independent forms of the root "ank" were lost or made unrecognizable.

the compound was "aufgefrischt" by the addition of -dik- after the
analogy of meddik-s etc.

legu. tanginud

Poccetti 34, a Samnian inscription has the phrase legu. tanginud.

Now in the light of the clear Latinism of this inscription such as the
ablative absolute giving the names of the public officials, it is probable
that the spelling legu for expected *li(f)gu is also a Latinism. Assuming
that legu is for legum gen pl., one could interpret legu. tanginud as
'by the decree of the laws' where 'laws' is metonymic for 'council'.

Etymology and Ablaut of *lēk-s

*lēk-s is undoubtedly to be connected with the root of Latin legere

14Cf., e.g. Latin rubefacit 'makes red' with unweakened a in open
unaccented syllable, or Oscan kūm-bened 'convēnit' vs. ce-bnust
'venerit'. Of course, it is impossible to say whether *lēg-ank- was,
stricto sensu, analogical to e.g. a verbal stem, or whether the second
member of a compound received a secondary accent strong enough to
lead to the *an threatment of *p. In any case if Schmidt KZ, 72, 1954,
p. 30ff, is correct in claiming that anaptyxis occurs only after an accented
vowel, *ligankdik- must have been accented on the *a or at least have
had a secondary accent on the first syllable of the second member of the
compound.

15See Poccetti ad. loc.

16This phrase is reminiscent of nothing so much as the statement of the
infamous Mayor Hague of Jersey City: 'I am the Law.'
'to collect'. Thus, *lék-s was originally a result noun meaning 'collection' which, according to the classical Schindlerian scheme, one would expect to have had o/e ablaut. It appears necessary, however, to recognize a é/é root noun type which could be an agent noun, result noun, or nomen actionis. To this class also belongs Latin rēx OIr. rí Skt. -rā́ ti 'king' which is an agent noun to the verbal root *h₂reǵ- 'rule, extend'. Schindler has suggested that the lengthened grade of the root noun *rēǵ-s may be related to the Narten paradigm of the verb *h₂reǵ- still preserved in Vedic rāṣṭi. That is to say, it is conceivable that Narten ablaut was a characteristic not merely of verbal paradigms but of roots and that for such a root Narten ablaut originally extended through all verbal and nominal formations. Naturally, since Narten ablaut was in recession already in PIE, one can only expect to see traces of this pattern. Thus, corresponding to Ved. rāṣṭi, Greek has the regular thematic ὅπεψω 'stretches out'.

It is therefore worth considering whether the root of Latin iegere, PIE *leǵ- 'collect' shows any traces of an original Narten system. In Greek

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18This root noun is now also attested in Oscan ṛeyo 'kings' gen. pl. Pocc. 175.
the full-grade forms λεκτός 'chosen' (Hesiod +) and λέξις 'speech' (from Plato) are meaningless since they could simply be analogical to the full-grade of λέγω 'I say' and one would not necessarily expect *λαξτός anyway.

On the other hand, λώγη· συναγωγή σίτου 'collection of grain' (Hesych.) is a lengthened grade τομή type noun, a type which is by no means productive in Greek. 20 There is further the verb ἐλώγη· ἐλεγε 'gathered' which seems to be a contracted form of *ἐλώγαι, i.e. a verb of the ποτάομαι type (cf. λόγωs Theogn Can. 149). This type, on the other hand, is well established, but it is not inconceivable that it was originally denominative from Narten τομή type nouns like λώγη. In Latin itself the lengthened grade of the perfect lēgī is not susceptible to any easy analogical explanation 21 and its antiquity is supported by Albanian mblodha 'I collected' < *h₂ mbh(i)-lēg- and Tocharian B lyśka 'he

20 Cf. also λώπη 'robe' < *a layer < λέπω 'I peel'. Cf. Myc. re-po-to λεπτός 'fine' with an unexpected full-grade already in the Bronze Age. This, of course, could be analogical. The accent of λώπη and λώγη is interesting. Semantically these two nouns seem to belong to the τομή type of feminine nomina actionis I result nouns (Chantraine Form., p. 18-19). But this type is regularly oxytone. Could the barytone accent of λώπη and λώγη be due to the original Narten character of these roots?

21 See Cowgill pp.59-60 who does not offer any particular explanation of lēgī.
saw'.

There is probably one other Narten root noun in Italic, i.e. Latin spēs. Traditionally this is connected with *prosperus 'successful' and Skt. sphīraḥ 'fat'. Since the aspirated ph of Skt sphīraḥ suggests a proto-form *spḥ₂-roś, one must assume that spēs is from *spēh₂-s. This fits in well with what can probably be reconstructed for the verbal paradigm of this root. Skt. sphāyate (lex.) Lith. spėju, 'be fast enough, be able' and OCS spējp 'thrive' vs. OE. spowan, 'thrive' < Pre-PGmc. *spēje- can best be unified under an athematic Narten-ablauting -i- paradigm. 3s. *spēh₂-i-e 3pl. *spēh₂-i-ęs. This is supported by the Hittite -ų conjugation verb išpēi išpiianzi 'become full' which preserves the original athematic -i- paradigm although the ablaut pattern has been rearranged. Further evidence of the originally Narten character of this root is seen in the unexpected full-grades of formations which normally

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22 The comparison of ḥēgī with Tocharian B ḥyāka, pointed out to me by J. Jasanoff, was originally made by G. Lane in Language, 24, 1948, p. 307. See excursus II for further discussion of these forms.

23 Pokorny, p. 983. For the relatively rare prep./preverb + adj. compound, cf. perhaps prōcērus 'growing to agreat height (Enn. +) the second part of which may be related to the root of Cer-es and Cer-us.

24 For the aspiration of stops by h₂, see Mayrhofer IG 1/2, p. 135-136.

25 Athematic -i-verbs with -h₂ e endings have been argued for by J.H. Jasanoff. The theory sketched out here was arrived at independently by Alan Nussbaum, and my version could not have come into existence without the benefit of his suggestions.
call for a zero-grade, e.g. Skt. RV sphāṇī- 'fattening', Gramm. sphātā-
'great, strong' (alongside -sphītā- 'fat' (MS)) sphērā- (Ep. +) 'spread-
out' (alongside sphirā- (RV) = Latin pro-sperus = CS sporo-
'abundant' = OHG spar 'sparing').

Still more evidence for the Narten character of the root *speh₂- may
be seen in OE spēd 'success' < *spōdiz. This probably reflects a PIE
*speh₂-tis (= Vēō. Skt. sphāṭi- 'fattening') a Narten -ti- stem verbal
abstract.²⁶ It is also probable that OHG spāti 'late' < *spētījo-,
Gothic spediza spedumists 'last' may be related to this paradigm. It is
not, however, likely that OHG spāti and OE spēd can actually be
combined within one acrostatic paradigm, nom. *spēh₂ti- obl. *speh₂ti-.
First it is difficult to see why spāti should be an adjective if it was
originally a substantive.²⁷ Second, I know of no evidence for -ē/e-
ablaut in -ti- stem verbal abstracts.²⁸ Instead, it seems plausible to

²⁶This may be called Narten in the extended sense that the ablaut
grade is one notch higher than that which is normally found in a given
formation. Thus, for example since -ti- stems regularly show zero grade
in the root, e.g. Grk. βάρις, Goth. gakumþs Latin conveni-o < *gʰīnī-, a
Narten -ti- stem may cautiously be defined as a -ti- stem with full-grade
root. I owe this concept to the teachings of J. Schindler.
²⁷Of course, nouns do become adjectives by being used predicatively,
 cf. eg. Skt. pūti- 'putrid' vs. Aves. pūti 'rot', Pashto pul 'film over the
eyes'. But it is hard to see how this might have happened in this
particular case.
²⁸There is, of course, Skt. māṛṣṭi- 'wiping away'. But this is only
attested by the Sanskrit Lexicographers and is a replacement of Ved.
assume that OHG *späti* is a vṛddhied thematic derivative of the type seen in Skt. mānas 'mind' > mānasā- 'mental', i.e., *spēh₂ti(j)ó-. But it remains somewhat difficult to see how the meaning 'late' could derive from the meaning 'successful'. One might imagine the following set of developments: *spēh₂*-tīs 'fullness, prosperity, wealth' could have developed an extended sense 'long-lastingness', since something that occurs in great quantities lasts a long time. Cf. CS *sprot* 'rich, abundant', but Russ. spóryj 'longlasting' in the proverbial ćto skóro to ne spóro 'what comes quick, doesn't stick'.

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*mṛṣṭi*- on the basis of māṛṣṭi 3s 'wipes away'. Of course, the *-grade of forms like hostis etc. does point to the existence of acrostatic -ti- stems of the o/e type.

29 On the semantic development of this root, see P.Persson, KZ, 35, 1897-9, pp. 215-216, esp. n. 1.
A vṛddhied derivative of ṣpēh₂-tis 'long-lastingness', ṣpēḥ₂t(℄)-would mean 'long-lasting', and from 'long-lasting' to 'slow' is a short and well paralleled step. Cf. SCR. spḤ'or 'slow' and Latin sērus 'slow' vs. OIr. sīr 'longlasting, everlasting'.

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30Cf. also Emily Dickinson's 'Some work for Immortality' (406): Slow Gold - but Everlasting /The Bullion of Today / Contrast with the Currency / Of Immortality'. Another parallel is OIr. doe 'slow' < ṣdyēh₂-i- (℄)-, which belongs to the family of the root ṣdyēh₂ - 'long in time or space' (Grk. ἰηπός, Arm. erkar < ṣdyēh₂-ro- 'long in time' and ērkayn 'long in space' < ṣdyēh₂-ino-).  

31It is also worth considering whether the other root ṣ(s)pēh₂ - 'stretch' 'draw' (Grk. σπάω 'I draw (a sword) etc.) is in fact the same as ṣpēh₂ - 'be full etc.' One could imagine that as sentence like 'I am stretched' spoken at the Proto-Indo-European dinner table could easily have developed the sense 'I am full' which is seen in Hittite išpā. From 'I am full' could easily develop 'I get fat' (Skt. sphāyate). From 'the fruit is full' it was an easy step to 'the fruit is ripe', 'the fruit is ready', then 'I am ready, I am able' (Latv. spēt).
Proto-Italic *nēr 'man'

Proto-Italic *nēr is preserved only in Sabellic, by Umbrian acc. pl. nerf (vi a 30 etc), dat. pl. nerus (vi b 62 etc), by Oscan nom. s. nīr, (Vetter), gen. pl. nerum (Vetter), and by South Picene, nīr. (Marinetti) In Latin one finds only the derivatives Nero, Nerio / Nería 'wife of Mars', and neriosus 'strong' all of which were felt by the Romans to be of 'Sabine' origin.¹

In PIE this word for man nom. $h_2nēr$, acc. $h_2nėrm$ gen. $h_2pr-os$ had e/zero ablaut which is most clearly preserved in Hom. Greek ἄνδρα, ἄνδρον, ἄνδρός 'man'. This type of ablaut is characteristic of agential root nouns made to stative verbs.² The underlying verb in this case may be preserved in Parēči nar 'be able'. Thus $h_2nēr$ may have meant originally 'the one who is able or strong'.

In Italic the zero-grade has been eliminated, but the quantitative difference between the nom. sg. $h_2nēr$ (> Osc. nīr, S.Pic. nīr), and non-nom. sg. $h_2ner$- (Umb. nerf, Osc. nerum) has been maintained.

¹Cf. e.g. Suet. Tib. 1.2: (Nero) quo significatur lingua Sabina fortis ac strenuus 'Nero which means strong and vigorous in the Sabine language', and Gell. 13.23: (Nerio) Sabinum verbum est, eoque significatur virtus et fortitudo 'Nerio is a Sabine word and means strength and fortitude'. The unreliable Johannes Lydus mens. 4.42 also gives a form νέρικη which he glosses 'αὐράπια 'manliness'.
Nero, Neriosus and Nerio

The Sabine cognomen Nero which is said to have meant 'strong and vigorous', i.e. 'the manly one' would seem to be formed by means of the individualizing suffix -dhn from an underlying adjective *nero- 'manly'. Cf. the cognomen Calo 'the clever one' < calus 'clever'.

Formally, *nero- 'manly, belonging to a man' could best be explained as derived from the weak stem of the root noun *h₂pr- by thematization and vrddhi (type *deiyo- 'of the sky, divine,' (Latin divus etc.) < *diu- the weak stem of *djeus 'sky').

Another derivative of the root noun was *h₂neriyo- 'of or belonging to a man' (Skt. nár(l)ya-, Aves. nairiia-) In Italic traces may be found in neriosus 'resistens, fortis' firmly fixed and strong' (CGL IV 1242.22) which has been extended by the suffix -osus. Cf. obnoxiosus 'subject, subordinate' (Enn. and Plautus) vs. obnoxius 'id'. Another trace may found in Neria (Gn. Gellius, hist. 15 2nd cent. BC) 'the wife of Mars presumably a concretization of 'courage of Mars'. Neria would seem to be a substantivization of *nerios 'manly'.

Beside Neria, one also finds the forms Nerio, Nerienis 'wife of Mars'.

³See the discussion of these two meanings in Gellius 13.23.
Aulus Gellius 13.22.2 insists that the second e of this word is long, but this claim is not supported by the metrical evidence which points to a short vowel in the second syllable.\textsuperscript{4} Since a short vowel after i in an open syllable should have syncopated already in Proto-Italic, (cf. Umbr. natine 'natione' < *gnāši\textsuperscript{i}oni, Latin capit < *kapi\textsuperscript{e}ti),\textsuperscript{5} the stem Nerien- must have been created after this syncope rule had operated. On this scenario, in post-Italic times an adjective *neri\textsuperscript{y}o- could have been extended by the individualizing suffix *-on- yielding in the first instance *Nerijon-. *Nerijon- would have become by weakening *Nerijin- and then by dissimilation Nerijen-. Cf. societas 'partnership' < *soci-\textsuperscript{-i}tās not *socitas.

\textsuperscript{4}See Meister, EN, p. 10ff.
Proto-Italic *pēk-s.

*Pēk-s is attested by both Latin pēx ‘peace’ and Umbrian pase approx. ‘propitiousness’ abl. s. (Tl vi a 30 etc). It is clearly a result noun ‘that which is fixed’ to the verbal root *pa/āk- ‘fix’ (e.g. paco pacere ‘to come to an agreement’ (Lex XII etc.)).

Original root vocalism of *pa/āk-

It is not clear whether this root should be reconstructed with inherent a vocalism or with ą/a from *eh₂ / h₂. The Avestan forms paiti.auua.pašāŋ ‘fastened’ and zaranii-paxsta-pad- ‘whose feet are fixed with gold’ (Yt.17.9) seem to favor a reconstruction with inherent a.

The form paiti.auua.pašāŋ occurs at V.4.50: aitiqaēnaiš karatēiš azdibiš paiti.auua.karašiŋ...išabiš azdibiš paiti.auua.pašāŋ ‘Let the bones (azdibiš Inst. pl. as subject) be cut with iron knives...let the bones be fastened with iron chains’ Kellens suggests that pašāŋ may stand for *pasišŋ a passive subjunctive with active endings as is common in Late Avestan, parallel in form to karašiŋ. Such a passive in -iia- would

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1 One may simply mention the Grk. adv. ἕνεκ ‘once’ since there is no telling whether this form is from *sm-pak-s or *sm-pag-s. I have left out of consideration all forms pointing to a voiced palatal since there is no highly convincing and principled way to unite the two roots, though I do not doubt that a connection probably once existed.

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be expected to have a zero-grade. From a root *peh₂ k- the passive
would therefore presumably have been *ph₂ k₁ e- > *pisília- or fšíia-, but
not *pasiia-. If, however, the root had been *pa/ək- a passive *pasiia-
would not have been impossible, since roots with the shape TET (T = any
obstruent) sometimes maintain a full grade in formations which regularly
require zero-grade. Cf. e.g. cäsus < *cad-tos not *kd-tos in the -to-
verbal adjective which normally requires a zero-grade This same
argument applies to the -to-verbal adjective -paxšia-.

On the other hand, YAv. fšábīš < *psah-biš may more easily be
accounted for by assuming a root *peh₂ k-. One usually finds full-grade
of the root in neuter -s- stems. Therefore Bartholomae has suggested
that fšábīš is extracted from a compound where the zero-grade root
proper to the hysterokinetin inflection that -s- stems normally take as the
second member of a compound (cf. Grk. πίθος 'suffering' vs. αἰνοπαθής

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2Kellens VA, p. 107.
3Kellens VA, p. 125.
4Roots of the shape REC also seem to retain a full-grade in "zero-
grade" formations e.g., μακρός 'long' = Lat. macer 'thin = OHG magar 'thin'
(a vocalism established by Hittite maklanza 'thin' and Av. māsīš 'the
greater') maintaining a in a Caland -ro- adjective formation which
normally requires zero-grade, e.g. ruber 'red' < *hrudh-ro-.
5A root with a vocalism would not be suprising in a tectal (guttural)
environment where a often occurs. Cf. *kap- 'take' (Latin capio, Gothic
'suffering dire ills' < *-pqθðθes) would be less surprising.\(^6\) Fśābiš, in this scenario, would be regular from *X-ph₂kēs. But a root *paK- would presumably have shown up in this formation as *-pakēs. On the other hand, roots of the shape TET also sometimes show zero-grade in zero-grade categories, e.g. Greek ἵπτθα 'day after a festival' < *epi-pd-. I see no easy way of deciding between these two possibilities.

**Umbrian paca**

Alongside this root-noun is attested a first declension feminine Umbr. *paca abl. sg. (TI vi a 20.) 'for the sake of'.\(^7\) This is conceivably also the immediate base for Latin pācāre 'to pacify' < *pākējeti.\(^8\) The co-occurrence of a root noun and an ō-stem (< *-e'h₂) is paralleled by such cases as Homeric Grk. φιγη 'flight' vs. the root noun acc. sing. φύγας (ll. 8.8.157 etc.) < *bhug'm-de 'to flight' and ἄλκη 'might' vs. the root noun dat. sg. ἄλκι (ll. 5.299 etc.).

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\(^{6}\)Bartholomae *AIW*, c. 1029.

\(^{7}\)Formally equivalent to OHG fuoga strf. 'joint', although in the OHG glosses this translates Lat. experientia. See Wells, p. 183, s.v. fuoga.

\(^{8}\)Already in the Duenos inscription if Steinbauer's reading paca rivos is correct. On the other hand pācāre could be a lengthened grade iterative of the célē type. Paca could then be the verbal noun of iterative *pākā-. 
Sabellic *pēku-

A -u- stem to the root *pēk-, although not directly attested, can be reconstructed from such names as Osc. Pacuies (Vett. 223), Lat. Pēcuvius < *pēk(ā)y-ījos and Oscan Paakul, < *p ēk-u-lo-, Pakullis.9 'Pēku- may have been the name of a god,10 given the common use of "sacral -u-" in the formation of divine names, e.g. Umb. Trebu-'god of the *trebs' which replaces an older -o-stem Trebo- , Fisu-'god of trust (fides)' < *Bhidh-tu- (cf. the derivatives Fisouio- and Fisouino-), Latin lanus -ī and lanus -ūs 'door, door god' (cf. lanu-arius 'January' etc.),11 and given the parallel derivation of personal names from divine names, e.g. Osc. Trebūs from *treb(ūy)-ījo- (Umb. Trebo-) and Māmērīs from *mamert-ījo- (Osc. Māmers 'Mars'). On the other hand, the common Oscan name Pakis is probably *Pēk-ījos built to *Pēko- an -o-stem by form of *Pēku-. For the co-occurrence of -iyo-derivatives from both the -u- and -o- stem forms of an underlying divine

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9The -u- here cannot, of course, be the result of weakening as in Latin. -U- sometimes occurs in Sabellic in non-initial syllables where some other vowel is etymologically expected but only before a labial. See Buck GOU, pp. 55-56. For -u-lo- from -u-stems cf. παχυλός 'thickish' < παχύς 'thick', Skt. PN Bhānulaḥ < bhānu- 'light'. See Brugmann II 1, p. 368.
10Presumably this hypothesized god is not to be directly equated with the Roman Pax which did not make her appearance before 44 B.C.E. See Latte p. 300.
11See Schulze EN, p. 473.
name, cf. Umbr *Fisio- 'of the god of faith' < *fis-iyo- < *bhidh-to + iyo- vs. *Fisio- < *bhidh-toy-iyo-.\(^{12}\)

Oscan prupukid

Oscan prupukid 'by prior agreement ?' (Vetter 2) is undoubtedly a derivative of the root *p̄ak-, although its exact analysis is unclear. On one theory, prupukid < *pro-poh₂k-i(yo)-\(^{13}\) is compared with governing compounds like Latin extorritis 'driven from one's country' that have a second member with o-grade, and the suffix -i- or -iyo-.\(^{14}\) This explanation is not without difficulties.

The original distribution of the suffixes -i- and -iyo- in the second

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\(^{12}\)In the case of Fisu- it is the -u- stem form which is the original, if the etymology from *bhid-tu- is correct. On the other hand, original -o- stems were also replaced by -u- stems, e.g. Consu-alia 'festival of Consus' vs. Consus, -i 'God of seed' < *kom-dh-tos < *kom-dh₂-to- literally 'the laid away' that is, a personification of the seed stored underground for the following season, with early loss of laryngeal in compound as in Skt. PN Devatātah 'god-given' < *deiyo-d-to- < *deiyo-dh₂-to-, as was seen already by W-H, I, p.266.

\(^{13}\)On the reconstruction of the root vocalism, see above. If the reconstruction with inherent a vocalism is correct, then *prōpōki(yo-) would have to be analogical to cases of e₂h₂-oh₂ ablaut. It is ambiguous whether prupukid is an -i- stem or an -iyo- stem. The ablative -id is etymologically proper to the -i- stems, but it is clear that the declension of words in -iyo- was sometimes influenced by the -i- stems, cf. Osc. serevkiid < *servikijō- 'auspicia'. See Buck GOU, p. 121.

\(^{14}\)A. Walde, Innsbrucker Festgruss, p. 98.
member of such compounds is not immediately clear from Latin. *Extorris* < *ex terra* is a prepositional governing compound, as is *enormis* having no regular or definite shape < *ex norma*, but prepositional governing compounds seem normally to have used the suffix -*ijo*- in PIE e.g. *egregius* 'outstanding' < *ex grege*, *ξυάλιος* 'on the sea', Ved. Skt. *ádhi-gartya*- 'in the chariot seat' < *garta*- 'seat'. The suffix -*i-*, on the other hand, appears to have been originally limited to *bahuvṛhiśis* like *ineimis* 'having no weapons': *arma*, Grk. *φαλκής* 'without strength': *φαλκή* 'might', Ved. Skt. *sú-gandhi*- 'having a good smell': *gandhá*-. But Latin also uses the suffix -*ijo*- at least in one example, *acupediús*; 'swift-footed' (Paul. ex Fest. p. 9 M). The use of the suffix -*ijo*- in bahuvṛhiśis, however, is not a PIE pattern. The apparent examples of the -*ijo*- suffix added to *bahuvṛhiśis* in Vedic and Avestan are, as Schindler has shown, (Oxford ECIEC) metrically determined *Streckformen*. Therefore, it seems from the comparative evidence that *bahuvṛhiśis* could be extended with -*i-* and prepositional governing compounds with -*ijo*- in Latin this distribution has been disturbed. But *prupukid* itself seems to be neither a *bahuvṛhiś* nor a prepositional governing compound. Rather it is an endocentric

15The thematic vowel was also a possibility, e.g. Greek *ξφαλασ* 'on the sea' (Hom. +).
compound with an adverb as first member, i.e. prupuki- means 'an agreement that is before.' Cf. Grk. προλόγος 'prologue' < 'the λόγος that is before.' Endocentric compounds, admittedly very rare in PIE, would not in the first instance be expected to show either o-grade or an -i- or -iɔ- extension in their second members. Thus, from the point of view of PIE morphology. *pro-poh₂k-i(jo)- is ill-formed. But in light of Latin's (and possibly Italic's) confused distribution of features marking the various types of compounds, it is not inconceivable that the o-grade -i-/iɔ- pattern was extended even to endocentric compounds. This may have been particularly easy when, as in the case of *pro-poh₂ki(jo)-, the endocentric compound began with a preverb / preposition and thus was apt to be confused with a prepositional governing compound. That such an extension did, in fact, take place, at least in Latin, is suggested by meditullium 'land that is in the middle (cf. Paul. Fest. p. 123 M. procuit a mare 'far from the sea') < *medi(o)-toll-iɔ-16

15 Unless this is in effect a governing compound, '(located) in the middle of the land, inland' As Leumann LG, p. 406 has pointed out medi- in meditullium stands for in medio. Could this be a trace of the adverb *medhī- OHG miti 'with' < *medhī which is assumed to underlie *medhios? On the other hand, medi-tullium could be regular from *me₃jɔ-tol-, since the syncope of a short vowel in an open syllable after j is before the epenthesis of i between a consonant and j ( cf. capit from *kapjẹtī not *capit from *kapijẹtī). Therefore, meridie must be analogical to pridie etc. and not from *medjọ-djẹ-.
According to another theory, *prupukid* is from *pro-paki-(jo)*- (possibly < *pro-phk-i(jo)*-) with rounding of an unstressed vowel adjacent to a labial, cf. Osc. praefucus < *praifakus* 'praefectus' and Umbr. prehubia 'praebat' < *praihabijād*. In itself, the assumption of rounding is unobjectionable. On the other hand, the short vowel must be explained. This can be most easily done if one assumes that *pro-pak-i(jo)*- is deverbal abstract from an unattested compound verb *pro-pak-a* - 'to agree beforehand'. An appropriate zero-grade or short a vocalism present is attested in OLatin pacisco / paciscor 'to agree' (Naev.) which may replace even older Latin paco (*Lex XII*), (cf. OLatin nancio 'reach' (Gracchus) vs. nanciscor), and the suffix -i(jo)- is well-established in this function, e.g. desiderium 'desire' < desidero 'I desire', invidia 'envy' < invideo 'I envy', studium 'enthusiasm' < studeo. 'I devote myself'. All in all, the second hypothesis is considerably more straightforward.\(^{18}\)

\(^{17}\)See W-H, II, p. 230.

\(^{18}\)Could it be that Latin has an exact cognate of Osc. prupukijō- which has hitherto gone unnoticed? The Cremonan jurist Alfenus Varus *iur. 1* states: *novum novicium et proprium proprium dicimus, auger etque intendere volentes novi et propri significationem*. We say novicium for *novum* 'new' and proprium for *proprium* 'one’s own' when we want to magnify and stretch the sense of *novus* and *proprius*. Now while Varus is correct in deriving *novicius* 'newly-purchased' from *novus*, he could not possibly be correct in taking *propicius*, which is attested nowhere else, from *proprius*. To mention only the most obvious problem with Varus’
Sabellic *pakri-

The Sabellic languages also have an -i- stem adjective *pakri- 'propitious', Umbrian pacer nom. s. (TI vi a 23 etc.), pacre(c) nom. pl. (TI vi b 61) and Marrucinian pacris nom. pl. (Vett. 218). This may be compared with PGmc. *fagraz. OHG fagar, OE lægr, OS fagar, and ON fagr all have the meaning 'beautiful'. 19 But Gothic fagrs preserves a more archaic meaning 'fitting' 'suitable'. 20 If this comparison is correct, the -i- stem of Sabellic may be secondary. The co-occurrence of an of -ri- stem alongside a -ro- stem is closely paralleled by the case of Italic *sākri- (porci sācres, Osc. sakrid) beside sakro- (Latin sacer < *sakro-)

'sacred' 21 Sakro- with inherent a vocalism to judge from Hittite

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19 The meaning of Mod. English fair, as in fair weather i.e. propitious weather is not attested before 1205 according to the OED, and cannot be directly compared with the meaning of Sabellic pakri-

20Fagrs translates εὐθετόν 'suitable, well-fitting' (Lk.14.35). Unfagrs translates ἀχαρίστος 'ungracious' (Lk.6.35). Gafahrjan translates κατασκευασμένον 'equipped' (Lk.1.17).

21 Another more problematic parallel seems to be Latin ācer 'sharp' (Umbr. per-akrid 'in perfect condition') < *ākri- vs. Grk. ἄκρος 'at the farthest point'. Schindler, LuE, p. 390, has explained ācer as a vṛddhied
śaklaïš 'ritual' made a neuter substantive *sakrom (Latin sacrum 'religious rite') from which in turn a vr̥ddhied -i- stem *sākri- 'belonging to the rites' was derived. In Latin sacri- modifies pigs destined to be sacrificed (Plautus Rud. 1208: sunt domi agni et porci sācres 'There are lambs and sacrificial piglets at home.' etc.) In Umbrian sacri- / sakri-, alongside the more archaic adjectival function (e.g. Ti 1 a 18), has also been substantivized in the meaning 'hostia' 'victim' (e.g. Ti ii 1 a 5.).

In view of this evidence, it seems reasonable to assume that Sabellian pākri- is the result of the same derivational process as *sākri- or, perhaps more probably, has analogically replaced *pakro- (Germanic *fagráz) on the analogy of the rhyming and semantically adjacent pair *sakro- *sākri-. A trace of the original -o- stem may be found in the -i- stem derivative of a substantivized neuter of the adjective h₂akkar o (Gk. ἄκρος etc.). Such a neuter substantive exists in Greek ἄκρον 'mountain top' (Hom. +). This type is well established particularly in Germanic, the classic example being ON d'oll 'valley dweller' < *dōliz from dalr 'valley' < *dalaz. For the derivation of a vr̥ddhied -i- stem from a substantivized adjective, Schindler compares Av. xšaodri- 'alcoholic' from xšudram 'alcohol' the substantivized neuter of xšudram- 'liquid'. But the semantic connection between 'sharp' and 'at the furthest point' is somewhat difficult to explain. Furthermore, ēcer could at the earliest be derived after coloration of h₂e to h₂a since *h₂ ēkri- would have become Italic *èkri--That Italic had no secondary coloration of long è is clear from materès < *(i)ēh₂s

22 Early substantivization of *sakrom is suggested by sacer-dōs 'priest' < *'he who performs the rite'.
Etruscan cognomen *Pacre which could be borrowed from *pákros. Cf. Etruscan *hāpre from Italic *fabro- Lat. *faber 'smith'. On the other hand, it is by no means clear, to me at least, that an Italic *pākris would not also result in Etruscan *pacre.

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23See H. Rix Cognomen, p. 227.
Proto-Italic *pet-s ped-es

There is little to say about this word. In PIE it clearly had o/e ablaut, which can be reconstructed from Grk. πούς, ποδός vs. Latin pēs, pedis. In Italic the e-grade was generalized in the simplex: Latin pēs < *p-e-tēs, pedem; Umbrian persi / peffî. ¹ There are, however, some special Umbrian problems of interest.

Umbrian persi / peffî

The Umbrian ablative singular of the word for foot, peffî / persi is always written with a final <i/i>, whereas the abl. sing. of other consonant stems (< PIE locative *-i) is always written e/e. There are numerous possible explanations for this. Buck suggests that peffî is the result of the 'encroachment of the -i- stem ending.'² But the Umbrian consonant stem, unlike the Latin, has not undergone full-scale influence of the i-stem.³ Meiser suggests that peffî may reflect the old PIE instrumental *pedehî.⁴ Certainly there is nothing to rule this out, but this would be a

¹Oscan pedû is a possible restoration in the Tabula Bantina l. 56. for edû.
²Buck GOU, p. 125.
³The only ending of the consonant stem paradigm of -i- stem origin is the gen sing. This is, however, meaningless, since the -i- stem genitive is the only masc. gen. ending there is.
⁴Meiser, p. 114.
hoary archaism and pe défini regularly has locatival sense. Perhaps the most likely explanation is also suggested by Meiser: pe défini is due to the influence of the -u- stem abl. sing. mani.'hand' This is most probable for a number of reasons. First, the Umbrian -u- stem paradigm clearly did influence the Umbrian consonant stems since the dative / ablative plural of consonant stems is -us < *ufs < *ubhos with a union vowel derived from the -u- stem paradigm, e.g. fratrus 'fratribus', iomonus 'hominibus'.

Second, there is clear evidence for the contamination of the paradigms of the words for hand and foot. In Latin, manus is feminine, which, given the infrequency of the feminine gender in the fourth declension, is probably an archaism. This is confirmed by the South Picene (Marinetti AP 2) suals manus 'suis manibus.' But in Umbrian manu- is masculine. This is clear from mani nertru 'manu sinistra' 'with the left hand' (T1 vi b 24), under the influence of the masculine gender of pe défini. What is more, the phrase mani nertru occurs in close connection with destruco persi 'dextra pede' 'at the right foot' (T1 vi b 24) in what is clearly some sort of ritually meaningful contrast. It is in just such contexts that one expects contaminations to occur. Thus pe défini was probably modelled on mani.

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5Whereas Oscan like Latin uses i from the -i- stems as a union vowel: Lat -ibus, Osc. ligis 'legibus'.

6The gender of Osc. manim TB l. 56, is unknown.
But that is not the limit of the interaction of *manu- and *ped- in Italic. It is also probable that the paradigm of *manu- underwent the influence of the paradigm of *ped-.

Consonant stem by forms of manu- 'hand'

Besides the clear -ui- stem, forms mani, manuv-e, which are supported by the evidence of Oscan manim, Latin manus, and probably South Picene manus abl. pl., Umbrian also has a consonant stem accusative plural, manf. This is seen by W-H as a trace of an older root noun *man-s for which they see further evidence in the Latin compounds mancēps 'a contractor'. mancus,'having an injured right hand', mando 'entrust', mansuetus 'tame' and malluviae 'water in which hands have been washed'. But there is no reason why mancēps, mando, and mansuetus cannot be simply syncopated from *manu-kap-s, *manu(m)-dhe-, and *manu-syētos respectively. For syncope in nearly identical environments, cf. princeps 'taking the first position' < *primo-kap-s,

7Unfortunately the value of this form is uncertain because it is not excluded that South Picene, like Umbrian, could have extended the u of the -ui- stems to serve as a union vowel in the dative ablative plural of consonant stems. There are, to my knowledge, no other clear examples of a consonant stem dative ablative plural in South Picene.
8W-H II, p.35. The same opinion is expressed by E-M, p. 386.
antae 'square pilasters' < *anata-etc. ⁹ As for mancus and malluviae, although they too could be the results of syncope (for malluviae, cf. ullus, < *uine-lus), they are more probably considered Oppositionsbildungen to *pecco- (< *ped-ko- inferrable from peccare 'to sin') and pelluviae 'water in which feet have been washed' < *ped-louijai.

Considering the lack of unambiguous evidence pointing to a root-noun in Italic and elsewhere, one is led to conclude that Umbr. manf is a secondary root-noun. This could all the more easily have taken place, if one assumes that Umbrian inherited a correspondent to the Latin phrase manibus pedi:usque with all one's strength' (e.g. Ter. An. 161). In Pre-Umbrian this would have regularly become *manufs et pedufs, since as noted above, Umbrian extended the u of the -u- stem declension as a union vowel to the dat. / abl. of the consonant stems. When this phrase was transformed into the accusative the natural result would have been *manf et pedf.

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⁹Although antae < *anatā- might be from *h₂enḫ₃tah₂-, it is probably better derived from a pre-form *h₂θh₃tah₂ with secondarily accented zero-grade in the light of Skt. étāś 'door-posts'.
Proto-Sabellic *prēk-s

Umbrian *prēk-s 'bulwark'\(^1\)

Ti vi a 12-16 describe the borders of the Igvine state. Within this description we find the phrase (l.13) tertiam praco pracatarum.\(^2\) Formally praco could be taken either as a genitive plural agreeing with pracatarum, i.e. 'to the third of the "pracated prac-s" or as an accusative singular, i.e. 'to the third "prac-" of the "pracated" ones'. In either case, it is most probably interpreted as a root noun. The other conceivable possibility, i.e. that praco is a feminine -os stem is unlikely given the rarity and narrow semantic scope of such forms. Feminine -os stems are, to judge by Latin, usually the names of trees (alnus f. 'alder', fagus f. 'beech' = Grk. φυγός etc.)\(^3\) and, while a tree name is not impossible in

\(^1\)praco p... also occurs on a Paelignian funerary inscription (Vetter 213). The context is wholly unclear, although a meaning sepulcrum is posited by Vetter and others. See Jiménez-Zamudio, p. 23, who also translates sepulcrum. It is, of course, entirely possible that the two praco's are the same word. The semantic shift 'defensive work' to 'tomb' is not at all suprising given the well-known fear of revenantism in the ancient world, some Italic details of which I hope to explore elsewhere.

\(^2\)Incidentally, the modification of a noun by the past participle of a verb derived from that noun is paralleled in Latin e.g. in Plautus Merc. 843 spem speratam 'hoped-for hope'. For a discussion of this and related phenomena see E.S. McCartney 'Modifiers that reflect the etymology of Words modified', CI Ph, 22, 1927, p.184f. Cf. also Ti vi a 5 stahmei stahmaitelai's 'stationi stabilitae'.

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this context, it is hard to see what *pracatarum* would then mean.

It is clear from the structure of the passage in question that the *praco*

is the furthest thing in this direction still within the bounds of the city (TI, vi

12-14 with Buck’s Latin translation):

*tuderor totcor: vapersusto avieclir ebetrafe, ooserclome, presoliate*

*Nurpier,*

*Fines Urbici: ab sellis auguraliis ad exitus ,ad *observaculum, ad -----*

*Nurpii ,

*vasirslome, smursime, tettome Miletnar, tertiamo praco pracatarum;*

*ad -----, ad -----, ad ----- Mitetinae, ad tertiam praco pracatarum;*

*vapersusto avieclir.carsome vestiʃier randem4 nufre, tettome noniar,*

*ab sellis auguralibus, ad ----- Vesticii, ad iugum Rubri, ad ----- Noniae,*

*tettome salier, carsome hoier, pertome padellar. *

*ad ----- Salii, ad -----Hoii, ad ----- Patellae*

Note that *tertiamo praco pracatarum* is the last accusative NP before the
definition of the boundaries in another direction starts over again with the

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3See Meillet, *MSL*, 14, 1908, pp. 478-479.

4*Randem* should perhaps be compared with dial. Ncrw. *rind* f. ‘ridge, 

crest, ridge of hills’, Crimean Gothic *rintsch* ‘mons’ < *rendhís. The

Umbrian form provisionally translated as ‘ridge’ could reflect a pre-form

*rndhis.* For the development of *g* to *an* in accented syllables, see

Meiser, p. 70. For *-ndh-* becoming *-nd-* in Umbrian, see Meiser, p. 76.
repetition of the ablative, *vapersusto avieclir* from the augural seats' literally 'stones'. It is not inconceivable, then, that *praco* is one of a series of some kind of defensive structure.

Buck's etymology of *präks*

This is perhaps what Buck had in mind when he translated 'ad tertium *saepium saepatarum* 'to the third of the hedged-in hedges', although he was probably led to this idea by his comparison with Med. Latin *parcus* 'enclosure' and Latin *parco* 'I spare'. This etymology cannot be correct. Med. Latin *parcus* certainly does not belong here since it comes from an older *parricus* 'transportierbare und zusammensetzbare Hörden innerhalb deren Schafe lagern oder weiden' (*Lex Ripuaria* 8th cent.). *Parricus*, in turn, is a derivative of a Pre-Romance *parra* 'stick, pole'.

Etymology of *parco*

A convincing etymology for *parco* has yet to be suggested. In my

\[6\] Beside from the connection with supposed Oscan cognates *[kū]mparakinis* 'contionis', *comparascuster* 'consulta erit', all other comparisons are considered doubtful by W-H, I, p. 256. E-M, p. 482 don't even bother to mention the Oscan words (*Pass d'étymologie connue*), with good reason, since the semantic connection between *parco* and the
opinion, a possible *comparandum may be Hittite *pē ḥark- 'to keep'
which is itself a compound of the preverb *pē 'away' < *pe (in ablaut with
OCS po, Lith. pa, Latin po in *pono < *po-sino) and the verb ḥark-
'hold' < *h₂erk- (Grk. ἀρκέω 'I ward off', Latin arceo 'I contain'). Now if
*pē-h₂ark- 'keep off, hold away' had existed in the ancestor of Italic it
surely would have quickly become obscure and with coloring *pēh₂ark-
would have become *pah₂ark- > *p ārk- and finally *park- with
shortening by Osthoff's law. This etymological connection of parco with
the root *h₂erk- is supported by the remarkable semantic overlap of
cerceo <*koarké- and compesco <*komparkské-. Compare the
following nearly synonymous senses:
1. To restrain within bounds a) Hor. Carm. 2.18. 30: hic superbum
Tantalum coercet 'This restrains haughty Tantalus' b) Hor. Carm.
2.14.9: qui ter amplum Geryonem Tityonque tristi compescitunda 'Who
Oscan words is none too clear, though I don't doubt that there is a
connection of some sort.

7On the reconstruction of *pē as *pe, see Meichert, p. 162. H. Eichner,
however, reconstructs *poi. The original meaning of this preverb was
'away, out' to judge by the agreement of Hitt. pē, Baltic pa in e.g. Lith.
pa-bēgti 'to run away', and Latv padzēt 'to turn out (one's son of the
house)' (see Endzelnis CPMBL, p. 275) and Iranian pa- in YAves. pa-
zd’yēiti 'chase away' MParth. przd- 'to frighten', Khot. Saka tvaśd- 'to
transfer' < *ati-pa-zdaya-. See R.L. Fischer, "Po- in Slavic and Iranian",
KZ, 91, 1977, p. 219-230. In Slavic the sense of po has been so
weakened that it serves mainly as a perfectivizing preverb.
three times restrains large Geryon and Tityon with the gloomy water.
3. To bound, shut in (of topographical feature) a) Liv. 27.47.11: *coercentibus amnis ripis* a river with confining banks' b) Silius 3.599: *compescit ripis Rhenum* 'confines the Rhine with banks'
4. To suppress, inhibit a disease a) Cels. 7.7.14.f: *inflammationem coercet* 'Let him check the inflammation'; Hor. *Epod.* 9.35: *nauseam* b) Verg. *Georg.* 3.468: *culpum ferro compesce* 'Check the contagion with a sword'; Pliny 34.154: *haemorrhoidas compescet* 'will check the piles'
5. To keep under physical control (of a horse) a) Ov. *Met.* 5.642: *frenisque coercuit* 'and with the bridle checked' b) Tib. 1.4.11: *habenis equum compescit* 'checks the horse with reins'
6. To keep under control (of men) a) Verg. *Ae.* 9.27: *coercat iuvenes* 'They keep the young men under control.' b) Suet. *Cal.* 1.1: *legiones compescuit* 'He kept the legions under control'
7. To bring under order, control a) Sal. *Jug.* 91.7: *neque beneficio neque metu coercitum* 'controlled by neither fear nor favor' b) Publ. *M49*:
metus improbcs non clemencia compescit 'Fear, not clemency, restrains the wicked.'

8. To suppress by war a) Scip. Elog. 13: Hannibalem coercuit 'He suppressed Hannibal.' b) V. Max. 6.9.6: Mithridatem compescuit 'He suppressed Mithridates.'

Surely this overlap cannot be the result of the preverb unless the verbs themselves were basically similar in meaning.

If this etymology is correct, the original construction of parco would have been, no doubt, with the accusative. Such a construction is found not infrequently in Old Latin. Of particular interest is the clearly archaic ritual command preserved by Paul Fest. p.222M parcito linguam in sacrificiis dicebatur, id est coercito, contineto, taceto 'parcito linguam was said at sacrifices, that is restrain, withhold, keep quiet'. Cf. also Plautus Mil. 1221 ne parce vocem ut audiat 'Don't hold back your voice so that he may hear'. The dative was probably originally a dative of advantage, e.g. *parcito linguam populo Romano 'Don't speak for the sake of the Roman people.' Subsequently the accusative was dropped and the dative was reinterpreted as the direct object.8

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8This etymology may help to explain the uncertainty in forming the perfect of parco. Old Latin had parsi (Pit. +), parci (Naev. ), and peparci before Classical Latin finally settled down on the reduplicated perfect.
This etymology of *parco would be greatly strengthened if one could point to another clear example of the *pe- in Latin. While there are several probable cases of *po- in Latin, e.g. *porceso, 'I prevent' (Enn. +), *polubrum, 'wash-basin' (Andr. +), *pono 'I put', and perhaps *polio, 'I polish' (Lex XII +), no one has, to my knowledge, attempted to identify a reflex of *pe-.  

Nevertheless I believe that there is at least one nearly certain example of *pe- in Latin. In my opinion, the Latin verb *pālor 'to wander' can best be derived from *pe-ēh₂(ê)eēh₂ētōr and is to be compared with Greek ἀλάμπω 'to wander' from an uncompounded *h₂(ê)eēh₂ētōr. There is no competing etymology of with any degree of plausibility.

E-M suggest that it might be a lengthened-grade intensive like vēnari 'hunt' < venire 'come' to a root *pāl- ultimately to be compared with Greek πάλη 'wandering.' This would be a pure root etymology. Furthermore, it requires a pre-Latin root shape *pāl- which would best be generated before a lost laryngeal the existence of which is made unlikely by the

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9I should not fail to mention Calvert Watkin's comparison of Hittite pe ḫark- with Latin porceso HSCP, 1968, V. 74, p. 74. In my opinion this comparison should also be upheld, with the modification that porceso be seen as an inner Latin recompounding of po-arceso replacing the more archaic and obscure parco, the more exact cognate of pe ḫark-.

10This verb is probably also attested in Latin ambulo 'I walk around' < *amb(l)-alo See. W-H, I, p. 38.

Greek πλάνη, < *pînēh₂, or by a hard to justify Lindemann variant. Next a lengthened grade iterative formation would have to be built to *pal-
treated as if it were a full-grade. This is a complicated an unlikely chain of events.

W-H consider most likely the theory that pēlor is a denominative to an unattested adjective *pāls < *pandslo-. Cf. pando 'I spread'. To judge from the semantics of other Latin examples of deverbal *-slo-, one would have expected such an adjective to have had active or instrumental meaning. Cf. e.g. pālus 'stake' originally "fixer' from *pak-slos from the root *pāk- 'fix' (paxillum, 'a wooden peg', pāx 'peace', paco 'I come to an agreement'); mantēlum 'hand-napkin' originally "hand-wiper", < *manu-terg-slam, from the root *terg- (tergeo 'I wipe') prēlum 'wine press' < *prem-slo (premo 'I press') scēlæ 'staircase' originally "ascenders' < *skand-slai (scando 'I climb') and vēlum 'sail' originally 'conveyor' < *yēgh-slo (veho 'I convey').¹² Therefore *pandslo-
probably would have meant 'spreading, spreader'. A denominative verb might have meant 'I make a spreading' and the passive might have meant 'I am made to spread' > 'I am put into disarray > I wander'. But if this

¹²Not from the root *yeg- 'weave' (Olr. figim etc.) which is otherwise unattested in Latin.
etymology is correct, one is surprised to find no trace of the underlying
*pâlo- or the original active meaning or inflexion of pâlor.

On the other hand, the etymology proposed here requires little
explanation. The proto-form *h₂(ε)leh₂jetor required for Greek and Latin
would be an exact morphological equation, down to the non-trivial details
of the intensive suffix *-eh₂le- and medial only inflection. One need only
assume that *h₂(e)leh₂jetor was combined with the suffix *pe- which
carried the approximate meaning 'off, away' as in Hittite.13 Furthermore
pâlor and ἀλάομαί are quite precise synonyms. For example, they both
mean 'to wander for the purpose of plunder, foraging etc.' Cf. for pâlor,
Liv. 2.26.3 obsidionis taedio victi abscedunt vagique per agros palantur
'Worn out by the tedium of the siege they go away and wander dispersed
through the fields'. Cf. for ἀλάομαί Od. 9. 253 τοί τῇ ἀλάωνται ἐνχάς
παρθένοι. '(Are you pirates) who wander staking your lives?' Compare
also Aesch. Ag. 192-194: πυοι δ' ἀπὸ Στρυμὼνος μολούσαι κακόσχολαι
νῆστιδες, δύσορμοι, βροτῶν ἄλαι , 'Winds coming from Strymon, evil
leisure without food, bad moorings, wanderings of men' where ἄλαι
describes the foraging expeditions of the sailors hemmed in by
unfavorable winds. For the semantic conjunction of 'wander' and an

13 *po- h₂e(e)leh₂jetor would probably have contracted to *pŏlatur. Cf.
cŏgō 'I compel' < *ko-agō.
adprep meaning 'off', compare the English idiom 'to wander off'. It is likely that the prehistoric force of *pe- was still felt to some degree in early Latin and strengthened by the addition of the nearly synonymous preverb dis- to form palor's classical compound dispalor (Sisenna +) and dispalesco (Plautus).

Another probable example of the preverb *pe- in Latin is, in my opinion, pēdis 'louse' from *pe-h,ēdis 'the one that eats away.' Although I am little familiar with the ways of lice, it seems to me that this derivation is preferable to that of W-H which compares pēdis with pēdō 'to fart silently'.\(^{14}\) For the derivation of an insect name from the verb 'to eat' one may compare Lith. ūdopes 'mosquito' from the root *h,ēd- 'eat'.

A third possible example of *pe- may be pestis 'physical destruction' from *pe-kītis or *pe-sitis. Cf. Greek φθόρις and Skt. kṣīti- 'perishing, decay.' For the syncope, cf. dexter < *deksiteros = Greek δεξιοπόσ. The simplex may survive with semantic weakening in Latin sitiis 'thirst.' Of course, pestis could just as well be from *per-sitis with intensive per-.

But compare the English idiom 'wasting away'.\(^{15}\)

\(^{15}\)Provisionally, I would like to suggest another Latin-Hittite particle-isogloss. The third and fourth lines of the cult hymn of the Fratres Arvales read satur / fu fere Mars / limen sali / sta berber / semunis / alternei / advocapit / concitos. Following the interpretation offered by Norden, passim one
Finally, it is worth noting the South Picene *pdufem* (Marinetti CH. 1).

The meaning of this word is unclear, yet it the sequence *pd* at the beginning of a word would probably arise through syncope, and since syncope of an accented syllable is unlikely, one is led to conclude that *pd* results from the combination of an unstressed adprep *p*/*y/- and a noun or verb *dufem*\(^{16}\). A likely candidate for this preverb would then be *pe*- or *po*-. In further support of this idea one may cite the form *kdufeniui* which by the same argumentation may best be derived from *kv-dufeniui*.

\(^{16}\)On the other hand, one does find such spellings as Pael. *pperci* and *Ptruania*. See Parker, p. 96 n. 16.
Marinetti has plausibly compared this *kV- with Latin ce-do and Oscan ce-bnust which undoubtedly means approximately 'hither'. Therefore it seems possible that *ke- 'hither' and *pe- 'away' originally formed an antonymic preverb pair reminiscent of German 'hin und her'.

If connection of praco with parco seems to be impossible, are there any other plausible etymological connections? If the meaning of praco is approximately 'bulwark', a possible comparandum may exist, in my opinion, in Tocharian A prākār B prākre 'firm' < *preh₂k-rós or pṛh₂k-rós. The existence of an adjective in -ro- besides a root noun is well paralleled. Cf OIr. rú 'redness' < *h₁rudh-s vs. ruber 'red' < *h₁rudh-ro-. Thus the meaning of pṛh₂k-s would originally have been

17Marinetti, p. 112, n. 74.
18The latter reconstruction is also suggested by W. Winter, EFL², p. 191, although without any particular etymology in mind. For *CRh₂₀C > CRāC in Tocharian, see K.T. Schmidt, 'Spuren tieftufliger set Würzeln im Tocharischen Verbsystem', in FS Neumann, pp. 362-372 and J.Hilmarsson, 'Toch. kāc, Lat. cutis, Olc. hūd < IE kuHtiś 'skin', KZ, 98, 1985, pp. 162-163. But see M. Peters, 'Zur Frage struktureller uneinheitliche Laryngalreflexe', in Laryngaltheorie, pp. 377-378. Note, in particular, that TA prākronē 'firmness' is used of the earth. mānt wāknē tkanis prākrone māsrone 'qualis terrae firmitas et pondus. See Poucha, p. 199, s.v. It is also interesting to note that prākār is used in a polyptoton-like construction reminiscent of praco pracratum :291a 3 yetus waširšim prākroneyo prākri 'adorning herself firmly with the firmness of a thunderbolt (?)
19With lengthening in an accented monosyllable. Cf. sé 'six' vs. Latin sex. See CCGC, p. 81.
'fastness' which subsequently developed the meaning 'defensive structure' or 'bulwark'. Cf. the meaning of OE fæsntys which glosses munimen 'rampart', and Mod. English 'fastness' in such phrases as 'mountain fastness' and German Feste 'fortress'.

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20 Van Windekens I, p. 390 comparison of prākṛte with Ep. Skt. pracura-'beaucoup de' a derivative of the anīṭ root *prek- (Skt. praṇakti 'mixes') has little to recommend it. Van Windekens reconstructs a pre-form *prōk-roṣ with a highly unusual lengthened o-grade.