COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR.
A Compendium

of the

Comparative Grammar

of the

Indo-European, Sanskrit, Greek and Latin Languages.

by

August Schleicher.

Translated from the Third German Edition

by

Herbert Bendall, M.A.

Chr. Coll. Camb.

Part I.


1874.

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HERTFORD:
PRINTED BY STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS.

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

This book is a translation of those parts of Schleicher's 'Compendium der vergleichenden Grammatik der Indogermanischen sprachen' which treat directly of the Indo-European original language, Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin: it was undertaken for the use of students of Greek and Latin Philology, on the suggestion of Mr. Peile, M.A., of Christ's College, Cambridge, to whom I am indebted for several hints and corrections. My thanks are due to Herr Gustav Voigt also, for help kindly given.

I shall be glad if readers will point out any mistakes in the translation.

HERBERT BENDALL.

LIVERPOOL COLLEGE,
Oct. 1874.
This work is meant to be an elementary handbook for lectures and self-instruction. The want of such a work has been hitherto widely felt. The state of Indo-European Philology is now such that it has become possible to write a compendium of the comparative grammar of the Indo-European languages. After we have discarded that part which is still doubtful, there remains a large store of knowledge, embracing the different sides which language offers to scientific treatment: this knowledge will, in my opinion, stand unshaken for all time. The chief object of a compendium of the Indo-European languages is to collect and arrange in a short and appropriate form, and yet in an intelligible manner, these results of Indo-European Philology. Where, however, it is impossible to avoid mentioning what is obscure and doubtful, it will be expressly characterized as such.

It is no slight task to compose a first handbook of this kind treating of the formation of the Indo-European languages: whether the writer of the present work has succeeded in temporarily satisfying the want, others must decide; but he begs them to take it into consideration that his book is a first essay in the direction pointed out.
The following account of the origin of my book may to some extent at least show that I have honestly encountered the difficulties of the task.

I have been Academical Professor for fifteen years, and have lectured on Indo-European grammar from the outset; partly sketching out grammars of particular Indo-European languages, from a philological point of view, partly writing a grammar of the languages which collectively form a speech-stem, i.e. a so-called Comparative Grammar. To infer from the number of hearers whom even these latter lectures attracted, and from the perseverance and attention with which I was listened to, they must have treated the subject in a manner intelligible to beginners. I have remodelled my notes more than once. It was a real pleasure to work for my hearers and pupils here: I am indebted to their encouragement and participation for the heartiness with which I undertook the complete re-arrangement of my treatise on Comparative Grammar of Indo-European languages, which I had delivered in two sets of half-yearly lectures.

In these lectures on Indo-European grammar I felt the want of a printed elementary treatise, which should offer in the most appropriate way the necessary examples and comparative tables. Dictating, and continually writing on the black board, is wearisome both to hearers and to the lecturer. Hence the thought first occurred to me of having my paper multiplied in MS. for the use of my pupils. And from this arose by degrees what I have now completed, the composition
PREFACE.

of a compendium especially for beginners. This book is therefore my notes repeatedly revised, and this is the point of view from which I desire it to be used and criticized.

It is to be understood that in my lectures I did not confine myself to the matter in the notes; what is printed here is merely that part which I used to dictate. Enlargements on particular points and excursus by the way I have never denied myself. Those who make use of this compendium will perhaps take this into consideration. The attempt to reduce the compass of the book to the narrowest limits possible made it a necessity to banish from it all discussions as regards different views. Generally I have attempted, whenever I could, to arrange the facts in such a way that they carried their proofs with them: moreover, the materials are so copious that even in the lectures it is difficult to find time for a controversial statement of details.

Circumstances unfortunately compelled me to finish the last preparation of the MS. for a printed compendium in a short time: but I hope that I have nevertheless written a useful book.

The design and execution of my work must speak for themselves; to discuss these points here would occupy too much space, and lengthen the compass of the preface to excess.

August Schleicher.

Jena, September, 1861.
### ABBREVIATIONS

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<tr>
<td>A.S.</td>
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<td>acc. to</td>
<td>according to</td>
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<td>bef.</td>
<td>before</td>
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<td>bes.</td>
<td>beside</td>
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<td>betw.</td>
<td>between</td>
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<td>caus.</td>
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<td>comb.</td>
<td>combination</td>
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<td>dial.</td>
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<td>ex.</td>
<td>example</td>
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<td>exx.</td>
<td>examples</td>
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<td>f.f.</td>
<td>fundamental form</td>
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<td>fm.</td>
<td>form</td>
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<td>fmn.</td>
<td>formation</td>
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<td>inserr.</td>
<td>inscriptions</td>
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<td>M.H.G.</td>
<td>Middle High German</td>
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<td>mom.</td>
<td>momentary</td>
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<tr>
<td>N.H.G.</td>
<td>New High German</td>
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<tr>
<td>O.Bulg.</td>
<td>Old Bulgarian</td>
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<tr>
<td>O.H.G.</td>
<td>Old High German</td>
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<tr>
<td>origl.</td>
<td>original Indo-European language</td>
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<tr>
<td>partt.</td>
<td>particles</td>
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<td>Pol.</td>
<td>Polish</td>
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<td>root</td>
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<td>sf.</td>
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<td>termin.</td>
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<td>unacc.</td>
<td>unaccentuate</td>
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Asterisk * indicates that the form does not occur.

The other abbreviations explain themselves.
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---

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**Note.** \( \theta \) for \( \chi \)

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**Note.** \( \epsilon \) from middle to beginning of a word

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e. Partial assimilation of foregoing to following sounds, before $\tau$, $\sigma$, only mutes can stand, before $\delta$ only sonants, before $\theta$ only aspirates. Before $\nu$ labials pass over into their labial; $\nu$ before labials becomes $\mu$; $\tau$, $\delta$, $\theta$, before $\mu$ often become $\sigma$; $\kappa$, $\chi$, before $\mu$ become $\gamma$; aspiration before nasals, $\rho$, $\lambda$; $\tau$ before $\iota$ becomes $\sigma$, sometimes also before $\nu$.

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   \[ f=\text{origl. } gh \]

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   \[ b=\text{origl. } dh \]

2. *bh; Lat. b=origl. bh*
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INTRODUCTION.

I. Grammar forms one part of the science of language: this science is itself a part of the natural history of Man. Its method is in substance that of natural science generally; it consists in accurate investigation of our object and in conclusions founded upon that investigation. One of the chief problems of the science of language is the inquiry into, and description of the classes of languages or speech-stems, that is, of the languages which are derived from one and the same original tongue, and the arrangement of these classes according to a natural system. In proportion to the remainder but few speech-stems have hitherto been accurately investigated, so that the solution of this chief problem of the science must be looked for only in the future.

By grammar we mean the scientific comprehension and explanation of the sound, the form, the function of words and their parts, and the construction of sentences. Grammar therefore treats of the knowledge of sounds, or Phonology; of forms, or Morphology; of functions, or the science of meaning and relation, and syntax. The subject of grammar may be language in general, or one particular language or group of languages; grammar may be universal or special: it will in most cases be concerned in explaining the language as a product of growth, and will thus have to investigate and lay down the development of the language according to its laws. This is its exclusive province, and therefore its subject is the laying-down of the 'life of the language,' generally called historical grammar, or history of language, but more correctly 'science of the life of
a language' (of sound, form, function, and sentence), and this again may be likewise as well general as more or less special.

The grammar of the Indo-European languages is therefore a special grammar: because it treats of these languages as products of growth, and exhibits their earlier and earliest gradations, and would therefore be more accurately called a special historical grammar of Indo-European languages.

Note 1.—By comparative grammar is meant not that grammar which is merely descriptive, but that which throws light on speech-forms as far as possible, because as a rule it is not confined to the treatment of any one particular language.

Note 2.—The following work embraces only two parts, viz. scientific treatment of sounds and of forms. Indo-European function and sentence-formation we are not at present in a position to handle in the same way as in the case of the more external and intelligible branches—sounds and forms.

II. To assume one original universal language is impossible; there are rather many original languages: this is a certain result obtained by the comparative treatment of the languages of the world which have lived till now. Since languages are continually dying out, whilst no new ones practically arise, there must have been originally many more languages than at present. The number of original languages was therefore certainly far larger than has been supposed from the still-existing languages. The easiest preliminary distribution of languages which we can make is suggested by their morphological constitution.

There are—

1. Languages which are simply composed of invariable disjointed meaning-sounds, Monosyllabic, e.g. Chinese, Annamese, Siamese, Burmese. Such sounds we denote by R (radix). The Indo-European language would be in this stage of development when the word ai-mi (I go, et/it) was sounded not so, but as i or i ma (formula R, or R + r).

2. Languages which can link to these invariable sounds sounds of relation, either before, or after, or in the middle, or
in more than one place at once [denoted here as $s$. (suffix), $p$. (prefix), $i$. (infix)]. These are Confixative languages, e.g. Finnish, Tatar, Dekhan, Basque, the languages of the aborigines of the New World, of South Africa (Bântu), and most languages in fact. In this step of development the word ai-$mi$ would be $i$-$ma$ or $i$-$mi$.

3. Languages which for the purpose of expressing relation can regularly vary their roots as well as their confixes (which have sprung from independent original roots), and can at the same time preserve intact the means of compounding. These are Inflexive languages. Such a root as is regularly varied for the end of expressing relation is here denoted by $R^s$ ($R^1$, $R^2$, etc.), a similar suffix by $s^*$.

Hitherto we have become acquainted with only two speech-stems of this class, the Semitic and the Indo-European. The latter has for all words only one formula, viz. $R^s s^*$ ($s^*$ meaning one or more than one regularly variable suffix), and consequently a regularly variable root with a regularly variable expression of relation at the end of the suffix, e.g. $ai$-$mi$, $ei$-$mu$, $\sqrt{i}$.

The Indo-European is therefore a suffix-language, together with the neighbouring languages of the Finnish stem, including Tataric, (Turkish) Mongolian, Tungusian, Samoiedish, as also with the Dravidian (Dekhan)—all included in the formula $Rs$.

*Note 1.*—The Semitic, which is not akin to the Indo-European, has more word-forms, namely $R^s$ and $pR^s$, forms quite strange to Indo-European, which has only one. Besides, its vowel-system is perfectly distinct from the Indo-European, not to mention other marked differences. Cf. Aug. Schleicher, ‘Semitisch und Indogermanisch’ in Beitr. ii. 236–244. An attempt to deduce the fundamental language of the Semitic speech-stem has been made by Justus Olshausen in his lehrbuche der hebräischen sprache, Brunswick, 1862.

*Note 2.*—The augment in Indo-European is no relation-affix, no prefix, but an adherent, though originally independent word, which may moreover be omitted.
III. The life of a language (generally called its 'history') falls under two heads—

1. Development in prehistoric times. As man has developed, so also has his language, i.e. the expression of his thoughts by sounds: even the simplest language is the product of a gradual growth: all higher forms of language have come out of simpler ones, the Confixative out of the Monosyllabic, the Inflexive out of the Confixative.

2. Decline in the historic period. Language declines both in sound and in form, and in its decay changes of meaning take place alike in function and construction of sentences. The transition from the first to the second period is one of slower progress. To investigate the laws by which languages change during their life is a most important problem in the science of language, for unless we are acquainted with them we cannot possibly understand the languages in question, especially those which are still living.

Through different developments, at different points in the province of one and the same language, the self-same tongue branches out into the ramifications of the second period (whose beginning however is likewise earlier than the origin of historic tradition), and diverges into several languages (dialects): this process of differentiation may repeat itself more than once.

All these changes took place gradually and at long intervals in the life of the language, since generally all changes in language unfold themselves gradually.

The languages which spring immediately from an original language we call fundamental; almost every fundamental-language has split up into languages; all these last-named languages may further branch into dialects; and these dialects into sub-dialects.

All the languages which are derived from one original-language form together a class of speech or speech-stem;
these again are sub-divided into families or branches of speech.

IV. The name of Indo-European has been given to a distinct set of languages belonging to the Asiatico-European division of the earth, and of a constitution so consistent internally, and so different from all other languages, that it is clearly and undoubtedly derived from one common original language.

Within this Indo-European class of speech however certain languages geographically allied point themselves out as more closely related to one another: thus the Indo-European speech-stem falls into three groups or divisions.

These are:

1. The Asiatic or Aryan division, comprising the Indian, Iranian (or more correctly Eranian), families of speech, very closely allied to one another. The oldest representative and fundamental-language of the Indo-European family, and generally the oldest known Indo-European language, is the Old-Indian, the language of the oldest portion of the Védas; later on, after it had become fixed in a more simplified form, and subject to certain rules, as a correct written language, in opposition to the peoples' dialects, called Sanskrit. We are not acquainted with Eranian in its original form: the oldest known languages of this stem are the Old-Baktrian or Zend (the Eastern), and the Old-Persian, the language of the Achaimenid cuneiform inscriptions (the western). To this family besides is related the Armenian, which we know only from a later date, and which must have branched off even in early times from the Eranian fundamental-language.

2. The south-west European division, composed of the Greek, next to which we must perhaps place the Albanian, preserved to us only in a later form; Italian (the oldest known forms of this language are the Latin,—especially important for us is the Old-Latin, as it was before the in-
roduction of the correct literary language formed under Greek influence,—the Umbrian and the Oscan), Keltic, of which family the best known, though already highly decomposed, language is the Old-Irish, Erse dating from 700 A.D. Italian and Keltic have more in common with one another than with the Greek.

3. The North-European division, composed of the Sclavonic family with its closely-allied Lithuanian,—the most important language for us of this group,—and the German, widely separated from both. The oldest forms of this division are the Old-Bulgarian (Old Church-Slavonic in MSS. dating from 1100 A.D.): the Lithuanian (and of course the High-Lithuanian, South-Lithuanian, Prussian Lithuanian), first known to us 300 years ago, but clearly of far greater antiquity, and the Gothic from the fourth century. Beside the Gothic, however, are the oldest representatives of German and Norse, Old-High-German, and Old-Norse, which we may bring forward when they present earlier forms than Gothic.

The greatest number of archaic particulars in point of sounds and construction of language is found in the Asiatic division, and within it, in the Old-Indian; next in point of archaicisms (i.e. preservation of similarity to the original language, by having fewer strongly-developed and peculiar forms) comes the S.W.-division, in which Greek is found to be most faithful; and lastly the N.-European group, which, if regarded as a whole, may be shown to have the most characteristic development, and to be the least faithful to the original language.

By combining these facts with the above-named relationships of the Indo-European languages, and drawing inferences as to the process of separation of the Indo-European body of language in ancient times, we get the following result: The Indo-European original language differentiates first, through unequal development in different parts where it prevailed, into
two fundamental-languages, viz. the Sclavo-Teutonic, which afterwards divided itself into Teutonic and Sclavo-Lithuanian, and the Aryo-Graeco-Italo-Keltic, the remaining portion of the Indo-European language, which divided itself into Graeco-Italo-Keltic and Aryan; and the Graeco-Italo-Keltic soon split up into Greek and Italo-Keltic, while the first, the Aryan, remained undivided for some time. Later still the Sclavo-Lithuanian, the Aryan (Indo-Eranian) and Italo-Keltic, further divided themselves. It may be that at most or at all of the divisions there arose more languages than we now know of, since probably many Indo-European languages have died out through lapse of time. The further eastward an Indo-European people lives, the more archaicisms are found in its language: the further westward they have gone, the fewer archaicisms, and the more numerous new-formations are found in the language. From these and other indications we infer that the Sclavo-Teutonic race first began its wanderings westwards; next followed the Graeco-Italo-Keltic; and of the Aryans who remained behind, the Indians journeyed south-eastward, the Eranians south-westward. The home of the Indo-European original race must be sought in the highlands of Central Asia.

It is only of the Indians, who were the last to leave the parent stem, that it is quite certain that they expelled an aboriginal race from their later dwelling-place, a race of whose language much passed into their own: a similar process is highly probable in the case of many other Indo-European peoples.

The most ancient divisions of the Indo-European, up to the origin of the fundamental languages belonging to the families of speech formed from the speech-stem, may be seen in the following table (see next page). The length of the lines shows the duration of the periods, their distances from one another, the degrees of relationship.
Note.—In the present work an attempt is made to set forth
the inferred Indo-European original language side by side with
its really existent derived languages. Besides the advantages
offered by such a plan, in setting immediately before the eyes
of the student the final results of the investigation in a more
concrete form, and thereby rendering easier his insight into
the nature of particular Indo-European languages, there is,
I think, another of no less importance gained by it, namely
that it shows the baselessness of the assumption that the non-
Indian Indo-European languages were derived from Old-Indian
(Sanskrit), an assumption which has not yet entirely disap-
ppeared. This view has found supporters up to the present
date, especially as regards Old-Baktrian (Zend). The term
‘Sanskritist,’ not seldom applied to Indo-European philologers
(meaning that we concede to Sanskrit a position which it does
not deserve, by deriving other languages from Sanskrit, or
explaining them by it, instead of studying them fundamentally),
is likewise shown to be quite inapplicable by the plan employed
in the Compendium. The disadvantage of having in certain
cases Indo-European original forms inferred which are more
or less doubtful, does not weigh at all against the advantages
which, according to our view, are attained by the arrangement
of the subject used hereafter.

A form traced back to the sound-grade of the Indo-European
original language, we call a fundamental-form [f.f.] (e.g. Lat.
generis, f.f. ganasas; Gk. γένους, f.f. ganasas). Hence it is only
when forms of different sound-grades are brought to one and
the same sound-grade, that we can compare them with one
another. When we bring forward these fundamental-forms,
we do not assert that they really were once in existence.
GRAMMAR.

PHONOLOGY.

A. VOWELS.

INDO-EUROPEAN ORIGINAL-LANGUAGE.

§ 1.

Since in the citation of examples we make use not only of vowels but also of consonants, before we treat of the vowels we proceed to set forth a table of the speech-sounds collectively, arranged according to the physiology of sound, followed by the necessary remarks upon pronunciation, etc.

Table of the Sounds of the Indo-European Original Language,

i.e. those sounds from which arose the sounds of the different Indo-European languages; according to the laws of sound-change which come into play during the life of a language, and to which accordingly, they may be traced as to a common source.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONSONANTS.</th>
<th>VOWELS.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MOMENTARY SOUNDS.</td>
<td>PROLONGED SOUNDS.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNASPIRATED.</td>
<td>ASPIRATED.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mute sonant</td>
<td>sonant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gutt.</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pal.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ling.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dent.</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lab.</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

i.e. | aa, āa | ai, āi | au, āu |
§ 1. **Note 1.**—The three aspirates and the vowel-diphthongs with ā (thus āa, āi, āu) probably were wanting at an earlier period in the life of the Indo-European original language; in the most archaic state of the language, while it was yet uninflected, all the vowel-diphthongs were absent.

Thus the Indo-European original language probably possessed six momentary sounds, viz. three mutes, and three sonants; six consonantal prolonged sounds, viz. three spirants, and three so-called liquids, *i.e.* the two nasals *n, m*, and *r* (*l* is a secondary offshoot of *r*), and six vowels. At a later period, shortly before the first separation, there were nine momentary, and nine vowel-sounds. We must not overlook the numerical proportion belonging to the number of sounds.

**Note 2.**—Sonants (or medials) are those consonants in whose production the glottis gives a simultaneous sound: this is the case with all nasals and *r* - and *l*-sounds, whilst the momentary consonants and spirants can be pronounced with or without the accompaniment of the vocal-sound. Sonants thus have something of the vowel in their composition. The aspirates are double sounds; both sounds of which they consist, the preceding momentary consonant and the subsequent aspiration, must be heard in pronunciation.

**Note 3.**—The momentary consonant which precedes the pronunciation of an initial vowel—the so-called spiritus lenis, the aleph or hamza of the Semitic,—which is formed by the sudden separation of the vocal chords, should properly be represented here and in the other languages in the tables, and expressed by a special character (perhaps, after Gk. analogy). It is a consonant sound produced in the larynx alone, and must therefore be placed in a laryngal class of sounds (to which *h* also belongs, v. post. § 4). Nevertheless I have ventured to abide by the majority of Indo-European spelling-systems, and to leave this sound uncharacterized.

§ 2. **Vowels of the Indo-European Language.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fundamental vowel</th>
<th>1st Step</th>
<th>2nd Step</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. a-scale a</td>
<td>a+a=aa</td>
<td>a+aa=āa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. i-scale i</td>
<td>a+i=ai</td>
<td>a+ai=āi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. u-scale u</td>
<td>a+u=au</td>
<td>a+au=āu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note 1.**—The second step occurs in the Asiatic, South-European, and North-European divisions of the Indo-European languages, and therefore in all probability traces its existence.
from the original language, though the separate languages often § 2. disagree in its use.

Note 2.—aa and āa were perhaps even in early times both compressed into a. But at the same time the two ās which thus arose are distinguished from one another, e.g. in Greek and Gothic ā of the 1st is distinguished from ā of the 2nd step. Notwithstanding that the earliest Indian and the Zend seem to bear evidence against the contraction of both as, we have placed throughout hereafter an ā for aa and āa in original Indo-European words, chiefly because it would be impossible to distinguish always between a 1st and a 2nd step-form.

a, the commonest vowel, constitutes a class by itself; i and u are by nature very similar, and are fundamentally different from a. i and u have the consonants y and v as collateral relations, and frequently as representatives, whilst a cannot pass into any consonantal sound, and has therefore the vowel-nature in a higher degree than the more consonantal sounds i and u. a is by far the most frequent vowel in the Indo-European language, occurring more often than i and u taken together.

Each vowel can move in its own scale only: this takes place in the root itself for the purpose of expressing relation: the vowels in stem-formative and word-formative suffixes likewise are capable of step-formation, since these suffixes themselves have arisen from roots originally independent. The fundamental-form of the root is always to be cited with the fundamental vowel. Before two consonants the step-formation does not take place; the fundamental vowel a (never i or u) is found in all roots which end in two consonants.

The essence of inflexion depends upon the vowel-system.

Vowel-lengthening must not be conceded to the original language as being of secondary origin.

Note.—Even where the correspondence between different Indo-European languages seems to point to a greater antiquity in the lengthening (e.g. in many nom. sing. as Sk. pīṭār(s), Gk. πατήρ, Old-Lat. pātēr, Goth. fudar, i.e. *fathār; Sk. dūrmanās, Gk. δομενής; Sk. áʒmā, Gk. πομήν, Lith. akmā, Lat. homō,
§ 2. Goth. guma, i.e. *gumā) we believe that we see an unoriginal phenomenon, which suitably to the nature of the case did not become developed in the different Indo-European languages till after their separation from the original language (not unfrequently the conformity is wanting even in this particular, cf. Sk. bhāran, Gr. φέρων, Lat. ferens, Goth. bairands, Sclav. bery). In the original language we can cite here only the pure fundamental forms, i.e. the word preserved perfectly intact as regards all its parts (thus, e.g. patars, dusmanass, akmans).

Examples.

1. a-scale.

vak-mi (1 sg. pres.), √vak (speak), va-vāk-ma (1 sg. pf.), vāk-s (uox); bhar-āmi, ba-bhar-mi (I bear), bhar-ta-s (borne), √bhar (bear), ba-bhār-ta (3 sg. pf.), bẖār-a-s (burden), bẖār-aya-ti (3 sg. pres. caus. vb.; φοπεῖ); da-ta-s, da-tā (datus, data), √da (give), da-dā-mi (1 sg. pres.); dha-ta-s, dha-tā (past part. pass. n. sg. m. f.), √dha (set), da-dhā-mi (1 sg. pres.), etc.

2. i-scale.

i-masi (1 pl. pres.), √i (go), ai-mi (I go); vid-masi (1 pl. pres.), √vid (see, know), vaid-mi (I see), vaid-aya-ti (3 sg. pres. caus. vb.), vi-vāid-ma (pf.); √div (shine), div-am (acc. sg. word-st. div, light, bright sky, Zevs), daiv-a-s (shining, diuos, deus), etc.

3. u-scale.

bhug-na-s (past part. pass.), a-bhug-am (1 sg. aor.), √bhug (bend), bhāng-āmi (1 sg. pres.) bu-bhāng-ma (1 sg. pf.); yug-a-m (iugum), yug-ta-s (iunctus), √yug (iungere), yu-yāug-ma (1 sg. pf.), etc.

Note.—The agreement of Greek and Gothic proves the 2nd step in pf.; πέφευγα gives no evidence against the 2nd step, but is a Graecism for *πέφονγα; cf. forms like λέ-λοντ-α, √λιπ, which therefore would lead us to expect ov here, because ε corresponds to ευ; v. sub Greek vowel-system.

§ 3.

Vowel Sound-laws

(i.e. influence of vowels and consonants on vowels) were not existent in the original Indo-European language.

A meeting of several vowels occurs but seldom, since hitherto
no consonants have been elided, and prepositions, like separable § 3. adverbs, stand before their verb. Nevertheless, if two vowels do come into contact with one another in consequence of word-formation, hiatus perhaps occurred in the most original state of the language; in early time, however, a may have become fused with following vowels: thus probably i (and u, but examples are wanting) after a becomes combined with it into a diphthong, in cases like bharai (3 sg. opt.), √bhar (bear), pres. st. bharas, i is the sign of the opt.; the opt.-st. is thus bharai-, t=st. of 3 sg. But the sequence of two vowels, of which the former is i or u, will not be considered as a hiatus, e.g. i and u (so also ai, āi, au, āu) remain unchanged before other vowels, as i-anti (3 pl. pres. √i, go), ku-kru-anti (3 pl. pf.) krau-as (neut. the hearing, √kru, hear).

Note.—The earliest Old-Indian points clearly to the non-avoidance of hiatus between i, u (and the diphthongs which have these vowels as their key-elements), and following vowels. We may nevertheless suppose that iyanti, kukruvanti, kruvas were pronounced, i.e. that i and u before vowels split up into iy, uv, as this pronunciation almost arises from them.

SANSKRIT.

Tabular View of Sanskrit Sounds. § 4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONSONANTS.</th>
<th>PROLONGED.</th>
<th>VOWELS.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UNASPIRATED,</td>
<td>ASPIRATED,</td>
<td>SPIRANTS,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mute sonant</td>
<td>mute sonant</td>
<td>NASALS, r- &amp; l-sound, sonant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gut.</td>
<td>k g</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pal.</td>
<td>k g</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ling.</td>
<td>t d</td>
<td>th dh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dent.</td>
<td>t d</td>
<td>th dh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lab.</td>
<td>p b</td>
<td>ph bh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
§ 4. The nasalised pronunciation of vowels (as Fr. en, on) is indicated by \( \sim \) (\( \tilde{a}, \tilde{i}, \) etc.): this pronunciation arises through the change of a following nasal consonant according to sound-laws.

The accented syllable is marked '.

Note 1.—If we compare the above table with the table of Indo-European sounds in § 1, we shall find that the sounds collectively existed in the original language likewise \( \tilde{e} = \) original \( \breve{a}i, \tilde{o} = \) original \( \breve{a}u \), but in addition to them we shall see a number of very similar unoriginal sounds, which have arisen from those original sounds according to the laws of language, and now stand side by side with them.

Note 2.—The doctrine of the Sanskrit alphabet belongs to Sanskrit special-grammar, as an appendix to the sound-rules.

Pronunciation. Known to us through the Hindu, which is on the whole a very good representative, and by means of the physiology of sounds, and the history of language.

The remarks on the pronunciation of the aspirates in § 1 hold good here also: they are distinct double sounds, and the \( h \) must be made audible after the momentary sounds.

We are accustomed to pronounce the momentary palatals \( \acute{e}, \acute{y}, \acute{e}h, \acute{g}h \), like tsch, dsch, or, more accurately, like French \( dj, tschh, djh \), a pronunciation which is correct only for a later state of the language; in the earlier period the correct pronunciation of \( \acute{e} \) and \( \acute{y} \) would be a close blending of \( ky, gy \)—almost like \( k, g \), in German kind, gieng (in the case of the aspirates the aspiration is still naturally added). Our pronunciation of these sounds is nevertheless clumsy (especially before other sounds than \( i, e \)), and we therefore willingly abide by the somewhat incorrect traditional pronunciation, i.e. momentary dental + lingual spirant.

'Lingual,' for want of a better term, is used for that part of the mouth between the palate and the teeth. The momentary linguals are sounds like \( t \) and \( d \), except that they are produced not by the teeth, but much further back towards the palate:
to effect this the tongue must be bent backwards: these sounds are called by the Hindus 'head-sounds' (which has been mistranslated 'cerebral'): in the conventional European pronunciation they are not distinguished from the dentals.

Of the spirants, the exact pronunciation of $\zeta$ (a variation fr. $s$ acc. to sound-laws) is not known; it has no equivalent in sound: we pronounce it either as $h$ or not at all.

$h$ is always audible and equivalent to a sonant, and is therefore like our $h$, but must, however, be sounded emphatically. The $h$ is a fricative noise formed in the upper part of the larynx, and belongs (like ' $\zeta$', § 1, Note 3) to the class of laryngal consonants. For convenience, here and in the other languages where it makes its appearance, we have placed it amongst 'Gutturals.' $h$ can be produced either with or without vibration of the vocal chords, i.e. as a sonant or as a mute.

$\zeta$ must be pronounced like $y$, but without its accompanying vocal-sound, and probably somewhat more sharply (with closer contraction of the organ), perhaps like $ch$ in sichel; the conventional pronunciation as a sharp $sh$ is wrong, and must be avoided; $\zeta$ has nothing in common with $s$.

$\zeta=$Germ. $sch$, Fr. $ch$.

**Nasals.** $\breve{n}$ is the guttural nasal, and must therefore be pronounced like Germ. $n$ in enkel, or $ng$ in lange; $\breve{n}$ is the pal. nas., which must have been sounded as a close blending of $ny$ (as Fr. $gn$ in campagne); $\breve{n}$, the head-nasal, takes the place of formative $n$, where $t$ or $d$ follows: our pronunciation of it is unsuccessful, for we usually confuse it with $n$.

$r$ and $l$ as vowels are perhaps sounded as in Germ. hadern, handeln, pronounced with an inaudible $e$ as er, el; the existence of a strong vowel-sound in vowel $r$ is expressly attested by Hindu grammarians (Benfey, Or. und Occ. iii. 25 sqq.). $\tilde{r}$ is $\approx$ long $r$, and should therefore be distinguished from it by a more prolonged pronunciation. Also $r$ before consonants was pronounced as a consonant, with a strongly perceptible vibration of
the chords (as in other languages, especially in Zend), which even appears in spelling as a perfect vowel (a, i) after r. (Benfey, ib. p. 32.)

Note.—The Bohemian likewise has r, l, as vowels; the Slovack dialect has, moreover, the long form of each sound.

Sanskrit Vowels.

Of special importance are the change of a to i, i, and u, ā, and its total loss (the latter rarely happens in the case of the other vowels). In the latter cases r and l after consonants form syllables, and count as vowels; r is then even capable of being lengthened to ř (as i and u to ĭ and ū).

Besides short i and u, Sanskrit has further their unoriginal lengthenings ĭ, ā; ai and au have been compressed into ě and ď (through approximation of a to ĭ and u, whereby it became ē and ď; and through a further like assimilation of ĭ and u to ā, which thus passed into the same vowels ē and ď; from ěe, ďo arose ě, ď). Here for the first time we are met by a very important law affecting the life of a language—the law of assimilation (partial and total), and by the no less frequent 'vowel-weakening,' a favourite change, especially in the case of a. The vowel-scales of the Sanskrit are now therefore as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. a-scale loss; i, u; ĭ, ā;</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. i-scale</td>
<td>ĭ</td>
<td>ē</td>
<td>āi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. u-scale</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>ď</td>
<td>āu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note.—The a-scale is thus enriched by one member: a negative step-formation (i.e. the weakening) has thereby placed itself in a parallel line with the positive.

Examples.

1. a-scale.

The weakening occurs principally through the influence of the accent; a similar influence is likewise exercised by assimi-
luation to \( i, u \) of the following syllable, or the preceding con- § 6. sonant has an effect equivalent to this assimilation.

Loss of \( a \) occurs most frequently before \( r \), also after \( r \), in which cases \( ar \) and \( ra \) followed by a consonant become vowel \( r \); in parallel cases \( al \) becomes vowel \( l \), \( va=\_u \), \( ya=\_i \); loss of \( a \) is however by no means confined to these instances.

Examples of complete loss of \( a \) are:

\[
\begin{align*}
 r=&ar; \sqrt{\text{bhar}} \text{ (bear, pres. bhár-āmi, φέρω, fero), bhr-tá-s (n. sg. masc. part. perf. pass.));} \sqrt{\text{kar}} \text{ (make, 3 sg. pres. kar-ōti), krt-á-s (made), }\hat{k}a-kr-má (1 pl. pf.)); \sqrt{\text{mar}} \text{ (mori), mrt-ú-s (mortuos, βσρός=*μπορ-ο-ς);} \text{ st. mā-tá-r- (μητέρ-, mater), mā-th-bhyas (matribus), mā-tí-śu (μητράσι); etc.}
\end{align*}
\]

This \( r \) is subsequently treated acc. to analogy of the other vowels, and thus is also lengthened; e.g. acc. pl. mā-tí-s (matres, μη-τέρ-ας), dā-tí-n (datores, δο-τηρ-ας), st. dā-tá-r- (dator, δωτηρ).

\( l=al \) occurs only in \( \sqrt{\text{kalp}} \) (3 pres. med. kālpa-λε, keep oneself right, succeed), which stands for original karp (v. ‘Consonants’), klp-tá-s (n. sg. masc. past part. pass.).

\( r=\_ra; \sqrt{\text{prkh-āti}} \text{ (3 sg. pres.), }\sqrt{\text{prk̩h}} \text{ (pray, cf. Goth. fr̩ah, Lat. prec, e.g. in prak-šyáti, 3 sg. fut.); }\sqrt{\text{prth-ú-s}} \text{ (broad), }\sqrt{\text{prath}} \text{ (cf. πλατ-ú-s, Lith. plat-ú-s), etc.}
\]

Note.—The Hindu grammarians treat \( r, l \), as fundamental vowels, \( ar, al \), as their first step-formations. As a vowel of the first step it is generally \( =a \) (for it often stands parallel to \( \varepsilon, ð \), also), in the second it is perfectly \( =\hat{a} \). The first step is called by the Hindu grammarians guṇā-s (masc. ‘quality’), the second step \( \text{vrdhhi-s} \) (fem. ‘increase,’ \( \sqrt{\text{vrdh}} \), to increase, find. with sf. \( ti \)), expressions which have often been introduced into European works on language.

Loss of \( a \), without admitting vocalisation of consonants, occurs not only before other consonants, but also before \( r \), which is capable of being vocalised, in those cases where a vowel follows \( r \) (from \( ar \)); in which case, as in all others where \( a \) is lost before a consonant, the latter alone remains. Examples: \( \hat{k}a-kré \)

Loss of a before other consonants, e.g. já-ghan-ūs (3. pl. pf.), √han, ghan (kill), for já-ghan-ūs (sg. ja-ghan-ā); ja-gm-ūs (3. pl. pf.), √gam (go), for *ja-gam-ūs (sg. ja-gām-ā); s-ānti (3. pl. pres.), √as (esse), for *as-anti (as s-unt for *es-unt); s-yāti (e.g. in vy-ava-syāti, he determines), for *as-yāti, √as, sa, so too s-yāti for *aç-yāti, f.f. *ak-yāti, √aç, ça (acuere); á-pa-pt-at (3. sg. aor.) for *a-pa-pat-at, √pat (fall, fly, ππ-έκθαι), etc.

u=va (a is lost and v becomes u); uk-tó-s (n. sg. masc. past part. pass.), √vak (speak, 3. sg. pres. vák-ti), u-vák-a (3. sg. pf.) for *va-vák-a, íkūs (3 pl. pf.) for *va-vák-ūs, f.f. *va-vák-anti, árōkam for *a-va-uk-am (1. sg. aor.), f.f. *a-va-vák-am (Gk. ἐκείνον fr. *έ-Fe-Fe-nOV); sup-tá-s (pf. part.), √svap (sleep; svāp-iti 3. sg. pres., á-svap-am, 1. sg. aor.); urú-s (wide, εὔπος) for *varú-s (comp. st. vāriyās-, superl. vāriśṭhā-), etc.

i=ya (a is lost and y becomes i); iš-tó-s (past part. pass.) for *yag-ta-s, √yaγ̄ (offer, worship; 3 sg. pres. yāγ̄-ati), i-yāγ̄-a (3 sg. pf.) for *ya-yāγ̄-a, i̯ūs (3 pl. pf.) for *ya-yāγ̄-ūs, f.f. *ya-yāγ̄-anti, viḍh-yāti (3. sg. pres.), √vyadh (wound, slay), vi-vidh-ūs (3 pl. pf., 3 sg. = vi-vyādhā-a), etc.

§ 7. Weakening of a—1. to i and u occurs before r, sometimes with assimilation to vowel of following syllable; weakening of a to i often occurs without influence of following sounds. u in certain cases corresponds to original an, am (the nasal is lost, after dulling the preceding a into u).

Examples. gir-tis (mountain), √gar (be heavy), Zend gaïris, both from *gar-i-s (cf. Scl. gor-a, with another st.-termn.); gur-ū-s (heavy), cf. Gk. βαρ-ϋς, f.f. of both *gar-ū-s, the original √fm. gar comes to light only in the Sk. step-forms of this word, e.g. gār-īṣṭhā-s (superl. of gurū-s); kur-ū (2 imper. act.), kur-u-tē (3 sg. pres. med.), and other like forms of √kar (make)—these stand for *kar-u, *kar-utē, etc., whilst the latter again stand for *kar-nu, *kar-nutē, etc. (v. post. 'Rules of Con-
as in the similar forms, the u which caused the assimilation is
lost; pur-á-s (many), f.f. and Old-Persian par-u-s, cf. πολ-υ-s,
\( √par \) (fill), pur-á-m, pur-\( ̃ \) (state), from same \( √par \), with a
changed to u before r, without assimilating influence (cf. πολ-u-s,
f.f. par-i-s).

Weakening of a to i is frequent, e.g. kir-áti (3 sg. pres.), \( √kar \),
pf. ka-ká-r-a (pour out); gir-áti (3 sg. pres.), \( √gar \), pf. ja-gá-r-a
(throw); \( ̃ \)íš-más acc. to sound-laws for *gíš-mas (1 pl.), beside
\( ̃ \)ás-mi (1 sg.), pres. st. and \( ̃ \)ás (pure \( √/m. \) çás, bid). This
weakening especially occurs in the case of roots in a (which by-
the-bye we find wrongly classified with \( √/m. \) terms. á, é, ãí, ò, acc.
to the system of the Hindu grammarians), e.g. sthi-tá-s (sta-tu-s,
\( στα-το-s \)), \( √stha \) (stand); hi-tá-s for earlier (Véd.) dhí-tá-s (θε-το-s),
\( √dha \) (set); mi-tá-s (like the preceding, past part. pass.), \( √ma \)
(measure); st. pi-tar- for *pa-tar-, cf. πα-τερ-, pa-ter-, \( √pa \)
(protect); further in pres. redupln. e.g. bi-bhá-r-mi, \( √bhar \) (bear),
ti-\( ̃ \)thá-mi = \( ισρμυ \), f.f. of both is *sti-stá-mi, earlier *sta-stá-mi,
\( √stha \) (stand); cf. Sk. dá-dhá-mi, dá-dá-mi, and Gk. τι-θη-μυ, 
\( δι-δω-μυ \), where the Sk. does not yet show that weakening which
has occurred in Gk.).

\( u=an, \) am, e.g. in termn. of 3 pl. -us, fr. -anti, -ant, e.g.
bháré-u-s = φέρων = *bharay-ant (3 pl. opt. pres. act.), babhrás =
*babharanti (3 pl. pf. act.), ubhá, ubháu = ωμφω, ambó; thus later
languages show the more original form, etc.

2. a becomes weakened to i, \( ̃ \) , likewise in the combination ar,
so that \( ̃ \)r, \( ̃ \)r, the latter after labial consonants, are considered as
of the same force as vowel r; the weakening to i, however,
occurs not only before r, but also not seldom in other cases.

\( ̃ \)r = r (vowel) = ar after labial initial \( √/m. \) sounds, e.g. púr-ná-s
(plenus) for *pr-na-s, Zend pere-na-s (Zend ere = Sk. vowel r),
f.f. *par-na-s, \( √par \) (fill), etc., yet also kan-kúr-, intensive pres.
st. \( √kar \) (go), and the like.

\( ̃ \)r = r (vowel) = ar after all except labial initial sounds, e.g.
§ 7. stir-ṇá-s (past part. pass.) for str-ṇá-s, f.f. star-na-s, /star (strew);
dirghá-s for *dragha-s (long), Zend daregha-s, Gk. δολυχό-s, etc., f.f.
*dargha-s, cf. compar. and superl. formed in Sk. with step-fmn.
of /vowel a, compar. st. drágh-iyás-, superl. st. drágh-istha-.

i as a weakening of a often occurs, especially in cases of roots
in a (like its weakening to i), nevertheless it also often occurs
in the case of a non-radical a belonging to formative affixes,
e.g. hí-ná-s for *ha-na-s (past part. pass.), /ha (leave, 3 sg. pres.
ýá-há-ti); pí-ta-s (past part. pass.), /pa (drink, 3 sg. pres.
piba-ti for *pi-pa-ti, fr. *pa-pa-ti); yu-ná-más for *yu-na-mas (1 pl.
res.), cf. yu-ná-ti (3 sg. pres.), pres. st. yu-na-, /yu (iungere), etc.

Note 1.—Through this weakening are developed also roots
with i, which originally were in a, e.g. Sk. kri (buy), e.g. pres.
kri-ná-ti, fut. kré-ṣyáti, pl. kikráy-a, etc., thus with pure i,
seems nevertheless to have come from original kra=kar, cf. Gk.
πέρηνμι, Lith. pertá (buy), where the / with k is a further
formation. The weakenings of original a are altogether not
rarely formed by steps like original i and u; e.g. fr. pi-tá-mahá-s
(masc. grandfather; on pi-tar, /pa, v. supr.) is formed a st.
pāi-tá-maha- (adj. grandfatherly); fr. st. dhír-a- (adj. firm,
stable), /dhar (hold), weakened to dhír, sf. -a, dháir-ya-m (neut.
stability); fr. pur-ná-mása-s (masc. full-moon; on pür-ná-, /par,
v. supr.), pür-ya-mása- (adj. of a full-moon), etc. A change
of a-scale to i- and u-scales is accordingly seen, especially in
later formations, having arisen after the language-instinct had
lost the root-forms.

Note 2.—Cf. the cases where i apparently stands for a, though
it really is a contraction of ya, yā, or an auxiliary vowel, § 15,
c, f.

§ 8. The fundamental vowel a appears in Sk. as the com-
monest vowel in roots and relation-sounds, e.g. ád-mi (1 sg. pres.),
/adv (edere); ás-ti (3 sg. pres.), /as (esse); bhr-asi (2 sg. pres.),
á-bhar-at (3 sg. impf.), bhr-antas (φέρωνες, n. pl. masc. pres.
part. act.), /bhar (bear); áp-as (opus), áp-as-as (operis); mán-as
(μεν-ος), mán-as-as (*μεν-ες-ος, μένους); ág-va-s, f.f. akras (equos,
/πτός for *ikFos); sa (δ), ta-m, (τό-ν, is-tu-m); čata-tamá-s
(centesimus), etc.
The step-formation of $a$ to $ā$ cannot further be analysed § 9.

into first and second steps (as in Gk., Lat., Goth.), and, moreover, can scarcely—only by means of the analogy of completely corresponding words in $i$ and $u$—be distinguished from lengthening. Therefore we hesitate to make the distinction between lengthening and step-formation in the case of $f$. vowel $a$, and accordingly probably admit many forms as steps, which would be more accurately denoted as lengthenings. The step-formation of $a$ to $ā$ occurs in roots and in relation-sounds.

Examples of step-formed roots with $√$vowel $a$ are $ba$-$bhār-a$

(3 sg. pf.) $\text{bes. bhār-āmi}$ (1 sg. pres.), $√$bhar (bear); $u$-$vāk-a$

(3 sg. pf.) $\text{bes. vāk-ti}$ (3 sg. pres.), $√$vak (speak); $vās-as$

(onestis) $\text{bes. vas-tē}$ (3 sg. pres. med.), $√$vas (clothe); $kār-āyati$

(3 sg. pres. causat. vb.) $\text{bes. kar-ō-ti}$ (3 sg. pres.), $√$har (make),

etc.

Note.—The roots which end in $a$ occur mostly in step-raised forms [whence arose the grammatic rule that roots in $ā$ appear only in pronominal functions, as $ta$ (n. sg. masc. sa, acc. $ta$-$m$

dem.), $ya$ (n. sg. masc. ntr. $ya$-$s$, $ya$-$t$ rel.), $ka$ (n. acc. sg. masc. $ka$-$s$, $ka$-$m$), etc., whilst all verbal roots end in $ā$—acc. to Hindu grammarians in $ā$, $ē$, $āi$, $ō$]. Also the un-raised forms, indeed the shortened forms of these roots are not rare, e.g. $gī$-$gā-ti$, $gā-gā-ti$ (3 sg. pres.), but $gā$-$tā-s$ (past part. pass.), $ga$-$hi$ (2 sg. imper.), $gā$-$kkhati$, f.f. $ga$-$skati$ (3 sg. pres.), cf. $bē sı̄m$ $bhār$, $vās$, $√$ $ga$ (go); $dā$-$dā-mi$ (1 sg. pres. $dī$-$dō$-$μ$, but $dā$-$dā-mi$ for

$*$gā$-$dā$-$mas$, $dī$-$dō$-$μ$ (1 pl. pres.), cf. $dī$-$dō$-$μ$, $dō$-$ς$, $dō$-$γ̅$, dāmus, $√$ $da$

(give); $dā$-$dhā-mi$ (1 sg. pres.), but $dā$-$dhā-mi$, fr. $*dā$-$dha$-$mas$, cf. $tī$-$tē$-$μ$, $tē$-$ς$, $tē$-$τ$, $√$ $dha$ (set); $ā$-$pā$-$t$ (3 sg. aor.),

$pā$-$sā$-$ti$ (3 sg. fut.), but $pī$-$bā$-$ti$ for $*pī$-$pā$-$ti$, fr. $*pā$-$pā$-$ti$ (3 sg. pres.), cf. $pē$-$pō$-$μ$, $pō$-$ς$, $√$ $pa$ (drink); $pī$-$tī$ (3 sg. pres.),

but $pā$-$tī-s$, cf. $pō$-$ς$, Goth. $jā$-$th-s$, i.e. $*fā$-$di$-$s$, Lith. $pā$-$t$, for $*pā$-$t$-$s$ (lord), with weakening of $a$ to $i$ in $pi$-$tar$- (n. $pi$-$tā$), cf. $pā$-$r̄$, f.f. $pa$-$r̄$, $√$ $pa$ (protect); $ti$-$ṣṭā$-$mī$, $i$-$ṣτ̄$-$μ$ (1 sg. pres.), but $ti$-$ṣṭā$-$ti$ for $*stī$-$ṣṭu$-$ti$, fr. $*ṣṭa$-$ṣṭu$-$ti$ (3 sg. pres.), with

weakening of $a$ to $i$ in $ṣṭi$-$tā$-$s$, f.f. $*ṣṭa$-$tā$-$s$, $stā$-$tā-s$, $stā$-$tu$-$s$, $√$ $ṣṭa$, original $ṣa$ (stare), etc. Here accordingly, as in many other like cases, the root-forms are evidently $ga$, $dha$, $da$, $pa$, $pa$, $stha$; so too $a$ is everywhere to be assumed to be the root-sound, even where it happens that the raised forms only are seen in
§ 9. the existing language. Cf. my treatise on `a-roots in Indo-
germanic,' Beitr. ii. 92–99.

a as a sound expressing relation is found raised in termin, a
of pres. st. bhárá-mi (1 sg. pres.), bhárá-masi (1 pl. pres.) bes.
bhára-si (2 sg. pres.), bhára-ti (3 sg. pres.), etc., bhára- is pres.
st. of /bhár (bear); in almost all cases of the fem. of a- st.,
e.g. náv-ā náv-ām (n. acc. sg. fem. nou-a, véFa) bes. nava-s
nava-m (n. acc. sg. masc.), st. nava- (nouos); áç-vā (equa) bes.
áç-va-s (equos), st. áç-va- (ak-va-), and generally before certain
case-sff., e.g. dēvā-s, earlier dē-vā-sas (n. pl.) bes. dēvā-s (n. sg.),
st. dēvā- (deus); further in final syllables of sundry consonantal
noun-stems before certain case-sff., e.g. dā-tār-ām (acc. sg.),
dā-tār-as (n. pl.), fr. st. dā-tār- (da-tor), which appears pure in
e.g. dā-tār-i (loc. sg.), in dā-tr-bhīs (instr. pl.), dā-tr-ē (d. sg.),
and others it is weakened to dā-tr.

§ 10. 2. i-scale.

Fundamental vowel i; i-más, cf. i-μευ (1 pl. pres.), /i
(i-re); vid-más (1 pl. pres.), cf. Φια-μευ, Hom. Φιδ-μευ, /viid
(uid-ere, scire); viç-āti (3 sg. pres.), viç-as (n. pl. people,
husbandmen), /viç (go in, dwell); div-am div-as (acc. g. sg. of
n. dyāu-s, sky), /div (shine; cf. ΔιF-ōs; similarly fr. Zeiis =
*Ayeus); pāk-ti-s (fem. coctio), cf. πεπ-σι-ς for *πεπ-τι-ς, /pak,
πετ, origl. kak, cf. Lat. occ, Lith. kep (coquere), formed through
sfl. -ti-, f.f. therefore kak-ti-s.

i is not seldom a lengthening of genuine i, just as we have
already found it to be a lengthening of i = a. The laws under
which this lengthening takes place are not discovered in every
instance. The lengthened i is often interchanged with the un-
lengthened i, and is subject to step-formation and change (to
iy, y), like the latter.

In cases like pāti-n (acc. pl. masc.), f.f. pati-ms, st. pāti-
(lord); pākti-s (acc. pl. fem.), f.f. pakti-ms, st. pākti- (coctio), we
clearly see a compensatory lengthening, v. post. (§ 15, d), where
also the lengthening bef. y is yet to be mentioned (§ 15, a), as
e.g. i-yāt bes. i-yāt (3 sg. opt.) १ (ire). Bef. final r in noun- § 10.

stt., as bef. r folld. by a sf. which begins with a conson.,
lengthening occurs in the case of i and u, e.g. st. gir- (speech;
acc. sg. gir-am), n. sg. gir for *gir-s, loc. pl. gir-šu, instr. pl.
gir-bhīs for *gir-su, *gir-bhīs.

So also in roots i appears bes. i, and is grammatically arbitrary,
since in these cases the १ fm. is usually characterized by the
long vowel, as e.g. १hī, not bī (frighten), cf. bi-bhī-ṃs and
bi-bhī-ṃs (1 pl. pres.; 3 sg. bi-bhē-ṭī); in other roots it happens
that only the lengthened vowel appears, e.g. ni-tā-s (past part.
pass.), १ni (nī acc. to Grammarians and Dictt.; ‘lead’); pri-tā-s,
१pri (prī, delight), etc.

Note 1.—Root-fms. with final vowels are particularly often
mentioned in the lengthened fm. in gramm. and dictt., because
the lengthening was particularly popular in these cases. On
the unoriginality of i and ॠ in Indo-Eur., cf. my remarks in
Beitr. i. 328–333.

Note 2.—On tr-tīya-s (ter-tiu-s), in wh. tr can be taken as a
weakening fr. trī (st. of numeral 3), v. sub. ‘Numerals.’

The 1st step of i is in Sk. ी, e.g. ी-mī (el-mī), f.f. aī-mī, § 11.
१ (ire); vēd-a (Foīda), vēd-a-s (n. sg.; sacred writings of the
Hindus, Vēda), १vid (see, know); vī-vēṣ-a (3 sg. pf.), vēc-a-s
(n. sg. house, cf. Foīko-s, uīc-u-s), f.f. vaik-a-s, १viṣ (go in);
dev-ā-s (deus), f.f. daiv-ā-s, १div (shine); pāk-tē-s (g. sg.), pāk-ti-s
(coictio), pāl-ē-s (g. sg.), pāt-i-s (lord); bi-bhē-ṭī (3 sg. pres.
redupl.), १bhi (frighten); nē-tra-m (eye, lit. ‘the guiding one’),
nāy-ati (3 sg. pres.), nay=ṇē (v. post. § 14, d), १ni (lead); cē-tē
(केत० 3 sg. pres. med.), १c (rest, lie), etc.

The 2nd step of i is in Sk. ॐ, e.g. vāiç-ya-s (man of third
caste), १viṣ (go in; cf. viṣ-as and vēṣ-a-s); vāid-ya-s (vēdic,
learned), १vid (see, know; cf. Vēd-a-s); dāiv-ā-s (godly),
whence dāiv-ā-m (destiny), st. dēv-ā- (deus), १div (shine); ċāiv-a-s
(belonging to the god Čiva, Čiva-worshipper), fr. Čivā-s (the
god Čiva); vāiṣvatā-s (belonging to Vishnu, Vishnu-worshipper
§ 11. fr. Viṣṇu-s (the god Vishnu); bef. vowels not ai but ay is found (§ 14), e.g. nāy-aka-s (masc. leader), nāy-āya-ti (3 sg. pres. causat. st.), √ni (lead), etc.

§ 12. 3. u-scale.

This scale, in all its parts, runs parallel to the ı-scale, also the lengthening of u to ū occurs here, like i to ı above.

Fund. vowel u, e.g. buddhā-s for *budh-ta-s (past part. pass.), bu-budh-ō (1, 3 sg. pf. med.), √budh (learn, know); tud-āti (3 sg. pres.), √tud (thump); yug-ā-m (iugum, ξυρόν), yuk-tā-s (past part. pass.) for *yug-ta-s (iunctus), á-yug-at (3 sg. aor.), √yug, yug (iungere); su-ū-s (past part. pass.), √su (produce, sow); gru-ū-s, KXv-r6-<; (past part., pass.); su-nu-s (son), cf. Lith. sunus, Goth. sunus, √su (bear, sow, sts. also given as sū); sū-nā-n fr. *su-nu-ns (acc. pl.), Goth. sununs, st. sūnū- (n. sg. sū-nū-s, cf. § 15, d). Like i, so u bef. r, and bef. r+conson. in noun-stt. is lengthened (§ 10), e.g. st. dhur- (fore-part of a coach-pole, e.g. acc. sg. dhür-am), n. dhūr for *dhur-s, instr. pl. dhūr-bīs for *dhur-bis, etc.

§ 13. 1. step ů, e.g. bōdh-ati (3 sg. pres.), √budh (learn, know); pra-tōd-a-s (masc. goad), √tud (push); yu-yōg-a (1, 3 sg. pf.), yōg-a-s (joining, speculation), √yug (iungere); bhāv-ati (3 sg. pres.), á-bhav-at (3 sg. pf.), bhav=bhō (v. § 14, d), √bhū (be); sōs-yāti (3 sg. fut.), √su (bring forth); crō-tra-m (ntr. ear), √čru (hear), sū-nō-s (g. sg.), st. sūnū- (n. sg. sū-nū-s, son), cf. Lith. suinaūs, Goth. sunaus, etc.

2. step ōu, e.g. bāuddhā-s (masc. Buddhist) fr. buddhā-s (past part. pass. n. propr. Buddha), √budh (know); ā-tāud-sam for *a-tāud-sam (1 sg. aor.), √tud (push); yāug-ika-s (adj. fr. yōga-s
supr.), st. yóga-, √yug (iungere); bháv-a-s (being, nature), § 13.
bháv=bhāu (v. § 14, d), √bhu (be); sáu-ti (3 sg. pres.), su-sáv-a (1, 3 sg. pf.) for *su-sáv-a (v. sub. consoun.), sáv=sáu (v. § 14, d), √su (bring forth); á-gráu-śam (1 sg. aor. compos.), √gru (hear), etc.

Note.—"I and u are subject to step-formation only when they are at the end of roots," is the rule of Sk. grammar, i.e. they are in these cases lengthenings of real i, u; as medial root-sounds however, they are felt by the language-instinct to be unorigl., and are therefore not treated like genuine i, u. Real i and u appear besides only before root-terms. which consist of one consonant.

Vowel Sound-laws.

§ 14.

Note.—Only the most important Sk. sound-laws are here mentioned—those which operate within the word: the changes undergone by the termn. of a word in consequence of its place in a sentence belong to the department of Sk. special-grammar, not to the Indo-Eur. (the so-called 'Comparative') Grammar.

1. Laws of the concurrence of vowels.

Fundamental law: Sk. permits hiatus in its earliest remains of language alone (in the Vedic hymns), where we find even two like vowels in juxtaposition. In classical Sk. hiatus is avoided, a. by contraction, b. by loss of the former vowel, c. by separation, d. by change of vowel to corresponding spirant.

Contraction occurs when a happens to stand before another vowel, except in those cases where a is lost bef. the following vowel. Change to the consonn. takes place when i, u (including their furthest formations ē [=ai], ǝ [=au], āi, āu). This contrast between a and i, u, arises from the fact that a has no corresponding spirant, whereas i, u, have by their side y, v, which are only different from them through a slight distinction in pronunciation; the change from i, u, to y, v, is through intermediate iy, uv.

a. Exx. of contraction: pres. st. bhára-+i of opt. mood= bhárē-, e.g. bhárē-t fr. *bhara-i-t (3 sg. opt. pres., √bhar, bear);
§ 14. noun st. áciea+i of loc. case=ácieē (loc. sg. of n. sg. áciea-s, equos), etc.

Note.—v. older peculiar contractions post. (§ 15, c).

b. Loss of a occurs e.g. in cases like dhanin- (rich, n. sg. masc. dhanī), fr. st. dhānā- (neutr. n. sg. dhānā-m, wealth)+sf. in; only bef. sf. ya is a regularly lost, e.g. st. dhān-ya- (adj. rich, n. sg. masc. dhān-ya-s), from same st. dhānā-. Roots in a do permit this loss of a not unfrequently, e.g. da-d-mās, da-dh-mās (1 pl. pres. act.), fr. pres. stt. da-da-, da-dha- (1 sg. dā-dā-mi, dū-dhā-mi), ṣda (give), ṣdha (set); so also in pf. they lose their termn., and subsequently even assume an auxil. vowel i, as if they ended in a conson., da-d-i-mā, da-dh-i-mā (1 pl. pf.), like tu-tud-i-mā, ṭu-tud (push), so that it becomes probable that a was lost bef. i, and not ma, but ima, etc., was considered to be the termn.

c. The splitting-up of i and u (and of their lengthenings ĭ, ā,—perh. it is more correct to suppose no lengthening to take place before vowels) to iy, uv, is retained where these vowels are radical in monosyll. words, more rarely also in ordinary Sk. otherwise, i.e. when two consonn. stand before the vowel.

Exx.: bhiy-i (loc. sg.), cf. n. sg. bhā-s (fear), st. thus bhī-; iy-áy-a (3 sg. pf.), √i (go), fr. *i-āi-a; āi is √i in 2nd step, i in fund. fm.

ču-črur-ūs (3 pl. pf.), √čru (hear), f.f. ku-kru-anti; āp-nuv-ánti (3 pl. pres. fmd. by nu fr. √āp, work); bhruw-i (loc. sg.), n. sg. bhrū-s (ō-φpūs), st. therefore bhṛū-.

Note.—y-anti (3 pl. ind. pres.), √i, contrary to rule where we should have expected iy-anti; i is here exceptionally treated according to the plan laid down below.

d. The change into corresponding semi-vowel is regular in ordinary Sk., that is, occurs exclusively in the case of i and u as 2nd part of diphthongs e (=ai), āi, ā (=au), āu, e.g. pākti-ā (instr. sg. of n. sg. pakti-s, coctio) for *pakti-ā, ni-ny-ē (1, 3 sg. pf. med.), √ni (nī, lead) for *ni-ni-ē.
náy-ati (3 sg. pres.), √ni (lead), here raised to 1st step nē, § 14. i.e. nai.

ni-ndy-a (1, 3 sg. pf. act.), √ni, nai=2nd step of ni.

√r-ndy-ānti (3 pl. pres. act.), √gru (hear), pres. st. √gr-ru-
(cf. § 12) for *gr-ru-anti, f.f. kru-ru-anti; cf. supr. āpnw-άnti,
with splitting of nu into nuv, whereas here two consonn. stand
before u.

√grdv-ana-m (the hearing, ear; n. sg. ntr.), √gru (hear),
raised to √gro=grau + sf. ana; √grv-as (ntr. the hearing, ear
=κλέPQσ, Scl. sluvess-), likewise fr. same root + sf. as.

çu-√grdv-a (1, 3 sg. pf.), √gru (hear), here raised to 2nd step grau.

Note 1.—The earlier lang. shows the splitting-up only in the
case of i, u. The scale of variation is as follows: 1. i, u +
vowel, e.g. pākti-ā; but there arises very easily, 2. iy, uv
+ vowel, e.g. pākti-yā; and finally the vowel element is lost
entirely, 3. y, v + vowel, e.g. pāktv-ā.

Note 2.—The fns. explained in § 6, such as āk-ūs, iy-ūs, form
no exception to the laws above laid down, and are prob. not
contracted fr. *uukūs, *iyūs, but rather arise fr. resolution
of v, y, into u, i; *va-vak-ūs, *uvaκūs, u[kūs; *ya-yaq-ūs,
*iyaqūs, *iygūs, iyūs, are the gradations of change here to be
understood.

2. Vowel-change caused by the neighbouring § 15.
consonn.

Note.—A single instance had to be mentioned as early as § 7,
as pūrṇās with ā on acct. of p; generally the weakenings of a
bef. r are intrinsically caused by this conson.

a. y often lengthens preceding u, i, a (for splitting-up of y
to iy, iy, v. supr. § 14, 1, c.), e.g. crā-yā-tē (3 sg. pres. pass.),
√gru (hear); gi-yā-tē (3 sg. pres. pass.), √gi (conquer, e.g. in
gi-tā-s, past part. pass., gāyati 3 sg. pres.); gā-yā-tē (is born,
3 sg. med.), √gā (generally gān, and thus means bring forth,
bear; cf. Zend za-yē-ītē, f.f. therefore ga-ya-tāt), etc.

Note.—Bef. y=i, i also may be explained as splitting-up of i
to iy. Perh. fr. this source arise also the lengthenings of u to
ā, and a to ā, bef. y. Cf. sq.
§ 15. b. iy sometimes occurs instead of y, and also iy with the favourite vowel-lengthening bef. y.

After a in certain cases iy (with a or ā therefore ēy) instead of y (with a or ā therefore ay, āy), e.g. pres. st. in a† opt. element ya forms not -a-ya, but -a-iya, i.e. -eya, e.g. bōdhēyaṁ for *bōdha-ya-m (1 sg. opt. pres.), pres. st. bodha-, /budh (learn, know); dē-ya-s (part. necessitatis, n. sg. masc.) for *dā-ya-s, st. dā-ya, consisting of step-formed /da (give), and sf. ya; gāṅgēya-s (found in or on the Ganges), fr. gāṅga (nom. pr. Ganges), step-fmd. gāṅga + sf. ya, for *gāṅgā-ya-s.

Also after consonn. occurs iy for y, thus in compar. st. fmd. with origl. sf. yams, e.g. st. lāghiyaś- (n. sf. masc. lāghiyaṁ), fr. laghū-s (light) = ē-lāχyus, for *lagh-yaś, cf. ē-lāχoson for *lāχ-yow, and superl. lāgh-iś-tha-s, ē-lāχ-iso-ro-s, where is- is a relic of -yas-, -yas-. So moreover the sf. ya has also a fm. iy, e.g. st. karaṇ-iya- (faciendus) for *karaṇ-ya-, st. kara-ṇa, which loses its termn. bef. ya (§ 14, 1, b), etc.

Note.—iy = y is not developed in Indian until after the division of Aryan into Ind. and Eran.; the Zend, which stands so close to Old-Ind., still has y = Sk. iy.

c. yā was sometimes compressed into ī. So esp. in fem. stt. in i, which prob. can only be =yā, e.g. bhāraṇti (the bearing one, f.) = *bharant-ya = fēpouσa = *fepōnt-yā; jānitrī = *janitr-ya fr. *gan-ī-ṭar-ya (genetrix) = γενετερά, i.e. *γενετερ-ya, etc., ya- stt. fr. usual masc. stt., Sk. bhāraṇti-, jāni-tār-, Gk. fepōnt-, γενε-τήρ-; devī = *daiyā (dea), cf. Lith. dieivę, i.e. *dieivę, f.f. daiv-yā (once ‘goddess,’ now =‘ghost’), later fmn. fr. st. dēvā-, Lith. dēva, f.f. daiva- (deus); Vēd. āvī (instr. sg. for Sk. āvy-ā, both fr. āvī (āvi-s, ouis, a sf. of instr. sg.), etc.: ī is clearly a weaker vowel-fm. for yā in opt., e.g. 3 sg. act. bibhr-ya-t, but 3 sg. med. bibhr-i-ta, /bhar (bear, pres. st. bibhar-), etc.

Sometimes i is a product of a similar earlier contraction of i-a or ya after loss of conson. betw. i and a, as in sād-āti (3 sg. pres.), fr. *si-adaṭi for *si-sad-ati, /sad (sit, pf. sa-sād-a, aor.

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á-sad-at), like ṭṛọ fr. ā́ẹ́ọ̄=si-sed-yō, f.f. si-sad-yami, Lat. sid-o § 15.
fr. *sido for si-sed-o, f.f. *si-sad-ami (with not unfreq. pres. redupln.), also the ir now used as a root, e.g. ir-té (3 pres. med., rises, causat. ir-áyati, he arouses), is recognized as a product of pres. redupln.; ir=*
*i-ar, *iyar, ya-ar (go), etc.

d. Compensatory lengthening. Esp. in declens.-fms. (n. sg., acc. pl.) is found lengthening of the foregoing vowel after loss of conson. Exx.:

N. sg. rážā for *rájan-s, st. rájan- (masc. rex) + nom. sf. s, cf. τρωμῆν for *τρομεν-ς; dhanī for *dhanin-s, st. dhanin- (rich);
mātā for *mātar-s, st. mātar- (mater), cf. μῆτηρ for *μητερ-ς;
dur-manās for *dur-manas-s (masc. fem. evil-minded, compounded of dus, evil, mānas ntr. mens), cf. δυσμενής for *δυσ-μενος-ς;
agnimān for *agnimant-s (fiery, st. agni-, ignis +sf. -mant).
Notice bhāran without compens. lengthening for *bhārants (n. sg. part. pres. act., whilst the corresponding Gk. φέρων for *φέρωντες has the lengthening).

Acc. pl. úcčan for *açvan-s, n. sg. úcva-s (equos); pātin for *patin-s, n. sg. patis (lord); sūnān for *sūnun-s, n. sg. sūnū-s (son); mātis for *mati-ns, n. sg. māti-s (fem. thought): dhēnās for *dhēnun-s, n. sg. dhēnā-s (milch cow).

Bef. sonant conson. we ought prob. to consider ō to be a compens. lengthening=as, with dulling of the vowel, e.g. mānōbhīs, instr. pl. for *manas-bhīs, fr. mānas- (neutr. mens, μένος) and bīs (sf. of instr. pl. consisting of bhi+pl. sf. s), etc.
This change of as to ō often takes place in case of final as.

Note.—In the case of compens. lengthening in Sk. and in the other languages, we might make a more accurate distinction as follows: 1. +cons. (cf. O.-Bulg instr. sg. -mi=origl. bhi, bes. instr. pl. -mi, i.e. -mī=origl. -bhis), in terminations; medially this case is not found: 2. +cons. 1 +cons. 2= (e.g. mātā for *mātar-s) in termn.: 3. +cons. 1 +cons. 2= +cons. 2, final and medial (e.g. mātīs for *mati-ns; Gk. εἰμι for *ἐσμι; a subdivn. forms here + cons. 1 +cons. 2 +cons. 3= +cons. 3 (e.g. ἵππας for *ἵππωντες): 4. +
§ 15. conson. 1 + cons. 2 = " + cons. 1 (e.g. μήτηρ for *μήτερς), or + cons. 1 + cons. 2 + cons. 3 = " + cons. 1 (e.g. φέρων for *φέροντας, finally and medially, the latter, e.g. Gk. ἐφηνα for *ἐφανερα). The physiological explan. of this sound-process is difficult, esp. in case No. 4.

e. Dulling of à to ē and āu bef. lost conson. and in fine. For à there occurs a dulled fm. in ē, in certain cases in the middle of a word, when à has been produced through compens. lengthening (§ 15, d), in the case of unusual and late consonantal loss: in termn. it occurs, but is likewise confined to certain cases; also we find ē for à, like āu for à, the latter of which is retained in the old lang. Exx.:

ē for à when consonn. have been lost; thus in imperat. pres. ēdhi for *ā-dhi, *as-dhi (√ and pres. st. as-, esse, dhi termn. of 2 sg. imper.); dhēhi for *dhāhi, with asp. (v. § 59) for Vēdic daddhi for *dadh-dhi (pres. st. dadh, √dha, set); dēhi for *daēhi, fr. *dadhi for daddhi (pres. st. dad, √da, dare); in pf. fm. as Sk. pet-i-mā for *pāt-i-ma, Vēd. papt-i-mā fr. *pa-pat-ma (1 pl. act.; pf. st. papat-, √pat, fly, fall); tēn-i-rē for *lān-i-rē fr. older ta-tu-i-rē (3 pl. med.; pf. st. tatan-, √tan, stretch), etc.; finally in voc. of fem. a- st., e.g. ācē (but earlier still òcē), voc. of òcē (equa). āu for earlier ā (cf. ò for as in termn. bef. sonants, § 15, d) occurs in n. acc. dual, e.g. òcēn, earlier òcē (n. òcēs, equos); further in 1, 3 sg. pf. act. of roots in a, e.g. daddāu, archaic dadd, √da (dare).

f. An auxil. vowel i, i, occurs betw. stem-termns. and termns. which begin with a conson. in word-fmn., esp. in conjugation fms., in which origly. and partly still in the earlier lang., the termn. was added immediately to the stem-termn., e.g. pres. fm. of single vbs., as svāp-i-mi, svāp-i-śi, svāp-i-ti, svāp-i-mās (1, 2, 3 sg., 1 pl. pres.), etc., for *svāp-mi, etc., √svāp (sleep); in pf. this occurs regularly in case of certain persons, e.g. 1 pl. tutud-i-mā, √tud (tundere), etc. Here we often see even now the older fms. without inserted i, partly even in ordinary Sk., as e.g. kakār-tha (2 sg. pf.), √kar (facere), partly in the earlier lang.
of the Vēdas, in which a fm. *tutudē, etc., may be found. In § 15. fut. e.g. *gam-i-şyāmi (1 sg. fut.), *√gam (ire); in part. pres. pass., e.g. *vid-i-tū-s, *√vid (see, know), and many similar fmsns., this insertion of *i occurs in certain roots.

*i* occurs as auxil. vowel in aor.-fms., e.g. 2 sg. *ā-nāi-ś-i-s, *√n (nī, lead), bes. 1 pl. *ānāi-ś-ma; in pres. fms. as 1 sg. *brāv-ś-mi, 3 sg. *brāv-ś-ti, bes. 1 pl. *brā-mās, *√bru (brū, speak), and in impf. fms., as *ā-brāv-ś-s, *ā-brāv-ś-t (2, 3 sg.) (id.); *ās-ś-s, *ās-ś-t (2, 3 sg.), *√as (esse), etc.; *ghr-ś-tūs past part. pass., *√grah (grasp), has likewise this *i*, which is therefore used just like *i*, only not so often.

The Vēd. *ās for *āś-t (acc. to a sound-law of Old-Ind., which must be discussed under 'Consonants'), instead of later *āś-ś-t, favours the view that *i* is an auxil. vowel inserted at a later time.

Note.—Since beside *svāp-ś-mi for *svapmi, etc., we see *svapāmi, etc., we must simply suppose that here, as often elsewhere, beside the pres. st. *svap-, there was a pres. st. in a, *svapa-.

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**GREEK.**

§ 16.

**Summary of Sounds.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONSONANTS.</th>
<th>PROLONGED SOUNDS.</th>
<th>VOWELS.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **MOMENTARY SOUNDS.** | **PROLONGED SOUNDS.** | **a ā**
| UNASPIRATED | ASPIRATED. | SPIRANTS. | NASALS. | *r*-& *l*-SOUNDS. |
| mute sonant¹ | mute sonant¹ | sonant¹ | sonant¹ | |
| **Gutt.** | κ | γ | Χ | | |
| **Pal.** | | | | | |
| **Ling.** | | | | | |
| **Dent.** | τ | θ | | | |
| **Lab.** | π | β | Φ (F) | | |

¹ Or medial.
§ 16. In this table only the indivisible sounds are mentioned.

ζ is a consonantal diphthong, namely ἰ with the sonant dental spirant (e.g. Slavonian ζ). ψ, ξ, are only characters for two sounds π, η. The vowel-diphthongs are αι, ει, οι; αυ, ευ, ου (older pronunciation); υ; also ζ, η, ο (older pronunciation, by which the ι was still heard); αυ (perhaps in the word γραῦς [γραῦς], perhaps pronounced distinctly from αυ with short α), ηυ, ου.

Note 1.—υ at an earlier period of the language was equivalent to ι, but became pronounced like ι, αυ, as early as classical times; ου in the earlier language was the genuine diphthong ου, but even in the classical period it had become equivalent to αυ, as indeed it did in other languages, e.g. French, the older ου became αυ, whilst the spelling retains the earlier sound-grade.

To pronounce Old-Greek after the fashion of modern Greek is a mistake, which arises from utter ignorance of the laws of development and phonology of a language.

We should be careful to distinguish αι from ει in pronunciation, because they are distinct sounds: they are pronounced as they are written, i.e. αι like German ai or ei, but ει like e+i tacked on, a diphthong, which is found dialectically in German, and characterized in other languages by ey (ε') (cf. Curt. Erl. § 8 sqq.).

Note 2.—Like most other written languages, the Greek does not characterize its long vowels throughout; in earlier Greek, however, they were not indicated at all: a serves as a and α, τ for ι and τ, ι for αυ and αυ, in the earlier writing ε for ε and ε (η); o for ο and ω (ω). These incomplete indications of sounds have nothing to do with the language itself, τες, e.g., must be read της, τες = τες, i.e. τη, τοι = τοι, i.e. τοι, etc.; in all cases the long vowels are derived from the original language. Cf. 'Declensions.'

The system of Greek writing belongs to Greek special-grammar, as an appendix to the phonology.

§ 17.

The Greek Vowel-system.

The most important deviation from the original language lies in the colouring of a into e and o, which takes place alike in the case of a and τ by the side of the original vowel pre-
served: the archaic dialects (Doric) have remained most faithful § 17. to the older order of sounds: 4 has a double duty; it is not only 1. the representative of the original a, but also 2. (opposed to e=a) the representative of the original ą.

Through the differentiation of ā into 4, ā, η, ω, it became possible to separate ω as the second step from the first 0, a, η.

The weakening of a into i and u, as well as loss of a, occurs comparatively seldom.

This same colouring of the a-sound into e and o occurs when it is combined with i and u in a diphthong; here too e (=a) is the first, o (=ā) the second step, which however is replaced in the u-scale almost always by the first step (ei, ev=original ai, au; οι, ου=original āi, āu). It is only wherever the language has lost the living variability of the vowels according to their scales, ai and au appear as steps raised from i and u.

A large number of vowel-sounds, especially diphthongs and long vowels, arise in Greek through the elision, permutation, and change of position of the original spirants y, v, s, which were entirely, or in certain combinations, unbearable to Greek pronunciation. The vowel-sounds so formed are consequently entirely unoriginal, being products of the peculiar sound-laws of the Greek language, and foreign to the original state of the language.

The Greek vowel-system, in many parts differing from the original one, reminds us in several respects of the Zend; whilst we find on the other hand the greatest conformity with that of the Latin language.

The vowel-scales of the Greek language are then as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st Step</th>
<th>2nd Step</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a-scale</td>
<td>loss</td>
<td>4, u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-scale</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ei (ai)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u-scale</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>ev (au)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note.—More than one sound accordingly occurs here in different functions, as is the case with i and u in Sanskrit, and
§ 17. partly also in Zend. In the Greek, however, we meet with the ambiguity of the sounds for the first time to a greater extent; we may here therefore speak of it briefly. Besides the permutations shown above, ι=original i and a; υ=original u and a; ο=original a and α: that is, the diphthongs are ambiguous because they stand, sometimes for scale-sounds, sometimes for results of contraction, sometimes for protracted vowels. e.g. ei in εἰμι (eo, ibo), fundamental-form ai-mi, originally distinct from εἰμί (sum), from *έσμι, fund.-form as-mi; ei in εἶπον (dixi), fr. *έπον, *FeFeπον, ϫέπε; ei in εἶπη (opt. pres.) for *έσγην, f.f. as-γā-m; κτείνω (kill) for *κτεγινω; ou in σπουδή (haste; raised to ευ in σπεύδω, ϫσπυδ) is altogether different, as οu in τούς (foot) for *ποδ-ς, f.f. pad-s; ou in τούς for τοὺς (acc. pl. of το-), f.f. tams; ou in νέου, fr. *νέον, for νέοια, *νεφσθη, f.f. navaγη (gen. sing. masc. and n. fr. νεό-, young); ou in γονός for *γονθός (gen. sing. fr. γόνιν, knee):—similarly in the case of οι, λοντ-ός (remaining), ϫλτ, but μοίρα (lot, fate) for *μορ-γα, ϫμέρ (divide); οῖς, fr. οίς (older form δής, Lat. oius); ai in αἰθώ (burn), ϫλθ, but μέλανα (nom. sing. fem. st. μελαν-, black) for μέλανγα, etc.

§ 18. Examples.

1. a-scale.

Weakening. Loss. e.g. γιλ-γριν-μαι (become) for *γιν-γέν-ομαι, ϫγέν, original γαν; πτ-πτ-ο for *πτ-πτετ-ο, ϫπτετ, original pat (fall); έ-σχ-ον (1 sing. aor.), fund.-form a-sagh-am, ϫσχ, original ϫsagh; έ-σπ-όμην (1 sing. aor. επ-ομαι), ϫσπ (follow), original ϫsak, etc.

There takes place not unfrequently a complete loss of an original a in the elements of stem-formation, e.g. τα-τρ-ός, τα-τρ-ί, from stem τατέρ- (father), original pa-tar-, thus stand for πατέρ-ος, πατέρ-ί (Homéric), f.f. patar-as, patar-i, etc.

Note.—Loss of initial a in Greek is not common, cf. έσ-μέν (we are), f.f. as-masi, Sansk. s-mās, and Lat. s-umus; eiπρ= *έσγην, f.f. as-γάμ, Sansk. s-yām, Lat. s-iēm; εύ (έυ) for *έσύ, f.f. asu, Sansk. su (well).

The weakening of original a to ι (cf. Curt. Gk. Et., p. 641 sqq.) is not frequent or regular in roots, and occurs most often before two consonns., e.g. ισ-θί, f.f. as-āhi (2 sing. imper.),
GREEK. a-scale. WEAKENING.

\( \sqrt{\text{es}}, \text{origl. and Sansk. as (to be)}; \ \pi\iota-\nu\mu \mu \text{ beside } \pi\iota-\acute{\alpha}n\nu\nu \mu \mu \ \S 18. \)

(spread out), cf. pateo; \( \pi\iota-\nu\nu \) (fall), \( \sqrt{\text{tet}}, \text{Sk. pat}; \ k\iota-\nu\mu \mu \text{ beside } k\epsilonp-\acute{\alpha}w, k\epsilonp-\acute{\alpha}n\nu\nu \mu \mu \text{ (mix)}; \ tl\kappa-\tau \omega \) (bring forth), \( \sqrt{\text{tak}}, \text{origl. } \sqrt{\text{tak}}, \text{cf. } \acute{\epsilon}-\text{teko}, \acute{\tau}-\tauok-\alpha; \ \acute{\uppi}n\upsilon\sigma\sigma \text{ for } *\acute{\iota}k-Fow, \text{ Sk. } \acute{\alpha}c-\upsilon\upsilon\sigma\sigma, \text{ Lat. eq-\upsilon\upsilon\sigma, f.f. } \acute{\alpha}k-\upsilon\upsilon\sigma, \sqrt{\upsilon}k \) (run). The passing of original \( a \) into \( i \) is through intervening \( e \), to which fact the examples cited bear witness.

This weakening of the fundamental \( a \) into \( i \) occurs regularly in the reduplicated form of the present, e.g. \( \tau\iota-\theta\eta-\mu, \text{ Sk. and origl. } \acute{\delta}d-\delta\mu, \sqrt{\delta}o, \text{ Sk. and origl. } \acute{\delta}a-\delta\mu, \text{ give}; \ y\iota-\gamma\eta-\omicron\upsilon, \sqrt{\gamma}e\upsilon, \text{ origl. } gan \) (bring forth); \( \pi\iota-\pi\tau-\omega, \sqrt{\pi}e\tau, \text{ origl. } \pi(a) \text{ fall} \). This \( i \) (weakened from \( a \)) occurs lengthened to \( i \), e.g. in \( \pi\acute{\iota}-\upsilon\omega \) (drink), \( \sqrt{\pi}o \) (\( \pi\acute{\omicron}-\sigma\upsilon\sigma, \pi\sigma-\tau\omicron\upmu\nu\nu, \pi\acute{\epsilon}-\pi\omega-\kappa\alpha \), origl. \( pa; \ \pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\beta\epsilonv-\sigma\tau-\acute{\epsilon}-\pi-\upsilon-\sigma \) (looker-at-maidens), cf. \( \delta\upsilon-\omega\pi-\eta \) (sight), \( \sqrt{\delta}r, \text{ origl. } ak \) (see); \( \upsilon\sigma-\mu\nu\upsilon, \upsilon\sigma-\mu\upsilon\nu \) (loc. sing. moil), f.f. \( yudh-\mu\nu\alpha \), \( yudh-\mu\nu\alpha \), the latter to the st. \( yudh-\mu\nu\alpha-, \sqrt{yudh} \) (join battle), suff. \( \text{man.} \)

Dialectically (in Doric, Aiolic) this weakening of origl. \( a \) to \( i \) is more common; e.g. Dör. \( \iota-\sigma-\tau\alpha, \text{ Ión. } \iota-\tau\upsilon\gamma, \text{ for } \acute{\epsilon}-\tau\alpha \) (hearth), origl. \( \sqrt{\upsilon}a\upsilon \); \( \acute{\iota}n-\text{Arkad. and Kuprian for } \acute{\epsilon}n \) (in), related to the pronoml. stem \( an \); Boiotian \( \acute{\iota}n-\text{for } *\acute{\epsilon}-\omega\nu \) (n. sing. masc. part. pres. act.), \( \sqrt{\acute{\epsilon}r}- \) (be), etc. Through the dulling of \( a \) to \( o \), and further of \( o \) to \( u \), a change of origl. \( a \) to \( u \) takes place.

This weakening of \( a \) to \( u \) (cf. G. Curt., p. 644 sqq.) occurs merely unconnectedly, in most cases through the influence of a nasal or \( r, \ell \); and herein we must not forget that \( v \) represents an older \( u \), so that in Greek we have the same weakening from \( a \) to \( u \) as in Lat. and German, etc., e.g. \( \nu\upsilon\kappa\tau-\acute{\upsilon}\zeta \) (gen. sing.), stem \( \nu\upsilon\kappa\tau- \) (night), (Sk. adv. \( \acute{n}k\acute{\epsilon}l-\alpha\nu \) = noctu), Lat. stem. \( \text{noc} \): the root-vowel thus is \( a \), and the root clearly \( \sqrt{\text{nak}} \) (necare, nocere); in \( \acute{\omicron}n\upsilon\xi \) (stem \( \acute{\omicron}n\upsilon\chi- \), nail), root \( \nu\upsilon\chi \), cf. Goth. \( \text{na}k-	ext{la}, \text{ Sk. } \acute{n}k\acute{\kappa}-\acute{\upsilon}\delta \), etc., the origl. vowel is no doubt \( a \); \( \gamma\nu\nu\upsilon \) (woman),
§ 18. ἴγαυ (bring forth), cf. Sk. γάν-α-ς (mensch), γάνη (wife), Gothic kven-s (wife, spouse); κύκλος (ring), cf. Sk. ἱκάρι-μ; μῦλ-ος, μῦλ-η (mola), γ'αλ fr. mar, cf. mola, molere, Lith. malu, Gothic malan; ἄν-όνυμος (nameless) beside ὄνυμα (name), f.f. gnāman, etc.

Dialectically this change is more frequently observed, esp. in Aiolic, e.g. ὄνυμα=ὀνυμα; ὄμους=ὄμους, f.f. samaías, from stem sam=Gk. ὤμο (ὁμός, like), the origin of which is found in the pronoml. origl. t's=Gk. Ὠ; Aiolic locative ἄλλω, τοις, for ἄλλοι (ἄλλοι, other), τοις (το- demonstr. pronoml. st.); Boiotian τύ for *τύς=τοι (n. pl. masc. same st.), τύς ἄλλοις= *τύς *ἄλλοις=τοῖς ἄλλοις (dat. loc. pl.), by contraction of ν to υ.

Note.—I hold it inadmissible to separate from the rest those cases in which original κα, γα, become κυ, γυ, and to explain them collectively from κνα, γνα, with loss of α; neither will a fin. *κοκλος seem to me to be Gk., and yet we must suppose some such form. No one, so far as I know, has had recourse to a fin. *νάς, *δνάς, *μνάη, in order to explain the ν in these words. Here ν must have arisen from α without passing through να, and the same process must have taken place after gutturals.

§ 19. Root-vowel a in the original language.

As a rule, ε is the representative of origl. α in roots; whilst o generally takes its place in the stem-formative and word-formative particles, a is found in roots; in word-formative additions it is mostly dependent on a nasal now lost, but once in existence.

ε=a. ἕδ-ω, Sk. ἀδ-μι (eat), ἕδ, origl. ad (edo); ἕδ in ἔξ-ομαι=*σέδ-γομαι (sed-ee), ἕδ-ος (sed-es), origl. sad (sit); ἕγεν in γέν-ος (gen-us), origl. gan (gi-gnere) of gan-as; ἑσ-τι, Sk. and origl. ἄσ-τι (*έσ, origl. as, esse); φέρω, Sk. and origl. bhār-āmi, φερ-ov, Sk. and origl. ἀ-bhār-am, φερ, origl. bhar (ferre), etc. So also ε is common in elements of relation, e.g. st. πα-τέρ- (n. sing. πατήρ, father), origl. pa-tar-; st. μη-τερ- (n. sing. μητήρ, mater), origl. mātar-; st. μέν-εο- (n. sing.
GREEK. a-scale. Root-vowel a.

μένος, might, Sk. and origl. món-as; φέρ-ετε, Sk. bhár-atha; § 19. origl. evidently bhar-a-tasi (2 pl. pres. act.), etc.

ο = a. ποδ-ός, Sk. and origl. pad-ός (g. sing.), st. and √pad (foot, go), where of course, in accordance with the sensibility of the Greek, the o may also be considered as a raised step from ε in πεδ; ό, τό, origl. and Sk. sa, ta-t, root and st. sa, ta (pron. dem.); πό-σις (lord)=origl. and Sk. pá-ti-s (lord); μέν-ος (n. acc.), μέν-ous (gen. sing.) for *μένεο-ος, Sk. and origl. món-as, món-as-as; similarly in a-stems, a changes to o, as νέο-ς (n. sing. masc.), νέο-ν (acc. sing.)=Lat. nouo-s, nouo-m, Sk. and origl. nāva-s, nāva-m, etc.

Dialectically o takes the place of a. Aiolic βροχέως for βραχέως (adv.), from st. βραχύ- (breuis=breguis, short); Arkadian έκτόν for έκατόν (100), f.f. of -κατον is κατά-m or kanta-m, cf. Sk. κατά-m; Kuprian κόρξα=κάρδια (heart), cf. Lat. cord-, f.f. of this stem is kard-; st. τεκταν- in τεκτανα, i.e. *τεκτανα (fem.), τεκταν-ομαι (build), i.e. *τεκτανυμομαι stands by the form τεκτον- (n. sing. τεκτων, builder), f.f. τακταν-; the older a is preserved in the Dóric Φικατη for the newer Attic εκκοι (twenty), f.f. of the second part of the word is (da)kati; in δια-κάτιοι for διακόσιοι (200), -κατοι is derived from an origl. stem kata- or kanta- (100).

a = a. ἄκ-ωκ-ή (point), st. ἄκ-οντ- (n. ἄκον, dart), origl. √άκ (Lat. ac-, ac-utus); ἄγ-ω (lead)=Lat. ago, Sk. ἄγ-άμι, origl. √άγ; ἄχος (grief), ἄχ-νμαι (am grieved), origl. √agh; ἐ-λαχ-ύς (little), Sk. lagh-us (old rağh-usahaan) (light); πλατύς (broad, wide), Sk. prthú-s, origl. pratu-s; λα-μ-β-άνω (take), ἐ-λαβ-όν, Sk. ἀ-labh-am, √λαβ, Sk. labh- (get); δάκ-νο (bite), ἐ-δακ-όν, cf. Sk. δάς-άμι, f.f. √dak; ἐ-λακ-όν (I spoke), cf. Lat. loq-ur, Sk. láp-άμι (cry out), √λακ, origl. rak; st. πα-τέρ- (father)=Lat. pa-ter-, origl. pa-tar-, √pa (protect).

a stands beside e, e.g. ἐ-ταμ-όν beside ἐ-τεμ-όν (tému-ω, cut), in ἐ-τραφ-όν, ἐ-τρατ-όν, ἐ-κταν-όν beside τρέφ-ω (cherish), τρέπ-ω (turn), κτεν-ω (kill) (=*κτεν-γω). We cannot trace herein a
§ 19. Step from $\epsilon$ to $a$, but only a vowel-colouring, originally merely dialectic, which indeed was used in Greek for the purpose of expressing the relation of the aorist. As $\epsilon$-ηπων is to $\epsilon$-ηπων, so are the present forms τεμιων, τρεφω, τρεπω to the Doric τάμων, τράφω, τράπω, which we have to consider as the presents corresponding to the aorists ἑταμων, ἑταφων, ἑταπων; κρέασιν (better) (i.e. *κρετ-γων) beside κράτ-ιστος (best). Cf. Doric $\bar{a}$=Ión. Attic $\eta$.

$\alpha$=a+nasal. τόσα (acc. sing.), Sk. and origl. πάδ-αμ (ped-em), πόδ-ας, Sk. πάδ-ας, origl. παδ-αμ; φερον-τα, Sk. and origl. bháran-tam (feren-tem), φεροντ-ας, Sk. bhárant-ας, origl. bharant-ams (acc. pl. feren-es); ἑπτάδ, Sk. and origl. ἱσπτάν (septem); δέκα, Sk. δάκαν, origl. dakan (decem) -σα (I sing. aor. in comp.) =Sk. and origl. -σα-μ, cf. ἐ-δείξα (=ἐ-δεικ-σα) and Sk. ἀ-δικ-σα-μ, ἅdiç, origl. dik (show).

§ 20. Step-formation in the $a$-scale. Rule for the first step is: radical $\epsilon$ is raised to $o$, $a$ to $\bar{a}$ (i.e. $\eta$). There are, however, exceptions to this rule.

1. $\epsilon$-ο: φόρ-ος (tax), φορέω (bear (durative), wear) =Sk. and f.f. bhár-ας (burden), bhár-άμι (causat.) beside φέρ-ω, Sk. and f.f. bhár-άμι (fero); Φόχ-ος (waggon), Sk. vah-ας, f.f. vagh-ας (waggon), √Fed, Sk. vah, origl. eagh (vehere), which, however, as a verb becomes intermixed with √σεχ, Sk. sah (have, hold); με-μου-α (strive), f.f. ma-mán-α, beside μέν-ος (might), Sk. and f.f. mán-ας, √μεν, origl. √μαν (think); γον-ή (birth), γόν-ος (thing born, bairn), γέ-γον-α, f.f. ga-gán-α, Sk. γαγάνα, beside ἐ-γεν-όμην, ἐγεν-ος (genus), Sk. γάν-ας, f.f. gan-ας, √γεν, origl. γαν (gi-gn-eere); τόκος (thing born, bairn), τοκ-εύ-ς (parenz), beside τεκ-έστας, τίκ-τω, τεκ (produce); τέ-τροφ-α beside τρέφ-ω, ἑ-τράφ-ην, τρεφ (nourish); ἐ-κτον-α beside κτελ-ω (i.e. *κτεν-γω), ἐ-κταν-ου, √κτεν (kill); ἐ-λοχ-α, λόγ-ος, beside λέγω, λέγ (legere); ἐ-φθορ-α, φθορ-ά, beside φθείρω, i.e. *φθερ-γω, √φθερ (destroy); ὄψ (voice), i.e. Φόπ-α, origl. vák-α, Sk. vák for *vák-α (cry), beside Φέπ-ος (word),
GREEK. a-scale. 1ST STEP.

origl. vāk-as, Sk. vak-as, origl. √vāk (cry); γον-ν, gen. γόνατος, § 20. older (Ión.) γόνατος=γονιόν, γονιός=γονίος, cf. Sk. ἴανι (genu); δ-νο-μα, older (Hom.) οὐ-νο-μα (name), from δ-γνο-μα, cf. Lat. gno-men, (Sk. nām-an, also, with root-vowel raised).

In Greek, on account of the prosodic quantity of o, this step is possible only before two consonants, e.g. δέορκα=Sk. da-dárγ-α, origl. da-dark-a, beside δέρκ-ομαι, δ-δρακ-ον, δ-δερκ, origl. dark (see).

Note.—The same kind of step-formation of e=α to o=α occurs in Latin, also in Slavonic, e.g. O.-Bulg. vez-α=original vagh-αμί, Lat. uelho, bes. voz-ǔ=original vāgl-α-s, Gk. Fō-χ-ο-s, v. infr.

2. a:ā, η. two equivalent sounds. e.g. λέ-ληκ-α, λέ-λάκ-α, beside ἐ-λακ-ον, √λακ (cry out), cf. Sk. ἴρα, origl. rāk; κέ-κληρ-α beside κέ-κλαγ-ον, κλάξω=κλαγ-γω, κλαγ (sound); λέ-ληθ-α, Dör. λέ-λαθ-α, λήθη (forgetfulness), beside ἐ-λαθ-ον, λα-ν-θ-άνω, √λαθ (escape notice); ει-ληρ-α beside ε-λαχ-ον, λα-γ-χ-άνω, √λαχ (get by lot); δέ-δηλ-α beside δάκ-νο, δ-δακ-ον, √δακ (bite); ει-ληφ-α, λήψ-ις (i.e. ληπ-σις=ληβ-τις), beside ἐ-λαφ-ον, λα-μ-β-άνω, √λαβ (take); κέ-κράγ-α beside κράξω, *κραγ-γω, √κραγ (cry aloud); ἐ-ἄγα, ἴόν. ἐ-γά-α, i.e. Fe-Fάγ-α, f.f. να-ναγ-α, beside ἄγ-νυμι, √Fάγ (break); st. μη-τερ-, origl. and Sk. mā-tar-, etc.

In elements belonging to the formation of words, o will be found raised to η, ā: this rule is observed regularly in the stem-termination o=α in such stems as are raised in the feminine termination, e.g. νεό-γ (n. sing. masc.), νεό-ν (n. sing. neut.), origl. and Sk. νάνα-s, νάνα-m (nou-o-s, nouo-m), but fem. νέ-α, Ión. νέη=origl. and Sk. νάνα (noua). In η, 'ā, origl. and Sk. şā, beside ő, origl. and Sk. sa (pron. demonstr.), and other pronominal stems, is found radical o raised to η, ā, the root being equivalent to the stem as often.

Note 1.—μέ-μηλ-α beside μέλ-ει, √μελ (be a care to), shows also the raising of e to η.
§ 20. **Note 2.**—Sometimes ἀ is shortened to ἄ, e.g. *Fάστυ* (city), Sk. νά-σε-τυ (house), Sk. and original ἑ-σα (inhabit); similar shortenings often occur in the a-termin. of feminine stems.

**Note 3.**—The laying-down of the laws for the use of ἀ, η, belongs to the special-grammar of Greek: the Doric predilection for the more ancient ἄ and that of Οἰνία for η are well known. In Attic likewise ἄ changes to η, yet ἀ repeatedly occurs, owing to the surrounding sounds, especially in the case of ρ, ε, η, ι, υ (i.e. ζ, σσ, λλ, etc.), preceding, and ε, η, following, when its change to η is stopped.

For the second step we have ω in examples such as *ἐρ-ρωγ-ἀ-, ῥω-ξ, ῥωγ-ός (cleft), beside ὑγ-νυμ, √ăng (break), cf. Goth. brak, Lat. frag; πτωξ, i.e. πτώκ-ς, gen. πτώκ-ός (cowering), πτώςσω, i.e. *πτώκ-γω (cower), beside πτήσσω =*πτήκ-γω, ἐ-πτακ-ον, √πτακ (cower), clearly a further formation from √πτα, cf. πε-πτή-κως; ἀρωγ-ός (helper) beside ἀρίγ-ω (I help). From these examples we gather an equation η: ω: ε: ο.

Also where there is no parallel first step to ω, we must hold it to be in the position of a second step, e.g. τρώγ-ω beside ἐ-τραγ-ον, √τραγ (gnaw, chew); ὀδ-ωδ-α beside ὀζω =*ὀδ-γω, ὀδ-μή, ὀσ-μή, √ὀδ (smell); ὕκ-ός=Sk. ἄς-ός, origl. ἀκ-ώς (sharp), ἀκ-ώκ-ή (point), √ἀκ, cf. ἦπτος (equos), origl. ak-vas; ω-όν, better φόν (Sappho, ὄνον acc. to Ahrens, ὄβεον Hesuch.), origl. ἄνυα-μ (ouom, lit. bird., of a bird), from origl. ἄνι-ς, Sk. ἄι-ς (auis); ἀγ-ωγ-ή (leading), ἀγ-ωγ-ός (leader), beside ἀγ-ἀγ-εῖν, ἀγ-είν (lead); ὀ-δα-μέν behind ὀ-δα-μεν, √dojo (dare); ἐδ-ωδ-ή (food), √ἐδ, Lat. ed, origl. and Sk. ad (eat); γνω-τός (known), γν-γνώ-σκω (learn, come to know), cf. Lat. (g)nō-tus, (g)nō-sco, √gna, from gan.

**Note.**—Dialectically ων occurs for ω, i.e. ἄ, in isolated instances (a weakening which occurs also in Lat.). ω: ov (u):ο: ν (u), e.g. Thessal. γνώμα=γνῶμ (insight, opinion), √γνο, original γνα=gan (learn); -ων=-ων, fund. -άm in gen. pl., cf. Lat. -um, etc.

§ 21. **2. i-scale.**

**Root-vowel 1. **i-μεv, i-θι, Sk. i-μάς-ι, i-χι, origl. i-μας, i-δχι, √i(ire); ε-λατ-ον, √λατ, Lat. lic, Sk. rik, origl. rik (leave); Flδ-μεv
GREEK.  i-scale.  1st step.

=Sk. and origl. vid-māsi, st. Fli-τoρ- [n. sing, ἴσ-τοπ and ἴσ-τώρ § 21. (knower, witness)], for *Fιδ-τορ-, f.f. vid-tar, √vid (know); ἵπθ-ον, ἵπθ-ὀμην, πιλ-τον (faith), for *πιθ-το-σ, √πιθ (persuade), and element of stem-formation τι; σχίδη-η (splitter), σχιζω (split) =*σχιδ-υω, √σχιδε=Sk. khid, Lat. sciud, origl. skid (scindere); ὀ-μχ-ειν, √μχ=Sk. mih, origl. migh (mingere); λιχ-νον (daintiness), λιχ-μαω, √λιχ, Sk. lih, rih, Lat. lig, origl. righ; στίχ-ος (rank), ε-στιχ-ον, √στιχ (march, tread), Goth. stig, Sk. and origl. stigh; τι-ς, fund. ki-s, Lat. qui-s, Goth. *hi-s, pronl. root, origl. ki (dem. and interrog.), etc.

Lengthened i is a parallel form to i (often depending on fixed proportion of sound), e.g. Hom. τι-ομεν and τι-ομεν beside τι-ομεν (1 pl. pres. conj.), origl. i-a-mas, √i (ire); τδ-ος (ntr. sweat), τιδ-ιω (I sweat), √ιδ, origl. svid, cf. Sk. svid-yami: τι-νω (τινε), πιδι, beside ε-πι-ον, √πι (drink), cf. Sk. pi beside pa.

i raised by steps. § 22.

1. i raised to ei; e.g. ει-μι (go), Sk. ε-μι, origl. ai-mi, √i; πειθ-ω (1 sing. pres.), √πιθ, so λειπ-ω, √λιπ; λειχ-ω, origl. raigh-āmi (1 sing. pres.), √λιχ, origl. √righ; στειχ-ω, origl. staigh-āmi, √στιχ; Feιδ-εται, εθεμαι (for *Feιδ-θεμαι), Feidos (ntr. outward-form), √Fiδ; εικ-όν (likeness) beside εικ-του, εικ-την, √Fix, clearly (=resemble); κει-ται (3 sing. pres. med.)=Sk. γε-τε, √ki (lie), etc.

ai occurs in the main perhaps only as a lifeless step-formation where the language has lost all sense of the derivation, and hence for the most part no i, ei, or oi, is parallel to ai, e.g. aiθ-ω (I kindle), αιθ-εοθαι (burn), αιθ-ηρ, αιθ-ηρος, (aether), αιθ-ουσα (porch), cf. Lat. aed-es, aid-ilis, √ιθ=Sk. idh, indh (burn), Germ. it, in O.H.G. eit (fire); ai-Föw, origl. ai-vān-s (time, long time), cf. Lat. ae-uo-m, origl. ai-va-m, Sk. ē-va-s, origl. ai-va-s (a going), Goth. aiv-s, f.f. ai-va-s (time, long time), with other step-forms, √i (go), with sf. van, va (here the language no longer felt the connexion with τι-μεν, ei-μι, ol-μος); και-ρό-ς (point of time), cf. Goth. hvei-la (hour, time, Engl. 'while'), origl. hαι-ρα, origl. √ki.
§ 22. Note.—In medial terms, e.g. φέρο-μαι, *φερε-σαι, φέρε-ται, φέρου-ται, ai is not a step-form, but the product of a contraction from f.f. bhara-mami, bhara-sasi, bhara-tati, bhara-ntanti, v. sub. ‘Conjugation.’

2. i raised to oi, e.g. oi-μος, oι-μη (road, a going), cf. ai-Fών, ει-μι, ι-μεν, √ι (go); πέ-ποιθ-α beside πελθ-ω, √πυθ (ἐ-πέ-πυθ-μεν); λέ-λουπ-α, λοῦπ-δ-ς (left, remaining), beside λείπ-ω, ε-λεπ-ου, √λιπ; Φοίδ-α (know)=Sk. είδ-α, with the 1st, Goth. wait with 2nd step, beside Φείδ-ος, √Φίδ (Φίδ-μεν); ε-οικ-α (seem) beside εἰκ-ών, for Φέοικα, √Φικ, (ε-ικ-του, ε-ικ-την); Φοίκ-ο-ς (house), cf. Sk. εάς-ας, Lat. uic-υ-ς, i.e. *ειεις-ο-ς, with 1st step, √Φικ=Sk. vic, origl. vik (settle); Φώι-ο-ς (wine), cf. Lat. uin-um, Germ. wein with 1st step; λοιβ-η (libatio) beside λειβ-ω (pour), and λιβ-ο-ς (drop), λιβ-δς, -άδ-ος (moisture), √λιβ; στείχ-ος (rank) beside στείχ-ω, ε-στιχ-ου, √στιχ; αἰματο-λοιχ-δ-ς (blood-licking) beside λείχ-ω, λυχ-νος; κοίτ-η (bed), κοι-μάσθαι (sleep), beside κεῖ-ται, √κι, etc.

Note.—In opt. φέρ-οις (etc.)=fund. bhar-αι-ς, also in nom. pl. e.g. oi, original sai (tai), oi is the result of a contraction, not a step of a vowel-scale; v. ‘Conjugation and Declension.’

§ 23. 3. u-scale.

Radical v, e.g. ε-φυγ-ου, φυγ-η (fug-a), √φυγ, Sk. bhuγ (bhug-ná-s, bent), Goth. bug (bend), Lat. fug (only here and in the Greek with a narrower sense); ζυγ-όν (yoke)=Lat. iug-um, Sk. and origl. yug-αμ, √yug (join, iungere); ε-ρυθ-ρό-ς (red) =Sk. rudh-irá-s, f.f. rudh-ra-s, √ρυθ, origl. and Sk. √rudh, Goth. rud (be red), etc.; σύ, τύ (thou, du), cf. Sk. τυ-αμ, Lat. tu, Lith. tu, Sclav. ty; κλύ-ω (hear), √κλυ, Sk. gru, Goth. hlu (Eng. loud, lud=voice), origl. kru; ρυ-τό-ς (flowing), √ρυ, Sk. and origl. sru (flow), so ερρύ-νυ=ε-σρυ-νυ, Germ. stru (in strðm, stream, with inserted t); φύ-ω (am), φυτ-ον (being), √φυ, Sk. bhu, Lat. fu, origl. bhū (be); κε-χυ-μαι (perf.), √χυ, Goth. √gu-t (pour) (with a t for further formation); ἐσ-συ-μαι, (pf.), σύ-το (aor.), √συ (rush); ὁκ-ύ-ς=Sk. ὁκ-υ-ς, origl. ὁκ-υ-ς
GREEK. u-scale. 1ST STEP.

(week); πλατ-ύς, Sk. prthús, origl. prat-u-s (broad), sf. u; § 23. ἄο-τυ (city)=Sk. vás-tu (house); βοη-τύ-ς (shout), μάρ-τυς (witness), etc., with sf. -τυ, Sk., Lat., origl. tu. The lengthening of u to ǔ is not uncommon, e.g. ǔ-δηρ, cf. Sk. ud-a-m, ud-акά-m, Lat. unda, with inserted nasal, Sk. /ud (be wet); κλο-θς (imper. aor.)=Sk. γρυ-δθς, origl. κρυ-δθς, cf. κέ-κλο-θς, κλο-τος, κλο-ς, origl. kru (hear); πě-νυ-μαυ, πε-πυ-μένος (prudent), πυν (blow); κυ-ω, κυ (shave); δς and σός (swine), cf. Lat. sūs, Sk. sū-kara-, O.H.G. su, /su; δρυ-ς (tree), Goth. triu (arbor). We cannot decide with any certainty where origl. au stands as a lengthening for a root-vowel, and where it stands for a step of a vowel-scale. In the last-mentioned examples perhaps originally a step-form was in existence.

Note 1.—The older sound u has been kept in Boiot. (του=σό, κουνες=κώνες, etc.), and in diphth. au. The later u=ǔ occurs proportionately early, however. The same transition of sound occurs also in other languages. Lat. una became Fr. une, pronounced ũn.

Note 2.—In Greek as well as in Umbr., i occurs as a weaker representative form of u. In mod. Gk. it is well known that u has universally become i. So μι-τυ-ς (father, begetter), μι-τυ-ω (beget)=Lat. fu-tu-o, /fu, original bhu; δρι-αυ, also δρι-ας (forest), and δρυ-ς (tree), cf. Sk. dru, masc. n. wood, m. tree), Goth. triu (tree); σι-αλο-ς (hog) and σός. Curt. Gk. Et.² p. 647 sqq.

Step-formation of u.

1. step eu, e.g. φεύγ-ω (flee), πέ-φευγ-α, /φυγ; έλευ[θ]-σομαι (shall come), /ελυθ in ἤλυθον=ε-ελυθ-ον; κλέF-ος=Sk. γρά-v-as (fame), origl. krav-as, κλυ; πιέF-ω (sail)=Sk. and origl. pláv-άmi, πιλυ; πέυ-μα (stream), πέυ-σομαι, πέF-ω (flow)=Sk. and origl. sráv-άmi, /ρυ, origl. and Sk. /sru (flow); πνεύ-μα (breath), πνέυ-σο, πνéF-ω (blow), /πνῦ; σεύ-ω (rush), /συ; χέF-ω (pour), /χυ; ξέF-ω (I scrape), ξυ; Zεύ-ς (nom. propr. God), for *ζεύ-ς, in Sk. with 2nd step δγαυ-ς (heaven), in the other cases from /δίν, /διF=δυ, *δυ, ζυ, etc.

au is here too a lifeless step-formation, e.g. αυ-ω for *αυς-ω
§ 24. (kindle), εν-ανο-μα (tinder), cf. εβ-ω, Lat. uro=*ous-o, *eus-o (see Lat. ‘Vowels’), Sk. ὄσ-ἀμι, origl. aus-ἀμι, ύυσ, origl. us; αὐγ-ή (glance), ύυγ, cf. Sk. ἄγας (force); αὐξ-άν-ω, i.e. *αὐγ-ς ανω (make to grow), cf. Lat. aug-εο, ύγ (which occurs pure in Lith.).

2. Second step ου occurs seldom, espec. when u is medial (no *πε-φουγ-α=Goth. baug,=*bu-hāuga, like λέλουτα), while we find it compensated for by the first step, yet cf. ειλήλουθα (Hom.) from ώλθ, cf. ἰλνθου and ἐλεύθσθοι [origl. ώλθ=ἐρ, origl. ar (go), in ἐρ-χομαι (come, go), f.f. er-skomai], further formed in Greek by sf. ν (προς-ὁλν-τος ἐπ-νθυς, newly come), to which is added the frequent accompaniment of a verb-stem θ (v. sub. ‘Formation of Present-stem’); the secondary ώλθ so formed sts. was treated as if the ύ vowel was really ν (exx. in text), sts. is merely equivalent to an auxiliary vowel (§ 29), which moreover may disappear, ἰλθου]; ᾠ-κόλουθος (follower), and κέλευθ-ος (way); ῥούς-ιος (reddish), for *ῥουθιος (or perhaps *ῥουθ-τιος, *ῥουθ-σιος ?), beside ἐ-ρεύθω (blush), and ἐ-ρουθ-ρός (red); σπουδ-ή (haste) beside σπευδ-ω (hasten); λούσσον=λουκ-γον (white pith of deal), cf. λευκ-ός (white), ἀμφι-λύκ-η (twilight), λύχ-νος. More often beside final u, e.g. πνοF-ή (blast) beside πνεF-ω, ύπνν; ποF-ή, πόF-ος (stream), beside πεύ-μα, ύπυ; χοF-ή (outpouring) beside χέF-ω, ύχυ; πλόF-ος (voyage) beside πλέF-ω, ύπλυ; θέF-ος (swift) beside θέF-ω, ύθυ, Sk. and origl. dhu; ξοF-ις (chisel), ξόF-ανν (carved-work), beside ξέF-ω, ύξυ; σοF-ος (quick motion), σού-μαι=σοF-ομαι (Trag. haste), beside σεύ-ω, ύσυ.

In separate instances also au (ἀυ) is a second step fr. u, e.g. ναυς (nauis) (i.e. ναυς on acct. of νης)=Sk. ναύ-ς, Ιόν. νηF-ός, Dór. νάF-ός, Sk. ναύ-άς, point to ύνυ. au is only Ιόν.=αυ, e.g. θαυ-μα (wonder)=θαυ-μα, θέFa, θεFα-ομαι (show, gaze), point to ύθυ.

ω also occurs sts. as second step from ν, e.g. κό-μος (broth), cf. κό-μη (yeast), Sk. γυ-κα-μ, Lat. iū-s, similarly belonging to
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\( y/yu \), Gk. \( \xi u \) (with which \( \xi e-\omega \) (cook) for \( *\xi e-o \), cf. \( e-\xi e-mau \), § 24. \( \xi e-o-\tau o-s \), has no connexion, cf. O.H.G. \( yjas \), cook); \( \xi o-\nu \nu \mu (\text{gird}) \), \( \sqrt{\xi} u \), origl. \( yu \) (join); \( \chi o-\nu \nu \mu \), \( \sqrt{\chi} u \), \( \chi e-o \) (pour). If we compare \( \tau l o-\omega \) for \( \tau l o-Fo \), Iön. parallel-form to \( \tau l o-e o-F \), Dör. \( \beta o-s=\beta o-s=\text{Sk. g\text{"a}us} \), and Iön. \( o v=au \), hence we infer in Greek a step-formn. \( \delta u \), \( o v=\text{origl.} \delta u \), \( \alpha v \), where the 2nd element has become assimilated to the first, so that only \( \delta \), \( \omega \) \((=\omega o, \omega u) \) remains.

Note 1.—Cases such as \( o\nu p\nu o-\zeta \) (heaven) beside Sk. \( \nu r\nu n\nu a-s \) (name of a deity); \( o\nu l-\eta \) (scar) beside Lat. \( u l o n s \), Sk. \( \nu r\nu a-n \) and \( \nu r a-n \) (wound); \( e\nu\nu o-\zeta \) (wide) beside Sk. \( u r\nu-s \) for \( *\nu r\nu a-s \), show \( o v \), \( e v \), in place of the expected \( Fo \), \( Fe \). The explanation of this is difficult; perhaps it is to be considered less as a transposition of \( Fo \), \( Fe \), to \( o v \), \( e v \), than a shortening fr. original \( e a \) to \( u \) and a step-formation from the latter.

Note 2.—There are three roots \( \theta o \) in Gk.: 1. \( \theta o \), hasten; 2. \( \theta o \), offer; 3. in \( \theta a-ma, \theta e-o-ma \), gaze.

Note 3.—All vowel-sounds which do not appear in the vowel-scales are therefore unoriginal products of the sound-laws (especially of contraction after the elision of consonants).

Sound-laws of Vowels. § 25.

The laws laid down in ordinary Greek grammars, i.e. the laws of contraction, etc., may be passed over as already understood.

At first sight we are struck by the frequently occurring hiatus which arises from elision of spirants \( y \), \( s \), \( v \), and their vocalisation, and which is not by any means invariably obviated by contraction; thus arise forms such as Homéric \( \delta \nu o\nu o \), five vowels (together), 3 pl. opt. from \( \delta \nu o \) (slay), fr. \( \delta \nu o \) (hostile); \( \delta \nu o \) evidently \( =*\delta \nu o \omega \), Sk. \( d\nu o-s \) (hostile), adjectival form in \( ya \), fr. \( d\nu o-s \) (demon, slave, originally ‘foe’), whence \( *d\nu o-s-y\nu -a-mi \) \((=*\delta \nu o-o-o-m \), whence \( \delta \nu o \) \( o \)), of which 3 pl. f.f. \( d\nu o-y\nu -a-i-n \), in Gk. with superfluous unoriginal \( e \) before personal termination, \( *d\nu o-y\nu -a-i-n \) as f.f. \( =\delta \nu o-o-o-e \), and in that case with \( o=ai \), in consequence of an unoriginal lengthening of \( o \) to \( o \), comes \( \delta \nu o \). \( \) (Acc. to Aufrecht in Kuhn’s Zeitschrift, vii. 312,
§ 25. sqq., δήνος proved to be Aiolic in δάφνος belongs to ύδυ; f.f. accordingly of δήνος, δηύομαι = *dāvya-s, *dāvya-yai-ant.) Diphth. α, η, ω, are only secondary products of contraction.

Whilst the termination (except a few instances, e.g. partial shortening of ἄ to ἄ in fem. and the like, cf. § 20) does not yet exercise a destructive influence on the vowels,—and also the vowels of syllables which follow medially upon one another (excepting the working of the ι of σι on the vowel of the preceding syllable) have no essential influence upon one another,—we perceive a variation of the older vowel-system, caused by consonantal influence,—a variation of considerable importance and characteristic of the language.

Important above all are the changes in consequence of the Greek distaste for the original and frequent Indo-European spirants y, v, s; y and v become i and u, y also becomes e; v and y as i and u change position from a following to a preceding syllable; y, u, and s, further fall out from between two vowels. After the disappearance and softening of consonants, frequent vowel-lengthening takes place. A consonantal sound in the beginning of a word is not unfrequently accompanied by an introductory vowel-sound, and besides occurs the so-called vowel-insertion between two consonants.

§26a. Introduction of i into a preceding syllable in case of termn. -ωι. e.g. (1.) loc. dat. pl. ταγί, ἦν. γήγι, thence ταίς, fr. *lāsi (pronoml. st. ta raised to lá, and loc. termn. pl. si), and also τοῦς, τοῖς, fr. *to-si, *lā-si (although another explanation offers itself here, v. sub. 'Declension'). (2.) 2 sing. ind. and conj. act., e.g. φέτευ (indic.), fr. *φέτου, *φέτο-τι, f.f. bhara-si; φέρης (conj.), fr. *φέρου, *φέρου-τι, *φέρου, f.f. bharā-si.

§26b. Vocalisation and transposition of y and v.

1. y changes to i and u to v, e.g. original stem-formative particle ya=Gr. ω; πάτρ-ω-ς (paternal), cf. patr-ius, st. πατέρ-, cf. Sk. pitr-ya-s, origl. pitar-ya-s; ἄγ-ω-ς (holy), cf. Sk. yaḥ-ya-s (to revere); compar. suff. -ων, origl. -yans, e.g. ἧς-λων, st.
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 iota-ιν (ιτι-ις, sweet), f.f. svad-yaïns, st. svad-yans-, cf. ἐλάσσων §26b. for *ελαχηφω, f.f. lagh-yaïns (ελαχη-ις, small, f.f. lagh-u-ς), in the latter of which instt. y as such has disappeared; pres.-st.-suff. origl. ya, e.g. ἵδ-ι-ω (sweat), f.f. svid-yaïni, da-ιω (kindle), fr. da-yaïmi, cf. κράζω (howl), for *κραγ-ιω, with same suff. which here has retained y; in Dór. fut. form. -σίω for *σιγω, origl. syāmi; in gen. sing. masc. neut. of a-stem, origl. -asya (Gr. with loss of σ, oιο), e.g. ἵππο-ιο fr. *ιξφο-ιο=Sk. ἄρεα, origl. akvasya; optat. particle η, origl. and Sk. ya, e.g. εἰην for *ἐσε-γη-μ= origl. as-ya-μ, with s lost between two vowels; perf. part. act. fem. vua fr. origl. -vact-γά, -vans-γά, from the latter form with elision of an came *-vsaγ, hence -usyά=Gk. *υσια=υα; δύο, δώ = *δφω, cf. δόδεκα fr. *δφωδεκα, Sk. and origl. δνα.

Note.—Esp. in Lesbo-Aiolic v between two vowels is preferred to be=v, e.g. χε-υ-ω=χεφω (pour), χυν; so πνεύ-ω= *πνέφω (breathe), πνυν; θείω=θέφω (haste), θυν, etc.

2. Further, ε occurs sts. undeniably for y (not however for v, ι) especially after consonants; in the cases from y there remains only the accompanying vowel-sound itself, as a short and indeterminate vowel which is nearly=ε, e.g. ε=υ in fut. forms, πλευσοῆμαι, φευξοῆμαι=σέομαι, *σγομαι, fund. f. -σγάμαι; further in κενός (empty), Aiol. κέννος, both fr. *κεγός, f.f. κανάς, Sk. κύνας; ἔτεος (true)=Sk. σατύας; στερέος (firm, solid) beside στερός, f.f. *στεργος, staryas, fem. στείρα, staryā; Epic ἥνωρ-ην =ἀνδρ-ια (manliness), f.f. of suff. is γά (st. ἀνέρ-, ἀνδρ-), n. sing. ἀνήρ (man).

Note 1.—In cases of declens., e.g. πόλεως, ε is not=y, but there was a step-raising of i to ei, and the representative y was lost; e.g. πόλεως=πόλεος, fr. *πόλειγ-ος, st. πολι (city), f.f. παρα-ιας, st. pari.

Note 2.—Original v also does not change to i. In poetry perhaps the metrical forms such as πλείεφω for πλειειν (sail), ι/πλυ, raised to πλευ, πλεφ, may be traced to a present st. in ya, which the Gk. has strangely liked, thus πλεύω=πλεφ-ιω, while πλέω = πλέφω; νείος beside νέφος (new), νείδς beside νεφός.
§26b. (fallow), brings us to a f.f. nava-<i>yas</i>, which clearly occurs in Lith. <i>nau-yas</i>, Goth. <i>niiyis</i>, st. <i>niiya</i>- (new). From such cases <i>e</i> may have become a more widespread representative of <i>e</i> by analogy. In <i>πνοη</i>- for <i>πνοη</i>, we find <i>ya</i>-stems, whilst <i>πνο</i><i>Fη</i> (<i>ννο</i>) has suff. <i>a</i>, <i>πνοη</i>=*<i>πνο</i><i>Fη</i>/*<i>πνο</i><i>Fη</i><i>η</i>, suff. <i>ya</i>.

Note 3.—<i>εδος</i>=<i>F-ος</i>, Lat. <i>sou-os</i>, <i>suus</i>, f.f. of both *<i>sev-os</i>; <i>τεος</i>=<i>τεFος</i>, Lat. <i>tonos</i>, <i>tuus</i>, f.f. *<i>tevos</i> (yet <i>ςος</i>, fr. <i>σος</i>=*<i>τος</i>, not raised from <i>ννο</i>); through the Latin the Italograec f.-forms are made clear. In forms like <i>ηδεια</i>, fem. of <i>ηδος</i> (sweet), there is a clear step-raising, thus f.f. is *<i>δεF-ια</i>=<i>svā-dav-yā</i>, diverging from the unraised Sk. <i>svādēτ</i>, fr. *<i>svādṛyā</i>.

Note 4.—G. Curt. Gr. Et.² p. 500 sqq., treats of <i>ο</i>, <i>ω</i>, as representatives of original <i>v</i>. This occurs on the whole but seldom, and mostly in words of uncertain etymology, e.g. <i>δο Mistress</i> (Allman), for *<i>δαιεν</i>, *<i>Fην</i>, <i>δην</i> (long while), and these must stand for *<i>δηFαν</i>, *<i>δηFη-n</i>, acc. of a st. *<i>δηFα</i>=Lat. *<i>dīne</i>-<i>s</i>, in <i>dīne</i>-<i>s</i>=*<i>dīne</i>-<i>s</i> (day, for meaning cf. Lat. <i>dīus</i>, long).

3. When <i>y</i> and <i>v</i> stand after <i>v</i>, <i>p</i>, they regularly occur as <i>i</i> and <i>v</i> before the consonants: in Aiolic dialects, however, assimilation takes place to the preceding consonant: this assimilation occurs in the case of <i>λ</i> in the other dialects, transposition in the case of <i>λ</i> is merely the exception. The origin of the transposition we must hold to be this, that at first, whilst <i>y</i> and <i>v</i> were yet in existence, an <i>i</i> and <i>u</i> arose by assimilation in the foregoing syllable (as in Zend), and that long afterwards the <i>y</i>, <i>v</i>, disappeared.

<i>y</i>; e.g. <i>κτείνω</i> (kill), Aiolic <i>κτένnω</i>, for *<i>κτείνω</i>, fr. *<i>κτενω</i>; <i>μελαινα</i> (fem. fr. stem <i>μελαν-</i> black), fr. *<i>μελανγα</i>; <i>χείρων</i> (worse), Aiol. <i>χέρρων</i>, for *<i>χερ-ρων</i>, fr. *<i>χεργων</i>; <i>φθέρω</i> (destroy), Aiol. <i>φθέρρων</i>, for *<i>φθεργων</i>; <i>κλίνω</i> (lay), Aiol. <i>κλίνγω</i>, for *<i>κλινγω</i>; <i>κρίνω</i> (sift), Aiol. <i>κρίνω</i>, for *<i>κρίνγω</i>; <i>πλύνω</i> (wash), for *<i>πλωω</i>, *<i>πλνγγω</i>, *<i>πλνγγω</i>, contrn. of <i>u</i> and <i>υ</i> to - and <i>υ</i>.

In the case of <i>λυ</i> the assimln. occurs outside the Aiolic dial., <i>φείλω</i> however, for *<i>φελγω</i>, Hom. <i>φέλλω</i> (ought).

Note 1.—After <i>v</i>, <i>p</i>, <i>λ</i>, original <i>y</i> very often =<i>ι</i>, e.g. <i>χρόν-ιος</i>,
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Note 2.—For epenthesis of y beside other consonants, we have good instances in μελίςων (greater) for *μεγ-γον, fr. *μεγ-γον, μεγ- with compar. suff. original -γανς; ζγγ, consequently this is a clear case of genuine epenthesis; κρείςων (stronger, better) for *κρετ-γον, fr. *κρετ-γον (κρέςων preserved in diall.); στον (v. post.) formed just like μελίςων; πείκω (beside πέκω, comb) for *πεκγο, which by the laws of sound (κγ = σο) must coincide with πέςω (cook) in form; st. γυναικ- (γυναῖκα, gen. fr. γυνή, woman) for *γυνακι, cf. φυλακ- (female-guard); st. αίγ- (n. sing. αίγ for αίγ-ς, goat) for *άγν-, cf. Sk. αγά-s (stag), αγά (goat) (Curt. Gr. Et. 2 p. 608). It cannot be denied that πείκω for *πεκγο is very doubtful phonetically.

v; e.g. γονύς, γούνα (Αιολ. γόνιος, γόνια), γούνατος, for γούνις, γούναθος, st. γόν (knee); ούλος, Ιον. = ὀλος (all), fr. ὀλος, cf. Sk. σάρς-s (every, all), Lat. salvo-s, sollus (Fest. totus), fr. *σόλυ-s; παύρος (small, few) fr. *παρφο-s, cf. Lat. parvo-s; νεύρον (sinew) fr. *νεφον, cf. Lat. nero-s.

In consequence of the evanescence of y, v, s, vowel- § 27. accumulation and contraction occur frequently.

Thus s disappears, e.g. in φέρη fr. *φερεσαι (2 sing. pres. med. fr. φέρω, bear), Sk. βάραθε; μένος (gen. sing. fr. μένος, might) fr. *μενεσος, Sk. μάνας-s; εἰν (1 sing. pres. opt. of έσ-, esse) fr. *ες-γη, f.f. άσ-γα-μ; εἰπόμην fr. *ε-σεπ-ομην, έπ (follow), i.e. σεπ, Sk. saκ, Lat. seq, in έπομαι; είρην fr. *ε-σεπτ-ον, έπερπ (crawl), Sk. σαρπ, Lat. serpo-o; πεπονθύνα (fem. part. pf. act.) fr. νπουα, and the latter fr. ν(α)ντα, etc.

F disappears in έργασάμην (Εργάζόμαι, work) fr. *έ-Εργάσαμη; είπον, ειπείν, older ε-ειπον, fr. *έ-Εργ-ονον = f.f. α-να-νον, redupl. aor. of έρε (speak), Sk. νακ, Lat. voc, f.f. νακ, etc.

Loss of y is common above all in the stems whence arise the contr. vbs. in ἐω, ἄω, ὦω, fr. *εγω, *αγω, *ογω = Sk. and origl. -αγάμι, e.g. φορό, φορέω (bear) = Sk. βάραγάμι, etc.

Note.—The sound-laws by which concurring vowels are regulated in different dialects do not belong in this place;
§ 27. because they extend to explain the Greek forms alone. The fundamental-forms, however, in the commonest and most important cases, conform to the rules laid down in the construction of stems and words.

The forms peculiar to the Greek, e.g. ὀρόω, ὀράς, by assimilation for ὀράω, ὀράεις; ὀρόωσι beside ὀράωσι, ὀρόσι, etc., frequently offer difficulties in their explanation.

§ 28. After the evanescence and medial and final loss of consonants, there often occurs a compensatory lengthening.

1. n lost before s, followed by lengthening of preceding

   o to ou—e.g. φέρουσι (they bear)=*φερονσι fr. φέροντι=βήραντι, φέρουσα=*φερονσα fr. *φεροντγα, etc.; λύκος (acc. pl. st. λύκο-, wolf)=*λυκονς, cf. Goth. vula-ns; Κρηταν τό-νς=τούς (acc. pl. st. το- demonstr.), f.f. τα-ns, τα-μς.

   e to ει—e.g. τιθέλεις (n. sing. m. part. pres. act. fr. τίθην-μι, place, */θε)=Κρηταν τιθένς fr. *τιθνη-ς; χαρέως (n. sing. masc. conn. c. χάρις, grace)=*χαρη-Feντ-ς (but fem. χαρέεσσα=*χαρη-Feτγα, without ν, cf. Sk. sf. -vαντ, fem. -vατί=vατγα, likewise with loss of n), etc.

   a to ἄ—e.g. ἰοτάς (n. sing. m. part. pres. act. ἴοτη-μι, place, */στα)=*ίστανς fr. *ίσταντ-ς, etc.

   u to υ—e.g. δεικνύς (δεικνυ-μι, show)=*δεικνυνς fr. *δεικνυν-ς, etc. Similarly εἰμί (am) for *ἐσ-μι, by compensatory lengthening (cf. Aiol. εἰμί by assimiln.), Sk. and f.f. ἰς-μι; ὀρευνός (mountainous) for *ὀρευ-νός, Aiol. ὀρευ-νός (fr. ὀρος, mountain, Ιόν. ὦρος, therefore older *ὁρ-Φος, */ὁρ, or-iri, exsurgere), st. ὀρε-, with sf. -νο-, etc.

2. Moreover medial compensation is found in the form. of 1 aor. after the loss of σ, preceded by λ, μ, ν, e.g. ἐνεμα (νέμω, distribute) for *ἐνεμ-σα, cf. Aiol. ἐ-νέμμ-ατο, by assimiln.; ἐφην (φαίνω for *φανγω, point out) for *ἐφαν-σα, ἐστειλα (στέλλω for *στελλω, send) for *ἐστελ-σα, Aiol. representation of compensation, ἐστειλα, etc.

3. Compensation by lengthening is frequently found in nom. sing. masc. of consonantal stems to compensate for lost...
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§ 28. for *rāgan-s, Lat. homo for *homon-s, Goth. guma (man), i.e. *gumā for *guman-s; μήτηρ (mater) for *μητερ-ς, cf. Sk. mātā for *mātar-ς; πατήρ (father) for *pater-ς, cf. Sk. pītā for *pitar-s, Old Lat. pater for *pater-ς, Goth. fadar, i.e. *fadar, for *fadar-s; eūmenēs (well-meaning) for *-μενες-s, cf. Sk. sumānās for *-manas-s; féiron (bearing) for *φερωντ-ς; πεποιθός (perf. pt. act. πέποιθα, trust) for *πεποιθ-θ-Fo-ς.

Vowel insertion and addition.

1. Vowel insertion occurs in Gk. in the same way as in Oscan and O.H.G., only less regularly. Acc. to G. Curtius, Gr. Et. 656, sqq., this change takes place only in the neighbourhood of r, l, and nasals, so that it clearly arises from the vowel-sounds contained in these consonants. a and e occur most frequently, o and i are rarer, u rarest, as vowels attached to these consonantal sounds: e.g. δ-ρέγ-ω (reach, stretch), υρέγ fr. ὄργ, cf. Sk. arē (reach), beside ὄργ-νάμαι (stretch) and ὀρό-γ-να beside ὄργ-να (fathom), where clearly ὀρέγ, ὄργυ, ὀρόγ = ὄργ, origl. arg; ταράσσω =*ταραχ-γω (make uneven, disturb), beside τέ-τρηχ-α (perf.) and τραχ-ός (rough, uneven), υ τραχ, therefore; ἄλεγ-εινός (painful) beside ἄλγ-ος (pain); δολικ-ός (long) = Sk. dirgh-ās, υ κάργ, beside ἐν-δελεχ-ής (unbroken, uninterrupted), fr. same root; ἡμνιθ-ον beside ἡμλθ-ον (v. suppl. § 24); χάλαζα (hail), i.e. χαλαδύμα, cf. Skl. grad-ū, Lat. grand-o, Sk. hrād-unī (storm); κολκ-άνος, κολοκ-άνος (lank), κολος-ός (colossus) for *κολοκ-γος, cf. Sk. kve-āς (lank), υ κάρς (make lean), Lat. crac-entes (graciles), origl. υ κρακ, καρκ; κονίς, pl. κονίδ-ες (dust, nits), cf. O.H.G. hniʒ, Bohem. hniad-a. Even long vowels clearly arise in this way, e.g. ἔρωθ-ύς (heron), Lat. ard-ēa.

Note.—But ε is no auxiliary vowel in such forms as ἡδεῖα, i.e. *ηδεῖα (v. suppl. § 26 b. 2, n. 2): and also in ἐπέσσασ ὠ fr. ἐπεσ-σάτ, ἐπέσα-στι, κυν-σατ, loc. pl. st. ἐπε- (ἐπος, word), κυν- (κύων, dog, g. κυν-ός), and other loc. pls. in consonantal stems. These are probably constructed on the analogies of the ὀ- and ὑ- stems, cf. πόλε-σι, st. πόλι- (state), γλυκέ-σι, st. γλυκύ- (sweet), as
§ 29. Doubtless in other languages consonantal stems have often become allied to vowel stems, especially to the i-stem (e.g. Lat. pedi-bus, st. ped-). [Curt. has suggested doubts which I do not understand, especially on account of the Herakl. πρασοστόρ-ασσί; he maintains a helping-vowel in these cases.] Less still do futs. of verb-stems in λ, μ, ν, ρ, belong here, e.g. τευ-ω fr. *τενεσω, *τενεω; βαλω fr. *βαλεσω, *βαλεω. In these cases we come upon the verb-stem -εσω, original asyami, fut. of ἴασ (esse) (v. sub. 'Conjugation').

2. Vowel addition (prefix).

This phenomenon of sound also is to be referred to the slight development of the vocal-sound before the following consonants. Acc. to G. Curtius (Gr. Et.² p. 649, etc.) prefixed-vowels are very rare before simple momentary sounds; they never occur before τ, π, φ, but on the contrary, most frequently before more than one consonant, before liquids, and before nasals. Exx. a) before two consonants, ἄ-στρηρ (star), cf. Latin stella for *sterula, Goth. stairnō, Sk. st. star-; ὑφρύς (brow), Sk. bhrū-s, O.H.G. brāwa, Skl. brūt; Lesb. Aiol. ὧ-σφε, ὧ-σφίτο αφέ, σφί, origl. st. svα; ἐ-χθές beside χθές (yesterday), Sk. hyas, etc.

b) before λ, μ, ν, ρ; ἐ-λαχίς (small), Sk. laghūs, Lat. leui-s, fr. *legu-is; ἐ-μέ, ἐ-μοί, beside μέ, μοί, origl. st. ma (pron. 1 pers.); ὑ-μυχέω (mingo), ὑ-μυχ-λη (mist), origl. ὑμιγή, cf. Sk. mih (mingere), Lat. mig, mi-n-go, etc.; ὑ-νιρ (man), Sk. st. nar-; Umbr. ner (prince); ὑ-νεκ- (bear), in ὑνέχ-θηρ, ὑνεκ-ον; δυ-νεκ-ής (thorough), for νεκ, cf. O. Bulg. nes-ti, Lith. nėsz-ti (bear); ἐν-νέφα (nine), with redupl. ν, cf. Lat. nouem, Sk. nāvan, etc.; ὑ-νυξ (nail), st. ὑνυξ-; Sk. nakha-s, nakha-m, O.H.G. nagel; ὑ-νομα, name, cf. Lat. (g)nōmen, Sk. nāman-, Goth. naman-, where in the Gk. the o did not arise until the origl. initial g had disappeared, ἐ-πυθρός (red)=Sk. rudhirās, Lat. ruber, fund.-fm. rudh-ra-s, ήρδη; ἐ-πεβος (n. lower-world, gloom), Sk. raγas (gloom), Goth. rikvis (dimness); ἐ-πεύγ-εσθαί (belch), cf. Lat. ructare for rug-tare, etc.

c) before origl. v; ἐ-Φεργ-ew beside Φεργ-ew (keep in), cf. Sk. varý (keep off); ἐ-Φερη (Π. xxiii. 598), Krēt. ἀ-Φερη beside
**LATIN. TABLE OF SOUNDS.**

Féron, ζρον (ros, dew), cf. Sk. √ varś (rain); €-Feikosw (Il. vi. § 29. 217) beside e'ikosê (twenty), Boiôt. Fiketi, Sk. viştî, Lat. uiginti; the initial was origly. ëv (ëvi=two), the € was not prefixed until the ë had disappeared (cf. ñ-noma); and more frequently in the case of F.

d) before other consonants; ø-ðou (tooth), st. ø-ðonr-, cf. Lat. st. dent-, Sk. st. dant- and danta-, Goth. tunthu; in this word the o arises clearly, I think, from the vowel-sound of ð, and my view is confirmed by the consonance of the o with the of the second syllable, as well as by the agreement of all the other languages in initial ð. [ëë-ovtvë in Aiolic should, I think, be separated fr. œOovtës, and be regarded as a poetical expression; it is a part. of ëOw (eat), 'the eating ones,' i.e. 'teeth'; the origl. dant- (tooth) may arise from ñad, da (eat), but in my opinion da-nt- more probably belongs to ñda, ad, 'separate, cut'; cf. Zend st. dâ-ta-, 'tooth.'] ò-ðavt-μos (itch), ø-ðâξw, ø-ðâξêw (bite, itch), fr. ñdak in ðâc-νw (bite), Sk. daç. For other inst. of prefixed-vowel before other mom. consonn., more or less probable, see Curt. Gr. Et.² p. 653.

**LATIN.**

§ 30.

**TABLE OF Sounds in the Latin Language.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONSONANTS.</th>
<th>PROLONGED SOUNDS.</th>
<th>UNASPIRATED.</th>
<th>ASPIRATED.</th>
<th>NASAL.</th>
<th>R- &amp; L-SOUND.</th>
<th>VOWELS.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MUTE SONANT</td>
<td>MUTE SONANT</td>
<td>SONANT</td>
<td>SONANT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gutt.</td>
<td></td>
<td>c, q, g</td>
<td>h, n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a, ã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pal.</td>
<td></td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>i, ì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ling.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>r, l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ò, ð</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dent.</td>
<td></td>
<td>t, d, s</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lab.</td>
<td></td>
<td>p, b, f, v, m</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>u, ù</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
§ 30. Note 1.—I have placed h amongst the mute spirants, because it is nowhere pronounced with a vowel-sound except in Sk.

Note 2.—Guttural n has no peculiar character; n is gutt. before gutt. conson. c, q, g (n adulterinum), but not after g, where, contrary to the German usage, it must be pron. like ordinary dental n.

Diphthongs, almost exclusively peculiar to Old. Lat., are ai (ae), au, ei, eu, oi (oe), ou, ui.

§ 31. Latin Vowel-system.

The Lat. vowel-system has suffered frequent changes in the course of time. Classical Lat., like Umbrian, shows a distaste for diphthongs, and these have changed to more compact sounds: the old diphthongs are vouched for by Old Lat., and esp. by Oscan. In the above cases the Lat. is insensible to vowel-development. A movement of root-vowels in their scales (confined, however, generally to two steps only) is not still shown except in a few roots.

The influence of final sounds, and further of sounds generally on one another (of consonant upon vowel, vowel upon vowel), has reached a high pitch in Lat. Unoriginal shortenings and lengthenings also occur frequently, so that the vowel-system of the Latin has diverged very widely from the original sounds. Besides, Old-Lat. and Osc. (both Italic languages with more origl. vowel-systems) have reached us only in a very fragmentary condition, while Classical Lat. has the characteristics of a written language which became stereotyped under foreign influence, and Umbr. is in the highest degree unoriginal in its vowels. Accordingly, of all Indo-Germ. languages, Lat. offers the greatest difficulties to a scientific investigator.

a is frequently weakened to u and i, and passes in a great measure into e and o (later generally to u), as in Gk.; similarly ā into ē and ō, only in Lat. the influence of neighbouring sounds is clearly the reason for vowel-colouring. In consequence of the full and thorough conformity of the Lat. with
the Greek vowel-scales, we are probably entitled to treat ō in § 31. 
Latin also as a vowel of the second step.

The i- and u- scales were in the oldest form of the language 
exactly like the Greek, especially in the distinction of ai and 
au from ei and eu. In the u-scale the second step takes 
throughout the place of the first, whilst e before u (v) passes 
into o, according to Lat. sound-laws (vid. § 34) [as in Gk. the 
converse takes place]. The later language, however, has pre-
served only au of the old diphthongs; yet even this diphthong 
shows a marked tendency to become a simple sound in certain 
cases.

Latin vowel-scales (Old Lat. sounds distinguished by upright 
characters):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. a-scale loss.</td>
<td>i, u e, o, a o, ō, ō</td>
<td>ō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. i-scale</td>
<td>i ei, ē, ai ae oi oe ō</td>
<td>ō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. u-scale</td>
<td>u eu au ō ou ō</td>
<td>ō</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Class. Lat. eu no longer exists as a vowel-step, but has 
become ou (i.e. ō).

The change from diphth. to monophth. is capable of simple 
physiological explanation (assimilation of both sounds, each to 
the other, e.g. ei to ē, ai to ae, oi to oe, au to ō, or of one to the 
other, as ei to ō, ou to ū), the change from oi, oe to ū, is caused 
by the common passing of o into u (change-scale oi, ui, ū; 
possibly also oe, ue, ū).

Examples. § 32.

1. a-scale.

Weakening. 1. Loss of radical a, e.g. sum, sumus, sunt, siēm, 
as-anti, *es-īm f.f. as-īm (v.es, to be, cf. Gk.); gigno (produce, 
gan; especially in the second member-of compounds is this loss 
frequent, as in malo fr. *maulo, and this again fr. *mage-uol-o
§ 32. (magis uolo), and in like cases (v. ‘Sound-laws,’ § 42): sf. -br-um (in part at least fr. *ber-um), √ber, origl. bhar (ferre), so that here we have a compound, not a stem-formative sf.; the same remark applies to -gnus fr. *-genus (√gen, gi-gn-cre), e.g. mali-gn-us (ill-disposed, malus, evil), and others, and -gium in iur-gium (lawsuit) for *iur-igium, cf. rem-ig-ium (rowing), √ag (agere), etc.

In stem-formative suffixes, loss of origl. a occurs, as in the kindred languages, e.g. patr-is, older *patr-us, *patr-os, for pater-os, st. pater, f.f. patar-as (gen. sing.), and in many other cases.

2. Weakening of a to i is very frequent, esp. in the second member of a compound, e.g. ac-cipio (receive) beside capio (take); per-ficio (complete) beside facio (make); as-sid eo (sit by), √sad, Lat. sed; me-min-i (bring to mind), √man; co-gni-tus (known), √gna, fr. gan; in-si-tus (implanted), √sa, etc.; moreover in stem- and word-formative particles, e.g. uch-is, uch-it (2, 3, sing. pres., √uch, carry), for *uch-isi, *uch-iti, origl. vagh-as, vagh-ati; nó-min-is (gen. sing. nomen, name), origl. gná-man-as, etc.

It occurs even in the accentuated syllable of the word (as in Germ.), e.g. in-ter (between), Umbr. an-ter, compar. of pronoml. st. an, cf. Sk. an-tár, án-tara-s (inter, interior), Gk. ἐν-τῆς; in-(neg.), Umbr. an-, Sk. an-, Gk. ἀν-; igni-s (fire), Sk. agni-s; quin-que (five), f.f. kankan, Sk. pánkan.

In the reduplication-syll. of pres. stems fr. roots in root-vowel a, this weakening takes place regularly, e.g. gi-gno (beget) fr. *gi-gen-o, f.f. ga-gan-āmi, cf. Gk. γλ-γνωμα, √gan; ser-o (sow) = *siso (i changed to e on acct. of the r), f.f. sa-sā-mi, √sa; si-st-o (set), f.f. sta-stā-mi, √sta; sído (set. myself) fr. *si-sdo, *si-sed-o, f.f. sa-sad-āmi, √sad.

Note.—The lengthening of e weakened from origl. a into i (ei) is hardly susceptible of proof: scribo (write) beside γράφω, since both words are generally akin, we must perhaps assume to be a case of a-scale passing into i-scale, as often in Sclavo-
Teutonic: in cases such as *uir-i-tim (man by man) fr. st. uir-o-§ 32. (uiri, man), the analogy of other forms (verbal stems) is followed (cf. *tribu-tim, etc.).

3. Weakening of *a to *u is common, esp. in stem- and word-formative elements, but also in roots, through the influence of certain consonants. *i is clearly the furthest weakening from *a, for *u through intermediate *ü (“medius quidam inter *i et *u sonus—pinguius quam *i, exilius quam *u—sonum *y Graecae uidentur habere” Gramm.; imp. Claudius Caesar ordered the character — to be used for this sound) often changes to *i, whilst older forms in *u exist beside later ones in *i; *u is also an unimportant representative of weakening from *a through *o, the older lang. very often retaining *o where later *u occurs. The vowel-scale of change from *a to *i is therefore evidently: *a, *o, *u, *ü, *i. Thus, e.g. a f.f. *ap-tama-s becomes *op-tomo-s, *op-tumu-s, *op-timu-s (best), Ital. ottimo; *dakama-s, *decomo-s, *decumu-s, *decimu-s (tenth), Ital. decimo; beside cap-*io (take), man-*cup-ium (property; Plaut.), oc-*cup-are (begin), man-*cip-ium; con-*cut-*io (shake violently) beside quat-*io (shake), in-*ul-*sus (unsalted) beside salsu-s (salted), etc. *u is frequent as a merely later change fr. older *o (cf. Gk., where *o remains), especially in word-formative elements, e.g. nom. acc. sing. masc. neut. of origl. *a-stem -*u-s fr. Old-Lat. -*o-s, Gk. *o-s, origl. -*a-s; -*u-m, Old-Lat. -*o-m, Gk. -*o-*u, origl. -*a-*m, e.g. *da-*u-*s (given) fr. *da-*to-*s, Gk. *o-*tto-*s, origl. *da-*ta-*s; acc. *da-*tu-*m fr. *da-*to-*m, Gk. *o-*tto-*v, origl. *da-*ta-*m. Lat. *os, *us, generally represents origl. final *a, e.g. gen-*us (race), earlier gen-*os=γέν-*os, Sk. γάν-*as, origl. gan-*as; op-*us (work), Old-Lat. op-*os, Sk. and origl. dp-*as; -*bus (sf. dat. abl. pl.), earlier -*bos for -*byos, Sk. bhyas; ferunt (they bear), Old-Lat. fer-*onti, fer-*onti, Gk. φέρ-*oντι (φέρ-*oντι), Sk. and origl. bhár-antí; also in pres. part. *o clearly is the form of the earlier lang., cf. *e-*unt-*em (him who goes), i.e. e-*ont-*em, where beside *e, *o has become *u, whilst *e regularly occurs; uol-*unt-*arius (willing)
§ 32. points to a once-existing *volont-, *volunt-, beside usual volent-(willing), etc.

After consonantal u, o remains, e.g. uolt (later uult, he will), Sk. and origl. √var; loquuntur (loquuntur, they speak); quom (quum, conj. 'when,' 'since,' cf. quon-iam), f.f. kam; quo-d (which), f.f. ka-t (but is-tu-d, f.f. ta-t); nou-o-s, new (nouus), Sk. and f.f. nàva-s, etc.

Note.—Through the older o-forms, Latin approaches near to Greek.

§ 33. The root-vowel of the a-scale, origl. a is represented by—

1. a preserved in a very few cases, appearing by preference before g, c, e.g. ac-us (needle), ac-ies (point), ac-erbus (sour), √ac, Sk. aç, origl. √ak; ag-o (drive), äγ-ω, Sk. äγ-ämi, √ag; mag-is (more), mag-nus (great), μέγ-ας, Sk. st. mah-äm- (n. sing. masc. mah-ân), Goth. mik-ils, √mag, Sk. mah fr. magh; frag-ilis (breakable), frag-or (crash), fra-n-go (break), Goth. √brak (pres. brik-a, pf. brak); ang-uis (snake), Sk. áh-is, Gk. ξε-ς, Germ. unk; ans-er (goose) for *hans-er, Germ. gans, Sk. hâs-ás, f.f. ghans-; al-ius (other), ἀλλας =*άλ-γος, Goth. al-is; ap-iscor (get), ap-tus, cf. Sk. āp-nó-mi (1 sing. pres. ind. adipiscor) √ap; sta-tus (placed), Gk. στα-τός, f.f. sta-tas, √sta; sa-tus (sown), √sa; da-tus (given), da-tor (giver), Gk. δο-τός, δο-τήρ, √da, etc.

2. Origl. a appears as o, especially in roots before and after e, and further in stem- and word-formative elements.

After e, as uom-o (spue), Gk. Ἑμ-έω, Sk. väm-ämi; uol-o (will), uol-t, uol-im, later uult, uel-im, cf. Sk. vär-ämi (vr-ŋämi, vr-ŋämi), √var; uoc-are (call), Sk. √væk, Gk. Fευ, origl. vak; uort-o (turn), later uert-o, cf. Sk. vurt-atë (3 sg. pres. med. uertitur, est), √vert; uo-s (you), uoster (your), later uester, cf. Sk. vas (uos, uobis); volu-ere (twirl), Goth. vale-yan (uoluere); cf. quatuor (four) for *quamtuors, *quamtuores, beside τέσσαρες =*τετFápes, f.f. prob. katvâras; even uocuus (empty) in inscr. for uaucuus.

Origl. sva is regularly so in Lat., prob. fr. suo for sue, origl.
sva, by the above rules; u falls out, as in te (thee), se (himself), § 33. etc., for *tue, *sue, e.g. socer (father-in-law) fr. *suocer, *suecer, Gk. ώκυφος for *σΣεκυφος, Sk. svácuras (written svácuras), Goth. svathra, cf. socrus (mother-in-law), Sk. svácrus (written svácrus); sorórem (sister, acc.), Sk. svásāram, f.f. svástāram; sop-or, somnus (sleep), for *sop-nus (cf. ἱπ-νοσ), Sk. and f.f. sváp-nas, sváp-i-mi (I sleep); son-us (sound), Sk. sván-as.

Before v, e.g. ou-is (sheep), Gk. ὕφης, Sk. áv-is, Lith. av-is; uou-os, later nou-us (new), Gk. νέφ-os, Sk. náv-as; nou-em (nine), Gk. ἑλνέφα, Sk. náv-an.

In other combinations, e.g. mor-ior (die), origl. and Sk. √mar (mori); dom-are (tame), Gk. √δαμ (ἐ-δαμ-οβ), Sk. dam, Goth. tam, H.G. zam; op-us (work), Old-Lat. op-os, Sk. áp-as; log-our (speak), cf. Gk. ἐ-λακ-οβ, Sk. √lap; po-tis (powerful), po-tens (mighty), po-tiri (become master of), cf. Gk. πό-οις (lord), Sk. and origl. pà-tis (master) [perh. in these instances the lab. m, p, and the lab. vowel which in Lat. accompanies l, are the causes of o representing a]; coq-ure (cook), Gk. √πεω, Sk. pak, Lith. kep, etc., origl. kak.

In terminal particles (stem- and word-formative) o is remarkably regular before s and m (as in Gk.); for later weakening of o to u, v. sup. §§ 32, 3; e.g. suff. -to in n. sing. m. and acc. masc. and neut. -to-s, -to-m, Gk. -το-, -το-ν, Sk. -ta-s, -ta-m, e.g. in-clu-to-s (famed), acc. clu-to-m, cf. Gk. κλυ-τό-σ, κλυ-τό-ν, Sk. gru-tá-s, gru-tá-m, origl. kru-ta-s, kru-ta-m; neut. termn. -os, later us, e.g. gen-os (gen-us, race), Gk. γέν-οσ, Sk. ḣán-as, origl. gan-as, so also Ven-os (prop. n. fem., -os authenticated); Lat. pl. -bos (-bus), Sk. -bhyas, etc.

3. a passes into e very frequently, without assignable reason, in neighbouring sounds: e.g. fer-o (bear), √fer, Gk. φέρ-ο, Sk. and origl. ἑάρ-αμι, √bhar; es-t (he is), √es, Gk. ἐσ-τ, Sk. and f.f. ás-ti, √as; sed-εο (sit), √sed, Sk. and origl. sad; gen-us (race), Old-Lat. gen-os, √gen, √Gk. γέν-οσ, Sk. ḣán-as, origl. gan-as, √gan; uch-it (he carries), √ueh, Sk. váh-atí, f.f.
§ 33. *vagh-ati, √vagh; pecu- (cattle), Sk. st. *paçu- (n. sing. masc. *paçu-s), f.f. stem *paku; *eq-uos (horse), √ec, Gk. ἐπώς =*ik-Fos, Sk. ác-vas, √aç, f.f. ak-vas, √ak; dec-em (ten), Gk. δέκα, Sk. dácan-, f.f. dakan-; septem, Gk. ἑπτά (seven), Sk. and f.f. *saptán-; dent-em (tooth, acc.), ὀ-δόντ-α, Sk. δάντ-αm; men-te-m (mind, acc.), f.f. man-ti-m, √man; fer-ent-em (bearing, acc.), ἐρ-οῦντ-α, Sk. and f.f. bhár-ant-am; the origl. sound-comb. ant also becomes ont, unt, in Lat., e.g. fer-un (they bear) fr. *fer-onti, Sk. and origl. bhár-ant-i, e-unt-em (going, acc.; cf. § 32), besides fer-ent-em; st. pa-ter- (father), má-ter- (mother), origl. pa-tar-, má-tar-; (g) nó-men (name), Sk. ná-man-, f.f. gná-man, etc.

*e* is often an evident weakening from *a*, e.g. per-fec-tus (made thoroughly) beside fac-tus (made), etc.

*e* has proceeded from o in cases such as uert-o, uester, etc., fr. older uorto, uoster, f.f. vart-a-mi, Sk. and origl. √vart, Goth. varth; uos-ter, cf. Sk. vas (uos, ubis) (cf. § 33). Accordingly *e* comes after *a* and *o* as a lighter vowel.

§ 34. Step-formation of *a*.

1. Corresponding to *e* we find *o* as the equivalent heavier vowel, and *o* sometimes occurs as a step-formn. fr. *e=a* (cf. Gk. and Sclav.); thus in these cases *o=a*; *e: o=a*: ā, e.g. mon-eo (warn), i.e. mān-āyami, caus. vb. fr. origl. √man (think, thus simply =make to think), besides mens (mind) for *ments, *men-ti-s, f.f. man-ti-s (sf. ti), fr. √man, cf. me-min-i (I remember), later with weakening of *e* to *i*; nōc-eo (hurt), f.f. nāk-ayāmi, caus. vb. fr. origl. √nak, Sk. √naç (die) (so simply ‘make to die’), nex, nec-is (death), per-nic-ies (ruin), nec-are (kill), cf. vēk-us, vēk-pōs (corpse); tog-a (wrapper) beside teg-o (cover), √tag (H.G. tak), prob. for stay, cf. sūt-y-o, Sk. sthāg-āmi (cover), in Lith. steg-ū (cover) stands beside stōg-as (tectum); socius (comrade) beside seq-ui (go with), ad-sec-la (escort); doc-eo (teach), caus. f.f. dāk-ayāmi, beside di-dic-i, disco (learn) for *dic-sco, prob. for *di-dac-sco, cf. di-dā(κ)-σκο (teach) besides dīdāξ, i.e. dīdāκ-σω, dīdax-ή (teaching), √dak (not die, as in
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díc-o, dék-wúu, which must be kept distinct; proc-us (wooer) § 34. beside prec-ari (beg); for-s (chance), for-dus (pregnant), beside fero (bear), √fer, origl. √bhar.

When o is short, the step-formations can take place also before two consonants, e.g. pond-us (n. weight) beside pend-ere (weigh); ex-torr-is (exile), torr-eo (roast) = *tors-eo, cf. tos-tus (p. part. pass. torreo) for *tors-tus, beside terra for *ters-a (the ‘dry land’ in contrast to the ‘water’), √tars, Goth. thars (in thairsan, roast, thairsyan, thirst, vb.), Sk. tarś (thirst). Beside a, o occurs in scob-s (sawdust), scob-ina (rasp), and scab-o (scratch); port-io (share) beside part-em (pars, part), im-pert-io (give, share).

2. é is not common, e.g. tég-ula (tile) beside tég-o and tóg-a; rég-em (rex, king), cf. Sk. ráǵ-am, ráǵ-ánam beside rég-o (rule); lég-em (lex, law), col-lég-a (comrade in office) beside lég-o (pick out, read), séd-es (seat) beside séd-oo (sit), √sad; sē-men (seed) beside sā-tus, so chiefly as a step-form. of e; ë corresponds to origl. ā in plē-nus (full), f.f. prā-nas, √pra, par (fill); ēd-i, cf. Sk. āda, i.e. *aāda (perf.), fr. ēd-o (eat), Sk. ād-mi; sēmi-(half), Gk. ημ-, Sk. sāmi-, O.H.G. sāmi-; siēm, siēt (1, 3, opt. fr. es, be), cf. eīn, eīn, Sk. syām, syāt, origl. as-yā-m, as-yā-t, in which cases perh. i has had an assimilating influence.

3. As é is to e, so is ā to a in the sound-scale, which, therefore, occurs most often before guttural consonants, e.g. ác-er, ác-ris (sharp), beside ác-ies (point); plác-are (appease) beside plác-ére (please); pác-em (par, peace), thence pác-are (to pacify), beside pác-isci (bargain); mác-ero (soften) beside mác-er (thin): amb-ág-es (roundabout-way), cf. amb-ág-ere (be in doubt), fr. √ag in ág-o (drive, lead), Gk. áγ-ω, Sk. ág-ámi, origl. ag-ámi; st. con-tá-g-io- (con-tá-giu-m, contact), and further formed from it the commoner con-tá-g-tón- (n. sing. con-tá-g-io), fr. √tag in tango (touch), tac-tu-s (past part. pass.) for *tag-tus, cf. con-tingo (touch, hit); st. suf-frág-ío (suffrág-iüm, origly. ‘sher’d’; vote) beside frág-or (crash), √frag, cf. fra-n-go (break), in-fri-n-g-o.
§ 34. (break into); sāg-ire (perceive), sāg-us (sooth-sayer), sāg-a (witch) beside sāg-ax (knowing); pāg-inā (page, leaf), com-pāg-i- (compages, union), com-pāg-in- (compago), fr. √pāg in pa-n-g-o (fix), cf. com-ping-o (fix together); uād-o (go) beside uād-o- (uadum, ford); lāb-i (glide) beside lāb-are (totter); dā, dā-s, beside dā-tus, √dā (give); fā-ri (speak), fā-ma (fame), fā-cundus (eloquent), beside fā-teri (own to), origl. √bha; mā-ter (mother), Sk. mā-tar-, √ma; frā-ter (brother), Sk. bhrā-tar-, √bhra, transposed fr. bhar.

The fem. of the a-st. had origl. in the Lat. also long a, e.g. nou-ā, coc-tā, origl. nav-ā, kak-tā, cf. Sk. nāv-ā, *pak-tā (this form does not happen to occur, but is replaced by an entirely different form pak-tā), Gk. vēF-ā, πετ-τή, fr. nou-o-s, coc-to-s, nou-u-s, coetus, origl. nav-a-s, kak-ta-s, Gk. vēF-o-s, πετ-το-ς. Remains of this ā have been preserved in Latin.

4. Not unfrequently ē is a step-formation from a, especially beside o=ā, and where a is a root-termn., further in stem-formative elements, e.g. per-sōn-a (mask) beside sōn-us (sound), sōn-are (sound), Sk. and origl. √svan; sōp-io (put to sleep), i.e. Sk. and origl. svāp-āyāmi, causat. verb, beside sōp-or (sleep), Lat. √sop, Sk. and origl. svap; uōc-em (uox, voice) = Sk. vāk-am, Gk. Fόν-a, origl. vāk-am beside uōc-o (call), origl. √vak (speak); ōc-iōr (swifter), comp. fr. lost adj. corresponding to Gk. ὅκ-ος, Sk. āc-ūs (swift) (perh. sounded *oquis), origl. √ak; dō-num (gift), Sk. and f.f. dā-na-m, dō-te-m, n. dōs (dowry, = dō-ti-s), f.f. dā-ti-m beside dā-tus, √dā; gnō-SCO (nō-SCO, learn), gnō-tus (known, cf. γνω-σκω, γνω-τός), gnō-men (name) beside (g)nōta (mark), co-gni-tus (known), √gna, fr. gan (as later forms show); pōd-ex beside pēd-o and pēd-ico, Sk. and origl. √pard, Gk. περδ, H.G. farz; da-tōr-em (giver, acc.), Sk. dā-tār-am, Gk. δο-τήρ-α, origl. suff. tar, here raised to tār; quō-rum fr. st. quo- (rel. interrog.), origl. ka, etc.

5. ū as=origl. ā can only be considered a later parallel form from ō, since o has frequently become u; probably it does not
occur within the root. Hence the suff. -tūro-, fem. -tūra-, e.g. § 34. da-tūr-us (about to give), rup-tūr-a (breach), Lat. formns. from stems in -tōr, origl. -tār, da-tār-, rup-tār-; the suff. of gen. pl. -um, -rum (prob. for -ām, -rām, cf. Bücheler, Grundriss der Lat. Decl., p. 40) stands for earlier -ōm, -rōm (bou-om even in Verg.), Gk. -av, in *-av, Sk. and origl. -ām, -sām, e.g. (is)tarum=Gk. *taāv, i.e. τῶν, Sk. tāsām; voc-um=Gk. Form-av, Sk. vāh-ām.

2. i-scale.

In this, as in the u-scale, there is a lack of roots which present all three steps at once. In the i-scale, I know only the /fid in fides (faith), per-fid-us (faithless) beside con-fid-o (trust), i.e. feid-o (di-feid-ens is vouched for) and foid-os (foedus, treaty): even in roots which appear in two steps, e.g. /dice (Gk. δίκ, Sk. dić, etc.), in in-dic-o (point at), causi-dic-us (advocate) beside deic-o, dic-o (say); and /i (go) in i-tum beside ei-s, ei-t, ei-tur=īs, īt, ītur (cf. ēiμu, go, Sk. ē-mi), there is a step wanting.

The fundamental vowel i occurs, e.g. in dic-are (dedicate), /dice, cf. Sk. dić, Gk. δίκ (in δεικ-νμι); i-tum (cf. ē-μυ, Sk. i-mās), /i (go); uid-eo (see), cf. Sk. vid-mās, Gk. Φίδ-μυ, Goth. vit-um, /vid; sci-n-d-o (slit), scissus=*scid-tus (slitten), cf. Sansk. khi-n-ā-d-mi, σχιξίγο=*σχιδ-γο, Goth. /skid in skaid-an, /scid; /mig, origl. migh, Gk. μίχ, in mi-n-g-o, mic-tus for *mig-tus (past part. pass.); /lig in li-n-g-o (lick), origl. righ, Gk. λίχ; qui-s (who?), cf. Goth. his (dem.), Lith. szi-s, f.f. ki-s, /qui=k. In stem-formative elements, e.g. ou-i-s (sheep), Gk. οὐ-ς, Sk. āv-i-s, Lith. av-i-s, /u, av, with suff. i, i is often lost in consequence of its position at the end of a word, e.g. men-s for men-tis, men-ts, f.f. man-tis, or dulled to e, as men-tem, cf. sqq.

This genuine i is dulled to e according to definite laws, e.g. in-dex, in-dic-is (pointer), /dic; /g-ne-m (fire, acc.) for older ig-ni-m, Sk. agni-m, Lith. ūgni. The earlier forms of this acc. occur not uncommonly, as nau-i-m (ship, acc.) beside nau-e-m and
§ 35. others. Also *mare for *mari, cf. mar-i-a (in similar cases final i is lost); so also in naue-bos, tempestate-bus (inscr.), origl. i has passed into e, stems nāui-, tempestatī-.

Note.—Thus here e is the newer, i the origl. and hence older sound; whilst in the case of the more usual i weakened from a, when it is interchanged in the earlier lang. with e, the latter is the earlier sound. The language, however, no longer felt the difference of derivation, and both i-sounds were treated alike. Perh. unorigl. lengthening of i to ī should not be separated from step-formn. of ī (to ei).

First step: ei (ī, ē); *deiu-os, diu-os (godlike, deiuæ, deiuinus, occur), Sk. dēvā-s, f.f. daieva-s, √div (shine); deic-o, dico (say), f.f. daik-āmi, √dic; ei-tur, ī-tur (‘it is gone,’ imper.), √i; feid-o, fid-o (trust), √fid; ueiuo-s, uiuo-s (alive), cf. Sk. īvā-s, Lith. gēvas, √gi, redupl. gig, giu, uiu (u for g, through intermed. gu (vid. sub. “Consonn.”)), uiec-us, uic-us (hamlet), Sk. vēças, Sk. Īoīos; uīnum (wine), i.e. ueinom, Goth. vein, Gk. Foīνος; clearly īd-us, eid-us (a fixed day in the month, origly. the day on which the moon shines, the bright day; Corss. Krit. Beitr. 261), √id, origl. and Sk. √idh (vid. sub. ai, ae).

Deus (god) is weakened fr. *deus, *děuos, *deiuos, and is thus a parallel-fin. to dīuos, to which deiuānus points; so ēo (go) is clearly for *ēo, *ēyo, f.f. *aiy-āmi for *aiāmi, with splitting up of i into iy; uen-dēmia (inscr.)=uin-dēmia (vintage).

In word-formative elements, ē beside ei, i, is common, later generally the rule, e.g. omneiis, omnīs, omnes, etc.

ai, ae, occur here and there as in Gk., e.g. aid-e(m), aed-es (house, hearth), aid-ilis ( overseer of buildings), aes-tās (summer heat) for *aed-tas, cf. Gk. ait-ω, ait-ovρα, ait-ηρ, Sk. √idh (kindle); ae-uo-m, old ai-uo-m (aye, long time) (except in gend.)= Sk. ēe-a-s (course), cf. al-Fōv, √i (go), origl. suff. va; maes-tus (sorrowful), maer-εo (grieve, intr.) beside mis-εr (wretched); aem-ulus (vying) beside im-itari (imitate); laeuos (left-), cf. λαιFόs; scaeuos (left-), cf. σκαιFός; caecus (blind), cf. Goth. haihs (one-eyed, blind).
Second step is *oi, *oe, ü; e.g. *foid-ere, n. *foid-os (foed-us, § 35. treaty), /fīd/; über (fruitful), early Lat. *oib-ri-s, f.f. āidh-ri-s, cf. Sk. ēīh-ātē (he grows), hence /īdh/, über (neut. subst. fruitfulness), early Lat. perh. *oib-es, f.f. āidh-as, fr. same root; *oinos, oino(m), occurs, oenus, ūnus (one), cf. Goth. ains; comoinem, comūnem (common, acc.), cf. Goth. gamains; so we find loidos, locdos, īūdus (game); oitier, oetier, aitier (use), etc.

Note.—For oe we find ē written by mistake (cf. Fleckeisen, 5th Art. aus einem Hilfsbüchlein für Lat. Rechtschreibung, Frankf. 1861, p. 22), e.g. ob-ēdire for ob-ōedire, cf. audire, n-ēnūm=n-oēnum (non).

3. u-scale. § 36.

Very much obliterated in Lat. Exx. are very rare: we can bring forward only lūc-erna (lamp), Gk. /luk/, Sk. rūk, f.f. ruk, beside Leuc-esie (Carm. Sal.), Louc-ina (nom. pr.), lūcem (light, acc.), lū(c)-men (light), lou(c)-men; dūc-em (leader) beside douc-ere, dūc-ere (lead); rūb-er (red), f.f. rudh-ra-s, beside rūf-us (red), f.f. rāudh-as; *pro-nūb-us (marriage-making), in-nūb-us (unwedded), beside nūb-o (marry—of the woman); rūp-es (rock, cliff) fr. /rup/, in ru-m-p-o (break); trūd-o (thrust) beside trūd-i-s (thrusting-pole).

The fund. vowel u, e.g. in rup-tus (broken), ru-m-p-o (break), cf. Sk. tu-m-p-āmi, /lup/, origl. /rup/; us-tu-s (burnt), /us/, Sk. /uš/; tu-tud-i fr. pres. tu-n-d-o (thump), cf. Sk. tud-āmi, /tud/; rūb-er (red), for *ruf-er, *ruf-ro-s, /ruf=/puθ, Sk. and origl. /rūdh; iug-um (yoke) = ḫyγ-ōv, Sk. yug-um, /yug/; fu-i (was), fu-turus (about to be), cf. ḫu-ṭov, origl. and Sk. /bhū/ (in Sk. lengthened bhū). In stem-formm. (not in stem-formative particles), e.g. pec-u (cattle, pl. pecu-a), cf. Goth. faihu, O.H.G. vihu, Sk. paṣu-s.

This genuine u was also weakened to i (ü) [like that which arose from a, cf. § 32], e.g. lub-et, lib-et (it pleases), Sk. and origl. /luβh (desire), Goth. lub (in lub-ō, beloved, liub-s, love; ga-laubs, dear); cli-ens (hearer), /clu/, /klu/, origl. kru (hear);

Note 1.—Genuine u does not change to o except in fū-re fr. fū-se, √fu.

Note 2.—ā as lengthening from ā is prob. not to be separated fr. ā=ou, 1st and 2nd step-formn. of u. In tū (thou), we have an unorigl. lengthening, f.f. is tū, for in Sk. tv-am, Gk. τύ, σύ, Goth. thu, Slc. ty, there is no step-formn. We cannot decide between lengthening and step-formation in cases like sū-s (boar), ṣū, O.H.G. sū; mūs (mouse), ṁūs, O.H.G. mūs, etc., where Gk. vouches for the hypothesis of the lengthening.

The first step-formn. (acc. to analogy of all Indo-Eur. langg.)—sounded of course precisely as in Gk.—was eu; but it was lost very early, since the only remaining instance of this archaic step-formn. is in Leuc-esius (n. prop.), cf. λευκ-ός (white), also Loucetus, Lucetius; f.f. is prob. *Leuc-ent-ios, a further formn. fr. a particip. st. *leuc-ent- (as Prudent-ius fr. prudent-), of a pres. *leuc-o, √luc, as φεύγ-ω fr. √φυγ. In consequence of the sound-law mentioned § 33, (e before u, v, changed to o), there will arise fr. eu an ou, coinciding with 2nd step, and later becoming ā. Hence from dūc-o (lead), douco, we must infer an older *deuco, f.f. dūk-āmi, √duk (because pres. stt. of this kind were formed by the 1st step); āro (burn), *ouso for *euso=ēv-ω for *ēvō-ω, Sk. ὕσ-āmi, f.f. aus-āmi, √us; in roots which end in u we find ov for *ev= eu, e.g. *plou-ont, thence pluv-ont, plu-ont (they rain); *plou-ont, however, is for *pleu-onti, cf. Gk. πλέοντι (πλέ-ουτι), f.f. plev-anti; so fluv-ont=flou-ont, fr. *pleu-onti, and other similar pres. fms.; ious, iour-is (iūs, iūr-is, right), is for *iou-os, *iou-es-is, and formed like *gen-os, *gen-es-is (gen-us, gen-eris), fr. √iu (iungere), by the first step, as is usual in this kind of noun st., *iou-os is thus for *ieu-os, formed fr. √iu like κλέος fr. √κλυ, and corresponding Sk. στρά-ας fr. √γρυ; iūs, iūr-is (broth)= *iou-s, *iour-is, *iou-os, *iou-es-os, *ieu-os, *ieu-es-os, f.f. yav-ας, yav-ασ-ας, fr. another √γυ, Gk. √γυ (in ζύ-μη, yeast), cf. Slc.
iu-cha (broth); pūs (pār-is, matter) = *pous, *pou-os, *peu-os, f.f. § 36. pav-as, Sk. and origl. √pu (be foul), cf. Goth. fu-is, perh. fū-ls, O.H.G. fū-l, N.H.G. fow-l, f.f. pau-ra-s, Lith. pū-ťi (be foul). Also Iou-em = Diouem (acc. n. pr.) must be referred to *dyev-em, and clearly ū-piter stands for *dyū-piter, *dyou-piter, and the latter for *dyeu-piter, st. dyeu- = xeu-, which is merely a sound-variation fr. dyeu, √dyu = div (shine, as noun-st. ‘heaven’ and ‘god of heaven’; Sk. nom. dyā-us (2nd step) does not correspond with the Lat.): here the 1st step is much commoner than the 2nd, so that Lat. ā must generally be referred hither as = Old-Lat. ou.

Note.—neu, seu = neue, *seue, do not belong here strictly, any more than ne-uter, ne-utiquam (also nutiquam like nullus).

au, as in Gk., is a first step long since unused, and in Lat. the only diphth. retained, and not yet given up (it occurs still in Ital. and in more isolated cases in other Latin lang.), although even in early times it was weakened, esp. in popular dialects, to the sound o; further au is contr. into ā (prob. through intermed. o), e.g. raud-us, rōd-us, rūd-us (crumb of earth), √rud, elsewh. rub, ruf, √rudh (be red). Exx. of au: aur-ōra (dawn), f.f. prob. aus-āsā, √us in ār-o, us-tus, cf. Sk. st. uš-ūs- (aurora), without step-formn. in root and suff. (the latter occurs in certain cases only); aug-eo (I increase), cf. aūōw, aūẁo, prob. fr. *aūɣo, *aūɣo, Lith. āug-u (I wax), √ug; the above-mentioned raud-us (neut. pl. raund-era), √rud, Sk. √rudh, Gk. √̣uθ, etc.

Note.—au can also arise through a secondary process, e.g. nauta (sailor), auceps (bird-catcher), gaudeo (am glad), fr. nāu-ī-ta, *au-i-ceps, *gau-i-deo, etc.

The second step of u, viz. old Lat. ou, later ā, is equally wanting with the 1st step, and it is only by the aid of the cognate langg. that we can detect whether ou, ā, represent origl. au or āu: the latter is certain only in rare instances, e.g. rūf-us (red) = Kelt. rūad, Goth. raud-s, f.f. rāudh-as; clearly
§ 36. here belongs über (udder), on acct. of Gk. ὀὖθαρ, f.f. of both ἀὐθαρ, though Sk. ἀὖθας, O.H.G. ʺútar (H.G. euter), show other degrees of the scale: perh. also lūc-em, Loue-ina, lū(e)men, √luk, origl. √ruk.

Note.—ū, ou, are here and there secondary products through falling-out of sounds, as e.g. *councti, cuncti (all together), fr. co-iuncti; noundinum (S.C. de Bacc.), nāndinum, fr. *nouendinum, cf. nundinae (period of 9 days), prōdens fr. pro-uidens.

§ 37. Vowel Sound-laws.

Accurate statement of the extraordinarily variable vowel sound-laws of the Lat. must be left to the special-grammar of the lang.: a general view only can be given here.

Hiatus. In case of vowels coming into contact with one another, hiatus is often obviated by means of contraction. This occurs regularly, when the first vowel is a, thus amo (1 sing.) fr. *amao, amas (2 sing.), fr. *amais, f.f. of termn. -ayāmī, -ayasi; amarunt (3 pl. pf.) fr. ama(ū)erunt; equae and equā fr. equāi (d. sing.); diē, fidē, fr. diēi, fidēi, etc. Other exx. are found in sis fr. siēs, sit, earlier seīt, f.f. syät; tībi, tībe, fr. tībie, f.f. of termn. -bhya(m); so too in uōbeis, uōbis, f.f. of termn. bhya(m)s; sena-tūs (gen. sing.) fr. sena-tuis (-tuos), senatu (d. sing.) fr. senatui, cōgo fr. *co-igo, equo (d. sing.) fr. equōi, etc. Both vowels, however, remain in many cases, esp. u and i with its kindred e make no hiatus with follg. vowels, e.g. fui, lues, fluunt (fluont); the noun-termns. -īo, -īa, -īes; fieri, tenuia (tenvia), eunt, co, meae. In combination even co-actus, de-esse, co-optare, but also medially, boo (boare), etc. Hiatus in the middle of a word is almost always brought about by loss of consonn., e.g. fluunt fr. fluont, boo fr. bouo, etc. The laws of hiatus in Lat. need a further and more accurate settlement.

§ 38. Assimilation exercises a wide-spread influence; vowel assimilates vowel, both forwards and backwards, and also in case of indirect contact of vowels (passing over consonn.), causing both
partial and complete similarity; and the same effects are produced § 38.
by consonants upon vowels (relationship between particular con-
sonantal- and vowel-sounds). And, moreover, by this means
immediate contact betw. like vowels is avoided, and dis-
simulation takes place.

Thus aureolus, gladiolus, even vinulentus, etc., stand for
*aureulus, *gladiulus, *vinulentus, fr. aureu-s, gladiu-s, uinu-m, cf.
longulus, turbulentus; duritie-s beside duriti-a, etc.; cf. siém,
siēs, siēt, with Sk. syäm, syäs, syāt. In these and similar cases
we see an assimilating influence of foregoing vowels on those
follg.; consequently o is nearer to e and i than u, and e more
akin to i than a.

A reflexive assimiln. passing over cons. occurs, e.g. in ex-ul
but exil-ium, facul-tas but facil-is, sta-bulum but sta-bilis; mihi,
tibi, but Umbr. mehe, tefe; bene but bonus.

For relation between o and u, vide § 33, 2; u has a special
affinity for labials, and above all m and l. Hence from
weakened a we get, not i, but u, in cases like oc-cup-o,
au-cup-ium, bes. capere, con-tubernium (chummage) beside tab-erna
(hut), op-tum-us (later only, optimus), etc.; bef. l older o became
u, e.g. poculum fr. pocolom, consul fr. cosol, epistula fr. ἐπιστολή;
through this weakening of a, before l+cons. we find u, not i or
e (the regular representative of i before 2 consonn.), e.g. sālsus,
insulsus, sepelio, sepultus, etc.; further, u has remained before
n+cons., e.g. ferunt, homunculus (cf. supr. § 32). Throughout, it
represents here too an earlier o, wh. maintained itself intact in
the popular diall., as later inscr. and Ital. (e.g. sepoltura as

Even origl. i—not weakened fr. a—gives way to u in cases
like testu-monium (witness) beside testi-s; carnu-fex (flayer) beside
st. carni- (n. caro, flesh), and the like; where, nevertheless, the
analogy of the commoner cases may have had some influence.

e is retained by preference in final syll. bef. nasals, e.g. septem,
cf. ἑπτά, nōmen, Sk. nāman-, cornicen, ʌcan, ovem fr. oui-m, and
§ 38. so in most i-stems; in acc. sing. of a-stem nevertheless we find o, u (nouo-m, nouu-m); but above all e is found bef. r, e.g. camera fr. καμάρα, operis beside nominis; stetērunt for *steti-sonti, cf. stetis-ti; uēher-is fr. uēhis-is, cf. uēhit-ur; peperi for *pepīri, fr. pario, like cecini fr. cano; affero, not *a-f-fr-o, wh. we might look for acc. to analogy, comparing such cases as collīgo fr. lego.

r has also a preference for o (= u) preceding, e.g. fo-re, fo-rem, fr. √fu (fu-turus); Lat. ancōra fr. Gk. ἄγκυρα; but robur, ebur with u, perh. on account of preceding b.

Further, e occurs bef. two or more consonn. interchangeably with i bef. one cons., e.g. indicis but indicis; eques-ter for *equet-ter, *equit-ter but equit-em; asellus fr. *asin(u)lus, cf. asinus; consecro, abreptus, etc. (but it remains i bef. ng in attingo, infringo and the like).

The sound-combinations ent, end, and unt, und, are weakened forms, e.g. fer-ent-em beside e-unt-em fr. *e-ont-em, where the earlier sound o, u, has been kept in consequence of dissimiln., beside e, volunt-arius; faciendus and faciundus, both fr. *faciundus, remain in *sacris faciundis, *iure faciundo, and the like. After u, e is invariable: tu-endus, restitu-endus. a is throughout the origl. vowel in these cases.

i has a special affinity to n and dentals, and is the commonest weakening fr. a, e.g. μηχανη but māchina; nominis, hominis, cecini, fr. stems gnāman-, ghaman-, ka-kan-, etc.

By dissimiln. is prevented the combn. of two like vowels, e.g. ueri-tas fr. ueru-s, but pie-tas (piu-s), ebrie-tas (ebriu-s), etc., not *piii-tas, etc.; equit-is (eques) but abiēt-is, ariēt-is, pariet-is (abies, aries, paries); diuinus, diuo-s, but aliēnus (aliu-s); lēui-gare (lēuis) but uarie-gare (uariu-s), etc. The first vowel is changed in meio fr. *mig-yo, *miio: ei, dei, are older and more correct than ii, dii, etc. Through dissimiln. o kept ground longer after u, v, e.g. equos, equom, nouom, mortuos, etc.

§ 39. Through loss of consonants vowel-change takes place, viz.
1. Compensatory lengthening; 2. Contraction.
1. Compensatory lengthening, e.g. pēs, ariēs=∗pēd-s, § 39. ariēt-s; a regular shortening has here taken place later (§ 41), e.g. pedēs fr. pedēs=∗pedēt-s, patēr fr. patēr=∗patēr-s; ferēns =∗ferent-s (cf. φεων =φεοντ-s); sāl (salt)=sāl-s (gen. sāl-is), cf. ālīs, etc.; esp. often through loss of nasal bef. s, e.g. acc. pl. of a-st. -ōs (nou-ōs)=ons (f.f. nav-ans); in compar. -iōr, -iōrem, fr. -yans, -yansam, etc.; further, pōno (place)=∗pos-no (cf. pos-ui), quini (by fives)=quīncni, exāmen (swarm)=exāg-men (āgo); thus g falls out esp. bef. y, e.g. māior (greater)=∗mā-g-ōr, cf. mag-nus (great), ādio (say)=∗ād-īo (cf. ad-āg-ium, proverb), méio (urino) =∗mīo=∗mīgyo, etc.

2. Contraction (vid. supra. § 37), e.g. amārunt, amāstī, nōrunt, amō (fr. *amao), docēs, audīs (fr. *doce-is, *audi-is); nouis=∗nouo-is, *noua-is fr. *noua-bios, *noua-bios (v. Decl.), etc. In redupl. perf. this case is very clear, e.g. fēci fr. *fēfici, cf. cecīnī, likew. iēci, frēgi, etc.

Note.—Cases like inuitare (invite)=∗uitāre, √ūāc; convictium (wrangle)=∗convitcitium √ūāc; suspicio (suspicion)=∗suscitio, etc. (on the last ex. cf. Fleckaise, Rhein Museum, viii. 227; on the other side Corssen, Kritik. Beitr. s. 12 sqq., who writes suspicio, convictium, and derives them accordingly, but assigns inuitare to an ambig. Sk. √ vi). Cf. § 77, 1. a. sub fin.

Weakening (lightening of vowels by change of quality § 40. with and without shortening) is very common in Lat., and throughout not exclusively confined to unaccentuate sylls., whence probably too the analogy of this weakening arose (cf. supra. § 32, 2; on the question cf. G. Curtius, das dreisilbengesetzt der Gk. u. Lat. betonung, in Kuhn’s Zeitschrift, ix. 321 sqq.). Esp. regular is the occurrence of weakg. in sylls. of word-formation; in composition and in reduplication, but also in root sylls. Nevertheless, that the weakening did not invariably occur in the second member of a compound is proved by exx. such as com-paro, per-agro, per-actus, etc. (Corss. Kuhn’s Zeitschr. xi. 370). Through weakening
§ 40. *a* becomes *e*; *fell-o* fe-fell-i, *parc-o* pe-perc-i, *fac-tus* per-fec-tus, etc.

*a* becomes *u*; *cap-io* oc-cup-o; here belongs the *u* of the un-accentuated final sylls., e.g. *da-tu-s* f.f. *da-ta-s*; early Lat. *oper-us*, Sk. and f.f. *ápas-as*, etc.: the change fr. *a* to *u* is through intermed. *o*.

*a* becomes *i*; e.g. *fac-io* con-fie-io, *pa-ter* Iupi-ter, *cad-o* ce-cid-i, *can-o* ce-cin-i, etc.; the change must be through intermed. *e*. *e* occurs for *i* acc. to the above-stated rule, in cases like *tub-i-cen*, *pe-per-i*, *oper-is* for *opis-is* (opoulos f.f. *ápas-as*), etc. Cf. § 38.

*ò* becomes *ê*; hâl-o an-hêl-o.

*ae* becomes *î*; quae-ô in-quâr-o, caed-ô ce-cid-i con-cid-o, aequos in-îquos, etc.

*au* becomes *ê*, *u*; caus-â ac-cus-o, fauc-es suf-fâc-o, plaud-o ex-plâd-o, etc.

Even long vowels and diphths. became *î* (*ê*) by more marked shortening, e.g. gnâ-tus co-gnâ-tus, iouro (îuoro), pe-iêro, de-iêro (-yéro for *-*yiro, with *e* for *i* bef. r, cf. § 38).

Before secondary suffixes, and as 1st member of compds., stems in *o*, *u*, weaken their stem-termns. before consonn. to *i*, e.g. duri-âs, duri-âs, st. duro- (durus); corni-culum, corni-cen, corni-ger, st. cornu-, etc.

Bef. vowels *u* remains, e.g. fructu-ârius fructu-osus, st. fructu-; it also keeps ground bef. labials, e.g. locu-ples, quadru-pes, quadru-plex.

§ 41. Also shortening of vowels in unacc. final sylls. prevails very widely.

Thus *â* in fem. is origl. *â* (Sk. *a*, *η*), hence kept long sometimes in earlier Latin; *ê*, in abl. sing. of *i*-st. and of conson. stems, following their analogy, is origl. -ât, thence -âid, -êid, -êd, *îd*, later -ei, -ë, -i (so *patrê*, tit. Scip. Barb.); *ê* of the vb. sometimes appears short, e.g. caue, iubê; *î* in *mihê*, *tibî*, *ubî*, etc., is fr. earlier *i*, *ei* through shortening, mihei, tibeî, ubei, occur not seldom: final *ô* always represents origl. *ô*, e.g. homô=*homon-s*;
agō cf. āyō, f.f. ag-āmi, next step ag-ā by loss of mi; ego cf. § 41. ēyō; in these cases the nasal may have caused the dulling of ā to ō; duo, ambo, octo, cf. δύω, ἀμφω, ὀκτω.

Shortening occurs regularly bef. final t; amā-t for -āt=-ait, -aat fr. -ayati, cf. amā-mus; so -et, -it, in the derived vbs. and in opt. fr. -ēt, -it, earlier -eit: also -īt in pf. was sounded -eit in earlier times, and the like.

Similarly bef. other consonns., e.g. -is of opt. (feceris) for and beside -īs (feceris); pa-tēr fr. pa-tēr (cf. πα-τήρ) for *pa-ters; -ōr in nom. sing. fr. -ōr, e.g. censōr (tit. Scip.) fr. *cens-tor-s, and many more such.

Evaporation in unacc. sylls. brings us to total loss, final and § 42. medial loss of vowels (§ 32).

Final loss of vowels is partly of late date only, e.g. animal for and beside animale, dic for and bes. dice, hoc for and bes. hoce, ut for and bes. uti; partly older, e.g. uehis for *uehisi, f.f. vaghasi; est, uehit, for *esti, *uehiti, f.f. asti, vaghati (tremonti has remained, Bergk. index lect. Marburg, 1847–8), etc.

Medial loss of weakly-accented vowels is esp. common in Lat., and occurs (1.) bef. vowels, e.g. minor, minus, for *minor, *minius; nullus for ne-ullus, etc.; cases can be produced where no contraction has taken place, e.g. un-ōculus (uno-ocular), sem-ānimus (semi-animus), nūtiquam (ne-utiquam). (2.) bef. consonns., the commonest case, e.g. alumnus, vertumnus, for *alumenus, *uert-umenus, suff. = Gk. -μενο-, Sk. -māna-; stella for *sterla fr. *sterula; puella for *puerla fr. *puerula; misellus for *miserlus fr. *miserulus; patrem for *pater-em, st. pater-; reppuli fr. *re-pepuli; repperi fr. *re-peperi, and so on. Thus the loss of medial vowels is chiefly approved betw. like consonns. (as in Mid.H.G., Zeitschr. x. 160). Unacc. i may altogether disappear, e.g. diisti fr. dixisti, ualde fr. ualide, gaudeo fr. *gauideo (cf. gauisus), etc.

Of special importance in treatment of declension is the medial loss of origl. a and i, i.e. o or u and i before the s of nom. sing.
§ 42. Thus arises puer, etc., fr. *puers, which comes fr. puero-s, puerus (in existence), vir fr. *uirs, *uiros, acer (§ 43) fr. acris, etc. This is noticeably regular after r with short syll. precedg.; hence quatuor stands for *quatuors, *quatuores, cf. τέσσαρες, Sk. ἑκατέρας; after the vowel had been lost, the s also fell off from the r. Such forms as famul (Enn. Ann.) are obsol.; it stands for *famuls fr. famulos, damnas for *damnats fr. damnatos; alis for alios (vouched for more than once); Sallustios, Clodis (Inscrr.) for Sallustios, Clodios, etc.; alid for *alid, aliud.

Loss of i in i-st. is remarkably common, whereby its Lat. nom. has become thoroughly confused with that of conson. stems, thus e.g. primas for older primatis, gens fr. *gents and this fr. *gen-ti-s, mors for *morts fr. *mor-ti-s, fr. √gen, origl. gan (gignere), and √mor, origl. mar (mori), f.f. therefore gan-ti-s, mar-ti-s, and the like. Further acer for and bes. acris, uigil fr. vigilis, etc.

Note.—The occasional omission of vowels in the text of Inscrr. which could not take place in the spoken lang. (e.g. decumius, fecit, utiβt for Decumius, fecit, uixit) has been pointed out by Ritschl. (Rhein. Mus. n. Folge xvi. p. 601 sqq.; xvii. p. 144 sqq.).

§ 43. Insertion of a helping-vowel likewise sometimes occurs in Lat., e.g. s-u-m fr. *es-mi, *es-u-mi, origl. as-mi; s-u-mus fr. *es-mus, *es-u-mus, origl. as-masi; uol-u-mus fr. *uol-mus, f.f. var-masi, cf. uol-t, f.f. var-ti; teg-u-mentum (hence teg-i-mentum) bes. teg-mentum, and the like belong likewise here; u is here the helping-vowel on account of m following, cf. drach-u-ma (Plaut.) fr. δραχ-μη, since in general a similar vowel-insertion was admitted in foreign words, as e.g. tech-i-na (Plant.) from τέχνη, etc.

Bef. r, e=i (§ 38), e.g. um-e-rus (shoulder) bes. Sk. āsα-s for *amsa-s, rub-e-r (red) for *rubr fr. *rubrs, *rub-ro-s=e-pυθ-ρο-ς, Sk. also with helping-vowel ruh-d-i-ŗ̥-̥s, origl. ruh-d-ra-s; gener (son-in-law) for *gen-r(o-s), cf. γαμβρός for *γαμ-ρο-ς; ager (field) for *ag-r(o-s), Gk. ἀγ-ρο-ς; caper (he-goat) for *caρ-ρ(o-s), a form like κάρ-ρος (boar), etc.
The common helping-vowel *i* may generally be regarded as § 43. a weakening of an older *u* or *e*: it occurs rather irregularly (cf. Ritschl. Rh. M. n. F. 1862, 607 sqq.) in e.g. *mor-i-turus* bes. *mor-tuos*, *or-i-turus* bes. *or-tus*, etc. After the analogy of consonl. roots this *i* is found also in the case of roots ending in a vowel, e.g. *ru-i-turus*, *di-ru-i-tus* bes. *diru-tus*, *tu-i-tus* bes. *tu-tus*, etc.
The consonn. in Indo-Eur. are specially distinguished from the vowels, setting aside their physiological conditions, in that they are fixed and invariable in roots (we may pass over the changes which they undergo in consequence of sound-laws that are always secondary), but cannot, like vowels, raise themselves in a definite scale of gradation. Whilst the nine origl. vowel-sounds of the Indo-Eur. can be reduced to three fundamental vowels, the consonn. are collectively independent of one another. Whilst the vowels by means of their step-formation according to meaning thereby serve for the expression of relation, consonn. are merely elements of expression of meaning; no relationship is expressed in Indo-Eur. by the use of root-consonn.

The Indo-Eur. origl. lang. has fifteen consonn., which in § 1 are classed according to their physiological conditions, viz. three momentary mutes, three mom. sonants, three mom. son. aspirates, three spirants, and three so-called liquids, i.e. two nasals and r. The existence of b (mom. son. labial) in the origl. lang. cannot be authenticated by any perfectly certain example: but it is highly probable that it did exist, as the origl. element of the frequent aspirate bh. The number of origl. consonn. is also much greater than that of the vowels (prob. $3 \times 3$, but certainly $2 \times 3$ existed).

The aspirates, as double sounds, seem to be foreign to the most original condition of the lang., and to have developed only in later times: but they certainly existed before the first splitting-up of the origl. lang., for they are found in the three divisions of the Indo-Eur., or at least they can be detected;
that is, they occur in Aryan and in S.-European; in N.-Euro-
pean likewise they must once have existed: the Teutonic has
them, it is true, like the other northern langg., changed to
sonants, but the origl. sonants are distinguished from them by
becoming tenues.

Consonantal sound-laws had not arisen so early as the
origl. lang.; consonn. can be placed anywhere, and in any com-
bination which the organism of the lang. required, because these
combinations (e.g. vāk-bhis inst. pl. fr. st. vāk, voice) were not
yet so close that those consonn. which are brought together by
word-formation exercised any influence on one another (thus
e.g. in vāk-bhis the influence of bh on k produces as early as
Sk. the fm. vāg-bhis: k has here changed bef. sonant bh into
its corresponding son. g: on the improbability of origl. in-
change of i, u, with y, v, cf. § 3).

Examples.

§ 45.

Momentary mute unaspirated consonants.

1. k. ka-s (who), ka (-que, and), katvār-as (four), kankan
(five), kard (heart), √kak (cook), √ka and ak (be sharp, quick),
√ki (lie), √kru (hear), kru-ta-s (heard), kvan-s (dog), √skid
(cut), √vak (speak), √dak (bite), √dik (show), √ruk (light),
ak-man-s (stone, heaven), dakan (ten), varka-s (wolf); sf. -ka, etc.

2. t. ta-t (that), tu (thou), √ta, tan (stretch), tri (three), √sta
(stand), stag (cover), √pat (fly, fall), √prat (broad), √vart (turn);
common in stem- and word-formative particles, e.g. sf. -ta
(pt. pass.), bhara-ti (fer-t), ragh-is-ta-s (έξαγωγος), etc.

3. p. √pa (drink), √pa (protect, rule), thence pa-ti-s (lord)
and pa-tar-s (father), par (fill), hence paru-s (many) and par-na-s
(full), √pad (go) as noun-st. n. sing. pad-s (foot), pratu-s
(πλατύς), √pru (flow), prav-ati (he flows), √spak (see, look),
√sarp (creep, serpere), √tap (burn, heat), √svap (sleep) thence
svap-na-s (sleep, n.), etc.
§ 46. Momentary sonant unaspirated consonants.

1. **g**. 
\[\sqrt{ga} \text{(go)}, \sqrt{gan} \text{(be born)}, \sqrt{ag} \text{(agere)}, \sqrt{ag-ni-s} \text{(ingini-s)}, \sqrt{grabh} \text{(grasp)}, \sqrt{yu-g} \text{(iungere)}, \text{thence yug-am} \text{(yoke, iug-um)}, \text{etc.} \]

2. **d**. 
\[\sqrt{da} \text{(dare)}, \sqrt{dam} \text{(tame, domare)}, \sqrt{dama-s} \text{(domus)}, \sqrt{dik} \text{(show)}, \sqrt{div} \text{(shine)}, \text{st. dva-} \text{(two)}, \sqrt{sad} \text{(sit)}, \sqrt{vid} \text{(uidere)}, \text{1 sing. pres. vaid-mi}, \text{etc.} \]

3. **b**. I know of no certain example of this sound.

Note.—The Teutonic and Gk. forms of those words that show **h** in the Aryan and S.-European langg. point partly to **bh**, e.g. Sk. **bandh** (bind), but Goth. **bandh**, Gk. \[\sqrt{\text{παιθ}} \text{for} *\phi \text{θ}, \sqrt{\text{παιθ-επός}} \text{(affinis)}, \sqrt{\text{πεισμα}} \text{for} *\sqrt{\text{παιθ-μα}} \text{(cable)}; \]
Sk. **bāhis** (fore-arm), Gk. \[\sqrt{\text{ηχυς}} \text{for} *\phi \eta \chi υς}, \text{N.-Eur. bog }, \text{O.H.G. puoc, origl. initial-sound bh}; \text{Sk.} \sqrt{\text{budh}} \text{(know)}, \text{Gk.} \sqrt{\text{ποδ}} \text{(πονδωματί)} \text{for} *\phi \text{νθ}, \text{Goth. bud, not *pud, as might be expected fr origl. b (moreover the Goth. root, notwithstanding the difference of function, is identical with budh, ποθ); if b were origl., the Gk. fms. would be *βεθ, *βθυς, *βνθ. These three roots have a final asp., which was the effect of the disappearance of an origl. asp. at the beginning in Aryan and Gk. (this conjecture has been ably confirmed by Grassmann, Zeitschr. xii. 110). In other instt. we lack decisive representatives in N.-European, e.g. **βπαχύς, breviś, Sclav. brúzā; Sk.} \sqrt{\text{lab}, lamb (labi, delabi; 3 sing. pres. lámbate)}, \text{Lat. lab. (láb-itur), etc.; κάνναβις (hemp), Norse hanpr, O.Bulg. konoplya, a doubtful and borrowed form. Grassm. Zeitschr. xii. 122 sqq. shows it to be likely that b did not exist in Indo.-Eur., at least at the beginning of a word. Nor have I found any certain exx., ap. Bickell Zeitschr. xiv. 425 sqq., of the origl. existence of lab. son. in Indo.-Eur.

§ 47. Momentary sonant aspirated consonants.

1. **gh**. 
\[\sqrt{ghar}, \sqrt{ghra} \text{(burn, shine; be green, yellow)}, \sqrt{ghans-s} \text{(m.f. goose)}, \sqrt{stigh} \text{(step)}, \sqrt{agh}, \sqrt{angh} \text{(be tight)}, \sqrt{vagh} \text{(uehere)}, \sqrt{migh} \text{(mingo)}, \sqrt{righ} \text{(lick)}, \sqrt{dargha-s} \text{(long)}, \text{etc.} \]

2. **dh**. 
\[\sqrt{dha} \text{(set, make)}, \text{1 sing. pres. dha-dhāmi,} \sqrt{dham} \text{(blow)}, \sqrt{idh} \text{(burn)}, \sqrt{rudh} \text{(be, become red) thence rudhra-s and rāudha-s (red), madhu (honey, mead), madhya-s (medius), etc.} \]
3. bh. √bha (shine, speak), √bhar (bear, ferre), 1 sing. pres. § 47. bhar-āmi, √bhu (be, become), 1 sing. pres. bhav-āmi, √bhug (bend, flee), bhrā-tar-s (brother), √grabh (grasp), nabha-s (neut. nubes), -bhi common case-sf. bh is not very common in st.-formative particles.

Consonantal Prolonged-sounds. § 48.

Spirants.

1. y. ya-s (which), yuga-m (yoke, iugu-m), √yug, yu (iungere); very common in st.-formative particles, e.g. madh-ya-s (medius), as-yā-ī (sit, siēt), bhāra-yā-ī (φοπέω), compar. sf. -yans (prob. also -yant); also in word-formative sff., e.g. -bhyam, -bhyams, sf. of dat. sing. pl. -sya, sf. of gen. sing. masc. of a-st., etc. As a medial sound, y is akin to i, cf. § 3.

2. s. √sad (sit), saptan (seven), √su (sow), thence su-nu-s (son), √sru (flow), √svīd (sweat), √sta (stand), √star (strew), √smar (remember), √as, pres. as-mi (sum), √us (urere), √vas (dwell, clothe oneself), √tars (torrere, thirst), sva-star-s (sister); common in word-formative partt., e.g. akva-s (equos), nom. sg. masc., akvā-sas, nom. pl. masc., etc.; also in st. forms, e.g. man-as (mind), etc.

3. v. √va (flow), √vam (uomere), √vak (speak), thence vāk-s (voice), √vagh (carry, uehere), 1 sing. pres. vagh-āmi, √var (will), √vart (turn, uertere), avi-s (ouis), √vid (see, know), naua-s (new, nouos); in stem-formative partt., e.g. sf. -vant, Sk. -vant, -vans, Gk. -Fevr, -Fot; rarer in word-formative partt., e.g. loc. pl. -sva, etc.; v as a medial sound is akin to u, vid. § 3.

Nasals. § 49.

1. n. na, an- (negation), √nak (die), thence nak-ti-s (night), nava-s (nouos), nāu-s, gen. nār-as (nauis), √gan (be born, know), st. ana- (dem. pron.); n is common in st.-and word-formative partt., e.g. par-na-s (plenus; past part. pass.), ak-man-s (stone), gnā-man (name), bhara-nti (ferunt), etc.
§ 49. 2. m. √ma, ma-n (measure, think), thence ma-na-s (mind) and ma-tar-s (mother), √mar (mori), √smar (remember), √sam (uomere); common in word-formative partt., e.g. varka-m (acc. sg.), ai-mi, i-masi (eo, imus, 1 sg. pl. pres.), etc.; in st-formative partt., e.g. ghar-ma-s (heat), gnd-man (name).

§ 50. r. √rak (shriek), √ruk (light), √rik (liquere), √righ (lick), √rjudh (rubere), raghu-s (light, adj.), √kru (hear), √bhar (ferre), √ar (oriri, ire; arare), √par (fill); also in stem-formative partt., e.g. sf. tar, hrh-tar-, md-tar-, and the like, but not in word-formative sff.

§ 51.

SANSKRIT. CONSONANTS.

The physiologically-arranged table of Sk. consonn. is in § 4, where also their pronunciation is considered. Whilst the vowel system of Sk. is generally original, its conson. system is mixed in many ways with later elements. Hence arises that large number of conson.-sounds which is unparalleled in other Indo-Eur. langg.

The origl. sounds in Sk. are the mom. mutes and sonants, and the sonant aspp. all of gutt., dent., and lab. quality, thus, k, t, p; g, d, b (?); gh, dh, bk; further the spirants y, s, r, and also n, m, r. Thus Sk. still possesses the consonn. of the Indo-Eur. origl. lang. entire. All the rest, nineteen in number, have arisen in pure Aryan words from these fifteen origl. consonn., and are to be treated as parallel fms. of them, which have been called forth according to generally perceptible sound-laws, and through the influence of the non-Indo-Eur. langg. spoken by Dravidian (Dekhanic) peoples who were pressed back by the Aryans, and were the earlier inhabitants of the peninsula of Further India, just as neighbouring langg. very often acquire sounds from one another.

The origin of the so-called Sk. lingual mom. consonn. and ling. nasal (t, d, ḍh, ḍh, ṣ) is due to the latter influence, therefore these sounds are peculiar to Indian, and are unknown in this form to other Indo-Eur. langg. Within the Indian these
sounds gain a still wider sway in the course of the development § 51. of the lang. (in the Prākṛīts). In Aryan words they are variations of their corresponding dentals.

Further the palat. mom. sounds and their nasal are all unorigl. ( kè, ḍè, ḍhè, ḍh, ṇ); they have arisen from the corresponding gutturals; and so is the pal. mute spirant ṽ, which is a variation fr. k. The law acc. to which the gutt. partly pass into palatals, partly remain, is hitherto unexplained in particular cases (however, that the change of gutt. into palat. did not occur till late, is implied by the circumstance that the gutt. were reduplicated by means of the corresponding palatals).

Unorigl. also are all the tenues aspp. (kh, th, ph; in the case of kh and ṭh the unoriginality is sufficiently clear from the nature of the unasp. sound), whose origin is in known cases mainly caused by foregoing s (kh, ḍh = ṭh, sth = st).

Unorigl. also is h, which mostly represents gh, sometimes also other aspp.; ṽ occurs partly acc. to definite sound-laws, partly without perceptible reason for s; ṽ (visarga) is an altogether late variation of ṽ, and confined almost entirely to the termination.

The gutt. and palat. nasals stand only bef. mom. consonn. of their own quality, by which therefore they are conditioned; the nasalisation of the vowels (”) is likewise dependent on the follg. conson.; it occurs bef. s and ṽ (bef. other consonn. it is often merely a way of writing nasal consonn.).

l bes. r, is as in other langg., unorigl.; it obviously increases in the course of the development of Sk.

Besides the sound-laws already explained, Sk. has numerous laws for medial sounds, but esp. for termin. (these laws however do not belong here, but rather to Sk. special grammar), through which the conson.-syst. of Sk. became considerably removed from the basis of the origl. lang.

The representation of gutt. by palatals occurs only bef. vowels and sonant mom. prolonged sounds, not bef. mom. consonn., mute conson.-prolonged-sounds, and in termin. Yet here also
§ 51. occur palatals by no means acc. to fixed sound-laws (e.g. yu-yōg-a iunxi, bes. yōg-a-s iunctio), so that it seems that the lang. has availed itself of the change of gutt. into palatals (originally merely physiological), in order to express differences of relation.

Examples.

§ 52. Origl. mom. mute unaspirated consonn.

1. Origl.  k = Sk. k, k, kh, ḃ, ḍ, p.

Sk. k = origl. k, e.g. in ka-s (who), √kar (make), kimi-s (worm), vrka-s (wolf), st.-formative sf. -ka, e.g. dhārmi-ka-s (right, fr. dharma-s, duty), etc.

Sk. ḍ = origl. k, ḍa-kāra (feci), ḍa- is the relic of the most origl. reduplicated supposed √kar; ḍa (-que, and), katvār-as (quatuor); √ruk (shine), √vak (speak), whence vāk-mi (I speak), vāk-am (uocem, speech); k stands for k esp. in √termn., etc.

Note.—Bef. mom. sounds and s the gutt. remains, e.g. vāk-ti (he speaks), vāk-śi (thou speakest, ś for s after k, v. § 55, 2), vag-dhi (speak), g for k acc. to sound-laws, v. post., etc.

kh and ḃh occur for origl. k after s; this s more often than not is lost in case of skh, in case of ḃh always. [For aspirating force of s, v. Kuhn, Zeitschr. iii. p. 321 sqq., 426 sqq. Cf. also Ascoli, Zeitschr. xvi. p. 442 sqq.]

Sk. kh = origl. sk, e.g. khaṁja-s (limping), cf. O.H.G. hinch-an, hink-an, √hank, likewise without initial s, but Gk. σκάζω (limp), √σκαργ = Sk. khaγ, f.f. skag; khāγa-s (stirrer), cf. Ang.-Sax. sceac-an, Norse shak-a (shake); khak (spring forth), cf. Sclav. shak-ati (spring).

Note.—Most words in kh cannot, or at least not certainly, be reduced to their f.f.

Sk. āh = origl. sk, e.g. √khid (split), Zend ćkid, Lat. scid, f.f. skid; khāγa (cover), cf. Gk. σκαί; gākḥāmi, f.f. gaskāmi (the redupln. of āh to īāh is regularly written so after a short vowel), and in similarly fmd. pres. stt.
Note.—Bef. t, th, k̄h becomes ś, e.g. prāś-ṭum (t for t after ś), § 52. infin., √prākh, f.f. prob. prask, with unorigl. s; cf. Lat. proce (precor), proc (procax), Lith. pras̄, Sclav. pros, Germ. frah (frahnaun), Sk. prač-nā-s (prayer) for *prak-na-s; but e.g. prak-śyāti fut. with k acc. to usual rule.

γ = origl. k; √çi (çetē = kei̯tai); çα and aç (acuere), pres. (a)ç-yāti, çā-tā-s, ci-tā-s (acutus), whence also ácman- (n. ácma, stone); √çru (hear); çvan-, n. çvā (hound); √diç (show); √daç (bite); dācan- (ten), etc. ç is a favourite sound esp. bef. liq. consonn. and v; further in √terms., in place of k; it is however not uncommon at the beginning of roots.

In verb stt. k remains bef. s, though ç was produced from it in other circumstances, e.g. á-dik-šat (ç-çevn-ç, after k, ś stands for s, v. post.), so in certain noun stt., e.g. dik-šu, loc. pl. fr. st. diç- (n. sg. dik for *dik-s, gen. diç-ās, quarter of the compass), dat. pl. dig-bhyās acc. to sound-laws (v. post.) for *dik-bhyas. Other noun. stt. let their ç, however, interchange with t, d, unoriginally. Bef. t, th, ç becomes ś, which t, th, then become lingual, e.g. √darç (Gk. déhē, see), but dr̄-tā-s (past part. pass.) for *drç-ta-s, f.f. dark-ta-s.

Sk. p = origl. k occurs only sporadically. This change fr. k to p is seen in all Indo-Eur. langg. except Lat. and Erse; e.g. √pak (cook) for origl. kak. Whilst Lat. √cøc preserves both gutt., which evidently arose fr. redupln. of origl. √ka, Gk. has in πεν permitted labials to arise in both cases, Sk. pak and Scl. pek have only changed the initial, and Lith. kep contrariwise the final. This ex. is specially full of information, and points unmistakably to the originality of the k, hence the √fm. is in these cases kak. Further pānkan- (five) for *kan-kan; √sap (sequi, Vēdic) seems to be a byfm. of sak (sequi), f.f. sak, so that in this root also two variations fr. origl. k are to be seen; st. ap- (water) must stand bes. Lat. aq-ua, Goth. ah-va (river), for origl. ak-, Lith. āpē shows likewise the change fr. k to p, f.f. of āpē is thus *ak-ya, and the root of this word is probably
§ 52. *ak (be swift). [On the change of origl. *k to *p, wh. often does not appear till late in certain words, while in others *k remains, cf. Beitr. iii. 283 sqq.]


Sk. *t=origl. *t, e.g. *ta-t (that), origl. id.; *tv-am (thou); √*ta, *tan, 1 sg. pres. *ta-nōmi (stretch); *pāt-ati (3 sg. pres.), √*pat (fly, fall); *vārt-ātē (3 sg. pres. med), √*vart (uruere); sf. of past part. pass., e.g in *yuk-tā-s (√yug, *yuffc, iungere), cf. iunc-tu-s, ζευκ-τό-ς; sf. *ti of 3 pers. vb., e.g. 3 sg. *bhāra-ti, 3 pl. *bhāra-nti, cf. φέρε-(τ)ι, φέπο-ντι, fēr-t, fer-u-nt, Goth. bairi-th, baira-nti, etc.

Sk. *th=origl. *t, esp. after *s, e.g. √*sthā (stand), e.g. sthi-tās, origl. *sta-ta-s (status); √*sthag (cover), cf. Gk. στέγ, Lith. steig; superl. sf. -iśtha, e.g. lágh-iśtha-s, cf. ἑλάχιστος (here *th has become *th acc. to sound-laws after *s). Sometimes *th stands for *t without being caused by preceding *s, thus tha, termn. 2 sg. pf., e.g. babhār-tha (thou hast borne) could hardly have had an *s inserted bef. it; as a √termn. in √prath (be wide, broad), 3 sg. prāth-ātē, prath-ūs (πλατύς); √math, manth (move), 1 sg. pres. math-nāmi, mánth-āmi, where origl. *st must not be assumed.

Note 1.—The unoriginality of *th is shown by the fact that it does not appear at the beginning of words (except in the few onomatopoetic or unused and unorigl. words given in Lexx.).

Note 2.—It appears that after *k (in those cases where *t though part of a sf. was not felt to be such) this *t passed into *s; *s however in these instances becomes *s (√v. post. § 55, 2), e.g. *rksa-s (bear)=āρκτο-ς, *ursu-s for *urectus (cf. post. sub Lat.); st. *lākšan- (carpenter)=τέκτον-; *ksan (slay) further fmn. fr. ksa, cf. ktev in kteīνω; √*ksī (dwell), Gk. κτί (ἀμφ-κτί-ονες, dwellers-around, κτί-ζω, build), etc. Contrariwise, e.g. uktā-s
(said), past part. pass.; vāk-ti, 3 sg. pres. √vāk, origl. vāk (say, § 52. speak); st. cāk-tār- (fut. part.), cāk-tā (past part.), √cāk (know, be able), etc.


Sk. p = origl. p, e.g. √pa (drink, protect), whence pā-ti-s (lord), pī-tār- n.sg. pi-tā (father); √par (fill), 3 sg. pres. pi-par-ti, whence pār-nā-s for *par-na-s (plenus); √spaṣ (see, spy) in spaṣ-a-s (spy), vi-spaṣṭā-s (perspicuous) for *vi-spaṣ-ta-s (past part. pass.); √tap, 3 sg. pres. tāp-ati (heat, burn); √sarp, 3 sg. pres. sārp-ati (serpere, ire), etc.

Sk. ph = origl. p, esp. after s, e.g. sphaṭi (alum), sphaṭika-s (crystal), cf. German spat; √sphur, 3 sg. pres. sphur-āti (shake, in Vēd. the root means ‘strike, push’), clearly fr. *sphar, cf. σπαρω, ἄ-σπαρω, O.H.G. sporo (spur), spor (track); φήνα-s (foam), cf. Scl. pēna, Lith. pėna-s (milk); Lat. spūma, provided it comes fr. *spoi-ma, would here also point to sp, in phē-na-s etc. we must therefore assume a root spi, etc. For the rest, ph is not frequent in initio.

The aspiration of tenues after s is not, however, by any means universal, as is shown by the common combinations sk (skānd-ati, scandit), st (str-ṇāti, sternit), sp (sprg-āti, touches).

Origl. mom. sonant unasp. consonn. § 53.

1. Origl. g = Sk. g, ġ (h).

Sk. g = origl. g, e.g. √ga (go) in ġa-gā-ti, ġi-gā-ti, 3 sg. pres., ga-tā-s (past part. pres.), ā-gā-t (3 sg. aor.); yugā-m (iugum); grabh, graham (seize), etc.

Sk. ġ = origl. g, e.g. ġi-gā-mi (βlβης), 1 sg. pres. √ga (go); yu-nā-ġ-mi, 1 sg. pres. √yuĝ (iungere), cf. parallel yug-ā-m with g preserved; ġ yan (gignere), e.g. ġān-as = Lat. gen-us, 1, 3, sg. ind. pf. ġā-ğān-a = γέγονα, γέγονε; ġān-tā-s = (g)nō-tus, ġānā fr. ġan, origl. gan, etc.

Note.—Bef. t in many cases we find not the gutt. but an unorigl. ġ, e.g. srī-tā-s, past part. pass. √sarĝ (do); mārš-ti, 3 sg. pres. √marĝ (cleanse, wash away). Sometimes also ġ is interchanged with d and t, acc. to the quality of the following sounds.
§ 53. In more cases in Sk. $h$ (=gh) stands where Gk. and the other langg. point to origl. $g$, so that in Sk. we must assume an unorigl. aspiration, e.g. st. mah-ánt- (=big), but parallel to it māg-mān- (strong), cf. Gk. μέγ-ας, μέγ-ιτος, Goth. mik-iōs (big), Lat. mag-nus; indeed beside it stands Sk. √mah=maḥg (to wax), which exactly corresponds to Goth. √mag (can, be able); hānu-s (jaw)=Gk. γένυ-ς, Goth. kiñnu-s (chin), cf. Lat. genes, and (dens) genu-inus; ahām, i.e. √agham=aγύο, Goth. ik, Lat. ego; gha, ha=Gk. -γε, Đer. -γα, Goth. -k (in mi-k=me-γε). In all these cases Gk. γ=Goth. $k$ are in favour of origl. $g$.

2. Origl. $d$=Sk. $d$, e.g. √da (dare), 3 sg. pres. med. dá-da-tē, 2 sg. imper. med. epic dá-da-sva, 1 sg. pres. act. dá-da-mi; √dam (domare), e.g. dam-ū-s, dām-ana-s (domans, coercens), 3 sg. pres. dām-ya-ti; √vid (uidere), e.g. 1 sg. pres. vēd-mi, 1, 3, sg. pf. vēd-ā=Gōdā, Fōdē; √sad (sidere, considere), e.g. 3 aor. sg. ā-sad-at, etc.

Note.—$d$ in pīḍ (press) and nīḍā- seems to have arisen from $sd$, namely in case of pīḍ, which is proved unoriginal through $i$ and $d$, comes fr. *pisd, *pi-sad=api-sad, cf. πιέζω=πυ-εδύω=πυ-εδ-γυο; bes. nīḍā-s, nīḍa-m, stands Lat. nīdu-s, which may very likely be for *nīsda-s (cf. iu(s)-dex, i(s)dem; v. sub Lat. (consonn.), to which Teutonic nest points; *nisda-s would then have arisen from *ni-sada-s, and mean “down-sitting,” unless it belong to √nas, on which point v. Curt. Gr. Et.² no. 432, p. 282.

3. Sk. $b$ (cf. § 46, 3), which may be held unorigl., occurs, e.g. in bala-m (force), with which is usually classed O. Bulg. bolij (greater); √lab, lamb (labi), 3 sg. pres. lámb-ātē, Lat. lab.

§ 54. Origl. mom. sonant asp. consonn.

1. Origl. gh=Sk. gh, $h$.

Sk. gh=origl. gh, e.g. √agḥ in agh-ām (ill, sin, origl. prob. anguish); √stigh=aγχ (step), 3 sg. pres. stīgh-nūte; mēgh-ā-s (clouds), cf. √mih, sub ‘$h$’=gh; ādhā-s (long)=δωλχο-ς, etc.

Sk. $h$=origl. gh; e.g. hāsā-s (goose), cf. χωπ, Germ. gans, Lith. žāsis, Pol. geć; √āh=angh in āh-ū-s (snake), āh-as, āh-atis (pain); √vah (uehere), 3 sg. pres. vāh-ati, for vagh, cf. Goth.
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\(/\text{vag}\); \(/\text{mih}\) (pour out, mingere), 3 sg. pres. \(\text{mēh-ati}\) for \(\text{migh}\), § 54. cf. supr. \(\text{mēghās}\), Gk. \(/\text{mva}\); \(/\text{līh}\) (lick), 3 sg. pf. \(\text{ū-lē-ha}\), cf. \(\text{līx}\), etc.

Note 1.—In \(\text{nākha-s}\), \(\text{nākha-m}\) (nail, claw), cf. \(\text{ṃvxa-ɔs}\), Scl. \(\text{nog-ɔti}\), Goth. *\(\text{nag-}\)\(\text{s}\), \(\text{kh}\) stands most strangely where we should have expected \(\text{gḥ}\).

Note 2.—\(\text{gḥ}\) occurs rarely, e.g. \(\text{ghasā-s}\) (fish); in other Indo-Europ. langs, no similar example is yet known; \(\text{gḥ}\) occurs most often in initio in onomatopoeic words.

2. Origl. \(\text{dh}=\text{Sk. dh, h}\).

Sk. \(\text{dh}=\text{origl. dh}\), e.g. \(\sqrt{\text{dha}}\) (set), 1 pres. \(\text{dā-dhā-mi}\), cf. \(\text{tl-θη-μ}\), Goth. \(\sqrt{\text{da}}\): \(\sqrt{\text{idh}}\) (kindle), 3 sg. pass. \(\text{idh- yaté}\), cf. Gk. \(\text{αδ̣θ-ω}\); \(\sqrt{\text{rudh}}\) (rubere) in \(\text{rudh-irās}\) (ruber), cf. Gk. \(\text{ρυθ}\), Goth. \(\text{rud}\); \(\text{mādhu}\) (honey, mead, intoxicating drink), cf. \(\text{μέθυ}\), etc.

Sk. \(\text{h}=\text{origl. dh}\), e.g. in \(\text{hi-tá-s}\) for *\(\text{dhi-ta-s}\) fr. *\(\text{dha-ta-s}\), past part. pass. \(\sqrt{\text{dha}}\) (set), cf. \(\text{θε-τό-ς}\); \(\sqrt{\text{rah}}\) (rah-\(\text{itá-}\), forsaken, bereaved; \(\text{rāh-as}\), ntr. secret, hidden) for *\(\text{radh}\), cf. \(\sqrt{\text{λαθ}}\) (\(\lambda\)\(\alpha\)-\(\epsilon\)w, escape notice; \(\lambda\)\(\alpha\)-\(\rho\)a, secretly); \(\sqrt{\text{guk}}\) (hide) for *\(\text{gudh}\), cf. \(\sqrt{\text{kəθ}}\) (\(\kappa\)\(\epsilon\)\(\theta\)-\(\omega\), hide); \(-\text{hi}\) for -\(\text{dhi}\), sf. of 2 sg. imper. act., e.g. \(\text{pā-hi}\) (tuere), but Vēd. \(\text{gru-dhi}=\kappa\lambda\theta-\theta\iota\); in Sk. this -\(\text{dhi}\) occurs after consonn. only, e.g. \(\text{ad-dhi}\), \(\sqrt{\text{ad}}\) (edere), but -\(\text{hi}\) after vowels.

3. Origl. \(\text{bh}=\text{Sk. bh, rarely h}\).

Sk. \(\text{bh}=\text{origl. bh}\), e.g. \(\sqrt{\text{bhar}}\) (ferre), 1 sg. pres. \(\text{bhár-ámi}\), cf. Gk. \(\text{φερ}\); \(\sqrt{\text{bhu}}\) (become, be), 3 sg. pres. \(\text{bhár-ati}\), cf. \(\text{φυ}\); \(\text{bhid}\) (findere), 3 sg. pf. \(\text{bi-bhéd-a}\), cf. Lat. \(\sqrt{\text{fīd}}\); \(\text{nábas}\) (air, heaven), cf. \(\text{νέφος}\); \(\sqrt{\text{bha}}\), 3 sg. pres. \(\text{bhā-ti}\) (gleam), cf. \(\text{φα}, \text{φα-ν}, \text{etc.}\)

Sk. \(\text{h}=\text{origl. bh}\), e.g. \(\sqrt{\text{grah}}\), Vēd. still \(\text{grabh}\) (seize); \(\text{má-hyam}\) bes. \(\text{tū-bhyam}\) (dat. sg. pers. pron. 1 and 2), cf. \(\text{mi-ki}\) bes. \(\text{ti-bi}\); \(\text{bh}\) has disappeared entirely in instr. pl. of \(\text{a-st.}\), e.g. \(\text{āc̣vāis}\) for *\(\text{aṣv-ahis}\) (v. ‘declens.’).

In roots which end in aspp. an origl. initial asp. loses the aspiration; e.g. \(\sqrt{\text{bandh}}\) (bind), 3 sg. pres. \(\text{badh-ná-ti}\), pf. \(\text{ba} \text{bándh-a}\) for *\(\text{bhandh}\), Goth. \(\text{band}\), Gk. \(\text{πενθ}\) for *\(\text{φενθ}\);

\(\text{bāhú-s}\)
§ 54. (masc. elbow) for *bhaḥu-s, cf. Norse bōgr, Gr. πήνυς for *φήνυς; √budh (learn, know), 3 sg. pres. budh-yātē, bōdh-ati, cf. Goth. √bud, Gk. πωθ for *φυθ; √druh (hurt), 3 sg. pres. druh-yātī for *dhrugh, Zend drug, druḥ, druž, but O.H.G. trug, i.e. earlier drug, are in favour of initial dh. Cf. the reduplication-law (§ 59, 3).

Consonantal Prolonged Sounds.

§ 55. Spirants y, s, v.

1. Origl. y=Sk. y, e.g. pron. √ya (rel.), n. sg. masc. ya-s; ya is further a frequent st.-formative element, e.g. mādh-ya-s= med-īn-s; the same part. fns. the opt., e.g. s-ya-t=s-īē-t; further, as one part of the pres. stem which comes fr. as (esse), and serves to form the fut., e.g. dā-s-yā-ti=doṣeī fr. *δω-σ-γε-τι; ya forms derivative vbs., e.g. bhārā-ya-ti, 3 sg. pres. vb. causat. √bhar (ferre)=ϕορεī fr. *ϕορε-γε-τι; √yu, yūḥ (ungere), cf. Lat. √iug, whence yugā-m=Lat. iugu-m; yūvan-, acc. sg. yūvān-am, cf. Goth. jūggs (same meaning), Lat. iuuenis: yākr( liver), cf. Lat. iecur (id.).

The connexion between y and i is treated in § 14, 1, d.; the splitting up of y to iy, iy, in § 14, 1, c; change fr. y to iy, iy, v. § 15, 2, b.

2. Origl. s=Sk. s, ʂ.

Sk. s=origl. s, e.g. √sađ (sede), e.g. sād-as ntr., sād-ana-m (sedes); sāp-tan-, Vēd. saptan=-septem; √su (beget, sow), e.g. su-tās, past part. pass.; √su (flow), 3 sg. pres. srāv-ati: svāsar-, acc. sg. svāsār-am (sister); √svīd (sweat), 3 sg. pres. svīd-yātī; √star (sternere), 3 sg. pres. str-ṇātī; √smar (remember), 3 sg. pres. smār-ati; √as (esse), 3 sg. pres. ās-τι; √vas (dwell), 3 sg. pres. vās-ati; √vas (clothe oneself), 3 sg. pres. vas-tō; in st.- and word-formative particles, as mān-as (ntr. mens)=μέν-ος; -s is an element of nom. masc. and fem., e.g. vṛka-s, pl. vṛkā-sas (wolf, wolves), etc.

Sk. ʂ=origl. s, e.g. √uš (ur-ere), cf. us-tus, 3 sg. pres. ḍš-ati;
\(\sqrt{\text{tarś}}\) (thirst), 3 sg. pres. \(\text{trś-yāti}\), cf. Lat. \(\text{torr-eo} \approx \text{*tors-eo}\), § 55. Germ. \(\text{durs-t}\); \(\ddot{s}\) also sporadically after \(\text{a}\), e.g. \(\sqrt{\text{bhāś}}\) (speak), 3 sg. pres. \(\text{bhāśatē}\), further fmn. of \(\sqrt{\text{bha=Gk.} \, \text{φα in φά-τ}"}, s, \(\text{φά-σ}'\) (speech), \(\text{φη-μ}'\) (say); bes. \(\text{bhās,} 3 \text{sg. pres. bhāśatē}\) (shine, gleam), further fmn. of a similarly sounding \(\sqrt{\text{bha=Gk.} \, \text{φα in φαίω} \) (show, make clear)\(}\approx \text{φα-υ'ω, φά-σ}'\) (showing); \(\ddot{s}\) thus stands to \(s\) as palatal to gutt.; it is initial in \(\ddot{\text{s}}\text{άś} \) (sex) only, but cf. Zend \(\text{khaśes}, a \text{fm. which renders doubtful the originality of the initial sound of this numeral in the other langg. of our stock.}

Origl. \(\ddot{s}\) has moreover undergone many more changes in Sk.; these changes, however, did not occur generally till a relatively late period; \(s\) before \(t \) (\(\ddot{t}\)) and \(p \) (\(\ddot{p}\)) and after \(a\) (except in fine) remains fixed; after \(k\) and \(r\), \(\ddot{s}\) stands for \(s\); likewise after \(i\), \(\ddot{u}\) (and their diphthongs, generally after other vowels, as after \(a\), \(\ddot{a}\)); medially bef. most sounds (bef. all vowels and \(y\), \(v\), \(m\), \(t\), \(\ddot{t}\); \(\ddot{g}\) and \(\dddot{g}\) bef. \(s\) do not break this sound-law); fr. st. \(\text{bhūti-} (= \sqrt{\text{φωκ-}}) \) thus comes loc. pl. \(\text{bhūti-śu for *bhūti-su; nē-śyāti} \) (3 sg. fut. \(\sqrt{\text{ni}}, \) lead) for \(\sqrt{\text{nai-śyati}}; \ddot{\ddot{e}}-\ddot{s}i, f.f. \ddot{a}-\ddot{s}i \) (2 sg. pres. \(\sqrt{\text{i}}, \) go); \(\ddot{vāk-śi} \) (2 sg. pres. \(\sqrt{\text{vak}}, \) speak) but \(\ddot{a}t-\ddot{s}i \) for \(\sqrt{\text{ad-śi}} \) (2 sg. pres. \(\sqrt{\text{ad}}, \) eat) and \(\ddot{tā-śu} \) (loc. fem. pl. \(\ddot{t}a, \) pron. dem.); st. \(\text{dhānuś-} \) (bow), loc. pl. \(\text{dhānuś-śu or dhānuś-śu for *dhānuś-su}; \) with sf. \(\text{mant, dhānuś-} \) mant-, n. sg. \(\text{dhānuś-} \) mān \) (provided with a bow). Betw. \(s\) and \(\ddot{s}\) there is nevertheless great vacillation (particulars must be relegated to Sk. special. gr.; it is enough to note here that \(\ddot{s}\)

\(\ddot{o}, \ddot{r}, \ddot{c}, \) occur, like \(\ddot{s}, \) acc. to definite sound-laws, in place of \(s\); yet mainly in termn. alone, in which case -\(\ddot{a}s\) also may pass into \(\ddot{s}\), and \(s\) be lost, e.g. \(\text{vrka}^2\) for \(\text{vrka-ś} \) at end of a sentence, or bef. \(k\), \(p\); \(\text{avir ēti} \) for \(\text{avis ēti} \) (ouis it); \(r\) occurs for \(s\) bef. all sonant sounds unless \(a\) or \(\ddot{a}\) precede; -\(\dddot{s}\), however, bef. sonants becomes \(\ddot{\ddot{o}}\), and -\(\ddot{a}s\) becomes \(\dot{a}\); this latter also medially, e.g. \(\text{cā-dhi for *cjās-dhi}, \) 2 sg. imper. fr. \(\sqrt{\text{cjās}} \) (rule), but 3 sg. imper. \(\text{cjā-tu}; \ddot{a}vīc \text{Karati} \) (the sheep goes); \(\text{vrkō bhavat for vṛkas abhavat}\) (the wolf was); \(\text{vrka āstē for vṛkas āstē} \) (the wolf sits), etc.
§ 55. In stems ending in -s these changes take place before case-sff. also which begin with a conson., e.g. st. mánas-, g. mánas-as, without change; but instr. pl. mánóbhís for *manas-bhíś, loc. pl. mánaś-su for mánas-su, which also occurs, dhánur-bhíś for *dhanus-bhíś, st. dhánus- (bow).

§ bef. s passes into k, e.g. √devis (hate), 2 sg. pres. devk-sí for *devk-sí; also the change to t, d occurs, as in the case of ç, e.g. devíd-dhí, 2 sg. imper. act. √dviś for *dviś-dhí. Cf. Sk. grammars.

Note.—In ṣvácura-s (father-in-law), ṣvaçrā-s (mother-in-law), ç stands in initio (by assimiln. to follg. ç), instead of s, cf. Zend ḍhaçura- i.e. *svaçura-, ēkupó-ç, Lat. socer, soerus; similarly in st. čiška- (dry) for *suska-, cf. Z. huska-, O.Bulg. suchá, f.f. sausa-s, Lith. saûsa-s; ç for s occurs besides in other single cases bef. v and u.

3. Origl. v=Sk. v, e.g. √vid (perceive), 3 sg. pres. vēt-īi for *vēd-īi; √va (blow), 3 sg. pres. vá-īi, cf. Goth. √va; √vah (uehere), 3 s.g. pres. váh-āti, cf. Lat. uēh, Goth. vag, Sclav. vez, etc.; √var (cover), 3 sg. pres. vr-nōtī, whence ār-nā (wool) for *var-nā, cf. Gk. Fēp-tov, Sclav. viū-na, O.H.G. wol-la, etc.; √var (will), cf. Lat. uol (uelle), Goth. val (will), etc.; āvī-s=Lat. ouī-s, óFō-s; návā-s=Lat. novō-s, véFo-s, etc.

On the connexion betw. v and u, v. § 14, 1, c, d.

§ 56. Nasals.

1. Origl. n=Sk. n, e.g. na, an- (negation); √naç (perish), 3 sg. pres. nāçyati, cf. već; st. nar-, nara-, n. sg. nā for *nars, nara-s (à-vṛp); nāu-s=vaðs; nā-man-=Lat. nō-men-; dānta-s (dens); often n is changed into another nasal, e.g. pūr-ṇā-s (plenus, cf. supr. ü=a, § 8), f.f. par-na-s, n for n, since r precedes, v. post.; ġnā-tās=gnō-tus, origl. fm. of √gā is gan, on n for n, v. post.; yuṅgānti (iungunt), √yug, with inserted nasal, but yuṅktē, 3 sg. med. with ṅ, since k follows, v. post.; lump-ātī= rumpit, has nasal m because p follows; hāsā-s, cf. hanser, Germ. gans; mā-sī, 2 sg. pres. act., mā-syātē, 3 sg. fut. med. √man (mean), with ˇ for n acc. to Sk. sound-laws, etc. All these changes must have been wanting in Indo-Eur. origl. lang.,
because clearly either the nasal was not yet within the root, but § 56. 
stood after it, acc. to the formative principles of Indo-Eur. 
(v. Introduction, 2), and so the fms. in question were still perh. 
yug-nanti, yug-natai, or else n and m remained unchanged, e.g. 
man-si, etc.

Bef. case-termns. which begin with consonn., n as a noun-st. 
termn. disappears, e.g. st. nāman- (nomen), loc. pl. nāma-su for 
*nāman-su (*nāmā-su). This sort of loss of n takes place in 
other like cases also.

2. Origl. m=Sk. m, e.g. √man (mean, think), whence mān-as 
(mens)=μέν-os; mā-tár-=μά-τερ-; √smar (remember), cf. Lat. 
me-mor with lost s; √vam, Lat. vom-ere, 3 sg. pres. vām-ati; in 
st- and word-formative particles thus sf. man, e.g. nā-man-; 
m as sign of acc. case, e.g. aśva-m=equo-m; -mi, -masi, -mas, 
1 sg. pl. e.g. é-mi, pl. i-mās, earlier i-māsi=el-μ, l-μευ, etc.

The nasals n, m have, as the above exx. show, undergone many 
variations in Sk. because they always adapt themselves to the 
quality of the succeeding consonn. Accordingly bef. gutt. mon. 
ň only is found; bef. palatals is found ň, this sound occurs also 
immediately after k, ḡ; bef. lingg. and (acc. to distinct sound-
laws) where ling. sounds Ž, r, precede in a word, n is found; 
n has its place bef. dentt. and vowels; m bef. labb. and vowels 
(these two origl. nasals only are found in the beginning of 
a word); bef. s and ŏ, ĕ is found. Particulars belong to Sk. 
special-gr.

r- and l-sounds. § 57.

r was softened to l in many cases at an early date; sometimes 
the earlier lang. retains r where the later already has l.

Sk. r=origl. r, e.g. √ram, 3 sg. pres. rāmatē (he is pleased); 
√rīk (separate), 3 sg. pres. ri-pā-k-ti (with inserted na); √ruk 
(shine), 3 sg. pres. rōk-atē; √mar-(mori), e.g. mr-tā-s, past part. 
pass. (mortuos); √par (fill), 3 sg. pres. pi-par-ti; st. √kṛp- (fem. 
appearance, beauty), √karp, cf. corp-us, Z. keref-s; in sff., e.g. 
rudh-i-rā-s=ἔ-ψυθ-ρό-ς; sf. tar, Lat. tor; tra-m, Lat. tru-m, etc.
§ 57. **Note.**—In termn. $r$ was treated like $s$; at the end of a sentence it becomes $\ddot{o}$, etc., cf. § 55, 2.

Sk. $l=$original $r$, e.g. $lōk$, 3 sg. pres. $lōk-ātē$ (see), doubtless akin to $ruk$ (shine), cf. $λευκ-ος$ and $λευσσω = *λευκ-γο; \sqrt{rup}$ (break), 3 sg. pres. $lumpāti$, cf. Lat. $\sqrt{rup}$; $\sqrt{kalp}$ (be in order), 3 sg. pres. $kālpātē$, cf. $kṛp; \sqrt{lih}$, $λχ$, Lat. $lig$, Erse $lig$, Goth. $lig$, Lith. $liz$, Scl. $liz$ (lick), but in earliest Indian still $rih$. Also where the kindred langg. show no $r$, we must yet assume an origl. $r$, because we notice that $l$ is continually spreading, whilst $r$ becomes rarer; if we suppose this process to have been going on continuously in pre-historic times, $r$ will remain as the older by elimination; cf. Zend. Such instances are found in e.g. $plu$ (float), Lat. $plu$, Gk. $πλυ$, Scl., Lith. $plu$, Germ. $flu$ (in $flu-\ddot{z}$, in diall. $fleu-e$ (wash)); here precisely it happens that $l$—so frequently interchanged with $r$—occurs throughout; whilst in Sk. there is still a root $pru$ (go) in existence, which origly. was prob. identical with $plu$, and must be considered as its earlier fm.

§ 58. **Sketch of some sound-laws important for comparative grammar** (so far as they are not contained in foregoing sections).

Between the various ways in which the Indo-Eur. sounds make their appearance in particular Indo-Eur. langg. (i.e. those changes of origl. sounds through which this or that distinct lang. arose from their common fundamental lang., e.g. Sk. $vāk-am$, Gk. $Φόν-α$, Lat. $νόε-εμ$, fr. f.f. $vāk-am$), and the variations which the sounds undergo during the separate existence of the lang. thus produced, namely sound-laws, we can draw no sharp line of demarcation. The distinction between sound-representation and sound-law is chronological, and therefore indeterminate, and the exact definition of the date at which a sound-change occurred is generally difficult. For this reason, and also in order not to break up the subject too much, I have often above left the boundary between sound-correspondence
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and sound-law ill-defined; moreover, sound-laws—as peculiar to § 58. the separate-life of a lang.—belong here only in so far as they bear upon our knowledge of older word-forms. The numerous laws, e.g. in Sk., which come into play only when words are composed into sentences, may here be mostly omitted, since we are treating of words taken separately.

We find, esp. in written lang., forms of different periods beside each other, e.g. Sk. *yuk-tā-s for yuk-ta-s, √yuḥ (iungere), after an earlier mode of formn. than īṃ-tā-s for *īg-ta-s, *ik-ta-s, f.f. yag-ta-s, √yāḥ (open, v. § 53, 1, n.); here the sound-law by which ṣt becomes ṝt is clearly later than the preservation of the origl. combination ṣt, i.e. kt (bef. t, k must naturally occur for ṣ).

Generally speaking we may call the Sk. very rich in conson. sound-laws; its conson. system is thus manifoldly unorigl. from this point of view also. Consonn. often exercise influence on one another, not only in the middle of words, but also between the end of one word and the beginning of another when they are combined in a sentence, a process which we can scarcely attribute to the lang. at this early condition; the laying-down of these laws belongs, as we have said, in a great measure elsewhere.

MEDIAL SOUND-LAWS.

1. Assimilation. § 59.

a. Medially also sometimes occurs complete assimilation of a preceding to a follg. sound, e.g. bhinnā- for bhid-na-, past part. pass. √bhūd (split); panna- for pad-na-, likewise fr. √pad (go, fall), and so often in similar cases.

b. Lightening of conson.-groups by loss of one sound is likewise not rare, e.g. kaśte for kakṣ-te (t for t on acct. of s, v. sqq.), 3 sg. pres. med. √kakṣ (see), etc.; ā-tut-ta, 3 sg. med. aor. compos. √tud (push) for a-tut-s-ta, and so frequently in case of s betw. two mom. consonn. in like cases.

c. Bef. sonant mom. sounds sonants only, bef. mutes mutes
§ 59. only, are found, e.g. st. vāk (voice), instr. pl. vāg-bhis; yu-nā-ḥ-mi, 1 sg. pres. √yuḥ (iungere), but 2 sg. yu-ná-k-śi, 3 sg. yu-ná-k-tī for *yunag-sī, *yunag-tī (cf. §53, 1); ad-mi, 1 sg. pres. √ad (edere), but át-si, 2 sg. pres. át-tī, 3 sg. pres. for *ad-sī, *ad-tī; bhāraddhis, instr. pl. fr. st. bhārant- (ferens) for *bharat-bhis fr. *bharant-bhis, etc.

The influence of spirant s on follg. mom. sounds has been already handled under 'ś.' In the case of the combination of ś with a follg. t, th, the latter becomes assimil. to s because it is a lingual, e.g. superl. sf. origl. īś-ta; fr. yans, compar. sf. shortened īs+tā, arises next *īs-tha (§51, sqq.), and since after vowels other than a, ā, ś must occur for s, *īs-tha, whereby also th becomes th, so that in Sk. īśtha stands for īsta, e.g. st. āḍ-īśtha=Z. āḍ-ista-, Gk. ᾨκ-υστῶ-, origl. ᾨκ-ίστα- (fr. ᾨκū-, origl. ᾨκυ-, swift). For the group ct occurs śt, e.g. st. drśṭā- for *dṛc-ta-, past part. pass. ķ/daṛc, origl. dark (see); st. aśṭa-, aṣṭan- (eight), for *aḍṭa-, *aḍṭan-, f.f. akta- (cf. ᾲκτῶ, octo); vāṣṭi for *vaṣ-ti, 3 sg. pres. √vaṣ (will, wish).

For the changes of s produced by assimiln. v. §55, 2; by nasals, §56, 2.

An example of dissimilation worth notice is found in the change of s to t at the end of a root bef. the termn. in s of fut. and aor., e.g. √vas (dwell), 3 sg. fut. vat-syāti, 3 sg. aor. á-vāt-sit for *vas-syati, *ā-vās-sit. Doubled s was generally avoided, e.g. āsi, 2 sg. pres. √as (esse), for as-sī=ėo-śī, cf. §55, 2.

Note.—The s of √vas (dwell) is origl. and perh. not due to t, cf. Goth. √vas (remain, be), pres. vis-a=vas-āmi.

2. The aspirates stand bef. vowels and son. prolonged conson. only, and therefore never in termn. The collision of a sonant gutt., dent., or lab. aspirate with follg. t (th) is common. In this case the aspp. throw their aspiration on follg. t, which in its turn becomes like the preceding sound in that it assumes vocal-sound; fr. sonant aspp.+t arise therefore son. unasp. conson. +dh;
Accordingly \( gh + t = gdh; \) \( dh + t = ddh; \) \( bh + t = bdh, \) e.g. \( \sqrt{budh} \) § 59. (learn, know), step-formed \( bōdh + tum \) (infin. termn.) = \( bōdīhum; \) \( \sqrt{labh} \) (hold) + \( tum = ṭuśdhum, \) etc.: \( h \) here also often is clearly equivalent in force to \( gh \) (cf. § 54, 1), e.g. \( \sqrt{duh} \) (milk) + \( ta, \) sf. past part. pass., composes the fn. \( ḍuḥdā-s, \) further \( dug-dhi \) (2 sg. imper.) for \( *dukh-dhi, ḍōg-dhi \) for \( *ōgh-ti, \) 3 sg. pres., collectively formed as sounds from still existing \( \sqrt{duḥ}. \) Other roots (whose initial is not \( d) \) also treat their \( h \) otherwise, e.g. \( ruḥ \) (increase) + \( tdh, \) sf. past part, pass., composes the fn. \( ḍuţdh-s, \) further \( dūgh-dhi \) (2 sg. imper.) for \( *dugh-dhi, \) \( dūg-dhi \) for \( *ddgh-ti, \) 3 sg. pres., collectively formed as sounds from still existing \( \sqrt{duḥ}. \) The aspiration is thus throughout postponed to the follg. consonant.

When the aspiration of a root-termn. cannot remain, e.g. in termn. or bef. \( s, \) and the root begins with an origl. sonant un-aspd. conson., the aspn. passes over to the latter, e.g. st. \( sarvābudh- \) (all-knowing), n. sg. should be \( *sarvābudh-s, \) \( s \) is necessarily lost, acc. to termination-laws, \( dh \) became \( t, \) the aspn. passes over to the \( b, \) and the word is \( sarva-bhūt; \) precisely so the loc. pl. \( sarva-bhūt-su \) fr. \( *budh-su; \) \( h \) here too was treated like \( gh, \) e.g. 3 sg. aor. \( \sqrt{duh} \) (milk) is \( ḍā-dhuk-ṣat, \) with \( ṣ \) for \( s \) acc. to rule (§ 55, 2), for \( *a-duḥg-ṣat; \) likewise where the final aspn. disappears through loss (assimiln.), e.g. \( dhēhi \) (2 sg. imper. act.) for \( *dhāhi \) (§ 15, e), and this for \( *dā-hi \) fr. \( *dadh-hi, *dadh-dhi; dadh- \) for \( da-dha- \) is pres. st. of \( \sqrt{duḥ} \) (set), \( hi, dhi, \) termn. of 2 sg. imper. act.

3. Law of reduplication. In redupln. the gutt. are changed into palatals: \( ka-kāra, \) pf. \( \sqrt{kar} \) (make); of more than one conson. or consonantal double-sounds (aspp.; \( h=gh) \) only the first was maintained; \( dā-dhā-mi, \) pres. \( \sqrt{duḥ} \) (set, lay); \( ӯu-kō-mi, \sqrt{ku} \) (open; cf. also § 54, 3, sub. fin.); \( ӯu-ṭrāv-a, \) pf. \( \sqrt{cru} \) (hear); only in case of \( s+\) mom. sounds does the second
§ 59. of these sounds remain; ti-ṣṭha-ti, pres. ṣṭha (stand), origl. 
fm. of pres. is sta-sta-ti.

In other cases the Sk. still shows a more archaic kind of 
redupln. by which gutt. and aspp. remain unchanged; so esp. 
in ancient intensive-sts., e.g. kō-ku (3 sg. med. kō-kū-ya-tē), 
ku (raise a cry); kari-kar-, kar (make); bhar-bhar-, bhar 
(bear); ghan-ghan-, ghan, han (slay, kill); in noun-sts., e.g. 
gha-gha-s (clatter, crackling), etc. (cf. Benf. G. g. 1864, 
st. 39, p. 1539 sqq.).

Termination.

§ 60. 1. In termn. only one conson. is tolerated, of more than one 
only the first remains, e.g. st. vāk (voice, acc. vāk-am) should 
be in n. sg. *vāk-s, or rather (acc. to § 52, 1) *vāk-s, or (acc. 
to § 55, 2) vāk-ṣ, wherefore vāk is now seen. Since aspp. are 
double-sounds, they must lose their aspn.; thus we find, not 
*sarva-budh, but *sarva-bhūd, with aspn. transferred (acc. to 
§ 59, 2), for which, acc. to the follg. law (no. 2), sarva-bhūt 
with t for d occurs.

Only r + mom. conson can stand in fine, a case which never-
theless occurs but seldom; moreover bef. follg. k, t, ṭ, and ḍ, 
ṭh, ṭh, the combn.-s stands with their representatives, e.g. ādvān, 
acc. pl. of n. sg. ādeva-s (equos), f.f. is *ādevāns or *ādevāms, 
hence e.g. ādevās tatra (equos ibi); āṛ-ṃāṇ (pleasant), n. sg. 
masc. f.f. *āṛ-ṃant-s, hence e.g. yet āṛṃāṇ karati (felix it; ā for 
s acc. to § 55, 2); āson, 3 pl. impl. ās (esse) fr. *āsant, 
*āsans, t is esp. often subject to a change into s, as in stems in 
-ant, which are interchanged with fms. in -ans, further in termn. 
of 3 pl. -us for -ant, hence e.g. āsās tatra (erant ibi) for origl. 
*āsant tatra. In all other cases, however, n only remains acc. to 
the general rule.

2. As only mute mom. conson. (when no distinctly influenc-
ing clearer sound follows upon it; in pausa) could stand in fine, the 
son. conson. pass over into the mutes of their quality; hence
for *sarva-buḍh, not *sarva-bhud, but sarva-bhūt is found. h, § 60.
i.e. gh, becomes t in termn., earlier k (for g, gh) has been re-
tained in such roots only as begin with a, e.g. fr. iḥ (licking)
comes in nom. (f.f. ligh-s) liḥ (liḥ bef. sonants), but fr. duḥ
(milking), dhuk (dhug).

Note.—That palatals are not retained in termn. was remarked
above in § 51, sub. fin.

Consonants of Greek. § 61.

v. Table in § 16.
The consonl. system of the Gk. has retained 1. the origl.
aspirates, not, however, as sonants, but as mutes: χ=kh, θ=th,
φ=ph, these can be proved to be the oldest equivalents of the
Gk. sounds; the pronunciation of χ, φ, as spirants, i.e. χ=Germ.
ch, φ=f, and that of θ as a sibilant (nearly like ts), is of
later origin, and arose first partially and afterwards in all cases.
The passing of origl. sonant aspp. into Gk. mute aspirates is not
inexplicable according to the physiology of sounds. Arendt
(Kuhn und Schleicher, Beitr. ii. 283) conjectures, prob. rightly,
that the un-sonant h of the origl. aspp. gh, dh, bh, changed the
preceding sonants g, d, b, into the mutes κ, τ, π, and indeed no
one will deny that hh, th, ph, are much easier to pronounce than
gh, dh, bh. Thus the Gk. already permits of an assimilation.
Change of sonn. to un-sonn. is seen also in Teutonic (origl. g, d=Germ.
k, t). The agreement of the Indo-Eur. langg. collectively,
and also of those langg. which are nearest of kin to the Gk.,
prevents us from accepting the supposition that the Gk. alone
has preserved the oldest equivalents for the Indo-Eur. aspirates
(that the sounds hh, th, ph, existed in the origl. lang. instead of
Gk. shows a dislike of the origl. spirants; γ even, in the earliest
accessible state of the lang., is found merely remaining in its
effects, but lost as a separately existing sound; ν is retained
§ 61. As F in the archaic lang.; $s$ stands its ground only in terminations and bef. and after mutes ($\xi, \psi$); moreover, when another sound has assimilated itself to it ($s$); before vowels it becomes $h$, and generally falls out between vowels. In Gk. as in all other Indo-Eur. langg., except Zend, $l$ already occurs often beside $r$.

Generally, therefore, the consonantal-system of the Gk. is nearer to that of the origl. lang. than that of the Sk. or of most other Indo-Eur. langg.

As for consonl. sound-laws, the loss of origl. spirants and the variations which arise through this loss, and through the effects of origl. spirants on neighbouring sounds, bring about a considerable deviation from the older system of sounds. Assimilation has already acquired a widely extended sway: dentals generally have fallen away before $s$, $n$, mostly with a lengthening of preceding vowel. The palatal sounds ($y$, $i$) already show their influence in many cases (zëtakismos). Further, but few consonn. are tolerated in termn.; in short, in its consonantal sound-laws Gk. much resembles a lang. which is already in a comparatively late stage of existence.

§ 62.

Examples.

Origl. momentary mute unaspirated consonants.

1. Origl. $k =$ Gk. $\kappa$, $\gamma$, $\pi$, $\tau$ ($\kappa\gamma = \sigma\sigma$, cf. sound-laws).

Gk. $\kappa =$ origl. $k$, e.g. $\kappa\rho\delta-i\alpha$ (heart), cf. Lat. $c$ord-, Lith. $s$zird-ís, Scl. $s$rūd-lee, Goth. $h$airt-ð, Indo-Eur. lang. collectively presuppose an initial $k$, Sk. $h$rd- thus stands for *khard-, origl. hard-; $k\epsilon-i-mai$ (I lie), $koi-\tau\eta$ (bed), $\sqrt{k}i$, Sk. $ci$, Scl. and origl. $ki$; $k\nu\omega$, $k\nu-n-\delta$ (hound), Sk. st. $\gamma\nuan-$, origl. $\kappa\nuan-$; $\kappa\nu-\tau\delta$ (famed), $\sqrt{\kappa}\nu$ (hear), Sk. $\gamma\nu$, Goth. $hlu$, origl. $kru$; $\delta\alpha-k-\nu\omega$ (bite), $\sqrt{\delta}ak$, Sk. $daç$, origl. $dak$; $deï-k-\nu\mu$ (show), $\sqrt{\delta}ak$, Sk. $diç$, Goth. $tih$, origl. $dik$; $deïka$ (ten), Lat. $decem$, Sk. $daçan-$, Goth. $tah\nu$, origl. $dakan-$; $lêu-k-\delta$ (white), $\acute{u}mphi-lûk-\eta$ (morn- ing-twilight), $\sqrt{\lambda}uk$, Sk. $ruk$, origl. $ruk$, etc.
Greek. Consonants.

Note.— milit is merely a character for k, e.g. µελ (I will show) § 62. = *deie-s-s; µετι (right) = *deke-sios, *deke-tios, cf. dexter, Sk. dakš-ias, etc.

Gk. γ is sometimes a later softening fr. κ, which often remains beside it (cf. G. Curtius, Gr. Et. 2 467 sqq., 600 sqq.), e.g. ϕραγ in ἐ-ϕράγ-νυ bes. pres. ϕράσω (fence in) = *ϕρακ-γω (v. sound-laws), Lat. farc-io (on the difference of meaning v. G. Curt. Zeitschr. xiii. 399); µαγ in ἐ-µαγ-νυ, µαγ-ευς (cook), µαγ-εύς (pastry-cook), but µάσω (knead) = *µακ-γω, cf. mac-erare, Lith. minik-ity (knead) bes. manik-shtyti (soften), root therefore manik fr. mak; µίσω, µίσσυμι (mingle), bes. Lat. mixeo, Sk. mičiámi; πλαγ in πλαγ-ή (blow), είς-ε-πλάγ-νυ bes. πλάσω (strike), i.e. πληγ-γω, cf. Lith. plak-ti (strike), pres. plak-ú, f.f. plak-ami, etc. (cf. Lat. post).

Gk. τ = origl. k (cf. G. Curt. in Kuhn’s Zeitschr. iii. 401 sqq.), e.g. τεττ (cook) in πέ-τετ-ται, πέφω, i.e. πέτ-σω, πέτ-σω (ripe), bes. πεκ in πέσω (cook) = *πεκ-γω, origl. kak, Lat. coc; πέντε (five), Aiol. πέμπτε, πέμπτ-το-ς (fifth), πεμπ-άξειν (count by fives), Lat. quinque, origl. kankan; το in το (where), τῶς (how), τότερος (whether, uter), Ιόν. still κόν, κῶς, κότερος, Lat. quo-, Goth. hna-, Sk. Lith. Sclav. and origl. ka; είς in εις-ομαι (follow), origl. sak, Lat. seg; Φετ in Φετος (word), είσσω (I said) = *Φετεπον, *Φοτ-ς (voice) = udo-s, origl. vak (speak), in δοσα (voice) = *Φοκγα (v. sound-laws), k has remained; αλπ in λείπ-α (leave), λοπ-ός (left over) = Lat. lic (linguo), Sk. rik, origl. rik; ὄπ in όψομαι (I shall see), όμα (eye), Aiol. ὀπ-πα = *ὀπ-μα, Lat. oc in oc-ulus, Lith. ak-is (eye), etc., but dual ὄσσε= *οκγε, fr. a st. *οκι- (eye), Lith. and origl. aki- with k retained. Acc. to G. Curt. Gk. τ is in 17 cases = origl. k, whilst in 104 cases it remains k, thus about one-sixth of origl. k has been changed to τ.

Gk. τ = origl. k occurs mostly in pronl. and num. stems, thus τι-ς (who), Lat. qui-s, Sk. *ki-s (in na-kis, no one, mā-kis, O. Bulg. mā-kis, ne quis), origl. ki-s; τε (and), origl. ka, Sk. -ka, Lat.
§ 62. -que, Goth. -u-h for *-ha, cf. πό-τε (when), Dör. πό-κα, ἀλλο-τε (another time), Dör. ἀλλο-κα; πέντε (five) bes. Αιολ. πέμπτε (see ab. π=κ), origl. haukan, cf. quinque; téssarës (four), origl. katevëras, cf. Lat. quattuor(es), Sk. katevår-as, Lith. keturi. This correspondence of sounds occurs but rarely in other roots, e.g. /t/o in τί-ω (honour, valuate), τι-μή (honour), τί-νω, τί-νυμι (punish, fine), Sk. κι in καύ-έ (I punish), apa-kí-tu-s (honoured), origl. therefore κι.

2. Origl. τ=Γκ. τ (τυ=σο, v. sound-laws), e.g. τό(τ) origl. and Sk. ta-t (nom. acc. sing. dem. pron. st. origl. ta-); /τa, τευ in τε-τα-κα, τά-νυ-μαι (stretch myself), τευνω (stretch, lengthen)=τευν-ω, origl. and Sk. ta, tan; st. τρι- (three) in τρείς, origl. and Sk. τρι-; /στα (stand), in στα-τός (placed), στά-σις (setting, revolt), ι-στη-μι (set up), origl. and Lat. sta, etc.; /στεγ in στέγ-ος (roof), στέγ-ω (cover), cf. Lith. /steg, origl. stag; /πετ in πετ-ομαί (fly), πι-π(ε)τ-ω (fall), origl. and Sk. /pat (fly, fall); πλατύς (broad), origl. pratus, Sk. prthús; suff. το of pf. pass. part., origl. and Sk. τα, etc.

The combination κτ is in most cases preserved only in Gk., while in other langg. it is softened to κs, e.g. st. τεκτον- (carpenter), Sk. tákšan-, cf. O.H.G dehsa, déhsala (axe); ἀρκτος (bear)=Lat. ursus, by Lat. sound-laws for *uresus fr. *urctus, Sk. ἄκκα, f.f. *ark-ta-s.

Note.—Upon the very uncommon softening of τ to δ in Gk. cf. G. Curt. Gr. Et. p. 469 sqq. It occurs almost without exception in obscure etymologies, not in words accurately corresponding with their kindred langg.

3. Origl. π=Γκ. π (cf. π=origl. k), e.g. /πο, πι (drink), in πό-σις (draught), πέ-πο-μαι, πέ-πω-κα, πί-νω (drink); πό-σις (husband), f.f. and Sk. πα-τίς (lord); st. πα-τέρ- (father), origl. pa-tar-, fr. /pa (protect); /πλα, e.g. in πλ-πλη-μ, πυ-πλά-ναι (fill), origl. pra fr. par, e.g. Sk. πι-παρ-μι (1 sing. pres. act.); πλατύς (broad), origl. pratus, Sk. prthús; /πλν in πλέF-ω (sail), πλόF-ος (voyage), πλυ-τός (washed), Sk. plu, origl. pru;
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\[ \sqrt[\epsilon]{\rho} \] in \( \epsilon \rho \pi \- \epsilon \tau \nu \) (creeping thing), \( \epsilon \rho \pi \- \omega \) (creep) = Sk. and § 62.

origl. \( \text{sarp-} \^m\text{i} \), Lat. \( \text{serp-} \) o, origl. \( \text{sarp} \); \( \upsilon \pi \- \nu \) (sleep), origl. and Sk. \( \text{se} \text{d} \text{p-} \text{nas} \), cf. \( \text{som-} \text{nus} = * \text{sop-} \text{nus} \), etc.

Note 1.—The softening of \( \pi \) to \( \beta \), likewise uncommon, and only found in words of obscure etymology, has been treated of by G. Curt. elsewhere. p. 471 sqq.

Note 2.—On unoriginal aspiration of tenues caused by operation of sound-laws, v. 'sound-laws.' Sometimes in Gk. as in Sk. aspirates make their appearance without visible reason. This occurs comparatively frequently in the case of \( \pi \), cf. \( \alpha \- \lambda \epsilon \iota \- \omega \) (anoint), \( \alpha \- \lambda \omega \iota \- \nu \- \eta \) (ointment), bes. \( \lambda \nu \pi \- \alpha \), \( \lambda \nu \pi \- \nu \) (grease), \( \lambda \nu \pi \- \alpha \rho \nu \) (greasy, shiny), cf. Sk. \( \sqrt[\lambda]{\nu \iota \- \rho \iota} \) (anoint), O.Bulg. \( \lambda \nu \pi \- \alpha \) (plaster), Lith. \( \lambda \nu \nu \- \tau \iota \) (cleave to); \( \beta \lambda \epsilon \iota \- \alpha \rho \nu \) (eyelid) bes. \( \beta \nu \pi \- \omega \) (glance); \( \kappa \epsilon \- \alpha \nu \lambda \nu \) (head) bes. Lat. \( \cap \nu \- \alpha \), Sk. \( \kappa \pi \- \alpha \), \( \kappa \pi \- \alpha \lambda \) (shell, skull); \( \sigma \alpha \phi \- \nu \) (clear), \( \sigma \phi \- \nu \) (sap-iens), cf. Lat. \( \text{sap-} \) o (smack, am wise), O.H.G. \( \sqrt[\sigma]{\text{s} \text{ab}} \) (understand; in pf. \( \text{int-} \text{s} \text{u} \text{a} \text{b} \), *\( \text{s} \text{a} \text{u} \text{b} \), he understands, notices), etc. Moreover, \( \mu \delta \- \nu \) (bustle) must not be coupled with Sk. \( \sqrt[\mu]{\text{math}}, \text{man} \) (i.e. \( \text{mat}, \text{mant}, \text{stir}, \) move), and O.Bulg. \( \text{mo} \- \text{t} \) (trouble), \( \text{mo} \- \text{e} \) (uproar, tumult). In \( \epsilon \- \tau \nu \chi \- \nu \) (I chanced), \( \tau \nu \chi \- \eta \) (chance), \( \tau \varepsilon \nu \chi \- \eta \nu \) (prepare), and Iön. \( \tau \epsilon \- \tau \nu \kappa \- \text{o} \nu \) (they prepared), \( \tau \nu \kappa \- \nu \) (mason's tool), we cannot suppose different roots; so too \( \delta \epsilon \chi \- \nu \) (receive) bes. Iön. \( \delta \epsilon \kappa \- \nu \) (beam), \( \delta \kappa \- \eta \) (fork) has the look of an unorigl. asp. In the perf. this unorigl. asp. has developed into a kind of medium for stem-formation, v. sub. Perf. G. Curt. Gr. Et.² p. 439 sqq. has treated at length of Unorigl. Aspiration in Gk.

Momentary sonant unaspirated consonants. § 63.

1. Origl. \( \gamma \) = Gk. \( \gamma \), \( \beta \).

Gk. \( \gamma \) = origl. \( \gamma \) (on \( \zeta \) = \( \gamma \nu \), v. sound-laws), e.g. \( \sqrt[\gamma]{\gamma \nu \nu} \) in \( \gamma \nu \nu \- \nu \) (race), \( \gamma \iota \- \gamma \) (I am born, become), Sk. \( \gamma \) a, origl. \( \gamma \); \( \sqrt[\gamma]{\gamma \nu \nu} = \gamma \) a, fr. \( \gamma \nu \nu \) in \( \gamma \nu \nu \- \sigma \kappa \nu \) (I learn), \( \gamma \nu \nu \- \eta \) (thought, opinion); \( \gamma \nu \nu \) (knee) = Sk. \( \gamma \) a, Lat. \( \gamma \nu \nu \), Goth. \( \kappa \nu \nu \); \( \sqrt[\gamma]{\gamma \nu \nu} \), origl. \( \gamma \nu \nu \) (untrue) in \( \gamma \nu \nu \- \nu \nu \) (I yoke), \( \gamma \nu \nu \- \nu \) (yoke); \( \sqrt[\gamma]{\gamma \nu \nu} \) in \( \gamma \nu \nu \- \) (lead) = Sk. \( \gamma \nu \nu \), Lat. \( \gamma \nu \nu \), O.Norse inf. \( \alpha \kappa \), 1 sing. pres. \( \epsilon \kappa \), pf. \( \delta \kappa \), etc.

Note 1.—It is only in quite detached cases that Gk. \( \delta \) seems = origl. \( \gamma \) (like \( \tau \) = origl. \( \kappa \)); thus prob. \( \delta \lambda \phi \- \nu \) (uterus) must be
§ 63. placed beside Sk. ὑάρβη-α-ς (id.), esp. since a form ἄδελφεῖός corresponds perfectly to Sk. so-garbhýas (co-uterinus) in its formn. It is worthy of note that βρέφος, too (v. sq.), stands close to Sk. ὑάρβhas.

Note 2.—On Gk. γ and Sk. h, cf. § 53, 1.

Gk. β = origl. γ (cf. § 68, 1, e); √βα in β-βη-μι, βά-σκω (go) = Sk. and origl. γα (go), in Sk. γι-γα-μι, origl. γα-γα-μι, Sk. γά-κκαμί; βαρύς (heavy) = Sk. γύρις for origl. garus, βάριστος = Sk. γαρίθθας, origl. garisthas (heaviest), cf. Lat. gravis = *garu-ι-s, Goth. kaurs (heavy, earnest) for *kaūri-s, and this prob. for *kurv-ι-s fr. *karv-ι-s; βρέφος (neut. offspring, child), Sk. γάρβha-s (masc. matrix, offspring), O.Bulg. ἐρεβείς, ἐρέβει (to foal), Goth. kalbō (fem. cow-calf); Boiot. βαύ = γυνή (wife) with root vowel a retained, f.f. of both γανά, γαν (gignere); βάλανος (acorn), cf. Lat. glans, gland-is (acorn); βλός (life) = Sk. γίρας, Lith. gývas, Goth. kius, f.f. prob. gigvas (lively); βούς (bull) = Sk. and origl. gaus; βτ-βρό-σκω (eat), Sk. βό-δ (food), √βορ, βρο, origl. gar, gra, Sk. γαρ (swallow); Lat. (g)uor-are, Lith. gér-ti (drink), Scl. żré-ti (swallow); χρε-βος (gloom of lower world), cf. Sk. ράγ-ας (gloom, dust), Goth. rihe-is (neut. darkness); √νβ in χρε-νβ (water for washing hands) for *χρε-νβ-ος, *χρε-νβ-ος, Sk. νιή, origl. níg, in Gk. retained in nίκα (wash) = *νιγ-ιο.

2. Origl. d = Gk. δ (on ζ=δή, cf. § 68); √δο, origl. δα (give), pres. δι-δω-μι, origl. da-da-mi; √δακ (bite), pres. δακ-νω, Sk. √δας, origl. dakk; √δαμ in δαμ-άω, δάμ-νμ (tame, bind), Sk. and origl. dam (domare); δόμος (house), Lat. domus, Sk. damás or damám, Scl. domu; √δις (see), origl. *vid (uidere), pf. Foidia (knew), Goth. vait, f.f. vi-vaid; χέδ, origl. and Sk. sád (sedere) in εδομαι = sád-yo-mai; √εδ, origl. and Sk. √αδ in εδ-ω, εδ-ομαι (eat, shall eat), Lat. ed-o, Goth. it-a, etc.

3. Gk. β, whose origl. existence can be found very rarely (cf. § 46), e.g. βλη-χή (bleating), βλη-χώμαι (bleat), Lat. bál-are, Scl. ble-yă, O.H.G. blā-gan; βραχύ-ς (short), Lat.
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breu-is, fr. *brequ-is, Scl. brůz-ũ; βδέ-ω (pedo), Bohem. bzdí-ti, § 63.

Lith. bezd-ėti, Germ. físt (flatus uentris sine crepitu), thence físt-en (flatum uentris emittere), Scl.-Germ. thus with spirant bef. ð (whether this spirant was inserted in Germ. or lost in Gk., H.G./f does not correctly correspond to b of other langg.), the f.f. of the root is thus bda or bsa=bad or basd.

Note.—χ, θ, φ, instead of γ, δ, β, in Gk., is barely seen in one single certain ex.; even the cases which G. Curt. (Gr. Et.² p. 449 sqq.) allows are more or less doubtful. Θεός (god) is in no way related to Διε-ός (gen. fr. Zeúς), διός (godlike), Lat. deus, divus, but, as G. Curt. makes probable, to √θες (Gr. Et.² p. 450) (pray), in θέσ-θεσθαί, πολύ-θέα-τος (much-implied), Πασι-θέν (implied by all), θέσ-φατος (said by god), θέσ-κέλος (godly), θείος for *θεϊος fr. st. θεο-, *θεσο-, with regular loss of o bef. origl. suff. ya, and loss of s (cf. ἀλήθεια, i.e. ἀληθεία fr. st. ἀληθέσ-), Lat. fes in fes-tus; μεθή (drunkenness) does not belong to Sk. √μαδ (be drunk), but to μέθω (n. intoxicating drink, wine), Sk. and origl. mádhu (honey-mead, intoxicating drink), etc. Only in pf. act. we see in later formations γ and φ bes. γ and β (ei-λαχ-α fr. λέγ-ω, τέ-θλιφ-α fr. θλίβ-ω, etc., v. post).

Original momentary sonant aspirated consonants. § 64.

1. Origl. γή=Gk. χ (on χύ=σσ, cf. § 68), e.g. χήν (goose), cf. Germ. gans, f.f. gansis, Sk. hāsā-s, i.e. *ghansas, Lith. žasis, Scl. gasī; √χυ in χέ-F-ω (pour), χύ-σις (pouring), Goth. √gu-t, H.G. gu-tis (giebt-en); √άχ, ἀγχ in ἀγχ-ω (throttle), ἀχ-νυμαι (am grieved), ἀχ-ομαί (id.) ἀχ-ος (pain, grief), ἀχ-θος (burthen), ἀχ-θομαί (am burthened), origl. agh, Sk. āh, Lat. ang, Goth. aggv; √στιχ in στείχ-ω (go), στίχ-ος (rank), στοῖχ-ος (rank, file), Sk. and origl. √stigh, Goth. stig in steigan (step vb.), staiga (path, the Slavo-Lith. do not regard aspirates); √λιχ in λειχ-ω (lick), Sk. lih, earlier rihi, i.e. rihg (lick), Goth. lig in bi-lai-gon (ἐπι-λειχ-ειν); √μιχ in ὁ-μιχ-έω (urino), ὁ-μιχ-λη (mist), Sk. mih, i.e. mich in mēh-āmi (urino), mēgh-ās (cloud), Germ. mig, e.g. Dutch mige (urina); δόλιχός (long), Sk. dirghās, f.f. darghas, etc.
§ 64. In ἔγγυς (near) = Sk. dhus, i.e. *anghus (narrow),—the Goth. aggeus (narrow) corresponds to the aspirated fms., which we hold to be origl. in this case, since we assign ἔγγυς to ἀχ, origl. agh, in ἀγχ-ω, ἀχ-ομαι, etc. (so G. Curtius).

Other isolated cases in which Gk. sonants, mostly after nasals, stand for origl. aspp., are treated by G. Curtius (Gr. Et. 3 p. 460 sqq.).

Note.—In νιφ-α (acc. snow), νιφ-ετό-ς (snow-storm), νιφ-ει (it snows), φ stands for χ, cf. Lat. mix, niu-is, for *nig-s, *nigu-is, (v. post), ning-it; the root had an initial s lost in Graeco-Italic, cf. Lith. snig-τι (to snow), sneg-αs (snow), O.Bulg. sneg-ăr (snow), Goth. snair-s (snow), Zend √ sniž (snaež-entī, 3 pl. pres. 'it snows,' lit. 'they snow'), Sk. √ snih (be damp), f.f. of root is therefore snigh.

2. Origl. dh=Gk. θ (on θυ=σο, cf. § 68), e.g. √θε, origl. dha (set), pres. τί-θη-μυ, Sk. and origl. dá-dhā-mi, Goth. √da, (do), H.G. ta, e.g. in 1 pres. tuo-m fr. *ti-tō-mi=dhadhamī; μέθυ (intoxicating drink), Sk. and origl. mādhu, O.H.G. mētu (mead); √ θ in aith-ω (kindle), Sk. and origl. √idh; θ-pθ-ρός (red), √ pθ, Sk. rudhirās, origl. rudhras, √ rudh, Goth. √ rud in raud-s, H.G. rut in röt, Lat. rūf-us, etc.

Note.—In thermuós, Sk. gharmās (heat), Lat. formus, cf. Scl. grē-ti (to warm), Germ. warm fr. *gwarm, √θερ, θέρ-ομαι (am warm), θέρ-ος (neut. summer), origl. and Sk. ghar, θ stands where we should expect χ.

3. Origl. bh=Gk. φ; √φα (shine) in φα-ινο (show), φάσ-ις (a showing), √φα (speak) in φη-μι, φά-σκω (say), φα-τις (speech, rumour), φω-νή (voice), Sk. and origl. bha, Sk. bhā-mi (shine), bhā-s (give light, shine), bhā-ś (speak), Lat. fa-ri; √θερ, 1 sing. pr. φέρ-ω (bear), Lat. fer, fero, Sk. and origl. bhar, bhār-aum, Goth. bar, baira; √φυ in φυ-ω (bring forth), φυ-τώ (plant), Lat. fu in fu-turus, fu-i, Sk. and origl. bhu, O.H.G. pi in pi-m, weakened fr. *pn, *pi-um; νήφ-ος (cloud), νεφέλη (a cloud), Sk. nabhās (a cloud), O.H.G. nēpal (cloud); ó-φρύς (eyebrow), Sk. bhrūs, O.H.G. prāca, etc.
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Note 1.—In √λαβ (λαμβάνω, ε-λαβ-ν, take, seize) bes. § 64. λάφ-νον (booty), ἀμφι-λαφ-ν (clasping), Sk. √λάβ (keep, get), β is very prob. a representative of origl. bh, caused perh. by the nasalized pres. λαμβάνω, cf. supr. ἐγγύς fr. ἐγκ; also βρέμ-ω (roar) has β for origl. bh, cf. Lat. frem-ω, Sk. bhvram-am (swarm, rove). On other isolated exx. cf. G. Curt. Gr. Et.² p. 460 sqq., Grassmann, Kuhn’s Zeitschr. xii. 91 sqq.).

Note 2.—√Fραγ in ἰττ-ννμ (break, tear), ἰττ-μα (rent), διάρραξ (broken through) for *δια-√Fραγ-ς has F for origl. bh (as in case-sf. origl. bhi the bh may even be entirely lost, v. sub. declens.), cf. Lat. √frag in frang-o, frag-μεν, frag-ιλις, Goth. √brak in brik-an (break), pf. brak. The same change occurs in √Fραγ, ἱττ-ννμ (break), ἱττ-νς (unbroken), cf. Sk. √hbaγ in bba-na-g-mi (I break), bbaγi-s (breakage). It is uncertain whether the roots hbag and bhrag are akin.

Roots which origly. began and ended with an asp. also lose in Gk. their initial asp., whereby there thus arises a tenuis (cf. sup. § 64). Thus e.g. πηχυ-ς (fore-arm) stands for *φηχυ-ς, cf. Norse bög-r, O.H.G. buoc, like Sk. bahu-s (arm) for *bhaghua-s; πνθ-μήν (base) for *φνθ-μήν, like Sk. budh-na-s (floor) for *bhuđh-na-s, cf. O.H.G. bod-am, Lat. fu-n-d-us; πενθ-ερός (father-in-law), πενθ-ερά (mother-in-law), πείσ-μα (bond, halser) for *πενθ-μα fr. √πενθ for *φενθ (bind), like Sk. bandh for *bhandh (in Sk. also ‘relationship’ derived fr. ‘bonds,’ e.g. bandh-u-s, a relation); so too the Goth. fm. band points to this (pres. bind-a, pf. band); √πενθ for *φενθ in πνθ-άνωμαι, πεπό-ομαι (learn, ask), Sk. bndh for *bhndh (be awake, know, be wise), Lith. √bud (bud-eti be awake, bud-rú-s wakeful), O.Bulg. bud (bud-eti be awake, bud-iti wake), Goth. bud (bud-an bid, though with a considerable change of meaning). A perfectly analogous phenomenon is seen in redupln.-laws (§ 68); cf. Grassm. Kuhn’s Zeitschr. xii. 110 sqq.

CONSONANTAL PROLONGED-SOUNDS. § 65.

Origl. spirants; y, s, v (the changes of origl. y, v have been treated at length by G. Curt. Gr. Et.² pp. 491-611).
§ 65. 1. Origl. \( y = \text{Gk. } ù, \varepsilon, \zeta, \prime \), is lost (on \( y \) in \( \zeta, \sigma \sigma \), cf. § 68, 1 b, d, e). From assimiln. of \( y \) to other consonn. (\( \kappa e \phi \phi \omega \) for *\( \kappa e \phi - \vartheta \omega \), \( \varepsilon \lambda \alpha \sigma \sigma \omega \nu \) for *\( \varepsilon \lambda \alpha \chi \gamma \omega \nu \), etc.), it follows that it was not lost till late in Gk. To the existence of \( y \) in Gk. evidence is given by the operation of the consonantal beginning of Hom. \( \dot{o} \dot{s} \) (as) = origl. \( \gamma \dot{a} \dot{t} \) (abl. of st. \( \gamma a - \), and that of \( \iota \eta \tau \eta \), \( \iota \mu e \nu \nu \sigma \), etc., origl. \( \sqrt[4]{y} a \) (go); even the writing of \( F \) for \( y \) in \( \text{F} \text{o} \text{t} \text{i} \) and \( \text{Th} \text{a} \text{s} \text{i} \text{o} \text{a} \text{F} \text{o} \) proves it, on which point we may follow G. Curt. Gr. Et.² no. 606, p. 354.

a. Gk. \( \iota \) = origl. \( y \), e.g. in the common st.-formative sf. origl. \( \gamma a \), Gk. \( \iota o \), thus \( \pi \alpha \tau \rho - \iota o - \varsigma \) (fatherly), origl. \( \text{patar}-\gamma a - \varsigma \); \( \tau e \lambda e \omega \), thence \( \tau e \lambda e \omega ( \text{finish} \) for *\( \tau e \lambda e \sigma - \gamma o \nu \), pres. fm. in \( \gamma a \) fr. st. \( \tau e \lambda e \sigma - \) (\( \tau e \lambda o \sigma \), neut. end), etc., vid. § 26.

Here there occurs also a transposition of origl. \( y \) after a liquid cons. to Gk. \( \iota \) before the liquid, e.g. \( \phi \theta e \iota \rho \omega \) (destroy) fr. *\( \phi \theta e \rho - \gamma o \nu \), etc., v. § 26, 3.

b. Gk. \( \epsilon \) = origl. \( y \), e.g. \( \kappa e \nu \dot{e} s \) (empty) for *\( \kappa e \nu \gamma o \sigma \), as is shown by Aiol. \( \kappa e \nu \nu \sigma \sigma \sigma \) fr. Sk. \( \chi \nu \nu \nu - a - s \) beside *\( \kappa e \nu \gamma o - s \) we may infer an origl. \( \kappa \nu \nu \nu - a - s \) common to both; \( \sigma \tau e \rho e \sigma = \sigma \tau e \rho r \sigma \) (hard, solid) fr. *\( \sigma \tau e \rho - \gamma o \sigma \); \( \theta u r e \sigma \) (door-stone, door-shaped shield) fr. *\( \theta u r \gamma o \sigma \), with origl. sf. \( \gamma a \), fr. \( \theta \rho \sigma a \), door. v. § 26, 2.

c. Gk. \( \zeta \) = origl. \( y \), e.g. \( \sqrt[4]{y} \gamma \gamma n \) in \( \chi e \nu \gamma \nu \nu \mu \) (bind), \( \gamma \rho \gamma n \) (yoke), Lat. \( i n g - u m \), Sk. \( y u g \gamma \nu m \), etc., Lat. Sk. origl. \( \sqrt[4]{y} u g \) (iungere); \( \zeta \nu \omega \) (seethe, intr.), \( \sqrt[4]{y} e s \), cf. \( \dot{e} - \zeta e - s - \mu a i \), \( \zeta e - s - t o s \), O.H.G. \( j e s - a n \) (H.G. \( g a r e n \)), f.f. of root is \( y a s \); \( \zeta e \) \( F a \) (spelt), Lith. \( \gamma \nu \nu \nu s \), pl. \( \gamma u \nu \nu i \) (barley), Sk. st. \( \gamma a - u \) (grain).

Note.—A \( d \) has been here developed bef. origl. \( y \), for \( \zeta = d \dot{z} \) or \( d y \), precisely as in other langg. we find a change fr. \( y \) to \( d y \), and further to \( d \dot{z} \), e.g. Lat. \( m a i o r e m \), middle-Lat. \( m a d i o r e m \). It. \( m a g g i o r e \), i.e. \( m a d \sigma o r e \); Prükt \( j u t t a - \), i.e. \( d \dot{z} u t t a - = y u k t a - \).

G. Curtius (Gr. Et.² p. 550 sqq.) compares this \( d y \) for \( y \) with \( g v \) for \( v \), which appears not unfrequently in later periods of speech (e.g. It. \( g u a s t e r e \) fr. Lat. \( u a s t a r e \)). Curt. also adds \( d e = \) origl. \( y \), in sf. \( d i o - \) (e.g. \( k r u p n a - d i o s \), secret) = origl. \( y a \), and \( d e = * d y = \) origl. \( y \) in sf. \( d e o - \) (e.g. \( \dot{a} d e l f i - d e o - s \), nephew), and
further δ=origl. y by entire loss of y after the δ wh. it pro-
duced, through intermed. step. *δy. This case is indisputable in
Boiot. δυρό-v (yoke)=*δυρο-ον-υ=δυρό-v=origl. υυγα-m (yoke);
further G. Curt. assumes it in δη (iamb.) for *δυα, *γα, perh. an
instr. pron. st. origl. ya, cf. Lat. iam, Lith. yau, Goth. H.G.
ju, and others fr. same st.; it then becomes evident that the δ
of apparent sf. -ιδ- is nothing but iy for i, e.g. μην-νυ-ος and
μην-νιδ-ος fr. μην-νυ-ς (wrath; √ma, think, also be wroth, sf. ni)
θε-τιν-ος and θε-τιδ-ος; each case formed by sf. τι, also ϕρον-τιδ-ος,
εριδ-ος bes. εριν-υ, etc.; everywhere therefore we must presuppose
in these cases a Gk. f.f. such as *μην-νυ-ος, *θε-τιν-ος. Also
the sf. aδ and others with δ are due to origl. y acc. to Curtius.
Though we cannot treat in detail of the deductions of G.
Curtius, we may remark in general on his opinion, that whilst
y is remarkably common in st.-formation of Indo-Eur., δ is
a rare element, so that we see scarcely any other possibility of
bringing the above-named Gk. fms. into harmony with those
of the kindred langg. The assumption of so many terms, in
special cases of later Gk. forms is, however, not perfectly cer-
tain; nevertheless that y=δ in δυρούν is beyond doubt. Further
the dental certainly corresponds to origl. y in χθες=χδς,
*χγες, *χγες=Sk. hyas (yesterday), f.f. χγες, cf. Lat. her-i,
hes-ternus, Goth. gis-tra-dagis. What we admit in these cases
is possible in others too.

d. Gk.*=origl. y, e.g. ἵππος (liver), cf. Lat. iecur, Sk. yākrt;
ἄγων (holy), Sk. yāγγας (to honour, worship), origl. √yag;
ἄρα (season), cf. O.Bulg. jare (n. year), Goth. yēr, O.H.G. jār;
υσινιν (retained only in loc. sg. υσινιν-ι, υσινι (combat),
υσιν beff. μ for ιθ=Sk. yudh (fight), e.g. in yudh-ma-s (fight,
fighter), yudh-mana-m (fight), which agrees with the Gk. in
the sf. also; ύμε-ις (you), cf. Sk. yuṣmā-t (abl.; it here depends
of course from the stem only), Lith. jūs (you), etc.

e. In Gk. y is entirely lost (cf. § 27), e.g. initial y in Aiol.
υμε-ις (you), cf. Sk. yuṣmā-t (abl.); ϒτι in Sappho fr. st. ι-
=origl. ya-. In the middle of words this loss is more frequent;
after consonn., e.g. in termn. of fut. -σω for *σω, cf. Dör. fm.
-σω=Sk. and origl. -syā-mi; betw. vowels the loss of y is
commonest of all, as in the termns. of derivative vbs. -έω, -άω,
-ώ, which alike represent the origl. and Sk. -ayāmi, e.g. φορέω
§ 65. (bear) = Sk. and origl. bhar-ayami; in cases like τελέω fr. τελείω, for *τελεσ-γο, with origl. sf. ya fr. st. τελεσ- (τέλος neut. end), in -υο for -υναω (φυω earlier φυω, f.f. bhuyani, etc.); in gen. sg. masc. and neut. of o-st., origl. a-st., e.g. ἵππου fr. ἵπποο, and this certainly fr. ἵπποον, which stands for *ἵπποσγο, origl. akvasya; πλέον (more) bes. πλείου, f.f. πρα-γανς, comp. fr. ἱπαρ, πρα in πολ-υ- (many), f.f. παρ-υ-. Thus in most cases, before y entirely disappeared, it became i.

Note.—The assimiln. of y to other consonns., e.g. λαλυ and the like, and its combination with gutt. and dentt. as 菽, σα, is treated of under ‘sound-laws,’ § 68.

2. Origl. s = Gk. σ, is lost.

a. Gk. σ = origl. s in termn. and bef. mutes, more rarely bef. vowels, e.g. βς, origl. as (esse), ἕσ-τι, Sk. and origl. ἄσ-τι (he is); st. μενε- n. μένος (might, strength), origl. and Sk. mānas; sf. of nom. sg. masc. fem. -ς, e.g. πόσις, ὅψ = ἰόπ-ς, Sk. and origl. πάτις, origl. ὑάκ-ς; sf. gen. sg. ὁς, origl. -ας, e.g. ἱοτ-ός, origl. ὑάκ-ας, Sk. ὑάκ-ας, etc.; ὑστορ, Sk. and origl. star, e.g. in 1 sg. pres. στορ-ἀνυμ, στόρ-νυμ (spread), Sk. str-νομί, origl. star-naumi, etc.; ὑστα, ἵστημι (set), origl. sta-sti-mi, Lat. and origl. sta; ὁς bes. ὧς (swine), Lat. sūs, O.H.G. sū; σέβ-ομαι (be in awe of), σεμ-νός (awful) for *σεβ-νος, σοφ-δς (wise), and others show likewise init. s bef. vowel; σιγάω (am silent) bes. O.H.G. swigēn has exceptionally σ for older sv, which regularly should become ʷ; it is also found in σκλ-ήνη (moon), fr. origl. ὑσκαρ (shine), and perh. in some other instt., cf. σκλ-ας (sheen), ἕλ-άνη (torch), with usual sound-change, fr. same root (cf. G. Curt. Gk. Et. p. 625). This ʷ bes. ʷ, we must prob. consider to be an archaïsm, which has been partially retained.

b. Gk. ʷ = origl. s, when it is initial before a vowel or origl. τ, e.g. ἕδ, ἐδ-ος, ἐδ-πα (seat), ἐξομαί (set myself, sit) for *ἐδ-γομαί, Lat. sed, origl. and Sk. ὁδ (sit); ἐπτά (seven), Lat. septem, origl. and Sk. saptán-; ἕτ in Ἔτ-ω, Ἔπ-ομαί (follow),
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Lat. sequ-or, Sk. √sak, origl. sak; ζνυος (sleep), origl. and Sk. § 65. σπάνας; ἡδος (sweet), f.f. Sk. and origl. svadās; pron. √έ, ὑ, in ὦ, ὦ, κ (sui, sibi, se), δς (suos), origl. and Sk. sva-; ἐκυρός (father-in-law), f.f. svākas, Sk. ẓvākas for svākas, Lat. socer, Goth. svathra, etc.

Note.—It is not probable that the ' (which regularly represents σ) in words which origly. began with sv compensates for the v, and that s afterwards entirely disappeared from before it. If the earlier lang. shows F even then, we may prob. assume that the sign of the asp. was not written bef. F, and that we must theref. read Fé and the like as lve; the long duration of s in Gk. seems proved by parallel fms. in diall., such as σφός.

Not uncommonly we find medial ' after vowel transferred to initial ' bef. vowel; e.g. ἰερός (strong, holy) fr. *ἰ̣ερός, *ἰσερός =Sk. ἱσιράς (strong, fresh); εἰπόμην fr. *ἐ-ἐπομήν, *ἐ-σεπομήν, √ἐπ (follow) for *σεπ, origl. sak; εἰστήκειν fr. *ἐ-ἐστήκειν, *ἐ-σεστήκειν, √στα (stand), redupld. sa-sta, *σε-στα; ἐς bes. εὐω (kindle), √ .=, origl. us, Sk. ὕ (burn), f.f. ausāmi, in Gk. first *ἐυόω, *ἐώο; ἐός (dawn) for *ἐός fr. *ἐώς, *ἐFως, cf. Aiol. αὔς for *αύς (ἦς by compens. lengthening for *άFως), f.f. of st. is aus-as-, cf. Sk. ὕ-άς- (f. dawn), fr. same √us, Lat. aurora for *aus-ός-a, likewise, as in Gk., with step-formn. of root; ἦμαι (sit) for *هوات-μαι, cf. Sk. ἄς-έ for *άς-mai, here in Gk. the init. ' became fixed by analogy throughout, and is added also in ἦσ-ται for *涢⃦-ται=Sk. ἄς-τε; ἦμεις (we), cf. Sk. as-má-t, ἦμεις thus stands by compens. lengthening for *涢-μεις, whence the parall. fm. ἦμεις=涢-μεις, in which the σ has become assimilated to the μ; in ἦμεις therefore the real s is doubly represented.

Note.—At first sight ἐός bes. σφός and ὅς seems clearly fr. a Gk. f.f. *σFως, viz. ἐός for *ἐός (chōs) fr. *ἐFως (chōs), and this fr. *ἐσFως, *ἐ-σFως for *σFως, with the favourite vowel-prefix, which does not occur in σφός and ὅς; but when we recollect the Lat. suus, earlier souos, i.e. *seus (§ 33, 2), we are
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§ 65. led back to a special Gr.-Ital. f.f. *sevos (cf. Lith. sávo fr. an unused *sava-s suus), which necessarily becomes in Lat. souos, suus, in Gk. τεφός; then too we must understand τεφός=*τεφός =tuus, i.e. *toros, *teros, Lith. tài-a-s (tuus). Cf. § 26 n.

Sometimes † appears as a later addition; it seems that the sensibility of the lang. to the distinction betw. † (h) and † (Semit. ‘elif’) began to decay rather early (cf. e.), thus e.g. in ἵππος (horse) fr. *ίκιςός, cf. the extant fm. ἵκκος, Lat. equus, Sk. ázvas, f.f. akvas; that † occurs here only in later times is proved by forms like Λεύχιππος, Ἀλκίππος, which otherwise would have been pronounced *Λευχίππος, *Αλκίππος; ὅπτερος (later)=Sk. út-taras; ὅ is so frequently an initial sound, for origl. su, sea, that the more uncommon beginnings which would properly be ὅ, followed the analogy of ὅ; here belongs prob. ὕξωρ (water), cf. Boiot. oύξωρ, Lat. unda, Sk. ud-am, ud-akám (water), Goth. vató, Lith. vandū (with earlier vad=ud); ὅφ-η, ὅφ-ος (web), ὅφ-αίνω (weave), cf. Germ. ὅκαβ (weave), Sk. úrma-vābh-i-s (m. spider, lit. woolweaver), ὅβαβ, fr. which therefore may arise regularly a fm. ubh, Gk. ὅ; for *ሁ, ὅφ, in these words, we must presuppose an origl. vad, vab, for which through loss of a arose ud, ubh.

c. In Gk. origl. s, or rather †, which arose fr. origl. s, is entirely lost (cf. § 28). This occurs regularly in middle of words betw. vowels, and more rarely in initio bef. vowels, whilst it is regular bef. initial ὅ and ὅ; e.g. μένος, gen. μένους fr. μένεος, *μενεάως, f.f. and Sk. mánasas; φέρη fr. *φερέσαι, origl. bharasai; μῦς (mouse), gen. μῦς=Lat. mus, muris, both fr. *musas; Fwós (poison) for *Fwós=Lat. uirus, Sk. viša-s and viša-m; etc. Yet we also find s kept betw. vowels, e.g. διό-σαι, τίθε-σαι, ἵστα-σαι.

In initio bef. vowels † has fallen out in ὅ- (for and bes. ὅ-), ὅ=origl. and Sk. sa- (with), e.g. in ὅ-δελφεός, ὅ-δελφός (brother, lit. couterinus, cf. δελφός uterus); ὅ-λόχος (spouse, consors tori, cf. λέχος, bed); ὅ-πατρος (having the same father, cf. πατήρ), etc., bes. ὅ-πας (all); ἑτέος (true, correct)=Sk. satýá-s; ἑχ
(in ἓχ-ω hold, have) = Sk. sah (sāh-atē, he holds, carries; this § 65. √ἔχ= sagh is confused in Gk. with √vagē, uhere); ἴδω (sweat), Sk. and f.f. śvāKyāmi, bes. ἴδ-ρῶς (sweat); ἥδ-ος (pleasure, delight) bes. ἵδ-ύς (sweat) = Sk. and origl. śvād-ūs, √svād; σόλο-ς (Old-Ep. and Ion.) bes. σλός (whole), Gk. f.f. sōlov-s = Lat. salvo-s, sōlo-s = Sk. sāvra-s; ἐ-σταλ-κα, pf. fr. pres. στέλ-λω (place, send) for *ἐ-σταλ-κα, *σε-σταλ-κα; ἐ-σπαρ-μαι, pf. pass. fr. σπείρω (sow) = *σπερ-γω, similarly for *ἐ-σπ, *σε-σπ.

We see that the dropping of the h-sound, which has taken place throughout in mod. Gk., began even very early (G. Curt. Gr. Et. 2 p. 612 sqq.). The feeling of the lang. for h was weakened even in early Gk. (cf. supr. 2, b.).

Note.—The st. ὄντ- in ὄννυ=*όντ-ς, ὄνσα=*όντγα, ὄν=*όντ= origl. as-ant-, pres. part. act. of origl. ἄσ (esse), only apparently belongs here. The earlier fms. of this part. ἐω, etc., point to a once-existent fm. *ἐόντ-, *ἐσ-όντ-, with √ἐς preserved, fr. which fm. the s regularly dropped out. *ἐς-όντ- thus became ἐόντ-, later the e fell off, and thus arose ὄντ-.

s falls away bef. v in νύς (bride, daughter-in-law), Lat. nurus, but O.H.G. snur, snura, Sk. snušā, O.Bulg. snučha, accordingly we must assume also a Gk. f.f. *σνυσο-ς; √ν in νέμ-ω (swim), impf. however in Hom. ἐνενω fr. *ἐ-σνε-ιν-, Sk. and origl. √σνω (flow, drip).

s is lost bef. ρ in √ρυ (flow), ἰέω, ῥυτός = Sk. and origl. σρυ, Germ. stru, with inserted t, in strōm, Lith. sru and stru, Sl. stru in o-strov-ū (περιφρύτις, i.e. isle). Also here s is preserved by assimiln. to ρ, e.g. ἡρύη, ἡρεύης for *ἐ-σρη-ην, *ἐ-σρην-σα.

Also in √μερ in μερ-μερ-ος (careful), μέρ-μνα (care), μάρ-τυς (witness), as in Lat. me-mor and Germ. māri (felt), the s is lost which is preserved in Sk. smar, pres. smārāmi (I remember, recall). The same loss perh. occurs elsewhere, though σμ was not disliked as an initial sound.

Before other sounds the loss of s is rarer, yet cf. ταῦρο-ς (bull), Lat. tauru-s, O.Bulg. turū, with Sk. sthūrā-s (bull), Zend
§ 65. *staora- (larger cattle, draught-oxen), Goth. *stuir (bull, calf); stirs the interchange betw. στ and τ is prob. merely a dialectical one, e.g. τέγ-ος; bes. στέγ-ω (roof), στέγ-ω (cover), Lith. *stog-as (roof), *steg-ti (to cover), Sk. *sthag, origl. *stag (cf. Lat. teg-o, Germ. decken, dak, without initial s). For further exx. of this phenomenon, which is hard to decide upon, vid. G. Curt. Gr. Et. p. 621 sqq.

The assimiln. of s to other consonns. is treated, § 68; the loss of s with compns. lengthening, § 28.

3. Origl. v = Gk. v, F, which was lost in the later langg.; origl. v is expressed by ´.

a. Gk. v = origl. v, e.g. δύω, δύο, which bes. δώδεκα proves an early Gk. st. δόω = Sk. *deva-; the same holds good in κόνω (dog), bes. Lat. canis for *quani-s, Sk. *gevā (nom. sing. for *gvan-s, st. gvan-, sun-), and in some other cases. It is very hard to decide whether v or u was the origl. here; perh. uv (Engl. w) is the earliest.

On the Aiolic vocalisation of v between vowels (χεύω = χεύω, etc.), so too on the transposition of v near liquid consonants, as e.g. γονός = Aiolic γόνος from *γονός, st. γονυ- (knee), with -os of the gen. sg., before which v, that is u, passes over into F, δουρός, δουρατός, fr. *δορός, *δορατός, from which are explained also δορός, δόρατος, by loss of v, cf. nom. δόρυ (spear), v. supra § 26 b, 1, 3.

b. Gk. F,¹ which was lost in the later stage, = origl. v (cf. § 27), e.g. Φόνος (wine), cf. Lat. uinum, O.Lat. uenom, f.f. of st. vaina- (or, acc. to Gk., vaina-); Φόκος (house), Lat. uicus, i.e. O.Lat. ueicos, Sk. vēca-s, origl. vaika-s; Fērgon (work), √Ferg = Sk. erj, ārj, Germ. vark (work, to work), origl. varg; √Fdi (see, know), origl. Sk. vid, Lat. uid, Germ. vit, e.g. in Fīδ-μεν = Sk. and origl. vid-mási, Fōīda = Sk. vēda, Goth. vait.

¹ J. Savelsberg, “de digamma eiusque immutationibus dissertatio,” pars i. Aquisgrani, 1864; pars ii. 1866.
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f.f. vivaída; √Feπ, speak = Lat. uoc for *uec, Sk. vak, origl. vak, § 65. e.g. in Féπ-os (word) = Sk. vák-as (speech); δFis (sheep) = Lat.ouis, Lith. and origl. axis; ωωω for *ωFiov, f.f. ávya-m, fr. origl. avi-s, Lat. au-s (bird); véFos (new) = Lat. nounus for *neunos, Sk. and f.f. náva-s; πλέF-ω (sail), √πλν = Lat. *plou-o for *pleu-o (pluo), Sk. and origl. plán-amí; ōF-ω (flow), √óv, origl. and Sk. saF-ωmi, √svu, cf. πεv-μα (stream); sf. -Feντ- = Sk. and origl. vav<; in /eTT-o? (word) = Sk. vdó-as (speech); 6fa (sheep) =: Lat. outs, Lith. and origl. avis; a)ov for *wFt,ov, f.f. dvya-m, fr. origl. fle?/-s, Lat. aui-s (bird); vbFo^ (new) = Lat. noiius for *neiios, Sk. and f.f. ndva-s, ndkeF-a) (sail), -v/ttXu—Lat. *plou-o for *pleu-o (pluo), Sk. and origl. -mw^ (e.g. in a-Tov6-Fea-a-av=-F€T-pav, with loss of nasal); vav< (ship), gen. m'/o9=Sk. and origl. ndus, gen. ndv-d; after consonn. e.g. in BcoBeKa (twelve), S? (twice), for *SF(o-BeKa *BFi-<i, st. S/?o-, 8A-, origl. dva- (cf. 8?;o); BopFo^, *<yovFaTo^, cf. So/jy (spear), 701/v (knee), etc.

Note.—Thus vυ can disappear in medio betw. vowels; this occurs in sf. tαv-ya, formed by yα and step.-formn. of stem termn. of abstracts in tu, sounded in Gk. as τέα, e.g. δοτέος (dandus) = Sk. dátáeyas; θετέος (ponendus) = Sk. dhátáeyas.

c. Gk. ‘ = origl. v in έσπερος, έσπέρα (evening), cf. Lat. uesper, uespera; ήτ-τορ bes. ητ-τορ, a fm. which we expect according to Fld-mev, st. Fid-tor- (knowing, witness), thence ιτορ-ια (questioning, history), √Fd; έννυμι (clothe), είμα (garment), Αιολ. Φεμμα= *Fεσ-νυμι, *Fεσ-μα, √Fes, cf. Lat. ues-tive, Sk. and f.f. of √vas: ‘ may, however, here have arisen also fr. s, and then been transposed: cf. supra. 2 b.

Note.—In isolated exx. β = origl. v, βολομαι (I will), which we hold stands for *βολομαι (cf. Sk. vrné, f.f. var-na-mai); to which Αιολ. βόλλομαι and βόλλα=βουλή (will, council) seem to bear evidence; ου would thus arise fr. o by compensatory lengthening, in place of the lost v; √βολ for *Fol corresponds to the Lat. uel, uol (in uel-le, uol-t), Sk. and origl. var (choose, will); δροβός- (vetch) bes. Lat. eruo-m, O.H.G. aruevo, cf. H.G. erbsae. For other exx. of this correspondence of sound v. G. Curt. Gr. Et.² p. 514 sqq. Dialectically β for origl. v occurs more often, e.g. Λακ. Βέργον, βίδεω, for Φέργον (work), Fδεω (see), origl. √varg, √vid; Lesb. Αιολ. βρίζα (root), βρόδον (rose), for Φρίζα, Φρόδον, etc. Yet it is not unlikely that here (except in comb.
§ 65. $\beta \rho = F \rho$) $\beta$ is practically only a character representing the $v$-sound instead of $F$.

Quite beside the ordinary rule we find $\sigma \phi = \text{earlier } sv$ in pron. st. $\sigma \phi e$, $\sigma \phi o$- ($\sigma \phi \epsilon \iota$, you, $\sigma \phi -\tau e\rho o$, $\sigma \phi -\sigma$, your$)=Sk.$ and origl. $\sigma v\alpha$-; in $\sigma \phi \omega$ (you two) for $*\sigma F \omega$, $*\tau F \omega$, fr. $\sigma \upsilon$, Dor. $\tau \upsilon$, origl. $tu$ (thou); here $\sigma \phi$ arises, prob. early, for $sp$, in consequence of the aspirating force of $s$ (v. sub. § 68); so, too, $\sigma \phi \gamma \gamma \sigma$ bes. $\sigma \tau \gamma \gamma \sigma$, $\sigma \tau \gamma \gamma \gamma \alpha$, which corresponds in root to the Goth. $s w a m n s$, st. $s w a m n a$- (Lat. $f u n g u s$ is perh. borrowed fr. Gk.).; $sp$ here occurs exceptionally for $sv$, as takes place sometimes in Zend; in Hom. $\phi \gamma$ (as) for $*\sigma \phi \eta$, cf. Goth. $s r e$ (as), the initial $s$ has been lost (G. Curt. p. 387).

Origl. $v$ is said to be $= \mu$ in $\acute{a} v \mu \delta s$ (lamb) for $*\acute{a} F i -v o-\sigma$, fr. origl. $a e i -s$, Gk. $\acute{e} F i -s$ (sheep), and in other single instt. more or less doubtful (G. Curt. p. 521).

Still more doubtful is the change from $v$ to $\gamma$ (G. Curt., p. 527 sqq.).

On the assimiln. of $v$ to other consonn. e.g. $\tau e \sigma F a p e s = *\tau e \sigma F a p e s$, $*\tau e F a p e s$, v. ‘sound-laws.’

§ 66. Nasals.

1. Origl. $n = Gk. v$ (cf. sound-laws for medial and final loss of origl. $n$ in Gk.); e.g. $v e F o s$ (new)$=Sk.$ and origl. $n a v a s$; $n a v \epsilon$ (ship)$=Sk.$ $n a u s$, Lat. $n a u s$; $\acute{a} -v i p$ (man), st. $v e p -$ $=Sk.$ and origl. $n a r -$; $e v e F a$ (nine), Lat. $n o u m$, Sk. and f.f. $n a v a n -$; $\sqrt{v e k}$ in $v e k -v o s$, $v e k -r o s$ (corpse)$=L a t.$ $n e c$ in $n e c -a r e$, Sk. $n a c$, origl. $n a k$; neg. $\dot{a} n =$ origl. and Sk. $a n -$; $\sqrt{\dot{a} u n}$, origl. and Sk. $a n$ (blow) in $\acute{a} n -e m o s$ (wind)$=L a t.$ $a n -i m u s$, cf. Sk. $a n -i l i s$ (wind); $\sqrt{\gamma e n}$ in $\gamma e n -o s$ (race), $\gamma l -\gamma (e)n-o m a i$ (become)$=L a t.$ $g e n$, origl. $g a n$; $\sqrt{\mu e n}$, origl. and Sk. $m a n$ (think) in $\mu e n -o s$ (mind, might)$=Sk.$ $m a n -a s$; 3 pl. vb. $-v r i$ ($-v a i)$ $=Sk.$ and origl. $-n t i$, e.g. $\phi e r o u t i$, $\phi e r o u s i = Sk.$ and origl. $b h a r a n t i$, etc.

Before gutturals in Gk. the nasal becomes guttural, origl. $n k$, $n g$, $n g h = G k.$ $g k$, $g g$, $g \chi$; bef. labials it is labial. Accordingly the radical nasal, origl. $n$, which occurs after the root in the case of certain present-forms, remains, as in $\tau e \mu -n o$ (I cut; cf. aor. $\acute{e}-t a m -o u$), is $v$ bef. dentt., e.g. $\lambda a \theta -\acute{a} n o$ (escape notice), cf. $\acute{e}-\lambda a \theta -o v$; it becomes $\mu$ bef. labb., e.g. $\lambda a \mu \beta -\acute{a} n o$ (take), cf.
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The same interchange is seen besides naturally in compds. where σμ- is changed to σμ-, ση-, according to the quality of the following conson.

Note 1.—√γαμ in γάμ-ος (marry), γαμ-έω (marry), is, like Lith. √γαμ (γιμ-ει, am born, πρι-γιμ-εις, nature, γαμ-ει-τι, beget, furnish), a further fr. γαμ (γαμ-ος), developed early to γε-ν (the meang. ‘beget’ through that of ‘marry’); μ is here not fr. ν in γε-ν. In γαμ-βόσ (son-in-law) for γαμ-ρο-σ we conjecture a ‘popular’ etymology fr. γαμ-έω, through which an earlier γαμ-ρο-σ=Lat. gener, i.e. *gen-ρο-σ (son-in-law), may have passed to γαμ-ρο-σ; cf. Lith. ἕν-τα-ς (son-in-law), f.f. γαν-τα-ς, O. Bulg. цети (id.), f.f. γαν-τι-ς, similarly fr. γαν; cf. § 75, 2, n.

Note 2.—Ἀλλος (other)=Lat. alius, Goth. alis, we hold to be unconnected with Sk. ἀνύας (other), with G. Curt., and see in it a fr. origl. pron. γι. That such a root existed is proved by st.-frative sf. ῥα (v. post). Corss. (Krit. Beitr. p. 295 sqq.) divides them thus: α-λι-ς, α-λιυ-ς, *α-λιο-ς, because he holds the α to represent pron. για (dem. e.g. Sk. gen. sg. masc. nt. α-σιά), λι, λιυ, to be sf. τα-λι-ς, ψα-λι-ς.

2. Origl. m.=Gk. μ, ν (the latter in termn.), e.g. st. με-, μο-, εμε-, εμο- (pron. pers. 1)=Lat. me-, Germ. mi- (in mi-ch, mi-r), Sk. and origl. ma-, thence -μι, pl. -μεν, Dör. -μες, 1 sg. pl. vb. =origl. and Sk. -μι, -μασι (e.g. ελ-μι=origl. αι-μι, Sk. εμι; εμεν=Sk. and origl. εμα-σι); μενο-ς (μένος)=μεθ-γος (v. post, § 68, 1), e)=Lat. mediu-ς, Sk. and origl. mάδhiya-ς, Goth. midzi-ς; st. μήτερ (mother), Sk. and origl. mätar-; μεν, μνα, origl. and Sk. man (think), in μ-μνι-σκο (remember), μέν-ος (mind, might)=Sk. and origl. mānas; μεθυ (intoxicating drink), Sk. and origl. mādu, O.H.G. mētu; άμα (together, with), δμ-ς=Sk. sama-ς (similar, like), sama-ς, sama- (δμ-ς), cf. Lat. sim-illis, sim-ul, Goth. sama (same); √θεμ (εμε-ω)=Lat. άμν in άμν o, for *uemo, Lith. vem (1 sg. pres. vem-iui), Sk. and origl. vam (spue, 1 sg. pres. vam-ami). Final m becomes ν, e.g. sign of acc. ν=origl. m, e.g. το-ν=Sk. and origl. ta-m, cf. Lat. is-tu-m; ν=ν as sf. of 1 pers. sing., e.g. εφερό-ν=Sk. and origl. abhara-m.
§ 66. Note.—The exx. which are intended to prove medial ν to be a representative of origl. m (cf. Curt. Gr. Et. 2 p. 476 sqq.) are all doubtful. Thus e.g. βαλνο (go) fr. *βαν-ῡο, which must not be assigned to Sk. √γαν, but to √γας comes fr. the common formatives of the present st. na and ya; in χθών (earth), st. χθον-, bes. χθαμαλός (lowly, on the earth), cf. χαμάι (on the earth), Zend st. zem- (earth), O. Bulg. zemya, zemiya, Lith. zéme (earth), the ν seems to have penetrated inwards from the termn.: so, too, perh. st. χών- (χιών, snow) bes. Lat. hiem (p)s, Sk. hima-s (snow, cold), Zend st. zim-, zim-a (winter, cold), O. Bulg. zima-, Lith. zémà (winter).

§ 67. r- and l-sounds.

Origl. r = Gk. ρ, λ.

Gk. ρ = origl. r, e.g. in √ρυθ (be red), Sk. and origl. rudh; suff. -ρο, Sk. and origl. -τα, both in ε-ρυθ-ρός (red) = Sk. rudh-iru-s, Lat. ruber, i.e. *rub-ros, origl. rudh-ra-s; √ἄρ in ἄρ-όω (plough), ἄρ-οτρον (a plough), cf. Lat. ar-o, ar-atrum, Goth. ar-yan, Lith. ár-li, Scl. or-at (plough); √ὀρ in ὀρ-νυμ (rise), Lat. or, Sk. ar in r-νόμι (orior); √ῥυ, Sk. and origl. sru, flow, etc.

Gk. λ = origl. r, e.g. in √λυκ in λευκ-ός (white), Lat. luc, Germ. luh, Sk. ruk, origl. ruk (shine); √πολ, πλε, Sk. and origl. par (fill), in πολύς (many), Sk. parus for origl. parus, πιμ-πλη-μυ (fill); ε-λαχύς (small) = Sk. laghús; δολιχός (long), Sk. dirghás, Zend daregh, origl. dargha-s; δλος (whole) for *δλFos, Lat. sollus for *solluos, Sk. sáre-sa, etc.

§ 68. Some important sound-laws.

Medial.

1. Assimilation.

a. Perfect assimiln. of a preceding to a following sound; e.g. of s to ν, μ following, ἐννυμι (clothe) = *Feo-νυμι; Αιολ. ὀρενος (mountainous) = *ορεο-νος fr. ὀρος (mountain), st. ὀρε- sf. -νο; Αιολ. ἐμμι (am) = *εμ-μι; ει-μι, ὀρε-νός, represent the double cons. by compensatory lengthening. Not unfrequently consonants which were afterwards lost are preserved in
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such assimilns., e.g. περιφρήγια (sea-girt) for *περι-σρυ-το-ς, /φυ § 68. (flow, ἰφ-ο) for *σρυ, Sk. and origl. sru, Germ. stru (with inserted t), etc.; ἀφρήγκτος (unbreakable, unbroken) for *ἀ-φρηγ-το-ς, /φραγ (φρήγ-νυμ, break, Φρήγις, rent, for *Φρηγ-τι-ς); φιλομ-μειδῆς (freely smiling) for *φιλο-σμει-δης, /μ for *σμι, Sk. and origl. smi, O. Bulg. smi, etc.

The assimiln. of momentary labb. to following μ is well known; e.g. γράμμα (writing) for *γραφ-μα (γέ-γραμμαi for *γεγραφ-μαι, 1 pf. med. fr. γράφ-ω, write), etc., and the assimilns. which perh. occur only in compds., e.g. συλλέγω, συφρέω, and the like.

In the commonest of these cases, i.e. in assimiln. of all the dentals (including ν) to a following s, the double s so produced was not tolerated in the later form of lang., even when s was medial and followed a short vowel: only the archaic (Hom.) lang. shows such forms as τοσσί fr. *ποδ-σι (loc. pl. fr. ποδ-, foot); throughout s is the only trace of the process of assimiln., not seldom (especially in nom. sing. and where ντ, νδ, νθ, were originally existent) accompanied by compensatory lengthening of precedg. vowels (cf. § 28), in which cases, perh. not common, we must assume an assimiln. of the ν by resolution into a vowel-sound. This is a well-known sound-law, to which belong such exx. as loc. pl. σώματα(τ)-σι, πο(δ)-σι, κόρυθ(θ)-σι, δαίμον(υ)-σι. The s which produces the assimiln. is often unorigl., i.e. has arisen, through the action of a previous sound-law (v. infr.), from τ, e.g. τελίς (feeling) fr. st. τενθ- (cf. τένθος, grief) and suff. -σι-σ fr. -τι-ς. Compensatory lengthening occurs in such cases as εἰδώς=*Ειδώτ-ς, δαίμων=*δαίμων-ς, φέροντι=*φεροντ- fr. φέροντι; ν+dent. must both be lost before s, e.g. σπείρω fr. *σπευδ-σω, σπείρομαι fr. *σπευθ-σομαι, τιθελ fr. *τιθελτ-ς, χαρέ-εις fr. *χαρε-Feυτ-ς (φέρων, however, fr. *φεροντ-ς, v. § 28, 3; χαρέσσα fr. *χαρεFeυτ-ya [v. c.], without compensatory lengthening, because no ν was originally there).

Moreover, in this place belong the cases in which the assimiln. takes place together with the loss of the former consonant, e.g.
§ 68. διδάσκω (learn) for *διδαχ-σκω, cf. διδαχ-ή (teaching); λάσκω (cry out, speak) for *λακ-σκω, cf. ε-λακ-ουν; ἕψευκα for *ἕψευν-κα fr. ψεύδ-ω (tell lies), etc.

b. Complete assimiln. of a following to a preceding sound.

This kind of assimiln. is, like the former, an especial favourite in the Aiol. dialects, whilst elsewhere, instead of the double consonn., compensatory lengthening (§ 28) of the preceding vowel, or transposn. of v and y generally occurs. Thus F, y, and σ become assimilated to a preceding liquid, F and y sometimes to other sounds also, viz. σ, y, to τ, δ; e.g. γόνως=γονώς =*γονF-ος, gen. fr. st. γονυ- (knee); st. πολλό- for *πολυο-, a further fmn. through o, origl. a, fr. st. πολύ- (many), origl. παρ-υ-; ἵππος (horse) fr. *ἵππος, ἵκος (cf. sideform ἱκκος), origl. ἀκ-ας; κτένω (kill)=κτείνω=*κτεύν-ωυ; χέριν=χείρων (worse) =*χερ-γον, etc. In the case of λγ the assimiln. has been retained in other diall. ; στέλλω (send)=*στελ-λων; ἀλλος (other) =*ἄλγος, Lat. alius; except ὤφειλω (owe) fr. ὤφελων, and perh. a few others; πτίσσω (peel)=*πτισ-γον (ἐ-πτισ-μαι), cf. Lat. ἱπιν in pinso, pis-tor, Sk. pis (e.g. pi-nás-ti, Lat. ponsit); this does not often happen, s usually is lost, and also y at a later period, cf. supr. § 65, 1, a, e; ποδ-εσσυ fr. *ποδεσσυI, -συI=origl. -σα, is termn. of loc. pl., ποδε- is the noun-st. fr. earlier ποδ- (foot); in this case also the later lang. has only one σ, e.g. πόλεσι, γλυκέσι, which never disappears from between the two vowels, because it stands for σσ. τέταρτος, τέσσαρες (four), fr. *τετFαρες (f.f. κατεράς), and thence *τεσFαρες is an ex. of F assimil. to a mom. sound. ττ for τγ, θγ, κγ (apparently γγ, v. infr. ε, β), χψ is produced in the same way, since κψ first became τγ, as this sound-change occurs in many langg., and the aspiration (of θγ, χψ) becomes lost before y.

Thus, e.g. ἑρέττω (I row) fr. *ἐρέτ-γω, cf. ἑρετ-μός (oar); ἱπττων (less, worse) fr. *ἵττγων for *ἵτε-γον, cf. ἱτς-ιστος (superl.); ἑλάττων (less, smaller) for *ἐλαττγων, and the latter for *ἐλαβθ-
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yw, *έλαχ-γων, cf. ἐλάχ-ιστος and ἐλαχίς (little). These § 68. forms in ττ have by-fns. in σσ (v. infr. e, β), and have not arisen through an unparalleled change of σσ into ττ, but one produced by a divergence of dialek. in the treatment of the same fund-fns. as underlie the fns. in σσ. Accordingly, since e.g. πτίσσω (v. supr.) stands for *πτισ-γω, no t-sound ever was in existence here, and so no parallel fm. *πτιττω occurs.

δδ, initial δ, for δυ, γγ, a sound which did not become δυ until late, is likewise dialectic; e.g. Boiot. Δεύς for *Δγεύς (Zeύς); Boiot. σφάδω for *σφαδ-γω fr. *σφαγ-γω (σφάγω, cut the throat), ι/σφαγ (ε-σφάγ-γω); σαλπίδω for *σαλπιδ-γω, *σαλπνγ-γω (σαλπίξω, trumpet); st. σαλπνγ- (σαλπνγς, σαλπνγ-ος (trumpet). This also is the explanation of Att. Ιόν. ἐφδω (do) fr. ν/Εφργ (ν/Εφργα, i.e. ΦέΦργα, Φέργα-ν, work), Goth. vark, for *Εφρδ-γω, *Εφργ-γω, from which we ought to have found *Εφρξω acc. to the rule, but this form seems to have been avoided on account of the unpleasant combination ρξ, cf. Ιόν. Φρέξω, Boiot. Φρέδδω=Φρεγ-γω, which differs from *Εφρδ-γω merely in transposition from Φεργ to Φρεγ. So also δ fr. δυ is produced in place of origl. γ (v. supr. § 65, c, n.).

The same assimiln. occurs, except in archaic remains such as ἐροσ-, ὀρσα, χέρσος (χέρρος), θάρσος (θάρρος), πέφανσαι (which perh. is hardly authenticated), beside medial combinations, as λσ, ρς, νς, μς, e.g. Αιολ. έστελλα=έστελλα=*έστελ-ςα; Αιολ. δράτω=δρατώ; Αιολ. έγείνατο=έγεινατο=έγενσατο; Αιολ. ένεμα=ένεμα=*ένεμςα; thus έφσα stands for *έφαν-ςα ήγγειλα for *ήγγειλ-ςα, etc. Thus χίν (goose), gen. χίν-ος fr. *χιν-ς, *χινσ-ος, cf. Lat. (h)ans-er, Sk. hà-sas, O.Π.G. st. gansi-, Lith. žasi-š, O. Bulg. gaxš; μήν (month), Ιόν. Αιολ. μείς, gen. μην-ος fr. *μεν-ς, cf. Lat. mens-is, Sk. mäs- (origl. ma-n-š-, pres. part. act. ν ma, measure); ὀλμυ (destroy) stands for *ὀλμυμ. c. An assimiln. of preceding to following sounds. It is well known that τ and σ can be preceded only by mute mom. sounds (λεκ-τός, λέκ-σις, i.e. *λεγ-σις, ν/λεγ), δ by none
§ 68. but sonant mom. sounds (γράβ-δην, ϝ/γραφ), θ by none but aspp. (λεχ-θῆναι, ϝ/λεγ).

Before ν labb. pass into their nasals, e.g. σεμ-νός (awful) for *σεβ-νος, cf. σέβ-ομαι (I dread), yet they are found, e.g. ὐπ-νος (sleep), in opposition to som-nus (*sop-nus).

Bef. labb. ν notably passes into the lab. nasal μ (e.g. ἐμ-πειρος for *ἐν-πειρος), bef. gutt. into the gutt. nasal γ (e.g. συγ-καλέω for *σω-καλεω), cf. § 66, 1.

Bef. μ the dentt. τ, δ, θ, often pass into their spirants, e.g. ἴηνο-μαι fr. ἀνύτ-ω (bring to pass, finish), πέ-πεισ-μαι for *πε-πειθ-μαι, etc.; yet Ἰόν. ὀδ-μή occurs beside later ὀσ-μή (smell), ϝ/ὀδ; ἵδ-μεν (we know) bes. ὀσ-μεν; ἀριθ-μός, ἀτ-μός, κεκορυθ-μένος, and others, do not show the change to σ.

Further, the change of gutt. κ, χ, before μ into γ is well known, e.g. δόγ-μα, ϝ/δόκ; τέ-τυγ-μαι, ϝ/τυχ; yet χ often remains, e.g. δρακχίη. This law was likewise incompletely applied in the earlier (Ἰόν.) langg., e.g. ἵκ-μενος, ἄκαχ-μένος.

Sometimes nasals seem to change preceding mom. sounds into aspp., e.g. λύχ-νος (light, torch) fr. ϝ/λυκ (λευκ-ός, white), origl. ῥυκ; ἄκ-αχ-μένος (sharpened, pointed), redupl. ϝ/ἄκ (be sharp); cf. ἄκ-ωκ-ή (point), and others.

The same influence is exercised by ρ, λ, in many cases, e.g. suff. -θρο, -θλο, bes. origl. τρα, Zend thra (here the spirants have the force of aspp.), e.g. βά-θρον (base), ϝ/βα (go); κλεῖν-θρον (lock), fr. κλεῖων, κληνῶ, κλήω (lock); θέμε-θλον (ground-work), etc., bes. ἀρο-τρο-ν (plough) = Lat. arā-tru-n (ἀρὸς, I plough), etc.

Before i in stem- and word-formative particles (except in Dōr. dial.) τ is changed to σ, e.g. φησί (he says), Dōr. φατί; the -τι of 3rd pers. sing. is kept in ἐσ-τί (he is); the abstracts in -σιν for -τις, e.g. φά-σις, in Hom. and tragg. φά-τις (speech); πέψις (cookery, ϝ/πεπ, f.f. kák, cook) fr. *πεπ-τις, f.f. kák-ti-s; suff. ya, Gk. -ιο, forming -τα, with stems ending in τ-, τα- (the stem-termin. a of τα being lost, which is regularly the case bef. suff. ya), Gk. -τιο, and hence -σιο, e.g. fr. πλοῦτο-ς (wealth) is
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fmd. Dór. πλούτ-ιο-ς, and hence πλούσιος (rich); fr. ἐναυτός § 68. (year), Dór. ἐναυτίο-ς, and hence ἐναύσιος (yearly); st. γεροντ- (n. sing. γέρων, old man) with sf. γα, Gk. ia, makes γεροντία, and thence γερονσία (senate); f.f. (d) vikati, Dór. Φικατί, εἰκατί (perh. fr. *ἐΦικατί), Att. εἰκοσί (twenty) from Dór. φέροντι, τιθεντί (3 pl.), f.f. bharanti, dadhanti, come *φέροντι, *τιθεντι, and thence by rule (v. supr.) φέρουσι, τιθεσί (Ión.), etc. Yet in Att. and Ión. is found φά-τι-ς (speech), √φα, and the like.

Also bef. υ this change of τ to σ sometimes takes place, thus in σύ for Dór. τύ (thou), cf. Lat. and Lith. tu; suff. -συ-νη, f.f. -τυ-να, further fmn. of common abstract sf. -τυ (-τε-α).

d. An assimiln. of following to preceding sounds. y in the combn. ὑς is so similar to the preceding dent. sonant d, that it becomes a dental sonant spirant (French or Polish z), ὑς thus becomes ὅς (acc. to Sclav. or French pronun.)., written ζ, e.g. Ζεύς fr. *Δγεύς=Sk. ὑάυς (ὑάυς=div), cf. early Lat. Διό-ς; Αἰολ. ζά=ἔγα for διά (through); ἔξομαί (sit, seat myself)=σεδ-γομαί, ὑέδ=σεδ; σχίζω (split) for *σχιδ-γω, √σχιδ; τρά-πέζα (table) for *τετρα-πέδ-γα (four-footed), cf. Lat. st. ped- (pes, ped-is, foot), etc.

Here belongs the aspiration of origl. unaspirated conson. through influence of preceding prolonged-(liquid) sounds. In Greek this influence is especially exercised by s, cf. Sk. § 52: i.e. *σχίδ-γω, σχίδ-η (splinter), √σχίδ for and bes. √σκείδ in σκλή-νημι (divide, scatter), cf. Lat. seid in scindo, Goth. skid in skaida (cut), Sk. ἕχιδ, i.e. origl. skid, in ἰκ-να-δ-μι (slit); πάσχω (suffer) for *πα-σκω or perh. *παῦν-σκω, √πα in πα-θ (ἐ-παθ-ον), and τε-ν, τεῦ-ομαι (endure, tire myself), further formations in θ and ν; the σ sometimes disappears before the aspp. which it has called into existence, e.g. ἔρχομαι (come), for *ἐρ-σχομαι, ἐρ-σκομαι, √ἐρ (come, go), cf. Sk. ῥίκχαμι, also ἀρκχάμι=ἐρχω, origl. 1 sing. act. ar-skā-mi, med. ar-skā-mai; κρίθη (spelt) for *χριθη (cf. § 64, sub fine, and 2 infr.), and this for *χρισθη, *χριστη, cf. O.H.G. gérsta, etc.
§ 68. The nasals also seem to have this aspirating effect sometimes, e.g. Boiot. -νθι for -ντι, 3 p. pl. act. vb.; ὀμφ-ἡ (voice) for *Φομ-η fr. √ἐπ, origil. ἐκ (speak); ἐγχ-ος (nt. spear) fr. √άκ (be sharp), cf. ἀκ-οντ- (ἀκων, javelin).

Perh. ρ, λ, are the cause of aspiration in τρέφ-ω (nourish), which thus by assumption may be for *τερφω bes. τέρπω (sate, delight, cf. τέρπεσθαι ἐδητύος), Sk. ταρπ (be sated, delighted), Lith. tarp-ti (thrive); πλάθ-ανος, πλαθ-άνη (flat cake), bes. πλατ-ῦς (broad), Lith. plat-ūs, etc., πλάτ-η (plate, oar-blade). Concerning 'unorigl. aspiration,' cf. G. Curt. Gr. Et.² p. 439 sqq.

e. Mutual assimilation (complete or partial) of two sounds, each affecting the other.

a. γγ becomes ζ=δζ (v. d supr.), as γ bef. y becomes d, y after d becomes z, e.g. κράζω (cry), i.e. *κραδζό fr. *κραδγω, and this fr. *κραγ-γω, √κραγ, cf. κέ-κραγ-α; άζομαι (dread) fr. *άγ-γομαι, cf. άγ-ος (holy); μέζον, μείζον (greater), the latter having, moreover, y transferred to the preceding syll. (cf. § 26), fr. *μεγ-γον, cf. μεγ-άλη, μέγ-ας (great), etc.

In νίζω (wash) bes. χέρ-νβ-ος (χέρνψ, water for handwashing), νίπτω (wash)=*νβ-τω, the earlier root-fm. νιγ, Sk. niγ, is retained (cf. § 63). Λάζομαι (grasp) bes. λαμβάνω (take) is obscure, unless it be the unique ex. of ζ=βυ, formed perh. on the analogy of the common fms. in -αζω, -αζομαι.

β. τγ, θγ, κγ, χγ, become σγ; in τγ and θγ, y perh. became the dent. mute spir. s, after dental mutes, whereby arose τς, θς, then the preceding mute dentt. assimilated themselves to this σ; because σσ=τγ, θγ, also in Dór., we must not assume that τγ (θγ) passed next into σγ, as τι into σι (v. sup. e), and this σγ into σσ by rule (b), for in Dór. τ remains before i; κγ, χγ, became firstly τγ, θγ, as of course gutt. so often pass into dentt. bef. y, and then these sounds became σσ in the way above described; e.g. ἑρέσσω (row) fr. *ἐρετ-γω, cf. ἐρετ-μός; κρέσσων, κρείσσων (stronger, better), with transposn. of y (cf.
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Not unfrequently ñôç has apparently arisen from ëîy: in these cases thus much is clear, that in the older state of langg. a fundamental ê is always found still preserved, and that this ê was not softened to ë till a later period, after ëîy had been incorporated into a fixed group of sounds; e.g. πîôçov (strike) bes. πêpôçovn, πêçovî (blow), but origl. ñêłak, cf. πêlêk, πêlêk-ûs (flat, plate), Teut. ñlah, Lith. plôk-ûs (flat, adj.); φràçov (inclose) = *fêrok-ûs, but ê-ôrok-ûn with softening of ê to ë, cf. Lat. fârc-ûo, etc. Cf. supr. § 62.

Note 1.—ôrôçov must be assigned to ôráx-ûs (short), not to ôrap-ûs (slow); so G. Curt. Gr. Êt. 3 p. 600.

Note 2.—Likewise we mentioned in § 62, above, that êîy is still preserved in cases such as πêôçov (cook) bes. πêçw, πêôçw (ripe); ôôçov (voice) bes. êîwç; ôôçî (eyes) and ôôçîmî (see) bes. ôôçîw (îêêç-ûs, Sk. râk, Lat. cç; ôôçî = *Fêkîa, v Fêk, ñ Fôk, origl. râk; ôôçî = *ôk-ye, ôôçîmî = *ôkîmî, v ôk, origl. ak, cf. oc-ûlus, Lith. ak-ûs).

f. Apparent insertion of a consonant between two concurrent consonants. vû and wû, also wî, as in other langg. (e.g. French gen-ð-re fr. Lat. gener, generum, *genrum; nombre fr. Lat. numerus, *numerus; humble fr. Lat. humilis, *hûmilis), become vôð, wûð, wûl, i.e. n and m thereby are joined with follg. r and l, in an easier combination, because they preserve the extremities of momentary consonn. ; n becomes nd, m becomes mb, to which the subsequent r- or l-sound was merely lightly joined; e.g. ân-ð-ðs for *ân-p-ûs, gen. st. ânÈ-r- (man); mes-ê-ô-ða (mid-day) for *-ê-ô-ôa, cf. êôêra (day); ô-ôô-ôô (deathless) for *ô-ôô-ôô, v ôô = Lat. mor (mori); me-ôûlô-kà (pf.) for *me-ôûlô-kà, fr. mol-ëû (go, come), v ôûl, wûl; in ôrôôô the µ has fallen away from bef. β, ôrôôô stands for
§ 68. *μβρότος (preserved in ἃ-μβρότος), and this for *μρο-τος, past part. from ὀ-μαρ, μάρα (mori), cf. Sk. mar-ta-s (a mortal, man, Rigved. I. 84, 8, acc. to Kuhn, Beitr. iii. 236); the same process takes place in βλίττω (cut honey) for *μβλιττω, fr. *μελιτ-γω, st. μελιτ- (μέλι, honey); βλάωσκω (go, come) for *μβλώσκω fr. *μλώςκω, √μολ in μολ-είν, etc.

*Note.—In πτόλις, and such like cases, bes. πόλις (city), cf. Sk. puram, purī, √par (fill); πτόλεμος bes. πόλεμος (war), cf. πελικίζω (brandish), and Lat. pello; πτίσω (peel)=*πτισ-γω for *πισγω, √πίς=Lat. pis (pinso), Sk. πίς, πτ stands for π without any visible cause. They seem to be dialectic fms.

g. The ejection of s from between consonns., e.g. τένυφ-(ς)θε, is well known.

Loss of s between vowels is treated of § 65. In like cases τ also disappears, but not so often; e.g. κέρως for κέρατ-ος (gen. sing. st. κέρατ-, horn); φέρει (3 sing. pres. act.) fr. *φερε-τι, origl. bhara-ti. The dent. nasal also is subject to similar decay in known cases, e.g. μείζους for μείζου-ες (n. pl. masc. fem. st. μείζον-, greater).

h. Transposition, as in θάρσος bes. θράσος, δέδορκα bes. ἐδρακον: it is not easy to ascertain which arrangement is here the primitive one.

*Note.—τέ-θνη-κα bes. ε-θνα-ον, and the like, are primitive deviations from root-fms., and must not be treated according to Gk. sound-laws. Cf. ‘root-formation.’

2. Dissimilation. Here belong the known changes of mom. dent. bef. τ and θ to σ, so as to facilitate pronunciation; this change is found in Eran. Lat. and Sclavo-germ. also, e.g. ἁννα-τός fr. ἁντ-ω; ἄσ-τευν fr. ἀδ-ω; πεισ-θήναι fr. πείθ-ω; πιο-τός for *πιθ-τος, etc.

Sometimes two consecutive asppl. are avoided by changing the former or latter into an unasp. conson., e.g. ἐ-τέ-θνη, ἐ-τύ-θνη, for *ἐ-θε-θην, *ἐ-θυ-θην, √θε, θυ, cf. τι-θη-μι, θύω; σώ-θη-τι for *σω-θη-θι, the termn. of 2 p. sing. imp. is -θι, origl. ḏhi, cf.
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κλ–θ, origl. kru-dhi, etc. This change scarcely ever takes § 68. place except in the case of θ (in φ and χ perh. only in compds., e.g. ἄμφι-έχω, ἐκε-κεφαλα).

For a similar phenomenon in the case of root-fms., which origly. began and ended with aspp., v. supr. § 64, sub fine).

Moreover, the attempt to avoid pronouncing similar sounds close together causes the contraction of two similar or like consonn. into one, by means of evaporation of the vowel that lies between them, e.g. τράπεζα (table) for *τετρά-πεζα (four-footed); τέτραχυν for earlier τετρά-δραχυν (four-drachm piece); ἀμφορεύς (two-handled jug) for earlier ἄμφι-φορεύς, etc.

3. The aspirates. Whenever by sound-laws aspp. which terminate a root become unasp. consonn., the aspiration falls back upon the τ which begins the root; the same change takes place when θ follows upon the root-termn., notwithstanding that the asp. remains before θ, e.g. st. τριχ-, cf. τριχ-ός, but *θρικ-ς, i.e. θρίξ (hair); τρέχ-ω (run), but θρέξωμαι; τύφω (fume), but θύψω; τρέφ-ω (nourish), but θρέφθην, etc. In cases like the last mentioned the aspiration before the θ appeared to the Greek instinct for language to be caused by it (the θ), and similarly also where the aspiration occurs in the case of e.g. π, β; accordingly the sound that ended the root was only characterized as aspirate by the retrogression of the aspiration upon the initial conson.

For the law by which, in the case of roots which origly. began and ended in aspp., the initial consonn. lost their aspiration, v. supr. § 64, sub fine.

4. Law of Reduplication. Of two initial consonn. the former only was admissible into the syll. of redupln.,—hence the aspp. are redupld. through their first element alone (χ, i.e. kh, through κ; θ, i.e. lh, through τ; φ, i.e. ρh, through π)—e.g. ἰ-στη-μι (set), i.e. *σι-στη-μι for sti-stā-mi; γέ-γραφ-α (have written) for *γρε-γραφ-α; τέ-φυ-κα (have been born) for *φε-φυ-κα;
§ 68. τι-θη-μ (place) for *θυ-θη-μ; κι-χρη-μ (lend, borrow) for *χι-χρη-μ, and this for *χρι-χρη-μ, etc.

In the case of more consonantal combinations, the first consonant also falls away, so that instead of redupln., only a vowel appears, e.g. ἑ-γνω-κα (have learnt) for *γε-γνω-κα; ἑ-κτον-α (have killed) for *κε-κτον-α, etc. Cf. Sk. redupln., § 59.

§ 69. TERMINATION.

The only consonn. tolerated in fine in Gk. were ς and ν (generally fr. μ; this is also the case in the N. European langg. of the Teut. stem), e.g. πόσι-ς, origl. pati-s; πόσι-ν, origl. pati-m; and further ρ also, e.g. πάτερ, voc. f.f. pater, n. sing. πατήρ, f.f. patars (κ is found only in ἐκ, shortened fr. ἐξ ‘out,’ and in οὐκ ‘not,’ which likewise is prob. a shortened fm.). Other conson. were either cast off, or changed into ς or ν.

Thus the frequent final τ of Indo-Eur. is thrown off in Gk. (cf. Lat. novō fr. novōd, origl. navāt, abl. sing.), or changed to s, e.g. τό (the, neut.), Sk. and origl. ta-t, Lat. (is)-tu-d, Goth. tha-t-a; ἐφερε (3 sg. impf.), Sk. and origl. ēbharat; ἐφυ (3 sg. aor.), Sk. ēbhiat; ἐφερον (3 pl. impf.), origl. abharant; φέρον (acc. sg. neut. pres. part. act.) for *φεροντ; τέρας (wonder, sign) for *τερατ, cf. gen. τέρατ-ος; εἰδός (neut. pres. part. act. ‘knowing’) for *εἰδότος, cf. gen. εἰδότ-ος, etc. In consequence of loss of final η, θ became final; when this occurred, θ also became ς, e.g. δός (give) fr. *δόθ for *δο-θι, origl. da-đhi (imper. aor. √δα, origl. da, dare). δ drops off: παι (voc.) for *παιδ (n. sg. παῖς, child); so also κ in γώναι (voc. woman) for *γυναικ (cf. e.g. gen. γυναικ-ός); κτ in ἀνα (voc.) for *ἀνακτ (ἀναξ, gen. ἀνακτ-ος, lord), γάλα (n. acc. milk) for *γαλακτ (e.g. gen. γάλακτ-ος), etc. From ντ only τ is lost, e.g. γέρον (voc. fr. n. γέρον for *γεροντ-ς, gen. γεροντ-ος, old man) for *γεροντ. The final m so common in Indo-Eur., esp. as sign of acc. and element of 1st sing. of vb., is usually replaced by ν in Gk., e.g. πόσι-ν, Sk. and f.f. πατί-μ; νέφο-ν, Sk. and f.f. νάνα-μ; ἐφερο-ν.
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(1 sing.), f.f. and Sk. ábhara-m, etc. More rarely it coalesced § 69. with the precededg. vowel; this is probably the reason why precededg.
a was lengthened, and hence also in the above lang. it remained as ã, and did not change into e, e.g. πατέρ-α=πατερ-ā fr. *πα-
tep-av, f.f. patar-am; ἐςείξα (1 sg. aor.)=ἐ-δεκ-σά, f.f. of terminm.
-sa-m, cf. Sk. á-dik-šam; δέκα, cf. Lat. decem, Sk. dáčan-, etc.

Where there are more than one consonn. of which s is the last, the last s is cast off regularly, in the n. sing. generally, with compensatory lengthening, e.g. φέρων for *φεροντ-ς, μήτηρ for
*μητερ-ς, ποιμήν for *ποιμεν-ς, εὐμενής for *ευμενες-ς; yet s is retained also, as e.g. in τιθεῖς, διδοῦς, etc., fr. *τιθεντ-ς, *διδοντ-ς, and, in known cases, the foregoing sounds also, e.g. φάλαγξ
(gen. φάλαγγ-ος, phalanx), λύγξ (gen. λυγκ-ός, cough), φλόξ
(gen. φλογ-ός, flame), ὀψ (gen. ὀπ-ός, voice); even ἐλμυς for
*ἐλμυθ-ς (gen. ἐλμυθ-ος, intestine worm), πεĩριν-ς for *πεĩρινθ-ς
(gen. πεĩρινθ-ος, hamper), ἀλς (gen. ἀλ-ός, salt), which end in displeasing combinations.

The well-known ν ἐφελκυστικόν is no relic of an earlier state of
the lang., but a peculiar and late phenomenon in Gk., e.g. ἐφερε-ν, Sk. and f.f. ábharet (3 sg. impf.); in these cases the ν
does not appear, therefore, until the origl. t had already been
lost, and the feeling for lang. had become accustomed to treat
the form as ending in vowel; φέρουσι-ν, Sk. and f.f. bháranti
(3 pl. pres.); ποσσι-ν, f.f. pad-svi (loc. pl.).

On the 1st pers. pl. of the vb. this ν has taken firm hold;
the f.f. of this terminm. is -masi, hence rose -mas, which is kept in
Dór. -mes; through the loss of final s—which occurs here and
there even in Gk. (in Lat. it is notoriously common), e.g. in
οὐτῶ bes. and for οὔτως (thus)—fr. -mes arose *-me, and upon
this was grafted ν, at first prob. ephelkustik, and thus was pro-
duced -mev, e.g. Sk. and origl. bhárāmasi, hence Sk. bhárāmas,
Gk. (Dór.) φέρωμε, *φέρομε, φέρομε-ν (we must not think of a
change of s to n in this case, any more than elsewhere through-
out the range of the Indo-Eur. lang.).
§ 70. **Consonants in Latin.**

The table of consonn. is to be found in § 30.

The Lat. lang. is esp. characterized by lack of the aspp., which were represented by the corresponding unaspirated sonants, and by unorigl. spirants f, h; the latter in such a way that f (repres. by b, in medio) may stand for any origl. asp., h almost exclusively=origl. gh.

*k* (written *c, q*) remains always unchanged, but here and there drops away in initio; it does not become *p* or *t*, as in the other Indo-Eur. langg. The origl. spirants *y, s, ε*, are generally retained, though *s* very often passes into *r*, and *y* and *v* often drop out, and are interchanged with *i* and *u*.

The consonn. are subject to numerous sound-laws: assimilation; dissimilation; change from *t* to *s*; from *s* to *r*; medial, initial, and final loss (the latter in a still higher degree in archaic Lat.)—all remove the consonantal system of Lat. widely from the origl. condition of the Indo-Eur. lang.

§ 71. **Examples.**

**Origl. mom. mute unaspirated consonn.**

in-clu-tus (famed), origl. kru, cf. Gk. κλυ; /scid in scindo (split), § 71.

In Lat. as in Gk. (cf. § 62) k is sometimes softened into g, e.g. ui-gin-ti, tri-gin-ta, bes. ui-cen-sumus, tri-cen-sumus (uigesimus, trigesimus, cf. ei-ko-st, τριάν-κου-τα), -gin-, -cen-, is here a relic of (de)cem, f.f. dakan; neg-otium = *nec-otium; gubernator bes. κυβερνήτης, etc.

Note 1.—This is prob. the case also in glória (glory) for *clòria, *clòsia, a further fmm. of st. *clōs- for *elounos-, *elous- =Gk. κλεφής, Sk. γράφας- (glory), Sclav. sloves- (n. acc. slovo, word), root origly. kru (hear), as Sk. γραβας-ya- (famous), cravas-yā (famousness, Kuhn, Zeitschr. iii. 398), yet the o is strange, for we should have expected ü, cf. in-iüria = *ious-ia, fr. ious, iūs, a further fm. fr. *iouns, *ievos.

Note 2.—The pronunciation of c bef. i became, as in other langg., that of palat. k (perh. like Germ. k in kind): the preference for c before i, where another vowel follows, was the stronger, because in these cases i was nearly the same as y, so that the combinations cia, ciu, etc., were not only sounded like kio, kiu, but tolerably early (precisely as in other langg. also) were pronounced tyo, tju (Ital. cia, ciu), whence arose the common fluctuation in writing about the end of the second or the beginning of the third century A.D. (Corss. Krit. Nachtr. p. 48). The change of i, y, after t, into s, ʒ (tyo=tso), does not occur till the Romance period.

Note 3.—In the pronoml. stems, hi-, ho- (hi-nc, ho-nc), notwithstanding the regularly corresponding Sk. *ghi-, gha- (in hi, then, ha, gha, important particles), ought not prob. to be separated from Goth. hi-, ha-, Sclav. si-, kū-, Lith. szi-, ka-, i.e. origl. kī-, ka-, on account of the perfect similarity of their functions; further, in /hab in hab-co, hab-ēs=Goth. hab-a, hab-ais (I have, thou hast), cf. Osk. hip-usl (habuerit), haf-iest (habebit),
§ 71. whose initial conson. is, as in Goth., k (Goth. $\sqrt{h}ab$ also corresponds to Lat. $\sqrt{v}cap$ in $\sqrt{cap}-io$); Lat. $h$ seems to be origl. $k$, a permutation which is found sporadically in Sk. hrđ-, hrđ-aya-(heart)≈origl. kard- (cf. Lat. cord-, Gk. καρδ-ια, Goth. hārt-o) [the antiquity of this $h$ in Aryan is shown by Zend zerdhaēm = Sk. hīrdayam]. With Bopp, therefore, I now hold the Lat. pron. stems hi-, ho-, to be parallel-fms. to origl. ki-, ka-, regularly represented in Lat. by qui-, ci-, quo-, cu- (qui-s, ci-tra, quo-d, cu-ius, used as interrog. and relat.), and so, too, $\sqrt{h}ab$ in hab-ère, as a parallel-fm. to cap in cap-ere, for Goth. $b$ can be origl. $p$, and $b$ may possibly arise in Lat. through softening from $p$ (bibo, drink,≈origl. papāmi). The correspondence of Lat. $h$ to Goth. $h$ remains none the less remarkable, but esp. the conformity of the two langg. as regards habère, whose perfect identity, nevertheless, no one denies. But we must not suppose words were borrowed in either case. Other views are found in Corss. Krit. Nachtr., p. 89 sqq.; Comp., 1st ed., p. 715.

Note 4.—Accordingly $p$ is not in Lat.≈origl. $k$ (but cf. Osk. and Umbr.); words in which $p$ seems≈origl. $k$ are therefore borrowed. Thus Petronius, Epona, are Keltic, cf. Lat. quatuor, equus; popina is Osk., cf. Lat. coquina, coquere; palumbes, bes. Lat. columba, must prob. be derived fr. Osk., and limpidus, too, bes. liquidus, must be a dialectic, and not originally a Roman by-form, in which case both words, as is often maintained, were identical; if lupus is really≈Gk. λύκος, it must therefore also be attributed to Osk., Sab., or Umb., but beyond doubt it belongs to Zend; u-rup-i-s, raop-i-s (name of wild beasts of the breed of dogs), $\sqrt{r}up, lup$ (rend, cf. Spiegel, Zeitschr. xiii. 366); sap-io (taste of), sap-iens (wise), does not belong to sucus, Gk. ὀπός (sap), but to O.H.G. $\sqrt{v}ab$ (understand, pf. int-suab; Mid. H. G. pres. ent-sebe, pf. ent-suap), Gk. σαφ-ός (wise), σαφ-ής (intelligible, clear), with unorigl. asp. (v. supr. § 62, 3, n. 2); saep-io (hedge in), prae-saep-o (crib, stall), does not agree with Gk. σκό-ς even in root-vowel (Lat. ae=ai, Gk. $\eta$=ä); trepit (vertit; Paul. Ep., 367; Curt. Gr. Et.² 411) seems to be borrowed from Gk. τρέπειν.

2. Origl. $t$=Lat. $t$; e.g. in tu (thou), origl. $tu$, cf. Gk. τῦ, σῦ; $\sqrt{v}to$ in is-tu-d (dem.), origl. $ta$, ta-t, cf. Gk. τό; $\sqrt{v}ten$ in ten tus (held, stretched), ten-or (holding, length), ten-o (hold), ten-do (stretch), origl. tan, cf. Gk. τα, τεν; st. tri- (three) in trës, trës, treis, origl. tri-, cf. Gk. τρι- in τρεῖς; $\sqrt{v}sta$ (stand) in sta-tus,
sta-re, origl. sta, Gk. στα; √tel (cover), origl. stag, Gk. τήγη; § 71.
√pet in pet-o (make for), im-pet-us (onset), penna fr. pes-na, *pet-na, origl. pat (fly, fall), cf. Gk. πετ.; √wert in urther-ere (turn), origl. vart; suffix -to, fem. -ta=-tā, cf. Gk. -τό-, -η, e.g. in da-tu-s, origl. da-ta-s, Gk. δο-τό-ς; -t, 3 p. sing., -nt, 3 pl. vb., origl. -ti, -nti, cf. Gk. -τί, -ντί, e.g. fer-t, fero-nt(i), Sk. and origl. bhāra-ti, bhāra-nti, Gk. φέπε-τί, φέπο-ντί, etc.

1. On final *t, cf. § 79: for Lat. br=Gk. θρ, origl. tr, § 77, 1, c.

Note 2.—The change fr. *t to ts (z) occurs first in Romance langg.

3. Origl. *p=Lat. p, e.g. *po in po-tus (drink), origl. pa, cf. Gk. πο in πό-σις; in bi-bo (drink), f.f. pa-pāmi, p has been softened into b, a change occurring also in other isolated cases (cf. Corss. Krit. Nachtr. p. 176 sqq.); *po-ti-s in impos, compos, im-po-tem, com-po-tem (unable, able), po-t-est (he can), -po-te, -pte (a noticeable affixed particle, e.g. ut-pote, suo-pēte), Sk. and origl. pā-ti-s (lord), Gk. πό-σις, origl. √pa (protect); pa-ter (father), origl. pa-тар-s, cf. Gk. πα-ρή, same root; √ple in plē-nus (full), origl. par, pra, cf. Gk. πλέ-ς; ped-is (gen.; n. pes, foot), Sk. and origl. pad-ās, cf. Gk. ποδ-ός; √spec in spec-io, spic-io (see), spec-ies (appearance), Sk. paç for *spaç, O.H.G. spah (in spēh-ōn, espý, spāl-i, shrēw), origl. spah; √tep in tep-eo (am warm), tep-or (warmth), Sk. and origl. ῥα; √sop in sop-ire (make sleepy), som-nus (sleep) for *sop-nus, Sk. and origl. svap, cf. Gk. ἄπ-. etc.

Note.—√flu, flug (fluc-tus), a later and further frmn. fr. flu, in *flou-o, flu-o (flow), does not belong to πλυ, Sk. plu, Sclav. plu, etc., for Lat. f is not=origl. p: this root is represented by Lat. plu (plu-it, i.e. *plou-it, it rains); perh. Lat. flu is to be placed beside Gk. φλῦ-ω (swell, overflow), oivō-φλυς, -φλυγ-ος; so Curt. Gr. Et.2 271; we can scarcely take flu for *sflu, and this for *sδlу fr. *stru for stru (flow), with Ad. Kuhn (Zeitschr. xiv. 223); in the latter case Lat. fluo, i.e. *flouo, stands equal to Sk. srāvāmi, Gk. ρέφω; flu-men for *sbrōmen, *sbrēmen, essentially =ρεύμα for *σρεύμα, O.H.G. strou-m, Pol. strumień (running stream).
§ 72. Momentary sonant unasp. consonants.

1. Origl. \( g = \) Lat. \( g, \text{ gv (}gu\text{)} \), \( v \).

Lat. \( g = \) origl. \( g \), e.g. \( \sqrt{\text{gen in g}i-g(e)n-o \) (beget), \( g\text{en-us (race), gna in gnā-tus (one born, son), origl. gan, cf. Gk. ρεύ; \sqrt{\text{gno in gnō-sco (learn), gnō-tus (known), origl. gna, transposed fr. gan, cf. Gk. γών, Sk. jānu, Goth. kniu; \sqrt{\text{ag in ago (drive), origl. ag, pres. ag-āmi, Gk. ὄγ in ὄγ-ω; \sqrt{\text{ing in iugum (yoke), iung-o (join), Sk. yuģ, yug, origl. yug, cf. Gk. }ξύγ, etc.}}}

Lat. \( \text{gv (}gu\text{)} = \) origl. \( g \). As origl. \( k \) developed into \( qu \) (\( kv \)), so also \( g \) (=origl. \( g \) and \( gh \), cf. § 73, 1) into \( \text{gv} \): this \( \text{gv} \) is, however, retained only after \( n \); it also occurs after \( r \), bes. \( g \), in \( \text{urgueo bes. urgeo (urgo), \sqrt{\text{urg, origl. varg, cf. Sk. varý (shut out), Lith. vērž-ti (urge). Between vowels this } g \text{ has become assimilated to the } v \text{ (without lengthening of a previous short syll.), so that the } v \text{ alone therefore remains. In this way it happens that Lat. } v \text{ betw. vowels may be origl. } g \text{ and } gh \), e.g. \( \sqrt{\text{uig for *guig, cf. Germ. quick in uixi (pf.)=*uig-si, uic-tus (diet)=*uig-tus, but viu-os (alive), viu-o (live) for *uigu-os, *uigu-o. For further exx. of this interchange of sound v. sub ‘gh’ (v. Corss. Krit. Beitr., p. 68, on interchange of } g \text{ and } \text{gv in Lat.)}}

Note 1.—\( \text{fluxi, flue-tus, con-flüg-es (confluence), bes. fluo, i.e. *flow-o (flow), show indeed a further fmn. of } \sqrt{\text{flu to } } \text{flug, as Gk. } \phi\lambda u \text{ to } \phi\lambda u\gamma \) (§ 71, 3 n.); we see, however, no ground for the assumption that \( \text{fluo, *flow-o, together with } \text{fluu-ius (river), have passed through fms. *flugu-o, *flugu-iun (Corss. Ausspr. etc., i.1 44). In this case the root-fm. is preserved without } g \).

Note 2.—Cf. exx. cited under \( gh \), § 73, 1, and sound-laws, § 77, 1. a.

Note 3.—In \( \text{bos, bouis (ox)} \text{=} \text{Gk. } \betaοῖς, \betaοFοῖ=} \text{Sk. } \text{gāus (gen. gōs prob. represents origl. } g\text{av-as), cf. O.H.G. } \text{chuō, } b=\text{origl. } g \text{, a correspondence of conson. otherwise foreign to Lat.; accordingly the word is probably borrowed. G. Curt. Gr. Et.2 nos. 639, 642, brings forward super-bus, super-bia (proud, pride), which he takes to stand for *super-bios, } \text{as=Gk. } \text{τῆρ-βίος (overween-}
ing), -βλα (presumption), -βώς however = Sk. ἱ, pres. ἱδ-αμι § 72. (triumph), f.f. ἱ; ὁ-ερε, ὁ-αρε (cry, sound), ῥε-βαρε (resound), with Gk. βο-ν (call, cry) fr. Sk. ᾱγ α (let sound), Old Bulg. γον-όρα (noise); super-bus is, however, not precisely similar to ἴπτο-βώς, a word compounded according to Gk. principles (for we should then be obliged to consider it borrowed), but rather a special Lat. fmn. like acer-bus, mor-bus (Corss. Krit. Beitr. 61), and baere with βο-ν need not by any means be referred to Sk. γυ, O. Bulg. γον-όρα. It seems to me to be a mere imitative sound.

Note 4.—c and g were not distinguished in earlier Lat. writing, but prob. in the spoken lang. only.

Note 5.—Bef. n we are now accustomed in pronunciation to change Lat. g to gutt. ｎ, i.e. the g becomes assimild. to n, according to its scale, becoming nasal: instead of mag-nus, dig-nus, etc., we say man-nus, din-nus. This is the same interchange of sound which is seen quite early in the lang., e.g. in Σαμ-νιαμ for *Σαβ-νιαμ, som-nus for *σοπ-νιαμ. Spellings such as singnum make it probable that even as early as the times of the later Caesars, people had begun to pronounce signum as siñnum. Yet we cannot consider this pronunc. of gn as ｎ in to be ancient, because the Roman grammarians do not mention it. From this later pronunciation of gn we must distinguish the principle on which gn was treated in Romance langg., where it became a palatal ｎ, e.g. Ital. magno, degno (pron. maño, deño), Fr. magne, digne (pr. maï, diï). Therefore the above-named pronunciation of Lat. gn cannot have arisen through Romance influence.

2. Origl. d = Lat. d, rarely l.

Lat. d = origl. d, e.g. ὑδ in ὑδ-τυς (given), Sk. and origl. ὑδα, cf. Gk. δο; ὑδαμ in ὑδαμ-αρε (tame), Sk. and origl. ὑδαμ, cf. Gk. δαμ-αθο; ὑδα-μος (house), Sk. and origl. ὑδα-μος, cf. Gk. δόμ-ος; ὑδατ-εμ (tooth, acc.), Sk. and origl. ὑδατ-εμ, cf. Gk. ὑτ-ἀντα; ὑατ in ὑατ-ερε (see), Sk. and origl. ὑατ, Gk. ἱδ; ὑεδ in ὑεδ (eat), Sk. and origl. ὑαδ, cf. Gk. ἱδ; ὑσεδ in ὑσεδ (sit), Sk. and origl. ὑαδ, cf. Gk. ἱδ, etc.

Lat. l = origl. d in initio, and, more rarely, medially bef. vowels, e.g. lacrima (tear) fr. lacrima (Festus), cf. δάκρυ, Goth. tagr, O.H.G. zur; λεϊρ (father-in-law), cf. δαɲ-, st. δαɲ-, for *δαɲ-, *δαɲFep- (Ebel, Zeitschr. vii. 272), Sk. st. ἱδερ-, n. sing.
§ 72. dēcā, also a-st. dēvarā-s, O.H.G. zeihhr; Lith. dėveri-s (known to me through the Dictionary only), O. Bulg. dėveri; lingua (tongue), earlier dingua, cf. Goth. tuggō, Germ. tunge; ol-ere (smell) bes. od-or (scent), cf. òd-ōd-a, òd-ū̃j, òdū̃j. Sometimes both the d- and l-forms remained extant; thus im-pel-imentum bes. im-ped-imentum (hindrance), fr. st. ped- (pes, foot); de-lic-are bes. de-dic-are (dedicate), v/dic (dic-o, deök-vüm, etc.), etc.

3. Lat. b may be origl. b (v. § 46, 3), e.g. in bal-are (bleat), cf. Gk. βληκόχυ (a bleating), βλη-χομα, Sclav. blē-ja, O.H.G. blā-čan (bleat), an onomatopoetic word; breuis (short), corresponding to Gk. βρακχίος, Sclav. brǎzǔ (quick); v/lab in lǎb-itur (glides, sinks), lab-sus=*lab-tus (past part.), Sk. v/lab, lamb in lǎmb-atē (he sinks, falls).

§ 73. Momentary sonant aspirated consonants.

Note 1.—f may represent any of the asp., and is placed mainly in initio; medially b occurs instead of f; yet r.ufu-s (red), serofa (sow), Afer (African), sǐfīlus and sǐfīlare (Fr. sifler, Zeitschr. xvi. 382) bes. usual sībīlus (whistling, piping), sībilare (to whistle, pipe), etc., with medial f betw. vowels, according to the principles of the other Italian langg., whose influence perh. made itself felt in these words (Corss. Krit. Nachtr. p. 194, sqq.). In signi-fer, pesti-fer, and the like, f evidently arises from the perceptible connexion with ferre, whilst in ama-bam, etc., fr. vfu (fui, etc.), origl. bhu was no longer felt.

Note 2.—ch, th, ph, are not Latin but Gk. sounds, which did not come into use till a comparatively late period, and are yet unknown in the earlier lang. Further details as regards the history of these ways of spelling belong to the special gr. of Lat.

1. Origl. gh=Lat. g, gv (gu), v, h, f.

Lat. g=origl. gh, e.g. vger, gra, in ger-men (bud),=Lith. žel-nū, st. žel-men- (sprout), grā-men (grass), origly. a side-form of ger-men, cf. O.H.G. gruo-ni (green), gra-s (grass), Sk. hár-it-, hár-itα- (green), Zend zairita- (yellowish-green), Gk. χάο-ή (green, grass), O. Bulg. zel-enū (green), Lith. žel-ti (grow green,
wax), ḏal-īas (green), ḏol-ē (grass, greens), origl. ḏghar, ghra § 73. (be green, yellow, grow green); grā-tu-s (pleasant), cf. Osk. Umbr. ḏer (wish), ḏáρ-ūs (grace), ḏáṝpo, i.e. *ẖar-yw (rejoice), Sk. har-yāmi (love, desire), Germ. ḏar (desire), e.g. in O.H.G. gēr-ōn (desire), origl. ḏghar, ghra; grando (hail) bes. Sk. hrōd-unī, Gk. χάλαξ, i.e. *χαλαδ-γα, *χαλάγα (v. § 29, 1), origl. root therefore gḥra; except before ṛ and in ger-men Lat. ḏ=gh is confined to the middle of words; ḏang in ang-o (throttle, kill), ang-ustus (narrow), ang-or (pain), ang-īna (quinsy), origl. ḏangh, Gk. ḏγχ ḏχ in ḏγχ-ο, ḏχ-νυμάι, ḏχ-ο, Sk. ḏh, ēḥ, Goth. *agϕ, origl. ḏgh; ḏig in lig-ūriō, ū-i-n-γ-o (lick), origl. rīgh, Sk. rīh, ḏh, Gk. λυχ in ḏλχ-ο, λυχ-ος, Goth. *lid; ḏmig in mi-n-g-o, méiō, for *migio, origl. mīgh, Sk. mih, Gk. μχ in ḏ-μχ-έω, ḏ-μχ-η.

Lat. gv (gu), v=origl. gh (cf. § 72, 1, and § 77, 1, a), e.g. ḏangu-īs (snake), ḏanguilla (eel), cf. Gk. ḏχ-ίς (viper), ḏγχ-ἐλας (eel), Sk. ah-is, i.e. *agh-īs, Lith. ang-is (snake), ung-ūris (eel), O.H.G. unc (snake); in nix (snow), i.e. *nig-s fr. *snigh-s, gen. niu-is for *nigu-īs, *snigh-as, is found—as also we see fr. Lith. ḏsnig, in sni̱g-ti (to snow), snēg-a-s (snow), and Gk. vif-a (snow, acc.), vif-ε (it snows)—an origl. ḏsnigh as a basis, which is clearly shown in Sk. snih (be moist); breu-is (short) for *bregu-īs, Gk. βραχύς; leu-is (light) for *leguis, cf. ḏ-λαχύς, Sk. laghu-s. In breuis and leuis the correspondence of v to gu ought prob. to be explained as occurring through change of origl. gh to gu, but rather through the introduction of a secondary i into the previously existing stems bregu-, legu-, =braghu-, raghu-. Nevertheless even thus the origl. gh is involved in the v, because the gh, or rather its Lat. equivalent g, has become assimild to the v.

Note.—Therefore g may represent both origl. gh and g; in such cases as mag-nus (great) bes. μεγ-ας; ego (I) bes. ḏγw (§ 64, 1), we must not permit ourselves to determine that Lat. g is =origl. gh, merely on account of Sk. mah-ānt-, ahām,
§ 73. since the corresponding Goth. fms. mik-ils, ik, show the unasp. conson.

Lat. _h_ = origl. _gh_, esp. in _initio_, very rarely in _medio_, e.g. _hiem-ps_ (winter), cf. Gk. _χιών_ (snow), _χείμα_ (storm), _χειμών_ (winter), Sk. _himá-s_ (snow, cold), Sclav. _zima_ (winter, cold), Lith. _žémą_ (winter); _homo_ (man), earlier _hemo_, st. _homen-_, _hemen-_, cf. Goth. _guma_ (man), st. _guman-_, Lith. _zmu_, st. _zmen-_(mankind), which collectively point to a f.f. _ghaman-_; _holus, helus, heluola_ (greens), _v/ghar_ (be green), cf. _χλο-η_, Sk. _hár-ita_ (v. sub _g_= _gh_); _haed-us_ (he-goat, Cod. Medic. Vergili), cf. Goth. _gai-t_ (f. she-goat), O.H.G. _gei_ (f. goat), _femus, for-midus_ (hot), cf. Sk. _ghar-má-s_ (heat), Scl. _grē-ti_ (to warm), _gor-ēti_ (burn), Germ. _warme_ for *_gar-m_, all of which point to a _v/ghar_ (on Gk. _θερ-μός_, _θερ-ομάι_, v. supr. § 64, 2. n.); _fra-gra-t_ (fragrare, emit odour), provided it really comes from a redupln. of _v/ghra_, cf. Sk. _ji-ghrā-ti, ghrā-ti_ (stinks,
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Benf. Or. u. Occ. iii. 69); fu-tis (tub), fu-tillis (unstable, cf. Curt. § 73. Gr. Et.™ no. 203, p. 156), fu-d, fundo (pour), cf. Gr. διγγ in χέω, Teut. gu-t, in Goth. giut-an (pour).

Since f and h correspond to origl. gh, and h easily disappears altogether, we can explain such forms as faedus, fedus, bes. haedus, aedus, edus (cf. geig); folus bes. holus and olus (διγγ); hostis bes. hostis (foe; Goth. gasts, guest, points distinctly to the origl. initial gh; in both langg. the meaning has been developed in divergent lines, cf. Corss. Krit. Beitr. 217 sqq.); fordeum bes. hordeum, prob. for hortenum, hortsteum, cf. O.H.G. gersta, Gk. κριθή for διγγ (§ 68, 1, d; on this word cf. Corss. Krit. Nachtr., p. 104 sqq.); festuca (stalk, switch) bes. hasta (spear), cf. Goth. gaads (thorn), O.H.G. gart (thorn), gartya (gardea, kertia, gerta), initial origl. gh therefore; and the like. Cf. the change fr. gh to f in cases such as Engl. enough (pron. inüf), A.S. genōh (genug); laugh (pr. läf), A.S. hlēahhan, Goth. hlāhyan (laugh), etc.

Note 1.—No ex. of b=origl. gh seems to be found.

Note 2.—The origl. διγγ (be green) is found also in fms. ger (germen), gra (grāmen), hel (holus), hol (holus), ol (ulus), fol (folus), and fel (fel). In the other langg. also the feeling of relationship of the different words which spring from this root has been lost.

2. Origl. dh=Lat. d, f, b.

Lat. d = origl. dh, e.g. mediu-s (middle-) = origl. and Sk. mādhy-a-s, Gk. μέσος, i.e. *muθyo-s; Goth. midji-s; aed-es (house, origly. fire-place, cf. aes-tus, aes-tas, fr. *aed-tus, *aed-tas), vidh, origl. Gk. αίθ-ω, Sk. indh, cf. O.H.G. eit (fire); uidua (widow), cf. Sk. vidhava, Goth. viduēō.

Hence it arises that the origl. roots da, dha (give, set), may become intermixed, e.g. ab-do (do away, hide), con-do (found), cre-do (believe), belong not to da-re (give), but to a root lost in its uncompounded fm., corresponding to Gk. τλ-θη-μι, Sk. dá-dhā-mi, O.H.G. tuo-m, cf. Sk. gad-dadh-āmi (believe); of the coin-
§ 73. cidence of the origl. da, dha (as in Zend), we find proof in
uen-di-t (sells) bes. uēnum dat = Sk. and origl. vasnam dadhāti,
ēnov tiθησι, dat therefore stands here most likely as representa-
tive of dha, Gk. θε, not of do, Gk. υ; further, do which has become
like a sf., e.g. in albi-du-s, ari-du-s, sordi-du-s, is prob. to be
referred to this root, as the similar roots also in Lat. are elsewh.
still practically used as suffixes (e.g. laua-cru-m, ludi-cru-s, ala-
cri-s, uolu-cri-s, cf. /kar (make); late-bra, fune-bri-s, cf. /bhar,
ferre, etc.). In uncompounded words /dha is in Lat. fa, fe; v. post.

Note.—r for d fr. dh is altogether sporadic, in meri-dies (mid-
day) fr. *med-i-dies (medius=mādhyas, cf. μεσ-ημβπία, Germ.
mīt-tag, Sk. madhyaṁa-s fr. madhya-, medius, and ahan-, day); in
the case of ar=ad (ar-ursors, etc.), the comparison with
words of the kindred langg. is not easy (cf. regular change of
a to i in Umbrian).

Lat. f=origl. dh, e.g. fūmus (smoke), cf. Sk. dhūmās, Lith.
dūmai (pl. n. sing. would be dūma-s), Slav. dymū, O.H.G. toum,
Gk. θύ-os (burnt sacrifice), /dhu; fōres (pl. door), foris (passage),
foras (outwards), cf. Gk. θώpa, Goth. dār, O.H.G. tor, turi,
Scl. dveri, Lith. durys, Sk., however, dévra-m, dévr-, Ved. dur-
with d, not dh, to which the S.- and N.-European langg. point;
fer-us, fer-a, fer-ox (wild), cf. Gk. θύρα, θώρ-ου; fir-nus (fast),
frē-tus (trusting to), frē-num (bridle), for-ma (shape), cf. Sk.
dhār-imán- (id.), /dhār (hold); fio=*feio (become), f.f. dhayāmi,
/dha (set, do), Gk. θε, Goth. da, from which also the secondary
/frac (formed (fac-iō, make), likewise fā-ber (wright), st.
fa-bro-, cf. Sk. dhā-tar- (founder, ordainer; Kuhn, Zeitsc. xiv.
229 sqq.).

In rūfus (red)=Goth. raud-s, f.f. rāudha-s, /rudh, medial f
stands also for origl. dh, whilst rub-er (red), rub-igo (rust), are
regular, and show b for f (v. supr. n. 1), but collateral raud-us
(clod), origl. /rudh, cf. Sk. rudh-irā-m (blood), Gk. έπυθ-πός, and
hence we find this root in Lat. as rud, ruf; rub (for rutilus, v.}
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infr.). Cf. the $f$-like pronun. of $th$ in Eng. and $\theta$ in mod. Gk.; § 73.
in Russian Gk. $\theta = f$ in pronunciation.

Lat. $b = \text{origl. } dh$ in medio, e.g. rub-er, st. rub-ro- = $e$-pv$\theta$-p$\acute{\text{o}}$,
Sk. rudh-i-râ-, origl. rudh-ra-, $\sqrt{\text{rub}},$ Sk. rudh, Goth. rud, O.H.G. rut,
Scl. rûd (be red); $\ddot{\text{u}}$ber (udder), i.e. *ouber, Gk. o$\ddot{\text{theta}}$p, Sk.
$\acute{\text{a}}$dhar-, $\acute{\text{a}}$dhas-, $\acute{\text{a}}$dhan-, M.H.G. üter, iuter, root-syll.
origl. audh; $\ddot{\text{u}}$ber (adj. rich), i.e. *oiber, cf. Sk. $\acute{\text{a}}$dh-atê (increases), $\sqrt{\text{idh}}$ (Walt.
Zeitschr. x. 77); uerbum (word) = Goth. va$\ddot{\text{urd}},$ H.G. wort, f.f.
eardha-$m$, cf. Lith. várd$a$-$s$ (m. name); barba (beard), stands
bes. Norse bardhr, H.G. bart, Lat. $b = \text{Germ. } t, d,$ must be der.
fr. origl. dh.

3. Origl. $bh = \text{Lat. } b, f, h.$

Lat. $b = \text{origl. } bh$ in medio, e.g. ambô (both) = Gk. $\acute{\text{a}}$m$\phi$o, cf.
Sk. ubhâû, earlier ubhâ, Goth. bai, nt. ba (with loss of init.
sound), Scl. oba, f.f. of st. = ambha-; lub-et (pleases), Sk. $\sqrt{\text{lubh}}$
(desire), Goth. lub (in liub-$s$, dear, -lubô, love, etc.); nêbula
(mist), nûbes (cloud), Gk. vêfêla$\nu$, véfôs, Sk. nâbhas (cloud, sky),
O.H.G. nêbal, Scl. nebo (sky); -$b$ in ti-$b$, i-$b$, (c)$u$-$b$,-
corres. to Sk. -bhyam, sf. dat. sg. (only preserved in certain cases,
e.g. tû-bhyam, -bhyâ = Lat. ti-$b$); -bus, sf. dat. abl. pl. = Sk.
-bhyas, cf. Gk. -$\phi$v, both alike containing particle bhi: $\sqrt{\text{fu}}$ in
verb. fms. composed by it begins with $b$, e.g. ama-bam, ama-bo,
for *ama-fam, *ama-$fo$ (v. post. "conjugation").

Lat. $f = \text{origl. } bh$, e.g. $\sqrt{\text{fa}}$ in fâ-ri (speak), fâ-tum (utterance,
fate), origl. bha, cf. Gk. $\phi$a in $\phi$-mi, $\phi$w-$v\ddot{\text{h}},$ $\phi$â-$\tau$s, Sk. bhâ-s
(speak); $\sqrt{\text{fer}},$ pres. fer-$o$ (bear), cf. Gk. $\phi$rp in $\phi$rp-$\omega$, origl. and
Sk. bhar, pres. bhar-$âmî$; $\sqrt{\text{fu}}$ (be) in fu-turus, fu-am, Sk. and
origl. bhu, Gk. $\phi$v in $\phi$v-$\omega$, $\phi$v-$r$ôs; $\sqrt{\text{fug}}$ in fug-iô (flee), fug-$a$,
cf. Gk. $\phi$v$\gamma$ in $\phi$év-$\omega$, $\phi$v-$\gamma$-$\gamma$, Sk. bhug, Goth. bug, pres. biuga,
origl. bhug; frâter (brother), origl. bhrâtar-$s$, cf. Gk. $\phi$rá$\gamma$,$
Sk. bhrátâ, Goth. bró$\theta$ar, etc.

Lat. $h$ is very rarely = origl. $bh$; e.g. in hor-da bes. for-da
(bearing), $\sqrt{\text{fer}},$ origl. bhar; in mi-$hi$, -$hi$ stands for -$b$, which
we should have expected, as also in Sk. ná-hyam for *ma-bhyam,
§ 73. cf. ti-bi, Sk. τύ-bhyam; in both langg. the initial m seems to have had a dissimilating influence on the bh. We must not hence venture to assign a fm. ma-hyam to the origl. lang., for the origl. could only be sounded ma-bhyam (or ma-bham, ma-bham, cf. § 3), a f.f. which diverged later into Sk. má-hyam, Lat. mi-hei; in dat. pl. of a-st., in -is fr. -ois, -ais, origl. -a-bhyams, -ā-bhyams (v. 'decl.'), origl. bh has entirely disappeared, perhaps through intervening h (cf. mihi); so too prob. ama-ui for *ama-fui, /fu, origl. bhv (be).

Note.—In some exx. a Lat. tenuis stands apparently for an asp.; these are rutilus (fiery red) bes. Sk. ṛudh, Gk. ῥοθ; pāti (suffer) bes. Gk. παθείων; pūtēre (stink) bes. Gk. πῦθ-εσθαι; putāre (calculate) bes. Gk. πυθεσθαι (learn), otherwise distinct from it in use; sapiens (wise) bes. Gk. σοφός; latēre (escape notice) bes. Gk. λαθείων, Sk. ἕρα for origl. ῥαδή. Cf. L. Meyer, Gr. of Gk. and Lat. Langg., i. p. 51; G. Curt. Gr. Et. ii. p. 374, Kuhn’s Zeitschr. ii. 355; Grassmann ap. Kuhn, id. xii. 86 sqq.; Corss. Krit. Beitr. p. 75 sqq., 79 sqq. Herein we concur in the conclusions of Curt. and Corss., which amount to this,—that in the above-named words also t and p are not=origl. dh, bh, Gk. θ, φ. ru-tilus (cf. fū-tilis, mu-tilus) seems to have sf. -tio, and to stand peculiarly for *rūd-tilus, *rus-tilus (v. post.), like early Lat. ad-gre-tus, e-gre-tus, for *gres-tus, *gres-tus (class. grussus, /grad, gred, in grad-ior, step), pa-tior however is a later fmn. fr. /pa, which is otherwise formed in Gk. πα-θ, πευ-θ (πεῦθος, suffering, grief); to the origl. existence of the shorter root-fm. pa, πα, the fns. πευ-ομαί (am in want), που-εω (suffer, labour), point; therefore πε-ν, πο-ν, give evidence to πα, just as γε-ν, γο-ν (beget), do to a real pre-existent γα (n is a common secondary root-terminn.). The same explan. holds good in puto, where t belongs to the origl. root as little as does θ in τῷ-θμαί; the root is pu, which clearly occurs in Lat. pūs, gen. pūris (matter), i.e. *pou-os, *pou-es-os, f.f. par-as, par-as-as, cf. πῦ-ο (id.), Sk. pu-yate (becomes foul, stinks), pu-yas (matter), Lith. pū-ti (be-foul), O.H.G. fū-λ (foul), f.f. pa-v-ra-s. Pu-tare fr. putus (pure), lit. =‘make clean, clear,’ and has therefore nothing to do with Gk. πυθεσθαι, Sk. /būdh, etc.; σοφός stands for *σοφος with unorigl. aspn., cf. suppl. § 62, 3, n. 2. Thus latēre alone remains unexplained bes. λαθείων, a solitary instance, for which we must not try to make good a consonantal change which is otherwise unknown.
Consonantal Prolonged-sounds.

Spirants y, s, v.

1. Origl. y = Latin j (written i), i.

Lat. j = origl. y, initial and medial, yet not commonly between vowels, and almost only after long vowels, e.g. cā-ius, plēbē-ius, or when a conson. has assimilated itself to the y, as in āio, māior, mēio (v. post.), e.g. y/iug, Sk. yug, Gk. γυγ', origl. yug, in iu-n-go (join), iug-unm (yoke) = origl. and Sk. yug-am, Gk. γυγ-ῶν, Goth. yug, O.Bulg. igo = *jāg-o; pronl. y/va in ia-m (already), cf. Lith. yau, Goth. yu (already); ius (broth), cf. Sk. yūša-s, yūša-m (*pease-soup,' 'the water in which pulse of various kinds has been boiled'; Wilson), Scl. iucha; iuuenis (young man), cf. Sk. yūvan-, Goth. yuggs, Scl. yunu, Lith. yaŭnas (young); āio (say) for *ag-io, pres. fmn. in sf. origl. ya, /ag, origl. /agh, cf. ad-āg-ium (saying), Sk. ah (say); māior (greater) fr. *mag-ior, comp. sf. -ior, earlier -ios, Gk. -ov, Sk. -yās, -iyās, origl. -yans; mēio = *migio, i.e. *mīgh-yāmi, pres. fmn. in origl. ya, etc.

Lat. i = origl. y after consonn., e.g. med-ius = origl. and Sk. mādhyas, cf. μέσος = μεθ-γος; patr-iu-s (father-), origl. patar-ya-s, cf. πάτρ-ιο-ς, Sk. pitar-ya-s, st. origl. patar-, sf. ya; siem, siét (1, 3, sg. opt. pres.), origl. as-yā-m, as-yā-t, cf. eiāν, eiη, fr. *eio-γν-μ, *eio-γν-τ, Sk. syā-m, syā-t, opt. pres. /as (be); capio for *cap-yo, i.e. *kap-yā-mi, pres. in origl. ya, etc.

Not uncommonly y disappears entirely, thus regularly betw. vowels, as, e.g. moneo (remind, warn), f.f. mānayāmi, causative from /men (men-tem, me-min-i), origl. man (think); sēdo (seat, set), fr. *sēdāo, *sēdayo, Sk. and origl. sadāyāmi, caus. from /sed (sedere), origl. sad; further before i and e which stands for i (§ 35, § 38), e.g. capis, capit, for *capiis, *capiit, i.e. kap-ya-si, kap-ya-ti, bes. capio, i.e. kap-ya-mi; obex (obstacle, hindrance), gen. obiciis, for *obycex = *ob-yic-s, ob-yic-is, /iac (cf. iac-io, ob-iic-io, ob-ie-io); yet elsewh.
§ 74. after consonn. also, e.g. *minor, minus (less), for *min-ior, *min-ius, origl. sf. -yans, compar.-fmn.; ero, eris, erit, fr. *eso, *esis, *esit, for *esyo, *esyis, *esyit, f.f. as-ya-mi, as-ya-si, as-ya-ti, pres.-fmn. through ya of √as, which expresses fut. meaning, cf. Sk. s-ya-mi, s-ya-si, s-ya-ti, Gk. εσομαι for *εσ-γο-μαι; -bus sf. of dat. and abl. pl. origl. -bhyams, Sk. -bhyas, etc.

2. Origl. s=Lat. s, r.

Lat. s=origl. s. Initially, generally also finally, medially betw. mute consonn.; betw. vowels s passes over into r almost always in the class. lang. Before sonant consonn. s partly falls out (becomes assimld.), partly likewise becomes r (v. 'sound-laws'), e.g. √sed (sed-ere), origl. and Sk. sad, Gk. εδ, Goth. sat (sit); septem (seven), Sk. and origl. sáptan, Gk. επτά; √sta (stand), e.g. in sta-tus, origl. sta, Gk. στα, Sk. stha; √ster in ster-no (strew), Sk. and origl. star, Gk. στορ; √es in es-t, origl. and Sk. as, Gk. εσ in εσ-τί; √us (burn) in ur-o, us-tus, origl. us, Sk. uς; -s, sf. of nom. sg., origl. and Sk. -s, Gk. -ς, Goth. Lith. -s, e.g. equo-s, origl. akva-s, Gk. ἐποι-ς, Sk. úco-sa-s; sf. -os, -es, e.g. gen-os, gen-us (race), gen. gen-er-us, gen-er-is, origl. gan-as, gan-as-as, cf. Gk. γέν-os, *γεν-εσ-ος=γένους, Sk. γάν-as, γάν-as-as, etc.

Lat. r=origl. s (cf. sound-laws, § 77, 1. f.).

3. Origl. v=Lat. v (in writing undistinguished fr. u), u.

Lat. v=origl. v, e.g. √vid in uideo (see), Sk. and origl. vid, Gk. Φιδ; √com for *cem in uom-o (spue), Sk. and origl. vam, Gk. Feμ; √voc for *vee in uoc-are (cry), uōc-em (acc. voice), origl. vak, Sk. vak, Gk. Φαρ; √veh in ueh-o (carry), origl. vagh, Sk. vah, Gk. Feχ, Goth. vag; √vol in vol-t (he wills), Sk. and origl. var (uelle); oui-s (sheep), origl. avi-s, Lith. avi-s, Sk. ávi-s, Gk. δύος; nouo-s (new), orig. and Sk. náva-s, Gk. νέος, etc.

Note.—Though quis, quod, anguis, suavis are the usual ways of writing those words, yet here, too, u=v (thus quis, quod, anguis, suavis), because this u is not metrically=vowel.
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Lat. u = origl. v after mom. consonn. and n, e.g. quatuor (four), § 74. Sk. katvāras, Gk. τεταπές = τετάπες, Goth. fideðr, origl. katvāras; this u = v seems secondarily to have the force of a conson., whence e.g. the lengthening by position of the short a, expressed in the spelling quattuor; esp. often u = origl. v in the origl. st.-fmative sf. -va = Lat. -uo, -vo, later uu, vu, which in Lat. were sounded -uo (later -uu), fem. -ua, after most consonn., except r, l, q, e.g. al-ūo-s (‘the nourishing — ’), √al (al-o, nourish); ar-ūo-m (‘the ploughed — ’), √ar (plough); eq-ūo-s (horse), origl. ak-va-s, Sk. áç-va-s (‘the running — ’), origl. √ak (run), etc.; but uac-uo-s (empty), √uac; noc-uo-s (hurtful), re-li-uo-s (left over) bes. re-liq-uo-s, √noc, lic (altogether usage often wavers betw. v and u, as aqüae, acuam, bes. aqva; tencia, genva, bes. tennia, genua, etc.); con-tig-uo-s (contiguous), √tag (tango); de-cid-uo-s (falling off), √cad (cad-o); in-gen-uo-s (inborn, free), √gen (gi-gn-o, gen-us); süd-ør (sweat), süd-are (sweat), prob. for *süd-ör, *süd-are (as e.g. gen. senatus for senatuis), and this for *svid-ør, *svid-are, √svid, cf. iðiω for *σFiò-ω, Sk. svid-yāmi, O.H.G. swizzan, sweiʒ, swiʒ, earlier svit, origl. svid (sweat), etc.

Note.—suos (his) is not = sva-s, but was sounded sovos in the earlier lang.; accordingly we have also tuis = tovos; in Lat. and in Gk. there is here a step-fmn. of u to eu, ou (ćeös, τćeös = *seu-os, *teu-os), whilst the other langg. show v.

Not unfreq. v disappears entirely, thus e.g. se, si-bi (himself), etc., for *see, *svi-bi, fr. st. origl. sva-; te (thee), ti-bi (to thee), for *tre, *tei-bi, cf. Sk. tva-m (n. sg.); for origl. initial sva-, so-occurs regularly (v. supr. § 33); canis (hound) for *cvan-is, cf. κώνω, Sk. st. ĝvan, f.f. kvan-; suadeo (recommend) for *suadweo, fr. suavis (sweet) = suade-i-s, cf. G. ἡδύς, Sk. svādū-s; deus (god) = *dēus, *dēo-s, *dei-o-s, *devo-s, f.f. daiv-a-s, cf. Sk. dēva-s, Lith. dēva-s. The later lang. permits frequent loss of v from betw. vowels, e.g. suus, suum, for earlier (inscr.) souos, souom (*suvus, *suvum); fluunt, earlier (inscr.) flouont; fui = *fui, and so, too, in other like cases; boum for bouum; prudens fr. prouidens;
§ 74. nōlo = *neuolo; amarunt = amauerunt, etc. Yet novos, ovis, etc., with v preserved, are the only fms. found.


§ 75. Nasals.

1. Origl. n = Lat. n. As in other Indo-Eur. langg., so also in Lat., origl. n bef. gutt. consonn. becomes gutt., bef. labb. it becomes lab., i.e. m, (n = gutt. n, § 4). Exx.: ne (negation), in ne-c, ne-fas, etc., Sk. and origl. na; in-, Umbr. an-, Gk. ãv-, Sk. and origl. an- (neg. in composn.); /neæ in neæ-are (kill), noc-ère (hurt), Gk. νεκ, Sk. naq, origl. nak; st. noc-ti (night) in noc-te-m, origl. nak-ti-, cf. Lith. nak-ti-s, Gk. st. νυκτ-, Sk. nátta-m (adv. by night); náuis (ship), Sk. and origl. náus, Gk. νάυς; /gev in gen-us (race), gi-g(e)n-o (beget), Gk. γεν, Sk. γαν, origl. gan; n is common in suff., e.g. origl. -na in plè-nu-s (full), f.f. prá-na-s, origl. par-na-s, /par (fill), na fms. the perf. part. pass., but has also various other functions, e.g. som-nu-s (sleep) for *sop-nu-s, origl. and Sk. sváp-na-s, Gk. ϒπ-νο-ς; sf. -man, e.g. in *gnó-men, nô-men (name), Sk. ná-man-, origl. gná-man-; -nti, -nt, fm. 3 pl. vb., e.g. *fero-nti, feru-nt, = φέρο-ντι, Sk. and origl. bhára-nti, etc.

Exx. of change of n to ñ, m, are found in pres. fmn., e.g. iu-n-go (join), viug, ru-m-po (break), Sk. lu-m-pámi, vrup, Sk. lup, which in f.f. were prob. yug-námi, rup-námi; only later did the nasal pass into the root, whereby arose yuñgámi, rum-pámi, i.e. iungo, rumpo.

Note.—On gn v. supr. § 72, 1, n. 5.

2. Origl. m = Lat. m, e.g. /men in me-min-i (remember), men-tem, mens (mind), moneo (warn), Gk. μεν, origl. and Sk. man (think); má-ter (mother), μη-της, Sk. má-tá, origl. má-tar-s;
\( \sqrt{\text{mor}} \) in mor-i (die), mor-tuos (dead), Sk. and origl. mar; \( \sqrt{\text{uom}} \) § 75. for *uem in uom-o (spue) (§ 33), Gk. Φευ, Sk. and origl. vam, etc. In sff. also m often occurs, e.g. sf. -men, origl. man, as in *gnō-men, nō-men, Sk. nā-man-, origl. gnā-man; origl. sf. -ma, an intensive, most often forming superl., esp. in combination with sf. -ta, as ta-ma, Lat. e.g. in pri-mu-s, optu-mu-s; -m 1 pers. sg., -mus 1 pl., e.g. (e)s-u-m fr. *es-mi, Gk. ει-μι fr. same f.f., Sk. and origl. ās-mi; feri-mus, Gk. φέρο-με, Dor. φέρο-μες, Sk. and origl. bhārā-masi; -m of ace. sing., e.g. equo-m, Sk. ácēa-m, cf. Gk. ἥπταο-ν, with ν for μ, acc. to Gk. sound-laws of termn., origl. akvea-m, etc.

Note.—In tene-brae (darkness), prob. for *tenes-brae, *temes-brae, \( \sqrt{\text{tam}} \) in Sk. tām-as (darkness), O.H.G. dēm-ar (dawn), etc., n has arisen by dissimiln. fr. m, to avoid the labialism *temebrae; in nōnus (ninth) for *nōmus, *nouimus, cf. nonem (nine), septimus bes. septem, decimus bes. decem, primus, etc., the init. n has had an assimilating influence; gener (son-in-law) does not stand for *gemen on acct. of γαμβρός (on which cf. § 66, 1, n. 1), because *gemen would have stood its ground like wōmer (ploughshare), also Sk. ġā-mātar- (son-in-law) proves nothing, because it is a compd. of ġā (come after) from \( \sqrt{\text{ga}} \), origl. ga (gi-gn-ere), and mā-tar- (bearing, bringing forth); gen-er, st. gen-ero- for gen-ro-, is derived rather fr. \( \sqrt{\text{gen}} \) (beget), sf. ra, in this case with auxil. vowel i, pronounced e bef. r (§ 38).

r- and l-sounds.

Origl. r=Lat. r, l.

Lat. r=origl. r, e.g. rex (king), i.e. *rēg-s, origl. rāg-s, cf. Sk. st. rāg- (id.); \( \sqrt{\text{rub}} \) in rub-er (red), rub-ru-m, cf. ē-rub-th-pō-s, ē-rub-pō-v, Sk. rudh-i-rā-m, origl. rudh-ra-s, rudh-ra-m; \( \sqrt{\text{rup}} \) in ru-m-p-o (break), rup-tu-s, cf. Sk. lup (rumpere) in lu-m-p-āmi, lup-tā-s, Lith. lup in lup-ti (flay); \( \sqrt{\text{or}} \) in or-ior (rise), or-tus, cf. ὄρ-υμμυ, Sk. and origl. ar; \( \sqrt{\text{ar}} \) in ar-o (plough), cf. ἀρ-ῶ, Sel. or-yq, ar-atrum (plough), cf. ἀρ-ότροβ, O. Bulg. or-alo for *or-adlo; \( \sqrt{\text{fer}} \), 1 sg. pres. fer-o (bear), Gk. φέρ, 1 sg. pres. φέρ-ω, Sk. and origl. bhār, 1 sg. pres. bhār-āmi; frā-ter (brother), φρά-τωρ, Sk. bhrātā, origl. bhrā-tar-s, etc. r is frequent in
§ 76. stem-formative particles, thus in sff. *ro, *ru, origl. *ra (rub-ru-m, origl. *rudh-ra-m); *tö̈r, origl. *tär (da-tö̈r, origl. da-tär-s, n. sg.); *tro, *tru, origl. *tra; in word-formative particles, i.e. in case- and person-terms., it does not occur.

Lat. / = origl. r (cf. 'sound-laws,' upon Lat. interchange of l with r for purposes of dissimiln.), e.g. /loc (speak) in loqu-or, loc-utus, Gk. λακ, Sel. rek (rek-α, loquor), origl. rak; /lic in luc-erna (lamp), líc-em (acc. light), Gk. λυκ, Sk. ruk, Goth. luh, origl. ruk; /lic in língu (leave), re-lic-tus, Gk. ἥπτ (λεπτω), Sk. rík, origl. rik; /lig in língo (lick), Gk. λυχ (λέχω), Sk. lih, origl. rígh; /lub in lub-et (it pleases), Goth. lub (liubs, love), Sk. lubh (desire), origl. rubh; leuis (light) fr. *legu-is, cf. Gk. ἐ-λαχύ-σ, Sk. laghú-s, origl. raghu-s; plé-nu-s (full), f.f. prá-na-s, parall. fm. to par-na-s, Zend perenô, Sk. pûrû-s, i.e. origl. par-na-s, Goth. fulls for *ful-na-s; sollus (whole, Fest.) for *soluo-s, parall. fm. to sal-u-o-s (whole), Gk. *σλυος, Sk. and f.f. sár-va-s; /uol, uel, in uol-t (he wills), f.f. var-ti, uel-le (will), for *uel-se (v. post), Sk. and origl. var (choose), etc. In st.-formative particles also / is common.

§ 77. Sketch of some Sound-laws which are important for Comparative Grammar.

Medial.

1. Assimilation. We omit here the assimilns. which occur in prepositional compds.; they bear a subordinate meaning for Compar. Gr., and belong to the Special Gr. of Latin. Further, except that they are treated as well known, they are not at all, or only briefly, mentioned.

a. Complete assimiln. of foregoing to following consonn. This occurs after long vowels, after which doubled consonn. cannot easily be made audible, and can scarcely be distinguished from evanescence (ejection) of the former conson.; whilst after short vowels the doubling of the conson. is the distinctive mark of real assimiln. As, however, the evaporation of one conson. bef. another can hardly be conceived of as con-
ditioned in any other way than by assimilation. The following cons., we § 77. likewise treat here of cases where consonants are lost before consonants.

The doubling of consonants was not characterized in writing before Ennius; in inscriptions it does not appear in frequent use until after 640 A.D.

Note.—Upon the doubled tenuis in Latin, cf. C. Pauli, Zeitschr. xviii. 1 sqq., where many words of difficult etymology are considered. Acc. to Pauli the doubling is not seldom unoriginal, and arises ‘through sharpened pronunciation.’


Complete assimilation of foregoing to following consonants after long vowels; the spelling does not show the doubling in these cases. The assimilation (dropping out) of d, t, and often n before s, is well known; a foregoing short vowel therefore becomes long, wherein we believe we see an evidence that a doubling of the consonant was once really in existence, e.g. suasi fr. *suad-si, pf. fr. suad-em, etc.; pēs = *pēd-s, cf. pēd-em; miles, milēs only later, fr. *milēs, cf. milit-em; formōsus fr. *formonsus, sf. orig. -vans fr. -vant, whose v disappeared; equōs fr. *equon-s, i.e. acc. sg. equo-m + pl. -sign s; consul bes. cōsul; quoties = *quotient-s bes. quoties; censor, censeō, bes. rarer cēsor, cēseo, etc. Thus the language has sometimes decided early in favour of loss of n, whilst at others the n has stood exclusively for a longer time, and until a later period of written language.

A following j assimilates itself not seldom to preceding g; j is then written indivisibly, but the foregoing vowel, if short before, now becomes long (cf. § 39, 1), e.g. mā-iōr fr. *māg-yor, cf. mag-nus, v*mag, orig. magh (wax); ā-io fr. *āg-yo, cf. ad-āg-ium,
§ 77. *v*ag, Sk. *ah*, origl. *agh* (say); *mê-*io by dissimiln. (cf. § 38) fr. *mi-*yo for *mîg-yo, cf. *mi-*n-g-o, *mîg, Gk. *μήχ, origl. *mîgh* (cf. § 74, 1). Bef. origl. sf. *-ya, *g remains, because here *y* changes into *i* (§ 74, 1), e.g. ad-*ag-*iu-*m, nau-*frâg-*iu-*m. Cf. the extensive loss of consonn. before *y* with compensatory lening in composition, e.g. se(d)-iun-*go, pe(r)-iero, di(s)-iudico, tra(ns)-iecio, etc.

Loss of *g* bef. v without compensat. lengthening occurs, e.g. in brêu-*is* for *bregu-*is, cf. *βραχύ-*ς; lêu-*is* for *lêgu-*is, cf. *ε-λαχύ-*ς; niu-*is* for *nîgu-*is, cf. *nice=înîg-*ς, nîgu-*o; accordingly the same process must be assumed in uîuo for *ûgû-*o, cf. uîxi, i.e. *ûig-*îi, *ûig-* (v. §§ 72, 1; 73, 1).

*d* disappears bef. v in suâu-*is* for *suâd-*uis, cf. Gk. ἱδο-ς, Sk. svâdû-ς.

Bef. nasals sometimes *g*, oftener *c*, disappears (*c* may also remain and become *g*, v. *c* in this section), more rarely without, more often with compensatory lengthening, *c* was evidently softened to *g* before it fell out (v. *c*), e.g. stî-*mulus* (goad), stî-*mulo* (I goad), *v*stîg, raised a step to stîg (in-stîg-*o*, urge), nasalized in in-stînc-*us* (urged)=*in-*stîng-*us*, cf. Gk στιχώ (prick)=*στήρ-γο; ex-*a-men* (swarm of bees, rank) for *ex-*ag-*men*, *v*ag in a-gere bes. ag-*men*, teg-*men*, seg-*mentum* (*g* is common bef. *n*, e.g. lig-*num*, dig-*nus*, mag-*nus*, etc.); *uâ-*nus* (empty) fr. *ûac-*nus, cf. uâc-*nos* (empty); dé-*nî* (ten apiece) fr. *dêc-*ni, cf. déc-*em*; pî-*nus* fr. pîc-*nus*, cf. pîx, pîc-*i* (pitch; pînus, on acct. of the vowel, cannot be akin to πεύκ-η, Germ. vih-ic-te, which point to a *v*uk); *nc* disappears thus in quî-nî (five apiece) for *quînec-*ni, cf. quînque (five).

Before *m*, *c* disappears in là(c)-*men* (light), where it is doubtful whether the vowel is simple or whether it is raised in the scale, whether fr. *lîc-*men or *louc-, *lûc-*men; *es*, i.e. *x*, disappeared bef. *m* in se-*mestris* (six-monthly) for *sex-*mestris, prob. also in te-*mo* (pole) for *tex-*mo, cf. O.H.G. dihs-*ila*, and Sk. *v*takš (compose, make).

Bef. *m*, *b* disappears, e.g. glîm-*a* (shell) for *glûb-*ma, cf. glûb-*ere* (pare); grêm-*ium* (lap) for *greb-*mi-*um*, cf. Sk. gûrb-*a* (masc. id.), etc. (Corss. Krit. N. p. 236).
Bef. \( l, x \) has died out in \( tē-la \) (web), which, however, can only § 77. be explained as prob. coming fr. \( *tex-la \), cf. \( tex-ere \) (weave).

Bef. \( c, d \) and \( t \) disappear in \( hoc \) for \( *hod-c, *hod-ce \), cf. \( quod \); \( ac \) for \( *at-c, cf. atque \).

Bef. sonant consonn. \( s \) disappears, thus e.g. bef. \( n \) in \( pō-no \) for \( *pos-no \), cf. \( pos-ui \); \( cē-na \) for \( *ces-na \), cf. Umbr. \( ces-na \); \( penis \) for \( *pes-nis \), cf. \( πέος \) for \( *πεο-ος \); \( Sk. pās-as \); in \( penna \) for earlier \( pesna \) the assimiln. has been kept, \( pesna \) stands for \( *pet-na \) (v. c), \( \sqrt{pet} \), \( πέρ \), Sk. \( pat \) (fly), cf. \( praet-pez-es \) (aves; Fest.), O.H.G. \( fēd-arā, fēd-ah \), Gk. \( πτερ-λον \), \( πτερ-πόν \) (feather, wing), etc.

Bef. \( m, s \) is lost in \( rē-mus \) (oar), cf. \( tri-resmus \) (three-oared) Col. Rostr., \( res-mus \) stands for \( *ret-mus \), cf. \( é-pter-mās \); \( s \) is lost without compensatory lengthening in \( Cāmēna \) for \( Cas-mena \), \( \sqrt{cas} \), cf. \( car-men \), Sk. \( \sqrt{gas}, \sqrt{gās} \) (count, say).

Bef. \( n \) and \( m \), \( s \) also becomes \( r \). v. e.

Bef. \( l, s \) is lost in \( corpor-lentus \) for \( *corpus-lentus \), cf. \( corpus, corpor-is \).

Bef. \( d, s \) is lost in, e.g. \( iā-dex \) for \( *iās-dex, i-dem \) for \( *is-dem \), \( di-duco \) for \( *dis-duco \), etc., but it remains in \( trans-duco \), \( trans-do \), bes. \( trā-dāco, trā-do \), further in cases like \( eius-dem, cuius-dam \).

Bef. \( b \), also, \( s \) is lost, e.g. \( tene-brae \) for \( tenēs-brae \), and the like; v. post.

Bef. \( d, r \) is lost with compensat. lengthening in \( pēd-o, pōd-ex\), bes. \( πέρδω \), Sk. \( \sqrt{pard} \), O.H.G. \( farz \), Lith. \( perd \) (1 sg. pres. \( pérdzu-*perd-ya \).

The change of \( r \) to \( s \) by assimiln. is well known, e.g. \( rūsum, russum \), bes. \( rur-sum, sū-sum \) bes. \( sur-sum, retrō-sum \) bes. \( retror-sum \), etc.

Bef. \( sc \), consonn. are lost, prob. only to make pronunciation simpler and easier; thus in \( di-sco \) for \( *dic-sco \), cf. \( di-dic-i \); \( po-sco \) (where \( sc \) became fixed, though origl. only in pres., cf. \( po-posc-i \)), prob. for \( *poro-sco \), cf. \( \sqrt{proc}, prec \), in \( proe-ax, proc-us, prec-or \), cf. Germ. \( frah, frag \) (in Goth. \( fraih-nan- \), N.H.G. \( frag-en \) ); \( mi-sceo \) for \( *mig-sceo \), cf. \( µίγ-νυμ \) (here, too, has the \( sc \) in Lat. grown into the root).

It is certain that certain groups composed of more consonn. were lightened by the evaporation (ejection) of one of these consonn.


On the other hand, *res* was tolerated in fine, in arx, merx.

Also the combinations *s-br,* *r-br* are avoided by the evaporation of the s, r, bef. b, e.g. *mulie-bris* for *mulier-bris* (or *mulies-bris)*; *fune-bris* for *funes-bris* bes. *funer-a,* *funus;* *tene-brae,* *tene-brae,* *temes-brae,* (§ 75, 2, n.); *fe-bris,* *he-bris,* for *fer-bris,* √*fer* (in *fer-uor,* etc.), origl. *ghar* (§ 73, 1; Corss. Krit. Beitr. 204 sqq.; Ebel, Zeitschr. xiv. 78; cf. L. Meyer, Comp. Gr. ii. 235, 241). Similarly in above-mentioned *tos-tus* for *tors-tus,* etc.

*Quintus* for *Quinc-tus* is late, cf. common *Quinc-tius* bes. later *Quin-tius;* the same holds good in *au-tor* for *auc-tor* fr. *aug-tor,* etc. Yet it cannot be doubted that *c* was lost bef. *t* sporadically even at an earlier period of the lang. in such cases as *in-uic-tus* fr. *in-uic-(i)-tus,* √*uic,* *uec,* Gk. *Feκ* (∥κ-ών), Sk. *vač,* i.e. *vak* (will): *in-uic-tare* fr. *in-uic-(i)-tare,* √*uic,* *uec,* *uec* (*uec-are,* Gk. *Feπ,* Sk. *vaκ,* origl. *vak* (speak), etc. (cf. Corss. Krit. B. p. 4 sqq., and Krit. N. p. 47 sqq. where other views, however, are expressed). Also *Vitoria, Vitorius,* are supported
by inscr. as by-forms of Victorius, -a (Corss. Krit. N. p. 45 § 77. sqq.). v. another explanation of inúitäre, etc., in § 39, 2.

b. Complete assimiln. of following to foregoing consonn. This branch of assimiln. is well represented in Lat.; thus e.g. t of superl. termn. -timu-s (origl. and Sk. -tama-s, retained in op-timus) is assimil. to s in -is-simus= *is-timus; is, the shortest fm. of origl. -yans, which is in Lat. īōs, īor, īus, is accordingly the compar.-sf. to which the superl. is added, e.g. longis-simus fr. *longis-tumu-s; so too t of -timus becomes assimil. to r and l in those superl. which are fmd. fr. an unraised adj.-stem, e.g. celer-rimus fr. *celer-timu-s, *facil-timu-s, facit-tumu-s, etc., unless these superl. stand (as G. Curt. conjectures in a letter) for *celer-is-timus, *facil-is-timus, *celerstimus, *facilstimus, *celersimus, *facilsimus.

s is assimil. to r in torr-eo for *tors-eo bes. tos-tu-m for *tors-tu-m, terra for *ters-a, origl. √tars (be dry), as in Germ. dūrr-e bes. durs-t; fer-rem, vel-lem, are fr. *fer-sem, *vel-sem, cf. ama-rem for *ama-sem, fac-sem, etc. (cf. Corss. Krit. B. 402 sqq.).

Perh. y has become similar to the preceding consonn. in pres. fmns. with doubled root-termns., as pello, fallo, curro, mitto, etc., though the combinations īio, rio, tio, are ordinary (v. pres.-st.).

v seems assimil. to preceding l in pallor, pallidus, for *pal-uor, *pal-uidus, cf. O.H.G. falo, falaw-er, falw-er, Lith. and f.f. pāle-as (fallow—of deer); mollis, prob. fr. *molvis, *molde-is, =Sk. mrdū-s, f.f. mardu-s; sollu-s (totus) equal to saluo-s, Sk. sārva-s, Gk. ὅλος for *διςΦος. In these double fns. (sollus: saluos:: pello: alius) we must prob. recognize traces of a mixture of dialects.

t after s becomes assimil. to it, in censor, census, √cens + sff. -tor-, -tu-, cf. Osk. cens-tur, cens-tom = censum. Moreover, assimiln. of t to foregoing s occurs in the many cases where fr. d, t+t arise (subsequently st, cf. 2, Dissimiln.); after short vowels the doubling is expressed in writing as well, after long vowels, and after consonn. we find regularly only one s; yet we find by their side spellings such as fussus, cassus, diviissio, rissus, etc.,—which have therefore a good foundation in the lang.—

c. Partial assimiln. of foregoing to follg. consonn.

It is well known that bef. mutes mom. sonant consonn. become mute; e.g. ac-tus for *ag-tus, cf. ag-o; scrip-tus, scrip-si, for *scrib-tus, *scrib-si, cf. scrib-o, etc.; in uec-tus bes. neh-o, origl. vagh-āni, we must assume a representation of origl. gh by Lat. g: origl. vagh-ta-s, Lat. *neg-to-s, uec-tu-s. On the other hand, sec-arc, salic-em, stand bes. seg-mentum, salig-nus, etc.; the sonant consonn. m, n, here change c to son. g.

Lab. moment. consonn. pass into their nasals bef. n: som-nus, Sam-nium, for *sop-nus, *Sab-nium (cf. sop-ire, Sab-īni, Sab-elli).

The earlier lang. still shows s bef. nasals, softened fr. t, as res-mu-s (rēmus) fr. *rel-mu-s (ē-per-mū-s); pes-na (penna) fr. *pet-na (√pet, fly, v. a).

Quadra-ginta bes. quatri-duo is peculiar; t bef. sonant r has become d.

From origl. tr in Lat. there have arisen sometimes *thr, dhr, br, through the aspirating force of the r (v. supr. Gk., also Zend), (on b as a representative of origl. dh, v. § 73, 2), e.g. consobrinus (cousin) for *-sosbrinus (s bef. b is lost regularly, v. sup.), and this for *sosdhrinus, *sosthrinus, *sostrinus, fr. *sostor-inu-s, st. *sos-tor-, usu. *sosor-, soror- (sister); salābris fr. *salus-bris, and this for *salus-dhris, *salus-thris, *salus-tris, *salut-tris (salus, salut-is). Cf. Ebel, Zeitschr. xiv. 78; Kuhn, Zeitschr. xiv. 222, xv. 238. On the other hand, Cors. Krit. N. p. 186 sqq.
d. Partial assimilation of following to foregoing § 77. consonants. This takes place esp. in the case of t, which, after nasals and liquids, commonly changes into spir. s; the same tendency is seen after gutt. (after c), —the latter occurs also in Sk. (v. § 52, 2, n. 2); e.g. man-sum for *man-tu-m (man-eo); in Leu-cesie—important on acct. of eu, v. § 36—(voc.; title of Iuppiter) for *leucetie, fr. *Leuentie, cf. Leuentios, Loucetios, for *leucent-ios, *loucent-ios, further fnum. fr. *leucent-, loucent-, pres. part. act. fr. *leuc-o, *louc-o, f.f. rauk-ami, √luc, origl. ruk (Corss. Krit. B. 471); t has become s after origl. n, which afterwards was lost, in the same way; pul-su-s for *pul-tu-s (pel-lo, pe-pul-i), sparr-sus for *spar(g)-tu-s (sparg-o), etc.; but by their side occur ten-tu-s (and ten-su-s), sepul-tu-s (sepel-io), tor-tu-s for *tor(c)-tu-s, (torqu-eo), etc.; *mac-simu-s thus is for *mag-timu-s (mag-nus); cf. op-timu-s; fixus, i.e. fio-su-s, for *fig-tu-s (figo); noxa, i.e. *noc-sa, for *noc-ta (noc-eo), etc., bes. ac-tu-s (ag-o), fio-tu-s (√fig in fi-n-g-o), and many others with retained t.

Regularly t does not pass into s after n, when nt belongs to one and the same word-formative particle, e.g. feru-nt, fere-nt-em, etc. (yet cf. above-mentioned Leucesios for *Leucentios).

Lapsus for *lap-tu-s, *lab-tu-s, is singular (cf. lab-i), bes. scrip-tu-s (scrib-ere), cf. Corss. Krit. B. 420 sqq. (Ebel, Zeitschr. xiv. 245 sqq. here assumes an inserted s: *lap-stus, *man-stum, to which t was assimil'd.)

Note.—Yet mend-ax belongs prob. to ment-iri, according to the system laid down by Schuchardt, Vocalismus des vulgär-lateins, Lpz. 1866; cf. however on this point Aufrecht in Zeitschr. ix. 232; Corss. Krit. B. 117 sqq.

e. Change of s to r betw. vowels, or betw. vowels and sonant consonn., also after vowels in termination (in the lang. in question). The sonant consonn. here change the mute s into sonant r. The same process takes place, e.g. in Germ. also (war, wären, for was, wäsen, √was, cf. ge-wes-en, etc.), and in Sk. So, e.g. in gener-is (genus) for old Lat. *genes-os; maiiores fr. *maiose-s; erat fr. *esat, √es, etc.;
§ 77. ueter-nus fr. *uetes-nus (uetus, ueter-is); car-men fr. *cas-men, cf. Old-Lat. Cas-mena, *vases; diur-nus, ho-dier-nus, from an otherwise lost st. *dies—origl. divas (in dies, diei, the final s of the root has been lost), etc.; arbor for earlier arbos; amor fr. *amos, *amo-se, etc. In fine this r for s is caused through analogy of the other fms. (arbor-is, amar-is). Betw. vow. s has remained but rarely, e.g. nasus, cf. Sk. nas, Scl. nosa, etc., miser, uasa, posui; regularly s only remains instead of ss, e.g. casus for cassus fr. *cad-tu-s, etc. (v. b).

f. Loss of conson. betw. vowels. Here too we see a kind of assimiln., in that sonant conson. become thereby similar to the surrounding vowels, and are swallowed up by them, so that only the attendant accent remains.

In the Romance langg. this process is very common (e.g. ducatus, It. ducato, Sp. ducado, Fr. duché). The commonest case is the loss of y and v, as moneo, monës, fr. *moneyo, *moneyis, f.f. mänayäm, mänayasi; anasti fr. *amaisti, amanisti; fluont, fluunt, fr. *fouont, etc. Exceptionally s has been lost betw. two vowels (Corss. Krit. Beitr. 464 sqq.), thus e.g. in uër (spring) fr. *veser, cf. Gk. ἔαρ for *Fesap, Lith. vasarë (summer), Sk. vas-antä-s (spring), O. Bulg. ves-na; uis, uim, bes. uires, uirium, st. uis-, uiri-; prob. through analogy fr. origl. *divas- arose a fr. diës, diei, bes. ho-dier-nus, fr. *dives-no-s; fr. origl. and Sk. nábhas-, nábës, nábi-s; fr. origl. and Sk. sadas- (cf. Gk. ἐδος), sédës, sëdi-s, and other like forms. Further, loss of origl. bh, Lat. f, b, has certainly occurred in ama- ui for *ama-fui, etc.; in dat. pl. e.g. equës, f.f. akva-bhya(m)ës (v. § 73, 3). On the doubtful loss of c betw. vow. s, cf. § 39, 2; § 77, a, sub fin.; on loss of h, cf. § 73, 1.

g. Evident insertion of conson. betw. concurrent conson. The change fr. m to mp, for the accommodation of m to the follg. s, t, is well known; it occurs in the best MSS. (e.g. in Cod. Medic. Vergili), e.g. hiem-p-s, sum-p-si, sum-p-tus, etc. Def. the s, t, m became an audible conclusion, i.e. changed to mp.

2. Dissimilation.

t, d, before follg. t, change into s (as in Zend, Gk., Scl.-Germ.),
e.g. eques-ter, pedes-ter, for *equet-ter, *pedet-ter, cf. equit-is, § 77. pedit-is; es-t, es-tis, for *ed-t, *ed-tis, cf. ed-o; claus-trum for *claud-trum, cf. claud-o; st. potēs-tātī- (potestas) for *potents-tātī- 
fr. *potent-tātī-, st. potent- (potens) + sf. -tātī-, etc.

Likewise through the striving after dissimiln. -ālī-s is inter-
changed with -āri-s; the latter is found in those cases where the 
word-st. to which this secondary sf. is added contains an l, e.g. 
mor-tali-s, but uol-gari-s, popul-ari-s, epul-ari-s.

In the dislike of the immediate succession of two like sounds 
is found also the cause of the contraction of two like or similar 
consonn., which are separated by only one vowel, into one, 
through evanescence of the intervening vowel (cf. Gk. § 68, 2; 
a similar phenom. in M.H.G. has been mentioned by me in 
Kuhn’s Zeitschr. x. 160); thus consuetūdō for *consuēti-tūdō 
(con-suētu-s), st. aessūtī- for *aessitūtī- (aestu-s), st. nūtrīc- 
for nūtrī-trīc- (nutrī-re), stipendium for *stipī-pendium (stip-s, stip-is), 
ueñēficus for *uenēni-ficus (uenēnu-m), etc. (L. Meyer. Comp. Gr. 
i. 281).

Initial.

§ 78.

In Lat. more than in the other kindred langg., where loss of 
initial consonn. occurs in the main only sporadically, initial 
consonn. are exposed to evaporation: of two initial consonn.
the former often falls away, yet even one single conson. is found 
to disappear bef. a follg. vowel (c bef. u).

Thus no Lat. word begins with sn, sm, sr; where these com-
binations origl. occurred initially, the s is lost, and only the 
second conson. remains, e.g. nix, niuīs, fr. *snīg-s, *snīgīs (v. 
supr. § 72, 1), cf. Zend √ snīž (snow), O. Bulg. snēg-ū (snow), 
Lith. snīg-tī (snow, v.), snēg-as (snow, n.), Goth. snaīv-s (snow); 
nurus (daughter-in-law) fr. *snurus, cf. O.H.G. snur, Sk. snušā, 
me-mor (mindful) fr. *sme-mor (cf. spo-pond-i, ste-tī for *ste-stī, 
etc.), and this fr. *sme-smor, as Sk. and origl. √ smar (bethink; 
on √ flu-origl. sru, v. § 71, 3 n.).

Neither does initial vr, vl, occur in Lat., e.g. laqueus (noose), 
cf. Goth. vruggō (sling), *vriggan (wring, wind); lacer (torn),
§ 78. cf. ἀκός (rag), Aiol. βράκος, i.e. ἄρκος, Sk. ʌevaɪk, i.e. ʌvak (tear); radix (root), cf. ἱζα, Lesb. βρίζος, i.e. ἄριζα, *ʌrδ-ya, Goth. vaïrts (root), O.H.G. wurza, wurzala, f.f. of root therefore ʌrad, etc.

Bef. f, s has disappeared in fallere (deceive) bes. σφάλλευν, fungus (id.) bes. σφόγγος, funda (sling) bes. σφενδόνη, fides (lyre) bes. σφίδη; on the conjectured loss of s bef. p, v. Corss. Krit. B. 457.

More singular, on the other hand, are cases like teg-o (cover) for *steg-o, cf. i-steg-a for *in-steg-a (cover), Gk. στέγ-ο, στέγ-η, bes. τέγ-η, Lith. stógas (roof), in Germ. likewise the s is lost, cf. deck-en, dach; tundo (thump), /tud, bes. a^evhovrj, fides (lyre) bes. a-lSr); on the conjectured loss of s hef.p, v. Corss. Krit. B. 457.

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nā-tus for earlier gnā-tus, preserved in co-gnā-tus, /gna fr. gan § 78. (gignere), cf. gen-us. The same sound-law, by which an initial gutt. + n becomes n, occurs also in Eng.: the old initials gn, kn, are still noticeably written in Eng. of this day, in words like gnat, gnaw, knowledge, etc., but g, k, are no longer heard. Cf. loss of gutt. bef. nasals medially (§ 77, 1, a).

Similarly at a later period of the lang. st was lost before l (Corss. Krit. B. 461, cf. 149) in st. stleiti-, steiti-, leiti-, liti- (lis, suit), bes. which we place O.H.G. strit, N.H.G. streit (in st.-terminations, it is true, this does not occur in Lat. words), in Inscrr. stis is seen, stl thus becomes l through sl: stlātu-s, lātu-s (broad), which is derived from origl. /stār (ster-no, strā-tus, στράνουμεν, etc.)—thus the origl. word means "spread"; stlocu-s, locu-s (place), which we refer to Sk. /sthal, further fmn. of stha, origl. /sta (stand), and others whose derivation is not quite clear.

As siiduis for *suadim (§ 77, 1, a), so uiginti for *duiginti, cf. duo, Sk. dea; the dropping away of the d occurs nevertheless in Gk. too (eikost), in Kelt. (Erse fiche, fichet, i.e. uiginti), in Aryan (Sk. vičati, Zend vičaiti), and thus dates from the earliest times. If *duiginti had stood its ground to a later time, *bignon would have arisen, as bis fr. *duis, bellum fr. duellum, bonus fr. duonus (duonoro; Epit. Scip. Barb. f.): here through mutual influence b has arisen, as an assimiln. of d and v, since d became assimilated to v as regards quality (labial quality), and v became like d as regards quantity, i.e. became a momentary sonant conson.

Bef. y, d is lost in Iouis, etc., for *Dyouis, cf. Old Lat. Dioue (Ioui), and Osk. Diuvel (Momms. Unterital. Diall. p. 255), Sk. dyāu-s (heaven), Gk. Zeus =*dyeu-s, etc., √duv (=dive, shine). The same loss is seen in Iuno for *Dιou-no, fmd. fr. same root (Corss. Krit. N. p. 142).

Even the favourite initial sound qu appears simplified to u in uermis (cf. Germ. wurm) for *quermis, f.f. karmi-s, Sk. krmis-s, Lith. kirm-ėlė (worm; but cf. G. Curt. Gr. Et.² p. 485 sqq.).
§ 78. so too $v$ appears to stand for $gv$ in $\sqrt{uen}$ (uenire)=*guen for *ge-n (§ 77, 1), further fmn. fr. $\sqrt{ga}$ (go), by means of $n$. At a very late period arose the loss of init. $c$ bef. $u$ in several fms. of interrog. pronn., e.g. in $u$-bi for *eu-bi or *quo-bi, kept in compd. ali-cu-bi, cf. Umbr. pufc ($p$=Lat. $c$); $u$-nde for *eu-nde, kept in ali-cu-nde; $u$-ter for *eu-ter (compar. fm. st. $cu$=quo-), cf. Osk. puturus-pid (i.e. utrique) with $p$=Lat. $c$, Gk. πότερος, earlier Ιόν. κότερος, Sk. and f.f. ka-tardś.

§ 79. 

Final.

The Lat. lang., as we have it, generally permits only single consonn. at the end of a word, but also groups of two and even three consonn., viz. nasal or liq.+mutes; mutes, $r$, $l$, $m$, $n+s$; $s+t$, e.g. ferunt, hunc, uolt, fert; scriobs, ars for *art-s, and so in similar cases (but wir for *uirs, quatuor for *quatuors, fr. *uiro-s, quatuor-es), fers (fr. feris), puls for *pult-s (but uis for *uil-s, f.f. varsi, “thou wilt,” sal for *sal-s, $s$ lost), hiem(p)s, fersens for *ferent-s, and so in such cases (but nouōs, nouās, for *nouons, *nouans); the combinations rs, ls, ns, were therefore tolerated . in these cases where they stand for rts, lts, nts, i.e. when $s$ alone =ss; est; nasal or liq.+mute+$s$, e.g. hiemps, urbs, arx, i.e. arc-s, falc, i.e. *fales; indeed our present final consonn., for by far the greatest part, did not become final until vowels had evaporated, and were not compressed until vowels had been lost. Yet in no case was a doubled conson. tolerated, in fine, e.g. os, fel, not *oss, *fell, cf. oss-is, fell-is; moreover, the combination of two mom. consonn. was not admissible, e.g. lac for *lact, cf. lact-is, and rd, cor for *cord, cf. cord-is; where these combinations should have been final, the latter conson. was discarded.

It was not until Lat. became a fixed written language in classical times that the termn. assumed a more definite existence. The earlier national archaic lang. shows in spelling a great indifference towards final consonn. In fact, the consonantal termsn. $s$, $m$, $t$, important as they are for word-formn., were sometimes expressed in writing, sometimes omitted, which
we find to be the case in Umbr. also. This fact proves that in § 79. earlier times (and later also in the unformed branch of the Roman) the final consonant were heard with difficulty, perh. as in many Romance langg. (e.g. d in Span., t, nt, etc., in Fr.). The correct lang. here introduced a fixed rule, after the pattern of the Gk.; the conson. was now either always written (the rule), or regularly discarded (the exception). A few exx. of the unsettled treatment of the termn. have remained in spelling even as late as the classical period.

We will treat separately of the final consonants, origl. s, m, t, since they are most important for grammar.

s is omitted in writing in the oldest inscrr. in cases like Tetio, Furio, n. sg. for Tetio-s, Furio-s; Corneli, Clodi, etc., for Cornelis, Clodis = Cornelios, Clodios (Ritschl, Progr. of 12 March, 1861). Yet in the earliest lang. the loss of final s is mainly confined to n. sg. It is well known that even at a later time the poets were wont to neglect final s bef. initial conson., and that the weak pronunciation of final s is otherwise attested. The written lang. in most cases decided in favour of the retention of the s. Nevertheless the wavering betw. retention and loss of final s in 2 p. sg. med. is obvious, e.g. amabaris, amabare; further in magi-s and mage, poti-s, pote, where, at the same time i was dulled to e.

The loss of s was regularly allowed, e.g. in n. pl. masc. of o-st., which in the older lang. still shows the s here and there, e.g. heis, magistreis, etc., bes. hei, magistrei; a later fm., as hi, magistri, was the one afterwards exclusively fixed upon; the same process takes place in gen. sg. fem. of a-stems, e.g. suaes, dimidiaes, later ae only is found, etc.

Through evaporation of the vowel of the last syll. s after r is lost, as in puer, uir, quatuor, acer (with auxil. vowel bef. r), for *pueros, *uiros, *quatuores (cf. τεσσαρες), acris; more rarely this occurs after l, vigil for vigilis, *vigils.

m, only faintly audible in fine, is likewise often unexpressed in earlier monuments of the lang., e.g. oino, uiro, duonoro (Epit.
§ 79. Scip.), bes. pocolom, sacrom, etc. In popular diall. this faint pronunciation of final s remains, as later inscrr. prove; the written lang., however, firmly maintained the letter in spelling. One effect of the weak pronunciation of final m must here be noticed, viz. that in verse it was not considered a conson. bef. vowels.

Also final n seems to have become only faintly heard, cf. alioqui bes. alioquin and the like (cf. however, Corss. Krit. B. 272).

Origl. final t had in earlier Lat. a weak sound, like a scarcely audible d; accordingly it is freq. omitted in writing, e.g. patre (Epit. Scip. Barb.) bes. Gnaiuod, etc. In classical Lat. d for origl. t was sometimes retained in writing, thus e.g. in ntr. pronl. decl. e.g. quo-d = origl. ka-t, id = origl. i-t, etc. (the spelling in t is rarer in these cases), sometimes completely discarded, as in abl. sg., where d = origl. t has been retained in archaic Lat. only, but was not written in class. Lat., e.g. equo-d, equo = origl. akvā-t, Sk. áçvā-t; in termn. -to of imper. t has likewise been lost, e.g. origl. as-tāt, Osk. es-tūd, Lat. esto fr. *es-tōd. Final t in Lat. is not origl., but has become final after vowel-loss, and thus remains in class. Lat., whilst archaic Lat. does not show this t, e.g. it, f.f. *ei-ti, origl. ai-ti; uheit(i), uhehunt(i), *uehonti, origl. vasei(hati), vase(hanti), etc., but archaically dede= dedet, dedit, and even indeed dedro= dedront, dederunt.

Thus nt also in earlier times and colloquial lang. was barely audible in pronunciation; wherein lies the cause of the double fms. of the later fixed spelling of 3 p. pl. pf., as fecerunt (with entire termn. retained) and fecere (with lost nt and weakened vowel).

The clipping of final conson. was even more prevalent in Umbr. than in Old Lat.; whilst the Osk. does not show this phenomenon, since there was a generally-received Samnite orthography before the time from which our earliest inscrr. date, and the popular variations in pronunciation were no longer followed in spelling.
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