui-d^hh₁-* 'to divide'.

Bibl.: WH II: 840, EM 755, IEW 78-81, Oleson 1976.

ūrō, -ere 'to burn, scorch' [v. III; 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+).

Plt. **ouse/o-* 'to burn', **usto-* 'burnt'.

PIE **h₁eus-e/o-* 'to burn'. IE cognates: Skt. *oṣati* 'to burn, scorch', *uṣṇá-* 'hot', Gr. *εὔω* 'to singe' (< **εὐῶ*); 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+)

Plt. **orssō-*?

PIE **h₂rtkō-* '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. *ḥkṣa-* [m.], YAv. *arša-*, Khot. *arrä*, MoP *xirs* 'bear' < Ilr. **Hrtíca-*, 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 **h₂ortkō-*, 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).

Plt. **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. *ὄρος* [m.], *οὔρος* (Il.), *ορρος* (Core.), *ῶρος* (Cret., Arg.), *ὄρος* (Herakl.), Myc. *wo-wo / worwos/* 'boundary, term, limit' < PGr. **μωρῶ-*, 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', it 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: *musquam* 'nowhere' (Pl.+), *usquam* '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. **ūsk^we*. It. cognates: Ven. **u** [prep.] < **ūd* 'out, for'.

PIE **(H)ūd(s)* 'up, out'. IE cognates: PCl. **ud-*, **uss-* 'out' < PIE **ud-*, **uds-*; Skt. *uccā* 'from above, upwards', YAv. *usca* [adv.] 'above', *uskāt* [adj.] 'high, high up' < **(H)ud-(s)k^we*; Skt. *ūd*, Av. *us*, *uz*, OP *ud-* 'up, out'; OCS Ru. Cz. *vy-* < PSI. **vy-* < **(H)ud-*; Go. *ut*, OE *ūt*, OHG *ūz*, NHG *aus* 'out' < PGM. **ūd*, Go. *us* (*uz-*, *ur-*), Olc. *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-sk^we* for *ūsque* and Av. *usca*, which was secondarily remade into instrumentals or ablatives in Iir. Skt. *uccā* is in Dunkel's view from **ud-k^we*, with lengthening of Iir. **-a* by analogy with the instr. in *-cā* of adj. in *-(y)añc*. For *ūsque*, the analysis may also be **uds-k^we*, 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.+), *utīque* 'absolutely, certainly' (Varro+), *utpote* 'as one might expect' (Pl.+), *utut* 'however' (Pl.+).

PIt. **k^wutV(s)* 'how'. It. cognates: O. **puz**, *pus*, *pous*, U. **puze**, *puse*, *pusi*, *pusei* 'that' [+ sb.], 'as' < **k^wuti-s* (O.), **k^wuti-s-ī*.

PIE **k^wu-* 'where, how'.

Whereas Sabellic points to **k^wutVs* (Untermann probably posits **-i-* because of Lat. *utī*), Latin *utī* may reflect **k^wutei* or **k^wutī*. The latter form might have *-ī* in analogy to *quī* 'how' (see s.v. *quī*, *quae*, *quod*). The original stem may then have been **k^wu-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. **k^wu-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.+), *utrubi* ‘in which of two places?’ (Naev.+), *utrubiŕque* ‘in both places, on both sides’ (Pl.+), *neuter* ‘not one nor the other, neither’ (Pl.+), *neutrubi* ‘in neither place’ (Pl.).

Plt. **k^wotero-* (>> Lat. **k^wutero-*). It. cognates: O. *púterelpíd* [loc.sg.m.], *pútúrúspíd* [nom.pl.m.], *pútúrú[mpíd]* [gen.pl.m.], U. *putrespe* [gen.sg.?] ‘both’ < **potero-k^wid*.

PIE **k^wo-tero-* ‘which (of two)’. IE cognates: Skt. *katará-*, Av. *katāra-* ‘which of two’, YAv. *kataras-ciŕ* ‘each of the two’, Gr. *πότερος*, Lith. *katrās* ‘which’, OCS *kotorŕ(i)*, *koterŕi* ‘which, what’, Ru. *kotóryj*, Go. *hwapar* ‘which’, OHG *hwedar* ‘who, which from two’, MoE *whether*.

Inherited PIE **k^wo-tero-* ‘which of two’ is regularly reflected in Sab. **potero-*, but has been replaced by **k^wutero-* in Latin on the model of the interrogative stem **k^wu-* in *ubi*, *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.)

Plt. **ud-ri-*.

PIE **ud-r-i-* ‘water vessel’. IE cognates: OIr. *otre* ‘goatskin bottle’, Gr. *ὕδρια* ‘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.+)

Plt. **udero-*.

PIE **(H)ud-ér-o-* ‘outer, sticking out’. IE cognates: Skt. *udāra-* [n.] ‘belly, womb’, YAv. *udarō.ŕraša-* ‘crawling on the belly (of snakes)’, Khot. *ura-*, *ūra-* ‘stomach’, Gr. *ὄδρεος* ‘dropsy’, Hsch. *ὄδρεος* ‘stomach’ [with *ho-* for **hu-*], *ὄστέρα* [f.] ‘womb’; OPr. *weders* ‘stomach, belly’, Lith. *vėderas*, *vėdaras* [m.] ‘sausage; intestines, stomach, lower abdomen’, Latv. [m.] *vėdars* ‘belly’, OCS *vědro* ‘barrel’, Ru. *vedró* < PSI. **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.+), *ūsūrpāre* 'to carry out, make use of, take possession of' (Pl.+), *inūsītātus* 'unusual' (Lucil.+); *abūfī* '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. *ūittiuf* [nom.sg.] f. 'use' < **oit-iōn-s*.

PIE **h₃eit-* 'to take along'? IE cognates: CLuw. *hizza(i)-* 'to fetch' < **h₃eit-s-e/o-*; Gr. οἶσω, -ομαι 'I will fetch, take along', οἰστός 'bearable'.

Tichy 2002 argues that PIIt. **oit-* 'to use' may have developed from 'fetch (in one's own interest)' to 'use'. In that case, it might be cognate to Gr. οἶσ- < **oisso-*, 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. οἶη, ὄη, ὄα 'elderberry tree' < **oiwā*; Arm. *aygi* 'vine'; Gaul. *ivo-*, Lith. *ievà*, Latv. *iēva* 'bird-cherry'; Ru. *íva* 'willow' < PSI. **j₆va*; 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' (Lucret.+), *ūdus* 'liquid, wet, drunken' (Varro+), *ūdor* 'moisture' (Varro).

IE cognates: Gr. ὑγρός 'wet' < **ugro-* < **ug^w-ró-*, Oic. *vōkr* 'wet' < **uog^w-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 **we/og^w-īpo-*, **ug^w-īpo-* or **uh₁-īpo-*. 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 **ueg^u-*. → *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 **uǵʰ-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’ < **uek̑-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 Plt. **waka-* which somehow acquired geminate **-kk-*. Müller 1926 suggests a preform **vākā* and connects Skt. *vāśati* ‘roars’ and Lat. *vāgiō*. If we posit the (onomatopoeic?) root as **ueh₂-*, *vacca* could be analyzed as **vā-kā-* ‘the bellowing one’.

Bibl.: WH II: 722, EM 710, IEW 1111, Schrijver 1991: 463. → *vāgiō*

vacillō, -āre ‘to stagger, waver’ [v. I] (Lucr.+; var. *vaccillāre*)

No good etymology.

Bibl.: WH I: 268f., EM 710, IEW 1135.

vacō, -āre ‘to be empty’ [v. I] (Pl.+; also *vocō* Pl.)

Derivatives: *vacuus* ‘empty, hollow’ (Pl.; *vociuus* inscr.), *vocivus* ‘vacant, free’ (Pl., Ter.) (*vacivus* Gell.), *vacivitas* ‘state of being empty’ (Pl.), *supervacaneus* ‘additional, extra’ (Cato+), *vacatio* ‘exemption’ (Cic.+; *vocatio* inscr. 123 BC+); *vaciferi* ‘to become empty’ (Lucr.).

Plt. **wako-* ‘empty’. It. cognates: U. **anter.vakaze**, *ander.uacose* [3s.pr.sb.ps.?] ‘to interrupt’ < **-vakāto-*; U. *uasētom 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 Plt., we can reconstruct an adj. **wako-* ‘empty’, on which the verbs **wak-āje-*, **wak-ē-* ‘to be empty’ and the adj. **wako-wo-* were built. Nussbaum 1998a reconstructs the root as **h₁ueh₂-*.

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.).

Plt. **wāpe/o-* [v.], **wapo-* [n.].

PIE **ueh₂d^h-* [v.] 'to advance', **uh₂d^h-o-* [n.]. IE cognates: W. *go-di-wawd* 'overtook' < **ueh₂d^h-*, OHG *watan*, OFr. *wada*, OIc. *vaða* 'to wade' < **uh₂d^h-*, 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 **uh₂d^h-o-* in PIE already.

Bibl.: WH II: 723f., EM 710f., IEW 1109, Schrijver 1991: 170, 339, Meiser 2003: 120, LIV **ueh₂d^h-*.

vae 'alas!' [interj.] (Pl.+)

Plt. **wai*.

IE cognates: Mir. *fāe*, W. *gwaē* 'alas!'; Av. *vaiiōi*, *auuōi*, *āuuōiia* 'alas!', *voiia-* 'cry of distress' < **uai*, **ā-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, multififormem' 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 Plt. **wasro-* 'versatile', cognate with *varius* 'variegated' which could reflect **was-io-*. Another possible etymology would be **wap-ro-* 'moving along' to *vadō* 'to proceed'.

Bibl.: WH II: 724f., EM 711.

vāgīna 'sheath, scabbard' [f. *ā*] (Varro+)

Plt. **wāg-inā-*?

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 **ueh₂g-*.

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.).

PIt. *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 ἔαχε [aor.] ‘shouted’, ἤχη, Dor. ὄχη ‘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(ǵ)h-

vagus ‘roaming, wandering’ [adj. o/ā] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *vagāre/ī* ‘to wander, roam’ (Pl.+) (act. until Varro), *vagātrīx* ‘female wanderer’ (Sis.).

PIt. *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’ < PCI. *wāgno/ā- ‘slope, hollow’) are not easy to connect semantically.

Bibl.: WH II: 726, EM 711, IEW 1120, Schrijver 1991: 463f., LIV ?*ueg-.

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+); *convalescere* ‘to grow strong, recover’ (Cato+); *volae/emum* ‘large kind of pear’ (Cato+).

PIt. *wal-ē-. It. cognates: O. φαλε, Marr. *uali*, Pael. *ual* [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. φαλος [adj?] and φαλαισμοος [sup.?] is unclear.

PIE *h₂ulh₁-eh₁- ‘to be strong’. IE cognates: OIr. *fallnaitir** ‘to rule’ < PCI. *ualna-, W. *gwaladr* ‘ruler’ < *ulh₂-etro-, OIr. *flaith* ‘rule’, OW *gulat* [f.], MW *gwlad* ‘country’, Co. *gulat*, OBret. *guletic* < PCI. *ulati- ‘sovereignty’ < *ulHti-, OIr. *fal* ‘rule’, *Conall* [PN], OW *Con-gual* [PN], Bret. *Comual* [PN] < *kuno-walo- < PCI. *ualo- ‘prince, chief’; Hit. *hulle-^{zi}* / *hull-* ‘to smash, defeat’ < *h₂ul-né-h₁-ti, *h₂ul-n-h₁-énti; Opr. *weldisnan* ‘inheritance’ [acc.sg.], Lith. *veldėti*, 3s. *vėldi* ‘to

inherit, (OLith., dial.) acquire, attain, rule' < *uelH-d^h-; Lith. *valdyti*, 3s. *valdo* 'to rule, govern, wield', Latv. *vāldīt*, CS *vláděti* 'to rule', Ru. *vladét'* and *volodét'* (dial.) 'to own, control, wield' < *uol(H)-d^h-, OCS *vlasti*, Is. *vlado* 'to rule' < PIE *uolH-d^h-; Go. *waldan* 'to rule', OHG *walten* 'to dominate' < *uol(H)-t/d^h-; ToA *wāl*, gen.sg. *lānt*, ToB *walo*, gen. *lānte* 'king' < PIE *ulH-nt-.

PIE *(H)ulh₁-eh₁- would directly yield *walē- by phonetic development; for the reflex of *(H)ul- in Latin, cf. Schrijver 1991: 76. The root can be reconstructed with final *-h₁ 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-Pocchetti 2001, Schumacher 2004: 655, LIV 1.*uelH-. → *polleō*, *volō*

valgus 'bow-legged, with x-formed legs' [adj. *o/ā*] (Pl.+)

Has been connected with Skt. *vālgati* (AV+) 'to move up and down', Khot. *valj-* 'to go astray, be deceived', OE *wealcan* 'to roll, move to and fro' < *uol(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.*uelg-.

vallēs, -is 'valley' [f. *i*] (Varro+; nom.sg. also *vallis*)

Derivatives: *vallēcula* 'small valley' (Paul. ex F.).

No certain etymology. The connection with Gr. Ἠλις, -δος region in the western Peloponnese, Elis φαλιῖος 'Elean, Elans' < *fālis '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. *apvalūs* 'round', Ru. *óblj* 'rounded'); if Gm. and Baltic continue *uol-, 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 *uh₂lso-? IE cognates: Gr. ἦλος, Dor. ἄλος 'nail', Aeol. γάλλου (Hsch.) < *uals/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 **uel-*, *valvae* could go back to unrounding of **wo-* in open syllable, hence **wolVwā-* 'folding'; this could represent an adj. **uol-eu-o-* derived from the *u*-present **uel-u-* (see s.v. *volvō*).

Bibl.: WH 730, EM 712, IEW 1140-44, Schrijver 1991: 297f., 464, LIV 2. **uel-*. → *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 **wāsno-*.

PIE **h₁ueh₂-no-*, **h₁ueh₂-sno-* or **h₁uh₂-sno-*. IE cognates: Skt. *vāyati* 'to disappear', *nir-vāna-* 'extinguished, soothed', YAv. *frāuuaiia-* 'to make disappear', Skt. *ūnā-* 'empty', YAv. *ūna-* 'deficient', *uiamna-* 'being deficient', Gr. *έάω* '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' (Lucret.).

Plt. **kwap-ōs* 'vapour'.

PIE **k^wuh₂ep-s-* 'smoke'. IE cognates: Gr. *καπνός* 'smoke' [m.] < **κφαπνός, ἀπό ... ἐκάπυσσεν* 'breathed forth', *καπύσσων* 'breathing out', *κάπυς* 'breath'; Lith. *kvāpas* 'smoke' < **k^wh₂uop-o-*, Ru. *kópot* 'soot, (dial.) smoke, dust, hoarfrost', Ukr. *kápit* 'dust (in the air)', Pl. *kopieć* 'soot, fumes' [m.]; Lith. *kvēpti*, 3s. *kvēpia* 'to inhale, breathe in', Latv. *kvēpt* 'smoke, smell < PIE **k^wh₂uēp-*; Go. *af-hvapjan* 'to suffocate, extinguish', *af-hvapnan* 'to extinguish' < **χ^wap-n-*.

Schrijver revives the comparison with BSl. words for 'to smoke' and Gr. *καπνός* 'smoke' by means of a PIE root **k^(w)uh₂ep-* > Plt. **k^wuap-* > **wap-* > Lat. *vap-*. The first part of the root may ultimately be the same as PIE **k^weh₂-s-* 'to cough'. Beekes (fthc.) rejects PIE origin: the root structure is unusual, and Greek does not prove **k_u-*.

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 *vāfer*, 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. → *vāfer*

varus 'pimple, inflamed spot on the skin' [m. *o*] (Cels., Plin.)

Plt. **waro-*.

PIE **u(o)rH-o-?* IE cognates: Mlr. *ferbb* [f.] 'heat rash, pimple?'; OPr. *warsus* 'lip'; Lith. *viras* 'tapeworm larva, pimple', *viris* [m.] 'tapeworm larva' < **urH-o-*, Go. *wairilom* [dat.pl.], OE *wēteras* 'lips', OHG *werra* 'varicose' < **uerzō(n)-*, OHG *werna* 'varicose' < **uerznōn-*; Olc. *vorr* [f.] 'lip' < **warzō-*, OE *wear* [m.] 'wart, callus' < **warza-*; ToB *yoro** 'pustule, boil (?)', ToB *weru* 'blister (?)' (< **uēreh₂-?*).

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. **wāpos*.

PIE **uod^h-s* [root noun] ‘who leads the defendant to court’. IE cognates: Lith. *vādas* ‘guarantee, surety’, *vadioti* ‘to redeem’, *ūžvadas* ‘hostage’; Go. *wadi* [n.] ‘surety’, *wadjabokos* ‘letter of of surety’, *gawadjon* ‘to engage’, OIc. *veð* [n.] ‘surety’, OFr. *wed*, OE *wedd* < PGm. **uadia-* [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 **ued^h-*.

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+), *vāstīscere* ‘to become desolate’ (Acc.).

PIt. **wāsto-*.

PIE **h₁u(e)h₂-sto-*. IE cognates: OIr. *fās* ‘empty’, OHG *wuosti*, OE *wōsti*, OE *wēste* ‘empty, barren’ < PGm. **uōsti-*.

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: 985f. 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 **h₁ueh₂₋*. → *vānus*

vatāx 'having a deformity of the feet' [adj. *k*] (Lucil.)

Derivatives: *vatius* 'knock-kneed' (Varro+).

PIt. **wat-?*

IE cognates: OIc. *voðvi* [m.] 'muscles', OHG *wado* [m.] 'sura, suffrago', MHG *wade* 'calf (of the leg)', OS *wathan* 'calves' < PGm. **wafwan-* 'curve, bend' > 'calf of the leg, knee'.

A stem *vat-* can be connected with PGm. **waf-* 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)ueh₂t-i-* 'seer'. IE cognates: Gaul. pl. οὐάταις /*wafis*/ (Strabo), OIc. *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 *wōp* 'singing, sound, poetry' < **wōpō-*, OHG *wuot* 'rage' < PGm. **wōd-i/in-*; 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: OIc. *nó* [cj.] 'or', W. *neu, nou* 'id.' < **ne-ue*, Skt. *vā*, Av. *vā* [encl.] 'or'; Gr. ἢ 'or', 'as' < ἦέ, ἦε (ep.) < **ἦ-φε*, **ἦ-φε*.

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.+), *vēsāmus* '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 *vehēmēns* > *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.+).

Plt. **weg-eje/o-*.

PIE **ueg-o-* 'active, awake?', **uog-eie/o-* 'to awaken'. IE cognates: Skt. *vāja-* 'contest, reward', *vājāyati* '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 *sepelire*), *vegetus* can hardly contain an unweakened vowel; at most, its *-e-* is due to progressive assimilation after initial *ve-* (thus Leumann 1977: 100): **vegitus* > *vegetus*. *Vegetus* is often compared with the retained or restored second *a* in *alacer* and some other words in *(-)aRa-*, but *vegetus* is different in having an intermediate stop. Furthermore, *vegetus* does not have the passive meaning displayed e.g. by *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 **ueg-*, stating that there is no evidence to support the reconstruction of an initial laryngeal. Since *ve-* can come from **vo-*, Watkins 1973b: 198 has reconstructed **uog-eie-* > **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 **ueg-* 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 **ueg-*. → *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.+).

Plt. **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' < **-ueg^hetōd*.

PIE **ueg^h-e/o-* 'to carry'. IE cognates: Skt. pr. *vāhati*, s-aor. *vakṣ-*, *āvāt* [3s.act.], root aor. *volhām* [2du.ipv.act.], pf. *uvāha* [3s.act.], ppp. *ūdha-* '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/wæzæ* 'weight, load'; Gr. (Pamph.). *Φεχέτω* [3s.ipv.] 'to bring', *ὄχος* [m.] 'cart', Lith. *vėžti*, 1s. *vežù*, OCS *vesti*, 1s. *vezp* 'to convey', *vozь* 'cart'; Go. *ga-wigan*, OHG *wegan* 'to move', OHG *wagan* 'cart'.

The noun *vectīgal* presupposes a compound **vectīgo-* '(fee for) vehicle-driving' < **uekti-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. **ueg^hemenos* which cannot be upheld anymore. Guiraud 1975: 86 confirms that *vehemēns* is the older form and not *vēmēns*, since it basically means 'who gets carried away, loses himself in temper', rather than 'who has lost his mind'. The form *veitura* (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 **ueg^h-*.
→ *convexus*, *vēna*

vĕles, -itis ‘foot-soldier’ [m. *ī*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *vĕlitātīō* ‘the method of fighting of a *veles*’ (Pl.+), *vĕlitārī* ‘to fling abuse, attack’ (Pl.+).

I agree with WH that a connection with *vĕlum* ‘sail’ stretches the imagination too far. It does not seem plausible, pace WH, to derive *vĕles* from a preform **ueg^h-slo-* ‘driving’. If *vĕles* 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 *vĕlōx* ‘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’ < **ex-wel-ēd* (Weiss 2002: 359f.).

PIE **ul-n(e)-h₃-*, aor. **uelh₃-* ‘to strike’. IE cognates: Hit. *uath^{zi}* ‘to hit, strike’ < **u(e)lh₃-*, Gr. *άλίσκομαι* ‘to be caught’, Thess. *φάλίσσκεται*, Gr.aor. *ἔάλων* < **ἦ-φαλω-* (**φλω-* before consonant and **φαλ-* before vowel), ToA *wällästär* ‘dies’.

According to Schrijver, *vell-* reflects **ueldth-* 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-h₁-*) is unconvincing. Schrijver argues that there are no parallels for the introduction of *-ll-* from the present into the pf. (*vellī*) if another pf. was originally present (*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. *ehuelī* and in Hittite and Greek.

Bibl.: WH II: 744f., EM 718, IEW 1144f., Schrijver 1991: 180f., Meiser 2003: 214, LIV **uelh₃-*. → *lāna, volnus*

vĕlōx ‘swift, speedy’ [adj. *k*] (Enn.+)

Derivatives: *vĕlōcitās* ‘speed’ (Sis.+).

PIt. **wĕlo-* ‘wind’ (?).

PIE **h₂ueh₁-lo-* ‘wind’. IE cognates: Hit. *huuaiⁱ* / *hui-* ‘to run, hurry’, CLuw. *hui(ia)-* ‘to run’ (< **h₂uh₁-ó-i-ei*, **h₂uh₁-i-énti*); Skt. *vāti*, YAv. *vāiti*, Gr. *ἄησι*, OCS *vějati*, Ru. *véjat*, Go. *waian*, OHG *wāen* ‘to blow (of wind)’ < **h₂ueh₁-*.

Lat. *vĕlōx* could be ‘wind-like’, derived from a noun **vĕ-lo-* ‘wind’ to the PIE root **h₂ueh₁-* ‘to blow (of the wind)’ (cf. *ventus*). Several IE languages continue a PIE root

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* 'military standard, banner' (Pl.+).

Plt. **wekslo-*.

PIE **ueg-slo-?* IE cognates: OIr. *figid**, *fig**, W. *gwëu*, LCo. *gwia*, Bret. *gueaff* 'to weave' < PC1. **ueg-jo-* '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 **ueg^h-* '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+)

Plt. **wes-no/ā-* [adj./f.] 'blood-vessel'.

PIE **ues-no-* 'of blood'. IE cognates: Av. *vanhu-tāt-* 'blood', *vanhuβa-* [n.] 'bloodshed', *vohuna-* [m.] 'blood' < **ues-u-*; Skt. *vāsā*, *vasā* '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 **ued^h-* 'to lead' or **ueg^h-* '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.+), *venēficiūm* 'sorcery, poisoning' (Pl.+), *trivenēfica* 'treble-dyed witch' (Pl.+).

Plt. **wenes-no-*.

IE cognates: see s.v. *venus*.

The form suggests Plt. **wenes-no-*, a derivative of *venus* 'desire, love' (cf. *catēna* < **kates-nā-*). WH interpret the original meaning as 'love drink', which would imply that the term arose in the context of sorcery. If the original meaning was a more neutral adj. **wenes-no-* 'poisonous', it might have developed from 'with desire' via 'addicting' to 'pernicious, poisonous'.

Bibl.: WH II: 747, EM 719.

venia 'favour, permission' [f. *ā*] (Pl.+)

PIt. **wen(i)jā-*.

PIE **uenh₁-ih₂-* 'desire'. IE cognates: OIr. *fine* [f.] 'family, kindred', OBret. *coguenou* 'indigena', Gaul. *Ueni-carus* [PN] < PCI. **uiniā* 'family, kindred'; OHG *wini* 'friend' < **wen-i-*; Go. *winja* 'pasture, food', OHG MLG *winne*, Olc. *vin* f. 'pasture' < PGm. **uēnjō-*, OHG *wunnia*, *wunna*, *wunnī* 'pleasure, lust', OS *wunnia*, OE *wynn*.

A derivative of the root **uenH-* 'to desire'.

Bibl.: WH II: 747, EM 719, LIV **uenH-*. → *vēnor*, *venus*

veniō, -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.+), *adventicius* 'casual, external' (Varro+), *antevenīre* 'to arrive first, anticipate' (Pl.+), *circumvenīre* 'to cheat, surround' (Naev.+), *convenīre* 'to meet, visit, agree' (Naev.+), *conventus*, *-ūs* 'assembly' (Andr.+), *conventicius* '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.).

PIt. **g^wn-je/o-* 'to come', **g^wn-to-* 'having come', **g^w(e)m-ti-*, **g^wem-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-* < **g^wen-*. Note pf. *lben-l*, not *lbēn-l*. O. *kúmbennicis* [gen.sg.] 'certain town council' < **kom-ben-io-* < **kom-g^wm-io-* 'gathering'.

PIE **g^wm-ie/o-* 'to come', **g^wm-to-*, **g^wm-ti-* [f.], **g^wem-tu-* [m.] 'coming'. IE cognates: Skt. pr. *gácchati*, aor. *ágan* [3s.act.], pf. *jagāma* [3s.act.] 'to move, come', *gatá-* [ppp.], *gáti-* [f.] 'going, motion', *gántu-* [m.] 'walk, road', YAv. *jasa-* [pr.], OAv. aor. *jān* [3s.ind.act.], *gāmən* [3p.ind.act.], YAv. *gata-* [ppp.], *aifī.gaiti-* [f.] 'coming towards', Gr. βαίω 'to go' (< PGr. *βαμ-ἰ-ω), βάσκε [2s.ipv.act.] 'go!', Go. *qiman* 'to come' (< PIE sb. **g^wem-e-*), ToB *šman-*, ToA *šmäs* [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 PIIt. **g^wn-je/o-* and **g^wn-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 **g^wem-*. → *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+).

Plt. **wēn-o/ā-* 'hunting' >> **wēnā-je/o-* 'to hunt'.

PIE *(H)uēnh₁- / *(H)unh₁- 'desire'. IE cognates: Hit. *uēn^{zi}- / uyan-* 'to copulate' < **h_{1/3}uenh₁-*; Skt. *vānate* (RV) [3s.med.], *vañchati* [3s.act.], aor. *vanāti* 'to love, desire', *vāmā-* 'sweet, precious, noble, beautiful', YAv. *vantā-* [f.] 'beloved one, wife'; (?) Alb. *ū(n)* [m.] (Geg), *uri* [f.] (Tosk) 'hunger' < **un-*; Go. *wens* 'hope' [i], OIc. *ván*, OE *wān* 'supposition, opinion' < **uēnH-*; OHG *wunscen* 'to wish'; Go. *winnan* 'to suffer', OIc. *vinna* 'to labour, overcome' < **uēnh₁-*; ToA *wañi*, ToB *wīna* 'joy' < PIE **uēnh₁-*, **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 **uēnH-*. → *venus*

venter, -tris 'belly, abdomen' [m. i] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *ventriōsus* 'pot-bellied' (Pl.+).

Plt. **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 BSI. *(?)*uéd-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.+).

Plt. **wēnto-*.

PIE **h₂ueh₁-nt-o-* 'wind'. IE cognates: W. *gwynt* 'wind', Hit. *huyant-* [c.] 'wind' < **h₂uh₁-ent-*, Skt. *vāta-* [m.] 'wind, god of wind' (several times disyllabic in the RV), OAv. *vāta- /vaṇata-/* [m.] 'wind', YAv. *vāta-*, Gr. *ἄησι* 'to blow', Go. *winds*, OHG *wint*, ToB *yente* [n.f.], ToA *want* (~ *wānt*) '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 **uēnto-*, whence with Osthoff's shortening **wento-*. According to Schrijver, the development might also have been of PIE **h₂ueh₁-nt-o-* to pre-Italic

**H₂eHento-*, 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 **h₂ueh₁-* ‘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 **uēno-* ‘sale’.

PIE **ues-no-* ‘price’. IE cognates: Hit. *ušnije/a-* ‘to put up for sale’ < **us-n-ie/o-*, Skt. *vasnā-* [n.] ‘price, value’, MP *wahāg* ‘trade’, Gr. *ὄνος* [n.] ‘price’ (denom. *ὠνέομαι* ‘I buy’) < **φόνος*, Arm. *gin* ‘bride-price?’ (< **uesno-*).

The verb *vēnīre* ‘to be sold’ reflects earlier **vēnum ire* ‘to go on sale’, whereas *vendere* is a syncopated variant of **vēnum dare* ‘to give for sale’. Kloekhorst (2008: 930f.) assumes that Hit. **usn-je/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’, *venerārīe* ‘to worship, pay homage’ (Naev.+), *venerātiō* ‘adoration’ (Varro+).

PIt. **wenos-* [n.]. It. cognates: O. *ῥεϛζητ* [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. *vasantā-*, Av. *vaŋri* [loc.sg.], Gr. *ἔαρ* [n.] ‘spring’, *εἰαρινός* ‘belonging to spring’, Arm. *garown* ‘spring’, Lith. *vāsara*, *vasarà* ‘summer’, OCS *vesna* ‘spring’, Olc. *vár* ‘spring’.

An original paradigm **uesr*, **uesnos* 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 \bar{e} has been introduced into the nom.sg. and final *-or* was analogically removed. Schrijver, differently, reconstructs nom.sg. $*\underline{u}\bar{e}sr$, but an ablaut $*\bar{e} : *e$ in a n. word seems unlikely. Lat. *vernus* may reflect $*\underline{u}esinos$, or, with Nussbaum, be delocalival from $*\underline{v}\bar{e}ri-no-$. Not to PIE $*h_2ues-$ 'to spend the night; dawn' because of the initial laryngeal. Skt. *vasar-há* (RV), of the wind (meaning uncertain), and *vāsarā-* 'of the morning' may belong here too, their meaning having been influenced by *usra-* 'matutinal', *ušar°* '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. $*\underline{w}erb/fos$ [n.] 'twig, whip'.

PIE $*\underline{u}erb^{(h)}-es-?$ IE cognates: Lith. *vir̃bas* 'stick, twig', *vir̃balas* 'small staff, needle', *vir̃binis* 'snare', Latv. *virbs* 'small stick', *virba* 'pole', Ru. *vérbā* 'willow twig' (Ru. dial. *verbá*), *voróba* 'cord', *voróby* 'spool'.

The pl. *verbera*, the adj. *-verbustus* and the derivative *verbēna* < $*\underline{w}erbes-na-$ all point to an *s*-stem $*\underline{w}erbos, -es-$. The BSl. words for 'twig' and 'stick' may be derived from the same root. Slavic seems to point to a root $*\underline{u}rb-$, but Baltic to $*\underline{u}rb^{h}-$.

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. $*\underline{w}erpo-$ [n.] 'word'.

PIE $*\underline{u}erh_1-d^h_1-o-$ 'making a statement'. IE cognates: Hit. $\underline{u}erite-zi$, $\underline{u}erit-$ 'to fear, be frightened' < $*\underline{u}(e)rh_1-i-$ + $*d^heh_1-$ 'to place a call' (?; Kloekhorst 2008: 1003f.); OPr. *wirds*, Lith. *var̃das*, Latv. *vārd̃s*; Go. *waurd*, OHG *wort* 'word' < $*\underline{u}r-d^ho-$; Hit. $\underline{u}er̃ie/a-$ 'to call, name, summon', ptc. $\underline{u}erant-$ < $*\underline{u}erh_1-(ie/o-)$, Hit. $-\underline{u}a(r)-$ (particle of direct speech), Pal. $-\underline{u}ar-$, CLuw. $-\underline{u}a-$ (sentence initial particle), HLuw. $-\underline{w}a-$, Lyc. $-\underline{w}e-$ < PANat. $*\underline{u}or$, Skt. *vratá-* [n.] 'vow, religious observance, commandment', OAv. *uruuata-* [n.] 'rule, order, indication', YAv. *uruuataṅnara-* [m.] MoP, Oss. *iræd/cærwæd* 'bride-money' < PlIr. $*\underline{u}rata-$, Gr. εἶπω, ἐπέω 'to say' (< $*\underline{u}erh_1-$), ῥητός 'appointed' (< $*\underline{u}rh_1-to-$).

Lat. *verbum* and the Baltic and Gm. words point to $*\underline{u}(e)rd^ho-$, which Hackstein 2002a: 14 analyses as an original compound of $*\underline{u}erh_1-$ 'to say' and $*-d^h_1-o-$ 'putting'; the first laryngeal would have been lost already in PIE between *-r-* and $*-d^h_1-$. Yet it is awkward that the three branches have different ablaut of the first member; or is *verbum* an early instance of $*\underline{v}or-$ > *ver-*? In that case, Latin could have

**urh₁-d^hh₁-o-* as Germanic and OPr. The Hit. verb *uerite-* '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 **uerh₁-*.

vereor 'to show respect, fear' [v. II; pf. *veritus sum*] (Naev.+)

Derivatives: *verēcundus* 'restrained, modest' (Pl.+), *verēcundia* 'shame, modesty' (Pl.+); *reverēri* '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. *cóir*, *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 *wār-sk-* 'to smell', ToA *wār-* < PTo. **wār-* < PIE **wer-*; ToA *wras-*, ToB *wārs-* 'to pity' < PT. **wārs-* or **wrās-* < **wer-s-*; ToB *were*, ToA *war* 'smell' < PIE **wóro-*. Disputed: Gr. *ὀπάω* 'to look, perceive, see', *ὄπος* [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.**uer-*.

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.] 'gripping 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 **h₂uerg-*.

vermis 'worm, maggot' [m. *i*] (Cato+)

Derivatives: *vermiculus* 'larva, maggot' (Lucil.+), *vermiculātus* 'arranged to give a wavy effect' (Lucil.+).

Plt. **wormi-* 'snake, worm'.

PIE **ur̥mi-* '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 **k^wrmi-* 'worm': OIr. *cruim*, MW *pryf*, Bret. *pryf* 'worm'; Skt. *kṛmi-* 'worm, maggot', Sogd. *kyrm-* 'snake', MP *klm /kirm/* 'worm, dragon, snake', MoP *kirm*, Lith. *kirmis* 'worm, snake', OCS *črѡvbъ* 'worm', Alb. *krim(b)* 'worm, maggot, caterpillar'. This distribution might be the result of a development of **k^wrmi-* > **wrmi-* in Latin and Germanic.

Bibl.: WH II: 760, EM 724, IEW 1152.

verrēs, -is 'boar' [m. *i*] (Pl.+)

PIt. **wors-en-*.

PIE **h₂uṛs-en-* 'male'. IE cognates: Skt. *vṛṣan-* [adj./m.] 'manly, powerful; male animal (bull, stallion)', *vṛṣabhá-* [adj./m.] 'manly, powerful; bull, boar, husband, ruler', YAv. *varəšna-* 'manly', *varšna-* [m. PN], *varšni-* [m. PN] 'ram'; Gr. ἄρσην [adj.] 'manly'; Lith. *veršis* '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. *-vorri*, elsewhere *ver-*)

Derivatives: *convolerrere* '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-* 'to reap, harvest, wipe' < **uors-*, RuCS *vr̥xu* '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. *viršūs* [m.], Latv. *viršus*, OCS *vr̥xъ*, Ru. *verx*, loc.sg. *verxú* 'top, upper part' < **uṛs-u-*; OE *wearr* 'sill'. Uncertain: Go. *wairsiza*, OHG *wirsiro* 'worse' < **uērsizon-*.

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 **uṛs-* 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.+), *āvō/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.+), *īvertere* ‘to reverse’ (Ter.+), *pervertere* ‘to overturn, ruin’ (Pl.+), *pervorsārīō* ‘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. *φεροποι* [dat.sg.] epithet of Iuppiter, probably ‘who averts’ < **uert-tor-*; U. *trahuorfi* [adv.] probably ‘placed across’ < **trāns-uorssēd* [abl.sg.]; U. *vurtus* [3s.fut.pf.], *kuvertu*, *couertu* [3s.ipv.], *kuvurtus*, *couortus*, *courtust* [3s.fut.pf.], *couortuso* [3s.fut.II.ps.?] ‘to turn’ < **uert-e-*, **urt-us-*.

PIE **uert-e/o-* ‘to turn’. IE cognates: Skt. pr. *vārtate* [med.], aor. *avart*, pf. *āvārta*, intens. (*ā*) *varīvartī*, caus. *varṭayati* ‘to turn (around), roll’, *vṛttā-* ‘turned, turning around’, YAv. *varāta-* ‘to turn’, *varātō.raṭa-* ‘with a rolling car’, *vāša-* [m.] ‘car’, OPr. *wīrst* ‘to become’, Lith. *vir̃sti* ‘to turn (around), fall over, become’, OCS *vr̃tēti*, Ru. *vertēt* ‘to turn (around)’ < **urt-*, 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 **uert-*. → *dorsum*, *oportet*

veru, -ūs 'spit (for roasting)' [n. *u*] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *verūtum* 'short throwing spear' (Enn.+), *vervīna* 'spit (or similar pointed instrument)' (Pl.+).

Plt. **g^weru-* 'spit'. It. cognates: U. **berva** [acc.pl.], **berus** [abl.pl.] n. 'utensil used during the sacrifice' < **g^weru-*.

PIE **g^wer(H)-u-* 'spit'. IE cognates: OIr. *bi(u)r* [n. > f.], W. Co. Bret. *ber* [f., m.] 'spear, spit' < **g^weru-*.

In theory, Italo-Celtic **g^weru-* could reflect PIE **g^werh₂-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'.

Plt. **wero-* 'gate' [n.].

PIE **Huer-o-* 'cover, protection'. IE cognates: Skt. *valá-* [m.] 'cave, enclosure', Av. *vara-* [m.] 'fenced place, artificial cave' < Ir. **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+).

Plt. **wēro-*.

PIE **ueh₁-ro-* 'true'. IE cognates: OIr. *fir*, W. *gwir* < PCI. **wīro-*; OCS *věra*, Ru. *věra*, Po. *wiara* 'faith, belief' < PSI. **věra* [f.], OHG *wār* 'true'. Possibly also Gr. ἦρα in (ἐπι) ἦρα φέρειν 'to please somebody' [acc. sg. (pl. n.?)] if from **uēr-*.

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, -ēcís 'wether, castrated male sheep' [m. *k*] (Pl.+)

Plt. **werw-ē-*.

PIE **ueru-?* IE cognates: Gr. εἶρος [n.] 'wool' < **ueruos-*, Myc. *lwerwes-ieial* 'women who work the wool', Att. εὖ-ερος 'with beautiful wool', ἔπ-ερος 'sheep'.

Has been connected with PIE **urh₁-en-* 'lamb' (to Skt. *úran-* [m.] 'lamb' < Ir. **urH-an-*, Sogd. *wr'n* 'lamb' < PIr. **varān-am*, Gr. ἀρήν [m.], Kret. μαρην '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', *vervex* might be

connected with Gr. εἶπος [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. *ueši-* / *uešai-* [c.] 'pasture' (< **ues-(e)i-*), Skt. *svāsara-* 'pasture, meadow' (< **su-uas-ra-*), Av. *vāstra-* [n.] 'pasture', *vāstar-* 'herd', Olc. *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+)

Plt. **we/op-s-h₂-* 'wasp'.

PIE **(h₁)uob^h-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' < Plr. **wabža-*; OPr. *wobse*, Lith. *vapsvā*, *vapsà* (dial.), Latv. *vapsene* 'wasp', RuCS *osa*, Ru. *osá*, SCr. *òsa* (< BSl. **uapsā*); OE *wæfs*, *wæps*, *wæsp* OHG *wefsa*, *wafsa*, *waspa*, Bav. *webes*.

It is questionable whether 'wasp' was derived from PIE **(h₁)ueb^h-* '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.+), *vespertinus* 'of the evening' (Varro+), *vesperūgō* 'the Evening Star' (Pl.+), *vespertiliō* 'bat' (Varro+).

Plt. **we(k)spero-*.

PIE **ue-k^(w)sp-er-o-* 'evening'. IE cognates: W. *ucher* 'evening', Hit. *išpant-* [c.] 'night', Skt. *kṣāp-* [f.], Av. *xšāpan-* / *xšāfn-*, YAv. *xšap-* [f.], *xšapar-*, OP *xšap-* [f.] 'night' < PIE **k^(w)sep(-r/-n-)*; Gr. ἕσπερος [m.] 'evening' (< **uek^wsp-ero-*); Arm. *gišer* 'night' (< **uek^wšero-*), Lith. *vākaras*, Latv. *vakars*, OCS *večerŭ*, 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 explain. 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 *ē-*. 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.+)

Plt. **wospo-* 'clothing'?

PIE **uos-p-?* IE cognates: Hit. ^(TUG)*uašpa-* [c.] 'clothing', CLuw. *uašpant-* 'wearing shrouds (?)' < PIE **uos-b^ho-?*

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 **wosp-*, 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. δσπριον '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. *ἰστίη*, which has **u-* in *ἰστίη* (PN, Mantinea), *γιστία* 'hearth' (Hsch.). This cannot be derived from PIE **h₂ues-* 'to spend the night, stay', since **h₂-* would have yielded *α-*. Possibly a loanword.

Bibl.: WH II: 772f., EM 729, IEW 1170, LIV 2.**h₂ues-*.

vestibulum 'fore-court' [n. *o*] (Pl.+)

PIt. **westV-blo-* '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.+).

PIt. **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 **versīgium*, which was defended by Muller 1926: 539 but rejected outright by WH, seems attractive. If connected with *verrō* 'to sweep' < **urs-*, *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.+).

PIt. **wes-ti-* 'clothes'.

PIE *ues-ti-. IE cognates: Hit. *uešš-^{na}* / *uašše/a-^{zi}* ‘to be dressed, wear, put on’, CLuw. *uašš-* ‘to wear’ < **ués-to* and **us-ié-ti-*; Skt. *váste* ‘to wear’, *vásana-* [n.] ‘garment, cloth’, *vastí-varṇa-* ‘colour of the garment’, OAv. *vastē*, YAv. *vaste* ‘is clothed’, *vanhana-* [n.] ‘clothing’, *vastra-* [n.] ‘garment, cloth’, Gr. ἔννυμι ‘to clothe, put on’ < **ues-n(e)u-*, aor. ἔσ(σ)αι, pf.med. εἶμαι, εἰμένοϛ < **ues-*; εἶματα [pl.] ‘clothes’ (< **ues-mn-*), Arm. *z-genowm* ‘clothe oneself’ < **ues-nu-*, *z-gest* ‘cloth(es)’ < **ues-tu-*, Alb. *vesh* ‘to clothe’, Go. *and-wasjan* ‘to take off’, OE *werian* ‘to clothe’ < PIE **uos-eie-*; ToB *wās-* ‘to wear; put on’.

Probably an independent formation of Latin, since Skt. *vastí-* is only attested in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka.

Bibl.: WH II: 774f., EM 729, IEW 1172f., LIV 1.**ues-*.

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’ < PCI. **uete/o-*; MW *gwadu* ‘to deny’, *gwad* [m.], OBret. *guad* ‘denial’ < **uot-*.

If the hapax *vo-* in Nonius is the oldest form, we must reconstruct Plt. **wot-*; since this did not undergo unrounding to **wa-*, it would imply a Plt. preform **wotH-* with a closed initial syllable (Schrijver 1991). The verb could be equated with MW *gwadu* ‘to deny’ < **uot-*. Rix 1999 argues that the original construction was *vetāre nē* ‘to say that not’, which came to mean ‘to forbid that’; this development might have been Italo-Celtic, in view of the MW meaning of *gwadu* ‘to deny’. But other solutions are equally possible. Lat. *votō* could be a deliberate archaism; compare the change *vo-* > *ve-* in front of *s,t,rC* from the second century onwards. Or Lat. *votō* could be a phonetically regular remnant of the change **e* > *o* after **w* and before a back vowel in the next syllable (as in *vomō*, *soror*, etc.). In that case, we can reconstruct Plt. **wet-ā-* ‘to say’ to an *aniŋ* root **uet-*.

Bibl.: WH I: 776, EM 730, Schrijver 1991: 472f., Rix 1999: 520, Schumacher 2004: 679f., LIV **ueth₂-*.

U. **vetu, ahauendu, preuendu** [3s.ipv.II, + *ā-*, + **prai-*] ‘to turn’.

Plt. **wende/o-*.

PIE *(H)*uend^h-e/o-* ‘to wind’. IE cognates: Skt. *vandhūr-* [m.] ‘seat of carriage, frame-work of carriage’ (< ‘plaited thing?’), Go. *-windan*, OE *windan*, NHG *winden* ‘to twist, wind’, ToB *wāntrā* ‘disguises himself (?)’.

Bibl.: IEW 1148, Meiser 1986: 180-183, Untermann 2000: 835f., LIV **uend^h-*.

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.+); *veterīmus* [adj.] ‘used for draught, draught-animals’ (Cato+).

PIt. **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. *vezkei* [dat.sg.] ‘a certain deity’.

PIE **uet-os-* ‘year’ [n.], **uet-s-o-* ‘of the year’. IE cognates: Hit. *uitt-* (< *uet-*) [c.] ‘year’, CLuw. *ušša/i-*, HLuw. *usa/i-* ‘year’ (< **ut-s-o-*), Hit. *šaudišt-* / *šāuitišt-* ‘weanling, young calf’ (< **so-ut-es-t-* / **so-uet-es-t-* ‘the one of this year’), Skt. *vatsarā-* [m.] ‘year’, Gr. ἔτος [n.], dial. φετος ‘year’, Myc. *we-to*, *we-te-i* (*/uetos*, *ueteh-i/*) [n.] ‘year’, Alb. *vit*, pl. (also sg.) *vjet* ‘year’; Lith. *vėtušas*, OCS *vetьchъ* ‘old’, Ru. *větxij* ‘old, ancient, decrepit’ < PIE **uetus-o-*. Go. *wiprus* ‘year-old lamb’, OIc. *veðr*, OHG *widar* ‘wether’.

Adams 1992 observes that *veterīmus* 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* ‘off/for a journey’ (Pl.+), *viāticātus* ‘furnished with supplies for a journey’ (Pl.), *viātor* ‘traveller, agent’ (CIL I.583+); *obviam* ‘in the path of, facing up’ (Naev.+), *obvius* ‘in the path of, confronting’ (Pl.+), *pervius* ‘passable’ (Pl.+), *praevious* ‘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).

PIt. **wijā-* ‘road’. It. cognates: O. *viú*, *víu* [nom.sg.], *viām*, *vía* [acc.sg.], *viái* [loc.sg.], *viāss* [acc.pl.], U. *via*, *vea*, *uia* [abl.sg.], SPic. *viām* [acc.sg.] f. ‘road’ < **uijā*; O. *amviānūd*, *amviānūd* ‘?’ probably < **am-* or *an-viā-ndo-*, denom. verb to **viā-* ‘road’.

PIE **uih₁-eh₂-* ‘pursuit’. IE cognates: Skt. *viyānti* [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 *veiarī* 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 **ueg^hiā*

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] (Lucret.+)

Derivatives: *vibrissāre* 'to sing with vibrato' (Titin. apud Paul. ex F.).

*PIt. *wib-ro-* 'trembling'.

PIE **uip/b-ro-*. IE cognates: Skt. *vīpra-* [m. / adj.] 'trembling, seer', YAv. *vīfra-* [adj.] 'ecstatic'; Skt. pr. *vépate* 'to tremble', *vīpáya-* 'to become inspired', aor. *vīpāná-* [ptc.med.], pf. *vīvīpre* [3p.med.] 'they have become excited', *vīp-* [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', Olc. *veifa* 'to swing'; ToB *wəyp-* 'to shake, swing', 3s. *wīpā(ššām)*, 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 *capere*, *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. *kṣipāti* 'to hurl', Av. *xšuuāēβaiiaṭ.aštra-* 'swinging the whip', Skt. *kṣiprá-* 'quick, fast', YAv. *xšuuīβra-* 'quick', *xšuuīβi-išū-* 'with fast arrows'. The Ilr. root **kš(y)ip/b^(h)-* looks like a compound with **uib/p-* as its second member.

Bibl.: WH II: 780f., EM 731f., IEW 1131f., LIV **ueip-*.

vicis [gen.sg.] 'turn, occasion' [f. *k*] (Pl.+; acc. *vicem*, abl. *vice*, nom.pl. *vicēs*, dat.abl.pl. *vicibus*; not attested in nom.sg. and gen.pl.)

Derivatives: *vicissātim* 'in turn(s)' (Naev.+), *vicissim* 'in turn' (Pl.+), *vicissitās* 'alternation' (Acc.), *vicissitūdō* 'reversal, alternation' (Ter.+), *vicārius* [adj./m.] 'substitute, deputy' (Pl.+).

*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* <

*-dh₃-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 *uiek-. → *vinciō*, *vix*

victima 'sacrificial animal' [f. *ā*] (Naev.+)

PIt. **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 **uikti-* 'exchange' + *-mo-. But there are other options. *Victima* may also be connected with PIE **ueik-* 'to select, sift', as in Skt. *vec-* 'to sift, to separate, to winnow', *prá-vikta-* 'selected', *vívici-* 'separating', YAv. *həm.višīia* 'to separate completely', YAv. **vaēcaīia-* [caus.], MP *wēxtan/wēztan* 'to sift, select, winnow', Khwar. *prwycy-* '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.*ueik-.

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+).

PIt. **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. *vīs-* [f.] 'settlement, dwelling-place, people', YAv. *vīs-* [f.] 'homestead, community', OP *viš-* [f.] 'royal house, palace, house, farm' < Ilr. **uić-* < PIE **uik-*; Gr. *φῶικος*, *οἶκος* [m.] 'house, household', Myc. *wo-i-ko-de* /*woikon-de* 'home', Lith. *višpats* 'lord', OPr. *waispattin* 'mistress' [acc.sg.] < **uoik-poti-*; OCS *вѣсѣ* [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 PIIt. **weik-*, and since there is no other example of a development **woi-* > *vī-*. In view of Go. *weihs*, an ablaut grade **ueik-* was also present in PIE; in fact, the original noun may have been a root noun **ueik-* / **uik-*, with a thematic derivative **uoik-o-* in Greek. The noun *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 *ueik-.

videō '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.+), *imprudentia* '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.+), *imprōvisus* 'unexpected' (Pl.+), *revidēre* 'to pay another visit' (Pl.+); *vīsō*, *-ere* 'to go and look, visit' (Pl.+), *vīsus*, *-ūs* 'sight, vision' (Lucr.+), *vīsītāre* '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.+).

Plt. **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' < **uid-ē-*; U. **revestu** [3s.ipv.II] 'to check' < **re-ueid-s-e-tōd*.

PIE **uid-eh₁-* 'to see'. IE cognates: OIr. *ro-finnadar** 'to find out' < PCl. **wind-e/o-*, W. *gwybot*, Is. *gwnn*, Co. *godhvos*, Bret. *gouz(o)ut*, Is. *goun*, *gonn* 'to know' < **wind-mu-* << **wind-e/o-*; OIr. *ro-fítir* 'to know', MW *gwyr*, MBret. *goar*, MCom. *gor* 'knows' < PCl. **uid-* << PIE **uoid-/uid-* [pf.]; MW *gwydyat*, MCo. *gozye*, OBret. *gozzye* [3s.ipf.] 'knew' < **ueid-ī-* < **ueid-eh₁-*; OIr. *ad-fét* < **ad-weid-e/o-* 'to tell, relate' (<< **uinde/o-*); Skt. *ved-* '1. to find, discover, desire, 2. to know, be acquainted with' [pr. *vindāti*, aor. *vidát*, pf. *véda*, ppa. *vidváms-*, ppp. *vittá-*]; OAv. *vīnastī* 'finds', *vīdat* 'finds', *vista-* 'found', *vaēdā* [pf.] 'I know, he knows', ppa. *vīduuah-* 'knowing, capable'; ā-*uuāēdaiimahī* 'we announce'; YAv. *viṇda-* 'to find' [3s. *vīnasti*]; 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], ἰδύοι [m.pl.] 'witnesses', aor. ἰδεῖν 'to behold, recognise', εἶδομαι '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. *vėizdi* 'to look (for)' < BSl. **uei?d-*; OCS *viděti*, Ru. *videt'*, SCr. *vidjeti* 'to see' < PSl. **viděti*; OPr. *waist* 'know', OCS *věděti*, Is. *věmь*, 3s. *věstь* 'to know', Ru. *vědat'* 'to manage, (obs.) know', Cz. *věděti* 'to know' < PSl. **věděti* < BSl. **uoi?d-*; Go. *wait*, *witum* 'I know, we know', *weitwoþs* 'witness', *fraweitān* 'to take revenge', *in-weitān* 'to worship', OE *gewītan* 'to die', Go. *fairweitan* 'to observe, heed'; Go. *witan*, *-aida* 'to heed'.

Prūdēns 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. *-vydžiū* '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 **ueid-*.

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-d^hh₁-eu-o-* 'separated'. IE cognates: OIr. *fedb*, Skt. *vidhāvā-* [f.] 'widow', *a-vidhavā-* [f.] 'not a widow', YAv. *vidauua* [nom.sg.f.], MP *wēwag*, MoP *bēwa*, Oss. *idæz* 'widow' (<PIr. **uidauacī*) <PIIr. **Huid^hauaH-* 'widow, deprived of a partner'; Gr. ἡῦθεος [m.] 'unmarried young man'; OPr. *widdewū*, OCS *vъdova*, *vъdova* [f.], Ru. *vdová* (acc. *vdovú*) <PSl. **vъdovà*; 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 **-d^h-*; 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* 'off 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 **u_hi-éie-* 'to plait', **ueh₁i-mn* 'plaiting'. IE cognates: OIr. *ar-fen* 'to close off', *imm-fen** 'to enclose' <PCI. **-wi-na-*; Skt. *vyáyati* 'to wind, wrap', ppp. *vītá-*, Gr. ἴτρος, -ροϋς, Aeol. φῖτρος 'felloe, rim of a shield', Lith. *výti*, Latv. *vīt*, OCS *viti*, SCr. *vīti* 'to twist, wind' < **u_hi-*, Lith. *vytis* 'twig', SCr. *pāvīt* 'vine' < **u_hi-ti-*; OCS *věja*, Skt. *vayá-* 'branch, twig' < **uo_hi-eh₂-*, Av. *vaēiti-* 'willow', Go. *waddjus* < **uo_iH-u-*.

The appurtenance of *viēscō* and *viētus* here is disputed. If one assumes that *viētus* is a (secondary) ppp. to *vieō* meaning 'plaited, woven' > 'wrinkled', *viēscō* can have been formed as an inchoative to *vieō* but with the meaning of *viētus*, thus 'to become wrinkled, shrivel'. The noun *vitta*, if from **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 **u_heh₁-*. → *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 **ueg-eh₁-* 'to be strong', **ueg-l-i-* 'strong'. IE cognates: Skt. *vāja-* '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*), **wīkessamo-*.

PIE **dui-dkmt-ih₁* ‘twenty’. IE cognates: OIr. *fiche*, *fichit* [dat./acc.], OW *uceint*, MW *figgit*; Skt. *vimśati-* [f.], YAv. *visaiti*, Khot. *bistā*, MP *wīst*, Oss. *yssæz/insæj*, Gr. εἴκοσι, H. also ἐείκοσι, Dor. φίκατι, Arm. *k’san*, Alb. *zet*, ToB *ikām*, 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 *r*’s of the surrounding syllables (thus Coleman). Lat. *vīcēsīmus* from *vīkēnsūmo-* (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. *uāš-* ‘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 preceding labial (thus Watkins 1973b: 196).

Bibl.: WH II: 789f., EM 736, IEW 1173, LIV 2.*ues-. → *vēnus/m*

vinciō, -ire ‘to tie up, bind’ [v. IV; pf. *vīnxī*, ppp. *vincum*] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: *vicia* ‘vetch’ (Cato+), *vinc(u)lum* ‘bond, chain’ (Pl.+), *vinciō* ‘binding together’ (Varro+), *vincitūra* ‘which binds’ (Varro+), *vincus, -ūs* ‘tie’ (Varro+); *circumvincire* ‘to bind round’ (Pl.+), *dēvincire* ‘to tie fast, bind’ (Pl.+); *prōvincia* ‘special task of a magistrate, command, district’ (Pl.+), *prōvinciālis* ‘of or belonging to a province’ (Varro+).

Plt. **wink-(e/o-)* ‘to tie, bind’. It. cognates: U. *preuīslatu, preuīlatu* [3s.ipv.II] ‘to tie’ < **prai-ūinkelā-tōd*, denom. to **ūi(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 **ūink-* (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. **ūink-* (cf. *vincō*), or from a nominal derivative **ūink-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. *λυov* ‘ivy; prison’ here; but Lat. *vicis*, U. *preuīslatu* (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 **ūiek-*, ?1.**ūeik-*. → *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+), *victrix* ‘victorious’ (of a woman) (Pl.+), *vincibilis* ‘that can be won’ (Ter.+); *convincere* ‘to prove wrong, find guilty’ (Pl.+), *pervicāx* ‘stubborn, determined’ (Ter.+), *pervicācia* ‘resolution’ (Enn.+), *pervicus* ‘stubborn’ (Acc.), *pervincere* ‘to prevail over’ (Pl.+), *invictus* ‘invincible, not overcome’ (Pl.+).

Plt. **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’ < PCI. **ūike/o-*, OIr. *fecht* [f. *ā*], MW *gweith* [f.], OBret. *gueth* ‘battle’ < **ūik-tā-*; Skt. pr. *viviktās* [3du.act.], pf. *vivyāca* [3s.act.] ‘to contain, embrace’, *vyācas-* [n.] ‘extent, content’, MP *winj-*, ps. *winjīh-* ‘to be contained’ < Ilr. **ūik/č-*, **ūjak/č-*; Gr. *εἶκω* ‘to give way, yield’ < **ūeik-*; Lith. *veikti*, 1s. *veikiū* ‘to work; overcome’, Latv. *vīkstu, vīkt* ‘to give way, bend’, *vīksts* ‘yielding, soft’, Lith. *vikrūs* ‘agile, swift, skilful’, *vėikus / veikūs* ‘quick, strong, firm’, Latv. *vēiks* ‘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' (< **uoiko-*); OIc. *gjafa-vixl* 'gift-exchange', OE *wehsāl* 'commerce, money', OHG *wēhsal*, *wehsil* 'exchange, commerce'; OHG *wehha*, *wohha*, OS *wika*, OE *wucu*, *wicu*, OIc. *vfka* 'week' (< *'change') < **uik-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 **ueik-*.

Bibl.: WH II: 791f., EM 736, IEW 1128f., Schrijver 1991: 528f., Untermann 2000: 855-857, Meiser 2003: 206, Schumacher 2004:683-686, LIV 2.**ueik-*. → *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. **vīno-*. 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. *uīian-* [c.] 'wine' < **uih₁-on-*, ^(d)*Uiniiant-* 'wine (deified)', CLuw. *uiniia-* 'of wine', HLuw. *wijana/i-* 'vine'; Gr. *oīvoç*, dial. *foīvoç* [m.], Arm. *gini* (< **uoiniio-*), 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 **uoih₁no-* > **uoino-* > **uēno-* > **uiyana-*, 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.+), *violēter* 'violently' (Ter.+), *violentia* 'violence' (Pl.+), *inviolābilis* 'indestructible' (Lucret.+).

PIt. **wijelo-* 'chasing, violating'.

PIE **uiH-elo-*. IE cognates: see s.v. *via*.

Probably derived from a deverbial 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 * uejh_1 -. → *via*, *vīs*

vīpera ‘poisonous snake’ [f. *ā*] (Cic.+)

Derivatives: *vīperīnus* ‘of a viper’ (Acc.+).

Plt. **weip-es-ā*-?

PIE **ueip-es*-?

There are two competing etymologies. Pliny’s explanation as **vīvo-para* ‘who gives birth to living young’ has been adopted by WH and Leumann, but it has several drawbacks. Semantically, **vīvo-para* would mean ‘who gives birth to a living one’ (cf. *puerpera* ‘who gives birth (to a child)’), but this goes for all mammals too, and is therefore hardly a specific description of snakes. It is clear from Pliny, *Nat.* 10, 62 (82) that the Romans knew that snakes lay eggs (*ova pariunt serpentes*), but observed the hatchlings as coming out of their eggs in the snake itself (*dein singulis diebus singulos 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 * ueip -. → *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+).

Plt. **wiro*-. It. cognates: U. *uiro*, *ueiro* [acc.pl.] ‘company of men, troops’ [n.] < **wiro*-.

PIE **uiH-ró*- ‘man, young man, warrior’. IE cognates: OI. *fer*, Skt. *vīrá*- ‘man, hero’, Av. *vīra*- ‘man, human’, Lith. *vīras* ‘man, husband’, Latv. *vir̃s*, Go. *wair* ‘man’ < **wiro*- < **wīrō*-, 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' (Lucret.+), *viridis* [adj.] 'green' (Cato+), *viridāre* 'to be green' (Acc.+), *viridulus* 'young and tender' (Naev.); *praeviridāns* 'very green' (Lab.).

Plt. **w(e)is-*?

IE cognates: OPr. *wēisin* 'fruit' [acc.sg.], Lith. *veĩsti*, 3s. *veĩsia* 'to breed, rear', *visti*, 3s. *vĩsta* 'to multiply, breed', *vaĩsius* 'fruit'; Oic. *visir* 'sprout' [?]; OE *wise* 'sprout, stem' [f.]; OHG *wisa* '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.*ueis-

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.+).

Plt. **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 **uis-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*, *vizgėti* 'to tremble', *vizgóti* 'to waver') is too far off. Only the Germanic forms in **uisk-* are close enough to inspire some confidence in their connection with *virga*. The adj. *virgultus*, attested as a noun from Cato onwards, 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' (Lucret.+).

WH interpret *virgō* as an individuation of *virga* 'twig, rod', implying a shift from 'young, virgin' > 'young plant'. Ledo-Lemos 2002 posits a compound **wir-g^wōn-* '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+).

Plt. **weis-o-(s-)* [n.] 'poison'.

PIE **ueis* [nom.], **uis-os* [gen.] [n.] 'poison'. IE cognates: MĪr. *fi* [gender and stem unknown], W. *gwy* 'poison' < PCl. **uiso-* 'poison', Skt. *viśá-* [n.], YAv. *viša-* [n.] 'venom, poison'; YAv. *vīš* [n.] 'poison, poisonous juice'; Gr. *ĩōs* [m.] 'poison', ToA *wās*, 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 **ueisos* 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 **ueis / *uis-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. *dicō*.

PIt. **wīs*.

PIE **uiH-s* 'strength'. IE cognates: Skt. *váyas-* [n.] 'power, food', Gr. *ἰς* [f.] 'power, strength', acc. *ἴν(α)*, instr. *ἰφί*, Hsch. *γίς* (= *φίς*) □ '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. → *dicō, vir*

viscum 'mistletoe; bird-lime from the berries of the mistletoe' [n. o] (Pl.+; Pl. also nom.sg. *viscus*)

Derivatives: *viscātus* 'smeared with bird-lime' (Lucil.+).

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.

viscus, -eris 'fleshy parts; entrails' [n. r] (Pl.+)

Derivatives: *vīscerātīm* 'piecemeal' (Enn.); *ēvīscerāre* 'to disembowel' (Enn.+).

No clear etymology.

Bibl.: WH II: 802, EM 741, IEW 1133f.

vītis 'grape-vine' [f. i] (Enn.+)

Derivatives: *vītīlis* 'made of wickerwork' (Cato+), *vīteus* 'of a vine' (Varro+), *vītīgineus* 'of a vine or its wood' (Cato+), *vītīārium* '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 **u₁eh₁-*. → *vieō*, *vīnum*

vitium 'defect, fault' [n. o] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: *vitiāre* 'to spoil, invalidate' (Ter.+), *vitiōsus* 'faulty, defective' (Pl.+), *vitiīgō*, *-inis* 'a form of skin eruption, psoriasis' (Lucil.+), *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. **ui-ti-om* 'separation, deviation' to **(d)ui-* 'apart', comparing Skt. *nitya-* 'down'. This would amount to a similar dissimilation of two dentals as in PIE **dui-tero-* > Ilr., Gm., Slav. **(H)ui-tero-* 'second, following'. Indo-Iranian, Tocharian and Umbrian have a form **du(i)-tio-* 'second', but this is an *io-* derivative of **du(i)-to-*, and hence does not invalidate the solution for *vitium*. The verb *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'. *Vitiīgō* 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' < **dui-* as in Ilr. Yet frequentative verbs in *-itāre* are generally recent, which excludes an early dissimilation **dui-itā-* > **ui-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 **ueih₁-*.

vītricus 'stepfather' [m. o] (CIL 1.583, Cic.+)

WH and IEW derive *vītricus* from PIE **(d)ui-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+).

PIt. **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.+).

PIt. **wet-elo-* ‘yearling, calf’. It. cognates: U. **vitlu** [acc.sg.m.], **vitluf**, *uithu* [acc.pl.m.], **vitlaf**, *uitha* [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 rīua* ‘squirrel’, Scottish Gaelic *feorag* ‘squirrel’, OPr. *weware* ‘squirrel’, Lith. *vaiveris* (*vaivaras*, *vaivarys*) ‘male polecat or marten’, *vaiverē*, *voverē*, Latv. *vāvere*, *vāveris*, ORu. *vēverica*, Sln. *véverica*, Cz. *veverka*, Bulg. *ververica*, OE *āc-weorna*, OHG *eihhurnō*, OIc. *ikorni* ‘squirrel’.

Irish, BSl. and Gm. point to a word **(we(r))-wer-* ‘squirrel’, and Lith. *vaiveris* shows that a shift to a meaning ‘marten’ is conceivable. In spite of their different status as herbivore vs. carnivore, they may have been compared due to their similar darting movements and their tree habitat, or on account of the fur for which they were hunted. Folk etymology may explain the ultimate outcome *vī-ver-ra*.

Bibl.: WH II: 808, EM 742f., IEW 1166, EIEC 540.

vīvō, -ere ‘to live’ [v. III; pf. *vīxī*, ppp. *vīctum*] (Lex XII+)

Derivatives: *vīvus* ‘alive’ (Naev.+), *vīvēscere* ‘to come to life’ (Lucret.+), *vīvāx* ‘long-lived, energetic’ (Afran.+), *vīvidus* ‘full of vital force’ (Lucret.+), *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.+), *vītālīs* ‘of life, life-giving’ (Pl.+), *ēvītāre* ‘to kill’ (Enn.+).

PIt. **g^wīwe/o-* ‘to live’, **g^wīwo-* ‘alive’, **g^wītā-* ‘life’. It. cognates: Ven. **vivoi** [dat.sg.] ‘alive’, O. **bivus** [nom.pl.m.] ‘alive’ < **g^wīwo-*, O. **biitam** [acc.sg.] ‘life’.

PIE **g^wih₃-ue/o-* ‘to live’, **g^wih₃-uó-* ‘alive’. IE cognates: Skt. pr. *jīvati*, aor. *jīvīt* [3s.inj.act.], pf. *jijīva* [3s.act.] ‘to live’, *jīvitā-* ‘living’, also [n.] ‘living being, life’, *jīvā-* ‘alive, living person’, Av. *juua-* ‘to live’, *juua-* [adj.] ‘alive’, YAv. *juuaiti*

'making alive', OP *jīva-* 'to live', *jīva-* 'alive'; Gr. ἐβίων, βιώναι [aor.] 'to live' (< *g^wih₃-eh₁-), βίος 'life' (< *g^wiH-o-), βιοτή 'life', βίοςτος [m.] 'id.' (< *g^wih₃-eto-); OPr. *gijwans* [acc.pl.] 'alive', *gīwasi* [2s.pr.] 'you live', Lith. *gyvas*, Latv. *dzīvs* 'alive', Latv. *dzīvu* [1s.pr.act.] 'to live', OCS *živъ*, Ru. *živój* 'alive'; Lith. *gyvatà* 'life', OCS *živотъ* [m.] 'life'; Lith. *gūti*, 3s. *gūja* 'to recover, heal (intr.)', Latv. *dzīt* 'to heal (intr.)', OCS *žiti*, 1s. *živъ*, 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 *wīwita < *g^wiH-uo-t-ā-, cf. Lith. *gyvatà* 'life'; thus Meiser 1998: 92. But *vīta* could also directly reflect *g^wiH-t-h₂-, which would enable us to derive O. **biitam** 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^wiēh₃-.

vix 'hardly' [adv.] (Pl.+)

PIt. *wīks [nom.sg.] / *wīksu [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 way: 'bond' > adv. 'within bonds' > 'hardly'. As an alternative, we may consider a loc.pl. *uik-su 'with ties, within bonds', compare *mox* 'soon' < PIE *mōksu 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-h₂- '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.+); *divulgāre* 'to make public' (Lucr.+), *pervulgāre* 'to make generally available' (Pl.+).

May go back to PIt. *wolgō- 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(i)* '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.] 'voluntary act' < **wlē-no-*; *voltio* [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. *vṛṇūté* [3s.med.], aor. *vṛta* [3s.inj.med.], pf. *vavṛsé* 'to choose, prefer', *vṛtá-* 'chosen, picked, picking', *vāra-* [m.] 'wish, desire', OAv. *var-* [pr.] 'to choose', Av. *vairiia-* 'preferable', *vāra-* [n.] 'wish, desire', *frauuāši-* 'tutelary spirit', OP *avrnavatā* [3s.ipf.med.] 'to choose' < PIlr. **uarH-*; Gr. *λῶ, λῆς, λῆ, λῶμες* 'to want, wish', *λῆμα* [n.] 'will, courage, insolence', *λῆσις* (also *λῆις* Dor.) 'will, choice' (if related, the Greek root reflects earlier **ϕλη-* which probably originated in the root-aorist); Lith. *vélti* 'to wish, prefer' (1s. OLith. *velmi*), OCS *velěti*, 1s. *veljō*, Ru. *velét* 'to command, order', Sln. *velěti* '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. **vòļa* [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 **wells*, 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.+).

Plt. *g^wela-je/o-.

PIE *g^welh₁-ie/o- 'to raise the arm, throw'. IE cognates: OIr. *a-t-baill* 'to die' < *eks-bal-ni-, MW *ballaf* 'to die' < PCI. *balni- 'dies' < *'throws it'? (the appurtenance to PIE *g^welh₁- is not certain); Skt. *gar* 'to raise the arm (for striking), to raise a weapon' (*ud-gurāmāṇa-* [ptc.pr.med.], *apa-jārgurāṇa-* [ptc.int.med.]), Gr. βάλλω 'to throw, to hit', βλήμα [n.] 'throw, hit'.

Muller 1926: 213 derives *volāre* from the root *g^welh₁- 'to throw' whereas WH reject this. Yet if the original meaning was 'to raise the arm', a shift to 'fly' is quite conceivable in the connection with birds. Morphologically, one could reconstruct a *je/o*-present *g^welh₁-je/o- > *welaje- > *welā- (cf. *arāre*), or maybe an originally reduplicated intensive *g^we(l)-g^wolh₁-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 *g^welh₁-.

volpēs, -is 'fox' [m. ī] (Pl.+; CLat. *vulpēs*)

Derivatives: *volpīnārī* 'to behave like a fox' (Varro+).

Plt. *wolp-i- 'fox'.

PIE *(H)ulp-i- 'marten, cat, vel sim.'. IE cognates: Av. *raopi-* 'fox' < Ilr. **laupi-*, Av. *urupi-* 'marten' (vel sim.) < Ilr. **lupi-*, MP *gurbag*, MoP *gurba* 'cat' < **ulpaka-*; Lith. *vilpišys* 'wild cat' < **ulp-i-*; Skt. *lopāsā-* 'jackal', Khot. *rrūvāsa-* 'jackal', MP *rōpās*, Oss. *ruvas/robās* 'fox' < Ilr. **laupāća-* (< **h₂loup-ēk-*?). Probably unrelated: Gr. ἀλώπηξ, -εκος [f.] 'fox', Arm. *alowēs*, gen. *-esow* 'fox', Lith. *lāpė*, Latv. *lapsa* 'fox', W. *llywarn*, MCo. *lowarn*, Bret. *louarn* < PCI. **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 Ilr., 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. → **we/olt(o)r-*

voltus, -ūs 'facial expression, face' [m. u] (Pl.+; CLat. *vultus*)

Derivatives: *volta, -ōrum* [n.pl.] 'face, look' (Enn., Lucr.).

Plt. **we/oltu-*.

PIE **u(e)l-tu-* 'gaze, view'. IE cognates: OIr. *fil, feil/fail* 'there is', MW *gwelet*,

MCo. *gweles*, OBret. *gwelet* 'to see' < PCl. **uel-e/o-*; OIr. *fili, filed* 'seer' < **uel-ēt-* (Irslinger 2002: 56); Go. *wulþus* [m.] 'wealth' < **uþ-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.**uel-*.

volup 'with pleasure' [adv.] (Naev.+; Naev. *volop*)

Derivatives: *voluptās* 'pleasure' (Pl.+), *voluptābilis* 'causing pleasure' (Pl.), *voluptārius* 'of or devoted to pleasure' (Pl.+), *Volupia* 'goddess of pleasure' (Varro+).

PIt. **we/olpi*.

PIE **u(e/o)lp-i* [n.] 'hope, pleasure'. IE cognates: Gr. ἔλπομαι 'to expect, hope, think', pf. ἔολπα, ἐλπώρη 'hope' (for *ἐλπώλη?□), ἐλπίς, -ίδος [f.] 'hope'.

The ms. variant *volupe* has probably arisen in *volupest* 'volup est', cf. Torzi 1991. Nevertheless, *volup* might reflect PIt. **w(e/o)lpi* 'hopefully', which could continue the n. of a PIE *i*-stem 'hope' (which also Gr. ἐλπιδ- could reflect). An apocoped Proto-Latin form **we/olp* could have acquired an anaptyctic vowel between *l* and *p*. Admittedly, there is no anaptyxis in *volt* 'he wants', but 3s. **wel-t* could have been restored on the model of the other paradigmatic forms. In order to explain *-u-* from a real PIt. 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, PIt. **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.).

PIt. **we/olwā-*.

PIE **u(e/o)l-u-h₂₋*. IE cognates: see s.v. *volvō*.

The connection with PIE **g^welb^h-* '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.+); *convolūcus* 'caterpillar' (Cato+), *involūcus* 'caterpillar' (Pl.+); *convolvere* 'to roll up, churn' (Varro+), *ēvolvere* 'to evict, unfold, roll out' (Pl.+), *involvere* 'to wrap up, cover' (Varro+), *pervolvere* 'to roll over' (Ter.+), *prōvolvere* 'to roll forward' (Ter.+), *revolvere* 'to roll back, relapse' (Ter.+).

PIt. **welu-e/o-*.

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. εἰλύμαι < *φέ-ϕλύ-μαι, ἔλυ-τρον 'envelop, shell, container' (< PGr. *φέλυ-τρον), ἔλυμα 'plough-beam', ἄλυσις 'chain', εἰλέω 'to rull, revolve' < *uel-n-; Arm. *egel* 'he turned', Go. *walwjan*, OE *wealwian* 'revolve (onself)', ToB *wāl-* '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^wsmi-?

PIE *uog^{wh}-ni- 'coultter, ploughshare'? IE cognates: Gr. ὄφνις 'plough(share)' (Hsch.), OPr. *wagnis* 'coultter', 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. *vāmiti* 'to vomit, spit out', YAv. *auui...vañti* 'spits upon', Gr. ἐμέω, Lith. *vėmti*, 3s. *vėmia*, Latv. *veņt* '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^wo/erā-.

PIE *g^wo/erh₃-o/h₂- 'devouring, devoured'. IE cognates: Skt. pr. *girāti* '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. *gīrñá-*, YAv. *aspō.gar-* 'devouring horses', *narā.gar-* 'devouring men'; Gr. βιβρώσκω 'to eat, digest' < *g^wi-g^wrh₃-sk-, βρωτός 'edible', βροά [f.] 'fodder'; Arm. *e-ker* [3s.act.] 'ate'; Lith. *gėrti* 'to drink', *girtas* 'drunk', OCS *po-žrěti* 'to eat (of animals), to devour' < BSl. *ger^ʔ-.

Probably a denominative verb to a noun/adj. *g^worā- 'food' or 'devouring', cf. Gr. βροά. In theory, a preform *g^werā- is also possible.

Bibl.: WH II: 836, EM 753, IEW 474-476, Steinbauer 1989: 216, Schrijver 1991: 217, Meiser 1998: 100, LIV *g^herh₃-.

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. *vā* [gen.dat.pl.], YAv. *vō* (< **uas*); OAv. *vā* [acc.pl.] (< **uās*) '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' < **uog^{wh}-ro-*; also U. *vufetes* [dat.abl.pl.n.] 'votive?' < **uog^{wh}eto-*?

PIE **h₁uog^{wh}-eie-* 'to promise'. IE cognates: Skt. pr. *ohate* [3p.med.], *ohāna-* [ptc.med.] 'to praise, announce', *oha-* [m.] 'praising', *ohas-* [n.] 'praise', OAv. *aogədā* [3s.inj.med.], *pairiiaoyžā* [2s.inj.pr.med.], YAv. *aoxta* [3s.inj.med.], *aojana-* [ptc.med.] 'to say, announce' < Ilr. **Ha(H)ug^h-* < PIE **h₁eh₁ug^(wh)-* [pr.red.]; Skt. *vāghát-* [m.] 'singer, priest' < PIE **h₁uog^{wh}-et-/nt-*; Gr. εὔχομαι 'to pray, vow, boast' < **h₁eug^{wh}-e-*, Myc. *e-u-ke-to* 'εὔχεται' 'to declare', Gr. pret. εὔκτο; Gr. εὔχος 'glory'; Arm. *gog* 'say!'.

The causative *voveō* < **uog^{wh}-eie-* shows that the lenition of medial **-g^{wh}-* > **-w-* postdates the change of PIE **-ow-* > **-aw-*. Since PIE **uo-* 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 unsyncoated reduced medial vowel.

Bibl.: WH II: 837, EM 753, IEW 348, Giacomelli 1963: 258f., Schrijver 1991: 76, 279, 472, Untermann 2000: 861-63, LIV **h₁ueg^{wh}-*.

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.+).

Plt. **wōk^ws*, **wok^w-*. It. cognates: U. *suboco* [acc.sg. or pl.] 'invocation' < **sub-wok-(o-)*; U. *subocauu*, *subocau* 'I invoke' < **sub-wok-ā-je-*.

PIE **uōk^w-s*, **uok^w-m* [f.] 'voice'. IE cognates: Skt. *vāk* [nom.sg.], *vācam* [acc.], *vācās* [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.], ὄπος [gen.], ὄπι [dat.]; ToB *wek* [m.sg.], ToA *wak* 'voice, noise'.

The verb *vocāre* must be a denominative from the oblique stem **uok^w-* of *vōx*. Possibly, it went through an intermediate derivative **uok^w-ā-* 'voices, call'.

Bibl.: WH II: 823f., EM 753f., IEW 1135f., Schrijver 1991: 472, Untermann 2000: 707f., LIV **uek^h-*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ABBREVIATIONS OF LITERATURE

CGL	<i>Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum</i>
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
EIEC	Mallory-Adams 1997
EM	Ernout-Meillet 1979
EWAia	Mayrhofer 1986-2002
IEW	Pokorny 1959
LEIA	<i>Lexique Étymologique du Vieil-Irlandais</i>
LIV	<i>Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben</i> , 2. Auflage
OLD	Oxford Latin Dictionary
Paul. ex F.	Paulus Diaconus: <i>Excerpta ex libris Pompeii Festi de significatione verborum</i>
TLL	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Latinae</i>
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*.

IJLLR = *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*.

AUTHORS

Adams, Douglas Q.

- 1985a Sanskrit *pūmān*, Latin *pūbēs*, and related words. *Die Sprache* 31, 1-16.
 1985b Latin *mas* and *masturbari*. *Glotta* 63, 241-247.
 1997 *A Dictionary of Tocharian B*. Amsterdam – Atlanta: Rodopi.

Adams, J.N.

- 1992 The origin and meaning of Lat. *veterinus*, *veterinarius*. *IF* 97, 70-95.

Adiego Lajara, Ignacio-Javier

- 2001 Osco TRÍBUF PLÍFRÍKS. *Glotta* 77, 1-6.

Adrados, Francisco

- 2007 Must we again postulate a unitary and uniform Indo-European? *IF* 112, 1-25.

André, Jacques

- 1984 Lat. *vēsīca*. *Revue de Philologie, de Littérature et d'Histoire Anciennes* 58, 175-179.

Bader, Françoise

- 1962 *La formation des composés nominaux du latin*. Paris: Belles Lettres.
 1983 De l' "auscultation" à la "célébrité" en latin: formes de la racine **kel-*. In: *Hommages à Jean Cousin: rencontres avec l'Antiquité classique*, ed. L. Lerat, Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 27-60.

Baldi, Philip

- 1999 *The foundations of Latin*. Berlin – New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Balles, Irene

- 1999 Lateinisch *sanguis* 'Blut'. In: Eichner / Luschützky 1999, 3-17.

Bammesberger, Alfred

- 1980 Zur Bildungsweise des indogermanischen Kausativs. *ZVS* 94, 4-9.
 1990 Lateinisch *finis* und urgermanisch **baina-*. *HS* 103, 264-268.
 2003 Review of: Hill 2003. *HS* 116, 314-317.

Bartalucci, Aldo

- 1963 I desiderativi in *-esso*. *Rendiconti Accademia dei Lincei. Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* 18, 345-372.

Bartholomae, Christian

- 1904 *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*. Strassburg: Trübner.

Barton, Charles

- 1987 Greek ΕΠΩ, Latin *serō*, Armenian *yeṛum*. *AJPh* 108, 672-674.

Beckwith, Miles

- 2005 Volscian *sistiatiens* and the Oscan *-tt-* perfect. *HS* 118, 145-159.

Beekes, Robert

- 1969 *The development of the Proto-Indo-European laryngeals in Greek*. The Hague – Paris: Mouton.
- 1972 H₂o. *Die Sprache* 18, 117-131.
- 1975 Two notes on PIE stems in dentals. In: *Flexion und Wortbildung: Akten der Fachtagung der indogermanischen Gesellschaft Regensburg*, 9-14 September 1973, ed. H. Rix, Wiesbaden: Reichert, 9-14.
- 1976 Uncle and Nephew. *JIES* 4, 43-63.
- 1984 PIE 'sun'. *MSS*, 43 5-8.
- 1987a The PIE words for 'name' and 'me'. *Die Sprache* 33, 1-6.
- 1987b On Indo-European 'wine'. *MSS* 48, 21-26.
- 1989 Review of: Nussbaum 1986. *Kratylos* 34, 55-59.
- 1990 Bloem en blad. In: *100 jaar etymologisch woordenboek van het Nederlands*. 's-Gravenhage, 1990, eds. A. Moerdijk, W. Pijnenburg and P. van Sterkenburg, 375-382.
- 1992 Widow. *HS* 105, 171-187.
- 1994 'Right', 'left' and 'naked' in Proto-Indo-European. *Orbis* 37, 87-96.
- 1995 *Comparative Indo-European Linguistics*. Amsterdam – Philadelphia: Benjamins.
- 1996 Ancient European loanwords. *HS* 109, 215-236.
- 1998 The origin of Lat. *aqua*, and of **teutā* 'people'. *JIES* 26, 459-466.
- 1999 The Greek word for 'lead'. *MSS* 59, 7-14.
- 2003 Historical Phonology of Classical Armenian. In: Kortlandt 2003, 133-211.
- 2004 Armenian *gišer* and the Indo-European word for 'evening'. In: Hyllested et al. 2004, 59-62.
- ftbc.: *A Greek etymological dictionary*.

Benedetti, Marina

- 1988 *I composti radicali latini. Esame storico e comparativo*. Pisa: Giardini.

Benediktsson, Hreinn

- 1960 The vowel syncope in Oscan-Umbrian. *NTS* 19, 157-295.

Benveniste, Emile

- 1931 Trois étymologies latines. *BSL* 32, 68-85.
- 1951 Sur l'histoire du mot latin *negotium*. *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Lettere, storia e filosofia*, Serie II – Vol. 20, 21-25.
- 1962 *Hittite et indo-européen: études comparatives*. Paris: Maisonneuve.
- 1969 *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes*. Two volumes. Paris: Les éditions de minuit.

Berenguer Sánchez, José and Eugenio Luján Martínez

- 2004 La nueva inscripción falisca de Cavios Frenaios. *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 149, 213-226.

Bettini, Maurizio

- 2000 The origin of Latin *mustela*. *Glotta* 76, 1-19.

- Biville, Frederique
 1990 *Les emprunts du latin au grec. Approche phonétique. Tome I: Introduction et consonantisme, Tome II: Vocalisme et conclusions.* Louvain – Paris: Peeters.
- Boutkan, Dirk and Sjoerd Siebinga
 2005 *Old Frisian etymological dictionary.* Leiden: Brill.
- Boutkan, Dirk and Maarten Kossmann
 1999 Some Berber parallels of European substratum words. *JIES* 27, 87-100.
- Bracchi, Remo
 1999 *Turdus* e i suoi corrispondenti: l'uccello "che cova nel fango inaridito". *Athenaeum* 87, 79-92.
- Brachet, Jean-Paul
 1999 Latin *proelium*: poétique et étymologie. *HS* 112, 286-298.
- Bréal, Maurice
 1894 Étymologies latines et grecques. *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 8, 45-52 [8. La préposition AB devenue AF et A, p. 48-49]
- Breyer, Gertraud
 1993 *Etruskisches Sprachgut im Lateinischen unter Ausschluss des spezifisch onomastischen Bereichs = Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 53. Leuven: Peeters.
- Briquel, Dominique
 1999 Les emprunts du latin à l'étrusque: l'approche de la question chez les auteurs anciens. *Studi Etruschi* 63, 291-313.
- Campanile, Enrico
 1969 Note sulle glosse sicule e sui rapporti linguistici fra siculo e latino. In: *Studia classica et orientalia Antonino Pagliaro oblata*, vol. I, eds. V. Abaev et al., 293-322.
- Chanut, Pierre-Yves
 1980 Les "tesca" du capitole. *Revue de Philologie* 54, 295-304.
- Cheung, J.
 2002 *Studies in the historical development of the Ossetic vocalism.* Wiesbaden: Reichert.
 2007 *Etymological dictionary of the Iranian verb.* Leiden: Brill.
- Cohen, Paul S.
 2004 A new etymology for Latin *aquila*. In: *Indo-European word formation: proceedings of the conference held at the University of Copenhagen October 20th – 22nd 2000*, eds. James Clackson and Birgit Anette Olsen, Copenhagen: Museum Tusculaneum Press, 25-35.

Coleman, Robert

- 1992 Italic. In: *Indo-European Numerals*, ed. J. Gvozdanović, Berlin – New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 389-445.

Cotticelli Kuras, Paola

- 1993 Latino *soniticus*: una nota tra filologia e linguistica. *Athenaeum* 81, 622-631.

Cowgill, Warren

- 1970 Italic and Celtic superlatives and the dialects of Indo-European. In: *Indo-European and the Indo-Europeans*, ed. G. Cardona e.a., Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 113-153.
- 1973 The source of Latin *stāre*. *JIES* 1, 271-303.
- 1974 More evidence for Indo-Hittite: the tense-aspect systems. In: *Proceedings of the Eleventh International Congress of Linguists*. Ed. L. Heilmann, Bologna, 557-570.
- 1978 The source of Latin *vīs* 'thou wilt'. *Die Sprache* 24, 25-44.
- 1985 PIE **du̯mo* '2' in Germanic and Celtic, and the nom.-acc. dual of non-neuter *o*-stems. *MSS* 46, 13-28.

Cuesta Pastor, José Manuel

- 1996 Gr. γαλέη 'comadreja' y la glosa γάλις · γαλαός. *Emerita* 64, 325-331.

Cuny, Albert

- 1910 Les mots du fonds préhellénique en grec, latin, et sémitique occidental. *Revue des Études Anciennes* 12, 154-164.

Demiraj, Bardhyl

- 1997 *Albanische Etymologien*. Amsterdam – Atlanta: Rodopi.

Derksen, Rick

- 1996 *Metatony in Baltic*. Amsterdam – Atlanta: Rodopi.
- 2008 *Etymological dictionary of the Slavic inherited lexicon*. Leiden: Brill.
- fthc.: *Etymological dictionary of the Baltic inherited lexicon*.

Devoto, Giacomo

- 1967 Lat. *imago*. In: *Beiträge zur Indogermanistik und Keltologie: Julius Pokorny zum 80. Geburtstag gewidmet*, ed. W. Meid, Innsbruck: Universität Innsbruck, 25-28.

Diehl, Ernst

- 1964 *Altlateinische Inschriften*. Fünfte Auflage. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Driessen, Michiel

- 2001 On the etymology of Lat. *urbs*. *JIES* 29, 41-67.
- 2003a Evidence for **ǵ^helh₂-*, a new Indo-European root. *JIES* 31, 279-305.
- 2003b **h₂é-h₂us-o-*, the Proto-Indo-European term for 'gold'. *JIES* 31, 347-362.
- 2004 Indo-European 'felt'. *JIES* 32, 25-42.
- 2005 On the etymology of Lat. *fulvus*. In: *Sprachkontakt und Sprachwandel. Akten der XI. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft*, eds. G.

Meiser and O. Hackstein. Wiesbaden: Reichert, 39-64.

Duhoux, Yves

- 1973 Indo-européen **el-eu-dh* / *l-eu-dh-*, **l-eu-dh-*; grec ἐλεύθερος, latin *liber*. *Folia Linguistica* 6, 146-151.

Dunkel, George

- 1979 *reciprocus* und Verwandtes. *IF* 84, 184-195.
 1980 Ennian *atque atque*; *prope*. *Glotta* 58.
 1987 *hērēs*, χηρωσταί: Indogermanische Richtersprache. In: *Festschrift for Henry Hoenigswald: on the occasion of his seventieth birthday*, eds. G. Cardona and N. Zide, Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 91-100.
 1997 Latin *iubar* and *fās*: sound-law and analogy. In: Lubotsky 1997, 27-36.
 1998 On the "Thematisation" of Latin *sum*, *volo*, *eo* and *edo* and the system of endings in the IE subjunctive active. In: Jasanoff / Melchert / Oliver 1998, 83-100.
 2000a Latin verbs in *-igāre* and *-īgāre*. In: *Festband 125 Jahre Indogermanistik in Graz. Arbeiten aus der Abteilung "Vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft Graz"*, eds. M. Ofitsch and C. Zinko, Graz: Leykam, 87-99.
 2000b The common origin of conjunctive **-k^he* and of adverbial **-s*. In: *Anusantatyai. Festschrift für Johanna Narten zum 70. Geburtstag*, eds. A. Hintze and E. Tichy, Dettelbach: Röhl, 11-29.
 2005 Latin *-pte*, *-pe*, *-per*, *-pse*; IE Limiting **-pó-te*, **-pe-r*, and **póti* 'master'. In: *Proceedings of the Sixteenth Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference. Los Angeles, November 5-6, 2004*, eds. K. Jones-Bley e.a., Washington DC: Institute for the Study of Man (= *JIES Monograph Series* 50), 173-189.

Ebbinghaus, Ernst

- 1979 *Gotica XVI. General Linguistics* 19, 188-192.

Edgeworth, Robert

- 1985 *Luteus: Pink or Yellow?* *Glotta* 63, 212-220.

Eichner, Heiner

- 1978 Die urindogermanische Wurzel **H₂reu* 'hell machen'. *Die Sprache* 24, 144-162.
 1982 Zur hethitischen Etymologie. In: *Investigationes philologicae et comparativae: Gedenkschrift für Heinz Kronasser*, ed. E. Neu, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 16-28.
 1992 Indogermanisches Phonemsystem und lateinische Lautgeschichte. In: Panagl / Krisch 1992, 55-79.
 1993a Reklameiamben aus Roms Königszeit. *Die Sprache* 34 [1991], 207-238.
 1993b 1919 oder 1991? Zur Entwicklung der oskisch-umbrischen Studien nebst einer neuen Interpretation des Textes von Fonte Romito (Vetter Nr. 147). In: *Oskisch-Umbrisch: Texte und Grammatik. Arbeitstagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft und der Società Italiana di Glottologia vom 25. bis 28. September 1991 in Freiburg*, ed. H. Rix, Wiesbaden: Reichert, 46-95.

- 1995 Zu frühlateinischen Wortformen auf dem Forumscippus CIL I²,1. In: *Studia onomastica et indogermanica. Festschrift für Fritz Lochner von Hüttenbach zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. M. Ofitsch and C. Zinko, Graz: Leykam, 65-73.
- 2002 Lateinisch *hostia*, *hostus*, *hostire* und die stellvertretende Tiertötung der Hethiter. In: Fritz / Zeilfelder 2002, 101-156.
- Eichner, Heiner and Hans Christian Luschützky (eds.)
 1999 *Compositiones Indogermanicae in memoriam Jochem Schindler*. Praha: Enigma Corporation.
- Ernout, Alfred
 1937 *avtmare*. *Latomus* 1, 75-79.
- Ernout, Alfred and Antoine Meillet
 1979 *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*, 4^{me} edition. Troisième tirage, par Jacques André. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Fischer, Helmut
 1982 Lateinisch *gravis* "schwer". *MSS* 41, 33-34.
 1991 Nachtrag zu 'Lateinisch *gravis*' (MSS 41,1982, 33f.). *MSS* 52, 7.
- Fischer, Helmut and Ralf-Peter Ritter
 1991 Zu Bartholomae's (jungavest.) *aēta*- "das gebührende Teil". *MSS* 52, 9-13.
- Flobert, Pierre
 1975 *Les verbes déponents latins des origines à Charlemagne*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Forbes, Kathleen
 1958 The relations of the particle $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ with $\kappa\epsilon(v)$ $\kappa\alpha$ $\kappa\alpha\nu$. *Glotta* 37, 179-182.
- Forssman, Bernhard
 1965 Gr. $\pi\rho\acute{\upsilon}\mu\nu\eta$, ai. *nimná*- und Verwandtes. *ZVS* 79, 11-18.
 1972 Review of: X. Mignot, *Les verbes dénominatifs latins*. Paris 1969. *Gnomon* 44, 666-672.
 1983 Etymologische Nachschlagewerke zum antiken Latein: Stand und Aufgaben. In: *Das etymologische Wörterbuch. Fragen der Konzeption und Gestaltung*, ed. A. Bammesberger, Regensburg: Pustet, 49-73.
 1992 Die etymologische Erforschung des Lateinischen. In: Panagl / Krisch 1992, 295-310.
 1993 Lateinisch *ieiunus* und *ieientare*. In: Meiser et al. 1993, 95-105.
 1998 Vedisch *átithipati*-, lateinisch *hospes*. In: Jasanoff / Melchert / Oliver 1998, 115-126.
 1999 Lateinisch *permiŕes* und *perniciŕes*. In: Eichner / Luschützky 1999, 69-76.
 2002 Etymologie im *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*. *Museum Helveticum* 59, 172-187.
 2004 Lateinisch *proprius*, *propriare*. In: Hyllested et al. 2004, 131-138.

Fortson, Benjamin

- 2002 Linguistic and cultural notes on Latin *Iūnius* and related topics. In: *Indo-European Perspectives*, ed. M. Southern, Washington DC: Institute for the Study of Man, 61-77.

Fraenkel, Eduard

- 1948 Zur griechischen und lateinischen Grammatik und Wortforschung. *Philologus* 97, 161-176.
1955-1965 *Litauisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Two vols. Heidelberg: Winter.

Fritz, Matthias

- 1996 Das uridg. Wort für 'Nase' und das grundsprachliche Lautgesetz *RHV > *RV. *HS* 109, 1-20.

Fritz, Matthias and Susanne Zeilfelder (eds.)

- 2002 *Novalis Indogermanica. Festschrift für Günther Neumann zum 80. Geburtstag*. Graz: Leykam

Fruyt, Michèle

- 1986 *Problèmes méthodologiques de dérivation à propos des suffixes latins en ...cus*. Paris: Klincksieck.

García-Ramón, José-Luis

- 1993a Latin *ciēre*, *citus*, IE **kei-/ki-* 'ponerse en movimiento' y Causat. **koi-éie-ti*. In: Heidermanns / Rix / Seebold 1993, 125-139.
1993b Lat. *censēre*, got. *hazjan* und das idg. Präsens **kéns-e-ti* (und **kns-éje-ti*?) 'verkündigt, schätzt', Stativ **kns-eh₁-* 'verkündigt, geschätzt sein / werden'. In: Meiser et al. 1993, 106-130.
1996 Lat. *auēre*, (*ad*)*iuuāre* and IE **h₂euh₁*. In: *Akten des VIII. Internationalen Kolloquiums zur lateinischen Linguistik*, eds. A. Bammesberger and F. Heberlein, Heidelberg: Winter, 32-49.
1997 Lat. *prae*, gr. *παρά*, *παρά* und Verwandtes: idg. **pr_h₂-* und **pr-* 'vorn daneben, vor' gegenüber **pro(h₁)* 'vor(n), vorwärts'. In: Lubotsky 1997, 47-62.
2006 Homme comme force, force d'homme: un motif onomastique et l'étymologie du vieil irlandais *gus*. In: *La langue poétique indo-européenne*, eds. G.-J. Pinault and D. Petit, Leuven: Peeters, 79-93.

Garnier, Romain

- 2004 *L'apophonie radicale dans le verbe latin. Étude synchronique et diachronique*. Doctoral diss. EPHE, Paris.

Gavoille, Laurent

- 2001 *Orare* signifie-t-il "parler"? In: *De lingua latina novae quaestiones. Actes du X^e Colloque International de Linguistique Latine*, ed. C. Moussy, Louvain: Peeters, 787-800.

- Georgiev, Vladimir
1962 Lateinisch *crūs* and *clūnis* : Reste eines *r/n*-Stammes. *Die Sprache* 8, 1-3.
- Gerow, Edwin
1973 'Frost' in the R̥gveda. *JIES* 1, 224-231.
- Gerschner, Robert
2002 *Die Deklination der Nomina bei Plautus*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Giacomelli, Gabriella
1963 *La lingua falisca*. Firenze: Olschki.
- Giacomelli, Roberto
1994 Lingua quotidiana e grecismo nel lessico culinario latino. *ACME (Annali di lettere e filosofia dell'Università degli Studi di Milano)* 47, 2, 29-49.
- Gotō, Toshifumi
1985 Altindisch *rāndhra*- und uridg. **lendʰ-*. *MSS* 44, 77-91.
- Guasparri, Andrea
2000 Acipenser. *Glotta* 76, 50-52.
- Guiraud, Charles
1975 Les mots latins a préfixe *uē-*. *Revue des études anciennes* 77, 80-87.
- Gusmani, Roberto
2002 Althochdeutsch (*hari*)*sliz*, lateinisch (*st*)*līs*. *HS* 115, 111-116.
- Hackstein, Olav
1993 Eine weitere griechisch-tocharische Gleichung: Griechisch πῆξι and tocharisch B *pyāksi*. *Glotta* 70, 136-165.
1995 *Untersuchungen zu den sigmatischen Präsensstambildungen des Tocharischen*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
1997 Probleme der homerischen Formenlehre I. *MSS* 57, 19-46.
2002a Uridg. **CH.CC > *C.CC*. *HS* 115, 1-22.
2002b *Die Sprachform der homerischen Epen*. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- Hamp, Eric
1960-61 Notulae. *Études Celtiques* 9, 139-140.
1972 Latin *dacrima*, *lacruma* and Indo-European 'tear'. *Glotta* 50, 291-299.
1973 Another lesson from 'frost'. *JIES* 1, 215-223.
1974 Palat[al]ized **l* in Umbrian. *Glotta* 52, 231-233.
1977 Some Italic and Celtic correspondences. *ZVS* 77, 240-245.
1978 Sound change and the etymological lexicon. In: *Papers from the 'Parasession on the lexicon'*, Chicago Linguistic Society, 184-195.
1980 Latin *volup(e)*. *ZVS* 94, 158.
1981a IE **(H_e)op-*. *MSS* 40, 39-60.
1981b Refining Indo-European lexical entries. *ZVS* 95, 81-83.
1982 *Dulcis*. *Folia Linguistica Historica* 3, 133-134.

- 1982-1983a Some Italic and Celtic Correspondences. *ZVS* 96, 95-100.
- 1982-1983b Indo-European substantives in *-mo- and *-ma-. *ZVS* 96, 170-177.
- 1983 Further on Latin *Capillus* and *Pullus* and Lautgesetze. *Folia Linguistica Historica* 4, 133-135.
- 1984a On the Meaning of Latin *uoltus* and IE 'face'. In: *Papers from the Regional Meetings, Chicago Linguistic Society* 20, 149-153.
- 1984b Some Italic and Celtic correspondences. *ZVS* 97, 265-266.
- 1985a Latin *callum, callis*, Indic *kīna-*. *ZVS* 98, 59.
- 1985b Indo-European **b^hetti-*, Latin *foedus*, and Balto-Slavic. *IF* 90, 66-69.
- 1988 Miscellanea. *IF* 93, 121-123.
- 1990 *aestumō*. *Glotta* 68, 119.
- 1992 *focus*. *Glotta* 70, 82.
- 1993 The text of CIL I²9 (son of *Barbatus*). In: Heidermanns / Rix / Seebold 1993, 157-163.
- 1997 Intensive and perfective *prō-* in Latin. In: *Studies in Honor of Jaan Puhvel. Part one: Ancient languages and philology*, eds. D. Disterheft, M. Huld and J. Greppin, Washington DC: Institute for the Study of Man, 123-130.
- 1999 *fidēs* and the Latin 5th declension. *Glotta* 74, 54-56.
- Harðarson, Jón Axel
- 1994 Der Verlust zweier wichtiger Flexionskategorien im Uranatolischen. *HS* 107, 30-41.
- Haug, Dag
- 2004 Lateinisch *concinnus* und *concinnare*. *Glotta* 80, 24-45.
- Heidermanns, Frank
- 1993 *bonus, beātus* und ein altes Präverb des Lateinischen. In: Heidermanns / Rix / Seebold 1993, 165-173.
- 2002 Nominal composition in Sabellic and Proto-Italic. *TPS* 100, 185-202.
- Heidermanns, Frank, Helmut Rix and Elmar Seebold
- 1993 *Sprachen und Schriften des antiken Mittelmeerraums. Festschrift für Jürgen Untermann zum 65. Geburtstag*, Innsbruck: IBS.
- Heiermeier, A.
- 1980 *Die indogermanische orientierte ursprachliche Konzeption *kuendhro- / *kuondhro- / *kuondhnā*. Dublin University Press.
- Hill, Eugen
- 2003 *Untersuchungen zum inneren Sandhi des Indogermanischen. Der Zusammenstoß von Dentalplosiven im Indoiranischen, Germanischen, Italischen und Keltischen*. Bremen: Hempn.
- 2006 Lateinisch *crēscō* 'wachsen' etymologisch: urslavisch **krějo* 'genesen', litauisch *šeriù* 'futtern' oder armenisch *serem* 'erzeugen'? *IJLLR* 3, 187-209.

Hilmarsson, Jörundur

1993 The fate of *TTR/RTT* in Indo-European. In: Meiser et al. 1993, 209-222.

Hiltbrunner, Otto

1958 *Latina Graeca*. Bern: Francke.

Hirt, Hermann

1916-17 Etymologien. *IF* 37, 227-236.

Hyllested, Adam, Anders Jørgensen, Jenny Larsson and Thomas Olander (eds.)

2004 *Per Aspera ad Asteriscos. Studia indogermanica in honorem Jens Elmegård Rasmussen sexagenarii Idibus Martiis anno MMIV*. Innsbruck: IBS.

Isebaert, Lambert

1988 La formation de latin *domāre*. In: *A Linguistic Happening in Memory of Ben Schwartz: Studies in Anatolian, Italic, and Other Indo-European Languages*, ed. Y. Arbeitman, Louvain-la-Neuve: Peeters, 349-359.

1992 Spuren akrostatischer Präsensflexion im Lateinischen. In: Panagl / Krisch 1992, 193-205.

1995 Lat. *crepāre*. *MSS* 55, 41-43.

Isebaert, Lambert and Herman Şeldeslachts

1994 Tokharisch **twānkā*- 'einzwängen' und Verwandtes. *HS* 107, 172-177.

Janda, Michael

1998 Die hohle und geschlossene Hand im Urindogermanischen. *Die Sprache* 40, 1-25.

1999 Ἐνοσίχθων 'Erderschütterer'. In: Eichner / Luschützky 1999, 183-203.

2000 *Eleusis. Das indogermanische Erbe der Mysterien*. Innsbruck: IBS.

Jasanoff, Jay

1976 Gr. ἄμφο, lat. *ambō* et le mot indo-européen pour 'l'un et l'autre'. *BSL* 71, 123-131.

1988-1990 The origin of the Celtic comparative type OIr. *tressa*, MW *trech* 'stronger'. *Die Sprache* 34, 171-189.

2004 *Plus ça change...: Lachmann's Law in Latin*. In: Penney 2004, 405-416.

Jasanoff, Jay, H. Craig Melchert and Lisi Oliver (eds.)

1998 *Mír Curad. Studies in honor of Calvert Watkins*. Innsbruck: IBS.

Jiménez Samudio

1989 La forma pronominal latina ipse: Su origen. *Emerita* 57, 119-127.

Job, Michael

1999 Zur Etymologie von lat. *invitāre*. In: *Studia Celtica et Indogermanica. Festschrift für Wolfgang Meid zum 70. Geburtstag*, eds. P. Anreiter and E. Jerem, Budapest: Archaeolingua Alapítvány, 151-155.

Joseph, Lionel

- 1986 A survival from the Italo-Celtic legal vocabulary. *Ériu* 37, 119-125.

Joseph, Brian and Rex Wallace

- 1987 Latin *sum* / Oscan *súm, sim, esum*. *AJPh* 108, 675-693.

Juret, A.

- 1942 *Dictionnaire étymologique grec et latin*. Maçon: Protat.

Kallio, Petri

- 2004 Tocharian loanwords in Samoyed? In: *Etymologie, Entlehnungen und Entwicklungen: Festschrift für Jorma Koivulehto zum 70. Geburtstag*, eds. I. Hyvärinen, P. Kallio and J. Korhonen, Helsinki: Société Néophilologique, 129-137.

Katz, Joshua

- 1998a Testimonia Ritus Italici. *HSCP* 98, 183-217.
 1998b How to be a dragon in Indo-European. In: Jasanoff / Melchert / Oliver 1998, 317-334.
 2006 The "Urbi et Orbi-Rule" Revisited. *JIES* 34, 319-361.

Keller, Madeleine

- 1980 Latin *expergiscor*. *BSL* 75, 309-324.
 1982 Latin *vescor*. *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes* 56, 81-93.
 1992 *Les verbes latins à infectum en -sc-, étude morphologique*. Bruxelles: Latomus.

Klingenschmitt, Gert

- 1972 Die mittelpersischen Pronomina 'yn und h'n, neupersisch *īn* und *ān*. *MSS* 30, 93-102.
 1978 Zum Ablaut des indogermanischen Kausativs. *ZVS* 92, 1-13.
 1980 Zur Etymologie des Lateinischen. In: *Lautgeschichte und Etymologie: Akten der VI. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft, Wien, 24.-29. September 1978*, eds. M. Mayrhofer, M. Peters and O. Pfeiffer, Wiesbaden: Reichert, 208-222.
 1982 *Das altarmenische Verbum*. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
 1987 Erbe und Neuerung beim germanischen Demonstrativpronomen. *Althochdeutsch. Band I: Grammatik, Glossen und Texte*, eds. R. Bergmann, H. Tiefenbach and L. Voetz, Heidelberg: Winter, 169-189.
 1989 Altlateinisch *exprētus* (Plaut. Bacch. 446). In: *Indogermanica Europaea: Festschrift für Wolfgang Meid zum 60. Geburtstag am 12.11.1989*, eds. K. Heller, O. Panagl and J. Tischler, Graz: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft, 79-100.
 1992 Die lateinische Nominalflexion. In: Panagl / Krisch 1992, 89-135.
 2004 Zur Etymologie der klassischen Sprachen. In: *Artes et Scientia: Festschrift für Ralf-Peter Ritter zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. P. Anreiter, M. Haslinger

- and H.D. Pohl, Wien: Praesens, 239-252.
- 2005 *Aufsätze zur Indogermanistik*. Eds. M. Janda, R. Lühr, J. Matzinger and S. Schaffner. Hamburg: Dr. Kovač.
- Kloekhorst, Alwin
- 2006a Hittite *pai-/pi-* 'to give'. *IF* 111, 110-119.
- 2006b Initial laryngeals in Anatolian. *HS* 119, 77-108.
- 2008 *Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon*. Leiden: Brill.
- Kluge, Friedrich and Elmar Seebold
- 1999 *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*. 23., erweiterte Auflage. Berlin – New York: Walter de Gruyter.
- Knobloch, Johann
- 1973 Lat. *helluo*, *-onis* m. 'Prasser'. *Die Sprache* 19, 63.
- 1977 Lat. *fēnus*, *pignus* und die Viehverstellung. *Rheinisches Museum* 120, 92-93.
- 1978 Untersuchungen zur umbrischen Wortkunde. *Rheinisches Museum* 121, 161-163.
- Kölligan, Daniel
- 2005 Lat. *lugēre* 'trauern'. *IJDLR* 2, 169-175.
- Kortlandt, Frederik
- 1980a More evidence for Italo-Celtic. *Ériu* 32, 1-22.
- 1980b *H₂O* and *oH₂*. *Lingua Posnaniensis* 23, 127-128.
- 1983a Greek numerals and PIE glottalic consonants. *MSS* 42, 97-104.
- 1983b Demonstrative pronouns in Balto-Slavic, Armenian and Tocharian. *Studies in Slavic and General Linguistics* 3, 311-322.
- 1983c Notes on Armenian historical phonology III: *h-*. *Studia Caucasica* 5, 9-16.
- 1985a Long vowels in Balto-Slavic. *Baltistica* 21/2, 112-124.
- 1985b Arm. *artawsr* 'tear'. *Annual of Armenian Linguistics* 6, 59-61.
- 1986 Posttonic **w* in Old Irish. *Ériu* 37, 89-92.
- 1989 Lachmann's Law. In: *The new sound of Indo-European: Essays in phonological reconstruction*, ed. T. Vennemann, Berlin – New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 103-105.
- 1992 The Germanic fifth class of strong verbs. *NOWELE* 19, 101-107.
- 1993 Proto-Armenian numerals. In: *In honorem Holger Pedersen: Kolloquium der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft vom 26. bis 28. März 1993 in Kopenhagen*, ed. J.E. Rasmussen, Wiesbaden: Reichert, 253-257.
- 1996 Old Irish *ol* 'inquit'. *Études celtiques* 32, 143-145.
- 1997a Arm. *nēr* 'sister-in-law'. *Annual of Armenian Linguistics* 18, 7-9.
- 1997b Baltic *ē-* and *ījā-* stems. *Baltistica* 32, 157-163.
- 1999 Lachmann's law again. In: *Language change and typological variation: in honor of Winfred P. Lehmann on the occasion of 83rd birthday*. Vol. I: *Language change and phonology*, ed. E. Polomé and C. Justus, Washington DC: Institute for the Study of Man, 246-248.

- 2000 Old Norse *taka*, Gothic *tekan*, Greek τεταγών. *NOWELE* 36, 59-65.
- 2003 *Armeniaca: comparative notes. With an appendix on the historical phonology of Classical Armenian by Robert S.P. Beekes*. Ann Arbor: Caravan.
- 2005 Lithuanian *tekėti* and related formations. *Baltistica* 40, 167-170.
- 2007 *Italo-Celtic origins and prehistoric development of the Irish language*. Amsterdam – New York: Rodopi.
- Kroonen, Guus
- 2006 Gemination and allomorphy in the Proto-Germanic *mn*-stems: *bottom* and *rime*. *ABĀG* 61, 17-25.
- Kuiper, Franciscus
- 1995 Gothic *bagms* and Old Icelandic *ylgr*. *NOWELE* 25, 63-88.
- Kümmel, Martin
- 2000 *Das Perfekt im Indoiranischen*. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- 2004a Das Wort für 'Biber' und einige Probleme der altgermanischen Phonologie. In: *Historisch-vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft und germanische Sprachen. Akten der 4. Neulandtagung der Historisch-Vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft in Potsdam 2001*, eds. M. Fritz and I. Wischer, Innsbruck: IBS, 105-117.
- 2004b Zu einigen seltenen Wörtern in der *Cistellaria*. In: *Studien zu Plautus' Cistellaria*, eds. R. Hartkamp and F. Hurka, Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 347-362.
- 2005 Ved. *tand-* und ein neues indoiranisches Lautgesetz. In: *Indogermanica. Festschrift für Gert Klingenschmitt*, ed. G. Schweiger, Tübingen, 321-332.
- de Lamberterie, Charles
- 1990 *Les adjectifs grecs en -υς: sémantique et comparaison*. Two vols. Louvain-la-Neuve: Peeters.
- 1994 L'adverbe grec ὑπέρφεν. In: *Mélanges François Kerlouégan*, eds. D. Conso, N. Fick and B. Poulle. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 321-340
- 1996 Latin *pignus* et la théorie glottalique. In: *Aspects of Latin: papers from the seventh International Colloquium on Latin linguistics, Jerusalem, April 1993*, ed. H. Rosén, Innsbruck: IBS, 135-152.
- Lazzarini, Maria Letizia and Paolo Poccetti
- 2001 *Il mondo enotrio tra VI e V. secolo a.C. Atti dei seminari napoletani (1996-1998). L'iscrizione paleoitalica da Tortora*. Napoli: Lofredo.
- Ledo-Lemos, Francisco Jose
- 2002 The etymology of Latin *uirgo* and the Latin evolution of the consonantal group **-rg^w-*. *IF* 107, 219-239.
- Lee, D.J.N.
- 1967 The modal particles ἄν, κε(ν), κα. *AJPh* 88, 45-56.

Lejeune, Michel

- 1974 *Manuel de la langue vénète*. Heidelberg: Winter.
 1990 Notes de linguistique italique XL. *Revue des études latines* 68, 28-30.

Leumann, Manu

- 1940 Literaturbericht für das Jahr 1937. *Glotta* 28, 1-21.
 1959 *Kleine Schriften*. Zürich – Stuttgart: Artemis.
 1960 Zwei lateinischen Wortbedeutungen: *Lucina* und *bubō*. *Die Sprache* 6, 156-161.
 1977 *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre*. München: C.H. Beck.

Levin, Saul

- 1983 Hebrew *pi(y)legeš*, Greek *πλλακή*, Latin *paelex*: the origin of intermarriage among the Early Indo-Europeans and Semites. *General Linguistics* 23, 191-197.

Lindeman, Frederik Otto

- 1965 La loi de Sievers et le début du mot en indo-européen. *NTS* 20, 38-108.

Lindner, Thomas

- 2002 *Lateinische Komposita. Morphologische, historische und lexikalische Studien*. Innsbruck: IBS.

Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben². Die Wurzeln und ihre Primärstammbildungen.
 Unter Leitung von H. Rix ... bearbeitet von M. Kümmel, Th. Zehnder, R. Lipp, B. Schirmer Wiesbaden: Reichert. 2001.

Livingston, Ivy

- 2004 *A linguistic commentary of Livius Andronicus*. New York – London: Routledge.

Lloyd, Albert and Otto Springer

- 1988 *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Althochdeutschen*. Bd. I: *a-bezzisto*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Lockwood, William B.

- 1990 Latin *columba, palumbes*, Greek *κόλυμβος*. *HS* 103, 261-263.
 2001 On the origin of Lat. *hirundo* and Gr. *χελιδών*. *Glotta* 77, 217-218.

Lubotsky, Alexander

- 1981 Gr. *πήγνυμι* : Skt. *pajrá-* and loss of laryngeals before mediae in Indo-Iranian. *MSS* 40, 133-138.
 1985 The PIE word for 'dry'. *ZVS* 98, 1-10.
 1988 *The system of nominal accentuation in Sanskrit and Proto-Indo-European*. Leiden etc.: Brill.
 1989 Against a Proto-Indo-European phoneme **a*. In: *The new sound of Indo-European: Essays in phonological reconstruction*, ed. T. Vennemann, Berlin – New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 53-66.
 1990 La loi de Brugmann et **H₃e-*. *La reconstruction des laryngales*, ed. Liège –

- Paris, 129-136.
- 1994 RV. *ávidhat*. In: *Früh-, Mittel- und Spätindogermanisch: Akten der IX. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft vom 5. bis 9. Oktober 1992 in Zürich*, eds. G. Dunkel, G. Meyer, S. Scarlata and C. Seidl, Wiesbaden: Reichert, 201-206.
- 1995 Reflexes of intervocalic laryngeals in Sanskrit. In: *Kuryłowicz Memorial Volume, Part One*, ed. W. Smoczyński, Cracow: Universitas, 213-233.
- 1997 (ed.) *Sound Law and Analogy : papers in honor of Robert S.P. Beekes on the occasion of his 60th birthday*. Amsterdam – Atlanta: Rodopi.
- 2000 The Vedic root *vr-* ‘to cover’ and its present. In: *Indoarisch, Iranisch und die Indogermanistik*, eds. B. Forssman and R. Plath, Wiesbaden: Reichert, 315-325.
- 2001 Reflexes of PIE **sk* in Indo-Iranian. *Incontri Linguistici* 24, 25-57.
- 2004 Avestan *siiazd-*, Sanskrit *sedh-*, Latin *cēdere*. In: Hyllsted et al. 2004, 323-332.
- 2006 Indo-European ‘heel’. In: *Studi linguistici in onore di Roberto Gusmani*, eds. R. Bombi, G. Cifoletti, F. Fusco, L. Innocente and V. Orioles. Alessandria: ed. dell’Orso, 1005-1010.
- fthc. The Sanskrit root *stig(h)*. In: *Memorial volume for T.J. Elizarenkova*.
- Lühr, Rosemarie
2000 *Die Gedichte des Skalden Egill*. Dettelbach: J.H. Röhl.
- Mallory, James and Douglas Q. Adams (eds.)
1997 *Encyclopedia of Indo-European culture*. London – Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn.
- Manessy-Guitton, Jacqueline
1964 *facinus* et les substantifs neutres latins en *-nus*. *Revue de philologie*, 3^{me} série 38, 48-58.
- Marinetti, Anna
1999 Venetico 1976-1996. Acquisizione e prospettive. In: *Protostoria e storia del ‘Venetorum Angulus’*, ed. A. Maggiani, Pisa – Roma: Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali, 391-436.
2004 Venetico: rassegna di nuove iscrizioni (Este, Altino, Auronzo, S. Vito, Asolo). *Studi Etruschi* 70, 389-408.
- Martzloff, Vincent
2006 *Les thèmes de présent en yod dans l’épigraphie italique et en latin archaïque*. Thèse doctorale, Univ. Lumière – Lyon II.
- Masson, Émilie
1967 *Recherches sur les plus anciens emprunts sémitiques en grec*. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Mastrelli, Carlo Alberto
1979 Una nota su lat. *rēnēs* e gr. *πόρις*. *Incontri Linguistici* 5, 37-42.
1980 Un falso arcaismo: lat-fal. *uxor*, pel. *usur*. *Archivio glottologico italiano*

65, 14-18.

Matasović, Ranko

2004 *Gender in Indo-European*. Heidelberg: Winter.

Matzinger, Joachim

2003 Albanisch *kam* 'ich habe'. *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia* 8, 111-118.

2005 Messapisch und Albanisch. *IJDLR* 2, 29-54.

Mayrhofer, Manfred

1986-2002 *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen*. 3 volumes. Heidelberg: Winter.

McCone, Kim

1991 *The Indo-European origins of the Old Irish nasal presents, subjunctives and futures*. Innsbruck: IBS.

1992a OIr. *torc*, Av. *θβərəsō* < PIE **tworkos* '(cutter,) boar'. *MSS* 53, 99-100.

1992b OIr. *aub* 'river' and *amnair* 'maternal uncle'. *MSS* 53, 101-111.

Meid, Wolfgang

1956-57 Zur Dehnung praesuffixaler Vokale in sekundären Nominalableitungen. *IF* 62, 260-295 and *IF* 63, 1-28.

1957 Das Suffix *-no-* in Götternamen. *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* 8, 72-108, 113-126.

1958 Zur Bedeutung und Bildung von altindisch *dāmūnas-*. *IF* 63, 151-162.

Meier-Brügger, Michael

1977 Lateinisch *humī* und *domī*. *ZVS* 91, 159-165.

1979 Lateinisch *sōspes*, *Sōspita* und vedisch *svastī-*. *ZVS* 93, 100-102.

1980 Lateinisch *audīre/oboedīre*: Etymologie und Lautgeschichte. In: *Lautgeschichte und Etymologie: Akten der VI. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft, Wien, 24.-29. September 1978*, eds. M. Mayrhofer, M. Peters and O. Pfeiffer, Wiesbaden: Reichert, 287-292.

1990 Griechisch (επι)λιγδην und λιχανός, lateinisch *pollex* und *pollingere*. *Glotta* 68, 1-3.

1992 Zu lateinisch *ōmen*. *Glotta* 70, 248-249.

2004 On the Proto-Indo-European secondary root **swed^h(h₁)-* /**swed^h(h₁)*. In: *Indo-European word formation: Proceedings of the conference held at the University of Copenhagen, October 20th-22nd, 2000*, eds. J. Clackson and B.A. Olsen, Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum, 183-188.

Meillet, Antoine

1918 À propos de latin *formīca*. *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 20, 115.

Meiser, Gerhard

1986 *Lautgeschichte der umbrischen Sprache*. Innsbruck: IBS.

1993 Das Gerundivum im Spiegel der italischen Onomastik. In: Heidermanns /

- Rix / Seebold 1993, 255-268.
- 1998 *Historische Laut- und Formenlehre der lateinischen Sprache*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- 2003 *Veni Vidi Vici. Die Vorgeschichte der lateinischen Perfektsystems*. München: Beck.
- Meiser, Gerhard et al.
- 1993 *Indogermanica et Italica: Festschrift für Helmut Rix zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. G. Meiser in cooperation with J. Bendahman, J.A. Harðarson and C. Schaefer. Innsbruck: IBS.
- Melchert, H. Craig
- 1985 Hittite *imma* and Latin *immo*. *ZVS* 98, 184-205.
- 1994 *Anatolian Historical Phonology*. Amsterdam – Atlanta: Rodopi.
- 1998 Hittite *arku-* “chant, intone” vs. *arkuwā(i)-* “make a plea”. *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 50, 45-51.
- 1999 Hittite *tuk(kan)zi-* “cultivation, breeding”. *Ktama* 24, 17-23.
- 2002 Hieroglyphic Luvian *REL-ipa* ‘indeed, certainly’. In: *Indo-European Perspectives*, ed. M. Southern, Washington DC: Institute for the Study of Man, 223-232.
- 2005 Latin *īnsolēscō*, Hittite *šulle(šš)-* and PIE staves in *-ē-*. In: *Hydā Mānasā. Sbornik statej k 70-letiju so dnja poždenija profesora Leonarda Georgieviča Gercenberga*. Sankt-Peterburg: Nauka, 90-98.
- 2007a PIE **h₂esp-* ‘to cut’. In: Nussbaum 2007c, 253-258.
- 2007b Luvian Evidence for PIE **h₃eit-* ‘take along, fetch’. *Indo-European Studies Bulletin* UCLA.
- Mignot, Xavier
- 1969 *Les verbes dénommatifs latins*. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Morani, M.
- 1984 *Augurium augur augustus: una questione di metodo*. *Glotta* 62, 65-71.
- Moussy, Claude
- 1980 Une étymologie de lat. *uxor*. *BSL* 75, 325-346.
- Muller, F.M. Jzn.
- 1926 *Altitalisches Wörterbuch*. Göttingen.
- Nepokupnyj, Anatolij
- 2002 The Prussian taboo: *mosuco* [Elbing Dictionary, 662] ‘weasel’ as a diminutive of *moazo* [Elbing Dictionary, 178] ‘aunt’. *Baltistica* 37, 35-43.
- Neri, Sergio
- 2007 *Cadere e abbattere in Indoeuropeo. Sull’ etimologia di tedesco fallen, latino aboleo e greco ἀπόλλομι*. Innsbruck: IBS.
- Niedermann, Max
- 1899 Studien zur Geschichte der lateinischen Wortbildung. *IF* 10, 221-258.

1945 *Phonétique historique du latin*. Paris: Klincksieck.

Nieto, Emilio

1988 Veia: Apud Oscos Dicebatur Plaustrum (P.F., 506,3). *Emerita* 56, 37-41.

Nowicki, Helmut

1978 Zur Stammbildung von lat. *custōs*. *ZVS* 92, 184-194.

2002 Lateinisch *-īna* als Motionssuffix. In: Fritz / Zeilfelder 2002, 333-341.

Nussbaum, Alan

1973 *benuso, couortuso*, and the archetype of *Tab. Ig. I* and VI-VIIa. *JIES* 1, 356-369.

1976 Umbrian *pisher*. *Glotta* 54, 241-253.

1986 *Head and horn in Indo-European*. Berlin – New York: Walter de Gruyter.

1994 Five Latin verbs from a root **leik-*. *HSCP* 96, 161-190.

1996 “Decasuative” derivatives (Latin *acētum, aurītus, acūtus, avītus*: four of a kind?). Handout, *ECIEC* 15, June 1996.

1997 The “Saussure Effect” in Latin and Italic. In: Lubotsky 1997, 181-203.

1998a *Two studies in Greek and Homeric Linguistics*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

1998b Severe Problems. In: Jasanoff / Melchert / Oliver 1998, 521-538.

1998c More on “Decasuative” nominal stems in IE. Handout, *ECIEC* 17, May 1998.

1999a **Jocidus*: An account of the Latin adjectives in *-idus*. In: Eichner / Luschützky 1999, 377-419.

1999b Some old stories and a “new” adjective in Latin. Handout, *ECIEC* 19, May 1999.

2003 A benign interpretation. Handout, *ECIEC* 22, June 2003.

2004a Cool **-ēd-*: The Latin *frigēdō* and Gr. ἀλγηδών, τηκεδών, and ῥιγεδανός types. Handout *ECIEC* 2004.

2004b A *-t* Party: Various IE nominal stems in **(o/e)t-*. Handout, *West Coast Indo-European Conference*, November 2004.

2007a What does **h₂ner* do? Well... Handout, *ECIEC* 2007.

2007b Latin present stems in *-sā-*: A possibly not so minor type. Handout, Kyoto, September 2007.

2007c (ed.) *Verba Docenti. Studies in historical and Indo-European linguistics presented to Jay H. Jasanoff by students, colleagues, and friends*. Ann Arbor – New York: Beech Stave Press.

Nyman, Martti

1982 Positing a Lautgesetz: Latin *capillus, pullus* and kindred issues. *Folia Linguistica Historica* 3, 87-108.

1987 Semantic selection properties and etymology: Latin *mīca*. *Glotta* 65, 221-239.

1990 Hits and misses: Lat. *considerare* and *desiderare*. *HS* 103, 51-68.

Oettinger, Norbert

1976 *Die militärischen Eide der Hethiter*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

1979 *Die Stammbildung des Hethitischen Verbuns*. Nachdruck [2002] mit einer

- kurzen Revision der hethitischen Verbalklassen.* Dresden: TU.
- 1998 Wiesel und Schwägerin. Zu einem semantischen Problem. In: *Man and the animal world. Studies ... in memoriam Sándor Bökönyi*, eds. P. Anreiter et al., Budapest: Archaeolingua Alapítvány, 649-654.
- 2003 Zum Ablaut von *n*-Stämmen im Anatolischen und der Brechung $\bar{e} > ya$. In: *Derivation, Flexion und Ablaut. Akten der Arbeitstagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft. Freiburg, 19. bis 22. Sept. 2001*, eds. E. Tichy, D. Wodtke, B. Irslinger, Bremen: Hempen, 141-152.
- 2007 Hieroglyphen-luwisch *latara/i-* 'erweitern', ai. *rándhra-* und nhd. *Lende, Land*. In: Nussbaum 2007c, 259-262.
- Oleson, J.P.
1976 A possible physiological basis for the term *urinator* 'diver'. *AJPh* 97, 22-29.
- Oniga, Renato
1999 Etimologia e struttura morfologica di *acipenser*. In: *De lingua latina novae quaestiones. Actes du X^e Colloque International de Linguistique Latine*, ed. C. Moussy, Louvain: Peeters, 133-141.
- Panagl, Oswald
1991 Die Etymologie von lat. (*ir*)*rigare*. *HS* 104, 199-204.
- Panagl, Oswald and Thomas Krisch
1992 *Latein und Indogermanisch. Akten des Kolloquiums der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft, Salzburg, 23.-26. September 1986*. Innsbruck: IBS.
- Panagl, Oswald and Thomas Lindner
1995 Etyma Latina. In: *Studia onomastica et indogermanica. Festschrift für Fritz Lochner von Hüttenbach zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. M. Ofitsch and C. Zinko, Graz: Leykam, 167-174.
- Pariente, Angel
1975 *Necesse*. *Emerita* 43, 25-39.
- Parker, Holt N.
1988 Latin **sisō* > *serō* and related rules. *Glotta* 66, 221-241.
2000 *Flaccus*. *Classical Quarterly* 50, 455-62.
- Parlangèli, Oronzo
1960 *Studi Messapici*. Milano: Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere.
- Patri, Sylvain
2001 Une correspondance irano-slave en novgorodien. *HS* 114, 290-306.
- Penney, John (ed.)
2004 *Indo-European perspectives: studies in honour of Anna Morpurgo Davies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Peruzzi, Emilio
1969 Velum. *Athenaeum* 47 (nuova serie) / 57 (della rivista), 256-265.

1992 Umbro *kletra* e latino *clitellae*. *La parola del passato* 47, 343-362.

Peters, Martin

1980 *Untersuchungen zur Vertretung der indogermanischen Laryngale im Griechischen*. Wien: Akademie der Wissenschaften [= Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 377. Band].

Petit, Daniel

2004 On the Hittite verb *ark-*. *Die Sprache* 44, 1-25.

Pike, Moss

2007 Latin *salūs* 'health'. Handout *ECIEC* 26, June 2007, Yale Univ.

Pinault, Georges-Jean

1987 *Bellum* : La guerre et la beauté. In: *De Virgile à Jacob Balde. Hommage à M^{me} Andrée Thill*, ed. G. Freyburger, Mulhouse: Université de Haute Alsace, 151-156.

1997 Terminologie du petit bétail en tokharien. *Studia etymologica cracoviensia* 2, 175-219.

1998 Analyse de latin *caesaries*. In: *Moussyllanea. Mélanges de linguistique et de littérature anciennes offerts à Claude Moussy*, eds. B. Bureau and C. Nicolas, Louvain – Paris: Peeters, 15-30.

1999 Tokharien A *kapśañi*, B *kektseñe*. In: Eichner / Luschützky 1999, 457-478.

2000 Védique *dāmūnas-*, latin *dominus* et l'origine du suffixe de Hoffmann. *BSL* 95, 61-118.

2001 Le type latin *uorāgo*: un reflet d'un suffixe indo-européen. *Glotta* 77, 85-109.

2006a L'indo-iranien et les nouvelles langues apparues en asie centrale dans le travail d'Antoine Meillet. In: *Meillet aujourd'hui*, eds. G. Bergounioux and C. de Lamberterie, Louvain – Paris: Peeters, 191-243.

2006b Sur l'évolution phonétique *tsk* > *tk* en tokharien commun. *MSS* 62 [2002], 103-156.

2007 A star is born: a "new" PIE **-ter-* suffix. In: Nussbaum 2007c, 271-279.

Pisani, Vittore

1979 *Feber, februm, februārius* e le continuazioni latini di *sr*. *Archivio Glottologica Italiano* 65, 102-106.

von Planta, Robert

1892 *Grammatik der oskisch-umbrischen Dialekte. Erster Band: Einleitung und Lautlehre*. Strassburg: Trübner.

Pokorny, Julius

1959 *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Bern: Francke.

Porzio Gernia, Maria Luisa

1981 Gli elementi celtici del latino. In: *I Celti d'Italia*, ed. E. Campanile, Pisa: Giardini, 97-122.

Postgate, J.

- 1899 *Operatus and operari. The Journal of Philology* 26, 314-320.

Praust, Karl

- 1998 Armenisch *ampem* 'trinke'. *Die Sprache* 38, 184-200.
 2004 Zur historischen Beurteilung von griech. κλίνω, äol. κλίννω, der altindischen 9. Präsensklasse und zur Frage grundsprachlicher "ni-Präsentien". In: *Artes et Scientia: Festschrift für Ralf-Peter Ritter zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. P. Anreiter, M. Haslinger and H.D. Pohl, Wien: Praesens, 369-390.
 2005 What Greek can tell us about the prehistory of English 'to fall'. Paper at the conference *Greek and Latin from an Indo-European Perspective*, Cambridge, UK, July 2005.

Prosdocimi, Aldo

- 1988 La lingua. In: *I Veneti Antichi. Lingua e cultura*, eds. G. Fogolari and A. Prosdocimi, 223-440.

Puhvel, Jaan

- 1992 Shaft-shedding Artemis and mind-voiding *Ate*: Hittite determinants of Greek etyma. *HS* 105, 4-8.
 1998 Latin *furor*: help from Hittite. In: *Jasanoff / Melchert / Oliver 1998*, 607-609.
 2006 Latin *merē* and Hittite *marri*. *Glotta* 81, 184-186.

Pulgram, Ernst

- 1976 Venetic .e.kupeḏari.s. In: *Studies in Greek, Italic and Indo-European linguistics. Offered to Leonard L. Palmer on the occasion of his seventieth birthday*, eds. A. Morpurgo Davies and W. Meid, Innsbruck: IBS, 299-304.

Radke, Gerhard

- 1981 *Archaisches Latein. Historische und sprachgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

Rasmussen, Jens Elmegård

- 1984 Miscellaneous morphological problems in Indo-European languages III. *Arbejdsrapporter udsendt af Institut for Lingvistik, Københavns Universitet* 4, 135-149 (= Rasmussen 1999 1: 146-156).
 1989 *Studien zur Morphophonemik der indogermanischen Grundsprache*. Innsbruck: IBS.
 1993 Review of Schrijver 1991. *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia* 26, 175-205.
 1999 *Selected Papers on Indo-European Linguistics*. 2 volumes. University of Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum.

Regnaud, Paul

- 1908 *Dictionnaire étymologique du latin et du grec dans ses rapports avec le latin*. Lyon - Paris.

Rieken, Elisabeth

- 1999 *Untersuchungen zur nominalen Stammbildung des Hethitischen*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 2003 Hieroglyphen-luwisch *zi+ra/i-la-mi-i* ("SCALPRUM.ARGENTUM") *su-ha-pa-na-ti*: ein Kompositum und eine neue luwisch-lateinische Isoglosse. *HS* 116, 35-53.

Risch, Ernst

- 1954 Der Typus *parturire* im Lateinischen. *IF* 61, 187-195.
- 1979 Zur altlateinischen Gebetsprache. *Incontri Linguistici* 5, 43-53.
- 1984 *Gerundivum und Gerundium. Gebrauch im klassischen und älteren Latein. Entstehung und Vorgeschichte*. Berlin – New York: Walter de Gruyter.
- 1985 Gab es im Latein ein Neutrum Singular *nundinum*? In: *Sprachwissenschaftliche Forschungen. Festschrift für Johann Knobloch*, eds. H. Ölberg and G. Schmidt, Innsbruck: AMCE, 329-338.

Ritter, Ralf-Peter

- 2004 Zur Etymologie von lat. *lignum*. In: Hyllested et al. 2004, 487-490.

Rix, Helmut

- 1965 Lat. *iecur, iocineris*. *MSS* 18, 79-92.
- 1966 Die lateinische Synkope als historisches und phonologisches Problem. *Kratylos* 11, 156-165.
- 1976 Die umbrischen Infinitive auf *-fi* und die urindogermanische Infinitivendung *-d'iōj*. In: *Studies in Greek, Italic and Indo-European linguistics. Offered to Leonard L. Palmer on the occasion of his seventieth birthday*, eds. A. Morpurgo Davies and W. Meid, Innsbruck: IBS, 319-331.
- 1978 Die Altersangabe in der oskischen Inschrift Ve. 70 und osk.-umbr. *akno*- 'Jahr'. *MSS* 37, 149-163.
- 1981 *Rapporti onomastici fra il panteon etrusco e quello romano*. In: *Gli Etruschi e Roma*, ed. G. Colonna, Roma: Bretschneider, 104-126 (= *Kleine Schriften*, 2001, 272-294).
- 1985a *sūdōr* und *sīdus*. In: *Sprachwissenschaftliche Forschungen. Festschrift für Johann Knobloch*, eds. H. Ölberg and G. Schmidt, Innsbruck: AMCE, 339-350.
- 1985b The last word of the Duenos inscription. *MSS* 46, 193-220.
- 1992 Zur Entstehung des lateinischen Perfektparadigmas. In: Panagl / Krisch 1992, 221-240.
- 1993 osk. *úpsannam* – *uupsens* und Zugehöriges. In: Heidermanns / Rix / Seebold 1993, 329-348.
- 1994a *Die Termini der Unfreiheit in den Sprachen Altitaliens*. Stuttgart: Steiner.
- 1994b Lateinisch und sabellisch. Stammbaum und/ oder Sprachbund? *Incontri Linguistici* 17, 13-29.
- 1995a Einige lateinische Präsensstammbildungen zu Set-Wurzeln. In: *Kuryłowicz Memorial Volume, Part One*, ed. W. Smoczyński, Cracow: Universitas, 399-408.
- 1995b Oskisch *bravús*, oskisch *uruvú*, lateinisch *urvum* und 'europäisch' *bravo*.

- HS 108, 84-92.
- 1996 Review of Schrijver 1991. *Kratylos* 41, 153-163.
- 1998 Bemerkungen zu den lateinischen Verbformen des Typs *faxo faxim*. In: Jasanoff / Melchert / Oliver 1998, 619-634.
- 1999 Schwach charakterisierte lateinische Präsensstämme zu Set-Wurzeln mit Vollstufe I. In: Eichner / Luschützky 1999, 515-535.
- 2001 *Kleine Schriften*. Ed. G. Meiser. Bremen: Ute Hempen.
- 2002a *Sabellische Texte. Die Texte des Oskischen, Umbrischen und Südpikenischen*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- 2002b Oskisch *niir kulupu*. In: Fritz / Zeilfelder 2002, 417-430.
- 2004 Ein neuer oskisch-griechischer Göttername in Pompei. In: Hyllested et al. 2004, 491-505.
- 2005 Lehnbeziehungen zwischen den Sprachen Altitaliens. In: *Sprachkontakt und Sprachwandel. Akten der XI. Fachtagung der Inodgermanischen Gesellschaft*, eds. G. Meiser and O. Hackstein, Wiesbaden: Reichert, 559-572.
- Rosén, Haiim B.
- 1992 Die Komposita mit *co(n)-* in funktioneller und vergleichender Sicht. In: Panagl / Krisch 1992, 357-367.
- 1994 Lat. *sacēna*, Heb. *šakkān* and the Mediterranean substrate. *JIES* 22, 165-175.
- 1995 Lat. *rete*. *IF* 100, 210-212.
- Russell, Paul
- 1988 Preverbs, prepositions and adverbs: sigmatic and asigmatic. *TPS* 86, 144-172.
- Saalfeld, Günther
- 1884 *Tensaurus italograecus: ausführliches historisch-kritisches Wörterbuch der griechischen Lehn- und Fremdwörter im Lateinischen*. Wien.
- Schaffner, Stefan
- 1996 Altenglisch *nihol*, *nīowol* und lateinisch *procul*. *MSS* 56, 131-171.
- 2001 *Das Vernersche Gesetz und der innerparadigmatische grammatische Wechsel des Urgermanischen im Nominalbereich*. Innsbruck: IBS.
- 2006a Lateinisch *mūstella*, *mūstēla* 'Wiesel; Quappe' und der Wortbildungstyp vedisch *aśvatará-*. *IJDLLR* 3, 1-50.
- 2006b Altenglisch *umbor* 'Kind'. *IJDLLR* 3, 147-185.
- Schindler, Jochem
- 1966 Bemerkungen zum idg. Wort für "Schlaf". *Die Sprache* 12, 67-76.
- 1969 Die idg. Wörter für "Vogel" und "Ei". *Die Sprache* 15, 144-167.
- 1973 Bemerkungen zur Herkunft der idg. Diphthongstämme und zu den Eigentümlichkeiten ihrer Kasusformen. *Die Sprache* 19, 148-157.
- 1977 Notizen zum Sieversschen Gesetz. *Die Sprache* 23, 56-65.
- Schrijver, Peter
- 1990 Latin *festīnāre*, Welsh *brys*. *MSS* 51, 243-247.

- 1991 *The reflexes of the PIE laryngeals in Latin*. Amsterdam – Atlanta: Rodopi.
- 1995 *Studies in British Celtic historical phonology*. Amsterdam – Atlanta: Rodopi.
- 1997a Some western European substratum words. In: Lubotsky 1997, 293-316.
- 1997b *Studies in the history of Celtic pronouns and particles*. Maynooth: Maynooth Studies in Celtic Linguistics II.
- 1998 The British word for ‘fox’ and its Indo-European origin. *JIES* 26, 421-434.
- 1999 On henbane and early European narcotics. *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 51, 17-45.
- 2001 Lost languages in Northern Europe. In: *Early contacts between Uralic and Indo-European: Linguistic and archaeological considerations*, eds. C. Carpelan, A. Parpola and P. Koskikallio, Helsinki: Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne, 417-425.
- 2003 Athematic *i*-presents: the Italic and Celtic evidence. *Incontri Linguistici* 26, 59-86.
- 2004 Indo-European *(s)mer- in Greek and Celtic. In: Penney 2004, 292-299.
- 2006 Review of Meiser 2003. *Kratylos* 51, 46-64.
- Schumacher, Stefan
2004 *Die keltischen Primärverben*. Innsbruck: IBS.
- Schwyzler, Eduard
1929 Prognatus. Ein Beitrag zur lateinischen Verbalbildung. *ZVS* 56, 10-22.
- Seldeslachts, Herman
2001 *Études de morphologie historique du verbe latin et indo-européen*. Leuven: Peeters.
- Seldeslachts, Herman and Pierre Swiggers
1995 Remarks on Baltic, Slavic and Latin tool names. *Linguistica Baltica* 4, 23-33.
- Serbat, Guy
1975 *Les dérivés nominaux latins à suffixe médiatif*. Paris: Sorbonne.
- Sihler, Andrew
1995 *New comparative grammar of Latin and Greek*. New York – Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sims-William, Nicholas
1997 The denominal suffix *-ant-* and the formation of the Khotanese transitive perfect. In: Lubotsky 1997, 317-325.
- Skutsch, Franz
1892 Iaiutare, iaiunus. *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 7, 527-528.
- Skutsch, Otto
1985 *The Annals of Quintus Ennius*. Oxford: Clarendon.

Solta, Georg

- 1967 Lat. *limpidus* und seine Verwandten. In: *Beiträge zur Indogermanistik und Keltologie: Julius Pokorny zum 80. Geburtstag gewidmet*, ed. W. Meid, Innsbruck: Universität Innsbruck, 93-97.

Sommer, Ferdinand

- 1914 *Handbuch der lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre. 2. und 3. Auflage.* Heidelberg: Winter.

Sommer, Ferdinand and Raimund Pfister

- 1977 *Handbuch der lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre. Vierte, Neubearb. Auflage, Band I: Einleitung und Lautlehre.* Heidelberg: Winter.

Southern, Mark

- 2000 *Tabula rāsa. The "tablet" word in Italic, and its Indo-European relatives.* *MSS* 60, 89-133.

van der Staaïj, Robert

- 1995 *A Reconstruction of Proto-Italic.* PhD dissertation, Leiden University.

Steinbauer, Dieter

- 1989 *Untersuchungen zu den bei Plautus belegten Verben der lateinischen ersten Konjugation. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Denominative.* Dissertation Regensburg. Altendorf b. Bamberg: Druckerei Gräbner.

Strunk, Klaus

- 1993 Lateinisch *naucum* (-i, o) und Fragen einer Alternanz -au-/u-. In: Meiser et al. 1993, 424-435.
1994 Lateinisch *sacerdos* und damit verglichene Komposita. *Glotta* 72 [1995], 222-234.

Stuart-Smith, Jane

- 2004 *Phonetics and philology. Sound change in Italic.* Oxford University Press.

Stüber, Karin

- 1997 Urindogermanisch **h₁nóm̥n̥* 'Name', **h₂ón̥g^hn̥* 'Salbe' und der Ablaut der neutralen *n*-Stämme. *Die Sprache* 39, 74-88.
1998 *The historical morphology of n-stems in Celtic.* Maynooth.
2002 *Die primären s-Stämme des Indogermanischen.* Wiesbaden: Reichert.
2006 Die indogermanischen Ausdrücke für 'rechts' und 'links'. *IJDLR* 3, 61-72.

Szemerényi, Oswald

- 1960a Latin *hibernus* and Greek χειμερινός. *Glotta* 38, 107-125.
1960b Etyma Latina I. (1-6). *Glotta* 38, 216-251.
1989 *An den Quellen des lateinischen Wortschatzes.* Innsbruck: IBS.
1992 Quellen des lateinischen Wortschatzes mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Bedeutungslehnwörter. In: Panagl / Krisch 1992, 311-326.
1995 Etyma Latina VII, 38-44. In: *Kurylowicz Memorial Volume, Part One*, ed. W. Smoczyński, Cracow: Universitas, 409-416.

Thieme, Paul

- 1963 'Jungfrauengatte': Sanskrit *kaumarah patih* – Homer. κούριδος πόσις – Lat. *marītus*. *ZVS* 88, 161-248.

Thurneysen, Rudolf

- 1907 Etymologisches und Grammatisches. *IF* 21, 175-180.
1946 *A grammar of Old Irish. Revised and enlarged edition. Translated from the German by D.A. Binchy and Osborn Bergin.* Dublin: School of Celtic Studies.

Tichy, Eva

- 1983 *Onomatopoetische Verbalbildungen des Griechischen.* Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
2002 Gr. οἴσειν, Lat. *ūtī*. *Glotta* 78, 179-202.

de Tollenaere, F.

- 1983 Notizen zu germanischen Etymologien: 1. Gotisch *gaitis*, altenglisch *gāt*, 2. Altenglisch *lēag*, altisländisch *laug*. *ZVS* 96, 141-145.

Torzi, Ilaria

- 1991 Volup e volupe nella tradizione manoscritta di autori latini arcaici e tardoantichi. *Maia: Rivista di Letterature Classiche* 43, 89-102.

Tremblay, Xavier

- 1998 Jungawestisch *sanat*; Exkurs: Die Herkunft der Intensiva des Typus στρωφάω. *Die Sprache* 38, 14-30.
2004 Die Ablautstufe des Lokativs der akrostatischen Nomina. *Apophonica III*. In: Hyllested et al. 2004, 573-589.

Tucker, Elizabeth Fawcett

- 1990 *The creation of morphological regularity: early Greek verbs in -έω, -άω, -όω, -ύω and -ίω.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Tucker, Thomas George

- 1931 *A concise etymological dictionary of Latin.* Halle a/d Saale [reprint 1973 Hildesheim].

Unceta Gomez, Luis

- 2002 The semasiological evolution of the Indo-European root *pet- 'to fly' and its rich polysemy in Latin. *Cuadernos de Filología Clásica: Estudios Latinos* 22, 309-331.

Untermann, Jürgen

- 1980 Die venetische Sprache. *Glotta* 58, 281-317.
1992 Wurzelnomina im Lateinischen. In: Panagl / Krisch 1992, 137-153.
1993 Gr. ἔθηκα = lat. *fecī*, gr. ἱέθηκα = lat. *ieci*? In: Meiser et al. 1993, 461-468.
2000 *Wörterbuch des Oskisch-Umbrischen.* Heidelberg: Winter.
2002 Das Perfekt der Sekundärverben im Oskisch-Umbrischen. In: Fritz / Zeilfelder 2002, 489-495.

Vaahtera, Jyri

1993 The origin of Latin *suffrāgium*. *Glotta* 71, 66-80.

de Vaan, Michiel

1999 The etymology of English *shower*. *Die Sprache* 41, 39-49.

2000 The Indo-Iranian animal suffix *-ācā-. *Indo-Iranian Journal* 43, 279-293.

2001 Reconsidering Dutch *rups*, German *Raupe* 'caterpillar'. *ABĀG* 54, 151-174.

2003 *The Avestan Vowels*. Amsterdam – Atlanta: Rodopi.

2004a 'Narten' roots from the Avestan point of view. In: Hyllested et al. 2004, 591-599.

2004b PIE *e in Albanian. *Die Sprache* 44, 70-85.

2007 The etymology of Latin *adūlāre*. In: *Greek and Latin from an Indo-European Perspective*, eds. C. George, M. McCullagh, B. Nielsen, A. Ruppel, and O. Tribulato, Cambridge: Philological Society, 140-144.

ftbc.: Latin *au-* 'away', an allomorph of *ab-*. *Anuari de Filologia* 25-26 [2003-2004]. D: *Studia graeca et latina*.

Vaniček, Alois

1881 *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der lateinischen Sprache*, 2. Auflage. Leipzig: Teubner.

Vasmer, Max

1950-1958 *Russisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Heidelberg: Winter.

Vendryes, Joseph

1920 Sur quelques formations de mots latins. *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 22, 97-106.

1929 Lat. *polīre* et *interpolāre*. In: *Donum Natalicium Schrijnen*, eds. St. Teeuwen et al., Nijmegen: Dekker & van de Vegt, 702-704.

Vennemann, Theo

1998a *Germania Semitica: Biene und Imme: Mit einem Anhang zu lat. apis*. *Sprachwissenschaft* 23, 471-487.

1998b Etymology and phonotactics: Latin *grandis* vs. Basque *handi* 'big' and similar problems. *JIES* 26, 345-390.

Vine, Brent

1986 An Umbrian-Latin correspondence. *HSCP* 90, 111-127.

1993 *Studies in archaic Latin inscriptions*. Innsbruck: IBS.

1998a *Aeolic ὀπρετων and Deverbative *-etó- in Greek and Indo-European*. Innsbruck: IBS.

1998b Remarks on the Archaic Latin "Garigliano Bowl" inscription. *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 121, 257-262.

1999a Latin **opiō* and *optāre*. In: *Poëtika, Istorija literatury, Lingvistika. Sbornik k 70-letiju Vjačeslava Vsevolodoviča Ivanova*. (= *Essays in Poetics, literary history and Linguistics. FS. V.V. Ivanov*), eds. A. Vigasin et al., Moskva: OGI, 520-526.

- 1999b Greek $\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\alpha$ 'root' and "Schwa Secundum". *UCLA Indo-European Studies* 1, 5-29.
- 1999c Latin $-\dot{i}n\grave{a}r\acute{e}/-\dot{i}n\grave{a}r\acute{i}$. *UCLA Indo-European Studies* 1, 71-83.
- 1999d A note on the Duenos inscription. *UCLA Indo-European Studies* 1, 293-305.
- 2002 On full grade $*-ro$ -formations in Greek and Indo-European. In: *Indo-European Perspectives*, ed. M. Southern, Washington DC: Institute for the Study of Man, 329-347.
- 2004 New thoughts on an old curse. In: Hyllested et al. 2004, 615-626.
- 2006a On 'Thurneysen-Havet's Law' in Latin and Italic. *HS* 119, 211-249.
- 2006b An alleged case of "inflectional contamination": on the i -stem inflection of Latin *civis*. *Incontri Linguistici* 29, 139-158.
- 2007 Latin *gemō* 'groan', Greek $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega\nu\epsilon$ 'cry out', and Tocharian A *ken-* 'call'. In: Nussbaum 2007c, 343-358.
- Viredaz, Rémy
2002 Le nom du 'gendre' en indo-européen et en balto-slave. *IF* 107, 152-180.
- Wachter, Rudolf
2004 Sprachwissenschaftlicher Cocktail zur *Cistellaria*. In: *Studien zu Plautus' Cistellaria*, eds. R. Hartkamp and F. Hurka, Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 371-383.
- 2006 Review of *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos*, 19. und 20. Lieferung. *Kratylos* 51, 136-144.
- Walde, Alois and Johann Baptist Hoffmann
1930, 1954 *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* I + II. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Wallace, Rex
2005 A Faliscan inscription in the Steinhardt Collection. *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 153, 175-182.
- Watkins, Calvert
1957 *maritus*. In: *Studies presented to Joshua Whatmough on his sixtieth birthday*, ed. E. Pulgram, 's-Gravenhage: Mouton, 277-281.
- 1962 *Indo-European Origins of the Celtic verb. I. The sigmatic aorist*. Dublin: The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.
- 1969 A Latin-Hittite etymology. *Language* 45, 235-242.
- 1973a An Indo-European agricultural term: Latin *ador*, Hittite *hat-*. *HSCP* 77, 187-193.
- 1973b *Etyma Enniana*. *HSCP* 77, 195-206.
- 1985 *The American Heritage Dictionary of Indo-European Roots*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- 1990 A Celtic-Latin-Hittite etymology. In: *Lingering over words: Studies in ancient Near Eastern literature in honor of William L. Moran*, ed. T. Abusch, J. Huehnergard and P. Steinkeller, Atlanta (GA): Scholars Press, 451-453.
- 1995 *How to kill a dragon: aspects of Indo-European poetics*. Oxford University Press.

Watmough, Margaret

1997 *Studies in the Etruscan loanwords in Latin*. Firenze: Olschki.

Weiss, Michael

1993 *Studies in Italic nominal morphology*. Cornell: PhD dissertation.

1994 On the non-verbal origin of the Greek verb *νήφαιν* 'to be sober'. *HS* 107, 91-98.

1995 Life Everlasting: Latin *iūgis* 'everflowing', Greek *ὕγις* 'healthy', Gothic *ajukduþs* 'eternity' and Avestan *γauuaējī-* 'living forever'. *MSS* 55, 131-156.

1996a Greek *μυρίος* 'countless', Hittite *mūri-* 'bunch (of fruit)'. *HS* 109, 199-214.

1996b An Oscanism in Catullus 53. *Classical Philology* 91, 353-359.

2002 Observations on the South Picene Inscription TE 1 (S. Omero). In: *Indo-European Perspectives*, ed. M. Southern, Washington DC: Institute for the Study of Man, 351-366.

2006 Latin *orbis* and its cognates. *HS* 119, 250-272.

2007a Cui Bono? The beneficiary phrases of the Third Iguvine Table. In: Nussbaum 2007c, 365-378.

2007b What's it all about, *alfir*? Handout at *ECIEC* 26, June 2007, Yale Univ.

fthc.a *Outline of the Comparative Grammar of Latin*.

fthc.b *Language and Ritual in Sabellic Italy: The Ritual Complex of the Third and Fourth Tabulae Iguvinae*.

Willi, Andreas

2004 Flowing Riches. In: Penney 2004, 323-337.

van Windekens, Albert

1984 Encore lat. *uxor* et i.-e. **ukson-*. *ZVS* 97, 96-98.

Wyatt, W.S.

1984 Two fragments of the Elder Cato. *Glotta* 62, 248-250.

Zimmer, Stefan

1985 Zur Etymologie und zu den ältesten Belegen von lat. *totus*. *Glotta* 63, 221-225.

INDICES

Numbers refer to pages. All languages are given in the order of the Latin alphabet with the exception of Greek.

<p>Italic</p> <p>Latin 725</p> <p>Faliscan 765</p> <p>Oscan 766</p> <p>Umbrian 769</p> <p>South Picene 775</p> <p>Venetic 775</p> <p>Celtic</p> <p>Celtiberian 775</p> <p>Gaulish 775</p> <p>Irish 776</p> <p>Welsh 778</p> <p>Cornish 780</p> <p>Breton 780</p> <p>Anatolian</p> <p>Hittite 781</p> <p>Luwian 783</p> <p>Lycian 783</p> <p>Lydian 783</p> <p>Indo-Iranian</p> <p>Sanskrit 783</p> <p>Avestan 788</p> <p>Old Persian 792</p> <p>Middle Iranian 792</p> <p>Modern Iranian 792</p> <p>Greek 793</p>	<p>Phrygian 799</p> <p>Armenian 799</p> <p>Albanian 800</p> <p>Baltic</p> <p>Old Prussian 800</p> <p>Lithuanian 801</p> <p>Latvian 804</p> <p>Slavic</p> <p>Old Church Slavonic 805</p> <p>East Slavic 807</p> <p>West Slavic 808</p> <p>South Slavic 808</p> <p>Germanic</p> <p>Gothic 809</p> <p>Old Icelandic 811</p> <p>Old High German 812</p> <p>Old Saxon 815</p> <p>Old English 815</p> <p>Tokharian</p> <p>Tokharian AB 817</p> <p>Tokharian A 817</p> <p>Tokharian B 818</p> <p>Proto-Indo-European 818</p>
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Vertical text or markings along the left edge of the page, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side.

Small, isolated mark or character located in the upper right quadrant of the page.

ITALIC

Latin

- ab 19 47
abarcēre 51
abdicāre 169
abdōmen 20
abdūcere 181
Abella 20
abellānus 20
aberrāre 194
abesse 599
abhibēre 277
abhorrēre 290
abicere 293
abiectum 293
abiēs 20
abigere 30
abīre 191
abitiō 191
abitus 191
abiugāre 314
abiūrāre 316
ablaqueāre 327
ablēgāre 337
ablegmina 332
abluere 330
abluī 330
ablūtum 330
abluvium 330
abnuere 419
abnuēre 419
abnūtāre 419
aboleō 21
aborīginēs 434
aborīrī 434
aborīscere 434
abortāre 434
abortiō 434
abortus 434
abrādere 512
abriperē 513
abrōdere 526
abrogāre 526
abrupere 529
abscedere 103
abscīdere 79
absēns 599
absilire 535
absolvere 573
absorbere 575
abstāre 589
abstēmīus 609
abstergēre 614
absterrēre 617
abstulās 621
absūmēdō 188
absūmere 188
absurdus 602
abundāre 641
abūfī 648
ac 59
accēdere 103
accelerāre 104
accendere 106
accensus 107
accessiō 103
accessitāre 103
accidere 78
accingere 114
accipere 89
accipiter 21
accīre 113
acclīvis 122
accola 125
accolere 125
accomodāre 384
accrēdere 141
accrēscere 144
accubāre 152
accūdere 149
accumbere 152
accumulāre 152
accūrāre 156
accurrere 157
accūsāre 100
accūsātor 100
aceō 21
acer 21
ācer 22
acerbus 22
acernus 21
acerōsus 23
acerra 22
acervus 22
acētābulum 21
acētum 21
acia 23
acidus 21
aciēs 21
acinus 23
acipēns 23
acor 21
acquiēscere 508
ācrīmōnia 22
ācritās 22
ācritūdō 22
ācrufolius 22
actiō 30
actor 30
actus 30
actūtum 30
acu- 23
acuere 23
aculeus 23
acūmen 23
acupediū 23
acupēns 23
acus 23
acūtus 23
ad 24 400
ad fatim 204
ad()amusšim 40
ad(i)icere 293
adaequē 27
adaperīre 429
adarēscere 53
adbibere 71
adbītere 68
addīcere 169
addictus 169
additiō 175
addubānum 180
addūcere 181
adeps 24
adeptus 47
adesse 599
adēsse 185
adhaerēre 278
adhaerēscere 278
adhaesus 278
adhibēre 277
adhortārī 289
adiacēns 293
adigere 30
adimere 188
adipātus 24
adipīscor 47
adīre 191
aditāre 191
aditiō 191
aditus 191
adiugāre 314
adiūmentum 314
adiungere 314
adiūrāre 316
adiūtābilis 318
adiūtāre 318
adiūtor 318
adiūtrīx 318
adiuvāre 318
admētīri 377
admigrāre 379
adminiculāre 24
adminiculum 24
administer 381
ministra 381
administrāre 381
admīrārī 382
admiscēre 382
admissārius 384
admissiō 384
admissum 384
admissūra 384
admittere 384
admixtiō 382
admoderārī 384
admodum 384
admoenīre 385
admōlīrī 386
admonēre 387
admordēre 389
admovēre 391
admutilāre 397
adnectere 404
adnictāre 130
adnīfī 410
adnuere 419
adnumerāre 419
adnūtāre 419
adoleō 24
adolēscere 35
adolēvī 35
adopīnārī 430
adoptāre 431
adoptāfīcius 431
ador 25
adorāre 435
adōreus 25
adorīrī 434
adōrnāre 434

- adprīmus 489
 adrēpere 520
 adrīdēre 522
 a(d)scribere 546
 a(d)spargere 578
 a(d)stāre 589
 a(d)stituere 589
 adstringere 592
 adulēscēns 35
 adulescentia 35
 adulescentiārī 35
 adulescentulus 35
 adulescenturīre 35
 adūlor 25
 adulter 34
 adultus 35
 aduncus 640
 adūrere 645
 advectus 658
 advehere 658
 advena 661
 advenīre 661
 adventāre 661
 adventicius 661
 adventor 661
 adventus 661
 adversus 667
 advesperāscere 670
 advigilāre 677
 advocāre 692
 advorsus 667
 aedēs 25
 aedícula 25
 aedificāre 25
 aedificātiō 25
 aedificātor 25
 aedificium 25
 aedīlicius 25
 aedīlis 25
 aedīlītās 25
 aeditimus 25
 aeger 26
 aegrēre 26
 aegrēscere 26
 aegrimōnia 26
 aegritūdō 26
 aegrōtāre 26
 aegrōtus 26
 aemidus 26
 aemula 26
 aemulārī 26
 aemulus 26
 a(h)ēneus 27
 a(h)ēnus 27
 aequābilis 27
 aequābilitās 27
 aequālis 27
 aequāmen 27
 aequāre 27
 aequinoctiālis 416
 aequinoctium 416
 aequiperābilis 444
 aequiperāre 444
 aequor 27
 aequus 27
 aerumna 27
 aeruscō -āre 27
 aes aeris 27
 aesculus 28
 aestās 28
 aestimō -āre 28
 aestivāre 28
 aestīvus 28
 aestus 28
 aetās 29
 aeternus 29
 aevus 29
 affābilis 231
 affārī 231
 affatim 204
 afferre 213
 affigere 219
 affingere 221
 affinis 222
 affinitās 222
 affirmāre 223
 afflāre 226
 afflātus 226
 afflēre 226
 afflicāre 226
 afflictim 226
 affligere 226
 affluere 228
 affundere 249
 āfluere 228
 ager 29
 agger 259
 aggerere 259
 agglūtīnāre 266
 aggravēscere 272
 aggredi 269
 aggreus 269
 agilis 30
 agitāre 30
 agitātor 30
 agmen 30
 agna 29
 agnāscī 400
 agnātiō 400
 agnātus 401
 agnellus 30
 agnōscere 413
 agnus 30
 agō 30
 agolum 30
 agrārius 29
 agrestis 29
 agricola 29 125
 ain 403
 aiō aīs 31
 al(l)ers 55
 āla 66
 alacer 32
 albēre 32
 albēscere 32
 albicāre 32
 albulus 32
 albus 32
 ālea 33
 āleō 33
 alēscere 35
 alga 33
 algeō 33
 algidus 33
 algor 33
 aligus 33
 alica 33
 alicubi 34 636
 aliēnigena 260
 aliēnus 34
 alimentum 35
 alimōnia 35
 aliquantisper 459
 aliquis 34 510
 ālium 33
 alius 34 510
 allaudābilis 330
 allaudāre 330
 allēgāre 337
 allēgātus 337
 allicere 321
 allīdere 323
 alligāre 341
 alloquī 348
 allubēscit 338
 allūcere 355
 allūdere 350
 allūdiāre 350
 almus 35
 alneus 34
 alnus 34
 alō 35
 altare 24
 altarī 24
 altāria 24
 alter 34
 altercārī 34
 alternus 34
 altīlis 35
 altitūdō 35
 altrim secus 551
 altrinsecus 551
 altus 35
 alum/s 36
 alūmen 36
 alumnus 35
 alūta 36
 alveus 36
 alvus 36
 amāritūdō 37
 amāror 37
 amārus 37
 amāscere 39
 amāsius 39
 ambāgēs 30
 ambegnus 30
 ambēsse 185
 ambēstrīx 185
 ambi- amb- am- an-
 37
 ambiegnus 30
 ambigere 30
 ambiguus 30
 ambire 191
 ambitiō 191
 ambitus 191
 ambō 37
 ambricēs 38
 ambulācrum 38
 ambulātiō 38
 ambulātor 38
 ambulō 38
 ambūrere 645
 ambustulātus 645
 āmens 372
 āmentia 372
 ames 40
 amīca 39
 amicīre 293
 amictum 293
 amictus 293
 amiculum 293
 amīcus 39
 amīta 38
 āmittere 384
 amma 38
 ammentum 30
 amnis 39
 amō 39
 amoenus 39
 āmōlīrī 386
 amor 39
 āmovēre 391
 ampla 40
 amplectī 471
 amplexārī 471
 amplexus 471
 ampioctēns 471
 amplus 40
 ampruō 40
 amputāre 502
 amussis 40

- an 40
 anās 45
 anas 41
 anatem 45
 anafinus 41
 anc(u)lāre 41
 ancaesa 79
 anceps 91
 ancile 79
 ancilla 41
 ancipes 91
 ancisus 79
 anclābris 41
 anculus 41
 ancunulentae 304
 ancus 41
 Ancus 41
 ānellus 45
 angiportum 42 482
 angiportus 42
 angō 42
 angor 42
 anguila 42
 anguilla 42
 anguinus 42
 anguis 42
 angulus 42
 angustus 42
 anhēlare 43
 anhēlus 43
 anicula 45
 anima 43
 animal 43
 animālis 43
 animulus 43
 animus 43
 annālis 43
 anne 40
 anniculus 43
 annōna 43
 annōsus 43
 annus 43
 annuus 43
 ānsa 44
 ānsātus 44
 ānser 44
 ant(e)ire 191
 antae 44
 ante 45
 antecēdere 103
 antecellere 105
 antemna 610
 antepagmentum 442
 antepōnere 479
 antēs 45
 antestāre 589
 antestārī 618
 antevenire 661
 antiae 45
 anticipāre 89
 anticus 45
 antidire 191
 antīquus 45
 ānulus 45
 ānus 45
 anus 45
 anxius 42
 ap(p)lūda 470
 aper 46
 aperiō -ire 46
 apertāre 46
 apertiō 46
 apex 46
 apicula 47
 apiō 46 47
 apis 47
 apiscor 47
 apor 48
 apparāre 446
 appārere 445
 appāritor 445
 appellāre 456
 appellātiō 456
 appellere 455
 appendere 457
 appendix 457
 appetere 463
 appetissere 463
 appetō 463
 appingere 465
 applaudere 470
 applicāre 472
 appōnere 479
 apportāre 482
 appre(he)ndere 487
 apprīmus 489
 approbāre 490
 approbus 490
 aprīcus 47
 aprīlis 48
 aprīnus 46
 Aprō 46
 Aprōnius 46
 aprugnus 46
 aptāre 47
 aptus 47
 apud 48
 apurfinem 48
 aqua 48
 aquālis 48
 aquārius 48
 aquātilis 48
 aquātus 48
 aquila 49
 aquilex 48
 aquilinus 49
 aquilō 49
 aquilus 49
 aqnola 48
 aquōsns 48
 āra 49
 arānea 49
 arāneus 49
 arātiō 55
 arātor 55
 arātrum 55
 arbiter 50
 arbitrārī 50
 arbitrātus 50
 arbitrium 50
 arbor 50
 arbuscula 50
 arbustum 50
 area 50
 arcāmus 50
 arceō 51 476
 arcera 50
 arcessō / accersō 51
 arcitenens /
 arquitenens 52
 arcuātus 52
 arcula 50
 arcus 52
 ardea 52
 ardere 53
 ardor 53
 arduitās 52
 arduus 53
 arduus 52
 ārea 53
 ārefaciō 53
 āreō 53
 arfaciō 53
 argenteus 53
 argentum 53
 argūmentum 53
 arguō 53
 argūtiae 53
 argūtus 53
 āridus 53
 ariēs 54
 arietāre 54
 arma 54
 armāre 54
 armātus 54
 armenta 54
 armentum 54
 armiger 54
 armilla 55
 armilūstrium 354
 armus 55
 arō 55
 arquātus 52
 arquitēs 52
 arrigere 517
 arripere 513
 arrogāre 526
 arruere 530
 ars 55
 artāre 55
 artē 55
 articulus 56
 artifex 55
 artificium 55
 artire 55
 artufices 55
 artus 55
 artus 56
 aruina 56
 aruos 56
 aruus 56
 arva 56
 arvocitat 692
 arvorum 667
 arvom 56
 arx arcis 57
 as 57 457
 ascendere 542
 ascēnsiō 542
 ascia 57
 ascriptivus 546
 asellus 57
 asilus 57
 asina 57
 asinārius 57
 asinus 57
 aspectāre 579
 aspectus 579
 aspellere 455
 asper 58
 asperāre 58
 aspergō 578
 aspernābilis 579
 aspernārī 579
 aspicere 579
 aspīrāre 581
 asportāre 482
 ass 505
 assarātum 58
 assectārī 555
 assecuē 555
 assentārī 554
 assentātiō 554
 assentātiuncula 554
 assentātrix 554
 assentire 554
 assequi 555
 asser 58
 asserere 557
 asservāre 559
 asses 57 415 457
 509

- assevērāre 560
 assidēre 551
 assidere 562
 assiduus 551
 assimilis 564
 assimilāre 564
 assipondium 457
 assis / axis 58
 assistere 567
 assolēre 570
 assuēscere 597
 assuētūdō 597
 assūgere 598
 assula 58
 assūmere 188
 assus 58
 assyr 58
 ast 59
 astus 59
 astūtia 59
 astūtus 59
 at 59
 āter 60
 atque 59
 atquī 59
 ātrium 60
 atrōcitās 60
 atrōx 60
 atta 60
 attemptāre 611
 attendere 612
 attenuāre 613
 atterere 616
 attiga 606
 attinēre 612
 attingere 606 620
 attollere 621
 attondēre 622
 attrectāre 626
 attrectātus 626
 attrepidāre 628
 attribuere 629
 au 139
 aububulcus 77 437
 auca 65
 auceps 65
 auctāre 61
 auctor 61
 audācia 60
 audāx 60
 audeō 60
 audīn 403
 audiō 61
 auferre 213
 aufugere 246
 augeō 61
 augēscere 61
 augmen 61
 augur 61
 augurāre 61
 augurium 61
 augustus 61
 aulicoquis 134
 aulla 62
 Aululāria 62
 aureax 31 62
 Aurēlius 63
 aureolus 63
 aureus 63
 auricula 63
 auriga 62
 auris 63
 aurōra 63
 aurum 63
 auscultāre 63
 auspex 65 579
 auspicāre/ī 65
auspicium 65 314
 auster 64
 austrālis 64
 ausum 63
 aut 64
 autem 64
 autumnus 64
 autumō 64
 auxilium 61
 auxilla 62
 avāritia 65
 avārus 65
 āvellere 659
 avēna 64
 aveō 65
 āverrucāre 666
 avia 66
 avicula 65
 aviditās 65
 avidus 65
 avillus 30
 avis 65 579
 avītus 66
 avunculus 66
 avus 66
 axāmenta 31
 axāre 31
 axilla 66
 axiō 66
 axis 66
 bāca 67
 bacar 67
 bacillum 67
 baciō 67
 bācula 67
 baculum 67
 badius 67
 baetō 68
 bāiulāre 68
 bāiulus 68
 balbus 68
 balbutīre 68
 bālītāre 69
 ballaena 68
 bālō -āre 69
 barba 69
 barbātus 69
 barbitium 69
 barbula 69
 bardus 69
 bāsiāre 69
 bāsium 69
 beātus 70
 bellātor 70
 bellicus 70
 Bellōna 70
 bellum 70
 bellus 73
 bēlua 70
 bēluātus 70
 bēlūtus 70
 bene 73
 benedicē 169
 benedicere 169
 benevolēns 687
 benevolus 687
 benignus 73 260
 beō 70
 berber 70
 bēs 57
 bēstia 71
 bi 71
 bibō 71
 bibōsus 71
 bibulus 71
 biceps 91
 bicorpor 137
 bidens 71 166
 bīdium 173
 biennium 43
 bīgae 71 314
 bigener 260
 bīgnae 71 260
 biugus 314
 bilinguis 343
 bilis 72
 bilix 340
 bimē(n)stris 373
 bīrnus 71 284
 binī 72
 bipennis 458
 biperūtus 448
 bipēs 71 462
 birēmīs 518
 bis 72
 bisulcis 598
 bisulcus 598
 bitūmen 72
 blandimentum 73
 blandīrī 73
 blandus 73
 blatiō 73
 bonus 73
 bōs bovis 74
 bovilē 74
 brevis 75
 brūma 75
 brūtus 76
 bū 76
 būbīle 74
 būbō 76
 Būbōna 74
 būbilāre 86
 būbula 74
 bubulcitāre 74
 bubulcus 74 77
 būbulus 74
 būcaeda 74
 bucca 76
 buccō 76
 buccula 76
 bucculentus 76
 būcētum 74
 būcina 74
 būcula 74
 būculus 74
 būfō 76
 -bulcus 77
 bustirapus 77
 bustuārius 77
 bustum 77
 būteō 77
 caballus 77
 cacō 78
 cacūmen 78
 cadāver 78
 cadāverōsus 78
 cadō 78
 cadūcus 78
 caecāre 79
 caecilia 79
 caecitās 79
 caecultāre 79
 caeculus 79
 caecus 79
 caecūtīre 79
 caedēs 79
 caedō 79
 caeduus 79
 caelāre 79
 caelebs 80
 caeles 80
 caelestis 80
 caelibātus 80
 caelicola 125

- caelum 79 80
 caementum 79
 caenum 81
 caerimōnia 81
 caerul(e)us 80
 caesariēs 81
 caesius 82
 caespes 82
 caestus 79
 cāia 79
 cāiāre 79
 cal(e)facere 83
 calābra 84
 calamitās 82
 calamitōsus 82
 calātiō 84
 calātor 84
 calcar 86
 calcāre 86
 calcārius 86
 calceāmentum 86
 calceolārius 86
 calceus 86
 calcitrō 86
 caldus 83
 calefactāre 83
 calendae 82
 caleō 83
 calēscere 83
 calicāre 86
 caliculus 83
 calidus 83
 caliga 83
 cāligāre 83
 cāligō 83
 Caligula 83
 calix 83
 callēre 84
 callidus 84
 callis 84
 callum 84
 calō 84
 cālō 85
 calor 83
 calumnia 85
 calva 85
 calvāria 85
 calvor 85
 calvus 85
 calx 86
 campānicus 86
 Campānus 86
 campestris 86
 campus 86
 cancellī 86
 cancer 86
 candefaciō 87
 candela 87
 candēlābrum 87
 candeō 87
 candidātus 87
 candidus 87
 candor 87
 canēs 87
 canīcula 87
 canīnus 87
 canō 87
 canor 87
 canōms 87
 cantāre 87
 cantilēna 87
 cantiō 87
 cantitāre 87
 cantor 87
 cantus 87
 cānus 88
 canūtus 88
 capāx 89
 caper 89
 capessō 89
 capillus 89
 capiō -ere 89
 capis 90
 capissam 89
 capistrum 89
 capitālis 91
 capitō 91
 capitulum 91
 capra 89
 caprea 89
 capreāginus 89
 caprificus 89
 caprigenus 260
 caprīnus 89
 capsula 90
 capsus 90
 captāre 89
 captiō 89
 captīvus 89
 captus 89
 capula 89
 capulāre 89
 capulāris 89
 capulātor 89
 capulus 89
 cāpus 91
 caput 91
 carbō 91
 carbōnārius 91
 carbunculus 91
 carcer 92
 carcerārius 92
 cardō 92
 carduus 95
 carēnsēs 109
 careō 92
 cārex 93
 caria 109
 cariēs 93
 carīna 93
 carīnō -āre 93
 cariōsus 93
 cāritās 95
 carmen 88 95
 carmināre 95
 carnārium 94
 carnifex 94
 carnificīna 94
 carnificius 94
 carō 94
 carpinus 94
 carpō -ere 95
 carrō -ere 95
 carrus 157
 carncula 94
 cārus 95
 casa 96
 cascus 96
 cāseus 96
 casilam 97
 cassābundus 78
 cassāre 78
 cassis 97
 cassis 97
 cassus 92
 castellum 97
 castigāre 31 92
 castigātor 92
 castrō -āre 97
 castrum 97
 castus 92
 cāsus 78
 catēlla 98
 catellus 98
 catēna 98
 caterva 98
 catervātīm 98
 catillāre 98
 catillus 98
 catīnus 98
 Catō 99
 catulus 98
 catus 99
 cauda 99
 caudeus 99
 caudex 99
 caudicālis 99
 caulae 99
 cauliculus 100
 caulis 100
 caupō 100
 caupōnārī 100
 caupōnius 100
 caurus 100
 causa 100
 causārī 100
 causidicus 101 169
 causificārī 101
 cautēla 101
 cautēs 139
 cāutiō 101
 cautor 101
 cautus 101
 cavāre 101
 cavātus 101
 cavea 101
 caveō 101
 caverna 101
 cavilla 101
 cavillātiō 101
 cavillātor 101
 cavum 101
 cavus 101
 -ce 102
 cedo 102
 cēdō -ere 103
 celebrē 104
 celebrāre 104
 celebrēscere 104
 celer 104
 celeranter 104
 celerāre 104
 Celerēs 104
 cella 104
 cellārius 104
 -cellō 1 105
 -cellō 2 105
 cellula 104
 cēlō -āre 106
 celōx 104
 celsus 105
 -cen 88
 cēna 106
 cenāculum 106
 cenāre 106
 cenāticus 106
 cenātus 106
 -cendō 106
 cēnsēō 107
 cēnsiō 107
 cēnsor 107
 cēnsōrius 107
 cēnsūra 107
 cēnsus 107
 cēntēm 107
 centēsīmus 107
 centiē(n)s 107
 centō 107
 centum 107
 centumplex 107 473
 centuria 107
 centuriō 107

- cēpa 108
 cēpe 108
 -ceps 108
 cēra 108
 cērātus 108
 -cerda 109
 cerebellum 109
 cerebrōsus 109
 cerebrum 109
 Cerēs -eris 109
 Ceriālis 109
 cernō -ere 110
 cernuāre 110
 cernuus 110
 certāmen 111
 certāre 111
 certātīm 111
 certātiō 111
 certus 111
 Cerus 109
 cerva 111
 cervīnus 111
 cervīx -icis 111
 cervus 111
 cessāre 103
 cessātiō 103
 cēterus 112
 cette 102
 ceu 112
 cēveō 112
 cibārius 112
 cibātus 112
 cibus 112
 cicāda 112
 cicātricōsus 113
 cicātrīx 113
 cicer 113
 cicindēla 87
 cicōnia 113
 cīcur 113
 cīcurāre 113
 cieō 113
 cilium 114
 cīmex 114
 cinctulus 114
 cinctus 114
 cinerārius 115
 cingillum 114
 cingō -ere 114
 cingulum 114
 cīnis 115
 cinnus/m 129
 cippus 115
 circā 115
 circiter 115
 circu(m)itiō 191
 circu(m)itus 191
 circulus 115
 circum 115
 circumagere 30
 circumcidāneus 79
 circumcidere 79
 circumcīrā 115
 circumdare 174
 circumferre 213
 circumfodere 229
 circumfricāre 243
 circumfundere 249
 circumicere 293
 circumiectus 293
 circumire 191
 circumlinere 344
 circumlūstrāre 354
 circummingere 369
 circummoenire 385
 circumpōnere 479
 circumsecāre 550
 circumspectāre 579
 circumspectātrīx 579
 circumspicere 579
 circumtēctus 608
 circumtergēre 614
 circumvallāre 652
 circumvectārī 658
 circumvehī 658
 circumvenire 661
 circumvincire 679
 circumvisere 676
 circus 115
 cis 115
 cistella 99
 citāre 113
 citer 115
 citerior 115
 citimus 115
 citō 113
 citrā 115
 citrō 115
 citrōsus 116
 citrum 116
 citrus 116
 citus 113
 cīvicus 116
 cīvīlis 116
 cīvis 116
 cīvitās 116
 clādēs 117
 clam 117
 clāmitāre 117
 clāmitātiō 117
 clāmō -āre 117
 clāmor 117
 clamōs 117
 clanculum 117
 clandestīnus 117
 clārāre 118
 clārēre 117
 clārēscere 117
 clārītūdō 118
 clārus 117
 classicus 118
 classis 118
 claudēre 118
 claudicāre 118
 claudō -ere 118
 claudus 118
 claustrum 118
 clāva 119
 clāvātor 119
 clāvis 119
 clāvula 119
 clāvulus 119
 clāvus 119
 clēmēns 119
 clēmentia 119
 clepō 120
 cleps 120
 clipeāre 121
 clipeātus 121
 cliēns 120
 clienta 120
 clientēla 120
 clīnāmen 121
 clingō -ere 120
 -clīnō -āre 121
 clipeus 121
 clītellae 121
 clītellārius 121
 clīvius 122
 clīvus 122
 cloāca 122
 Cloācīna 122
 cloāre 122
 clueō 122
 cluere 122
 clūnis 123
 co(ho)nestāre 288
 co(n)icere 293
 coāctum 30
 coāgulum 30
 coctilis 134
 coculum 134
 cōdētum 99
 cōdicillus 99
 coēgī 30
 coernere 188
 coepiō 47
 coeptāre 47
 coepulōnus 192
 coera 156
 coercēre 51
 coetus 191
 cōgere 30
 cōgitāre 30
 cognāta 401
 cognātiō 401
 cognātus 401
 cognitus 413
 cognōbilis 413
 cognōmen 412
 cognōmentum 412
 cognōmināre 412
 cognōscere 413
 cohaerēre 278
 cohibēre 277
 cohors 290
 cohors 123
 cohortārī 123 289
 cohūm 123
 coinquināre 304
 coinquō -ere 124
 coira 156
 coīre 191
 coitiō 191
 cōleātus 100
 cōlef 100 124 150
 collabāscere 319
 collabefierī 319
 collabellāre 319
 collābi 319
 collāre 125
 collaudāre 330
 collaxāre 331
 collēga 337
 collēgium 337
 collībrāre 339
 colliciae 321
 colliciaris 321
 colligāre 341
 colligere 332
 collīnus 124
 colliquefacere 345
 colliqueſcere 345
 collis 124
 collocāre 347
 collocuplētāre 472
 colloquī 348
 collūcāre 350
 collus 125
 collūsim 350
 collūsor 350
 colō -ere 125
 colōnia 125
 colōnicus 125
 colōnus 125
 color 126
 colōrāre 126
 colostrum 127
 coluber 126
 colubra 126
 colubrīnus 126
 colūm 126

- columba 126
 columbār(e) 126
 columbārium 126
 columbārius 126
 columbīnus 126
 columbus 126
 columella 127
 columnen 127
 columna 127
 columnātus 127
 columnus 138
 colus 127
 colustra 127
 combibere 71
 combibō 71
 combrētum 128
 combūrere 645
 comedō 185
 cōmere 188
 comes 129
 comēsse 185
 cōmis 129
 comitārī 129
 cōmitās 129
 comitia 129
 comitiālis 129
 comitiātus 129
 comitium 129
 commadēre 358
 commandūcāre 361
 commarītus 365
 commeāre 373
 commeātus 373
 commemorābilis 371
 commemorāmentum
 371
 commemorāre 371
 commemorātiō 371
 commendāre 363
 commentārī 371
 commentārius/nā 371
 commercārī 376
 commercium 376
 commerēre 374
 commers 376
 commētāre 373
 commēfirī 377
 commigrāre 379
 comminārī 380
 comminīscī 371
 comminuere 381
 comminus 363
 commiscēre 382
 commissum 384
 commissūra 384
 commūtigāre 383
 committere 384
 commixtura 382
 commodāre 384
 commoditās 384
 commodulum 384
 commodum 384
 commodus 384
 commoe/ūnīre 385
 commoetāculum 398
 commōlirī 386
 commonēfacere 387
 commonēre 387
 commōnstrāre 387
 commorārī 388
 commorī 389
 commōtus 391
 commovēre 391
 communicāre 395
 commūnis 395
 commūnitus 395
 commurmurāre 395
 commūtābilis 398
 commūtāre 398
 commūtātiō 398
 commūtātus 398
 comoin 395
 compa/ectum 452
 compacīscī 452
 compāgēs 442
 compār 444
 comparāre 444 446
 compārēre 445
 compedēs 462
 compedīre 462
 compellāre 456
 compellere 455
 compendere 457
 compendiārius 457
 compendium 457
 compēnsāre 457
 compercere 445
 comperārī 446
 compernis 460
 compscere 445
 competere 463
 competitor 463
 compilāre 465
 compingere 442
 Compitālis 463
 compitum 463
 complacēre 469
 complectī 471
 complexus 471 472
 complicāre 472
 compluit 474
 complūrēs 475
 complūriē(n)s 475
 complūsculī 475
 compluviātus 474
 compluvium 474
 compōnere 479
 comportāre 482
 compos 484
 compos(it)tura 479
 compositīcius 479
 compofīre 484
 compōtrīx 485
 comprehendere 487
 comprecārī 488
 compressiō 487
 compressus 487
 comprimere 487
 comprobāre 490
 comptiōnālis 188
 computāre 502
 cōnāmen 130
 cōnātus 130
 concēdere 103
 concelebrāre 104
 concertāre 111
 concessāre 103
 concidere 78
 concidere 79
 conciere 113
 conciliābulum 85
 conciliāre 84
 conciliātrix 85
 concilium 84
 concinnāre 129
 concinnus 129
 concipere 89
 concipilāre 89
 concitāre 113
 conclāve 119
 conclūdere 118
 concoquere 134
 concordāre 134
 concordia 134
 concorditās 134
 concors 134
 concredere 141
 concrepāre 143
 concreścere 144
 concrētus 144
 concubīna 152
 concubinātus 152
 concubitus 152
 concubius 152
 conculcāre 86
 concumbere 152
 concupīscere 155
 concurrere 157
 concursāre 157
 concursus 157
 concurvāre 158
 concustōdīre 159
 concutere 504
 condecet 164
 condecorāre 164
 condemnāre 161
 condēnsus 167
 condicere 169
 condiciō 169
 conductor 169
 condimentum 130
 175
 condio -ire 130
 condire 175
 conditāneus 175
 conditiō 130 175
 conditīvus 130 175
 condūcere 181
 conductīcius 181
 conductor 181
 conduplicāre 473
 cōnea 113
 cōnectere 404
 cōnexus 404
 cōnfābulārī 231
 confercire 202
 conferre 213
 confertus 202
 confervēfacere 215
 confestim 216
 confidentia 218
 confidentiloquus 218
 confidere 218
 cōnfiērī 222
 cōnfigere 219
 cōnfigere 221
 confinis 222
 confinium 222
 cōnfirmāre 223
 confitērī 204
 confīlagēs 228
 confīlare 226
 cōnflīctāre 226
 cōnflīgere 226
 cōnfluere 228
 confīlūgēs 228
 cōnflūgēs 228
 cōnfluvium 228
 cōnfodere 229
 cōnfoedustī 218
 cōnforīre 233
 cōnfracēscere 238
 cōnfragōsus 239
 cōnfricāre 243
 cōnfringere 239
 cōnfugere 246
 cōnfulcīre 247
 cōnfundere 249
 confūsīcius 249
 confūsīm 249
 congelāre 256
 congemīnāre 256

- congeminiatio 256
 congenerare 260
 congenualare 259
 congerere 259
 conglaciare 263
 congliscere 265
 conglomerare 265
 conglutinare 266
 congratulari 271
 congregari 269
 congregare 273
 congruere 274
 congruus 274
 coniectare 293
 coniector 293
 coniectrix 293
 coniectura 293
 coniti 410
 coniu(n)x 314
 coniugalis 314
 coniugium 314
 coniugulus 314
 coniunctio 314
 coniungere 314
 coniveo 130
 conor -ari 130
 conquassare 504
 conqueri 507
 conquiescere 508
 conquinisco 131
 conquerere 503
 conquistator 503
 contrahere 520
 contrahere 522
 consaepire 533
 conscendere 542
 conscindere 544
 consciscere 545
 conscius 545
 conscribere 546
 conscribillare 546
 consecrare 532
 consectari 555
 consedere 551
 consens 599
 consentaneus 554
 consentire 554
 consequere 555
 consequi 555
 conserere 557
 conserva 559
 conservare 559
 conservitium 559
 conservus 559
 considerare 562
 considerare 562
 consignare 563
 consiliscere 563
 consiliarius 131
 consiliiosus 131
 consilium 131
 consimilis 564
 consistere 567
 Consivius 557
 consobrinus 576
 consociare 569
 consol 131
 consolari 572
 consonare 574
 consopire 575
 conspectus 579
 conspergere 578
 conspicari 579
 conspicere 579
 conspiculum 579
 conspicio 579
 conspurare 581
 conspondere 582
 constabilire 589
 constare 589
 consternare 586
 consternere 586
 constibilis 589
 constituere 589
 construere 592
 consuadere 594
 consucidus 596
 consudare 596
 consuefacere 597
 consuere 600
 consuescere 597
 consueto 597
 consuetudo 597
 consul 131
 consulo -ere 131
 consultare 131
 consultatio 131
 consumere 188
 consurgere 517
 contabefacere 603
 contabescere 603
 contagens 606
 contagiō 606
 contagium 606
 contaminō -are 131
 contegere 608
 contemnere 609
 contemnificus 609
 contemplare 610
 contemptim 609
 contemptrix 609
 contendere 612
 contenebrascere 612
 conterere 616
 conticescere 604
 conticinium 604
 continere 612
 contingere 606
 continuus 612
 contiō 132
 contollere 621
 contonat 623
 contorqueere 624
 contortuplicatus 624
 contortor 624
 contra 132
 contrarius 132
 contremere 628
 contremescere 628
 contremulus 628
 controversia 667
 contrōversus 667
 contrudere 630
 contruncare 630
 contubernium 604
 contueri 632
 contumax 132
 contumelia 133
 contumeliosus 133
 contundere 633
 conturbare 634
 conubium 417
 convadari 655
 convalescere 651
 convasare 655
 convehere 658
 convellere 659
 convenae 661
 convenire 661
 conventicius 661
 conventus 661
 investire 671
 convexus 133
 conviciari 133
 convicium 133
 convincere 679
 convivere 676
 conviva 685
 convivari 685
 convivium 685
 convo/errere 666
 convolvere 689
 convolvulus 689
 convovere 691
 coorari 434
 cop(i)s 431
 copere 429
 copia 431
 copis 431
 copula 47
 coquinare 134
 coquinaris 134
 coquinus 134
 coquo -ere 134
 coquus 134
 cor cordis 134
 coram 135
 corbis 135
 corbita 135
 corbula 135
 corculum 134
 cordatus 134
 cordolium 134
 cordus 136
 corgo 194 517
 corium 136
 cornetum 137
 corneus 137
 cornicen 88 136
 cornifrons 136
 corniger 136
 Corniscae 136
 cornix 136
 cornu 136
 cornus 137
 cornutus 136
 corporare 137
 corporeus 137
 corpulentus 137
 corpus 137
 corpusculum 137
 corradere 512
 corrector 517
 corrigere 517
 corrigia 138
 corripere 513
 corruere 530
 corrumpere 529
 corruptela 529
 corrupari 531
 cortex 138
 corticeus 138
 cortina 138
 cortinipotens 138
 corulus 138
 coruscare 139
 coruscus 139
 corvus 139
 cos 139
 cosmittere 384
 cossim 140
 costa 140
 costatus 140
 cotēs 139
 cotidianus 511
 cottidie 170 511
 coxa 140
 coxendix 140
 coxim 140
 coxus 140
 crābro 140

- cracēns 268
 crās 140
 crassitūdō 141
 crassundia 141
 crassus 141
 crastinus 140
 crāticula 141
 crāfire 141
 crātis 141
 creātrix 142
 crēber 144
 crēdibilis 141
 crēdō -ere 141
 crēmentum 144
 cremitāre 142
 cremō -āre 142
 cremor 142
 creō -āre 142
 creper 143
 crepitācillum 143
 crepitāre 143
 crepitus 143
 crepō -āre 143
 crepundia 143
 crepusculum 143
 crēscō -ere 144
 crēta 144
 crētātus 144
 crēteus 144
 crētōsus 144
 crībrum 144
 crīmen 110
 crīmināre/ī 110
 crīminātor 110
 crīnis 145
 crīnītus 145
 crīsō -āre 145
 crispus 145
 crista 145
 crōciō -īre 145
 cruciābilitās 147
 cruciābiliter 147
 cruciāmentum 147
 cruciāre 147
 cruciātus 147
 crucius 147
 crūdēlis 146
 crūdēlitās 146
 crūditās 146
 crūdu 146
 cruentāre 146
 cruentus 146
 cruor 146
 crūricrepida 147
 crūnifragius 147
 crūs 147
 crūsculum/s 147
 crusta 147
 crustulum 147
 crustum 147
 crux 147
 cubiculāris 152
 cubiculum 152
 cubīle 152
 cubitāre 152
 cubitūra 152
 cubitus 148 152
 -cumbō -ere 152
 cucūlus 148
 cucumis 148
 cucurbita 149
 cucurbitivus 149
 cūdō -ere 149
 cūiās 149
 cūius 149
 cūiusnam 149
 culcita 150
 culcitula 150
 culex 150
 culīna 134
 culieāris 150
 culleus 150
 culmen 127
 culmus 150
 culpa 151
 culpāre 151
 culpitāre 151
 cultellus 151
 culter 151
 cultor 125
 cultūra 125
 cultus 125
 cūlus 151
 com- con- co- 128
 cum 152
 -cumque 152 508
 510
 cumulāre 152
 cumulus 152
 cūinae 153
 cunctātiō 153
 cūnctor 153
 cunctus 154
 cuneus 154
 cūniō -īre 154
 cūnīre 304
 cunnus 154
 cūpa 155
 cūpē 155
 cupiditās 155
 cupidō 155
 cupidus 155
 cupienter 155
 cupiō -ere 155
 cuppēdinārius 155
 cuppēdia 155
 cuppēdō 155
 cuppēs 155
 cūr 155
 cūra 156
 cūrāre 156
 cūrātiō 156
 cūrātor 156
 cūrātūra 156
 curculiō 156
 curculiunculus 156
 cūria 157
 cūriālis 157
 cūriō 157
 cūriōsus 156
 curis 159
 curriculum 157
 currō -ere 157
 currus 157
 cursāre 157
 cursim 157
 cursiō 157
 cursitāre 157
 cursor 157
 cursūra 157
 cursus 157
 curtus 158
 curvor 158
 curvus 158
 cuspis 159
 custōdela 159
 custōdia 159
 custōdīre 159
 custōs 159
 cutis 160
 -dam 510 160
 damnāre 161
 damnōsus 161
 damnum 161
 daps 161
 dapsālis 161
 dapsilis 161
 datāre 174
 datātīm 174
 datiō 174
 dator 174
 datus 174
 dautia 161
 -de 162
 dē 160
 dea 167
 dēambulāre 38
 dēambulātiō 38
 dēbeō 162
 dēbilis 162
 dēbilitāre 162
 dēcēdere 103
 decem 163
 december 163
 decemplex 473
 decemplicāre 473
 dēcernere 110
 dēcerpō 95
 dēcertāre 111
 decet 164
 dēcidere 78
 dēcīdere 79
 deciē(n)s 163
 dēcipere 89
 dēcīlārāre 118
 dēcīnārē 121
 decor 164
 decorāre 164
 decōrus 164
 dēcōtes 139
 dēcēreptus 164
 dēcēreścere 144
 dēcēretum 110
 decimus 163
 decumānus 163
 dēcumbere 152
 decuria 163
 dēcurre 157
 dēcursus 157
 decus 164
 dēdecus 164
 dēdere 174
 dēdicāre 169
 dēducere 181
 dēcerrāre 194
 dēesse 599
 dēfac/īcāre 199
 dēfe/atīgāre 204
 dēfensāre 210
 dēfensor 210
 dēferre 213
 dēfervēfacere 215
 dēfervēścere 215
 dēfessus 204
 dēfetīsci 204
 dēfierī 222
 dēfigere 219
 dēfinīre 222
 dēfinitīō 222
 dēflagrāre 224
 dēflare 226
 dēflēre 226
 dēfloccāre 227
 dēfiuere 228
 dēfodere 229
 dēformāre 233
 dēformis 233
 dēfraudāre 240
 dēfricātē 243
 dēfringere 239
 dēfrustrārī 240
 dēfrutāre 165

- dēfrutum 165
 dēfugere 246
 dēfundere 249
 dēfungī 250
 dēgere 30
 dēglūbere 266
 dēgredi 269
 dēgrūmāre 273
 dēgūnere 276
 dēgustāre 276
 dēhortārī 289
 dēicere 293
 dēierāre 316
 deinus 167
 dēiugāre 314
 dēiungere 314
 dēiuvāre 318
 dēlābī 319
 dēlassāre 328
 delectāmentum 321
 dēlectāre 321
 dēlectātiō 321
 dēlēgāre 337
 dēlēnificus 333
 dēlēnīmentum 333
 dēlenīre 333
 dēleō 165
 dēlētilis 165
 dēlētiō 165
 dēlibāre 339
 dēliberāre 339
 dēlibrātum 337
 dēlibūtus 339
 dēlicātus 321
 dēlicere 321
 dēlicia 321
 dēliculus 165
 dēlicus 165
 dēlicuus 165 344
 dēligāre 341
 dēligere 332
 dēlingere 343
 dēlinquere 344
 dēliquāre 345
 deliquiō 344
 delirāmentum 345
 dēlirāre 345
 dēliritās 345
 dēlirus 345
 dēlitī/escere 329
 dēlūbrum 330
 dēluctārī 350
 dēlūdere 350
 dēlūdicāre 350
 -dem 166 510
 dēmagis 359
 dēmens 372
 dēmentia 372
 dēmēnīre 372
 dēmere 188
 dēmerēre 374
 dēmetere 377
 dēmigrāre 379
 dēminuere 381
 dēmīnūtiō 381
 dēmīrārī 382
 dēmissīcius 384
 dēmītere 384
 dēmōlīrī 386
 dēmōnstrāre 387
 dēmōrārī 388
 dēmōrī 389
 dēmōvēre 391
 dēmptiō 188
 dēmūlcēre 392
 dēmūtāre 398
 dēnārius 163
 dēnarrāre 267
 dēnāscī 401
 dēnī 163
 dēnicālis 407
 dēnigrāre 409
 dēnique 160
 dēns 166
 densāre 167
 densēre 167
 dēnsus 167
 dentātus 166
 dentifrangibulus 166
 dentilegus 166 332
 dēnūdāre 417
 dēnumerāre 419
 dēnuō 416
 dēoriō 281
 deorsum/s 667
 dēōsculārī 436
 dēpangere 442
 dēpāscere 448
 dēpeciscī 452
 dēpectere 453
 dēpecūlātus 454
 dēpellere 455
 dēpendere 457
 dēpendēre 457
 dēpetīgō 463
 dēpilātus 465
 dēpingere 465
 dēplantāre 470
 dēpōculāre 485
 dēpolītiō 476
 dēpōnere 479
 dēpontāre 479
 dēpopulārī 480
 dēpopulātor 480
 dēportāre 482
 dēportātiō 482
 dēprāns 486
 dēprāvāre 487
 dēpre(he)ndere 487
 dēprecārī 488
 dēprecātiō 488
 dēprimere 487
 dēpudicāre 496
 dēpūgnāre 499
 dēpūgnātiō 499
 dēpulsāre 456
 dēputāre 502
 dēpuvīre 451
 dērādere 512
 dērelinquere 344
 dērepente 520
 dērēpere 520
 dērīdēre 522
 dērīdiculum 522
 dērigere 517
 dēripere 514
 dērīvāre 524
 dēscendere 542
 dēscobīnāre 541
 dēscribere 546
 dēse/icāre 550
 dēserere 557
 dēsīderāre 562
 dēsīdēre 551
 dēsīdēre 562
 dēsīderium 562
 dēsīdia 551
 dēsīdiābula 551
 dēsīdiōsus 551
 dēsīgnāre 563
 dēsīlire 535
 dēsīnere 566
 dēsīpere 538
 dēsīstere 567
 dēspectus 579
 dēspicārī 579
 dēspicere 579
 dēspicus 579
 dēspol[i]ātor 581
 dēspoliāre 581
 dēspondēre 582
 dēspuere 583
 dēsquāmāre 583
 dēsūllāre 587
 dēsūtināre 589
 dēsstituere 589
 dēsūdāscere 596
 dēsūēscere 597
 dēsultūra 535
 dētegere 608
 dēterere 616
 dētergēre 614
 dētermināre 615
 dēterrēre 617
 dētestātum 618
 dētīnēre 613
 dētōndēre 622
 dētrahere 626
 dētūimentum 616
 dētrūdere 630
 dētūdēs 633
 deunx 642
 deus 167
 dēvellere 659
 dēvenīre 661
 dēverberāre 664
 dēverrere 666
 dēvexus 133
 dēvincīre 679
 dēvītāre 684
 dēvorāre 690
 dēvōtāre 691
 -dex 169
 dexter 168
 dextrorsum 168
 dextrōuorsum 168
 di(s)iungere 314
 diālis 170
 Diāna 168
 dicāculus 169
 dicāre 169
 dicāx 169
 diciō 169
 dīcō 169 683
 dictāre 169
 dictātor 169
 dictātrix 169
 dictiō 169
 dictitāre 169
 -dicus 169
 dīdere 174
 dīdūcere 181
 diēcula 170
 diēs 170
 Diespiter 315
 differre 213
 difficilis 198
 difficul 198
 difficultās 198
 diffidere 218
 diffindere 221
 diffilāre 226
 diffiluere 228
 diffringere 239
 diffugere 246
 diffundere 249
 diffunditāre 249
 diffusilis 249
 dīgerere 259
 digitābulum 170
 digitulus 170

- digitus 170
 dignāre 164
 dignitās 164
 dīgnus 164
 dīgredi 269
 dīlābī 319
 dīlacerāre 320
 dīlargīrī 327
 dīlātāre 329
 dīlaxāre 331
 dīligerter 332
 dīlīgētia 332
 dīlīgēre 332
 dīlūcēre 355
 dīlūcēscere 355
 dīlūcidus 355
 dīlūculum 355
 dīluere 330
 dīluviāre 330
 dīluviēs 330
 dīmētīrī 377
 dīmīcāre 378
 dīmīdiātus 369
 dīmīdius 369
 dīmīttēre 384
 dīmōvēre 391
 dīnumerāre 419
 -dinus 171
 dīnus 167
 Dīrae 171
 dīribēre 277
 dīrigere 517
 dīrimere 188
 dīripere 514
 dīruere 530
 dīrumpere 529
 dīrus 171
 Dīs 173
 dis- 171 193
 discernere 110
 discerniculum 110
 discerpō 95
 discidium 544
 discingere 114
 disciplina 172
 disciplinōsus 172
 discipulus 172
 disclūdere 118
 discō -ere 172
 discordābilis 134
 discordāre 135
 discordia 134
 discorditās 134
 discors 134
 discrepāre 143
 discrepitāre 143
 discrībere 546
 discrimen 110
 discrīmināre 110
 discumbere 152
 discupere 155
 discutere 504
 disertāre 557
 disertim 557
 disertīōnes 193
 disicere 293
 disiectāre 293
 dismota 171
 dispālārī 441
 dispālēscere 441
 dispandere 442
 dispār 444
 disparāre 444 446
 disparilis 444
 disparilitās 444
 dispellere 455
 dispendere 457
 dispendium 457
 dispennite 442
 dispēnsāre 457
 dispensātor 457
 dispergere 578
 disperīre 191
 disperīre 448
 dispēsccere 445
 dispessūm 442
 dispicere 579
 Dispiter 315
 displānāre 470
 displicāre 472
 displicēre 469
 displō/ūdere 470
 dispōnere 479
 dispositūra 479
 dispudet 496
 dispulverāre 498
 disptāre 502
 discindere 544
 disse/icāre 550
 dissēnsiō 554
 dissentīre 554
 disserere 557
 disserpcre 558
 dissignātor 563
 dissilīre 535
 dissimilis 564
 dissimilāre 564
 dissipāre 601
 dissociāre 569
 dissolvere 573
 dissuādēre 594
 dissuēfieri 597
 dissultāre 535
 distāre 589
 distendere 612
 distinguere 588
 distorquēre 624
 distrahere 626
 dīstringere 592
 distruncāre 631
 disturbāre 634
 dītēscere 173
 dītīae 173
 diū 172
 diurnus 173
 dius 172
 Dius 218
 dīus 167 173
 Dīus Fīdīus 172
 diutinus 173
 diūtius 173
 dīverberāre 664
 dīves 173
 dīvexāre 673
 dīvidia 174
 dīvidō -ere 174
 dīvidus 174
 dīviduus 174
 dīvīnitus 167
 dīvīnus 167
 dīvītāre 173
 dīvītīae 173
 dīvulgāre 686
 dīvus 167
 dō dare 174
 -dō -derē 160 175
 182
 doceō 176
 docilis 176
 doctor 176
 doctrīna 176
 documen 176
 documentum 176
 dolābra 176
 doleō 176
 dōliāris 176
 dolitāre 176
 dolium 176
 dōlium 176
 dolō -āre 176
 dolor 176
 dolōsus 177
 dolus 177
 domesticus 178
 domicilium 178
 domina 177
 dominārī 177
 dominicus 177
 dominium 177
 dominus 177
 domus 178
 dōnābilis 179
 dōnāre 179
 dōnāticus 179
 dōnec 160
 dōnum 179
 dormiō -ire 179
 dormītāre 179
 dormītātor 179
 dorsuārius 180
 dorsum 180
 dōs 174
 dōtālis 174
 dōtātus 174
 dubat 180
 dubitāre 180
 dubitātīm 180
 dubitātīō 180
 dubius 180
 ducentī 107 183
 dūcō -ere 181
 ductābilītās 181
 ductāre 181
 ductīm 181
 ductītāre 181
 dūdum 181
 Duellonai 70
 duim 182
 dulcēdō 182
 dulciculus 182
 dulcifer 182
 dulcis 182
 dulcītās 182
 dum 160
 dūmētum 182
 dumtaxat 606
 dūmus 182
 duo 183
 duodecim 163 183
 duodēvīginī 678
 duplex 473
 duplicāre 473
 duplicārius 473
 dupliō 475
 duplus 475
 dupondius 457
 dūracinus 184
 dūrāmen 184
 dūrāre 184
 dūrīter 184
 dūrītīa 184
 dūrītūdō 184
 dūrus 184
 duumvirī 183
 dux 181
 dvi 71
 dvicēsus 71
 dvidēns 71
 ē 465
 eā 309
 ēbībere 71
 ēbītēre 68

- ebriācus 184
 ebriolātus 184
 ebriolus 184
 ebrius 184
 ebulus 185
 ecce 185
 eculeus 192
 edācītās 185
 edāx 185
 ēdentāre 166
 ēdentulus 166
 ēdere 174
 ēdicere 169
 ēdictāre 169
 ēdictiō 169
 ēdissere 557
 ēdissertāre 557
 edō ēsse 185
 ēducāre 181
 ēducere 181
 ēductiō 181
 edūlia 185
 effārī 231
 effercīre 202
 efferre 213
 efferus 215
 efferv(e)ō 215
 effervēscere 215
 effētus 217
 effigia 221
 effigiēs 221
 effingere 221
 efflāre 226
 efflētāre 226
 efflētum 226
 effligere 226
 effluere 228
 effodere 229
 effrēnātus 241
 effringere 239
 effugere 246
 effugium 246
 effundere 249
 egēnus 186
 egeō 186
 ēgerere 259
 egestās 186
 ēgignere 260
 egō 187
 ēgregius 273
 ēgretus 269
 ēgurgitāre 275
 ēicere 293
 ēierāre 316
 ēiuncidus 313
 ēlecebra 321
 ēlectāre 321
 ēlectilis 332
 ēlegāns 332
 ēlegantia 332
 ēlicere 321
 ēlidere 323
 ēligere 332
 ēlīmīnāre 342
 ēlinere 344
 ēlinguāre 343
 ēlinguis 343
 ēliquāre 345
 ēliquēscere 345
 ēlix 321
 ēlixus 347
 ellam 188
 ellum 185 188
 ēloquentia 348
 ēloquī 348
 ēluācrum 331
 ēlūdere 351
 ēlūdificārī 351
 ēluere 330
 ēlūrēscere 354
 ēlūtriāre 331
 eluviēs 331
 em 188
 ēmancipāre 363
 emāx 188
 ēmentīrī 372
 ēmerēre 374
 ēmergere 375
 ēmicāre 378
 ēmigrāre 379
 ēminārī 380
 ēminatīō 380
 ēminēre 380
 ēminulus 380
 ēminus 363
 ēmissicius 384
 ēmittere 384
 emō -ere 188
 ēmōlīrī 386
 ēmorī 389
 ēmortuālis 389
 ēmovēre 391
 emptīcius 188
 emptor 188
 empturīre 188
 ēmungere 392
 ēn 189
 ēnāre 411
 ēnarrāre 267
 ēnāscī 401
 endo indu(-) indi-
 189
 ēni/ecāre 407
 eniber 190
 enim 190
 ēnitēre 410
 ēnīfī 410
 ēnōdāre 412
 ēnsiculus 190
 ēnsis 190
 enubrō 190
 ēnumerāre 419
 ēnūntiāre 419
 eō 309
 eō īre 191
 ēpōtāre 485
 epulae 192
 epulārī 192
 epulōnus 192
 epulum 192
 equa 192
 equāria 192
 eques 192
 equīle 192
 equīnus 192
 Equirria 192
 equīsō 192
 equitāre 192
 equola 192
 equus 192
 ēr 193
 era 194 259
 ērādere 512
 ērādīcāre 512
 ercīscō -ere 193
 -erctiōnes 193
 ērēpere 520
 ergā 194 517
 ergō 194 517
 ērīcius 193
 ērigere 517
 erilis 194
 ēripere 514
 ērogitāre 526
 errābundus 194
 errantia 194
 errāticus 194
 errātiō 194
 errō -āre 194
 error 194
 ērūca 194
 ēructāre 529
 ēruere 530
 ērumpere 530
 erus 194
 ervilia 195
 ervum 195
 ēsca 185
 ēscārius 185
 ēscendere 542
 escit, escunt 599
 ēsitāre 185
 ēsuriālis 185
 ēsurīgō 185
 ēsurīre 185
 et 195
 etenim 195
 etiam 195
 etsī 195
 ēvādere 650
 ēvānēscere 653
 ēvehere 658
 ēvellere 659
 ēvenīre 661
 ēventus 661
 ēverrere 666
 ēvirāre 681
 ēviscerāre 683
 ēvitāre 684 685
 ēvocāre 692
 ēvolāre 687
 ēvolvere 689
 ēvomere 690
 ex 188 195 218 315
 321
 ex(s)ilium 196
 ex(s)ul 196
 ex(s)ulāre 196
 exadversum 667
 exāmen 30
 examussim 40
 exanimābilis 43
 exanimālis 43
 exanimāre 43
 exanimis 43
 exārēscere 53
 exasperāre 58
 exaudīre 61
 excandēscere 87
 excēdere 103
 excellere 105
 excerpō 95
 excidere 78
 excidere 79
 excidium 544
 exciēre 113
 excissātus 544
 excitāre 113
 exclāmāre 117
 excludere 118
 exclūsiō 118
 excolere 125
 exconcinnāre 129
 excors 135
 excrēscere 144
 excrucīabilis 147
 excrucīare 147
 excubiae 152
 excūdere 149
 excūrāre 156
 excūriāre 157
 excurrere 157

- excūsāre 100
 excutere 504
 exemplar 188
 exemplum 188
 exemptiō 188
 exercēre 51
 exercitus 51
 exēsor 185
 exēsse 185
 exfir 597
 exfutī 249
 exhālāre 279
 exhauriō 281
 exhērēs 282
 exhibēre 277
 exigere 30
 exiguus 30
 exil 196
 exilis 30
 eximere 188
 eximius 188
 exīre 191
 exīstimāre 28
 exitiābilis 191
 exitiālis 191
 exitiō 191
 exitium 191
 exitus 191
 exoculāre 425
 exolēscere 35
 exolētus 35
 exonerāre 428
 exoptābilis 431
 exoptāre 431
 exōrābula 435
 exōrāre 435
 exōrātor 435
 exōrdior 433
 exōrdium 433
 exoriri 434
 exōrnāre 434
 exos 436
 exossāre 436
 expandere 442
 expavidus 451
 expedire 462
 expeditiō 462
 expellere 455
 expendere 457
 expergēfacere 517
 expergere 517
 expergīscor 517
 experientia 446
 experimentum 446
 experiiri 446
 expers 448
 expetere 463
 expetessere 463
 expiāre 468
 explānāre 470
 explēmentum 472
 explicāre 472
 explōdere 470
 explōrāre 473
 explōrātor 473
 expolire 476
 expōnere 479
 exportāre 482
 exposcere 483
 expositicius 479
 expostulāre 483
 exprētus 196
 exprimere 487
 exprobrāre 490
 exprobrātiō 490
 exprōmere 188
 expūgnāre 499
 expulsim 455
 expungere 499
 expūrgāre 500
 expūrgātiō 500
 exputāre 502
 expūtēscere 501
 Exquiliae 125
 exquīrere 503
 exquisitum 503
 exsarcire 539
 exscribere 546
 exsculpere 542
 exsecāre 550
 exsequi 555
 exsequiae 555
 exsiccāre 562
 exsignāre 563
 exsolvere 573
 exsorbere 575
 exspectāre 579
 exspectātiō 579
 exspēs 580
 exspirāre 581
 exspoliāre 581
 exspuere 583
 exstāre 589
 exstīllāre 587
 exstinguere 588
 exstruere 592
 exsūgere 598
 exsultāre 535
 exta 550
 extemp(u)lō 610
 extendere 612
 extentāre 612
 extenuāre 613
 exter(us) 195
 exterebrāre 616
 exterere 616
 extergere 614
 exterior 196
 extermentārium 616
 externus 196
 exterrere 617
 extexere 619
 extimēscere 620
 extimus 196
 extollere 621
 extorquere 624
 extorris 616
 extortor 624
 extrā 195
 extrārius 195
 extrēmus 196
 extricāre 629
 extrinsecus 195 551
 extumere 633
 extumidus 633
 extundere 633
 exuberāre 636
 exuere 642
 exul 196
 exulcerāre 637
 exungui 642
 exurere 645
 exurgere 644
 exuviae 642 643
 faba 197
 fabāginus 197
 fabālis 197
 fabārius 197
 fabātus 197
 faber 197
 fabrica 197
 fabricāre/i 197
 fabricātor 197
 fabrīlis 197
 fābula 231
 fābulārī 231
 fābulinus 231
 fabulus 197
 facēs 207
 facētia 207
 facētus 207
 faciēs 198
 facilis 198
 facilitās 198
 facinus 198
 faciō -ere 198
 facit are 53
 factiō 198
 factiōsus 198
 factor 198
 facul 198
 facula 207
 facultās 198
 fācundia 231
 fācunditās 231
 fācundus 231
 fae/ēnerāre 211
 fae/ēneratō 211
 fae/ēnerātor 211
 f(a)enisex 550
 fae/ēnusculum 211
 faecārius 199
 faecātus 199
 faeceus 199
 faecula 199
 faenārius 211
 faeniculum 211
 faenisex 211
 faenisicia 211
 faex 199
 fāgineus 199
 fāgus 199
 fāgūtālis 199
 falcula 200
 fallācia 199
 fallāx 199
 fallō -ere 199
 falsārius 199
 falsidicus 199
 falsificus 199
 falsiūrius 199
 falsiloquus 199
 falsimōnia 199
 falsus 199
 falx 200
 fāma 231
 famēlicus 200
 famēs 200
 fāmex/-ix 200
 fāmigerābilis 231
 fāmigerātiō 231
 fāmigerātor 231
 familia 200
 familiāricus 200
 familiāris 200
 familiāritās 200
 familiās 200
 fāmōsus 231
 famula 200
 famulanter 200
 famulitās 200
 famulus 200
 fānāre 201
 fānāticus 201
 fānum 201
 far 201
 farcimen 202
 farciō -ire 202
 -fāriam 202
 fārīna 201
 fārinārius 201
 farnus 203

- farrāceus 201
 farrāgō 201
 farrārius 201
 farreārius 201
 farrīna 201
 fars 202
 farte 202
 farticula 202
 fartim 202
 fartor 202
 fartum 202
 fartūra 202
 fās 203
 fascia 203
 fasciculus 203
 fascīna 203
 fascinum 203
 fasciola 203
 fascis 203
 fastī 203
 fastidiliter 204
 fastidiōsus 204
 fastidire 204
 fastidium 204
 fastigāre 31
 fastigium 203
 fastigō -āre 203
 fāstus 203
 fastus 204
 fateor 204
 fatigāre 31
 fatigō -āre 204
 fatiscere 204
 fātum 231
 fatuus 205
 Fatuus 205
 Fauna 205
 Faunus 205
 faustus 206
 fautor 206
 fautrix 206
 faux 207
 favea 206
 faventia 206
 faveō 206
 favilla 206
 favisae 237
 favior 206
 Favōnius 205
 favus 207
 fax 207
 febriculōsus 208
 febris 208
 februālis 208
 februāre 208
 Februārius 208
 februātiō 208
 februātus 208
 februum 208
 fēcundus 208
 fel 209
 fēlēs 209
 fēlicitās 209
 fēlix 209
 fellāre 210
 felō -āre 210
 fēmina 210
 femineum 560
 fēmininus 210
 femur 210
 -fendō -ere 210
 fēnum / faenum 211
 fēnus / faenus 211
 fer(c)tum 212
 Fērālia 211
 fērālis 211
 ferāx 213
 ferē fermē 212
 ferentārius 213
 fēriae 212
 fēriātus 212
 ferīnus 215
 feriō -ire 213
 fermentāre 213
 fermentum 213
 ferō ferre 213
 ferōx 215
 ferrāmentum 214
 ferrārius 214
 ferrātilis 214
 ferrātus 214
 ferreus 214
 ferrūgin(e)us 214
 ferrūgō 214
 ferrum 214
 ferula 214
 ferūmen 215
 ferus 215
 fervēfacere 215
 ferveō 215
 fervescere 215
 fervidus 215
 fervor 215
 fessus 204
 festinō -āre 216
 festinus 216
 fēstivitas 212
 fēstivus 212
 festūca 216
 festūcāre 216
 festūcula 216
 fēstus 212
 fēta 217
 fētīālis 216
 fētūra 217
 fētus 217
 fiber 217
 fibula 219
 ficēdula 218
 ficēdulensēs 218
 ficētum 218
 fictilis 221
 fictor 221
 fictrix 221
 fictūra 221
 ficula 218
 ficulneus 218
 ficulus 218
 ficus 218
 fidēlis 218
 fidēlitās 218
 fidēs 218
 fidicen 88
 fidicina 88
 fidicinius 88
 Fidius 218
 fidō -ere 218
 fidūcia 218
 fidus 218
 fidusta 218
 fig(i)linae 221
 figō -ere 219
 figulāris 221
 figulus 221
 figūra 221
 figūrāre 221
 figūrātor 221
 filātim 220
 filia 219
 filicula 220
 filiolus 219
 filius 219
 filix 220
 filum 220
 fimbriae 217
 fimum 220
 findō -ere 221
 fingō -ere 221
 finūre 222
 finis 222
 finitimus 222
 finitor 222
 fiō fieri 222
 firmāmentum 223
 firmāre 223
 firmitās 223
 firmiter 223
 firmitūdō 223
 firmus 223
 fiscella 223
 fiscina 223
 fiscus 223
 fissilis 221
 fissum 221
 fistula 223
 fistulōsus 223
 fitilla 221
 fixus 219
 flābellifera 226
 flābellulum 226
 flābellum 226
 flābrum 226
 flaccēre 223
 flaccēscere 223
 flaccidus 223
 flaccus 223
 flagellum 224
 flāgitātor 224
 flāgitium 224
 flāgitō -āre 224
 flagrantia 224
 flagritriba 224
 flagrō -āre 224
 flagrum 224
 flāmen 225 226
 Flāminius 225
 flamma 224
 flammāns 224
 flammārius 224
 flammēscere 224
 flammeum 224
 flammeus 224
 flammifer 224
 flavēscere 225
 flāvus 225
 flaxāre 242
 flēbilis 226
 flectō -ere 225
 fleō 226
 flexanimus 225
 flexāre 225
 flexibilis 225
 flexuōsus 225
 flexūra 225
 flīgō -ere 226
 flō flāre 226
 floccēs 227
 floccus 227
 Flōra 227
 flōrālia 227
 flōrēre 227
 flōrēscere 227
 flōridus 227
 flōrifer 227
 flōrus 227
 flōs 227
 flu(u)idus 228
 flu(u)itāre 228
 flūctifragus 228
 flūctuāre 228
 flūctuōsus 228
 flūctus 228

- fluentum 228
 flūmen 228
 fluō -ere 228
 flūstra 228
 fluuius 228
 fōculāre 237
 fōcūm 237
 focius 228
 focus 228
 fodicāre 229
 fodiō -ere 229
 foedāre 229
 foederātus 218
 foedus 218 229
 foeteō 229
 foetidus 229
 folium 230
 folliculus 230
 follis 230
 follītus 230
 fōmentum 237
 fōmes 237
 fōns 230
 Fontānālia 230
 for fāri 231
 forāmen 235
 forās 233
 forceps 231
 forda 232
 fordicīdia 232
 forēnsis 237
 forfex -icis 232
 foria 233
 foricula 233
 foriolus 233
 foris 233
 forīs 233
 fōrma 233
 formāmentum 233
 formāre 233
 formaster 233
 formātūra 233
 formīca 234
 formīcinus 234
 formīdāre 234
 formīdō 234
 formīdulōsus 234
 formidus 235
 formōsus 233
 formula 233
 formus 235
 fornācālia 235
 fornāx 235
 fornus 235
 forō -āre 235
 fors 236
 forsitan 236
 fortasse 236
 fortassīs 236
 fortis 236
 fortitūdō 236
 fortuītus 236
 fortūna 236
 fortūnāre 236
 fortūnātīm 236
 fortūnātus 236
 forum 237
 forus 237
 fossa 229
 fossicius 229
 fossilis 229
 fossula 229
 fostia 292
 fovea 237
 foveō 237
 fracēs 238
 fracēscere 238
 fracidus 238
 frāga 239
 fragēscere 239
 fragilis 239
 fragmen 239
 frāgmentum 239
 fragor 239
 fragōsus 239
 fragrō -āre 238 364
 frangō -ere 239
 frāter 239
 frāterculāre 239
 frāterculus 239
 frāternus 239
 fraudāre 240
 fraudātiō 240
 fraudulentus 240
 fraus 240
 fraxāre 242
 fraxinus 240
 fremibundus 241
 fremitus 241
 fremō -ere 241
 frēndō -ere 241
 frēnum 241
 frequēns 242
 frequentāre 242
 fretāle 242
 fretum 242
 frētus 242
 fric(ā)tum 243
 fricāre 243
 frīgēdō 243
 frīgēfactāre 243
 frīgēre 243
 frīgēscere 243
 frīgīdārium 243
 frīgīdus 243
 frīgō -ere 243
 frīgus 243
 friō -āre 243
 frīvolāria 243
 frīvolus 243
 frīvusculum 243
 frondēre 244
 frondēscere 244
 frondifer 244
 frondōsus 244
 frōns -ondis 244
 frōns -ontis 244
 frūctuārius 244
 frūctuōsus 244
 frūctus 244
 frūgālior 244
 frūgāliter 244
 frūgēs 244
 frūgī 244
 frūgifer 244
 frūgiferēns 244
 frūgīparus 244
 frūmentārius 244
 frūmentum 244
 frūnīscere 244
 fruor fruī 244
 frustātīm 245
 frustillātīm 245
 frūstra 240
 frūstrāmen 240
 frūstrārī 240
 frūstrātiō 240
 frustulentus 245
 frustum 245
 frutex 245
 frūx 244
 fūcus 245
 fuga 246
 fugāre 246
 fugāx 246
 fugēl(l)a 246
 fugiō -ere 246
 fugitāre 246
 fugitivārius 246
 fugitivus 246
 fugitor 246
 fuī 246
 fulciō -īre 247
 fulcrum 247
 fulgens 247
 fulgēre 247
 fulgetrum 247
 fulgidus 247
 fulgō -ere 247
 fulgor 247
 fulgur 247
 fulgurātor 247
 fulgurīre 247
 fulgus 247
 fulica 248
 fūligō 248
 fulix 248
 fullō 248
 fullōnia 248
 fullōnica 248
 fullōnius 248
 fulmen 247
 fulmentum 247
 fulmineus 247
 fulvus 248
 fūmāre 249
 fūmidus 249
 fūmificāre 249
 fūmificus 249
 fūmigāre 249
 fūmōsus 249
 fūmus 249
 fūnambulū 250
 funda 249
 fundāmentum 250
 fundāre 250
 funditāre 249
 funditus 250
 fundō -ere 249
 fundula 249
 fundulum 249
 fundus 250
 fūnebris 251
 fūnestus 251
 fungīnus 250
 fungor -ī 250
 fungus 250
 fūniculus 250
 fūnis 250
 fūnus 251
 fūr 251
 fūrārī 251
 fūrāx 251
 furca 251
 furcifer 251
 furcilla 251
 furcillāre 251
 furcillātus 251
 fūrfur 252
 furia 252
 fūrīnus 251
 furiōsus 252
 furō -ere 252
 furor 252
 furtificus 251
 furtim 251
 furtīvus 251
 fūrtum 251
 furvus 252
 fuscus 252
 fūstis 253
 fūstitudīnus 253

- futāre 246
 fūtis 249
 -fūtō -āre 253
 futuō -ere 254
 gallīna 254
 gallīnāceus 254
 gallīnārius 254
 gallus 254
 gānea 254
 gāneō 254
 gāneum 254
 ganniō -īre 254
 garrīō -īre 255
 garrulus 255
 gaudeō 255
 gaudium 255
 gāvīa 256
 gelāre 256
 gelicidium 78 256
 gelidus 256
 gelus 256
 gemināre 256
 geminitūdō 256
 geminus 256
 gemma 257
 gemmāre 257
 gemō -ere 257
 gena 257
 -gena 260
 gener -erī 258
 generālis 260
 generāre 260
 generāscere 260
 generātīm 260
 genetīvus 260
 genetīx 260
 geniculum 259
 genitābilis 260
 genitālis 260
 genitor 260
 genius 260
 -genius 260
 gēns 258
 genīlicius 258
 genīlis 258
 genīlitās 258
 genu 259
 genuīnus 257
 genus 260
 -genus 260
 ger 259
 germānus 260
 germen 260
 germināscere 260
 gerō -ere 259
 gerulifigulus 259
 gerum 259
 gestāre 259
 gestīre 259
 gestitāre 259
 gestor 259
 gestus 259
 gibber 259
 gibbus 259
 gignō -ere 260
 gingīva 262
 -gintā 262
 glaber 263
 glaciēs 263
 gladiātor 263
 gladiātōrius 263
 gladius 263
 glandifer 263
 glandium 263
 glāns 263
 glārea 264
 glēba 264
 glēbārius 264
 glīs 264
 glīscō -ere 265
 glittus 266
 globōsus 265
 globus 265
 glomerāmen 265
 glomerāre 265
 glomus 265
 glōria 265
 glōriārī 265
 glōriōsus 265
 glōs 266
 glūbere 266
 glūbō -ere 266
 glūma 266
 glūten 266
 glūtinātor 266
 glūtinum 266
 glutīre 267
 gluttō 267
 gnārigāre 267
 gnāruris 267
 gnārus 267
 (g)nāta 400
 (g)nātus 400
 (g)nāvus 268
 (g)nōbilis 413
 gracilēns 268
 gracilentus 268
 gracilis 268
 gracilitās 268
 gracilitūdō 268
 grāculus 268
 gradātīm 268
 gradibilis 268
 gradior 268
 gradus 268
 grallae 268
 grallātor 268
 grāmen 269
 grāmia 270
 grammōsus 270
 grānārium 271
 grānātus 271
 grandaevitās 270
 grandaevus 270
 grandēscere 270
 grandiculus 270
 grandinat 270
 grandīre 270
 grandis 270
 granditās 270
 grandō 270
 grānea 271
 grānum 271
 grassārī 268
 grassātor 268
 grātārī 271
 grātēs 271
 grātia 271
 grātuītus 271
 grātulārī 271
 grātus 271
 gravāre 272
 (g)rāvāstellus 515
 gravātīm 272
 gravēdō 272
 gravēscere 272
 gravidāre 272
 gravidus 272
 gravis 272
 gravitās 272
 graviter 272
 gregālis 273
 gregātīm 273
 gremium 272
 gressiō 269
 -gressus 269
 grex 273
 grossus 273
 gruere 274
 grūmus 273
 grunda 273
 grundīō -īre 274
 -gruō -ere 274
 grūs 274
 gula 275
 gumia 275
 gurdus 275
 gurges 275
 gurguliō 276
 gustāre 276
 gustus 276
 gutta 276
 guttātīm 276
 guttuā 276
 guttur 276
 habēna 277
 habeō 277
 habilis 277
 habitāre 277
 habitātiō 277
 habitūdō 277
 habiturīre 277
 habitus 277
 haedillus 278
 haedīnus 278
 haedus 278
 haereō 278
 haerēscere 278
 haesitāre 278
 hālitāre 279
 hālitus 279
 (h)allus/x 278
 hālō -āre 279
 hāmātilis 279
 hāmātus 279
 hāmiōta 279
 hamus 279
 hānula 201
 hara 279
 harēna 279
 harēnātus 279
 (h)arēnōsus 279
 hariola 280
 (h)ariolārī 280
 hariolātiō 280
 (h)ariolus 280
 (h)arundinētum 279
 (h)arundō 279
 haruspex 280 579
 haruspica 280
 hasta 280
 hastātus 280
 hastīle 280
 baud 280
 haurīō 281
 haustum 281
 hebēre 281
 hebes 281
 hebēscere 281
 hederā 281
 hederāceus 281
 (h)el(I)uō 282
 (h)elluārī 282
 helvella 282
 helvius 282
 helvoīus 282
 helvus 282
 herba 282
 herbeus 282
 herbidus 282
 herbilis 282
 herbōsus 282

- hērēditās 282
 hērēdium 282
 hērēs 282
 heri 283
 hesternus 283
 hiāscere 285
 hiātus 285
 hibernāre 284
 hibernus 284
 hic haec hoc 284
 hiemālis 284
 hiemātiō 284
 hiems 284
 hietāre 285
 hillae 285
 hīlum 285
 hiō hiāre 285
 hīra 285
 hircīnus 286
 hircōsus 286
 hircus 286
 hirpus 286
 hirquitallus 286
 hirsūtus 286
 hirtus 286
 hirūdō 286
 hīrundīnīnus 286
 hīrundō 286
 hīscere 285
 hiulecus 285
 hodiē 170 287
 hodiernus 287
 (h)olerāre 287
 (h)olitor 287
 (h)olitōrius 287
 (h)olus 287
 homicīda 79
 homicīdium 79
 homō 287
 homullus 287
 homunciō 287
 homunculus 287
 honestāre 288
 honestās 288
 honestitūdō 288
 honestus 288
 honorārius 288
 honorātus 288
 honōs 288
 hordeāceus 288
 hordeum 288
 horior 289
 horitātur 289
 hōrnō 289
 hōrnōtinus 289
 hōrnus 289
 horreō 290
 horrēscere 290
 horreum 290
 horribilis 290
 horridulus 290
 horridus 290
 horrifēr 290
 horrificābilis 290
 horrificus 290
 horrisomnis 290
 horror 290
 hortāmentum 289
 hortārī 289
 hortātor 289
 hortātrīx 289
 hortus 290
 hospes 291
 hospita 291
 hospitalis 291
 hospitium 291
 hostia 292
 hostiātus 292
 hosticapās 89
 hosticus 291
 hostificus 291
 hostīlis 291
 hostīmentum 292
 hostīre 292
 hostīs 291
 hostus 292
 hūmānitus 287
 hūmānus 287
 humāre 292
 humilis 292
 humilitās 292
 humus 292
 iacēre 292
 iaciō -ere 292
 iactāre 293
 iactus 292
 iaculārī 292
 iaculum 292
 iaculus 292
 iam 293
 iānitor 294
 iānitricēs 294
 iānitrix 294
 iānuā 294
 iānuālis 294
 iānuārius 294
 iānus 294
 ibī 295
 ibīdem 295
 icō -ere 295
 ictus 295
 idcirco 115
 idem 295
 identidem 295
 ideō 309
 idōneus 295
 idūs 295
 iecur 296
 ieientāculum 296
 ieientāre 296
 ieiūniōsus 296
 ieiūnitās 296
 ieiūnium 296
 ieiūnus 296
 igitur 297
 ignārus 267
 ignāvāre 268
 ignāvia 268
 ignāvus 268
 ignēscere 297
 igneus 297
 ignifer 297
 ignis 297
 ignōbilis 413
 ignōbilitās 413
 ignōminia 412
 ignōrantia 297
 ignōro -āre 297
 ignōscere 413
 ignōtus 413
 illex 298
 ilia 298
 ilicet 340
 ilicō 347
 iligneus 298
 ilignus 298
 illā 298
 illāc 298
 illaqueāre 327
 ille 298
 illecebra 321
 illecebrōsus 321
 illepidus 335
 illex 321
 illī 298
 illic 298
 illic 298
 illicere 321
 illicium 321
 illīdere 323
 illim 298
 illinc 298
 illō 298
 illō/ūtus 331
 illōc 298
 illocābilis 347
 illūc 298
 illūcēre 355
 illūcēscere 355
 illūdere 351
 illūstrāre 355
 illūstris 355
 illuviēs 331
 imāgō 298
 imbēcillus 298
 imber 299
 imberbis 69
 imbītere 68
 imbrex 299
 imbricator 299
 imbricus 299
 imbuō 299
 imitāre 298
 imitārī 298
 immānis 364
 immāturus 367
 immemor 371
 immemorābilis 371
 immēnsus 377
 immerēns 374
 immergere 375
 immeritō 374
 immigrāre 379
 imminuere 381
 immiscēre 382
 immittēre 384
 immō 300
 immodestia 384
 immodestus 384
 immolāre 386
 immortalis 389
 immortalitās 389
 immulgēre 393
 immunditia 394
 immundus 394
 immūnis 395
 immūtābilis 398
 immūtāre 398
 impār 444
 imparātus 446
 impedīmentum 462
 impedīre 462
 impellere 455
 impendere 457
 impendēre 457
 impendiōsus 457
 impendium 457
 imperāre 446 447
 imperātor 446
 impercere 445
 imperiōsus 446
 imperītus 446
 imperium 446
 impermixtus 382
 impertūre 448
 impes 463
 impetīgō 463
 impetrābilis 450
 impetrāre 450
 impetrūre 450
 impetus 463
 impexus 453

- impietās 468
 impiger 464
 impingere 442
 impius 468
 implectere 472
 implicāre 472
 implicāscere 472
 implōrāre 473
 impluere 474
 impluviātus 474
 impluvium 474
 impōnere 479
 importāre 482
 importūnitās 482
 importūnus 482
 impos 484
 impositicius 479
 impositiō 479
 impositor 479
 impotēns 484
 impotentia 484
 imprānsus 486
 imprimere 488
 improbāre 490
 improbus 490
 imprōvīsus 676
 imprūdēns 676
 impūbēs 495
 impudēns 496
 impudicitia 496
 impudicus 496
 impulsor 455
 impūrātus 500
 impūritia 500
 impūrus 500
 īmus 300
 in 300
 in- 301
 inambulāre 38
 ināniae 301
 inānilogista 301
 inānīre 301
 inānis 301
 inaurēs 63
 incēdere 103
 incendere 106
 incendium 106
 incernere 110
 incerniculum 110
 incertāre 111
 incertus 111
 incidere 78
 incīdere 79
 inciens 301
 incilāre 79
 incilis 79
 incipere 89
 incitus 113
 inclāmāre 117
 inclēmenter 119
 inclināre 121
 inclitus 122
 inclūdere 118
 inclutus 122
 incognitus 413
 incohāre 123
 incohātus 123
 incola 125
 incolere 125
 incolumis 82
 incomitiāre 129
 incommodus 384
 incōnsultus 131
 incontāminātus 131
 incoxāre 140
 incrēbrāre 144
 incrēbrēscere 144
 incrēdibilis 141
 increpāre 143
 incubāre 152
 incubitāre 152
 incultus 125
 incūnābula 153
 incūria 156
 incurtere 157
 incursāre 157
 incursim 157
 incurvēscere 158
 incurvicervīcus 111
 incurvus 158
 incūs 149
 incūsāre 100
 indāgō 30
 indeptus 47
 index 169
 indicāre 169
 indicātiō 169
 indicere 169
 indicium 169
 indictīvus 169
 indigem 186
 indigena 189 260
 indigēre 186 189
 indiges 189 301
 indigis 186 189
 indigitāmenta 301
 indigitāre 301
 indigus 186 189
 indipīscor 47 189
 indolēs 189
 indostruum 592
 indotuētur 189 632
 indouc 181
 indūcere 181
 indūcula 642
 induere 189 642
 indugredior 189 269
 indulgēō 302
 indulgītās 302
 indūmentum 642
 indupedīre 189 462
 induperāre 189
 induperātor 189
 industriōsē 592
 industrius 189 592
 indūtia 302
 indūtilis 642
 indūtus 642
 induviae 642 643
 induvolāre 189
 inebra 190
 inedia 185
 inēnōdābilis 412
 ineptus 47
 inercta 193
 inermis 54
 iners 55
 inescāre 185
 inesse 599
 inexōrābilis 435
 infabrē 197
 infāmia 231
 infāmis 231
 infandus 231
 infāns 231
 infantia 231
 infēlicāre 209
 infēlicitās 209
 infēlix 209
 inferī 302
 inferior 302
 inferius 213
 infernus 302
 inferre 213
 inferus 302
 infervēfacere 215
 infervēre 215
 infervēscere 215
 infestus 303
 inficētus 207
 infidelis 218
 infīdus 218
 infīgere 219
 infimus 302
 infindere 221
 infīnitus 222
 infirmāre 223
 infirmitās 223
 infirmus 223
 infit 222
 infitiās ire 204
 inflammāre 224
 inflāre 226
 inflectere 225
 inflexus 225
 influere 228
 infodere 229
 inforāre 235
 informāre 234
 infortunātus 236
 infortunium 236
 infrā 302
 infrenāre 241
 infrequens 242
 infriāre 243
 infringere 239
 infimātis 302
 infundere 249
 infundibulum 249
 infuscāre 252
 ingemere 257
 ingeniātus 260
 ingenium 260
 ingēns 303
 ingenuus 260
 ingerere 259
 ingluviēs 267
 ingrātificus 271
 ingrātus 271
 ingredi 269
 ingruere 274
 inguen 303
 ingurgitāre 275
 inhiāre 285
 inhibēre 277
 inhonestus 288
 inhorrēscere 290
 inhūmānus 287
 inhumātus 292
 inibi 295
 in(i)icere 293
 inigere 30
 ininūcitia 39
 inimīcus 39
 inīquāre 27
 inīquus / inīcus 27
 inīre 191
 inītāre 191
 initiāre 191
 initium 191
 initus 191
 iniugēs 314
 iniūrātus 316
 iniuria 316
 iniūrius 316
 iniūrus 316
 iniussū 312
 inlicīre 321
 innāscī 401
 innectere 404
 innocēns 411
 innoxius 411

- innuba 417
 innūbilis 417
 innuere 419
 innumerābilis 419
 innumerālis 419
 innumerus 419
 inolēns 426
 inopiōsus 431
 inops 431
 inōrātus 435
 inquilīnus 125
 inquinō -āre 304
 inquīrere 503
 inquīsītus 503
 īnsānia 538
 īnsānīre 538
 īnsānus 538
 īnsatiābilis 540
 īnsatietās 540
 īnscondere 542
 īnscēnsiō 542
 īnsciēns 545
 īnscītia 545
 īnscītus 545
 īnsciūs 545
 īnscrībere 546
 īnsecāre 550
 īnsece / inquam 304
 īnsectārī 555
 īnsectiō 304
 īnsecundus 556
 īnsēdābiliter 551
 īnsēnsilis 554
 īnsequī 555
 īnserere 557
 īnserinuntur 557
 īnservīre 559
 īnsicium 550
 īnsīdere 562
 īnsīdiae 551
 īnsīdiārī 551
 īnsīgnis 563
 īnsīgnītus 563
 īnsiīre 535
 īnsimulāre 564
 īnsinuāre 567
 īnsipāre 601
 īnsipere 601
 īnsipiēns 538
 īnsistere 567
 īnsolēns 304 570
 īnsolēscō -ere 304
 īnsomnis 573
 īnsōns 574
 īnspectāre 579
 īnspērātus 580
 īnspicere 579
 īnspirāre 581
 īnspūtāre 583
 īnstabilis 589
 īnstar 305
 īnstāre 589
 īnstauro -āre 305
 īnstīgāre 305
 īnstillāre 587
 īnstīpāre 588
 īnstipulārī 588
 īnstituere 589
 īnstrātum 586
 īnstrēnuus 591
 īnstruere 592
 īnstrūmentum 592
 īnsuēscere 597
 īnsula 306
 īnsultāre 535
 īnsuper 600
 integer 606
 integere 608
 integrāre 606
 integrāscere 606
 integrātiō 606
 integumentum 608
 intelligentia 332
 intellegere 332
 intemperāns 611
 intemperīae 611
 intempestīvus 611
 intempestus 611
 intendere 612
 inter 306
 interātīm 306
 interbītēre 68
 intercalāre 84
 intercēdere 103
 intercessiō 103
 intercipere 89
 interclūdere 118
 intercurrere 157
 interkursāre 157
 intercus 160
 interdare 174 182
 interdīcere 169
 interdiū 173
 interdius 173
 interduim 182
 interduō 182
 intereā(d) 306
 interere 616
 interesse 599
 interfieri 222
 interfodere 229
 interfringere 239
 intericere 293
 interim 306
 interimere 188
 interior 306
 interīre 191
 interloquī 348
 interluere 331
 intermēstris 373
 interminārī 380
 intermittere 384
 intermorī 389
 internecāre 408
 interneciō 408
 internōdium 412
 internōscere 413
 internūndinum 415
 internūntius 419
 interpellāre 456
 interpellātiō 456
 interpolāre 477
 interpolis 477
 interpres 307
 interpretārī 307
 interpretātiō 307
 interputāre 502
 interrogāre 526
 interrumpere 530
 interserere 557
 interstinguere 588
 interstinus 307
 interstringere 592
 intertrahere 626
 intertrīgō 616
 intertrīmentum 616
 intervallum 652
 intervenīre 661
 intervīsere 676
 instābilis 618
 instātus 618
 instētīnum 307
 īntimus 306
 īnting(u)ere 620
 intolerandus 621
 intrā 306
 intrāre 306
 intrīcāre 629
 intro 306
 intrōcurrere 157
 intrōducere 181
 introīre 191
 introitus 191
 intuērī 632
 intus 300
 inultus 636
 inūmigāre 639
 inuncāre 640
 inūsītātus 648
 inūtilis 647
 invehere 658
 invenīre 661
 inventor 661
 invenustus 663
 invergere 665
 investigāre 671
 investīre 671
 inveterāscere 672
 invictus 679
 invidēre 676
 invidia 676
 invidiōsus 676
 invidus 676
 inviolābilis 680
 invītō -āre 307
 invītus 307
 invocāre 692
 involūcre 689
 involvere 689
 involvulus 689
 iocārī 308
 iocōsus 308
 iocularis 308
 iocularius 308
 ioculus 308
 iocus 308
 ipse 308
 ipsissimus 308
 īra 308
 īrācundia 308
 īrācundus 308
 īrāsci 309
 irrādere 512
 irrīdēre 522
 irrīdiculum 522
 irrigāre 523
 irrigātiō 523
 irrigīvus 523
 irriguus 523
 irrītō -āre 309
 irrītus 519
 irrogāre 526
 is ea id 309
 iste 310
 istic 310
 istīc 310
 istinc 310
 istō 310
 istōc 310
 istorsum 310
 istūc 310
 ita 311
 itaque 311
 item 311
 iter 311
 iterāre 311
 iterum 311
 itidem 311
 iuba 312
 iubar 312
 iubātus 312
 iubeō 312

- iūbilō -āre 313
 iūcundus 318
 iūdex 169 316
 iūdicāre 169 316
 iūdicātiō 169 316
 iūdicium 169 316
 iug(u)mentum 314
 iugāre 314
 iugātiō 314
 iūgera 314
 iūgere 313
 iūgerum 314
 iuges 314
 iūgis 313
 iūglāns 263
 iugulae 314
 iugulāre 314
 iugulum 314
 iugum 314
 iugus 314
 iūmentum 314
 iuncētum 313
 iunceus 313
 iuncus 313
 iungō -ere 314
 iūnior 317
 iūnipe/irus 313
 iūnius 317
 iūnix 317
 iūnō 208 317
 iūpiter 315
 iūr(i)gāre 316
 iūrāre 316
 iūrātor 316
 iūrgium 316
 iūrigāre 31
 iūs 316
 iūsculum 316
 iussus 312
 iūstitia 316
 iuvenca 317
 iuventus 317
 iuvenis 317
 iuventa 317
 iuventās 317
 iuventūs 317
 iuvō -āre 318
 iuxtā 318
 iuxtim 318
 labāscere 319
 labea 319
 labefacere 319
 labefactāre 319
 labellum 319
 labellum 330
 labeōsus 319
 labēs 319
 labī 319
 labia 319
 labium 319
 labō -āre 319
 labor 320
 laborāre 320
 labōriōsus 320
 labōsus 319
 labrum 319
 labrum 330
 labundus 319
 lac 320
 lacer 320
 lacerāre 320
 lacerta 321
 lacertōsus 321
 lacertus 321
 lacessere 321
 lacinia 320
 laciō -ere 321
 lacruma 322
 lactāns 320
 lactāre 321
 lactārius 320
 lactēns 320
 lactēs 320
 lacteus 320
 lactūca 320
 lacūna 322
 lacūnar 322
 lacus 322
 laedō -ere 323
 laetāre 323
 laetārī 323
 laetificāre 323
 laetificus 323
 laetiscere 323
 laetitia 323
 laetitūdō 323
 laetus 323
 laevus 323
 lallō -āre 323
 lāma 324
 lamberāre 324
 lambō 324
 lāmenta 324
 lāmentārī 324
 lāmentārius 324
 lāmentātiō 324
 lārmina 325
 lāna 325
 lānāris 325
 lānārius 325
 lancināre 320
 lancula 326
 lāneus 325
 langueō 325
 languēscere 325
 languidus 325
 languor 325
 laniāre 326
 laniārium 326
 laniēna 326
 laniēnus 326
 lānificium 325
 lāniger 325
 lanista 326
 lānitia 325
 lanius 326
 lānūgō 325
 lanx 326
 lāpicīda 326
 lāpicīdīnae 326
 lāpicīdārius 326
 lapideus 326
 lapidicīnae 326
 lapidōsus 326
 lapillus 326
 lapis 326
 lapit 327 335
 lāpsus 319
 laqueātus 327
 laqueus 327
 Lār 327
 Lārentia 327
 Lārentīnae 327
 largificus 327
 largifluus 327
 largiloquus 327
 largīrī 327
 largitās 327
 largiter 327
 lārgus 327
 lāridum 327
 larix 328
 lārua 328
 lāruātus 328
 Lārunda 327
 lascīvia 328
 lascīvībundus 328
 lascīvīre 328
 lascīvulus 328
 lascīvus 328
 lassitūdō 328
 lassus 328
 latebra 329
 latebricola 125 329
 latēbrōsus 329
 lateō 329
 later 329
 laterālis 330
 laterāmen 330
 laterculus 329
 latericius 329
 latex -icis 329
 latibulāre 329
 latitāre 329
 lātitūdō 329
 lātrāre 324
 lātrātus 324
 lātrina 330
 lātus 329
 latus -eris 330
 latusculum 330
 laudāre 330
 laus 330
 lautia 161
 lavābrum 330
 lavandāria 330
 lavātiō 330
 lavō -āre 330
 lax 321
 laxāre 331
 laxus 331
 lectīca 332
 lectisterniātor 332
 lectisternium 332
 lēctor 332
 lectulus 332
 lectus 332
 lēgāre 337
 lēgātus 337
 lēgerupa 337
 lēgerupiō 337
 legiō 332
 lēgitimus 337
 legō -ere 332
 legulus 332
 legūmen 332
 lemurēs 333
 Lemūria 333
 lemuri 333
 lēna 334
 lēnīre 333
 lēnis 333
 lēnitās 333
 lēnitūdō 333
 lēnō 334
 lēnōcinium 334
 lēnōnius 334
 lēns -endis 334
 lēns -tis 334
 lentēre 335
 lentus 335
 lēnullus 334
 lēnunculus 334
 lepidus 335
 leporārium 335
 leporīnus 335
 lepōs 335
 lepus 335
 lepusculus 335
 lessus 335
 lētum 335
 lēvāmentum 336

- levāre 336
 lēvāre 336
 levifidus 336
 lēvigāre 337
 levipēs 336
 lēvir/laevir 336
 lēvis 336
 levisomnus 336
 lēvitās 337
 lēvor 337
 lēx 337
 li(n)gula 343
 libāmentum 339
 libella 339
 libelliō 337
 libellus 337
 Libentīna 338
 liber -brī 337
 liber 338
 Līber 338
 liberālis 338
 liberālitās 338
 liberāre 338
 liberātor 338
 libēre 338
 liberī 338
 liberta 338
 libertās 338
 libertīna 338
 libertūus 338
 libertus 338
 libet 338
 -libet 338 508
 libidinitās 338
 libō -āre 339
 libra 339
 librāre 339
 librārius 339
 libripēns 339 457
 libum 339
 licentia 340
 licentiātus 340
 licēre 340
 licērī 340
 licitārī 340
 licium 340
 licitor 341
 liēn 340
 liēnōsus 340
 lignārī 340
 ligneolus 340
 ligneus 340
 lignum 340
 ligō -āre 341
 ligurrīre 343
 liliūm 341
 līma 341
 līmāre 341
 līmāx 342
 limbulārius 341
 limbus 341
 limen 342
 līmes 342
 līmitāre 342
 līmitāris 342
 limpidus 342
 limpor 342
 līmulus 342
 līmus 1 342
 līmus 2 342
 līnea 344
 līneāre 344
 lingō 343
 lingua 343
 lingulāca 343
 linō 344
 linquō 344
 linteō 344
 linteolum 344
 linteum 344
 linum 344
 lippīre 345
 lippitūdō 345
 lippus 345
 liquāre 345
 liquefacere 345
 liqueō 345
 liquēscere 345
 liquidiusculus 345
 liquidus 345
 liquor 345
 līra 345
 līs 345
 litātiō 346
 liticen 88 347
 litigāre 31 345
 litigium 345
 litō -āre 346
 littera 346
 litterārius 346
 litterātus 346
 litus -oris 346
 lituus 347
 livēscere 347
 lividus 347
 livor 347
 lixa 347
 lixivus 347
 lixula 347
 locāre 347
 locārium 347
 locitāre 347
 oculātus 347
 oculus 347
 locuplēs 472
 locuplētāre 472
 locus 347
 locusta 347
 lolium 348
 lolleāceus 348
 longē 348
 longinquitās 348
 longinquus 348
 longiscere 348
 longitūdō 348
 longule 348
 longus 348
 loquāculus 348
 loquāx 348
 loquēla 348
 loquitārī 348
 loquor loquī 348
 lōra 349
 lōreus 349
 lōrica 349
 lōricāre 349
 lōripēs 349
 lōrum 349
 lōtiolentus 330
 lōtium 330
 lu/ibēns 338
 lu/ibentia 338
 lu/ibidō 338
 lūbricus 349
 lūcar 350
 lūcere 355
 lucerna 355
 lūcēscere 355
 lūcidus 355
 lūcifer 355
 lūcifugus 355
 Lūcina 350
 Lūcius 355
 lucrifer 349
 lucrificābilis 349
 lucrifuga 246 349
 lucripeta 349
 lucrum 349
 luctātor 350
 luctor -ārī 350
 lūcubrāre 355
 lūcubrātiō 355
 lūculentaster 355
 lūculentitās 355
 lūculentus 355
 lūcus 350
 lūdibrium 350
 lūdibundus 350
 lūdicer 350
 lūdicrē 350
 lūdificābilis 350
 lūdificārī 350
 lūdificātor 350
 lūdificātus 350
 lūdō -ere 350
 lūdus 350
 luēlla 353
 luēs 353
 lūgeō 351
 lūgubris 351
 lumbifragium 352
 lūmbricus 351
 lūmbus 352
 lūmen 355
 lūmināre 355
 lūna 352
 lunter 353
 lūnula 352
 luō -ere 353
 lupa 353
 lupānar 353
 lupārī 353
 lupillum/s 353
 lupinārius 353
 lupinus 353
 lupus 353
 lurcāre/ī 353
 lurcinābundus 353
 lurcō 353
 lūridus 354
 lūror 354
 luscinia 354
 lusciniola 354
 lusciosus 354
 luscitiōsus 354
 luscus 354
 lūsiō 350
 lūsitāre 350
 lūsor 350
 lustra 355
 lūstrāre 354
 lūstrārī 355
 lūstrō 355
 lustrum 355
 lūstrum 354
 lutāmentum 355
 lutāre 355
 luteus 355
 lūteus 354
 lutitāre 355
 lutōsus 355
 lutra 355
 lutum 355
 lūtum 354
 lūx -cis 355
 luxāre 356
 luxuria/luxuriēs 356
 luxuriōsus 356
 luxus 356
 macellus 356
 macer 356
 macēre 356

- mācerēscere 357
 māceria 357
 māceriēs 357
 mācerō -āre 357
 macēscere 356
 maciēs 356
 macilentus 356
 macor 356
 macritūdō 356
 mactābilis 357
 mactāre 357
 macte 357
 mactus 357
 macula 357
 maculōsus 357
 madefacere 358
 madefactāre 358
 madeō 358
 madidus 358
 madulsa 358
 maerō 358
 maeror 358
 maestāre 358
 maestiter 358
 maestitia 358
 maestitūdō 358
 magis 359
 magister 359
 magisterium 359
 magistra 359
 magistrātus 359
 magmentārium 357
 magmentum 357
 magnanimus 358
 magnidicus 358
 magnificāre 358
 magnificentia 358
 magnificus 358
 magnitās 358
 magnitūdō 358
 magnus 358
 māiālis 359
 māiestās 359
 maior 359
 Māius 359
 māiusculus 359
 māla 359
 maledicāx 169
 maledicere 169
 maledicus 169
 malefacere 360
 malevolēns 687
 malevolus 360 687
 malignitās 360
 malignus 260 360
 malitia 360
 malle 687
 malleolus 360
 malleus 360
 mallō 360
 malluviae 331 363
 māluī 687
 malus 360
 mālus 361
 malva 361
 Māmers 366
 mamilla 361
 mamma 361
 mammeātus 361
 mamma 361
 mammōsus 361
 mammula 361
 mānābilis 363
 mānālis 363
 manceps 363
 mancipāre 363
 mancipium 108 363
 mancus 361
 mandāre 363
 mandō 361
 manducāre 361
 mandūcō 361
 mandūcus 361
 māne 364
 maneō 362
 Mānēs 364
 mānī 364
 Mānia 364
 manicae 363
 manicula 363
 manifestārius 303
 363
 manifestus 303 363
 manip(u)lāris 363
 manip(u)lātīm 363
 manip(u)lus 363
 mānō -āre 363
 mānsiō 362
 mānsuēfacere 597
 mānsuēs 597
 mānsuēscere 597
 mantāre 362
 mantēlium 363 614
 mantēlum 363 614
 manuālis 363
 manuārī 363
 manuārius 363
 manubiae 277 363
 manubiārius 277 363
 manubrium 277 363
 manuleārius 363
 manuleātus 363
 manuleus 363
 manūmittere 363
 manupretium 363
 manus 363
 mānus 364
 marceō 364
 marcēscere 364
 marculus 360
 mare 365
 margō 365
 marīnus 365
 mariscus 365
 marītāre 365
 maritimus 365
 marītus 365
 Marmor 366
 Marmor 366
 Mārs 366
 Mārspiter 366
 Mārtius 366 464
 mās 366
 masculīnus 366
 masculus 366
 māsūcīns 361
 mateola 366
 māter 367
 mātercula 367
 māteria/māteriēs 367
 māteriārius 367
 māteriīnus 367
 māternus 367
 mātertera 367
 mātrālia 367
 mātrēscere 367
 mātrimōnium 367
 mātrīx 367
 mātrōna 367
 mātrōnālis 367
 māturāre 367
 māturēscere 367
 māturus 367
 Mātūta 367
 mātūtīnus 367
 māvolō/mālō 687
 Māvors 366
 maxilla 359
 maximitās 359
 maximus 359
 mē 367
 meāre 374
 medeor 368
 mediast(r)īnus 369
 medicāmentum 368
 medicāre 368
 medicīna 368
 medicīnus 368
 medicus 368
 mediocris 424
 medioximus 369
 medītor -ārī 368
 meditullium 608
 medius 369
 medulla 369
 medullitus 369
 meiō -ere 369
 mel 370
 melculum 370
 melior 370
 melius 370
 meliusculus 370
 mella 370
 mellārius 370
 mellilla 370
 mellīna 370
 mellītus 370
 membrāna 370
 membrātīm 370
 membrum 370
 meminī 371
 memor 371
 memorābilis 371
 memorāre 371
 memoria 371
 memoriter 371
 menda 372
 mendāciloquus 372
 mendācium 372
 mendāx 372
 mendicābulum 372
 mendicāre 372
 mendicimōnium 372
 mendīcitās 372
 mendīculus 372
 mendīcus 372
 mendum 372
 mēns 372
 mēnsa 372
 mēnsis 373
 mensor 377
 mēnstruālis 373
 menstruum 373
 menstruus 373
 mēnsula 372
 mentiō 372
 mentīrī 372
 mentum 373
 mentus 371
 meō -āre 373
 merāculus 376
 mercārī 376
 mercātor 376
 mercātōrius 376
 mercātūra 376
 mercēdimerus 376
 mercēn(n)ārius 376
 mercēs 376
 mercimōnium 376
 Mercuriālis 376
 Mercurius 376
 merda 374

- merenda 374
 mereō 374
 meretrīcius 374
 meretrīcula 374
 meretrīx 374
 mergae 375
 merges 375
 mergō -ere 375
 mergus 375
 merīdiānus 369
 merīdiē 170
 merīdiēs 369
 meritāre 374
 meritum 374
 merobibus 376
 mersāre 375
 mertāre 375
 merula 375
 meruleus 375
 merus 376
 merx 376
 messē 377
 messem 377
 messiō 377
 messis 377
 messor 377
 -met 376
 mēta 377
 mētārī 377
 mēticulōsus 378
 mētiōr -īrī 377
 metō -ere 377
 metuere 378
 metuī 378
 metus 378
 metūtum 378
 meus 367
 mīca 378
 micō -āre 378
 migrō 379
 mīles 379
 miliāria 379
 miliārius 379
 mīliē(n)s 379
 militāre 379
 militāris 379
 militārius 379
 militia 379
 milium 379
 mille 379
 mināciae 380
 minae 380
 minārī 380
 mināx 380
 minēre 380
 Minerva 380
 minerval 380
 Minervius 380
 minimus 381
 minīscī 371
 minister 381
 ministerium 381
 ministra 381
 ministrāre 381
 ministrātor 381
 minitābiliter 380
 minitāre/ī 380
 minor 381
 minuere 381
 minusculus 381
 minūtātīm 381
 minūtīm 381
 minūtulus 381
 minūtus 381
 mīrābilis 382
 mīrāculus 382
 mīrārī 382
 mīrīficus 382
 mīrīō 382
 mīrus 382
 mīscellus 381
 misceō 382
 miser 383
 miserārī 383
 miserēre/ī 383
 miseria 383
 misericordia 135 383
 misericors 135 383
 miserimōnium 383
 miseritūdō 383
 miserulus 383
 missiculāre 383
 missilis 383
 mitat 383
 mītēscere 383
 mītīs 383
 mittō -ere 383
 mixtārius 382
 mixtīm 382
 mixtura 382
 mōbilis 391
 mōbilitās 391
 moderanter 384
 moderāre 384
 moderātīm 384
 moderātor 384
 moderātrīx 384
 modestia 384
 modestus 384
 modīālis 384
 modīcus 384
 modiolus 384
 modius 384
 modō 384
 modulus 384
 modus 384
 moe/ūnis 395
 moenia 385 395
 moenīre 385
 mola 386
 molārius 386
 mōlēs 386
 molestia 386
 molestus 386
 moletrīna 386
 molīle 386
 molīmen 386
 molīmentum 386
 mōlūrī 386
 mollēscere 386
 molliculus 386
 mollīre 386
 mollis 386
 mollitia 386
 mollitūdō 386
 molluscus 386
 molō -ere 386
 molta 394
 moltāre 394
 mōmen 391
 mōmentum 390
 moneō 387
 monēr/dula 387
 Monēta 387
 monētrīx 387
 monīle 388
 monitor 387
 mōns 388
 mōnstrāre 387
 mōnstrātīō 387
 mōnstrificābilis 387
 mōnstrum 387
 montānus 388
 montivagus 388
 monu/imentum 387
 mora 388
 morāre/ī 388
 morātus 390
 morbidus 389
 morbōsus 389
 morbus 389
 mordāx 389
 mordeō 389
 mordicus 389
 moribundus 389
 morigerāre/ī 390
 morigerātīō 390
 morigerus 390
 morior morī 389
 mōrōsus 390
 mors 389
 morsiuncula 389
 morsus 389
 Morta 374
 mortālis 389
 mortārium 390
 morticīnus 389
 mortifer 389
 mortuālia 389
 mortuus 389
 mōs 390
 mōstellāria 387
 mōtus 390
 moveō 390
 mox 391
 mū/oeīnus 398
 mūcēre 392
 mūcidus 392
 mūcro 391
 mūcus 392
 mūgil(is) 392
 mūgmārī 392
 mūgiō -īre 392
 mūla 394
 mulcāre 392
 mulceō 392
 mulctra 393
 mulgeō 393
 muliebris 393 560
 mulier 393
 mulierāre 393
 muliercula 393
 mulierōsus 393
 mūliō 394
 mulleus 393
 mulsus 370
 multa 394
 multāre 394
 multēsimus 394
 multigener 260
 multiplex 473
 multitāre 394
 multitūdō 394
 multus 394
 mūlus 394
 munditia 394
 mundulus 394
 mundus 394 395
 mūnerālis 395
 mūnerāre 395
 mūnerigerulus 395
 mūniceps 395
 mūnicipium 108 395
 mūnificāre 395
 mūnificus 395
 mūnīre 385
 mūnītiō 385
 mūnus 395
 mūnusculum 395
 mūrālis 396
 murcidus 364
 mūrex 396

- murieidus 364
 mūrīnus 396
 murmur 395
 murmurāre 395
 murmurillāre 395
 murmurillum 395
 mūrus 396
 mūs 396
 musca 397
 muscella 394
 mūscerdae 396
 mūscipulum 89 396
 muscōsus 397
 mūsculus 396
 mūscus 397
 mustāceus 397
 mustārius 397
 mūstēla 396
 mustēlīnus 396
 musteus 397
 mustricula 396
 mustulentus 397
 mustus 397
 mūtābilitās 398
 mūtāre 398
 mūtātiō 398
 mutilāre 397
 mutilus 397
 mūt(t)ō 398
 mutfīre 398
 mutfītiō 398
 mūtūāre/ī 398
 mūtuitārī 398
 mūtuitēr 398
 mūtūnium 398
 mūtus 398
 mūtūus 398
 nam 399
 -nam 508 510
 namque 399
 nanciō 399
 nanciōscor -ī 399
 nāris 400
 narrāre 267
 narrātiō 267
 nāscor nāscī 400
 Nāsō 400
 nassa 401
 nāsus/m 400
 nāsūtus 400
 nātālis 400
 natāre 411
 natātor 411
 natēs 402
 nātīnor -ārī 401
 nātiō 400
 natis 402
 nāfīvus 400
 natrix 402
 nātū 400
 nātūra 400
 nātūrālis 400
 naucum 402
 naufragium 402
 naufragus 402
 nāvālis 402
 nāvīcula 402
 nāvīculārius 402
 nāvīgāre 31 402
 nāvīger 402
 nāvīgium 402
 nāvis 402
 ne- 403
 -ne 403
 nē 403
 nebrundinēs 404
 nebula 404
 nebulō 404
 nebulōsus 404
 nec 403
 necāre 407
 necessārius 103
 necesse 103
 necessitās 103
 necessus esse 103
 nectō -ere 404
 nēcubi 636
 nefāns 231
 nefārius 203
 nefās 203
 nefāstus 203
 nefrēns 241 404
 nefrōnēs 404
 nefrundinēs 404
 negāre 403
 negitāre 403
 neglectus 332
 neglētentia 332
 neglegere 332
 negōtiolum 437
 negōtiōsus 437
 negōtium 437
 nem- 405
 nēmō 287
 nempe 452
 nemus 405
 neō 405
 nepōs 405
 nepōtulus 405
 neptis 405
 Neptūnālia 406
 Neptūnus 406
 nēquam 507
 neque 403
 nequeō 506
 nēquior 507
 nēquīquam 510
 nēquissimus 507
 nēquiter 507
 nēquitia 507
 nerio 406
 Nerio / Neria /
 Nerienis 406
 neriōsus 406
 Nerō 406
 nervia 407
 Nervolāria 407
 nervus 407
 nescīre 545
 nescius 545
 neu 403 656
 neuter 647
 neutrubī 647
 nēve 403 656
 nex 407
 nexere 404
 nexilis 404
 nexus 404
 nī 408
 nictāre 130
 nictus 130
 nīdāmenta 408
 nīdor 408
 nīdōricupius 408
 nīdulārī 408
 nīdus 408
 nigellus 409
 niger 409
 nigrāre 409
 nigrēre 409
 nigricolus 409
 nigritia 409
 nigror 409
 nihil 285
 nihilum 285
 nīl 285
 nīlum 285
 nimbātus 409
 nimbus 409
 nimis 409
 nimium/s 409
 ningit -ere 409
 ninguis 409
 nisī 408 561
 nīsus 410
 nītēdula 410
 nītēlā 410
 niteō 410
 nitēscere 410
 nitidāre 410
 nitiditās 410
 nitidiusculus 410
 nitidus 410
 nitor 410
 nītor -ī 410
 nīve 408
 niveus 409
 nivis 409
 nix 409
 nixārī 410
 nixus 410
 nō nāre 411
 nōbilitāre 413
 nōbilitās 413
 noceō 411
 nocticolor 416
 noctilūca 416
 noctipuga 416
 noctivagus 416
 noctū 172 416
 noctua 416
 noctūnus 416
 nocturnus 416
 noctuvigilus 416
 nōdāre 412
 nōdus 412
 noenum 403
 nōlle 687
 nōmen 412
 nomenclātor 84
 nōminālis 412
 nōmināre 412
 nōminātim 412
 nōminātivus 412
 nōmīnitāre 412
 nōn 403
 Nōnae 415
 nōnāgēsīmus 262
 415
 nōnāgintā 415
 nōnālis 415
 nōngentī 107
 nōnnūllus 642
 nonnus 413
 nōnus 415
 nōnussis 57 415
 nōs 413
 noscītāre 413
 nōscō -ere 413
 noster 413
 nostrās 413
 nostrātīm 413
 nota 414
 notāre 414
 nōtīō 413
 nōtītia 413
 nōtītēs 413
 novācula 414
 novālis 416
 novāre 416
 novellus 416
 novem 415

- november 415
 novēnārius 415
 novendiālis 170
 novēnī 415
 novēnsidēs 416
 noverca 416
 novīcius 416
 novīē(n)s 415
 novītās 416
 novus 416
 nox 416
 noxa 411
 noxia 411
 noxitūdō 411
 noxius 411
 nūbēs 417
 nūbilāre/ī 417
 nūbilārium 417
 nūbilus 417
 nūbō -ere 417
 nuc(u)leus 420
 nuceus 420
 nucifrangibulum 420
 nūdāre 417
 nūdiūstertius 172
 nūdus 417
 nūgae 418
 nūgārī 418
 nūgātor 418
 nūgātōrius 418
 nūgāx 418
 nūgigerulus 418
 nūllus 642
 num 418
 nūmen 419
 numerāre 419
 Numeria 419
 numerus 419
 numnam 399
 nunc 418
 nunciam 418
 nuncubi 636
 nuncupāre 89 412
 nūndīnae 415
 nūndinālis 415
 nunquam 640
 nūntiāre 419
 nūntium 419
 nūntius 419
 -nūō -ere 419
 nūper 418 459
 nūperus 418
 nupta 417
 nuptiae 417
 nuptiālis 417
 nuptula 417
 nurus 420
 nusquam 646
 nūtāre 419
 nūtrīcāre 420
 nūtrīcātiō 420
 nūtrīcius 420
 nūtrīcula 420
 nūtrīre 420
 nūtrīx 420
 nūtus 419
 nux 420
 ob 421
 obambulāre 38
 obbrūtescō 76
 obcallēscere 84
 obdormīre 179
 obducere 181
 obductāre 181
 obdūrāre 184
 obdūrēscere 184
 obesse 599
 obēsus 186
 obex 293
 obhaerēscere 278
 obiacere 293
 obicere 293
 obiectāre 293
 obire 191
 obiūr(i)gāre 316
 oblātrātrīx 324
 oblectāre 321
 obligāre 341
 oblinere 344
 obliquus 421
 oblitēscere 329
 obliuō 422
 obliuōsus 422
 obliuiscor -ī 422
 obliuius 422
 obloquī 348
 oblūdiāre 351
 obmovēre 391
 obmūtēscere 398
 obnectere 404
 obnī 410
 obnīxe 410
 obnoxiosus 411
 obnoxius 411
 obnūbere 417
 obnūntiāre 419
 oboedire 61
 obolere 426
 oboriri 434
 obrēpere 520
 obrēptāre 520
 obrōdere 526
 obruere 530
 obscaenus 422
 obscaevāre 541
 obscūrāre 422
 obscūridicus 422
 obscūrītās 422
 obscūrus 422
 obsecrāre 532
 obsecula 556
 obsecundāre 556
 obsequella 556
 obsequi 556
 obsequiosus 556
 obsequium 556
 obserāre 557
 obserere 557
 observāre 559
 observātiō 559
 obses 551
 obsessor 552
 obsidēre 551
 obsidere 562
 obsidiō 551
 obsidium 551
 obsignāre 563
 obsipāre 601
 obsolēscere 571
 obsolētus 571
 obsonāre 574
 obsorbēre 575
 obstare 589
 obstetrīx 589
 obstināre 589
 obstipēscere 593
 obstīpus 588
 obstrigillāre 592
 obstrigillātor 592
 obstringere 592
 obstupefacere 593
 obstupidus 593
 obtegere 608
 obtemperāre 611
 obterere 616
 obtestārī 618
 obticere 604
 obticēscere 604
 obtinere 613
 obtingere 606
 obtrūdere 630
 obtruncāre 631
 obtu(ēr)ī 632
 obtundere 633
 obturbāre 634
 obturgēscere 635
 obtūrō -āre 423
 obvagire 651
 obvāgulāre 651
 obvārāre 655
 obvenire 661
 obviam 673
 obvigilāre 677
 obvius 673
 occa 423
 occāre 423
 occāsiō 78
 occāsus 78
 occātor 423
 occēdere 103
 occidere 78
 occidēre 79
 occillāre 79 423
 occipere 89
 occipitium 91
 occisor 79
 occlūdere 118
 occulō -ere 423
 occultāre 423
 occupāre 89
 occurrere 157
 occursāre 157
 ocellātum 425
 ocellus 425
 ōcior 424
 ōcissimus 424
 ocquināscere 131
 ocris 424
 octāvus 424
 octingēnārius 424
 octingentī 107 424
 octō 424
 octōber 424
 octōgēnī 262 424
 octōgintā 424
 octōnārius 424
 octōnī 424
 oculātus 425
 oculus 425
 oculissimus 425
 oculitus 425
 oculus 425
 odefacere 426
 ōdī 425
 ōdibilis 425
 odiossicus 425
 odiosus 425
 odium 425
 odor 425
 odorārī 425
 odōrisequus 425
 odōrus 425
 offensāre 210
 offensiō 210
 offensus 210
 offerre 213
 offerrūmenta 215
 officiōsus 431
 officium 431
 offigere 219
 offirmāre 223
 offivēbant 219

- offringere 239
 offundere 249
 oggannire 254
 oggerere 259
 ol(e)facere 426
 ol(e)factare 426
 ol(e)factus 426
 olefacere 426
 olere 425
 olere 425
 olim 426
 olle / ollus 426
 olor 425 427
 omen 427
 omentum 428
 ominari 427
 ominator 427
 omittere 384
 ommutare 362
 omnino 428
 omnipotens 428
 omnis 428
 onerare 428
 onerarius 428
 onus 428
 onustus 428
 opacare 429
 opacus 429
 opella 432
 opera 432
 operari 432
 operaria 432
 operarius 432
 operatus 432
 operculum 429
 operimentum 429
 operio -ire 429
 oportere 429
 opifex 431
 opificina 431
 opificium 431
 opilia 429
 opilio 429
 opilius 429
 opimitas 429
 opimus 429
 opinatus 430
 opinio 430
 opinor -ari 430
 opiparus 431 447
 Opis 431
 opiter 450
 opitulare/i 431 621
 opitulus 431 621
 oportet 430
 oppectere 453
 opperiri 446
 oppetere 464
 oppido 430
 oppidum 430
 opponere 479
 opportunitas 482
 opportunus 482
 oppressio 488
 oppressiuncula 488
 oppressus 488
 opprimere 488
 opprobriamentum
 490
 opprobriare 490
 opprobrium 490
 oppugnare 499
 ops opis 431
 optabilis 431
 optimas 421
 optimus 421
 optio 431
 optionatus 431
 opto -are 431
 opulenter 431
 opulentitas 431
 opulentus 431
 opulus 432
 opus 432
 oraculum 435
 oratio 435
 orator 435
 oratrix 435
 orbare 433
 orbiculatus 432
 orbiculus 432
 orbificare 433
 orbile 432
 orbis 432
 orbita 432
 orbitas 433
 orbitudo 433
 orbitus 432
 orbis 433
 ordia prima 434
 ordinare 434
 ordinarius 434
 ordior -iri 433
 ordio 434
 oreae 436
 origo 434
 orior -iri 434
 ornamentum 434
 ornare 434
 ornus 435
 oro -are 435
 orsus 434
 os oris 436
 os ossis 436
 oscen 88
 oscitare/i 436
 osculari 436
 osculentia 436
 osculum 436
 osseus 436
 ossiculatum 436
 ossifraga 436
 ossua 436
 ossum 436
 ostendere 612
 ostentare 612
 ostentator 612
 Ostia 436
 ostiarius 436
 ostium 436
 ostiosus 437
 otium 437
 oviaria 437
 ovile 437
 ovillus 437
 ovis 437
 ovō -are 438
 ovum 438
 oximē 424
 pabulari 448
 pabulatio 448
 pabulum 448
 pacare 452
 pacere 452
 pacificari 452
 pacio 452
 paciscere 452
 pactio 452
 pae/enuria 439
 paedor 439
 paelex 439
 paene 439
 paenitere 439
 paenitudo 439
 paganalia 443
 paganicus 443
 pagi 443
 pagina 443
 pagus 443
 pala 443
 palam 439
 Palatinus 440
 Palatium 440
 Palatua 440
 Palatuālis 440
 palatum 440
 palea 440
 palear 440
 palla 440
 palleo 440
 pallescere 440
 palliatus 440
 pallidus 440
 palliolatum 440
 palliolum 440
 pallium 440
 pallor 440
 pallula 440
 palma 441
 palmaris 441
 palmarium 441
 palmipedalis 441
 palmula 441
 palmus 441
 palor -ari 441
 palpatio 441
 palpator 441
 palpebra 441
 palpitare 441
 palpō -are 441
 palpus 441
 palumbes 442
 pālus 443
 palus 442
 paliaster 442
 panarium 443
 Panda 442
 pandiculari 442
 pandō 442
 pandus 442
 pangō 442
 panicula 444
 panici 443
 panicum 443
 panificium 443
 panis 443
 pannus 443
 panus 444
 papilio 444
 pār 444
 paratio 446
 parciter 445
 parcō -ere 445
 parcus 445
 parens 445
 parentare 445
 parentatio 446
 parenticida 445
 pareo 445
 paret 445
 paricida 79
 paries 445
 parilis 444
 pario -ere 445
 paritare 446
 paro -are 446
 parra 447
 parricida 447
 parricidium 447
 pars 448
 parsimonia 445
 particeps 448

- participālis 448
 participāre 448
 participium 108 448
 particula 448
 particulātim 448
 particulō 448
 partim 448
 partiō 446
 partīre/ī 448
 partitūdō 446
 partūra 446
 parturire 446
 parum 448
 parumper 448 459
 parvulus 448
 parvus 448
 pascālis 448
 pascō -ere 448
 pascuus 448
 passer 449
 passerculus 449
 passerīnus 449
 passim 442
 passio 450
 passus 442
 pāstillum 443
 pāstillus 443
 pāstiō 448
 pāstor 448
 pāstōrālis 448
 pāstōricius 448
 pastus 448
 patefacere 449
 pateō 449
 pater 449
 patera 449
 paternus 449
 patēscere 449
 patibulātus 449
 patibulum 449
 patientia 450
 patior patī 450
 patrāre 449
 patria 449
 patricē 449
 patricius 449
 patrimonium 450
 patrītus 449
 patrius 449
 patrōcinārī 450
 patrōna 450
 patrōnus 450
 patruēlis 450
 patruus 450
 patulus 449
 pauciēns 450
 pauciloquium 451
 pauculus 450
- paucus 450
 paul(I)āspēr 450
 paulātīm 450
 paulisper 459
 paululum 450
 paullulus 450
 paullus 450
 paulum 450
 paulus 450
 pauper 451
 pauperāre 451
 pauperculus 451
 pauperiēs 451
 pauperium 451
 paupertās 451
 paupertīnus 451
 pauxillātīm 450
 pauxillīspēr 450 459
 pauxillulus 450
 pauxillus 450
 paveō 451
 pavīcula 451
 pavidus 451
 pavīmentum 451
 pavio -ire 451
 pavitāre 451
 pavor 451
 pāx pācis 452
 paxillus 443
 -pe 452 510
 peccātum 453
 peccō -āre 453
 peciolus 462
 pecten 453
 pectō -ere 453
 pectorālis 453
 pectunculus 453
 pectus 453
 pecu 454
 pecuārius 454
 pecuīnus 454
 peculātus 454
 peculīāris 454
 peculīōsus 454
 peculium 454
 pecūnia 454
 pecūniōsus 454
 pecus 454
 peda 462
 pedālis 462
 pedāmentum 462
 pedārius 462
 pedātus 462
 pedes 462
 pedetemptim 462
- 611
- pedica 462
 pedicinus 462
- pēdicōsus 454
 pediculus 462
 pēdis 454
 pedisequus 462 556
 peditāstellus 462
 peditātus 462
 pēdō -ere 454
 pēiie/urāre 316
 peior 455
 pēiiriōsus 316
 pēiūrium 316
 pēiūrus 316
 pellācia 321
 pellecebra 321
 pellegere 332
 pellesuīna 455 600
 pellicere 321
 pellicula 455
 pelliō 455
 pellis 455
 pellītus 455
 pellō -ere 455
 pelluviae 331
 pēluis 456
 penārius 458
 Penātēs 458.
 penātor 458.
 pendēre 457
 pendō 457
 pendulus 457
 penes 458
 penetrālis 458
 penetrāre 458
 pēniculāmentum 458
 pēniculus 458
 pēnis 458
 penitus 458
 pēnītus 458
 penna 458
 pennātus 458
 pēnsilis 457
 pēnsiō 457
 pēnsium 457
 pēnsūra 457
 penus 458
 per 459
 -per 459
 peragere 31
 perambulāre 38
 perārēscere 53
 perāridus 53
 peraudire 61
 perbibere 71
 perbitere 68
 percellere 105
 percensere 107
 perciere 113
 percipere 89
- percontumāx 132
 percoquere 134
 percrepāre 143
 percupere 155
 percurrere 157
 percutere 504
 perditus 175
 perdocere 176
 perducere 181
 perductāre 181
 perductor 181
 perduelliō 70
 perduellis 70
 perdūrāre 184
 peregrē 29
 peregrī 29
 peregrīnus 29
 perendiē 170 460
 perendinus 460
 perennis 43
 perēsse 186
 perfabricāre 197
 perferre 213
 perferus 215
 perfervēfiērī 215
 perfidia 218
 perfidiōsus 218
 perfīnēs 222
 perflāre 226
 perfluctuāre 228
 perfluere 228
 perfodere 229
 perforāre 235
 perfossor 229
 perfrēmere 241
 perfricāre 243
 perfrīgēfacere 243
 perfrīgēscere 243
 perfringere 239
 perfugere 246
 perfugium 246
 perfungī 250
 perfurere 252
 pergere 517
 pergrandēscere 270
 pergrandis 270
 pergula 460
 perhibere 277
 periclitārī 446
 periculārī 446
 periculōsus 446
 periculum 446
 perimere 188
 perire 191
 perītus 446
 perlābī 319
 perlepidē 335
 perlongus 348

perlūcēre 355
 perlūcidus 355
 permacer 356
 permadefacere 358
 permagnus 359
 permānāre 363
 permānāscere 363
 permanēre 362
 permarcēre 364
 permeditātus 368
 permeiere 369
 permētūrī 377
 permūrus 382
 permiscēre 382
 permiālis 460
 permittēs 460
 permittēre 384
 permulcēre 392
 permundus 394
 permūtāre 398
 perna 460
 perniciēs 408
 perniger 409
 pernīx 460
 pernoctāre 416
 pernōnida 460
 pernōscere 413
 pernumerāre 419
 perolēre 426
 perōrāre 435
 perparcē 445
 perpaucī 450
 perpauper 451
 perpauillum 451
 perpavefacere 451
 perpellere 456
 perpendere 457
 perpendiculum 457
 perperam 461
 perperitūdō 461
 perperus 461
 perpes 463
 perpetī 450
 perpetrāre 450
 perpetuāre 463
 perpetuītus 463
 perpetuus 463
 perplexābilis 472
 perplexārī 472
 perplexim 472
 perplexus 472
 perpli/acēre 469
 perplicātus 472
 perpluere 474
 perpolire 477
 perpōtāre 485
 perpulcher 496
 perpūrgāre 500

perpūrigāre 500
 perputāre 502
 perquīrere 503
 perquīsitor 503
 perscindere 544
 persectārī 556
 persentīre 554
 persentūscere 554
 persequī 556
 persībūs 561
 persīdere 562
 persillum 554
 perspectāre 579
 perspergere 578
 perspicāx 579
 perspicere 579
 perspicuus 579
 perstreperere 591
 persuādere 594
 persuāstrīx 594
 persultāre 535
 pertaedēre 605
 pertaedēscere 605
 pertegere 608
 pertemptāre (611
 pertendere 612
 perterrefacere 617
 perterrēre 617
 perterricrepus 143
 pertica 461
 pertimēscere 620
 pertinācia 613
 pertināx 613
 pertinēre 613
 pertīsum 605
 pertolerāre 621
 pertorquēre 624
 pertractāre 626
 pertundere 633
 perturbāre 634
 perūrere 645
 pervehere 658
 pervellere 659
 pervenīre 661
 pervicāx 679
 pervicus 679
 pervidēre 676
 pervigilāre 677
 pervincere 679
 pervius 673
 pervolvere 689
 pervulgāre 686
 pēs 462
 pessimus 455
 pessum 463
 pestilēns 463
 pestilentus 463
 pestilitās 463

pestis 463
 petessere 463
 petilus 463
 petimen 463
 petītus 463
 petō -ere 463
 petulāns 463
 petulus 463
 piāculāris 468
 piāculum 468
 -piam 510
 piāre 468
 pīca 464
 picāre 469
 pictor 465
 pictūra 465
 Picus 464
 pīcus 464
 pietās 468
 piger 464
 piget 464
 pigitum 464
 pigmentum 465
 pignus 465
 pigrāre 464
 pigrēre 464
 pigritia 464
 pigror 464
 pīla 465
 pīla 465 466
 pīlāre 465
 pilleus 465
 pilōsus 465
 pīlum 466
 pīlus 465
 pīneus 467
 pingō -ere 465
 pinguēdō 466
 pinguēscere 466
 pinguis 466
 pinguītūdō 466
 pinna 458
 pinnātus 458
 pinniger 458
 pinnula 458
 pīnsitāre 466
 pīnsō -ere 466
 pīnus 467
 pīpātus 467
 pīpiō 467
 pīpō -āre 467
 pīpulus/m 467
 pīrum 467
 pīrus 467
 piscārī 467
 piscārius 467
 piscātor 467
 piscātōrius 467

pisciculus 468
 piscīna 468
 piscīnārius 468
 piscīnēnsis 468
 piscis 467
 pisculentus 468
 pistillum/s 466
 pistor 466
 pistrīlla 466
 pistrīna 466
 pistrīnum 466
 pistrīx 466
 pītūita 468
 pius 468
 pix 469
 plācābilis 469
 plācāre 469
 placeō 469
 placiditās 469
 placidus 469
 placitāre 469
 plaga 469
 plāga 469
 plāgiger 469
 plagula 469
 plangō -ere 469
 plāniloquus 470
 plānitiēs 470
 planta 470
 plānus 470
 plaudō -ere 470
 plausus 470
 plautus 471
 Plautus 471
 plēbēius 471
 plēbēs 471
 plēbīscītum 471
 plēbitās 471
 plebs 471
 plectilis 471
 plectō -ere 471
 plector 472
 plēnus 472
 -pleō 472
 pleoris 475
 plērumque 472
 plērus 472
 plērusque 472
 -plex 473
 plicāre 472
 plicātīx 472
 plōrātillus 473
 plōrātus 473
 plōrō -āre 473
 plūma 474
 plūmārius 474
 plūmātīlis 474
 plumbāre 474

- plumbeus 474
 plumbum 474
 plūmeus 474
 plūmula 474
 pluō pluīt 474
 pluor 474
 plūrālis 475
 plūrimus 475
 -plus 475
 plūs 475
 plūsculum 475
 plūsculus 475
 pluteus 476
 pluvia 474
 pluvius 474
 po- 476
 pōcillum 485
 pōculum 485
 pōdex 454
 pol(l)enta 477
 polentārius 477
 poliō -ire 476
 polīre 476
 polītiō 476
 polītor 476
 pollen 477
 pollentia 477
 polleō 477
 pollex 478
 pollicērī 340
 pollicitārī 340
 pollicitātiō 340
 pollinārius 477
 pollīnctor 478
 pollingō -ere 478
 pollūbrum 331
 pollūceō 478
 pollūcibiliter 478
 pollūctūra 478
 polluō -ere 479
 pōmārium 479
 pōmārius 479
 pomērium /
 pomoerium 396
 Pōmōna 479
 Pōmōnālis 479
 pōmus/m 479
 ponderāre 457
 ponderitās 457
 ponderōsus 457
 pondō 457
 pondus 457
 pōne 483
 pōnō -ere 476 479
 pōns 479
 pontificālis 479
 pontificius 479
 pontifex 479
 popīna 134
 poples 480
 Poplifugia 480
 populābundus 480
 populārī 480
 populāris 480
 populāritās 480
 populātim 480
 pōpuleus 480
 pōpulneus 480
 pōpulus 480
 populus 480
 pōpulus 480
 por- 481
 por(ri)gere 517
 porca 481
 porcellus 481
 porcēre 51
 porcet 476
 porcetra 481
 porcīnārius 481
 porcīnus 481
 porculātiō 481
 porculus 481
 porcus 481
 porod 481
 porricerē 293
 porrīna 481
 porrō 481
 porrum 481
 porta 482
 portendere 612
 porticus 482
 portiō 448
 portisculus 482
 portitor 482
 portō -āre 482
 portōrium 482
 Portūnālis 482
 Portūnium 482
 Portūnus 482
 portus 482
 pōsca 485
 poscō -ere 483
 positūra 479
 possessor 552
 possidēre 552
 possidere 562
 post 483
 posterī 483
 posterior 483
 posterus 483
 posthibēre 277
 postīculum 483
 postīcus 483
 postiliō 483
 postis 484
 postremus 483
 postrīdiē 170
 postulāre 483
 postulātiō 483
 postumus 484
 Postumus 484
 pōtāre 485
 pōtātiō 485
 pōtātor 485
 potēns 484
 potestās 484
 potī(rī) 484
 pōtiō 485
 potior 484
 potīre 484
 potis 484
 potissimus 484
 pōtitāre 485
 potius 484
 pōtus 485
 prae 485
 praebēre 277
 praebia 277
 praebitiō 277
 praecaveō 101
 praecellere 105
 praiceps 91
 praecidēre 79
 praecingere 114
 praecipe 91
 praecipere 89
 praecipēs 91
 praecipuus 89
 praecīlārus 118
 praecō 169
 praecōnium 169
 praecordia 135
 praecox 134
 praecurrere 157
 praeda 487
 praedārī 487
 praedātor 487
 praedicāre 169
 praedicātiō 169
 praedicere 169
 praedium 655
 praedō 487
 praedōnulus 487
 praesesse 599
 praefārī 231
 praeferre 213
 praefervidus 215
 praefestīnāre 216
 praefestīnātīm 216
 praefinīre 222
 praefringere 239
 praefulcīre 247
 praefurnium 235
 praegnās 401
 praegnātiō 401
 praegradāre 268
 praegrādis 270
 praehibēre 277
 praeīre 191
 praeligāneus 332
 praeligāre 341
 praeloquī 348
 praemandāre 363
 praemāturus 367
 praemercārī 376
 praemetuere 378
 praemiātor 188
 praemiōsus 188
 praemium 188
 praemodum 384
 praemōnstrāre 387
 praemōnstrātor 387
 praemordēre 389
 praemorī 389
 praenarrāre 267
 praenōmen 412
 praenōmināre 412
 praenūntius 419
 praecolēre 426
 praecoptāre 431
 praepandere 442
 praeparāre 446
 praepedīmentum 462
 praepedīre 462
 praepēs 463
 praepetere 464
 praeponderāre 457
 praepōnere 479
 praepotēns 484
 praepūtium 501
 praerōdere 526
 praes 655
 praesaepēs 533
 praesāgīre 534
 praesciscere 545
 praescribere 546
 praesecāre 550
 praesegmen 550
 praesēns 599
 praesentārius 599
 praesēpium 533
 praesertim 557
 praeservīre 559
 praeses 552
 praesidēre 552
 praesidium 552
 praest(r)igiae 592
 praestābilis 589
 praestāre 589
 praestīgiātor 592
 praestīgiātrīx 592
 praestināre 589

- praestituere 589
 praestō 485 589
 praestōlō/or 486
 praestringere 592
 praesul 535
 praeter 485
 praeterbītere 68
 praeterere 616
 praeterīre 191
 praeteritus 191
 praetermeāre 373
 praetermittere 384
 praetexta 619
 praetimēre 620
 praetor 191
 praetōrius 191
 praetorquēre 624
 praetūra 191
 praeuides 655
 praevellere 659
 praevenire 661
 praeverbium 664
 praeviridāns 682
 praeuius 673
 prandēre 486
 prandium 486
 prānsor 486
 prātum 487
 prāvitās 487
 prāvus 487
 precārī 488
 precārīō 488
 precātor 488
 prehendō -ere 487
 prēlum 487
 premō -ere 487
 pressāre 487
 pretiōsus 488
 pretium 488
 prex 488
 prīdem 488
 prīdiē 170 489
 prīmānus 489
 prīmārius 489
 prīmātus 489
 prīmigenius 260
 prīmitus 489
 primogenia 260
 prīmōrdium 434
 prīmōris 489
 prīmulus 489
 prīmus 489
 prīnceps 489
 prīncipium 108 489
 prior 488
 prīscus 489
 prīstinus 489
 priusquam 488
 prīvāre 489
 prīvātim 489
 prīvīgna 489
 prīvīgnus 260
 prīvus 489
 pro 489
 prō 489
 prō(r)sus/m 667
 proavus 489
 probābilis 490
 probāre 490
 probātiō 490
 probēre 277
 probitās 490
 prōbītere 68
 probum 490
 probus 490
 procāre 492
 procāx 492
 prōce/astrīa 97
 prōcēdere 103
 procella 105
 prōcellere 105
 procerēs 491
 prōcērus 491
 procī 491
 procītum 492
 prōclīvis 122
 prōclīvus 122
 prōcreāre 142
 prōcreāre 142
 prōcūdere 149
 procul 491
 prōcumbere 152
 prōcūrāre 156
 prōcūrātiō 156
 prōcūrātor 156
 prōcurrere 157
 procus 492
 prōdere 174
 prōdesse 599
 prōdicere 169
 prōdigere 30
 prōdigiālis 30
 prōdigium 30
 prōdīgus 30
 prōdīre 191
 prōdītor 174
 prōdūcere 181
 prōductāre 181
 proeliāre 492
 proeliāris 492
 proelium 492
 profānāre 201
 profānus 201
 prōfārī 231
 prōfectō 198
 prōferre 214
 prōfēstus 212
 prōfītērī 204
 prōflīgāre 226
 prōfluere 228
 prōfluvium 228
 prōfluvius 228
 prōfugere 246
 prōfundere 249
 profundus 250
 prōgeniēs 260
 prōgenitor 260
 prōgignere 260
 prōgnārīter 267
 prōgnātus 401
 prōgredi 269
 prōhibēre 277
 prōicere 293
 prōiectāre 293
 prōiectīcius 293
 prōiectus 293
 prōlābī 319
 prōlectāre 321
 prōlētārius 426
 prōlicere 321
 prōlixitūdō 347
 prōlixus 347
 prōloquī 348
 prōloquium 348
 prōlubium 338
 prōluere 331
 prōluviēs 331
 promenervat 380
 prōmere 188
 prōmerēre 374
 prōmicāre 378
 prōmiscam 382
 prōmiscuē 382
 prōmittere 384
 prōmonēre 387
 prōmovēre 391
 promptāre 188
 promptārius 188
 promptus 188
 prōmulgāre 393
 prōmuntū/orium 388
 prōmus 188
 prōnōmen 412
 prōnus 489
 prōpāgāre 443
 prōpāgātiō 443
 prōpāgēs 442
 prōpagmen 443
 prōpāgō 443
 prōpalam 439
 prope 492
 prōpellere 456
 prōpendēre 457
 properāre 447
 properātim 447
 properiter 447
 properus 446
 propinquāre 492
 propinquitās 492
 propinquus 492
 propior 492
 propitiābilis 492
 propitiāre 492
 propitiūs 492
 propriāssit 493
 proprītim 493
 proprius 493
 propter 492
 propudiōsus 496
 propudium 496
 prōpūgnāculum 499
 prōpūgnāre 499
 prōpulsāre 456
 prōquirītāta 510
 prōripere 514
 prōrogāre 526
 prōrsus 667
 prōruere 530
 prōscindere 544
 prōsecāre 550
 prōsequī 556
 prōserpere 558
 prosiciēs 550
 prōsilire 535
 prōspectus 579
 prosperāre 493
 prosperus 493
 prōspicere 579
 prōspicus 579
 prōstāre 589
 prōstibilis 589
 prōstibulum 589
 prōstituere 589
 prōsum 599
 prōtēlāre 612
 prōtēlum 612
 prōtervitās 494
 prōtervus 494
 protinam 489
 protinus 489
 prōtollere 621
 prōvehere 658
 prōvenīre 661
 prōvidēre 676
 prōvincia 679
 prōvinciālis 679
 prōvīsere 676
 prōvocāre 692
 prōvocātor 692
 prōvolvere 689
 proximus 492
 prūdēns 676

- pruīna 494
 prūna 494
 prūriō -īre 494
 -pte 494
 pūbertās 495
 pūbēs -is 495
 pūbescere 495
 pūblicānus 495
 pūblicāre 495
 pūblicitus 495
 pūblicus 495
 Publius 480
 pudēō 496
 pudicitia 496
 pudicus 496
 pudor 496
 puella 496
 puellāscere 496
 puellitārī 496
 puellula 496
 puellus 496
 puer 496
 puera 496
 puerculus 496
 puerilis 496
 puerilitās 496
 pueritia 496
 puerpera 447
 puerperium 447
 pugil 499
 pugilatōrius 499
 pugilatūs 499
 pugilicē 499
 pugillāris 499
 pugillus 499
 pūgiō 499
 pūgna 499
 pūgnāculum 499
 pūgnāre 499
 pugneus 499
 pūgnus 499
 pulcher 496
 pulchrālia 496
 pulchritās 496
 pulchritūdō 496
 pūlex 496
 pullārius 502
 pullitra 502
 pullus 497 502
 pulmentārium 497
 pulmentum 497
 pulmō 497
 pulmōneus 497
 pulpa 497
 pulpāmentum 497
 puls 498
 pulsāre 456
 pulsātiō 456
 pultāre 456
 pultātiō 456
 pultiphagus 498
 pulverāre 498
 pulverulentus 498
 pulvīnār 498
 pulvīnus 498
 pulvis 498
 pulvisculus 498
 pūmex 498
 pūmicāre 498
 pūmiceus 498
 pūmiliō 499
 pūmilus 499
 pūnctāriola 499
 pungō 499
 pūpa 500
 pūpilla 500
 pūpillus 500
 puppis 500
 pūpula 500
 pūpuus 500
 pūpus 500
 pūr(i)gō 500
 pūrgāmentum 500
 pūrgātiō 500
 purgō 31
 pūrigāre 31
 pūrulentus 501
 pūrus 500
 pūs pūris 501
 pūsa 502
 pusillus 502
 pustula 501
 pūsus 502
 putāmen 502
 putātiō 502
 putātor 502
 puteālis 502
 Puteolānus 502
 Puteolī 502
 puter 501
 putēre 501
 putēscere 501
 puteus 502
 puticulī 502
 putidus 501
 putillus 502
 putō -āre 502
 pūtor 501
 putrefacere 501
 putrēre 501
 putrēscere 501
 putridus 501
 putus 502
 quā 507
 quadrāgēnārius 262
 505
 quadrāgēnī 262 505
 quadrāgēsīmus 262
 505
 quadrāgiēns 262 505
 quadrāginta 505
 quadrāns 505
 quadrantālī 505
 quadrātus 505
 quadrīdūm 173
 quadrīga 314
 quadrīgārius 314
 quadrigeminus 256
 quadriugus 314
 quadrimē(n)stris 373
 quadrīmulus 284
 quadrīmus 284
 quadringentī 107
 505
 quadrīnī 505
 quadrupedāns 462
 quadrupedus 462
 quadrupēs 462
 quadruplāre 475
 quadruplātor 475
 quadruplex 473
 quadruplicāre 473
 quadruplus 475
 quaeque 506
 quaeritāre 503
 quaerere, -ō 503
 quaesere 503
 quaesitiō 503
 quaesticulus 503
 quaestiō 503
 quaestor 503
 quaestuōsus 503
 quālis 507
 quālus/m 504
 quam 507
 -quam 510
 quamde 507
 quamdiū 173
 quamquam 507
 quande 507
 quandō 160 507
 quansei 507
 quantillus 507
 quantīspēr 459 507
 quantulus 507
 quantus 507
 quantusquantus 507
 quāquā 507
 quārtārius 505
 quārtātō 505
 quārtus 505
 quasi 507
 quasillum/s 504
 quassāre 504
 quater 505
 quaternī 505
 quatiō -ere 504
 quattuor 505
 quattuordecim 163
 505
 -que 506 510 553
 quēō quīre 506
 quercus 506
 querēla 507
 querimōnia 507
 querneus 506
 queror -ī 507
 querquētum 506
 quī 510
 quī quae quod 507
 quia 510
 quianam 399
 quicquam 507
 quīdam 160
 quidque 506
 quidquid 510
 quīēs -ētis 508
 quīēscere 508
 quīlibet 338
 quīn(c)tus 509
 quīnārius 509
 quīnavicēnārius 509
 quīncunx 509
 quīndecim 163 509
 quīngentī 509
 quīngentī 107
 quīnī 509
 quīnquāgēnārius 262
 509
 quīnquāgēsīēs 262
 509
 quīnquāgiē(n)s 262
 quīnquāgintā 509
 quīnquātrūs 509
 quīnque 509
 quīnquertiō 509
 quīntānus 509
 Quīntīlis 509
 Quīrīnālis 509
 Quīrīnus 509
 quīrīs 509
 quīrītāre 509
 quis quae quid 510
 quispiam 452
 quisquam 507
 quisque 506
 quisquis 510
 quō 507
 quōcircā 115
 quodque 506
 quōmodō 384

- quondam 152 160
 quoniam 152
 quoque 507
 quōquō 507
 Quorta 505
 quot 511
 quotannīs 511
 quotiēns 511
 quotquot 511
 quotumus 511
 quotus 511
 rabidus 511
 rabiēs 511
 rabiō -ere 511
 rabiōsus 511
 racēmus 511
 radiāre 512
 rādīcitus 512
 rādīcula 512
 radiōsus 512
 radius 512
 rādīx -icis 512
 rādō -ere 512
 raia 512
 rāllum 512
 rāllus 512
 rāmenta 512
 rāmentum 512
 rāmes 513
 rāmex 513
 rāmōsus 513
 rāmulus 513
 rāmus 513
 rāna 513
 ranceō 513
 rancidus 513
 rāpa 514
 rapāx 513
 rāpicus 514
 rapidus 513
 rāpīna 514
 rapīnātor 513
 rapiō -ere 513
 rapister 513
 rapsāre 514
 raptāre 513
 raptim 513
 raptiō 513
 raptor 513
 rāpula 514
 rāpum 514
 rarēfacere 514
 rārenter 514
 rārēscere 514
 rāritūdō 514
 rārō 514
 rārus 514
 rāstellus 512
 rāstrum 512
 rāsus 512
 ratiō 519
 ratis 514
 ratītus 514
 ratiuncula 519
 raucus 515
 raudus 515
 raudusculum 515
 rausūrus 515
 rāviāre 515
 ravis 515
 ravus 515
 rāvus 515
 re- red- 516
 rebītere 68
 recalvus 85
 recēdere 103
 recellere 105
 recēns 516
 recessim 103
 recidere 78
 recīdere 79
 recipērātor 89
 recipere 89
 reciprocāre 516
 reciprocus 516
 reclāmāre 117
 reclīnāre 121
 reclūdere 118
 recolere 125
 recommentārī 371
 recommināscī 371
 reconciliāre 85
 rēconcinnāre 129
 recordārī 135
 recreāre 142
 rector 517
 recubāre 152
 rēcula 520
 recumbere 152
 recuperāre 89
 recurrere 157
 recursāre 157
 rēcūsāre 101
 redambulāre 38
 redamptuāre 40
 reddere 174
 redemptiāre 188
 redemptor 188
 redhalāre 279
 redhibēre 277
 redhostīre 292
 redigere 30
 redimere 188
 redimiculum 517
 redimiō -īre 517
 redīre 191
 reditiō 191
 redivīvus 642
 redōrdior 433
 reducere 181
 reduvia 642
 reduviōsus 642
 redux 181
 refellere 199
 referīre 213
 referre 214
 reflāre 226
 reflectere 225
 refrāgāre/ī 597
 refrēnāre 241
 refricāre 243
 refrīgerāre 243
 refrīgēscere 243
 refringere 239
 refrīvus 243
 refugere 246
 refulgēre 247
 rēgālis 522
 rēgia 522
 rēgificus 522
 regignere 260
 regillam 522
 rēgillus 517 522
 regimen 517
 rēgīna 522
 regiō 517
 rēgius 522
 regliscere 265
 regnāre 522
 regnātor 522
 regnum 522
 regō -ere 517
 regredī 269
 rēgula 517
 rēgulus 522
 rēicere 293
 rēiculus 293
 rēiectāre 293
 rēlaxāre 331
 relēgāre 337
 relegere 332
 religāre 341
 religiō 341
 religiōsus 341
 relinquere 344
 reliquiae 344
 reliquus 344
 relūcēre 355
 reluere 353
 remānāre 363
 remanēre 362
 remeāre 373
 remedium 368
 rēmex 30 518
 rēmigium 518
 remigrāre 379
 remināscī 371
 remissārius 384
 remissiō 384
 remittere 384
 remora 388
 remorārī 388
 remorbēscere 389
 remordēre 389
 removēre 391
 rēmus 518
 rēnēs 519
 renīdeō 519
 renīdēscere 519
 renovāre 416
 renumerāre 419
 renūntiāre 419
 renūntius 419
 renūtāre 419
 reor rērī 519
 repāgula 443
 repandirōstrus 442
 repandus 442
 reparcere 445
 repedāre 462
 repellere 456
 repēns 520
 repentīnus 520
 reperīre 446
 repertum 446
 repetere 464
 replicāre 472
 rēpō -ere 520
 repōnere 479
 reportāre 482
 repscere 483
 repperī 446
 repre(he)ndere 487
 reprimere 488
 reprōmittere 384
 rēptāre 520
 repudiāre 496
 repudiōsus 496
 repudium 496
 repuerāscere 496
 repūgnāre 499
 repulsāre 456
 requiēs 508
 requiēscere 508
 requirere 503
 requiritāre 503
 rēs 520
 resarcīre 539
 rescindere 544
 resciscere 545
 reseccāre 550
 reseccāre 532

- reserere 557
 reses 552
 residere 552
 residere 562
 residuus 552
 resilire 535
 respicere 538
 respiscere 538
 resistere 567
 resolvere 573
 resonare 574
 resonere 574
 respergere 578
 respirare 581
 respondere 582
 respōnsare 582
 respōnsiō 582
 respōnsor 582
 respuere 583
 restare 589
 restaurare 305
 restabilire 589
 restibilis 589
 resticula 521
 restinguere 588
 restiō 521
 restis 521
 restitare 589
 restituere 589
 restringere 592
 resultare 535
 rēsūmere 188
 resupinare 595
 resupinus 595
 rēte / rētis 521
 retentare 613
 reticentia 604
 reticere 604
 reticulātus 521
 reticulum 521
 retināculum 613
 retinere 613
 retorridus 624
 retribuere 629
 retrimentum 616
 retrō 516
 retrorsus/m 667
 retrudere 630
 retundere 633
 returare 423
 reus 521
 revellere 659
 revenire 661
 reverecunditer 665
 revereri 665
 revidere 676
 revisere 676
 revivescere 685
 revocare 692
 revolvere 689
 revorrere 666
 rex 522
 rēcīnium 522
 rica 522
 ricinus 522
 rictus 524
 rideo 522
 ridibundus 522
 ridica 522
 ridicularius 522
 ridiculus 522
 rigeo 523
 rigidus 523
 rigō 523
 rigor 523
 rima 523
 rimare/i 523
 ringor -i 524
 rīpa 524
 rīsiō 522
 rīsitare 522
 rīte 524
 rītus -ūs 524
 rīvālis 524
 rīvulus 524
 rīvus 524
 rixa 525
 rixari 525
 Rōbīgālia 525
 rōbīgīnōsus 525
 rōbīgō 525
 Rōbīgus 525
 rōborare 525
 robōsem 525
 rōbur 525
 rōbus 525
 rōbustus 525
 rōdō -ere 526
 rogātiō 526
 rogātor 526
 rogātus 526
 rogitare 526
 rogō -āre 526
 rogius 526
 rōrāre 526
 rōrifera 526
 rōrulentus 526
 rōs 526
 rōscidus 526
 rōstrātus 526
 rōstrum 526
 rota 527
 rotula 527
 rotundus 527
 ruber 527
 rubere 527
 rubicundus 527
 rūbidus 527
 rubor 527
 rubrica 527
 rubricōsus 527
 ructare/i 529
 ructus 529
 rūdectus 527
 rudis 527
 rūdō -ere 528
 rūdus 527
 rūfulus 528
 rūfus 528
 rūga 528
 rūgare 528
 rūgiō -īre 528
 -rūgō -ere 529
 rūgōsus 528
 rūina 530
 rūma 529
 rūmare 529
 rūmen 529
 rūmentum 529
 rūmiferare 529
 Rūmīna 529
 Rūminālis 529
 rūminare 529
 rūmis 529
 rūmitare 529
 rūmor 529
 rumpō -ere 529
 rūna 530
 runcō -āre 530
 ruō -ere 1 530
 ruō -ere 2 530
 rūpēs 530
 rupex 530
 rūrāre/i 531
 rursus/m 667
 rū(s)us/m 667
 rūs 531
 rūsceus 531
 rūscus 531
 rūspor -ārī 531
 russescere 527
 russus 527
 rūsticātīm 531
 rūsticus 531
 rūta 530
 rutābulum 530
 rutellum 530
 rutilare 527
 rutilus 527
 rutrum 530
 rutus 530
 sabulō 531
 sabulōsus 531
 sabulum 531
 saburra 531
 saburrare 531
 sacellum 532
 sacer 532
 sācer 532
 sacerdos 532
 sacerdotula 532
 sacramentum 532
 sacrarium 532
 sacrem 532
 sācres 532
 sacrificare 532
 sacrificium 532
 sacrificulus 532
 sacrilegus 332 532
 saeculum 533
 saepe 533
 saepēs 533
 saepiculē 533
 saepimentum 533
 saepire 533
 saeptuōsus 533
 saeta 533
 saetiger 533
 saevire 534
 saevitia 534
 saevitūdō 534
 saevus 534
 sāga 534
 sagātus 534
 sagāx 534
 sāgire 534
 sagitta 534
 sagittarius 534
 sagittātus 534
 sagmen 532
 sagulum 534
 sagum 534
 sāgus 534
 sāl 535
 Salacia 535
 salārius 535
 salebra 536
 salictarius 536
 salictum 536
 saligneus 536
 salignus 536
 salilium 535
 salinator 535
 salinum 535
 saliō -īre 535
 saliva 536
 salix 536
 sallere 535
 sallire 535
 salsamentum 535
 salsum 535
 salsūra 535

- salsus 535
 saltāre 535
 saltātiō 535
 saltem 536
 saltus 535
 salūber 537
 salūbritās 537
 salum 535
 salūs 537
 salūtāre 537
 salūtāris 537
 salūtigerulus 259
 salvēre 537
 salvus 537
 sānāre 538
 sancīre 532
 sānctēscere 532
 sānctitūdō 532
 Sancus 532
 sanguinolentus 537
 sanguīs 537
 sanguisūga 598
 saniēs 538
 sānitās 538
 sānus 538
 sapa 538
 sapiō -ere 538
 sapor 538
 sarcina 539
 sarcinātor 539
 sarcinātrix 539
 sarcinātus 539
 sarcio -īre 539
 sarcta 539
 sarculum 539
 sārīō -īre 539
 sarmentum 540
 sarp(i)ō 540
 sartor 539
 satiāre 540
 satiās 540
 satietās 540
 satīn 403
 satiō 557
 satis 540
 satisfacere 540
 satīvus 557
 sator 557
 satullāre 540
 satullus 540
 satur 540
 saturāre 540
 saturitās 540
 sauciāre 540
 sancius 540
 sāvillum 594
 sāvium 594
 saxātilis 541
 saxeus 541
 saxum 541
 scaber 541
 scabi/ellum 542
 scabiēs 541
 scabō -ere 541
 scabrēre 541
 scabrēs 541
 scaeva 541
 scaevola 541
 scaevus 541
 scālae 542
 scalpō -ere 542
 scalprum 542
 scalptūra 542
 scalpurrēre 542
 scamnum 542
 scandō -ere 542
 scandula 544
 scānsiō 542
 scapulae 543
 scāpus 546
 scatebra 543
 scatō -ere 543
 scaturrex 543
 scauripeda 544
 scaurus 544
 scelerātus 544
 scelerōsus 544
 scelestus 544
 scelus 544
 scientia 545
 scīlicet 340 545
 scindō -ere 544
 scindula 544
 scintilla 545
 scintillāre 545
 sciō scīre 545
 scīpiō 545
 scirpeus 546
 scirpiculus 546
 scirpus 546
 scīscere 545
 scīscitārī 545
 scītamenta 545
 scītārī 545
 scītulus 545
 sciūs 545
 scobīna 541
 scobis 541
 scōpae 546
 scōpiō 546
 scōpus 546
 scortārī 546
 scortātor 546
 scortēs 546
 scorteus 546
 scortum 546
 scrautum 548
 scrība 546
 scrībō -ere 546
 scrīnium 547
 scrīp(t)ulum 548
 scrīptor 546
 scrīptūra 546
 scrīptūrārius 546
 scrobiculus 547
 scrobis 547
 scrōfa 547
 scrōfipascus 547
 scrōtum 548
 scrūpeus 547
 scrūpōsus 547
 scrūpulosus 547
 scrūpulus 547
 scrūpus 547
 scrūta 548
 scrūtārī 548
 scrūtārius 548
 scrūtillus 548
 sculpōneae 542
 scurra 548
 scūta 548
 scūtārius 548
 scutella 548
 scūtigerulus 259
 scutra 548
 scutriscum 548
 scutula 548
 scūtum 548
 sē 549
 sē- se- sō- so- 549
 sēbum 550
 sēcēdere 103
 sēcernere 110
 secespita 550
 secō -āre 550
 sēcētus 110
 secta 555
 sectārī 555
 sectārius 555
 sectātor 555
 sectiō 550
 sector 550
 sectūra 550
 sēcūla 550
 secundāre 556
 secundārius 556
 secundus 556
 secūricula 550
 secūris 550
 sēcūrus 156
 secus 551 560
 sed 549
 sēd 549
 sēdāre 551
 sēdecim 560
 sēdecim 163
 sedentārius 551
 sedeō 551
 sēdēs 551
 sediculum 551
 sedīle 551
 sēditīō 191
 sēditīōsus 191
 sēdūcere 181
 sēdulitās 177
 sēdulō 177
 seges 552
 sēgnis 552
 sēgnitās 552
 sēgnitia 552
 sēgregāre 273
 sēiugis 314
 sēiungere 314
 sēlībra 339 553
 sēligere 332
 sella 551
 sem- sim- 553
 sēmē(n)stris 373
 semel 553
 sēmen 557
 sēmentis 557
 sēmentivus 557
 sēmestris 560
 sēmi- 553
 sēmifūnium 250
 sēmimarīnus 365
 sēmimās 366
 sēmināre 557
 sēminārius 557
 sēmīnium 557
 sēmīs 57 553
 sēmīta 373
 sēmītātīm 373
 sēmōdius 384 553
 semper 459 553
 sempiternus 553
 semul 564
 senāculum 553
 senātor 553
 senātus 553
 seneciō 553
 senecta 553
 senectūs 553
 senēre 553
 senēscere 553
 senex 553
 sēnī 560
 senica 553
 senīlis 553
 senior 553
 seniōsus 553
 senium 553

- sensibilis 554
 sēnsilis 554
 sēnsim 554
 sēnsus 554
 sententia 554
 sentīna 554
 sentīnāre 554
 sentīnōsus 554
 sentiō -īre 554
 sentiscere 554
 seorsus 667
 sēparāre 446
 sepelībilis 555
 sepiō 555
 septem 555
 septemdecim 163
 555
 september 555
 septēnī 555
 septentrionālis 555
 septentrionēs 555
 septimānus 555
 septimus 555
 septingentī 555
 septuāgēmī 262
 septuāgintā 555
 septuennis 555
 septunx 555
 sepulcrum 555
 sepultūra 555
 sequāx 555
 sequester 551
 sequius 551
 sequor 555
 sera 557
 serēnus 556
 serēscere 556
 seriēs 557
 serīlia 557
 sērius 556
 sermō 557
 sermōcinārī 557
 sermōnātus 557
 sērō 558
 serō 1 557
 serō 2 557
 serpens 558
 serpō -ere 558
 serpullum 558
 serra 558
 serrula 558
 serum 558
 sērus 558
 serva 559
 servāre 559
 servātor 559
 servātrix 559
 servīliculus 559
 servīlis 559
 servīre 559
 servitium 559
 servitūs 559
 servola 559
 servolus 559
 servus 559
 sescentī 107 560
 sēsque 553
 sessibulum 551
 sessiō 551
 sēstertius 553
 sētius 559
 seu 561 656
 seuorsum 667
 sevēritās 560
 sevēritūdō 560
 sevērus 560
 sex 560
 sexāgēnārius 262
 sexāgēnī 262 560
 sexāgēsimus 262
 560
 sexāgintā 560
 sexennis 560
 sextāns 560
 sextārius 560
 sextīlis 560
 sextus 560
 sexus 560
 sī sic 561
 sībilāre 561
 sībilis 561
 sībus 561
 sīca 561
 sīcārius 561
 siccāre 562
 siccitās 562
 siccoculus 562
 siccus 562
 sīcīlicula 561
 sīcīlimenta 561
 sīcīlire 561
 sīcīlis 561
 sīcubi 636
 sīdō -ere 562
 sīdus 562
 sigillātus 563
 sigillum 563
 signāre 563
 significāre 563
 significātiō 563
 signum 563
 silentium 563
 silentus 563
 sileō 563
 silēscere 563
 silex 564
 siliceus 564
 silicula 564
 silīgineus 564
 silīgō 564
 siliqua 564
 silva 564
 Silvānus 564
 silvāticus 564
 silvester 564
 silvicola 125 564
 simbella 339 553
 similis 564
 similitās 564
 similitūdō 564
 simītū 191 553
 simplex 473 553
 simplicitās 473 553
 simplus 475 553
 simpu(v)ium 565
 simpulum 565
 simul 564
 simulācrum 564
 simulāre 564
 simulātiō 564
 simultās 564
 simulter 564
 sīn 561
 sincēris 565
 sincērus 565
 sincinia 553
 sincipitāmentum 553
 sinciput 91 553
 singillātīm 566
 singulāris 566
 singulārius 566
 singulī 566
 singultāre 566
 singultus 267 566
 sinister 566
 sinō -ere 566
 sinus 567
 supō -āre 601
 Sispita 577
 sistō -ere 567
 siticen 88 568
 sitīre 568
 sitis 568
 sitas 566 568
 sīve 561 656
 so 568
 sobrietās 568
 sobrina 576
 sobrinus 576
 sōbrius 568
 socer 569
 socia 569
 sociennus 569
 societās 569
 socius 569
 socordia 135
 socors 135
 socrus 569
 sodālicium 570
 sodālis 570
 sodalitās 570
 sōl 570
 sōlācium 572
 sōlārium 570
 solea 572
 soleārius 572
 soleātus 572
 soleō 570
 soliar 571
 solidus 571
 sōlitārius 573
 sōlitās 573
 sōlitūdō 573
 solium 571
 sollemnis 571
 sollemnitus 571
 sollers 55 571
 sollicitāre 113 571
 sollicitātiō 113 572
 sollicitūdō 113 572
 sollicitus 113 571
 sollicurius 571
 solliferreum 571
 sollistimum 571
 sollus 571
 sōlor -ārī 572
 sōlōx 572
 sōlstitiālis 570 589
 sōlstitium 570 589
 solum 572
 sōlus 573
 solūtiō 573
 solvō -ere 573
 somniāre 573
 somnīculōsus 573
 somnium 573
 somnurus 573
 somnus 573
 sonipēs 574
 sonitus 574
 sonīvius 574
 sonō -āre 574
 sonor 574
 sōns 574
 sonticus 574
 sonus 574
 sōpīre 575
 sopor 575
 sorbeō 575
 sorbilāre 575
 sorbilō 575
 sorbitiō 575

- sorbum 576
 sorbus 576
 sordēre 576
 sordēs 576
 sordidātus 576
 sordidulus 576
 sordidus 576
 sorditūdō 576
 sōrex 576
 sōricīnus 576
 soror 576
 sororecula 576
 sorōriāre 576
 sorōrius 576
 sors 577
 sortilegus 332
 sortirefī 577
 sortitiō 577
 sortītus 577
 sospes 577
 Sospita 577
 sospitālis 577
 sospitāre 577
 soueis 549
 spargō -ere 578
 sparus 578
 spatium 578
 speciēs 578
 specillum 578
 specimen 578
 speciō 578
 spectāculum 579
 spectāmen 579
 spectāre 579
 spectātor 579
 spectiō 579
 spēcula 578 580
 specularī 578
 specularōtor 578
 speculum 578
 specus 579
 spērābilis 580
 spērāre 580
 spernō -ere 579
 spēs 580
 -spex 579
 spica 580
 spicilegium 580
 spīna 580
 spinōsus 580
 spīrāmen 581
 spīritus 581
 spīrō -āre 581
 spissēscere 581
 spissigradus 581
 spissus 581
 splendēō 581
 splendidus 581
 splendor 581
 spoliāre 581
 spolium 581
 sponda 582
 spondeō 582
 spōns 583
 spōnsa 582
 spōnsālis 582
 spōnsiō 582
 spōnsor 582
 spūma 583
 spūmāre 583
 spuō -ere 583
 spūtāre 583
 spūtātilicius 583
 spūtātor 583
 spūtum 583
 squālēre 583
 squālēs 583
 squālidus 583
 squālitās 583
 squālitūdō 583
 squālor 583
 squalus 584
 squāma 583
 squāmōsus 583
 squatus 584
 (s)tā- 584
 stabilīmen 589
 stabilimentum 589
 stabilīre 589
 stabilis 589
 stabulāre 589
 stabulum 589
 stāgnum 585
 stāmen 589
 statārius 589
 staticulus 589
 statim 589
 statīō 589
 statīvus 589
 stator 589
 statua 589
 statuere 589
 statūra 589
 statūtum 589
 stēl(l)īō 585
 stēlla 585
 stēllāns 585
 stēllumicāns 585
 sterco/erāre 585
 sterco/erārius 585
 sterco/erātiō 585
 stercoreus 585
 stercorōsus 585
 sterculīnum 585
 stercus 585
 sterilis 586
 sterilus 586
 sternō -ere 586
 sternuō -ere 587
 sterquilīnum 585
 stertere 587
 stīlla 587
 stīllāre 587
 stīllātim 587
 stīllicidium 78 587
 stilus 587
 stimulāre 587
 stimulātrīx 587
 stimuleus 587
 stimulus 587
 stinguō -ere 588
 stīpātor 588
 stīpendium 457 588
 stīpes 588
 stīpō -āre 588
 stīps 588
 stipula 588
 stipulārī 588
 stipulātiō 588
 stīria 587
 stīrps 589
 stīva 587
 stlātārius 329
 stlatta 329
 stō, stāre 589
 stolidus 590
 stolō 590
 strāgēs 586
 strāgulum 586
 strāmentārius 586
 strāmentīcius 586
 strāmentum 586
 strēna 591
 Strēnia 591
 strēnuitās 591
 strēnuōsus 591
 strēnuus 591
 strepitus 591
 strepō -ere 591
 stria 592
 striātus 592
 strictim 591
 strictīvus 592
 strictor 592
 strictūra 591
 strīdō -ere 591
 strīdor 591
 striga 592
 strīgāre 592
 strigilis 592
 strigor 592
 stringō -ere 591
 stringor 592
 struēs 592
 struix 592
 strūma 592
 struō -ere 592
 studeō 593
 studiōsus 593
 studium 593
 stultitia 590
 stultus 590
 stupeō 593
 stupiditās 593
 stupidus 593
 stuprāre 593
 stuprum 593
 sturnus 593
 sū(r)sum/s 667
 suāda 594
 suādēla 594
 suādēre 594
 suāsī 594
 suāsor 594
 suāvis 594
 suāvisāviātiō 594
 suāvisonus 594
 suāvitās 594
 suāvitūdō 594
 sub, su(b)s 594
 subcustōs 159
 subditīvus 175
 subdolus 177
 sūber 595
 sūberies 595
 sūbernus 595
 subesse 599
 subēsse 186
 subicere 293
 subicēs 293
 subiectāre 293
 subigere 30
 subigitāre 30
 subigitātiō 30
 subigitātrīx 30
 subīre 191
 subitārius 191
 subitō 191
 subiungere 314
 sublectāre 321
 sublegere 332
 sublevāre 336
 publica 321
 publicus 321
 subligāculum 341
 subligāre 341
 sublīmāre 343
 sublīmen 342
 sublīmīs 343
 sublīmus 343
 sublingulō 343

- submergere 375
 submerus 376
 submonēre 387
 subnīxus 410
 subolēre 426
 suborīrī 434
 subōmāre 434
 subrectitāre 517
 subreptīcius 514
 subrīdēre 522
 subrūmus 529
 subscribere 546
 subscūs 149
 subsecāre 550
 subsequī 556
 subservīre 559
 subsicīvus 550
 subsīdere 562
 subsidium 552
 subsilīre 535
 subsistere 567
 substāre 589
 substernere 586
 substrāmen 586
 subsultāre 535
 subtegmen 619
 subtel 605
 subtēmen 619
 subtendere 612
 subtenuis 613
 subter 594
 subterere 616
 subtilis 619
 subtus 594
 subūcula 642
 sūbula 600
 subulcus 77 603
 sūbulō 561
 subvectāre 658
 subvehere 658
 subvellere 659
 subvenīre 661
 subventāre 661
 subverbustus 664
 subvexus 133
 subvulturius 688
 succēdere 103
 succendere 106
 succīdāneus 79
 succidere 78
 succīdere 79
 succinctus 114
 succingulum 114
 succrēscere 144
 succumbere 152
 succurrere 157
 sucerda 603
 sūcīdia/succīdia 603
 sūcidus 596
 sūcula 603
 sūcus 596
 sūdāre 596
 sūdātōrius 596
 sūdor 596
 sūdus 596
 suēscō -ere 597
 suffarcināre 202
 sufferre 214
 suffigere 219
 suffiō -īre 597
 sufflāre 226
 suffrāgāre/ī 597
 suffrāgātor 597
 suffrāgium 597
 suffrāgō 597
 suffringere 239
 suffugere 246
 suffulcīre 247
 suffūrārī 251
 suggerere 259
 suggestus 259
 suggrunda 273
 suggrundium 273
 sūgillāre 598
 sūgō -ere 598
 suīle 603
 suillus 603
 sulcāre 598
 sulcus 598
 sulphur 598
 sulphureus 598
 sum, esse 599
 sūmen 598
 sūmere 188
 summa 600
 summānāre 363
 Summānus 600
 summās 600
 summātim 600
 summātus 600
 summovēre 391
 summus 600
 sumptiō 188
 sumptuōsus 188
 suō -ere 600
 suovetaurīlia 437
 603
 super 600
 superāre 600
 superbia 490
 superbus 490
 supercilium 114
 superescit 599
 superesse 599
 superficiēs 198
 superfieri 222
 superior 600
 supernē 600
 supernus 600
 supersedēre 552
 superstes 589
 superstitāre 589
 superstitiōsus 589
 superus 600
 supervacāneus 649
 supīnus 594
 suppalpārī 441
 suppāre 601
 suppetere 464
 suppetiae 464
 suppingere 442
 supplantāre 470
 supplex 472
 supplicāre 472
 supplicium 472
 supponere 479
 supprimere 488
 supprōmus 188
 suppurāre 501
 suppus 601
 supputāre 502
 suprā 600
 suprēmus 600
 sūra 602
 surculārius 602
 surculus 602
 surdus 602
 surēmī 188
 surēmpsit 188
 surgere 517
 surpere 514
 surru/ipere 514
 surus 602
 sūs sūis 603
 suscensēre 107
 suscitāre 113
 suspectāre 579
 suspendere 457
 suspendium 457
 suspicāre/ī 579
 suspicere 579
 suspiciō 579
 suspiciōsus 579
 suspīrāre 581
 suspīritus 581
 sustentāre 613
 sustinēre 613
 susurrāre 602
 susurrus 602
 sūtēla 600
 sūtor 600
 sūtōrius 600
 sūtrīnus 600
 suus 549
 tab(u)līnum 604
 tabella 604
 tābeō 603
 taberna 604
 tabernāculum 604
 tabernula 604
 tābēs 603
 tābēscere 603
 tābificābilis 603
 tābificus 603
 tabula 604
 tabulātum 604
 tābum 603
 taceō 604
 tacitulus 604
 taciturnitās 604
 taciturnus 604
 tāctilis 606
 tāctiō 606
 taedet 605
 taeter 605
 taetrāre 605
 taetritūdō 605
 tagāx 606
 tālea 605
 tāliō 605
 tālis 605
 talpa 605
 tālus 605
 tam 606
 tamen 606
 tamquam 606
 tandem 606
 tangō -ere 606
 tantillus 606
 tantisper 459 606
 tantus 606
 tardāre 607
 tardēscere 607
 tarditūdō 607
 tardiusculus 607
 tardor 607
 tardus 607
 tarmes 616
 taura 607
 taureus 607
 taurīnus 607
 taurus 607
 taxāre 606
 taxillus 605
 taxim 606
 taxus 607
 tēctārium 608
 tēctor 608
 tēctōrius 608
 teges 608
 tegetīcula 608
 tēgillum 608

- tegimen 608
 tegō -ere 608
 tēgula 608
 tēla 619
 tellūs 608
 tēlum 609
 temerāre 609
 temerārius 609
 temere 609
 temeritās 609
 temeriter 609
 temeritūdō 609
 tēmētum 609
 temnō -ere 609
 tēmō 610
 tempe/orī 611
 temperantia 611
 temperāre 611
 temperātūra 611
 temperius 611
 tempestās 611
 tempestīvus 611
 tempestūs 611
 templum 610
 tempora 611
 temporālis 611
 temptō -āre 611
 tempus 611
 tēmulentus 609
 tenācia 612
 tenāx 612
 tendō -ere 612
 tenebrae 612
 tenebricōsus 612
 tenebricus 612
 tenebrīō 612
 tenebrōsus 612
 tenellulus 613
 tenellus 613
 teneō 612
 tener 613
 tenerēscere 613
 teneritūdō 613
 tenor 612
 tēnsa 612
 tentipellium 455 612
 tenuāre 613
 tenuis 613
 tenuitās 613
 tenus 612
 tepefacere 614
 tepeō 614
 tepidus 614
 tepor 614
 ter 628
 terebra 616
 terebrāre 616
 terenus 613
 tergeō 614
 tergūm 615
 tergiversārī 615
 tergum 615
 tergus 615
 termen 615
 termentum 616
 termes 615
 terminālis 615
 termināre 615
 terminus 615
 termō 615
 ternī 628
 terō -ere 616
 terra 616
 terrēnus 616
 terreō 617
 terrestris 616
 terreus 616
 terribilis 617
 terricula 617
 terrificāre 617
 terrificus 617
 territāre 617
 territōrium 616
 terror 617
 terruncius 628
 tertiāre 628
 tertiārius 628
 tertius 628
 tescum 617
 testa 617
 testāmentum 618
 testārī 618
 testātīm 617
 testēs 618
 testiculī 618
 testimōnium 618
 testis 618
 testū 617
 testuācium 617
 testūdineus 617
 testūdō 617
 testum 617
 tetricus 618
 texō -ere 619
 textilis 619
 textor 619
 tetrīnum 619
 textūra 619
 textus 619
 tībia 619
 tībīcen 88 619
 tībīcina 88 619
 tīgillum 619
 tīgnum 619
 tilia 620
 timēfactus 620
 timeō 620
 timiditās 620
 timidus 620
 timor 620
 timōs 620
 tingō -ere 620
 tītīō 620
 tōfus 621
 toga 608
 togālis 608
 togātus 608
 togula 608
 tolerābilis 621
 tolerāre 621
 tōlēs 621
 tollō -ere 621
 tolūtīlis 621
 tolūtīm 621
 tōmentum 622
 tondeō 622
 tonēscere 623
 tongēre 623
 tongitīō 623
 tonitr(u)ālis 623
 tonitrus 623
 tonō -āre 623
 tōnsa 623
 tōnsilis 622
 tōnsilla 621 623
 tōnsitāre 622
 tōnsor 622
 tōnstrīna 622
 tōnstrīx 622
 tōnsūra 622
 topper 459 624
 tōrculārium 624
 torculum 624
 torculus 624
 tormentum 624
 tormina 624
 torpēdō 624
 torpeō 624
 torpor 624
 torqueō 624
 torquēs 624
 torreō 624
 torrēscere 624
 torridus 624
 torris 624
 torrus 624
 tortāre 624
 tortīvus 624
 torulus 625
 torus 625
 torviter 625
 torvus 625
 tot 625
 totidem 625
 totiē(n)s 625
 tōtus 625
 trā(ns)mittere 384
 trabālis 626
 trabēcula 626
 trabica 626
 trabs 626
 tractāre 626
 tractīm 626
 tractus 626
 trādere 174
 trāditiō 174
 trādūcere 181
 trādūx 181
 trāgula 626
 trahāx 626
 trahō -ere 626
 trāicere 293
 trāiectus 293
 trāma 626
 trāmes 373
 tranquillāre 627
 tranquillitās 627
 tranquillus 627
 trāns 627
 trānsbītere 68
 trānscondere 543
 trānscondere 79
 transcurre 157
 trānsferre 214
 trānsfugere 246
 trānsilire 535
 trānsire 191
 trānsitiō 191
 trānslegere 332
 trānsloquī 348
 trānsmarīnus 365
 trānsmissus 384
 trānsmovēre 391
 trānsmutāre 398
 trānsnāre 411
 trānsserere 557
 trānsstinēre 613
 trānsvolāre 688
 trānsvolitāre 688
 trecenī 628
 trecenī 107 628
 trēdecim 163
 tremebundus 628
 tremēscere 628
 tremō -ere 628
 tremor 628
 tremulus 628
 trepidāre 628
 trepidulus 628
 trepidus 628
 trepit 628
 trēs 628

- tressis 57
 tribuere 629
 trībulāre 616
 tribūlis 629
 trībulum 616
 tribūnus 629
 tribus 629
 tribūtīm 629
 tribūtus 629
 trīcae 629
 trīcē(n)simus 262
 trīcēnī 262
 trīclīnium 121
 trīcō 629
 trīcōsus 629
 trīduum 173
 triēns 628
 trientābulum 628
 trigeminus 256
 trīgintā 628
 trīlix 340
 trimē(n)stris 373
 trimodīa 384
 trimodius 384
 trīmus 284
 trīnī 628
 tripālis 443
 tripedāneus 462
 triperītus 448
 triplex 473
 tripodāre 462
 tripudiāre 462
 tripudium 462
 triquetrus 630
 trirēmis 518
 triresmos 518
 trīstis 630
 trīstitās 630
 trīstitia 630
 trīticeus 616
 trīticum 616
 trītor 616
 trītūra 616
 trivenēfica 660
 trivolum 616
 trucīdāre 631
 trucīdātīō 631
 truculentus 631
 trūdō -ere 630
 truncus 630
 trūsātilis 630
 trux 631
 tū 631
 tuba 632
 tūber 632
 tūberōsus 632
 tubicen 88 632
 tubilūstrium 354
 tubulus 632
 tuburcinārī 632
 tubus 632
 tudes 633
 tudiculāre 633
 tuditāre 633
 tueor 632
 tum tunc 633
 tumeō 633
 tumidus 633
 tumor 633
 tumultuārī 633
 tumultuōsus 633
 tumultus 633
 tumulus 633
 tundō -ere 633
 turba 634
 turbāre 634
 turbēlae 634
 turbidus 634
 turbō 634
 turbulentus 634
 turdārium 634
 turdēlice 634
 turdus 634
 turgeō 635
 turgēscere 635
 turgidus 635
 turma 634
 turmātīm 634
 turpāre 635
 turpiculus 635
 turpis 635
 turpitūdō 635
 tussīre 635
 tussis 635
 Tūtānus 632
 tūtāre/ī 632
 tūtēla 632
 Tūtīlīna 632
 tūtor 632
 tuus 631
 ūber 636
 ūbertās 636
 ubī 636
 ubīcumque 636
 ubinam 636
 ubiquāque 636
 ubīque 636
 ubivīs 636
 ūdor 648
 ūdus 648
 ulcerōsus 637
 ulcīscor -scī 636
 ulcus 637
 ūlginōsus 639
 ūlīgō 639
 ullō 636
 ūllus 642
 ulmeus 637
 ulmitriba 637
 ulmus 637
 ulna 638
 uls 638
 ulterior 638
 ultimus 638
 ultor 636
 ultrā 638
 ultrō 638
 ulula 638
 ululō -āre 638
 umbilīcus 639
 umbō 639
 umbra 639
 umbrāculum 639
 umbrāre 639
 umbrāticulus 639
 umbrāticus 639
 umbrifer 639
 ūmectāre 639
 ūmectus 639
 ūmeō 639
 umerus 640
 ūmiditās 639
 ūmidus 639
 ūmor 639
 umquam 640
 ūnā 642
 uncia 642
 unciātīm 642
 unctiō 641
 unctitāre 642
 unctiusculus 642
 unctor 641
 unctulus 642
 uncus 640
 unda 641
 undāre 641
 ūndecim 163
 ūndēvīgintī 678
 unguen 641
 unguentārius 641
 unguentātus 641
 unguentum 641
 unguiculus 641
 unguis 641
 unguītāre 641
 ungula 641
 ungulus 641
 unguō -ere 641
 unustus 641
 ūnicus 642
 ūnivo/ersus 667
 ūnocus 425
 ūnōsē 642
 ūnus 642
 -uō -uere 642
 upupa 643
 urbānus 643
 urbicapus 89
 urbs 643
 urgeō 644
 ūrīna 644
 ūrīnārī 644
 ūrīnātor 644
 ūrō -ere 645
 ursus 645
 urvāre 645
 urvum 645
 uspiam 452 646
 usquam 646
 ūsque 646
 usquequāque 646
 ūsūra 648
 ūsūrārius 648
 ūsurpāre 648
 ūsus 648
 ut, utī 646
 ūtēnsilis 648
 uter 646
 uter, utris 647
 uterque 646
 uterque 647
 utervis 647
 ūtibilis 647
 ūtilis 647
 ūtilitās 648
 utinam 399 646
 ūūque 646
 ūtor utī 647
 utpote 484 646
 utrimque 646
 utrimquesequs 551
 646
 utrinde 646
 utrubī 647
 utrubīque 647
 utut 646
 ūva 381 648
 uvēscere 648
 ūvidus 648
 ūvor 648
 uxor 648
 uxorcula 648
 uxorculāre 648
 uxōrius 648
 vabrum 650
 vacātīō 649
 vacca 649
 vacēfierī 649
 vacillō -āre 649
 vacīvītās 649
 vacīvus 649
 vacō -āre 649

- vacuus 649
 vadārī 655
 vadimōnium 655
 vādō -ere 650
 vadum 650
 vadus 650
 vae 650
 vafer 650
 vagāre/ī 651
 vagātrix 651
 vāgīna 650
 vāgiō -īre 651
 vāgītus 651
 vāgor 651
 vāgulātiō 651
 vāgulus 651
 vagus 651
 val(i)dē 651
 valentia 651
 valentulus 651
 valeō 651
 valēscere 651
 valētūdinārius 651
 valētūdō 651
 valgus 652
 validus 651
 vallāre 652
 vallēcula 652
 vallēs 652
 vallum 652 653
 vallus 652 653
 valvae 653
 valvātus 653
 valvolī 653
 vānāre 653
 vānidicus 653
 vāniloquus 653
 vānitās 653
 vānitūdō 653
 vannāre 653
 vannus 653
 vānus 653
 vapor 654
 vapōrāre 654
 vāpulāris 654
 vāpulō -āre 654
 variāre 654
 vāricāre 655
 vāricōsus 655
 varietās 654
 varius 654
 varix 655
 Varrō 655
 varus 654
 vārus 655
 vas 655
 vās 655
 vāsārius 655
 vāsculum 655
 vāstāre 655
 vāstēscere 655
 vāstitās 655
 vāstitiēs 655
 vāstitūdō 655
 vāstus 655
 vāsum 655
 vatāx 656
 vātēs 656
 vāticinārī 88 656
 vatīflum 653
 vātius 656
 -ve 656
 vē- 656
 vēcordia 135
 vēcors 135
 vectaculārius 658
 vectāre 658
 vectīgal 31 658
 vectis 658
 vectitāre 658
 vector 658
 vectōrius 658
 vectūra 658
 Vēdiovis 315
 Vēdius 315
 vegeō 657
 vegetāre 657
 vegetus 657
 vēgrandis 270
 vehemēns 658
 vehiculum 658
 vehis 658
 vehō -ere 658
 veia 673
 veiar(i)ī 673
 veiatūra 673
 Vēiovis 315
 vel 687
 vēlābra 660
 Vēlābrum 660
 vēlāmentum 660
 vēlāre 660
 veles 659
 vēles -itis 659
 vēlitārī 659
 vēlitātiō 659
 vēlivolus 687
 vellicāre 659
 vellicātīm 659
 vellō -ere 659
 vellus 659
 vēlōcitās 659
 vēlōx 659
 vēlum 660
 velut(i) 687
 vēmēns 658
 vēna 660
 vēnābulum 662
 vēnālis 663
 vēnāticus 662
 venātiō 662
 vēnātor 662
 vēnātūra 662
 vēnātus 662
 vendāx 663
 vendere 174 663
 vendibilis 663
 venditāre 174 663
 venditiō 663
 venditor 663
 venēficium 660
 venēficus 660
 venēnāre 660
 venēnum 660
 vēneō 663
 venerārī/e 663
 venerātiō 663
 venerius 663
 venia 661
 veniō -īre 661
 vēnor -ārī 662
 vē(n)sicula 669
 venter 662
 ventilābrum 662
 ventilāre 662
 ventiō 661
 ventōsus 662
 ventriōsus 662
 ventulus 662
 ventus 662
 venus 663
 vēnus/m 663
 venustās 663
 venustulus 663
 venustus 663
 vēr 663
 vērāre 668
 vērātrum 668
 vērāx 668
 verbēna 664
 verbera 664
 verberābilis 664
 verberābundus 664
 verberāre 664
 verberetillus 664
 verbereus 664
 verberitāre 664
 verberō 664
 verbificātiō 664
 verbivēlitātiō 664
 verbōsus 664
 verbum 664
 verculum 663
 verēcundia 665
 verēcundus 665
 vereor 665
 Vergiliae 665
 vergō -ere 665
 vermiculātus 665
 vermiculus 665
 vermina 665
 vermis 665
 vernō 663
 vernus 663
 verrēs 666
 verrō -ere 666
 verrūca 666
 verruncāre 666
 versāre 666
 versātilis 666
 versipellis 455 667
 versōria 666
 versum/s 667
 versūra 667
 versūtus 666
 vertebra 666
 vertex 666
 verticula 666
 vertigō 666
 vertō -ere 666
 veru 668
 vērus 668
 verūtum 668
 vervex 668
 vervīna 668
 vēscor vēscī 669
 vēscus 186
 vēsīca 669
 vespa 670
 vesper 670
 vesperāscere 670
 vesperna 670
 vesperīliō 670
 vesperīnus 670
 vesperūgō 670
 vespīllō 670
 Vesta 671
 vēstālis 671
 vester 691
 vestiārius 671
 vestibulum 671
 vestīgāre 671
 vestīgātor 671
 vestīgium 671
 vēstīmentum 671
 vēstīre 671
 vestis 671
 vestispica 579
 vēstītus 671
 veterānus 672
 veterātor 672
 veterīnus 672

- veteruōsus 672
 veteruus 672
 vetō -āre 672
 vetulus 672
 vetus -eris 672
 vetustās 672
 vetustus 672
 vexāmen 673
 vexillum 660
 vexō -āre 673
 via 673
 viālis 673
 viāticātus 673
 viāticus 673
 viātor 673
 vibicēs 674
 vibrissāre 674
 vibrō -āre 674
 vicārius 674
 vicātim 675
 vicē(n)sirus 678
 vicēni 678
 vicia 679
 viciē(n)s 678
 vicīnia 675
 vicīnitās 675
 vicīnus 675
 vicis 674
 vicissātim 674
 vicissim 674
 vicissitās 674
 vicissitūdō 674
 victima 675
 vicitāre 685
 victor 679
 victōria 679
 victōriātus 679
 victrix 679
 vīcus 675
 videlicet 340 676
 viden 403
 videō 676
 vidertās 677
 vidua 677
 viduāre 677
 viduitās 677
 vidulus 677
 viduus 677
 vieō 677
 viēscere 677
 viētor 677
 viētus 677
 vigeō 677
 vigeōscere 677
 vigil 677
 vigilāre 677
 vigilīa 677
 vīgintī 678
 vigor 677
 vīlica 675
 vīlicāre 675
 vīlicus 675
 vīlis 678
 vīlitās 678
 villa 675
 villāticus 675
 villum 680
 vīmen 677
 vīminālis 677
 vīminētum 677
 vīmineus 677
 vīnāceus 680
 vīnālia 680
 vīnārius 680
 vinc(u)lum 679
 vincibilis 679
 vinciō -īre 679
 vincō -ere 679
 vinctiō 679
 vinctūra 679
 vindēmia 188
 vindēmiātor 188
 vindēmitor 188
 vindex 169 683
 vindicāre 169
 vindiciae 169
 vindicta 169
 vīnea 680
 vīneāticus 680
 vīnētum 680
 vīnibua 680
 vīnolentus 680
 vīnōsus 680
 vīnum 680
 viocūrus 673
 violentia 680
 violentus 680
 violō -āre 680
 vīpera 681
 vīperīnus 681
 vir 681
 virācius 681
 virāgō 681
 vireō 682
 virēscere 682
 virga 682
 virgātor 682
 virgeus 682
 virgidēmia 188 682
 virginālis 682
 virginārius 682
 virgineus 682
 virgō 682
 virgulta 682
 viridāre 682
 viridis 682
 viridulus 682
 virilis 681
 virtim 681
 virōsus 681
 virōsus 682
 virtūs 681
 vīrus 682
 -vīs 508 510
 vīs, vis 683
 viscātus 683
 viscerātim 683
 viscum 683
 viscus 683
 vīsītāre 676
 vīsō 676
 vīsus 676
 vīta 685
 vītālis 685
 vitellus 685
 vīteus 683
 vltiāre 684
 vītīārīum 683
 vītīgineus 683
 vitilīgō 684
 vītīlis 683
 vītīōsus 684
 vitis 381
 vītis 683
 vitium 684
 vītō -āre 684
 vitreus 685
 vītīricus 684
 vitrum 684
 vitta 677
 Vītula 684
 vitulīnus 685
 vitulus 685
 vituporāre 684
 vīvāx 685
 vīverra 685
 vīvēscere 685
 vīvidus 685
 vīvō -ere 685
 vīvus 685
 vix 686
 vocābulum 691
 vōcālis 691
 vocāmen 692
 vocāre 691
 vocātiō 649
 vōciferāre/ī 692
 vōciferātiō 692
 vōcificāre 692
 vocitāre 692
 vocīvus 649
 vōcula 691
 vocuus 649
 vola 686
 volaemum 651
 volāticus 687
 volātūra 687
 volgō 686
 volgus 686
 volitāre 687
 volnus 687
 voiō -āre 687
 volō velle 687
 volpēs 688
 volpinārī 688
 volseilla 659
 volta 688
 voltur 688
 voltus 688
 volūbilis 689
 volucer 687
 volūmen 689
 voluntās 687
 volup 689
 Volupia 689
 voluptābilis 689
 voluptārius 689
 voluptās 689
 volūtāre 689
 volva 689
 volvō -ere 689
 volvula 689
 vōmer 690
 vomica 690
 vomitus 690
 vomō -ere 690
 vorāx 690
 vorō -āre 690
 vōs 691
 voster 691
 vōtum 691
 voveō 691
 vōx 691
 vulgāre 686
 vulgārius 686
 vulnerāre 687
 vulsūra 659
 vulturius 688
 Faliscan
 arcentelom 53
 karai 95
 carefo 92
 cela 104
 censor 107
 ceres 109
 cra 140
 cubat 152
 -cue 506
 cupa 152
 (cupa)nt 152
 cupat 152

- douiad 182
 duenas 73
 duenom 73
 eco 187
 efile 25
 efiles 25
 eko 187
 eqo 187
 f(ifi)qod 221
 farne(n)tom 201
 fifiked 221
 file(ai) 219
 filea 219
 fileo 219
 fio 219
 fita 221
 baba 197
 harasp[ex] 280
 harisp[ex] 280
 hileo 219
 huti[c]ilom 249
 ifra 302
 lecet 332
 loferta 338
 loifirta 338
 loifirtato 338
 mate 367
 med 368
 menerua 380
 meneruai 380
 mercui 376
 met 368
 opidque 421
 pafu 72
 pepara[i] 446
 pipafo 72
 por- 481
 porded 481
 pramed 486
 pramod 486
 pramom 486
 putellio 502
 rex 522
 sacra 532
 sacru 532
 salue 537
 salues 537
 saluete 537
 salueto(d) 537
 sociai 569
 sta 590
 statuo 590
 tulom 621
 ues 691
 uino 680
 uinom 680
 uxo 648
 uxor 648.
- Oscan**
 ā- 231 363 376
 aamanaf(ŋ)ed 175
 363
 aapam 19
 aapas 19
 aasai 49
 aasas 49
 aasass 49
 abellanús 20
 acenei 43
 aceneis 43
 actud 31
 acum 31
 acunum 43
 ad- 24 231 376
 adfust 246 599
 adpúd 24 508
 aeteis 28
 aginss 31
 aidil 25
 aídilis 25
 aitateis 29
 a]ittium 28
 akenei 43
 akrid 22
 akun 43
 alii 505
 allam 34
 allo 34
 altrei 34
 alttram 34
 alttrei 34
 am- 37 174 214 301
 amanafed 175 363
 amfret 214
 amiricatud 376
 amirikum 376
 ammaí 38
 amprufid 490
 amvlannud 673
 amvianud 673
 an- 301
 anafriss 299
 anams 43
 anamúm 43
 ancensto 107
 ant 45
 anter 306
 arage[53
 aragetud 53
 arnipo 24
 aserum 557
 atrud 34
 aut 64
 auti 64
 avt 64
- bitam 685
 bivus 685
 brateis 271
 brateis 271
 bravús[272
 cadeis 78
 carneis 94
 carnis 110
 carnom 94
 castrid 97
 castrous 97
 cebnust 661
 censamur 107
 censas 107
 censaum 107
 censazet 107
 censtomen 107
 censtur 107
 cent- 509
 ceus 116
 com 128
 comparascuster 483
 con 128
 contrud 132
 da[da]d? 174
 dadid 174
 dadikatted 169
 dat 160
 deded 174
 dedens 174
 degetasis 163
 degetasiús 163
 deícans 169
 deicum 169
 deikum 169
 deiuaid 167
 deiuast 167
 deiuatu<n>s 167
 deiuatud 167
 deivaí 167
 deívas 167
 deivinais 167
 deketasiúi 163
 dekmanniús 163
 destrst 168
 dicust 169
 didest 174
 djiviiai 315
 dípatir 315
 diúvei 315
 diuvia[s] 315
 diuvil(u) 173
 diuvilam 173
 dolom 177
 dolud 177
 dolum 177
 dunat 179
 duneis 179
- dunte[166
 dunum 179
 dunúm 179
 dúnúm 179
 duunated 179
 e]isai 309
 edum 186
 ee- 196
 eestint 590
 egm[as] 186
 egmad 186
 egmazum 186
 egmo 186
 eh 196
 ehtrad 196
 ei(tuo) 187
 eiduis 295
 eidúis 295
 eis[ud] 309
 eísak 309
 eisei 309
 eiseis 309
 eiseis 309
 eisiuss 309
 eísud 309
 eisunc 309
 eítiuvad 187
 eitiuvam 187
 eituam 187
 eituas 187
 eizasc 309
 eizazunc 309
 eizeic 309
 eizeis 309
 eizois 309
 eizuc 309
 eizucen 309
 ek(úk) 102 185
 eka 102
 ekak 102
 ekas 102
 ekask 102
 ekass 102
 ekík 102
 eks- 568
 eksuk 102
 ekúk 102
 em- 300
 emanafed 175 363
 embratur 447
 ermens 188
 en 300
 eseí 309
 esidu[m] 295
 esídum 295
 esskazsiúm 543
 essuf 308
 est 599

estud 599
 esuf 308
 etanto 190 606
 ex- 568
 exac 102
 exaiscen 102
 exeic 102
 ezum 599
 faamat 231
 faamated 231
 faammant 231
 famatted 231
 famelo 201
 fancua 343
 fangvam 343
 far 201
 fatium 204
 f̄atop̄e 205 231
 Fatuus 205
 fatuveis 205 231
 feihúis 221
 feihúss 221
 fjerríns 214
 fifikus 221
 fiiet 222
 fiiet 222
 fiisíais 212
 fiisíais 212
 fiisnam 201
 fiisnú 201
 fisiais 212
 fisnam 201
 flagio- 224
 flagiúf 224
 flagiúi 224
 fluusai 227
 f<1>uusasiais 227
 fml 201
 fortis 236
 fratrúm 239
 fruktatiuf 244
 fufans 246 599
 fufens 246 599
 fuid 246 599
 fusid 246 599
 fust 107 246 599
 futír 253
 futre[is 253
 futrei 253
 fuutrei 253
 genetai 260
 hafie<i>st 277
 herentatei 289
 herentateis 289
 herest 289
 heretatei 289
 herettates 289
 heriad 289

hi 505
 hipid 277
 hipust 277
 humuns 287
 huntras 292
 huntruis 292
 huntrus 292
 húntram 292
 hürtín 290
 hürtúi 290
 hürtúm 290
 hürz 290
 iak 309
 idic 309
 idik 309
 idík 309
 iiuk 309
 imad 300
 iní 190
 inim 190
 iním 190
 inim 190
 iním 190
 ioc 309
 ionc 309
 isídu 295
 isídum 295
 íst 168 599
 iúk 309
 iúklei 170
 iusc 309
 iússu 295
 úsu 295
 úsúm 295
 iurvei 315
 iúvei 315
 iúveis 315
 iúviais 315
 iúvija 315
 iúvil(ú) 173
 iúvilam 173
 iuvilas 173
 iúvilas 173
 iuvilu 173
 izic 309
 kahad 123
 kaíla 80 99
 kalaviis 85
 kalúvieis 85
 karanter 94 110
 kasit 92
 keenzstur 107
 kellaked 104 321
 kenssurineis 107
 kenzsur 107
 kerí 109
 kerrí 109
 kerríai 109

kerríais 109
 kerríim 109
 kerriúi 109
 kerríúis 109
 kersna<t>ias 106
 kersnu 106
 kerssnaís 106
 kerssnasias 106
 krustatar 147
 kú]mparakineis 483
 kulupu 120
 kúm- 128
 kúmbened 661
 kúmbennieis 661
 kúross 158
 kúru 158
 kvaísstur 503
 kvaisturei 503
 kvaizstur 503
 leginei 332
 leginum 332
 legú 337
 licitud 340
 liganakdíkei 337
 ligatúis 337
 ligatús 337
 ligis 337
 ligud 337
 líimitú[m 342
 líkitud 340
 loufir 338
 luisarifs 345
 lúvfreis 338
 lúvkei 350
 maatreis 367
 maatúis 367
 mairmas 359
 mais 359
 malom 360
 maliud 360
 malom 360
 malud 360
 mam(e)rt(ei) 366
 mamertiais 366
 mamertiais 366
 manafum 175 363
 manim 363 557
 medd[i]ks 169
 meddikiai 385
 meddikkiai 169 385
 meddiks 385
 meddis 169 385
 meddis 169 385
 meddiss 169 385
 meddiss 163
 meddix 385
 meddixud 169 385

medicatinom 169
 385
 medicatud 169 385
 medicim 169 385
 medikei 169 385
 medikeis 169 385
 medikid 169 385
 medikkiai 169 385
 mefi[ú 369
 mefiái 369
 memnim 371
 menere(vas) 381
 menvum 381
 min[s 381
 minstreis 381
 mirikui 376
 mirk- 376
 mistreis 381
 moltam 394
 moltas 394
 moltas(ikud) 394
 moltaum 394
 molto 394
 múini[kúm] 395
 múinik 395
 múinikad 395
 muinikam 395
 múinikei 395
 múinlkú 395
 múltasikad 394
 ne.phim 403 510
 nei 408
 neip 403 408
 nep 403
 ner 406
 ner(eis) 406
 nerum 406
 nesimois 407
 nesimum 407
 nessimas 407
 nessimass 407
 ni 403
 niir 406
 nip 403
 num(nud) 412
 numneis 412
 olu 426
 op 421
 osins 599
 -p]e 506
 p]ocapid 508
 paam 508
 pae 508
 paei 508
 pai 508
 paí 508
 pam 508
 pantes 508

- pas 508
 pat[449
 patanaí 442
 patensins 442
 paterei 450
 patir 450
 pavmentúm 452
 ped- 462
 pedú 462
 per 461
 per- 459
 perek 461
 peremust 188
 pernaí 460
 pert 459
 pert- 459
 -pert 459 505
 pertemest 188
 pertemust 188
 pertumum 188
 perum 459
 petiropert 505
 petirupert 505
 petoritum 505
 pettiur 505
 píð 510
 pidum 510
 pidum 510
 piei 510
 pieisum 510
 piihiúi 468
 píis 510
 pis 510
 pis.pis 510
 pitora 505
 plavtad 471
 plifriks 471
 pocapit 508
 pod 508
 poizad 508
 poizeipid 510
 pomtis 509
 pon 152 162
 posmom 484
 post 484
 pous 646
 prai 485
 preiuatud 489
 pru 489
 pru- 489
 prú- 489
 prúfated 490
 prúfatted 490
 prúfattens 490
 prúffed 175
 prúftas 175
 prúftúset 175
 pruhipust 277
 prupukid 443
 pruter 490
 púd 508
 puf 636
 pui 508
 píiieh 149
 píiii 149
 puk 502
 pukele[502
 púkkapíð 508
 puklu 502
 puklui 502
 puklum 502
 púmperiais 509
 pumperias 509
 púmperias 509
 pun 152 162
 pún 152 162
 punum 152 162
 púrtam 482
 pus 646
 pús 508
 pust 484
 púst 484
 pústin 484
 pústiris 484
 pustr[as 484
 pústr 484
 pústrei 484
 pútereipíð 647
 pútiad 484
 pútians 485
 putiiað 485
 putiians 485
 pútúru[m]píð 647
 pútúruspíð 647
 puz 646
 regatureí 523
 sjúllad 572
 sjullas 572
 saahtúm 532
 sak<→>ahiter 532
 sakaragleis 532
 sakaraglúð 532
 sakaraglúm 532
 sakarater 532
 sakrafír 532
 sakraitir 532
 sakrann 532
 sakrannas 532
 sakrasias 532
 sakrið 532
 sakrim 532
 sakriss 532
 sakruvist 532
 sakruvit 532
 salavs 537
 scritas 546
 se[g]únúm 563
 seemuneí 557
 seganatted 563
 segno- 563
 segúnú 563
 sehsik[560
 senateis 553
 senateís 553
 sent 432 599
 serevkiðimaden 559
 set 599
 sifeí 549
 siom 549
 sipus 538
 solu 572
 spentud 582
 staflatasset 590
 stahint 590
 stahint 590
 staeffúð 590
 staiet 590
 stait 590
 statif 590
 statús 567
 sú[nt 175
 suae 561
 suae.pis 510
 suaepis 510
 súll[a]m[n.]ais 572
 sullum 572
 sullus 572
 suluh 572
 sulum 572
 sum 599
 súm 599
 súnt 599
 supruis 600
 suva 549
 suvad 549
 súvad 549
 suvam 549
 suveís 549
 svai 561
 svaí 561
 svaí.píð 510
 svaipíð 510
 sverrunéi 602
 tangeineis 623
 tanginom 623
 tanginud 623
 tanginúð 623
 tautam 618
 tavffúð 621
 teer[úm 616
 teras 616
 terei 616
 tereis 616
 teremenniú 615
 teremnattens 615
 teremnatust 599 615
 teremniss 615
 terúm 616
 tfei 631
 tíff[eí] 631
 tíium 631
 tíú 631
 touer 631
 toutad 618
 toutico 618
 touticom 618
 touto 618
 tribarakat.tíns 626
 tribarakat.tuset 626
 tribarakattins 51
 tribarakattuset 51
 tribarakavúm 51 626
 tribarakkiuf 51 626
 tribud 626
 tribuf 626
 tribarakav[úm 626
 triíbúm 626
 tris 628
 tris 628
 tristaamentud 618
 trium 628
 trstus 618
 tua 631
 tuer 631
 turumiað 624 628
 tuua 631
 túv[tikad] 618
 túv[tikaí] 618
 túv[tikom] 618
 tuvai 631
 túvtik[ud] 618
 túvtiks 618
 ualaemom 651
 ufteis 431
 uhftis 431
 uincter 679
 úittiuf 648
 úlam 426
 ulas 426
 úlleís 426
 últiumam 638
 ulum 426
 úp 421
 úp]sannu 432
 úpsan(am) 432
 úpsannam 432
 úpsannúm 432
 úpsatuh 432
 upsed 432
 úpsed 432
 upsens 432

- úpsim 599
 ugust 435
 urunú 645
 uupsens 432
 valaimas 651
 velliam 687
 veru 668
 veruís 668
 vezkei 673
 vía 673
 víai 673
 víam 673
 víass 673
 víkturraí 679
 víu 673
 víú 673
 vocent 505
 zicolom 170
 ziculud 170
 zoves 315
- αφαματεδ 231
 αφαματεδ 231
 αζνω 27
 αναφακετ 36
 ανα- 36
 ατφαμαρτεν[ς 231
 β[ρα]ιτηιο 271
 βρατης 271
 βρατωμ 271
 δ]ιοφιοι 315
 δατας 174
 δεδενς 174
 δεδετ 174
 δεκμας 163
 διουφει 315
 διωφης 315
 διωφιας 315
 δουνακλομ 179
 ειζιδομ 295
 εινεμ 190
 εισειδομ 295
 φαλε 651
 φενζη 663
 ζωφη 315
 ιουφη 315
 καθας 123
 κενσορτατη 107
 κραιστορ 503
 λεικειτ 340
 μαμερτει 366
 μαμερτινο 366
 μαμερτινουμ 366
 μαμερτιοι 366
 μεδδειξ 169 385
 μεδδικεν 169 385
 μεδεκαν 169 385
 μεδεκον 169 385
- μεδικια 169 385
 σπσανω 432
 ουπσενς 432
 πεχεδ 468
 πρωφατεδ 490
 ρεγο 517
 σακαρακιδιμαι 532
 σακορο 532
 σαλαρς 537
 σεγωνω 563
 σενατηιο 553
 σενατης 553
 σερευκιδιμαμ 559
 σουφεν 549
 σταβαλανο 590
 συπ 595
 τανγινოდ 623
 τανγινोट 623
 τουτικες 618
 τρειβ[ωμ 626
 τωFτο 618
- Paelignian**
 aetate 29
 aetatu 29
 brais 271
 brat. 271
 brāta- 271,
 brāti- 271
 bratom 271
 casnar 88
 cerfum 110
 ceria 109
 cerra 109
 cnatois 401
 coisatens 156
 datas 174
 dida 174
 donom 179
 ecic 102
 ecuc 102 185
 eite 191
 em- 300
 empratois 447
 et 195
 ex 88
 faber 197
 famel 201
 fertlid 214
 fesn(am) 201
 forte 236
 herentas 289
 hospus 291
 in- 300
 incubat 152
 inim 190
 inim 190
 inom 190
- iocatin 308
 iouiois 315
 lexe 332
 loufir 338
 medix 169 385
 minerua 380
 mineruai 380
 oisa 648
 pacrid 452
 pacris 452
 pam 508
 pe- 459
 pes 468
 pid 510
 prai- 485
 pri- 489
 prismu 489
 pritrome 489
 pros 490
 puclouis 502
 puus 508
 sacaracirix 532
 saluatur 537
 saluta 537
 sef<e>i 549
 semunu 557
 solois 572
 sua 549
 suis 549
 uai[651
 uicturei 679
 upsaseter 432
 uus 691
- Vestinian**
 -(e)n 300
 brat. 271
 dād- 174
 data 174
 didet 174
 fludare 227
 osens 432
- Marrucian**
 agine 31
 amatens 39
 asignas 563
 -ce 568
 cerie 109
 cerra 109
 cibac 152
 ecan 102
 ecut 102
 eituam 187
 encubat 152
 es- 568
 esuc 102 309
 ferenter 214
- feret 214
 herentatia 289
 iafc 309
 ioues 315
 iouia 315
 iouias 315
 iuip(atres?) 315
 leexe 332
 lixs 337
 medix 169 385
 ni 403
 nipis 403 510
 ocres 424
 pacris 452
 pacrsi 452
 patres 315
 peai 468
 peis 510
 pelegie[332
 regen[ai 517
 sacracrix 532
 salas 537
 salaus 537
 seinq 563
 state 590
 suam 549
 taa 606
 totai 618
 toutai 618
 uali 651
 uenalinam 663
 uesune 673
- Hernician**
 esu 599
 hvidas 221
 ni 403
- Palaeo-Umbrian**
 herusei 289
 miom 368
 poiei 149
 skerfs 546
- Umbrian**
 a- 301
 ā- 672
 abrof 46
 abrons 46
 abrunu 46
 acnu 43
 adrer 60
 adrir 60
 adro 60
 afero 214
 aferum 214
 afikta 221
 ager 29

- agre 29
 ahatripursatu 462
 ahauendu 672
 abesnes 27
 ahtimen 31
 ahtisper 31
 ahtrepuřatu 462
 aitu 28
 aituta 28
 alfer 32
 alfir 32
 alfu 32
 am- 36 37
 amboltu 38
 ambrefurent 191 246
 599
 ambretuto 191
 amparihmu 446
 amparitu 36 446
 ampentu 36 456
 ampetu 456
 amprefu<u>s 191
 246 599
 amprehtu 191
 an- 36 301 446 642
 andendu 621
 ander- 562
 andersafust 174 246
 599
 andersesus<t> 562
 andersistu 562
 anderuacose 599 649
 anderuomu 331
 andirsafust 174 246
 599
 anferener 214
 anouihimu 642
 anpenes 456
 anseriaia 559
 anseriato 36 559
 anřihitir 114
 anřihitu 114
 anřihitu 114
 anřintu 36 588
 anřiplatu 36 588
 antakre 606
 antakres 606
 antentu 36 621
 anter
 menzaru 373
 anter- 306
 antervakaze 599 649
 anzeriates 559
 anzeriatu 559
 ap- 196
 ape 59
 apehtre 196
 apelus 456
 apelust 456
 apentu 456
 api 59
 appei 59
 apretu 191
 apruf 46
 arçlataf 51
 arfertur 214
 arpatitu 449
 arsfertur 214
 arsferture 214
 arsferturo 214
 arsir 34
 arsueitu 658
 arueitu 658
 aruio 56
 aruvia 56
 arvamen 56
 arveitu 658
 arven 56
 arvia 56
 arviu 56
 -ař 24
 ař- 24 277
 ařfertur 214
 ařferture 214
 ařkani 88
 ařpeltu 125
 ařputrati 50
 ařveitu 658
 asa 49
 asam- 49
 ase 49
 aseriater 559
 aseriato 559
 aseriatu 559
 aserio 559
 asnata 411
 asnate 411
 asnates 411
 asnatu 411
 aso 58
 astintu 588
 atentu 621
 aterafust 174 246
 599
 atrepuřatu 462
 atripursatu 462
 atropusatu 462
 atru 60
 auirseto 676
 aveitu 658
 aviekate 65
 aviekla 65
 avif 65
 avis 65
 azeriatu 559
 benurent 661
 benus 661
 benuso 661
 benust 661
 berus 668
 berva 668
 bim 74
 bue 74
 buf 74
 bum 74
 buo 74
 cabliner 89
 calersu 83
 capif 90
 capirse 90
 capirso 90
 carsitu 85
 castruo 97
 caterahamo 98
 çe{ 109
 cehefi 123
 çerfe 109
 çerfie 109
 çersnatur 106
 çimu 115
 çiprus 155
 çive 115
 -co 128
 co- 128
 com 128
 com- 128
 comatir 387
 combifiansi 218
 combifiansiust 218
 combifiansust 218
 combifiatu 218
 comohota 391
 comoltu 386
 conegos 130
 cringatro 142
 cubrar 155
 Cupra 155
 cupras 155
 cumaco 136
 curnase 136
 cvestur 503
 daetom 191
 dea 155
 dede 174
 dei 315
 deitu 169
 dequrier 163
 dersa 174
 dersecor 164
 dersicurent 169
 dersicust 169
 dersua 168
 desenduf 163 183
 destrame 168
 destre 168
 destruco 168
 desua 168
 di 315
 dia 182
 dirsas 174
 dirsans 174
 dirsas 174
 dirstu 174
 dirsust 174
 disleralinsust 171
 ditu 174
 duf 163
 duir 183
 dun 179
 dunu 179
 dunum 179
 dupla 475
 dupursus 183 462
 dur 183
 duti 184
 eaf 309
 eam 309
 eest 191
 eetu 191
 ef 191
 efurfatu 232
 eh 196
 eh- 196
 eh- 196
 ehe 196
 ehe- 196
 ehiato 285
 ehueltu 687
 ehvelklu 687
 eikvasatis 187
 eikvasese 187
 eine 190
 eiscurent 27
 emantu 188
 emantur 188
 emps 188
 en- 300
 endendu 621
 ene 190
 enem 190
 enetu 191
 enno 190
 ennom 190
 eno 190
 enom 190
 entelus 621
 entelust 621
 ententu 621
 enu 190
 enuk 190
 enumek 190

- eo 309
 (e)psom/d 549
 erak 309
 erar 309
 ere 309
 erer 309
 erek 309
 eřek 309
 erer 309
 ererek 309
 eretu 289
 erietu 54
 ero 309
 erom 285 309 599
 eru 156 309 599
 erucom 309
 eruku 309
 es(s)- 568
 esa 102
 esir 102
 esisco 102
 esmik 309
 eso 102 185
 esome 102
 essu 102
 est 191 240 434 453
 590 599 649
 estac 310
 este 310
 esto 310
 estu 310
 esu 102 599
 esuf 308
 esuku 24
 esuku 102
 esumek 102
 esunu 24
 esunu 24
 et 195
 etantu 606
 etraf 112
 etrama 112
 etre 112
 etres 112
 etru 112
 etu 191
 etuta 191
 etuto 191
 etutu 191
 eu 309
 eveietu 675
 ezariaf 186
 f<e>rar 214
 famefias 201
 far 201
 farariur 201
 farer 201
 farsio 201
 fasio 201
 fasiu 201
 fato 231
 fefure 246 434 599
 fel 219
 feliuf 210
 ferest 214
 fertu 214
 fertuta 214
 fesnafe 201
 fesnere 201
 fi<s>uvi 218
 ficla 221
 ficlam 221
 fikla 221
 fiklas 221
 fiktu 221
 filiu 210
 fise 218
 fisei 218
 fisi 218
 fisie 218
 fisiem 218
 fisier 218
 fisim 218
 fisiu 218
 fiso 218
 fisoui 218
 fisouie 218
 fisouina 218
 fisouio- 218
 fissiu 218
 fisu- 218
 fito 222
 fito- 222
 fondlire 230
 foner 205
 fons 205
 fos 205
 frater 239
 fratreca 239
 fratrecate 239
 fratreci 239
 fratreks 239
 fratrex 239
 fratrexs 239
 fratrom 239
 fratra 239
 fratrum 239
 fratus 239
 fratuspe(r) 239
 frehtef 243
 frehtu 243
 fri 244
 frif 244
 frite 242
 frosetom 240
 fuia 222
 fuiest 222
 funtiere 230
 furent 106 246 599
 furfant 232
 furfař 232
 furo 237
 furu 237
 fus 246 599
 fust 182 246 392 483
 599 649
 futu 182 246 599
 fututo 246 599
 gomia 275
 habe 277
 habetu 277
 habetutu 277
 habia 277
 habiest 277
 habitu 277
 habituto 277
 haburent 277
 habus 277
 hahtu 277
 hatu 277
 hatuto 277
 hatutu 277
 hereitu 289
 heri 289
 herie 289
 heriei 289
 heries 289
 heriest 289
 herifi 289
 heriiei 289
 herintie 289
 herinties 289
 heris 289
 heritu 289
 herte 289
 hertei 289
 herter 289
 herti 289
 holtu 21
 homonus 287
 honde 292
 hondomu 292
 hondra 292
 hondu 249
 -hont 295
 hunte 292
 hutra 292
 ier 191
 ife 295
 ifont 295
 iouie 315
 inom 190
 inuk 190
 inumek 190
 inumk 190
 ioui 315
 iouia 315
 iouie 315 317
 iouies 317
 iouiu 315
 irer 309
 isir 102
 itek 311
 iuengar 317
 iuka 308
 iuku 308
 iupater 315
 iust 191
 iuue 315
 iuve 315
 iuvepatre 315
 iuvi 315
 iuvie 315
 iuviu 315
 iveka 317
 -k(e) 311
 kabru 89
 kaleřuf 83
 kanetu 88
 kapi 90
 kapiř 90
 kapiře 90
 kapiřus 90
 kapres 89
 kapru 89
 kaprum 89
 karne 94
 karnus 94
 kartu 94
 karu 94
 kařetu 85
 kařitu 85
 kastruvuf 97
 katel 98
 kateramu 98
 katle 98
 katles 98
 katlu 98
 klavřaf 119
 klavles 119
 kletra 121
 kletram 121
 krenkatrum 142
 krikatru 142
 -ku 128
 ku- 128
 kukehes 123
 -kum 128 437
 kum- 128
 kumaltu 386
 kumate 387
 kumates 387

- kumiaf 275
 kumpifiatu 218
 kumultu 386
 kunikaz 130
 kupifiaia 218
 kupifiatu 218
 kuraia 156
 kuratu 156
 kurçlasu 268
 kutef 101
 kuveitu 658
 kvestretie 503
 kvestur 503
 maletu 387
 mandraclo 363 614
 manf 363
 mani 363
 mantrahklu 363 614
 mantraklu 363 614
 manuve 363
 marte 366
 marti 366
 martie 366
 martier 366 464
 marties 366
 matrer 367
 matres 367
 meersta 385
 mefa 372 582
 mefe 372
 mehe 368
 menes 661
 menzne 373
 mers 385
 meřs 385
 mersei 385
 mersi 385
 mersta 385
 merstaf 385
 mersto 385
 merstu 385
 mersus 385
 mersuva 385
 mestru 359
 motar 394
 mugatu 392
 muie- 392
 muieto 392
 muneklu 395
 muta 394
 muru 394
 naraklum 267
 naratu 267
 natine 401
 ne 403
 neip 403 408
 neiřhabas 277
 nep 403
 nerf 406
 nersa 160
 nerus 406
 nesimej 407
 ninctu 408
 nome 412
 nomne 412
 nomneper 412
 nomner 412
 numem 412
 nuřpener 457
 nuvime 416
 nuvis 416
 ocar 424
 ocre 424
 ocrem 424
 ocreper 424
 ocrer 424
 ocriper 424
 onse 640
 ooserclome 559
 opeter 431
 opset(a 432
 orto 434
 ortom 434
 osatu 432
 oseto 432
 ostendere 612
 ostendu 421 612
 ostensendi 612
 ote 64
 oui 437
 paca 452
 pacer 452
 pacrer 452
 padellar 442
 pafe 508
 pane 508
 panta 508
 pamupej 508
 parfa 447
 parfam 447
 pars 444
 pase 452
 patre 315
 -pe 459
 pehaner 468
 pehatu 468
 peica 464
 peico 464
 peihaner 468
 peiqu 464
 pelmner 497
 peperscust 461
 pepescus 461
 pepurkurent 483
 pequo 454
 per- 459
 -per(t)] 628
 -per 31 239 412 459
 480 520 618 629
 peracnio 43
 peracrei 43
 peracri 43
 peracrio 43
 peracris 43
 perakne 43
 peraknem 43
 perakneu 43
 perakre 43
 perca 461
 percam 461
 peretom 191
 perkaf 461
 pernaiaf 460
 pernaias 460
 perne 460
 perscler 483
 persclo 483
 persclu 483
 perse 510
 persei 510
 persi 462 510
 persklu 483
 persklum 483
 persklum-ař 483
 persnihimu 483
 persnihimumo 483
 persnihmu 483
 persnimu 483
 persnimumo 483
 persnis 483
 perso 430
 persome 430
 persondro 657
 perstu 461
 pert 459
 pertentu 621
 pertome 482
 peře 510
 peři 462
 peřu 430
 peřum 430
 peřume 430
 pescler 483
 pesclu 483
 pesetom 453
 pesnimu 483
 pesnimumo 483
 pesnis 483
 pestu 461
 petenata 453
 peturpursus 462 505
 pifi 510
 pihaclo 468
 pihaclu 468
 pihafej 468
 pihafi 468
 pihaklu 468
 pihaner 468
 pihatu 468
 pihaz 468
 pihos 468
 piquier 464
 pir 24 500
 pirse 510
 pirsu 510
 piře 510
 piři 510
 pis 561
 pisher 289 510
 pisi 510
 plenasier 472
 plener 472
 pleno 472
 poe 508
 poei 508
 poi 508
 pone 152 162 485
 poni 485
 ponne 152 162
 pople 480
 popler 480
 poplicus 480
 poplo 480
 poplom 480
 poplu 480
 popluper 480
 pora 508
 porca 481
 porse 508
 porsei 508
 porsu 508
 portaia 482
 portatu 482
 portust 482
 pos 484
 post 484
 posti 484
 postne 484
 postra 484
 postro 484
 pre 485
 pre- 485
 prehabia 277
 prehubia 277
 prepesnimu 483
 preplhotatu 471
 preplotatu 471
 pretra 485
 preuendu 672
 preuilatu 679
 preuiřlatu 679
 preve 489

- prever 489
 pri- 489
 prinuvatu- 489
 pro 489
 pro- 489
 procanurent 88
 promom 489
 proseseter 550
 prosesetir 550
 prosešetir 550
 proseseto 550
 pru- 489
 prufe 490
 prumu 489
 prumum 489
 prupehast 468
 pruseçete 550
 pruseçetu 550
 pruseçia 550
 prusekatu 550
 prusektu 550
 prusikurent 595
 pue 508
 puemune 480
 pufe 636
 pumpe 152
 pumpeřias 509
 pune 152 162 485
 punes 485
 puni 152 162 485
 puntas 509
 puntis 509
 puplu 480
 puplum 480
 pupluper 480
 pupřes 480
 pupřiçe 480
 pupřiçes 480
 pupřiķe 480
 pupřiķes 480
 pur- 481
 purdinšust 182
 purdinšus 182
 purdinsust 182
 purdita 182
 purdito 182
 purditom 182
 purdouj- 481
 purdouitu 182
 pure 500 508
 pureto 500
 puri 508
 purka 481
 purtatu 482
 purtius 182
 purtinçus 182
 purtitaf 182
 purtitius 182
 purtitu 182
 purtuetu 182
 purtuvetu 182
 purtuvies 182
 purtuvitu 182
 purtuviðu 182
 puře 508
 pus 484
 puse 646
 pusei 646
 pusi 646
 pusme 508
 pusnaes 484
 pusti 484
 pustin 484
 pustnaiaf 484
 pustra 484
 pustru 484
 putrespe 647
 puze 646
 re- 516
 rehte 517
 reper 520
 restatu 516 567
 reste 567
 restef 567
 reveštu 516 676
 ri 520
 rofa 528
 rofu 528
 rufra 527
 rufrer 527
 rufru 527
 saçe 532
 saçi 532
 sacr 532
 sacra 532
 sacre 532
 sacris 532
 sacru 532
 sahata 532
 sahatam 532
 sahate 532
 sahta 532
 sakra 532
 sakre 532
 sakref 532
 sakreu 532
 salua 537
 saluam 537
 saluo 537
 saluom 537
 saluua 537
 saluuom 537
 sanes 538
 sansi 532
 sansi 532
 sansie 532
 sansie 532
 sansii 532
 sarsite 539
 satame 532
 sate 532
 sauitu 540
 scalseto 84
 scalsie 84
 scapla 543
 screhto 546
 screihtor 546
 sehemienar 557
 sehemu 553
 sehmeniar 557
 sehmenier 557
 sei 599
 seipodruņpei 549
 seme.nies 557
 semu 553
 sent 595 599
 seples 533
 serfe 109
 serfer 109
 seritu 559
 serituu 559
 serse 552
 sersi 552:
 sersitu 552
 seso 549
 seste 567
 sestentasiaru 560
 sestu 567
 sesust 562
 seuacne 43
 sevakne 43
 sevaknef 43
 sevakni 43
 si 156 599 603
 sij 385
 sif 603
 sihitir 114
 sihitu 114
 sim 603
 sins 599
 sir 599
 sis 599
 sistu 562
 skalçeta 84
 snata 411
 snate 411
 snates 411
 snatu 411
 somo 600
 sonitu 574
 sopa 601
 sopam 601
 sopir 561
 sopo 601
 sorser 603
 sorso 603
 sorsom 603
 sorsu 603
 spefa 582
 speture 579
 spina 580
 spinamař 580
 spinia 580
 spiniama 580
 staflare 590
 staflarem 590
 stafli 590
 staheren 590
 stahitu 590
 stahituto 590
 stahmei 590
 stahmitei 590
 stahmitei 590
 stahmito 590
 stahmo- 590
 stahu 590
 stakaz 590
 statita 590
 statitatu 590
 steplatu 588
 stiplatu 588
 struçla 593
 struçla 593
 struçlas 593
 strusla 593
 struřla 593
 su 595
 su- 595
 sub- 595
 subahtu 595
 subator 595
 subocau 692
 subocauu 692
 suboco 692
 subotu 595
 subra 600
 sue 561
 suepo 508
 sueso 549
 sukatu 595
 sume 600
 sumel 564
 sumtu 188 595
 sunitu 574
 supa 601
 supaf 601
 super 600
 superne 600
 supes 601
 supo 601
 supru 601

- supu 595
 suront 549
 suror 549
 surur 549
 sururo 549
 sururont 549
 suřu 603
 suřuf 603
 suřum 603
 sutentu 595 621
 svai 510
 sve 561
 svepis 510
 svepu 508
 svesu 549
 řalu 535
 řerfe 109
 řerfer 109
 řerfi 109
 řerfia 109
 řerfiar 109
 řerfie 109
 řesna 106
 řihitir 114
 řihitu 114
 řimo 115
 řitir 114
 řařez 604
 řafle 604
 řases 604
 řasetur 604
 řasis 604
 řefe 631
 řehteřim 608
 řeio 631
 řeitu 169
 řekuries 163
 řekvias 163
 řenitu 613
 řerkantur 615
 řermmas 615
 řermmesku 615
 řermmome 615
 řermmuco 615
 řerti 628
 řertiama 628
 řertiame 628
 řertie 628
 řertim 628
 řertio 628
 řertiu 628
 řertu 174
 řeřa 174
 řeřte 174
 řeřtu 174
 řeřust 174
 řestre 168
 řestru 168
 řestruku 168
 řesvam 168
 řettome 608
 řetu 174
 řiřit 164
 řikamne 169
 řio 631
 řiom 631
 řitu 174
 řiu 631
 řoce 618
 řodceir 618
 řodcome 618
 řoru 607
 řota 618
 řotam 618
 řotaper 618
 řotar 618
 řotco 618
 řotcor 618
 řote 618
 řoteme 618
 řra 627
 řraf 627
 řrah- 627
 řraha 627
 řrahař 627
 řre 628
 řrebeit 626
 řref 628
 řrefiper 629
 řreif 628
 řremitu 628
 řremnu 626
 řribņiřu 629
 řribrisine 629
 řrif 628
 řriřo 629
 řrifor 629
 řrifu 629
 řriia 628
 řriiuper 628
 řrioper 628
 řripler 475 628
 řris 628
 řuder 633
 řudero 634
 řuderor 633
 řuderus 634
 řuf 183
 řuplak 473
 řupler 475
 řures 607
 řursa 617
 řursar 617
 řurse 617
 řursiandu 617
 řursitu 617
 řursituto 617
 řuruf 607
 řuse 617
 řuse<ř>u 617
 řusetutu 617
 řuta 618
 řutaper 618
 řutas 618
 řute 618
 řuva 183
 řuvere 183
 řuves 183
 řuapefe 326
 řuapersus 326
 řuapersusto 326
 řuas 649
 řuaseto 649
 řuasetom 649
 řuasetome 649
 řuas 655
 řuasor 655
 řuařetom 649
 řueiro 681
 řuerfale 643
 řuerir 668
 řuerisco 668
 řuesclir 669
 řuestra 691
 řuhtur 61
 řuia 673
 řuinu 680
 řuiro 681
 řuirseto 676
 řuitla 685
 řuitlu 685
 řukar 424
 řukre 424
 řukripe 424
 řukriper 424
 řulo 426
 řulu 426
 řumen 428 642
 řumne 428 642
 řumtu 642
 řune 641
 řuocucum 350
 řuofione 338
 řupetu 431
 řupetuta 431
 řurfeta 433
 řurnasiaru 435
 řurnasier 435
 řurtas 434
 řurtes 434
 řurtu 434
 řuřetu 24
 řustentu 421 612
 řustentuta 612
 řustetu 612
 řute 64
 řutur 641
 řuve 437
 řuveř 437
 řuvern 437
 řuvikum 437
 řuze 640
 řvařetumise 649
 řvapeřem 326
 řvapeře 326
 řvasus 655
 řve(n)persuntra 657
 řvea 673
 řveltu 687
 řvera 668
 řveres 668
 řverofe 668
 řverufe 668
 řveskla 669
 řveskles 669
 řvesklu 669
 řvestiře 532
 řvesune 673
 řvetu 672
 řvia 673
 řvinu 680
 řvitlaf 685
 řvitlu 685
 řvitluf 685
 řvufetes 691
 řvufiune 338
 řvufru 691
 řvuke 350
 řvukes 350
 řvuku 350
 řvukumen 350
 řvutu 331
 řzeřef 552
Volscian
 ā- 606
 aidiles 25
 ar- 24
 atahus 606
 co- 128
 couehria 157
 deue 167
 duno 179
 estu 599
 ferom 214
 iouio 315
 medix 169 385
 piřom 468
 pis 510 561
 sapere 538
 seřis 561
 seřu 538

sistiatiens 567
 statom 567
 toticu 618
 uesclis 669
 uinu 680

Marsian

ded 174
 donom 179
 dunom 179
 ioue 315
 iouies 315
 martses 366
 meddiss 169 385
 medis 169 385
 mesene 373
 pacre 452
 patre 450
 pucle[s] 502
 qestur 503
 seino 563

South-Picene

ad- 24
 adstaeoms 590
 adstaiuh 590
 akren 29
 alies 34
 bouediin 74
 brimeidinais 75
 eh- 196
 ehueli 659
 ekú 187
 en 484
 -en 300
 enet 191
 esmen 309
 esmik 309
 esmín 309
 estas 310
 esum 599
 esélsit 105
 iepeten 326
 isiins 599
 kduú 122
 koram 158
 kuprí 155
 manus 363
 matereih 367
 mefiin 369
 mefistruí 369
 meitimis 384
 meitimúm 384
 múfqlúm 387
 nemúnei 287
 nerf 406
 nir 406
 o]psúq 432

okrei 424
 opesaúom 432
 opsút 432
 panivú 508
 patereih 450
 per- 459
 persukant 595
 pid 510
 pim 510
 pimpih 510
 postin 484
 prai- 485
 praistaint 590
 praistait 590
 pra]istaiuh 590
 praistaklasa 568
 puqluh 502
 qora 158
 qoras 158
 qupat 152
 qupirih 155
 suai 561
 suaipis 510
 súais 549
 súhuh 549
 tefeh 631
 tefei 631
 tíom 631
 tokam 608
 toúta 618
 toútaih 618
 tutas 618
 veiat 332
 velaimes 651
 vepeten 326
 vepetí 326
 vepetín 326
 víam 673
 videtas 676

Pre-Samnite

διποτερες 315
 estam 310
 esum 599
 fefikeδ 221
 fu]fpoδ 246
 φολαισμοος 651
 φολος 651
 iiopuoi 315
 νεπες 510
 νεπς 510
 sim 599
 sum 599
 τεραμνι 615
 tetet 174
 τοFτιδ 618

Venetic

a(n)tra 306
 ati- 59
 atisteit 59 590
 augar 61
 deivos 167
 [?]idor 174
 donasan 179
 donasto 179
 donom 179
 doto 174
 ego 187
 ekupetaris 193
 ekvon 192
 ekvopetaris 192 464
 ekvopetars 192
 entol 300
 epetaris 193
 eppetaris 193
 equpetars 193
 es 300
 [f.]hraterei 239
 filia 219
 *horeionte 289
 <horvionte> 289
 kanei 95
 karis 95
 -kve 506
 lag[sto] 321
 leno 687
 louderai 338
 louderobos 338
 louki 350
 magetlon 359
 maisteratorbos 359
 mego 368
 metlon 371
 meu 368
 murtuvoi 390
 op 421
 ostinobos 436
 pater 450
 per 459
 poltos 456
 segtio[i] 560
 sselboisselboi 584
 stati 590
 termonios 615
 teuta 618
 teuta[m?] 618
 tolar 621
 toler 621
 tonasto 179
 tribusiiati- 628
 trumusiati- 505
 tuler 621
 u 646
 vesces 669

vesketei 669
 vivoi 685
 volterkon 687
 voltio 687

CELTIC**Celtiberian**

ambitinkounei 221
 bidetud 221
 robiseti 221
 sancilistara 532
 sistat 567
 somei 568
 somui 568
 tekametam 163
 tuater 253
 ueramos 601

Gaulish

ad- 24
 Adgenus 260
 Aesus 194
 Allobroges 365
 alios 34
 ambi- 37
 anderon 302
 arganto-(magus) 53
 Artio 645
 ate- 59
 bebru- 217
 biiete 222
 Brogimāros 365
 caii 123
 Caletes 84
 Caleti 84
 carnuātus 136
 Cintugenus 260
 Cintugnatus 401 516
 com- 128
 curmi 142
 decametos 163
 delgu 302
 duxtir 253
 eiabi 310
 eianom 310
 epo- 193
 Esus 194
 eti 195
 etic 195
 gabi 277
 genata 260
 geneta 260
 gia 284
 giam 284
 giamo 284
 giamon 284
 giamoni 284

gnata 260
gnátha 401
íbetis 72
imi 599
ivo- 648
ippi 599
Lemouices 637
Limoges 637
-mātrici 369
Mediolānum 369
neDDamon 407
Nevio- 416
Novio- 416
odocos 185
pissiumí 156
raie 481
rica 481
ritu- 482
trigaranos 274
Uenicarus 661
uer- 601
Uxama 601
Uxellodunum 601
uz 601
vo- 595

βρωτου 271
καρνοξ 136
κόρμα 142
κούρμα 142
ούάταις 656

Galatian
κάρνον 136

Old Irish
á 436
abae 39
abann 39
accobor 155
ad- 24
ad·cí* 156
ad·cobra 155
ad·condaic 615
ad·ella* 456
ad·fét 676
ad·gnin* 414
ad·nói* 419
ad·roilli 131
ad·tá 590
ad·tluchedar 348
áe 310
áed 25
aí 310
aigid* 31
aile 34
aill 34
ainm 412

áinne 45
airmed 368
aith- 59
áith 60
all- 34
alt 35
an- 36 301
anaid 43 279
anail 36
and 189
aniar 36
anim 43
anís 36
anmann 412
anme 43
ar 413
ar·fen 677
ar·fóet 188
ar·foim 188
ar·ic* 399
ara·chrin 110
ara·foima 188
arbae 56
arbor 56
arcaid* 483
ard 52
argat 53
art 645
áru 519
as·loi* 353
as·nói* 419
as·sroíther 593
at·baill 688
at·raig 517
áth 294
áu 63
aub 39
aue 63 66
báe 206
baigen 201
bán 312
base 203
be(i)the 72
bech 245
beirid 214
benaid 460
berbaid 215
bi(u)r 668
biid 222
biith 222
biuu 222
blár 227
bláth 227
bó 74
bobaig* 250
boí 246
bongaid* 250
braig(a)id* 238

bráth 271
bráthair 239
brí 236
brioid* 243
Brigit 236
broimm 238
bronnaid 245
bruíd 245
bruiser 245
bruite 165
bruth 165
buachaíl 41
búan 205
cadéin 162
cadesin 162
cáech 79
cainid 88
caire 93
cais 78
calad 84
calath 84
carae 95
caraid 96
carr 157
cath 99
cechain 88
ceilid* 424
céin 162
cét 108
cét- 516
ceth(a)ir 505
cetheoir 505
cia 510
cloth 122
cnáo 420
cnó 420
cnoi 420
cnú 420
coair 665
coeg 79
cóem 153
cóic 509
cóim 153
cóir 665
coll 139
com- 128
comaítae 35
con 87
con- 128
con·oí 318
con·rig 138
con·slá* 329
Conall 651
corr 158
coss 140
cré 144
creitid 175
creitid* 141

criad 144
criathar 144
cride 135
crú 146
cú 87
cúa 101
cúäch 91
cúal 100
cuil 150
cuing 314
cuirm 142
cúil 151
con- 128
-d 634
dán 179
dáu 183
dé 229
de·meccim 378
dech 164
deich 163
deil 209
dela 209
delech 209
delg 200
denaid* 210
denus 171
dér 322
derc 615
dess 168
dét 166
di de 160
di·tuitt 634
dia 352
día 167
diabul 475
dīad 229
did 210
dīe 315
dingid* 221
dó 183
do du 160
do·dímen* 385
do·écei* 156
do·essim* 554
do·eth 191
do·formaig 356
do·gó 276
do·goa* 276
do·grē 269
do·greinn* 269
do·ic* 399
do·lin 473
do·muinethar* 371
do·rata* 175
do·rig* 138 523
do·slí 131
do·tuit 634
donn 252

- Dor 233
 dorus 233
 dos 183
 dotluchedar 348
 dóu 183
 dú 292
 dúas 162
 duine 287
 Duir 233
 é 310
 ē- 301
 eblaid* 456
 ech 193
 echter 196
 ed 310 462
 ēisc 468
 elu 427
 emon 256
 en- 300
 én 464
 Éogan 260
 erb 54
 ernaid* 447
 ess- 196
 estir 186
 eter 306
 ethae* 191
 ethait 186
 fadéin 162 549
 fáith 656
 fal 651
 fallnaitir* 651
 fás 655
 fáth 656
 fecht 679
 fedb 677
 ·feil/·fail 688
 féin 162 549
 fer 681
 ferr 666
 fess 669
 fiche 678
 fichid* 679
 fichit 678
 figid* 660
 ·fil 688
 filed 689
 fili 689
 fillid 690
 fine 661
 fir 644 668
 flaith 651
 fliuch 345
 fo 595
 fo-loing 350
 fo-luathar 474
 for(-) 601
 gaibid 277
 gaim 284
 gaimred 284
 gainidir* 260
 gáir 255
 gairid* 255
 gairm 255
 gáu 280
 gēiss 44
 gin 257
 glenaid 266
 ·glia* 266
 glied* 266
 glomar 265
 glūn 259
 ·gni 260
 gniid 260
 gó 280
 goi 280
 ·goin 210
 gonaid 210
 gor 289
 gorn 235
 gort 290
 graig 273
 grán 271
 guss 276
 heirp 54
 iadaid 175
 Iasc 468
 ibid 72
 imb 642
 imb- 37
 imbliu 639
 imm-fen* 677
 immedōn 369
 imthach 608
 i^o 300
 in- 300 301
 in-greinn* 269
 in-loing 350
 indé 283
 ingen 641
 inis 306
 innocht 416
 insce 304
 in-tuigethar 608
 is 599
 is 462
 ithid 186
 laigid 332
 laigiu 336
 lainn 328
 lám 441
 land 352
 legaid 332
 léicid* 344
 lem 637
 lenaid 344
 lí 347
 lia 475
 ligid* 343
 liid* 346
 lín 473
 líthech 346
 lóathar 331
 loch 322
 loimm 474
 loingid 351
 loth 355
 -lí* 474
 lúaide 474
 lúain 352
 luib 337
 luīd* 474
 luithir 474
 macc 357
 magdae 359
 maige 359
 maith 364
 máithir 367
 mál 359
 mana 363
 maraid 388
 marb 390
 mátar 361
 meilid* 387
 mell 360
 mennar 372
 mer 388
 mescaid 382
 mess 368
 mí 373
 mid- 369
 midithir 368
 mil 370
 min 383
 mind 372
 mír 370
 mligid* 393
 mó 391
 mogaid 359
 moigid 359
 móin 363 395
 moirb 234
 mos- 391
 moth 398
 mruig 365
 muin 363 388
 muinēl 388
 muinithir* 371
 muir 365
 na 403
 nac 403
 nach 403
 námae 39
 nascaid* 401
 nassae 401
 náthar 413
 nathir 402
 nathrach 402
 náu 403
 necht 406
 nemed 405
 nessa 407
 nessam 407
 nía 406
 niad 406
 nó 403 404 656
 nocht 418
 nói 415
 not-ail 35
 nuē 416
 óac 317
 ocht 424
 ochtmad 424
 óen 642
 ói 437
 ol 426
 olann 325
 olc 637
 om 37
 omun 451
 onn 435
 onnen 435
 orb 433
 orb(b)e 433
 orpe 433
 ós 601
 othar 501
 otre 647
 raīd 518
 rath 447
 reithid* 527
 renaid* 524
 rí 522
 rig 522
 ríge 522
 rigid 523
 rīm 524
 ringid* 523
 ro 490
 ro-ánaic* 399
 ro-cluinethar 122
 ro-finnadar* 676
 ro-fitir 676
 ro-geinn 487
 ro-ic* 399
 ro-laimethar 326
 rōe 531
 rōndaid* 527
 rúad 528
 rúathar 530
 sáeth 534
 saidid 552

- saigid 534
 sail 536
 sailech 536
 sáith 540
 salann 535
 saltraid 535
 samail 564
 scaraid* 94
 sceid 544
 sceinnid 543
 scéith 549
 scerdaid* 109
 sciath 549
 sé 560
 sech 551
 secht 555
 seichid* 304
 seichidir* 556
 seinnid* 574
 selg 340
 seli 585
 sen 553
 ser 585
 sernaid* 586
 sessam 567
 sét 554
 sí 310
 síd 552
 sindā 162
 sír 558
 -sissedar 567
 sissidir* 567
 sith- 559
 sithithir 559
 -siu 568
 siur 576
 slán 572
 sluindid 581
 smeoh 359
 smiur 369
 smólchae 375
 snaid 411
 snechtae 410
 sned 334
 sní 413
 snigid 409
 so 568
 -so 568
 sodain 162
 sond 582
 sruid* 593
 stmolach 375
 súan 573
 suide 162 571
 súil 570
 sund 162
 táid 584
 táid* 603
- talam 608
 tanae 614
 tarb 607
 té 614
 teg 608
 teinnid* 622
 tengae 343
 teoir 629
 tess 614
 tethaimn 622
 tethraig* 626
 tige 608
 tinaid 620
 tír 616
 tlenaid* 622
 tráig 626
 tre 629
 treb 626
 trēdenus 171
 tres 618
 tri 629
 trí 629
 triss 618
 truit 634
 túath 618
 úa 64
 úan 30
 úasal 601
 úath 451
 úathad 621
 ucht 453
 uilen 638
 (h)uinnius 435
 uisce 641
 uisse 316
 úr 500
- Middle Irish**
 ain 313
 airim 55
 arathar 55
 asna 436
 blá 225
 bláth 227
 bond 250
 brén 238 364
 caccaim 78
 cana 516
 cano 516
 cliithar 121
 crí 137
 crim 164
 cruaid 146
 daig 237
 dega 237
 dethach 229
 drab 238
 droch- 631
- düil 248
 éisi 44
 elae 427
 escung 42
 fāe 650
 ferbb 654
 fī 682
 gass 280
 gat 280
 gnou 268
 laidid 351
 lubgort 337
 luibh 337
 maide 361
 mairt 374
 mart 374
 mide 369
 net 409
 ochair 424
 orbaind 195
 rian 309 524
 scrīp(a)id 547
 sellaid 585
 sesc 562
 -sní 405
 sníid 405
 srengim 592
 sreod 587
 tamnaid 609
- Early Modern Irish**
 smólach 375
- Modern Irish**
 bacc 67
 caera 89
 crúach 147
 delb 176
 feorag 685
 gnó 268
 icht 308
 iora 685
 mut 397
 mutach 397
 rua 685
 sal 536
 salach 536
 smaol 375
 smól 375
- Old Welsh**
 a 31
 anu 412
 atan 458
 beryt 214
 -bid 222
 coll 139
 Congual 651
- diauc 424
 did 315
 dou 183
 duiutit 167
 eterin 458
 gaem 284
 gu- 595
 gua- 595
 guar 601
 guetid 672
 gulat 651
 guo- 595
 gwir(awt) 644
 hegit 31
 iou 314
 istlinnit 581
 ithr 306
 kelu 424
 marth 374
 Morgen 260
 nes 407
 rit 482
 rud 528
 -tau 590
 tír 616
 uceint 678
 ui 438
- Middle Welsh**
 afon 39
 ar 601
 ascurn 436
 ascwrn 436
 assen 436
 ballaf 688
 bedw 72
 braen 238
 brein 238
 breu 245
 bu 246
 bun 205
 byð 222
 byðaf 222
 byt 222
 caffael 277
 cant 108
 chwarae 138
 chwech 560
 chwerthin 602
 chwyrn 602
 cneu 420
 cwrr 158
 cyfeillt 35
 cynt 516
 dala 302
 daly 302
 deheu 168
 deu 183

- diawg 424
 dichawn 130
 difyngaf 250
 digawn 130
 dilein 332
 dineu 419
 doe 283
 drwg 631
 dwc 181
 dwnn 252
 dygaf 181
 dyrllid 131
 dywedaf 672
 edfynaf 460
 ehedec 464
 eidaw 310
 eithyr 196
 el 456
 ellwng- 350
 erchi 483
 eskit 160
 ethyl 176
 ewin 641
 ewythr 66
 eyt 31
 figgit 678
 gaeaf 284
 garðu 255
 garth 290
 genni 487
 gieu 220
 gnawt 401
 goleith 332
 goruc 466
 gre 273
 grynnaw 269
 gw(y)chi 670
 gwad 672
 gwadu 672
 gwaessaf 567
 gwarae 138
 gwarwy 523
 gwassarnu 586
 gwehynnu 554
 gweini 260
 gweith 679
 gwelet 688
 gwlad 651
 gwyðyat 676
 gwyr 676
 haeðu 534
 heaf 552
 hebu 304
 hëu 552
 honni 574
 hwnn 162
 hwyat 65
 hysp 562
- iau 314
 ieith 308
 kyfrang 399
 kyfreing 399
 kynhanu 279
 kyscu 152
 kystuð 634
 ilan 352
 llei 336
 lleith 332
 lliw 346
 llymeit 474
 liyu 343
 magu 356
 marth 374
 meðu 368
 merch 365
 moch 391
 moi 359
 mwn 388
 mwnwyl 388
 nyfel 404
 odit 621
 ouyn 451
 pedair 505
 pobi 134
 poeth 134
 rat 447
 re 517
 reaf 517
 renghi 399
 rhudd 528
 rhydd 493
 rwygaw 525
 rynghu 399
 sathar 535
 syllu 585
 tafawt 343
 tannu 613
 tarðu 627
 toði 603
 tramwy 395
 trei 626
 tremyn- 374
 tremynu 395
 treul 626
 tyfu 633
 wy 438
 yeu 314
 ymenyn 642
 ys 186
 yscar 94
 ysgeinnaw 543
 yuet 72
- Welsh**
 â 24
 add- 24
- ag 24
 ail 34
 alarch 427
 allt 35
 amaeth 31
 amdo 608
 ardd 52
 arddu 55
 aren 519
 arian 53
 arth 645
 asgwrn 136
 atnabot 414
 atwaen 414
 bach 67
 barnu 271
 beich 203
 bela 220
 bele 209 220
 berw 215
 blawd 227
 blawr 227
 blydd 386
 braen 364
 bram 238
 brau 245
 brawd 239:271
 brefu 241
 bro 365
 brod 165
 brwd 165
 brys 216
 bustl 72
 cachu 78
 cae 123
 caerwrch 89
 caled 84
 kann 87
 canu 88
 car 157
 caredd 93
 carn 136
 caru 96
 carw 111
 cas 78
 cawdd 78
 cawg 91
 ceinach 88
 ceri 93
 chwys 596
 ci 87
 cil 151
 cleddyf 263
 clir 122
 clun 123
 clyd 83
 coegdall 79
 craidd 135
- crau 146
 credu 141
 crug 147
 crwydr 144
 cryf 164
 crynu 110
 cwd 154
 cwn 87
 cwrwf 142
 cychwynnu 543
 cyf- 128
 cyfail 35
 cyllionen 150
 (cy)mysgaf 382
 cyn- 128
 cythrudd 630
 cyweir 665
 dail 230
 dala 200
 dant 166
 dawn 179
 deau 168
 deg 163
 deigr 322
 dor 233
 dyn 287
 dynu 210
 echel 66
 edmygaf 378
 edn 464
 eh- 196
 eieirch 427
 elin 638
 erw 56
 ewyllys 65
 ffon 582
 g(w)ogawn 88
 gaeafrawd 284
 galw 254
 gau 280
 gawr 255
 gen 257
 geneth 260
 geneu 257
 geni 260 372
 gïau 220
 glynu 266
 go- 595
 godiwawd 650
 gognaw 268
 gogoniant 88
 gor- 601
 grawn 271
 gwa- 595
 gwae 650
 gwaladr 651
 gwan 211
 gwar- 601

- gwawd 656
 gwëu 660
 gwir 668
 gwlan 325
 gwlieth 345
 gwnn 676
 gwraidd 512
 gwy 682
 gwybot 676
 gwynt 662
 bafal 564
 halawg 536
 halen 535
 haul 570
 heb 551
 hedd 552
 helyg 536
 hen 553
 hoed 534
 hoedl 533
 hun 573
 hyd 559
 iaith 308
 ieuanc 317
 ir 500
 llafas 326
 llaw 441
 lliw 347
 llwyfen 637
 llynu 344
 llywam 688
 mad 364
 malu 387
 mam 361
 mann 372
 mant 373
 marw 390
 mawn 363
 medi 377
 mer 369
 mor 365
 morwyn 365
 mwyalch 375
 mwydion 383
 mwyn 383 395
 mynydd 388
 myr 234
 nai 406
 nain 413
 nedd 334
 nedden 334
 nei 406
 neidr 402
 ner 406
 nessaf 407
 neu 404 656
 newydd 416
 noeth 418
- nou 656
 nudd 417
 nyddu 405
 nyf 410
 nyth 409
 ochr 424
 odyn 60
 oedd 599
 oen 30
 of 37
 pen(g)lin 259
 pridd 144
 pwy 510
 pypm 509
 rhathu 512
 rheg 488
 rhew 494
 rhif 524
 rbych 481
 rhyd 482
 saith 555
 sathru 535
 ser 585
 seren 585
 sugnedydd 596
 sugno 596
 talu 605
 tanow 614
 tarw 607
 teneu 614
 tes 614
 to 608
 tref 626
 tresglen 635
 trew 587
 troeth 585
 trwnc 585
 tud 618
 uch 601
 uchel 601
 ucher 670
 un 642
 uthr 451
 wyth 424
 yn- 300
 ynys 306
 ys 599
 ysgwyd 549
 ystlwn 581
 ystrew 587
- Old Cornish**
 als 35
 ascorn 436
 asen 436
 blodon 227
 chif 151
 coref 142
- coruf 142
 cuic 79
 doy 283
 goiuen 220
 goyf 284
 grueiten 512
 guhien 670
 hwirnores 602
 menit 388
 moroin 365
 nesheuin 407
 oin 30
 onnen 435
 uy 438
- Middle Cornish**
 ar 601
 atta 590
 beth 222
 bethaf 222
 brew 245
 bue 246
 bystel 72
 byth 222
 bythaf 222
 deg 181
 dehow 168
 dek 181
 deleth 131
 drok 631
 ello 456
 erghi 483
 eva 72
 glena 266
 gonis 260
 gorre 517
 gorthybi 304
 gozye 676
 gruk 466
 gwana 211
 gwefes 689
 hedhi 552
 hwertthin 602
 ieyw 220
 kavoes 277
 kens 516
 koska 152
 krena 110
 lowarn 688
 maga 357
 medhes 368
 nedha 405
 nes 407
 otte 590
 own 451
 resek 527
 tan 613
 tardha 627
- tevi 633
 tremena 395
- Late Cornish**
 bledzhan 227
 gwia 660
 knyfan 420
 striwhi 587
- Cornish**
 (a) 601
 aswon 414
 aswonvos 414
 awell 65
 bedewen 72
 clethe 263
 cregy 141
 dioc 424
 esgis 160
 eskit 160
 frau 447
 genys 260
 godhvos 676
 groningen 271
 gulat 651
 heb 551
 huhel 601
 ieu 314
 kē 123
 kev- 128
 krysi 141
 lan 352
 lauasos 326
 marth 374
 nader 402
 naw 415
 nedhen 334
 nessa 407
 oll 572
 oy 438
 penglin 259
 pry 144
 pyw 510
 rit 482
 rud 528
 sterenn 585
 steyr 585
 tus 618
 ugh 601
 us 599
 vs 599
 whys 596
 ynter 306
- Old Breton**
 a 31
 abu 246
 ambactus 31

Ard- 645
 Arth- 645
 -bid 222
 bodocuous 268
 caiou 123
 coguenou 661
 critim 141
 cruc 147
 delgim 302
 diochi 424
 diren 523
 douhinnom 554
 due 181
 en 300
 g(u)oiam 284
 gen 260
 goanaff 211
 goyzye 676
 guad 672
 guar 601
 guelet 689
 gueth 679
 guletic 651
 guohi 670
 hep 304 551
 in 300
 is 599
 monid 388
 mun 388
 neuued 416
 nou 404
 nouuid 416
 rec 481
 redec 527
 rud 528
 scoet 549
 scuit 549
 staer 585
 strouis 593
 tardom 627
 teuziff 603
 to 590
 tre 626

Middle Breton

aeren 138 523
 archaff 483
 azr 402
 barn 271
 benaff 460
 beraff 214
 bez 222
 bezaf 222
 bezaff 222
 blezu 227
 bresic 216
 brezec 216
 caffout 277

cann 87
 carez 93
 claideb 263
 clezeff 263
 cnou 420
 cousquet 152
 crenaff 110
 croezr 144
 dellit 131
 dinou 419
 discar 94
 ehanaff 279
 euaff 72
 felch 340
 gnou 268
 go(u)nit 260
 go(u)rren 517
 goar 676
 gor 676
 halaff 35
 hezaff 552
 houat 65
 huerzin 602
 keles 424
 leat 343
 maezur 357
 maguaff 357
 malaff 387
 map 357
 midiff 377
 mo(u)mm 474
 naska 401
 nes 407
 neved 405
 nezaff 405
 roegaff 525
 sunaff 596
 tremen 395
 tut 618
 yal 456
 yel 456
 yvet 72

Breton

aer 402
 ahel 66
 amann 642
 an- 301
 aod 35
 aot 35
 arz 645
 askorn 136
 bara 201
 bec'h 203
 ber 668
 bestl 72
 bezuen 72
 bleuñv 227

bramm 238
 brein 364
 brev 245
 brout 165
 c'hwiliores 602
 cana 88
 chouez 596
 Conuual 651
 crediff 141
 crug 147
 dehou 168
 den 287
 diek 424
 dor 233
 eil 34
 eiz 424
 englenaff 266
 eontr 66
 etre 306
 frao 447
 garan 274
 garm 255
 goalenn 690
 goañv 284
 gonn 676
 gown 676
 gouz(o)ut:676
 greun 271
 gueaff 660
 guenell 260
 gwrizienn 512
 hes 559
 hir 558
 hoal 533
 hoazl 533
 holl 572
 huerniñ 602
 ieo 314
 ilin 638
 ivin 641
 karo 111
 kent 516
 keo 101
 kev 101
 kraoñ 420
 kreñv 164
 lagen 322
 lann 352
 laouer 331
 louarn 688
 man 363
 marzh 374
 mat 364
 mel 369 370
 merien 234
 moan 383
 moualc'h 375
 nant 405

nes 407
 nessaff 407
 neuvez 416
 nez 334
 nezenn 334
 oan 30
 oged 423
 onn 435
 oun 451
 ounn 435
 pennnglin 259
 pet 511
 piou 510
 pri 144
 rahein 512
 rec'h 481
 reo 494
 rev 494
 ruz 528
 saotrañ 535
 scoed 549
 seilout 585
 ster 585
 sterenn 585
 streviañ 587
 stroñk 585
 tanao 614
 teir 629
 teñviñ 633
 tez 614
 to 608
 tri 629
 troazh 585
 uhel 601
 uy 438
 vi 438
 war 601
 yeu 314
 yezh 308

ANATOLIAN**Hittite**

ad- 186
 aiš 436
 akniš 297
 anda 189
 andan 189
 andurza 233
 anije/a-^{zi} 428
 antuhš- 597
 antuyahhaš- 597
 anz- 413
 arai-ⁱ 435
 ardāl(a)- 526
 ardu- 526
 ari- 435
 arkuqae-^{zi} 53

- arš- 527
 aršanu-^{zi} 527
 aš- 599
 ašant- 574
 aši 310
 atta- 60
 au-ⁱ 61
 auli- 36
 ānš- 377
 ārk-ⁱ / ark- 193
 ārš-^{zi} 527
 daššu- 167
 dā-ⁱ / d- 175
 dāi- / ti- 175
 dākki 176
 duttarrijata/i- 253
 ed-^{zi} 186
 edi 310
 eku-^{zi}/aku- 184
 epp-^{zi} / app- 47 431
 eš-^{zi} 599
 ešhar 537
 genu- /ganu- 259
 genzu- 260
 gimannije/a-^{zi} 284
 gimm- 284
 gimmant- 284
 hahhari 519
 hahri 519
 hahriš 519
 hahrišni 519
 halīna- 344
 hallanna/i-ⁱ 165
 hamank-ⁱ /
 hame/ink- 42
 hane/išš-^{zi} 377
 hanna- 45
 hant- 45
 hanza 45
 hapa- 39
 hapae-^{zi} 39
 happina- 431
 happinant- 431
 har(k)-^{zi} 51
 hardu- 435
 harp-^{tu(r)} 433
 harp-^{zi} 433
 harpa/i- 433
 hartakka- 645
 haštāi 436
 hašter(a)- 585
 hašterza 585
 hašti- 436
 hāšš- 49
 hāšša- 49
 hāt-/hat- 25 58
 himma- 26 298
 huhha- 66
 hui- 659
 hulana- 325
 hulija- 325
 hulle-^{zi} / hull- 651
 hurki- 665
 huṽai-ⁱ 659
 huṽant- 662
 i-^{zi} 191
 je/a-^{tu(r)} 191
 ijanna-ⁱ / ijanni- 191
 imma 300
 ini 310
 iṣhā- 194
 iṣhahru- 322
 iṣhai-ⁱ 533
 iṣhan- 537
 iṣhi- 533
 iṣhunauṽar 407
 iṣkalla-ⁱ / iṣkall- 151
 iṣpai-ⁱ / iṣpi- 493 580
 iṣpant- 582 670
 iṣpānt-ⁱ 582
 iṣpar- 578 579
 iṣpār-ⁱ 578
 iṣpamu-^{zi} 578
 iṣparra-ⁱ 579
 iṣš- 436
 iṣtar(k)-^{zi} 585
 iṣtarni(n)k-^{zi} 585
 itar 311
 iuga- 314
 iuka- 314
 iūk- 314
 kala(n)k- 320
 kalankaddu 320
 kalankant- 320
 kane/išš-^{zi} 297 414
 karaš- 288
 karāṽur / karaun-
 111
 kard(i)- 135
 karp(ije/a)-^{tu(r)} 143
 karp(ije/a)-^{zi} 95
 karpī- 143
 karpina- 94
 karš(ije/a)-^{zi} 158
 kā- 116
 kānk-ⁱ / kank- 153
 ker 135
 ketkar 141
 ki- 116
 kinun 418
 ki-^{tu(r)} 153
 -kkan 128
 -kku 506
 kue- 510
 kue(n)-^{zi} / kun- 211
 kui- 510
 kukuš-^{zi} 276
 kū- 116
 kūtt- / kutt- 249
 kuṽa- 510
 kuṽa(n)- 211
 kuṽan/kun- 87
 lammar 419
 lamn- 412 419
 lāman- 412
 lukkatt- 356
 lukk-^{tu} 356
 pattejant- 464
 makkešš-^{zi} 359
 maklant- 357
 maknu-^{zi} 359
 malitt- 370
 malla- 387
 manijahh-ⁱ 363
 mant- 372
 markije/a-^{zi} 364
 marnu-^{zi} 390
 marra^{tu(r)}- 390
 marri 376
 marrije/a-^{tu(r)} 390
 mau-ⁱ 391
 maušš- 391
 mār-ⁱ / mark- 365
 mekk- 359
 mekkai- 359
 mekki- 359
 mēna- 373
 mēni- 373
 mer-^{zi} 390
 militt- 370
 mu- 391
 mūgae-^{zi} 392
 mūkar- 392
 mukn- 392
 mum(m)ija/e-^{zi} 391
 mūri- 398
 mūṽa- 398
 nekumanza 418
 nekuz 416
 neku-^{zi} 416
 nēpiš 409
 nēṽa- 416
 nēṽahh-ⁱ 416
 nu 418
 padda-ⁱ / padd- 229
 pahhur / pahhuen-
 500
 pahš-^{tu(r)} 449
 pahšⁱ 449
 pahšnu-^{zi} 449
 pai-ⁱ / pi- 28 431
 pajī-^{zi} 192
 palhai- 470
 palhann- 470
 palhatar- 470
 palhi- 470
 palṽae-^{zi} 226
 paršna- 461
 paršnae-^{zi} 461
 pata- 462
 pattai-ⁱ/patti- 464
 pattar / pattan- 458
 pāš-ⁱ / paš- 485
 pāt- / pat- 462
 peda- 430
 peje-^{zi}/pej- 293
 peije/a- 293
 pettar / pettan- 458
 šalli- 537
 šamankurṽant- 359
 šaptaminzu 555
 šarāp-ⁱ / šarip- 575
 šargau- 539
 šarkiške/a-^{zi} 539
 šarku- 539
 šarni(n)k-^{zi} 539
 šaudišt- / šāṽitišt-
 673
 šāgāi- 534
 šāi-^{zi} 534
 šakije/a-^{zi} 534
 šakk-ⁱ / šakk- 550
 šāklāi- 532
 šiptamija- 555
 šupp-^{tu(r)} 573
 šupparije/a-^{zi} 573
 šupparṽant- 573
 takkanzi 176
 takn- 292
 takš-^{zi} 619
 *taluki- / talugai-
 348
 tapašša- 614
 tappala- 161
 tar(k)u-^{zi} 624
 tarhu-^{zi} 627
 Tarhunna- 627
 tarkuṽa 625
 tarkuṽant- 625
 tarma- 615
 tarš- 624
 tāje/a-^{zi} 584
 tājuga- 314
 tān 183
 tēkan 292
 titta- / titti- 175
 tu- 631
 tuhhae-^{zi} 597
 tuhhu- 230
 tuhhuṽai- 230
 tukkanzi- 181
 tukzi- 181

tūyan 181
 u- 61
 -ua(r)- 664
 ualh-^{zi} 659
 uarpac-^{zi} / uarpa-
 643
 uarš-ⁱ 666
 uāšpa- 670
 uāšše/a-^{zi} 672
 uās-ⁱ 678
 uen-^{zi} 662
 uerant- 664
 uerije/a- 664
 uerite-^{zi} / uerit- 664
 uešai- / ueši- 669
 uešš-^{na} 672
 net- 673
 uijan- 680
 Ūinijant- 680
 uitt- 673
 uni 310
 unu-^{zi} 643
 ušnije/a- 663
 uyan- 662
 ūk 187
 z- 359 621
 zamakur 359
 zamankur 359
 zankij- 532
 zankila¹- 532
 zanu-^{zi} 621
 zē-^{na} 621
 zik 631
 zinni-^{zi} / zimm- 621

Palaic

ad- 186
 ahu- 184
 anije/a- 428
 hānta 60
 hāpna- 39
 hārī 60
 kā- 116
 kārt- 135
 kijāt 116
 kī- 153
 -ku 506
 kui- 510
 malitanna- 370
 nu 418
 nū 418
 tiuna- 315
 -uar- 664

Cuneiform Luwian

am(ma)šša- 377
 am(ma)šši(ja)- 377
 ari(ja)- 435

aya 61
 āaš- 436
 ād-/ad- 186
 ānnara/i- 406
 ānni- 428
 ānta 189
 ārsšija- 527
 āš- / aš- 599
 āšhar- 537
 āššu- 193
 azzu- 193
 dūp(a)i- 593
 hamešha- 377
 hardu- 435
 hašp- 58
 hāpa/i- 39
 hāš- 436
 hāyi- 437
 hišhija- 533
 hizza(i)- 648
 hūha- 66
 hui(ja)- 659
 imma 300
 karš- 158
 -ku 506
 kui- 510
 lā- 175
 maia- 359
 mal(h)u- 387
 mallit- 370
 mūya- 398
 nānun 418
 nāya/i- 416
 pašš- 485
 pāhūr- 500
 pāta/i- 462
 pa-/ppa 452
 tappaš- 409
 Tarhunt- 627
 Tarhuuant- 627
 tarma/i- 615
 tata/i- 60
 tijamm(i)- 292
 tī 631
 tu- 631
 tūya- 182
 -ua- 664
 uāšpant- 670
 uāšš- 672
 uār 644
 ušša/i- 673
 ūinija- 680
 zā- 116
 zārt- 135
 zarūani(ja)- 111
 zi- 116
 zī- 153

Hieroglyphic**Luwian**

ād- 186
 ālaman- 412
 anta 189
 anz- 413
 ās- / s- 599
 āsu- 193
 hapa/i- 39
 hishi- 533
 huha- 66
 i- 191
 ima 300
 kwi- 510
 lam(i)ni 419
 la-tara/i- 352
 LOCUS-ta- 430
 malidima/i- 370
 muwa- 398
 nimuwinza- 398
 pa- 192
 pada/i- 462
 piija- 47 431
 pa-/ppa 452
 pihas- 312
 swan(i)- 87
 takam- 292
 Tarhunt- 627
 Tarhunzā- 627
 tati- 60
 tipas- 409
 tu(ṽa)- 182
 tuwatra/i- 253
 twa/i- 183
 twisu 183
 we-^{zi} 192
 usa/i- 673
 uwa- 192
 -wa- 664
 wijana/i- 680
 zart(i)- 135

Lycian

alāman- 412
 erije- 435
 es- / ah- 599
 esb- 193
 kbatra- 253
 kbi- 183
 mēte- 372
 muwēte- 398
 ūte 189
 pede/i- 462
 piije- 47 431
 qāfīti 211
 si- 153
 sīta 108
 tbiplē 475

ti- 510
 Troqñit- 627
 tub(e)i 593
 tuwe- 182
 -we- 664
 ṽawa- 437
 ṽba(i)- 39
 ṽrīna- 45
 ṽuge- 66

Lydian

ciw- 315
 fakorfid 95
 mētili- 372
 qi- 510
 taada- 60

INDO-IRANIAN**Sanskrit**

abhedam 221
 abhicara- 41
 abhicārā- 41
 abhrā- 299
 ābhūt 246
 achān 106
 adānti 186
 ādhara- 302
 ādmi 186
 ādudrot 40
 advešā- 171
 āgan 661
 agni- 297
 ahām 187
 ājati 31
 ajñāsam 297
 ajñāsthās 297
 ājñāta- 414
 ājñāyi 414
 ājra- 29
 akrapišṭa 143
 ākṣa- 66
 akṣī 425
 akṣṇās 425
 ākupyant- 155
 ālūna- 353
 āma- 39
 āmaman 362
 āmanthiṣ- 361
 amānti 39
 āmata 371
 āmāsi 377
 ameṣṭa 385
 arṇhū- 42
 amiham 369
 amīṣi 39
 amlā- 37
 arṇṭa- 390

- āmsa- 640
 āmucat 392
 āmugdhvam 392
 āmūrchat 388
 anaḍvāh- 428
 anākṣ- 425
 anākti 642
 ānas- 428
 anāyā 399
 anāyoṣ 399
 anā 399
 anéna 399
 āniti 43 279
 ānika- 300
 antār 306
 āntara- 306
 ānti 45
 ānuspaṣṭa- 579
 āngāra- 297
 ānkā- 640
 ānkas- 41
 ānkté 642
 aṅjānti 642
 āṅjas- 642
 aṅjate 642
 āpa 374
 apajārgurāṇa- 688
 apās- 432
 āpas- 432
 apāt 485
 āpi 421
 āpnas- 431
 aprās 473
 aprāt 473
 aprīyamāṇa- 493
 arā- 54
 āram 54
 aratni- 638
 āravīt 515
 aritār- 518
 aritra- 518
 ārjuna- 53
 ārṣati 527
 ārśas- 637
 as 599
 āsadat 552
 āsamaṣṭa- 399
 āsaścuṣī- 562
 āsādi 552
 āsāmi 553
 asinvā- 540
 āsmai 310
 asmāt 310
 āsmēra- 382
 asnās 537
 asnām 436
 asnihat 410
 āspaṣṭa 579
 āstj- 537
 asthābhiṣ 436
 asthanvānt- 436
 aṣṭhaviṣam 583
 āsthi- 436
 asthnās 436
 āsti 599
 āsvanīt 574
 āsya 310
 aṣṭamā- 424
 aṣṭāu 424
 aṣṭā 424
 aṣṭī- 424
 aśnóti 399
 āśret 120
 āśri- 424
 āśrot 122
 āśva- 193
 ātamāna- 44
 ātan 613
 atasi 44
 āti 195 305
 ātikulva- 85
 ātināvayet 419
 ātti 186
 ātya- 44
 āva 64 369 415
 āvacchita- 545
 āvar 46
 avasā- 65
 avasāna- 538
 avasātār- 538
 āvati 318
 āvi- 437
 āvidhat 174
 avidhavā- 677
 avikā- 437
 aviṣyā- 65
 aviṣyānt- 65
 aviṣyú- 65
 āvya- 437
 āvyas 437
 ayām 310
 āyas- 27
 ā 525 533
 āhuti- 249
 ākuvāte 101
 āmā- 37
 ānāmsa 399
 ānat 399
 ānīt 279
 āp-/ap- 19
 āpa 47 431
 āra 435
 ārata 435
 ārta 435
 ās- 436
 āsā 436
 āsa- 49
 āsa 599
 āsakti- 552
 āsat- 574
 āstig- 305
 āsāra- 106
 āśiṣṭha- 424
 āśīyas- 424
 āśú- 424
 ātā- 44
 ātī- 41
 āva 318
 āvayat 65
 āviṣ 61
 āyú- 29
 āyu 29
 āyuṣ- 316
 babhrú- 217
 bála- 163
 balbalā-karōti 68
 barh- 236
 barhayati 236
 bhāra- 214
 bhārgas- 247
 bhās- 312
 bhāsas- 312
 bhāti 312
 bhīd- 221
 bhinātti 221
 bhinnā- 221
 bhōjam 250
 bhrātār- 239
 bhrīnānti 244
 bhṛjjana- 212
 bhṛjjāti 212
 bhṛṣṭi- 203
 -bhuṅjant- 250
 bhuṅjate 250
 bhūrjā- 240
 bhūṣ- 206
 bibhāya 229
 bibhēda 221
 bibhīvāms- 229
 bimba 433
 bṛhānt- 236
 °bṛmha- 236
 budhnā- 250
 -ca 506
 cakē 96
 candrá- 87
 cārati 125
 cārman- 136
 caskānda 543
 cātasras 505
 catúr 505
 catúras 505
 cāturaśri- 424
 cātuṣpad- 462
 catvāras 505
 catvāri 505
 cāskāmbha 542
 chadāyati 106
 chāndas- 87
 chāyā- 541
 chedma 544
 chinātti 544
 chindhi 544
 chinnā- 544
 °chyāti 545
 cichēda 544
 cichidūḥ 544
 cid 510
 dādāti 175
 dadhūr 210
 dābati 237
 dākṣina- 168
 dām- 178
 dārma- 178
 dán 166
 dānt- 166
 dāntam 166
 darś- 615
 dáśa 163
 daśasyati 164
 datás 166
 dādṛhāṇa- 236
 dāhāyati 237
 dāna- 179
 dāṣṭi 164
 dās- 164
 dāsāt- 164
 dāsati 164
 dāsnoti 164
 deh- 221
 dehī- 221
 devā- 167
 dhan' 230
 dhānva 230
 dhar- 223
 dhārman- 223
 dhāyati 210
 dhā- 175
 dhāpāya- 210
 dhārú- 209
 dhātave 210
 dhēnā- 210
 dhiṣā 212
 -dhi- 216
 -dhrút- 240
 dhrúti- 240
 dhūli- 248
 dhūlikā 248
 dhūli 248
 dhūmā- 249
 dhīdes- 169
 diṣṭā- 169

- díś- 169
 díś- 170
 díśámāna- 169
 díśánt- 169
 dívam 315
 divás 315
 divā 315
 divé 315
 divi 315
 divyá- 173
 dīrghá- 348
 dravá- 40
 drávati 40
 drāváyati 40
 dṛḍhá- 236
 dṛḥya 302
 dṛḥya- 236 302
 duhitár- 253
 dusvápnyam 573
 dúvas- 162 182
 duváu 183
 duvé 183
 dūrá- 184
 dváu 183
 dvá 183
 dvár- 233
 dvāram 237
 dvé 183
 dveṣ- 171
 dvéṣas- 171
 dvi- 71
 dvibárhas- 236
 dvidhā 202
 dvipád- 462
 dvíś- 171
 -dvíś- 171
 dvíś 72
 dvitīya- 184
 dvīpá- 19
 dyauḥ 315
 dyāuḥ 315
 dyáv- 315
 dyávi 315
 dyām 315
 dyóḥ 315
 éka- 642
 éti 192
 gábhasti- 277
 gácchati 661
 galgalīti 690
 gántu- 661
 gar^l 688
 garan 690
 gatá- 661
 gáti- 132 661
 gauś 74
 gām 74
 garit 690
 gharmá- 235
 ghnánti 211
 ghṛná- 235
 ghṛsu- 290
 gir- 271
 giráti 690
 giri- 264 266
 giriká- 264
 gīrná- 690
 goṣāṇi- 566
 grāma- 272
 grām_oiyá- 272
 grhá- 290
 grṇāti 271
 grṇīte 271
 gula- 263
 gurú- 272
 gūrtá- 271
 gūrti- 271
 harśásá- 44
 hánti 211
 hánu- 257
 háрати 123
 hári- 282
 hársate 290
 harśáyati 290
 haryatá- 289
 háryati 289
 hārdi 135
 háyaná- 284
 héman 284
 hemantá- 284
 himá- 284
 himā- 284
 hirá- 280
 hiri- 282
 hrādūni- 270
 hṛd- 135
 hṛṣitá- 290
 hṛṣyati 290
 hyás 283
 icháti 27
 idám 310
 -idh- 25
 idha 295
 ihá 295
 imám 310
 iś- 309
 itara- 312
 iva 112
 iyám 310
 iyarti 435
 iyāya 192
 ijate 31
 irmá- 55
 írte 435
 jagāma 661
 jagāra 690
 jajñivāms- 414
 jalgulas 690
 jan' 260
 jána- 260 261
 jánas- 261
 játu 73
 jāhṣāná- 290
 jámātar- 258
 jānāti 414
 jánu- 259
 jānuś- 414
 jātá- 401
 jáya- 260
 jihvā- 343
 jijīva 685
 jīvá- 685
 jīvati 685
 jīvitá- 685
 jīvit 685
 jmás 292
 jñátá- 414
 jñu- 259
 jógu- 256
 jóguvāna- 256
 jóguve 256
 jóśa- 276 " "
 jóśati 276 " "
 juhóti 249
 juštá- 276,
 júšta- 276
 júšti- 276
 jyá- 220
 ká- 508
 kákṣa- 140
 kakúbh- 78
 kakubhá- 78
 kakúd- 78
 kakúdmant- 78
 kakuhá- 78
 kanína- 516
 kanthā- 107
 kanyá- 516
 kárhí 155
 katará- 647
 káti 511
 kavi- 101
 kākúd- 78
 kāyamāna- 96
 kekara- 79
 kim 510
 kīdṛś- 510
 klomán- 497
 kopáyati 155
 krakara- 145
 kraviś- 146
 kṛkaṇa- 145
 kṛkara- 145
 kṛntáti 106 138
 krós- 145
 kṛpate 143
 kṛpá 137
 kṣáp- 670
 kṣay- 568
 kṣáyat 567
 kṣāh 292
 kṣéti 566
 kṣiyánti 566
 kṣṇaumi 415
 kṣṇótra- 415
 *kṣṇút- 415
 kṣṇuvāná- 415
 kṣurá- 415 540
 kúha 636
 kulva- 85
 kupyati 155
 kúpa- 155
 lámbate 341
 likhá- 525
 líśate 525
 lobháya- 338
 lohá- 515
 loká- 350
 lopāśá- 688
 lulobha 338
 lunāti 353
 luñcati 530
 mā 368
 mā 250
 mádati 358
 mádhya- 369
 madhyamdina- 171
 mahatí 303
 mahánt- 359
 mahántam 303
 máhi- 359
 máhyam 368
 májjanti 375
 makśú 391
 máma 368
 mamandhi 362
 mamanyāt 362
 mamára 390
 mamé 377
 -mamnāte 371
 -mamur 377
 mánas- 381
 manthá- 362
 mánthanti 361
 mányate 371
 mányā- 388
 mañi- 388
 mar-/mṛ- 390
 marcáyati 364
 marká- 364
 marmara- 396
 marsāya- 393

- martave 390
 márya- 365
 mát 368
 matá- 371
 mathitá- 362
 mathyá- 361
 matí- 372
 matīkar 366
 matyá- 366
 máyā 368
 mayante 374
 máyas- 374 383
 mayeta 374
 máyi 368
 mākīḥ 510
 mām 368
 māma- 361
 māmśúr 393
 māmsá- 370
 māmśpácānī- 370
 mānáyati 387
 māráyati 390
 mās 370
 mās- 373
 mātár- 367
 me 368
 mehanti 369
 mehayati 369
 mekśáyati 382
 mení- 395
 methete 384
 micchamāna- 382
 mihé 369
 mimāya 385
 mjmetha 384
 mimikśú- 382
 mimihí 377
 mīmīte 377
 minánti 381
 mināti 381
 minotu 385
 miśrá- 382
 mita- 377
 mitá- 385
 -mīvantī- 391
 -mīvyamāna- 391
 móda- 394
 módate 394
 m̐c- 364
 m̐ditá- 389
 m̐du- 386
 mriyáte 390
 m̐ksata 393
 m̐ksīṣṭa 364
 m̐ktá- 364
 m̐na- 390
 m̐nāti 387
 m̐nāti 387
 m̐nihi 390
 m̐śáse 393
 m̐tá- 390
 múcyate 392
 múd- 394
 múhu 75
 múhuḥ 75
 muhúrtá- 75
 múni- 398
 muñcāmi 392
 múrmura- 396
 múka- 398
 múrtá- 388
 múṣ- 396
 ná 403
 nábhah 409
 nábhya- 639
 naca 403
 nagná- 418
 nák 416
 nak 399
 nákiḥ 510
 nákt- 416
 náktam 416
 námas- 405
 naná 413
 nanāśa 408
 nápāt 406
 nápātam 406
 naptī- 406
 naptrīya- 406
 náptuḥ 406
 nar- 406
 náras 406
 nas 413
 nas- 400
 nasi 400
 nasós 400
 naṣṭá- 408
 náśyati 408
 naṭ 399
 náu- 403
 náus 403
 -nauti 419
 náva 415
 náva- 416
 návā 404
 návya- 416
 nábbhi- 639
 náman- 412
 nās 413
 nāsā- 400
 nāsikā- 400
 nāsáya- 411
 návam 403
 návás 403
 návya- 403
 nédīyas- 407
 néśat 408
 ní 236 390
 nīḍá- 409
 nirvāṇa- 653
 niṣaṅgín- 552
 niṣpád- 463
 niṣṭarkyá- 624
 n̐n 406
 nūnám 418
 óha- 691
 óhas- 691
 óhate 691
 óhāna- 691
 oṣati 645
 pad- 463
 padá- 430
 padá 462
 pádyate 463
 paidvá- 454
 pajrá- 443 465
 pákṣman- 453
 pakthá- 509
 paláva- 440
 palvala- 442 456
 páñca 509
 pañcamá- 509
 pañkti- 509
 pánthā- 479
 pánthām 479
 pári 362 459
 páribṛdha- 236
 paricará- 41
 párs- 482
 parśá- 482
 paruśá- 497
 paspasé 579
 paścá 484
 paścāt 484
 paśú- 454
 pásu- 454
 paśumánt- 454
 páśyati 579
 pataṅgá- 458
 pátati 464
 pathás 479
 pathí 479
 páti- 485
 pátra- 458
 pávate 500
 pavīnasá- 400
 páyas- 466
 pájas- 443
 pánti 485
 párs̐ni- 461
 pásati 449
 páśa- 452
 pāt 462
 pátár- 485
 pátar- 485
 pāti 449
 pedú- 454
 phéna- 583
 píbati 72
 piká- 464
 piṃśánti 466
 piṃśati 466
 pináṣṭi 466
 píparti 482
 píppakā- 467
 piśáná- 466
 piṣṭá- 466
 pitár- 450
 pitā 315
 piṭvya- 450
 pítrya- 450
 pītá- 485
 pívan- 466
 plavá- 474
 pláva- 474
 plihán- 340
 plúṣi- 496
 plutá- 474
 prá 390 399 490
 prabhar- 490
 prabhú- 490
 prájāti- 258
 prákupita- 155
 pram̐cyati 364
 prápra 493
 prásnauti 420
 prásnuta- 420
 prastará- 586
 praśna- 472
 práti 488
 práṭga- 314
 prāná- 43
 práś- 488
 prātá- 473
 prātár 490
 prāyah 475
 prāyeṇa 475
 p̐chāmi 483
 préśat 493
 préśṭha- 493
 priyá- 493
 p̐ñanti 493
 p̐tá- 493
 p̐nāti 447 473
 piṣṭhá- 484
 p̐t- 488
 pruśá 494
 pruṣitá- 494
 pruṣnute 494
 pruṣṇuvánti 494
 pruṣvā 494
 prúṣvā 494

- púmāms- 495
 púmāmsam 495
 púmān 495
 pumśú 495
 punaḥsara- 558
 punāti 500
 -pupūryās 447
 pūśyati 501
 putrá- 503
 puvas- 501
 pūm 495
 pūrbhid- 221
 pūrdhī 447
 pūrṇá- 473
 pūti- 501
 pūyati 501
 ra- 53
 rádati 526
 raditá- 526
 raghú- 336
 raj- 517
 rajatá- 53
 ráji- 517
 rájju- 521
 rámbate 341
 rándhra- 352
 raráda 526
 rása- 527
 rátha- 527
 rauti 515
 rava- 515
 ráva- 515 529
 rávat 530
 rayi- 520
 ráj- 522
 rájyá- 522
 ráviṣam 530
 ráyāḥ 520
 ráyati 324
 rédhi/ledhi 343
 rekhā- 525
 rikha 525
 riṇákti 344
 riṇāti 309 524
 riréca 344
 riṣṭá- 525
 riśāmahe 525
 rit- 524
 rīti- 525
 rīyate 309 524
 řkṣa- 645
 řṇjānti 517
 řṇjate 517
 řṇóti 435
 rócate 356
 rodiṣi 528
 řtá- 54 55
 řtú- 56
 rúe- 356
 rudanti 528
 rudhirá- 527
 rupya- 530
 rutá- 530
 ruvāti 515 529
 sá-/tá- 568
 sabardúh- 538
 sácate 556
 sadāpṇá- 447
 sahástra- 380
 sáhuri- 560
 sáhvan- 560
 sajāmi 552
 sákhāy- 569
 sákhāyam 569
 sákhye 569
 sakṣt 553
 sām 44
 sámmarditoḥ 389
 sána- 553
 saniṣvanat 574
 sanóti 566
 sánt- 574
 sánti 599
 sápati 555
 saparyāti 555
 saptá 555 *
 saptamá- 555
 saptátha- 555
 sará- 558
 sarpá- 558
 sárpati 558
 sarpiṣ- 598
 sárva- 537
 sasaṇja 552
 sasáda 552
 sasána 566
 sattá- 552
 satyá- 574
 sedhati 103
 sepur 555
 sétu- 534
 sināti 533
 sisarṣi 535 558
 sisrate 535
 siṣakti 556
 siṣāya 533
 sídati 562
 skabhnāti 542
 skambhá- 542
 skán 543
 skándati 543
 skanná- 543
 skhalate 199
 smāyate 129 382
 snāpáya- 411
 snátá- 411
 snātas 411
 snāti- 411
 snāvan 407
 sneháyat 410
 snuṣā- 420
 spás- 579
 spharīḥ 579
 sphāya- 493
 sphāyātai 580
 sphirá- 493 580
 sphurāti 579
 sṇá- 539
 sṇprá- 598
 stan 623
 stanáya- 623
 stanihi 623
 stanita- 623
 starī- 586
 stāyát 584
 stāyú 584
 stegá- 305
 stená- 584
 stéya- 584
 sthūrá- 305
 stigh- 305
 stṭbhiḥ 585
 stṭnāti 586
 sudársá- 615
 sudína- 171
 suyáj- 296
 sūkará- 603
 sūras 570
 sūré 570
 sūrya- 570
 sūtra- 600
 svá- 549
 svádanti 594
 svadáya- 594
 svadhá- 570
 svanayan 574
 svápna- 573
 svápnya- 573
 svár 570
 svára- 602
 svásar- 576
 svásara- 669
 svādú- 594
 svādvī- 594
 svāttá- 594
 svéda- 596
 °syāti 533
 syāt 599
 syūman- 600
 syūtá- 600
 řás- 560
 řódaśa 560
 řṭhivati 583
 řad- 78
 řams- 107
 řánkate 153
 řaraṇá- 106
 řáras- 126
 řárman- 106
 řas- 97
 řástra- 97
 řásá- 88
 řásáda 78
 řatá- 108
 řatsyanti 78
 řáye 153
 řā- 139
 řālā- 104
 řāśad- 106
 řépa- 115
 řere 153
 říras 109
 řítá- 99
 řívá- 116
 řírśán- 109
 řívyá- 600
 řlakṣná- 325
 řmáśru- 359
 řraddhá- 142
 řrayate 120
 řṇga- 136
 řṇóti 122
 řróṇi- 123
 řrutá- 122
 řúnas 87
 řumí- 87
 řúṣma- 507
 řúla- 150
 řvāsiti 507
 řvaśrú- 569
 řváśura- 569
 řvá 87
 řvánam 87
 tákṣati 619
 tala- 608
 támas- 609
 tamat 609
 támisrā- 612
 tandate 612
 -tandra- 612
 tanóti 613
 tanú- 614
 tanuté 613
 tanya- 623
 tápas- 614
 tápati 614
 tára- 627
 tarantá- 627
 tarjati 625
 tarkaya- 624
 tarku- 624
 tárūna- 613

- taštá- 619
 táštar- 619
 tatá- 613
 tatákṣa 619
 tatāna 613
 táti 625
 táva 631
 tavás- 632
 tavīti 632
 tādhi 619
 tāmrá- 609
 tāmyati 609
 tāraḥ 585
 tāṣṭi 619
 te 631
 téjas- 305
 tejate 305
 tétikte 305
 -tírá 627
 tistrás 629
 tiṣṭhati 567
 tīkṣṇá- 305
 trásanti 617
 tráyas 629
 trāsaya- 617
 trídihā 202
 triṃśát- 629
 triṣ 629
 trī 629
 ṭṣa- 624
 ṭṣāná- 625
 ṭṣtá- 625
 ṭṣyant- 624
 ṭṣīya- 629
 túbhya(m) 631
 tudáti 634
 túmra- 633
 tundáná- 634
 tundate 634
 tunná- 634
 tuvá 631
 túrva- 627
 tūtava 632
 tūtumá- 633
 tvá 631
 t_(u)vám 631
 t_(u)vát 631
 t_(u)vám 631
 ubháu 37
 ubháya- 38
 ubhá 37
 ubhé 37
 uccá 646
 úd 646
 udán- 641
 udára- 647
 udrá- 355
 ukhá- 62
 ukhá- 62
 úlūka- 638
 úpa 595
 upamá- 600
 úpara- 601
 upári 601
 urūṇasá- 400
 urvárā- 56
 usrá- 64
 uṣarbúdh- 64
 uṣás 63
 uṣás 63
 uṣná- 645
 út 632
 uvāha 658
 údhan- 636
 údhar 636
 ūḍhá- 658
 ūná- 653
 ūrdhvá- 52
 ūrṇā- 325
 ūrṇuté 46
 ūta- 318
 váhati 658
 vakṣ- 61 658
 valá- 668
 valmúka- 234
 vámiti 690
 vamrá- 234
 vánate 662
 vanáti 662
 vandhúr- 672
 vañchatī 662
 vára- 687
 várṣman- 666
 vas 691
 vásana- 672
 vasantá- 663
 vasá 660
 vásā 660
 vasná- 663
 váste 672
 vastivarṇa- 672
 vatsará- 673
 vavāra 46
 vavṛṣé 687
 váy- 65
 váyas- 683
 vayā- 677
 vā 656
 vācam 692
 vācás 692
 vāghát- 691
 vāgvín- 692
 vāja- 657 677
 vājáyati 657 678
 vāk 692
 vāmá- 662
 vár- 644
 várāya- 46
 vāta- 662
 vāti 659
 vāyati 653
 ved- 676
 véda 676
 vépate 674
 veśa- 675
 veśá- 675
 vi 525
 vi- 71
 vi 374 385
 vidát 676
 vidhāvā- 677
 vidvāṃs- 676
 vimṣatī- 678
 vindáti 676
 víp- 674
 vipáya- 674
 vipáná- 674
 vípra- 674
 viś- 675
 viśá- 682
 vitarṣaya- 625
 vittá- 676
 viviktás 679
 vivipre 674
 vivyāca 679
 viyánti 307 673
 vīrá- 681
 vītá- 307 673 677
 vratá- 664
 vṛka- 353
 vṛṇákti 665
 vṛṇíté 687
 vṛṇóti 46
 vṛṣabhá- 666
 vṛṣan- 666
 vṛta 687
 vṛtá- 46 687
 vyácas- 679
 vyáyati 677
 yájati 296
 yájus- 296
 yájyu- 296
 yakani 296
 yaknás 296
 yákyt 296
 yamá- 256
 yamí- 256
 yánti 192
 yayí- 294
 yātar- 294
 yātar- 294
 yāti 294
 yéṣṭha- 294
 yodha- 312
 yodháyati 312
 yóṣ 316
 yuddhá- 312
 yúdh- 312
 yúdhya- 312
 yugá- 314
 yúj- 314
 yunájmi 314
 yuñkté 314
 yúvan- 317
 yuvaśá- 317
 yúṣ- 316
Avestan
 aβra- 299
 aešma- 309
 aēm 310 438
 aēuua- 642
 ah-/h- 599
 ahma 413
 aiih- 27
 aipi 421
 aiti 195
 amuiiamna- 391
 antarə 306
 aoθra- 643
 arəma- 55
 asna- 407
 aspa- 193
 astuuant- 436
 aša- 54 55
 atāra- 112
 auuapasti- 464
 auui.spašta- 579
 auuoi 650
 āh- 436
 āiiu- 316
 āp-/ap- 19
 āsənaoiti 130
 āsīiah- 424
 āsišta- 424
 āsu- 424
 ātarš 60
 āθrə 60
 āuuiš 61
 āuuōiia 650
 āzūiti- 249
 āzu- 42
 bara- 214
 baβra- 217
 bi- 71
 bifra- 475
 biš 72
 buṛjaiṇti 246
 būj(i)- 246
 būjiiamna- 246
 būjaṭ 246
 būna- 250

- ca 506
 cara- 125
 carəman- 136
 ciš 510
 -cī 510
 daēuua- 167
 daitika- 166
 dam- 178
 dar- 223
 darəs- 615
 darəsa- 615
 dā- 175
 dānu- 231
 dūirē 184
 dūrāt 184
 ərəzata- 53
 fra- 490
 frabar- 490
 fraēšta- 475 493
 frašnu- 259
 frauuāši- 687
 frazaiṅti- 258
 frā 482
 frāiah- 475
 friia- 493
 garəma- 235
 gati- 132
 ha-/ta- 568
 haca- 556
 harṅiia- 574
 hana- 553 566
 hapta- 555
 haptava- 555
 haraiti 559
 harətar- 559
 haše 569
 hauruua- 559
 haxa 569
 haxi- 569
 hazayra- 380
 hā 568
 hāra- 559
 haṅ.pata- 464
 hiḁa- 562
 hišku- 562
 hizuuā- 343
 hupāta- 449
 huuāpah- 432
 iriṅiia- 346
 iriṅiṅuš- 346
 išta- 296
 jiiā- 220
 juua- 685
 ka- 508
 kahrkatāt- 145
 kaiia- 96
 kaine 516
 kainīn- 516
 kaša- 140
 katāra- 647
 kauui- 101
 maēza- 369
 mainiia- 371
 maiti- 388
 manah- 381
 maoiri- 234
 masah- 357
 maziiah- 359
 mazišta- 359
 mā 510
 mātar- 367
 mərəzu- 75
 nabah- 409
 nar- 407
 narəm 407
 nas- 408
 nasiia- 408
 nasu- 408
 našta- 408
 nauua 415
 nā 407
 nāman- 412
 nəmah- 405
 nərəš 407
 niḁaiti- 216
 pəerman- 466
 pairi.daēza- 221
 paiti 488
 paiti- 485
 parəsa- 481
 pasu- 454
 pašna- 453
 pata- 464
 patarəta- 458
 pā- 449
 pātar- 449
 pərəsa- 483
 pərətu- 482
 puṅra- 503
 raii-i- 520
 raocah- 356
 raopi- 688
 raoxšna- 352
 ratu- 56
 rauuah- 531
 rauuascarāt- 531
 rāiiō 520
 saḁaiia- 106
 saēni- 139
 saēte 153
 sanaṅ 130
 satəm 108
 sādra- 78
 saṅ- 107
 sōire 153
 spas- 579
 spasiia- 579
 spaštar- 579
 spā 559
 spərəzan- 340
 sraoni- 123
 sruuā- 111
 srūta- 122
 star- 585
 stārəm 585
 stārō 585
 strəm 585
 strəuš 585
 š(ii)ā- 508
 tašaṅ 619
 tauruna- 613
 təmah- 609
 ṅkaēša- 156
 upa.naxturušu 416
 urupi- 688
 uruuisiia- 522
 urūpaiia- 530
 us 646
 ušah- 63
 uši 63
 uz 646
 uzdaēza- 221
 vaβzaka- 670
 vaēiti- 677
 vaiiōi 650
 vairiia- 687
 vaṅhutāt- 660
 vajhuṅṅa- 660
 vaṅri 663
 vara- 668
 varənā- 325
 vaxš- 62
 vā 656
 vāra- 687
 vāstar- 669
 vāstra- 669
 vīsa- 675
 vohuna- 660
 voiia- 650
 xraos- 145
 xrūždra- 147
 xšafri- 670
 xšapan- 670
 x^yafna- 573
 x^yāṅra- 44
 yakarə 296
 yašta- 296
 yaštar- 296
 yaṅna 403
 yauuaēji- 313
 yaza- 296
 zairi- 282
 zaoša- 276
 zānu- 259
 zāta- 401
 zā 292
 zaṅ 292
 zrazdāiti- 142
Old Avestan
 ahiiā 310
 ahmāi 310
 ahmāt 310
 aibī.gəman 661
 aibī.jarətar- 271
 aiiəm 310
 anā 399
 anāiš 399
 anəsaṅ 408
 aogədā 691
 arəiti- 55
 arəm 54
 ascī 187
 astəntāt- 436
 ašta- 399
 auuaṅhāna- 538
 auuā 64
 auuāmī 318
 axiiacā 310
 azəm 187
 āuuāēdaiimahī 676
 būj- 250
 cəuištā 156
 cinas 156
 cīšmahī 156
 cōiš 156
 daēdōiš 170
 daibišuuant- 171
 daibitiia- 184
 dāiš 170
 darəz- 236 302
 dīdərəžō 236 302
 dōišā 170
 dōišī 170
 dugədar- 253
 əma- 39
 fəḁrōi 450
 framīmaṅā 377
 frasā- 488
 fraštā 399
 friiṅmahī 493
 frīnāi 493
 frōsīiāt 399
 gāuš 74
 gaṅ 74
 hafšī 555
 haptī 555
 hauuapaṅha- 432
 hēbuuant- 538
 hēm.aibī.mōist 384
 hōi 549
 hudāma- 594

- huuarē 570
 idā 295
 īra- 435
 īt 310
 jēn 661
 kamnafsuuā 454
 kəhrpəm 137
 kudā 636
 mada- 358
 maidiia- 369
 marəka- 364
 marəxšaitē 364
 mazbīs 359
 mazōi 359
 mānaiia- 387
 mā 373
 mərənc- 364
 mərəng- 364
 mošuca 391
 mōiθaṭ 384
 mōrəṇdaṭ 389
 naē- 408
 naṣu 406
 naptiia- 406
 nāšāmā 399
 nā 413
 naṣaṭ 408
 nō 413
 niuuarānī 46
 nūrēm 418
 pada- 430
 padəbīs 480
 pairi 459
 pairiiaoyzā 691
 pairi 480
 patarēm 450
 pavō 480
 pərənā 473
 piṭrē 450
 ptā 450
 raostā 528
 rāzan- 522
 rāzar- 522
 səngħa- 107
 siiazdaṭ 103
 siiōzdūm 103
 siždiiamna- 103
 sraotū 122
 šaēiti 567
 šiieipti 567
 taibiiā 631
 taibiiō 631
 taiiā 584
 tašta- 619
 tauuā 631 632
 tāšt 619
 tuuēm 631
 ōβa- 631
- ōβam 631
 uba- 38
 upā 595
 uruuata- 664
 urūdōiiatā 528
 ustāna- 613
 uzārəšuuā 435
 uzūiθiōi 318
 vacō 692
 vaēdā 676
 vaēpiia- 674
 var- 687
 vastē 672
 vaziiia- 658
 važdra- 658
 vācam 692
 vāta- 662
 vāxš 692
 vā 691
 vərənauuaitē 46
 vō 691
 vista- 676
 vīda- 174
 vīdaṭ 676
 vīduuah- 676
 vīnastī 676
 xšnāuš 415
 xšnəuuīšā 415
 x'a- 549
 x'araiθiia- 602
 x'əng 570
 yaoš 316
 yauuaēji- 316
 yauuē 316
 yauuōi 316
 yōma- 256
 zara- 289
 zastō. frānō.masah- 473
 zimō 284
 zrazdā- 142
- Young Avestan**
 adairi 302
 adara- 302
 aēiti 192
 aēta- 28
 aētahmāiiuš 28
 afnaṅ^hant- 431
 aymō.paidi- 462
 ah- 525
 ahe 310
 ahumərəxš 364
 ainika- 300
 airiti- 525
 aiβi.gaiti- 661
 aiβi.iritim 525
 aiβi.naprim 406
- aiβi.vərənuuaiti 46
 ajiiamna- 568
 ama- 39
 amaša- 390
 ana 399
 anku.paēsəmna- 466
 aojana- 691
 aoxta 691
 apa 674
 apairiiaθra- 44
 arəm 54
 arəθnā 638
 arša- 645
 asaiia- 541
 asəngō.gauua- 277
 asista- 544
 aspāiiaoda- 312
 aspō.gar- 690
 ast- 436
 astasca 436
 astəm 436
 asti 436
 astō 436
 astō.bid- 221
 aša- 66
 aši 425
 ašta 424
 aštāiti- 424
 aštəma- 424
 aši- 55
 aθā- 44
 auua 64
 auua.ašnaoiti 399
 auua.hisiθiia- 544
 auua.mīua- 391
 auuaṅħa- 65
 auui 271 619
 auui...iriti 525
 auui...vaṅti 690
 aza- 31
 azdəbīšca 436
 azəm 187
 ādbitīm 184
 āpa 47 431
 āzūzušte 276
 āntiā 279
 aiθiia- 44
 aṅnah- 41
 barəšna 236
 barəzah- 236
 barəzaiia- 236
 barəzaṅt- 236
 bərəzimita- 385
 bərəzirāz- 522
 biβiuuā 229
 bitaēya- 305
 bitiia- 184
 brōiθra- 244
- brōiθrō.taēža- 305
 caiti 511
 catanrō 505
 caturam 505
 caturō 505
 caθβarəsat- 505
 caθβārō 505
 caθrudasa- 505
 caθruš 505
 cim 510
 cinahmi 156
 cinasti 156
 cīšmaide 156
 cōišta 156
 daḏāiti 175
 darəzaiia- 236 302
 dasa 163
 dažaiti 237
 dāṭ 142
 darəzra- 236 302
 diiaoš 315
 drāuuaiiāṭ 240
 duṅdar- 253
 duiie 183
 dunmō.frut- 474
 duua 183
 duuaēca 183
 duuaēpa- 19
 duuar- 233
 ərəδβa- 52
 ərənao 435
 *ərəta- 56
 ərəzatō.frašna- 472
 frafrāuuaiia- 474
 framita- 374
 framuxti- 392
 frapixšta- 466
 frascimbana- 542
 frasciṅbaiia- 542
 *(fra)siiazdaiia- 103
 fraskəmba- 542
 frasnaiia- 411
 frasnāta- 411
 fraspara- 579
 frastəranata 586
 frastəranāiti 586
 fratuiiā 632
 frauuāiti 312
 frārāθni.drājah- 638
 frāuuaiia- 653
 friθa- 493
 frīnāmahi 493
 fšūmaṅt- 454
 gata- 661
 gauua- 277
 gāθrō.raiiant- 324
 gərəṅte 271
 gərəḏa- 290

- haētu- 534
 hakorəṭ 553
 hauruua- 537
 hauua- 549
 ḥəm.rāzaiia- 517
 ḥəm.tapta- 614
 hē 549
 hištaiti 567
 hū 570
 hū- 603
 hūrō 570
 huuarō 570
 huuāfrita- 493
 huuāuuōiia 549
 huxšnuta- 415
 iḍa 295
 iməm 310
 irinaxti 344
 isaite 27
 īm 310
 jasa- 661
 jināiti 568
 juuaiiaṅt- 685
 katarasciṭ 647
 kauruua- 85
 kəhrp- 137
 kərəṅta- 138
 kuḍaṭ 636
 maṅna- 418
 maḍaite 358
 maēini- 395
 mahrka- 364
 maiḍiia- 369
 maiia- 377
 maiiah- 374 383
 mairiia- 365
 manaodīr- 388
 mazāṅt- 303 359
 mäh- 373
 °māhiia- 373
 māta- 377
 māṅha- 373
 maṅnaiiaṅ 387
 marəta- 390
 miriia- 390
 mošu 391
 mūš- 396
 nabānazdišta- 639
 nafəḍrō 406
 napā 406
 napāsa 406
 napātəm 406
 naptarəm 406
 napti 406
 nauua- 416
 nauua.naptiia- 406
 nazdiio 407
 nazdišta- 407
 nāuu(a)iiia- 403
 nāfa- 639
 nāṅha 400
 nāṅhanəṭ 400
 nərə.gar- 690
 nisrīta 120
 nī 463
 nō 413
 nūrəm 418
 nūrəm 418
 pacaiti 134
 pad- 462
 paḍa- 430
 paiḍiia- 463
 pairi 459 613
 pairi.brīna- 244
 pairi.daēzaiia- 221
 pairimāniia- 388
 paitimīḍnāiti 384
 paiti.šmuxta- 392
 pairi.tanuiia 613
 pairiḍna- 311
 paiti.zana- 414
 paṅca 509
 paṅtānəm 480
 paṅtānō 480
 paṅtā 480
 paṅtəm 480
 parāṅtiia 279
 parša- 482
 paršta- 484
 pasca 484
 paskāṭ 484
 paḍa 480
 pazdu- 454
 pārāiia- 483
 pāšna- 461
 pāzanḥaṅt- 443
 pərət- 488
 pis- 466
 pišaṅt- 466
 pištra- 466
 pitar- 450
 pitarə 450
 pouruša- 497
 ptərəbiiō 450
 puia- 501
 puxḍa- 509
 pūiti- 501
 pūitika- 500
 raēm 520
 raṅhā- 527
 raoca- 356
 raocaiia- 356
 raocana- 356
 raoxšna- 356
 raḍa- 527
 rāḍaiṭi 526
 °rāzaiia- 517
 rəṅjišta- 336
 rəuuī- 336
 sarah- 109
 -sirinaoiti 121
 snaēža- 410
 snaēžana- 410
 snaoḍa- 417
 snaoḍəṅt- 417
 snāuuarə.bāzura- 407
 spaka- 87
 span- 87
 spara- 579
 stairiš- 586
 starəta- 586
 stija 305
 °stūra- 305
 surunaoiti 122
 suši 507
 sūniš 87
 šē 549
 tafsa- 614
 taiia- 584
 tanauua 613
 taršta- 617
 taršu- 625
 tauruuaiia- 627
 tāiia- 584
 tāpaiia- 614
 tāšti 619
 təḍra- 612
 tərəsa- 617
 tiṅra- 305
 tišrō 629
 titara- 627
 tiži- 305
 turnāspana- 633
 tuuaṅt- 632
 tūiriia- 450
 tūtauu 632
 ūraiiasca 629
 ūrāiiō 629
 ūrāṅhaiia- 617
 ūriš 629
 ūrišaṅt- 629
 ūrišuua- 629
 ūritiia- 629
 ūrī 629
 udarō.ūraša- 647
 udra- 355
 uiiamna- 653
 upa 595
 upa.maṅaiia- 362
 upairi 601
 upara- 601
 upəma- 600
 uruuəṅt- 529
 uruuatəṭ.nara- 664
 uruuatō 515
 us 236
 us...snaia- 411
 usca 646
 uskāṭ 646
 usnāiti- 411
 uua- 38
 uzdišta- 221
 ūna- 653
 vaca 692
 vacəm 692
 vaēpa- 674
 vaēpaiia- 674
 vaēsa- 675
 vaṅtā- 662
 vaṅhana- 672
 varšna- 666
 varšna- 666
 varšni- 666
 vaste 672
 vastra- 672
 vaštar- 658
 vaza- 658
 vācim 692
 vāiti 659
 vāra- 644
 vāta- 662
 vāxš 692
 vəhrka- 353
 viḍauua 677
 viḍra- 674
 viia- 307 673
 viiāxti- 642
 viṃad- 368
 viṃāḍaiiaṅta 368
 viṃitō.daṅtan- 166
 viṃasti 676
 viṅda- 676
 viš- 675
 višaiti 678
 višpara- 579
 viš 682
 viša- 682
 vištar- 307 673
 vō 691
 xšap- 670
 xšapar- 670
 xšuuas 560
 xšuuas.dasa- 560
 x°aēḍa- 596
 x°anaṭ.caxra- 574
 x°aṅhar- 576
 x°asura- 569
 x°āsta- 594
 x°īsa- 596
 yauua 317

yauuaēsū- 316
 yauue 316
 yōišta- 317
 yuuiō.sēmī 314
 yuujinti 314
 yuuanēm 317
 yūidiia- 312
 yūnaṃ 317
 zaiiana- 284
 zanauaa 257
 zarənumaini- 388
 zarəšiiamna- 290
 zāmaoia- 258
 zāmātar- 258
 zəmahe 284
 zəmanā- 258
 zəmə 284
 ziiā 284
 ziiṃ(ca) 284
 žnātar- 414
 žnōišta- 414
 zrasca 142

Old Persian

a- 301
 adam 187
 aištata 567
 aiua- 642
 amiy 599
 an- 301
 ap- 19
 apiy 421
 apinḍa 466
 arašniš 638
 ašna- 407
 avṛnavatā 687
 ābicaṛiš 41
 āxšnauvaiy/āxšnūmi
 y 415
 āxšnūdiy 415
 āyadana- 296
 brātar- 239
 -cā 506
 -ciy 510
 danu[...] 231
 dauštar- 276
 dān- 414
 dātū-vahya- 261
 didā- 221
 duvaištam 184
 duvar(a)- 233
 dūraiṃ 184
 frāha^(m)jam 552
 garmapada- 235
 ha^(t)iy 599
 haruva- 537
 haumavarga- 665
 iyam 310

īva- 686
 kar- 430
 kašciy 508
 māh- 373
 mānaya- 362
 nai- 408
 naiy 408
 napā 406
 nāham 400
 nāvijā 403
 nipadiy 463
 nipišta- 466
 niyašādaya- 552
 nūram 418
 pariṃ 459
 pasā 484
 pasāva 484
 patipadam 430
 patipṛsa- 483
 paḍim 480
 pāda- 462
 piča 450
 pitā 450
 pṛsa- 483
 raucāh- 356
 rāsta- 517
 rdata- 53
 -šaiy 549
 š(i)yāta- 508
 š(i)yāti- 508
 trsa- 617
 tuvam 631
 ōuvām 631
 ud- 646
 udpata- 464
 upariy 601
 upā 595
 vimardatiy 389
 vinādayatiy 411
 vindafarnā 676
 viyamarda 389
 viṭ- 675
 xšap- 670
 xšnāsa- 414
 yada- 296
 yāumaini- 395

Khotanese

arrā 645
 astaucā 49
 āhaa- 438
 āsī 637
 bistā 678
 būnaa- 418
 gawust 277
 ggarka- 272
 ggoštā 277
 gyagarrā 296

ha- 490
 haṃga'j- 273
 haṃggalj- 273
 * harpgrīs- 273
 harraa- 539
 hataljs- 624
 hīya 600
 mvīr- 391
 no 403
 ora- 299
 pastramj- 592
 paysān- 414
 pārrā- 461
 pāsa 481
 pāsa- 452
 pāysa- 443
 purs 481
 rrūvāsa- 688
 saha- 88
 stāraa- 585
 str(r)ī- 592
 strīs- 592
 škala 562
 spuljei 340
 tsāta- 509
 ura- 647
 ūra- 647
 varrad- 526
 ysamtha 258
 ysanuva 257
 ysār- 255
 yūš 316

Sogdian

'rsx 637
 'βš'b 496
 'γwšh 569
 'rs'nx' 637
 'stk- 436
 'wz'm- 258
 γr'm'k 272
 mrws- 393
 n'w- 419
 nw- 419
 r'k 527
 rzy 521
 šnyš- 410
 šwnšh 420
 twnt 634
 wγš- 290
 ym'wrc 234
 z'r'k 255
 z'r'y 255
 z'ry 255
 zm'wr'k 234
 žyōn 270

Bactrian

λιζα 221
 λιζο 221
 μαρηγο 365

Khwarezmian

(')fcwr 450
 γr'm 272
 rw- 515
 y'k 438
 zmwrk 234
 zy- 255

Parthian

brm- 241
 dr'w- 240
 wynd- 676

Middle Persian

bōz- 246
 brām- 241
 diz 221
 grāmag 272
 gurbag 688
 gurg 353
 jagar 296
 juγ 314
 nāf 639
 nāfag 639
 namb 409
 nūn 418
 pist 466
 puhl 482
 rōpās 688
 rōy 515
 škarwīdan 199
 starwan 586
 tab 614
 tanuk 614
 tār 612
 tāriγ 612
 tund 634
 vaβz 670
 wahāg 663
 wēwag 677
 windādan/wind- 676
 wīst 678
 winj- 679
 winjih- 679
 xāyag 438
 xūg 603

Osselic

(æ)zməntun 362
 bærz 240
 bærzæ 240
 dæjun 210
 dæjyn 210

don 231
 duc-/doc- 181
 fændæg 480
 idæz 677
 igær 296
 iræd/ærwæd 664
 mal 365
 marg 364
 mælzyg/mulzug 234
 mežay 234
 morz 75
 naw/nawæ 403
 nostæ 420
 on 640
 ruvas/robas 688
 stūr 305
 styr/(i)stor 305
 taj- 603
 tæryn 613
 tyryn/tærna 613
 wæz/wæzæ 658
 yssæz/insæj 678
 yzmæntyn 362
 zarun/zard 255
 zaryn/zard 255
 zælyn/zæld 255
 znon/æzinæ 283

Balochi
 gwabz 670
 nod 417
 sāyag 545
 wād 594
 zī 283
 zik 283

Modern Persian
 āluftan 338
 ārōy 529
 bēwa 677
 dandān 166
 diz 221
 gurba 688
 jīgar 296
 juy 314
 marz 365
 mast 358
 mādar 367
 mām 361
 māmā 361
 māmī 361
 mōr 234
 namb 409
 nana 413
 navīdan/nav- 419
 nem 409
 rīnu 466
 suna 420

sun(h)ār 420
 xirs 645
 xūb 432
 xwāhar/xwāhar 576
 yād 294
 yār- 294
 yor 294

GREEK

ἄβληρα 349
 ἀγείρω 272
 ἄγευστος 276
 ἄγιος 296
 ἄγκος 41 640
 ἄγκων 41
 ἀγλεικίης 182
 ἄγρός 29 648
 ἄγχαυρος 64
 ἄγχω 42
 ἄγω 31 187
 ἄδην 540
 ἄφωρ 63
 ἄφώς 63
 ἄζομαι 25 296 552
 ἄζυγής 314.
 ἄζυξ 314
 ἄζω 58 426 562
 ἄησι 659 662
 αἰγίλωψ 28
 αἰετός 65
 αἰδάνης 534
 αἰέν 29
 αἰῖθω 25
 αἶνυμαί 28
 αἰπός 533
 αἶω 61 653
 αἶσα 28
 αἰσθάνομαι 61
 αἶτιος 28
 αἰτέω 28
 αἰχμή 295
 αἶψα 533
 ἄκοιτις 153
 ἄκοστή 23
 ἄκρος 22
 ἀλάομαι 38
 ἀλδαίνω 35
 ἄλειφαρ 339
 ἄλειφω 339
 ἄλιος 570
 ἄλιτενής 613
 ἄλινειν 344
 ἄλλομαι 535
 ἄλλος 34 323
 ἄλος 652
 ἄλτο 535

ἀλύδ(ο)ιμον 36
 ἄλυσις 690
 ἄλυφι 32
 ἄλυφια 32
 ἄλφός 32
 ἄλφούς 32
 ἄλώπηξ 688
 ἄμαξα 66
 ἄμᾶω 378 690
 ἄμβροτος 390
 ἄμείβω 374 379
 ἄμέλω 393
 ἄμενοι 540
 ἄμείρω 389
 ἄμη 377
 ἄμητος 378
 ἄμμά 38
 ἄμμε 413
 ἄμμες 413
 ἄμμία 38
 ἄμνός 30
 ἄμοιβός 379
 ἄμπεπαλόν 440
 ἄμέρδω 389
 ἄμυγμα 391
 ἄμυκάλαι 391
 ἄμυσχεσθαι 391
 ἄμυχή 391
 ἄμψήκης 23,
 ἄμψίπολος 41
 ἄμψω 38
 ἄν- 301
 ἄνά 36 141 189 300
 310 405 438 574
 ἄναλτος 35
 ἄνεμος 43
 ἄνεψιός 406
 ἄνήρ 407
 ἄνηρέφαντο 514
 ἄντι 45
 ἄντα 45
 ἄνωγα 31
 ἄνώμοτος 39
 ἄξων 66
 ἄορον 46
 ἄπαξ 553
 ἀπέληκα 320
 ἄπιον 467
 ἄπιος 467
 ἄπιστος 466
 ἀποικίας 105
 ἀπολαύω 349
 ἀπορος 307
 ἀραρίσκω 54
 ἀραρχαίη 50
 ἀραρχναῖος 49
 ἀράχνη 49
 ἀράχνιον 49

ἀργύριον 53
 ἄργυρος 53
 ἄργυφος 53
 ἀριθμός 524
 ἄρκευθος 52
 ἄρκος 51 539
 ἄρκέω 51
 ἄρκτος 645
 ἄρμα 54
 ἄρμενος 54
 ἀρμόζω 54
 ἄρουρα 56
 ἀρόω 55 559 664
 665
 ἄρπη 540
 ἄρσαι 54 557
 ἄρσην 666
 ἄρτι 55
 ἄρτι- 55
 ἄρτύν 56
 ἄρτύς 56
 ἄρτύω 56
 ἄρφύτνον 433
 ἄσαι 540
 ἄσασθαι 540
 ἄσπαιρω 579
 ἄσπίς 58
 ἄστήρ 585
 ἄστραλός 593
 ἄτάρ 59
 ἄτρεστος 617
 ἄττα 60
 αὔ 64 648
 αὔ 64 648
 αὔληρα 349
 αὔλός 36
 αὔριον 64
 αὔτάρ 64
 αὔτε 64
 αὐτόκαρνος 93
 αὔω 281
 αὔως 63
 ἄφατος 231
 ἄφρός 299
 ἀφρήτωρ 239
 βαίνω 661
 βακτηρία 67
 βακτήριον 67
 βάκτρον 67
 βάλανος 263
 βάλλω 688
 βαμβαλιζέω 68
 βαρύς 272
 βάσις 132
 βάσκανος 203
 βάσκε 661
 βάσκειν 203
 βδέω 455
 βέλτατος 163

- βέλτερος 163
 βέλτιστος 163
 βελτίων 163
 βιβρώσκα 690
 βιός 220
 βιοτή 686
 βίος 686
 βιώναι 686
 βλαδεῖς 386
 βλασφημέω 360
 βλήμα 688
 βορά 690
 βουκόλος 41
 βοῦς 74 686
 βραδύς 275
 βραχύς 75
 βρωτός 690
 βύρμαξ 234
 βῶν 74
 γᾶθέω 255
 γαῖω 255
 γαλαθηνός 320
 γάλακτος/γάλαγος 320
 γαλέη 264
 γαλή 264
 γαληόφις 264
 γαλιάγκων 264
 γαλιῶω 264
 γαλιδεύς 264
 γάλις 264 266
 γάλλοι 652
 γάλως 266
 γαιμβρός 258
 γαμέω 258
 γάνυμαι 255
 γαργαίρω 273
 γάργαρα 273
 γᾶρυς 255
 γέγιθα 255
 γέγωνα 257
 γέμω 275
 γένειον 258
 γένεσις 258
 γέντο 275
 γένυς 258
 γέρανος 274
 γέργερα 273
 γέρην 274
 γεύομαι 276
 γηθέω 255
 γῆμυς 255
 γιγνώσκω 414
 γλεῦκος 182
 γλία 267 320
 γλίνη 267
 γλίον 267
 γλίττον 267
 γλοιός 267
 γλυκός 182
 γλύφω 266
 γνύξ 259
 γνώμων 414
 γνώριμος 267
 γνώσις 414
 γνωρίζω 267
 γνωστός 414
 -γνωτός 414
 γόης 256
 γοῶω 256
 γόμος 275
 γόνυ 259
 γρῦ 274
 γρύζω 274
 γρύλλος 274
 γυμνός 418
 δα- 172
 δαδύσσομαι 181
 δαπάνη 161
 δάπτω 161
 δαρθάνω 180
 δᾶρῶν 184
 δᾶρός 184
 δάσκιος 172
 δασύς 167
 δαφινός 172
 -δε 162
 δέγμενος 164
 δέδοικα 171
 δέδορκα 615
 δεῖδω 171
 δείκνυμι 170
 δεῖσαι 171
 δέκα 163
 δέκατος 163
 δέκομαι 164
 δεξιός 168
 δεξιότης 168
 δεξιτερός 168
 δέξασθαι 164
 δέρκομαι 615
 δέχεται 164
 δέχομαι 164
 δῆ 160 162
 δηρόν 184
 δηρός 184
 δι- 71
 διά 171
 δια- 172
 Δία 315
 διάκονος 130
 διάνεκῆς 399
 δίδωμι 175
 Διφεί 315
 Διφείφιλος 315
 διηνεκῆς 399
 Δι(φ)ί 315
 δίκη 170
 Δι(φ)ός 315
 διπλός 475
 δῖς 72
 διπλαξ 473
 δμῶς 178
 δοκεῖ 176
 δολιχός 348
 δόλος 177
 δόμος 178
 δῶο 183
 δύσχιμος 284
 δῶω 183
 εἶαρ 537 663
 εἰβίω 686
 ἐγκονέω 130
 εγκυτί 160
 ἐγών 187
 ἐδέγμην 164
 ἐδμεναι 186
 ἐδομαι 186
 ἐδοντες 166
 ἔδω 186
 εἰκοσι 678
 εἶδος 570 597
 εἶ 599
 εἰαρινός 663
 εἶδομαι 676
 εἶδος 596 676
 εἶδός 676
 εἵκοσι 678
 εἶκω 679
 εἶλον 131
 εἶλωμαι 690
 εἶλω 690
 εἶμαρται 374
 εἶματα 672
 εἰμέν 599
 εἰμένος 672
 εἰμί 599
 εἶμι 192
 εἶναι 293
 εἶνατερ 294
 εἶνατέρες 294
 εἶραι 557
 εἶρος 668
 εἶρω 557 664
 εἶωθα 597
 ἐκάπυσσεν 654
 ἐκατόν 108
 ἐκεῖνος 190
 ἐκέκλετο 85
 ἔκει 113
 ἐκλυον 122
 ἐκυρός 569
 ἐλαφρός 336
 ἐλαχύς 336
 ἐλεύθερος 338
 ἐλίκτη 536
 ἔλκω 598
 ἔλπομαι 689
 ἐλπῖς 689
 ἐλπωρή 689
 ἔλυτρον 690
 ἔμμεναι 293
 ἔμμι 599
 ἔμμορε 374
 ἔμορτεν 390
 ἐνατηρ 294
 ἐνδον 189
 ἐνδουκέως 181
 ἐνεῖκαι 595
 ἐνέχυρον 560
 ἐνι 300
 ἐνισπεῖν 304
 ἐνίσσω 304
 ἐννέα 415
 ἐννεον 411
 ἐν(ν)έπω 304
 ἐνη 405
 ἐννυμι 672
 ἐννύχιος 416
 ἐννυχος 416
 ἐντερα 306
 ἐντός 300
 ἐξ 196 511 560
 ἐξαιτός 28
 ἔολπα 689
 ἔορ 576
 ἐπαιστός 61
 ἐπέλασσα 456
 ἔπερος 668
 ἐπέτασ(σ)α 442
 ἐπι 421
 ἐπιθόμην 218
 ἐπίκουρος 157
 ἐπλήγην 469
 ἐπλησε 473
 ἐπόθην 485
 ἐπομαι 556
 ἐποποιῖ 643
 ἐπορον 447
 ἐποψ 643
 ἐπτά 555
 ἐπω 555
 ἐρέβινθος 195
 ἐρείκω 525
 ἐρείπω 524
 ἐρέπτομαι 514
 ἐρέσσω 518 530
 ἐρέτης 518
 ἐρετμόν 518
 ἐρεύγομαι 528 529
 ἐρευθος 525
 ἐρίπνη 524

- ἔριφος 54
 ἔρματα 557
 ἔρπετόν 558
 ἔρφυλλος 558
 ἔρπω 558
 ἔρρηγα 243
 ἔρυγγάνω 529
 ἔρυθρός 527
 ἔσπερος 670
 ἔσπετε 304
 ἔσ(σ)αι 672
 ἐστί 599
 ἐστόρεσα 586
 ἐσχατος 196
 ἐτάλασσα 622
 ἔταμον 610
 ἔτεμον 610
 ἐτι 195 510
 ἐτι- 195
 ἐτλᾶν 622
 ἔτλην 622
 ἔτος 673
 ἐτύπη 593
 εὔερος 668
 (ἐυ)κτίμενος 567
 εὐκτο 691
 εὐλῆρα 349
 εὐμένης 381
 εὐπηγής 443
 εὐχομα 691
 εὐχος 691
 εὖω 645
 ἐφθιτο 568
 Ἐφθιτος 62
 ἐχάρην 289
 ἐχελευκῆς 499
 ἐχραον 274
 ἐχυρός 560
 ἐχυτο 249
 ἔως 63
 φελικῶν 536
 φέξ 560
 φετος 673
 φεχέτω 658
 φικάτι 678
 φίς 683
 φίτυς 677
 φοῖκος 675
 φοῖνος 680
 ζα- 172
 ζαχρηγῆς 274
 Ζεῦ 315
 ζευγμα 314
 ζεύγνυμι 314
 ζευγος 314
 Ζεὺς 315
 Ζῆν 315
 ζυγόν 314
- ζῦμη 316
 ζωμός 316
 ἡγέομαι 534
 ἡδύς 594
 ἡε 656
 ἡμέας 413
 ἡμεῖς 413
 ἡμί 31 368
 ἡμι- 553
 ἡνία 44
 ἡπαρ 296 466 481
 486 573
 ἡρα 668
 ἡρυγεν 528
 ἡσω 293
 ἡώς 63
 θαλερός 230
 θαλέθω 230
 θαλέων 230
 θάλλω 230
 θάλος 230
 θείνω 211
 θεμεῖλια 201
 θεμέλια 201
 θεμέλιος 201
 θέμις 201
 θεμούς 201
 θεός 212
 θερμός 235
 θέσις 217
 θεσφατός 212
 θηλή 209
 θῆλυς 209
 θῆρ 215
 θῆσατο 210
 θῆσθαι 210
 θυγάτηρ 253
 θυῖλλα 230
 θυμός 249
 θυρα 233
 θυώ 597
 ἡέλιος 570
 ἡΐθεος 677
 ἡικανός 88
 ἡκα 293
 ἰάλλω 535
 ἰδεῖν 676
 ἰδῖω 596
 ἰδμεν 676
 ἰδος 596
 ἰδρῶ 596
 ἰδρώς 596
 ἰδυῖοι 676
 ἰεμαι 307 672 673
 ἰθα(ι)γενής 295
 ἰημι 293
 ἰκάνω 595
 ἰκνέομαι 595
- ἴκω 595
 ἴλαμαι 572
 ἰλάσκομαι 572 659
 ἴν(α) 683
 ἰξός 683
 ἰός 682 683
 ἰπνε[ύεσθαι] 62
 ἰπνός 62
 ἴππος 193
 ἰπότης 193
 ἰσθι 676
 ἰσῑμί 567
 ἰσῑμι 567
 ἰσχνός 562
 ἴτυς 677
 ἴυγή 313
 ἰυγμός 313
 ἰύξω 313
 ἴφι 683
 καβάλλης 77
 καικίας 79
 καινός 516
 κακκάω 78
 κάκκη 78
 καλάμη 150
 κάλαμος 150
 καλέω 85
 καλήτωρ 85
 κᾶλίς 83
 καμπή 86
 κάμπτω 86
 καναχή 88
 κάπηλος 100
 καπια 108
 καπνός 654
 κάπρος 89 155
 κάπυς 654
 καπύσσων 654
 κάρᾱ 109 135 141
 καρδίᾱ 135
 κάρη 141
 κάρηνα 109
 καρκίνος 92
 κάρνη 93
 κᾶρός 109
 καρπός 95
 καρτός 158
 καρύϊνος 93
 κάρυον 93
 κασίγητος 401
 καυλός 100
 κεάζω 97
 κέασσαι 149
 κέδρος 116
 κείρω 109 158
 κείται 153
 κεκάδοντο 78
 κεκαδών 78
- κέλης 104
 κέλλω 104
 κέλομαι 104
 κεραός 111
 κέρας 109 146
 κέραος 137
 κῆδος 78
 κηλάς 83
 κηλέω 85
 κηλήνη 83
 κηλίς 83
 κηριόν 109
 κηρός 109
 Κηρυνηται 108
 κίατο 113
 κίκερροι 113
 κικλήσκω 85
 κίνυμαι 113
 κίτριον 116
 κλάϊς 119
 κλάω 105 117
 κλειδός 119
 κλείς 119
 κλείω 119
 κλέπος 120 151
 κλέπτω 120
 κληῖς 119
 κληῖω 119
 κληῶ 119
 κνῖσα 408
 κνῖση 408
 κλίνω 121
 κλόνης 123
 κλόνος 123
 κλύζω 122
 κλύτε 122
 κλυτός 122
 κνῖδη 408
 κνίζω 408
 κοέω 101
 κοῖλος 101
 κοίτη 153
 κοῖτος 153
 κόλυμβος 127
 κόνιος 115
 κόνις 115
 κολεόν 150
 κολώνη 124
 κολωνός 124
 κονίδες 334
 κονίσσαλος 115
 κονίω 115
 κόοι 101
 κόραξ 136
 κορέννυμι 110
 κορώνη 136
 κρᾶτος 109
 κρᾶδίη 135

- κράνεια 137
 κράνον 137
 κρῖ 288
 κρηθή 288
 κρίνω 110
 κριτός 110 111
 κρούω 147
 κτείς 453
 κτενός 453
 κτίζειν 567
 κτίσσαι 567
 κύλιξ 84
 κῦμα 152
 κύνα 87
 κυνός 87
 κύπελλον 155
 κύπη 155
 κύπτω 78 90
 κυρτός 158
 κυσός 154
 κύτος 154
 κῦφος 78
 κύων 87
 κωπή 90
 λαγαίω 325
 λάγανον 325
 λαγαρός 325
 λαγγάζω 325
 λάγνος 325
 λαγόνες 325
 λαγώς 325
 λαθεῖν 329
 λάθρη 329
 λάθυρος 334
 λαΐα 349
 λαίειν 324
 λαι(φ)ός 323
 λάκη 320
 λάκημα 320
 λακίζω 320
 λακίς 320
 λάκκος 322
 λαλέω 323
 λαλία 323
 λανθάνω 329
 λάπτω 324
 λαφύσσω 324
 λάψαι 324
 λάψειν 324
 -λέγμενος 332
 λέγω 332
 λέξο 332
 λεία 349
 λείμαξ 342
 λείτος 337
 λείπω 344
 λείχω 343
 λέκτο 332
 λέκτρον 332
 λεπάδες 326
 λεπάς 326
 λεπίς 335
 λεπρός 335
 λεπτός 335
 λέπω 335
 λευκός 356
 λεύσσω 356
 λέχεται 332
 -λέχθαι 332
 λέχος 332
 ληδεῖν 328
 λήθω 329
 λῆϊς 687
 λήιτο 329
 ληνίς 328
 λῆνος 325
 λῆσις 687
 λίζει 351
 λιλαίομαι 328
 λιμπάνω 344
 λίνδεσθαι 351
 λίνον 344
 λιπαρός 345
 λίπος 345
 λίσ 337 535 687
 λοβός 319
 λόγος 332 350
 λοέω 331
 λοετρόν 331
 λοπίς 335
 λοπός 335
 λουτρόν 331
 λυγανώμενον 351
 λυγμός 351
 λύζω 351
 λύθρον 355
 λύκος 353 637
 λῦμα 355 687 690
 λύμη 355
 λύμην 353
 λύ(ν)το 353
 λύχνος 352
 λύω 353 638
 λῶ 687
 λῶμες 687
 λωτρόν 331
 μαγῆναι 357
 μάγμα 357
 μαδαρός 358
 μαδάω 358
 μαίνομαι 371
 μακρός 357
 μάλα 370 394
 μάλιστα 370 394
 μάλλον 370 394
 μάμμα 361
 μάμμη 361
 μαραίνω 390
 μάρναμαι 390
 μάρσσω 357 391
 μάττω 357
 με 368
 μέγας 359
 μέδομαι 368
 μέδω 368
 μεῖγνυμι 382
 μεῖραξ 365
 μείρομαι 374
 μείς 373
 μείων 381
 μέλεος 360
 μέλι 370
 μελίγη 379
 μέλισσα 370
 μέμαμεν 371
 μέμονα 371
 μένος 381
 μένω 362
 μέρος 374
 μέσος 369
 μέσσοις 369
 μήδεα 385
 μηνός 373
 μήρα 370
 μηρός 370
 μήκος 357
 μήτηρ 367
 -μήτις 377
 μίμνω 362
 μιγῆναι 382
 μίν 310 373
 μινύθω 381
 μίσγω 382
 μισ 368
 μονή 362
 μόρμορος 234
 μορμύρω 234 396
 μορμύσσομαι 234
 μορμώ 234
 μύδος 398
 μύζω 392
 μῦια 397
 μῦκάομαι 392
 μῦκλος 394
 μῦκός 398
 μυκτῆρ 392
 μύλη 387
 मुनाρός 398
 मुन्दός 398
 μύξα 392
 μύξων 392
 μῦριος 398
 μύρμηξ 234
 μύρμος 234
 μύσσομαι 392
 μῦτις 398
 μυττός 398
 μυχλός 394
 μωρός 388
 νᾶ- 301
 νάννας 413
 νᾶσος 306
 νᾶσσοις 306
 ναῦς 403
 νᾶχω 411
 νεαλής 35
 νεανίας 416
 νεαρός 416
 νεάω 416 419
 νείφει 410
 νεκρός 408
 νέκῦς 408
 νεμητον 405
 νέμος 405 419
 νέμω 419
 νέννος 413
 νέος 416 553 663
 νευ- 419
 νευρά 407
 νεῦρον 407
 νεῦσαι 411
 νεφέλη 404
 νέφος 409
 νεφροί 404
 νέω 411 420
 νη- 301
 νῆριτος 524
 νηρός 416
 νῆσος 306
 νῆσσα 41
 νήθω 405
 νῆττα 41
 νῆϋς 403
 νήφω 184
 νήχω 411
 νίν 310 405 418
 νίφα 410
 νομή 419
 νομός 419
 νυ 418
 νυκτερινός 416
 νυκτερίς 416
 νυκτερος 416
 νυκτωρ 416
 νυός 420
 νύξ 416
 -νυχ- 416
 νυχεύω 416
 νύχιος 416
 νω- 301
 νωδός 166
 νωλεμές 326

- νώνυμ(ν)ος 412
 νῶσι 405
 νῶτον 402
 ξερόν 556
 ξηρός 556
 ξυρόν 540
 ξυρός 540
 ξῦω 540
 ὄγδοος 424
 ὄγδοήκοντα 424
 ὄγκη 640
 ὄδμή 426
 ὄδοῦς 166 173 540
 ὄδυνή 166
 ὄδυσ(σ)ασθαι 425
 ὀδῶδει 426
 ὀδῶν 166 181 303
 ὄφης 437
 ὄη 648
 οἶδα 676
 οἰδάνω 26
 οἰδέω 26
 οἶδμα 26
 οἶσος 437
 οἶη 648
 οἶκος 675
 οἶμα 309
 οἶνή 642
 οἶνος 680
 οἶος 437
 οἶς 437
 οἰστός 648
 οἶσω 648
 ὄκρις 424
 ὄκτώ 424
 ὄλκος 598
 ὄλλυμι 165
 ὄλος 537 652
 ὄλπη 598
 ὄμαλός 564
 ὄμειχῶ 369
 ὄμνυμι 39
 ὄμοῦμαι] 39
 ὄμνη 431
 ὄμοσαι 39
 ὄμφαλός 639
 ὄνομα 412
 ὄντος 574
 ὄνυξ 641
 ὄξινα 423
 ὄξυα 435
 ὄπ- 692
 ὄπα 692
 ὄρέγω 517
 ὄρέω 559
 ὄρημι 559
 ὄρθός 52
 ὄρίνω 309 525
 ὀρκάνη 539
 ὀρμικας 234
 ὀρνυμι 435
 ὀροβος 195
 ὀρός 558
 ὀρούω 530
 ὀρπετον 558
 ὀρυμαγδός 528
 ὀρύττω 530
 ὀρφανός 433
 ὀρφοβόται 433
 ὄς 549 568 603
 ὄσμή 426
 ὄσσε 425
 ὄστέον 436
 οὐ 316
 οὐατος 63
 οὐδύεται 425
 οὐθαρ 636
 οὐλος 537
 οὐρος 559 665
 οὐς 63
 ὀφνίς 690
 ὄχος 658
 πάγχυ 249
 παίω 452
 παλαιφάτος 231
 παλάμη 441
 πάλη 477
 πάλλω 440
 πάλος 440 467 474
 475
 πάλο 440 456 473
 πάρ 486 490 500
 601
 πάρα 485
 παρά 481
 παραι 486
 πάσομαι 503
 πατήρ 315 450
 πάτος 480
 πάτριος 450
 πάτρως 450
 παῦρος 448
 πέδον 430
 πειθόμεαι 218
 πείθω 218
 πείρω 483
 πέκος 454
 πέκτω 453
 πέκω 453
 πελίκη 456
 πέλλα 456
 πέλομαι 125
 πέντε 509
 πέπᾶμαι 503
 πέπουθα 218
 πέπρωται 447
 πέρθω 232
 πέρι 459
 περί 459 601
 Περσεφόνη 482
 περτ' 488
 πέσσω 134
 -πέτης 494
 πέτομαι 464
 πεύκη 499
 πήγνυμι 443
 πηδόν 462
 πήνη 443
 πήνος 443 573
 πλέω 467 474
 πλινθιαί 456
 πλινθιαί 473
 πλινθιαί 467
 πλινθιαί 505
 πλινθιαί 442
 πίττα 469
 πιττάκιον 469
 πλάγγω 469
 πλάζω 469
 πλειστός 475
 πλέκω 472
 πλεύμων 497
 πλέων 475
 πληθύς 471
 πλήρης 473
 πληρότης 473
 πλόκος 472
 πλοχομοί 472
 πλύνω 474
 ποδινηκτής 399
 ποδός 462
 πόθι 508
 ποικίλος 466
 ποιμήν 449
 ποῖος 149
 πολιός 497
 πόλιος 477 498
 πόντος 480
 ποποπό 643
 πορθέω 232
 πόρος 307
 πόρρω 481
 πόρρω 481
 πόσις 485
 πόσος 511
 πότερος 647
 ποτή 464
 πούς 462
 πράσον 482
 πρίν 489
 πρόκα 491
 προλόβιον 319
 πρόλοβος 319
 πρόμος 490
 πρόπρω 493
 πρὸς 488 500
 προτί 488
 πρότι 488
 πρόχνη 259
 πρωί 490
 πταίω 452
 πταρεῖν 587
 πταρμός 587
 πτάρνυμαι 587
 πετέα 620
 πτέρνη 461
 πτίσμα 467
 πτίσσω 466
 πτολίπορθος 232
 πτύω 583
 πυγμαῖος 499
 Πυγμαλίων 499
 πυγμή 499
 πυγών 499
 πύθωμαι 501
 πυθμήν 250
 πύξ 499
 πύον 501
 πύος 501
 πῶθι 485
 πῶμα 449
 ῥαγός 511 683
 ῥαδίξ 512
 ῥαξ 511
 ῥάπυς 514
 ῥαφάνη 514
 ῥαφανος 514
 ῥάφυς 514
 ῥητός 664
 ῥήγιον 243
 ῥήγος 243
 ῥοικός 522
 ῥοφέω 575
 ῥόφημα 575
 ῥωγός 511
 σάος 632
 σέ 631
 σθένος 560
 σιτύη 565
 σίφρον 619
 σκαίος 541
 σκαλῖς 84
 σκάλλιον 84
 σκάλλω 151
 σκᾶνά 542
 σκαῖπος 546
 σκαρῖφάομαι 547
 σκαρῖφος 547
 σκελλός 544
 σκέλος 544
 σκηγή 542

- σκήπτωμα 546 579
 σκιά 542
 σκίπων 545
 σκίρον 422
 σκοῖπος 545
 σκολιός 544
 σκύτος 160
 σμάω 358
 σμήμα 358
 σός 631 632
 σπείρω 578
 σπένδω 582
 σπίδιος 581
 σπιδνόν 581
 σπιδρέν 581
 σπλάγχνα 340
 σπλήν 340
 σπόγγος 250
 σπόλια 582
 σπολάς 582
 σπονδή 582
 σποργίλος 447
 σπύρος 500
 σταγών 585
 στεγνός 608
 στέγω 608
 στεῖρα 586
 στελεά 591
 στέλεχος 591
 στέλλω 486
 στέμβω 610
 στίγμα 305
 στίζω 305 585
 στῖλη 587
 στολή 486
 στολμός 486
 στόλος 486 590
 στόρνυμι 586
 στραγγός 592
 στρωτός 586
 στύπος 593
 σῦκον 218
 σφάλλομαι 199
 σφάλλω 199
 σφε 549
 σφι(ν) 549
 σφίσι(ν) 549
 σχάω 545
 σχίζω 544
 τᾶκερός 604
 τάκω 604
 τάλαντα 622
 τάμνω 610
 ταναός 614
 τανύ- 614
 τανυήκης 23
 τάνυται 613
 ταρβέω 625
- ταῦρος 607
 ταῦς 632
 -τε 506
 τέγγω 620
 τέγξαι 620
 τέγος 608
 τεῖνω 613
 τεῖρω 616
 τεῖχος 221
 τελαμών 608
 τέλος 125
 τέμνω 610
 τένδω 622
 τέο 508
 τεός 631
 τέρετρον 616
 τέρην 613
 τέρμα 615
 τέρμων 615
 τέρσομαι 625
 τέρυ 613
 τερόνης 613
 τεταγών 606
 τέτορες 505
 τέτρασι 505
 τέτρατος 505
 τέτριγα 591
 τέφρα 208 237
 τρέ 631
 τηλικός 605
 τήκω 604
 τί 510
 τίθημι 175
 τις 510
 τίς 510
 τοῖχος 221
 τόνος 613
 τόξον 607
 τόσος 625
 τόσος 625
 τρᾶνής 627
 τρεῖς 629
 τρέμω 628
 τρέω 617
 τριτός 616
 τρία 629
 τρίβω 616
 τρίζω 591
 τρίπλαξ 473
 τρίς 629
 τρισί 629
 τρυ- 505
 τῦ 631
 τῦκον 218
 τῦνη 631
 τύπος 593
 τύπτω 593
 ὑγής 313
- ὕδερρος 647
 ὕδρα 355
 ὕδρια 647
 ὕδρος 355
 ὕδωρ 641
 ὑλακτέω 638
 ὕπερος 601
 ὑπέρφευ 490
 ὑπερφίαλος 490
 ὑπερφυής 490
 ὑπὸ 78 141 421 595
 654 692
 ὑπο 595
 ὑπόδρα 615
 ὑσμίνη 312
 ὑστέρα 647
 ὑφέαρ 491
 ὕψι 601
 φάε 312
 φᾶγός 199
 φαῖνον 312
 φακός 197
 φάμα 231
 φᾶμι 231
 φᾶμι 231
 φάσις 231
 φάτις 231
 -φατος 204
 φειδομαι 221
 φέρω 214
 φεύγω 246
 φηγός 199
 φήμη 231
 φημί 231
 φθίνω 568
 φιλομμειδής 129 382
 φλέγω 247
 φλέω 228
 φλίβω 226
 φλογμός 247
 φλόξ 247
 φράσσω 202
 φράττηρ 239
 φράττω 202
 φρυγώ 243
 φύγαδε 246
 φυγεῖν 246
 φυγή 246
 φύζα 246
 φῦομαι 222
 φωνή 231 562
 φώρ 251
 φώνω 207
 χαίρω 289
 χάν 44
 χανδάνω 487
 χάρις 289
 χεῖλοι 380
- χεῖμα 284
 χειμών 284
 χέλλιοι 380
 χέω 249
 χήν 44
 χήρ 193
 χήρα 282
 χῆρος 282
 χηρωσταί 283
 χθές 283
 χθών 292
 χῆλιοι 380
 χιών 284
 χλωρός 282
 χοῖρος 193
 χολή 209
 χόλος 209
 χόρτος 290
 χυτός 249
 (ψ)άμαθος 531
 ψάμμος 531
 ψόμμος 531
 ψύλλα 496
 ὠιον 438
 ὠκιστος 424
 ὠκός 424
 ὠλένη 638
 ὠλήν 638
 ὠλλόν 638
 ὠμος 640
 ὠμός 37 396 413
 ὠνέομαι 663
 ὠπός 425 462 484
 501 692
 ὠρτο 435
 ὠρυγή 528
 ὠρύομαι 515 528
 529
 ὠρφωσεν 433
 ὠς 63
 ὠψ 425
- Mycenaean**
 a-ko-ro 29
 a-ku-ro 53
 a-mo 54
 a-mo-ta 54
 a-mo-te-i 54
 a-ni-ja 44
 a-ni-ja-ri 44
 a-pi-qo-ro 41
 a-ra-ro-wo-a 54
 a-ra-tu-ja 54
 ai-ka-sa-ma 295
 de-ka-sa-to 164
 de-ki-si-wo 168
 de-re-u-ko 182
 di-we 315

e-ri-ka 536
 e-u-ke-to 691
 e-u-me-ne 381
 i-po-no 62
 i-qa 193
 (jo)-ji-je-si 293
 ka-po 95
 ka-ra-wi-po-ro 119
 ka-ru-pi 93
 ke-ke-me-no- 97
 ke-re-na-i 274
 ki-ti-je-si 567
 me-re-ti-ri-ja 387
 me-re-u-ro 387
 ne-wo 416
 o-pi 559
 o-pi-tu-ra-jo 233
 o-ro-me-no 559
 pa-ro 486
 po-de 462
 -qe 506
 qo-o 74
 to-ko-so-wo-ko 607
 we-te-i 673
 we-to 673
 wo-i-ko-de 675

PHRYGIAN

αναρ 407
 αββερτ 214
 αδδακετ 24
 βρατερε 240
 onoman 412
 otuvoi vetei 424

ARMENIAN

acem 31
 acowl 297
 ašač'em 572
 alowēs 688
 amb 299
 amp 299
 anic 334
 anjowk 42
 ankiwn 42
 anown 412
 anowr 45
 arari 54
 arawr 55
 arbi 575
 arcat' 53
 ard 56
 ardow 56
 argel 51
 arj 645
 art 29

arac 31
 arnem 54
 asem 31
 astl 585
 atamn 166
 ateam 425
 atok' 540
 aviwn 65
 awcanem 642
 ayc' 27
 aygi 648
 ayl 34
 ayn 399
 ayr 407
 aytnowm 26
 barjr 236
 bay 231
 berem 214
 bowcanem 250
 bowci 250
 cnawt 258
 cownr 259
 c'awl 100
 e'elaw 151
 čanač'em 414
 čem 275
 čim 275
 čmlem 275
 č'ork' 505
 c'tim 544
 dalar 230
 darbin 197
 dayl 209
 diem 210
 dik' 213
 dizanem 221
 dowrk' 233
 dowstr 253
 drand(i) 44
 edēz 221
 egel 690
 egit 676
 (e-)harc' 483
 eker 690
 ekowl 275
 etbayr 240
 elowngn 641
 erinj 54
 erkar 184
 erkat' 53
 erki 71
 erkotasan 183
 erku 183
 eřam 194
 es 187
 etes 164
 ew 421
 eš 193

əmpem 72
 ən- 294
 ənd 45
 gari 288
 garown 663
 garwoy 288
 gin 663
 gini 680
 gišer 670
 gitem 676
 gog 691
 gtanem 676
 gti 676
 hac'i 435
 hačar 25
 haganim 643
 ham 538
 han 45
 hangeaw 509
 hasanem 399
 hat 25
 haw 66
 hawow 66
 hayc'em 27
 hayim 445
 hayr 450
 het 430
 hin 553
 hing 509
 holm 43
 hot 426
 hoviw 437
 howm 37
 hown 480
 howr 500
 i 300 601
 inn 415
 jean 284
 jiown 284
 jow 438
 jowoy 438
 jerm 235
 jil 220
 jnem 211
 kařin 263
 kalnoy 263
 karkowt 270
 karkti 270
 karktiw 270
 kat'n 320
 kaxc' 320
 klanem 275
 kov 74
 k'akor 78
 k'erem 109
 k'ert'em 106 138
 k'irtn 596
 k'own 573

k'oyr 576
 k'erem 158
 k'san 678
 lam 324
 lap'eř 324
 lar 349
 lezow 343
 lir 473
 lizanem 343
 lk'anem 344
 lnow- 473
 logae'e- 331
 loganam 331
 low 122 496
 lowac'e- 331
 lowanam 331
 lowc 314
 macanim 357
 malem 387
 mam 361
 mawrowk' 359
 mayr 367
 mec 359
 meř 360
 meřow 370
 melr 370
 merk 418
 merani- 390
 mis 370
 mit 385
 mnam 362
 mnoy 397
 mown 397
 mownj 398
 mımřam 396
 na 399
 neard 407
 nēr 294
 niri 294
 nist 409
 nor 416
 now 420
 nowoy 420
 noyn 399
 nsti- 562
 oč' 316
 orb 433
 orcam 529
 oroř 54
 oskr 436
 otn 462
 ows 640
 owtem 186
 popop 643
 p'aycaln 340
 p'řnem 587
 p'řngam 587
 sirt 135

siserin 113
 snaw 130
 sownk/g 250
 sowr 139
 soyl 101
 spaina- 579
 stelcanem 486
 stein 591
 sterj 586
 sxalem 199
 šown 87
 tal 264 266
 tam 175
 tasn 163
 tawn 161
 tiw 315
 tordik 635
 t'anam 604
 t'k'anem 583
 t'mrim 609
 t'ndam 634
 t'owk' 583
 t'owz 218
 vec' 560
 ver 601
 xait'em 79
 yañnem 435
 zgenowm 672
 zgest 672

ALBANIAN**Old Albanian**

ashtë 436
 dhae 175
 ep 47
 kaa 503
 laa 331
 pii 72

Albanian

(j)ap 431
 ah 435
 amë 38
 ari 645
 as 316
 at 60
 ā(n)shtë 599
 bathë 197
 bē 218
 besë 218
 bie 213 214
 bindem 218
 bjerrë 213
 blerë 227
 blertë 227
 breshër 245
 bung 199

dal 230
 del 230
 derë 233
 derr 193
 desha 276
 dhândër 258
 dhe 292
 dhëndër 258
 dimën 284
 dirsë 596
 djathtë 168
 dje 283
 djeg 237
 dra 238
 drathe 239
 dredhë 239
 dregë 238
 drithë 288
 dy 183
 efb 32
 emër 412
 (j)ep 431
 është 599
 fle 120
 gjallë 537
 gjalpë 598
 gjarpër 558
 gjashtë 560
 gjen 487
 gjerp 575
 gjii 567
 gjindet 487
 gju 259
 gjū 259
 gjumë 573
 giunj 259
 grah 271
 ha 65
 helq, heq 598
 hënë 87
 hije 542
 jam 599
 je 599
 jesh 599
 jeshë 599
 jetër 112
 kur 156
 labë 337
 lap 324
 lapë 335
 lehtë 336
 lënd 263
 lëndë 263
 lidh 341
 lind 351
 lindet 351
 lodhem 328
 lum 355

madh 359
 mbesë 406
 mbledh 332
 mëmë 361
 mish 370
 mizë 397
 mjal 370
 mjaltë 370
 mjekrë 359
 mjel 393
 motër 367
 mushk 394
 myzë 397
 na 413
 ndez 237
 nduk 181
 nëmë 405
 nëndë 415
 nënë 413
 nip 406
 njeh 414
 njoh 414
 pashë 445
 përposh 462
 përtyp 593
 pesë 509
 pjek 134
 plesht 496
 pshtyj 583
 qeth 79 106
 ra 530
 rjep 514
 rrëzë 512
 rrë- 516
 rrëzë 512
 rrush 511
 shparr 578
 shperdhë 578
 shqerr 158
 shtie 486
 shtjerrë 586
 shton 590
 shtyp 593
 sjell 125
 tetë 424
 thadër 97
 thellë 101
 thëni 334
 thi 603
 thjer 113
 tjetër 112
 tredh 630
 ujë 641
 uri 662
 ū(n) 662
 ve 438
 venë 680
 verë 680

vesh 63 672
 vetë 549
 vit 673
 vjet 673
 voe 438
 zet 678
 zjarm 235
 zjarrë 235

BALTIC**Old Prussian**

ackins 425
 ackis 425
 addle 185
 ainan 642
 aketes 423
 alkonis 638
 anctan 642
 ane 45
 anga-anga 41
 angis 42
 ansis 44
 antis 41
 ape 19
 as 187
 asma 599
 assa 196
 assae 196
 assis 66
 ast 599
 aswinan 193
 auklipts 120
 aulis 36
 āusins 63
 ausis 63
 awis 66
 ayculo 295
 aysmis 295
 babo 197
 bebrus 217
 berse 240
 biätwei 229
 bitte 245
 boadis 229
 bordus 69
 brāti 240
 brote 240
 corto 141
 crauyo 146
 culczi 86
 curwis 111
 dantis 166
 deinan 171
 deywis 167
 dragios 238
 duckti 253
 dumis 249

- dwi- 71
 embaddusisi 229
 emmens 412
 en 300
 es 187
 est 599
 ěit 192
 gijwans 686
 gile 263
 girtwei 271
 gīwasi 686
 golimban 126
 gorme 235
 instran 306
 insuwis 343
 irmo 55
 is 196
 ĩmt 188
 juse 316
 kails 80
 kailūstiskan 80
 kalis 584
 kan 152
 kaulan 100
 keuto 160
 kracto 145
 krawian 146
 lagno 296
 lauxnos 352
 lindan 352
 lubbo 337
 luckis 356
 lynno 344
 lyso 345
 mary 365
 mensā 370
 menso 370
 mergo 365
 mijls 383
 muso 397
 nabis 639
 nage 641
 nognan 418
 pecku 454
 pedan 430
 pelky 442
 pelwo 440
 penpalo 444
 pepelis 444
 pettegislo 220
 picle 464
 pintis 480
 pippalins 444
 pirmas 486
 plonis 470
 polinka 344
 poquelbton 151
 posinnat 414
 postāt 590
 poūt 485
 prastian 481
 prei 489
 quāits 503
 quoi 503
 sal 535
 salme 150
 salowis 536
 sansy 44
 sarke 136
 sasins 88
 saytan 534
 schis 116
 sebbei 549
 sentismu 574
 seydis 221
 sien 549
 sindants 562
 sins 574
 sirsilis 140
 sirwis 111
 skerptus 94
 slayx 342
 smunents 287
 smūnets 287
 spoayno 583
 spurglis 447
 stallit 486
 stamite 593
 starnite 593
 staytan 549
 stogis 608
 subs 584
 sunis 87
 sups 584
 swestro 576
 swīrins 215
 syrne 271
 talus 608
 tauto 618
 tresde 635
 wagnis 690
 waispattin 675
 waist 676
 warsus 654
 weders 647
 weldīsnan 651
 weware 685
 wēisin 682
 widdewū 677
 wilna 325
 wirds 664
 woaltis 638
 woasis 435
 wobse 670
 woltis 638
 wudro 355
 wyse 64
 yccroy 296
Old Lithuanian
 āstras 22
 bit(i) 246
 edmi 186
 eimi 192
 esmi 599
 eš 187
 jentē 294
 kasūlas 139
 léidmi 351
 ne 403
 neptē 406
 neptis 406
 nepuotis 406
 patis 485
 rausti 528
 rekstis 521
 santj 574
 sēris 557
 širšuō 140
 velmi 687
 žmuō 287
Lithuanian
 abū 38
 akécios 423
 akis 425
 aliksnis 34
 álksna 34
 ałksnis 34
 alkūnē 638
 alūs 36
 anās 399
 āngj 42
 angis 42
 anglis 297
 angu 41
 ánka 640
 ántis 41
 anýta 45
 ap(i)- 421
 aprépti 514
 ariū 55
 árklas 55
 árti 55
 qšà 44
 āš 187
 ašis 66
 aštrūs 22
 aštuoni 424
 āšutas 23
 ašvienis 193
 at- 59
 ata- 59
 atvérti 46
 au- 64
 áuksas 63
 aūlas 36
 aulys 36
 aūna 643
 ausis 63
 aušrà 64
 aūti 643
 āvē 643
 avis 437
 avižà 64
 avýnas 66
 ėadyti 229
 bākstelēti 67
 balbāsyti 68
 baņgos 638
 bāra 236
 bārti 236
 barzdótas 69
 barzdà 69
 bēbras 217
 bēbras 217
 bebrūs 217
 bēbrus 217
 bēda 229
 ber(g)ždē 232
 beř(g)ždžias 232
 beřti 214
 béržas 240
 bēsti 229
 bezdēti 455
 bijóti(s) 229
 bitē 245
 bláiziyti 226
 blaškiū 224
 blebēnti 68
 blebēti 68
 bliáuti 228
 blokšti 224
 blusà 497
 blužnis 340
 brólis 240
 būti 246
 dabà 197
 dabař 197
 dabnūs 197
 dantis 166
 darýti 223
 dāvē 182
 debesis 409
 dėgti 237
 delē 209
 delū 177
 derėti 223
 dėšinas 168
 dėti 175
 dėtis 217
 devyni 415

- dfehti 219
 dienà 171
 diēvas 167
 dilgē 200
 dilgùs 200
 dilti 177
 diřzti 236
 dovanà 182
 drāgēs 238
 dū 183
 duktē 253
 duōnis 179
 dūoti 175
 dūrys 233
 dūlis 248
 dūmai 249
 dvāras 237
 dvi- 71
 dvi 183
 ēglē 185
 ekēcios 423
 élksna 34
 eļksnis 34
 elkūnē 638
 ēšas 574
 ēsti 599
 ēmē 188
 ēšas 574
 ēškà 186
 ēsti 186
 gābana 277
 gabēnti 277
 gabùs 277
 gāmalas 275
 gāmulas 275
 gařdas 290
 gardis 290
 gebēti 277
 geĩbti 260
 geibùs 260
 gelumbē 126
 gērti 690
 gērvē 274
 gilē 263
 ginti 211
 girtas 271 690
 girti 271
 giēbti 264
 glēbys 264
 glēima 267
 glēinē 267
 gleĩzti 265
 gliemežys 267
 gliēti 267
 glinda 334
 glodùs 263
 glomōti 265
 gobšùs 277
 gobùs 277
 grēsti 241
 griāuti 274
 grindà 274
 griūti 274
 grūmulas 272
 gurdùs 275
 gūrguolē 273
 gylē 263
 gýsla 220
 gýti 686
 gývas 686
 gyvatà 686
 ieškōti 27
 iešmas 295
 ievà 648
 ikras 296
 iĩnti 188
 intē 294
 irklas 518
 irmēdē 55
 irti 518
 j 300
 įsčios 306
 įsnaigas 410
 jāunas 317
 jekanas 296
 jēknos 296
 ji 310
 jis 310
 jōti 294
 judēti 312
 judùs 312
 jūngas 314
 jūngti 314
 juōkas 308
 jūšē 316
 kaĩp 452
 káirinti 93
 kálnas 124
 kálti 105 117
 kalvà 124
 kaĩmpas 86
 kaĩbas 135
 kaĩřti 95
 kárvē 111
 kàs 508
 katràs 647
 káulas 100
 káuti 149
 kà 152
 kēlmas 105
 kēlti 105
 kelys 125
 kēpti 134
 kerpù 95
 kērti 106
 keturì 505
 kiāutas 160
 kilti 105
 Kirnis 137
 *
 kiřpti 95
 kiřsti 138
 klēnkti 120
 klijūti 119
 kniedēnti 408
 korys 109
 kr(i)ōkti 145
 kraūjas 146
 krokoti 145
 krūřti 147
 kulķšnis 86
 kuĩmpas 86
 kuĩnpti 86
 kūpēti 155
 kuř 156
 kūsti 504
 kutēti 504
 kutys 154
 kvāpas 654
 kvēpia 654
 kvēpti 654
 kviēsti 503
 kylū 105
 láidyti 351
 lalūoti 324
 lāpas 335
 lāpē 688
 lapēnti 324
 laūkas 350
 léisti 351
 lémti 326
 lénas 333
 lendū 352
 leĩngvas 336
 lentà 335
 lepùs 335
 liāudis 338
 liāuti 353
 liežuvis 343
 lināĩ 344
 linas 344
 liutynas 355
 llzdas 409
 lokšnùs 328
 lomà 324
 lōti 324
 lubà 337
 lūobas 337
 maĩnas 374 395
 maiřyti 382
 málnos 379
 málti 387
 mamà 361
 marti 365
 mātas 377
 máudyti 391
 maūkti 392
 mazgōti 375
 mēlas 360
 mēlžu 393
 mensà 370
 mergà 365
 meřkti 364
 mēsti 377
 mētas 377
 metù 377
 mēnesis 373
 ménuo 373
 mēsà 370
 mēřti 362
 miēlas 383
 minēti 371
 miĩti 371
 mintis 372
 miřkti 364
 miřti 390
 miřras 382
 momà 361
 mōtē 367
 mudrùs 394
 mūkti 392
 muĩvas 393
 murrn(l)ēnti 396
 murmēti 396
 muso 397
 mūsos 397
 mūřti 391
 mūkti 392
 mūsāĩ 397
 mýřti 369
 nagà 641
 nāgas 641
 naktis 416
 nāmas 178
 naūjas 416
 nē 403
 nēgi 403
 nēgu 403
 neĩ 408
 néi 403
 niaūsti 419
 nōkti 399
 nōsis 400
 nūn 418
 nūnaĩ 418
 núogas 418
 ovyje 61
 pa- 476
 paimen 449
 paisyti 467
 paĩvas 440
 pařsas 481
 pàs 484

- pāt 494
 pātalas 608
 pāts 485
 paūnksmē 639
 paūnksnē 639
 pēdā 430
 pēdas 430
 pēkus 454
 pēlkē 442
 pēlūs 440
 penēti 459
 penki 509
 peiktas 509
 penū 459
 peĩ 459
 pērnai 460
 persēti 481
 peĩti 488
 pēšti 453
 piemuō 449
 pīenas 466
 piepala 444
 piēpti 467
 piēšti 466
 pikis 469
 pilnas 473
 pirmas 486
 piŗštas 484
 pisti 467
 pjāuti 452
 plākti 472
 plaūčiai 497
 plaūksta 471
 plaūtas 476
 plāuti 474
 plēkti 472
 plēnē 455
 plónas 470
 pra- 490
 prašyti 483
 praūsti 494
 priē 489
 priē- 489
 prō- 490
 prō 490
 puotā 485
 pūsti 501
 puvēsis 501
 pūras 500
 pūslē 501
 pūsti 501
 pūti 501
 rasā 527
 rātas 527
 raudā 528
 raūdas 528
 raudōti 528
 ráugas 529
 ráugēti 529
 ráugti 529
 ráuti 530
 ravēti 530
 rēpliōti 520
 rezgiū 521
 rezgū 521
 rišti 522
 rōpē 514
 ropłōti 520
 saĩkas 595
 saĩtas 534
 salā 572
 saldūs 535
 sañčio 574
 sāpnas 573
 sáulē 570
 sāvas 549
 sāš 574
 sēgti 552
 sēkti 304 556 562
 sēmti 554
 sēnas 553
 septyni 555
 seserēnas 576
 sesuō 576
 sēdēti 552
 sēmenys 557
 sēti 557
 siekas 595
 siekti 595
 siētas 534
 sintēti 554
 siūti 600
 skabiū 541
 skaidrūs 82
 skáidrus 82
 skáistas 82
 skaistūs 82
 skāsti 543
 skēlti 151
 skīesti 544
 skiētas 549
 skilti 151
 skirp̄stas 94
 skirpstūs 94
 skirti 94 158
 sklem̄bti 542
 skōbti 541
 skrebēti 547
 skūsti 540
 slābnas 319
 sliekas 342
 smakrā 359
 smākras 359
 smardas 374
 smirdēti 374
 smūkti 392
 sniņga 410
 sólymas 535
 sōtus 540
 spáinē 583
 spāliai 582
 spālis 582
 speigliaĩ 580
 spēti 580
 spēsti 457
 spiāuti 583
 spirti 579
 spisti 581
 srēbti 575
 stiēpti 588
 stiprūs 588
 stipti 588
 stirma 136
 stógas 608
 stōti 590
 strāzdas 635
 stýrti 587
 sūpti 601
 sur̄bti 575
 suvérti 46
 šárka 136
 šērti 110
 šeši 560
 šēšuras 569
 šiaurē 100
 šil̄tas 83
 šim̄tas 108
 širdis 135
 šis 116
 šiūras 100
 šiūrūs 100
 šlaunis 123
 šleŗvas 122
 šliēti 120
 šl̄ieti 120
 šl̄uoti 122
 šuō 87
 tā 568
 tamsā 609
 tās 568
 taūras 607
 tautā 618
 teĩpti 610
 tēmti 609
 teŗšti 585
 tēvas 614
 tilēs 608
 tinti 610
 tĩrpti 624
 tĩrti 616
 tōlei 605
 treĩti 628
 trĩmti 628
 trišēti 617
 trišas 630
 trobā 626
 tr̄ys 629
 tū 631
 tūkti 632
 tul̄zis 209
 tumēti 633
 u- 64
 ugnis 297
 ulula 638
 unksmē 639
 ūnksna 639
 uĩksnē 639
 ūodas 166
 ūolektis 638
 ūosis 435
 ūosti 426
 ūpē 19
 ūžvadas 655
 (už)vērti 46
 ūdra 355
 vādās 655
 vadūoti 655
 vaišius 682
 vaivarys 685
 vaiverē 685
 vaiveris 685
 vākaras 670
 vald̄yti 652
 vanduo 641
 vapsā 670
 vapsvā 670
 vārdas 664
 vāŗtai 46
 vasarā 663
 vāsara 663
 vēdaras 647
 vēderas 647
 veĩkti 679
 veikūs 679
 veikus 679
 veĩsti 682
 veizdēti 676
 veldēti 651
 vēlti 687
 vēmti 690
 veŗšis 666
 veŗžti 644
 vētušas 673
 vēžti 658
 vienas 642
 viešpats 675
 vikrūs 679
 vil̄kas 353
 vilna 325
 vilpišys 688
 viras 654
 vir̄balas 664

- virbas 664
 virbinis 664
 viris 654
 viršus 666
 visti 682
 voverē 685
 vȳras 681
 vȳsta 682
 vȳti 308 673 677
 vytiš 677
 žādas 258
 žarnā 280
 žāsis 44
 žēlti 282
 žēlvas 282
 žēmbēti 257
 žēmē 292
 žēntas 258
 žiemā 284
 žiēsti 221
 žinóti 414
 žióti 285
 žimis 271
 žmogūs 287
 žmónēs 287
 žvākē 207
 žvėris 215
- Latvian**
 acs 425
 aknas 296
 aluót 38
 aņķa 640
 aņt 55
 asins 537
 ass 22
 aũle 36
 aũlis 36
 āustra 64
 āuzas 64
 avs 437
 badīt 229
 baktīt 67
 barība 201
 bārti 236
 bārda 69
 best 229
 bezdēt 455
 bēbrs 217
 bēzrs 240
 bite 245
 bītiēs 229
 blaizīt 226
 bļaūt 228
 blēt 226
 bliēzt 226
 brālis 240
 cirpt 95
- dāvana 182
 dēju 210
 dēle 209
 dēls 209
 dēt 210
 diena 171
 dievs 167
 diūt 177
 dradži 238
 dūlis 248
 dzi(k)sla 220
 dziřt 271
 dzīt 686
 dzīvs 686
 ecē(k)šas 423
 ēķkuonis 638
 ērcis 52
 es 187
 esuots 574
 gabana 277
 gaņme 235
 glēbt 264
 gleīmas 267
 glemzt 265
 gļūošs 263
 gnīda 334
 grūts 272
 grūts 76
 gūmt 275
 gūovs 74
 guřds 275
 iēškāt 27
 iētaļa 294
 ietere 294
 iēva 648
 iz 196
 jāt 294
 jeņt 188
 jūgs 314
 jūgt 314
 jūmis 256
 juōks 308
 kaļns 124
 kaļt 105
 kalva 124
 kāres 109
 karināt 94
 kārs 95
 kaũls 100
 kaūt 149
 kārba 135
 kārst 95
 klencēt 120
 kniēst 408
 krijāt 110
 kulksnis 86
 kūsat 96
 kvēpt 654
- laist 351
 lāma 324
 ļapa 335
 lapsa 688
 laũks 350
 lēns 333
 lēns 333
 lieku 344
 liēsa 340
 ligzds 409
 likt 344
 lini 344
 luba 337
 luobas 337
 māids 360
 maļt 387
 māma 361
 maudāt 391
 maūt 391
 mazgāt 375
 mēness 373
 miet 385
 milns 394
 miļš 383
 mizt 369
 mudrs 394
 muša 397
 mūsa 397
 mustavas 391
 naba 639
 nākt 399
 nāss 400
 ne 403
 paļpala 444
 pēda 430
 pēlus 440
 piēns 466
 piķis 469
 piļns 473
 plāns 470
 pļaūt 452
 plāuts 476
 plūto 476
 pruōjām 490
 pūrs 500
 putns 503
 puvesis 501
 rāpāt 520
 rāpt 520
 rats 527
 raũds 528
 sāime 153
 saļms 150
 sāls 535
 sapnis 573
 sāts 540
 saũle 570
 savs 549
- sēdēt 552
 seļja 542
 seja 542
 sekt 556
 sēt 557
 seņs 553
 sieks 595
 siēva 116
 silts 83
 sirnas 136
 sirpis 540
 siřsuonis 140
 skrabt 547
 skrīpāt 547
 slābēns 319
 slābs 319
 slīēka 342
 slīēnas 342
 sliet 120
 sluv 122
 sluvēt 122
 smakrs 359
 smařds 374
 smiēt 129 382
 snāt 405
 snlegs 410
 speřt 579
 spina 580
 splaūt 583
 stāgs 608
 stāt 590
 strazds 635
 sūkt 596
 suns 87
 sviēdri 596
 šķēps 546
 šķiēts 549
 šūt 600
 tāurs 607
 tāuta 618
 tiēvs 614
 trāba 626
 uōds 166
 uōgle 297
 uōlekts 638
 uōsa 44
 uōsis 435
 uōss 44
 uōst 426
 upe 19
 ūksme 639
 vakars 670
 valdīt 652
 vapsene 670
 vāvere 685
 vārds 664
 vāveris 685
 vēīks 679

veĩt 690
vepris 46
vęđars 647
vięns 642
vilks 353
virba 664
virbs 664
virsus 666
vĩt 677
viksts 679
vik̃t 679
zeĩt 282
ziĩe 263
zināt 414
ziĩnis 271
znuōts 258
zuōds 258
zvęrs 215
žul(k)ts 209

SLAVIC

Old Church Slavic

agne 30
ajce 438
az̃ 187
bas̃ 229
bebr̃ 217
berq̃ 214
bēda 218
bēditi 218
bēžđq̃ 218
biti 460
blagodēt̃ 217
bliz̃ 226
b̃ujq̃ 228
b̃jvati 228
bobr̃ 217
bodq̃ 229
bojati 229
bolje 163
bojii 163
boj̃ši 163
borj̃q̃ 236
bosti 229
brada 69
bradatyi 69
braš̃no 201
brati 236
bratr̃ 240
brat̃ 240
brēza 240
briti 244
byst̃ 246
byti 246
b̃čela 245
b̃čela 245
b̃rati 214

cēditi 544
cēl̃ 80
česo 508
četyre 505
čsto 510
dañ 179
dati 175
-davati 182
desñ 168
devęt̃ 415
dēt̃ 210
dēva 210
dobr̃ 197
doiti 210
dojq̃ 210
dom̃ 178
drēm̃ati 180
drožđje 238
duti 597
dvor̃ 237
dṽr̃ 233
dym̃ 249
d̃št̃ere 253
d̃šti 253
d̃va 183
d̃ṽ. 183
d̃žđ̃ 315
d̃ly 176
d̃lyve 176
d̃ne 171
d̃ñ 171
eter̃ 112
glad̃k̃ 263
glagol̃ 254
glas̃ 254
gl̃tati 275
gñzdo 409
golq̃b̃ 126
gospod̃ 291
gost̃ 291
govor̃ 256
g̃g̃ñiṽ 255
grad̃ 270 290
gramada 272
grano 271
grañ 271
gr̃đ̃ 275
g̃ñati 211
i 310
idq̃ 192
igo 314
ikra 296
imę 412
imq̃ 188
iñ 642
iskati 27
iskoni 516
iti 192

iz 196
ja 310
jad̃ 186
jam̃ 186
jasti 186
jast̃ 186
(j)aṽ 61
jaxati 294
je 310
jesm̃ 599
jest̃ 599
jeter̃ 112
jęti 188
jętry 294
jętr̃ve 294
język̃ 343
juñ 317
(j)utro 64
juxa 316
klati 105
klęčęsta 120
kogda 152
kolese 125
kolēno 125
kolj̃q̃ 105
kolo 125
kora 136
kor̃ 94
kosa 97
koter̃i 647
kotor̃(i) 647
kovati 149
kovq̃ 149
kq̃t̃ 86
krai 110
krava 111
kręp̃ 164
krq̃g̃ 142
kry 147
kr̃knq̃ti 145
kvas̃ 96
kyp̃eti 155
kysęl̃ 96
-kysęti 96
kyvati 112
k̃de 295 636
k̃to 508
lajati 324 329
lajq̃ 324
lak̃t̃ 638
lani 426
lęñ 333
lęto 335
lęt̃ 335
lęṽ 323
lęxa 345
lędviję 352
lęšta 334

ljubiti 339
ljubo 339
ljuboṽ 339
ljuby 339
ljub̃ 339
ljud̃je 338
loky 322
lok̃ve 322
lomiti 326
lučiti 356
l̃g̃k̃ 336
l̃ñ 344
maka 357
mati 367
mazati 357
maz̃ 357
mesti 377
mēna 374 395
mēsęc̃ 373
mēsiti 382
mę 368
męsti 362
mętq̃ 362
mil̃ 383
mimo 374
minq̃ti 374
mlat̃ 360
mlęti 387
ml̃zq̃ 393
monisto 388
morje 365
motyka 367
mręti 390
muxa 397
my 413
myš̃ 396
myti 391
m̃šica 397
m̃čta 378
m̃nēti 371
m̃nit 371
m̃nje 381
m̃njii 381
m̃nj̃q̃ 371
m̃nj̃ši 381
m̃rtṽ 390
pag̃ 418
nas̃ 413
ne 403
nebo 409
ni 408
noga 641
pošt̃ 416
noṽ 416
ny 413
nyñ 418
ññ 418
oba 38

- obě 38
 obuti 643
 oči 425
 ognjъ 297
 oko 425
 ona 399
 ono 399
 omъ 399
 orati 55
 orjъ 55
 ostrujъ 593
 ostrъ 22
 oztъ 23
 oztъ 66
 otъ 59
 otъvręsti 644
 otъvręzъ 644
 otъctъ 60
 ovtca 437
 oglъ 297
 ogtъ 42
 oty 41
 radъ 463
 ramętъ 372
 rasъ 449
 pasti 449 463
 pelena 455
 pęna 583
 pędъ 457 582
 pętъ 509
 pętъ 509
 plęstj 472
 pletъ 472
 plęvy 440
 pljujъ 583
 pljušta 497
 pluti 474
 plъnъ 473
 plъvati 583
 počjъ 509
 počiti 509
 počręti 95
 podoba 197
 polъ 582
 posteljъ 486
 postъlati 486
 pozdę 484
 požręti 690
 pđditi 457
 přtъ 480
 pra- 490
 prasę 481
 prasęte 481
 přč- 459
 přčtъ 459
 pri 489
 prijatelъ 493
 prijati 493
 prisęsti 552
 pro- 490
 proče 491
 pročъ 491
 prokъ 491
 prositi 483
 protivъ 488
 protivъ 488
 prozębnъti 257
 pъstъ 484
 pъtica 503
 pъctъ 469
 pъsati 466
 pъšeno 467
 gabъ 433
 galo 55
 gamo 55
 gjuti 515 529
 rosa 527
 rovъ 529
 ruda 515
 sebę 549
 sedmъ 555
 sekъ 551
 selo 572
 sestra 576
 sestrimъ 576
 sędęti 552
 sęmę 557
 sęmъja 153
 sęnъ 542
 sęsti 562
 sęšti 551
 sęti 557
 sętъ 534
 sęverъ 100
 sę 129 229 356 382
 549
 sędъ 562
 sęštъ 554
 sijati 542
 slabъ 319
 sladъkъ 535
 slama 150
 slavoočije 536
 slęzena 340
 sljny 342
 slovъ 122
 sluti 122
 slъnce 570
 smijati 129 382
 snęgъ 410
 solъ 535
 sqšta 574
 spęti 493 580
 srъbati 575
 srъpъ 540
 stanъ 590
 stati 590
 stojati 590
 strigъ 592
 strišti 592
 -strujiti 593
 suti 601
 svekry 569
 svojъ 549
 sy 574
 sytъ 540
 svraka 136
 sznъ 573
 szpъ 601
 szsati 596
 szto 108
 sz 116
 szšęnъ 140
 šestъ 560
 štarъ 546
 štitъ 549
 ta 568
 tajiti 584
 tajъ 584
 tatъ 584
 teplostъ 614
 toli 605
 toliko 605
 toľ 605
 topiti 614
 trepetati 628
 trepetъ 628
 tri 629
 trudъ 630
 trępęti 624
 tręje 629
 turъ 607
 ty 631
 tъ 568
 tъla 608
 tъnъkъ 614
 ujjъ 66
 ušese 63
 uvęsti 42
 uvęzъ 42
 uxo 63
 vamъ 691
 vasъ 691
 večerъ 670
 velęti 687
 veljъ 687
 verъ 46
 vesna 663
 vesti 658
 vetъchъ 673
 vezъ 658
 vędęti 676
 vędro 647
 vęja 677
 vęjati 659
 vęmъ 676
 vęra 668
 vęstъ 676
 vidęti 676
 viti 677
 vladęti 652
 vľasti 652
 vľna 325
 voda 641
 voliti 687
 volja 687
 vozъ 658
 vtъxъ 666
 vy 691
 vysokъ 601
 vъ(n) 300
 vъ(s)kysnъti 96
 vъdova 677
 vъdova 677
 vъsz 675
 xladъ 256
 zavręti 46
 zelenъ 282
 zemlja 292
 zęjъ 285
 zętъ 258
 zijati 285
 zima 284
 zinъti 285
 ziždъ 221
 zľčъ 209
 znati 414
 zgnъo 271
 zvęrъ 215
 zъľva 266
 zъdati 221
 žęšti 237
 žila 220
 žiti 686
 životъ 686
 živъ 686
 žręti 271
 žgъctъ 271
 žgtъ 271
 Russian CS
 bajati 231
 belená 220
 belenъ 220
 blęjati 226
 blъcha 497
 bręžda 232
 glęnъ 267
 gomola 275
 gomula 275
 grъmęždъ 270
 gugnati 254

- lučь 356
 mesk 394
 mравъѣ 234
 nestera 406
 nosъ 400
 osa 670
 oziiti 42
 plavъ 440
 pyro 500
 pъchati 467
 rěpa 514
 rodъ 527
 sгьna 136
 tyti 632
 ulii 36
 vьrxu 666
 želudъ 263
- Serbian CS**
 okrijati 144
 oкоть 640
 гьvati 530
 snьxa 420
 tajati 604
 trěti 616
 tьrъ 616
 žeti 275
 žьmq 275
- Old Russian**
 (j)azъ 187
 borošьno 201
 cěljq 80
 gomoļa 275
 graču 268
 gьrkati 268
 jagnja 30
 jastreбъ 424
 jastrjabъ 424
 jati 188
 jatry 294
 kělъ 80
 kopъ 516
 krakati 145
 morovej 234
 moxъ 397
 mьskъ 394
 mьxъ 397
 namъ 405
 netii 406
 obora 668
 oль 36
 ovьsz 64
 govъ 433
 гьvati 531
 serebl'u 575
 stěnъ 542
- sьpъ 601
 tьlo 608
 ukotъ 640
 věverica 685
 vьlkъ 353
 žereti 271
 žreti 271
 žьti 271
- Russian**
 berěza 240
 berěžaja 232
 bléjat' 226
 blevát' 228
 blízkiy 226
 blízuj 226
 bob 197
 bobr 217
 bolobólitъ 68
 borodá 69
 borót' 236
 bzdét' 455
 čěmyj 635
 davát' 182
 den' 171
 desná 166
 déti 210
 dnja 171
 dóba 197
 dóbryj 197
 doč' 253
 dóčeri 253
 dom 178
 domovój 178
 domóvyj 178
 domú 178
 dremát' 180
 drob 238
 drozd 635
 el' 185
 elxá 34
 ělxa 34
 est' 599
 éxat' 294
 gládkij 263
 glej 267
 glen' 267
 glot 275
 glotát' 275
 glotók 275
 gnezdó 409
 gnida 334
 gólos 254
 golubój 127
 gólub' 127
 górdyj 275
 górvat' 268
 górod 290
- gospód' 291
 gost' 291
 govjádó 74
 grad 270
 grjadá 274
 gugníti 254
 gugnívuj 255
 gus' 44
 hlína 267
 iglá 295
 ígo 314
 ikrá 296
 ikró 296
 il'em 637
 il'm 637
 inój 642
 íva 648
 ja 187
 jajcó 438
 jásen' 435
 jástreb 424
 jat' 188
 jatro 306
 játrov' 294
 kákat' 78
 kalít' 84
 ključ' 119
 kljuká 119
 kolk 86
 kolót' 105 117
 kópot' 654
 kórob 135
 kotóryj 647
 kroit' 110
 kropotá 143
 krov' 147
 lachón 320
 lásyj 328
 lébed' 427
 lenój 333
 lépest 335
 let' 335
 léto 335
 lévyj 323
 lěgkij 336
 lěn 344
 líbo 339
 ljač 334
 ljádá 352
 ljádveja 352
 ljánoj 333
 ljubít' 339
 ljubój 339
 ljúdi 338
 ljuđ 338
 l'na 344
 lob 337
 lókot' 638
- lomít' 326
 lópat' 324
 lub 337
 lut 335
 máma 361
 mečtá 378
 meljú 387
 mén'sij 381
 méra 377
 měrtvyj 390
 mestí 377
 mikat' 378
 milyj 383
 minút' 374
 mjasti 362
 mólot 360
 molót' 387
 móre 365
 morjá 365
 mormúlit' 396
 motýga 367
 mox 397
 mšica 397
 múxa 397
 myčát' 392
 na 178
 ni 408
 njánja 413
 nogá 641
 nóne 418
 nos' 400
 nóvyj 416
 nýne 418
 ogón' 297
 ol'xá 34
 os' 66
 osá 670
 osét' 423
 óstryj 22
 ot(o) 59
 otvérzt' 644
 ovca 437
 ověs 65
 pastí 449
 péklo 469
 pelená 455
 péna 583
 pére- 459
 péred(o) 459
 pérepeľ 444
 pjad' 457 582
 pjat' 509
 pjátyj 509
 plená 455
 plestí 472
 plevát' 583
 pljus 471
 pljusná 471

- pokój 509
 pólnyj 473
 polóva 440
 polóvyj 440
 polst' 465
 porošėnok 481
 porosja 481
 porosjata 481
 posjagát' 552
 pótká 503
 potolók 608
 pózdyj 484
 proč' 491
 próčij 491
 prok 491
 proti 488
 prots 488
 pudít' 457
 púdit' 457
 púxlyj 501
 púxnut' 501
 pyrěj 500
 rak 516
 ráka 516
 rakita 52
 razínut' 285
 réjat' 309 525
 rínut' 309 525
 róju 530
 rudá 515
 rúda 515
 rudój 528
 rúdyj 528
 rvat' 531
 rýlo 530
 ryt' 530
 seč' 551
 serbátš 575
 серъ 540
 sestrá 576
 skrebú 547
 skrestí 547
 slábýj 319
 slimák 342
 slína 342
 slíva 347
 smórod 374
 smýkat' 392
 snoxá 420
 sol' 535
 sólńce 570
 solódkij 535
 solóma 150
 solovéj 536
 solovój 536
 solóvyj 536
 son 573
 soróka 136
 sosát' 596
 spet' 493 580
 spiná 580
 stlat' 486
 sýtýj 540
 ščit' 549
 ščitá 549
 tájat' 604
 tēplyj 614
 terét' 616
 tĵat' 610
 tnu 610
 tolk 349
 tónkij 614
 topit' 614
 tur 607
 údit' 636
 úgol 42
 úgol' 297
 úlica 36
 útka 41
 uxá 316
 už 42
 užá 42
 úžit' 42
 v(o) 300
 vdová 677
 věčer 670
 vědat' 676
 vedró 647
 véjat' 659
 velét' 687
 vepr' 46
 véra 668
 vérba 664
 verbá 664
 verx 666
 verxú 666
 ves' 675
 větxij 673
 vídeť' 676
 víšnja 683
 vladét' 652
 vólja 687
 volná 325
 vólna 325
 volodét' 652
 voróba 664
 vy- 601
 výdra 355
 výmĵa 636
 vys' 601
 vysók 601
 výše 601
 zelėnyj 282
 zemó 271
 zĵát' 285
 zĵát' 258
 znat' 414
 žat' 275
 želč' 209
 želud' 263
 žíla 220
 žit' 686
 žívój 686
 žmět 275
 žrec 271
Ukranian
 kópit 654
 krijáty 144
 morokvá 364
 múkaty 392
 rux 530
 smórd 374
Old Polish
 jedl 185
 jedla 185
 ješm 599
 miązdra 370
 mięzdra 370
 spina 580
Polish
 brzmieć 241
 gęś 44
 hupek 643
 jaje 438
 jajo 438
 jastrząb 424
 jest 599
 kót 98
 lach 320
 łęť 335
 mrówka 234
 szezýt 549
 wąż 42
 wiara 668
Old Czech
 jadati 426
 jatrev 294
 jedl 185
 křati 144
 kreját' 144
 lákati 329
 léný 333
 sahati 552
Czech
 beblati 68
 blblati 68
 blecha 497
 blén 220
 bleti 226
 blín 220
 břiti 244
 hlína 267
 hlt 275
 homole 275
 hovado 74
 jasan 435
 jest 599
 jácha 316
 jılm 637
 jilma 637
 jsem 599
 křepel 444
 kruh 142
 kúra 136
 kysati 96
 kývati 112
 labut' 427
 lada 352
 lado 352
 leb 337
 loni 426
 louč 356
 lut 335
 mijeti 374
 mikati 378
 mknouti 392
 mlát 360
 moucha 397
 mrmrat 396
 obora 668
 otevřiti 46
 ozditi 58
 přepel 444
 pták 503
 rádló 55
 rámě 55
 rob 433
 rokyta 52
 ruch 530
 řinouti 525
 se 525
 síť 534
 souti 601
 teplý 614
 vejce 438
 veverka 685
 věděti 676
 voliti 687
 vy- 646
 zed' 221
Slovene
 bébar 217
 bóbar 217
 díti 597
 glĵen 267
 gnida 334

jè 599
kívatí 112
kraba 135
m(ə)zétí 369
méra 377
miš 396
pléna 455
prškati 494
rāk 516
sēči 552
səm 599
sésstra 576
sēver 100
srēbljem 575
tānak 614
tēti 610
tnēm 610
úlǰ 36
veléti 687
véverica 685
više 601
žila 220

Serbo-Croatian

bājati 231
bāzdjeti 455
biti 460
blābositi 68
bōdēm 229
bōljī 163
bōsti 229
brāšno 201
būn 220
dābar 217
drijēmati 180
glādak 263
glēj 267
gnijēzdo 409
gnjīda 334
gōmoja 275
gōst 291
gōsta 291
gōvedo 74
grād 270
gramāda 272
gréda 274
igla 295
jāgne 30
jāhati 294
jāje 438
jāsēn 435
jāstrijev 424
jēsam 599
jēst 599
jétrva 294
jétrva 294
jétrva 294
káiiti 84

kániti 130
klati 117
kléčati 120
kljūč 119
kljūka 119
kōr 94
kōra 136
kōt 98
kīmēlj 270
kīmēlj 270
krōjiti 110
krōg 142
kvās 96
lābūd 427
lījen 333
lījevī 323
lōkva 322
māha 397
māknuti 392
mižati 369
mrāv 234
mrmļjiti 396
mīmrati 396
mítav 390
netjak 406
neže 403
ob 668
ōbor 668
ōganj 297
ōsa 670
otvōriti 46
ōvas 65
pākao 469
pāsti 449
pāvit 677
pjēna 583
plāv 440
piēsti 472
pljēva 440
plūto 476
po 476
prškati 494
pūst 465
rāk 516
rākita 52
rāme 55
rīti 530
sam 599
sāsūti 601
sēvēr 100
sījati 557
sīt 540
šiti 600
sjen 542
slāb 319
slāma 150
slāvīj 536
slīna 342

snāha 420
sīšljēnj 140
šljīva 347
trūd 630
tūr 607
u 300
ūjak 66
ūtka 41
vidjeti 676
više 601
vīti 677
vrāta 46
vūna 325
zīd 221
zijati 285
zīnuti 285
zīno 271
zvījer 215
žēlūd 263
žila 220
žūč 209

Bulgarian

blaból'ъ 68
bъblól'ъ 68
e 599
elxá 34
gāgniv 255
glen 267
glina 267
krēja 144
lam 324
lapam 324
mārmōrja 396
neni 413
ververica 685
zvjar 215

GERMANIC

Gothic

ada 438
af- 145
afholon 85
afhuapjan 654
afhuapnan 654
ahs 23
ahtau 425
ahva 48
ains 642
airzeis 194
airzjan 194
aiz 27
ajukduþs 313
akrs 29
alakjo 34
alamans 34
alands 35

aids 35
aleina 638
aliþs 35
aljaleikō 34
aljīs 34
alls 34
alþeis 35
amsans 640
an 41
ana 36
anaminds 372
anasilan 564
and(a)- 45
andhruskan 548
andwasjan 672
arbi 433
arbija 433
arluazna 52
arjan 55
arms 55
at 24
atisk 25
atta 60
aþnam 44
aþpan 59
auhns 62
ausins 63
auso 63
awiliudon 330
awiliuþ 330
awistr 438
awo 66
ba 38
bai 38
baidjan 218
bairan 214
bajofs 38
barizeins 201
beidan 218
beitan 221
bliggwan 226
bloma 227
blotan 225
boka 199
brikan 239
broþar 240
bruhta 245
brukjan 245
bruks 245
brufþas 485
daddjan 210
daigs 221
dauhtar 253
daur 233
digan 221
duginnan 487
fāhan 452
faiflokun 469

- faihu 454
 fairneis 460
 fairra 459
 fairweitjan 676
 fairzna 461
 fana 443
 faur 481
 faurwaipjan 674
 fawai 448
 fidwor 505
 fimf 509
 fisks 468
 fon 500
 fra- 490
 fraihnan 483
 fraweitjan 676
 freis 493
 frijon 493
 frijonds 493
 frius 494
 fruma 486
 funins 500
 gadaban 197
 gads 217
 gadob 197
 gadof 197
 gaitis 278
 gakusts 276
 galeipjan 346
 galukan 350
 gamains 395
 gamaurgjan 75
 gaminpi 372
 ganagljan 641
 gaqumps 132
 garapana 520
 garda 290
 gards 290
 gastagqjan 588
 gasts 291
 gatarhjan 615
 gateihan 170
 gawadjon 655
 gawigan 658
 gazds 280
 gistradagis 283
 giutan 249
 gras 269
 grundu- 241
 guma 287
 haban 90
 hafjan 90
 hahan 153
 haidus 82
 haihs 79
 hails 80
 haims 153
 hairto 135
 haldan 104
 hallus 124
 hals 125
 hamfs 86
 hana 88
 hatis 78
 haubip 91
 haurds 141
 haurn 136
 heiwafruja 116
 hidre 116
 himma 116
 hina 116
 hindumists 516
 hlaiw 122
 hlaiwa 122
 hlauts 119
 hleipra 121
 hlifan 120
 hlüts 122
 hnaiwjan 130
 hneiwan 130
 hors 95
 hrugga 142
 huljan 424
 hund 108
 hunds 87
 huan 152
 lvar 155
 luas 508
 luapar 647
 iddja 192
 idweit 195
 ija 310
 ik 187
 im 599
 in 300
 ina 310
 inmaidjan 384
 inweitjan 676
 is 310 599
 ist 197 599
 ita 310
 itan 186
 ip 195
 iup 601
 iupa 601
 juk 314
 jukuzi 314
 jund- 317
 kalds 256
 kara 255
 kaurjos 272
 kaurn 271
 kausjan 276
 kinnus 258
 kiusan 276
 knawen 268
 kniu 259
 -kunds 401
 kunnan 414
 kustus 276
 lailoun 324
 lats 328
 lauf 337
 laufs 337
 laun 349
 leihts 336
 leihuan 344
 letan 328
 ligan 332
 liufs 339
 liuhap 356
 liupon 330
 lubjaleis 337
 malan 387
 man 371
 marisaiws 365
 marka 365
 maurpr 390
 meina 368
 mel 377
 mena 373
 miera 234
 mik 368
 mikils 359
 miliip 370
 minniza 381
 mins 381
 mis 368
 missadepts 217
 mitan 368
 miton 368
 munps 373
 nadre 402
 nahts 416
 naqaps 418
 nati 401
 nei 408
 ni 403
 nih 403 506
 niujis 416
 nu 418
 qiman 661
 qrammipa 270
 -rakjan 517
 rapjo 519
 raups 528
 sa 564 568
 saian 557
 saihis 560
 sailuan 556
 sair 534
 sakan 534
 saljan 131
 salt 535
 sarwa 557
 saps 540
 sauil 570
 sibun 555
 sidus 570
 sik 549
 silba 584
 simle 565
 sind 599
 sineigs 554
 sinista 554
 sinteins 171
 sis 549
 sitan 552
 siujan 600
 skaban 541
 skeinan 542
 skeirs 422
 sliupan 349
 so 568
 sok 534
 sokjan 534
 sparwa 447
 speiwan 583
 spilda 582
 staimo 585
 stairo 586
 standan 590
 stautan 634
 stigqan 588
 straujan 593
 sunno 570
 swarts 576
 swes 597
 swistar 576
 taihsua 168
 taihuan 163
 taitok 606
 tekan 606
 pagkjan 623
 pahän 604
 paurp 626
 paurjan* 625
 piuda 618
 piudans 618
 prins 629
 pu 631
 pugkjan 623
 bulan 622
 tiuhan 181
 tuggo 343
 tulgan 302
 tunpus 166
 twai 183
 tweifis 475
 uf 595
 ufar 601
 ufanjan 613

- uh 506
 - undar 302 306
 - undaurnimat 306
 - unleds 336
 - us 646
 - ushrisjan 145
 - uslúkan 350
 - uspriutan 630
 - ut 646
 - uzanan 279
 - uzon 43
 - waddjus 677
 - wadi 655
 - wadjabokos 655
 - wai 650
 - waijan 659
 - waidedja 650
 - waih 679
 - waihsta 680
 - wair 681
 - wairilom 654
 - wairsiza 666
 - wait 676
 - wajamerjan 650
 - wakjan 657 678
 - waldan 652
 - walwjan 690
 - wans 653
 - warei 665
 - wars 665
 - watnam 641
 - wato 641
 - waurd 664
 - waurms 665
 - waurts 512
 - weihs 675
 - weipan 674
 - weitwoþs 676
 - wens 662
 - widuwo 677
 - wigana 680
 - wiljan 687
 - windan 672
 - winds 564 662
 - winja 661
 - winnan 662
 - witan 676
 - wiþrus 673
 - wods 656
 - wulfs 353
 - wulla 325
 - wulþus 689
- Old Icelandic**
- aka 31
 - ala 35
 - aldr 35
 - allr 34
 - almr 637
 - amma 38
 - apr 37
 - arðr 55
 - arfi 433
 - arfr 433
 - askr 435
 - at 24
 - aurr 644
 - ausa 281
 - á 36
 - áskunnr 401
 - æ 66
 - æs 44
 - báðir 38
 - barr 201
 - baun 197
 - beggja 38
 - berja 236
 - beysta 253
 - björk 240
 - björr 217
 - blak 224
 - blaka 224
 - blakra 224
 - blár 225
 - blekkja 224
 - blóta 225
 - botn 250
 - bók 199
 - broð 165
 - bróðir 240
 - bý 245
 - dáð 217
 - dálkr 200
 - dóttir 253
 - dregg 238
 - dyrr 233
 - egg 438
 - einir 313
 - ek 187
 - ekkja 42
 - ekla 186
 - elgur 33
 - elptr 427
 - en 313
 - eta 186
 - etja 425
 - fastr 484
 - fár 448
 - fet 430
 - ffriildi 444
 - fiskr 468
 - fist 669
 - fiáll 455
 - fjorr 506
 - fjörðr 482
 - fleiri 475
 - fleistr 475
 - flétta 472
 - fleyðr 476
 - for 481
 - fqlr 440
 - framr 490
 - frændi 493
 - frijósa 494
 - funi 500
 - fura 506
 - fúinn 501
 - fúrr 500
 - fýri 500 506
 - fýrr 500
 - gaddr 280
 - gall 209
 - garðr 290
 - gær 283
 - geit 278
 - gestr 291
 - gine 285
 - gina 285
 - gjafa-víxl 680
 - glaðr 263
 - görm 280
 - grandi 241
 - grár 515
 - gras 269
 - grind 274
 - gróa 269
 - grunnr 241
 - gulr 282
 - gume 288
 - haðna 98
 - hafr 89
 - hals 125
 - harfr 95
 - hasl 139
 - hatr 78
 - hattr 97
 - haufuð 91
 - heimr 153
 - hengja 153
 - herfi 95
 - heri 88
 - hetta 97
 - hið 153
 - hiði 153
 - hjarta 135
 - hjúfa 155
 - hlaun 123
 - hlekkri 121
 - hljóta 119
 - hniss 408
 - hnita 408
 - hnót 420
 - holmi 127
 - holmr 127
 - hom 136
 - hossa 504
 - höfuð 91
 - höggva 149
 - höss 88
 - höttr 97
 - hœna 88
 - hraukr 147
 - hræfa 164
 - hringr 142
 - hrifa 547
 - hris 145
 - hross 157
 - hrúga 147
 - hrygg 147
 - hundr 87
 - húð 160
 - húfr 155
 - hvalr 584
 - hvar 155
 - hvæsa 507
 - hvelfa 151
 - hýski 116
 - iðjagrenn 195
 - iðrar 306
 - illr 637
 - i 283 300
 - ikorni 685
 - jór 193
 - ju(g)r 636
 - kala 256
 - kalla 254
 - kind 258
 - kinn 258
 - kjósa 276
 - kljúfa 266
 - knár 268
 - kné 259
 - knita 408
 - kostr 276
 - kramr 270
 - kráka 268
 - krákr 268
 - kremja 272
 - kumla 275
 - kundr 401
 - kváða 73
 - lauðr 331
 - láð 336
 - lend 352
 - létt 336
 - liggja 332
 - lind 335
 - linnr 335
 - ljóð 330
 - ljóða 330
 - lýt 337

- magr 357
 marr 365
 maurr 234
 men 388
 merja 390
 meyra 234
 mál 373
 miðr 369
 mikill 359
 mosi 397
 mæmir 388
 mcæna 388
 mund 363
 mundr 363
 munnr 373
 mý 397
 mýrr 397
 naðr 402
 naðra 402
 nafli 639
 nafn 412
 nakinn 418
 nassa 412
 net 401
 nið 404
 njól 404
 nór 403
 nótt 412
 nqf 639
 nýra 404
 of 595
 ofn 62
 ok 314
 or- 646
 ormr 665
 orvar 52
 otr 355
 ó- 301
 Óðinn 656
 óðr 656
 ór 646
 ór- 646
 ql 36
 qlð 35
 qlpt 427
 qlr 35
 qnd 44
 qr 52
 qrðugr 52
 qxl 67
 qxull 66
 ør- 646
 rakr 526
 rauði 515
 rífa 524
 róa 518
 rót 512
 róta 526
- rýja 531
 saðr 574
 safe 538
 salr 572
 samkund 132
 sandr 531
 sannr 574
 sax 541
 sefi 539
 seggr 569
 segja 304
 seiðr 534
 selja 131 536
 sér 549
 sik 549
 sjálfr 584
 skeið 549
 skera 158
 skera 'to 109
 skið 549
 skiði 549
 skirr 422
 skíta 544
 skjalgr 544
 skrúð 548
 slakr 325
 smjqr 369
 sqrl 536
 sørvi 557
 søefa 575
 spari 578
 spari 445 578
 spētr 464
 sperna 579
 spett 464
 spikr 580
 spjqr 578
 spqr 447
 spýja 583
 standa 590
 stari 593
 stira 587
 stífla 588
 strengja 592
 süga 596
 svarra 602
 svart 576
 sváss 597
 svefn 573
 sýr 603
 tafn 161
 tal 177
 tívar 167
 tók 606
 tunga 343
 tve- 71
 tveir 183
 tvi- 71
- Týr 167
 þak 608
 þegja 604
 þekja 608
 þekkja 623
 þel 608
 þil(i) 608
 þilja 608
 þiðr 621
 þisi 610
 þjarfr 624
 þjóð 618
 þjóðann 618
 þomb 610
 þorp 626
 þrapt 591
 þrefa 591
 þrir 629
 þrjóta 630
 þrqstr 635
 þumalfingr 633
 þunnr 614
 þýða 618
 ull 325
 Ulme 637
 usli 645
 ú- 301
 úr 644
 úrigr 644
 vað 650
 vaða 650
 vakka 651
 val 687
 valr 686
 vangsní 690
 varr 665
 vatn 641
 vá 679
 ván 662
 vár 663
 væ 650
 veð 655
 veðr 673
 vega 679
 vei 650
 veifa 674
 vé 650
 vika 680
 vin 661
 vinna 662
 virgill 644
 visk 682
 viska 682
 visir 682
 vqðvi 656
 vqkr 648
 vqr 654
 ysja 645
- ýla 313
 ýra 644
- Old Norwegian**
 bifr- 217
 rip(e) 524
 ríp 524
- Norwegian**
 føyssa 501
 keiv 260
 keiva 260
 krem(m)e 272
 stíra 587
 stjål 591
 tos 183
 tossa 183
- Old Swedish**
 arve 433
 biæver 217
 biür 217
 niüre 404
 oghn 62
- Danish**
 bylne 220
 myre 234
 spētte 464
- Old High German**
 ackar 29
 aha 48
 ahhar 29
 ahorn 21
 ahsa 66
 ahsala 67
 alawäri 34
 albiz 427
 alt 35
 ama/i/usla 375
 amban 639
 ambon 639
 amma 38
 amsla 375
 an(a) 36
 ana 45
 anchal 42
 ancho 642
 angust 42
 ar 646
 aram 55
 araweiz 195
 arbi 433
 arpeo 433
 asc 435
 atlah 185
 attuh 185

- az 24
 bart 69
 beide 38
 beitten 218
 berjan 236
 bewelben 151
 bēde 38
 bibar 217
 bibēt 229
 bilesa 220
 bilisa 220
 bilsa 220
 bilse 220
 bini 245
 bireken 524
 birihha 240
 bīa 245
 blāo 225
 blāzzen 226
 blecchen 247
 bliuwan 226
 bluojan 227
 bluowen 227
 bluozan 225
 bodam 250
 borst 203
 bözzan 253
 braccho 238 364
 brehhan 239
 bruoder 240
 brühhan 245
 brühhi 245
 buoh 199
 buohha 199
 buohstap 199
 burst 203
 chara 255
 chniu 259
 chumft 132
 chuo 74
 cuti 73
 dah 608
 demar 612
 den(n)en 613
 denchen 623
 derb/p 624
 deren 625
 dil 608
 dilo 608
 diot(a) 618
 dihsala 610
 dräen 616
 -driozan 630
 drīsti 630
 drosela 635
 dunkön 620
 dunni 614
 durst 625
 ebur 46
 egida 423
 ehir 23
 ei 438
 eihhurnō 685
 eiscon 27
 eit 25
 eiz 26
 ekorōdo 186
 el(i)na 638
 elbiz 427
 elilenti 34
 elira 35
 elmboum 637
 er 310
 essa 49
 ewist 438
 ezzan 186
 falo 440
 fano 443
 fast 484
 fater 450
 fatureo 450
 fehtan 453
 feim 583
 fel 455
 fereha 506
 fereheih 506
 fetiro 450
 fewen 500
 fēh 466
 fihu 454
 filz 465
 fimfto 509
 fitaltra 444
 flehtan 472
 flouwen 474
 flöh 497
 folma 441
 forha 506
 fouwen 500
 friunt 493
 frī 493
 frīten 493
 fruo 490
 fuir 500
 fuogen 452
 furuh 481
 gans 44
 gart 280 290
 garto 290
 gast 291
 geiz 278
 gelo 282
 ger 289
 gerno 289
 gersta 288
 gerta 280
 gesteron 283
 gikewen 256
 gikunt 258
 gimeins 395
 gimunt 372
 ginēn 285
 giwēn 285
 giwōn 285
 glat 263
 gomo 288
 gras 269
 grāo 515
 grint 241
 grintil 274
 grunzian 274
 gruoen 269
 gruoni 269
 guolle 584
 hag 123
 hal(a)m 150
 hals 125
 hamf 86
 hano 88
 harawēn 94
 hasal 139
 hasan 88
 haso 88
 häla 106
 heffen 90
 heja 79
 heim 153
 heitar 82
 hellan 85
 herbist 95
 herdo 138
 herza 135
 hintana 516
 hintar 516
 hirn(i) 109
 hirso 110
 hiwo 116
 hlanka* 121
 (h)leitara 121
 hlinēn 121
 Hlot- 122
 (h)niz 334
 hodo 154
 hornuz 140
 houbit 91
 houwan 149
 href 138
 (h)rind 136
 hros 157
 hrō 147
 (h)rukki 147
 hulis(a) 126
 hund 108
 hunt 87
 huolen 85
 huon 88
 huot 97
 huota 97
 hurd 141
 hüt 160
 hwal 584
 hwär 155
 hwedar 647
 hwelira 584
 ih 187
 intseffen 539
 ir 310 646
 irren 194
 it(i)wiz 195
 itarucken 529
 itmäli 195
 jehan 308
 jiht 308
 joh 314
 jung 317
 jühhart 314
 kala 584
 klamma 265
 klioban 266
 korn 271
 krimman 272
 kunnan 414
 laffan 324
 lam 326
 lanca 121
 lanka* 121
 lant 352
 leffil 324
 lefs 319
 leim 342
 leisa 345
 lenc* 120
 lenk* 120
 lentin 352
 lind 335
 linda 335
 lindi 335
 linsa 334
 linta 335
 lintea 335
 liob 339
 liod 330
 liudōn 330
 liut 338
 liuti 338
 liht 336
 loub 337
 löh 350
 lungar 336
 magar 357
 mahhön 357
 mana 388

- mari 365
 mast 361
 mäen 378
 mäl 377
 mäno 373
 medela 367
 meisa 375
 melchan 393
 meri 365
 mindel 373
 mios 397
 miscen 382
 mitti 369
 mos 397
 mucka 397
 muckazzen 392
 mund 373
 munt 363
 muoter 367
 murg(i) 75
 murmulön 396
 müs 396
 naba 639
 nabalo 639
 nabulo 639
 nagal 641
 napulo 639
 nasa 400
 näen 405
 nätara 402
 nätra 402
 nebul 404
 nest 409
 nevo 406
 nezzi 401
 nift(a) 406
 nioro 404
 niun 415
 ni 408
 nü 418
 oba 595
 ottar 355
 ovan 62
 öst(a)ra 64
 prod 165
 rad 527
 radja 520
 re(c)chan 517
 reba 520
 rebo 520
 redea 520
 reihhen 523
 reihhön 523
 repa 520
 riga 525
 rinnan 309 525
 riho 522
 rim 524
- ritera 144
 ruoba 514
 ruodar 518
 ruoppa 514
 ruozen 526
 saf 538
 sahan 534
 sahs 541
 sal 572
 salaha 536
 salba 598
 salo 536
 salz 535
 sand 574
 sant 531
 sämi- 553
 säp 538
 scaban 541
 sceida 549
 scelah 544
 scelifa 542
 sceran 158
 scerf 95
 scirbi 95
 scit 549
 scouwon 101
 scrintan 106
 scrodön 548
 scröt 548
 scrötan 548
 scrutilön 548
 scrutön 548
 scutten 504
 seid 534
 seib 584
 serawen 556
 sēr 534
 sih 549
 simble 565
 sid 559
 siō 559
 skaft 546
 skapt 546
 skerran 95
 slaf 319
 slēha 347
 sliozan 119
 sloz 119
 sluzzil 119
 smero 369
 snēo 410
 sparo 447
 sparro 445 578
 speh(t) 464
 spehön 579
 speihha 580
 spenula 580
 sper 578
- spinela 580
 spīwan 583
 spurnan 579
 star(a) 593
 stēn/stān 590
 strīhan 592
 suozi 594
 swarz 576
 swehur 569
 sweiz 596
 swigar 569
 tāju 210
 tāt 217
 thagēn 604
 thunkön 620
 tohter 253
 toum 249
 trebir 238
 truosana 238
 turi 233
 ubir 601
 unc 42
 untar 302
 untari 302
 untorn 306
 uoba 192
 uoben 432
 ur 646
 üla 638
 ütrin 636
 üz 646
 wado 656
 wafsa 670
 wagan 658
 waganso 690
 wahnēn 657 678
 wala 687
 walten 652
 wankon 651
 wara 665
 waspa 670
 wat 650
 watan 650
 wazzar 641
 wāen 659
 wār 668
 webes 670
 wefsa 670
 wegan 658
 wehha 680
 wehsal 680
 wehsil 680
 werna 654
 werra 654
 wēwa 650
 wēwo 650
 widar 673
 wini 661
- winkan 651
 wint 662
 wirsiro 666
 wisc 682
 wituhofo 643
 wituwa 677
 wih̄sela 683
 wisa 682
 woh̄ha 680
 wolla 325
 wort 664
 wanna 661
 wunnia 661
 wunnī 661
 wunscen 662
 wuosti 655
 wuot 656
 Wuotan 656
 wurgen 644
 wurm 665
 zand 166
 zeso 168
 zirzūsön 183
 zīhan 170
 Zio 167
 zunga 343
 zwi- 71
- Middle High German**
 alschaf 36
 bläjen 226
 brāhen 238
 büsch 253
 dehsen 619
 drostel 635
 ffalter 444
 hatele 98
 heswe 88
 hulst 126
 iuter 636
 jüch 314
 jū 313
 jüch 313
 jüchezen 313
 jüwen 313
 jüwezen 313
 lampen 341
 liehsen 352
 māt 378
 meren 364
 mūhen 392
 nūn 418
 ob 595
 obe 595
 rebe 520
 rīhe 525
 rīejen 518

rüezel 526
ruozel 526
samt 531
slampen 341
slim 342
spenel 580
sperke 447
spicher 580
stif 588
üter 636
vorhe 506
wade 656
weigen 680
wurz 512
züsach 183
züse 183
zwir 72

New High German

Acher 21
aus 646
beißen 221
Blume 227
Burme 213
dämisch 609
dämlich 609
dehnen 613
Distel 305
Dorf 626
Fahne 443
Feder 458
Föhre 506
grunzen 274
Haupt 91
Holm 127
Hornisse 140
kacken 78
kitt 73
kütt 73
lallen 324
Mamme 361
messen 368
mich 368
piepen 467
scheel 544
schier 422
Schwager 569
serben 556
spähen 579
spalten 582
Star 593
stechen 305
Sterke 586
winden 672

Old Saxon

al 34
alajung 34

ald 35
alofat 36
ambon 639
ansebbian 539
at 24
bever 217
bē 38
bibar 217
bilene 220
bothme 250
brükan 245
ek 187
elilendi 34
erbi 433
erwit 195
fangan 452
fersna 461
flökan 470
for 481
formo 486
fögian 452
fur 481
galla 209
gardo 290
gehan 308
gerdia 280
gēt 278
grā 515
grē 515
grindil 274
gröni 269
hēm 153
hirsi 110
hlēo 122
holm 127
hrissan 145
hrucci 147
ic 187
ik 187
karm 255
kiosan 276
lēmo 342
makōn 357
mēsa 375
milidou 370
muggia 397
nādra 402
nebal 404
rethia 520
scuddian 504
seggian 304
sth 559
slac 325
sōō 574
spēca 580
swās 597
thagian 604
thie 38

thiod(a) 618
thiodan 618
thristi 630
throsla 635
un- 301
watar 641
wathan 656
wē 650
wēwes 650
widohoppa 643
wika 680
wormo 665
wunnia 661
wurgill 644

Middle Low German

barne 213
drevellinge 591
klei 267
lak 325
rak 526
rugge 512
schelver 542
schulvern 542
stīvele 588
stūr 305
tōsen 183
winne 661
wīnrave 520

Old Low Franconian

lepor 319

Middle Dutch
aal 36
ad/tmael 195
amper 37
blāten 226
bodem 250
bracke 238
buuschen 253
heien 79
hersene 109
miere 234
pegel 67
rochghe 512
rogghe 512
spēke 580
sterre 593
sūcen 596
wrighe 522

Modern Dutch

bij 245
droesem 238
els 35

grind 241
horzel 140
juichen 313
naakt 418
neus 400
olm 637
rog 512
rook 148
sap 538
slap 319
sleeuw 347
spijker 580
vuurhout 506

Old Frisian

berd 69
bodem 250
etmēl 195
fiur 500
garda 290
grē 515
haved 91
hotha 154
hōde 97
iāder 636
kest 276
lepur 319
lippa 319
naken 418
nōsi 400
ongost 42
ref 138
rif 138
snore 420
sper 578
spere 578
spiri 578
stān 590
wada 650
wed 655
wirm 665

Old English

alan 35
alor 35
ampre 37
atol 425
ācweorna 685
ād 25
æce 313
ælbū 427
æltæw 34
æt 24
bā 38
bau 245
bædan 218
beard 69
bebir 217

- bebr 217
 belene 220
 beofor 217
 beolone 220
 beorma 213
 bere 201
 beatan 253
 bēaw 245
 bēce 199
 bēo 245
 bītan 221
 blāw 225
 blætan 226
 blōwan 227
 bodan 250
 botem 250
 bōc 199
 brýce 245
 briesan 245
 broð 165
 brýsan 245
 brūcan 245
 byrst 203
 calan 256
 cearm 255
 cearu 255
 ciern 255
 cīegan 256
 clam(m) 265
 clæg 267
 clēofan 266
 cost 276
 cracettan 268
 cuidu 73
 cumbol 275
 cweodo 73
 cwudu 73
 cyst 276
 dalc 200
 delg 200
 dosen 252
 dox 252
 drōsne 238
 ðencan 623
 ðeod 618
 ðeoden 618
 ðille 608
 ðīnan 621
 ðrīste 630
 ðrysce 635
 ealdor 35
 eall 34
 ealu(d) 36
 ear 644
 earh 52
 eatol 425
 eax 66
 eaxl 67
 edwīt 195
 efnen 432
 egeðe 423
 elles 34
 eoh 193
 ēanian 30
 ēce 313
 fana 443
 fām 583
 fæst 484
 fell 455
 fēa 448
 fēt 462
 fiers(i)n 461
 fisk 468
 fifealde 444
 flanc 121
 folm 441
 ford 482
 forma 486
 fram 490
 frīdhengest 493
 frost 494
 furh 481 506
 geard 290
 gecynd 258
 gedēfe 197
 gefetan 463
 (ge)limpan 341
 geþīedan 618
 gewæd 650
 gewītan 676
 giestron 283
 giowian 285
 giwan 285
 giwian 285
 gōs 44
 grindan 241
 grindel 274
 grōwan 269
 grun(n)ian 274
 grunnettān 274
 gycer 314
 hafola 91
 haga 123
 hara 88
 hasu 88
 hām 153
 hān 139
 hærfeſt 95
 hætt 97
 heaðor 98
 helan 424
 heofon-kund 401
 heorda 138
 hete 78
 hēafod 91
 hierwan 94
 hindema 516
 hīwan 116
 bȳd 160
 hȳf 155
 hlanc 121
 hlæd(d)er 121
 hlēnce 121
 hlēotan 119
 hlinian 121
 hlōwan 85
 hnītan 408
 hnitu 334
 hnutu 420
 holm 127
 hors 157
 hōd 97
 hōn 153
 hrēac 148
 hrēaw 147
 hrif 138
 hring 142
 hrīdder 144
 hrīðer 136
 hrīs 145
 hrung 142
 hrycg 147
 hryðer 136
 hund 87
 hwæl 584
 hwær 155
 hwealf 151
 hwit 73
 hwōsan 507
 hyll 124
 ieder 636
 ield 35
 ielfetu 427
 in 300
 irfa 433
 lagu 322
 land 352
 lapian 324
 lām 342
 leaf 337
 lendenu 352
 lē 353
 lēaþor 331
 lēod 338
 lēoþ 330
 lēoþian 330
 limp 341
 lind(e) 335
 lybb 337
 manu 388
 māse 375
 māwan 378
 mæd 378
 mæst 361
 melcan 393
 meledeaw 370
 mene 388
 metan 368
 mēos 397
 micel 359
 milisc 370
 miscian 382
 mīgan 369
 mūð 373
 mycg 397
 mȳre 234
 myrge 75
 nabula 639
 nacod 418
 nafela 639
 nafu 639
 nama 412
 nasu 400
 nægel 641
 nefa 406
 nōse 400
 ofen 62
 on 36
 or- 646
 ōl 35
 ōsle 375
 pægel 67
 ræc(e)an 523
 reoþhe 513
 rēotan 528
 rīd 309
 rīð 525
 rocettan 529
 rōðor 518
 rōwan 518
 rund 136
 sālneſ(s) 564
 sām- 553
 sceolh 544
 sceorfan 95
 scēað 549
 scielf 542
 scielfe 542
 scīd 549
 screpan 547
 scrēadian 548
 sealh 536
 secg 569
 self 584
 sīd 559
 sīð 559
 simbel 565
 skrūd 548
 slāh 347
 slæc 325
 sliefe 349
 slūpan 349

smeoro 369
 smeortan 389
 snoru 420
 socian 598
 söl 570
 spāca 580
 spearwa 447
 spere 578
 spōwan 493 580
 standan 590
 stær 593
 stærling 593
 stearn 593
 stela 591
 stern 593
 stierc 586
 stīf 588
 strengan 592
 strīcan 592
 sulh 598
 sunne 570
 sū 603
 sūcan 596 598
 sūgan 596
 swāt 596
 swear 576
 swerian 602
 swēte 594
 swōt 594
 Tīw 167
 torht 615
 tū 183
 twi- 71
 þā 38
 þeorf 624
 þixl 610
 þræft 591
 þrostle 635
 þunor 623
 ufe- 595
 ufemest 600
 ufera 601
 ūder 636
 ūrig 644
 ūt 646
 waru 665
 wā 650
 wāg 680
 wān 662
 wæd 650
 wæfs 670
 wæps 670
 wær 665
 wæsp 670
 wealwian 690
 wear 654
 wearr 666
 wedd 655

wehsāl 680
 weieras 654
 weoskian 682
 werian 672
 wēg 680
 wēste 655
 wice 660
 wicga 680
 wicu 680
 wincian 651
 windan 672
 wiscian 682
 wise 682
 wōcig 660
 wōd 656
 Wōden 656
 wōsti 655
 wōþ 656
 wrencan 524 665
 wrōt 526
 wrōtan 526
 wucu 680
 wynn 661
 wyrm 665
 wyrt 512
 ysle 645

Middle English

geu 280
 mire 234
 pegge 67
 reyhe 513
 rezge 513
 tōtūsen 183
 wrah 522

Modern English

dusk 252
 elm 637
 else 34
 gray 515
 grunt 274
 hat 97
 hornet 140
 seek 534
 thrush 635
 to 274
 whether 647
 yowl 313

TOCHARIAN

Tocharian AB

a(n)- 301
 am- 301
 āk- 31
 āks- 31

āp 19
 e(n)- 301
 em- 301
 in- 300
 kātḱ- 255
 ku 87
 luk- 356
 nāk- 408
 ŋu 415
 on- 301
 pāk- 134
 pālḱ- 247
 plāk- 469
 putḱ- 452
 tsāk- 237
 tsāk- 237
 tsik- 221
 y- 300
 yā- 294
 yāk- 186
 yerpe 433
 yn- 300
 yok- 184

Tocharian A

antapi 38
 asatār 53
 āk 23
 āknats 414
 ālak 34
 ārpi 38
 ārpi 38
 āriñc 519
 ārki 53
 e- 28
 es 640
 kanweṃ 258 259
 karn- 94
 kāc 160
 kälñiñc 122
 kānt 108
 kārn- 94
 ken- 257
 ki 74
 kñasāšt 297
 ko 74
 ko- 149
 koṃ 87
 kot- 149
 krant 96
 krāmārts 272
 kri 135
 letaṣ 346
 lit 346
 lyām 341
 lyiktsi 345
 lyu 353
 mañ 373

mācar 367
 māk 359
 mälkant 393
 mew- 391
 msār 383
 nās 413
 nätsw- 186
 nāṣ 187
 ñom 412
 ŋu 416
 okāt 425
 pats 485
 pās- 449
 pätar 229
 päñ 509
 pärkār 236
 pärtār 214
 por 500
 prak- 483
 präcar 240
 puwār 500
 pwār 500
 salat 536
 salu 537
 slakkār 325
 swār 594
 ṣalype 598
 ṣālyp 598
 ṣpām 573
 ṣurm 557
 ṣanweṃ 258
 ṣarme 285
 ṣrmāṣ 661
 ṣtwar 505
 tärmiñc 628
 tkam 292
 trämāṣ 628
 tre 629
 tri 629
 trisk- 591
 tseke 221
 tsnāntār 231
 tsno 231
 tu 631
 twāsiṣ 597
 wak 692
 want 662
 wañi 662
 war 665
 warpi 643
 wällāštār 659
 wār 641
 wār- 665
 wās 63 682
 wāsri 669
 wāt 184
 we 183
 wiki 678

wir 681
wras- 665
wu 183
yasa 63
yiñc 192
ysär 537
ytär 311
yuk 193
yutk- 312

Tocharian B

ai- 28
aise 309
aknätsa 414
alek 34
allek 34
alyek 34
alyiye 638
anäššäm 43
arañce 519
awi 438
äke 23
äntse 640
ärkwi 53
campäm 610
cämpäš 610
ceken- 606
cešäm 606
ikäm 678
kakse 140
kalneṃ 122
kante 108
kantwo 343
kau- 149
kaut- 149
käryäñ 135
kälypi 120
keṃ 292
keni* 259
kentse 115
keu 74
krämär 272
krent 96
kwem 87
laikanaträ 345
laikäte 345
laitam 346
laiwo 323
lañk,tse 336
länte 652
likšan- 345
lita 346
lyama 341
lyasäm 332
lyuwa 353
maiwe 381
mašcītse* 396
mäcer 367

mäka 359
mätsts- 186
meñe 373
miw- 391
näsk- 411
ñem 412
ñuwe 416
osotär 53
paräm 214
pikiñc 466
pinkem 466
piš 509
prek- 483
procer 240
pyakar 452
rätre 527
ru- 531
saikam 595
salamo 536
saläte 536
sä 568
se 568
siknam 595
skiyo 542
slakkare 325
smiyäm 129 382
syalme 596
šarm 557
šñaura 407
špane 573
šcirye 585
šerwe 215
šman- 661
štwer 505
tallam 622
tarya 629
tärk- 624
tkäcer 253
traï 629
trey 629
tsäkam 219
tsnamo* 231
twasastär 597
twe 631
twere 233
waipalau 674
waïpe 674
walkwe 353
walo 652
war 641
warne* 234
warmi 234
wase 682
wate 184
wärp- 643
wäl- 690
wänträ 672
wärs- 665

wärsk- 665
wäs- 672
wek 692
were 665
weru 654
werwiye 643
wina 662
wipä(ššäm) 674
yakwe 193
yaṃ 192
yasar 537
yente 662
yesti 186
yoñiya 294
yoro* 654
ytärye 311

PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN

*beł-o- 163
*bl-bl- 68
*b^he-b^hh₂(o)u- 246
*b^he-b^hr-o- 217
*b^he-b^hr-ü- 217
*b^heh₂-/*b^hh₂- 231
*b^heh₂g-o- 199
*b^heh₂-mo/h₂- 231
*b^heh₂-os 203
*b^l(e)h₂u- 246
*b^heid^h-e/o- 218
*b^heid^h-o- 218
*b^hel-e/ik- 220
*b^her(H)-mn 213
*b^her-e/o- 214
*b^herğ-to- 212
*b^herH- 213
*b^heru-e/o- 215
*b^heug- 246
*-b^hh₂-t- 204
*b^hh₂-to- 204
*b^hh₂-tu- 205
*b^hh₂u-eh₁- 206
*b^hh₂u-ie/o- 222
*b^hh₂u-n- 205
*b^hh₂u-tó- 246
*b^hi-b^hr-o- 217
*b^hi-d^h-ch₁- 218
*b^hi-n-d- 221
*b^hi-n-H- 460
*b^hl(e)h₂g-e/o- 224
*b^hleh₁-/*b^hlh₁- 226
*b^hleh₁-ie/o- 226
*b^hleh₂(d)-mn 225
*b^hleh₃-ös 227
*b^hleh₃-ro- 227
*b^hleh₃-uo- 225
*b^hleiğ-e/o- 226

*b^hleuH-(e/o-) 228
*b^hlg-e/o- 247
*b^hlg-mh₂- 224
*b^hlg-ro- 224
*b^hlg-s-mn 225
*b^hlHg-ro- 224
*b^hliH-ğ-e/o- 226
*b^hloh_{1/3}-ro- 227
*b^hod^h-i- 229
*b^hoH-i- 229
*b^hoi-ko- 245
*b^horg-to- 236
*b^horH-h₂- 235
*b^horH-ie/o- 235
*b^hori-d- 232
*b^hou-ko- 245
*b^hör 251
*b^hr- 490
*b^hrd^h-o- 232
*b^hrēh₂-tr- 239
*b^hrem-e/o- 241
*b^hrg-to- 239
*b^hrñg-ro- 238
*b^hrHg-s-e/ino- 240
*b^hriH-o- 243
*b^hriH-uo- 243
*b^hristi- 216
*b^hr-n-ğ- 239
*b^hrs-ti- 203
*b^hrs-tu- 204
*b^hr-ti- 236
*b^hruHg-ie/o- 245
*b^hrus-to- 245
*b^hru-to- 165
*b^hud^h-men- 250
*b^hud^h-n-ó- 250
*b^hug-i- 246
*b^hu-n-g- 250
*de 162
*de-dh₃- 174
*de-dh₃-ih₁- 174
*de-dok- 172
*deh₃ 103
*deh₃-n 174
*deh₃-no- 179
*-deh₃-t- 532
*dē/ōh₃-t- 175
*deik-e/o- 169
*deik-s- 169
*dei-u-o- 167
*dek-eh₁- 164
*dek-es- 164
*dekm 163
*dekin-to- 163
*dek-no- 164
*deks-(i)uo- 168
*deks-tero- 168
*d(e)lh₁-ie/o- 177

- *dem- 178
 *d(ē)ns-o- 167
 *derk- 615
 *d(e)uh₃- 182
 *deuk-e/o- 181
 *dh₂p-no- 161
 *dh₂p-s 161
 *dh₃-me 175
 *dh₃-te 103
 *dh₃-to- 175
 *dh₃-u- 182
 *di-d(e)h₃- 174
 *di-dk-sk-e/o- 172
 *di-eu- 173
 *dieu 315
 *diēm 315
 *diēus 315
 *-dik-s 169
 *di-n- 171
 *-dino- 171
 *diu-b'eh₂-es- 312
 *diuei 315
 *diuos 315
 *dk(o)n-i-d- 334
 *dkmtom 108
 *dlġ'-eh₁- 302
 *dlh₁ġ^h-o- 348
 *dlong'-o- 348
 *dnġ^h-uh₂ 343
 *doh₃-no- 179
 *dok-eie/o- 176
 *dohl₁-eie- 176
 *dohl₁-ie/o- 177
 *dohl₁-o- 177
 *dólng^h- 348
 *dom-o- 178
 *do/emb₂-o/i- 517
 *douH-ô- 162
 *dóm 178
 *drk-h₂(e)kru- 322
 *drn-je- 180
 *dru(e)h₂-ro- 184
 *dueh₂m 181
 *duei-ro- 171
 *dueis-o- 171
 *duh₂- 181
 *duh₂-eno- 73
 *duh₂os 181
 *dui- 71 171
 *dúi-b^hh₂-u- 180
 *dúi-dkmt-ih₁ 678
 *(d)ui-d^hh₁- 174
 *dúi-plk- 473
 *dúis 72
 *(d)ui-tio- 684
 *-duk- 181
 *du-o-h₁ 183
 *du-o-ih₁ 183
- *dus 171
 *d^heg^{wh}-ri- 208
 *d^heg^{wh}-ro- 208
 *d^h(e)h₁- 175
 *d^h(e)h₁-i- 219
 *d^heh₁-k- 208
 *d^heh₁-l(u)-i- 209
 *d^heh₁-l-o- 210
 *d^heh₁-mh₁-h₂- 210
 *d^heh₁-nos- 211
 *d^heh₁-no- 211
 *d^heh₁-s-io- 212
 *d^heh₁-s-o- 211
 *d^heh₁-s-to- 212
 *d^heh₁-ti- 216
 *d^heh₁-to- 217
 *d^h(e)ġ^h- 221
 *d^heig^h-(o-) 221
 *d^heig^w-e/o- 219
 *d^he/o/H-uo- 248
 *d^hen-ur 210
 *d^her-mo- 223
 *d^hēr-o- 212
 *d^hġ^h(e)jm-ōn 287
 *d^hġ^h-ōm 292
 *d^hġ^{wh}i-ti- 568
 *d^hġ^h-i-tu- 568
 *d^hh₁-ie/o- 61
 *d^hh₁-m-elo- 201
 *-d^hh₁-o- 202
 *d^hh₁-s-no- 201
 *d^hHb^h-ro- 197
 *d^hi-d^hh₁- 175
 *d^hiHg^w-e/o- 219
 *d^hi-nġ^h- 221
 *d^hog^{wh}-eie- 237
 *d^ho/H-no- 230
 *d^honh₂-ti- 230
 *d^h(o)rg^h-to- 236
 *d^houH-Ŵ- 206
 *d^hr-eh₁-no- 241
 *d^hr-eh₁-to- 242
 *d^hues-ro- 208
 *d^huġh₂-tēr 253
 *d^huh₂-ie- 597
 *d^huh₂-li- 248
 *d^huh₂-mō- 249
 *d^huoh₂-i- 229
 *d^huor-o- 237
 *d^huōr- 233
 *d^hur- 233
 *d^hus-ko- 252
 *d^hur-uo- 252
 *Gen(H)- 257
 *geib^h- 260
 *gérh₂-ōu-s 274
 *gtem-o/es- 265
- *gle/oub^h(s)mh₂- 266
 *gleub^h-e/o- 266
 *ġg-t- 320
 *ġloh₁-i- 266
 *ġouh₂-i- 256
 *ġeb-m- 257
 *ġe-ġnōh₁/ġnh₃- 413
 *ġ(e)h₂-ie/o- 255
 *ġġh₂-u-ed^h- 255
 *ġġh₂-u-i-d^hh₁-o- 255
 *ġel-u- 256
 *ġ(e)m-ro- 258
 *ġen_h-; 260
 *ġen_h-mn- 260
 *ġen_h-o/es- 260
 *ġénh₁-ti- 258
 *ġen_h-tor- 260
 *ġen-u- 257 259
 *ġ(e)rh₂-n- 274
 *ġ(e)us- 276
 *ġi-ġnh₁-e/o- 260
 *ġlh₂-i- 264
 *ġloh₂-u- 266
 *ġnéh₃-/ġnh₃- 413
 *ġn(e)h₃-uo- 268
 *ġne/oh₃-ri- 265
 *ġneh₃-s- 265 297
 *-ġnh₁-o- 260
 *ġnh₁-sk-e/o- 401
 *ġnh₁-ti- 401 402
 *ġnh₁-to- 401
 *ġnh₃-ro- 267
 *ġnh₃-ské- 413
 *ġnh₃-to- 414
 *-ġn-o- 260
 *ġrh₂-eu- 274
 *ġrh₂-no- 271
 *ġrh₂-u-os 274
 *ġusto- 276
 *ġus-tu- 276
 *ġ^w(e)nd- 487
 *ġ^hh₁b^(h)-eh₁- 277
 *ġ^hh₁b^(h)-(e)-i- 277
 *ġ^hlh₂d^h-ro- 263
 *ġ^h-n(e)-d- 487
 *ġ^hod-h₂- 487
 *ġ^hor-d^o- 290
 *ġ^h(o)r-to- 290
 *ġ^hosti- 291
 *ġ^hrd^(h)-(e)-i- 269
 *ġ^hr(e)uh₁-e/o- 274
 *ġ^hron-d^h-h₂- 274
 *ġ^h-di-es 283
 *ġ^hdi-es-tro- 283
 *ġ^he/ou-ti- 249
 *(ġ^he-)*ġ^h(o)u- 249
 *ġ^heh₁-ro- 282
- *ġ^heim-en 284
 *ġ^hēiōm 284
 *ġ^helh₃-i-uo- 282
 *ġ^helh₃-os 287
 *ġ^hēr-i- 289
 *ġ^hēr- 193
 *ġ^hh₁-eh₂-; 285
 *ġ^hb₂ens 44
 *ġ^hih₁-ské- 285
 *ġ^hosto- 292
 *ġ^hr-eh₁- 289
 *ġ^hreh₃-d-ōn 270
 *ġ^hrh₁-(s-)mn- 269
 *ġ^hrh₃-d-n- 270
 *ġ^hrH-u- 280
 *ġ^hrs-eh₁- 290
 *ġ^hr-ti- 123
 *ġ^hueh₁-ro-) 215
 *ġ^hu-n-d- 249
 *ġ^weh₃-u-m 74
 *ġ^weh₃-u-s 74
 *ġ^welh₁-ie/o- 688
 *ġ^wem-tu- 661
 *ġ^wer(H)-u- 668
 *ġ^wet-u- 72
 *ġ^wlh₃-ue/o- 685
 *ġ^wih₃-uō- 685
 *ġ^wlh₂-n-d^(h)-(i)- 263
 *ġ^wm-ie/o- 661
 *ġ^wm-ti- 132 661
 *ġ^wm-to- 661
 *ġ^wo/erh₃-o/h₂- 690
 *ġ^wrd-o- 275
 *ġ^wreg- 273
 *ġ^wrġh₂-u- 272
 *ġ^wrh₂-u-to- 76
 *ġ^wr[ġh₃]*ġ^w[rġh₃]-et- 276
 *ġ^wrH-to- 271
 *ġ^{wh}en-d^h- 210
 *ġ^{wh}iH-(s-)lo- 220
 *ġ^{wh}nd^hi 210
 *ġ^{wh}oHi-ni- 250
 *ġ^{wh}oiH-ni- 250
 *ġ^{wh}o/er-mo- 235
 *ġ^{wh}rend^(h)-e/o- 241
 *ġ^{wh}r-no- 235
 *h_{1/2}eġ-ie/o- 31
 *h_{1/2}e/ōp-ni- 428
 *h₁d-enti 186
 *h₁éd-mi 186
 *h₁ed^h-l(o)- 185
 *h₁eġ 187
 *h₁eġ-es- 186
 *h₁eġ-(o)H 187
 *h₁eġ-H-om 187
 *h₁eġ^h 196
 *h₁eġ^{wh}-ro- 184

- *h₁e-h₁(o)p- 47
 *h₁e-h₁d- 186
 *h₁e-h₁m- 188
 *h₁ch₂no- 45
 *h₂ei-/*h₁i- 191
 *h₁eis-h₂- 309
 *h₁éi-tr 311
 *h₁ék-u- 193
 *h₁étk-os 637
 *h₁em-e/o- 188
 *h₁e/om-o- 479
 *h₁(e)n 300
 *h₁(e)n-do 189
 *h₁en-d^hh₁-u- 299
 *h₁e-no- 190
 *(h₁e)ns-i- 190
 *h₁(e)nter 306
 *h₁(e)ntero 306
 *h₁(e)ntnHo- 306
 *h₁entos 300
 *h₁ep-lo- 192
 *h₁ep-r- 46
 *h₁ers-o/h₂- 194
 *h₁es-/*h₁s- 599
 *h₁esh₂-ó- 194
 *h₁ésh₂-r 58 537
 *h₁e-sm-/si-/i- 310
 *h₁és-nt-s 574
 *h₁e-tero- 112
 *h₁eti 195
 *h₁euHd^h-n-s 636
 *h₁eup-(o-) 601
 *h₁eus-e/o- 645
 *h₁én 189
 *(h₁)i- 310
 *h₁i-b^hei 295
 *h₁i-d^hei 295
 *h₁i-h₁euH- 318
 *h₁i-h₂-m 293
 *h₁i-t- 129
 *h₁i-tén 311
 *(h₁)i-tero- 312
 *(h₁)i-ye 112
 *h₁leg^h-u- 336
 *h₁leg^{wh}-u- 336
 *h₁leud^h-ero- 338
 *h₁mé 368
 *h₁med 368
 *h₁meg^hio 368
 *h₁mo- 368
 *h₁moi 368
 *h₁neun 415
 *h₁neun-o- 415
 *h₁ng^w-ni- 297
 *h₁og^{wh}-r-i- 568
 *h₁oh₁k-ios- 424
 *h₁oh₁k-u- 424
 *h₁oiH-yh₂- 648
 *h₁op-eie- 431
 *h₁opi 421
 *h₁ouHd^h-r 636
 *h₁p-i- 47
 *h₁pr-o- 46
 *h₁reh₁-(s)mo- 518
 *h₁reh₁p- 520
 *h₁reip-h₂- 524
 *h₁rep-nt- 520
 *h₁re/oud^h-o- 525
 *h₁reud^h-os 525
 *h₁reug^h-e/o- 529
 *h₁rēp- 520
 *h₁rth₁-ti- 514
 *h₁r-i-(e)t- 54
 *h₁rik-s- 525
 *h₁rk-i- 193
 *h₁ros- 527
 *h₁roud^h-o- 528
 *h₁roug-h₂- 528
 *h₁rōs 527
 *h₁rp-i- 514
 *h₁rud^h-rō- 527
 *h₁s-ént-m 574
 *h₁sh₂-én-s 58 537
 *h₁s-nt-ós 574
 *h₁s-ont-s 574
 *h₁ueh₂-no- 653
 *h₁ueh₂-ro- 655
 *h₁ueh₂-sno- 653
 *h₁u(e)h₂-sto- 655
 *h₁uh₂-ko- 649
 *h₁uh₂-sno- 653
 *h₁ui-d^hh₁-eu-o- 677
 *(h₁)uob^h-s-h₂- 670
 *h₁uog^{wh}-eie- 691
 *(h₁)uper(i) 601
 *(h₁)up-m(H)o- 600
 *(h₁)upo 595
 *h₂d-to- 58
 *h₂eb^h-n- 39
 *h₂ed 24
 *h₂ed-ōs 25
 *h₂eg^h-e/o- 31
 *h₂eg^h-ro- 29
 *h₂eg^w-no- 30
 *h₂eh₁s-eh₁- 53
 *h₂eh₁s-h₂- 49
 *h₂eh₁-t(-)r- 60
 *h₂é-h₂us-o- 63
 *h₂ei- 28
 *h₂eid-m(n)- 26
 *h₂(e)id^h- 25
 *h₂eid^h-teh₂t- 28
 *h₂eid^h-tu- 28
 *h₂ei-es- 27
 *h₂eies-no- 27
 *h₂eig-ro- 26
 *h₂ei-mo- 26
 *h₂ei-os 27
 *h₂eis- 28
 *h₂eis-os- 27
 *h₂ek-eh₁- 21
 *h₂ek-os 23
 *h₂ek-ro- 22
 *h₂eks-(i)- 66
 *h₂ek-u- 23
 *h₂elb^h-o- 32
 *h₂el-e/o- 35
 *b₂(e)lg^hg- 33
 *h₂elh₂- 32 38
 *h₂el-io- 34
 *h₂el-no- 34
 *h₂el-tero- 34
 *h₂el-to- 35
 *h₂em(m)h₂ 38
 *h₂emg^h-e/o- 42
 *h₂emg^h-os 42
 *h₂emg^h-os-to- 42
 *h₂emg^h-u- 42
 *h₂en 41
 *h₂en-(e)h₂ 36
 *h₂eng-(e)lo- 42
 *h₂(e)ng^{wh}-i- 42
 *h₂enhi₁-mo- 43
 *h₂enhi₁-slo- 43 279
 *h₂enhi₂-ti- 41
 *h₂enH-o- 45
 *h₂enHt-h₂- 44
 *h₂(e)nk-o- 41
 *h₂ens-h₂- 44
 *h₂ent- 45
 *h₂(e)nt-b^hoH 37
 *h₂ent-i 45
 *h₂ep- 19
 *h₂erg^h-u- 53
 *h₂erth₁-ie/o- 55
 *h₂erth₁-tro- 55
 *h₂erh₃-uo- 56
 *h₂(e)rH-mo- 55
 *h₂er^hk^h-(e/o-) 445
 *h₂(e)r^hk^h-s 57
 *h₂(e)r-mo- 54
 *h₂er-mn-to- 54
 *h₂esp-i- 58
 *h₂et(i) 59
 *h₂et-nio- 44
 *h₂et-no- 44
 *h₂et-o- 60
 *h₂eu 64
 *h₂eu(-)s- 63
 *h₂eu-eh₁- 65
 *h₂eu₂- 66
 *h₂eu-i- 65
 *h₂eu-is 61
 *h₂eulo- 36
 *h₂eus-ie/o- 281
 *h₂éus-ōs 63
 *h₂eus-tero- 64
 *h₂ép-s- 19
 *h₂ég-es- 259
 *h₂égr-em- 272
 *h₂égr-ōm-o- 273
 *h₂h₁-tr- 60
 *h₂h₃m-ro- 37
 *h₂ieu-os 316
 *h₂i-eu-s 316
 *h₂i-h₂ik- 295
 *h₂ik-to- 295
 *h₂i-m-h₂- 298
 *h₂is-ske/o- 27
 *h₂iu-g^wih₂- 313
 *h₂iu-b₁en- 317
 *h₂iu-h₁n-iōs 317
 *h₂iu-h₁n-kō- 317
 *h₂ie/oib^h-o- 339
 *h₂ih₂- 38
 *h₂ib^h-u- 339
 *h₂li-n-ft- 344
 *h₂li-to- 344
 *h₂l-to- 24 35
 *h₂mb^hi-dreu-o- 40
 *h₂mb^hi-k^hōlh₂os 41
 *h₂me-h₂mord- 389
 *h₂mei-o- 374
 *h₂mi-g^w-ro- 379
 *(h₂)mi(H)-to- 383
 *h₂mlg^h-eie- 393
 *h₂moi-ni- 395
 *h₂moi-no- 395
 *h₂moi-to- 399
 *h₂mord-(e)ie- 389
 *h₂mrd-to- 389
 *(h₂)muk-ro- 391
 *h₂ne-h₂no(n)k- 399
 *h₂nep-ōt- 405
 *h₂nep-t-ih₂ 405
 *h₂nep-t-iH- 406
 *h₂ner- 406
 *h₂nēr 406
 *h₂nk-to- 399
 *h₂n-n-k- 399
 *h₂nr- 406
 *h₂o/éi-u- 29
 *h₂oi-u 316
 *h₂ok-et- 423
 *h₂ok-ri- 22 424
 *h₂ol-eie- 24
 *h₂ol-no- 426
 *h₂ol-tero- 638
 *h₂ol-tmHo- 638
 *h₂om-es- 640
 *h₂ong-elo- 641
 *h₂onk-o- 640

- *h₂or-d- 434
 *h₂(o)r^k-eje/o- 51
 *h₂oujom 438
 *h₂p- 19
 *h₂p-o 476
 *h₂r-(e)-i- 524
 *h₂r-ën 519
 *h₂rġ-nt-o- 53
 *h₂r^k-h₂- 51
 *h₂r-ti- 55
 *h₂rtko- 645
 *h₂r-tó- 55
 *h₂r-tú- 56
 *h₂ster- 585
 *h₂stēr-s 585
 *(h₂)st(o)r-no- 593
 *h₂ueh₁-lo- 659
 *h₂ueh₁-nt-o- 662
 *h₂uerg- 665
 *h₂uer-i(e)- 429
 *h₂uer-i(e)o- 46
 *h₂ulh₁-eh₁- 651
 *h₂ulh₁-neh₂- 325
 *h₂ufs-en- 666
 *h₂us-s-ós 63
 *h₃d-nt- 166
 *h₃ed-/*h₃d- 426
 *h₃(e)ktĕh₃ 424
 *h₃e/od-jo- 425
 *h₃e/ok^w-(e)jo- 425
 *h₃e/op-(i-) 431
 *h₃eh₁-os 436
 *h₃e-h₃(o)d- 425
 *h₃eit- 648
 *h₃ek^w-s- 427
 *h₃elh₁- 637
 *h₃elh₁-eie/o- 165
 *h₃eng^w-e/o- 642
 *h₃eng^w-n 642
 *h₃en-os 428
 *h₃ep-os 432
 *h₃eu-e/o- 643
 *h₃eui- 429 437
 *h₃ki(e)h₃-uo- 424
 *h₃lomH-io- 326
 *h₃meig^h-(i)je- 369
 *h₃mh₃- 39 40
 *h₃mi-n-ġ^h- 369
 *h₃nb^h-(e/o)l- 639
 *h₃nb^h-n 639
 *h₃neh₃-mn 412
 *h₃ng^h-l-h₂- 641
 *h₃ng^h-u- 641
 *h₃ng^w-én-s 642
 *h₃nh₃-men- 412
 *h₃o/est- 436
 *h₃olh₁-eie- 21
 *h₃orb^h-i- 433
 *h₃orb^h-o- 433
 *h₃re(ud)H- 528
 *h₃rom^h-ōs 50
 *h₃rd^h-uo- 52
 *h₃re/og-o- 194
 *h₃re/ouH-mo- 529
 *h₃reg-e/o- 517
 *h₃reg-m 522
 *h₃reu-e/o- 530
 *h₃rġg-s 522
 *h₃r-i- 435
 *h₃rġH-to- 309
 *h₃rġH-uo- 524
 *h₃rog-o- 526
 *h₃rouH-ō- 515
 *h₃ru-n-k- 530
 *Heh₃-én- 638
 *Hh₃-el-en- 638
 *Hh₃-o/es- 435
 *(H)ieh₁- 293
 *Hieh₂-ie/o- 296
 *Hieh₂-iu- 296
 *(H)ieug-os- 314
 *(H)ieug-s- 318
 *(H)ih₁-k-(i-) 293
 *Hioud^h-eie/o- 312
 *(H)iuđ^h-h₂- 312
 *(H)iuġo- 314
 *(H)iuġegti 314
 *Hneh₂-s- 400
 *Hnh₂-es- 400
 *HoHl-én- 638
 *Hoi-no- 642
 *Hreh₁- 519
 *Hreh₁-i- 520
 *Hreh₁-i-unt- 521
 *Hreh₃d-e/o- 526
 *Hresg-ti- 521
 *Hret-e/o- 527
 *Hreu-os 531
 *Hreup- 530
 *Hrh₁-to- 519
 *Hriġ- 523
 *Hriġ-(i)o- 138
 *Hriġ-eh₁- 523
 *Hrot-o/h₂- 527
 *Hru-n-p- 530
 *(H)ued-ro- 662
 *(H)ueh₂t-i- 656
 *(H)uend^h-e/o 672
 *Huer-o- 668
 *(H)uēnh₁- 662
 *Huog-o- 651
 *ieh₂-n-u- 294
 *iek^w-n/n- 296
 *iemH-no- 256
 *ienh₂-ter- 294
 *i(e/o)uH-s- 316
 *im 166
 *im-moH 300
 *iok-o- 308
 *iū 313
 *kap-i- 90
 *keh₁u-eje/o- 112
 *k(e)h₂d-o/i- 78
 *keh₂id- 79
 *keh₂i-ko- 79
 *keh₂i-lo- 80
 *keh₂i-r/so- 81 565
 *keh₂-ro- 95
 *keh₂u-d- 99
 *kelh₁-/*k^hlh₁- 82 85
 *kelH-men- 127
 *kel-i- 104
 *-kel-n-h₂-e/o- 105
 *kel-n-H- 105
 *ken-t- 516
 *k(e)ntH-n- 107
 *k(e)rH-n- 94
 *kerp-e/o- 95
 *kers- 51
 *kert-s-nh₂- 106
 *kh₂eid- 79
 *kh₂ei-ko- 79
 *kh₂n-e- 88
 *kh₂on-eie- 88
 *kh₂p-i- 90
 *kHu-t-i- 160
 *kid-no- 129
 *kleh₂u- 119
 *kleh₂u-d- 118
 *klep-e/o- 120
 *k^hlh₁-d^(h)-ti- 118
 *k^hlh₁-m(o)- 117
 *k^hlh₁-ro- 118
 *k^hlh₂-d^heh₁- 117
 *k^hlh₂-em-o/i- 82
 *k^hlH-e/ouo- 85
 *kl-né/n-H- 105
 *knd-ro- 87
 *knei(H)d-os- 408
 *kokse-dn-iH- 140
 *koks-h₂- 140
 *kolH-n- 124
 *kolp-o- 120
 *k(o)rb^h-i- 135
 *kor-h₂- 159
 *k(o)r-i-o- 136
 *k(o)rt- 138
 *kouh₁-éie- 101
 *kreh₁-ro- 491
 *krei- 110
 *krei-d^hro- 144
 *krenġ-o- 142
 *krep-eto- 164
 *kreuh₂-od^h-o- 146
 *kris-ni- 145
 *kris-th₂- 145
 *krito- 110 111
 *kr-kr- 92
 *kr-kr-o- 86
 *kr-n-i- 110
 *krs-e/o- 157
 *krs-o- 157
 *kr-to- 158
 *krub₂-(e/o)nt- 146
 *krub₂-ōs 146
 *krus-to- 147
 *ks-n(e)-u- 415
 *ksou-éie/o- 540
 *ksou-ō- 540
 *kueh₂-i- 503
 *kuh₂-d-e/o- 149
 *kuH-lo- 151
 *kuot-i- 504
 *kup-eh₁- 155
 *kup-(e)-i- 155
 *kup-ro- 155
 *kur-uo- 158
 *kut-no- 154
 *ke 112
 *ke/oh₃-t- 139
 *k^hei(h₂)- 113
 *kei-uo- 116
 *kel-e/o- 424
 *kel-io- 114
 *kel-ōs 126
 *k/ken(H)-i- 115
 *ker(h₂)-uo- 111
 *-kerh₂-ēs 110
 *kerh₂-os 110
 *ker-h₂ 140
 *kerh₂-s-ro- 109
 *kel- 104 106
 *kērd 135
 *kērh₂-o- 111
 *k^hh₁s-ko- 96
 *k^hh₁s-no- 88
 *k^hh₁u-er-o- 100
 *k^hh₂-to- 99
 *ki 116
 *kiesd^h- 103
 *k^hi(h₂)-to- 113
 *ki-to- 154
 *k^hi(é)u- 122
 *kl-eh₂- 117
 *klei-tro/h₂- 121
 *klei-uo- 122
 *kleuH-o- 122
 *k^hlh₁-eh₁- 83
 *kli-ent- 120
 *kl-n(e)-i- 121
 *kloi-uo- 122
 *kloi-ni- 123

- *klu-to 122
 *kns-eh₁- 107
 *kns-eie- 107
 *koi-no- 153
 *kolh₂-mo- 150
 *kom 128
 *kom- 132
 *k/kon(H)-i- 115
 *konk-(e)ie- 153
 *kor(h₂)-uo- 139
 *kor-n- 136
 *kouH-6- 101
 *kōn- 130
 *krd-o/es 135
 *kred-d^heh₁- 141
 *kr-ēh₂ 140
 *krēp-/*krp- 143
 *kr-ēh₂ 140
 *kr-h₂-os 140
 *krH-s-r-on- 140
 *krn-o- 136
 *krn-u- 136
 *kr(o)p-(e)ie/o- 143
 *krp- 137
 *krp-os- 137
 *ks-tro- 97
 *kuh₁-mo- 152
 *kuH-ló- 150
 *kūn-os 87
 *kuon-m 87
 *kuōn 87
 *k^we 510
 *-k^we 506
 *k^weh₂ 508
 *k^weies 510
 *k^wei-s 156
 *k^welh₁-e/o- 125
 *k^welh₁-u- 127
 *k^westm- 510
 *k^weso 510
 *k^we/o-ti 511
 *k^wétuores 505
 *k^wétuōr 505
 *k^wid 510
 *k^wi(e)h₁- 508
 *k^wieh₁-ti- 508
 *k^wi^h 510
 *k^wih₂ 510
 *k^wis 510
 *k^(w)ol(H)s/no- 125
 *k^wom 152 640
 *k^wor 155
 *k^wosio 149
 *k^wosm- 508
 *k^woso 508
 *k^wo-tero- 647
 *k^wot-slo- 126
 *k^wōr 155
 *k^(w)reh₁- 144
 *k^wi(u)r-dkmt- 505
 *k^wtuēms 505
 *k^wtur- 505
 *k^wturó- 505
 *k^wturom 505
 *k^wturs 505
 *k^wtu₁-tó- 505
 *k^wu- 646
 *k^wu-d^hi/-b^hi 636
 *k^wuh₂ep-s- 654
 *Kseh₁-ró- 556
 *leḡ-e/o- 332
 *leḡ-to- 332
 *leḡ^h-no- 340
 *leḡ^h-e/o- 332
 *leḡ^h-tu- 332
 *leh₁i-u- 337
 *leh₁-n(o/i)- 333
 *leh₁-to- 335
 *leh₂b-e/o- 319
 *leh₂b-eh₁- 319
 *leh₂i-uo- 323
 *leh₂-mn-to- 324
 *leh₂-tro- 324
 *(e)jip-o- 345
 *leit-os- 346
 *lemb-o- 341
 *lent-o- 335
 *le/op-i- 335
 *lep-os- 335
 *leu-e/o- 479
 *(é)juH- 353
 *leuk- 356
 *le/ouk-s-mn 356
 *le/ouk-s-nh₂- 352
 *lēḡ- 337
 *lh₁d-to- 328
 *lh₂b-eh₂- 319
 *lh₂ei-uo- 323
 *lh₂k-(V-)ro- 320
 *lh₂-m-b- 324
 *lh₂-n-k- 320
 *lh₂-ko- 328
 *lh₂-to- 329
 *lh₂-u-tló- 349
 *lHu-e/o- 479
 *(H)u-(s)tro- 355
 *(H)u-to- 355
 *liḡ- 341
 *lik^w-to- 344
 *li-n-k^w- 344
 *loid- 351
 *loik-eie- 478
 *loimo- 342
 *lois-h₂- 345
 *lok-u- 322
 *lond^h-u-o- 352
 *loug-eie- 351
 *louh₂-tro- 331
 *louH- 353
 *louk-eie- 356
 *louk-o- 350
 *lub^h-eh₁- 338
 *lub^h-ro- 337
 *lug-so- 356
 *lug-to- 350
 *luk-(e/o-) 354
 *luk-eh₁- 356
 *mama 361
 *med- 368
 *med-o- 385
 *med-o/es- 385
 *med^hi-o- 369
 *m(e)h₁i-ti- 383
 *meh₁-n-ōt 373
 *meh₁-n-s- 373
 *m(e)h₁-ōs 390
 *meh₁-ti- 377
 *meh₁-to- 377
 *meh₂-(ō)s 366
 *meh₂ḡ- 357
 *meh₂is- 358
 *meh₂-no- 363 364
 *meh₂-tr- 367
 *meh₂-tu- 367
 *meh₁-iōs- 381
 *m(e)ih₁-is- 409
 *meik-h₂- 378
 *m(e)ih₂- 384
 *mel-e/os- 386
 *melh₂-/*mh₂- 387
 *mélh₂i 379
 *mel-iōs 370
 *mel-i(-t) 370
 *m(e)n-eh₁- 380
 *men-i- 371
 *men-os 381
 *merH-o- 376
 *mesg-e/o- 375
 *met-e- 377
 *-me-ti 377
 *mēms-ro- 370
 *mḡ-(e)h₂-(e)nt- 303
 *mḡ-i(V)s- 359
 *mḡ-no- 359
 *mh₂d-eh₁- 358
 *mh₂-es-m 366
 *mh₂-ēs 366
 *mh₂isro- 383
 *mh₂k-(e/o-) 357
 *mh₂sko- 356
 *mh₂sdo- 361
 *mh₂-s-os 366
 *mHú-to- 398
 *m(i)eu_h- 391
 *mikH-(e)ie- 378
 *mik-sk-e/o- 382
 *mi-n(e)-h₁- 381
 *mi-n(e)-u- 381
 *(H)mi-no- 24
 *(H)moi-ni- 385
 *(H)moi-ro- 396
 *mld-u- 386
 *ml-yo- 393
 *mn-eh₁- 362
 *mn-ie- 371
 *mn-ti- 372
 *mn-to- 371 373
 *moih₁-yo- 381
 *moK(-)s(-) 391
 *molh₂-h₂- 387
 *molH-lo- 360
 *molH-tlo- 360
 *m(o)lk-eie- 393
 *mol-o- 360
 *m(o)l-to- 394
 *mon-eie- 387
 *mon-i- 388
 *mon-ti- 388
 *mon-u- 363
 *mor-b^h-o- 389
 *mor-(e)i- 365
 *morh₂- 388
 *mor-i- 365
 *mor-ih₂- 365
 *mork-o- 364
 *mor-mo- 234
 *moru-o/ī- 234
 *mot-(i-) 366
 *mōl(-o)- 386
 *mrḡ-n- 365
 *mrḡ^h-ū- 75
 *mr-ie/o- 390
 *mr-eh₁- 364
 *mr-mr- 396
 *mr-ti- 390
 *mr-to- 390
 *mr-uo- 390
 *mt-n(ē)-h₂- 361
 *mud-no- 394
 *mūḡ- 392
 *muHs 396
 *mu-s- 397
 *mūs-ko- 397
 *mū-to- 398
 *n- 301
 *nb^h-r-o- 299
 *nd^hero- 302
 *nd^hmHo- 300 302
 *ne 403
 *-ne 403
 *neb^h-e-lo- 404
 *neb^h-os 409

- *neb^h-tu- 406
 *neg^s 418
 *neg^{wh}-ro- 404
 *nég^{wh}-t-s 416
 *neh₂-u- 403
 *neh₃do- 412
 *nei 408
 *nek-s 408
 *nem-e/os- 419
 *nem-o/es- 405
 *nesd-is- 407
 *neu-e/o- 419
 *neuio- 416
 *neuo- 416
 *nē 404
 *ng^{wh}-ēn 303
 *nHd-to- 401
 *nisdo- 409
 *nóg^{wh}-t-s 416
 *nog^{wh}od^ho- 418
 *nog^s 418
 *noHdo- 412
 *nok-eie- 411
 *nom-o- 419
 *no/es 413
 *nōdo- 412
 *nōs 413
 *ns-tero- 413
 *nu 418
 *n-uh₁-to- 307
 *nu-n(-ō/oi) 418
 *pd-os 462
 *pe 452
 *pe/o 494
 *ped-/*pd- 457
 *ped-i 462
 *ped-o- 430
 *ped-tu- 463
 *peh₂-d^hlo- 449
 *peh₂g-n- 465
 *peh₂g-os 443
 *peh₂k- 452
 *peh₂s- 445 449
 *p(e)h₂-sk-e/o- 449
 *peh₂-u- 451
 *péh₂-ur 500
 *peh₂-ro- 448
 *peh₃-/*ph₃- 485
 *pek-os 454
 *pek-u- 454
 *pek^{wh}-e/o- 134
 *p(e)lh₁- 440
 *pe/olH-u- 498
 *pel-ni- 455
 *penk^{wh}e 509
 *pen-o- 459
 *pen-os 459
 *pe-pk- 453
 *pe-poth₂-e 446
 *perg(H)no- 460
 *perg- 460
 *p(é)rh₃- 446
 *pérh₃-i- 446
 *péri 459
 *perk^{wh}-o/u- 506
 *per-o- 461
 *pesd- 454
 *pesd-e/o- 455
 *p(é)tk- 453
 *p(é)tk-en- 453
 *p(é)tt-tro- 449
 *pet-n-h₂- 458
 *pet-os 494
 *pet-tu- 463
 *ph₂eu-ro- 448
 *ph₂g^h-to- 443
 *ph₂k-(e/o)- 452
 *ph₂-n-g- 443
 *ph₂tér 450
 *ph₂tr-iHo- 450
 *ph₂tr-u- 450
 *ph₂u-ero- 496
 *ph₂u-ie/o- 452
 *ph₂ú-ro- 500
 *ph₃-to- 485
 *pHu-tó- 502
 *piH-n- 466
 *pik- 469
 *pi-n-k- 466
 *pi-n-s- 466
 *pi-ph₃-e/o- 72
 *pisk- 468
 *pleh₁- 472
 *pléh₁-d^h-uh₁ 471
 *pleh₁-ios- 475
 *pleh₁-ist(h₂)o- 475
 *pl(e)h₁-ro- 472
 *-pleh₁-t- 472
 *pl(e)h₂g-h₂- 469
 *pl(e)h₂-nó- 470
 *pl(e)h₂-nt-h₂- 470
 *pl(e)h₂sk- 469
 *plek-t-e/o- 472
 *pleu-e/o- 474
 *ple/ou/(k)(s)mo- 474
 *plh₁-nó- 472
 *plh₁-u- 475
 *plh₂-em-h₂- 441
 *plh₂-em-i 439
 *plh₂-n-g- 469
 *plh₂-o/u- 440
 *plh₂-to- 456
 *plh₂-u- 470 471
 *pl-n-eh₁- 477
 *pl-n(e)-h₂- 456
 *plu-mon- 497
 *plus- 496
 *pnk^{wh}-(t)o- 509
 *pnt-éh-m 479
 *pnt-h₁-ós 479
 *po/ed-m 462
 *pol(H)-n- 477
 *pol(H)-u- 477
 *poll₂-o- 429
 *p(o)l-u-o- 497
 *pónt-h₁-s 479
 *pórk-o- 481
 *por-o- 307
 *port-o- 482
 *pos(ti) 484
 *po-sth₂-i- 484
 *pót-i- 485
 *pou-eh₁- 451
 *pód-s 462
 *pr- 481
 *preh₂ 485
 *pr(e)i 489
 *prei-uo- 489
 *prek- 488
 *pr(e)k- 483
 *pr-es- 488
 *preti 488
 *preus-i- 494
 *prh₃-éi- 446
 *prh₃-mo- 486
 *prh₃-o- 447
 *prh₃-to- 487
 *pr^hH-o- 493
 *prk-h₂- 481
 *prk-sk-e/o- 483
 *pro 490 491
 *proH 490
 *pro-k(o)- 491
 *prok-o- 492
 *pro-mó- 490
 *própro 493
 *prso- 482
 *pr-sth₂-i- 484
 *prto- 482
 *pr-tu- 482
 *prus-no- 494
 *prus-uo- 494
 *(p)st-(e)r-nu- 587
 *pt-(e)-i- 464
 *pt-n(é)-h₂- 442
 *puH-io- 468
 *puH-o/es- 501
 *puH-to- 501
 *puH-tro- 501
 *pu-n(e)-g/k- 499
 *put-lo- 503
 *reh₁-i-ei 520
 *reh₁-i-m 520
 *reh₁-i-s 520
 *(H)reuH-e/o- 530
 *se 549
 *se/ol-o- 572
 *seh^hio 549
 *sed-eh₁- 552
 *seg-e/o- 552
 *seg^h-ur/-un- 560
 *seh₁-/*sh₁- 557
 *seh₁-mn 557
 *seh₁-ro- 556 558
 *seh₁-to- 559
 *seh₂ 568
 *seh₂g-i- 534
 *seh₂-i- 533
 *seh₂-tlo- 533
 *séh₂-i-to- 534
 *seh₂-i-uo- 534
 *seh₂k-r-i- 532
 *seh₂-d- 535
 *seh₂-no- 538
 *s(e)h₂-tu- 540
 *séh₂-l 570
 *sekh₁-ie/o- 550
 *sek(h₂)-no- 563
 *se-kuo- 551
 *sek^{wh}-e/o- 556
 *s(e)lh₁-e/o- 131
 *s(e)m-g^h- 566
 *semH- 554
 *seu-(o-) 553
 *seng^{wh}- 566
 *senh₂-is- 566
 *sént-i-/*snt-éi- 554
 *sepel-ie/o- 555
 *septr^h 555
 *s(e)ptm-ó- 555
 *ser-e/o- 557
 *sér-o- 558
 *s(e)rp- 540
 *serp-e/o- 558
 *sers-h₂- 558
 *ser-u-o/h₂- 559
 *se-s(o)ik- 595
 *seuc 549
 *seug-e/o- 598
 *seuk-o- 596
 *sēd-/*sed- 552
 *sēh₂-l-s 535
 *sēm-i 553
 *sg^{wh}h₂(e)l-n- 199
 *sh_{1/2}-ló- 564
 *sh₁p-i- 539
 *sh₁-to-; 557
 *sh₂ei-tlo- 533
 *sh₂éi-to- 534
 *sh₂el-d- 535

- *sh₂-él-m 535
 *sh₂k-ro- 532
 *sh₂l-d- 535
 *sh₂l-ie/o- 535
 *sh₂l-ós 535
 *sh₂l-to- 535
 *sh₂-n-k- 532
 *sh₂-ti- 540
 *sh₂u-én- 570
 *sinu- 567
 *si-sd-e/o- 562
 *si-sh₁-e/o- 557
 *si-sk-u- 562
 *siuH-ie/o- 600
 *siuH-tó- 600
 *skb^h-ro- 541
 *skeh₂-i-no- 422
 *skeh₂-i-uo- 541
 *(s)keh₂u-l-i- 100
 *(s)keip-o- 115
 *skeip-o- 545
 *skel-os 544
 *sk(e)lp- 542
 *skend-/*sknd- 543
 *(s)kend- 106
 *(s)ker-(d-) 109
 *(s)ker-s- 95
 *skh₁-i(e/o)- 545
 *skid-to- 544
 *ski-n-d- 544
 *skmb^h-no- 542
 *sknd-e/o- 543
 *skob^h-i- 541
 *skoh₂-i-ro- 422
 *skoi-to- 549
 *(s)kolh₂tro- 151
 *sk(o)rt-o- 546
 *skreib^h-e/o- 547
 *skrib^h-to- 547
 *skrob^h-h₂- 547
 *skrob^h-i- 547
 *skt- 543
 *(s)kuot-i- 504
 *sk^w-e/o- 304
 *sle/oh₁-i-mo- 342
 *(s)l(e/o)jH-uo- 347
 *sle/oub^h-ro- 349
 *slg^h-so- 331
 *slH-u- 537
 *slH-V- 536
 *slIH-ti- 346
 *sl-n-g^h-u- 325
 *sm- 553
 *sméi-ro- 382
 *(s)me/ouk-o- 392
 *smerd-h₂- 374
 *smér-u- 369
 *smh₁-tlo- 358
 *smh₂-el-i- 564
 *smi- 129
 *smih₂g^hesl-ih₂ 380^h
 *smk-slo/h₂- 359
 *(s)mr-eh₁- 374
 *(s)mu-n-k- 392
 *snéh₁-ur 407
 *sn(e)ig^{wh}- 409
 *sneig^{wh}-e/o- 409
 *(s)neh₁- 405
 *(s)neh₂-(je/o)- 411
 *(s)ne/oud^h- 417
 *sneu-tr-ih₂- 420
 *(s)nh₁-tr-ih₂- 402
 *(s)nh₂-to- 411
 *snh₁-uén- 407
 *snt-ie/o- 554
 *snusó- 420
 *so 568
 *so- 561
 *sod-ico- 571
 *soik-o- 595
 *sok^w-(h₂)-i-o- 569
 *sol(h₂)-no- 572
 *sol-eh₁- 571
 *solh₂-i-d^hh₁-o- 571
 *solk-o- 598
 *solp-r 598
 *soso 308
 *souk-o- 596
 *sölh₂- 572
 *spéh₁-m 580
 *spéh₁-s 580
 *speh₁-i-m- 583
 *spejg-/*spIHg- 580
 *speim-/*spIHn- 580
 *spek- 579
 *spek-ie/o- 579
 *spek-s- 579
 *(s)pend-e/-o- 457
 *sp(e)r-g- 578
 *sp^h(e)rh₂- 579
 *sp^her-n-h₂- 579
 *sph₁-ós 580
 *sph₁-ro- 493
 *sph₁-t- 577
 *spid-to- 581
 *sp(i)Huto- 583
 *(s)piko- 464
 *sp(i)uH-ie/o- 583
 *splg^h-én 340
 *splnd^h-eh₁- 581
 *spofH-m- 498 583
 *spol(H)-i(o)- 582
 *spond-eie/o- 582
 *spond-h₂- 582
 *(s)pond-o- 457
 *sprH-e/os- 447
 *sprH-o- 578
 *srén- 519
 *srIHg-o/es- 243
 *srk-ie/o- 539
 *srob^h-eie- 575
 *srs-ie/o- 539
 *sr-ti- 577
 *(s)teg-e/o- 608
 *(s)teg-lo- 608
 *(s)teg-no- 620
 *steh₂g- 585
 *steh₂u-ro- 305
 *steig- 305
 *steip-o- 588
 *stel-n- 590
 *steng^w-e/o- 588
 *(s)tenh₂- 623
 *ster- 586
 *st(e)r-n-h₂- 586
 *sterk^h-o- 585
 *sth₂-d^hlo- 590
 *sth₂-eh₁-ie/o- 590
 *(s)th₂-ie/o- 584
 *sth₂-to- 590
 *sth₂tu- 590
 *sth₂u-ro- 305
 *stip- 588
 *sti-sth₂-(e/o)- 567
 *st-n(e)-h₂- 590
 *(s)tog-h₂- 608
 *(s)tonh₂-eie/o- 623
 *stöl-o- 486
 *streg-sno- 591
 *streng^h-e/o- 592
 *strep-e/o- 591
 *streu-e/o- 593
 *strh₂-to- 586
 *stri-n-g- 592
 *(s)tr(o)sd^h-o- 634
 *stud-eh₁- 593
 *(s)tu-n-d- 634
 *stup-eh₁- 593
 *stup-ro- 593
 *sue(-)sr- 576
 *sue(h₁)d^hh₁- 597
 *sue-d^hh₁- 570
 *such₂d-u- 594
 *sueid-s- 596
 *(s)ueks 560
 *suekrüh₂- 569
 *suekürh₂- 569
 *suekuro- 569
 *suenH-(ti) 574
 *suep-/*sup- 575
 *suepno- 573
 *suep-s 575
 *suer- 602
 *suesör 576
 *suh_{1/3}-os 603
 *suh_{1/3}s 603
 *sue- 549
 *su(o)h₂d-eie- 594
 *suo/ep-r 575
 *suoid-o- 596
 *suonh₂-(e)ie/o- 574
 *suopno- 573
 *suord-of-i- 576
 *suöp-s 575
 *sup-i- 601
 *surd-to- 594
 *-te 494
 *teh₂-b^h-eh₁- 603
 *-teh₂g- 606
 *teh₂-li- 605
 *teh₂m 606
 *teh₂-nt-(o)- 606
 *tek-no- 620
 *tek-s- 619
 *tel-h₂- 622
 *telh₂-o- 608
 *temH-os- 609
 *temH-s-ro- 612
 *(e)mp-lo- 610
 *temp-os 611
 *(e)mp-to- 611
 *ten(K)s(-)m-n- 610
 *ten-d^h- 612
 *teng- 620
 *teng-s- 620
 *ten-os- 613
 *(e)p-eh₁- 614
 *tep-os- 614
 *ter-en- 613
 *terh₁-/*trh₁- 616
 *ter-mn- 615
 *ters-h₂- 616
 *teru-no- 613
 *te-tolh₂- 622
 *te-touh₂- 632
 *teue 631
 *téuh₂-mn 622
 *tēMH- 609
 *th₂-d^hlo- 604
 *th₂g-rmen- 132
 *th₂g-to- 606
 *th₂-n-g- 606
 *tHk-eh₁- 604
 *ti(H) 631
 *tih₁-ti- 620
 *tkei- 566
 *tki- 566
 *tk-i-n-(e/o)- 479
 *tlh₂-to- 214 622
 *tl-n(e)-h₂- 622
 *tlok^w- 348
 *tm-n(e)-h₁- 609

- *tn-eh₁- 613
 *tnh₂-(e)u- 614
 *tn-to- 612
 *tod 568
 *toi 631
 *tom 633
 *tond-eie- 622
 *tong-ei(e)- 623
 *ton-sl-i- 621
 *torg^w-o- 625
 *tork^w-eie- 624
 *tors-eie- 624
 *to-ti 625
 *tough₂-eie- 622 632
 *tr(e)m- 628
 *trb- 626
 *treb- 626
 *treh₁-i- 616
 *treies 629
 *trep- 628
 *treud-(e/o-) 630
 *trh₂-nt-s 627
 *tri- 629
 *tri- 262
 *tridkmth₂ 262
 *tri-d^hh₁-u- 629
 *trih₂ 629
 *trih₂dkomth₂ 629
 *trio- 629
 *tris 629
 *tritio- 629
 *trito- 629
 *trito-sth₂-o- 618
 *-tr-ós 450
 *tros-eie- 617
 *trp-eh₁- 624
 *trs-eh₁- 624
 *trs-to- 624
 *tspërsn-h₂- 461
 *tue 631
 *tued 631
 *tum-eh₁- 633
 *tu-o- 631
 *(H)üd(s) 646
 *(H)üd-ér-o- 647
 *ud-n- 641
 *ud-ör 641
 *ud-r-i- 647
 *ud-ro- 355
 *-ue 656
 *ued-ro- 685
 *ueg-o- 657
 *ueg-slo- 660
 *ueg-eh₁- 677
 *ueg-l-i- 677
 *ueg^h- 133
 *ueg^h-e/o- 658
 *ueh₁-mn 677
 *u(e/o)h₁-r 644
 *ueh₁-ro- 668
 *-ueh₁-s 471
 *ueh₂d^h- 650
 *ueib- 674
 *ueih₁- 687
 *ueih₁-(ë)n 680
 *ueik- 675
 *ueip-es- 681
 *ueis 682
 ue-k^()sp-er-o- 670
 *uelh₁- 687
 *uel-h₂- 686
 *uelh₃- 659
 *uelh₃-nos- 687
 *u(e/o)p-i 689
 *u(e)l-tu- 688
 *uel-u- 690
 *u(e/o)l-u-h₂- 689
 *uemh₁- 690
 *uenh₁-ih₂- 661
 *uenh₁-os 663
 *uerb^(h)-es- 664
 *u(e)r-eh₁- 665
 *uerh₁-d^hh₁-o- 664
 *u(e)rs-ti- 671
 *u(e/o)rs-u- 666
 *ueru- 668
 *ue(r)-yer- 685
 *ues-ti- 678
 *ues-no- 660 663
 *ues-r/n- 663
 *ues-ti- 671 672
 *ues-to- 671
 *uet- 685
 *ue/ot-eh₂- 672
 *uet-os- 673
 *uet-s-o- 673
 *ue-u(o)rt- 430
 *uēs- 669
 uh₁-i-éie-^{}to 677
 *uh₁-ti- 683
 *uh₁-mo- 639
 *uh₂d^h-o- 650
 *uh₂lso- 652
 *üjd-eh₁- 676
 *uih₁-e/on-m 680
 *uih₁-eh₂- 673
 *uih₁-n- 680
 *uih₁-to- 307 684
 *uiH-elo- 680
 *uiH-ró- 681
 *uiH-s 683
 *uik- 674 686
 *uik-to- 679
 *uik- 675
 *ui-n-k- 679
 *uip/b-ro- 674
 *uis-g- 682
 *uis-os 682
 *uks-ó- 560
 *uleik^w- 345 478
 *uik^w-o- 353
 *ul-n(e)-h₃- 659
 *(H)ulp-i- 688
 *(H)unh₁- 662
 *uod^h-s 655
 *uoğ-eie/o- 657
 *uog^{nh}-ni- 690
 *uol-eu-o- 653
 *u(o)rb^h-(i-) 643
 *u(o)rg^h-eie- 644
 *u(o)rH-o- 654
 *u(o)ru-o- 645
 *uo/es 691
 *uos-p- 670
 *uoth₂-eie/o- 672
 *uök^w- 692
 *uōs 691
 *uper-o- 601
 *ur(e)h₂-d-iH- 512
 *ure 516
 *ureh₃d-e/o- 526
 *ureik-h₂- 522
 *ureng- 524
 *urmi- 665
 *urs-e/o- 666
 *us-tero- 691