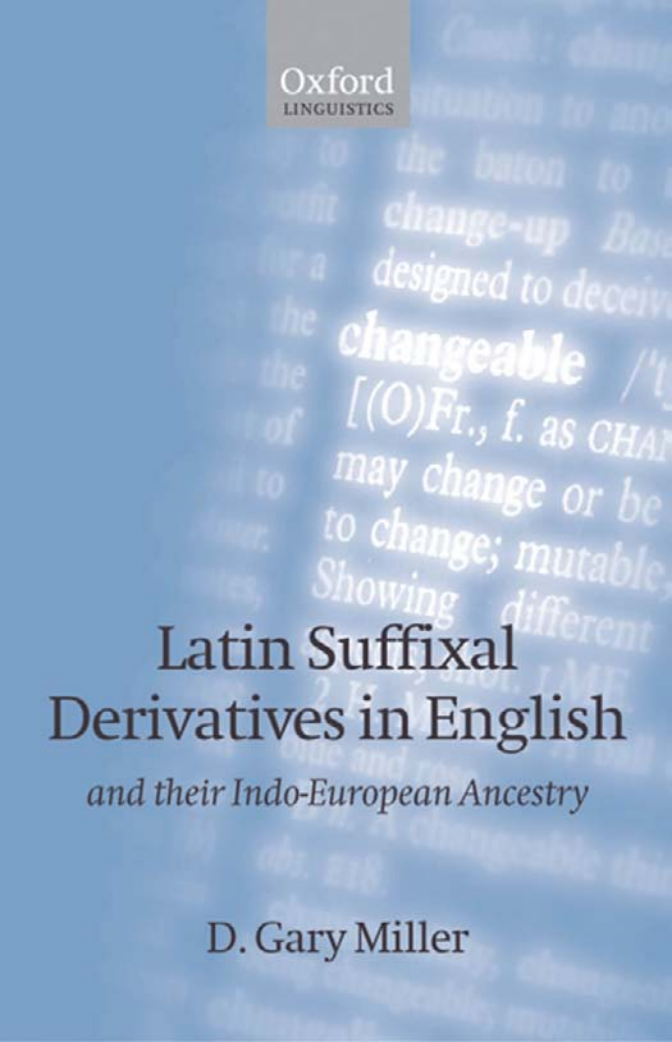

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and their Indo-European Ancestry

D. Gary Miller

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D. GARY MILLER

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Great Clarendon Street, Oxford OX2 6DP

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Published in the United States
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First published 2006

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British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Data available

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication Data

Data available

Typeset by SPI Publisher Services, Pondicherry, India
Printed in Great Britain
on acid-free paper by
Biddles Ltd, www.biddles.co.uk

ISBN 0–19–928505–5 978–0–19–928505–1

1 3 5 7 9 10 8 6 4 2

To my family: Judith, Blair, and Scott

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Preface

Aim and Coverage

The objective of this work is to provide a reliable taxonomy and brief historical account of the major Latin suffixal derivatives in English.

An updated treatment has been needed because (1) more is currently known about the history and prehistory of the Latin suffixes than previously; (2) English has had over a millennium of continuous input from French and Latin; (3) the complexity of the competition between native and borrowed suffixes in English has received considerable recent attention; and (4) Latin remains a productive source of English word formation.

The most notable feature of this work is its coverage. The number of tokens for each suffix far exceeds that of every treatise on borrowed suffixes in existence. No other work concentrates on word formation patterns in English that are due to borrowing from Latin.

Another unique feature is the loyalty to Latin derivational patterns and their development. This increases the utility for classicists, forms a basis for the study of the diffusion of classical elements in the vernaculars of Europe, and emphasizes the formal variation in which the same suffix or an alternant of it entered English at different times via different channels.

English is rich in derivational suffixes as a result of its Germanic heritage overlain by the Latin-French input. In some cases, the borrowed suffixes were different in content from the native, but in others there was competition for a domain of productivity. While this is discussed in the introductory remarks on relevant suffixes, intermediate source words, most frequently Old French/Anglo-French,[1] are minimized since they are cited in most etymological dictionaries and the OED. Instead, this work focuses on information about the Latin forms and their history that is ignored in etymological treatises.

Each suffix is accompanied by a brief note on its Indo-European or other ancestry when known. The discussion that etymological dictionaries of English words supply for root origins is thus provided for the history of suffixes. This information is followed by a sketch of the suffix's synchronic status in Latin, and a statement concerning its relative productivity in English. Since

[1] I use the term Anglo-French rather than Anglo-Norman because, from the time of the 'Norman' invasion, the French speakers in England represented mixed dialects (Rothwell 1993, 1994, 1996*a*, 1996*b*, 1998).

Modern English is targeted throughout, lists of borrowings contain the earliest examples that survive into present-day English and a sample of the more prominent later examples.

In the interest of space, the full pre-Latin background (when known) is not repeated with every example. For the most part, the prehistory is cited with only one entry that belongs to a given Indo-European root. That entry is marked with an asterisk (*) in the word index and cross-referenced in the root index to other members of the same root.

Each lemma is accompanied by an approximate date of the word's first occurrence in English and the relative date of the source word within the history of Latin.

Etymological Dictionaries

Of the numerous resources available for the study of etymology, two in particular are useful as first steps in an enquiry. These are Terry Hoad's *Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology* (CDEE) and Calvert Watkins's *American Heritage Dictionary of Indo-European Roots* (AHDR). Both are remarkable for the amount of information in a small space. For words borrowed from Latin or Greek, Hoad gives the general classical source, an Old French or other intermediary (when relevant), brief word histories in English, and broad first dates of occurrence for the main changes in usage/meaning. Watkins provides more detail on the Indo-European background of inherited words, and other words that belong to the same root. None of these provides discussion of the derivation of the Latin source word. Ernout and Meillet (1951) and Walde et al. (1982) have been consulted throughout. Since the latter is utilized by all recent works, citations are minimized.

Citation of Indo-European Roots

The general knowledge of Indo-European assumed here can be found in any of the handbooks. Especially useful are Benjamin Fortson's *Indo-European Language and Culture* (2004) and Michael Meier-Brügger's *Indo-European Linguistics* (2003).

Because of its ready accessibility, all Indo-European roots in the present work are cited as in Watkins (AHDR) unless otherwise specified. Generally, an older Proto-Indo-European (PIE) form is also provided, sometimes from AHDR and sometimes from other sources, especially Rix et al. (2001), *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben* (LIV).

Indo-European roots in an entry are cited in brackets, the first from AHDR (unspecified), the second (if present) from LIV, e.g. L *valēre* 'be powerful' [**wal-* 'be strong' = **welh-*¹ LIV 676 f.]. In many cases, as here, the LIV entry is simply the older PIE form. Since the roots are alphabetized in AHDR, no page reference is necessary unless a specific discussion is referred to. Page numbers are given for LIV roots, which are also alphabetized, but more difficult to locate given the separate listings for palatals, aspirates, specific laryngeals, etc.

Frequently the root in AHDR is a theoretical abstraction and a more specific root form is given by LIV, e.g. L *tum-ē-re* 'to swell' [**teu(h₂)-* 'swell', more specifically **twem-* LIV 654]. The LIV entry in this case is closer to the protoform of the Latin word in question.

I have taken the liberty of making certain substitutions in the interest of consistency and clarity. For AHDR's obsolete **ə*, the appropriate laryngeals (**h₁, *h₂, *h₃*) have been substituted; **h* without a number means that the precise nature of the laryngeal is undetermined. Many of the diacritics in LIV have been altered, especially *i/y, u/w* for the editors' **i̯, *u̯*, e.g. **wyek^{w}-* (= **u̯i̯ek^{u}-* LIV 696), **yeug-* (= **i̯eu̯g-* LIV 316).

When AHDR's 'oldest form' and LIV's form is the same, a single form can be cited without reference, e.g. **spék-* 'observe' for '**spek-* "to observe". (Oldest form **spék-*)' (AHDR 82) = **spék-* (LIV 575 f.). Sometimes, for simplicity, just the LIV form is cited, e.g. **ǵenh₁-* 'beget' instead of AHDR's **genə-*. Since AHDR (alone of modern sources) uses **ə* and only cites palatals as the 'older form', it is clear that **ǵenh₁-* (with palatal **ǵ* and specified laryngeal) must be from LIV (and/or AHDR's 'older form').

Another (perhaps peculiar) convention I have followed is to write the Indo-European aspirates merely as **bh, dh, ǵh, gh, g^{w}h*, except when adjacent to a laryngeal. The zero grade of **deh₃-* 'give' is written **dh₃-*, but to avoid potential confusion, that of **dheh₁-* 'put; make' is written **d^{h} h₁-* with voiced aspirate signalled by superscript *h*.

For roots not in AHDR or LIV and, more generally, whenever available, another source of background discussion is supplied, preferably in an English-language source. Semitic roots are cited from Huehnergard (2000).

Acknowledgements

Parts of this work have been presented at conferences and colloquia, and other parts read by friends and colleagues. For discussion of particular words or topics, I am indebted to Rob Adams, Phil Baldi, David Basilico, †Danielle Bro,

John Bro, Jules Gliesche, Sherry Gliesche, Helena Halmari, Frank Heidermanns, Jay Jasanoff, Brian Joseph, Arsalan Kahnemuyipour, Andrew Koontz-Garboden, Kerry Linfoot-Ham, Benedicte Nielsen, Birgit Olsen, David Pharies, Sara María Pons-Sanz, Rex Wallace, and countless others.

Special thanks go to Alfred Bammesberger and Noel E. Osselton who read and commented extensively on the entire manuscript, and to John Davey who supported this work from the very beginning.

For easy access to OED 2/3 online, I am indebted to John Davey and Ralph Watson.

Kerry Linfoot-Ham has facilitated this work and improved its quality in countless ways, including assistance with the checking of dates. My wife Judith and daughter Blair also helped with the checking of dates and the deformatting of the text.

I also wish to acknowledge Amy Wettstead who was reading the manuscript when she tragically died very unexpectedly.

The students in my etymology course must be acknowledged, as they provided much of the impetus for this work. Above all, the work owes its form to suggestions by my colleagues who teach history of English and related topics. Their concerns have been twofold: (1) there are no extensive lists in a single place to draw examples from, and (2) much of the recent discussion of the origin and history of the suffixes is in scattered works in languages other than English. In general, there is no sourcebook of this type.

Finally, this work never could have been completed without the enduring patience and support of my wife Judith.

D.G.M.

Gainesville, Fla.
July 2005

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Latin Sources and Periods

In contrast to the information typically provided by etymological dictionaries, the entries in this book contain the relative date of the Latin source word. Early Latin and classical forms are generally unspecified, unless it is relevant to mention that a specific author coined a given form, or that the word occurs only in a given author. Standard Oxford classical texts are used, unless otherwise specified.

Roman literature begins *c.*−240 with Livius Andronicus' translation of Homer's *Odyssey*. Latin writers most frequently mentioned in this work are listed below according to the major periods of Latin literary activity (cf. Serbat 1975: 12):

1 *Archaic* [to −100]: The Twelve Tables (XII Tab.) [*c.*−450], Livius Andronicus [*c.*284–204], Naevius [*c.*270–199], Ennius [239–169], Plautus [*c.*254–184], Terence [185–59], Cato (the Elder) [234–149].
2 *Ciceronian* [100–43]: Varro [116–27], Rhetorica ad Herennium (Rhet. Her.) [c–1^{b}], Cicero [106–43], Caesar [102–44], Lucretius [99–55], Catullus [84–54], Sallust [86–35].
3 *Augustan* [−43–+14]: Virgil [70–19], Propertius [50–16], Horace [65–8], Livy [−59–+17], Augustus [−43–+14], Vitruvius [time of Augustus], Ovid [−43–+18], Seneca [c.−5–+65].
4 *Silver Age*[1] [14–117] (Tiberius to Trajan): Celsus [time of Tiberius], Phaedrus [fl. *c.*30], Columella [c1^{m}], Petronius [†65], Pliny [23/24–79], Quintilian [*c.*35–*c.*95], Martial [*c.*40–104], Pliny 2 [61–113], Tacitus [*c.*55–117], Juvenal [fl. *c.*98–128].
5 *Antonine* [117–92] (death of Trajan to the death of Commodius): Suetonius [*c.*70–*c.*160], Aulus Gellius [b. c2^{b}], Apuleius [fl. *c.*155], Marcus Aurelius [†180].
6 [192–337] (Tertullian to the death of Constantine): Tertullian [*c.*150/160–*c.*240?], Cyprian [*c.*200–58], Ulpian [†228], Arnobius [c3–4], Lactantius [†325], Constantine [274–337].

[1] The label expresses a value judgement, but no better term exists (see Farrell 2001: 90 ff.).

7 [337–430] (death of Constantine to the death of Augustine): Ammianus [*c.*330–400], Ambrose [*c.*340–97], Orosius [fl. *c.*417], Jerome [347–420],[2] Donatus [fl. *c.*353], Marius Victorinus [$c4^{m}$], Augustine [354–430].

8 [430–636] (death of Augustine to the death of Isidore of Seville): Boethius [*c.*480–524], Priscian [fl. *c.*500], Cassiodorus [*c.*490–*c.*583], Isidore of Seville [*c.*560–636]. Justinian's *Digest* [533] records extracts from earlier jurists.

9 [c7/8]: Bede [672/3–*c.*735], Alcuin (Ealhwine) [*c.*730–804]. Paulus Diaconus [c8], *Epitoma Festi*, cites forms preserved by Festus [c2], here abbreviated [Paul. Fest.].

Periods (2) and (3) constitute the *Classical Period* (formerly called the *Golden Age*) [−50–+50] (cf. Reichenkron 1965: 82). As a simpler point of reference, periods (4–8) will be referred to in rounded-off figures: (4) = [c1], (5) = [c2], (6) = [c3], (7) = [c4], (8) = [c5/6]. Period 7 features several Vulgar Latin (VL) works, e.g. Egeria's *Peregrinatio ad loca sancta* [$c4^{e}$], a blend of popular and cultivated christianized Latin (Väänänen 1987), and the *Mulomedicina Chironis* [$c4^{e}/5^{b}$], both impossible to localize dialectally (E. Löfstedt 1959: 44–9). Periods (6–9) constitute *Late Latin* (cf. Meiser 1998: 2). Subsequent periods can be referred to simply as *Medieval Latin*, created in the Carolingian court *c.*800, guided by the reforms of Alcuin (Ealhwine) [*c.*730–804] (Wright 1982: 103–14, 2002: 13–16, 125–46). It is generally taken to end with the Italian Renaissance [c14–16], but, following Sharpe (1996: 98), I will treat Medieval Latin as that variety between 800 and 1200, the period of the greatest linguistic unity.

Humanistic Latin began with the Italian humanists [c14–15] who looked to classical texts as a model for their latinity. Italian scholars transported the movement to England at the beginning of the reign of Henry VI [1422–61, 1470–1] and, by 1500, humanism had diffused throughout Europe. Primarily Cicero was emulated, but the more eclectic humanists preferred coining new words over misusing old ones or resorting to clumsy circumlocutions (Tunberg 1996: 130). One of those was the Dutch theologian and scholar Desiderius Erasmus (?1466–1536), who resided at Oxford and Cambridge and wrote only in Latin. Even his *nom de plume* is classical. His original name was Geert Geerts (= *Ger-ard* 'desire'), for which he coined Desiderius (< L *dēsīderium* 'desire') and Erasmus (cf. G ἐράσμιος 'desired', ἐραστός 'beloved', etc.).

[2] Jerome's translation of the New Testament from Greek revised the earlier Latin translations (formerly called *Itala*, now generally *sacrae scripturae*) and gradually supplanted them as the *Vulgāta* VULGATE.

Humanistic Latin is sometimes referred to as *Neolatin* (also spelled Neo-Latin), from the Greek–Latin hybrid *neolatīnus* coined by Johannes Dominicus Fuss (Ijsewijn 1990–8: i. 27). Neolatin is more appropriately applied to modern technical and semitechnical vocabulary, such as NL *aconītum Perūviānum* ['Peruvian poison'] 'tobacco' (*aconītum* < G ἀκόνιτον, a poisonous plant), *aurōra boreālis* ['northern daybreak'] 'northern lights', *gallīnāgō* 'snipe', *impressiō* 'printing' (> IMPRESSION), etc. (Tunberg 1996: 132).

The term Modern Latin, formerly in use, is abandoned in OED 3 in favour of a more specific designation, such as scientific Latin. Many are simply 'formations within English (albeit from wordforming elements ultimately of classical origin)' (Simpson et al. 2004: 371). I have retained the term Neolatin for modern technical uses and coinages.

Stages of Classical borrowing

Latin (and its Greek loanwords) entered English at several times and places:

1 borrowings into early Germanic;
2 loanwords on British soil (some via Celtic);
3 the vocabulary of christianization;
4 literary and philosophical terminology accompanying educational reforms;
5 additional classical words by way of the Scandinavian settlers in NE England;
6 the major influx of Latin via (Anglo-)French;
7 learnèd terms borrowed from Latin directly.

During and after the Renaissance, a vast amount of technical and scientific vocabulary entered English from both Latin and Greek. Most of the formations discussed in this work are from periods 6 and 7 above.

Dating and Other Conventions

To avoid the problem of BC/AD vs. BCE/CE ('Common Era') and obviate lengthy references ('second half of the 1st century BC(E)'), the conventions of Miller (1994) will be adopted to simplify dating. Dates are given in brackets, e.g. [750], which will be roughly equivalent to [mid c8], more simply, [c8^{m}]. In an obvious medieval context, CE will not be specified. For convenient disambiguation, 750 BC/BCE will be written [−750]. Most dates are approximate, signalled by [*c.*] (= *circa* 'about') or equivalent. Following are the dating conventions standardly used in this work:

[c10]	tenth century; as date of first occurrence = begins in the tenth century
[c10$^{1/2}$]	first half of c10
[c10$^{2/2}$]	second half of c10
[c12^{b}]	beginning of the 12th century
[c12^{e}]	end of c12
[c12^{m}]	middle of c12
[c13/14]	c13 or c14 (uncertain)
[c13^{e}/14^{b}]	same but with narrower range
[240–110]	240 BC/BCE to 110 BC/BCE
[110–240]	110 CE to 240 CE
[−110–240 CE]	110 BC/BCE to 240 CE
[−110–+240 CE]	the same
[*c.*1150]	around 1150 (corroborated by independent evidence)
[?*c.*1150]	the approximate date is not independently verifiable
[a1150]	before 1150
[p1150]	after 1150
[n.d.]	no date available

For some dating, the century in which a word is first attested, e.g. [c15], is adequate, and for antiquity, approximate dating is frequently all that is available. Given that a word is almost invariably in the language for some time before it first occurs in print, loose dating is in a non-trivial sense more accurate than narrow dating. That being said, whenever possible, entries in this work employ the most current dating available. The main problem is that dates are subject to change as additional evidence is accumulated.

OED 3 (in progress) gives the most complete and carefully dated entries, but the main revisions have been in the middle of the alphabet (*m–o*) and sporadically elsewhere. Consequently, most of the dates are from OED 2 (1989).

For early borrowings the problems are different. The date of first occurrence in the MED (*Middle English Dictionary*, ed. Kurath et al.) is usually followed, given that for early works it is more complete than the OED, but only the estimated date of composition is cited, not also the approximate date of the manuscript. Exceptions include: (1) words first attested in Chaucer are always indicated as such by means of [Ch.] rather than a date; (2) dates superseded by more recent authorities, such as Cannon (1998), are given in place of the OED (and sometimes the MED) dating; (3) for many texts, a looser date must suffice. One reason is that the dates of many texts are not known for certain, and all that can be said is that a given text had to antedate its author's death, e.g. [a1349] for Richard Rolle (instead of OED's '*c.*1340'), or [a1382] for Wyclif and the Early Version of the Wyclifite Bible translation. Wyclif [a1382] is generally singled out as an innovator (with respect to the written language, of course), as are Trevisa and Caxton [various dates].

As to other conventions, the following (mostly standard) are also employed:

*	ill formed (of sentences/words); reconstructed (of proto-forms)
?*	possibly ungrammatical or ill formed (marginal at best)
?	marginally acceptable sentence or word
|	(poetic texts) line division
>	'is realized as', 'becomes' (in historical changes)
<	'is derived from' (in historical changes)
→	x → y = 'x is replaced by y' or 'x is borrowed (into some language) as y'
†	with a year, e.g. [†1900] = died (of people)
	with a word, e.g. †*meritory* = obsolete (also used of glosses)
=	'is identical to'
≠	'is not the same as'
[ ]	phonetic representations, dates, and Indo-European roots
//	phonemic representation
< >	graphic representation (spelling)

Abbreviations

A	adjective (in category labels)
a	*ante* 'before' (in dates)
ABL/abl.	ablative
ABS	absolutive
ACC/acc.	accusative
act.	active
ADJ/adj.	adjective
ADV/adv.	adverb
Aeol.	Aeolic (Greek)
AF	Anglo-French
AG	Ancient Greek
Agr	Agreement
AL	Anglo-Latin
Alb.	Albanian
ALL	allative
AN	Anglo-Norman
AOR/aor.	aorist
arch.	archaic
Arm.	Armenian
Asp	aspect
asp.	aspirated
Att.	Attic (Greek)
Aug.	Augustan
AUX	auxiliary
Av(est).	Avestan
BCE	Before Common Era
biol.	biology/biological
bot.	botany
Brit.	Brittonic (Celtic)
Brit. Lat.	Latin in British sources
Byz.	Byzantine (Greek)
c	century
c.	*circa*, about (of dates)
caus.	causative
CE	Common Era

Celt.	Celtic
cent.	century
cf.	compare
Ch.	Chaucer
ch.	chapter
Chron	Chronicle
Cl	Classical (ME, etc.)
CL	Classical Latin
cont.	continued
Corn.	Cornish
COS	change of state
D	determiner
Dan.	Danish
DAT/dat.	dative
denom.	denominal
desid.	desiderative
Det	determiner
dim.	diminutive
Dor.	Doric (Greek)
DP	Determiner Phrase
Du	Dutch
durat.	durative
dvbl.	deverbal
E	English
eccl.	ecclesiastical
ed.	(with name) editor/edited by
edn.	edition
eds.	editors
EG	Ecclesiastical Greek
e.g.	*exempli gratia*, for example
EL	Ecclesiastical Latin
EME	Early Middle English
EMnE	Early Modern English
Eng.	English
EOE	Early Old English
epigr.	epigraphic
Epist.	Epistle
esp.	especially
etc.	etcetera; and other things
Etrusc.	Etruscan

etym.	etymology
EV	Early Version
EWS	Early West Saxon
excl.	excluding
F	French
f.	following (one page)
FAP	future active participle
Far.	Faroese
fem.	feminine
ff.	following (two pages)
fo., fos	folio(s) (in MS references)
fr.	fragment
freq.	frequent(ly)
frequent.	frequentative
Fris.	Frisian
FUT	future
G	Greek (Ancient Greek)
Gael.	Gaelic
Gaul.	Gaulish
GAv.	Gathic Avestan
GEN/gen.	genitive
gen. ed.	general editor
GER	gerundial
Germ.	German
Gmc.	Germanic
Gosp.	Gospel
Goth.	Gothic
gram.	grammar, grammatical term
H	Hindi
HAB	habitual
HG	Hellenistic Greek
Hitt.	Hittite
Hom.	Homer
Hung.	Hungarian
ibid.	in the same work
Ice	Icelandic
ICRS	internally caused result state
id.	the same (meaning)
IE	Indo-European
i.e.	*id est,* that is

Il.	*Iliad*
IMPF	imperfect
impf.	imperfect
IMPV	imperative
INCH	inchoative
IND	indicative
indef.	indefinite
INF/inf.	infinitive
Infl	inflectional element/(head of)
inscr.	inscription
INST	instrumental
intens.	intensive
interrog.	interrogative
intrans.	intransitive
Ion.	Ionic (Greek)
Ir.	Irish
Ital.	Italian
J	John (Gospel)
L	Latin
Lat.	Latin
LG	Late Greek
Li	Lindisfarne
lit.	literally
Lith.	Lithuanian
Lk	Luke (Gospel)
LL	Late Latin
LME	Late Middle English
LML	Late Medieval Latin
LOC/loc.	locative
LOE	Late Old English
Luv.	Luvian
LV	Late Version
LWS	Late West Saxon
M	masculine (in glosses)
masc.	masculine
MDu	Middle Dutch
ME	Middle English
med.	medical, medicine
MEDPASS	mediopassive
Merc.	Mercian

MF	Middle French
MG	Medieval Greek
MHG	Middle High German
MID	middle
Mid. Iran.	Middle Iranian
Mk	Mark (Gospel)
ML	Medieval Latin
MLG	Middle Low German
Mn	Modern (French, etc.)
MnE	Modern English
MnG	Modern Greek
MnW	Modern Welsh
mod.	modern
MS	manuscript
MSS	manuscripts
Mt	Matthew (Gospel)
MW	Middle Welsh
Myc.	Mycenaean (Greek)
N	neuter (in glosses)
N	noun
n.	note
NCRS	non-causative result state
n.d.	no date available
NE	north-east
NEG/Neg/neg.	negative; negator
neut.	neuter
NF	North/Norman French
NL	Neolatin
NOM/nom.	nominative
NOMZ	nominalizer
NONFIN	non-finite
Norw.	Norwegian
NP	Noun Phrase
nt.	neuter
O	Old (with language names)
OB	Old Brittonic
obj.	object
OBL	oblique (case)
OCS	Old Church Slav(on)ic
Od.	*Odyssey*

ODan	Old Danish
OE	Old English
OF	Old French
OFris	Old Frisian
OHG	Old High German
OIce	Old Icelandic
OIr	Old Irish
OIran.	Old Iranian
OL	Old Latin
ON	Old Norse
ONF	Old North/Norman French
OP	Old Persian
OPhryg.	Old Phrygian
OPT/opt.	optative
orig.	original(ly)
OS	Old Saxon
OW	Old Welsh
P	phrase (after N, V, etc.)
P	pre/postposition
p	*post* 'after' (in dates)
p.	page
PAP	past active participle
PART	participle; participial (mood)
pass.	passive
p.c.	personal correspondence
per.	period
perf.	perfect
Pers.	Persian
PF	perfect (in glosses)
phps.	perhaps
PIE	Proto-Indo-European
Pl/pl.	plural
PLUPF	pluperfect
Pol.	Polish
Port.	Portuguese
POSS	possessive
PP	prepositional phrase
pp.	pages
PPP	past passive participle
PR	present

prep.	preparation
prn.	pronoun
prob.	probably
PROG	progressive
PrP	present participle
PST	past (tense)
PTC	particle
q.v.	*quod vide* ('which see')
RB	Romano-British
REFL	reflexive
reiterat.	reiterative
rel.	relative
rev.	revised
rhet.	rhetoric(al)
Rom.	Roman
Ru	Rushworth
Russ.	Russian
RV	Rig Veda (in Sanskrit glosses)
S	Sentence
SBJ	subjunctive
Sc	Scandinavian
ScG	Scots Gaelic
Schol.	Scholastic
SG/sg.	singular
Skt.	Sanskrit
sme.	someone
Sp.	Spanish
subj.	subject
superl.	superlative
s.v.	*sub vide* 'see under'
Sw.	Swedish
Th. Aq.	Thomas Aquinas
Tim.	Timothy
Tns	Tense
Toch.	Tocharian
TOP	topic
trans.	transitive
trans.	(with name) translated by, translation
V	verb
v.	*vide* 'see'

vcd	voiced
Ved.	Vedic
vel.	velar
VL	Vulgar Latin
v.l.	*varia lectio* ('variant reading')
v.ll.	variant readings
VOC/voc.	vocative
vol(s).	volume(s)
VP	Verb Phrase
vs.	versus
vs.	verse (in text references)
W	Welsh
W(1, 2)	weak verb (class 1, 2)
WGmc	West Germanic
w. lit	with literature (references)
WS	West Saxon

Some terms in the list are represented by more than one symbol (e.g. 'N', 'nt.', 'neut.'; or 'L', 'Lat.'). This reflects the usage of different authors cited.

Bibliographical abbreviations are listed separately.

Bibliographical Abbreviations

AEW	Ferdinand Holthausen, *Altenglisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter (1963 [1934]).
AHD	William Morris (ed.), *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin (1969).
AHD4	Joseph P. Pickett, (ed.), *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*. 4th edn. Boston: Houghton Mifflin (2000).
AHDR	Calvert Watkins (ed.), *The American Heritage Dictionary of Indo-European Roots*. 2nd edn. Boston: Houghton Mifflin (2000).
AI	Rudolf Wachter, *Altlateinische Inschriften: Sprachliche und epigraphische Untersuchungen zu den Dokumenten bis etwa 150 v. Chr.* Bern: Peter Lang (1987).
Alex(ander)	Thomas of Kent, *The Anglo-Norman Alexander* (*Le Roman de toute chevalerie*), ed. Brian Foster with the assistance of Ian Short. 2 vols. London: Anglo-Norman Text Society (Westfield College) (1977).
AND	William Rothwell, Louise W. Stone, and T. B. W. Reid (eds.), *Anglo-Norman Dictionary*. London: Modern Humanities Research Associations (1977–92).
Cath(olicon) Angl(icum)	Sidney J. H. Herrtage (ed.), *Catholicon Anglicum: An English–Latin Wordbook, Dated 1483*. London: N. Trübner (1881).
CDEE	Terry F. Hoad (ed.), *The Concise Oxford Dictonary of English Etymology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (1996 [1986]).
CGloss	Corpus Glossary, in Henry Sweet (ed.), *The Oldest English Texts*, 35–107. EETS, OS 83. London: Trübner (1885).

CHEL	Richard M. Hogg (gen. ed.), *The Cambridge History of the English Language*. 5 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1992–). vol. i: *The Beginnings to 1066*, ed. Richard M. Hogg (1992); vol. ii: *1066–1476*, ed. Norman Blake (1992); vol. v: *English in Britain and Overseas: Origins and Development*, ed. Robert Burchfield (1994).
Chron, ChronA, ChronE (etc.)	*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, trans. and ed. Michael Swanton. London: J. M. Dent (1996).
CIIC	R. A. S. Macalister (ed.), *Corpus inscriptionum insularum Celticarum*, vol. i. Dublin: Govt. Stationery Office (1945). (Repr. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1996.)
CIL I^2	G. Henzen, Chr. Huelsen, Th. Mommsen, and E. Lommatzsch (eds.), *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum, volumen primus, editio altera*. Berlin: Berlin Academy (1893–1943).
CIL I^2, 3	Attilio Degrassi and Joannes Krummrey (eds.), *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum, volumen primus, editio altera, addenda tertia*. Berlin: de Gruyter (1986).
CILL	*Cahiers de l'Institut de Linguistique de Louvain*.
DELG	Pierre Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*. 4 vols. (continuous pagination). Paris: Klincksieck (1968–80).
DELL	Alfred Ernout and Antoine Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*. 3rd edn. 2 vols. (continuous pagination). Paris: Klincksieck (1951).
DLG	Xavier Delamarre, *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise: une approche linguistique du vieux-celtique continental*. Paris: Éditions Errance.
Du Cange	Charles du Fresne Du Cange et al. (eds.), *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis*. 10 vols. (1883–7). 2nd edn., rev. Léopold Favre.

	Paris: Librairie des Sciences et des Arts (1937–8).
EGloss	J. D. Pheifer (ed.), *Old English Glosses in the Épinal-Erfurt Glossary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press (1974).
EpGloss	Épinal Glossary (see EGloss).
ErGloss	Erfurt Glossary (see EGloss).
EWAia	Manfred Mayrhofer (ed.), *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen*. 2 vols. (i: *A–DH* 1991, ii: *N–H* 1996). Heidelberg: Winter.
GED	Winfred P. Lehmann (ed.), *A Gothic Etymological Dictonary*. Leiden: Brill (1986).
GEW	Ferdinand Holthausen (ed.), *Gotisches etymologisches Wörterbuch: Mit Einschluss der Eigennamen und der gotischen Lehnwörter im Romanischen*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter (1934).
GG	Eduard Schwyzer, Albert Debrunner, and D. J. Georgacas, *Griechische Grammatik*. Munich: Beck (1939–71).
Gosp.	*The Holy Gospels* . . . , ed. Walter Skeat. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1871–7).
HED	Jaan Puhvel, *Hittite Etymological Dictionary*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter (1984–).
HFW	Mary Sidney Serjeantson, *A History of Foreign Words in English*. New York: Barnes & Noble (1961 [1935]).
HGE	Vladimir Orel, *A Handbook of Germanic Etymology*. Leiden: Brill (2003).
HIEV	Jay H. Jasanoff, *Hittite and the Indo-European Verb*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (2003).
HLFL	Gerhard Meiser, *Historische Laut- und Formenlehre der lateinischen Sprache*, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft (1998).

IBS	*Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft*. Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck.
IEL	Michael Meier-Brügger, with Matthias Fritz and Manfred Mayrhofer, *Indo-European Linguistics*, trans. Charles Gertmenian. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter (2003).
IELC	Benjamin W. Fortson, IV, *Indo-European Language and Culture*. Oxford: Blackwell (2004).
JIES	*Journal of Indo-European Studies*. McLean, Va.: Institute for the Study of Man.
KEWA	Manfred Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*. 4 vols. Heidelberg: Winter (1956–80).
KZ	['Kuhns Zeitschrift' =] *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen* (founded by Adalbert Kuhn, 1852). Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
LALME	Angus McIntosh, Michael L. Samuels, and Michael Benskin, with the assistance of Margaret Laing and Keith Williamson, *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English*. 4 vols. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press (1986).
Laws	F. Liebermann (ed.), *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*. 3 vols. Halle: Max Niemeyer (1903, 1912, 1916). (Repr., Scientia Aalen, 1960.)
LEW	Ernst Fraenkel, *Litauisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. 2 vols. Heidelberg: Carl Winter; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht (1962–5).
LG	Manu Leumann, Johann Baptist Hofmann, and Anton Szantyr (eds.), *Lateinische Grammatik*, 3 vols. Munich: Beck (1977). Vol. i: *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre*, by M. Leumann (1977); vol ii: *Lateinische*

	Syntax und Stilistik, by J. B. Hofmann, rev. A. Szantyr (1965).
Li	Lindisfarne glosses [*c.*950]; see Gosp.
LIV	Helmut Rix et al. (eds.), *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben: Die Wurzeln und ihre Primärstamm-bildungen.* 2nd edn. Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert (2001).
LSAG	Lilian Hamilton Jeffery and Alan W. Johnston, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece.* 2nd edn. Oxford: Clarendon Press (1990).
LSJ	Henry G. Liddell, Robert Scott, Henry Stuart Jones, with Roderick McKenzie (eds.), *A Greek–English Lexicon* (1940). 9th edn. With *Supplement,* ed. E. A. Barber et al. (1968). Oxford: Clarendon Press. (Repr. freq.)
MED	Hans Kurath, Sherman M. Kuhn, J. Reidy, Robert E. Lewis, et al. (eds.), *Middle English Dictionary.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press (1952–2001). The online MED is available at: **http://ets.umdl.umich.edu/m/med/.**
MITWPL	*MIT Working Papers in Linguistics.* Dept. of Linguistics and Philosophy, MIT, Cambridge, Mass.
NOWELE	*North-Western European Language Evolution.* Odense: Odense University Press.
ODNW	Elizabeth Knowles with Julia Elliott (eds.), *The Oxford Dictionary of New Words.* Oxford: Oxford University Press (1997).
ODS	John Ayto (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Slang.* Oxford: Oxford University Press (1998).
OED	John A. Simpson (ed.), *The Oxford English Dictionary* online, 2nd edn. (1989) and 3rd edn. (in progress). Oxford: Oxford University Press (2000–). **http://oed.com/.**

OLD	P. G. W. Glare (ed.), *Oxford Latin Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press (1982). (Repr. with corrections, 1996.)
PILCR	*Perspectives on Indo-European Language, Culture and Religion: Studies in Honor of Edgar C. Polomé. Journal of Indo-European Studies* Monograph Number Seven (1991).
RIG	Michel Lejeune, (gen. ed.), *Recueil des inscriptions gauloises*. 3 vols. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (1985–8). Vol. i: *Textes gallo-grecs*, ed. Michel Lejeune (1985); vol. ii: *Textes gallo-étrusques; Textes gallo-latin sur pierre*, ed. Michel Lejeune (1988); vol. iii: *Les Calendriers* (*Coligny, Villards d'Héria*), ed. Paul-Marie Duval and Georges Pinault.
Roland	*La Chanson de Roland: édition critique et traduction*, ed. Ian Short. Paris: Librairie Générale Française (1990).
RPIEL	Peter Schrijver, *The Reflexes of the Proto-Indo-European Laryngeals in Latin*. Amsterdam: Rodopi (1991).
Ru	Rushworth glosses [*c.*960–80]; see Gosp.
SALI	Brent Vine, *Studies in Archaic Latin Inscriptions*. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft, University of Innsbruck (1993).
Sh.-B.	*Cicero: Letters to Atticus*, ed. and trans. D. R. Shackleton Bailey. 4 vols. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press (1999).
TAPA	*Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*.
TLE	Massimo Pallottino (ed.), *Testimonia linguae Etruscae*. 2nd edn. Florence (1968).
TPS	*Transactions of the Philological Society*. Oxford: Blackwell.
Vesp. Psalt.	Sherman M. Kuhn (ed.), *The Vespasian Psalter*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press (1965).

WS1	First West Saxon translation [a1000]; see Gosp.
WS2	Late West Saxon translation [p1150]; see Gosp.

1

Derivation

1.1 Basic assumptions

Since this book is about English derivational suffixes of Latin origin, it is useful to begin with basic assumptions and definitions. The numerous linguistic theories either use different terminology or, more confusingly, use the same terminology in different ways. Although most of my assumptions and terminology issue from the principles and parameters framework, the data collection in this work is entirely independent of this or any other theoretical model.[1]

No theoretical significance is ascribed to the terms *inflection* and *derivation*. This traditional dichotomy is too simplistic even for the ancient Indo-European languages for which it was devised (Miller 1993: ch. 1). The term *inflection* is reserved for material that is adjoined at spellout and not part of the syntactic computation, especially agreement and concord. *Derivation* will be used in the traditional sense (§ 1.2) for our general purposes, although finer distinctions will be made where relevant. For instance, affixes with category features (noun, verb, etc.) have different properties from functional markers (aspect, voice, tense, mood, etc.), and those differ from formatives of (syntactico-) semantic content (causative, change of state), or purely cultural/semantic affixes (evaluatives, evidentials, degree indicators, etc.). These distinctions will be important for identifying what is basic and what is derived. For instance, a root with a syntactic wellformedness suffix will still be considered basic, while a root with one of the types of semantic suffixes will be a derived form. More generally, any non-inflectional suffix will count as derivational for our purposes.

1.2 Derivation and recursivity

Traditionally, derivation is the operation by which one form is created from another. The created form, or DERIVATIVE, differs from the original (BASE)

[1] This chapter has profited greatly from extensive discussions with Andrew Koontz-Garboden and David Basilico.

form in category (noun [N], verb [V], etc.) or category content (*farm* and its derivative *farmer* are both nouns, but differ in meaning). English introduced a verb *(to) flan* [*c.*1987] 'assault with a custard pie' (Ayto 1989–90: i.149). The verb *flan* is derived from the noun *flan* and, as is typical, the derivative embodies the meaning of the base. A verb *to author,* derived from the noun *author,* has recently gained acceptance. The recursive process is illustrated in (1).

(1) Deverbal and denominal derivation
base (root) verb → derived (deverbal) noun → denominal verb (etc.)
shine (past *shone*) *shine* *shine* (past *shined*)

1.3 Conversion

Conversion is the usual term for change of category (N, V, etc.) without overt formative. Older examples include the denominal verbs *(to) belt* [1300], *ransom* [1300], *mirror* [?1410], *mother* [a1425], *marshal* [*c.*1450] (modern sense [1543]), *garden* [1577], *pocket* [1589], *gossip* [1590], *lecture* [1590], *fuel* [1592], *function* [1586], *channel* [1596], *parrot* [1596], *champion* [1605], *bottle* [1622], *deluge* [1649], *parody* [1733], *background* [1768], *position* [1817], *impact* [1935] ([1601] 'pack in'), *decision* [a1945], *input* [1946] 'feed in data' ([a1382 Wyclif] 'impose'), *flatline* [n.d.], etc. (cf. Konkol 1960).

Conversion is accomplished in different ways in different frameworks, some with a zero affix, others with movement into an empty category. This has led to confusion in the terminology, and different linguists subsume different things under the rubric of conversion. Simple category conversion, such as past passive participle → adjective, is sometimes called *transposition* (e.g. Neef 1999) and distinguished from conversion. By the narrow definition of conversion as transposition, it is impossible to account for the range of meanings or for the semantically impossible denominal verbs (Hale and Keyser 1993*b*: 59; 1997, 1998, 1999).

Terminology should reflect analysis. If a unified account of the diverse types can be accomplished, nothing precludes application of the term *conversion* to all of them. I will use conversion to mean movement into an empty category. Verbs so derived are called *zero verbs* by Tyler (1999). Zero verbs involve several distinct semantic relations (cf. Konkol 1960: 90 ff.; Karius 1985; Plag 1999: 219 ff.; Tyler 1999; Lieber 2004: 89–95), the core of which is exemplified in (2).

(2)(*a*) ACTOR [be an actor; do what an actor does; perform X]:
umpire (the game) 'perform the task of an umpire'

(*b*) GOAL [turn X into noun]: *cripple* 'cause to become a cripple';
coil (the rope) 'put the rope into a coil'

(*c*) INSTRUMENT [utilize X to affect object]: *hammer* 'hit with a hammer'

(*d*) LOCATION [put object in X]: *bottle* 'put in a bottle'

(*e*) LOCATUM [put X in/on object]: *saddle* 'put a saddle on (a horse)'

(*f*) PRIVATIVE [remove X from object]: *skin* 'deprive of skin'

Some derivatives allow more than one interpretation, e.g. *stone* 'throw stones at' and 'remove stones from (fruit)'; *dust* 'remove dust from' and 'cover with powder'; *glue* and *cork* can be instrument or locatum verbs. And so on. Most of these types have existed since Old English (Kastovsky 2002: 103 f.), e.g. *hūsian* 'to house', *piporian* 'to pepper', *beddian* 'provide with a bed', *hēapian* 'make into a heap'. The privative type was rare without an affix in Old English.

1.3.1 *Denominal derivation in crosslinguistic perspective*

The term *zero*-derivation must not be taken too literally. From English noun/verb pairs, one can get the misleading idea that 'zero' implies the complete absence of any affix. Crosslinguistically however conversion entails only the absence of a derivational marker (in the technical sense). In most languages, either the noun or the verb or both require separate formatives to render them employable in syntax. Consider the examples in (3) from West Greenlandic (data from Schultz-Lorentzen 1927).[2]

(3) Zero verbs in West Greenlandic (Eskimo-Aleut family)

(*a*) *ulik* 'cover' : *ulig-pa-a* 'covers it'

(*b*) *uqaq* 'tongue' : *uqar-pu-q* [uses the tongue] 'speaks'

(*c*) *qalak* 'bubble' : *qalag-pu-q* 'bubbles, boils'

(*d*) *igdlaq* 'laughter' : *igdlar-pu-q* 'laughs'

The verbs in (3) qualify as zero derivatives because all that is present is a mood marker (indicative intransitive *-pu-*/transitive *-pa-*) and a person suffix (*-q* 3sg subject, *-a-a* 3sg subject/3sg object). Any mood marker can be present, e.g. interrogative *-vi-*, conditional *-gu-*, etc. Without one of these, no verb can appear in syntax. The crucial fact about the forms in (3) is the absence of any derivational affix. Beyond the syntactic wellformedness affixes, the verbs *ulig-paa* and *uqar-puq* contain nothing more than the noun bases *ulik* and *uqaq*, respectively.

[2] West Greenlandic data are cited in phonemic transcription: *q* = uvular stop, *r* = uvular continuant, *g* = velar continuant.

In Latin, denominal verbs are frequent. Like all other verbs in the language, they require certain affixes for morphosyntactic wellformedness; cf. (4).

(4) Latin denominal verbs
(*a*) *onus/oner-* 'load; burden' : *oner-ā-re* 'to load'
(*b*) *jug-um* 'yoke' : *jug-ā-re* 'to yoke; join'

Nouns require case and verbs require tense-mood/person (here, infinitive *-re*). The verbs in (4) also contain a conjugation class marker (*-ā-*) which is linked to verbal derivation (Miller 2005*a*). Therefore, even though the same process of movement into an empty verb head position is involved, these are technically not zero verbs.

There is a general constraint that only oblique (semantic) cases can serve as bases for derivation. Structural cases (nominative and accusative) are rare. In the West Greenlandic denominals in (3), the absolute case forms serve as the base for conversion because no derivational affix is present. In the Latin examples in (4), by contrast, the derived verb is *jugāre* (4*b*), not **jugumāre* built on the nominative case.

In West Greenlandic, when a derivational affix is present, only bare stems (not absolutive case forms) and oblique (semantic) cases can serve as the derivational base (Allen 1989). In (5*a*), the bare stem of *qimmi-* 'dog' is the derivational base, while in (5*b*) the noun in an oblique case is the derivational base.

(5) Derivational bases: structural vs. semantic case (West Greenlandic)
(*a*) *qimmi+q* 'dog' : *qimmi - qar - pu - q*
dog+ABS.SG dog(bare stem)-have-IND-3.SG
'dog' 'she/he has a dog'
(*b*) (1) *qaqqa+ nu- kar- pu- t*
mountain+ ALL.PL -go -IND -3.PL
'they went to the mountains'
(2) *atuarvik + mi - it - pu- gut* (> *atuarvimmiippugut*)
school+LOC.SG-be-IND-1.PL
'we are in school'

This consideration will be important as a control on the speculations of the origin of several different constructs.

1.4 Constraints on derivation

The derivational cycle in (1), but effected by affixes, is illustrated in (6):

(6) *stick* [V] → *sticker* [N] → *(to) sticker* [V]

A more recent example is: *feed* [V] → *feeder* [N] 'transportation serving outlying areas' → *feeder* [V] [1988] 'to convey by means of a subsidiary transport system linking with a main transport centre' (Ayto 1989–90: i.146). In *Newsweek* (27 April 1992) there appeared an editorial by Robert J. Samuelson containing the phrase 'the rise in lawyering' and since then the verb *to lawyer* has gained in frequency.

Following are three of the main types of constraints on derivation.

1. BLOCKING. The existence of one form prevents ('blocks') the occurrence of a related form. Examples of the third stage in (6) are rarer today than around the end of c16 (Konkol 1960): *(to) buckler* [1590], *character* [1591]; *exception, intelligence, intercession, remembrance, reprisal, supplication*—all [1593]; *commotion* [1599], *indulgence* [1599]; *epistle* [1671]. Why the derivational cycle should be more constrained today than formerly is not clear. Kiparsky (1982) predicts that some suffixes, e.g. *-tion* and *-ce*, should be able to make verbs (cf. *to commission, reverence*), but that productive suffixes such as *-er* should be able to make deverbal nouns (cf. *a sticker*) but not denominal verbs. Neither of these predictions is without problems. The non-existence of **to singer* can be explained by (token) BLOCKING (a processing constraint (Plag 1999)[3]) by the existing verb *to sing*, which would not differ in meaning from a putative **to singer. Fail* blocks **to failure*, but the absence of **to cult* allows *to culture. To mirror* has no base **mirr*, but *err* blocks **to error*. Where a corresponding verb does not exist (or does not have the same meaning), blocking cannot apply, allowing *to sticker, feeder, router, skewer, waiter, stockbroker, lawyer*, etc.

2. PHONOLOGICAL CONSTRAINTS

   (*a*) STRESS CLASH: *màrketéer* but **stòre-éer*, *càmeléer* but **giràffe-éer*, etc.; *rúralìze* but **políte-ìze*, *wómanìze* but **gírlìze*, etc. (Raffelsiefen 1999: 231–6). On exceptions like *banálize*, see Plag (1999: 166 f., 183 ff.).

   (*b*) The HAPLOLOGICAL CONSTRAINT involves an IDENTITY prohibition, e.g. *sheepish, farmerish*, but **fishish, *rubbishish*; *shortage* but **largeage*; *treasonous* but **menaceous*, *towelette* but **carpetette*; *novelly* but ([simple +ly] >) *simply*, [silly+ly] → Ø (**sillily* once existed [Bauer 2001: 6]); etc. (Malkiel 1977; Raffelsiefen 1999: 241–52).

[3] The status of blocking is unclear (Giegerich 2001). It is restricted to two morphological contexts by Alec Marantz (**http://web.mit.edu/marantz/OldFiles/Public/Tromsoe/BlockingAM.pdf**). Dirk (2005) finds that creativity overrides synonymy blocking which at most constitutes a preference, e.g. *stealer* gets about 430,000 entries on Yahoo, 5% of the number of entries for its supposed blocker *thief*. It is reasonable to think of the blocking of morphological derivations in terms of optimality but not as a categorical constraint.

3. LEXICAL CONSTRAINTS. Formatives can be restricted to particular bases, e.g. English *-ric* is limited to *bishop*, and *-ter* occurs only in *laughter* and *slaughter* (Bauer 2001: 135).

1.5 Backformation

A putative base is created to underlie a form perceived as derived. Heuristically, the process is often accomplished by de-affixation. Thus, *donate* [1845] was backformed from *donation* [*c.*1425] to serve as a putative base from which the latter could be derived. Backformation is clearest when a form is created to underlie a borrowing. For instance, Old French *begar(d)* entered English as *beggar*, and already in Early Middle English, a verb *beg* [a1225] was created to underlie it. German *Schwindler* entered English as *swindler* [1774], and a verb *swindle* [1782] was backformed. For discussion and other examples, see Pennanen (1966, 1975), Miller (1993: 110–15), Plag (1999: 206–13).

The usual way to recognize a backformation is by the first-attestation dates of related forms. Since existing forms can accidentally remain unattested in written records, this is not infallible, but the longer the intervening time, the more secure is the probability of backformation. *Peddle* [1532], e*dit* [1791], and *sculpt* [1864] are backformations. The forms *peddl-er* [1377], *edit-or* [1649] (< L *editor*), *sculpt-or* [1634] are readily analysed as agentives in -E/OR, which are derived from verbs, cf. *act-or, sing-er.* Since the nouns *editor* (etc.) originally had no verb base in English, one was created to underlie the agent noun. More simply, if an *act-or* ACTs, an *edit-or* EDITs, and a new verb is born. Two recent formations in this class are the technical *lase (off)* 'cut (off) with a laser', backformed from *laser*, and the popular *auth* (to *author*).

Backformation in English is rare before 1500, but early examples include *backbite* [a1300] from gerundial *backbiting* [*c.*1175], or *blaspheme* [1340] from *blasphemy* [a1225]. More recent examples: *atone* [1555] from *atonement* [1513], *grovel* [1593] (*grovelling* [*c.*1300]), *star-gaze* [1626] (*star-gazer* [1560]), *scavenge* [a1644] (*scavenger* [1530]), *effervesce* [1702] (*effervescence* [1651]), *resurrect* [1772] (*resurrection* [*c.*1290]), *enthuse* [1827] (*enthusiasm* [1603]), *televise* [1927] (*television* [1907]).

Some of the models for backformations were themselves backformations. Given L *cre-ā-re* 'to create' : *cre-ā-tiō* 'creation', it is clear that *create* was backformed (Chaucer's *creat* is only a PPP). L *ping-e-re* 'to paint' should have given **pinge* in English, not *paint,* which was backformed from *pi(n)ct-or* 'paint-er'. From *or-i-* 'arise' : *or-i-ent-* 'rising; east; ORIENT' came an English noun *orient* which, by conversion, yielded a verb *(to) orient* 'locate to face

east', then 'locate to face any point on the compass'. From that was derived a noun *orientation* 'act of orienting', from which was backformed *orientate*.

Many verbs in *-ate* were backformed from nouns in *-ator, -ation*, e.g. *excommunicate* [1526] (*excommunication* [1494]); *orate* [*c*.1600] (*oration* [?*c*.1375]); *expiate* [1603] ([1003] 'cleanse of guilt') (*expiation* [1532]); *expurgate* [1621] (*expurgation* [*c*.1400]); *negate* [1623] (*negation* [1530]); *genuflect* [1630] (*genuflex/ction* [1526]); *propitiate* [1645] (*propitiation* [1388]); *lustrate* [1655] ([1623] 'to view') (*lustration* [1614]); *spectate* [1709] (*spectator* [a1586]); *legislate* [1719] (*legislator* [1605]); *gradate* [1753] (*gradation* [1538]); *commentate* [1794] (*commentator* [1432–50]). Recent examples include *automate* [1954] (*automation* [1948]), *back calculate* [1987] 'perform back calculation', and *accreditate* [a1988] (*accreditation*) (Ayto 1989–90: i.2, 27).

From *lecher* [*c*.1175] (OF *lecheor*) was backformed both a noun *letch* [1796] and a verb *lech* [1911]. Backformed nouns generally underlie an adjective, e.g. *greed* [1609] from *greedy* [OE], *haze* [1706] from *hazy* [1625]. More recent are *sleaze* [1967] (cf. *sleazy* [1644]; modern sense [1941]), *glitz* [a1970] (cf. *glitzy* [1966]), *ditz* [1973] (cf. *ditzy* [1973]).

1.6 Productivity

'Productivity is all about potential. A process is productive if it has the potential to lead to new coinages, or to the extent to which it does lead to new coinages' (Bauer 2001: 41). Not all potential words are equally probable, of course. Several factors may keep a potential construct from occurring. In addition to the constraints above (§ 1.4), Bauer (2001: 42 f., 143) mentions, among other factors, that there may simply be no use for a word, e.g. *twenty-five-some*. Therefore, PROFITABILITY (pragmatic utility) is a relevant consideration distinct from AVAILABILITY. The latter is determined by the language system; the former, extralinguistic (Bauer 2001: 211).

Productivity cannot be reduced to either of two kinds of frequency:

(*a*) *Type frequency* involves the number of constructs of a given formation, each counted one time, e.g. agentives in *-tor* (*administrator* etc.);
(*b*) *Token frequency* involves the number of occurrences of a particular construct. The three occurrences of *frequency* in this paragraph count as one construct, not three.

The reason productivity cannot be reduced to frequency is illustrated neatly by Bauer (2001: 48). On the one hand, *a-* can productively form new words (*aglaze, aclutter*, etc.) even if the total number is small. On the other hand,

English has over 700 *-ment* derivatives, but it is not productive. 'Type frequency is the result of past productivity rather than an indication of present productivity' (Bauer 2001: 48 f.); cf. Cowie and Dalton-Puffer (2002: 416 ff.), who emphasize that the boundary between synchrony and diachrony is often blurred or difficult to determine.

Given that dictionaries often include only established words and ignore neologisms and rare words, and that absolute dates of coinages can almost never be established, Bauer (2001: 157 ff., 205) concludes that a less ambiguous criterion is AVAILABILITY: a morphological process is available if it can be used to produce new words on a given base at a given time by virtually anyone in a given speech community (Bauer 2001: 205). This allows for purely stylistic creativity (Cowie 2000).

1.7 Derivational bases of the Latin verb

There are two stems on which deverbal formations are made in Latin, the first, or present stem, and the second, or past passive participle (PPP) stem. Many English verbs built on the second stem are backformations (§ 1.5), but it is convenient to treat them as derived from stem II from the point of view of Latin structure, especially since many first occur in English as PPPs, e.g. *creat* [Ch.] 'created', whence analogical *created* [1483 Caxton], and *create* [ibid.]. Which of the two stems occurs in English borrowings is to some extent contingent on the type of derivative and to some extent arbitrary, as illustrated in (7).[4]

(7) Stems I and II in English borrowings

	FIRST STEM	SECOND STEM
(*a*)	*(ex)spect-(ā-re)*	(ex)spect-ā-t(us, -a, um)
	expect	*expectate (expectation)
	*spect	spectate (-tor)
(*b*)	*vid-ē-(re)* 'see'	*vīs(us, -a, -um)* 'seen'
	pro-vide	*provise (provision), im-pro-vise
	*ad-vide	ad-vise
	(com)plē-(re) 'fill up'	*(com)plē-t(us)*
	(com-ple-ment)	complete
(*c*)	*dūc-e-(re)* 'lead'	*duc-t(us)* 'led'
	prodúce	*prodúct (N próduct)

[4] The endings in parentheses involve inflectional material that is irrelevant to English. For instance, *-re* marks the infinitive (*spectāre* 'to watch'). Optional prefixes are also in parentheses.

	*condúce	condúct (N cónduct)
	in/dedúce	in/dedúct
	mitt-e-(re) 'send'	*miss(us)* 'sent'
	(re)(ad)mit	*re/admiss (re/ad-mission)
(*d*)	*aud-ī-(re)* 'hear'	*aud-ī-t(us)* 'heard'
	(in)aud-i-ble	audit(ion)

The PPP stem is basically characterized by *-t-*; *-s-*is originally a phonologically conditioned alternant, as illustrated in (8).

(8) *cēd-* 'yield' ced + tum > *cessum*
mitt- 'send' mitt + tum > (**misssum* >) *missum*
sent- 'feel' sent + tum > (**senssum* >) *sēnsum* (-Vns- > -V̄ns-)[5]
vert- 'turn' vert + tum > (**verssum* >) *versum*
vid- 'see' vīd + tum > (**vīssum* >) *vīsum*

When dental stops come into contact at a boundary between a root and an affix, the result is *-ss-*, shortened to *-s-* when another consonant or a long vowel precedes. For historical details, see Mayrhofer (1986: 110 ff.), Meiser (1998: § 87 f.). A synchronic account is offered by Heslin (1985: 40 ff.).

1.8 The Asp head hypothesis

Aspect refers to the '*internal* temporal properties of the event, such as duration, iterativity, etc.' (Tenny 1994: 3). It is structural (grammatical) in contrast to the lexical *Aktionsart* (form of action). For instance, a verb such as *avoid* is lexically durative, in contrast to *refuse* which is non-durative (Miller 2002: 45, w. lit). Another tradition applies the term *Aktionsart* to some point within the event, for instance, the beginning (inchoative), e.g. *convalēscere* '(begin to) get well', the endpoint (*dēflōrēscere* 'fade'), etc. (García-Hernández 1980: 118, w. lit).

This section discusses the idea of Asp(ect) as an abstract syntactic head that enters into deverbal derivation.

Varro (*De lingua latina* 9. 96 ff.) described the Latin verbal system as built around two aspectual parameters, *īnfectum* (non-completive) and *perfectum*

[5] Vowels are redundantly long before *-ns-* and *-nf-* in Latin (LG i. 210 ff.). One convention writes them long, another leaves them unspecified. One could mark long only those which are morphologically long, as in *docēns* 'teaching', but even that is problematic. Given the stem *docent-*, the /ē/in the nominative probably underwent shortening before *-nt-*, then got relengthened phonetically after simplification of *-ts-* to *-(s)s-*. Consequently, I will follow the convention that marks all vowels long before *-ns-* and *-nf-*.

(completive).[6] He also noticed (LL 9. 97) that voice correlates with this opposition, as developed by Embick (2000): there are never separate morphemes for passive and aspect. The essential form of the infectum passive is /r/(Miller 1993: 223–31). The perfectum passive is analytic 'be' + PPP. Latin PPPs are both stative and dynamic (§ 1.14), e.g. *laudāta est* means both 'she is praised' (in a praised state) and 'she has been/was praised' (perfect/preterit of *laudātur* 'is being praised'). Secondarily, it functioned imperfectively, which became dominant in Romance, replacing the /r/forms in the present passive, the perfect passive being renewed by *laudāta fuit* 'she has been (was) praised' (cf. Kuryłowicz 1964: 56 f.).

While the PPP is characterized by *-t/s-*, this element lacks coherent morphosyntactic content in terms of voice or aspect; cf. *amā-t-us* 'loved' (PPP), *amā-t-ūrus* 'about to love' (FAP), *amā-t-or* 'lover', *amā-t-iō* 'love-making', etc. (LG i. 353). Nevertheless, Embick (2000: 216 ff.) takes *-t/s-* to be the default instantiation of the functional head Asp(ect). The default, of course, will not be inserted when a more highly specified aspectual item is present, e.g. the non-completive participle *-nt-*. The FAP is analysed by Embick (p. 219) as containing 'modal' *-ūr-* in addition to the default Asp *-t/s-*.

The non-perfective functions of *-t-* must also be explained in the verbal forms in (9) as well as the denominal derivatives in (10).

(9)(*a*) *maerēre* 'be sad' : *maes-t-us* 'full of sadness'
(*b*) *tacēre* 'be silent' : *taci-t-us* 'silent'
(10)(*a*) *honor* HONOUR : *hones-t-us* 'honourable'
(*b*) *barba* 'beard' : *barbā-t-us* 'bearded'

Embick (2000: 220) describes the *-t-* formations in (9) as involving a property that simply holds, and on (10) declares that 'the idea is that to be provided with a quality denoted by the Root is in some sense an aspectual notion'. Needless to say, this account lacks even descriptive adequacy. Type (10) is discussed in § 4.12. On type (9), see § 1.11 below.

1.9 Derivational parallels and parallel derivations

A parallel to the Latin *-t-* derivatives is provided by Persian. At the same time, the Persian data highlight the essentially accidental character of the accessory formative.

[6] This description is inadequate mainly because it is grounded in morphology rather than syntax (Dressler 1968: 112–16), e.g. the relationship is largely temporal rather than aspectual, and the 'perfect' is in reality two tenses, present perfect and preterit. Finally, aspect is indicated by entirely separate means (see below).

Persian created a new past tense by providing the PPP with personal endings. OPers (*manā*) *krt-am* 'done (by me)' became Pers. *kard* 'did', whence *kard-am* 'I did', etc. (Watkins 1962: 94 f.). The old PPP formative *-d/t-* occurred in some other old derivatives from Indo-European suffixes with *-t-*, and is continued in the modern deverbal formations in (11), where it appears sufficiently systematic that it is analysed as an Asp head by Kahnemuyipour (2004).[7]

(11) Deverbal *-d/t-* (Persian)
- (*a*) nominal: *gof-t-aar* 'saying; speech', *navesh-t-aar* 'writing; written piece'
- (*b*) infinitive: *kar-d-an* 'to do', *raf-t-an* 'to go', *xor-d-an* 'to eat'
- (*c*) adjectival: *mor-d-e* 'dead', *sux-t-e* 'burnt' (Kahnemuyipour 2004 and p.c.)

These contrast with agentives *raan-ande* 'driver', *guy-ande* 'speaker' (Kahnemuyipour, p.c.), in which *-ande* is cognate with the Latin non-completive participles in *-nt-*. In general, the Persian examples in (11) illustrate the same lack of aspectual uniformity mentioned in connection with the Latin *-t/s-* formations. For simplicity in this work, the formative *-t/s-* has been referred to as stem II and the infectum base as stem I (§ 1.7).

In the Persian case, the fact that the formatives in (11) share a *-d/t-* element with the past tense is largely accidental, contingent on the reanalysis of the PPP (originally with agentive phrase) as a past active tense formative. In Latin, the Asp head analysis is untenable for several reasons. First, the suffix *-tor* is synchronically not *-t-* + *-or* but simply *-tor*. This is clear, *inter alia*, from the composite suffix *-ātor* which becomes productive in later Latin and in all periods attaches to nominal bases (e.g. *gladi-ātor* 'one (who fights) with a sword (*gladius*)' § 3.7). Even in deverbal derivation, the Asp head hypothesis makes false predictions, for instance, that *leg-iō* LEGION and *lēc-t-iō* LECTION, or *reg-iō* REGION and *rēc-t-iō* RECTION, etc., should differ only in aspect, when in fact they differ in their lexical meaning (§§ 3.3, 3.8). Moreover, although *-s-* was by origin a positional variant of *-t-* (§ 1.7), it differed in productivity and does not occur in composite suffixes, namely *-ātor/*-āsor, -ātiō/*-āsiō*, etc. Finally, since all simple and composite suffix alternants have their own idiosyncratic properties, they are by hypothesis lexically listed in a rather uneconomical manner: *-sor, -tor, -ātor,* (*-ītor*, etc.); *-siō, -tiō, -ātiō*, etc.

[7] Thanks to Arsalan Kahnemuyipour for discussion of the Persian material in this section.

This is reminiscent of the plethora of adjectival suffixes to be discussed in Chapter 4, e.g. *-nus, -ānus, -iānus, -īnus*, etc.; *-lis, -ālis, -iālis, -īlis*, etc. The interrelationships among these are relatively transparent, but they are not of the canonical input (or source) → output derivational variety. However they are to be analyzed (several possibilities in Lieber 2004: 173), there is little room for a derivation in which *-t/s-* is an Asp head.

1.10 Verbs and adjectives

It is generally accepted since Dixon (1982) that states are crosslinguistically realized as nouns, verbs, or adjectives. There are also mixed languages in which some adjectives are verbs and others purely adjectival (not necessarily according to the distribution predicted by Stassen 1997). One of those languages is West Greenlandic, which has two kinds of adjectives, participial and non-participial. The latter are inherently attributive and require *-u-* 'be' to be used predicatively; cf. (12) with data from Schultz-Lorentzen (1927); *-vu-* is the same indicative marker as *-pu-* (after consonants) in § 1.3.1.

(12) Non-participial adjectives (West Greenlandic)

(*a*)	*magdla* 'shrewd'	:	*magdla-u-vu-q* 'is shrewd'
(*b*)	*pivdli* 'mad, furious'	:	*pivdli-u-vu-q* 'is mad, furious'
(*c*)	*sagdluq* 'lean'	:	*sagdlu-u-vu-q* 'is lean'

The second type involves a formation that may itself be denominal and which requires a participle to be used attributively, on the order of English *thriving, blooming,* etc., which however are deverbal in contrast to the deradical *-tu-* participles in (13).

(13) Participial adjectives (West Greenlandic)

(*a*)	*kiag-pu-q* 'is hot' (*kiak* 'heat')	:	*kiag-tu-q* 'hot'
(*b*)	*mingug-pu-q* 'is dirty' (*minguk* 'dirt')	:	*mingug-tu-q* 'dirty'
(*c*)	*ajur-pu-q* 'is bad'	:	*ajur-tu-q* 'bad'

There is no syntactic difference between the basic attributive adjectives in (12) and the productive class of *-tu-* formations in (13), on which see Miller (2002: ch. 5).

Latin has a similar but slightly more complex distribution. There are plain attributive adjectives, as in (14), which require *es-* 'be' to be used predicatively, and the predicative type in (15), which are complementary to attributive *-id-* adjectives.

(14) Inherently attributive adjectives (Latin)
(*a*) *magnus* 'big' : *magnus est* 'is big'
(*b*) *parvus* 'small' : *parvus est* 'is small'

(15) Predicative-attributive pairs (Latin)
(*a*) *alget* 'is cold' : *alg-id-us* 'cold'
(*b*) *āret* 'is dry' : *ār-id-us* 'dry'

The core syntactic distribution, illustrated in (16*a*), was already opaque in Early Latin in that adjectives could be replaced predicatively by *es-* 'be', as in (16*b*).

(16)(*a*) *sed puer ille quem ego lāvī, ut magnust et multum valet*!
(Plaut., *Amphitruo* 1103)
'but that boy that I bathed, how big and very strong he is'
(*b*) *pūmex nōn aequē est āridus atque hic est senex* (Plaut., *Aulularia* 297)
'a pumice stone is not as dry as this old man is'

In (16*a*), *magnus (e)st* '(he) is big' contrasts with the verb *valet* '(he) is strong', as expected, but in (16*b*) *est āridus* 'is dry' takes the place of expected *āret* (15*b*).

Present participles (PrPs) in *-nt-* readily convert to adjectives.[8] Thus, beside *fervidus* 'glowing hot; burning; eager' (*ferv-ē-re* 'boil; be fired with passion') there is the PrP *fervēns/fervent-* 'intensely hot; ardent'. As an adjective, *fervent-* allows comparison (e.g. *ferventissimus* 'most intensely hot').[9] The differences between *-id-* adjectives and PrPs are (i) the latter can also have clausal functions, while the former can never be used as participles, (ii) nearly all verbs can make PrPs, while *-id-* adjectives are largely restricted to statives in *-ē-* that pattern with nouns in *-or* (§§ 5.1, 6.1), (iii) participles admit comparison only when converted to adjectives, (iv) PrPs are progressive, *-id-* adjectives non-eventive (cf. *nitēns/nitent-* 'shining' vs. *nitidus* 'radiant, shiny'), and (v) the *-id-* adjectives typically encode internally caused result states (see below).

[8] Panagl (1992*a*: 335 ff.) gives ten tests for adjectives converted from PrPs: (1) the PrP is more compositional (*prōvidēns* 'forward-looking' vs. *prūdēns* PRUDENT); (2) only the adjective admits comparison; (3) only adjectives make derived adverbs (*prūdenter* 'prudently' vs. **laudanter* '*praisingly'); (4) the adjective has ablative singular *-ī* (*prūdentī*), the PrP *-e* (*deō volente* 'god willing'); (5) the adjective is negated by *in* (*imprūdēns* IMPRUDENT), the PrP by *nōn* 'not'; (6) only adjectives make derived nouns (*sapientia* 'wisdom' vs. **laudantia* 'praise'); (7) only the PrP can take an accusative object; (8) complements of converted adjectives are genitive; (9) only converted adjectives can be substantivized (*continēns* CONTINENT); (10) only converted adjectives can be used as names (*Prūdēns* 'the Wise') or to derive names (*Prūdentius*). For adjectives in general as names (*Rūfus* 'Red', *Calvus* 'Bald', etc.), see R. Schmitt (1992: 377).

[9] As noted by Varro (LL 9. 72), comparison (or its equivalent) is not an infallible test for adjectives, since many cannot be compared, e.g. *luscus* 'one-eyed' (see also LG ii. 165). The same is true in English, but there are participle-adjectives that admit *very* (*a very telling report*), while the corresponding participle, qua participle, categorically excludes it: **very telling the story, I entered the room.*

Typologically, the *-nt-* participial adjectives are parallel to the English *-ing* formations (*penetrating, telling*, etc.). The resemblance to the West Greenlandic attributives in *-tu-* is only superficial since they are deradical rather than deverbal.

1.11 Types of states

This section applies to Latin the crosslinguistic relationship between property concepts, which are morphologically uncharacterized, and result states, which are morphologically complex.

Not all states are on the same plane. For instance, while *tall* and *obnoxious* both designate states, they have different properties, illustrated in (17).

(17)(*a*) *I saw Jasper be(ing) obnoxious*

(*b*) **I saw Jasper be(ing) tall*

The difference between (17*a*) and (17*b*) is that *obnoxious* is transient (a *stage-level* predicate) while *tall* is a permanent property (*individual-level* predicate) (Carlson 1980; Miller 2002: 245 f., w. lit). Jäger (2001) shows that the permanent/transitory contrast is independent of other alleged diagnostics for stage/individual-levelhood.

States can be temporary, variable, or permanent. Only the first two are compatible with progressive aspect, which requires a temporary interpretation; cf. (18).

(18)(*a*) *that statue is standing on the corner*...

(*b*) *??Sydney is lying on the shores*...

In (18*a*), the progressive imparts an interpretation of temporary position, which is not possible in (18*b*), taking *Sydney* as the city, because of the permanence of geographical states (Miller 2002: 267, w. lit). It should also be mentioned that state verbs (*rest, sit, stand, lie*, etc.) have different properties from statives (*know, love, be*, etc.) (Jäger 2001: 96, w. lit).

Property concepts (states that presuppose no prior change) contrast with result states (those that presuppose some change), as argued by Dixon (1982: 50). In English, property concepts generally have a basic form, e.g. *wide, flat*, while result states are typically participial (*broken*, *flattened*). Based on crosslinguistic data, Koontz-Garboden and Levin (2004) and Koontz-Garboden (2005) argue that (i) property concept words are morphologically simple and (ii) result states are morphologically complex. For the former, the direction of derivation is state → change of state (*loose* → *loosen*). The relationship between Latin *trīstis* and *maestus* (9*a*) is much like that between English *sad* and *saddened*. In the case of

tacitus (9*b*), Latin has no plain state adjective (*silēns/silent*-SILENT is progressive-durative '(keeping) silent'), and *tacitus*, which was by origin the result state to transitive *tacēre* 'to silence' (cf. Bennett 1910–14: ii. 216; *pace* Olsen 2003: 246), evidently also satisfies the property concept; cf. *quiētus* 'quiet(ed)'. Participial *-en/-ed* in English, which is directly equivalent to Latin participial *-t/s-*, productively marks the result state. For the identical process in Latin, see (19).

(19)(*a*) *lēnis* 'smooth' : *lēnītus* 'smoothed' (*lēnīre* 'to make smooth')
(*b*) *albus* 'white' : *(dē)albātus* 'whitened' (*(dē)albāre* 'to whiten')
(*c*) *līber* 'free' : *līber(ā)tus* 'freed' (*līberāre* 'to free')

By contrast, result states exist only in a derived (participial) form: *fissus* 'split', *frāctus* 'broken', *opertus* 'hidden', etc. Of course, there is always room for a different cultural conceptualization of what is a property or result state. Hence English *bent, cloven, crippled*, but Latin *curvus, bifidus, claudus*, respectively. While *vērus* 'true' is underived morphologically, *falsus* FALSE is the PPP of *fallere* 'deceive', reminiscent of the English subclass of property states with result state antonym, e.g. *raw/cooked, solid/melted* (Dixon 1982: 50 ff.; Koontz-Garboden 2005).

1.12 Changes of state

While Latin has property concepts that are, as predicted, not morphologically complex (cf. (19) above), there are apparently no morphologically simple property concepts from stative roots (§ 5.1). Nevertheless, there is a difference between formatives with semantic content and formatives with lexical-syntactic category information. Since Latin has a lexical and syntactic difference between attributive functions (adjectives) and predicative functions (stative verbs), these formations are semantically underived from stative roots but require suffixes to satisfy the lexical/syntactic category.

Changes of state can be causative or non-causative. When marked by derivation, there are crosslinguistically two main patterns, cumulative and substitutive. These are illustrated in (20) and (21) with data from Koontz-Garboden (2005). The West Greenlandic data in (22) are from Schultz-Lorentzen (1927). The three forms in each set are, respectively, state, non-causative change of state, and causative change of state.

(20) Cumulative derivation (O'odham)
(*a*) *(s-)moik* 'be soft'
(*b*) *moik-a* 'become soft'
(*c*) *moik-a-(ji)d* 'cause to become soft, soften'

(21) Substitutive derivation 1: Property concepts are underived (Warlpiri)

(*a*) *wiri* 'be big'

(*b*) *wiri-jarri-* 'become big'

(*c*) *wiri-ma-* 'cause to become big'

(22) Substitutive derivation 2: Property concepts appear derived (West Greenlandic)

(*a*)	(1) *qirnir-tu-q* 'black' (cf. § 1.10)		*manig-su-q*	'smooth'
	(2) *qirnir-pu-q* 'is black'		*manig-pu-q*	'is smooth'
(*b*)	*qirnir-si-vu-q* 'becomes black'		*manig-si-vu-q*	'becomes smooth'[10]
(*c*)	*qirnir-sar-pa-a* 'makes x black'		*manig-sar-pa-a*	'smooths x'

The pattern in (20) is best described as deverbal, in contrast to the deradical pattern in (21) and (22). In (21), the root seems to be of the verbal category, while in (22) the root *qirnir-* 'black' is unspecified for category. As noted in § 1.10, to be used in syntax it requires a mood marker (e.g. indicative *-vu-/-pu-* intransitive, *-va-/-pa-* transitive) to make it predicative, or participial *-tu-* to make it attributive.

The Latin derivational system is mixed, partly substitutive and partly cumulative:

(23) Change of state derivation (Latin)

(*a*) Substitutive/deradical

(1) *liqu-id-us* 'liquid' (§ 5.1)

(2) *liqu-ē-re* 'be clear, be liquid'

(3) *liqu-ā-re* 'make liquid'

(*b*) Cumulative/mixed

(1) *clār-(us)* 'clear'

(2) *clār-ē-re* 'be clear'

(3) *clār-ē-sce-re* 'become clear'

(4) *clār-ā-re* 'make clear' (§ 6.3)

The mixed pattern is the norm for Latin where substitutive derivation predominates for verbs. In later Latin, the cumulative pattern is exploited to a greater extent; cf. *val-ē-re* 'to be strong, healthy' : *val-id-us* 'strong, healthy' : LL *val-id-ā-re* [c6 Cassiodorus] 'make strong' (VALIDATE).

The precise relationship of the forms to one another in (23*a*) must be clarified. Roots like *liqu-* are not underspecified for state/non-state (they are

[10] The non-causative change of state affix *-si-* has the basic meaning of 'get'; cf. *nuna-si-vu-q* ['gets land (*nuna*)'] 'settles', *ingnir-si-vu-q* 'gets fire (*ingniq*)', etc.; cf. English *get smooth* and the like.

stative), but are unspecified for lexical category. Synthetic compounds are frequent in Latin, but built on transitive roots (*caed-* 'cut', *cap-* 'take', *dūc-* 'lead', *fac-* 'make', *fer-* 'bring', etc.), none with stative roots (*cand-* '(be) white', *ferv-* '(be) burning', *liqu-* '(be) liquid', etc.). Stative roots occur in compounds only in the same way that any other property concept can, e.g. *horr-i-sonus* 'making a dreadful noise' (*horr-ē-re* 'to tremble at', *horr-id-us* 'bristling'), just like *alb-i-capillus* 'white-haired', *sicc-oculus* 'dry-eyed', etc. Even as the (very rare) deverbal element in a synthetic compound, such roots are exclusively stative, e.g. *cor-dol-ium* [heart-grieving] 'heartfelt grief' (*dol-ē-re* 'feel pain, hurt; grieve'). The inherently stative roots are unspecified for lexical category. To occur in syntax, they require special suffixes, namely verbal *liqu-ē-*, adjectival *liqu-id-*. In compounds, roots can occur with no category marker because the lexical/syntactic category is relevant only in a syntactic context (cf. Miller 1993: 132), hence *horr-i-sonus* 'dreadful sounding'. In other words, forms like Latin *liquidus, liquēre* are not counterexamples to Koontz-Garboden's generalization that property concepts are morphologically simple, as in (20) and (21). On the one hand, the characterization on the root *liqu-* is not to derive the state (the root is already stative) but only to create a lexical/syntactic category word (§ 1.1): *liqu-ē-* (verb), *liqu-id-* (adjective), like the West Greenlandic data in (13) and (22*a*). On the other hand, *-id-* derives a specific kind of state that is not a property concept (§ 1.15).

1.13 Caland(-Wackernagel) stems

Nominal derivation in Indo-European was of the parallel substitutive variety in (23*a*). Initially signalled by Willem Caland in 1892 and 1893, the idea was developed by Wackernagel (1897). Examples appear in (24).

(24) Caland(-Wackernagel) derivation[11]

(*a*) **(h₁)réudh-e/os-* 'redness' (G *ἐ̆ρευθ-ος*) : **(h₁)rudh-ró-* 'red' (G *ἒρυθ-ρό-ς*, L *ruber*) : **(h₁)rudh-i-* (Ved. *rudh-i-kr̥á̄-* 'scattering blood') : **(h₁)rudh-éh₁-* 'be red' (L *rub-ē-re*)

(*b*) **h₂ŗ́g-(r)ó-* 'bright, shiny' (Ved. *ŗ́j-rá-* 'gleaming', G *ἂργ-ός* 'white; swift') : **h₂(e)rǵ-i-* (G *ἂργ-ι-κέραυνος* 'with bright lightning', Hitt. *ḫarkiš* 'white') : **-h₂ŗ́g-ḗs* (G *ἒν-αργ-ής* 'manifest') : **h₂(e)rǵ-u-* 'brilliant, clear' (L *arg-u-ere* 'make clear, disclose', G *ἄ̆ργ-υ-φος* 'glittering' (epithet of sheep), *ἄ̆ργ-υ-ρο-ς* 'silver')

[11] Numerous (especially Greek) examples can be found in Risch (1974: 65–70, 78 ff., 83–7, 99, 104 ff., 218 ff.). For discussion, see Nussbaum (1976).

(*c*) **dhérs-e/os-* 'boldness, courage' (Aeol. *θέρσ-ος* vs. Hom. *θάρσ-ος*/*θράσ-ος*) : **-dhr̥s-ḗs* (G *πολυ-θαρσ-ής* 'having much boldness; very bold, intrepid') : **dhers-i-* (*Θερσ-ί-λοχος*, a Trojan warrior '(noted for) daring ambushes') : **dhr̥s-ú-* 'bold, daring' (G *θρασ-ύ-ς* 'brave')

(*d*) **h₂éug-e/os-* 'strength' (Ved. *ójas-*, L *augus-tus* 'majestic') : *h₂ug-ró-* 'strong' (Ved. *ugrá-*)

(*e*) **swéh₂d-e/os-* 'sweetness' (G *ἡδ-ος* 'pleasure') : **-sw(e)h₂d-ḗs* (G *μελι-ηδ-ής* 'honey-sweet') : **sweh₂d-u-* 'sweet' (Ved. *svā́d-ú-*, G *ἡδ-ύ-ς*, L *svāvis* < **swād-u-i-*): **sweh₂d-is-t(h₂)o-* 'sweetest' (G *ἥδ-ιστος*, Ved. *svā́d-iṣṭha-*)

(*f*) G *κῦδ-ος* 'magical force (as bestowed by a deity), glory, might' : *ἐρι-κῡδ-ής* 'having much glory; famous' : *κῡδ-ρό-ς* 'glorious, illustrious' : *κῡδ-ι-άνειρα* 'manennobling' : *κῡ́δ-ιστος* 'most glorious'

(*g*) G *πύκ-α* 'thickly, strongly' : *πυκ-νό-ς* 'close, thick, compact' : *πυκ-ι-μηδής* 'deep-counselled' : *περι-πευκ-ής* 'very sharp'

The *s*-stem nouns (in **-e/os-*) alternate with **-ro-* adjectives. Simplex and compounded forms also differ. As the right-hand member of a compound, *s*-stems have a lengthened grade alternant **-ēs*. As compound specifier (left-hand member), certain suffixes are replaced by the abstract **-i-* formative (IEL 288 ff., w. lit). Other substitutive formations include superlative **-is-t(h₂)o-* (Risch 1974: 83, 88 ff.; IEL 236, 220 ff.), as in (24*e*, *f*).

1.14 States and activities

Since Vendler (1967) and Dowty (1979), it is generally agreed that verbal notions divide into states and non-states, as in (25); cf. Haverling (2000: 22–8, w. lit).

(25)
- [–dynamic] STATE (*know, be angry, have*, etc.)
- [+dynamic]
  - [–terminative (atelic)] ACTIVITY
  - [+terminative (telic)]
    - [–momentaneous] ACCOMPLISHMENT
    - [+momentaneous] ACHIEVEMENT

The basic building blocks are the primitives STATE and ACTIVITY (Rappaport Hovav and Levin 1998). Like a state, an activity holds over an interval of time without a natural climax. An English-specific rule-of-thumb test for an

activity is that the simple present tense entails a habitual or frequentative interpretation, e.g. *I roar, run* (vs. *I am roaring, running* right now).

TELIC verbs involve an endpoint of motion (*run home*) and often behave like UNACCUSATIVE verbs (those with a single, non-agent argument: *the sun went down*). ATELIC predicates (activities) have no endpoint of motion (*run around*) and behave like some UNERGATIVE verbs (those with a single, agent-type argument). Activities may terminate or stop, but they do not finish (cf. Haverling 2000: 27). See (26).

(26)(*a*) *Janus was reading the* Iliad (**in three hours*)

(*b*) *Janus was reading the* Iliad (*for three hours*)

(*c*) *Jānus* Īliadem *legēbat* (*trēs hōrās/*tribus hōrīs*)
'Janus was reading the *Iliad* (for three hours/*in three hours)'

The terminative phrase in (26*a*) presupposes that the action is completed, which is incompatible with an activity. By contrast, *for* in (26*b*) expresses duration, which is fully compatible with both states and non-terminative predicates.

As primitives, activities in Latin are predicted to be underived (morphologically simple) verbs, containing only a verbal class formative; cf. *leg-e-re* 'to read' in (26*c*).

The non-causative change of state (27*a*) is widely expressed in Latin by means of the stative suffix *-ē-* in combination with *-sc-* (§ 6.2). The causative change of state was expressed in various ways, among them derivationally as in (27*b*).

(27)(*a*) *clār-ē-sce-re* 'become clear'

(*b*) *clār-ā-re* (→ *clār-i-ficāre* [LL/ML]) 'make clear, clarify'

Already in Classical Latin the suffix *-ā-* was very opaque (§ 6.3) and tended to get replaced by an incorporated form of *fac-* 'make, cause' (§ 6.4).

1.15 Changes of state and different result states

The more complex event structures involve the combination of states and activities with operators such as BECOME and CAUSE. The former yields a non-causative change of state (COS) (28*a*) and the latter adds causative semantics (28*b*) (Rappaport Hovav and Levin 1998: 108).

(28)(*a*) [BECOME [x <STATE>]] (non-causative COS)

(*b*) [[x ACT <MANNER>] CAUSE [BECOME [x <STATE>]]]
(causative COS)

Koontz-Garboden (2005) argues that derivation can only add meaning. Thus, the process that adds a BECOME operator in (28*a*) is irreversible. A non-causative change of state can be derived from a state, but a basic state cannot be derived from a non-causative change of state. When a state is derived from a non-causative change of state by addition of a state operator, it is necessarily a result state, not a property concept state.

All of the cases discussed so far have involved a result state derived from a causative change of state. For instance, to West Greenlandic *manig-sar-pa-a* 'smooths x' (22*c*), there is a result state (29*a*). This is exactly like the Latin relationship in (19) to the extent that the PPP formative *-ga-*, as in (29*b*), is used to form the causative result state (29*a*).

(29) Causative result state and PPP (West Greenlandic)
  (*a*) *manig-sa-gaq* 'smoothed' (Kleinschmidt 1851: 113)
  (*b*) *misu-gaq* 'dipped' /misug+ga-/(cf. *misug-pa-a* 'dips x')

The theory outlined by Koontz-Garboden (2005) also predicts the existence of result states derived from non-causative and internally caused changes of state. In fact, there are at least two types of changes of state, listed in (30).

(30) Changes of state (Rappaport Hovav and Levin 1998: 116)
  (*a*) Externally caused: *break, dry, harden, melt, open*, etc.
  (*b*) Internally caused: *bloom, blossom, flower, sprout, decay, rot, wilt, rust*, etc.

'The source of an internally caused change of state is internal to the entity that changes state, while externally caused changes of state have a source outside the entity that changes state' (Rappaport Hovav and Levin 1998: 116).

Externally caused verbs of change of state (COS) have the causative : unaccusative alternation in (31*a*), which is not shared by internally caused COS verbs (31*b*).

(31) Alternation properties of externally and internally caused COS verbs
  (*a*) External causation: *I melted the ice* : *the ice melted*
  (*b*) Internal causation: *the flower blossomed* : **I blossomed the flower* (Rappaport Hovav and Levin 1998: 117)

Internally caused COS verbs 'name states that come about naturally in an entity. These states are conceptualized as having their source internal to the entity that changes state, and consequently, the constants naming them cannot be associated with a complex event structure template that involves

a causing subevent' (Rappaport Hovav and Levin 1998: 125). In other words, the constant is simply <STATE>, as in (32).

(32) [x <*STATE*>] (Rappaport Hovav and Levin 1998: 109)

More precisely, internally caused states have a systematic ambiguity between the be-in-state reading (33*a*) and the change-of-state reading (33*b*).

(33) Ambiguous state-interpretation of internally caused verbs
(*a*) *the amaryllis blossomed for ten days* (atelic/durative)
(*b*) *the tree blossomed in a day* (telic) (Rappaport Hovav and Levin 1998: 125)

Since the amaryllis has only one flower, the durative interpretation of being in a state of blossoming is forced in (33*a*). By contrast, externally caused verbs never admit a be-in-state interpretation: *the vase broke* cannot mean 'was in a state of being broken' (Rappaport Hovav and Levin 1998: 125). To account for the systematic ambiguity of internally caused verbs, the lexical semantic representations in (34) are proposed.

(34) Semantic representations for internally caused verbs
(*a*) In-state interpretation: [x <IN-BLOSSOM>]
(*b*) COS interpretation: [BECOME [x <IN-BLOSSOM>]] (Rappaport Hovav and Levin 1998: 125 f.)

Probably the most interesting fact about Latin *-id-* adjectives (§ 5.1) is that the verbs identified as involving internal causation invariably make them, e.g. *rot, bloom, flow, shine* in (35) (Miller 2005*b*).

(35) Internally caused (and non-causative) result states (Latin)
(*a*) *pūt-id-us/putr-id-us* 'decaying; rotten' (both non-causative and internally caused result state, contrasting with the property concept *puter* 'foul, putrid' and with the progressive-durative PrP *pūtent-/putrent-* 'decaying, rotting')
(*b*) *foet-id-us* 'stinking' (*foetēre* 'to stink')
(*c*) *flōr-id-us* 'abounding in flowers; flowery; prosperous, flourishing' (contrast *flōrent-* [Virgil] 'bearing blossoms, flowering')
(*d*) *flu-id-us* [Lucretius] 'flowing freely; liquid' (*flu-e-re* 'to flow')
(*e*) *liqu-id-us* 'fluid, liquid' (*liquēre* 'to appear clear; be liquid')
(*f*) *splend-id-us* 'bright, shining, brilliant' (of luminaries) (*splend-ē-re* 'to shine')

(*g*) *fulg-id-us* [Q. Cicero, Lucretius] 'shining; brilliant' (*fulgēre* [Catullus] 'to flash, glitter, gleam'; cf. early *fulgere* 'id.')

(*h*) *tum-id-us/turg-id-us* 'swollen, bulging, distended' (*tum-ē-re/turg-ē-re* 'to swell')

This distribution is highly opaque and irregular synchronically (see § 5.1), but some unmistakable contrasts can be found. In the examples in (36), the property state (36*a*) differs morphologically from the ongoing verbal state (36*b*), the non-causative or internally caused result state (36*c*), and the externally caused result state (36*d*).

(36) Morphologically different states and result states (Latin)

(*a*) *squālus* [hapax: Ennius]/*spurcus/foedus* 'dirty; offensive' (property concept)

(*b*) *squālent-* 'unkempt' (progressive-durative state)

(*c*) (1) *squāl-id-us* [Accius] 'rough' (ICRS); [CL] 'dirty, filthy' (replaces *squālus*)

(2) *sord-id-us* [Plautus] 'suffering neglect' (NCRS); [CL] 'dirty, grimy'

(*d*) *foed-ā-tus* 'contaminated'/*spurc-ā-tus* 'polluted' (externally caused result state)

An actual four-way morphological contrast of this type is rare. The opacity is due in part to the semantic overlap of the distinct morphological types, as well as to historical replacements (e.g. *squālidus* replaces *squālus* § 5.1.2). Moreover, Latin tried to turn a semantic class distinction (internal vs. external causation) into a morphological/derivational contrast. For that reason alone, the category was inherently unstable.

In many cases only a two-way contrast is attested, as in (37).

(37) Contrasting result states (Latin)

(*a*) *madidus* 'wet, moist' (internally caused or non-causative result state)

(*b*) *madefactus* 'wettened, soaked' (externally caused result state)

In Early Latin, *turbidus* (38*a*) means 'turbulent' and is used of the sea, weather, and other natural forces, in contrast to the externally caused result state (*per*)*turbātus* (38*b*), but no morphologically simple property concept is found.

(38) More states and result states (Latin)

(*a*) *turbidus* 'in turmoil; confused; agitated; turbulent; stormy; muddy; turbid'

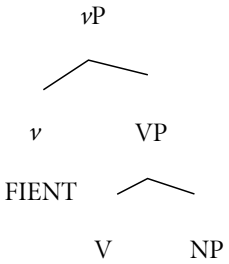
(*b*) *(per)turbātus* 'perturbed; agitated in mind' (*turbārī* 'to be in confusion, confounded, disturbed')

Despite all the irregularity, it is remarkable that so many *-id-* adjectives can be explained as internally caused (or non-causative) result states, especially in Early Latin (see § 5.1).

1.16 Accomplishments and achievements

Accomplishments have duration but culminate in an instantaneous event. Consequently, they have complex event structures, consisting of an activity plus a (change of) state that is the possible consequent of the activity, in contrast to unergatives with only the activity and unaccusatives with only the (change of) state (Miller 1993: 67, w. lit). More technically, accomplishment has been formalized as consisting of a core VP that defines the resultant state plus a fientive (transformative) projection *v*[FIENT] that specifies an event that transitions or moves toward the result state (Embick 2004; Basilico 2005):[12]

(39) Structure of accomplishment (simplified)



In contrast to the telic accomplishment in (40*a*) with bounded object, the activity in (40*b*) has an unbounded object. The object thus affects the telicity (natural endpoint).

(40) Accomplishments, activities, and achievements
- (*a*) *Leslie knitted a sweater* (*in an hour*)
- (*b*) *Leslie knitted sweaters* (**in an hour*)
- (*c*) *Jo finds a book on the beach* (*in an hour*)

Since activities are atelic, the temporal *in*-phrase is not admitted in (40*b*). Achievements, by contrast, like accomplishments, can terminate, and therefore the telic phrase in (40*c*) is predicted to be fully grammatical.

[12] This differs categorically from Lieber (2004: 129 ff.), who merely manipulates a feature IEPS (Inferable Eventual Position or State).

Achievements result in a change of state and therefore constitute instantaneous events (cf. Jackson 2002). Examples include *reach the summit, realize the truth*. They are non-durative (41*a*) and cannot stop or continue (41*b*) (Haverling 2000: 28).

(41)(*a*) *Mary found the book* (**for an hour*)
(*b*) **Mary stops/continues finding a book*

Finally, it should be noted that these differences are syntactic, not lexical. *Find an apartment* is an achievement, but an *apartment-finder* may not have actually found any apartments. There can be no achievements in compounds, since there is no functional Asp category in which a telicity feature can be checked (van Hout and Roeper 1998). Similarly, *break a glass* is an achievement (change of state), but there is no change of state in the compound *glass-breaker*.

In English, perfective particles constitute one way to make the verb obligatorily transitive (42*a*) and telic (42*b*) (Basilico 2005).

(42)(*a*) *they are eating up *(their lunch)*
(*b*) *they ate up their lunch* (*in ten minutes/*for ten minutes*)

Russian (43) and Latin (44) typically use prefixes for the same purpose.

(43)(*a*) *Vanja pisal* (*pis'mo*)
'Vanja was writing (a/the letter)'
(*b*) *Vanja napisal *(pis'mo)*
'Vanja wrote up *(the letter)' (Basilico 2005, w. lit)

(44)(*a*) *ēdī* (*prandium*)
'I ate (lunch)'
(*b*) *comēdī *(prandium)*
'I ate up *(lunch)'

The prefix entails interpretation of the verb root as a (terminative) result state (cf. Rosén 1992: 361). The obligatory argument (which in Latin (44*b*) can only be omitted in gapping or ellipsis) is due to the state in which the argument exists (28*b*, 39).

Since this work is confined to derivational suffixes, the contrast in (44) will not be treated in our discussion. Like the English examples in (40) and (41), Latin also has morphologically simple verbs that express accomplishments and achievements, but does not use suffixes to derive them. Other aspectual distinctions that are expressed with prefixes are discussed by García-Hernández (1980) and Haverling (2000).

1.17 Conclusion

This discussion of derivation in Latin and linguistic theory has anticipated the major suffixes and their combinations to be treated in this work. To be sure, there are others not mentioned here, but the theoretical apparatus remains the same. A given suffix can encode aspect, voice, mood/modality, and various event operators (change of state, cause), which contribute to its meaning, in some instances a composite of these features. Additionally, there are affixes with lexical/syntactic features (verb, noun, adjective), and those with cultural or evaluative content, such as diminutive.

2

Latin Non-Deverbal Nouns

2.1 -(i)tās (> E -*(i)ty*) 'abstract or concrete entity'

2.1.1 *History and status in Latin*

The origin of Latin -*tāt*-is unclear (LG i. 373 ff.). Olsen (2003: 263) speculates that it arose by contamination between *-*ah*$_2$-and *-*tuh*$_1$-*t*-. More likely, -*tāt*-is a secondary extension of *-*teh*$_2$-, which also makes abstract nouns (Meillet and Vendryes 1948: §§: 569, 626); cf. Vedic *vasútā*- 'wealthiness' (*vásu* 'good(s)') and extended *sarvátāt*- 'completeness' (*sárva*-'all; whole'). In Greek, *-*tāt*- replaced inherited *-*tā*-as a secondary suffix; cf. βαρύτης 'heaviness' (βαρύς 'heavy'). With νεό-τητ- 'youth', cf. L *novi-tās/novi-tāt*-'newness, novelty' (Meier-Brügger 1992: ii. 26 ff.; IEL 287, w. lit).

The Latin suffix is mostly deadjectival (§§ 2.1.3, 5.1–4), but there were also denominal formations (§ 2.1.4). The original form was -*tās*; -*itās* originated on words like *cōm-i-s* 'courteous' (*cōm-i-tās* COMITY [1543] 'civility; courtesy'), and was generalized to other stem types, e.g. *atrōc-itās* (ATROCITY [1534]) to *atrōx/atrōc*- 'savage; cruel' (= **ātr- h*$_3$*ōk*^{w}-'black-eyed'). Amid the older pattern in (*a*), note more recent, productive *facilitās*.

(*a*) Historical strata

facil-i-s	(do-able >) 'easy'	
facul-tās (**facli- tās*)	'capability'	FACULTY [Ch.]
facil-i-tās	'easiness'	FACILITY [1519]
dif-ficil-i-s	'difficult, hard'	
difficul-tās	'hardness'	DIFFICULTY [Ch.]
maius	'greater'	
maiestās	'greatness'	MAJESTY [*c.*1300]

Special phonological conditioning of -*itās* after -*i*- is signalled in (*b*).

(*b*) After -*i*-, -*itās* is realized as -*etās*:
ANXIETY [*c.*1525] *ānxietās* (*ānxius* 'anxious; disturbed' [**anǵh*- 'constricted'])
PIETY [*c.*1325] (via OF) *pietās* (*pius* 'dutiful; pious'; see *piacular* § 3.6.3.2)

PROPRIETY [1456] *proprietās* 'special characteristic; ownership' (*proprius* 'one's own; special; peculiar; proper' < *prō prīvō* 'in particular' < **pro prei-wo-* [**per-*[1]])
SATIETY [1533] *satietās* (*satis* 'sufficient' < **sh*$_2$*-ti-* [**sā-*= **seh*$_2$*-* 'satisfy'])
SOBRIETY [1401] *sōbrietās* [Seneca] 'temperance' (*sōbrius* 'sober' < **se- h*$_3$*g*^{w}*hrios*; cf. *sē* 'without' [**s(w)e*] + *ēbrius* 'drunk' [**eg*^{w}*h-* 'drink'; cf. **h*$_1$*eg*^{w}*h*-LIV 231])
SOCIETY [1531] *societās* 'association' (*socius* 'sharing; ally' < **sok*^{w}*-yo-* [**sek* ^{w}-[1]])
VARIETY [a1533] (modern uses [*c.*1500]) *varietās* (*varius* 'changeable; inconstant; various; variegated' < **w(e)r-yo-* [**wer-*[1]])

2.1.2 *The status of* -ity *in English*

English *-ity* (Marchand 1969: 312–15; Koziol 1972: § 607) was initially borrowed from (Anglo-)French in the form *-(i)te(e)*; cf. *charite* [Peterborough Chron ?a1160] CHARITY, *chastite* [*c.*1200] CHASTITY, *bounte* [*c.*1275] 'goodness, kindness' (BOUNTY) < OF *bonté* [c12] 'goodness, kindness' < L *bonitās* 'goodness; excellence' (to *bonus* 'good' BONUS [1773] < **dwe-no-* [**deu-*[2]] HLFL 82, 111). Many words are obscured phonetically by Romance changes, e.g. *seur(e)te(e)* [?*c.*1300] 'security' (< OF *seurté* [1160]) > SURETY vs. remodelled SECURITY [1432–50] (L *sēcūritās* 'carelessness'). The only Chaucerian occurrence of - *ity* on a non-Romance base is *scantitee* 'scantness', on another borrowed base (*scant* < ON *skamm*-'short, brief' + neut. - *t*) (Miller 1997: 240).

Subsequently, English *-ness* generally prevailed over Romance *-ity* except where they split in meaning: '- *ness* tends to denote an embodied attribute or trait, while *-ity* tends to denote an abstract or concrete entity' (Riddle 1985: 437), e.g. *senility* 'the fact of being senile' is not the same as *senileness* 'the degree of being senile' (Riddle 1985). Compare also *fervidness* [1692] 'state of being fervid' vs. *fervidity* [1727] 'intense heat; passion'.

Specific conditions on *-ness* and *-ity* discussed by Raffelsiefen (1999) include:

1. *-ity* obeys the identity constraint (§ 1.4.2*b*) in not attaching to bases ending in *t* (**contentity,* **ineptity,* **abstractity,* **covertity,* **perfectity*), which is remarkable in light of borrowed *entity* [1596], *identity* [1570], *quantity* [a 1325], *sanctity* [a 1387], *vastity* [1545] (Raffelsiefen 1999: 242).
2. The addition of *-ity* is avoided where it would yield identical consecutive onsets, as in **candidity,* **splendidity,* **sordidity* (contrast *squalidity,*

rabidity, vapidity) (p. 243). This would also account for the questionable status of *forensicity* mentioned by Aronoff (1988: 767).

3. Since *-ity* entails stress shift (*módern* : *modérnity*), it is avoided on native bases (*wéstern* : **westérnity*) (Raffelsiefen 1999: 259).[1]
4. Coinages are restricted to certain latinate affixes, especially *-al* (*marginal*: *marginality* [1908]), *-able* (*drinkable* : *drinkability* [1638]) (Raffelsiefen 1999: 259), and *-id* (*pinguid* : *pinguidity* [1597]). Raffelsiefen also mentions *-ous* in this connection (*generous* : *generosity*), but these are borrowed, and English *-ous* coinages generally do not make derivatives in *-(os)ity*, e.g. *glamorous* : **glamorosity*. Another constraint involves the phonological sequence; cf. *audacious* : *audacity*, *sagacious* : *sagacity*, but *specious* : **specity*, *pernicious* : **pernicity* (Raffelsiefen 1999: 260).

2.1.3 *Deadjectival formations*

Via (Anglo-)French, English had over sixty *-ity* derivatives already in c14. In the interest of space, this is indicated in the following lists only when Old French was the only source. Older forms had the French form *-(i)te*, as in Chaucer's *faculte* for *faculty* in (*a*) above. In general, older spellings are ignored when first dates are cited. The relative dates of Latin forms are indicated only for words that do not occur in standard Classical Latin.

ABSURDITY [1528] *absurditās* [LL] 'dissonance; incongruity; absurdity' (*absurdus* 'discordant; preposterous, ABSURD')
ACERBITY [1572] *acerbitās* 'bitterness, sharpness' (*acerbus* 'bitter, sharp')
ACTIVITY [1530 Palsgrave] *āctīvitās* [ML] (*āctīvus* ACTIVE)
ACTUALITY [1398 Trevisa] *āctuālitās* [ML] (*āctuālis* [c4] 'practical')
ADVERSITY [?a1200] *adversitās* (*adversus* 'turned toward; opposite; against')
AFFINITY [*c.*1303] *affīnitās* 'relationship (by marriage)' (*affīnis* 'related by marriage')
ALACRITY [*c.*1510] *alacritās* (*alacer* 'cheerful; eager; lively; quick')
AMENITY [1432–50] *amoenitās* 'pleasantness; delight' (*amoenus* 'pleasant')
ANIMOSITY [1432–50] *animōsitās* [*c.*400] 'spirit; impetuosity; wrath' (*animōsus* 'spirited')
ANTIQUITY [*c.*1380] *antīquitās* (*antīquus* 'ancient')
ASPERITY [?a1200] *asperitās* 'harshness' (*asper* 'rough; harsh; rude')

[1] Since speakers do not know etymology, latinate affixes can be reformulated as attaching to a stem and native affixes as attaching to a phonological word (Plag 1999: 58 ff., 87 ff.).

ASSIDUITY [1605] *assiduitās* (*assiduus* 'persistent')
ATROCITY [1534] *atrōcitās* 'fierceness; severity' (*atrōx/atrōc-* 'savage; cruel; fierce')
AUDACITY [1432–50] *audācitās* [ML] for CL *audācia* 'boldness; audacity' (*audāx/audāc-* 'bold'; see *audacious* § 5.2.1 and *avid* § 5.1.2)
AUSTERITY [a1349] < AF *austerité* [1267] 'harshness; severity' < L *austēritās* 'bitterness; sternness; severity' (*austērus* 'sour, bitter; strict, stern; AUSTERE')
AVIDITY [*c.*1449] *aviditās* (*avidus* 'eager; greedy' § 5.1.2)
BENIGNITY [Ch.] *benignitās* (*benignus* 'good-natured; kind')
BESTIALITY [Ch.] *bēstiālitās* [Thomas Aquinas †1274] (*bēstiālis* [*c.*400] 'beastly')
BREVITY [1509] *brevitās* (*brevis* 'short, brief')
CALLIDITY [1524] 'cunning, craftiness' *calliditās* [Ciceronian era] 'shrewdness; craftiness, cunning' (*callidus* 'experienced, skilled; clever; crafty, cunning'; see *callous* § 4.10.2)
CAPACITY [1480] *capācitās* 'capability; capacity' (*capāx/capāc-* 'spacious; capacious')
CAPTIVITY [Ch.] *captīvitās* [c1] 'condition of being a captive' (*captīvus* CAPTIVE)
CASUALTY [1423] *cāsuālitās* [ML] 'accident; hazard' (*cāsuālis* 'accidental; fortuitous')
CELEBRITY [Ch.] *celebritās* 'crowding; renown' (*celeber* 'frequented; renowned')
CELERITY [1483] *celeritās* (*celer* 'swift')
CHASTITY [*c.*1200] (via Old French) *castitās* (*castus* 'pure; chaste')
CIVILITY [a1382 Wyclif] (mod. sense [1549]) *cīvīlitās* (*cīvīlis* 'public; polite; courteous')
CLARITY [a1325] 'glory', [1616] 'clearness' *clāritās* (*clārus* 'clear')
CUPIDITY [1436] *cupiditās* (*cupidus* 'desirous; greedy')
CURIOSITY [?*c.*1378 Wyclif] *cūriōsitās* 'inquisitiveness' (*cūriōsus* 'careful; CURIOUS')
DEBILITY [a1425] *dēbilitās* (*dēbilis* 'weak' [*dē* + **bel-* 'strong' AHDR 6] also suggested is **dē-(ha)bi-bilis*; cf. (?) *dēbēre* 'owe' < **dē-habēre* Panagl 1992*a*: 329, w. lit. Polomé 1999*b* argues that **bel-* is the only root with a chance of containing IE **b* (cf. G *βελτίων* 'better', Ved. *bálam* 'strength, power', but the root may be a borrowing from Dravidian Burrow 1973: 73; another potential problem is that L *dē* normally combines with a noun, e.g. *dē-color* 'discoloured', but a derivation from the alleged **bélo-* of Skt. *bála-* has also been posited HLFL 99, despite the fact that IE **l* normally yielded

**r* in Indo-Iranian; nevertheless, *dē-bel-* remains the usual assumption IEL 129, IELC 52)

DECLIVITY [1612] *dēclīvitās* (*dēclīvis* 'down-sloping; declining')

DIGNITY [?a1200] *dignitās* (*dignus* 'worthy')

DIVERSITY [*c.*1340] *dīversitās* 'difference' (*dīversus* 'separate; apart; distinct')

DIVINITY [*c.*1300] *dīvīnitās* (*dīvīnus* DIVINE)

DURABILITY [Ch.] *dūrābilitās* [c4 Palladius] 'preservation' (*dūrābilis* [Ovid +] DURABLE)

ENTITY [1596] *entitās* [Thomas Aquinas 1225–74] (*ēns/ent-* [Th. Aq.] 'being': Sharpe 1996: 94)

EQUALITY [1398 Trevisa] *aequālitās* (*aequālis* 'equal')

EQUITY [a1333] *aequitās* (*aequus* 'equal')

ETERNITY [Ch.] *aeternitās* (*aeternus* 'eternal')

FELICITY [Ch.] *fēlīcitās* 'good fortune; success' (*fēlīx/fēlīc-* 'fruitful; lucky; auspicious')

FEROCITY [1606] *ferōcitās* 'fierceness; savageness' (*ferōx/ferōc-* 'wild; cruel' [**ǵhwer-* 'wild beast'] + **h*$_3$*ōk*^{w}*-s* 'eye' [**ok*^{w}- 'see' = **h*$_3$*ek*^{w}- LIV 297 f.] Benedetti 1988: 22, 72)

FERTILITY [1490 Caxton] *fertilitās* (*fertilis* 'fruitful; fertile; abundant')

FIDELITY [1494] *fīdēlitās* (*fīdēlis* 'faithful; trustworthy')

FIRMITY [a1450] *firmitās* (*firmus* 'firm; steady')

FRAGILITY [1398 Trevisa] 'moral weakness'; mod. sense [1474 Caxton] *fragilitās* 'brittleness; frailty' (*fragilis* 'brittle; frail; impermanent')

FRATERNITY [a1338] *frāternitās* [c1] 'brotherhood' (*frāternus* 'fraternal')

FRUGALITY [1531] *frūgālitās* (*frūgālis* 'frugal')

GENEROSITY [1432–50] *generōsitās* 'good breeding' (*generōsus* 'noble; magnanimous')

GRAVITY [1509] *gravitās* 'seriousness; weightiness' (*gravis* 'heavy; serious')

HONESTY [a1338] *honestās* (< **honestitās* by haplology § 1.4.2*b*) 'honourableness' (*honestus* 'honourable')

HOSPITALITY [*c.*1375] *hospitālitās* (*hospitālis* 'hospitable')

HUMANITY [Wyclif, Ch.] *hūmānitās* 'human nature; civilization' (*hūmānus* 'human(e)')

HUMIDITY [*c.*1400] *ūmiditās* [415 Augustine] 'moistness' (*(h)ūmidus* 'wet; moist; HUMID')

HUMILITY [?a1300] *humilitās* (*humilis* 'low; lowly; humble')

IMMUNITY [a1382 Wyclif] *immūnitās* (*immūnis* 'exempt from *mūnus* (tax, duty, tribute, etc.')

IMPUDICITY [1528] 'lack of shame or modesty' cf. F *impudicité* for L **impudīcitātem*, replacing CL *impudīcitia* 'unchasteness; immodesty' (*impudīcus* 'shameless; unchaste, immodest')
IMPUNITY [1532] *impūnitās* (*impūne* 'without punishment')
INFELICITY [a1382 Wyclif] *īnfēlīcitās* 'misfortune; lack of success; infelicity' (*īnfēlīx/īnfēlīc-* 'ill-fated; unlucky; unsuccessful; infelicitous')
INFIRMITY [?*c.*1350] *īnfirmitās* 'weakness; sickness' (*īnfirmus* 'sickly; irresolute')
INGENUITY [1598] *ingenuitās* 'frankness; ingenuousness' (*ingenuus* 'natural; generous')
INIQUITY [?a1300] *inīquitās* 'inequality; unfairness' (*inīquus* 'unequal; unjust')
LEVITY [1584] *levitās* 'lightness; fickleness' (*levis* 'light' [**leg*^{w}*h-* 'light(en)'])
LIBERALITY [?a1300] *līberālitās* 'nobleness; kindness' (*līberālis* 'well-bred; generous')
LIBERTY [Ch.] *lībertās* (*līber* 'free')
LOQUACITY [1603] *loquācitās* (*loquāx/loquāc-* 'talky; yakky')
MATERNITY [1611] *māternitās* [ML] (eccl.), mod. use [1122] (*māternus* 'maternal')
MEDIOCRITY [?*c.*1400], mod. sense [*c.*1510] *mediōcritās* 'moderateness' (*mediōcris* MEDIOCRE [c16] < *medius* 'middle' [**medhyo-*] + *ocris* 'mountain' < *h*$_2$*oḱ-ri-* [**ak-*] 'halfway up the mountain' RPIEL 133, 148)
MOROSITY [1534] 'sullenness, gloominess' *mōrōsitās* [Cicero] 'captiousness; moroseness' (*mōrōsus* 'hard to please, exacting; fretful; MOROSE', derived from *mōs/mōr-* 'custom' < **mh*$_1$*-ōs* [**mē-*^{1} = **meh*$_1$*-*] RPIEL 132, 203, w. lit)
NECESSITY [Ch.] *necessitās* (*necesse* 'essential; inevitable')
NOBILITY [a1387 Trevisa] *nōbilitās* 'renown; noble birth; aristocracy' (*nōbilis* 'high-born; noble')
NOTABILITY [?*c.*1350] *notābilitās* [c4] (*notābilis* 'remarkable; NOTABLE')
PATERNITY [1439], mod. sense [1582] *paternitās* [EL] 'fatherhood' (*paternus* 'paternal')
PAUCITY [*c.*1425] *paucitās* 'fewness; scarcity' (*paucus* 'few')
PENALTY [1512] < NF **penalte* < ML *poenālitās* (*poenālis* 'painful; injurious; PENAL')
PERSPICACITY [1548] *perspicācitās* [Ammianus] (*perspicāx/perspicāc-* 'penetrating')

PERSPICUITY [1477] 'transparency', [1546] 'lucidity' *perspecuitās* 'transparency; clearness' (*perspicuus* 'transparent')
PLENTY [?a1200] *plēnitās* [Vitruvius] 'fullness; abundance' (*plēnus* 'full')
POMPOSITY [1432–50] *pompōsitās* [ML] (eccl.) 'solemn procession', [c12] 'pomp, ostentation' (*pompōsus* [c5] 'rich; ornate; POMPOUS' [Ch.], from *pompa* 'public procession; parade; POMP' < G *πομπή* 'escort; mission; solemn procession', cf. *πέμπειν* 'to send' [etym. unknown DELG 880])
POSTERITY [1387 Trevisa] *posteritās* 'future time' (*posterus* 'ensuing; future')
POVERTY [a1382 Wyclif] (OF *poverte* [c11]) *paupertās* (*pauper* 'poor')
PROFANITY [1607] *prōfānitās* [Tertullian] 'impiety' (*profānus* 'contemptuous of sacred things; sacrilegious; secular' PROFANE [1483], from *prō* 'before' + *fānum* 'temple' < **dʰh₁s-no-* [**dhēs-* = **dheh₁-s-*; cf. **dʰh₁s-ó-* > Myc. *thehós* > G *θεός* 'god' THEO-] EWAia i 792; HLFL 107; Hackstein 2002: 10)
PUBERTY [a1400] *pūbertās* 'age of maturity; signs of puberty' (*pūbēs/pūber-* 'adult')
PURITY [?a1200] *pūritās* [c4] 'clean(li)ness; purity' (*pūrus* PURE)
QUALITY [*c.*1300] *quālitās* (Cicero's calque *Academica* 1. 6. 24 ff. of *ποιότης* 'quality'; cf. Coleman 1989: 80; Szemerényi 1992: 313) (*quālis* 'of what kind'; cf. *qualify* § 6.4.2)
QUANTITY [a1325] *quantitās* [c1] 'extent' (*quantus* 'how much' [**kʷo-*])
QUIDDITY [1539] *quidditās* [ML] 'essence' (*quid* 'what' [**kʷo-*/**kʷi-*] calque on Arabic *māhiyyah* ['what-ness'] 'essence' from *mā* 'what'; cf. Black 1996: 726, w. lit)
RAPIDITY [1654] *rapiditās* (*rapidus* 'swift')
REALITY [1550] *reālitās* [ML] (*reālis* [c5] 'actual; REAL'; cf. *rēs* 'thing, matter' [**rē-* 'endow'])
SANCTITY [a1387] *sānctitās* 'inviolability' (*sānctus* 'holy; sacred')
SANITY [1432–50] *sānitās* 'health; soundness' (*sānus* 'sound; healthy' [**sāno-* 'id.'])
SECURITY [1432–50] *sēcūritās* 'freedom from care' (*sēcūrus* ' unconcerned; safe')
SENSUALITY [a1349] *sēnsuālitās* [Tertullian] 'capacity for sensation; sensibility' (*sēnsuālis* [Tertullian] 'sensitive; appreciated with the senses')
SIMPLICITY [Ch.] *simplicitās* (*simplex/simplic-* 'unmixed; simple; naive')
SUAVITY [*c.*1450] *suāvitās* 'pleasantness; agreeableness' (*suāvis* 'sweet' [**swād-*] § 1.13)

SUBTLETY [*c.*1330] < OF *sotileté* [c12^{e}] < L *subtīlitās* 'slenderness; exactness' (*subtīlis* 'fine; exact' < **sub-tēla* '(thread) under the warp', i.e. the finest thread [**tek-s-* 'weave'])

SUPERFLUITY [Ch./Trevisa] *superfluitās* [c6] 'excess' (*superfluus* 'copious' [c3]; 'unnecessary' [c4] [**bhleu-* 'overflow'])

TEMERITY [1432–50] *temeritās* 'impetuosity' (*temere* 'blindly, rashly, recklessly' < **temasi* [**temh-*], originally 'in the dark' [cf. Plautus, *Bacchides* 85] Panagl 1992*b*: 315)

UNITY [?*c.*1300] *ūnitās* 'oneness; uniformity' (*ūnus* 'one')

UNIVERSITY [*c.*1300] (via OF) *ūniversitās* 'the whole; community; corporation', [ML] 'university' (*ūniversus* ['turned into one'] 'all together; general; universal')

UTILITY [Ch.] *ūtilitās* 'usefulness; expediency' (*ūtilis* 'useful; advantageous')

VACUITY [1541] *vacuitās* 'empty space; exemption; vacuity' (*vacuus* 'empty; void')

VALIDITY [*c.*1550] *validitās* [c4] 'strength; vigour' (*validus* 'strong; healthy')

VELOCITY [a1470] *vēlōcitās* 'swiftness; speed' (*vēlōx/vēlōc-* 'swift; speedy')

VERACITY [1526] *vērācitās* [ML] (a theological term) (*vērāx/vērāc-* VERACIOUS)

VERITY [*c.*1375] *vēritās* (*vērus* 'true'; see *veracious* § 5.2.2)

VICINITY [1560] *vīcīnitās* 'neighbourhood; proximity' (*vīcīnus* 'neighbouring' [**weik-*[1]] § 4.7)

VIRILITY [1586] *virīlitās* [post-CL] 'manhood' (*virīlis* 'male; manly; vigorous')

VIRTUOSITY [a1470] *virtuōsitās* [ML] 'efficiency; virtue; integrity' (*virtuōsus* [c3/4] VIRTUOUS § 4.10.2)

VISIBILITY [1581] *vīsibilitās* [Tertullian] (*vīsibilis* [c2] 'that can be seen; VISIBLE')

VIVACITY [1432] *vīvācitās* 'tenacity of life; vitality' (*vīvāx/vīvāc-* 'tenacious of life; lively')

2.1.4 *Denominal formations*

AUTHORITY (*auctorite* [?a1200] via OF *au(c)torité* [1121]; spelled *auth-* [c16], following *author*, originally a French scribal variant [c15/16] *aut(h) o(u)r* → English *au(c)thour* [*c.*1550] ∼ *auctor*) *auctōritās* 'power' (*auctor* 'creator; author')

CITY [?a1200] (via OF *citet* [c11]) *cīvitās* 'citizenship; citizenry; state' (*cīvis* 'citizen')
HEREDITY [*c.*1540] 'inheritance' (biol. use [1863]) *hērēditās* 'inheritance' (*hērēs/hērēd-* 'heir' < **ǵheh₁r(o)-h₁ēd-* Dunkel 1987; RPIEL 139)
INFINITY [*c.*1378] *īnfīnitās* 'boundlessness; endlessness' (*in* 'not' + *fīnis* 'end')
VIRGINITY [*c.*1303] *virginitās* 'maidenhood' (*virgō/virgin-* 'female of marriageable age; virgin') (perhaps modelled on *castitās* 'chastity')

2.2 *-ia/-tia* (> E *-y/-ce*) 'subjective-state trait'

The suffix *-(t)ia* is a well-established marker of abstract nouns associated (outside of Anatolian) with the feminine gender. By origin, *-ia* conflates two paradigm types, illustrated by the following nominative/genitive singular alternations in Indo-European and Sanskrit (cf. Beekes 1995: 183 ff.; Sihler 1995: 245, 275–8; IEL 285 ff.):

1. proterodymanic: **-ih₂ /*-yéh₂-s* > Ved. *-ī́/-yā́s* (e.g. *devī́/devyā́s* 'goddess')
2. hysterodynamic: **-i(é)h₂- /*-ih₂-é/ós* > Ved. *-ī́-/-i(y)as* (e.g. *vṛkī́s /vṛ̥kyàs* [i.e. *vṛ̥kías*] 'she-wolf')

In Latin, **-íh₂* probably should have yielded **-ī* (IEL 189, 286), as in the genitive *-ī* (§ 4.2) and the enlarged type *genetr-ī-c-* 'mother' (§ 3.7), but was expanded to *-i-a*, in part by generalization of the productive feminine suffix *-a*, and in part by generalization from the oblique forms of the paradigm (gen. **-i(y)ās*, acc. **-i(y)am*; cf. RPIEL 363–6).

Latin nouns in *-ia* (LG i § 274) were productively derived from second and third declension adjectives, especially those denoting a personal attribute, and from present participles in *-a/ent-* converted to adjectives (§ 2.2.5). Formations such as *sci-ent-ia* 'knowledge' (> SCIENCE) can be viewed compositionally as 'know-ing-ness'.

Centuria 'group of a hundred' CENTURY [1533] is a collective to *centum* 'a hundred'; cf. OIr. *cóiger* 'group of five men', Lith. *penkerì* 'set of five', etc. (Sihler 1995: 436 f.).

Reflecting the (Anglo-)French ancestry, English has *-y* (and *-Ø*, especially after a heavy syllable) as the usual reflex of *-ia*, and *-ce* (sometimes *-cy*) of *-tia* unless *s* precedes (*-s-tia* > *-sty*). Also like French *-ie* (the main immediate source), English *-y* conflates several historically different suffixes (Latin *-ia*, Greek *-ίᾱ* and *-ειᾰ*). This section treats only those from Latin *-ia*.

2.2.1 *Deadjectival formations*

CONCORD [a1325] *concordia* (*concors/concord-* 'agreeing; harmonious')
CONTROVERSY [a1382 Wyclif] *contrōversia* (*contrōversus* 'turned against; questionable')
CONTUMACY [?a1200] *contumācia* 'stubbornness' (*contumāx/contumāc-* 'defiant')
DISCORD [*c.*1230] *discordia* 'dissension' (*discors/discord-* 'disagreeing; discordant')
EFFICACY [1527] *efficācia* (*efficāx* 'accomplishing')
ENVY [*c.*1280] (via French) *invidia* 'enviousness' (*invidus* 'envious')
FALLACY [1581 Caxton] (replacing older *fallace* [a1325]) *fallācia* 'deceit; trick; stratagem' (*fallāx* 'deceitful; spurious')
GRACE [*c.*1200] *grātia* 'thankfulness; favour' (*grātus* 'thankful; pleasing')
INFAMY [1473] *īnfāmia* 'ill-fame; dishonour' (*īnfāmis* 'not (well) spoken of; disreputable')
MEMORY [*c.*1250] *memoria* 'mindfulness' (*memor* 'mindful' < **me-mn-us-* [**men-*[1]] IEL 185)
MISERY [Ch.] *miseria* 'wretchedness' (*miser* 'wretched')
MODESTY [1531] *modestia* 'temperateness; propriety' (*modestus* 'restrained; disciplined')
PERFIDY [1592] *perfidia* 'faithlessness, treachery' (*perfidus* 'faithless; treacherous')
PERTINACY [*c.*1385] *pertinācia* 'obstinacy' (*pertināx/pertināc-* 'obstinate; tenacious')
VIGIL [?*c.*1225] *vigilia* 'wakefulness; watch; patrol' (*vigil* 'awake; sentry')

2.2.2 *Miscellaneous formations*

Several *-ia* constructs have no attested base, e.g. *calumnia* 'false accusation; chicanery' CALUMNY [1564], *contumēlia* 'insult; affront' CONTUMELY [Ch.], *luxuria* 'extravagance; sumptuous enjoyment' LUXURY [1340] 'lust, lechery', [1633] 'indulgence', *pēnūria* 'want; need; scarcity' PENURY [1432–50] (but cf. (?) L *paene* 'almost').

There is no adjectival base for FEBRIFUGE [1686] 'antipyretic' from L *febrifug(i)a* [?c4 Pseudo-Apuleius] 'feverfew; Erythraea centaurium', which seems to be deverbal, like *perfuga* 'deserter' to *perfugere* 'flee for refuge; desert'.

A few *-ia* formations originated from clipped expressions involving the feminine of adjectives in *-ius*, especially names of countries: *Graecia* 'Greece', *Italia* 'Italy', *Germānia* 'Germany', etc. (sc. *terra* 'land'). This has also been claimed for *victōria* VICTORY (sc. *pugna* 'battle'), if not denominal (§ 2.2.4).

2.2.3 *Later Latin* -ātia/-ācia

ACCURACY [1662] **accūrācia* for CL *accūrātiō* 'exactness' (*accūrātus* 'carefully done')

ADVOCACY [Ch.] *advocātia* [ML] for CL *advocātiō* 'legal pleading' (*advocātus* ADVOCATE [a1325]; cf. OF *avocat/avocacie*)

CONFEDERACY [Ch.] AF *confederacie* < VL **cōnfēderācia* for EL *cōnfoederātiō* [Jerome] 'covenant' (*cōnfoederātus* 'united by a league' CONFEDERATE [1387])

CONSPIRACY [1357] **cōnspīrācia* (cf. ML *cōnspīrantia*) = CL *cōnspīrātiō* 'conspiracy')

DELICACY [Ch.] *dēlicācia* [ML] 'tidbit' (cf. L *dēlicātus* 'delightful; DELICATE')

EFFEMINACY [1387] **effēminācia* for LL/EL *effēminātiō* 'castration; emasculation' (*effēminātus* EFFEMINATE: *fēmina* 'woman' < **dheh*$_1$*-mn-eh*$_2$- 'who suckles' [**dhē(i)*-])

OBSTINACY [a1393] *obstinācia* [c7] for CL *obstinātiō* 'stubbornness' (ML *obstināx/obstināc-* = CL *obstinātus* 'stubborn' OBSTINATE [?1387]: *obstināre* 'persist' < **sth*$_2$*-no-* [**stā*-])

Generalization of *-ātia/-ācia* is responsible for such English neologisms as INTIMACY [1641] (to the participle *intimātus* [LL], replacing CL *intimus* 'intimate'), LUNACY [1541] (*lūnāticus* 'moonstruck; crazy'), MACULACY [n.d.] 'state of being blemished' (*maculātus* 'spotted; defiled'), SUPREMACY [1547] (*suprēmus* 'highest; topmost'), and scientific terms such as INVERTEBRACY [1886] 'spinelessness' with no classical basis at all (cf. NL *Invertebrāta*, neuter plural of L *invertebrātus* 'having no backbone').

Direct borrowings from Latin remain unaltered: INERTIA [1713] = NL *inertia* [1687 Newton] < CL *inertia* 'idleness' (*iners/inert-* 'sluggish; feeble'), MINUTIA [1782] *minūtia* [Seneca] 'smallness', MINUTIAE [1748] *minūtiae* [c4 esp. Ammianus Marcellinus] 'small matters, trifles' (*minūtus* 'small'). See also *insomnia* and *militia* § 2.2.4.

2.2.4 *Denominal derivatives in* -(t)ia

CUSTODY [1491] *custōdia* 'care; protection' (*custōs/custōd-* 'guard; overseer' < **kuzdho-zd-* 'sitting (over) a treasure' < **kudh-to-* 'hidden' [**(s)keu-* = **keudh-* LIV 358 f. + **sed-*[1]])

INJURY [*c.*1384] *injūria* 'injustice; wrong; offence' (*jūs* 'right; law')

INSOMNIA [1623] *īnsomnia* [Plautus] 'sleeplessness' (*somnus* 'sleep'; *īnsomnis* [Virgil, Horace] 'unsleeping' is backformed from *īnsomnia*)

MILITIA [1590] *mīlitia* 'military (service)' (*mīles/mīlit-* 'soldier')

possibly VICTORY [?*c.*1300] *victōria* (*victor* VICTOR [a1349]; see also §§ 2.2.2, 3.7.2)

2.2.5 *Derivatives from* -a/ent- *constructs (over fifty by c14)*

ABSENCE [*c.*1378] *absentia* (*absent-* ABSENT [a1382 Wyclif])
ABSTINENCE [1340] *abstinentia* (*abstinent-* 'abstaining')
ABUNDANCE [1340] *abundantia* (*abundant-* 'abounding')
ACCIDENCE [1393] *accidentia* [Pliny] 'chance happening' (*accident-* 'occurring; ACCIDENT' [a1382 Wyclif])
ADOLESCENCE [*c.*1430 Lydgate] *ado/ulēscentia* 'youth' (*ado/ulēscent-* 'young person')
ARROGANCE [*c.*1303] *arrogantia* (*arrogant-* ARROGANT [Ch.])
AUDIENCE [?*c.*1350] *audientia* 'a hearing, listening' (*audient-* 'listening; hearing')
BENEVOLENCE [*c.*1384] *benevolentia* 'goodwill; favour' (*benevolent-* 'well-wishing' BENEVOLENT [1482] < *dwe-n-eh$_1$ [**deu-*^{2}] + [**wel-*^{2}])
CIRCUMSTANCE [?a1200] *circumstantia* [c1/2] (*circumstant-* 'surrounding')
CLEMENCY [1553] [Ch. *clemence*] *clēmentia* (*clēment-* 'merciful; peaceable')
CONCUPISCENCE [?*c.*1350] *concupīscentia* [EL] (*concupīscent-* 'desiring ardently')
CONSCIENCE [?a1200] *cōnscientia* 'having knowledge in common; consciousness; conscience' (*con-* 'together' + *scientia* 'knowledge'; cf. *scient-* 'knowing')
CONSEQUENCE [Ch.] *cōnsequentia* 'natural succession' (*cōnsequent-* 'following up; CONSEQUENT' noun [Ch.], adj. [1509])
CONSTANCE [1340] *cōnstantia* 'steadfastness' (*cōnstant-* 'firm; steady' CONSTANT [Ch.])
CONTINENCE [a1349] *continentia* 'abstemiousness' (*continent-* 'adjacent; temperate')
CREDENCE [*c.*1330] *crēdentia* [ML] (*crēdent-* 'believing')
DIFFERENCE [1340] *differentia* (*different-* 'differing; disagreeing')
DILIGENCE [1340] *dīligentia* (*dīligent-* DILIGENT [1340])
DISTANCE [*c.*1300] *distantia* 'separation; distance' (*distant-* 'standing apart; being separate/DISTANT' [Ch.])
EFFICIENCY [1593] *efficientia* (*efficient-* 'accomplishing; effecting')
ELEGANCE [*c.*1510] *ēlegantia* (*ēlegant-* ELEGANT [*c.*1485])
ELOQUENCE [Ch.] *ēloquentia* (*ēloquent-* 'ELOQUENT; articulate')
EMINENCE [1597] *ēminentia* 'prominence; excellence' (*ēminent-* 'lofty; prominent')

EXCELLENCE [?*c.*1350] *excellentia* 'superiority' (*excellent-* EXCELLENT [a1349])
FRAGRANCE [1667] *frāgrantia* [c4] (*frāgrant-* 'smelling strongly' [*$g^{w}hreh_{1}$-] cf. RPIEL 185 f.)
FREQUENCY [1553] *frequentia* 'multitude; frequency' (*frequent-* 'FREQUENT; populous')
IGNORANCE [?a1200] *ignōrantia* (*ignōrant-* '(being) ignorant (of)')
IMPATIENCE [?a1200] *impatientia* (*impatient-* ['not enduring'] IMPATIENT [*c.*1378])
IMPOTENCE [1406] *impotentia* 'weakness' (*impotent-* 'powerless')
IMPUDENCE [Ch.] *impudentia* 'shamelessness' (*impudent-* IMPUDENT [Ch.])
INCONSTANCE [Ch.] *incōnstantia* 'changeableness' (*incōnstant-* 'fickle')
INDIGENCE [*c.*1375] *indigentia* 'need; desire' (*indigent-* 'needy; INDIGENT' [*c.*1400])
INDULGENCE [a1376] *indulgentia* 'kindness; gentleness' (*indulgent-* 'kind')
INFANCY [1494] *īnfantia* 'inability to speak' (*īnfant-* 'speechless; INFANT' [1376])
INFLUENCE [Ch.] *īnfluentia* [ML] (theol.) (*īnfluent-* 'flowing in; penetrating')
INNOCENCE [1340] *innocentia* 'integrity' (*innocent-* 'harmless; INNOCENT' [1340])
INOBEDIENCE [?a1200] *inoboedentia* [Augustine] 'disobedience' (*inoboedient-* [EL] 'disobedient')
INSOLENCE [Ch.] *īnsolentia* 'arrogance; pride' (*īnsolent-* INSOLENT [Ch.])
INSTANCE [Ch.] *īnstantia* 'presence; urgency' (*īnstant-* 'present; pressing')
INTELLIGENCE [Ch.] *intelli/egentia* 'understanding' (*intelli/egent-* 'discerning')
IRREVERENCE [Ch.] *irreverentia* 'disrespect' (*irreverent-* IRREVERENT [1550])
LICENCE [a1376] *licentia* 'liberty; licence' (*licent-* 'unrestrained')
NEGLIGENCE [1340] *negli/egentia* 'heedlessness; neglect' (*neglegent-* 'neglecting; NEGLIGENT' [Ch.])
OBEDIENCE [*c.*1200] *oboedientia* (*oboedient-* OBEDIENT [?a1200])
OBSERVANCE [a1250] *observantia* (*observant-* 'watching; OBSERVANT' [1474 Caxton])
PATIENCE [?a1200] *patientia* (*patient-* 'enduring; suffering; PATIENT' [*c.*1350])
PENITENCE [?a1200]) *paenitentia* 'repentance' (*paenitent-* PENITENT [Ch.])

PERSEVERANCE [1340] *persevērantia* 'steadfastness' (*persevērant-* 'persisting')
PESTILENCE [*c.*1303] *pestilentia* (*pestilent-* 'unhealthy; destructive')
PETULANCE [1610] *petulantia* 'impudence; immodesty' (*petulant-* 'impudent; wanton')
POTENCY [1539] (POTENCE [1413]) *potentia* 'power; ability' (*potent-* 'able; powerful; POTENT' [Ch.]; see *potentate* § 2.7)
PRESCIENCE [Ch.] *praescientia* [EL] 'foreknowledge' (*praescient-* 'foreknowing')
PRESENCE [*c.*1330] *praesentia* (*praesent-* 'in person; ready; PRESENT' [*c.*1303])
PRUDENCE [1340] *prūdentia* 'wisdom' (*prūdent-* 'wise; PRUDENT' [a1382])[2]
REFULGENCE *refulgentia* [LL] (*refulgent-* 'radiating light; gleaming' REFULGENT [1509])
RESIDENCE [?*c.*1378] *residentia* [ML] (*resident-* 'residing')
RESISTANCE [?*c.*1350] *resistentia* [Augustine] [for CL *repugnantia*] (*resistent-* 'resisting')
REVERENCE [*c.*1280] *reverentia* (*reverent-* 'venerating; REVERENT' [Ch.])
SAPIENCE [a1376] *sapientia* 'wisdom' (*sapient-* 'wise')
SCIENCE [*c.*1340] *scientia* 'knowledge' (*scient-* 'knowing')
SOMNOLENCE [Ch.] *somnolentia* [Augustine] 'sleepiness' (*somnolentus* 'drowsy')
SUBSTANCE [?a1300] *substantia* [c1] 'material; essence' (*substant-* 'standing firm')
SUFFERANCE [*c.*1300] *sufferentia* [Tertullian] 'endurance' (*sufferent-* 'enduring')
TEMPERANCE [1340] *temperantia* 'moderation; self-control' (*temperant-* 'restrained')
VIOLENCE [*c.*1300] *violentia* (*violentus* VIOLENT [Ch.])

2.2.6 *Special* -nt-ia *formations*

Irregular *essentia* [Seneca] (built on *esse* 'to be') ESSENCE [1398 Trevisa] is a calque on G *οὐσία* 'essence' similarly built on the participle stem *ὀντ-* 'being' + abstract *-ία*. Seneca attributes *essentia* to Cicero but Quintilian attributes it to the rhetorician Verginius Flavus or the philosopher Sergius Plautus (cf. Coleman 1989: 80 f.).

[2] L *prūdent-* is a contraction of *prō-vid-ent-* PROVIDENT [1429], *prōvidentia* 'power of seeing in advance; foresight; PROVIDENCE' [*c.*1300], in which the restored stem predictably contains more of the compositional meaning ('for(ward)-see-ing') (§ 1.10 n. 8).

Beneficentia 'kindness' BENEFICENCE [1531] and *magnificentia* 'grandeur; splendour' MAGNIFICENCE [1340] are compared to *beneficus* 'beneficent', *magnificus* 'sumptuous; magnificent', and comparatives in *-entior* (LG i. 499), but *magnificentia* is possibly a regular derivative of *magnificant-* 'highly valuing' (for the vowel change, cf. *candēre* 'glow hot': *incendere* 'kindle', etc.).

Sententia 'opinion; sentiment; period' SENTENCE [?a1200] may be dissimilated from **sentientia* (LG i. 232); cf. *sentient-* 'sensing; perceiving' SENTIENT [1603].

In later Latin, *-antia* encroached on *-entia*, and in Old French *-ance* prevails, e.g. *attendant* [1393]/*attendance* [Ch.]; cf. *-ant*: *servant* [?a1200], *tenant* [a1325], etc. (Marchand 1969: 251). While most of the derivatives in § 2.2.5 were at least influenced by (Anglo-)French, the following are straight French: *alliance* [*c.*1300] (OF *aliance* [1155]; contrast ML *alligantia* (*alligant-* 'binding to (sthg.)'), *appearance* [Ch.], *appurtenance* [?a1300], *assurance* [Ch.], *attendance* [Ch.], *continuance* [a1349], *deliverance* [*c.*1300], *disturbance* [*c.*1280], *governance* [*c.*1303], *maintenance* [1333], *ordinance* [?a1300], *penance* [*c.*1280], *remembrance* [?a1300], *repentance* [*c.*1300], *resemblance* [a1393], *romance* [*c.*1300], *semblance* [a1325], *significance* [Ch.], *suffisance* [Ch.], *sustenance* [*c.*1300] (but cf. LL *sustinentia* 'endurance').

Neologisms: FLATULENCE [1711] 'inflated', [1858] 'intestinal gas condition' (built on NL *flātulentus* FLATULENT [1599] (cf. *flatulentness* [1563]), a derivative of L *flātus* 'a blowing; breeze'); IMPORTANCE [1508] (cf. ML *importantia* [1496] and E *important* [1586] < OF < OItal. *importante* < ML *important-* 'having import; (being) significant' < CL 'carrying in'); PERSISTENCE [1546] (*persistent-* 'persisting'). Neologisms in *-ancy* to *-ant* (e.g. *occupant* [1578]/*occupancy* [1596]) follow the pattern of *-acy* : *-ate* (cf. Marchand 1969: 248 f.).

Direct borrowings from Latin remain unaltered: *dēmentia* 'madness' DEMENTIA [1806] (*dēment-* 'out of the mind').

2.3 *-(i)tia* (> E *-ice*) 'subjective-state trait'

Latin nouns in *-itia* (LG i § 276) also denote personal attributes and derive from adjectives that designate personal states. This suffix is not well represented in English, and all of the early examples are by way of (Anglo-)French.

AVARICE [?*c.*1300] *avāritia* 'greed(iness)' (*avārus* [Plautus] 'greedy; covetous' < **awā(u)ro-* < reduplicated **h₂eu-h₂ēu-ro-* ?; cf. *avēre* [Ennius 62 Jocelyn] 'be eager, desire' [**h₂eu-* LIV 274, not in AHDR] DELL 98, 100)

JUSTICE [?a1160 Peterborough Chron] *jūstitia* 'justness' (*jūstus* 'just'; see *justify* § 6.4.2.1)
MALICE [*c*.1300] *malitia* 'evilness' (*malus* 'bad; evil' [**mel*-[5] 'false, bad, wrong'])
NOTICE [1415] *nōtitia* 'celebrity; knowledge; acquaintance' (*nōtus* 'known; familiar' [**gnō*- 'know' = **ǵneh*$_3$- LIV 168 ff.]; see *notorious* § 5.6.1)
*TRISTICE (cf. denom. TRISTITIATE [1628] 'make sad') *trīstitia* 'sadness' (*trīstis* 'sad' [etym. unknown DELL 1243])

2.4 *-(i)tūdō/-(i)tūdin-* (> E *-(i)tude*) 'observable state'

The origin of *-tūdō* is unknown. There are no exact correspondences elsewhere in Indo-European. At least in part, it seems to be related to *-ē-dō*, *-ī-dō* (*libīdō* LIBIDO [1909], *cupīdō* CUPID [*c*.1350]), etc., which occasionally pattern with *-id-* adjectives (§ 5.1), e.g. *frīgidus* FRIGID : *frīgēdō* [Varro] 'cold(ness)', *torpidus* TORPID : *torpēdō* [Cato] 'sluggishness, lethargy', [Varro] 'a fish whose sting produces numbness' (> TORPEDO [*c*.1520] the fish, [1776] the underwater exploding device), but there is no evidence of a historical connection (Nussbaum 1999: 382 f., 407 f.). Note especially the different vocalism of *rūbidus* 'suffused with red' and *rŭbēdō* [only in Firmicus *c*.335] 'redness' (Peters 1980: 178), and especially the *d* in the Greek parallels, such as *ἀλγηδών* [Sophocles, Herodotus] '(sense of) pain; grip' (*ἀλγεῖν* 'feel pain') (Chantraine 1933: 361 f.; Risch 1974: 61, 106; Peters 1980: 177 ff.), which cannot go back to **dh*. The fact that the preceding vowel is regularly long suggests a reconstruction **-hdon-*, possibly from an earlier **-(e)t-h$_3$onh$_2$-* (Olsen 2004: 241).

The productive Latin type is not *-ēdō* but *-tūdō*. If *-ē-* verbs were supposedly linked to *-ēdō* derivatives, one would expect **valēdō* rather than *valētūdō* 'health', as if built on **valētus* (§ 2.4.2). One can posit a result state noun **w(e)lh$_2$-éh$_1$-tu-* 'health' (**-eh$_1$-* state + **-tu-* result § 3.10), to which **-hdon-* was added (i.e. **w(e)lh$_2$-eh$_1$-tu-hdon-* > *valētūdō*), the rationale being that **-hdon-* was compatible with results and states, as noted above. For the extended formation, cf. *habitūdō* 'habit; appearance' beside *habitus* 'state of being; condition'. The identity of the *-tu-* stems with participles enabled a reanalysis as deriving *-(t)ū-dō* from participial adjectives (*sollicitus* 'agitated', *lassus* 'weary', etc.), then to other adjectives, like *dulcis* 'sweet', *magnus* 'large', *lentus* 'slow' (§ 2.4.1).

Latin nouns in *-tūdō* (LG i § 325.2) denote observable (result state) traits that are in some sense quantifiable from outward appearance. They are primarily derived from participles and adjectives. Cugusi (1991: 440 ff.) lists ninety-three Latin *-tūdō* formations, sixty of which are from the early period

(unspecified below). After a long period of decline, there was renewed productivity in Late Latin. As to continuity in Romance, Pharies (2002: 500 f.) lists about a dozen Spanish *-(i)tud* derivatives from c15. Among the neologisms, at least one (*exactitud* [1705]) is nearly contemporaneous with English (*exactitude* [1734]), which is consistent with the general 'Europeanization' of Romance (Chr. Schmitt 2000).

Over forty Latin *-tūdō* constructs remain current in English. As usual, at least the early ones are from (Anglo-)French. The base *-tūdin-* is evident in adjectival derivatives, such as *multitudinous, altitudinous, longitudinal.*

2.4.1 *Regular formations*

ACRITUDE [1675] 'bitterness (to the taste)', *ācritūdō* 'sharpness' (*ācer* 'sharp; sour; keen')

ALTITUDE [*c.*1386] *altitūdō* 'highness; height' (*altus* 'high; deep' < **h*$_2$*l̥-tó-* 'grown' [**al-*[3]])

AMPLITUDE [1549] *amplitūdō* 'width; breadth; bulk' (*amplus* 'ample; large; wide')

APTITUDE [a1425] 'inclination', [a1570] 'ability' *aptitūdō* [Boethius] 'fitness' (*aptus* 'suitable' [phps. **h*$_2$*ep-* 'suit' LIV 269 rather than **ap-*[1] 'take; reach' AHDR 4 = **h*$_1$*ep-* LIV 237])

BEATITUDE [1491 Caxton] *beātitūdō* 'supreme happiness' coined but not used by Cicero; 1× in Petronius then Apuleius and EL Coleman 1989: 81 (*beātus* 'blessed; happy')

CERTITUDE [*c.*1432–50] *certitūdō* [c2] (*certus* 'sure' < **krto-* < **kri-to-* Nussbaum 1999: 394)

CRASSITUDE [*c.*1420] *crassitūdō* 'thickness; density' (*crassus* 'thick; dense; stupid')

DISSIMILITUDE [1532] *dissimilitūdō* 'unlikeness; difference' (*dissimilis* 'unlike')

DULCITUDE [1623] *dulcitūdō* 'sweetness' [Cicero] (*dulcis* 'sweet' [**dl̥k-ú-* 'id.'])

FIRMITUDE [1541] *firmitūdō* 'stability; strength' (*firmus* 'firm; strong; steady')

FORTITUDE [a1175] *fortitūdō* 'strength; valour' (*fortis* 'strong; brave, valiant')

GRATITUDE [*c.*1500] *grātitūdō* [ML] (*grātus* 'agreeable; thankful, grateful'; see *ingratitude*)

GRAVITUDE [n.d.] *gravitūdō* 'head cold; sickness' (*gravis* 'heavy; burdensome; serious')

HONESTITUDE [n.d.] *honestitūdō* 'honourableness; virtue' (*honestus* 'decent; honourable')
INCERTITUDE [1601] *incertitūdō* [c6] (*incertus* 'uncertain; doubtful')
INEPTITUDE [1615] *ineptitūdō* [1× = *ineptia*] 'absurdity' (*ineptus* 'foolish; inept'; see *aptitude*)
INGRATITUDE [?a1200] *ingrātitūdō* [c4 Cassiodorus] 'ill will' (*ingrātus* 'unpleasant; unthankful'; cf. *grātus* 'agreeable' < **g*^{w}*r̥h*$_2$*-tó-* [*g^{w}erh$_{(2)}$-^{3} 'favour'] HLFL 108)
INQUIETUDE [*c.*1440] *inquiētūdō* [c2] 'restlessness; disquietude' (*inquiētus* 'restless')
LASSITUDE [1533] 'state of exhaustion' *lassitūdō* 'weariness' (*lassus* 'weary; tired' < **lh*$_1$*d-to-* [**lē*-^{2} 'let go, slacken' = **leh*$_1$*d-* LIV 400] RPIEL 166)
LATITUDE [Ch.] *lātitūdō* 'breadth; width' (*lātus* 'broad; wide' < **stl̥h-to-* [**stelh-*] HLFL 112)
LAXITUDE [1861] *laxitūdō* [Jerome] 'slackening' (*laxus* 'loose; roomy; slack; lax' < **sl*$_e$*g-so-* [**sleg-* LIV 565]; subsumed under **(s)lēg-*/**(s)leh*$_1$*g-* in AHDR; cf. **lh*$_2$*g-so-* RPIEL 165)
LENTITUDE [1623] *lentitūdō* [Cicero] 'sluggishness; apathy' (*lentus* 'slow; phlegmatic')
LIMPITUDE [1623] *limpitūdō* [c6] 'cleanness' (*limpidus* 'clear; LIMPID' [1613])
LONGITUDE [Ch.] *longitūdō* 'length' (*longus* 'long' < **dl-on-gho-* [**del-*^{1} 'long'] HLFL 112)
MAGNITUDE [?a1425] *magnitūdō* [Cicero] 'greatness; importance' (*magnus* 'great')
MULTITUDE [1340] *multitūdō* 'a great number' (*multus* 'much' < **ml̥-tó-* [**mel-*^{4}] HLFL 154)
NECESSITUDE [1612] *necessitūdō* 'obligation; compulsion' (*necesse* 'essential; inevitable')
PINGUITUDE [1623] *pinguitūdō* 'fatness; richness' (*pinguis* 'fat; rich' < **pn̥gu-* DELL 899 but **p(e)n-ghú-* > **bhn̥ghú-* yields G *παχύς* 'thick', Ved. *bahú-* 'abundant' Miller 1977*b*, 1977*c*)
PLENITUDE [1432–50] 'abundance' *plēnitūdō* 'fullness; abundancy' (*plēnus* 'full')
PULCHRITUDE [*c.*1400] *pulchritūdō* 'beauty' (*pulc(h)er* 'pretty' [etym. unknown DELL 962])
QUIETUDE [1597] *quiētūdō* [LL gloss] 'calmness' (*quiētus* 'tranquil' < **k*^{w}*yeh*$_1$*-to-* [**k*^{w}*eih*$_1$-^{2} 'rest, be quiet' = **k*^{w}*yeh*$_1$- LIV 393 f.] RPIEL 140)
RECTITUDE [1432–50] *rēctitūdō* [Tertullian] (*rēctus* 'straight; upright; honest; proper')

SERVITUDE [1471 Caxton] (*servitut* [Ch.]) *servitūdō* [Livy] (*servus* 'servile; slave')
SIMILITUDE [Ch.] *similitūdō* 'likeness; similarity' (*similis* 'like; resembling')
SOLICITUDE [?a1412] *sollicitūdō* 'care; concern; uneasiness' (*sollicitus* 'agitated; anxious', from *sollus* 'unbroken; whole; complete; thoroughly' [**sol(h₂)-wo-*] = Ved. *sárva-* 'whole, all' Nussbaum 1997 (only in compounds) + *citus* 'moved' DELL 214, 1118)
SOLITUDE [a1349] *sōlitūdō* 'aloneness' (*sōlus* 'alone' < **s(w)ō-lo-* [*swe-])
TURPITUDE [1490 Caxton] *turpitūdō* 'ugliness' (*turpis* 'ugly; disgraceful; indecent')
VASTITUDE[1] [1623] 'immensity' *vastitūdō* [c2 Aulus Gellius] 'immensity' (*vastus* 'enormous; wide; VAST' [1575] [**wasdho-* or **wosdho-*] cf. OIr *fot* 'length' Thurneysen 1946: 35, 50)
VASTITUDE[2] [1545] 'devastation' *vāstitūdō* [Cato] 'ruin' (*vāstus* 'desolate' < **h₁weh₂-s-to-*; OS *wōsti* 'deserted' [**h₁weh₂-* LIV 254] RPIEL 146, 464; Nussbaum 1998: 80 f.; HLFL 119)
VERISIMILITUDE [1603] *vērīsimilitūdō* [c2] 'plausibility; probability' (*vērī similis* 'having the appearance of truth' [**semh₂-* 'like']; see *simulacre* § 3.6.3.1)
VICISSITUDE [1570] 'mutability; change' (e.g. of fortune) *vicissitūdō* 'change; alternation; vicissitude' (cf. *vicissim* 'in turn' from *vicis* 'change; turn' [**weik-*[4]] RPIEL 330)

2.4.2 *Special formations*

The constructs in this section supposedly exhibit haplology (§ 1.4.2*b*; LG i. 368), but note *fortitūdō* FORTITUDE, *grātitūdō* GRATITUDE, etc. It is more likely that at least some of them represent the original locus of diffusion of the suffix *-tūdō* (< **-(eh₁)-tu-* plus the **-hdon-* of *-ē-dō*, *-ī-dō*, etc.).

Many of the forms below involve compounds of *suēscere* 'become accustomed (to)', which probably goes back to a compound **swe-dʰh₁-ske/o-* 'make one's own' (or **sweh₁-dʰh₁-ske/o-* 'treat as one's own') (Hackstein 2002: 12, w. lit).

Within Italic, *suēscere* was reanalysed as belonging to the productive inchoatives (§ 6.2), hence a PPP *suētus* from which a *-(t)ū-dō* formation could be derived.

The following members of this class survive into English:

CONSUETUDE [a1382 Wyclif] *cōnsuētūdō* 'custom; habit; use' (*cōnsuētus* 'usual; customary')

DESUETUDE [1623] *dēsuētūdō* [Livy] 'discontinuance; disuse' (*dēsuētus* 'put out of use')

HABITUDE [*c.*1400] *habitūdō* 'habit; appearance' (**habiti-tūdō*? Synchronically built on PPP *habitus* 'held in a certain condition/state', historically, an extension of the noun *habitus* 'state of being; condition' [**ghabh-*/**ghebh-* = **g/ǵhehb-* LIV 195])

MANSUETUDE [Ch.] *mānsuētūdō* [Cicero] 'mildness; clemency' (*mānsuētus* 'accustomed to the hand' (*manu-* [**man-*[2] 'hand']) i.e. 'tame(d); mild; soft; gentle')

(VALETUDINARY [1581] 'sickly'/VALETUDINARIAN [1703] 'chronic invalid') *valētūdō* 'health' (**valētus* 'health'; cf. *val-ē-re* 'to be well'; *valētūdi- nārius* 'sickly' [**wal-* 'be strong' = **welh-*[1] LIV 676, probably **welh*$_2$-])

2.5 *-mōnium/-mōnia* (> E *-mony*) (cf. Johnson 1931: § 79)

Latin formations in *-mōnium* and *-mōnia* were historically abstract nouns in *-ium* and *-ia* derived from nouns in *-mōn-* (LG i § 276B). Synchronically, there are two main types: (1) abstracts in *-mōnia* from personal adjectives; (2) mostly denominal (but also some deverbal) nouns in *-mōnium* denoting 'legal status of' (cf. Benveniste 1969: i. 243). There is overlap of the suffixes in both directions.

2.5.1 *Deadjectival formations (mostly* -mōnia)

ACRIMONY [1542] 'pungency', [1618] 'ill-natured animosity in speech or manner' *ācrimōnia* 'sharpness; bitterness' (*ācer/ācr-* 'sharp; bitter' < **āk-ri-* [**ak-* = **h*$_2$*ék-* 'sharp'] HLFL 73, 151; on **āk-ri-* to **ak-ro-*, like **sāk-ri-* to **sak-ro-* 'consecrated' etc., see Heidermanns 2002: 192)

PARSIMONY [1432–50] 'excessive thrift', [1561] 'stinginess' *parc/simōnia* ~ *parcimōnium* 'thrift; sparingness; frugality' (*parcus* 'sparing; frugal'; cf. *parcere* 'spare; be thrifty with' [**perk-* LIV 476]; the *-s-* was originally proper to the aorist HLFL 181, 135 f.)

SANCTIMONY [1540] †'sanctity'; [a1618] 'affected piety; pompous high-mindedness' *sānctimōnia* 'holiness; sanctity' (*sānctus* 'sacred; inviolable; holy' [for *ā*, see DELL 1035 ff., HLFL 78] PPP of *sancīre* 'make sacred, consecrate' [**sak-* 'sanctify' not in LIV] see also HLFL 122, 194)

2.5.2 *Legal formations (mostly* -mōnium)

ALIMONY [1655] *alimōnium* (*-ia*) 'legal status of supporting' (whence such neologistic blends as *palimony* [1977]) (*al-e-re* 'to support' [**al-*[3] 'grow, nourish' = **h*$_2$*el-* LIV 262])

MATRIMONY [*c.*1300] < AF *matre/imo(i)n(i)e* [1267] 'marriage'; cf. OF *matremoine* [*c.*1170] 'maternal inheritance' (Hesketh 1997: 61) < ML *mātrimōnium* 'assumed marriage; maternal inheritance' < L *mātrimōnium* 'legal status of motherhood' (*māter* 'mother' [**mā*-^{2} 'mother'])

PATRIMONY [1340] 'inheritance; legacy' *patrimōnium* 'property inherited from the father' [patrilineal society] (*pater* 'father' [**ph$_2$ter*- 'father'])

PRESTIMONY [1727] but note *prestimonial* [1706] (canon law) 'fund for the support of a priest' F *prestimonie* < ML *praestimōnium* (*praestāre* 'to stand before; furnish' = *prae* 'before' + *stāre* 'stand' [**steh$_2$*- § 6.3])

QUERIMONY [1529] *querimōnia* 'complaint' (*quer-ī* 'to complain' [**kwes*- 'pant, wheeze' = **ḱwes*- LIV 341])

TESTIMONY [a1382 Wyclif] *testimōnium* [legal status of being a witness] 'testimony' (*testis* 'witness' < **tri-st(h$_2$)-i*- DELL 1217, Bader 1962: 34, 83, AHDR 93, or **trito-sth$_2$-i*- HLFL 80 'third person standing by' [**trei*- 'three' + **steh$_2$*- 'stand' § 6.3]; **tri*- should mean 'three' in compounds (Heidermanns 2002: 197), not 'third'; for **tri-to*- 'third' cf. G *τρίτος* 'id.' (unfortunately isolated) and HLFL 174, Szemerényi 1990: 241; **trit(i)yo*- underlies L *tertius* 'third' (Sihler 1995: 429) and Gmc. **þriðjōn* (> OE *þridda* THIRD) GED Þ54, HGE 427; see also *testify* § 6.4.2)

2.5.3 *Miscellaneous*

ANTIMONY [1477] ML *antimōnium* [c11^e] (perhaps from Arabic *al-'itmid* 'the-antimony', in turn perhaps from G *στίμμι*/*στῖμι* 'powdered antimony, kohl', a loanword from Egyptian *stim* DELG 1057; Biville 1990-5: ii. 498)

CEREMONY [a1382 Wyclif] *caerimōnia* (*-ium*) 'sacred rite; religious ceremony' (perhaps Etruscan (Breyer 1993: 68–72, 281–4, 527) but IE **kai-ro*- beside **kai-lo*- > Gmc. **hailaz* HGE 151 f. (cf. Goth. *hails* 'healthy') is also possible (Hiltbrunner 1958: 153) but not mentioned in GED H12 or HGE)

2.6 *-(it)ium* (> E *-y; -e* after *c/g*) 'practice of; office; position; place'

The suffixes *-ium* (LG i § 275A) and *-itium* (LG i. 295 f.) subdivide into two groups, denominal (§ 2.6.1) and deadjectival (§ 2.6.2), both of which have semantic properties distinct from their deverbal counterparts (§ 3.2). The pattern of deriving *-ium* abstracts from substantives was quite productive (Bader 1962: 441 ff.) and probably inherited; cf. Ved. *admasádyam* '(the act or fact of) sitting at the (same) table (with someone)' from *adma-sád*- ['table-sitting'] '(one) sitting at the (same) table' (Benedetti 1988: 196; cf. Meillet and Vendryes 1948: 431; Heidermanns 2002: 197 f.).

Direct borrowings from Latin are listed separately (§ 2.6.3) even though they belong to subgroup (1) or (2) because words with no known Latin base belong to that category.

Specific suffix accretions, such as *-ār-ium, -t/sōr-ium, -ic-ium*, are treated in connection with the simple formatives. As always, the early formations are via (Anglo-) French.

2.6.1 *Denominal formations*

ADULTERY [*c.*1425] (ME *avouterye/avoutrie* [*c.*1303] < OF *a(v)ou/lt(e)rie* [c11^{e}]) *adulterium* (*adulter* 'adulterer'; possibly deverbal to *adulterāre* 'commit adultery', but the verb appears first in Cato, while *adulter* and *adulterium* occur in Plautus [*ad* + **h*$_2$*ol-* § 6.2])

ADVERB [1530 Palsgrave] *adverbium* [Quintilian] (*ad-* 'additional; next to' + *verbum* 'word; verb' [**werə-*^{3} 'speak' = **werh*$_1$- 'say' LIV 689 f.]; the usual reconstruction of *verbum* is **werh*$_1$*-dho-* (cf. **wr̥*$_{\text{o}}$*(h*$_1$*)-dho-* HGE 475 in Gmc. **wurðan* > OE *word* WORD); other conjectures include a substantivized participle **wr̥h*$_1$*-to-* > Italic **wr̥t*^{h}*o-* 'that which has been said, utterance' (Olsen 2003: 260) but even accepting laryngeal metathesis § 5.1, the absence of early L **vorbum* and Umbrian *UERFALE* 'temple' require an *e*-grade form HLFL 104, which effectively excludes a participle; another proposal is a compound **werh*$_1$*-d*^{h}*h*$_1$*-o-* 'utterance-producing' (Hackstein 2002: 14)

ARTIFICE [1534] *artificium* 'work of an artist; handicraft; (*artifex* 'artist', from *arti-* 'art' [**ar-* 'fit together' = **h*$_2$*er-*^{1} LIV 269] + *fac-* 'make(r)' [**dhē-* = **dheh*$_1$- LIV 136, more specifically **dheh*$_1$*-k-* LIV 139] Benedetti 1988: 130, 196; Lindner 1996: 28)

AUGURY [Ch.] 'divination' *augurium* 'faculty of divination; omen; prediction' (*augur* 'interpreter', lit. 'one who obtains increase or divine favour' [**aug-*^{1} = **h*$_2$*eug-* 'increase' = 'divine favour'] Benveniste 1969: ii. 150; alternative suggestions in Benedetti 1988: 28)

AUSPICE [1533] 'portent; omen; support' *auspicium* 'omen' (*auspex/auspic-* 'bird-seer; augur' = *avi-* 'bird' [**awi-* = **h*$_2$*ewi-*/**h*$_2$*w(e)i-*] + *spec-* 'watch(er)' [**spék-* 'observe'] Benedetti 1988: 155 f., 196; Heidermanns 2002: 192)

COLLEGE [?*c.*1378] *collēgium* 'colleagueship; guild' (*collēga* 'colleague', from *com-* 'together' + *lēgāre* 'commission as legate'; the alternative of deriving *collēgium* directly from *lēx/lēg-* 'law', like *prīvilēgium* PRIVILEGE below, has been rejected on semantic grounds DELL 630, but both hypotheses remain viable Bader 1962: 133; either way, the formation is denominal)

COMMERCE [1537] *commercium* 'trade' (*merx/merc-* 'merchandise' [**merk-*^{2}] Italic root DELL 712, possibly from Etruscan AHDR 55)

(CONVIVIAL) [a1668] *convīvium* 'feast; entertainment; banquet' (*convīvae* 'table companions; guests', from *com-* 'together' + *vīvere* 'live' [**g*^{w}*ih*$_3$*-we-* § 5.4] Bader 1962: 76)

DOMICILE [*c.*1477 Caxton] *domicilium* 'dwelling; abode; home' (possibly from **domi-cola* 'house-dweller' [**dem-* + **k*^{w}*el-*^{1}] like *incola* 'inhabitant' and *agricola* 'farmer', but a deverbal formation is also possible: Bader 1962: 225; Lindner 1996: 66)

EQUINOX [Ch.] (via OF) *aequinoxium* [ML], variant of L *aequinoctium* 'time of the equinox' (lit. 'equal-night [period]' *aequus* 'level; equal' [etym. unknown DELL 20] + *nox/noct-* 'night' [**nek*^{w}*-t-* 'night': NOM **nók*^{w}*-t-s* IEL 215] Bader 1962: 284; Lindner 1996: 10)

EXILE [a1325] *ex(s)ilium* (*ex(s)ul* 'exile' [person]; the etymology of *exul* is disputed (Bader 1962: 67; Sihler 1995: 304); see conjectures in Benedetti 1988: 164–9, who doubts the connection (e.g. AHDR 3) with *ambulāre* 'walk' < **ambhi* 'around' [**h*$_2$*(e)nt-bhi*] + **al-*^{2} 'wander' [**h*$_2$*elh*$_2$*-* LIV 264])

HOSPICE [1818] 'shelter/lodging for travellers or the destitute', [1893] 'careplace for the terminally ill' (via OF *ospice* [c13^{e}]) *hospitium* 'hospitality; inn' (*hospes/hospit-* 'guest; visitor; host' [**ghos-pot-* 'guest-master' AHDR 31, 69] but the Italic form should have been **hosti-pot-*; see Heidermanns (2002: 190) who reconstructs the first member as PIE **gho-sth*$_2$*-i-* 'standing apart' with deictic **gho* [AHDR 31] as in L *ho-c* 'this' plus **sth*$_2$*-i-* 'standing' [**steh*$_2$*-* 'stand' § 6.3])

(JUDICIAL [a1382]) *jūdicium* 'judicial investigation; judgement' (*jūdex/jūdic-* 'judge; arbitrator; jury' < Italic **youz-dik-* [**yewes-dik-* 'showing/saying the law' AHDR 15, 103] Heidermanns 2002: 193)

MAGISTERY [a1500] (many different meanings at different times) *magisterium* 'office of a president; instruction' (*magister* 'master; chief; teacher', lit. 'one who is greater'; cf. *magis* 'greater; more' < **m(e)g-y(e)s-* [**meǵ-* 'great'] Sihler 1995: 306; HLFL 155, 195; IEL 220 f.)

MINISTRY [*c.*1200] *ministerium* 'work of a servant; service' (*minister* 'servant; attendant', formed on the *mi-n-* of *minus* 'less' [**mei-*^{2} 'small'] on the model of *magis/magister* DELL 720; see *magistery* above)

OFFICE [*c.*1250] *officium* 'work (undertaken)'; (rendering of) service; duty' (*opifex/opific-* 'artificer; artisan' from *op-i-* 'work' [**op-*^{1} = **h*$_3$*ep-*^{1} LIV 298 f.] + *fac-* 'do(er)' [**dhē-*/**dheh*$_1$*-k-*] possibly deverbal (Bader 1962: 23, 60) but the archaic form of *officium* is *opificium* [Varro: see Lindner 1996: 133] 'performance of constructive work' probably denominal like *artifex* : *artificium* ARTIFICE above DELL 815; Benedetti 1988: 94–104)

PARRICIDE [1570] (murder) *pār(r)icīdium* (*pār(r)icīda(s)* PARRICIDE [1554] (murderer): oldest form *pāricīdās*, probably from **pās-o-* [**pāso-*

'kinsman'] (cf. G *πηός* 'kinsman' DELG 897) + *-cīd-* (*caedere* 'strike') [**keh₂-id-* 'strike' = *?***kh₂eid-* LIV 360: only Italic and Albanian]; Lindner 1996: 136 f.; on E *-cide* in general, see Prager 2002)

PRIVILEGE [?a1160] *prīvilēgium* [XII Tablets IX.3 ed. Flach 1994: 188] 'special law (singling out individuals)'; [Seneca] 'privilege, prerogative' (*prīvus* 'private; individual' < **prei-wo-* [**per-*[1] 'through'] + *lēx/lēg-* 'law' [possibly **leg-* 'collect' AHDR 47] Grenier 1912: 36 f.; Bader 1962: 285; Lindner 1996: 146 f.)

SUBURB [*c.*1350] *suburbium* 'the country close to the city' (*sub* 'under; near' + *urbs* 'city' < **wr̥dh-i-*; cf. Umbrian *UERFALE* 'temple' [**werdh-* (?) HLFL 64]; compound like *prae-verb-ium* ['before (*prae*) the word (*verbum*)'] 'prefix' PREVERB [1930]; see also Bader 1962: 283 and *adverb* above)

VESTIGE [1602] *vestīgium* 'footprint; track; trace' (no attested base; *vestīgāre* 'to track, trail' may or may not be denominal; see *investigate* § 6.6.2)

2.6.2 *Deadjectival formations*

BENEFICE [*c.*1300] 'church office endowed with fixed capital assets' *beneficium* 'benefit; kindness; favour; help' (*beneficus* 'beneficent; kind'; Bader (1962: 26 f., 185) makes both words deverbal to *bene(-)facere* § 6.4.1, but *beneficium* is derived from *beneficus* by Lindner 1996: 35 f.)

SACRILEGE [*c.*1303] *sacrilegium* 'robbery of sacred property' (*sacrilegus* 'one who steals sacred things; sacrilegious; temple robber', from *sacra* 'sacred things' [**sak-*] + *leg-* 'gather; pluck; steal' [**leǵ-*]; although both words are Greek calques (Bader 1962: 116; Lindner 1996: 158), *sacrilegus* is an archaic thematic type Benedetti 1988: 22, 98)

SERVICE [*c.*1200] *servitium* 'slavery; the slave class' (*servus* 'servile; slave', an Italic root of unknown origin DELL 1095 f.)

SILENCE [?a1200] *silentium* 'stillness; tranquillity' (*silēns/silent-* 'silent' [**si-lo-*; not in LIV])

SOLACE [*c.*1300] *sōlācium* 'comfort; consolation' (**sōlāx/sōlāc-* 'consoling', from *sōlārī* 'to comfort, console' [**sel-*[2] 'of good mood; to favour' = **selh₂-* LIV 530, with no mention of *sōlārī*] no convincing etymology; cf. DELG 462, GED S43)

2.6.3 *Direct borrowings from Latin*

ATRIUM [1577] *ātrium* 'open central court in a Roman house' (an Etruscan word according to Varro, LL 5. 161, but possibly from *āter* 'black' (from fire), as the place the smoke escaped through a hole in the roof [**āter-* 'fire' AHDR 5])

BIENNIUM [c20^{b}] *biennium* 'period of two years' (*bi-* 'two-' [**dwi-*] + *ann-us* 'year' < **h$_2$et-no-* RPIEL 501[**at-* 'go' = **h$_2$et-* LIV 273]; for the **-yo-* compound, see Bader 1962: 139; Fruyt 2002: 276; Heidermanns 2002: 194 f., 197 f.; *biennium* and *triennium* TRIENNIUM [1849] served as models for Brit. Lat. *mīllennium* [a1210] MILLENNIUM [a1638])

CONSORTIUM [1829] *cōnsortium* 'fellowship' (*cōnsors/cōnsort-* 'partaking of; partner' CONSORT [1419] 'partner', [1634] 'spouse; significant other'; alternatively, *cōnsortium* can be derived directly from *com-* 'together'+*sors/sort(i)-* 'lot; fate; share'<**sr̥-tí-*[**ser-*^{3} 'line up' = **ser-*^{2} LIV 534] Bader 1962: 147)

CORIUM [1654] 'animal's skin; leather' (**kor-yo-* [**(s)ker-*^{1} 'cut'])

DELIRIUM [a1565] *dēlīrium* [c1^{1} Celsus] 'derangement of mental faculties' (*dēlīrus* [Cicero, Lucretius] 'mentally deranged; insane', or deverbal § 3.2.2; the verb *dēlīrare* [Plautus] 'deviate from the baulks (in ploughing); be out of one's mind' is denominal to *līra* 'furrow' [**leis-*^{1} 'track; furrow', perhaps a different root from **leis-* 'learn' LIV 409] DELL 645 f.)

EQUILIBRIUM [1608] *aequilībrium* (*aequus* 'level; equal' [etym. unknown DELL 20] + *lībra* 'weight; pound; scales' LIBRA § 3.6.2)

LABIUM [1597] *labium* 'lip' (**lab-yo-* [**leb-* 'lick; lip']; see *labial* § 4.1.1)

PECULIUM [1681] 'private property' *pecūlium* 'property managed without legal ownership' (? **pecūlis* (cf. Varro, LL 5. 95) to *pecū* 'flock; herd' [**pék̑u-* 'wealth; movable property; livestock'] cf. *pecūnia* 'property; wealth; money': *pecū-l-/pecū-n-* is reminiscent of other IE **-l/n-* alternations Benveniste 1935: 43)

PRETORIUM [1600] (cf. ME *pretorie* [a1325]) *praetōrium* 'general's headquarters; imperial bodyguard' (*praetor*, a Roman judicial magistrate § 5.6.2)

QUADRIVIUM [1804] the fifth-century liberal arts curriculum of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music, called the *quadrivium* by Boethius [*c.* 480–524] from the earlier use of the word [Catullus] in its etymological sense of 'intersection of four roads; crossroads' (see *trivium* below, Lindner 1996: 151, and *quadrate* § 4.12.1)

SACERDOTIUM [1931] (for older *sacerdocy* [1657]) *sacerdōtium* 'office of the priest' (*sacerdōs/sacerdōt-* 'priest'; see *sacerdotal* § 4.1.1)

TRIVIA [1902] 'trifles, trivialities' = Neolatin plural of *trivium* q.v. (cf. *triviālis* [c1^{m} Calpurnius] 'commonplace'; see *trivial* § 4.1.1)

TRIVIUM [1804] the liberal arts curriculum of grammar, rhetoric, and logic called the *trivium* by Alcuin [*c.* 730–804] from the earlier use of the word [Cicero] 'three-road intersection; public square' (cf. *trivius* [Ennius] epithet of deities whose temples were at the intersection of three roads, from *tri-* 'three' [**trei-*] + *via* 'road' < **weǵh-yeh$_2$-* DELL 1293, AHDR 96 [**weǵh-*]; see also Bader 1962: 140; Lindner 1996: 192)

2.7 *-ātus* (> E *-ate*) 'office of' (cf. *-ship/-hood*)

These fourth declension nouns are derived from personal labels, especially titles, and designate office, social position, and the like (LG i. 355). Several historical sources are possible. One may be the collective suffix *-ā-* (**-eh₂-*), as in *sen-ā-tu-s* 'collectivity of old men (*sen-ēs*)', hence 'senate'. Alternatively, perhaps preferably, *senātus* is modelled on *equitātus* 'cavalry; the equestrian order' (from *equitāre* 'travel on horseback') and the like (Schrijver 1991: 149 ff.). In that case, the original source would be deverbal. Benveniste (1948: 99) cites such contrasts as *vēnātiō* 'act of hunting' vs. *vēnātus* 'practice of the hunt'. *Augurātus* is both 'office of the augur' and 'augury'. Thus, *augurātus* as a deverbal from *augur-ā-rī* 'act as augur; foretell' would be the 'practice of augury'. Practices presuppose places (Miller 2003: § 2), and, just as the senate was the body, location, and office, so the augurate became the office held by the augur. And so on.[3]

APOSTOLATE *apostolātus* 'apostlehood' (*apostolus* [Tertullian] 'ambassador; APOSTLE' (OE *apostol*, ME *apostel*, confused [1225+] with OF *apostle* [1080 *Roland*]; cf. Skaffari 2001: 213) < G ἀπόστολος 'one sent forth; ambassador', later 'apostle', from ἀπό 'off, away' + στέλλειν 'put in order; prepare; send' < ?**stel-yo-* LIV 594 [**stel-* 'put; stand'] Weise 1882: 347)

BACCALAUREATE [1625] *baccalaureātus* ~ *baccalāriātus* [ML] (*baccalaureus*, variant [crossed with *bacca laurī* 'laurel berry'] of ML *baccalārius* ~ *bachelārius* 'young man/soldier; person with one of several kinds of university degrees; tenant farmer'

BACHELOR [*c.*1300] 'young knight' (< OF *bacheler* [1080 *Roland*] 'young soldier'), [a1376] 'one with the lowest university degree'. Origin very uncertain. The earliest Latin meaning [c8] is 'tenant farmer', and this plus several of the other meanings (young soldier, bachelor) are shared with *baculārius* [ML], properly denoting one connected with a *baculum* 'staff' e.g. as symbol of investiture; since cattle herders also used a staff, blending with *bacca* (*vacca*) 'cow' could have contributed the early farming meaning while *bacca* (*bāca*) *laurī* 'laurel berry' contributed the ceremonial aspect to the investiture, hence the connection with university degrees. If this is on the right track, the origin would be in *baculum* (see *baculiform* § 3.6.3.2), *bāca* [etym. unknown DELL 112], and *vacca* [**waḱ-*])

[3] *Primate* [?a1200] 'chief bishop', [1899] 'highest order of mammals' is not from *prīmātus* 'primacy; highest rank' (*prīmus* 'first') but (via French) from ML *prīmās* 'archbishop' < L [c2] 'high-ranking person; noble'.

Potestate [a1325] 'potentate; power' is supposedly directly from L *potestās/potestāt-* 'power; supreme magistrate' but note ML *potestātīvus* 'ruler' < LL 'invested with power', a modifier of *prīncipātus* PRINCIPATE in Tertullian. It is likely that *potestate* is influenced by *potestātīvus* and the *-ātus* formations.

CARDINALATE [1645] *cardinālātus* [ML] 'office of the cardinal' (*cardinālis* [c5^{e}], epithet of high religious officials CARDINAL [a1126 Peterborough Chron], an extension of L *cardinālis* [Vitruvius] 'pivotal', [c3 Cyprian] 'principal' CARDINAL § 4.1.1)

COMITATE [1632] *comitātus* [ML] 'office of the count; COUNTY' [1586] < LL [c4] 'court of the emperor' < L 'retinue; company' (*comes/comit-* 'companion; comrade'; LL [c4] as honorary title of former provincial investigators or state office holders > OF *conte* (NOM *quens/cuens*) [1080 *Roland*]/AF *cunte* [1258] COUNT [1553]; L *com-it-* lit. 'one who goes with (another)' from *com-* 'together' [**kom*] + zero-grade **h₁i-t-* of *itum* 'gone' [**ei-* 'go' = **h₁ei-* LIV 232] Bader 1962: 78, 81, 83; Benedetti 1988: 33 f., 195)

CONSULATE [1387 Trevisa] *cōnsulātus* 'consulship' (*cōnsul,* either of two chief magistrates of the Roman Republic; CONSUL [Ch.]; the etymology of *cōnsul* is disputed (see Benedetti 1988: 169 ff.) but Meiser derives it from **kon-sel* [**selh₁-* 'take' LIV 529 = **sel-*[3] AHDR 75, with no mention of *cōnsul* etc.] HLFL 82, 78, 94)

EPISCOPATE [1641] *episcopātus* [Tertullian] 'office of the bishop' (*episcopus* [Justinian's *Digest*] 'overseer', [Ammianus, Vulgate] 'bishop' < G *ἐπίσκοπος* 'overseer; supervisor', EG 'bishop' (> VL **biskopu-* > OE *bisc(e)op* BISHOP Pogatscher 1888: 160, 179; Wollmann 1993: 23 f.; Biville 1990–5: i. 260, ii. 59, 128; Green 1998: 301–4), from *ἐπί* 'on' [**epi*/**opi*] + *σκοπός* 'watcher; lookout', metathesized alternant of *o-* grade **spok-o-* [**spek-* 'observe' = **spék-* LIV 575 f.])

MAGISTRATE [Ch.] *magistrātus* 'magistracy; public official' (*magister* 'director'; see *magistery* § 2.6.1)

MARKET [a1121 Peterborough ChronE 963] (modern sense [*c.*1275]) *mercātus* '(place for) trade' (*merx/merc-* 'merchandise' [**merk-*] Italic root; see *commerce* § 2.6.1; *mercātus* was borrowed into the continental Germanic languages earlier than into English, e.g. MDu *mark(e)t/mart* (> MART), OHG *marcāt, merkāt* [c8], and possibly entered English from one of these, reinforced by Old French, e.g. Picardian *markiet* [c13], *marquet* [*c.*1330] and/or ML *mercātum/marcātum* [*c.*795, 845]; see Biville 1990–5: ii. 59)

PASTORATE [a1795] *pāstōrātus* [ML] 'office of the pastor' (*pāstor* 'shepherd; PASTOR' § 3.7.2)

PATRIARCHATE [1617] *patriarchātus* [ML] 'dignity, seat, or district of a patriarch' (*patriarcha* [Tertullian] PATRIARCH [*c.*1175] < G *πατριάρχης* [Septuagint] 'father or chief of a tribe; patriarch', from *πατριά* 'lineage; clan; family' [**ph₂ter-* 'father'] + *ἀρχός* 'leader, ruler' [**arkhein* 'begin, rule' = **regh-*/**h₂regh-* LIV 498] DELG 120, 864; on the alternation *ἀρχός*; *-αρχης*, see § 1.13)

PONTIFICATE [1581] 'office or term of office of a pontiff' *pontificātus* 'office of chief priest' (*pontifex/pontific-* 'chief priest; PONTIFF' [1610] 'pope, bishop, pontifex', from *pōns/pont-i-* 'bridge' [**pent-* 'tread, go' = LIV 471 f.] + *-fex* 'making, maker' < **d*^{h}*h*$_{1}$*k-s* [**dhē-* 'put; make' = **dheh*$_{1}$*-k-* LIV 139] Hallett 1970; Benedetti 1988: 98–104)

POTENTATE [*c.*1400] *potentātus* 'dominion; command'; ML 'potentate' (*potēns/potent-* 'powerful; ruler', from *posse* 'be able' < *potis/pote* 'able' [**poti-* 'powerful'] + *es-* 'be' [**h*$_{1}$*es-* LIV 241 f.] HLFL 222; the participle *potēns/potent-* is built on **pot-ē-re* (cf. § 6.1.1), as in Oscan **pútíad** (= **poteat* for *possit*) 'would be able', also implied in the perfect *potuī* 'I was able' Sihler 1995: 539)

PRINCIPATE [a1349] *prīncipātus* 'office of the emperor; emperorhood' (*prīnceps/prīncip-* 'first in command; emperor'< **prīm-o-cap-* 'taking the first part/place' (Isidore, *Origines* 9. 3. 21), from *prīmus* 'first' < **preis-mo-* [**per-*[1] AHDR 65] or **pri-isemo-* (Sihler 1995: 428; HLFL 66, 153, 174) + *-ceps* < **-kap-s* < **kh*$_{2}$*p-s* [**kap-* 'grasp' = **keh*$_{2}$*p-* LIV 344 f.] Bader 1962: 23, 64 f.; Benedetti 1988: 60–5, 190; IEL 293)

PRIORATE [*c.*1400] *priōrātus* [ML] 'office of the prior', earlier [Tertullian] 'pre-eminence' (*prior* 'former; superior'; LL [c6 Cassiodorus] 'administrator'; EL/ML 'monastic officer in charge of a priory' PRIOR eccl. [1016 Charter of Wulfstan]; CL *prior* 'former' is a comparative **prei-yos-* [**per-*[1]] or **pri-yos-* (built on the adverb *pri* = *prae* 'before' Sihler 1995: 360, 367; HLFL 174); cf. the superlative *prīmus* 'first' in *principate* below)

TRIUMVIRATE [1584] *triumvirātus* 'office of the board of three' (*triumvirī* 'the board of three'; the original *trium vir(ōr)um* 'of the three men' underwent compounding, yielding a backformed singular *triumvir* TRIUMVIR [1579], in which the archaic genitive plural *trium* became frozen, *-vir* being the only inflected part of the compound; cf. Grenier 1912: 38 f.; Sihler 1995: 408 [**trei-* 'three' + **wih-ró-* 'man'] HLFL 73, 75, 133 f.)

Neologisms include: *directorate* [1837], *electorate* [1675], *professorate* [1860], and *Protectorate* [1692 Cromwells].

2.8. *-āgō/-āgin-* (*-ūgō/-ūgin-*, *-īgō/-īgin-*) (> E *-ago* (**rarely** *-age*)/*-(a)gin-*)

The origin of these suffixes, with slightly different properties (LG i. 368 f.), is obscure. Some are compounds of *agō* 'do', *tangō* 'touch', *pangō* 'set', etc., with lengthened grade of the root, namely *-āg-*, *-tāg-*, *-pāg-* (Bader 1962: 230 ff.; RPIEL 134), and *-ūgō* is presumably analogical. Some are from **-kn-* >

-gin- (HLFL 89, 141) and some from $*h_3onh_2$- (= OIr *on*) 'blemish' (Olsen 2004: 240 ff.). The three differ in status. While *-ūgō* is exclusively denominal, *-āgō* is primarily denominal, and *-īgō* is mostly deverbal. Since the deverbal loans are too few to merit a separate section, all of the English examples (largely technical borrowings from Latin; most of those in *-age* via French) can be listed here. As to function, this group of suffixes tended to be specialized for defective conditions (including diseases) and plant designations.[4]

2.8.1 *-āgō /-āgin-*

CARTILAGE [1541]/CARTILAGINOUS [1541] *cartilāgō* [Celsus, Pliny] 'gristle; cartilage'/cartilāginōsus [Celsus, Pliny] 'characterized by cartilage or similar fibrous substances' (cf. (?) *crātis* 'wicker work' [etym. obscure] DELL 182, 264; RPIEL 335)

FARRAGO [1632] 'medley; hodgepodge'/FARRAGINOUS [1615] 'mixed; jumbled' *farrāgō* [Varro] 'mixed fodder; hodgepodge' (*far/farr-* 'husked wheat' [$*bhars$-[2] 'barley'])

IMAGE [?*c.*1200] (OF *image* [1175])/IMAGO [1797] 'mature insect; idealized image of a person' *imāgō* 'representation; image' ($*imārī$; cf. freq. *imitārī* 'to copy; simulate; IMITATE' [1534] [$*aim$- 'copy' = $*h_2ei$-/$*h_2i$- HLFL 106] cf. L *aemulus* EMULOUS < $*h_2ei$-*mo*-; perhaps $*h_2imo$-$h_2ēǵ$- 'copy-do' underlies *imāgō*; for $*h_2eǵ$-/*ag*- see § 6.6.1)

LUMBAGO [1693] 'backache; rheumatic pain in the lumbar region' *lumbāgō* [Paul. Fest.] 'lumbago' (*lumbī* 'the loins; lumbago' < $*londh$-*wo*- [$*lendh$-[1] 'loin'] HLFL 120)

PLANTAGO [n.d.] genus of the plantain/PLANTAGINEAE [n.d.] (but cf. *plantagineous* [1858]) a smaller order of plants *plantāgō* [Celsus, Columella, Pliny] 'the greater plantain' (*planta* 'young shoot; PLANT' [$*plat$- 'spread' = $*pleth_2$- LIV 486])

PLUMBAGO [1612] 'lead oxide', [1784] 'graphite; drawing made with a lead pencil'/PLUMBAGINOUS [1796] *plumbāgō* [Pliny] 'yellow oxide of lead; lead ore; a plant' (*plumbum* 'lead', probably from the same non-IE language as G μόλυβδος 'lead', with variants μόλιβδος, epic μόλιβος, Myc. /móliwdos/ (Miller 1994: 24, w. lit) DELG 710)

PROPAGO [n.d.] 'branch laid down to take root' (hortic.) *prŏ̆pāgō* 'set by which a plant is propagated' (cf. *prŏ̆pāgēs* 'that which perpetuates (a stock)'; *impāgēs* 'crosspiece' to *impingere* 'fix; fasten/thrust (on); dash (against)' IMPINGE; *repāgēs* [Festus] 'bars, restraints'—all compounds of *pangere* 'set' [$*pag$- 'fasten' = $*peh_2ǵ$- LIV 461])

[4] *Sapsago* [1846], the hard, greenish cheese from Switzerland, is an adaptation of Germ. *Schabzieger*, from *schaben* 'to scrape' [$*(s)kep$- 'cut'] + dialectal *Zi(e)ger* 'whey (cheese)' [$*digh$- 'goat'] HGE 406.

PUTRILAGE [1657] (via French) 'matter undergoing putrefaction' *putrilāgō* [c4[b]] 'rottenness' (*putris* 'decomposed; rotten'; see *putrid* § 5.1.2)

TUSSILAGO [1510] the genus of the coltsfoot herb *tussilāgō* [Pliny], probably the coltsfoot, reputed to relieve coughs (*tussis* 'cough' < **tud-ti-* [**(s)teu-*[1] 'push, knock, beat' = **(s)teud-*[1] LIV 601] HLFL 80, 140)

VIRAGO [989 Ælfric] 'woman' (of Eve), [a1325] 'domineering or shrewish woman' *virāgō* [Plautus] 'warlike/heroic woman' (*vir* 'man', *vira* [Festus] 'female' [**wih-ró-*] RPIEL 340, 509, 532 f.; the **wiro-ag-o-* (**wih-ro–h₂eǵ-o-*) proposed by Szemerényi 1992: 312, should have given **virōg-* § 6.6.1, but lengthened grade **h₂ēǵ-*/**āg-* is possible)

VORAGO [1654] 'gulf; abyss'/VORAGINOUS [1624] 'full of whirlpools; devouring' *vorāgō* [c1] 'chasm; someone or something with unlimited appetite'/*vorāginōsus* [c–1] 'full of holes or chasms' (*vorāre* 'to devour, engulf' < **gʷorh₃-o/eh₂-*, denominal to *-vor-us* 'eating' RPIEL 473, w. lit [**gʷerh₃-* 'swallow' = LIV 211 f.]; given *vorāc-* VORACIOUS § 5.2.1, an alternation **wor-āk-ōn*, gen. **wor-āk-nes* could have yielded (**vorācō* →) *vorāgō, vorāginis* HLFL 89, 141)

2.8.2 *-īgō/-īgin-*

CALIGO [1801] 'impairment of sight'/CALIGINOUS [1548] 'dim; obscure; dark' *cālīgō* [Ennius *Tragedies* 167 Jocelyn] 'condition that hampers visibility; blurred vision; murkiness'/*cālīginōsus* [Cicero] 'misty, foggy' [**keh₂l-* not in AHDR or LIV] RPIEL 141)

FULIGO [1646] 'soot'/FULIGINOUS [1621] 'sooty; smoky; dusky' *fūlīgō* [Plautus] 'soot'/*fūlīginōsus* [c4/5] 'covered with soot; sooty' (cf. Skt. *dhūli-* 'dust' < **dhuh-li-* [**dheu-*[1] 'rise in a cloud (of smoke, dust, etc.)' = **dheuh-* LIV 149 f.] DELL 461 f.; RPIEL 342)

IMPETIGO [1398 Trevisa] 'skin disease characterized by pustules'/IMPETIGINOUS [1620] *impetīgō* [Pliny, Celsus] 'scaly skin eruption'/*impetīginōsus* [Ulpian, *Digest*] 'suffering from impetigo' (cf. *impetere* 'to attack' [**pet-*])

LENTIGO [*c.*1400] 'freckle (condition)'/LENTIGINOUS [1597] 'freckly' *lentīgō* [Pliny] 'freckles'/*lentīginōsus* [c1 Valerius Maximus] 'freckled; freckly' (*lēns/lent-* 'lentil' [etym. unknown DELL 626] but with ACC *lentim* and ABL *lentī*, the word is a clear *-i-* stem (cf. Sihler 1995: 283), and a compound **lenti–h₂(e)ǵ-* 'do lentils; make freckles' readily accounts for the meaning of *lentīgō*; for the phonology, see § 6.6.2)

LOLIGO [a1626] a genus of cephalopods *lollīgō/lōlīgō* [Varro, Cicero] 'squid' (cf. dim. *lollīguncula* [Plautus]; other Latin connections obscure [etym. unknown DELL 651])

MELLIGO [n.d.] 'honeydew' (but cf. *melligeneous* [1684] 'resembling honey' < *mellīgineus* [?c5] 'id.') *mellīgō* [Pliny] 'bee-glue; propolis' (*mel/mell-* 'honey' [**melit-* 'honey']: NOM **melit* : GEN **melit-es* > **melid* : **melites* > **melid* : **melid-es* > **mel(i)d* : **meldes* > *mel(l)* : *mellis* Sihler 1995: 228, 230 f., 298; without argument, Meiser reconstructs GEN **meln-es* > *mellis* HLFL 114)

ORIGIN [?a1400] (via late OF) *orīgō* [Cato, Varro, Cicero] 'first appearance; origin' (*orīrī* 'to (a)rise; be born' < **h₃r̥-yé-* [**h₃er-* 'set in motion' LIV 299 f., not **er-*[1]/**h₁er-* 'move' AHDR 23]; a compound **orī-gen-* 'arise-be.born' is rejected by Benedetti 1988: 29, w. lit, but **or-īk-ō(n)*, gen. **or-īk-nes* seems possible, given the *-k-* extensions of **-ī-* §§ 2.2, 3.7)

PRURIGO [a1646] 'chronic inflammatory skin disease with intense itching' *prūrīgō* [Pliny, Celsus] 'itching; skin irritation'/PRURIGINOUS [1609] *prūrīginōsus* [Gaius, *Digest*] 'affected with itching' (*prūrīre* 'to itch' [**preus-* 'freeze; burn' or 'splash' LIV 493 f.])

(ROBIGO) *rōbīgō* ~ *rūbīgō* [Plautus] 'rust', possibly from **roudhi-* **h₃kʷo-h₃onh₂-* 'a reddish blemish, rust' (Olsen 2004: 240)/†ROBIGINOUS [1656] 'much blasted; rusty' *rōbīginōsus* [Plautus] 'rusty' (*rōbus* [Juvenal, Paul. Fest.] 'red' (of oxen); cf. *rūfus* 'red', *rūbidus* 'having become red' § 5.1.1, *rubidium* § 5.1.5, etc. [**(h₁)reudh-*])

(SCATURIGO)/SCATURIGINOUS [1656] 'abounding in springs' *scatūrīgō*/*scaturrīgō* [Livy] 'gushing spring' (*scatūrīre/scaturrīre* [c–1] 'to gush forth, bubble up', expressive doublet of *scatere* [Ennius (but see Jocelyn 1969: 285), Plautus, *Aulularia* 558] 'gush' [?**skeht-* 'spring, leap' LIV 551] DELL 1059; Fraenkel 1965: 798; incorrect RPIEL 432)

(SILIGO) *silīgō* [Cato, Varro] a soft wheat/SILIGINOUS [1848] 'made of white wheat', SILIGINOSE [1727] 'made of fine wheat', SILIGINEOUS [1674] 'made of fine flour' *silīgineus* [Cato, Varro] 'made from *silīgō* or its flour' (no related words DELL 1104)

(ULIGO) *ūlīgō* [Cato, Varro] 'waterlogged ground; marsh'/ULIGINOSE[*c.*1440], ULIGINOUS [1576] 'muddy, slimy; growing in swampy places' *ūlīginōsus* [Varro] 'ill-drained; boggy; wet' (cf. *ūdus* 'wet' < **ū(w)idus*, *(h)ūmēre* 'be wet, moist', etc. [?**wegʷ-* 'wet' AHDR 96 sceptical] DELL 1314 f.; cf. *humid* § 5.1.2)

VERTIGO [1528] *vertīgō* [Propertius, Ovid] 'whirling; dizziness'/VERTIGINOUS [1608] 'whirling; affected with vertigo' (cf. *vertiginousness*[1599]) *vertīginōsus* [1× Pliny] 'suffering from vertigo' (*vertere* 'to turn; spin' [**wer-*[3] 'turn' = **wert-* LIV 691 f.]; cf. *vertex/vertic-* 'whirlpool; peak' HLFL 89)

VITILIGO [1657] 'disease characterized by white patches on the skin' *vitilīgō* [Lucilius] 'skin eruption; psoriasis'/VITILIGINOUS [1898] *vitilīginōsus* [LL gloss] (cf. *vitium* 'defect' < **wi-tyo-* [**wei-*[3] 'vice'] DELL 1320 f.; see *vituperate* § 6.8; for the *-l-* of **wi- tu-l-īgō* cf. (?) **dhuh-li-* of *fūlīgō*, i.e. **wi-tu-li-* 'blemish(ed)', or analogical to the *-līgō* words)

2.8.3 *-ūgō/-ūgin-*

AERUGO [1753] 'rust of copper or brass; verdigris' *aerūgō* [Cato] 'copper rust; verdigris'/AERUGINOUS [1605] *aerūginōsus* [Seneca] 'covered with verdigris; rusty' (*aes/aer-* 'copper; bronze; brass' < **h₂ey-os* [**ayes-* 'copper, bronze'] DELL 21 f.; HLFL 88, 118)

ALBUGO [1398 Trevisa] (pl. ALBUGINES) 'growth of an opaque white spot on the cornea' *albūgō* [Pliny] 'white, opaque spot on the eye' (*albus* 'white' § 5.1.1)

FERRUGO [n.d.] 'iron rust; colour of iron rust' *ferrūgō* [Catullus, Virgil] 'dark reddish-purple colour', [Pliny] 'rust; rustlike substance'/FERRUGINOUS [1656] 'containing iron rust; rust coloured' *ferrūginōsus* [ML] 'livid' < earlier *ferrūginus* [Lucretius] 'dark purple' (*ferrum* 'iron' [**ferr-* borrowed]; cf. OE *bræs* BRASS and Akkcadian *parzillu* 'iron' DELL 409)

LANUGO [1677] 'coat of downy hairs covering the human foetus' *lānūgō* [Pacuvius] 'downy face hair; down'/LANUGINOUS [1575] *lānūginōsus* [Pliny] 'covered with fine hairs; pubescent' (*lāna* 'wool; down' < **(h)wlānā* < **(h)wl̥h-nah₂-* [**welh₂-* 'wool'; cf. **welh₃-* or **welh₂-* 'strike; pluck' LIV 679] HLFL 112; Sihler 1995: 103 f., 179; RPIEL 179 f.; cf. Hittite *ḫulana-* 'wool' < **ḫ₂/₃wl̥h₁-neh₂-* Melchert 1994: 56, 65; Kimball 1999: 420)

(SALSUGO) (cf. *salsuginous* [1657] 'growing in salty soil': no Latin source) *salsūgō* [Vitruvius] 'brine; salinity' (*salsus* 'salted' < **sald-to-* [**sal-d-* 'salt'] § 1.7; HLFL 116, 226)

2.9 Diminutives

Indo-European had **-lo-* formations in a variety of adjectival functions, including hypocoristics, then diminutives (LG i. 309 ff.). With L *porculus* 'small pig', cf. MHG *verhel* (Germ. *Ferkel*), Lith. *paršẽlis* 'piglet', or Goth. *Wulfila*, OHG *Wolfilo*, lit. 'little wolf' (Senn 1957–66: i, § 655*b*; Krahe and Meid 1967: 87; Risch 1974: 107; GED U21, B29).[5]

[5] OIr *Túathal* (personal name; cf. *túath* 'tribe, people'), cited by Jurafsky (1996: 564) as a diminutive, is in reality a compound **touto-wal-o-* 'tribe prince' (DLG 257).

Latin made extensive use of diminutives (Hanssen 1952; Ettinger 1974; LG i. 305–11, ii. 772–7; Fruyt 1989), which generally keep the gender of the base word. The main formative was *-l-* (**-elo-*). Varro (LL 8. 75–9, 9. 74) comments on the recursivity, citing several double and even triple diminutives, e.g. *cista* 'box' : *cistula* 'little box' : *cistella* (a smaller one) : *cistellula* 'tiny little box'; or *catulus* 'young animal; pup; whelp' (which Varro attaches to *canis* 'dog') : *catellus* 'small puppy' : *catellulus* 'tiny little pup'; cf. also *porcus* 'pig' : *porculus* 'young pig; porker' : *porcellus* '(very) little pig'. Why no more than three degrees of diminution are attested is not clear, but maybe tripartization (Miller 1977*a*) played a role. It is unlikely to have been due to processing difficulties or limits on word building competence, as speculated by Panagl (1992*a*: 333 f.), who also queries why *-ellu-lu-s* is so well attested but there is no **-ulellus*.[6]

It is generally agreed that *-ell-/-ill-* derives by syncope and assimilation to *n, r, l*, e.g. **asan-elo-* > **asenlo-* > *asellus* 'ass; donkey' (*asinus* 'ass'); **hemon-elo-* > **homon(e)lo-* > *homullus* 'mere man, puny person'; **n-oino-lo-* [**ne* 'not' + **oi-no-* 'one' § 4.8] > *nūllus* NULL (see *nullify* § 6.4.2); **porc-el-elos* > *porcellus*; **libr-elo-* > **librlo-* > **liberlo-* > *libellus* 'little book' (*liber* 'book') (see Steriade 1988*b*).

There is also a suffix **-ko-*, which Jurafsky (1996: 564–7) speculates meant 'child', but this is refuted by Prieto (2005: ch. 3). It is true that **-ko-* is sometimes hypocoristic or diminutive, e.g. Ved. *putra-ká-* (1×) 'little son (*putrá-*)' and possibly *avi-kā́-* 'ewe-lamb' (*avi-* 'sheep'); cf. OCS *ovĭ-ca* 'sheep', *otĭ-cĭ* (> Russ. *otec*) 'father', etc. (Meillet 1961 [1905]: 333–50), but without any semantic difference of the nominal base (Meillet 1961 [1905]: 333). The older function was simply adjectival (§ 4.8).[7]

It is questionable whether Latin uses **-ko-* for diminutives. There are no unequivocal simple diminutives in *-cus* (LG i. 307).[8] Traditionally *-culus* has

[6] I plan to demonstrate elsewhere that the preference for duple-timed dactyls over non-duple-timed strings (tribrachs etc.) relates to the structure of the metrical foot.

[7] Jurafsky's two Homeric examples (1996: 568) are irrelevant: *ὀρφανικός* is not 'orphan' but 'orphaned' (*Il.* 6. 432), 'of orphans' (Plato), and *παρθενική*, which is poetic for *παρθένος* 'girl, virgin', is just the feminine of *παρθεν-ικός* 'relating to a maiden', itself an extension of *παρθένιος* 'of a maiden'; cf. *θηλυ-κό-ς* 'woman-like, female' to *θῆλυς* 'female' (adjective and noun). The use of derived adjectives for feminines is banal, and the change of relational adjectives to diminutives is also well attested, e.g. **su-īno-* (L *suīnus* 'relating to swine') > Gmc. **swīnan* (HGE 397) > OE *swīn* SWINE, diminutive of *sow* (Kuryłowicz 1964: 52). Skt. *śiśu-ka-* 'little child', cited by Jurafsky (p. 566), is in fact later than Rig Vedic *śiśū́-la-* 'id.'.

[8] The one possible **-ko-* diminutive, *manica* 'handcuff, manacle' (and its conceptual opposite *pedica* 'fetter (for the ankle)'), is derived from fourth declension *manus* 'hand'. Nevertheless, the interpretation seems less diminutive than adjectival, namely **manicus* 'relating to the hand; for the hand'. The actual diminutive is *manicula* 'little hand; handle'. It should be noted moreover that L *ovicula* '(little) sheep' is not (*pace* LG i. 309) an extension of **ovica* (cf. OCS *ovĭca* etc., main text above) but a late formation (Apuleius) that presupposes *-cula* added to the base *ovi-* (*ovis* 'sheep').

been explained as composite *-*ke-lo-*. While Latin has the emphatic use of *-*ko-* (e.g. *ūni-cu-s* UNIQUE § 4.8), and *-*ke-lo-* could have been by origin an emphatic diminutive, this does not explain the distribution (below) or why first and second declension words prefer a non-emphatic diminutive. Panagl's metanalysis of *porc-ulus* 'piglet' as *por(c)-culus* (1992*a*: 333) also lacks motivation. The extraction of *-culus* had to be early, when the stem of *homō/homin-* 'person' was still **he/omon-*, as is clear from *homunculus* 'puny person; manikin' HOMUNCULE [1656], which competes with the *-*elo-* formation *homullus* 'id.'. Heidermanns (2006: § 172) argues that when words like *cornīx* 'crow' were acquiring *-k-* (§ 3.7), the alternation *$korn\text{-}ih_2$- : *$korn\text{-}ih_2\text{-}k$- : *$korn\text{-}ih_2\text{-}k\text{-}elo$- provided for extraction of *-*kelo-* in Italic (cf. Osc. *zicolom* 'day' and Heidermanns 2002: 188 f.). This makes third declension words the locus of diffusion and explains the frequency of *-culus* on third, fourth, and fifth declension words: 140 *-un-culus* formations, 117 *-i-culus*, 63 *-(u)s-culus*, etc. (Ettinger 1974: 9).

2.9.1 *Diminutives in* -ulus (*-olus after a vowel*), -a, -um (> *E* -ole/-ule)

ACIDULOUS [1769] 'slightly sour; subacid' *acidulus* 'sourish' (*acidus* 'sour; tart; ACID' § 5.1.2)

ALVEOLUS [1706] 'tooth socket; airsac in lungs' *alveolus* 'little hollow; trough; cavity' (*alveus* 'hollow', cf. *alvus* 'belly, stomach' < **alwo-*, G αὐλός 'hollow tube, pipe, flute' [**aulo-* 'hole, cavity'] DELL 44 f., DELG 140)

ANNULUS [1563] 'ringlike figure; ring' *ānulus/annulus* 'ring' (*ānus/annus* 'ring; ANUS' [**āno-* 'ring']; the variation in Latin spelling may be due to folk etymology with *annus* 'year' perceived to be ringlike in its cyclicity DELL 67)

AREOLA [1664] 'small space; dark area around a centre, e.g. a nipple or iris of the eye' NL/ML < L *āreola* 'small open place' (*ārea* 'open field' AREA [1538] [etym. unknown DELL 80])

AUREOLE [?*c.*1200]/AUREOLA [1483 Caxton] 'halo; nipple' ML (*corōna*) *aureola* 'golden (crown)'; also ORIOLE [1776] < OF/AF *oriol*; cf. the scientific Latin genus *Oriolus* (Linnaeus), ML *oriolus* 'golden (bird)' (*aureolus* 'little thing made of gold' < *aureus* 'golden', from *aurum* 'gold' < **aus-o-m* [**aus-*[2] 'gold'] HLFL 95)

CALCULUS [1672] *calculus* 'little pebble'; medical sense [1732] (1619 in Brit. Lat.) (*calx/calc-* 'stone; pebble'; cf. G χάλιξ 'pebble; gravel', despite Leumann 1964: 107, probably a parallel borrowing from a non-IE language DELG 1243; Biville 1990–5: ii. 144 f., 153)

CAPITULUM [1721] 'head-shaped part, as the end of a bone' (cf. CAPITULAR [1611], of a chapter) *capitulum* 'small head; chapter (heading)' (*caput/capit-* 'head' [**kap-ut-* 'head']; the root is secure only in Italic and NW

Germanic **χaƀuð-an* HGE 148 > OE *hafud* beside (remodelled?) *hēafod* HEAD; how Gothic *haubiþ* 'head' fits in is unclear GED H46; RPIEL 100 f.)

CAPSULE [a1693] 'membranous integument' *capsula* 'small box; chest' (*capsa* 'cylindrical case'; despite doubts in DELL 174, it seems reasonable to derive *cap-s-a* [item for receiving things] from *capere* 'take; receive' [**kap-* = **keh₂p-* LIV 344 f.], parallel to *noxa* 'wrongdoing; injurious conduct' < **noḱ-s-eh₂-* to *nocēre* 'harm' [**neḱ-*])

CELLULE [1652] *cellula* 'small storeroom or apartment' (*cella* 'subsidiary chamber; CELL' [?a1200] < **kel-neh₂-* or lengthened grade **cēla* [**kel-*² 'cover, conceal' = **kél-*¹ LIV 322] KEWA iii. 310 f., 328 f.)

CIRCLE [a1121 Peterborough Chron]/CIRCULAR [1430 Lydgate] *circulus* '(little) circle; orbit' (*circus* 'circle; the circus at Rome' < Hellenistic G κίρκος = κρίκος [Homer+] 'ring; circle' [**(s)ker-*³ 'turn, bend'] DELG 584; Biville 1990–5: i. 352)

CLAUSULA [1636] 'cadence', [1900] 'end of a period' *clausula* [Cicero] 'conclusion; end of a periodic sentence' (*clausa* [ML] 'id.', probably from *clausa* (*sententia*) 'closed (period)' CLAUSE [?a1200] < **klaud-tā* § 1.7, feminine PPP to *claudere* '(en)close' < **kleh₂-w-id-* [**klāu-* = **kleh₂-u-*]; see *conclusive* § 5.5.2)

(FLAMMULATED [1860] 'ruddy', of the plumage of birds) *flammula* 'little flame' (*flamma* 'blaze; flame' < **bhl̥-g-meh₂-* [**bhel-*¹ 'flash' = **bhleg-* LIV 86 f.] RPIEL 477, HLFL 64)

FORMULA [a1638] *formula* 'little form; set form; formula' (*forma/fōrma* 'form; shape'; see *formative* § 5.5.2)

GLADIOLUS [*c.*1000]/GLADIOLE [*c.*1420] 'sword lily' *gladiolus* 'small sword' (*gladius* 'sword', borrowed from Gaul. *cladio-* 'sword' < **kl̥h₂-d-(i)yo-* [**kel-*¹ 'strike, cut' = **kelh₂-* LIV 350] DLG 99; cf. DELL 490)

GLANDULE [*c.*1400] 'kernel; gland' *glandula* '(little) gland' (*glāns/gland-* 'acorn' < **gʷl̥h₂-nd-* [**gʷelh₂-* 'acorn'] RPIEL 508; cf. Sihler 1995: 96, 210, 229)

GLOBULE [1664] *globulus* 'little ball; dumpling' (*globus* 'sphere' [etym. unclear DELL 493])

GRANULE [1652] *grānulum* [c5] 'little grain' (*grānum* 'grain' [**ǵr̥h₍₂₎-no-* 'grain'; cf. **ǵerh₍₂₎-* 'ripen, mature' LIV 165] RPIEL 178; Sihler 1995: 103, 154; IELC 276, 380)

(HORTULAN [1664] 'belonging to a garden') *hortulus* 'small garden' (*hortus* 'garden' < **ghor-to-* [**gher-*¹ 'enclose' phps. ≠ **ǵher-*² 'grasp' LIV 177] Miller 1977*b*, 1977*c*)

LUNULA [1571]/LUNULE [1737] 'crescent (white area of) fingernail' *lūnula* 'little moon' as ornament (*lūna* 'moon' < **louk-s-nā-* < **leuk-s-neh₂-* [**leuk-* 'light' = LIV 418 f.] DELL 664; Sihler 1995: 56, 219 f.; HLFL 62, 118)

LUPULUS [n.d.] 'the common hop plant' *lupulus* [ML] 'little wolf; hop plant'; cf. L *lupula* 'she-wolf; prostitute' (*lupus* 'wolf; hop plant' LUPUS (disease) [*c.*1400], a dialectal reflex of **luk*^{w}*-o-s* [**wl̥k*^{w}*o-* 'wolf'] DELL 659 f.; Sihler 1995: 161, 165, 225; IEL 99)

MALLEOLUS [1614] 'missile', [1684] 'rounded bony protuberance on each side of the ankle joint', the former sense in Brit. Lat. *malleolus* [a1510], from CL *malleolus* [Sisena, Cicero] 'fire dart', [Celsus] 'small mallet' (*malleus* 'hammer, mallet' probably from **mala-lo-* < **mola-lo-* < **molh-lo-* RPIEL 456 [**melh*$_2$*-* 'crush, grind' = LIV 432 f.])

MODULE [1589] 'small-scale plan or design', [1946] 'component' *modulus* [Varro] 'small measure; architectural module' (*modus* 'measure; mode' < **mod-o-* [**med-* take measures' = **med-*^{1} LIV 423])

NERVULE [1862] 'small nerve or vein' *nervulus* 'nerve; strength; vigour' (*nervus* 'sinew; nerve; (bow) string' < **nerwo-* < **neu-ro-* < **(s)neh*$_1$*u-ro-* [**(s)nēu-* = **sneh*$_1$*-u-* 'tendon, sinew']; cf. G *νεῦρον* 'sinew, tendon' Benveniste 1935: 21, 111; DELL 778 f.; DELG 747)

NODULE [?a1425] 'small mass of abnormal tissue', [1796] 'small, knotlike protuberance' *nōdulus* [Pliny] 'small knot' (*nōdus* 'knot; difficulty' probably < **nōd-o-* [**ned-* 'bind, tie']; cf. Gmc. **natjan* > OE *nett* NET and **nōtō* > ON *nót* 'net' HGE 281, 289; LIV 227)

NUCLEOLUS [1839] 'conspicuous spherical body in cells' *nucleolus* [c6] 'small kernel' (*nucleus* NUCLEUS q.v.)

NUCLEUS [1668] 'core of a comet', [1702] 'core of an object', [1753] 'core of a community', [1820] 'central idea' *nucleus* '(little) nut; kernel; stone (of fruit)', *-eus* derivative of *nucul-* DELL 804; LG i. 287, diminutive of *nux/nuc-* 'nut' < **knu-k-* [**kneu-* 'nut'] cf. Gmc. **χnu-t-* > OE *hnutu* NUT HGE 181)

NUCULE [1819] 'one-seeded fruit; pit; seed' F *nucule* < L *nucula* 'small nut' (diminutive of *nux/nuc-* 'nut' underlying *nucleus* NUCLEUS q.v.)

OVULE [1762] 'seed', [1800] 'female gamete' F *ovule*; cf. NL *ōvulum* 'little egg' (*ōvum* 'egg' < **h*$_2$*ōwy-o-* [**awi-* = **h*$_2$*ewi-* 'bird'] RPIEL 132, w. lit)

PAPULE [1864] (F *papule* [1555])/PAPULA [1694] 'nipple; pimple' *papula* 'pimple; pustule' (no Latin base [expressive root **pap-* DELL 851, not in AHDR] LG i. 382)

PARVULE [1893] 'granule' *parvulus* not 'somewhat small': *-ulus* is iconic to the small size (Petersen 1916; Ettinger 1974: 24; Fruyt 1989: 133; Jurafsky 1996: 564); cf. *perparvulus* 'very small' (*parvus* 'small' < **pau-ro-* < **peh*$_2$*u-ro-* [**pau-*^{1} = **peh*$_2$*u-* 'small']; for metathesis of **pauro-* to **parwo-*, cf. *nervule* above and see LG i. 101, RPIEL 269)

PUSTULE [1398 Trevisa] *pustula* 'blister; pimple; pustule' < **pu-s-* (no Latin base [**pu-*^{1}/**phu-* 'blow; swell'] expressive root DELL 967)

REGULUS [1559] name of a star, [1594] 'metallic antimony', [1682] 'petty king' *rēgulus* 'petty king' (*rēx/rēg-* 'king'; see *regina* § 4.7.1)

(RIVULET [1587] 'streamlet') *rīvulus* 'brooklet' (*rīvus* 'brook; stream' < **h*$_3$*reih*$_{(2)}$*-wo-* [**reih*$_2$-/**h*$_3$*reih*$_2$- 'set in motion' = **h*$_3$*reih-* LIV 305 f.])

SACCULE [1836] 'small sac, esp. in the inner ear' *sacculus* 'little bag' (*saccus* 'large bag; money bag' (borrowed into Gmc. **sakkuz*/**sakkiz* HGE 315 > OE *sæc(c)/sac(c)* SACK [Kentish Glosses+] Wollmann 1990: 155, 174, 176; Green 1998: 213, 229), from G *σάκκος* 'sackcloth; sack, bag', from Semitic [**ś(a)qq-* 'sack'] cf. Aramaic *śaqqo* 'sackcloth')

SCHEDULE [1397] 'slip of paper with writing; short note', [1863] 'timetable' *sc(h)edula* [Jerome, Rufinus] 'small scrap of paper' (*scida* [Cicero] 'small piece of writing paper' ~ *schida* [Pliny] 'papyrus strip' ~ *scheda* 'id.' (phps. influenced by *schedium* [Petronius] 'impromptu poem/speech' related to G *ἔχειν* 'have, hold' [**segʰ-* 'hold']) borrowed into Greek as *σχέδη* 'leaf; page' DELG 1080; the older Latin forms may have been borrowed from G *σχίδα* 'piece of linen', probably related to *σχίζειν* 'split' [**skei-* 'cut, split' = **skʰeid-* LIV 547 f.]; see also DELG 1081)

SCRUPLE [1564] 'apothecary weight (*c.*1.3 grams)' *scrūpulus* 'little stone; weight' (*scrūpus* 'sharp stone; uneasiness' [etym. unknown DELL 1069])

SPATULA [1525] *spatula* [Celsus] 'wooden tongue depressor'; [c6] 'spoon' (*spat(h)a* [Celsus] 'flat blade for stirring, etc.' < G *σπάτη* 'broad, flat blade of wood or metal' [**spē-*[2]= **speh*$_1$*-* 'long, flat wood'] DELG 1034; Biville 1990–5: i. 154)

TUBULE [1677] 'small pipe'/TUBULUS [1826] ([1681] as Latin word) 'minute duct' *tubulus* 'small pipe or tube; water pipe' (*tubus/tuba* 'trumpet'; cf. later *tubus* [Pliny] 'pipe, tube' [etym. uncertain DELL 1247])

UNGULA [a1382 Wyclif] 'hoof; nail; claw' *ungula* 'hoof; claw; talon' < **h*$_3$*(o)ngh-lā-* RPIEL 62 f. (*unguis* 'nail; claw; talon; hoof' UNGUIS [1693] 'claw, nail, talon, hoof', [*c.*1790] 'hook at the end of the tarsus' < **h*$_3$*ongh-w-i-* [**nogh-* 'nail, claw' = **h*$_3$*nogh-*/**h*$_3$*(o)ngh-*] or **h*$_3$*(o)ng*^{w}*h-i-* Sihler 1995: 86, 97 f., 168; Baldi 1999: 244; the labiovelar seems required to explain Cowgill's Law in G *ὄνυξ* 'nail, ONYX' Vine 1999: 559 f., but phps. a plain velar aspirate in Gmc. **naχlaz* > OE *nægl* NAIL HGE 279)

UVULA [*c.*1400] *ūvula/ūvola* 'small cluster of grapelike fruit' [Pliny]; medical Latin 'uvula' (*ūva* 'grape(cluster); later [Celsus, Pliny] 'uvula' [**ōg-* = **h*$_3$*eg-* 'fruit, berry'], formation unclear DELL 1340)

VACUOLE [1853] 'small cavity in the protoplasm of a cell' F *vacuole*, NL *vacuolum* 'little vacuum' (*vacuum* 'empty; void' VACUUM [1550]; see *vacuous* § 5.4.1)

VIRGULE [1837] 'caesura', [1946] 'diagonal line (/) to indicate "either/or" interpretation' *virgula* 'small rod' (*virga* 'twig; shoot' VIRGA [1908], a musical symbol; possibly connected with *vir-ē-re* 'be green' [**weis-* see *virid* § 5.1.2] but the formation ?**weis-g-eh₂-* is very strange)

(VITULAR [1656] 'connected with calves') *vitulus* 'calf' < **wet-olo-* (cf. *vetus* 'aged; old' [**wet-* 'year'] and E *yearling*; cf. *vitellus* § 2.9.3)

2.9.2 *Diminutives in* -culus, -a, -um *(> E* -cle/-cule*)*

ARTICLE [?a1200] 'clause; individual portion or statement'/ARTICULUS [1877] 'appendage joint' *articulus* '(little) joint; part' (*artus* 'joint' < **har-tu-* [**ar-* 'fit together' = **h₂er-* or **h₁ar-* LIV 269 f.])

AURICLE [1653] 'external part of the ear', [1664] 'atrium of the heart'/ AURICULA [1655] 'Bear's ear Primula', [1691] 'external part of the ear' *auricula* 'external ear; ear-lap' (*auris* 'ear' < **h₂eus-i-* [**ous-* 'ear' = **h₂eus-*; cf. ?**h₂weis-* 'hear' LIV 288] IEL 104)

(AVUNCULAR [1831] 'belonging to an uncle') *avunculus* '(maternal) uncle'(*avus* 'grandfather; ancestor' [**awo-* 'adult male relative']; *av-unculus* by metanalysis of *homunculus* etc. LG i. 307)

CANTICLE [*c.*1250] < OF < L *canticulum* [c2] 'little song; sonnet' (*canticum* 'song' [**kan-* 'sing'; cf. LIV 342 f.])

CARBUNCLE [?a1200] 'precious stone of fiery red colour', [1530 Palsgrave] 'malignant tumour' *carbunculus* [Rhet. Her.] 'small (live) coal'; [Petronius] 'precious stone'; [Celsus] 'tumour; malignant pustule' (*carbō/carbōn-* '(glowing) charcoal' < **kerh-bōn-* RPIEL 195 [**ker-*⁴ 'heat, fire']; words in *-ōn-* regularly make *-un-culus* diminutives < **-on-kelo-*, recovering an old stem **carbŏn-* Sihler 1995: 296)

CLAVICLE [1615] 'collarbone' *clāvīcula* 'small key; tendril; door-bolt', [medical writers] 'clavicle' (*clāvis* 'key' [**klāu-* = **kleh₂u-*]; see *conclusive* § 5.5.2)

CORPUSCLE [1660] 'minute particle (e.g. electron)', [1845] 'free-moving blood cell'/CORPUSCULUM [1650] 'small body' *corpusculum* 'little body; atom' (*corpus* 'body' < **kʷr̥p-es-* [**kʷrep-* 'body; form; appear'] EWAia i. 324; IEL 100)

CUTICLE [1615] *cutīcula* '(little) skin; dandruff' (*cutis* 'skin; hide; rind' < **ku-ti-* [**(s)keu-* 'cover, conceal'])

FASCICLE [1622]/FASCICULUS [1713] 'bundle of nerve fibres' *fasciculus* 'bundle; bunch (of flowers); packet' (*fascis* 'bundle; parcel' [**bhasko-* 'band, bundle'])

FOLLICLE [1646] *folliculus* 'bag; sack; pod; shell' (*follis* 'pair of bellows; bag' < **bhol-ni-* [**bhel-*² 'blow, swell'])

FUNICULUS [1662] 'filament of rarefied matter', [1826] 'chief tendon of an insect's abdomen', [1830] 'umbilical cord' *fūniculus* 'slender rope; cord' (*fūnis* 'rope; cable' [etym. uncertain DELL 466])

HOMUNCULE [1656] 'manikin', [1822] 'pygmy'/HOMUNCULUS [n.d.] 'pygmy; manikin' *homunculus* 'puny man; manikin' (*homō/homin-* 'human being' < OL *hemon-* [Paul. Fest.] < **(dh)ǵhém-ō(n)* 'one on earth; earthling' [**dhǵhem-* = **dhéǵhōm* 'earth'] Sihler 1995: 295 f., HLFL 83, 97; IEL 216 f., IELC 110)

(LENTICULAR [1658] 'resembling a lentil')/LENTICULE [1942] 'minute lens'/LENTICULA [n.d.] 'freckle; small lens' *lenticula* [Columella] 'lentil', [Celsus] 'vessel shaped like a lentil', [Celsus, Pliny] 'freckle' (*lēns/lent-* 'lentil' LENS [1693] named for the shape of the optical lens [etym. obscure]; prob. borrowed DELL 626; cf. *lentigo* § 2.8.2)

MAJUSCULE [1701] (of letters: see *minuscule* below) *maiusculus* [Cicero] 'somewhat greater' (*maius* 'greater' < **mag-yos* IEL 220 f.; see *magistery* § 2.6.1)

MALE noun [?a1200], adj. [1378] < AF/OF [c12] *mas(c)le* < L *masculus* 'male; manly; virile' (*mās* 'male'; see *masculine* below)

(MASCULINE [?*c.*1350]) *masculus* 'male; manly; virile' (*mās*, GEN *măris* 'male' < **meh$_2$-s*, **mh$_2$-s-es*, possibly the same root as *mālus* 'mast, pole' [**mh$_2$s-d-* 'mast, pole, penis'] RPIEL 167 f.; see *masculine* § 4.7 and *male* above)

MINUSCULE [1701] 'small letter', adj. [1703] 'of minuscule script', [1878] 'tiny; unimportant' *minusculus* [Cato] 'somewhat smaller; rather small', [Varro] 'less important; minor'; the use with letters originated with the development of cursive script [c9–11]; cf. *minusculus* 'of lower case letters', *minuscula* 'minuscule letter' in Erasmus and Thomas More (*minus* 'less'; see *ministry* § 2.6.1)

MUSCLE [1364] *mūsculus* 'little mouse; muscle' (*mūs* 'mouse' [**mūs-* 'mouse; muscle'] PIE **mūs-* HLFL 57; PIE **muhs-* RPIEL 339, Beekes 1995: 168; undecided **ū* or **uh* Sihler 1995: 35, 47, IELC 61; prob. **ū* but not ruling out **uh* Baldi 1999: 247 f., IEL 83)

MUSSEL < ME *muskel* × *muscel(le)* < AF *mus(c)le* and OE *muscle* [c8^{e}/9^{b} Corpus Glossary 593] ~ *muxle* [c11 Ælfric's Glossary 308.8] ~ *musle* (ACCpl *muslan*) [c11 Ælfric's Colloquy 107] < Brit. Lat. [c8] *musculus* 'mussel' < L *mŭsculus* 'id.' ((Wollmann 1990: 167) traditionally given as the same root as *muscle* (above), but perhaps a separate word and root from *mūsculus* 'little mouse; muscle' DELL 752 f.; RPIEL 339)

OPUSCULE [*c.*1530]/OPUSCULUM [1654] 'trivial work or composition' (*opusculum* 'little work; trifle' (*opus* 'work' < **h$_3$ép-os-* [**op-*[1]'work' = **h$_3$ep-*[1]LIV 298 f.]; see *operative* § 5.5.1))

OSCULUM [1706] 'kiss', [1728] 'orifice', [1836] 'tapeworm sucker', [1887] 'aperture in a sponge' *ōsculum* '(little) mouth; kiss' (*ōs/ōr-* 'mouth' [**ōs-* or (?) **h₃ōs-* 'mouth'] probably not **oh₁s-* Sihler 1995: 49)

OSSICLE [1578]/OSSICULUM [1578] 'small bone, esp. one of the three tympanic bones of the middle ear' *ossiculum* [Pliny] 'small bone; ossicle' (*os/oss-* 'bone' < **osts* < **h₂ost(h₂)-s* [**ost-* 'bone' = **h₂osth₂-*] HLFL 114)

PARTICLE [1380] 'portion', [1398 Trevisa] 'minute quantity or entity; element' *particula* 'small part; particle; atom' (*pars/part-* 'part' < **part(i)-* < **prh₂-tí-*; cf. *parere* 'create; beget' [**perh₃-* 'grant, allot'; cf. LIV 474 f.] RPIEL 348)

PEDICLE [1626] 'stalk or other supporting organ', [1808] 'process that connects the lamina of a vertebra with the centrum'/PEDICULE [n.d.] 'pedicel' (stalk that supports one flower) *pediculus* 'little foot; footstalk; pedicle' (*pēs/ped-* 'foot' < **pōd-s/*ped-ós* [**ped-*[1] 'foot'] Sihler 1995: 280 ff.; HLFL 34, 36 f.; IEL 214 f.; cf. *pedicel* § 2.9.3)

PEDICULUS [n.d.] 'louse' (cf. PEDICULOUS [a1550] 'infested with lice; lousy' *pēdiculōsus* [c4/5 Theodorus Priscianus] 'sufferer from lice') *pēdiculus* '(little) louse' (*pēdis* 'louse' [possibly **pezd-* 'fart' = **pesd-* LIV 477] DELL 873)

PELLICLE [1541] 'skinlike substance; scum on a liquid' *pellicula* '(little) skin' (*pellis* 'skin; hide' < **pel-ni-* [**pel-*[4] 'skin, hide'])

PINNACLE [?*c.*1300] 'projecting rock; peak', [*c.*1330] 'small ornamental turret' (via OF *pinacle* [1261]) *pinnāculum* [Tertullian] 'gable', [Vulgate] 'projecting part of a temple', [c9] 'pinnacle': generally interpreted as 'small wing', diminutive to *pinna* 'wing'; even the Vulgate use (Matthew 4: 5) is a calque on the Greek diminutive *πτερύγιον* lit. 'little wing' Biggam 2000: 119; see *pinnacle* § 3.6.3.3 (*pinna* 'feather; wing' < **p(e)t-(s)-néh₂-* [**pet-* 'rush, fly']; see *pinnate(d)* and *pennate* § 4.12.1)

RADICLE [1640] 'embryonic root', [1830] 'small rootlike structure, e.g. the fibril of a nerve' *rādīcula* 'small root; rootlet' (*rādīx/rādīc-* 'root; radish; base' < **wrād-īc-* < **wr̥h₂d-ih₂-k-* [**wrād-* = **wreh₂d-* 'branch; root'] cf. G *ῥᾰ́δῐξ/ῥᾰδῐκ-* 'branch' DELG 964; RPIEL 182 f.; Sihler 1995: 179; HLFL 111)

RETICULE [1727] 'reticulate structure'; [1801] '(netted) purse; hairnet'/RETICLE [1656] '(little) casting net', [1731] 'network; grid'/RETICULUM [1658] 'second stomach of a ruminant', [1858] 'reticulated membrane; network', [1870] 'retiform tissue' *rēticulum* [Plautus] '(little) fishnet', [Varro] 'network; hairnet', [Cicero] 'meshwork bag' (*rēte* 'net' < **h₁r(e)h₁-ti-* [**erə-*[2] = **h₁erh₁-/*h₁reh₁-* 'separate']; cf. *reticulate(d)* § 4.12.1)

TESTICLE [*c.*1425] *testiculus* [Varro] 'testicle' (*testis* 'testicle', generally accepted as the same root as *testis* 'witness' DELL 1217 f.; see *testimony* § 2.5.2)

VASCULUM [1782] 'specimen case' *vāsculum* 'small vessel' (*vās*, pl. *vāsa* 'vessel; equipment' VAS [1578] 'duct (to convey liquid)' [Latin or (?) Italic root] DELL 1263; Ernout 1961: 101; Sihler 1995: 345; HLFL 150)

VENTRICLE [*c.*1400] 'small anatomical cavity or chamber, as of the brain or heart'/VENTRICULUS [1710] 'stomach' *ventriculus* 'belly; ventricle of the heart' (*venter* 'belly; paunch; appetite' < **wen-tri-*, possibly a tabu form [?**udero-* 'abdomen; womb']; cf. *uterus* 'belly; UTERUS' < **utero-* DELL 1275, 1339; cf. *vesicle* below)

VERMICLE [1657]/VERMICULE [1713] 'little worm, grub' *vermiculus* 'grub; larva' (*vermis* 'worm; maggot' < **wormi-* < **wr̥-mi-* [**wer-*[3] 'turn']; cf. **wr̥-mo/i-* > Gmc. **w-urma/iz* (> OE *wyrm* WORM) DELL 1280; HGE 476; Sihler 1995: 44; HLFL 63; *vermiculate* § 4.12.1)

(VERNACULAR [1601]) *vernāculus* 'domestic; indigenous; native; proletarian' (*verna* 'slave born in the master's household' [etym. unknown] possibly Etruscan DELL 1280; Baldi 1999: 166)

VERSICLE [*c.*1380]/VERSICULUS [1755] 'short chanted verse in a church service' *versiculus* 'brief line of verse' (*versus* 'line; row; line of verse' [**wer-*[3] 'turn' = **wert-* LIV 691 f.]; see *versify* § 6.4.2.1)

VESICLE [1578]/VESICULA [1715] 'small bladderlike structure; cavity; sac; cyst' *vēsīcula* 'small bladderlike formation' (*vēsīca* 'bladder; balloon' VESICA [1683] †'copper vessel', [1706] 'bladder' ([1673] as Latin word), possibly a tabu form **wn̥d-ti-* [?**udero-* 'abdomen, womb, belly']; cf. DELL 1287 and *ventricle* above)

2.9.3 *Diminutives in* -e/illus, -a, -um (> *E* -el/-le, -il)

AGNEL [n.d.] an early French gold coin (OF *agnel* [1190] 'lamb') *agnellus* [1 × Plautus *Asinaria* 667] 'little lamb' (*agnus* 'lamb' [**ag^{w}h-no-* AHDR 1,**ag^{w}-no-* HLFL 125, or **h$_2$eg^{w}-no-* RPIEL 439; Beekes 1995: 36])

(ANCILLARY adj. [1667] 'subordinate', [1948] 'supporting'/noun [1867] 'servant', [1929] 'accessory' *ancillārius* [ML] 'of a maidservant', for L *ancillāris* 'having the status of a female servant') *ancilla* 'maid; female servant' (*anculus, -a* 'servant' < **ambhi-k^{w}ol-o-* 'one who bustles about' < **h$_2$n̥tbhi-k^{w}olh$_1$o-* [**ambhi* 'around' = **h$_2$n̥t-bhi* 'from both sides' + **k^{w}el-*[1] 'turn; cultivate' = *k^{w}elh$_1$-LIV 386 ff.] Bader 1962: 404; HLFL 69, 123)

(ANGUILLIFORM [1693] 'in the form of an eel') *anguilla* 'eel' (*anguis* 'snake' [**ang^{w}hi-* 'snake, eel'] a tabu root variously reconstructed DELL 59 f.; Sihler 1995: 163)

AXIL [1794] 'angle between the upper surface of a stalk and its stem'/AXILLA [1616] 'armpit' *axilla* 'armpit' < **aksl̥lā-* < **aks-lo-lā-* (*āla*

'wing' < **aks-lā-* < ?**h₂eǵ-s-leh₂-* [**aḱs-* poss. extension of **ag-*/**h₂eǵ-* 'drive'] HLFL 118 f.)

BACILLUS [1883] *bacillus* [Isidore] 'little rod; bacillus' (*baculus* [Ovid; the normal form in Appendix Probi and 'low' Latin] 'oblong lozenge') for L *bacillum* 'little staff' (*baculum* '(walking-)stick' [**bak-* 'staff']; see *baculiform* § 3.6.3.2)

CASTLE [a1121 Peterborough Chron] *castellum* 'castle; fortress; stronghold' (*castrum* 'fort', collective plural *castra* 'military camp' < **kas-tro-* < **ḱ(e)s-tró-* 'cut (piece of land)' [**kes-*[2]'cut' = **ḱes-* LIV 329])

CEREBELLUM [1565] *cerebellum* '(small) brain' (*cerebrum* 'skull; brain' CEREBRUM [1615] < **kerabrom* < **keras-ro-* < **ḱerh₂s-ro-* [**ḱer-*[1] 'horn; head'] Sihler 1995: 308; HLFL 119; Baldi 1999: 284)

CODICIL [1490 Caxton] 'supplement; appendix (e.g. to a will)' *cōdicillus* 'a short writing; letter'; [Pliny] 'codicil' (*cōdex/cōdic-* 'treetrunk; tablet; book; ledger' < **kaud-ek-* [etym. unknown DELL 233] Baldi 1999: 182)

COLUMEL [a1661] 'small column/pillar'/COLUMELLA [1585] 'uvula', [1755] 'columnlike structure' (biology) *columella* 'small column; pillar' < **kolumenla* < **kolumn̥la* < **kolumnola* HLFL 74 (*columna* 'column; pillar' [**kel-*[4] be prominent; hill' = **kelh-* LIV 349]; see *colline* § 4.7)

COROLLA [1671] 'garland', [1753] 'whorl of petals' *corōlla* 'small garland' (*corōna* 'garland; wreath; crown' < G *κορώνη* 'seabird; crow', [Hesychius] 'crown', but only 'crown' in Sophron according to Hesychius, making *corōna* a borrowing via Magna Graecia Biville 1990–5: ii. 458; from **kor-ōno-* [**(s)ker-*[3] 'turn, bend'] expressive root DELG 570)

FIBRIL [1664]/FIBRILLA [1665] 'small, slender fibre, such as a root hair' *fibrilla* [NL] (*fibra* [Lucilius] 'lobe of the liver', [Cato] 'sheathing leaf', [Cicero] 'filament' FIBRE [1398 Trevisa] 'lobe of the liver', [1607] 'threadlike filament' [etym. unknown DELL 412 f.])

FLABELLUM [1867] 'fan-shaped part', [1875] 'fan' *flābellum* '(little) fan' (pl. *flābra* [Lucretius] 'gust, blast (of wind)'; cf. *flāre* 'blow' [**bhlē-* 'blow'; cf. **bhleh₁-* 'howl' LIV 87]; see *flabellum* § 3.6.2)

FLAGELLUM [1807] 'whip', [1852] 'lashlike appendage' *flagellum* 'whip; thong; vine-shoot' (*flagrum* 'whip; flogging' [**bhlāg-* 'strike' = ?**bhleh₂g-* LIV 87 f.] root limited to Italic, Germanic, and Baltic)

LABELLUM [1826] 'swollen termination of a proboscis', [1830] 'lip of an orchid' *labellum* 'little lip' (*labrum* 'lip' [IE dialectal **leb-* 'lick; lip']; see *labial* § 4.1.1)

LIBEL [*c.*1300] †'written declaration', [1618] 'defamatory statement' *libellus* 'little book; pamphlet', [c1] 'lampoon; written accusation' (*liber* 'book' [etym. obscure DELL 631])

MAMELLE [*c.*1450] 'woman's breast' (< AF *mame(l)le* [a1134])/MAMILLA [1684] 'breast', [1706] 'teat', [1807] 'nipple' *mamilla* [Velleius, Juvenal] 'breast; nipple', [Varro] 'nozzle or spout' (*mamma* [Plautus] 'breast', [Varro] 'mother' [**mā-* 'mother'] reduplicated hypocoristic LG i. 382; note geminate shortening in *mamilla* LG i. 184, 282; Sihler 1995: 222 f.; HLFL 125; or affective gemination in *mamma* Sihler 1995: 224; Baldi 1999: 298)

MAXILLA [?a1425] 'upper jaw' *maxilla* [Cicero] 'jawbone' < **smaksl-el-eh*$_2$- (*māla* [Ennius] 'cheekbone; jaw' < **smaksl-eh*$_2$- RPIEL 268 [etym. and history uncertain] LG i. 207 f.)

(MISCELLANY [1601] 'medley', [1615] 'literary collection') *miscellus* 'inferior' of grapes and wine (< *min(u)scellus*, diminutive of *minusculus* 'rather small, short, less'; later influenced by *misc-ē-re* 'to mix' LG i. 309, whence the meaning 'mixed' and the modern sense; cf. *miscellanea/ous* § 4.9.3)

NOVEL [*c.*1400] †'new shoot of a tree' (LL *novella* [Vulgate] 'new shoot of a plant'), [a1450] †'novelty', [*c.*1450] †'news' (OF *nuveles* [*c.*1050] 'news, information', AF *noveles*, sg. *nuvele* [c12^{b}] < ML *novellae* [c12 Brit. Lat.] 'news'), [*c.*1500] 'short story' (as part of a larger work), [1639] 'long fictional prose narrative' (MF *nouvelle* [1414] with reference to Boccaccio's *Decameron* < Ital. *novella* [c13/14] cf. Stern 1931: 223)/NOVELLA [1677] (from Italian) L *novella* [neut. pl.] 'little new things; news' (*novus, -a, -um* 'new' [**newo-* 'new' < **nu* 'now'] HLFL 59, 92; Baldi 1999: 68 f., 243, 272)

NUCELLE [1832] 'central part of the ovule' (= F *nucelle*)/NUCELLA [1856] 'nucleus'/NUCELLUS [1882] 'ovule tissue in which an embryo develops' *nucellus* [NL] for LL *nucella* [1× c4 Apicius] 'little nut' (*nucula* [Pliny, Paul. Fest.] 'small nut', diminutive of *nux/nuc-* 'nut'; see *nucleus* § 2.9.1)

OCELLUS [1819] 'rudimentary invertebrate eye', [1826] 'eyelike spot on wings of certain animals' *ocellus* 'little eye' (*oculus* 'eye' < **ok^{w}-olo-* [**ok^{w}-* 'see' = **h$_3$ek^{w}-* LIV 297])

PAPILLA [1671] 'small nipplelike projection of a developing tooth, hair, etc.', [1684] 'nipple' ([a1398 Trevisa] as Latin word) *papilla* 'nipple; teat' (*papula* 'pimple; pustule'; see *papule* § 2.9.1)

PATELLA [1398 Trevisa] 'small pan', [1693] 'kneecap; panlike formation' *patella* 'small dish, plate' (*patina* [Plautus] 'broad, shallow dish; pan' PATINA [1748] 'greenish incrustation on old bronze' (cf. PATEN [*c.*1300 Havelok] 'eucharist bread plate'), from G πατάνη 'flat dish' (> VL **panna* > WGmc **panna* > OE *panne* PAN [*c.*725 Épinal Gloss 885, ed. Pheifer 1974] Wollmann 1990: 175) < ?**petanā-* 'thing spread out' [**peth*$_2$- 'spread' = LIV 478 f.] DELG 862; Biville 1990–5: ii. 105–40, 380)

PEDICEL [1676] 'stalk that supports one flower' NL *pedicellus* [Linnaeus] (*pediculus* 'little foot; pedicle', dim. of *pēs/ped-* 'foot' [**ped-*^{1} 'foot']; see *pedicle* § 2.9.2)

PENICIL [1826] 'tuft of hairs resembling a painter's brush, as on a caterpillar' (cf. PENCIL [*c.*1300] < OF *pincel* [c13] < VL **pēnicellum*; PENICILLIN [1929] < Botanical Lat. *pēnicillium* [1867]) *pēnicillus* [Cicero] 'painter's brush, pencil' PENICILLUS [1822] 'portal vein of the liver' (*pēniculus* 'brush; sponge', dim. of *pēnis* 'tail; PENIS' [1676] < **pes-ni-* [**pes-* 'penis']; cf. Hitt. *pišna-* 'man' Melchert 1994: 175; Kimball 1999: 446)

PUGIL [1576] 'handful', [1646] 'boxer, pugilist' *pugillus* 'handful' (*pugnus* 'fist' [**peuk-*/**peug-*]; see *pugnacious* § 5.2.1)

PUPIL[1] [a1382 Wyclif] 'ward; student' < MF *pupille* [c14] 'ward; minor' < L *pūpillus* 'little orphan boy; ward' (*pūpulus* 'little boy', dim. of *pūpus* 'boy'—masculine of PUPIL[2])

PUPIL[2] [*c.*1400] ([1398 Trevisa] as Latin word) 'centre of the iris of the eye' *pūpilla* 'little orphan girl'; then 'pupil of the eye' from the miniature reflection of oneself in the eye of another (*pūpula* 'young girl; puppet', dim. of *pūpa* 'girl'—feminine of PUPIL[1] [**pap-*/**pup-* 'teat' not in AHDR] hypocoristic root DELL 965 f., LG i. 382; cf. *papule* § 2.9.1)

PUSILLANIMOUS [1586] *pusill(i)animis* [a150 sacrae scripturae] ~ *pusillanimus* [Tertullian] (lit. 'paltry-hearted') 'mean-spirited; discouraged; worried', with *pusillus* 'very small; petty; paltry' < **put(s)lo-lo-* HLFL 119, 125 (dim. of *pullus* < **putslo-* 'young of an animal; chicken' or simply **put-lo-* B. Nielsen 1998: 66 f. [**pau-*[1] = **peh*$_2$*u-* 'few; little'])

SCALPEL [1742] (via F *scalpelle* [c16]) *scalpellum* 'small surgical knife; lancet' (*scalprum* 'knife; chisel' [**(s)kel-*[1] 'cut'; cf. **(s)kel-*[2] LIV 552])

SCINTILLA [1692] (cf. †*scintill* [1599]) 'spark; trace; minute particle' *scintilla* 'spark' (**skhi-nto-* (?) no attested Latin base DELL 1063 [**skai-*[2] 'gleam' = **sḱeh(i)-* or **sḱeh*$_2$*(i)-* LIV 546] phps. the nasal infix formation **ski-n-h-* of Gmc. **skīnan-* (> OE *scīnan* SHINE) etc. generalized to a **-ti-* derivative 'a sparking', e.g. **ski-n-h-ti-lo-lā-* 'a sparkling'?)

SIGIL [a1610] 'seal; signet'/SIGILLUM [1637] 'small figure', [1927] 'seal of confession', [1966] 'sign, symbol; abbreviation' *sigillum* 'statuette; relief' (*signum* 'mark; token; image; statue; SIGN' (OE *seg(e)n* Corpus Gloss/Beowulf replaced ?a1200 by OF *signe* Wollmann 1990: 290–323) < **sek*^{w}*-no-* or **sekh*$_2$*-no-*; see *signify* § 6.4.2.1)

UMBRELLA [*c.*1610] < Ital. *ombrella* < LL *umbrella* [glosses] rebuilt from earlier *umbella* [Martial, Juvenal] 'sunshade' DELL 1317 (*umbra* 'shade; shadow; UMBRA' [1599] 'phantom', [1638] 'shade, shadow' < **ondh-rā* [**andho-*] DELL 1318)

VITELLUS [1728] 'yolk of an egg' *vitellus* [Plautus] 'little calf', [Cicero] 'yolk of an egg' (*vitulus* 'calf' < **wet-olo-* [**wet-*[2] 'year']; cf. *vitular* § 2.9.1)

3

Noun Suffixes on Verb Bases

3.1 *-or* 'condition; state; result of'

This suffix, attached to stem I, mostly derives abstract nouns (some concretized) from stative bases associated with verbs of the second conjugation (LG i. 379 f.). When verbs of other conjugations are rarely associated with *-ōr-* derivatives, the result is also a state, e.g. *amor* 'love' (*am-ā-re* 'to love'). Historically, this is an Indo-European Caland construct in **-e/os-* (§ 1.12). Latin generalized first the stem **-ōs-* to the nominative (OL *colōs* 'colour', *honōs* 'honour', *labōs* 'labour', *odōs* 'odour'), then the rhotacized stem *-ōr-* (LG i. 176–81; Touratier 1975; 1989: 443; Heslin 1985: 39; Krisch 1992: 158–68; Baldi 1999: 285–90).

When the (American) English form of these words does not differ from the Latin, only one combined English/Latin entry is cited. The gloss serves for both languages (but targets the Latin equivalent) unless the Latin and English meanings differ. The borrowing (via Anglo-French) occurred in Middle English, generally in the form *-our* with variable stress (Minkova 2000), unless a contrary date is specified (cf. Koziol 1972: § 585). Etymologies accompany the corresponding *-id-* adjectives (§ 5.1.2 ff.).

ALGOR [*c.*1420] 'coldness' (*algēre* 'be cold; feel chilly')
ARDOUR [Ch.] *ārdor* 'burning; heat; excitement' (*ārdēre* 'burn; blaze; be excited')
CANDOUR [1610] *candor* 'frankness; sincerity'; L 'radiance; whiteness; kindness' (*candēre* 'be white')
CLAMOUR [Ch.] *clāmor* 'shout; noise' (*clāmāre* 'shout; utter a loud noise')
CLANGOUR [1593] *clangor* 'clamour; shrill cry; ringing/clanging' (*clangere* 'make a ringing noise')
DECOR [1656] 'pleasing appearance' (*decēre* 'adorn; be fitting' [**dek-* 'accept'])
DOLOUR [*c.*1370] 'grief; sorrow'; L *dolor* 'physical/mental pain; anguish' (*dolēre* 'feel pain; grieve')

ERROR [?a1300] 'wandering; mistake' (*errāre* 'wander; vacillate; be mistaken')
FAVOUR [?a1300] *favor* '(instance of) goodwill' (*favēre* 'show favour to; be favourable to')
FERVOUR [a1349] *fervor* 'heat; agitation; passion' (*fervēre* 'boil; be turbulent; be fired with passion')
FULGOR [1602] 'radiance; flash; splendour' (*fulgēre* 'flash; glitter; gleam; be bright')
FUROUR(?) [1477] *furor* [Catullus, Cicero] 'violent madness; frenzy; hostile rage' (*furere* 'be mad; rage'; Puhvel 1998 connects to Hitt. *kurur* 'war(fare); enemy' via **ghwr̥-wr̥* 'savagery')
HONOUR [?a1200] *honor* '(mark of) high esteem; privilege; office' (etym. unknown DELL 531 f.)
HORROR [a1325] 'bristling (of the hair); trembling; dread' (*horrēre* 'bristle; tremble (at)')
HUMOUR [1340] *(h)ūmor* 'liquid; fluid' (*(h)ūmēre* 'be wet, moist')
LABOUR [*c.*1300] *labor* 'work; toil; task; preoccupation; hardship' (no Latin base, unless related, with difficult semantics, to *lābī* 'slip; glide; lapse' DELL 595)
LANGUOR [*c.*1300] 'lassitude; sluggishness; stillness; wistful tenderness' (*languēre* 'be sluggish; lack vigour; be feeble')
LENTOR [1626] 'tenacity; slowness, sluggishness'; L [Pliny] 'tensile strength; viscosity' (*lentēre* 'proceed slowly')
ODOUR [a1300] *odor* 'a smell' (*olere* '(give off a) smell; smell of' [**od-*[1]/**h₃ed-* 'smell'] HLFL 100)
PALLOR [*c.*1400] 'extreme/unnatural paleness' (*pallēre* 'be pale')
RANCOUR [?a1200] LL *rancor* [c4 Palladius] 'rankness, rancidity; animosity, resentment' (*rancēre* 'be rotten or putrid')
RIGOUR [1392] *rigor* 'stiffness, rigidity; frozen condition' (*rigēre* 'be stiff, rigid, numb with cold')
RUMOUR [Ch.] *rumor* 'common talk; gossip; unconfirmed report' ([**reu-* 'bellow'])
SAPOR [1477] 'flavour' (*sapīre* 'taste (of); show good sense')
SAVOUR [?a1200] *savor* (< *sapor*, via Old French)
SPLENDOUR [1450] *splendor* 'radiance; brilliance' (*splendēre* 'be radiant, resplendent, distinguished')
SQUĀLOR [1621] 'filth(iness)' (*squālēre* 'be dirty')
STRĪDOR [1632] 'high-pitched sound; sibilant noise; shriek' (*strīdere* ~ *strīdēre* 'make a shrill sound; shriek')

STUPOR [1398 Trevisa; 1666] 'reduced sensibility; lethargy; torpor' (*stupēre* 'be paralysed, stunned, dazed, dumbfounded')
TENOR [?a1300] 'general sense; purport'; L '(sustained) course; continuity; tone' (*tenēre* 'hold (in a position); retain')
TERROR [*c.*1375] 'extreme fear; cause of fear' (*terrēre* 'terrorize; alarm; terrify'; *terror* is from **trzōs* < **tres-ōs* [**tres-* 'tremble'] Nussbaum 1999: 394)
TORPOR [?a1200; 1607] 'mental/physical inactivity; insensibility'; L 'loss of physical power; paralysis; lethargy' (*torpēre* 'be numb, lethargic, paralysed; lack sensation')
TREMOR [Ch.] 'trembling; vibratory motion; quivering' (*tremere* 'tremble; quake; quiver')
TUMOUR [1541] *tumor* 'swollen condition; swelling; bulge' (*tumēre* 'be distended; swell')
TURGOR [1876] 'state of being turgid; tension produced by liquid'; LL [Martianus Capella] 'swelling; turgidity' (*turgēre* 'swell; be(come) distended, pretentious')
VALOUR [?a1300] LL *valor* [gloss = τῑμή 'honour'] (*valēre* 'be powerful, robust, well')
VAPOUR [*c.*1374] *vapor* 'exhalation; steam' ([?**kwēp-*; cf. **kweh$_1$p-* LIV 374] cf. *vapid* § 5.1.4)
VIGOUR [?a1300] *vigor* 'energy; exertion; vitality' (*vigēre* 'be active, lively; thrive; flourish')

3.2 *-ium* (> E *-ium/-y/-e* [after *c, g*]): event noun; 'result of'

The suffix **-ye/o-* in Indo-European seems to have been used initially to derive a class of verbs from roots. For instance, from **(s)peḱ-* was made a verb **(s)peḱ-ye/o-*: Ved. *páśyati* 'sees, observes', L *speciō* 'see, observe', etc. (Meillet and Vendryes 1948: 282 ff.; IEL 171; LIV 575 f.); cf. the root noun L *auspex* 'augur, AUSPEX' < **h$_2$ewi-speḱ-s* 'bird (*avis*) watching/er' (Benedetti 1988: 155 f.; Heidermanns 2002: 192 f.). The origin of **-ye/o-* was by adjectivalization of *-i-* (IEL 283, w. lit), e.g. in locatives: **medhi-* > **medhy-o-* 'middle' G μέσ(σ)ος MESO-, L *medius, -a, -um* MEDIUM, etc.). By metanalysis, **-ye/o-* was used to derive adjectives and nouns. A word like *jūdicium* 'judicial investigation; judgement' (§ 2.6) was originally denominal to *jūdex* 'judge' (< **youz-diḱ-* 'law say(ing)'; see *judicial* § 2.6.1), but subject to (re)analysis as derived from *jūdicāre* 'to judge, sentence' (Benedetti 1988: 195), providing the path for deverbal derivations; cf. *praejūdicāre* 'prejudge' *: praejūdicium* PREJUDICE [*c.*1290] (LG i § 275).

For our purposes, three subclasses can be recognized; the two most productive involve compounding.

3.2.1 *Uncompounded deverbals in* -ium

GAUDY [1535] 'feast'/JOY [?a1200] (< OF *joie* [1080] < VL **gaudia*)/
GAUDY [1386] 'yellowish' (disparaging sense 'garish' [1583] cf. Copley 1961: 74) *gaudium* 'joy' (*gaudēre* 'rejoice' < IE **geh₂ wi-dheh₁-ye/o-* 'do joy' Hackstein 2002: 8)
(LITIGIOUS [a1382 Wyclif]) *lītigium* 'dispute; lawsuit' (*lītigāre* 'go to law; LITIGATE'; while *lītigāre* is a synthetic compound § 6.6.1, *lītigium* is strictly deverbal to *lītigāre*)
ODIUM [1602] 'the fact of being hated', [1650] 'opprobrium', [1654] 'hatred' *odium* 'hatred' (**odēre* 'to hate'; cf. perfect-present *ōdī* 'I hate' [**od-*² 'hate' = **h₃ed-*² LIV 296])
STUDY [*c.*1300] *studium* 'zeal; enthusiasm for; pursuit' (*studēre* 'devote oneself to')
TEDIUM [1662] *taedium* 'weariness; ennui' (*taedēre* 'be sick/tired of')

3.2.2 *Preverb-compounded deverbals in* -ium

COLLOQUY [1563–87]/COLLOQUIUM [1609] 'colloquy', [1844] 'assembly, conference' *colloquium* 'conversation; conference' (*colloquī* 'speak together; converse')
COMPENDIUM [1581] *compendium* 'acquisition; short cut'; later [Ulpian] 'abridgement; compendium' (*con-* + *pendere* 'weigh; pay (out); estimate', or formed after *dispendium*)
COUNCIL [1125 Peterborough Chron = AF *concilie*; cf. OF *concile* [c12^{b}] 'assembly'] *concilium* [Plautus] 'gathering, assembly; debate', [Cicero] 'popular assembly, public meeting' (*con-* 'together' + *calāre* 'announce; convoke' < **kala-ye/o-* < **klh₁-ye/o-* [**kelh₂-* 'shout' = **kleh₁-* LIV 361] HLFL 109, 187)
COUNSEL [?a1200] *cōnsilium* 'counsel; advice; plan' (deverbal to *cōnsulere*
DELL 249 [**selh₁-* 'take' LIV 529 = **sel-*³ AHDR 75, with no mention of *cōnsulere* etc.] HLFL 82, 78, 94, 205; Bader 1962: 227; see also *consulate* § 2.7)
DELIRIUM [a1565] *dēlīrium* [Celsus] 'derangement of mental faculties' (*dēlīrāre* 'be crazy' or more likely *dēlīrus* 'insane'; see *delirium* § 2.6.3)
DESIRE [*c.*1303] < OF *desir* [1175] < L *dēsīderium* 'desire' (*dēsīderāre* 'to desire')
DILUVIUM [1819] *dīluvium* 'flood; inundation' (*dīluere* 'wash away; dissolve; DILUTE')

DISPENDIUM [1648] *dispendium* 'expense; cost; loss' (*dispendere* 'distribute by paying or weighing out')

DIVORCE [1377] (cf. AF *devorz* [1267]) *dīvortium* 'parting of the ways; junction; severance of marriage' (*dīvertere* 'diverge; separate')

EXERCISE [*c.*1340] *exercitium* 'exercise; training; practice' (*exercitāre* 'train; practice; exercise; vex': *ex* + *arcēre* 'contain; impede')

EXORDIUM [1581] *exordium* 'beginning; rudimentary stage' (*exordīrī* 'begin')

IMPERIUM [1651] *imperium* 'supreme administrative power; legal authority' (*imperāre* 'command; rule; exercise control (over)': *in* + *parāre* 'furnish; provide; prepare')

IMPLUVIUM [1811] *impluvium* 'basin in atrium floor for receiving rain water' (*impluere* 'rain (on); rain in')

(INCENDIARY [1606] 'arsonist', adj. [1611]) *incendium* 'destructive fire; conflagration; fiery heat' (*incendere* 'set on fire; kindle; inflame; stir up')

OBSEQUY [Ch.] *obsequium* 'compliance; subservience; obsequiousness; assiduous service' (*obsequī* 'follow; devote oneself to; comply with')

OPPROBRIUM [1656] 'disgrace; ignominy' *opprobrium* 'scandal' (*opprobrāre* 'to reproach')

PERJURY [1387–8] *perjūrium* 'breach of oath; false oath' (*perjūrāre* 'swear falsely; commit perjury')

PR(A)ESIDIUM [1924] 'presiding Soviet committee' (via Russian *prezidium*) *praesidium* 'assistance; garrison' (cf. *praeses/praesid-* 'guardian', from *prae* 'in front' + *sedēre* 'sit' [**sed-*[1] 'sit']; *praesidium* is not deverbal (*pace* Bader 1962: 62) but deradical Benedetti 1988: 37, 194)

PREMIUM [1601] 'incentive; prize', [1661] 'insurance payout' replacing (Ital.) *premio* [1622] *praemium* 'plunder; reward; payment' (**prah$_2$-i–h$_1$em-o-s* 'taking away in advance' or simply deradical **prah$_2$-i–h$_1$em-(i)yo-m*; cf. *emere* 'take; buy; win; gain' [**per-*[1] 'through' + **em-* 'take, distribute' = **h$_1$em-* LIV 236] Bader 1962: 227; Sihler 1995: 83; HLFL 58, 120)

REFUGE [Ch.] *refugium* 'place or means of shelter' (*refugere* 'turn back and flee; flee for safety or protection')

REMEDY [?a1200] *remedium* 'means of treatment; anything used as a remedy; means of counteracting' (*medērī* 'heal; cure; remedy')

(REPUDIATE [1545] < *repudiāre* [PPP *repudiātus*] 'reject formally' <) *repudium* 'repudiation; rejection; divorce' (*re-* + *pudēre* 'to shame')

SUBSIDY [a1382 Wyclif] *subsidium* 'support; assistance; aid' (*sub* + *sedēre* 'sit; be seated')

SUFFRAGE [a1382 Wyclif] 'prayers', [1534] 'vote' *suffrāgium* 'action of voting; right of voting; vote' (*suffrāgārī* 'publicly support; canvass (for); vote for')

SUPERCILIUM [1672] 'eyebrow' *supercilium* 'eyebrow' (*super* + the verbal root **kel-*[2] of *occulere* 'conceal'; cf. intensive *cēlāre* 'to hide'—if Pliny's *cilium* 'upper eyelid' is backformed from *supercilium*, but Pliny suggests *cilium* is ancient, i.e. **kel-yo-*)

3.2.3 *Synthetic compounds in* -ium

EDIFICE [Ch.] *aedificium* 'a building' (*aedificāre* 'to build' < *aedēs* 'abode' + *facere* 'make')

NASTURTIUM [c11 *Herbarium*] 'cruciferous plant with pungent taste', [1704] tropaeolum plant (e.g. watercress) *nasturcium* or *nāsturtium* ['nose-twist/pain', if not a folk etymology] 'cress; mustard plant' (*nāsus* 'nose' + **tortāre*, intensive to *torquēre* 'twist' [**nas-* + **terk^{w}-*])

ORIFICE [?a1425] *ōrificium* [Apuleius] 'opening; aperture' (*ōs/ōr-* 'mouth' + *facere* 'make')

PRIMORDIUM [1671] 'earliest stage; origin', [1875] 'first aggregate of cells that will form a distinct organ' Biological Latin < L *prīmordium* 'beginnings; origin; source; elementary form' (*prīmus* 'first' + *ordīrī* 'begin')

SACRIFICE [*c.*1275] *sacrificium* [Varro, Cicero, Caesar] 'offering to a deity' (*sacrificus* [Ovid] 'sacrificial'; *sacrificium* is deverbal and *sacrificus* is backformed from *sacrificāre* [Ennius] 'sacrifice' § 6.4.2.1; Bader 1962: 184; Lindner 1996: 157 f.; Miller 2005*a*)

SOLILOQUY [1604] *sōliloquium* [Augustine] 'monologue' (*sōlus* 'alone' + *loquī* 'speak'; evidently coined by Augustine)

SOLSTICE [*c.*1250] *sōlstitium* '(summer/winter) solstice' (*sōl* 'sun' + *-stit-ium* 'a stoppage'; cf. *statiō* 'a standing still' (STATION) [**seh$_2$wel-* 'sun' + **sth$_2$-ti-* 'standing'])

STIPEND [1432–50] *stīpendium* 'regular cash payment; tax; income, salary' (**stipi-pend-ium*: *stips/stipi-* 'small donation or payment' + *pendere* 'weigh; pay out')

3.3 *-iō/-iōn-* (> E *-ion*) 'act or result of'

This suffix is the same as *-tiō* (§ 3.8), but attached to stem I.[1] Apart from a few deadjectival abstracts (LG i. 366), such as *commūniō* 'mutual participation;

[1] It is not the same as the *-ō/-ōn-* denominals (LG i § 322.2), as in *centuriō* CENTURION [*c.*1275] (commanding officer of a *centuria* 'military unit of 100 soldiers; CENTURY'), *decuriō* DECURION [1382] (commanding officer of a squad of ten (*decuria*)'); cf. *-iō*, as in Frankish Latin *campiō* 'warrior; gladiator' > OF *champion* [1080 *Roland*] 'one who fights on a closed plain (L *campus*/OF *c(h)amp*)';

association' (EL [c4^{m}] COMMUNION [1382]), *-iōn-* makes verbal abstracts (LG i § 324). In contrast to the nominalizations in § 3.8, many of these are concrete (cf. Johnson 1931: § 84). The early borrowings were by way of Anglo-French, which accounts for the ending *-io(u)n*, from the stem (ACC) *-iōn(em)*.

CAPION [n.d.] *capiō* 'a taking; acquiring of ownership by possession' in USUCAPION [1606] *ūsūcapiō* (∼ *ūsus capiō*) 'acquisition of ownership by possession' (*ūsū* 'by use' + *capere* 'take; receive; acquire'; cf. *captiō* 'deception' to stem II)

CONDITION [*c.*1315] *condiciō* (later *conditiō*) 'situation; term; agreement; condition' (*condīcere* ['talk over together'] 'agree on')

CONTAGION [Ch.] *contāgiō* 'contact; influence; contagion' (*contingere* 'touch; border upon; influence; affect'; see *contagious* § 4.10.2)

LEGION [?a1200] *legiō* 'conscription; (select) body of soldiers' (*legere* 'gather; collect; enrol'; cf. *lēctiō* LECTION to stem II [**leǵ-*[1] 'collect'])

OBLIVION [a1393] *oblīviō* 'oblivion; forgetfulness' (*oblīvīscī* 'forget')

OPINION [a1325] *opīniō* 'supposition; belief; opinion' (*opīnārī* 'suppose; think')

REBELLION [*c.*1340] *rebelliō* 'revolt; rebellion' (*rebellāre* ['wage war again'] 'revolt; REBEL')

REGION [?a1300] *regiō* 'direction; line; geographical position; district, locality' (*regere* 'direct; rule'; cf. *rēctiō* RECTION to stem II)

RELIGION [*c.*1200] *re(l)ligiō* 'religious awe; superstition; religion' (probably *religāre* 'bind' [**leiǵ-*[1] 'bind'] rather than Cicero's *re-legere* 're-collect', despite Benveniste 1969: ii. 267–73, see AHDR 47, Giannakis 1998–9: ii. 106)

SUSPICION [*c.*1300] *suspīciō* 'mistrust; suspicion' (*suspicere* 'look up at; admire; suspect')

UNION [1432–50] *ūniō* [c4 Marius Victorinus] 'oneness; union; unity' (*ūnīre* [Seneca] 'combine into one; unite')

3.4 *-men* (> E *-men*/pl. *-mina*) 'means, instrument, result'

While *-men* is formally and functionally related to *-mentum* (LG i § 326), the latter will be treated separately for reasons stated in § 3.5. For the relationship, Perrot (1961) lists some 238 *-men* and 307 *-mentum* constructs, including 132 doublets, but mentions that the numbers are larger when one includes the

CHAMPION. The *-ō/-ōn-* formations (< IE **-h₃on-*) have a possessing or characterizing meaning, e.g. *Nāsō* 'Big-nose' (*nāsus* 'nose'), *Μαραθών* 'having fennel (*μάραθον*)', *Στράβων* 'Squinter' (*στραβός* 'squinting'), etc. (Olsen 2004), but **-h₁on-* seems just as likely (IEL 118, 287).

glossaries. Of the two, *-men* has ceased to be productive since its main function was taken over by *-mentum*. Most *-men* derivatives have full grade of the root, but a few have zero grade as well; see *-mentum* below and Schumacher (2000: 114 f.).

Of the two suffixes, *-men* borrowings in English tend to be more technical, and are considerably fewer than *-ment(um)* (cf. Johnson 1931: § 89). Not all *-men* formations are deverbal or deradical, but it is convenient to list them all in one place.

ABDOMEN [1541] *abdōmen* 'belly; paunch' (perhaps *ab* + **dhoh$_1$-men-* 'the part placed away or concealed' [**dheh$_1$-*]; cf. *abdere* 'conceal' RPIEL 147 f.)
ACUMEN [1531] *acūmen* 'sharpness, keenness' (*acuere* 'sharpen')
ALBUMEN [1599] *albūmen* [Pliny] 'white of an egg' (*album* 'the colour white')
BITUMEN [1460] *bitūmen* 'pitch' (< **g^{w}etu-mn̥* < Gaulish **g^{w}etu- /betu-* 'birch (resin)', borrowed via a dialect that changes **g^w* to *b* [**g^{w}et-*[1]] DLG 16; EWAia i. 564)
(CULMINATE [1647]) *columen/culmen* 'pillar; summit' (*(ex)cell-e-re* 'rise (up)')
FLUME [*c.*1175] < OF *flum* [c12[b]] 'river' < L *flūmen* 'river' (*fluere* 'to flow')
FORAMEN [1671] 'aperture; perforation' (e.g. in bone) *forāmen* [NL] < L 'aperture; hole' (*forāre* 'to bore' [**bher-*[2]])
GLUTEN [1597] 'plant protein used as an adhesive and flour substitute' *glūten* 'glue' [**gleu-/*glei-*, possible extensions of **gel-*])
GRAMEN [n.d.] (cf. *graminivorous* [1739]) *grāmen* 'grass; plant; herb' [**gras-* 'devour' = **gres-*[1] LIV 192]; incorrect **ghrh$_1$-s-mn̥* HLFL 103)
LEAVEN [1340] < OF *levain* < L *levāmen* 'alleviation'; VL 'that which raises' (*levāre* 'to raise' [**leg^{w}h-*])
LUMEN [1873] *lūmen* 'light; radiance' (< **leuks-men-* [**leuk-* 'light; brightness'])
NOMEN [1638]/COGNOMEN [1809]/etc. *nōmen* ['means to know'] 'name' (*nōscere* '(get to) know')[2]
NUMEN [1495 Trevisa] *nūmen* 'a nod; divine power; divinity' (*(ad)-nuere* 'nod assent (to)' [**neu-*[2] 'to nod'])

[2] Roman folk etymology. The usual reconstruction is **h$_3$neh$_3$mn* (e.g. Schrijver 1991: 24) or **h$_1$no(h$_3$)-mn̥* (AHDR 59); cf. G *ὄνομα* 'name'. Meier-Brügger et al. (2000: 275) makes **hneh$_3$-men-* a derivative from the verb **hneh$_3$-* in G *ὄνομαι* 'blame' (**h$_2$neh$_3$-* in LIV 282) . While the etymology of *cognōmen* /co(n)gnōmen/is disputed, it is generally taken to belong with *nōmen* and to reflect contamination with *(g)nō-scere* '(get to) know' (cf. LG i: 188, 371; Sihler 1995: 65), as Varro indicates also for *nōmen* (cf. Sihler 2000: 86).

OMEN [1582] *ōmen* 'foreshadowing sign; prognostic' < **h₂éh₃-(s)mn̥* [**ō-* 'believe; hold as true' = **h₂eh₃-* LIV 258])
POLLEN [1523] *pollen* 'finely ground flour; powder' [**pel-*¹ 'dust; flour']
REGIMEN [*c.*1400] 'government rule/control; systematic procedure; diet' *regimen* 'control' (*regere* 'direct; rule' [**h₃reǵ-*])
RUMEN [a1400, 1728] *rūmen* [Festus] 'enlargement of the gullet in which food is stored; the first 'stomach' in a ruminant' (no Latin base [etym. obscure DELL 1025])
SEMEN [1398] *sēmen* ['means for sowing'] 'seed'; ['result of sowing'] 'shoot; germ' < **seh₁-mn̥* (*serere* < **si-sh₁-* [**seh₁-* 'to sow, plant'] cf. perfect 1sg *sē-vī* 'I have sown' HLFL 37; IEL 209)
SPECIMEN [1610] *specimen* ['means for examining'] 'evidence; sample' (*spec-e-re* 'observe; examine' [**(s)peḱ-*])
STAMEN [1650] (ME *stamin* [?a1200 'coarse cloth')/STAMINA [a1676] *stāmen*/pl. *stāmina* ['means for standing'] 'thread(s)'[3] (*stāre* 'to stand' [**stā-* = **steh₂-*])
TEGMEN [1807] 'covering, integument' (e.g. of a seed) *tegmen* [Botanical Latin] < L *tegimen* 'covering; cover' (*tegere* 'cover; roof over' [**(s)teg-*])
VELAMEN [1882] 'membranous integument; velum' *vēlāmen* 'covering' (*vēlāre* 'to cover' < *vēlum* 'covering; sail' < **weg-s-lo-* [**weg-*¹ 'weave a web'])
VOLUME [a1382 Wyclif] *volūmen* ['result of rolling up'] 'roll; scroll; book' (*volvere* 'roll' < **wel-w-* [**wel-*³ 'turn, roll'])

3.5 *-men-tum* (> E *-ment(um)*) 'means, instrument, result'

Historically, *-mentum* is sometimes considered an enlargement of *-men* of Indo-European date (LG i. 371). As mentioned in § 3.4, numerous doublets existed, such as *reg-i-men*/*reg-i-mentum* 'rule'. Syntactically, however, *-mentum* shares more with G *-μα*/*-ματ-*, from **-mn̥* (*-mn̥-t-*) (IEL 209), than with L *-men* (Sandoz 1994: 328). Apart from rare deadjectivals, such as *rudīmentum* RUDIMENT [1548] (*rudis* 'unwrought; crude; RUDE'), most of the examples are deverbal. On *elementum* ELEMENT see *elementary* (§ 4.4.2).

[3] From 'means for standing' derives 'threads of (human) life' (> E *stamina*) and the 'stamen' of the lily. For the metaphor, cf. *weave a destiny* and the Fates: *Clotho* 'spinster' (G *κλώθ − ειν* 'to spin'), *Lachesis* 'disposer of lots' (G *λάχ − ειν* 'to obtain by lot'), who measured the thread, and *Atropos* (G *ἄ − τροπος* 'unturning; inflexible, inexorable'), who cut the thread. Her name 'refers to the irreversibility of what has been spun' (Giannakis 1998a: i.2). The idea of 'thread(s)' was further extended in Latin to include 'strings of an instrument', 'fibres of wood', and finally 'cloth' and its finished product 'garment'.

From the English point of view, the Latin doublets are not equivalent: *regimen* is not the same as *regiment*, *tegmen* is not the same as *tegument*, and so on. As usual, the early borrowings entered English via (Anglo-)French, which accounts for the form *-ment* (cf. Koziol 1972: § 580).

The earliest application to a native English base is Wyclifite *onement* [*c.*1395] 'union'; cf. *atonement* [1513]. Prior to that, *-ment* occurred mostly on Romance bases, e.g. *chastisement* [a1225], or occasionally, Scandinavian, e.g. *eggment* 'instigation' (*Cursor mundi* [*c.*1340]) (cf. OIce *eggja* 'to incite, EGG'). Most of the subsequent examples are also on Romance bases; cf. *increasement* [1389], *endowment* [*c.*1460]. Middle English examples of *-ment* on English bases are rare, e.g. *cursement* (Piers Plowman [?a1387]), or late, e.g. *hangment* (*Promptorium parvulorum* [*c.*1440]). Shortly after Middle English, one finds *wonderment* [1535], *settlement, shipment, bewilderment*, etc. (Gadde 1910: 70–87). The suffix *-ment* enjoyed relative productivity in two periods: (1) early c17; (2) early c19. After that, it 'tails off rapidly in the twentieth century; from 1950 onwards the dictionary [= the OED] lists only one appropriate word: *underlayment* from 1956' (Bauer 2001: 8). Bauer's chart (p. 9) indicates that the main peak of productivity was between 1551 and 1600. This is not surprising. Bauer (2001: ch. 6) shows that several nominalization suffixes were in competition in c17, when 'ink-horn terms were deliberately introduced into English to raise the status of the language . . . Latinate-sounding nominalisations were thus in particular demand, with French not far behind' (Bauer 2001: 183). The subsequent decline of *-ment* correlates with the rise in productivity of *-ation* (Bauer 2001: 184). The absence of **breakment, *killment,* and the like shows that *-ment* never became totally productive in English.

The major domain of *-ment* is to verbs in *-ish*: *accomplishment, admonishment, banishment, blandishment, establishment, nourishment, punishment, refurbishment*, etc. But even here, *-ment* occasionally yields to other suffixes, e.g. *diminishment* to *diminution*, *distinguishment* to *distinction*, *publishment* to *publication* (Bauer 2001: 138).

3.5.1 *Borrowings into English*

In the following list (cf. Gadde 1910: 122–43; Johnson 1931: § 91; Marchand 1969: 331 f.), forms that are exclusively (Anglo-)French are ignored.[4]

[4] These include *accusement* [Ch.], *advisement* [*c.*1330], *amendement* [*c.*1230], *appareillement/apparelment* [*c.*1325], *chasti(s)ement* [a1225], *commandment* [*c.*1250], *concelement* [*c.*1230], *consentment* [1292], *embushment* [*c.*1325], *enchantment* [*c.*1290], *enticement* [*c.*1303], *gar(ne)ment* [?a1300], *government* [Ch.], *hardiment* [Ch.], *intendment* [Ch.], *ointment* [*c.*1300], *orpiment* [*c.*1395], *punishment* [*c.*1385], *refreshment* [1387–8], etc. (cf. Ciszek 2004, 2005).

ALIMENT [1477] 'food' *alimentum* 'nutriment; sustenance; fuel' (*alere* 'nurture')

ARGUMENT [*c.*1320] *argūmentum* ['means to clarify or prove an assertion'] 'evidence; proof; deduction' (*arguere* 'reveal; prove; affirm' ARGUE)

ARMAMENT [1699] *armāmenta* (pl.) 'implements; equipment' (*armāre* 'equip; ARM')

AUGMENT [*c.*1400] *augmentum* ['process or result of increasing'] 'increase; increment' (*augēre* 'to increase')

CEMENT [*c.*1300] *caementum* (< **caedimentum*) ['result of cutting'] 'small stones, rubble (for making concrete)' (*caedere* 'to cut')

COMPARTMENT [1564] *compartīmentum* [LL] 'division' (*compartīrī* [LL] 'share; divide')

COMPLEMENT [1398] *complēmentum* 'something that fills out or completes' (*complēre* 'fill (out); complete')

CONDIMENT [*c.*1420] *condīmentum* 'seasoning; spice' (*condīre* 'to flavour, preserve, pickle')

DELIRAMENT [*c.*1440] 'frenzy; craze' *dēlīrāmentum* 'delusion; nonsense' (*dēlīrāre* 'be mad')

DETRIMENT [a1440] *dētrīmentum* 'material reduction; damage; loss' (*dēterere* 'wear down; rub away; pound; grind' [**terh$_1$*-[1] 'rub; bore' = LIV 632])

DOCUMENT [*c.*1450] *documentum* 'example; instruction' (*docēre* 'teach')

EMOLUMENT [1480] *ēmolumentum* ['mill output'] 'advantage; profit' (*ēmolere* 'grind out')

EXCREMENT [1533] *excrēmentum* [Columella] 'refuse', [Pliny] 'excrement' (*excernere/excrētum* [Vitruvius] 'sift out; separate', [Celsus] 'excrete'; cf. Olsen 2003: 245)

EXPERIMENT [1362] *experīmentum* 'means of testing; experiment' (*experīrī* 'test; try (out)')

FERMENT noun [1420]/verb [1398 Trevisa] (cf. FERMENTATION [Ch.]) *fermentum* 'process of fermentation; ferment' (cf. *fervēre* 'boil' [**bhreu-* 'boil' = **bherw-* LIV 81] RPIEL 255)

FIGMENT [1432–50] 'fabrication of the imagination' *figmentum* [Quintilian, Gellius, Apuleius] 'invention; image' (*fingere* 'fashion; invent' [**dheigh-* 'form, knead, build'])

FILAMENT [1594] *fīlāmentum* [Paul. Fest.] 'narrow piece of cloth; fillet' (*fīlāre* [Arnobius] 'spin', a late replacement of *nēre* 'id.' DELL 418, from *fīlum* 'thread' < **g^{w}hih-slo-* [**g^{w}hī-* = **g^{w}hih-* 'thread, tendon'])

FIRMAMENT [*c.*1250] *firmāmentum* 'strong support'; EL 'the fixed sky' (*firmāre* 'make firm')

FOMENT [1540] 'fomentation' (verb [1611] 'apply fomentations to', [1622] 'instigate' *fōmentāre* [c4] 'stir up') *fōmentum* 'warm application; alleviation' < **fovimentum* RPIEL 277 f. (*fovēre* 'keep warm; cherish' < **dhog^{w}h-éye-* [**dheg^{w}h-* 'burn, warm'])

FRAGMENT [1531] *fragmentum* ['result of breaking'] 'piece broken off; remnant' (*frangere* 'break' < ?**bhr̥-n-g-* [**bhreg-* 'break' = LIV 91])

FRUMENT [*c.*1440 Lydgate] 'corn' *frūmentum* 'grain; produce' < **frūg-s-mento-* (cf. *fruī* 'enjoy', *frūx/frūg-* 'crop' [**bhrūg-* = ?**bhreuhg-* LIV 96: Italic and Germanic root])

FUNDAMENT [*c.*1290] *fundāmentum* 'substructure; foundation' (*fundāre* 'to ground, base, lay the foundation', from *fundus* 'bottom, base' < **bhudh-nó-* [**bhudh-* 'id.'] HLFL 121 f.)

IMPEDIMENT [1398 Trevisa]/pl. IMPEDIMENTA [1600] *impedīmentum* 'hindrance; obstacle'; pl. 'baggage; impedimenta' (*impedīre* 'obstruct; IMPEDE' [1605] lit. 'put (sthg.) on the foot' [**ped-*[1]]; cf. *imprison/incarcerate* 'put in prison (*carcer*)' LG i. 564; Miller 2005*a*)

IMPLEMENT [1454] *implēmentum* [c4/5] 'a filling up; supplement' (*implēre* 'fill up')

INCREMENT [*c.*1420] *incrēmentum* 'development; addition; increase' (*incrēscere* 'to increase')

INDUMENT [1494] 'garment, vesture', [1578] 'integument' *indūmentum* [c–1 Bassus] 'robe, garment' (*ind-uere* 'put on', from *ind-* [**en-do* 'in'] + [**eu-* 'dress' = **h$_2$euh-* LIV 275])

INSTRUMENT [*c.*1300] *īnstrūmentum* ['means for constructing'] 'equipment; tools; means; implement; instrument' (*īnstruere* 'build; construct' [**ster-* 'spread' = **streu-* LIV 605])

INTEGUMENT [*c.*1611] 'outer coating; coat' (of a seed, animal skin, etc.) *integumentum* '(protective) covering; shield; guard; wrapping' (*integere* 'to cover; overlay')

JUDG(E)MENT [a1225] < OF *jugement* [1080 *Roland*]; cf. ML *jūdicāmentum* (*jūdicāre* 'judge')

LAMENT [1530] (cf. LAMENTATION [a1382]) *lāmenta* (pl.) 'wailing; groans' (cf. *lātrāre* 'bark (at); cry out' [**leh$_2$-* LIV 400; not in AHDR]; see also RPIEL 142, 170, 278)

LAVAMENT [1597] 'a washing' *lavāmentum* [Pseudo-Jerome, *Epist.*] 'id.' (*lavāre* 'wash' § 6.3)

LIBAMENT [1582] 'libation' *lībāmentum* [Varro] 'sacrificial offering; sip' (*lībāre* 'pour a libation' [**lei-* 'flow' = **leih-*[2] 'pour' LIV 405 f.] generally considered parallel to G *λείβ-ειν* 'pour in drops; shed tears; pour a libation' DELG 627; DELL 633 f.; LG i. 61; Sihler 1995: 53; Baldi 1999: 266; AHDR 47,

but LIV 406 makes *lībāre* a borrowing from Greek, where the *-b-* is accounted for from *ϵἴβ-ϵιν* 'let fall (in drops), shed tears' < **seib-* [**seib-* 'pour out' = LIV 521] with loss of initial **h* in East Ionic/epic dialect)

LIGAMENT [*c.*1400] *ligāmentum* [c1] 'bandage' (*ligāre* 'fasten; bind' [**leiǵ-* 'bind'])

LINEAMENT [1432] 'distinctive shape, contour, outline', [1513] 'feature' *līneāmentum* 'line'; pl. 'outlines; features' (*līneāre* 'make straight' < *līnea* 'line' [**lino-* 'flax'])

LINIMENT [*c.*1420] *linīmentum* [c4 Palladius] 'smearing substance; grease' (*linere* '(be)smear; anoint' < **h₂li-n-h-* [**(s)lei-* 'slimy' = **h₂leih-* 'smear' LIV 277])

MEDICAMENT [?1440] *medicāmentum* 'curative substance' (*medicāre* 'cure; heal' [**med-*])

MOMENT [Ch., Wyclif]/MOMENTUM [OE] 'fortieth part of an hour', [1699] 'quantity of motion' *mōmentum* 'movement; impulse; minute quantity; instant, moment', [c4/5] 'fortieth part of an hour' < **movimentum* RPIEL 278 (*movēre* MOVE; see *movement*)

MONUMENT [?a1200] 'commemorative structure', [*c.*1280] 'tomb', [1594] 'memorial statue' *monumentum* ['means to preserve remembrance'] 'memorial' (*monēre* 'warn; remind')

MOVEMENT [Ch.] < OF *movement* [c12]; cf. ML *movimentum*, both from VL **movimentum* with restored root form; cf. *moment* above (*movēre* MOVE [a1121 Peterborough Chron])

NOCUMENT [?a1425] 'harm, damage' *nocumentum* [c1/2 Ignatius] 'injury' (*nocēre* 'harm')

NUTRIMENT [?a1425] *nūtrīmentum* 'that which feeds or sustains; nourishment' (*nūtrīre* 'suckle; nourish; nurture' < **sneu-tr-ih₂-* LIV 574; § 3.7)

ORNAMENT [?a1200] *ōrnāmentum* 'accoutrements; adornment; ornament' (*ōrnāre* 'prepare; equip; adorn, decorate' < **ōrd(i)nā-* [**ōrd-* Italic root AHDR 60])

PAVEMENT [*c.*1250] < OF *pavement* [1150] < L *pavīmentum* 'paved surface' (*pavīre* 'pound; ram down; tamp' < **pawiye-* < **pyawiye-* < **pya(h₂)-u-* [**pau-* [2]/**peh₂u-* 'cut, strike, stamp' = **pyeh₂-* 'strike' LIV 481 f.])

PIGMENT [a1387] (cf. PIMENT [1150] 'sweetened wine' = OF *piment* [c12]) *pigmentum* 'colouring matter (paint, dye); tint', [c4] 'juice of a plant; a drug', [c11] 'spiced wine' (*pingere* 'paint, tint, colour' < **pi-n-g-* [**peig-* [1]/**peiḱ-* 'cut' = **peig-* [1] 'paint' LIV 464])

PREDICAMENT [a1382 Wyclif] (= MF *predicament* [c13]) *praedicāmentum* [Marius Victorinus, Augustine, Boethius] = Aristotelian

κατηγορία 'predication; quality; category' (*praedicāre* 'declare; cite; describe' < **-dik-eh₂-ye/o-* [**deik-/*deig-* 'show'])

PURGEMENT [1483 Caxton] 'purgation'/PURGAMENT [1597] 'excrement' *pūrgāmentum* [Varro] 'means of cleansing', [Livy] 'something cleaned away' (*pūrgāre* PURGE § 6.6.1)

REGIMENT [1390] *regimentum* [Festus] = *regimen* 'control', [Charisius, Ammianus Marcellinus, Boethius] 'direction for government' (*regere* 'direct; rule' [**reg-/*h₃reg-*])

RUDIMENT [1584] *rudīmentum* [Imperial period: *Ciris* 45] 'first lessons; early training', [Gellius] 'initial stage; first beginnings' (*rudis* 'natural, unfinished; crude; RUDE' [?*c.*1300]; *elementum* served as model for *rudīmentum* [etym. unknown DELL 1022])

SACRAMENT [*c.*1175] *sacrāmentum* 'oath sworn in vindication of one's claims; money staked in support of those claims; oath of allegiance'; [Tertullian] 'religious rite; sacrament (the Eucharist, baptism, marriage)'; [c3 Cyprian] 'the sacramental wine' (*sacrāre* 'consecrate; bind with an oath; hallow; sanctify' [**sak-* 'sanctify'])

SEDIMENT [1547] *sedimentum* [Pliny] 'a subsidence' (*sedēre* 'sit; settle' [**sed-* 'sit'])

SEGMENT [1570] *segmentum* [Ovid] 'decorative piece attached to a garment', [Ovid, Pliny] 'piece removed by cutting; section; segment' < **sek-mento-* < **seka-mento-* < **sekh₍₂₎-m(e)n-(to)-* (*secāre* 'sever; cut' [**sek-* 'cut' = **sekh-* LIV 524] HLFL 121)

SENTIMENT [Ch.] OF *sentement* [c12] < ML *sentīmentum* 'opinion; feeling; perception; sensibility; sentiment' (*sentīre* 'feel; perceive; experience; think' [**sent-* 'go' or (?) a separate root **sent-* LIV 533])

SUPPLEMENT [a1382 Wyclif] *supplēmentum* [Cicero, Caesar] 'recruiting, reinforcement' (military term), [Vitruvius] 'addition to make up a whole' (*supplēre* [Cicero] 'fill up')

TEGUMENT [*c.*1440] *teg(u/i)mentum* 'a covering or protection' (*tegere* 'to cover; conceal')

TEMPERAMENT [?a1412] (modern sense [1821]) *temperāmentum* 'mixture in due proportion; blend; compromise; moderation' (*temperāre* 'mix properly; modify; exercise restraint')

TENEMENT [1315] 'land holding', [*c.*1425] 'habitation, abode' < AF *tenement* [1292] 'held property' < OF [c12] 'possession, property' < ML *tenēmentum* [1081] 'feudal estate; land holding; precinct' (*tenēre* 'hold; keep; maintain' [**ten-* 'stretch' = LIV 626 f.])

TESTAMENT [*c.*1300] *testāmentum* 'a will, testament' (*testārī* 'call to witness; testify to; make a will in the presence of witnesses', from *testis* 'witness'; see *testimony* § 2.5.2)

TORMENT [*c.*1290] *tormentum* 'instrument for twisting or made by twisting (e.g. rope, cable), winding up (catapult), or torturing; mental or physical pain, agony' < **tork-mento-* < **tork*^{w}*-m(e)nto-* (*torquēre* 'twist tightly; wind (up); distort; torment; torture' < causative **tork*^{w}*-éye-* [**terk*^{w}- 'twist' = LIV 635] Sihler 1995: 230; HLFL 122)

VESTMENT [?a1200] (cf. OF *vestemente* [1277]) *vestīmentum* 'clothing; garment' (*vestīre* 'clothe' < **westi-ye/o-*, denominal to *vestis* 'garb, garment' [**wes-*^{4} 'clothe' = **wes-*^{1} LIV 692 f.] HLFL 194; cf. Sihler 1995: 183)

3.6 Instrument nouns

1. *-bulum/-bula (> E -b(u)lum/-ble)*
2. **-bro-*/**-bra-* (> E *-brum/-bra*)
3. **-culo-* (> E *-culum/-cule/-cle)* /**-cro-* [*with /l/in stem*] (> E *-crum/-cre)*
4. **-tro-*/**-tra-* (> E *-trum/-tra/-ter)*

The Greek alternations between agentive *-τήρ*, instrumental *-τρ-ον*, and locational *-τήρ-ιον* (Miller 1993: 69, w. lit) render it probable that the original form of the instrumental suffix was **-tr-o-* with **-tl-o-* by dissimilation (cf. Brugmann 1906: 2/i. 339 ff.; IEL 288; B. Nielsen 1998, 2004). Another hypothesis is that the basic form in Indo-European was **-tlo-* (LG i. 231; Olsen 1990; Meiser 1998: 127), with environmentally conditioned **–dhlo-* and (with /l/in the stem) **-tro-* (**-dhro-*), but there are problems for all accounts (cf. Sihler 1995: 200 f.). In any event, the alternants **-dhr-o-*/**-dhl-o-* are generally agreed to be due to Bartholomae's Law (cf. Miller 1977*b*; Mayrhofer 1986: 116; IEL 138).

From these alternants and **-lo-* (§§ 5.3, 5.3.2) sprang a large amount of polymorphy in Latin (LG i § 285; Serbat 1975; B. Nielsen 1998, 2004). Additionally, there was considerable plurifunctionality. Means and location were assimilated to the prototypical instrument semantics. For the syncretism, cf. *blender, planter,* etc. (Miller 1993: 68–71). Most of the examples are deverbal, but each alternant attests rare denominals. Denominals in **-bulum/-brum* are more numerous than those in *-culum/-crum.*

3.6.1 *-bulum/-bula (> E -b(u)lum/-ble)*

Early Latin had twenty-two *-bulum/-bula* words (Serbat 1975: 14). Most of the English borrowings (cf. Johnson 1931: § 91 ff.) existed in the early period of Latin (unspecified in the list below). Those in *-ble* are via (Anglo-)French.

FABLE [?a1300] *fābula* 'talk; report; account; fictitious story' < **bheh*$_{2}$*-dhleh*$_{2}$- (*fārī* 'speak' [**bhā-*^{2}/**bheh*$_{2}$-] Baldi 1999: 304)

FIBULA [1673] *fībula* 'clasp; brooch' (= 'instrument for fixing'; cf. Serbat 1975: 373) < **fīvibula* (Sommer 1977: 127; RPIEL 281) or **fī(g)bula* < **dhihg^{w}-dhleh$_{2}$-* (OL *fīvere* [Paul. Fest.] = *fīgere* 'fix; fasten' (with analogical *-g-*) < **dhihg^{w}-e-* [**dhīg^{w}-* 'stick, fix' = **dheihg^{w}-* LIV 142] DELL 413, 416 f., HLFL 208; Baldi 1999: 279 f.)

INFUNDIBULUM [1706] 'funnel-shaped organ' [NL] < L *īnfundibulum* 'funnel' (*īnfundere* 'pour in/into/on' < **ǵhu-n-d-* [**ǵheu-/*ǵheu-d-* 'pour' = LIV 179 f.])

LATIBULUM [n.d.] *latibulum* [Cicero] 'hiding place; lair, den' (*latēre* 'hide; lurk' < **lh$_{2}$-t-éh$_{1}$-* denominal to **lh$_{2}$-tó-* [**leh$_{2}$-*^{3} LIV 401])

MANDIBLE [?a1425]/MANDIBULA [1704] *mandibula* [Tertullian] 'jawbone' = 'instrument for chewing' (*mandere* 'chew; bite' < **maten-e/o-* < **mat-n-h$_{2}$-* [**meth$_{2}$-* LIV 442 f.; cf. **mendh-*^{2} 'chew' AHDR] HLFL 213)

PAB(U)LUM [1661] *pābulum* 'fodder; sustenance' (= 'means for feeding') (< **peh$_{2}$-dhlo-*; cf. *pāscere* 'to feed; pasture' [**pā-* = **peh$_{2}$-* 'protect; feed'])

(PATIBULARY [1646] 'relating to the gallows') *patibulum* 'fork-shaped yoke to which criminals were fastened' (*patēre* 'be open, exposed, visible' [**peth$_{2}$-* 'spread'])

STABLE [?*c.*1225] *stabulum* 'stall' = 'standing device: means to shelter (domestic animals)' < **steh$_{2}$-tlo-m* by laryngeal metathesis Olsen 2003: 240 (see § 5.1.1.1), or **sth$_{2}$-dhlo-* with zero grade of the root Serbat 1975: 374 (*stāre* 'to stand; house' [**stā-* = **steh$_{2}$-* 'stand'])

(SUBULATE [1752] 'awl-shaped; slender and tapering') *sūbula* [c1] 'cobbler's awl' < **syuh-dhleh$_{2}$-* 'sewing instrument' (*suere* 'stitch; sew; suture' < **syuh-ye/o-* [**s(y)ū-* 'bind; sew' = **syewh-/*syuh-* LIV 545] HLFL 194, 227)

TABLE [a900] *tabula* '(vertical) board; plank; tablet' (possibly **(s)th$_{2}$-dhleh$_{2}$-* 'standing device', an *s*-movable doublet to STABLE Southern 2000)

TINTINNABULUM [1398] 'bell; jingling toy' *tintin(n)ābulum* 'bell' (*tintin(n)āre* 'ring; jangle', reduplicated form of *tinnīre* 'ring, clang' [onomatopoeic root DELL 1222 f.])

(TRIBULATION [*c.*1225] < LL [Cyprian] *trībulātiō,* nominalization of *trībulāre* 'to press') *trībulum* 'threshing sledge' (cf. *trītus* 'separated; threshed' PPP of *terere* 'rub' [**terh$_{1}$-*])

VESTIBULE [1623]/VESTIBULUM [1662] *vestibulum* 'forecourt' (traditionally derived from **vero-stabulum* 'door standing-place', sceptical DELL 1289, resurrected by Southern 2000: 118, but the *vestibulum* was separate from the house, and a long tradition is documented by Serbat (1975: 50–4) for it being the place where animals range freely and eat; he therefore derives it from **wes-ti-dhlo-* [**wes-*^{5} 'eat' = **wes-*^{3} LIV 693 f.])

VOCABLE [1530] *vocābulum* 'designation; name' = 'means for calling/naming' (*vocāre* 'call; summon; name' < **wok^w-eh$_2$- ye/o-* denominal to *vōx/vōc-* 'voice', Italic **wōk-s/*wok^w-* [**wek^w-* 'speak' = LIV 673] HLFL 189; Sihler 1995: 118, 165)

Denominal

INCUNABULUM [1824] *incūnābulum* [NL] for L pl. *incūnābula* 'apparatus of the cradle; birthplace' (*cūnae* 'cradle; one's earliest years' < **kói-neh$_2$-* [**kei-*[1] 'lie' = LIV 320] Serbat 1975: 43 ff.; despite LG i. 314, there is no verb **incūnāre* to underly *incūnābulum*)

3.6.2 **-bro-/*-bra-* (> E *-brum/-bra*) (Serbat 1975: 90–137)

CRIBRI*form* [1741] 'perforated like a sieve' *crībrum* 'sieve' (**kréih$_1$-dhro-*; cf. *cernere* 'sift; separate; discern' [**krei-* 'sieve; discriminate' = **kreh$_1$(y)-* LIV 366 f.] cf. *certify* § 6.4.2)

DELUBRUM [1665] 'temple; (church with) font' *dēlūbrum* 'sanctuary' possibly < **-luh$_3$-dhro-* (*dēluere* 'wash away' [**leuh$_3$-* 'wash' LIV 418] disputed by Serbat 1975: 115 ff.)

DOLABRA [n.d.] *dolābra* [Livy] 'mattock; pickaxe' (with *ā* from the verb) < **dolabra* < **delh$_1$-dhreh$_2$-* (*dolāre* 'hew; chop' < **delaye-* < **delh$_1$-ye-* [**delh$_1$-* 'split' LIV 114])

FLABELLUM [1867] 'fan; fan-shaped part' *flābellum* '(little) fan' dim. § 2.9.3 of (pl.) *flābra* [Lucretius] 'gust, blast (of wind)' < **bhleh$_1$-dhro-* (*flāre* 'blow' [**bhleh$_1$-* 'howl'])

ILLECEBRACEAE [n.d.] (cf. ILLECEBROUS [1531]) the family of herbaceous weeds [NL] < L *illecebra* 'means of attraction, allurement, enticement' (*illicere* 'attract; lure; entice', from *in* 'in' + *lacere* [Paul. Fest.] 'entice, inveigle'; cf. *lax* [Paul. Fest.] 'fraud', a very important Latin root **lak-/*lak^w-* [etym. unknown] DELL 617 ff.; RPIEL 87)

LIBRA [Ch.] *lībra* 'pound; balance; scales' < **tlei-dhrā* 'instrument for lifting' Serbat 1975: 128 (cf. *tollere* 'pick up; raise; hoist' < **tl̥-n-h$_2$-* [**telh$_2$-* LIV 622]; usually claimed to be a Mediterranean word **līþrā* [**līthrā* AHDR 49] borrowed also into G λίτρα 'silver coin of Sicily' LITRE (see DELG 644; Sihler 1995: 139; Biville 1990–5: ii. 493), but an early Italic **(t)leiþrā* > **līþrā* could equally have been borrowed from Sicily into Greek)

PALPEBRA [1634] *palpebra* 'eyelid'; pl. 'eyelashes' (**palpere*; cf. intensive *palpāre* 'stroke; caress' supposedly < partially reduplicated **ph$_2$l-ph$_2$-* [**pāl-* = **peh$_2$l-* 'touch; feel'])

TEREBRA [1611] 'member of the genus Terebra (turreted marine univalves; the auger shells)' *terebra* 'instrument for boring holes; drill' (*terere* 'rub; wear away' [*$terh_1$- LIV 632])

VERTEBRA [1615] *vertebra* [Augustan period] 'joint; joint of the spinal chord; vertebra' ['something on which to turn'] (*vertere* 'to turn' [**wer-t-* 'turn'])

Denominal

CANDELABRUM (pl. -BRA)/CANDELABRA (pl. -BRAS) [1815] *candēlābrum* 'stand for holding candles or lamps' (*candēla* CANDLE [OE] Wollmann 1990: 174 < **k(e)nd-eh$_1$-leh$_2$-* [**kand-*/**kend-* 'shine' = **(s)kend-*[2] LIV 554] Serbat 1975: 111; RPIEL 428)

3.6.3 *-culo- (> E -culum/-cule/-cle)/*-cro- (> E -crum/-cre)

Most of the deverbals in *-culo-/*-cro- (Serbat 1975: 138–302) are built on stem I (cf. Serbat 1975: 293). The *-cro- alternant occurs when the stem contains /l/. Latin tended to generalize -*culum* to more recent derivatives, and later -*āculum* became the productive alternant. As usual, the older borrowings in English are via (Anglo-)French.

*3.6.3.1 *-cro-*

AMBULACRUM [1837] 'perforation through which the tube feet or tentacles of an echinoderm are protruded and withdrawn' [NL] < L *ambulācrum* 'place for walking; walk; promenade' (*ambulāre* 'to walk'; see *ambulatory* § 5.6.1)

FULCRUM [1674] *fulcrum* 'bedpost; support of a couch' generally derived from **fulc-tro-* LG i. 313; Serbat's **fulc-lo-* (p. 265) can be analysed as an instrument noun in *-*ro-* like *flāgrum* 'whip' Baldi 1999: 304 (*fulcīre* 'hold up; support' < **bhl̥k-yé-* [IE dialectal **bhelg-*/**bhelk-* 'plank, beam' = ?**bhelk-* 'support' LIV 74] HLFL 194)

INVOLUCRE [1578]/INVOLUCRUM [a1677] 'membranous covering; calyx-like flower cluster' [NL] < L *involūcrum* 'wrapper; cover; envelope' (*involvere* 'roll along; coil up; enclose; wrap up; envelop', from *in* 'in' + *volvere* 'roll' < **w(e)l-u-e/o-* [**wel-*[3] 'turn, roll' = **wel-*[2] LIV 675] HLFL 84, 93; for the root alternation **wél-u-*/**wl-u-* see § 5.4)

LUCRE [Ch.] 'money; profits' *lucrum* 'material gain; profit' < **lu-tlo-* = result of the process Serbat 1975: 146 ff., 374 ([**lau-* = **lh$_2$eu-* 'gain'])

SEPULCHRE [?a1200] *sepulcrum* 'tomb' < **sep(e)l-tro-* Serbat 1975: 205 f.; cf. **sep(e)l-to-* > *sepultus* 'buried' (*sepelīre* 'bury' < **sep-el-ye/o-* [**sep-* 'handle (skilfully); hold reverently' = LIV 534] HLFL 195; Sihler 1995: 624)

SIMULACRE [*c.*1375] (= OF *simulacre* [c12^{e}])/SIMULACRUM [1599] 'image; representation' *simulācrum* 'likeness; visual representation; image' < **simulā-tlo-* HLFL 127 (*simulāre* 'pretend; simulate', from *similis* 'like' < **semili-* < **semali-* < **semh$_2$-li-* [**sem-*[1] 'one'; more specifically **semh$_2$-* 'like' HLFL 176, w. lit] HLFL 81, 151, 177)

*3.6.3.2 *-culo-*

ADMINICLE [1556] 'help, auxiliary; corroborative legal proof' *adminic(u)lum* 'supporting device (pole, stake); support, prop, pillar' (**adminēre*; cf. *ēminēre* 'stick out; project' [**men-*[2] 'project'])

BACULI*form* (cf. *baculine* [1710]) 'rod-shaped' *baculum* 'rod; walking stick; staff' (**bak-tlo-* LG i. 153, but see Serbat 1975: 265 ff.; RPIEL 100: **bak-(k)elo-*; cf. G *βάκτρον* 'staff; stick' [IE dialectal **bak-*] possibly a European or Mediterranean substratum word Beekes 2000: 27)

CUBICLE [1483] *cubiculum* 'bedroom' (cf. supine *cubi-tum* to intensive *cubāre* 'lie down; recline' Serbat 1975: 293; HLFL 225 < **kubh$_2$-eh$_1$-ye-* [?**keubh$_2$-* LIV 357 f., not in AHDR] Steinbauer 1989: 61)

CURRICULUM [1633] *curriculum* 'event of running; course (of the heavenly bodies); race' (*currere* 'run' < **kr̥s-é-* [**kers-*/**ḱers-* 'run' = LIV 355] HLFL 63, 191)

DIVERTICULUM [1647] †'byway; means of exit', [1819] 'pouch; sac' *dīverticulum* [NL] < EL/ML *dīverticulum* 'diversion; pastime' < L *dēverticulum* 'bypath; deviation; digression' (*dēvertere* 'turn away; divert' < *dē* (later *dis-* Bader 1962: 49 f.) + *vertere* 'turn' [**wer-t-* 'id.'])

HABITACLE [a1382]/HABITACULUM [n.d.] 'habitation; alcove; niche' *habitāculum* [c2 Apuleius] 'dwelling-place' (*habitāre* 'inhabit; dwell'; see *inhabit* § 6.5.1.1)

HIBERNACULUM [1699] 'device for protecting an organism during the winter' [NL] < L *hībernāculum* 'winter quarters or accommodation' (*hībernāre* 'spend the winter', denominal to *hībernus* 'of winter' < **ǵheim-rino-* [**ǵhei-*[2]/**ǵhei-m-*/**ǵhye-m-* 'winter']; see *hibernal* § 4.5.2)

MIRACLE [?a1160] *mīrāculum* 'marvel; wonder' (*mīrārī* 'be amazed; marvel at', from *mīrus* 'wonderful' < **smei-ro-* [**smei-* 'laugh, smile' = LIV 568 f.] HLFL 112)

OBSTACLE [*c.*1340] *obstāculum* [Seneca] 'hindrance; obstruction' with productive full grade Serbat 1975: 239; contrast the isolated relic *stabulum* (*obstāre* 'stand in the way (of); block; obstruct', from *ob* 'to; against' [**epi/*opi*] + *stāre* 'stand' [**stā-*/**steh$_2$-* 'id'])

OPERCULUM [1681] 'lid; cover' *operculum* 'something that covers (lid, cap, etc.)' (*operīre* 'shut; cover' < **op-wér-ye-* [**wer-*[5] 'cover' = **hwer-* LIV 227 f.] HLFL 116, 121, 195)

ORACLE [Ch.] *ōrāc(u)lum* 'divine utterance; place of the utterance; oracle' < **ōrā-tlo-* 'place of soliciting (the gods)' HED i. 138 (*ōrāre* 'pray; beseech', its oldest meaning Panagl 1992*b*: 314 [**ōr-* 'pronounce a ritual formula' = **h₂er-*³ LIV 271])

PERIL [?a1200] (OF *peril* [c10])/PERICULUM [n.d.] (law) 'risk' *perīc(u)lum* 'trial; danger' (**per-h₁ei-tlo-* 'going-through device' > 'risking-device' [not **per-*³ AHDR, but **per-*¹ 'through' + **ei-*¹ = **h₁ei-* 'go'] Panagl 1992*b*: 317 f.; Southern 2000: 119)

(PERPENDICULAR [*c*.1391]) *perpendiculum* [Cato] 'plumbline; vertical line; perpendicular' (*perpendere* 'balance/weigh carefully; assess' [**(s)pen-* 'stretch' = **(s)pend-*² LIV 578])

(PIACULAR [1610] 'expiatory; criminal') *piāculum* 'expiatory offering; act of atonement; sin' < **pīā-tlom* < **pūyā-tlo-* (*piāre* 'propitiate; cleanse; expiate', factitive to *pius* < *pīus* < **pūyo-* < **puh-(i)yo-* [**peuh₂-* 'cleanse, purify' = **peuh-* LIV 480] LG i. 106, 187, 546; RPIEL 322 ff., HLFL 86, 123, 186; see also *purify* § 6.4.2.1, *purge* § 6.6.1)

POCULI*form* [1832] 'cup-shaped' *pōculum* 'drinking-vessel; cup' < OL *pōclum* < Italic **pōklom* < **pōtlom* < **peh₃-tlo-* (cf. Ved. *pā́tram* 'drinking-vessel' [**pō(i)-* 'drink' = **peh₃(i)-* LIV 462 f.] HLFL 89, 123)

PROPUGNACULUM [1773] *prōpugnāculum* 'bulwark; rampart' (*prōpugnāre* 'fight or act in defence' denominal to *pugnus* 'fist' [**peuk-*/**peug-* 'prick']; cf. *pugnacious* § 5.2.1)

RECEPTACLE [1412–20] *receptāculum* [Ciceronian period] 'place/instrument for storing things (container; repository; receptacle); shelter' (*receptāre* 'recover; receive', from *captāre* 'grasp at; try to capture' conative of *capere* 'take' [**kap-* 'grasp'] § 6.5; HLFL 159)

RIDICULE [1672] *rīdiculum* 'joke; jest' < **rīdi-tlo-* (*rīdēre* 'to laugh (at); mock' [etym. unknown DELL 1012])

(SECULAR [*c*.1290]) *saec(u)lum* 'lifetime; age; century' (**s(e)h₂-i-tlo-* 'that which binds' [**sai-*² 'bind; tie' = **sh₂ei-* LIV 544] RPIEL 269; HLFL 89; Baldi 1999: 189, 304 f.)

SPECTACLE [a1340] *spectāculum* 'show; spectacle' (*spectāre* 'watch; observe' intensive of *specere* 'see; look at' [**spék-* 'observe'] § 6.5)

SPECULUM [LME] (surgical instrument [1597]; mirror [1646]) *speculum* 'mirror' < ?**spék-tlo-* LG i. 153, 313 or ?**spék-ulo-* (*specere* 'see; look at; observe'; see *speculum* § 5.3.2)

SPIRACLE [1620] 'air hole'/SPIRACULUM [1668] 'hole in helmet for breathing' *spīrāculum* [Ciceronian period] 'air hole; vent' (*spīrāre* 'breathe' [?onomatopoeic root DELL 1134]; possibly from **bhs-ī-* with metathesis to *sp-ī-*, analogous to G *ψῡχή* with variant *σφυχή* 'breath' Lejeune 1972: 73; Threatte 1980: 21 < **bhs-ū-* [**bhes-*² 'breathe'] DELG 1294 f.)

UMBRACULUM [n.d.] (UMBRACULI- [1847]) 'umbrella-shaped appendage' NL < L *umbrāculum* 'shading device; shelter; parasol' (*umbrāre* 'cast a shadow; shade'; see *umbrella* § 2.9.3)

VEHICLE [1656] *vehiculum* 'wagon; wheeled vehicle' < **weǵh(e)-tlo-* 'instrument or means of transport' Serbat 1975: 171 (*vehere* 'convey; transport'; see *invective* § 5.5.1)

VINCULUM [1678] *vinc(u)lum* 'bond, chain, fetter' < *vinc-tlo-* LG i. 153 (*vincīre* 'fasten; bind' < **wi-n(e)-k-* [**wyek(w)-* LIV 696])

3.6.3.3 Denominal -culo-

PINNACLE [?a1300]/PANACHE [1584] (F *panache*) *pinnāculum* [Tertullian] 'gable'; [Vulgate] 'projecting part of a temple'; [c9] 'pinnacle'; AF 'spire; steeple' (*pinna* 'feather; wing; parapet'; cf. Serbat 1975: 208 ff.; probably a diminutive § 2.9.2)

TABERNACLE [*c.*1250] *tabernāculum* 'tent'; EL 'the Jewish tabernacle' [Jerome] (*taberna* 'hut; inn; shop' < **trab-ernā-*; cf. *trabs* 'beam, timber' [**treb-* 'dwelling'] Serbat 1975: 202 ff.; HLFL 88, 127; *-erna* is possibly Etruscan Baldi 1999: 166)

3.6.4 **-tro-/*-tra- (> E -trum/-tra/-ter)* (Serbat 1975: 303–48)

(CAPISTRATE [1656] 'of birds with a hood of distinct colour') *capistrum* [Cato, Varro] 'halter, headstall' (**cap-i-stro-*, an isolated word Serbat 1975: 324 ff.; borrowing from G **σκάφιστρον* 'harness' Biville 1990–5: ii. 471; cf. *σκαφίς* 'bowl', from *σκάπτειν* 'dig' [etym. uncertain DELG 1011]; earlier rejected as a Greek borrowing by Weise 1882: 76)

-CASTER/-CHESTER [OE] borrowed into Germanic *c.*450–600 Wollmann 1990: 20, 131, 178; 1993: 20; Green 1998: 217; H. F. Nielsen 1998: 159 ff. (*castrum* 'castle; fort(ress)', pl. *castra* 'camp' < **kas-trom* 'fortified place' < **ḱ(e)s-tró-* 'separating-off device' [**ḱes-*[2] 'cut' = LIV 329]; cf. denominal *castrāre* CASTRATE [1613])

CLITELLUM [1839] 'thickened glandular part of an earthworm' [NL] < L (pl.) *clītellae* 'packsaddle' (diminutive § 2.9 of **clītra* 'litter' < **klei-trā*; cf. *-clīnāre* '(cause to) lean' < **klei-nā-* < **ḱli-néh/nh-* [**ḱlei-* = LIV 332 f.])

CLOISTER [a1225] < OF *cloistre/clostre* [1190] < ML *claustrum* 'convent' < L *claustra* 'enclosure', pl. of *claustrum* 'enclosed place' < **claud+tro-* § 1.7 (*claudere* '(en)close' < **klāw-id-* [**klāu-/*kleh₂u-*]; see *conclusive* § 5.5.2)

LUSTRUM [1590] 'ceremonial purification' *lūstrum* 'purificatory ceremony; period of five years' (**leuk-s-trom*; cf. *lūcēre* 'emit light' [**leuk-* 'light; brightness'])

MONSTER [a1325] *mōnstrum* 'unnatural event; omen; portent; monster' < **mone-stro-* 'warning' (*monēre* 'warn; advise; presage' < causative **mon-éye-* [**men-*[1] 'think' = LIV 435 f.] HLFL 66, 117; cf. LG i. 313)

PESTLE [a1382] (< OF *pestel* [c12[e]])/PISTIL [c18] (< F *pistil*) *pistillum* 'pestle' (< **pis-tr(o)-elo-* diminutive § 2.9 of **pistrum* 'pounding instrument'; cf. *pistor* 'pounder', *pīnsere* 'pound; crush' < **pi-n-s-* [**peis-*[1] 'crush' = LIV 466])

ROSTRUM [1660] *rōstrum* 'snout; beak, bill' < **rōd-tro-* § 1.7 < **roh$_3$d-tro-* 'gnawing device' (*rōdere* 'gnaw' [**rēd-* = **reh$_3$d-* HLFL 124 'scrape, scratch, gnaw', not in LIV])

SCEPTRE [?a1300 *ceptre*] *scēptrum* < G σκῆπτρον 'staff; sceptre' (possibly the same root [**(s)kep-*] as *shaft* DELG 1016, but not mentioned in AHDR 77 or LIV 555; see Weise 1882: 513)

SPECTRE [1605]/SPECTRUM [1611] *spectrum* [Cicero] 'visual/mental image emanating from a physical object' (*specere* 'see; look at; observe' < **spék-ye-* [**spék-* = LIV 575 f.])

3.7 *-tor/-sor*, fem. *-trīx* (> E *-tor/-sor*, fem. *-trix/-trice*) 'actor; agent'

Indo-European had two types of agentives: (i) **déh$_3$-tor* > G δώτωρ, Ved. *dā́tar-* 'giver', (ii) **dh$_3$-tér* > G δοτήρ, Ved. *dātár-* 'one who gives' (Benveniste 1948; Watmough 1995/6; IEL 288, w. lit). Type (i) designates a permanent or habitual characteristic of an individual actor, hence its use in personal names. In type (ii), the action is performed relative to a situation that can be ongoing, hypothetical, or interrupted. It is therefore used for titles and instruments, e.g. κρατήρ ['that mixes' >] 'that serves to mix', i.e. 'mixing bowl'. The two inherited types correspond to Vendler's bipartite classification (1967): (i) specific states of actors who perform habitual activities, e.g. *smokers, painters*; (ii) variable generic states, e.g. *rulers, servants*.

Latin *-ter* suffixes are of three kinds (Watmough 1995/6: 82): (*a*) Greek loans (*crātēr* 'mixing bowl; CRATER' [1613]), (*b*) the type *magister* (**magis-tero-s*) 'teacher', and (*c*) kinship terms (*māter* 'mother', *pater* 'father', *frāter* 'brother'). Only the items in (*c*) were inherited as **-ter-* formations (**máhter-*/**mā́ter-* [HLFL 28 f., 56] **ph$_2$tér-*, **bhréh$_2$ter-*). Although Latin generalized *-tor* (*-sor* on dental stems § 1.7), the distinction between habitual and variable actors can be made, e.g. *gubernātor* 'ship's pilot' is not the same as *gubernantēs* 'those (non-professionals) steering the ship (on a particular occasion)' (Fruyt 1990: 61; Watmough 1995/6: 83).

Agentive *-tor* became one of the most productive suffixes in Latin (LG i. 358 f.). Nearly any eventive verb whose semantics allow for an actor nominal

can make a *-tor/-sor* derivative. Since states have no agents, there can be no nouns like **sordētor* 'one that is filthy', **pūtētor*/**putrētor* '*rotter'. Unaccusative verbs likewise have no agents: **collāpsor* '*collapser', **ex(s)ist(it)or* '*ariser', etc. (cf. Miller 1993: 70 f., 225 ff.). To an ergative verb like *rumpō* 'burst', agentive *ruptor* can only have the causative meaning 'one who breaks (something)', never the unaccusative 'that breaks'. This constitutes more evidence against any derivational link between PPPs (*ruptum* 'broken') and stem II derivatives (§§ 1.8 f.). The 'Italic rule' in *cantātor* [Varro] 'singer' from *cant-ā-t-* versus the older pattern in *can-t-or* 'singer' (Watmough 1995/6: 84) appears to be the same pattern, namely *can-* : *can-t-us*/*can-t-or* beside frequentative *cantā-* : *cantā-t-us/cantā-t-or*. In reality, however, as argued in § 1.9, the latter consist of *-tus, -tor* on the conjugation class marker *-ā-*, as is evident from the metanalyses *-ātus, -ātor*, etc.

There is also denominal *-(ā)tor*, as in *gladiātor* 'sword-fighter; GLADIATOR' [1541] (*gladius* 'sword'), *praedātor* 'plunderer; hunter' PREDATOR [1922] (*praeda* 'booty; plunder; prey; game'), *senātor* SENATOR [*c.*1205] (*senātus* SENATE), *viātor* 'traveller; wayfarer' VIATOR [1504] (*via* 'road; way'). The origin is by way of ambiguous formations, such as *fabricātor* 'fashioner' FABRICATOR [1645], which can be derived synchronically from *fabrica* 'art; craft' as well as from *fabricāre* 'fashion; forge'. While *-tor* occurs on denominals as well as deverbals, *-sor* is only deverbal.

Agentives in *-tor* are associated with feminines in *-trīx*. From **ǵenh$_1$-tōr-* 'begetter; father' (G γενέτωρ, Ved. *janitár-*, Italic **genatōr* > L *genitor*) was made a zero-grade feminine **ǵenh$_1$-tr-ih$_2$-* [female creator] 'progenetrix; mother' (Ved. *jánitrī-*), extended by *-k-* in Italic **gena-tr-ī-k-* > L *genetrīx* (LG i. 376 f.; Sihler 1995: 277; Watmough 1995/6: 90 f.; IEL 160, 189 f., 286, w. lit); cf. also *obstretrīx* 'midwife' < **ob-sta-trī-k-s* (**-sth$_2$-tr-ih$_2$-k-*). For the *-k-* extension, cf. *nūtrī-x* 'nurse' vs. *nūtr-ī-re* 'to feed, nurture' < **sneu-tr-ih$_2$-* (LIV 574). The root is variously given as **(s)nāu-* '(let) flow' AHDR 81, **sneh$_2$u-* Anreiter (2000: 4), but all that is necessary is **sneu-* LIV 574. It is standardly agreed that *nūtrīre* is denominal to *nūtrī-x* but antedating the *-k-* extension (cf. LG i. 376; Schrijver 1991: 152 ff.; Pinault 1999: 472), the function of which remains obscure (Fruyt 1986: 152 f.). A composite extension *-īc-* is found in *mātr-īx* 'female breeding animal' (MATRIX [?a1425]), built on *māter* 'mother' (LG i. 377).

Of the forty-odd feminine *-trīx* constructs before Cicero, a few (e.g. *nūtrīx* 'nurse', *meretrīx* 'prostitute' < **mer-e-tr-ih$_2$-*, to *merēre* 'earn money' [**(s)mer-*[2] 'get a share of' = LIV 570]; cf. Schumacher 2000: 97) are ordinary nouns, but most are used appositionally or as epithets (Serbat 1995). In later Latin, the suffix became especially frequent in legalese, e.g. *testātor* [Suetonius]/*testātrīx*

[Justinian's *Digest*] (*testārī* 'make a will in the presence of witnesses') TESTATOR [1447]/TESTATRIX [1591]; *mediātor* [c2]/*mediātrīx* [c4/5] MEDIATOR [*c.*1350]/MEDIATRIX [*c.*1475]; *ex(s)ecūtor* [c1]/*ex(s)ecūtrīx* [c5/6] EXECUTOR [*c.*1280]/EXECUTRIX [a1400] (earlier *executrice* [Ch.] < Anglo-French).

A very large number of Latin *-tor* words (some with *-trix* counterparts) have entered English, where the suffix has attained productivity in latinate learnèd vocabulary. The bulk of the neologisms postdate 1600. Most are compositionally transparent.

3.7.1 *Deverbal agentive* -sor

CENSOR [1533] *cēnsor*, remodelled from expected **cēnstor*; cf. Osc. *keenzstur* etc. Watmough 1995/6: 94 ff. (*cēnsēre* 'estimate; assess; appraise; give opinion; register' [**ḱens-*])

CONFESSOR [a1175] *cōnfessor* [c4] (*cōnfitērī/cōnfessus* 'admit; confess' [**bhā-*[2] = **bheh$_2$-*])

COURSER [?*c.*1300] 'horse' (< OF *corsier* [1160])/CURSOR [a1325] *cursor* 'runner; courier' (*currere/cursus* 'run' < **kr̥s-e-* [**kers-*[2] 'run' = **ḱers-* or **kers-* LIV 355])

DIVISOR [*c.*1430] *dīvīsor* 'divider' (*dīvidere/dīvīsus* 'separate; DIVIDE'; see *individual* § 5.4.1)

FLEXOR [a1615] NL; cf. L *flexus* 'act of bending' (*flectere/flexus* 'bend; curve; curl')

INTERCESSOR [1482] *intercessor* 'intermediary; mediator' (*intercēdere/intercessus* 'come between; intervene' [**ked-* 'go, yield'])

OPPRESSOR [*c.*1400] *oppressor* 'one who suppresses or destroys (an institution)' (*opprimere/oppressus* 'squeeze; press; stifle; overpower; crush; quell')

PRECURSOR [1504] *praecursor* 'forerunner' (*praecurrere/praecursus* 'run before; precede')

PREDECESSOR [*c.*1375] *praedēcessor* [c4] (*prae* 'before' + *dēcessor* 'one who goes off' to *dēcēdere* 'go away; disappear' [**ked-*])

PROFESSOR [*c.*1380] *professor* [c1[b]] 'teacher; professor' (*profitērī/professus* 'declare publicly; PROFESS' [*c.*1315])

RAZOR [*c.*1300] *rāsor* [Paul. Fest.] 'scraper' (*rādere/rāsus* 'scrape; rasp' [**rasd-* LIV 496])

SPONSOR [1651] *spōnsor* 'one who guarantees the good faith of another; surety' (*spondēre/spōnsus* 'give a pledge; guarantee' [**spend-*])

SUCCESSOR [*c.*1300] *successor* (*succēdere/successus* 'advance; move up; SUCCEED' [**ked-*])

TRANSGRESSOR [1377] *trānsgressor* [Tertullian; EL] 'one who disobeys God's Law; sinner (against)' (*trānsgredī/trānsgressus* 'step over' [**ghredh-* 'walk, go'])

3.7.2 *Deverbal agentive* -tor

ACTOR [a1382] *āctor* 'driver; doer; performer' (*agere/āctum* 'drive; do; ACT'; cf. G *Ἄκτωρ* [Myc.+]/*ἄκτωρ* 'leader' [**h₂eǵ-* or **h₁aǵ-* § 6.6.1])

AGITATOR [1647] *agitātor* 'driver'; [LL] 'instigator' (*agitāre/agitātum* 'set in motion; drive; propel; arouse; impel')

AUCTOR [?*c.*1350] (→ AUTHOR [*c.*1550]) *auctor* 'person in authority; agent; author' (*augēre/auctum* 'increase; strengthen'; see *authority* § 2.1.4)

AUDITOR [1377] *audītor* 'hearer'; ML 'one who audits accounts' (*audīre/audītum* 'hear')

CALCULATOR [*c.*1380] *calculātor* [c1] 'mathematician' (*calculāre* [*c.*400] 'reckon; count'; it is possible that *calculātor* is denominal to *calculus* 'pebble (used in counting)' and that *calculāre* is backformed to underlie *calculātor*)

CANTOR [1538] *cantor* 'singer (usually with instrumental accompaniment)' (*canere/cantum* 'sing; play (a musical instrument)')

CAPTOR [1688] *captor* [LL anthology] 'hunter; capturer' (of a bird of prey [c5]) (*capere/captum* 'take; catch; capture')

CONDUCTOR [*c.*1450] 'a commander, leader (*esp.* military or naval)', [1481] 'contractor, hirer' *conductor* 'contractor; hirer' (*condūcere/conductum* 'bring together; contract; employ')

CONJURATOR [1549] *conjūrātor* [post-CL; ML] 'conspirator' (*conjūrāre/conjūrātum* 'swear an oath together; conspire')

CONSPIRATOR [1413] *cōnspīrātor* [ML c12] 'conspirator; accomplice' (*cōnspīrāre/cōnspīrātum* 'agree together; conspire')

CREATOR [*c.*1290]/CREATRIX [1595] *creātor/creātrīx* 'one who produces, creates, founds' (*creāre/creātum* 'produce; beget; CREATE' [*c.*1386])

CREDITOR [a1400]/CREDITRIX [1611] *crēditor/crēditrīx* [c2] 'creditor' (*crēdere/crēditum* '(en)trust; believe')

DEB(I)TOR [?a1200 *dettour*]/DEBITRIX [n.d.] *dēbitor/dēbitrīx* [c2] 'debtor' (*dēbēre/dēbitum* 'owe' < **dē-habēre* Panagl 1992*a*: 329, w. lit)

DEMONSTRATOR [1611] *dēmōnstrātor* 'one who points out; indicator' (*dēmōnstrāre/dēmōnstrātum* 'point out; indicate; DEMONSTRATE' [1552])

DICTATOR [1387]/DICTATRIX [1623] *dictātor* 'emergency magistrate with plenary powers'/*dictātrīx* 'female dictator' (comic form [Plautus]) (*dictāre/dictātum* DICTATE [1592])

DIRECTOR [1477] *dīrēctor* [c4] 'governor; ruler' (*dīrigere/dīrēctum* 'arrange; DIRECT')

DOCTOR [1303] 'Church official of eminent learning', [*c.*1340] 'teacher' *doctor* 'teacher; instructor; trainer'[5] (*docēre/doctum* 'teach')

DOMINATOR [*c.*1450]/DOMINATRIX [1561] *dominātor* [Cicero] 'arbitrary ruler; lord'/*dominātrīx* [Cicero] 'female ruler' (*dominārī* 'exercise sovereignty; control; DOMINATE' [1611], denominal to *dominus* 'master' [**demh$_2$-*])

EDUCATOR [1566]/EDUCATRIX [n.d.] *ēducātor/ēducātrīx* 'one who nurtures or brings up (children)' *(ēducāre/ēducātum* 'bring up; nurture; rear' [**deuk-* 'lead'] HLFL 189)

FACTOR [1485] *factor* 'maker; player' (*facere/factum* 'make; do')

FORNICATOR [1377]/FORNICATRIX [1586] *fornicātor* [Tertullian]/*fornicātrīx* [Isidore] (*fornicārī/fornicātum* [Tertullian] 'commit adultery', denominal to *fornix/fornic-* 'arch' [**g^{w}her-* 'heat, warm'])

INDICATOR [1666] *indicātor* [post-CL, EL] 'accuser; informer' (*indicāre/indicātum* 'point out; reveal; disclose; INDICATE' [1651])

INSPECTOR [1602] *īnspector* 'examiner'; [Seneca] 'observer' (inherited **spe*ḱ*-tor-* [**spe*ḱ*-*] occurs only in compounds Watmough 1995/6: 112)

INVENTOR [1509]/INVENTRIX [1604] *inventor/inventrīx* 'discoverer; inventor; deviser' (*invenīre/inventum* 'come upon; find; discover; devise; INVENT' [*c.*1475])

LECTOR [1483]/LECTRIX [n.d.] (cf. F *lectrice* [1889]) *lēctor/lēctrīx* [epigr.] '(professional) reader' (*legere/lēctum* 'gather; choose; read')

LIBERATOR [1650] *līberātor* 'one who sets free' (*līberāre/līberātum* '(set) free; release; acquit; discharge')

LICTOR [a1382 *littour*] *līctor* 'one who carries the fasces' (standardly derived from *ligāre* 'bind' [**leiǵ-*] but perhaps Etruscan Watmough 1997: 131 ff.)

MODERATOR [a1398 Trevisa] †'ruler', [1556] 'arbiter', [1573] 'presiding official'/MODERATRIX [1577] *moderātor/moderātrīx* 'controller; manager; restrainer' (*moderārī/moderātum* 'control; restrain; temper; MODERATE' [1435])

MOTOR [1447] *mōtor* [c1 Martial] 'one who moves or sets in motion' (of God [Thomas Aquinas]) (*movēre/mōtum* 'move; impel')

[5] In Medieval Latin, different kinds of 'doctors' were recognized, e.g. university teachers, jurists (*Lēgis Doctor* LD 'doctor of law'), Church Doctors, doctors of medicine (*Medicīnae Doctor* MD), etc. All of these meanings, including 'teacher', are continued in the history of English. The specialization as 'practitioner of medicine' is recent. Chaucer, for instance, had to spell out *Doctour of Phisyk* 'Doctor of Medicine' (*Canterbury Tales*, Prologue 411).

NARRATOR [1611] *narrātor* 'one who relates' (*narrāre/narrātum* 'relate; tell; NARRATE' [1656])

ORATOR [Ch.]/ORATRIX [1466] *ōrātor* 'ambassador; public speaker; orator'/*ōrātrīx* 'female suppliant' (*ōrāre/ōrātum* 'beseech; plead; speak', the second stage of semantic evolution of *ōr-* [*$h_2$er-^{3} LIV 271]: Panagl 1992*b*: 314)

PASTOR [1362] *pāstor* 'shepherd' (*pāscere/pāstum* 'feed; pasture; keep'; *pāstor* < *peh_2-s-tor;* in the PPP, *ph_2-s-tó-* should have given **păstus* (Watmough 1995/6: 92 f., who also proposes remodelling for **păscere* < *ph_2-ské-*; cf. LIV 460); more likely, Italic generalized the full grade *peh_2s-/*pās-*, prob. from the aorist)

PICTOR [n.d.] *pictor* 'painter' (*pingere/pictum* 'paint; decorate')

PRAETOR [*c.*1425] *praetor* 'commander; a chief magistrate, next to the consuls' (*prae* + *-i-tōr-* [for **h$_1$ei-tōr-* by the Italic rule]; cf. *prae-īre* 'go in front, take the lead')

PROCURATOR [*c.*1290] *prōcūrātor* 'manager; superintendent; administrator; agent' (*prōcūrāre/prōcūrātum* 'look after; attend to; administer')

PROGENITOR [a1382] *prōgenitor* 'ancestor' (*prōgignere* 'beget' § 3.7)

PROTECTOR [*c.*1375] *prōtēctor* [Tertullian] 'defender; protector' (*prōtegere/prōtēctum* 'overlay; shield; cover; protect')

RECTOR [1387] 'ruler', [1464] 'head of a school etc.' *rēctor* 'governor; controller; preceptor' (*regere/rēctum* 'direct; control; rule')

REDEMPTOR [*c.*1400] *redēmptor* 'contractor'; [c2] 'ransomer'; [Tertullian] 'Redeemer' (*redimere/redēmptum* 'buy (back)')

SALVATOR [a1400] *salvātor* [sacrae scripturae] 'one who saves'; [Tertullian] 'the Saviour' (*salvāre/salvātum* [sacrae scripturae] 'save', from *salvus* 'safe')

SCULPTOR [1634] *sculptor* [epigr.; Pliny] 'engraver (in stone); stone-cutter; sculptor' (*sculpere/sculptum* 'engrave; fashion by carving or engraving')

SEDUCTOR [1490]/SEDUCTRIX [n.d.] *sēductor/sēductrīx* [both Tertullian] 'corrupter; deceiver; one who leads astray' (*sēdūcere/sēductum* 'lead astray; entice' [**deuk-*])

SERVITOR [a1338] *servītor* [c6] 'attendant' (*servīre/servītum* SERVE [?a1200])

SPECTATOR [a1586]/SPECTATRIX [1611] *spectātor/spectātrīx* [Ovid] 'one who watches; observer' (*spectāre/spectātum* 'look at; watch')

TEMPTER [?*c.*1350] < OF *tempteor* (cf. OF *tenteor* [c12^e]) < L *temptātor* 'one who attempts'; [Tertullian] 'tempter (to sin)' (of Satan) (*temptāre/temptātum* 'test; attempt; try')

TORMENTOR [*c.*1290] 'tormenter; executioner' < OF *tormenteor* [1190] 'executioner' < VL **tormentātor* (EL *tormentāre/tormentātum* [sacrae scripturae] 'torture', denominal to L *tormentum* 'twisted rope, cable; torture; torment; agony')

TRACTOR [1798] NL (contrast ML *tractor* 'collector') (*trahere/tractum* 'drag; haul')

TRANSLATOR [*c.*1380] *trānslātor* 'one who transfers'; [c4] 'translator' (*trānsferre/trānslātum* 'bring over; transport; TRANSFER; TRANSLATE')

TUTOR [1377] (modern sense [*c.*1610]) *tūtor* 'protector; guardian' (*tuērī/tuitum* 'view; watch over; protect')

VICTOR [a1340]/VICTRIX [1651] *victor/victrīx* 'winner; conqueror; victorious' (*vincere/victum* 'overcome; conquer; beat; defeat; win')

VISITOR [1426] < OF *visiteor* [1271] 'visitor' < L *vīsitātor* [c2 Apuleius] '(frequent) visitor' (*vīsitāre/vīsitātum* 'see frequently; visit')

3.8 *-tiō/-tiōn-* and *-siō/-siōn-* (> E *-tion/-sion*) 'event; result'

The suffix **-ti-* made verbal abstracts in Indo-European (Benveniste 1948). In Latin, unenlarged *-ti-* is residual; cf. *vestis* 'dress' (VEST) < **wes-tí-* [**wes-*4]; cf. Skt. *vastí-*'dress'. There is also **ǵenh*$_1$*-ti-*, as in L *gēns/gent-* 'people; nation' GENS/GENT-, OIce *kind* 'race, KIND', G *γένεσις* 'origin; descent; race' GENESIS, etc. (cf. Schumacher 2000: 41, 71) vs. **ǵn̥h*$_1$*-ti-* in *nātiō* NATION § 3.8.2. From **mn̥-tí-* (older **mn̥-téi-*) [**men-*1] are derived Ved. *matí-* 'thinking; thought; sense', L *mēns/ment-* 'mind' (MENT-), and OE *ʒe-mynd* 'memory, MIND' IEL 207 f., but possibly generalized from compounds (Vine 2004: 371). Normally, *-ti-* was enlarged by *-ōn-* (**-hon-*) in Latin (LG i § 308; IEL 118, 287), yielding the most productive verbal abstract suffix (LG i § 324*b*).

In English, *-(a)tion* became very productive. Derivatives fall into the following categories (Marchand 1969: 259 ff.):

1. Verbs in *-ify*. In c14, English adopted Old French pairs such as *edify/edification, justify/justification, purify/purification.* Most English derivatives have a Latin or French counterpart, e.g. [c15]: *certification, glorification, pacification*; [c16]: *amplification, modification*, etc. In Modern English, verbs in *-ify* productively derive nominalizations in *-ification* (Bauer 2001: 142, 182; cf. Plag 1999: esp. 192–204).

2. Verbs in *-ize*. Borrowed models include *organize/organization, canonize/canonization, martyrize/martyrization*, etc. There are many novel coinages:

[c17]: *authorization, catechization, evangelization, formalization, pulverization*; [c18]: *familiarization, humanization*, etc.

3. Verbs in *-ate*. Most of these are backformations (§ 1.5). This relationship is guaranteed by the many gaps in *-ate* verbs vis-à-vis *-ation* nouns or *-ative* adjectives, e.g. **applicate* (*application, applicative, apply*), **exemplificate* (*exemplify*), **justificate* (*justify*), **modificate* (*modify*), **multiplicate* (*multiply*), **qualificate* (*qualify*), etc. (cf. Bauer 2001: 93 ff.).

4. Unsuffixed verbs. Middle English has many loans from French or Latin: *accusation, damnation, information, restoration, taxation, temptation, vexation*. Later borrowings: *alteration* [1482], *defraudation* [1502], *relaxation* [1526], *derivation* [1530], *quotation* [1532], *affirmation* [1533], *affectation* [1548].

5. No base verb (rare): *sanitation* [1848], *sedimentation* [1874].

Modern English *-(a)tion* is restricted to latinate vocabulary, and not used on native bases: **break-(a)tion*, **kill-(a)tion*. *Flirtation* [1718], *starvation* [1778] are among the few exceptions (Marchand 1969: 260). Other (rare) examples are either not in general use (*backwardation*, *chatteration*) or are jocular/exclamatory (*thunderation, botheration*), the effect being due to violation of the latinate constraint (Plag 1999: 70; Bauer 2001: 182 f.).

Another constraint is that *-ation* does not attach to iambic bases (*distúrb* : **distùrbátion*; *desíre* : **desìrátion*; *remaín* : **remaìnátion*) because of the stress clash. Exceptions permit stress shift (*inspíre* : *ìnspirátion*; *pertúrb* : *pèrturbátion*; *explaín* : *èxplanátion*). All words of the structure *adoration, invitation, consultation* (derived from iambic verbs) are direct borrowings from Latin and/or French (Raffelsiefen 1999: 235).

There seem to have been alternate periods of increase and decrease in the creation of new types of *-tion* formations (Cowie 2000). Cowie notes that *-tion* derivatives have been especially prevalent in scientific and medical registers, but sometimes coined for purely stylistic reasons (cf. Bauer 2001: 183).

To sum up, the productive domain of *-(a)tion* is the derivation of nouns from verbs in *-ize* and *-ify*, and the relationship (largely by backformation) to verbs in *-ate*, e.g. *(a)estivate* : *(a)estivation* 'state of dormancy during the summer' (cf. L *aestās* 'summer', *aestīvus* > AESTIVAL 'of/in summer').

To illustrate the extent of borrowing, § 3.8.1 contains words current in English that are derived from just the letter *A* in *The Pocket Oxford Latin Dictionary*, which contains only standard classical words. Chaucer coined or used many nouns in *-(a)cioun* (nearly all from (Anglo-)French), most of which survive into Modern English (§ 3.8.2). A few other frequent examples appear in § 3.8.3.

3.8.1 *Fifty-one examples with the letter A* (Pocket Oxford Latin Dictionary)

ABDICATION [1552] *abdicātiō* 'renunciation' (*abdicāre* 'resign; disinherit')
ABERRATION [1594] *aberrātiō* 'diversion' (*aberrāre* 'go astray')
ABLUTION [Ch.] *ablūtiō* (*abluere* 'wash away')
ACCESSION [1588] *accessiō* 'approach; addition' (*accēdere* 'approach; be added')
ACCUSATION [*c.*1425] *accūsātiō* (*accūsāre* ACCUSE [*c.*1300])
ACTION [1330] 'legal process', modern sense [Ch.] *āctiō* (*agere* 'drive; do; ACT' [1594])
ADDICTION [1604] *addictiō* 'assignment; adjudication' (*addīcere* 'adjudge')
ADHESION [1624] *adhaesiō* (*adhaerēre* ADHERE [1597])
ADJUNCTION [1603] *adjūnctiō* 'union; addition' (*adjungere* 'join; add to')
ADMINISTRATION [*c.*1315] *administrātiō* (*administrāre* ADMINISTRATE [1651])
ADMIRATION [1490] *admīrātiō* (*admīrārī* ADMIRE [*c.*1590])
ADMISSION [1494] *admissiō* (*admittere* ADMIT [1413])
ADMONITION [Ch.] *admonitiō* 'reminding; warning' (*admonēre* 'admonish')
ADOPTION [a1382] *adoptiō* (*adoptāre* ADOPT [1548])
ADULATION [*c.*1380] *adūlātiō* (*adūlārī* 'fawn upon; flatter')
ADUMBRATION [1531] *adumbrātiō* 'sketch' (*adumbrāre* 'shadow out; represent')
A(D)VOCATION [1529] *advocātiō* 'legal pleading' (*advocāre* 'summon, e.g. as counsel') and *āvocātiō* 'the diverting of attention; a calling away' (*āvocāre* 'summon away')
AFFECTATION [1548] *affectātiō* (*affectāre* 'aim at; lay claim to; pretend')
AFFECTION [?a1200] *affectiō* (*afficere* AFFECT [1483])
AFFIRMATION [a1533] *affirmātiō* (*affirmāre* AFFIRM [?a1300])
AGITATION [1573] *agitātiō* (*agitāre* 'set in motion; AGITATE' [1586])
ALIENATION [1380] *aliēnātiō* 'aversion' (*aliēnāre* ALIENATE [1513] 'transfer to the ownership of another', [1548] 'make estranged')
ALLEGATION [1483] *allēgātiō* (*allēgāre* 'depute')
ALTERCATION [Ch.] *altercātiō* (*altercārī* 'quarrel; dispute')
AMBITION [1340] *ambitiō* (*ambīre* 'surround')
AMBULATION [1541] 'spreading of a gangrene', [1574] 'walking about' *ambulātiō* 'walking about' (*ambulāre* 'take a walk')
AMPLIFICATION [1546] *amplificātiō* (*amplificāre* 'amplify')
AMPUTATION [1611] *amputātiō* 'lopping off' (*amputāre* 'lop off; AMPUTATE' [1638])

ANIMADVERSION [1599] *animadversiō* 'observation' (*animadvertere* 'turn the mind to')
ANTECESSION [1656] *antecessiō* 'going before' (*antecēdere* 'go before')
ANTICIPATION [1548] *anticipātiō* 'preconception' (*anticipāre* ANTICIPATE [1532])
APPARITION [1481] *appāritiō* 'appearance; attendance' (*appārēre* APPEAR [*c.*1250])
APPELLATION [1447] *appellātiō* 'appeal; name' (*appellāre* 'call upon; name')
APPLICATION [1493] *applicātiō* (*applicāre* 'join to')
APPROBATION [1393] *approbātiō* (*approbāre* '(ap)prove')
ARATION [1663] *arātiō* 'ploughing' (*arāre* 'to plough')
ARGUMENTATION [1491] *argūmentātiō* (*argūmentārī* 'support by argument; prove')
ASCENSION [?a1300] *ascēnsiō* 'act of climbing up; ascent' (*ascendere* ASCEND [a1382])
ASPERSION [1553–87] *aspersiō* 'sprinkling' (*aspergere* 'besprinkle; defile')
ASPIRATION [1398] *aspīrātiō* 'exhalation; aspiration' (*aspīrāre* 'blow upon; aspire to')
ASSIGNATION [a1400] 'authoritative appointment, prescription, order', [1489] 'allotment of land' *assignātiō* 'allotment of land' (*assignāre* ASSIGN [*c.*1300])
ASSUMPTION [1297] *assūmptiō* 'adoption; minor premiss' (*assūmere* 'take up')
ATTENTION [Ch.] *attentiō* (*attendere* 'ATTEND to' [a1300])
ATTRIBUTION [1467] *attribūtiō* (*attribuere* 'assign; ATTRIBUTE' [1523])
AUCTION [1595] *auctiō* 'increase (of price or bids); public sale; auction' (*augēre* 'increase')
AUDITION [1599] *audītiō* '(act of) hearing; report' (*audīre* 'hear')
AVERSION [1596] *āversiō* (*āvertere* 'turn away; AVERT' [a1400])
EDIFICATION [a1382] *aedificātiō* 'building' (*aedificāre* 'build')
EMULATION [1552] *aemulātiō* (*aemulārī* EMULATE [1589])
EQUATION [Ch.] *aequātiō* 'equal distribution' (*aequāre* 'to level, equal')
ESTIMATION [*c.*1374] *aestimātiō* (*aestimāre* ESTIMATE [*c.*1532])

3.8.2 *Chaucerian words in* -tion/-sion

While Chaucer was not the first to use two-thirds of these formations, he was the first to use them in such massive numbers as to virtually predestine them for acceptance by the general public. In fact, he uses proportionately more

words of this class than any other early author, which had the effect of popularizing semi-learnèd words. For that reason, his use deserves special attention.

The list below contains 199 *-tion/-sion* words used by Chaucer (in the form *-ci(o)un* from Anglo-French). They are culled from the appendix in Cannon (1998), together with his dates for first attestations.[6] Modern spelling is used throughout. All but fourteen of the words remain in standard use today, and 139 (70 per cent) were in use in standard Classical Latin (unspecified).

ABLUTION [*c.*1350] *ablūtiō* [EL] 'cleansing; washing away (of sins)' (*abluere/ablūtum* 'wash away; cleanse')
ABOMINATION [*c.*1350] *abōminātiō* [EL] 'accursed conduct; accursed thing' (*abōminārī/abōminātum* '(seek to) avert (by prayer); detest')
ABSOLUTION [?a1200] *absolūtiō* 'finishing; acquittal; perfection' (*absolvere/absolūtum* 'ABSOLVE (from); discharge')
ABUSION [a1325] *abūsiō* 'catachresis'; EL 'evil use; contempt; neglect' (*abūtī/abūsum* 'use up; waste; misuse')
ACCUSATION [Ch.] *accūsātiō* (*accūsāre/accūsātum* ACCUSE)
ACTION [a1338] *āctiō* 'action; legal process' (*agere/āctum* 'drive; do; ACT')
ADJECTION [a1325] *adjectiō* 'addition' (*ad(j)icere/adjectum* 'throw to; add to')
ADJURATION [Ch.] *adjūrātiō* [c2 Apuleius] 'act of appealing to' (*adjūrāre/adjūrātum* 'affirm with an oath; swear solemnly')
ADMINISTRATION [a1333] *administrātiō* 'administration; management' (*administrāre/administrātum* 'ADMINISTER; manage; ADMINISTRATE')
ADMONITION [Ch.] *admonitiō* 'reminding; warning' (*admonēre/admonitum* 'admonish')
AFFECTION [?a1200] *affectiō* 'mental condition; feeling; disposition; affection' (*afficere/affectum* 'AFFECT; influence')
ALBIFICATION [Ch.] *albificātiō* [ML] (*albificāre/albificātum* [ML] 'make white')
ALTERCATION [Ch.] *altercātiō* 'dispute; contention' (*altercārī/altercātum* 'dispute; quarrel')
ARBITRATION [Ch.] *arbitrātiō* [Gellius; LL, ML] 'decision by a judge; opinion' (*arbitrārī/arbitrātum* 'pass sentence; believe; think')

[6] Excluded here are non-transparent forms obscured by Romance phonological processes, e.g. *facioun* [?*c.*1300] FASHION < OF *faceon /façon* [1160] 'aspect, look; work' < L *factiō* 'act of making; FACTION, party' (Dellit 1906: 96); *lesson* [?a1200] < OF *leçon* [c11] < L *lēctiō* 'reading (aloud)'; *resoun* [?a1200] REASON vs. *ration* < L *ratiō* 'account; reason(ing)'; see *ratiocination* § 6.11.

ATTENTION [Ch.] *attentiō* (*attendere/attentum* 'ATTEND to; listen carefully')

ATTRITION [Ch.] *attrītiō* [Lampridius; EL; ML] 'friction; contrition; attrition' (*atterere/attrītum* 'rub against; chafe; wear away; diminish; impair')

AVISION [*c.*1300] < OF *avision* [1080 *Roland*] 'vision; dream' < VL **advīsiōne-*; cf. *vīsiō* 'act of seeing; VISION' (*vidēre/vīsum* 'see')

CALCINATION [a1393] *calcinātiō* [ML] (*calcināre/calcinātum* [ML] 'calcine; char')

CASTIGATION [Ch.] *castīgātiō* 'punishment; reprimanding' (*castīgāre/castīgātum* 'chastise; correct')

CAVILLATION [?1388] *cavillātiō* 'quibbling; banter; jeering' (*cavillārī/cavillātum* 'cavil (at); banter; jest; scoff')

CITRINATION [Ch.] 'turning something to the (yellow-green) colour of citron' (alchemy) *citrinātiō* [ML] (*citrināre/citrinātum* [ML] 'turn yellow-green; CITRINATE')

COEMPTION [Ch.] 'the buying up of an entire commodity on the market' *coēmptiō* 'fictitious sale of a woman to a man'; LL 'purchase'; ML 'the cornering or monopolization of a market' (*coemere/coēmptum* 'buy up')

COLLATION [a1225] *collātiō* 'placing together; comparison' (*cōnferre/collātum* 'bring together; collect; compare')

COLLUSION [1389] *collūsiō* 'secret understanding; collusion' (*collūdere/collūsum* 'play together; act in collusion')

COMMENDATION [?a1200] 'entrusting; recommendation; approval' (*commendāre/commendātum* 'commend to; entrust')

COMMISSION [1344] (cf. AF *commis(s)iun* [1267] 'commission (of sin)') *commissiō* 'a bringing together in contest'; [Tertullian] 'the committing of' (*committere/commissum* 'join; COMMIT; entrust; engage in')

COMPASSION [1340] *compassiō* [Tertullian; EL] 'simultaneous suffering with another' (*compatī/compassum* [Tertullian; EL] 'suffer together with another')

COMPLEXION [1340] *complexiō* 'combination; dilemma' (*complectī/complexum* 'clasp around; encompass; embrace; comprise')

COMPOSITION [a1382] *compositiō* 'arrangement; matching' (*compōnere/compositum* 'put together; arrange; compose; compare')

CONCEPTION [a1325] *conceptiō* 'action of conceiving; formula' (*concipere/conceptum* 'catch; contain; conceive')

CONCLUSION [Ch.] *conclūsiō* 'conclusion' (*conclūdere/conclūsum* 'enclose together; close up; conclude')

CONFESSION [*c.*1378] *cōnfessiō* 'confession; acknowledgement; admission' (*cōnfitērī/cōnfessum* 'confess; admit')
CONFUSION [*c.*1300] *cōnfūsiō* 'mingling; confusion; disorder' (*cōnfundere/cōnfūsum* 'pour/mix together; confuse; bewilder')
CONGREGATION [Ch.] *congregātiō* 'society; association' (*congregāre/congregātum* 'collect (into a flock); unite')
CONJUNCTION [Ch.] *conjūnctiō* 'union; conjunction; agreement; match' (*conjungere/conjūnctum* 'yoke together; connect; couple; ally; associate')
CONJURATION [Ch.] *conjūrātiō* 'taking an oath in common; conspiracy; plot' (*conjūrāre/conjūrātum* 'swear (an oath) together; CONJURE; conspire'; [ML] 'invoke with oaths or incantations')
CONSERVATION [Ch.] *cōnservātiō* 'keeping; preservation' (*cōnservāre/cōnservātum* 'preserve; maintain')
CONSIDERATION [?*c.*1350] *cōnsīderātiō* 'inspection; contemplation; consideration' (*cōnsīderāre/cōnsīderātum* 'inspect; CONSIDER; contemplate')
CONSOLATION [Ch.] *cōnsōlātiō* 'consolation; comfort' (*cōnsōlārī/cōnsōlātum* 'CONSOLE; solace; alleviate; allay')
CONSTELLATION [*c.*1330] *cōnstellātiō* [c4] 'positioning of the stars; group of stars' (denominal: *stēlla* 'star')
CONTEMPLATION [?a1200] *contemplātiō* 'survey; contemplation; meditation' (*contemplārī/contemplātum* 'survey; CONTEMPLATE')
CONTINUATION [Ch.] *continuātiō* 'continuation; prolongation' (*continuāre/continuātum* 'put in a line; join; prolong')
CONTRITION [*c.*1303] *contrītiō* [Quintilian] 'dismay; despondency'; [Augustine] 'contrition' (*conterere/contrītum* 'grind; wear out; exhaust')
CONVERSATION [1340] *cōnversātiō* 'revolution; habitual association'; [Seneca] 'conversation' (*conversāre/conversātum* 'turn (over in the mind)'; (mid.) 'associate (with); visit frequently')
CORRECTION [*c.*1340] *corrēctiō* 'improvement; correction' (*corrigere/corrēctum* 'strengthen; set right; CORRECT')
CORRUPTION [1340] *corruptiō* 'corruption; bribery' (*corrumpere/corruptum* 'spoil; falsify; bribe; CORRUPT')
CREATION [*c.*1390] *creātiō* 'begetting; election; creating' (*creāre/creātum* CREATE)
CURATION [Ch.] *cūrātiō* 'administration; management; treatment (of a disease or sick person)' (*cūrāre/cūrātum* 'take care of; care about; CURE')
DAMNATION [?*c.*1300] *damnātiō* 'condemnation'; EL 'damnation' (*damnāre* 'condemn; sentence')

DECLARATION [Ch.] *dēclārātiō* 'revelation; disclosure; announcement' (*dēclārāre/dēclārātum* 'make known; DECLARE; mean')

DECLINATION [Ch.] *dēclīnātiō* 'a leaning down; deviation; digression; inflection' (*dēclīnāre/dēclīnātum* 'incline downwards; deflect; divert; diverge; DECLINE')

DEFAMATION [*c.*1303] *dēfāmātiō* [ML]; cf. LL *diffāmātiō* [Augustine] 'publication' (*diffāmāre/diffāmātum* 'publish; defame, slander'; *dēfāmātus* [Gellius] 'having a bad reputation; infamous')

DELIBERATION [Ch.] *dēlīberātiō* 'deliberation; consideration' (*dēlīberāre/dēlīberātum* 'consult; DELIBERATE; resolve')

DEMONSTRATION [Ch.] *dēmōnstrātiō* 'action of pointing out or showing; clear proof' (*dēmōnstrāre/dēmōnstrātum* 'point out; prove; DEMONSTRATE')

DEPRESSION [Ch.] *dēpressiō* [Vitruvius] 'action of lowering'; [LL, ML] (figurative senses, incl.) 'despondency' (*dēprimere/dēpressum* 'press down; DEPRESS; reduce; lower')

DESCENSION [Ch.] *dēscēnsiō* 'action of going down; descent' (*dēscendere/dēscēnsum* 'DESCEND; slope')

DESCRIPTION [Ch.] *dēscrīptiō* 'delineation; description' (*dēscrībere/dēscrīptum* 'copy; DESCRIBE; establish')

DESPERATION [Ch.] *dēspērātiō* 'despair' (*dēspērāre/dēspērātum* 'DESPAIR (of)' [**spē-*[1]])

DESTRUCTION [?*c.*1300] *dēstructiō* [c1] 'destruction; refutation' (*dēstruere/dēstrūctum* 'pull down; destroy; ruin')

DETRACTION [1340] *dētractiō* 'removal; withdrawal; deduction' (*dētrahere/dētractum* 'draw off; remove; detract from; impair')

DEVOTION [?a1200] and UNDEVOTION [?1348] *dēvōtiō* 'devoting; devotion; vow; curse' (*dēvovēre/dēvōtum* 'vow; DEVOTE')

DIFFINITION [*c.*1384] 'clear exposition' *diffīnītiō* [ML] 'judge's decision'; and = L *dēfīnītiō* 'precise description; DEFINITION; authoritative pronouncement' (*diffīnīre* [ML] = L *dēfīnīre/dēfīnītum* '(de)limit; circumscribe; DEFINE; determine')

DIFFUSION [Ch.] *diffūsiō* [Seneca] 'expansiveness'; [c4/5] 'spreading out; pouring out (of liquids)' (*diffundere/diffūsum* 'pour forth; DIFFUSE; spread')

DIGESTION [Ch.] *dīgestiō* 'arrangement; division'; [Celsus] 'distribution of assimilated food throughout the body' (*dīgerere/dīgestum* 'remove; distribute; separate; dispose')

DIGRESSION [Ch.] *dīgressiō* 'going away; digression' (*dīgredī/dīgressum* 'depart; leave (a subject of discussion)')

DILATATION [Ch.] *dīlātātiō* [Vitruvius] 'enlargement; increase' (*dīlātāre/ dīlātātum* 'make wider; enlarge; DILATE')
DIMINUTION [*c.*1303] *dīminūtiō* = *dēminūtiō* 'diminution; decrease' (*dēminuere/dēminūtum* 'lessen; diminish')
DISCRETION [*c.*1303] *discrētiō* [Quintilian] 'division'; [Gellius] 'distinction'; [LL] 'caution' (*discernere/discrētum* 'separate; distinguish')
DISPENSATION [Ch.] *dispēnsātiō* 'task of apportioning; management; administration' (*dispēnsāre/dispēnsātum* 'manage; DISPENSE; pay out; distribute')
DISPOSITION [Ch.] *dispositiō* 'layout; arrangement; disposition' (*dispōnere/ dispositum* 'distribute; set in order; arrange')
DISPUTATION, older *desputeison* [*c.*1300] 'argument; dispute' < OF *desputaison* [1160] < L *disputātiō* 'discussion; argument' (*disputāre/ disputātum* 'argue; debate' DISPUTE)
DISSENSION [a1325] *dissēnsiō* 'dissension; disagreement' (*dissentīre/ dissēnsum* 'DISSENT; disagree; differ')
DISSIMULATION [Ch.] *dissimulātiō* 'dissimulation; dissembling' (*dissimulāre/dissimulātum* 'dissemble; disguise; pretend; ignore')
DISTINCTION [?a1200] *distinctiō* 'difference' (*distinguere/distinctum* 'divide; distinguish')DIVINATION [Ch.] *dīvīnātiō* 'prophecy; prognostication' (*dīvīnāre/ dīvīnātum* 'DIVINE; prophesy; guess')
DIVISION [?*c.*1350] *dīvīsiō* 'division; distribution' (*dīvidere/dīvīsum* 'DIVIDE; distribute')
DOMINATION [*c.*1325] *dominātiō* 'dominion; despotism' (*dominārī/ dominātum* 'act as a despot; be in control')
DURATION [Ch.] *dūrātiō* [ML] 'obstinacy; duration' (*dūrāre/dūrātum* 'harden; endure; last')
ELATION [?*c.*1350] *ēlātiō* 'elevation; glorification; sublime feeling' (*efferre/ ēlātum* 'bring out; raise; enhance; ELATE')
ELECTION [*c.*1290] *ēlēctiō* 'choice; selection' (*ēligere/ēlēctum* 'pick out; choose')
ELEVATION [Ch.] *ēlevātiō* [c1] 'lightening (of a load)'; [Porphyry] 'exaltation'; [Vulgate] 'a raising or lifting up' *(ēlevāre/ēlevātum* 'lift up; ELEVATE; alleviate')
ELONGATION [Ch.] *ēlongātiō* [EL, ML] 'reprieve; delay; truce' (*ēlongāre/ ēlongātum* [Vulgate] 'remove; prolong, protract; withdraw')
EQUATION [Ch.] *aequātiō* 'equal distribution' (*aequāre/aequātum* 'level; EQUAL')

ESTIMATION [1375] *aestimātiō* 'valuation; value; price' (*aestimāre/ aestimātum* 'value; ESTIMATE; consider')
EXALTATION [1389] *exaltātiō* [EL] 'elevation; exaltation' (*exaltāre/exaltātum* [Seneca; EL] 'raise; elevate; exalt')
EXAMINATION [Ch.] *exāminātiō* [Vitruvius] 'practice of weighing'; [Ulpian] '(legal) scrutiny' (*exāmināre/exāminātum* 'balance; put in equilibrium; consider critically; EXAMINE')
EXCEPTION [a1382] *exceptiō* 'exception; qualification' (*excipere/exceptum* 'exempt, EXCEPT')
EXCUSATION [1345–6] *excūsātiō* 'offering of an excuse, justification; plea to be excused; exemption' (*excūsāre/excūsātum* 'EXCUSE; absolve')
EXECUTION [Ch.] *ex(s)ecūtiō* [c1] 'action of carrying out; performance; enforcement (of the law)'; [Ulpian] 'judicial prosecution' (*ex(s)equī/ ex(s)ecūtum* 'follow; pursue; pursue to punish; carry out; EXECUTE')
EXERCITATION [Ch.] *exercitātiō* 'exercise; practice' (*exercitāre/ exercitātum* 'train; exercise')
EXORCIZATION [Ch.] *exorcīzātiō* [Gregory of Tours] = *ex(h)orcismus* [Tertullian] EXORCISM [*c.*1375] (*exorcīzāre/exorcīzātum* [Ulpian] EXORCIZE [1546] < G *ἐξορκίζειν* replacement of *ἐξορκοῦν* 'administer an oath to one'; [EG] 'conjure; exorcize', from *ἐξ* 'out' + *ὅρκος* 'oath' [etym. unclear DELG 821])
EXPOSITION [*c.*1390] *expositiō* 'act of exposing; exposure; description' (*expōnere/expositum* 'set out; EXPOSE; exhibit')
EXTORTION [Ch.] *extortiō* [Jerome] 'torture'; ML *extorsiō* 'violence' (*extorquēre/extortum* 'twist or wrench out; EXTORT')
FERMENTATION [Ch.] *fermentātiō* [Tertullian] 'leaven(ing)' (*fermentāre/ fermentātum* [Varro] 'aerate'; [c1] '(fill with) leaven; FERMENT')
FORNICATION [*c.*1303] *fornicātiō* [Vitruvius] 'arch'; [Tertullian] 'whoredom; fornication' (*fornicārī/fornicātum* [Tertullian] 'whore; commit adultery'; cf. CL *fornicātus* 'arched; vaulted'; see *fornicator* § 3.7.2)
FOUNDATION [Ch.] *fundātiō* [Vitruvius] 'foundation' (*fundāre/fundātum* 'FOUND; establish')
FRACTION [Ch.] *frāctiō* [EL] 'a breaking' (*frangere/frāctum* 'break; crush; weaken')
FUMIGATION [Ch.] *fūmigātiō* [LL] 'process of applying smoke; exposure to fumes' (*fūmigāre/fūmigātum* '(treat with) smoke; FUMIGATE')
GENERATION [a1325] *generātiō* [Celsus] 'process of procreating; generation' (*generāre/generātum* 'beget; produce' GENERATE)

HUMILIATION [Ch.] *humiliātiō* [Tertullian] 'humiliation; lowliness' (*humiliāre/humiliātum* [sacrae scripturae; Tertullian] 'humble; humiliate; disparage')

ILLUSION [*c.*1350] *illūsiō* 'game-making; ridicule; irony' (*illūdere/illūsum* 'speak mockingly (of); trick')

IMAGINATION [1340] *imāginātiō* [Pliny] 'mental picturing; fantasy; imagining' (*imāginārī/imāginātum* [Seneca] 'form a mental picture of; IMAGINE')

IMPERFECTION [Ch.] *imperfectiō* [Augustine] 'incomplete state; imperfection' (denominal to *imperfectus* 'unfinished; IMPERFECT; not complete')

IMPOSITION [Ch.] *impositiō* 'placing on; application; imposing' (*impōnere/impositum* 'put in or (up)on; IMPOSE; assign')

IMPRESSION [Ch.] *impressiō* 'push; thrust; impressed mark' (*imprimere/impressum* 'IMPRESS; imprint; press upon; stamp')

INCLINATION [Ch.] *inclīnātiō* 'act of leaning; tendency; inclination' (*inclīnāre/inclīnātum* 'bend; INCLINE')

INDIGNATION [*c.*1350] (no known OF source) *indignātiō* 'indignation; anger' (*indignārī/indignātum* 'regard with indignation; resent; be indignant')

INDURATION [Ch.] *indūrātiō* [c4] 'hardening of will; obstinacy' (*indūrāre/indūrātum* [Ovid] 'make hard; harden; toughen; make stubborn')

INFORMATION [Ch.] *īnformātiō* 'formation of an idea; conception'; [c4] 'instruction; education'; ML 'information' *(īnformāre/īnformātum* 'form; fashion; form an idea of')

INTERROGATION [Ch.] *interrogātiō* 'question(ing); inquiry' (*interrogāre/interrogātum* 'ask; question; examine; indict')

INTRODUCTION [Ch.] *intrōductiō* 'a bringing in; introduction' (*intrōdūcere/intrōductum* 'lead in; INTRODUCE')

INVOCATION [Ch.] *invocātiō* [Quintilian] 'invocation (of the gods)' (*invocāre/invocātum* 'call upon; INVOKE; pray for')

JURISDICTION [a1325] *jūrisdictiō* 'administration of justice; authority; (sphere of) jurisdiction' (*jūris* 'of the law; of legal judgement' + *dictiō* 'declaration')

LAMENTATION [a1382] *lāmentātiō* 'lamentation; wailing' (*lāmentārī/lāmentātum* 'LAMENT; bewail')

LIMITATION [Ch.] < OF *limitation* [1322] 'limit; boundary' < L *līmitātiō* [Siculus Flaccus, date unknown] 'the fixing of boundaries' (*līmitāre/līmitātum* 'enclose (land) within boundaries; define')

MANSION [1340] *mānsiō* 'a staying, lodging; (temporary) abode, dwelling' [Tertullian] 'home of the blest'; [c4] 'house' (*manēre/mānsum* 'stay; remain; abide')

MEDIATION [a1387] *mediātiō* [ML] (*mediāre/mediātum* [sacrae scripturae] 'be in the middle'; [c5] MEDIATE; based on older VL **mediāre* is *mediātor* [c2 Apuleius] MEDIATOR)

MEDITATION [?a1200] *meditātiō* 'contemplation; meditation' (*meditārī/meditātum* 'ponder; reflect')

MENTION [*c.*1300] *mentiō* 'reference to a subject; mention' (**mn̥-ti-ōn-* [**men*-[1] 'think'])

MOLLIFICATION [Ch.] *mollificātiō* [ML] (*mollificāre/mollificātum* [c4/5 Pseudo-Apuleius; c6 Caesarius Arelatensis] 'soften; mollify')

MOTION [Ch.] *mōtiō* 'movement; motion' (*movēre/mōtum* MOVE)

MULTIPLICATION [?*c.*1350] *multiplicātiō* [Seneca] 'act of increasing in number or quantity'; [Vitruvius] 'multiple'; [Columella] 'multiplication' (*multiplicāre/multiplicātum* 'increase in number; multiply'; [Vitruvius] MULTIPLY [mathematical sense])

MURMURATION [Ch.] *murmurātiō* [Pliny] 'uttering of a low cry'; [Seneca] 'discontented muttering' (*murmurāre/murmurātum* 'hum; MURMUR; mutter; roar')

MUTATION [Ch.] *mūtātiō* 'changing; exchange' (*mūtāre/mūtātum* 'alter; change; exchange')

NATION [?a1300] *nātiō* 'race; nation; people; class' (*nāscī/nātum* 'be born; rise; grow')

NOTIFICATION [Ch.] *nōtificātiō* [ML] (*nōtificāre/nōtificātum* [c2^{m}] 'make known; NOTIFY')

OBLIGATION [*c.*1300] *obligātiō* 'pledging; guaranteeing; legal or financial liability' (*obligāre/obligātum* 'bind around; render liable; place under a moral obligation; OBLIGE')

OCCASION [a1382] *occāsiō* 'opportunity; convenient or appropriate time or circumstance' (*occidere/occāsum* 'fall down; set; perish')

OCCUPATION [a1325] *occupātiō* 'taking possession of; preoccupation with; employment' (*occupāre/occupātum* 'OCCUPY; engross')

OFFENSION [Ch.] *offēnsiō* 'striking against; offence; injury' (*offendere/offēnsum* 'strike against; OFFEND; upset; harm')

OPERATION [Ch.] *operātiō* [Pliny] 'activity'; [Vitruvius] 'operation' (*operārī* [Pliny] 'busy oneself', backformed from *operātus* 'engaged (in); occupied')

OPPOSITION [Ch.] *oppositiō* 'an opposing; opposition' (*oppōnere/oppositum* 'put against; OPPOSE; pledge; object')

OPPRESSION [1334] *oppressiō* 'a pressing against; overpowering; suppression; stifling' (*opprimere/oppressum* 'press against; crush; overpower; overwhelm; OPPRESS')

PARTICIPATION [Ch.] *participātiō* [c2 Apuleius] 'participation; sharing (in)' (*participāre/participātum* 'share in; PARTICIPATE (in)')

PASSION [?a1200] *passiō* 'affection; passion; emotion' (*patī/passum* 'bear; undergo; suffer; allow; let be')

PERFECTION [?a1200] *perfectiō* 'completion; perfection' (*perficere/perfectum* 'finish; perform; complete; accomplish')

PERMUTATION [a1376] *permūtātiō* 'substitution; (ex)change; barter; transposition' (*permūtāre/permūtātum* 'exchange (for); swap; transpose; interchange')

PERSECUTION [*c.*1340] *persecūtiō* 'action of suing at law'; [Tertullian] 'persecution (of Christians)'; [Gaius] 'pursuit' (*persequī/persecūtum* 'pursue; pursue with hostile intent; strive after')

PERSUASION [Ch.] *persuāsiō* 'persuasion; persuasiveness' (*persuādēre/persuāsum* PERSUADE)

PERTURBATION [Ch.] *perturbātiō* 'confusion; disturbance; perturbation; passion' (*perturbāre/perturbātum* 'disorder; confuse; disturb; frighten')

PETITION [a1338] *petītiō* 'attack; thrust; request; petition' (*petere/petītum* 'seek (after); attack; ask for; desire')

POLLUTION [a1349] *pollūtiō* [c4 Palladius] 'defilement; contamination; pollution' (*polluere/pollūtum* 'POLLUTE; contaminate; violate; defile')

PORTION [a1325] *portiō* 'part; portion; share; ratio; proportion' (probably assimilated from **prō partiōne*: see PROPORTION below [**perh$_3$-* 'grant; allot'])

POSITION [Ch.] *positiō* 'action of placing; layout; disposition; position' (*pōnere/positum* 'put; place; lay; station')

POSSESSION [1340] *possessiō* 'possession; estate' (*possidēre/possessum* 'POSSESS; have')

PREAMBULATION [Ch.] 'preambling' **praeambulātiō* [Chaucer's *preambulacioun* is either from *preamble* (so Cannon 1998: 352) or, more likely, from OF *preambule*] (neut. pl. *praeambula* [ML] 'preamble' < *praeambulus* [c4/5 Martianus Capella] 'walking in front'; cf. also *praeambulāre/praeambulātum* [c4/5 Mart. Cap.] 'walk before')

PREDESTINATION [*c.*1340] *praedestinātiō* [c3^{m}] (*praedestināre/praedestinātum* [Livy] 'determine beforehand; PREDESTINE; [c3^{m}] (of God) 'foreordain')

PREDICATION [*c.*1303] *praedicātiō* 'announcement; proclamation; publication' (*praedicāre/praedicātum* 'publish; proclaim; cite; describe (as)')

PRESUMPTION [a1250] *praesumptiō* [Seneca] 'presupposition; presumption' (*praesūmere/praesūmptum* 'consume or spend beforehand; perform beforehand; presuppose')
PROCESSION [a1121 Peterborough Chron] *prōcessiō* 'advance; solemn procession' (*prōcēdere/prōcessum* 'go forward/before; PROCEED; advance')
PROCREATION [Ch.] *prōcreātiō* 'act of generation or procreation' (*prōcreāre* 'bring into existence; beget; PROCREATE; produce; create')
PROFESSION [?a1200] *professiō* 'open/formal declaration; avowal; profession' (*profitērī/professum* 'declare publicly; promise; PROFESS')
PROGRESSION [Ch.] *prōgressiō* 'advance; progress' (*prōgredī/prōgressum* 'march forwards; go on; proceed')
PROLATION [Ch. *prolacioun* 'utterance; tune' (no known OF source) ≠ MnE *prolation* 'the elongating of a cigar-shaped spheroid'] *prōlātiō* 'adducing; postponement; enlargement' (*prōferre/prōlātum* 'bring forth; extend; prolong; defer; reveal; produce')
PROPORTION [a1382/Ch.] (cf. AF *proporcion* [1267]) *prōportiō* [Varro] 'analogy'; [Vitruvius] 'proportion' (backformed from *prō portiōne*; see PORTION above)
PROPOSITION [*c.*1340] *prōpositiō* 'imagination; notion; statement; case proposed for discussion' (*prōpōnere/prōpositum* 'set up; display; expose (to); purpose')
PROSCRIPTION [Ch.] *prōscrīptiō* 'advertisement (of a sale); proscription; publication of names of outlawed citizens' (*prōscrībere/prōscrīptum* 'post up; advertise; PROSCRIBE')
PROTECTION [*c.*1350] *prōtēctiō* [Quintilian] 'protection; shelter' (*prōtegere/prōtēctum* 'cover; furnish with a projecting roof; PROTECT; defend')
PROTESTATION [1382] *prōtestātiō* [c4] 'assurance; solemn declaration' (*prōtestārī/prōtestātum* [Quintilian] 'declare in public; bear witness (to); testify; PROTEST')
PURGATION [a1382] *pūrgātiō* 'cleaning; purification; purging; exoneration' (*pūrgāre/pūrgātum* 'clean(se); purify; clear; exonerate')
RECOMPENSATION [Ch.] *recompēnsātiō* [c6] 'recompense' (*recompēnsāre/recompēnsātum* [c6] RECOMPENSE)
RECONCILIATION [*c.*1350] (cf. AF *reconciliacium* [1267]) *reconciliātiō* 'restoration (of good relations, etc.); reconciliation' (*reconciliāre/reconciliātum* 'restore; RECONCILE')
REDEMPTION [*c.*1340] *redēmptiō* 'ransoming; purchasing'; [Tertullian] '(Christian) redemption' (*redimere/redēmptum* 'buy back; ransom; REDEEM')

REFLECTION [Ch.] *reflexiō* [c4/5 Macrobius] 'bending back' (*reflectere/reflexum* 'bend back; turn back; reverse; turn around')

REMISSION [?a1200] *remissiō* 'sending back; relaxation; remission; cancellation' (*remittere/remissum* 'send back; relax; slacken; grant; concede; REMIT')

REPARATION [Ch.] (cf. AF *reparacion* [1267]) *reparātiō* [c4] 'restoration; repairs' (*reparāre/reparātum* 'recover; restore; REPAIR; renew')

REPLETION [Ch.] *replētiō* [epigr.] 'filling up'; [*c.*300 Julius Valerius] 'completion' (*replēre/replētum* 'fill up (again); replenish; restore')

REPLICATION [Ch.] *replicātiō* 'contrary rotation; objection (by plaintiff)'; [Justinian] 'reply; replication' (*replicāre/replicātum* 'fold back; unroll'; [Justinian] REPLY; REPLICATE)

REPREHENSION [Ch.] *repr(eh)ēnsiō* 'check(ing); censure; reprimand; refutation' (*reprehendere/repr(eh)ēnsum* 'catch hold of; censure; REPREHEND; rebuke')

REPRESSION [Ch.] *repressiō* [c4 Ambrose] 'suppression' (*reprimere/repressum* '(hold in) check; restrain; REPRESS')

REPUTATION [?*c.*1350] *reputātiō* [Pliny] 'consideration; reflection'; [Justinian's *Digest*] 'reckoning' (*reputāre/reputātum* 'think over; reflect on')

RESURRECTION [*c.*1300] *resurrēctiō* [sacrae scripturae; Tertullian] 'rising again (from the dead)' (*resurgere/resurrēctum* 'rise (again); revive')

RETRACTION [Ch.] *retractiō* [Vitruvius] 'extension inwards'; [c4/5 Macrobius] 'diminution' [cf. *retractātiō* 'retraction (of words)'] (*retrahere/retractum* 'drag back; summon back; withdraw')

REVELATION [*c.*1303] *revēlātiō* [Tertullian] 'revelation (of a secret)'; [c3/4 Arnobius] 'uncovering'; [c4^{b} Lactantius] 'the Apocalypse (of St. John)' (*revēlāre/revēlātum* [Ovid] 'unveil; open; REVEAL')

REVERBERATION [Ch.] *reverberātiō* [AL] 'rebounding; vibration' [cf. *verberātiō* 'beating; punishment'] (*reverberāre/reverberātum* [Seneca] 'repel; beat back; cause to rebound; redound')

REVOLUTION [Ch.] *revolūtiō* [Jerome] 'rolling back'; [Augustine] 'revolution (of time)' (*revolvere/revolūtum* 'roll back; unroll; REVOLVE')

SALUTATION [*c.*1384] *salūtātiō* 'greeting; salutation' (*salūtāre/salūtātum* 'greet; SALUTE')

SALVATION (earlier *savacioun* [?a1200] < OF *salvacion* [1160]) *salvātiō* [sacrae scripturae *apud* Cyprian] '(Christian) salvation' (*salvāre/salvātum* [sacrae scripturae] 'heal')

SATISFACTION [a1325] *satisfactiō* 'satisfaction for an offence; apology'; [Ulpian] 'payment of a debt'; [Cassiodorus] 'fulfilment; satisfaction (of desire)' (*satisfacere/satisfactum* 'make amends; SATISFY')

SESSION [Ch.] *sessiō* 'act or state of sitting; seat' (*sedēre/sessum* 'sit; remain; rest; be decided on')

SIGNIFICATION [a1325] *significātiō* 'giving signs; expression; indication; meaning' (*significāre/significātum* 'show; point out; indicate; SIGNIFY')

SOLUTION [Ch.] *solūtiō* 'an unfastening; unbinding; dissolution; discharge of a debt; payment'; [Gellius] 'solution (of a puzzle or dilemma)' (*solvere/solūtum* 'loosen; dissolve; perform; pay; deliver; release')

SPECULATION [Ch.] *speculātiō* [c4 Ammianus] 'exploration; contemplation'; [Boethius] 'speculation; theorem' (*speculārī/speculātum* 'observe; watch (for); explore; search out')

SUASION [Ch.] *suāsiō* 'suggesting; suggestion; exhortation' (*suādēre/suāsum* 'advise; recommend; urge; advocate')

SUBJECTION [Ch.] *subjectiō* 'action of placing under; something placed beneath as a support'; [Tertullian] 'subjugation; subjection; submission' (*sub(j)icere/subjectum* 'place below; put under the control of; SUBJECT; interpose; suborn')

SUBMISSION [Ch.] *submissiō* 'lowering (of the voice); action of making subordinate' (*submittere/submissum* 'raise; send (up); make subject (to)')

SUCCESSION [a1325] *successiō* (*succēdere/successum* 'go below; move up; take the place (of); SUCCEED (to)')

SUGGESTION [*c.*1340] *suggestiō* [Quintilian] 'supplying of an answer to one's own question'; [c4 Vopiscus] 'intimation; suggestion' (*suggerere/suggestum* 'heap up; supply; subjoin, append; SUGGEST')

SUPPLICATION [Ch.] *supplicātiō* 'offering of propitiation to a deity' (*supplicāre/supplicātum* 'make humble petition to; make propitiatory offerings to')

SUPPORTATION [Ch.] 'support' *supportātiō* [c6] 'action of bearing (enduring)' (*supportāre/supportātum* 'transport'; [Jerome] 'bear; endure; SUPPORT')

TEMPTATION [?a1200] 'onset (of a disease)'; [Livy] 'attempt'; [Tertullian] 'temptation (to sin)' (*temptāre* ~ *tentāre/-tātum* 'attempt; try; prove; test')

TRANSLATION [Ch.] *trānslātiō* 'transfer; shift'; [Quintilian] 'translation'; [Cyprian] 'removal (to heaven)' (*trānsferre/trānslātum* 'bring over; transport; TRANSFER; TRANSLATE')

TRANSMUTATION [Ch.] *trānsmūtātiō* [Quintilian] 'rearrangement; transposition' (*trānsmūtāre/trānsmūtātum* 'change (about)')

TRIBULATION [?a1200] *trībulātiō* [Tertullian/Cyprian] 'distress; affliction; tribulation' (*trībulāre/trībulātum* 'press; squeeze; exact' [sacrae scripturae *apud* Tertullian] 'afflict; torment')

TURBATION [a1388/Ch.] *turbātiō* [Livy; Gellius; Ulpian] 'disturbance; perturbation' (*turbāre/turbātum* 'disturb; confuse; trouble' denominal to *turba* 'turmoil'; see *turbulent* § 4.11)

VACATION [Ch.] *vacātiō* 'exemption; immunity; vacation' (*vacāre/vacātum* 'be empty, devoid (of), free (from); have leisure, time (for); be unemployed'; see *vacuous* § 5.4.1)

VARIATION [Ch.] *variātiō* 'divergence of behaviour'; [Livy] 'action of making varied' (*variāre/variātum* 'variegate; VARY; cause (opinions) to be divided; waver; fluctuate')

VISION [*c.*1300] *vīsiō* 'appearance; visual or mental image'; [c2 Apuleius] 'vision' (*vidēre/vīsum* 'see; look at; behold; observe')

VISITATION [*c.*1303] *vīsitātiō* [Vitruvius] 'action of seeing frequently'; [Tertullian] 'visit; visiting'; [c4] 'visitation; punishment' (*vīsitāre/vīsitātus* 'see frequently; VISIT' § 6.5)

3.8.3 *Other frequent* -tion/-sion *words*

ACQUISITION [1387] *acquīsītiō* [c1] 'additional source', [c2] 'acquisition' (*acquīrere/acquīsītum* 'add to possessions; ACQUIRE' [*c.*1435]; cf. *quaerere* 'seek' [*$*h_2eis$-*] § 6.5)

APPARITION [1481] *appāritiō* [LL/EL] 'appearance; advent; Epiphany' (*appārēre/appāritum* 'be seen; come into sight; appear'; cf. *pārēre* 'appear; obey' [etym. unclear RPIEL 144])

APPROPRIATION [*c.*1370] *appropriātiō* [c5 Caelius Aurelianus] (*appropriāre/appropriātum* [Cael. Aur.] 'make one's own; APPROPRIATE' [1528])

CALCULATION [1393] *calculātiō* [c5] 'reckoning' (*calculāre/calculātum* [*c.*400] 'reckon; count' denominal to *calculus* § 2.9.1)

CAPTION [a1382] *captiō* 'deception; loss' (*capere/captum* 'take; catch; capture')

CESSION [*c.*1440] *cessiō* 'a surrendering or conceding (in law)' (*cēdere/cessum* 'proceed; withdraw; yield; CEDE' [1633])

CIRCULATION [1535] *circulātiō* [Vitruvius; EL] 'act of circling; revolution' (*circulārī/circulātum* 'form circles or groups around oneself; CIRCULATE' [1471]; v. *circle* § 4.9.1)

CIRCUMCISION [a1175] *circumcīsiō* [Tertullian] 'circumcision'; [c4^{b}] 'act of cutting around' (*circumcīdere/circumcīsum* 'cut around; CIRCUMCISE' [*c.*1250])

COMPULSION [1462] *compulsiō* [Ulpian] (*compellere/compulsum* 'drive (together); force (to go); COMPEL' [?*c.*1350])

COMPUNCTION [a1340] *compunctiō* [c4] 'piercing pain'; [EL] 'pangs of conscience; remorse' (*compungere/compunctum* 'prick; puncture'; [EL] 'prick one's conscience')

CONCUSSION [1490] *concussiō* [Seneca] 'a shaking; earthquake'; [Ulpian] 'extortion' (*concutere/concussum* 'shake violently; agitate' CONCUSS [1597] [**k^{w}eh$_1$t-* 'shake'])

CONDUCTION [1538] 'hiring' (Rom. law), [1541] †'conveyance', modern use [1612] *conductiō* 'bringing together; renting' (*condūcere/conductum* 'bring together; contract; employ')

CONGESTION [a1425] *congestiō* [Vitruvius] 'act of filling up; mass; pile' (*congerere/congestum* 'collect; amass; heap/pile up; assemble')

CONSPIRATION [a1300] *cōnspīrātiō* 'conspiracy' (*cōnspīrāre/cōnspīrātum* 'agree together; conspire' from *con-* 'together' + *spīrāre* 'breathe'; see *spiracle* § 3.6.3.2)

CONSTIPATION [*c.*1400] 'constriction of organic tissues', [1549] 'confinement of the bowels', [1603] 'a crowding' *cōnstīpātiō* [c4/5] 'a crowding together; dense crowd' (*cōnstīpāre/cōnstīpātum* 'crowd together': *stīpāre* 'stuff, pack' [**steip-* 'make stiff' = LIV 594])

CONSUMPTION [1398] *cōnsumptiō* 'process of consuming; consumption' (*cōnsūmere/cōnsūmptum* 'wear away; CONSUME [a1382]; devour; expend; use up')

CONTUSION [*c.*1400] *contūsiō* [Columella] 'a battering, bruising; bruise, contusion' (*contundere/contūsum* 'crush; bruise': *tundere* 'beat' [**(s)teud-* 'knock' LIV 601])

CONVERSION [*c.*1340] religious sense, [*c.*1540] 'transformation' *conversiō* 'act of turning; alteration'; [EL] 'conversion' (*convertere/conversum* 'revolve; rotate; transform')

CONVULSION [1585] *convulsiō* [Pliny; Scribonius Largus] 'dislocation; displacement (of an organ); cramp; convulsion' (*convellere/convulsum* 'dislocate (a limb); shake violently; CONVULSE' [1643]: *vellere* 'tear' < **wl̥-n-h$_3$-* [**wel-*[4] 'id.' = **welh$_3$-* LIV 679])

DICTATION [a1656] 'authoritative utterance or prescription', [1727] 'dictated draft' *dictātiō* [c2/3] 'dictated draft' (*dictāre/dictātum* DICTATE [1592] § 6.5.1)

DIMENSION [a1400] *dīmēnsiō* 'act of measuring; measurement; dimension' (*dīmētīrī/dīmēnsum* 'measure (out)': *mētīrī* is denom. to **meh$_1$-ti-* [**meh$_1$-* 'measure' LIV 424 f.])

DIRECTION [1407] *dīrēctiō* 'alignment; directing' (*dīrigere/dīrēctum* 'arrange; DIRECT' [Ch.])

DISLOCATION [*c.*1400] *dislocātiō* [NL] (*dislocāre/dislocātum* [ML] DISLOCATE [1605] denom. to *locus* 'place', OL acc. *stlocum* < **stloko-* [etym. unknown DELL 649] HLFL 84, 112)

EDUCATION [1531] *ēducātiō* 'rearing (of young); upbringing; nurture' *(ēducāre/ēducātum* 'bring up; nurture; rear')

ERUCTATION [a1470] *ērūctātiō* [Apuleius] 'violent discharge (of vapour, etc.)' (*ērūctāre/ērūctātum* 'disgorge; belch; vomit' intens. to *ē-rūgere* 'belch' [**reug-* 'id.' = LIV 509])

ERUPTION [a1425] *ēruptiō* 'sudden rush; violent discharge; eruption (of pimples, etc.)' (*ērumpere/ēruptum* 'burst (forth/out); break out of; emit violently; ERUPT' [1657])

GESTION *gestiō* 'doing; performance' (*gerere/gestum* 'carry (on); wage; transact')

ILLUMINATION [*c.*1340] *illūminātiō* [Quintilian] 'illustriousness'; [LL] 'act of shedding light on' (*illūmināre/illūminātum* 'throw light on; brighten; illuminate')

INCISION [a1395] *incīsiō* 'act of cutting into; incision' (*incīdere/incīsum* 'make an incision into; INCISE [1541]; cut open; slit; sever')

INDICATION [1541] *indicātiō* 'valuation; declaration' (*indicāre/indicātum* 'point out; reveal; disclose; INDICATE' [1651])

INFLAMMATION [a1425] *īnflammātiō* 'act of setting ablaze; kindling'; [Celsus] 'inflammation' (*īnflammāre/īnflammātum* 'set on fire; ignite; kindle')

INFLATION [a1340] *īnflātiō* distention of the stomach; flatulence; expansion; bulge' (*īnflāre/īnflātum* 'blow; fill with air; INFLATE' [1530])

INFLECTION [a1375] *īnflexiō* 'act of bending/curving; modification; adaptation'; [c4] '(grammatical) inflection' (*īnflectere/īnflexum* 'bend/curve (inwards); modify')

INFUSION [*c.*1450] *īnfūsiō* [Pliny] 'act of pouring in/on (of medicaments)' (*īnfundere/īnfūsum* 'pour (in/on); instil' < **ǵhu-n-d-* [**ǵheu-/*ǵheu-d-* 'pour' = LIV 179])

INSPIRATION [*c.*1303] *īnspīrātiō* [Tertullian] 'inspiration'; [c3/4] 'act of breathing in' (*īnspīrāre/īnspīrātum* 'blow (on/into); infuse; INSPIRE' [a1340]; see *spiracle* § 3.6.3.2)

INTOXICATION [a1410] *intoxicātiō* [NL] (*intoxicāre/intoxicātum* [ML] 'put poison in; poison'; cf. *toxicāre* [c4] 'smear with poison' from *toxicum* 'poison for arrows' < G (*φάρμακον*) *τοξικόν* '(poison) for arrows'; cf. *τόξον* [Myc.+] 'bow' < **tok^{w}-so-* [**tek^{w}-* 'run; flee' = LIV 620 f.] poss. a borrowing from Scythian; cf. Iran. **taxša-* 'bow' DELG 1125)

INVENTION [a1350] 'discovery', [1526] 'contrivance' *inventiō* 'action of finding, devising; discovery; invention' (*invenīre/inventum* 'come upon; find; devise; INVENT' [*c.*1475])

LECTION [1540] *lēctiō* 'action of choosing; reading, perusal' (*legere/lēctum* 'choose; read')

LESION [1452] *laesiō* '(rhet.) damage (by personal attack)'; [Ulpian] 'physical injury' (*laedere/laesum* 'injure; offend; damage' [etym. unknown RPIEL 264]; cf. *caedere* 'strike')

LIBERATION [*c.*1440] *līberātiō* 'release; deliverance; acquittal' (*līberāre/līberātum* '(set) free; release; acquit; discharge'; see *liberal* § 4.11)

MADEFACTION [1583] *madefactiō* [c4/5] 'wetting' (*madefacere/madefactum* 'make wet; soak'; cf. *madēre* 'be wet', *madidus* 'wet', and *facere* 'make' § 6.4.1.1)

MEDICATION [?a1425] *medicātiō* [Columella] 'treatment of food or wine with a preservative, flavouring, etc.; [$c5^b$] 'art of healing' (*medicāre/medicātum* 'cure; heal; treat; MEDICATE' [1623; see *medicine* § 4.7.1*b*)

MISSION [1530] *missiō* 'dispatch; discharge' (*mittere/missum* 'send' [**meith₂-* LIV 430])

MODERATION [?a1425] *moderātiō* 'moderation; restraint; control' (*moderārī/moderātum* 'control; restrain; temper; MODERATE' [1435])

NARRATION [*c.*1449] *narrātiō* 'story; tale; narrative' (*narrāre/narrātum* 'tell; NARRATE' [1656])

NAVIGATION [1527] *nāvigātiō* 'sailing; voyaging; voyage' (*nāvigāre/nāvigātum* 'go by ship; voyage; sail' § 6.6.1)

OBLATION [1413] *oblātiō* [Apuleius] 'offering' (*offerre/oblātum* 'bring to; present; OFFER' [a1121 Peterborough Chron])

OMISSION [*c.*1400] (cf. AF *omissiun* [1267]) *omissiō* [c4] 'omission' (*omittere/omissum* 'let go; release; discontinue; disregard; OMIT' [?*c.*1422]; see *mission* above)

OPTION [1549–50] *optiō* 'act of choosing; choice; option' (**opere/*optum* 'choose' [**op-*^{2} = **h₃ep-*^{2}]; cf. frequentative *optāre/optātum* 'choose; desire' § 6.5.1)

ORATION [*c.*1440] 'petition', [1502] 'formal speech' *ōrātiō* 'action of speaking; speech; oration' (*ōrāre/ōrātum* 'beseech; plead; speak'; see Panagl 1992*b*: 314)

PREPARATION [1390] *praeparātiō* (*praeparāre/praeparātum* 'provide beforehand; PREPARE' [1466]: *parāre* 'try to get; prepare' [**perə-*^{1} 'produce, procure' = **perh₃-* LIV 474 f.])

PROCURATION [*c.*1420] *prōcūrātiō* 'care; attention; responsibility (for); administration (of)' (*prōcūrāre/prōcūrātum* 'look after; attend to; administer')

PURIFICATION [*c.*1380] *pūrificātiō* [Pliny] 'ritual cleaning; purification' (*pūrificāre/pūrificātum* [Pliny] 'cleanse; PURIFY' [a1300] § 6.4.2.1)

RECTION [a1637] *rēctiō* 'act of directing or governing' (*regere/rēctum* 'direct; control; rule')

REPERCUSSION [a1470] *repercussiō* [Seneca] 'rebounding/reflection (of light)' (*repercutere/repercussum* 'repel; reflect (light, sound); impinge against'; see *concussion* above)

RESPIRATION [a1395] *respīrātiō* 'process of breathing; respiration' (*respīrāre/respīrātum* 'recover one's breath; pause; exhale; breathe; RESPIRE' [1387–8])

RESTITUTION [a1300] (cf. AF *restituciun* [1267]) *restitūtiō* 'rebuilding; reinstatement' (*restituere/restitūtum* 'set up again; restore; renew; revive')

SCRIPTION [1597] 'handwriting in the style of a writer or period' *scrīptiō* 'act of writing (down); composition; mode of representing in writing' (*scrībere/scrīptum* 'write')

SEDATION [1543] *sēdātiō* 'act/process of allaying; assuagement' (*sēdāre/sēdātum* 'abate; subside; allay; restrain' SEDATE [1646] < **sēd-eh$_2$-ye/o-* [**sed-*[1] 'sit'] cf. L *sēdēs* 'seat')

SEDITION [*c.*1375] 'violent party strife', [1838] 'incitement to rebellion' *sēditiō* 'internal strife; violent political discord; rebellion' (*sē(d)* 'apart' + *itiō* 'action of going': *īre/itum* 'go')

SEDUCTION [1526] *sēductiō* 'the act of taking aside'; [Tertullian] 'deception' (*sēdūcere/sēductum* 'lead astray; entice' SEDUCE [*c.*1477] [**deuk-* 'lead'])

SPECTATION [1638] *spectātiō* 'act of watching; inspection' (*spectāre/spectātum* 'look at; watch' [**spék-* 'observe'])

STATION [*c.*1380] *statiō* 'state of standing still; halting-place; post; station' (*stāre/statum* 'stand' [**stā-/*steh$_2$-* 'id.'])

SUPERSTITION [1402] *superstitiō* 'irrational religious awe; superstition' [prob. lit. 'a standing over something (in amazement and awe)'] (cf. *superstāre* 'stand over'; *superstes/superstit-* 'standing over; surviving')

TENSION [1533] *tēnsiō* [c1] 'process of drawing tight; a stretching out; constriction' (*tendere/tēnsum* 'extend; stretch out; pull tight; exert strain on'; see *intentive* § 5.5.1)

TRACTION [1615] *tractiō* [ML] (*trahere/tractum* 'drag; pull; haul'; see *attractive* § 5.5.1)

TRANSMIGRATION [1297] *trānsmigrātiō* [sacrae scripturae] 'emigration'; [c4] 'metempsychosis' (*trānsmigrāre/trānsmigrātum* [Livy] 'transport; (trans)migrate')

TRANSUBSTANTIATION [1398 Trevisa] *trān(s)substantiātiō* [ML] (*trān(s)substantiāre/trān(s)substantiātum* 'transform the nature of',

denominal to L *trāns* 'across; changing' + *substantia* [Seneca] 'reality; corporeal existence; SUBSTANCE' [?a1300])

TUITION [1436] *tuitiō* [epigr.; c3/4] 'support; legal protection' (*tuērī/tuitum* 'view; watch over; protect' [**teuh*-1 'pay attention to' = LIV 639])

3.9 *-tūra/-sūra* (> E *-ture/-sure*)

Formally, this suffix (LG i § 287) seems to be an adjectival **-ro-* (fem. **-reh$_2$*) extension of nominal **-t(e/o)u-*; cf. *nātus/nātū-* 'birth' : *nātūra* 'birth; NATURE' (cf. Benveniste 1948: 104; Sihler 1995: 621; Meiser 1998: 228; Schumacher 2000: 215 f.). While *-tūra* bears a close resemblance to the future active participle (FAP) *-tūrus, -a, -um*, there is no simple way the two can be related (*pace* Meiser 1998: 228; Morani 2000: 290). Since the FAP *futūrus, -a, -um* 'about to be' is older than the substantivized neuter *futūrum*, pl. *futūra* [Cicero] 'future things; the future', the nominal suffix could not have spawned the future participle.[7] That the future participle and nominal suffix differed in origin is also suggested by differences in their stem formation. Contrast *paritūrus* 'about to give birth' with *partūra* 'process of giving birth', *stātūrus* 'about to stand' with *statūra* STATURE, etc. Finally, the nominal suffix patterns with *-or/-tor* (etc.) in having an older form *-ūra* beside *-tūra* (built on stem II); cf. *figūra* 'form; shape; FIGURE' ([?a1200]), derived from *fingere* 'to mould; shape', beside *fictūra* 'action or mode of forming; formation'.

As to function, the Latin formations are largely action nominals (Pattison 1975: 56–70), and in the older period many have duration or iterative value (Ramat 1975). Very few examples are not so characterized, e.g. *frāctūra* 'process of breaking; fracture', *pictūra* 'process of painting; picture', *scrīptūra* 'process of writing; text', and very few could be concretized in earlier Latin, among them the three just mentioned. The verbs from which they are derived, however, designate concrete acts, many of a manual nature (write, mix, mould, paint, etc.) (Ramat 1975: 125 f.).

As other suffixes (esp. *-tiō*) increased in productivity, they encroached on *-tūra*, e.g. *commissūra* [Cato] → *commissiō* [sacrae scripturae] COMMISSION [1344], *compositūra* [Cato] → *compositiō* [Rhet. Her., Cicero] COMPOSITION

[7] The future participle must be related (by being provided with adjectival forms) to the archaic Latin infinitive in *-tūrum*, e.g. Plautus, *Truculentus* 400: *bona sua mē(d)* [FEM] *habitūrum omnia* '(that) I (FEM) was to have all his goods (everything he owns)'. In Classical Latin, the norm would involve FAP *habitūram* (with ACC.sg.FEM *-am*) with or without *esse* 'to be'. The *-tūrum* infinitive most likely goes back to nominal **-tu-* + inf. **esom* (Oscan *ezum*) 'to be' (cf. Meillet and Vendryes 1998: § 543; Sihler 1995: 612; Baldi 1999: 409). The main objection has been that Latin otherwise does not have the **-om* infinitive (Ernout 1953: 230).

[a1382], *frāctūra* [Cato] → *frāctiō* [Vulgate] 'breaking'. Already in Plautus, *natūra* coexists with *nātus* 'birth' and *nātiō* 'birth; race'. In many cases there is semantic differentiation. For instance, in Plautus *cursūra* is 'running', *cursus* 'act of running; race'; *statūra* is '(physical) stature', *status* 'condition of being in a standing position'. And so on (details in Ramat 1975: 126 ff.).

Latin also had denominal occupational terms in *-t/sūra* built on *-t/sor* agentives, e.g. *cēnsūra* [Cicero] 'office of the censor; appraisal', *gladiātūra* [Tacitus] 'the gladiatorial profession' (*gladiātor* GLADIATOR [1541]), etc. (Ramat 1975: 128).

English deverbals in *-ture/-sure* are mostly result nouns: achievements [−duration] or accomplishments [+duration]. As usual, the oldest English derivatives are via (Anglo-) French (Marchand 1969: 350 f.; Koziol 1972: § 608).[8]

3.9.1 *-tūra (> E -ture)*

ADVENTURE < ME *aventure* [?a1200] 'chance; (mis)fortune; circumstance; adventure' < OF *aventure* [c11^{e}] 'happening; occurrence; incident; chance; (ad)venture' < ML *adventūra* 'chance happening; occurrence; incident; adventure' < VL **(rēs) adventūra* (FAP) '(thing) about to happen' (*advenīre/adventum* 'come to; arrive; arise; develop')

APERTURE [1649] *apertūra* [Vitruvius] 'opening; hole' (*aperīre/apertum* 'open')

ARMATURE [1542] (modern senses [1609]) *armātūra* [Cicero] 'armour; equipment' (*armāre/armātum* 'arm; equip' [**ar-* = **h₁ar-* or **h₂er-* 'fit']; see *armoury* § 4.4.4.2)

CAPTURE [1541–2] *captūra* [c1 Valerius Maximus, Pliny] 'act of catching; catch; take; profit' (*capere/captum* 'take; catch; capture; seize; get')

CINCTURE [1587] 'belt; girdle' *cinctūra* [Quintilian] 'girdle' (*cingere/cinctum* 'gird; circle' < **keng-e-* [**kenk-*¹/**keng-* 'gird, bind' not in LIV] HLFL 83)

CONJECTURE [1392] *conjectūra* 'the inferring; conjecture' (*cōnicere/conjectum* 'throw/put together; project; conjecture'; see *subjective* § 5.5.1)

CREATURE [*c.*1280] *creātūra* [EL] 'act of creating; creature' (*creāre/creātum* CREATE [*c.*1386])

CULTURE [*c.*1482] *cultūra* 'cultivation' (*colere/cultum* 'tend; look after; cultivate; dwell') and its compound *agricultūra* AGRICULTURE [1603] (lit. 'field-cultivation')

FRACTURE [1525] *frāctūra* [c1 Celsus, Pliny] 'process of breaking; fracture' (*frangere/frāctum* 'break; shatter; smash' [**bhreg-* 'break'])

[8] Words that are exclusively French in form are ignored here, e.g. *jointure* [Ch.] 'union' (cf. *juncture*), *moisture* [*c.*1350], *peinture* [?a1200] 'painting', *portraiture* [Ch.] 'drawing; picture'.

GESTURE [*c.*1410] (modern sense 'motion' [1545]) *gestūra* [ML] 'manner of acting; method' (*gerere/gestum* 'bear; carry (on); conduct; perform')

IMPLICATURE [1968] *implicātūra* [c5 Sidonius] 'entanglement' (*implicāre/implicitum* ~ *implicātum* 'entwine; enfold; intertwine; involve; entangle')

INVESTITURE [1387] *investītūra* [ML] (*investīre/investītum* 'clothe; cover; deck; adorn')

JUNCTURE [a1382] *junctūra* 'joint; juncture' (*jungere/jūnctum* 'yoke; join; unite')

LECTURE [1398] *lēctūra* [ML] 'reading; professorship; quotation' (*legere/lēctum* 'gather; choose; traverse; read' [**leǵ-*[1] 'collect'])

LIGATURE [*c.*1400] *ligātūra* [c4] 'bandage; bond'; [ML] 'binding' (e.g. of books) (*ligāre/ligātum* 'fasten; bind; bandage; join together' [**leiǵ-* 'bind'])

MIXTURE [?a1425] *mixtūra* 'a blending'; [c1] 'mixture; composition' < **mi(ḱ)-sḱ-* (*miscēre/mixtum* 'mix; blend; concoct' < **miḱ-sḱé-* [**meiḱ-/*meiǵ-* 'mix'] LIV 428 f.)

NATURE [*c.*1275] *nātūra* 'conditions of birth; characteristics; character; nature' (*nāscī/nātum* 'be born; come into existence; (a)rise')

NURTURE < ME *nor(i)ture* [?a1300] 'nourishment; instruction; good manners' < OF *norreture* [c12[e]] 'nourishment; education; spiritual nurturing' < LL *nūtrītūra* [c6 Cassiodorus] 'a feeding; suckling' (*nūtrīre/nūtrītum* 'suckle; nourish; rear; nurture; foster' § 3.7)

PASTURE [?a1300] *pāstūra* [c4] 'grazing; pasture' (*pāscere/pāstum* 'feed; pasture; nurture')

PICTURE [*c.*1420] *pictūra* 'process of painting; picture' (*pingere/pictum* 'paint; colour')

PLICATURE [1578] *plicātūra* [Pliny] 'folding; fold; plicature' (*plicāre/plicātum* 'fold')

PUNCTURE [*c.*1400] *punctūra* [c1 Celsus] 'prick(ing); puncture' (*pungere/punctum* 'pierce; prick; puncture' < **pu-n-ǵ-* [**peuḱ-/*peuǵ-* 'stick, prick'])

RAPTURE [1600] *raptūra* [ML] 'seizure; ecstasy' (*rapere/raptum* 'carry off; RAPE' [a1338])

RUPTURE [1481] *ruptūra* [Gellius] 'breaking; fracture' (*rumpere/ruptum* 'burst; rupture')

SCRIPTURE [a1300] *scrīptūra* 'process or manner of writing; text; written record'; [Tertullian] 'holy scripture' (*scrībere/scrīptum* 'draw; mark (out); inscribe; write')

SCULPTURE [1390] *sculptūra* [Vitruvius, Pliny] 'process of carving or engraving; engraved figure' (*sculpere/sculptum* 'carve; fashion by carving or engraving'; cf. *scalpere* 'scratch; carve' [**(s)kel-p-* 'cut' not in LIV] to [**(s)kel-*[1] = **(s)kel-*[2]/**skelh-* LIV 552 f.])

SEPULTURE [1297] *sepultūra* 'disposal of human remains, *esp.* burial'; later 'place of burial' (*sepelīre/sepultum* 'dispose of human remains'; see *sepulchre* § 3.6.3.1)
STATURE [a1300] *statūra* 'height of an upright body; stature' (*stāre/statum* 'stand')
STRICTURE [*c.*1400] *strictūra* 'hardened mass of iron'; [Tertullian] 'tribulation'; [c4] 'contraction, compression'; [c9] 'tightening, constriction' (*stringere/strictum* 'touch, graze; bind fast, secure, tighten' conflates **stri-n-g-* [**streig-* 'stroke'] and **stréngh-e-* [**strengh-* 'constrict' not in AHDR] LIV 603 f.)
STRUCTURE [*c.*1400] *structūra* 'process of building; structure' (*struere/structum* 'arrange; construct; build'; see *instrument* § 3.5.1)
SUTURE [a1470] (verb [1777]) *sūtūra* [Livy] 'stitch; seam'; [Celsus] 'suture (of the skull)' (*suere/sūtum* 'stitch together; sew'; [Celsus] 'sew up; suture')
TEMPERATURE [1531] 'mixture; temperament'; [1670] 'hot/cold measurement' *temperātūra* [Vitruvius] 'proper mixture; tempering; consistency of such a mixture'; [Varro] 'a mean between extremes; temperateness' (*temperāre/temperātum* 'behave with moderation; restrain oneself; temper; modify; regulate; blend')
TEXTURE [1447] (modern sense [1611]) *textūra* 'process of weaving; texture; structure' (*texere/textum* 'weave' < **tek-s-e-* [**teks-* 'weave; fabricate' = **tek-* 'weave' LIV 619 f.] but AHDR's **teks-* conflates two roots, the other being [**tetḱ-* 'fabricate' LIV 638 f.])
TINCTURE [*c.*1400] *tinctūra* [Pliny] 'a dyeing' (*tingere/tinctum* 'moisten; soak; dye')
TORTURE [*c.*1540] (verb [1588]) *tortūra* [c4 Palladius] 'act of twisting/winding'; [EL/ML] 'torture; inquisition' (*torquēre/tortum* 'twist tightly; wind; torture; torment')
VESTURE [a1376] 'vestment; investiture' < OF *vesture* [1155] 'garment'; [1242] 'investiture' (cf. ML *vestūra* 'cloakroom; investiture') < *vestītūra* [LL] 'garment, vestment, apparel; investiture' (*vestīre/vestītum* 'clothe; dress')

3.9.2 *-sūra (> E -sure)*

CENSURE [*c.*1470] *cēnsūra* 'censorship; judgement' (*cēnsēre/cēnsum* 'assess; decree; think')
FISSURE [*c.*1400] 'narrow crack; schism' *fissūra* [Pliny] 'cleft; fissure' (*findere/fissum* 'cleave; split; divide' < **bhi-n-d-/*bhid-to-* [**bheid-* 'split' = LIV 70 f.])

PRESSURE [a1382] *pressūra* [Seneca] 'pressing; pressure' (*premere/pressum* PRESS [a1325])

TENSURE [1611] 'tension' *tēnsūra* [c3] 'pitching (a tent)'; [c4] 'tension' (*tendere/tēnsum* 'stretch; spread; pull tight')

TONSURE [1387] (cf. AF *tonsure*) 'a head-shaving' *tōnsūra* [Varro] 'shearing (of sheep)'; [Ovid] 'cutting (of hair)'; [Pliny] 'pruning, clipping (of trees, shrubs)' (*tondēre/tōnsum* 'cut; clip; shear; trim' < **tond-éye-* [**tem-*/**tem-h*$_1$*-*/**tem-d-* 'cut' LIV 628])

†USURE [*c.*1280]/USURY [1303] (OF *usure* [c12^{b}]/ML *ūsūria* 'usufruct' beside *ūsūra* [Thomas Aquinas] in the modern pejorative sense) *ūsūra* 'use, enjoyment; interest' (*ūtī/ūsum* USE [a1250] via Anglo-French < **oit-* < **h*$_3$*eit-* [**h*$_3$*eit-* 'take along' LIV 297])

3.9.3 *Denominal -tūra*

LITERATURE [*c.*1375] *litterātūra* 'use of letters; instruction; [c2] 'literature' (*littera* 'letter'; see *literary* § 4.4.2)

3.10 *-(t)us/-sus* (> E *-t/-s(e)/-tus/-sus*) 'concrete result'

The suffix **-tu-* (Benveniste 1948: 96–104; LG i § 316) makes deverbal abstracts which serve as infinitives in several Indo-European languages. It is possible that *-tu-* (on stem II) alternated residually with *-u-* (on stem I), as in L *gradus* 'step' (GRADE), related to *gradī* 'to step, walk', but this is isolated. Latin *-tu-* has two main functions: (1) abstract (mostly result) nouns that tend to become concrete; (2) supines, that is, non-finite complements in ACC *-tum* to verbs of motion and in ABL *-tū* and residual DAT *-tuī* to adjectives. The stem is nearly always identical to that of the PPP in **-to-* (L *-tus, -a, -um*), and the two are not easily distinguished in English. For instance, *act* comes from L *āctus* 'act; deed' and possibly also the participle *āctum* 'something transacted; transaction', while *fact* is exclusively from *factum* 'something done; deed'. The early borrowings, with loss of the Latin ending, are via (Anglo-)French (cf. Johnson 1931: § 88).

ACCENT [1530] *accentus* [Quintilian] 'accent; intonation' (*accanere* 'add song to (speech)')

ACT [Ch.] *āctus* 'driving; motion; act (of a play)'; [Seneca] 'act; deed; performance' (*agere/āctum* 'drive; do; act')

ADVENT [1099–1121] *adventus* 'approach; arrival' (*advenīre/adventum* 'come (to); arrive')

AFFLATUS [1665] 'creative impulse; (divine) inspiration' *afflātus* 'aspiration; inspiration'; [Pliny] 'breeze' (*afflāre/afflātum* 'emit air; breathe/blow (on)')

APPARATUS [a1628] *apparātus* 'preparation; equipping; trappings'; [Livy] 'equipment; apparatus' (*apparāre/apparātum* 'prepare; equip')

APPETITE [*c.*1303] *appetītus* 'desire; appetite' (*appetere/appetītum* 'try to reach; have a natural desire *or* appetite for; strive after')

ASPECT [Ch.] aspectus 'action of looking at; sight (of); vision; appearance; aspect' (*aspicere/aspectum* 'catch sight of; examine; investigate; survey')

AUDIT [1435] *audītus* '(sense of) hearing' [original audits involved a *hearing* of the parties Johnson 1931: 132] (*audīre/audītum* 'hear; listen to')

CASE [a1225]/CASUS [1571] *cāsus* 'a falling; fall; accident; happening; case' (*cadere/cāsum* 'fall; happen': Varro's loantranslation of G *πτῶσις* 'a fall(ing); (grammatical) case')

CENSUS [1613] *cēnsus* 'census' (*cēnsēre/cēnsum* 'register (an opinion), think; enrol; assess; appraise; value')

CHANT [*c.*1386] (OF *chant* [c12]) *cantus* 'singing; song' (*canere/cantum* 'sing; chant')

CIRCUIT [a1382] *circuitus* 'orbital motion; rotation; cycle' (*circu(m)īre/circu(m)itum* 'go around; surround')

COITUS [1713] *coitus* 'uniting'; [Ovid] 'sexual intercourse' (*coīre/coitum* 'come together; have sexual intercourse')

CONGRESS [1528] *congressus* 'a meeting, encounter; collection' (*congredī/congressum* 'approach; meet; struggle (in discussion)')

CONSENSUS [1854] *cōnsēnsus* 'agreement; consensus of opinion' (*cōnsentīre/cōnsēnsum* 'share in sensation; agree; concur')

CONSPECTUS [1836–7] 'comprehensive mental survey; summary; synopsis' *cōnspectus* '(range of) view; contemplation of several things together; survey' (*cōnspicere/cōnspectum* 'catch sight of; stare at; notice; discern')

CONVENT [?a1200 *covent*] *conventus* 'action of coming together; assembly'; [EL] 'assembly of clergy; group of monks'; [ML] 'communal life; convent' (*convenīre/conventum* 'assemble; CONVENE' [*c.*1425])

COURSE [a1121 Peterborough Chron]/CURSUS [1740] *cursus* '(action of) running; race; movement, motion; flow; voyage; orbit; path; course; career' (*currere/cursum* 'run')

CULT [1617]/CULTUS [1640] *cultus* 'tilling (of the ground); habitation; training; worship, veneration (of a deity); cult; devotion'; [Livy, Seneca] 'pursuit (of an interest or aspiration)' (*colere/cultum* 'tend; look after; cultivate; dwell')

DETRITUS [1795] 'waste matter (from washing or erosion)' *dētrītus* '(process of) rubbing away' (*dēterere/dētrītum* 'rub off; wear down; wear away')
DICTUS [1831] *dictus* '(action of) saying' (*dīcere/dictum* 'say')
DUCT [1650]/DUCTUS [1699] *ductus* 'conveyance (of water); line'; [c1 Columella] 'action of drawing or pulling' (*dūcere/ductum* 'lead; conduct; draw')
EGRESS [1538] *ēgressus* 'action of going out; egress; escape' (*ēgredī/ēgressum* 'go out')
EVENT [1573] *ēventus* 'outcome; occurrence; event' (*ēvenīre/ēventum* 'come out; happen')
EXCURSUS [1803] *excursus* 'action of going out'; [Quintilian] 'digression' (*excurrere/excursum* 'run out; make an excursion; go off into a digression')
EXIT [1538] *exitus* '(action of) going out; egress; means of exit; outlet' (*exīre/exitum* 'go out')
FLATUS [1669] 'stomach/intestinal gas' *flātus* 'a blowing' (*flāre/flātum* 'blow; emit breath')
FOETUS [a1387] *fētus* 'parturition; begetting; offspring'; [Ovid] 'the unborn in the womb' (*fē-*. as in *fēcundus* 'fertile', *fētum* 'fruitful; pregnant'; etc. [**dheh₁(i)-*])
FRUIT [*c*.1175]/FRUCT*uous* [a1382] *frūctus* 'enjoyment; possession; produce; yield; crops; fruit; profit' (*fruī/frūctum* ~ *fruitum* 'enjoy; profit from')
GUSTO [1629] (= Italian) *gustus* 'tasting; taste' (**gus-tu-* [**ǵeus-*]; cf. *gustāre* 'to taste')
HABIT [?a1200] *habitus* 'condition; demeanour; style of dress; character'; [EL/ML] 'habit' i.e. ecclesiastical dress-coat (*habēre/habitum* 'have; keep')
HIATUS [1563] *hiātus* 'gaping; yawning'; [Quintilian] 'hiatus' (*hiāre* (no PPP) 'be wide open; gape; be in hiatus')
ICTUS [1707] *ictus* 'blow; stroke'; [Horace] 'musical or metrical beat' (*īcere/ictum* 'strike')
IMPETUS [1641] *impetus* 'impelling force; assault; impulse; stimulus' by haplology § 1.4.2*b* for **impetitus* (*impetere* (no PPP) 'attack; assail')
INSTINCT [1412–20] *īnstinctus* 'instigation; prompting; inspiration' (*īnstinguere/īnstinctum* 'instigate; incite; impel' rare; only in PPP in CL)
LAPSE [1526]/LAPSUS [1667] *lāpsus* 'a gliding; slipping; fall(ing)' (*lābī/lāpsum* 'glide; slip; slide': apparently backformed from perf. *lāpsī* 'I slipped' cf. Sihler 1995: 625)
NEXUS [1663] *nexus* 'bond'; [c1] 'connected series; nexus' (*nectere/nexum* '(inter)weave; twine together; bind')

PARTUS [1844] *partus* '(child)birth; offspring; progeny' (*parere/partum* 'give birth to; bear; bring forth; produce')

PORT [*c.*839] 'harbour; haven; town with a harbour' *portus* 'harbour; port; refuge; haven' (**pr̥-tu-* 'passage' [**per-*[2]]; cf. Gmc. **fur-ðu-z* > OE *ford* FORD [*c.*893] HGE 119)

PROGRESS [1432–50] *prōgressus* 'forward movement; advance; progress; development' (*prōgredī/prōgressum* 'go forwards; advance; proceed')

PROSPECT [1430–50]/PROSPECTUS [1765] *prōspectus* 'action of looking out; outlook; view; prospect' (*prōspicere/prōspectum* 'see in front; survey; anticipate; provide for')

PULSE [*c.*1330] *pulsus* 'action of beating; beat; stroke'; [c1 Valerius Maximus, Celsus] 'the pulse' (*pellere/pulsum* 'beat (against); strike; impel')

RECESS [1516] †'agreement, convention', [1531] †'departure', [1607] 'act of receding', [1616] 'remote corner', [1620] 'period of cessation', [1636] 'secluded spot' *recessus* 'action of going back; retreat; withdrawal; seclusion'; [Augustan period] 'inner part; remote part; recess' (*recēdere/recessum* 'withdraw; retire; RECEDE' [1488])

RITE [*c.*1315] *rītus* 'religious observance; rite' (**h₂rih₁-tu-* [**rē(i)-*/**h₂reh₁(i)-* 'to reason, count']; no verbal root in Latin)

SENSE [a1382]/SENSUS [c19[m]] *sēnsus* 'perception; feeling(s); sense(s); sensation' (*sentīre/sēnsum* 'perceive; SENSE [*c.*1400]; feel; think')

SITE [Ch.]/SITUS [1701] *situs* 'position; layout'; [Celsus, Pliny] 'geographical area; site' (*sinere/situm* 'leave; let; let remain')

SPIRIT [*c.*1250] *spīritus* 'action of breathing; breath; breeze, divine inspiration'; [Ovid] 'spirit; soul'; [sacrae scripturae, Tertullian] '(Holy) Spirit' (*spīrāre/spīrātum* 'breathe')

STATE [?a1200]/STATUS [1671] *status* 'mode of standing; posture; position; circumstances affecting a person or thing; state of affairs; station in life' (*stāre/statum* 'stand')

TACT [1609] (modern senses [1651]) *tāctus* '(fact of) contact; (sense of) touch' (*tangere/tāctum* 'touch')

TRACT [1494] *tractus* 'action of dragging *or* pulling along; trail; expanse; extent; tract (of land)' (*trahere/tractum* 'draw; drag; carry along')

TRANSIT [*c.*1440] *trānsitus* 'action of crossing; passage over' (*trānsīre/trānsitum* 'go across')

TUMULT [1412–20] *tumultus* 'commotion; uproar; disorder; turmoil' (*-tu-* derivative of unknown root; once connected with **teuh₂-* 'swell', as in *tumulus* 'mound; TUMULUS' [1686] etc.)

USE [?a1200] *ūsus* 'means of using; enjoyment; use' (*ūtī/ūsum* 'use')

USUFRUCT [*c.*1630] *ūsusfrūctus* ['use (and) enjoyment/profit'] 'the right to use another's property and to receive profits from it' (see *use* and *fruit* above)

VERSE [*c.*900] *versus* 'furrow; row; line; line of writing or verse' (*vertere/versum* 'turn')

VOMIT [1373] *vomitus* 'act of vomiting' [Celsus, Pliny] 'vomit' (*vomere/vomitum* 'vomit')

4

Non-Deverbal Adjectives

4.1 Relational *-li-* 'characterized by; pertaining to; relating to; of'

Indo-European had several kinds of *-*l*- formations (Benveniste 1935: 40–9). Thematized *-*l*- stems gave rise to adjectives in *-*lo*-, e.g. Goth. *hails* 'hale, healthy' (Gmc. **χailaz* < IE **kai-lo*-; cf. OPruss. *kails* 'hail!' etc. GED H12, HGE 151), OCS *teplŭ* 'warm' (**tep-lo*-; cf. Ved. *táp-as*- 'warmth': Meillet 1961 [1905]: 412 ff.), etc. Most *-*lo*- formations are deverbal (§ 5.3). Adjectives in *-*li*- originated by metanalysis of the type attested in Luvian *ḫalali*- 'pure', *ādduwali*- 'bad', beside *ḫalal* 'purity', *ādduwāl* 'evil', etc. (cf. Melchert 1994: 266 f.). More important for our purposes are the Anatolian relational adjectives in *-*l(i)*-, e.g. Hitt. *parnalli*- 'of the house' (*pēr*, GEN *parnaš* 'house'; cf. Luvian *parnāšša/i*- 'of the house'), Luvian *maššanalli*- 'of a god', Lydian genitives *bil(is)* 'his/her', *artimulis* 'of Artimuś', etc. (Miller 1969; Neumann 1982; Melchert 1994: 44, 363). More generally, see Hajnal (2000).

Latin adjectives in *-li-* (Leumann 1917) are of two main types. Those after a short vowel are largely deverbal (§§ 5.7 f.). Only denominal/deadjectival *-li-* is treated in this section. In most of the examples, *-li-* follows a long vowel. Kircher-Durand (1991: 114) reports a count of 439 *-ālis*, 41 *-īlis*, 6 *-ūlis*, 3 *-uēlis*, 3 *-ēlis*. Most are derived from nouns designating science and techniques or institutions; seventy-five belong to the juridical, social, and moral spheres (Kircher-Durand 1991). These adjectives typically have no specific meaning, but denote a general or abstract relationship to the noun they qualify.

4.1.1 *-ālis* (> *E* -al) '*characterized by; pertaining to*'

Originally, *-ālis* (LG i § 313) was created by attachment of *-li-* to stems in *-ā-*, e.g. from *anima* 'breath' was derived *anim-ā-li-* 'characterized by breath' (ANIMAL [Ch.]). By resegmentation, the suffix was applied in Italic (Heidermanns 2002: 188) to other stems, e.g. L *carō/carn-* 'flesh' : *carn-āli-s* 'of the flesh; CARNAL' [a1400];[1] *manu-* 'hand' : *manu-āli-s* 'in, fitting the

[1] CARNIVAL [1549] goes back to Ital. *carnevale* < OItal. *carnelevare* < ML *carnelevārium* [c11/12] 'the removal of meat' [**(s)ker-*[1] + **leg*^{w}*h-*] reshaped by folk etymology: ML *carne valē* 'flesh, farewell!'.

hand' (MANUAL [?1406]). From an *-i-*stem, such as *jūdicium* 'judicial investigation; judgement', came *jūdic-i-ālis* [Cicero] 'relating to the law courts; forensic; JUDICIAL' [a1382].[2] Resegmentation created *-iālis* which was applied in later Latin to bases such as *cor/cord-* 'heart' : ML *cord-iālis* 'hearty; CORDIAL' [Ch.]; *crux/cruc-* 'cross' : OF *cruc-ial* 'cross-shaped; CRUCIAL' [1706].

English had over seventy *-al* borrowings in the fourteenth century.

ACCIDENTAL [1386] *accidentālis* [EL] 'accessory'; ML 'caused by accident' (*accidēns/accident-* 'happening, occurring; accidental')

ACTUAL [1315] *āctuālis* [c4 Macrobius] 'active; practical'; ML 'real; current' (*āctus* 'driving; impulse; ACT' [Ch.])

ANNAL(S) [1563] *annālis* 'relating to the year' (*annus* 'year')

ANNUAL [a1382] *annuālis* [c2/3] 'a year old' (remodelled from *annuus* 'lasting a year; recurring every year')

ARTIFICIAL [Ch.] *artificiālis* [Quintilian] 'contrived by art' (*artificium* 'handicraft' ARTIFICE § 2.6.1)

ASTRAL [1605] *astrālis* [c4] 'affected by the stars' (*astrum* 'star' < G ἄστρον 'star' [**ster-*[2]])

AUTUMNAL [1574] *autumnālis* 'of autumn' (*autumnus* 'third season of the year; AUTUMN')

BESTIAL [*c.*1300] *bēstiālis* [*c.*400] 'like a beast' (*bēstia* '(wild) animal')

BRUTAL [Ch.] *brūtālis* [ML/EL] (*brūtus* 'heavy; stupid; irrational; BRUTE' [**g^{w}erh$_2$-*[2] 'heavy']))

CAPITAL [?a1200] *capitālis* 'of the head; capital (offence, etc.)' (*caput/capit-* 'head')

CARDINAL [a1126 Peterborough Chron] (see *cardinalate* § 2.7) *cardinālis* 'of a (door-)hinge; principal' (*cardō/cardin-* 'hinge' [?**(s)kerd-* RPIEL 429])

CASUAL [*c.*1384] *cāsuālis* [LL] 'accidental; fortuitous' (*cāsus* 'a falling; event; chance')

CEREAL [1818] *cereālis* 'of Ceres; pertaining to agriculture or (cultivating) grain' (*Cerēs* 'goddess of agriculture, esp. grain' < **ḱerh-ḗs* '(the one) associated with or possessing grain' (**ḱerh-e/os-*; cf. Gmc. **xersjaz* > Germ. *Hirse* 'millet' HGE 170) [**ker-*[3] 'grow' = **ḱerh$_3$-* LIV 329]; cf. Rix 1966, IELC 112 with a reconstruction **ḱerh$_1$-*)

[2] The older derivational pattern is attested, e.g. in *mūnicipium* 'self-governing town subject to Rome' : *mūnicip-ālis* 'belonging to a *mūnicipium*' (MUNICIPAL [?*c.*1550]); cf. *mūni-ceps* 'citizen of a *mūnicipium*' and *mūnia* 'duties'.

Chaucer's *contubernial* 'familiar' is an adjective derived from the Latin noun *contubernālis* 'tent-companion; comrade'.

COLLATERAL [*c.*1378] *collaterālis* [ML] (*collaterātus* [c4/5] 'admitted on both sides (*latus*)')

CONDITIONAL [Ch.] *condiciōnālis* [c2 juristic; gram.] 'contingent' (*condiciō/condiciōn-* 'contract; stipulation; CONDITION' [a1333] [**deiḱ-* 'show'])

CONJUGAL [1545] *conjugālis* [Tacitus] 'relating to marriage' (*conju(n)x/conjug-* 'spouse')

CONTINUAL [a1325] < OF *continuel* [1169] (*continuus* 'uninterrupted;CONTINUOUS')

CORPORAL [Ch.] 'bodily' *corporālis* [Seneca] 'of the body' (*corpus/corpor-* 'body')

DENTAL [a1595] *dentālis* [NL]; cf. *dentāle* 'the sole or share beam of aplough' (*dēns/dent-* 'tooth; object resembling a tooth, e.g. the "teeth" of a plough' [**dent-*/**h₁dont-* 'tooth'])

DIGITAL [1656] *digitālis* [Pliny] 'belonging to the finger' (*digitus* 'finger' [**deiḱ-* 'show'])

DUAL [1607] *duālis* [Quintilian] (*duo* 'two' [**dwo-* 'id.'])

EFFECTUAL [Ch.] *effectuālis* [ML] 'realizing; efficacious' (*effectus* 'execution; performance; EFFECT' [?*c.*1350])

EQUAL [Ch.] *aequālis* 'equal; contemporary; uniform' (cf. *aequus* 'equal; equitable')

ESPECIAL [*c.*1385] < OF *especial* [1320] (see *special* below; on WesternRomance vowel prothesis, see Biville 1990–5: i. 338–41; Steriade 1988*b*: 394 ff.)

ESSENTIAL [1340] *essentiālis* [Augustine] 'pertaining to being' (*essentia*[Seneca] 'ESSENCE, substance', a calque on G *οὐσία* 'essence' § 2.2.6)

FATAL [Ch.] *fātālis* 'characterized by fate' (*fātum* FATE [**bhā-*²/**bheh₂-* 'speak'])

FESTAL [1479] *fēstālis* [c5/6 Fulgentius] 'festival' (*fēstum* 'feast' [**dhēs-* = **dheh₁-s-*])

FINAL [Ch.] *fīnālis* 'concerned with boundaries'; EL 'limited; bounded; final' (*fīnis* 'end')

FLORAL [1647] *flōrālis* 'of Flora or the festival of Flora' (*Flōra* 'goddess of flowers')

FLUVIAL [1398 Trevisa] *fluviālis* 'relating to a river' (*fluvius* 'river' [**bhleu-* 'well up'])

FORMAL [Ch.] *formālis* [Pliny] 'having a set form; fixed; normal' (*forma*FORM; see *formative* § 5.5.1)
GENERAL [?a1200] *generālis* 'generic; general' (*genus/gener-* 'birth; race; kind')
GENIAL [1566] 'pertaining to generation; festive; jovial/kindly' *geniālis* 'belonging to the *genius*; festive, joyous' (*genius* 'guardian spirit of a *gēns*; talent')
GENITAL [1390] *genitālis* 'relating to (pro)creation or birth; reproductive' (seems to be built on the stem *genit-* of *genitus, -a, -um* 'born', *genitor* '(pro)genitor', etc.)
GRADUAL [1541] *graduālis* [ML] 'step by step' (*gradus* 'step')
HIBERNAL (see § 4.5.2)
HOSPITAL [a1300 'guest-house; hostel'] (modern sense [1549]) < OF *ospital* [1190] 'charitable establishment' < ML *hospitāle* 'hotel; hospice'; cf. L pl. *hospitālia* 'guest accommodation' < *hospitālis* 'of a guest; hospitable' (*hospes/hospit-* 'guest; host' < **ghosti-pot-i-* 'guest-master' Benveniste 1969: i. 87–96; cf. Panagl 1992*b*: 313; see *hospice* § 2.6.1)
IMMORTAL [Ch.] *immortālis* 'immortal; eternal' (*mors/mort-* 'death')
IMPERIAL [Ch.] *imperiālis* [LL] 'of the (Roman) emperor(s); imperial' (*imperium* 'command; authority; empire', from *imperāre* 'command'; cf. *parāre* 'prepare' [**perh*$_3$-[1] 'produce'])
INEQUAL [Ch.] *inaequālis* 'unequal; inconstant' (*in* 'not' + *aequus* 'equal')
INFERNAL [Ch.] *īnfernālis* [c4] 'of the lower regions; infernal' (restructuring of L *īnfernus* 'infernal' to *īnfer(us)* 'lower; of the lower world')
INITIAL [1526] *initiālis* [c2] 'relating to the beginning; original' (*initium* 'beginning')
INTERMURAL [1656] *intermūrālis* [Livy] 'situated between two walls' (*inter* 'between' + *mūrus* 'wall'; see *mural* below)
LABIAL [1594] *labiālis* [ML] 'oral' (*labium* 'lip' Chr. Schmitt 2000: 460[**leb-* 'lick; lip'] RPIEL 479)
LATERAL [1600] *laterālis* 'of the side; lateral' (*latus* 'side' [etym. obscureRPIEL 486 f.])
LEGAL [1529] *lēgālis* [Quintilian] 'belonging to the law; legal' (*lēx/lēg-*'law')
LIBERAL [?a1350] *līberālis* 'relating to freedom; worthy of a free person;generous' (*līber* '(legally) free; free from restraint; unoccupied' < **loiβero-* < **h*$_1$*leúdhero-* [**leudh-*[2] 'mount up, grow' = **h*$_1$*leudh-* LIV 248 f.] HLFL 87, 105, 133)
LITERAL [a1382] *litterālis* [c4 Marius Victorinus] 'of letters or writing'(*littera* 'letter')
LITTORAL [1656] *lītorālis* 'of/on the seashore' (*lītus/lītor-* '(sea)shore')

LOCAL [1485] *locālis* [c2^{b}] 'relating to place' (*locus/loc-* 'place'; see *dislocation* § 3.8.2)

MARGINAL [1573] *marginālis* [ML] 'in the margin' (*margō/margin-*MARGIN [?a1350] < **m(e)rǵ-(h)on-* [**merǵ-* 'boundary, border']; HLFL 84 f. against RPIEL 459)

MARTIAL [Ch. *marcial* 'warlike'] *mārtiālis* [ML] 'pertaining to war' < CL*Mārtiālis* 'of or belonging to Mars' *Mārs/Mārt-* MARS [**Māwort-* 'Italic deity'] dissimilated from **mamort-* < *mamart-*; cf. *Mamartei* 'to/for Mars' on the Lapis Satricanus inscription [?a–500]; see Wachter 1987: 378–81; HLFL 4, 127; Baldi 1999: 204 ff.)

MATERIAL [*c.*1340] *māteriālis* [Tertullian] 'of bodily substance' (*māteriēs* 'material')

MEDICAL [1646] *medicālis* [EL/ML] = CL *medicābilis* 'healing; curable' (*medicus* 'physician')

MEDICINAL [a1382 Wyclif] *medicīnālis* [Pliny] 'connected with thepractice of medicine; medical' (*medicīna* 'art or practice of healing; MEDICINE' § 4.7.1*b*)

MEDIEVAL [1827] cf. F *médiéval*, NL *Mediaevālis* 'of the Middle Ages' (*Medium Aevum* [1604] 'the Middle Age(s)', from L *medium* 'middle', *aevum* 'age, era')

MEMORIAL [Ch.] *memoriālis* [Suetonius] 'record-; for memory' (*memoria* MEMORY [*c.*1250])

MENSTRUAL [1398] *mēnstruālis* 'monthly'; later [Pliny] 'menstrual' (a remodelling of CL *mēnstruus* 'monthly' < **mēh$_1$-ns-ro-wo-* [**mē-*^{2}/**meh$_1$-* 'measure'] RPIEL 159 f.)

MENTAL [1422] *mentālis* 'pertaining to the mind' (*mēns/ment-* 'mind')

MERIDIONAL [*c.*1386] *merīdiōnālis* [c2] 'southern; meridional' (*merīdiēs* 'midday; noon; south', backformed from abl. *merīdiē* < *medīdiē* (Praeneste) < loc. **mediei diē* 'in the middle (of the) day' [**medhyo-* 'middle' + **dyeu-* 'shine'/**dyeh$_1$-* 'day'] Bader 1962: 306; HLFL 127; Baldi 1999: 296)

MORAL [*c.*1340] *mōrālis* 'belonging to manners or morals' (*mōs/mōr-* 'habit')

MORTAL [Ch.] *mortālis* 'characterized by death' (*mors/mort-* 'death')

MURAL [1475] *mūrālis* 'of or belonging to a wall' (*mūrus* 'wall' < OL *moiros* < **moi-ro-* [**mei-*^{3} 'fix; fortify' = **mei-*^{1} LIV 426] HLFL 87)

NASAL [?a1425] *nāsālis* [1383] 'of the nose'; cf. AL neut. *nāsāle* [a1250] 'errhine' and ML *nāsāle* 'nose protector (of a helmet)' (*nāsus* 'nose' [**nas-*/**neh$_2$s-* 'nose'] RPIEL 143)

NATAL [Ch.] *nātālis* 'relating to birth' (*nātus* 'birth')

NATURAL [*c.*1250] *nātūrālis* 'relating to nature' (*nātūra* NATURE [*c.*1275])
NAVAL [1425] *nāvālis* 'of or belonging to ships' (*nāvis* 'ship')
NIVAL [1656] 'of growing in or under snow' *nivālis* 'snowy' (*nix/niv-* 'snow' [**sneig^{w}h-*])
NOMINAL [*c.*1450] *nōminālis* 'of or belonging to a name' (*nōmen/nōmin-* 'name')
NORMAL [a1500] 'regular (of a verb)', [1777] 'standard, typical' *normālis* 'made according to a carpenter's square; forming an angle of 90 degrees' (*norma* 'carpenter's square; right angle; standard' NORM [1821], possibly from an Etruscan borrowing of G *γνώμων* 'interpreter; carpenter's square' [**gnō-* 'know' = **ǵneh$_3$-* LIV 168 f.] Biville 1990–5: ii. 477)
NUMERAL [1398] *numerālis* [Priscian] 'relating to a number' (*numerus* 'number' < **nom-eso-* [**nem-* 'assign, allot' = LIV 453] HLFL 83; Baldi 1999: 244)
OCCIDENTAL [Ch.] *occidentālis* [Pliny] 'westerly; west-' (*occidēns/occident-* 'falling; setting (of the sun); west; OCCIDENT' [Ch.] < *ob* 'opposite' + *cadere* 'fall' [**kad-* 'fall'])
OFFICIAL [1330] *officiālis* [Tertullian] 'connected with a specific office (duty)' (*officium* 'service; duty; OFFICE' [*c.*1250] § 2.6.1)
OFFICINAL [1693] '(of a medicinal herb) used in medicine; sold in pharmacies' *officīnālis* [ML] 'used or kept in a workshop' (*officīna* 'workshop; laboratory' < OL *opificīna* < *op-* 'work' + *fac-* 'do'; see *office* § 2.6.1; cf. Baldi 1999: 255, 269, 303)
ORDINAL [a1325] *ōrdinālis* [Priscian] 'that denotes an order of succession; ordinal number' (*ōrdō/ōrdin-* 'row; series; succession; order; rank' [**ōrd-/ *ōrəd(h)-* 'arrange' Italic root])
ORIENTAL [Ch.] *orientālis* [c2 Gellius] 'in the east; eastern' (*oriēns/orient-* 'rising; the east; ORIENT' [Ch.], PrP of *orīrī* '(a)rise, be born' [**h$_3$er-* 'set in motion']; see *origin* § 2.8.2)
ORIGINAL [a1325] *orīginālis* [c2 Apuleius] 'existing at the beginning; from which something derives' (*orīgō/orīgin-* ORIGIN § 2.8.2)
PARENTAL [1542] *parentālis* (*parentēs* PARENTS [?a1425] [**perh$_3$-* 'create, beget' LIV 474])
PECUNIAL [Ch.] *pecūniālis* [c5] 'of money' (*pecūnia* 'money'; see *peculium* § 2.6.3)
PEDAL [1625] *pedālis* 'of a foot; a foot long' (*pēs/ped-* 'foot' [**ped-*^{1} 'id.'])
PENAL [1439] *poenālis* [Pliny] 'of punishment; penal' (*poena* [XII Tab] 'punishment', a preliterary borrowing from West G *ποινά* 'price paid; recompense; penalty' Biville 1990–5: ii. 380, 383, 434 < **k^{w}oi-neh$_2$-* [**k^{w}ei-* 'pay, atone, compensate' = LIV 379 f.] DELG 925)

PERPETUAL [*c.*1340] *perpetuālis* [epigr.; Quintilian] 'permanent; ever-valid' (*perpetuus* 'continuous; without time limit; permanent; invariable'; see *perpetual* § 5.4.1)

PERSONAL [Wyclif, Trevisa] *persōnālis* [Quintilian] 'relating to anindividual, personal' (*persōna* 'mask; character; person' < G *πρόσωπον* 'face; visage' < **proti-h_3ōk^w-o-* [**per*^{1} 'forth' + **ok^w-*/**$h_3$ek^w-* 'see'] via Etrusc. *ϕersu* Biville 1990–5: ii. 388, 482; Breyer (1993: 374 ff., 527) denies the Greek source and derives L *persōna* directly from Etruscan, but Watmough (1997: 66 f.) contests this and raises problems for all suggested derivations)

PLURAL [1377] *plūrālis* [Quintilian] 'relating to more or many' (*plūs/plūr-* 'more' < OL *plous* (analogical?) < **plēyōs* < **pleh$_1$-yos-* [**pelh$_1$-*/**pleh$_1$-* 'fill'] HLFL 153 f.; Baldi 1999: 212)

PRINCIPAL [1290] *prīncipālis* 'original; foremost' (*prīnceps/prīncip-* 'chief'; v. *principate* § 2.7)

PRODIGAL [1500] **prōdigālis*: cf. *prōdigāliter* [Ambrose] 'extravagantly', *prōdigālitās* [Boethius] 'wastefulness, extravagance' (*prōdigus* 'extravagant, wasteful' [**per*^{1} 'forth' + **ag-*^{1} 'drive'] Dunkel 2000: 92)

PROPORTIONAL [a1350] *prōportiōnālis* [c1] (*prōportiō/prōportiōn-* PROPORTION [Ch.] § 3.8.2)

RADICAL [1398] (modern senses later) *rādīcālis* [Augustine] 'having roots'(*rādīca* 'root'; see *radicle* § 2.9.2)

RATIONAL [1398] *ratiōnālis* 'endowed with reason' (*ratiō/ratiōn-* 'account(ing); reason'; see *ratiocination* § 6.11)

REGAL [Ch.] *rēgālis* 'kingly; royal' (*rēx/rēg-* 'king'; see *regina* § 4.7.1)

RURAL [1412–20] *rūrālis* [epigr., Ammianus Marcellinus] 'of the countryside' (*rūs/rūr-* 'the country'; see *rustic* § 4.8.1)

SACERDOTAL [1400] *sacerdōtālis* [c–19 Velleius] 'priestly' (*sacerdōs/sacerdōt-* 'priest', generally reconstructed **sakro-dhoh$_1$-t-* [**dhē-* = **dheh$_1$-* 'put'] (cf. HLFL 32) but also possible is **sakro-deh$_3$-t-* 'who gives out the *sacra*' [**dō-* = **deh$_3$-* 'give'] cf. L *dōs/dōt-* 'dowry' < **deh$_3$-t-* 'endowment' Nussbaum 1999: 396 ff.)

SEMINAL [1398] *sēminālis* [c1] 'of seed; for sowing' (*sēmen/sēmin-* 'seed'; v. *semen* § 5.4)

SENSUAL [1450] (cf. SENSUALITY [*c.*1340]) *sēnsuālis* [c2 Apuleius; Tertullian] 'endowed with sensation; appreciated by senses' (*sēnsus* 'feeling; sensation'; see *sensorium* § 5.6.2.1)

SEPTENTRIONAL [Ch.] *septentriōnālis* 'of the north; northern' (*septentriōnēs* 'the seven stars of Ursa Major; the north', lit. 'the seven threshing oxen', from *septem* 'seven' [**septm̥*] + *triōnēs* 'plough oxen' < **trih$_1$-hōn-* [**terh$_1$-* 'rub' = LIV 632] Bader 1962: 307 f.; Sihler 1995: 414, 547)

SEPULCHRAL [1615] *sepulcrālis* 'of the tomb' (*sepulcrum* 'tomb'; v. *sepulchre* § 3.6.3.1)

SIMONIAL [Ch.] *simōniālis* [ML/EL] (*simōnia* [c4] SIMONY [?a1200], after *Simon* Magus [Acts 8: 9–24] from G *Σίμων*; cf. *σῑμός* 'flat-nosed' [etym. unknown DELG 1005])

SOCIAL [1562] *sociālis* 'relating to allies; social' (*socius* 'allied; sharing; partner' < **sok^{w}-iyo-* [**sek^{w}-*^{1} 'follow' = LIV 525 f.] HLFL 98)

SPECIAL [?a1200] *speciālis* [Quintilian] 'particular' (*speciēs* 'appearance; kind, sort' [**spék-*])

SPINAL [1578] *spīnālis* [c4/5 Macrobius] 'of the (human) spine' (*spīna* 'thorn; SPINE' [**spei-*])

SPIRAL [1551] *spīrālis* [ML] 'coiled; relating to a spire' (*spīra* 'coil; base of a column' < G *σπεῖρα* 'anthing twisted; coil' prob. < **spei-r(e)h$_{2}$-* [**spei-* 'sharp point'] *pace* DELG 1035; cf. OE *spīr* SPIRE and DELL 1134)

SPIRITUAL [*c.*1303] *spīrituālis* [c11 MS forms] for *spīritālis* 'of breath; connected with breathing' [c3]; EL 'spiritual' [sacrae scripturae *apud* Tertullian] (*spīritus* 'breath'; EL (Holy) SPIRIT [*c.*1250]; see *spiracle* § 3.6.3.2)

TEMPORAL [?a1350] *temporālis* 'denoting time; temporary' (*tempus/tempor-* 'time'; see *tempestive* § 5.5.4)

TEXTUAL [Ch.] < OF *textuel* (*textus* [Lucretius, Quintilian, Pliny] 'pattern of weaving; structure; fabric'; ML 'TEXT' [Ch.] < **teks-tu-* [**teks-* 'weave; fabricate' = **tek-* + desid. *-s-* LIV 619 f.])

TOTAL [Ch.] *tōtālis* [ML] for CL *tōtus* 'all; entire' (*tōtum* [LL/ML] 'the whole; the universe' prob. < **toweto-* 'stuffed' HLFL 168 [**teuh$_{2}$-* 'swell'] rather than **teutā-* 'tribe' [AHDR])

TRIVIAL [1432–50] 'belonging to the trivium', [1589] 'common', [1593] 'unimportant' *triviālis* [c1^{m} Calpurnius] 'appropriate to the "street-corner", commonplace, vulgar'; see *trivia* and *trivium* § 2.6.3)

UNIVERSAL [Ch.] *ūniversālis* [Quintilian] 'having general application; universal' (*ūniversus* 'taken as a whole; all without exception' < **oin(i)-vors-o-* 'turned into one' < **oino-wr̥t-to-* [**oi-no-* 'one' § 4.8 + **wer-t-* 'turn']; see *versify* § 6.4.2.1; Lindner 1996: 198)

VENAL [1652] 'susceptible to or obtainable by bribery; corrupt' *vēnālis* 'buyable; for sale or rent; obtainable by bribery' (*vēnum* 'sale' < **wes-no-* [**wes-*^{1} 'buy, sell'; cf. LIV 693])

VENIAL [a1325] 'easily excused or forgiven; pardonable' *veniālis* [c4] 'pardonable' (*venia* 'pardon; forgiveness; permission; favour; indulgence' < **wen-yeh$_{2}$-* [**wen-*^{1} 'desire'])

VENTRAL [1739] *ventrālis* [c4/5 Macrobius] 'of the belly; ventral' (cf. *ventrāle* 'abdominal belt' [Pliny]) (*venter/ventr-* 'belly'; see *ventricle* § 2.9.2)

VERBAL [1484] *verbālis* [c4 Diomedes, Charisius] 'of a verb', [c5/6 Fulgentius] 'belonging to a word, consisting of words'; see *adverb* § 2.6.1)

VERNAL [1534] *vernālis* [c1^{b} Manilius] 'of spring' (*vēr/vern-* 'spring'; see § 4.5.2)

VESTAL [1432–50] *Vestālis* 'belonging to Vesta' (*Vesta* 'goddess of the hearth' [**wes-*[3] 'dwell'])

VISUAL [1412–20] *vīsuālis* [c3/4] 'belonging to vision' (*vīsus* 'faculty of seeing; sight' < **wissus* < **wid-tu-* [**weid-* 'see'] §§ 1.7, 3.10)

VITAL [Ch.] *vītālis* 'of life; life-giving; alive' (*vīta* 'life' < **vīvita* < **vīvotā-* < **g^{w}ih$_3$-wo-teh$_2$-* [**g^{w}yeh$_3$-u-/g^{w}ih$_3$-u-* 'live'] HLFL 92; for the stem **g^{w}ih$_3$-wo-*, see § 5.4)

VOCAL [1395] *vōcālis* 'having (a) voice; able to speak' (*vōx/vōc-* 'voice'; see *vocable* § 3.6.1)

4.1.2 *-āris (> E -ar)*

This suffix is a conditioned variant of *-ālis* when the stem contains /l/, unless /r/intervenes, e.g. *floral* (LG i. 231, 351). The constraint applies in most borrowed derivatives, e.g. OCULAR [1589] (*oculāris* [c4 Ammianus] 'relating to the eyes'), and even in some words that were potential (but unattested) Latin derivatives, e.g. GLOBULAR [1656] (as if **globulāris*, to *globulus* GLOBULE [1664] § 2.9.1), MODULAR [1815] (as if **modulāris*, to *modulus* MODULE [1583]), etc. English tends to lose this constraint (Raffelsiefen 1999: 240): *clausal* (**clausar*), *cyclical* (**cyclicar*), *glottal* (**glottar*), *inflectional* (**inflectionar*). Of these, *cyclical* [1817] is an extension of *cyclic* [1794] (L *cyclicus* < G κυκλικός 'circular'); cf. *classical* [1599], an extension of L *classicus* [Gellius, Paul. Fest.] 'of the highest class'. On some Latin bases, there is variation (Raffelsiefen 1999: 239): *columnar/columnal, lacunar/lacunal, laminar/laminal, vulvar/vulval*. The first example attests a Latin antecedent that obeys the constraint: *columnāris* [c4 Prudentius] 'of a pillar'. In post-classical Latin the constraint was moribund; cf. *labial, legal, local* in § 4.1.1, and LL *līneālis* [c4] LINEAL [1398] beside *līneāris* [Pliny] LINEAR [1656] (§ 4.9.1). Panagl (1992*a*: 330) notes that the replacement can lead to semantically differentiated forms, e.g. F *familial* FAMILIAL [1900] beside inherited *familier* (see FAMILIAR below). As always, the early borrowings into English are via (Anglo-)French.

ALAR [1839–47] 'possessing wings; relating to a wing; winglike' *ālāris* [NL]; cf. 'pertaining to an army's wing; auxiliary' [Livy] (*āla* 'wing'; see *axil* § 2.9.3)

ANGULAR [1597] *angulāris* 'having corners or angles' (*angulus* 'corner; doorway' [**h$_2$enk/g-*])

ANNULAR [1571] **ānulāris* 'relating to a signet-ring' (cf. *ānulāre* [Pliny], the white paint used in rings) (*ānulus/annulus* '(little) ring'; see *annulus* § 2.9.1)

ARTICULAR [1432–50] *articulāris* 'affecting the joints' [c1]; 'of an article' [Priscian] (*articulus* 'little joint; ARTICLE' [?a1200] § 2.9.2)

CANICULAR [1398] 'pertaining to the Dog Star' *canīculāris* [c4] 'connected with the Dog Star; henbane' (*canīcula* 'little bitch; the Dog Star, Sirius'; see *canine* § 4.7)

(CAPILLARY [1656]) *capillāris* 'of the hair; hairlike' (*capillus* 'hair' [etym. obscure DELL 170])

CIRCULAR [1430] *circulāris* [c5] 'round' (*circulus* 'circle; orbit; hoop'; see *circle* § 2.9.1)

COCHLEAR [1846] *coc(h)lear/coc(h)leāre* 'snail-shaped (spoon)' (*coc(h)lea* 'snail(shell)' < G κοχλίᾱς 'snail with a spiral shell' [?**ko(n)kho-* 'mussel, shellfish'] Weise 1882: 42. 55. 387; DELG 574; Biville 1990–5: ii. 398, etc.)

COLLAR [*c.*1300] *collāre* 'neckband; collar'; cf. *collāris* [Petronius] 'pertaining to the neck' (*collum* 'neck' < **kolso-* < **k^{w}ola-so-* 'that on which (the head) turns' [**k^{w}el-*[1] 'turn; cultivate' = **k^{w}elh$_{1}$-* LIV 386 ff.]; cf. Gmc. **χalsaz* (> Goth. etc. *hals* 'neck') HGE 156 f.; HLFL 116; Baldi 1999: 184, 295)

CONSULAR [1533] *cōnsulāris* 'proper to a consul or of one who has been a consul' (*cōnsul,* either of the two highest magistrates of the Roman Republic; see *consulate* § 2.7)

FAMILIAR [Ch.] *familiāris* 'belonging to the house(hold) or family; intimate' (*familia* 'household; FAMILY' [?a1400] < **famel-iyā-*; cf. Paelignian *famel*, L *famulus* 'servant' < **fame-lo-* [Italic root] DELL 382 f.; Ernout 1961: 85; HLFL 68; unlikely **d^{h}h$_{1}$m-lo-* '(the) ordered (one)' < **dh(e)h$_{1}$-m-* [**dheh$_{1}$-* 'put; make'] Ancillotti and Cerri 1996: 363)

FISTULAR [1704] 'shaped like a pipe or tube' *fistulāris* [c4] 'like a shepherd's pipe' (*fistula* 'pipe; water pipe' FISTULA [a1481] [etym. unknown DELL 423])

INSULAR [1611] *īnsulāris* [Ammianus] 'relating to an island' (*īnsula* 'island'; of the various etymologies proposed, including **en salos* 'in the salt (sea)', none is very satisfying DELL 570; Bader 1962: 279; LG i. 211)

IRREGULAR [Ch.] *irrēgulāris* [c6] 'uncanonical; contrary to the rules of the Church' (*in* 'not' + *rēgula* 'rule'; see REGULAR below)

JOCULAR [1626] *joculāris* 'facetious; laughable' (*joculus* 'little joke' < *jocus*JOKE [1670] < **yok-o-* [**yek-*[1] 'speak'= LIV 311])

JUGULAR [1597] *jugulāris* [c4–5 Chiron, Vegetius] 'jugular' (*jugulum*'throat' § 6.9)

LUMBAR [1656] *lumbāris* [NL]; cf. *lumbāre* [Jerome] 'loincloth' (*lumbī* 'the loins'; see *lumbago* § 2.8.1)

LUNAR [1594] *lūnāris* 'of the moon' (*lūna* 'moon'; see *lunula* § 2.9.1)

(MILITARY [1460]) *mīlitāris* 'relating to soldiers or war; warlike' (*mīles/mīlit-* 'soldier' < **mīl-it-* [etym. obscure DELL 715 f.]; see also Bader 1962: 78; HLFL 113 f.)

MOLAR [a1350] 'molar tooth' *molāris* [Virgil] 'rock the size of a millstone'; [Columella] 'molar tooth'; [Pliny] 'relating to a mill or to grinding' (*mola* 'mill(stone)' < **molh₂-eh₂-* [**melh₂-* crush, grind' = LIV 432 f.]; cf. RPIEL 473; HLFL 84)

OCULAR [1589] *oculāris* [Ammianus] 'of the eyes; eye-' (*oculus* 'eye'; see*ocellus* § 2.9.3)

PARTICULAR [a1387] *particulāris* [c4] 'concerning a part; partial; particular' (*particula* 'small part; PARTICLE; atom'; see *particle* § 2.9.2)

PECULIAR [1460] *pecūliāris* 'personal; peculiar; exceptional' (*pecūlium* 'property' [**pékᵘ*])

PERPENDICULAR [Ch.] *perpendiculāris* [?c2] 'perpendicular' (*perpendiculum* 'plumb line'; see *perpendicular* § 3.6.3.2)

POLAR [1551] *polāris* [NL] (*polus* 'pole; heaven; sky' < G πόλος 'axis of a sphere' < **kʷol-o-* [**kʷel-*¹ 'turn; cultivate' = **kʷelh₁-* LIV 386 ff.] Weise 1882: 12, 247, 497; DELG 877 f.)

POPULAR [1490] *populāris* 'of the people' (*populus* 'the people; populace',possibly of Etruscan origin Watmough 1997: 69–102, but based on the original meaning 'army', Harvey and Baldi 2002 defend **po-pl-o-* 'that which beats away'; cf. *populārī* 'lay waste' [**pel-*⁶ 'strike'] cf. **pₑ-pl(h₁)-ó-* LIV 469, w. lit [**pelh₁-*])

REGULAR [1387 Trevisa] 'subject to religious rule', [1584] 'conforming'*rēgulāris* [Pliny] '(malleable copper) that can be formed into bars'; later 'canonical; regular' [Augustine] (*rēgula* 'straight piece of wood; ruler; rule; basic principle'; see *regula, tegula* § 5.3.2)

(SALUTARY [1490]) *salūtāris* 'healthful; salutary' (*salūs/salūt-* 'health; greeting' < **sḷh-uh₂-t-* [**sol-*/**solh-* 'whole']; see *solid* § 5.1.5, *solicitude* § 2.4.1)

SCALAR [1656] *scālāris* 'of a staircase or ladder' (*scālae* 'flight of steps;ladder' < **skand-slā-*; cf. *scandere* 'climb' [**skand-* 'leap, climb' = **skend-*¹ LIV 554] LG i. 207 f.; HLFL 119)

SECULAR [*c.*1290] *saeculāris* 'of an era; periodic'; [Tertullian] 'worldly; profane; temporal' (*saeculum* 'age; generation; century'; see *secular* § 3.6.3.2)

SIMILAR [1611] (cf. *similarly* [1564]) ML *similāris* [schol.] = CL *similis* 'like'; see *simulacre* § 3.6.3.1)

SINGULAR [a1349] *singulāris* 'one at a time; solitary; singular' (*singulī* SINGLE [a1300] < **seng-lo-* < **sem-gh-lo-* [**sem-*[1] 'one']; for **-gh-*, cf. G *τρί-χ-α* 'threefold' HLFL 177)

SOLAR [1450] *sōlāris* [Ovid] 'of the sun' (*sōl* 'sun' < **sāwōl* < **seh$_2$wōl*[**seh$_2$wel-* 'the sun'] HLFL 77, 88; IEL 120; IELC 110)

STELLAR [1656] *stēllāris* [c4/5 Macrobius] 'of the stars' (*stēlla* 'star';cf. *stellify* § 6.4.2)

TABULAR [1656] *tabulāris* [Pliny] 'of (metal) plates' (*tabula* 'board; tablet'; see *table* § 3.6.1)

VEHICULAR [1616] *vehiculāris* [*Digest*] 'relating to transport' (*vehiculum* 'wheeled vehicle'; see *vehicle* § 3.6.3.2, *invective* § 5.5.1)

VULGAR [Ch.] *vulgāris* 'common' (*vulgus* 'the common crowd' < (until late Republican) *volgus* [etym. unknown DELL 1325] HLFL 84, 92)

4.2 *-īlis* (> E *-il(e)*) 'relating to; like'

This suffix was originally a *-li-* extension of the affix that makes the second declension genitive in *-ī*, and of *-i-*stem nouns. For the former, in Early Latin the genitive and *-li-* adjective alternate, e.g. *erī* 'master's' ~ *er-ī-lis* 'id.' as determiners of *fīlius* 'son', *rēs* 'affairs', etc. The same suffix *-li-* shows up as the genitive in Lydian (§ 4.1). Moreover, the Latin genitive *-ī* (**-ih$_2$-*) is paralleled by the Vedic relational adjective *-iya-* (**-ih$_2$-o-*, extended from *-ih$_2$-*): with L *equī* 'of a horse' cf. Ved. *aśv-iyá-* 'of a horse'; with L *deī/dīvī* 'of a god' cf. Ved. *dev-íya-* '(power) of a god'. The **-ih$_2$-* constructs could also take a *-no-* extension (§ 4.7); cf. L *equ-ī-nus* 'of a horse', *dīv-ī-nus* 'of a god'. In that context, a form like L *vir-ī-lis* 'of a man; manly' VIRILE [1490 Caxton] (cf. Ved. *vīr-íya-* '(power) of a man') differs only in taking a *-li-* extension (Miller 1969; cf. IEL 199, 281 ff., w. lit).

The composite suffix *-ī-li-* originated as an extension of **-ī-* (→ genitive in Latin and Celtic); cf. *puer* 'boy' : *puer-ī* 'of a boy' : *puer-ī-lis* 'boyish; immature' PUERILE [1659]. Then, just as *-ā-li-* was derived synchronically from words like *anima* (with short /a/in the nominative), so also *-li-* could apply to short *-i-* stems and entail lengthening, namely **gent-i-lis* (*gēns/genti-* 'clan; tribe; race; nation') → *gent-ī-lis* 'of the (same) *gēns*' GENTILE [a1382]/GENTLE [?a1200] 'well-born', [1532] 'tame', [1552] 'mild, tender'.

APRIL [*c.*1140] *Aprīlis*, second month of the Early Roman year (phps. < Etrusc. *apru* < G *Ἀφρώ*, hypocoristic of *Ἀφροδίτη* APHRODITE DELL 72; Biville 1989: 19; some even derive the suffix from Etruscan; see Breyer 1993: 47 ff., 303 ff. Biville 1990–5: i. 148 f. accepts the Greek origin ('month of

Aphro(dite)'), but it is curious that April was the only month of foreign origin and that the Etruscan equivalent is *Cabreas* (**capre*) (attested in a gloss TLE 818; cf. Bonfante and Bonfante 2002: 224), possibly borrowed from L *caper* 'goat' ('month of the goat'?), suggesting that *Aprīlis* might be 'month of the boar (*aper*)' or even **(c)aprīlis* (L *caprīlis* [Varro] 'belonging to goats'); whatever the etymology of the root, *Aprīlis* is by origin an adjective in *-īlis* DELL 71)

CIVIL [1387] 'of a citizen; polite' *cīvīlis* 'like or relating to citizens; polite' (*cīvis* 'citizen' < OL *ceivis* < **ḱei-wi-* [**ḱei-* 'lie'] RPIEL 434; Baldi 1999: 212, 321, 326)

FABRILE [1611] 'pertaining to a worker in stone, metal, etc., or the product' *fabrīlis* 'artisan's' (*faber* 'artisan' < **dhabh-ro-* 'one who fits together' [**dhabh-* 'fit together' = **dhehbh-* LIV 135 f.]; discussion in HLFL 99)

FEBRILE [1651] *febrīlis* [ML] 'id.' (*febris* 'fever' < **dheg^{w}h-ri-* [**dheg^{w}h-* 'burn, warm' = LIV 133 f.] RPIEL 186; Sihler 1995: 164 f.; HLFL 123)

HOSTILE [1594] *hostīlis* 'characteristic of an enemy' (a younger derivative of *hostis* 'foreigner; enemy' (see *hospice* § 2.6.1) than *hosticus* 'foreign', and has only the meaning 'enemy' Panagl 1992*b*: 313 f.)

INFANTILE [1696] *īnfantīlis* [c2 Apuleius] 'relating to young children' (*īnfāns/īnfant-* 'not speaking; INFANT' [1376], from *in* 'not' + converted (§ 1.10 n. 8) PrP of *fārī* 'speak' [**bhā-*^{2} = **bheh$_{2}$-* LIV 69] DELL 564 f.; LG i. 387, 431)

JUVENILE [*c.*1600] *juvenīlis* 'relating to youth(s)' (*juvenis* 'young person' < **yu(w)ēn/*yu(w)en-* 'young' < **h$_{2}$yu-hēn/*h$_{2}$yu-hen-* 'possessing youthful vigour' [**yeu-* = **h$_{2}$eyu-/*h$_{2}$yeu-* 'vital force'] HLFL 69)

SENILE [1661] *senīlis* 'characteristic of old people' (*sen-ex* 'aged person' [**sen-* 'old'])

SERVILE [a1382] *servīlis* 'of slaves; slavish' (*servus* 'servile, subject; slave'; v. *service* § 2.6.2)

4.3 *-ā/īlia* 'things connected with'

Etruscan influence on this suffix has been suspected (Breyer 1993: 499–505). Note in particular *Bacchānālia* 'festival of Bacchus' built on the singular *Bacchānal* which, if not a backformation, is possibly derived from Etrusc. *(*)paχa-na-l* 'things belonging to Bacchus', productively derivable from *pacana* 'belonging to Bacchus; temple of Bacchus' (Breyer 1993: 502 f.; cf. Bonfante and Bonfante 2002: 99).

This is just one specialized use of the neuter plural of productive Latin *-ālis* and less productive *-īlis*. There may have been Etruscan influence in the

semantic domain, since these plurals typically refer to religious festivals (forty-three Latin words), liturgical accessories, temples, sacrifices, etc. (Kircher-Durand 1991).

GENITALIA [1876] *genitālia* 'generative principles; genital organs' (*genere* 'beget')

JUVENILIA [1622] *juvenīlia* 'things connected with youth' (*juvenis* 'young person')

MARGINALIA [1832] *marginālia* [ML] 'margin (notes)' (*margō/margin-* 'margin')

MEMORABILIA [1785] *memorābilis* 'worthy of being remembered' (*memorāre* 'remind'; with its short *-i-*, *memorābilis* is deverbal § 5.7.3.1)

PARAPHERNALIA [1478–9] 'personal belongings; equipment, gear' *paraphernālia* [ML] 'a married woman's personal property exclusive of her dowry' (G παράφερνα '(things) beyond (παρά) the dowry (φερνή)' < **bher-néh$_2$-* '(item) brought (by the bride)', from φέρ-ειν 'bring, carry' [**bher-*[1] 'carry; bear'] DELG 1188)

REGALIA [1540] 'emblems and symbols of royalty; fancy attire' *rēgālia* [ML] 'attire etc. connected with a king' (*rēx/rēg-* 'king')

SATURNALIA [1591] *Sāturnālia* 'festival in honour of Saturn' (beginning on 17 December) (*Sāturnus* SATURN [*c.*1300], poss. Etruscan DELL 1052; Baldi 1999: 166)

SUOVETAURILIA [n.d.] *suove/itaurīlia* [Cato, *de Agricultura* 141] 'a purificatory sacrifice consisting of a boar, a ram, and a bull' (*sūs* 'swine' + *ovis* 'sheep' + *taurus* 'bull'; the final vowel of *-ove/i-* is problematic; it is generally claimed that the compound consists of instrumental ablatives **sū* + *ove* + *taurō*, e.g. Bader 1962: § 403 f.; Watkins 1995: 197 f., but as an *-i-* stem, the instrumental-ablative of **h$_2$owi-* (Hitt. *ḫāwi-* Kimball 1999: 142) should have been **ovī(d)* (HLFL 138; Baldi 1999: 328), which one might expect to have been frozen in a compound of such antiquity. Grenier 1912: 68 implies a stem-based derivation as in *su-īle* 'for pigs', *ov-īle* 'sheep-' [Varro, LL 8. 54], as does Fruyt 2002: 279; Lindner 1996: 183 ventures nothing on the derivation, and Nadjo 1989 ignores it)

4.4 *-ārius/-ārium* (> E *-ary/-arious/-arium*)

Latin attests some 1500 *-ārius* derivatives (200 early, 200 Ciceronian era), by origin (mainly denominal) relational adjectives (LG i § 277; Serbat 1989), but there are also deverbals such as *postulārius* [Festus] 'that demands or claims'

(*postulāre* 'demand'). For a possible functionally grounded connection with the Anatolian adjectives in **-ah₂so-* (Hitt. *-aššа-*), see Hajnal (2000: 174). Apparently **-āso-* was extended to **-ās-(i)yo-*, whence *-ārius*, in Italic (Heidermanns 2002: 189).[3]

The usual English reflex is *-ary*, which developed a certain amount of productivity, as is clear from such neologisms as *exemplary* [1589]; cf. *exemplar* [1393] < LL *exemplāris* [Tertullian] 'exemplary; archetypal' (see *exemplify* § 6.4.2). Instances of *-ārius* later enlarged by *-ōsus* (§ 4.10) take the form *-arious*.

Secondarily, in connection with an understood noun, these constructs became substantives (LG i. 298; Abellán 1993), e.g. (with understood *faber* 'artisan, smith') *argentārius* 'silver-worker' †ARGENTARY [a1382 Wyclif], *tēgulārius* 'tile-worker', etc.; (with *medicus* 'physician') *oculārius* 'eye-doctor', etc.; (with *mīles* 'soldier') *mercēnnārius* MERCENARY [Ch.] (*mercēs* 'pay; rent'); and so on.

AQUARIUS [1398 Trevisa] *aquārius* 'the Water-Bearer' (*aqua* 'water') and other astrological signs are direct borrowings from Latin. Chaucer's *Aquarie, Sagittarie* exhibit more changes. Several derivatives have been obscured by their French history, e.g. *cellar* [?a1200] < OF *celier* [1180] < L *cellārium* [c2^{e}] 'storeroom'; *farrier* [1562] 'shoeing-smith; veterinary surgeon' < OF *ferrier* < L *ferrārius* 'iron-worker, blacksmith'; *quarter* [*c.*1300] < OF *quartier* [1080 *Roland*] < ML *quārtārium* 'quarter (of land)' < L *quārtārius* 'a fourth part' (*quārtus* 'fourth', *quattuor* 'four').

Neuter *-ārium* denoted a thing connected with the item. Substantives originated by ellipsis of a neuter noun; e.g. (*dōnum/argentum*) *salārium* [Pliny] '(gift/money) of/for salt' (*sāl/săl-* 'salt'), hence 'stipend; allowance; SALARY' [1377]. Many neuters that entered English contrasted with actor nouns in *-ārius* and designated a location. For the semantics, cf. E *planter* 'person or thing that plants' as well as 'place for plants' (Miller 1993: 68 ff.).

The suffix *-ārius* was borrowed into Germanic (> OE *-ere* -ER). The lateness of Gmc. **-arja-* and its northward diffusion via Gothic and Old High German (the dialects closest to the Roman Empire) are documented by Lowe (1972: 214) :

[3] Some words in *-ārius* do not belong here, e.g. *nefārius* 'wicked, execrable' NEFARIOUS [1599] < **ne-fār-ius*; cf. *ne-fās* ('not right') 'sacrilege; crime'. The best etymology is neither **ne bhāsi* 'not to (be) utter(ed)' (Sihler 1995: 346 f.) nor **ne bheh₂-t-s* (RPIEL 130, w. lit) for the cultural–semantic reasons in Ernout-Meillet (DELL 386 f.): the root *fārī* 'speak' has no religious significance. Rather, it must be the same root **fas-* [**dhēs-/*dheh₁-s-* 'god(ly)'] that occurs in *fānum* 'temple' (< **fasnom* < **d^{h}h₁s-no-*) etc.; see *festive* § 5.5.4.

1. Gothic has it only in learnèd formations, e.g. *bok-areis* 'scribe' (< **bōk-arja-*);
2. Old Saxon has only five tokens in the *Heliand*;
3. OE *Beowulf* has only *scēawere* 'spy' (with **-eri/e-* < **-ărja-*);
4. The Old Icelandic Edda has only *tjúgari* 'robber'.

Originally the suffix was borrowed in words like *molīnārius* 'miller' (§ 4.4.1); **-arja-* first designated 'area of activity'; later, it was used to derive agent nouns from verbs: Goth. *sokareis* 'seeker', OHG *suochāri* (with *-āri* < **-ārja-*) to Goth. *sokjan*, OHG *suochen* 'seek'. The deverbal function became productive in North and West Germanic, and is the main function of English *-er* (Ryder 1999).

In Middle English, there was frequent contamination between E *-er* and the French forms (see Dellit 1906: 78 f.; Adolphi 1910: 34 ff.). L *-ārius* gave OF *-ier* (learnèd *-aire*) and *-ātor* gave nom. *-ere*, acc. *-(e)or/-(e)eur* (L. Löfstedt 1987). French thus had many agentives in *-(i)er(e)*, but in late Anglo-Norman literature and general Anglo-French documents, there is a marked increase in *-er* forms (cf. Rothwell 1992: 34).

Since *-ārius* was borrowed in Germanic times, and has fallen together with AF *-er* (cf. Miller 1997: 255 f.), it became nativized early and is not detailed here. Section 4.4.1 contains a sample of the old denominals remaining as part of early nativized vocabulary.

4.4.1 *Nativized* -er *denominal nouns*

ARTIFICER [1393] *artificiārius* [ML], extension of L *artifex* 'practitioner of an art; artisan' (see *artifice* § 2.6.1 and Benedetti 1988: 94–104)

CARPENTER [*c.*1300] < AF *carpenter* < OF *c(h)arpentier* < L *carpentārius* [Pliny] 'of (the building of) carriages'; [c2^{e}] 'carriage maker' (*carpentum* 'two-wheeled carriage; wagon', from Celtic [**kers-*^{2} = **kers-* or **ḱers-* LIV 355])

MILLER (MILNER/MUELLER) OE *mylnere* [1×], ME *Mulner* [1230],*Muller* [1296], *millere* [Ch.] (cf. OE *mylen*, LOE *myln* 'mill') < pre-OE **mul(i)nær* < WGmc **mulināri* (> OHG *mulināri* > Germ. *Müller* MUELLER) < LL *molīnārius* [c6 gloss Philoxenus] 'miller' (*molīna* 'mill' [**melh$_2$-*]; see *molar* § 4.1.2) (early instances of *miller* may be derived from the verb *mill*)

PLUMBER < ME *plomere* [1385–6] < OF *plommier* < L *plumbārius* 'leadworker' (*plumbum* 'lead'; see *plumbago* § 2.8.1)

4.4.2 *Adjectives in* -ary (*rarely* -ory)

ADVERSARY [Ch.] *adversārius* 'opposing; hostile' (*adversus* 'opposite;ADVERSE' [Ch.])

ARBITRARY [1574] *arbitrārius* 'of arbitration; arbitrating' (*arbiter* 'arbitrator; ARBITER' [1502])

ARBORARY [1656] 'arboreal' *arborārius* 'of trees' (*arbor* 'tree' < OL *arbōs*[etym. unknown DELL 76] Sihler 1995: 309; Baldi 1999: 287 f.)

AUXILIARY [1605] *auxiliārius* 'bringing help; auxiliary' (*auxilium* 'help,aid' < **h₂eug-(o)s-lyo-* [**aug-*[1] 'increase' = **h₂eug-* LIV 274 f.]; cf. *augustus* 'venerable; majestic' < **h₂eug-os-to-* 'provided with strength (**h₂eúg-os*)' HLFL 59)

CONSUETUDINARY [1590] 'customary, habitual' *cōnsuētūdinārius* [c4]'customary, usual' (*cōnsuētūdō* 'habitual practice; custom')

CONTRARY [1250] *contrārius* 'opposite; opposed' (*contrā* 'against;CONTRA' [1362])

CORONARY [1646] 'connected with crowns', [1679] 'of anatomical unitsthat encircle parts like a crown' *corōnārius* [Cicero, Vitruvius, Pliny] 'connected with crowns or garlands' (*corōna* 'crown, garland'; see *corolla* § 2.9.3)

ELEMENTARY [1440] *elementārius* [Seneca] 'engaged in learning the elements' (*elementum* 'rudiment; ELEMENT' [*c.*1290] < L-M-N: the Latin alphabet was taught in two series, the ABCs, then the LMNs [Coogan 1974, 1990; cf. Biville 1990–5: i. 360, ii. 96; Breyer 1993: 199 f.])

EPISTOLARY [1656] *epistulārius* [c5/6] 'epistolary' (*epistu/ola* 'letter; EPISTLE' [*c.*890/891 *Orosius*]) < G *ἐπιστολή* 'anything sent by a messenger; message; letter', from *ἐπί* 'on, over, at' [**epi*] + *στέλλειν* 'put in order; prepare; send' < **stel-ye/o-* [**stel-* 'put, stand'] DELG 1050 f.; Biville 1990–5: ii. 380; HLFL 69)

HEBDOMADARY [1432–50] 'weekly' *(h)ebdomadārius* [c4[e] Egeria] 'onewho fasts for a week at a time'; [EL] 'monk (who performs functions for a week at a time)'; [ML] 'weekly' (*hebdomas/hebdomad-* 'group of seven' < G *ἑβδομάς/ἑβδομάδ-* 'group of seven; period of seven days; week'; cf. *ἕβδομος* 'seventh' < **sebdmos* < **septm-(h₂)o-*, from *ἑπτά* 'seven' [**septm̥*] DELG 362 f.; Meier-Brügger 1992: ii. 96 f.; Sihler 1995: 89 f., 431 f.; IEL 236; cf. *septentrional* § 4.1.1)

HONORARY [1615] *honōrārius* 'relating to or conferring honour' (*honor* HONOUR [?a1200] § 3.1)

IMAGINARY [a1382] *imāginārius* [Seneca] 'resembling; unreal'; [c2 Gaius] 'fictitious'; [c4/5 Vegetius] 'imaginative' (*imāgō* 'representation; likeness; mental picture; IMAGE' § 2.8.1)

JUDICIARY [1587] *jūdiciārius* 'of the courts' (*jūdicium* 'judgement'; see *judicial* § 2.6.1)

LEGIONARY [1577–87] *legiōnārius* 'belonging to a legion' (*legiō/legiōn-* LEGION § 3.3)

LITERARY [1646] *litterārius* 'for writing; (school) for (teaching) readingand writing' (*littera* 'letter', supposedly a borrowing via Etruscan of G *διφθέρᾱ* 'prepared hide; leather' (to write on) [**deph-* 'stamp'] but may be an actual Etruscan word Breyer 1993: 263 ff., 527)

NECESSARY [Ch.] *necessārius* 'unavoidable; indispensable' (*necesse* 'inevitable'; see *necessarium* § 4.4.4.2)

OCULARY [1583] 'pertaining to the eye' *oculārius* [Augustan period] 'dealing with the eyes; eye-doctor' (*oculus* 'eye'; see *ocellus* § 2.9.3)

ONERARY [1658] 'intended for carrying burdens' *onerārius* 'of a burden; carrying a burden' (*onus* 'burden' ONUS [1626] < **on-os* [**en-es-* 'burden'] DELL 819)

ORDINARY [a1402 Trevisa] 'having regular jurisdiction', [?a1425] 'usual' < AF *orde/inarie* < L *ōrdinārius* 'orderly; usual; regular' (*ōrdō/ōrdin-* 'series; order; rank'; v. *ordinal* § 4.1.1)

PANARY [1818] 'pertaining to bread' *pānārius* [gloss] 'bread-seller'; cf. *pānārium* [Varro] 'place for storing bread; bread-basket; PANARY' [1611] (*pānis* 'bread' < **pās-t-ni-* LG i. 209 f. [**pā-*/**peh$_2$-* 'protect; feed'] uncertain RPIEL 144; see *pastor* § 3.7.2)

PECUNIARY [1502] *pecūniārius* 'of/involving money' (*pecūnia* 'property; wealth; money')

PRIMARY [1471] *prīmārius* 'of the first rank; principal' (*prīmus* 'first'; see *principate* § 2.7)

PROPRIETARY [*c.*1450] 'monastic who has acquired property', [1589] 'owned/held as property', [1624] proprietorship' *proprietārius* [c2/3 Paulus] 'belonging to someone as property', ML 'proprietor, owner' (*proprietās/ proprietāt-* 'peculiarity; (special) property'; see *propriety* § 2.1.1*b*)

REFRACTORY [1606] (alteration of REFRACTARY [1604]; [1599] as noun) 'stubborn, resistant, contumacious' *refrāctārius* [Seneca] 'concerned with refuting or rebutting; stubborn, obstinate' (cf. Cicero's *refrāctāriolus* 'somewhat stubborn' and *refrāgī* 'act in opposition to, oppose', but the base is *refrāct-*, as to *refringere* 'break (back); break open; repel', from *frangere* 'break' < **bhr-n-g-* [**bhreg-* 'break']; see *suffrāgor* 'I support, vote for' DELL 1172 and *suffrage* § 3.2.2)

SANGUINARY [1550] 'bloody; bloodthirsty' *sanguinārius* 'belonging to blood; bloodthirsty' (*sanguīs*/OL *sanguen* 'blood' [etym. unknown] DELL 1046; despite Benveniste 1935: 29, the distance between *sanguen* and the IE word for 'blood', e.g. Hitt. *ēšḫar* HED 305–13, is too great to treat as tabu deformation; see Balles 1999)

SECONDARY [1336] *secundārius* 'of the second class' (*secundus* SECOND [*c.*1300] < **sek^{w}ondo-* 'following' [**sek^{w}-*^{1} 'follow'] DELL 1074; HLFL 92, 174, 228)

SEDENTARY [1598] *sedentārius* 'sitting; sedentary' (*sedēns/sedent-* 'sitting; low-growing' [**sed-*^{1} 'sit'])

SOLITARY [*c.*1340] *sōlitārius* 'on one's own' (*sōlus* 'alone; single; SOLE' [Ch.] < **s(w)ō-lo-* [?**s(w)e* 'one's own'])

SUBSIDIARY [1543] *subsidiārius* 'acting as support, reserve' (*subsidium* 'support; reserve' [**sed-*^{1} 'sit'] cf. *subsidy* § 3.2.2)

SUMMARY [1509] *summārius* [ML] 'comprising the principal parts; concise' (*summa* 'top; SUM' [*c.*1300] < **supmo-* < **supemo-* < **sup-mho-* [**uper-*/**s-up(er)-* 'over']; cf. *suprā* 'above' HLFL 121, 152)

TEMPORARY [1547–64] *temporārius* 'belonging to time; temporary' (*tempus/tempor-* 'time')

TERTIARY [1656] *tertiārius* [Vitruvius] 'containing one third' (*tertius* 'third', *trēs* 'three')

TRIBUTARY [Ch.] *tribūtārius* 'liable to tax/tribute' *(tribūtum* 'tax; TRIBUTE' [*c.*1350], from *tribuere* 'apportion; grant; allocate' < **tribu-ye/o-* HLFL 194, from *tribus* 'one of the three ethnic divisions of the early Roman state; tribe' < **tri-bhuh-s* 'having three [**trei-*] entities/areas' [**bhuh-* 'be; grow' invariant root HIEV 112]; cf. Ved. *bhúv-* 'world' Heidermanns 2002: 197; extensive discussion in Benedetti 1988: 52 f.)

VALETUDINARY [1581] 'sickly' (*valētūdō/valētūdin-* 'health' § 2.4.2)

VOLUNTARY [Ch.] *voluntārius* 'of one's own free will' (*voluntās/voluntāt-* 'will' < **welonti-tāt-*, built on *-ont-* PrP to *velle* 'wish, want' [**wel-*^{2} 'id.' = **welh$_{1}$-* LIV 677 f.] HLFL 226)

4.4.3 *Adjectives in* -arious *and* -arian (*cf. Marchand 1969: 344*)

AERARIAN [1850] 'of the Roman public treasury; fiscal' *aerārius* 'pertaining to copper'; cf. *aerārium* 'treasury' (*aes/aer-* 'copper'; see *aerugo* § 2.8.3)

AGRARIAN [1533] *agrārius* 'relating to land or landed property; of the redistribution of public land; agrarian' (*ager* 'field; land; property' < **agr̥s* < **haǵ-ro-s* [**agro-* 'field'] HLFL 73 f.; **agro-* is a derivative of **h$_{1}$aǵ-* or **h$_{2}$eǵ-* 'drive' § 6.6.1)

CIBARIOUS [1656] 'pertaining to food; edible' *cibārius* 'suitable for food' (*cibus* 'food' [etym. unknown DELL 211] violates IE root structure Baldi 1999: 101)

CONTRARIOUS [*c.*1290] 'perverse; adverse' < OF *contrarios* [1080 *Roland*] < ML *contrāriōsus* for L *contrārius* 'opposite; opposed' (*contrā* 'against' [**kom* 'beside, near, by, with'])

FRUMENTARIOUS [1670–81] 'pertaining to wheat or grain' *frūmentārius* 'relating to corn' (*frūmentum* 'corn; grain'; cf. *fruī* 'enjoy', *frūctus* 'fruit' [**bhrūg-* = ?**bhreuhǵ-* LIV 96])

GREGARIOUS [1668] *gregārius* 'of the flock/herd; common' (*grex/greg-* 'flock' [**ger-*[1]])

PRECARIOUS [1646] *precārius* 'obtained by entreaty; at the mercy of others; of questionable permanence; uncertain' (*prex/prec-* 'prayer; entreaty' [**preḱ-* 'ask, entreat'])

SECTARY [1556]/SECTARIAN [1649] *sectārius* [ML] 'sectarian' < L 'gelded; wether followed by the flock' (dvbl.: *secāre*/*sectum* 'cut' < **sekaye-* < **$s_e$kh-ye-* [**sekh-* 'cut' LIV 524])

TEMERARIOUS [1532] 'recklessly daring; rash; *temerārius* 'accidental; impetuous' (*temere* 'recklessly' < **temasi* loc. of **temh-os* [**temh-* 'dark'] LIV 624; cf. *temerity* § 2.1.3)

VICARIOUS [1637] *vicārius* 'taking another's place' (*vicis* 'interchange; alternation' orig. gen. of **vix* < **wik-* [**weik-*[4] 'bend, wind']; cf. *vicissitude* § 2.4.1)

4.4.4 *Substantivized adjectives*

1. *-ārius* (m.) 'one connected with; one who —'
2. *-ārium* (n.) 'thing connected with; place for —'

4.4.4.1 *Actor substantives* (*E* -ary, *rarely* -arian)

ADVERSARY [Ch.] *adversārius* 'antagonist; opponent' (*adversus* 'opposite')

ANTIQUARY [1563]/ANTIQUARIAN [1610] *antīquārius* [Tacitus] 'student of the past' (*antīquus* 'ancient' < **$h_2$enti-h_3k^w-o-* ('appearing before') [**ant-* + **ok^w-*] Hamp 1973)

COMMISSARY [1362] *commissārius* [ML] 'executor; officer in charge' (*commissus* 'begun; committed; engaged (in); entrusted', from *mittere* 'let go; send' [**meith$_2$-* LIV 430])

EMISSARY [1625] *ēmissārius* 'emissary' (*ēmissus* 'sent out'; see *commissary*)

FALSARY [1435] 'falsifier' *falsārius* [Cato] 'falsifier, forger' (*falsus* 'erroneous, FALSE [?*c.*1200]; deceptive; deceitful'; [Catullus] 'counterfeited, imitation', PPP of *fallere* 'deceive' § 1.11; see *fallacious* § 5.2.1)

LAPIDARY [Ch.] *lapidārius* 'stone-artisan' (*lapis/lapid-* 'stone' [etym. obscure RPIEL 486])

NOTARY [*c.*1303] *notārius* [Seneca] 'stenographer; secretary, clerk' (*nota* 'mark; NOTE' [OE; ?a1200] < ?**snot-ā-*, from *sentīre* 'feel; sense; notice' < **sn̥t-ye/o-* [**sent-*] RPIEL 197 ff.)

SECRETARY [1387] *sēcrētārius* [c5] 'one charged with secrets in the emperor's court'; cf. *sēcrētārium* [Apuleius] 'secret retreat, hiding place' (*sēcrētus* 'separate(d), withdrawn', PPP of *sēcernere* 'remove; set aside; separate' [**krei-* 'sieve' =**kreh*$_1$*(i)-*])

VETERINARY [1790] *veterīnārius* [Columella] 'animal doctor' (*veterīnus* 'of draught animals or beasts of burden' [**wet-*^{2} 'year'])

4.4.4.2 *Neuter substantives (mostly locationals) (E* -ar(y)/-ery *(Gadde 1910)/* -arium)

ABECEDARIUM [1603] *abecedārium* [EL] 'the alphabet' (cf. *abecedārius* [LL] 'relating to the alphabet' from A-B-C; cf. Coogan 1974, 1990; Biville 1990–5: i. 360, ii. 96; Breyer 1993: 199 f.)

ALVEARY [1580] 'beehive' *alveārium* 'bulging vessel; beehive' (*alveus* 'cavity' [**aulo-* 'hole, cavity']; see *alveolus* § 2.9.1)

ANNIVERSARY [?a1200] *anniversārium* [ML] 'anniversary'; cf. *anniversārius* [CL] 'recurring annually; annual' (*annus* 'year' + *vertere/versum* 'turn'; cf. Bader 1962: 282)

APIARY [1654] 'place where bees are kept' *apiārium* 'bee-house' (*apis* 'bee' [etym. unknown RPIEL 33] phps. a tabu variant of IE **bhei-* 'bee' DELL 70; cf. *fūcus* 'drone' < **bhoi-ko-*)

AQUARIUM [1853] *aquārium* 'watering-place (for cattle)' (*aqua* 'water' [**ak*^{w}*-ā-* 'id.'])

ARMOURY [1489] < OF *armaire/armarie* < L *armārium* 'cabinet; chest' (for money, food, clothing, books, etc.) (*arma* 'implements; weapons' **ar-mo-* [**h*$_1$*ar-* or **h*$_2$*er-* LIV 270])

AVIARY [1577] *aviārium* 'place where birds are kept' (*avis* 'bird' [**h*$_2$*ewi-* 'id.'])

BESTIARY [1625] 'beast-fighter', [1840] 'treatise on beasts' *bēstiārium* [ML] 'collection of allegorical fables about animals'; cf. *bēstiārius* [Cicero] 'one who fights with wild beasts in the arena' (*bēstia* 'animal; BEAST' [etym. unclear DELL 123 f.])

BREVIARY [1547] *breviārium* [Seneca] 'brief account, summary statement; abstract' (*brevis* 'short, brief' < **mreǵh-w-i-* [**mreǵh-u-* 'short'] cf. HLFL 112, 120; Baldi 1999: 282)

CALDARIUM [1753] 'room in a Roman hot bath' *caldārium* [Vitruvius] 'hot bath' (*calida/calda* 'hot water', *calidus* 'hot' [**ḱel-* 'warm' LIV 323]; for the formation, see § 5.1)

CALENDAR [?a1200] *kalendārium* 'account book' (*Kalendae* 'the CALANDS'[?a1200] [first day of the month when interest came due] < **kalā-nd-*gerundive to *calāre* 'announce, summon' [**kelh₂-* 'shout' = **kleh₁-* LIV 361] HLFL 75, 228)

CARNARY [1538] 'charnel vault for disinterred bones' *carnārium* [ML] 'id.'< L 'meat-rack'; cf. *carnārius* [Martial] 'meat-dealer' (*carō/carn-* 'meat; flesh' [**(s)ker-*¹ 'cut'] but *car-* points to [**(s)kerh-* 'divide'] a separate root from **(s)ker-* 'cut' LIV 558)

CINERARY [1750]/CINERARIUM [1880] *cinerārium* [tomb inscrs.] 'cremation receptacle' (*cinis/ciner-* 'ashes' [**ken-i-* 'dust, ashes'])

COLUMBARY [1549]/COLUMBARIUM [1846] *columbārium* 'dovecot; pigeonloft; cinerarium' (*columba* 'dove, pigeon' < ?**kol-on-bh-* [**kel-*]; see *columbine* § 4.7)

COMMENTARY [1531] *commentārium* (and *commentārius*) 'notebook; record book; treatise'; [Suetonius] 'commentary' (prob. dvbl.: *commentārī* 'study; discuss; compose' (Serbat 1989: 404) rather than from *commentum* 'invention; scheme' [**men-*¹ 'think'])

COROLLARY [Ch.] *corōllārium* 'garland (as a reward); gratuity'; [Augustine] 'consequence; corollary' (*corōlla* 'small wreath; garland' § 2.9.3)

DIARY [1581] *diārium* 'diary, journal; daily allowance' (*diēs* 'day' [**dyeu-*] IEL 211 f.)

ESTUARY [1538] *aestuārium* 'place subject to the tides' (*aestus* 'heat; tide' [**ai-*² = **h₂ei-* 'burn' or **h₁ai-* 'be warm' LIV 229)

FORMICARY [1816]/FORMICARIUM [1834] *formīcārium* [ML] 'ant colony' (*formīca* 'ant' poss. < **morm-* by dissimilation [**morwi-*] DELL 440; Sihler 1995: 211)

GRANARY [a1530] *grānārium* 'place for (storing) grain' (*grānum* 'grain' < **ǵr̥h₂-nó-* [**ǵerh₂-* LIV 165]; cf. Gmc. **kurnan* (> OE *corn* CORN) HGE 225; RPIEL 178; IELC 276, 380)

HERBARIUM [1776] *herbārium* [c6 Cassiodorus] 'collection of dried plants; herbal'; ML 'herbarium' (*herba* 'grass' [etym. unknown DELL 519 f.])

HONORARIUM [1658] *honōrārium* [Ulpian] 'fee for professional services' (*honor* HONOUR § 3.1)

IMAGINARIUM [n.d.] Edison-Ford museum, Ft. Myers, Fla. (cf. *imaginary* § 4.4.2, *image* § 2.8.1)

ITINERARY [1432–50] *itinerārium* [c4 Ambrose] 'itinerary' (*iter/itiner-* 'journey; course; road' < **h₁i-tēr/*h₁it-n-é-s* [**h₁ei-* 'go'] Sihler 1995: 298 ff.; HLFL 142; IEL 203 f.)

LIBRARY [Ch.] *librārium* 'place for books' (*liber/libr-* 'book' [etym. unknown DELL 631])

MORTUARY [?1403] 'estate gift to the parish', [1654] †'sepulchre', [1865] 'morgue' *mortuārium* [ML]; cf. *mortuārius* 'of the dead' [Cato *apud* Gellius] (*mortuus* 'dead' < **mr̥-two-* HLFL 93, replacement of **mr̥-tó-* [**mer-* 'die'] by analogy with *vīvus* 'alive' § 5.4; cf. OCS *mrŭtvŭ* 'corpse' Meillet 1961 [1905]: 306; Venetic *murtuvoi* 'dead' DAT.sg.M Lejeune 1974: 107, 224 f.)

NECESSARIUM [1848] *necessārium* [NL] '(place of) necessity', hence 'lavatory'; cf. ML *necessārium* '(absolute) necessity', CL *necessārius* 'essential, NECESSARY § 4.4.2, requisite' (*necesse* 'essential, inevitable, compulsory' < **ne* + **ked-ti-* '(there is) no drawing back'; cf. *cēdere/cessum* 'yield, withdraw' [**ked-* 'go, yield'])

OSSUARY [1658] *ossuārium* (also *ossārium*) [c1 tomb inscrs.] 'receptacle for bones of the dead' (*os/oss-* 'bone'; *ossua* 'bones of dead persons' plural of collateral *ossū* [Pliny *apud* Charisius] DELL 834 [**ost-* = h_2osth_2- 'bone']; see *ossicle* § 2.9.2)

OVARY [1653] *ōvārium* [NL] (*ōvum* 'egg' < **h_2ōwy-o-* [**$h_2$ewi-* 'bird']; cf. *ovule* § 2.9.1)

SACRARIUM [1708–22] 'sanctuary or sacristy of a church' *sacrārium* 'place for holy things; sanctuary; shrine' (*sacer* 'consecrated; sacred; holy' < **sak-ro-* [**sak-* 'sanctify'])

SANCTUARY [1340] (AF *seintuarie* [a1325]) *sānctuārium* [Pliny] 'place for private records'; [epigr.; c4] (replacement of *sacrārium*) 'temple; shrine' (*sānctus* '(made) sacred; holy' < **sa-n-k-* + *-to-* 'made sacred' PPP of *sancīre* 'consecrate' [**sak-*])

SEMINARY [1440] 'seed plot', [1581] 'place of education' *sēminārium* 'garden; seed plot; nursery' (*sēmen/sēmin-* 'seed'; see *semen* § 3.4)

SERPENTARIUM [1895] *serpentārium* [NL] 'reptile house'; cf. *serpentāria* [c4] 'snakeweed' (*serpēns/serpent-* SERPENT lit. the 'creeping one' PrP of *serpere* 'crawl, glide, wind, creep' [**serp-*[2] 'crawl, creep'])

SOLARIUM [1842] *sōlārium* 'sundeck (on a roof or balcony)' (*sōl* 'sun'; see *solar* § 4.1.2)

SPICERY [?*c.*1200] < OF *espicerie* [1270] 'place where spices are sold' < ML *spīcārium* 'barn; granary; store' (*spīca* 'ear of corn; tuft of a plant' SPIKE [1393] [**spei-* 'sharp point'])

SUDARY [1300–1400]/SUDARIUM [1601] 'napkin', [1852] 'sudatorium' *sūdārium* [Catullus] 'sweat-cloth; handkerchief' (apparently deverbal to *sūdāre* 'to sweat' rather than from *sūdor* 'sweat' [**sweid-*[2] 'sweat'; cf. LIV 607]; perhaps coined as a calque on G ἱδρῳ̃ον [c−3/2] 'cloth for covering horses, donkeys, etc., when heated' Serbat 1989: 404)

SUMMARY [1509] *summārium* [Seneca] 'abstract; summary' (*summa* 'top' v. *summary* § 4.4.2)

TEPIDARIUM [1585] *tepidārium* [Vitruvius] 'warm room in Roman baths' (*tepidus* 'warm' [**tep-* '(be) hot'; see *tepid* § 5.1.2])

TERRARIUM [1890] *terrārium* [NL]; cf. *terrārius* 'connected with land (as opposed to sea)'; 'earthly' [Arnobius]; *terrārium* [ML] 'mass of earth; dyke' (*terra* 'land' [**ters-* 'dry'])

VINERY [1420] < OF *vinerie* [1344] < ML *vīnārium* 'vineyard' < L *vīnārius* 'of or belonging to wine'; cf. *vīnārium* 'wine-flask' (*vīnum* 'wine' [**wīn-o-*] = G (*ϝ*)*οἶνος* [Myc.+] and possibly borrowed from older Greek Biville 1990–5; i. 66–88; cf. also Arm. *gini*, Hitt. *wiyana-*, but probably non-IE *pace* Beekes 1995: 35; cf. Arabic *wain*, Georgian *ɣwino*, etc. Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995: 557–62)

VIVARY [1601]/VIVARIUM [1600] 'game preserve', [1684] 'place for raising live animals for observation and research' *vīvārium* [Columella, Pliny] 'game preserve' (*vīvus* 'alive; living' § 5.4)

4.4.5 *Feminine (rarely neuter plural)* -āria *(> E* -ary*)*

ARRECTARY [1620] 'upright post; vertical beam' *arrēctāria* [Vitruvius] 'upright beams of a wall' (*arrēctus* 'erect; upright; steep' PPP of *arrigere* 'make stand upright, raise' < *ad* + *regere/rēctum* 'keep straight; direct; guide' [**h₃reǵ-* 'move in a straight line'])

CALVARIA [1398 Trevisa]/CALVARIUM [1882] 'domed part of skull' and CALVARY [OE/ME *Calvarie*] *Calvāria* [Tertullian, EL] < L *calvāria* [Celsus] 'skull' (*calvus* 'bald' < **kalowo-* < **kl̥h-(e)wo-* HLFL 109 [**kl̥h₂-(wo-)* 'bald' EWAia i. 377]; *Calvāria* is a loantranslation of G *Κρανίου τόπος* 'place of skull' = Aramaic *gogulthō, gogolthā* 'skull', from the hill's shape, L *golgotha* [Vulgate] GOLGOTHA [1593] 'graveyard')

DISPENSARY [1699] 'apothecary'; cf. ML *dispēnsāria* 'office; charge of the office' (*dispēnsum* 'distributed by paying or weighing out' PPP of *dispendere* 'distribute by paying or weighing out' from *dis-* + *pendere/pēnsum* 'weigh; pay out' [**(s)pen-/*(s)pend-*]; see *pendulous* § 5.3.1)

INFIRMARY [a1455] *īnfirmāria* [ML] 'hospital; infirmary' (*īnfirmus* 'fragile; in poor health' from negating *in* [**n(e)*] + *firmus* 'FIRM, strong' < **dherǵh-mo-* HLFL 81 (with dialectal development?) [**dher-*[2] 'hold firmly'])

PISCARY [1474] 'right of fishing', [a1625] 'fishery' *piscāria* [ML] 'right of fishing; fishery' < L *piscārius* 'connected with fish' (*piscis* 'fish' [**peisk-/*pisk-* 'fish'])

4.5 *-nu-* 'appurtenance; relation; similarity'

Indo-European **-no-* is widely attested as a nominal and adjectival formative. For nouns, cf. **sw(e)p-no-* 'sleep' (Ved. *sváp-na-*, G *ὕπνος* HYPNO-, L *somnus* SOMNI- < **swop-nó-* < **swep-no-* HLFL 83, 121). For adjectives, cf. **k(e)rs-nó-* 'black' (Ved. *kr̥ṣṇá-* 'black' KRISHNA [1875], OCS *črŭnŭ*, etc. Meillet 1961 [1905]: 433); L *magnus* 'big, great', neuter *magnum* MAGNUM [1788] < **m(a)ǵ-no-* [**meǵ-* 'great'] vs. G *μέγα* MEGA [1968] 'great' NOM.sg.N < **meǵ-h₂-* HLFL 65; or L *a(h)ēnus* 'brazen' (**h₂eyes-no-*) from *aes* 'copper; bronze' (see *aerugo* § 2.8.3).

An apparently related suffix that is generally reconstructed **-e/ono-*, but is more likely **-hno-* (IEL 297), is found in L *dominus* 'master' (< **domano-* < **dom-hno-* 'who incarnates the household') and probably *tribūnus* TRIBUNE [1375], from *tribus* 'tribe' (see *tributary* § 4.4.2), namely **tribhu-hno-* 'who incarnates the tribe'. This alternant is not treated here because of its different meaning and poor representation in English. Note however the Germanic deity *Odin/Woden* (ON *Óðinn*, OE *Wōden*) < **Wōðanaz* < **wōt-hnó-* 'who incarnates shamanic wisdom, poetry' (Watkins 1995: 118), or 'raging; inspired; mad', hence 'spirit' (**wet-*[1] AHDR 101). Benveniste (1969: i. 302 ff.) reconstructs these with **-no-*, and includes G *σελήνη* 'moon' (> SELENE) as 'she who incarnates the (moon-) light'. But the phonology is difficult for **-hno-*. The reconstruction should involve simply *σέλας* 'light' (of obscure etymology DELG 955) + *-nā* (< **-neh₂-*, fem. of **-no-*).

Simple **-no-* is rare in Latin denominal derivation (LG i § 290 f.; Baldi 1999: 302 f.). It was more frequent as a deradical/deverbal affix, e.g. **pl̥h₁-nó-* 'filled; full' (IEL 285); cf. Ved. *pūrṇá-*, E *full*, L *plēnus* (neut. *plēnum* 'full' PLENUM [1678] opposite of vacuum, [1772] 'full assembly') apparently with generalized full grade of the root **pleh₁-*, as in *plē-re* 'to fill' (RPIEL 341; HLFL 57). The denominal form was usually *-ānus, -īnus*, listed separately here along with several other enlargements.

4.5.1 *-(er)nus (> E -(er)n+al)*

Beginning with a basic suffix **-no-*, the sequence *-ernus* originated by vowel deletion and insertion; cf. **patri-no-* > **patr̥no-* > *paternus* 'of the father' (see Butler 1971: 54 f.). In later Latin several kinship adjectives underwent remodelling after *parentālis* PARENTAL [1623] to the type in § 4.1.1 (cf. Marchand 1969: § 292), e.g. *fīliālis* [c4] FILIAL [a1387], built on *fīlia* 'daughter', *fīlius* 'son' < **fēlios* < **feiliyo-* < **dheh₁y-li-* [**dheh₁(y)-* 'suck'] HLFL 69, 85 (differently RPIEL 344; AHDR 18 [**dhē(i)-*]: *fī-li-* < **dhī-li-* < zero-grade **dhih₁-* metathesized from **dʰh₁i-*).

Early borrowings occurred via (Anglo-)French.

FRATERNAL [1494] *frāternālis* [ML] = *frāternus* 'brotherly' (*frāter* 'brother')
MATERNAL [1481 Caxton] *māternālis* [ML a1179] = *māternus* 'of/belonging to a mother' (*māter* 'mother')
PATERNAL [a1450] *paternālis* [c4 Irenaeus] = *paternus* 'of the father' (*pater* 'father')

4.5.2 *-(t)ernus (> E -(t)ern/-(t)ern-al)*

This composite suffix (LG i § 292) derives from several sources. One may be **-erinos*, if *vernus* 'vernal' is formed like G *ἐαρινός* 'of spring', but **wes-no-* is also possible; cf. O.Bulg. *vesna* 'spring' (Untermann 1992: 145). Another source involves *-no-* derivatives of words like *īnfer(ior)* 'lower' INFERIOR [1432–50] : *īnfer-nus* 'lower; infernal'; cf. *exter-nus* 'external' to *exter* 'outer; external', *exterior* EXTERIOR [1533] (**eks-tero-* HLFL 152). The form *-ternus* is usually explained by generalization from *frāternus, māternus, paternus* (cf. Johnson 1931: § 108), but there is a more deterministic likelihood. L *inter* means 'between', but note *interior* 'inner; more inward', *internus* 'inward; internal', which are synchronically derived from *in* 'in; inside; within' rather than *inter*. The metanalysis of words like *inter-nus* as *in-ternus* freed up *-ternus* to be generalized elsewhere. In later Latin, these tended to acquire the *-āli-* extension; cf. *vernālis* [c1^{b} Manilius] VERNAL [1534].

(A)ETERNAL [Ch.] *aeternālis* [freq. in inscrs.; EL] = *aeternus* 'eternal', contracted from *aeviternus* [Varro, LL 6. 11] (*aevum* 'eternity' [**aiw-* = **h₂eiw-/*h₂eyu-*])
HESTERN [1577–87]/HESTERNAL [1649] *hesternus* 'yesterday's' (*heri* 'yesterday' < **dhǵhyes-(i)* [**dhǵh(y)es-* 'yesterday' with no mention of *hesternal*]; cf. G *χθές* 'yesterday' Puhvel 1987; HLFL 97)
HIBERNAL [1626] *hībernālis* [Vulgate] = *hībernus* 'of winter' prob. not < **hiem-ernus* (*pace* LG i. 322, w. lit) but < **ǵheibrino-* < **ǵheim-rinos* (*hiems/hiem-* 'winter' < **ǵhie-m-*[**ǵhei-*[2] 'id.']; cf. G *χειμερινός* 'of winter' Butler 1971: 53; HLFL 122)
HODIERN [1500–20]/HODIERNAL [1656] *hodiernālis* [NL] = *hodiernus* 'today's' (*hodiē* 'today' restored from **hoyyē(d)* < **hoi dyēd* 'on this day', with **ho-* [**gho*] (base of **ghod-ke* L *hoc(ce)* 'this' HOC) + **dyeh₁-* 'day' [**dyeu-* 'shine; sky'] HLFL 78)
INFERNAL [Ch.] *īnfernālis* [c4] 'of the lower regions' (*īnfernus* 'lower; infernal' doublet to *īnferus* 'id.' DELL 565 [**n̥dher-*] HLFL 81, 105; cf. Gmc. **unðer(a)* > OE *under* UNDER HGE 434)

INTERNAL [1509] *internālis* [LML] = *internus* 'inward; internal' (*in* 'within' [**en* 'in'])

MODERN [1485] *modernus* [c5 Cassiodorus, Gelasius] 'of the present; modern' (*modo* 'just now' [**med-* 'take appropriate measures'] modelled on *hodiernus* DELL 726 f.)

SEMPITERN [1390]/SEMPITERNAL [*c.*1400] 'perpetual' *sempiternālis* [sacrae scripturae] = *sempiternus* 'everlasting' (blend of *semper* 'always' [**sem-* 'one' + **per-*[1] 'through, for'] + *aeviternus* (see *(a)eternal* above); cf. DELL 1082; LG i. 322)

4.5.3 *-(t)urnus (> E -(t)urn(-al))*

DIURNAL [Ch.] 'occurring in a day or daily; active during daytime' ([arch.] 'a diary; daily newspaper': OF *jornal* [1121] > JOURNAL [c14]) *diurnālis* [LL gloss; ML] = *diurnus* 'of the day; daily' (*diēs* 'day' [see *hodiern* above]; *diurnus* may be modelled on *nocturnus* DELL 316, but Szemerényi's **diverinos* is also possible LG i. 322)

NOCTURNAL [1485] *nocturnālis* [c5 Sidonius] 'for night use' = *nocturnus* 'belonging to the night; nocturnal' (*nox/noct-* 'night' [**nek^{w}-t-*]; see *equinox* § 2.6.1; given G *νυκτερινός* 'by night, nightly', it is possible that L **nocternus* was remodelled after *noctū* 'at night')

TACITURN [1771] 'untalkative; uncommunicative; laconic' *taciturnus* 'silent; still; quiet' first in Cicero (1×) and Lucretius, but note superl. *taciturnissimum* [Plautus, *Curculio* 20] 'most silent/discreet' and *taciturnitās* [Plautus, Terence] 'the fact of maintaining silence' (*tacitus* 'silent; mute' [**tak-*[1] = **pteh$_2$k-* LIV 495]; *taciturnus* is apparently modelled on *nocturnus*, given the frequent correlation of night and silence in antiquity DELL 1188)

4.6 *-ā-nu-s* (> E *-an/-áne/-ana*)

Latin had about 260 *-ānus* derivatives, productive on place names and designations for places, and typically denoting a citizen or inhabitant of that place (LG i § 295). Formally, it was resegmented from words like *Rōmānus* ROMAN [a1325] (from *Rōma* ROME), hence *Spartānus* SPARTAN [*c.*1425] (*Sparta*), *Troiānus* TROJAN [Ch.] (*Troia*), Āfricānus AFRICAN [OE *c.*888/ME ?a1200] (*Āfrica*), etc. It was also applied to gentilics to derive a member of the clan, e.g. *Cornēliānus* 'Cornelian' (*Cornēlia*), *Clōdiānus* 'Clodian' (*Clōdia*), *Tulliānus* 'Tullian' (*Tullia*). Applied to bases like these, *-ānus* could be resegmented *-iānus*, and applied to bases like *Cicerō/Cicerōn-*, hence *Cicerōn-iānus* [Seneca] CICERONIAN [1581].

Italic had already generalized secondary *-*ā*no- (Heidermanns 2002: 188 f., 195). In later Latin, -*ānus* was further generalized; cf. *Etruscus* 'Etrurian; Etruscan' → *Etruscānus* ETRUSCAN [1706]. *Tuscānus* TUSCAN noun [a1387 Trevisa]/adj. [1513] (enlarged from *Tuscus* 'Etrurian; Etrucsan') is used by Vitruvius [*c.*50–26] of a style of architecture.

The English reflex *-an* has several relatively productive functions:

1. Source (nation/city/etc.): *American, European, Virginian, Bostonian*
2. Typical of: *Elizabethan, Victorian*
3. Follower/adherent of: *Christian, Hitlerian, Chomskyan*
4. Specialist in: *historian, musician*

There is a recent orthographic split in English between *-an* and *-áne*, e.g. *húman* 'of the species (distinct from others)' ≠ *humáne* 'having human character(istics); benevolent; compassionate'. The older spelling *humayne* for both reflects the French source *humain* [c12]. *Human* split off as a distinct spelling in c17. Earlier, these and similar words were distinguished only by their meaning (cf. Jespersen 1909–49: § 5,54).

The neuter plural *-ā*na* 'things connected with' (like *-ā/īlia* § 4.3) is productively employed in English: *Americana, Rooseveltiana, Disneyana*, etc.

4.6.1 *English borrowings*

ARCANE [1547] 'esoteric'/ARCANUM [1646] (pl. ARCANA [1599]) 'profound secret; mystery' *arcānus/arcānum* 'shut; secret' (*arca* 'box, chest' [**ark-* = **h₂erk-*])

CHRISTIAN [a1121 Peterborough Chron *cristen*] *Christiānus* [Tacitus] 'Christian' (*Christus* CHRIST [*c.*950 Lindisfarne Gospel] < G *χριστός* 'anointed', from *χρῑ́-ειν*, aorist *χρῖσαι* 'to smear, anoint' [**ghrēi-* 'rub'; cf. **ghrei-* 'smear' LIV 203]; note generalized *-iānus* in *Christiānus* later borrowed into Greek as *χριστιᾱνός* Chantraine 1933: 197; Bader 1962: 399; DELG 1277)

FOUNTAIN [1398 Trevisa] < OF *fontaine* [c12] < LL *fontāna* 'spring' < L *fontānus* 'of a spring' (*fōns/font-* 'spring; fountain' < **dhon(h₂)-ti-* [**dhen-*[1] 'run, flow' = **dhenh₂-* LIV 144 f.])

GERMANE [1602] 'pertinent; relevant' < ME *germain* [?*c.*1300] 'having the same parents' < OF *germain* [1175] 'id.' < L *germānus* 'having the same parents; true, genuine, proper' (*germen* 'shoot; bud' < **ǵenh₁-men-* [**ǵenh₁-* 'beget'] RPIEL 330; HLFL 127)

HUMAN [1398 Trevisa]/HUMANE [*c.*1500] (all in the form *humai/yn(e)*; see § 4.6) *hūmānus* 'human; humane; civilized' (cf. *homō* 'human being' < **(dh)ǵhém-ōn* [**dhéǵhōm* 'earth']; the precise derivation of *hūmānus* is unclear: Leumann LG i. 117, 364 bases it on a putative nom. **hūm* (< **hōm*

< **(dh)ǵhōm*), but derivation from a structural case is very unusual § 1.3.1; Old Latin had a stem *hemon-* (see *homuncule* § 2.9.2), from which one can imagine a derivation **hemon-ānus* > **hmōn-ānus* > **h_om_on-ānus* (by copy/metathesis) > *hūmānus*)

MEDIAN [1592] *mediānus* [Cicero 1×, Vitruvius] '(in the) middle' (*medius* 'middle' [**medh-yo-*] DELL 699 f.; HLFL 91, 120; Baldi 1999: 173, 245, 282; *-ānus* has its specialized locational function for places; cf. *in mediō* 'in the middle')

MERIDIAN noun [?*c.*1350]/adj. [Ch.], POSTMERIDIAN [1626] (earlier POMERIDIAN [1560]), ANTEMERIDIAN [1656] < AF *meridien* < OF *meridiane* [1260] (earlier *meriene* [1160]) < L *(ante/post)merīdiānus* 'pertaining to (before/after) noon' (*merīdiēs* 'midday; noon; south'; see *meridional* § 4.1.1)

MONTANE [1863] 'inhabiting mountain areas'/MOUNTAIN [?a1200] (OF *montain* [1260] <) *montānus* 'of a mountain; mountain-' (*mōns/mont-* 'mountain' MOUNT [a1121] < **mon-ti-* [**men-*^{2} 'project' = ?**men-*^{3} LIV 437])

MUNDANE [1475] *mundānus* [c4] 'of the world; worldly'; earlier [Cicero] 'inhabitant of the world' (*mundus* 'the universe, world' [etym. unclear] poss. Etruscan DELL 747; Baldi 1999: 166)

PAGAN [*c.*1375] (earlier *paien* [?*c.*1225] < OF *paien* [1080 *Roland*]) *pāgānus* [epigr., Cicero, Propertius, Tacitus] 'associated with, inhabiting a *pāgus*; inhabitant of a *pāgus*'; [c4] 'heathen' (*pāgus* 'country district; province' [**pag-* 'fasten' = **peh$_2$ǵ-* LIV 461])

PUBLICAN [?*c.*1200] *pūblicānus* 'contractor for the collection of taxes' (*pūblicum* 'public property or revenue'; cf. *public* § 4.8)

SUBURBAN [1625] *suburbānus* 'near the city' (*suburbium* '(country) near (*sub*) the city (*urbs/urb-*)'; cf. *urban* below and see *suburb* § 2.6.1)

SYLVAN/SILVAN [1565] *silvānus* '(deity) of the forest' (*silva* 'forest' [etym. unknown DELL 1105])

URBAN [1619] 'from, relating to the city'/URBANE [1533] 'having city character(istics); refined; cultured; slick' < F *urbain* [c14] < L *urbānus* 'pertaining to the city' (*urbs/urb-* 'city'; see *suburb* § 2.6.1)

VETERAN [1509] *veterānus* 'old; veteran (soldier)' (*vetus/veter-* 'old', *veterēs* 'forefathers' < **wet-es-* [**wet-*^{2} 'year'])

4.7 *-ī-nu-s* (> E *-ine*/rarely *-in*)

The composite suffix *-īnus* (LG i § 296; Butler 1971; Marchand 1969: 301 f.) is most frequent on living beings (animals, humans, deities) and (like *-ānus*) place names and designations for places. Like *-īlis* (§ 4.2), *-īnus* derives

initially from attachment of *-no-* to the formative that makes second declension genitives in *-ī*, and is thus frequent on *-o-* and *-yo-* stems. For instance, the Old Latin genitive of *Latium* LATIUM is *Lat-ī*, whence *Lat-ī-nus* 'of Latium; LATIN' [?*c.*1200]. The suffix is then applied to *-i-* and other stems, e.g. *fēmina* 'woman' : *fēmin-īnus* FEMININE [?*c.*1350]. Although probably a separate suffix by origin (LG i. 323), *-ēnus* appears after *-i-* in *ali-ēnus* 'another's; foreign' ALIEN [a1349], from *ali-us* 'other' [**al-*[1]/**h₂el-* 'beyond'].

ALPINE [1607] *Alpīnus* 'of the Alps' (pl. *Alpēs/Alpi-* 'the Alps' [etym. unknown]; a Sabine word *alpum* (= *album* 'white') is reported [Paul. Fest.] along with a tradition that the Alps were named from their whiteness, rejected as fanciful DELL 43, but a dialectal development of **albh-* 'white' § 5.1.1 via *Alp-s/*Albi-* is not impossible)

ANGUINE [1657] *anguīnus* 'of or pertaining to the serpent' (*anguis/angui-* 'snake' [**ang*^{w}*hi-*])

ANSERINE [1839] 'gooselike; stupid' *ānserīnus* [Celsus] 'of/from geese' (*ānser* 'goose' < **hans-er-* [**ǵhans-* 'goose'] HLFL 105)

AQUILINE [1646] *aquilīnus* 'of an eagle' (*aquila* 'eagle' < **aku-awi-* 'swift bird' (Cohen 2004))

ASININE [1610] *asinīnus* 'of or produced by an ass' (*asinus* 'ass; blockhead', probably from the same source as Sumerian *anše* 'ass' AHDR 5, s.v. *asinus*)

BOVINE [1817] *bovīnus* [*c.*400] 'of oxen or cows' (*bōs/bov-* 'ox' [**g*^{w}*ou-*])

CANINE [1607] tooth ([1398 Trevisa] as Latin word), [1869] dog *canīnus* 'of a dog' (*canis/cani-* 'dog' [**ḱwon-* 'id.']; cf. G *κύων* 'dog'; the phonological development is problematic; Schrijver proposes acc. **kuon-em* > **k(u)an-em*, hence nom. *can-is* RPIEL 461)

CAPRINE [1607] *caprīnus* 'of or pertaining to goats' (*caper/capr-* 'goat' < **kap-ro-* prob. 'the grabby (animal)' [**kap-* 'grasp'; cf. **keh₂p-* LIV 344 f.] but see Beekes 2000: 28)

COLLINE [1630] *collīnus* 'of a hill; hill-; hilly' (*collis/colli-* 'hill' < **kolni-* < **kolh-ni-*; cf. Lith. *kálnas* etc. < **kolhn-* [**kelh-* LIV 349] RPIEL 326 ff.; cf. *columel* § 2.9.3)

COLUBRINE [1528] 'characteristic of a snake' *colubrīnus* 'snakelike; cunning' (*colubra* [Plautus]/*coluber* [Virgil] 'snake, serpent' [etym. unknown DELL 239])

COLUMBINE [Ch.] *columbīnus* 'of pigeons; dove-coloured' (*columba* 'pigeon; dove' < **kol-on-bh-* [**kel-* 'grey' not in AHDR] RPIEL 427; cf. G *κελαινός* 'dark, black' and esp. *κόλυμβος* name of a bird, prob. 'grebe' DELG 512, 559; *columba* is not a Greek loanword Biville 1990–5: ii. 376, and **kol-on-bh-* works equally well for *κόλυμβος*; for the *-u-* by Cowgill's Law, see Vine 1999; for the postnasal *-b-* Miller 1977*c*)

DIVINE [Ch.] *dīvīnus* 'belonging to a deity' (*dīvus/deus* 'god, deity' < **deiw-o-*; cf. OL acc. pl. DEIVOS [Duenos vase *c.*−580/570 AI § 25 f.] *deōs* 'gods' [**dyeu-* 'shine; sky'/**deiw-o-* 'god'] HLFL 29, 58, 76, 86, 92)

EQUINE [1778] *equīnus* 'concerning horses' (*equus* 'horse' [*ekwo- 'id.'] generally reconstructed as **h₁éḱw-o-*; some segment **h₁éḱ-wo-* HLFL 121; discussion in IEL 54 ff.)

GENUINE [1596] *genuīnus* 'innate; authentic' (the base is unclear: perhaps originally the same as *genuīnus* (*dēns*) 'molar (tooth)' (cf. G γένυς 'jaw; cheek') plus secondary association with *genus* 'race; generation' LG i. 327, but note *genu-* § 5.4 and *ingenuous* § 5.4.1)

INQUILINE [1641] 'animal that lives in the dwelling of another' *inquilīnus*, fem. *inquilīna* [Varro] 'one dwelling in the same house; tenant; lodger'; [Pliny] 'denizen' (cf. *incola* 'inhabitant' [**en* + **kʷel-*¹ 'turn' = **kʷelh₁-* LIV 386 ff.] Grenier 1912: 84; Bader 1962: 69)

INTESTINE [a1425] *intestīnum*, neuter of *intestīnus* 'internal' < **entes-tīno-* (*intus* 'inside' < **en-tos* [**en* 'in'] with *-tīnus* generalized from *lībertīnus* LIBERTINE etc. *pace* LG i. 327)

LEONINE [Ch.] *leōnīnus* 'of a lion' (*leō/leōn-* 'lion' < G λέων Biville 1990–5: i. 94, ii. 380, possibly via Etruscan Breyer 1993: 152 f. [Semitic **lb'* 'lion'])

LIBERTINE [a1382] *lībertīnus* 'relating to the condition of being freed' (*lībertus* 'set free': *līber* 'free' < **h₁léudh-ero-* [**h₁leudh-*] > G ἐλεύθερος 'free'; see *liberal* § 4.1.1)

LUPIN(E) /lúpən/[1398 Trevisa] 'seed of the lupin(e) plant', [*c.*1420] 'plant of the genus *Lupinus*'/LUPINE [1660] 'wolflike, rapacious' *lupīnus* 'of or belonging to a wolf' (*lupus* 'wolf' < **lupo-*, tabu variant of **wl̥kʷ-o-* 'wolf' AHDR 102)

MARINA [1798] 'seaside resort or esplanade', [1934] 'small-craft harbour' < Ital. *marina* 'coastal region; port' < LL marīna [c6/7] 'coastal region' (see *marine*)

MARINE [*c.*1313] †'shore; seafront area', [?1440] 'relating to the sea' < AF *marin(e)* 'seashore', OF masc. *marin* [1155] 'of the sea; sea', fem. *marine* [1138] 'sea; seashore' < LL *marīna* (see *marina*) and L *marīnus* 'relating to the sea' (*mare/mari-* 'sea' < **mori* [**mori-* 'body of water'] RPIEL 454–74; HLFL 74, 84)

MASCULINE [?*c.*1350] *masculīnus* 'male; masculine' (*mās* 'male' [?**mas-d-* 'mast, pole; penis'; not in AHDR] RPIEL 167 f.; see *masculine* § 2.9.2)

MATUTINAL [1567] *mātūtīnālis* [?c5] 'of the morning', an extension of *mātūtīnus* 'pertaining to the early morning' MATUTINE [1446] (*Mātūta* 'goddess of the dawn' < **meh₂-tu-* [**mā-*¹/**meh₂-* 'good; timely; seasonable'] cf. *mātūrus* 'seasonable; ripe; MATURE' [?1440] and *māne* < **meh₂-ni* 'morning; early; in the morning' Baldi 1999: 309)

MURINE [1607] 'relating to members of the rodent family Muridae' *mūrīnus* 'of or belonging to a mouse' (*mūs/mūr-* 'mouse'; see *muscle* § 2.9.2)

PEREGRINE [Ch.] 'foreign; migratory' *peregrīnus* 'foreign; strange(r)' (*peregrī* [Naevius]/*peregrē* [Plautus] 'away from home; abroad' < *per* 'through' + *ager* 'field'; see *agrarian* § 4.4.3 and Bader 1962: 299)

PORCINE [1656] *porcīnus* 'of a hog; swine's; pork' (*porcus* 'hog; pig' [**porḱ-o-* 'young pig'] Benveniste 1969: i. 27–36); cf. *porculus* 'small pig' § 2.9)

SALINE [1450] *salīnus* [NL] 'salt'; cf. *salīnum* 'salt-cellar'; *salīnae* 'salt-works' (*sāl/săl-* 'salt' [**sal-*[1] 'salt'] HLFL 55, 141)

SATURNINE [Ch.] *Sāturnīnus* (*Sāturnus* SATURN; see *Saturnalia* § 4.3)

SERPENTINE [1400] *serpentīnus* [c3[1] Cyprian; EL] 'of a serpent' (*serpēns/serpent-* SERPENT [a1300]: PrP of *serpere* 'crawl, creep' [**serp-*[2] 'id.' = LIV 536])

SUPINE [1500] *supīnus* 'lying on the back' (*sup-*; cf. *sub* 'under' < **(s)up-* [**upo* 'under; up'])

TAURINE [1613] *taurīnus* 'of a bull; made from oxhide' (*taurus* 'bull' [**taur-o-* 'bull'] sometimes related to **(s)teh*$_2$- 'stand' Southern 2000, but may be borrowed from Semitic **ṯawr-* 'bull', or is possibly a Proto-Nostratic word **t*$^{y[h]}$*awr-* 'bull' Bomhard and Kerns 1994: 327 f. #148; in any case, the word goes beyond Indo-European)

URSINE [1515] *ursīnus* [Columella] 'of bears' (*ursus* 'bear' [**h*$_2$*ŗtḱ-o-* AHDR 72] Meillet 1906; EWAia i. 247 f.; RPIEL 72; HLFL 64, 96, 106; IEL 105)

(VICINAL [1623] 'nearby') *vīcīnālis* [Livy] 'neighbouring' < *vīcīnus* 'neighbouring; in the vicinity; of neighbours' (*vīcus* '(city)block; village' < **woiḱ-o-s* = G (*F*)*οἶκος* 'house' [**weik-*[1] = **weiḱ-* 'clan' AHDR 97 or 'settle' LIV 669])

VULPINE [1628] *vulpīnus* [Augustan per.] 'of a fox' (*vulpēs/vulp-* 'fox' [**wl̥p-ē-*] HLFL 142)

4.7.1 *Substantives in* -īna (> *E* -ine/-ina)

There is also a group (*a*) of secondarily substantivized feminines in *-īna* (LG i. 327 f.; *pace* Butler 1971: 24 ff.), including a special class (*b*) with clipped *ars* 'art' (cf. Varro, LL 5. 93; Johnson 1931: § 105), and another class (*c*) with understood *taberna* 'booth, stall'. Yet another class (*d*) makes derived feminines.

(*a*)

(CULINARY [1638]) *culīna* 'kitchen', phps. deformed from *coquīna* 'id.' (*coquere* 'to cook') [**pek*^{w}-] DELL 277; for *coquīna*, see HLFL 97 f.; also possible is cluster simplification of a putative **kok*^{w}*līna* < suffixed **kok*^{w} *-el-īna*)

FARINA [1398 Trevisa] *farīna* 'meal; flour' (*far*/gen. *farris* 'spelt; grain' < **fars/*far(e)ses* [**bhars-*[2] 'barley'] HLFL 114, 116; a north-western root DELL 385, phps. a cultural borrowing RPIEL 487, often assumed to be **bhares-* Sihler 1995: 306 esp. for Gmc. **baraz/*bariz* 'barley' HGE 36; also proposed for L *farīna* is a dialectal development of **farēna* < **fares-na* Untermann 1992: 145, unlikely given Goth. acc. pl. *barizein-ans* [John 6: 9] '(prepared) of barley' < **bhares-īno-* GED B26)

(OFFICINAL [1693] 'standard medicine', [1723] used of non-prescription drugs, *officīnālis* [ML c11] 'used or kept in a workshop') *officīna* 'workshop' (*opifex/opific-* 'worker; artisan' < **opi-fac-s*, i.e. *opus* 'work' [**op-*[1] = **h₃ep-*] + *fac-* 'make, do' [**dheh₁-*]; cf. Benedetti 1988: 95 f.)

PISCINA [1599] 'fishpond'; [1793] 'sacrarium' *piscīna* 'fishpond; pool' (*piscis/pisci-* 'fish' [**peisk-/*pisk-*])

RUIN [*c.*1175] *ruīna* 'fall; downfall; catastrophe' (*ruere* 'to fall/dash down;rush' [**reuh-* 'smash; tear out' = LIV 510])

URINE [*c.*1330] *ūrīna* [Varro] 'urine' [**wē-r-* 'water, liquid' = **weh₁-r-/*uh₁-r-*, more precisely **h₂wers-* 'rain' LIV 291 f.]; AHDR 100 derives *ūrīna* from **uh₁r-*, but given G *οὐρεῖν* 'to urinate' < **(h₂)wors-éye-* LIV 291, *ūr-ī-* could go back to **h₂wrs-ih₂-/*h₂urs-ih₂-* via **urrī-/ūrī-*; more likely, this was the development of *ūrīnāre* [Varro] 'to plunge into water', while *ūrīna* is a medical adaptation of G *οὐρεῖν* /ūrīn/Leumann 1964: 119; LG i. 328, w. lit; it is semantically implausible that *ūrīna* is a backformation from *ūrīnāre* LG i. 552)

VAGINA [1682] *vāgīna* [Plautus] 'sheath; structure resembling a sheath; vagina' [**wāg-* 'split' = **weh₂ǵ-* 'cover' LIV 664 Baltic/Latin] DELL 1257; LG i. 328; RPIEL 146)

(*b*)

DISCIPLINE [*c.*1200] *disciplīna* 'instruction, training; discipline' (*discipulus* 'student, DISCIPLE' § 5.3.2)

DOCTRINE [Ch.] *doctrīna* 'a teaching' (*doctor* 'teacher' to *docēre* 'teach' lit. 'cause to be accepted' [**deḱ-*[1] 'take, accept'])

MEDICINE [?a1200] *medicīna* 'art of healing' (*medicus* 'physician' to *medērī* 'look after, heal, cure' [**med-* 'take appropriate measures'])

(*c*)

LATRINE [1642] *lātrīna* (cf. *lavātrīna* [Varro]) 'bathroom' < **lawa-trīna* HLFL 87, 92 (*lavāre* 'wash'; cf. *lavere* 'wash (sthg.)' [**leuh₃-*] § 6.3)

(*d*)

CONCUBINE [1297] *concubīna* (*concumbere* 'to lie with (for sex)' from *com-* 'together' + *-cumbere* 'lie' [**keub(h₂)-* or **ḱeub(h₂)-* LIV 357 f.; not in AHDR])

(GALLINACEOUS [1783] 'of the order Galliformes, including the common fowl, etc.' *gallīnāceus* 'of poultry') *gallīna* 'hen' (*gallus* 'cock' [**gal-*[2] 'call, shout'])

REGINA [1717] *rēgīna* 'queen' (*rēx/rēg-* 'king' < **rēg-*, a backformed root McCone 1998; cf. Uhlich 2002: 412 [**reg-*[1] = **h₃reǧ-* LIV 304 'move in a straight line; direct'])

Similar to subclass (*a*) are the borrowings *rēsīna* RESIN [1388] and the later *cardaminē/a* [c5[b] Marcellus] 'watercress', which served as model for *-ina* (F *-in(e)*) in scientific nomenclature during the 1700s; cf. *glycerin, benzine, codeine, caffeine*, etc., and their Romance equivalents (Pharies 2002: 333 f., w. lit).

4.8 *-(t)i-cu-s* (> E *-(t)ic*) 'like; typical, characteristic of'

Indo-European may have had two (related) adjectival suffixes, **-ḱo-* and **-ko-*. The former was used, *inter alia*, for hypocoristics (§ 2.9). On adjectival bases, **-ko-* was emphatic, as in Ved. *sana-ká-* 'quite old' (to *sána-* 'old'), *tánu-ka-* 'quite thin' (*tanú-* 'thin') (cf. OCS *tĭnŭ-kŭ* 'thin' Meillet 1961 [1905]: 327), *dūra-ká-* 'remote distance' (*dūrá-* 'distant; distance').

L *ūnicus* 'one and only; UNIQUE' [1602] is an emphatic to *ūnus* 'one' (cf. Hanssen 1952: 93); cf. Gmc. **ainaɣ/χaz* in Goth. *ainaha* 'only (begotten)', **aineɣaz* in OE *ǣniȝ* 'one; anyone, ANY' (HGE 8; cf. Krahe and Meid 1967: 190).[4] For the formation, cf. Ved. *eka-ká-* 'one and only' to *éka-* 'one', itself from **oi-ko-*, parallel to **oi-no-* in L *ūnus*, Gmc. **ain-az* (Goth. ains, OE *ān* ONE HGE 9). The rarest and least productive (and therefore oldest) use of Ved. *-ka-* was to make denominal adjectives, e.g. *ánta-ka-* 'ending' (*ánta-* 'end').

The suffix **-ḱo-* shows up as Vedic *-śá-*, e.g. *babhru-śá-* 'brown' (*babhrú-* 'id.'), *roma-śá-* 'hairy' (*róman-* 'hair'), *yuva-śá-* 'young' (*yúvan-* 'id.') beside *yuva-ka-* 'id.', cognate with L *juvencus* 'young (steer)' (*juven-is* 'young'), for which Meiser (1998: 91) reconstructs **h₂yu-hn̥-kó-*. Whether or not Ved. *-ka-* and *-śá-* reflect different (but clearly related) suffixes in Indo-European, in the *centum* dialects there would be no difference; cf. L *raucus* 'hoarse; RAUCOUS'

[4] Perhaps OE *ǣniȝ* has the extended suffix **-iko-*; in any case, contrast OE *stāniȝ/stāneȝ* STONY from **stainaχ/ɣ-* HGE 369 (cf. Goth. *stains*, OE *stān* STONE), with rare *i*-umlaut *stǣniȝ*, as opposed to *ǣniȝ* ANY with obligatory *i*-umlaut (Hogg 1992: 128). Although the Corpus Glossary [c8[e]/9[b]] preserves forms without *i*-umlaut (e.g. *hurnitu* > standard OE *hyrnet(u)* 'hornet'; cf. Lass 1994: 62) and there is evidence that *i*-umlaut applied to loanwords from the christianization period (e.g. L *calicem* > OE *calic* ~ *cæl(i)c* 'cup; goblet; chalice' Wollmann 1990: 134), it seems impossible to reconstruct a single form of the Germanic suffix. Note also **hailaɣaz* > OE *hāliȝ* HOLY without *i*-umlaut (HGE 151).

[1769] (**raw(i)-ko-*; cf. *ravis* 'hoarseness' [**reu-* 'bellow']), *fuscus* 'dark, dusky, swarthy, FUSCOUS' [1662] (cf. *furvus* 'id.') < **dhus-ko-* (DUSK) [**dheu-*[1]], etc. (LG i. 340 f.; Fruyt 1986).

Most relevant for English are the variants *-icus* and *-ticus*. The former, as in *bellicus* 'relating to war, warlike' (*bellum* 'war', older *duellum* HLFL 111, etym. unknown DELL 122), also occurs in an extended form *bellicōsus* BELLICOSE § 4.10.1. Originally a **-ko-* suffix on *-i-* stems, *-icus* was early reinforced by Greek *-(τ)ικο-* (Isenring 1955; Pharies 2002: 309 f.; cf. LG i § 303; Marchand 1969: 294 ff.). Leumann (LG i. 337) speculates that *πολῑτ-ικός* 'relating to citizens; like a citizen', whence L *polīticus* 'civil' POLITIC [1420], may have served as the model for L *cīvicus* 'pertaining to citizens'. However, since in Early Latin *hostis* 'foreigner' patterned with *cīvis* 'citizen' (Panagl 1992*b*: 313 f.), it is natural that *cīvicus* CIVIC patterned with *hosticus* 'foreign(er); hostile'.

Latin attests a large number of Greek borrowings, e.g. *Asiāticus* ASIATIC [1615] (G *Ασιᾱτικός*), *cholericus* [c1[1]] 'bilious, jaundiced' CHOLERIC [1340] (G *χολερικός*), *chronicus* 'pertaining to time'; later [c4/5] CHRONIC [1601] (G *χρονικός*), *cōmicus* COMIC [1576] ([1387 Trevisa] as Latin word) (G *κωμικός*), *criticus* 'decisive; CRITIC' [1588] (G *κριτικός* 'able to discern; critical'), *nauticus* 'seafaring; nautical' (G *ναυτικός*), *poēticus* POETIC [1530] (G *ποιητικός*), *tragicus* 'belonging to tragedy; TRAGIC' [1563] (G *τραγικός*). Ignored here are the numerous ecclesiastical borrowings, such as *catholicus* [Tertullian] 'universal' > CATHOLIC [*c.*1500] ([*c.*1425] as noun) (G *καθολικός*).

A large class of the Latin derivatives involves ethnic names, e.g. *Celticus* CELTIC [1656], *Gallicus* GALLIC [1672], *Germānicus* GERMANIC [1633], *Teutonicus* TEUTONIC [1618], etc.

4.8.1 *English loanwords*

AQUATIC [1490] *aquāticus* 'in the water' (*aqua* 'water' [**ak^{w}-ā-*])

CIVIC [1542] 'characteristic of the collective citizenry; municipal' *cīvicus* 'pertaining to citizens; legal' (*cīvis* 'citizen' [**kei-*[1] = **ḱei-* 'lie']; see *civil* § 4.2)

CLASSIC [1613] *classicus* 'of the highest class' (*classis/classi-* CLASS < ?**klad-ti-* [**kelh$_2$-/*kl̥(h$_2$)d-* 'shout'; cf. **kleh$_1$-* 'call' LIV 361] DELL 156 f., 223 f.)

DOMESTIC [1521] *domesticus* 'belonging to the house(hold)' (*domus/domes-* 'house' [**dem-* 'house' = **demh$_2$-* 'build' LIV 114 f.]; *domesticus* was modelled on **rowestiko-* (see *rustic* below) RPIEL 276; LG i. 134)

ERRATIC [Ch.] *errāticus* 'wandering about' (*errāre* 'to wander' [**ers-*[1] 'be in motion' = **h$_1$ers-* 'flow' LIV 241, with no mention of *errāre*] LG i. 180; cf.

$h_1$ers- in Gmc. **erzjaz*, e.g. Goth. nom. pl. *airzjai* 'deluded, misled' GED A88; HGE 86)

FANATIC noun [*c.*1525]/adj. [1533] *fānāticus* 'pertaining to the temple; inspired by a divinity; frantic, mad' (*fānum* 'sanctuary, temple' < **fasno-* < **$d^h h_1$s-no-* [**dhēs-* = **dheh$_1$s-*] HLFL 107)

LUNATIC [1290] *lūnāticus* [c4 Lactantius] 'living on the moon;moonstruck; crazy' (*lūna* 'moon' < **lou(k)s-nā* (cf. Praenestine *losna*) < **leuk-s-neh$_2$-* [**leuk-* 'light'] HLFL 62)

LYMPHATIC [1649] *lymphāticus* 'affected by water; distracted; frantic;frenzied' (*lympha* 'water' LYMPH [a1630]; for **limpa* (cf. (?) *limpidus* LIMPID § 5.1.4) folk-etymologized after *nympha* = G *νύμφη* NYMPH [Ch.] [**sneubh-*]; the root of *lympha* is unclear, phps. Ital. **dumpa* DELL 666 f.; Wackernagel 1953 [1908]: 1224–7; LG i. 156)

PUBLIC [1436] *pūblicus* 'belonging to the people' < OL *poplicus* (*populus*'the people'), perhaps blended with *pūbēs* 'adult' (DELL 959; Leumann 1964: 116; Watmough 1997: 83 ff.; for the prehistory see *popular* § 4.1.2)

RUSTIC [1440] 'typical of country life; simple, unsophisticated' *rūsticus* 'characteristic of the country' < **roustiko-* < **rowestiko-* RPIEL 276 (*rūs* 'country' < **rowos* < **rew-os* [**reuh-* 'open space' = **reuh$_1$-* 'to open' LIV 510] RPIEL 280 ff.)

4.9 *-e-us* 'made of; derived from (resembling); consisting of (containing)'

The Indo-European suffix **-éy-o-* originated on **-i-* stems (Benveniste 1935: 74–7) and was generalized to denote material composition (IEL 267 f., 284); cf. Ved. *hiraṇy-áya-* 'golden', G *ἀργυρο-οῦς* (**h$_2$erǵ-ur-éy-o-*) 'of silver', etc. The suffix is well attested in Latin (LG i § 271), and English has a fair number of borrowings (Johnson 1931: § 110) resulting in some scientific productivity (Marchand 1969: 342, 344).

4.9.1 -eus (> *E* -eous/-eal, *rarely* -ean)

AENEOUS [1815–43] *aēneus* 'made of bronze' (extension of *aēnus* 'brazen' § 4.5)

AQUEOUS [1643] 'made of water; watery' *aqueus* [ML] 'watery' (*aqua* 'water')

ARBOREAL [1667] 'tree-'/ARBOREOUS [1646] 'wooded' *arboreus* 'of a tree' (*arbor* 'tree')

ARGENTEOUS [1881] *argenteus* 'made of silver; silvery' (*argentum* 'silver' [**arg-* = **h$_2$erǵ-*])

CERULEAN [1667] 'sky-blue' *caeruleus* 'dark blue; azure' doublet of *caerulus* 'id.' (*caelum* 'sky' freq. derived from **kaid-(s)lo-* like *caelum* 'chisel' HLFL 125 [**keh₂-id-* 'strike' = ?**kh₂eid-* LIV 360] but *caerul(e)us* reflects **kailolo-* DELL 151; Schrijver compares W *coel* 'presage, omen' and suggests ?**keh₂i-lo-* or ?**kh₂ei-lo-* RPIEL 267 f.)

CONSANGUINEOUS 'of the same lineage; related by blood' *cōnsanguineus* 'of the same blood; brotherly; sisterly' (*sanguīs/sanguin-* 'blood'; see *sanguinary* § 4.4.2)

(CORNEA [1527] ([1398 Trevisa] as Latin word) *cornea* (*tēla*) [ML] '(tissue) of horn' (of the eyeball) < *corneus* 'of horn; resembling horn' (*cornū* 'horn' < **ḱr̥neu* HLFL 72 [**ḱer-*¹ 'horn; head'], but cf. Semitic **qr̥n-* 'horn' poss. borrowed from IE Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984: 876)

CORPOREAL [1610] 'material' *corporeus* 'of body; material' (*corpus/corpor-* 'body' < **k^wr̥p-es-* [**k^wrep-* 'body, form'])

CUPREOUS [1666] *cupreus* [c4 Palladius] 'of copper', earlier [Pliny] *cyprius* 'id.' < *Cyprius* 'of Cyprus' (LL *cuprum* [c3] 'copper' < *Cyprium aes* 'Cyprian copper' < G *Κύπρος* [non-Ie: see Neu 1995/6])

ERRONEOUS [1400] *errōneus* [Seneca] 'straying' (*errō/errōn-* 'vagabond; vagrant'; cf. *errāre* 'wander' and see *erratic* § 4.8)

ETHERE/IAL [1513] *aethereus/aetherius* (< G *αἰθέριος*) 'heavenly; divine' (*aethēr* ETHER [1398 Trevisa] 'cosmological space', [1587] 'upper regions of space', [1757] a chemical compound < G *αἰθήρ* 'upper regions of space; sky; upper air' < **ai-dh-er-* [**ai-*² 'burn' = **h₂eidh-* or **h₁aidh-* LIV 259 cf. **h₁ai-*² LIV 229] DELG 32 f.)

FERREOUS [1646] *ferreus* 'made of iron' (*ferrum* 'iron' [non-IE] cf. OE *bræs* BRASS)

FERRUGIN(E)OUS [1656–8] 'of, containing, or similar to iron; having the colour of iron rust' *ferrūgineus* 'of the colour of iron rust; sombre' (*ferrūgō* '(iron) rust' § 2.8.3)

IGNEOUS [1664] 'pyrogenic' *igneus* 'on fire; fiery' (*ignis/igni-* 'fire' [**egni-/*h₁egn-i-* 'id.'] HLFL 81)

LIGNEOUS [1626] 'having the texture/appearance of wood; woody' *ligneus* 'wooden; woody' (*līgnum* 'wood' < **leg-no-* [**leǵ-* 'collect'] HLFL 81)

LINEAL [1398]/LINEAR [1656] (*līneāris* [Pliny] 'consisting of lines'/*līneālis* [c4] 'made of lines') *līnea* 'line; linen thread' substantivized feminine of *līneus* 'of flax, linen' (*līnum* 'flax; thread; LINE' [**līno-/*lino-* 'flax']; cf. § 4.1.2)

NIVEOUS [1623] 'like snow; snowy' *niveus* 'snowy' < **snig^wh-éy-o-* (*nix*, gen. *nivis* 'snow' < **snig^wh-s, snig^wh-es* [**sneig^wh-* 'snow' = LIV 573] HLFL 104, 125)

OSSEOUS [1682] 'composed of, containing, or resembling bone; bony' *osseus* 'of bone; bone-; bony' (*os/oss-* 'bone' [**ost-* = **h₂osth₂*]; see *ossicle* § 2.9.2)

SANGUINEOUS [1520] 'involving blood(shed); blood-red' andSANGUINE [Ch.] 'ruddy; optimistic' *sanguineus* 'of blood; blood-; bloody' (*sanguīs/ sanguin-* 'blood'; see *sanguinary* § 4.4.2)

SULPHUREOUS [1552] *sulphureus/sulfureus* 'of/like sulphur' (*sulp(h)ur/ sulfur* 'brimstone; SULPHUR/SULFUR' [Ch.] [etym. unknown]; the alternation *p/ph/f* is peculiar, but *sulpur* is the basic form, *sulphur* hypercorrect, and *sulfur* a late spirantization of the aspirate DELL 1174; LG i. 162)

VENEREAL [1432–50] *Venereus* 'sacred to Venus; relating to sexual love; erotic' hypercorrect for *Venerius* 'id.' < **wen(h)-es-yo-* LG i. 287 (*Venus/ Vener-* VENUS < **wen(h)-os* [**wen-*¹/**wenh-* 'desire' ≠ **wen-* 'strive to win' LIV 680 f.] DELL 1276; LG i. 288, 378)

VITREOUS [1646] 'glassy; made from glass' *vitreus* 'of or resembling glass' (*vitrum* 'glass' [etym. unknown DELL 1311 f.])

4.9.2 -āc-eus (> *E* -aceous/-acean) *(LG i § 272.2; Koziol 1972: § 593)*

CETACEOUS [1646]/CETACEAN [1836] 'of the order Cetacea' (includes fishlike aquatic mammals, e.g. whale, porpoise) *Cetācea* [scientific] neut. pl. of *cētāceus* [NL] 'of whales' (*cētus* 'large sea-creature (whale, dolphin)' < G *κῆτος* 'id.' [etym. unknown DELG 527 f.] DELL 209; Biville 1990–5: ii. 380)

CRETACEOUS [1675] 'sedimentary deposits of the third (last) period of the Mesozoic era' *crētāceus* [Pliny] 'chalklike, chalky' (*crēta* 'fine white clay; chalk' < ?**k^wreh₁-yet-eh₂-* [**k^wreh-* not in AHDR or LIV] cf. OIr *cré*, W *pridd* 'mud, clay' RPIEL 282 f.)

CRUSTACEOUS [1646] 'having a hard shell/crust; CRUSTACEAN' *crustāceus* [scientific] 'having a shell' (*crūsta* 'hard surface; shell; CRUST' < **krus-téh₂-* [**kreus-* 'begin to freeze']; if real, the long /ū/AHDR 44 is secondary or dialectal; the Romance languages attest short /u/DELL 273)

FARINACEOUS [1656] 'made from, rich in, or consisting of starch; having a mealy or powdery texture' *farīnāceus* 'mealy' (*farīna* 'ground corn; meal' § 4.7.1*a*)

GALLINACEOUS [1783] 'relating to the order Galliformes, including the common domestic fowl, pheasants, turkeys, and grouse' *gallīnāceus* 'of poultry' (*gallīna* 'hen' § 4.7.1*d*)

HERBACEOUS [1646] 'characteristic of an herb; leaflike' *herbāceus* [Pliny] 'grassy' (*herba* 'grass; HERB' [*c.*1290] [etym. unknown DELL 519 f.])

ROSACEOUS [1731] 'belonging to the Rosaceae (family that includes the rose); resembling the flower of the rose' *Rosāceae* [scientific] < *rosāceus* 'made of roses' (*rosa* ROSE [*c.*888 Alfred, *Boethius*] prob. < G **ῥοζᾱ́* < **(w)rodyā* < *ῥοδέᾱ* 'rosebush', from *ῥόδον* 'rose' [**wrod-*] of eastern origin DELG 976 f.; LG i. 180)

TESTACEOUS [1646] 'having a shell; brick-coloured' *testāceus* 'of shell' (*testa* 'shell' TESTA [1796] [etym. unknown DELL 1216])

VINACEOUS [1688] '(red-)wine-coloured' *vīnāceus* 'of wine' (*vīnum* 'wine'; cf. *vinery* § 4.4.4.2)

4.9.3 -ān-eus (> *E* -aneous/-anean) *(LG i § 272.3; Marchand 1969: 342)*

CALCANEUS [n.d.] 'heel' *calcāneus* [Tertullian] (*calx* 'heel' [?**kel(h)k-* not in AHDR] poss. connections uncertain RPIEL 428)

COLLECTANEA [1791] 'compilation; anthology' orig. neut. pl. (*Dicta collēctānea*, title of a lost work by Caesar mentioned by Suetonius, *Jul.* 56. 6); cf. *collēctāneus* [Pliny] 'assembled from various sources' (*collēctus* 'collected' [**leg-*[1] = **leǵ-* 'collect'])

CONTEMPORANEOUS [1656] *contemporāneus* [Gellius] 'contemporary'(*con-* 'with; together' + *tempus/tempor-* 'time' < **temp-os* 'span (of time)' [**temp-* 'stretch, span'] not listed under **temp-* in AHDR 90 or LIV 626, but see HLFL 31, 81)

EXTRANEOUS [1638] 'foreign; non-essential; irrelevant' *extrāneus*'external; strange; foreign' (*extrā* '(on the) outside' [**eǵh-s* 'out'] Dunkel 1992: 159 f.; the Old French reflex of *extrāneus* was *estrange* [c11] > STRANGE [*c.*1280] 'foreign'; subsequent history in Copley 1961: 148 f.)

INSTANTANEOUS [1651] *īnstantāneus* [ML] 'without delay; on the spot'(*īnstāns/īnstant-* 'pressing; urgent' INSTANT, deriv. of *stāre* 'stand' [**stā-* = **steh*$_2$-])

MEDITERRANEAN [1556] 'surrounded by dry land' (of large bodies of water) *mediterrāneus* 'remote from coast; inland', [c3 Solinus] 'the Mediterranean Sea' (*media terra* 'the middle of the land' [**medhyo-*, **ters-*]; see *median* § 4.61 and *territory* § 5.6.2.3)

MISCELLANEA [1571] 'miscellaneous items as a collection' *miscellānea* [c2/3] fem. sg. < earlier *miscellānea* neut. pl. 'hotchpotch; mixture (of food)' (see *miscellaneous*)

MISCELLANEOUS [1615] *miscellāneus* [Petronius] 'of all sorts; mixed' (*miscellus* 'inferior; mixed'; see *miscellany* § 2.9.3 [**mei-*[2] 'small'; inaccurate AHDR 53 **meiḱ/ǵ-* 'mix'])

MOMENTANEOUS [1422 Lydgate] *mōmentāneus* [sacrae scripturae *apud* Tertullian] 'of brief duration' (*mōmentum* 'movement; MOMENT' [Ch.];

see *moment* and *movement* in § 3.5 [**meuə-*[1] 'push away' = **myeuh$_1$-* LIV 445 f.])

SPONTANEOUS [1656] *spontāneus* [c3/4 Arnobius] 'of one's own accord' (*sponte* 'of free will, voluntarily' [**spen-* 'entice'] OHG *spanan* GED S125 [≠ **(s)pen-* 'span, spin' AHDR 82])

SUBTERRANEAN [1603] *subterrāneus* 'underground' (*sub terrā* 'under ground' [**(s)upo, *ters-*] cf. *mediterranean* above)

4.10 *-ōsus* (> E *-ous/-óse*) 'full of'

The origin of *-ōsus* is unknown (LG i. 342). Its primary function is denominal 'full of'. The suffix was productive in Latin, and frequently used (sometimes in the classical era) to extend other adjectival suffixes (Ernout 1948; LG i § 305), e.g. *spurius* [Ausonius †*c.*395] 'not genuine' (from *spurius* [juridical Latin] 'illegitimate son') > VL **spuriōsus* SPURIOUS [1598]). On adjectival bases, such as *rīdiculus* 'laughable; funny', the result *rīdiculōsus* RIDICULOUS [1550] is a more expressive adjective (Ernout 1948: 79). Words like *sēditiōsus* SEDITIOUS [1447] represent an archaic layer, built on the pre-Latin **-ti-* stem **sēdi-ti-* rather than on extended *-ti-ōn-* (*sēditiō/sēditiōn-* SEDITION [*c.*1375]).

The English reflex of this suffix has two alternants and is also primarily denominal (cf. Marchand 1969: 339–45). Normally, two-syllable forms have *-óse* (*verbóse, moróse*; exception *famous*) introduced in the fifteenth century on the Latin model; polysyllabic forms as a rule have *-ous* (*studious, perilous, onerous, virtuous, odious*; exc. *otiose*). This includes neologisms such as *beauteous* [*c.*1440], *felicitous(-ness)* [1725], *glamorous* [1882], *murderous* [1535], *poisonous* [1573–80], *torturous* [a1500], *serendipitous* [1958].

There are two major exceptions to the syllable-structure distribution: (1) chemical compounds with a lower valency than *-ic* take the form *-ous*, e.g. *cuprous* [1669], *ferrous* [*c.*1865], etc.; cf. *sulphurous* § 4.10.2; (2) the technical suffix *-ose* (*lactose, glucose*, etc.) is a French adaptation (cf. Pharies 2002: 452) and ignored here. Apparently assimilated to technical *-ose* is the neologism *comatose* [1755] from G *κῶμα, κωματ-* 'deep sleep', [Hippocrates] COMA [1646], of obscure etymology (DELG 606).

Occasional doublets occur, e.g. *mucose* [1731] beside *mucous* [1578], from L *mūcōsus* [Celsus, Columella] 'mucous, slimy', to *mūcus/muccus* 'mucus, snot' [**meug-* 'slimy, slippery']. Another is *cirrose* [1814] 'like cirrus clouds' beside *cirrous* [1658], probably neologisms not descended from ML *cirrōsus* 'curly; curly-haired', to *cirrus* 'curl, filament, tuft' CIRRUS [1708] 'tendril', [1803] cloud form [etym. unknown DELL 219].

The early borrowings into English are via (Anglo-)French, and many of the earliest have an exclusively (Anglo-)French form, e.g. (in modern spelling) *annoyous* [Ch.], *avaricious* [Ch.], *boist(er)ous* [*c.*1300], *bounte(v)ous* [Ch.], *chivalrous* [?*c.*1350], *courageous* [*c.*1300], *courteous* [a1300], *covetous* [*c.*1250], *dangerous* [?a1200], *delightous* [Ch.], *desirous* [?a1300], *despitous* [*c.*1303], *doubtous* [Ch.], *felon(i)ous* [a1338], *gluttonous* [*c.*1350], *grievous* [*c.*1300], *heinous* [Ch.], *hideous* [*c.*1303], *irous* [?a1200], *jealous* [?a1200], *joyous* [*c.*1300], *marvellous* [*c.*1300], *outrageous* [c.1300], *revelous* [Ch.], *riotous* [1340], *roi(g)nous* [*c.*1378/Ch.], *torturous* [*c.*1495], *villainous* [*c.*1303].

4.10.1 *-ose*

BELLICOSE [1432–50] *bellicōsus* 'fond of war' (*bellicus* 'belonging to war; military' § 4.8)

JOCOSE [1673] *jocōsus* 'fond of jokes; full of fun' (*jocus* 'jest; joke; sport'; see *jocular* § 4.1.2)

MORBOSE [1692] 'morbid' *morbōsus* 'diseased' (*morbus* 'disease; illness'; see *morbid* § 5.1.4)

MOROSE [1565] 'suddenly melancholy; gloomy; ill-humoured' *mōrōsus* 'hard to please; captious; fretful; morose' (*mōs/mōr-*'custom; habit; caprice'; see *morosity* § 2.1.3)

OTIOSE [1794] 'lazy; indolent' *ōtiōsus* 'at leisure; unoccupied; unemployed; useless' (*ōtium* 'leisure; rest' [etym. unknown RPIEL 118])

STRIGOSE [1708] †'lean, lank, meagre', [1793] 'covered with stiff hairs'/ STRIGOUS [1776] *strigōsus* [NL] 'covered with stiff hairs' < L [c–1] 'shrivelled, lean' (*striga* [Frontinus, Columella] 'strip; row (of grain); furrow' [**streig-*'stroke, rub, press' = LIV 603 f.])

VARICOSE [1730]/VARICOUS [1597] *varicōsus* 'suffering from varicose veins' (*varix/varic-*'varicose vein' VARIX [*c.*1400] [**wer-*[1] 'bodily deformity'] unclear RPIEL 88)

VERBOSE [1672] (cf. *verbosity* [1542]) *verbōsus* 'prolix; long-winded; wordy' (*verbum* 'word; discourse'; see *adverb* § 4.6.1)

4.10.2 *-ous*

AMBITIOUS [a1382 Wyclif] *ambitiōsus* 'eager to please; showy; ambitious' (*ambitiō/ambitiōn-*'ambition; vain display', from *amb-*[**ambhi* 'around'] + *īre/itum* 'go' [**ei-*'id.'])

AMOROUS [?*c.*1300] *amōrōsus* [ML] (*amor* 'sexual love'; cf. *amāre* 'to love'§ 6.3)

CADAVEROUS [1627] *cadāverōsus* 'like a corpse; ghastly' (*cadāver* CADAVER [1398 Trevisa] from *cadere* 'fall' [**ḱad-*'id.']; the suffix *-ā-ver* is

unclear; cf. *papāver* 'poppy', prob. a borrowing Baldi 1999: 101; the idea that *-āver* continues an IE perf. act. participle **-wos-*is unlikely Meillet and Vendryes 1948: 356; LG i. 610; IE had derivatives in **- w(e)r*, e.g. Hitt. *ka-ra-a-wa-ar*/krāw(a)r/'horn' [**ḱer-*/**ḱreh₂-*'horn; head'] Melchert 1994: 110, verbal noun *ši-iš-du-wa-ar* to *šešd-* 'increase, thrive, flourish', etc. Kimball 1999: 159, 247, w. lit; cf. the Vedic thematized type *sthā-var-á-*'standing, stable' Burrow 1973: 147; the rarity of **-wer* in Latin would match its residual status in most IE languages; even in Hittite and Greek it was not productive Benveniste 1935: 110–13)

CALAMITOUS [1545] *calamitōsus* 'ruinous; calamitous' (*calamitās/ calamitāt-* 'disaster; ruin' CALAMITY < **klh₂-em-* [**kel-*[1] 'strike, cut' = **kelh₂-*LIV 350] RPIEL 194, 197)

CALLOUS [a1400] *callōsus* 'hard-skinned; tough; callous' (*callus* 'hard skin; CALLUS' [1563] [**kal-*[3] 'hard']; cf. *callēre* 'grow hard; be skilled in' and *callidity* § 2.1.3)

CAPTIOUS [a1382 Wyclif] 'deliberately confusing; deceptive' *captiōsus* 'harmful; captious; disadvantageous' (*captiō/captiōn-*'deception; fraud; disadvantage' CAPTION [a1382 Wyclif]; cf. *capere* 'take' [**kap-*'grasp' = **keh₂p-*LIV 344 f.])

CONTAGIOUS [Ch.] *contāgiōsus* [c5 Vegetius] 'infectious' (*contāgiō* 'contact', from *con-* 'together' + *tangere* 'touch' [**tag-*'touch, handle' = **teh₂g-*LIV 616 f.])

CONTRARIOUS [1290] *contrāriōsus* [ML] (*contrārius* 'opposite; contrary'; v. *contrarious* § 4.4.3)

CONTUMELIOUS [1483] 'contemptuous' *contumēliōsus* 'insolent; abusive' (*contumēlia* 'insult; affront; CONTUMELY' [Ch.], poss. from **con-tum-ēl* 'a puffing up; insolence' to *tumēre* 'swell (with conceit)' Benveniste 1935: 42 [**teuh₂-*'swell' = **twem-*LIV 654] very uncertain DELL 251; *see contumacious* § 5.2.2)

COPIOUS [a1382 Wyclif] *cōpiōsus* 'plentiful; rich' (*cōpia* 'abundance; plenty; opportunity' < **ko(m)-*'with, by' + **h₃op-(i)y-eh₂-*[**op-* 'produce' = **h₃ep-*'bring forth' LIV 298 f.])

CURIOUS [a1325] † 'exquisite, dainty' (of food, clothing), [a1349] 'eager to learn', [Wyclif, Ch.] † 'careful', [1715] 'surprising' < OF *curios* [1155] < L *cūriōsus* 'careful; diligent; inquisitive' (*cūra* 'care; concern' < OL/Paelignian *coisa-*[Italic root of unknown origin]; the connection with G *τετίημαι* 'be troubled' DELL 284 f. is unfounded DELG 1109)

DECOROUS [1664] *decōrōsus* [c4 Ambrose] 'elegant; beautiful' (*decōrus* 'decorous; proper', from *decor* 'pleasing appearance; elegance, seemliness' < **dek-ōs* [**dek-* 'accept'])

DELICIOUS [?a1300] *dēliciōsus* [Augustine] 'delicate; delicious' (*dēliciae* 'delight'; see *delight* § 6.5.1.1 and *illecebraceae* § 3.6.2)

DUBIOUS [1548] *dubiōsus* [Gellius] 'open to doubt' (*dubius* 'doubtful;uncertain' < **du-bhw-io-* < **dw(o)-bhuh$_2$-(i)yo-* 'being (between) two (alternatives)' [**dwo-*/**du-* 'two' + **bhuh$_2$-* 'be']; for **du* in Italic compounds see Heidermanns 2002: 196 ff.; for compounds containing **bhuh$_2$-* Bader 1962: 94, 198; Benedetti 1988: 45–52)

FABULOUS [1546] *fābulōsus* 'celebrated in story; fabulous' (*fābula* 'story;FABLE' § 3.6.1)

FAMOUS [Ch.] (also *unfamous* [Ch.]) *fāmōsus* 'renowned; infamous;notorious' (*fāma* 'rumour; renown; FAME' [?a1200] < **bhā-mā-* < **bheh$_2$- meh$_2$-* [**bhā-*^{2}/**bheh$_2$-* 'speak'])

FASTIDIOUS [1440] *fastīdiōsus* 'squeamish; exacting; disdainful' (*fastīdium* 'loathing; contempt; fastidiousness' < **bhr̥s-tí-* [**bhars-* 'bristle']; poss. **fasti-tīdus* to *taedēre* 'be sick of' LG i. 556, but not clear if a blend *fastus* 'arrogance' + *taedium* 'repugnance' or a compound Bader 1962: 286; see also *fastigiate* § 6.6.2)

FORMOSA [1889] < Port. (*Ilha*) *Formosa* 'beautiful (island)' *formōsus* 'finely formed; beautiful' (*forma* 'shape; beauty; FORM' [?a1200]; see *formative* § 5.5.1)

FRUCTUOUS [a1382] frūctuōsus 'fruitful; profitable' (*frūctus* 'enjoyment; produce' < **bhruhg-tu-*; see *frument* § 3.5.1)

FURIOUS [Ch.] *furiōsus* [XII Tab] 'mad; raving lunatic' (*furia* 'frenzy; FURY' [Ch.]; see *furor* § 3.1)

GENEROUS [1588] *generōsus* 'of good stock; noble; magnanimous' (*genus/gener-* 'birth; stock; race' < **ǵenh$_1$-os* [**ǵenh$_1$-* 'beget'])

GLORIOUS [*c.*1275] < AF *glorious* < OF *glorios* [1080 *Roland*] < L *glōriōsus* 'glorious; boastful' (*glōria* 'fame; GLORY' [?*c.*1200] poss. < **gnōria*; cf. *ignōrāre* 'be ignorant' < *in* 'not' + **gnōr-ā-* LG i. 187, but see *glorify* § 6.4.2.1)

GRACIOUS [*c.*1303] *grātiōsus* 'agreeable; kind' (*grātia* 'goodwill; kindness; favour; GRACE' [*c.*1200] < **g^{w}r̥h-ti-yeh$_2$-* [**g^{w}erh$_{(2)}$-*[3] 'favour' = **g^{w}erh-* LIV 210 f.])

INGENIOUS [1483] 'highly intellectual', [1548] 'clever' *ingeniōsus* 'clever; ingenious' (*ingenium* 'nature; innate talent', lit. 'in-born' [**en* 'in' + **ǵenh$_1$-* 'beget']; for *-gen-*passive in compounds, cf. *indi-gen-a* < **endo-gen-* 'one born in a place; native' INDIGENE [1598]/INDIGEN*ous* [1646] André 1973)

INJURIOUS [1480] *injūriōsus* [Rhet. Her.] 'wrongful; insulting' (*injūria* 'abuse; insult; INJURY' [*c.*1384]) (cf. *injūrius* 'unjust; harsh' doublet of

injūrus 'id.', from *in* 'not' + *jūs/jūr-* 'law' < **yew-os* [**yew-es-* 'id.'] Bader 1962: 132; cf. *judicial* § 4.6.1, *justify* § 6.4.2.1)

INSIDIOUS [1545] *īnsidiōsus* 'deceitful; insidious' *(īnsidiae* 'ambush; plot; treachery', lit. 'sit-in' the act of lying in wait < **en* 'in' + *sed-* [**sed-*[1] 'sit'] Benedetti 1988: 37)

INVIDIOUS [1606]/ENVIOUS [*c.*1303] (< AF *envious* < OF *envios* [1119]) *invidiōsus* 'arousing hatred/envy; envious' (*invidia* 'envy; jealousy; spite; dislike', lit. 'gaze at' cf. *invidēre* 'look at askance; be jealous of', from *in* 'onto, at' + *vid-* [**weid-* 'see'])

LABORIOUS [Ch. *laborous*] *labōriōsus* 'laborious; wearisome' (*labor* 'exertion; LABOUR' § 3.1)

LEPROUS [a1225] *leprōsus* [Tertullian] (*lepra* and pl. *leprae* [c1 Largus, Pliny] 'leprosy' < G *λέπρᾱ* 'id.', from *λέπ-ειν* 'peel' [**lep-*[1] 'id.' = LIV 413] DELG 630 ff.)

LUXURIOUS [?a1300] *luxuriōsus* 'luxuriant; exuberant; self-indulgent' (*luxuria* 'extravagance; LUXURY' [1340]; cf. *luxus* 'extravagant living; luxury; opulence'; since *luxuria* also means 'immoderate growth (of plants); unruly behaviour', it is sometimes derived from **lug-so-* [**leug-*[2] 'bend' LIV 416, not in AHDR] speculative cf. § 2.2.2)

MALICIOUS [*c.*1225] *malitiōsus* 'full of wickedness; malicious' (*malitia* 'wickedness; vice; MALICE' [*c.*1300] § 2.3)

MELODIOUS [Ch.] *melōdiōsus* [ML] 'harmonious; melodious' (*melōdia* [c4] MELODY [*c.*1300] < G *μελῳδίᾱ* 'singing; choral song', from *μέλος* 'limb; (musical) member' [**mel-*[3] 'limb'] + *ᾠδή* 'song' < *ἀοιδή* [**h₂weid-* 'sing' LIV 288] DELG 22, 683)

METICULOUS [1540] *metūculōsus/metīcūlōsus* 'timorous' (*metus* 'fear' [etym. unknown DELL 714]; blend of *metū* and *periclō* LG i. 341; cf. *perīculōsus* PERILOUS below)

MONSTROUS [Ch. *monstruous*] *mōnstruōsus* ~ *mōnstrōsus* 'ill-omened; unnatural; monstrous' (*mōnstrum* 'unnatural ominous thing/event; portent; atrocity; MONSTER' [a1325] § 3.6.4)

NEBULOUS [1386] *nebulōsus* 'misty; foggy' (*nebula* 'mist; fog; cloud' < **nebh-el-ah₂-* [**nebh-* 'cloud']; cf. G *νεφέλη* 'cloud' etc. HLFL 103; Baldi 1999: 281)

NERVOUS [a1395] *nervōsus* 'sinewy; vigorous'; later [c5] 'full of nerves; sensitive' (*nervus* 'sinew; nerve; vigour'; see *nervule* § 2.9.1)

NUMEROUS [?a1425] *numerōsus* 'numerous' (*numerus* 'number' < **nom-es-o-* [**nem-* 'allot' = LIV 453] HLFL 83)

OBLIVIOUS [*c.*1450] *oblīviōsus* 'forgetful' (*oblīvium* 'forgetfulness; obliviousness; oblivion'; cf. *oblīvīscī* 'forget' < *ob* 'away' [**epi*/**opi*] + **lei-w-ye/o-* 'slip' [**(s)lei-* 'slimy'])

OBNOXIOUS [1572] 'exposed to harm', [1675] 'injurious; offensive' *obnoxiōsus* 'submissive; injurious' (*obnoxius* 'subject to punishment; liable; mean-spirited; obnoxious', from *ob* + *noxius* 'harmful; injurious; guilty' NOXIOUS [a1500], from *noxa* 'harm, injury' NOXA [1872]; cf. *nocēre* 'harm, injure' [**neḱ-* 'death']; see *innocuous* § 5.4.1)

OBSEQUIOUS [1447] 'obedient; compliant', [1602] 'servilely compliant' (Copley 1961: 110 f.) *obsequiōsus* 'compliant; obsequious' (*obsequium* 'subservience' OBSEQUY [Ch.] § 3.2.2)

ODIOUS [a1382] 'exciting hatred; offensive' *odiōsus* 'hateful; offensive; annoying' (*odium* 'hatred; spite' ODIUM [1602] § 3.2.1)

ODOROUS [1425] *odōrōsus* [ML] = CL *odōrus* 'having a smell' (*odor* 'smell; ODOUR' [a1300]; cf. neologism *odoriferous* [1425] < *odōrifer* 'fragrant; odoriferous' + -OUS (*odor* ODOUR § 3.1 + *-fer* 'carrying' [**bher-*]); see *olfactory* § 6.4.1.1)

OFFICIOUS [1487] 'obedient; zealous; obliging' (more negative since the end of c18 Copley 1961: 112 ff.) *officiōsus* 'obliging; ready to serve; officious' (*officium* 'service; duty' OFFICE [*c.*1250] § 2.6.1)

OMINOUS [1589] *ōminōsus* [Pliny 2] 'presaging ill; inauspicious' (*ōmen* OMEN § 3.4)

ONEROUS [1395] *onerōsus* 'burdensome; heavy; tiresome' (*onus/oner-* 'load; burden'; see *onerary* § 4.4.2)

PERFIDIOUS [1598] *perfidiōsus* 'treacherous' (*perfidia* 'faithlessness; PERFIDY' [1592] § 2.2.1, from *per* [**per-*[1]] 'through' + *fid-ēs* 'faith, trust' < **bhidh-*[**bheidh-* 'trust' = LIV 71 f.])

PERILOUS [*c.*1300] (< OF *perillos*)/PERICULOUS [1547] *perīculōsus* 'dangerous; hazardess' (*perīculum* 'dangerous; PERIL [?a1200] § 3.6.3.2)

PERNICIOUS [1521] *perniciōsus* 'destructive; ruinous; fatal' (*perniciēs* 'destruction; ruin', from *per* [**per-*[1]] 'through' + *nex/nec-* 'death' [**neḱ-*[1] 'id.']; cf. *obnoxious* above)

PODAGROUS [1851] *podagrōsus* 'having the gout' (*podagra* [< G *ποδάγρᾱ* 'gout'] PODAGRE [*c.*1290] (< OF *podagre*)/PODAGRA [*c.*1398 Trevisa], from G *πούς/ποδ-* 'foot' [**ped-* [1] 'id.'] + *ἄγρᾱ* 'a seizing' [**ag-*[1] 'drive' § 6.6.1] DELG 14, 932 f.)

POMPOUS [Ch.] *pompōsus* [c5] 'ceremonious; ornate' (*pompa* 'ceremonial procession; ostentatious display; POMP'; see *pomposity* § 2.1.3)

PONDEROUS [1400] *ponderōsus* 'weighty; ponderous' (*pondus/ponder-* 'weight; burden' < **pond-es-*[**(s)pen-*'draw, stretch' = ?**(s)pend-*[2] LIV 578])

POPULOUS [1449] *populōsus* [c2 Apuleius] 'full of people' (*populus* 'the people; populace'; see *popular* § 4.1.2)

PRECIOUS [*c.*1280] *pretiōsus* 'valuable; costly' (*pretium* 'price; worth; value' < **pret-yo-*[**per-* [5]/**pre-t-*'sell'; cf. **perh$_2$-*LIV 474])

PRODIGIOUS[1552] 'portentous', [1579] 'abnormal', [1601] 'abnormally large' (Copley 1961: 128 f.) *prōdigiōsus* 'unnatural; causing marvel' (*prōdigium* 'portent; monster' PRODIGY [1494] 'portent', [1658] 'person with an exceptional quality'; see *prodigal* § 4.1.1)

QUERULOUS [1500] *querulōsus* 'full of complaints' (*querulus* 'complaining; querulous' § 5.3.1)

RELIGIOUS [*c.*1200] *rēligiōsus* 'pious; devout' (*rēligiō/rēligiōn-* 'supernatural feeling of constraint; superstition; religious awe' RELIGION [*c.*1200] § 3.3)

RUINOUS [a1382 Wyclif] *ruīnōsus* 'liable to collapse; dilapidated' (*ruīna* 'headlong rush; plunge; collapse; RUIN' [*c.*1175] § 4.7.1)

SEDITIOUS [1447] *sēditiōsus* 'factious; seditious; turbulent' (*sēditiō/sēditiōn-* 'violent political discord; mutiny; SEDITION' [*c.*1375]; lit. 'a going-away' HLFL 158; § 3.8.3)

SINUOUS [1578] *sinuōsus* 'full of folds; winding' § 5.4.2 (*sinus* 'fold; curve; gulf' SINUS [1597])

SPACIOUS [a1382 Wyclif] *spatiōsus* 'covering a wide area, extensive, ample' (*spatium* SPACE [*c.*1300]; etym. unknown, unless related to *patēre* 'lie open' [**peth$_2$-*[1] LIV 478 f.] with *s*-mobile DELL 1127 f.])

SPECIOUS [1400] *speciōsus* 'attractive; outwardly impressive'; [Livy] 'fine-sounding, specious' (*speciēs* 'spectacle; appearance' [**spék-*'observe'])

STUDIOUS [1349] *studiōsus* 'zealous; eager; scholarly' (*studium* 'zeal;STUDY' [*c.*1300] § 3.2.1; cf. *studēre* 'be diligent; devote oneself to' < **stud-éh$_1$-*'be pressing forward' [**(s)teu-*[1] 'push, knock' = **(s)teud-*[1] LIV 601])

SULPHUROUS [1530] (adaptation of Lavoisier's *sulphureux*) *sulphurōsus*'full of sulphur' (*sulphur/sulfur* 'brimstone; SULPHUR' [Ch.]; see *sulphureous* § 4.9.1)

SUMPTUOUS [1485] *sūmptuōsus* 'expensive; costly' (*sūmptus* 'lavish expenditure' § 5.4.2)

SUPERCILIOUS [a1529] *superciliōsus* [Apuleius] 'full of disapproving looks' (*supercilium* 'eyebrow' SUPERCILIUM [1672] § 3.2.2)

SUPERSTITIOUS [Ch.] *superstitiōsus* 'full of unreasoning religious awe' (*superstitiō/superstitiōn-* 'irrational religious awe; SUPERSTITION' [Ch.]

§ 3.8.3 < *super* [**uper*] 'over, above' + *statiō* 'standing' STATION § 3.8.3 < **sth$_2$-ti-*to *stāre* 'stand' [**stā*/**steh$_2$-*'id.'] Bader 1962: 234)

SUSPICIOUS [1340] *suspīciōsus* 'full of suspicion; mistrustful' (*suspīciō*/*suspīciōn-* 'mistrustful feeling; SUSPICION' [*c.*1300] < **sub-spēciōn-*< *sub* [**upo*] 'under' + *specere* [**spék-*] 'observe' Bader 1962: 233, 242; HLFL 69)

TEMPESTUOUS [Ch.] *tempestuōsus* [c4 Rufinus] 'stormy; turbulent' (*tempestās* 'season; weather; storm' TEMPEST [*c.*1275]; see *tempestive* § 5.5.4)

TIMOROUS [1450] *timōrōsus* [ML] = CL *timidus* 'fearful' § 5.1.2 (*timor* 'fear' [etym. unknown])

TORTUOUS [Ch.] *tortuōsus* 'winding; sinuous; tortuous' § 5.4.2 (*tortus* 'action of rotating; coil' TORT [*c.*1385])

VENOMOUS [*c.* 1300] (OF *venimos* [1160] or recreated from VENOM[a1250]); Chaucer has v.l. *venenouse* Parson's Tale 576 (Miller 2002: 333 f.) < L venēnōsus [c4] '(very) poisonous' (*venēnum* 'poison' < **wen(h)-es-no-* 'love potion' [**wen-*[1] 'desire']; see *venereal* §4.9.1)

VICIOUS [Ch.] *vitiōsus* 'faulty; wicked; vicious' (*vitium* 'fault; defect'VICE [*c.* 1300]; see *vitiligo* §2.8.2)

VICTORIOUS [Ch.] *victōriōsus* 'victorious' (*victōria* VICTORY [?*c.* 1300];cf. *vincere* 'conquer' < **wi-n-k-* [**weik-*[5] 'fight, conquer' = LIV 670 f.])

VIGOROUS [?a1300] *vigōrōsus* [ML] (*vigor* VIGOUR [?a1300] § 3.1; cf.*vigēre* 'be lively' < **w$_e$ǵ- éh$_1$-* beside caus. *vegēre* 'enliven' < **woǵ-éye/o-* [**weg-* [2] 'be lively' = **weǵ-*LIV 660 f.])

VIRTUOUS [?a1300] *virtuōsus* [c3/4] 'virtuous' (*virtūs/virtūt-* 'manliness;VIRTUE' [?a1200] < **wiro-tūt-* 'man-ness' < **wih-ro-* 'man'; see *virago* § 2.8.1)

VISCOUS [1400] *viscōsus* [c4 Palladius] 'sticky' (*viscum* 'mistletoe;birdlime'; v. *viscid* § 5.1.4)

VOLUPTUOUS [Ch.] *voluptuōsus* [Quintilian] 'gratifying' (*voluptās*/*voluptāt-* 'pleasure', from *volup* 'pleasurable' < ?**welp-i-* [**wel-* [2] 'wish' = **welp-* 'hope' LIV 680])

4.11 *-(u/o)lentus* (> E *-(u/o)lent*) 'prone to; characterized by'

This suffix is usually taken to be a composite of *- ul(o)-* and *-ent-o-*. More likely, the trigger was *opulentus* OPULENT, from IE **h$_3$ep-en-e/ont-*, as in Hitt. *ḫappinant-* 'rich' (cf. AHDR 60, s.v. **op-*[1] 'work'), with the same dissimilation as *Barcelona* < *Barcinōna*, *Bologna* < *Bonōnia*, etc. (Szemerényi 1954). Another potential source, supported by Lindner (1996: 207), is the old derivation of *vīnolentus* VINOLENT from *vīn(um) ol-ent-* 'smelling of wine',

but there are several problems with this (cf. LG i. 336), not least of which is the very different meaning.

Of the roughly fifty Latin adjectives in *-u/olentus* (Ernout 1948: 121 ff.; LG i. 336, w. lit), fourteen are from the archaic period, but most are late creations. The denominal adjectives with this suffix have a fairly specific meaning (Johnson 1931: § 106; Koziol 1972: § 576), as noted above.

CORPULENT [a1400] *corpulentus* 'obese; corpulent' (*corpus* 'body' < **k^{w}rep-os* [**k^{w}rep-* 'body, form']; *corpulentus* cannot be shortened from **corporulentus* < **korp-os-en-e/ont-* because of metrical structure *pace* Fruyt 2002: 285; cf. *pulverulentus* with a similar phonological string; rather, **corp-(e/o)n-e/ont-* (> **corp-o/ul- ent-*) looks like a Caland replacement of **-e/os-* by **-e/on-* § 1.13)

ESCULENT [1625] 'suitable for eating' *ēsculentus* 'good to eat' (*ēsca* 'food' < **ed-skā-* to *edere* 'eat' [**ed-* '(bite >) eat' = **h$_{1}$ed-* LIV 230] HLFL 117)

FLATULENT [1599] *flātulentus* [ML; cf. Sp. *flatulento* [1555]] (*flātus* 'wind; gas' § 3.10 [**bhlē-*^{2} 'blow' = **bhleh$_{1}$-* 'howl' LIV 87])

FLORULENT [1592] *flōrulentus* [c2] 'abounding in flowers; flourishing' (*flōs/flōr-* 'flower' < **bhléh$_{3}$-ōs* [**bhel-*^{3} 'thrive, bloom' = **bhleh$_{3}$-*LIV 88]; see *florid* § 5.1.2)

FRAUDULENT [1412] *fraudulentus* 'cheating; deceitful' (*fraus/fraud-*'deceit; FRAUD' < **dhrou-*Vd(*h*)- [**dhreu-*^{2} 'cheat' LIV 156; cf. extended **dhreu-gh-* in AHDR] RPIEL 444)

LUCULENT [1420] 'easily understood; lucid' *lūculentus* 'splendid; clear' (*lūx/lūc-* 'light' [**leuk-* 'id.']; cf. *lucid* § 5.1.2)

OPULENT [1518] 'rich; affluent; abundant; lavish' *opulentus* 'wealthy; opulent' (*ops/op-* 'means; might; riches; influence' [**op-*^{1} 'produce' = **h$_{3}$ep-*^{1} 'bring forth' LIV 298 f.])

PESTILENT [1432] 'deadly; politically noxious; disease-bearing' *pestilentus* (1x; usually *pestilent-*) 'unhealthy' (*pestis/pesti-* 'infectious disease; PEST; pestilence; ruin' [etym. unclear DELL 890])

POTULENT [1656] 'fit to drink' *pōtulentus* 'suitable for drinking; tipsy' (*pōtus* 'drink' < **peh$_{3}$-tu-* [**pō(i)-*'drink' = **peh$_{3}$(i)-* LIV 462 f.]; cf. *poculiform* § 3.6.3.2)

PULVERULENT [1656] 'crumbling to dust; powdery; crumbly' *pulverulentus* 'covered with dust; dusty' (*pulvis/pulver-* 'dust' < **p(e)l-u-i-* [**pel-*^{1} 'dust, flour'] RPIEL 256 f.)

PURULENT [1597] 'containing/secreting pus' *pūrulentus* 'festering; purulent' (*pūs/pūr-* PUS < **puh-* [**pū-*^{2} 'rot, decay' = **peuh-*^{2} LIV 480] RPIEL 534)

SANGUINOLENT [1450] 'mixed or tinged with blood' *sanguinolentus* 'full of blood; bloody' (*sanguīs/sanguin-* 'blood'; see *sanguinary* § 4.4.2)

SOMNOLENT [1475] 'drowsy; soporific' (cf. SOMNOLENCE [Ch.]) *somnolentus* [c2 Apuleius] 'drowsy' competes with older *somnīculōsus* 'sleepy' (*somnus* 'sleep' < **swopno-* < **swep-no-* [**swep-*[1] 'fall asleep' = LIV 612] HLFL 83, 121; Baldi 1999: 272, 276, 294, 302)

SUCCULENT [1601] 'juicy' *sūculentus* [c2 Apuleius] 'full of juice, sap, orvital fluid' (cf. older *sūcōsus* 'juicy'); the use of *succulent* as a noun [1825] correlates with the same use of Spanish *suculento* [1832] Pharies 2002: 382 (*sūcus/succus* 'juice; sap' < **soúḱ-o-* [**seuḱ-* /**seuǵ-* 'suck' LIV 539]; cf. AHDR **seuh-* 'take liquid')

TRUCULENT [1540] 'savage; cruel; disposed to fight; pugnacious' *truculentus* 'savage; ferocious; cruel' (*trux/truc-* 'wild; savage; grim' < **tru-k-* [**terh*$_2$-[2] 'cross over; overcome'])

TURBULENT [1538] 'violently agitated; tumultuous' *turbulentus* 'agitated; confused; tempestuous; troublesome' (*turba* 'turmoil; confusion; mob' or, with Szemerényi 1954, from *turbō/turbin-* 'spinning top; tornado', hence **turben-ont-* 'abounding in storms' both ultimately from G *τύρβη* 'disorder; tumult' < ? **tur-bā-* [**(s)twer-*[1] 'turn, whirl'] DELG 1146; Biville 1990–5: ii. 281; see also HLFL 63)

VINOLENT [a1382 Wyclif] 'addicted to the use of wine; intemperate' *vīnolentus* 'drunk on wine; intoxicated' (*vīnum* 'wine'; see *vinery* § 4.4.4.2)

VIOLENT [a1349] *violentus* 'forcible; vehement; violent' (*vīs/vī-* 'force; strength' or according to Szemerényi, a blend of *violāre* 'defile' and *cruentus* 'bloodthirsty'; *vīs* < **weih*$_1$- /**wih*$_1$- [**weih-* 'go after; pursue vigorously' = **weih*$_1$- LIV 668]; see *violate* § 6.9)

VIRULENT [1400] 'extremely poisonous/pathogenic; bitterly hostile; venomously spiteful; intensely irritating' *vīrulentus* [Gellius] 'venomous; bitterly abusive' (*vīrus* 'slime; poison'; [NL] 'submicroscopic pathogen' VIRUS < **wīs-o/***wis-o-* [**weis-* 'flow' = LIV 672] prob. a separate root EW Aia ii. 563 f., 586)

4.12 *-(ā)tus* (> E *-(a)te/-ated*) 'provided/furnished with; having; *-ed*'

Like its English counterpart *-ed*, Latin *-tus* (LG i §§ 299, 333; Johnson 1931: §§ 107, 111; Grove 1950: 62) began as a deverbal adjective and became specialized as past passive participle. The suffix's aspect translates into possession on nominal bases. For example, on a word like *butter*, which is both a noun and a verb,

buttered is the PPP to the verb but with reference to the noun means 'provided with butter', hence applied to purely nominal bases, e.g. *honeyed, bearded*, etc.[5]

While it is generally accepted that IE *-*to*- began as a verbal adjective (IEL 285) and was secondarily applied to nominal bases, Panagl (1992*a*: 331 ff.) reverses this hypothesis and makes the denominals original. Forms like *īrātus* IRATE [1838] originated on *īra* 'anger' and provided the link to verbs (*īrāscī* 'get angry'). In some cases the derivation indeed went in this direction, e.g. *catēnāre* [c1 Columella] 'to secure with bonds' backformed from *catēnātus* 'bound with a chain (*catēna*)'.

Panagl uses this pattern to account for the fact that languages like Baltic and Slavic that do not have PPPs in *-*to*- have denominals: L *barbā-tus* = Lith. *barzdótas*, OCS *bradatŭ* 'bearded' (§ 5.1.1.1). While this equation works (cf. Meillet 1961 [1905]: 290), more usually the denominals have a secondary appearance. With Ved. *yuktá-* 'yoked' contrast G ζυγωτός 'id.'. In Germanic, likewise, the denominal suffix is generally *-*ōða*- (< *-*ā-to*-, *-*ō-to*-) except in a few forms like Goth. *un-qen-id-* (< *-*i-ða*-) 'not provided with a wife; unmarried', which is semantically but not formally equivalent to Old Bulgarian *ženatŭ* 'provided with a wife' (< *-*ā-to*-) (cf. Krahe and Meid 1967: 142 f.).

While it is true that *-*to*- is not employed everywhere as a productive PPP, it is widespread as a verbal adjective except in Anatolian and Tocharian, and the old zero grade of the root indicates an archaism (Szemerényi 1990: 351 f.), e.g. Ved. *tatá-* 'stretched' = G τατός 'stretchable', L *tentus* 'stretched' < *tn̥-tó-s* [*ten-* 'stretch']. Even Slavic has residues of verbal *-*to*- (Meillet 1961 [1905]: 300), e.g. *(ras)pętŭ* 'stretched'. The application of a perfective/passive participle to make nouns meaning 'provided with' is a general phenomenon crosslinguistically. In West Greenlandic, the PPP is *-gaq*; cf. *manigsa-gaq* 'smoothed, planed' to *manigsar-pa-a* 'smooths it, planes it' (§ 1.15). For use on nominal bases, cf. *nuna-gaq* 'provided with land' (*nuna* 'land'). While nearly any transitive verb can have a PPP *-gaq*, the use on nominal bases is far more restricted and irregular (cf. Kleinschmidt 1851: 113, 134). In Latin, likewise, there is evidence that *-tus* is primarily a PPP in that it alternates with *-sus* (§§ 1.7, 1.9), while the denominals have only *-tus* forms, and mostly of a derived variety (*-ātus, -ītus, -ūtus*).

The most basic, albeit rare, Latin form was *-tus*, as in *jūstus* (**yowes-to*-) 'right(ed); JUST' [Ch.] to *jūs* 'right'; *rōbustus* 'equipped with strength;

[5] Differences between the verbal and adjectival passives in English have caused some confusion in the literature. For instance, Embick (2000: 220 f.) asserts that these were historically different, which is not true (see Miller 1993: 18–25). Only the past tense *-ed* is historically different. The PPP, adjectival passive, and denominal *-ed* are all from IE *-*to*- (cf. Krahe and Meid 1967: 141 f.; Koziol 1972: §§ 152–9, 511).

ROBUST' [1549] to *rōbur* 'strength; power; oak'; *augustus* 'venerable; majestic' AUGUST [1664] < **h₂eug-os-to-* 'provided with strength' (see *auxiliary* § 4.4.2).

On *-u-* stems, the suffix took the form *-ū-tus*; cf. *cornūtus* 'horned, having horns, CORNUTE' [1608] (*cornū* 'horn'); *versūtus* 'turned; crafty; wily; VERSUTE' [1616] (*versus* 'a turning'), Livius Andronicus' calque on G πολύτροπος 'of many turns'; and perhaps *āstūtus* 'endowed with cunning; clever' (> ASTUTE [1611]) from *āstus* 'cunning; craft(iness)'. Especially in Vulgar and later Latin, *-ūtus* was occasionally generalized to other stems, e.g. *hirsūtus* 'shaggy; hairy; bristly; HIRSUTE' [1621] (**hirsu-* < **ghers-tu-* [**ǵhers-* 'to bristle']; cf. *hispidus* HISPID § 5.1.2, but note also **hirt(y)o-* in *hirtus* 'rough; shaggy; hairy').

Occasional *-ī-tus* forms to *-i*-stems can be illustrated by *crīnītus* 'haired; hairy; CRINITE' [1600] (*crīnis* 'the hair').

The most frequent form in Latin was *-ātus*, originally proper to *-ā*-stems or built on the Indo-European collective **-eh₂-* (see Schumacher 2000: 82 ff.), but frequently generalized to consonant and other stems. For the early period of Latin alone, Mignot (1969: 272–9) records forty-five examples of *-ātus*, nearly two-thirds of which have found their way into English, usually in the form *-ate*, but occasionally with *-ed* secondarily added (*-ated*). In many cases, however, the more anglicized *-ated* antedates the more latinate *-ate*.

4.12.1 *English borrowings*

ANIMATE [1546]/ANIMATED [1534] *animātus* 'endowed with spirit; minded' (*anima* 'breath; life' < **h₂(e)nh₁-(e)m-eh₂-* [**h₂enh₁-*] HLFL 179, IEL 115; cf. RPIEL 198, 508)

ANNULATE [1830]/ANNULATED [1668] 'furnished with rings or circles like rings; ringed' *ānulātus* 'ornamented with a ring; ringed; fettered' (*ānulus* '(small) ring' [**āno-*])

ARGENTATE [1880] 'silvery white' (of leaves) *argentātus* 'silver-covered; moneyed' (*argentum* 'silver; money' [**h₂erǵ-*])

AUREATE [1430] 'golden; gilded' *aureātus* [c5 Sidonius] 'adorned with gold', earlier *aurātus* 'furnished with gold; gilded; golden' (*aurum* 'gold' [**aus-* prob. = **h₁aus-*])

BARBATE [1853]/BARBATED [1782] 'bearded' *barbātus* 'bearded; adult' (*barba* 'beard' < **bhar(z)-dh-eh₂-* § 5.1.1.1)

CALCEATE [1669]/CALCEATED [1730] 'shod; wearing shoes' *calceātus* 'furnished with shoes' (*calceus* 'shoe' derived from *calx/calc-* 'heel'; see *calcaneus* § 4.9.3; the verb *calceāre* 'to supply with shoes' is backformed from *calceātus* DELL 158 f.)

CANDIDATE [1613] *candidātus* [‘white-robed’] ‘candidate; aspirant’ (*candida* (*toga*) ‘white (toga)’ [**kand-/*kend-*]; see *candid* § 5.1.2)

CAPITATE [1661] ‘growing in a head; having an enlarged head or tip’ *capitātus* ‘having a head; growing in a head’ (*caput/capit-*‘head’ [dial. **kaput-*; cf. KEWA i. 56 f.; GED H46])

CHORDATE [1889] ‘vertebrate with notochord’ *Chordāta* [NL] ‘having a notochord’ (*chorda* [NL] ‘notochord’ < L ‘string; CORD’ < G *χορδή* ‘string (of gut)’ < ** ǵhorh$_2$-d-eh$_2$-* [**ǵherh$_2$-*‘gut, entrail’] DELG 1269)

CILIATE [1794]/CILIATED [1753] ‘having cilia’ *ciliātus* [NL] ‘having cilia’ < ML *ciliātus* ‘having (beautiful) eyelashes’ (*cilia* [ML] ‘eyelashes’; NL ‘hairlike processes; CILIA’, pl. of L *cilium* ‘the lower eyelid’; see *supercilium* § 3.2.2)

CITRATE [1794] ‘a salt or ester of citric acid’ [CITR-+ -ATE]; cf. *citrātus* ‘treated with citron-wood oil’ (*citrus* ‘the CITRUS’ [cf. G *κέδρος* ‘cedar tree’ (> L *cedrus* CEDAR) but the source and details are obscure DELL 220 f.; DELG 509])

COELENTERATE [1872] *coelenterāta* [NL] ‘hollow-gutted ones’ (G *κοῖλος* ‘hollow; COEL-’ < **ḱow-ilo-* [**ḱeuh-* ‘swell’] + *ἔντερον* ‘intestine’ ENTERON [1842] < **en-ter-o* -[**en* ‘in’])

COLUMNATED [1703] ‘columned’ *columnātus* ‘supported by pillars’ (*columna* ‘pillar, COLUMN’ [*c.* 1440] [**kel-*[4] ‘be prominent; hill’]; see *colline* § 4.7, *columel* § 2.9.3)

CONFEDERATE [1387]/FEDERATE [1671] ‘united (together) by compact’ *foederātus* ‘allied (to Rome)’ (*foedus/foeder-*‘treaty’ < **bhoidh-es-*[**bheidh-* ‘trust’] HLFL 31, 87)

CORDATE [1651]/CORDATED [1715] ‘having (the form of) a heart; heart-shaped’; cf. *cordātus* [‘having a heart’] ‘wise; prudent; sagacious’ (*cor*, gen. *cordis* ‘heart’ < **ḱēr(d)/*ḱr̥d-és* [**ḱerd-*] Sihler 1995: 282 ff.)

CORONATE [1846]/CORONATED [1676] *corōnātus* ‘crowned’ (*corōna* ‘crown’ < G *κορώνη*[**(s)ker-* [3]]; see *corolla* §2.9.3)

CRENATE [1794]/CRENATED [1688] ‘notched’ (of leaves) *crēnātus* [NL] ‘notched; serrated’ (*crēna* ‘notch, serration’ conjectured in Pliny; otherwise deduced from Romance DELL 266 [etym. unknown])

DELICATE [Ch.] *dēlicātus* ‘addicted to pleasure; charming; effeminate’ (*déliciae* ‘delight; pleasures’; cf. *dēlicere* ‘entice’ < *dē-* + *lacere* ‘allure’ [etym. unknown; cf. *delight* § 6.5.1])

DENTATE [1810]/DENTATED [1753] *dentātus* ‘toothed; spiked; having prominent teeth’ (*dēns/dent-*‘tooth’ [**dent-*= **h$_1$d-ónt-*LIV 230 PrP of **h$_1$ed-*‘eat’] HLFL 99; Baldi 1999: 308)

FORTUNATE [a1387] *fortūnātus* 'lucky; happy; fortunate' (*fortūna* 'FORTUNE [a1325]; chance; luck' poss. < **bhr̥-tu-* [**bher-*[1] 'carry; bear'])

FRIGERATE [1656]/REFRIGERATED [1534] *(re)-frīgerātus* 'chilled; cooled' (*frīgus/frīgor-*'chill; cold' < **srīg-es-*[**srīg-* 'cold']; see *frigid* § 5.1.2)

GRADUATE [1494] *graduātus* [ML] 'having taken a degree' (*gradus* 'step; degree; GRADE' [*c.* 1511] [**ghredh-*'walk, go' or *?*ghreidh-*LIV 203 f.])

HASTATE [1788]/HASTATED [1748] 'spear-shaped; triangular' *hastātus* 'armed with a spear' (*hasta* 'spear' [**ǵhazdh-o-*'rod, staff' only Italic, Celtic, Germanic GED G84)

IRATE [1838] *īrātus* 'angered; enraged' (*īra* 'anger; rage; IRE' [*c.*1300] [** eis-*[1] 'passion'])

LARVATE [1846]/LARVATED [1623] 'masked' *lārvātus* 'possessed by evil spirits' (*lārva* 'evil spirit; horrific mask' < *lārua* < **lāsowā* HLFL 93; cf. *Lār*, a household spirit [etym. unknown DELL 608 f.])

LAUREATE [Ch.] *laureātus* 'adorned with a laurel (wreath)' (*laurea* (*corōna*) 'laurel (wreath)' < *laurus* LAUREL, a Mediterranean word; cf. G δάφνη, λάφνη, etc. 'id.' DELG 254 f.)

LITERATE [1432–50] *litterātus* 'lettered; learned; cultured' (*littera* 'letter'; see *literary* § 4.4.2)

MACULATE [1490 Caxton]/MACULATED [1646] 'spotted; marked with maculae; defiled' *maculātus* 'spotted; stained; defiled' (*macula* 'spot; blotch; MACULA' [a1400] and/or *maculāre* 'to spot; defile' < *?*smə-tlā-*[**smē-* 'smear'; cf. **smeh$_1$-* LIV 568])

PALLIATE [?a1425]/PALLIATED [1612] 'mitigated; cloaked as with a mantle; covered' *palliātus* 'dressed in a pallium; cloaked' (*pallium* 'rectangular outer garment' < *palla* 'mantle' [etym. unknown, unless from G φᾶρος 'mantle', Myc. pl. *phárweha* [etym. unknown DELG 1179] via dimin. **p(h)ar-olā-*; cf. DELL 844])

PELTATE(D) [1753] 'shield-shaped' (of leaves) *peltātus* 'armed with the pelta' (*pelta* 'crescent-shaped shield' < G πέλτη 'shield' (made of hide) [**pel-*[4] 'skin, hide'] DELG 878)

PENNATE [1870]/PENNATED [1727] 'winglike' *pennātus* 'winged; feathered' (*penna* 'wing; feather' < **pet-neh$_2$-*RPIEL 501; Sihler 1995: 209, or **pet-s-neh$_2$-*HLFL 118; cf. *petere* 'fly' [**pet-* 'fly' = **peth$_2$-*[2] LIV 479])

PINNATE [1704]/PINNATED [1753] 'featherlike' *pinnātus* 'feathered; winged' (*pinna* 'feather; wing'; prob. a dialect variant of *penna* DELL 900; see *pennate* above)

QUADRATE [1398 Trevisa]/QUADRATED [1578] 'square; rectangular' *quadrātus* 'square(d)' (*quadra* 'square' < **k^{w}(a)twr-eh$_2$-* [**k^{w}etwer-* 'four'] HLFL 121; cf. *quadru/i-*< **k^{w}tru-* RPIEL 492)

RADIATE [1668]/RADIATED [1658] 'having rays or lines from the centre outwards' *radiātus* 'furnished with rays; irradiated' (*radius* 'rod; spoke; ray; RADIUS' [1597] [etym. unknown DELL 993])

RETICULATE [1658]/RETICULATED [a1728] 'netted; meshed; latticed; formed of network' *rēticulātus* 'made with a net; reticulated' (*rēticulum* 'little net; RETICULE' [1727] § 2.9.2)

SAGITTATE [1760]/SAGITTATED [1752] 'shaped like an arrow-head' *sagittātus* 'formed like arrows; barbed' (*sagitta* 'arrow' [non-IE DELL 1038 f.])

SCELERATE [a1513] †'atrociously wicked', [1715] 'villain' *scelerātus* 'accursed; heinously criminal' (*scelus/sceler-*'crime' [?**skel-*[3] 'crooked' =?**skh$_1$el-*]RPIEL 433; HLFL 83)

SCUTATE [1826]/SCUTATED [1802] 'covered with scales' (biol.) *scūtātus* 'equipped with a shield' (*scūtum* 'shield' < **skoi-to-* [**skei-*'cut' = **skheh$_2$(i)-* LIV 547])

SERRATE [1668]/SERRATED [1703] 'notched on the edge, like a saw; toothed' *serrātus* [c1 Celsus] 'toothed like a saw; serrated' (*serra* 'saw' [etym. unknown DELL 1093])

STRIATE [1678]/STRIATED [1646] 'marked/scored with striae (very slender lines); parallel; wavy' *striātus* 'furrowed; grooved; fluted' (*stria* 'groove; channel; furrow' < **strig-yeh$_2$-* [**streig-*])

TUNICATE [1760]/TUNICATED [1623] 'covered with a tunic or mantle' *tunicātus* 'wearing a tunic' (*tunica* 'undergarment; TUNIC' [?*c.*890/891 Orosius] < Phoenician *ktn* < Central Semitic **kuttān*/**kittān* (→ G *χιτών* 'tunic' CHITON [1816] DELG 1261; DELL 1250) < Sumerian *gada, gida*)

VERMICULATE [1605]/VERMICULATED [1623] 'worm-shaped; having wavy wormlike tracks; worm-eaten' *vermiculātus* 'inlaid to resemble the tracks of worms' (*vermiculus* 'little worm; grub; larva; VERMICLE' [1657] § 2.9.2)

5

Deverbal and Deradical Adjectives

5.1 *-idus, -a, -um* (> E-*id*) adjectives of variable result state

5.1.1 *Synchronic status*

Latin attempted a morphological contrast between property concepts (synchronically underived adjectives), externally caused result states in *-tus*, and internally caused or non-causative result states in *-id-* (§§ 1.11, 1.15). The distribution is highly opaque and irregular synchronically. Consider colour adjectives in (1).

(1) Colour adjectives (Latin)
   (*a*) Synchronically underived, e.g. *fulvus* 'brown', *niger/āter* 'black', *glaucus* 'blue-grey'
   (*b*) *flāvus* [Ennius] '(pale) yellow' : *flāvidus* [Pliny] 'having become yellow' (cf. Olsen 2003: 243, 263)
   (*c*) *rāvus* [Varro] 'grey-yellow' : *rāvidus* [c1^{m} Columella] '(yellowish) grey'
   (*d*) (dialectal) *rūfus* 'red' : *rūbidus* 'having become red' (cf. Olsen 2003: 242)
   (*e*) *albus* 'white' : *albidus* [Vitruvius] 'white; whitish; pale' (*albēre* 'be white')
   (*f*) Early Latin *albus* but *cand-id-us*, both 'white, bright, clear, light-coloured' and used in much the same contexts, but contrasted in Ennius (*Annals* 84 f. Skutsch):

   Intereā sōl albus recessit in īnfera noctis
   Exin candida sē radiīs dedit icta forās lūx
   'meanwhile the white sun withdrew into the depths of night, then out bright came a light struck by the (sun's) rays'

Ennius contrasts *sōl albus* 'the white sun' (*albus* is the property concept) with *candida . . . lūx* 'the white light', where *candida* in predicative position signals the new (non-causative) result state following the disappearance of the white sun.

Colour adjectives are generally synchronically simple, as in (1*a*), but beside *flāvus* (1*b*) is created later *flāvidus* (with non-causative result state interpretation), and to *rāvus* (1*c*) is made later *rāvidus*. *Rūbidus* (1*d*) has non-causative result state semantics (apparent early occurrences in Plautus, *Casina* 310 and *Stichus* 230, may be a different word), and cannot possibly be derived from *rubēre* 'be(come) red' with short /u/. The scholarly tradition has compared with *rūbidus* the full-grade vocalism of G ἐρεύθομαι 'be(come) red'. Watkins (1971: 89) refers to the root *(h_1)*reudh-* as an adjective-verb and (2000: 71) glosses it 'red, ruddy'. In other words, the *-id-* formation was built on the root; see also *lurid* § 5.1.4.

If *-id-* adjectives were made from stative verbs in *-ē-* (< IE **-eh$_1$-* § 6.1), then, given *albēre* 'be white', one might expect early *albidus* (1*e*), but prior to Vitruvius, 'white' is morphologically simple *albus* (cf. G ἀλφός 'white leprosy' < **albho-* 'white' = **h$_2$elbho-* or **h$_1$albho-*). To *silēre* 'be silent', *clārēre* 'be clear', etc., there is no **silidus* 'silent', **clāridus* 'clear'... Moreover, beside some ergative verbs and statives of the third conjugation there exist *-id-* adjectives.

The best predictor of an adjective in *-id-* is the presence of both an *-ē-* verb and an *-or* noun (§ 3.1); cf. *algēre* 'be cold', *algor* 'coldness', *algidus* 'cold', or *candēre* 'shine', *candor* 'radiance', *candidus* 'white, clear'. But this is a productive innovation (Leumann 1964: 100). Nussbaum (1999: 378 f.) notes that in many cases one or more members of the trio are not encountered until the end of the classical period or later. More significant are the very archaic non-productive adjectives in *-(i)dus* that are not related to an *-ē-* verb or an *-or* noun (Nussbaum 1999: 379 f.). Moreover, denominal statives in *-ē-* are typically paired with an *-id-* adjective, but deverbal adjectives either are not so paired or can be associated with *-(i)tus* participle-adjectives (Nussbaum 1999: 384 f.).

5.1.1.1 *The origin of* -id- The reconstruction of *-id-* has been particularly thorny (cf. LG i§ 297). The Italic evidence is inconclusive. If the Samnian town *Callifae* (Livy 8. 25. 4) is a latinized Oscan equivalent of **Calidae* 'Warm (Springs)' or *Callidae* 'experienced' (from 'hardened'), the form would point to an Italic **-þ-* and possibly ultimately IE **dh* (Nussbaum 1999: 382, 392), but this is very hypothetical. The equation of Umbrian KALEŘUF and LL *calidus* 'with a white (spot on the) forehead' would favour a historical **d*, but is fraught with difficulties.[1]

[1] *Calidus* is attested in the *Mulomedicina Chironis* [c4^e/5^b] and in a gloss in Isidore [a636]. The vocalism is not clear (*cālidus*? DELL 154 f.), nor is the etymology. Umbrian KALEŘUF 'with a white spot on the forehead'? (ACC.PL.M) supposedly points to a reconstruction **kaledo-* with /a/after a pure velar [IE **kel-* but none of the six **kel-* roots in AHDR] (Schrijver 1991: 427). Meiser (1998: 82) disputes this but does not question the status of *calidus*. Even the meaning is not clear. It derives from Isidore's

There are primarily two recent accounts of the origin of the *-id-* adjectives: Nussbaum (1999) and Olsen (2003). Nussbaum posits only Italic **-i-þo-* and does not reconstruct an Indo-European ancestor. Olsen reconstructs a suffix **-to-* attached to various laryngeal stems plus laryngeal metathesis, illustrated in (2).

(2) Laryngeal metathesis (Olsen): **-Vh-to-> *-V-t^{h}o-> *-i-þo-> -idus*

Since **-to-* productively makes past passive participles, Olsen claims that the *-idus* adjectives are residual formations with a secondary function. Two such alleged residues are illustrated in (3).

(3) Residual **-to-* formations (Olsen 2003: 261)
(*a*) *albidus* 'white; whitish; pale'< **(h$_2$)alb^h-eh$_1$-to-* 'whitened'
(*b*) *fūmidus* 'smoking' (of torches, fires), 'smoky' (of places etc.) < **dhuh-mah$_2$-to-* 'provided with smoke (*fūmus*)'

As noted in connection with (1*e*), *albidus* first occurs in the Augustan period and is probably not an inherited formation. More likely, it is an expanded adjective like *flāvidus* (1*b*), *rāvidus* (1*c*), on the model of the semantically similar *candidus* (1*f*).

Fūmidus (3*b*) occurs first in Lucretius and is also not likely to be archaic. It is probably coined directly from *fūmus* 'smoke' on the model of other adjectives denoting internally caused or non-causative result states.

Both Nussbaum and Olsen derive Latin *acerbus* 'bitter, sharp' from Italic **akri-þo-*, but differ on the details. For Nussbaum (4*a*), the Italic form is built on a nominal base **h$_2$eḱ-ri-*; cf. Hackstein's compound in (4*b*).

(4) (*a*) Nussbaum (1999: 392–401): **h$_2$eḱ-ri-* (cf. G ἄκρις 'peak') : **akri-þo-* 'having or exhibiting sharpness';
(*b*) Hackstein (2002: 17): **h$_2$ekri–d^{h}h$_1$-o-*
(*c*) Olsen (2003: 261): **h$_2$eḱ-ri-h$_2$-to-* 'provided with edge, sharpness'
(*d*) G ἄκ-ρι-ς 'peak', Ved. *-áś-ri-* 'edge' (in compounds)< **h$_2$eḱ-ri-*

gloss (*quī frontem albam* [*habent*] 'who have a white forehead'), but Ancillotti and Cerri (1996: 344) claim that Umbrian *kalleřo-* means 'white' and is cognate with L *candidus* 'id.'. If this is right, the reconstruction could be **cand-ĕ-do-*. But even if the Umbrian form is an adjective of this type, a reconstruction **-ĕ-do-* is not forced (see Peters 1980: 178 f.). Despite the certainty with which Hackstein (2002: 17) reconstructs a compound of **-dh$_3$-o-* 'giving', there are too many unknowns connected with this word to use it for reconstructive purposes. Nussbaum (1999: 381 f.) speculates that Latin could have borrowed a Doric **κᾱλαδ-* from south Italy (cf. G κηλάδ- 'mottled' < **kāl-h$_2$d-* or **kālad-* DELG 525, assuming /ā/in L *cālidus*), which joined the Latin *-idus* adjectives, and Umbrian could have borrowed the word from Latin.

One potential problem with Olsen's derivation in (4*c*) is the lack of testimony for a laryngeal stem **$h_2e\acute{k}$-ri-h_2-*. The Greek and Sanskrit congeners in (4*d*) point to a bare *-i-* stem noun **$h_2e\acute{k}$-ri-*.

A more general problem for Olsen's laryngeal metathesis is that it does not apply to agentive **-tor*, abstract **-ti-*, **-tu-*, etc. and the one Latin formation that is possibly of at least dialectal Indo-European origin, *barbātus* 'bearded' (5*a*), does not undergo it (5*b*).

(5)(*a*) Lat. *barbātus*= Lith. *barzdótas*= OCS *bradatŭ* 'bearded'
< **bhar(z)dh-eh$_2$-to-*

(*b*) **bhar(z)dh-eh$_2$-to- *→ *bhardh-e-tho- *→ *bardidus*

Olsen predicts the derivation in (5*b*) and necessarily claims (p. 248) that the cognates in (5*a*) are restored, morphologically productive forms, and that the restoration process had already begun in the proto-language (pp. 271 f.). This entails that practically everything is restored except for the-*id-* adjectives.

The complete absence of any denominal possessives in *-id-* of the type in (5*b*) is unexpected on the laryngeal metathesis account. Olsen (pp. 248 f.) claims to have identified some residual examples of this type, but the forms are misglossed (e.g. the early meaning of *turbidus* is 'turbulent', not 'full of confusion' § 1.15) or fit the internally caused/non-causative result state typology, e.g. *morbidus* (6*a*) is not Olsen's 'provided with a disease (*morbus*)' but encodes an internally caused result state and contrasts with the property concept (6*b*) and the externally caused result state (6*c*).

(6)(*a*) *morbidus* [Varro] 'diseased, sick' (internally caused result state)

(*b*) *aeger* 'sick' (property concept)

(*c*) *aegrōtus* '(made) sick' (externally caused result state)

Many *-ē-* verbs do not make **-to-* participles, not because they ended up as *-idus* by laryngeal metathesis (Olsen), but because statives cannot have passives. Moreover, Italic (if not just Latin) alone among the Indo-European languages innovated adjectives that designate internally caused or non-causative result states.

The ultimate source of Italic/pre-Latin **-þo-* is reasonably IE **-dh-*, given the function of the Latin *-id-* adjectives (not considered by Nussbaum) and the non-causative change of state function of **-dh-*, as reflected in the Greek *-θ-* verbs in (7).

(7) Greek non-causative COS verbs in *-θ-* (Benveniste 1935: 188–210)

(*a*) *τελέ-θ-ειν* 'come into being; be accomplished' vs. *τελεῖν* 'fulfil, accomplish'

(*b*) μινύ-θ-ειν 'become smaller, decrease' (rarely transitive in the *Iliad*) beside L *minuere* 'lessen, make smaller'

(*c*) φλεγέ-θ-ειν 'blaze, flare up' beside φλέγειν 'burn up' (transitive in the *Iliad*)

The same formative is also occasionally used for states, as in (8).

(8) Greek statives in -*θ*-
πλή-θ-ειν 'be full' vs. πίμπλημι 'I fill'

Olsen (2003: 264 ff.) also connects the Latin -*id*- adjectives with the Greek -*θ*- verbs but reconstructs these too via laryngeal metathesis; cf. (9).

(9) Laryngeal metathesis account of Greek -*θ*- verbs (Olsen)
**g*^{w}*r̥h*$_2$*u-h*$_1$*-to-* > G βαρύ-θ-ειν 'be weighed down; be heavy'

Since the verb is deadjectival to βαρύ- 'heavy', the source of the assumed laryngeal in the suffix is unexplained beyond its theory-internal mandate, and this account precludes any relationship to the Sanskrit -*dh*- formations documented by Benveniste (1935: 188–98).

Nussbaum (1999) proposed *i*-stem nouns as the ancestor of -*id*- adjectives, but also possible are some *i*-stem adjectives. The Indo-European predecessors of Ved. *pū́ti-* 'putrid' and Hitt. *šalli-* 'great, important' could reasonably have been extended by *-*dh*- to yield L *pūti-d-us* 'decaying, rotten, *soli-d-us* SOLID. Latin synchronically classifies internally caused changes of state with the statives in -*ē*-; cf. *pūtēre/putrēre* 'to rot' (cf. § 1.15). This provided the path for *-*i-dh*- adjectives with internally caused and non-causative result state semantics to be generalized to (variable) states in general and paired with stative verbs.

In summary, (1) the theoretical distinction between externally and internally caused result states is morphologically coded (albeit opaquely) in Latin -*tus* and -*id*- formations, respectively; (2) -*id*- adjectives are by origin internally caused (and non-causative) result states; (3) the Indo-European source is non-causative change of state *-*dh*-; and (4) an Indo-European source of the -*id*- adjectives is established on both formal and functional grounds. Finally, it should be mentioned that *-*dh*- was the primary source of Latin -*id*-; nothing precludes occasional contributions to this class from other sources, such as borrowing or compounds of *-*d*^{h}*h*$_1$*-o-* 'made/provided with' (Hackstein 2002).

5.1.1.2 *Derivation and the continuation of* -id-. As in English, nouns derived from adjectives in -*id*- are mostly of the -*itās* (-*ity*) kind; cf. *aciditās* ACIDITY, *frīgiditās* FRIGIDITY, *placiditās* PLACIDITY, *rapiditās* RAPIDITY, *rigiditās*

RIGIDITY, *squāliditās* SQUALIDITY, *stupiditās* STUPIDITY, *timiditās* TIMIDITY, *validitās* VALIDITY, etc. (cf. § 2.1).

With few exceptions, the earliest *-id-* constructs in English date to c15, the majority to c17. Pharies (2002: 315) notes a similar distribution for Spanish *-ido* formations, which largely begin in c15 and continue over the next three centuries. A few of the earlier ones in English are also early in Spanish, e.g. *liquid* [1382]/Sp. *líquido* [1433], *frigid* [c15 1×]/Sp. *frígido* [1440]. While there are some discrepancies, such as *avid* [c18] vs. Sp. *ávido* [1483], five entered in the same century (*fetid, frigid, placid, stolid, tumid*) and fifteen are one century apart. For five of those, the English word is earlier (*fluid, liquid, stupid, turgid, valid*); for the remaining ten, the English word is later (*acid, arid, horrid, languid, livid, lucid, pallid, rigid, sordid, timid*). These diffused as culture words from French.

Neolatin and scientific constructs, such as NL *arachnida* [neut. pl.] (F *arachnide*, E *arachnid*, Sp. *arácnido*), are not discussed here. They are influenced by Greek *-id-*, as in HYDATID [c17] < NL *hydatides* [pl.] < ML *hydatis/hydatid-* < G ὑδατίς/ὑδατίδ- [c1–2 Soranus, Galen, etc.] 'watery vesicle, hydatid'.

5.1.2 *Deradical and/or deverbal formations*

ACID [1626] *acidus* 'sour; bitter; tart; acid' (*acēre* [Cato] 'be sour' [**ak-* = **h₂ék-* 'sharp'])

ALGID [1626] 'cold; chill' *algidus* 'cold' (*algēre* 'feel, be(come) cold' [?**h₂elgh-* or ?**h₂elǵh-* 'freeze' LIV 263; not in AHDR])

ARID [1652] *āridus* 'dry; arid; parched' (*ārēre* 'be dry, parched, withered' [**as-* 'burn, glow' = **h₂eh₁s-* 'dry out' LIV 257 f.])

AVID [1769] *avidus* 'eager; greedy' (*avēre* 'yearn (for); desire' [**h₂eu-* LIV 274]; participle (!) to *avēre* Olsen 2003: 260; possibly a compound **h₂euhi–dʰh₁-o-* Hackstein 2002: 17)

CANDID [1630] 'white', [1675] 'sincere' *candidus* 'white; clear' (*candēre* 'shine; gleam; be white' [**kand-/*kend-* 'shine' = **(s)kend-*[2] LIV 554] RPIEL 428)

FERVID [1599] *fervidus* 'glowing hot; burning; eager' (*fervēre* 'boil; be fired with passion' [**bhreu(h₁)-* 'boil' = **bherw-* LIV 81])

FLACCID [1620] *flaccidus* 'languid'; [c1 Columella] 'drooping, flaccid' (*flaccēre* 'languish' [etym. obscure; no easy relation to G μαλακός 'soft' < **mel-* DELG 661, 178; DELL 423])

FLORID [1642] *flōridus* [Varro] 'flowery; blooming' (*flōrēre* [Cato] 'put forth flowers; bloom; be in prime', denominal to *flōs/flōr-* 'flower, bloom' < **bhleh₃-ōs* [**bhel-*[3]] RPIEL 131)

FLUID [1603] *fluidus* 'flowing freely; liquid' (*fluere* 'flow' [**bhleu-* = **bhleuh-* LIV 90])

F(O)ETID [1599] 'stinking' *foetidus* 'soul-smelling, stinking' (*foetēre* 'stink' [etym. unknown DELL 433 f.])

FRIGID [1639] *frīgidus* 'cold; chilly' synchronically a basic adjective Olsen 2003: 262 (*frīgēre* 'get a chilly reception; be chilled' [**srīg-* 'cold' = *?*sreihg-* /?**sreihǵ-* 'freeze' LIV 587 f.] not denominal to *frīgus* [arch.] 'cold; chilliness'; *frīgēre* [Ciceronian period: Manilius] 'be chilled' is archaic in figurative senses and inherited; cf. archaic sigmatic aorist ῥῖγησε [*Iliad*] 'shuddered' < **srīg-eh₁-* Watkins 1971: 89 ff.; Risch 1974: 308)

FULGID [1656–81] *fulgidus* [Q. Cicero, Lucretius] 'shining; brilliant' (*fulgēre* [Catullus] 'flash; glitter; gleam; be bright'; cf. early *fulgere* 'id.' [**bhel-*[1] 'shine' = **bhleg-* or **bhleǵ-* LIV 86 f.]; cf. G φλεγέθω 'blaze' Olsen 2003: 265)

HISPID [1646] 'bristly, shaggy' *hispidus* 'rough, shaggy'; [c1 Columella] 'bristly; hairy' (**ghers-k^w-ił-o-* [**ǵhers-* 'to bristle']; cf. L *hirsūtus* 'hairy, shaggy, HIRSUTE', *hirtus* 'covered with hair; shaggy' § 4.12; etc.)

HORRID [1590] *horridus* [archaic] 'rough, bristling; causing horror' (*horrēre* 'bristle; tremble (at)' [**ǵhers-* 'to bristle'])

HUMID [1549] *(h)ūmidus* 'wet; rainy' (*(h)ūmēre* [Vergil] 'be wet, moist' [?**weg^w-* 'wet'])

LANGUID [1597] *languidus* 'faint; weary; weak; apathetic' (*languēre* 'be sluggish; lack vigour; be feeble' [**(s)lēg-* 'slack' = **sleg-* or **sleǵ-* LIV 565])

LIQUID [1382 Wyclif] *liquidus* 'fluid, liquid' (*liquēre* 'appear clear'; [a63] 'be liquid' [**wleik-* 'flow' or **wleik^w-* LIV 696 f.])

LIVID [1622] *līvidus* 'greyish-blue; livid'; [Horace] 'spiteful' (*līvēre* 'be bluish, livid' < **slih-wo-* [?**slei(h)-* 'bluish' not in AHDR]; cf. MidW *lliw* 'colour' DELL 648; cf. *lurid* § 5.1.4)

LUCID [1591] 'shining'; [c17] 'clear' *lūcidus* 'bright, shining; clear, lucid' (*lūcēre* 'shine; be clear, evident' or **lo/euk-i-* 'light' [**leuk-* 'light'] Nussbaum 1999: 403)

PALLID [1590] *pallidus* 'pale; colourless' (*pallēre* 'be pale' deadjectival to **pal-wo-*; cf. Gmc. **falwaz* 'light-coloured' HGE 91 > OE *fealu* 'yellow, FALLOW' [**pel-*[2] 'pale'] Nussbaum 1999: 403, 410 posits Italic **palwi-þo-*; in any case, *pallidus* patterns with the colour adjectives and is a replacement of **pal(ə)wo-* Olsen 2003: 262)

PELLUCID [1619] 'transmitting light' *perlūcidus/pellūcidus* 'transmitting light; transparent'; [Vitruvius] 'clearly intelligible' (*perlūcēre* 'transmit light; be transparent' [**leuk-* cf. *lucid* above] lit. 'letting light through (*per*)': since particles differ from adjectival specifiers, which do not normally

assimilate (cf. Bader 1962: 362 f.), *pellūcidus* is not the same as *perlūcidus* 'very bright')

PLACID [1626] *placidus* 'kindly; agreeable; quiet; peaceful' (*placēre* 'be pleasing' [?**pleh*$_3$*k*- 'please' or ?**pleh*$_2$*k*- 'strike' LIV 485 f. rather than AHDR's **plāk*-^{1} 'flat'])

PUTRID [1598] *putridus* 'rotten, decaying' (*putrēre* 'decay'; cf. *putris* 'rotten' [**pu(h)*-^{2} 'rot'])

RABID [1611] ('affected with rabies' [c19]) *rabidus* 'raging'; [Seneca] 'rabid, mad' (*rabere* 'be rabid; rave'; cf. also *rabiēs* 'savageness; ferocity' [**rebh*-^{1} 'impetuous'])

RANCID [1646] *rancidus* 'rotten; putrid' (*rancēre* 'be rotten' [etym. unknown DELL 995 f.])

RAPID [1634] *rapidus* 'swiftly flowing or moving; rapid' (*rapī* 'be snatched away, carried off' [**rep*- 'snatch' = **(h*$_1$*)rep*- LIV 507])

RIGID [1538] *rigidus* [Cicero] 'stiffly erect; lacking in grace'; [Livy] 'stiff, rigid (as a result of tension)' (*rigēre* 'be stiff, rigid, solidified, numb with cold' [**reiǵ*-^{2} 'stretch out' or (?) **reiǵ*-^{1} 'bind'; see LIV 503] *rigidus* is not 'stiff' as a property concept but represents an internally caused or non-causative result state)

SAPID [1634] 'having taste', [1646] 'savoury' *sapidus* [Apuleius] 'tasty, savoury' (*sapere* 'have a (good) taste; taste' [**sep*- 'taste; perceive' = **s(e)h*$_1$*p*- LIV 519])

SORDID [1596] *sordidus* 'foul, dirty, filthy; poor in quality; disreputable; ignominious' (*sordēs* 'dirt' or *sordēre* 'be dirty; seem unworthy' < **swr̥d-eh*$_1$- [**sword-o*- 'black, dirty'] cf. Gmc. **swartaz* 'black' GED S177, HGE 392; *sordidus* can also be from an abstract noun **sword-i*- Nussbaum 1999: 403)

SPLENDID [1624] *splendidus* 'shining; dazzling; superb; brilliant; illustrious' (*splendēre* 'shine; be bright or radiant'; [Livy] 'be brilliant, distinguished' [**splend*- 'shine, glow' only Latin and Celtic LIV 582] cf. Schumacher 2000: 159)

SQUALID [1591] *squālidus* 'filthy' (*squālēre* 'be crusted with dirt; be filthy' or deadjectival to *squālus* [Ennius 276 Jocelyn and restored at Plautus, *Menaechmi* 838 and *Truculentus* 934] 'unkempt, dirty' (of clothing) [etym. unknown] despite DELL 1139 apparently not related to G πηλός 'earth; mud' DELG 896 f.)

STUPID [1541] *stupidus* 'dazed; numbed; stunned; brainless' (*stupēre* 'be paralysed, stunned, dazed, dumbfounded' [**(s)teu*- 'push, strike', more precisely **(s)teup*- LIV 602 f.])

TEPID [*c.*1400] *tepidus* 'warm' (*tepēre* 'be warm, tepid' [**tep*- '(be) hot'; cf. LIV 629 f.])

TIMID [1549] *timidus* 'timid, fearful' (*timēre* 'be afraid' [etym. unknown DELL 1222])

TORPID [1613] *torpidus* [Livy] 'deprived of the power to act; paralysed' (*torpēre* 'be numb, lethargic, paralysed; lack sensation' [**ster-*[1] 'stiff', more precisely **terp-*[2] LIV 636 f.])

TORRID [1611] (*torrid zone* 1586) *torridus* 'dried, burnt, scorched; parched; desiccated' (*torrērī* 'be heated so as to dry up; burn, parch' < causative **tors-éye-* LIV 637 [**ters-* 'dry'])

TUMID [1541] *tumidus* [Cato] 'filled to bursting, bulging'; [Cicero] 'swollen, distended; dilated' (*tumēre* 'be distended; swell' [**teu(h₂)-* 'swell', more precisely **twem-* LIV 654)

TURBID [1626] *turbidus* 'in turmoil; confused; agitated; turbulent; stormy; muddy; turbid' (*turbārī* 'be in confusion, confounded, disturbed'; see *turbulent* § 4.11)

TURGID [1620] *turgidus* 'swollen, distended; inflated; grandiose' (*turgēre* 'swell; be(come) distended, pretentious' [etym. unknown DELL 1252])

VALID [1571] *validus* 'robust; strong; fit; powerful; potent; valid' (*valēre* 'be powerful, robust, well' [**wal-* 'be strong' = **welh-*[1] LIV 676 f.])

VIRID [1600] *viridis* 'green' [irregularly third declension for expected **viridus*] (*virēre* 'be green with vegetation; be verdant' [**weis-*[1] 'thrive' LIV 671 f.; not in AHDR])

VIVID [1638] *vīvidus* 'full of vital force; vigorous; lively' (*vīvere* 'be alive; live' § 5.4; Olsen 2003: 250 connects with Skt. *jīvatha-* [grammarians] 'long-lived' and reconstructs **g^{w}ih$_3$wah$_2$-to-* 'provided with life', supposedly paralleled in analogical L *vīvātus* [Lucretius] 'animated, lively, vivid', but for *vīvidus* a semantic case could be made for a compound **g^{w}ih$_3$w-o/i–d^{h}h$_1$-o-* 'made alive'; alternatively/preferably, since *vīvidus* first occurs in Lucretius (of *tellūs* 'the earth') it is the internally caused result state in contrast to both the property concept *vīvus* 'alive' and the externally caused result state *vīvātus*)

5.1.3 *Deadjectival formations*

GRAVID [1597] 'pregnant' *gravida* 'pregnant' (*gravis* 'heavy; weighty; pregnant; harsh; venerable; serious; grave' < **g^{w}reh$_2$-u-(i-)* RPIEL 188 [**g^{w}erh$_2$-*[2] 'heavy'] cf. *gravēscere* [Lucretius] 'become weighted down; become stronger'; Olsen (2003: 243, 255) derives *gravida* from a passive participle **g^{w}r̥h$_2$wih$_2$-tah$_2$-* 'made heavy' since the result state 'is always caused by somebody else'. While this is biologically unassailable, one can question at what historical period it was realized. The Germanic expression

'with child' (e.g. ON *með barni*) merely identifies the state with no reference to cause. It is doubtless instructive that the very archaic L *gravida* patterns with the internally caused result states and precisely not with the externally caused states.)

INSIPID [1620] *īnsipidus* [c4^{b}] 'unsavoury; insipid' (*in* 'not' + *sapidus* 'savoury, SAPID' § 5.1.2)

5.1.4 *Possible denominal formations*

GELID [1606] 'extremely cold' *gelidus* 'icy cold; frozen'. Because of the phonology involving /l/, *gelidus* can only go back to **gel-i-* (cf. **gol-i-* > Gmc. **kali-* > OE *ciele* CHILL); with any other vowel, the output should have been **goli-* (Nussbaum 1999: 387 ff.), but other reconstructions may be possible (Olsen 2003: 254); for the phonology, cf. *color* < **kel-ōs* (root of *cēlāre/(oc)cultus* 'conceal' [**ḱel-*^{2} 'cover, conceal']) (cf. *gelū* 'frost; ice; cold' [**gel-*^{2} 'cold'; cf. LIV 185])

LIMPID [1613] 'pellucid; clear' *limpidus* 'clear, transparent' [esp. of liquids] (perhaps **limpa* for *lympha* 'water-nymph; water'; cf. *limpor* 'clear liquid'; see *lymphatic* § 4.8)

LURID [1656] *lūridus* 'of sickly yellow colour; wan; ghastly' (not deverbal: **lūrēre*; cf. later *lūror* [Lucretius] 'sickly yellow colour; pallor'; *lūridus* is related to the colour adjective **slih-wo-* 'purple; discoloured' [**sleih-* AHDR 80, with no mention of *lurid*] possibly via a noun **sloi(h)-ri-* from an adjective **sloi(h)-ro-* Nussbaum 1999: 403 f.)

MORBID [1656] *morbidus* [Varro] 'diseased, sick' apparently encoding an internally caused result state (contrast the property concept *aeger* 'sick' and the externally caused result state *aegrōtus* '(made) sick'); [Lucretius] 'causing disease' (*morbus* 'disease; sickness' possibly < **mor-bho-* [**mer-*^{2} 'harm'])

NITID [1619] 'shining, glossy' *nitidus* [Plautus] 'bright (from cleaning or polishing); elegant in appearance, spruce' (= non-causative result state!); [Virgil] 'bright, radiant, shining' (cf. *nitēre* 'be brilliant, radiant; shine' but denominal to **ni-to-* [**nei-* 'shine' DELL 784; not in AHDR or LIV])

VAPID [1656] *vapidus* [c1 Columella] '(of wine) that has lost its freshness; flat, vapid' (*vappa* [Catullus] 'useless individual'; [Horace] 'wine that has gone flat' = non-causative result state '(having) become flat' [**kwēp-* 'smoke'?]; cf. *vapor* 'steam; VAPOUR' § 3.1)

VISCID [1635] *viscidus* [c3] 'viscous' (*viscum* 'mistletoe; birdlime' < **wi-sk-* [?**weis-* 'flow'] cf. *viscous* § 4.10.2)

5.1.5 *Opaque and isolated formations*

CRUDE [Ch.] *crūdus* 'raw' < **kro/uwid-* probably from Italic **kro/ew-i-þo-* built on **kro/ew(h₂)-i-* 'gore, rawness' in turn from the adjective **kro/ew(h₂)-o-* > Gmc. **hrawaz* > OE *hrēaw* RAW HGE 185 [**kreuh₂-* 'raw flesh'] Nussbaum 1999: 400, 402; the old dissimilation from **krūro-* (Ved. *krūrá-* 'bloody') remains possible Olsen 2003: 256)

(IN)TREPID [1650] *trepidus* [c–1] 'filled with alarm; anxious; apprehensive' ([**trep-*[1] cf. LIV 650] *trepidāre* 'act in a state of alarm or trepidation' is deadjectival; but the verb is older and Leumann LG i. 329 suggests that *trepidus* is backformed from *trepidāre* which has no good source apart from *trep-id-*; the remodelling of a putative **trep-itāre* to *trepidāre* is difficult to motivate; Nussbaum 1999: 380 treats *trepidus* as isolated)

NUDE [1447–8] *nūdus* 'naked' (possibly from Italic **no/eg^{w}i-þo-* Nussbaum 1999: 383 but perhaps comparable to Gmc. **nak^{w}a/eðaz* > OE *nacod* NAKED; both can go back to **nog^{w}-o/e-dho-* cf. GED N5, HGE 280, RPIEL 279, 281. For Germanic **nog^{w}-o-tó-* is also possible, as assumed by Meillet 1961 [1905]: 319, 321: OCS *tvrŭdŭ* 'fixed, fast' (with **d* or **dh*) is to Lith. *tvìrtas* 'firm' as L *nūdus* is to Goth. *naqaþs* 'naked'. Olsen 2003: 252 reconstructs **nog^{w}ah₂-to-* 'made naked, stripped', but for that meaning a compound **nog^{w}-o-d^{h}h₁-o-* 'made naked' works just as well [**nog^{w}-* AHDR 59])

RUBIDIUM [1861]. German coinage. Olsen 2003: 256–60 criticizes other accounts of L *rūbidus* 'having become red', but since it was precisely not derived from the corresponding stative verb L *rŭbēre* 'be(come) red', a putative participial reconstruction of the type **(h₁)rudh-eh₁-to-* would not yield the correct output. Consequently she posits (p. 256) **roudh-eh₁-to-* to the innovated denominal type Lith. *raudėti* 'become redbrown, reddish' (Lithuanian inherited only *rudėti* 'become brown; roast' HIEV 136 ff.) or denominal **roudh-ah₂-to-* 'made red'. Italic, of course, has no trace of such a deadjectival formation. For Nussbaum (p. 401), from **h₁ro/eudh-o-* 'red' (OE *rēod* RED, L *rūfus*) is derived **h₁ro/eudh-i-* 'red(ness)' (Lith. *raũdis* 'red(ness)'), on which is built Italic **rouþ-i-þo-* > L *rūbidus*. Hackstein 2002: 13 posits **h₁re/oudhi(h₁)–d^{h}h₁-o-* 'provided with red', but a more standard compound type **(h₁)ro/eudh-o/i–d^{h}h₁-o-* 'made red' would be less problematic. It is also possible that none of the colour adjectives was inherited with this formation but got assimilated to the non-causative result states § 5.1.1)

SOLID [Ch.] *solidus* 'made of the same material throughout; unalloyed; solid' (cf. *sollus* 'unbroken; whole; complete' < **sol(h)-wo-*; cf. *salvus* 'safe and sound' < **sl̥h-wo-* Nussbaum 1999: 380; perhaps **sol(h)–d^{h}h$_{1}$-o-* 'made whole' is also possible [**sol-* 'whole'] see also *solicitude* § 2.4.1)

STOLID [*c.*1600] *stolidus* 'insensible; dull; brutish; stupid' in Ennius used of Ajax and Achilles [*Annals* 197 Skutsch] and men who settle differences with brute force like boars [*Annals* 96 Skutsch] (cf. *stultus* 'foolish; stupid' < **stl̥-to-* 'unmovable' [**stel-* 'put; stand'] Nussbaum 1999: 380)

5.2 *-āx/-āc-* (> E *-acious*) event magnifier

In other Indo-European languages there are possible formal parallels for this suffix (LG i § 329.2) but no clear functional parallel is known. If the formal equations are correct, one may compare G *νέ-ᾱξ* 'young man' but the widely cited OCS *nov-ak-ŭ* 'novice, recruit' does not occur (Meillet 1961 [1905]: 329). Nevertheless, a reconstruction **new-ā-k-* with a **-k-* extension of an *ā*-stem is entirely reasonable (discussion in Schrijver 1991: 148–54). For the **-k-* extension, cf. *-trīx* (§ 3.7) and the type *fēlīx/fēl-īc-* 'lucky' FELIX, *fēl-īc-itās* FELICITY [Ch.] (LG i § 329.3; Baldi 1999: 306 f.).

A formation like L *fug-āx* 'prone to run away' could initially involve an extension of *fuga* (**bhug-eh$_{2}$-*) 'flight' (or **fug-āǵ-s* 'driven to flight'? Dunkel 2000: 90). Since *fuga* is in turn related both to a root noun **bhug-* (cf. Homeric ACC *φύγ-α-δε* [*Iliad*] 'to flight') and to a verb (L *fug-e-re* 'to flee'), the core Latin distribution can be accounted for. Most of the Latin *-āc-* constructs are to third conjugation verbs (like *fugere*) and root nouns. For instance, *cap-āx* CAPACIOUS is more directly related to the root noun that is attested in compounds with *-cep-s* (< **kap-* < **k(e)h$_{2}$p-* LIV 344 f.) 'taking' (Benedetti 1988: 60 f.) than to the verb *capere* 'to take' (**kh$_{2}$p-yé-*). This is evident in the case of *sag-āx* 'of keen perception' (SAGACIOUS), built on the zero-grade root noun **sh$_{2}$g-* (> **sag-*), as opposed to the full-grade verb *sāgīre* 'to perceive' (**seh$_{2}$g-ye-* LIV 520). Another clear example is *tag-āx* 'light-fingered' built on the root noun *tag-* (**th$_{2}$g-*), not the nasal-infixed verb *tangere* 'to touch' (**th$_{2}$-n(e)-g-* LIV 617).

As to the Latin function, I have called it simply *event magnifier*. That is, it denotes a large capacity for the activity; cf. *capāx* 'able to hold a lot', i.e. 'really able to hold'. It is frequently glossed 'prone to' but the difficulty here is that there are other suffixes with this meaning. Consider L *bibāx* BIBACIOUS. We are fortunate to have a gloss from Gellius who refers to the use of the word by Nigidius. Gellius glosses it *bibendī avidum* 'insatiable at drinking' and gives *bibōsus* 'addicted to drink' as a rough equivalent. He does not, however,

mention *bibulus* 'disposed to drinking, fond of drinking, BIBULOUS' as an equivalent. The implication would seem to be that *bibāx* implies a capacity for voluminous consumption that is not present in the meaning of *bibulus* (see § 5.3).

That *-āc-* quantifies (magnifies) the event is also suggested by the comic (Greek-type) patronymic coined by Plautus (*Aulularia* 370) from *rapāx* RAPACIOUS for his description of a house full of *rapācidārum* 'young Super-Hoovers' who suck everything up.

As another indication of the large capacity nuance of *-āx*, the suffix was extended in Late and Vulgar Latin by *-ōsus* 'full of' (§ 4.10), i.e. *-āc-i-ōsus* -ACIOUS (cf. Johnson 1931: § 119; Marchand 1969: 343).

Deadjectival nouns are made primarily with two suffixes, *-ia* (*-ācia* -ACIA) and *-itās* (*–ācitās* -ACITY). Sometimes the two do not have the same meaning: *fallācia* [CL] 'deceptive behaviour; deceit; trick' FALLACY [1481] is not the same as *fallācitās* [Quintilian] 'deceptiveness'. In one case, *-ium* occurs instead of *-ia*: *mendācium* 'falsehood, lie' is not the same as later *mendācitās* [Tertullian] 'habit of lying' MENDACITY [1646].

Constructs for which the exclusive deadjectival suffix is *-ācia* include: *contumācia* 'stubbornness, obstinacy' CONTUMACY [?a1200], *pertinācia* 'obstinacy, defiance; persistence' (no **pertinācitās* PERTINACITY [1504]).

The exclusive deadjectival suffix is *-itās* in the following: *capācitās* 'ability to contain' CAPACITY [1481 Caxton], *edācitās* 'voracity, gluttony' EDACITY [1626], *ferācitās* [Columella] 'fruitfulness' FERACITY [1420], *loquācitās* 'talkativeness, garrulity' LOQUACITY [1603], *mordācitās* [Pliny] 'the property of stinging', *pugnācitās* [Pliny] 'habitual readiness to fight; contentiousness' PUGNACITY [1605], *rapācitās* [Cicero] 'propensity for seizing' RAPACITY [1543], *sagācitās* 'keenness of scent or the senses; acuteness' SAGACITY [1548], *salācitās* [Columella, Pliny] 'strong sexual appetite; salaciousness', *sequācitās* [c5] 'disposition to follow', *vērācitās* [ML] (theol.) VERACITY [1526], *vīvācitās* [Pliny 2] 'vivaciousness' VIVACITY [1432–50], *vorācitās* [Pliny] 'ravenous appetite' VORACITY [1526].

When both suffixes are attested, *-itās* is usually later than *-ia*, e.g. *audācia* 'boldness; audacity' : *audācitās* [ML] AUDACITY [1432–50]; *perspicācia* [Tertullian] 'perspicacity' : *perspicācitās* [Ammianus] PERSPICACITY [1548]; *tenācia* [1×: Ennius, *Ransoming of Hector* 157 Jocelyn] 'stubbornness' : *tenācitās* [Cicero] TENACITY [1526]. In one instance this is reversed: Cicero uses *efficācitās* EFFICACITY [*c.*1430–50] and Pliny *efficācia* EFFICACY [1626].

Given the predominance of *-itās* over other affixes and the tendency to replace others with *-itās*, the English productivity of *-ity* on *-ac-* bases

(§§ 2.1.1 f.) is firmly grounded historically. Several *-ity* nouns antedate the corresponding *-acious* adjective in English.

5.2.1 *Verb -and (root-)noun-based derivatives*

AUDACIOUS [1327] *audāx* '(quite) bold; audacious' (*audēre* 'be bold; dare' < **avid-ē-*, derived from *avidus* AVID § 5.1.2)

BIBACIOUS [1676] *bibāx* [*c.*−58 Nigidius *apud* Gellius] 'prone to imbibe large quantities' (*bibere* 'drink' < **pi-be-* < **pi-ph*$_3$*-é-* [**peh*$_3$*(y)-* LIV 462 f.] HLFL 45, 126, 191; HIEV 128)

CAPACIOUS [1614] *capāx* 'able to hold a lot; capacious; having a good capacity for' (*capere* 'take; capture; get; obtain' [**kap-* 'grasp' = **keh*$_2$*p-* LIV 344 f.])

EDACIOUS [1819] *edāx* 'voracious, gluttonous' (*edere* 'eat' [**ed-* 'eat' = **h*$_1$*ed-* LIV 230 f.])

EFFICACIOUS [1528] *efficāx* 'capable of fulfilling some function; (highly) effective' (*efficere* 'bring about; effect; accomplish' from *ex* 'out' + *facere* 'make' [**dh(e)h*$_1$*k-* (Italic root: De Bernardo Stempel 2000: 63) = enlargement of **dheh*$_1$*-* 'set, put, make' LIV 136–40])

FALLACIOUS [1509] *fallāx* 'deceitful; deceptive; counterfeit; treacherous' (*fallere* 'deceive' probably < **fal-ne-* HLFL 211 [**(s)g*^{wh}*h*$_2$*el-* LIV 543 f.] Puhvel 1998 connects with Ved. *hvárate* 'deviates' [**ǵhwer-* LIV 182])

FERACIOUS [1637] *ferāx* 'bearing rich crops; (very) fertile, productive' (*ferre* 'bear' [**bher-*[1] 'bear'])

FUGACIOUS [1634] *fugāx* 'prone to run away; evasive; fugitive' (*fugere* 'flee', *fuga* 'act of fleeing; flight' [**bheug-*[1] 'flee'])

LOQUACIOUS [1667] *loquāx* 'talkative, loquacious; verbose' (*loquī* 'speak, talk' [**tolk*^{w}*-*/**tlok*^{w}*-* 'speak' not in LIV] DELL 652; cf. Russ. *tolk* 'meaning' RPIEL 476)

MORDACIOUS [1648] *mordāx* 'prone to bite; snappish; prickly; caustic' (*mordēre* 'bite' < **h*$_2$*mord-éye-* [**mer-*[2] 'rub away; harm' or extended root **merd-* = **h*$_2$*merd-* LIV 280])

PERSPICACIOUS [1616–61] *perspicāx* 'having keen or penetrating sight; perspicacious' (*perspicere* ['see through'] 'scrutinize; discern; perceive' [**spék-* 'observe'])

PERTINACIOUS [1626] *pertināx* 'having a firm grip; tenacious; obstinate'; [Livy] 'persevering, pertinacious' (*pertinēre* 'extend; tend; be conducive (of); pertain (to); concern'; see *tenacious* below)

PUGNACIOUS [1642] *pugnāx* 'combative; contentious' (*pugnāre* 'fight' denom. to *pugnus* 'fist' [**peuk-*/**peug-* 'prick'; cf. LIV 480]; *pugna* 'a fight' is backformed Forssman 1992: 308)

RAPACIOUS [1651] *rapāx* 'given to seizing or catching; apt to carry away; inordinately greedy; rapacious' (*rapere* 'seize; carry off; snatch away' [**rep-* 'snatch' = **(h₁)rep-* LIV 507])

SAGACIOUS [1607] *sagāx* 'keen-scented; keen; perceptive; discerning' < **sh₂g-eh₂-k-*; cf. *sāgīre* 'perceive' < **séh₂g-ye-* [**sāg-* 'seek out' = **seh₂g-* LIV 520] HIEV 9 ff.)

SALACIOUS [*c.*1645] *salāx* (of males) 'eager for sexual intercourse; lascivious' (*salīre* 'jump, leap; mount sexually' < **sl̥-yé-* [**sel-*⁴ 'jump'; cf. LIV 527 f.])

SEQUACIOUS [1640] *sequāx* 'that follows eagerly; disposed to be a follower (of), addicted (to); tractable' (*sequī* 'follow' [**sekʷ-* 'follow'; cf. LIV 525 f.])

TENACIOUS [1607] *tenāx* 'holding fast; clinging; tenacious; persistent' (*tenēre* 'hold' [**ten-* 'stretch'])

VIVACIOUS [*c.*1645] *vīvāx* 'tenacious of life; long-lived; enduring' (*vīvere* 'live' § 5.4)

VORACIOUS [1693] *vorāx* 'having an insatiable appetite; ravenous; insatiable; consuming, devouring' (*vorāre* 'devour' [**gʷerh₃-*⁴ 'swallow'; cf. LIV 211 f.] Steinbauer 1989: 88 ff.)

5.2.2 *Formations with no attested or doubtful verbal base*

CONTUMACIOUS [a1600] (*contumax* ?a1387) *contumāx* [Rhet. Her.] 'stubborn, defiant' (etym. unclear: *contemnere* 'disregard; regard with contempt' is difficult phonologically and semantically; *con-* + *tumēre* 'swell (with conceit)' [**teuh₂-*] accepted in CDEE 95, but not included under this root in AHDR 92; see *contumelious* § 4.10.1)

MENDACIOUS [1616] *mendāx* '(given to) lying' (*menda* 'defect; error' [**mend-*]; cf. denominal *ēmendāre* 'correct', participial *mendīcant-* 'begging' MENDICANT [c15], the adjectives *mend-īc-us* (LG i. 339 f.) 'destitute' and *mendōsus* 'full of faults; erroneous'. *Mendāx* became the most specialized, probably because of *mentīrī* 'lie' and the association of *-āx* with verbs. For the semantic shift, Panagl (1992*b*: 316) notes the parallel of *mendum* 'defect; error' to the meaning of *mendācium* 'lie' in Late Latin [sacrae scripturae] and the later meaning of *mendōsus* [Apuleius] 'lying, deceitful')

VERACIOUS [a1677] *vērāx* 'truthful' (created to *vērus* 'real, genuine; true' in opposition to *fallāx* 'fallacious', but cf. *vērārе* [1×: Ennius, *Annals* 374 Skutsch] 'speak the truth' [**wērh₁-o-* 'true' or **weh₁-ro-* RPIEL 141] Leumann 1964: 119 f.; Benedetti 1988: 29)

5.3 *-ulus, -a, -um* (> E *-ulous*) adjectives of propensity

Most of the inherited *-l-* suffixes are denominal (§§ 2.9, 4.1). One deverbal instrument suffix (§ 3.6) is not always easy to distinguish from the present suffix, which is related (B. Nielsen 1998, 2004). This suffix is primarily deverbal (LG i § 283). Other Indo-European languages attest a variety of deradical/deverbal **-lo-* adjectives; cf. G δειλός 'cowardly' (**dwei-lo-*), φειδωλός 'sparing; thrifty' (cf. φείδομαι 'I spare'), τυφλός 'blind' to τῦφος 'make smoke' < **dhuh₂-bhe-* (LIV 158; cf. AHDR 19 **dheu(h)-*); cf. also G φῦλον 'race, tribe' < **bhuh₂-lo-* = OCS *bylŭ* 'been' to *byti* 'to be', etc. (Risch 1974: 107–12).

The closest formal and semantic equivalent to Latin **-o-lo-* is found in Goth. *slahals* '(one) apt to strike; assailant; bully' (cf. *(*)slahan* 'to strike' GED S98), OIce *þagall* 'silent' (cf. Goth. *(*)þahan* 'be quiet' GED Þ3), etc. (Krahe and Meid 1967: 85 f.). While many of the substantivized constructs are built directly on a root (§ 5.3.2), most Latin *-ulus* adjectives are deverbal (§ 5.3.1). They can alternate with verbal combining forms in compounds; cf. *sangui-bibulus* [c3] 'blood-drinker' vs. Plautus' *multi-bibus* 'much-drinking' and the quasi-diminutive *bibulus* in *parvi-bibulus* [1x: c5 Caelius Aurelianus] 'little-drinking', in which *parvi-* and *-ulus* are mutually reinforcing.

In Late Latin, *-ulus* was extended by *-ōsus* 'full of' (§ 4.10), i.e. *-ul-ōsus* -ULOUS (cf. Johnson 1931: § 121), one of the earliest being *rīdiculōsus* 'laughable, RIDICULOUS', first in Plautus, then Late Latin [c3 Arnobius+].

The primary function of *-ulus* adjectives is to denote a propensity: some actor is *disposed to* do something; some instrument is *prone to* do something. To illustrate from the English point of view, consider the root CRED- 'believe'. An event of believing involves two participants: some actor (x) believes some theme (y), i.e. x *believes* y. With the suffix *-ulous*, the meaning is 'x is readily disposed to believing', hence 'disposed to believe too readily; gullible; naive'. This differs from *credible* [y can be believed] 'believable; plausible'. Similarly, *incredulous* [not readily disposed to believing] 'disbelieving; sceptical; expressing disbelief' differs from *incredible* 'unbelievable'.[2]

Adjectives in *-ulus* typically make derived nouns in *-itās*, namely *-ul-itās*; cf. *crēdulitās* CREDULITY [c15], *garrulitās* GARRULITY [c16], etc. (cf. § 2.1).

[2] Not all Latin *-ulus* formations belong here. One is *sēdulus* 'eager; zealous' SEDULOUS [1540], assuming the usual etymology from *sē dolō* 'without guile' (DELL 324 f.; CDEE 427; AHDR 15 [**del-*²] HLFL 69, 158). Another is *manipulus* 'handful; bundle' MANIPLE [?*c.*1425]/MANIPUL*ation* [1728], from *manu-* 'hand' plus *-pul-*. Assuming *mani-pul-* is like *hand-ful*, the source would be *-plo-* (cf. *plēre* 'to fill') from **p(e)lh₁-o-* (see **man-*² 'hand' AHDR 51, **pelh₁-*¹ 'to fill' AHDR 64 = **pleh₁-* LIV 482 f.).

5.3.1 *Adjectival formations*

BIBULOUS [1675] *bibulus* 'disposed to drinking, fond of drinking' (*bibere* 'drink'; see *bibacious* § 5.2.1)

CREDULOUS [1576] *crēdulus* 'prone to believe or trust' (*crēdere* '(en)trust; believe' < **krezd-e-* (Sihler 1995: 625) from **kred-* [**ḱerd-* 'heart'] plus **$d^{h}h_{1}$-* [**dheh$_{1}$-* 'put; make'] 'put the heart'; cf. Ved. *śrad-dhā-* 'believe' RPIEL 134 f.; LIV 137, Hackstein 2002: 16)

GARRULOUS [*c.*1611] *garrulus* 'talkative, loquacious' (*garrīre* 'chatter' [**ǵar-* 'call, cry' = LIV 161]; *garr-* is prob. not expressive gemination RPIEL 178 but for **gār-* by *littera* rule LIV)

PENDULOUS [*c.*1605] *pendulus* 'hanging (down); suspended' (*pendēre* 'be suspended; hang'; cf. PENDULUM [c17] < NL *pendulum*, substantivized neuter of *pendulus* [**(s)pen-* 'draw, stretch, span, spin' = **(s)pend-*[2] LIV 578)

QUERULOUS [*c.*1540] *querulus* 'full of complaints; querulous', LL *querulōsus* [Augustine] 'complaining; quarrelsome' (*querī* 'complain; grumble; protest' [**kwes-* 'pant, wheeze' = **ḱwes-* LIV 341])

RIDICULOUS [a1550] *rīdiculus* ~ *rīdiculōsus* 'funny; absurd' (*rīdēre* 'laugh'; for *-c-*, see *ridicule* § 3.6.3.2 [etym. unknown DELL 1012])

TREMULOUS [1611] *tremulus* 'trembling; shaking; quivering' (from *tremulus* was made a denominal verb *tremulāre* [ML] > OF *trembler* [1175] TREMBLE [*c.*1303]), LL *tremulōsus* [c6 Oribasius] (*tremere* 'tremble; quake; quiver' [**trem-* 'tremble'; cf. LIV 648 f.])

5.3.2 *Substantivized constructs*

CINGULUM [1845] 'girdlelike structure' (biol.) *cingulum* 'band; belt; girdle' (*cingere* 'surround; gird(le); encircle' [**kenk-*/**keng-* 'gird, bind']; generally included under **-lo-*, *cingulum* is a **keng-tlo-* instrument noun; see *tēgula* below)

CONVOLVULUS [1551] a genus of plants, [1611] = L *convolvolus* 'a caterpillar that rolls up the leaves of a vine' (*convolvere* 'roll up; enfold' < **wel-u-* [**wel-*[3] 'turn, roll'; cf. LIV 675] HLFL 93)

COPULA [1650] *cōpula* 'bond; tie; link' (*co(m)-* 'together' + *apere* 'fasten' [**ap-*[1] 'take, reach' = **h$_{1}$ep-* LIV 237] AHDR does not separate from *aptus* APT [**h$_{2}$ep-* LIV 269, HLFL 211])

DISCIPLE [?c9^{e} Bede] (HFW 38) *discipulus* 'pupil; trainee' (**dis-cipere* 'take apart'; cf. *disceptāre* 'dispute; debate; judge'; *discere* 'learn' does not account for the *-p-* of *discipulus*—unless from **disce-capulus* 'eager to learn'? Compare also *mūs-cipula* 'mousetrap', if not a diminutive to an unattested **mūs-ceps* Bader 1962: 195)

GRACKLE [1772] *Grācula* [NL] genus name < CL *grāculus* 'jackdaw' (**grāk-olo-* 'prone to crying hoarsely' < **grāk-* < ?**gr̥h-kelo-* [**gerh₂-*² 'cry hoarsely' not in LIV] RPIEL 178)

REGULA [1563] 'reglet', [1650] 'rule' *rēgula* 'straight-edge; ruler; rule; standard' (**rēg-olā*; cf. *regere* 'direct; guide; rule' [**reg-*¹ 'move in a straight line' = **h₃reǵ-* LIV 304 f.] a potential problem involves the unexplained lengthened grade of the root in *rēgula*; see *tēgula* below)

SERPULA [1767] 'marine annelid which inhabits a tortuous calcareous tube' NL < L *serpula* 'snake' (*serpere* 'crawl; creep' [**serp-*² 'id.'; cf. LIV 536] sometimes considered a diminutive, but diminutives are built on nouns, not verbal roots)

SPECULUM [LME] (surgical instrument [1597]; mirror; reflector [1646]) *speculum* 'mirror' (*specere* 'see; look at; observe' [**speḱ-* 'observe'] *speculum* may belong with the instrument nouns in § 3.6.3.2; if it belongs here, the underlying metaphor would be 'prone to watching', i.e. it cannot be turned off [David Pharies, p.c.])

TEGULA [1826] *tēgula* '(roof-)tile' (**tēg-olā*; cf. *tegere* 'cover; roof over' [**(s)teg-*² 'cover'; cf. LIV 589] to account for the lengthening in this root and *rēgula* above, Sihler (1995: 77, 625) posits instrument nouns in **-dhlo-*/**-dhleh₂-* (§ 3.6) but B. Nielsen 1998, 2004 argues a better case phonologically for instrument nouns **h₁reǵ-tl-eh₂-*, **teg-tl-eh₂-* > **rēg(k)la*, **tēg(k)la* > *rēgula, tēgula*; she also reconstructs *cingulum* above from **keng-tl-o-* either without lengthening or with subsequent shortening due to the heavy cluster)

TUMULUS [1398 Trevisa; 1686] *tumulus* 'raised heap of earth; knoll; mound' (cf. *tumēre* 'swell'; **tum-olo-* [**teu(h₂)-*² 'to swell' = **twem-* LIV 654, cf. **teuh₂-* LIV 639 f.]; cf. OIce *þumal*(*-fingr*) 'thumb(-finger)'; OE *þūma* THUMB has a different suffix: **tūm-ōn-*)

5.4 *-uus, -a, -um* (> E *-uous*) 'prone to (be)'

Indo-European had **-wo-* adjectives that originated as thematized *-u-* stems, e.g. Vedic *tak-vá-* 'speedy' beside *ták-u-* 'id.' (see Burrow 1973: 185). The suffix **-wo-* was applied primarily to intransitive bases (Krahe and Meid 1967: 74) and could have result state meaning, as in Vedic *pakvá-* 'cooked; roasted; ripe' PUKKA [1698] (via Hindi) 'genuine; reliable' (< **pekʷ-wó-* [**pekʷ-* 'cook; ripen']).

One source of **-wo-* adjectives is the obscure class of IE **-u-* presents (HIEV 142 f.): **wél-u-*/**wl-u-* 'turn, roll' (L *volvere*), **wér-u-*/**wr-u-* 'ward off' (G ἔρυμαι, ῥῦσθαι), etc. Especially relevant for our purposes is **gʷyéh₃-*

u-/**g*^{w}*ih*$_3$*-u-* 'live' (cf. LIV 215) and the adjective **g*^{w}*ih*$_3$*-u-o-* (i.e. **g*^{w}*ī-wo-*) in L *vīvus* 'alive; living', from which is derived a thematic denominal verb **g*^{w}*ih*$_3$*-we-*, as in L *vīv-e-re* 'to live' (*re*VIVE) (IEL 167 f.).

Latin *-uus* must initially derive from attachment of **-wo-* to *-u-* stems, very few of which are obvious. For instance, to the verb *congru-e-re* CONGRUE there is the derivative *congruus* CONGRUOUS. Indo-European *-u-* frequently alternated with statives in *-ē-* (Watkins 1971: 63 f.), e.g. **ak-u-* [**h*$_2$*ék-*] 'sharp' (Szemerényi 1980*b*; cf. L *acus* 'needle') beside **ak-ē-* (L *acēre* 'be sharp, sour'). To **sed-ē-* in *sedēre* 'to sit' (LIV 513 ff.), one expects **sed-u-*, adjectivalized as **(ad)-sedu-wo-* in *assiduus* ASSIDUOUS; cf. Ved. *-sád-v-an-* 'sitting' in compounds.

Possibly different is **genə-wo-* (**ǵenh*$_1$*-wo-*), which Watkins AHDR 26 reconstructs for *ingenuus* INGENUOUS, but **ǵenh*$_1$*-u-* underlies **ǵenh*$_1$*-wo-* (> **genawos* > *-genuus*), the perfect *genuī* 'I (pro)created' < **genawai* (cf. HLFL 205) < **ǵenh*$_1$*-w-ai*, and *genuīnus* GENUINE (§ 4.7). In several cases, the *-u-us* formation is built on a stem shared with the perfect: *tenēre* 'hold' : *ten-u-* in *continuus* CONTINUOUS and *continuī* 'I held together';[3] *nocēre* 'injure' : *noc-u-* in *nocuus* NOCUOUS and *nocuī* 'I harmed'; *miscēre* 'mix' : *misc-u-* in *prōmiscuus* PROMISCUOUS and *(com)miscuī* 'I mixed (together)'. These are of interest because the inherited pattern of stative *-ē-* : *-u-* was generalized in Latin to *-ē-* causatives (< **-éye-*); cf. Christol (1991: 56). Many of these perfects are recent formations. For instance, beside pf. inf. *tenuisse* 'to have held', there is OL *tetinisse* (Pacuvius *apud* Nonius 178. 8 Ernout 1957: 201) and for *miscuī* 'I mixed' one might expect **mīxī* (cf. Ernout 1953: 207; HLFL 206). Nevertheless, within Latin itself, the standard forms are old (e.g. *tenuit* Plautus, *Poenulus* 317) and the distribution of *-u-* after light syllable and some other formative on heavy bases is in part prosodically conditioned (Mester 1994; Baldi 1999: 381 f.).

Latin had several kinds of *-uus* adjectives (LG i § 280). Another old type is *arduus* 'steep; uphill; ARDUOUS', cognate with G *ὀρθός* 'upright; straight; correct' ORTHO-, but the precise history is difficult.[4] Whatever the details, the ancestor form would be an **-u-* stem **w(o)rhdh-u-* (HLFL 109). As noted above, adjectives in *-uus* initially diffused from *-u-* stems. Curiously, fourth declension nouns made adjectives only in *-u-ōsus* (§§ 5.4.2, 4.10.2), not *-u-us*,

[3] The stem **ten-u-* has nothing to do with G *τάνυ-ται* 'stretches out' < **tn̥-n(e)u-* (LIV 626). On the multiple sources of **-u/v-* in the Latin perfect, see Baldi (1999: 380 ff.), Meiser (1998: 204 ff.); cf. also Jasanoff (2003: 16, 61 f.), Sihler (1995: 581, 584 ff.).

[4] Watkins (AHDR 24) reconstructs **h*$_1$*r̥h*$_3$*dh-wo-*. Meiser (1998: 109) takes *arduus* from Italic **(w)araðowo-* by dissimilation from **wr̥dhe/owo-* versus the Greek form from **wr̥hdhwó-* or **wordhwó-* (with loss of **h* in the *o*-grade).

which was used for other denominals, e.g. *annuus* 'lasting a year (*annus*)' (see *annual* in § 4.1.1). Spanish has only *-uo* (< *-uus*), as in *arduo* [1431] 'arduous', *continuo* [c13] 'continuous', etc. (Pharies 2002: 531). Within the history of French, *-uus* competed with *-u-ōsus* -UOUS (Johnson 1931: §§ 95, 122), a composite of *-u-* plus *-ōsus* 'full of' (§ 4.10); cf. OF *continueus* [1248] CONTINUOUS beside *continu* [1272] 'id.'.

In short, L *-uus* has multiple origins, and there are many late formations modelled on the earlier ones.

Deadjectival nouns are invariably made with *-itās* -ITY (§ 2.1). The nouns enter English on the average of a century earlier than the corresponding adjectives: *ambiguitās* AMBIGUITY [1400]; *assiduitās* ASSIDUITY [1605]; *congruitās* [Priscian] 'agreement (of complete predicates)'; [ML] 'CONGRUITY' [1393]; *contiguitās* [c5] 'connection; conjunction'; [ML] 'proximity' CONTIGUITY [1641]; *continuitās* [Varro] 'uninterruptedness' CONTINUITY [1543]; *incongruitās* [c5/6] 'lack of agreement' INCONGRUITY [1532]; *ingenuitās* [Cicero] 'freeborn status; nobility' INGENUITY [1598]; *perpetuitās* [Cicero] 'continuity; permanence' PERPETUITY [1406]; *perspicuitās* [Cicero] 'fact of being self-evident' PERSPICUITY [1477]; *superfluitās* [c6] 'excess' SUPERFLUITY [Chaucer/Trevisa]; *vacuitās* 'emptiness; freedom (from)' VACUITY [1631].

Functionally, *-uus* involves the theme argument of a passive, stative, or intransitive verb. For the very archaic *assiduus* [XII Tab.+] ASSIDUOUS, the basic meaning 'prone to be attentive' involves the single argument (participant) of stative *assidēre* 'be attentive'. The core meaning underlying *prōmiscuus* PROMISCUOUS is 'y and z are prone to mix' (intransitive); cf. transitive active 'x mixes up y and z'. Since the metaphor underlying *congruere* CONGRUE is 'x fits together y and z', the basic meaning of *congruus* CONGRUOUS is 'y and z are prone to fit together', i.e. 'are concordant'. And so on.

5.4.1 *Deadjectival and deverbal adjectives in* -uous (*rarely* -ual)

AMBIGUOUS [1528] *ambiguus* 'undecided; hesitating; disputed; ambiguous' (*amb-igere* 'dispute; contend' from *agere* 'drive, do' [**ag-* 'drive' = **h₂eǵ-* or **h₁aǵ-* LIV 255 f.])

ASSIDUOUS [1538] *assiduus* 'constantly present; persistent; assiduous' (*assidēre* 'sit by; assist; pay attention (to)' from *sedēre* 'sit' [**sed-*[1] 'sit'; cf. LIV 513 ff.])

CONGRUOUS [1599] *congruus* 'according, agreeing' (*congruere* 'unite; combine (in harmony)'; INCONGRUOUS [1610] *incongruus* [c1 Valerius Maximus] 'inconsistent; incongruous' < **ghruh₁-é-* [**ghrēu-* 'rub, grind' = **ghreh₁w-* LIV 202] cf. Szemerényi 1980*b*)

CONSPICUOUS [1545] *cōnspicuus* [Horace] 'clearly seen; visible' [core meaning: 'theme participant is prone to be seen'] (*cōnspicere* 'catch sight of; see' [**speḱ-* 'observe'])

CONTIGUOUS [1611] *contiguus* [Ovid] 'adjacent; neighbouring' (**con-tag-* cf. *contingere* 'come into physical contact with; touch' [**tag-* 'touch; handle' = **teh₂ǵ-* LIV 616 f.] cf. § 5.2)

CONTINUOUS [1642] (mod. sense [1673]) *continuus* 'uninterrupting; lasting; recurring' [underlying metaphor: y and z are prone to hold together (i.e. connect uninterruptedly); cf. active: x holds y and z together] (≠ CONTINUAL § 4.1.1, but both are extensions of *continuus* < *con-* + *ten-u-*; cf. *continēre* 'hold together; connect' [**ten-* stretch']; deadjectival *continuāre* [Varro, Cicero] 'put next to; make continuous' CONTINUE [*c.*1340])

DECIDUOUS [1656] (botanical use [1688]) *dēciduus* [Pliny] 'tending to fall; (prone to) falling; deciduous' (*dēcidere* 'fall (down); drop'; for the *-u-* stem *cad-u-*, cf. *cadūcus* 'ready to fall, CADUCOUS' [**kad-* 'fall' = **ḱad-* LIV 318])

EXIGUOUS [1651] *exiguus* [Cicero] 'small; short; meagre' (*exigere* 'drive out; eject; exact; achieve; come to an end'; see *ambiguous* above)

INDIVIDUAL [*c.*1425] 'indivisible', [1605] 'of a single person or thing' *indīviduālis* [ML] 'individual' < CL *indīviduus* [Cicero] 'indivisible; not shared' (*dīviduus* 'divisible; divided' from *dīvidere* 'separate, divide' from *dis-* + *-vid-* supposedly from **weidh-* 'divide, separate' AHDR 97 = **h₂wyedh-* LIV 294 f., but with no mention of L *dīvidere*; more likely from *dis* + preverb **wi* 'apart' + root **dh(e)h₁-* 'set, put' EWAia ii. 555 f.; Schumacher 2000: 194 n. 164)

INGENUOUS [1598] *ingenuus* 'native; indigenous; freeborn; noble; generous' ('inborn': *in* 'in' + *gen-u-*; cf. *gignere* '(pro)create' [**ǵenh₁-* 'beget' LIV 163 ff.])

INNOCUOUS [1598] *innocuus* [Virgil] 'unharmed'; [Ovid] 'harmless; innocuous; innocent, blameless' (*in* 'not' + *nocuus* [Ovid] 'harmful; noxious' NOCUOUS [the negated form is more prevalent in both Latin and English] < **noc-u-*; cf. *nocēre* 'injure; harm' from causative **noḱ-éye-* LIV 452; cf. L *nex/nec-* 'death' [**neḱ-*¹ 'death' = **neḱ-* LIV 651 f.])

MUTUAL [1513] (O)F *mutuel* [1329] (beside OF *mutu*) 'mutual' < ML *mūtuālis* [?c10] < L *mūtuus* ['done in exchange'] 'borrowed; interchangeable; reciprocal; mutual' (**moith₂-u-*; cf. *mūtāre* '(ex)change; substitute (for); replace', causative **moith₂-éye-* or denominal to **moith₂-o-* LIV 430 [**mei-*¹ 'change', more specifically **meith₂-* LIV 430])

PERPETUAL [a1340] < OF *perpetuel* [c12] < L *perpetuālis* (Quintilian's calque on *καθολικός* 'universal, general'), collateral to OF *perpetu* < L *perpetuus* 'unbroken; continuous; permanent', itself an extension of L *perpes/perpet-* 'continuous, unbroken; entire' (*per* 'through' + *petere* 'move to(wards); make for; go after; seek' [**pet-* 'rush; fly' = **peth₂-*² LIV 479 f.])

PERSPICUOUS [1477] 'transparent', [1586] 'lucid; evident' *perspicuus* 'that can be seen through; pellucid; visible; conspicuous; evident' [underlying meaning: 'y is prone to be seen through'] (*perspicere* ['see through'] 'inspect; discern' [**speḱ-* 'observe'])

PROMISCUOUS [1603] *prōmiscuus* [Sallust] 'indiscriminate' (*prō* + *misc-u-*; cf. *miscēre* 'mix; combine' [**meik-*/**meig-* 'mix' = **meiḱ-* LIV 428 f.])

RESIDUAL [1570]/RESIDUUM [1672]/RESIDUE [1362] (via AF) *residuus* 'left over; remaining' (*residēre* 'remain seated; remain; be left over' [**sed-* 'sit'])

SUPERFLUOUS [1432–50] *superfluus* [Seneca, Ulpian] 'superfluous' (*superfluere* [Celsus, Seneca] 'flow over; overflow; be superfluous' [**bhleu-* 'swell, well up' = **bhleuh-* LIV 90] cf. earlier *supervacuus* 'superfluous; unnecessary' and *vacuous* below)

VACUOUS [*c.*1650] *vacuus* 'empty; devoid (of); vacant' (*vacāre* 'be empty, vacant, free (from), disengaged'; cf. neut. subst. *vacuum* [Lucretius] 'empty space; void' VACUUM [1550] < **wak-*, possibly an extended form of **h₁euh₂-* [**euə-* 'abandon(ed), lacking' = **h₁weh₂-* LIV 254]; if related, **wak-* would be from **h₁wh₂-k-* not in LIV, but the *a* may be of laryngeal origin RPIEL 460, 508; a root **wak-* is posited by Nussbaum 1998: 73 f.)

5.4.2 *Denominal adjectives in* -ōsus *to fourth declension* -u- *stems*

IMPETUOUS [1398 Trevisa] < OF *impétueux* [c13] < LL *impetuōsus* [?c4] 'raging; impetuous' (*impetus* 'onset; (violent) impulse; assault' IMPETUS [1641] < *in* 'in' + **pet-i-tu-* § 3.10 'rushing' [**pet-* 'rush; fly' = **peth₂-*² LIV 479 f.])

SINUOUS [1578] *sinuōsus* 'characterized by curves; sinuous' (*sinus* 'cavity; depression; curve' SINUS [c16] [etym. unknown DELL 1110 f.])

SUMPTUOUS [1485 Caxton] *sumptuōsus* 'lavish; extravagant' (*sumptus* '(lavish) expenditure; expenses'; cf. *sūmere* 'take, obtain, buy' < **sus-(e)m-e-* < **sub(s)* 'under' + *emere* 'take' [**em-* 'take' = **h₁em-* LIV 236] HLFL 66, 118)

TORTUOUS [Ch.] < AF *tortuous* [c12/13] < L *tortuōsus* [Cicero] 'characterized by curves; winding; sinuous; complicated; tortuous' (*tortus* 'coil; coiled formation' < **torqu-t-u-* to *torquēre* 'twist; bend; rotate', causative **tork^{w}-éye-* [**terk^{w}-* twist'; cf. LIV 635])

5.4.3 *Unclear formations*

FATUOUS [1608] (modern sense [1633]) *fatuus* 'mentally feeble; foolish; idiotic' [etym. unknown DELL 392 but possibly **bhāt-* 'beat' Szemerényi 1980*b*])

STRENUOUS [1599] *strēnuus* 'active; vigorous; energetic' (completely isolated unless related to G *στρηνής* 'rough; harsh', which is semantically difficult DELL 1157, DELG 1064, RPIEL 140; Szemerényi (1992: 311) derives *strēnuus* from **streg-sno-* and relates it to OIr *trén* 'strong', *tracht* 'strength', OIce *þrek(r)* 'strength' (< Gmc. **þrakjaz* HGE 424 < IE dial. **tro-g-*), OE *stearc* STARK (< Gmc. **starka/iz* HGE 372 < IE dial. **stor-g-*; cf. GED G61 [**(s)ter-*[1] 'stiff' ∼ **(s)ter-g-/*(s)tro-g-*])

5.5 *-t/s-īvus, -a, -um* (> E *-(t/s)ive*) 'having the nature or property of'

The origin of *-īvus* is unknown (LG i § 281). It is primarily deverbal, productively added to stem II, yielding *-t/s-īvus*. Some old words have *-īvus* attached to stem I, e.g. *vac-īvus* (also *vocīvus*) [only in Plautus and Terence] 'unoccupied; vacant; free (from); destitute' (archaic according to Gellius; supplanted by *vacuus* VACUOUS § 5.4.1),[5] *irrig-īvus* [Cato] 'well watered, irrigated' (built on *irrig-āre* 'to irrigate'), also supplanted by a derivative in *-uus* (*irriguus* 'irrigated; irrigating'). From *recid-ere* 'fall back' was derived *recidīvus* [Virgil] 'falling back; recurring'; [ML] 'recidivist' [1880].

Functionally, *-īvus* denotes a property or nature implied in the verb (cf. Johnson 1931: § 120; Marchand 1969: 315–18). In early derivatives *-īvus* links the theme argument. A verb like *cap-ere/cap-t-um* 'take; capture' has two participants [x takes/captures y], hence y is *captīvus* CAPTIVE, lit. 'having the nature of one taken, captured'. Note also *satīvus* [Varro *apud* Gellius] 'cultivated' (of plants), derived from *ser-ere/sa-t-um* 'plant; sow'. With intransitive verbs, *-īvus* links the only argument. From *stāre/statum* 'stand' (with one participant: x stands), [x is] *statīvus* 'having the nature of standing; still; stationary' (STATIVE). Around the time of Cicero, *-īvus* was generalized to the actor of transitive verbs. For instance, *ag-ere/āc-t-um* [x 'does' y], x is *āctīvus* [Seneca] ('having the nature of doing') ACTIVE [1340]. This remained productive; cf. *dēstructīvus* [c5 Caelius Aurelianus] 'able to destroy' DESTRUCTIVE [1490 Caxton] (cf. *instructive* § 5.5.1).

[5] On the /o/- /a/alternation, see Schrijver (1991: 460 ff.), Vine (1993: 26 f.), Nussbaum (1998: 73 f.).

Latin had a large number of *-īvus* derivatives, which became productive in Medieval Latin, many as latinizations; cf. Thomas Aquinas' *vegetātīvus* = AF *vegetatif* [1267] VEGETATIVE [1398]. Moreover, *-tīvus* tended to be generalized. From *sentīre/sēnsum* 'feel; perceive' was created ML *sēnsi-tīvus* for expected **sēns-īvus*; cf. OF *sensif* [1277] beside AF *sensitif* [1267] 'SENSITIVE [1400–50]; concerned with perception' (Hesketh 1997).

As often with the European diffusion of learnèd vocabulary, English shares many close chronological correlations with the entrance of the corresponding words into Spanish (Pharies 2002: 370 ff.), e.g. *abortive*/Sp. *abortivo* [c13] (cf. AF *abortif* [1267] Hesketh 1997); *definitive* [Ch.]/Sp. *definitivo* [1380]. Certain terms in both languages, such as grammatical vocabulary (*ablative, accusative*, etc.), typically date to c15.

The suffix *-ive* first entered English via Anglo-French (*-if*, fem. *-ive*). In the fourteenth century, English loans have *-if* as their basic form: *actif* [1340] ACTIVE; *expulsif* [Ch.] EXPULSIVE; *imaginatif* [*c.*1378] IMAGINATIVE (ML *imāginātīvus* [Thomas Aquinas]); *motif* [a1376] MOTIVE; *natif* [Ch.] NATIVE; *pensif* (OF *pensif* [1175]) PENSIVE; *portatif* [*c.*1378] (OF *portatif* 'capable of carrying') PORTATIVE 'portable'; etc. Subsequent Latin influence in both languages prompted the form *-ive*. Constructs in *-i(f)* that were not replaced ended up with *-y*, e.g. *hasti(f)* (*-ive*) [*c.*1300] (OF *hastif* [1080]) HASTY 'speedy'; [1590] 'rash'; *joli(f)* [*c.*1300] (OF *jolif* [1175]) JOLLY [a1382]; etc. (Koziol 1972: § 573).

Application of *-ive* to native bases yielded such neologisms as *talkative* [1432–50], *sportive* [1590] (< *sport* [*c.*1400 (V)/*c.*1440 (N)] < *disport* [*c.*1303] 'pastime' < OF *desport* 'amusement'), etc. On the whole, the domain of *-ive* remained latinate bases: *defensive* [*c.*1400], *submissive* [a1586], *impressive* [1593], *coercive* [1600], *persistive* [1606], *relaxative* [1611], *selective* [1625], *conducive* [1646], *accumulative* [1651], *prevent(at)ive* [1654], *connective* [1655], *retrospective* [1664], *creative* [1678], *elusive* [1719], *conative* [*c.*1836–7], etc. (cf. Koziol 1972: 246 ff.). These are from possible but unattested Latin words. Some existed but were irrelevant to the recent formation: ML *dōnātīvus* 'of donation or contribution' DONATIVE [*c.*1430] differs from modern *donative* [1559]. *Conducive* [1646] and especially earlier *conductive* [1528] resemble ML *conductīvus* 'hired; rented', but the meaning precludes any direct link. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries witnessed great expansion of *-ive* derivatives (cf. Marchand 1969: 315–18).

Most of the *-ive* formations are deverbal (§§ 5.5.1 *-tive*, 5.5.2 *-sive*). Because they are so numerous, grammatical terms are listed separately (§ 5.5.3). Denominal constructs are less common in both Latin and English (§ 5.5.4). They arose from the deverbal type by the relationship of formations like

captīvus CAPTIVE to both *capere* 'to capture' and *captus* 'captured; captive'. Hence, in later Latin, denominal *-īvus* behaves as an adjective of appurtenance, parallel to *-īnus* (§ 4.7), etc.

5.5.1 *Deverbal* -tive

ABORTIVE [a1300] *abortīvus* [Horace] 'born prematurely'; [Pliny] 'abortifacient; contraceptive' (*aborīrī/abortum* 'pass away'; [Varro *apud* Nonius] 'miscarry'; [Pliny] 'be aborted' from *ab* 'away' + *orīrī* 'rise' < **h₃r̥-yé-* [*er-*¹ 'move'/**h₃er-* 'set in motion' LIV 299 f.])

ACTIVE [1340] *āctīvus* [Seneca] 'practical; active' (*agere/āctum* 'drive; do; act' [**ag-* 'drive' = **h₂eǵ-* or **h₁aǵ-* LIV 255 f.] see also *active* as a grammatical term § 5.5.3.2)

ADDITIVE [1699] *additīvus* [Priscian] 'subsidiary' (*addere/additum* 'attach; ADD' from *ad* 'to' [**ad-*] + *dare* 'give' < **dh₃-* [**dō-* 'give' = **deh₃-* LIV 105 f.] HLFL 185, 188)

ADMINISTRATIVE [1731] *administrātīvus* [Quintilian] 'practical; administrative' (*administrāre/administrātum* 'assist; perform; administer; manage' from *ad* 'to' + *ministrāre* 'attend (to)', denominal to minister 'attendant' [**mei-*² 'small'])

ADOPTIVE [*c.*1430 Lydgate] *adoptīvus* 'obtained by adoption; adoptive' (*adoptāre* 'associate; adopt' from *ad* 'to' + *optāre* 'choose' [**op-*² 'choose' = **h₃ep-* LIV 299])

ATTRACTIVE [1540] *attractīvus* [Cassiodorus] 'attracting; attractive' (*attrahere/attractum* 'draw towards; compel to come'; [Seneca] ATTRACT from *ad* 'to' + *trahere* 'draw' [**tragh-*/**dhragh-* 'draw, drag' = **dhregh-* LIV 154 = **treh₂gh-* Miller 1977*b*: 380; cf. RPIEL 188 f.]; prob. not a Semitic loanword *pace* Vennemann 2002*b*)

CAPTIVE adj. [Ch.]/noun [?a1400] *captīvus* 'captured (in war); captive' (*capere/captum* 'take; seize; capture' [**kap-* 'grasp' = **keh₂p-* LIV 344 f.])

CONJUNCTIVE [1581] *conjūnctīvus* [?c2^{b}] 'making to connect' (*conjungere/conjūnctum* 'yoke together; connect; couple; ally; associate' [**yeug-* 'join'] see *conjunctive* § 5.5.3.2)

CONSERVATIVE [Ch.] *cōnservātīvus* [Boethius] 'preservative' (*cōnservāre/cōnservātum* 'keep; preserve' [**ser-*¹ 'protect', extended **ser-w-*; cf. **ser-*¹ LIV 534])

CONTEMPLATIVE [a1340] *contemplātīvus* [Seneca] 'theoretical; speculative; contemplative' (*contemplāre/contemplātus* 'examine visually; gaze at; ponder; CONTEMPLATE', denominal to *templum* TEMPLE < **temh₁-lo-* [**tem-* 'cut' = **temh₁-* LIV 625])

CURATIVE [a1425] *cūrātīvus* [ML] 'healing (agent), curative' (*cūrāre/cūrātum* 'look after; care for; attend to; treat; heal; cure' < **koisah₂-ye-*, denominal to *cūra* 'care' HLFL 46 [**cūra* 'care' apparently an Italic root, not in LIV])

DECEPTIVE [1611] *dēceptīvus* [c4^{m}] 'apt to deceive' (*dēcipere/dēceptum* 'deceive; mislead'; cf. *captive* above)

DEFINITIVE [Ch.] *dēfīnītīvus* [Cicero] 'definitive' (*dēfīnīre/dēfīnītum* '(de)limit; DEFINE', denominal to *fīnis* 'end' [etym. unknown DELL 422])

DELIBERATIVE [1553] *dēlīberātīvus* 'deliberative' (*dēlīberāre/dēlīberātum* 'engage in careful thought; ponder; DELIBERATE', denominal to *lībra* 'balance, scale' LIBRA § 3.6.2; cf. G λίτρᾱ 'silver coin of Sicily; pound' DELG 644)

DEMONSTRATIVE [Ch.] *dēmōnstrātīvus* [Rhet. Her.; Cicero] 'demonstrative; epideictic' (*dēmōnstrāre* 'indicate; show'; see *demonstrative* § 5.5.3.2)

DIGESTIVE [Ch.] *dīgestīvus* [c3] 'digestive' (*dīgerere/dīgestum* 'distribute; arrange; disperse; dispose' from *gerere* 'carry on; act; do' < **ges-e-* [etym. unknown DELL 488])

DISJUNCTIVE [1553] *disjūnctīvus* [?c2^{b}] 'disconnecting; making discontinuous' (*disjungere/disjūnctum* 'unyoke; separate; divide' [**yeug-* 'join'] see *disjunctive* § 5.5.3.2)

EFFECTIVE [1398 Trevisa] *effectīvus* [Quintilian] 'practical, creative (art)'; [Boethius *apud* Porphyry] 'productive; effective' (*efficere/effectum* 'construct; cause; produce; EFFECT'; see *efficacious* § 5.2.1)

FORMATIVE [1490 Caxton] *formātīvus* [Thomas Aquinas] 'having the capacity of forming' (*formāre/formātum* 'fashion; FORM; shape' denominal to *forma/fōrma* FORM (the long vowel DELL 439 may be dialectal Sihler 1995: 76) borrowed or of the same unknown source as G μορφή 'form' [**merph-* or ?**merg^{w}h-*] DELG 714; Biville 1990–5: ii. 376)

FUGITIVE [Ch.] *fugitīvus* 'runaway; fugitive' (*fugere* 'run away; flee' [**bheug-*[1] 'flee'])

INCENTIVE [1432–40] 'enticement', [1603] 'provocative' *incentīvus* [Varro] 'that sets the tune'; *incentīvum* [Tertullian] 'incitement; enticement' (*incinere* 'blow or sound; sing' [**kan-* 'sing'; cf. LIV 342 f.])

INDUCTIVE noun [a1420]/adj. [1607] *inductīvus* [c5] 'obliging'; [c5/6 Priscian] 'inclined to an assumption; hypothetical' (*indūcere/inductum* 'lead into, against; introduce; INDUCE; INDUCT' [**deuk-* 'lead'; cf. LIV 124])

INFORMATIVE [1626] *īnformātīvus* [ML] 'formative; informative' (*īnformāre/īnformātum* 'fashion, form; instruct, INFORM'; see *formative* above)

INQUISITIVE [Ch.] *inquīsītīvus* [Priscian] 'investigating'; [Boethius] 'eager in seeking out the truth' (*inquīrere/inquīsītum* 'search out; INQUIRE into; investigate', from *quaerere* 'seek' < **ko-* + **ais-* [**ais-* (no mention of L *quaer-*) = **h₂eis-* 'seek' LIV 260])

INSTRUCTIVE [1611] cf. MF *instructif* [c14], ML *īnstructīvus* [c13] (*īnstruere/īnstructum* 'draw up (troops); organize; equip; furnish'; [Cicero] 'instruct'; see *instrument* § 3.5.1)

INTENTIVE [Ch.] *intentīvus* [ML] 'relating to intention' (*intendere/intent/sum* 'stretch (out); point; direct; submit' [**ten-* 'stretch' = **ten-* or **tend-*¹ LIV 626 ff.] see *intensive* § 5.5.2)

INVECTIVE adj. [1430–40]/noun [1523] *invectīvus* [c4] 'abusive; reproachful; full of invectives'; [Priscian] 'denunciatory (speech)' (*invehere/invectum* 'bring in; import; introduce; attack' from *vehere* 'transport' [**weǵh-* LIV 661 f. 'convey on the back' Hollifield 1977: 99; Vine 2002: 448])

INVENTIVE [*c.*1450 Lydgate] *inventīvus* [Thomas Aquinas] 'capable of inventing; inventive' (*invenīre/inventum* 'come upon; find; devise; INVENT' from *venīre* 'come' < **gʷm̥-yé-* [**gʷā-/*gʷem-* 'go, come' = **gʷem-* LIV 209 f.)

LAXATIVE [1373] *laxātīvus* [c5 Caelius Aurelianus] 'alleviating' (*laxāre/laxātum* 'spread out; open up; let go; reLAX'; [c4] 'release' [prob. **sleg-/*sleǵ-* 'slacken, be languid' LIV 565] cf. AHDR's **(s)lēg-* 'be slack' and RPIEL 165 **(s)leh₁-g-/*slh₁g-* > *(s)lag-* 'slack')

LUCRATIVE [a1382 Wyclif] *lucrātīvus* 'enriching (through gift); profitable' (*lucrārī/lucrātum* 'acquire as gain or profit; make a profit' [**lau-* 'gain, profit' = **leh₂u-*, not in LIV])

NARRATIVE adj. [*c.*1450]/noun [1539] *narrātīvus* [c4] 'suited for narration' (*narrāre/narrātum* 'relate; NARRATE', denominal to *gnārus* 'having knowledge of' < **ǵnh₃-ro-* [**gnō-* 'know' = **ǵneh₃-* LIV 168] RPIEL 178; HLFL 77)

NATIVE [Ch.] *nātīvus* 'acquired by birth; inborn; native; naturally occurring' (*nāscī/nātum* 'be born; come into existence' [**ǵenh₁-* 'beget'])

OBJECTIVE adj. [1490 1×, then 1620]/noun [1817] *objectīvus* [ML] 'pertaining to the object of thought; objective' (*ob(j)icere/objectum* 'cast before; put in the way; OBJECT' [**yē-* 'throw' = **hyeh₁-* LIV 225])

OPERATIVE [?a1425] *operātīvus* [Augustine] 'formative; efficacious' (*operārī/operātum* '(be at) work'; [c4] 'effect; produce' denominal to *opus/oper-* 'work' [**op-*¹ 'work' = **h₃ep-*¹ 'produce, bring forth' LIV 237, 298 f.])

POSITIVE [a1325] *positīvus* [Nigidius *apud* Gellius] 'arbitrarily imposed'; [Thomas Aquinas] 'real; positive (opposed to negative)' (*pōnere/positum*

'place; put; set up; value' < **po-* [**apo* 'off'] + *sin-e-re* 'let, leave' possibly < **tḱi-n(e)h-* [**tḱey-* 'settle' LIV 643 f., q.v.])

PREROGATIVE noun [1387 Trevisa] *praerogātīvus* 'appointed by lot to vote first'; *praerogātīva* 'the political unit on which the lot fell to vote first'; [Ulpian] 'prior right; prerogative' (*prae* 'beforehand' + *rogāre/rogātum* 'ask; ask for; request' [**reg-*[1] 'move in a straight line'] not mentioned under **h₃reǵ-* LIV 304 f.)

PRESERVATIVE adj. [1398 Trevisa]/noun [1466] *praeservātīvus* [ML] 'having the capacity to preserve' (*praeservāre/praeservātum* [c4 Hilarius] 'preserve; keep'; the substantive use is from *praeservātīvum medicāmen* 'preservative substance'; see *conservative* above)

PRODUCTIVE [1612] *prōductīvus* [Cassiodorus] 'suitable for lengthening'; [E/ML] 'productive' (*prōdūcere/prōductum* 'lead out; lengthen; prolong; bring forth; PRODUCE'; see *inductive* above)

PROHIBITIVE [1602] *prohibitīvus* [ML] 'prohibitive' (*prohibēre/prohibitum* 'keep apart; avert; restrain; prevent; preclude', from *habēre* 'have' [**ghabh-/*ghebh-* 'give, receive', but LIV separates Italic-Celtic **ghehb-* 195 from **ghebh-* 193])

PROSPECTIVE [*c.*1590] *prōspectīvus* [Codex Justinian] 'from which to get a view', ML 'seeing into the future' (*prōspicere/prōspectum* 'see in front; look ahead; see in the future; perceive beforehand' [**speḱ-* 'observe'] cf. *perspective* above)

PROVOCATIVE noun [*c.*1412]/adj. [1621] *prōvocātīvus* [Tertullian] 'calling forth' (*prōvocāre/prōvocātum* 'call forth; summon; PROVOKE', from *vocāre* 'call' [**wekʷ-* 'speak' cf. LIV 673 f.])

PURGATIVE [*c.*1400] *pūrgātīvus* [c5 Caelius Aurelianus] 'cathartic; purgative' (*pūrgāre/pūrgātum* 'cleanse; purify; PURGE' § 6.6.1)

PUTATIVE [1432–50] *putātīvus* [Tertullian] 'conceptualized; imaginary' (*putāre/putātum* 'think' built on **ph₂u-to-* § 6.5 [**pau-*[2] 'cut' = **peh₂u-*, not in LIV])

RECEPTIVE [1547] *receptīvus* [ML] 'capable of receiving; passive, receptive' (*recipere/receptum* 'take back; regain; receive; admit; acquire; accept'; see *captive* above)

RECUPERATIVE [a1630] *reciperātīvus* [?c2[b]] 'involving recovery' (*reci/uperāre/reci/uperātum* 'recover; regain; get back' § 6.8)

RETENTIVE [Ch.] *retentīvus* [ML] 'capable of retaining; retentive' (*retinēre/retentum* 'hold fast; check; retain', from *tenēre* 'hold' [**ten-* 'stretch' = **ten-* LIV 626 f.])

SANATIVE [*c.*1440] *sānātīvus* [c6 Oribasius] 'healing' (*sānāre/sānātum* 'cure; heal', denominal to *sānus* 'healthy, SANE' [**sāno-* AHDR 73 Italic root, not in LIV])

SEDATIVE adj. [*c.*1425]/noun [1785] *sēdātīvus* [ML] 'soothing' (*sēdāre/sēdātum* 'cause to subside; relieve'; [Livy] 'calm (someone) down', neocausative of *sedēre* 'sit' with secondary lengthened grade [**sed-*[1] 'sit']; cf. Sihler 1995: 505 and *sedation* § 3.8.3)

SIGNIFICATIVE [a1400] *significātīvus* [Gaius, Ulpian] 'indicative (of); denoting' (*significāre/significātum* 'make signs; indicate; signify; mean' § 6.4.2)

STATIVE [a1631] *statīvus* 'stationary, standing, still' (*stāre/statum* 'stand' [**stā-* 'stand' = **steh$_2$-* LIV 590 ff.] § 6.3)

SUBJECTIVE [*c.*1450] *subjectīvus* [c2 Apuleius] 'belonging to the subject of a proposition'; [EL] 'obedient' [scholiasts, ML] 'subjective' (*subjectus* 'placed or situated under; subject (to)', PPP of *sub* 'under' + *jacere* 'throw' [**yē-* 'throw' = **hyeh$_1$-* LIV 225] rebuilt from pret. *jēc-ī* 'I threw' on the model of *facere* 'to make' : *fēcī* 'I made')

SUPERLATIVE [*c.*1410 Hoccleve] *superlātīvus* [Isidore] 'hyperbolic; exaggerated' (the grammatical function is earlier; see *superlative* § 5.5.3.2)

VOTIVE [1593] *vōtīvus* 'given as part of a vow; votive' (*vovēre/*vov-i-to-* (> *vōtum* 'vow; offering; prayer') 'promise (to a god) in return for a favour; vow' < **h$_1$wog^{w}h-éye-* [**weg^{w}h-* 'preach, speak solemnly' = **h$_1$weg^{w}h-* LIV 253/**h$_1$eug^{w}h-*] RPIEL 279, 450)

5.5.2 *Deverbal* -sive

ABUSIVE [1583] *abūsīvus* [Quintilian] 'catachrestic, misused' (*abūtī/abūsum* 'use up; misuse' from *ab* 'away' [**apo* 'off, away'] + *ūtī* 'use' [?**h$_3$eit-* LIV 297, not in AHDR])

ADMISSIVE [1778] *admissīvus* [Festus] 'permitted' (*admittere/admissum* 'permit; ADMIT' from *ad* 'to' + *mittere* 'send; let go' [**meith$_2$-* LIV 430 cf. *mittere* in AHDR 56])

APPREHENSIVE [1398 Trevisa] *apprehēnsīvus* [ML] 'capable of seizing or grasping; apprehensive' (*appre(he)ndere/appr(eh)ēnsum* 'grasp; grip; avert; APPREHEND' from *ad* 'to' + *prae* 'before' + *-hend-e-* < **gh-n(e)-d-* [**ghed-* 'seize, take' cf. LIV 194] HLFL 62, 83)

COMPULSIVE [1602] *compulsīvus* [ML] 'compelling; compulsory' (*compellere/compulsum* 'drive (together); force (to go); COMPEL' from *com-* 'together' [**kom-* 'by, with'] + *pellere/pulsum* 'push, drive, strike' < **pl̥-n(e)-h$_2$-/*pl̥-so-*, replacing **pl(h$_2$)-to-* [**pel-*[6] 'thrust, strike, drive' = **pelh$_2$-* draw near' LIV 470 f.] HLFL 187, 226)

CONCLUSIVE [1590] *conclūsīvus* [?c4] 'final; conclusive' (*conclūdere/conclūsum* 'enclose together; close up; CONCLUDE' [**klāu-* '?hook, peg' = **kleh$_2$u-*, not in LIV] supposedly from **klāu-do-* AHDR 42 but a denominal

to **kleh₂w-i-d-* (Homeric *κληῖς*/*κληῑδ-* 'bolt, bar' cf. L *clāvis* 'key' CLAVE), namely **klāwid-e-* 'bolt, bar, lock' (cf. **kleh₂uVd-* RPIEL 175), could also yield L *claud-e-*, especially if *clāvis* is a Greek loanword Biville ii. 443, 449, 454; for the phonology cf. *gaudēre* 'rejoice' from **gāvidēre* (cf. partic. *gāvīsus*) Nussbaum 1999: 412, but Latin has many roots extended by *-d-*; see *offensive* below)

CORROSIVE [Ch.] *corrōsīvus* [ML] 'that gnaws, consumes' (*corrōdere/corrōsum* 'chew up' from completive *com-* § 1.15 + *rōdere* 'gnaw, eat away at' [**rēd-* 'scrape, gnaw' = **reh₃d-* HLFL 124])

CURSIVE [1784] *cursīvus* [ML] 'running; cursive' [of *scrīptūra* 'script'] (*currere/cursum* 'run' < **kr̥s-é-* [**kers-*² 'run' cf. LIV 325])

DECISIVE [1611] *dēcīsīvus* [ML] 'decisive' (*dēcīdere/dēcīsum* 'cut off; DECIDE' from *dē* '(down) from' [**de-*] + *caedere* 'cut' [**keh₂-id-* 'strike' = **kh₂eid-* LIV 360])

DIVISIVE [*c.*1600] *dīvīsīvus* [Boethius] 'separative' (*dīvidere/dīvīsum* 'DIVIDE; distribute'; see *individual* § 5.4.1)

EXCESSIVE [1393 Gower] *excessīvus* [ML] 'excessive' (*excēdere/excessum* 'depart; go beyond'; [Ovid] 'EXCEED' [**ked-* 'go, yield', not in LIV])

EXCLUSIVE [1515] *exclūsīvus* [ML] 'exclusive' (*exclūdere/exclūsum* 'shut out; EXCLUDE'; see *conclusive* above)

EXPRESSIVE [*c.*1400] *expressīvus* [ML] 'expressive' (*exprimere/expressum* 'squeeze/press out; copy, represent; describe, EXPRESS' from *ex* 'out' [**eǵhs* 'out'] plus *premere* 'press' [**per-*⁴ 'strike', more specifically **pre-m-*, not in LIV] HLFL 209)

EXPULSIVE [Ch.] *expulsīvus* [ML] 'capable of expelling' (*expellere/expulsum* 'force out; drive away; EXPEL'; see *compulsive* above)

EXTENSIVE [1605] *extēnsīvus* [c2/3] 'permitting delay; prolonging'; [Thomas Aquinas] 'extensive' (*extendere/extent/sum* 'stretch; extend'; see *intentive* § 5.5.1)

IMPULSIVE [*c.*1555] *impulsīvus* [c(3–)4] 'conative; impulsive' (*impellere/impulsum* 'strike against; compel; drive; IMPEL'; see *compulsive* above)

INCLUSIVE [1515] *inclūsīvus* [ML] 'inclusive' (*inclūdere/inclūsum* 'enclose; confine; INCLUDE'; see *conclusive* above)

INTENSIVE [1526] *intēnsīvus* [ML] 'intense; intensive' (*intendere/intent/sum* 'stretch (out); point; direct; submit'; see *intentive* § 5.5.1)

OFFENSIVE [a1548] cf. MF *offensif* [c15ᵇ], Brit. Lat. *offēnsīvus* [*c.*1115] 'impinging', [*c.*1357] 'causing offence' (*offendere/offēnsum* 'strike against; OFFEND; upset; harm' from *ob* 'against' [**epi* 'near, at'] + *-fendere* 'strike, repulse' [**gʷhen-* 'strike, kill'; cf. LIV 218 f.] with *-d-* perhaps generalized

from the imperative **g^{w}hŋ̍-dhí* > *-fende* LIV 219; at least some Latin roots with *-d-* extension HLFL 193 could have originated from imperatives)

OPPRESSIVE [1578] MF *oppressif* [1365], ML *oppressīvus* [a1183] 'that overwhelms, crushes' (*opprimere/oppressum* 'press against; crush; overpower; overwhelm; OPPRESS'; see *expressive* above)

PASSIVE noun [1387–8]/adj. [*c.*1400] *passīvus* [c2 Apuleius] 'subject to passion or emotion' (*patī/passum* 'be subject to; experience; undergo; suffer' [poss. **p ē(i)-* 'hurt' = **peh$_{1}$y-* LIV 459 f., with no mention of Lat. *patī*])

PROGRESSIVE [1607–12] *prōgressīvus* [ML] 'progressive' (*prōgredī/prōgressum* 'go forwards; advance; proceed' from *prō* 'for, before' [**per-*[1]] + *gradī* 'step, go' [**ghredh-* 'walk, go' cf. ?**ghreidh-* LIV 203 but with no mention of L *gradī*] development unclear Sihler 1995: 144, 158; see also GED G108)

REPRESSIVE [1597] *repressīvus* [ML] 'that represses' (*reprimere/repressum* '(hold in) check; restrain; REPRESS'; see *expressive* above)

RESPONSIVE [1529] *respōnsīvus* [c4] 'answering'; [ML] 'written in response' (*respondēre/respōnsum* 'answer; RESPOND' from *re-* 'back, again' [**re-* 'backward'] + *spondēre* 'make a solemn promise' < **spond-éye-* [**spend-* 'make an offering' cf. LIV 577 f.])

SUCCESSIVE [1432–50] *successīvus* [ML] 'advancing in stages; successive' (*succēdere/successum* 'go below; move up; take the place (of); SUCCEED (to)'; cf. *excessive* above)

5.5.3 *Grammatical terms in* -ive

Between the time of Varro and Gellius, deverbal grammatical terms in *-tīvus* were coined as Greek calques (Wackernagel 1926–8: i. 13–20; Coleman 1989: 83 f.).

5.5.3.1 *Case names*

ABLATIVE [*c.*1440] *ablātīvus* [Quintilian] (*auferre/ablātum* 'carry/take away; remove')

ACCUSATIVE [*c.*1440] *accūsātīvus* [Varro] (*accūsāre* 'blame; censure; ACCUSE')[6]

[6] Varro supposedly mistranslated G *αἰτιᾱτική* 'causal; accusative case', based on his assumption that it was from *αἰτιάομαι* 'I accuse; allege (as the cause)' (from *αἰτίᾱ* 'responsibility; accusation; cause'); cf. Coleman (1989: 83), who claims that Varro should have used *causātīvus* ([c4/5 Martianus Capella] 'causal; of a lawsuit' CAUSATIVE [a1420]/gram. [*c.*1600]), as did Priscian (2. 185. 25 Keil). Alternatively, Varro should have used *effectīvus* if *αἰτιᾱτική* was based on Aristotle's *αιτιᾱτόν* 'produced by a cause; effected' (Wackernagel 1926–8: i. 17). However, it is unclear that Varro's *accūsātīvus* is really a mistranslation. In Homer, *αἰτιάομαι* means 'bring charges; accuse' (cf. the corresponding adjective

DATIVE [*c.*1440] *datīvus* [Quintilian] (*dare/datum* 'give')
GENITIVE [1398 Trevisa] *genetīvus* 'acquired at birth; connected with birth'; [Quintilian] 'genitive case' (*gignere/genitum* '(pro)create')
NOMINATIVE [a1387 Trevisa] *nōminātīvus* [Varro] ('having the nature of naming': *nōmināre/nōminātum* 'name, call')
VOCATIVE [*c.*1440] *vocātīvus* [Gellius, Velius Longus] (*vocāre/vocātum* 'call')

5.5.3.2 *Other grammatical terms in* -īvus

ACTIVE [1530] *āctīvus* [Pliny] 'active (voice)' (*agere/āctum* 'drive; do; act'; see also *active* in § 5.5.3.2)
ADJECTIVE adj. [1414]/noun [1509] *adjectīvus* [Macrobius, Priscian] 'adjective' (*ad(j)icere/adjectum* 'throw at; give in addition; add to')
AFFIRMATIVE noun [*c.*1400]/adj. [1570] *affirmātīvus* [c4 Diomedes] 'affirming; affirmative' (*affirmāre/affirmātum* 'add support to; confirm; assert positively; AFFIRM')
COLLECTIVE adj. [1520]/noun [1641] *collēctīvus* [Seneca] 'collected, gathered'; [Quintilian] 'deductive'; [Priscian] 'collective (noun)' (*colligere* 'gather (together); collect')
COMPARATIVE adj. [1447]/noun [1530] *comparātīvus* 'involving consideration of relative merits'; [Aug. period] 'comparative (degree)' (*comparāre/comparātum* 'prepare; furnish; provide; arrange')
CONJUNCTIVE 'involving a conjunction' noun [1589]/adj. [a1667]; 'subjunctive' [1730–6] *conjūnctīvus* [?c2^{b}] 'connective'; [grammarians] 'conjunctive; subjunctive' (*conjungere/conjūnctum* 'yoke together; connect; couple; ally; associate')
DEMONSTRATIVE adj. [1520]/noun [1530] *dēmōnstrātīvus* [Rhet. Her.; Cicero] 'demonstrative; epideictic' (*dēmōnstrāre* 'indicate; show'; see *demonstrative* § 5.5.1)
DERIVATIVE [1530] *dērīvātum* [Pliny] 'word derived from another word; derivative' (*dērīvāre/dērīvātum* 'divert; DERIVE')
DISJUNCTIVE [1530] *disjūnctīvus* [?c2^{b}] 'disconnecting; making discontinuous'; [gram.] 'separative; disjunctive' (*disjungere/disjūnctum* 'unyoke; separate; divide')

αἴτιος 'guilty'). Moreover, L *accūsāre* ACCUSE derives from (*ad* +) *causa*, which means 'legal accusation, case, trial' and (later) 'cause'. We do not know that Varro did not intend the passive sense of *accūsātīvus* '(having the nature of being) caused, effected'. If so, this was the perfect calque, based on a verb that encompassed all the same meanings and shared a parallel derivation (from *causa*, like αἰτιάομαι from αἰτίᾱ). Even if αἰτιᾱτική was based on αἰτιᾱτόν, nothing precludes the same meaning for *accūsātīvus*.

DUBITATIVE [1727–51] *dubitātīvus* [LL gram.] 'expressing doubt; dubitative' (*dubitāre/dubitātum* 'be in doubt; hesitate over')

FIGURATIVE [Fifteenth Cent. Prose Legends in Anglia] *figūrātīvus* [c6] 'figurative (speech)' (*figūrāre/figūrātum* '(provide with a) form, shape; fashion; represent')

FREQUENTATIVE noun [1530]/adj. [1533] *frequentātīvus* [Gellius] 'iterative; frequentative' (*frequentāre/frequentātum* 'populate; crowd; FREQUENT; repeat')

ILLATIVE [1890] *illātīvus* [Pliny *apud* Diomedes] 'inferring' (*īnferre/illātum* 'bring in; adduce')

IMPERATIVE [1530] *imperātīvus* [c4/5] 'ordered; imperative' (*imperāre* 'command; order')

INCEPTIVE noun [1612]/adj. [1656] *inceptīvus* [c4] 'inceptive; beginning; inchoative' (*incipere/inceptum* 'start')

INCHOATIVE noun [1530]/adj. [1668] *inchoātīvus/incohātīvus* [c4 Charisius] 'denoting a beginning; inchoative' (*incohāre/incohātum* [c2 *incho-*] 'start work on; start; initiate')

INDICATIVE [1530] *indicātīvus* [c4] (*indicāre* 'declare; disclose; show')

INTENTIVE [Ch.] *intentīvus* [Priscian] 'strengthening; intensive' (of adverbs) (*intendere/intent/sum* 'stretch (out); point; direct; submit'; see *intensive* § 5.5.2, *intentive* § 5.5.1)

INTERROGATIVE adj. [1520]/noun [1530] *interrogātīvus* [Tertullian] 'questioning; interrogative' (*interrogāre/interrogātum* 'question; examine; INTERROGATE')

ITERATIVE 'repeated' [1490 Caxton]; gram. adj. [1827]/noun [1853] *iterātīvus* [c4 Diomedes] 'frequentative; iterative' (*iterāre/iterātum* 'repeat; reiterate', derived from *iterum* 'again' < **i-tero-* [pronominal stem **i-*])

NEGATIVE [?a1580] LL *negatīva* [c4] 'negative word' from earlier *negātīvus* [c2 Gaius] 'inhibiting; negative' (*negāre/negātum* 'deny; say no', probably by metanalysis from **n(e) egō* 'not I' Dunkel 1987: 32, w. lit)

OPTATIVE [*c.*1450] *optātīvus* [c3 Porphyry] 'expressing a wish', [c4 Diomedes] 'optative (mood)' (*optāre* 'wish'; cf. earlier *optīvus* [Horace] 'chosen; picked')

PASSIVE [1388]/noun [1530 Palsgrave] *passīvum* [Pliny] 'passive voice' (*patī/passum* 'be subject to; experience; undergo; suffer'; see *passive* § 5.5.2)

PERFECTIVE [1596], gram. [1844] *perfectīvus* [Priscian] 'indicating completion; perfective' (*perficere/perfectum* 'bring to an end; complete; carry out; achieve')

POSITIVE adj. [1447]/noun [1530 Palsgrave] *positīvum (nōmen)* [?c4/5 Cledonius] '(adjective) in the positive degree' (see *positive* § 5.5.1)

POSSESSIVE [1530 Palsgrave] *possessīvus* [Quintilian] 'indicating possession' (*possidēre/possessum* 'have (in control); occupy; hold (as property); POSSESS')

PRIVATIVE [1398 Trevisa], gram. [1590] *prīvātīvus* [Gellius] 'negative; privative' (*prīvāre/prīvātus* 'dePRIVE' (of); bar from; prevent from having')

SUPERLATIVE adj. [Ch.]/noun [1530 Palsgrave] *superlātīrvum* [Velleius, Scaurus, etc.] 'superlative (degree)' (*superferre/superlātum* [Cicero] 'carry to a higher degree; exaggerate' from *super* 'over' [**uper* 'over'] + *lātum* 'borne' < **tlh₂-to-* [**telh₂-* 'lift; support; weigh'; cf. LIV 622 f.])

TRANSITIVE [1571] *trānsitīvus* [Priscian] 'transitive' (*trānsīre/trānsitum* 'go across')

5.5.4 *Denominal* -ive *formations*

ALTERNATIVE [1398] *alternātīva* [ML] (*alternātiō* [Apuleius] 'alternation'; [Ulpian] 'alternative'; possibly deverbal; cf. Ulpian's use of PPP *alternātum* 'alternative' < *alter-nā-re* ALTERNATE, denominal from *alter* 'another' [**al-*¹ 'beyond'])

FESTIVE [1651] *fēstīvus* 'festal; jolly; lively' (*fēriae* [arch. *fēsiae*] 'religious festival; holiday'; cf. *fēstus* 'festal (holiday)' [**dhēs-* = **dheh₁s-* 'god(ly)' probably an extension of **dheh₁-* 'put'] HLFL 107)

FURTIVE [1490 Caxton] *furtīvus* 'stolen; stealthy; clandestine' (*furtum* 'secret action; stolen property' from *fūr* 'thief' < **bhōr* [**bher-*¹ 'carry'] HLFL 77, 86)

PERSPECTIVE [a1387 Trevisa] 'optics', [Ch.] 'optical instrument', [1605] 'relation; point of view' *perspectīvus* [Boethius] 'optical'; [Thomas Aquinas] 'one connected with optics'; *perspectīva* (noun) [Thomas Aquinas] 'science of optics; perspective (geometry)' (*perspectiō* [c4 Lactantius] 'perception; view' [**spe̍k-* 'observe'])

PRIMITIVE adj. [*c.*1400]/noun [1486] *prīmitīvus* 'first-formed' (*prīmitiae* 'first fruits' from *prīmus* 'first' < **pri-is(e)mo-* < **pri-ism̥ho-* [**per-*¹ 'forward'] HLFL 66, 152 f., 174)

QUALITATIVE [1607] *quālitātīvus* [Cassiodorus] (*quālitās* QUALITY § 2.1.3 from *quālis* 'of what /kind' < **kʷeh₂-li-* [**kʷo-* 'who'] HLFL 167; RPIEL 145)

QUANTITATIVE [1581] *quantitātīvus* [ML] (*quantitās* QUANTITY; cf. *qualitative* above)[7]

[7] Words like *qualitative* and *quantitative* in turn prompted coinage of *authoritative* [1605], *argumentative* [1642], and other *-tative* constructs.

SPECULATIVE [a1382 Wyclif] *speculātīvus* [Boethius *apud* Porphyry] 'speculative' (*speculātiō* [c4^{e}] 'espionage; speculation'; not deverbal to *speculārī/speculātum* 'observe; explore'; cf. *perspective* above)

SUBSTANTIVE noun [1393]/adj. [*c.*1470] *substantīvus* [Tertullian] 'belonging to being; possessed of being' (*substantia* 'essence; substance; existence' from *sub* 'under' [**upo*] + *stāre* 'stand' § 6.3)

TEMPESTIVE [1611] *tempestīvus* 'seasonal; ripe' (*tempestās* 'season; weather; storm' from **temp-es-* 'period of time'; cf. *tempus/tempor-* 'time(span)' [**temp-* 'stretch', but no mention of *tempestās/tempus* 'time' in AHDR 90] Baldi 1999: 323; cf. HLFL 81)

5.6 *-t/s-ōrius, -a, -um* (> E *-t/sory*) 'connected with an event of'

Latin had about four hundred *-ōrius* derivatives (LG i § 278). These began as denominal adjectives in *-ius* to agent nouns in *-tor/-sor* (§ 3.7); cf.

dictātor DICTATOR	:	*dictātōrius* 'of a dictator; DICTATORIAL'
cēnsor 'CENSOR; critic'	:	*cēnsōrius* 'belonging to a censor; austere; moral'

These came to be interpreted, not strictly as relational adjectives, but also as 'having the property of doing what a *-t/sor* actor does', e.g.

amātor 'lover' : *amātōrius* AMATORY [1599]

1. 'of lovers'
   amātōriīs lēvitātibus dēditī (Cicero, *De finibus* 1. 61) 'dedicated to the ; levities (fickleness) of lovers'
2. 'loving; amorous; amatory'
   Anacreontis . . . tōta poēsis est amātōria (Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations* 4. 71) 'Anacreon's entire poetry is amatory' (i.e. 'expressive of love')

Adjectives in **-(i)yo-* to agentives have an exact formal parallel in Greek; cf. σωτήρ 'saviour' : σωτήριος 'saving; delivering' (LG i. 288). In English there is a similar shift in meaning with *-ing* derivatives to *-er* agentives: *lawyering, stickering, stockbrokering*, etc. (cf. § 1.4). Since *lawyering* means 'doing what a lawyer does', the reference is to the practising of law rather than to the agent practitioner *per se*. Similarly, the Latin examples attest an evolution from 'relating to the agent' to 'relating to the event':

tōnsor 'shearer; shaver; barber' : *tōnsōrius* TONSORIOUS [1656], TONSORIAL [1813]

1. 'relating to a barber'

cultrōs metuēns tōnsōriōs (Cicero, *De officiis* 2. 25)
'fearing barbers' knives'

2. 'relating to shaving/barbering; tonsorial'
ferrāmenta tōnsōria (Martial 14. 36)
'(iron) cutting implements' (for hair, nails, and beard)

accūsātor 'accuser; prosecutor' : *accūsātōrius* ACCUSATORY [1601]

1. 'belonging to a prosecutor'
accūsātōriam vītam vīvere (Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 12. 7. 3)
'to live a prosecutor's life'
2. 'connected with an event of accusing; ACCUSATORY'
libellōs accūsātōriōs dedit (Ulpian, *Digest* 48. 5. 18(17). 1)
'presented accusatory lists'

adūlātor 'obsequious flatterer; ADULATOR' : *adūlātōrius* ADULATORY [1611] ('connected with (an event of) adulation')
exemplar . . . adūlātōriī dēdecoris (Tacitus, *Annals* 6. 32) 'a prototypical example of adulatory disgrace/infamy'

cōnsōlātor 'comforter' : *cōnsōlātōrius* 'consoling', CONSOLATORY
[*c.*1430] *litterās accēpī cōnsōlātōriās* (Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* 13. 20. 1 = 328 Sh.-B.) 'I received (Caesar's) letter of consolation'

Reanalysis of words such as *piscātōrius* from 'relating to a fisherman (*piscātor*)', perhaps not actually attested, to 'connected with an event of fishing and/or sale of fish', i.e. from *piscātōr-ius* to *piscā-tōrius* PISCATORY [1633], built on *pisc-ā-rī/pisc-ā-tus* '(to) fish', led to exclusively deverbal derivatives, such as *sūdātōrius* 'connected with or inducing sweat' (*sūd-ā-re* 'to sweat'), whence SUDATORY [1597] 'sudorific'.

The oldest English words of this type were borrowed from Anglo-French in the form *-t/sori(e)*, as opposed to Central French *-oire*. In French and English, these are identical to *-ia* nouns of the type *victōria* VICTORY (§§ 2.2.2, 2.2.4).

As to meaning, adjectives in *-t/sory* involve a (sometimes passive) event. In a *compulsory exercise*, the exercise involves/*is* the event that is forced/compelled/required. An *introductory offer* is connected with an event of introducing in such a way that the offer is the medium or means by which an event of introduction occurs. The experience in a *sensory experience* is the medium or means by or through which an event of sensing occurs. And so on.

Early neologisms built on latinate stems include *contributory* [1467], *justificatory* [1579], *conciliatory* [1576], *ejaculatory* [1644], *initiatory* [1612–15], etc. Only early loanwords are listed here; additional forms can be found in Johnson (1931: § 102), Marchand (1969: 336 ff.), and Koziol (1972: § 589).

5.6.1 *English borrowings*

ACCESSORY [1549] *accessōrius* [ML] 'added on; accessory; unessential' (*accēdere/accessum* 'approach; be added'; cf. *excessive* § 5.5.2)

AMBULATORY [1622] *ambulātōrius* 'movable'; [Apuleius] 'on the move (while walking)' (*ambulāre/ambulātum* 'walk' from *ambi-* 'around, about' [**(a)mbhi* < **h₂n̥t-bhi* 'from both sides'] + *al-ā-* [**al-*² 'wander' = **h ₂elh₂-* LIV 264])

AUDITORY [1578] *audītōrius* [c5 Caelius Aurelianus] 'relating to hearing; auditory' (*audīre/audītum* 'hear' < **au-dh-ye-* or **awis-dh-ye-*, probably a compound of **h₂eu-*/**h₂ewis-* 'perception' [**au-*⁴ 'perceive' = ?**h₂weis-* 'hear' LIV 288] + **dh(e)h₁-* 'put' RPIEL 134 f.; EWAia i. 177; Hackstein 2002: 16)

CIRCULATORY [1605] *circulātōrius* [Quintilian] 'of a *circulātor* (wandering performer)'; [NL] 'circulatory (system)' (*circulāre/circulātum* 'form circles or entourages; CIRCULATE', denominal to *circulus* 'little circle'; see *circle* § 2.9.2)

COMPULSORY noun [1516]/adj. [1581] *compulsōrius* [ML] = *compulsīvus* [ML] 'compelling; compulsory' (*compellere/compulsum* 'drive together; force (to go); COMPEL'; see *compulsive* § 5.5.2)

CONDEMNATORY [1563] *condemnātōrius* [ML] 'condemning' (*condemnāre/condemnātum* CONDEMN from *com-* + *damnāre* DAMN, denominal to *damnum* 'damage entailing liability; harm' < **dap-no-* (cf. *dap-s* 'sacrificial feast') [**dap-* 'apportion' q.v. AHDR 14 = **deh₂p-* LIV 104])

†CONSERVATORY [1563] 'preservative' *cōnservātōrius* [c4 Irenaeus] 'preservative' (*cōnservāre/cōnservātum* 'preserve; maintain'; see *conservatory* § 5.6.2.2 and *conservative* § 5.5.1)

CONTRADICTORY [*c.*1400] *contrādictōrius* [Cassiodorus] 'containing a contradiction' (*contrādīcere/contrādictum* 'speak against; oppose'; [c1] 'contradict' from *contrā* 'against' [**kom-* 'beside, near'] + *dīcere* 'say, tell' [**deik-* 'show' = **deiḱ-* LIV 108])

CURSORY [1601] *cursōrius* [c6] 'pertaining to running; marked by a horse's hoof'; [ML] 'ambulatory; rapid, cursory' (*currere/cursum* 'run'; see *cursive* § 5.5.2)

DECLAMATORY [1581] *dēclāmātōrius* 'rhetorical; declamatory' (*dēclāmāre/dēclāmātum* 'make speeches; declaim' from *dē* 'down, from' [**de-*] + *clāmāre* 'call, cry out' < **klā-mā-* [**kelh₂-*² shout'; cf. **kleh₁-* 'call' LIV 361])

DEFAMATORY [1592] *dēfāmātōrius* [ML] 'pertaining to defaming' (cf. *dēfāmātor* 'defamer', agentive to *dēfāmāre* [ML] DEFAME, backformed from *dēfāmātus* [Gellius] 'infamous' from *dē* 'down, from' + *fāma* FAME < **bheh$_2$-meh$_2$-* [**bhā-* 'speak' = **bheh$_2$-* LIV 69 f.])

DEPRECATORY [1586] *dēprecātōrius* [Vulgate] 'of exhortation or supplication' (*dēprecārī/dēprecātum* 'beg to be excused; try to obtain by prayer; entreat' from *dē* 'down' + *precārī* 'entreat, pray', denominal to **prex* (pl. only *precēs*) 'prayer' [**prek-* 'ask, entreat' = **prék-* LIV 491 f.])

DESULTORY [1581] 'skipping about' *dēsultōrius* 'of a vaulter' (*dēsultor*, a circus rider who jumps from horse to horse, agentive to *dēsilīre* 'jump down; dismount' from *dē* 'down' + *salīre* 'leap' < **sl̥-ye-* [**sel-*[4] 'jump' = **sel-*[1] LIV 527])

DILATORY [1581] 'causing delay' *dīlātōrius* [c2 Gaius] 'concerned with deferment; dilatory' (*differre/dīlātum* 'scatter, disperse; postpone, defer; DIFFER' from *dis-* 'apart'[8] + *lātum* 'borne' < *tlh$_2$-to-* [**telh$_2$-* 'lift; support; weigh'; cf. LIV 622 f.])

EXCLAMATORY [1593] *ex* + *clāmātōrius* [Pliny] 'clamorous' (*(ex)clāmāre/(ex)clāmātum* 'shout, cry (out); exclaim'; see *declamatory* above)

EXPLANATORY [1618] *explānātōrius* [c5 Caelius Aurelianus] 'explanatory' (*explānāre/explānātum* 'expound; explain' from *ex* 'out' [**eǵhs*] + *(-)plān-ā-* 'make plain', deadjectival to *plānus* 'flat, level; clear, plain' [**pelh$_2$-*[2] 'flat; spread', not in LIV])

EXPLORATORY [1620] *explōrātōrius* [Suetonius] 'of scouts; exploratory' (*explōrāre/explōrātum* 'reconnoitre; inquire' perhaps from *ex* 'out' + *plōr-ā-*, denominal to **plō-ro-* 'ground'; cf. Gmc. **flōraz* > OE *flōr* FLOOR [**pelh$_2$-*[2] 'flat', with no mention of *explōrāre*] DELL 367, HGE 108)

EXPOSITORY [1600] (in a compound) cf. *expositōrium* [ML] 'commentary' (*expōnere/expositum* 'set out; display; EXPOSE; explain; publish'; see *positive* § 5.5.1)

HORTATORY [1586] *hortātōrius* [c4] 'encouraging, hortatory' (*hortārī/hortātum* 'urge; incite; encourage' < **ǵhr̥-to-* [**gher-*[5] 'like, want' = **ǵher-*[1] LIV 176 f.])

[8] The etymology of *dis-* is disputed. It may be a remodelling of **dus-* = G δυσ- 'mal, DYS-' (Wackernagel 1926–8: ii. 296 f.; Bader 1962: 49 f.). Sihler (1995: 409) proposes a phonologically strange variant of **dwi(s)-* 'in two' (G δι-, L *bis* 'twice') [**dwo-* two']. Crossing of **dus-* with the semantically similar **dwi(s)-* would eliminate the phonological difficulties of both proposals.

ILLUSORY [1599] *illūsōrius* [Augustine] 'deceptive' (*illūdere/illūsum* 'mock; dupe; fool' < **loid-e-*, an *o*-grade present HIEV 76 [**leid-* 'play; jest'; cf. LIV 402 f.])

INTRODUCTORY [Ch.] *intrōductōrius* [Boethius] 'initiatory; introductory' (*intrōdūcere/intrōductum* 'lead in; INTRODUCE; put forward' [**deuk-* 'lead'; cf. LIV 124])

LACHRYMATORY [a1849] *lacrimātōrius* [c4] 'sad, lacrimatory' (*lacrimāre/lacrimātum* 'weep; lament', denominal to *lacrima* 'tear' < OL *dacruma* < G δάκρῡμα ∼ δάκρυ 'tear' [**daḱru-* 'tear'] Biville 1990–5: ii. 383, 400, 460, 470; cf. DELG 249, HLFL 100; that *lacrima* is a Greek loanword is disputed by Nussbaum (1999: 394 f.) but without considering Biville's evidence; see also *lachrymatory* § 5.6.2.2)

LAUDATORY [1555] *laudātōrius* [c5/6 Fulgentius] 'eulogistic'; [ML] 'connected with praise' (*laudāre/laudātum* 'praise', denominal to *laus/laud-* 'praise' [**lēu-*[2], not in LIV])

†MERITORY [*c.*1378]/MERITORIOUS [1438] ML *meritōrius* [c12] 'worthy of conpensation; meritorious', < CL *meritōrius* 'deserving of compensation; hired' (*merērе/meritum* 'earn; win; deserve' [**(s)mer-*[2] 'get a share of' = **smer-*[2] LIV 570])

NOTORIOUS [*c.*1495] Brit. Lat. *nōtōrius* [c12] 'well-known; infamous'; cf. *nōtōria* [Apuleius] 'notice (of a crime)' (*nōscere/nōtus* '(come to) know; be(come) acquainted with' < **ǵn(o)h_3-ske-/*ǵn(o)h_3-tó-* [**gnō-* 'know' = **ǵneh$_3$-* LIV 168 ff.] cf. HLFL 112 f., 193)

OBLIGATORY [*c.*1400] cf. AF *obligatorie*, Brit. Lat. *obligātōrius* [c12] 'constituting an obligation', earlier [c2 Gaius] 'imposing legal obligation' (*obligāre/obligātum* 'bind; OBLIGE'; *ligāre* 'bind' is possibly denominal [**leig-*[1] 'bind' = **leiǵ-* LIV 403])

PEREMPTORY [1513–14] AF *peremptorie* [1291], L *perēmptōrius* [c2] 'destructive; decisive, final'; [jurists] 'peremptory' (*perimere/perēmptum* 'annihilate; destroy; annul' [**em-* 'take' = **h$_1$em-* LIV 236])

PERFUNCTORY [1581] *perfunctōrius* [c4[b] esp. Ambrose] 'superficial; negligent'; earlier adv. *perfunctōriē* [Petronius] 'routinely, perfunctorily' (*perfungī/perfunctum* 'discharge; perform' [**bheug-*[2] 'enjoy'; cf. LIV 84])

PREDATORY [1589] *praedātōrius* 'plundering; predatory' (*praedārī/praedātum* 'plunder, pillage', denominal to *praeda* 'booty' < **prai-hedā-* 'something seized before' < **preh$_2$i-ghed-eh$_2$-* [**ghe(n)d-* 'seize, take'; cf. LIV 194])

PREPARATORY [1413] *praeparātōrius* [Ulpian] 'preparatory' (*praeparāre/praeparātum* 'furnish beforehand; PREPARE' [**perh$_3$-*[1] 'produce, procure'; cf. LIV 474 f.] see also HLFL 187)

PROHIBITORY [a1591] *prohibitōrius* [Pliny] 'restraining; prohibitive' (*prohibēre/prohibitum* 'keep (from); prevent; restrain; PROHIBIT' [**ghabh-/*ghebh-* 'give, receive' = ?**ghehb-* LIV 195, the latter restricted to Italic and Celtic])

PROPITIATORY [1551] 'appeasing, atoning' *propitiātōrius* [Ambrose] 'propitiatory' (*propitiāre/propitiātum* 'win over; PROPITIATE', deadjectival to *propitius* PROPITIOUS from *prō* 'forward' + *petere* 'go toward; seek' [**pet-* 'rush; fly' = **peth₂-*² LIV 479])

SATISFACTORY [1547] *satisfactōrius* [EL, ML] 'satisfying, expiating; satisfactory' (*satisfacere/satisfactum* 'make amends; SATISFY' § 6.4.1)

SUASORY [1576] *suāsōrius* [Quintilian] 'hortatory, suasory' (rhetoric); [Apuleius] 'persuasive, seductive' (*suādēre/suāsum* 'advise; recommend; urge; advocate' [**swād-* 'sweet, pleasant' = **sweh₂d-* LIV 606 f.])

SUPPLICATORY [*c.*1450] *supplicātōrius* [ML] 'relating to supplication' (*supplicāre/supplicātum* 'make humble petition to; make propitiatory offerings to', denominal to *supplex* 'suppliant' [**plāk-*¹ 'be flat' probably not the same root as the more likely ?**pleh₃k-* 'be pleasing' LIV 486 f., attested only in Latin and Tocharian])

TRANSITORY [Ch.] *trānsitōrius* [Suetonius] 'affording passage from one place to another'; [c4] 'momentary, fleeting' (*trānsīre/trānsitum* 'go across' from *trāns* 'across' [**terh₂-*² 'cross over'; cf. LIV 633 f.] + *īre* 'go' [**ei-* 'go' = **h₁ei-* LIV 232 f.])

5.6.2 *Neuter locationals in* -t/sōrium *(E* -t/sorium, -t/sory*)*

The neuter adjectives could be substantivized as locationals, over 150 of which are attested in Latin. Compare *-ārium* § 4.4.4.2 and the Greek type *ἱστιητόριον* [Herodotus] 'banquet hall' to *ἑστιάτωρ/ἱστιήτωρ* 'banquet-giver' (Benveniste 1948: 48). From *praetor* 'commander; PRAETOR' [*c.*1475] was derived *praetōrius* 'of a praetor' (cf. PRAETORIAN [1432] *praetōriānus* [Pliny] 'of the praetorian cohorts'), whence a neuter *praetōrium* 'praetor's headquarters' PRETORY [a1325] (§ 2.6). On the model of *sūdātōrium* (*sūdāre* 'to sweat') SUDATORIUM [1756–7] 'sauna' (cf. *sudarium* § 4.4.4.2) was coined NL *sānātōrium* (*sānāre* 'to heal; restore to health') SANATORIUM [1839], then *haustorium* [1875], *inductorium* [1875], *crematorium* [1880], etc. (cf. Koziol 1972: §§ 586, 588).

5.6.2.1 *English locationals in* -t/sorium

AUDITORIUM [1727] (earlier AUDITORY [*c.*1380 Wyclif]) *audītōrium* 'lecture-hall; auditorium' (*audīre* 'hear'; cf. *audītor* 'hearer'; [ML] AUDITOR; see *auditory* § 5.6.1)

NATATORIUM [1832] (cf. NATATORY [a1325]) 'indoor swimming pool' *natātōrium* [Vulgate] (cf. *natātōria* [sacrae scripturae] 'swimming pool') (*natāre* 'swim'; cf. *natātor* 'swimmer' [**snā-* 'swim' = **(s)neh₂-* LIV 572 f.])

SCRIPTORIUM [1774] *scrīptōrius* [c1[b] Celsus] 'connected with writing'; *scrīptōrium* [ML] 'copy room (in a monastery)' (*scrībere/scrīptum* 'write' [**skrībh-* 'cut, separate', extension of **(s)ker-*[1] 'cut'; more specifically ?**skreibh-* or ?**skreibh-* LIV 562])

SENSORIUM [1647] *sēnsōrium* [Boethius] 'central organ of sensation' (*sentīre/sēnsum* 'perceive; SENSE; feel; think' [**sent-* 'head for, go; perceive' cf. GED S66 or possibly two separate roots; cf. LIV 533])

VOMITORIUM [1754] *vomitōrium* (pl. *vomitōria* [c4/5 Macrobius]) 'entrance passage (to the amphitheatre); vomitorium', earlier *vomitōrius* [Pliny] 'emetic' (*vomere/vomitum* 'be sick; VOMIT' [**wemh₁-* 'vomit'; cf. LIV 680] HLFL 82 f., 191)

5.6.2.2 *English locationals in* -t/sory

CONSERVATORY [1842] 'academy of music' cf. Ital. *conservatorio*, F *conservatoire*, etc., distinct from ML *cōnservātōrium* 'writ of protection; reservoir; fishpond' (see *conservatory* § 5.6.1 and *conservative* § 5.5.1)

CONSISTORY [?a1300] *cōnsistōrium* [Tertullian] 'assembly place' [haplological for **cōnsisti-tōrium*] (*cōnsistere/cōnstitum* 'stand still; stop; stay' from *com-* 'together' + *sistere* 'set, stop, stand' < **stí-sth₂-e/o-* [**stā-* stand' = **steh₂-* LIV 590 ff.] HIEV 128 ff., 216)

DEPOSITORY [1656] 'depositary', [1750] 'repository' *dēpositōrium* [c4 Irenaeus] 'place where something is deposited' (*dēpōnere/dēpositum* 'put down; lay aside; DEPOSIT'; see *positive* § 5.5.1)

DESCENSORY [Ch.] *dēscēnsōrius* [Ambrose] 'descending'; [ML] *dēscēnsōrium* 'vessel used in chemistry to extract oils *per dēscēnsum*' (*dēscendere/dēscēnsum* 'go down; DESCEND' from *dē* 'down' + *scandere* 'climb' [**skand-* 'leap, climb' = **skend-* LIV 554])

DILATATORY [1611] cf. F *dilatatoire* [c16] and/or NL *dīlātātōrium* (medical) 'instrument for dilating' (*dīlātāre/dīlātātum* [Cicero] 'make wider, expand, dilate', derived from *dīlātum* PPP to *differre* 'scatter; defer'; see *dilatory* § 5.6.1; for the derivation see § 6.5)

DIRECTORY [1543] *dīrēctōrium* [443 Codex Theodosianus] 'prescribed transportation route'; [ML] 'guide; roadsign indicating direction' (*dīrigere/dīrēctum* 'set in a straight line; arrange; DIRECT' from *dis-* 'apart' (see *dilatory* § 5.6.1) + *regere* 'direct, guide, rule' [**reg-*[1] 'move in a straight line' = **h₃reǵ-* LIV 304 f.])

DORMITORY [1485 Caxton] *dormītōrium* (*cubiculum*) [Pliny] 'sleeping (room)' (*dormīre/dormītum* 'sleep' < **dr̥m-yé-* [**drem-* 'sleep'; cf. LIV 128])

FACTORY [1582] cf. F †*factorie*, [ML] *factōria* 'treasury', earlier *factōrium* [c4 Palladius] 'oil-press' (*facere/factum* 'make' [**dhē-* 'set, put', more specifically, **dheh₁k-* = enlargement of **dheh₁-* 'set, put, make' LIV 136–40])

LABORATORY [1605] *labōrātōrium* [ML] 'place where one works; laboratory' (*labōrāre/labōrātum* 'work; LABOUR', denominal to *labor* LABOUR [etym. unknown DELL 595])

LACHRYMATORY [1658] 'tear vase' *lacrimātōrium* [ML] 'lacrimal gland; handkerchief' (see *lachrymatory* § 5.6.1)

LAVATORY [a1375] 'vessel for washing'; [c17] 'washroom' *lavātōrium* [gloss in Philoxenus] 'place for washing; washroom' (*lavāre/lavātum* 'wash; bathe' [**leuh₃-* 'wash'; cf. LIV 418])

ORATORY [?a1325] *ōrātōrium* [sacrae scripturae] 'place of prayer'; cf. CL *ōrātōrius* 'relating to an orator; oratorical' (*ōrāre/ōrātum* 'plead; beg; ask for; beseech; pray': oldest meaning of *ōr-* Panagl 1992*b*: 314 [**ōr-* 'pronounce a ritual formula' = ?**h₂er-*[3] LIV 271])

PROPITIATORY [a1300] 'mercy-seat' *propitiātōrium* [a200 sacrae scripturae] 'place of atonement' (see *propitiatory* § 5.6.1)

PURGATORY [?a1200] *pūrgātōrium* [c3[b]] 'purgative'; [c6] 'means of cleansing'; [c12] 'purgatory' (*pūrgāre/pūrgātum* 'clean(se); purify; PURGE'; see *purge* § 6.6.1)

REFECTORY [1483 Caxton] *refectōrium* [c6 Gregory] 'dining room; refectory'; cf. earlier *refectōrius* [Ambrose] 'refreshing' (*reficere/refectum* 'restore; renew; refresh'; cf. *factory* above)

REPERTORY [1552] *repertōrium* [c3 Ulpian] 'list' (*reperīre/repertum* 'find (out)'; cf. F/E *répertoire*; see *preparatory* § 5.6.1)

REPOSITORY [1485 Caxton] *repositōrium* [Petronius] '(food-)tray'; [c4] 'cabinet; repository' (*repōnere/repositum* 'put back; lay away; store up'; see *positive* § 5.5.1)

5.6.2.3 *Anomalous denominal locationals in* -tory

PROMONTORY [1548] *prōmunturium* ~ *prōmuntorium* ~ *prōmontorium* [quantity of third syllable prob. short] 'headland; promontory' (possibly *prōminērе* 'project' (of headland, hills, etc.) [**men-*[2] 'project'], possibly contaminated with *mōns/mont-* 'mountain' § 4.6.1 [same root LIV 437] Bader 1962: 283, w. lit)

TERRITORY [1432–50] *territōrium* 'area of land within a town; territory' (*terra* 'land' + *-tōrium* of other locationals? [**ters-* 'to dry'; cf. LIV 637 f.] *terra* < **ters-eh₂-* 'dry (land)' HLFL 31, 45, 116)

5.7 *-(i)li-* 'able/tending to; capable of being'

Relational adjectives in *-li-* have been treated in § 4.1. Latin also had a large number of deverbal adjectives with the same suffix (LG i § 311), the original meaning being something like 'relating to an event of (whatever the verb means)'. The major formal difference from the relational constructs is that *-li-* occurs mostly after a short vowel in the deverbals. They denote a non-actualized capacity (Kircher-Durand 1991).

English has a large number of borrowings from various types of Latin *-li-* formations (cf. Johnson 1931: 152–5).

5.7.1 -ilis (> *E* -ile)

This simple type, attached to stem I (or the bare root), can be interpreted as middle voice. That is, they were non-eventive and expressed a property of the noun they modified. They were unproductive, residual, and largely non-compositional in Classical Latin. For instance, from *hab-ē-re* 'to hold' is derived *habilis* 'easily managed; suitable, apt; able' (supposedly from **habi-bilis* Benveniste 1935: 205; Sihler 1995: 90) > OF *able* [1230].

ABLE [a1338] and relatinized *habile* HABILE [*c.*1425] 'able; skilful; handy; clever'.

AGILE [1577] *agilis* 'easily moved; quickly moving; nimble' (*agere/āctum* 'drive'; medpass. 'be driven; move' [**h₂eǵ-* § 6.6.1])

DOCILE [1483 Caxton] *docilis* 'easily taught; docile' (*docēre/doctum* 'teach' [**dek-* 'take'])

FACILE [1483 Caxton] *facilis* ['easily done' >] 'easy' (*facere/factum* 'do' [**dheh₁-k-* LIV 139])

FRAIL [?a1350] (via OF *fraile* [c11])/FRAGILE 'liable to err' [*c.*1513], modern sense [1607] *fragilis* 'easily broken; breakable' (*frangere/frāctum* 'break' [**bhreg-* 'id.'] RPIEL 478)

NUBILE [1542] *nūbilis* [Cicero] 'suitable for marriage' supposedly from **nūbi-bilis* (cf. Benveniste 1935: 205; Sihler 1995: 90), but surely designates a non-eventive property of the female under discussion (*nūbere/nuptum* 'marry' of a woman [**sneubh-* = LIV 574] cf. G *νύμφη* 'bride, NYMPH' with unexplained nasal infix DELG 759)

UTILE [1484 Caxton] *ūtilis* 'useful; advantageous' (*ūtī/ūsum* 'use'; see *usure* § 3.9.2)

5.7.2 -t/s-ilis (> *E* -t/sile)

Built on stem II, these forms are proper to the language of science and techniques (Kircher-Durand 1991: 119) and essentially express non-actualization

(ibid. 122).[9] Though frequently glossed like a past passive participle, *-tilis* never has the same semantic content, but rather indicates 'a disposition or characteristic by reference to a general concept or type' (p. 123). Kircher-Durand (p. 123) illustrates: *sūtus* (PPP) 'stitched' (*suere/sūtus* 'sew') refers to a completed event (state) of stitching; by contrast, *sūtilis* means 'made by sewing; consisting of things stitched together' (SUTILE [a1682] 'done by stitching'). In short, *sūtilis* designates an item 'of the stitched variety'. Similarly, *coctus* (PPP) 'baked' (*coquere* 'cook; bake') is not the same as *coctilis* (COCTILE [1678] 'made by baking'), used, for instance, of bricks, designating a 'baked type' which, of course, can in turn be used 'for baking'.

DUCTILE [a1349] (of things) 'able to be stretched/hammered thin without breaking; pliant; easily swayed' *ductilis* [Pliny] 'malleable; ductile' (*dūcere/ductum* 'lead')

FERTILE [*c.*1460] *fertilis* 'fruitful; fertile' (*ferre/lātum* 'bear'; *-tilis* was generalized to *fer-* in the absence of stem II **fertum* DELL 405; Euripides' *φερτός* 'endurable' is a productive neologism irrelevant to Latin where the form should have been **bhr̥-to-* > L **fortum*)

FICTILE [1626] /fĭktəl/ 'mouldable; formed of mouldable substance' *fictilis* 'made of earthenware; (an item) of the (clay-)moulded variety' (*fingere/fictum* 'mould, shape')

FISSILE [1661] 'capable of being split' *fissilis* '(easily) split' (*findere/fissum* 'split; cleave')

FOSSIL [1569] *fossilis* 'able to be dug up; obtained by digging' (*fodere/fossum* 'dig')

FUSILE [1398 Trevisa] *fūsilis* 'molten; liquefied; fusile' (*fundere/fūsum* 'pour')

MISSILE adj. [1610], noun [1656] *missilis* 'throwable-type' (an epithet of weapons) (*mittere/missum* 'let go')

PENSILE [1603] 'hanging down loosely; suspended' *pēnsilis* 'hanging (down); pendent; pensile' (*pendēre/pēnsum* 'hang')

PLICATILE [1653] 'foldable', [1826] 'longitudinally folded in repose' (of insect wings) *plicātilis* [Pliny] 'that may be folded or doubled up; flexible; pliable' (*plicāre/plicātum* 'fold' [**plek-* 'plait'])

REPTILE [1390 Gower] *reptilis* [Jerome] 'creeping'; neut. *reptile* [c4^{m} Marius Victorinus] 'reptile' (*rēpere/(reptum)* [intrans.] 'crawl; creep' [**rēp-*[1] 'creep' = **reh$_1$p-* LIV 500])

[9] Ignored here are the rare denominals, such as *saxātilis* '(found/dwelling) among rocks' (*saxum* 'rock') SAXATILE [1651] 'of the nature of stone', [1661] 'saxicolous' (growing in or among rocks).

SECTILE [1716] 'suitable for cutting' *sectilis* 'capable of being cut into thin layers' (*secāre/sectum* 'sever; cut')
TEXTILE noun [1626], adj. '(that can be) woven' [1656] *textilis* 'made by weaving; woven (type)' (*texere/textum* 'weave')
VERSATILE [1605] *versātilis* 'capable of turning or being turned'; [Livy] 'versatile' (*versārī/versātum* 'keep turning; come and go frequently')
VOLATILE [a1325] *volātilis* 'able to fly'; [Ovid] 'transient' (*volāre/volātum* 'fly')

5.7.3 -(i/ā)-bilis (> *E* -ible/-able)

Latin had about 900 *-bilis* adjectives (discussion in Nadjo 2002: 220; cf. Leumann 1917; LG i § 312). Originally applied to stem I, this enlarged suffix from the time of Cicero was productively applied to stem II.

The earliest examples of *-bilis* seem to be in the domain of religion and morality, especially the vocabulary of prayer; the domain of experiencer verbs, e.g. of the lamentation class (*miserābilis* 'pitiable; wretched; MISERABLE' [?*c.*1422 Hoccleve]; *lāmentābilis* 'mournful; LAMENTABLE' [*c.*1430 Lydgate]); and the domain of verbs of frightening, e.g. *terribilis* 'causing terror; frightening; TERRIBLE' [*c.*1430 Lydgate]; *horribilis* 'causing horror; dreadful; HORRIBLE' [?a1300], *formīdābilis* 'causing fear; FORMIDABLE' [1508] (Kircher-Durand 1991: 118 ff.). Some, such as *miserābilis*, specify a temporary state.

5.7.3.1 *Functions of* -bilis *in Latin.*

Leumann (1917 and LG i § 312) defines three functions of *-bilis*:

1. Passive *-bilis* (on transitive bases)
   amābilis 'worthy of being loved; amiable' (*amāre* 'love')
   laudābilis 'praiseworthy; LAUDABLE' [c15] (*laudāre* 'praise')

This function has been claimed to have developed on negated forms (Benveniste 1948: 166): what has not occurred in the past is subject to reanalysis as impossible, thus G *ἄρρηκτος* 'unbroken' > 'unbreakable'. For Latin, one can cite such examples as *inexplicābilis* [Curtius, Cicero] INEXPLICABLE [1490 Caxton] which antedates the very rare *explicābilis* [Pliny 2] EXPLICABLE [1556], or *irrevocābilis* [Lucretius] IRREVOCABLE [a1382 Wyclif] which is more frequent than the mostly poetic *revocābilis* [Ovid] REVOCABLE [a1471]. On the other hand, *exōrābilis* [Plautus] 'easily entreated; EXORABLE' [1563–87] slightly antedates *inexōrābilis* [Terence] INEXORABLE [1553], and *vincibilis* [Terence] VINCIBLE [1548] long antedates *invincibilis* [Apuleius] INVINCIBLE [1412–20 Lydgate].

The basic function of *-bilis* is not passive (Benveniste 1935: 206) but initially something like 'worthy (of)', then 'possibility' in its various polysemic functions (Nadjo 2002: 227). Compatible with the glosses in (1) above, Cicero (*De finibus* 3. 20) explains *aestimābile* as *dīgnum aestimātiōne* 'worthy of estimation/valuation' which is voice neutral and capable of active or passive interpretation (Nadjo 2002: 226).

2. Instrumental *-bilis*
terribilis 'by whom/which one is terrified'
ascendibilis 'with which to ascend':
prae sē portant ascendibilem sēmitam, quam scālam vocitant
'they carry in front of themselves a track on which to ascend,
which they call a ladder' (Pomponius [c−2/1])

This frequently occurs in conjunction with an instrument noun; cf.

exōrābile carmen (Valerius Flaccus [c1])
'a song by which one entreats' (the song itself is not 'exorable'!)

For the instrument noun, Leumann (LG i. 349) compares *exōrābula* (plural only) 'means of entreating; enticements' in

... quotque exōrētur exōrābulīs (Plautus, *Truculentus* 27)
'and by how many enticements can (a lover) be prevailed upon?'

3. Active *-bilis* (primarily on intransitive bases)
stabilis 'standing firm; steady; STABLE' [?*c.*1150] (*stāre* 'stand')
dūrābilis [Augustan era] 'lasting; DURABLE' [Ch.] (*dūrāre* 'harden; endure')

Kircher-Durand (1991: 121) claims that all three subfunctions can be united under the 'semic constant' of *non-actualization*. While this is trivially true, it misses the point that they are semantically and syntactically distinct. Moreover, a number of features must be checked in the course of the derivation, including incompletive aspect, potential mood (possibility) (Abellán 2002, Nadjo 2002), and, for most bases of class (1), a passive voice feature. As noted above, the formation was originally voice neutral, but passive increased over time, even if the Romance languages have a number of active forms as reflexes of this suffix (Le Bourdellès 2002: 242). Finally, as Leumann showed, only subtypes (2) and (3) are historically linked to instrument nouns. For subtype (3), cf. *īnstabilis* 'unable to stand; not firmly fixed; unsteady', which readily follows etymologically from negating *in* + *stabulum* 'means for standing' (LG i. 349).

Of the three subtypes, (1) is the most important for English (§ 5.7.3.3).

5.7.3.2 *Early examples of* -ible/-able *in English*

One of the most productive suffixes in French is *-ible/-able* (Thorné Hammar 1942), which English initially borrowed from Anglo-French. For instance, the Anglo-French *Lumere as lais* [1267] alone attests (among others) the following (Hesketh 1997): *coruptible* CORRUPTIBLE [a1349],[10] *invisible* INVISIBLE [*c.*1340], *passable* 'transitory' PASSABLE [1413], *possible* POSSIBLE [?1350–75], *sensible* 'sensate; sentient; perceptible' SENSIBLE [*c.*1380].

As a productive English suffix, *-able* applies to any transitive base (e.g. *breakable, killable*) and already began to attain productivity in Middle English (Miller 1997: 245 f.).

Overview of the history of *-able* applied to native English bases:

(*a*) Prior to 1400: *(un)seeable, unspeakable* [a1349], *feelably* [*c.*1375], *believable, sellable, untellable, unhealable, understandable* (active sense), etc.—all Wyclif [a1382], *unknowable* (Chaucer, *Boece* [*c.*1382–6]), *stretchable* (Trevisa [a1387]), *willable* (Cloud of Unknowing [?a1400]).

(*b*) 1400–50: *worshipable* (Lydgate [1407]), *unloosable* [a1425], *writhable* [1425], *weighable* [1429], *unthinkable* [1430], *feelable* [1440]. From Pecock [*c.*1449], Wehrle (1935: 51 ff.) cites *bowable, unbearable, beholdable, doable, findable, hearable, makeable, markable, tak(e)able, weepable.*

(*c*) Just after 1450 (*Catholicon* A): *(un)fillable, (un)teachable, (un)tellable, understandable* (passive sense), *weavable.* Note also *murderably* [1456].

(*d*) 1460–1500: *unbreakable* [1480], and from the *Catholicon* [1483]: *biteable, buyable, (un)cleansable, eatable, overcomable, seekable, shippable 'navigable', sendable, suppable, yokeable.*

(*e*) After 1500: *get-at-able* [1799], *laugh-at-able* [1844], etc.

Given that the early examples are from Anglo-French, following is a list of a few of the early non-exclusively French borrowings into English. For additional forms, see Johnson (1931: § 116).[11]

ABOMINABLE [*c.*1303] *abōminābilis* [Quintilian] 'abominable'; [EL] 'accursed' (*abōminārī/abōminātum* [Livy] 'abhor; (seek to) avert by prayer')

[10] Chaucer, Knight's Tale 2152, uses *corrumpable* from stem I in the sense of OF *corrompable* [c12] 'perishable' (Thorné Hammar 1942: 85, 172).

[11] Ignored here are rare denominals, such as *favōrābilis* [Augustan period] FAVOURABLE [a1349] (*favor* FAVOUR [?a1300], and *imāginābilis* [Boethius] IMAGINABLE [Ch.] (*imāgō* IMAGE). The analogy is with deverbals like *honōrābilis* HONOURABLE [a1338] built on *honōrāre* 'to honour', but cf. *honor* HONOUR [?a1200].

ACCEPTABLE [?*c.*1378 Wyclif] *acceptābilis* [Tertullian; EL] 'credible; acceptable; welcome (esp. to God)' (*acceptāre/acceptātum* 'receive regularly')

ACCESSIBLE [1610] *accessibilis* [Tertullian] 'approachable' (*accēdere/accessum* 'draw near')

ARABLE [1577] *arābilis* [Pliny] 'that can be ploughed' (*arāre/arātum* 'plough')

AUDIBLE [1529] *audībilis* [LL/EL] 'audible' (*audīre/audītum* 'hear; listen to')

CAPABLE [1561] 'able to take in', [1597] 'having the capacity' *capābilis* [Augustine] 'able to be contained; comprehensible', [Cassiodorus] 'able to contain' (*capere* 'take')

COMMENDABLE [?*c.*1350] *commendābilis* [Livy] 'praiseworthy; notable' (*commendāre/commendātum* 'entrust; commit; recommend; render agreeable')

COMPREHENSIBLE [1529] (but *incomprehensible* [*c.*1340]) *comprehēnsibilis* [Celsus, Seneca] (Cicero *comprehendibilis*) 'able to be grasped' (*comprehendere/comprehēnsum* 'seize; apprehend')

CONVERTIBLE [*c.*1385] *convertibilis* [Apuleius] 'changeable' (*convertere/conversum* 'rotate; turn about; change; transform; CONVERT')

CREDIBLE [Ch.] *crēdibilis* 'capable of being believed; credible' (*crēdere/crēditum* 'believe')

CULPABLE [*c.*1280] (ME *coupable* cf. OF *co(u)pable* [c13] relatinized to *culpable* [c14]) *culpābilis* [Apuleius] 'deserving of censure; reprehensible' (*culpāre* 'blame; censure; find fault with')

DAMNABLE [*c.*1303] *damnābilis* [c4] 'worthy of condemnation' (*damnāre/damnātum* 'condemn')

DELECTABLE [Ch./a1396] *dēlectābilis* [Gellius] 'enjoyable; delightful' (*dēlectāre* 'entice; delight; amuse')

EXCUSABLE [Ch.] *excūsābilis* [Ovid] 'that may be excused; pardonable' (*excūsāre/excūsātum* 'excuse; justify')

FUSIBLE [Ch.] *fūsibilis* [ML] 'fusible' (*fundere/fūsum* 'pour (out); cast, found'; [c1] FUSE)

HONOURABLE [a1338] *honōrābilis* 'conferring honour; honorific' (*honōrāre* 'confer honour on; HONOUR')

INCURABLE [*c.*1340] *incūrābilis* [c4] 'incurable' (*in* 'not' + *cūrāre/cūrātum* 'care for; treat'; [Seneca] 'treat successfully; cure')

INESTIMABLE [Ch.] *inaestimābilis* 'undeserving of valuation'; [Livy] 'impossible to estimate or appraise' (*in* 'not' + *aestimāre/aestimātum* 'estimate; value; assess; reckon; consider')

INTERMINABLE [Ch.] *interminābilis* [sacrae scripturae, Tertullian] 'unending' (*in* 'not' + *terminā̆re/terminātum* 'mark the boundaries; delimit; conclude')

LEGIBLE [1375] *legibilis* [Ulpian, *Digest*] 'legible' (*legere/lēctum* 'read')

MALLEABLE [Ch.] *malleābilis* [ML] 'malleable' (*malleā̆re/malleātum* [ML] 'to hammer', backformed from *malleātor* [Martial] 'hammerer' and/or *malleātus* [Columella] 'beaten with a hammer; hammered' [**melh*- 'crush, grind']; see *malleolus* § 2.9.1)

MOBILE [a1338] (ME *moeble* 'movable' < AF *moeble*; mod. *mobile* [1490 Caxton]) *mōbilis* 'active; mobile' (*movēre/mōtum* 'move')

MUTABLE [Ch.] *mūtābilis* 'liable to change; changeable' (*mūtā̆re/mūtātum* 'change')

NOTABLE [1340] *notābilis* 'worthy of being pointed out or noticed; remarkable; noteworthy' (*notā̆re/notātum* 'mark; brand; stamp; mark as important; single out; indicate')

PALPABLE [Ch.] *palpābilis* [c4 Irenaeus] 'capable of being touched'; [*c.*400] 'capable of touching' (*palpā̆re* 'stroke, caress; soothe; be soothing')

PERDURABLE [Ch.] (adv. *perdurably* [*c.*1250]) *perdūrābilis* [Boethius, Cassiodorus] 'lasting a long time' (*perdūrā̆re* 'endure')

PORTABLE [*c.*1400] *portābilis* [Augustine] 'which can be carried; portable' (*portā̆re/portātum* 'carry')

POSSIBLE [a1349]/IMPOSSIBLE [a1325] *(im)possibilis* [Quintilian] '(im)possible' (*(in+) posse* 'be able'; prior to Quintilian (*Institutio oratoria* 3. 8. 25), who first mentions *possibile* as a rendering of G δυνατόν 'strong; able; possible', possibility was variously expressed in Latin, e.g. *fierī potest* 'it can be (done)': Bertocchi and Orlandini 2002)

POTABLE [1577] *pōtābilis* [c4 Ausonius] 'drinkable' (*pōtā̆re/pōtātum* 'drink')

PROBABLE [1387 Trevisa] *probābilis* 'praiseworthy, commendable; plausible, credible' (*probā̆re* '(ap)prove; examine, test')

REPREHENSIBLE [a1382 Wyclif] *reprehēnsibilis* [c2] 'open to censure; blameworthy' (*repre(he)ndere/repr(eh)ēnsum* 'hold back; REPREHEND; censure; rebuke')

SENSIBLE [a1382 Wyclif] *sēnsibilis* 'perceptible'; [Apuleius] 'capable of sensation' (*sentīre/sēnsum* 'perceive; feel; experience; be conscious of')

TOLERABLE [1422] *tolerābilis* 'capable of enduring; able to be endured; tolerable; passable' (*tolerā̆re/tolerātum* 'bear; support; endure; put up with; resist')

TREATABLE [*c.*1303]/TRACTABLE [1502] *tractābilis* 'able to be handled; manageable; tractable; amenable' (*trahere/tractum* 'drag; haul; draw; carry along; influence')

VARIABLE [a1387] *variābilis* [Boethius] 'changeable' (*variāre/variātum* 'diversify; vary')
VIOLABLE [a1470]/INVIOLABLE [1530 Palsgrave] *(in)violābilis* '(in)destructible; (in)violable' (*(in+) violāre/violātum* 'treat with violence; invade; profane; VIOLATE')
(IN)VISIBLE [a1349] *invīsibilis* [Celsus] 'invisible'; *vīsibilis* [Pliny] '(in)capable of seeing'; [Apuleius] 'capable of being seen; visible' (*vidēre/vīsum* 'see')

5.7.3.3 *Functions of* -ible/-able *in English*

In Late Latin, the form *-ābilis* was generalized, e.g. *capābilis* [Augustine] CAPABLE § 5.7.3.2 (for expected *cap-i-bilis* [455 Acts of the Ecumenical Councils] 'able to be contained'). In French and especially Anglo-French, and then English, *-able* became the productive alternant.

This section treats the differences between borrowed *-ible* and *-able* on the one hand, and productive E *-able* on the other.

Though frequently confused, productive E *-able* has very different properties from borrowed words with *-able/-ible* (cf. Roeper and van Hout 1999). Although both are ultimately from Latin, the former is always spelled *-able* and the negative is *un-*; the negative of the latter is *in-*. A good illustration is Chaucer's *importable* which means 'insufferable' rather than 'able to be imported'. It is from LL *importābilis* [Tertullian] 'unbearable; unendurable' with negative *in* 'not'. MnE *importable* (with *in* 'in') can only mean 'able to be imported' and contrasts minimally with *unportable* (with negative *un-*).

The difference between borrowed *-able* and productive E *-able* can also be illustrated with Chaucer's *proportionable*, which today can only mean 'able to be proportioned' but for Chaucer meant 'proportional', like (O)F *proporcionnable* (Thorné Hammar 1942: 149) and LL *prōportiōnābilis* [Boethius], an extension of *prōportiōnālis* PROPORTIONAL.

E *-able* involves the capacity of a passive event being fulfilled, namely:

(*a*) active: [x CAN do y]
(*b*) passive: [y can be done (by x)]
(*c*) *-able*: [y is *doable* (by x)]

The differences between E *-able* and Latin-French borrowings with *-able/-ible* (called *latinate* here) can be illustrated by contrasting the properties of associated wordpairs.

arable/ploughable

(in)arable only refers to land; *(un)ploughable* to anything that can be 'ploughed' in some meaningful manner:

*the snow is ploughable/*arable*

arable denotes a (permanent) state; *ploughable* a (particular) event:

1. *the land is arable* (**(but only) to farmers)*
2. *the land is ploughable ((but only) to farmers)*

Either the land is arable or it isn't—by nature.

E *-able* is derived from a syntactic passive and can take an adjunct agent (*by*) phrase, which latinate *-able/-ible* cannot.

(un)believable/(in)credible

Agent (*by*) phrase:

1. *the witness is believable (by the jury)*
2. *the witness is credible* (**by the jury)*

Credible involves a permanent attribute, *believable* a particular event of being believed.

(il)legible/(un)readable

Legible refers only to the print; *readable* to the text and content.

1. *the book is legible* (**by me)*
2. *the book is readable (by me)*

-ible involves a personal experience not shared with *-able*:

1. *the book is legible to me*
2. *?*the book is readable to me*

portable/carryable

Portable involves an item's nature; *carryable* an event:

1. *the old TV was portable* (**on that occasion/*by six wrestlers)*
2. *the old TV was carriable (on that occasion/by six wrestlers)*

Productive E *-able* has the literal meaning of a syntactic passive; the latinate construct has non-eventive meanings.

(un)sensable/(in)sensible

Sensable means 'able to be sensed'; *sensible* means 'perceptible' and then has the stative meanings 'perceptive; cognizant'.

The two differ phonetically:

1. *sensible* has no secondary stress
2. *sensable* has secondary stress and some phonetic lengthening of the base [sɛ̄ns].

E *-able* has the same lexical restrictions as the base verb; the latinate formation expresses a general property.

(un)doable/(in)feasible

Feasible is from OF *faisible* 'doable', but means 'capable of being accomplished' as a general property, hence 'practicable; possible; suitable; likely'.

Doable has the same restrictions as *do*:

1. *?the solution was doable*

(one doesn't normally 'do' a solution)

2. *the solution was feasible*

(quite natural for a general property)

extensible/extendable

(*a*)(1) *the robot had an extensible arm*
(2) *the arm was extensible* (**by the robot)*
(3) *the arm was extendable (by the robot)*

(*b*)(1) *the ladder was extensible* (**to the third floor)*
(2) *the ladder was extendable (to the third floor)*

(*c*)(1) **the garden was extensible* (not a general property of gardens!)
(2) *the garden was extendable*

In sum, it is clear that *-able* became very productive in English and has properties quite different from those of borrowed *-able/-ible*.

6

Verbal Suffixes

6.1 Statives in -*ē*-

Latin -*ē*- is highly opaque, conflating stative *-*eh₁*- and causative *-*eye/o*-, as in *torr-ē-re* 'make dry', among other formations (Ernout 1953: 144 ff.; LG i. 552 ff.; Sihler 1995: 530 ff.; Meiser 1998: 189 f.; Baldi 1999: 371, 374). Only stative *-*eh₁*- is considered in this section.

It has become fashionable to distinguish Proto-Indo-European fientive *-*eh₁*/*h₁*- from essive *-*h₁yé*- (Rix et al. 2001: 25; Meier-Brügger et al. 2000: 163; 2003: 174). In the terminology of the current work, essive equals stative and fientive translates to non-causative change of state (§§ 1.12, 1.14 ff.). Essive *-*h₁yé*- is conceptualized as composed of fientive *-*(e)h₁*- and *-*ye/o*-. In theoretical terms, however, it makes no sense to derive a (non-result) state from a change of state (§ 1.15), and Jasanoff (2003: 156 f.) rejects the idea that enough is known about Proto-Indo-European to carefully distinguish these two suffixes with major overlap and other functions. He posits one suffix *-*eh₁*- with several functions, one of which is stative. In any event, Latin -*ē*- is generally reconstructed as a composite of *-*eh₁*- and *-*ye/o*- (cf. Meiser 1998: 190).

The origin and proto-function of *-*eh₁*- is disputed. One theoretical possibility would be reanalysis of a stative root ending in *-*eh₁*-, such as **k*^{w}*yeh₁*- 'be quiet' LIV 393 f., **h₂weh₁*- 'blow' LIV 287 (of the wind), **bhleh₁*- 'howl' LIV 87 (also of the wind), **gheh₁*- 'come, go' LIV 196, **h₂eh₁*- 'be hot' LIV 257, **kleh₁*- 'call, shout' LIV 361 f., **sp*^{h}*eh₁*- 'do well, profit' LIV 584, **reh₁*- 'count, take account' LIV 499, **dreh₁*- 'sleep' LIV 126 f., **ḱweh₁*- 'swell' LIV 339 f., and other possible stative or change of state roots ending in *-*eh₁*- (LIV 706). Initially, it was accidental that some stative roots ended in **h₁* (or any other consonant), but some of the roots above may have an -*(e)h₁*- stative suffix. The root **pelh₁*-/**pleh₁*- 'fill' has many stative formations (L *plē-nu-s* 'full'), and was probably inherently stative, given that it is typical for transitive/causative formations (including L -*plēre* 'to fill') to be built on stative roots.

Jasanoff (2003: 156 f.) defends against critics his earlier idea that *-*eh₁*- was an old athematic instrumental of the type Ved. *gúhā* 'in concealment', *mr̥̄ṣā*

'in vain' (cf. Schrijver 1991: 141, w. lit). Jasanoff's arguments follow, along with counterarguments.

1. **-eh₁-* is a Caland suffix, alternating with **-ro-*, **-i-*, **-es-*, etc. (§ 1.13). Since IE verbal suffixes otherwise did not participate in Caland alternations, the base was of necessity nominal. Hence, **h₁rudh-éh₁-* 'with redness' underlies **h₁rudh-eh₁-ye/o-* ['be with redness' >] 'be red' (L *rubēre*) and **h₁rudh-eh₁-s(ḱe/o)-* 'become red' (L *rubēscere*).

Caland derivation (§ 1.13) has no privileged status. As noted in Chapter 1, it is nothing more than the crosslinguistically widespread pattern of substitutive derivation. It is at least as plausible that the Indo-European stative suffix was simply **-h₁-* (Olsen 2003: 234–9), which attached to thematic stems, such as **h₁rudh-e-*, but to other stems as well, e.g. **h₂r̥ǵu-* (Ved. *r̥jú-*) 'straight', hence **h₂r̥ǵu-h₁-yé-* (Ved. *r̥jūyáti* 'is straight'). Compare also **ph₂tri-h₁-yé/ó-* (Ved. *pitrīyáti* 'is in a fatherly state, is paternal'). A thematic base like **(h₂)albh-o-* (L *albus* 'white') makes a stative **(h₂)albhe-h₁-yé/ó-* (L *albēre* 'be white').

2. Based on Latin separations like *facit ārē* 'makes dry', Jasanoff claims that **-eh₁-* also appears in Latin compounds like *ārēfacit* 'id.', but this is not clear. The separations are not archaic and have more the appearance of language play (see § 6.4.1).

3. **-eh₁-* has no early identifiable verbal function in PIE. It is used, e.g. of stative presents (L *rubēre* 'be red'), inchoative presents (L *rubēscere* 'become red'), stative preterits (Lith. *minė́jau* 'I had in mind, remembered'), and true aorists (G *ἐμάνην* 'I became mad'). This argument is not compelling. In the first place, inchoatives (non-causative changes of state) are prototypically built on states (§ 1.12). Second, there is no contradiction in his Lithuanian or Greek examples (Ruijgh 2004). The former is a state, the latter a non-causative change of state. The major fluctuation, then, is between state and change of state, a frequent change. Even in Latin, which productively uses *-sc-* for the non-causative change of state (§ 6.2), some *-ē-* verbs get both interpretations, e.g. *rubēre* 'be red' and 'become red'. Finally, there are states (stative formations) on other stems as well, e.g. **-i-h₁-yé/ó-*, **-u-h₁-yé/ó-*, **-C-h₁-yé/ó-* (Olsen 2003: 238 f.).

In all of Jasanoff's examples, a state or non-causative change of state is involved, even in such nominal derivatives as **h₁rudh-eh₁-ti-* '(state of) being red', which became infinitives in Balto-Slavic (Lith. *rudė́ti* 'become browner', OCS *rŭděti* 'become red', both non-causative changes of state). It is not explained how an instrumental suddenly designates a state (or change of state) when the abstract noun suffix **-ti-* (§ 3.8) is added. This presupposes that the state meaning had already evolved as a verbal suffix in PIE, which brings us back to the central point that PIE had a stative suffix **-(e)h₁-*, whatever its ultimate source (cf. Ruijgh 2004).

6.1.1 *Successors of Latin -ē- in English*

Most of the Latin *-ē-* statives are represented in English with *-nt-* constructs (see the derivatives in *-ia* from *-nt-* formations in §§ 2.2.5 f.). Since lists of *-ē-* verbs are provided in sections 3.1, 5.1, and 6.2, there is no reason to reiterate them here. Suffice it to mention a few of the *-nt-* derivatives of Latin *-ē-* statives in English:

absorbent- 'absorbing' ABSORBENT [1718], *adjacent-* 'lying next to; neighbouring' ADJACENT [*c.*1430], ML *aequivalent-* 'being equal in value' EQUIVALENT [*c.*1460], *ārdent-* 'burning; passionate' ARDENT [a1333], *complacent-* '(being) very pleasing' COMPLACENT [1660], *continent-* 'holding together; temperate' CONTINENT [a1382 Wyclif], *decent-* 'seemly; becoming; DECENT' [1539], *dēpendent-* 'hanging down; (being) DEPENDENT' [1523], *dētergent-* 'wiping off; rubbing clean' DETERGENT [1616], *ēminent-* 'standing out; lofty; distinguished' EMINENT [1420], *ēvident-* 'visible; manifest; EVIDENT' [Wyclif, Ch.], LL [Augustine] *immanent* 'remaining in; inherent' IMMANENT [1535], *imminent-* 'overhanging; impending; (being) IMMINENT' [1528], LL [c4/5] *impertinent-* 'not belonging; irrelevant' IMPERTINENT [Ch.], *imprūdent-* 'not foreseeing; inadvertent; IMPRUDENT' [Ch.], *impudent-* 'shameless; IMPUDENT' [Ch.], *(īn)frequent-* '(un)crowded; (IN)FREQUENT' [1531], *inhaerent-* 'sticking in; clinging to' INHERENT [1578], *(in)nocent-* '(not) harming; (in)offensive; (non)guilty' INNOCENT [1340], *īnsolent-* 'contrary to custom; excessive; arrogant' INSOLENT [Ch.], *latent-* 'lurking; lying hid; concealed; secret' LATENT [1616], *paenitent-* 'repenting, PENITENT' [Ch.], *patent-* 'lying open; exposed; manifest' PATENT [a1387 Trevisa], *pendent-* 'dangling' (PENDENT [*c.*1400] 'suspended', variant of *pendant*), *pertinent-* 'concerning' PERTINENT [Ch.], *praesident-* ['sitting in front'] 'director; PRESIDENT' [Wyclif, Ch.], *praevalent-* 'having greater power or influence; prevailing' PREVALENT [1576], *prōvident-* 'foreseeing' PROVIDENT [1429], *prūdent-* 'being cautious; PRUDENT' [a1382 Wyclif], *resplendent-* 'shining brightly (with reflected light)' RESPLENDENT [1448], *reticent-* 'keeping silence' RETICENT [a1834], *reverent-* 'respectful; REVERENT' [Ch.], *solvent-* 'releasing; dissolving; absolving' SOLVENT [1653], *strīdent-* [also 3rd CONJ] 'making a harsh noise; hissing' STRIDENT [1656], *student-* 'being zealous; studying' STUDENT [a1398 Trevisa], *torrent-* 'scorching, rushing; TORRENT' [1601] ([1398 Trevisa] as Latin word).

Several Latin expressions from *-ē-* verbs occur as English words: *frequēns* 'frequent', *līs pendēns* 'a pending lawsuit'. Latinate coinages in English include *adherent* [1460], *resident* [1487], *respondent* [1528], etc.

6.2 Non-causative changes of state in *-sc-*

Indo-European developed a derivational pattern of stative **-eh₁-* beside inchoative **-eh₁-s-*, iterative inchoative **-eh₁-s-ḱ-*, most evident in Hittite (Watkins 1971).[1] Latin simplified the derivational process to stative *-ē-* beside inchoative *-ē-sc-*, as in **l(e)uk-ē-*L *lūcet* 'it is light' : **leuk-eh₁-sḱ-* L *lūcēscit* 'it gets light' (Watkins 1971: 87, comparing Hitt. *lu-ke-e-eš-zi* 'it gets light' < **leuk-eh₁-s-*). In Latin, this derivational process became very productive (Ernout 1953: § 202; Mignot 1969: 145–228; LG i. 535–9, 553 ff.; Keller 1992; Haverling 2000). Latin attests over 700 *-sc-* verbs.

In the realm of semantics, García-Hernández (1980: 94–7) takes Latin *-sc-* to be inchoative-progressive. According to Haverling (2000: 450), *-sc-* is 'dynamic but non-terminative' in the early period. The primary function of deverbal *-sc-* is 'dynamicity and intransitivity' (Haverling 2000: 451). Moreover, unprefixed *-sc-* verbs describe the process. The prefixes *ad* and *in* make *-sc-* verbs inceptive/ingressive; most other prefixes signal that the action is brought to a conclusion (Haverling 2000: 451). These semantic details muddle the fact that the core function is non-causative change of state (§§ 1.11, 1.13).

In addition to the main non-causative change of state function, Latin attests residues of other PIE **-s-ḱé/ó-* formations, e.g. ordinary characterized presents: **pr̥(ḱ)-sḱé/ó-* 'ask' (Ved. *pr̥c(c)háti* 'asks', L *poscere* 'ask for insistently, demand'); cf. **h₂is-sḱé/ó-*, as in Ved. *ic(c)háti* 'seeks, desires' and Gmc. **aiskōn*, OE *āscian* ASK, in which **-sḱe/o-* reinforces the inherently desiderative meaning of 'ask' (Jasanoff 2003: 133, 192). Later creations of the same type include L *crēscere* (cf. perfect 1sg *crēvī*) 'grow', etc. (Jasanoff 2003: 133). The inchoative function of *-sc-* became so productive in Latin that inherited forms were assimilated to that function. L *(co)gnō-sc-ere* 'get to know' (COGNOSCENTE [1778] 'connoisseur' via Italian) has this meaning independently of the terminativity imparted by *con-* (*pace* Haverling 2000: 450), while the Indo-European cognates are durative, e.g. G γιγνώσκω 'I know' (LIV 169).

Thanks to numerous productive derivatives like *albēscere* 'become white' from *albēre* 'be white', in turn from *albus* 'white', the *-sc-* formation could be related directly to the adjective, prompting deadjectival verbs, e.g. *ē-vānēscere* 'pass away, disappear' EVANESCE(NT) [1717] (*vānus* 'empty; VAIN; devoid (of)'), *pūbēscere* 'reach physical maturity' PUBESCE(NT) [1646]

[1] More precisely, according to Jasanoff (2003: 133 ff.), the original function of **-h₁s-* was desiderative (from **h₁(e)s-* 'be'??), and the simple **-s-* of **-s-ḱe/o-* is by loss of **h₁* between obstruents (p. 134 n. 34). With change of state verbs, Jasanoff argues, 'be disposed to' would be pragmatically indistinguishable from 'be in the initial stages of becoming', a natural bridge to the inchoative function.

(*pūbēs* 'adult'), etc. (LG i. 554 f.; Mignot 1969: 150; Meiser 1998: 193). The category ambiguity of *pūbēs* (noun or adjective) in turn allowed for denominal verbs, such as Early Latin *tābēscere* 'waste away; be consumed; dwindle away' TABESCENT [1819] (*tābēs* 'a wasting away' TABES [c17] 'slow emaciation'; cf. Keller 1992: 369–71; Haverling 2000: 443); *lactēscere* [Cicero] 'turn into milk, become milky', [Pliny] 'begin to produce milk' LACTESCENT [1668] (Haverling 2000: 442). From *arbor* 'tree' and *frutex/frutic-* 'shrub', Pliny coined *arborēscere* 'grow into a tree' ARBORESCENT [1675] and *fruticēscere* 'become bushy'; cf. *frutēscere* [Ambrose] 'put forth shoots' FRUTESCENT [1709] 'becoming shrubby' (Mignot 1969: 157 f., 160; Haverling 2000: 444 f.). Note also *īrā-sc-ī* 'get angry' IRASC*ible* [1398], which may be built on *īra* 'anger' or, perhaps more likely, is backformed from *īrātus* 'angered, IRATE' [1838] (§ 4.12; Haverling 2000: 396, w. lit).

A secondary formation (LIV 163 ff.; cf. Haverling 2000: 395) is *(g)nāscī* 'come into existence; be born' NASCENT [1624], which patterns with such changes of state as *senēscere* 'get old', *ēvānēscere* 'pass away'. *Reminīscī* 'remember' (cf. *reminīscentia* [Tertullian] REMINISCENCE [1589]) is built on ?**mn̥-yé-* [**men-*[1] 'think'] (cf. LIV 435 f.). Similarly constructed (**kup-yé-*) is *concupīscere* 'conceive a strong desire for; covet' [**keup-* 'tremble (inwardly)' cf. LIV 359], whence *concupīscentia* [scriptures, EL] '(evil) desire' CONCUPISCENCE [?*c.*1350]; cf. backformed *concupere* [Quintilian] 'desire ardently'.

For some verbs, such as *alere* (**al-e-* < **h*$_2$*el-e-*) 'nurse; nurture; grow', the *-ē-* stative was early replaced by an *-ēsc-* inchoative. Thus, **alēre* (**h*$_2$*l-éh*$_1$*-*) 'be nourished; grow up' was displaced by *alēscere* 'id.' (cf. *co-alēscere* COALESCE [1541]), but **al-ē-* remains assured by *alētūdō* [Festus] 'corpulence' and such archaic formations as *prōlēs* (**pro*+*h*$_2$*ol-eh*$_1$*-*) 'offspring; progeny', *subolēs* (**sub*+*h*$_2$*ol-eh*$_1$*-*) 'offshoot; offspring', and *indolēs* (**ind(u)*+*h*$_2$*ol-eh*$_1$*-*) 'growth, increase; innate character, nature' (DELL 41 ff.; LG i. 553). Beside stative **ad-ol-ē-* in *ad-ol-ē-sc-ēnt-* ADOLESCENT [1482] (which Keller 1992: 403–10 and Haverling 2000: 403 derive from transitive *alere*), Latin had causative *adolēre* (**ad*+*h*$_2$*ol-éye-*) 'burn' via semantic specialization of 'nurturing' the fire (LIV 262).

6.2.1 *Successors of Latin* -ē-sc-

In contrast to the very productive F *-esque* -ESQUE and Sp. *-esco* from Ital. *-esco* (Schwarze 1999; Pharies 2002: 236 f.), in English, *-esce* was never fully utilized even on Romance bases. For instance, there is apparently no **stupescent* 'becoming dazed' despite L *stupēscere* 'become dazed or stupefied' (*stupēre* 'be numb, stunned, dazed, bewildered'). Very rare are *horrescent* [1865] and *splendescent* [1848] to L *horrēscere* 'bristle; shudder; tremble'

(*horrēre* 'tremble at'), *splendēscere* 'become lustrous; begin to shine' (*splendēre* 'be bright or resplendent; shine'). The suffix is, however, frequently encountered in scientific and technical vocabulary. For PUTRESCENCE [1646], Latin attests no **putrēscentia* which is evidently a neologism built directly on L *putrēscere* 'rot; putrefy'. Noteworthy are the denominal neologisms *iridescent* [1796] 'displaying rainbow colours' (L *īris/īrid-* < G *ἶρις /ἶριδ-* 'rainbow; IRIS' [a1387 Trevisa] 'rainbow crystal', anatomical [1525]), *phosphorescent* [1766] (NL *phōsphorus* PHOSPHORUS [1629] < L *phōsphorus* 'the morning star' < G *φωσφόρος* 'the light-bringer; Lucifer'), *opalescent* [1813] (L *opalus* [Pliny] < G *ὀπάλλιος* < Skt. *úpala-* 'precious stone; opal'), *fluorescent* [1853] (L *fluor* 'flow; flux; FLUOR' [1621]), etc. Deadjectivals such as *viriliscent* [1836–9] 'acquiring masculine qualities' (*virīlis* VIRILE [1490]) are equally prevalent.

In some dialects of early Romance, certain paradigmatic forms of verbs in *-īr(e)* were extended by **-īsc-*, yielding e.g. French 3pl *périssent* 'they perish'. These entered English in the form *-iss-/-ish-*: *blemish* [?a1350], *finish* [a1375], *nourish* [*c.*1300], *perish* [*c.*1275], *vanish* [*c.*1303], etc. Since these are exclusively of French mediation and the Latin paradigms were differently constituted, they are ignored here.

Very few *-esce* words enter English as verbs. For most, the earliest attestation is an adjective in *-escent* (L *-ē-sc-ent-*) or a derived noun in *-escence* (L *-ē-sc-ent-ia*), from which the verb is subsequently backformed. Such was the case with *evanescent* [1717], *evanesce* [1822], mentioned above. Any Latin verb could have an *-nt-* participle, but since nouns in *-entia* to *-sc-* verbs are mostly late, and Latin deverbal verbs are exclusively targeted in this section, the list in § 6.2.2 for the most part cites only the Latin *-sc-* base infinitive (as opposed to the precise participial formation). As always, at least the early examples entered English via (Anglo-)French.

6.2.2 *English* -esce- *borrowings*

ACQUIESCE [1620] *acquiēscere* 'rest, relax; subside; find relief in'; [Suetonius] 'be satisfied (with)' (*ad* + *quiēscere*: see *quiescent* below)

ADOLESCENT [1482] *adolēscere* 'grow (up); (become) mature' (*ad* + **al-ē-*; see § 6.2 on *alere* 'nurse; nurture; grow')

ALBESCENCE [1831] *albēscere* 'become white/bright' (*albēre* 'be white' [**albho-* 'white' = **h₂elbho-* or **h₁albho-*] see discussion at the beginning of § 5.1)

COALESCE [1541] *coalēscere* 'grow together; coalesce' (*co(m)-* + *alēscere* 'be nourished; grow up'; Latin attests no **co-alere*; see *adolescent* above)

CONVALESCE [1483] *convalēscere* 'grow strong; get well; recover from illness' (*con-* + *valēre* 'be strong; be well' but there is no CL **convalēre*; cf. *valēscere* 'become sound in health'; cf. *valid* § 5.1.2)

CORUSCATE [1705] 'sparkle, glitter' *coruscāre* 'glitter, flash'; [Lucretius] 'vibrate, quiver' (possibly denominal to *coruscus* [Varro] 'flashing, glittering'; [Virgil] 'moving rapidly; trembling; elusive' [**(s)ker-*[2] 'leap, jump' = **(s)k/ker-*[1] LIV 556] but a transfer to the first conjugation is also suggested Keller 1992: 193; Haverling 2000: 398)

CRESCENT [1399] *crēscere* 'come into existence; increase' (cf. *creāre* 'cause to grow; CREATE [Ch.]; procreate' but probably backformed from *crēvī* 'I grew' [**ker-*[3] 'grow'; see **kerh*$_3$- LIV 329]); cf.:

INCREASE [a1333] (OF *encreiss-* [1080]) *incrēscere* 'develop; grow; increase' (*in* + *crēscere*; cf. *incrēmentum* INCREMENT [1420])

DECREASE [a1382 Wyclif] (OF *de(s)creiss-* [1160] < Romance **discrēscere*) *dēcrēscere* 'grow smaller; dwindle; decrease; decline' (*dē* + *crēscere*)

DELIQUESCE [1756] 'dissolve by absorption of moisture' *dēliquēscere* 'melt away; dissipate' (*dē* + *liquēre* 'appear clear'; [a63] 'be liquid' (there is no CL **dēliquēre*) < **wlik-w-eh*$_1$- or **wlik*^{w}*-eh*$_1$- [**wleik-* 'flow' = **wleik*^{w}- LIV 696 f.]; cf. *liquescent* below)

EFFERVESCE [1702] (backformed from *effervescence* [c17]) *effervēscere* 'become agitated; seethe; boil over' (*ex* + *fervēre* 'be intensely hot; seethe'; cf. *fervēscere* 'become hot' [**bherw-*]; see *fervid* § 5.1.2)

EFFLORESCE [1775] (backformed from *efflorescence* [c17]) *efflōrēscere* 'burst into flower; blossom forth' (*ex* + *flōrēre* 'put forth flowers; blossom; bloom'; cf. LL *efflōrēre* [sacrae scripturae] 'flourish; bloom' [**bhel-*[3] 'thrive, bloom']; cf. *florid* § 5.1.2)

FLORESCENCE [1793] *flōrēscentia* [NL] 'period of flowering' < *flōrēscere* 'begin to flower; increase in status' (*flōrēre* 'blossom; prosper; flourish; peak'; see *effloresce* above)

INCANDESCENT [1794] *incandēscere* 'become red hot; glow with heat' (*in* + *candēscere* 'get light; become hot' < *candēre* 'shine; be white; be hot' [**(s)kend-*]; see *candid* § 5.1.2)

LANGUESCENT [1837] 'growing languid or tired' *languēscere* 'grow weak or feeble; wilt' (*languēre* 'be sluggish, enfeebled, languid; droop' [**sleg-*]; see *languid* § 5.1.2)

LIQUESCENT [1727] *liquēscere* 'become liquid; melt' (*liquēre* 'be/appear clear; be liquid'; see *deliquesce* above)

NIGRESCENT [1755] *nigrēscere* 'become dark; blacken' (*nigrēre* 'darken; blacken' < **neg-ro-* [**nek*^{w}*-t-* 'night', probably from a verbal root **neg*^{w}- 'be dark'; cf. LIV 449])

OBSOLESCENT [1755] *obsolēscere* 'fall into disuse; become obsolete' (*ob* + *solēre* 'be accustomed' [**sel*-2 'dwell' LIV 528]; AHDR [**sel*-1] does not mention *solēre* and LIV derives it from iterative **sol-éye*-; if correct, the word does not belong here)

PALLESCENCE [1657] 'paleness; a turning pale' *pallēscere* 'become pale' (*pallēre* 'be pale' [**pel*-2 'pale']; see *pallid* § 5.1.2)

PINGUESCENT [1797] 'fattening; flourishing' *pinguēscere* 'grow fat' (*pinguis* 'fat'; cf. *pinguid* [1635] 'fat; unctuous; oily; fertile'; see *pinguitude* § 2.4.1)

QUIESCENT [1646] *quiēscere* (PPP *quiētus* QUIET) 'be quiet; rest; repose in sleep' (analogically built on root aorist **k*^{w}*yeh*$_1$-; cf. perfect *quiēvī* < **k*^{w}*yeh*$_1$-*wai* [**k*^{w}*eih*$_1$- 'be quiet, rest' = **k*^{w}*yeh*$_1$- LIV 393 f.])

RIGESCENT [1873] 'becoming stiff or rigid' *rigēscere* 'become stiff, rigid; solidify; freeze' (*rigēre* 'be stiff, rigid, solidified, cold' [**reiǵ*-2 'stretch out' or (?) **reiǵ*-1 'bind' LIV 503]; cf. *rigid* § 5.1.2)

RUBESCENT [1731] 'becoming red; flushing; blushing' *rubēscere* 'become red; redden' (*rubēre* 'be red'; see §§ 5.1, 6.1)

SENESCENT [1656] *senēscere* 'grow old; age' (*senēre* 'be old, exhausted'; cf. *senex* 'old (man)' [**sen*- 'old'])

TORPESCENT [1750] 'becoming torpid or numb' *torpēscere* 'become inactive; grow numb'; [Pliny] 'become torpid' (*torpēre* 'be motionless, inactive, or paralysed' [**ster*-1 'stiff' = **terp*- 'grow stiff, be paralysed' LIV 636 f.]; see *torpid* § 5.1.2)

TUMESCENT [1882] *tumēscere* 'become distended, inflated, or swollen' (*tumēre* 'be distended or inflated; swell' < **tu-m*- [**twem*- 'swell'] RPIEL 530; cf. *tumid* § 5.1.2)

TURGESCENCE [1631] *turgēscere* 'begin to swell' (*turgēre* 'be distended; swell' [etym. unknown DELL 1252])

VIRESCENT [1826] 'turning green; greenish' *virēscere* 'turn green' (*virēre* 'be green, verdant, vigorous' [**weis*-1 'thrive' LIV 671 f.]; see *viridescent* below and *virid* § 5.1.2)

VIRIDESCENT [1847] 'somewhat green; greenish' *viridēscere* [c4 Ambrose] 'become green (fresh)' (*viridis* 'green'; note the derivational cycle: *vir-ē*- 'be green' → *vir-ē-scere* 'turn green'/*vir-id-is* 'green' → *viridāre* 'make green'/*virid-ē-scere* 'become green')

6.3 Deadjectival factitives in -*ā*- (**-éh*$_2$-)

Indo-European developed a productive process of deriving deadjectival factitives in **-ā*- (**-éh*$_2$-) beside statives in **-ē*- (**-éh*$_1$-) (§ 6.1). For instance, from **new-e/o*- (L *novus*) 'new' was made a factitive **new-éh*$_2$-: Hitt. *nēw-aḫḫ-(i)*

'make(s) new', G *νεϵα̃ν* 'plough up anew', L *(re)nov-ā-re* 'renew' RENOVATE [1522] (backformed from *renovation* [c15]). Italic, Greek, Celtic, and Germanic thematized **-e-h₂-* to **-eh₂-e/o-*, which fell together with or was replaced by the more common present formative **-ye/o-*, namely **-eh₂-ye/o-* (Jasanoff 2003: 139 ff.).

The following Latin examples illustrate the full derivational process (cf. §§ 1.12, 6.1 f.; Watkins 1971: 67):

clārus 'clear' → *clār-ē-re* 'be clear, be shown', *clārēscere* 'become clear'
clār-ā-re 'make clear; show'
albus 'white' → *alb-ē-re* 'be white', *(ex)albēscere* 'turn white'
(dē)alb-ā-re 'whiten; make white'
liqu-id-us LIQUID → *liqu-ē-re* 'be clear, liquid', *liquēscere* 'become liquid; melt'
liqu-ā-re 'make liquid'

From the archaic period alone, Mignot (1969: 370–80) lists 357 *-ā-* verbs (not all factitive). See the primary study by Steinbauer (1989). In Early Latin, the *-i-* of *-i-* stem adjectives was (synchronically speaking) deleted before *-ā-*, as in *lev-i-s* 'light' : *lev-ā-re* 'lighten; lift'. The later derivational pattern retains *-i-*: *lev-i-ā-re* [c6] 'relieve, lighten'; cf. classical *allevāre* 'lift up; alleviate' vs. later *alleviāre/alleviātum* [sacrae scripturae] 'lighten; relieve' ALLEVIATE [1471]. The same pattern occurs in *brev-i-s* 'short' : *brev-i-ā-re* 'shorten' and *abbreviāre/abbreviātum* [c4/5] 'epitomize; break off' ABBREVIATE [1531] (cf. Mignot 1969: 268, 311).[2] Alternatively, the *-i-* could have originated with the comparative *brev-i-us* 'shorter' (LG i. 546; see below). Late Latin verbs are derived with or without *-i-*, e.g. *humil-i-s* 'low' : *humil-āre* ∼ *humil-i-āre/humil-i-ātum* [sacrae scripturae] 'humble, HUMILIATE' [1533]. That retaining the adjective's derivational stem became the norm is clear from *mediāre/ī/mediātum* [sacrae scripturae] 'be in the middle'; [c5ᵇ] 'intercede' MEDIATE [1440] (*medius* 'middle'). For a parallel of making a verb from the adjective's entire derivational stem, cf. *dīvīnāre* 'to DIVINE' [a1338], built on *dīv-īn-us* (§ 14.7) DIVINE [Ch.] (cf. Mignot 1969; 312).

Some verbs in *-iāre* were derived from comparatives. From *amplus* 'large, AMPLE' [1413] was originally made *amplāre* [1× Pacuvius] 'glorify; exalt'. The

[2] Probably as part of a more general pattern of denominal derivation from *-i-* stems (Mignot 1969: 18 ff., 59), the factitive pattern of *-ā-re* was occasionally generalized to *-ī-re*, e.g. *lēn-i-s* 'smooth; gentle; easy' → *lēn-ī-re/lēn-ī-tum* ['make smooth'] 'mitigate; appease; assuage' LENITE [1912]. This was also generalized to denominals, e.g. *ign-i-s* 'fire' → *ign-ī-re/ign-ī-tum* [sacrae scripturae] 'set on fire' IGNITE [1666].

normal classical verb *ampliāre* 'enlarge; augment, increase' was derived from the comparative *amplius* 'larger' (Mignot 1969: 210 f., w. lit). Other verbs so built are *meliōr-ā-re/meliōr-ā-tum* [Ulpian] 'improve' MELIORATE [1542] (*melior* 'better'), *peiōrāre/peiōrātum* [c2/3] 'make worse; aggravate' PEJORATIVE [1882] (*peior* 'worse'), and *dēteriōrāre/dēteriōrātum* [c6] 'make worse; degenerate' DETERIORATE [1572] (*dēterior* 'worse').

The relationship above was unstable. Several factors conspired to render it opaque, not least of which was the morphological plurifunctionality of *-ā-*. In some cases, *-ā-* in Latin conflated statives in *-a + ē-* (Cowgill 1973), e.g. *stā-re* 'stand' (**sta-ē-*, more precisely **stāye-* < **sth₂-éh₁ye-* LIV 591). For Early Latin *lav-ā-re* 'wash (oneself)' (vs. transitive *lavere* 'wash') Schrijver (1991: 397) posits **lava-ē-*. Meiser (1998: 85, 186 f.) disagrees on phonological grounds and posits an intensive **louh₃-eye-* with several phonological readjustments, but the meaning is not accounted for. Assuming Schrijver was on the right track, a stative formation **louh₃-éh₂-* would yield the correct output via intermediate **lowā-* (LIV 418), but **louh₃-eh₂-h₁-* is semantically better and conforms to Olsen's theoretical reconstruction **-ah₂-h₁-yé/ó-* (2003: 238).

Schrijver (1991: 398 f.) also suggests that **ama-ē-* underlies *am-ā-re* 'love', but more likely, an original **h₂émh₃-/*h₂m̥h₃-* was rebuilt to **ama-ye-* (LIV 265 f.), perhaps by way of **h₂(a)mh₃-ah₂-h₁-yé/ó-*.

Already in the archaic period, Mignot (1969: 280 ff.) counts some twenty *-ā-* verbs with stative value, e.g. *trepidāre* 'be agitated', and others with both stative and factitive meaning, e.g. *dūrāre* 'make hard; be hard, enDURE' [1275] < **duh₂-ro-* [**deuə-/*deuh₂-* 'long (in duration)'], or *viridāre* [Accius] 'be green'; [Ovid] 'make green'. To *(in)cumbere* 'lean (on); bear down (on)' [**keubh₂-* or **ḱeubh₂-*], there is an intransitive *(in)cubāre* 'lie (on)' which goes back to stative **kubh₂-eh₁-ye-* (LIV 357 f.).

The *-ā-* class was the most productive in Latin, but it ceased to have any reliable semantic content. In addition to the formations mentioned above, the first conjugation also encompassed denominals (*dōnāre* 'present' DONATE [1845] < **dōnā-ye-*, to *dōnum* 'gift'), iteratives (*domāre* 'tame' < **domh₂-éye-* [**demh₂-*[2] LIV 116]), and a number of other formations (HLFL 186 ff.). Consequently, *-ā-* became the default conjugation class marker for new and borrowed verbs.

Since countless reflexes of Latin *-ā-* verbs appear throughout this work, no additional lists are provided here. For the specific factitives in *-ā-*, English generally has the functionally renewed form with *-fac-/-fic-* 'make' discussed in the next section.

6.4 Causative changes of state in *fac-/-fic-*

Given the opacity of Latin *-ā-* (§ 6.3), it is not surprising that there was formal renewal in the causative change of state category. Renewal took two main forms, both involving the verb *fac-/-fic-* 'make': constructs with *-facere* (§ 6.4.1) and derivatives in *-(i)ficāre* (§ 6.4.2). The latter are derived from adjectives and nouns, and attained great productivity in Latin, Romance, and English. The former are associated with stative verbs but factitive with respect to the adjective underlying the stative verb (on the word *factitive*, see § 6.5). This type was never greatly productive, and only residues remain in English.

6.4.1 *Constructs with* -facere

With the exception of *satisfacere* [Plautus] 'satisfy', built on *satis* 'enough' (LG i. 565), the earliest formations have *-facere* associated with a stem in *-ē-* that is subject to iambic shortening (Mester 1994: 18; Meiser 1998: 76).

The origin of *-ē-* is unclear. Jasanoff's hypothesis of the instrumental in **-eh₁* is critiqued in § 6.1. Additional problems with the instrumental analysis (as a direct contributor, at least) are twofold.

First, the fact that the constituents sometimes occur separated or unattached has been adduced as evidence that these constructs are not created by derivation or even simple compounding, e.g. *facit ārē* (Lucretius 6. 962) = *ārēfacit* 'makes dry'. The first constituent appears to behave more as an independent word (Wackernagel 1926–8: ii. 175; Ruijgh 2004: 57). However, there was a clear model for language play from such constructs as *satis facere* ∼ *satisfacere* 'satisfy' and especially *bene facere* ∼ *benefacere* '(do a) service; confer a benefit', *male facere* ∼ *malefacere* 'do wrong or harm (to); injure', etc. There are conspicuously no examples of separation in early comedy, and the absence from Ennius, who notoriously plays with the language, is striking. Except for Cato's *fervē-bene-facitō* 'make very hot' (conflation of *fervēfacere* and *benefacere*) all of the examples are from Varro, also noted for stretching the limits of the language,[3] and later. Far from furnishing evidence of an archaism, these dislocations constitute nothing other than language play.

Secondly, the early examples of *-facere* constructs are not denominal (nor even deadjectival). In all but two cases, there is no possible nominal source, and *-facere* pairs with a stative in *-ē-* (Bader 1962: 219–21; Mignot 1969: 361–4; cf. LG i. 566, with other proposals). This brings us back to the conclusion in

[3] For instance, alone in extant Latin literature Varro uses *qu-* specifiers with gerundials (Miller 2000: 328).

§ 6.1 that a stative (or, dialectally, change of state) suffix *-*eh*$_1$ had already evolved in Indo-European. The Latin *-facere* constructs are recent accretions (as shown by the absence of vowel change in *-facere*) on the stative stem *-ē-* according to the cumulative pattern of derivation in § 1.12, i.e. stative *-ē-* plus causative *-fac-*, the usual crosslinguistic manner for building causative change of state formations.[4]

**ā*rus* (*āridus*) 'dry'	*ār-ē-re* 'be dry'	*ārē-facere* 'make dry'
**calus* (*calidus*) 'hot'	*cal-ē-re* 'be hot'	*cal(e)-facere* 'make hot'
**candus* (*candidus*) 'white'	*cand-ē-re* 'be white'	*cande-facere* 'make white'
**fervus* (*fervidus*) 'hot'	*ferv-ē-re* 'be hot'	*fervē-facere* 'make hot'
**languus* (*languidus*) 'weak'	*langu-ē-re* 'be weak'	*languē-facere* 'make languid'
**liquus* (*liquidus*) 'liquid'	*liqu-ē-re* 'be liquid'	*lique-facere* 'liquefy'
**madus* (*madidus*) 'wet'	*mad-ē-re* 'be wet'	*made-facere* 'wetten; soak'
**olus* (*olidus*) 'smelling'	*ol-ē-re* 'smell' (intr.)	*ol(e)-facere* 'smell'
patus*/patidus* 'open'	*pat-ē-re* 'be open'	*pate-facere* 'open; reveal'
**pūtus* (*pūtidus*) 'rotting'	*pūt-ē-re* 'rot'	*pūtē-facere* 'cause to rot'
puter (*putridus*) 'rotten'	*putr-ē-re* 'decay'	*putre-facere* 'putrefy'
rārus 'rare'	*rārēscere* 'thin out'	*rārē-facere* 'rarefy'
cf. *rūfus* (*rūbidus*) 'red'	*rub-ē-re* 'be red'	*rube-facere* 'make red'
**stupus* (*stupidus*) 'numb'	*stup-ē-re* 'be numb'	*stupe-facere* 'stupefy'
obstupidus 'stunned'	*obstupēscere* 'be dazed'	*obstupe-facere* 'strike dumb'
**tepus* (*tepidus*) 'warm'	*tep-ē-re* 'be tepid'	*tepe-facere* '(make) warm'
**tumus* (*tumidus*) 'swollen'	*tum-ē-re* 'swell'	*tume-facere* 'cause to swell'

The only examples for which a putative adjectival base exists are *putrefacere* [Varro] and Lucretius' *rārēfacere*. Apart from *satisfacere* 'satisfy' with no *-ē-* at all (a juxtaposition and therefore a separate kind of formation), the early *-facere* constructs are exclusively deverbal. Examples that violate the stative *-ē-* pattern, such as *tremefacere* [Cicero] 'cause to tremble; quiver, vibrate', seem nonetheless to be deverbal (cf. *tremere* 'tremble; quake'). Even late examples, such as *torpefacere* [c4^b Nonius] 'stiffen; be numb' and *turgefacere* [c4] 'cause to swell', continue to be productively built on *-ē-* statives (*torpēre* 'be inactive or paralysed', *turgēre* 'be distended; swell').

[4] Compare Pohl (1992: 212), for whom *-fac-* attaches to the present stem of the second conjugation, i.e. *-ē-*, but no functional/derivational rationale is adduced in support. The stem of the imperfect *veh-ē-bam* 'I was transporting' is probably different. On semantic grounds, Dressler (1968: 149) defends the hypothesis of 'be' + an old locative, namely **wehesi f(u)wām* > **vehezb(w)ām* > *vehēbam*. For typological parallels, see Miller (2002: 278 f., 321–7, w. lit; *pace* Ruijgh 2004: 57, who posits an instrumental).

6.4.1.1 *English loanwords*

Verb bases cited above are not repeated in the following list.

CALEFACTION [1547] 'heating' *cal(e)factiō* [c2 Scaevola] 'heating; hot fomentation' [**ḱelh₁* 'warm' = **ḱel-*² LIV 323]

LIQUEFACTION [1477] *liquefactiō* [c5] 'watering' (see *liquid* § 5.1.2 and *deliquesce* § 6.2.2)

MADEFACTION [1583] *madefactiō* [c4/5] 'wetting' [**mad-* or **me(h₂)d-* 'moist, wet' LIV 421]

OLFACTORY [1656] *olfactōrius* [c1 Fronto] 'used to sniff at' (*ol(e)factāre* 'smell at; sniff', frequentative of *ol(e)facere*, archaic *odefacere* [Paul. Fest.] 'detect the odour of; smell' [**od-*¹ 'smell' = **h₃ed-* LIV 296])

PINGUEFY [1597] *pinguefacere* [Pliny] 'fatten' (cf. *pinguēscere* 'grow fat', *pinguis* 'fat'; see *pinguitude* § 2.4.1)

PUTREFACTION [1400] *putrefactiō* [Augustine] 'decay; corruption' (see *putrid* § 5.1.2)

RAREFY [1398] (via F *raréfier* 'rarefy')/RAREFACTION [1603] *rārēfactiō* [ML] 'rarefaction' (based on a putative IE **hr(e)h₂-ro-* RPIEL 144 [**erə-*³ = **h₁ erh₂-* 'separate; adjoin'])

SATISFACTION [a1325] *satisfactiō* 'satisfaction' < **sh₂-ti-* [**sā-* 'satisfy' = **seh₂(y)-*¹ LIV 520]

STUPEFY [1596]/STUPEFACTION [c16] *stupefactiō* [ML] 'amazement' [**(s)teup-* LIV 602]

TORREFY [1601] 'roast' (via F *torréfier* 'roast, grill, torrefy') *torrefacere* [Columella] 'expose to heat; parch' (*torrēre* 'dry up'; cf. *torridus* TORRID § 5.1.2 [**ters-* 'dry'; cf. LIV 637 f.])

6.4.2 *Derivatives in* -(i)-ficāre

Formations in *-(i)ficāre* are largely in complementary distribution with those in *-facere*. The latter correlate with statives in *-ē-* and the total absence of a (non-derived) adjectival base. The former are derived from basic adjectives and nouns (Mignot 1969: 363 f.). To the end of the classical period there were over twenty *-(i)ficāre* verbs attested. Of the seventy-three total verbs analysed by Mignot (pp. 351–61), fifty were coined in the first half of the third century. Up to the first century, the majority were derived from basic adjectives and nouns. In the productive period, the main source was *-ificus* adjectives (Mignot 1969: 356). For the early period, observe the following:

ampl-i-āre 'enlarge; increase' ∼ *ampl-i-ficāre* [Pacuvius] AMPLIFY [a1400] (*amplificus* [c2] 'magnificent; splendid')

clār-ā-re 'make clear; explain' → *clār-i-ficāre* [c2/3] CLARIFY [a1349] (*clārificus* [c4/5] 'brilliant')

Both verbs antedate the corresponding *-(i)ficus* adjectives and are derived from basic adjectives; cf. *amplus* AMPLE [1481], *clārus* 'clear'. Nevertheless, derivation of *-(i)ficāre* verbs from *-(i)ficus* adjectives began in the classical era (cf. Mignot 1969: 357):

horrificus [Lucretius] HORRIFIC [1653] : *horrificāre* [Catullus] HORRIFY [1791]
terrificus [early trag.] 'terrifying' : *terrificāre* [Lucretius] TERRIFY [1575]

While *-facere* and *-ificāre* constructs did not overlap initially, in the later period the distribution partly broke down, and there was some competition. Jerome used *vīlificāre* 'esteem of little value; depreciate', properly derived from *vīlis* 'cheap; worthless' and ultimately the source of VILIFY [1450]. His contemporary Augustine used the less proper *vīlefacere* 'cheapen; render worthless'. Although *(re)vīvefacere* [c4^{m}] 'make alive (again)' was later than *(re)vīvificāre* [c2/3] (RE)VIVIFY [1545], only the latter (properly derived from *vīvus* 'living') survived. In general, with the increasing productivity of *-ificāre*, there was a tendency to replace *-facere* with *-ificāre*. Lucretius' *rārēfacere* yielded to ML *rārēficāre* RAREFY [1398]. The form *putrificātōrius* [c5^{m}] 'septic' (PUTRIFICATORY [1548]) presupposes **putrificāre* PUTREFY [1412–20] as a replacement of classical *putrefacere*. And so on.

The productivity of *-ificāre* yielded such interesting forms as Tertullian's *angelificātus* 'made into an angel', Origen's *virginificāta* [c6] 'made virgin; virginified', and NL *ēlectrificāre* ELECTRIFY [1745] and *strātificāre* STRATIFY [1661], from *strātum* 'bed; level floor; platform' (< **stṛh$_3$-to-* RPIEL 183 [**sterə-* 'spread' = **sterh$_3$-* LIV 599]).

Although English verbs in *-fy* are almost exclusively from *-ificāre* and have the form *-ify* (§ 6.4.2), there are a few *-efy* verbs (via French) and more nominal derivatives (mostly late in Latin) from *-facere* formations.

Via Anglo-French, English received a large number of verbs in *-ify* 'make, cause; convert into; bring to a certain state' and derived forms, especially nouns in *-ification* and adjectives in *-ific*, e.g. *terrificus* 'causing terror, frightful, TERRIFIC' [1667]. Chaucer alone used some twenty *-ify* verbs and derivatives (see below), and the suffix has attained great productivity in English (Johnson 1931: 208 f.; Marchand 1969: 300 f.; cf. Koziol 1972: 243). The core meaning is '[x does something to y] such that [x causes y to become z/go to z]' (Lieber 2004: 82). Additionally, the subject is preferentially a volitional agent (Lieber 2004: 82 f.).

Constraints include the allowance of up to two unstressed syllables (*sólid* : *solídifỳ*, *hístory* : *histórifỳ*, *beaútiful* : **beaútifulifỳ*) and exclusion of identical consecutive onsets: **stiffify*, **toughify*, **deafify* (Raffelsiefen 1999: 259 ff., 243). While *-ify* is productive on *-id-* bases (*acidify, rigidify, solidify, humidify, lapidify, fluidify*), there are lexical exceptions: **rabidify*, **lividify*, **acridify*, **stolidify* (Aronoff and Anshen 1998: 241).

6.4.2.1 *English* -ify *verbs of Latin origin*

ALBIFY [1599]/ALBIFICATION [Ch.] *albificāre* [ML] 'make white; whiten' (*albus* 'white')

AMPLIFY [1400] *amplificāre* 'enlarge; praise' (*amplus* AMPLE [1481] [etym. unknown DELL 53])

BEATIFY [1535] *beātificāre* [sacrae scripturae] 'make happy' (*beātificus* [Apuleius] 'that makes happy or blessed', *beātus* 'happy; blessed' PPP to *beāre* 'make blessed', an *-ā-* formation extending **dw-eye-* (?) [**deu-*^{2} 'perform; revere'; cf. (?) **deuh*$_2$*-* LIV 123])

CARNIFY [1639] *carnificāre* 'butcher; execute'; [c5] 'fill with flesh; make flesh'; cf. earlier *excarnificāre* [Terence] 'torture'; [Cicero] 'tear to pieces' (*carnu/ifex* 'executioner' < *carn-* 'flesh' [**(s)ker-*^{1} 'cut' = **(s)kerh-* LIV 558] + *fac-* 'make'; the EL meaning is a calque on G σαρκοῦν 'make flesh')

CERTIFY [1330] *certificāre* [sacrae scripturae] 'establish in faith' (*certus* 'definite; fixed' < **kri-tó-s* 'decided' (= G κριτός 'separated, chosen'; see Nussbaum 1999: 394) original PPP of *cernere/crētus* 'sift; separate; decide' < **kri-n-h*$_1$*-* [**krei-* 'sieve; discriminate' = **kreh*$_1$*(y)-* LIV 366 f.]; cf. *cribriform* § 3.6.2)

CLARIFY [a1349] *clārificāre* [Tertullian] 'make illustrious; glorify; celebrate'; [c5^{b} Marcellus] 'make clear' (of the voice); [ML] 'explain; clarify' (*clārus* 'bright; illustrious; clear' < **kl̥h-ro-* [**kelh*$_2$*-*/**kleh*$_2$*-*^{2} 'shout', prob. ≠ **kleh*$_1$*-* 'call' LIV 361]; cf. RPIEL 175)

CRUCIFY [?a1328] *crucificāre* [LL gloss; ML] (replacement of *crucī fīgere* ~ *crucifīgere* [Seneca] 'fasten on the cross; crucify' [**dhīg*^{w}*-* 'fix' = **dheihg*^{w}*-*/**dhihg*^{w}*-* LIV 142], probably due to the ambiguity of *crucifixiō* [c4] CRUCIFIXION [1648], etc., which could have underlying *-fic-* as well as *-fig-*, and to the productivity of *-(i)ficāre*)

DEIFY [a1349] *deificāre* [Ambrose] 'deify, consecrate' (*deificus* [Tertullian] '(making) divine', *deus* 'god', archaic DEIVOS < **deiwos* HLFL 4, 29, 76, 86, 92 [**dyeu-* 'day, sky']; *deificāre* is a calque on G θεο-ποιεῖν 'make into a god; deify' Mignot 1969: 359)

DIGNIFY [1526] *dignificāre* [EL] 'make worthy' (*dignus* 'worthy' < **deḱ-no-* [**deḱ-*^{1} 'take, accept'; cf. LIV 109 ff.] HLFL 79)

DIVERSIFY [1481] *dīversificāre* [ML] 'diversify' (*dīversificus* [Boethius] 'varied', *dīversus* 'turned; opposite; differing; DIVERSE' [**wer-*[3] 'turn', more specifically **wert-* LIV 691])

DULCIFY [1599] *dulcificāre* [p360] 'sweeten' (*dulcis* 'sweet' [**dl̥k-u-* 'sweet'])

EDIFY [a1338] *aedificāre* 'erect a building; build'; [LL] 'strengthen; edify' (*aedēs/aedis* 'dwelling, abode; temple' < **h₂ei-dh-i-* 'hearth' [**ai-*[2] 'burn'], but [**h₂eidh-* 'burn' LIV 259] and [**h₁ai-* 'be warm' LIV 229] are probably separate roots)

EXEMPLIFY [1430] *exemplificāre* [ML] 'reproduce; cite as an example' (*exemplum* EXAMPLE [a1382 Wyclif] (*e(n)saumple* [*c.*1290]) < *ex* + **em-lo-* '(something) taken out' to *eximere* 'take out, remove', compound of *emere* 'obtain, buy' [**em-* 'take, distribute' = **h₁em-* LIV 236] HLFL 81, 122)

FALSIFY [1449] *falsificāre* [*c.*400 Prudentius] 'corrupt; falsify' (*falsificus* 'acting deceitfully', *falsus* FALSE PPP of *fallere* 'deceive' § 1.11; see *fallacious* § 5.2.1)

FORTIFY [1436] *fortificāre* [c5[b]] 'strengthen; fortify' (*fortis* 'strong' [etym. unclear: AHDR derives from **bherǵh-*[2] 'high' or **dher-*[2] 'hold' preferring the former]; OL *forctus/forctis* is also indeterminate; cf. DELL 443 f.; noncommittal HLFL 123)

FRUCTIFY [a1325] *frūctificāre* [c1[m] Columella] 'produce new growth; sprout' (*frūctus* 'produce; fruit; profit; enjoyment' < **bhruhg-tu-* [**bhrūg-* 'agricultural produce; enjoy' = ?**bhreuhg/ǵ-* LIV 96])

GLORIFY [a1349] *glōrificāre* [Tertullian] 'glorify' (*glōria* GLORY [?*c.*1200] [etym. unclear]; possibly connected with OIr *glár* RPIEL 118, w. lit)

GRATIFY [1540] *grātificārī* 'show kindness to; gratify; humour' (*grātia* 'favour; goodwill; kindness' < **gʷr̥h-tí-* [**gʷerh₍₂₎-*[3] 'favour' = **gʷerh-* LIV 210 f.])

HONORIFY [1606]/HONORIFIC [1650] *honōrificāre* [c2] 'pay honour to; glorify' (*honōrificus* [Cicero] 'conferring or showing honour; honorific', *honor* [no Latin base] HONOUR § 3.1)

IDENTIFY [1644] *identificāre* [ML] 'identify' (*identitās* [c4[m]] 'sameness, oneness, IDENTITY' [1570] < *idem* 'same' [deictic **i-d* 'it' + *-em* emphatic particle] + abstract *-ti-tāt-* '-ness'; cf. § 2.1)

JUSTIFY [a1325] *jūstificāre* [Tertullian] 'represent as just' (*jūstificus* 'dealing justly; righteous' *jūstus* JUST [Ch.] < **yow(e)sto-* [**yew-es-* 'law'; cf. **yew-* 'bind' LIV 314] RPIEL 273 f.)

MAGNIFY [a1382 Wyclif] *magnificāre* [Plautus] 'esteem greatly; prize'; [Pliny] 'praise; extol' (*magnus* 'great' or *magnificus* [Terence] 'splendid;

magnificent' MAGNIFIC [1490 Caxton] < *$m_e\acute{g}$-nó- [*meǵ- 'great'] RPIEL 480 f.; HLFL 65)

MODIFY [Ch.] *modificāre* 'form according to a pattern; regulate'; [Apuleius] 'limit' (*modus* 'measured amount; due measure; limit; moderation; MODE' [?*c.*1380] < **mod-o-* [**med-* 'take appropriate measures' = **med-*[1] LIV 423] HLFL 82)

MOLLIFY [1425]/MOLLIFICATION [Ch.] *mollificāre* [c6] 'soften' (*mollificus* [c5 Caelius Aurelianus] 'softening', *mollis* 'soft' < **mld̥-w-i-*, in which the *-i-* is not the feminine suffix, *pace* HLFL 64, 120 [**mel-*[1] 'soft', more precisely **meld-* LIV 431] RPIEL 485)

MORBIFY [1623]/MORBIFIC [1653] *morbificāre* [c5 Caelius Aurelianus] 'cause illness'/*morbificus* [Cael. Aurel.] 'producing disease' (*morbus* 'disease'; see *morbid* § 5.1.4)

MORTIFY [a1382 Wyclif] 'kill', [1639] 'humiliate'/MORTIFICATION [Ch.] *mortificāre* [sacrae scripturae *apud* Tertullian] 'kill'; [Vulgate] 'mortify' (*mortificus* [c1] 'producing death; mortal', *mors/mort-* 'death' < **mr̥-tí-* § 3.8 [**mer-*[2] 'rub away; die'; cf. LIV 439 f.] HLFL 63, 73)

MUNIFY [1596]/MUNIFICENT [1565] *mūnificāre* [Lucretius] 'treat generously; enrich'/*mūnificentia* 'bounty; munificence' (*mūnificus* 'generous; bountiful; munificent'; cf. *mūnifex/mūnific-* 'one who performs duties (*mūnia*)' < **moi-n-es-* [**mei-*[1] 'change; move'; the equivalent **mei-*[2] LIV 426 seems more restricted])

MYSTIFY [1845] *mystificāre* [ML] 'symbolize; signify in a mystical manner' (stem *myst-* of *mystērium* MYSTERY [a1333] < G *μυστήριον* 'secret thing or ceremony', *mysticus* MYSTIC [a1333] < G *μυστικός* 'connected with the mysteries', from *μύειν* 'close' DELG 728 f. [**meuh*$_2$-[3] 'be silent']; more likely [**meus-* 'close oneself off' LIV 444])

NOTIFY [Ch.]/NOTIFICATION [Ch.] *nōtificāre* [c–2/1 Pomponius] 'make known'/*nōtificātiō* [ML] 'notification' (*nōtus* 'known' < **ǵn(o)h$_3$-tó-* [**gnō-* 'know' = **ǵneh$_3$-* LIV 168 ff.] HLFL 112 f.; cf. *notorious* § 5.6.1)

NULLIFY [1607] *nūllificāre* [sacrae scripturae *apud* Tertullian] 'despise; contemn; nullify' (*nūllus* 'not any; no; nought' < **n-oino-lo-* § 2.9 [**ne* 'not' + **oi-no-* 'one'] HLFL 168; for other relatives of **oi-no-*, see § 4.8)

NUTRIFY [1500] *nūtrificāre* [LL 1 × see Lindner 1996: 127] (eventual replacement of *nūtrīre* 'feed; nourish; nurture', denominal to *nūtrīx* 'nurse' § 3.7)

PACIFY [1474] *pācificārī* 'make peace with'/*pācificāre* 'placate; appease' (*pāx/pāc-* 'peace' [**pag-*/**pak-* 'fasten', more specifically **peh$_2$-ḱ-* 'fix, fasten' RPIEL 144, as distinct from **peh$_2$-ǵ-* 'become fixed' LIV 463 f.])

PULCHRIFY [1795] *pulchrificāre* [Isidore] 'beautify' (*pulcher* 'beautiful' [etym. unknown DELL 962])

PURIFY [a1300] *pūrificāre* [Pliny] 'cleanse; make ceremonially pure' (*pūrus* PURE [*c.*1250] < **puh$_{(2)}$-ro-* [**peuh$_{(2)}$-* 'cleanse' = **peuh-*^{1} LIV 480] HLFL 86; cf. *pūrificātiō* [Pliny] PURIFICATION [*c.*1380])

QUALIFY [1533] *quālificāre* [ML] 'judge; qualify' (*quālis* 'of what sort or quality'; see *qualitative* § 5.5.4)

QUANTIFY [1840] *quantificāre* [ML] 'enlarge; determine quantity' (*quantum* 'quantity'; see *quantitative* § 5.5.4)

RAMIFY [1541] *rāmificārī* [ML] 'form branches; branch out' (*rāmus* 'branch' < **wr̥$_{\circ}$h$_2$d-mo-* [**wrād-* 'branch, root' = **wreh$_2$d-*])

RATIFY [*c.*1375] *ratificāre* [ML] 'approve; confirm; ratify' (*ratus* 'legally valid, constitutional; authoritative; regarded as established' = PPP of *rērī* 'think; suppose; deem' < **rəto-* ← **r̥$_{\circ}$h$_1$-tó-* [**rē(i)-* 'reason, count' = **reh$_1$-*^{2} LIV 499])

RECTIFY [*c.*1400] *rēctificāre* [EL/ML] 'repair; reconcile; rectify' (*rēctus* 'straight; right' < **h$_3$reǵ-tó-* [**reg-*^{1} 'move in a straight line' = **h$_3$reǵ-* LIV 304 f.] HLFL 79 f., 227)

RUBIFY [Ch.] *rubificāre* [ML] 'make red; redden' (replacement of CL *rubefacere* § 6.4.1)

SACRIFICE [*c.*1290] (denominal to *sacrifice* [*c.*1250])/SACRIFY [a1300] *sacrificāre* 'perform a sacrifice' (*sacra* 'sacred (rites)' neut. plural of *sacer* 'holy' < **sak-ro-* [**sak-* 'sanctify'])

SANCTIFY [1390] *sānctificāre* [sacrae scripturae *apud* Tertullian] 'make holy; hallow' (*sānctus* '(made) sacred, sacrosanct' < **sa-n-k-* + **-to-*; see *sanctuary* § 4.4.4.2, HLFL 78, 122)

SIGNIFY [*c.*1250]/SIGNIFICATION [a1325] *significāre* 'show; indicate; signify'/*significātiō* 'indication; intimation; meaning' (*signum/sīgnum* 'mark; sign' < **sek^{w}-no-* [**sek^{w}-*^{1} 'follow' = LIV 525 f.] or **sek(h$_2$)-no-* [**sek-/*sekh$_{(2)}$-* 'cut' HLFL 121 = **sekh-* LIV 524] HLFL 60 f., 79, 81)

SIMPLIFY [1653] *simplificāre* 'simplify' (pass. *simplificārī* 'become simple') [ML] (*simplus* SIMPLE [*c.*1220] < **sm̥-pl-o-* [**sem-*^{1} 'one' + **pel-*^{3} 'fold' (**pel-*^{2} in AHDR 68, 75 is a mistake)], *simplex* 'uncompounded; simple' SIMPLEX [**pleḱ-* 'plait'; cf. LIV 486; differently, Benedetti 1988: 146 ff. and Heidermanns 2002: 196, comparing G *πλάξ/πλακ-* 'flat land, flat stone', which LIV 485 derives from **plek-*] HLFL 81, 176)

SPECIFY [a1300] *specificāre* [c4^{m} Donatus] 'endow with form; specify' (*speciēs* 'outward form; appearance'; the verb is a calque on G *εἰδο-ποιεῖν* 'make an image of' (Mignot 1969: 359), but cf. *specificus* [Boethius] SPECIFIC [a1631]; cf. *specere* 'observe' [**speḱ-* 'id.'])

STELLIFY [Ch.] *stēllificāre* [NL 1448] 'make (a person) into a star/constellation; deify' (*stēllificus* [EL] 'star-making; deifying' from *stēlla* 'star' < **h₂stēr-leh₂-* [**ster-*² = **h₂stēr-* 'star'] HLFL 123; IEL 210)

STULTIFY [1766] *stultificāre* [Jerome] 'render foolish' (*stultus* 'stupid'; see *stolid* § 5.1.5)

TESTIFY [*c.*1377–81] *testificārī* 'bear witness; assert solemnly; testify' (*testis* 'witness' [**trei-* 'three' + **stā-* 'stand' = **steh₂-* LIV 590 ff.] HLFL 80; see *testimony* § 2.5.2)

UNIFY [1502] *ūnificāre* [*c.*400] 'make one; unify' (*ūnus* 'one' < **oi-no-* § 4.8)

VERIFY [a1325] *vērificāre* [Boethius] 'take for true; verify' (*vērus* 'true'; see *veracious* § 5.2.2)

VERSIFY [*c.*1377–81] *versificāre* [Lucilius *apud* Nonius; Quintilian] 'put into verse' (*versus* 'row; line of writing; line of VERSE' § 3.10 < **wr̥t-tu-* [**wer-*³ 'turn'; specifically **wert-* LIV 691 f.]; for the changes **wr̥t-tu-* > **vorssus* > **vorsus* > *versus* cf. HLFL 116, 124)

6.5 Intensives and frequentatives

The idea of number can be conceptualized differently for nouns and verbs. On nouns, plurality most frequently refers to enumeration of entities, but on verbs it can refer to the quantification of events (Dressler 1968; Miller 1993: 12 f., w. lit). *Beat*, for instance, is the 'plural' (frequentative) of *hit/strike*; cf. L *pell-ō* 'I strike' : *pul-s-ō* 'I beat' : *tundō* 'I beat repeatedly'. In English the distinction is lexical and syntactic. In Latin there are several ways of expressing the idea of repeated action. The derivational type *-(i)t-/-(s)s-* (LG i. 547 ff.) is targeted in this section. Although more specific terminology will be introduced below, I will use *frequentative* generically for all *-(i)t-/-(s)s-* formations.

There is sparse evidence elsewhere in Indo-European for presents in **-t-* (three roots in LIV 20) and they coexist with **-to-* adjectives (Brugmann 1897–1900: ii. 2. 1. 362); cf. L *plect-ere* and OHG *fleht-an* beside G πλεκτός 'plaited', to πλέκ-ειν 'braid, plait, twine' [**pleḱ-* 'plait' LIV 486]. G πεκτ-εῖν 'to shear' and L *pect-ere* 'comb; card' are frequently mentioned as **-t-* presents in contrast to G πέκ-ειν 'to comb; card' (**peḱ-* 'pluck (hair)') (e.g. Ernout 1953: 136; Sihler 1995: 535; Meiser 1998: 46, 193; LIV 20, 717), but they are more likely denominal to **peḱ-tó-* (LIV 467). The **-to-* adjectives are plausibly the origin of most of the Latin *-t-* formations, namely *dīc-ere* 'say' → *dic-t-um* 'utterance' → *dict-āre* 'dictate'; *vert-ere* 'turn' → *ver-s-um* → *ver-s-āre* 'spin; turn over' (cf. Meillet and Vendryes 1948: 288; Ernout 1953: 140 f.; Steinbauer 1989:

143 ff.; HLFL 189). This was a general pattern in Indo-European; cf. Lith. *stataũ, statýti* 'build', derived from a participle **stata-* (< **sth$_2$-tó-*) 'standing' (Jasanoff 2003: 141). The formation is parallel to the Latin formations except that they contain a remade composite suffix **-āye/o-* < **-eh$_2$-ye/o-* (Jasanoff 2003: 141).

Pōtus '(having) drunk' < **p(e)h$_3$-tó-* (cf. POT*able* § 5.7.3.2) is the original verbal adjective/participle to *bibere* 'drink' (= Ved. *píbati* 'drinks', etc. < **pi-ph$_3$-é-* [**peh$_3$(y)-* 'drink' LIV 462 f.]). From *pōtus* was created *pōt-āre* 'swallow (liquid); drink convivially'.

From PPPs in *-itus* were derived verbs in *-it-āre*. For instance, from *habitus* (PPP of *habēre* 'have, hold') was created *habit-āre* 'dwell'. Since this could be related directly to the base verb *habēre*, *-it-āre* was generalized as a deverbal suffix, hence *ag-itāre* AGITATE [1586] to *ag-ere* 'drive; do' (Panagl 1992*a*: 334).

Not all *-itāre* formations are frequentatives. Mignot (1969: 326–30) treats the simple denominals and deadjectivals, e.g. *dēbilitāre* 'weaken; maim' DEBILITATE [1533] (*dēbilis* 'weak; feeble'). Some deadjectival verbs make frequentatives. From *ūnus* 'one' is made *ūnīre* [Seneca] 'make into one' and from that *ūnitāre* [c3] UNITE [1432–50]. Only deverbal formations are treated here.

Because of the change of *-d/t-* + *-t-* to *-(s)s-* (§ 1.7), there are frequentatives in *-(s)s-*, such as *pulsāre* PULSATE [1794], that resemble inherited desideratives in **-(h$_1$)s-(e/o-)* (§ 6.2; Sihler 1995: 507 ff.; Meiser 1998: 46, 193; Baldi 1999: 372), the source of the Greek futures; cf. γράψω 'I will write' to γράφω 'I write'. One such formation is *vīsere* VISIT [?a1200], original desiderative to *vidēre* 'see' (García-Hernández 1980: 88 f.; Baldi 1999: 372; LIV 23, 666). Another possibility is *quaesere* (**ko+h$_2$eys-se-*) 'try to obtain; beg' (Meiser 1998: 46, 193), unless generalized from a sigmatic aorist (LIV 260, with caution). Synchronically, it functions as conative and intensive to *quaerere* 'seek', different from the frequentative *quaeritāre* 'keep looking for; go after'.

The Latin *-(i)t-* formations are attested since the archaic period and denote repeated, constant, or intensified action. Varro (*De lingua latina* 8. 60) signals a certain amount of recursivity. For instance, to *canēns* 'singing', there is a durative *cantāns* '(keeping on) singing' and, from that, a reiterative *cantitāns* 'repeatedly singing'. García-Hernández (1980: 106–11) distinguishes *iterative* (one repetition), most often signalled by the prefix *re-* RE- (*facere* 'do' : *reficere* 'redo'), from *reiterative*, featuring multiple repetitions, and *frequentative*, with constancy. These in turn differ from *intensive*, involving the intensity of the event. Remarkably, the *-(i)t-* formations seem unpredictably

to bear any of these meanings, except that *-itāre* most predictably is reiterative. Consider the following scalar sets (García-Hernández 1980: 111 f.):

augēre	*auctāre* (intens.)	*auctitāre* (reiterat.) 'increase'
canere	*cantāre* (durat.)	*cantitāre* (reiterat.) 'sing'
currere	*cursāre* (frequent.)	*cursitāre* (reiterat.) 'run'
dīcere	*dictāre* (durat.)	*dictitāre* (reiterat.) 'say'
dūcere	*ductāre* (frequent.)	*ductitāre* (reiterat.) 'lead'
gerere	*gestāre* (durat.)	*gestitāre* (reiterat.) 'carry (on)'

As in the case of the diminutives (§ 2.9), only three scalar degrees are attested. The middle member in the scalar sets is older than the third and more susceptible to semantic bleaching. The third member of the set, as the most recent and productive, tends to be transparently compositional semantically.

6.5.1 *The continuation of Latin frequentatives*

The bleaching of *cantāre* 'sing' illustrates a frequent change. In Vulgar and Late Latin, the middle formations in the scalar set tended to replace the corresponding base verbs (cf. Ernout 1953: 141; LG ii. 297 f., w. lit), e.g. F *chanter* 'sing' CHANT [Ch.] (< *cantāre*). The fact that *cecinit* 'sang' is glossed *cantāvit* in the Reichenau glosses [c8] suggests that *canere* was no longer known (in that region, at least). Prehistorically, *optāre* 'choose; desire' OPT [1853] replaced **opere/*optum*.[5] Note also *jacere* 'throw' : *jactāre* 'hurl' : *jactitāre* 'toss about'. L *jactāre* becomes French *jeter* 'throw' (cf. Löfstedt 1959: 28).

Many English words derive from a Latin frequentative rather than from a base verb. From L *natāre* 'swim' (< **na-to-* < **(s)nh₂-to-*), iterative-intensive of *nāre* 'float, swim' [**snā-* 'swim' = **sneh₂-* LIV 572] (LG i. 540, 548; RPIEL 168 f.; HLFL 112, 188), is made PrP *natant-* NATANT [*c.*1460] and derivative *natātiō* NATATION [1542]. Absence of a verb **natate* in English precludes a listing below. Many derivatives of Latin frequentatives share this fate. Another is *factitive* (≠ *factive* < ML *factīvus* 'capable of doing') < NL *factitīvus*, a *-(t)īvus* derivative (§ 5.5) to L *factitāre* 'do frequently; make habitually' with an extremely rare English reflex *factitate* [1 × 1617].

The scalar set *dīcere* 'indicate; say' : *dictāre/dictātum* 'dictate' : *dictitāre* 'persist in saying; repeat' raises another problem for English verbs from Latin frequentatives. Since most English verbs in *-ate* are backformations (§§ 1.5,

[5] Many handbooks cite *praedopiont* [Festus] = *praeoptant* 'choose in preference; prefer', but that is one of several possible conjectures for *praedotiont* (LIV 299, w. lit). Other handbooks refer to OL *opet* 'selects' (supposedly < **h₃op-éye-* LIV 299) in the Duenos inscription (AI 70 ff.), but that is also conjectured.

3.8), they can only be included in the list below if the form from which they are backformed is itself derived from a Latin frequentative. In this case, *dictate* [1592] is backformed from *dictator* [1387 Trevisa], which is formally and semantically derived from *dictāre* 'dictate', not *dīcere* 'say'.

6.5.1.1 *English verbs from Latin frequentatives*

The following list contains English verbs that are taken from more than one degree in a Latin scalar set (cf. Johnson 1931: § 130). As always, the early examples are via (Anglo-) French. Verbs cited above are not repeated here.

AFFECT [1483] *affectāre* 'try to accomplish; endeavour' technically conative García-Hernández 1980: 92 (*afficere* 'produce an effect on; influence' from *ad* 'to' + *facere* 'do' [**dh(e)h ₁k-* LIV 136–40] cf. *efficacious* § 5.2.1)

AGITATE [1586] *agitāre/agitātum* 'set in motion; impel; shake; disturb' (*agere/āctum* 'drive; do; ACT'; see *active* § 5.5.1)

CEASE [?c.1300] *cessāre/cessātum* 'hold back; cease; desist' (*cēdere/cessum* 'proceed; withdraw; yield; CEDE' [**ked-* 'go, yield', not in LIV])

COGITATE [1563] 'devise; plan', [a1631] 'think' backformed from *cogitation* [?a1200] *cōgitāre/cōgitātum* 'think; ponder' (*cōgere/coāctum* 'drive (together); collect; compress; compel; force' from **co-agere* < **ko(m)-h₂eǵ-e-*; see *agitate* above)

CONVERSE [Ch.] †'live, dwell', [1588] †'consort', [1615] 'talk with' *conversārī/conversātum* 'constantly associate with' (*convertere/conversum* 'rotate; reverse; change' CONVERT [*c.*1300] from *com-* + *vertere* 'turn' [**wert-* 'id.' LIV 691 f.] see *versify* § 6.4.2.1)

DELIGHT [?a1200] *dēlectāre* 'lure, entice; delight, charm' from *dē* + *lactāre* 'induce, entice' (*lacere* [Paul. Fest.] 'allure, entice'; cf. *lax/lac-* [Paul. Fest.] 'fraud' [?**lak^{w}-* isolated DELL 617 ff.] a **-ye/o-* derivative HLFL 194)

DILATATE [1613] [= *dilate* [*c.*1450] ([1393] 'relate')] *dīlātāre/dīlātātum* [Cicero] 'make wider, expand, dilate' (*differre* 'scatter; defer'; see *dilatatory* § 5.6.2.2)

DISPENSE [?*c.*1350] *dispēnsāre/dispēnsātum* 'pay out, distribute, apportion' from *dis-* + *pēnsāre* 'weigh; consider' (*pendere* 'weigh; pay (out)' [**(s)pen-* 'draw, stretch, spin' = ?**spend-*^{2} LIV 578])

EXPECT [1560] †'wait', [1659] 'anticipate' *ex(s)pectāre/ex(s)pectātum* 'wait for; expect' (*ex* + *spectāre* 'look at attentively; watch' (cf. *spectate* [1709] backformed from *spectator* [a1586]), intensive of *specere/spectum* 'see; look at' [**speḱ-* 'observe'])

FLAGITATE [1623] *flāgitāre/flāgitātum* 'ask repeatedly; demand fiercely' (**flāgere* 'strike' [**bhleh₂g-* LIV 87 f.] RPIEL 185; cf. *flāgitium* 'disgraceful act; shame', *flagellum* § 2.9.3)

HESITATE [1623] *haesitāre/haesitātum* 'stick or be stuck; falter; hesitate; be in doubt' (*haerēre/haesum* 'be attached; stick; adHERE, coHERE' [**ghais-* 'adhere; hesitate' not in LIV] isolated; the possible congeners mentioned in DELL 513 have all been discarded)

IMITATE [1534] *imitārī* 'copy; simulate' (frequentative of **imārī* [**aim-* 'copy' = **h₂eim-* not in LIV]; cf. *imāgō* IMAGE § 2.8.1)

INHABIT [*c.*1350] *inhabitāre* [Pliny] 'inhabit' from earlier *habitāre/habitātum* 'live/dwell in; inhabit' (*habēre/habitum* 'have; possess; occupy; control' [**ghabh-/*ghebh-* 'give' or **ghehb-/*ǵhehb-* LIV 195])

INSULT intrans. [1570–6], trans. [1620] *īnsultāre/īnsultātum* 'leap in; mock (at); insult' from *in* 'onto' + *saltāre* 'dance' (*salīre/saltum* 'leap; jump' < **sl̥-yé-* [**sel-*⁴ 'jump'; cf. LIV 527 f.] cf. *salient* etc.)

JACTITATE [1822–34] 'toss restlessly about' *jactitāre* [Cicero] 'boast'; [Livy] 'fling'; [c3 Solinus] 'toss about' (*jacere/jactum* 'throw' § 6.5.1 < **hyh₁-k-* [**yē-* 'throw, impel' = **hyeh₁-* LIV 225] with **-k-* enlargement after *fac-/fēc-* 'make' HLFL 212; derivative ML *jactitātiō* [Canon Law] 'false declaration' JACTITATION [1632] 'public boast', [1665] 'a tossing about; great restlessness; twitching of muscles'; cf. *jactāre* 'hurl' : *jactātiō* [Cicero] 'a flinging, tossing; boasting' JACTATION [1576] 'boasting', [1680–90] 'tossing of the body')

MEDITATE [1560] backformed from *meditation* [?a1200] *meditārī/meditātum* 'ponder; reflect' (*medērī* 'remedy; comfort' [**med-* 'take appropriate measures'; cf. LIV 423])

NICTITATE [1822] 'blink; wink' *nictitāre/nictitātum* [ML] 'blink (repeatedly)' (*nictāre/nictātum* 'wink'; [Pliny] 'blink', itself frequentative to *cō-nīvēre* 'be closed (of the eyes); blink' CONNIVE [1602] 'shut one's eyes to; wink at' (modern sense [1797]) < **con-cnīv-ē-re* 'lean together (of the eyelids); close the eyes; be indulgent' [**kneigʷh-* 'lean on'; cf. LIV 366]; note also *nictation* [1623], *nictitation* [1794] 'rapid winking or blinking' a tic in humans)

OSTENTATE [*c.*1540] backformed from *ostentation* [1436] *ostentāre* 'display ostentatiously; demonstrate' (*ostendere* 'show, display, exhibit' from *obs-* + *tendere* 'extend, stretch' [**ten-* 'stretch' = **ten-/*tend-*¹ LIV 626 ff.])

PLACATE [1678] backformed from *placation* [1589] *plācāre/plācātum* 'calm, soothe, appease, placate' < **pl̥h₃k-eh₂-* (cf. *placēre/placitum* 'be pleasing, acceptable; like' < super-zero-grade **plək-* [?**pleh₃k-* 'be pleasing, like' LIV 485, not AHDR's **plāk-*¹ '(be) flat'] Latin and Tocharian only RPIEL 181 f.)

PULSATE [1794] backformed from *pulsation* [1541] *pulsāre/pulsātum* 'strike repeatedly; beat; batter' from older *pultāre* < **pl̥-to-* HLFL 226 (*pellere/*

pulsum 'beat against; drive away; exPEL; rePEL; rePULSE' [**pel-*[6] 'thrust, strike' = **pelh₂-* 'approach' LIV 470 f.])

VEX [1426] *vexāre/vexātum* 'agitate; harass; disturb' (*vehere* 'convey, transport' [**weǵh-* 'transport in a vehicle'; cf. LIV 661 f.] even if the connection is a folk etymology (*vexāre* is not mentioned in LIV), Gellius 2. 6. 5 conceptualized the relationship as intensity (see García-Hernández 1980: 105 ff., 120); according to DELL 1292, *vexāre* is desiderative of a homophonous root, but the examples adduced belong to **weǵh-*; cf. GED G81)

VISIT [?a1200] *vīsitāre/vīsitātum* 'see frequently; visit' (*vīsere* 'go see; call on; visit', originally desiderative of *vidēre/vīsum* 'see' [**weid-* 'id.'; cf. LIV 665 ff.] see § 6.5)

6.6 Derivatives in *-ig-ā-* and *-īg-ā-*

6.6.1 *The suffix* -ig-ā-

The suffix *-ig-ā-* originated as a denominal compound of *ag-* 'drive' (Grenier 1912: 29 ff.; Mignot 1969: 339–44; LG i. 550; Benedetti 1988: 41–5, 196 f.). Non-denominal verb compounds did not alter the conjugation of *ag-e-re*; cf. *trāns-ig-ere/trāns-āct-um* 'drive through; TRANSACT' (cf. *in*TRANSIG*ent*). On the traditional account, the denominal type was illustrated with *rēmigāre* 'row', from *rēmex/rēmig-* 'rower' (**h₁reh₁-mo-* [**erə-*[1] 'row'] + *ag-s* = *rēmum agēns* 'one who drives the oars'). By contrast to *rēmus* 'oar', *rēmigāre* contained a suffix *-ig-ā-* that could be extracted and applied to other bases.

The traditional account is not without problems. For one thing, the output of **rēmo-ag-*, if archaic, should have been ***rēmōg-* (Dunkel 2000: 88). Secondly, better grounded historically and comparatively is *nāvigāre* NAVIGATE related to *nāvem agere* 'drive a ship'. Specifically, Dunkel (2000) argues, *nāvigāre* would be denominal to the **nāvex* or **nāvigus* implied by *nāvig-ium* 'vessel, ship' (Benedetti 1988: 42 f.), i.e. *nāv-* + *ag-*. For Dunkel, *rēmex* 'rower' is backformed from *rēmigāre* 'row' on the model of *nāvigāre/*nāvex*. That same model then spawned *aureax* [Paul. Fest.] 'charioteer', with hyperurban spelling for *ōreae/aureae* 'mouthpiece of a bridle, bit', i.e. **ōs-e(y)-* [**ōs-/?*h₃ōs-* 'mouth'] + *ag-* 'driver (of a horse) by bit' (Dunkel 2000: 89. 95).

The PIE ancestor of *ag-* is generally reconstructed **h₁aǵ-* (AHDR) or **h₂eǵ-* (Hollifield 1977: 99; Vine 2002: 448; LIV 255 f., noting that **h₁aǵ-* is also possible). Dunkel argues for **h₂(e)ǵ-*, but **h₁aǵ-* should in principle be

possible if **h₁aǵ-* would admit a zero-grade **h₁ǵ-*, which he needs to account for both Latin *-ig-* after consonants and *-īg-* on *-i-* stems (§ 6.6.2). Specifically, Dunkel posits **nāw-h₂ǵ- > nāv-ig-* and **fati-h₂ǵ- > fatīg-* (see below). While this is probably on the right track, there is a potential chronological problem. Dunkel cannot have a stem **nāw-* 'ship' (< **neh₂u-*) and still have the laryngeal in **h₂ǵ-*, so exactly how **neh₂u-h₂ǵ-* ends up as **nāw-ag-* (> *nāv-ig-*) must ultimately be spelled out more carefully. Comparative evidence (Skt. *nāv-ajāḥ*, G *ναυᾱγός* 'pilot; shipwrecked') confirms the complexity of the derivation (*pace* Bader 1962: 187), e.g. all three languages seem to have generalized full-grade **h₂eǵ/*aǵ-*.

Not all *-ig-* words belong in this category, e.g. *irrigāre* 'make wet; flood; IRRIGATE' [1615]; cf. *rig-āre* 'make wet' with *-i-* from *irrigāre* [**reg-*² 'moist' = ?**reǵ-* LIV 498].

Sources of the new suffix include the following:

LITIGATE [1615]/LITIGATION [1567] *līt(i)gāre/līt(i)gātum* 'sue, litigate' (*līt(em) agere* 'conduct a lawsuit'; univerbation of *līt(em)ag-* (Bader 1962: 187, Dunkel 2000: 94) will not motivate denominal *-ā-*; if the starting point was **stl-ih₂-ti-* [**stel-* 'put'] (Poetto 2000; cf. OL *stlīs* = *līs* 'lawsuit') the output should have been **līt(i)gāre* unless the stem was already *stlīt-* when the construct was created, presumably on the model of *jūrigāre* etc.)

NAVIGATE [1588]/NAVIGATION [1527] *nāvigāre/nāvigātum* 'sail' (probably based on **nāvigus* < *nāvi-* 'ship' + *ag-* 'drive'; cf. the phrase *nāvem agere* Lucretius 4. 390)

OBJURGATE [1616] *objūrgāre/objūrgātum* (archaic *objūrigāre*) 'reprimand; censure' (*ob* + *jūrgāre*/archaic *jūrigāre* 'quarrel; dispute; sue' (cf. *jūs* 'right; law') parallel to *(summō) jūre agere* 'assert/claim one's right to the fullest extent of the law'; *jūrigāre* is denominal to **jūr-agos* < **youz-agos* < **yew(o)s-h₂ǵ-o-* 'bringing the oath' Dunkel 2000: 94; cf. *justify* § 6.4.2.1)

PURGE [*c.*1300] *pūrgāre/pūrgātum* (archaic *pūrigāre*) 'make clean; purify; exonerate'; cf. EXPURGATE [1621] *expūr(i)gāre/expūr(i)gātum* 'free from; purge; clear from blame' (generally derived from *pūrus* 'clean;

PURE' < **puh-ro-* [**peuh-* 'purify' § 6.4.2.1], but the earliest *-ig-* derivatives were (otherwise) denominal, not deadjectival; the true base was **puh₂r-h₂ǵ-o-* 'leading the fire' [**peh₂w-r/*puh₂r-* 'fire']; loss of this root in Latin entailed reanalysis as derived from *pūrus* PURE [*c.*1250]; see Bader 1962: 187; Dunkel 2000: 87, 94, both w. lit)

By comparison to the base nouns (*rēmus* 'oar', *nāvis* 'ship', etc.) and by extraction/secretion (see Bauer 1983: 236 f.; Warren 1990: 116 ff., w. lit) the

forms above spawned a new verbal suffix *-ig-*. Also, reanalysis of *pūr(i)gāre* PURGE with underlying *pūrus* PURE provided for the deadjectival formations in the list below. Especially remarkable is the model for applying *-ig-* even to *-i-* stems, which originally yielded *-īg-* (§ 6.6.2).

FUMIGATE [1530] *fūmigāre/fūmigātum* [Varro] '(produce) smoke; fumigate' (*fūmus* 'smoke' < **dhuh-mó-* RPIEL 528 [**dheu(h)-*[1]]; modelled on *pūrigāre* PURGE Dunkel 2000: 96)

LEVIGATE [1612] 'make smooth; polish; make into a fine powder' backformed from *levigation* [1471] *lēvigāre/lēvigātum* [Varro] '(make) smooth' (*lēvis* 'smooth; polished' [**(s)lei-*])

MITIGATE [?a1425] *mītigāre/mītigātum* 'make mellow; tame; assuage' (*mītis* 'mild; mellow; ripe'; cf. *mītificāre* [Cicero, Gellius] 'soften' [**mēi-* 'mild' = **meih-*[2] 'ripen' LIV 428])

VARIEGATE [1653] *variegāre/variegātum* [Apuleius] 'diversify with different colours; variegate' (*varius* 'varied; multifarious; variable'; cf. *variāre* 'variegate; VARY' [Ch.] [**wer-*[1]]; for the phonology of *vari-ig-* > *varieg-*, cf. *societās* SOCIETY for *soci-itās* § 2.1.1*b*)

6.6.2 *The suffix* -īg-ā-

The relationship of this suffix to *-ig-ā-* has been traditionally regarded as unclear (LG i. 550), but Dunkel (2000) argues that it was the original reflex of *-i-* stems + **h*$_2$*ǵ-*. A contributing form was *aurīga* 'charioteer' AURIGA [*c.*1430] (from *aureae/ōreae* 'mouthpiece of a bridle' + *ag-* 'drive', i.e. **ōs-ey-* + *h*$_2$*ǵ-* Dunkel 2000: 95, w. lit), whence *aurīgāre* 'drive a chariot' (Mignot 1969: 344 ff.). Later contributors include the class of *-īgō* formations (§ 2.8.2), whence verbs in *-īgāre*, e.g. from *cālīgō* CALIGO, *cālīgāre* [Cicero] 'be dark, cloudy; have blurred vision'. But these are irrelevant for the creation of the class, which had to be *-i-* stems such as *fati-* + **h*$_2$*ǵ-* > *fatīg-* (see below); on **lenti-* + **h*$_2$*ǵ-* see § 2.8.2.

All of the verbs in § 6.6.1 bear a degree of compositionality: they all involve conducting something or factitive semantics in accord with the core meanings of *ag-* 'conduct; do'. The verbs in this section have less specific and largely non-compositional meanings. Also, most of them have no clear etymology.

CASTIGATE [1607]/CASTIGATION [Ch.] *castīgāre/castīgātum* 'correct; chastise' (traditionally derived from *castus* 'spotless; CHASTE' [?a1200] but Dunkel (2000: 94) relates to Ved. *śiṣ-ṭi-* 'precept; rebuke', Toch. A *kāṣ-* 'scold', namely **kh́sti-h*$_2$*ǵ-* > *castīg-* [**kh́eh*$_2$*s-* LIV 318])

FASTIGIATE [1647] 'taper; make pointed' (*)*fastīgiātum* = v.l. for CL *fastīgāre/fastīgātum* 'taper; incline' (cf. *fastīgium* 'sharp point; top;
FASTIGIUM' [1677] < **bhr̥s-tí-* = Ved. *bhr̥ṣṭí-* 'point, spike' [**bhars-*[1]/**bhors-* 'projection; point'] Bader 1962: 23; RPIEL 490)
FATIGUE [1693] *fatīgāre/fatīgātum* 'tire out; exhaust' (**fatis* 'sufficiency' in *ad fatim* ~ *affatim* 'amply; sufficiently'; although the etymology of *fati-* is unknown DELL 391, the *-i-* stem is well attested as the basis of **fati-h*$_2$*ǵ-* > *fatīg-*)
FUSTIGATE [1656] *fūstīgāre/fūstīgātum* [Codex Theodosianus, Glossary of Philoxenus] 'cudgel' (*fūstis* 'stick, rod; club, cudgel' [etym. unclear, possibly ? **bheud-* 'strike' LIV 82, not in AHDR] but **fūsti-h*$_2$*ǵ-* is not the only possibility: Dunkel 2000: 95)
INSTIGATE [1542] *īnstīgāre/īnstīgātum* 'stir up; incite; instigate' (*in* 'on' + *-stīg-ā-re* 'prick; incite; spur on' largely isolated synchronically [**(s)teig-* 'to stick; pointed'; cf. DELL 1145 f.; LIV 592 f.])
INVESTIGATE [1510] *investīgāre/investīgātum* 'track down; search after; find out' (*in* + *vestīgāre* 'track; trail; investigate', denominal to *vestīgium* 'footprint; track; trace; VESTIGE' § 2.6.1, or the other way around DELL 1289, unless both are from a mysterious stem in *-īg-*; several possible etymologies are mentioned in Bader 1962: 225; Dunkel 2000: 95 supports *ve-stīg-ium* with an obscure preverb [**we-* 'away'] + [**steigh-* 'stride, rise'; cf. LIV 593 f.])

Most likely *instigate* and *investigate* contain a root *stīg-* and do not belong etymologically with the suffix *-īg-ā-*. Nevertheless, one cannot fail to notice that, with the exception of the isolated *fatīgāre*, all of the examples above exhibit a string *-stīg-*, causing them to form a natural class in the sense that English *-ing* verbs (*ring, sing,* . . .) constitute a natural class. By contrast, not a single verb in § 6.6.1 contains *-st-*, and all of the verbs in that section have the metrical structure long-short-long (*līt*i*gā-, nāvigā-, pūrigā-, mītigā-*, etc.) except for *variegā-* with two shorts for the first long, a permissible substitution.

If the phonological factor played a role, it remains possible that (1) the suffix *-īg-ā-* has multiple origins, (2) one of those was **h*$_2$*ǵ-* attached to *-i-* stems; (3) verbs with an isolated synchronic root *stīg-* contributed to the new suffix; (4) bases that were not *-i-* stems could have been assimilated to the class; (5) since one archaic meaning of *castīgāre* was 'make free from faults,' it could have been derived from *castus* [**ḱes-* cut'; cf. LIV 329], as the tradition maintained, and an original **castigāre* would have assimilated to the *-(st)īg-* class quite naturally.

6.7 Derivatives in *-ic-ā-*

The suffix *-ic-ā-* originated on several types of bases (Mignot 1969: 322–6; LG i. 550). Onc source involves derivatives from adjectives in *-(t)ic-* (§ 4.8), e.g. *pūblicus* PUBLIC [1436] → *pūblic-ā-re* 'make public (property); publish'; cf. *pūblicātiō* PUBLICATION [1387 Trevisa]; *rūsticus* RUSTIC [*c.*1440] → *rūstic-ā-rī* 'live in the country; practise farming' RUSTICATE [1660] 'retire to the country'. Another source was the type *duplicāre* 'double (up)' DUPLICATE [1623], derived from *duplex* 'double; divided' (see *simplify* § 6.4.2.1), but with reference to *duplus* 'twofold' would contain a suffic *-ic-*. Similarly, *fabricāre/fabricātum* 'fashion; construct' FABRICATE [1598], denominal to *fabrica* 'construction; craft; workshop', when referred to *faber* 'smith, artisan' (< **dʰḫbh-ró-* [**dhabh-* 'fit together' = **dhehbh-* LIV 135 f.]) would appear to be derived by means of a suffix *-ic-*. From *medicus* 'doctor, MEDIC' [1625] was derived *medicārī* 'heal, cure' MEDICATE [1623], which could also be analysed as deverbal to *medērī* 'heal, cure, reMEDY'. *Mordicant-* 'biting, stinging, MORDICANT' [?a1425] in Caelius Aurelianus [c5] is probably from *mordicus* 'biting', but one cannot exclude a deverbal to *mordēre* 'bite' [**mer-*[2] 'rub away', more specifically **h₂merd-* 'mishandle' LIV 280].

Verbs with the new suffix predominate in the participle, especially in derivatives from colour adjectives. The following list combines the few deverbal constructs with the frequent deadjectivals and rare denominals. Words mentioned above are not repeated.

ALBICANT [1879] 'turning white' *albicāre* 'be white' (*albus* 'white' [**albho-* § 5.1])

ALTERCATION [Ch.] (**alter-ic-āre* >) *altercāre/altercātum* 'dispute; wrangle' (*alter* 'second; other' < **ali-tero-* 'other of two' [**al-*[1] = **h₂el-* 'beyond'] HLFL 163, 168)

CANDICANT [1657] 'growing white' *candicāns/candicant-* [Pliny] '(approaching) white' (*candēre* 'be white'; *-icā-* probably generalized from *albicāre*; see *candid* § 5.1.2)

CARRY [1330] < AF *carier* < ONF *carier* 'carry' < LL *carricāre* [c5/6 Laws of the Vizigoths] 'carry; haul in a car'; cf. EL *carricāre* [epigr., Jerome] 'load' ~ *carcāre* > ONF *k/carkier* CARK [a1300] 'load' ~ OF *chargier* [1080 *Roland*] 'load' CHARGE [*c.*1300] (*carrus* 'two-wheeled wagon' from Gaul. *carros* DLG 92 < **kr̥s-o-* [**kers-*[2] 'run' = **kers-/*ḱers-*[1] LIV 355]; cf. OF [1080 *Roland*] pl. *charre* 'heavy carts' and *char(e)ier* 'transport (in a cart)'; modern Coastal Norman preserves *carrier* 'carry' vs. *charrier* 'carry large quantities' †Danielle Bro, p.c.)

COMMUNICATE [1529] *commūnicāre/commūnicātum* 'share; associate; impart information; discuss together' (*commūnis* 'shared; COMMON' [*c.*1300] < **kom-(h₂)moi-ni-* 'held in common' [**mei-* 'change; move' = **h₂mei-* HLFL 59], but probably originally derived from an adjective in **-(i)ko-*, **mūnicus* (cf. Oscan múíníkú/moiniko/'common'), loss of which would also have provided motivation for spread of the new suffix)

NIGRICANT [1772] 'changing to a black colour' *nigricāns/nigricant-* [Pliny] 'becoming black' (*niger* 'dark; black'; see *nigrescent* § 6.2.2)

PREVARICATE [1582] backformed from *prevarication* [a1382 Wyclif]) *praevāricārī/praevāricātum* 'act in collusion'; [Pliny] 'straddle' from *prae* + *vāricāre* 'straddle' (*vāricus* 'straddling', from *vārus* 'crooked; bow-legged' VARUS [1800] [cf. (?) **wer-*¹ 'high raised spot or other bodily infirmity' AHDR 99, with no mention of *vārus*]; cf. *Varrō* VARRO < **vārō* 'the bow-legged one' HLFL 37, 77)

RUBRICATE [1470] 'colour with red; print in red letters' *rub(r)icāre* [c6] ' colour red' (*ruber* 'red' < **h₁rudh-ró-* § 1.13)

6.8 Verbs in *-er-ā-*

This suffix (Mignot 1969: 307–9; LG i. 551) originated on **-es-* stems, e.g. *gener-ā-re/gener-ā-tum* '(pro)create' GENERATE [1526], from *genus/gener-* 'origin; race; kind; GENUS' [1551] < **ǵenh₁-e/os-*; cf. *generātiō* GENERATION [a1325] (§ 3.8.2). From **temp-es-* (cf. *tempus* 'time', *tempes-tās* 'storm', etc. LG i. 83), was made *temp-er-āre* 'restrain; exercise moderation' [**temp-* 'stretch'; cf. LIV 626]. Note in particular *moder-ā-rī/moder-ā-tum* 'control; regulate; temper' MODERATE [1435], from the stem in *modes-tus* 'temperate; decorous' MODEST [1548] (< **med-es-to-* [**med-*¹ 'measure' LIV 423], probably with *o* from *modus* 'measured amount; measure; manner, MODE' [?*c.*1380]; cf. RPIEL 470; HLFL 82; Heidermanns 2002: 193). The relative isolation of this stem, by contrast to *modus/mod-* (cf. *modify* § 6.4.2.1), provided for the resegmentation of *moder-ā-rī* as *mod-erā-rī* and birth of a new suffix. But, easy as this suffix is to motivate, not one of the words below admits of a simple addition of *-er-* to a well-defined base.

LACERATE [1592] *lacerāre/lacerātum* [Ennius] 'tear; mangle; lacerate' (customarily derived from *lacer* [Lucretius] 'mutilated; torn' RPIEL 164 f.; AHDR 48, which is much later than the verb and possibly a backformation; for the basic root in Latin, cf. *lac-īnia* 'hem; fringe' LACINIAted [1668] 'jagged, slashed' and the nasal infixed verb *lancinārе* 'tear in pieces'

LANCINATE [1603] § 6.10.2 [**lēk-* = **leh₁k -/lh₁k-* 'tear', not in LIV]; RPIEL

507 and HLFL 107 derive *lacer* from **lh₂k-ero-* [?*leh₂k-*] verbal in Greek only LIV 402)

MACERATE [1547] 'waste (the body) away', [1563] 'soften in liquid' *mācerāre/mācerātum* 'soften by steeping; wear down' (cannot be derived from *macer* 'slender' < **mh₂ḱ-ró-* [**meh₂ḱ-* 'long'] HLFL 107; [phps. **maǵ-/*maḱ-* 'knead; fashion'; cf. **maǵ-* LIV 421, with no mention of *mācerāre*]; may belong to a separate root **meh₂k-* RPIEL 142, but citing the forms generally subsumed under **maǵ-*)

RECUPERATE [1542] *recuperāre* ~ *reciperāre/recuperātum* ~ *reciperātum* 'get back; recover' (cf. *recipere* 'regain; recover; accept; receive' from *re-* + *capere* 'take' [**kap-* 'grasp' = **keh₂p-* LIV 344 f.]; on the phonology of *-cip-/-cup-*, see Sihler 1995: 63 f.)

TOLERATE [1531] *tolerāre/tolerātum* 'support; bear; endure' < **telh₂-es-*; cf. G *τέλος* 'end; tax' TELOS [1904] [**telh₂-* 'lift, support'; cf. LIV 622 f.]; cf. the zero-grade perfect *(te)tul-ī* 'I have borne' (suppletive to *fer-re* 'bear' FER-) and *(ex)tollere* 'raise' EXTOL [1494] < **tl̥-n-h₂-* LIV 622; HLFL 192, 210)

VITUPERATE [1542] backformed from *vituperation* [1481] *vituperāre/vituperātum* 'criticize; find fault with' (cf. *vitium* VICE [*c.*1300] < **wi-tyo-*, *vitilīgō* 'skin disease' (< **wi-tu-*) VITILIGO § 2.8.2 [**wei-*[3] 'vice, fault, guilt', not in LIV]; the *-p-* of **wi-tu-p-* is unexplained unless the verb is denominal to **vitu-peros* 'fault-making' < **viti-par-o-*, i.e. a compound with *par-āre* 'produce; prepare'/*par-ere* 'create' [**perə-*[1] 'produce' = **perh₃-* 'create' LIV 474 f.]; cf. DELL 1312; Bader 1962: 111; LG i. 390; Lindner 1996: 208)

Aequiperāre 'be/put on a level; regard as an equal; EQUIPARATE' [1632] may also go back to a compound **aequi-par-o-* 'making equal' (cf. DELL 20; Bader 1962: 111, 334; Lindner 1996: 10). In Late Latin, *aequiperāre* was influenced by *aequipār* [Apuleius] ('level' + 'peer') 'equal'. Petronius' *improperāre* 'blame' is plausibly by dissimilation from **impropr-erāre* 'treat improperly' (cf. *propriē* 'in one's own proper way; properly').

6.9 Derivatives in *-ul-ā-*

Verbs in *-ul-ā-* originated largely on diminutives and other *-ul-* formations (Mignot 1969: 315–8; LG i. 550 f.), e.g. *circul-ā-rī* 'form circles or groups around oneself' CIRCULATE [1471] from *circulus* CIRCLE (§ 2.9.1). For non-diminutive *-ul-* derivatives, cf. *cōpulāre* 'unite; couple' COPULATE [1632] from *cōpula* 'bond; link' (§ 5.3.2), or *speculārī* 'observe; explore;

watch for' SPECULATE [1599] from *specula* 'look-out'; cf. *speculum* (§ 5.3.2). By comparison to *spec-ere* 'look at; observe', *speculārī* could be reanalysed as deverbal *spec-ul-ā-*. For an example from an instrument noun, cf. *vinculāre* [c3] 'put in chains' from *vinculum* 'chain' (§ 3.6.3.2). A more aggressive semantic relation is attested in the derivation of *jugulāre* 'cut the throat, JUGULATE' [1623] from *jugulum* 'throat' [**yeug-* 'join'; cf. LIV 316]; cf. *jugulāris* [c4] JUGULAR [1597] (§ 4.1.2). In general, deverbals in *-ul-* have a more intensive or insistent meaning than the base verb.

CONGRATULATE [1577] *congrātulārī* 'congratulate' (*con-* + *grātulārī* 'give thanks (to); congratulate', of disputed origin: Leumann's **grāti-tul-* 'bring thanks', parallel to *opitulārī* 'bring aid' from *opi-tul-us* [Paul. Fest.] 'help-bringer', is disputed in DELL 502, proposing an underlying adjective **grātulus* § 5.3, i.e. **g^{w}r̥h-t-olo-* AHDR 34 [**g^{w}erə-*[3] 'favour' = **g^{w}erh-* LIV 210 f.); either way, by comparison to *grātus* < **g^{w}r̥h-tó-* HLFL 108, *grātul-ārī* is resegmentable as *grāt-ul-ārī* with a suffix *-ul-*)

PETULANT [1599] *petulāns/petulant-* 'impudently aggressive; self-assertive' (*petere* 'attack; pursue; seek; strive after; request' [**pet-* 'rush, fly' = **peth$_2$-*[2] LIV 479])

POSTULATE [1533] 'propose' (eccl.), [1593] 'demand, claim', [1817] 'assume as a possibility' *postulāre* 'ask for; demand; claim; postulate' (*posc-ere* 'ask for; demand' < **pr̥(ḱ)-sḱé /ó-* § 6.2; LIV 490; *postulāre* can be either from an instrument noun **pr̥(ḱ)-sḱ-tlo-* LG i. 208 or, more likely, a form built on the participle **pr̥(ḱ)-sḱ -tó-* > **posto-* plus *-ul-* AHDR 69)

STIPULATE [a1624] *stipulārī* 'exact a solemn promise or guarantee' (possibly the same root as *stīpāre* 'compress' [*?*steip-/?*steib-* 'make firm' LIV 594/592] DELL 1148)

VIOLATE [1432–50] *violāre* 'treat with violence; defile' (*vīs/vī-* 'force; strength' < **weih$_1$-/*wih$_1$-* HLFL 142 f.; *vi-ol-entus* VIOLENT [a1349] may presuppose *violāre* with *-ul-* suffix § 4.11; cf. *vī-* 'want' in *vī-s* 'you want', *in-vī-tus* 'unwanted', etc. [**weih-* 'go after; pursue with vigour; desire' = **weih$_1$-* LIV 668 f.])

In English, *-ulate* has not become a deverbal suffix, but continues to productively derive verbs from diminutives on the model of *formulāre* [ML] FORMULATE [1860] (*formula* 'little form' FORMULA [a1638]), etc. (§ 2.9.1). Neologisms include *encapsulate* [1868] (*capsule* [a1693] *capsula* 'small box'), *granulate* [1666] (*granule* [1652] *grānulum* [c5]), *ovulate* [1851] (*ovule* [1762] *ōvulum* [NL] 'little egg').

A similar pattern derives Latin verbs in *-c-ulāre* (Mignot 1969: 319–22) from diminutives in *-culus* (§ 2.9.2). The two are not separated here because *-culāre*

never attained any productivity in English. Isolated examples include *articulāre* [Lucretius] ARTICULATE [1594] ([1562] 'to article') (see *article* § 2.9.2), *ēmasculāre* [Apuleius] EMASCULATE [1607] (see *masculine* § 2.9.2), and *ōsculārī* [Plautus] 'kiss' OSCULATE [1656] (see *osculum* § 2.9.2). Since *gesticulus* 'slight movement' first occurs in Tertullian, *gesticulārī* [Suetonius, Petronius] GESTICULATE [1601] may contain generalized *-cul-* (cf. *gerere/gestum* 'wage; act; do').

6.10 Verbs in *-il-ā-* and *-in-ā-*

Verbs in *-in-ā-* originated on *-n-* stems, e.g. *nōmin-ā-re* 'to name' NOMINATE [1545] from *nōmen* 'name' (LG i. 551). The origin of *-il-ā-* is more obscure. Most of the verbs in this subclass are onomatopoeic (Mignot 1969: 316); cf. *mūg-il-āre* [Suetonius] 'make the noise of the wild ass' (cf. *mūg-ī-re* 'moo' = G *μύζειν* < **mūg-ye/o-* 'moan; murmur', Hitt. *mūgāizzi* 'laments', all perhaps from **mū-(a)g-* [**mū-h₂(e)ǵ-*] 'go moo'; for the type, see § 6.6). The two suffixes are treated together because *-in-ā-* is also used for onomatopoeic verbs.

6.10.1 *-il-ā-*

JUBILATION [a1382 Wyclif] *jūbilāre/jūbilātum* 'let out shouts' ('shout **yū*'; cf. L *iō*, a shout, *jū-gere* [Paul. Fest.] (of the kite) 'utter its natural cry' (perhaps **yū-h₂(e)ǵ-* 'make a cry' or with *-g-* of *mūg-ī-re* 'moo'), whence LL *jūg-il-āre* 'id.'; the obscure *-b-* in *jū-b-il-āre* and *jū-bil-um* 'whoop' possibly suggests a composite suffix **-bh-el-*, as in *sībilāre* SIBILATE)

SIBILATE [1656]/SIBILANT [1669] 'hissing', [1788] 'strident phonetic sound' *sībilāre/sībilātum* 'hiss (at)' (cf. *sībilus* 'a hiss(ing) or whistling') ∼ dialectal *sīfilāre*; cf. F *siffler* 'whistle, hiss' [**swei-*[1] 'hiss']; Italic points to an enlarged root **s(w)ei-bh-* and possibly an immediate reconstruction **s(w)eibh-el-o-*)

VENTILATE [a1440] *ventilāre/ventilātum* 'expose to a draft; ventilate; fan' (*ventus* 'wind' < **h₂weh₁-n̥t-o-* HLFL 75, 110; cf. Gmc. **windaz* > OE *wind* WIND [**wē-* 'blow' = **h₂weh₁-* LIV 287]; since the verb is first attested in Varro, an early derivative of *ventulus* 'breeze' is unlikely, but the fact that it is not onomatopoeic is unexplained)

6.10.2 *-in-ā-*

BOMBINATE [a1553] 'make a buzzing noise' *bomb-in-āre* 'hum' first in *bombinātor* [c4/5 Martianus Capella] 'the hummer', of the bee (cf. *bomb-ī-re* [Suetonius] 'buzz, hum' ∼ *bomb-il-āre* [Suetonius] 'buzz, hum' all from *bombus* 'a humming, buzzing' probably borrowed from G *βόμβος* 'a humming, buzzing' DELL 130; see also DELG 184 f.; the nasal suffix

reinforces the obvious onomatopoeic character of the root, which violates two constraints on PIE roots: no **/b/* and no roots with more than one voiced stop)

HALLUCINATION [1646] *hallūcinātiō*, late spelling of *(h)ālūcinātiō* [Seneca] 'mental wandering; delusion' (*ālūcinārī* 'wander mentally; talk idly'; cf. G *ἀλύ-ειν* 'wander in the mind; be distraught', *ἀλύ-κη* 'distress; anguish', *ἀλυκτάζειν* 'wander distraught', and *ἀλυκτεῖν* 'be in distress' which should presuppose **ἀλυκ-τός* DELG 66; the *-k-* forms raise the possibility that *ālūcinārī* may be from *ālūc-in-ā-* rather than *ālū-cin-ā-* § 6.11; cf. LG i. 551 [the words discussed here are ignored in AHDR and LIV; perhaps (?) **alu-* relating to sorcery/possession, or **al-*[2] 'wander' = **h₂elh₂-* LIV 264])

LANCINATE [1603] 'pierce' *lanc-in-āre* 'tear in pieces' (cf. *lacerāre* LACERATE § 6.8)

6.11 Derivatives in *-cin-ā-*

Just as derivatives in *-(i)fex* (*-(i)fic-us/-(i)fic-ium*) are related to verbs in *-(i)fic-āre* (§ 6.4.2), so constructs in *-cen* (*-cin-us/-cin-ium*) prompted, though less productively, verbs in *-cin-āre* (Mignot 1969: 347–51; LG i. 551; Benedetti 1988: 197 ff.). For the compound type, cf. *oscen* (pl. *oscinēs*) 'bird that gives omens by its cry; song-bird' OSCINE [1872] (any of the OSCINES, perching birds, like the finches) and *oscin[i]um* [Festus] 'the singing of the omen' (**obs* + *can-* 'one that sings [before the augurs]' [**epi/*opi* 'near, at, against' + **kan-* 'sing'; cf. LIV 342 f.]; cf. DELL 834). Semantically, this is related to *vāti-cin-ārī* 'prophesy' VATICINATE [1623] (*vātēs* 'seer, bard, prophet' [**wet-*[1] = **h₂wet-* 'blow; inspire', not in LIV] + *can-/-cin-* 'sing'; cf. Plautus' hybrid *mantis-cin-ārī*, with G *μάντις* 'seer, prophet'). The compound *vāti-cin-* 'seer-sing(ing)' (cf. *galli-cin-ium* [Petronius] 'cock-crow(-ing)') was evidently reanalysed as *vāti-* 'seer' + suffix *-cin-* and taken to mean something like 'profession/activity of the seer'. This is surmised from other formations, such as *tīrō-cin-ium* 'the first campaign of a young soldier' TIROCINIUM [1651] 'a first experience' (*tīrō* 'recently enrolled soldier; recruit; novice' TIRO [1611]), which have nothing to do with singing. This never became a productive suffix, but is mentioned here because it occurs in English in some highly literary vocabulary.

LATROCINIUM [n.d.] (a turbulent Church council in 449) *latrō-cin-ium* 'robbery' (*latrōcinārī* 'serve as a mercenary; engage in piracy' from *latrō* 'mercenary; bandit'; cf. G *λάτρον* 'pay; hire'; cf. Varro, LL 7. 52 (DELG 622 f.) < **lə-tr-o-* [**lē-*[1] = **leh₁-* 'get', not in LIV]; Greek points to **leh₂-*, since **lh₁-tro-* should have yielded **λέτρον*)

LENOCINANT [1664] 'inciting to lewdness' *lēnō-cin-ārī* 'serve the interests of' (*lēnō-cin-ium* 'pimp-hood; action or profession of pandering; allurement' from *lēnō* 'pimp' poss. < ?**leh₁-n(o)-hon-* 'the getter'? [**lē-*[1]])

RATIOCINATION [1530] *ratiō-cin-ātiō* 'process or act of reasoning, theorizing; calculation' (*ratiō-cin-ārī* 'keep accounts; compute; calculate; consider' from *ratiō* 'calculation; account; reason(ing)' < **rə-ti-(h)on-*, analogical for **r̥h₁-t-* [**rē(i)-* 'reason, count' = **h₂reh₁(i)-* = **reh₁-*[2] LIV 499]; cf. Goth. *raþjo* 'account' GED R9; HGE 298)

SERMOCINATION [1514] 'speechmaking' *sermō-cin-ātiō* 'dialogue' (*sermō-cin-ārī* 'converse' from *sermō* 'speech; conversation' < **ser-mon-* [**ser-*[3] 'line up' = **ser-*[2] LIV 534 f.])

6.12 Desideratives in *-t/sur-*

Older Latin had a category of desideratives in *-t/s-ur-īre* that never became productive (Meillet and Vendryes 1948: 284; Ernout 1953: 152; LG i. 557, ii. 298; García-Hernández 1980: 249; Sihler 1995: 621). They seem to be built on the supine stem **-tu-* (§ 3.10), but differ in vocalism from the future participles in *-tūrus* and nouns in *-tūra* (§ 3.9). It is tempting to posit a **-tu-* formation in conjunction with the old desiderative **-s-* that makes the future in Sabellian, e.g. Osc. *fu-s-t* 'will be'; cf. OL *faxō* 'I will do' (HLFL 46, 182 f., HIEV 133). To concretize, from *emere/ēmptum* 'buy' [**em-* 'take' = **h₁em-* LIV 236] is made a supine **(h₁)em-tu-* 'to buy' (> L *ēmptu-*) plus desiderative **-s-*: **ēmptu-s-ye/o-* 'wish(ing) to buy' > L *ēmpturiō* [Varro] 'I hanker to buy'.

Rare as the desideratives were in Latin, they were recognized and appropriately glossed by the Roman grammarians, e.g. Priscian iii. 495. 12 f. Keil. They also left their mark on English, including occasional neologisms such as *vomiturient* [1666].

ESURIENT [a1672] 'hungry' *ēsurient-* [Plautus] '(being) hungry' PrP of *ēsuriō* [Plautus] 'I am hungry' < **ēssu-s-i(y)ō* < **ed-tu-s-ye/o-* (*edere/ēsum* 'eat' [**ed-*/**h₁ed-* 'id.'])

†MICTURIENT [1654]/MICTURATE [1842] 'urinate' *micturiō* [Juvenal] 'I need/want to urinate' (*meiere/mictum* 'urinate' [**meigh-* 'id.' = **h₃meiǵh-* LIV 301 f.])

NUPTURIENT [1878] 'desiring to marry' *nupturiō* [Martial, Apuleius] 'I desire to marry' (*nūbere/nuptum* 'marry' of a woman; see *nubile* § 5.7.1)

PARTURIENT [1592] 'about to give birth; in labour' *parturiō* [Plautus, Terence] 'I am on the brink of giving birth' (*parere/partum* 'give birth, bear' [**perh₃-*[1] 'produce, procure' = LIV 474 f.])

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Indo-European Root Index

The list that follows gives the complete citation for roots that are frequently abbreviated throughout the text. Since reconstruction is far from an exact science, more than one form is generally given. For easy cross-reference, roots are cited first as in AHDR. Alternate forms followed by a slash (/) are either the older PIE form or as listed in other sources (especially LIV). An asterisk after a section number signals that the root form is itself discussed. Laryngeal-initial roots are listed first as in AHDR, without the laryngeal. Roots cited only with a laryngeal do not appear in AHDR. The major exception involves roots cited in this work in only one form, e.g. **ph₂ter-* 'father' for AHDR's **pəter-*. Root numbering also follows AHDR. When AHDR subsumes several roots under one, the same root is listed twice with different alternative forms, e.g. **ap-*¹/**h₁ep-* 'take, reach', **ap-*¹/**h₂ep-* 'suit'.

*ad- 'to, near, at' 5.5.1
*ag-¹ = *h₂eǵ- or *h₁aǵ- 'drive (before one)' 2.8.1, 3.7.2, 4.1.1, 4.4.3, 4.10.2, 5.4.1, 5.5.1, 5.7.1, 6.6.1*
agro- 'field' 4.4.3
*agʷ(h)-no-/*h₂egʷ-no- 'lamb' 2.9.3
*ai-² = *h₂ei(dh)- 'burn' or *h₁ai(dh)- 'be warm' 4.4.4.2, 4.9.1, 6.4.2.1
*aim-/*h₂eim- 'copy' 2.8.1, 6.5.1.1
*ais-/*h₂eis- 'wish, desire; seek' 5.5.1, 6.2, 6.5
*aiw- = *h₂eiw-/*h₂eyu- (v. *yeu-) 'vital force; (long) life' 4.5.2
*ak-/*h₂e̯k- 'sharp' 2.1.3, 2.5.1*, 5.1.1.1, 5.1.2, 5.4
*aks-/*aks- 'axis' 2.9.3*
*akʷ-ā- 'water' 4.4.4.2, 4.8.1
*al-¹/*h₂el- 'beyond' 4.7, 5.5.4, 6.7
*al-²/*h₂elh₂- 'wander' 2.6.1, 5.6.1, 6.10.2
*al-³/*h₂el- 'grow, nourish' 2.4.1, 2.5.2, 2.6.1, 6.2
*albh(o)- = *h₂elbh(o)- or *h₁albh(o)- 'white' 4.7, 5.1, 5.1.1, 6.1, 6.2.2, 6.7
*alu- (relating to sorcery/possession) 6.10.2
*am-/*h₂emh₃- 'grab' 6.3*
*ambhi/*h₂n̥t-bhi [v. *ant-] 'from both sides; around' 2.6.1, 2.9.3, 4.10.2, 5.6.1, etc.
*anə-/*h₂enh₁- 'breathe' 4.12.1
*andho- 'blind, dark' 2.9.3
*anǵh- 'tight, constricted' 2.1.1*b*
*angʷhi- 'snake, eel' 2.9.3, 4.7
*ank/g-/*h₂enk/g- 'bend' 4.1.2
*āno- 'ring' 2.9.1, 4.12.1
*ant-/*h₂ent- 'front' 4.4.4.1
*ap-¹/*h₁ep- 'take, reach' 5.3.2*
*ap-¹/*h₂ep- 'be suitable' 2.4.1, 5.3.2*
*apo-/*ap- 'off, away' 5.5.1, 5.5.2, etc.
*ar- = *h₁ar- or *h₂er- 'fit together' 2.6.1, 2.9.2, 3.9.1, 4.4.4.2
*arg-/*h₂erǵ- 'shine; white, silver' 1.13, 4.9.1, 4.12.1
*ark-/*h₂erk- 'hold, contain' 4.6.1
*as- 'burn, glow'/*h₂eh₁s- 'dry out' 5.1.2

at-/$h_2$et- ‘go; year’ 2.6.3
*āter- ‘fire’ 2.6.3
au-⁴/$h_2$eu- ‘perceive’/?*$h_2$weis- ‘hear’ (cf. *ous- ‘ear’) 5.6.1*
aug-¹/$h_2$eug- ‘increase’ 1.13, 2.6.1, 4.4.2, 4.12
*aulo- ‘hole, cavity’ 2.9.1, 4.4.4.2
aus-²/$h_1$aus- ‘gold’ 2.9.1, 4.12.1
awi-/$h_2$ewi-/*h_2w(e)i- ‘bird’ 2.6.1, 2.9.1, 4.4.4.2
*awo- ‘adult male relative (excl. father)’ 2.9.2
ayes-/$h_2$ey-o/es- ‘copper, bronze’ 2.8.3

*bak- ‘staff, rod’ 2.9.3, 3.6.3.2
*bel- ‘strong’ 2.1.3
*bhā-²/*bheh$_2$- ‘speak’ 3.6.1, 3.7.1, 4.1.1, 4.2, 4.10.2, 5.6.1
*bhars-¹ ‘projection, bristle, point’ 4.10.2, 6.6.2
*bhars-² ‘barley’ 2.8.1, 4.7.1*a**
*bhar(z)dh- ‘beard’ 5.1.1.1
*bhasko- ‘band, bundle’ 2.9.2
*bhāt- ‘beat’ 5.4.3
*bhei- ‘bee’ 4.4.4.2
*bheidh- ‘trust’ 4.10.2, 4.12.1
*bhel-¹/*bhleg-/*bhleǵ- ‘shine, flash, burn’ 2.9.1, 5.1.2*
*bhel-² ‘blow, swell’ 2.9.2
*bhel-³/*bhleh$_3$- ‘thrive, bloom’ 4.11, 5.1.2, 6.2.2
*bhelg-/*bhelk- ‘plank; support’ 3.6.3.1
*bher-¹ ‘carry (in the hands); bear’ 4.3, 4.10.2, 4.12.1, 5.2.1, 5.5.4
*bher-² ‘bore, pierce’ 3.4
*bherǵh-² ‘high’ 6.4.2.1
*bhes-²/*bhs-ī/ū- ‘breathe’ 3.6.3.2*
*bheud- ‘strike’ 6.6.2
*bheug-¹ ‘flee’ 5.2.1, 5.2
*bheug-² ‘enjoy’ 5.6.1
*bhlāg-/?*bhleh$_2$g- ‘strike’ 2.9.3, 6.5.1.1
*bhlē-² ‘blow’/*bhleh$_1$- ‘howl’ 2.9.3, 3.6.2, 4.11, 6.1
*bhleu-/*bhleuh- ‘well up, overflow’ 2.1.3, 4.1.1, 5.1.2, 5.4.1*
*bhreg- ‘break’ 3.2.2, 3.5.1, 3.9.1, 4.4.2, 5.7.1
*bhréh$_2$ter- ‘brother’ 3.7
*bhreu(ə)-/*bhreu(h$_1$)-/*bherw- ‘boil; brew’ 3.5.1, 5.1.2, 6.2.2
*bhrūg-/?*bhreuhǵ- ‘yield; enjoy’ 3.5.1, 4.4.3, 6.4.2.1
*bhudh- ‘bottom, base’ 3.5.1
*bhuh$_{(2)}$- ‘be’ 4.4.2, 4.10.2, 5.3

*daḱru- ‘tear’ 5.6.1
*dap-/*deh$_2$p- ‘apportion’ 5.6.1
*de-/*dō ‘to; from’ 5.5.2, 5.6.1, etc.
*deik-/*deiḱ-/*deiǵ- ‘show’ 2.6.1, 3.5.1, 4.1.1, 5.6.1
*dek-¹/*deḱ- ‘take, accept’ 3.1, 4.7.1*b*, 4.10.2, 5.7.1, 6.4.2.1
*del-¹ ‘long’ 2.4.1
*del-² ‘(re)count’ 5.3
*delh$_1$- ‘split’ 3.6.2
*dem- ‘house’/*demh$_2$- ‘build’ 2.6.1, 4.8.1
*demə-/*demh$_2$-² ‘constrain; break’ 3.7.2
*dent-/*h$_1$d-ónt- (v. *ed-) ‘tooth’ 4.1.1, 4.12.1

*deph- 'stamp' 4.4.2
*deu-[2]/*dwe- 'perform; revere' 2.1.2, 2.2.5, 6.4.2.1
*deuə-/*deuh$_2$- 'long (in duration)' 6.3
*deuh$_2$- 'put together' 6.4.2.1
*deuk- 'lead' 3.7.2, 3.8.3, 5.5.1, 5.6.1
*dhabh-/*dhehbh- 'fit together' 4.2, 6.7
*dhē-/*dheh$_1$-/*dheh$_1$-k- 'set, put; make' 2.6.1, 2.7, 3.4, 4.7.1*a*, 4.1.1, 4.1.2, 5.2.1*, 5.3.1, 5.4.1, 5.6.1, 5.6.2.2, 5.7.1, 6.5.1.1
*dheg^{w}h- 'burn, warm' 3.5.1, 4.2
*dhē(i)-/*dheh$_1$(i/y)- 'suck' 2.2.3, 3.10, 4.5.1
*dheigh-/dheiǵh- 'form, knead, build' 3.5.1
*dhen-[1]/*dhenh$_2$- 'run, flow' 4.6.1
*dher-[2] 'hold'/*dher-ǵh- 'hold firmly' 4.4.5, 6.4.2.1
*dhers- 'venture, be bold' 1.13
*dhēs-/*dheh$_1$-s- (v. *dhē-) 'god(ly)' 2.1.3, 4.1.1, 4.4, 4.8.1, 5.5.4*
*dheu-[1]/*dheuh- 'dust, cloud, vapour, smoke' 2.8.2, 4.8, 5.3, 6.6.1
*dhǵhem-/*dhéǵhōm 'earth' 2.9.2, 4.6.1
(dh)ǵhém-ōn 'earthling; human' 4.6.1
*dhǵh(y)es- 'yesterday' 4.5.2
*dhīg^{w}-/*dheihg^{w}- 'stick, fix' 3.6.1, 6.4.2.1
*dhreu-(gh)- 'deceive, cheat' 4.11
*dl̥k-u- 'sweet' 2.4.1, 6.4.2.1
*dō̥-/*deh$_3$- 'give' 4.1.1, 5.5.1
*dreh$_1$- 'sleep' 6.1
*drem- 'sleep' 5.6.2.2
*dus- 'bad, evil, mis-' 5.6.1
*dwei- 'fear' 5.3
*dwo-/*du-/*dw-i- 'two' 2.6.3, 4.1.1, 4.10.2, 5.6.1*
*dyeu- 'shine; sky'/*deiw-o- 'god' 4.7, 6.4.2.1
*dyeu- 'shine; sky'/*dyeh$_1$- 'day' 4.1.1, 4.4.4.2, 4.5.2

*ed-/*h$_1$ed- '(bite >) eat' 4.11, 4.12.1, 5.2.1, 6.12
*egō 'I' 5.5.3.2
*eghs/*eǵh-s 'out' 4.9.3, 5.5.2, 5.6.1, etc.
*egni-/*h$_1$egn-i- 'fire' 4.9.1
*eg^{w}h-/*h$_1$eg^{w}h- 'drink' 2.1.1*b*
*ei-[1]/*h$_1$ei- 'go' 2.7, 3.6.3.2, 4.4.4.2, 4.10.2, 5.6.1
*eis-[1] 'passion' 4.12.1
*eks-tero- (comparative of *e̯ghs) 'out(er)' 4.5.2
*ekwo- = *h$_1$ékw-o- or *h$_1$ék-wo- 'horse' 4.7
*em-/*h$_1$em- 'take, distribute' 3.2.2, 5.4.2, 5.6.1, 6.4.2.1, 6.12*
*en 'in' 4.5.2, 4.7, 4.10.2, 4.12.1
*en-do 'in' 3.5.1, 4.10.2
*en-es- 'burden' 4.4.2
*epi/*opi 'near, at, against' 2.7, 3.6.3.2, 4.4.2, 4.10.2, 5.5.2, 6.11, etc.
*er-[1]/*h$_3$er- 'move, set in motion' 2.8.2, 4.1.1, 5.5.1
*ers-[1]/*h$_1$ers- 'be in motion; flow' 4.8.1
*erə-[1]/*h$_1$erh$_1$-/*h$_1$reh$_1$-[2] 'row' 6.6.1
*erə-[2]/*h$_1$erh$_1$-/*h$_1$reh$_1$- 'separate' 2.9.2
*erə-[3]/*h$_1$erh$_2$- 'separate; adjoin' 6.4.1.1
*es-/*h$_1$es- 'be' 2.7

eu-/$h_2$euh- 'dress' 3.5.1
euə-/$h_1$euh$_2$-/*$h_1$weh$_2$- 'abandon(ed), lacking' 5.4.1*

ferr- (non-IE) 'iron' 2.8.3

*gāu- 'rejoice'/*geh$_2$(u)- 'joy' in *geh$_2$-wi-dheh$_1$-ye/o- 3.2.1
*gal-^{2} 'call, shout' 4.7.1*d*
*gar-/*ǵar- 'call, cry' 5.3.1
gel-^{2} 'cold; freeze' 3.4, 5.1.3
*genə-/*ǵenh$_1$-'give birth, beget' 4.6.1, 4.10.2, 5.4, 5.4.1, 5.5.1, 6.8
ger-^{1}/$h_2$ger- 'gather' 4.4.3
*gerə-^{1}/*ǵerh$_2$- 'mature, age' 2.9.1, 4.4.4.2
*gerə-^{2}/*gerh$_2$-/*gr(e)h$_2$-k- 'cry hoarsely' 5.3.2
*ges- (Italic root) 'conduct, wage, do' 5.5.1
*geus-/*ǵeus- 'taste, choose' 3.10
*ghabh-/*ghebh- 'give, take'/Italic-Celtic ?*ghehb- or ?*ǵhehb- 'take, receive' 2.4.2, 5.5.1*, 5.6.1, 6.5.1.1
*ghais- (isolated root) 'adhere; hesitate' 6.5.1.1
*ghans-/*ǵhans- 'goose' 4.7
*ghazd-o-/ǵhazdh-o- 'rod, staff' 4.12.1
*ghē- 'release'/*gheh$_1$- 'come, go' 6.1
*ghē-/*ǵheh$_1$- 'leave behind' in *ǵheh$_1$-r(o)-h$_1$ēd- 2.1.4
*ghed- 'seize, take' 5.5.2, 5.6.1
*ghei-^{2}/*ǵhei(m-)/*ǵhye-m- 'winter' 3.6.3.2, 4.5.2
*gher-^{1}/*ǵher-^{2} 'grasp; enclose' 2.9.1
*gher-^{5}/*ǵher-^{1} 'like, want' 5.6.1
*ghers-/*ǵhers- 'to bristle' 4.12, 5.1.2
*gherə-/*ǵherh$_2$- 'gut, entrail' 4.12.1
*gheu-/*ǵheu-/*ǵheu-d- 'pour' 3.6.1
*gho- deictic particle 2.6.1, 4.5.2
*ghor-to- (v. *gher-^{1}) 'enclosure; garden' 2.9.1
*ghosti-/*gho-sth$_2$-i- ('standing apart' >) 'foreigner, stranger, guest' 2.6.1, 4.1.1, 4.2
*ghosti-pot-i- 'guest-master' 2.6.1, 4.1.1
*ghredh-/?*ghreidh- 'walk, go' 3.7.1, 4.12.1, 5.5.2
*ghrēi- 'rub'/*ghrei- 'smear' 4.6.1
*ghrēu-/*ghreh$_1$w- 'rub, grind' 5.4.1*
*ghwer-/*ǵhwer- 'walk head-down; wild beast' 2.1.3, 5.2.1
*ghwr̥-wr̥ (cf. *ghwer-) 'savagery' 3.1
*gleu- 'glue' /*glei- 'clay' 3.4
*gnō-/*ǵneh$_3$- 'know' 2.3, 4.1.1, 5.5.1, 5.6.1, 6.2, 6.4.2.1
*grə-no-/ǵ r̥h$_{(2)}$-nó- (cf. *gerə-^{1} 'mature') 'grain' 2.9.1, 4.4.4.2
*gras-/*gres-^{1} 'devour' 3.4
*g^{w}ā-/*g^{w}em- 'go, come' 5.5.1
*g^{w}elə-^{2}/*g^{w}elh$_2$- 'acorn' 2.9.1
*g^{w}erə-^{2}/*g^{w}erh$_2$-/*g^{w}r(e)h$_2$-u-(i-) 'heavy' 4.1.1, 5.1.1.1, 5.1.3
*g^{w}erə-^{3}/*g^{w}erh$_{(2)}$- 'favour' 2.4.1, 4.10.2, 6.4.2.1, 6.9
*g^{w}erə-^{4}/*g^{w}erh$_3$- 'swallow' 2.8.1, 5.2.1
*g^{w}et-^{1} 'resin' 3.4
g^{w}hen- 'strike, kill' 5.5.2
*g^{w}her- 'heat, warm' 3.7.2

$g^{w}hī$-/$g^{w}hih$- 'thread; tendon' 3.5.1
$g^{w}hrē$-/$g^{w}hreh_1$- 'smell' 2.2.5
$g^{w}ih_3$-u-o-/$g^{w}ih_3$-wo-/*$g^{w}īwo$- (v. *$g^{w}yeh_3$-u-) 'living' 2.6.1, 5.1.2, 5.4*
*$g^{w}ou$- 'ox, bull, cow' 4.7
$g^{w}yeh_3$-u-/$g^{w}ih_3$-u- 'live' 4.1.1, 5.4

*h_1weh_2-s-to- 2.4.1
*$h_2(e/o)l$- (v. al-3)
*h_2eh_1- 'be hot' 6.1
h_2elgh-/?$h_2elǵh$- 'freeze' 5.1.2
h_2enti-h_3k^{w}-o- 4.4.4.1
h_2ep- (v. ap-1/h_2ep-)
*h_2et-no- (v. *at-) 'year' 2.6.3
*h_2eu- 'enjoy' 2.1.3, 5.1.2, 5.2.1
*h_2ewis- (v. *au-4) 'perception' 5.6.1*
*h_2ewi-spe$\acute{k}$-s (v. awi- 'bird') 'bird-watcher' 3.2
*h_2neh_3- 'blame' 3.4
*$h_2ōwy$-o- (v. *awi- 'bird') 'egg' 2.9.1, 4.4.4.2
*$h_2r̥ǵú$- 'straight' 6.1
*h_2weh_1- (v. *$wē$-)
*h_2weid- 'sing' 4.10.2
*h_3eit- 'take along' 5.5.2
h_3neh_3-m(e)n-/$h_1no(h_3)$-m$n̥$ 'name' (AHDR *$nŏ$-m$n̥$) 3.4

*i- deictic prn. 5.5.3.2, 6.4.2.1

kad-/$k\acute{a}d$- 'fall' 4.1.1, 4.10.2, 5.4.1
*kai-lo- (and *kai-ro-?)'whole; of good omen' 2.5.3
*kal-3 'hard' 4.10.2
$kālh_2d$-/$kālad$- 'mottled' 5.1.1.1
*kan- 'sing' 2.9.2, 5.5.1, 6.11
kand-/(s)kend-2 'shine' 3.6.2, 4.12.1, 5.1.2, 6.2.2
kap-/keh_2p- 'grasp' 2.7, 2.9.1, 3.6.3.2, 4.7, 4.10.2, 5.2, 5.2.1, 5.5.1, 6.5, 6.8
kap-ut- 'head' 2.9.1, 4.12.1
*ked- 'go, yield' 3.7.1, 5.5.2, 6.5.1.1
keh_2i-/kh_2ei- 'sky; omen' 4.9.1
keh_2-id-/?kh_2eid- 'strike' 2.6.1, 4.9.1, 5.5.2*
*keh_2l- 'mist(y), fog(gy)' 2.8.2
kehs-/$k\acute{e}hs$- 'instruct' 6.6.2
kei-1/$k\acute{e}i$- 'lie' 3.6.1, 4.2, 4.8.1
kel- 'grey' 4.4.4.2, 4.7
kel-1/$kelh_2$- 'strike, cut' 2.9.1, 4.10.2
kel-2/$k\acute{e}l$- 'cover, conceal' 2.9.1, 3.2.2, 5.1.3
*kel-4/*kelh- 'be prominent; hill' 2.9.3, 4.7, 4.12.1
kelə-1/$kelh_1$-/*$k\acute{e}l$-2 'warm' 4.4.4.2, 6.4.1.1
*kelə-2/$kelh_2$-/*k$l̥(h_2)$d- (cf. *$kleh_1$- 'call') 'shout' 3.2.2, 4.4.4.2, 4.8.1, 5.6.1, 6.4.2.1
*kel(h)k- 'heel' 4.9.3
*ken-i- 'dust, ashes' 4.4.4.2
*kenk-1/*keng- 'gird, bind' 5.3.2
kens-/$k\acute{e}ns$- 'proclaim, speak solemnly' 3.7.1
*ker-1/*ker-/*$k\acute{e}reh_2$- 'horn; head' 2.9.3, 4.9.1*, 4.10.2
ker-3 'grow'/$kerh_3$- 'satiate' 4.1.1, 6.2.2

*ker-⁴ 'heat, fire' 2.9.2
*kerd-/*ḱerd-/*ḱred- 'heart' 4.12.1, 5.3.1
*kers-¹ 'dark; dirty' 4.5
*kers-²/*ḱers-¹ 'run' 3.6.3.2, 3.7.1, 4.4.1, 5.5.2, 6.7
*kes-²/*ḱes- 'cut' 2.9.3, 3.6.4, 6.6.2
*keub(h_2)-/*ḱeub(h_2)- 'lie down' 3.6.3.2, 4.7.1*d**, 6.3
*keudh- (AHDR *(s)keu-) 'cover, hide' 2.2.4, 2.9.2
*keuə-/*keuh- 'swell' 4.12.1
*keup- 'tremble (inwardly)' 6.2
*klāu-/*kleh$_2$-u- 'hook, peg' 2.9.1, 2.9.2, 3.6.4, 5.5.2*
*kleh$_1$- (cf. *kelə-² 'shout') 'call' 4.8.1, 6.1
*klei-/*klei- 'to lean' 3.6.4
*kl̥h$_2$-(wo-) 'bald' 4.4.5
*kneig^{w}h- 'lean on' 6.5.1.1
*kneu- 'nut' 2.9.1
*ko(n)kho- 'mussel, shellfish' 4.1.2
*kois- (AHDR *cūra: Italic root) 'care' 5.5.1
*kom-/*ko- 'beside, near, by, with' 2.7, 4.4.3, 4.10.2, 5.5.1, 5.5.2, 5.6.1, 6.5, etc.
*krei-/*kreh$_1$(i/y)- 'sieve; discriminate' 3.6.2, 4.4.4.1, 6.4.2, 6.4.2.1
kreuh$_2$- 'raw flesh' 5.1.5
*kreus- 'begin to freeze' 4.9.2
*ḱuzdho-zd- (v. *keudh-, *sed-¹) 'sitting over a treasure' 2.2.4
*ḱweh$_1$- 'swell' 6.1
*k^{w}eh$_2$-li- (v. *k^{w}o-) 'what sort' 5.5.4
*k^{w}ei- 'pay, atone, compensate' 4.1.1
*k^{w}eiə-²/*k^{w}eih$_1$-/*k^{w}yeh$_1$- 'rest, be quiet' 1.11, 2.4.1, 6.1, 6.2.2
*k^{w}el-¹/*k^{w}elh$_1$- 'turn; cultivate' 2.6.1, 2.9.3, 4.1.2, 4.7
*kwēp-/*ḱweh$_1$p- 'agitate, boil, smoke' 3.1, 5.1.4
*kwes-/*ḱwes- 'pant, wheeze' 2.5.2, 5.3.1
*k^{w}etwer-/*k^{w}tru- 'four' 4.12.1
*k^{w}o-/*k^{w}i- (interrog./indef. prn.) 'who, which, what; some, any' 2.1.3, 5.5.4
*kwon-/*ḱwon- 'dog' 4.7*
*k^{w}reh- 'clay; chalk' 4.9.2
*k^{w}rep- 'body, form' 2.9.2, 4.9.1, 4.11
*k^{w}yeh$_1$-to- (v. *k^{w}eiə-²) 'quieted' 1.11, 2.4.1

*lā(dh)-/*leh$_2$- 'be hidden' 3.5.1, 3.6.1
*lak-/*lak^{w}- (Italic root) 'entice' 3.6.2, 6.5.1.1
*lau-/*leh$_2$u-/*lh$_2$eu- 'gain, profit' 5.5.1
*lē-¹/*leh$_{1/2}$- 'get' 6.11
*lē-²/*leh$_1$-d- 'let go, slacken' 2.4.1
*leb- 'lick; lip' 2.6.3, 2.9.3, 4.1.1
*leg-¹/*leǵ- 'collect' 2.6.1, 2.6.2, 3.3, 4.9.1, 4.9.3
*leg^{w}h- 'light(en), raise' 2.1.3, 4.1.1
*lei- 'flow'/*leih-² 'pour' 3.5.1
*leid- 'play; jest' 5.6.1
*leig-¹/*leiǵ- 'bind' 3.3, 3.5.1, 3.9.1, 5.6.1
*leis- (= *leis-¹?) 'learn' 2.6.3
*leis-¹ 'track, furrow' 2.6.3
*lēk-/*leh$_1$k- 'tear' 6.8
*lendh-¹ 'loin' 2.8.1
*lep-¹ 'peel' 4.10.2

*lēu-²(echoic) 'sing praises' 5.6.1
*leu(ə)-/*leuh$_3$- 'wash' 3.6.2, 4.7.1*c*, 5.6.2.2, 6.3*
*leudh-²/*h$_1$leudh- 'mount up, grow' 4.1.1, 4.7
*leug-² 'bend' 4.10.2
*leuk- 'light' 2.9.1, 3.4, 3.6.4, 4.8.1, 4.11, 5.1.2, 6.2
*līno-/*li-no- 'flax' 3.5.1, 4.9.1
*līthrā/*līþrā 'scale' 3.6.2*
*luk^w-o- (v. *wl̥k^w-o-) 'wolf' 2.9.1

*mā-¹/*meh$_2$- 'good; timely; seasonable' 4.7
*mā-² (cf. *māter-) 'mother' 2.5.2, 2.9.3
*mad-/*me(h$_2$)d- '(be/get) moist, wet' 6.4.1.1*
*mag-/*maǵ- (*mak-/*mak-) 'knead; fashion' 6.8
*mag-yos/*m(e)g-y(e)s- (comparative of *meg-) 'greater' 2.6.1, 2.9.2
*māk-/*meh$_2$k- 'long, thin' 6.8
*man-² 'hand' 2.4.2, 5.3
*mas-d-/*mh$_2$s-d- 'mast, pole; penis' 2.9.2, 4.7
*māter-/*mahter- (cf. *mā-²) 'mother' 3.7
*Māwort- Italic deity 4.1.1
*mē-¹/*meh$_1$- 'mood, habit' 2.1.3
*mē-²/*meh$_1$- 'measure' 4.1.1
*med- '(take appropriate) measure' 2.9.1, 3.5.1, 4.5.2, 4.7.1*b*, 6.4.2.1, 6.5.1.1, 6.8*
medh-yo- 'middle' 2.1.3, 3.2, 4.1.1, 4.6.1, 4.9.3
*meg-/*meǵ-/*meǵ-h$_2$- 'great' 2.6.1, 4.5, 6.4.2.1
*mēi- 'mild' /*meih-² 'ripen, mature' 6.6.1
*mei-¹/*h$_2$mei- (cf. *meith$_2$-) 'change; move' 5.4.1, 6.4.2.1, 6.7
*mei-² 'small' 2.6.1, 4.9.3, 5.5.1
*mei-³ 'fix; fortify' 4.1.1
*meigh-/*h$_3$meiǵh- 'urinate' 6.12
*meik-/*meik-/*meig- 'mix' 3.9.1, 4.9.3, 5.4.1
*meith$_2$- (cf. *mei-¹) '(ex)change; send' 4.4.4.1, 5.4.1, 5.5.2
*mel-¹/*mel-d- '(become) soft' 5.1.2, 6.4.2.1
*mel-³ 'limb' 4.10.2
*mel-⁴ 'strong, great' 2.4.1, 6.3
*mel-⁵ 'false, bad, wrong' 2.3
*melə-/*melh$_2$- 'crush, grind' 2.9.1, 4.1.2, 4.4.1, 5.7.3.2
*melit- 'honey' 2.8.2
*men-¹ 'think' 2.2.1, 3.6.4, 3.8, 3.8.2, 4.4.4.2, 6.2
*men-² 'project' 3.6.3.2, 4.6.1, 5.6.2.3
*mend- 'physical defect, fault' 5.2.2
*mendh-²/*meth$_2$- 'chew' 3.6.1
*merǵ- 'boundary, border' 4.1.1
*mer-²'rub away; harm die'/h$_2$-'merd'- 'mishandle' 44.42, 5.1.4, 5.2.1, 6.4.2.1, 6.7
*merg^{w}h-/?*merph- 'form' 5.5.1
*merk-² (Italic root) 'commerce' 2.6.1, 2.7
*meuə-¹/*myeuh$_1$- 'push away' 4.9.3
*meuə-³/*meuh$_2$- 'be silent' 6.4.2.1
*meug- 'slimy, slippery' 4.10
*meus- 'close oneself off' 6.4.2.1
*mh$_1$-ōs (v. mē-¹) 'custom' 2.1.3
*mori- 'body of water' 4.7

*morwi- 'ant' 4.4.4.2
*mreǵh-u- 'short' 4.4.4.2
*mū-/?*mūg- (echoic) 'moo, moan' 6.10*
*muhs-/*mūs- 'mouse' 2.9.2

*nas-/*neh$_2$s- 'nose' 3.2.3, 4.1.1
*nāu-^{2}/*neh$_2$u- 'boat' 6.6.1
*n̥dher- 'under' 4.5.2
*ne/*n̥ 'not' 2.9, 4.4.5, 5.5.3.2, 6.4.2.1, etc.
*nebh- 'cloud' 4.10.2
*ned- 'bind, tie' 2.9.1
*neg-ro- (v. *neg^w-) 'black' 6.2.2*
*neg^w- 'be dark' 6.2.2
*nei- 'shine' 5.1.3
*nek-^{1}/*neḱ- 'death' 2.9.1, 4.10.2, 5.4.1
*nek^w-t- (v. *neg^w-) 'night' 2.6.1*, 4.5.3, 6.2.2*
*nem- 'assign, allot' 4.1.1, 4.10.2
*neu-^{2} 'nod' 3.4
*new-e/o- (cf. *nu) 'new' 2.9.3, 6.3
*nogh-/*h$_3$nogh/*h$_3$(o)ng^{w}h-i- 'nail, claw' 2.9.1
*nog^w- 'naked' 5.1.5
*nu (cf. *new-e/o-) 'now' 2.9.3

*ō-/*h$_2$eh$_3$- 'believe, hold as true' 3.4
*od-^{1}/*h$_3$ed-^{1} 'smell' 3.1, 6.4.1.1
*od-^{2}/*h$_3$ed-^{2} 'hate' 3.2.1
*ōg-/*h$_3$eg- 'fruit, berry' 2.9.1
oi-(no/ko)- 'one' 2.9, 4.1.1, 4.8, 6.4.2.1
*ok^w-/*h$_3$ek^w- 'see' 2.1.3, 2.9.3, 4.1.1, 4.4.4.1
*op-^{1}/*h$_3$ep-^{1} 'work, produce, bring forth' 2.6.1, 2.9.2, 4.7.1*a*, 4.10.2, 4.11, 5.5.1
*op-^{2}/*h$_3$ep-^{2} 'wish, choose' 3.8.3, 5.5.1, 6.5.1
*ōr-/?*h$_2$er-^{3} 'pronounce a ritual formula' 3.6.3.2, 3.7.2, 5.6.2.2
*ōrd-/*ōrəd(h)- 'arrange' 3.5.1, 4.1.1
*ōs-/?*h$_3$ōs- 'mouth' 2.9.2, 6.6.1, 6.6.2
*ost-/*h$_2$osth$_2$- 'bone' 2.9.2, 4.4.4.2, 4.9.1
*ous-/*h$_2$eus- (v. *au-^{4} 'perceive') 'ear' 2.9.2
*owi-/*h$_2$owi- 'sheep' 4.3

*pā-/*peh$_2$-/*pās-/*peh$_2$s- 'protect; feed' 3.6.1, 3.7.2, 4.4.2
*pag-/*peh$_2$-ǵ- 'become fixed' 2.8.1, 4.6.1, 6.4.2.1*
*pak-/*peh$_2$-k- 'fix, fasten' 6.4.2.1*
*pāl-/*peh$_2$l- 'touch, feel, shake' 3.6.2
*pap-/*pup- 'teat' 2.9.1, 2.9.3
*pāso- 'kinsman' 2.6.1
*pau-^{1}/*peh$_2$u- 'few, little' 2.9.1, 2.9.3
*pau-^{2}/*peh$_2$u-/*pyeh$_2$- 'cut, strike, stamp' 3.5.1, 5.5.1*, 6.5*
*ped-^{1} 'foot' 2.9.2, 2.9.3, 3.5.1, 4.1.1, 4.10.2
*peh$_2$wr (AHDR *paəwr̥) 'fire' 6.6.1
*pē(i)-/*peh$_1$y- 'hurt' 5.5.2
*peig-^{1}/*peik- 'cut, mark' 3.5.1
*peis-^{1} 'crush' 3.6.4
*peisk-/*pisk- 'fish' 4.4.5, 4.7.1*a*

*pek-/*pék- ‘pluck (hair)’ 6.5
*peku/*péku- ‘wealth, movable property, livestock’ 2.6.3, 4.1.2
*pek^{w}- ‘cook, ripen’ 4.7.1*a*, 5.4
*pel-^{1} ‘dust, flour’ 3.4, 4.11
*pel-^{2}/*pal-wo- ‘pale’ 5.1.2, 6.2.2
*pel-^{3} ‘fold’ 6.4.2.1
*pel-^{4} ‘skin, hide’ 2.9.2, 4.12.1
*pel-^{6} ‘thrust, strike’/*pelh$_{1}$- ‘swing, brandish’ 4.1.2
*pel-^{6} ‘thrust, drive’/*pelh$_{2}$- ‘approach, draw near’ 5.5.2, 6.5.1.1
*pelə-^{1}/*pelh$_{1}$-/*pleh$_{1}$- ‘to fill’ 4.1.1, 4.5, 5.3, 6.1
*pelə-^{2}/*pelh$_{2}$- ‘flat; spread’ 5.6.1
*pent- ‘tread, go’ 2.7
*per-^{1} ‘through, for(th), forward’ 2.1.1*b*, 2.6.1, 2.7, 3.2.2, 3.6.3.2, 4.1.1, 4.5.2, 4.10.2, 5.5.2, 5.5.4, etc.
*per-^{2} ‘lead, pass over’ 3.10
*per-^{4}/*pre-m- ‘strike’ 5.5.2
*per-^{5}/*per-h$_{2}$-/*pre-t- ‘sell’ 4.10.2
*perə-^{1} ‘produce’/*perh$_{3}$- ‘create’ 4.1.1, 5.6.1, 6.8, 6.12
*perə-^{2}/*perh$_{3}$- ‘grant; allot’ 2.9.2, 3.8.2
*perk- ‘fill up; spare’ 2.5.1
*pes- ‘penis’ 2.9.3
*pet-/*pet-h$_{2}$-^{2} ‘rush; fly’ 2.8.2, 2.9.2, 4.12.1, 5.4.1, 5.4.2, 5.6.1, 6.9
*petə-/peth$_{2}$-^{1} ‘spread’ 2.9.3, 3.6.1, 4.10.2
*peuə-/*peuh-^{1} ‘cleanse, purify’ 3.6.3.2, 6.4.2.1, 6.6.1
*peuk-/*peug- (*peúk-/*peúg-) ‘stick, prick’ 2.9.3, 3.6.3.2, 3.9.1, 5.2.1
*pezd-/*pesd- ‘fart’ 2.9.2
*ph$_{2}$tér- ‘father’ 2.5.2, 2.7, 3.7, 6.1
*pl̥h$_{1}$-nó- (v. *pelə-^{1}) ‘full’ 4.5
*plāk-^{1}/*plek- ‘(be) flat’ 5.1.2, 5.6.1, 6.5.1.1
*plat-/*pleth$_{2}$- ‘spread’ 2.8.1
*pleh$_{2}$k- ‘strike’ 5.1.2
*pleh$_{3}$k- ‘be pleasing, like’ 5.1.2, 5.6.1, 6.5.1.1
*plek-/*plék- ‘plait’ 5.7.2, 6.4.2.1, 6.5
*plō-ro- (v. *pelə-^{2}) ‘ground’ 5.6.1*
pn̥-ghu- ‘thick’ 2.4.1
*pō(i)-/*peh$_{3}$(i/y)- ‘drink’ 3.6.3.2, 4.11, 5.2.1, 6.5
*po(s) (cf. *apo) ‘on, in’ 5.5.1
*pork-o- ‘young pig’ 2.9, 4.7
*poti- ‘powerful; master’ 2.6.1, 2.7, 4.1.1
*preh$_{2}$-i- (v. *per-^{1}) ‘in front, before’ 3.2.2, 5.6.1, etc.
*preis-mo-/*pri-ism̥ho- (superlative of *per-^{1}) ‘first’ 2.7, 5.5.4
*prei-wo- (cf. *per-^{1}) ‘private’ 2.6.1
*pr(e)i-yos-(comparative of *per-^{1}) ‘former’ 2.7
*prek-/*prék- ‘ask, entreat’ 4.4.3, 5.6.1, 6.2, 6.9
*preus- ‘freeze, burn’ 2.8.2
*pu-^{1}/*phu- ‘blow, swell’ 2.9.1
*pu-^{2}/*pū-/*peuh-^{2} ‘rot, decay’ 4.11, 5.1.2

*qṛn- (Semitic) ‘horn’ 4.9.1

rasd- ‘scrape’ 3.7.1
*re-/*red- (< *wret-: v. *wer-^{3}/*wer-t-) ‘backward’ 5.5.2, etc.

*rē-/*reh$_1$-^{1} 'bestow, endow' 2.1.3
*rebh-^{1} 'violent, impetuous' 5.1.2
*rēd-/?*reh$_3$d- 'scrape, gnaw' 3.6.4, 5.5.2
*reg-^{1}/*h$_3$reǵ- 'move in a straight line; direct' 3.4, 3.5.1, 4.7.1*d*, 5.3.2, 5.5.1, 5.6.2.2, 6.4.2.1
*reg-^{2}/?*reǵ- 'moist; drip, flow' 6.6.1
*rēg- (v. *reg-^{1}) 'king' 4.7.1*d*
*regh- (?*h$_2$regh-) 'straighten out' 2.7
*reh$_1$- (v. *rē(i)-)
*rē(i)- (?*h$_2$reh$_1$(i)-)/*reh$_1$-^{2} 'reason, count' 3.10, 6.1, 6.4.2.1, 6.11
*reig-^{1}/*reiǵ- 'bind' 5.1.2, 6.2.2
*reig-^{2}/*reiǵ- 'reach, stretch out' 5.1.2, 6.2.2
*reih$_2$-/*h$_3$reih- 'flow, run' 2.9.1
rep-/(h$_1$)rep- 'snatch' 5.1.2, 5.2.1
*rēp-^{1}/?*reh$_1$p- 'creep, slink' 5.7.2
*reu- 'bellow' 3.1, 4.8
reudh-^{1}/(h$_1$)reudh- 'red, ruddy' 1.13, 2.8.2, 5.1.1, 5.1.5, 6.1*
*reuə-^{1}/*reuh$_1$- 'open; open space' 4.8.1
*reuə-^{2}/*reuḫ- 'smash; knock down; tear out' 4.7.1*a*
*r̥tko-/*h$_2$r̥tk-o- 'bear' 4.7

*sā-/*seh$_2$(y)-^{1} 'satisfy' 2.1.1*b*, 6.4.1.1
*sāg-/*seh$_2$g- 'seek out' 5.2, 5.2.1*
*sai̯-^{2}/*sh$_2$ei- 'bind; tie' 3.6.3.2
*sak- 'sanctify' 2.5.1, 2.6.2, 3.5.1, 4.4.4.2, 6.4.2.1
*sal-^{1}/*sal-d- 'salt' 2.8.3, 4.7
*sāno- (Italic root) 'healthy' 2.1.3, 5.5.1
*sē-^{1}/*seh$_1$- 'sow' 3.4
*sed-^{1} 'sit' 2.2.4, 3.2.2, 3.5.1, 4.4.2, 4.10.2, 5.4, 5.4.1, 5.5.1
*segh-/*seǵh- 'hold, prevail' 2.9.1
*seh$_2$wel- (AHDR *saəwel-) 'sun' 3.2.3, 4.1.2
*seib- 'pour out; sieve' 3.5.1
*sek-/*sekh$_{(2)}$- 'cut' 3.5.1, 4.4.3, 6.4.2.1
sek^{w}-^{1} 'follow' 4.1.1, 4.4.2, 5.2.1, 6.4.2.1
*sel-^{1} 'human settlement; dwell' 6.2.2
*sel-^{2}/*selh$_2$- 'of good mood; to favour' 2.6.2
*sel-^{3}/*selh$_1$- 'take' 2.7, 3.2.2
*sel-^{4} 'jump' 5.2.1, 5.6.1
*sem-^{1} 'one' 3.6.3.1, 4.1.2, 4.5.2, 6.4.2.1
*semh$_2$- 'like' 3.6.3.1, 2.4.1
*sen- 'old' 4.2, 6.2.2
sent- 'head for, go; perceive' 3.5.1, 4.4.4.1, 5.6.2.1
*sep-^{1}/*s(e)h$_1$p- 'taste; perceive' 5.1.2
*sep-^{2} 'handle (skilfully); hold reverently' 3.6.3.1
septm̥ 'seven' 4.1.1, 4.4.2
*ser-^{1}/*ser-w- 'protect' 5.5.1
*ser-^{3} 'line up' 2.6.3, 6.11
*serp-^{2} 'crawl, creep' 4.4.4.2, 4.7, 5.3.2
*seu(ə)-^{2}/*seu-ḫ- 'take liquid' 4.11
*seu-k/g-/*seu-ḱ/ǵ- 'suck' 4.11
*(s)g^{wh}h$_2$el- 'stumble' 5.2.1
*si-lo- 'silent' 2.6.2
*skai-^{2}/*skeh$_{(2)}$(i)- 'gleam' 2.9.3

*skand-/*skend-[1] 'leap, climb' 4.1.2, 5.6.2.2
*skeht- 'spring, leap' 2.8.2
*skei-/*skhei-d-/*skheh$_2$(i)- 'cut, split' 2.9.1, 4.12.1
*(s)kel-[1] 'cut' 2.9.3
*skel-[3]/*skh$_1$el- 'crooked' 4.12.1
*(s)kep- 'cut, scrape' 3.6.4
(s)ker-[1]/(s)kerh- 'cut' 2.6.3, 4.1.1, 4.4.4.2, 5.6.2.1, 6.4.2.1
(s)ker-[2]/(s)ker-/*(s)ḱer-[1] 'leap, jump' 6.2.2
*(s)ker-[3] 'turn, bend' 2.9.1, 2.9.3, 4.12.1
*(s)kerd- 'pivot' 4.1.1
*(s)kerh- 'divide' 4.4.4.2
*skrībh-/?*skreibh- or ?*sḱreibh- (v. *(s)ker-[1]) 'scratch' 5.6.2.1*
*sleg-/*sleǵ- (AHDR *(s)lēg-) 'slacken, be languid' 2.4.1, 5.1.2, 5.5.1, 6.2.2
*(s)lei- 'slimy' /*h$_2$leih- 'smear' 3.5.1, 4.10.2, 6.6.1
*sleiə-/*slei(h)- 'bluish'/*slih-wo- 'purple; discoloured' 5.1.2, 5.1.4
*smaksl-eh$_2$- (pre-Latin) 'jaw' 2.9.3
*smē-/*smeh$_1$- 'smear' 4.12.1
*smei- 'smile, laugh' 3.6.3.2
*smer-[2] 'get a share of' 5.6.1
snā-/(s)neh$_2$- 'swim' 5.6.2.1, 6.5.1
*sneig^{w}h- 'snow' 4.1.1, 4.9.1
*sneu- 'let flow' 3.5.1, 3.7
*(s)nēu-/*sneh$_1$-u- 'tendon, sinew' 2.9.1
*sneubh- 'marry' 4.8.1, 5.7.1
*sol-/*solh-/*sol(h$_2$)-wo- 'whole' 2.4.1, 4.1.2, 5.1.5
*spē-[1]/*sp^{h}eh$_1$- 'thrive, prosper' 3.8.2, 6.1
*spē-[2]/*speh$_1$- 'long, flat piece of wood' 2.9.1
*spei- 'sharp point' 4.1.1, 4.4.4.2
*spek-/*spek- 'observe' 2.6.1, 2.7, 3.2, 3.4, 3.6.4, 3.6.3.2, 3.7.2, 4.1.1, 4.10.2, 5.2.1*, 5.3.2*, 5.4.1, 5.5.1, 5.5.4, 6.4.2.1, 6.5, 6.5.1.1
*spen- 'entice' 4.9.3
(s)pen-/(s)pend-[2] 'spin, span, draw, stretch' 3.6.3.2, 4.4.5, 4.9.3, 4.10.2, 5.3.1, 6.5.1.1
*spend- 'make an offering' 3.7.1, 5.5.2
*splend- 'shine, glow' 5.1.2
*srīg- 'cold'/?*sreihg-/*sreihǵ- 'freeze' 4.12.1, 5.1.2
*stā-/*steh$_2$- 'stand' 2.2.3, 3.2.3, 3.4, 3.6.1, 3.6.3.2, 4.9.3, 4.10.2, 5.5.1, 5.6.2.2, 6.3*, 6.4.2.1
*(s)teg-[2] 'cover' 3.4, 5.3.2
*(s)teig- 'to stick; pointed' 6.6.2
*steigh- 'stride, step, rise' 6.6.2
*steip-/?*steib- 'stick, compress, make firm' 6.9
*stel- 'put, stand' 2.7, 4.4.2, 5.1.5, 6.6.1
*stelə-/*stelh- 'extend' 2.4.1
*ster-/*streu- (v. *sterə-) 'strew' 3.5.1
ster-[1]/(s)ter-g-/*(s)tro-g- 'stiff' 5.4.3
*ster-[1]/*terp-[2] '(grow) stiff; paralyse' 5.1.2, 6.2.2
*ster-[2]/*h$_2$stēr- 'star' 4.1.1, 6.4.2.1
*sterə-/*sterh$_3$- (v. *ster-/*streu- 'strew') 'spread' 6.4.2
(s)teu-[1]/(s)teu-d-[1]/*(s)teu-p- 'push, strike, knock' 2.8.1, 4.10.2, 5.1.2, 6.4.1.1
*stl-ih$_2$-ti- (v. *stel-) 'lawsuit' 6.6.1*
*streig- 'stroke, rub, press' 3.9.1, 4.10.1, 4.12.1
*strengh- 'constrict' 3.9.1
*(s)twer-[1] 'turn, whirl' 4.11, 5.1.2

*swād-/*sweh$_2$d- '(become) sweet, pleasant' 1.1.3, 2.1.3, 5.6.1
*swe/*se 'one's own' 2.4.1, 2.4.2, 4.4.2
*swei-^{1}/*swei-bh- 'hiss' 6.10.1*
*sweid-^{2} 'sweat' 4.4.4.2
*swep-^{1} 'fall asleep' 4.5, 4.11
*sword-o- 'black, dirty' 5.1.2
*s(y)ū-/*syewh-/*syuh- 'bind, sew' 3.6.1

*tag-/*teh$_2$g-/*teh$_2$ǵ- 'touch, handle' 4.10.2, 5.2*, 5.4.1*
*tak-^{1}/*pteh$_2$k- 'hide, be silent' 4.5.3
taur-o- 'bull' 4.7
tek- 'weave' 3.9.1, 4.1.1
teks- 'weave; fabricate' 3.9.1, 4.1.1
*telə-/*telh$_2$- 'lift, support, weigh' 3.6.2, 5.5.3.2, 5.6.1, 6.8
*tem-/*temh$_1$- 'cut' 5.5.1
*temə-/*temh- 'dark' 2.1.3, 4.4.3
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*tep- '(be) hot' 4.4.4.2, 5.1.2
*terə-^{1}/*terh$_1$- 'rub, turn, bore' 3.5.1, 3.6.1, 3.6.2, 4.1.1
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*teuə-^{2}/*teu-h$_2$- 'swell'/*twe-m- 'swell up' 3.10, 4.1.1, 4.10.2, 5.1.2, 5.2.2, 5.3.2, 6.2.2
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*tri(to)-sth$_2$-i- (v. *trei-, *stā-) 'third one standing by' 2.5.2
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*udero-/*utero- 'belly, womb' 2.9.2
*uper-/*s-up(er)- 'over, above' 4.4.2, 4.10.2, 5.5.3.2, etc.
*upo/*s-up- 'under; up; over' 4.7, 4.9.3, 4.10.2, 5.5.4, etc.

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*wērh$_1$-o- or ?*weh$_1$-ro- 'true, trustworthy' 5.2.2

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*wen-tri- (cf. *udero-) 'belly' 2.9.2
*wer-[1] 'high raised spot or other bodily infirmity' 2.1.1*b*, 4.10.1, 6.7*
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*wr̥-mi- (v. *wer-[3]) 'worm' 2.9.2
*wrād-/*wreh$_2$d- 'branch, root' 2.9.2, 6.4.2.1
*wrod- (of eastern origin) 'rose' 4.9.2
*wyek$^{(w)}$- 'bind, fetter' 3.6.3.2

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