Proto-Italic *sal-s, sal-es 'salt'

This root noun is securely reconstructable for Proto-Italic from the agreement of Umbrian ēsalu acc. s (Tl II a 18 the spelling <ś> is, no doubt, simply an error for <s>) and Latin salī, salis.\textsuperscript{1,2}

Etymology of *sals

Reconstructed Italic *sal-s can be directly compared with Greek ἀλας ἄλος m. 'salt', f. 'sea' and probably with OCS sol̄, an -i- stem originating in the accusative of a root-noun in the well established Balto-Slavic fashion. Elsewhere the root-noun has been replaced in various ways.\textsuperscript{3}

\textsuperscript{1}The long ē of the nominative is not securely attested, but only in the rather untrustworthy Statius Sil. iv.9.2 and in the very untrustworthy Ausonius Epigr. 8. See Warren Cowgill, 'The Scource of Latin vi̊s 'thou wilt', Die Sprache, 24,1, 1978, p. 26. It is not likely to represent a trace of *sall < *sals at such a late date. See Sommer, KE, p. 108. The neuter nominative sale (Ennius Ann. Sk. 378) is analogical to mare.

\textsuperscript{2}Another probably inherited trace of *sals is insula 'island'. In a prepositional governing compound, the second member could be extended either by -o- or -ijo- Cf. Ved. Skt. ādhi-gartya- 'auf dem Wagensitze befindlich') In Greek there exist both εἰνάλος (Hom. + with metrical lengthening of the first syllable) and εἶναλος (H. Ap.180 +) 'in the sea'. From the PIE pre-form of the latter option *en-salos Latin derived an -h₂ substantivization 'the thing in the sea' *ensalā (cf. patria 'fatherland' beside patrius 'paternal') which became insula 'island' See W-H and E-M s.v.

\textsuperscript{3}Arm. has an -i- stem at (cf. perhaps Greek ἄλλα- in e.g. ἄλλα-μυρῆται
Besides this root noun, Italic also inherited a -de/o- present of PIE antiquity found in Latin sallo salsum 'I salt'. Cf. OHG etc. salzan 'to salt'.

Salaputium: An Oceanism in Catullus?

There is, in my opinion, one other bit of evidence for *sal-s in Sabellic: the mysterious salaputium of Catullus 53 (meter: hendecasyllabic):

Risi nescioquem modo e corona
qui, cum minifice Vatiniana
meus crimina Calvos explicasset
admirans ait haec manusque tollens,
di magni, salaputium disertum.

'I laughed just now at some guy from the bleachers. When my friend Calvus presented the charges against Vatinus with skill, he raised his hands in admiration and said: "Great gods salaputium disertum!"

'Flowing to the sea' etc.). For the occasional extension of root nouns by -i- in Arm. cf. inst. sg. siri-v 'heart' (= Grk. κάρδι), and inst. pl. oti-bk 'feet' (= Grk. ποδός) etc. See Brugmann, II,1, p. 175. In Celtic the root-noun seems to have been extended by an n formant in OIr. salann salt' Welsh halen OCom, haloin < *saleino-'id'. An Unextended form survives, however, in OIr. saíthíthen. salinarum 'salters' See Vendyres, LEIA, S-17. An -n- formant is also perhaps behind the inflection of TA sályi TB sále and OCS slan't, < *sölnt. There is also evidence for a -v- stem adjective in the river name *Aluv (S. Bugge, KZ, 32, p 81) and álvkos 'salt' and 'brackish' and in Lithuanian saldús and OCS slad'sk̑v 'sweet' reflecting an original *salus contaminated with the verb *salde- 'to salt'.

4 From this verb Germanic has derived the noun 'salt' P. Gmc. *salta (Goth salt n. ON salt OS salt OE seait OHG salz).
Salaputium has been much discussed in the literature on Catullus, yet a definitive explanation has not been reached.\(^5\) Perhaps, the most important advance towards an explanation of salaputium was made by Pisani.\(^6\) He pointed out that the word cannot be Latin because a short a in a non initial syllable cannot survive as such but must be weakened to i.\(^7\) He therefore proposed to analyze the word as an Ocean compound made up of sal 'salt' and *putio- 'grinder' supposedly from the root of Latin pavio 'to pound', i.e. 'phallus'. The translation of the last line would then be 'great gods! A learned salt grinder!' But pavio never means 'to grind' in Latin,\(^8\) and we are fortunate enough to know that the vox propria for the grinding of salt in Sabellic was male- (cf. Lat. molo), cf. TI 2.18 šalu maletu 'salem molitum' 'ground salt'. Therefore, Pisani,

\(^6\) RHM, 1953, 96, p. 181.
\(^7\) This is not precisely true. Salaputium could be an example of the alacer rule whereby a short vowel in an open non initial syllable was not weakened to i provided that it was identical in quality to the vowel of the first syllable. This hypothesis, however, does not lead to any plausible morphological analysis.
\(^8\) Cf. Paul. Fest. p. 244 M: pavire fereire est 'pavire means 'to strike'; Cic. Div. 2.72: necesse est aliquid ex ore (pullorum) cadere et terram pavire 'it's necessary for (some grain) to fall from the chicken's mouth and strike the ground'; and the specialized meaning 'to ram down earth so as to form a hard or level surface' Cato Agr. 18.7: ubistructum erit (pavimentum) pavito 'where the pavement is spread pound it down'.
although, in my opinion, on the right track, has not solved the problem.

I propose that the second half of this compound should instead be identified with the root of Latin *pū-rus* 'pure' i.e. *peuh₂* / *puh₂*- (Skt. *pāvate* 'purifies' etc.). Now it is an interesting fact of PIE nominal morphology that root nouns from roots of the shape *C(E)R(H)*- regularly are extended by -t- when they function as the second member of compounds. For example, the Sanskrit root *kṛ*- 'make' becomes *kṛt*- in the compound *madhu-kṛt*- 'making honey'. In Greek the root of *βι-βρώσσω* 'I eat' < *gjhrh₂*- becomes *βρωτ*- in the compound οὐκοβρῶτος, -ρως 'eating raw flesh' (Eurip. +). In Latin examples are *sacerdōs*-dōtis 'priest' (from or *lacere* 'make'(< *dheh₁>-))⁹ and *locuplēs*-ētis 'rich' < *pleō* 'fill'.¹⁰ Therefore one would predict that, if a root noun of *puh₂*- occurred as the second member of a compound it would have taken the form *(X-)*puh₂*-t-s¹¹

⁹Note, however, that A. Prosdocimi, FS Polomé, has recently argued in favor of deriving *sacerdos* from *sacrum* + *dare*.
¹¹ In fact, this very form may be attested by the lemma of Paul. *Fest.* p.164M. which reads *ne-pus non purus* 'not pure', if from *ne-pūts*, which may have been transformed from an older *g-pūts* under the influence of *ne-fās*. It is however, equally possible that there was an -s-
This *-pūt-s could have been combined with *sals in an artifex-type compound *salpūts which would presumably mean 'purifier of salt'.

From *salpūts could be derived *salpūtiom 'purification of salt' just as artificium 'artistry, craftsmanship' is derived from artifex 'artisan'. This would have yielded by the regular Oscan sound-laws *salapūtim, and when fitted out with Latin inflection, salapūtium. In context the Catullan would mean 'Great Gods that's what I call purification, i.e. pure (learned) wittiness'. The punchline is not an obscene joke but a dialect stem simplex *pūs <*poyos <*peyˈhɔ̃(ɔ)s from which nepus was created on the analogy fās : ne fās :: *pūs : X, X = nepūs.

It is interesting to note that purus is frequently used of sal, salilium and salinum, e.g. Cat. 23.19 quod culus tibi purior salillo est; 'because your ass-hole is purer than a saltshaker', Hor. Sat. 1.3.14 concha salis puri 'a conch of pure salt', Cf. also Cato's description of the purification of salt Agr. 83: Salem candidam sic facito : amphoram defracto collo puram impleto purae aquae. 'Make white salt this way: Fill a pure amphora with a broken neck with pure water'. Cf. also the passages cited by Von Blumenthal IT, p.73.

The Oscan origin of this word is also supported by the cognomen Salaputis which occurs in an African inscription from the reign of Commodus (C.I.L.7:10570) C. Iulio [Pel]ope Salaputi magistro. One need only assume that the Oscans called the practitioner of the business of salt purification *salapūtis <*salpūtiōs literally 'he of salt purification'. Naturally, the Romans could have interpreted the nominative of this word as an -i-stem

Little needs to be said about the important position that sal 'wit' occupied in Catullus' world-view, but it is particularly interesting to note that a very probable emendation of Cat. 14. 16 would have Catullus address Calvus as salse (mss false). Vatinius himself is said to have granted that Calvus was disertus: (Sen. Contr. 7.4.7) rogo vos, iudices: num, si iste disertus est, ideo me damnari oportet? I ask you, judges.
joke, perhaps even an answer to Cicero's claim that the Atticist style, like the one Caivus is said to have used, left the local Oscean yokels in the corona bored stiff.\textsuperscript{15}

\textsuperscript{15}Brut. 289 \textit{cum isti Attici dicunt, non modo a corona quod est ipsum miserabile, sed etiam ab advocatis relinquuntur}. 'When these Atticists speak they lose the interest of not only the spectators which is in itself an embarrassment, but even of the other lawyers'. I hope to provide more detail on the subject of salaputium elsewhere.
Proto-Italic *sūs suyes

*Sūs 'pig' is securely attested for Proto-Italic by Latin sūs and Umbrian acc. s. sim (ii b 1 etc.) and acc. pl. sīf (vi b 3 etc.).

Umbrian also appears to have an adjective sorso < *sudo- 'suillus'. The meaning is clear from TI v b 11-12 (with Vetter's Latin translation):

dirsans herti frater atiersiur sehenienier dequier pelmner sorser
dent oportet fratres atiedii singulis decuriis pulpamenti suilli

posti acnu / vef X cabriner vef V.

quotannis / libras X caprini libras V.

Here sorser pelmner is opposed to cabriner (pelmner) which undoubtedly means something like 'goat-burgers' (cf. Latin caprinus 'of a goat'). Therefore sorso- must describe the meat of some domestic animal and there is hardly any other plausible candidate than the pig.2

On the other hand, the derivation of sorso from *sudo- is not without difficulties. The long vowel of P. Ital *sūs (< PIE *suh₂-s) is the result of

---

1 Long -ū- becomes -ū- in Umbrian and, in at least some cases, in Oscan. See Meiser, 53. E. Pulgram, Glotta, 54, 1976, p. 257, has also seen this word in the se of the Volscian inscription Vetter 222.

2 Furthermore, the only sacrifice of a goat (kabrum) described in the TI ii b is made in conjunction with the sacrifice of a pig (sim) (TI ii b 1): semenies tekuries sim kaprum upetu singulis decuriis suem caprum capito as was noted already by Buecheler in his commentary, p. 60.
laryngeal lengthening and not due to lengthening in a monosyllable. This is conclusively shown by Tocharian B swāññe 'of pig' which is unambiguously from *suḥ₂/₃ni₂o-, since a preform *su-ni₂o- would probably have given Toch. *sāññe. Therefore one would have expected a derivative formed with the suffix -do- to have been in the first instance *suḥₓ-do-, not su-do-, givingItalic *sūdo- and Umb. *sirso-. Yet it is a notable fact that an unexpected short -u- in derivatives of *suḥₓ-s is also found in Greek e.g., ὑφορβός 'swineherd' (Hom.+), and σῦφεος 'hog-sty' (Hom. +) etc. It is perhaps simplest to explain these forms as due to the analogic interplay of -uḥ₂- stems and -u- stems. For example, δρῦς, δρῦς 'oak', which never had a laryngeal, would regularly have appeared as the first member of a compound as δρυ- (e.g. δρυ-τόμος 'wood-cutter') with a short u.³ Therefore, the analogy could arise δρυ-ός : δρυ-τόμος :: συ-ός : X, X = συ- as the first member of a compound.⁴

Fortunately, although the details must have been different, there is one piece of evidence to suggest that a similar analogy also took place in Italic.

³On the pre-history of δρῦς, see the discussion under *gʰeru.
⁴The analogy δρῦς vel. sim. has even reached into the paradigm of σῦς itself since it must be responsible for the unexpected short vowel in the dative plural σῦνιν (ll. 5.783 and 7.257). Conversely, the long vowel of δρῦς is due to the analogy of σῦς.
The first syllable of Latin subulcus 'swineherd' (Cato +) an archaic and, from the Latin point of view, only partially analyzable compound of sūs 'swine' and *bulcus 'herdsman', is short. Cf. e.g. Verg. Ecl. 10.19 venere subulci #. This is confirmed by bu-bulcus 'neatherd' the first vowel of which is also scanned short and can only be explained as due to the analogy of su-bulcus. That the introduction of a short -u- into these compounds was not only a Latin but also a Sabellic innovation is suggested by Italian bifolco which presupposes a Sabellic *bu-fulk-o-.  

---

5\* Buculus is probably to be connected with Ep. and Ion. Grk. φυλακός 'guardian'. See W-H, I, p. 119.  
6See W-H, I, p. 119 who rightly point out that *bu- cannot be from an old zero-grade *g\(\mathrm{H}\)u- of *g\(\mathrm{H}\)ous. As the first member of a compound *g\(\mathrm{H}\)ous appeared as *g\(\mathrm{H}\)ou-. Cf. Grk. βουκόλος ~ OIr. buachail 'neatherd'.  
7See Meyer-Lübke, REW, s.v. In the third edition of REW the proto-form is given as *būbulcus, but for no obvious reason. Italian bifolco is from *bofolko < *bulfulkus by dissimilation. Cf. sirocchia < *sorochia < *soro(r)-cula. A preform *būfolco would probably have become *bulfolco with no grounds for dissimilation. Latin ū does sometimes show up as Italian i, but this seems to occur mainly by assimilation to a following i, e.g. filiggine < *fūlīgine(m), ginepro < *iūniperum, squittino < *scrūtīniu(m). The Engad. form buolk is also easily derived from *bulfulkus. The development would be *bulfulko- > *bufulolk (For Lat. u > Engad. u, cf. kruš < *cuce(m); for Lat. u in a closed syllable > Engad. uo, cf. vergnon'a < *vereundia) *buuolk (For loss of v - I don't know of another example of intervocalic f- cf. ūa < *ūva) > buolk. Since Latin ū regularly becomes ū *būfulkus would presumably have become *būfuluk- > *būuolk. Whether this form would have contracted to buolk I must leave to the professional Romance scholars to decide, but it is a priori somewhat less likely than the contraction of *buuolk to buolk.
In view of this evidence, a generalization of short -u- to a pre-form *su-do- would not be suprising.

A second, more intractable problem is the consistent spelling sorso in the Latin alphabet which points to a short o. It is conceivable that u was lowered to o before rs (< *VdV'). But the one other example of u before rs, i.e. eheturstahamu / etufstahmu 'exterminato' < *eks-tuđestō- shows no trace of this change. In fact, it even seems that o was raised to u before rs, e.g. dupursus. < *du-pod-.\(^8\) To date, no convincing explanation of the apparent -o- of sorso- has been given, nor can I offer one.

Be that as it may, the formation of *sudo- is reminiscent of the animal names formed with the suffix *-d-: *Su-d- 'pig' would be closely parallel to *peku-d- 'livestock' (Lat. pecus, pecudis). From *su-d- 'pig' an adjective *su-d-o- 'sūlus' could have been derived.\(^9\)

---

\(^8\)See Buck GOU, p. 37.

\(^9\)The -d- suffix in animal names is particularly common in Germanic, e.g. OE heorot 'hart' < *her-u-t-a- < *kεr-u-d-o-, ON ꞌgilpt 'swan' < *alb-u-t-a-. On heorot etc., see Nussbaum, p. 7. One might see a trace of the same -d- extension in Greek ὕδωρ 'truffle'. W. Winter AJP 72, 1951, p.66-68, has suggested that this word is a compound *su-h₄dnon 'pig-food'. Against this, however, one may argue that one would then expect a long u. Furthermore, as is well-known, tatpurusa compounds are extremely unusual in archaic Greek, and ὕδωρ, despite its relatively late date of attestation (first in Theophrastus H.P. 1.1.11), would have to be quite old on Winter's theory. Instead, it seems reasonable to me to see a -d- extended form of the word for 'pig' *sud- to which has been added
Sorso also frequently occurs modifying the noun *persontro* which, in my opinion, can best be translated 'blood-cake'. Buck, following Buecheler, believed that *persontro* was a kind of 'animal cracker', i.e. a cake of some sort made in the shape of an animal. But while it is true that the use of such animal crackers is well established cross-culturally (cf. the mock *lañanza* birds of Hittite ritual made from *iyatar*-wool, *KUB* 39 7 ii 10-11), Servius (ad *Aen.* 2.116) specifically states that animal crackers were used when it was difficult to find a flesh and blood victim: *Et sciendum, in sacris simulata pro veris accipi. Unde cum de animalibus, quae difficile inventuntur, est sacrificandum, de pane vel cera fiunt et pro veris accipiantur*. 'And one should note that simulated things may be used in place of real things in sacrifices. Therefore when one must sacrifice animals which are difficult to find, they are made from bread or wax and used in place of real animals'. Servius' rule is clearly inoperative in the case of either pigs or sheep.

Devoto suggests that *persontro* was the equivalent of Latin *mola salsa*, a sacrificial porridge made of ground barley and salt. He then

the endocentric suffix *-no* (e.g. *παιδος* 'childish', cf. Peters, p. 172) to form an adjective *sudno* 'of a pig'. The neuter of this adjective was substantivized in the specialized meaning 'pig food' Cf. *ημινου* 'milt-wort' (Thpr. 9.18.7) literally '(food) of the mule'. See Strömberg, p. 137.

10Buck *GOU*, p. 305.
suggests that sorso when modifying persontra means 'liquid' and that 'staflare', another habitual modifier of persontra which is often taken to mean 'of sheep', meant, in fact, 'solid'.\textsuperscript{12} Devoto's account is, however, problematic, since it requires that there be two etymologically distinct words: sorso 1 'of pig' which modifies pelmner and sorso 2 'liquid' which modifies persontra and has nothing to do with sorso 1 'of pig'. Furthermore sorsale, which is a derivative of sorso, and staflare are also used to modify vestišia- (vi b 39,40) which as Sandoz has demonstrated means 'sacrificial cake'.\textsuperscript{13} This is particularly clear in the

\textsuperscript{11}Devoto, p.242,

\textsuperscript{12}I also find Devoto's interpretation of staflari- problematic. In Latin, adjectives in -āris which substitute for -ālis after a stem containing an l, invariably have genitival function, e.g. familiaris 'of or belonging to the familia' (Plt. +), militaris 'of or belonging to the miles' (Plt. +) etc. Therefore, Umb. staflari- presumably means 'of or belonging to the *stafl-'. But stafl- would be the Umbrian equivalent of Latin stabulum 'stall for domestic animals'. Presumably, Devoto was thinking of the sense of Latin stabilis 'firm', and stabilio 'to make firm'. But interpreting staflari- as a derivative in -ēri- from the Umbrian equivalent of Latin stabilis would be problematic in two respects. First, one would have expected the derived form to show some trace of the -i- stem of the base. Second, -ēri- serves to derive adjectives from nouns not adjectives from other adjectives. This problem could, of course, be gotten around, but not without assuming some added complications. A denominal verb stafla- has left traces in Oscan staflatas and Paelignian pristalcirox, but the exact sense of both these forms is open to debate. All in all, I find the traditional theory far more convincing.

\textsuperscript{13}Le nom d'une ofrande à Iguvium: ombr. vestišia', BSL, 74, 1979, pp. 339-346.
light of such collocations as Ti i a28 vестишiam ... Ьикту 'placentam fingito'
'fashion the cakes' vs. ii b 13 vестища feta fertu 'placenta iam facta ferto'
'bring cakes which have already been made'. Cf. Cato Agr. 76.3
placentam fingito 'fashion a cake'. Clearly, 'liquid' cannot properly
describe a sort of cookie dough that could be fashioned like clay with the
hands., but the interpretation of vестишиa sorsali- as 'pork-pattie' and of
вестишиa stafari- as 'mutton-pattie' makes perfect sense.

Meiser, following Orsi, translates persontro as 'fat'. But this
translation is unconvincing for several reasons. First, Orsi was led to this
idea under the impetus of Devoto's translation of sorso- and stafari-
as 'liquid' and 'solid' respectively. Second, at. vi b 40 persontro occurs in
the ablative plural, persondris-co, which would be highly unusual, if
persontro did, in fact, designate some mass noun such as 'fat'. Third,
such fat oblations as Orsi posited cannot, to my knowledge, be paralleled
in Roman ritual. It is presumably for this reason that Orsi and Pfiffig must
cite parallels from Hittite and Vedic ritual.

I believe Vetter was closer to the truth when he suggested that the
persontro was a kind of 'mince-meat'. This interpretation is, at least.

14 Meiser, p. 76. N. Orsi, 'I cosidetti "calefactoria". Contributi dal tav.
iguvine VI b 24-43', SE, 15, 1941, pp.127-139. Pfiffig, RI, p. 84 and
Prosdocimi, ANRW, p. 639 also follow this line of interpretation.
consistent with the facts which can be gleaned about persontro by philological inquiry. But, again, Vetter is unable to bring any parallel from Roman ritual.

Meiser has, however, found a plausible etymon for this word in PIE *sendhrom, *sendhreh₂ 'a congealed mass' (ON sindr n. 'dross', Czech sádra 'plaster' RCS sjadry krovnyja 'blood clots' (θρόμμος)). *Pers- sondhros could then be a bahuvrīhi meaning 'having a congealed mass throughout'. But the question remains: a congealed mass of what? I have ruled out 'fat' above, but it so happens that the Acta Fratrum Arvalium for the year 240 C.E. preserve evidence that a cake of congealed pig-blood was eaten at the brothers' sacral meal (CIL VI 39443 b 12): de sanguncio porciliarum vesciti sunt et de porcilias (sic) partiti et epulati sunt 'They ate cakes of pig-blood and they partook of and feasted on pigs'. I propose that the sangunculum porciliarum is the exact Latin equivalent of the sorso persontro. This proposal is further supported by the fact that *sendhreh₂ was appropriate for describing globs of blood in Slavic (RCS sjadra krovnyja, although this is not in a ritual context). It is

---

15 For an o-grade thematic noun as the second member of a bahuvrīhi corresponding to a an e-grade simplex, cf. Grk. ἀ-κόλουθος 'companion' vs. κέλευθος 'way'.

16 See Latte, p. 391 n.3 and Heraeus, KS pp. 229ff., for a description of the preparation and uses of the sangunculum.
quite likely that the sacral use of blood cakes is quite an old phenomenon in the light of Greek αἵματος 'blood-cake' the ritual use of which is attested in an inscription from Miletus S.I.G. 1002.11 (c. 400 B.C.E.).

At T1 vib 38 and 38 the forms sorsalir and sorsalem occur apparently with the same meaning as sorso: vestisnasor salir, vestisnem staflarem, persandro sorsalem pesandro staflare. The explanation of these forms should be obvious: sorsali- has been called into life in a formulaic context on the model of staflari- 'of sheep' which is itself dissimilated from *staflali-.

---

17 One might even say that it is underlyingly /staflali-/.
[\textit{treps} *\textit{trbos}]

The reconstruction of this root-noun is problematic. Oscan \textit{tribo-}
'house', \textit{tribarakliuf} 'building', \textit{tribaraka-} 'to build', and \textit{trpe\beta-} (Pocc. 148) point to a root *\textit{trēb-}. But the Oscan personal name \textit{Trebilos} (Vetter 15), \textit{Tρεβίς}, \textit{Tρεβας} (Pocc. 190) \textit{Tρεβατις} (Pocc. 190) point to a root *\textit{trob-}.\footnote{Umbrian Trebo-/Trebu- 'a divine name'; \textit{trebeit} 'is housed'; \textit{tremnu-}
'tabernacle' are, however, ambiguous. See Meiser, p. 43.} Finally, Latin \textit{trabs} (\textit{trabes}) 'beam' and \textit{taberna} \textit{< *\textit{trabema}}\footnote{As well as the many names attested in Latin inscriptions, e.g. \textit{Trebanius}, \textit{Trebatius}, \textit{Trebecius}, \textit{Trebellenus}, \textit{Trebellius}, \textit{Trebellia}, \textit{Trebeci}, \textit{Trebenius}, \textit{Trebius} (= \textit{Tρεβίς}, Etr. \textit{Trepi},) \textit{Treblanus}, \textit{Trebulanus} (= Umbr. \textit{Treplanir}, and the Italic placename \textit{Trebul}a) \textit{Trebonius} ( = Etr. \textit{Trepu},) \textit{Trebu}cenna, \textit{Trebularius}. Perhaps also South Picene \textit{trebegies} (= Lat. \textit{Trebecius}?). Also worth noting is the central Italic place-name \textit{Trebul}. How exactly these towns got their names may never be known. But it is an interesting fact that in \textit{Trebul}a \textit{Mutusca}, a town in the \textit{terra Reatina}, the natives worshipped a \textit{simulacrum Marsis lignaeum} 'a wooden image of Mars' (Obsequens 42). With this fact one may compare Varro's statement recorded by Clem. Alex. Protr. IV 46 and Arnobius VI 11 that the Romans originally worshipped Mars in the form of a spear. (Clem. \textit{εν Ρωμη} το \textit{παλαιον δόρον \φησιν γεγονέναι} τον \textit{"Aρεος τo ξύλων Οὐάρρων} 'Varro says that in Rome the ancient shaft of wood was the cult image of Ares'; Arnobius: \textit{coluisse pro Marte hastam Varronis ut indicant Musae} 'that they worshipped a spear in the place of Mars, as the Musae of Varro relate.'). In the light of this evidence, it does not seem too improbable to suppose that \textit{Trebul}a \textit{Mutusca} at least took its name from its archaic cult image. On this whole subject see Norden, pp. 173-175.}\textit{3} \textit{Taberna} may be from \textit{*trabo-na-}, where \textit{*trabo-} might mean 'having an enclosure' > 'house.' The further suffixation of -\textit{na} finds its
<"bhr"-n-ge- like iungo <"ju-n-ge-, vs. Goth. brikan <"bhrge-. 4

closest parallels in the words caverna 'a hollow in the earth' and 'lucerna' oil lamp. Caverna may be derived from an inferrable adjective *kavero- <*kojoro- <*keqyo Vl-o- 'hollow' = with substantivization Arm. sor 'hole' < *keqyo2or-o-. (Van Windekens' pre-form *kavo-verna 'hollow covering' KZ, 102,1, 1989. p 72, is implausible and gratuitous) For the phonology cf. Arm. nor 'new' < *nojoro- <*neyoro-. This adjective may in turn be derived from an amphikinetic -r- stem (or -r-i-n-stem?) *keqyo2-ôr 'concavity' and 'convexity' (cf. Greek γυναικ 'pregnant' Miletus, vi. B.C.) with zero-grade generalized in the root and the suffix). Lucerna, is, to my mind, best derived from *luk-ro-na from an adjective *luk-ro- 'shiny'. An adjective in -ro- besides the root noun lûx 'light' would be wellparalleled. Cf. e.g. Grk. στρόφ 'putrefying sore' (Hippn. +) vs. ορφός 'rotten'. (Hippon. +). The existence of an adjective *luk-ro- is suggested by Olr. luchair 'brilliant' and luchair n. 'brilliance' (DIL, p. 231) <*lukri- where the -i- stem inflection may be secondary, and, in my opinion, by Lat. lucrum 'material gain' which could simply be a neuter substantivization of *luk-ro- 'shiny stuff' > 'gold and silver > 'material gain'. Cf. for the semantics PIt. Rud. 1320 divitias luculentas 'splendid wealth'. This seems preferable to me to connection with the root *leh2-u- approx. 'taste' (Grk. λίς 'booty', OCS lovít 'catch, hunt' etc.). Although lucrum < *lu-tlom could be explained as from *iu-tlom < *luh2-tlom 'that which is taken' with loss of laryngeal before stop plus resonant (cf. OE weder 'weather' <*wedran < *h2 u e h2-ðrom from the root *h2 u e h2- (Grk. ἐκ 'blows' etc.).), and result noun semantics are not unknown in nouns formed with the so-called instrumental suffixes -tlom and -trom (see discussion of castrum in the chapter on pecu), the root *leh2-u- has no other Italic descendents. Finally, cf. the Etruscan GN luxre which could be from italic *lukro-. The suffix -na in both these case seems have substantivizing function. On the other hand, -na might be of Etruscan origin as in the Etruscan PN Macstrem in the Francois tomb at Vulci < Italic *magistrem-. For the phonological development, of taberna, cf. alters < *alt(e)ro-no-

4 See. Kuryłowicz, p. 175-176. There is, to my knowledge, no example where a Latin a seems to occur in a form where one would have expected either a full or lengthened grade.
It is impossible to unify lengthened grade, full-grade, and zero-grade in one paradigm under any current theory of the root noun. But a closer look at the actually attested forms shows that the root noun that is assured by *trēb- in any case need not be saddled with all three allomorphs. In particular, a *trēb- cannot be decisively demonstrated. This is because the lengthened-grade stem allomorph must be inferred from acc. trībom and abl trībud, which are ambiguous, pointing either to a root noun or to an -o- stem. Similarly the first compound member trīb-(arak-) could also point in either of these directions. There is, therefore, no compelling reason to assume that the root-noun paradigm itself ever had a lengthened grade.

By excluding a lengthened grade from the root-noun paradigm proper, it is possible to combine e and (inferrable) zero-grade in an ablauting *treb-s *tēbos, with the basic meaning 'beam'. In Latin, a neo-zero-grade was generalized giving trabs. What the original sense of this

---

5Pisani KZ, 66, 1939, p. 258 reconstructs an ablauting paradigm *trebs *trebg. No attempt is made to account for Latin trabs. While the reconstruction of a ē/e root-noun paradigm is quite likely, as I have argued under lex, there is in this case no evidence at all suggesting Narten characteristics for this root.

6The gen. pl. trabium is apparently attested only in Frag. Bob. de Nom. et Pronom. (Keil, V, 562). Needless to say this is not a trustworthy source. Cf. the gen. pl. dentium from the original athematic dens (= Grk. ὀδός -όντος).
root-noun was is not immediately clear. On the one hand, one might consider starting with a concrete meaning 'beam' such as is found in Latin. On the other hand, one might assume that there had once been a verb *treb*- approx. 'enclose', from which a root-noun *treb-s *trbos 'enclosure' was formed. This root-noun was subsequently concretized in Latin (or Italic) with instrumental sense 'that by which the internal space of a structure is enclosed', i.e. the 'framing' or 'beams of a building'. I believe that Latin offers a decisive piece of evidence in favor of the second hypothesis. It is generally accepted that taberna 'shack, inn' is by dissimilation from < *trabera. And it is universally admitted that tabernaculum 'booth, tent' is a derivative of taberna. But 'booth, tent'

---

7 For the meaning 'shack', cf. Horace Odes. 1.4.13: Pallida mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas, Regumque turris 'Pale death pounds with equal foot the shocks of the poor and the towers of the kings.' and Cassiodorus, Psalm Commen. 14.1 Maiores nostri domos pauperum tabernas appellerunt propterea quia tantum trabibus non ad huc tegulis tegebantur. 'Our ancestors called the houses of the poor tabernas because they were covered only with trabibus 'beams' not yet with tiles. Cf. also the meaning of Latvian trába 'an improvised leanto made of branches' (Fraenkel, LEW, p.1127). The objection of E-M, p. 672, that fraternus does not become *faternus is, of course, without force. First of all, dissimilations are notoriously irregular, and second, fraternus could have been protected from dissimilation by frater, whereas there was no *traber to protect taberna.

8 If tabernaculum was simply a diminutive of taberna, the neuter gender of tabernaculum would be somewhat surprising. Instead tabernaculum belongs with the deverbal nomina loci, e.g. pugnaculum 'place from which one fights' (Plt.) < pugnare 'to fight', propugnaculum
is not the only meaning. When an augur sets up his place of observation this action is referred to as *capere tabernaculum* (Cic. N.D. 2.4.11, Div. 1.17.33, 2.35.75, Liv. 4.7.3, Val. Max. 1.1.3). Scholars have traditionally thought this phrase to mean that the augur sets up a booth from which he watches the sky for birds. But if that is so it is hard to understand what the exact meaning of *capere* is. For when it is simply a question of setting up a military tent the phrase is, as one would have expected, *tabernaculum statuere*, e.g. Livy 39.46.4, 35.28.9. On the other hand, *capere* would make far better sense, if the *tabernaculum* was not a booth, but rather an enclosure of sanctified ground. *Capere tabernaculum* would then mean 'to take control of (stake out) an enclosed piece of land'. For this sense of *capere*, cf. Caes. Civ. 1.46.5 *locum capiit superiorem* 'he takes control of (stakes out) the higher ground.' This interpretation is, in my mind, decisively supported by Cic. N.D. 2.4.11: *(Gracchum)*

*a bulwark* (Plt. +) < *propugnare* 'to fight in defense of a position', *cenaculum* 'a garret, upper floor' < "dining room" < *cenare* 'to dine', *spectacula* pl. 'theater' (Plt. +) < *spectare* 'to see'. That is not to say that there once was a verb *tabernare*. Instead derivational micro-systems such as *pugna, pugnare, pugnaculum* and *cena, cenare, cenculum* could have given the impression that derivatives in -aculum could be built directly to nouns in -a. Thus the analogy was *pugna: pugnaculum :: taberna: X, X= tabernaculum.*

Furthermore the inside of a booth is not the ideal place for unobstructed view of the sky. But this cannot be considered a decisive objection.
recordatum esse vitio sibi tabernaculum captum fuisse hortos Scipionis.

'Gracchus remembered that he had been at fault when he staked out the
gardens of Scipio as a tabernaculum.' It is quite clear that
*tabernaculum* cannot be translated 'booth' in this passage. Instead
*tabernaculum* clearly refers to the enclosed space sanctified for augury.
To my mind, this argues strongly in favor of the theory that *treb-
originally did have a more abstract sense, which was secondarily
concretized in Italic or Latin.10

In Sabellic the full-grade served as the base for the divine name
_Trebu/-Trebo-, with the familiar variation between -o- and -u- stems in
divine names. In this particular case, it seems likely that the -o- stem is
the original since the dat. sing. _Trebe_ occurs in the Old Umbrian _TI i a 8_
and is replaced in the new Umbrian recension by the -u- stem dative
_Trebo_.11 _Trebo-‘having a *trebs*’ would then be an example of the
suffixation of the thematic vowel without _ṛddhi_ to form a derivative with
possessive sense.12

---

10 For the semantic development from 'enclosure' to 'building', cf. in the
same semantic field _templum_ 'a piece of ground consecrated by the
augurs', but also. 'a sacred building'.
11 For a discussion of the so-called "sacral Ṽ" phenomenon in Italic see
the discussion of _pax_.
12 Cf. Ved. Skt. _vatsā_- 'calf' < "yearling", < _yets-ō_- 'having a year' a
derivative of _yētos_ 'year' (Grk. _ϝέτος_). But the derivation of _treb-o_- from
In what exact sense the God Trebo- is called 'having a *trebs' is not immediately clear. On the one hand, it is quite plausible that *trebs may have acquired in Sabellic the specialized meaning 'beam' and subsequently 'boundary post'. Trebo- would then be numen of the boundary and thus the exact equivalent of the Roman God Terminus (cf.Ov. Fast. 2.641: Termine, sive lapis sive es deoossus in agro stipes, ab antiquis tu quoque numen habes 'Terminus, whether you are a stone or stump dug up in a field, you also have a numen from long ago') even in morphological terms since Terminus, a derivative of termen 'boundary stone', seems to be fitted out with the same thematic suffix with possessive sense. In support of this idea, one may note that sacrifices to Trebo- are made outside the Trebulan gates (Pusveres treplanes Ti i a 7.) On the other hand, sacrifices outside gates are also made to Fise Saši (Ti i a 14) and Tefre Iuvie (Ti i a 24).

It is also conceivable, assuming that the sense 'beam' was already Proto-Italic, that *trebs was used in Sabellic as in Latin,¹³ as a

---

¹³E.g. Catullus 28.10: bene me ac diu supinum tota ista trabe lentus
euphemism for phallus. *Trebo- 'having a phallus' would then be a fertility god. In support of this one could note that pregnant animals (TI i a 7 *tref sik kumiai 'three pregnant sows') were sacrificed to *Trebo- in violation of the generally valid principle that male deities received male victims and female deities female ones. It may be the case that *Trebo- was both a phallic and liminal deity as was the Greek *Hermes.\(^{14}\) It is presumably from *Trebo- that the Oscan names *Tepβis and *Trebis were derived.\(^{15}\)

Umbr. *tremno- 'tabemaculum' seems to have a suffix *-*no-*. As I have argued above, it seems that the *tabemaculum* was in the first instance not a building, but rather a sacred precinct. The same was probably true of Umbr. *tremno-. Morphologically, one might consider *tremno- to be a deverbal result noun. Cf. for the type Latin *donum 'gift'*

\[* 'that which is given' < *deh₂- 'to give'. The co-occurrence of a root noun with concrete meaning and a substantive in *no-* with more abstract

\[\textit{imumasi}.

\(^{14}\)Pfiffig, \textit{RL}, p. 43, suggests that *Trebo- was a house deity. This is presumably based on the meaning of Oscan *tiib-. This theory is, to my mind, somewhat less likely. If the root-noun *treb-* itself had acquired the meaning 'house', then *treb-o- could certainly have meant 'god in charge of the house'. But if *treb- itself mean 'house', it is hard to see what need there would have been for a verbalized derivative *tréb-o- in the same meaning. For the phallic and liminal nature of *Hermes*, see Burkert, pp. 156ff.

\(^{15}\)It is on the basis of these personal names which clearly have a short *e* that I have supposed that the *e* of the divine name *Trebo-* is short.
meaning is wellparalleled by *daps 'sacrificial meal' < *'consumption' vs. *damnun 'loss' < *'consumption'.

Where then does Oscan *trībo- fit? I suggest that it should be considered a vrddhied thematic derivative with collective meaning.

*Trēbo- 'beamwork' was derived from *treb- 'beam' in the same way as Ved. Skt. pārśvā- 'side' < *'rib-cage' was derived from pārśu- 'rib'.

For the semantic development 'bunch of beams' to 'house', cf. German Balk 'beam' vs. Gebālk 'Gesamtheit eines Gebäudes'.

Umbrian also has a verb trebeít vi a 8 which apparently means 'is, is housed.' This may reflect a denominative stative verb *trēb-ē.

It is worthwhile to cast a glance at the broader connection of this root,
since there seems to be some uncertainty about its shape. One form frequently cited in connection with trabs, in my opinion wrongly, is Greek τέραμα.\textsuperscript{19} This word first occurs in Euripides in the phrase τέραμα ὀκών (Hipp. 418) where it is quite probably interpreted as 'beams of the house.'\textsuperscript{20} But although the comparison between trabs and τέραμα is semantically unobjectionable, the phonetic difficulties involved are insurmountable. τέραμα could reflect a *terh₂b-, but trabs and its clear cognates offer no parallel for such a Schwebeablaut and show no sign of a laryngeal. In fact, Umbrian Trebo- OWelsh treb ‘dwelling’ etc. are clearly incompatible with a root *t(e)rh₂b- in any ablaut grade.\textsuperscript{21} Therefore, I propose that τέραμα has nothing to do with trabs. First of all, it should be noted that τέραμα is a plurale tantum in Euripides. It is thus highly reminiscent of the Homeric plurale tantum βέλεμα ‘darts’ which is undoubtedly the plural of a neuter *-mp stem.\textsuperscript{22} The same may be true

\textsuperscript{19}The by-form τέρεμα is presumably by assimilation, as Schmidt KZ, 32, 1891-1893, p.393, suggested. I strongly doubt that θεράμη, sometimes thought to mean ‘dwelling’, is the ‘Pelasgian’ correspondent to τέραμα. It may be, in one way or another related to θεράπων ‘servant.’ Cf. in particular, Latin familia in the legal meaning ‘estate (consisting of the household and household property)’ (OLD) vs. famulus ‘servant’.

\textsuperscript{20}See Barrett, p. 235.

\textsuperscript{21}Another form which would, if correctly compared, exclude an h₂ is the Carian placename Trebendai, which could very easily be from *treb-onto-‘having a beam’. See Zgusta, p. 633.

\textsuperscript{22}See Thurneysen, IF, 21, 1907, p 176.
of ῥέραμα. The original singular would then have been *terh₂m₂g which can be plausibly connected with the root *terh₂- 'to penetrate, to come through.' The semantic development from 'penetrator' to 'post' is well paralleled by ON stik n. 'post, stake' vs. English stick, to stick Germ. stechen, and for a similar development from the root *terh₂- itself cf. Hittite tarma- 'nail' from *torh₂m₂s with loss of laryngeal in the sequence -oRHC-, a phenomenon first described by de Saussure.23

Having eliminated ῥέραμα, one may turn to the next problematical form Lithuanian ῥωβὰ AP 3 'building', Latvian ῥēba 'id.' which point to proto-Baltic *trābā.24 These forms may be explained as an inner-Baltic formation, since it is clear that Baltic sometimes replaced the inherited PIE ablaut pattern *ē:*ō with  ē:ō on the analogy of the Baltic pattern e:ā from PIE *e:*o. For example, the verbal noun of Lith. glēblī 'embrace' is glōbā (Latv. glāba 'Lebensunterhalt') 'an embrace.'25 In exactly parallel fashion, one could imagine that a verb *trébtī 'to house'26 made a noun *trābā. Of course, one would like to know why

---

23It seems to me not unlikely that ῥέραμα and ῥέμα were once part of the same paradigm. Perhaps the laryngeal was lost in the sequence -VRHmnV-. Cf the co-occurrence of Ved. Skt. jānīman vs. jānman 'birth'. The gloss (Anacr. ap Hilgard Exerpta ex libris Herodiani) τεράμων . κάλαμος is also probably related.
24Fraenkel, LEW, p. 1127.
the inferrable *trēbti had a long vowel in the first place. 27

In Germanic there are semantic questions to be answered. 28 For Gothic ḫaurp n. < *t̥rebom does not mean 'beam' or 'house' but 'field' (= Grk. ἄγρος). ON ḫorp means 'a small farmstead' and OHG dorf and OE ḫorp mean 'village'. 29 Starting from the meaning 'field' the path to 'farmstead' to 'village' is an easy one. Cf. for example, the many English placenames in -field like Westfield, etc. But how can one connect the meanings 'beam' or 'house' and 'field'? Now it is a well-known fact that words for 'field' are sometimes derived from words for boundaries or

26 For which some evidence may exist in the Latv. vientrim 'einsam.' But the variant spellings vientreihe and vientriebu make this less than certain. See E. Fraenkel ZSIPh, 20, 1948, p. 68.

27 On the other hand, Lithuanian also has d ( < PIE *d) grade nouns made to non-lengthened grade verbs, e.g. tvora from ténti. Thus a Proto-Baltic *trēbti may not be necessary. See Kuryłowicz, p.295.

28 Phonological problems too, if one wants to include the Norse forms which seem to reflect PIE *trep-, e.g. ON þraf n. upper floor: where corn is stored,' þrafni m. poet. 'beam.' It is conceivable that ð has been extracted from an original b devoiced before s in the nominative of an old athematic paradigm. þrafni might then be an inner-Nordic creation. Another possible source for the devoicing of ð to ð might be the archaic nom.-acc. sing. of a protorheokinetic -s- stem *trep-s. OFris. therp n. 'Dorf' is said to reflect a trace of an -s- stem, albeit in the expected Proto-Germanic form, *þurpiz (for e as the -i- umlaut outcome of u in Frisian, see Siebs, p. 181) as is the masculine gender of OE þorp. Greek also has the irritatingly unstable forms τράφης, τράφις, τρόφης, τρόφής, all meaning approximately 'beam.'

29 Cf. also ON þrep n. 'surface on which a fence is erected'< *trebom.
enclosure. For example the Swedish and Danish word for field, *mark* is from the Germanic word for 'border' *markaz OE mearc 'boundary, landmark'. One could therefore propose that the original meaning of Proto-Germanic *purpa* may have been 'enclosure' which then developed in well-paralleled fashion to the meaning 'field.' The preform *t∫bom'enclosure' could be explained as a zero-grade thematic neuter of the type *yrdhom'word' (OE word etc.).

In Celtic the root is well established by Gaulish Ambi-trebius, Aro-trebae etc. OIr. treb f.'dwelling,' dithreb 'deserted' literally 'without dwellings,' OWel. treb f. 'dwelling' O Bret. treb 'id' OCorn. trevedic 'rusticus'. The evidence of the Celtic languages points to a Proto-Celtic *trebā. This form too may be interpreted as a collective derivative of the root noun, if one assumes that the root noun had also acquired the meaning 'beam' in Celtic. For a collective in -ā, cf. Grk. φράτρα 'braternity' < φράτρη 'brother.' But since there is no particular evidence pointing to the meaning 'beam' outside of Italic, it is equally, if not more, likely that Proto-Celtic *trebā is an endocentric derivative in -ā to

[^30]: See Buck Dictionary s.v. field, p 489.
[^31]: It is also possible that *t∫bo- > Germ. purpa- was a possessive derivative from the zero-grade of the root-noun *t∫b- meaning 'enclosed, having an enclosure' > 'field'.
[^32]: See Vendryes LEIA, pp. 127-128.
[^33]: Brugmann II, p. 156.
the root-noun *treb- in the more abstract sense 'enclosure'.

Slavic trēbiti 'purgare', however, despite Meringer IF 18, 1905-1906, p. 216, is unlikely to have anything to do with *trebs. First of all the meaning is quite unrelated. Second, Russian téreb 'cleared land' shows that the Proto-Slavic for this root was *teřb- and one would like to avoid setting up Schwebeaablaut if possible.34 Furthermore, OCS trēba 'idol' and trēbnič 'delubrum' whether they, in fact, belong with trēbiti or not, are not likely to be related to *trebs despite Ibn Fadhlan's comment that the medieval Slavs worshipped 'large manlike figures made out of wood.'35 The Old Russian correspondent tereba 'sacrifice' suggests a Proto-Slavic *těrb-.36

It might be worthwhile to sketch out a theory of *trebs that assumes that the root did indeed have the second laryngeal and Narten ablaut in order to see where the strengths and weaknesses lie. On this theory, the root *t(e)rh₂b- is seen most clearly in Grk. τέραμα. The fact that it is plurale tantum can be given no special explanation. But this is not a

34Proto-Slavic *teřb- would still not be equatable with the Greek τέραμα, since the circumflex intonation of the root excludes the presence of a laryngeal.
35Quoted by Meringer IF, 18, 1905-1906, p. 216. Compare also the Umbrian Treb- discussed above.
36Slov. trēba 'Säuberung' seems to point to an acute intonation. Cf. Slov. těti 'rub' < térti. See Arumaa I, p. 143.
serious difficulty. Lithuanian *trobā would be from *treh₂beh₂. This would, however, exhibit Schwebbeablaut and an unexpected e-grade. Gothic *paurp would be unproblematically from *třh₂bom. Oscan *třib- could, in fact, be from an acrostatic root-noun of the *spes type, as Pisani has already suggested. The difference in meaning between it and Latin *trabs could not be easily accounted for. Latin *trabs itself would have to be explained as zero-grade with analogical vocalization of the laryngeal. But where would the supposed zero-grade come from in a Narten root noun? Finally Umbr. *tremna-, Osc and Celtic *treb- would have to be explained as neo-full-grades. But it is hard to see how they could be derived from a zero-grade *třh₂b-. All in all it is a theory with fewer advantages and more drawbacks than the theory I have sketched out so far.
Proto-Italic *\textit{yexs} *\textit{yexes}

Umbrian \textit{vef} acc pl. occurs at TI v b 12 \textit{bis} and 17 \textit{bis}. It is translated by Buck as 'partes'. But this translation is rather unlikely given that a \textit{vef} could be divided in half as is clear from TI v b 17: \textit{pelimner sorser posti acnu vef XV cabriner vef VII s} i.e., \textit{pulmenti suilli pro anno vef XV caprini vef VII s}. 'of pork-patties 15 \textit{vef} per year, of goat-patties 71/2 \textit{vef} per year'. It is therefore more likely that \textit{vef} is the name of some measurement, as was suggested already by Thurneysen who thought that \textit{vef} was an abbreviation for '\textit{vefraf} \textit{libras}' 'pounds' but a more convincing explanation along the same lines is due to von Blumenthal\textsuperscript{1} who suggested that \textit{vef} was the accusative plural of a root-noun of the verbal root *\textit{yeğh} 'carry'. He compared \textit{vef}, in my opinion correctly, with Latin \textit{vehis} 'a wagon load.' It is not necessary, however, that the meaning of Umbrian \textit{vef} be exactly the same as Latin \textit{vehis}, for that would mean that the Umbrians were prodigious eaters of meat.\textsuperscript{2} Instead, one could imagine that in Proto-Italic *\textit{yex}-s merely meant 'that which is carried' > 'a load'. In Umbrian this then developed the meaning 'a

\textsuperscript{1}Blumenthal, \textit{IT}, p. 76.
\textsuperscript{2}As Devoto seems to object, p. 416. Latin \textit{vehis}, despite its nominative, is probably not an \textit{\textit{i}-} stem. Secondary \textit{\textit{i}-} stem nominatives are also found in the cases of \textit{frugis bovis} and \textit{lovis} etc.
weight' and then 'a specific amount of weight.' In Latin a slightly different development took place.

It seems plausible that the Oscan name for a wagon 'veia' (Paulus Fest. p.368 M) is also derived from this root-noun. Veia might be from \(^{\ast}yēhiē\) < \(^{\ast}yēxijē\) < \(^{\ast}yēgh\)-\(\ast\)ēh\(_2\)- the generalized oblique stem of a devē noun built to the root-noun with possessive meaning like, e.g. Grk. ὅψισσα 'a fish name' literally 'the hairy one' from \(^{\ast}thrikh+\jaa\). Thus veia would originally have meant 'having a load' an excellent meaning for a word meaning wagon.\(^5\)

\(^3\)Cf. the semantic development taken by the root \(^{\ast}yēgh\)- in English weigh < OE wegan, weight < OE wiht, and German wägen and Gewicht.

\(^4\)For the loss of an intervocalic \(h < ^{\ast}gh\), cf. lien 'spleen' ~ Skt. plīhān-

\(^5\)This is not to claim that the reflex of -\(ih\(_2\)#\) was \(^{\ast}ja\) in Italic as it was in Greek. Etruscan Uni < if from Proto-Italic \(^{\ast}yūnī\) < \(^{\ast}jūh\(_x\)n-\(ih\(_2\) = Skt. yūnī 'young woman' points to a development -\(i\). Instead the nominative -\(ia\) is analogical to the oblique -\(i\(ā\) < \(^{\ast}(l)\)ēh\(_2\)\)