# Umbrian erus

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**1.0** The Umbrian word **erus**/*erus* is of fairly frequent occurrence on the Iguvine Tables, attested 24 times.[1] Yet it retains its mystery. There is no *communis opinio* about its meaning, etymology, or even its form. The goals of this paper are fourfold: 1) to determine the most probable morphosyntactic analysis of the form *erus*; 2) to determine the most probable meaning in context; 3) to determine the most probable morphological and phonological analysis; 4) to determine the most probable etymological source.

**2.0** The main reason for the scholarly uncertainly about the interpretation of such a frequently occurring word is the fact that **erus** occurs almost exclusively in a stereotypical phrase governed by the verb *\*dide-* 'give'. These occurrences fall into a number of main types with a few residual exceptions.

**2.1.** Governed by a form of the verb *\*dide-* 'give' and co-occurring with a genitive:

(1)  I a 33    **enuk hapinaru erus titu**
             Then give **erus** of the lambs.
(2)  VI b 16 bis   *ape eam purdinsust proseseto erus ditu eno scalseto uestisiar erus conegos dirstu*
             When he will have offered this, give *erus* of the cut portions. Then kneeling give *erus* of the *uestisia* from the jar.
(3)  VI b 38 bis   *proseseto erus dirstu uestisiar sorsalir destruco persi persome erus dirstu*
             Give *erus* of the cut portions. Give *erus* of the *uestisia* of pig at the right foot into the (sacrally defined) ground.
(4)  VII a 38   *uestisiar erus ditu*
             Give *erus* of *uestisia*.

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[1]   I a 33, I b 34, 34, 35, 36, II a 9, 28, 32, 40, II b 21, IV 14, 27, VI b 16, 16, 25, 38, 38, 39, VII a 5, 38, 43, 43, 43, 44.

**2.2** Governed by a form of the verb *\*dide-* without genitive:

(5)   I b 33-34 bis, 35, 36:

> **pune purtinçus kařetu pufe apruf fakurent puze erus teřa ape erus teřust pustru kupifiatu rupiname erus teřa ene tra sahta kupifiaia erus teřa**
>
> When you have offered call where they have sacrificed the boars that one should give **erus**. When he will have given **erus** let him communicate back into Rubinia that one should give **erus** and that one should communicate to **tra sahta** that one should give **erus**.

(6) = VII a 43   *carsitu pufe abrons facurent puse erus dersa ape erus dirsust postro combifiatu rubiname erus dersa enem traha sahatam combifiatu erus dersa*

> Call where they will have sacrificed the boars that one should give *erus*. When he has given *erus*, one should communicate back into *Rubinia* that one should give *erus* and one should communicate to *traha sahatam* that one should give *erus*.

(7)   II a 9      **ape purtiius(:s)uřu erus tetu**

> When you will have offered the **suřu**, give the **erus**.

(8)   II a 40     **esuf pusme herter erus kuveitu teřtu**

> The same one to whom it is fitting, let him convey and give **erus**.

(9)   II b 21     **enu erus tetu**

> Then give **erus**.

(10) IV 27-28    **inumek erus taçez/tertu**

> Then give **erus** silently.

(11) VI b 25     *isec perstico erus ditu*

> In the same way *perstico* give *erus*.

(12) VII a 5     *ape traha sahata combifianśust enom erus dirstu*

> When he will have communicated to *traha sahata* then give *erus*.

**2.4.** Governed by another verb:

(13) II a 27-28  **katles tuva tefra terti erus prusekatu**

> Cut off two pieces of the puppy and a third **erus**.

(14) II a 32     **supa pustra perstu iepru erus mani kuveitu**

> Put the entrails back. Convery the liver **erus** with the hand.

**2.5.** Unclear:

(15) IV 13-14    **inuk ereçlu umtu/putrespe erus**
Then anoint the **ereçlu** of each **erus**.

**3.0 The Morphosyntactic Analysis.** The first question to try to answer is the syntactic function of the form **erus** in its frames. Given that **erus** mainly occurs with the ditransitive verb *\*dide-*, it is plausible to assume that it is either an accusative direct object or a dative indirect object. Both hypotheses are of long standing.[2] But do the dative and accusative interpretations work equally well for all contexts? For the examples of type 1 the accusative translation is more straightforward:

(16) I a 33    **enuk hapinaru erus titu**
Give the **erus** of the lambs (?)
(17) VIb 16 bis    *ape eam purdinsust proseseto erus ditu eno scalseto uesti-*
*siar erus conegos dirstu*
When he has offered that let him give the *erus* of the
*proseśeto*.

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[2]   The opinions may be grouped into two main lines on the basis of whether **erus** is interpreted as the accusative direct object of **teřtu** or as the dative indirect object. The accusative school is represented by Aufrecht and Kirchhoff 1849:127 (neuter singular of the *pignus*, type without a translation); Osthoff 1876:278 (den den göttern zukommenden Opferanteil); Buecheler 1883:206 (*quod dis datur peractis sacris*). However, at IV 14 Buecheler 1883:163 translates **putrespe erus** as '*utriusque dei gratia*'; Conway 1897:2.618 (following Buecheler); Von Planta 1897:733 (*honorem*); Buck 1928:304 (*magmentum*, i.e. supplementary offering); von Blumenthal 1931:62-5 (*lanam*); Goidànich 1933:67 (*adipem*), followed by Vetter 1953:179, 216 who interprets the form **erus** in IV 14 as an ablative plural; Devoto 1954:230, 426 (*reliquias hostiarum distribuendas*), followed by Pisani with different etymology, 1948:15-319 and Pisani 1964:162, Bottiglioni 1954:375, Pfiffig 1964:68, and Borgeaud 1982:32; Ernout 1961:118 (*mot de sens obscur*); Knoblauch 1978:163 (*Brühe*); Prosdocimi 1978:614 and 1989:516 (*sacrum*). Bréal 1875:131-2, 349 (*frusta* 'partie, morceau') took the form as an accusative plural, but since the accusative plural of all declensions normally ends in *f ~ ø* in Umbrian, one would have to assume a special development. In fact, Untermann 2000:232 entertains the possibility that the accusative plural of an animate *s*-stem *\*erōsf* would become *erōss*, but, as he admits, this progressive assimilation is not otherwise attested in Umbrian, nor is it particularly likely from the typological point of view. The dative plural line of interpretation is represented by Panzerbieter 1851:11 (gods), followed by (or invented independently by) Savelsberg 1873:212, Duvau 1889:104, Ehrlich 1907:380 and Havers 1914:2; Von Blumenthal 1931:62 for IV 14 only. Cf. also Rix apud Meiser 1986:253[5]: "*erus < \*aisuβos*?". But Rix, 1967:71 and 1978:162[17] follows Devoto.

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(18) VIb 38 bis   *proseseto erus dirstu uestisiar sorsalir destruco persi per-*
                 *some erus dirstu*
                 Give the *erus* of the *proseśeto*. Give the *erus* of the *uestisia*
                 *sorsali-* into (or towards) the ground.

(19) VII a 38   *uestisiar erus ditu*
                 Give the *erus* of the *uestisia*.

**3.1** However, since the freestanding partitive genitive is attested in Umbrian (e.g. II a 41 **struhçlas fiklas sufafias kumaltu** "grind (some of the) **struhçlas fiklas sufafias**") the genitives in these examples could also be interpreted in similar fashion and this would permit a dative translation for *erus*:[3]

(20) I a 33       Give (some of the) lambs to the **erus**.

(21) VI b 16     When he has offered that let him give (some of the) *proseśeto* to the *erus*. Then give (some of the) *uestisia* to the *erus*.

(22) VI b 38     Give (some of the) *proseśeto* to the *erus*. Give some of the *uestisia sorsali-* into (or toward) the ground to the erus.

(23) VII a 38    Give (some of the) *uestisia* to the *erus*.

**3.2** Most Passages of type 2 are not decisive and can be translated either way:

(24) I b 34bis, 35, 36:

        **pune purtinçus kařetu pufe apruf fakurent puze erus teřa ape erus teřust pustru kupifiatu rupiname erus teřa ene tra sahta kupifiaia erus teřa**

(25) ~ VII a 43  *carsitu pufe abrons facurent puse erus dersa ape erus dir-*
                *sust postro combifiatu rubiname erus dersa enem traha sa-*
                *hatam combifiatu erus dersa*[4]
                When you have sacrificed, call where they have sacrificed the boars that he should give **erus** (or give to the **erus**). When he has given the **erus** (or to the **erus**) let him call into Rubiniam that he should give the **erus** (or give to the **erus**) and that he should call to **Tra Sahta** that he should give the **erus** (or give to the **erus**).

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[3] See Löfstedt 1942:142-4 for Latin examples like Cat. *De Agr*. 74: *farinam in mortarium indito aquae paulatim addito*, etc. The examples are mainly Old Latin or Late Latin.

[4] On the correct translation of these passages and the differences between the two see Rix 1978:151-64.

(26) II a 9    **ape purtiius suřu erus tetu**
When you have offered the **suřu** give the **erus** (or give to the **erus**).

(27) II b 21    **enu erus tetu**
And let him give the **erus** (or give to the **erus**).

(28) IV 28    **inumek erus taçez tertu**
Then let him give the **erus** (or to the **erus**) in silence.

(29) VIb 25    *isec perstico erus ditu*
In a like manner he shall give the *erus* (or to the *erus*) *perstico*.

(30) VIb 39    *uestisiam staflarem ... erus dirstu*
Let him give the *uestisiam staflarem* (which is the) *erus*.
(or) Let him give the *uestisiam staflarem* to the **erus**.

(31) VIIa 5    *ape traha sahata combifianśust enom erus dirstu*
Then let him give the *erus* (or to the *erus*).

**3.3** II a 40, however, is more straightforward with the accusative translation:

(32) II a 40    **esuf pusme herter erus kuveitu teřtu**
Let that one for whom it is fitting carry and give the **erus**.

A dative translation, e.g. "Let that one for whom it is fitting convey and give (it) to the **erus**", requires an awkward ellipsis with the basically transitive verb **kuveitu**.[5] Furthermore, the following sentence, which seems to be parallel and is the only other example of the non-economic use of *\*dide-* in Umbrian, clearly has two accusative direct objects: **vinu pune tertu** "Give wine and **puni**".

**3.4** Of the examples where a verb other than *\*dide-* governs **erus**, one is ambiguous:

(33) II a 32    **iepru erus mani kuveitu**
Convey the liver as **erus** with his hand. or
Convey the liver to the **erus** by hand.

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5    The Latin cognate *conveho*, when active, is always used with a direct object in the classical period. Most examples of *conveho*, however, are forms of the perfect passive participle. (See T.L.L. 4.816-17 s.v.) The Umbrian compound of *\*u̯eitu* with *ars-*, *arsueitu*, is also always followed by a direct object.

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But in II a 27 considerations of parallelism favor an accusative interpretation:

> (34) (II a 27)     **katles tuva tefra terti erus prusekatu**
>                    Of the dog let him cut two **tefra** (± 'slices') and a third as
>                    **erus**.

This is somewhat more likely than "Of the dog let him cut two **tefra** and a third
**tefra** for the **erus**".[6]

**3.5** The evidence of all the passages involving one and the same word **erus**
as a whole favors the accusative translation. Although in no instance can a dative
be ruled out with absolute certainty, several passages are much more straightfor-
ward on an accusative interpretation. **erus** can only be taken as a dative in these
passages at the cost of assuming some other syntactic peculiarity (free-standing
partitives, ellipsis of a direct object with a transitive verb, and lack of parallelism).[7]
Since all of these problems can be avoided on the accusative interpretation, **erus**
is best taken as an accusative.[8]

**4.0 The Problematic Residue.** This leaves one obscure passage remaining:

> (35) IV 14     **inuk ereçlu umtu putrespe erus**
>                Then anoint the ± icon **putrespe erus**.

It is difficult on both ritual and linguistic grounds to unite **erus** in IV 14 with the
other **erus** examples.[9] First, the supporters of the identity of **erus** must assume

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6   Devoto 1931:308.

7   Word order does not provide any decisive information. In the case of ditransitive verbs the
    orders DO IO V (e.g. I b 1-2 **tref vitluf turuf marte huřie fetu**) and IO DO V (e.g. I a 3
    **iuve krapuvi tre buf fetu**) are both well attested in Umbrian as well as other configura-
    tions. The fact that **erus** is almost always with two exceptions immediately preverbal does
    not point conclusively to either a dative or an accusative interpretation.

8   Kent's argument (1920:367-8) against dative interpretation of **erus** at II a 27-8 is perfectly
    inconclusive. His idea that the **erus** is specifically the **iepru** 'liver' is rendered unlikely by
    the other accusative apposition *uestisiam sorsalem* VI b 38, which Kent must interpret as a
    mistake for a genitive. All the genitives modifying *erus* are taken not as appositional
    genitives "the erus which is X" but instead following Buck as the *erus* 'supplementary
    offering for X'. Von Planta 1892:587, quoted as an authority by Kent, merely says "Sachlich
    unhaltbar ist wohl die Erklärung von *erus* als Dat. Pl. 'diis' ".

9   The following interpretations have been offered since 1851: Panzerbieter 1851:11: *utrisque
    diis*, followed by (or invented independently by) Savelsberg 1873:212, Ehrlich 1907:380,
    Havers 1914:2 and von Blumenthal, 1931:13 for IV 14 only; Bréal 1875:304: *tum cespitem
    ungito utriusque*; *frusta*†; Buecheler 1883:163: *tum sacrarium unguito utriusque gratia*,
    followed by von Planta 1897:567; Buck 1928:299: *utriusque magmentum* [*dato*]. Kent

an ellipsis of the verb *\*dide-* in what is otherwise a fixed formula.[10] Another problem arises with the exact interpretation of **putrespe**. If this is a genitive singular '*utriusque*', who does it refer to? If it refers to the gods **Puemun-** and **Vesuna**, then we are faced with an unparalleled specification of **erus** by a possessive genitive rather than an appositional or partitive genitive as in the many cases discussed above. If, on the other hand, **putrespe** is understood as referring to the two victims (a piglet and a sheep) or two sacrificial offerings, then we are faced with the problem that the distribution of the **erus** is mentioned again in this same rite at IV 27. Although it is true that there are parallels for the giving of the **erus** two times within a given sacrifice, there are no examples where the two givings are separated by other ritual actions. Thus at VI b 16 the *erus* of the *proseseto* is immediately followed by the *erus* of the *uestisia*: *ape eam purdinsust proseseto erus ditu eno scalseto uestisiar erus conegos dirstu*. VI b 38: *ape pesondro purdinśus,/ proseseto erus dirstu enom uestisiar sorsalir destruco persi persome erus dirstu*. In II a 28 the **erus** is cut off **terti erus prusekatu** and in II a 32 the liver is carried as the **erus**, but there is only one giving of the **erus** in line 40. Thus from the ritual point of view the giving of the **erus** is one unit of ritual action. Furthermore, this would be the sole example where the giving of the **erus** precedes a sacrificial act defined by the verb **purtuvi-**, i.e., IV 16 **purtuviθu**, 18, **purtuviθu**, 20 **purtuviθu**.[11] The same arguments would apply for those who take **erus** as a dative.

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1920:368: *utriusque eorum*, followed by (or invented independently by) Borgeaud 1982:180; Vetter 1953:209, 216: *utriusque adipibus*; Devoto 1954:113, 394: *utriusque [hostiae] erus [distribuito]*. Similarly Bottiglioni 1954:286: *utriusque \*erus* (sottintendi *dato*) and Pisani, 1964:211: *utriusque reliquias* (*dato*) and Prosdocimi 1978:729, 778 *a ciascuna (divinità si dia)* l'ERUS with specfication that the ERUS is not of the victims but of the gods. Ernout 1961:25 is unclear, but seems to take **putrepe erus** with the next clause: *Tunc ereçlu unguito, utriusque erus tunc libamentum, mensam purtupite ex patera genu nixus extrinsecus ipse dexstrosum ab ara ad aram porricito; sevakne declarato*. This is impossible since nothing is ever fronted before **enuk**, **inuk**. Likewise unclear is Pfiffig 1964:18: Dann salbe das *ereçlo-*. Von beidem das *erus*.

[10] For examples of ellipses, e.g. I a 18 **kapiř purtitaf sakref etraf purtitaf etraf sakref tutaper Ikuvina** where the verb **aitu** must be understood as the parallel passage VI b 18 shows, cf. Poultney 1959:142. Not comparable, however, is the *formulaic* ellipsis found in the language of prayer: Umb. *tiom esu bue peracri pihaclu* = Latin Cat. *Agr*. 141.4 *te hoc porco piaculo*. On this construction see Watkins 1995:218, 226-8.

[11] This excludes a global statement of the type *enom purditom fust* which refers to the entirety of a sacrificial rite and which does occur after the giving of the **erus** at I b 38-39 **enu esunu purtitu fust**; II a 42-43 **esunu purtitu futu**; IV 31-32 **purtitu futu**; VI b 42 *purdito fust*; VII a 45 *enom purditom fust*.

**4.1** These facts argue against trying to unify the **erus** of IV 14 with the other examples of **erus** by supposing an ellipsis of \*dide-. Conversely, it is equally unlikely that a meaning which is appropriate for *erus* in IV 14 could adequately account for the many other **erus** passages. Vetter's translation of **inuk ereçlu umtu putrespe erus** as "*Tum simulacrum (?) unguito (dei) utriusque adipibus*" seems to work well enough for this one passage, but is quite unlikely for any of the other contexts. On purely formal grounds it is unclear how one and the same form could be both neuter accusative singular and ablative plural. If **erus** is a neuter *s*-stem then the ablative plural should be \*/erussuss/ < \**eruXesufos*. The supposed ablative plural would have to be explained by haplology.[12] Further-more, it is not clear what translations like VI b 16 *eno scalseto uestisiar erus conegos dirstu.* '*Tum ex patera libamenti adipes genu nixus dato*' mean. What is the 'fat of the *libamentum*'?[13] Likewise we have seen above that the dative plural interpretation of **erus,** originating with Panzerbieter, although conceivable in this one instance, does not allow itself to be generalized with ease to all other passages. Thus whatever meaning is attributed to **erus** at IV 14, this meaning is only valid for this passage alone. The contenders deserving serious consider-ation then are: 1) Panzerbieter: *utrisque diis*; 2) Buecheler: *utriusque gratia*; 3) Vetter: *utriusque adipibus*; 4) Kent: *utriusque eorum*. Let us consider each of these in turn.

**4.2** Panzerbieter's interpretation, "anoint the icon for both the gods", at first sight makes good sense. But further thought reveals some problems. First, the interpretation of **putrespe** as a dative plural may be somewhat problematic. Although it is true that the Latin *Umgangsprache* could use the plural of *uterque* to describe a totality of only two,[14] the evidence of Oscan suggests that Sabellic used the singular of \**potr-pid* for a totality of two and the plural for a totality of two groups. Sa 1 A. 18 and B. 21 **alttreí pútereípíd akeneí** 'in altero utroque anno' i.e. 'in each year of a two year period'[15], but **pútúrúspid** in the Cippus Abellanus 1.9 where the referent is two groups of **lígatús** and 1.22 **pútúrú[mpíd]**

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[12]  Pointed out by Olzscha 1963:125.

[13]  This is especially true if *uestisia-* is some sort of sacrificial cake, as now seems likely. See Meiser 1986:84.

[14]  See Hofmann-Szantyr 1963:200-1. There are three examples of the plural of *uterque* already in Plautus. However, Langen 1880:15 argues that *Am*. 233 should be emended and that *Mo*. 1137 and *Tru*. 151 can be understood as referring to two groups. The OLD s.v. 3 b reports that the plural is used for natural pairs, but the examples cited do not seem to bear that out exclusively.

[15]  See Prosdocimi 1996:472-6.

where the reference is to the citizens of two cities. Umbrian also has the form *seipodruhpei* VI a 11 *seorsum utroque* 'in both directions'. These facts argue against the dative plural interpretation of **putrespe**. But if one must take **putrespe** as genitive singular then Panzerbieter's interpretation must be modified to *utriusque diis* 'for the gods of each (icon)'. This might be compared to the Latin *genius Iovis* (CIL 1.756.16 *Quei ... rem deivinam fecerit Iovi Libero et Iovis genio*). But even this solution is not ideal. First, "anoint the icon for the gods of each (icon)" seems to include a contradiction. If there are two gods with one icon then one could say "anoint the icon for both gods" and if there are two gods and two icons one could say "anoint the icons for the god of each", but "anoint the icon for the gods of each" does not seem to fit either situation. Second, this instance of **erus** would be the sole case of this supposed word for god on the Iguvine Tables, and the rather casual and generic reference to a god rather than to the deities specifically involved seems odd.

**4.3** Buecheler's interpretation *utriusque gratia* is based upon the idea that the **erus** originally meant *gratia* and was then transferred to *exta dis gratissima*. Although this cannot be strictly ruled out, there is no comparative evidence in favor of this interpretation. Furthermore, no other ritual act is accompanied by a similar specification. Finally, it is clear that Buecheler has posited an original meaning *gratia* for **erus** in order to have a starting point vague enough to encompass IV 14 and the other passages.

**4.4** Vetter's translation *utriusque adipibus*, i.e. 'with the fat of both sacrificial animals', fits this passage well enough, but is supported by no comparative evidence. Further, in the one other instance of unction the unguent used is the generally named **umen** abl. **umne** II a 38. Finally, Vetter's own interpretation of **ařepes** as *arvinis* already provides one Umbrian word for 'fat'.[16]

**4.5** Finally, Kent has proposed that **erus** in IV 14 is simply a mistake for **eru(m)**, the genitive plural of the deictic pronoun, influenced by the **us** of **pustin** in the line above. This interpretation has the benefit of working with known material and yields adequate sense, i.e. 'anoint the icon of each of them'. But since Kent's interpretation relies on an emendation and since the partitive genitive with *uterque* is not common in early Latin and the partitive form is usually modified by a relative or demonstrative adjective, e.g. *quarum civitatum utraque foederata est* (Cic. *Ver*. 5.56)[17], it cannot be considered certain.

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[16]   Although this can hardly be a decisive argument against Vetter's translation of *erus*. Cf. Modern English *fat*, *lard*, *blubber*, etc.

[17]   See OLD 1982:2116-17 s.v. 1c.

**4.6** Perhaps one might suggest a small variation on Kent's idea, which, if true, would have interesting implications. What the context requires since the divinities involved are functionally a closely integrated pair is a genitive dual: "anoint the icon of each of them (du.)". The pronominal genitive dual can be reconstructed as \*-$h_x$ous.[18] A proto-form \*eish$_x$ous would give erus written <**erus**>.[19]

**5.0 Semantic Interpretation.** The remaining **erus** passages all include the verb \*dide-. Excluding the as yet unclear **erus** passages, the verb \*dide- is never used in Umbrian of offering a sacrifice. It is used 1) to describe exchange among humans:

(36) V a 7-8      **revestu puře teřte /eru emantur herte**
                   He shall examine what is given of these (i.e. the **sakreu** and **perakneu** items) whether it is fitting that they be accepted.

(37) V b 8        *clauerniur dirsas herti fratrus atiersir posti acnu fare opeter p. IIII;*
                   The Clavernii must give yearly to the Atiedian Brethren four pounds of choice spelt.

(38) V b 11     *dirsans herti frater atiersiur sehmenier dequrier pelmner sorser posti acnu uef*
                   The Atiedian Brethren must give yearly to the Clavernii at the *sehmenier dequrier* ten loads of pork meat, etc.

(39) V b 13     *casilos dirsa herti fratrus atieersir posti acnu farer opeter p VI*
                   *Casilas* must give yearly to the Atiedian Brethren 6 pounds of choice spelt.

(40) V b 16     *casilate dirsans herti frateer atiersiur sehmenier dequrier pelmner sorser posti acnu uef XV*
                   The Atiedian Brethren must give to *Casilas* yearly at the *sehmenier dequrier* 15 loads of pig meat.

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[18]   See Hoffmann 1976:561.

[19]   A possible trace of the neuter dual in Latin may be seen in *frēnum* 'rein' pl. *frēnī*. The old thematic neuter dual \*-o-$ih_1$ would have fallen together with the thematic nominative plural \*-oi > -ī in this noun, where the dual would have been especially prominent. In synchronic terms this can only be regarded as gender switching. Another similar case, as suggested to me by Alan Nussbaum, may be Lat. *oculus* 'eye', the innovative *masculine* singular which may have been backformed from an originally neuter dual \*$ok^w$eloi, a derivative of the neuter root noun \*$ok^w$- < \*$h_3ok^w$- 'eye' (OCS *oč-i* neut. du.).

2) One time in a prayer to *Fisouie Sanśie* in which the god is asked to give good things to the Iguvines:

(41) VI b 10    *fisouie sanśie ditu ocre fisi tote iouine ...fato fito perne postne*[20]

*Fisoui Sanśi*, grant to the Fisian city *fato* and *fito* and the Iguvine people ...

3) In one instance wine and **pune** are said to be given immediately after the giving of the **erus**:

(42) II a 40    **esuf pusme herter erus kuveitu teřtu vinu pune teřtu**
He for whom it is fitting shall carry and give the **erus**.
He shall give wine. He shall give **pune**.

Since these examples of the verb follow directly on the *erus dirstu* instruction, it is likely that the action performed on wine and **pune** is identical to that performed on **erus** and they do not provide independent evidence for the meaning of the verb. Taken all together we can see that the **erus** is not something dedicated to the gods in the normal sense.[21] For that we would expect the verb to be *\*pordou̯ī-* or *\*faki-*.[22] Nor do we ever find an indirect object or any specification of the putative deity to whom the *erus* was to be offered.

**5.1** Another argument against the idea that the **erus** is an offering to the gods can be drawn from the passages where **erus** co-occurs with a case form of *scalse-*, the name of some sort of vessel, and the adjective *conegos* 'kneeling'.

(43) VII a 37    *uestisa et mefa spefa scalsie conegos fetu*
*fisovi sansii popluper totar iiouinar totaper iiouina suront naratu puse post uerir tesonocir uestisiar erus ditu*
(44) VI b 16 bis    *ape eam purdinsust proseseto erus ditu eno scalseto uestisiar erus conegos dirstu.*

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[20]  Cf. Paelignian: Pg 9 *lifar dida vus deti hanustu herentas* "May *Lifar* grant you wealth and *Herentas* honor".

[21]  And also against the idea that **erus** could be a dative plural for 'gods', an idea which we have found unlikely for other reasons.

[22]  Other Umbrian (Um 16): **ahal trutitis dunum dede.** The pragmatic interpretation of this inscription on the Mars of Todi is uncertain since there is no expressed indirect object. However the parallel *dōnom dō-* inscriptions of Italy collected by Euler are all records of dedications to gods. See Euler 1982:27 and passim.

At first glance, the parallels between these passages and other passages with ablatival forms of *scalse-* and the adjective *conegos* would seem to argue in favor of the idea that the giving of the **erus** is a kind of offering, since the passages at IV 15, 18, 19-20 all combine **skalçeta** and **conegos** with the unambiguous verb of sacred offering \**pordou̯ī-*. But, in fact, more careful consideration shows quite the opposite. The passages with *scalse-* and *conegos* can be divided into two types:

a. Those with *scalsi-e* in the locative:

> (45) VI b 5      *ape sopo postro peperscust uestisia et mefa spefa scalsie conegos fetu fisovi sansi ocriper fisiu totaper iiouina*
> (46) VII a 37    *uestìsa et mefa spefa scalsie conegos fetu fisovi sansii popluper totar iiouinar totaper iiouina suront naratu puse post uerir tesonocir uestisiar erus ditu*

b. Those with **skalçe** with the ablatival postposition **-ta**:

> (47) IV 15       **vestiçia mefa purtupite skalçeta kunikaz apehtre esuf testru sese asa asama purtuvitu sevakne sukatu**.
> (48) IV 18       **inumek vesveça persuntru supu ereçle hule sevakne skalçeta kunikaz purtuvitu**
> (49) IV 19-20    **inuntek vestiçia persuntru turse super ereçle sevakne skalçeta kunikaz purtuviθu**
> (50) VI b 16 bis *ape eam purdinsust proseseto erus ditu eno scalseto uestisiar erus conegos dirstu*

The sequence of events involving the *scalse-* is most fully described in VI b. First at VI b 5 the offerings (*uestisia* and *mefa spefa*) are placed in the *scalse-*.

> (51) *uestisia et mefa spefa scalsie conegos fetu fisovi sansi ocriper fisiu totaper iouina*

This act by itself constitutes an act of sacrifice, as is clear from the use of the verb *fetu* with the indirect object dative and the beneficiary phrase.[23] Subsequently portions of the *uestisia* (VI b 6 *eso persnimu uestisia uestis*) and *mefa spefa* are offered VI b 16 (*ape eam purdinsust*). Offering specifically means the allocation of the sacralized item to its final resting place. This involves removing the offerings from the *scalse-* as is made explicit in the passages in IV where the

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[23] The occurrence of the indirect object and the beneficiary phrase make it unlikely that *fetu* is to be understood in the sense of 'put' preserving the archaic meaning of the root \**deh₁-* (Gk. τίθημι etc.).

**vestiçia** and **mefa** are removed from the **skalçe-** and offered (**purtuvitu**) on an altar or **ereçlum**. Next after the offering has been made, another part of the *uestisia* is removed from the *skalse-* and offered as *erus*.

(52) VI b 16-17   *eno scalṡeto uestiṡiar erus conegos dirstu*

Thus the non-bloody offering of *uestisia* and *mefa spefa* is maximally a three-part process: 1) The item is put in a vessel and thereby becomes "sacrificed" to a god for the benefit of a community. 2) Part of the item is removed from the vessel to be "offered" to a god or gods accompanied by a dedicatory and specifying prayer. 3) Another part of the item is "distributed" in exactly the same kneeling attitude. The question arises what exactly is accomplished by putting the item into the vessel only then to take it out again. I think the answer must be that the placement in the vessel is parallel to the slaughter of the victim. In the case of victims, the *immolatio* and slaughter remove them from the profane realm and transfers them to the sacred. In parallel fashion the placement of the non-bloody items in the vessel removes them from profane use and makes them suitable for offering and distribution.

**6.0 Distributional Facts.** The **erus** instruction does not occur in all sacrifices. This suggests that there may be some distributional fact to be discovered which governs the appearance or non-appearance of the instruction. Some obvious possibilities do not pan out. The occurrence of **erus** does not correlate with the gender of the victim, with the type of victim, with the type of deity, with the body position of the victim. It seems to me that the only significant correlation is with the level of sacrificial complexity. The rites described on the Iguvine Tables may be divided into two classes which one may call simple and complex. A simple sacrifice may be defined as one that has one set of victims dedicated to one deity with one prayer of offering. A complex sacrifice includes, in addition to the main set of victims, a supplementary, semi-independent, non-bloody offering of either *mefa spefa*, *uestisia* or *persondro*, or some combination of the three. Furthermore the two-phase nature of such rites is often brought out by a temporal clause of the sort *ape sopo postro peperscust* (VI b 5) or *ape habina purdinṡus* (VI b 24). Only in the case of complex sacrifices do we find the **erus** instruction. For example, if we examine the eight sacrifices of the purification of the *ocar* we find that only two have instructions for the distribution of the **erus**, viz. the sacrifice of three *sif feliuf* to *Fise Saçi* behind the Tessenacan gate and the sacrifice of three *habinaf* to *Tefre Iovie* behind the Veian gate. In the sacrifice to *Fise Saçi* we find that at the point where the previous instruction sets end with the instruction to convey the *ficla strusla* to the *prosesetir*, in this case a whole new

subsidiary sacrifice of *uestisia* and *mefa spefa* begins, complete with its own prayer given in extenso in the New Umbrian version. The same structure is found in the sacrifice of the *habinaf*. There the major supplement is the *sorso persontro* again with its own prayer. In the Lustratio, the *erus* of three sacrifices performed at three different loci cannot be given until all three are complete, yet in the middle sacrifice to *Prestota çerfie*, clearly the centerpiece, there is a separate offering of *uestisia* and the *erus* of that is given immediately. In the *restauratio* for the **karu speturiu** the only one of the seven sacrifices including distribution of the **erus** also uniquely includes the offering of a **suřu persuntru.** In the **Huntia** sacrifice the offering of *uestiçia* is referred to through the related verb **vestikatu** (II a 24, 31, 35, 37). In the **semenies dekuries** sacrifices the offering of the **kaprum** to Jupiter is accompanied by the whole panoply of **mefa spefa**, **vistiçia** and **persuntru** and here too **erus** is distributed. And finally in the III-IV complex **vestiçia** and **mefa** are offered (IV 14-15) and designated as **sevakne** (IV 15).

**7.0** It is now time to sum up the syntactic and semantic arguments. The form *erus* is most likely a neuter accusative singular. It is not an offering per se but something that is a part of what has been sacralized, either bloody or non-bloody.[24] The *erus* is given not offered.[25] The *erus* is only found in complex rites. But the key question remains to whom was the *erus* given? This is a question not directly answered by the texts. However, there are several points that may suggest a solution. First, the *erus* is evidently, not given to the gods. It is inconceivable that the divinity to whom the *erus* was given would never be specified. The name of the particular divinity to whom an offering is made is crucial and certainly not permanently omissible.[26] The recipient must be reconstructable from the pragmatic context. Second, the giving of the *erus* always occurs in an identifiable slot in the ritual process, i.e. it is the last act before the elimination of the remains.[27] Third, in one instance, we know the locus of the giving of the *erus*, i.e. the *persom* as VI b 39:

(53) *uestisiar sorsalir destruco persi persome erus dirstu pue sorso purdinçus.*
He who will have offered the pig *persondro* shall give the *erus* of the *uestisia sorsali-* into the *persom*.

Previous accounts have explained this word as a 'pit' of the sort that would be appropriate for offerings made to chthonic deities, and if this were indeed the

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[24]  As observed by Devoto 1954:230 (*partem rei oblatae (hostiae aut libamenti)*).
[25]  As also observed by Devoto 1954:230 (*quae distribuitur, non offertur*).
[26]  This claim will be supported elsewhere in detail.
[27]  Devoto 1954:230 (*semper sacrificio exeunte datum*).

case, then it would certainly limit the possibilities for determining who the recipient of the *erus* was. But as I hope to argue elsewhere, the *persom* is best identified as a ritually delimited space on the ground that was a potential place of offering for beings neither "chthonic" nor "Olympian".

In another instance it is clear that the giving of the *erus* required that it be conveyed away from the altar, the last specified locale (II a 39-40):

(54) **asaku vinu sevakni taçez persnihmu esuf pusme herter erus kuveitu**.[28]

At the altar pray silently with wine. Let the one to whom it is fitting carry the **erus**.

**7.1** These points taken together suggest a plausible, and hardly novel, solution to the question to whom was the *erus* given: The *erus* was the portion of the key bloody and non-bloody sacrifices distributed to the participants in the sacrifice. Any sacrificial rite is a communication between the divine and the human. If something is given not to the gods then the only plausible alternative recipient is the human participants. In Latin religious language *dare* is used not only for sacrifice to the gods but also for the sharing of the sacrifice with the human participants. In discussing the *Feriae Latinae* Livy uses the collocation *carnem dare* for the distribution of the sacrificial share to the members of the Latin league.[29] The relative order of the *erus* event after the offering to the gods and before the elimination of the remains also makes sense in this context. Only after the gods have received their share is it permissible for men to eat, and this relative order is probably a semi-universal of sacrificial practice.[30] Finally, the location of the *erus* on the ground is entirely appropriate for humans, who are quintessentially constructed as "earthlings" in the Indo-European tradition (*homō* 'man' < *$d^h\hat{g}^h m\bar{m}\bar{o} \leftarrow *d^h e\hat{g}^h\bar{o}m$ 'earth').

**7.2** If this interpretation of *erus* is correct, we may ask if precise analogs for this practice may be found in relevant traditions. A passage of Cato (*Agr.* 132) provides one interesting possibility:

Dapem hoc modo fieri oportet. Iovi dapali culignam vini quantam vis polluceto. Eo die feriae bubus et bubulcis et qui dapem facient. Cum pollucere oportebit, sic facies: "Iuppiter dapalis, quod tibi fieri oportet in domo familia

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[28] A point first made by Olzscha 1963:124.

[29] Liv. 32.1.9, 37.3.4.

[30] For example, the Roman Catholic rite of communion directly precedes the rite of dismissal.

mea culignam vini dapi, eius rei ergo macte hac illace dape polluenda esto".
Manus interluito postea vinum sumito: "Iuppiter dapalis, macte istace dape
polluenda esto, macte vino inferio esto". Vestae, si voles, dato. Daps Iovi
assaria pecunia urna vini. Iovi caste. Profanato sua contagione. Postea dape
facta serito milium, panicum, alium, lentim.
The offering is to be made in this way: Offer to Jupiter Dapalis a cup of wine
of any size you wish, observing the day as a holiday for the oxen, the team-
sters, and those who make the offering. In making the offering use this for-
mula: "Jupiter Dapalis, forasmuch as it is fitting that a cup of wine be offered
to thee, in my house and in the midst of my people, for thy sacred feast; and
to that end, be thou honored by the offering of this food". Wash the hands, then
take the wine, and say: "Jupiter Dapalis, be thou honoured by the offering of
a feast, and be thou honored by the wine placed before thee". You may make
an offering to Vesta if you wish. The feast to Jupiter consists of roasted meat
and an urn of wine. To Jupiter religiously (offer). *Profanato sua contagione*.
After the offering is made plant millet, panic grass, garlic, and lentils.
                        [Translation after William Davis Hooper, Loeb Edition][31]

While the text is somewhat uncertain, the instruction *profanato sua contagione*
must mean more or less "let him desacralize (the offerings) by his own touch".[32]
That is, what has been offered to *Jupiter Dapalis* is also to be taken part in by
men, but first the act of sacralization must be undone by means of the minis-
trant's own touch. The emphasis in the desacralizing effects of human touch find
an echo in the instruction II a 32 **iepru erus mani kuveitu** "Convey the liver as
**erus** by hand".

**7.3** But in another regard the giving of the *erus* points to something rather
more like Greek than Roman practice. In Roman practice the carcass of the vic-
tim was divided into the *exta* and the *viscera*. The *exta,* made up of the vital in-
ternal organs including the heart and liver, were prepared by cooking and some-
times supplemented by various other parts of flesh given to the gods under the
name *prosecta*, or *prosiciae*, but the *viscera*, defined by Servius ad *Aen*. 6. 253
as *quidquid inter ossa et cutem est*, were ultimately consumed by men. In con-
trast, Greek practice did not distinguish between *exta* and *viscera*. What the gods
ate, men also had a share of.[33] In Umbrian practice, if the form *proseśeta* is syn-

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[31]  The crucial section of the passage is given in the Loeb edition as *Iovi caste profanato sua
     contagione* and translated as "Present it to Jupiter religiously, in fitting form". It is unclear
     how *sua contagione* yields "in fitting form".
[32]  There has been abundant discussion of this passage. Most notably Wagenvoort 1949, whose
     text I follow, and Benveniste 1960. But see also Schilling 1971 and Goujard 1972.
[33]  See Stengel 1910:76 and Schilling 1971:963. But in early Greek practice, as described by

onymous with the Latin technical terms *prosecta, prosicium, prosiciae*, as seems probable, then the explicit reference to the giving of the *erus* of the *proseśeta* shows that the Umbrians, like their Greek and perhaps Etruscan contemporaries, did not reserve the *exta* for the gods alone.

**8.0 Morphological and Phonological Analysis.** Since *erus* is an accusative, it must necessarily be a neuter since it would otherwise be marked at least occasionally by an explicit exponent of the accusative case, either -*om*/-**um** for the singular or *(V)f* for the plural. Only an athematic neuter can have no formal marking of the accusative. Since the item ends in -*s erus* in fact must be an *s*-stem. It cannot however be a simple neuter *s*-stem of the *genus* type since the vowel of the final syllable would necessarily have been syncopated as in **meřs**, *mers* 'law' < \**medos*.[34]

**8.1** Even if the vowel of the final syllable had by some eventuality escaped syncope it cannot represent a short *o*. It has been occasionally maintained that although \*-*os* would have been syncopated perhaps \*-*us* would not have been. In that case one could image that *erus* might be a neuter of the Ved. *yájuṣ*- type. But there is no evidence for this claim. In the absence of evidence one may assume that all short vowels were syncopated before final *s*.[35] Even granting this hypothesis of the exceptional status of *u*, the form could still not be explained as a neuter -*us* stem since the failure of the final -*s* to rhotacize would not be explained.

**8.2** The attribution to the neuter *s*-stem category can be maintained if one assumes that the final -*s* of *erus* is or was in fact geminate and results from the syncope of final \*-*os* preceded by an assimilating consonant. That is, *erus* must continue \**eruX-os*. The consonant *X* could be any labial or velar. The initial /ɛ/ could have a number of different sources and the /r/ may continue either \**r* or \**s*. Thus the possibilities for reconstructing a pre-form are theoretically many:

| /ɛ | r | u | s | s/ |
|----|---|---|---|-----|
| *e* | *r* | *u* | *p* | -*os* |
| *ai* | *s* | | *f* | |
| *ei* | | | *k* | |
| | | | *g* | |
| | | | *γ* | |

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    Homer, the σπλάγχνα appear to have been consumed only by men and not offered to the
    gods at all.
[34]  An observation made already by Panzerbieter 1851:11.
[35]  Benediktsson 1960:215, 223.

**8.3** We must be dealing with a complex, probably compound, neuter *s*-stem. Such a form may arise through the substantivization of an *o*-stem adjective. Compare for example:

> Lat. *aequus* 'even' → *aequor* 'level surface (of the sea)'
> Lat. *fēnus* 'interest' ~ *fēnum* 'hay', both substantivizations of *\*fēno-* 'growing'[36]
> Aves. *drājah-* 'length', Gk. ἐνδελεχής 'continuous' vs. δολιχός 'long'
> OCS *ljuto* 'terrible thing' ← OCS *ljutŭ* 'terrible'[37]

**8.4** In recent years it has become clear that Italic inherited a thematic formant *\*-dʰo-* which has been plausibly analyzed as a derivative of the root *\*dʰeh₁-* 'place, make'. This suffix has been identified in the Latin adjectives in *-i-dus* and I have also sought to find further evidence for its existence in the fractional adjective *trifārius* and ultimately in the word *tribus*.[38] Such a suffix, if substantivized as an *s*-stem, would provide precisely the syllable *\*-fos* needed to account for the geminate *ss* of *erus*. A potential parallel for such an *s*-stem may be found in Gk. μέγεθος/Ion. μέγαθος. But here one must also entertain the possibility that μέγαθος has been modeled on πλῆθος 'multitude' which in turn is presumably connected with the verb πλήθω 'be full'.

**9.0 Indo-Iranian *\*miĭazdha-*.** If we turn our attention elsewhere to look for further evidence of compound nouns ending in *\*-dʰo-*, one quickly notices the Indo-Iranian form *\*miĭazdʰa-* (Ved. *miyédha-* masc., *miyédhas-*, G. and YAves. *miiazda-*). The Vedic form *miyédha-* appears to be an archaism already in the Vedic period. It is entirely restricted to the Rig-Veda and there it only occurs at the end of a *triṣṭubh* line. In all but one passage the form permits the translation 'sacrificial meal'. It is conjoined and contrasted with *yajña-* 'sacrifice' at 1.177.4 and at 3.32.12, where it is given the epithet *sutásoma-* 'with soma pressings'. In an *Āprī* hymn (10.70.2) Narāśaṃsa is said to make the *miyédha-* pleasant for the gods. In this last passage *miyédha-* has been remade as a neuter *s*-stem *miyédhas-*. In one passage (6.51.12) *miyédha-* in the plural seems to be used not of the sacrificial repast itself but of the guests or participants in such a rite. The Avestan cognate appears to have a fairly similar meaning. In Gathic Avestan Y. 34.3 *miiazdəm* is given to *Ahura Mazdā* and *Aša*:

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[36]  Another possible example: *fūnus* vs. OIr. *dún* 'ring-fort' neut. *o*-stem. On the semantic connection, see Watkins 1990:452.
[37]  See Arumaa 1985:44, Weiss 1994:144.
[38]  See Weiss 2007.
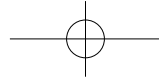
(56) *aṯ tōi miiazdəm ahurā nəmaŋhā aṣ̌āicā dāmā*
   To you Ahura Mazda we give the *miiazda-* reverently and to *Aša*.

The *Vidēvdād* 8.22. makes clear that the *miiazda-* could contain meat and wine:

(57) *mazdaiiasna miiazdəm daiθiiārəš gaoməntəm maδuməntəm*
   Mazdayasnians may give a *miiazda-* with meat and wine.

Note the collocation of *miiazda-* and *dā-* 'give' (although *dā-* 'place' is also conceivable). But Y 8.2 also makes it clear that mortals could partake of this sacrifice:

(58) *xᵛarata narō aētəm miiazdəm*
   Eat, o men, this *miiazda-*.

Thus the Indo-Iranian evidence points to a Proto-Indo-Iranian form *\*miiazdʰas* with the meaning 'sacrificial meal'. This sacrificial meal was given (Aves. *dā-*) to gods and men.[39]

**9.1** The etymology of *\*miiazdʰa-* is not entirely clear, but most scholars agree that it is a compound and it could hardly be anything else. The second half of the compound has been identified with a thematic form of the root *\*dʰeh₁-* 'make, put'. Opinions vary about the first part although most scholars connect the form to Ved. *máyas-* 'refreshment' from the root *\*meihₓ-* 'thrive'.

   Nevertheless the possibility of a partial comparandum between Indo-Iranian and Umbrian is intriguing. In Umbrian we have a secondary neuter *s*-stem which, in combination with the verb *\*dide-* 'give', refers to the part of the sacrifice offered to humans. In Indo-Iranian we have a word of comparable meaning, sometimes combining with the cognate verb *dā-* 'give'. It is possible, but not necessary, that the Umbrian can be made a closer match for the Indo-Iranian form by assuming that the consonant preceding the final *-s* was *f* from *\*dʰ*. But the case should not be overstated.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Indo-Iranian | *\*(miiaz)-dʰa-* | *\*dā-* | give the sacrificial meal of gods and men |
| Italic | *\*(eru)-fo-*s | *\*dide-* | give the part of sacrifice partaken of by men |

**10.0** When we turn to the first half of *\*eru-Xos* it seems unavoidable that we are dealing with a *u*-stem nominal. One possible starting point might be Venetic.

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[39] In later Iranian forms such as MP *myzdp'n* 'host' have expanded beyond the religious sphere.

Two dedicatory inscriptions, both from Carinthia, attest the forms *a..i.su[.]ś* (Lejeune 243), *a..i.sun* (Lejeune 244 A) and *a..i.su.s* (Lejeune 244 B). It is often claimed that this form is the accusative plural (*aisuś/aisus*) and singular (*aisun*) of the word for 'god',[40] chiefly because of the similarity with the Etruscan and Italic word 'god'. In both cases the form is the object of the verb *donasto* 'gave': since the accusative of divine names as the object of *donasto* are attested in Venetic,[41] and since the inscriptions containing *aisu-* have no datives, it is likely that the *aisu-* forms refer to the name of the dedicatee.[42] If such a form could be imported into Sabellic, a theoretical *\*aisu-dʰh₁o-s* 'rendering unto god' would give *erus* regularly. Of course, this appears to fly in the face of the entire course of argument thus far, viz. that the *erus* was not given to a god but to humans. Nevertheless the example of Gk. ϑευμορίη ὃ λαμβάνουσιν ἱερεῖς κρέας ἐπειδὰν ϑύηται (Hesych. 428) 'a priest's share of a sacrifice' shows that this possibility cannot be entirely discounted on semantic grounds.[43] Formally though, the simple assumption of a *u*-stem variant *\*aisu-* in Umbrian, preserved only as the first part of this compound, is not easily justifiable. The Sabellic evidence points clearly to an *o*-stem for the word for 'god'.

**10.1** Another possible comparandum may be found in the rare and archaic Latin verb *aeruscō, -āre*. The verb is attested in Aulus Gellius 9.2.8 and the derived agent noun *aeruscator* is used by Gellius at 14.1.2.[44] In both cases the forms seem to refer to a wandering beggar with pretensions. The basic meaning 'beg' is confirmed by Paul. *Fest*. 22 L *aeruscare aere undique pecunias colligere*.[45]

As has long been seen this form is ultimately a derivative of the root *\*h₂ais-* 'seek'. The evident first step in the morphological analysis of this form would appear to be to derive it from a substantive *\*airu/oskā* 'seeking'. Such a nominal

[40] So Lejeune 1974:303 et alibi.
[41] See Lejeune 1974:68 for a complete list of examples known at that time.
[42] But see Pellegrini-Prosdocimi 1967 for some doubts.
[43] Presumably this semantic change depends on the fact that the parts dedicated to the gods were in fact eaten, at least on occasion, by the priests. The full gloss is ἀπαρχή. ϑυσία. ἢ ὃ λαμβάνουσιν οἱ ἱερεῖς κρέας, ἐπειδὰν ϑύηται. ϑεοῦ μοῖρα.
[44] Gell. 9.2.8 *Musonius... aeruscanti cuipiam id genus et philosophum sese ostentati dari iussit mille nummum; 14.1.2 id praestigiarum atque offuciarum genus commentos esse homines aeruscatores et cibum quaestumque ex mendaciis captantes.*
[45] Cf. also Gloss. Plac. V. 7, 32 + 33 *aeruscans aes minutum accurate contrahens* and Gloss. II.23.42 *aeruscat* (aroscit codd. corr. Leo) πλανᾶται ὡς Λίβιος. The attribution to Livius Andronicus, who may have used the form in reference to Irus, confirms the antiquity of the item.

stem in turn looks like a substantivization of a verbal stem *$airu/oske$-. Cf. in the same semantic field OHG *forschōn* ← *$p\r{r}\hat{k}s\hat{k}eh_2$ ← *$p\r{r}\hat{k}$-$s\hat{k}e$-. The tricky question in the derivation is determining what stem the *-$s\hat{k}e$- morpheme was affixed to. The phonological possibilities for the base are either a *u*-stem *$airu$- or an *o*-stem *$airo$-, both of which would yield *aeru-scō*. Most scholars have assumed that the original vowel was *o*, and yet such a denominative -$s\hat{k}e$- is not easily paralleled. In Latin denominal -*scō* forms from *o*-stem nouns and adjectives end either in -*ēscō* (the most common pattern) or rarely in -*iscō* (*longiscō* 'grow long' (Enn.) ← *longus* 'long', *laetiscō* 'delight in' (Sis.) ← *laetus* 'happy', *calliscō* (Cat.) 'grow insensible' ← *callum* 'callous'. There are no examples in -*uscō*. Thus the derivation of *aeruscō* from a theoretical *$airo$- is suspect. The alternative, unfortunately, is not much better supported. There is no independent example of a -*scō* derivative from a *u*-stem nominal in Latin, but Greek does afford μεθύσκομαι 'get drunk' (Hdt. +) ← μέθυ 'intoxicating drink' and τερύσκεται· νοσεῖ. φθίνει 'gets sick, perishes' (Hsych.) ← τέρυς 'ruination' < *$terh_2us$.[46] Since an *o*-stem base is positively excluded, a *u*-stem base remains the only plausible alternative.[47] Such a *u*-stem base *$h_2aisu$- 'seeking', which would serve for *aeruscō*, would also provide an adequate base for the first element of *erus*. A proto-form *$h_2aisu$-$d^hh_1o$-$s$ 'the rendering of what is sought' would provide an acceptable starting point.[48] The semantics are plausible. The morphology is complicated but can be paralleled. Still, the irresolvable uncertainties remain. For the time being this suggestion remains nothing more than an undemonstrable possibility.

**11. Conclusions.** We conclude that **erus** is a neuter accusative *s*-stem, the direct object of the verb, usually 'give'. It refers to the part of the sacrifice distributed to humans. It continues an *s*-stem nominalization of a compound adjective. It could be derived from a virtual *$(eru)$-$d^hh_1os$, which calls to mind Indo-Iranian *$mi\underset{.}{i}azd^ha$- of similar meaning and perhaps partly similar form.

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[46] See Nussbaum 1997:117.

[47] Some derive *aeruscō* from *$aisos$-$kō$ a denominative to *$aisos$-$ko$- (so Klingenschmitt 1982:63), but given the semantics and the absence of any evidence for an *s*-stem, this analysis seems inferior to one that recognizes the presence of the suffix *-$s\hat{k}e/o$-.

[48] Another possibility may be offered by the root *$h_1erh_2$- 'divide' which I sought to identify in 1998 on the basis of Hitt. *arḫa*- 'border etc.' and Gk. ἔρανος 'communal feast' (Weiss 1998). If we suppose the existence of a not otherwise supported *u*-stem *$h_1erh_2u$-$s$ 'divide', or 'division', this form could have formed the first half of a compound: *$h_1eru$-$d^hh_1o$- 'rendered in parts, divided' →*$h_1eru$-$d^hh_1o$-$s$ 'what is rendered in parts' (i.e. a sacrificial meal) > *$eru\phis$ > *$eruss$ > *erus*.

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