

14 To sum up the results reached in this paper, we have seen that there are good reasons (1) to regard the (partial) reduplication of Indo-European perfects and reduplicated aorists as a marker of aspectual perfectivity, and (2) to derive the augment of Greek and Indo-Iranian from a generalized reduplication syllable of laryngeal-initial roots. It has already been stressed in §1 that much more would need to be said in order to flesh out the theory presented here and to show how it might also shed new light on other parts of the Indo-European verbal system which have not been dealt with. In this respect, unravelling the prehistory of the Greek verb is a bit like killing a dragon: the dragon may look dead, while he is really only asleep. Lest Hesiod's παῖων δέ τε νήπιος ἔγνω comes true once more, we should therefore refrain from shouting \**g<sup>wh</sup>eg<sup>wh</sup>nome og<sup>wh</sup>im* too loudly as yet.

## Iteratives and causatives in Latin: a unified approach

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### 1 Polysemy of verbal stems

The verbs of the second conjugation in Latin show a dichotomy of meaning: on the one hand there are the so-called iteratives and intensives like *sorbēre* 'to slurp', and on the other hand causatives like *monēre* 'to remind, to admonish'. This is a well-known phenomenon in the verbal system of other languages as well; compare, e.g., the Sanskrit *-aya*-presents<sup>1</sup> and the reduplicated aorist in Homeric Greek.<sup>2</sup> The stative-denominative formations like *albēre* 'be white' from *albus* 'white' will be left out of consideration here.<sup>3</sup> As for Latin, these two types in *-ēre* both go back, as is well known, to the IE primary stems with *o*-grade (or sometimes zero-grade) root and the suffix *-eje/o-*. The question immediately arises how one and the same formation may yield two different and seemingly unrelated meanings in different verbs. Is there a rationale behind this distribution or is it simply chaotic?

- 1 Extensively studied by Jamison (1983). The non-denominal Greek *-έω* presents belonging here show iterative and causative meaning too; cf. Deroy (1993) 98f.
- 2 Cf. Bendahman (1993).
- 3 Naturally, it is not always immediately clear whether we are dealing with an *-éje/o-* or an *-eh<sub>1</sub>-* present. In some cases, a look at the nominal formations may help, since normally only *-eh<sub>1</sub>-* presents are associated with the adjective type in *-idus* and the corresponding substantives in *-or*; cf. *calēre* : *calidus* : *calor*. Thus, a case like *pauēre* 'to fear' (: *pavidus* : *pavor*) is best taken as stative *\*ph<sub>3</sub>y-eh<sub>1</sub>-* > *pauē-* from *\*ph<sub>3</sub>y-* (or *\*ph<sub>3</sub>ey-?*), as in OIr. *úath* 'fear' (< *\*ph<sub>3</sub>u-to-*), W ofn 'id' (< *\*ph<sub>3</sub>u-no-*), pace Schrijver (1991) 446, who assumes *\*poy-(eje/o-)*. An apparent exception like *terror* beside *terrēre* 'to frighten' may be explained by the fact that the ancient stative *\*t<sub>3</sub>sē-* > *\*torrē-* was ousted by *tremere* and *timēre* (cf. Christol (1991) 55), and thus the only remaining paradigmatic link was *terrēre* (from *\*troséje-* > *\*t<sub>3</sub>sē-* > *\*terrē-*; cf. *\*sakros* > *\*sakrs* > *sacer*), from which it received its aberrant *e*-grade (instead of the expected *\*terror* beside *\*torrēre*; cf. Christol *loc. cit.*). For recent discussion of the adjectives in *-idus*, cf. Nussbaum (1999), Balles (2003), Olsen (2003).

## 2 The Latin case: the verbs of the second conjugation<sup>4</sup>

2.1 Some characteristic examples of the so-called iteratives and intensives depicting an action that is carried out in various sub-steps that are clearly discernible, or that is repeated as a whole, are:

*mouēre* 'to move something/to move (intr.)', sometimes with the more specialized meaning 'to dance':

*ut festis matrona moueri iussa diebus* (Hor. Ars 232)

Like a matron who has been ordered to dance on the festive days.

*mulcēre* 'to stroke':

*manu mulcens ... barbam* (Ov. Fast. 1.259)

Stroking his beard with his hand.

*ceuēre* 'to shake one's hips':

*sed peiores, qui talia uerbis*

*Herculis inuadunt et de uirtute locuti*

*clunem agitant. 'ego te ceuentem, Sexte, uerebor?'* (Juv. 2.19–21)

But even worse are those who attack you

with such Herculean words and, after having talked a lot about virtue,

shake their hips. 'Shall I take you seriously, Sextus, who are shaking your hips?'

Of course, we cannot always make the case for a clearly intensified or repeated action, e.g. in the case of *arcēre* 'to ward off'.

In order to be able to judge adequately the interaction of lexematic meaning and the importance of the stem formation, we have to determine as exactly as possible the original lexematic meaning of the root by comparative and sometimes by internal reconstruction, so as to avoid circular reasoning. The following two examples are intended to show some typical problems we are faced with in this endeavour.

2.2 *L sorbēre* 'to slurp, gulp down' goes back to IE *\*srebh-* 'to sip'; cf. G ῥοφέω 'to gulp down' and Alb. *gjerb* 'id.'. All three formations may be derived from *\*srobh-eje/o-*, if we assume secondary full grade I in Latin and Albanian (in Latin perhaps analogically to verbs like *torquēre* and *mordēre*; cf. Tichy (1983) 82 n. 20). A *-je/o-* present with the same meaning is attested in Lith. *srebiù* (*srēbti*) and ORu. *sereblju*. The Hittite form *šarāpi* 'sips' could represent either a CoC-*eje/o-* present or a perfect *\*(se-)sorbh-e*. An aorist is attested only in Arm. *arbi* 'drank' < *\*srbh-*, which is suppletive to the present *ampem*.<sup>5</sup> Basically, there seem to be two possible interpretations of these

4 Including verbs that entered the first conjugation as a result of laryngeal colouring (*\*-h<sub>2</sub>-éje/o-* > *-aje-* > *-ā-*).

5 For the interpretation of *ampem* as *\*en-pib-e/o-*, cf. Praust (1996).

facts. (1) *\*srebh-* is a root with so-called 'momentative verbal character', which the Armenian aorist might support;<sup>6</sup> the basic meaning would then be 'to sip, to take a (small) draught', as in Hittite, with the CoC-*eje/o-* present having iterative meaning 'to take several draughts, to sip several times', thus 'to slurp'. (2) The root itself is iterative, and the Armenian aorist is somehow secondary, meaning 'drank' because of its suppletive correlation with *ampem*. In this case the *-éje/o-* formation adds nothing to the meaning of the root. Since nothing speaks in favour of Arm. *arbi* being secondary, the first option seems preferable. The case of *\*srebh-* may thus be compared to that of *\*h<sub>1</sub>ed-* 'bite': 'eat' < 'bite repeatedly' and *\*peh<sub>3</sub>-* 'take a draught': pres. *\*pi-ph<sub>3</sub>-e-ti* 'drinks'.

As is always the case, what we can say about the interaction of root meaning and suffix meaning also depends on the etymology we believe a verb to have, as in the following example.<sup>7</sup>

2.3 *lūgēre* 'to mourn': LIV 416 and the standard etymological dictionaries (Walde–Hoffmann 1.380, Ernout–Meillet 1.657) reconstruct *lūgēre* with a question mark as *\*loug-éje/o-*, connecting it with Ved. aor. (VS) *mā rok* 'don't break!', Arm. *lowci* 'loosened, disconnected' (: pres. *lowcanem*), Ved. pres. *rujāti* 'breaks up', OE *lūcan* 'to weed'. The semantics, though, remain unclear.<sup>8</sup> Walde–Hoffmann compare Lith. *širdis lušta* 'the heart breaks', like NHG *Es bricht mir das Herz*, NE *heartbreaking* etc. But this is not really convincing, since in Latin there are no intermediate cases between, say, *cor luget* meaning 'my heart breaks' and 'my heart mourns', whence 'I mourn'. Besides, it is not certain that the intr. meaning 'to break' would fit an *-éje/o-* present in the first place (see below).

Therefore, I would propose a connection with IE *\*sleug-* 'swallow, gulp' (: *\*sloug-éje/o-*), as in G λύζω 'to sob; have a hiccup', Hsch. λυγανώμενον· λύζοντα ἐν τῷ κλαίειν 'sobbing while crying'; cf. also λύγδην 'sobbing', λύγξ 'throat', MLG *slūken* (NHG *schlucken* 'to swallow'), OIr. *loingid* 'eats'. The semantic development would then be 'swallow' > 'sob' (as in Greek) > 'mourn'.

Thus, the root would mean 'swallow', the *-éje/o-* present being an iterative or intensive 'to swallow repeatedly' (*sc.* when crying), whence 'to mourn, to bewail', which naturally may imply loud crying.

2.4 The non-causative *-éje/o-* formations may be grouped according to their semantics as follows:

- the iterative meaning is visible in Latin or at least assumable by way of reconstruction;
- the *-éje/o-* formation does not seem to differ in meaning from the root itself.

6 Cf. Klingenschmitt (1982) 272f.

7 Cf. also Kölligan (2005).

8 LIV loc. cit.: 'Semantik ungeklärt'.

Cf. the following table:<sup>9</sup>

Tab. 1: Latin non-causative *-éje/o-*formations

(a) **iterative/intensive**

verb	meaning	root	meaning
<i>cauēre, cāuī</i>	'to keep watch, to watch out'	* <i>skeu</i> <sub>h1-</sub>	'to watch, to look at'
<i>dolēre, -uī</i>	'to hurt; to feel pain'	* <i>del</i> <sub>h1-</sub>	'to cleave; to beat'
<i>fauēre, fāuī</i>	'to be favourable, to applaud'	* <i>g<sup>wh</sup>eu</i> -	'to praise'
<i>fouēre, fōuī</i>	'to keep warm, to foster'	* <i>d<sup>h</sup>eg<sup>wh</sup></i> -	'to burn (tr.)'
<i>lūgēre, lūxī</i>	'to mourn'	* <i>(s)leu</i> <sub>g-</sub>	'to swallow'
<i>mitāre</i>	'to exchange'	* <i>mei</i> <sub>th2-</sub>	'to change'
<i>mūtāre</i>	'to exchange, to change'	* <i>mei</i> <sub>th2-</sub>	'to change'
<i>mulcēre, mulsī</i>	'to stroke'	* <i>Hmelk</i> -	'to touch'
<i>solēre (solitus)</i>	'to do something habitually'	* <i>sel</i> -	'to rest, to sojourn'
<i>sorbēre, -uī</i>	'to slurp'	* <i>sreb<sup>h</sup></i> -	'to sip'
<i>spondēre, sponondī</i>	'to pledge, to vow'	* <i>spend</i> -	'to libate'
<i>studēre, -eō</i>	'to be eager, to take pains about something'	* <i>(s)teu</i> <sub>d-</sub>	'to push, to shove'
<i>tondēre, totondī</i>	'to shear, to shave'	* <i>tend</i> -	'to cut'
<i>urgēre, ursi</i>	'to urge'	* <i>ureg</i> -	'to urge, to shove'

(b) **no discernible difference in meaning/Aktionsart**

<i>adolēre, -uī</i>	'to burn'	* <i>h<sub>2</sub>el</i> -	'to feed'
<i>arcēre, arcuī</i>	'to keep away, to close'	* <i>h<sub>2</sub>erk</i> -	'to keep away'
<i>ceuēre, cēuī</i>	'to bounce, to waggle'	* <i>keu</i> <sub>h1-</sub>	'to bounce, to waggle'
<i>domāre</i>	'to tame'	* <i>dem</i> <sub>h2-</sub>	'to tame'
<i>iuuāre</i>	'to help'	* <i>h<sub>1</sub>eu</i> <sub>h2-</sub>	'to help'
<i>mordēre, momordī</i>	'to bite'	* <i>h<sub>2</sub>merd</i> -	'to inflict pain; to bite'

<i>mouēre, mōuī</i>	'to move (intr./tr.)'	* <i>mieu</i> <sub>H-</sub>	'to move (intr.)'
<i>mulgēre, mulsī</i>	'to milk'	* <i>h<sub>2</sub>melg</i> -	'to milk'
<i>tonāre, -uī</i>	'to thunder'	* <i>(s)tenh</i> <sub>2-</sub>	'to thunder'
<i>tongēre</i>	'to think'	* <i>teng</i> -	'to think'
<i>uetāre, -uī</i>	'to forbid'	* <i>ueth</i> <sub>2-</sub>	'to say'
<i>uiēre (uiētus)</i>	'to bind'	* <i>uieh</i> <sub>1-</sub> / <i>uejh</i> <sub>1-</sub>	'to bind'
<i>uouēre, uōuī</i>	'to pledge'	* <i>h<sub>1</sub>ueg<sup>h</sup></i> -	'to speak ceremonially'

2.5 A representative set of these non-causative *-éje/o-*formations will now be discussed in more detail ((a) formal matters, (b) semantics):

*adolēre (adoluī)* 'to worship, to sacrifice, to burn'

(a) \**h<sub>2</sub>el-* 'to nourish': pres. \**h<sub>2</sub>ol-éje/o-* > L *olēre*, U *uřetu* 'shall burn (tr.)'; pres. \**h<sub>2</sub>el-e/o-* > L *alere* 'to nourish', Go. *alands* 'growing up', ON *ala* 'to raise, to give birth'.

(b) The original meaning 'to nourish' was specialized to 'to nourish the sacrificial fire' (*ignem alere*). With the incorporation of *ignem* into the meaning of the verb, the direct object position was free for various types of objects: (1) the addressee of worship: Verg. *A.* 1.704 *flammis adolere penates* 'to worship the household gods with flames'; (2) the instrument of worship: Verg. *Ecl.* 8.65 *uerbenasque adole pinguis et mascula tura* 'burn fat olive twigs and strong incense'; (3) the place of worship: Lucr. 4.1237 *adolent ... altaria donis* 'they cover the altars with gifts'; in the passive: Tac. *Hist.* 2.3 *precibus et igne puro altaria adolentur* 'the altars are sprinkled with prayers and pure fire'.

*arcēre (arcuī)* 'to ward off'

(a) IE \**h<sub>2</sub>erk-*: pres. \**h<sub>2</sub>erk-ti/h<sub>2</sub>rk-énti* > Hitt. *ħarzi, ħarkanzi*; pres. \**h<sub>2</sub>rk-éje/o-* > L *arcēre*; cf. also *arx* 'castle', G *ἀρκος* 'defence', *ἀρκέω* 'to defend'. Perhaps also connected is Arm. *argelowm* 'to hinder, to keep away' (cf. Klingenschmitt (1982) 236f.).

(b) The basic meaning was 'to ward off, to hinder, to defend, to keep under control', whence 'to hold, to have' in Hittite. The *-éje/o-*present does not seem to change the meaning of the root.

*ceuēre* (cf. 2.1)

*dolēre (doluī)* 'to be painful; to feel pain'

(a) IE \**del*<sub>h1-</sub> 'to hammer, to cleave': \**dolh<sub>1</sub>-eje/o-* also in MW (*d*)*ethol-* 'to choose' < 'to cleave' < \*(*do-*)*eχs-doli-*; L *dolāre* 'to hammer, to work at' < \**delh<sub>1</sub>-je/o-*; Lith. *dilti, dilù* 'to wear off, to decrease' < \**delh<sub>1</sub>-e/o-*.

(b) *dolēre* may have meant 'to beat repeatedly, to work at something'; in impersonal usage 'it beats' > 'it hurts' (cf. with dat. personae Pl. *Mer.* 388 *nescioqui animus*

9 Owing to lack of space, forms that may be interpreted differently cannot be treated here *in extenso*. Among these are possible *-eh<sub>1</sub>-*statives such as *auēre, cēnsēre, cubāre, feruēre, gaudēre, horrēre, lauāre, merēre/-ērī, scatēre* and probable denominal forms such as *cloāre (cluere), indulgēre, medērī, sonāre, uorāre*. (For *lauāre*, cf. Schrijver (1991) 397.)

*mihi dolet* 'somehow I feel faint'), then with subject raising *doleō* 'I feel pain' (cf. Pl. *Cist.* 60 *doleo ab animo, doleo ab oculis, doleo ab aegritudine* 'I am pained in spirits, I feel pain in my eyes, I am in pain from faintness' (H. T. Riley)).<sup>10</sup>

**mitāre** 'to exchange'

- (a) IE *\*meiθ₂-*: CeC-e/o-pres. in Ved. *méthati* 'changes; teases', OHG *mīdan* 'to avoid'. L *mitat* is ambiguous: it might represent (1) *\*mith₂-éje/o-*, (2) *\*mith₂-je/o-*, (3) an *ā*-pres. of the type *capere* : *occupāre, dicere* : *dicāre* to *mittere* : *mitāre* (*mittere* < *\*meiθ₂-e/o-* with *littera*-rule via *\*mīt-* > *mitt-*), (4) a denominal to an abstract noun *\*mīteh₂* 'exchange' > *\*mīteh₂-je/o-*.
- (b) *mitat* is attested in the famous 'Duenos' inscription (*CIL*<sup>2</sup> 4) and on the base of Tibur (*CIL*<sup>2</sup> 2658). It is generally understood as 'to send' (cf. Eichner (1991)) or 'to donate, to give in exchange' (*LIV* s.v.). The first words of the Duenos inscription *iouesat deiuos qoi med mitat* may be understood as 'He who donates me swears by the gods', those of the base of Tibur *hoi med mitat kauios* as 'to him [sc. to the god] Gavius donates me'. The last words of the base of Tibur are read by Radke (1981) 96 and Wachter (1987) 84 as *d[o]nom pr[o] fileod*, i.e. '[he gives this] as donation for his son', i.e. 'in exchange for having got a son'. *mitat* might thus be an iterative 'double donating' of giving and receiving something in return (cf. *spondere* 'vow mutually, enter a contract').

**mordēre** (*momordī*) 'to bite'

- (a) IE *\*h₂merd-*: CeC-e/o-pres. in G ἀμέρδω 'to bereave' (of the sight, etc.), 'to damage', Hsch. μέρδει· κωλύει· βλάπτει,<sup>11</sup> OE *smeortan* 'to hurt' (cf. NE *smart*), OHG *smerzan*, NHG *schmerzen*; nasal pres. in Av. *mōrəndaŋ* 'destroys' < *\*h₂mr-ŋ-d-e/o-*.
- (b) Both 'to hurt' and 'to bite' might be taken as the original meaning. As *mordēre* is the only present to this root in Latin, one may suppose that it supplanted the simple pres. *\*merd-e/o-* (G ἀμέρδω etc.), taking over its meaning.

**mouēre** (*mōui*, *mōtus*) 'to move (tr./intr.)'

- (a) IE *\*mīeuh₁-*: pres. *\*mih₁u-e/o-* (from *\*mīuh₁-e/o-* with laryngeal metathesis) > Ved. *mīvati* 'shoves, urges on', Av. 1pl. *auua.mihuuāmahi* 'we dispel'; pres. *\*mīuh₁-ske/o-* > Toch. AB *musk-* 'disappear, be lost'.
- (b) Cf. above.

**mulcēre** (*mulsi*, *mulsum*) 'to stroke'

- (a) IE *\*melk-*: *\*molċ-éje/o-*; pres. Ved. *mṛśāti* 'touches'. The root may have been *\*Hmelk-* because of the Ved. perfect *pari-māmṛśur* < *\*Hme-Hmolċ-*.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Rix (1999) 528 and *LIV* 114.

<sup>11</sup> If the original meaning of μέρδει was 'to bite', then it may be compared to δάκνω showing the same metaphorical usage and to the IE word for 'pain', especially 'labour pains', G ὀδύνη, OIr. *idu*, Arm. *erkn* < *\*h₁edūon-*, derived from *\*h₁ed-* 'to bite; to eat'; cf. Frisk (1944), Schindler (1975a).

- (b) Taking the meaning of the present Ved. *mṛśāti* 'touches' as primary, we can interpret *mulcēre* as iterative, 'to touch repeatedly'.

**mulgēre** (*mulsi*, *mulctum*) 'to milk'

- (a) *\*molġ-éje/o-*: Lith. *málžau, málžyti* 'to milk'; CeC-e/o-pres. in G ἀμέλω, Mlr. *bligim*, OE *melcan*, OHG *melchan*, Lith. *mélžu, milžti*, Alb. *mjel*.
- (b) No difference in meaning is discernible between the simple pres. and the *-éje/o-* pres. Milking might be thought of as a typically iterated action, though.

**mūtāre** (*-āui*, *-ātum*) 'to change, to interchange'

- (a) *\*moιθ₂-éje/o-* (: Go. *moιdjan* 'to change, to falsify', Khot. *ha-mīhāte*) or denominal to *\*moιθ₂-o-* 'change, exchange' (cf. *mutuus* < *\*moιθ₂-o-uo-*).
- (b) Cf. in reciprocal situations: Ter. *Eu.* 572 *ut uestem cum illo mutem* 'that I might change clothes with him'; Sal. *Jug.* 44.5 *praedas ... mutare cum mercatoribus uino aduecticio* 'to exchange the booty with the peddlers for imported wine'.

**solēre** (*solitum*) 'to be used to doing something, to do something regularly'

- (a) *\*sol-éje/o-*: Go. *saljan* 'to sojourn, to rest' might be denominal from Gmc. *\*sali-*, OHG *sal* 'hall, abode', ON *salr* (also in Go. *salipwos*); cf. also *\*selo-* in OCS *selo* n. 'field, village', L *solum* 'soil'.
- (b) Iterative 'to do something repeatedly, habitually'. The rare tr. use 'to frequent somebody', as in Cat. 113.1-2 *Consule Pompeio primum duo, Cinna, solebant Maeciliam* 'in the first consulate of Pompey, Cinna, two men used to frequent Maecilia', intr. with *cum* in Pl. *Cist.* 36 *uiris cum suis praedicant nos solere* 'they claim that we habitually have intercourse with their husbands', might be the missing link between the Gothic and Latin meanings: 'to stay with somebody (habitually)', whence Go. 'to stay, to sojourn' and L 'to do habitually'.

**sorbēre** (*sorbuī*) (cf. 2.2)

**spondēre** (*sponondī*, *sponsum*) 'to vow, to pledge'

- (a) IE *\*spend-*: pres. *\*spend-e/o-* > G σπένδω, Hitt. *išpand-*; perf. *\*spe-spond-* > Hitt. *šipand-*,<sup>12</sup> L *sponondī*;<sup>13</sup> pres. *\*spond-éje/o-* > L *spondēre*.
- (b) 'to vow, to pledge, to warrant, to betroth (a girl)'. For the present, cf. Gaius *Inst.* 3.92 *dari spondes? spondeo, dabis? dabo, promittis? promitto*. (an oral obligation is committed by question and answer) 'Do you vow to give?' - 'I do'. 'Will you give?' - 'I will'. 'Do you promise?' - 'I promise.' The meaning 'libate' is attested in G σπένδω, ἔσπεισα and Hitt. *išpanti, šipanti*; cf. Il. 11.775 σπένδων αἶθοπα οἶνον ἐπ' αἰθομένους ἱεροῖσι ('Peleus) poured shimmering wine on the burning offerings,

<sup>12</sup> As for *išpand-* and *šipand-*, cf. Forssman (1994) 103, who interprets *šipand-* as an ancient perf. (cf. OL *sponondī*) dissimilated from *\*se-sp-* or *\*spe-p-*.

<sup>13</sup> The older form with *-e*-reduplication is attested in Valerius Antias fr. 57 (Peter) *spondebant* and in inscriptions (e.g. *Année épigraphique* 1972 nos. 86a, 87b, 88b (*spepodi ego; Pompeii*)); cf. Forssman (1994) 101.

KBo XIII 164 iv 12 *maḥḥan* LŪSANGA IŠTU GAL ANA DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> *šipanti* ‘when the priest offers a libation to the god with a cup’. If we take ‘libate’ as the basic meaning of the root, then we may assume a semantic development in Latin from ‘libate’, with the implication of ‘vow by a libation, promise’, to ‘vow, promise’. This development may have taken place in the simple thematic present *\*spendō* as well; cf. the Greek midd. σπένδεσθαι ‘enter a contract (of peace)’ next to the act. σπένδω ‘libate’. The Latin CoC-*éje/o*-formation may have expressed the plurality (distribution) of the subject ‘libate with/for one another, vow mutually’,<sup>14</sup> like the reciprocal middle in Greek. As the simple thematic present is not attested in Latin,<sup>15</sup> we may assume that the CoC-*éje/o*-formation filled this gap and became the unmarked non-iterative present.<sup>16</sup>

*studēre* (*studuī*) ‘to be eager, to take pains about something’

- (a) Both *\*(s)tud-eh<sub>1</sub>-* and *\*(s)tud-éje/o-* are formally possible; cf. *LIV* s.v., which assumes the former. A nasal pres. is attested in L *tundere* ‘to push’, Ved. *RV* 1.58.1 *nī tundate* ‘is impelled’, zero-grade pres. in Ved. *tudāti*, red. pres. in Go. *stautan* ‘to push’ (*\*ste-stout-*).
- (b) The original meaning of *studēre* may have been ‘to keep pushing, to keep impelling’, like *tundere*, which may also mean ‘to importune somebody, to keep on at’, coming close to ‘to be eager for something’ (‘to beat the ears’: Pl. *Poen.* 434 *Pergin auris tundere?* ‘Do you persist in dinning my ears?’; Ter. *Hec.* 123 *tundendo atque odio denique effecit senex* ‘By hammering on and teasing him, at last the old man gained his point’ (H. T. Riley)), whence ‘to strive after, to be eager for something’ (cf. NHG *treiben* : *be-treiben*). The rare usage with acc. which is attested mainly in Pl. (*Mil.* 1437 *has res studeant* ‘they would strive after these things’) and Ter. (e.g. *An.* 58–9 *horum ille nil egregie praeter cetera studebat* ‘He dedicated himself to none of these things more than to the others’) might point in this direction. The more common use with the accusative + infinitive may have developed from it.

*tongēre* ‘to think’

- (a) *\*teng-* : *\*tong-éje/o-* in Go. *paḡkjan* ‘to think’, ON *þekkja* ‘to understand, to know’, *tongēre* only in Paul. *Fest.* 357M *tongent* (attributed to Ennius) (cf. also Praenestine *tongitionem* ‘notionem’, O *tanginud* ‘sententiā’); possibly also in MW

14 Cf. Forssman (1994) 101 *spendēre* ‘ursprünglich wohl iterativ’.

15 O *spentud* may represent the pres., if from *\*spend-e-tōd*; cf. Untermann (2000) 691.

16 Cf. also the perf. *spōnsī*, which has taken over the /o/ from *spendēre*. Analogous cases are: (1) L *pēdere* ‘to fart’ < IE *\*pesd-* ‘fisten, leise furzen’ (G βδέω < *\*psd-éje/o-*, Lith. *bezdėti* ‘id.’), which has taken over the meaning of IE *\*perd-* ‘to fart’ (G πέρδομαι, OHG *ferzan*) after *\*perd-* was lost in Lat. (2) Ved. *hváyati* ‘calls’, which supplanted *hávate* (Av. *zauuaiti* ‘curses’, OCS *zovp* ‘I call’) after the latter came to be used only in mantra contexts; cf. Narten (1969) 51f., Kölligan (2002) 140ff.

*tyngu* ‘to swear’, OIr. *tongaid*, Gaul. *toncsiiontio* ‘qui jurerent’, *toncsesit* ‘quant à celui qui l’a juré’.<sup>17</sup>

- (b) The basic meaning according to *LIV* is ‘to come to mind’, causative ‘to make come to mind’ → ‘to think about’; rather simply ‘to think’ with no difference in meaning between the root and *-éje/o*-formation.

*urgēre* (*ursī*) ‘to urge, to press’

- (a) *\*urg-éje/o-*: IE *\*urg-*, Go. (+) *wrikan* ‘to persecute’, Ved. *vrajant-* ‘going, wandering’; causative (Ār.+) Ved. *vrājáyati* ‘makes wander’ may be a late, inner-Vedic formation.<sup>18</sup> Go. *wrakjan* (formally equivalent to *vrājáyati*) has the same meaning as the base verb; thus it may be either a denominative to *wraks* ‘persecutor’ < *\*urog-o-*, i.e. *\*urog-e-je/o-* ‘be a p’, or an inner-Germanic *-jan*-present. The latter possibility seems more probable, since the different meanings attested by OE *wreccan* ‘lift, wake up, stir, strain’ are not easily reconcilable with a derivation from Gmc. *\*wrak-a-*.<sup>19</sup> As archaic Latin *#uor-* becomes *#uer-* in classical Latin (cf. *uorsus* > *uersus*), *ur-* in *urgēre* cannot go back to a preform *\*uorgē-* < *\*urgē-*.<sup>20</sup> Perhaps a svarabhakti vowel /u/ instead of /o/ developed after the initial labial which was subsequently deleted: *\*urgē-* > *\*uurgē-* > *urgē-*,<sup>21</sup> although we would normally expect a development IE *\*ur-* > OL *uor*, as in *uorsus* < *\*urtōs* and *uorrō* ‘to sweep’ < *\*ursō*.<sup>22</sup> One might assume an inverted syllabification /urg-/ instead of /urrg-/;<sup>23</sup> cf. G τύρβη ‘disorder, chaos’, L *turba* ‘id.’ from IE *\*tūr-* ‘to stir’.<sup>24</sup> The form *urguēre* may be understood as an inner-Latin development. The perfect *ursī* is an inner-Latin creation too, as an ancient *s*-aorist would have had the form *\*urēg-s-* > *\*rēxi* (cf. Av. *uruuāxšat* ‘they roam’), which may have been reshaped according to the present and/or in order to avoid homonymy with *rēxi* from *regere* ‘to rule’.<sup>25</sup>
- (b) The basic meaning of L *urgēre* is ‘to press’: Cic. *Rep.* 6.21 *australis ille (cingulus terrae) in quo qui insistunt aduersa uobis urgent uestigia* ‘the southern (part of the earth), where the inhabitants press their traces into the ground opposed to you’; metaphorically Sal. *Cat.* 52.35 *undique circumuenti sumus. Catilina cum exercitu faucibus urget* ‘We are surrounded from all sides. Catiline and his army are pressing our throats’. From ‘to press’ the meaning ‘to push, to shove away’ may develop as well as ‘to persecute’: Hor. *Epod.* 17.25 *urget diem nox et dies*

17 Cf. Lambert (2003) 158f.

18 Cf. *LIV* s.v.

19 Cf. García García (2005) 101f.

20 The same would apply to a full grade I *\*uorg-éje-*, which is improbable because of Go. *wrikan* and Ved. *vrajant-*. *\*urog-éje-* would presumably have given †*rogēre*.

21 Cf. Sommer (1948) 57.

22 Cf. *LIV* 690.

23 Cf. Eichner (1973) 73.

24 Cf. *LIV* 655, *IEW* 1100.

25 Cf. Meiser (2003) 140.

*noctem* 'Night shoves away day and day night'. Taking 'to press, to push' as the original meaning of IE \**u<sub>1</sub>reg-*, we may assume the meaning 'to go, to walk' to be derived from the syntagm 'to press traces into the ground' as in L *uestigia premere*; cf. also Hitt. *ūrki-* 'trace', which may be understood as 'that which has been pressed into the ground' (\**u<sub>1</sub>rg-i-*; cf. Eichner (1973) 73). The Avestan aorist does not give any information for the reconstruction of the basic root meaning, as it has taken over the meaning 'to walk, to go' from the present stem. Thus, L *urgere* may in fact have been an iterative *-ēje/o-* formation to a momentative root 'to push, to shove'. Being the only present to the root, though, it is no longer marked as such and may express durativity or stativity as well; cf. Pl. *Poen.* 857 *onus urget. - at tu appone.* 'The weight is heavy.' 'Then put it down.'

2.6 The preceding discussion of some non-causative *-ēje/o-* formations has shown that in many cases no iterative or intensive meaning is discernible in the Latin form, which may result from either redundant marking of a root with inherent iterative meaning and/or the fact that the *-ēje/o-* formation supplanted the simple root present (thematic or athematic), taking over its meaning. Nonetheless, all the verbs under discussion have one feature in common that differentiates them from the causatives of the type *monēre*: all these verbs denote actions that presuppose an *agent* as its instigator and executor, actions that do not come about nor can be accomplished *sponte sua*.

*Agentive actions* may be defined as situations in which the subject has the following features (in a prototypical case): (1) It carries out the action. (2) The subject is the source of the action and it is not caused by something or somebody else. (3) The action comes about by the energy input of the subject which is not an experiencer.<sup>26</sup>

Conversely, the features a non-agentive verb should have may be defined as follows: (1) Its subject does not carry out the action itself. (2) Its subject is not the instigator of the action; somebody or something else causes the situation. (3) The action is not carried out by the subject's energy input. Verbs complying with these criteria are, for instance, 'grow' and 'die'. The subject of these verbal situations does not carry out the action itself; the subject does not cause it nor does the action come about by the subject's activity. If we now take a look at the remaining verbs of the second conjugation, we may see that all of them are verbs of this type:

26 Examples of these features are as follows: (1) *The soldier shot the prisoners.* Soldier is agentive in contrast to a case like *The rider galloped the horse around the field,* where the rider causes the action, but does not carry it out. (2) *He marched the prisoners.* The subject is initiator of the action, but it is carried out by the object. (3) *John broke the window with a brick vs. The firework broke the window.* Cf. Morley (1983).

## 3 Latin causatives

Tab. 2: Latin causative *-ēje/o-* formations

verb	meaning	root	meaning
<i>abolēre, dēlēre</i>	'to destroy'	* <i>h<sub>3</sub>elh<sub>1</sub>-</i>	'to perish'
<i>augēre</i>	'to increase, to augment'	* <i>h<sub>2</sub>eug-</i>	'to grow (strong)'
<i>ciēre</i>	'to set somebody in motion, to urge on'	* <i>kei<sub>h</sub>1-</i>	'to set o.s. in motion'
<i>cōniūere</i>	'to blink; to close one's eyes'	* <i>knei<sub>g</sub><sup>wh</sup>-</i>	'to incline'
<i>docēre</i>	'to teach'	* <i>dek-</i>	'to be acceptable'
<i>ioubēre*</i> (OL)	'to order, to command'	* <i>H<sub>1</sub>ieud<sup>h</sup>-</i>	'to get into motion' or 'to be right'
<i>lūcēre</i>	'to make bright' (OL)	* <i>leuk-</i>	'to become bright'
<i>miscēre</i>	'to mix (tr.)'	* <i>mei<sub>k</sub>-</i>	'to mix (intr.)'
<i>monēre</i>	'to admonish'	* <i>men-</i>	'have an idea'
<i>nocēre</i>	'to damage, to hinder'	* <i>nek-</i>	'to disappear'
<i>suādēre</i>	'to advise, to persuade'	* <i>sue<sub>h</sub>2d-</i>	'to become tasty'
<i>terrēre</i>	'to frighten, to scare (tr.)'	* <i>tres-</i>	'to quiver'
<i>torquēre</i>	'to turn (tr.)'	* <i>terk<sup>w</sup>-</i>	'to turn (intr.)'
<i>torrēre</i>	'to roast, to dry'	* <i>ters-</i>	'to get dry'
<i>uegēre</i>	'to turn on, to drive on'	* <i>ue<sub>g</sub>-</i>	'to become vigorous'

As in the preceding section, a representative sample of these verbs will now be discussed in greater detail:

*abolēre* (-*ēui*, -*ētum*), *dēlēre* (-*ēui*, -*ētum*) 'to destroy'

- (a) IE \**h<sub>3</sub>elh<sub>1</sub>-* 'to perish': cf. G ὄλεθρος 'ruin, destruction', ὄλλυμι : ὄλεσα 'to destroy', Toch. B *alāṣṣām* 'is sick, is worn out', Hitt. *hallaniye-* 'to destroy'.  
 (b) Tac. *Ann.* 2.49 *deum aedis uetustate aut igni abolitas* 'the temples of the gods destroyed by age or fire', Cic. *S. Rosc.* 131 *si Iuppiter ... urbis deleuit* 'if Jupiter has destroyed towns'.

*augēre* (*auxī*, *auctum*) 'to augment; to grow'

- (a) \**h<sub>2</sub>eug-*: \**h<sub>2</sub>ou<sub>g</sub>-ēje/o-* → L *augē-* with /a/ taken from the perf. (aor.?) *auxī*; \**h<sub>2</sub>eug-e/o-* in Go. *aukan* 'to grow, to increase',<sup>27</sup> Lith. *áugu*, *áugti* 'to grow'.  
 (b) Lucr. 1.859 *cibus auget corpus alitque* 'food strengthens and nourishes the body' etc. The (rare) intr. meaning 'to grow, become greater' might point to a

27 Cf. Thess. 4.1 *anahaitam ... izwis jah bidjam ... ei ... gaaukai<sub>h</sub> mais* ἐρωτώμεν ὑμᾶς καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν ... ἵνα περισσεύητε μάλλον 'We request and exhort you that you excel still more'.

(secondary?) stative \**aug-eh<sub>1</sub>-* (ablaut being abandoned in this root in Latin); cf. Lucr. 2.1163 *parcunt fetus augentque labore* 'the fields do not yield much and increase in labour' and the perf. in Cato (ap. Gel. 18.12.7) *eo res eorum auxit* 'thereby their wealth increased'.

*ciēre* (*ciūī, citum*) 'to move (tr.), to urge on'

- (a) \**kejh<sub>2</sub>-* 'to set oneself into motion':<sup>28</sup> G aor. in Hsch. κίατο· ἐκινεῖτο,<sup>29</sup> Hom. ἔκλε 'went (away)'; μετεκίαθον; nasal pres. in κίνυμαι, whence them. κινέω 'move (tr.)' (\**ki(h<sub>2</sub>)-ny-e/o-*). According to Harðarson (1993) 193, *ciēre* is a secondary zero-grade -*éje/o-* formation.<sup>30</sup> *ciere* seems to be secondary too (as if from \**kih<sub>2</sub>-é/ó-* > *cia-* → *cie/o-*), e.g. Lucr. 1.212 *cimus*, 5.211 *ciunt*.
- (b) Verg. A. 2.419 *imo Nereus ciet aequora fundo* 'from the depth (of the sea) Nereus moves the waves'; medio-passive Cic. N.D. 2.23 *nam omne quod est calidum et igneum cietur et agitur motu suo* 'everything that is hot and of fire stirs and moves by its own motion'.

*docēre* (*docuī, doctus*) 'to teach'

- (a) \**dek-* 'take': stative \**dek-eh<sub>1</sub>-* in *decet* 'it befits' (\*'it is acceptable'); CeC-e/o-pres. in G δέκομαι/δέχομαι 'to take'.
- (b) *decet* 'it is acceptable': *docet* 'he makes something acceptable' > 'he teaches'.

*iubēre* (*iussi, iussum*) 'to order, to command'

- (a) According to Hodot (1978), *iubēre* shows the confluence of two formations in Latin: (1) stative \**iudh<sup>h</sup>-ē-* 'to be in motion' = Lith. *judėti* 'to move (intr.)'; (2) causative \**ioudh<sup>h</sup>-éje/o-* 'to set in motion' (Ved. *yodháyati* 'causes to fight': *yudhyati* 'attacks, fights', OL *ioubeatis*, still showing the diphthong).
- (b) The semantic development would be 'to set in motion' > 'to prompt' > 'to order'.<sup>31</sup> In a similar way Job (1992) 346–52 has argued that, as is shown by Lith. *jundù, jùsti* 'to get into motion' and the Polish caus. *judzić* 'to stir up, aufwiegeln', the meaning of the basic stative present \**iudh<sup>h</sup>-eh<sub>1</sub>-* in IE was 'to be in motion', with the causative \**ioudh<sup>h</sup>-éje/o-* meaning 'to make an object move itself'. *iubēre* would then have meant 'to stir somebody' and thence 'to command'. Recently, though, Willi (2001) has shown that in Latin there are some cases of *iubēre* that hardly fit the normal translation of 'command, order' (nor would they fit the supposed etymological meaning 'to stir, to cause to move'); cf. Liv. 1.22.1 *Tullum Hostilium ... regem populus iussit*, which, as Willi convincingly argues, does not mean 'The people ordered T.H. to be king', but that the people stated that T.H. was the legitimate king, thus the people legitimized him as king. The same applies to the formula (Cic. Ver. 2.2.161) *senatus decreuit populusque iussit*

28 Cf. García Ramón (1994) 67ff.

29 With -α- from the 3rd pl. \**kih<sub>2</sub>-ento* > \*κίαντο; cf. García Ramón (1994) 70.

30 After the laryngeal was lost; otherwise one would expect \**ciāre* < \**kih<sub>2</sub>-éje/o-*.

31 Cf. also Christol (1991) 54f.

'The senate has decreed it and the people has ratified it'. This leads to a new interpretation of *iubēre* as built from \**Hjeu-* with the stative-intr. enlargement \*-*d<sup>h</sup>-*. From the simple root was built what was to become *iūs* 'law' in Latin, IE \**Hjeu-os* 'that which is upright, straight'. The causative would thus have meant 'to put something into the state of *Hjeuos*', thus, either 'to accept something, to say something is lawful or allowed' or, secondarily, 'to command, to order something'. Whatever the basic meaning of \**Hjeudh-* may have been, either 'to be in motion' or 'to be right, to be straight', it is a non-agentive root presupposing a non-agent as its subject.<sup>32</sup>

*lúcēre* (*lúxī*) 'to let shine; to light (tr.); to carry a torch'

- (a) *lúcēre* equals Ved. *rocáyati* 'lets shine', Av. *raočaiiēiti* 'id.' and Hitt. *lukkizi* 'burns (tr.)'; all from IE \**louk-eje/o-*.<sup>33</sup> Hitt. *lukta* 'it became light' (next to NHitt. *lukkatta*, e.g. KUB XXIX 33+ I 1 *mān lukkatta* 'when day breaks') goes back to an IE root aorist \**luk-to* (cf. also the Ved. pple. *rucāná-* 'having shone'),<sup>34</sup> so we may assume an 'aoristic' intr. root meaning 'flash up, light up'.
- (b) As this is a case of a non-agentive verb (the 'flashing' or 'getting light' may be conceptualized as a spontaneous event with no causing agent),<sup>35</sup> the corresponding CoC-*eje/o-* form has the expected factitive meaning 'make light, bright', 'let shine'; cf. Pl. Cas. 118 *primum omnium huic lucebis nouae nuptae facem* 'First of all, you will carry (light?) the torch for my newly wed bride', id. Cur. 9 *lucēs cereum* 'You let the waxen torch shine'.<sup>36</sup> In classical Latin only the stative verb has survived, viz. *lúcēre* 'be bright, shine' with /ū/ taken over from the -*eje/o-* present instead of \**lucēre* < \**luk-eh<sub>1</sub>-je/o-*;<sup>37</sup> cf. Cic. Rep. 6.16.14 [*stella*] *luce lucebat aliena* 'The star was shining by foreign light'.

*monēre* (*monuī, monitum*) 'to admonish'

- (a) IE \**men-*: perf. *meminī* 'I think of something, I remember something'; *monēo* 'I make somebody think of something'; aor. Ved. 3sg. *amata* 'he has thought

32 The short /u/ in class. L *iubēre* (as opposed to the diphthong in OL *ioubeatis*) might thus be explained either as taken from the pple. *iussus* (\**iudh<sup>h</sup>-to-*), as is normally assumed, or as a trace of the stative pres., as assumed by Hodot *loc. cit.*, Christol (1991) 54f., meaning 'to be right'. *lex iubet* might thus originally have meant 'the (following) law is right (or is in force): ...', whence 'the law commands that ...'; cf. Willi (2001) 140f.

33 Pace Hoffmann (1975–92) 1.252f., who derived Hitt. *lukkizi* from \**leuk-e/o-* (in Ved. *rocate* 'shines'), which should have given Hitt. \**lūke-*; cf. LIV 419 n. 9, Jamison (1983) 132.

34 Cf. RV 7.56.13 *vī vidyūto nā vṛṣṭibhī rucānāḥ* 'Like lightning-flashes they [the Maruts] gleam(ed)'.

35 Cf. also Neu (1968) 99: '*luggatta* will ursprünglich aber nichts anderes zum Ausdruck bringen, als daß der Verbalbegriff "vorgänglich" zu sehen ist. Daher wäre eine Übersetzung "Leuchten geht vor sich" der Vorlage getreuer als unsere Übersetzung mit "es" [i.e. in "es wird hell"; DK]'.  
36 Christol (1991) 53 translates *lucēre* in both instances as 'carry', which would be a secondarily developed meaning.

37 Cf. LIV 418f. n. 12 and Bammesberger (1986) 101f.



of something', OAv. 3sg. *mantā* 'thinks of something'; pres. \**mṅ-īe/o-*: Ved. *mānyate*, G *μαίνομαι* etc.

- (b) Pl. *Mer.* 1011 *suam quisque homo rem meminit* 'Everybody thinks about his own concerns'; Caes. *Gal.* 1.20 *monet ut in reliquum tempus omnes suspiciones uitet* 'He admonished him to avoid any suspicious demeanour in the future.'

*nocēre* (*nocuī, nocitum*) 'to damage'

- (a) \**nek-*: root aor. subj. Ved. *nāsanti* 'they will disappear, get lost', Toch. A midd. aor. *nakät* 'perished, disappeared'; pres. Ved. *nāsyati* 'disappears'; causative Ved. *nāśāyati* 'makes disappear, destroys'; nominal formations are L *nex* 'death', G *νεκς* 'corpse', *νεκρός* 'id.'.  
 (b) L *nocēre* may originally have meant 'makes disappear, destroys', as in Vedic, and later developed the meaning 'to damage'. The basic verb expresses a non-agentive situation, the *-ēje/o-*-present an agentive situation.

*suādēre* (*suāsī, suāsum*) 'to advise'

- (a) IE \**sue(h<sub>2</sub>)d-* 'to be sweet': G *ἡδομαι* 'to rejoice', *ἀνδάνω* 'to please'; Ved. *sūdāyati* 'prepares, makes tasty',<sup>38</sup> Lith. *sūdau, sūdyti* 'to salt'; *u-*-stem adj. in Ved. *svādú-*, G *ἡδύς*, L *suāvis*, OHG *swuozī* etc.  
 (b) 'to be sweet': *-eje/o-*-pres. 'to make sweet', whence 'to advise'.

*terrēre* (*terruī, territum*) 'to frighten'

- (a) \**tres-*: CeC-*e/o-*-pres. in G *τρέω* 'quiver',<sup>39</sup> Ved. *trāsati* 'id.'; caus. in Ved. *trāsāyati* 'makes quiver, frightens',<sup>40</sup> Av. *θράνηhaiete* 'makes fear, frightens'; L *terrē-* is from IE \**tros-eje/o-* > \**tr̥sē-* > *tersē-*, as in \**tri-ti̯o-* > \**tr̥ti̯o-* > *tertius*. L *terror* took the /e/ from *terrēre* (instead of \**terror*; cf. Christol (1991) 55); U *tursitu* 'he shall chase' < \**torsē-* by influence of *Tursa* (goddess' name) < \**torsā* 'fear, quivering'.<sup>41</sup>  
 (b) Cic. *Fam.* 2.16.4 *nec me ista terrent* 'This does not frighten me'.

*torrēre* (*torruī, tostum*) 'to dry'

- (a) *torrēre* seems to be another case of the confluence of two originally separate formations from the same root, as in \**lucēre/lūcēre* from \**luk-eh<sub>1</sub>-* and \**louk-ēje/o-* respectively, where we find both the tr. and the intr. meaning in the same verb, viz. 'to be dry' and 'to make dry': \**ters-*: \**tors-ēje/o-* > *torrēre*; stative \**tr̥s-éh<sub>1</sub>-* > *torrēre*. The root \**ters-* may thus have meant 'to become dry'; cf. Go. *þauršjan* 'to be thirsty', Ved. *tr̥šyant-* 'thirsty', also L *terra* '(dry) earth', \**tors-ēje/o-* in Ved. *vi-taršāyati* 'lets somebody/something swelter', OHG *derren* 'to dry, to parch' etc.

38 With secondary zero grade generalized from the perfect *susūda\**, replacing a tentative \**svādāja-* (or inner-Vedic formation); cf. Jamison (1983) 99.

39 Cf. *Il.* 5.256 *ἀντίον εἰμι αὐτῶν. πρῆν μ' οὐκ ἐγ Παιλλὰς Ἀθήνη* 'I will confront them; Pallas Athene prevents me from being afraid (quivering)'.

40 First attested in *AV* 5.21.4–6; cf. Jamison (1983) 114.

41 Cf. Untermann (2000) 775f., Meiser (1986) 172.

- (b) The basic verb denotes a process 'become dry', the *-ēje/o-*-present means 'make dry'. The former is attested in Col. 1.4.10 *quod neque depressus hieme pruinis torpet aut torret aestate uaporibus* '[the best place for a building is halfway up a hill] because not being in a hollow, it is not numbed with winter's frosts or baked with steaming heat in summer' and in the pple. *torrens* 'be dry, hot'; cf. Col. 4.19.3 *terra ... torrens aestu* 'the earth being dried by the sun', Liv. 44.38.9 *militem ... torrentem meridiano sole* 'the soldier suffering under the heat of the midday sun'; cf. also *torrescere* 'to bake, to grill (intr.)', e.g. Lucr. 3.890 *ignibus inpositum calidis torrescere flammis* 'laid upon the fire, to grill in the hot flames'.<sup>42</sup> Further evidence is provided by the adj. *torridus* 'dry' (Lucr.+), as normally adj. in *-idus* are correlated with the intr. statives and not the causatives, thus *torridus*: *torrere* < \**tr̥s-éh<sub>1</sub>-*.

*uegēre* (-) 'to set in motion'

- (a) \**ueg-* 'to be/become strong' (palatal because of OP *vazarka-* (NP *buzurg*) 'big'); caus. \**uoḡ-ēje/o-* in Ved. *vājāyati* 'impels, urges on', Go. *wakjan* 'to wake somebody up' (against *waknan* 'to wake up (intr.)'). /e/ in L *uegēre*, according to Watkins (1994) 490, is regular in the context *uoK* > *ueK-* (as in *uoster* > *uester* etc.). Stative *uigēre* 'to be strong' may be a secondary *-ē-*-present formed to replace the old perfect; cf. OHG *wahhēn* with *o*-grade, which, though, may point to denominal origin from \**wakra-* (NHG *wacker*) (cf. Watkins (1973) 195–201 or Oliver (1994) 487–93). (/i/ in *uigēre* taken from *uigil* 'guardian')  
 (b) Enn. ap. Non. 183.3 (Com. v. 2, p. 153 Vahl.) *aequora salsa ueges ingentibu' uentis* 'you agitate the salty sea with strong winds'; Enn. ap. Fest. s.v. 'metonymia' *Volcanum uentu(s) uegebat* 'the wind agitated the fire'; Pompon. ap. Non. 183.2 *animos Venus ueget uoluptatibus* 'Love stirs the souls with desire'.

#### 4 Summary

To sum up, we may say that the two seemingly unrelated meanings of one and the same stem formation, viz. intensives or iteratives on the one hand and causatives on the other, show a neat distribution depending on the agentivity of the base verb from which they are derived. Cf. the following table:

base verb	derived verb
+agentive	iterative-intensive
-agentive	factitive-causative

In the second case, an agent is added to the valency of the base verb, while in the first case, an agent is already present, so its level of activity is increased. Thus in both cases the *-ēje/o-*-stem formation implies an increase of agentivity. Accordingly, either it adds

42 Cf. Christol (1991) 54.



to the agentivity of the agent presupposed by the verb's lexical semantics, resulting in iterative, intensive etc. interpretations (which, as is amply shown by the Latin material, may subsequently be lost if the derived form comes to be the only present built to the root, in some cases supplanting a simple thematic or root present); or, if the verb's lexical meaning does not admit an agent, the agentivity is transferred to an external agent, bringing about the situation described in the base verb.<sup>43</sup>

## The epic adventures of an unknown particle\*

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In a paper delivered at a conference in Heidelberg in 1996 on the editing of texts, M. L. West took on the *Iliad*, and the version of his talk published in the proceedings two years later concludes with what he calls a 'provisional specimen of [his forthcoming] edition, so that the reader may get an idea of how it will look and what it will offer in comparison with existing editions.'<sup>1</sup> West's opinion at the time was that *Il.* 1.8 should be read,<sup>2</sup>

τίς τ' ἄρ σφωε θεῶν ἔριδι ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι;  
τ'αρ 1, τ'ἄρ vel τ'ἄρ Ω\*: τάρ ApD Hdn A [...]

This is hardly surprising, for it is just how the first question in Greek literature appears in other standard editions.<sup>3</sup> However, by the time West came to publish his Teubner text, he had reconsidered the relative weight of the material already recorded in the preliminary apparatus and, following Apollonius Dyscolus, Herodian and Venetus A, ended up printing the verse very slightly differently:<sup>4</sup>

τίς τάρ σφωε θεῶν ἔριδι ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι;  
τάρ ApD Hdn A: τ'αρ 1, τ'ἄρ vel τ'ἄρ [Plut.] Z Ω\* [...]

\* This paper has had plenty of adventures of its own, with versions presented at the 128th Annual Meeting of the American Philological Association (New York, December 1996) and at UCLA (January 2006), as well as at the conference at Cambridge (July 2005) whose proceedings are collected here. A full list of thanks would be long, but I must mention the patient editors, the gracious Fondation Hardt and Prof. Michael Haslam, whose critical engagement after the talk in Los Angeles will remain forever memorable. Considerations of space have forced me to leave out much material, but it is high time to deal in some way with this tar baby: a first draft, written in January 1994, is cited in Katz (1994 [1995]) as 'forthcoming' and in Watkins (1995) 151 n. 27 as 'Katz 1994' – and now, embarrassingly many years later, on the occasion of his 75th birthday, I dedicate it to Calvert Watkins, to whom I have so often posed the question, "Μέντορ, πῶς ταρ ἴω ...;" (*Od.* 3.22).

1 West (1998a) 107.

2 West (1998a) 109.

3 E.g. D. B. Monro and T. W. Allen's 1920 <sup>3</sup>OCT and H. van Thiel's 1996 Weidmann. Note, though, that the OCT does not make any mention of 'TAP' in the apparatus.

4 West (1998b) 4.

43 An attempt to show that the same distribution holds for *-éje-*formations in other languages and in other verbal stem-formations showing the same double meaning of iteration and causation can be found in Kölligan (2004).