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THE BRONZE TABLES OF IGUVIUM

BY

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THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

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There is no scarcity of editions of the Iguvine Tables, as a glance at the Bibliography will show. The study of these tables and of Italic dialect monuments in general, which was intensified during the thirties and which lapsed during the Second World War, has been revived again, especially in Italy. But the older grammars of von Planta and Buck have been out of print for many years and can now be obtained only with considerable difficulty, and moreover until quite recently all translations of the tables were in a Latin which adhered with extreme fidelity to the Umbrian text, reproducing many of its obscurities and translating some of its words merely by reconstructions invented through application of phonetic laws. Professor Roland Kent both in print (Language, XIV [1938], p. 213) and in conversation with me emphasized the need for a translation into a modern language and it was at his suggestion that I undertook to prepare an edition of the type which he contemplated, including an English translation. Devoto’s Le Tavole di Gubbio, which appeared in 1948, actually includes a translation into Italian beside the Umbrian text. In 1954 there appeared Bottiglioni’s Manuale dei dialetti italici, which contains not only the Iguvine Tables and other dialect texts with Latin translation and brief commentary but a fairly comprehensive grammar as well. Yet the importance of the Iguvine Tables is so great both for the linguistic and for the religious history of pre-Roman Italy that another edition seems not superfluous, especially in view of the fact that reading knowledge of Italian is not as widespread in the English-speaking countries as it should be.

In the present edition, as in previous works, the grammar has necessarily been presented from a historical standpoint throughout, for only by careful attention to the history of the sounds can we set up valid etymological equations which, in combination with other evidence within and outside the Umbrian text, can give us the correct sense. The interpretation of the cuneiform Hittite texts and the recognition that Hittite is related to the Indo-European languages have radically altered our notions of proto-Indo-European phonology, especially as a result of the conviction shared by the great majority of Indo-Europeanists of
the present day that the phonemic system at some stage must have included several "laryngeal" consonants. Yet there is still considerable disagreement with regard to the number of laryngeals (three or four?), their precise character and effect on the vowel-system, and whether Hittite is to be regarded as an Indo-European language roughly comparable to Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, etc., or as a member of an "Anatolian" group which, with Indo-European, was derived from an earlier "Indo-Hittite." For these reasons it has seemed safest and most convenient to follow the traditional reconstruction adopted in such standard works as Brugmann's Grundriss, Euck's Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin, or Kent's Sounds of Latin, while giving a brief account of the earlier laryngeals and their part in the subsequent development of the vowel- and consonant-system (see II, §§ 35, 36). The principal deviation from the traditional system is in the recognition of two, not three, series of k-sounds. It is improbable that the "plain velars" originally existed as a series distinct from the palatals, and in any case the distinction is unimportant for Oscan-Umbrian, as for Latin, Greek, Celtic, and Germanic.

Following the practice of other recent editors I have presented the Umbrian text without capitalization and without punctuation other than the word-dividers, but where words are written together on the bronze without the divider I have inserted a space between them if they are known to be properly separate. The customary practice of using italic type for texts and individual words recorded in the Latin alphabet and bold-face type for those in the native alphabet has been followed throughout the present work for Oscan as well as for Umbrian. Oscan words recorded in the Greek alphabet are regularly preceded by the abbreviation "O." Greek words are not designated, the alphabet being sufficiently distinctive to identify them as Greek.

In order to provide an easily readable translation I have avoided placing question marks after those words whose meaning is doubtful, although such marks are shown in the Lexicon when the meanings seem sufficiently uncertain to justify it. The practice of leaving words in the translation in their Umbrian form has been held down to a minimum, but in a few cases it has seemed unavoidable; so, for example, in the case of erus, persondro, and the names of several kinds of offering-cakes. Certain personal and divine names and other words not capable of being fully translated into English have been presented in Latin dress; so, for example, adjertor (for Umbrian arsjetur), prinuati (for prinuatprinuvatur prinuvatur with native nom. plur. ending). But it is impossible to achieve and maintain an absolutely logical and consistent standard of usage in this regard.

For those texts which exist in two versions, an earlier and a later, the fullest commentary is on the later (Vla, b, VIIa, b), both because their greater length renders them more important and because, if my impression is correct, instructors often make it a habit to present them to students before the earlier versions.
Yet Ia and b are provided with commentaries designed to summarize their content and to explain matters wherein they differ from the later tables.

The Lexicon is at the same time an Index Verborum, and is intended to account for every instance of every word in the Tables.

The selection of tables to be illustrated by plates was made with a view toward the variety of alphabets and letter-forms represented. Tables Ia and Va show somewhat divergent forms of the native alphabet. Table Vb shows the native and Latin alphabets both on the same surface of one table, while VIIa shows the Latin alphabet in an especially clear and legible form. All twelve plates are to be seen not only in Devoto's Tabulae Iguviniae, but also in the editio minor of the same work which contains, in addition to the plates, simply the Umbrian text and Latin translation.

My debt to earlier editors, especially Devoto, is far greater than one might infer from the references to them which appear here and there, but I have endeavored to maintain independence of judgment and have occasionally arrived at a new interpretation of my own.

Several publications of importance for the study of the Tables have appeared too late for use to have been made of them in the preparation of the present work. Among them may be mentioned: Giovannangelo Camporeale, La terminologia magistratuale nelle lingue osco-umbre ( Atti dell' Accademia Toscan di Scienze e Lettere “La Comomaria”), pp. 78, Florence, 1957; K. Olzschka, Das umbrische Perfekt auf nk (Glotta, XXXVI [1958], pp. 300-304); Ugo Coli, Il diritto pubblico degli umbri e le tavole eugubine (Circolo Toscano di Diritto Romano e Storia del Diritto, 1), pp. 98, Milan, 1958.

My obligations for help in bringing my work to completion are many. In the early stages of my study of the Iguvine Tables Professor Kent gave me much valuable assistance in conversation and by letter, and it is a matter of great regret to me that he did not live to see the finished work. I am deeply indebted to the Committee on the Publication of Monographs for accepting the manuscript for publication, to the referees for their many valuable suggestions toward the improvement of the work, and to the American Philological Association itself for bearing a large share of the cost. I am deeply grateful to Professor Giacomo Devoto for graciously allowing the plates in his own edition to be used in the preparation of plates for mine, and to Professor Herbert Bloch and Mr. Ernest Nash for generously exploring various means of reproducing the plates. To the Imprimerie Universa I am greatly indebted for patience, care, and skill in the printing of an extraordinarily difficult work. For the reading of the proofs I take the present opportunity to express my thanks to Suzanne Young and Robert E. A. Palmer, both of whom relieved me of the tedious and risky task of reading alone. Finally, to John L. Heller as the editor of this monograph my gratitude is due in a very exceptional degree, not merely for his having assisted me with
his philological learning and with the full range of his familiarity with the intricacies of editing and printing, but far more for the unnumbered hours which he has patiently devoted to the minute examination and correction of the manuscript and proofs. As an ancien élève of Professor Kent’s, he desires to join me in dedicating this work to his memory.

September 29, 1958.

James W. Poulney.
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ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Editions of the Iguvine Tables, and works containing them in their entirety or in part


* contains only selected passages of the Iguvine Tables.

2. Lexicons, grammatical works, monographs, selected journal articles, etc.

C.I.E. = *Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum*.
C.I.L. = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.
Hofmann, J. B., *Bursian’s Jahresbericht*, CCLXX (1940), pp. 80-100 (Literaturbericht).


Pokorny = J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Bern, 1948-


3. Periodicals

A.G.I. = Archivio glottologico italiano.


A.L.L. = Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik.

B.B. = (Bezzenberger's) Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen.


C.P. = Classical Philology.

Gl. = Glotta.


I.F. = Indogermanische Forschungen.

K.Z. = (Kuhn's) Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung.

Lang. = Language.

Latinitas.

Mnem. = Mnemosyne.

N.Jb. = Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik.

R.F.I.C. = Rivista di Filologia e d’Istruzione Classica.


4. Languages and Dialects

Aeol. = Aeolic
Av. = Avestan
Dor. = Doric
Eng. = English
Etr. = Etruscan
Fal. = Faliscan
Fr. = French
Germ. = German
Gk. = Greek
Goth. = Gothic
Hitt. = Hittite
Hom. = Homeric
IE = Indo-European
Ital. = Italian
L. = Latin
Lett. = Lettish
Lith. = Lithuanian
Marruc. = Marrucinian

Mars. = Marsian
O. = Oscan
OCS = Old Church Slavic
OE = Old English
OHG = Old High German
Olcel. = Old Icelandic
OIr. = Old Irish
OL = Old Latin
ON = Old Norse
Pael. = Paelignian
pIE = proto-Indo-European
pIt. = proto-Italic
Russ. = Russian
Sab. = Sabine
Skt. = Sanskrit
Ved. = Vedic
Vest. = Vestinian

5. Grammatical terms

abl. = ablative
acc. = accusative
act. = active
adj. = adjective
conj. = conjugation
dat. = dative
decl. = declension
denom. = denominative
f. = feminine
fut. = future
fut. pf. = future perfect
gdve. = gerundive
gen. = genitive
imperf. = imperfect
inv. = imperative
ind. = indicative
inf. = infinitive
loc. = locative
m. = masculine
neut. = neuter
nom. = nominative
pass. = passive
pepl. = participle
pf. = perfect
pl. = plural
postpos. = postposition
pres. = present
sg. = singular
subj. = subjunctive
voc. = vocative

The abbreviation “cf.” is used in etymological equations in the grammar, commentary, and lexicon to introduce forms which are cognate with the forms being explained, but not full etymological equivalents with them. The abbreviation is omitted before forms which are full etymological equivalents of those being explained, or which show only minor differences of stem-formation while still forming parts of the same paradigm. E.g., (10a) “simo gimu, give: cf. L. citra,” (Lexicon) “aðkani ... cf. L. ac-cina, ac-centus,” but (42 b) “caterus kaleðuf : L. calidus,” (Lexicon) “fertu... L. fero.”
6. **Concordance of dialect inscriptions cited**

<table>
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* The same numbering is followed in Buck's *Elementarbuch der oskisch-umbrischen Dialekte*, deutsch von E. Prokosch (Heidelberg, 1905).
I. INTRODUCTION

1. The seven bronze tablets which were discovered at Gubbio, the ancient Iguvium, in 1444 and are now preserved there in the Palazzo dei Consoli, are the only extant records of any considerable extent in the Umbrian dialect;¹ that is, in that language which, with Oscan, Latin, and several other dialects, makes up the Italic branch of the Indo-European family.

2. The largest of the tablets, VI and VII,² are each about 33 in. in height and 22 in. in width, the smallest, III and IV, each about 16 by 12. All except III and IV are inscribed on both sides; I, II, III, IV, and the obverse and part of the reverse of V are in a native alphabet very similar to the Etruscan alphabet, the remainder of the reverse of V, as well as VI and VII, in the Latin alphabet. The total number of words is over 4000. The tablets contain instructions for the religious ceremonies of a college of priests known as the Atiedian Brothers who flourished in Iguvium during the period of the Roman republic. No other body of liturgical texts from pre-Christian Europe can compare with the Iguvine Tables in extent. They have therefore an extraordinary importance both for the linguistic and the religious history of early Italy.

3. Gubbio or Iguvium is located in the province of Perugia about 20 miles north-northeast of the city of Perugia and on the western slope of the Apennines. It is known from Cicero, Balb., 47, to have been allied to Rome as a civitas foederata, and it was there, according to Livy, XLV, 43, that the Illyrian king Gentius was sent by the senate after the battle of Pydna to live in exile with his wife and children. After the Social War the inhabitants of Iguvium were granted Roman citizenship and the town became a municipium in the tribus Clustumina. It suffered a disadvantage as a result of the fact that the Via Flaminia, instead of passing through it, lay some distance to the east. Yet it had some importance during the Middle Ages, under the name Eugubium. Charlemagne is said to have passed through it on his return north after his coronation in Rome, and it had been an episcopal see at least as early as the fifth century. Ubaldo, who was bishop of Gubbio from 1129 to 1160, was canonized in 1192 and became the patron saint of the town. The Festival of the Ceri, which is celebrated in his honor on May 15, has certain features which are sometimes regarded as survivals from the pagan cult described in the Tables.³ In 1384 Gubbio passed under the

¹ Umbrian inscriptions apart from the Iguvine Tables have been found at Amelia (Ameria), Assisi, Fossato di Vico (Helvillum), Foligno (Fulginiae), Gubbio (coins only), Spoleto, and Todi (Tuder). There are scarcely more than ten in all, and the longest, Co. no. 355, contains only twenty words counting abbreviations. For the minor inscriptions see Bâ., pp. 172-7; Co., pp. 397-9; Pl. II, pp. 554-7; Bk., p. 310; Vet., I, pp. 164-70; Pis., pp. 214-6; Bott., pp. 323-5; Whatmough, Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, 1939, pp. 89-93.
² For the standard numbering of the tablets see § 13 below.
³ Rosenzweig, pp. 44-5.
control of the counts of Urbino, and with Urbino it became a part of the papal territory in 1631, and so continued until the plebisceite of 1860.

4. Of the places mentioned in the Tables few can with any reasonable certainty be fixed in relation to the topography of the modern town. The spot from which the auspices were taken, and hence the Fisian Mount itself, is probably to be placed not on Monte Ingino, which lies on the northeast side of Gubbio, but rather on Monte Foce directly to the north, for only by this theory can the observation of the auspices have been made in the southeastward direction which the text of VIa 1-18 seems to demand. A direct eastward facing is hardly possible. The three gates at which sacrifices were performed can be fixed to a certain degree from their names. If 

5. There was an ancient tradition according to which the Umbrians were the earliest inhabitants of Italy. This belief is attested by Dionysius of Halicarnassus,
Florus,⁶ and Pliny.⁷ This mention of an extensive conquest of Umbrian territory by Etruscans is in partial agreement with the statement of Herodotus, I, 94, that the Etruscans after crossing the sea from Smyrna arrived in the land of the Umbrians. Moreover the use of the name of the ‘Ομβρικόι to designate the inhabitants of a very large portion of northern Italy receives additional confirmation from Herodotus, IV, 49 ἐκ δὲ τῆς κατώρθωσις χώρης τ'Ομβρικοὶν Κάρπις ποταμὸς καὶ ἄλλος Ἀλπις πρὸς Βορέην ἄνεμον καὶ ὀυτοὶ ἄνωτες ἔκδιδοντο; ἐς αὐτὸν [sc. τὸν Ἰστρὸν]. Umbria, however, is generally understood much more narrowly, as the name of that portion of north central Italy separated on the west from Etruria by the Tiber and bordering Aemilia on the north, Picenum on the east, and the country of the Sabines on the southeast, and including in the northeast a small portion of the Adriatic coast between Ancona and Ariminum. It was numbered sixth among the regiones of Italy by Augustus. The greater part of Umbria lies to the east of the line which extends northward and southward across Italy in the longitude of Rome, Gubbio, and Rimini, separating the cremating people of the west from the inhuming people of the east,⁸ and in general the iron-age material shows a close resemblance to the Picene culture. But the few sites which have yielded inscriptions in the Italic dialect known as “Umbrian” mostly lie along the eastern fringe of the cremation area.⁹ The term "Umbrian dialect" then must not be taken as coextensive in area with the Umbrian territory as understood by Herodotus, or even with the sixth regio of Augustus.

6. The question of the position of Umbrian among the ancient languages of Italy is essential in any general treatment of the language of the Iguvine Tables. The linguistic diversity in Italy in the pre-Christian era was far greater than in Greece from the beginning of the period from which we have inscriptions. From Sicily and the coastal regions of southern Italy there are abundant records, both epigraphical and literary, of the speech of Greek colonists. From Apulia we have nearly two hundred inscriptions in the language of the Messapii, who are generally regarded as immigrants from the eastern side of the Adriatic, speaking a dialect of the Illyrian branch of the Indo-European family. Much farther to the northwest the Etruscans held control not only of the region between the Tyrrenhian Sea and the Tiber but, during the seventh and sixth centuries,
I. INTRODUCTION

of portions of the Po valley and Campania as well. Around ten thousand Etruscan inscriptions have been discovered, but all except a very few are brief epitaphs. The meager extent of our knowledge of the structure and affinities of the language even today is the more regrettable because of the undoubted influence of the Etruscans on the culture and even the language of their Italian neighbors, especially the closely adjacent Umbrians. None of the other non-Italic dialects of northern Italy is of comparable importance with Etruscan, yet we have some records of Gaulish in the Po valley, of Ligurian and Leponic in the northwest, and of Raetic in the Raetian Alps. Venetic was formerly grouped as Illyrian along with Messapic, but has more recently been shown to belong in the Italic group. In this group must be placed all the languages of ancient Italy not hitherto mentioned. These languages were spoken especially but not exclusively in the interior throughout the peninsula before its romanization, from the Venetic area in the north to Sicily in the south, and include not only Latin, the most important member, and its closely related neighbor Faliscan, but also Umbrian to the north, Oscan to the southeast, and a series of lesser dialects in the central region around Latium: Paelignian, Marrucinian, Vestinian, Sabine, Aequian, Marsian, and Volscian. Although these last seven are known only from the scantiest records, there is not the slightest doubt as to their classification as Italic. Volscian in particular shows a strikingly close relationship to Umbrian if we may judge from the language of the four-line inscription of Velitrae which constitutes the only certain example of the dialect. Oscan is far better known than the members of this intermediate or “Sabellian” group. Over two hundred Oscan inscriptions are preserved, from Samnium, Campania, Lucania, Bruttium, Messana, and Sicily, including several of fairly considerable length. The close relationship between Umbrian and Oscan is universally recognized; the two have in common a series of phonological and morphological features which must have developed during a period of unity but which are

10 The evidence in favor of the view that the Etruscans came to Italy by sea from Asia Minor is now so strong that it is practically impossible to entertain any other theory as to their origin. Their language was almost certainly not Indo-European, at least not in the traditional sense. If we follow the opinion of some recent scholars, as, for example, Sturtevant (Indo-Hittite Laryngeals, p. 23), in recognizing an “Anatolian” group, which would include Hittite, Hieroglyphic Hittite, Luwian, and Lycian and would constitute a sort of sister-group to Indo-European, Etruscan may some day find a place here.

11 M. S. Beeler, The Venetic Language, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1949. His conclusions were accepted by Whatmough, Lang., XXVI (1950), pp. 302-4.

12 Except the language or languages of the “Old Sabellian” or “East Italic” inscriptions discovered at several places on the eastern side of the peninsula. Certain scholars have regarded some of them as Umbrian in language, but their meaning and the classification of their language are not known to any appreciable extent.

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absent from Latin. Of these the most striking is the conversion of the labiovelar stops inherited from proto-Indo-European into plain labial stops: e.g. O. pid, U. piñ-e, but L. quid. Another important point of agreement against Latin is in the treatment of the voiced aspirates: in Latin these stops become voiceless spirants only in the initial position, while in the medial position they merely lose their aspiration and become plain voiced stops, but in Oscan and Umbrian they become voiceless spirants medially as well as initially: e.g. O. tfei, U. tefe, but L. tibi, with the stop shown in its original form in Skt. tubhyam. When a labial or guttural stop stands immediately before a dental, Latin maintains the stop, but in Oscan and Umbrian it is converted into a spirant: e.g. L. scriptus but O. scrifles, U. schrêlo (-ht-<-fl-<-pt-). The group -nd- is assimilated to -nn-: e.g. O. úpsamnam, U. pihaner, but L. operandus. The groups ns and rs give rise to f and rf under certain conditions; for the details, which are complicated, see 58 b, c, d, f, 59 c, e; Latin shows no parallel to these sound-changes. Among the vowels ā is raised in certain situations in the direction of ō: e.g. O. mollo, U. mutu, but L. multa (with shortening of final ā instead of qualitative change). Vowel syncope is much more frequent even than in Latin: e.g. O. hûrz, U. ĭku-vins (minor inscription no. 369 Co.), but OL. hortus, Sabinus. Among declen-
sional forms the genitive singular of o-stems has been remodeled after the i-stems: e.g. O. sakarakleis, U. katles, but L. catuli; the accusative singular of conso-
nant-stems has been remodeled after the o-stems: e.g. O. tanginom, U. curnaco (<-om), but L. cornicem. Features of the Oscan-Umbrian verb system not found in Latin include the third plural ending in -ns, the j-perfect (e.h. aûdafaed, U. pihafi), and the infinitive in -om. The foregoing features are all innovations shared in common by Oscan and Umbrian in contrast to Latin, where the original conditions have been preserved or the innovation has proceeded in a different direction. The reverse instances, in which Oscan and Umbrian have escaped the changes which appear in Latin, have less weight as positive evidence for close Oscan-Umbrian unity, yet they are important in any consideration of the Italic group as a whole. The vowel-weakening which is such a characteristic feature of Latin is largely absent from the other two dialects. s before nasals is maintained in such forms as O. fiisnam, U. fes-
naf-e in contrast to its loss in L. fānum, etc. In noun-inflection the ā-stems have kept the s of the genitive singular (e.g. O. versiās, U. tutas, Gk. γόας; Goth. gibōs), which in Latin has been almost entirely displaced, except in expressions like pater familias, by the ending i (āt> ae) of the o-stems. In the nominative plural of both ā- and o-stems both Oscan and Umbrian have retained the -s originally characteristic of nouns, as in Sanskrit and Gothic, in contrast to the originally pronominal ending of L. feminea, vīrī, etc. In the ge-
nitive singular of the third declension, just as Oscan-Umbrian has extended the ending of i-stems into consonant-stems (e.g. O. medîkeis like aeleis), so Latin has extended the ending of consonant-stems into i-stems (e.g. hostis like regis).
Moreover the original short-vowel ending of the nominative plural of consonant-stems, which is preserved in such forms as O. humuns (<-nēs), U. frater (<-r<-rs <-rēs) was replaced in Latin by -ēs <-eyes from the i-stems. In the verb Oscan and Umbrian preserve the distinction between primary and secondary endings in the third singular and plural, which has been effaced in Latin, and there are other differences, but some of these may be due to the accidental lack of examples in the dialects. In vocabulary also Oscan and Umbrian frequently agree with one another against Latin; for example, O. touta, U. tota take the place of civitas, U. meēs (contained also as first member in O. medēiss) takes the place of L. ius; in place of ignis U. has pir (: Gk. πῦ ql), a derivative of which appears in O. purasai; O. veru and U. urer (abl. pl.) take the place of porta as words for ‘gate.’ Latin words for ‘building, home, dwell’ are largely replaced by derivatives of the root treb- seen in O. triēbūm, U. tremnu, trebeil, etc. (but found also in L. trabs). The verb represented by L. volo, velle, apart from specialized uses, has disappeared in favor of O. herest ‘volet,’ U. heri ‘vult,’ etc.; and the list could be extended. Naturally Oscan and Umbrian show certain divergences between themselves. The anaptyxis which appears in Oscan forms such as ara-getūd = L. argento is largely absent from Umbrian, as from Latin. But where Oscan differs from Umbrian it is almost always the former which shows the earlier stage of development. The change of medial s to r, which Umbrian shares with Latin, is not found in Oscan, which advanced in this direction only to the extent of voicing the s: e.g. U. pracatarum, L. dearum, but O. egmazum; and the Umbrian of the later Iguvine Tables even has rhotacism in the final position: e.g. nom. pl. O. ādīlis, L. aeōles, but U. āner. Conversion of k to a sibilant before front vowels is clearly attested in Umbrian by the use of a special character: e.g. O. kersnu, L. cena, cenali, but U. šesna, čersnatur (paralleled in the Romance languages in such forms as Ital. cento, Fr. cent). The change of intervocalic d into ū rs is an especially peculiar Umbrian feature; so also the change of medial l to the same ū rs under certain conditions, and the change of initial l to v u in uaepē-e (L. lapides), etc. The loss of l before t, which may be observed in the contrast of U. muta with O. mollo, L. multa, is also peculiar. Where Oscan has preserved the diphthongs intact, Umbrian has gone farther even than Latin in converting them to monophthongs: e.g. O. avt aut, L. aut, but U. ute ole.

7. The Sabellian dialects in general show a decided resemblance to Oscan and Umbrian; the conversion of labiovelars to labials is only one among many evidences of such agreement. Paelignian, which is the best known of these dialects, shows an especially close similarity to Oscan, and the same appears to be true of Marrucinian and Vestinian, as far as it is possible to determine from their extremely meager remains, except that they occasionally show the agreement with Umbrian against Oscan which their geographical position would lead us to expect. The close resemblance between Volscian and Umbrian has already been mentioned above in § 6.
8. When we turn from this closely interrelated group of Umbrian, Sabellian, and Oscan dialects to Latin and the question of its relation to them, we are confronted with a problem that has become increasingly controversial in recent decades. Earlier works, such as Brugmann's Grundriss and the Oscan-Umbrian grammars of von Planta and Buck, unhesitatingly affirmed the notion of Italic as one of the principal branches of the Indo-European family, with Latin, Oscan, and Umbrian as closely related members within it, and in fact it is doubtful whether the interpretation of the texts could have been successfully accomplished by any other means than the assumption of a close linguistic relationship to Latin, accompanied by a careful comparison of Latin literature and antiquities. The special features common to Latin and the Oscan-Umbrian group of dialects include: representation of the Indo-European initial voiced aspirates by voiceless spirants; representation of the vocalic liquids r, l by or, ol and of the vocalic nasals y, n by en, em; merging of the diphthongs eu and ou as ou; extensive syncope of unstressed short vowels; frequent use of the extended suffix -tiôn- in place of -ti- in abstract nouns (with gradation -tiōn/tiôn- in Oscan and Umbrian); extension of the ablative singular ending -d from o-stems into most other stem-classes; an imperfect indicative based on the suffix -bhā- or more probably -bhvā-, which, however, in the dialects is attested solely by O. fufans. Moreover, in the verbal system of the two branches, despite many important differences and despite the fact that some common features are found even outside of Italic and hence are less significant than innovations peculiar to Latin and Oscan-Umbrian, nevertheless there is a fundamental similarity, which is especially apparent when we attempt to arrange the verbs in conjugational classes. The system of four conjugations which is traditional for Latin and which has been successfully extended to Oscan and Umbrian, could not possibly be adapted to the verbal system of Greek or of the Indo-Iranian or Germanic languages. Several recent scholars, however, have emphasized the differences rather than the resemblances between Latin and Oscan-Umbrian, and in fact the differences are unquestionably greater than between, for example, any two Greek dialects. Moreover, according to those scholars who favor a wide separation, some of the features which the two branches share in common are the result of cultural borrowing after the Italic-speaking nations were settled in the peninsula. Latin words of dialectal origin, especially those possessing unexpected labials in place of the normal product of labiatives (e.g. popina: genuine Latin coquina, bos: Skt. gaus), or medial j from bh, dh (e.g. Alfius: genuine L. Albius, U. alf, Gk. ἀλφός; rufus: genuine L. ruber, U. rofu, Skt. rudhiras) are well-known.

14 Kretschmer, Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft, I (Leipzig and Berlin, 1912), p. 554, found a difference of 10 to 15 words per hundred between the Greek of the Gortynian Law Code and Attic, but a difference of 60 to 70 words per hundred between the Iguvine Tables and Latin. See also Beeler, Lang., XXVIII (1952), pp. 435-43, emphasizing the divergence between Oscan-Umbrian and Latin.
Among borrowings in the opposite direction, from Latin into the dialects, it is possible to mention O. *aidīl (<L. aedilis; if this were native we should expect -f-), O. kenzzur (beside native keenzstur), O. kvaisstur, U. kvestur, unless the initial consonant of these and of L. quaestor was kw (which is unlikely, since these words are probably somehow related to the interrogative pronoun stem with labiovelar kʷ) and unless kp became kv instead of p in the dialects; certain other words, such as L. vinum, U. vinu, give evidence of borrowing from dialect to dialect, and of ultimate Greek, Etruscan, or other origin. But in general the evidence for extensive lexical borrowing among the Italic dialects is not very strong, although a careful phonological study of the vocabulary of Latin, Oscan, and Umbrian in close connection with the chronology of the sound-changes might lead to interesting results.

9. Naturally the extent of kinship between Latin and Oscan-Umbrian is a matter of degree and not of absolute truth against absolute falsity, unless it is asked whether or not we have the right to assume "proto-Italic" as a common ancestor of the Italic languages, spoken after the breaking up of proto-Indo-European, but uniform within itself. In the light of present-day knowledge of dialect geography it is unlikely that we have the right to assume any intermediate stages of this sort except in the sense of groups of closely related dialects, mutually intelligible but not absolutely uniform unless their area was an exceedingly small one. In this sense it may be quite proper, and for practical convenience is sometimes desirable, to recognize "proto-Italic" as we recognize "proto-Germanic" and similar ancestor-stages for other groups. But it is quite improbable that "proto-Italic" was ever spoken within the Italian peninsula; the two main divisions had probably become at least partially distinct somewhere beyond the Alps. It is a familiar assumption that among the prehistoric Indo-European dialects from which the separate languages of later times were descended some occupied a position on the periphery of the original home, and that the speakers of these dialects migrated especially early to their new homes, and further that these dialects, even after wide geographical separation, preserved certain archaisms of morphology and vocabulary which disappeared, sometimes being replaced by new forms, in the more centrally located dialects and the languages descended from them. Now at those points where the Latin and Oscan-Umbrian vocabulary diverge from one another it not infrequently happens that the dialects show a striking agreement with Greek or Germanic, two branches generally regarded as being descended from centrally located Indo-European dialects. As examples it may be sufficient to cite U. pir, O. *pur- in purasīāa, Gk. πῦρ, OHG fuīr, Eng. fire (but L. ignis with Skt. āgniṣ); U. trebeil, tremnu, Goth. āapur, Germ. Dorf. In the treatment of the labiovelars also the dialects agree with Greek

15 For this theory, or variations of it, see H. Hirt, Die Indogermanen (2 vols., Strassburg, 1905-7), I, pp. 158, 162; Meillet & Vendryes, Traité de grammaire comparée des langues classiques (Paris, 1924), p. 17; Devoto, Gli antichi italicī (Florence, 1951), p. 49.
(especially with Aeolic, where the labialization does not depend on the quality of the following vowel) and with the Cymric division of Celtic, which, to judge from its geographical position, appears to be a descendant of a more centrally situated dialect than that which developed into Irish. The notion that the pre-Latin speakers were early migrants into Italy, followed by a much later wave of other migrants, accords well with the distribution of the Italic peoples in the latter half of the first millennium B.C., when “Latinians” occupied portions of the west coast, including not only Latium but regions farther to the southeast before they were submerged by the Oscan-speaking Samnites, and left possible remnants in Sicily. It is now possible to arrange the Italic languages and dialects according to the following stemma:

![Stemma diagram]

10. Neither the passages of the Tables in which the ritual is described nor the liturgical formulas interspersed among these directions can be considered as polished literary compositions comparable with passages of similar content imbedded in Greek epic or tragic poetry or in Latin literature of the Golden Age. But if the prayers of the Atiedian Brothers are deficient in elegance and smoothness, they have nonetheless a certain rugged and archaic dignity. Their style can best be compared with that of the prose of Cato the Elder, the fragments of the Twelve Tables, and the ancient formulas of a ritualistic character scattered through the works of Roman prose writers of a later age. The sentence-structure in the Tables is generally simple; imperatives, sometimes in series of some length, are used in the basic directions for the ritual, interspersed with temporal clauses of resumptive character, containing future perfect verb forms and serving to connect the successive steps of the ritual in their proper sequence. There is rarely a second level of subordination and scarcely even an approach to what is known as a ‘periodic sentence.’ Asyndeton is the rule when substantives follow one another.

16 For such texts in general see G. Appel, De precationibus Romanorum (Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten, VII), Giessen, 1909.
in series, and imperative forms are often similarly connected: e.g. *totar Iouinar nome nerf arsmo veiro pequo castruo fri pihatu*, or the imperatives *persnihmu vestikatu ahtrepufatu arpeitlu statitatu*. But if there is an appearance of striving for brevity in the sparing use of conjunctions, the opposite is true of the accumulation of near-synonyms which is such a marked feature of legal or liturgical formulas, where no omission may be allowed which might nullify the effect of the prayer or injunction. So, for example, in VIa 27-8 in which Jupiter Grabovius is entreated to accept the ox as a propitiatory offering in case of any deficiency or flaw in the ritual: *Dei Craboutie persei tuer perscler uaseto est pesetom est peretomest / fresetomest doetomest tuer perscler uirseto uirseto uas est...;* or the frequent formula *futu fons pacer pase tua ocre Fisi tole Iouine erer nomne erar nomne.*

11. In making a comparison between the Iguvine Tables and early Latin legal and liturgical prose it is necessary to take account of one particular artistic device which is especially affected by both; that is, the use of alliteration. The most striking example of its use in the Tables occurs in the curse against the enemies of Iguvium in VIb 60 = VIIa 49 (with only orthographic differences) *tursituf tremitu hondu holtu ninctu nepitu sonitu saituu preplotatu preutilatu*. Other examples include *stahmei stahmetei, praco pracatarum, jato jito perne posne sepse sarsite.* It is not necessary to cite Latin parallels, which range from the tour de force *O Tite tute Tati tibi tanta tyranne tulisti* of Ennius (fr. 109 Vahlen) to the restrained use of such phrases as *magno cum murmure montis* by Vergil. The theory that alliteration was especially favored in early Germanic, Celtic, and Italic verse because of the initial position of the accent in the early stages of these languages is plausible enough, but the reduced use of this device in Latin literature of the best period is certainly not the result of the new system of accent, but rather of a more refined and sophisticated standard of taste, combined possibly with the influence of Greek verse-structure, where alliteration never had a prominent role. A rather closely related matter is the possible use of rhythm in the liturgical formulas of the Tables, but here we are on very uncertain ground because of our ignorance not only of quantitative and accentual conditions in the Italic dialects but even of the prosodic principles of Latin Saturnian verse, which is the verse-form that most naturally suggests itself as a basis for comparison in studying the question of rhythm in the dialect texts.

12. Our knowledge of the facts concerning the discovery of the Iguvine Tables

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19 For a much more comprehensive account of the study of the tables from their discovery in 1444 down to the present time, see Bréal, *Les tables eguvinues*, pp. 1-XVIII, and Devoto, *Tabulæ iguvinæ*, pp. 5-27. The present is a condensation of these accounts.
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is derived from certain addenda to Statuta Civitatis Eugubii, the work of a seventeen-century jurist Antonio Concioli, a native of Gubbio. The passage in question reads: ... confirmat (sc. Eugubium civitatem fuisse antiquissimam, ac reges ibi resedisse) veterrimum theatrum: confirmant novem aheneae tabulae fama perceivebres, ac litteris ac sententiis nemini cognitis exaratae quae totius orbis, nedum Italae, antiquissima creduntur monumenta. Anno 1444 has tabellas ex aere purissimo fortuna detexit in subterranea concameratione miris emblematibus tessellata, quae quidem tam egregio picturatur artificio, ut regalis aulae specimen praebat, apud theatrum, hoc est in planitie ubi antiquitus sedebat Eugubium. Atque illae notissimum sibi nomen compararunt apud eos, qui vetustale cognita delectantur, multique crediderunt leges ibi caeleatas esse primorum regum, qui in hac provincia dominarentur. Centesimus trigesimus tertius agitur annus ex quo illarum duae Venetiis in armamentario ducalis palatii inter rarissima custodiuntur, tamen pretiosa caligantis, sed pulchrae antiquitatis monumenta, ac Tabulae Eugubinae vocantur. Delatae fuerunt in eam urbem a clarissimo virro ut nobilibus eorum temporum antiquariis tradarentur interpretandae: et licet brevi remittendas fuisse promiserit, nec brevi, nec ullo unquam tempore redierunt in societatem alienum septem, quae in secreto palatii communis archivio asservantur. The remains of the Roman theatre in which the tables were discovered are located just outside the town of Gubbio, on the western side. The notion that there were originally nine tables has been questioned because of a notice of the sale as early as 1456 of seven tables to the town of Gubbio:20 ... vendidit... magnificis dominis Gonfaloniero et consulibus dicte civitatis et michi Guerio Cancellerio infrascripto recipientibus pro dicto Comuni tabulas septem eburneas (sic) varis litteris scriptas latinis videlicet et secretis. But there is further evidence to support the belief that the number of tables originally discovered was nine. Leandro Alberti (1479-1552) in his Descrizione d'Italia21 writes of the tables: Praeterea loci vetustatem tabulae quaedam ex aere, partim Hetruscis, partim Latinis characteribus inscriptae probant, quae non pridem inter antiquas urbis ruinas inventae, nunc in Curia magno cum honore servantur. Mihi cum aliquando Eugubium venissem, Priores urbis summa cum religione sepulentas ostenderunt, binas adhuc deesse addentes. Bréal sought to solve the problem of the conflicting traditions by supposing that the two tables which eventually disappeared in Venice after 1540 had been in other hands from the time of their discovery or else had been sold to other persons at the time when the seven were sold to the city. In any case the view that there were originally nine tables is generally accepted today. Their possible content is discussed briefly below (§ 16).


13. The religious character of the tables was recognized as early as the sixteenth century. Justus Lipsius, who in 1588 published the Inscriptionum antiquarum quae passim per Europam liber of Martinus Smetius after the latter’s death, included Tables IV and VI, with the remark tabulas hasce ambas Joannes Metellus Burgundus vidit et exscripsit, quas etsi nemo plane intelligit, quia tamen de rebus sacris agere quidam crediderunt, ideo hoc loco ponendas existimavi. The clue to this religious character could conceivably have been found in such expressions as buf trij fetu marte or in other passages where Latin-appearing divine names and animal names are used in close association, but it was impossible to make any satisfactory sense from the texts until the development of comparative linguistic method in the nineteenth century. It was not even clearly understood what the language of the inscriptions was, and attempts were made to decipher the texts with the help of Dutch (so van Screeck in 1614, taking the language to be that of the ancient ‘Belgians’) or of Old English, Old High German, and Celtic languages (so Bardetti, 1688-1767), or of Greek and Hebrew (so Passeri, 1691-1780). That the language was often taken to be Etruscan is not surprising in view of the type of writing used on five of the seven tables, the proximity of Umbria to Etruria, and the exaggerated enthusiasm for Etruscan antiquities which affected not only some Italians of Tuscan origin but certain non-Italians as well. This view was held by Bernardino Baldo (1553-1617), who in 1613 published a work entitled Divinatio in tabulam aeneam Eugubinam lingua Etrusca veteri perscriptam, and by the Scottish scholar Thomas Dempster (1559-1625), whose work De Etruria Regali was written in 1619 but first published in Florence in 1723 with the help of Thomas Coke, Earl of Leicester. Dempster regarded the Umbrian language as one of four dialects of Etruscan, of which the others were Oscan, Raetic, and Faliscan. Filippo Buonarroti, who was entrusted with the task of editing Dempster’s work, performed a valuable service by adding a set of remarkably accurate facsimiles of the tables. He also denied the theory that their language was Etruscan, basing his argument on the total absence of the termination -al which is so common in Etruscan inscriptions. Although the Etruscan theory did not fully die out until the early nineteenth century, some advances were made during the seventeenth and eighteenth. Scipione Maffei (1675-1755) correctly interpreted some of the words in the tables, called attention to the resemblance between their content, which he recognized as being liturgical, and that of the Roman Acta Fratrum Arvalium, and defended their genuineness against those of his day who regarded them as forgeries. Hannibal degli Abbati Olivieri (1708-89) recognized the words atersiur, etc., as the name of a priestly college, which he designated Ateiatorum, and saw that the word ikuvina in the tables, like ikuvins on a coin from Gubbio (no. 369 Co.) was derived from the name of the town Iguvium, even though he made the mistake of translating lola ionina ‘tota inventus.’ Passeri’s work was important because of his understanding and exposition of the combinational method of decipherment, his re-
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cognition of the language as the ancient language of Gubbio, and his arrangement of the tables, even though this arrangement was later to be superseded by that of Lepsius, which is universally adopted as the standard today.\(^{22}\) In spite of his dependence on Greek and Hebrew for purposes of etymological comparison, to which reference was made above, he first made correct interpretations of several words the credit for which has generally been given to much later scholars. Aloisius Lanzi (1732-1818) affirmed the ritualistic character of the texts, which, even though it had been recognized much earlier, had by no means been admitted by all scholars during the two centuries which preceded the publication of Lanzi's *Saggio di lingua etrusca e di altre antiche d'Italia* (Rome, 1789). He further succeeded in reaching a sound interpretation of a number of individual words: *feitu* 'facito', *desenduf* 'duodecim', *poi* 'qui,' *ape* 'postquam,' *kumiaf* 'foetas,' *nertru* 'sintistro,' *fons* 'volens,' *pir* 'πῶς.' A generation later Carl Otfried Müller (1797-1840) made it fully clear that the language of the Iguvine Tables was not Etruscan and that the two alphabets used in the tables do not represent two distinct dialects.\(^{23}\) Müller's pupil Richard Lepsius (1810-84) partly advanced the interpretation of the tables, especially by perceiving the true value of several of the characters in the Etruscan alphabet, but partly went astray by affirming that the use of the Etruscan and Latin alphabets in the inscriptions of the same people must always indicate a difference of language, and by assigning to the tables a greater antiquity than any scholar of the present day would admit.\(^{24}\) His most important contribution to the study of the Iguvine Tables, however, lies in the chronological numbering which he assigned to them, for even though this numbering may not represent the true relative age of the tables themselves, still less of the texts which they contain, nevertheless it has become the accepted standard for all subsequent editors.\(^{25}\) The earliest critical edition of the Iguvine Tables still cited by contemporary scholars in their treatment of problems in the Iguvine Tables is the *Umbrische Sprachdenkmäler* of Th. Aufrecht and A. Kirchhoff (3 vols., Berlin, 1849-51). Although many of their emendations and inter-

\(^{22}\) Passeri counted twelve tables by taking separately the two sides of the five which are inscribed on both sides. His first six tables are nos. I, VI, and VII according to the system of Lepsius; his VII-VIII = our II; IX-X = our V; XI-XII = our III-IV; identity of content was the ground for placing I with VI and VII despite the difference of alphabet.


\(^{24}\) 6th century B.C. for those tables in the Etruscan alphabet, 4th century B.C. for those in the Latin. Earlier views of their age had varied considerably. Concioi's account of the discovery of the tables, cited above, may be remembered for his bold statement that the tables were the oldest records in the world, not to mention Italy. Bourguet (1678-1742) regarded them as earlier than the reign of Romulus and as the earliest extant monuments with the exception of some from Egypt. Passeri with more restraint had ranged himself between those who believed the tables to be earlier than the Trojan War and those who believed them to be no earlier than the time of Cicero. For modern views, with the criteria used for dating the tables, see below (**§§ 17-19**).

\(^{25}\) Huschke assigned the designation IIa to the table normally numbered IIb and vice versa.
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interpretations can no longer be accepted today, the work, with its full Latin translation, detailed commentary, grammar, lexicon, and facsimiles of all the tables, still has value. Of the various treatments of the tables during the century which has elapsed since Aufrecht and Kirchhoff some idea can be gained from the bibliography. These may be divided roughly into two classes: works on the Italic dialects, such as those of Conway, von Planta, Buck, Vetter, Pisani, and Bottiglioni, most of them containing a more or less detailed grammatical description of the dialects; and editions of the Iguvine Tables alone, such as those of Huschke, Bréal, Bücheler, von Blumenthal, and Devoto (with the minor Umbrian inscriptions included in Huschke and Bücheler, as well as the Tables). The value of Huschke's work is seriously impaired by the many sound-changes which are erroneously assumed, and by the invalid etymologies based on these sound-changes. Bréal's work has much greater value. Bücheler's edition is excellent, and on it to a large extent are based the interpretations of Conway and of Buck. Von Blumenthal's commentary does not cover the whole of the Tables but contains a penetrating analysis of certain selected passages. Along with some interpretations which must be discarded there are others which show great ingenuity and are preferable to those of any of his predecessors. Devoto's edition is the most important that has appeared during the twentieth century; it deserves special praise for the acute and independent judgment applied to the innumerable problems which arise in the interpretation of the Tables, for its orderly exposition of the parts of the ritual and their relation to the ceremonies as a whole, for the liberal citation of Latin, Greek, Avestan, and Sanskrit passages relating to parallel cult-practices, and for its abundant bibliographical references. Devoto's smaller work, Le tavole di Gubbio (Florence, 1948), contains the first translation of the Iguvine Tables to appear in any modern language. A number of important shorter studies, especially by Italian scholars, have appeared during the past two decades, of which it is impossible to give an adequate account here. There are still many unsolved problems in the interpretation of the Iguvine Tables, and for many of these it would be too much to hope that with the knowledge we now have we shall ever find an entirely satisfactory solution, although if some fortunate chance should ever lead to the recovery of the two lost tables or of some new Umbrian inscription of considerable length, our knowledge of the language and meaning of the extant tables would be substantially increased. Actually, however, since the middle of the nineteenth century so much of the tables has been clearly understood that it is quite possible to give a detailed and accurate outline of their content. In the following outline the line-numbers of VIa, b, VIIa are shown in a parallel column after those of Ia, b, since the content is nearly the same except that the version in VI and VII is much more detailed than that in I. In the remainder of the outline IIa, IIb, III, IV, Va, and Vb are given in order.
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| Va 1- Vb 7 | Two decrees regarding the duties and privileges of the adfertor. |
| Va 1-3    | Authority for the first decree.                           |
| 3-10     | Responsibility of the adfertor to procure and inspect victims for sacrifice. |
| 10-13    | Prescribed rate for the procurement of vegetable offerings. |
| 14-15    | Authority for the second decree.                         |
| 15-22    | Rewards granted to the adfertor at the three stages of the sacrifice. |
| 22-Vb 7  | Vote on whether the adfertor has performed his duties satisfactorily, and fine to be imposed on him in case he has failed. |

| Vb 8-18 | Contracts between the Atiedian Brothers and two of the decuviae. |

| Vb 8-13   | Contract with the decuvia Clavernii.                   |
| 13-18     | Contract with the decuvia Casilas.                     |
I. INTRODUCTION

14. Among the deities known from the Iguvine Tables several are thoroughly familiar in Rome. This is notably the case with Jupiter and Mars, who are honored during the purification of the Fisian Mount with sacrifices before the Trebulan and Tezenacan Gates respectively, although for the epithet Grabovius which stands with the names of these two gods most recent editors assume an Illyrian origin and no longer admit any connection with Latin (Mars) Gradivus: see on VIa 22. This epithet also stands beside the name of Vofionus, who is honored with three oxen at the Veian Gate. The three gods therefore make up a triad comparable to the Roman triad consisting of Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus, and this grouping in threes appears in a number of other connections in the Iguvine Tables; there are, for example, three gates at which sacrifice is performed in the purification of the Fisian Mount, three sacrifices in the lustration of the people of Iguvium, three principal stages in the sacrifice (caesio, porrectio, superjectio), three victims in each of the sacrifices of the purification and lustration; the sentence of banishment against aliens is pronounced three times, and the lustral procession makes the circuit three times. Roman parallels are not difficult to find; for a treatment of the subject from an Italic and Indo-Iranian viewpoint see Benveniste, Revue de l'histoire des religions, CXXIX (1945), pp. 5-16. The deities of the Iguvine cult are occasionally grouped in triads in which the second and third are subordinate to the first; so at least in the case of Šerfus Martius, Prestota Šerfia of Šerfus Martius, and Tursa Šerfia of Šerfus Martius, to whom sacrifices are offered at three separate spots in the ceremonies of the lustration. The second and third deities, which are female, evidently represent two opposite aspects of Mars, Prestota standing for his protective power, Tursa for his hostile power which terrifies enemies. Another apparent instance of deified abstraction is found in IIa 10, 11, where sacrifices are offered to Ahtus Jupiter and Ahtus Mars; Ahtus represents the oracular power of the two gods whose names follow in apposition. In the name Vesune Puemunes Puemunes in IV 3-4, etc., Vesuna is probably to be regarded as the consort of Puemunus, both being deities of fertility; but in general the precise interrelation between deities, when one name accompanies another in genitive or adjective form, is difficult to define, and the tables give little direct help. Certainly it is not possible here to discuss the problem of the degree of anthropomorphism present in Italic religion before it had become strongly permeated with Greek influence.

15. The ritual of the Atiedian Brothers was a complex one, partly because the animal sacrifice, which was the most important feature, was generally accompanied by supplementary offerings of various kinds, and because considerable attention was given to the kinds of vessels and other implements used in the ceremonies. Libations are offered with wine and more frequently with a substance known as puni = poni, which has been variously identified but was probably some other alcoholic beverage, possibly mead; sometimes poni alone is prescribed, sometimes a choice of wine or poni. Several types of cakes are called for, one or
frequently two types being prescribed for a single sacrifice. A full list would include the *meja*, with which the *meja speja* may be identical, the *ficsla*, the *tesedi*, *farsio* or barley-cakes, the *arplataf* or crescent-shaped cakes, and the *petenata* or comb-cakes. We can have only a rough notion of the nature of these different cakes, chiefly from etymological comparison and from data regarding Roman offering-cakes in Cato, Festus, etc. The description of the sacrifices also includes instructions on the disposition of the various parts of the victim and on the modulation of the voice and the content of the prayers to be used. Among the passages relating to the purification and lustration the two versions in Ia, b, and VIa, b, VIIa in general show remarkably close agreement, the chief difference being that only the later version gives the actual text of the prayers, while the earlier merely gives a hint of their content through the words *ukriper Fisius tutaper Ikuvina* ‘on behalf of the Fisian Mount, on behalf of the Iguvine State’. But there is no regular sequence in giving the instructions to use wine or mead, to offer cakes of a specified type, to pray silently, to use the same formulas as before the Trebalum Gate, etc.; the sequence not only varies from one sacrifice to the next, but even between the earlier and later versions of the same sacrifice. The priests must have known in what order to proceed and merely needed to be told what type of cakes to offer, whether they must use mead or whether they had the choice of mead or wine, etc. Certain ritual acts not mentioned in connection with the purification and lustration are found in the description of the sacrifice in IIa, b, III, IV. Especially striking among these is the anointing of the Obelisk in IIa 38.

16. A topic related to the cults of Iguvium and even more beset with difficulties is the organization of the Atiedian priesthood and of the Iguvine state. It is fully clear that the Tables are the records of a priestly organization whose name latinized would be *Fratres Atiedii*; it is they who passed the resolutions in Va and who contracted with the *decuviar* Clavernii and Casilas in Vb, and the sacrifices in III are offered on their own behalf — *fratrupe(r)* *Atieiefie(s)*. The number of members was probably twelve, since in VIIb 1-2 twelve unblemished (heifers) are to be procured for the ritual heifer-chase, unless indeed we take *desenduf* directly with *fratrom Aitiersio* itself instead of with *seuacne*. Twelve was also the number of the Roman *Salii* according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. Rom.*, II, 70, 1; Livy, I, 20, 4, and of the *Fratres Arvales* according to Masurius Sabinus (Aul. Gell., VII, 7, 8). There is some difficulty in reconciling the number twelve with the practice of voting in groups of five, as when in III 4-5 the Brothers rising in *puntis* ‘pentads’ appoint an *auctor*, but Devoto, p. 305, *T.G.*, p. 11, finds a fairly satisfactory solution by recognizing two pentads plus the *fraticus* plus the *adjertor*, making twelve in all. The *fraticus* appears to be a sort of presiding officer within the brotherhood; it is he who in Va 23 calls for a vote as to whether the *adjertor* has performed his duties satisfactorily, although the quaestor may replace him in this function. The *fraticus* also has the responsi-
bility of obtaining victims for the ritual heifer-chase, according to the instructions in VIIb, and like the adfertor in Va, he can be penalized if he fails in his duty. The language of VIIa 1-2 — ‘whoever at any time shall be fratricus for the Atiedian Brothers... during his term of office as fratricus’ — makes it seem that the office was subject to rather frequent rotation. No single official mentioned in the Iguvine Tables has such an important role as the adfertor. It is he who performs the lustration; so much is plain from VIIb 3 ‘when the Atiedian adfertor has performed the lustration of the people’; compare also Ib 40-1. The taking of the auspices in the opening portion of VIa, which precedes the series of sacrifices performed during the purification of the Fisian Mount, is the responsibility of the adfertor and augur together; at least the person who is euphemistically designated ‘he who goes to observe the divine messengers (the birds)’ may safely be regarded as the equivalent of the Roman augur. During the instructions for the sacrifices of the purification in VIa 22-b 47 = Ia 2-b 9 the adfertor is never directly mentioned, but this avoidance of his title is evidently deliberate; see especially on Vlb 50. In general the instructions throughout the Iguvine Tables have the form of future imperatives without expressed subject, and it is to be assumed that the priests knew who was to carry out each particular instruction; usually it was the adfertor, although occasionally it must have been some other person, as, for example, in IV 29, where the subject to be understood for kanetu is probably a flute-player. Whether the actual slaying of the victim was performed by a victimarius, as ultimately in Rome, it is impossible to say. In Tables Ia, b, IIa, b, III the instructions are normally given in the second person, in VIa, b, VIIa in the third, if we may judge by the distribution of s and st in the endings of the future and future perfect forms which frequently appear in the subordinate clauses, for the imperative forms in -lu, like Latin amalo, habeto, etc., are ambiguous (115 c). During the lustration and the heifer-chase the adfertor is accompanied by two men called prinuatur. From the meagre data in Ib, Vlb, VIIa it is not clear whether they are similar to aecolytes or are civil magistrates of some kind whose office entitles them to a part in the ceremonies, but from the fact that they wear a purple robe (if ponisiatel Vlb 51, punicatet Ib 15 means ‘one dressed in purple’) and that they join with the adfertor in uttering the imprecations against the enemies of Iguvium in Vlb 57 ff. and VIIa 46 ff., it appears that their position was an important one. Of two other officials, the auctor and the quaestor, more will be said below (§18) because of the significance of these officials for the chronology of the Tables. For the organization of the citizens of Iguvium the most important passages are IIb 1-7 and Vb 8-18. The sense of these two passages is discussed in the notes, but may be briefly summarized here. The population of Iguvium had been divided into tekvias, a term which may be latinized as decuviae and which clearly indicates a division into ten groups, as may be seen from the ten names Attiełiate, Klaverniie, Kureiate, etc., which follow. But as the population increased, the decuviae had to be redivided; hence the use of the ex-
pressions etre Atilieñiate 'second Atiedias,' etc., and every decuvia has been divided in this way except for the Casilas, which was divided into three instead of two, and the Peraznanii, which was left undivided. There were thus twenty decuviae after the reorganization. Vb 8-18 contains contracts between the Atiedian Brothers and two of these decuviae, the Clavernii and the Casilas, the former being understood to include its two and the latter its three subdivisions. Since we should expect to find similar contracts with the remaining eight decuviae, it has been reasonably conjectured that they formed a part of the content of the two lost tables (so Buck, p. 302; Blum., p. 36; Dev., p. 412). Vb 8-18 would then be not the beginning but the conclusion of the series of contracts, since nearly half of the reverse of the tablet is left blank. Some lower grouping of citizens than the division into decuviae must have existed, and of such a grouping we have some evidence in the terms abl. sg. natine and nom. pl. fameñias. The sense of natine is not so much that of its etymological equivalent L. natione as of its more remote cognate gente, gens. Names of two of these gentes appear in the text, the Petrunia IIa 21, 35, and the Vucia (Lucia), IIb 26. To judge from the use of fameñias in IIb 2 it is not likely that it stood for a division lower than natine, like L. familia in relation to gens. Probably the two terms correspond to two different systems of division, but their exact relation is not clear; see on IIb 2. One other passage bearing on the organization of the citizens is Vlb 56 arsmahamo caterahamo Iouinur (= Ib 19-20), in which the people are directed to arrange themselves in formation for the procession of the lustration. The two verbs have been taken to refer to larger and smaller military units or to ranks of cavalry and of infantry, but the view preferred here is that arsmahamo refers to priestly ranks and caterahamo to military ranks of the rest of the citizens.

17. It is impossible to determine the exact date when any of the tables was written, but it is possible to form some idea of their relative age, partly from script and language, partly from content. Since IV is a continuation of III, both must be of the same age, and similarly VIa, VIb, and VIIa, which form a connected body of text, must be of the same age. It is obvious that Tables I, II, III, and IV, which are in the native alphabet, were written earlier than VI and VII, which are in the Latin, and also that Vb 8-18, which is in the Latin alphabet and has no connection in content with Va and Vb 1-7, must have been written later in the blank space on the reverse side of V. Hand in hand with this difference of alphabet goes one important difference in language: final s has been changed by rhotacism to r in VI and VII, and even in V, most of which is in the native alphabet, but the change is not yet shown in I, II, III, and IV (see 57 e). Va 1-b 7 is therefore later than I, II, III, and IV, but earlier than VI and VII. At the same time it appears from the shape of certain characters that III-IV were written later than I and II; so especially from the e, which in III-IV and V has the three cross-bars parallel, as a Roman e would appear if reversed and slightly aslant, while in I and II the e has no true cross-bar at the bottom, but merely a
curve in the vertical bar from the point where the middle bar meets it. Within II the content of a 1-14, a 15-44, and b 1-end is different; these three portions are therefore not necessarily of the same age, and the crowding toward the end of IIa gives the impression that the reverse had already been filled and hence could not be used.

18. The content of the tables occasionally provides some evidence of their age through references to Roman institutions. Of the two official titles of the uhtur and the kvestur the former is assumed to be the earlier because the word has not so strong an appearance of being a Latin loan. Now Tables Ib and IIa were authenticated by the same official during his quaestorship (kvestretie Ib 45 = II a 44), while the decrees in Va, which on linguistic grounds must be regarded as later than I and II, are dated by the name of the official holding the office of auctor (uhntretie). If this view of the relative age of the two magistracies in Iguvium is valid, this discrepancy suggests that the earlier table may not necessarily contain the earlier text, and that our problem is a twofold one: to determine the order in which the texts were composed, and the order in which the tables were engraved. Bréal, pp. 224-7, showed that VI and VII were not merely copied, with additions, from I, but that both depended on an earlier text now lost. His arguments from the spelling of the texts are partly of doubtful validity, but the archaic accusative plural form abron. in VIIb 43, to which he makes reference, probably points to an original of early date, and the absence in VI-VII of anything corresponding to Ia 25 puste asiane fetu, b 20 tures et pure, 36, 38 antakre, 41 super kumne strengthens the probability that VI and VII were not directly copied from I. III and IV, even though the form of certain letters approximates that in Va, may contain the oldest text of all; so at least it appears from the ratio of a and u representing final a: among 3rd pl. imperative forms of the type of fertuta 5 have -a and none have -u, while among neut. acc. pl. forms 8 or 9 have -a, none -u. To assign a relative age to the original texts reflected in each of the tables would be impossible. So far as the tables themselves are concerned, the order proposed by Lepsius and now taken as standard is probably correct, except that IIb appears to have been written earlier than IIa.

19. The actual age of the tables can be determined only within wide limits. The alphabet used in the earlier tables resembles those used on Etruscan inscriptions of the 5th, 4th, and 3rd centuries, especially that of Polimartium (Bomarzo). Since a certain lapse of time must be allowed for the introduction of the Etruscan alphabet into Iguvium and for its adaptation to the local dialect, and also for the composition of the lost originals on which our texts are based, we may be safe in

36 uhtur could conceivably be from L. auctor, with u (= ò) < au and ht < ct, but in this case we should have to assume that the borrowing occurred some time previously, giving the sound-changes time to develop. There is nothing in the phonetic form of the word which could not easily be native Umbrian, while the kv- of kvestur cannot show a native development of IE kw and it is not even certain that it can represent the rather rare cluster kw (see 48 h).
tentatively assigning a date not earlier than the beginning of the 3rd century. For the dating of the later tables some slight evidence may be found through changes in Roman currency. What is explained at greater length in the notes on Vb 9 and VIIb 4 may be briefly summarized here: in the former passage an apparently excessive sum has been fixed as the monetary equivalent of the dinner which is to be furnished by the decuviæ to the two men who come to fetch the grain for the Atiedian Brothers, and in the latter an excessively high fine is imposed on the fraticus in case he fails to procure heifers for the heifer-chase. In 89 B.C. the Roman as was reduced to 1-24 of its original value. Therefore if we admit for the tables in the Latin alphabet a date shortly after the Social War, we may find a reasonable explanation for the sums of money mentioned in the two passages. The very sparing use of doubled consonants, when examined in connection with Roman usage, also points to a date not far from the Gracchan period, or even later if we assume that the adoption of the habit must have been later in Umbria than in Rome. Even the three instances ponne, appei, issœc in VIIb do not include every case in that table where doubling is etymologically justified. The question of when the local dialect was replaced in daily use by Latin cannot be answered precisely, but for our purpose it is less important than may appear at first glance, for in a liturgical text such as the Iguvine Tables, the property of a priestly corporation, it is by no means surprising that the native language should continue to be used not only in the prayers but even in the ritual instructions. We may then adopt for the latest tables a date somewhere in the first half of the 1st century B.C., a time when the local dialect of Iguvium, even if it had been largely replaced by Latin, must surely not have been completely forgotten.
## II. Grammar

### A. Phonology

1. The Alphabets. The following table shows the characters of the native alphabet (used in Tables I, II, III, IV, Va, Vb 1-7; written from right to left) and of the Latin alphabet (used in Tables Vb 8-18, VI, VII; written from left to right). At the right of each column are the characters (excluding the capitals) normally used in modern printed texts.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Native alphabet</th>
<th>Latin alphabet</th>
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<td>q</td>
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<td>Φ(M)</td>
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<td>Ψ(T)</td>
<td>t</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ψ</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ζ</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. The native alphabet lacks characters exactly equivalent to D, G, O, Q, and X. D and G are represented respectively by ṭ and Χ, the symbols for the corresponding voiceless stops; O by Ω; the rare Q, like C, by Χ; X by Χ. The Umbrian character Ω is represented in the Latin alphabet by the digraph RS. The Latin V is used both in the vocalic function of the Umbrian Ω and in the consonantal function of the Umbrian Ω. For the Ζ of the native alphabet Ζ rather than Ζ is used in the Latin alphabet.

b. Ω is regularly used in place of Ω in Table V; Μ (“san”) appears in place
of the usual ẑ in salu IIa 18 and seritu IIa 24; and ʘ appears in place of ɤ, ɤ in furtaθ Ib 1 and purtuviθu IV 20.}

1 The native Oscan alphabet is essentially similar to the Umbrian, but possesses characters for g and d, On the other hand it has no character equivalent to Umbrian q (ʄ) or d (ʘ), since the Umbrian sounds indicated by these characters had, as far as we know, no counterpart in Oscan. ʄ, the equivalent of Umbrian ʄ (z), represents the sound ts, but z in Oscan inscriptions in the Latin alphabet represents voiced s (= Engl. z). Special mention should be made of the characters ù (ʄ ū), printed as ẑ, and ʘ, printed as ʘ, since both occur in many of the Oscan forms cited in the grammar and lexicon. ẑ represents a mid-high front vowel originating from ȳ or ẑ, or from ẑ before another vowel; it also represents the second component of an ẑ-diphthong. ʘ represents a mid-high back vowel originating from ʘ and, under certain conditions, from ʘ.

2. Orthographic Variations. In this section are treated the principal variations in spelling occurring in identical or closely related forms. The listing of examples is not complete, but more details on the origin, distribution, and significance of the variations may be found in the sections on pronunciation and phonology and in the Lexicon.

a. The following variations exist between forms represented in the two alphabets and arise simply from the absence of certain characters from one or the other of these alphabets:

- u and o: ukar ocar, pune pone, persklum persclo, etc.
- k and c: ukar ocar, kuvertu couertu, etc.
- k and q: tekuries dequrier.
- t and d: testre desire, titu ditu, hutra hondra, etc.
- z and s: taçez tases, pihaż pihos, puze puse.
- ū and rs: kâretu carsitu, teřa dirsa, peři persi, etc.

b. Although b is not, like *d and *g, lacking in the native alphabet, it is sometimes replaced by p through analogy with the use of t and k for the voiced dental and guttural stops: hapinaf habina, kapru kabru, kumpifiatu combifiatu, Krapuvi Grabouei, Treplanes Treblaneir.

c. The character Š which is used in the Latin alphabet as the equivalent of d (ʘ) of the native alphabet is sometimes written S without the diagonal stroke: Šerfe Šerfe, Sansie, purdinsus purdinsust.

d. Variations between vowels:

- a u o when the vowel is etymologically long: nom. sg. of the first declension: muta mutu, panta etantu; nom.-acc. pl. neut.: vatuvu vatuvu, veskla vesklu; pf. pass. pepl. nom. sg. masc.: pihaz pihos, kunikaz conegos.

- e i e i: from original ǣ: lases lasis, vestiça vistiça (on these forms see 8 e),
krenkatrum krikatru; from original ē: fēlītī fītī, kařetu carsitu; from original i: vea via uia, steplatu stiplatu, teřa dirsa, etc.; from original ī: pehatu pihatu, pehaner pihaner, purtvuetu purtvitu.

ei ei in variation with e e or i i: aves aueis, veres vereir, fetu feitu, Iiouine Iiouine, stahmitei stahmeitei, pehaner pihaner peihaner, uiro ueiro, etc. Forms with ei are especially frequent in Table VIa 1-39.

e. Vowel-length is generally not indicated, but there are some cases of length, original or secondary, shown by writing vowel + h h or vowel + h . + vowel. The latter combination occurs only in the Latin alphabet. hatu hahtu, mantraklu manrahklu, sate sahate, sahta sahata, etuštamu ethetustahamu.

f. The variation meersta mersta is exceptional and the vowel is not an original ē, but the doubling in meersta VIa 17 together with the frequent omission of r r in the writing of forms containing rs suggest that r in such forms was often weakened or lost, with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel.

g. The origin and meaning of oosercloam are uncertain, but by any of the etymologies proposed the initial is a long o of secondary origin.

h. ii, uv and i, u. When i or u is followed by a vowel the semivocalic glide which naturally intervenes is generally represented by i, v in the native alphabet but is not indicated in the Latin alphabet: triiia trio, herieei heriei, Atieēriur Atiersur, etc., tuves duir, kastruvufs castruo, prinuvatus prinuatur, etc. The practice in Umbrian agrees closely with that in Oscan. Single writing, however, is occasionally found in the native alphabet where ii or uv is expected: tekvias, via, arvia, avieka; purtvetu, ivecka. Conversely uu occurs in the Latin alphabet in saluuom, saluua, tuua. For details and for special explanation of some of the aberrant spellings the proper sections in the phonology must be consulted.

i. Omission of medial consonants:

Variants with and without preconsonantal n n: antentu atentu, ustentu ustetutu, krenkatru krikatru, Sanšī Sače, tenzitim tesedi, anzeriatu azeriatu, onse uze.

Variants with and without t in medial consonant clusters: pustnaiαf pusnaes.

Variants with and without r r before s s: persnimu persnimu pesnimu pesnimu, persuntru pesuntru, Turse Tuse, farsiō fasio.

Variants with s for rs (= ř): Akeřuniam Acesonium.

Variants with r r for ř rs: arsueitu arveitu arueitu.

j. Omission of final consonants:

Variants with and without final k c: erek erec ere ere.

Variants with and without final f f: acc. pl. treif tre, stif si, etc.; pres. pcpl. zeřef serse.

Variants with and without final m m: acc. sg. persklum persclo, sim si, tuta totam, etc.
Variants with and without final s: nom. pl. *Ikuvinus* Ikuvinu; conjunction heris heri.

k. The following variations are abnormal and not easily explained:

Final p for normal final f: kutef kutep, turuf turup, vitluf vitlup. The aberrant forms with p all occur in lb 3-4.

Initial m for normal b: menes, cf. benus. Here the m may have been extended into the simplex from a compound *kommenes*, in which the b would have been assimilated to m.

Final m for n: numem but umen.

h and j: erahunt erafont.

1. Variants with and without h h, apart from h h as indication of vowel length: heritu eretu, hebetafe ebetafe, anhostatu anostatu.

3. Pronunciation. The phonetic value of the characters cannot be determined with any degree of exactness, because of the scantiness of material, the absence of metrical texts, and the lack of descriptive information from native or Roman sources. It would not be safe to attempt to reconstruct a phonemic system in the form which is customary in the treatment of living languages, since neither the native nor the Latin alphabet can be considered an entirely adequate representation of such a system. But in general where there is no conflicting evidence it is safe to assume that the values of the characters did not differ strikingly from the values of the equivalent characters in Latin.

Among the orthographic variations some have no significance for the pronunciation. The use in the native alphabet of k, t, p, for example, in forms spelled with g, d, b in the Latin alphabet certainly does not mean that the stops in question were unvoiced in the earlier stage of the language, but merely reflects the lack of distinction between voiced and unvoiced stops in the language of the Etruscans, from whom the alphabet was borrowed. In many cases the variations may arise from conflict between traditional and phonetic spelling; so possibly in forms like ustentu ustetu, persnimu pesnimu. The distribution of final s in Tables I-IV and r r in V-VII, however, probably shows that the sound-change commonly known as rhotacism had taken place in final position between the time of writing of the earliest and latest tables; at least this conclusion is inevitable unless we prefer to assume that the earlier tables merely failed to adapt themselves to a change already in effect. But it is altogether improbable that they would have represented r as different from s in the medial and not in the final position.

The following points in regard to pronunciation may be briefly noted:

a. a in those forms which have orthographical variants with u o probably had a raised sound like that of a in Eng. call. For the distribution of the sound see 7 b, c.
b. Among the mid-vowels ē was higher than ē, and ō higher than ō, if we may judge from the more frequent use of i i for ē than for ē and of u for ō than for ō. Since this use of i was especially frequent in the tables written in the Latin alphabet, we may suspect that the ē was progressively raised as the language developed, and it is not unlikely that the ō had a parallel history, but the lack of a special character for the o-vowels in the native alphabet renders it impossible to make a comparison of this sort.

c. Among the high vowels ī appears to have been more strongly raised than ī, since the use of e e is frequent for the short ī but decidedly rare for the long ī. It is likely that a similar difference existed between ū and ū: while ū under certain conditions is represented by o (u of the native alphabet being of course ambiguous), ū not only maintained its raised quality but assumed such a front position as to be written i ī. Whether it was fully identical with the long ī or had a value approximating that of French u, German ū, is uncertain.

d. The stops written p t k in the native alphabet should be voiced in those forms where orthographical variants or etymological evidence shows that the stop in question was actually a voiced one. The orthographical or etymological evidence may be found in the Lexicon. The following is a list of the most important such forms:

With p: hapinaf, kapru (pr > br by 60 e), kumpifiatu, Krapuvi, Treplanes.

With t: teitu, tenzirim (medial t), tićit, tuplak, tuva (numeral), atru (tr > dr by 60 i), tekuries, tekvias, tesvam, testru (initial t), teťtu (initial t), tetu (initial t), tuf, tupler, Kureties, utur, ustentu (second t), ententu, antentu, ampentu, sutentu (second t), pertentu (second t), tikamne, tičel; probably also terkantur.

With k: Krapuvi, kumiaf, krenkatrum krikatru (second k), kunikaz (second k), Ikuvin, iveka.

e. The character d (g), to which corresponds Ŝ (š) in the Latin alphabet indicates a sound which was derived from an unvoiced palatal or velar stop before a front vowel. Its exact nature can of course not be determined, but it was presumably a palatal sibilant or a sibilant like Eng. sh. Plain s does not appear as an orthographic variant of g, but s appears so frequently as a variant of š, especially in medial position (for example, 15 times pase, never *pase, in the etymological equivalent of L. pace), that by the time of the writing of the later tables the sound may have become almost identical with that of the inherited s, with a development parallel to that seen in L. centum > French cent.

f. The character q (x) indicates a sound arising from intervocalic d and, under certain conditions, from intervocalic l. The corresponding use of rs in the Latin alphabet suggests a sound similar to the Czech š or Polish rz. But the rs in such words as persclu, persnihu, lursitu, farsio, which has a different origin and corres-
ponds in certain quotable instances to rs in the native alphabet, must have constituted a cluster and not a single phoneme.

4. Accent. On the quality of the accent in Umbrian and the other Italic dialects we have no direct information, but from the extensive syncope of unstressed vowels we must conclude that at least during a period in the history of these dialects, the accent was characterized by a considerable element of stress. Of the laws regulating the position of the accent in the word and phrase we know next to nothing, but it is generally assumed that the initial stress which was dominant in Germanic, Celtic, and prehistoric Latin must at one stage have characterized Oscan and Umbrian as well. The question then is whether the accentual system remained in this stage or whether it was replaced, as in Latin, by a new system whereby the penult, if long, received the accent, while the antepenult received it if the penult was short. The distribution of double and single consonants in certain Oscan forms led von Planta (I, p. 594) to argue in favor of a system like that which prevailed in classical Latin (e.g. upsannam like L. operindam but eehiinasum like L. amandarium) but Umbrian provides no evidence of this kind. The vocalism of Puemune may give some indication of penultimate accent: if it is taken as cognate with L. Pomôna, we must assume a stem *Powemono/ā-, with weakening of the unstressed initial syllable, in order to account satisfactorily for the Umbrian form along with Sab. Poinunien; and to this evidence von Planta adds several other forms, but they do not constitute a convincing proof. We must therefore leave the problem still unsettled.

Of sentence-accent it is possible to form some notion from the frequency of enclitic forms written without separation from the preceding word. It may safely be assumed that these enclitics were unaccented as in Latin. Examples are:

The indefinite pronoun pis: svezpis.

The 3 sg. pres. ind. est and subj. si of the verb to be: peretomest, ortoest, parsest (with rs preserved as in medial position, in contrast to far with the final treatment), mersi. Writing as one word is more frequent than writing as two.

The fossilized 3 sg. verb form her (≪*herit) in pisher (cf. L. quilībet).

The postpositions af a, kum ku com co, em e em e, per (rarely pe) per, ta tu to: spinamař, vukukum, umerisco, vapfem, destrame, ukriper, skalčeta. This type of enclisis is very frequent, and only a few of the examples are given here.

Certain pronominal enclitics for which see 106 b, c, d and 113 f, g, h, i, j, k, l.

1 The marks over the vowels in these Oscan forms are not indications of stress but of vowel-quality; see 1 n. 1.

5. The Vowel System. In describing the origin, history, and etymological correspondences of the Umbrian vowels and diphthongs the following pIE phonemes may be assumed as a basis from which to begin:
### Vowels:

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<th>pure</th>
<th>semi-consonantal</th>
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<td>short</td>
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<td>reduced</td>
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### Diphthongs:

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a. The obscure vowel represented by ø and known by the Hebrew name *shwa* became in Italic, as in all the European branches of the IE family, fully merged with ð and had the same history, but forms which originally contained it rather than ð can be distinguished to a large extent by correspondence with Skt. forms containing i or by their ablaut-relationship with forms containing long vowels.

b. The character b is used to represent the sound known as “shwa secundum”, which results from the reduction of short vowels in situations where complete loss of the vowel would result in difficult consonant-clusters. In place of b some comparative grammars use a e o since there is evidence that the reductions of a e o did not all have precisely the same history; this, however, may be partly explained by analogical restoration of the original vowel. In any case b is adequate for the few Umbrian forms with reduced short vowels which call for treatment in the present work.

c. For the explanation of the long vocalic liquids \( \mathcal{Y} \), \( \mathcal{W} \) and nasals \( \mathcal{Y}, \mathcal{W} \) see 18.

d. In principle there is some justification for admitting diphthongs, both short and long, with liquids and nasals as second element (e.g. ar, el, om, ên, etc.), corresponding to the i- and u-diphthongs, since there is a close similarity between the liquids, nasals, and y and w in relation to the pIE phonemic system as a whole. Yet in view of the history of the sounds in question in most of the individual languages it is far more convenient to treat ei, oi, eu, etc. as diphthongs but to give separate treatment to the separate components, vocalic and semi-consonantal, of ar, el, om, etc.

e. The following table is designed to show in the simplest form the history of the vowels and diphthongs in some of the principal IE languages. The “shwa secundum”, the long vocalic liquids and nasals, and the long diphthongs, however, have been omitted. No attempt is made to show here the full history of the vowels in any language or to include the results of secondary changes such as, for example, the vowel-weakening of Latin. In general the development of the vowels in stressed syllables and between consonants is taken as typical. They are given in the standard orthography of the respective languages or in the Roman characters conventionally used to represent the standard orthography, but marks of length have been placed on Greek, Latin, Gothic, and Lithuanian vowels when such vowels are known to constitute distinct phonemes, and naturally over the Sanskrit long vowels as well.
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A. Phonology

1. The history of the vocalic liquids and nasals in the Italic dialects cannot be adequately reconstructed from actual examples. This portion of the table is partly filled out on the basis of comparison with Latin and with forms containing original or, ot, em, en, with which r, t, g, x appear to have become identical in proto-Italic.

2. \( \eta \) in Ionic and generally in Attic; \( \bar{a} \) after \( e, i, o \) in Attic and in all positions in other dialects.

3. \( \omicron \), \( \ddot{\omicron} \) in Attic and Ionic had the quality of French \( u \), German \( \ddot{u} \).

4. The Gothic reflexes of \( e, o \) are in modern transcription written \( ai, a\ddot{u} \), in order to distinguish them from the diphthongs \( ai, au \).

5. \( ei \) in Gothic, as in Greek in the time of Ulfilas, seems to have had the phonetic value of \( i \).

6. \( y \) in standard Lithuanian orthography represents a long \( i \), but in Old Church Slavic represents the Cyrillic character \( u \), the phonetic value of which may have had some resemblance to \( i \) and to \( u \) without being fully identical with either.

7. \( i \) and \( \ddot{a} \) stand for the Cyrillic characters \( i \) and \( \ddot{u} \) and designate short raised vowels of palatal and non-palatal quality respectively.

8. \( e \) and \( o \) represent Skt. \( i- \) and \( u- \) diphthongs respectively.

6. pIE \( \ddot{a} \) generally remains as \( a a \): \( auij \) \( avif \): L. \( avis \); \( kabru \): L. \( caprum \); \( ar\text{-} \text{ciltaf} \) (initial \( a \)): L. \( ar\text{c}ulata \); etc.

For lengthening of \( \ddot{a} \) see 26 c, d. For possible weakening of \( \ddot{a} \) see 28 a, b, c. Of syncope of \( \ddot{a} \) in Umbrian there are no known instances. Oscan provides a few examples, and there is no reason to suppose that Umbrian \( \ddot{a} \) was exempt, but \( \ddot{a} \) in comparison with \( \ddot{e}, \ddot{o} \) was a relatively rare sound in those situations where syncope was likely to occur.

7. a. pIE \( \ddot{a} \) is represented by \( a a \) or by \( o u \). The unaltered \( a a \) appears in (abl. sg.) \( asa \) \( asa \): L. \( ar\ddot{a} \); \( frater \) \( frater \): L. \( fratres \); Tarinate Tarsinater (second \( a \)) like L. \( Arpinati \), -\( is \); inv. \( portatu \) \( purtatu \): L. \( portalo \); pcpl. \( kuratu \): L. \( curatum \); etc.

b. The change to \( o u \), which indicates a raised pronunciation of the vowel and a merging, partial or complete, with \( o u \) from pIE \( \ddot{a} \) appears in first declension nom. sg. \( mutu \) (but also \( mutu \)): L. \( multa \); \( etantu \): L. \( tanta \); neut. pl. \( alfu \): L. \( alba \); Casilos like L. \( Arp\text{n}\ddot{a} \); pass. pcpl. nom. sg. m. \( conegos \) (but = \( kunikaz \)) like L. \( am\ddot{a}tus \); etc. More problematical is the penultimate vowel in \( Prestote \) and \( Tesenocir \). The correspondence of \( o \) with the \( a \) of the older forms \( Presto \) and \( Tesenakes \) makes it probable that the forms are derived from stems containing \( \ddot{a} \), and in fact there appears to be no objection to this view in the case of \( Tesenocir \), but \( Presto\text{ta} \) might be more easily derived from -\( st\ddot{a}t- \) < -\( st\ddot{a}t- \), the vowel-grade which L. \( antistita \), etc. lead us to expect.

c. It is not possible on the basis of our extant material to formulate a satisfactory rule regarding the change of \( \ddot{a} \) to \( o u \). It is best attested in final position, and before \( t \) in the nom. sg. of -\( ti \)-stems and passive participles, which lost the vowel of the final syllable by syncope. It does not occur in the oblique cases of \( \ddot{a} \)-stems or of formations in -\( \ddot{a}ti- \) or -\( \ddot{a}lo- \), and it does not occur in \( \ddot{a} \) arising by secondary lengthening of \( \ddot{a} \) (e. g. \( sahta \)). Its distribution is closely parallel to that in Oscan.
8. pIE ĕ.

a. ĕ generally remains as e e: emantur: L. emantur; est: L. est; destru testru: L. dextro; prusekatu: L. prosecolo; fertu: L. ferlo; etc. Sometimes ĕ is maintained even where Latin shows secondary changes: kvestretie like L. duritia (both from -el'ia-); veltu: cf. L. volo, etc.

b. ĕ before another vowel appears as i i in farsio fasiu: L. farrea; tursiantdu: L. terreantur; but not in the pronominal forms eam, eaf, etc.: L. eam, eas, etc.

c. ĕ became i before r in ostensendi (fut. pass. 3 pl. based on earlier ending -nter); herli beside earlier herter.

d. ĕ became i i before n followed by a velar stop in krikatru (beside krenkatrum) ringatro; the vocalism is like that of L. tinguo beside τέγγω.)

e. In the following forms e became i i when followed by a sibilant (including g and s from k by 46 b): ticit: L. decel; iseceles with prefix e(n); vacetum-i-se with postpositive e(n); lasis, but against 21 cases with e e; vistiqa, but against 33 cases with e e in this and cognate forms.

f. If uillu vitlu, L. vitulus, are connected with L. vetus, Ætov, we must assume a change e > i for which there is no certain explanation. Thurneysen (K.Z., XXX, p. 487) suggested borrowing of these words from an Italic dialect in which the change would be regular, but no such dialect can be identified.

g. ĕ became o u under certain conditions in the proximity of labial sounds: pumpefias, punties, cf. O. pumperiais, Puntis, Πομπιαίς; pumtis, all with o û u probably after the cardinal *pome 'quinque', which must owe the change e > o to the following -nkw-, since the initial k'oe- does not undergo vowel change in petur-, O. petiro- 'quadri-'; sonitu: cf. L. sonere, sonare, all from *swen-1 unless the verbal forms are denominatives to the ablaut-variant swono-, which is improbable for all these forms.

h. For lengthening of ĕ see 26 c, f, h. For syncope of ĕ see 29 a-f, m.

1 Oscan, against Umbrian and Latin, preserves ĕ after sw: sverrunel, cf. Eng. swear, answer.

9. pIE ĕ is represented by e e or by i i, very rarely by ei ei. The frequency of the i-spelling, which is used to the total exclusion of e in the imperative of second-conjugation verbs written in the Latin alphabet, is evidence for a closer pronunciation for ĕ than for ĕ.

a. e e from ĕ is exemplified by plener: L. plenis (initial syllable); preve (suffix as in L. adverbs in -e(a); réhte: L. récte;2 inv. kařetu, habetu: L. habeto; etc.

b. i i from ĕ is exemplified by jrite: cf. L. jřelus; prusikurent with -sik- < -sēk- in a long-vowel perfect stem; eitipes, if < *eit(om) hēpens, also a long-vowel perfect; tičit with second i < ĕ as in L. decel < *dekēl; tīcel if from *diě-kelo-; inv. habitu: L. habeto, etc.
c. \(ei\) \(ei\) occurs in heriieiu with \(\ddot{e}\) the sign of the subjunctive, in nesimei with the same adverbial ending seen in rehte < -ed, and in seipodrupei with \(s\ddot{e}\) - as in L. sédulô, se fraude, etc. This rare spelling may be intended to indicate a high vowel intermediate between \(e\) and \(i\).

1 Unless we count maletu IIa 18 as inv., as Devoto does. Most take it as a pass. pcp.

2 Original long \(e\) in the suffixal syllable and possibly also in the radical syllable, with which Muller, p. 382, compares Av. raśta- < raśta 'in gerader Richtung, gerades Wegs'; otherwise the lengthening in the first syllable is secondary.

10. pIE \(i\).

a. \(i\) generally remains as \(i\) \(i\): tikamne: cf. L. dícäre; uírseto, pass. pcp. of verb equivalent to L. video; ūima čimu, čive: cf. L. citra; pis: L. quis; etc. In the native alphabet doubling is frequent in the prevocalic position (2 h): triia (but trio): L. tria; heriieiu (but heriieiu); etc.

b. Yet \(i\) regularly appears as \(e\) \(e\) when final, as in Latin: in neut. nom.-acc. sg. of -i-stems: wertale: L. verbale; in abl. (originally loc.) sg. of consonant-stems: pure: Gk. dat. πνὁλ; curnase: L. cornice; etc.; in the conjunction ote ute: O. auti, L. aut, all from *auti.

c. \(i\) also becomes \(e\) \(e\) in certain other forms, under conditions which are partly obscure. There is considerable fluctuation in the spelling, but \(e\) for non-final \(i\) is very rare in the Latin alphabet: vea twice, but via once, uia 5 times, abl. : L. via; neut. plurals sakreu, perakneu with -eu < -iā; steplatu once, stiplatu twice: L. stipulato; reduplicating present verb forms sestu: L. sistito, teřa subj. as = L. *didat (but original \(e\) in fut. pf. teřust !); inv. ahtrepuratu (forms with \(e\) 5 times, with \(i\) 3 times, erroneously with \(o\) once): cf. L. tripodato; pronomin- and conjunctival forms pēre persi persi pirse pirsi: L. quid + enclitic \(i\); fratrex fratres, fratrec, fratrec: L. fraticus, *fraticale (fratric- with Buck, § 45, rather than fratric- as suggested by von Planta, I, p. 102). The proximity of \(r\) \(r\) \(r\) may be an influencing factor in the change to \(e\) \(e\), but uírseto, auírseto (each 4 times with \(i\), never with \(e\) and kapiře capirse, etc. (16 times with \(i\), never with \(e\) \(e\) are unfavorable to such a view.

11. pIE \(i\) generally remains as \(i\) \(i\) \(i\) \(i\); \(e\) \(e\) are much rarer for long \(i\) than for short \(i\), and this fact may be taken as evidence for a closer pronunciation of \(i\) than of \(o\); \(e\) is also sometimes found.

a. \(i\) \(ihi\) \(i\) \(ih\): Ikuvina: L. Iguvina, cabriner: L. capríni, etc; fourth conjugation inv. forms persnimu persnimimu persnimu persnimu, anouihimu, amparitu, amparihmu.

b. \(e\) \(e\): pehatu, pehaner (but 37 instances with \(i\) \(i\) in forms of this verb and of the noun pihaklu): cf. L. pius, piare, O. pihniūi, the last form lending support to the vowel-length of the Umbrian forms; screhto (\(h\) here not a mere mark of
vowel-length); fourth conjugation inv. purtuvetu purtuetu, but much more frequently with i i.

c. ei: peica: L. pīcam; peico: L. pīcum; peihaner: cf. L. piandi; screihtor: cf. L. scripta; ueiro: cf. Skt. vīras, Lith. výras (L., OIr., and Goth. forms are based on short i). Most instances of ei for i, including all those here cited, occur within the first 39 lines of VIa. This portion includes, for example, 3 occurrences of ueiro against 8 of uiro in the rest of VIa, Vlb, and VIIa.

12. pIE ō.

a. ō generally remains as o u.1 ocar ukar: L. ocris, ōξος; oui uvef (acc.pl.): L. ovis, ōφις; poplo pule (both syllables): L. populum; porse puře: L. quod, + enclitic; ostentu ustentu: L. ostendilo; etc.

b. ō before r + consonant becomes u. Naturally the change can be observed only in forms appearing in the Latin alphabet, since u may stand for either ō or u. Examples are: curraco: L. cornicem; purdouitū with prefix equivalent to L. por-2; tursitu <*torsey-etōd, causative-intensive form of verb represented by L. terreo.

c. furo: L. forum is an instance of the change ō > u before prevocalic r, unless furo, like ōφις, represents the zero grade *dhuro- in contrast to *dhworo-.

d. portatu, portaia, portus (once each in the Latin alphabet: L. portato, etc.) have only o, and the fut. pf. forms couortus, etc. (cf. early L. uortus, advortit) have twice o and once courtus for *couurtus.

1 The development of o in Oscan agrees for the most part with that in Umbrian; both, for example, maintain ō unchanged before ll in contrast to Latin, which changes it to u: nom. pl. motar; cf. O. molo, but L. multa, all from *molt(k)lā. Umbrian, however, does not share with Oscan the change ō > u before final m: e. g., pres. infinitive O. deicem, acum, etc., but U. erom, afer, all based on original ending -om.

2 *por- may be from earlier *pr-: see 17 a.

13. pIE ē is represented by o u and u, the forms in the Latin alphabet being alone significant, since u serves for both values. The choice between o and u does not depend on phonetic environment alone; rather certain words and certain grammatical terminations have a strong predilection for one or the other vowel. The great frequency of abl. sg. and “future” inv. forms may produce an exaggerated impression of the extent to which the ē was raised toward the position of ēu, but yet it is reasonable to suppose that ē was higher than ō, just as ē was higher than ē.

a. o occurs in nome (98 occurrences of its various forms with o, none with u): L. nomen; homonuș: cf. OL homonēs; poni (13 times in various forms with o, never with u): cf. L. pōtus, pōtiō; abl. sg. somo against more than 100 instances of abl.
sg. forms with -u; gen. pl. *Atiersio, peracrio (< -ām). esono (10 times in various forms with o, never with u) probably also belongs here as from *ais(e)s-ōnō-, but the vocalism of the suffix is not certain.

b. u occurs in arsʃertur, acc. arsʃerturo, noun like L. scriptor, etc.; abl. sg. pihactu, poptu, uinu and numerous others; nom. pl. Iouinur, Clauerniur; inv. etu, habitu, etc., extremely numerous and never with -o.

c. dupursus, peturpursus 'bi-, quadriпedibus' are usually taken as containing penultimate u < ē, as in Dor. πῶς, Goth. fotus, but it may be possible to derive them from the stem with the ablaut-grade ē, as in ποδός, ποδόι etc., if we admit the change ē > u before rs from intervocalic d as well as before the cluster rs (12 b).

d. ulo probably has u < ē, as in L. ōlim.

14. pIE ā.

a. ā in general remains as u u, but only forms occurring in the Latin alphabet are unambiguous. Examples are: puse: cf. L. ut, both < kwu-; subotu and other forms containing sub-: L. sub-; super: L. super, ὁσε; pure-to: cf. πυρός, πυρι̣; Rufre: L. rubri, cf. ἐκοῦσος, Skt. rudiras; etc.

b. ā became o before m, which in some cases was subsequently lost: somo (first o): L. summum, summo; fourth declension acc. sg. trifo: L. tribum; supine aseriato: cf. L. observatum.

c. ā became o before p in sopa (of 4 various forms of this word 3 have o, 1 u): L. suppam; but observe super, superne, subra, where the change fails to occur.

d. ā became o, apparently, in sorsom, a word whose etymology is obscure, but which according to the prevailing view contains sū (as in L. sūcula against sūs) + -do-.

15. pIE ū.

a. ū is normally represented by i i, indicating a change through ā toward a sound nearly or fully identical with that of i. Examples are: sim, sif sif: cf. L. sūs, ṣūs; pir pir: πυρ; frif acc. pl.: cf. L. frūges; abl. sg. of u-stems mani mani, treʃiper, aɾʃputrati.

b. A possible example of i < ū is pass. pcpl. statita if = L. statūta. purtiti purdito is also sometimes taken as containing i i < ū, but the vocalism is not clear, and in any case the vowel here could scarcely have been primary ū. The derivation of the subjunctive form dia from a form with original ū is also improbable.

c. There are perhaps no real exceptions to the above change. mugatu and its pcpl. muieto are taken by Buck, § 58, as examples of preservation of ū, as in L.
mūgire, but it is probably better to assume a short vowel, as in ἔμυξον, with von Planta, I, p. 135. In strułla struhćla the length of the u, indicated by h, probably arose too late to participate in the change ù > i, which, to judge from traces in Oscan and the minor dialects, may have begun in the period of Oscan-Umbrian unity.

16. pIE ø shwa and ź shwa secundum.

a. ø, the reduced grade of e, a, o in the long-vowel ablaut series (35 c, d), had precisely the same history as á in all branches of the family except Indo-Iranian. Instances of á < ø in the Italic dialects are to be recognized chiefly through their etymological correspondence with Latin and other forms where á alternates with e, a, o: U. facia: L. fāciat, cf. fēci, U. fētu (whether fē- or fēk-); U. stafii: L. stābilis, cf. 1 pl. stāμεν but 1 sg. stōμι, Dor. stāμι. For the occasional secondary replacement of á < ø by a short vowel of different quality see 35 d with n. 12, 119 b, c.

b. A possible instance of á from ź is represented by tapistenu if we admit the explanation in n. on IV 30 whereby the form contains a reduced grade of the root seen in L. tepor, etc.

17. Short vocalic liquids and nasals. The allophones of r and l with vocalic, that is, syllabic function, which actually existed in Sanskrit and are commonly represented by the symbols r and l, must be assumed also for pIE, where they alternated, as ablaut-variants, with er, or, el, ol, just as l alternated with ei, oi, and ź with eu, ou.

a. In pIt. r, l before consonants became or, ol, and consequently it is not always certain whether actual forms containing or, ol reflect original or, ol or their ablaut-variants r, l. In some forms, however, the original vocalism can be inferred by comparison with forms in other languages, especially Sanskrit and Greek. The principal Umbrian forms for which we must assume original r, l are: orto, urtas: L. ortus, Skt. rtās; trahorfi: L. transversus, Skt. vṛttās (but fut. pf. kuvurtus couortus may contain original or, since the IE perfect had o-vocalism in sg., zero-vocalism in pl., with possibilities for later leveling); pur- pur- (in purtvitus, purdinsust, etc.): L. por-rigo, παραδ; motar muta < *mol(k)l-: L. multa, Skt. pass. pecl. mrṣtās.

b. r, l before vowels — in which position we should write rr, ll — apparently became ar al: karu: L. caro, carnis, cf. Skt. kṛṇāti ‘injures’; possibly also maletu in contrast to L. molitum with o-grade.

c. The vocalic nasals ů, y, unlike the vocalic liquids, did not exist in Sanskrit, but nevertheless are assumed for pIE, where they alternated with em, om, en, on.

d. In pIt. ů, y became em, en before consonants; consequently em, en from
$\eta$, $\eta$ can be distinguished from original em, en only by comparison with forms in other languages. The principal Umbrian examples are: desenduf '12' with -en- < -em- < -$\eta$-: L. decem, déza, Skt. daša; iveka iuenga: cf. L. iuvencus, Skt. yuvaśas; nom.-acc. sg. of neut. stems in -men: nome numen (with -e -em for -en): L. nomen, Skt. nāma, etc.

e. $\eta$ before vowels — in which position we should write $\eta n$ — apparently became $an$; at least this has been assumed in order to explain the discrepancy between the negative prefixes L. in- and O.-U. an-. We may suppose then that Latin generalized the preconsonantal in- < en- < $\eta$ for all situations: infamis, imbellis, inermis, etc., and O.-U. the prevocalic $an$- < $\eta n$ for all situations: U. antakres, anhostatu, etc.: cf. ã-, âr-, Skt. a-, an-.

18. The long vocalic liquids and nasals symbolized by $\tilde{r}, \tilde{l}, \tilde{m}, \tilde{n}$ were assumed by Brugmann in order to account for such correspondences as Skt. pūrṇās, Lith. pilnas, etc. Their precise character is unknown, but it is clear that their occurrence is in forms containing disyllabic ablaut-bases (*pelē-, etc.) with accent on the suffix, so that the two syllables of the unaccented base appear in the reduced and zero-grades respectively. Hirt symbolized them by $\eta r, \eta l, \eta m, \eta n$, etc. in order to show their original disyllabic character. The history of the long-vowel ablaut series as outlined in 35 is applicable here, including the statement in regard to the laryngeals as the source of $\eta$ in zero-grade forms. The origin of $\tilde{r}, \tilde{l}$ is partly similar to that of $\tilde{r}$, etc., but their history in the separate languages is sufficiently distinct to call for separate treatment.

a. $\tilde{r}, \tilde{l}, \tilde{m}, \tilde{n}$ are represented in Italic by rā, lā, mā, nā or, under certain conditions which are not altogether clear, by ar, al, am, an. Probable examples in Umbrian are: kumates comatir < *kom-malt- < *-m$\tilde{m}$-to-: cf. Skt. mūrṇās; an clar <*an-klā-s <-kl$: cf. L. clā-mo (denominative to *klā-mā, like fā-mā), calare, καλέω, the last two with different gradation; natine: cf. L. nātio, nātus <*gnā-<, Skt. jātās, all from gnū-; naru e naratu: cf. L. nārrāre, gnārus <gnā-rā< ro- < gnū-: cf. L. i-gnō-ro, co-gnō-sco with different gradation. mandraelo mantrahklu is sometimes similarly explained, as from *man-trāk-klo- < *man-trāg-tlo <*-lēg- with gradation of the same root found in L. tergeo, although its root is not of the type which customarily furnishes ablaut-grades with $\tilde{r}$.

1 See Brugmann, Berichte der kön. sächs. Ges. der Wiss., 1890, p. 206.


a. ai is normally represented by e e: esono esunu: cf. O. aisusis; pre pre: O. prai, L. prae; sve: O. svai; dat. sg. of ā-stems (ai < earlier āi by 25 with a) tote tute, etc.

b. ai is represented by ei in eikvasatis, eikvasee if these forms are connected with L. aequus, but their etymology and meaning are uncertain.
II. Grammar

c. pernaiaf, pustnaiaf. persaia peñaia are exempt from the change ai > e e, the diphthong being preserved before the consonantal i in the suffix -ayyo-.

20. pIE ei.

a. ei is normally represented by e e: preve: cf. O. preiuialud, L. prīvus; etu etu: L. ito, cf. Skt. etu; gen. sg. ending in o-, i-, and consonant-stems kapres, ocer, farer, etc.: cf. O. ending -eis -eis (no Latin parallel): dat. sg. of i- and consonant-stems ocre ukre, Iuue Ivve, etc.; loc. sg. of o-stems onse uze, etc.: cf. O. terei, comenei, L. humi; probably also loc. sg. of i-stems ocre, etc.

b. e e from ei is in all probability to be recognized in kletra: Goth. hleiþra.

c. ee from ei appears in eetu VIb 54 beside 16 instances of e e in inv. of this verb and its compound enetu enetu; and also once in fut. eest < *eiset.

d. The extremely rare use of i i to represent the vowel derived from ei occurs in one instance of irer (VIA 25) against the frequent spelling of this pronoun with initial e e.

21. pIE oi developed differently according as it stood in initial or final syllables. The development in medial syllables is not attested by any examples, and in fact the evidence for initial syllables is meagre, partly because of the twofold value of u in the native alphabet and partly because of the doubtful etymology and interpretation of some of the forms used as evidence.

a. o from oi in initial syllables appears to be contained in pora if fully equivalent to O. poizad (110 e); nosue if < *noiswai, an ablaut-variant to O. nei suae; in ponisialer (puniçate) if < earlier poinikiato-: cf. L. pûnicus, but this etymology is by no means certain.

b. uocu vuku might be an example of o u < oi if equivalent to Foízoz, but the view here adopted, by a slight margin of preference, is the one which connects it with L. lûcus, with wôk- < louk- (24 a, 55 a)1.

c. The following forms, known only in the native alphabet, in all probability contain u = o < oi: kuratu: cf. Pael. coisatens; muneklu: cf. O. müñíkû, OL comoinem (communem); unu: OL oino, cf. olív 'one' (on dice), Goth. ains.

d. For oi in final syllables reference is made to 25 b, since in the dat. sg. and dat.-abl. pl. forms of the second declension which furnish the examples the oi results from shortening of the long diphthong òi.

1 unu vinu, despite its obvious connection with Foízoz, does not constitute valid evidence against o < oi in initial syllables. The word is of non-IE origin, and all forms o curring in Italic languages (e.g. L. vinum) and Etruscan have ũ. See Sturtevant, Lang., X (1924), pp. 6-9.

22. pIE au is represented by o u: ote ute: O. auti, L. aut; uhur: L. auctor; jons: cf. L. Fones, Faunus; frosed: cf. L. fraudo, frausus; toru turu: L. tauros;
also kutef, if it is pres. pcpl. of a denominative verb from pcpl. equivalent to L. cautus, whence our form would = L. *cautens.

23. pIE eu is represented by o u. Since eu had precisely the same history as ou in all Italic languages, it is not possible in every case to distinguish forms with original eu from those with original ou. On grounds of comparative etymology it is probably correct to assume original eu for tolar tutas: O. touto, Goth. piuda, and possibly the Illyrian personal name Teuta. On eu < ēu see 25 c.

24. pIE ou.

a. ou, showing the same development as eu, appears as o u. It is probably to be recognized in uocu vuku if these forms are connected with O. lūvkei, L. lūcus rather than with Foīkoς. For vocalism see Muller, p. 243 under loukos.

b. comohota apparently has -oho- representing 𝓸 from secondary ou after syncope of e in *mowe-to-: cf. L. commōtus.

c. In the following forms it is uncertain whether o u is derived from eu or from ou: rofu: cf. L. rūfus (of dialectal origin; on vocalism see E.-M.3, p. 1021); Vuvçis: O. Lūvkis, L. Lucius, with vocalism either as in λευκός or as in L. lūx, which is itself ambiguous.

25. The IE long diphthongs did not survive as such in any Italic language; in fact, apart from the Greek case-endings commonly written q, η, ϕ, they scarcely exist in any European branch of the family, having suffered either shortening of the first element or loss of the second, so that they became identical either with the plain diphthongs or with the long vowels and had the same subsequent history. The change to plain diphthongs was doubtless early, and the change to long monophthongs may have begun in pIE under conditions of juncture which are in part obscure. Forms originally containing long diphthongs are generally distinguished by their correspondence with Sanskrit forms or with Greek case-endings in q, η, ϕ.

The following forms contain vowels arising from plain diphthongs arising from earlier long diphthongs:

a. āi > aī > e e: dat.-loc. sg. of ā-stems: tote tute, etc.: cf. O. deīvai, viāi, L viae, āvogā; also dat.-abl. pl. of ā-stems: aseriate anzeriates: cf. O. kerssnais, L. terris, if based on a case-ending -āis made after the instrumental pl. of o-stems in -ōts while the long diphthong was still intact; otherwise it should be included above under ai (19).

b. ōi > oi > e i e i: dat. sg. of o-stems: Iuvie, pople, Tefri, fratrei, Grabouei: cf. O. hūrtāi, OL N umasioi, λόξω, dat.-abl. pl. of o-stems: usercontent veres, sehmenier, esoneir: cf. O. Nūvlanūis, zicolois, OL privicoleis, L. hortis, if all the Italic forms
are to be derived from IE instrumental pl. in -ōīs: Skt. devāis. The forms with
 ei are restricted to the first 42 lines of Table VIa.

 c. ēu > eu > o u in dat.-loc. sg. of u-stems manu-e, trijo: cf. L. dat. curru,
 Skt. loc. sunau.

 The following forms contain etymologically long vowels arising from long
 diphthongs with loss of the second element:

d. ēi > ēi > U. e i in fifth declension forms dat. autie, ri: cf. L. fidē dat. in Hor.,
 Serm., I, 3, 95; abl. ri, acc. pl. iouie. The fifth declension in general is based on
 stems in -ēi (-ēu in the case of L. diēs). For details see 79.

e. ōu > ō > U. u u (13 with b): acc. buum, acc. pl. bu/buf: Dor. β̄ov, Skt.
 gām.

f. There is a slight possibility of a similar origin for the dative ending in the
 divine names Trebo and Fiso (and perhaps Ahtu), if these are derived from forms
 in -āi and -ōl, like OL Matata, C.I.L., I, 379, and the standard dat. sg. in L.
 o-stems equō, etc., with further examples in the minor Italic dialects; see von
 Planta, II, pp. 94-5, 111; not admitted by Buck, § 171, 3 a, 185, 2, who treats
 the Umbrian forms as fourth declension, in which case the development is through
 plain diphthongs and not through long monophthongs.

26. LENGTHENING OF VOWELS. In Latin it is a well-known fact that vowels
 originally short were lengthened before certain consonant-clusters, partly in com-
 pensation for the loss of one of the consonants, partly where no such loss had
 occurred. The authority of ancient grammarians, which furnishes a part of our
 information for Latin, is lacking for the Italic dialects, but occasionally the ortho-
 graphy gives evidence of vowel-lengthening under conditions similar to those
 in Latin, and it is likely that the phenomenon was by no means limited to the
 few forms in which we have direct evidence of it but extended to categories of
 which these forms are merely isolated examples. The evidence in Umbrian in-
 cludes all the means by which vowel-length is indicated: doubling of the vowel,
 use of the vowel + h ħ, or of the vowel + h + vowel, and also the use of ei for e
 and of u for o, indicating a change toward a more raised position as the e, o was
 lengthened.

 a. The consonant-group -nk- was reduced to -l- with lengthening of the pre-

 b. A similar lengthening before -nk- is probably to be recognized in čihčěra,
 if it is from *kinkel(y)ā or *kinkedā and related to L. cingo, věxəlidae, etc.,
 according to the usual view.

c. The group -kt- became -hli- by 46 i, and in such forms as apehtre, ehueilu
 it is possible to regard the h as sounded, but in amprehtu, where it has no etym-
 ological justification, and in forms with the spelling consisting of vowel + h +
 vowel (e. g. sahatam, eheturstahamu) it is not possible to regard the h as anything
more than a mark of vowel-length. It was used originally, then, to indicate the aspiration arising from k before t (and also from j < p before t by 38 b) and continued to be used sporadically to show the length of the vowel after the aspiration had disappeared. Our principal examples are forms containing ehe- eb-, the prefix equivalent to L. ex, ē: apethe: cf. L. ab extra; ehueltu, ehevclku, ehelurthaamu, and finally the preposition ehe itself. These forms present difficulties when we attempt to explain them satisfactorily for Umbrian, Oscan, and Latin. ē cannot be from *ex before l, m, n in Oscan or Umbrian, since s is not lost in this position in these dialects as it is, for example, in L. ē-mergo < *ex-mergo. It is necessary therefore to derive O.-U. ē- < eh- < *ek (: ēx), the ē- arising in this way being then extended analogically to other situations. A further difficulty is the fact that in Oscan the h arising from k before t is in general not lost; at least forms like Uhtavis: L. Octavius; ehtrar do not show variants without h. Von Planta, I, p. 209, suggests that Oscan h may have been lost before spirants (cf. eestint), the prefix then being generalized in the form ē-. Actually the Oscan forms with h written before t are too few to allow any generalization as to its value.

d. aanfehtaf may exemplify lengthening of the vowel before nf, as in L. inficio, etc., but its value as evidence is weakened by the fact that the first a fell at the end of a line, perhaps causing the engraver to begin the word anew on the following line.

e. Lengthening before final original ns in the acc. pl. forms toru, rofu (o-stems), and aueif, treif (i-stems) is inferred from the spelling with u, ei unless we follow the less probable view that these forms ended in -dns, -üns originally. The lengthening is common to the Italic languages (cf. L. virōs, avōs, etc.) and is certainly older than the Umbrian change of -ns > -f.

f. Lengthening before medial ns appears in O. keenzstur (with nz for nts < ns; for length cf. L. cēnsor) and probably occurred in similar situations in Umbrian, but there is no direct graphic evidence of it.

g. oosereclom has initial ò resulting from compensatory lengthening if it is from *ob-serklom, but there is an almost equally good possibility of taking it from *au-serklom < *awi-serklom, in which case oo would be explained by development of au as in 22, after syncope had occurred.

h. The reduction of the group rs is accompanied by lengthening of the preceding vowel in frateer (= L. fratres) < *fraters < *frateres. Similar lengthening is probable before medial rs, in which the loss, or at least the weakening of the r is shown by frequent omission in spelling (2 i). The doubling in meersta (with rst < rssl with secondary rs = ë < d according to one widely accepted etymology) may be an indication of such length, but this doubling occurs only once against 14 instances of merst.-1

1 meersta is admitted as evidence of length by Pl., I, pp. 207-8, and Buck, § 76, 1, but taken as dittography by Kent, T.C.I., p. 41.
27. Shortening of Vowels. Since vowel-length itself is so irregularly shown in Umbrian orthography, it is especially difficult to detect those cases where vowels originally long have become short. On the other hand there is moderately abundant evidence that in both Oscan and Umbrian long vowels are maintained in a number of situations where these vowels would be shortened in Latin.

a. Final ā is altered in quality but keeps its quantity: mutu, O. molllo, but L. multā, etc. (7 b; etymologically short a does not change to o u).

b. The length of the vowel is maintained before final m in the gen. pl. praetarum, since -um here can represent -ōm, but not -ōm.

c. The retention of long vowels before final l is attested in Oscan by the verb forms kasit: L. carēt, fusid: L. forēt, all from -ēt, and possibly in Umbrian by trebeit, if ei stands for ē (second conjugation) or for l (fourth conjugation). It is much less probable that ei stands for ē (third conjugation), both because ei rarely represents a short vowel and because the intransitive meaning of trebeit favors the belief that the verb belongs to the second conjugation.

d. Of the retention of long vowels before final r Umbrian provides no unambiguous examples.

28. Vowel-Weakening. Umbrian and Oscan present very few parallels to the weakening of vowels so frequent in Latin in syllables which were unstressed under the early system of initial accent. Moreover there are clear cases of absence of such weakening in dialect forms closely analogous to weakened Latin forms (e. g. procanurent against L. oc-cinui, tacet against L. tacitus). Yet there are some instances of vowel-change which cannot be explained by any other supposition than that of weakening in unstressed position. The weakening, when it occurs, is usually in the direction of o u, not of e, i as in Latin, and it seems to be especially favored by the proximity of a labial consonant; possibly some cases of actual weakening are concealed as a result of the lack of a special o-character in the native alphabet, a being preferred to u, and possibly other cases were eliminated by recomposition, but it is not possible to formulate any comprehensive rule.

a. The most probable instance of weakening is prehubia (varying, at least in spelling, with unweakened prehabia): L. praehibeat.

b. kumalto (3 times) kumalitu (once) comoltu (5 times) form a similar case if the proper vowel-grade is al < ī in the imperative as in the participle kumates (18 a), but ul ol may represent ol, kumalitu then being remodeled after the participle. In sumel also we have to choose between the possibility of weakening of *semel (cf. L. simul) in enclitic use or of ablaut-variation in the first syllable.

c. The o-forms Prestota, etc., show weakening if Prēstate contains ā < a, but the vowel may be ō < ā (7 b). atropusalu against 5 instances of -tre- and
3 of -tri- is probably not a form with an obscure labial-colored vowel, but simply an error (cf. Kent, T.C.I., p. 43).

29. Syncope. Loss of unstressed short vowels by syncope is much more frequent in Oscan and Umbrian than in Latin. All the short vowels except possibly u in Mede are subject to syncope, but the analogy of related forms occasionally prevents the loss of the vowel or restores it to its original place. Even for Latin it is not possible to lay down a complete set of rules describing the occurrence of syncope or its failure to occur, and still less is it possible for the dialects. Since the Italic languages had initial stress during the period when syncope was taking place, we cannot expect to find loss of vowels from initial syllables. The principal instances of syncope in medial syllables are treated in paragraphs a to h and in final syllables in paragraphs i to m, but loss of absolutely final vowels is treated separately in 31.

a. e is lost in the suffix of comparison and contrast -tro- < -tero-: destre testre: L. dextra, but δεξιερά, nertru, postra, etc.

b. e is lost before t in imperative forms of verbs of the third conjugation: kuvertu < *kom-vertelod: L. convertelo; ostendu ustentu < *ost-vertelod, with nd < nl < ndt (60a): L. ostendito; ditu titu < *ditelod (119b): cf. διδότω; sestu I1b 22: L. sistilo (but not pres. ind. sestu I1b 21: L. sisto); andersistu < *-siz-detlod: L. *interśidilo; etc. sumtu < *sub-emelod shows loss not only of the e before the inv. ending but also of the e of the radical syllable. fertu fertu probably shows not syncope but unthematic inflection, since Latin, which does not syncopate inv. forms in general, has ferto.

c. ę is lost in 3 sg. pass. ind. teřte < *dedeter.

d. ę is lost before s in onse uze < *omesei: L. umerus; felsva < *feles-wa (etymology not quite clear, and ř here may show dialect borrowing, but in all probability connected with L. holera); mersto if < meś-to- < *medes-to-; but this etymology is very uncertain; ose if < *opse < *opesi, but here again the etymology is doubtful.

e. ę is lost before l in arčlataf: L. arculatas; tičlu < *dik-elom; erečlum; struhčla: L. *struicalam; preuišlata: L. *prae-vinculato. In all these forms č ı < k (46 b) shows that a front vowel, in all probability e, must originally have followed. In other cases we must reckon with the possibility that no vowel originally stood before the l, hence no syncope. In some cases the former presence of e can be supported on other grounds: katlu < *kat-elom because -l- would have become -kl- (41 e); similarly in vitlu, where the original e also receives some support from O. Viteliū, L. Vitellius. But the vocalism of several forms is uncertain, and Latin cognates in -culus, etc., are not decisive, since the u can be from e or from o or can have arisen through anaptyxis.
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f. ō is lost in the noun-suffixes -men- (oblique cases) and -meno-: nomne: L. nomine; tikamne: L. *dicam(i)no; pelmnier if < *pelmnier-; menzne if < *mēns-en-i; terminmoe: L. terminum.

g. ĭ is lost in todem-e < *tutikom; percam: L. perticam; struhšla < *stru-wikelam with ŭ < uw after syncope: cf. L. struem; scalesto: L. calice.

h. ĭ is lost in the reduplication after the prefix in restef < *resistens; at least the transitive sense, generally rendered by L. restaurans, favors the view that the present stem was originally reduplicated.

i. ō is lost before final s in the masc. nom. sg. of words of the second declension: ticel < *diyekelos (with s lost after the syncope); similarly katel; fraqreks fraqres if < */fratrikos; pf. pcpls. lases taçez: L. tacitus; pihos pihaz: L. piatus; conegos kunikaz; stakaz; gerundive pelsans < *pelsannos < *pelsandos.

j. The vowel o/e has been lost in the forms nom. sg. mers meřs, abl. pl. mersus, from stem *medos-medes-.

k. ō is lost before final s in the dat.-abl. case-ending of the third and fourth declensions, the f which preceded the o being then assimilated to the s (61 d, 101 c, d, e). Typical examples are: aueis aves < *awifs < *awibhos: L. avibus; /fratus: L. /fratribus; nerus: Skt. nhbhyas; berus: L. verubus; etc.

l. ĭ is lost before final s in nom. sg. of the i-stems Casilos < *kasilātis: cf. L. Arpinas; fons if < *faunis; pace < *pākris with samprasāraṇa (32 d) and loss of -s: cf. L. acer < ācris.

m. e is lost in future verb forms between the tense-sign s and the personal ending -s (2 sg.) or -t (3 sg.): anpenes, heries, pertuvies; prupehast, ferest, fust; etc. Syncope must likewise be recognized in the same situation in the future perfect, unless we regard the second component as an auxiliary form in which the syncope was accomplished previously.

1 Nom. sg. forms of u-stems, which could provide evidence, are lacking in both Oscan and Umbrian, but erus, if it represents a stem in -us, shows absence of syncope in comparison with o-stem forms like katel, etc. Von Planta, I, p. 231, compares Goth. u-stem handus unsyncopated and i-stem fiks syncopated.

30. Failure of Syncope. Although it is not always possible to explain those instances in which syncope fails to occur when expected, a few cases deserve mention.

a. The e in the final syllable of 3 sg. pf. ind. forms is maintained: dede 1 < *deded < *dedet: cf. O. kumbened, L. dedet, coveņit. The same is probably true in the 3 sg. pres. ind. of verbs of the third conjugation, on the evidence of Marruc. feret, Vest. didet, although no Oscan or Umbrian forms are quotable.

b. The inv. kanetu is often taken as an unsyncopated third-conjugation form,
on the supposition that a vowel between \( n \) and \( t \) escapes syncope; but actually there is no support for such a view unless we count O. Genetai. In view of the almost invariable syncope in inv. forms of the third conjugation, therefore, it seems preferable to assign kanetu to the second conjugation (\(<*kanētōd < *kaneyetōd, 118\ b)\).

c. Several pf. pcpl. forms offer difficulty because of their failure to syncope the vowel before the l. uirselo (with auirselo) might be explained as an example of extension of \( ē \) into the non-present forms of a second-conjugation verb, as if L. video had pcpl. *vidētus instead of visus, and tačez laces might be similarly explained, but this explanation is more difficult for verbs whose present stems belong to other conjugations: pruseçetu to prusekatu; muilo to mugatu; also daetom, peretom, frosetom, pesetom, vaçetum. Von Planta's explanation\(^2\) may be tentatively adopted for want of a more satisfactory answer: syncope occurred in the inv., where the medial syllable stood between the accented initial syllable and the heavy ending -tōd, but failed to occur before the endings -ls < -los and -lom in the pcpl., the unsyncopated form then being generalized.

1 On minor inscr. 352 Co. = 292 Pl. = 82 Bk. (from Todl).

2 I, p. 215. Devoto's view (pp. 156-7) that long \( e \) in pcpl. alternated with \( ā \) in pres. of the first conjugation is tempting, but this type of alternation is not attested by the evidence of cognate languages, while several Latin verbs of the first conjugation do possess pcpl. in -(i)lus < -(o)los: domitus to domare, sectus to secure, etc.

31. Loss of Final Vowels. Many inherited short vowels in final position were lost in the Italic languages, but the instances of loss and of preservation are not distributed in a clear and consistent manner either among the separate dialects or within the same dialect. Apparently different positions in the sentence favored one or the other treatment, depending on the initial sound of the following word, and of the doublets which thus arose one or the other was generalized for the form in question in all situations. For the most part the type of loss here described differs from syncope both in distribution and in origin and is usually treated separately.

a. -ā is preserved in the voc. sg. of the ā-stems Prestota, Serfia, Iotia, Tursa, the shortness of the \( a \) being shown by its contrast with the nom. in -ō -u < -ā.

b. -ē is lost in neip neip: O. neip etc. but L. neque; ap (but usually ape etc.): L. alque but also ac; erek and other pronominal forms made with enclitic equivalent to L. -ee.

c. -ē is preserved in the voc. sg. of o-stems Sače, Grabouie, etc.

d. -ē is regularly lost in the 3 sg. and 3 pl. active primary personal endings: est est: L. est, but ērīl, Skt. astī; habiesl, fejacust, etc.; -ē is lost also in et et: L. el but ērī, Skt. ati; post: O. pust, L. post, all from *posti (like *anti); etc.
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e. ī is regularly preserved (as -e -e) in abl. sg. of consonant-stems capirse kapiñe, natine, etc.; in nom.-acc. sg. neut. uerfale and most other neut. i-stem nouns and adjectives; in ote ute: O. auti but L. aut; pufe pufe\(^1\): L. ubi but O. puf.

f. -ö is preserved in supu IV 17, if von Planta (I, p. 567) is right in equating it with öxö, Skt. upa, L. sub. See note on IV 17 for the two possibilities.

g. For the loss or preservation of -ū there is no conclusive evidence.

\(^1\) It is not certain what the final vowel of these forms originally was; the Oscan and Umbrian forms may have had suffix -dhe: Skt. ku-ha, or -dhi: πό-ὑ; L. ubi may be < ubi < OL ubei.

32. Samprasāraṇa\(^4\) is the name used to designate the change of a semivowel to the corresponding vowel when the vowel which originally followed is lost by syncope. The word affected thus suffers no syllabic loss. The phenomenon is treated here for convenience, instead of being made a part of the history of the consonants, because of its close connection with the syncope treated in the foregoing sections and because of the vocalic nature of the sound which results. In principle the semivowels capable of undergoing the change are y, w, r, l, m, and n; in Umbrian the chief examples involve y and r.

a. In the nom. and acc. sg. of stems in -yo- the o is syncopated, whereupon the y becomes i: nom. Vuvćis: O. Luvkis, but L. Lucius; acc. Fisim < *Fisyom; nom. arsir if equivalent to L. alius, alis,\(^2\) the view preferred here; but the alternative view has considerable support; see on Vla 6. *teheřim also probably belongs here, since it is much more easily derived from a stem in -dyo- or -lyo- than in -di- or -li-.

b. If Teteies is equivalent to L. Telleius, both from *Telleiyos, ē in the final syllable is a rare spelling for i developing from the y.

c. ineika iuenga: L. iuwcias, with iv- < yuwo, should be regarded as an example of samprasāraṇa in the initial position.

d. If a vowel is syncopated after r, the r assumes the function of a vowel and appears in the standard orthography as er er: ager\(^3\) < *agris < *agros: L. ager ḍqrqos; pacer < *pakys < *pakris; enclitic (and therefore unaccented) postposition -per < *pr < *pro: L. pro.

e. Samprasāraṇa of n has occurred in the development of Padellar < *Padenlās < *Patylās < *Patnofis, if we accept the usual view as to its etymology.

\(^4\) A Sanskrit term, literally 'a drawing asunder.'
\(^3\) Minor inscr. no. 355 Co. (from Assisi).

33. Contraction and Hiatus.

a. Unlike vowels are left uncontracted, the resulting hiatus being frequently indicated by h h: stahu\(^1\) but L. sto; ahesnes: L. ahenis; etc.
b. Like vowels are contracted. The known instances mostly involve vowels left in juxtaposition after loss of *y* (53 b): nom. pl. *paecer* < *pakreyes*: cf. L. *acres*; second-conjugation verb forms of the type of *lursitu tusetu* < *lorseyetōd*: cf. L. *terrētō*; etc.

c. In the dat. sg. and dat.-abl. pl. of *yo*-stems the close *e* < *oi* contracts with the preceding *y*, but this contraction is sometimes neglected, or at least is not consistently shown by the spelling: sg. *Grabouei Krapuvi, Iuvi*, but also *Iuvie*, etc.; pl. *Aliersir* but also *Aliersier*, etc. The contraction is undoubtedly connected with the raised quality of the vowel following the *y*, and it has a parallel in *dur* < *duos* (cf. L. *duo*), where contraction took place after *ō* had been raised in the direction of *ā*. Significantly, the contraction never occurs when *i* is followed by the open *ē* in voc. sg., or by *e* *e* < *ei* in gen. and loc.sg., or by *e* *e* < *ai* in dat.-abl. pl. of the first declension.

1 Minor Inscr. 355 Co.

34. ELISION. On the loss of a final vowel before the initial vowel of the following word it is impossible to lay down any general rule, but the loss of final short vowels treated above in 31 may be in origin a manifestation of this tendency, secondarily extended to situations before an initial consonant. The loss of final vowel *+ m* (cf. L. *animadverto* < *animum adverto*) may be exemplified by *eitipes* if < *eitom hēpens* (124 c), but observe the failure to show elision in *vasetomest, pesetomest*, etc. *nei̯ ḥhabas*, if < *nei̯ aṉhabas*, shows loss of the initial vowel after the preceding final.

35. ABLAUT. The variations of vowel in etymologically related forms, known collectively as ablaut or vowel-gradation, are older by several millennia than the weakening and syncope of the Italic languages. Their origin was partly similar — the effect of a stress accent — but they must be assigned to a stage no later than proto-IE, since every language of the family has inherited them to some degree. During the period when the ablaut-variations were developing every syllable of a word was subject, at least in theory, to this type of variation, but the leveling of related forms has greatly reduced the actual scope of the phenomenon. In the Italic languages particularly ablaut has been reduced in importance, as a comparison of the Latin tense-system, for example, with that of Greek or any Germanic language will quickly show.

The study of Hittite and the recognition of its relationship to the Indo-European languages has led to an increased understanding of the pre-history of the IE vowel-system. Even before the decipherment of Hittite, Ferdinand de Saussure (Mémoire sur le système primitif des voyelles dans les langues indo-européennes, Leipzig, 1879) had assumed two "coefficients sonantiques" in order to explain the long vowels in such forms as *lētamū, tēθēμu*. Subsequently Hittite was found to contain two sounds customarily transcribed ʰ (voiced)
and $hh$ (voiceless). Correspondences like Hitt. $lahba$- ‘campaign, war’: $\lambda\alpha\overline{o}\zeta$, Hitt. $mehur$ ‘time, occasion’: L. $m\tilde{e}l\tilde{i}o$r suggested that IE $\acute{e}$ and $\tilde{a}$ arose when an earlier short normal-grade vowel was followed by a laryngeal, so that de Saussure’s theory in its essential features was vindicated. Sturtevant in The Indo-Hittite Laryngeals (Baltimore, 1942) recognized four “laryngeal” phonemes $'\gamma\nu\nu$ (cf. p. 22 with correspondences between his own and other systems, some of which recognize only three laryngeals). The most important features of his doctrine, so far as IE vocalism is concerned, are: $x$ and $\acute{\iota}$, imparted an $a$-color to a contiguous $e$-vowel, whereby $\acute{a}$ and $\tilde{a}$ came to exist as distinct phonemes after and only after the disappearance of the $a$-colored laryngeals; the vowels $\acute{e}$, $\tilde{a}$ in the “long-vowel” series (to be distinguished from $\acute{e}$, $\tilde{a}$ as lengthened grade in the $\acute{e}$-, $\tilde{a}$-series) arose when normal-grade $e$ was followed by a laryngeal of $e$- or $a$-color, which in turn was followed by a consonant; in zero-grade forms when the $e$, $a$ disappeared, the laryngeal itself became $a$, which subsequently alternated as zero-grade with $\acute{e}$, $\tilde{a}$ after these long vowels had arisen from the combination of $e$ + laryngeal. Some scholars regard $o$, $\acute{o}$, when not in qualitative ablaut-variation with $e$- and $a$-vowels, as reflexes of $e$ in contact with the laryngeal $\gamma$ (cf., for example, Lehmann, Proto-Indo-European Phonology [Austin, Texas, 1952], pp. 92, 93, 96; Messing, Harvard Studies in Classical Philology LV1-LVII [1947], pp. 217-220). Others admit $o$, $\acute{o}$ only as ablaut-variants of $e$- and $a$-vowels (cf. Sturtevant, Lang., XIV [1938], pp. 104-11).

The implication of all this is that the six ablaut-series presented below were in origin one. The fundamental distinction was between accented syllables containing $e$ and unaccented syllables containing no vowel unless a liquid, nasal, semivowel or laryngeal assumed vocalic function. The differences of quality and quantity in the vowels characterizing the six ablaut-series were then largely the result of the quality and position of contiguous laryngeals. These laryngeals, however, are not attested in the IE languages which were known before the decipherment of Hittite, while on the other hand there are numerous instances of vowel-correspondences of the type of $d\varepsilon\alpha a$, L. $d\varepsilon\epsilon\beta\zeta m$, Goth. $t\varepsilon\gamma\nu\nu$, L. $\varepsilon\gamma\nu\nu\alpha$, Goth. $\varepsilon\pi\varepsilon\alpha$, L. $\varepsilon\pi\varepsilon\alpha$, Dor. $\mu\varepsilon\pi\varepsilon\nu\nu$, L. $m\varepsilon\varepsilon\alpha$, Skt. $m\alpha\lambda\alpha$, etc. It is safest therefore in describing the origin of the Italic vowels to begin from the fully developed system outlined in § 5, the vowels of which can be arranged in the six ablaut-series shown below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>e-series</th>
<th>normal grade</th>
<th>reduced and zero grade</th>
<th>lengthened grade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>$\iota$</td>
<td>$\acute{e}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ei</td>
<td>$\acute{o}$</td>
<td>$i$</td>
<td>$\acute{e}i$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eu</td>
<td>ou</td>
<td>$u$</td>
<td>$\acute{e}u$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>er</td>
<td>or</td>
<td>$\mathring{r}$</td>
<td>$\acute{e}r$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>el</td>
<td>$\acute{o}$</td>
<td>$\grave{l}$</td>
<td>$\acute{e}l$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>em</td>
<td>om</td>
<td>$\eta$</td>
<td>$\acute{e}m$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>$\eta$</td>
<td>$\acute{en}$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

II. Grammar
A. Phonology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a-grade</th>
<th>o-grade</th>
<th>a-grade</th>
<th>o-grade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>o-series</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>normal grade</th>
<th>reduced and zero grade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>o</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>e-series</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a-series</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>o-series</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table does not show reduced grade as distinct from zero grade. "shwa secundum" (written b; cf. 5 b, 16 b) is included, however, to account for unstressed vowels in syllables where complete loss of the vowel would lead to unpronounceable clusters of stops. In the long-vowel series it is often customary to distinguish between a reduced grade with ə (e.g. L. stātus, Skt. sthitās) and a zero grade with syllabic loss (e.g. Skt. dadhmās) which vary under conditions which are not fully clear. The two are not separated in the table, but see n. 12 in regard to purdoutītu and dersa teṇa.

a. A full account of ablaut should include the combinations ye, yo, we, wo, re, ro, etc., since here also the semivowels may appear as vowels in zero-grade forms (e.g. Skt. comparative nav-yas, superlative nav-iṣṭha-), but actual instances are far less numerous than those showing the variations ei: i, eu: u, er: r, etc.

b. In the a-series a takes the place of e as normal grade and ə of e as lengthened grade. In the o-series there is no distinction between normal and o-grade nor is there any qualitative distinction in the lengthened grade. In the a- and o-series as well as the e-series it is necessary to take account of the subdivisions in which the vowel is followed (or preceded) by y w r l m n, but the combinations ai, au,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>e grade</th>
<th>o-grade</th>
<th>reduced and zero-grade</th>
<th>lengthened-grade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>L. tepor mërs</td>
<td>L. modus dupursus ¹</td>
<td>prusikurent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>L. bipedibus</td>
<td>L. sukatu pruzuře (?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>L. in-sece</td>
<td>L. irabs</td>
<td>O. triibúm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>L. praeside</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tremnu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ei</td>
<td>teitu ²</td>
<td>tikamne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O.</td>
<td>nei</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nosue ³</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eu</td>
<td>rofú (?)</td>
<td>rufru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iouies ⁴</td>
<td>L. ruber</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>L. iuvenis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>persclo</td>
<td>pepurkurent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>er</td>
<td>couertu</td>
<td>L. posco</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>circulus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>couortus (?)</td>
<td>kurciasiu (?)⁵</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>uhtretie⁶</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>uhtur ⁶</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>comoltu ⁷</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>comatir ⁷</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>el</td>
<td></td>
<td>gomia</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sumel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en</td>
<td>nuřpener</td>
<td>L. pondus</td>
<td>tribrisine ⁸</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tribřiču ⁸</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A. Phonology

etc. can be easily inferred from their similarity to the corresponding e-forms, and the o-forms are the same as those found under o, ò in the e-series.

c. The origin of the lengthened grade is partly obscure, but the ć, ã, δ probably came from ė, ā, ŏ by compensatory lengthening under certain conditions involving loss of the syllable immediately following. The lengthened-grade vowels, from the historical standpoint, should be carefully distinguished from the vowels of the long-vowel ablaut-series, which owe their length to the loss of a following laryngeal: for example L. pēs, Dor. πώς represent lengthened grades in relation to L. pedis, Gk. πεδός in the e-series, but the long vowels in τίθημι, δίδωμι represent normal grades in their respective long-vowel series. The long-vowel series naturally do not possess lengthened grades distinct from their normal grades.

d. The tables herewith show some of the principal examples of ablaut-variation between Umbrian forms or between related forms in Umbrian, Oscan, Latin, and Greek. The series are kept distinct, but it has not seemed necessary in the table to show the further subdivision into series with ei, eu, er, etc. The variations exemplified are in the root-syllable except when otherwise indicated in the notes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a-series</th>
<th>a-grade</th>
<th>o-grade</th>
<th>reduced and zero grade</th>
<th>ā-grade</th>
<th>ō-grade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>āncīf</td>
<td>L. uncus</td>
<td>hostatus</td>
<td>ocar</td>
<td>L. ācer</td>
<td>ākoxh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. hasta</td>
<td>āqoqoš</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

o-series: Umbrian shows no good examples of o-grade forms not in ablaut-variation with e- or a-grade forms in the same language or in other IE languages. In fact, the right to recognize such a series at all (“non-apophonic o”) is questioned by many scholars at the present time. But see below in the o-series, where forms derived from the root *dō-, dōw ‘give’ appear to contain “a non-apophonic” ō-vowel.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ĕ-series</th>
<th>ĕ-grade</th>
<th>ō-grade</th>
<th>reduced grade</th>
<th>zero-grade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fēsnaf-e</td>
<td>L. fānum</td>
<td>fasi</td>
<td>L. aries</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O. fēsnū</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fētu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erētū (?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
II. Grammar

\(\bar{a}\)-series

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(\bar{a})-grade</th>
<th>(\bar{o})-grade</th>
<th>reduced grade</th>
<th>zero-grade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stahmei</td>
<td>staflarem</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(\delta\)-series

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(\delta)-grade</th>
<th>reduced grade</th>
<th>zero-grade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dunum(^{12})</td>
<td>purdouitu</td>
<td>dersa te(\text{'a})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Or possibly \(\delta\)-grade, as in Goth. *fotus.*
2 *ei* is not a direct survival of IE *ei* (see 20 a, 46 j).
3 See 21 a.
4 It is not certain whether these forms show the grade *eu* or *ou*, since the two became merged as *ou* in pIt. (23).
5 It is not certain whether these forms show the grade *or* or *\(\ddot{u}\)*, since the two became merged as *or* in pIt. (17 a).
6 The gradation is in the suffix *tr/\(\ddot{u}\)r*, etc.
7 From a disyllabic base, perhaps *melē-*, with *comoltu* < *kom-molotōd* and *comatir* < *-maltōis* < *-mitōis* (18 a).
8 Suffix *-yōn/\(\ddot{u}\)n* (81 b).
9 From *\(\ddot{u}\)nasnom* < *\(\ddot{u}\)hasnom*.
10 \(\delta\)-grade whether we derive from the unextended root *dhe* (cf. *\(\tau\)-θη-μι*) or from the extended *dhe-k* (cf. L. *\(\ddot{e}\)dē*).
11 The only evidence for long initial *e* here is Lith. *\(\ddot{e}\)rŷ̆tis* 'lamb'.
12 dunum (inscr. no. 352 Co. from Todt): L. *dōnum.* *pur-douitu* shows reduced grade of *dōu*, a diphthongal form of the root *dō*; *a* instead of *a* is difficult but may represent the same type of qualitative leveling seen in *δωμ\(\ddot{u}\)s* beside *δωμ\(\ddot{u}\)u*. Pf. pl. *pur-dilom* < *d\(\ddot{u}\)l̄om* has zero-grade of *d\(\ddot{u}\)*, as in L. *duint*, etc. *dersa te\(\text{\'a}\) < *\(\ddot{e}\)dē̆l* has zero-grade of *dō + \(\ddot{a}\)*, sign of the subjunctive.

36. General Survey of the Consonant System. In describing the origin, history, and etymological correspondences of the Umbrian consonants the following PIE phonemes are to be assumed as resting on the surest evidence:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STOPS</th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Velar or Palatal</th>
<th>Labiovelar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless Aspirate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEMIVOWELS</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIQUIDS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIBILANT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
a. The laryngeals are not included in the table. For their part in the development of the IE vowel system see 35. So far as the consonant system is concerned the rare phoneme b is sometimes regarded as a reflex of p followed by the voiced laryngeal γ (cf. Sturtevant, *Indo-Hittite Laryngeals*, p. 87). For the plain velar stops see 45.

b. The voiceless aspirates ph th kh kʷh, which are commonly assumed in addition to the voiceless, voiced, and voiced aspirate stops of the various classes, have been omitted from the table here given. They are normally included in the pIE phonemic system in order to account for sets of related words which show ph, th, etc. in Indo-Iranian but which show reflexes of the plain voiceless stops in Celtic, Germanic, and Balto-Slavic and of either the plain voiceless stops or the voiced aspirates in Italic and Greek (e.g. Skt. *tisṭhati*, Gk. *ἰστημεῖ*, L. *sisto*, Goth. *standan*; Skt. nakhas, Gk. ὀνοξ, ὀνοχος, OE *nægel*; etc.). Some recent scholars have derived the voiceless aspirates from combinations of plain voiceless or voiced stops followed by any one of the three voiceless laryngeals 'x (in Sturtevant’s system). Certain variations between aspirated and unaspirated stops, or their reflexes, are then traced to doublets showing the laryngeal immediately after the stop (leading to aspirates) or separated from the stop by an intervening vowel (leading to unaspirated stops). Cf. Sturtevant, *Indo-Hittite Laryngeals*, pp. 83-86; Lehmann, *Proto-Indo-European Phonology*, pp. 80-84. The Umbrian forms in which IE voiceless aspirates have been assumed are extremely few: 1) with the labial ph: *ařepes* if we derive from root *eph-* with Devoto (T. I., p. 201; see Lexicon), but this is very uncertain; 2) with the dental th (after von Planta, I, pp. 470-1): *iteit* if it contains the same suffix as Skt. *katham*, yathā; *urfieta* if, with L. *rota*, it is connected with Skt. *rathas*; *vatuva* if connected with Skt. *kvath*-, but this is extremely uncertain.

c. For the question of the plain velar stops, their relation to the palatals and labiovelars, and their significance for Latin and the Italic dialects see 45.

d. Strictly speaking, the nasals m, n, the liquids l, r, and the semivowels y, w are allophones of the vowels ṅ, ỹ, ṽ, ū, i u respectively, since the conditions under which ṅ or m, ū or r, i or y, etc. can occur are mutually exclusive. For the sake of clarity, however, separate symbols are used as if ṅ and m, i and y, etc. were distinct phonemes. The symbols ū and ř, however, are not used, since in pIE and the early IE languages in general they are merely allophones of n occurring before (labio)velar and palatal stops respectively. (Contrast their phonemic value in Eng. lawn: *long*, sinner: *singer*).

e. Some recognize z, a voiced sibilant in contrast to the voiceless sibilant s. Whether or not it is justifiable to admit z as a separate phoneme, it is adequate for our purposes to treat z as an allophone of s arising when a voiced stop immediately follows, as in zero-grade derivatives of the root *sed-* ‘sit’ (for Umbrian forms see 29 b, 61 c).
37. History of the stops in Italic and other IE Languages. The following is a simplified diagram showing the history of the stops in some of the principal IE languages. The Umbrian and Oscan sounds are shown only as they appear in the Latin alphabet, except that the Umbrian characters ŏ, ř, and ç are included. The voiced stops arising in Gothic under the Conditions of Verner's Law are shown at the right of the voiceless spirants, and the products of palatalization before front vowels in Sanskrit, Lithuanian, and Old Church Slavic are shown at the right of the k and g symbols, but the unaspirated stops arising in Greek and Sanskrit by Grassmann's Law are omitted.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Umbrian</th>
<th>Oscan</th>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>Gothic</th>
<th>pIE</th>
<th>Lith.</th>
<th>OCS</th>
<th>Skt.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Labials</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dentals</td>
<td>t</td>
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<td>t</td>
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<td>ñ</td>
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<tr>
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<td>d ā rs</td>
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<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatals or Velars</td>
<td>k c ç ž</td>
<td>k c</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>h g</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
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<td></td>
<td>g i</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>γ</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>g z</td>
<td>g z</td>
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<td>Labiovelars</td>
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a. When Umbrian is compared with Latin, two striking differences become apparent: 1) in Umbrian, with Oscan, the voiced aspirates become voiceless spirants both initially and medially, while in Latin they become voiceless spirants initially but voiced stops medially; 2) in Umbrian, again with Oscan, the labiovelar stops become labial stops, but in Latin they mostly remain unaltered as velar stops with lip-rounding, at least where the voiceless stops are concerned.

b. When the table is examined as a whole, it is seen that in the group of languages at the left the "palatals or velars" have generally remained as stops, while in those at the right they have largely been changed to sibilants. At the same time the labiovelars have generally remained as stops, partly of labial character, in the languages at the left, but have lost their lip-rounding in the languages at the right and appear as plain k- or g-sounds, or as sibilants resulting from secondary palatalization of these sounds in the separate languages. This divergence in the treatment of the palatals and labiovelars is the basis of the familiar division into "centum-languages" and "satem-languages", which is discussed more fully in 45.
38. LABIAL STOPS. pIE p.

a. p normally remains as p p initially and medially: patre: L. pater, πατής; peři persi: L. pes, ποδός; pir: πῦρ, Eng. fire; pequo: L. pecu, Goth. jôthu, Skt. pašu; etc.; super: L. super, ὁπέρ; dupla: L. duplas; etc.

b. The cluster pt (including pt < ht, bht by very early assimilation), which remained unaltered in Latin, became ft in proto-Oscan-Umbrian, and the resulting f was further altered in Umbrian to h, the further history of which was parallel to that of the h in the cluster ht < kt (46i): scroffto: O. scritas, L. scriptum; sutentu < *sup-tendetōd; probably also inv. hatu hahtu, from a form with secondary pt after syncope of the intervening vowel, and perhaps subo:u subahtu.

c. For the assimilation of p before s see 61 d. For the assimilation of p before m see 61 e.

39. pIE b, which was a very rare phoneme, generally remains unaltered as b b (for representation by p, which does not there indicate a voiceless stop, see 3 d): trebeit: cf. O. tribúm, L. trabs, Goth. þaurp; habe habe: cf. L. habeo: the phonology of the various forms of this verb in the Italic dialects presents a complex problem (122 e), but the Umbrian forms containing b b must be referred to an original b, since bh would not provide a satisfactory solution for Oscan-Umbrian, nor qʷ for Latin; kebu: L. cibus, but because of the k unpalatalized before e the Umbrian form is under strong suspicion of being a loan; if it is a Latin loan, the b could be from bh; aþputrati: L. arbitratu, a reasonably sure equation; the ultimate etymology is unknown, but the U. p and L. b must be from pIE b unless one or the other of the forms is a dialect borrowing.

For the assimilation of b before n see 61 e.

40. bh normally becomes f f in Umbrian and Oscan not only in the initial position, as in Latin, but also in the medial position, where Latin has b with loss of aspiration: fertu fertu: L. ferlo, φευέτω; fratrom fratrum: O. fratrúm, L. fratrum; futu futu: cf. O. fast, L. fui; etc.; trifo but L. tribum; tefte tefte: O. tfei but L. tibi; alfú: ἀλφός but L. albus; etc.

For the change mbh > mf > mb see 60 d.

41. DENTAL STOPS. pIE t.

a. t initial and medial normally remains as t t: totam tuta: O. touto, Goth. þiuda; tases taçež: L. tacitus; tenitu: L. leneto; trif tref: L. tris, τρεῖς, Eng. three; etc.; fertu fertu: L. ferlo, φευέτω; etantu: O. etano, L. lanta; et et: L.
et, ët, all from *elti; 3 sg. and 3 pl. verb forms in primary tenses, with -t < -ti: est: L. est, ëst; sent: cf. L. sunt, OCS sqif; etc.

b. t when originally final became d in Oscan and Umbrian and subsequently disappeared in Umbrian: 3 sg. verb forms in secondary tenses: dedet: O. dedet, L. dedit; facia: O. fakiaid, L. faciat.

c. Final nt nt in pronominal and adverbial forms containing the suffix -(h)ont, -font is preserved in 29 instances against 2 without the -nt -nt. Since it is altogether unlikely that final t would be preserved in -nt when it is otherwise lost, we must assume that a vowel, perhaps -i, had previously followed the t.

d. Initial tl, which in Latin is simplified to l-, is preserved in the Umbrian form Tlatie, which may be cognate with L. Latium or possibly with latus < *tlátos, pf. pcppl. to fero, tuli.

e. Medial tl became cl kl: píhaclu and other nouns made with the same suffix (75 b). O. pestíüm with stl < sktl is an exception to which there is no Umbrian parallel unless persclo is made with -tlo- rather than with -lo-.

f. An Oscan-Umbrian change tn > kn is commonly assumed as a convenient means of bringing several forms into connection with L. annus, Goth. dat. pl. aþnam, both < *aþno-. The forms are O. akenei ‘in anno’, akun, both with anaptyctic vowel before n; also U. sevacne sevakne if it contains the same root, but see on IIa 21. The change gains to some extent in plausibility through its resemblance to the change -tl- > -kl- (e above), but cannot be regarded as proven. Padellar might be expected to show the same change, if the reconstruction given in 32 e, 60 b, is correct. It may therefore be necessary to assume that *Patenola resulted secondarily after syncope of *Patenolā.

g. Medial t is lost before k, after syncope has occurred, in percam < *pertikam: L. pertica.

h. For the loss in t in pusnaies see 2 i. For the change -tr- > -dr- see 60 f. For -nt- > -nd- see 60 a. For -tn- > -dn- (as a stage in the development of Padellar) see 60 b, with f above. For -tl- and groups containing t with other dental stops see 44 with a, b, c, d.

1 From minor inscr. no. 352 Co. (from Todl).

42. pIE d.

a. d in the initial position generally remains as t d, the t in this case of course indicating a voiced stop (3 d). dur, tuf: L. duo; desenduf: cf. L. duodecem; destru testru: L. dextro; ditu tetu: cf. δίδωμι, L. do, dare; Di Dei: cf. OL Diovis.

b. d between vowels normally became a sound represented in the native alphabet by the character which we write as ſ and in the Latin alphabet by rs (3 f). Another source of this ſ is intervocalic l (55 b), and in certain forms of
doubtful etymology and interpretation it is not certain whether we have to do with original $d$ or $l$. In both cases the change is a peculiarity of Umbrian not shared by Oscan, although the character θ, which occurs 4 times on a single Paelignian inscription from Corfinium (216 Co.), may have indicated a similar sound. The surest Umbrian examples of $\tilde{r}$ $rs < d$ are: erse eřek: O. idic idik, cf. L. id; pirsce piře; cf. O. pídum, L. quid; persi peři: L. pede, podi; from the same root dupursus, peturpursus: cf. L. bi-, quadrupedibus; capirse kapiře: L. capide; calersu kalěřu: L. calidus = λεννομέτωπος (cf. Isid., Or., XII, 1, 52); serse zeřeřf: L. sedens; dersa teřa $<*$didat, pres. subj.: cf. δίδωμι; similarly an-dirsafust ateřafust; ahatripsatu ahtrepuřatu: cf. L. tripodato.

c. When $\tilde{r}$ $rs$ occurs in positions other than intervocalic, we must generally assume that a vowel was lost by syncope after the change $d > \tilde{r}$ $rs$ had been completed, or that the $\tilde{r}$ $rs$ was extended by analogy from forms where it arose normally. The former explanation is possible for mers meřs $<*$med(o)s: cf. O. med-diss, L. modus; ařpes beside the more frequent ařepes. In distru teřtu the $rs$ $\tilde{r}$ probably arose by analogy with related forms (e. g. dirsa, etc., not subject to syncope), since the syncope in the imperative forms in question is assumed to belong to an earlier period than the change $d > rs$ $\tilde{r}$, the normal development appearing in ditu titu $<*$ditltod $<*$did(e)tlod. ars- ař- in ařkani, arjertur, ařpeitu, ařputrati can be explained as having originated in forms where the prefix was followed by a vowel, but it is difficult to separate this group of forms from L. arbiter, OL arjwise, arveho, etc., whose precise explanation is obscure, but which are sometimes regarded as dialect variants of ad-. It should be observed that in Umbrian arjertur (beside arjertur), arueitu (beside arsueitu) $rs$ $\tilde{r}$ may be replaced by the more advanced stage $r$, as in the Latin forms, and also that in both languages the alteration of ad- seems to occur chiefly before labials. The postposition -ař could arise normally in close juncture before a word with initial vowel; of the 5 actual examples 3 are before vowels and 2 before consonants, while the variant form -a occurs 8 times before vowels and nowhere before a vowel.

d. In contradistinction to $rs$ $\tilde{r}$ non-intervocalic, we sometimes find $d$ maintained under conditions that seem to call for the change to $rs$ $\tilde{r}$. In Coredier, tuder, tuderato, utur the change was apparently prevented by the dissipimatory effect of an $r$ elsewhere in the word ($r$ in tuder, tuderato is from $s$ by 57 c, e; in eturstahmu etuřstamu, where $s$ did not change to $r$, the change of $d$ to $rs$ $\tilde{r}$ was not prevented). In Padellar the $d$ may be from $t$ (60 b), but unless the $d$ developed so late as to escape the change to $rs$, it may be better to assume that we have here a case of resistance to sound-change in a divine or personal name. In tesedi tenzitim no explanation of the $d$ is possible, since the etymology is unknown.

e. Final $d$ is lost: abl. sg. tota tuta, etc.: O. toutad, cf. OL sententiad; inv. jertu, etc.: cf. O. deiuatuad, OL datod. For loss of secondary -$d$ from -$t$ see 41 b,
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f. For the treatment of -dl- see 44 b. For -df see 61 b. For -dn-, and also for -nd-, see 61 e.

43. pIE dh normally becomes /f in Umbrian and Oscan not only in the initial position, as in Latin, but also in the medial position, where Latin has d (or, under certain conditions, b): facia: O. fakiad, L. faciat, cf. Skt. da-dhūmi, τίθημι; jiliu feliu: L. jilius, cf. ḍhληj, ḍhλος; furo: L. forum, cf. ðoða, Eng. door, Russ. dor, all based on stems with initial dhw-; verfale: L. verbale (b < dh after r), cf. Eng. word; stalcarem: cf. L. stabulum, based on suffix containing -dhl- (-ðλo-) and L. b resulting from earlier proximity of l; rufus: L. ruber, ἐνυθος, Skt. rudhiras (f in L. rufus is dialectal in origin); combiatu, with / whether we accept connection with L. fido, πελθω, or the less probable one with πυρθάνωμαι.

For dht see 44 d. For the possible development of ndh through np to nd see 60 a, d.

44. Dental Clusters. The clusters which arose through the addition of dental suffixes to stems ending in dentals underwent very early alteration, probably during the period of Indo-European unity, as a result of the intrusion of a sibilant between the two dental stops. Consequently some works include lst, etc., among the proto-IE phonemes. Yet for the sake of etymological transparency it is best to present the combinations in their original form. Since the suffixes with which we have to deal are in almost all cases either the -to- used in forming the passive participle or other related t-suffixes, our dental clusters are for practical purposes limited to tt, dt, and dht. In some cases, however, the cluster is preceded by n or r or followed by r, and the normal development of the dental groups may then be altered or followed by secondary developments.

a. tt became L. ss: messus < *met-tos, pecl. of meto. Of the development of simple tt in Umbrian there are no examples, but trahuorji must have passed through the stages *-wr-tēd > *-worssēd > *-worfi (59 c).

b. dt first became tt by assimilation and had precisely the same subsequent history as original tt: frosetom, if derived like Latin iterative verbs by addition of -to/tē- to the verb-root: cf. L. fraus, fraudis, fraudare, etc.; but actually it is not certain whether the root-final was originally d or dh, since Latin medial d is ambiguous and forms outside of Italic sometimes have root-variants ending in gutturals instead of dentals; spefa < *spend-tā through the intermediate stages *spent-tā > *spessā (58 c); similarly spafu (58 c with n. 3).

c. The cluster ttr, whether original or resulting from the assimilation of dtr, is represented by str in Umbrian, Oscan, and Latin: castruo kastruvu: O. castrous, L. castrum, castra; despite certain semantic difficulties the equation of these forms is generally accepted; for details see Lexicon.

d. The history of dh + t is more complicated; in several of the IE languages
it shows two different reflexes distributed in such a way that there must have been two successive developments in proto-Indo-European itself, nor is there universal agreement among scholars as to which development was normal and which was the result of special factors. According to the view favored here the normal development was that one whereby a transfer of aspiration took place resulting in $d^*dh > zdh$, then Skt. $dh$ (or $h$) with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel, Gk. $\theta\theta$, Italic $st$. This development may be seen in U. hastatus: L. hastatos, cf. Goth. gazds, all from $^*ghodh-to-$, -$l\bar{a}-$; ufestne, adj. in abl. pl. ‘sealed’, if $<^{*}op-fest(o)-no-$ $<^{*}ob-h\hat{y}dh-to-no$: cf. L. offendix ‘knot, band’, Eng. bind, Av. basta-, Skt. baddhas, both $= \text{‘bound’}$. The other development involved the analogical reintroduction of $l$ (which was the characteristic feature of the perfect passive participle, the largest component among forms containing dental clusters) into the stem, the result in Italic being $ss$, as from original $tt$, $dt$: Fise, Fiso, if $<^{*}bheidh-to$: cf. L. fido, consistus, $\pi\epsilon\iota\omicron\omega\mu\alpha\iota$; perhaps also nesimei ‘proxime’, if $<^{*}nedh-b\hat{y}m\hat{e}d$: cf. O. nessimas, OIr. nessam; the evidence for the aspirate is Skt. naddhas ‘tied’. The development of $dhtr$ is illustrated in Oscar by nistrus ‘propinquos’ (same root as in U. nesimei above, with suffix -l(e)ro-: $t$ would be preserved by either development described above); there are no Umbrian examples.\(^1\)

\(^1\) On the development of $dh + t$ in general see Buck, § 138 a; Kent, Lang., VIII (1932), pp. 18-26; Kent, Sounds of Latin\(^3\), § 130, 2; § 144.

45. Palatal or Velar Stops. In Brugmann’s Grundriss and other standard works on IE comparative grammar or on the historical grammar of individual languages the stops assumed for pIE have included not only a palatal series (commonly designated $k$, $\acute{g}$, $\dot{g}h$) and a labiovelar series ($qy$, $gy$, $g\dot{y}h$, or now more usually, $k^\omega$, $g^\omega$, $g^\omega h$) but a “plain velar” series ($k$, $g$, $gh$) as well. The palatal series provides for such etymological groups as: (with $k$) L. centum, Gk. $\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\omega$, Eng. hundred, Skt. $\dot{s}alam$, Av. $\dot{s}alom$; L. decem, U. dequier, tekvias, Gk. $\delta\xi\acute{a}$, Skt. $\dot{d}\alpha\acute{a}$, Lith. $\dot{d}e\acute{s}i\acute{m}t$; U. ocar, Gk. $\dot{\alpha}k\varsigma$, Skt. $a\acute{s}ris$; (with $\acute{g}$) L. aeger, U. ager, agrae, Gk. $\acute{a}g\acute{g}o\acute{z}$, Skt. $\dot{a}j\acute{r}as$; (with $\dot{g}h$) U. hondomu, hondra, L. homo, humus, Lith. $\acute{z}\dot{e}\acute{m}\acute{e}$, OCS zemlja. Etymological groups containing the labiovelars are treated in 49. The plain velars were assumed in order to cover those groups which show unlabialized $k$, $g$-sounds in the western group of languages but also show $k$, $g$-sounds (sometimes with secondary palatalization) in the eastern languages, and consequently fail to fit either the palatal or the labiovelar series: e.g. (with $k$) L. cruor, Gk. $\kappa\omicron\epsilon\acute{a}z$, Skt. $krawi\acute{s}$; (with $g$) L. lego, Gk. $\sigma\tau\acute{e}g\omega$, Skt. sthagayati; (with $gh$) Gk. $\sigma\tau\acute{e}g\omega$, Goth. steigan, Skt. stignoniti, OCS slignq. Yet for some time the propriety of recognizing originally separate $k$- and $k$-series has been questioned.\(^2\) Such a distinction is completely lacking not only in Greek, Italic, Celtic, and Germanic but in Hittite\(^3\) and Tocharian\(^4\) as well. Probably a single $k$-series split into a velar ($k$-) and a palatal ($\acute{k}$-) series, the latter then becoming sibilants,
in the dialect area in which the satom-languages originated. The conditions for such a split are not entirely clear, but must be at least partly connected with the sound following the stop, since the appearance of plain velars in contrast to palatals is especially frequent before ã and r. In dealing with Italic dialects, as with centum-languages generally, the question of k and k is of relatively little importance. In the present work, whether a given pIE reconstruction according to traditional practice calls for k or k, ˘g or g, ˘gh or gh we write simply k, g, gh.

1 The basis of the familiar designation “centum-languages” (Greek, Italic, Celtic, Germanic) and “satom-languages” (Indo-Iranian, Armenian, Phrygian, Balto-Slavic, Albanian).
4 Pedersen, Tocharisch vom Gesichtspunkt der indoeuropäischen Sprachvergleichung (Copenhagen, 1941), p. 234.

46. pIE k.

a. k, if not followed by e or i, is represented by c k: kanetu: cf. L. canito; com, -co -ku: L. cum, com-; kabru kapru (with cabriner): L. caper, ON hafr.

b. k followed by an e- or i-vowel or by y became θ through a process of palatalization not shared by Oscan or by classical Latin but doubtless resembling the sound-change observed in It. cento, or in Fr. cent, from L. centum. Often s appears in place of θ in the tables written in the Latin alphabet. The following is a partial list of examples: Šerfer, Serfe: O. dat. Kerri, L. Ceres; čimu, čive: L. cis, citra; šihitu, sīhitir: L. cinctos, -is; tases taçež: L. tacitus; fačia: O. fakiād, L. facial; tičit: L. decet; desenduf: cf. L. duodecim; curnase: cf. L. cornice; pesetom: cf. L. peccatum.

c. In the following forms with θ followed by l the palatalization of k was caused by e in the suffix -elo-, -kelo-, etc., the e being subsequently lost by syncopé: arčlataf: L. arculalas (L. -u- < -e- before l); tičlu, kurčlasiu, preušlatu, struhčla. In uesclir the palatalization of k appears to have been prevented by the s.

d. Certain apparent cases of θ before back vowels result from the occasional failure to write the i which has caused the palatalization, probably indicating a partial or complete absorption of the i by the preceding consonant: vestiča beside vestiča; faču beside fačiu; puničate beside ponisiate; purdinsust, purtincus, beside purdinsiust; tribiču < *-kiôn beside abl. tribrisine with i.

e. Of the instances in which c k appears unchanged before front vowels most can be explained as restorations through the analogy of closely related forms
not subject to change; so especially the forms *fratreci, *Pupřike, *lodceir, *Nahar-
cer, *Tuscer, *Iabuseir, all belonging to o-stems. That the absence of palataliza-
tion is due to the secondary character of the i, e in these dat. sg. and dat. -abl.
pl. forms (\( \varepsilon < o \)) is less likely, especially in view of the palatalized *Pupřiče,
etc., beside *Pupřike. In *pacer also the e is secondary (*pacer < *pakrs < *pakris),
and in any case the c can be explained by the analogy of forms where k still
stood unchanged before r.

f. In several other forms, however, the explanation of the unaltered c k is
not clear. The evident relationship of *Acesoniam to O. Akudunniad suggests
that the e may have denoted a vowel of obscure quality without effect on the
c, but the four Umbrian occurrences of the word are consistent in the use of
e e. *kebu, apparently = L. cibo, is under suspicion of being a loan, not only
because of the k before e but also because of the medial b (39). In *ceheji and
kukehes the c k has been explained on the ground of secondary \( \varepsilon < ai \) or through
the analogy of forms with k before a (: L. candeo) or as an archaism preserved
through ritualistic use, but no explanation is certain.

g. There are a few forms in which i appears in place of an expected ŋ, but
all can be explained by special causes without the need of formulating a general
phonetic law. *peia, which is always used in contrast with *rafu, *rufru ‘red’
of animals, must itself designate a color, presumably ‘black’, in which case it
would be cognate with L. piceus. If contamination of *pikgys with *nigros
(L. niger) is admitted, *peia may be derived from acc. pl. f. *pigjans by 47 a.
*feia, semantically equivalent to *facia, is sometimes taken from stem *dhē-
(cf. *\( \tau l-\theta \eta-\mu \)) as distinguished from *dhē-k- (cf. L. jē-ei), but there is no positive
evidence for unextended *dhē- in Italic except in compounds of the type of L.
*condo, O. *pruffed. *feia, however, may have been remodeled after inv. *feitu
(with normal loss of k by 46 j), according to the correspondence */jera/ (implied
by *jerar): *jerlu, etc. *usaie in 1b 45 is almost certainly an erroneous spelling of
*usage which occurs in the same formula in 11a 44, the lateral loop of the
character d being omitted.1

h. It is not certain how the group kw (as distinct from the single labiovelar
phoneme k\( ^w \)) developed in the Italic dialects. Even if ekvine means (Via) E-
quina or in Circio Equino (Muller, p. 159), it is most unlikely that it is a Latin
borrowing. We must then admit that kw was kept distinct from k\( ^w \), which became
p by 49 a, or else reject the connection of ekvine with L. equinus.2 *kvester,
like the official title O. aidil, is probably a borrowing, from L. quaestor, and
moreover it is uncertain whether the qu of L. quaero, quaestor, etc., is from a
labiovelar or from k + w. In tekviass the k originally was almost certainly
followed by a full u-vowel (\(< *dekuwi\( ^a \)).

i. The cluster kt (including kt from gt by very early assimilation, but exclu-
ding kt resulting from syncope of an intervening vowel) became ht in Umbrian,
as in Oscan, but not in Latin: rehte: L. recte; apehtre: cf. O. ehtrad (both from *ek-tr- without the s contained in L. extra); uhtur: L. auclor; ahtim, Ahtu, if connected with L. ago, actio, actus. That the h in such forms as these was very weakly sounded, or lost with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel, is shown both by the frequent omission of h in the writing and by its use as a mark of vowel-length in forms where it has no etymological value. Among the forms where h is omitted are satam beside sahta: O. saahtum, L. sanctus; Speture: cf. L. specto; petenata: L. pectinatus. For h as a mere mark of vowel-length see 26 c.

j. kt occurring after syncope of the intervening vowel has a different history in both Umbrian and Oscan from the kt of i above, implying that the syncope did not take place until after the change of the earlier kt had been completed. In Umbrian i appears in place of the k, while in Oscan the cf kt remains unaltered: aitu: O. actud, L. agito; deitu teitu: L. dicio; feitu: cf. O. factud, L. facito. The phonology of urs-ueitu, ku-veitu is more complicated. Most scholars equate them with L. ad-, con-vehito: cf. Skt. vahati, Goth. ga-wigan, Lith. vežu, all from root wegh-. If we assume a development *weghetōd > *weχelōd > *wehetōd > *wehlōd, we should not expect to find ei ei in all twenty occurrences of the two forms (never with e or eh). But if the syncope occurred whi.e the prior consonant was still χ it is possible that -χt- may have developed as -kt-: thus, *weχelōd > *weχtōd > *wektōd > ueitu.

k. For the voicing of k after n see 60 c. For the assimilation of k before s see 61 d. For the treatment of final k see 62 a.

1 For the three forms here discussed see R. G. Kent, C.P., XV (1920), pp. 365-6.
2 In Latin kw fell together with kw (equus prosodically like sequor), but of course neither became p. If we hold that kw failed to become p in Umbrian, the gentile name Epidius found on Latin inscriptions of Campania must either contain a p of foreign (perhaps Celtic) origin or else must not belong to the etymological group of equus, since it is quite unlikely that Umbrian and Oscan show a different development of kw.
3 The fact that feitu feitu (once feitu) is nearly four times as frequent as feitu feitu may be explained by the fact that the raised e of *fēk(e)tōd (the same ablaut-grade as in L. fēcit) easily contracted with i < k before t, whereas the a of aitu and the e of the other forms did not.

47. pIE g.

a. g, if not followed by e or i, is represented by g k (2a, 3): gomia kumiaf: L. gomia; mugatu: cf. L. mugio; agrē: L. ager, ἀγός.

b. g followed by an e- or i-vowel or by y was converted by palatalization to a sound represented by i i: muieto, pf. pcppl. to mugatu. In eveietu also the i is most satisfactorily explained as from g (< *ě-wēgētōd < *ě-weenētōd) but the etymology of the verb is not entirely sure.

c. A similar palatalization of g after i is sometimes suspected but cannot be
proven: niru IIb 15 may be equivalent to L. nigrum, but the exact sense of the single occurrence is not known; the adjective from the name of the city of Iguvium is written *Iuuvina-as 7 times beside *ikuv- 14 times, and in the later tables consistently appears as *Iou- or *Iou-, yet the evidence of the Latin form Iguvium and of mediaeval Eugubium and modern Gubbio is against such a change. It has been suggested that the spellings *Iuuv- *Iou- *Iou- represent a “pious fraud” on the part of the priests, with a view toward connecting the name of the town with the name of the god Jove.

d. g is lost before n in natine, L. natione: cf. γνήσιος, Skt. jnālīs; naratu, naraklum: cf. L. gnārus, γνωσίς. A similar loss in medial position is perhaps to be seen in conegos kunikaz if from *kon-gnīgā-, cf. OL gnīxus.

48. pIE gh.

a. gh normally becomes h in Umbrian. feisva, generally taken to be cognate with L. holera, may be a dialect borrowing. The f in Fondir-e, with L. fons, is probably from dh by 43. The f in erafont is better taken as originating through reanalysis of such forms as if-ont than as a phonological variant of the h in erihont.

1 Cf. Paul. e Fest., p. 74 Lī... antiqui dicebant... folus pro holere...; Ernout, Les éléments dialectaux dans le vocabulaire latin (Paris, 1928), pp. 69-70; Schrijnhen, Neophilologus, VII (1922), pp. 222 (map), 234-6.

49. The Labiovelars. The conversion of the labiovelar stops to labials has already been mentioned in 37 a as one of the most important features in which Umbrian and Oscan agree against Latin.

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the initial p of pumpeñias and of puntes are from kʷ which came from earlier p through assimilation to kʷ in the second syllable (pIE *penkʷe, Skt. pañca, Gk. πέντε, Ael. πέμπε, L. quinque, OIr. coic; cf. 105 n. 3).

b. gʷ becomes b in Umbrian and Oscan, as against v, gu (the latter after n) in Latin: benus: cf. O. kUMBened, L. venit, βαίνω; berus: L. verubus; bum: βοῦρ, L. boem (with dialectal b for L. v); habina: L. agmina, cf. ἀμνὸς < *άβνός. umen, which is equivalent to L. unguen, must be derived from *unben, the b having caused assimilation of n (ŋ) to m and having then itself disappeared.

c. Of the rather rare phoneme gʷʰ there are no sure examples in the Italic dialects serving to show the development in initial position. In medial position gʷʰ appears as j in Umbrian in a single group of forms: vufru <*wogʰ-e-ro-m, vufetes <*wogʰ-e-helo- as equivalent to L. volis according to the usual interpretation, but see on Ila 31; Uofione Vufiune as a god in some way associated with vows, according to the usual interpretation, but see on Vlb 19. *euqh-*, the root of εὐχόμαι, may be regarded as a variant of *wegʰ-, with dissimilatory loss of labialization. On ninctu, whose root originally contained gʷʰ, see d below.

d. Loss of labialization. Under certain conditions stops which are known by comparison with Greek, etc., to have been originally labiovelar lost their lip-rounding in Oscan-Umbrian or in Latin or in both and show the same development as Italic k, g, ṣ. Analogical processes have worked in both directions, sometimes producing unlabialized forms where p, etc., might be expected, and causing the retention or restoration of p, etc., where loss of labialization might be expected. Loss of labialization before l is common to Latin and the dialects: L. coquo but coctus, inseque but insectio, U. puntes, cf. O. Püntis, against U. pumpeñias, O. pümperiais.² U. prusikurent < *-sëkusent, sukatu < *so-kātōd, both regarded as cognates of ἐσικαίε, ἐνίκαίε, L. īnsece, may owe their k to analogy with -kt-forms similar to L. insectio above; prusikurent may also owe its k to loss of labialization before u.  subocau, suboco, whatever their precise value, are related to L. vocare, vox, ἕπικος, etc.; the loss of the labial element in L. vocare and in the oblique cases of vox is generally explained by analogy with νόξ = νόκ < *wōkʰs (loss of the * before s), and the Umbrian forms must be similarly explained. The cluster kʷt arising from syncope of an intervening vowel (gʷ, gʷʰ then being assimilated before the voiceless stop l) is treated in the same manner as earlier kʷt > kt.³ fiktu < *fikʷtōd < *ḍīgʷelōd: cf. L. fivo (and fīgo); ninctu < *ninkʷtōd < *sningʷhelōd: cf. L. ninguit, veipēi, Av. snače-žaiti.

e. On the other hand the labial was preserved in puze, puse, putrespe (see a above); if we admit loss of labialization before u, then these forms must owe their p to the analogy of related forms in which p is normal. In umtu, where we should expect k as in fiktu, ninctu, the preservation of the labial (implied by
the m) must result from analogy with unsyncopated forms of the present stem, such as *umbo: L. unguo.

1 Loss of the initial consonant (c < k< before u) in Latin was caused by reanalysis of such forms as si-cut, ne-cuter, etc.

2 It is not likely that the development was *ponkʷt- > *pompt- > *pont- > *pont-, for if we do not admit an early loss of the labial element, we should expect either mfl < mpt or perhaps mtl as in umtu.

3 The syncope then must have been earlier than the conversion of labiovelars to labials, for if the latter change had preceded the syncope, we should expect to find the same development as with original labial stops. But the kt did not develop early enough to be affected by the change kl > hl.

50. CONTINUANTS. The following table is designed to show in the simplest form the history of consonants other than stops; that is, of the nasals, semi-vowels, liquids, and sibilants, all of which may be grouped together under the comprehensive term “continuants”, in several of the principal IE languages, in order that the etymological comparisons in the succeeding paragraphs may be more readily understood.

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The characters used in the Umbrian and Oscan columns are those of the Latin alphabet, except that v is included along with u, and ḩ is used to denote the sound derived from intervocalic l under the conditions described in 55 b. The sign j is to be understood in the value of German j, English y. The circle Ω indicates that the sound under certain conditions is lost.

The table shows the sounds as they appear in the initial position, or in the medial position between vowels. Their history in the medial position postconsonantal-prevocalic or postvocalic-preconsonantal, or in the final position, is to a considerable extent the same, but it is not possible to present all the special changes in the table. A few of the most important are given in the notes.

1 Final m becomes ν in Greek, and, in part, n in Germanic.
2 y in Greek is represented initially by ′ (= h) or by ζ, the reason for the variation being disputed; medially between vowels it is lost; medially in conjunction with preceding consonants it undergoes complex changes.
3 In Gothic and Old Norse intervocalic y and w, through the change known under the name of Holtzmann’s Law, underwent strengthened articulation whereby y became Goth. -ddý-, ON -gýr-, and w became Goth., ON -ggw-.

4 The labial semivowel w, written ꞉ (digamma), was preserved in many mainland Greek dialects, but lost in Attic and Ionic.

5 pIE r and l result in r regularly in Avestan and Old Persian and generally in Sanskrit, but l sometimes appears in Skt. for pIE l and sometimes even for pIE r. The irregularity is commonly attributed to dialect-mixture.

6 pIE forms with initial r regularly appear in Greek with a vowel before the r.

7 Initial s was lost in some forms when followed immediately by p, k, m, n, t, or r.

8 Medial intervocalic s appears as r in Umbrian, Latin, and (in part) English; as z (= voiced s) in Osca and (in part) Gothic; in Greek it became h and was then lost, frequently with resulting vowel-contraction.

51. Nasals. pIE m.

a. m is regularly preserved initially and medially between vowels: mani: O. manim (acc.), L. manu; Marte: L. Marti; mehe: L. mihi; nome, nomner: L. nomen, nominis, a vowel having originally stood between m and n in the Umbrian form of the genitive.

b. A case of elision of vowel + m, similar to that in L. animadverto < anim- (um) adverto, must be admitted in eitipes if we accept the usual derivation from *eiom hêpens (see Lexicon).

c. Medial m preceded by a vowel and followed by a consonant is preserved in kumne < *kom-nei (not the result of syncope as in nomner in a above).

d. Medial m preceded by a vowel and followed by a consonant is partly lost (especially in the tables written in the native alphabet), partly preserved: ampentu apentu, combifiatu kumpifiatu, kupifiatu, etc.

e. Final m is partly preserved, partly lost. Some typical examples are: acc. sg. puplum puplu poplom poplo, ocrem ocre; gen. pl. fratrum fratu; infinitive aferum afero; supine anseriatu anseriaio; postposition -kum -com rarely, -ku -co frequently; temporal adverb enom ennom enu eno enno. The 1 sg. of secondary forms of verbs must have ended in -m (cf. L. eram, O. manafum), but the only Umbrian example is pres. subj. aseriaia.

f. For assimilation of m see 61 a.

52. pIE n.


b. Initial clusters consisting of consonant + n may lose the prior consonant but the n is preserved: natine: L. natione, cf. gnatus, gens, γνήσιος; naratu,


d. Medial n (including n < m before dentals) preceded by a vowel and followed by a stop or by ç ̄ < k or by s̄ was sufficiently weakened in pronunciation to be frequently, but not uniformly, omitted in writing. The fact that this omission of n is more frequent in the earlier than in the later tables, where it occurs only before s, must be attributed to the influence of Latin orthography, since it is hardly conceivable that the n was actually restored in speech. Among the chief examples are: iveka, iuenga: L. iwenca; Saçi, Sanși: cf. L. Sancus; hutra hondra < *hom-terad (with n by 61 a); atefan(st) andersafust; ampentu ampetu < *am-penn(e)tōd < *an-pendetōd with nd < nn (61 e) and then syncope; 3 pl. forms of secondary tenses: etaians etaias, dirsans dirsas, sis sins; n before s after syncope: fons fos < *fauinis; n by assimilation of m before s after syncope: onse uze: L. umerus with rhotacism, which in Umbrian was here prevented by the syncope. For further examples of omission of preconsonantal n see 2 i.

e. The cluster -nkt- in both Umbrian and Oscan participated in the change -kt- > -ht- and then lost the n, at least in so far as its final consonantal value was concerned: sahata sahatam: O. saahtum, L. sanctum; išhitir: L. cinctis.

f. The cluster -ndl- lost both n and d, apparently in the sequence ndl > nnl > nl > ll: apelus < *am-pendlus; similarly entelus.

g. n in the 3 pl. primary ending -nt < -nli is normally not omitted: jurfant, dersicurent, pepurkurent, prusikurent, jurent, haburent, sent, etc.; furfaθ is the only exception. fefur is best not taken as fut. pf. 3 pl. of jitu, standing for *fufurent, but as a distinct verb: see Lexicon and note on Ila 4. eruHU IIb 22 appears without the -nt of erihont and other forms of the same paradigm. sururo VIb 48, sometimes taken as a similar shortening, is more probably for *sururor, a dittographic form of suror, just as suront is haplogenic for sururont.2

h. Final n is preserved in umen (: L. unguen), lost in nome (: L. nomen; 13 examples). In numem (twice in Ib 17) final m probably results from assimilation after the medial m. The postposition -en appears occasionally with the n preserved, but mostly as -e -e, and occasionally as -em -em, the last form having apparently originated in the acc. sg. by assimilation as in numem above, and then having spread to other situations.

i. For the history of ns, original and secondary, see 58.

1 ns in Umbrian is in large part converted to j, but escapes this change when original and non-final or when n stands before s as the result of syncope (58 a, e).

2 See 112 d and R. G. Kent, C. P., XV (1920), p. 361, where it is pointed out that both sururon against suront and sururo against surur are favored in VIb 48 - VIIa 2, which forms a passage complete in itself.
53. **Semivowels.** pIE *y* was actually an allophone of the vowel *i*, which it replaced initially before vowels and medially between vowels, but its separate treatment among the consonants is justified on grounds of convenience.

a. Initial *y* is preserved as *i i* in Umbrian as in Oscan and Latin: *iouies*: cf. L. *iuvenis*, Skt. *yuvan-*. *iuka*: L. *iocus*, cf. O. *iükliē*. (But *i i* in *iou* *Iuvi* is from *dy-*: O. *Diūvei*, O. *AtovFeit*, as well as *Iuveis*, L. *Diespiter*, *Diovis* beside the forms with *Iov-*.)

b. Medial *y* between vowels was lost, and if the vowels were similar they underwent contraction: nom. pl. of *i* -stems *puntas*, *pacrer*, *foner*: cf. O. *tris*, L. *hostes*, all from -*eys*; adjectives in-*ego*-: *farsio* (*i < e* by 8 b), *spantea*. The presence of *i i* in *kuraia*, *portaia*, etc., may be explained by the analogy of other present subjunctive forms where the *i* is preserved after consonants (126 a).

c. Intervocalic *y* is not subject to loss if the prior vowel is *i* or an *i*-diphthong. Among instances of the latter type may be cited *pernaiaf*, *pustnaiaf*, *Teteies*. The instances of *y* retained, as a glide, after vocalic *i* are sometimes difficult to distinguish, because a single character may stand for *iy* or for the consonant *y* alone. In pIE *iy* and *y* appear to have stood in complementary distribution, but in Italic the old distribution has been effaced. However, in those forms written in the native alphabet with *ii* (*triia*, *heriei*, etc.; see 2 h) the value of the second *i* is unquestionably consonantal.

d. *y* preceded by a consonant and followed by a vowel is partly preserved, partly lost after imparting to the consonant a palatal quality. In forms like *façiū façu*, Rupinie Rubine, *spinia spina*, *vestiča vestiķam* the coexistence of spellings with and without *i i* shows that the sound was consonantal and was at least partly absorbed by the preceding consonant which it had palatalized.

e. In *kurčlasiu*, *plenasier*, *urnasier*, *sestentasiaru* the failure of the *s* to change to *r* (57 c, d) is often taken as evidence of a consonantal rather than vocalic value for the *i*.

f. If *y* is preceded by a consonant and the vowel following suffers syncope, the *y* itself may become *i* by *samprasāraṇa*. For details and examples see 32 including a. In *iuenga iweka*: L. *iuwenca* also the *i i* must have become vocalic; at least this is more plausible than the assumption that *iv* stands for *yuw-*.  

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1 It might conceivably be argued that *y* has been lost in these forms and that the written *i* belongs in the diphthong. But in Oscan spellings of the type of *Pumpaiani*, *vereiiai* are common, and examples of L. *Mātia*, *elius*, etc., are known. In the treatment of intervocalic *i* in general Umbrian, Oscan, and Latin agree. It is therefore better to assume that *i* in *pernaiaf*, *pustnaiaf* does duty for the *y* and also for the second element of the diphthong *ai*, which before *y* then escapes the usual change to *e* (19).

2 Probably under the conditions familiarly known as "Sievers' Law": *iy* if preceded by two consonants or by a syllable containing a long vowel or diphthong, otherwise *y*. 
54. pIE *w* was an allophone of *u* and replaced it precisely as *y* replaced *i*. Moreover the old distribution of *uw* and *u* has been effaced and it is not always possible in a given instance to determine whether *u* indicates the consonant or the vowel followed by a glide, but in the native alphabet *uv* is employed in a manner which parallels the use of *ii*.


b. Intervocalic *w* is preserved as *v* *u* in Umbrian as in Oscan and Latin:  *avif* *auif:* L. *avis*;  *uve* *oui:* L. *oem*, Skt. *avim*. If *w* is preserved as a glide after *u*, the fact is indicated in the native alphabet by means of *uv*:  *tuver* *duir:* cf. L. *duo*;  *kastruvu* *castruo*.

c. Medial *w* preceded by a consonant and followed by a vowel is to a considerable extent preserved:  *sve* *sue:* O. *svai*;  *arvia* *aruiu-* (in the older tables 19 instances of *arv-* with *aruv-* only once);  *felsva*;  *tesvam* *dersua*;  *saluo* (24 times *salu-* only twice *saluu-*; not represented in the native alphabet).

d. But after certain consonants, especially labials, is lost:  *subocau* < *sub-wok*;  *prufe* < *pro-bhwéd:* L. *probe*, cf. Skt. *prabhu-*; perhaps also *sopa*, *supa:* L. *suppus*, if from *supwo*.-1

e. *w* after *d* does not cause alteration of the *d*, in contrast to Latin, where *dw* > *b:*  *difo:* cf. *διφωνίς*, L. *bis*, *bi*;  *purditom* < *-dwitom* with zero-grade as in L. *duint*; probably also *dia* < *dwiyāt*.


g. *seritu* with anseriato (cf. L. *servare* and *servire*) and caterahamo (cf. L. *caterna*) appear to show loss of *w* after *r*, but it is not possible to state the conditions with precision.

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1 Since gemination is scarcely ever expressed in writing in the Iguvine Tables, it might be supposed that *w* was assimilated to the preceding consonant, actually producing -pp-, etc., but the evidence of O. *fufans* *ampruít*, L. *probus*, *aperiô*, etc., whose history is parallel, rather favors the view that *w* has been simply lost, and this despite L. *suppus*.

55. Liquids. pIE *l*.

a. Initial *l*, which is preserved in Oscan and Latin as in the majority of IE languages, is nowhere written on the Iguvine Tables.1 On the other hand there are several virtually sure instances of *v*-*u* < *l*:-  *vapeře*, *uapef*-e: L. *lapide*, *(in)* *lapides*;  *vutu* < *tow(i)tōd:* cf. L. *lavare*; possibly also *Vuvćis:* L. *Lucius*. Other alleged examples are quite uncertain: see *uocu-com* and *anderuomu* in the Lexicon.2
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b. Intervocalic \( l \) is partly preserved, partly changed to \( ð \) rs. The conditions for the latter change are somewhat uncertain because of the scarcity of data, but apparently before \( ē, y, \) and \( iy \) \( l \) became \( d \) by a sort of palatalization, and then participated in the change \( d > ð \) rs (42 b). Before back vowels and before \( ē \) and preconsonantal \( i \) the \( l \) was preserved. Examples without change are: \( u.lo < *ōlō \) (or double \( l \) as in \( L. \) olle, ille?); \( uerfale, i \)-stem with \( -ē < -i: L. \) verbale. Examples with \( ð \) rs \( < l: kāretu \) carśitu, where \( e i = ē \) as if to \( L. *calēre \) for caläre; \( uretu: L. \) ad-oleto; \( famērias: L. \) familiae, cf. \( O. \) famelo. The preservation of \( l \) in presoliáf-e and feliu/filiu probably results from the analogy of related forms with \( l \) before back vowels.\(^3\)

c. \( l \) preceded by a consonant and followed by a vowel is preserved: \( plenē: L. \) plenis; \( dupla: L. \) duplus.

d. \( l \) preceded by a vowel and followed by a consonant is partly preserved: \( alfi: L. \) abbis; \( pelmrn < *pelpmneis \) (?). But \( l \) is lost before \( t: muta, motar: L. \) multa, \( < *molkīā, \) with secondary \( -ll- \) after loss of \( k; \) comatir pcpl., but inv. \( comoltu \) with preservation of \( l \), which was not in contact with the \( l \) until after syncope.

e. Of original final \( l \) there are no true cases: \( ticēl \) is from \( *k(ē)los; sumel \) is from \( *someli. \)

\(^1\) There are a few occurrences on minor Umbrian inscriptions: \( La \) (abbreviation of a praenomen in 353 d Co., \( L \) (abbreviation of a praenomen) in 354 Co.

\(^2\) The surest examples of the change all have a back vowel after the \( v\)- \( u\)-, and the quality of the vowel may have induced a back pronunciation of the \( l \), leading to \( w \). It is by no means certain that the change took place before \( e \) and \( i \), but there is no good evidence, positive or negative. The alleged cases are treated by von Planta, I, pp. 287-9; add Muller, p. 237 (veskla < *-les-llom).

\(^3\) See Lang., XXV (1949), pp. 395-401, for an attempt to formulate the conditions for the change \( l > ð \) rs.

56. p1E \( r \).

a. \( r \) is preserved initially and medially before vowels: \( rehte: L. \) recte; \( rufru: L. \) rubrum, ḫoḇaḵṓr; \( uhartu: L. \) auctorem; \( tri: L. \) tris; \( agre: L. \) agri; etc.

b. Medial \( r \) before consonants is in general preserved: \( porca: L. \) porcas; term-nom-e: \( L. \) (in) terminum, cf. \( O. \) teremenniu (with anaptyctic \( e \) after the \( r \)). But the omission of \( r \) before \( s \) in both alphabets is frequent, though irregular, indicating a weakening or partial loss in pronunciation: \( šesna, \) but čersnatur: \( O. \) kersnu, \( L. \) cena, cenati; \( jarsiō fasio: L. \) jarrea. See 2 i.

c. Final \( r \) is preserved in \( r \)-stem nouns, perhaps through the influence of the intervocalic \( r \) of the oblique cases: \( pir: ūrū; uhtur: L. \) auctor; arsferō; etc. But loss of \( -r \) is frequent in passive verb forms: \( emantu \) (but also \( emantur \)); ostensendi: cf. \( L. \) ostendentur; \( tēnte: \) cf. \( L. \) datur; etc.
d. For \( r \) which becomes final as the result of syncope followed by samprasāraṇa see 32 d. This \( r \) is normally preserved, but against over 100 cases of the postposition -per -per (\(<\) pro) there are 3 occurrences of -pe.

57. The Sibilant. pIE s.


b. \( s \) before \( l, m, n \) both initially and medially was normally preserved in Umbrian and Oscan in contrast to Latin, where it was lost with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel, if medial. There are no examples of initial sl- in Umbrian, but Oscan has slagim 'boundary-road', cf. OIr. slige 'street'; medially, disleralinsust if \(<\)*dis-leisālinkyust; cf. L. dī-līgo \(<\)*dis-ī; smursim-e? (etymology uncertain); pusme, esmei: Skt. kasmāi, asmai, cf. Pael. prisma, L. prīmus; snata: cf. L. no,nare, Skt. snāti; fesnafe: O. fiisnam, cf. L. fānum \(<\)*fāsnom. But \( s \) - is lost in ninctu: L. ninctu, Eng. snow, with \( s \) indirectly attested in Gk. ἀγάνυφος and in Epic lengthening before ἰφα, ἰέφει. The treatment of \( s \) in these initial groups is believed to depend partly on the generalization of doublets arising under different conditions of juncture; cf. τέγοςς, στέγοςς, μυκόςς: σμικόςς.¹

c. Intervocalic \( s \) in Umbrian as in Latin underwent the change to \( r \) familiarly known as rhotacism. The change must have been preceded by a voicing of the intervocalic \( s \), perhaps during the period of Italic unity or in any case probably very early. Oscan never passed beyond this first stage, and the voiced \( s \) is indicated by \( z \) in those Oscan inscriptions which are written in the Latin alphabet.² Umbrian examples of medial rhotacism include: kuratu: L. curato, cf. Pael. pf. 3 pl. coisatens; gen. pl. forms pracatarum, etc.: cf. L. feminarum but O. egmagum; fut. and fut. pf. forms staheren, furent, etc.: cf. O. censazet, tri- barakkatuset, all from vowel-stems + -sent; puri, nom. pl., \(<\)*pōs + enclitic \( i \); demonstrative pronoun ere(e): O. izic.

d. But the Tables show a number of occurrences of \( s \) \( s \) not changed to \( r \). Some of these exceptions are more apparent than real, since the \( s \) \( s \) may stand for \( ss \), which is not subject to rhotacism; so, for example, demonstrative pron. in abl. sg. essu esu with \( ss \ <\) ks: O. ekssuk; intensive pron. esuf: O. essuf, assumed to be cognate with L. ipse, \( ss \ <\) ps; osalu: cf. Pael. impf. subj. pass. 3 sg. upsaseter, L. operari, with syncope in the dialect forms before \( s \) could become \( r \); usor, unless \( s \) is preserved after the analogy of nom. sg. *uas, may be from a stem *wates- with \( ts \) assimilated after syncope: cf. L. passa in Plaut., Merc., 781 in Cod. Ambr.; in pisī the preservation of \( s \) before the vocalic enclitic, in contrast to puri (c above), is evidently induced by the simple pis; in kurčlasiu and other forms with the suffix -āsyo- the preservation of the \( s \) may be explained
by the supposition that \(i\) is the consonant \(y\) rather than the vowel \(i\): cf. O. kersnasias (not *kersssnasias) ‘*cenariae’, but L. denarius; asa: O. aasaí, aasas, in contrast to the rhotacized L. ara, is especially difficult, but the preservation of the Umbrian s may be a ritualistic archaism; so possibly also in eikvasese.

e. In contrast to both Oscan and Latin the later Umbrian of Tables V, VI, and VII has rhotacism in final as well as medial position: tuder (s-stem, as shown by etuřstamu < *ek-tudestāmōd); gen. sg. totar (cf. L. familias), popler, ocrer; dat.-abl. pl. Ațiieřiër, aseriater; 2 sg. verb form sir: L. sis. But final rhotacism does not occur in the dat.-abl. pl. of i-, u-, and consonant-stems, which have -s < -fs < -fos < -bhos: homonutus: cf. L. hominiibus, and O. luisarifs with -s preserved; nor does it occur in the 3 pl. secondary ending of verb forms such as elaiais (with elaians), sis (with sins).

f. Before enclitics beginning with a vowel -s in dat.-abl. pl. forms of ā- and o-stems is rhotacized in the older as well as the later tables: Funlere Fondlire, fesnere, but before enclitics beginning with a consonant the s is preserved: esunesku. In other words, the juncture is close enough that the rule for medial rhotacism applies.

g. A change \(sr > fr\) must be assumed in order to explain several Italic forms. In Latin the final result is \(fr\) initially, br medially: frīgus: ņiŋoŋz, Lett. strēgele ‘icicle’; L. membrum < *mēms-ro-: cf. Skt. māṃsam, Goth. mīnz. The only probable Umbrian example is tefru ‘burnt-offering’ (?), if from *tep(e)s-ro-: O. tefürum (-úrū- < -ro- by Oscan anaptyxis), cf. L. tepor, Skt. tapas.

h. Final s in Tables I-IV and the -r -r of Tables V-VII which results from rhotacism of the earlier -s are occasionally omitted in writing: gen. sg. agre, Fisie, nom. pl. prinuatu, dat.-abl. pl. snate, antakre, kumate, 2 sg. verb forms heři heři, si, etc. Among nouns and adjectives the cases of omission are very few in proportion to the total number of forms in -s, -r, -r, but for verbs the total number of 2 sg. indicative and subjunctive forms attested is low. Forms ending in -s from -fs or -ns are not subject to dropping of the s, just as they are not subject to rhotacism (see e above).\(^3\)

i. For the treatment of ns, both original and of secondary origin, see 58. For the treatment of rs, both original and of secondary origin, see 59.

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\(^1\) For a different view, whereby s- represents a remnant of a prefix, see Hoenigswald, Lang., XXVIII (1952), pp. 182-5.

\(^2\) For example, in the Tabula Bantina (no. 28 Co.). In the native Oscan alphabet \(z\) has the value \(is\), while \(s\) is used for both the unvoiced and the voiced \(s\). Paellignian, like Oscan, escaped rhotacism, while for the other minor dialects the evidence is inconclusive. Italic rhotacism has recently been treated with special attention to chronology and geographical distribution by F. Althelm, Studies in Honor of David M. Robinson, vol. II (St. Louis, 1953), pp. 459-68.

\(^3\) Abl. pl. sevalme (third declension) in IV 9 stands at the end of the line, with no room in the margin for the final s.
58. NS. In treating the history of the cluster ns it is necessary to make a
distinction between its occurrence in medial and in final position and between
those cases in which ns is original and those in which it arises from some other
consonant cluster or from the syncope of a vowel which originally stood between
the n and the s.

a. Original medial ns became nts, represented by nz (z = ts), ns, or simply
s: anzertiatu aseriatu, anseriato, anstiplatu, all with the prefix an- (= ārā),
before forms having initial s; menzne (< *mēns-en-i), antermenzaru, both
cognate with L. mēnis.

b. Original final ns, which is principally represented by the acc. pl. of masc.
and fem. nouns and adjectives, became f; the f, however, is sometimes omitted,
rarely in the older tables, but very frequently in polysyllabic forms in the later
tables: vitlaf, purka porca, apruf abraf, uiro, uvef oui, etc.

c. Medial ns arising from n + the dental clusters tt, dt (through nss by 44 a,
b) results in f and is illustrated by the passive participles spēfa < *spenssā <
*spend-tā: cf. L. pensa; spafu: L. pānsus, both < *(s)pand-to-; probably also
mefa with L. mēnsa; there is no verb root in -nd to which this last pair can be
referred, but they may be derived from *mens-sā analogically formed after those
participles which had ss by regular development of dental clusters.

d. Final ns from -nts, as in the nom. sg. of present participles, becomes f,
which in the few quotable examples is omitted in the later tables: zeřef serse:
L. sedēns; restef reste; kutef; probably also prep. tra traf traḥa trahaf, if we
regard it as originally pres. pepl. of a verb equivalent to L. *trāre.

e. ns resulting from syncope of the intervening vowel is represented in medial
position by uze onse < *omesei: L. umerus; in final position by fons fos < *
jaunis. ostensendi, fut. pass. 3 pl. of ostendu, must also be considered as an example
showing medial ns after syncope of the short vowel which formerly preceded the s
(see 123), but it is not clear whether the development was *-tendesenter > *
*tend-sent, etc., or whether it was *-tendesenter > *-tenesenter > *
*ten(n)sent, etc.; in other words, whether the d was assimilated to the n before the syncope
of the thematic vowel or not.

f. In the nom. sg. of masc. and fem. n-stems it is possible that we must recog-
nize an ending f < ns of secondary origin; at least this view is necessary in order
to explain the Oscan forms fruktātif, ùttiuf (: L. usio), tribarakkīuf. To
the -n (which was either inherited, as in āyōv in contrast to L. legiō, or added
by analogy with the oblique cases) there was attached an -s after the analogy
of the other classes of animate nouns with -s in the nom. sg., and the resulting
-n ultimately became -f. The Umbrian examples are karu (dat. karne, abl.
karne, cf. L. carō, carnis), tribrīču (abl. tribrisinē), and esuf: O. essuf, both
equivalent to L. ipse and commonly taken as from *epsōns. Since final f is seldom
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omitted in the older tables — which alone provide examples of the forms under discussion — one is tempted to take karu and tribfricu as exact equivalents of L. carō, etc., without the -ns, but esuf cannot be so explained, and it is also perhaps safer to assume a form based on -ns because of the usual close agreement of Umbrian with Oscan.

g. The secondary tenses of verbs, including the present subjunctive, have a 3 pl. ending -ns, -s, the explanation of which is difficult. The fact that in addition to U. elaians, elaias, dirsans, sins, sis, etc., several examples are known from Oscan and some of the minor Italic dialects, might lead one to assume that the formation was developed during the period of Oscan-Umbrian unity, but the fact that the -ns never changes to -f favors a very recent origin. For the probable origin of the formation see 115 d.

h. It is advisable at this point to consider the question of relative chronology among the foregoing sound-changes. In general Umbrian and Oscan agree: both have -nts- from original medial ns, both have -ns where syncope has occurred in the final position (as in fons under e) and both have / in the nom. sg. of n-stems, as in f, unless we here adopt the alternative explanation of U. karu and tribfricu. The forms in a must have undergone a development -ns- > -nts- (written nz in the native alphabet) before the changes resulting in secondary -ns- had been completed, for otherwise menzne, etc., should have participated in the change ns > /). On the other hand forms like uze onse, fons must not have suffered syncope until after the change ns > / had ceased to be effective. The discrepancy between Umbrian and Oscan in the treatment of original final ns (U. vitlaf, etc., as in b, but O. viass) is a difficulty, but it is possible that doublets arose under different conditions of juncture, after which -f was generalized in U. and -ss in O.

1 Some refer the prefix of anzeriatu to am- (: L. amb-, ãμβ-); in this case we merely have to assume an early assimilation, whereby m becomes n and the cluster follows the normal development of original medial ns.
2 Blumenthal, p. 70, prefers a stem mēns-ni-: less probable because -e is a very rare spelling in abl. sg. of i-stems, but the development of the -ns- is not affected.
3 For the variation sp-/p- see 57 a, b. The question of the relation between spahatu, σπαθω, L. pando, pateo, spaltum is complicated, but the equation spātus: L. pānus is quite safe.
4 Etymology uncertain (see Lexicon), but all from Bächeler on make it an active pepl. For the abnormal spelling kutep in 1h 3 see 2 k.
5 Actually with ns by assimilation of ms after the syncope was completed. Observe also the omission of n in uze.

59. RS. For rs as for ns it is necessary to take account of whether the combination occurred in medial or final position and whether it was original or arose from the alteration of some other consonant cluster or after the syncope of an intervening vowel. Yet the history of rs is by no means closely parallel to that of ns, especially in regard to the situations in which / can develop. Moreover,
among the reflexes of rs the n was never preserved, at least in writing, before r, but r was regularly preserved in rf resulting from any combination containing rs.

a. Original medial rs is preserved, or else the s alone is written, the r being omitted, in Umbrian, in contrast to Latin, where it becomes rr, and to Oscan, where it ultimately becomes r with lengthening of the preceding vowel: U. tur-situ tusetu and the name of the goddess dat. Turse Tuse, all cognate with L. terreo, terror, ἔτεσαεν· ἐφόβησεν Hesych.; farsiō fasio fasiu: L. farrea. 1 pars before the enclitic est shows the same preservation of rs as in medial position generally (for other examples of treatment of word-finals before enclitics see 4, 57 f).

b. Original final rs becomes r: far: L. far, O. far. See a above in regard to -rs before enclitics.

c. rs in which the s has resulted from a dental cluster (44 a) becomes rf in Umbrian, being preserved as rs in Oscan and Latin: trahuorji: L. transverse, both from *-worssēd < *-wṛttēd: cf. L. versus, O. ἔφοβησει.

d. There are several other forms originally containing clusters of three or more consonants in which a stop stood between r and s. In all of the following the rs is preserved after loss of the stop, or else the s remains, the r being dropped, as in a above: 严峻, ἑρσνατυρ: O. kersnu, cf. kersnasias, L. cēna, cēnāti, all from *kerl-snā-: cf. Skt. kārtāti, kṛṇāti;² persclu, persklu, persnimu, all apparently from *perk + sk- or other s-extension: L. posco < *pork-skō; for details see Lexicon; probably also persstu pestu, peperscstul: L. parco, compesco (?). The etymology of persondru and the origin of its rs are unknown.

e. Medial rs resulting after syncope of an intervening vowel becomes rf in Umbrian, rr in Oscan and Latin: Šerfe Čerfe: O. Kerřī, OL Cernus (= *Cerrus) and unsyncopated Cereri, with the second r from s; parfa: L. parra; the equation cannot be questioned, and the two can only be reconciled on the basis of *par(es)sā, for original rs would not yield rf in Umbrian, and pIE *parbhā would not yield parra in Latin.

f. Final rs resulting after syncope of an intervening vowel becomes simply r: frater frateer < *frālērs < *frāleres; the original vocalism of the second syllable is uncertain, but the length indicated by frateer is probably compensatory; ager (minor inscription n. 355 Co.) < *agers < *agrs < *agros: ἀγγός, L. ager.

g. The fact that original medial rs did not become rf may be explained on the supposition that the s became voiced (-rs- > -rz-) before the development of secondary -rs- had been completed, while in this latter -rs- (< -rss- < -rلل-) the s must have remained unvoiced until the conversion to f occurred. The change of -rs- to -rf- after syncope, as illustrated by parfa, Šerfe, is surprising in view of the failure of Oscan Kerřī, sverrunei to show the same change, and also
because in corresponding forms with -ns- after syncope (58 e) the change to \( f \) did not occur, but the material is too limited to allow any sure explanation.

1 But *farer, gen. sg. of noun *far, has \( r \) in place of \( rs \) by analogy with the nom.-acc. *far.

2 A root containing \( l \) is necessary in order to account for L. *čena, OL *cesna, since *rsn would
yield L. *mn, as in *cernus < *kersonwos, cf. Skt. *śrṣan-. But the root *ker- is evidently an
extension of *ker- found in *karu and kar-\( tu \).

60. Conversion of Voiceless Stops and Spirants to Voiced Stops. Voiceless stops, and also the Italic voiceless spirants derived from pIE aspirated voiced stops, are liable in Umbrian to become voiced stops when preceded by nasals, and the voiceless stops are similarly altered before \( r \). This latter change does not take place in the initial position, but the position after verbal prefixes such as en-, com-, etc., is generally treated as medial. Since in the tables written in the native alphabet \( t \) and \( k \) are regularly, and \( p \) occasionally, used for \( d \), \( g \), and \( b \) respectively, we must depend to a large extent on the later tables for clear examples of the consonantal changes in question.

a. The change \( t > d \) after \( n \) is illustrated by: anter- ander-: O. anter, cf. L. inter; hutra hondra < *ghom-(\( t \))rād with suffix as in L. extra, contra; hondomu < *ghom-\( l \)-nōd with superlative suffix as in L. *ul-linimus; Funtler-e Fondir-e: L. *(\( n \)in) Fontulis; mantraklu mandracto < *man(\( u \))-trāgklo-: cf. L. manutergium; persuntru persontru: the etymology is unknown, and the spelling persontru in VIb 28 is surprising with its \( t \) in the Latin alphabet against 8 instances with \( d \); yet in all probability the word is formed with the suffix -tro- (76 b); pres. subj. pass. 3 pl. turśiandu: L. terreantur; fut. pass. 3 pl. ostensedī < *ops-\( t \)-\( d \)-esenter; ententu endendu: L. *in-tendito; the second \( d \) of the Umbrian form is from \( t \) of the
inv. ending -\( t \)-\( d \), changed to \( d \) when the original \( d \) had been assimilated to the
\( n \) (61 e) and the thematic vowel had been syncopated, leaving \( n \) in contact with \( l \); similarly ustentu ostendu: L. ostendīlo. The same explanation can be applied to
inv. hondù 'cast down' if from *ghom + root ŋd of δίδωμi, L. do, dare, in which case the stages would be *ghom-\( d \)-\( t \)-\( ð \)-d > *hon-\( d \)-\( t \)-\( ð \)-d > *hon\( t \)-\( ð \)
> hondu; but if the root is dhē- (cf. τίθεμi)\( ^2 \) the development must be different-
ly reconstructed: *ghom-\( d \)-\( t \)-\( ð \)-d > *hon\( t \)-\( ð \)-d > *hon\( t \)-\( ð \)-d, etc., the
sycope having occurred before the possibility of a change \( n \p > nd \) (see \( d \) below).
On final \( nt \) see 41 c.

b. A change \( t > d \) before \( y \) may possibly be exemplified by Padellar, if it is
from *padetlās < *padylās < *patnolās.

c. \( k \) becomes \( g \) when preceded by \( n \): iveda ivedena; L. iuvenca. But the change
\( k > g \) in the cluster nk\( l \) must have occurred earlier, since it is shared by Umbrian
with Oscan and Latin: anglom-e: O. ungulus 'anulus' (Fest., p. 514 Li.; the
variation of the initial vowel in these forms is a/o- ablaut; the original voice-
less character of the consonant is attested by \( āγκάλ\( η \), L. uncus, etc., yet there
is some evidence for variation in the final guttural of the root even in PIE); angla: cf. L. clamare; of the 8 occurrences, all in the later tables, 6 have g, 2 have c.

d. The PIE voiced aspirates when preceded by nasals are represented not by voiceless spirants (f, h) but by voiced stops. Labials: amboltu, with amb-< *amf-< *ambh-: ãµ̄µ-, L. amb-; amprehtu, ambretuto, with ambr-, an extension of amb-, 4 verb equivalent to L. eo, ire; kumpfitatu combijatu: cf. L. fido, πεθω, root bheidh-; even if we were to adopt the less probable connection with πυρδανωαι, Skt. bodhate (root bheidh-), the law under discussion is still applicable. Of the effect of n on the dental spirant there are no sure examples (see a above). The voicing of a guttural (Italic χ< PIE gh) is illustrated by krenkatrum cringatro: OCS krugū, OHG hring, which together point to original gh in the second syllable. It should be noted finally that in afrero, afereiner< *am-fer-< *amf-fer- the analogy of the simplex fer- has prevented the action of the nasal upon the initial consonant of the verb in the compound.

e. Medial p becomes b when followed by r:† abrof apruf: L. aper, apri: kabru, cabriner: L. caprum, caprini; tribriçu, tribrisine: the voicing is caused by contact with r (in the latter form simply r!) from d if we derive from *tri-pedigyn. In supru: L. supra, cf. O. supruis, the p is in all probability used with the value of b.

f. Medial t becomes d before r in: atru adro: L. ater, atri (consonantism not certain, since there are no sure etyma outside of Italic); seipodruhpei: cf. O. pútereipid (anaptyctic vowel after t), L. utroque. But cringatro, jratrom, and other forms escape the change, and it is not possible to formulate any rule.

1 u is believed not to be subject to syncope (29, n. 1); yet it is likely that mandraclio, like late L. manutergium, had the full stem manu- as first member. Probably medial u was actually subject to syncope, though u in final syllables, on the evidence of erus, was not.

2 Compare the fusion of the two roots exemplified by condo, reindo, etc., in Latin, where medial d may represent either d or dh. In the dialects, where dh gives f medially, the two sets of verbs would not fall together except when the consonants are obscured by secondary assimilatory changes. The thematic vowel e instead of a (the normal Italic reflex of e) is written here because of the transfer of these compounds to the third conjugation. The second of the two explanations here offered for hondu is also applicable to ahaudru, preaudru: Eng. wind (verb), etc., the voiced aspirate being supported by Skt. vandhuro, vavadhas.

3 In Latin the voiced aspirates in general became unaspirated voiced stops in medial position regardless of their environment; only in the case of gh does the development appear to be conditioned by a preceding nasal (or r): veho, mihi, but lingo (cf. ξίζω), jingo (cf. τείζως), spargo. We may assume then that in Latin a preceding nasal produced voicing if the medial spirant was not already voiced under the rule covering the development of voiced aspirates in Latin. In Oscan on the other hand a nasal does not cause a following stop or spirant to become voiced. It seems best therefore to regard the change exemplified by ambretuto (cf. O. amfret), L. lingo, etc., as an independent development of Umbrian and Latin or a tendency which spread after the separation of dialects and which failed to affect Oscan.

4 For amb-: ambr- compare L. sub: super, ðpː: ðkiological, Skt. upa: upari, where the enlargement
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was of course pro-ethnic. For the prefix *ambr-* compare also O. *amfr-et*, L. *anfractus* = *amfractus*, the traditional connection with *frango*, *fractus* being a popular etymology.

5 The voicing of p before r does not take place in Latin, nor in Oscan apart from the forms *embratur*, etc. (‘imperator’) on several coins. O. *Abella* is best taken as containing original b: cf. Old. *ubâl*, Eng. *apple*, and Vergil’s maliferae... *Abellae* (*Aen.*, VII, 740).

6 We cannot attribute the change *p* > *b* to assimilation before the earlier *d* since the vowel cannot have been syncopepated until after the *d* had become *r*.

61. Assimilation of Consonants includes changes which must partly have occurred in PIE itself and which are recognized chiefly through the obvious etymological relationships of the forms with other unassimilated forms. Such, for example, is the change of a voiced to a voiceless stop when the stop immediately following is voiceless, as in L. *scriptus* beside *scribo*, and Oscan and Umbrian must have inherited these *p*-forms before making further changes of their own which resulted in O. *scritas*, U. *scelhitor*. But new instances of assimilation occurred as consonants were newly brought into contact, and the Italic languages were especially susceptible to these changes because of the vowel syncope which was so prevalent in them. Unfortunately, however, in Umbrian full assimilation, whereby a sound becomes identical with the following sound (regressive assimilation being the usual type) is difficult to recognize because doubling or “length” of consonants is scarcely ever shown in writing. Sometimes the doubling of a consonant in an Oscan form makes it highly probable that a closely related Umbrian form was similarly pronounced, but often it is a matter of conjecture whether a consonant was assimilated or merely lost, especially in clusters originally consisting of three or four consonants.

a. Assimilation involving change in the place of articulation is shown in *ape* < *al-pe* < *al-que*: L. *atque*, with the single instance of *appei* in VII b 3 constituting possible evidence of consonantal length despite the 30 instances of spelling with single p. Similar is the transfer of nasals to the position of the following stop in *etantu*, *panta* (: L. *tanta*, *quanta*) if from *lām-tā*, *quam-tā* according to the prevailing view. *uze onse*: L. *umerus* < *omesos* shows a change of the labial m to the dental n before s after syncope has taken place.1 This assimilation of *m*, however, did not take place in the imperative *umtu* < *umbetōd*: L. *unquilo*, nor in *sumtu*.

b. A dental or guttural stop before f, the acc. pl. ending of masc. and fem. consonant-stems, suffers complete assimilation, followed apparently by total loss; at least there is no evidence that the change results in -ff, and in some cases even the f f is not written. Examples are: *capif* (-ff 3 times, -i twice, -ī once by analogy with other cases): cf. L. *capides*; *frif* (-ff 5 times, -i 6 times): cf. L. *fruges*; *uapef-e* (-f -f 3 times before postposition -em -e): cf. L. *lapides*.

c. Changes of order, that is, of the manner of articulation, were usual in the parent speech whenever voiced and voiceless consonants came into contact through etymological derivation. Reference may be made to the first paragraph
of the present section, and also to 60, in which the changes described are really of this type. Somewhat different, however, and more complicated is the development seen in sistu in III 8 from *sislōd < *sizd-lōd < *sizdelōd: L. sīdīlō.

d. k, p, and f are assimilated to a following s, with some evidence that a geminate results, although in the triconsonantal clusters it is possible that actual loss occurred. With ks: pron. essu esu: O. eksuk. With ps: esuf: O. essuf esuf, cf. L. ipse; osatu: cf. O. úpsannam, L. operari, all from *opesā-. With kst: destre: O. destrēst (= L. dextra est); sestentārius: L. sextantariarum. With pst: ostindu ušentu < *ops-l-: L. ostindilo. f is assimilated to final s in -fos, the dat.-abl. pl. ending of i-, u-, and consonant-stems, after syncope of the o: aueis: L. avibus; berus: L. veribus; homonos: L. hominibus; etc. The possibility that the s was long is shown by the fact that it is never rhotacized and scarcely ever dropped as in the dat.-abl. pl. of ā- and o-stems (on sevakne IV 9 see 57 n. 3).

Oscan shows a single example of preservation of f in the ending: luisaris, beside Anafrius, sakrius with double s.

e. In the following instances stops standing immediately before (in the case of nd, after) nasals are themselves changed to nasals. bn > mn: tremnu < *treb-


dn > n(n): une < *udne, abl. sg. of utur ‘water’, an r/n-stem: ὕδωρ, ὕδατος (84). nd > n(n): ponne (twice, and pune puni pone 16 times) < *pon-de <

*kwom-de, cf. L. quamde; gerundives peihaner, etc.: cf. L. pianti, O. úpsannam, sakrannas; also as an intermediate stage in ostindu, endindu, ampentu, before syncope of the thematic vowel and change of nt to nd (60 a).

1 It is possible that the whole consonant cluster was voiced after syncope had taken place since the intervocalic s which became rhotacized in Latin and, when syncope did not interfere, in Umbrian also, is assumed to have been a voiced s in proto-Italic, as in Oscan. The phonetic spelling then would be *ondze; the z of uze shows that the dental stop was preserved between n and z, and the n of onse shows that the nasal was not lost.

62. Final Consonants. Juncture. The preservation, alteration, or loss of final consonants has for the most part been discussed in the sections devoted to the history of the individual consonants, so that the present section is merely a summary, with references to the appropriate sections. The consonants with which we are concerned are partly inherited finals (e.g. -s in nom. sg. of the second declension, -m in various acc. sg. forms, etc.), partly the products of consonantal changes (e.g. -f from -ns), partly consonants left in final position after syncope of a vowel in the final syllable and alteration of the resulting consonant cluster. To some extent the retention or loss of final consonants depends on the form-categories in which they occur (e.g. final r is retained in nom. sg. of nouns of the type of uhtur, L. auctor, but largely lost in 3 sg. and pl. passive verb forms).
a. Of inherited final labial stops, either preserved or lost, there are no instances. Final $l$ and $d$ are regularly lost, $-l$ having passed through the intermediate stage $-d$ (41 b, c, 42 e). Final $k$ seems to be preserved in hunatak, tuplak. For final $m$ see 51 e. For final $n$ see 52 h. Of inherited final $l$ there are no cases; in those instances where final $l$ actually appears its final position is secondary (55 e). For original final $r$ see 56 c. $r$ which becomes final after completion of the change $-ros > rs > -er$ or the change $-ro > -r > -er$ (a consonant having originally preceded the $r$) is regularly preserved, the instances of loss being extremely rare (32 d, 56 d). For final $s$ and for the $r$ which arises from it in the later tables see 57 e, h. Original final $s$ is normally preserved in forms where a preceding vowel has been syncopated: $fons$ $jos$ (58 e), pelsans (29 i, 91 b), dat.-abl. pl. forms $fratrus$, $aeis$, etc. ($s < -fs < -fos < -bhos$, 57 h, 101 c), but not so in forms which originally ended in $-los$ (e.g. $tigel$, 55 e) or $-ros$, $-res$, $-ris$ (e.g. $ager$, $pacer$, 32 d, 59 f). $-s$ is lost in original $rs$ (59 b, but observe also a). In the 3 pl. active secondary ending of verbs, whatever the origin of the $-ns$, the $s$ is regularly preserved (58 g). Final $f$ from $-ns$, $-nts$ is largely preserved in the earlier, largely lost in the later tables (58 b, d, f).

b. For the treatment of final vowels see 31 a-g, 34.

c. Juncture has to do with the changes which occur (or fail to occur) at the point of contact between morphemes; that is, where stem-suffixes, case- and person-endings, enclitics, prepositional prefixes, etc., are attached to roots or to each other; and also where words follow one another in the sentence. In general the term “open juncture” or “external sandhi” may be applied to instances of the last-named type, and “close juncture” or “internal sandhi” to those occurring within words or within such phrases as form single accential units. It is not possible, however, to formulate a comprehensive and orderly set of rules for the Iguvine Tables comparable to the rules found in grammars of such languages as Sanskrit. The Tables almost never show variants corresponding to differences in external sandhi; such variations as the presence or omission of final $m$, for example, show no consistent relation to the initial of the following word. In part the phenomena of juncture have already been treated; so, for example, the treatment of initial preconsonantal $s$ (57 b) and the assimilation of consonants (61) are largely matters of juncture, although they partly belong to historical stages considerably prior to the existence of Umbrian as a separate dialect. The present section is primarily concerned with the changes which may occur when verbs or other forms are compounded with prepositional prefixes or when postpositions, pronominal enclitics, or the enclitic $est$ are placed after forms of any kind. In such cases two opposing forces may come into conflict: the tendency to allow the free operation of the phonetic law applicable to the particular environment in which the form occurs, and the tendency to maintain the form as it would appear in isolation or in open juncture.

d. A verb compounded with a prefix may undergo changes of such a nature
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that the initial of the simplex is lost or altered: subocau with loss of w after b; cf. L. vox, vocare, etc. endendu with change t > d after n (60 a); cf. ostendu with prior t preserved. combifiatu with b < f after m (60 d). anzeriatu with -nz = -nts < -ns in *an-ser- (58 a with n. 1).

e. menes, fut. 2 sg. equivalent to L. venies, may owe its initial m to the influence of a compound *kum(m)enes with -m(m)- < -mb- as in umen < *um-ben < *ong*en (49 b) or like the assimilation of -nd- to -n(n)- in peihaner, etc. (61 e); and this despite the unassimilated Oscaform kûmbened.

f. Like O. kûmbened immediately above in b are certain forms in which the influence of the simplex prevented alteration of the initial in the compound: anferener < *am(f)-fer-, escaping the change -mf- > -mb- seen in combifiatu in a above; andersajust, escaping the change -nd- > -n(n)- (61 e). Another instance is anderomnu, if any of the etymologies assuming the change l- > u- v- is correct (55 a and note on VIb 41).

g. The change of intervocalic d to ŋ rs (42 b) may occur when an enclitic with initial vowel is added to a form with final d: piře pirse < *k̑d̑id + i, pūre porse < *k̑d̑od + i (vocalism of the enclitic is uncertain; see 106 d). Similarly when an enclitic with initial d follows a form with final vowel: nersa < ne-dām.

h. Rhotacism of final s, which is characteristic of the later tables, may occur even in the earlier if the form in question is followed by a vocalic postposition: Funtler-e Ib 24, fesner-e IIb 11 (57 f).

i. The enclitic est in the combination pisest VIb 53 fails to rhotacize the s of the pronoun, yet in sopir habe 54 the s becomes r before the verb habe.

j. Final rs (original or secondary after syncope), which normally loses its s, retains it in the phrase pars est just as medial rs is retained in farsio.

63. Sources of the Umbrian Sounds. The present section is a summary of the etymological values of the Umbrian sounds as they are represented by the characters of the Latin and native alphabets. The treatment is necessarily much condensed and contains references only to the most important sound-changes. For many details the individual sections must be directly consulted. It has seemed necessary, however, to include not only the single vowel-characters but also certain combinations, such as ai, ei, ei, etc., which stand sometimes for simple vowels, sometimes for diphthongs.

a a: < d 6; < ŏ 7 a; < o 5 a; a a in combination with preceding liquid or nasal may be from long vocalic liquid or nasal by 18 a.
ai ai: < ai 19 c.
b b < b 39; < g̊w 49 b; < f < bh after m 60 d; < p before r 60 e.
c k: < k 45, 46 a, e, f, (?) h; < k̊w 49 d; < t before l 41 e, before n ( ?) 41 f. In regard to k see also under g (2 a).
d t (2 a): < d 42 a, d; < t final 41 b; < t after n 60 a; < t before r 60 f.
B. FORMATION OF NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES

64. Of the various Indo-European noun and adjective stem-classes the following are represented in the Iguvine Tables: root-stems, á-stems, o-stems, i-stems, u-stems, n-stems, r-stems, one r/n-stem, s-stems, and stems in stops, including U. ř rs from intervocalic d.

a. The gender-system is essentially the same as in Latin: á-stems are feminine, o-stems masculine or neuter, and the three genders are variously distributed among the other stem-classes, but the gender of the nouns can be positively known only from the forms of the adjectives used in agreement with them. As in Latin, adjectives are either o-stems with á-stem forms serving as feminines, or they are i-stems or consonant-stems without change of stem for different genders.
b. In the following paragraphs an attempt is made to classify the majority of the nouns and adjectives found in the Iguvine Tables on the basis of their stem-formation. A few, however, are so obscure that discussion regarding them is reserved for the commentary or the Lexicon. The á- and o-stems are treated concurrently, for any attempt to separate them would do violence to many of the classes using the same suffix with only a difference of gender indicated by -á- or -o-. Moreover it is sometimes difficult in Umbrian, especially with divine names attested only in the dative singular, to know whether a given form is a masculine o-stem or a feminine á-stem.

65. Root-stems. In these the root serves as stem. There is no suffix of any kind other than the case-endings. The variety of roots, however, is such that the forms fall into many different declensional classes with vocalic, diphthongal, or consonantal stems.

a. á-stem: angla < *an-kłā, with the same root found in L. clā-rus, clāmo, denotative to *clā-mā.


c. Diphthongal stems. bum, bue 'ox' is a stem in ūu varying with ou and ó: cf. L. bovem, bove (with b of dialectal origin, from o), bovē, dat. bovē, Doric acc. bōvē, Skt. gām, loc. gavi. re(-per), ri is a stem in ēi/ē: cf. L. rēs, rēi, Skt. rās, acc. rāyam, etc. Di Dei (voc.), Dei (acc.) 'Jupiter' is a disyllabic base in ēu/iē: cf. L. diēs, Diespiter, diem, Gk. acc. Zēvā (acc. *Zeuvre extended by further addition of acc. ending -a), Skt. Dyāus, acc. Dyām; U. dat. Iu(e), voc. Iu (both in combination with forms of pater) are built on the grade *Dyeu- > pIt. (D)iou-: L. Iovis, etc.

d. l-stem: salu: L. salem, āla.

e. r-stems: nerf: cf. ēvōg-ās, Skt. nīrṇ; pir: pīg; veipurus abl. pl., if we analyze vē-pur-us 'fire-less.'

f. Stems in stops or in Umbrian spirants derived from stops: pase: L. pace; praco (?), stem-class not certain, but the gender is fem., and a fem. o-stem is unlikely; frij < *frūg-: cf. L. fruges; persi peři: L. pede, pōdī; dupursus, petipursus: L. bi-, quadrupedibus; pruzuře < *prō(d)-sod-i (?) with ablaut-variant of √sed-: cf. L. praeside, etc.; uef acc. pl. < *weif-̆ < *weidh-us: cf. L. di-vido(?).

1 “Case-endings” here may be understood to include elements properly belonging to vowel-stems but secondarily extended to consonant-stems and forming for all practical purposes a part of their case-endings: the acc. sg. of consonant-stems, for example, has the ending -om, consisting of o, the stem-vowel of o-stems, + m, the original acc. sg. ending; and the dat.-abl. pl. has -us, consisting of u, the stem-vowel of u-stems, + s < -fs < -bhos, the original dat.-abl. ending for l-, u-, and consonant-stems.
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66. á-stems. In the following forms á is attached directly to the root, or at least the stem cannot be clearly broken down into any other components than the root + á: *asa; *ua; totar; peica; parfa < *paresá (further analysis not clear); porca; paca (abl. sg. functioning as "improper" preposition, like L. causâ); Tursar; probably also gen. pl. antermenzaru; Hule (generally taken as fem.). Cf. also angla, a root-stem in á, listed above in 65 a.

67. o-stems. In the following nouns and adjectives ó (or its ablaut-variant ó) is attached directly to the root, with no clear possibility of further analysis: abrof; kabru; furo: L. forum; iuku iuka; numer: L. nummis; onse (loc.): L. umerus; peico; perso peřum: xéov; Titís (gen.): L. Titus, -i; toru: L. laurós; uero-f-e (acc. pl.): uocu-com: either Foξος or L. lúcus; uinu; probably also anderuomu (abl.): carsom; kebu; Šerfer, but with the possibility of a suffix -es-before the o. Adjectives: alfir: L. albis; rofu; semu; possibly also dersecor.

68. Stems in -io- and -iä-. Actually this category includes stems in yo/á and iyo/á, but the distribution of the two types in the Italic dialects is secondary and not a survival of the conditions assumed to have existed in proto-IE (see 53 c with n. 2 on "Sievers' Law"). Moreover the two types frequently cannot be distinguished from one another as they appear in our texts, and no attempt is made to separate them in the following sub-sections, although in general forms written with íi in the native alphabet belong to the type with suffix iyo/á. The suffixes treated in the present section furnish a large proportion of all the adjectives used in Umbrian, or indeed in the earlier Indo-European languages generally. Many of the nouns, which include personal and ethnic names, etc., are clearly adjectival in origin, others much less clearly so. The suffixes may be attached either to roots directly or to stems already containing extensions, and the analysis of some of the forms is so uncertain that a rigid classification is impossible. In all cases the Lexicon should be consulted for further etymological details.

a. The following forms may with reasonable certainty be regarded as primary derivatives formed by the addition of yo/á or iyo/á directly to the root. Nouns or adjectives used substantively: airkani, as if = L. *ad-cinium (see 32 a; an i-stem here is far less probable); prusečia; Vuvcis: L. Lucius. Adjectives: deueia (V1a 9, 10; ei probably represents i); Fisier; gomnia kumiaf; ioui: cf. L. Iovius; Matlier; peia (cf. 46 g); Sansie; Tlatie: L. Latium (?); Uchier Vehiies; observe also Vučia beside Vuvcis listed above as masc. noun.

b. The following adjectives are formed with the suffix -eo- < -eyo- with loss of intervocalic y (53 b) as in L. igneus, aureus, etc.: farsio: L. farrea; spantea: cf. spanti; possibly also arepes, if = L. adipeis.

c. The following adjectives, designating situation, are formed with the suffix -aiö- < aiyo- (cf. O. kersnaīias beside kersnu, Gk. δίναος beside δίκη, Ved.
sabheugas beside sabbāh): pernaiaf (to perne), pustnaiaf (to postne), persae peřae (to perso peřum).

d. The following adjectives or substantives of adjectival origin are formed with the suffix -asio- or -ario- < -āsyo- (perhaps originally from gen. sg. in -ās + yo--; cf. O. kersnasias beside kersnu, L. herbarius beside herba, and 57 d on the lack of rhotacism in most of these forms): kurclasiu; plenasier; urnasier: L. ordinariis (?); sestentasiaru: L. sextantariarum; but ezariaf with rhotacism.

e. The following is a list of miscellaneous nouns and adjectives formed certainly, or at least very probably, with the suffix -(i)yo-. The suffix is mostly secondary, although in a few cases it appears to be added directly to the root. A large proportion of the words, especially of the personal, divine, and ethnic names, are etymologically obscure, and the very brief comments below must be supplemented by reference to the Lexicon. Forms used with substantive value: Acesoniam Akeřuniam, a place-name; cf. O. Akudunniad, etc.; aiu (?), stem-formation uncertain; ampeřia; arsier; aruio, derived from the -wo-stem aruo; Kastručie, a gentile name; cf. Oscan names of the type Kluvatiis; Claurntiur, nom. pl., name of a decuvia; Kluvier, a gentile-name; Coredier Kureties, name of a god; kvestretie ‘term of office as kvestur’, but in formation like L. duritia, ava-rilia, etc.; famerias: L. familiae; Fisouie, name of a god; Piquier; Huntia, Hoier, Noniar, Nurpier, Salier, names of persons or deities in the enumeration of places given in VIa 12-14 in order to define the limits of the augural templum; Peraznanie, pl., name of a decuvia; presoliaf, one of the places listed in VIa 12; pumepriam; Rubinam'e, Rupinie, name of a place (for phonology see 53 d); sephmenier semenies; spinia; sufaffias; čersiaru; tekviias; tehtrēim (a stem in -di- or -li- is much less probable); Teteie, a gentile name with stem in -eiyo-; uhtrēie, to uhtur as kvestretie to kvestur; vestisier ‘libation’ and Uestisier, name of a god, both apparently identical in formation except for the variation -ā/o-. Forms used principally with adjectival value: aplenia; arasmatia; Atiersiur from a stem in -dio-, cf. Coredier; jiliu feliluf ‘suckling’ < *fē-liyo-, cf. L. filius; Grabouie, a divine epithet, in formation like Fisouie; Petrunia, name of a gens, in formation like Acesoniam Akeřuniam; speturie: L. *spectoriae; Šerfiar, a divine epithet; dequirier tekuries.

69. Stems in -uo- and -uā-. These are based on a suffix -(u)wo/ā similar to the suffix (i)yo/ā described in 68, and what was said there is to a large extent applicable here also. No attempt is made to separate the nouns and adjectives, since most of the forms are adjectival in origin and several are used sometimes with one value, sometimes with the other; but the adverbs in -ē are given separately. Nouns and adjectives: arvam < *ar-wām, cf. L. aro, arva (f.), Naev. and Pacuv. apud Non., 192, 30; dersua tesvam; felsva; mersuva; prever: L. privus; saluo: L. salvum; seuom sevum; sopa supa < *sup-wo-; for loss of w
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see 54 d. Adverbs from stems in -wo-: *give < *ki-wēd: cf. šīmo čimu, L. ci-tra; prufe < *pro-fiwēd < *pro-bhwēd, cf. L. probus, superbus, Skt. abhwas, and 54 d.

70. Stems in -ko- and -kā-. The e k is sometimes visibly preceded by the “connecting-vowel” i, which spread analogically from stems ending in i; in other cases comparison with cognate forms shows that the i was present before its loss through syncope. The original value of stems in -ko/ā- was predominantly adjectival, but a considerable proportion have become substantives. The Umbrian forms include the following nouns: fratrex fratrek and fratreca, the ethnics Iabuscom Iapuzkum, Naharcom, Tuscom Turskum; Tesenorci Tesenakes, name of one of the gates of Iguvium; Pupřičes Pupřices, Pupřiče Pupřike, epithet of the god Puemunes. A k-suffix is also to be recognized within the forms aviekate, fratreca, and uesticatu.

71. Stems in -lo- and -lā-. The most productive class of these stems of course consists of the perfect passive participles of verbs (131). There are, however, in Umbrian several examples of the closely related type represented in Latin by armātus, barbātus, with the sense ‘equipped with, characterized by, resembling so-and-so,’ as well as a number of other forms which for various reasons are not suitable for inclusion among the participles. As in the case of the stems in -(i)wo/ā, -(u)wo/ā, -ko/ā-, the original adjectival (or participial) value is often replaced by substantive value. Substantives: arçlataf: cf. L. arculata beside arculum; somewhat similar is ponisiater puniĉate: L.*puniceatus beside puniceus, cf. praeextatus beside praeexta; loc. sg. fratreca ‘in term of office as fratričus,’ a probable transfer from the u-declension, as in OL senatus, gen. senaît; the divine names Hondo Hunte (for -nd < -nl- see 60 a) and Prestote Prestate; molar, muta mutu: L. multa ‘fine,’ pertom and lettom, terms of uncertain meaning but probably participial in origin, found in the list of landmarks in VIa 12-14; prinuatur, title of certain officials, but of obscure etymology; vaputu ‘incense’ (?), perhaps related to L. vapor as arbutum to arbor; urfeta: L. orbitam; pracatarum, although it may be classified as a true participle, especially if we take the preceding praco as gen. pl. Adjectives: hostatir: L. hostatis; anhostatir; petenata: L. pectinatam; etantu: cf. L. tanta < *tam-lā; similarly panta: L. quanta; apparently mersta, although the etymology is not clear. The adverb rehte: L. rectē < *reg-lēd must also be included.

72. Stems in -do-, U.-rso- -ru-: calersu kaleřuf: L. calidōs ‘λευκομετόπους,’ cf. L. călīgā, Skt. kālu-, from which the suffixal character of the Italic -do- may be inferred;1 possibly also sorsom suřum, although it is not certain that rs ŭ here is from d rather than l.

1 The Latin adjectives in -idus are phonologically ambiguous, since the medial d can represent IE d or dh, but the rs of U. calersu must be from d, since dh would become f (43). In view of
the semantic value of *catersu, therefore, it is likely that the Latin color-terms *albidus, rubidus, etc., have original *d rather than *dh.

73. Stems in -mo-. The o-suffix -mo- is found in the noun arsmor < *ad-môs, cf. also the derived adj. arsmatia and vb. arsmahamo; perhaps also in stahmei < *stā-mōi, although here the possibility of a stem in -mi- cannot be ruled out. Of feminine nouns in -mā- (cf. O. egmo ‘thing,’ L. *fama) there are no Umbrian examples.

a. -mō- is also used in forming superlative adjectives and ordinal numerals, together with adverbs corresponding to both of these types. Adjectives: hon-domu < *ghom-tyu-mōd, with superlative suffix -tymo- as in L. op-tumus, etc.; somo: L. summum < *sup-mom (14 b, 61 e); senu, in partitive attribution with pe(r)sclu, ‘middle of, half-way through’; for the formation cf. L. ordinals prīmus, septimus. Adverbs: nesimei < *nedh-tymēd, with the same superlative value as in L. proxine; nuvime, according to the usual view ‘for the ninth time,’ as adv. in -ē(d) from ordinal stem in -mo-, but perhaps better taken as adv. from superlative *nowimo- ‘latest, last’; see on IIa 26; *simō *cimų ‘(back) to this spot,’ cf. cīve, L. *citra, cītimus.

74. Stems in -no- and -nā-. The nouns and adjectives, together with several adverbs, formed with -no/ā- as a suffix of primary or secondary derivation are sufficiently numerous and varied to require some division into sub-classes.

a. In the following nouns -no- or -nā- is added directly to the root: kumne loc. sg. < *komb-nei: O. comenei (with anaptyctic e); fesnaf-e acc. pl.: O. *fiisnū, cf. L. fānum; acnū: O. akenei, acnunum, L. annus, < *at-no-? (see 41 f); tremnu < *treb-nōd.

b. The following adjectives are formed with -no- as primary or secondary suffix: plener: L. plenis, cf. plē-re; sanes: L. sanis; ahesnes: L. aenis ahenis < *ayes-no-; ufestne (see 44 d).

c. A suffix -snā must probably be recognized in the noun *sēsna: O. kersnu, L. cēna, OL cesna, all from *kerl-snā.

d. A suffix -āno- (cf. L. Romānus, urbānus) occurs in several forms, mostly ethnic or topographical names: Treblanir abl. pl., name of one of the gates of Iguvium; Iuieskanes and Satanes, names of decuiiae. asiane is of uncertain etymology and meaning.

e. The similar suffix -īno- (cf. L. canīnus, Sabīnus) is used chiefly in making ethnics and adjectives from names of animals or gods: Iioutinar: L. Iguvinae; cabrinir: L. caprini; ekvine loc. sg.: L. equinus (?); habina: L. aqinas; Fisouina, related to Fisouie as L. Antoninus to Antonius; Miletinar.

f. The divine names appearing chiefly as dat. sg. in -une -one are somewhat
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different and more difficult to analyze. Although most of them occur only in
the native alphabet, the form Uośione together with L. Bellōna, Pomōna, etc.,
make it plain that the vowel is ō, not ū; yet for Vesune see on IV 3. The mas-
culine forms Arīmune, Puemune, Uośione Vufiune can be consonant-stems
in -ōn as well as stems in -ōno- (like L. patrōnus), since no unambiguous case-
forms of them occur. In any case the whole group should be regarded as stems
in -ōn- or extensions of them with -o̞/a̞-, their treatment among stems in -no/ā-
being justified merely by convenience.

g. Similarly stems in -m(e)no- are o-extensions of men-stems but may conven-
iently be treated with stems in -no-: termnom: L. terminum, cf. OL termen, Skt.
tarati, all from the root ter-.

75. Stems in -lo- and -lā-. Here are included stems in -(e)lo/ā-, -llo/ā- (Italic
-klo/ā-), -k(e)lo/ā-, and -dhole/ā-.

a. The semantic value of the stems in -lo/ā- is partly diminutive, partly that
of names of instruments, but is in general not sharply defined. Forms based on
-lo- and on -elo- are difficult to distinguish because of the loss of vowels through
syncope in Umbrian and the development of anaptyctic vowels in Latin; but
the suffix -elo- was common in Greek (e.g. σκόπελος, εἰκελος), and its use in
Umbrian may be inferred from the palatalization of k in arclatαf < *ark-elat-
tans, cf. L. arc-ulum, arc-ulata; preušlatu < *prai-wink-elā-tōd, cf. L. vinc-
ulum. On the other hand the lack of palatalization in anglom (not *anślom)
is evidence of -lo- rather than -elo-, the unvoiced stop being supported by com-
parison with ἀγγόν, ἀγγάλη, L. ancus, etc. The Umbrian forms with -(e)lo/ā-
are: anglom-e (but not anglā: see 65 a); probably Caslert; Katel: L. catulus;
klavλa: ecla (?) adj. ‘every,’ of uncertain etymology; fondlir-e; Padellar (?),
apparently name of a goddess, < *Pateno-lās, cf. O. Patanai and 32 e; persclo,
where however the suffix may have been -llo- as in b below; sep-les; scapla;
iutla and iutlu.

b. Stems in -llo/ā- (cf. ἀντλος, χότλον) became Italic stems in -klo/ā- by
41 e. The Umbrian examples in general are nouns designating articles or places
having a specific function (cf. L. oraculum, poculum): kumnakle; ehvelklu;
fičla < *fič-klā; mandraco; muneklu; naraklu; ooscrlo; pihaclu: L. pia-
culo; evidently also sufraklu, although the exact sense is uncertain. On the
adjective auiecla, the formation of which is not clear, see Lexicon.

c. Stems in -kelo/ā- (cf. L. diminutives articulus, etc.) arose originally from
the addition of -lo- as secondary suffix to stems with the suffix -ke-, which in
Umbrian suffered the change k > ʰk (46 b, c) before the syncope of e: ereqlum;
strusla; uasirslom-e; uesclir, with e k unpalatalized after the s. With the above
forms belong also kurclasiu (< *kykelasiōd), the second k not being an original
part of the root, and tičel, tičlu, if the interpretation followed in IIa 15, etc.,
is correct.
B. Formation of Substantives

76. Stems in -ro- and -rā-. Here are included stems in -ro/ā-, in the suffix -tro/ā- used for nouns designating instruments, and in -tro/ā- < -tero/ā-, the suffix used for adjectives of comparison and contrast.

a. The following nouns and adjectives are made with -ro/ā-, generally as a primary suffix added directly to the root: adro atru acc. pl. neut.: L. atra (root and suffix uncertain, since there are no sure cognates outside of Italic, and the word may be of Etr. origin); age: L. agri < *ag-rei, cf. ag-o (?); abro: even though L. aper and most of the other cognates have r, the ro must be considered a suffix and not a true part of the root; so also with Kabru, L. caper; antakres: L. integris, √tag-, cf. L. lango; ehetraf-e < *ē-baet-rā-: cf. L. baeto, but our form could also be derived from *ē-baet(e)-trā with suffix as in b below; rufru: L. rubrum, ēvthgōv, cf. rofu without suffix; sacra: L. sacra, cf. sancio, sanclus; tefru < *tep(e)s-ro- (57 g), -ro- being here a secondary suffix added to tep-es-; uiro: L. virōs, cf. Skt. vīra-, all from *wī-ro-, if connection with L. vī-s, vi-m, etc., is to be maintained. naraklum and naratu imply an adj. *g)nā-ro-: L. gnārus, cf. co-gna-scō, γνώσιμος, etc. Finally the adv. subra (with supru sese IV 3) < *sup-erā, cf. L. super, superus, supra, the suffix -ero- here having comparative value like that of -tero- in c.

b. The suffix -tro/ā-, used chiefly for making names of instruments or articles having a specific function (cf. L. ara-trum, āqo-των, ῥῆ-τος) is clearly recognizable in the Umbrian nouns klettra, krematra, cringatro krikatru, feēhtru, personadro together with the adjective venpersuntra (partly substantive in use). Discussion of these forms, most of which are partly obscure in etymology and meaning, is reserved for the Lexicon.


77. Stems in -i-. Here are included stems in i not a component of any longer suffix, and stems in -ti- (with -āti-), -ni-, -ri- (with -āri-), -li- (with -āli- and -jēli-).
a. In several of the following forms the i has the appearance of a primary suffix attached to the root, but it is not always possible to make a clear analysis into root and suffix: anciif acc. pl. < *ank-i-ns (?) ; auif avif: L. avis, Skt. vi-‘bird’; oui acc. pl., uvem acc. sg.: L. ovis, ëFt; serši, where -i is evidence of an i-stem in abl. sg., against the possibility of taking as a consonant-stem or a locative (cf. L. sédés partly inflected as an i-stem); spantim-ae (?), uncertain and possibly to be analyzed as a stem in -li-; see on III 33.

b. The IE suffix -ti- was productive in the formation of nouns of action, but the examples in the Iguvine Tables are too few to allow any generalization with regard to its normal function in Umbrian: ahim-em < *ag-tim-en: cf. L. ago, actio, the common Latin type in -tio- being an extension in -ön- of the older type in -ti-, for which cf. βá-ςς, Skt. ga-tis, etc.; anderuacose antervakaze < *anter-wakat(i)s sit (*wakattis: L. vacatio as ahim: L. actionem); puntes nom. pl. ‘groups of five’ < *ponk(*)eyes, cf. 49 d with note 2. A stem *sta-tli- must be recognized within inv. statiattau, an iterative verb made from the pass. pcpl. of a 4th-conjugation denominative to statli- (cf. στάβις, L. stali-o), unless we derive i from ŭ (15 b) and explain through a pcpl. equivalent to L. staṭītus.

c. Stems in -ṭī- include the dative forms Atieñeiate, Kaselate (beside nom. Casilos < -ṭī(i)s), Kureiate, Museiate, Peieñeiate, Talenate, all names of decuviace at Iguvium, and Tarsinater, -te, -tem, name of a hostile state. The evidence for the i-stem character of these forms is found in the closely cognate Latin forms Arpinas, etc., with i-stem forms nom. sg. Arpinatis (Cato apud Prisc., II, 337, 21 Keil), gen. pl. Arpinatium, optimatium, etc.

d. Stems in -ni- include: noun poni puni (abl. sg.), literally ‘the drink’ < *pō-ni- (?) ; adj. jons: cf. L. Fones, gloss. ‘dei silvestres,’ Faunus, faveo; perak-nem: etymology and meaning uncertain, but by any reasonable analysis the n belongs to the suffix rather than to the root; the i-stem, however, may have replaced an o-stem by the same principle of formation as in L. triremis: remus; similarly in sevakni, which is also uncertain. A stem *persni- < *persk-ni- must evidently be assumed to account for the denominative verb persnimu ‘pray.’

e. Stems in -ri- (apart from those in -āri-, for which see f below) include: ocar ukar, acc. ocrem, abl. ocri: ëg̣koīς, L. ocri, root ak-, ok-; pacer nom. sg. < *pōc-ri-s (cf. 32 d), nom. pl. paecer; peracri abl. < *per-ak-rid: L. acri; sakre acc. sg. beside the a-stem form sakra sacra, precisely like OL sacrem, etc., beside standard -o/ā-forms.

f. Stems in -āri- include Staflarem, and also sehenemiar if we take it as an adj. from the noun equivalent to L. semen and admit loss of the final i, but see on VIIa 52, where an altogether different interpretation is favored.1

g. A possible example of a stem in -li- similar to L. facitis, habilis may be seen in abl. pl. iseçeles: L. *insicilibus, unless we follow those editors who emend to iseçetes, producing a pass. pcpl.
83.

h. Stems in -āli- include: uerfale: L. verbale; sorsalir gen., sorsalem acc.: cf. sorson suřum; Tefrali abl. sg.: cf. Tefrei. A stem *-lērāli- < *leisāli- must be assumed in the formation of disleralinsusī if we adopt the usual analysis, taking it as a 4th-conjugation denominative verb cognate with L. lira, delirus.

i. Adjectives in -feli- represent Italic stems in -fli- resulting from alteration of the IE stems in -dhlo- in line with the Italic tendency to inflect adjectives as i-stems. Since the anaptyxis which explains the i before l in L. credibilis, etc., cannot be assumed for Umbrian, the vowel must have been extended from the nom. sg. *-fel, in which the e could arise by samprasāraṇa (32): façefele\(^2\): L. *(facibilem (in sense *sacificabilem); similarly purfifele: cf. purtitu purditom, pass. pcpl. to purduitul.

1 Apart from a few rare forms such as extaris, coquinaris, pecuniaris, paegniaris, the suffix -āril- exists in Latin only as a variant to -āli- produced by dissimilation in forms already containing l (e.g. *militaris in contrast to animalis). O. dekkviarim would be an exception to this rule, and also U. sehemeniar if taken as an adjective in -āril-. The dialect evidence is too scanty to permit the formulation of a rule, but the contrast between Staflarem and Tefrali seems to indicate that the distribution of -āli- and -āril- followed the same principle as in Latin.

2 Practically all editors thus emend the actual reading façefete in IIb 9, the only passage where the word occurs.

78. Stems in -u-.

a. Apart from stems with the suffix -tu-, which in Latin and several other languages form a productive class, the Umbrian u-stems include the following substantives: berva acc. pl., berus abl. pl.: L. verua, verubus; mani: L. manā (i < ā by 15 a), loc. manuv-e: trifor gen. sg., trijo dat., etc.: L. tribūs, etc.; pequo acc. pl.: L. pecua; castruo kastruvuf acc. pl.: u-stem on evidence of O. gen. sg. castrous, in contrast to o-stem L. castra. The divine names Fise, Trebo (both dat. sg.) must be regarded as u-stems, but both have in the earlier tables dat. sg. forms Fise, Trebe of the o-stem type.

b. The suffix -tu-, used in Latin in the formation of nouns of action and the result of action, is clearly represented in arputrati (i < ā as in mani, a above): L. arbitratu; apparently also in Ahtu dat. sg. used in IIa 10, 11 of a divine power identified with Jupiter and Mars. Whether the etymologically obscure uatuva is a stem in -tu- or in -tuo- cannot be positively determined.

79. Stems in -iē- (“Fifth Declension”). The origin of this type in Latin and the Italic dialects is partly obscure because of the lack of clear correspondences in other IE languages, but it is reasonably certain that it rests ultimately on a stem-class in -(i)yē/[i]- varying in part with -(i)yā/[i]- (cf. L. durities: duritia). The Umbrian examples include: auic (contained also within the participle avieka and the adjective auiecla); iuiues. The fifth-declension noun re (-per), ri (:L. res) has already been listed in 65 c among the root-stems.
II. Grammar

80. Stems in stops. Here are included stems in k, t, and d (Umbrian r rs). Several forms from roots ending in these and other stops, but containing no suffixes, have already been included among the root-stems (65 f) and are given only passing mention here.

a. Stems in -k- (including -ç- -s- from k by 46 b) include: curnaco acc. sg., curnase abl. : cf. L. cornice, -e; scalce-lo, skalçe-ta: cf. L. calice; neuters acc. sg. huntak, tuplak. For the root-stems pase, praco, and frif (g-stem *früg-) see 65 f.

b. Stems in t include: erietu: L. ariitem, cf. ἐρυφός with suffix -φο-, < -bho-; Marte: L. Marti; frile < *frṣl-e, like L. dūt-č according to Muller, p. 512, but the stem in -l- is only one of several possibilities. For the present participles, whose stems end in -nt-, see 130 a.

c. Stems in -d- (U. -ř- -rs-) include: capirse kapirče: L. capidi; vašere, vašef-e: L. lapide, (in) lapides. For the root-stems persi peři, dupursus, peturparsus, pruzure, and also for the root-stem nef (originally in -dh-) see 65 f.

81. Stems in n. Here are included masculines and feminines in -ōn- without gradation or with zero-grade in the oblique cases, feminines (and masculines?) in -iōn- with -īn- in the oblique cases, and neuters in -men-.

a. Stems in -ōn- representing (in part) the type of L. sermō, sermōnis, include: abroun acc. sg.: L. *aprōnem, cf. L. Aprōnius; homones dat. pl.: OL homones:\footnote{1} karu, karne: L. caro, carni, with zero-grade in the oblique cases. menzne < *mēns-en-i may belong here, but no case other than the ablative occurs, and from the attribute kurčlasiu IIa 17 we cannot determine whether menzne is m., like L. mensis, or neut.

b. To L. legiō, -ōnis, ōratiō, -ōnis, etc., without gradation, corresponds an Oscan-Umbrian type based on the gradation -(i)yōn- : -īn- (35 d): O. nom. sg. tribarakkiuf, fruktatiuf, acc. medicatinom, abl. tanginud; U. natine: L. natione; jerine as if corresponding to L. *jerione from root of jero; tribrčiu, tribrisne.

c. Neuters in -men include: nome numen (sic) acc., nomner gen., nomne dat.: L. nomen, etc.; umen acc., umne abl.: L. unguen, unguine; pelmrer gen. sg.

1 Similar in formation to abroun, homones, is probably essuf: O. essuf 'ipse,' as if = L. *epsōns. On the evidence of this form and of O. fruktatiuf, etc., we must probably assume that U. karu, tribrčiu originally had n by analogy with the oblique cases plus s by analogy with other nominatives of the third declension, the resulting -f (< -ns) being then dropped.

82. Stems in r. Here are included nouns of agent and nouns of family-relationship. The root-nouns nerf, pir, and veprus, whose stems end in r, have already been treated in 65 e.
a. Nouns of agent (cf. L. orator, victor) are formed by means of the suffix 
-
-tōr- without gradation in the paradigm: arsfertur, dat. arsfertrre, acc. arsfertrro;
kvestur (probably a Latin loan; see 46 h); Speture, name of a god, as if L. *Spectōrī; uhtur, acc. uhturra: L. auclor, -tōrem. The abstract nouns kvest
tetie, uhtetie contain -tr-, the zero-grade of the suffix -tōr-.

b. Nouns of family-relationship are formed by means of the suffix -ter/tr-
in ablaut-variation. The Umbrian examples are: frater frateer frater nom. pl., < *frāteres (26 h), fratrom gen., fratrus dat.; Iuvelpatre dat., Iupater voc.

83. Stems in s. Here are included stems in which a suffix ending in s has been attached as a primary suffix to the root. The vowel before the s has been in many instances lost by syncope, and the s has partly been changed by rhotacism to r. From the identity of nom. and acc. sg., from adjective-agreement (e.g. in uirseto uiruselo uas est VIa 28, etc.), and from comparison with Latin and other languages it is apparent that the gender is prevailingly neuter. Umbrian examples are: acc. far < *fars, gen. farer (in place of *farser by analogy with nom.-acc. far): cf. L. far, farris; nom. sg. mefs, abl. pl. mersus, < *med-
(o)s, med(e)s-ufs; acc. sg. luder, nom. pl. luderor, etc.;1 acc. sg. erus < *aisus: O. abl. pl. aissius (?); ose if < *op(e)-s-i: L. opere, cf. U. osatu, but the etymology of ose and the interpretation of the phrase in which it occurs are uncertain; pars: L. pār (?); uas 'flaw' < *mak(o)s (?); nom. pl. uasor, acc. uaso, abl. 
vasur: L. vas, vasis, etc. (for lack of rhotacism see 57 d).

1 Evidence that luder is an s-stem is found in the denominative verb eheturstahamu etuřsta-
mu, which when taken in connection with luder points to an original *-tudes-tā- with syncope of e after the change d > rs ë. Whether nom.-acc. luder has r as the result of final rhotacism or by the analogy of the oblique cases (cf. L. honor in place of early hōnōs by analogy with hōnōrem, etc.) is uncertain, but the latter alternative seems preferable, since the nom.-acc. which we should expect would be *tudos or its reflex *tuřs (cf. mefs).

84. Stems in r/n. This type of neuter noun, in which -n- of the oblique cases alternates with -r- of the nom.-acc., is believed on the basis of Hittite evidence to have constituted a fairly large class in Indo-Hittite or early proto-IE, but it usually survives in the recorded languages in scattered examples with secondary alterations of the stem (e.g. Skt. yakr-t, gen. yaknas, ḫ-pag, ḫ-patōs, L. iecur, iečinoris, early iečoris; femur, feminis, etc.). There are no Oscan examples. The sole Umbrian example is acc. utur (t = d) 'water,' abl. une < *ud-n-: cf. ḫdoq, ḫdatōs; Goth. wato, watins, Eng. water, Germ. Wasser, the n-stem being generalized in this word in East annd North Germanic, the r-stem in West Germanic.

1 From Goth. fon 'fire,' gen. funins we may infer that the stem represented by U. pir, acc. 
purom, Gk. πῦγ, πυρός was originally of the -r/n-type, but since no trace of this variation has 
survived in this word in Greek or Italic, it has been treated here as a root-stem in -r.
pru IIa 32, understood in the present work as acc. sg. 'liver', cannot be equated directly with L. lecur but must represent a transfer to the o-stem class: *yepr-o(m), unless, as Muller, p. 218, suggests, it is a misspelling of *iopur.

85. Nominal Compounds. Umbrian and Oscan in general resemble Latin in the types of compounds formed and in the extent to which compounds are used. The first member is an adverb of the class capable of being used prepositionally, or an inseparable prefix (e.g. a- an-, sei-, ve- ven-), or a numeral stem, or, rarely, the stem of a declinable noun or adjective. The second member is a noun or adjective stem, or, in the case of setpodruhpei, a pronoun. Apart from combinations of a- an- with the passive participle, compounds containing parts of the verb proper are not included here (see 134).

86. The compounds treated in this section are formed with prefixes which may be used as prepositions, or which at least have cognates in Latin which are capable of being so used.

a. The following compounds are hypostases; that is, the relation of the prefix to the second member is that of a preposition toward its object: anterme

bazu: cf. L. intermenstruarum; perakne, if equivalent to L. perennem, literally 'through the year,' but see on IIa 5. trahā Sahala, name of the place of one of the sacrifices in the lustration, has become a hypostasis in which the case is determined not by trahā but by the construction of the whole expression in the sentence.

c. In peracri 'perfect' (semantic value of -ac- as in âxmu, âxmaicos) the prefix has intensive force; cf. περικαλλής; L. peroptimus.

d. The following compounds are best regarded as agent-nouns formed directly from the compound verbs to which they correspond:1 arsferu: cf. L. ad-fero; Prestote Prestate, name of a goddess: cf. L. praes-te-o.

e. In the following compounds the second member contains a verbal root, and the whole constitutes an adjective similar in sense to an active or passive participle: abl. pl. iseqles < *en-sek-ef(fo)s; pruseyia: cf. prosesoeto, prusekatu; pruzufu (65 f).

f. kumne loc. sg. 'in comitio' is formed by attaching the suffix -no- directly to the prefix kom-, unless we adopt the more dubious view whereby *kono is from *kom-ben-o- with prefix and root as in L. conventio. kummahkle may be explained either as *konnâ- (stem of a denominative verb to *konnno-) + -klo- (75 b) or as *konn- + -ako- after the analogy of other nouns in -ako-.

1 Not only here but also in c and e we must consider the possibility that the compounding took place first in the verb, from which the verbal noun or adjective was subsequently formed.
87. The compounds treated in this section are formed with prefixes which, as far as we can determine, appear only in composition and not as prepositions governing objects.

   a. The following compounds contain the negative a- a- an- an- + a passive participle (in the case of antakres an adjective in -ro-): aanfehtaf (26 d): L. injectas; anhostatir; cf. hostatir; anšihitir: cf. šihišir; asequeta; asnata: cf. snata; auirseto: cf. uirseto; antakres: L. integris.

   b. sei- (cf. L. sè-cerno, sèd-itio, etc.) occurs in composition with the indefinite pronoun stem in seipodruhpei 'separately for each' < *sè(d)kórēterōkwe: L. sedutraque, Plaut., Stich., 106.

   c. ve-ven- (cf. L. vè-cors, vè-sanus, and Lexicon for the form ven-) occurs in veipurus abl. pl. 'fireless' (?), to which the verb veipuratu appears to be a denominative; and also in the obscure venpersuntra veptidesutra: cf. persondro persuntru.

88. The following compounds contain numeral stems as first members: dupla, tupler: L. duplus, second member being apparently from root *pel- 'fold'; similarly tripler; tuplak 'fork': L. duplex; dífuæ acc. sg. neut.: dípōrēz; dupurpusus and peturpurpusus, compounds of the bahuvihi or possessive type: L. bipedibus, quadripedibus; tribificu, tribrisine < *tri-pedikyn-, -in-.

89. Compounds having noun or adjective stems as first members include: mandraclo mantraklu 'hand-wiper, towel, maniple': cf. L. manus and tergeo; seuacne sevakni, if the first member is identical with the stem in seuom sevum, but see on IIA 21.

C. Declension of Nouns and Adjectives

90. For the stem-classes of nouns and adjectives and for the gender-system see 64. The declensional system in the Italic dialects is sufficiently like that in Latin to justify the familiar arrangement under five declensions: the first declension then includes ā-stems, the second o-stems, the third consonant- and i- and diphthongal stems, the fourth u-stems, while the fifth includes the few scattered examples whose stems end in -ē (79). But the difference between o-stems and consonant-stems is less strongly marked than in Latin (see 92, 94, 100 below on the gen. sg., acc. sg., and gen. pl.), while on the other hand the original distinction between consonant-stems and i-stems is much better preserved than in Latin, where it has been largely effaced by analogical leveling (see 94, 96, 99, 101 on the acc. sg., abl. sg., nom. pl., dat.-abl. pl.).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg. Nom.</th>
<th>First Declension</th>
<th>Second Declension</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>muta mutu</td>
<td>muta mutu</td>
<td>muta mutu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>tolar tusas</td>
<td>tolar tusas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>tole tute</td>
<td>tole tute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>toam tola toOTA</td>
<td>toam tola toOTA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>asa asa</td>
<td>asa asa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>tole tafe</td>
<td>tole tafe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voc.</td>
<td>Prestota</td>
<td>Prestota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom.- Acc. Neut.</td>
<td>ortom orto</td>
<td>ortom orto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. Nom.</td>
<td>anclar iuengar famearias pumearias</td>
<td>anclar iuengar famearias pumearias</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>pracalarum urnasiaru</td>
<td>pracalarum urnasiaru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.- Abl.</td>
<td>dequirier tekuries aserialer anzeriater klavles plenasier urnasier</td>
<td>dequirier tekuries aserialer anzeriater klavles plenasier urnasier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>merstaf mersta gomia kumiaf porca purka</td>
<td>merstaf mersta gomia kumiaf porca purka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom.- Acc. Neut.</td>
<td>adro atru veskla vesklu</td>
<td>adro atru veskla vesklu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o-stems</td>
<td>o-stems</td>
<td>o-stems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg. Nom.</td>
<td>tases tacez pelsans fratrex fratreks ager katele tigel</td>
<td>Vuvcis Teteies arsir(?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>popler kapres alege ponisialer puniege kales kate</td>
<td>Coredier Kureties Fisie Kastrucije Titis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>Tefrei Tefre Tefri Serfe Çerfe</td>
<td>Tefrei Tefre Tefri Serfe Çerfe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>poplo puprum poplo puplo vinu</td>
<td>Graboue Graboue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>uiu vinu pihacta tremnu somo</td>
<td>Fisiu Fisiu kurçlasiu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>pople dese tre testre onse uze</td>
<td>Atiieie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voc.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Grabouie Saçe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom.- Acc. Neut.</td>
<td>ortom orto</td>
<td>arikani tertim terti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. Nom.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Clauernuir Atiieiuuir Ikuvinus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>pihacto pihaklu</td>
<td>Atiieiu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.- Abl.</td>
<td>uerir veres vaputis sexeir</td>
<td>sehmenier aplenis Clauerni Klavernie Uehier Vehiies</td>
</tr>
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<td>Acc.</td>
<td>abrof apruf uillo rufru ueiro</td>
<td>filiu feliuf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom.- Acc. Neut.</td>
<td>adro atru veskla vesklu</td>
<td>aruo arvia arviu farsio fasiu</td>
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</table>
# C. Declension of Substantives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg. Nom.</th>
<th>Third Declension</th>
<th>Fourth Declension</th>
<th>Fifth Declension</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Consonant-stems</td>
<td>i-stems</td>
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<tr>
<td>arsfurtur</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>affurtur</td>
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<td></td>
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91. Nomina\textit{tive Singular Masculine and Feminine. The IE case-ending in ā-stems was }\O\textit{, in o-, i-, and u-stems -s, in consonant-stems sometimes }\O\textit{, sometimes -s.}

\begin{enumerate}
\item In ā-stems in Umbrian, as in the IE languages generally, the stem is used without ending; for -ā > -o -u see 7 b.
\item In o-stems the stem-vowel is syncopated (29 i), but -s normally remains: \textit{pelsans} < *\textit{pelsann(o)s} < *\textit{pelsandos}; \textit{fratreks}, etc. In -yo-stems the \textit{y} becomes \textit{i} after syncope of \textit{o} (32 a): \textit{Vuvčis} (on Teteies see 32 b); \textit{arsir} with -r < -s by 57 e, if from *\textit{alyos} (: L. \textit{alis}), but see on V1a 6. Stems in -ro-, -lo- lose -s after syncope of the \textit{o}: \textit{ager} < *\textit{agros} (32 d), \textit{katel}, \textit{tičel}.
\item Among consonant-stems there are no examples of masc. or fem. stems in stops, apart from such present participles as \textit{zeřět} \textit{serse}. Stems in -r- have lengthened grade of the suffix, -tur < -tôr, with zero-ending: \textit{arsjertur}, \textit{kvestur}: cf. L. \textit{oralor}, etc. Stems in -ōn- (\textit{karu}, \textit{tribiču}, pronoun \textit{esuf}) may have had -s, in contrast to L. \textit{caro}, \textit{legio}, etc. See the discussion in 58 f.
\item i-stems in general retain -s after syncope of the \textit{i}: \textit{Casilos} < *-\textit{lātis}; \textit{fons}. But -s is lost in -rī-stems: \textit{pacer} < *\textit{pakris} (32 d), \textit{ocar} (see Lexicon).
\item Nom. sg. forms of the fourth and fifth declensions are not attested.
\end{enumerate}

92. Genitive Singular. All O.-U. forms rest ultimately on IE forms with ending -s; there are no traces of the ending -ī seen in L. \textit{virī}, or of -osyo seen in \textit{tπoio}, Skt. \textit{aśvasya}. The -s is rhotacized to -r in Tables V, VI, and VII (57 e), but forms without final consonant occur sporadically in both the earlier and the later tables (57 h). In ā-stems the s is added directly to the stem: cf. L. (\textit{paler}) \textit{familiās} in contrast to the usual -ae < -ā. o-stems and consonant-stems use the ending originally peculiar to i-stems: -es -er -er -e -c, all from -es (cf. O. a\textit{eis}, \textit{sakarakleis}). The ending in Titis is anomalous but cannot have a different origin from that of o-stems in general. The ending for i-stems is based on the full ("normal") grade of the stem-vowel (-ei-s) and is inherited: cf. Skt. \textit{agnes}, Lith. \textit{antēs}. The u-stem \textit{trīor} has -or < proto-It. -\textit{ous} < IE -eu-s or -ou-s (23). No gen. sg. forms of the fifth declension are attested.

93. Dative Singular. The history of the forms is complicated, but, with the exception of those which were originally locative, all are derived ultimately from an ending -ei or -ai,\textsuperscript{1} which in combination with the stem-vowels ā, o produced long diphthongs.

\begin{enumerate}
\item In ā-stems the -āi became O. -ai, U. -e -e through shortening of the first element (25 a).
\item In o-stems the -ōi became O. -ūi, U. -e -e through -oi (25 b): cf. OL \textit{Numasioi} in contrast to the standard form with -ō derived by loss of the i of the long diphthong.
\end{enumerate}
Stems in -(i)yo- may show contraction, especially in the later tables: Sači Sanši, Fisi, etc., and even plain o-stems occasionally show forms in -i -i or -ei: Tefri Tefrei, fratreci.

c. In the third declension, consonant-stems and i-stems alike end in O. -ei, U. -e -e, but the precise history of the endings is obscure. It is not necessary to assume the same origin for the ending in the two stem-types, but it is extremely probable that the development was the same in the two dialects. The forms have been explained as original locatives with the ending belonging to i-stems, but it is possible to refer them all to a dative ending -ei added to consonant-stems or to i-stems with full grade of the stem-vowel (thus ocre < *okreei < *okreyei, 53 b), the ultimate result being the same for both stem-types.

d. The ending -u -o of u-stems is from -ou < -eu or -ou (23), originally a locative formation with the bare stem in full grade or possibly in lengthened grade -êu or -óu; cf. Skt. sánãu, and for the Italic formation cf. L. currũ, cornũ, etc., in contrast to the standard -uǐ < -(u)wei with proper dative ending. There are no Oscan dat. sg. forms of u-stems.

e. The fifth declension form ri can be analyzed as either original dative or locative: the case-ending dat. -ei or loc. -i was added to the stem in -êy, and after loss of the y (53 b) the vowels contracted.

1 The difficulty in reconstructing the IE dat. sg. arises from the fact that forms like Δεύ- (τρέφεις), Cypr. Gk. Δι.Φεύ (φιλείς) etc., point to -ei, while χαμαί and the infinitives in -αι (e.g. δομείας point to -al. Whatmough, C.P., L (1955), p. 151, suggests postulating an ending οί as well as -ει, -i. This ending-οί, if I understand it correctly, would be the reduced ablaut-grade of -εί and would provide a source for the Gk. forms in -αι.

94. ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE. The original ending was -m for all vowel-stems and its allophone -η for consonant-stems. In Umbrian the same system in general prevails, but in consonant-stems the -om of o-stems has been adopted; cf. the similar Oscan forms leginum, langinom. In -yo-stems the y becomes i after syncope of the o (32 a). No forms of the fifth declension are quotable. In all stem-classes the -m -m is subject to loss (2 j, 51 e).

95. NOMINATIVE-ACCUSATIVE NEUTER. From proto-IE the Italic branch inherited neuter o-, i-, u-, and consonant-stems, but no nom.-acc. sg. forms of u-stems are quotable from the dialects. The history of the o-stems, including -yo-stems, is identical with that of the accusative of masculines (94). Consonant-stems use the bare stem without ending; for the stem-variation in utur, abl. une, see 84. i-stems use the bare stem with final ê < i (so uerfale: 10 b).

96. ABLATIVE SINGULAR. The ending -d, which in proto-IE was peculiar to o-stems, was extended in Italic to vowel-stems in general. The stem-vowel is
II. Grammar

regularly long after the analogy of the -ād in o-stems, probably with support from the -ādd of ā-stems. The -ād is regularly lost in Umbrian (42 e) as in classical Latin, but is found preserved in O. loutad, dolud, slaagid, etc. Consonant-stems use -ē < -ē (10 b), originally a locative ending; cf. the similar ending in L. rege, etc., in contrast to Oscan tanginūd, ligud, with o-stem ending.

97. Locative Singular. All forms can be referred to original endings -i or ∅. ā-stems have -ē -e, O. ai -ae < -ā + i (25 a), the development after contraction being identical with that of the dative. o-stems have -ē -e, O. -ēi -ei, from -e, the ablaut-variant of o, + i. Consonant-stems have -ē -e < -i and are thus identical with ablative forms, which have adopted the locative ending (96). i-stems have -ē, which may be from full-grade -ēi + i, through -ēyī > -ei; no Oscan examples. For the u-stem form see 93 d, the dative having been originally locative. Locative forms sometimes are followed by the postposition -en -e, written separately or together. In scalsie (consonant-stem) the -ē prevented the change of the preceding i to e. In manūve the glide v shows that the diphthong ou was preserved before the -e, in contrast to the otherwise similar dat. trifo with monophthong -o < -ou. It is possible that many locative forms are actually based on contraction of the ending with the postpositive -en and omission of the final n.

1 Greek gives evidence for both -et and -oi (e.g. the adverbs ἐκεῖ, οἴκοι), while L. -i and Skt. -e are ambiguous, but the Umbrian forms probably agree with the Oscan, which clearly point to -ei. Moreover the -i -i < -oi, which alternates with -e -e in the spelling of dative forms of o-stems, is not found in the locative.

98. Vocative Singular. In IE languages generally the voc. sg., in so far as it is distinct from the nom., is regularly without case-ending, although the stem-vowel frequently shows ablaut-variation. The Tables show voc. forms of the first, second, and third declensions.

a. ā-stems regularly have -ā, never -o as in the nom. Since there are nearly fifty examples, it is not possible to regard the voc. ending as identical in origin with the nom.; it must therefore represent -ā < -o, the reduced grade of -ā, as in Homeric νόμαρα, τοξότα.

b. o-stems have -e, ablaut-variant of o. In -(i)yostems this vowel remains uncontracted, in contrast to L. Tullī, etc.

c. The consonant-stem Iupater shows a voc. form in both members; cf. Zeō πάτερ, L. Iuppiter. The e is short, as may be seen by comparison with nom. O. patir, where i (in place of the expected i) stands for ē, cf. πατήγ.
the stem-vowel in proto-IE; similarly in Sanskrit and Gothic, in contrast to χόραι, ἱπποι, etc., L. terrae, equī, etc., which have the pronominal ending. ā-, o-, i-, and consonant-stem forms are attested.

a. ā-stems have -as in the older tables, -ar (57 e) in the later. Cf. Skt. senās, Goth. gibos.

b. o-stems have -us (occasionally -u, 57 b) < -ős < -oes in the older tables, -ur in the later, including Va. Cf. Skt. vykās, Goth. wulfos.

c. i-stems have -es in the older tables, -er in the later. The IE case-ending -es was added to -ei, the full grade of the stem-vowel, giving -eyes > -ees (53 b) > U. -es -er, O. ĭs -iś, L. ĭs.

d. Consonant-stems must originally have had -ēs (cf. φύλαι-ες, ὤνος-ες, etc.) in contrast to Latin, where the ending -ēs of i-stems was adopted also by consonant-stems. O.-U. -es lost the e by syncope: O. humuns, O. meddeiēs, meddiss. The Umbrian examples all belong to r-stems and show not only syncope but subsequent loss of the r with some evidence of compensatory lengthening (59 f).

100. Genitive Plural. The original ending was -ōm,1 or a combination containing it, for all stem-classes. Italic dialect forms are attested in the first, second, and third declensions.

a. ā-stems have -arum -aru: O. -azum -asāüm, L. -ārum, Epic Gk. -āwο, all from -āsōm borrowed from pronouns. The -um (not -om) of pracatarum is commonly taken as evidence that the original vowel-length of the ending is preserved in this and other gen. pl. forms (27 b).

b. o-stems, including -yo-stems, have -u -o, -iu -io from -ōm, -yōm with loss of -m: O. -ūm -om, -ium, L. -um in archaic virum, etc. Standard L. -ōrum, modeled after -ārum of ā-stems, has no parallel in the dialects.

c. Consonant-stems have -um -u -om -o, i-stems -io, all formed by addition of the ending -ōm to the stem as in Oscan and Latin.

1 With some evidence of an ablaut-variant -ōm in Gothic.

101. Dative-Ablative Plural. There are two endings, one for the first and second, the other for the third and fourth declensions, as in Latin. No fifth-declension forms are quotable.

a. ā-stems have -es, -er -er: O. -aīs -ais -ais, L. -īs, with early -ēis -ēs, all from -ais in imitation of *-oīs, the ending for o-stems, or perhaps rather from āis in imitation of -oīs, the earlier form of the o-stem ending (25 a).

b. o-stems have -es, -er -e -ir -eir -er, once -i: O. -ūīs -oīs, L. -īs with early

  c. i-stems have -is -es -is, once -eis (ateis): O. -ifs -iss, L. -ibus, all from -i + -fos < -bhos with O.-U. syncope of the vowel in the final syllable. O. luisarifs, the sole form with ſ preserved, gives evidence of the survival of the bhos-ending in the Italic dialects, and the analysis commonly given receives support, where the Umbrian forms are concerned, through the failure of the -s to suffer rhota-
cism (57 e) or to be omitted in writing.¹

  d. Consonant-stems have -us -us adopted from u-stems, in contrast to both Oscan -is -is and L. -ibus adopted from i-stems.

  e. u-stems have -us < -u + -fos with derivation as in c above.

¹ sevalme abl. pl. IV 9 is not a normal case of omission of final -s but the result of lack of space at the end of the line.

102. Accusative Plural Masculine and Feminine. The IE ending was -ns for vowel-stems or its allophone -ņs for consonants-stems. Umbrian forms are quotable in all declensions, if we count kastruvuf, neuter u-stem with ending as explained in 103 below.

  a. ā-stems have -af -a -af -a (58 b) : O. -ass -as, L. -ās. Skt. -ās, Goth. -os reflect an early loss of n in the ending -āns, but the O.-U. forms require the assumption of an -ns in proto-Italic. The -ns may have been adopted from o-stems, where n was not subject to early loss after the short o, or it may represent an inherited variant -ans with shortening of ā and preservation of n.

  b. o-stems have -uf -u -uif -u -o (58 b); on the vowel-length indicated by -u see 26 e; on turup see 2 k) : O. -ūss, L. -ōs, Cretan -ov, Goth. -ans, all from -ons with compensatory lengthening in Latin after loss of n.

  c. i-stems have -if -i -ef -e -i -eif (58 b): Oscan not attested, Latin -īs (the rival form -ēs being taken from consonant-stems). These endings are from -ins, with resulting long vowel inferred from spelling -eif (usually, though not always, an indication of length) and from the parallel development -ons > -ōf > -uf.

  d. Consonant-stems have -f -f or ō, with loss of d before ſ in vafef (cf. L. lapid-es), capif (cf. L. capid-es), of g before -f in frif (cf. L. fruges), of f < dh in uef (see Lexicon). The absence of a vowel before -f in these forms and in O. malaks,¹ usurs¹ is difficult to explain. It could not have been the result of syncope, since proto-Italic -ens < IE -ņs should have lengthened its e (cf. the treatment of -ons, -ins in b, c above²). It is possible, however, that the nom. pl., where the ē in -es was syncopated, may have exerted an analogical influence which could be expressed by the proportion *vitlas: vitlaf = *vitlus: vitluf = pun-
tes: *puntef = *vapes: uapef.
D. Numerals

105. The numerals and their various derivatives are treated in numerical order in the following paragraphs.

a. 1. The cardinal is unus, acc. sg. Iia 6, 8, <*oinom: L. unus, OL oino, oivý 'one on dice,' Goth. ains. The ordinal is prumum promom acc. sg. with adverbial value: cf. πρόμος 'chief.'

104. The remains of the Italic dialects are not extensive enough to allow more than a fragmentary account of even the cardinal and ordinal numerals. Yet the stems of the numerals from 1 through 6, and also of 9 and 10, are all represented in the Iguvine Tables in one form or another, and the numerals for 2 and 3 show several different inflectional forms.

103. Nominative-Accusative Plural Neuter. o-, i-, u-, and consonant-stems are quotable. The ending is, in part, -a -a -u -o: O. -u -o, L. -a, all from original -a. The forms in -u (O. -u) -o are evidence that the vowel-length was preserved in the dialects in contrast to Latin, where a is shortened to -ā (cf. the similar treatment of -ā in nom. sg. of ā-stems).

a. But in Umbrian, without parallel in Oscan, some neuter forms were altered by the addition of nom. pl. -r, acc. -f to the neuter endings in -o -u. Nom.: o-stems: folcôr, serehtor, arsmor, dersecor, subatôr; consonant-stems: uasôr, tuderôr. Acc.: o-stem: verûf; u-stem: kastruvîf. The classification of these forms as neuter, despite their endings, depends in part on the coexistence of such unmistakably neuter forms as krematra, acc. sg. tuder.

D. Numerals

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a. 1. The cardinal is unus, acc. sg. Iia 6, 8, <*oinom: L. unus, OL oino, oivý 'one on dice,' Goth. ains. The ordinal is prumum promom acc. sg. with adverbial value: cf. πρόμος 'chief.'

1 The multiplicative adverb is sumel 'once': cf. L. simul, semel, and 28 b.
b. 2. The vestigial dual form represented by L. duo has been replaced in Umbrian by a nom. pl. form dur, acc. tuif, acc. neut. tuva, dat.-abl. duir tuves. The nom. dur < *duwós resulted from vowel-contraction after the ő had been raised in the direction of ŏ (33 c). On ũ and uv see 2 h. The ordinal is etre, etre, etc., with normal ą/ę-stem inflection, from *et-ero- (stem 109 c, suffix 76 c), its ordinal use being precisely similar to that of L. alter. The adverb duti ‘for the second time’ is apparently an analogical formation after tertim. dupla acc. pl. f., tupler abl. pl. m. are identical in formation with L. duplus but are used with the distributive value of L. binas, -is. tuplak acc. sg. neut. ‘(two- pronged) fork’ (?) is similar to L. duplex. du- appears as first member of the compound dupursus (88). The compound dijue acc. sg. (88) has as first member di- < dwi: δϕωνζ, cf. L. bi-jidus, Skt. *dvi-jas.

c. 3. The cardinal is trï tref acc. pl. m.-f., triia acc. neut., tris abl., with stem trī/trēi- and regular i-stem inflection (58 b, 102 c, 103). The ordinal is tertie dat. sg., tertiam-e acc. sg. f., etc., with regular o/ą-stem inflection: L. tertius. tripler abl. pl. is precisely similar in formation to dupla, tupler (b above). The multiplicative adverb trioper triuper ‘three times’ is formed by the addition of -per < -pert to the neut. pl. *trigā: cf. O. petioperl, L. semper for suffix. For the compound tribrisine see 88 and Lexicon.

d. 4. This numeral appears as first member of the compound peturpusus²: cf. du-pursus in b above, and for the form of the stem cf. Skt. catur-; for p < kʷ (L. quattuor, etc.) see 49 a.

e. 5. The cardinal, which is not attested in any dialect of the Oscan-Umbrian group, was apparently O.-U. *pompe < *penk*e with o < e (8 g): πέντε, Aeol. πέμπε, Skt. pañca, L. quinque with initial qu < p.³ puntes nom. pl., punctis abl. pl., ‘pentads, groups of five,’ is a -ti-stem noun (77 b and for phonology 49 d with n. 2). pumpefias nom. pl. I1b 2 is of uncertain formation and meaning (for discussion see introductory note on IIb), but is undoubtedly a derivative of the numeral for ‘five’.

f. 6. The only form is sestentasiaru gen. pl. f. ‘bi-monthly’ from *sekslo- (: L. ordinal sextus) + -ent-āsio/ā, the -ent- in contrast to L. sextantarius being possibly the result of analogy with an e-form corresponding to L. trientarius; see 61 d, 68 d.

g. 9. nuvis ‘nine times’ is apparently made from *now- (cf. L. novem, novie(n)s) with -is after *dwis, *tris;⁴ nuvime ‘for the ninth time’ is an adverb in -e(d) from an ordinal stem *nowimo- like L. septimus, decimus, according to the usual view, but see on IIa 26. The proper name Noniar gen. sg. V1a 14 may belong to the root of the numeral ‘nine’.

h. 10. There are two derivatives of the numeral ‘ten.’ tekvias nom. pl. IIb 1, signifying originally tenths of the population, is an -igā-stem derivative
of *dekw-, which may be assumed as an ordinal stem built after the analogy of some form corresponding to L. octūvus, őgyőfoz. *tekuries deguirier abl. pl. 'of the decuviæ' is an adjective in -uryo-, a suffix derived by reanalysis of *ksworth-yo-, in which *ksworth- is an ablaut-variant of *kswetwer-o- 'four'.

i. 12. desenduf acc. pl. occurs in VIIb 2; from *dekw-duwo remodeled with pl. -f < -ns in place of dual ending (see b above).

1 L. primus is from *pri-s-is-mos: Pacl. prismatic.
2 Possibly also in the proper name Petrunia: L. Petronius, cf. Pomponius, if from the numeral '5', the Latin forms being necessarily dialectal (p < k) if these etymologies are admitted. Oscan forms include petora 'four', and the more recently discovered form pettiur on an inscription from Samnium (Pl. 35 D = Vet. 141 = Bott. 5 b).
3 Since the assimilatory change which produced L. quinque < *penkswë was very early, having affected Celtic as well as Latin, we must assume that the proto-Italic form was *penkswë, whence O.-U. *pompe with both stops reconverted to p (49 a).
4 Not like L. noviens, since -ns would become / by 58b.
5 For the etymology and interpretation of these numeral derivatives, which have been much debated, I follow Devoto, Atti del reale istituto veneto, LXXXIX (1929-30), pp. 927-36.

E. Pronouns

106. For our purposes, the pronouns may be divided into personal, including the possessive pronominal adjectives; demonstrative; and interrogative, indefinite and relative. As in Latin, the personal pronouns show no distinction of gender, the interrogative-indefinite has distinct neuter forms in the nominative and accusative, while the remaining pronouns show the gender of the substantives to which they refer. Several of the pronouns in oblique cases are capable of being used with adverbial or conjunctival value, and the line of demarcation between such uses and the true pronominal uses is not always clear. For this reason and in order to fill gaps in the paradigms several of these adverbial forms are included in the table and discussion.

a. Case-endings are for the most part the same as in -o/ā-stem adjectives. Final s is rhotacized in the later tables and also before enclitics beginning with vowels (e.g. nom. pl. m. eur-onta < *eyōs-hont). Nom.-acc. neut. forms were made with the ending -d (cf. O. id-ic, L. id, Skt. tad, etc.) with loss by 42 e in este and ð rs < d (42 b) in ěręk erse, piře pirse, etc. On the ending in esmi see 109 c.

The following enclitics are attached to certain pronominal forms:

b. -k -c (cf. L. hi-c, hun-c, tun-c, illi-c, etc.) in abl. sg. eruk, f. erak, etc. The nom. sg. m. erek eres and nom.-acc. neut. ěręk contain an enclitic combination from -ik (cf. O. izic, idic). Many forms not showing -k -c probably had it and subsequently lost it (62 a; observe also ere ere beside eruk eres). -k -c should not be confused with the postposition -ku(m) -co(m), which does not lose its vowel.

c. -hunto hont after vowels, -unt -ont after consonants, in the pronoun of
identity erihont, and also in the adverb isunt. This enclitic is in origin probably an acc. sg. *hom cognate with L. hi-c hun-c, etc., further extended by means of -t (cf. per-t). On the abl. sg. f. erafont with / in place of the normal h see 48 b.

d. -i -i -e -ei in many forms of the interrogative and relative pronouns and related conjunctions: poi poe poei, püfe porse, pisi pisi, püfe pirse, puri, pafe, pifi. i (cf. oβτος-τ-) must be assumed in order to account for the forms written with -i -i, since final i normally became e (10 b). The relation between this enclitic and the i of erihont is uncertain; it is not possible to bring it into connection with the second vowel of erek erec, O. idik, without assuming a variant -i- as a possible basis for the vocalism of these forms.

107. The extant forms of personal pronouns, including the reflexive, are:

a. First person. Dat. sg. mehe, from *meghei: L. mihi with vowel weakening e > i in first syllable because of unaccented use, and (for the most part) iambic shortening in second syllable. Cf. also Skt. mahyam < *meghi + enclitic particle -am.

b. Second person. Dat. sg. tefe tefe, from *tebhei: O. tfei, L. tibi with vocalism as in mihi above. Cf. also Skt. tubhyam with formation as in mahyam above. Acc. sg. tiu tiom tio leio, from le + om of doubtful explanation; possibly adopted from acc. sg. of o-stems, or possibly enclitic as in Skt. nom. sg. tvam, dat. tubhyam, etc. Cf. also O. nom. (!) sg. tiium.

c. Third person reflexive. Dat. sg. seso, generally analyzed as from *s(w)oi (: oI) + -so, an enclitic of unknown origin.

1 The final syllable in svesu I b 45, IIa 44, sueso VIIb 1, all loc. sg. of the pronominal adj. equivalent to L. suus, must be of the same origin. The most natural supposition is that it is itself a form of some pronoun used with intensive value, a single grammatical case being used in all situations, with the first member alone inflected, as in early L. eispse, umpse, eispse, easpse, etc. Our forms may be explained on the basis of an original acc. sg. if we admit loss of -m in the dat. sg. prounoun seso (VIIb 51 only) and in the three examples of the adjective svesu sueso. In any explanation it is necessary to account for the lack of rhotacism of the second s. If as the second element we take acc. sg. *esso(m) *epsom (: L. ipsum), we may derive seso from *soi essom, with *soi as a variant of *swoi (Gk. αI, oI) and -e < -oi by 21 d, the syllable being unaccented; or possibly the first component suffered elision before *esso(m). The fact that esul, O. essul has an extended stem *esson (58 f) is not a serious obstacle; although common to Umbrian and Oscan it is probably of relatively recent origin, while the simpler *esso- may have been used in the combinations here under discussion.

108. The forms of possessive pronominal adjectives are:


b. For the second person plural. Abl. sg. uestra: from *wes-, ablaut-variant of *wos, wōs (cf. Skt. vas, L. vōs) + -lero-, suffix of comparison and contrast (29 a, 76 c).
c. For the third person reflexive. Loc. sg. *svesu sueso: from *swo/*ā- (: Gk. possessive ἀς) + fossilized acc. sg. *esso(m) generalized first in the reflexive pronoun and then in the pronominal adjective, according to the suggestion in 107, n. 1.

109. The demonstrative pronouns are shown in the following table. The separate pronominal stems are discussed in the paragraphs following the table. The forms used in the paragraph headings are the same as those in the Lexicon. Forms used adverbially have been omitted, even when, as in the case of *ulo *ulu, they contain recognizable case-endings.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg. Nom.</th>
<th>erek ere</th>
<th>erihont</th>
<th>esmei</th>
<th>este, estu</th>
<th>esu</th>
<th>esuf</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>erer irer</td>
<td>erarunt</td>
<td>esmik esmei</td>
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<td>Dat.</td>
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<td>estu</td>
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<td>Acc.</td>
<td>efek erse</td>
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<td>este este</td>
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<td>N.-A.</td>
<td>eruk erak</td>
<td>eruhu erahunt</td>
<td>esu essu esu-ku (eh)esu esa</td>
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<td>Abl.</td>
<td>eru-ku eru-com</td>
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<td>Loc.</td>
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<td>Pl. Nom.</td>
<td>euront</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>eru erom ero</td>
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<td>esumek esome</td>
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<td>Dat.-Abl.</td>
<td>ererunt eriront</td>
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<td>esir isir estis-co</td>
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<td>Acc.</td>
<td>eaf eaf</td>
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<td>estu esto</td>
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<td>N.-A.</td>
<td>eu eo</td>
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a. The anaphoric erēk erēc: O. izić, cf. L. is, ea, id. A comparison of the O.-U. and Latin forms shows that originally the nom. sg. m. and nom.-acc. sg. neut. had ɨ-; the other cases ey-; the e-< ey- in the Umbrian forms seems to have spread through the whole paradigm by analogical leveling. The Umbrian r r, Oscan s z in gen., abl., and (O.) loc. forms was generalized in these cases through reanalysis of forms where the case-ending contained s, thereby producing a stem U. ero/ār< *eiso/ā-. The most probable source of the s was the pronominal gen. pl. ending -sōm: cf. Skt. teṣām, f. lāsām, etc. The enclitic -ek -ec is used in nom. and acc. sg. and gen. sg. erērek, and -k in abl. sg.

b. The pronoun erihont ‘the same.’ The first part is the same as in erēc but without the enclitic -ec -e: cf. L. is and the first part of idem, O. isidum. On the vocalism see a above; on the i of erihont see 106 d. On the enclitics -(h)ont -(h)ont, -(h)ont see 106 c, 48 b.

c. The pronoun represented by dat. sg. esmik esmei, loc. esme, ‘this.’ These forms are from the IE demonstrative stem *e- which appears also in etantu (cf. L. tanta), etru (105 b), L. e-quidem, ἐ-xeī, ἐ-xēinōs, and probably also in the Greek verbal augment. These forms are cognate, as regards both stem and case-ending, with Skt. asmai. For -k in esmik see 106 b.

d. The pronoun este, estu, etc. ‘this’, with reference sometimes to that which has just been mentioned (e.g. VIa 15, b 62, 63, VIIa 51), sometimes to that which is newly introduced (e.g. IIb 23, 24). Although este has not the special nuance of association with the second person, it is generally regarded as related to L. iste; yet the etymology of both is uncertain. The first part may be the stem e- of c above, altered in Latin to i after is, id; the s is of uncertain source but may be connected with the s in esmei esmik; the second part is probably the same stem as in Skt. lad, tasya, the Greek article τό, τοῦ, etc. Among the inflectional forms acc. sg. neut. este (in contrast to L. istud) probably has -e< -id by analogy with *id, *pid reflected in eī-ek, piř-e.

e. The pronoun esu, etc., ‘this’, and the derived adverb eso, etc., ‘thus’. The Umbrian forms have s throughout, ss in abl. sg. essu and adv. issoc. Like O. eksuk, exac, etc., they have the same semantic value as L. hic, haec, but the Oscan forms have ks x (= U. s[s]) in dat., abl., loc., k in nom. and acc. The initial e is probably the pronominal stem discussed in c above. The next part may be from *ke-: cf. L. ec-ce, huius-ce, etc., perhaps also cis, citra. The origin of the s is uncertain but its distribution in the Oscan paradigm is parallel to that of s in O. izić, U. erēc, and it may be from the same source (see a above). The derivation then may be from *ekso< *e-ke-s-o-, the medial vowel being necessary because otherwise -ks- would give O. -ss-. For addition of the enclitics -c -k, -ek see Lexicon under eso and esu.

f. The pronoun esuf: O. essuf esuf ‘he, he himself’, the intensive meaning being clearest in the Oscan Tabula Bantina (Co. 28), line 19. The etymology is
E. Pronouns

as uncertain as that of L. ipse, to which it is commonly assumed to be related. The -uf appears to be from -ôns, the nom. sg. ending -s being added to a stem extended by means of -ôn, as in Latin agent-nouns prædeo, etc. (for -f < -ns see 58 f).

g. The adverb ulo ulu 'there, to that place: cf. O. gen. sg. f. ulas, L. òlìm. The vowels of both syllables are probably from ô (on the development of ô in Umbrian see 13; on the ending see 113 c).

h. The pronoun orer ures, etc. The use is mostly equivalent to that of L. hic 'this,' but in Ib 18 = VIb 55 it has rather the value of the anaphoric pronoun L. eô '(with) him.' There are no cognate forms in Oscan and the etymology is wholly uncertain, since the initial vowel may be from ô, ô, oi, or an u-diphthong, and the r may be original or from s.

i. The adverbs enem ene eno enu enumerate, etc., 'then, next, after that'. All these forms are related to O. inim 'and,' L. enim, Skt. instr. sg. anena, Russ. on, ona, ono 'he, she, it,' the various Italic meanings being derived ultimately from a demonstrative value similar to that of L. ille. If L. nam, nempe are also related, as seems likely, the initial vowel must be of separate origin and is probably the same as e- in c above, but O. i- can only be from ē or ē, not from ē. It may be possible to reconcile the various cognate forms by assuming several ablaut-variants, but no explanation is certain.

j. The stem so- found in seso (107 c, with n.1), O. sifei, L. sibi, etc., possibly but not certainly related to *so, *sā, Skt. sa, sā, ô, ē. Here belongs probably surur < *sā-sā-s (?), suront, sururont. From *swo-, a variant of so-, comes sue sve as well as the pronominal adjective sueso (108 c).

k. The stem to/ā-: tôv, tiyv, tô, etc., Skt. tam, tām, tād, Goth. þata, etc. This stem is found in the second part of the adjective etantu (: L. tanta) from *e-tām-tā. For the e see c above. The origin of the final syllable is uncertain.

110. Interrogative, Indefinite, and Relative Pronouns. All forms are derived from a group of stems with initial kʷ, which in Umbrian and Oscan became p, but in Latin remained as qu (49 a). The stem kʷi- (O.-U. pi-) in the Italic languages was partly specialized for interrogative-indefinite use, the stem kʷo/ā- (O.-U. po/ā-) for relative use, but there are no Umbrian examples of the interrogative use (interr. pis once in Oscan, in no. 164 Co.). The acc. pl. form pijī as relative with definite antecedent occurs in VIIb 2. The stem kʷu-, which might have been expected to appear as cu- ku (49 e) regularly appears as pu, apparently through the analogical influence of related forms. In addition to the pronouns a variety of adverbs and conjunctions are derived from the stems pi-, po/ā-, pu-, and it is not always easy to distinguish these uses from true pronominal uses.
### II. Grammar

#### Forms with Stem *pi*-Masc.-Fem. Neuter

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<td><strong>pis pis</strong></td>
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- The enclitic -i -i -e -e is extensively used in both the indefinite and the relative pronouns (see 106 d). The s of nominative case-endings is partly rho-tacized before the enclitic (57 c), but *pis* preserves its s through the influence of *pis*. On the other hand *pir* (in *sopir*) with r from final s occurs in VIb 54.

- In addition to the forms described in a above, the following combinations of *pis* occur: *svepis, svepu suepo* < *swai kʷá, cf. L. si qua; pishe* like L. qui-libet ‘anyone at all,’ the second part being probably from *herit ‘wishes’ with enclitic use causing syncope of i and loss of t; *pisest ‘whoever is,’ with enclitic use of est; *pisi pumpe ‘whoever’ (112 e, 113 l).

- The forms *porse, porsi, porsei, pure* may contain an enclitic from -dī (42 b) arising through reanalysis of such forms as nom.-acc. sg. neut. *kʷod-*i, abl. *kʷōd-*i. The nom. sg. m. forms may then be from *kʷoi-dī (o u for ō < oi, 21 a) and the nom.-acc. pl. neut. forms from *kʷō-dī with o < ā either by normal development (7 b, c) or analogically. The nom. pl. m. forms are more difficult; since d would not change to rs after a consonant, the rs must be analogical (42 c), unless the loss of s in the nom. pl. ending occurred sufficiently early to leave *pō-dī.1

e. Abl. sg. f. *pora* is from *kʷoisād* (: O. *poizad*) with *o* < *oi* (21 a) and *r* < *s* as in the oblique cases of *erec* (106 a).

The analysis of the forms in this paragraph is based for the most part on von Planta, II, p. 228. Buck, §199 f., explains these forms as examples of an indeclinable relative identical in formation with the conjunction *pūre* ‘when’ in IIa 26. Such a use would have a parallel in Modern Greek ποῦν ‘who, whom’, but von Planta’s explanation has the advantage of conforming to normal use of cases, even though the phonological details are somewhat troublesome.

111. The following forms not included in the table in 110 are derived from the interrogative-indefinite or the relative stem:

**a. panta** nom. sg. f. Vb 2, acc. Vb 3 ‘how great’: L. *quanta*; analogous in formation to *etantu* (109 k), but without the initial *e-*.

**b. putrespe**, gen. sg. IV 14 ‘of each’; from *kʷo-tereis-kʷe*: cf. *seipodruhpei*, L. *utriusque, πότερος*. For -*telo-*, the suffix of contrast, see 76 c; for -*pe*: L. -*que, τε*, see 113 l.

**F. Indeclinables**

112. Indeclinables include adverbs, prepositions, and conjunctions. They are derived occasionally from nouns, much more frequently from adjectives, numerals, or pronouns, sometimes from other indeclinables, and very rarely from verbs (e.g. *heri*, conj. ‘or,’ from pres. ind. second (?) sg. of verb *her, herti*, etc., ‘wish’). A considerable proportion of indeclinable forms, especially of the adverbs, have clearly recognizable case-endings, and if their forms are identical with those of stems actuallydeclinable, it is not always possible to distinguish between adverbs and oblique cases of adjectives and pronouns; so, for example, *pirse* as neut. of pronoun *pis* and as conditional conjunction ‘if.’ In addition to fossilized case-endings several suffixes not belonging to the declensional system of the language are used, and a number of enclitics used in the formation of pronouns recur among the indeclinables.

The following classification is based on the stem-types from which the indeclinables are derived. Since a clear division of categories is not always possible and the arrangement is sometimes arbitrary, cross-references are freely used; but for etymological details it is necessary to consult the Lexicon.

**a.** The following adverbs are derived from adjectives, including perfect passive particles but excluding numerals, whose derivatives are listed in **b** below: *preve, prufe, rehte, sarsite, sepse, trahuorfi, nesimei*. These forms are in general adverbs of manner, except *nesimei* and *trahuorfi*, whose value is local. *nuvime*
also belongs in the present paragraph, if derived from the superlative of *nowo-; see on IIa 26.

b. The following adverbs are derived from numeral stems: duti (see 105 b), trioper (105 c), nuvis. For promom, which serves as the ordinal ‘first’, see 113 a.

c. The following adverbs are derived from local prepositions, or from declinable adjectives derived from prepositions by means of suffixes of comparison: apehtre (cf. L. adj. exeterus), perne, postne, postro, superne, subra, čive, čimu (cf. L. prepos. cis).

d. The following adverbs of time, place, and manner are derived from the stems of demonstrative pronouns and are in certain instances scarcely distinguishable in use from oblique cases of the pronouns themselves: from *i-, stem of the anaphoric erec (109 a): ife, itek. From *esso-, stem of the demonstrative esu, etc. (109 e): eso, esuk, isec, isunt. From a pronominal stem represented in Oscan by gen. sg. fem. ulas and in Latin by olle, adv. ólim (109 g): ulo. From a pronominal stem *eno- represented by Skt. instr. sg. anena, etc. (109 i): enem, eno, enumek, etc. From a pronominal stem *so- represented by ō, ų, Skt. sa, sā (109 j): surur, suront, sururont, and also the conjunction sue.

e. The following local, temporal, conditional, and final conjunctions are derived from the stems of interrogative-indefinite and relative pronouns: from pam- (: L. quam): pane < *kʷām-de, prepa < *prai-kʷām. From po-, pu- < *kʷo-, *ku (see 49 e), with various case-endings or other suffixes: pue, puje, pone pone pune, pumpe, puše, pusi puze, From pi- < *kʷi-: perse pefe. The stem po- is also contained in the adverb of direction seipodruhpei (111 b).

f. The conjunction heri heris etc. ‘or’ is a fossilized form, apparently 2 sg. fnd., of the verb her, herti; for the semantic development cf. L. vel ‘or’ from a form of volo ‘wish’ (2 sg. *velsi ?).

g. The following indeclinables do not fall into any of the etymological groups treated in the preceding paragraphs: the negatives nei, neip; the temporal conjunctions arnipo, nersa, which contain the negative *ne; the conjunction nosue < *noi-swai, but for the -sue see 109 j; the conjunction ole ute; the temporal adverb sumel; the conjunction et; the conjunction ape etc. < *at-k*e.

113. The following classification is based on the case-endings, enclitics, or other elements attached as suffixes to the stems used in the formation of adverbs and conjunctions.

a. The following adverbs and conjunctions are in origin accusative singular forms, the adverbial use being derived in part through use of the accusative to express the inner object or effect of the action of the verb: promom, duti < *dutim < *du-tyo-m, tertim tertii; the temporal conjunctions pone ponne pune < *kʷom-de, pane < *kʷām-de, nersa if from *ne-dām, cf. L. quondam.
b. A neut. acc. pl. ending is found in the multiplicative adverb *trioper triiuper* < *triyã-per(t)* (105 c).

c. The following adverbs are based on -ōd, the abl. sg. ending of o-stems, the adverbial use being developed largely through the instrumental value of the ablative case: terto *tertiu, čimu, eruk, eso* etc. ‘thus,’ *ulo ulu, surur, seipodruh-pei*. The same formation appears perhaps also in postro VIIa 43, 44 = *pustra* Ib 34, 36, taken by Buck, § 190. 6 a rather as derived from a predicative use of the neut. pl. like that of *pustra* Ila 32, *pustru* b 19, etc. The question cannot be conclusively answered, but an adverb of direction from a neut. pl. form is by no means a usual or inherently probable formation; in Ila 32, b 19, VIl 5, VIIa 8 *pustra, pustru, postro* is in predicative agreement. The conjunction *pue* ‘where’, if from *kʷō-ī*, must have received the enclitic -ī after loss of the ablative -d.

d. The following adverbs are based on -ēd, in origin an ablaut-variant to the -ōd of c above, and are thus analogous to L. *longē*, OL *facilumed*, O. *amprüfēd*, etc.: *preve, prufe, rehte, sepse, sarsite, trahuorfi, nesimei, nuvime*; similarly *apehtre*, unless with a suffix from -im (cf. L. *illim*), which is preferred by von Planta, II, pp. 190, 194, 454, not only for this form but for several others as well. *čive* probably originated not as an abl. but as a loc. form (see on IIb 11).

e. The following adverbs are based on -ād, the abl. sg. ending of a-stems: *hondra huntra* < *ghom-terãd*, *subra*: L. *suprã*.

f. The locativoal suffix -je < *dhe* appears in *ife*: L. *ibi*,² Skt. *iha*, Prakrit *idha*; *pufe*: L. *ubi*. Here must also be included *ifont* < *ī-f-(e)-hont*.

g. The enclitic -ī (106 d) is used in the local conjunction *pue* < *kʷō-ī*, the conditional conjunction *perse* < *kʷid-ī* and the temporal conjunction *puē* < *kʷod-ī*.

h. The enclitic -k -c (106 b) is used in the adverbial forms *eruk, itek, esuk, iseera, enuk, enumek*.

i. The enclitic -(h)ont used in pronouns of identity (106 c) is found also in the adverbs *ifont* (see f above), *isunt*, *suront*, *sururont*.

j. An enclitic -ne appears in the adverbs *perne, postne, superne*: L. *supernē*. The origin of the enclitic and the quantity of its e are uncertain, but it may be related in some way to the demonstrative stem found in L. *nam, nempe*, etc. (109 i).

k. A group of enclitics -de, -dō, -dām related to L. *dum, donec*, etc., appears in the temporal conjunctions *pane* < *kʷām-de*, *pone* < *kʷom-de*, *panupei*: L. *quadoneque, nersa* < *ne-dām*.

l. The enclitic -pe < *kʷe* appears in the temporal conjunction *ape* < *al-kʷe*: L. *alque*, and in the negative *neip neip nep* with loss of final vowel (see 31 b and cf. L. *nee* beside *neque*). So probably in (pisi) *pumpe, putrespe*: L. *utriusque; seipodruhpei, panupei*; there seems to be no compelling reason for deriving the
II. Grammar

enclitic from *-kwid (: Skt. -cid) rather than from *-kẉe beyond the desire to equate it with the enclitic in O. pükkapid. The spelling -ei in some of these forms may signify that the enclitic -i (see g above) was further added at the end.

m. An enclitic -li is commonly assumed in the formation of puse puze, etc. < *kẉu-l(i)-s-i (?): cf. L. ut, uti and see 49 a with note 1. The -li in posli is doubtless of the same origin.

1 It is, for example, from this use of the abl. that ula, L. illiæ, acquire their value as indicating direction toward a goal, the intermediate stage being the route traveled. In a formal sense, however, there is no justification for setting up a series of original instrumental as distinct from ablative forms, for the fusion of the two cases into a single Italic case with ablative -d took place very early; the absence of -d in the Umbrian forms represents a normal phonetic loss, and the distinction of forms in -o and -u has no value as evidence for originally distinct case-endings.

2 with b for d after ubi, where dh yielded b instead of d because of the preceding u. For the absence of initial consonant in ubi see 49 a with note 1.

G. The verb

114. General Survey. The extant monuments of the Italic dialects, being mostly prescriptive rather than narrative in content, give us an unbalanced picture of the verb system. Among tenses we have examples of the present, perfect, future, and future perfect, the last being especially frequent. Of the imperfect there are no examples except O. fufans 'erant,' as if equivalent to L. *fūbant, and there are no pluperfect forms at all; yet it is altogether probable that this tense existed in the dialects as well as in Latin.

a. The voices are the active and the passive; as in Latin the difference in form is largely one of personal endings, and there are several deponent verbs. Passive inflection, however, has spread into the perfect system in a manner not paralleled in Latin, as exemplified by such forms as pf. subj. pass. pihafj, herifi, O. sakrafìr, lamatìr, fut. pf. pass. U. benìso, couortuso, O. comparascuster.

b. The subjunctive mood is known from examples in the present and perfect tenses, with a few forms of the imperfect in Oscan and Paelignian. In the imperative mood the present is rare, but forms corresponding to the Latin future imperative are extremely frequent.

c. The forms of the non-finite verb include a present active infinitive, a perfect passive infinitive of periphrastic formation as in Latin; a supine similar to the Latin supine in -tum; a present active participle, a perfect passive participle, and a gerundive, these last three formations being fully analogous to those in Latin.

d. The classification of verbs into four conjugational types is applicable to Umbrian and Oscan, as to Latin, since the present stem-classes are to a large extent the same throughout the Italic group.
The following tables do not contain all the verbal forms in the Iguvine Tables, but are intended to show the forms which best represent the categories to which they belong. Since the four conjugations in the Italic dialects, as in Latin, are, strictly speaking, present stem classes, the use of the traditional scheme for the verb as a whole sometimes involves difficulties, and in some instances the practice followed may appear inconsistent. For example, fut. pf. *portust*, despite the absence of the characteristic *a*, has been placed in the First Conjugation along with its pres. subj. form *portaia*, but the pres. ind. pass. forms *herter herte hertij* have been placed in the Third Conjugation, in contrast to the Fourth Conjugation forms *heris, heriiiei*, on the theory that the presence or absence of (long) *i* in forms of the same tense marks a genuine variation of conjugational class. In the table of irregular verbs only the verbs ‘be’ and ‘go’ have been included. Although *afero* and the equivalents of L. *facio, capio*, and *habeo* are treated in 122 c, d, e as irregular, their irregularities are not so extreme as to make it impracticable to include their forms under the appropriate headings in the table of regular verbs.

**EXAMPLES OF REGULAR VERBS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACTIVE FORMS</th>
<th>Conjug. I</th>
<th>Conjug. II</th>
<th>Conjug. III</th>
<th>Conjug. IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pres. Ind. sg. 1</td>
<td><em>subocau (?)</em></td>
<td><em>furfant</em></td>
<td><em>sestu</em></td>
<td><em>heris</em></td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pres. Subj. sg. 1</td>
<td><em>aseriaia</em></td>
<td><em>preshabia</em></td>
<td><em>dersa teña</em></td>
<td><em>façia</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pres.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pl. 3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fut. Ind. sg. 2</td>
<td><em>prupehast</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>menes</em></td>
<td><em>heries</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>pertuvies</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Perf. Ind. sg. 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>fuiest</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>staheren</em></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Perf.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pl. 3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Perf. Subj. sg. 3</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>heriiiei</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Conjug. I</td>
<td>Conjug. II</td>
<td>Conjug. III</td>
<td>Conjug. IV</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>andirsafust</strong></td>
<td><strong>ateřafust</strong></td>
<td><strong>portust</strong></td>
<td><strong>combifianštust</strong></td>
<td><strong>haburent</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>kumpifiatu</strong></td>
<td><strong>naratu</strong></td>
<td><strong>portatu</strong></td>
<td><strong>purtatu</strong></td>
<td><strong>stilplatu</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>afero aferum</strong></td>
<td><strong>afiu façu</strong></td>
<td><strong>stahitulo</strong></td>
<td><strong>restef</strong></td>
<td><strong>serse zefef</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Passive Forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Conjug. I</th>
<th>Conjug. II</th>
<th>Conjug. III</th>
<th>Conjug. IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pres.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>habe (?)</strong></td>
<td><strong>herter</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ind. sg. 3</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>habe (?)</strong></td>
<td><strong>herte</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subj. sg. 3</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>tursiandu</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Subj. pl. 3</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Fut.</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ind. pl. 3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Perf. sg. 3</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>tuderato est</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Perf. pl. 3</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>stakaz est</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Subj. sg. 3</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>pihafu</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>herifi</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fut. Perf.</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>pihos fust</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>persnis fust</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ind. pl. 3</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>cersnatur furent</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>purdito fust</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Inv. Fut.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>spahamu eturstahmu</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>persniumu</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>sg. 2, 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>amparihmumu</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl. 2, 3</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>arsmahamo calerahamo kateramu</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>anouithimu</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inf. Perf.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>persnimumo</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pcpl. Perf.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>kurate eru erom ehiato</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>persnis</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>conegas kunikaz kuratu snata hostatu cersnatur</strong></td>
<td><strong>purditom</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>tases tačez opeler uirseto vufetes</strong></td>
<td><strong>purstitu</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>screhto comatir kumates spafu spefa</strong></td>
<td><strong>heritu</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Gerundive</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>peihaner pelsans pelsana</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>anferener</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### IRREGULAR VERBS

#### THE VERB 'BE'

| Tense | Act. | Pres. Ind. | Act. sg. 3 | est | est
| | | pl. 3 | | sent |
| | Pres. Subj. | Act. sg. 2 | sir | si sei |
| | | Act. sg. 3 | si se | si se |
| | | Act. pl. 3 | sins | sis |
| | Fut. Ind. | Act. sg. 3 | fut | est |
| | | Act. pl. 3 | fus | est |
| | | | fust | eest |
| | Perf. Subj. | Pass. | est |
| | Fut. Perf. | Ind. Act. sg. 3 | ier |
| | | Ind. Act. pl. 3 | (?) |
| | Inv. Fut. | Act. sg. 2,3 | fut | fut |
| | | Act. pl. 2,3 | futu | futu |
| | Inf. Pres. | Act. | erom | eru |
| | Pcpl. Perf. | Pass. | dætom, peretom |

#### THE VERB 'GO'

| Tense | Act. | Pres. Ind. | Act. sg. 2 | est |
| | | pl. 3 | | eest |
| | Pres. Subj. | Act. sg. 2 | est |
| | | Act. sg. 3 | est |
| | | Act. pl. 3 | est |
| | Fut. Ind. | Act. sg. 2 | eest |
| | | Act. sg. 3 | eest |
| | | Act. pl. 3 | eest |
| | Perf. Subj. | Pass. | ier |
| | Fut. Perf. | Ind. Act. sg. 3 | ier |
| | | Ind. Act. pl. 3 | ier |
| | Inv. Fut. | Act. sg. 2,3 | etu |
| | | Act. pl. 2,3 | etu |
| | Inf. Pres. | Act. | etu |
| | Pcpl. Perf. | Pass. | dætom, peretom |
115. Personal Endings. It is not possible to give a full account of the personal endings in the Italic dialects; first person plural forms, for example, are not attested, and there are no second plural forms except in the imperative. The distinction of primary and secondary endings, however, is preserved to a greater extent in the dialects than in Latin; in the third person it can be observed in both singular and plural, and it is found in the passive as well as the active voice. The primary endings are used in the present, future, and future perfect indicative and the secondary in the perfect (as well as in impf. O. fufans) and throughout the subjunctive.

The following table shows the personal endings actually quotable in indicative and subjunctive forms. The term “ending” is here understood in the narrowest sense and excludes such elements as the stem-vowel or the s of the future. The symbol ◦ shows a “zero-ending” which in indicative and subjunctive forms has resulted from phonetic loss of the final consonant which constituted the ending. Endings which are found with identical spelling in both alphabets are shown in the Latin alphabet only.

For the endings of imperative forms see 127 a, b, c, d.

a. Active First Singular. The primary -u < -o occurs in sestu, stahu (: L. stō; from minor Umbrian inscription no. 355 Co.), and in subocau subocauu, if it is present, as seems likely, rather than perfect. On the failure of unlike vowels to contract see 33 a. The secondary ending -m is attested in O. pf. mana-fum, but the -m has been lost in the sole Umbrian example, pres. subj. aseriaia (126 a).

b. Active Second Singular. The original distinction between primary -si and secondary -s was effaced in the Italic languages as a result of the early loss of -i in the primary ending. The difference which appears in the table is therefore coincidental and results merely from the distribution of quotable forms among the earlier and later tables (-s > -r, 57 e). The form heris used as a conjunction in Ia 4, b 6, is in origin a 2 sg. pres. ind. verb form. In fut. and fut. pf. forms the tense-sign s and the ending -s are written as one. Pres. subj. sir (: L. sīs) shows rhotaism of the s, and omission of the final consonant occurs in several forms, including pres. ind. heri, subj. se si si set.

c. Active Third Singular. The primary -ti became t through proto-Italic loss of the i, and this t is partly preserved, partly lost: e. g. tīcit but heri, just but fust. A large proportion of both 2 sg. and 3 sg. forms are fut. or fut. pf. in subordinate clauses depending on principal clauses with imperatives in -tu. Since these imperatives are themselves ambiguous, it is not always possible to distinguish fut. and fut. pf. 2 sg. forms from 3 sg. forms with loss of -t, but an examination of the usage in the tables as a whole shows that in general the ritual instructions are in the second person in Tables I, II, and III, in the third person in V, VI, and VII. Table IV is poor in applicable examples, but fakust
### PERSONAL ENDINGS

#### ACTIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>-t</td>
<td></td>
<td>-nt</td>
<td>-nti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-s</td>
<td>-t</td>
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<td>-ter</td>
<td>-tei</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>-nt</td>
<td>-ndi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>-ns</td>
<td>-r</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-r</td>
<td>-ntur</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

31 and prupehast 32 are third person. — The secondary ending -t became -d (41 b), and this -d was regularly lost in Umbrian, though it is preserved in Oscan and in such Old Latin forms as sied, which antedated the generalization of the primary -t.

**d. Active Third Plural.** Primary -nti became -nt through loss of -i. -ent < *yti is in origin a variant of -nti used in unthematic forms and exemplified in fut. staheren, fut. pf. facurent, etc. Final ni is normally preserved, but furfaθ Ib 1 (= furfand V1b 43) and staheren Ib 19 (before a word beginning with t) are exceptional. The secondary ending is -ns, -ens, with frequent omission of the n. The origin of the ending, which is known in Oscan, Paelignian, and Volscian, but not in Latin, is difficult to explain. It cannot be a normal phonetic development of -nt, and any discussion of it must take account of the fact that this -ns escaped the usual change to -f (58). According to the view preferred here -n < -nn < -nd (61 e) < -nt was strengthened by the addition of -s through analogy with the 1 pl. and 2 pl. endings (cf. L. -mus, -tis).²

**e. Passive Third Singular.** The primary ending is -ter or -te -tei -ti (8 c, 56 c): herter herte hertei herti. For the future perfect forms in -so see g below.
The secondary ending is -\(r\), which is subject to loss (56 c): *ferar, but *pihafi, he-
rifii.

f. Passive Third Plural. The primary ending is -\(ndi\) in ostensen\(di\), the sole example; *n\(ter\) may be assumed as the original ending (60 a; 8 c, 56 c). The secondary ending is -\(ntur\) -\(ndu\), both for *-\(ntur\) (60 a, 56 c).

g. Remarks on the Passive Endings. *-\(r\) endings are known to have existed in Sanskrit, Armenian, the Italic and Celtic languages, Hittite, and Tocharian, primarily though not exclusively in deponent and passive forms. Since their history is complicated and requires some revision, especially as a result of the recent study of the two last-named languages, it is not intended here to give a full discussion of the origin of the Umbrian formations, but rather to emphasize those features in which they differ from the corresponding Latin forms. As in the active voice the distinction between primary and secondary endings in the third sg. and pl. is maintained in Umbrian, not lost, as in Latin. The O.-U. 3 pl. ending *-\(n\(ter\) is best explained as from a combination of the two IE medio-
passive endings -\(n\)\(lo\) -\(ro\), with syncope of the medial \(o\) and -\(er\) < -\(r\) < -\(ro\), as in per < pro (32 d). The L. and U. secondary 3 pl. ending *-\(ntur\) may be from -\(n\)\(lo\)-\(r\), though several other origins through combination of \(nl\)- and \(r\)-endings are possible. In any case the 3 sg. O.-U. -\(ter\) and L. -\(tur\) must have been derived from -\(n\)\(ter\), -\(ntur\) analogically after the correspondence between active 3 sg. -\(l\)(i) and 3 pl. -\(nl\)(i). U. forms of the type of *ferar, in which -\(r\) alone serves as the 3 sg. ending, must have resulted from simple replacement of the active ending -\(d\) < -\(l\) by -\(r\), as in Latin the 1 sg. *ferar, ferebar resulted from replacement of the -\(m\) of active *feram, ferebam. The fut. pl. pass. 3 sg. forms benuso, couortuso are the most difficult of all. Since there are only four examples, all from VIIa 64 through VIIb 2, it is fully possible that an -\(r\) has been lost. They would then be closely related to the *ferar-type, and this close relationship would receive addi-
tional support from the fact that the short passive forms of the *ferar-type, as well as benuso and couortuso, are predominantly impersonal in use. The \(o\), however, remains unexplained, and the whole formation is the more obscure be-
cause of the uncertain origin of the future perfect itself.

1 -\(es\) in pf. ei\(tip\)es, the one actual Umbrian example with the secondary ending of unthema-
tic forms. Cf. O. u\(ups\)\(s\)\(s\). The relation of -\(ens\) to -\(ns\) is like that of -\(ent\) to -\(nt\).


116. Present Tense Formation and Conjugational Classes. The distinction of thematic and unthematic present stems ("\(\theta\)-verbs and mi-verbs"), which is the primary basis of classification in Sanskrit and Greek, has little significance in the Italic group. A few unthematic verbs survive as irregulars (e.g. L. *su\(m\*, 
volo\, \(\acute{e}\)\(s\)se ‘to eat’), while those from roots ending in vowels have mostly become indistinguishable from vowel-stems of other types and have joined with them
to form the classes familiarly known as the first and second conjugations. Most of the inherited primary thematic verbs, including those of the reduplicating, nasal-infix, and -sco-classes, fall into the third conjugation, while primary verbs with present stems in -ye/o- are included within the fourth conjugation or as a subdivision within the third (the capio-type). Denominatives, which form a very large and productive class, are in origin -yo-stems; most of them belong to the first conjugation, but some to the fourth and a few to the second. The classification here briefly outlined applies equally to Latin and to Oscan-Umbrian.

a. Although the four conjugations in principle are present stem-classes, their special characteristics persist to a large extent throughout the non-present tenses, including the perfect passive participle, so that the validity of the division into four classes is all the greater. Yet some deviations from the system occur: e.g. L. domo, -āre, domui, domītus; cupio, -ēre, cupidēr, cupidētus. There is some ground for believing that these deviations are rather more frequent in the dialects than in Latin, if we may generalize from the limited material: e.g. mugatu but pf. pepl. mujeto; portatu but fut. pf. portust; osatu but pf. pepl. oseto (minor inscr. no. 354 Co.), in contrast to L. operari, operatus; pesetom with no pres. attested, but cf. L. peccātum. Not infrequently Umbrian and Latin show a difference of stem-class in otherwise equivalent forms: e.g. dirstu <*did(e)tōd like δίδωμι in contrast to L. do; amboltu but L. ambulato; uirseto as if L. *vidētum instead of visum; conegos kunīkaz < -ātus but L. conixus; neiřhabas as if L. *ne adhibas, like advenat, instead of adhibeas.

b. Sections 117-120 below contain an account of the four conjugations with lists of those verbs which can with reasonable probability be assigned to them. Although the classification is mainly applicable to present stems, some non-present forms are included when they clearly show the characteristics of their respective classes. The discussion of individual verbs is held to a bare minimum; for etymological details the Lexicon should be consulted.

117. The First Conjugation includes a few primary verbs and a large number of denominatives. As in Latin, the primary verbs are partly derived from root-stems with un thematic inflection, partly from present stems with the suffix -ye/o-. The denominatives, whether from nouns or adjectives with stems in -ā, -o, or consonants, are all derived by addition of -ye/o- to a stem in -ā.

a. Possible examples of root-stems, with original un thematic inflection are: spahatu (root spā- ?); restatu < *re-stā-lōd, but it is also possible to assume a present in -ye/o-1. The pf. pepl. snata gives indirect evidence of a present stem snā:- cf. Skt. snāti, but also snāyate, L. no, nare.

b. Other primary verbs of the first conjugation are derived from disyllabic bases in -ā or from stems in -ā built analogically after such bases. The original
inflection was partly un thematic, but we may infer from Gk. primary presents like στάω, γαλάω, that the -yo-type of inflection came into early use. Among Latin examples of this class may be mentioned dico, oc-cupo, with persistent ā, and seco, domo, sono, with ā restricted to the present system. The Umbrian forms are: mugatu (but pf. pcpl. müieto); prusekatu (but pf. pcpl. proseseto); sukatu, cf. Lith. sakaū; a present of this type is indirectly attested by pf. pcpl. ehiato: cf. L. hio, -āre, -ālis; fut. pf. andersajust < *an-didā through transfer of *dide/o- (cf. disttu, δίδομι) to the first conjugation, probably in connection with its specialization of meaning. The pf. pcpl. conegos kunikaz, with no present attested, shows the ā of the first conjugation in contrast to L. co-nitor, conixus.

c. The following present forms can with reasonable certainty be regarded as denominatives: arsmahamo, caterahamo, kuraia, naratu, osatu, pihatu with fut. prupehast, (an)-stipltatu, ahatriipursatu, eheturstahamu, veipuratu, uesicitatu, preyiślatlu, subocau. Similar denominatives are indirectly attested by the pf. pcpls. cersnatur, tuderato.²

d. The iterative or frequentative type represented by L. cantare, etc., is in origin probably a derivative formation from the pf. pcpl. Umbrian has several examples, although without the characteristic meaning: elato to the primary etu; portatu, with L. porto formed from a pcpl. to the root seen in πέλκω, πόσος; statitatu, a derivative to a pf. pcpl., whatever view we take of the stem before the participial suffix.

e. The analysis of the following forms is less clear, but all are more probably derivative than primary verbs: combifiatu, aseriatu, preplotatu, furfant. The pf. pcpls. aviekate and stakaz presuppose derivative stems in -ā.

f. The present tense of verbs of the first conjugation was originally formed by the addition of the personal endings directly to the ā of the root or disyllabic base in verbs of the un thematic type, or to the thematic vowel e/o in the denominatives and other verbs with stems in -āye/o-, but the two types implied by this description have been replaced in Oscan-Umbrian and Latin by a single type of inflection combining features of both earlier types. The first person singular is regularly of the thematic type: e.g. subocau³ < *sub-wokāyō without contraction after loss of y; cf. L. no < *(s)nāyō in contrast to Skt. snāmi which preserves un thematic inflection. In other forms of the present indicative the loss of intervocalic y was followed by vowel-contraction;⁴ the resulting vowel was ā, whereby thematic and un thematic forms became identical, or if a different vowel resulted, it was analogically replaced by ā. For the shortening of ā in Latin 3 sg. -at there is no evidence in Oscan-Umbrian, and in fact the evidence of spelling in second-conjugation forms is against such shortening. For the future see 123. For the present subjunctive see 126 a.

¹ Such a stem is often assumed for L. stō, stāre, which is intransitive and of durative aspect. Because of the transitive meaning of restatu, Buck, § 213, 4 a, regards it as a reduplicated
pres. like L. sisto, with transfer to the first conjugation, but as support for an unreduplicated form with transitive value we may compare L. praesto ‘offer,’ unless praesto and U. restatu may both be of the same class as t-styme with loss of reduplication through syncope after the prefix, an unlikely supposition in view of the absence of any L. *sistäre.

2 Not so, however, with hoslatir and ponisiatet, which belong to the same type as L. barbatus. Such formations are older than the corresponding finite verbs, when the latter existed at all.

3 Some take subocau as perfect rather than present, but this involves greater difficulties. See on Vla 22.

4 In the proto-Italic period a + e would yield a, and a + o would normally yield ò (e.g. sōl < *sāvol < *sāwel), with replacement by ā in forms of the first conjugation.

118. The Second Conjugation includes verbs derived from roots or disyllabic bases in -ē, and from stems in -eye/o- of several different types. It is not possible in all cases to separate the primary verbs with original un thematic inflection from those based on stems in -eye/o-. Moreover because of the fluctuation in the use of e and i on the tables it is sometimes difficult to determine whether a given verb should be assigned to the second conjugation or to the fourth. The question is usually decided by reference to the semantic value of the verb (as intransitive or as causative) or by comparison with related Latin forms.

a. The primary verbs which undoubtedly belong to the second conjugation include: habitu habetu: L. habeto; sersitu: L. sedeto; tenitu: L. teneto; carsitu kafetu in contrast to L. calato. Indirect evidence of present forms corresponding to L. iaceo, video is given by the pf. pass. pcpl. tases taçez, uirseto.

b. The Umbrian and Latin second conjugation includes a class of verbs with o-vowel in the root and a stem in -eye/o-. The meaning is predominantly intensive or causative: e.g. L. moneo ‘remind’ beside memini ‘remember’. The clearest Umbrian example is tursitu tusetu < *torseyetōd (12 b) with normal o-grade in contrast to L. terreto. upetu, with pf. pcpl. gen. sg. opeter, may represent the same type.1 kanetu may also be an intensive; it is generally taken as a third conjugation form equivalent to L. canito, but it is difficult to believe that the e would escape syncope; see on IV 29. The pf. pass. pcpl. vufetes, if taken with the majority of editors as equivalent in sense to L. voltis, would give evidence of a present indicative like L. voirco, of the type treated in this sub-section; see however on IIa 31, where a different interpretation is proposed, making it equivalent to L. libitis, pcpl. of libet. If this view is adopted, vufetes still belongs in the second conjugation, but probably with the forms in a above rather than in b.2

c. To the denominative type represented by L. albo beside adj. albus may belong U. kutef if it is pres.pcpl. of *kauteyō, a denominative to *kautos = L. cautus; but several other etymologies have been proposed.

d. Several other verbs are commonly assigned to the second conjugation, but with some uncertainty, which arises in part from the ambiguity of i in the Latin alphabet and the lack of forms in the native alphabet: iremitu with causative
sense but without the characteristic o-vowel; possibly *nepītu, sauītu, sonītu; probably trebeīt because of its intransitive meaning, although the etymological value of the ei is not clear; probably also eveītū, tičīt.

e. The treatment of the stem before the endings is in general analogous to that in the first conjugation (117 §): in denominatives and other formations in -eye/o- the intervocalic y was lost and similar vowels contracted, producing partial identity with the unthematic forms. Quotable indicative forms of this conjugation, however, are limited to the 3 sg.

1 The normal e-grade may be contained in Hittite epmi `je sais,' as suggested by E.-M.3, p.824, who however take the o-vowel of the Italic forms as evidence of an old unthematic present. But upetū is identical in sense with L. optato, and it is possible to see an original intensive value expressed in Umbrian by ablaut-variation in the root and stem in -ego- and in Latin by the use of the iterative stem in -ētur. The semantic evolution may be expressed by the proportion: root *ep- `seize': *opēyō (or *optāyō) `wish for, choose' = L. capio `seize': capto `strive for'.

2 Those who prefer to adhere to the traditional interpretation may compare eβoxoimai as a form illustrating the normal ablaut-grade; the connection of voceo with eβoxoimai is favored by E.-M. and Boisacq. The intensive notion in voceo has faded to about the same extent as in spondeo, a verb of similar meaning.

119. The Third Conjugation contains a large majority of the inherited primary verbs with thematic inflection, whether the thematic vowel is added directly to the simple root or whether the root is strengthened by reduplication, nasal infix, or any one of several suffixes.

a. The majority of verbs of the third conjugation form the present stem by the addition of the thematic vowel to the root, which is usually, but not invariably, in the normal e-grade. In the imperatives, which are the most frequent forms, the e before the t has been syncopated, but its former presence can be inferred through comparison with Latin and through the fact that the treatment of the final consonant of the root often presupposes the presence of a vowel before the t (cf., for example, original -kt- and -kt- arising after syncope, 46 i, j). The Umbrian forms are: aitu; menes for *benes, fut. 2 sg. of verb corresponding to L. venio but without i, as in OL pres. subj. advenat; kartu; deitu teitu; pres. subj. terkantur and emantur; sumtu; fertu and its compound represented by inf. afero; fiktu; probably holitu, the etymology of which is, however, uncertain; comoltu kumultu;1 amboltu (in contrast to L. ambulato); ampuntu; aIFOeltu;2 the series of compounds andendu,3 endendu, ostendu, pertentu, sutentu; umtu; arsueilu and kuveitu; veitu and ehuellu; ahauendu and prevendu; couertu; vetu; vutu.

b. Several verbs are made from reduplicated stems. The original stem was probably un thematic as in διδωμι, ļṣēµi, but the intrusion of thematic forms began very early (cf., for example, Skt. liṣṭhali in contrast to un thematic ļṣṭhmi),
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and the Italic forms have become fully thematic. The forms are: *ditu titu < *did(e)þod (42 c), with pres. subj. *dirsa teñra < *didul; *sestu < *sist(e)þod; sistu: L. sítito, from *sizd(e)-þod; probably also *restef < *re-sistëns with loss of the reduplication through syncope of its vowel; comparison with L. favors a reduplicated stem in the third-conjugation verb, but an unreduplicated stem in the first-conjugation restatu (117, n. 1).

c. *hondu ‘cast down’ (?) is a compound of hom- + a verb similar to that found in L. condo, reddo, etc. Since proto-It. ḭ became ḷ after n, *hondu has the same ambiguity as the Latin series; that is, the second element may be either from *dō- ‘give’ or *dhē- ‘place,’ but the similarity in meaning to L. pessum dare favors the former alternative. It is to be assumed that the stem here is unreduplicated, but the verb has adopted the thematic type of inflection exactly as in b above. For phonological details see 60 a, d.

d. The type of present stem with nasal infix (cf. L. vinco, vici) is represented by *nîntu (49 d): L. ninguïto.

e. The verb-class characterized by the inchoative suffix -sko- is represented by *perstu < *perk-sk(e)-þod, fut. pf. peperscst; eiscurænt fut. pf. of a verb commonly referred to root *ais- ‘seek’. The two fut. pf. forms, with O. comparascuster, show the -sko- extended into non-present forms of the verb, in contrast to Latin cresco, crevi, etc., where the suffix is restricted to the present system.

f. *revestu is apparently formed with a suffix -so- and is thus equivalent in formation to L. revisiâlo < *re-weid-se-þod.

g. In the third conjugation the thematic vowel was regularly syncopated in the fut. inv. but not in the 2 sg. and 3 sg. ind., where, however, the evidence is very meagre: 2 sg. *seste (11b 22, taken by some as 3 sg. pass.), 3 sg. Marruc. *jerel, Vest. *dïdet. Identity between the true thematic forms and those with a < e originated in forms where either e or a suffered syncope, after which the unthematic forms changed fully to the thematic type.

1 These forms, with L. *molo, -ere, are from a disyllable base, but the e which stood as the reduced grade in the second syllable has been replaced by the ordinary thematic vowel.

2 An ordinary thematic present if we follow Devoto’s interpretation ‘circumito,’ whereby the verb is from root *kʷeλ-, cf. L. ac-co-lo, πέλματι, Skt. carati. If we equate with L. appellere, with most editors, we have a third-conjugation verb of the -no-class.

3 In this series the root is actually *ten- and the suffix -do- (the unstrengthened form of the root being found in L. con-tën-tus), but this does not seem a sufficient ground for setting up a separate class.

4 e is the reduced grade of pIE *d, *d (35 c, and b, c above). What is said here applies particularly to the verb ‘give’, including Vest. didet here cited.

120. The Fourth Conjugation includes some primary verbs and some denominatives, the latter class being derived originally from i-stems and then by analogy from nouns and adjectives of other types (e.g. L. *finio to finis, then
custodia to custos, servio to servus). The present stem must originally have been made for primary verbs by adding -iye/o-, or its ablaut-variant -i-, to the root and for denominatives by adding -(i)ye/o- to the noun-stem finit-, custod-, serv-, etc., but thematic and unthematic forms do not coexist in parallel series; rather they supplement one another in a single composite paradigm, as in the first and second conjugations.

a. The primary verbs include: amparitu; anouinhimu; pres. subj. fuia with fut. ind. fuiest, the length of the i being attested by comparison with L. fio, ftunt and O. 3 pl. fiit; purdouitu purtuvitu, fut. pf. purtius and purdinšus, etc., pf. pcppl. purditom purtitu. The persistence of i in all these forms (against e in purtuvetu purtuetu once each) plainly points to a verb of the fourth conjugation derived from *dowι/dωι, an extension of root *dō(w) 'give'. Pres. subj. dia is apparently from *dwiyāt made from the same extension of the same root. stahitu, fut. staheren, and the cognate Oscan forms stait, stahint stahint, etc., are usually placed in the fourth conjugation, the classification being partly dependent on the evidence of -yo-stem derivatives of the root *stā- in Indo-Iranian, Balto-Slavic, and Germanic, since the vocalism of the Italic forms is not entirely clear.

b. The denominatives include: persnimu persnīhuμu persnīhmu, etc., apparently from a noun *persk-mi,-; fut. pf. disleralinsus with -nky-pf. stem (124 f) to *dis-lērāli-; pf. pcppl. stahmito, stahmitei gives evidence of a denominative to a stem *stā-mi- or *stā-no- represented by dat. sg. stahmei.

c. The following verbs appear to belong to the fourth conjugation but their origin is in some respects uncertain: seritu probably denominative like L. servio, if we admit loss of w after r (54 g); statita pf. pcppl. of a denominative *statiyō to *sta-li- or *stātyō to *sta-tu-, in which case our form would be equivalent to L. statāla; the ambiguity arises from the fact that i can be from ā (15 b) as well as original; uestis uesteis, of uncertain etymology, but probably pf. pcppl. from *westīl(ō)s, almost certainly belongs to the fourth conjugation.

d. Reference should also be made to the discussion of facia and heri and their cognate forms in 121 below.

e. The vocalism of the stem before the endings and the relation between thematic and unthematic inflection have been partly covered in the first paragraph of the present section. Among forms actually preserving the thematic vowel may be cited 1 sg. stahu < *stayō (minor inscr. no. 355 Co.), fut. 3 pl. staheren < *sta(y)esent.

1 Since the noun is not actually attested, it may possibly have been *persk-no-, the denominative formation then being like L. servire to servus; cf. also Skt. denominative praśnayatī 'ask' to o-stem noun praś-na- 'question'. In stahmei also the stem-class is uncertain, even though here the noun itself is attested.
121. Third-Conjugation Verbs of the Type of L. capio. The reason for recognizing these as a special class in Latin is, of course, the fact that in some of their forms they resemble normal verbs of the third conjugation but in others those of the fourth. It is to be expected that such verbs in the dialects should suffer syncope in the fut. inv. and should have i or ii in certain of the forms recorded in the native alphabet (see 53 c, 68). Actual examples showing this variation are: inv. O. factud, but pres. subj. fakiad, U. facia, inf. faciu facu; pres. pass. 3 sg. herter herte herti herlei, pres. act. 3 sg. her as enclitic in pisher, but heri after svepis IV 26, fut. heries, heries, pres. subj. O. heriadi; the verb 'take,' which appears to be a contamination of the cognates of L. capio and habeo (122 e) shows inv. hahtu hatu hatu, but pres. subj. habia, where, however, i represents e (cf. L. habeat). In the forms outside the present system, which have some indirect bearing on the question of assignment of the verbs to conjugational classes, we find fut. pf. fakust, fakurent facurent; pf. subj. act. heriei, pass. heriif, pf. pcpl. heritu hereitut eretu; fut. pf. habus, haburent.

a. The origin of the capio-type in Latin and in the dialects must naturally be treated as a single problem.

According to the prevailing view L. capio and audio both represent inherited types, with corresponding classes in Balto-Slavic, and the original distribution of verbs between the two classes depended on the length of the radical syllable.1 If we adopt this view, the dialect forms corresponding to L. facio and capio (with the h of habeo) probably belong, like capio and facio themselves, in the third conjugation. O. factud and U. hatu etc. then resulted from syncope of i in contrast to the syncope of e in normal third-conjugation verbs, and O. fakiad may simply represent a transfer to the fourth conjugation.2 The pres. pass. forms herter etc. suggest a similar classification for this verb, but the non-present forms resemble those of verbs of the fourth conjugation.3 In its inflection this verb may be compared with the semantically similar L. cupio, -ēre, -ivi, -ītus.

b. According to the alternative explanation of the capio-type, it developed within Latin from the audio-type through iambic shortening,4 *câpīs, *câpīt, etc. thus becoming câpis, câpt, etc. Naturally this explanation will not hold good for the dialect forms, and if we admit it for Latin, the dialect forms must properly belong to the fourth conjugation, and, since i is not subject to syncope, hatu herter, O. factud, etc., must represent an unstrengthened type like OL advenat beside venio, -ire, either inherited or secondary. On the whole the former explanation seems somewhat preferable, but in any case the three verbs under discussion show fluctuation between the third and fourth conjugations and cannot be fitted perfectly into either class.

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2 U. pres. subj. facia is less certain. It is difficult to separate it from O. fakiad, although
in the native Umbrian alphabet ìi is normally written where -iy-, in contrast to -y-, is intended (see 2 b, where some exceptions are shown). On the other hand inf. fàciu with its variant façu probably represents *fakyom. It should be observed that the distinction of -iy- and -y- has been effaced in Latin, capio, capiunt thus being like audiō, audiunt, but is preserved in the dialects.

3 hefis hefì heri is less decisive. On syntactical grounds we cannot be sure whether it is ind. or subj. in origin, and it is not impossible to take it as like L. capis, since the evidence in regard to syncope in the 2 sg. of third-conjugation verbs is not conclusive. But it is probable that these verbs belong to the fourth conjugation.


122. Irregular Verbs. Irregularity in the inflection of verbs in the Italic languages may result from fluctuation between two conjugational classes, or from the survival of un thematic conjugation in parts of the verb which are normally thematic, or from suppletion, whereby different tense-systems of the verb are made from different roots, or, in at least one very probable case, from contamination of roots.

a. The verb ‘be’ is made, as in Latin, from the root *es/s- and from the di syllabic base *bhewā- with its ablaut-variants, especially *bhū-. *es- appears in the pres. ind. esl, sent, subj. sir, si, etc., inf. erom, and pres. pecl. O. praeSENTID. The 3 pl. sent, O. sent set, like Goth. sind, preserves the ending characteristic of un thematic forms, in contrast to Latin sunt < *sonti, which has been altered after the analogy of thematic verbs. The root *bhū, which in Latin is mostly restricted to the perfect system, the fut. pecl., and fore, forem, etc., furnishes the inv. U. futu, impf. ind. O. fufans, impf. subj. O. fUSID (= L. jorel), and the forms fust, etc., which appear in Oscan partly as fut. pf. but in Umbrian regularly with future value.

b. The verb ‘go’ is from the root *ei/i-, and, as in Latin, the development of *ey- before vowels produces partial resemblance to verbs of the second conjugation. The normal grade ei may be assumed for inv. elu, etc., fut. 3 sg. est eest, fut. pf. AMPREFUSS, amPREFURENT. The zero-grade is found in fut. pf. iust, pf. subj. pass. ier, both with stem like that of L. ii, and in pf. pecl. da-etom, per-etom with e < i as in 10 c; cf. L. red-itum, etc.

c. The compound verb afero < *am(j)-fer- ‘perform a lustration’ supplies its perfect system from *am(j)-dō/de-, as shown in fut. pf. an-dersafust a-tečafust. It is not known what root supplied the perfect of the simplex fer- but in view of L. jero, lutí, etc., Gk. φέρω, οἶσω, ἥγειη, etc., it is probable that this verb resorted to suppletion in the Italic dialects also.

d. The verb corresponding to L. facio and the classification of its forms in the third and fourth conjugations have been discussed 121 in. The forms without i include fut. pf. fakust, fakurent jacurent with a in contrast to the è of L. ë- cerit, etc. The vocalism of pres. subj. feia and inv. feitu (52 times) feitu (5 times)
feitu (once) fetu (48 times including the erroneous feiu) feitu (20 times), however, presents a problem. These forms have been referred sometimes to the full grade of the root *dhe- as seen in ττθμυ, etc., sometimes to the extended *dhe-k- of L. feci. In favor of the second analysis are the spelling with ei ei in some of the examples\(^1\) and the fact that this root without the k-extension is not positively known to exist in the Italic languages except in compounds of the series represented by L. condo, etc.

e. The cognates of L. capio and habeo in the dialects present a complicated situation. All the forms in question have initial h, never e k, but the meaning is partly that of L. capio: so, e.g., in pres. subj. habia, fut. pf. haburent, and in some of the inv. forms, especially the third-conjugation forms hatu, etc. Moreover O. fut. pf. hipust, pf. subj. hipida, etc., show p in place of b, and O. fut. hafiest, pres. subj. pass. hafiar\(^2\) show f. This f cannot correspond to L. b as in O. tfei: U. tefe: L. tibi (40), since the Umbrian and Latin forms with b plainly point to original b in the verb (39). The facts seem to be approximately as follows: the verbs corresponding to capio and habeo, which are closely related in meaning, suffered contamination,\(^3\) perhaps in the period of Oscan-Umbrian unity, and developed a series of forms all having the initial h of habeo, while the second consonant is partly b, partly p. The Oscan forms with f must have spread analogically from forms in which f could have come from p before t (38 b). U. hatu etc. give no evidence of whether they originally had b or p, since after the syncope had once taken place the history would be the same for b as for p. The meaning in Oscan is that of habeo but in Umbrian to a large extent that of capio.

\(^1\) *dhē-tōd would probably give a form spelled uniformly with e e. *dhē-k- would presumably lead to forms with thematic inflection and phonological development as in 46 j with note 3. In favor of derivation from *fē- cf. Pl., II, pp. 257-8; in favor of *fē-k- cf. Buck, p. 168.
\(^2\) On no. 18\(^2\), Buck, p. 365, published subsequent to the time of the collections in Conway, von Planta, and Buck's earlier edition. The form hafiar, although partly dependent on restoration, gives some support to the f in hafiest, previously suspected of being an error.

123. Future Tense. There are no forms corresponding to either of the normal Latin types; all are sigmatic in origin and are therefore closely related to the Greek future and to Latin futures of the type of faxo.\(^1\)

Although the future, or its prototype, was originally independent of the present stem, it has become in Italic a part of the present system, sharing in such characteristics as reduplication in verbs like ditu < *did(e)tōd, O. fut. didest, or the -yo-suffix in purtuvies. The tense-sign s is added to the ā of first-conjugation verbs (e.g. prupehast) and to the e or ye of third- or fourth-conjugation verbs. There are no clear examples from the second, since in habiest the i is not necessari-
ly from e by 8 b, but may be the mark of the fourth conjugation. The e before the s is syncopated in pass. 3 pl. ostensendi < *-tendesenter (60 a), but in general this vowel remains, while the short vowel between the s and the ending suffers syncop: so in the 2 sg. and 3 sg. forms heries < *heriyeses, menes < *beneses, ampenes, purtuvies, ferest < *fereset, cest, fust, fuiest, prupehast. 3 pl. furent and staheren < *stayesent show no syncope in either syllable, and consequently the s is rhotacized.

1 All these formations were formerly regarded as being of the same origin as the Homeric short-vowel aorist subjunctive; cf., for example, Buck, § 221. More recently they have been equated with Sanskrit desideratives of the type pipāsāmi and with Old Irish sigmatic futures; so, for example, Buck, Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin, §§ 388-9. But perhaps the distinction is more apparent than real, since it appears now that the s-future and the s-aorist subjunctive were originally a single formation with future value, from which the subjunctive value was a secondary development; cf. E. A. Hahn, Subjunctive and Optative (New York, 1953), pp. 59-65. At the same time it should be observed that the Skt. desiderative and the Irish sigmatic future differ from the Italic and Greek formations in being reduplicated.

124. Perfect Tense and Perfect System. In describing the perfect system in the Italic dialects it is necessary to a considerable extent to depend on future perfect forms, since the perfect tense itself is so rare in the extant inscriptions that it is not possible to find examples representing every one of the various types. Since the origin of the future perfect is an unsettled problem, some facts in the history of the perfect stem are uncertain, and the treatment of it must be mainly descriptive. The perfect formations without distinctive suffix, though partly with reduplication or gradation of the root vowel (a, b, c) were undoubtedly inherited from proto-IE perfect (and perhaps in part aorist) forms and are represented in Latin as well as Oscan-Umbrian. But the other formations, the Latin perfects in -si and -vi/ui, the O.-U. f-perfect, the Oscan lt-perfect, and the Umbrian l- and nky-perfects have a more limited distribution; not one of them appears in all three languages, and, while allowance must be made for the meagerness of the dialect texts, it is safe to say that these formations, in their function as perfect tense-forms, were developed in proto-Italic or even later.

a. The forms of the perfect system with reduplication are: deđe (minor inscr. no. 352 Co., with d represented by the character q); fut. pf. dirsust teřust (42 b); dersicust; pepurkurent; fefure, of very doubtful etymology and interpretation but in any case a reduplicated form of the perfect system. The vowel of the reduplication is regularly e as in Greek and in OL memordi, cecurri, etc.

b. Unreduplicated forms of the perfect system are derived partly from original perfects, partly from aorists corresponding to the Greek "second" aorist. The principal forms are: fut. pf. fakust, portust, virtus with couorius, benus, eiscurent, iust, purtius, pf. subj. heriie, pf. subj. pass. ier; probably also pf. 3 sg. usace usaie, for which see on Ia 45. The Italic verb has suffered such ex-
tensive alteration through loss of ablaut-distinctions and loss of distinction of meaning between perfect and aorist that it is not possible to classify the forms on the basis of these two tenses.

Moreover proto-IE apparently had some reduplicated aorists as well as some unreduplicated perfects. Some of the verbs above may have lost reduplication through composition, like L. concidi in contrast to simplex eccidi. There are no clear examples of the o-grade of the radical vowel characteristic of Greek “second” perfects; the vowel of vurtus courtus may be from ᾦ as well as or (35 d). Of the conjunctivational classes the third and fourth are chiefly represented among the foregoing forms; portuust beside inv. portuatu shows a simplification of stem (116 a). eiscent shows the extension of the present tense-suffix -skefo- into the perfect system (119 e). The stem of iust and ier is similar to that of L. ii, and it probably served as the model for the stem in heriie and puriitius, both of which have rival perfect stems of other classes (d, f below).

c. Another type of unreduplicated perfect without special tense-suffix is that in which the radical vowel is lengthened, as in L. vidi to video, věni to venio, jěci to facio, etc. The long vowels are of diverse origin, but in a large proportion of cases they represent ablaut-variants, as lengthened grade to normal grade e, or as normal grade to reduced grade o (35). Since the number of Umbrian examples is small, the Oscan examples are added as an aid toward their clarification: O. upsed, uupsens, O. ouναερες with u uu ov for o, in contrast to O. ūpsannam, U. osatu, L. operari, all present-system forms with o; O. sipus ‘knowing’ < *sēpus or *sēpuvos in ablaut-variation with L. sāpio; U. prusikurent with *sēk- in variation with L. insēcē; O. hipid, hipust, U. eitipes, if from *eit(om) hēpens, all in variation with U. habito, L. habeo, etc., as if L. had *hēbī as pf. to habeo (see 34 on eitipes and 122 e on the consonantal variation).

d. The j-perfect is represented by the following forms: fut. pf. 2 sg. amprefuus, 3 pl. ambrefurent; 3 sg. andersajust aterfust; pf. subj. pass. 3 sg. pihafi, herifi, perhaps also cehefi, although not according to the view preferred here (see on VIA 20). To these may be added the following Oscan examples: pf. aikdaled ‘decree-vit’, of which -da- belongs to the root of L. do, dare; fufen ‘fuerunt’; pf. subj. sakrafin ‘sacrat-’2. Although the origin of the formation is not entirely clear, there is little doubt that the j is of the same origin as that in O. impf. fufen, or the tense-signs of the L. impf. in -bam and fut. in -bo; in other words it belongs to a verb-stem from the root *hēwā/hbā- used as an auxiliary in combination with some form which cannot be precisely identified. Now among the foregoing verbs fufen belongs to the same root as U. inv. futu, L. fui, etc., and amprefuus to that of L. eo, ire; herifi is of the fourth conjugation, and the classification of cehefi is unknown; all the others are of the first conjugation. This distribution therefore is roughly analogous to that of the Latin futures in -bo, which belong to eo: ibo, to verbs of the first and second conjugations, and in some early instances to verbs of the fourth. The two formations appear then to be based
on the same second element, a thematic stem *bhwe/o-, reflected in Skt. aor. subj. bhwat, etc.; but it must be assumed that this stem could be used both as an indicative and as a subjunctive similar in formation to the "short-vowel" subjunctive of Vedic Sanskrit and Homeric Greek, and that the Latin bo-future is derived from the latter use and the O.-U. f-perfect from the former. This twofold development has a close analogy in the history of the stem *bhwa/-, which furnished on the one hand Lith. būvo 'he was' and the tense-suffix of the Latin impf. ind. and on the other the L. subj. fual, etc.

e. The l-perfect is found only in Umbrian and only in the fut. pf. forms ape-

lus apelust beside inv. ampentu < *an-pend-etôd, entelus entelust beside inv. endendu < *en-tend-etôd. The suffix -lo-, which is attached directly to the root, is apparently of the same origin as that in L. credulus, pendulus, etc., together with the suffix used in the formation of the participle in -lo/á- which furnishes the preterit in the Slavic languages. The phonetic development is: *pend-lo- > *pen-lo (61 e) > *pen-lo- > *pel-lo.

f. The -nky-perfect is found only in Umbrian, where it is represented by: fut. pf. combijani/siust combijinâsust combi/siust, pf. subj. combijanši; purtin-

čus, purdinsiust purdinsust purdinšus; disleralinsust. The origin of this formation cannot be determined with any certainty. It is quite possible, however, that it arose from a combination of an accusative noun in -am, -im + *ke + iust and other forms of the perfect system of the verb 'go'. The use of verbs of going as future auxiliaries, as, for example, in L. factum itur, factum iri, etc., is favorable to such a view. The noun which forms the first part of the periphrasis (with -n < -m before k) could be an ā-stem like L. cura, fuga (whence denominatives and -nky-perfects of the first conjugation) or an i-stem like L. mors < *mor(t)i(s) (whence denominatives and nky-perfects of the fourth conjugation) or a stem in (i)yo- with acc. sg. in -im (32a). The enditic k(e) may serve to indicate direction, like -de in ôkôndde, qve/náde. The whole formation, therefore, may have spread analogically from such periphrases as *fuganšiust < *fugām-
k(e)-iust 'he will have gone in flight,' *meddiki(o)m-k-iust 'he will have gone to the pronouncement of justice.'

g. Indicative forms of the perfect tense are so rare that their description must be supplemented by forms from Oscan and other dialects. The 1 sg. is re-

presented by O. manafum (Co. 130, the Curse of Vibia), in which the secondary ending -m is added to the thematic vowel. The 3 sg. is represented by O. aik-
dased, deded, etc., U. dede (minor inscr. no. 352 Co.), all based on the secondary ending -d < -t (41b). The 3 pl. is represented by O. uupsens, etc., U. eitipes < *eitom hépons (?), all based on -ens (115 d, with n. 1).

1 Cited by Aulus Gellius, VI, 9, 2-8. The classical reduplication exemplified by momordi, cecurri, etc., arose secondarily upon the principle of imitation of the radical syllable, with forms like tetendi serving as a model.
II.

In the optative pass, which is designed to correspond with the L. *mandare* by Buck, *Oscan- Umbrian Verb System*, pp. 151, 171, and by Pl., II, pp. 338-9, but as reduplicated pf. < *man-efom, -ed* (root *dhé/š-, second a being anaptyctic) by Buck, *O.-U. Grammar*, § 223.

This explanation is substantially that of Pl., II, pp. 352-3, with certain alterations and additions.

Observe the close similarity in the use of -ce and -de in bi-ce, huius-ce, hun-ce, δ-δε, τω-δε; observe also O. *cebnust* 'venerit', where ce- is prefixed to a fut. pf. form of the verb 'come'.

In this particular instance the thematic vowel may have replaced the vowel of the root. The analysis of the form is uncertain; see n. 2 above.

125. Future Perfect Tense. Examples are numerous, and perfect stems of all the types described in 124 are represented. The following list is not complete, but is designed to show some examples of each type: *pepurkurent, dersicust* (124 a); *vurtus, portust, jacurent* (124 b); *prusikurent* (124 c); *andersafust, ambrefurent* (124 d); *entelust* (124 e); *combifiansiust* (124 f).

a. The origin of the future perfect is disputed, but it has been plausibly explained as having arisen through analogy with the forms *jus* etc., which appear in the Iguvine Tables with future value (see 122 a and Lexicon under *jutu*), but which sometimes serve as future perfect in Oscan. The development of the new formation from perfect stems would be sufficient to establish the future perfect as distinct from the future value. For the explanation of the endings *-us, -ust, -urent* reference may be made to 123.

1 Buck, *Verb-System*, p. 176, and *O.-U. Grammar*, § 230, favored derivation as a periphrastic formation from a pf. act. pcpl. with suffix *-us* + a future of subjunctive origin equivalent to L. *ero*, etc., thus giving a combination which would be analogous to γεγονος ἔσμαι. Von Pianta, II, pp. 373-6, with detailed discussion, favors connection with the L. *vi-*perfect. Buck, *O.-U. Grammar*, in correction of 230, upholds the view here adopted.

126. Subjunctive Mood. Subjunctive forms of the present and perfect tenses are found in both Umbrian and Oscan. There are no Umbrian forms of the imperfect subjunctive, but Oscan has *fusid*: L. *jor* and several other forms analogous in origin with the Latin imperfect subjunctive.

a. All present subjunctive forms from regular verbs are of the *ā*-type, even in the first conjugation: 1 sg. *aseriaia, 2 sg. kupifiaia, 3 sg. kuraia, portaia*; second conjugation: 3 sg. *prehabia, 3 pl. pass. tursiandu* (8 b); third conjugation: 3 pl. (or 2 sg.?) *neiřhabas* (116 a), 3 sg. *dirsa teřa, 3 pl. dirsans, 3 sg. pass. ferar, 3 pl. pass. emantur, terkantur*; fourth conjugation: 3 sg. *fačia, dia*. The forms of the second, third, and fourth conjugations are precisely like the corresponding Latin forms, but the forms of the first conjugation fail to agree with Oscan and Latin, which agree with one another in the use of a modal suffix *-ē* (either subjunctive ē added to denominative stem in *āy-* or old optative *yb* added to un thematic stem in *ā-*, in either case producing *āyē* >
-āē- > O. deiuaid, L. curet, etc.). U. kuraia, etc. cannot be derived by addition of ā to a stem in -āy-, for y would be lost and the vowels would contract (53b); the formation must therefore have developed secondarily by analogy with forms like facia, etc. with normal i.

b. The subjunctive formation characteristic of unthematic verbs, illustrated by L. sim, velim, etc., is found only in forms of the verb ‘be’: 2 sg. sir si sei, 3 sg. si se si se, 3 pl. sis sins. This formation was originally optative, and the mood-sign was -yē/-, which was added to the root. The original gradation shown by L. 2 sg. siēs < *s-yē-s contrasting with 1 pl. sīmus < *s-l-mos has been effaced as in classical L. sim, sīs, etc., by the generalization of the grade i throughout.

c. The perfect subjunctive is illustrated by the following examples: 3 sg. combīfianṣī, probably also heriieī; 3 sg. pass. herifi, pīhafī, pīhafieī, probably also ier. It is not certain whether the perfect subjunctive is in origin an optative made by adding the sign -i- to the perfect stem or a subjunctive made by adding -ē- to the same stem. In favor of the former view is the optative origin of the Latin pf. subj., in which the i is added to a stem in -is- of aoristic origin and identical with the -is- in the 2 sg. pf. ending -isī (e.g. 1 pl. fēcerimus < *dhēk-is-l-mos). But O. 3 pl. tribarakattīns⁠¹ and 3 sg. pass. sakraīfī⁠² present an obstacle, since i may be from ē or ī but not from i. The question must be regarded as still unsettled.⁠³

¹ Line 48 of the Cippus Abellanus (no. 95 Co.); 3 pl. subj. of t-pf. of a first-conjugation verb equivalent in sense to L. aedifico.

² No. 114 Co.; 3 sg. subj. pass. of j-pf. of a denominative verb identical in origin with L. sacrare. The inscription is one of the group known as "iovilae dedications." Forms occurring in texts which have no character for ī (e.g. the Tabula Bantina = no. 28 Co., in the Latin alphabet, or the Curse of Vibia = no. 130 Co.) are useless for our problem, since their ī may stand for either i or ē.


127. Imperative forms are found in both voices, in both singular and plural, and with both second-person and third-person value; but there are no instances of formal distinction between forms of the second and third persons. As in Latin, the imperative nowhere has a special stem with a special mood-sign, but depends solely on distinctive personal endings.

a. Of forms corresponding to the Latin "present imperative" there are no absolutely sure examples, but stiplo VIa 2 and aserio VIa 4 probably belong in this category. As in Latin observō, etc., the stem alone is used without ending (o < ā as in 7b). The less probable alternative to taking these forms as inv. is to take them as infinitives.
b. Future imperative active forms of the 2-3 sg. are very numerous, and the following is merely a list of selected examples: naratu naratu, portatu purtatu, habitu habetu, tursitu tusetu, fertu fertu, endendu ententu (60 a), purdouitu purtuvitu, futu, etu, fetu, hatu. The ending is from -tōd (13 b): O. -tud -tud, OL -tōd, L. -tō, Gk. -το. For the stem before the ending see 117 f, 118 e, 119 a, 120. On the value of the forms as 2 sg. or as 3 sg. see 115 c.

c. The forms of the inv. active 2-3 pl. include: habituto habetutu, tursituto tusetutu, fertutu, usentutu, fututo, etc. The ending -tutu -tutu -tuto points to an original -tōtā with -a partly changed to -u in the older tables and fully to -o in the later tables (7 b), but the origin of the ending is uncertain. etatu etato are apparently 2 pl. of a frequentative verb (117 d, as if = L. *ilāre beside īre) with loss of a syllable through haplogeny in *etatuto *etatuto, but etuta etutu etuto are normal pl. imperatives of the primary verb etu.

d. The forms of the inv. passive include: 2-3 sg. eturstadhu, spahmu, anouihimu, persnimu persnimu; 2-3 pl. arshahmu armanu (written armanu), caterahamo kateramu, persnimumo. These forms are in some way related to the rare and archaic Latin passive inv. forms progresimino, fruimino, but it is improbable that they actually result from a change -m(i)no > -mō; rather the U. and L. forms show inherited suffix-variants, for which the Balto-Slavic pass. pcpl.s., with suffix -mo- in contrast to Gk. -μενος, Skt. -मनस, provide some evidence. U. -mu < -mōd may then represent a passive inv. formation modeled after the active inv. in -tōd, while O. inv. pass. 3 sg. censamur shows a further remodeling with -r from other passive forms. The pl. inv. persnimumo has the same relation to sg. persnimu as act. pl. etuta etutu etuto to etu. The plural value of arshahamu, caterahamo is clearly shown by their association with the pl. Iouinur Ikuvinus in VIb 56, Ib 20; the syllabic loss in arshahamu can be explained by haplogeny (<*arshahamumum) and in caterahamo by its juxtaposition with arshahamu.

128. INFINITIVE. The only simple infinitive preserved in the Italic dialects is the present active. The Umbrian examples are: afero aferum, fačiu, faču, erom eru, these last belonging to the verb 'be' and used in some instances as auxiliaries in the formation of the pf. pass. inf. The Oscan pres. inf., which is precisely similar, may be illustrated by the following examples: mollaum, tri-barakavam, ihatium, deikum, deicum, ezum. The origin of the formation is uncertain, but it is difficult to avoid the belief that it is an acc. sg. of a verbal noun, with the ending -om which belongs properly to o-stems. The Oscan forms have u u < o before final m. Although the verbal nouns which developed into infinitives in the various IE languages were made from the root and not from separate tense-stems, nevertheless the O.-U. infinitives, like the Latin forms in -re, are made from the present stem and share in its formal characteristics.
a. For the perfect passive infinitive see 133.

1 Twice on the Cipps Abellanus (Ilnes b 2, 10 = no. 95 Co.), but in the former instance the last four letters depend on restoration and in the latter the ũ is not clearly legible.

129. Supine. The only certain example of this formation is aseriatu anzeriatu. Other alleged examples, including aso V1b 50 and vaçetum Ib 8, are better taken as pf. pass. pcpls. The supine in Umbrian is precisely like that in Latin, both in formation and in use: it is in origin the acc. sg. of a verbal noun with stem in -tu-, as is also the classical Skt. infinitive in -tum. For -o < -um see 14 b. There are no examples of a supine in Oscan.

130. Active Participles.

a. The present active participle is represented by restef (119 b), serse zeřef: L. sedens, and probably kutef (22, 118 c). Although there are no oblique case-forms and no sure Oscan examples at all, there is no reason to doubt that the present participle, as in Latin, Greek, etc., was formed by the addition of -nt- to the present stem. For final / < -nts, and also for the possibility of deriving the preposition traž tra from a pres. pecl., see 58 d.

b. The pf. act. pecl. made with the suffix -ves/ vos/us- and exemplified by eidoz$, idoia, Skt. vidvâys, viduši, and Balto-Slavic forms, is not preserved as a productive category in the Italic languages, yet several forms are explained as remnants of it: L. prepos. apud as neut. nom.-acc. sg. to verb-root found in apiscor;¹ O. sipus (124 c) < *sêpus or, with lengthened grade of the suffix, *sêp-wôs, although it may be from o-stem *sêpwos with samprasâraṇa as in 32. The pf. act. pecl. is sometimes taken as a component of the O.-U. fut. pf. tense. A different explanation is adopted here, but see 125 a with n. 1.

¹ See R. G. Kent, Forms of Latin, § 423, II.

131. Perfect Passive Participle. Examples are very numerous, and most of the conjunctival classes are represented. The following is a selected list: kuratu: L. curatum; çersnatur: L. cenati; kunikaz coneos; tases tsacz: L. tacitus; scrithor: L. scripta; spaflu if < *spand-tom (58 c with n. 3); similarly spefa; persnis; statita; purtitu purditom; daetom; peretom. See also 71 for adjectives of the type of L. barbâtus, which in a formal sense are precisely like pf. pcpls. Both these and the true participles in Umbrian, as in Oscan and Latin, are formed by means of the suffix -lo/â-. In verbs of the first and fourth conjugations the suffix is normally added to the -â-, -t- of the verb stem. In verbs of the third conjugation it is added directly to the root, causing secondary changes in some of the resulting consonant-clusters, of which the most striking is that illustrated by spaflu, spefa above. There are no sure examples of participles
preserving the characteristic ñ of the second conjugation, since even uirseto may have unsyncopated ñ. On the difficult question of the e here and in tases, muieto, pruseçetu, daetom, peretom, froselom, pesetom, uasetom, some of which belong to verbs of the first conjugation, see 30 c with n. 2.

132. GERUNDIVE. The examples are: gen. sg. m. anferener, pihaner pehaner peihaner; nom. sg. m. pelsans, acc. sg. m. pelsanu, acc. pl. f. pelsana pelsana. O. úpsannam, sakrannas give evidence of etymological gémination of the n. The O. and U. forms are therefore to be equated with L. gerundives piandus, ferendus, etc., on the basis of the O.-U. change -nd- > -nn- (61 e), the ultimate origin of the formation remaining obscure.

133. PERIPHRASTIC FORMS. As in Latin, the passive forms of the perfect system are normally made by means of the pf. pass. pepl. with appropriate forms of the verb 'be,' including forms of the root ju- as well as es-. The perfect indicative forms are: uaseto est, pesetom est, peretom est, froselom est, daetom est, orlo est, screlto est, pl. screlhtor sent, subator sent. The only pf. subj. form of this type is kuratu si. The only pf. inv. form is purtitu futu. The pf. inf. forms are erom ehiato and kuratu eru. The fut. pf. forms are muieto fust, persnis fust, pihaz fust = pihos fust, purtitu fust = purdito(m) fust, spafu fust, pl. çers-natur furent. For pass. pf. subj. forms of the type of pihafi see 114 a, 126 c. For fut. pf. forms of the type of benuso see 115 g.

134. VERBAL COMPOSITION. The general principles for compounding verbs with prefixes are the same as in Latin. The effect of the prefix on the meaning of the verb is to define more precisely the location, direction, etc., of the action. The compound then often shows the attainment of a goal where the simplex shows no such attainment (cf., for example, L. consequor beside sequor, Germ. ersteigen beside steigen), and the distinction becomes similar to that of the "perfective" and "imperfective" aspects of the Slavic languages, but not to such an extent as to be reduced to an orderly system. Consequently no attempt is made to distinguish between those compounds in which the prefix has local value and those in which it merely shows action brought to completion.

Many of the verbal prefixes are also found as prepositions (or postpositions) with noun objects, and among the rest the lack of similar examples of prepositional use may be accidental; the Latin equivalents of dis- and re-, however, are used only as prefixes, and there is no reason to believe that they were ever otherwise used. For those prefixes which also serve as prepositions with nouns cross-references are given below, but detailed discussion of etymology and nuances of meaning is avoided here.

- a. aha- ah- a- a-: L. ā-. ahtripursatu ahtrepuruñatu etc., abauendu.
- b. am- am- an- a- a- 'around, about': āμπε-, L. amb-. This and an- immedi-
The Verb

ately following are sometimes difficult to distinguish, as a result of the assimilation or loss of the nasal to which both are subject. The chief criterion for separating the two prefixes is the sense of the compounds in which they occur. The following are to be referred either certainly or probably to am-: aer o aierum, anferener, and its suppletive fut. pr. an-dersaustateřaust; amboltu.

c. ambr- ampr- apr- ‘around, about’: O. amfr-. Related to am(b)- as L. super to sub. ambretuto, amprehtu apretu.

d. an- an- am- a- a- ‘up, upon’, etc.: ávč-, L. an- (in anhelo). The forms which are to be assigned with certainty or reasonable probability to this prefix, in contrast to am- above, are: afiktu, amparitu, ampentu apentu, andenutu, anouihimu; anseriatu aseriatu, etc.; anstintu astintu, anstiplatu.

e. ander-: O. anter, L. inter. andersista.

f. ars- ar- ar- a-: L. ad-. (a)řhabas in crasis neiřhabas, arpeltu, ar-sueitu etc. Cf. 147 a.

g. com- kum- co- ku-: L. com- con-. combijiaitu kumpiiaatu, comohota, comoltu kumultu, conegos kunikaz, couertu kuvertu, kukehes (?), kuveitu. Cf. 147 b.

h. da-: O. dat (and more remotely L. dě). daetom.

i. dis-: L. dis-. disleralinsust (?).

j. ehe- eh- e-: O. eh- ee-, L. e. efurfatu, efhatu, etufstamu, ehia- io, ehueltu, eveietu. Cf. 147 c.

k. en- en-: O. en, L. in-, ěr-. endenutentu, enetu. Cf. 147 d.

l. os- us-: O. o(s)- (in ossi[n]s = L. *ob-sint), L. ob- obs- os-. ostentu ustenu.

m. per- per-: O. per-, L. per-. peretom, pertentu. Cf. 147 h on prep. pert.

n. pre- pre-: O. pra- prai, L. pra-. prehabia, repesnimu, preplotatu, preuendu, preuišatu. Cf. 147 k.

o. pro- pru-: O. pru-, L. pro-. proanurent, proseto, prusekatu, prupe-hast, prusikurent. Cf. 147 g on -per.

p. pur- pur-: L. por-. purdoutiu purtuvitut.

q. re- re-: L. re-. restatu reste, revestu.

r. sub- sub- su-: L. sub- subator, subahtu subotu, subocau, sumtu < *subemétöd, with assimilatory loss of b after syncope of the radical e; sutentu.

s. trah-: L. trans- tra-. trahuorfi (adv. from pf. pass. pcpl. of verb corresponding to L. trans-vertro). Cf. 147 p.
H. Syntax

135. General Remarks. The syntax of the Iguvine Tables, like that of the other Italic dialect inscriptions, resembles Latin so closely in most respects that a detailed account of it is unnecessary. In the following brief outline the chief emphasis is on those features of the syntax which are unusual (although many of them have parallels in Plautus or in early Latin prose) and on those principles which are important for the solution of problems of interpretation.

136. Ellipsis. The omission of the subject, verb, or direct object of the sentence is moderately frequent, but it is not possible in all cases to make a sharp distinction between clear cases of ellipsis and mere omission of words which are unnecessary because they can easily be supplied from the context.

a. The subject of the imperative forms used in the ritual instructions is omitted far more frequently than it is included. See Introduction, § 16.

b. Omission of the copula is so widespread in many IE languages as hardly to deserve notice among cases of ellipsis. In IIb 1-2 *tekvias / fameřias pumpeřias XII*; however, the 3 pl. *sent* is probably to be supplied if the interpretation adopted in this edition is correct. See translation and notes.

c. Most of the following passages contain an accusative direct object but omit the verb on which the object depends: — IIa 25 *tiu puni tiu vinu*: it is not certain what verb is to be supplied, but cf. VIa 25 *Di Grabouie, tio esu bue peracrei pihaciu ocreper Fisiu totaiper Iouina irer nomneper erar nomneper*, where the verb would be *subocau*, as appears from the almost identical 33-4. Cf. also VIb 9-10, VIla 9-10. — Ia 18 *kapiř purtitaf sakref etraf purtitaf etraf sakref totaiper Ikuvina*: the verb may be inferred from the corresponding VIb 18 *kapiř purdita dupla aitu sacra dupla aitu.* — IV 14 *putrespe erus*: cf. *erus.../ teřtu 27-8.* — VIa 17-8 *par fa dersua curnaco dersua peico mersto peica meersta,* etc.: the accusatives cannot depend on *carsitu* which immediately precedes, for the sentence is oratio recta, as *tefe* in 18 shows. Some verb equivalent to ‘I see, I have seen’ must therefore be supplied. — VIa 27, 37, 47, b 29 *pus(e)i neip her(e)itu*: the full form is shown in Ila 4 *fetu puze neip eretu*.

d. Ellipsis of the direct object: — Va 17 *ape apelust*: the object of the verb would designate the sacrificial victim. — III 20-1 *ap /vuku kukehes iepi persklumař kařitu*: the object of *kařitu* would designate the persons called to the ceremony. The forms *comoltu* VIb 17, 41, VIla 39, 44, 45, *kumaltu* IIa, 9, IV 28, *kumultu* Ia 34 are without direct object. *kumaltu* IIa 41 is preceded by the series of partitive genitives *struhčlas fiklas sufaňas*, and in every instance it is probably the cakes of the type used in each particular sacrifice which are to be ground up.
137. Asyndeton. The omission of the conjunction 'and,' like the omission of the copula, was a widespread and well-established IE phenomenon. In the Iguvine Tables it is so frequent as to be the rule rather than the exception. For the following pairs line references are unnecessary: ařepes arves 13 times, antakre(s) kumate(s) 3 times, snata asnata (-u, -es, -e) 4 times, dupursus peturpursus, šihitu anšihitu (-ir) 7 times, hostatu an(h)ostatu (-ir) 7 times, atru alfú; nome nerf arsmo u(e)iro pequo castruo frif 11 times; Puemune Pupřike Vesune Puemunes Pupřikes IV 10-11, but Puemune Pupřike et Vesune Puemunes Pupřikes 12-13. etu velta IV 21 is asyndetic, but the verbs are not coordinate in the full sense. Via 1 parfa curnase dersua peiqu peica merstu shows two asyndetic pairs, but the connective is not necessarily et, since the requirement may be for a parra or a crow dersua, a woodpecker or a magpie merstu. See note on passage.

138. Agreement. The fundamental rules are the same as in Latin: an attributive or predicative adjective agrees with its noun in number, gender, and case; a verb agrees with its subject in person and number; a relative agrees with its antecedent in gender and number, while its case is determined within its own clause. But deviations occur as a result of case-attraction, anacoluthic sentence-structure, or the replacement of strictly formal agreement by agreement according to sense.

a. A singular subject which for any reason is plural in sense may have its verb in the plural: Va 24-6 sve mestru karu / fratru Attieřiu pure ulu benurent / prusikurent rehte kuratu eru... The verb prusikurent takes its number not only from the collective sense in karu but also from the influence of the intervening relative clause, whose verb benurent receives its plural number from fratru... pure; similarly 27-9; similarly b 3-6, where pepurkurent is the verb showing attraction of number. In VIIa 52 hondra furo sehenemiar hatuto totar pisi heriest, despite the singular clause pisi heriest it is understood that the persons catching the heifers will be more than one; hence plural hatuto. In VIIb 56 the adfertor with the two prinuatur make a pl. subject: eno com prinuatur peracris sacris ambretulo. Cf. Livy, XXI, 60, 7 ipse dux cum aliquot principibus capiuntur.

b. VIA 19-20 shows an example of attraction of the antecedent into the case of the relative; or, more strictly, the antecedent in the nominative case introduces the sentence, followed by the relative clause, after which the antecedent is resumed by a demonstrative in the accusative as object of the principal verb, the sentence as a whole being anacoluthic: uasor... porsi ocer / pehaner paca ostensendi eo iso ostendu pusi....: uasor is nom., since acc. would end in -f (103 a), but eo, object of ostendu, must be acc.

c. The following examples show a shift in number between a pronoun and the
noun or pronoun to which it refers: VIIa 13-14 *futu fons* / ... *pople to tar Iouinare tote Iouine erom nomne erar nomne.* erom refers to *pople*, being plural by construction according to sense, but in the similar passages 17-18, 31, the sg. *erer* is used. In III 33-IV 3 the sg. *ērek* is used three times with reference to *tufa* (tria) *tefra*; see note on III 34. Va 7-8 shows a shift in number between relative and antecedent: *revestu puře tefte eru emantur herte* ‘revisito, quae dantur [num] ex iis accipientur oporteat’ (Buck): the usage of *puře* resembles that of *ērek* in III 33-IV 3 above, while *erus* is a pl. partitive subject, unless we prefer to take *erus* as abl. sg. with Conway, *Dial. Ital. Ex. Sel.*, who translates ‘ex eo quod datur.’

139. **Interchange of Predicate Adjective and Adverb or Prepositional Phrase.** The following constructions are striking chiefly because they show an adverb or prepositional phrase where English usage leads us to expect an adjective, or vice versa. Parallels can sometimes be found in Latin, and to some extent the usage varies between Umbrian and Oscan, or even within the Iguvine Tables themselves.

a. An adverb is used where we should expect a predicate adjective: — Va 24-27 *sve mestru karu... prusikurent rehte kuratu eru, ērek prufe si* (as if L. used *id probe sil* in place of *id probum sil*). — VIa 8-10 *angleto* / *hondomu porsei nesimei asa deueia est anglome somo porsei nesimei uapersus auiehcleir / est:* with the adverb *nesimei* (*-ei < -ēd*) contrast the predicate adjective in Oscan no. 109 Co. *nessimas staïet veruish lëvkei* ‘proximae stant portae in luco.’

b. An adjective is used where we should expect an adverb or prepositional phrase, or the adjective may replace the preposition: — *tases persinimu, kutef pesnimu*, these two expressions with their variations making 29 examples; cf. Livy, XXXV, 19, 1 *contumeliam tacitus tulit.* — IIa 10-11 *uve... / peřaem fetu* ‘sacrifice the sheep on the ground,’ with variations 11 examples in all; similarly IIa 21-22 *esunu / peřae futu* ‘the sacrifice shall be on the ground.’ — IIa 30-31 *supa spantia pertentu* ‘at the side.’ — 32 *supa pustra perstu* ‘at the back’; cf. b 19, VI b 5, VIIa 8, the forms of postro- in all these examples being accusative in agreement with the things which are placed at the back; similarly IV 17-18 *persuntru supu ereçle... purtuvtu* ‘at the bottom of the statue’; but 19 has *super ereçle* with a preposition. — VIb 17 *eno mefa uestisia sopam(m)* purome efurfatu, *subra spahmu* ‘down into the fire’; *sopam(m)* agrees with *uestisia* or *mefa*, but *subra* is best regarded as an adverb, as appears plainly in Va 20, VIa 15 (first instance), VIIb 3. VIIa 38-39 is nearly equivalent to VIb 17.

140. **The Cases.** The syntactical differences between the Italic dialects and Latin in regard to the cases are considerably less striking than the morphological differences. As in Latin the ablative case combines the functions of the IE ablative, instrumental, and (in part) locative; but just as the locative has maintained
itself as a distinct formal category to a greater extent than in Latin, so it is actually used to a greater extent.

141. NOMINATIVE. The uses as subject and as predicate noun or adjective need no explanation. The Iguvine Tables show no clear examples of vocative use where distinct vocative forms are available. There are two possible instances of an unconstrued nom. used as a heading for what is to follow: — Via 12 Tuderor tolcor: uapersusulo auxellir ebetraf, etc., unless we prefer to consider tudor tolcor the subject of a sentence in which the copula is omitted. — IIa 15 Huntia may be a heading for the instructions on the dog-sacrifice which follow, if the suggestion contained in the note on the passage is correct.

142. GENITIVE. Most of the uses, especially the possessive and other adnominal uses, need no explanation. Uses which seem to deserve some notice include the following:


b. Among partitive uses some are obvious; among those which are more unusual, at least from a Latin standpoint, are the following: — IIa 41 struchlas fiklas suafias kumaltu: the three gen. sg. forms are partitive objects of kumaltu. — Via 13 terliame praco pracatarum: the third in a certain series of objects is used as one of the landmarks in defining the augural templum. praco may be acc. sg. modified by terliam or gen. pl. modified by pracatarum, but the last is clearly partitive gen. See note on the passage. — Va 8 eru emantur: a partitive subject; but see 138 c above, with the alternative explanation.

c. Judicial genitive: a probable instance is VIIb 4 fratreci motar sins a. CCC. For discussion see note on the passage.


In Via 18-19 the gerundive construction may depend loosely on the noun esoneir: esisco esoneir sewier / popler anferener et ocerer pihaner perca arsmatia habitu. In 19-20, immediately following, paca functions as an improper preposition governing the genitive: uasor uerisco Treblanir porsi ocerer / pehaner paca ostensendi...; so most construe the sentence (otherwise Dev. and Pis., taking paca as abl. of manner ‘ritu’ or ‘ex pacto’).

143. DATIVE. Most uses require only the briefest mention. The dative of indirect object is illustrated by Via 22 Iuue Grabouei buf treif fetu, with similar expressions at the beginning of the instructions for other sacrifices. Dative with adjectives: VIIb 7-8, etc., fons sir pacer sir ocre Fisi tote liouine erer nomme erar
nomne. Dative with compound verbs: IIa 19-20 = III 21-22 pir ase / antentu; IV 21 ēfek persuntre antentu; VIa 56 prosesetir mefa spefa jiela arsueitu and other examples with arsueitu; Ia 31 esmik vestiça afiktu. The following uses are less familiar or less obvious:

a. Dative of possessor used with a form of the verb ‘be’: — Vb 6-7 etantu mutu afferture / si. — VIIb 1 Pīsi panpei fratres fratrus Atiersier just ‘Whoever at any time shall be brother-superior among (or for) the Atedian Brothers.’

b. Dative with a form of the verb kuratu: Va 4-5 ri esune / kuraia. Cf. the rare Latin use which appears in Plaut., Trin., 1057 sed ego sum insipientior qui rebus curem publicis.


d. Dative of advantage or disadvantage: — VIIa 11-3 Prestota Šerfia... pruvendu uia ecla atero tote Tarsinate, etc., in the curse against Iguvium’s enemies. With opposite effect 26-7 Prestota / Šerfia... ahauendu uia ecla atero pople totar Iouinar tote Iuoine, etc. — VIa 17-8 parfa dersua curnaco dersua peico mersto peica meersta, / mersta aueif mersta ancla eesona tefe, tote Iuoinve esmei stahmei stahmitei: the dative construes less easily with dersua... mersta as ‘west... east’ than as ‘prosperam... iustas’ with earlier editors, yet the notion of the omens serving the interests of the individual and the state is quite clear.

144. ACCUSATIVE. The most frequent uses are as direct object of verbs and as object of prepositions (or postpositions). For elliptical expressions with omission of the verb governing the object see 136 c. For the uses with prepositions see 147 a, d, e, h, j, l, n.

a. An example of the acc. with a verb of putting on (passive with middle sense) occurs in VIIb 49 perca arsmatlam anouhiimu. cringatro hatu, destrame scapla anouhiimu. For the probable sense of perca and the semantic evolution of anouhiimu see on VIa 19. For the case-construction in general cf. Verg., Aen. II, 392-3 Androgei galeam elipeique insigne decorum / induitur.

145. ABLATIVE. The uses fall into three main categories: “true” ablative constructions involving source and separation; instrumental-comitative constructions; and constructions of place and time in which the ablative competes with the locative. The ablative absolute is treated among participial constructions; see 153 h. For prepositional uses see 147 b, c, g, i, k, o.

a. The ablative of place whence, unaccompanied by a preposition or postposition, is rare: — VIa 8-9 angluto/hondomu porsei nesmei asa deucia est ‘proxume ab ara divina.’ — III 23 = IV 15-16 testru sese asa; sese as a preposition governs testru, and the resulting combination governs asa. So probably also
in Vla 2 tremnu serse arsferture ehueltu, 16-17 tremnu serse / combifiatu. For reasons of word-order it would be easier to take tremnu with serse than with ehueltu, combifiatu, but in this case we should expect the locative tremne.

b. Instrumental and comitative constructions include the following: — Ablative of accompaniment: IIb 13 persutru vaputis mefa vistiça feta fertu: probably persutru is acc. object of fertu, while vaputis and the succeeding nouns are abl.; see note on passage. — Ablative of means: IIb 52 uia auiecla esonome eltuto; cf. 65, Ib 14, etc.; III 12-13 sakre uvem / kleta fertuta. A variety of the instrumental use is the frequent ablative with fertu: Vla 56-7 este / esono heri uinu heri poni fertu; similarly b 1-2, etc. Cf. Acta fratrum arvalium, pp. 11, 12, 24, 26, etc. (Henzen) ture et vino fecerunt. Somewhat different and probably to be referred to the "true" ablative is Vla 55 fertu uru pirse mers est 'do with him what is the law.' Cf. L. quid hoc homine facias? — Instrumental ablative with persnihu: IIb 9 poni pesnimu, and frequent similar expressions. — Ablative of accordance: Va 11-12 felsva/arpputati fratru Atiiefiu prehubia 'at the discretion of the Atiedian Brothers'; III 4-6 uhturu... / ... ustentuta puhe / fratru mersus fust. See note on passage. — Ablative of price: Va 17-18 ape apelust, muneklu habia numer / prever pusti kastruvuf 'shall receive a donation [at the rate of] a single nummum per head'; similarly 19, 21.

c. Locative uses: These include both local and temporal constructions. In the plural there is, of course no formal distinction between the ablative and locative cases, and even in the singular the formal distinction is not always clear. Local uses: — Vla 5 sersi pirsi sesust; sersi is probably abl., since the loc. sg. of both consonant- and i-stems in the 3rd declension ends in -e -e. — Vla 2 tremnu serse arsferture ehueltu. — Vla 11 lodceir tuderus setpodruhef seritu 'within the city boundaries.' Temporal uses: Ila 17 menzne kurčlasiu fašia tičit. The ending of the adjectival shows that the case is abl., not loc. The justification for the case is that the construction is very close to being an abl. of attendant circumstance or abl. abs. rather than a purely temporal construction.

146. Locative. The constructions are partly local, partly temporal. For uses with prepositions and with the postposition -en -em -e see 147 d, m. This postposition frequently contracts with -e, the loc. sg. ending in the first and second declensions, to which most of the attested loc. sg. forms belong; and since final nasals are frequently not written, it is possible that many or even all loc. sg. forms, if not accompanied by some preposition, actually contain -e(n). Examples not preceded by prepositions and not clearly followed by -en -em -e include the following:

a. Local uses:—Vla 57, etc., uatuo ferine fetu.—Vlb 50 aso destre onse fertu (but in IIb 27, 28 testre e uze habetu the postposition is clearly present). — Va 15-16 kumnah/kle Atiiefiu ukre: the first noun, with its adjective, is loc-
ative, and so is ukre; eikvasese Attiešier, which follows, has postpositive -e. — VIb 54-5 sopir habe / esme pople ‘if anyone is caught among this people.’

b. Temporal uses: — Ib 45 = Ia 44 kvestretie... svesu (svesu is inflected before the -su; the case-ending is -(e)-); similarly VIIb 1 sueso fratrectate. — Ia 15, III 2 sume ustite ‘in the final period’ (?). — Va 2, 14-15 plenasier urnasier.

147. Prepositions and Postpositions. The cases used are the accusative, ablative, and locative. -ař -a, hondra, pert, posti pusti, subra, superne have only the accusative. com -co -ku, ehe e, -per, post pus, pre, -to -ta -tu have only the ablative. super has the locative (but cf. superne with acc.). -en -e-em and traļ have the accusative and locative. paca used in Vla 20 with a preceding gerundive construction resembles Latin causa used as an improper postpositive preposition with the same construction. For the use of prepositions as prefixes in combination with verbs see 134.

The following account of the prepositions is merely intended to illustrate the most important and typical uses. For a full listing as well as for etymological data see the Lexicon.

a. -ař -a with acc., ‘to, toward’: spinamař etu, persklumař kařitu; ‘in the direction of, at’: tuva tefra spantimař prusekatu, spiniama persnihmu vestikatu ahtrepurřatu.

b. -co -ku with abl., ‘with’: etuto com peracris sacris, com prinuatir; in postpositive use ‘at’: asaku, destruco persi, nertruco persi, etc.; only with pronouns is the postpositive used in sense ‘with’: VIb 50-1 erucom prinnatalur dur / etuto.

c. ehe e with abl., ‘out of, from among’: VIb 54 etu ehesu poplu; ‘away from’: Ia 38-9 manř esaas / vutu.

d. -en -e-em. With acc., ‘into, to, upon’: pune fesnafne benus, uapefe auieclu, (cringatro) destrame scapla anouihimu ‘place over his right shoulder’; showing result, vasetome just; cf. L. in irritum. With loc., ‘in, upon’: fesnere purtuetu, ocrem Fisiem ‘(if) on the Fisian Mount (fire has occurred).’ Occasionally -e(n) is attached both to the noun and to a qualifying adjective: with acc., Ib 14 vafepem avieklufe kumpifiatu (but not in the corresponding VI b 51 uapeje auieclu); with loc., ocrem Fisiem, totome Iouinem. Buck, § 169, 7a, compares O. ĸurtin Kerriin (Agnone Dedication = Co. no. 175, line 1-2) and suggests that the extension of -m to the adjective, as if it were a case-ending, was favored by the parallelism of locative forms with and without -m and of accusative forms with and without -m, the -m of the acc. being of course quite natural in the adjective. totome actually contains a double loc. ending, induced perhaps by such acc. forms as totame. III 20 vukumen esunumen etu is probably not an instance of repetition of the -en; see note on passage.
e. *hondra hutra* with acc., 'below': *hondra furo sechemeniar* 'below the Forum Seminarum', *hondra esto tudero* 'below these limits.'

f. *paca* with gen., 'for the purpose of': *ocer pehaner paca* 'for the purification of the Mount.' See introductory remarks in the present section.

g. -per with abl., 'for, on behalf of': *teio subouca... ocriper Fisiu totaper Iiouna, erer nomneper erar nomneper* (frequent).

h. *pert* with acc., 'beyond, on the other side of': *pert spinia* (but -pert IIa 35 is an error for -per).

i. *post pusi* with abl., 'behind': *post uerir.

j. *posti pusti(n)* with acc., with distributive force like *n<tratá*, Eng. *per*, L. *in* (singulos, etc.): *pustin ančif* 'at each turning'; *pusti kastruviuf* 'per head' (?); *posti acnu* 'each year.'

k. *pre pre* with abl., 'before, in front of': *pre uerir.

l. *subra* with acc., 'above': VIa 15-16 *subra esto / tudero*; elsewhere only as adv.

m. *super* with loc., 'above, at the top of': Ib 41 *super kumne* 'above the place of assembly'; IV 19 *super erecle* 'at the top of the statue.'

n. *superne* with acc., 'above': *superne adro* 'above the black (vessels).'</n

o. -to -ta -tu with abl., 'from': *uapersusto auiec1ir* 'from the augural seats' (in defining the limits of the templum); *scalseto skalčeta (purutvitu or dirstu)* 'from a cup.'

p. *traf traha(fj)* *tra* 'across.' With the exception of IIa 13 *tra ekv1ne* 'across the Via Equina' (?), all examples govern forms of *sa1atam*, making a place-name similar to *Trastevere*, and the case-syntax then depends not on *traf* but on the relation of the resulting hypostasis to the rest of the sentence. See on VIIa 5.

148. General Remarks on the Syntax of the Verb. The treatment of the syntax of the verb is brief, partly because in most respects the resemblance to Latin is so close as to make a detailed description superfluous, and partly because the extent and nature of the material have limited both the number of morphological categories and the range of uses of those categories which are actually represented. In the indicative only the present, future, perfect, and future perfect are found, the last being the most frequent; in the subjunctive only the present and perfect, with a few imperfect forms in Oscan and Paelignian. With the exception of *stiplo* and *aserio* all imperative forms are of the "future", type. The infinitive is limited to the present active and perfect passive, the participles to the present active, perfect passive, and gerundive.

149. Impersonal Use of Verbs. The use of 3 sg. forms, especially passives
without definite subject is moderately frequent. The chief examples are: — VIa 27-8 = 37 = 47 persei tuer perserior usetom est pesetom est peretom est frossetom est daemon est; VIIb 3 pusei subra crehto est ‘as it is written above’; but VIa 15 has serehitor sent with definite pl. subject; VIIb 42 purditom just, Va 18-19 ape purtitu / futu; yet Ib 38-9 esunu / purtitu futu has esunu as subject, and we may have to explain the equivalent VIIa 45 purditom just as an ellipsis; similarly IV 31-2 purtitu / futu, but esunu / purtitu futu in IIa 43. — Va 20 ape subra spafu futu; see on Va 17-22. — Va 23-9 ehvelklu feia... / sve rehte kuratu si. sve... /... / prusikurent rehte kuratu eru... /... sve... /... prusikurent / kuratu rehte neip eru... — VIa 7 sue muieto just ‘if a noise is made.’ — VIIb 63-4 ape termnome / couortuso... ape termnome benuso ‘when the boundary has been reached’; 65 = VIIa 1-2 erafont uia pora benuso. — IIa 17 façıa tiçit; cf. L. decet + inf. — Va 5-6 piçe uraku ri esunu / si herte, like L. oportet + subjunctive; cf. 8, 10, b 8, 11, 13, 16, VIIb 2, III 1. — IIa 40 esuf pusme herter ‘he whose duty it is.’

150. The Voices. Passive forms are found in normal passive use, in impersonal use, and as deponents. It is unsafe in specific cases to affirm the non-existence of active forms in languages as poorly preserved as the Italic dialects, and yet it is reasonably certain that deponents must have existed in Umbrian as in Latin and Greek.

a. For the normal contrast of active and passive the following examples will suffice: — VIa 29 Di Grabouie, pihatu ocre Fisei, pihatu tota Iouina; b 46-7 eno ocar / pihos just. — VIa 19-20 uashor... porsi ocer / pehaner paca ostensendi, eo iso ostendu... ‘the vessels which are to be exhibited... he shall so exhibit...’

b. For the impersonal use of passive forms see 149 above.

c. Among deponent verbs should probably be included the following: persnìmim: cf. L. precor with different stem but same root and meaning; terkantur: dègxo-muai (?); eherturstahamu. Čersnàtår furent, the sense of which is active, may, like L. ceno, have possessed active forms, but no such forms are quotable.

d. When active and passive forms coexist, the difference may be one of transitive and intransitive meaning: III 13-14 kletram / ampàritu ‘set up the litter’; IIa 42 ampàrìhmu stand up’; cf. ìôtìmu: ìôtämìu. It is not clear, however, why the active subra spahatu is used in VIIb 41 but the passive subra spah(ám)mu in 17 = VIIa 39.

e. No active forms are quotable beside passive arsmahamo caterahamo, but the active would presumably have been used of the commander who arranged the companies, the passive being a middle used of the persons arranging themselves. So probably *anouihitu would mean ‘put (clothing) on (another)’ as anouihimu is ‘put (clothing) on (oneself).’
151. The Tenses. There are few, if any, usages which are peculiar by contrast with Latin.

a. The present indicative is occasionally used in subordinate clauses where we might expect the future: VIb 43 (= Ib 1) ponne oui furfant; VIIb 2 ponne iuengar turisandu hertei, but fut. in VIb 48 (= Ib 10) pone poplo afero heries; VIb 54-5 sopir habe / esme pople ‘if anyone is caught among this people’; the form habe is obscure but undoubtedly of the present tense.

b. The perfect indicative is used of past action with lasting effect in Va 1-2 (= 14) esuk frater Atiieřiur / eitipes; the last word is partly obscure but almost without doubt a pf. ind. verb.

c. The future and future perfect differ as in Latin. In subordinate clauses, where the majority of our examples of both tenses are found, the fut. shows the action as in progress, the fut. pf. as completed, when the main action occurs; so, for example, in Ib 27-8 pune anpenes krikatu testre e uze habetu. ape apel/us, mefe atentu ‘while you are slaying... when you have slain.’ But there is some fluctuation in usage: Ib 15-16 pune menes (= *benes, L. venies) / Akeřuniamem, but fut. pf. in the corresponding VIb 52-3 ape Acesoniame/ ... benust; Ib 16 pune pesnafe benus.

d. Among the tenses of the subjunctive only present and perfect forms are quotable in Umbrian. The distinction between the two tenses is not purely one of relative time, or rather most of the few examples do not occur in situations where such a distinction can be observed. Like the distinction of the Gk. present and aorist subjunctive, it appears to be partly a matter of aspect. VIa 28-9 (= 38, 48, b 31) esu bue / peracrei pihactu pihafei; the subj. is pf. pass., and the purification is contemplated as a completed act. VIb 51-2 neip / amboltu prepä desua combiťianši ‘until (the augur) has announced.’ Vb 3-7 panta muta... / ... / ... ařferture eru pepurkure/nt herifi, etantu mutu ařferture / si ‘whatever fine they demand it be pleasing to be (imposed) on the adfertor, so great a fine shall be (imposed) on the adfertor.’ For the sequence of tenses it is impossible to find adequate examples, but the few imperfect subjunctive forms in Oscan and Paelignian occur in subordinate clauses depending on perfect indicative forms; in other words with the same tense sequence as in Latin (cf. Cippus Abellanus = Co. 95, lines 19, 50, 51, 54; Pael., Co. 239).

e. The imperative forms, being used in permanent instructions for the performance of the ritual, are almost all of the “future” type: naratu = L. narrato, habatu = L. habeta, etc. The two present inv. forms stiplo VIa 2, aserie VIa 4 are in oratio recta, in the dialogue between the augur and adfertor during the taking of the auspices at the beginning of the purification of the mount.

f. The participles have the same tense-values as in Latin, the pres. act. showing action contemporaneous with that of the main verb, the pf. pass. showing action
prior to that of the main verb. For the time-value of the pcpl. in the ablative absolute aueis aserialer VIa 1, see introductory note on VIa 1-18.

152. The Moods. The uses of the indicative and subjunctive in subordinate clauses are treated in 154. The present section is concerned with the subjunctive and imperative in expressions of command, exhortation, etc., and with dependent uses of the subjunctive where no subordinating conjunction is present.

a. In the following passages 2nd and 3rd person forms of the subjunctive are used with a value scarcely different from that of the imperative: Va 3-5 affertur ...
... ri esune / kuraia, prehabia piɾe... 10-12 affertur...
... esunesku vepurus felsva /
... prehubia. 17-23 ape apelust. muneklu habia numer /
prever pusti kastruvuf,... (19) habia... (21) habia... (23) ehvelklu feia fratrex ute kvestur. Cf. 27 prufē si, b 1 ehvelklu feia, 6-7 etantu mutu afferture / si. In the above passages the use of the subjunctive in place of the inv. may have been partly induced by eitipes 2, 14, which introduces the decrees; in other words, the subjunctive may be quasi-subordinate. Not so, however, in VIIb 1-2 ...fratrex ... portaia seuacne fratrom / Atiersio desenduf. 4 fratreci molar sins a. CCC. Ib 35-6 ene tra Sahta kupifiāia / erus teɾa, but inv. kupifiātu earlier in 35, combifiātu VIIa 43, 44, the latter instance corresponding to the subjunctive in Ib 35.

b. A prohibitive use of the subjunctive occurs in IV 32-3 eɾek / ures punes neiɾhabas ‘... ne adhibeant.’ In VIa 6, b 51-2, however, prohibitions are expressed by ne(i)p + inv.

c. With verbs of necessity, obligation, and certain other ideas a dependent subjunctive may appear with no subordinating conjunction. With herter: III 1-2 esunu fuia herter sume / ustite... Cf. Va 6 si herter, 8, 10 emanthur herter, b 8, 11, 13, 16dirsas (-ans, -a) herti; VIIb 2 ponne iuengar tur$iandu herlei; but in Vb 3-6 panta muta fratru / Atiieɾiu mestru karu... / ...
afferture eru pepurkure/nt herifi the infinitive eru depends on herifi, which itself depends as a pf. subj. on pepurkurent. With tiɾit: IIa 16-17 affertur... / ...
faɾia tiɾit. With stiplo: VIa 2 stiplo aseriaia parfa dersua... With combifiātu kupifiātu: VIIa 43-4 combifiātu Rubiname erus / dersa (= Ib 35), VIIa 44 (= Ib 35-6) practically the same. With deɾtu: VIIb 64 ətaians deɾtu, 65 = VIIa 1 deɾtu ətaias. In VIa 22-3 the presence of subocau seems to be the occasion for the use of the subjunctive: teio subocau suboco / Dei Grabou... fos sei pacer sei ocre Fisei; cf. b 6-7, 26. In all other instances of the formula subocau is absent from the context, and the inv. futa, futulo is used. Cf. also a above for the verb eitipes as an influencing factor in the use of the subjunctives in V.

d. Indirect questions have partly the indicative, partly the subjunctive: Va 7-8 revestu puɾe teɾte / eru emanthur herter ‘whatever are offered, he shall examine whether any of them should be accepted.’ hert is ind.; the form cannot
be explained as subj., and the use of the ind. is no more surprising than in early Latin, where it is frequent. Cf. 10 emantu herte. The subjunctive is used in 23-4 ehvelklu feia fratreks ute kvestur / sve rehte kuratu si; b 1-3 ehvelklu feia... / ... panta muta / aťferture si. In the last example the subj. can be explained by the deliberative nature of the clause, but not so in the prior example, which is an indirect question of mere fact.

e. The use of the imperative in the ritual instructions of the Tables is too frequent to require illustration. Certain special cases, however, deserve mention: IIa 42-3 esunu / purtitu futu; IV 31-2 purtitu / futu. Contrast the indicative in VIb 42 purdito jüst; similarly VIIa 45, Ib 39. In each case the formula occurs at the end of the description of a particular ceremony.

f. The prohibitive use of the impv. occurs in the following passages: VIa 6 neip mugatu nep arsir andersistu; b 51-2 neip / ambollu. See also b above.

153. The Non-finite Forms of the Verb. The verbal nouns include the present active and perfect passive infinitive and the supine in -tum, while the verbal adjectives include the present active and perfect passive participles and the gerundive.

a. Examples of the complementary infinitive are found only with forms of the verb heries: — VIb 48 pone poplo afero heries (= Ib 10). — IIa 16-17 heriiel façiù, aťfertur... / ... façià tići. — IIb 21-2 vitlu vufru pune heries / façu.

b. The infinitive accompanied by an accusative subject and depending on an impersonal verb is exemplified by: — Vb 3-6 panta muta ... / ... / ... aťferture eru pepurkurent/nt herifi. The inf. eru depends on the subjunctive herifi, which in turn depends on pepurkurent. — VIIb 1-2 seuacne ... / ... pifj reper fratreca pars est erom eiato. For the form eiato see the note on the passage.

c. The infinitive in oratio obliqua is found in the following passages: Va 24-6 sve ... / ... / prusikurent rehte kuratu eru. Similarly 27-9, but with negative neip.

d. Clear examples of the supine occur only in the verb anseriato, and all depend on forms of etu: Ib 10 avef anzeriato etu = VIb 48 auif aseriato etu. Cf. Vfia 1, 6, (twice).

e. All examples of the present participle show the "predicative" use: — VIb 22 serse jelu = Ia 25 zeřef jelu, and so with the other examples of serse zeřef; see Lexicon.— VIb 47 reste esofo jelu = Ib 9 restef esunu feitu. — Ia 6 kutef pesnimu and similarly with all other instances of kutef.

f. The attributive use of the pf. pass. pcpl. may be seen in the following examples: — VIb 18 capif purdita dupla aitu, sacra dupla aitu (= Ia 18), where pcpl. purdita and adj. sacra designate two different classes of vessels. Similarly veskla snata asnata Ila 19, etc. — Ila 42 antakres kumates persnimu, where
kumates are the ground in contrast to the unground grains (or cakes?); similarly Ib 36, 37. — VIb 59-60, etc., nerf šīhilu anšīhilu iouie hostatu / anhostatu.

g. Examples of the predicative use of the pf. pass. pepl. are: — VIa 55, etc., tases persnimu. — VIb 5 uestisía et mefa spefa scalsie conegos fetu, and similarly in all the other instances of conegos kunikaz.

h. Examples of the ablative absolute are: VIa 1 aueis aseriatér (= Ia 1, IIa 16-17). Possibly also VIb 17 comolltu, comatir persnihimu, unless comatir is rather to be taken in an instrumental sense ‘with the ground grains’ as in the passages with antakres kumates cited in f above.

i. The examples of the gerundive in general involve the notion of purpose: — VIa 18-19 esisco esoneir seueir / popler anferent et ocrer pihaner, where the gerundive phrase depends, at least to some extent, on esoneir. — VIa 19-20 ocrer / pihaner paca, where paca is generally taken as equivalent in sense to L. causā. — VIa 8 uerfale pufe arsfértur trbeiet ocer peihaner, where the gerundive phrase has no direct dependence on any word; cf. Tac., Ann., II, 59 Aegypt- tum proficiscitur cognoscendae antiquitatis. — VIb 22 (= Ia 26) pelsana fetu ‘offer for (ultimate) burial’; cf. IIa 6, III 32. — IIa 43 katel asaku pelsans futu is more nearly like the obligational use in L. Carthago delenda est.

154. Subordinate Clauses. The use of dependent subjunctives without a subordinating conjunction has already been treated in 152 d above, and indirect questions in 152 d. Relative clauses and clauses introduced by the local conjunctions pue and pufe present no problem in regard to the use of moods and tenses. The present section is therefore limited to substantive clauses with puse puze, temporal clauses, and conditional clauses.

a. The following passages show puse puze + subj. corresponding to L. ut + subj.: — VIIa 43 carsittu... puse erus dersa = Ib 33-4 kafetu ... /... puze erus tefa. — VIIa 20 eo iso ostendu pusi pir pureto cehefì dia; dia is subj., but see note on the passage.

b. The temporal conjunctions are arnipo, nersa, prepa ‘until,’ ape, pane, pone pune ‘when.’ VIIb 41 sersitu arnipo comatir pesnis just (fut. pf.); in 25 the verbal form uesticos is obscure; see note. VIIa 6 neip mugatu nep arsir andersistu nersa courtusi. b 51-2 neip / amboltu prepa desua combifianši (pf. subj.). VIIb 5 ape sopo hostro peperscust, and fut. pf. with all other instances except IIb 28 ape purtuvies, where the verb is fut., and possibly III 20-1 ap / vuku kukehes, where the verb is obscure; see note. VIIa 46 (= Ib 40) postertio pane poplo andirafjust. In contrast to ape and pane, which introduce action prior to the main action, pone may introduce contemporaneous as well as prior action, and is used with the pres., fut., and fut. pf. ind., and once with the pres. subj.: VIIb 43 (= Ib 1) pone ouit jurfant, and pres. also in VIIb 2, and in IIb 22, where seste is better taken as pres. than as fut. Va 8-9 pihaklu pune / tribriču fuiest,
and similarly with fut. in Ib 10 = VIb 48, Ib 15, 19, IIb 21, 27. Fut. pf. in Ib 11 pune kuvurtus and in 20, 33, IIa, 1, 7, b 16. Pres. subj. in VIb 49-50 pone esone ferman.

c. The conditional conjunction is sue sve, including its combinations with enclitico pronominal forms. Examples are found with the fut. pf. ind., with the pres. subj., and in two probable instances with the pres. ind. Va 24-6 = 27-8 sve mestru karu... prusikurent rehte kuratu eru (kuratu rehte neip eru), and fut. pf. also in VIa 7, 16, VIb 3. Pres. subj. in VIb 47 (= Ib 8) suepo esome esono anderuaco se. In Va 24 the verb with the first sve ‘whether’ is a subjunctive of indirect question; see 152 d. The present indicative, if the forms are correctly explained, is found in Ib 18 svepi habe ‘if anyone is caught,’ IV 26 svepis heri. The apodotes of the above conditional sentences, generally being instructions rather than statements of fact, show imperative (Ib 18, IV 27, VIa 17) or pres. subj. forms (Va 27 si, b 1 feia, VIIb 4 sins). The fut. pf. ind., however, is found in VIa 7, where disleralinsust is fut. pf. by any reading or interpretation. In Ib 8 = VIb 47 the forms ise, (e)just are uncertain; see on VIb 47.

155. Word-Order. As in early Latin prose the normal arrangement of words is seldom altered for the sake of artistic effect, and yet it is not so rigid that we can set up invariable rules. Even in two different versions of the same formula the words may be differently arranged. A full account of the word-order cannot be attempted here; it must suffice to show the normal arrangement in sentences and phrases and to point out a few of the more striking exceptions.

a. The verb commonly stands at the end of its clause: VIa 3 arfurtur eso anstriplatu; 22 pre ureir Treblaneir Itue Grabouei buj treif fetu; 34 Di Grabouie, tio subocau; etc. But there are many exceptions; e.g., Ib 40-1 inveka perakre tusetu / super kumne affurtur, with subject last, perhaps in emphatic contrast to prinuatu tuf tusetutu which follows; IIa 9 ape purtiius suři; Ib 15-6 pune menes / Akeřuniamem; etc.

b. The complementary infinitive precedes the verb on which it depends in VIb 48 ajoer heries (= Ib 10) but follows in IIa 16 heriei ţačiu and similarly in b 21-2. In all the instances of anseriato with forms of the verb etu (Ib 10, VIa 1-2, 6, 6-7, b 48) the supine precedes.

c. As in Latin, the conjunction which introduces a subordinate clause sometimes takes second within the clause: Va 8-9 pihaklu pune / tribriču fuiest; VIa 5 seris pirsi sesust, poi angla...

d. A dependent genitive sometimes precedes its noun, sometimes follows it: VIa 29-30, etc., océr / Fisier lotar Ioninar nome nerf arso weiro pequo castruo fri pihatu; VIa 23, etc., erer nomnepor erar nomnepor. With the genitive in second place: VIb 51 perca ponisater habituto = Ib 15 perkaf habetutu puničate; VIb 57-8 Preslota Šerfia Šerfer / Martier.
e. In placing the genitive of the fathers’ praenomen between the son’s praenomen and nomen Umbrian differs from Latin and Oscan, which place the father’s praenomen after the son’s nomen: Ib 45 Vuv̄cis Titis Teteies; similarly IIa 44; Va 3 T. T. Kastruçiie, on which see note.

f. A qualifying adjective normally follows its noun: VIa 58 si gomia = Ia 7 sif kumiaf; VIb 3 sif filiu = Ia 14 sif feliuf; VIb 19 buf trij calersu = Ia 20 tref buf kalե̄ru. In the frequent expressions frater Atiersiur, ocre Fisi, tote Iouine, uerir Treblaniir (Tesenocir, Uehier) the adj. invariably follows. The position of the adj. with persontru, however, varies: VIb 28 sorsu persontru and similarly in 31, 35, Ia 27, 30, IIa 8; pesontru sorsom in VIb 24 and similarly in 37, 39, 40.

g. The arrangement of adj. + prepos. + noun, as in L. magna cum cura, is fairly common: — VIb 24 destruco persi, and so in 38, 49, Ia 29, IIb 27, 28; VIb 37 nertruco persi, and so in 39, Ia 32, but VIb 24-5 mani / nertru. — IIa 21, 35 Petruniapier natine, b 26 Vuçiapier natine — VIa 10 todcume tuder, but 12 tuderoir toloir.

h. Numeral adjectives precede the noun in the earlier tables but follow the noun in the later tables: Ia 3 tre buffetu, and so in 7, 11, 14, 20, 24, b I, 4, 24, 27, 31, but VIa 22 buf treij fetu, and so in 58, b 1, 3, 19, 22, 43, 45, VIIa, 3, 6, 41. Similarly the numeral ‘2’ precedes in IIa 27, III 32, 34, but follows in Vb 10, 15, VIb 50, VIIa 46. III 17-19 sepleš / ahesnes tris ... etres tris / ahesnes... tuves ahesnes is a special case in which we must take account of the failure to repeat sepleš and of the contrast between ‘three’ and ‘two’.
III. TEXT, TRANSLATION, AND COMMENTARY

Ia 1 - b 9 (= V1a 1 - b 47). Purification of the Felian Mount. For a detailed analysis see the outline of the tables, above, Introduction, § 13. As in Table VI, sacrifices are to be performed before and behind the three gates, at the grove of Jupiter, and at the grove of Corelius. The deities honored and the victims offered are regularly the same in the corresponding sections of I and VI, but there are some differences in details and in the order in which the instructions are presented.

Ia 1 - 2 (= V1a 1 - 21). Taking of the auspices. In contrast to the expanded version in V1a, with the names of the birds to be observed, the formulas to be repeated, and the landmarks to be used in defining the augural templum, we have here a single short sentence. — 2 pernaies pusnaes: literally ‘anticis posticis,' ‘before and behind.' For an attempt to equate them with merstu, dersua and make both pairs refer to east and west, see on V1a 1, and also the summary at the end of V1a 1 - 18.

Ia 2 - 6 (= V1a 22 - 57). Sacrifice of three oxen to Jupiter Grabovius before the Trebulan Gate. The present version differs from that in VI in its failure to include the text of the prayers, which is merely hinted at in the expression ukriper Fisiu tutaper Ikuvina; in the use of kutef instead of *loku; in the inclusion of the phrase ařepes arves and the absence of any distinct reference to cakes; and in the order in which the various instructions are arranged. — 3 arvia ustentu: this instruction appears regularly in the sacrifices performed for the purification of the Mount and the lustration of the people, in the later as well as in the earlier tables. In the former, however, the verb fetu takes the place of ustentu, and the expression ařepes arves is omitted. Devoto, p. 200, suggests that the fetu of VI and VII covers the whole ceremony with the arvia, which in I is described in two steps, arvia ustentu and pesnimo ařepes arves. He is probably correct in understanding arvia of vegetable offerings, with Bû., Pl., Bk., Bott., against K. O. Müller, Hu., Blum., Vet., who translate ‘exta' (see on I1a 18). ařepes is more difficult. Most connect it with L. adiapes, which provides a sound basis for the ending (direct connection with adipibus would lead us to expect *ařepus; cf. 101 d). It is then the first member of an in-determinant pair. Dev., on the other hand, translates ‘lostis grani,' deriving from *ad-eph-, with the root found in ēyos, Armenian ephem ‘cook'. The idea of
Commence this ceremony by observing the birds, those from in front, and those from behind. Before the Trebulan Gate sacrifice three oxen to Jupiter Grabovius. Present grain-offerings, place the ribs on a tray, sacrifice either with wine or with mead, for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium. Pray each (portion) in a murmur with (offerings of) fat and grain.

Behind the Trebulan Gate sacrifice three pregnant sows to Trebus Jovius for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium. Take up the under-parts, present grain-offerings, sacrifice with mead, and pray in a murmur with (offerings of) fat and grain.

Before the Tesenacan Gate sacrifice three sucking pigs to Fisus Sancius for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium. Present grain-offerings, place the ribs on a tray, sacrifice with mead, and pray in a murmur with (offerings of) fat and grain.

Behind the Tesenacan Gate sacrifice three sucking pigs to Fisus Sancius for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium. Sacrifice with mead, take up the under-parts, present grain-offerings, present a mefa cake and a libation. Sacrifice to Fisovius, sacrifice for the Fisian sacrifice in I we regularly find ařepes arves but no mention of cakes, while in VI and VII, usually near the end of the series, a fiula and one other type of cake are prescribed. Only for the sacrifice at the grove of Corelius does I call for a special type of cake (tenzičim Iib 6 = lesedl VIIb 46). Possibly there was a change in

the roasting of the grain as a part of the ritual is most attractive, but the etymological support is weak in comparison with the easy equation of ařepes with L. adipeis. I have therefore decided, though hesitantly, to maintain the usual interpretation. It is curious that at the end of the series of instructions for each
the ritual whereby cakes in the later stage took the place of simple offerings of grain and fat in the earlier. — 4 va-
tuva ferine feitu: see on Vla 57. —
heris vinu heri puni: on Vla 57. —
sevum: on Vla 18 (near end). — 6 ku-
tef: found only in Ia and b, where it corresponds to tašes in VIa and b; but tačez is used in Ia 26 (sacrifice behind the Veian Gate) and regularly in the instructions for the sacrifices to be performed during the lustration of the people (Ib 26, 30, 32, 44). kutef is almost certainly a present participle with -ef < -ens, but there is no general agreement in regard to its etymology. It is alto-
gether probable, however, that its sense is similar and not opposite to that of tašes; in other words, that between the earlier and later tables there was a change in the phraseology but not in the mean-
ning of the instructions.

Ia 7 - 10 ( = Vla 58 - 59). Sacrifice of
three pregnant sows to Trebus Jovius be-
hind the Trebulan Gate. For the char-
acter and sex of this deity and the de-
clensional class to which the name be-
longs see on Vla 58. The instructions here are given in substantially the same order as in VI, but differ, as in other similar instances, in the use of kutef for tašes, arvia ustentu for aruio fetu, and aře-
pes arves where the later version calls
for two types of cakes (see on 3 above). Moreover Ia omits persae fetu, but has supa sumtu. References to the sopā, however, are regularly associated with victims which are slain persaia (cf. Ia 16 = Vlb 3, IIa 22, Vlb 3 with 5, VIIa 7 with 8; note on Vlb 5). supa sumtu
must then refer to the removal of the entrails from the victim which has been slain lying on its back. — 7 sif kumiaf: see on Vla 58. — 8 Trebe Juvie: on
Vla 58. — 9 supa sumtu: on sopo Vlb 5.

Ia 11 - 13 ( = Vlb 1 - 2). Sacrifice of
three oxen to Mars Grabovius before the
tesenacan Gate. The differences of de-
tail between this and the later version shown in VI consist in the contrast be-
tween arviu ustentu and aruio fetu, kutef and tašes, ařepeš arves and pro-
sesetir farso fiča arsueitu, much as in
the case of the second sacrifice.

Ia 14 - 19 ( = Vlb 3 - 18). Sacrifice of
three sucking pigs to Fisus Sancius be-
hind the Tesenacan Gate. The instruc-
tions for the supplementary offerings to
Fisovius which follow the sacrifice proper
are not introduced by a temporal clause
commencing with api as in Vlb 5, or as in both the earlier and later versions of
the sacrifice behind the Veian Gate (Ia 27 = Vlb 23). Moreover the words
kutef pesnimu ařepeš arves appear at
the very end of the present passage, in
contast to the more orderly arrange-
ment in 24-34. Yet the provision for the
supplementary offerings in Ia as in Vlb
is made clear by the use of the name
Fisovi (cf. Vlb 5, etc.), the repetition of
ukriper Fisiu, the requirement of the
meřa (nowhere else mentioned in Table 1; cf. Vlb 5), and the instruction with regard to the cups (cf. Vlb 18). —
14 sif triufi: see on Vlb 3. — Fise Sači:
on Vlb 3. — 16 meřa: on Vla 56. —
17 vestiça: on Vlb 5. — ustetu: this verb is used in the passive with usor as subject in Vla 20 and in the active, with reference to the electing of the uh-
tur in III 5; in all other passages apart
from its use here with meřa vestiça, it is
restricted to the expression arvia us-
tentu. In regard to the variation be-
tween ustentu and fetu see on 3 above;
Devoto’s theory may be applicable to
the present passage as well. — 18 - 19
ekapi purtitaf sakref, etraf purtitaf,
etraf / sakref: the general sense must
be the same as in Vlb 18 (q.v.), but there
are certain differences in the language,
of which the most striking is the lack of
a verb on which the accusative might
depend. Since ellipses of this sort are
not uncommon in the Tables (see 136 c),
we may assume that the aitu of Vlb 18
is not absolutely indispensable in the
abbreviated instructions given here. The
important point is how many vessels of
III. TEXT AND TRANSLATION


(20) preveres : vehiies : tref : bui : kaleřuf : fetu : vufiune / (21)
krapuvi : ukriper : fisiu : tutaper : ikuvina : / (22) vatuva : ferine :
fetu : heri : vinu : heri : puni : /

(26) pelsana : fetu : arvia : ustentu : puni fetu : tačež : pesnim / u :
fisiu : tutaper : ikuvina : testru

Mount. (Move) the loaned and the consecrated bowls, two loaned, two consecrated, (in the ceremony) for the state of Iguvium. Pray in a murmur with (offerings of) fat and grain.

Before the Veian Gate sacrifice three oxen with white foreheads to Vofionus Grabovius for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium. Place the ribs on a tray, (sacrifice) either with wine or with meat, present grain-offerings, and pray in a murmur with (offerings of) fat and grain.

Behind the Veian Gate sacrifice three lambs to Tefer Jovius for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium. Sacrifice at the rear of the altar, sacrifice seated, sacrifice (the victims) for burial, present grain-offerings, sacrifice with meat, and pray silently with (offerings of) fat and grain. When you have made the presentation of the lambs, offer a pig-persondro, and to it add a libation separately. Sacrifice to Tefer Jovius for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium.

**Ja 20 - 23** (= Vlb 19 - 21). Sacrifice of three oxen to Vofionus Grabovius before the Veian Gate. The earlier and later versions agree very closely, the only differences being those already observed in the instructions for the third sacrifice (Ja 11 - 13 = Vlb 1 - 2). The arrangement of the instructions is consistent between the two versions, but is not quite the same as in the third sacrifice. — **20 kaleřuf**: see on Vlb 19. — **Vufiune**: on Vlb 19.

**Ja 24 - 34** (= Vlb 22 - 42). Sacrifice of three ewe-lambs to Tefer Jovius behind the Veian Gate, followed by supplementary offerings to Tefer Jovius. The sacrifice proper is contained in 24-27. The differences between this and the later version in Vlb include the usual varia-
tion of arvia ustentu with arvio feitu and of ařiper arvis with the two types of cakes in V lb 23. Moreover the obscure puste asiane fetu is peculiar to Ia 25. On the other hand in place of kutef pesnimu, which is regularly used in Ia, b in describing the sacrifices connected with the purification of the Mount, Ia 26 has tačez pesnimu, as in the instructions for the lustration of the people and throughout VIa, b, VIIa. — 24 ha-
pinaf: see on habina VI b 22. — Tefre Iuvie: on VI b 22. — 25 puste asiane fetu: very uncertain; the most satisfactory interpretation is probably that of Devoto, who translates ‘in parte postica arae,’ taking puste as loc. of a stem posto-derived from preposition post, and asiane as in some way connected with asa, Lat. ara, though stem and suffix are not quite clear. For other interpretations see L. H. Gray, B.B., XXVII (1902), pp. 306-7; Blum., p. 59; Pisani, p. 159; Vetter, p. 177. — zeřef: for the sitting position see on VI b 17. — pes-
sana: on VI b 22.

Ia 27 - 34 api habina purtius, etc.: as in VI b 23 ff. the porrectio is followed by special offerings to Tefer Jovius. The earlier and later versions agree in most of their principal features: the priest offers near his right foot a sorsom persondro and a libation to Tefer Jovius, and near his left foot a persondro and libation to Stabilis Jovius (?), and both versions conclude with the grinding of the cereal offerings and accompanying prayers. However, there are numerous discrepancies of detail; in addition to the failure of Ia to include the text of the prayers, the identification of the priest by the clause eront poi habina purdinsust (VI b 24) is also omitted, and similarly the instruction eam (sc. capiro) mani nertru tenitu, etc. (VI b 24-5). Moreover Ia only once mentions an erus, that of the ewe-lambs (33), while VI b calls for an erus in 25 just after the offering of the persondro and libation at the right foot and for the erus of the prosecta in 38, and the erus of each of the libations in 38 and 39. The instructions pesondro... endendu pelsatu (39-40) and uaso... subra spahatu... anderuomu serstiu (40-41) are also without any precise equivalent in Ia. On the other hand VI b has nothing corresponding to the expressions esnik vestiça preve fiktu Ia 28, esnik vestiça afiktu 31, used with reference to the manner of offering the libation. — su-
řum pesuntru: see on VI b 24. — 28 esnik vestiça preve fiktu: in contrast with 31 esnik vestiça afiktu, where the verb is compounded and the adverb preve is wanting. The sense is obscure chiefly because the composition of both the vestiça and the pesuntru is unknown. For preve Dev., p. 246, suggests ‘gut-
talim.’ It seems not impossible, however, that the present passage may be explained by comparison with VI b 24-5 eam (sc. capiro) mani / nertru tenitu arnipo vesti-
sia vesticos; that is, if he holds the li-
bation-bowl in his left hand until he has poured the libation, he does not pour it upon the persondro but in a separate spot, even though near his right foot (destruco persf). The absence of a prefix to the verb in preve fiktu should be noted, in contrast to afiktu in 31 just below, where preve does not appear. The dative esnik is a difficulty, but here it may merely signify that the vestiça be-
longs to the pesuntru, even though it is not placed upon it as in 31, where the compound afiktu governs esnik quite naturally. So far as the translation of fiktu and afiktu is concerned, nothing can be affirmed with certainty, since we do not know the exact nature of the vestiça which depends on it. On the whole, however, connection is easier with L. figo than with fingo, and if the vestiça is solid (or possibly melted fat which solidifies when it falls?) there is no se-
rious difficulty; if it is a liquid, we must assume a semantic evolution ‘attach > add > pour (over).’ — 29 kapife: see on VI b 18 capif. — peřum: on VI b 24 perso. — 30 Staf/li Iuve: the bronze here
vium. At your right foot make a mound for the bowl. When you have presented this (personandro), then offer a pig-personadro, to Stabilis Jovius, upon it add a libation, for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium. At your left foot make a mound for the bowl. Sacrifice with mead. When you have presented the pig-persondra, then distribute the erus of the lambs. Grind (the grain) sitting and pray sitting, with the ground (grain).

At the Grove of Jupiter, while they are placing on a platter (the remains of) the sheep, sacrifice three bull-calves to Mars Hodius for the people of the state of Iguvium, for the state of Iguvium. Place the ribs on a tray, sacrifice with mead, present grain-offerings, and pray in a murmur with (offerings of) fat and grain. At the Grove of Coredis sacrifice three bull-calves to Hondus Šerius for the people of the state of Iguvium, for the state of Iguvium. Place the ribs on a tray, present grain-offerings, add a twisted cake, sacrifice either with wine or with mead, and pray in a murmur with (offerings of) fat and grain. Then the mound will have been

30 eřel: for eřek. 31 ikuvina: final a not completed on 31 and so repeated on 32. 33 purtitius: for purtius. 34 kumats: for kumates. Ib 4-5 če/ fi: for če/rči, with space for the r unused.

reads staflia:iuvemšik with the word-divider between the first and second i very faint. There have been many attempts to read and interpret the passage correctly, with editors in general taking staflia(i) as in some way connected with L. stabulum and in some cases assuming wrong word-division, so as to read the second word as uve ‘sheep’ (‘of the stable’). For a detailed discussion of the problem see R. G. Kent, C.P., XV (1920), pp. 354-6, who argued in favor of the word-division actually inscribed on the bronze. For the sense of the passage, however, there are good reasons for following G. B. Pighi, Latinitas, II (1954), pp. 22-3, R.F.I.C., XXXII (1954), p. 234, who sees in staflia a divine name which may be rendered etymologically ‘(il dio) per opera del quale si stabilisce (il rito)’. The parallelism between 27-29 and 30-32 is remarkably
close, and if we admit Stafli Iuv., as name of a god to balance Tefri Iuvi in 28, the symmetry is nearly perfect. We may assume that Tefri Iuvi should have followed fetu at the beginning of 28 but was omitted, then added after fiktu with a new fetu, while the correct arrangement was followed in 30-31. The reading iuvesmik may be explained as an instance of haplography resulting from the resemblance of v and e, which differ in the native alphabet only in the presence of the cross-bar in the middle of the e: the scribe, having engraved the v, saw on his copy the e of iuvie, confused it with the v which he had just written, and continued with esmik (Kent, ibid., p. 354). See also on V1b 37, where the possibility of contrasting Staflarem with Tefrali 28, 35, is taken as support for the interpretation of stafli adopted in the present passage. — afiktu: see on 28. — 33 erus: on V1b 16. — 34 kumultu: on V1b 17.

**Ib 1 - 4** (= V1b 43 - 44). Sacrifice of three bull-calves to Mars Hodius at the grove of Jupiter. The agreement between the earlier and later versions is very close, the differences of detail and the arrangement of the instructions being the same as in the case of the fifth sacrifice (Ia 20-23 = V1b 19-21). The clause ponne oui furfant = pune uvef furfaθ, however, is found only here. — 1 vu-kukum: for the translation 'grove' in preference to 'temple' see on V1b 43. — furfaθ: on V1b 43. The character  used for the final letter occurs also in purtuvíθu IV 20. — 2 Hufie: on Horse V1b 43. — 3 vatuvà ferine fetu: on V1a 57. — puni: on poni V1a 57. — avria ustentu: on Ia 3. — kutep: on Ia 6; for the final p in place of the normal f cf. vitlup turup in 4 below. — 4 afepes arves: on Ia 3.

**Ib 4 - 7** (= V1b 45 - 46). Sacrifice of three bull-calves to Hondus Šerfius at the grove of Coreadius. The instructions in general agree with those in V1b 45-6, but the fiela prescribed in the latter passage is not mentioned with the tenzitim in Ib 6, and the cakes are called for at a different place in the series of instructions in the two tables. — 4 Kureties: see on V1b 45. — Hunte Čerfi: on V1b 45. — 6 tenzitim: see on tesedi in the equivalent V1b 46, the only other passage in which this type of cake is prescribed.

**Ib 7 - 9** (= V1b 46 - 47). Instruction for repeating the whole purification in case there has been any omission. The similarity between the two versions is extremely close, the principal difference being between anter: vakazevaçetum-iseavif and ander. uacose. uas tome.fust. au if, as the words appear in the actual texts. For discussion of the word-division and interpretation see on V1b 46-7.

**Ib 10 - 45** (= V1b 48 - VIIa 54). Iustration of the people. The present version contains the instructions for the taking of the auspices (10-11), the fire-ceremony (11-12), the second taking of the auspices (13-14), the procession to Acedonia with the prinuati (15-16), the banishment of aliens (16-18), the three circuits around the assembled people (19-23), the sacrifices at Fontuli, at Rubinia, and at Trans Sanctam, which seem to have been partly in progress at the same time (24-39), the ceremonial heifer-chase (40-44), and finally the authentication by the quaestor (45). For the principal discrepancies between the whole passage and the later version, and for the problem of the sequence of events in both of them, see the introductory portion of the notes on V1b 48 - VIIa 54. — 10 aferum: see on V1a 19. — avef anzeriatu etu pernaia/f pust-naiaf: on V1b 48-52. — 11 krenkatrum: on V1b 49. — 12 ahtimem: probably a tf-stem (+postposition -em) from the root ag- (cf. L. ago, actio), but the sense is very uncertain. Some, in order to reconcile it with ahtisper III 24, 29, take it to designate the ceremony for which the fire is prepared: 'ad agonium' (B. B.), 'ad caerimonium' (Bk.), 'ad actionem' (Bott.); others to designate the object in which the fire is to be carried: 'in foculum'
svepu : esumek : esunu : anter :
vakazevačetumiseavi : azeriatsu : /
(9) v eru : treplanu : kuvertu :
restef : esunu : feitu : /

(10) pune : pulum : aferam :
heries : avef : anzvriatu : etu :
pernaia / f : pustnaiaf : pune :
kuvurtus : krenkatrum : hatu :
enumek : / (12) pim : ahtimem :
etentu : pune : pim : entelus :
 ahtimem : / (13) enumek : steplatu
parfam : tesvam : tef : tute :
 ikuvine : / (14) vepefem : avielu :
kumpfiatu : vea : aviekla : esunume :
etu : / (15) prinuvalu : etetu :
perkaif : habetutu : punicate :
pune : menes : / (16) akeřuniamem :
enumek : etuštamu : tuta taři-
nate : trifu : / (17) tařinate :
turskum : naharkum : numem :
ia puzkum : numem : / (18) svepis :
habe : purtatulu : pue : meřs :
est : feitu : uru : peře : meřs : est :
/ (19) pune : prinuvalu : staheren :
termnesku : enumek : armańu :
/ (20) kateramu : ikuvine : enumek :
apretu : tures : et : pure : puni :
amprefu / us : persnimu :
enumek : etatu : ikuvinus : tri-
iuper : amprehtu : / (22) triiuper :
pesnimu : triiuper : etatu :
ikiuvinus : enumek : / (23)
prinuvalu : čimu : etetu :
erahunt : vea : čimu : etetu :
prinuvalu : /

(24) funtlere : trif : apruf : rufru :
ute : peiu : feitu čerfe : marti : /
(25) vatuvu : ferime : fetu : arviu :

purified. If there is any interruption of
these rites, they shall be invalid: take an
observation of the birds, return to the
Trebulan Gate, and perform the rite anew.

When you wish to perform a lustration
of the people, go to observe the
birds, those from in front and those
from behind. When you have returned,
take a stole, then place fire in the car-
rier. When you have placed the fire
in the carrier, then demand a parra in
the west for yourself and for the state
of Iguvium. (The augur) shall make his
announcement in the direction of the
augural seats. Go to the sacrifice by the
Augural Way. The prinuati shall go
(along); they shall hold the wands of a
puniceatus. When you come to Ace-
donia, then pronounce banishment on the
Tadinate state, the Tadinate tribe, the
Tuscan, the Narcan name, the Iapudic
name: “If anyone is caught, bring him
to that place to which it is the law, do
with him that which is the law.” When
the prinuati shall be standing at the
boundary, then (say): “Arrange your-
selves in priestly ranks and military ranks,
men of Iguvium.” Then make the cir-
cuit around (them) with the victims and
the fire. When you have made the cir-
cuit, pray. Then (say): “Go, men of
Iguvium.” Make the circuit three times,
pray three times, (say): “Go, men of
Iguvium” three times. Then the prin-
uati shall return; by the same road
shall the prinuati return.

At Fontuli sacrifice three boars, red
or black, to Šerfu Martius. Place the
ribs on a tray, present grain-offerings,
(Br., Blum.), ‘in fereulum’ (Pl.), ‘paseulum igniariam’ (Dev., p. 267). From a comparison with the corresponding passage V1b 49-50 it appears that the latter interpretation is preferable. The two passages placed side by side read:

Ib 11-13 enumek / pir ahtimen ententu. pone / esonone fera pupe pir entelust, ere feta poe perca arsmaiham habiest. It will be noticed that in the later version there is nothing corresponding to ahtimen which stands with pir... ententu in the earlier, and also that beside pir entelus ahtimen we find pupe pir entelust. This omission of *ahtimen in one place and use of a substitute expression in the other appears to be a clear instance of tabu. Since esonome is ‘to the sacrifice,’ in other words the destination of the fire, ahtimen and pupe must in all probability designate that in which it is carried; that is, a sort of fire-pan or brazier. For a noun with suffix -li- as the name of an instrument or utensil we may compare L. peeis < *wegh-li-.

V1b 49-51 pir endenbu. V1b 49-50 it appears that the latter interpretation is preferable. The two passages placed side by side read:

Ib 24 - 26 (= VIIa 3 - 5). Sacrifice of

— 16 Akeřuniarem: this place in relation to Iguvium proper cannot be positively identified, but see on V1b 52. — etufstamu, etc.: as in V1b 52-5, when the adjectar has arrived at Acedonia he pronounces banishment against any members of the Tadinate people and tribe and the Tuscan, Naharean, and Iapudic “name” who happen to be present. For trifu, numem, and the possible identification of the nations named, see on V1b 54. — 18 svepis habe, purtatulu pue meřs est, feitu uru пеф meřs est: see on V1b 54-5. In the latter passage the text of the sentence of banishment is given more fully, commencing at pisest totar Tarsinater and including the names of the alien states. — 19-20 punu prinuvaus staherem termesku, enumek ‘афнаму / kateramu Iku- vinu’: in contrast to V1b 55-6 the older version omits the instruction to pronounce the sentence of banishment three times, and uses pl. termesku in place of sg. termuso; the participation of the prinuati is differently described, and there is no *deitu to introduce the command афнаму kateramu Ikuvinu. For termesku see on V1b 53, for афнаму kateramu see on 56. — enumek apre- tu tures et pure: V1b 56 reads eno com prinuvaiz peracris sacris ambretulo. Since bulls are mentioned nowhere else in the description of the lustration of the people, the victims at the three stations Fontuli, etc., being boars, pigs, and heifer-calves, tures must be used here in the general sense of ‘victims’; cf. Bů., p. 98, Dev., pp. 278-9. pure may be the same fire which was placed in the carrier in 12. — 21 etatu Ikuvinu: see on V1b 63. — 23 prinuvaus čimu etetu, etc.: as in V1b 65 the prinuati depart by the same way by which they came, and as in VIIa 51-2, so in Ib 49-41 the same (or other?) prinuari participate in the heifer-chase. For the problem involved see the introductory remarks on V1b 48 - VIIa 54.

Ib 24 - 25 ( = VIIa 3 - 5). Sacrifice of
III. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

ustentu : puni : feiu : / (26) tačez :
pesnimu : ařepe : arves : /

(27) rupinie : e : tre : purka :
rufra : ute : peia : fetu : prestate :
/ (28) čerfie : čerfe : marties :
peřaia : feitu : arviu : ustentu : /
(29) kapi : sakra : aitu : vesklu :
vetu : atru : ašu : puni : fetu : / (30)
tačez : pesnimu : ařepe : arves : /

(31) tra : sate : tef : vitlaf : feitu :
tuse : čerfie : čerfe : marties : /
(32) peřaia : feitu : arviu : ustentu :
puni : fetu : tačez : pesnimu : /
(33) ařepe : arves : pune :
purtinčus : kašetu : pufè : apruf : /
(34) fakurent : puze : erus : teřa :
apè : erus : teřust : pustru : / (35)
kupifiau : rupiname : erus : teřa :
enè : tra : sahta : kupifiaia : / (36)
erus : teřa : enu : rupiname :
pustru : kuvertu : antakre : / (37)
kumate : pesnimu : enu : kapi :
sakra : aitu : vesklu : vetu : / (38)
enu : satame : kuvertu : antakre :
kumate : pesnimu : enu : esunu :
/ (39) purtitu : fuss : /
sacrifice with mead, and pray silently with (offerings of) fat and grain.

At Rubinia sacrifice three pigs, red or black, to Prestota Serfia of Serfus Martius. Sacrifice (the victims) upon the ground, present grain-offerings, move the consecrated bowls, divide the black and the white vessels, sacrifice with mead, and pray silently with (offerings of) fat and grain.

At Trans Sanctam sacrifice three heifer-calves to Tursa Serfia of Serfus Martius. Sacrifice (the victims) upon the ground, present grain-offerings, sacrifice with mead, and pray silently with (offerings of) fat and grain. When you have made the presentation, the order shall be called to the place where they have sacrificed the boars, to distribute the erus. When the erus has been distributed, the instruction shall be passed back to Rubinia to distribute the erus. Then the instruction shall be passed to Trans Sanctam to distribute the erus. Then return to Rubinia and pray with the whole and the ground (grain). Then move the consecrated bowls and divide the vessels. Then return to (Trans) Sanctam and pray with the whole and the ground (grain). Then the sacrifice will have been completed.

three boars to Serfus Martius at Fontuli. For details see on VIIa 3-5. In general the two versions agree, but there is a slight difference in the arrangement of the instructions, as well as the usual difference in the expressions relating to the cereal offerings. Moreover the instruction to distribute the erus upon receiving the order from Trans Sanctam is given in VIIa 5 in connection with the present sacrifice, but in Ib not until 33-4 in connection with the third sacrifice.

Ib 27-30 (= VIIa 6-8). Sacrifice of three pigs to Prestota Serfia of Serfus Martius at Rubinia. In the later version the sacrifice proper is followed in 8-40 by supplementary offerings closely resembling those described in VIIb 5-18 in connection with the sacrifice behind the Tesenacan Gate. In the present version, however, the only suggestion of such offerings is found in the passage kapi
sakra aitu, vesklu vetu atru alf u, on which see below. — 28 peʃaia: here for the first time in Table I; in the second and fourth sacrifices of the purification of the Fisian Mount, where Vla 58, b 3 have persae fel tu, Ia 9, 16 in the corresponding position have supa sumtu, but in Ib 32, 44 peʃaia fe(ि)tu is used in connection with the sacrifice at Trans Sanctam and the sacrifice after the pursuit of the heifers. For its meaning see on Vla 58. — 29 kapi sakra aitu: the same instruction occurs in VIIa 40 at the conclusion of the ceremony. For the details see on Vlb 18.—vetu: of uncertain etymology and meaning. The view preferred here is that of Büt, Pl., and Bk., who translate ‘dividi lo.’ The phonological development would then be *weid-heʃôd > *weʃ(e)ʃôd > vetu, with syncope followed by the same treatment of -ʃl- as in 38 b, where -ʃl- is from -pl-. *vei tu might be a more natural spelling, but there are certain difficulties in deriving vetu from *wel tu, as Blum., Dev., and Bott. do, for it is not certain that loss of l before t, as in kumates < *kom-phil-los, would occur here; see 55 d. In fact vetu IV 21, eu tel tu Vla 2, are against such a view, while at the same time there is not enough similarity in sense between Ib 29 and IV 21 to lead to the assumption that the verb in the two passages is the same. The meaning then is probably ‘divide the black and the white vessels.’

Ib 31 - 39 (= VIIa 41 - 45). Sacrifice of three heifer-calves to Tursa Šerfia at Trans Sanctam. The details closely resemble those in the preceding sacrifice at Rubinia, and also agree in most respects with VIIa 41-45, if allowance is made for those differences which are usual between the ritual instructions of the earlier and later tables. In the earlier as in the later version we must picture sacrifices being performed at three adjacent stations partly at the same time, and in each version the adj f ʃor goes from Trans Sanctam to Rubinia for the grind-

ing of the cereal offerings and the ceremony of the vessels, after which he returns to Trans Sanctam. — 31 Tra Sate: for this place-name, which has the form of a prepositional phrase and which we render ‘Trans Sanctam,’ see on VIIa 5. — Tuse Čerfie Čerfe Marties: see on Vlb 58. — 33 kaʃetu: for the difference between this verb and kupiʃiatu see on VIIa 43. — puf apruf takurent: the same substitute for *Funtluf-e, possibly euphemistic in purpose, is used in VIIa 43. — 34 erus: for the procedure in distributing the erus at the three stations see introductory remarks on VIIa 41-45, and on the erus itself see on Vlb 16. — 36-7 antakre / kumate pesnimu: the same instruction occurs immediately below in 38 and also in 11a 42 in the instructions for the dog-sacrifice. All recent editors take antakres as equivalent to L. integris, no forms in the Latin alphabet being recorded to serve as a test for the value of the k. The priest prays over the ground and un-ground grain or cakes; see on Vlb 17 on comoltu, which is usually not accompanied by a direct object. In VIIa 44, 45 comoltu, comalir persni(h)mu the instruction to grind is not merely implied but directly given, while on the other hand no distinction is made between unground and ground offerings. — enu kapi sakra aitu, vesklu vetu: precisely as in 29 above, except that the color-names atru alf u are omitted. — 38-9 enu esmu / purtu fust: not of the porrectio but of the conclusion of the whole sacrifice; similarly in the equivalent VIIa 45 and in Vlb 42 at the end of the ceremony behind the Veian Gate.

Ib 40 - 44 (= VIIa 51 - 54). Ritual pursuit of the heifers. Actually the introductory clause pusterti au puplu aterfustu corresponds to VIIa 46, but the whole passage VIIa 46-51, containing the curse against the enemies of Iguvium, is without counterpart in Ib. For the chase in general and the differences between the earlier and later accounts of
III. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

(40) pustertiu : pane : pupakan :
ateřafust : iveka : perakre : tuseiu
/ (41) super : kunne : ařertur :
prinuvațu : tuf : tusetutu : / (42)
hutra : furu sehmeniar : hatutu :
eaf iveka : / (43) tre : akeřunie :
vetu : tuse iuvie : arviu : ustetu : / 
(44) puni vetu : peřaia vetu : tačez
pesnimu : ařpe : arves : /
(45) kvestre : tie : usaie : svesu
vuvči titis teteies : /

40 tuseiu: for tusetu.

When he has made the circuit around
the people for the third time, the adjertor
shall chase a heifer fit for sacrif-
cice, above the Comitium, and the prin-
uati shall chase two. Below the Forum
of Semonia they shall catch them. These
three heifers he shall sacrifice at Acedon-
ia to Tursa Jovia. He shall present
grain-offerings and sacrifice with mead.
He shall sacrifice (the victims) upon the
ground, and pray silently with (offer-
ings) of fat and grain. Lucius Tetteius,
son of Titus, approved (the foregoing)
in his quaestorship.

it see the introductory remarks on VIIa
51-54. — 40 pustertiu pane pupakan:
ateřafust: the pursuit probably takes
place, according to the view adopted here,
after the completion of the whole lustration
including the sacrifices, and not
merely after the third circumambulation.
See introductory remarks on VIIb 48
- VIIa 54. — iveka: the adjertor chases
a single heifer and the two prinuati one
each; in VIIa 51-2 the adjertor and prin-
uati chase possibly twelve heifers, though
the number is not precisely stated. —
perakre: on VIa 25. — 41 kunne: on-
ly here, being omitted from the instruc-
tions in VIIa 51-2, but without doubt
the same word as O. comenei, comono
‘comitium.’ The location of this place of
assembly cannot be determined with
certainty, but Miss Rosenzweig conjetural-
ly places it a short distance southwest of
the modern Corso Garibaldi. — 42
hutra furu sehmeniar: on VIIa 52.
— hatutu: since there is no new subject,
the adjertor and prinuati are evidently
expected to catch the heifers themselves.
In VIIa 52, where the number of heifers
is larger, any person is authorized to
catch them below the Forum.

Ib 45. Formula containing the name
of the authenticating official. Nothing
equivalent is found at the end of the later
version in VIIa, but the formula at the end
of IIa is substantially identical. In
consequence of certain differences in spel-
ling and word division, however, it is best
to show the exact text of both passages:
Ib 45 kvestre: tie: usaie: svesuvuv-
čististeteteies: IIa 44 kvestretieusa-
česvesuvucečisteteteies, the last passage
being written in the lower left margin
commencing a little to the left of esunu
and extending upward. That kvestre-
tie is to be read as the first word of the sentence is beyond question. The last
half of the formula, on the other hand,
has caused considerable difficulty be-
cause of the lack of word-division in both
versions, but the recognition of usaie /
usače as a verb and of Vuvčis Titis
Teteies as the name of the quaestor has
finally led to a satisfactory analysis and
interpretation of the passage. — kves-
tetie: for the kvestur see Va 23, b 2,
where the kvestur or the fraatreks is
directed to take a vote on whether the
adjertor has provided satisfactorily for
the ceremonial meal and, in case of a
negative vote, on what the amount of
the penalty should be. For the for-
mation of the noun kvestretie cf. uhtretie Va 2, 15. In Va 1-3 the epo-
yonymous magistrate was the uhtur rather than the kvestur; for the relation
of this fact to the chronology of the ta-les see Introduction, 18. — usaie: IHa
44 shows the correct form usaçe, the error
being caused by omission of the loop
at the lower left of the vertical hasta in
the letter $q$. Devoto, p. 302, derives
from *op-sak-ed as pf. 3 sg. from the
root *sa(n)k (formation as in 124 b),
partly anticipated by Pl., I, p. 555, II,
292, in so far as the latter took the form
for a verb, although his etymology was
different (< *opesankit, pf. of osatti). Vet.
and Bott. have followed Dev.; the former
suggests that the authorization was for
the cost of preparing the table. — svesu:
loc. sg. of the possessive pronominal adj.
equivalent in meaning to L. suus; for an
attempt at an etymological explanation
see 107, n. 1. — Vuvćis Titis Teteies:
the praenomen, father’s praenomen, and
nomen; for the arrangement see on Va 3.
— Vuvćis: taken by Thurneysen, K.Z.,
XXXII (1893), pp. 559-61, and by Buck
(with reservations) and Blum. as equi-
vivalent to L. Lucius. Dev. p. 303, rather
than allow uv to stand for a retained
diphthong, derives from *Voff(i)kio-, as
if corresponding to L. *Vovicius, voveo,
etc. Bott. reads Vuvćis here, Vucćis
in IHa 44, *Voecius in his Latin transla-
tion in both places. In IHa 44 the third
letter has a cross-bar making an e, which
is visible in the photographic plate in
Devoto’s edition. Bottiglioni’s reading is
therefore very tempting, since it seems
more natural to assume that the cross-bar
was erroneously omitted in Ib 45 than
erroneously added in IHa 44. Yet there
are certain objections. Latin Voecius,
which Bott., p. 270, cites as support for
105 f.; Conway, It. Dial., I, p. 328), is
a nomen, while the Iguvine Vuvčis, Vuc-
cis, like L. Lucius, is a praenomen.
Moreover forms with -s- from scattered
sites in Etruria or from Praeneste are
not reliable evidence for Umbrian forms
with $q$ (from $k$ before front vowel) unless
we assume that such palatalization had
an extraordinarily wide distribution. It
seems best, therefore, to adhere to the
old equation of Vuvćis with Lucius, or
possibly *Vovicius after Devoto. For e
in place of v we have a possible parallel
in Ia 17, where the fifth letter of Fiivu
(for Fisuvi) has in its center a blur which
gives evidence of a not entirely successful
attempt to correct an e into a $v$. As be-
tween Lucius and Vovicius the former
seems preferable, since *Vovicius is no-
where actually attested. The spelling with
uv may possibly represent a family tra-
dition. — Titis: abbreviated Ti in the
other version; etymological equivalence
with L. Titus is virtually sure. On the
gen. sg. ending see 92. — Teteies: the
gentile name Tetteius occurs in C.I.L.,
VI, 5296, 27296 (Rome), X, 1403 (Her-
culanum), 1781 (Puteoli). For the end-
ing -es see 32 b. It is otherwise unknown
in Umbrian, but occurs in Paelignian and
in certain Oscan inscriptions in the Greek
alphabet, and is better understood here
as nom. than as gen. sg.
(IIa 1) pune : karne : speturie :  
atiieřie : aviekate : naraklum : /  
(2) vurtus : estu esunu : fetu :  
fratrusper : atiieřie : eu : esum /  
(3) esu : naratu : pe费率 : karne :  
speturie : atiieřie : aviekate : / (4)  
aiu : urtu : fefure : fetu : puze  
neip eretu : vestiçe saçe : /

2 esum: for esunu (M for \$\text{\La}\text{\TeX}$.)

IIa. This table falls into two portions quite distinct in content. Lines 1-14 contain instructions for sacrifices to be performed in case of unfavorable auspices, while 15-43 describe the sacrifice of a dog to Hondus Jovius. The distinct character of the two parts may originally have been shown by a space after 13, which was later filled by the words *Açetus perakne fetu* (cf. Vetter, p. 189); such a theory is at least plausible in view of the space at the end of 13, which would have been fully adequate for *Açetus*. IIa ends with a sentence written in the lower part of the left margin, which, despite certain differences of spelling and word-division, is substantially identical in content with the formula of authentication at the end of 1b. It is evident therefore that 1b and IIa were written at about the same time, but it is not certain that the auspices in question are those connected with the sacrifices during the purification of the Fisian Mount and the lustration of the people, as Bücheler, p. 123, and Rosenzweig, p. 47, suggest. The expression *fratrusper Atiieřie* (2), in place of *ukriper Fisiu tutaper Ikuvina* or *pupluper tutas Iuvinas tutaper Ikuvina* is unfavorable to such a view (cf. Dev., p. 309), but the question must be left undecided.

IIa 1-14. Sacrifices in case of unfavorable auspices: a young pig to Vesticius Sancius, an ox to Jupiter, and a victim of uncertain species to Spector, a ram to Jovius, a sheep to Ahtus Jupiter, and a boar to Ahtus Mars. For the Roman practice of offering additional sacrifices if the previous one gave unfavorable auspices cf. Cic., Div., II, 17, 38 *Quid? cum pluribus deis immolatur, qui tandem evenit, ut litemut atius, atius non litemut? quae autem inconstantia deorum est, ut primis minentur extis, bene promitant secundis?* — 1 karne: it seems better to discard ‘carni’, the rendering of earlier editors, and, following Blum. and Dev., to adopt ‘part, portion, section’ in all passages where the word occurs. In Va 24, 27, b 4 this is unavoidable, and it agrees with the sense in O. *maimas carneis senaleis langinud* (Tabula Bantu = Co. 28, line 3), while the Latin sense ‘meat, flesh’ shows a later stage in the semantic evolution. See Blum., p. 68. — speturie: only here and in the similar formula in 3, but the formation is clear: the L. equivalent would be *spectoriae*, related to *spector*, U. *Speture*, as *amatorius* to *amator*. It is therefore that section of the Atiedian Brotherhood which is concerned with *spectio* or the taking of auspices. — aviekate: from a denom. vb. stem *aviekā-, and probably a deponent pf. pass. pcp., although analysis as a pres. pcp. with loss of *n* before *l* is also possible. The whole ex-
pression karne speturie Atiieie aviekate, here and in 3, then means 'for the augural section (of the) Atiedian (Brotherhood) in taking the auspices.' — naraklum vurtus: the unfavorable nature of the omens is not directly stated, but Bû., p. 124, interprets the passage in the light of the ancient belief that evil omens could be produced by a miraculous change in the organs of the victim at the time of sacrifice; cf. Cic., Div., II, 15, 35 cum immolare quispiam velit, tum fieri ex lorum mulationem, ut aut absit aliquid aut superst. Pighi, R.F.I.C., XXXII (1954), p. 244, takes vurtus as 2 sg. and translates 'quom parti auguriali Atiediae auspicanii narrationem verteris,' understanding vurtus to denote some error made by the priest in pronouncing the naraklum; this gives good sense in its context, but the construction of the da tive karne ... aviekate seems slightly more natural by the other interpretation. — 3-4 pefe karne ... / ... fefure: the formula actually to be used in announcing the expiatory sacrifice differs from the clause in 1-2 not only in the use of pefe rather than pune, but also in the words designating the nature of the omens, and it is not unreasonable to sup pose that the formula in 4 preserves more archaic language. — 4 aiu: found only here and variously interpreted, but best taken in etymological connection with L. aio, prod-iqum, as 'response.' For the suffix, R. G. Kent, C.P., XV (1920), p. 363, admits three possibilities: -iā-, -iōn- (see 81 a, n. 1), or -io- with declension as neuter; the last is the most likely. — fefure: taken as fut. pf. 3 pl. of futu by Br., Bk., Blum., and more recently by Vet., but there are several objections: it is unlikely that a fut. pf. of the auxiliary would be used in making a fut. pf. of the verb as a whole, and even if a fut. pf. were so used, we should not expect a reduplication; the Tables have many instances of unreduced pust as auxiliary, whether we prefer to call it futu. or fut. pf.: cf., for example, Ib 7, 39, Va 19, 20, 22, Vl a 7, b 39, etc. Moreover -nt in 3 pl. verbs and other forms is preserved with considerable regularity, the few examples of loss being subject to special explanation. fefure then is probably pf. 3 sg. of some other verb. Connection with φόρος, πέρφρατοι is possible, even though Bücherel rejected it in favor of L. forare or furculare. The semantic evolution then may have been ' mingle > confound > disturb > make ineffective,' and a literal translation may be 'if ... the response (which has) come forth has made (the sacrifice) ineffective.' Cf. Kent, C.P., XV (1920), p. 363; Pisani, Gl., XX (1932), pp. 96-7; the latter takes fefure as 3 pl. with an ending -re similar to certain 3 pl. forms in Tocharian B, but aiu and fefure can as easily be sg. as pl. (cf. esunu 2, and 115 c), and a sg. is somewhat easier here in view of narak lum vurtus in the alternate formula. — fetu puz e neip eretu: cf. the more elliptical expression pusei neip heritu Vl a 27, etc. — Vestie: this god, who is here grouped in a triad with Jupiter and Spect or, is not otherwise known except from the expression carsome Vestisier, which occurs in Vl a 13-14 in the list of points used in defining the city-limits. There is little doubt, however, that his name is connected with uestis, uesticatu, uestisiar (see on Vl b 5), and if the connection of these words with Vesta is valid, Vestius is probably a god associated with the hearth. Bû., p. 125, hesitantly speculates on the possibility of identifying Vestius with the Oscan Vezkei of the Agnone Dedication (Co. 175), A 2, B 3, on the basis of an interchange of z (= ts) and st. — Saçe: an epithet of Jupater in Hb 17, 24, and used alone in b 10; see also on Vl b 3. The nasal before atsu s is omitted in all 5 instances in the native alphabet and written in all 12 instances in the Latin alphabet. Yet it is unlikely that we have a distinct non-nasal form replaced in the later tables under Latin influence by a nasal form, as Dev., p. 217, suggests. In the earlier tables n
III. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

(5) sakre : iuvespatre bum perakne :
speture : perakne : restatu / (6)
iuvie : unu eriuetu sakre : pelsanu
ftu : arviu : ustentu : / (7) puni
ftu : tačez : pesnimu : ařepe :
arves : pune purttius : / (8) unu :
suřu pesutru : ftu : tikamne :
iuvie : kapiře : / (9) peřu : preve

before ç is often omitted, and written only in ančif Ila 25, purtinčus Ib 33. Besides, the wide distribution of the stems Sancu-, Sanco- has received new confirmation from the appearance of the name San. qus on one of the Italic inscriptions in the Val Camonica (see Altheim, Gesch. d. lat. Spr. [Frankfurt-am-Main, 1951] pp. 100-04). — 5 sakre: for the substantive use cf. III 8, 9, 12 (where sakre is not an epithet of the following uven, 22, 39, Va 6, Vlb 52, 56; O. sakrim (Curse of Vibia = Co. 130, line 11), sakriss (Co. 113), sakrid (Co. 114), sakrim (Co. 117). That the i-stem sacri- may be used of a young pig as a sacrificial victim is apparent from Varro, R.R., II, 1, 20 E quis (sc. porcis) qui iam puri sunt ad sacrificium, ut immoventur, olim appellati sacres; 4, 16 Cum porci depulsi sunt a mammna, a quibusdam delici appellantur neque iam lactantes dieuntur, qui a parto decimo die habentur puri, et ab eo appellantur ab antiquis sacres, quod iam ad sacrificium idonei dieuntur primum. sacres as attribute of porci occurs in Plaut., Men., 289-90, Rud., 1208. — perakne: mostly used as an attribute of sacrificial victims, but of uncertain meaning; commonly connected with acnu, O. akenei, akun., L. annus, as a precise formal equivalent to L. per-envis though with a sense more like that of sollemnis (substantially so A.-K., II, p. 355, Buck, § 159a, Blum, p. 45, E.-M.5, p. 63. But this fails to give a satisfactory interpretation of some of the passages where perakn- occurs. — It

cius Sancius, an ox brought from away to Jupiter, and a victim brought from away to Spector. Offer to Jovius one ram from the temple-property, to be buried. Present grain-offerings, sacrifice with mead, and pray silently with (offerings of) fat and grain. When you have made the presentation, present one pig-persondro to Dicamus Jovius. Make a mound in a separate place for the

is a striking fact that with the exception of VIa 54, where we must almost certain- ly emend perencio to peracrio, the adjective perakn- occurs only in Ila, b, and Va 7, while peracr-, apart from perakre Ib 40, occurs only in VIa, b, and VIIa, and further that both are at times associated with saer- sakr- in what appears to be a contrast of meanings (e.g. not only the present passage, but also Vlb 52 uthu auiclus etulo com percris sacris, with the closely similar VIIb 56). Devoto calls attention to the distinction between animals raised for sacrifice (sakri-) and those from secular sources selected as victims (pp. 190-91; cf. his similar classification of vessels, p. 237), and he maintains connection with acnu, which, however, he renders by 'extensione, mole' rather than by 'anno.' In view of O. akenei, akun., it seems best to preserve the meaning 'year' for U. acnu and abandon connection between it and perakne. Now the k of perakne can stand for g as well as for k (Ia). It may therefore be possible to derive from *per-ag-nil- 'driven (from) beyond,' with the value of per- similar to that in L. peregrinus, as suggested by Devoto. -no- as a suffix used in the formation of passive verbal adjectives is represented not only by L. plenus, etc., but by the pf. pepls. of numerous Indo-Iranian, Slavic, and Germanic verbs. In the present instance we have in place of -no- an i-stem suffix -ni-, and the change of stem cannot be explained as in the bahuvrīhi compounds L. imberbis, trire-
mis, etc. But the change may have been occasioned by the use of the word as member of a contrasting pair with sacri-
sakri-, which outnumber the o/ā-stem saerō/ā- by 13 to 4. We may then render the
sense by 'brought from outside, brought from away.' See also on VIa 25
peracrei, Ila 21, sevalne. — Specura: this god, the third of the present triad, is
mentioned only here, but in view of the expression karne speturie Atieiē
aviekate in 1, 3 above, and of such technical
terms as L. auspiciēum, extispiciēum,
haruspiciēum, ignispiciēum, and specio
'right to take auspices,' there can be
little doubt that Spector was in some way
god of augury. See Rosenzweig, pp.
95-6. — restatu: cf. lb 9 restēf osunu
feitū = VIb 47 reste esono feitu in the
instruction for repeating the purification of the Mount in case of any omission in
the ceremony.

IIa 6-10. Sacrifice of a ram to Jo-
vius, followed by the offering of a per-
sontru to Dicannus Jovius. The prin-
cipal problem is the identification of Jo-
vius, for IIa 6 is the only passage in the
tables where a form of the stem Iovio- appears alone as a divine name. As a par-
allel Rosenzweig, p. 80, mentions the Dea Dia of the Fratres Arvales, and there
is no question as to the etymological re-
lation of the names, even though the gra-
dation and stem-types are different. Yet
it is hard to believe that Iuvie does not
involve an ellipsis of some other name,
to which it may have stood in the same
relation as in the names Tikanne Iuvie,
Hunte Iuvie, etc. Dev., pp. 315-6, calls
attention to the strikingly close resem-
bliance between the present passage and
the description in la 24-34 of the sacrifice
of three lambs to Tefer Jovius and the
supplementary offerings which follow.
The passage in Ia is more detailed, but
both contain the instructions pelsana
feitū arvian ustemtu puni fetu ṭaçez pes-
nimu aṭiper arvis (with orthographical
variations); both call for the offering of a
suṛum pesuntru after the porrectio; for
the construction of a mound (peṛum) for
the bowl; and for the grinding of the
cereal offerings, to be followed by prayers.
It is possible therefore that in order to
balance the repetition of Ia 24 Tefer
Iuvie ... 26 pelsana fetu ... 27 api
habia purtius, suṛum pesuntru /
feitu ... Tefer Iuvie fetu we must under-
stand Tikanne to belong in sense with
Iuvie in Ila 6 as well as in 8. — 6
unu erietu: the bronze reads unue-
rietusakre, but the word-division is
beyond reasonable doubt. For erietu
all editors since Aufrecht and Kirchhoff
adopt the translation 'arielem,' with the
exception of Bréal. unu occurs only here
and in 8 below, and it is strange that the
numeral should be used at all with re-
ference to a single victim. Br. translated
'agnum,' but with an untenable etym-
ology (: aipős, cf. p. 277). Pisani, A.G.I.,
XXVII (1935), pp. 165-6, translates
'ovillum,' with a better etymology (unu <
*ovino-), but the normal Italic suffix for
adjectives from animal-names is not in-
but ino-, as in cabriner, habina, where the
unsyncopated i must belong. The inter-
pretation of unu as derived from the stem
ovi- also creates difficulties in 8 if suṛu
is to be connected with L. sus, according
to the usual view. The word-order also
favors taking unu as 'unum,' since the
normal practice in I and II is to place the
numeral before the noun (see 155 h).
— pelsanu: see on VIb 22 — arviu: on
Ia 3 and below on Ila 18. — 7 puni:
on VIa 57. — afepe: on Ia 3. — 8
suṛu pesuntru: on VIb 24. — Tikam-
ne: taken by most earlier editors as abl.
of a noun related to L. dicare
and signifying a dedicatory formula.
Br., p. 278, took it as a divine name,
and Dev. and all subsequent editors
have so taken it, while retaining the
traditional etymological connection. Most
recently G. B. Pighi, R.F.I.C., XXXII
(1954), p. 247, pointed out its resemblance
to L. Vertumnus, Picunus, of suspected
Etruscan origin, and alumnus, femina,
from IE medio-passive participle: what-
ever the actual origin of *Dicannos, it was popularly associated with *deik-, *dik-ā, and had approximately the sense 'he who speaks.' See further on Ahtus in 10 below. — kapiře: on Vlb 18. — 9 peřu: on Vlb 24. — preve: found also in la 28, on which see note. In the latter passage, however, preve referred to the manner of offering the ustitia and not to the building of the mound for the bowl. The present passage is best clarified by a comparison with la 29 testruku peři kapiře peřum feitu, 32 nertzušku peři kapiře peřum feitu: in the latter ceremony two bowls were used, while in IIa 8-9 a single bowl is used. The function of preve then is similar to that of unu in 6, 8; both appear somewhat unnecessary, but may be used in intended contrast to the corresponding instructions in la, as Dev., p. 316, suggests. — erus: for a discussion of the nature of this offering see on Vlb 16. — kumal/tu kumate pesnimu: on Vlb 17.

IIa 10-14. Sacrifice of a sheep to Ahtus Jupiter and of a boar to Ahtus Mars. The word ahtu occurs nowhere except in the present passage, but practically all editors take it as in some way forming a part of the names of the two deities. The form may be easily analyzed as dat. sg. of a stem in -tu-, and the root may be either that of L. ago or that of L. aio, ad-agium, prod-igium, with -ht- < -kt- < -gt-, as in rehte. Probably the latter alternative is the more satisfactory. Pighi, R.F.I.C., XXXII (1954), pp. 245-6, in substantial agreement with Dev., p. 314, so takes it, along with aiu < *ag-yo- and Açetus < *ag-yent-, comparing also the Roman Aius Loquens (Varro apud Aul. Gell., XVI, 17, 2; Cic., Div., II, 32, 69) and Aius Locutius (Livy, V, 50, 5). Both Jupiter and Mars have oracular functions through which they make known their will to men, and it is entirely natural that the oracular aspect of their character should have a prominent place in the first part of Table IIa. The utterance of the gods is defiled and the deification is shown not by using adjectives *Iuvie and *Martie but by apposition of the names of the gods themselves, for Iuvip in 10 can reasonably be taken only as dat. of the noun Iupater. — 11 peřaem: see on Vla 58. — abrunu: in (b 24 = VIIa 3 during the lustration of the people of Iguvium three boars are sacrificed to Šerfus Martius at Fontul. The details of the ritual, however, are strikingly different. The in-
structions for the sacrifice at Fontuli include among other matters the expression *uatuo ferine fetu*, which is elsewhere used only in connection with oxen (Ia 4, 13, 22, VIIa 57, b 1, 19) or bull-calves (Ib 3, 5-6, Vlb 43-4, 45). The present sacrifice, on the other hand, contains the instruction *pefaem fetu*, which is used in VIIa 58 of pregnant sows, Vlb 3 of sucking pigs, Ib 28 = VIIa 7 of sows, Ib 32 = VIIa 41 of heifer-calves, Ib 44 = VIIa 54 of heifers, and III 32 of a sheep; in Ila 21-2 the expression *esunu / pefae futu* is used in the description of the dog-sacrifice. In other words the two expressions *uatuo ferine fetu* and *pefaem fetu* never occur in the instructions for one and the same sacrifice and never with victims of the same class, unless we equate *aprunu* with *aprat abrof* of the sacrifice at Fontuli. It is probable therefore that the stem-variation between *aprunu* and *aprut* (as if L. *aprōnem* stood beside acc. pl. *aprôs*) corresponds to a difference in the victim itself, with *aprunu* probably standing for ‘young boar,’ since the instruction to slaughter the victim stretched upon the ground (*pefaem fetu*) is generally used in connection with smaller victims. Cf. A.J.P., LXXVII (1956), pp. 177-80. — 12 *fasiu pruseçete arveitu*: see on Vlb 1-2, where spelt-cakes form a part of the offerings made to Mars Grabovius in the third sacrifice of the purification of the Fisian Mount. The latter passage, together with Vlb 43 on the sacrifice to Mars Hodius at the Grove of Jupiter, and the present passage are sufficient to show that spelt-cakes had an especially close association with the cult of Mars. — 13 *tra ekvīne*: the actual reading of the bronze is *tra: ekvī:ne*. Von Planta, I, pp. 347-8, Dev., and BcU., assume connection with *eikvasatis* and *eikvasese* but are unable to find any entirely satisfactory solution, and moreover the normal Umbrian negative is *neip neip*, the short form *nei* being found only in IV 33 in combination with the subjunctive *(a)flabas*. It seems best therefore to read *ekvīne*, taking it as equivalent to *L. equinae*. For the phonological problem see 46 h. For a clear instance of erroneous use of the word-divider cf. *kvestrest:ie* Ib 45. Blum., p. 57, compared *tra ekvīne* ‘trans equinam viam’ with *tra sate* Ib 43. For the case-usage see on VIIa 5. Vetter, p. 191, suggests that the sacrifices to the two *Ahtus* deities were performed in a different place from the sacrifice to Spector. — 14 *Açetus*: again the interpretation is uncertain, and there is no other instance for purposes of comparison. The form is almost certainly dat. pl. of a *l*-stem, or of a pres. ppcl. with loss of *n* before *l* by 52 d. As a pres. ppcl. it has been referred to *ag-*, root of *ago* (Bū.), and to *ag-*, root of *ahtu*, L. *alo*, *prod-igium* (Dev.), but there is no satisfactory explanation of the *c*, for the normal product of palatalization of *g* would be *l* by 47 b. It might be possible to assume a variant root-form *ak-* spreading analogically, as perhaps in O. infinitive *acum*, from forms where *g* is subject to unvoicing before *l* (cf. Brugmann, *Ber. kön. sächs. Ges. Wiss.*, 1890, pp. 237-8), but a translation ‘*Agentibus*’ or its semantic equivalent ‘*Actoribus*’ tells us nothing whatever about the nature of the deities in question. Pighi (see above) on 10-14 reaches a better solution by deriving *Açe(a)-* < *ag-yent- -aiens,* which may be tenable from a phonological standpoint if we admit *aç- < ak- < ag-* as explained above. The *Açetus* then are apparently *Ahtu Iuvip.* and *Ahtu Marti* themselves, and *Açetus* is related to *Ahtu* as the speaker to the word, both being here identified with Jupiter and Mars. But it is rather strange that the instruction to offer victims *perakne* to the two deities should be repeated here with substitution of the name *Açetus* for *Ahtu Iuvip.* ... *Ahtu ... Marti*. On the whole it seems safest to follow Pl., Bk., Blum., Vet., in tentatively identifying *Açetus* with *L. dis Ancitibus*, C.I.L., IX, 3515, from near Furfo in the Vestinian territory.
III. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

(15) **Huntia**: generally taken as abl. sg., but as acc. sg. by Vetter, pp. 191, 194, who understands it as acc. of goal indicating the name of the place where the sacrifice is to be performed. If we so take **Huntia**, it is difficult to construe it with **stakaz est**. In 17 with **fertu** it would give good sense, but the evidence for ordinary accusatives of goal without a preposition in the Italic dialects is negligible; we should rather expect *Huntiama(n)* or *Huntiam(*n), like **asamafr**, **spinama**, **fesnafe**. It is possible that **Huntia** should be left unconstrained and understood as the title of the body of instructions which follows. This is natural in view of the change of subject-matter after 14 and has a partial parallel in VIa 12 where **luderor itolcor** as a general heading precedes the list of places which follows. **Huntia** is then best taken as neut. pl. and may be compared with such neut. pl. festival-names as **Ambarvalia, Lupercalia, Saturnalia**. **Huntia** in 17 may possibly be a neut. pl. meaning 'the things for the Hondia,' which are then identified by the long series of nouns following **fertu**. — **katel**: this word, which occurs only in the description of the sacrifice in the present table, is generally understood to mean 'puppy, dog.' Vetter, p. 194, takes it to mean 'young pig,' on the ground that the elaborate instructions which follow would not be devoted to the preparation of dog-meat, and as support for **katel** = 'young pig' he cites Plaut., **Epid., 579 aliter catuli longe olent, aliter sues**, which, even apart from the mutilated condition of the text, does not seem to give adequate support. In Plaut., **fr. inc. XLII** (Goetz and Schoell) *et ego te conatuleabo ut sus catulos suos* it is the presence of **sus** in the context that establishes the meaning of **catulos**. I prefer to adhere to the usual interpretation of Table IIa 15 ff. The Hondia: the day for (the sacrifice of) the dog is appointed for the final period of the Cerealia occurring between

Italics, where not otherwise indicated, are added by the editor. **Sacrifice of a dog to Hon-**

**dus Jovius.** For a defense of the traditional view that **katle** means 'dog, puppy,' not 'young pig,' see below on 15 **katle.** A number of details of the ritual are obscure, the more so because we have not the advantage of being able to compare an earlier and a later version, as in the case of the purification of the Fisian Mount and the lustration of the people. Those features, however, which are clear may be briefly outlined. The time at which the sacrifice is to be performed — **sume ustite antermanzaru çersiaru** — is given in 15-16, but there is good ground for believing that a distinction was made between the sacrifice performed privately and that performed by the **adorter** himself, and that in the latter case a special time, designated by the expression **menzne kurtiasiu**, was prescribed. The articles necessary for the sacrifice include cereal-offerings (arvia), the cakes known as **struhça and fikla**, wine and mead (punī), crushed salt, a maniple, wet and dry vessels, and an unguent (18-19). The victim is slain stretched on the ground, on behalf of the gens Petronia. The dancing of the.tripudium takes place when the grain and mead are offered (24-5) after the slaughter of the victim, and again after the porrecito. A certain portion of the ceremony (34-9) takes place near an object known as the **spina**, possibly a sort of obelisk; this portion includes libations and prayers, the dancing of the **tripudium**, the anointing of the **spina**, and a ceremonial washing of the hands. After the **adorter** has returned to the altar, he offers further prayers, the cakes are ground, and the remains of the dog buried. —

Some phonological grounds the equation is easy, and the Umbrian palatalization occurred early enough to preclude the change -nk->-ng-.

**IIa 15 - 43.** Sacrifice of a dog to Hon-**
dus Jovius.** For a defense of the traditional view that **katle** means 'dog, puppy,' not 'young pig,' see below on 15 **katle.** A number of details of the ritual are obscure, the more so because we have not the advantage of being able to compare an earlier and a later version, as in the case of the purification of the Fisian Mount and the lustration of the people. Those features, however, which are clear may be briefly outlined. The time at which the sacrifice is to be performed — **sume ustite antermanzaru çersiaru** — is given in 15-16, but there is good ground for believing that a distinction was made between the sacrifice performed privately and that performed by the **adorter** himself, and that in the latter case a special time, designated by the expression **menzne kurtiasiu**, was prescribed. The articles necessary for the sacrifice include cereal-offerings (arvia), the cakes known as **struhça and fikla**, wine and mead (punī), crushed salt, a maniple, wet and dry vessels, and an unguent (18-19). The victim is slain stretched on the ground, on behalf of the gens Petronia. The dancing of the **tripudium** takes place when the grain and mead are offered (24-5) after the slaughter of the victim, and again after the porrecito. A certain portion of the ceremony (34-9) takes place near an object known as the **spina**, possibly a sort of obelisk; this portion includes libations and prayers, the dancing of the **tripudium**, the anointing of the **spina**, and a ceremonial washing of the hands. After the **adorter** has returned to the altar, he offers further prayers, the cakes are ground, and the remains of the dog buried. —

Some phonological grounds the equation is easy, and the Umbrian palatalization occurred early enough to preclude the change -nk->-ng-.
The sacrifice of dogs to infernal deities and for protection against grain-rust, and also the eating of dog-meat are attested by the following passages: Paul. e Fest., 39 Li. catulinam cærnem esitawi mater hoc est comedie Romanius Plautus in Saturione refert; Ov., F., I, 389-90 Ex tæ canum vidi Truiae libare Sapaeos, et quicunque haes acceili, Hæme, nives; IV, 907-8 Flamen in antiquæ lucem Robiginis ibat, ex tæ cantis flammis, eæ daturus ovis; Colum., X, 342 mala robigo viridis ne torreat herbas, sanque lactentis catuli placatur et exit; Plut. Quæst. Rom., 52 di æ tæ tæ ἐκαλομενη Γενετη Μάη κων θοναι; 68 di æ tæ κων θοναι οι Λύσειςκοι; Plin., N. H., XXIX, 58 catulus lactentes adeo puros exstilimbant at eibum ut etiam placandis numinibus hostiarum vice ulerentur his. Genitae Manae catuli res divina fit et in cens deum etiamum ponitur catulina. If the Atidian sacrifice included the eating of dog-meat, the elaborate preparations might be all the more necessary to make it fit for human consumption. The case of kætle may be gen. (Cæriœ Ib 28, 31, punicætæ Ib 15 give some support to loss of -s in gen.sg. in the older tables), but is perhaps better taken as dat., since -s is not omitted in kætes IIa 22, 27. — ticel: commonly referred to root *dik- of L. dico, etc., and interpreted 'dicatio, dedicatio, declaratio.' But Ribezzo, II, pp. 85, 93, followed by Vet. and Bott., gained a better interpretation by deriving from *dii-keolo-; cf. O. zicolon in the Tabula Bantina, where the sense 'day' is practically certain. See also on b 22, III 25. — sume ustite: the expression recurs in III 1-2. For ustite there is no entirely satisfactory solution, but it is possible to reconstruct a stem *op-stflo-, with stl- an ablaut-variant of slai- (so Devoto) and semantic evolution 'that which stands at hand' > 'time.' For the temporal use of sume cf. Verg. Aen., II, 324 venit summa dies. — 16 antermenzaru čersiaru: for antermenzaru the etymological translation 'interlunary' is easy, and since kur-

člasiu below is best taken as indicating the time for the sacrifice by the adjectior, there need not be any conflict in sense between antermenzaru and kurčlasiu. čersiaru is commonly connected with šesna, čersnatur, L. cena, but since this latter group is regularly based on a nā-stem in Italic, it is probably better, with Dev. and others, to associate čersiaru with Ceres. -rs- where we should expect -rf- may be explained by derivation from *ker(es)-siūrum. The sense of sume ustite antermenzaru čersiaru then is apparently 'at the final time of the interlunary Cerialia.' There were Roman festivals in honor of Ceres at the beginning of spring (cf. Verg., G., I, 339-40 Sacra refer Cerei, laetis operatus in herbis, extremæ sub casum hiemis, iam vere sereno). — heriiei façia affetur ... façia tiçit: it is uncertain whether we should punctuate after affetur and make it the subject of heriiei, with the majority of editors, or before affetur and make it the subject of façia, with Devoto. In the former case a distinction is supposed to be made between the dog-sacrifice offered privately and publicly, and the time specified for each is different. Dev., pp. 322-3, argues for the opposite view on the ground that the sacrifice is a single one, offered for the gens Petronia of the Atidian Brothers, and that the mere occurrence of the adjectior's title is not sufficient to indicate a public sacrifice. If we accept Devoto's interpretation, the subject of heriiei must be impersonal, with reference to any person who wants the sacrifice to be performed, and the appearance of affetur as subject of the following façia must mean that the adjectior alone is authorized to perform it. But menzne kurčlasiu leads to serious difficulty, because whether we translate 'at the full moon' or 'in the month Cursšlasius,' this new designation of the time for the ceremony is superfluous after sume ustite antermenzaru čersiaru, if not actually contradictory, whereas it is quite acceptable if a distinction is
made between a sacrifice performed by the *adfertor* and by some other person. It is not necessary to assume that there were two types of sacrifice, one public and one private, for the ceremony is described throughout as one, performed for the gens Petronia. The explanation is rather, as Vet., p. 195, suggests, that sometimes the *adfertor* himself was a member of the gens, in which case a special day was prescribed for the sacrifice and the taking of the auspices had to be included. — 17 *menzne kurglasiu: menzne* as a nasal extension of the same stem which is disguised in μήν, L. *mensis*, can be 'month' (so Bū., Pl., Bk.) or 'moon' (so Blum., p. 70, Dev., Vet., Pis., Bott.). In favor of the former is the distribution of meanings in L. *mensis* and *luna*, and also the reasonableness of taking *kurglasiu* as the name of a month, like L. *Ianius*, *Februarius* (in the present case 'that which completes the circle,' in other words the last month of the year). But it is natural that the precise date should be named, as Blum. and Dev. observed, and also if the meaning is 'in the month Circularius,' we should expect the loc. case (cf. 145 c, 146 b). If we interpret 'when the moon is full, at the full moon,' *menzne kurglasiu* becomes an ablative absolute or ablative of attendant circumstances and so is quite natural. The use of the name of a round object to designate the fullness of the moon receives some support from Ov., M., VII, 530-1 *Dumque quater iunc-
tis exploit cornibus orbem luna, quater plenum ienuata retezuit orbem. — ti-
čit*: equated with L. *decet* by nearly all editors except Vetter, who connects with L. *licet*; the sense is equally good, but for *d* from initial *l* before front vowels there is no reliable evidence positive or negative. — *Huntia*: see on 15, where it was suggested that *Huntia* in the present passage may refer to the things needed for the sacrifice to Hondus. — *furtu*: the repetition of *furtu* again in 19 is a difficulty, but the second *furtu* may have been placed at the end simply because of the extreme length of the series. — 18 *arvia*: this passage is of crucial importance for the interpretation of all the occurrences of *arvia arvius*. Hu., Blum., Ribezzo, I, pp. 83-4, Vet., p. 195, translate *exta,* in general comparing L. *ar-
vina 'fat, lard.' Bū., Co., Pl., Bk., Dev., Pis., Bott. on the other hand connect with L. *arvum* and interpret as grain or similar products of the fields, Bū., p. 62, having pointed out that *arvia* in the present passage cannot be a part of the victim; so also Br., pp. 101-2, although he translates *'ollas*’ in the formula *arvio fetu, arvia ustentu,* and *‘extis*’ in *afe-
pes arves.* Assuming that the victim has not been previously slain, I regard the argument of the second group of editors as cogent and take *arvia arvio* to refer to grain offerings. Moreover there appears to be a sort of supplementary relation between the *arves* of Ia, b and the cakes prescribed in the corresponding por-
tions of VI and VII (see on Ia 3). — struhčla: see on VIa 59. — fikla: on VIa 56. — salu: the initial s here has the form M, as also in seritu in 24 below. For the use of salt in religious ritual cf. Ov., F., I, 337-8 Ante deos hominí quod concellíare valeret, far erat et puri lucida mica salís; Plín., N.H., XXXI, 89 máxíme lamen in sacrís intelligénti autorí-
tas (sc. salís) quando nulla conficiuntur sine mola salsa. Saltworks are known to have existed at Vei, Volaterrae, and in the Vestinian country; see R.-E., 2te Reihe, II, pp. 2078-9. — maletu: the only instance of the simplex of this verb in the Italic dialects. Devoto takes it as inv. of a second-conjugation stem in contrast to the third-conjugation forms kumaltu, kumates and by so breaking the series into two provides full justification for the second fertu in 19. It is easier, however, not to assume a change of conjunctival class, and a plp. in -etu is quite natural in view of frosetom, pesetom, etc. The syncope of the post-radical vowel in kumates comatir may be connected in some way with different accentual conditions in the simplex and in the compound. — 19 mantrahklu: see on VIb 4. — veskla snata asnata: also in 34, 37 below and in IV 9. The two adjectives are clearly of opposite meaning and are generally derived from the root snā: Skt. snāti 'bathe,' L. nāre, so that their sense should be 'wet and dry' or 'washed and unwashed;' but it is not clear how the vessels are to be used. Dev., p. 325, believes that the two classes of vessels are those which have been used for the unguent (umen) and those which have not, and it may be significant that IIa and IV, the only tables which mention veskla snata asnata, are also the only ones referring to umen and containing the verb umtu. It is safest, however, simply to translate 'wet and dry,' understanding the snata to be used for liquids or for unguents and the asnata for grain or other substances which do not wet the vessels. —

umen: only in the present table, while the related verb umtu is found in 38 and in IV 13. On etymological grounds the sense is reasonably certain, but the exact nature of the unguent is of course unknown. 19-20 pir ase / antentu: cf. III 21-2 vuke pir / ase antentu. — 20 esunu puni feitu: since mead and wine are both called for in 24-5, the use of mead alone here may pertain simply to the opening part of the ceremony, the placing of the fire on the altar. — Hunte Iuvie: the present table is the only one containing a description of a sacrifice to this god, but Hontus Serfius is mentioned in VIb 45 = Ib 4 as the recipient of three bull-calves in the sacri-
crifice at the Grove of Coredius during the purification of the Fisian Mount. That Honduras was an infernal deity is clear not only from his name, the connection of which with hondra, hondomu, inv. hondu, is fairly sure despite the uncertainty of the suffix, but also because of the literary evidence for the association of the dog-sacrifice with the cult of the underworld and of the dead; see above on 15 katle. — ampentu: practically all editors treat as etymologically equivalent to L. impendílo and translate accordingly, but the exact meaning is not clear. In all passages where forms of this verb occur a word designating some sacrificial vic-
tim is present or easily supplied. At first glance 'offer up' might be a suitable enough translation, and the sense would not be altogether different from that of impendere in Lucan, II, 382-3 patriaque

impendere vitam / nec sibi; Petr., I, 1 “hunc oculum pro vobis impendi”. But ampentu indicates a ritual act quite dif-
ferent from purtuvitu and performed prior to it, as appears plainly from Va 17-22 ape apelust, muneklu habia nu-
mer / prever pusti kastruvu, et ape

purtitu / füst, muneklu habia numer
tupler / pusti kastruvu, et ape subra

spafu füst, / muneklu habia numer
tripler pusti / kastruvu. There is no verb in the Iguvine Tables which un-
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hunte : iuvie : ampentu : katlu : /

(21) sakre : sevakne : petruniaper :

natine : fratru : atiieiu : esunu /

(22) pefae : futu : kales : supa :

hahtu : sufaiaf : supaf : hahtu :

/ (23) berus : aplenies : prusecia :

kartu : krematra : aplenia :

shall slay in honor of Hondus Jovius
an unblemished dog from the temple-
property for the gens Petronia among
the Atiedian Brothers. The sacrifice
shall be (performed) upon the ground.
He shall take the under-parts of the
dog; he shall take the lower limbs. He
shall roast the sacrificial pieces on a suf-
icient number of spits; he shall place a
sufficient number of roasting-pans under

mistakably signifies ‘slaughter,’ yet it
is probable that ampentu implies the
slaughter of the victim, which must pre-
ceede the porrectio; cf. on the one hand
the figurative expression inter caesa et por-
recta in Cic. Att., V, 18, 1, and on the
other the implication of slaughter in Sen.,
Tro., 298-9 Quis iste mos est, quando in
inferias homo est impensus hominis (of
the sacrifice of Polyxena). As L. immo-
lare ‘sprinkle with salted meal’ is euphe-
mistically employed for ‘slay,’ so may
ampentu be used in order to avoid direct
It is not necessary in the passages where
forms of ampentu occur to assume that
the slaughter was accomplished by hang-
ing or strangulation. — 21 sevakne:
etymology and sense are both very un-
certain. The word is often applied to
victims: the dog here, the sheep in III 26,
pig IIb 8, goat 10, heifers VIIb 1. But
it is also applied to objects of various
kinds: unguent IIA 38, wine 39, roasting-
spits IIA 36, vessels 37, IV 9, 25, and to
the cakes called arglataf IV 22. What-
ever its origin, it must have acquired ap-
proximately the sense ‘fit for ritual use,’
which may be modified to ‘solemn’ or
‘perfect’ according to the context. It
is not fully synonymous with sakre,
which is used to distinguish that which is
temple-property from that which is sec-
ular (see on IIa 5) nor with arsmatlia,
which is applied to the wand carried by
the priest. According to the usual view
sevakne is a compound of seu- ‘whole’
(cf. seuom, seueir, O. siuom ‘omnino’)+
aki- (cf. perakni, which however is
otherwise explained in note on IIa 5).
sevakni is then analogous in formation
to L. sollemnis, for whose second member
Ernout-Meillet 3 suggest connection with
O. amnud, while Pisani, p. 187, proposes
to derive the second member of sevakni
from the same root as ançit, L. ances,
uncus, áyunos, áyov, etc. The semantic
evolution then would be ‘all the way
around > complete > perfect,’ and the
association of both sollemnis and sevakni
with the words for ‘year,’ O. akenei,
U. acnu, L. annus, may be secondary.
Dev., p. 307, explains sevakni quite dif-
f erently as ‘sine vitio,’ so that the prefix
is the same as in seipodrōpei, while
vak- is the same root as in ander-uaecose,
uaselom: no less plausible than the view
of the majority. — Petruniaper nat-
tine fratru Atiieiu: cf. 35 below, where
a libation is offered to Hondus Jovius at
the spina on behalf of the gens Petronia,
and b 26, where a bull-calf is offered to
Jupiter Sancius on behalf of the gens
Lucia. natine is the formal equivalent of
L. natione (for the different vowel-
grade see 81 b), but the sense is rather
that of the more remote cognate gente. The
relation of the gentes Petronia and Lucia
to the organization of the Atiedian Bro-
therhood as a whole is not clear, but it is
to be noted that in the early history of
Rome particular cults were assigned to
particular gentes, e.g., Sol to the Aurelii,
Hercules to the Potitii and Pinarii, etc.,
but were later transferred to the priestly colleges. Bû., p. 131, suggests that the gens Petronia may have become extinct, the implication apparently being that the brothers representing other gentes assumed the obligation which it was no longer able to fulfill. — 22 supa: see on Vlb 5 sopo. supa hahtu occurs only here, but supa sumtu Ia 9, 16 must be scarcely different in meaning. The next reference to supa is in 30-31 supa span-
tea / pertentu, while 32 includes the in-
struction supa pustra pertsu 'place the under-parts at the back (of the altar)'. Similarly in the description of the sacrifice behind the Tesenacan Gate, Vlb 3 has persae fetu corresponding to la 16 supa sumtu, while Vlb 5 contains the clause ape sopo postero pepersustl. — su-
faiaf: found again in gen. sg. in 41, where it is to be ground up together with the cakes known as struhcla and fikla. It is therefore probably some bony portion of the victim. The Latin passages
commonly cited in explanation of sufaiiaf are: Plaut., M.G., 1180 id conexum in umero laevo, exafillato brachio (sc. pal-
liolum; the reference is to a seaman's dress, and the medial / is a mark of dia-
lectal origin, but the reading is not cer-
tain); Fest., 199 Li. exsertum, quod seclilet omnes exserto brachio sint exfillati, i.e. extra vestimentum filo conexum; Ps.-Plac. (Gloss. Lat. IV, ed. Lindsay) E 6 effai-
latinus exserto humero id est extra fitum manum proferens. If the root in sufai-
iaf (< *sub-faiians) is one of 'extending out', as would appear from the Latin forms, sufaiiaf may 'limbs,' and the following supai may specify the 'lower limbs' or 'lower parts of the legs.' The view followed here is essentially that of Dev., p. 329, but nothing can be af-
irmed with certainty. — 23 berus: rec-
ognized as the etymological equivalent of L. veribus by Bû., p. 132, whom all subsequent editors follow. — aplenies: found only here and in krematra aplon-
ia just below. Most translate 'implenit,' deriving from *am-plē-n(i)y-, but the
formation is an improbable one, for we should rather expect a stem in either
-lo- or -no-, and in fact we have in VIIa 21, 34 a form plener = L. plenis. Vetter, p. 196, obtains better sense from the two passages where aplenies, -ia occur, by taking as an extension like that in se-
menes from a stem equivalent to that of L. amplus. The spits then must be in sufficient quantity, and so must be the roasting-pans which are to be placed below. An alternative possibility is that
aplenies may be a gentile name and that the instructions call for a particular type of
spits and roasting-pans known by the name of the manufacturers. Schulze, Lat. Eigena., pp. 152, 346, cites several similar names, of which the most suitable for our purpose are Abuleniis (C.I.L., XI, 6056, from Urvinum Mataurense, Augustan period), Abalenus (X, 3766, from Suessula). — prusecia: almost certainly to be equated with L. prosi-
ciae. It is not clear just how prusecia differs from proseselo, etc. (L. prosco-lea), which is used frequently in describing the sacrifices of the purification and lus-
tration in VI and VII. The difference, strictly speaking, may have been be-
tween what is intended for cutting off and what has actually been cut off (other examples of -yo-stem adjectives with quasi-gerundive value are L. eximius, in-
ferius, āy-ōs, apāy-ōs), but there is no basis for such a difference so far as the present passage is concerned. Cf. the mixture of forms in Non., p. 330 (L. Müller) Aemilius Maier in Ornithologia: Vulcani tosto vapore / cum virgis proscta
ferunt. Feminino Lucilius lib. XIII: e-
nam, inquit, nullam negue dico prosiclat
ullam. Varro Rerum divinarum lib. XI: prosiciem exlorum vel in mensam porti-
gere. — kartu: generally translated 'di-
vidilo' on the assumption that it is con-
ected with karu 'piece.' Vct., pp. 196-
7, equates with L. carpito, while Pis., p. 192, translates 'torrelo,' with Lith. ku-
riū, OCS kurenje, OHG herd, and also L.
carbo as support for the sense 'roast';
III. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

sutent/u : peřu : seritu : arvia :
puni : purtuvitu : vestikatu :
ahtrepuřa/tu : purstin : ančif :
vnu : nuvis : ahtrepuřatu : tu :
puni : tiu : vinu : / (26) teitu :
berva : frehtef : fertu : puře :
nuvime : ferest : krematru :
(27) sumel : fertu : vestičia :
peřume : persnihmu : katles :
tuva : tefra / (28) terti : erus :
prusekatu : isunt : krematru :
prusektu : struhčla / (29) fikla :
ařveitu : katlu : purtuvitu :
ampeřia : persnihmu : asečeta :

(he spits). He shall watch the ground. He shall present grain-offerings with mead, pour a libation, and dance the tripudium, offering wine at each turning. Nine times he shall dance the tripudium. “(I invoke) thee with mead, (I invoke) thee with wine,” he shall say. He shall take the spits and the boiled portions. That which he carries last (with it) he shall carry the fat-drippings at the same time. He shall pray with a libation upon the ground. He shall cut off two (pieces) of the dog as burnt-offerings, and a third as an erus. At the same spot he shall cut the fat-drippings. He shall add a strušla cake and a fika cake. He shall make the presentation of the dog. He shall pray with the portion around the (dog's) foot; he

cf. also Muller, pp. 74-5. There is no sure solution, but Pisani's interpretation gives perhaps the most satisfactory sense. — krematru: it is plain from sutentu that krematru designates something to be placed under the spits on which the pieces of meat are roasted, and the most obvious connection is with L. cremare. Most editors translate etymologically *kre-matra,' with varying explanations, but the most probable view is that the krematra were roasting pans designed to catch the dripping fat. See also on krematru in 26. — sutentu: clearly 'place underneath (supponito)'; cf. andendu, endendu, osiendu, all from *-tendelōd. — 24 peřu seritu: not the peřu called for in 9, which is a portion of a different ceremony. It is possible that peřu in the present passage means simply 'ground' and not 'mound,' the meaning adopted in the present edition for most passages (see on Vlb 24). The odjector is apparently expected to keep watch over the place where the meat is roasted in the fire, in order to see that everything takes place according to rule. Dev., p. 333, notes the durative aspect of the uncompounded seritu in contrast to anzeriatu: the effect of the prefix might be roughly compared with that in Germ. erblicken. — arvia puni purtuvitu: the only passage where arvia is used as object of purtuvitu, although in IV 22 the same verb governs arčiataf, a type of cakes probably of circular form. On the possible relation between arvia and offerings of cakes, see on Ia 3. — vestikatu: see on Vlb 6. — ahtrepuřatu: on Vlb 16. — 25 purstin ančif vinu: nearly all editors place a period after vinu, so that the three words belong in the sentence with vestikatu ahtrepuřatu. The phrases pursti kastruvu(f) Va 13, 18, 20, 21, posti acnu Vb 8, 12, 14, 17 have distributive force, and the same force should be admitted for purstin in the present passage. ančif is generally derived from *anki-ns with the same root as in L. uncus, angulus, āγκόλος, āγκόν, in all of which the fundamental sense is 'bent, angular.' The apparent sense then is
that the priest offers a libation of wine at each turning in the *tripodium*. —

**nuvis ahtrepurafted**: for the number nine in ritual usage cf. Ov., *F.*, V, 435-9 (of the Lemuria) *Cumque manus puras jonanta perultitunda, vertitaret nigras accipit ore fabas, aversusque laeit, sed dum laeit, haec ego mitto*, his *inquit* *reddimo meque mesques fabis.* *Hoc novies dicit, nec respicit*; Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, I (London, 1913), p. 193, mentions the custom in the French Pyrenees of leaping nine times over the midsummer fire in order to be assured of prosperity; cf. the index in Vol. II for further magical associations of the number nine. — *tiupunutiuvimu*: for the ellipsis of the verb sec *136*c. — *26 frehtef*: IV 30-31 contains the instruction *pune frehtuvahabetu*, but the sense in both passages is very obscure. Formally *frehtef* can be acc. pl. of a *i*-stem, or, with much less probability, nom. sg. of a pres. pepl. like *kutef*. Several editors (Bü., Ribezzo, II, pp. 88, 100, Bott.) assume connection with L. *frigus, frigeo, etc.*: the hot spits are cooled in IIa 26, and the mead is to be cool in IV 31. In this case *frehtef* must be a pres. pepl. equivalent in sense to *frigidans* or *refrigerans*, but this is troublesome from the viewpoint of morphology, for it is difficult to imagine a denominative verb in the third conjugation, or in the second conjugation with transitive sense (*kutef* *‘cautens’* is intransitive), and moreover we should expect Umbrian, like Latin, to use the pf. pepl. of an action which precedes the main action. The most satisfactory interpretation is probably that of Dev., p. 335, who suggests connection with Skt. *bhurajanta* ‘roast,’ while assuming that in Umbrian the root *freg* replaced the verb represented by L. *coquo* in the meaning ‘boil.’ The advantages of taking *frehtef* as ‘boiled portions’ are that it removes the danger of a rivalry in meaning with *krematru(f)* and that the sense ‘roast’ would not suit *pune frehtu* in IV 31. — *pür*: the pronominal form *pür* *porse* is nowhere used as a conjunction *‘cum’* and must here be regarded as a relative without antecedent; cf. Cato *ap. Diom.* (*Gramm. Lat.*, I, p. 362 Keil) *lepus multum somni adferit qui eum edit*. — *nugime*: taken by nearly all as an adverb from the ordinal ‘ninth,’ but by Vet. as superlative to *nowo-* (cf. L. *nonus*) in the sense ‘an letzter Stelle,’ on the ground that *Nniar VIa 14* shows the true ordinal stem ‘ninth’ and that the carrying of the spits and *frehtef* is a separate act from the ninefold *tripodatio*. On the whole his view appears preferable. — *ferest*: the spits, the *frehtef*, and finally the *krematru(f)* are apparently carried from the fire to the altar. — *krematru(f)*: since *krematru(f)* in 28 cannot possibly be ‘roasting-pans,’ we may assume that the difference in ending between *krematru(f)* and *krematra* corresponds to a difference of sense. *Krematru(f)* according to Vetter refers to the fat which falls into the pans, then congeals and is cut up; this is better than to refer it to the pieces of roasted meat, which have already been accounted for in the instruction *berva * ... fertu*. — *27 vesticía*: see on VIb 5. — *tefra*: on VIIa 46, where, however, *tefru-lo* designates the *place* of burning; here the *tefra* are the burnt-offerings themselves. Similar offerings are cut from the sheep in III 32, 34, IV 2. — *28 prusektu*: not a pepl., for the normal form of the pepl. is represented by *prusegetu* in IIb 12, and moreover if *krematru* and *prusektu* were both accusative they would have to depend on the preceding *prusekatu*, giving a tautology. *Prusektu* may represent an alternate stem (cf. L. *secatus*: *secibus*, *lavatus*: *lautus*) but is more probably simply an error for *prusekatu*. — *29 amperia*: many different solutions have been attempted. On phonological grounds the analysis as from *am(f)-pediá(d)* ‘part around the foot’ (Bk., Pis.) is free from objection. If this view is correct, a certain portion including a foot of the victim has been cut off and the *ad-*
III. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

(30) karne : persnirmu :
venpersuntra : persnirmu : supa :
spantea : / (31) pertentu : veskles :
vufetes : persnirmu : vestikatu :
ahtrepufatu : / (32) arpeltu :

ferlor holds it or keeps it before him as he prays. Although Bückler's translation 'pedem servato' for perfum seritu in 24 has not been accepted by later editors, the passages which he cites in support of it are relevant to the present passage: Varro, L.L., V, 23 qui Romanus combustus est, <is> in sepulcerum eius abiecta gleba non est aut si os exemptum est mortui ad familiam purgandam, donec in purgando humo est opertum ... familia funesta mænet; Fest., p. 148 Ll. membrum abseidi mortuo dicebatur cum digitus eius decedebatur, ad quod servatum insta fierent reliquio corpore combusto; 'digito hominis calli respondet pelioli' (Bii., p. 133). — aseçeta: taken by all recent editors as 'non(dum) secta.' Apart from the negative prefix the participial stem is the same as in pruseçetu. — 30 venpersuntra: of the three other passages where forms of this word occur, Iib 18-19 vespesutra pesnirmu, veskles pesnirmu, atrepufatu / arpeltu statitatu is most similar to the present passage. But venpersuntra cannot be any clearer than persuntru, to which it is obviously related; see on V1b 24, where it is suggested that ven- may reinforce rather than nullify the meaning adopted for persuntru. According to Ribezzo II, p. 81, the n in the prefix may have resulted from the assimilatory influence of the penultimate syllable. — 30-31 supa spantea / pertentu: the number and case of supa, the form and construction of spantea, and the meaning of pertentu are uncertain. Whether supa is acc. sg. fem. or acc. pl. neut. makes little difference for the sense. It is unlikely that it is abl. sg., since it is improbable that pertentu was normally intransitive, despite IV 8 supes sanes pertentu. spantea from the viewpoint of syntax would be best taken with Vet. as *spante(m)-a(d) 'auf die Seite,' but there are 13 instances of acc. sg. -m preserved and none lost before postpositive -a(f). spantea must then be taken as a predicate adj. like puistra in 32, cf. b 19. Just as L. prolendo may mean 'extend (the hand)' or 'extend (the object in the hand),' so pertentu here means 'place the under-parts at the side (of the altar, with outstretched hands)' and in IV 8 'reach out with ...' — 31 veskles vufetes persnirmu: the majority of editors derive vufetes from *wogweto- (cf. eβyovai, L. vovo) and translate 'volis' or 'consecralis,' but this does not give a very satisfactory sense, especially if we take account of the other passages in which the expression veskles persnirmu occurs. Dev. translated 'vocat,' that is, not containing the viscera, but gave no etymology to support his interpretation. I propose to equate vufetes with L. libita, pl. pass. pcp. of libel, lubet, with phonology as in 14, 40, 55 a, and participial stem in -eto corresponding to L. libita from libel as tacez to L. tacitus from laco. The sense intended may be seen from a comparison with other relevant passages. In 19 the list of articles to be brought to the place of sacrifice included veskla smata asnata, and in 34 these wet and dry vessels, with other things, are to be carried to the spina. In 37 the priest is directed to pray at the spina with the wet and dry vessels, veskles being this time further accompa-
ried by the adjective sevaknis. In IV 9 a prayer is offered to Pomonus Poplicus and Vesona of Pomonus Poplicus with the wet and dry vessels, but in 24 to Vesona of Pomonus Poplicus with veskles vufetes. In both passages in IV sevak-
ne(-is) accompanies veskles, as in II 37. The significant contrast appears to be between snates asnates and vufetes; in other words, sometimes the adverb when he prays must hold or have before him both the dry and the wet vessels, while at other times he may use whichever vessels he wishes. — 32 ἀρπελτο: usually taken as equivalent to L. adpellito and translated ‘adpellito’ or ‘admovelo,’ but the sense here as well as in b 19, IV 8 calls for an intransitive verb, and Devoto’s derivation from the root *kʷel- with πτιομαι, L. color, which is adopted also by Pisani and Bott., is decidedly preferable. Dev. translates ‘circuitum,’ the idea of circular motion being often inherent in derivatives of this root, and he takes ἃ- as a prefix of perfectivation, but it is more probable that the verb merely signifies the priest’s approach toward the altar after dancing the tripidium. — statitatu: regularly found after ἀρπελτο. Its meaning ‘halt, stop’ is beyond reasonable doubt. — supa pustra perstus: the under-parts are here placed on the back part of the altar. Cf. Vl 5, VIIa 8, where ὀπε sopó postro peperscst introduces the instructions for libations and supplementary offerings after the main sacrifices behind the Tesenacan Gate and at Rubinia. — ἰπρυ: by some taken as abl. pl. of a demonstrative pronoun + -πρυ, by others as cognate with ἰπαξ, L. ἰεἴρ. By the former view the pronoun before the enclitic should belong to a stem corresponding to L. is, ea, id and should be abl. pl., referring to supa, but the loss of -s before the p would be without precedent, and no other analysis starting from a pronominal stem is entirely satisfactory either for form or for sense. The equation with L. ἰεἴρ, which seems decidedly preferable, was advocated by Pan-
zerbieter, Quaestiones Umbricae (Progr. Meiningen, 1851), p. 12; Savelsberg, K.Z., XXI (1873), p. 213; with especially detailed argument and documentation by R. G. Kent, C.P., XV (1929), pp. 367-9; more recently adopted by Pis. and Bott. If we adopt this interpretation, the form ἰπρυ is to be derived from *γεκρόμοι either as neut. with the original r-stem extended into an o-stem, or, with change of gender, as masc. r-stem with the usual third-declension acc. sg. ending in -ομ. That it was written by mistake in place of *ἰπρυ, as Muller, p. 218, suggests, is most unlikely. With it may be compared purom-e VIIb 17, VIIa 38. So far as the sense is concerned, the liver is here identified as the erus. — μανι: purposely inserted, according to Dev., to make it clear that on this occasion the prohibition against touching certain consecrated objects with the hand did not hold good. — κυβεῖτο: the usual verb governing erus is dirstu τεῖτο, although IIa 40 below has erus κυβεῖτο τεῖτο. Strictly speaking the actions indicated by -κυβεῖτο and τεῖτο are not the same: the former is the carrying or conveying of the object to its destination, the latter the placing of it in the possession of those who are to receive it, but the prefix κυ- affects the aspect of the verb in such a way as to make it almost synonymous with τεῖτο. — IIIa 33 - 39. Ceremonies at the Obelisk. At this point the adfertor moves to a spot designated by an object called spinā, to return to the altar again in 39. The objects which are to be taken to this spot include two bowls of mead, spits, smearing-sticks, wet and dry vessels, and unguent. A libation is offered to Hondus Jovius, prayers are said in conjunction with the spits, with the smearing-sticks, and with the wet and dry vessels. Then follow another libation, the dancing of the tripidium, the anointing of the obelisk, a prayer with the unguent, and finally the washing of the hands. — 33 spinama: it is of course not clear precisely what object is designated by
III. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

statitatu : supa : puistra : persstu :
iepru : erus : mani : kuveitu / (33)
spinamař : etu : tuve : re kapiřus
:pune : fertu : berva : klavlf :
a/anfehtaf : vesklu : snatu asnatu :
umen : fertu : kapiře : hunte : /
(35) iuvie vestikatu : petruniapert :
atine : fratru : atieřiu : berus :
/ (36) sevaknis : persnihmu : pert :
spinia : isunt : klavles : persnihmu :
: / (37) veskles : snate : asnates :
sevaknis : spiniama : persnihmu :
vestikatu : / (38) ahtrepuřatu :
spina : umtu : umne : sevakni :

33 tuve : re: for tuvere. 33-4 a/anfehtaf: for anfehtaf. 35 petruniapert: for petruniapeter.

this word, found only here and in 36, 37, 38 below, but there is no reason to question the general view that it was some sort of column or other monument whose shape had some resemblance to a thorn. Although this particular semantic development is not attested for L. *spina*, it offers no difficulty, and it is not out of place to mention the *spina* in the Roman Circus, a low wall or fence extending longitudinally down the middle, with the track running around it (Cassiod., Var., III, 51; Schol. Jun., VI, 588; cf. Bu., p. 136). Compare also “Cleopatra’s Needle.” — *tuvere kapiřus*: one bowl is to be used in the libation prescribed below in 34-5, and the other for the purpose of extinguishing the altar-fire (*kapiře punes veipuratu*) in 41; so Dev., but Vet. understands the two bowls in relation to the libations called for by *vestikatu* in 35 and 37. — *klavlf*: the abl. pl. *klavles* occurs in 36 and in IV 11, in both instances followed by *persnihmu*. There are two possible interpretations. Earlier editors, and more recently Vetter, understand in the sense of ‘*clunes,*’ supporting their view in part by the fact that Germ. *Keule*, the semantic equivalent of *L.* *clava*, has the additional meaning ‘leg, thigh’ (of mutton or veal). The haunches of the dog according to this view were therefore included among the articles to be brought for the ceremony at the obelisk. Devoto, however, translates *cochlearia,* taking the *klavlf* to be spoons used in applying the unguent to the obelisk (in IV 11-13 to the *erečlu* or statue), and his view is adopted by Pis. and Bott., although they use *‘clauulas’* in their translation. Both in IIa 35-8 and in IV 9-13 the other objects kept at hand during the prayers are parts of the ceremonial equipment and not of the sacrificial victims: in the former passage the spits, then the *klavles*, then the wet and dry vessels, in the latter the wet and dry vessels, then the *klavles*: and in each passage the prayers are followed by the anointing of the obelisk or of the sta-
tue. Devoto's interpretation therefore seems decidedly preferable, and is adopted here. It is possible, however, that the *klavlaif* were not actually spoons but merely pieces of wood, club-shaped or with flattened ends, for smearing the unguent on the object to be anointed. The rare *L. clavula* gives no direct support for either 'haunches' or 'spoons' as the meaning of *klavlaif*, but 'smearing-sticks' is closer both to the sense which we should expect in a diminutive of *klēva* and to the actual use of *clavula* as a synonym of *talea* in Varro, *R.R.*, I, 40, 4 with reference to olive-cuttings. — 33-4 a/anfehtaf: the doubling of the *a* may represent vowel-len-thening before *n*/*f*, but it is much more probable that the engraver simply recommenced the word on a new line after realizing that there was not sufficient space on the original line. Nearly all editors analyze as a compound of negative *an- +* pecl. of *fačia* or *fetu*. Those who take *klavlaif* as 'elunes' then understand *aanfehtaf* to mean 'uncooked.' If *klavlaif* is 'smearing-sticks' *aanfehtaf* is somewhat more difficult, but Dev. makes satisfactory sense by suggesting 'rondum adhibitum, rondum oblatum' as developments from the literal sense 'non factum.' The spits, the vessels, and the unguent must be *sevalkni*; for the smearing-sticks it is sufficient that they should not have been used previously. — 36 *pert spinia*: cf. the Greek usage in Ciprus Abellanus (Co. 95), B 33 *pert viam* 'across the road.' On the orthographical variation *spina: spinia* see 53 d. — 37 *spiniama*: 'on the hither side of the obelisk.' -a here contrasts with -pert in 36. — 38 *spina umtu*: parallels to this curious ceremony are moderately abundant. The anointing of the *ereclu* or statue in IV 13 has already been mentioned. The Acta *fratrum arvalium* contain, among others, the following references to the anointing of cult-images: pp. CLVII (Henzen) and CLXXVII *signis unetis*; XXIV *deas unguentavorunt*; CC XXV *deam unguentaver(unt)*. Pausanias, X, 24, 6 in reference to a stone near the tomb of Neoptolemus at Delphi says: ἐπαναβάντι δὲ ὀπὸ τοῦ μνήματος λίθος ἐστὶν οὐ μέγας: 'toῦτον καὶ ἐλαίον δαμέμαζεν καταχέοναι καὶ κατὰ ἑορτὴν ἐκάτερν ἕως ἐπιτίθεαι τὰ ἁγά. In Vedic ritual the sacrificial post called the *γιρα* was anointed with butter; cf. *Śalapathabrāhmaṇa*, III, 7, 1, 10-13; Apastamba's *Śrāutasūtra*, VII, 10, 1-5 (Caland); J. Schwab, *Das altindische Tieropfer* (Er- langen, 1886), pp. 68-70. In Genesis, XXVIII, 18, Jacob took the stone on which he had rested his head while he slept, and set it up for a pillar and poured oil over it. — 38-9 manf easa / *vutu*: the interpretation of the passage in general receives support from the instruction *manus interluto* in Cato, *R.R.*, 132, between the prayers with the food and the wine in the offerings to Jupiter Dapalis. The precise meaning of *easa*, however, is not quite certain. According to Bü. the connection between this passage and what follows is so close that the instruction to wash the hands from the altar is given before the instruction to return from the obelisk to the altar. It seems safer, however, to take the two events in the sequence in which they are presented, so that *easa*, 'ex ara,' means 'away (at some distance) from the altar' (so Dev., who discusses both views).
III. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

persnihmu : manf : easa : / (39)
vutu : asama : kuvertu : asaku :
vinu : sevakni : taçez : persnihmu :
/ (40) esuf : pusme : herter : erus :
kuveitlu : teťtu : vinu : pune : teťtu :
/ (41) struhčlas : fiklas : sufafias :
kumaltu : kapiře : punes :
vepuratu : / (42) antakres :
kumates : persmhniu : amparihmnu :
: statita : subahtu : esunu : / 
(43) purtitu : futu : katel : asaku :
pelsans : futu : / (44) kvestretie
usače svesu vuečis ti teteies /

42 persmhniu: for persnihmu, with confusion of М and И.

44 vuečis: for vučis.

O. esuf in Tabula Bantina, 19, 21, where it clearly indicates the individual in contrast to his property and household. esuf in Conway's Oscan inscription no. 169 is less helpful because of the mutilated state of the text, and the only other Umbrian example, esuf IV 15, is not decisive. For pusme there are no other U. or O. examples, but its clear etymological correspondence to Skt. kasmāi, dat. sg. of the interrogative pronoun, places its value here as dat. of the relative beyond reasonable doubt. herter III 1, herte Va 6, 8, 11, herli Vb 8, 11, 13, 16, regularly accompanied by subjunctive forms, is clearly a verb of obligation, similar to L. oportel. The adflor has not been designated by name since 16, but it is to him that esuf must refer. We may possibly have here another instance of euphemistic avoidance; see on Vla 1 poet angla aseriat o eest. — erus kuveitlu teťtu: see on 32 above. — 41 veputratu: generally regarded as a denotative verb from the stem vē-pur- 'fireless' seen in abl. pl. vepurus Va 11. For the sense cf. Verg., Aen., VI, 226-7 Postquam collapsi cineres et flamma quievit, reli-
rather than of habeo, see 122 e. The instruction is to 'take down' or 'away' whatever remains on the altar. — 42-3 esunu / purtitu futu: the expression purtitu futu occurs in IV 31-2; cf. also Vlb 42 purdito just, VIIa 45 enom purditom just = Ib 38-9 enu esunu purtitu futu. — 43 katel asaku pelsans futu: on the arguments in favor of retaining the old interpretation 'bury' for pelsatu, pelsans see on Vlb 22, where it is pointed out that the present passage and Vlb 39-40 offer serious difficulties to any attempt to translate pelsatu by 'pulsalo.'

IIa 44. Formula containing the name of the authenticating official. See on Ib 45, which is substantially the same. The differences in the two versions are: 1) Ib 45 shows word-division in kvestre: tie (erroneously) and before and after usaie, while IIa 44 shows no division at all; 2) Ib 45 has usaie in contrast to IIa 44 usäçe, which is evidently the correct form; 3) Ib 45 has the praenomen Vuvçis, IIa 44 Vuvçis; 4) Ib 45 has the full form of the father's praenomen Titis, IIa 44 the abbreviation Ti.
III. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

(IIb 1) seme : nies : tekuries : sim : kaprum : upetu : tekvias :
/ (2) famerias : pumperias : xii :

1 seme : nies: for semenies.

IIb 1-21. Sacrifice of a pig and a goat at the decurial festival of Semo. The opening lines present extraordinary difficulties, which involve, among other matters, the meaning of semenies; the meaning and interrelation of tekuries, tekviias, and pumperias, and their significance for the organization of the citizens of Iguvium; the reference of the numeral XII and its relation to what otherwise seems to be a decimal rather than a duodecimal system; the relation of Atiedian, Klavernnie, etc., and of the accompanying etre, to the organization indicated in the passage immediately preceding. IIb 1-6 and Vb 8-18 are partly interdependent for their interpretation: in both passages the instructions relate to the same festival, the semenier degurier, and the names of two of the ten decuviae listed in IIb reappear in Vb, where it is stated that the Clavernii are annually to present 4 p. of barley to the Atiedian Brotherhood and receive in return 10 portions of pork and 5 of goat-meat, the Casilas to present 6 p. of barley and receive 15 portions of pork and 7½ of goat-meat. It is this ratio of 2:3 taken in connection with IIb 3 Klavernnie, etre Klavernnie ... 6 Kaselate, etre Kaselate, tertie Kaselate which has led to the notion of an expansion whereby the decwia Casilas was split into three and all the others, including the Clavernii, into two, the Perazannii alone remaining undivided. The interpretation adopted here is essentially that of Devoto, who with most editors begins a new sentence with tekviias and who arrives at the sum XII by adding together the ten decuviae and two famerias pumperias, that is two families, or groups similar to gentes, each representing a *pontis or pentad of decuviae. The principal bibliographical references for the opening lines of IIb,
apart from the editions, are: Schulze, Lat. Eigenn., pp. 543-47; A. Rosenberg, Der Staat der alten Italkern, pp. 118-28; Devoto, Atti del reale istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 1930, pp. 927-36; Ribezzo, II, p. 90; Pighi, Umbria, pp. 20-21. The sacrifice of the pig and of the goat are alike in some respects and different in others. Both sets of instructions call for the consecration of the victim (eveietu) and for a formal pronouncement as to its suitability for sacrifice, although naratu is used alone of the goat, without a preceding sevalne. Both sacrifices call for incense, if that is the correct interpretation of vaputu. But the goat-sacrifice differs both in the nature of some of the instructions and in the amount of detail. It is to be performed partly outside, partly in the temple; the persondro, the cake called meja, and a libation are all specified; not only wine and mead but also water are to be carried to the temple for the second part of the goat-sacrifice, as are also fire, the maniple, and certain other objects of uncertain nature. The dancing of the tripodium is also prescribed.

— 1 semenies tekuries: the prior word is translated 'semestribus' by Bü.; 'conciliis' by Dev., p. 301, connecting it with Skt. samanya-; 'singulis' by Vet., from *sems-, the IE root indicating identity and individuality. Most others assign it to the family of L. semen, in the sense '{feritis} sementivis' (Bk., Blum.) or 'Semoniis' (Pis., Bott., after Pighi, pp. 20-21 of op. cit. above in introductory remarks to 1-21). This last interpretation appears the most satisfactory in the light of two Latin inscriptions cited by Dev. as support for his interpretation of tekuries: C.I.L., VI, 567 Sanemi Sanco Deo Fidio ... decur(a) bidentalis donum dedit (from Trastevere); 568 Sanemi Sanceto Semoni Deo Fidio sacrum decur(a) sacer-
**Commentary**

**Datum bidentalium** (from the Quirinal). Cf. also Ov., *F.*, VI, 213-8 cited below on Vlb 3. The appearance of *Sačī* in 10, *Sačī Iuvecpatre* in 17 of the present table, taken in connection with the passages just cited, gives further support to the notion of a festival in honor of Semo, or his Umbrian counterpart. For the ablaut-variation in L. *Semo*: U. *sehmenier* cf. L. *Nerio*: *Nerienis*, *Anio*: *Anienis*. *Tekvias* is in a formal sense equivalent to *L. decorils* ‘groups of ten’; yet the sense of the passage here seems to call for an adjective corresponding to *tekvias*, and the *tekvias* are not groups of ten but, at least originally, groups based on a division of the population into tenths; so much is probable from the ten names in the series commencing in 2 with *Atiiefiate*, and also from the formation of *tekvias* as an extension of an ordinal stem *deku-*. But the multiplicative value which is assumed for *tekvias* on the ground of its formation may be preserved if we consider that ten tenths make up the whole. The ‘decurial festival of Semo’ then is celebrated by the ten *decuriae* united into one body. — *Sim*: in the sacrifices of the purification of the Fisian Mount three pregnant sows are offered behind the Trebulan Gate (Ia 7 = Vla 58) and three sucking pigs behind the Tesenanac Gate (Ia 14 = Vlb 3). — *Kaprum*: the present sacrifice is the only one in the Tables in which a goat is offered, but mention was made in the introductory remarks on 1-21 of the obligation of the Atiedian Brothers to furnish certain portions of goat-meat to the *decuriae* Clavennii and Casilas according to the contracts shown in Vb 8-18. — *Upetu*: generally translated ‘optlato’ or ‘deligito’ on the basis of etymological connection with *L. optare*. The verb recurs in 8 with *si perakne sevakne* and in 11 with *kapru perakne sevakne* as object, and it is difficult to see why, if the victims have already been ‘chosen,’ they should have to be ‘chosen’ again. Similarly in III 9-10 the ‘pentads’ of the Brothers are directed to ‘choose’ a pig and a sheep (*sakre u vem urtas puntes fratrum upetuta*), after which again there is an apparent repetition in 22 *sakre sevakne upetu, 26 u vem sevakni upetu*. Devoto, followed in substance by Vetter, sought to avoid the difficulty by taking *upetu* as the equivalent of *L. ob-i(l) with the sense of ad-ito or capito*. It is difficult, however, to see that much is gained, for the repetition of *upetu* in IIb 8, 11, III 22, 26 is almost as awkward as before. It is possible that in these four passages *upetu* should be taken not as inv. but as acc. sg. masc. of the pass. pcpl. The participial stem is known from *opeter* Vb 12, 17, and the case-ending -um) receives support from *kapru* IIb 10, *vuku* III 21. At the same time there is no serious difficulty in the fact that the concinnity in the series *upetu eveietu (sevakne) naratu* IIb 8, 11 is destroyed, nor in the fact that the new interpretation makes it impossible to end the sentence with *upetu* in III 22, 26. — *Tekvias*: usually translated *‘decuriae, decuriales,’ or ‘decuriae,’* the last being merely an adaptation of the Umbrian word. On the reasons for taking it to refer to divisions into tenths and not groups of ten see above on *semenies tekurie*. The punctuation of the majority of editors is followed here: the first sentence of IIb ended with *upetu*, and *tekvias* commences a new sentence which ends with XII. Blum. and Pis. make a single sentence, with *tekvias famelias* as gen. sg. depending on *sim kaprum upetu* in the manner of Ar., *Eq.*, 85 (*πίνει*) ἀσχη-τόν ὀίνον ἄγαθον δαίμονας (cf. Blum., p. 40). — 2 *famelias*: here taken as nom. pl. in asyndetic connection with *tekvias*. It is a clear etymological equivalent of *L. familia* and doubtless designated a similar grouping, but whether it was related to *natiuf* (abl. natine) precisely as *L. familia* to *gens* is not certain. Dev. suggests that *gens* (U. *natiuf*) may have belonged rather to cult, *familia*
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atiiëriate : etre : atiiëriate : / (3)
klaerniie : etre : klaerniie :
kureiate : etre kureiate / (4) satanes :
etre satane : peieriate : etrep :
eieriate : talenate / (5) etre talenate :
museiate : etre musei ate :
iuieskane : / (6) etre iuieskanes :
kaselate : etre kaselate : tertie
afrmune : iuve : patre : fetu : si :
pera : / (8) kne : sevakne : upetue :

veietu : for upetue : eveietu.

rather to organization of the citizen-body. Blum. and Pis. understand it as a collective designation of the slaves who are to be included with the decuvia as beneficiaries in the ceremony; this view has much in its favor in view of the use of famil in the Italic dialects: Paul. e Fest., p. 77 Li. Famuli origo ab Oescis dependet, apud quos servus famil nominabantur, unde familia vocata; Paelignian no. 208 Co. famil inim louf ir `servus et liber'; it is not adopted here, however, because it conflicts with the interpretation of the passage as a whole. — pumpefias: undoubtedly derived from the numeral *pome-pemfive.' Since the closest connection is with O. pumperias, pumperiais, we should expect r, and the f of the Umbrian form may represent an analogical alteration of the phrase *famefia pumperia or may simply be an error induced by famefias (cf. Pl., II, p. 200). Oscan pumperias, -ais on several Capuan inscriptions (Co. 105, 107, 114, 115, 116) is generally taken to designate the fifth day of the month (cf. L. nonae from the ordinal 'ninth'), and so Blum. and Pis. take it in our passage. The XII is then the designation of the month December according to Blum., pp. 39-40, and the festival is similar to the Saturnalia. This interpretation, despite its ingenuity, has certain disadvantages. It is unlikely that the month would be designated by the numeral XII rather than by its name, and pumpefias as a genitive of time, which is necessary for this interpretation, is less natural than the abl. pl. which appears in the Oscan inscriptions 114, 115, 116 cited above. pumpefias is therefore to be taken as nom. pl. of an adj. agreeing with famefias, and related to the collective punctes as tekuries would be to the collective *dekenti-. A division of the Atiedian Brothers into groups of five is known from the use of punctis III 4, punctes 9, 10, and a similar division of the citizens of Iguvium into two groups of five decuiae each may be assumed, according to Dev., pp. 353-4, with each *pentis represented by one family, as the punctes of the Brothers appear to have been represented by the gentes Petronia and Lucia. The ten decuiae and the two familae *quinqueuriae together make up the twelve indicated by XII. Whether the families changed periodically by a system of rotation or
resembled certain Roman gentes in being permanently associated with a definite cult cannot be determined.

*Iib 2 - 7* Atieřiate ... teitu: an admonition that every one of the deewiae for which the sacrifices are to be performed must be specifically named. Livy, XL1, 16, 1 records an instance in which the sacrifice at the Feriae Latinae was invalid because of failure to mention the Roman people: ... quia in una hostia magistraus Lanuvinus precatus non erat populo Romano Quirilium, religioni fuit. Cf. also Paul. e Fest., p. 59 Ll. dicit mos erat Romanis in omnibus sacrificiis precibusque 'populo Romano Quirilibusque.' That the dative should be used instead of the ablative + -per is slightly surprising, but the Latin passages just cited (after Bu., p. 141) seem to give adequate support for the view adopted. For the names themselves no attempt is made here to establish connections with local or ethnic names known from other sources, whether Latin, dialectal, or modern Italian. However, certain observations may be made. In the first place the ten names are not all of the same type: six are singular forms similar to L. Arpinas, dat. -ati, while the rest are gentilicia made with suffixes -io- (Klavernie, Perazmanie) or -no-(Satanes, Iuieskanes). Among the individual names Atieřiate is clearly related to the name of the Atidian Brotherhood. The appearance of the Clavernii and Casilas in Vb, which states the terms of their contract with the Atidian Brothers, has already been mentioned in the introductory remarks just above. — 7 ařmune: not only are the etymology and meaning uncertain, but it is not even clear whether the word is dative of a divine name belonging with Iuve patre, or ablative of a common noun. Against the former view is the fact that Ařmune Iuve patre appears to conflict with 10 vapetu Sači ampetu, 17 vapetu Sači Iuvepatre prepesnimu. Devoto renders 'in ařmone' (T.G., 'noll' assemblea sacra'), Vetter 'ordine,' Bott. 'in sacerdotum concilio,' all deriving it from the same root as arsmor, arsmahano, arsmatiam. Earlier editors and also Pis. take it as a divine name, but without agreement as to its origin. The formation of the word favors taking it as a divine name similar to Pemunue, Veseune, Uofione, and the connection with arsmor is as good as any other. The relation of ařmune to arsmor then is similar to that of L. praedo to praeda; it designates Jupiter as the god having an interest in or presiding over arsmor or sacred ordinances. The conflict with Sači 10, Sači Iuvepatre 17 is not irreconcilable, or at least it is scarcely more serious than the conflict of these names with Iuve patre which is left alone in 7 if we take ařmune as abl. of a common noun. Read as a divine name it becomes simply an additional epithet of Iuve patre, who must probably be understood as identical with Sači, Sači Iuvepatre of 10 and 17. — perakne: see on Ila 5. — 8 sevakne: on Ila 21. — eveietu: usually taken as the second in a series of imperatives, but it was suggested on 1 above that upetu in 8 is best taken as a participle. eveietu then becomes the prior of two instructions, to be followed by sevakne naratu. The only other occurrence is in 11 below, and comparison with passages where other verbs are followed by naratu is not of much help: III 26-7, for example, shows the series uve sevakni upetu Pemunue Pupřike ampetu tičlu sevakni naratu, but there is no possibility that eveietu in Iib 8, 11 can be synonymous with ampetu, for ampetu occurs in 10, 11, occupying a later position in each series of instructions. The most satisfactory etymology and the one enjoying the greatest favor is the derivation from *ț-weiq-ț-lôd, cf. L. vic-tîma, Germ. weihen (substantially so Osthoff, I.F., VI [1896], pp. 39-47, Bk., Muller, Dev., Pis., Bott.). We must assume a root-form *wei-, since *weik- inferred from the Germanic forms would give -veç-, and we
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veietu: sevakne: naratu: arviu / 
(9) uestetu: eu naratu: puze: 
façefete: sevakne: heri: puni: 
(10) heri vinu fetu: vaputu: saci: 
ampetu: kapru: pera: kne: seva / 
(11) kne: upetu: eveietu: naratu: 
cive: ampetu: fesnere: purtu/etu: 
ife: fertu: tafle: e pir fer: tu: 
kapres: pruseçetu / (13) ife 
afveitu: persutru: vaputis: mefa: 
vistiça: feta fertu: / (14) sviheve: 
fertu: pune: etre: svi: se: ve: 
vini fertu: tertie: / (15) sviheve: 
utur fertu: pistuniru fertu: 

10 pera: kne: for perakne. 12 epirfer: tu: for e: pir: fertu. 14 svi: 
se: ve: for sviheve.

must assign eveietu to the second con- 
jugation because of the unsyncopated e 
before the ending, unless we choose to 
make it a pf. pcpl. with Vetter, who com- 
pares muito. In view of its probable ety- 
ymology and its position in the series of 
instructions it is best taken to refer to 
the consecration of the designated victim. 
— sevakne naratu: it has already been 
steated that the pig chosen must be free 
from blemish; here the adferor is to make 
a formal declaration of the fact. For sim- 
ilar uses of naratu + noun and predi- 
cate adjective cf. 25 (se. vi término) vufbru 
naratu, III 27 ticlu sevakni naratu. 
— 8-9 arviu uestetu: see on Ia 3. — 9 
eu naratu puze façefete sevakne: eu 
of course refers to the preceding arviu. 
façefete is adopted by practically all 
editors as the correct reading for façe- 
feite which appears on the actual table. 
purtitele in 25 gives support for the emen- 
dation. The sense is as if L. *actibilem 
were made to show the special ritual sense 
of Jacio. The sense then is that the arviu 
without blemish, which has been se- 
lected, and pronounce it free from blem- 
ish. Present grain-offerings and pro- 
nounce upon them as upon (a victim) 
fit for sacrifice, without blemish. Sa- 
crifice either with mead or with wine. 
Slay (the victim) in honor of Sancius 
with incense. Consecrate and pronounce 
upon the he-goat brought from away 
and without blemish, which has been 
selected. Slay it outside and present it 
in the temple. Carry it there; carry the 
fire there on a board, and add to it the 
parts cut off from the goat. Bring the 
personando with incense, with a mefa 
cake, and with the prepared libation. 
Bring mead in a flask, in a second flask 
bring wine, in a third flask bring water. 
are to be pronounced upon in the same 
manner as a victim which is declared to 
be free from blemish and suitable for 
sacrifice. However, the passage is not 
sufficient ground for taking arviu with 
Blum., p. 59, and others as ‘exta’; see 
on IIa 18. — 9-10 heri puni / heri 
vini: cf. IIIa 57 with note on ponis. — 
10 vaputu Saci ampetu: cf. 17 vaputu 
Saci învepatre presupenimu, and also 
13 persutru vaputis mefa vistiça feta 
fertu. The best etymology and sense are 
obtained by connecting vaputu with L. 
vapor ‘incense,’ with the majority of 
editors. For the correspondence between 
the s-stem vapor (vapos) and the to-stem 
vaputu Bii., p. 144, compares L. arbos: 
arbata. Blum., p. 86, questions the pro- 
priety of translating ‘ture’ on the ground 
that the introduction of incense into Italy 
was relatively late, but nothing is im- 
plied as to the type of incense used, unless 
he restricts ture to frankincense. On the 
native materials which preceded the use 
of oriental incense cf. Ov., F., 1, 343-4
Ara dabat fumos herbis contenla Sabinis, et non exiguom laurus adustà sono. For other interpretations of vapatu see Dev. ('laqueo'), Bott. (apparently as a divine name, without discussion). — ampetu: see on Ila 20.

Iib 10 - 21. Sacrifice of the goat. See the introductory note on the present table. The instructions commence in the same manner as in the case of the pig, except that sevalne is omitted before naratu, whether through oversight or because it is sufficiently clear from 8 and 10 what the pronunciation is to be. — 11 çuve ampetu, fesnere purctuctu: since the verbs are in contrast, designating respectively the slayling and the offering of the victim, it is probable that çuve and fesnere are also in contrast. The interpretatation of fesnere as ‘in the temple’ receives excellent support from O. fiis-nu, acc. fiisnam, fismam, on the Cippus Abellanus (Co. 95), A 24, B 4, 6, 19; fiis[nai Co. 169; Pael. jen. Co. 239. The Umbrian use of the plural here and in 16 fesnate deserves notice. çive occurs nowhere else, but gives good sense if taken as an adverb from loc. sg. of a stem *kiwo-; cf. simd șimo, L. cis, cira. The question then arises whether the principal emphasis in çive is on a place not in the temple precinct or on a place under the open sky; Devoto decides in favor of the latter, taking account of the Roman practice of standing out of doors while swearing an oath by Dius Fidius and other similar cult practices in connection with heavenly gods. On etymological grounds çive seems merely to suggest relative nearness to the speaker, and in any case the slaughter of the victim occurs outside of the temple. — 12 tafle e pir fertu: incorrectly divided tafle: epirfer: tu on the bronze, with a dot like the upper point of the word-divider between the r and f, although the space would not be adequate for a whole letter; but the real meaning is clear enough, and all editors translate the prepositional phrase ‘in tabula.’ The *tafla is evidently a broad flat carrier of some kind on which are to be placed not only the fire but the prosecla of the victim as well. In Iib 12 in the ceremony between the first and second taking of the auspices, before the lustral procession has advanced to Acedonia, the fire is placed in a carrier designated by a different name: pir ahtimem ententu, while in the equivalent VIb 49-50 the name of the object for carrying the fire is avoided entirely. — 12-13 kapers prusegetu / ife ărveitu: for the prosecla see on VIa 56. ărveitu in most instances has as direct object that which is added to the prosecla, generally cakes of various kinds. — 13 persutru vapatis mefa vistiça feta fertu: for the persutru see on VIb 24, mefa on VIa 56, vistiça on VIb 5. Except for the abl. pl. vapatis the case-endings of all the nouns in the series are ambiguous, but at least one must be the acc. object of fertu. It is probably best to follow Bû., Pl., Bk., Pis. in taking persutru as acc., to which the remaining nouns are abl. of accompaniment, but the problem is after all one of syntax rather than of sense. The pl. vapatis contrasts with sg. vapatu in 10 and 17, but there is no possibility of taking this form as neut. pl., since prepesinu in 17 almost certainly calls for an abl. The form feta, which is nowhere else used as an epithet of uestisia, seems to mean that the libation was already mixed, but in this case Devoto can scarcely be right in taking the mead, wine, and water in 14-15 to be the actual ingredients of the libation, for it is made clear that they are to be carried in separate vessels. It is not certain exactly what the uestisia is, and it may not always even have been a liquid substance (see on Ia 28). — 14 sviseve: clearly a container of some kind, one being used for each of the three liquids, but nothing certain can be affirmed with regard to the etymology. Several editors suggest possible relationship with L. sînum; according to Pis. our form may be a loc. (+ -e) in merupakan analogous to Skt. sūnāu, etc., from a stem *suit-su- or *suit-lu-, with the Latin cog-


nates sinum < *sui\text{-}t-sno-, situla < *sui\text{-}tel\[\text{a}. — 15 utur: B\[\text{u}. and all after him translate ‘aquam.’ t stands for d and the noun is an -\text{r}/n-stem cognate with ß\text{og}; the n-stem is represented by abl. une in 20 below. — pistu niru: written on the bronze with a space after pistu wide enough for one letter, but without the word-divider. The fertu which follows is not separated from niru by either a space or a word-divider. pistu niru is read by some editors as one word, by others as two, and there is no sure interpretation, but a fairly satisfactory sense can be reached through the etymological translation ‘pistum nigrum’ (for palatalization of g see 47 e). The pistu niru would then be black or dark meal crushed with a pestle instead of ground with a millstone. Cf. IIa 18, where salu maletu ‘ground salt’ appears among the materials to be taken to the place where the dog is sacrificed to Hondus. We are not told precisely how either the dark meal or the salt is subsequently used. — vepesutra: the meaning is very uncertain but see on IIa 30. — 16 mantraklu: see on VIIb 4, from which it is clear that the word means a cloth to be worn over the right hand. — pune fertu: this second mention of pune is surprising after sviseve fertu pune in 14, and it is not unlikely that we have simply a ditto-graphic repetition of fertu pune, the correct reading consisting of the fertu governing mantraklu and the conjunction pune which begins the new sentence. On the other hand it is curious that ranu mentioned in 19 does not appear in the list of articles to be carried to the place of sacrifice, and Vetter, p. 206, may be correct in his suggestion that pune fertu was erroneously written in place of ranu fertu. But in our translation we proceed as if the text were sound. — 16-17 pune fesnafe benus / kabru purtvetu, etc.: the porrectio or second part of the sacrifice now begins inside the temple. — 17 prepesnimu: this is the opening of a series of prayers, and hence the verb is compounded with pre-; not so, however, in IIa 29-31, where persnimu occurs 4 times uncompounded. — 18 veskles: these have not been mentioned before, but they can scarcely be the vessels designated by sviseve in 14-15 as the containers of the mead, wine, and water, since the prayers said in conjunction
with these liquids are covered by a separate instruction just below in 20. Dev., pp. 361, 364, takes pistuniru to be a part of the viscera of the victim and the vesika to be the vessels containing them, but the idea of a connection between the two rests purely on a comparison of the passages in which each occurs; see, however, on 19 below. — 18-19 atrepuratu / aŋpetu statitatu: the same series of imperatives, in the same order, occurs in IIa.31-2 among the instructions immediately following the porrectio in the dog-sacrifice, but vestikatu, which occurs there between the prayer with the vessels and the dancing of the tripudium, is not included in the present passage. — 19 vesklu pustru pestu: in IIa.32 it is the supa or under-parts of the victim which are placed at the back of the altar, and similarly in VIb.5, VIIa.8. Apparently here the vessels containing the supa are spoken of in place of the supa themselves. — ranu: not elsewhere mentioned and completely obscure, beyond the fact that it must be the name of one of the materials used in the ritual; see also above on 16 pune fertu. Bü. and Pl. suggested etymological connection with ḥwala, taking ranu to be a liquid of some sort. Blum., p. 73, takes as equivalent to L. grano; he supports the variation r/-gr- by reference to Hesych. 'Ῥαμνός: Ἕλλην. Ῥομαίοι δὲ τὸ γ’ προσόλεντες Θεακόν φασί and other similar glosses, and rules out Grabovius as contrary evidence on the ground that it is a foreign name. Goldmann, St. etr., XII (1938), p. 407, cites his interpretation with approval. Several scholars equate with Etr. ranem, ranvis, the sense of which, however, is itself uncertain: a triple vase like the Duenos Vase according to Dev., p. 363 with bibliography; a kind of cake (libum) according to Ribezzo, II, p. 192. — 21 eru: see on VIb.16. In IIa.32 the priest is instructed to convey the eru, which is the liver if iepru is correctly interpreted, in his hand. IIb.14 — 29. Sacrifice of a bull-calf to Jupiter Sancius. Since this offering is made on behalf of the gens Lucia of the Atiedian Brothers, it is generally regarded as having a private character in contrast to the sacrifice of the pig and goat in 1-21, which concerns all the decuviae into which the citizens are divided. One noteworthy feature of the present ritual is the disk or wheel (uleta) which the priest holds in his hand when he dedicates the victim. As in the augural ceremony at the beginning of the lustration (Ib 11 = VIb.49), he wears a stole over his shoulder, but in the present ceremony he removes the stole after the slaying of the victim and places it upon the cake (mefa), to replace it on his shoulder after the porrectio. The instruction arvi ustetu is included, as in sacrifices during the purification of the Fisian Mount and the lustration of the people, and the use of mead is prescribed, but not of wine or water. — 21 vufru: Bü. and nearly all after him translate ‘nolitum’, so also Vetter in his glossary, but he proposes ‘liberum’ in his commentary and adopts it in his translation. From a phonological standpoint this is extremely tempting, since the two forms can be fully equated on the basis of derivation from *leudherom; cf. ἔλευθερος, Pafl. louīr ‘liber,’ Fal. loiīlārul ‘liberatis’; U. phonology as in 23, 43, 55 a. There are semantic difficulties, however. There would be no point in calling the calf ‘free’ in the sense of ‘unyoked, never used for plowing,’ since this would be true of all calves. Vetter, p. 206, takes the sense to be ‘non sollemnis’; in this case vufro naratu in 25 may be contrasted with sevakne naratu in 8, somewhat as sakre and perakne are contrasted in IIa.5, and the calf may be free in the sense of ‘not temple-property, not fenced,’ or perhaps even ‘unowned.’ The argument would be less difficult if we had a really clear idea of what sevakne means, but in any case it is rather strange that the priest should have to declare the victim ‘free’ three times (25 just below). On
pune heries : / (22) façu : eruhu :
tiçlu : sestu : iuveyatre : pune
seste : / (23) urfeta : manuve :
vitlu : vufru : sestu : / (25) purtuvele :
tri : iuper teitu : triuuper : vufru :
naratu / (26) feiu : iuveyatre :
vuçiaper : natine : fratru atiuieiu / (27) pune : anpenes :
krikatru : testre : e uze : habetu :
ap e pel/us : mefe : atentu : aper
purtuvies : testre : e uze habetu / (29) krikatru : arviu : ustetu : puni
fetu : /

25 tri : iuper : for triuuper. 26 feiu : for fetu. 27, 28 testre : euze : for testre:
e : uze.

the other hand it would be quite natural
to make formal declaration that the vic-
tim was about to be offered in fulfil-
ment of a vow. We therefore reluctantly
abandon the equation with liberum
and derive from *wog*ro-m, from the
same root as L. voceo. Other examples of
stems in -ro- with predominantly pas-
sive sense in relation to the verbs from
which they are derived include L. sacer
to sancio, integer to tango, δόξοι to
diδομ. — 21-2 pune heries / façu;
similar formulas occur in IIa 16 heriiei
façi affertur ... faça tiçit, where the
punctuation and construction are in doubt,
and in VIb 48 pone poplo afero heries.
— 22 eruhu tiçlu : see on IIa 15, where
the interpretation ‘day,’ is advocated in
preference to ‘(de)dicatio, declaratio.’ In
the present passage also we get a better
sense by translating ‘on the same day,’
since the formula of dedication in 24
below is not the same as in the preceding
sacrifice. — sestu: cf. the ritual use
of L. sīsto in connection with the formal
dedication of the victim in Verg., Aen.,
VIII, 84-5 quam (sc. suem) pius Aeneas
tibi enim, tibi, maxima Iuno, maclat
sacra ferens et cum grege sistii ad aram;
Ov., Met., XV, 130-32 Victima labe
carens ... vītis praesignis et auro sistītur
ante aras auditīque ignara precantem. —
seste: this form has been taken as 2 sg.
pres., 2 sg. fut., and 3 sg. pres. pass.
Although the fut. is frequent after pone
pune, it is unlikely that we have an
example here, for the final s in the fut.
2 sg. is etymologically double (see 123),
and all the Umbrian examples, ampenes,
heries, menes, purtuves retain a single
-s. The pres. pass. 3 sg. is possible, since
the final r is sometimes omitted (see 115
e). Our form would then be from *ses-
ter < *sist(e)ter. The use of the passive
here, however, seems unnecessary and
slightly unnatural. It may therefore be
good to take sestè with Bù., Co., Bk.,
Blum., and Bott. as pres. 2 sg. The presen-
t with pone pune is less frequent than
the fut., but is found in Ibb 1 = VIb 43,
and VIIb 2. — 23 urfeta: in a formal
sense fully equivalent to L. orbītum, un-
less the unsyncopated e was long. Se-
mantically it is closer to orbīs, since it
evidently indicates some circular or wheel-shaped object having a symbolic value. Livy, VIII, 20, 8, in connection with the property of the condemned rebel Vitruvius Vaccus says: ... bona Semoni Sango censuerunt! consecranda; quoque aeris ex eis redactum est, ex eo aenei orbes facti positi in sacello Sanguis adversus aedem Quirini. The rock-drawings in the Val Camonica include a representation of a man holding up a solar ring in his hand and another of a warrior with an eight-spoked wheel by his side (cf. F. Altheim, Geschichte der lateinischen Sprache [Frankfurt-am-Main, 1951], pp. 103-4). The association of the solar symbol with Jupiter Sancius and Semo Sancius may be connected with their function as protectors of oaths and pacts; compare also the Roman practice mentioned above on 11 of swearing oaths under the solar ring. — estu iuku habetu: in III 28, not before the slaughter as here, but after it, we find iuka mersuva uvikum habetu ... For the plural, which is shown by the accompanying estu in preference to este, cf. L. ioca, and for the use with habetu cf. the Latin idiom orationem habere. There is no objection on semantic grounds to the connection with iocus, -a, since the Latin sense 'jest,' like that of Lith. juokas, can easily be explained as an instance of specialization. The serious sense, and also the e-vowel grade, are preserved in the OHG verb jehan 'declare.' — 25 purtifele: related to *purši-, the weak stem-form of purdoutu, as *porricibilis would be to L. porricio. The priest three times declares the bull-calf to be qualified for presentation, and three times gives notice that it is a votive offering (?). Whichever of the two possible interpretations we adopt for vufru in 21, it must refer to the status of the calf before the ceremony. It appears therefore that in the present passage teitu is used of that which becomes effective as a result of the utterance and naratu of that which was already true and is merely made known, and there is no objection to applying this distinction to the other instances of the two verbs in Tables IIa, b, III, although nowhere else are they used in such close proximity as in the present passage. — 26 Vučiapfer: the name is probably equivalent to L. Lucia, though it has also been rendered 'Vucia' (Br.), 'Vočia' (Bł.), 'Vovicia' (Dev.). The phraseology is similar to Petrunia-per natine fratru Atiieřiu in IIa 21 (on which see note) and 35. Vetter favors the view that Vučia here does not designate an actual gens Lucia but has rather the value 'gens So-and-so' and is therefore comparable to the Roman legal expression TITIAE UXORI MEAE (Gaius, Inst., I, 152); an ingenious and plausible explanation, but if we accept it we must discard Devoto's view cited in note on 2 pumpeřias that the gentes Petronia and Lucia (Vovicia) represented the two pentads of the Brotherhood. — 27 krikatru: mentioned also in Ib 11 and in the equivalent Vlb 49, on which see note. In these last two passages the stole is worn during the fire-ceremony between the first and second taking of the auspices in the lustration. — 28 mefe atentu: it is not clear what is symbolized by the placing of the stole upon the surface of the broad flat cake. According to Dev., p. 368, the krikatru indicated the three principal events in the sacrifice and imparted a certain sacred character (aliquid sacri) to the exta to which the mefo was added.
(III 1) esunu : fuia : herter :
sume : / (2) uistine : sestentasiaru :
/ (3) urnasiaru : huntak : vuke :
prumu : pehatu / (4) inuk :
uhturu : urtes : puntis : / (5) frater :

III - IV. Sacrifice in honor of Pomonus and Vesona. These two tables clearly contain a single body of text. The reverse of III is left blank and the last sentence of III is continued on IV, and the obverse of IV is almost completely filled, with slightly less than half a line of blank space at the bottom and with the reverse, like that of III, left blank. Yet the two tables seem not to have been engraved by the same hand. III contains no absolutely certain instances of error: ferime 16 must probably be emended to ferine, but vatra 31 may quite easily be correct, and aruvia 31 is probably a unique variant of arvia. IV on the other hand contains at least eight sure cases of misspelling and several more probable cases. The two tables are as difficult to interpret as any among the seven, especially because of the large number of names of articles used in the ritual, many of them occurring only once and giving no good clue as to their sense either through comparative etymology or through study of their context. The following is a brief outline of the content of the two tables, with the chief emphasis on those portions where the meaning is most surely established. First the time for the sacrifice is given: the final period of the regular bi-monthly festival. A certain jar or vat in the Sacred Grove is to be purified. The Atiedian Brothers then appoint an auctor, who designates a young pig and a sheep as victims. The Brothers examine and accept the victims, and all proceed to the sacred field called the Arva. The victims are taken to the field on a kletra, a sort of litter whose construction is explained in detail (III 14-20) but is striking for the large number of obscurities. First the pig is slaughtered in honor of Jupiter and on behalf of the Atiedian Brothers and the state and tribe of Iguvium (22-5). The sheep is then slaughtered in honor of the god Pomonus Publicus on behalf of the Atiedian Brothers and the state and tribe of Iguvium (26-30), yet the two sacrifices are not similar in all respects. The sheep is to be slaughtered on the ground, for ultimate burial (31-2). Two pieces are to be cut off as burnt-offerings on one side of the altar, two at another side for presentation to Pomonus, and three at a third side for presentation to Vesona, a goddess closely associated with Pomonus, probably as his consort, the two being predominantly deities of fertility and growth. In connection with this ritual (31-IV 6), use is made of cakes called *struclus but having a special form sometimes believed to involve sex-symbalism. 6-14 contain instructions to make offerings of the uncut and cut portions of meat, the sin-offerings (vempesuntres) and the underparts, to pray, approach the altar and stop; to pray to Pomonus and Vesona with the wet and dry vessels and with the spoons or sticks used for applying unguent, and finally to anoint the statue. 14-22 contain instructions to offer a libation and cake (mefa) from a cup, kneeling, at the right of the altar, and in the same manner to present libations and sin-offerings below and above the statue to Hula and Tursa, goddesses whose cult in the present instance seems to be merely subsidiary to that of Pomonus and Vesona. The last lines of this passage contain instructions to fetch a cover and place it over the sin-offering and to offer certain cakes of a circular form. The final portion of the sacrifice (23-32) includes, among certain obscure
III 1 - 2 sume / uistine: cf. IIa 15 and note. — 2-3 sestentasiaru urnasiaru: cf. plenasier urnasiaru Va 2. urnasiaru was generally rendered by earlier editors ‘urnariarum’ on the supposition that the festival was named from the urns used in its celebration, but Blum was no doubt right in equating it with ordinariarum, after Linde, Gl., III (1912), pp. 170-1. sestentasiaru = L. sextentariarum ‘belonging to the sixth part (of the year)’; hence ‘bi-monthly.’ The festival then was one which occurred at intervals of two months, or possibly at the end of the second month of the year, which agrees well with the belief that this festival was somehow connected with the Roman Ambarvalia, celebrated in May. — huntak: taken by Br. as an adv. from the same root as the second part of erihonti, with ending as in L. isiac, illac; similarly Blum. But an object is needed for pehatu, and also for prupehast in IV 32, so that huntak is best taken as a noun, as in fact the majority of editors take it. In this case it is apparently a neut. k-stem analogous to tuplak and derived from the root *hom < *ghom- ‘earth’; cf. hondra, hondo\u0101, hondo. Since we should expect -n(n)- from -nd-, Pl., II, p. 69, suggests development from a stem in -ndilek-. Several editors take the huntak to be a well or similar source of underground water: ‘fontem’ Bö. (but observe fondilire with f, not h), ‘cisternam’ Pl., ‘puleum’ Bk., Vet. (?), Pis. But it is hard to escape Devo’s objection, p. 369, based on the fact that the huntak is evidently intended to contain the sub-

stance poni. This much is evident from IV 32-3 by any reasonable interpretation, and it is altogether unlikely that punes would be applied to water, despite its apparent derivation from *pöi- ‘drink.’ Dev. translates ‘ollam,’ assuming the jar to be designated, perhaps euphemistically, by the earthenware from which it is made. Could it be possible that the huntak was a vat located in the grove and used for making the mead, and that IV 32-3 has the effect of a prohibition against using the mead for private or secular purposes, once the vat has been purified? Such a view would be easy to support on etymological grounds, but cannot be affirmed with any certainty. — vuke: see on Vib 43. — pehatu: since the ceremony takes place on a set day, it is probably a routine purification or consecration rather than an expiation for sin. — 4 uhturu: recognized as the etymological equivalent of L. auctoriter by nearly all editors. The abstract uh.

tretie ‘*auctoratu’ accompanied by the names of the eponymous magistrates is used in Va 2, 15 for dating the regulations contained in those passages, and the abbreviation oht accompanied by the names of two officials is similarly used in an Umbrian inscription from Assisi (no. 355 Co.). It is incredible that the Atiedian Brothers should elect a civil magistrate, yet ‘elect’ or ‘appoint’ appears to be the sense of uientuta in 5. Vetter translates uhtrietie Va 2, 15, and oht in the Assisi inscription by ‘auctoritate’; thus we no longer have an eponymous magistracy to deal with, and the uhtur in III becomes simply a master of ceremonies to preside over the sacrifice. This last view is doubtless correct, but if C. Vestinius and Nero Babrius in the Assisi inscription were not uhtur, it is not clear what their position was; perhaps they were merely the sponsors of the motion. — urtes punctis: cf. punctes 9, urtas punctes 10, which are subjects of their verbs; the present form then is abl. abs. punctis is normally translated ‘qu偏远i-
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ustentuta: puře: / (6) fratru: mersus: fust: / (7) kumnakle: iiinuk: uhtur: vapeře: / (8) kumnakle: sistu: sakre: uvem: uhtur / (9) teitu: puntes: terkantur: inume: sakre / (10) uvem: urtas: puntes: fratrum: upetura: / (11) inume: via: mersuva: arvamen: etuta: / (12) erak: pir: persklu: uřetu: sakre: uvem: / (13) kletra: fertura: aituta: arven: who shall be in accord with the customs of the Brothers in assembly. Then the auctor shall sit on the stone seat in the meeting-place. The auctor shall designate a young pig and a sheep, the groups of five shall inspect them, then the groups of five rising shall accept the young pig and the sheep. Then they shall go by the accustomed way to the field. On the way load the fire (with incense) with a prayer. They shall lift and carry

bus': the brothers then are divided into groups of five for voting purposes, and the total number of twelve brothers is made up, according to Dev., p. 305, of two pentads together with the adjutor and the fratricus. urtes is generally rendered 'ortis,' the sense being that of surgentibus used of voting by rising. For a similar early use of orior Bù. cites Vellius Longus (Gramm. Lat., VII, Keil), p. 74, 18 oriri apud antiquos surgere frequentier significabant ut appareat ex eo quod diciur: oriens consul magistrum populi dicat, quod est surgens. — 5 ustentuta: this verb is not elsewhere used with the title of a person as object, but the semantic development 'show > proclaim > elect' offers no special difficulty. — 5-7 puře fratru mersus fust / kumnakle: most editors give translations having the general sense 'which shall be in accordance with the laws (or customs) of the Brothers' (quite otherwise Devoto, who translates 'ab oriente,' with reference to the location of thehuntak in the place of meeting); but the future fust in place of a present is somewhat surprising, and the whole expression is slightly otiose. We may improve the sense of the passage by translating 'who shall be in conformity with the customs of the Brothers in convention.' The use of puře as masc. nom. sg. receives adequate support from parsse perca arsmatia habiæst in VI b 63, VII a 46, 51. There is no change in the construction of mersus, which is still an ablative of accordance. The spelling with -rs- instead of the expected -řs- is evidence that there was only a slight difference in pronunciation between řs = rs(s) and original rs. kumnakle is used also in Va 15 to designate the place of adoption of the second portion of the decree regarding the duties and rights of the adfertor. — vapeře: all other instances of this word are accompanied by forms of the adj. auicula, and Blum., pp. 34-5, relying on Livy's description, I, 18, 6-7, of the inauguration of Numa, suggests that in the present passage also the uhtur occupies the lapis auguralis in order to take the auspices. There is, however, no direct mention of such a purpose, and we must be satisfied to assume that the seat was simply one of stone. The Acta Fratrum Arvalium also contain references to the priests or the promagister sitting in their ceremonial chairs (cf., for example, pp. 11, 12, 14 Henzen). — 8 sakre uvem: there is no possibility of regarding sakre as a mere epithet of uvem, for the two are treated separately in 22-3 and 26-7, the former being offered to Jupiter, the latter to Pomonus Publicus. It is uncertain for what victim sakre stands, but see on Ia 5, where it is
taken to be a young pig. — 9 teitu: the first of three actions connected with the two victims. Normally deltu teitu is either used with oratio recta or else its object is accompanied by a predication, as in I1b 25, III 25. The present example falls into neither of these categories, and the question is precisely how teitu and upetuta differ. The sense is either that the auctor designates a young pig and a sheep and the pentads of the Brothers, after examining them (terkantur), signify their acceptance of them by rising up, or that the auctor names (the species) pig and sheep as victims and the Brothers after an examination select one of each as victims. The former interpretation seems slightly preferable as conforming more closely to the normal meanings of the verbs in question. — terkantur: there are no other instances, and the initial t is etymologically ambiguous, but most connect the word with δέξωμαι 'look.' In V1 7 revestu, etymologically equivalent to L. revisito, is similarly used of examining victims. — 11 mersuva: in all probability related to mers 'law, custom' somewhat as L. annus to annus and therefore meaning 'accustomed.' This also gives satisfactory sense in 28, where mersuva is used with iuka. In Ib 14-6 = V1b 52 the adfertor after the taking of the auspices proceeds by the uia aiiecta or 'Angural Way' to Acedonia to perform the three sacrifices of the lustration. In the present passage, however, the route is not identified by a proper name. — arvamen: an a-stem, perhaps with originally collective value, in contrast to the Latin o-stem arvum. Nonius, p. 192, however, cites an acc. pl. arvas from Naevius and Pacuvius. The exact location of the Arva of the Atiedian Brothers is of course uncertain, but Rosenzweig, pp. 18-9, plausibly suggests the level plain near the Roman theatre where the Tables were discovered. — 12 erak: an abl. sg. fem. form used adverbially and found nowhere else. It must refer not to the Arva, in which case we might expect ife, but to via; the act designated by the words immediately following is therefore to be performed along the way. — pir persklu uretu: the verb, which recurs in IV 30 without pir, is generally regarded as equivalent to L. ad-oleto 'burn, load (with gifts), worship.' Dev. assumes that it means 'load (the fire) with incense,' depending in part for support on etymological connection with L. odor, olère < *odère, where comparison with Gk. ὀδύν, ὀδῶς shows that d and not l was the original consonant. Since r in the phonetic environment in which it stands can have arisen from either d or l, it is quite possible that uretu represents a contamination of the two roots. Vetter and Pisani in both passages take uretu as a supine forming an expression of purpose which they translate 'ad adolendum (-am). This is free from objection on formal grounds (unless uretu made a shorter supine without e, like L. visum to videre), but it is hazardous to assume that the Umbrian supine was not largely restricted, like the Latin, to use with verbs of motion. — persklu in the present passage must be taken in its narrow sense 'prayer.' — 13 kletra: the etymological equation often made with Goth. kleipra 'sicht' is phonologically perfect though semantically slightly difficult. L. cilitellae 'pack-saddle' probably represents a diminutive extension of *kleitro-. In any case it is clear from the context that the kletra is a litter for carrying the victims to the Field. For a recent discussion of the nature of the kletra and its component parts see G. B. Pighi, Studi in onore di Gino Funaioli (Rome, 1955), pp. 373-77. — fertuta aituta: Gk. and L. parallels to this pair are frequent: E 483-4 ἀνάγ όντι μωλ ἐνθάδε τοιον, οἶνον χ' ἦθε φέρουν Ἀγαμοι, ἦτεν ἄγουν. Livy, XXII, 3, 7 res sociorum ante oculos prope suos ferri agilique vidit; cf. III, 37, 7, XXXVIII, 15, 10. In the present passage, however, the circumstances are quite different, since it is not a question of carrying ob-
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kletram : / (14) amparitu : eruk :
esunu : futu : kletre : tuplak : /
(15) prumum : antentu : inuk :
çiçeфа : ententu : / (16) inuk :
kazi : ferime : antentu : isunt :
feřehtru : / (17) antentu : isunt :
sufeřaklu : antentu : seples / (18)
ahesnes : tris : kazi : astintu :
feřehtru : etres : tris / (19) ahesnes :
astintu : sufeřaklu : tuves :
ahesnes / (20) antintu : inenek :
jects and driving beasts. Here fertuta
is evidently used for the lifting of the vic-
tims on to the litter, aituta for the carry-
ing of the litter to the designated place
(‘La vittima “scara,” la pecora sollevino,
portino via in una lettiga,’ Devoto, T.G.,
p. 65). — 14 amparitu: etymology and
meaning were discussed on 11a 42, where
the medio-passive was used of the priest
rising. Here the active is used of the set-
ting up of the litter. — eruk: like erak
in 12 this form is unique. Derivatives of
the stem *ero- are anaphorics like L. is,
ea, id, etc. while eso, etc. are used to in-
troduce matter which is to follow. More-
over the technical instructions in 14
kletre tuplak ... 20 antintu do not rea-
ly constitute the esunu but are inserted
almost parenthetically between eruk esu-
nu futu and 20 inenek vukumen esu-
numen etu. eruk then is best taken not
as ‘in the following manner,’ but as
‘then, next,’ the ablative form having
developed an adverbial value. — tup-
lak: a double object of some kind (cf.
L. duplex); according to most editors a
furca to be somehow attached to the
litter; according to Vetter a sort of double
floor of clay to be placed over the wooden
floor of the kletra, on which glowing
coals were then to be placed. But the
additional three objects which are to be
placed on top, the kazi, the feřehtru,
and the sufeřaklu are already quite
enough. If the litter was of such a kind
as to be easily carried but not to stand in
the young pig and the sheep on a litter.
Set up the litter in the field. Then the
sacrifice shall take place. First attach
a fork to the litter. Then insert the lat-
tice frame. Then place the kettle upon
the carrier; on the same put the chop-
ping-board; on the same put the under-
board. Fasten the kettle with three
bronze nails; fasten the chopping-board
with three additional bronze (nails); fas-
ten the under-board with two bronze
place without a support, perhaps because
of a round bottom, then the tuplak may
have been a forked piece of wood designed
to hold it in position, and in this case it
is quite natural that the instruction re-
grading the tuplak should be the first one
given. — 15 çiçeфа: quite obscure,
but generally brought into connection
with κυγλίδες; L. cingo, and translated
‘cancellos.’ It must then be a sort of
lattice frame to be added to the litter. —
ententu: important because the usual
verb in this series of instructions is an-
tentu, which governs tuplak, kazi, fe-
řehtru, and sufeřaklu. If the kletra
had holes into which the separate rods
making up the çiçeфа were to be inserted,
the use of ententu in place of antentu
would be adequately explained. — 16
kazi: many etymologies and interpreta-
tions, but there is no sure solution. The
z probably represents Is, and the form
may be a stem in -si- or more probably
in -sio- (cf. 32 a). Vetter proposed to
connect with L. catinus and to assign to
it a similar sense 'Kessel' or 'Tiegel.'
His view of certain other details in the
passage is not adopted here (see on tup-
lak 14 above), but the notion of kazi
as a kettle or pan of some sort is not
necessarily in conflict with the sense
adopted for the passage as a whole, if
we consider that the kletra served as
a sort of movable altar. — ferime: found
also in Ib 25, where emendation to fe-
rine is unavoidable because of the fre-
quency of the formula *vata* *ferine* *fetu* in which it occurs. In the present passage emendation is favored by Kent, *T.C.L.*, p. 36, Bk., Dev.; retention of *ferime* by Co., Pl., Blum, Vet., Pis.; Bott. is doubtful. For a *nomen instrumenti* made by adding -i- or -(i)yo- to a verbal root, which would have to be assumed to account for *ferim-e*, it would be virtually impossible to find a Latin parallel. Moreover *andendu* *antentu* is normally construed with a dative or locative or with an adverb (cf. Kent, *loc. cit.*); VII a 25 *superne* adro *trahuorfi* andendu *is* the only instance with a preposition. It is therefore quite probable that we must assume a misspelling of *ferine* here as in lb. 25. The sense, however, is not greatly affected, and *ferim-e* or *ferine* may be taken to indicate the flat surface on which the *kazı* is placed, just as *ferine* in the frequent formula *vatua* *ferine* *fetu* appears to be a flat tray or similar object. — *fefehtru*: the suffix -tru suggests a *nomen instrumenti*, and the ā may be from d or from l (42 b, 55 b). We should proceed, however, on the theory that *fefehtru* and *sufēraklū* in 17 are probably related, and ā before a cannot be from l, unless through some analogical influence. Conway found a reasonably satisfactory solution by taking as equivalent to a L. *fidestrum* from the same root as *findo* and signifying a chopping-board. The e < i is paralleled by teřa < *diidāl*. — 17 *sufēraklū*: no less obscure than *fefehtru*, with which it evidently shares the same root, though vowel-extension and suffix are different. If the interpretation ‘chopping-board’ proposed above for *fefehtru* was correct, then the *sufēraklū* may possibly be a recepable beside and below the *fefehtru* designed to receive the pieces of meat after they have been chopped. — *seplēs* generally taken as equivalent to L. *simpulus* ‘ladies’ until it was shown that *simpulum* in Fest., p. 455 Li., on which the etymology depended, was a false reading for *simpuwium* (cf. Brinkmann, *A.L.L.*, XV [1908], pp. 139-43). Devoto has an altogether different interpretation according to which the *seplēs* are nails. This gives the most satisfactory sense when taken in connection with *a(n)stintu*, and the thrice repeated instruction that the *seplēs* must be of bronze is very easily explained by the widespread taboo against the use of iron in holy places (cf. Dev. p. 381, who cites among other references *Acta Frazilum Arvalium*, p. 132 Henzen, on the propitiatory sacrifice to atone for the bringing of iron tools into the sacred grove). Devoto’s interpretation unfortunately lacks adequate etymological support, but *seplēs* might conceivably be from the same root as L. *saepes*, *saepio*, the semantic connection lying either in the fact that nails are used for closing wooden structures or that a nail or peg has a certain resemblance to one of the poles that make up a fence. — *18 ahesnes*: equivalence with L. *ahenis*, -ēis is universally recognized and is beyond reasonable doubt. — *astintu*: used three times, having as object *kazı*, *fefehtru*, and *sufēraklū*. The first two actions are performed with three *seplēs* each, the last with two. Some render ‘*exstinguito*’ or ‘*restinguito*’ understanding that the fire burning on the litter is extinguished with the *seplēs* which they take to be ladies; others ‘*distinguito*’ in the sense ‘mark off, adorn’ with the ladies or other vessels designated by *seplēs*. However, if it were merely a question of ladies being placed at various points, we might expect some expression such as *seplū antentu* instead of *anstintu*. The sense ‘pierce’ (with nails) has a satisfactory etymological basis if we connect with *stigare*, *stigamē*, L. *insligare*, *distingere*; cf. Velius Longus (Gramm. lat., VII Keil), p. 67, 20 *inventi sunt qui distinguere quoque sine u littera et scribere et dicere maluerunt, adicenles et illam rationem quod distinguere est inter postio puncto dividere atque aduere. — *20 inenek*: found nowhere else and hard to explain morphologically, but the va-
vukumen : esunumen : etu : ap / (21) vuku : kukehes : iepi : 
persklumara : kařitu : vuke : pir / (22) ase : antentu : sakre :
sevakne : upetu : iuvetate / (23) prumu : ampentu : testru : sese
asa : fratusper / / (24) attieries : ahtisper : eikvasatis : tutape :
iiuvin / / (25) trefiper : iiuvinza :
tičtu : sevakni : teitu / / (26) inumek
(nails). Then go into the grove for the
sacrifice. When you reach the grove,
call (them) there to the ceremony. In
the grove place fire upon the altar. The
young pig without blemish, which has
been selected, slay first in honor of Ju-
piter, at the right of the altar, for the
Atiedian Brothers, for the fire-carriers
(the symbols) of the college, for the state
of Iguvium, for the tribe of Iguvium.
 Pronounce the day solemn. Then slay

riety of pronominal and adverbial forms
observed in the scanty Italic dialect re-
 mains is so great that we are scarcely
justified in emending to inumek, as some
have proposed. — vukum-en: the in-
terpretation ‘grove’ is to be preferred to
‘temple’; see on VI b 43. — esunum-
en: Bü, favored taking as an adj. ‘divi-
nam’ qualifying vukum, and as support
for the repetition of the preposition he
cited Ib 14 vafepam avieklufe and
Homeris ḏr̄e ḏ̄omov̄e. His suggestion is
all the more tempting in view of persklu-
mară in 21, which would lead us to expect
-ař, not -en, if esunumen means ‘to the
sacred rites.’ Yet there are more in-
stances in which the adjective following
the noun is unaccompanied by the post-
position, and moreover Ib 14 shows an
unambiguous example of esunume etu
in the sense ‘go to the sacrifice.’ It is
therefore safer to follow the majority in
taking esunumen as a separate phrase.
— ap: a syncopated form of ape; the
only other example is in IV 31. — 21
kukehes: a unique and exceptionally
troublesome form. Connection with ce-
hefi VI a 20 is tempting but not necessary,
since there is no especially close connec-
tion between the contexts in which the
two forms occur. Earlier editors in ge-
eral translated by forms of in- suc-
cendo, understanding that the grove was
to be lighted up with a fire. Etymologi-
cal connections were set up with suatu
or with L. candeo or in-cendo, but both
involve difficulties of phonology because
in the combination of vowel + h +
vowel in the native alphabet the h reg-
ularly has etymological value instead
of being merely an indication of vowel-
length. Blum., p. 74, found an easier
etymology by connecting with O. kahad
‘capiat’ (and L. in-coharet?), and is fol-
lowed in substance by most subsequent
editors. The sense then is not that of
‘lighting up’ but simply of ‘reaching’
or ‘entering’ the grove. The ablaut-va-
rination in kukehes: O. kahad is the
same as in L. cépi: capio, but the ending is
difficult. ape ape is used 29 times with the
fut. pf., only once with the fut. (pur-
vies IIb 28). The vowel-grade in kukehes
points to the pf. stem, yet a fut. pf. 2 sg.
should end in -ns. R. G. Kent, Lang.,
IX (1933), p. 217, suggested analyzing
as a 3 pl. pf. subj. from *ko(m)-kĕhēns,
with the Brothers as subject, but there
are no other examples of a subjunctive
after ape, and besides ap kukehes seems
to contain the fulfilment of the instruc-
tion vukumen etu immediately preceding,
as Blum., loc. cit., suggested, so that we
should be inclined to expect a 2 or 3 sg.
form. A hybrid form made from the long-
vowel pf. stem but inflected like the fut.
instead of the fut. pf. would be quite
without parallel, but the difficulties by
any other interpretation are no less se-
rious. The prefix ku-, like con- in L. con-
sequor, imparts a perfective aspect (in the Slavic sense) to the verb, and presents no problem. For discussion of *kukhes cf., beside the editions, Kent, C.P., XV (1920), p. 366; Lang., IX (1933), p. 217; Ribezzo, II, p. 98. See also on cehefi VI a 20. — *iipi: an adverb found only here and of uncertain origin. Blum., p. 74, took it to be temporal and to correspond to the preceding *ap as L. *lum to *cum; but if *ape is followed by a temporal adverb, it is normally *enuk, *enom, *eno (cf., for example, Ia 30, 33, VIIb 53, 63, VIIa 5, 8). Most render *iipi ‘*ibi, *itlic,’ etc., but there is almost no chance that it represents *ife by the same type of orthographic variation as *kutef: *kutep (cf. 2 k). The first part is probably from *tiget, loc. sg. of the thematic pronominal stem seen in L. *is, *ea, *id. The second part may be related to O. *ip, Paol. *ip, Mars. *ceip ‘*hic,’ and possibly also to U. *neip. The use of *iipi is like the rare and late Latin use of *ibi ‘*thither’ with verbs of motion.

— persklum: used in a comprehensive sense, as in Ia 1 = VI a 1. — karitu: see on carsitu VIIa 43. — *pir / ase antetu: the same fire which was mentioned in 12. For the instruction to place the fire on the altar cf. Ia 19-20. — 22 upetu: on the reasons for taking as pepl. rather than inv. here and in VIIb 8 see on VIIb 1. If this view is adopted, the sentence will not end with upetu, as it does in most of the standard editions. — 23 prumua: in contrast to inumek, which introduces the sacrifice of the sheep to Pomonus at 26. — ampentu: see on Ila 20. — testru sese asa: the same expression occurs in IV 15-6, while supru sese erecluma occurs in IV 3. Although the general sense is clear, sese is obscure. There have been several attempts to derive it from the root *sed-, with reference to place: Br. refers it to a noun *sessis; Bū. (without exact analysis) regards it as equivalent to L. sessu, or to sessione; BK., § 307, as equivalent to L. *sessē from sessus. Others more recently have derived it from the adverb of separation found in sei-podruhpeī, L. *sed-itiō, etc. (so Blum., pp. 40-1, Dev., Pis.). sese will then be taken as a postposition in close connection with testru, not as a preposition with asa, for IV 3 has supru sese alone without a following asa, and the combination testru sese in turn will govern the abl. asa, giving the direction from which the motion proceeds, but the whole phrase may be rendered ‘at the right of the altar.’ — 24 ahtisper eikvasatsis: it would be satisfactory in some respects to equate ahtis with L. actis, but from an o-stem we should expect the abl. pl. to end in -es; -is is found only in vapanis IIb 13 (io-stems are not taken into consideration here). ahtis must therefore be abl. pl. of an i-stem, perhaps the same noun as ahtim-em in Ia 12, where it was taken to designate a fire-carrier. If this interpretation is adopted, the fire-carrier must be regarded as the symbol of the Atiedian Brotherhood, or of that group affiliated with it or included in it under the name eikvases-e Attiefio (V a 4, 16), and these symbols are then among the objects of the prayers which accompany the sacrifice. Dev., p. 386, cites, among other evidence for the sacred symbols of various priesthoods, the following passages relating to the Fratres Arvales: Plin., N.H., XVIII, 6 spinoa corona quae vitta alba colligatur sacerdotio ei pro religiosissimo insigni data; Gellius, VII, 7, 8 civius sacerdotii insignis est spicca coronae et albae infilae. For eikvasatis see on eikvasese Va 4; whatever the etymology and sense of the latter, eikvasesis can be easily explained as r stem in -ātī- standing toward it in the same relation as L. Arpinas to Arpinum. — tutape: see on Ila 5. The omission of the final r in -per occurs again in 26 below, and in Ia 12. — 25 trekipen: see on VIIb 54. Apart from III 30 it is elsewhere used only in the sentences of banishment and commination proclaimed against the alien state of Tadinum. — tīlu sevalni teitu: see on Ila 15, b 22 on the reasons for
III. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

: uvem : sevakni : upetu : puemune
: / (27) pupřike : apentu : tičlu : sevakni : naratu : / (28) iuka :
mersuva : uvikum : habetu :
fratruspe / (29) atieřie : ahtisper :
eikvasatis : tutaper / (30) iiuvinia :
trefiper : iiuvinia : sakre : / (31)
vatra : ferine : feitu : eruku :
aruvia : feitu : uvem / (32) peřaem :
pelsanu : feitu : ererek : tuva :
tefra / (33) spantimař : prusekatu :
eřek : peřume : purtuvitu / (34)
stručla : ařveitu : inumek : etrama :
: spanti : tuva tefra / (35)
prusekatu : eřek : erečluma :

the unblemished sheep, which has been
chosen, in honor of Pomonus Poplicus.
Announce that the day is solemn. Use
the accustomed words in connection
with the sheep, for the Atiedian Bro-
thers, for the fire-carriers (the symbols)
of the college, for the state of Iguvium,
for the tribe of Iguvium. Place the
young pig’s ribs on a tray. With it
make grain-offerings. Sacrifice the sheep
upon the ground, for burial. Cut off
two (pieces) of it at the side (of the
altar) as burnt-offerings; present them
upon a turf-altar. Add a strušla cake.
Then on the other side (of the altar) cut
off two (pieces) as burnt-offerings; pre-

adapting ‘day’ as the translation of
tičlu. The present passage becomes a
virtual oratio obliqua with sevakni ‘so-
lemn’ as predicate. — 26 upetu: as
in 22, the sentence does not end with
upetu, if we are correct in taking it as a
pass. pcpl. — Puemune / Pup-
řike: these two divine names are found
only in III and IV, the former being reg-
ularly accompanied by the latter, as
an epithet, except in IV 5. That the
names are masc. and not fem. is shown by
the gen. sg. in -es IV 3-4, since the only
stem-classes that can be considered are
the o-stems and the consonant-stems of
the Cicero-type. Puemune is in all prob-
ability the male counterpart of L. Po-
mona, and the Vestinian or Sabine form
Poinuni-en (Co. 248) appears to be an
adj. from the name of the same god as
Puemune; the problem of the vocalism
is briefly discussed in 4. Pupřike is
more difficult. Not only is it uncertain
whether the ř is from d or l, but it is un-
natural for it to occur at all after a con-
sonant; for a discussion of the phonology
see Lang., XXV (1949), pp. 397, 399. If
L. populus is of Etruscan origin, as some
believe, Pupřike may be related both to
it and to Fufluns, the name of the Etrus-
can counterpart of Dionysus. It then be-
comes possible to set up certain corres-
pondences which may provide a satis-
factory explanation. Pupřike and Etr.
Fufluns are related in sense to populus
somewhat as L. Liber to the noun for
‘people’ represented by OHG liut, Germ.
leute, OCS ljudie. The root *leudh-
seems originally to have signified growth,
and not only Liber and Dionysus but
also Fufluns and *Pomonus Poplicos were
probably, at least in part, gods of ferti-
licity and growth. According to Aug., Civ.
Dei, IV, 11; VII, 3, there was a Libera
 correlating to Liber; the goddess
Vesona who is worshipped in conjunc-
tion with Pomonus in Table IV, her name
generally followed by Puemunes Pup-
řikes, may stand in much the same rela-
tion to him as Libera to Liber. — 27
tičlu sevakni naratu: cf. 25, and see on
II b 25 for the distinction between teitu
and naratu. — 28 iuka: see on II b
23. — mersuva: it is not stated what
the ‘customary’ words are, but the ob-
jects of the prayers are the same as in the
sacrifice to Jupiter above. — 30 sakre:
probably not acc. but gen., because it is
most natural for the object of fetu to
be vatra, on which sakre will then de-
pend. There are no gen. sg. forms of i-stems with omission of the final -s in the older tables, but the total number of examples is small, and there is some support in the o-stem forms Ćerfe, Kastru-
čie, etc., since the origin of the case-ending in the two classes is the same. — 31 vatra: the context so closely resembles the formula uatuuo ferte ne (see on VI a 57) that some regard vatra as merely an instance of erroneous spelling. Table III, however, unlike IV, has few errors, and it is safer to regard vatra and uatuuo as stem-variants. With this variation Bů., p. 63, compares věcevěs: vesgol.
The exact analysis of vatra is not clear, but it is scarcely an s-stem related to uatuuo as L. pecora to pecus, for the syn-
cope should have occurred so early as to prevent rhotacism from taking place, if we may judge from ose, osalu (57 d).
It must rather be a stem in -ro/rā-, and is better taken as a noun than as an adj., for in the latter case it would probably follow instead of preceding ferine, and the sense ‘place the pig on the tray in-
tended for ribs’ would be most unnatural. uatuuo in the regular formula is never pre-
ceded by another noun in the same clause but here sakre marks a change of sub-
ject-matter, since 26-30 was concerned with the sheep. — aruvia: see on Ia 3, IIa 18. eru-ku must refer to the pig (sakre). — 32 peřaem: see on VIa 58. — pelsanu: on VIb 22. The in-
structions to slaughter the victim on the ground and to slaughter it for bur-
cur occur nowhere else in immediate juxtaposition, but both are given in connection
with the dog-sacrifice, the former in II a 22, the latter in 44. — ererek: the addition of the enclitic to the gen. sg. is unusual but the form may be explained by the proportion ererek: erer = efek: *id, L. id. — tefra: see on II a 27. — 33 spantimař: found only in the present passage, where spantimař ... 34 etrama
spanti ... IV 2 tertiamu spanti make up a series. An adj. spantea occurs in
IIa 30, but the exact sense of the latter passage is not clear. Editors are nearly
unanimous in taking spanti as ‘side,’ and the sides are the front, right, and
left of the altar, although it is not clear in what order; the back of the altar is norm-
ally designated by forms of postra. The etymology of spanti is uncertain; since
there are no forms in the Latin alphabet, t may represent t or d, and we may have
an i-stem from a root ending in a dental stop or a ti-stem from a root ending in n,
but not a stem in dental stop + ti, which would yield f. See Lexicon. — pruse-
katu: in IIa 28 two pieces of the dog
were cut off as burnt-offerings and a third as an erus; here two, two, and three
pieces of the meat are cut off as burnt-
offerings at three different sides of the
altar. — efek: neut. sg. pronoun but referring to tuva tefra; as Latin parallels
Bů. cites Plaut., Trin., 152 ff. nummorum Philippeum ad tria milia. / id solus so-
num per amicilam et per fidem / fens me opsecrauit suo ne gnato crederem; 403
ff. Le. minas quadraginta accepi i a Cal-
lie. / estne hoc quod dico, Slasme ? St. quom considero, / memi nisse uitore
fieri. Le. quid factumst eo? — peřume:
see on VIb 24. — 34 stručla: on VIa 59. — 35 erecluma: this word occurs
eight times from the present passage through IV 19, under circumstances which
show that, like asa ‘altar’, the ereclum
is intended for the presentation of of-
ferings. The etymology is uncertain, but
connection with erus is as easy as any.
We may derive from *aise-keło- with Pl.,
II, p. 26, or with Dev. we may assume
that the suffix originally had instrumental value (-klo- < -klo-?) and that the for-
mation came to be understood as a di-
minutive, so that -cio- replaced -klo-.
The ereclum has generally been taken to be a sort of side-altar or gift-table;
Bů., Pl., Bk., Blum., Pis. translate ‘sacra-
rium.’ But Vetter gains an improved sense by taking it to be a cult-statue
’simulacrum (?)’. On etymological
grounds this is as easy as the other view,
since we can still maintain connection
puemune : pupříke / (IV 1)
putuvitu : erarunt / stručelas :
eskamitu : aevitu / (2) inumek :
tertiama : spanti : tria tefra :
prusekatu / (3) efek : supru : sese :
erelumava : vesune : puemunes /
(4) popiřes : putuvitu : stručla :
petenata : isek : / (5) ařveitu :
erererunt : kapifus : puemune /
(6) vesune : putuvitu : asamař :
erelamař / (7) asečetes : karnus :
iseceles : et · vempesuntres /

1 aevitu: for ařveitu. 5 erererunt: for ererunt.

with erus and with Pacl. aisis ‘dis,’
Marruc. aisos ‘di,’ Mars. esos ‘di,’ aisoł ·
theol ýtq Tovγγρνν Hesych. Moreover the
new interpretation gains support from
IV 13 erečlu unatu (for the practice of
anointing cult-images see on IIa 38.) —
IV 1 eskamitu: found only here and of
uncertain sense, but it must surely
indicate some part of the cake called stručla.
For the form of the stručla see on V1a 59,
especially the Festus passage. It is
possible that the eskamitu may be the
panicula by which the cake is surmounted
and also that it was a phallic symbol, as
Bü. suggested; see on petenata in 4 be
low. Pisani, who follows substantially
the view of Bü., finds a fairly satisfactory
etymology by analyzing as a pass. pepl.
gogna, parte pudenda.’ If we adopt this
view, the prefix e- is a prefix of
perfection, as in L. efficio, the verb stem
will be a denominative of a stem belonging
to Walde-Pokorny’s (s)qombh-no- (II,
p. 601), with semantic development from
‘verkürzt, verstümmelt’ through ‘Scham,’
and the literal sense of *ě-skam̥- will be ‘that which has been made like a
phallus.’ — aevitu: the misspelling
seems partly due to crowding at the end
of the line. The correct spelling is shown
by arž 5 times, ars 11 times, in addition
to which ar- and arö occur each once. —

3 supru sese: the two instances of tes
tru sese in III 23 and IV 15 are followed
by asa, and it is not unlikely that asa
is to be understood here also. The direc
tion in which the presentation to Vesona
takes place is therefore from the top of
the altar toward the statue. — Ves
sune Puemunes / Pupiřes: the name of
the same goddess occurs in the same
dative form Vesune on two dedicatory
inscriptions: Co. 253 (from Antinum; Vol
scian or Marsian) and 264 = C.I.L., I, 392
(from Ortona; Marsian-Latin). Of
greater interest is the appearance of Ve
suna on an Etruscan mirror from Vol
sini (Gerhard-Körte, Etruskische Spiegel,
V, 35) wearing the chiton, nebris, and
diadem and carrying the thyrus. Her
hand rests on the shoulder of the god Fu
luns, recalling not only the association
of Ariadne and Dionysus, but also of
Libera and Liber and of Vesona and Po
monus in the passage now under discus
sion; see above on III 26. That Vesona
is closely related to Pomonus, probably
as consort, is beyond doubt, and her name
in every instance in the Tables, with the
exception of IV 6, is followed by Puem
unes Pupřikes (-čes). The formation
of the name is similar to that of L. Bel
lona, Pomoná, but the ū is not graphic
for o; rather it shows the change ď > ū,
since the inscriptions Co. 253, 264 cited
above, which are in the Latin alphabet, also have u. The root cannot be determined with certainty. For attempts to connect the word with L. Vesta, with Vesuvius, and with Gaulish Vesontio (Be-sançon), Vesunna Petrocoriorum, etc., see Bü., p. 162, Rosenzweig, pp. 98-9, Dev., p. 391. — 4 petenata: practically all editors translate 'pectinalam,' the phonological correspondence to L. peclen being like that of Spetare to L. specio. The type of strucia offered in the present instance must therefore be a cake whose surface has been furrowed with an instrument shaped like a comb or rake. The evidence for pecen as a symbol of female sex was assembled by Bü., p. 161, where the notion of eskamitu as a symbolic offering to the god Pomonus is balanced against the strucia petenata offered to the goddess Vesuna. But it must be admitted that the evidence is not very strong: pecen is, among other meanings, the name of a type of shellfish or concha: Hor., S., II, 4, 34 pectinibus patulis iactat se molle Tarentum; cf. Pliny, N.H., IX, 101, 160, XI, 139, 267, XXXII, 150. concha is employed in Plaut., Rud., 704, in an obscene pun: le (sc. Venus) ex concha natam esse autumant, cave tu horum conchas spernas. Cf. also Clem. Alex., Protr., p. 23 Dind. τεις γνωακεώς, δ' ἐστιν, εὐθημω δ' και μυκτικὸς ἐπειν, μό- γιον γνωακειόν. — isek: the equivalent ise is found in VIlb 25, and the form must be derived by addition of the enclitic -k to *essē, from the same pronominal stem as esu, etc. (109 e), with i- for e- perhaps through the influence of the stem i- represented in Latin by is, id. The adv. isek is probably one of manner, and a suitable translation is 'likewise, in like manner.' — ere rerunt: an error by dittography for rerunt. Not 'the same bowls (as previously),' for none have been previously mentioned in III - IV, but the same bowls are to be used in the offerings to both deities. Dev., p. 391, cites Roman evidence of attempts to discourage too close association of gods in cult practice: Livy, XXVII, 25, 8-9 [pontifices] negabant unam cellam duobus diis recte dedicari ... neque duobus, nisi certis, deis rite una hostia fieri; Val. Max., I, 1, 8 cum M. Marcellus ... templum Honori et Virtutí ... consecreare vellet a collegio pontificum impeditus est negante unam cellam duobus diis recte dicari: futurum enim, si quid prodigii in ea accidisset, ne dinoesercetur utri rem divinam fieri opor- terel. — 6 erecluama: the actual reading is ereclama, but there are 5 instances of the acc. sg. in -um -u, and there is practically no possibility of ereclam being a fem. adj. in agreement with asam. We must therefore follow the majority of editors in emending to erecluma. — 7 asoetes: this and the following line contain several difficulties, which may be partly solved by comparison with the instructions following the porrectio of the dog (IIa 29-32) and of the goat (IIb 17-21). In IIa 29-30 asebeta karne was taken as 'the uncut portion,' and similarly in the present passage; but the use of the pl. asebetae karneus here may show that the instruction has reference to both victims, the sheep and the pig (sakre), as Dev., pp. 392-3, suggests. The contrast between vempesuntres here and sg. venpersuntra IIa 30 strengthens this belief. — iselele: several editors including Br., Bk., and also Kent, T.C.I., p. 37, take this to be an error for iselese = L. insectis, non sectis, since we seem to need a plp. like ase- cetes; but despite the bad orthography of IV the reading of the bronze here can be defended. We have either a stem in -li-like L. facelis or in -lo-like the verbal adjectives which seem to be the basis of fut. pf. forms like entelust, apelust, and which in some of the Slavic languages became the normal preterit. Since the latter formations are both predominantly active and not passive, the analysis of iselese as a -li-stem is to be preferred. The passive sense may be seen in L. fra- gilis, docilis, and although -is -is is the usual dat.-abl. pl. ending of i-stems in
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(8) supes : sanes : pertentu :
persnimu : ařpeltu / (9)
statitatu : veskles : snates :
asnates : sevakne / (10) erečluma :
persnimu : puemune : pupfike :
vesune / (11) puemunes : pupfikes :
klavles : persnihmu / (12)
puemune : pupfikes : et : vesune :
puemunes / (13) pupfikes : pustin :
erečlu : inuk : erečlu : umtu / (14) putrespe : erus : inuk :
vestičia : mefa : purtupite / (15)
skalgeta : kunikaz : apestre :
esuf : testru • sese / (16) asa :
asama : purtuvitu • sevakne :

12 pupfikes: for pupfike.

Umbrian, there is some support for -e-in aves la 1, sevakne IV 9. A Latin form i(n)sicium, -a, signifying some sort of chopped meat, is known from several literary passages: Varro, L.L., V, 110 insicia ab eo quod insecta caro, ut in carmine Saliorum est quod in extis dictur nunc porrectum. Macr., Sat., VII, 8, 1 isicum, quod ab insezione insicium dicitum: amissione enim litterae postea quod nunc habet nomen obtinuit. Donatus, ad Ter. Eun. 257 fartores qui insicia et farci-
minia faciant. — vempesuntries: see on Vlβ 24, Ila 30. — 8 supes sanes: for supes see on Vlβ 5. sanes is doubtless the etymological equivalent of L. sa-
nis, but its precise sense is not clear. 'Whole, not cut up' is probably too close to the sense of asėčetes just above. It is safest therefore to take it with Dev. as equivalent in sense to 'crudis,' 'that is, 'uncooked' ('qua inollis non reponuntur'). — pertentu: see on Ila 30. It is ap-
parently transitive there, but intransitive here, being followed by three other verbs persnimu ařpeltu statitatu, which would not govern an acc. *supa sana as object. — persnimu: in Ila 29-31 the arrangement is different, and persnihmu uncooked under-parts stretch forth (the hands), pray, approach (the altar), and stop. With the ceremonial vessels, wet and dry, pray at the statue, to Pomo-

nus Poplicus and Vesona of Pomonus Poplicus. With the smearing-sticks pray to Pomonus Poplicus and Vesona of Pomonus Poplicus at their respective sta-
tues. Then anoint the statues (and dis-

tribute) the erus of each (deity). Then kneeling apart at the right side from the altar you yourself shall present at the altar from a cup a libation and a mefa cake, to Purdivif, and pronounce
so when we consider the resemblance between 'pray with the spoons (or sticks) behind the statue' and 'pray with the ceremonial spits beyond (that is, on the other side of) the obelisk; likewise with the spoons (or sticks)'. Ila 35-6. — 

**umtu**: although there are certain differences of detail, the resemblance to Ila 29-38 continues: in 38 the Obelisk was to be anointed. — **14 putrespe**: taken by nearly all editors as gen. sg. equivalent to L. uritusque; that O.-U. pronouns form the masc.-neut. gen. sg. in -eis, unlike L. eius, cuius, etc. is known from O. eizeis, U. erer. There is no advantage, therefore, in taking putrespe as a plural dativus sympathetic with Havers, *Gl.*, V (1914), p. 2. The interpretation of the passage suffers both from the uncertainty of the meaning of erus and from the lack of a verb. For the former see on VIb 16, where the view adopted is that the erus is a part of the victim distributed at the end of the ceremony to certain persons present. Since putrespe erus cannot be in apposition with the action indicated by the preceding ereclu umtu, we must assume an ellipsis, probably of teitu, but it will be no more startling than the omission of the verb in I 18-9 kapiš purtitaf sakref etraf purtitaf etraf / sakref, II a 25 tiu pumi tuivinu, etc. — vestiga mafa: the offering of the libation and cake to the god whose name is written Purtupite closely resembles that in honor of Fisovius Sancius in VIb 5 immediately after the sacrifice behind the Tesenacan Gate; cf. also VIIa 37. The resemblance is increased by the inclusion of skalgeta kunikaz = saltsie conegos 'from a cup, kneeling.' — *Purtupite*: hardly a corruption of purtuvitu, which would stand after, not before, kunikaz, as in 18, 20 below, and would be largely superfluous in view of purtuvitu in 16. Besides, a divine name in the dative case is needed here, and by almost any reasonable view we have the title of a deity in some way associated with purtuvitu, the verb used to designate the porrectio or second stage in the sacrifice, just as Speture Ila 5 is associated with augury (*spectio*), Ahtu Ila 10, 11, with oracular utterance, etc. It is natural to wish to keep the reading of the bronze, but there is difficulty both in the proposal of Bù., who compares L. Seispitem, Sospilam, with the root found in poletas, for the vowel-weakening which would have to be assumed is extremely rare in Umbrian, and in that of Pisani, who compares Skt. *pra-dāpiṣa*-, pass. pepl. of the causative of dā- 'give,' for there is scarcely any evidence of a causative in -pey/pi- outside of Indo-Iranian. We must therefore follow the majority of editors in emending to Purtuvite, an easy correction, since the only difference between v and p is in the presence or absence of the lower cross-bar. The most satisfactory solution will then be to derive purtuvite from a pres. pepl. *por-dowin-lei* with unthematic inflection of the tense-stem, as if Latin had *audinīl* instead of *audienīl*, and with loss of n before t (= d from earlier t); cf. 52 d, 60 a. *Purtuvif*, the god who assists in the porrectio, may be identical with Jupiter; so much at least seems possible from a comparison with III 22-3. — **15 apehtre**: similar to āxiś, L. ab + extra, but, like O. ehtrad, formed from *ek*- without s. The priest in making the present offering kneels at a slight distance from the altar, at the right (testru sese asa), perhaps just outside the rectangular space which immediately encloses the altar, and makes his presentation toward the altar (asama). — esuf: see on Ila 40. — **16 sevakne**: the form can be acc. sg. or acc. pl., and it is not clear just what the adjerlor declares to be sevakne. For a list of things to which the word is applied, see on Ila 21. It is not likely that we should assume an ellipsis of tīclu, comparing the expression tīclu sevakni teitu (naratu) III 25, 27. It is also unlikely that at this late stage in the ceremony the victims would be declared *sevakne*(). The word is never used with.


uestisia or mefa, but is used with vinu in IIa 39 and with the cakes known as arçlataf below in 22. It therefore seems not unreasonable to take it in the present passage as acc. pl. applied to both the libation and the cake. — sukatu : a ἀπαξ λεγόμενον clearly equivalent in sense to deìtu or naratu. It is most satisfactorily explained, with Bü., Pl., I, p. 276, and others, as cognate with pru-sikurent, L. in-sece, Gk. ἐνσετε, ὑνσητε, all from root *sekʷ- 'say.' The vowel-gradation and stem-type are the same as in Lith. sakâi, sakyltî 'say,' and the development of the labiovelar to k rather than to p may have resulted from the analogy of forms in which kʷ stood before t and so lost its labial element. — 17 vesteça : the bronze reads vesveça, which is undoubtedly an error. — supu : in obvious contrast with super in 19. Since the exact nature of the ereçlü is uncertain, there is some doubt as to whether the libation and persondro are offered at the foot of it or actually under it. If it is a table, the latter is possible. In any case the presentation under or at the foot of the ereçlü seems to symbolize the chthonic or infernal character of Hula, in contrast to Tursa, to whom in 19 a similar offering is made above the ereçlü.

— Hule : known only from this passage, but the similarity between 17-18 and 19-20, where the offering is made to Tursa, makes it plain that Hule is the name of a deity. The name has been compared with holtu, a verb of uncertain sense in the curse in Vlb 60 = VIIa 49; with Horse = Hufie in Vlb 43 = Ib 2; and with the Roman god Helernus, cf. Ov., F., II, 67-8 Tunc quoque vicini lucus celebratur Helerni, qua petit aequoreas advena Thybris aquas, with Frazer's note. Just as Prestota Šerfia and Tura Šerfia are associated in the ceremonies of the lustration in Vlb 57 ff., so Hula and Tursa are associated here, and just as the chthonic character of Prestota seems to be symbolized by the offering of dark-colored pigs (red or black) in VIIa 6 = Ib 27, so the chthonic character of Hula is symbolized by the fact that the offering is made to her below, to Tursa above, the ereçlü. On purely linguistic grounds it cannot be determined whether Hule is masc. or fem., but the great majority of editors take the deity to be female. — 19 Tursa : see on Vlb 57-58. — super ereçle : the chiasmus supu ereçle Hule ... Turse super
erecle places the last phrase in emphatic position. — 20 purtuviðu: the spelling with the character ò occurs also in furfaθ Ib 1 = furfante Vlb 43. — tehtefim: almost certainly a cover to be placed over the personaro, as appears from the next line. Vetter takes it to be a cover used for baking the personaro, comparing Cato, R.R., 76, 4 testo caldo operito, pruna insuper et circum operito. The root is that of L. lego, lectum, etc.; the stem-formation is uncertain, but is probably in -dio- or -lio-, if the conditions for the change l > ō rs in 55 b are correctly formulated. — 21 veltu: usually taken as related to euveltu, ehvelklu, from the root of L. volo, pelle, and translated 'deligito.' Since veltu is preceded by etu 'go,' we may assume that there is no cover at the actual scene of the sacrifice but that the adlerlor or some other official has to go a short distance and select one from the place where they are kept. The form veltu can as easily be supine as inv., and it makes little difference for the sense. Its position, however, is the decisive factor, for the supine a(ner)sirato in Vla 1, 6, b 48 = Ib 10 stands before, not after, the verb of going. — 22 arçlataf: nearly all editors explain with the help of Festus, 110 L. arculata dicebantur circuli qui ex farina in sacrificiis fiebant. Arculum appellabant circulum quem capitl imponebant ad sustinenda commodius vasa quae ad sacra publica capite portabantur. We might be tempted to regard these cakes as crescent-shaped, but since the arculum in the second Festus passage was plainly a full circle, it is safest to assume the same for the arculata and the arçlataf of our passage. They may then have had some resemblance to doughnuts. — ufesteñe: quite obscure and without a clearly marked case-ending; but while sevaknef plainly goes with arçlataf, it is most reasonable to take ufesteñe with vasus. Bű. explained the word as a cognate of L. offendix, offendimentum, which are known from Festus, pp. 222-3 Li. as terms signifying the knot of the strap by which the apex was bound under the chin; further cognates would be Goth. bindan, Eng. bind, Skt. badhanīti all from root *bhendh-, and the pT. reconstruction of our stem would be *op-festo-no-. The vessels then are to be sealed or otherwise fastened shut, and the suffix -no, the appearance of which following the participial stem has caused some embarrassment, probably serves to designate the type of vessel, where the participial stem alone would mean that they were actually closed. Bücheler's theory is substantially followed by most scholars and adopted, at least tentatively, here; Pisani, however, derives with the suffixes -sti-no from the stem of the dialectal word reflected in L. offa. — 23 pruzufe kebu sevalke: best treated together as forming a single problem. kebu from any viewpoint is perplexing because of the unpalatalized k before e. If it is equivalent to L. cibo, as practically all editors assume, the two forms cannot have been independently inherited from a form with IE bh (which would give U. f) nor with IE γυ (which would give L. v); IE b is possible, but was very rare. Since there are no known etyma outside Italic, it is best simply to assume that U. borrowed the word from L., or that both borrowed from a common unknown source, the Umbrian borrowing having taken place so late that the k failed to change to ç. pruzufe in a formal sense is sometimes compared with proseda used by Plaut., Poen., 266 in the sense 'prostitute'; cf. Festus, p. 252 Li. prosedas meretrices Plautus appellat, quod ante stabula sedente. Eaedem et prostitutae. This is of little help in the explanation of our passage, but it is striking that the rare character z which occurs in pruzufe occurs also in zezęf = serse (L. sedens). pruzufe may then be derived from *prō(d)-sod-i with the o-grade of the root *sed-. It is generally translated 'praesilante' or 'proslante,' the contrast being between the food which

is still on hand and that which has been presented in the porrectio or distributed as erus. The cakes may be included as well as the remaining parts of the victims, since the mefa was offered in 14 and the *arçlatas in 22, while the grinding does not take place until 28. — 24 kletra: mentioned here for the last time. There is some disagreement with regard to the final disposition of the litter; it was burned according to Bů., p. 154, on the evidence of esunu uřetu 30; not so according to Vetter; Dev. suggests that it was simply taken apart. There does not seem to be sufficient ground for believing that it was actually burned. — 25 vufetes: see on Ila 31, where it was suggested that vufetes may mean L. ‘libitis,’ that is, that the exact type of vessel to be used is left to the discretion of the adfertor. This translation in the present passage seems not to involve any more difficulty than the usual ‘votis.’ — 27 ezariaf: very uncertain, but usually translated ‘escas,’ or by some other derivative of the root *ed- ‘eat.’ Ribezzo, II, p. 100 compares Festus, 54 Li. escariae mensae quadratae vocantur, in quibus homines epulantur, and translates 26-7 inumek ... antentu ‘tine si quis vult, epularias (mensas) imponito.’ Direct equivalence between ezariaf and escarias is impossible on phonological grounds, but *ed(e)s-ária- will provide a satisfactory source for the Umbrian form. It is still not certain, however, just what is to be done with the ezariaf; according to Bů. they are to be added to the fire, just as at the funeral of Julius Caesar private individuals made offerings after the conclusion of the public sacrifices; according to Dev. they were simply to be added to the remains of the victims; according to Vet. they were food-baskets and were to be placed on the kletra and taken back to town without being a burden to their owners. I have adopted his explanation as being the most satisfactory, especially in view of svepis heri, which shows that the action is optional, or at least that no obligation rests upon any particular individual and that therefore it may not be a part of the ritual at all. — erus tačez / teťtu: there was already a distribution of the erus in 14, where, however, the sense is slightly obscure because of the ellipsis of the verb. Twofold distributions of the erus occur also in VIb 16, 16 (in honor of Fisovius Sanctius), 38, 38 (Tefer Jovius), Ila 28, 32 (Hondus). — 28 inumek kumaltu: the distribution of the erus is similarly followed by the grinding (of the cakes) in Ia 34 and Ila 9; compare also the complex procedure.
in the ceremonies of the lustration, at VII a 43-4 = I b 34-7, where three sacrifices are in progress at once at stations a short distance apart. — aφkani / kanetu: both are ἀφικνή λέγομεν, yet the etymology and sense are reasonably clear. The Latin equivalent to aφkani would be *acceptínium, while actually known cognates include accano Varro L.L., VI, 75 and accentus, first known from Quintillian, I, 5, 22 as an apparent loan-translation of προσφορὰ but found in Amm. Marc., XVI, 12, 36 of the sound of brazen trumpets. kanetu corresponds to L. cantare as upetu seems to correspond to optare (cf. 118 b) but weakened in meaning just as Italian cantare, French chanter show weakening of the proper meaning of L. cantare. Who does the singing is not fully clear, but Bü. is probably correct in taking it to be a flute-player playing his instrument rather than the priest chanting a formula. The purpose of the music is presumably to drown out any other sounds which might be ill-omened. — 29 esuku / esunu ufetu: the concluding portion of Table IV is almost hopelessly obscure in certain details, especially because of the uncertain nature of the article called tapistenu and the uncertain meaning of frehtu. The form esunu could be either acc. or abl., but the latter is preferable because otherwise esu(ku) would be left with no noun to which it could refer, and because esunu as acc. would not be a suitable object for ufetu. This verb in III 12 governs pír, and in the present passage we may have to assume an ellipsis of the same noun; Dev. in fact does assume such an ellipsis. On the etymology of ufetu and the possibility of its meaning ‘load (the fire) with incense’ see on III 12. If this view is correct, *οφρ- in contrast to L. olēre < *odēre must have a causative sense which however is not outwardly shown because the two characteristic marks of the IE causative, o-grade vocalism and stem in -eye/o-, were already present. The sense ‘in connection with this sacrifice load (the fire with incense)’ is more satisfactory than a mere instruction to kindle or heap up the fire, which would be quite pointless in view of the fact that the fire was kindled some time previously. — 30 tapistenum: there is no sure hope of a solution, but since the view of pune frehtu adopted here is that it is boiled or warmed mead and not chilled mead (see on I I a 26 frehtef), tapistenum may be the name of the utensil in which it was heated. Bk., Müller, and Pis. translate ‘caldariolam,’ deriving from the same root as L. tepor, etc. The a in place of the expected e must represent a reduced grade, and the explanation of the stem offered by Bü., with slight adaptations, is as good as any: “a tepore fit tepesta ut ab honore honesta, exinde tepesinum ut ab sale salinum.” — pune / frehtu: the mead was to be used for putting out the fire according to Bü., who compares Verg., Aen., VI, 226-7 postquam conlocps cineres et flammas quevit, reliquit ece visio et bibulam lavare pavillum. He takes frehtu in the sense ‘frigidam’; of course either hot or cold mead could be used for extinguishing the fire, although there is no positive assurance that this was its purpose. The reasons for taking frehtef as ‘boiled portions’ were discussed in connection with I I a 26, and it is most reasonable to derive frehtu in the present passage from the same source. The use of the utensil called tapistenum and of the mead which was presumably heated in it must have served some ritual purpose which is not altogether clear. — 31-2 purtitu / futu: the same expression occurs in I I a 43 at the end of the dog-sacrifice, with esunu immediately preceding, and esunu is possibly to be supplied in sense here; compare the optional use in
III. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

: prupehast : eřek / (33) ures :
punes : neiřhabas /

VIIa 45 enom purditom just = 1b 38-9
enu esunu purtitu fust. — 32-3 hun-
tak piři prupehast, eřek / ures punes
neiřhabas: this final sentence is not a
part of the instructions for the sacrifice
proper but a special precaution relating
to the jar (or vat?) the purification of
which was prescribed in III 3, on which
see note. There are several difficulties of
grammar and interpretation. For exam-
ple, it is not fully clear whether piři
and eřek are pronouns or whether piři
is a conjunction and eřek an adverb,
both being of course pronominal in origin;
and there is some doubt whether the in-
junction is against the use of the jar or of
the mead which is in the jar. It is almost
certain, however, that ures punes is
not dat. pl., as it was taken by Bü., Pl.,
and Bk., but gen. sg., as it is taken by
Blum and all subsequent editors, since
poni- by almost any of the various mean-
ings assigned to it is a noun of material
and therefore unlikely to be used in the
plural. As a gen. sg. it must be partitive.
It will now be most unnatural to translate
‘let them not use it for (any) of that mead’
because the gen. would have to be a par-
titive indirect object or substitute for
some phrase equivalent to L. ad + acc.,
and also because ures ‘that’ would have

When he has purified the jar, thereafter
they shall not use any of that mead.

no clear reference; it could scarcely refer
to the hot (?) mead in 30-1, since our
present passage belongs in thought rather
with the opening lines of III than with
the conclusion of the sacrifice. The in-
junction is therefore against the use of
the mead, presumably for private or sec-
ular purposes, and ‘that mead’ means
the mead which is in the jar that has been
purified. By this interpretation eřek as
a pronoun becomes superfluous, and piři
... eřek must be taken as correlatives in
the sense ‘when ... thereafter.’ The two
verbs in the sentence call for brief ex-
planation. prupehast is fut. of pehatu
compounded with pru-, but the corres-
dpondence with prumu pehatu in III 3
should not lead us to assume that pru-
pehast was erroneously written for pru-
mu pehatu, as A.-K. suggested. neiř-
habas is from *nei ařhabas (34), pres.
subjunctive of the verb equivalent to
L. adhibeo. It is hard to see why the
form might not be 2 sg. with indefinite
reference ‘do not use,’ but practically
all editors take it as 3 pl. (-as < -ans).
The reference is still indefinite ‘let them
not use.’ The shift from the second-
to the third-conjugation type should be
noted; cf. L. tuor beside tueor.
Va 1 - b 7. Two decrees of the Atiedian Brothers prescribing the duties of the *adfertor in procuring the materials for the sacrifice, the remuneration to which he is entitled, and the penalty imposed on him if he has failed to perform his duties satisfactorily. The native alphabet is still used, but rhotacism of final s is regular when the s has not resulted from simplification of a consonant-cluster (57 e). For the relative age of V see Introduction, 17-19.

Va 2 etipes: only here and in 14. It is almost certainly a 3 pl. pf. form of a verb whose approximate meaning is ‘decreed, resolved,’ but the etymology is uncertain. Probably from *eit(om h)êpens ‘ratum habuerunt’ with *eitom < *aikw-. (o)tom with early syncope followed by loss of labialization as in 49 d (cf. O. aikdaded ‘decreed’); for *hêpens see 124 c. Devoto, p. 401, makes the verb a denominative from *eitlîkʷo- from the same root as O. eitua ‘money’ (‘that which is official’) but, unlike L. manducare, which he compares, our form would have to be a denominative of the 3rd conjugation, and moreover Pl., I, p. 134, on whom his suggestion is based, does not account satisfactorily for the present stem. — ple

nasier urnasier: variously interpreted. plenasier is apparently ‘belonging to the full (year)’ with reference to a festival occurring when the year is completed. urnasier was formerly taken to be connected with L. urna and understood either as a designation of a festival or as a reference to the use of urns in voting. Linde, Gl., III (1912), p. 170, proposed to equate it with L. ordinariis (‘regular’; d was lost after syncope of the vowel which originally followed it), and his new interpretation has been adopted by almost all subsequent editors. — uhертie: for the uhur or auctor see Introduction, 18, and note on III 4. The phrase ohtl. C. U. Uistite Ner. T. Babr. on an Umbrian inscription from Assisi (no. 355 Co.), perhaps of the Sullan period, gives evidence of an eponymous dual magistracy of similar name there. In Tables Ib 45, IIa 44, however, the date is given by means of kvestretie. — 3 T. T. Kas

trüciie: the father’s praenomen stands between the son’s praenomen and nomen; so also in some of the minor Umbrian inscriptions and in Volscian and certain other dialects, in contrast to the arrangement in Latin, Oscan, and Paelignian, illustrated by the formula Q. Marciius L. f. S. Postumius L. f. (C.I.L., I, 581 = Senatusconsultum de Bacchanalibus). See A.J.P., LXXII (1951), p. 118. — 4 eikvasese: only here and in 16, but cf. eikvasatìs in III 24, 29. There is no clear etymology, but both words are probably related to L. aequus, and may have reference to collegae united in a collegium. eikvasese is in all probability abl. pl. + postposition -e < en. The ei, the failure to show p < kʷ if connected with L. aequus (qu of labiovular origin: cf. Skt. ekas and 37), and the two instances of unrhocitized s all suggest that a very archaic form of the word has been preserved through ritual use. The expression *fratruse Attieìer might rather be expected, but eikvasese may possibly designate a smaller group among the brothers, eligible for duty as adfertor. — ri esune: cf. L. re divina faetâ, Plaut., Amph., 968, etc. For the dat. with ku

raina see 143 b. — 6 si: for the use with herte see 152 c. — pure: this relative form recurs in 25, 28, b 4 with masculine antecedent and clearly refers to persons. — sis: equivalent to sins, L. sint. It depends on herte, whose force carries over to the end of the sentence. — 6-7 sakreu / perakneu: the expression probably includes not only victims, in which case we might expect the masc., but all materials for the sacrifice. For the spelling see 10 c. For a discussion of the etymology and interpretation of pe

rakne see on IIa 5. — 7-8 revestu pure teûte / eru emanur herte: for the syntax see 138 c, 142 b, 152 c. — 9 tribriçu: the abl. tribirsine is used in VfA 54 in connection with the propitia-
III. Text and Translation

(Va 1) esuk. frater: atiieřur:
/ (2) eitipes: plenasier: urnasier:
uthretie / (3) t: t: kastrucie:
afertur: pisi: pumpe: / (4) fust:
eikvasese: atiieřier: ere: ri:
esune: / (5) kuraia: prehabia:
piře: uraku: ri: esuna: / (6) si:
herte: et: pure: esune: sis:
sakreu: / (7) perakneu: upetu:
revestu: puře: teře: / (8) eru:
emantur: herte: et: pihaklu:
pune: / (9) tribriçu: fuiest: akrutu:
revestu: / (10) emantu: herte:
ařiertur: pisi: pumpe: / (11)
fust: erek: esunesku: vepurus:
felsva: / (12) ařputrati: fratru:
atiieřiu: prehabia: / (13) et:
uřpener: prever: pusti:
kastruvuf: /

The Atiedian Brothers resolved as follows at the regular annual festival during the auctorship of Titus Castrucius, son of Titus. Whoever shall be adjertor among the members of the Atiedian college, he shall look after the religious ceremony, and provide what is necessary for that ceremony, and decide what persons shall be present at the ceremony. He shall select the sacred articles and those brought from elsewhere. Whatever are offered, he shall examine whether any of them should be accepted, and when there is to be a triad of propitiatory offerings, he shall make an inspection in the field, whether they should be accepted. Whoever shall be adjertor, he shall provide vegetables in connection with the unburned sacrifices, at the discretion of the Atiedian Brothers, and at the rate of one new dupondius per head.

tory sacrifice of oxen. For the formation see 60 e, 83, and Lexicon. — fuiest: a future nearly equivalent to L..fiet (120 a, 123). — akrutu: found only here, and very uncertain because the k may stand for either a voiceless or a voiced stop, and the -tu may be the same postposion 'from' found in secašeto, pureto, etc., or else the inv. sg. ending. Earlier editors (Br., Bū, Pū, Bk.) took the first part as equivalent to L. ager, but Blum felt the need for a verb before raevestu to balance upetu raevestu in 7, and proposed (p. 47) to derive akrutu as inv. from *akriuţo, translating 'saginato' and assuming a connection with peracri- 'sehr fett.' Devito, p. 404, made akrutu an inv. from *agrőţd as cognate with Ael. āγημu 'catch' and rendered 'sumilo,' but in T.G., pp. X, 69, he reverts to the old interpretation and translates 'dal campo (luogo) d'origine.' For an altogether different interpretation see Ri-bezzo, I, p. 190 ('deinceps,' Ital. 'da capo,' with formation partly as in ἀγοῦς; followed by Pis. and Vet.). It is probably safest to follow the traditional view and maintain connection with L. ager, agro. The loc. *akre might appear more natural, but we may compare certain uses of L. a, ab with stationary value, as in ab ea parte, ab oriente, etc., and anticipation of emantur may also have been a contributing factor. — 11 vepurus: found only here but almost certainly cognate with vepuratu, Hā 41, and generally understood in the sense 'without fire.' Blum., p. 43, takes esunesku vepurus in the sense 'bei unreinen Opfertieren,' the felsva then being a fine which the adjertor must pay for his failure to procure proper victims; a satisfactory interpretation of vepurus, since its Greek analogue ἀναφος can, like ἀνθος, mean 'unsfit for sacrifice,' but Blum. does not offer any etymology for felsva, nor does
he make it clear why a different term than the *muta muta* of *Vb* 2, 3, 6 should have been used for a fine. It might be possible to find etymological support for his interpretation through Brugmann’s connection with Goth. *fra-gildan* ‘vergelten’ (*Berk* kön. sächs. Ges. Wiss., 1890, p. 226), but he does not here cite Brugmann, nor does Brugmann himself take *felsva* to refer to a fine. Devoto, p. 407, translates ‘verbis,’ connecting with ἐπος (< *wepos*), but apart from the sense it is difficult to see how the medial syllable would escape syncope (as in 29 j); the traditional etymology gives us u < u, not u < o, and in any case the lack of syncope in this instance could be explained by analogy with the simplex pur. For use of the term ‘fireless’ of vegetable offerings cf. *Eur.*, fr. 912 (Nauck) σ᾿ ὑμιν ἀπεσον παγκοσμίας δέξια πλήρη προκρίον — *felsva*: found only here and variously interpreted. It seems best with Bū., Bk., Mu., (Pl. uncertain) to maintain connection with *L. holus* and to derive from pīt. *χελεσ-ωά*, with γ of dialectal origin as in *L. fulus* (Paul. e Fest. 74 Li.) beside normal *holus*.

— 12 *apputrati*: too similar to *L. arbitratu* to be reasonably taken otherwise than as its equivalent, even though the *p* could stand for *p* as well as for *b*. R. G. Kent (*T.A.P.A.*, LVII [1926], p. 56, fn. 29, following a verbal suggestion of J. Whatmough, suggested contamination with the equivalent of *L. putare* ‘think’ in order to explain the u contrasting with *L. i*, an explanation which would not work if we should render *adventui* with Dev.; moreover the type of stem-formation here (*-tr-ātu-*) is not characteristic of abstract nouns from verbs of motion in Latin and was probably not used in making such nouns in Umbrian. Since the quantity of *felsva* to be furnished is fixed by the phrase *nurpener prever pusti kastruvuf* in 13, the sense of *apputrati fratru Attilefio* must be that the question whether to include *felsva* is left to the discretion of the brothers. — 13 et: used here to introduce new matter defining more precisely what has preceded, in much the same way as Germ. *und zwar*. — *nurpener* obscure, but a comparison with 17-18 *muneklu habia numer prever pusti kastruvuf* shows clearly that it has reference to money. Bückler’s *nullipondit* must be discarded because it does not give a satisfactory basis for deriving *ē* from *l*. *ē* therefore must have come from *d* before syncope of the vowel which followed. Blum., pp. 44-5, connected the first member with *L. ūdus* in the sense ‘ohne alle Abzüge,’ Ital. ‘netto,’ the whole compound then meaning literally ‘Nacktgewicht’ and standing for as *librarius.* Devoto, p. 405, followed him in his interpretation but took the word to be a Roman borrowing, because of the difficulty of deriving *nur* from *nog*<sub>edo</sub>-, a difficulty perhaps not insuperable, since there is some possibility that the medial stop varied between IE *dh* and *d*, and *nur* < *nido- < nobdo- < nobedo- < nog*<sub>edo</sub>- might be admissible, although decidedly complicated. Pauli, *Attiiatische Studien*, V (Hannover, 1887), p. 87, without discussion of the sense, derived from *novido- as an extension of the stem equivalent to *L. novus*; there is no support for such a stem (*L. albidus* beside *albus* being rather a complement to *albeo* after the usual correspondence of adj. *in-idus* to vb. in *-e*), but the suggestion of R. G. Kent, *Lang.*, IX (1933), p. 215, deriving from *novo-du-pend-igo- *new *aufpindus,* may be the correct answer. If the currency reform assumed by such an interpretation was a local one, it is not possible to say more about it, but the reference may be to a change in the Roman standard. According to Pliny, *N.H.*, XXXIII, 44, the Roman *as* was reduced during the First Punic War to <sup>1</sup>⁄<sub>6</sub> of its previous value, and again, in the dictatorship of Q. Fabius Maximus during the Second Punic War, to <sup>1</sup>⁄<sub>12</sub> of its original value. The notion of the spread of Roman currency favors the second rather than the first
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(14) frater : atieřiur : esu :
eitites : plenasier : / (15) urnasier : uhtrietie : k. t. kluviier :
kumnah/kle : atieřie : ukre :
eikvasee : atieřier : / (17) ape :
apelust : muneklu : habia : numer :
: / (18) prever : pusti : kastruvuf :
et : ape : purtitu : / (19) fust :
muneklu : habia : numer : tupler :
: / (20) pusti : kastruvu : et : ape :
subra : spařu : fust / (21)
muneklu : habia : numer : tripler :
pusti : / (22) kastruvu : et : ape :
frater : čeřsnatur : furent : /
(23) ehvelku : feia : fratreks :
ute : kvestur : / (24) sve : rehte

of these changes, and the relative age of Table Va, which is in the native alphabet but shows rhotacism of final s, and contains the Roman official title kvestur = quaestor (line 23), may also be taken into account. — prever: for the sense cf. Aul. Gell., X, 20, 4 veteres prīva diexurunt quae nos singula dicimus; Lucr., V, 733 inque dies privos aborisci, of the notion of the moon being destroyed and replaced by a different moon every day. — kastruvuf: the interpretation of this word, which has varied between ‘fundos’ and ‘capita,’ depends on a comparison of its four occurrences in Va with the recurring formula nome nerf arsmo uetor pequo castruo frī in VΙa, b, VΙa, and with O. castrid in line 8, castrous in line 13 of the Tabula Bantina (no. 28 Co.). The Oscan passages seem to show a contrast between criminal charges involving a fine (ēltus) and those involving the death penalty; so Buck (p. 236, n. 1) interpreted the forms, but in his second edition he adopted ‘in fundos’ in place of ‘in capita’ and is followed by Pis., Vet., and Bott. The interpretation of the two Oscan forms as ‘praedio, -i’ rather than ‘capite, -is’ is ably defended by Vet., pp. 19-20, and it is natural to suppose that the Oscan and Umbrian forms have the same meaning; yet they may represent two different stages in the semantic evolution of the same word, whatever its precise etymology and semantic history were (cf., for example, the difference between the two etymological equivalents U. karu ‘piece’ and L. caro ‘meat’). In any case the sense ‘capita’ is more suitable in the present passage and also in the recurring formula uiro pequo castruo, where uiro (and hence also pequo) appears to be gen. pl. rather than acc. pl., so that the meaning ‘fundos’ would scarcely fit; see on VIa 30. There remains the problem whether the meaning is ‘per person’ or ‘per victim.’ The last part of the sentence shows an awkward lack of balance, with its absence of any verb for the words following prehubia, but by any interpretation the force of prehubia must carry over to the end of the sentence. nufpener, if taken in the sense suggested above, as the equivalent of the dupondius after the second reduction of the Roman as, may indicate the amount to be paid for vegetable offerings of all kinds in proportion to each victim; an amount considerably less than the monetary value of the victims them-
selves, if we may judge by the sum paid in recompense to the *adfertor* in 17-22 below.

**Va 14 - b 7.** A second and distinct decree, as appears not only from the repetition of the opening formula but also from the name of the new eponymous uhtur. Moreover the paragraph division is indicated on the bronze by a short horizontal line engraved under the characters et : n at the beginning of line 13. — 14-16: nearly all editors end the first sentence with Kluvier, except Br. and Vet., who end with Atiieñer, and Dev., who ends with ukre. The view of the majority seems preferable because it is most natural for the sentence to end, as in 4, with the name of the magistrate by whose term of office the document is dated, and also because *ape apelust,* with nothing to indicate the setting, would make a very abrupt opening for the second sentence. In any case there can be no reasonable doubt that *eikvasese Atiieñer* belongs in the second sentence, as in 4 above. The use of this expression after *kumahkle Atiieñie* might appear pleonastic, but *eikvasese* may indicate some sort of special board within the larger group, as suggested above on 4. That the banquet itself was attended, at least in theory, by all the brothers appears from *ape frater çersnatur furent* in 22 and from *mestru karu fratru Atiieñiu pure ulu benurent* in 24-5, 27-8. — 17-22: after each of the three principal acts in the ceremony the *adfertor* is to receive a donation. For *apelust* see on I la 20; for *puritus funst* see Lexicon. Inv. forms of *ubra spau* are used in VII b 17 and VII a 39, which are nearly identical in content, and in VII b 41, and are translated 'superiactio' by Bk., Blum., Dev., Vet. Here, however, the reference seems to be to a distribution of the pieces of meat which are to be eaten by the brothers at the dinner, a sense which conforms well to the notion of spreading which is clearly visible in many of the cognates of U. *spahatu.* The change from the active *apelust* to the impersonal passives *puritus funst* and *spau funst* may, as Dev. (p. 409) suggests, indicate that in early times the actual slaying was performed by the *adfertor* while the *porrectio* and *superiectio* were left to others. — 17 muneklu: generally translated 'munusculum' or 'sportulam' and roughly equivalent to L. *munusculum,* although the formation is not precisely the same; see 21 c, 75 b. — 23 fratreks: this official is mentioned below in the closely similar passage b 1 ff., where he is to call upon the brothers to fix the fine for the *adfertor* has not performed his duty satisfactorily, and also in VII b 1, 4, where he himself is directed to furnish twelve heifers at the time of the lustration of the people during his term of office, and to pay a fine of 300 asses if he fails to do so. The usual derivation of *fratreks,* equating it with L. *ftraticus,* should be maintained, and the noun L. *vilicus,* which Bü. cites, is a reasonably close parallel so far as formation is concerned, despite Blum., pp. 82-3, who prefers to derive from *ftrati-rex* with haplographic loss of a syllable. Apart from the fact that he is still obliged to assume a stem *ftrareko-* as source of an analogical spread of the *e* into the oblique and derived forms (e.g. *ftraeci, ftraeça, ftratre-cate,* all in the Latin alphabet, where *e* cannot stand for the *g* of L. *rēg-* , etc.), -*re* as second member of the compound is scarcely compatible with the notion of an office held for a fixed term (cf. VII b 1 *sueso fratrecale*) in an organization which seems to have been essentially democratic; cf. Stegmann von Pritzwald, *Gl., XXI* (1933), pp. 134-6. — kvestur: here and below in b 2 he may act in place of the *fratreks* as the official who calls for the vote, while *kvestretie* as designation of an eponymous office appears at the end of I b and of II a. Dev., p. 304, suggests that the *fratreks* and *kvestur* shared the duties previously performed by the *uhtur* alone, and it is reasonable to regard the *kvestur,* whose
title was apparently borrowed from the Romans, as belonging to a later period than the uhtur, yet in 2 and 15 of the present table uhtretie is used to designate the eponymous magistracy. On the functions of the kvestur, fratreks, and uhtur in general see G. B. Pighi, Studi in onore di Gino Funaioli (Rome, 1955), p. 374, and on the relation of the magistracies to the whole problem of the chronology of the Tables see Introduction, 18.

—24 karu: for the meaning of this word which is probably 'part, section' in all passages in the Iguvine Tables, never 'meat,' see on IIA 1. —27 prufe si: for this use of an adverb in the predicate in place of an adjective see 139 a. It is easier to admit a usage of this kind in the present passage than to assume an i-stem adj. In contrast to L. probus, -a, -um, as Bö. did. —b 2-3 panta muta afferture si: has been provided in a satisfactory manner. If a majority of the Atiedian Brothers who have come there declare that it has been provided in a satisfactory manner, it shall be well. If a majority of the Atiedian Brothers who have come there declare that it has not been provided in a satisfactory manner, then the brother-superior or the quaestor shall call for an expression of opinion on the part of the brothers as to how great a fine shall be (imposed) on the adfertor. Whatever fine a majority of the Atiedian Brothers who have come there demand shall be (imposed) on the adfertor, so great a fine shall be (imposed) on the adfertor.

The (decuvia of the) Clavernii are required to give to the Atiedian Brothers each year four pounds of choice spelt from the Ager Tlatius of Picus Martius, and dinner for the two men who come to fetch the spelt, or else (to give) six
vernii and the Casilas. Since it appears from IIb 3, 6, that the Clavernii had been reorganized into two new decuviae and the Casilas into three, it is immediately clear why the latter must give one and a half times as much grain and receive one and a half times as much meat as the former. The extant tables contain no similar contracts between the brotherhood and the remaining decuviae; it is therefore a plausible assumption that such contracts formed the content of one of the lost tables. See Introduction, 16.

— 8 posti acnu: in view of O. akeneî, which almost certainly means ‘year,’ it is probably best to maintain the translation ‘each year’ in the present passage, despite Devoto’s objection (pp. 416-17 ‘secundum moles’). The fact that posti acnu stands before farer opeter but (in 12) after pelmner sorser may have no special significance beyond the desire to place pelmner sorser in a position of emphasis, since it contrasts with cabriner, while farer opeter is not a member of a contrasting pair. Moreover ‘each year ... at the festival of Semo’ is not necessarily a redundancy, since the former gives the frequency with which the contribution must be made, while the latter gives the proper time for making it. — 9 agre Tlatie: gen. sg., as appears from the parallel agre Castler in 14. The field cannot be identified. Huschke, p. 473, compared Dolates cognomine Salentini in Pliny’s list of Umbrian states (N.H., III, 14, 19), but the improbability of l for d in the Latin alphabet and of syncope in the initial syllable is against such an identification. Most editors see a relationship with Latium, which is quite possible in an etymological sense, but, as Conway s.v. pointed out, it is unlikely that the reference is to Latium in the geographical sense. In the present case the name of the decuvia and the name of the field assigned to it do not agree, but in 13-14 below Casilos and agre Casiler agree except for the stem-variation. Since we have only the two contracts it is difficult to make generalizations, but it may be observed that among the names of the decuviae in IIb 2-7 six are of the type of L. Arpinas, -atis, while the remaining four are gentilicia like L. Cornelli, etc. Devoto, pp. 355, 413, suggests that originally all bore ethnics of the type in -ātis derived from territorial names, but that several later replaced these ethnics by gentile names of the type of Claverniur.

— Piquier Martinier: for the peico (L. pecus) from which Piquier is derived see Vla 1 and note. Evidence of the association of the pecus with Mars is found in Dion. Hal., Antiqu. Rom., I, 14, 5 en tauté [i.e. Flora Matiana in the Sabine country] légeta χρηστήρων Ἀρεως γενέσθαι πάνω ἀχιαῖον... παρά δὲ τοῖς Ἀβδομίσοι θεάτης ὄρνις, ὥσιν αὐτοί μὲν πίξων, "Ελληνες δὲ δρυκολάπτην καλοῦν, ἐπὶ κίνον ξυλίνον φανάνουσον...: Plin., N.H., X, 40 ... picii Martio cognomine insignes et in auspiciatu magni. In Table Vb not only the agre Tlatie of 9 but also the agre Casiler of 14 are in some manner sacred to Picus Martius. The position of sanctity occupied by this bird is one of the most striking examples of totemism in early Italic religion. — 9 ̀kesna ... 10 ote a. VI, repeated in 15: there are several difficulties. The decuvia Casilos as a result of its threefold division furnishes a higher quota of grain and receives a higher allotment of meat than the Clavernii, yet both furnish dinner for two men and in turn receive the same from the brotherhood, as shown by the identity of the sum of money set as the equivalent of the dinner. The value itself has been a second source of difficulty, because it appears excessive when compared with certain passages in Greco-Roman literature: Polybius, II, 15 (with reference to Cisalpine Gaul) ποιοῦται γὰρ τὰς κατάλησες οἱ διο- δέοντες τὴν χώραν ἐν τοῖς πανδοχεῖοι, οἱ συμφωνοῦσθαι πεδὶ τῶν κατὰ κέρας ἐπιτη- δελοῦν, ἀλλὰ ἑρωτῶντες πόσον τὸν ἄνδρα δέχε- ται. Ὡς μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ πόλι πολλὶ τοῦς καταλήσας οἱ πανδοχεῖς, ὥς ἵκανας ἑχειν τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν, ἡμιασαρίων...; Mar-
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tial, IV, 68 *invitas centum quadrantibus et bene cenas.* / Ut cenem invitor, Sexte, an ut insideam? Devoto suggests (p. 405) that the price of the dinner here, and also the fine imposed on the *fratricus* in VIIb 4, belong to the period after the reduction of the as to \( \frac{1}{24} \) of its original value; that is, after 89 B.C. according to the usual interpretation of Pliny, *N.H.*, XXX, 44. In any case there can be no doubt of the general sense of the passage. Among individual words *eiscurent* alone is obscure, and all editors translate it by *accessierint* or some verb of fairly similar meaning. — 11 *frater*: the T and the E are separated by a space sufficient for one letter, and it is clear that the wrong letter had been originally inscribed after the T and then erased. The letter was apparently an R, and the mistake may have been induced by the oblique case-forms or possibly even by the Latin nom. pl. — 11-12 *sehmenier dequirer / pelmner sorser ... cabriner*: cf. Iib 1 *semenies teku-ries sim kaprum upetu*, with note. — 12 *uef*: twice here and twice in 17 below. It indicates some unit of measure by weight or volume, but its etymology and precise meaning are uncertain. Thurmey sen (cited by Pl., I, p. 288) suggested that it may be an abbreviation for *uefraf*, the equivalent of *L. libras*, and is followed by several recent editors, but the change *l-* > *u-* is not surely attested before front vowels (see 55, n. 2). Blum., p. 76, equated *uef* in form with *L. vebes*, *is 'wagon-load' and in sense with ON *vett*, *vett 'weight.' Although, as Blum. points out, there is no serious objection to admitting one unit of measure, p., for grain and another for meat, it seems safest to assume a root-stem *weif* from the root *widh-* of *L. di-vido*, after Pl., I, pp. 288, 455, II, p. 182, Buck, § 136 a. While translating ‘portions’ we may understand *uef* to be a technical term indicating a definite quantity which we cannot identify. — 12-13 *pretra ... postra*: these adjectives, which must be in agreement with *uef*, show its gender to be fem. Certain specifications are given for the pork and goat-meat here but are omitted in 17 below, either because they applied only in the case of the Clavernii or because having once been stated they were assumed to apply to both. In the word *pretra* the second R was at first omitted and then inserted above the line between the T 

asses. The Atiedian Brothers are required to give to the Clavernii at the decurial festival of Semo each year ten portions of pork and five portions of goat-meat, the former pickled, the latter roasted, and dinner or six *asses*. The (*decuvia*) Casilas is required to give to the Atiedian Brothers each year six pounds of choice spelt from the Ager Casilus of Picus Martius, and dinner for the two men who come to fetch the spelt, or else (to give) six *asses*. The Atiedian Brothers are required to give to the (*decuvia*) Casilas at the decurial festival of Semo each year fifteen portions of pork and seven and a half portions of goat-meat or six *asses.*
and the A. — 13 loco: the ending, and consequently the syntax in the sentence, are not clear, but there is little doubt that the word is somehow connected with Gallo-Latin tucca, tuc(etum), and also taxea: Schol. Pers., XI, 42 tucceta apud Gallos Cisalpinos bubula dicitur condimentis crassis oblita ac macerata; et ideo toto anno durat. Solet etiam porcina codem genere condita servari; Corp. Gloss. Lat., II, 202, 52 tucca: καταχωμε ζω-μοφ; Isid., Orig., XX, 2 taxea lardum est gallice dictum; unde et Afranius in Rosa: Gallum sagatum pingui pastum taxea. — fahe: here it is not possible to say anything with certainty. The ending -e could indicate an adverb in -e or an acc. pl. of an i-stem adj. like seuacne in VIIb 1.

Bü. translated ‘confectas’ and conjectured an i-stem *faheis related to facia, L. facio, as L. vehes, -is to veho, but the medial h is an obstacle, since we should expect s, and it is doubtful whether an uncompounded form of this sort would have developed the meaning ‘preserved, pickled (meat).’ Pl., I, pp. 281, 439-40, 461, suggests connection with φύγω ‘roast,’ Germ. backen, which would mean that the meat was to be roasted before being presented to the Clavernii. Another possible connection is with L. fāgus, Gk. φηγός, the sense being ‘beech-cured (ham)’ in contrast to loco as ‘fat bacon’; cf. Whatmough, Dialects of Ancient Gaul, 181; but here again the Umbrian h is a difficulty.
(VIa 1) *este . persclo . aueis . aserialer . enetu . parfa . curnase . dersua . peiqu . peica . merstu . poei.*

(VIa 1 - b 47 (= Ia 1 - b 9). Purification of the Fisian Mount. For an outline of the content of the present version, as well as of that of Table I, see Introduction, 13, and for the relation between the two versions see Introduction, 18. Both describe the same ceremony: the same victims, in groups of three, are offered to the same gods at the same three gates and at two additional stations, but the account in the later tables is far more detailed; not only are a number of specific instructions found in VI which were omitted in I, especially in regard to the taking of the auspices, but the prayers accompanying the sacrifices, which are completely lacking in I, are presented in full in VI.

(VIa 1 - 18 (= Ia 1 - 2). Taking of the auspices, which must be completed before the beginning of the purification proper. In Ia the instruction for taking the auspices was compressed into the first line and a half, with no specifications beyond the use of the terms *pernaies pusnaes*, while VIa specifies the birds to be watched, the formulas to be repeated by the *adfertor* and the augur, and the demarcation of the *templum.* Despite the very considerable amount of study that has been devoted to this whole passage, many details remain obscure. Especially is this true in the list of landmarks for defining the *templum.* A summary of conclusions in regard to the *auspicium* is given below after the note on 14. — *1 persclo:* best understood as including the augural ceremony as well as the purification itself; at least this seems likely in view of the fact that VIa enters immediately into detailed instructions for taking the auspices. The ablative absolute then means ‘by observing the birds’ rather than ‘after observing the birds’; for this usage cf. *Tac., Ann.*, VI, 45 damnum Caesar ad gloriam vertit, exsolutis domuum et insularum pretios; Hist., II, 85, pessimum facinus audel, misso centurione ad interficiendum Tetlilium Iulianum. — *aueis:* for the exceptional importance attached to birds in augury among the Umbrians cf. *Cic., Div., I, 41, 92 Phryges autem et Pisidae et Cilices et Arabum natio avium significatioibus plurimum obtenerat, quod idem factilatum in Umbria accepimus.* In Roman augural practice the birds were classified according as they gave omens by flight or by voice: Festus, p. 308 L. *Oscinum tripudium est, quod oris cantu significat quid portendi, cum cecinit corvus, cornix, noctua, parra, picus ... Oscines aves Ap. Claudius esse ait, quae or canentes faciant auspiciuin, ut corvus, cornix, noctua; alltes quae alis ac volatui; ut buteo, sanqualis, aquila, immulsus, vullurius; pieam aut Martius Ferontiusque et parra et in oscinius, et in alitibus habentur [picam aut W: pica aut X; ed. princ.: pieus autem Aug.: fort. pica aueis]. Comparison is often made between the list of birds in VIa 1 and Plaut., *As.*, 259-61 impetrium, inauguratistm: quo-vis admittant aves, / picus et cornix ab laeva, coruous, parra ab destera / consuadent, in which the similarity to Table VIa 1 is striking enough to suggest the possibility that Plautus had in mind the augural practice of his native Umbria. — *enetu:* the logical subject is the *adfertor,* although the actual observation of the birds is the duty of the augur; both have a part in the ceremony, however. — *parfa:* this bird has not been identified with certainty. It agrees, at least in an etymological sense, and presumably also in a zoological sense, with *L. parra;* any other hypothesis would be highly improbable in view of the Plautine passage, in which all modern editors adopt *parra,* the reading of B*, in place of the *porro*
of the majority of mss. But the identity of the *parra* itself is unknown, and etymological comparisons, as, for example with ἱδρα 'starling,' OHG sparwari 'sparrow-hawk, Sperber, ēpervier,' will not give the answer. The bird in Hor., C., III, 27, 1 *Impios parrae recinentis omen / ducat* has been identified as an owl (so Orelli, Ussani, Wickham, etc.) or as the lapwing (O. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt*, II [Leipzig, 1913], p. 178), but with slight probability. Devoto's identification of the bird as the green woodpecker (picchio verde, T.G., p. 29) has a better chance of being correct, but if *Feronius* in the corrupt Festus passage cited above is a second variety of *picus* distinguished from the *picus martius*, it may easily be the green woodpecker, and the *parra* immediately following must be a different bird. The translation 'jay' is here offered with no great confidence in its correctness, but partly as a result of the elimination of several theories which appear less probable, and partly in view of the fact that the comparative size and striking appearance and shrill cry of the European jay (Garrulus glandarius) might make it suitable for inclusion among augural birds. Thomas Chase, *The Works of Horace* (Philadelphia, 1884) on Hor., loc. cit., suggested identification of *parra* with the jay. For a fuller discussion see *Studies Presented to David M. Robinson*, Vol. II (St. Louis, 1953), pp. 469-76. — *curnase*: like L. *cornix*, which differs only in the vowel of the second syllable, this is the crow (probably Corvus cornix cornix). — *dersua*: see below after the note on *peica*, where *dersua* and *mersu* are treated together. — *peiqu*: like Plautus' *pictus*, this is generally taken to be the large black European woodpecker Dryocopus martius martius, which was very prominent in early Italic religion and mythology (see on Vb 9). — *peica*: evidently the magpie (Pica pica pica); its absence from the passage cited from the *Asinaria* above, if Plautus is thinking of Roman rather than Umbrian augury, may be significant when observed in connection with Pliny, *N.H.*, X, 78 nuper et adhuc tamen rara ab Appennino ad urbem versus cerni coeptere picarum genera quae longa insignes cauda variae appellantur. — *dersua ... mersu*: the syntax presents some difficulty at this point. In place of the plural adjectives which we should expect with the two pairs of nouns we have singular adjectives, and *mersu* agrees not with *peica* but with the more remote *peiqu*. Bréal suggested that the second bird in each pair was merely an alternative to the first. In favor of his suggestion is the obvious fact that the greater the number of birds which must be seen, the greater the difficulty of obtaining the proper auspices required as a condition for the ceremony which was to follow. Bréal himself, however, did not use this argument, and it is not as cogent as it might at first appear, since there is some slight possibility that birds were caught and kept in order to be released at the time of the taking of the auspices; cf. Goidànich, *Hist.*, VIII (1934), p. 256, where however no actual evidence is given. So far as the use of the singular in place of the plural is concerned, it would be quite natural if the conjunction to be supplied in the two pairs of bird-names is or rather than and; yet, while the omission of *et* is extremely frequent (137), there are no known instances of the omission of the disjunctive *ote*. The explanation, however, may be that *ote* is avoided because the *parfa* and *curnase* are not mutually exclusive; either one or both, in the proper situation, will provide a satisfactory omen, and similarly with the *peiqu* and *peica*. The sense may then be similar to that in expressions where English occasionally makes use of the combination and/or. *dersua* and *mersu* themselves have defied all attempts at interpretation. The former, in addition to its 12 occurrences in Table VI, is found as *tesvam*, with *parfam*, in Ib 13, while *mersu* occurs only in VIa. *mersuva* in III 11, 28 may be, but is not necessari-
angla . aseriatu . / (2) est eso . tremnu .
serse . arserture . ehueltu . stiplo
aseriata . parfa . dersua . curnao
dersua / (3) peico . merstö . peica .
merst . a . mersta . auuei . mersta .
angla . esona . arfertur . eso anstiplatu /

ly, related to it. dersua, according to an
etymology proposed by Panzerbieter, Quaestiones Umbricae (Progr. Meiningen,
406-7, Buck, is from *de-d-es-wo-, adj. to
an es-stem built on the reduplicated root
of the verb 'give.' merstu according to
Bû., Pl., and Buck, following Ebel, K.Z.,
IV (1855), p. 200, VII, pp. 271-2, is from
*med-es-lo-, with the same root contained
in mers mefs, O. med-diss, L. modus,
modestus, etc. The omens then would be
two degrees of value: merstu, in Latin
iusto, allowing the ceremony to be
undertaken, and dersua, in Latin pros-
perea, actually favoring the undertaking.
— a ves quae non admitterant tantum sed
secundent (Bû., p. 43). This interpreta-
tion of the words has a certain advantage
when applied in 3 to mersta auuei, mersta
angla esona, where there is no direct con-
trast with a dersua and it is difficult to
understand mersta in a local or direc-
tional sense. Yet for several reasons it seems
advisable to abandon it. In the first place
*de-d-es-wo- is not a probable formation
nor one for which good support can be
found in cognate languages. Moreover
there is no good evidence of a distinction
between omens which merely gave per-
mission and those which gave encourage-
ment, nor do the etymologies adopted as
a basis for this interpretation really justi-
fy giving a stronger sense to one adjec-
tive than to the other. The correspond-
ing passage in 1a 1-2 uses the terms
pernaies pusnaes, regularly translated
anticis posticis, and it seems highly pro-
bable that in V1a also the terms used of
the birds should refer to direction, al-
though there is no serious objection, des-
pite Bréal, to taking dersua, mersta in
reversed correspondence to pernaies,
pusnaes, if the etymologies adopted are
more satisfactory under this arrangement.
How far Umbrian and Roman augural
procedure agreed is uncertain, but if
there is to be any hope at all of under-
standing this portion of Table V1a, we
must take account of Latin passages
bearing on the matter. The Plautine
passage cited above seems to assume that
a Roman audience would understand the
allusion to the birds on the left and right.
There is almost no chance, however, that
dersua means 'right,' despite Blum., p.
77, who connects it with Goth. taũhswa
'δεξιός' and derives it from *deks-wo-.
The meanings 'right' and ‘left’ belong
to desre and nertru respectively. dersua
and merstu then must refer to points of
the compass or to other contrasting di-
rections, as pernaies pusnaes in 1a 2 do.
In Roman augury the best evidence is
for southward facing or for eastward fac-
ing. Literary passages which give sup-
port to the notion that the augur faced
south include: Varro, L.L., VII, 7 Eius
tempti partes quattuor dicuntur sinistra ab
oriente, dextra ab occasu, antica ad me-
ridiim, postica ad septentrionem. Festus
244 Li. Sic etiam ea caeli pars, quae sole
illustratur ad meridiem, antica nominatur,
qua ad septentrionem postica; rursusque
dividuntur in duas partes orientem al-
quae occidentem. Passages which support
eastward facing include: Livy, I, 18, 6-7
inde ab augure . . . deductus (sc. Num.) in
arcem in lapide ad meridiem versus con-
sedit. augur ad laevam eius capite velato

and magpie in the east. The one who
goes to observe the messengers, sitting
shall call out from the tent to the ad-
fertor: "Demand that I may observe a
parra in the west, a crow in the west,
a woodpecker in the east, a magpie in
the east, in the east birds, in the east
divine messengers." The adfertor shall
sede mepit, dextra manu baculum sine nodo aduncum tenes, quem litium appellarunt. inde ubi prospectu in urben agrumque capto deos pecatus regiones ab oriente ad occasum determinavit, dextras ad meridiem partes, laevas ad septentrio-

nem esse dicit. Isid., Etym., XV, 4, 7 locus designatus ad orientem a contemplatione templum dicitur, cuius partes qual-
tuor erant, antica ad ortum, postica ad occasum, sinistra ad septentronem, dextra ad meridiem spectans. The fact that there were two conflicting orientations appears very plainly through the use of antica for the south by Festus but for the east by Isidore. The confusion may arise partly from the fact that two officials took part in the taking of the auspices, in Rome the rex or other official and the augur, in Iguvium the adfertor and the official poei angia aseriatu eet. But apparently there were actually two or more systems in use in Italy, reflecting not only the varying purposes for which augury was used, but also an overlapping of different cultures. The view adopted here is based on the interpretation which Devoto proposed (pp. 143-4) for the two adjectives on etymological and other grounds. dersua he derives from *drolsvo-, cf. L. dorsum < *dyto-; since there is no certainty as to the etymology of dorsum itself, a safe procedure may be to maintain the connection between dersua and dorsum but to abstain from equations outside of Italic. -er- and -or- may represent an ablaut-variation, or -er- may be from -ro- (32 d) if either the L. -or- or the U. *ro- resulted from metathesis. The adjective dersua then is to L. dorsum as annaue to annus, a hypothesis which receives some support from the -uo-stem indirectly attested by L. dorsualis. It is to be assumed that dersua passed through the same semantic evolution as L. pos-
ticus, which became 'north' (as in Festus) or 'west' (as in Isidore). Devoto takes merstu, with Goth. mauregins 'tempus ma-
tatum,' etc., from the root *mer-k- with its variations (cf. Pokorny, Idg. etym. Wb., p. 734). It is then comparable to Ger. Morgenland in both origin and sense, and it is apparent that the orienta-
tion assumed is an eastward one; on the relation of the templum to the topo-

graphy of Iguvium see below in the summary of 1-18. — poei angia aseriatu eest: since the augur must surely have had some official title, the circumlocution here is probably an instance of tabu, as Devoto (p. 145) suggests. This reluctance to name the augur (for fear of being overheard by the birds?) has a rough similarity to the hunter's tabu in certain northern European languages against the name of the bear, which has led to such substitutes as Russ. medved, literally 'honey-eater.' — 2 tremmu: possibly a local abl. with serse, but since this sense would normally call for the locative, it is better, with most editors, to take it as abl. of place whence depending on ehueltu, despite the word-order. Precisely what sort of structure the tremmu was cannot be determined, but it was without doubt similar to the Roman tabernaculum mentioned in Cic., N.D., II, 4, 11; Div., I, 17, 33; II, 35, 75; Livy, IV, 7, 3, used in the taking of the auspices. — ehueltu: cf. ehvelklu ‘choice, expression of opinion.’ Both contain eh- (L. e, ex) + wel-, the root of L. volo, velle, with semantic development 'wish > select > request,' in the case of the verb. — stiplo: separated from ehueltu by a space equal to about one letter and containing a point. stiplo is no longer taken as an infinitive depending on ehueltu, with Hu., Bù., Pl., but by most editors as pres. inv., beginning the for-

mula in oratio recta. The subjunctive aseriaia must then be I sg., although the form is ambiguous because of the lack of a final consonant. — 3 mersta: the second instance of mersta, which is not in direct contrast with dersua, is somewhat awkward when taken as 'in the east,' but it may represent a provision that any birds beside those already spec-
cified may be counted as good omens if
III. Text and Translation

(4) efer. aserio . parfa . dersua . curnaco .
dersua . peico . mersto . peica . mersta .
mersta . aueif . merstaf / (5) angla.
esona . mehe . tote . iioueine esmei .
stahmei . stahmeitei . sersi . pirsi .
esesust . poi . angla / (6) aseriato . est .
erse . neip . mugatu . nep . arsir .
andersistu . nersa . courtust . porsi .
angla . anseriato / (7) iust . sue .
muieto . just . ote . pisi . arsir .
andersesuspe disleralinsust /
(8) urfale . pufe . arsfertur .

7 andersesuspe: for andersesust.

seen in the east, while mersta angla esona further provides for other omens than birds; for example, lightning (cf. Dev., p. 150). The number of admissible omens then is less restricted than at first appears. — anstiplatu: the compound in contrast to stiplo above may show “action déterminée”: ‘conclude an agreement’; but the distinction is no less subtle than when we compare L. stipulor and instipulor (the latter in Plaut., Pseud. 1069, Rud., 1381). — 4 ef aserio, etc.: aserio is a pres. inv. similar in formation to stiplo in 2. The augur’s response comes below in 17-18, where the verb required to complete the elliptical sentence might be a form of aserio. — 5 mehe, etc.: for these datives signifying the objects of divine favor cf. Cato, R. R., 141 duas bonam saluiem mithi domo familiae nostrae; Livy, XXIX, 27, 2 mithi populo plebique Romanae, sociis nominique Latino. — tote: there are more than 130 examples in the Tables, mostly accompanied by some form of iioueine. It signifies ‘state’ in the sense of the total citizen-body. Cf. O. touto similarly used in the Tabula Bantina (Co. 28.) — stah-

mei is almost certainly from *stā- ‘stand,’ and most translate by dat. statui, although it is not quite clear in what sense; stahmeitei is without doubt pepl. of a denominative verb from the former, in agreement with it and making up a figura etymologica. Devoto’s ‘in hae superficie extensa’ is very tempting, since in some respects a loc. stahmei understood as a designation of place gives a better sense than a dat.; yet there are certain objections: 1) the ending -ei is more easily taken as dat., whether of an or of an i-stem: cf. dat. Tefrei VIB 22, but loc. ocre VIa 26, 36, b 29, and see 20, 93 b, c, 97; 2) esmei stahmei stahmeitei as dat. gives a construction fully coordinate with the datives which precede; 3) it is difficult to understand stahmei of the augural templum, since urfale in 8 is used in this sense. We therefore translate ‘for this established ordinance,’ as suggested by R. G. Kent, Lang., XIV (1938), p. 215. Dev., p. 151, distinguishes the use of the dat. in such formulas from the abl. + -per: “postpositionis -per ope ea indicantur quibus actiones sacrae probant; casus dativus ea indicare videtur

thus demand: “There observe a parra in the west, a crow in the west, a woodpecker in the east, a magpie in the east, in the east birds, in the east divine messengers, for me, for the state of Iguvium, for this established ordinance.” While he who goes to observe the messengers sits in the seat, during that time no one shall make a noise nor shall any other person sit in the way until he who has gone to observe the birds returns. If a noise is made or any other person sits in the way, he will make (the ceremony) invalid.

The templum where the adfertor re-
‘quorum nomine’ actiones peragantur." emend. no interpretation to the auspicia; the principal source of difficulty. The fact that the word-division is neglected after the p gives us the right to assume that there may be a separation between disler and alinsust also, as earlier scholars and more recently Dev. have done. According to this view disler is abl. pl. of tīcel, tīclu (t = d), and the general sense is that the formulas become ineffective. There is a certain obscurity about disler. No other instances occur in the Latin alphabet, and the contexts where tīcel, tīclu occur are not close parallels to Via 7; but the real difficulty is in finding any satisfactory etymology for alinsust (< *ališōnūs) with a-privative and root as in L. lieet, Bréal, pp. 35, 372; cognate with ὀλλεμός and meaning *[caerimonía] irrita erit,* Dev.). It seems best therefore with Bü., Pl., Bk., etc., to regard disleralinsust as a denominative verb from *dis-leisā-li-: cf. L. de-lurus, delirare, but with the notion of failure or ineffectiveness in contrast to the Latin sense of mental aberration. There is no expressed subject; we may regard the augural ceremony as logical subject or regard the verb as impersonal.

8 - 14. Instructions for defining the templum in which the birds, or other omens, are to be observed. The demarcation is made with relation to the augural seats, the asa deuēia, and certain landmarks in the city, none of which can be clearly identified. — 8 utofale: the etymological equivalent of L. verbale, but used here to designate the templum. The semantic development is considerably clarified by two passages in Varro, L.L.: VI, 53 Hine effata diecuntur, qui aугures finem auspiciorum coales tum extra urbem agri<s> sunt effati, ut esset; hinc effari templum diecuntur: ab auguribus effantur qui in his fines sunt; VII, 8 In terris diecunt templum locus augurii aut auspicii causa quibusdam concepsis verbis finitus. — arsforter: although the actual taking of the auspices is performed by the augur, the adfertor himself purifies the Mount. — trebēt: related to tremna, O. tībūm, tībarakkiuf, etc.,
III. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

trebeit. ocer. peihaner. erse stahmito
eso tuderato est. angluto / (9) hondonu.
porsei. nesimei. asa. deueia. est.
anglome. somo. porsei. nesimei.
uapersus. auiehcieir / (10) est. eine
angluto. somo. uapefe auiehclu.
lodcome tudor. angluto. hondonu.
asame. deueia. lodcome / (11) tudor.
eine. lodceir. luderus. seipodruhpei.
seritu /

(12) tudoro. totcor. uapersusto
auieclir. ebetrafe. ooserclome.
presoliage. nurpier. uasirsnome /
(13) smursime. tettome. miletinar.
tertiame. praco. pracatarum.
uapersusto auieclir. carsome /
(14) uestisier. randeme. rufrer.

having to do with buildings of various
types. The semantic development in the
Umbrian verb is from 'dwell' to 're-
mains.' — ocer peihaner: for the syntax
cf. 19 below and 153 i. — stahmito:
'statium' Bu., Pl., 'statatum' Bk.,
Blum., PIs., Bott., 'extensum' Dev.,
'stabilitum' Vet. It serves to show that the
templum for the auspicies preceding the
purification of the Mount was a fixed
and permanent one, while tuderato serves
to introduce the list of points defining it.
— 8-9 angluto/hondonu porsei
nesimei asa deueia est: the first of a succession of
imaginary lines is drawn from the "low-
est angle," a point near the asa deueia,
to the "highest angle," near the augural
seats. The asa deueia was in all proba-
bility situated in the forum, which may
very easily have been in the same part
of the city as the present Piazza dei
Quaranta Martiri (formerly the Piazza
Vittorio Emanuele), the low elevation
of which accords well with the expression
angluto hondonu. From a comparison of
Ib 14, Vla 16-17, b 51, it appears that the
adftert or occupies the augural stone-seat,
while the augur, who announces the
omens to him, is a short distance away.
The augural seats must have been located
on the Fisian Mount or arx, for the loca-
tion of which see Introduction, 4. an-
gluto somo uapefe auiehclu and the parallel
passage angluto hondonu asame deueia
present a difficulty: do the phrases with
postposition -e merely repeat in more
concise language what was previously
expressed by porsei nesimei ... est; in
other words does the usage resemble
that of L. ad indicating proximity without
motion? So Buck, § 301. 2, takes it.
Yet it seems better with Dev., p. 162,
to treat uapefe auiehclu and asame
deueia as phrases involving motion, like the
lodcome tudor which follows. The lines
are then drawn from the highest and
lowest angles to the seats and the altar
respectively, so that these objects become
in effect points of transition between
the two angles and the city limits indi-
cated by lodcome tudor. — 12 ebetrafe:
cf. the incorrectly spelled hebetafe in b
53. The majority analyze as from *ē-baı̈t-rā- (cf. L. ē, ex and baelo, -ere), with sense 'exitus.' Since it refers to one single landmark, the value of the pl. is similar to that in L. foresses. This exit was apparently distinct from the three familiar gates of Iguvium, none of which is mentioned in the present passage, but nothing more can be said about it. — ooserclome: generally taken as from *ob-ser-kłom-en or *au(i)-ser-kłom-en, in either case with syncope of i or u(e) before -kłom. Devoto, however, sees in it the name of a rivulet from *Auser-kłom, comparing L. Auser and the modern Serchio. The derivation from *au(i)-ser-kłom should be discarded, since we already have one place for watching birds, but there appears to be no objection to regarding the ooserclom as an observation-post for military purposes. — presotiaf: commonly assumed to be related to L. solum, but it is uncertain whether solum would have to be understood as 'foundation' or as 'ground' and whether presotiaf are the foremost portions of a solum or certain things in front of the solum. — Nurpier: nowhere found as the name of a god, and more probably a gentile name, but nothing certain can be affirmed with regard to it. — uasirsłome: very uncertain; sometimes taken as connected with L. vačerra < *wakerzā; by Dev., p. 165, as < *vakrikelo: cf. Skt. vakra- 'curved.' The meaning then would be 'vale' for which Swiss-Ital. curva 'avvallamento' is cited as a semantic parallel. — smerisłine: none of the various conjectures can be regarded as at all certain. A Roman goddess Murcia, whose temple was at the foot of the Aventine, is known from Varro, L.L., V, 154; Livy, I, 33, 5; she is generally identified with Venus, and is mentioned by Aug., Civ. Dei, IV, 16, as a goddess who causes sloth. If our form is acc. of a stem in -io-, as seems likely, it may possibly be a neuter name of a temple of *Smarcia. For the U. sm-. See 57b. — tettome: found here and twice in 14 below: it is not easily equated with L. lectum, because we should expect -ht- < -kt- (46i), yet it is hard to believe that the two are not equivalent. Blum., p. 78, arguing from the foreign appearance of the names attached to tettome, suggests that tettome itself may be foreign. — Miletinar: sometimes compared with μείλιχος, μείλίχος. O. Meesikiesis for the root, and with L. Caprolina, Libitina for the suffix. Blum., p. 78, suggests connection with L. miles (a goddess of soldiers?). Since, however, Noniar and Salier appear not to be divine names, and since 'house' fits tettom better than 'temple,' it is better to assume that Miletinar is an adjective from a gentile name, taking its gender from the equivalent of gens or some similar word. — tertiam praco praecatarum: undoubtedly the third in a certain series of objects. praco may be acc. sg. or gen. pl. used partitively, but in either case it is fem., and so is probably a consonant-stem, since fem. o-stems are rare in those IE languages which possess them at all. praecatarum must be gen. pl. of the pcl. of a denominative verb from praco. It is most natural to derive both from the same root as L. compesco, compere (cf. Lexicon, and Muller, p. 320), the basic sense being one of fencing in. — carsome: numerous etymologies have been proposed, all uncertain. The view tentatively adopted here is that of Blum., p. 79, substantially followed by Dev., whereby carsom is equivalent to L. cursus, Ital. corso, with a through the influence of Gaulish carrus, unless the whole word is a Gaulish loan. — 14 Vestisier: possibly the same as the god Vestisce Sače in IIa 4. — randeme: extremely uncertain; Dev. translates 'ad hortum,' but without adopting any of the etymological conjectures of previous editors. Pis., as etymological support for the same interpretation, proposes to derive from *ran-li-, from the same root as ḡaivw, ḡavtiw, assuming an initial variation r/sr-. The reference then would be to a garden irrigated or watered in some special way. — Rufrer: a place Rufræ in Campania is
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mentioned in Verg., Aen., VII, 739, and a gentle Rufinus, Rubrius is common on inscriptions from several parts of Italy, but no proper name from a stem Rufro- is known. Moreover it is not likely that our form is from *Rufrio- with loss of i by 53, since there is no evidence of such treatment of -ri-, while speturie, dequier tekuries constitute evidence against it. We can probably not hope to do better than assume a name Rufer < *Rufros and decline to make any conjectures regarding the bearer of the name. — Noniar: Blum., p. 78, suggested dialectal origin on the ground that in Umbrian we should expect *Nouim- in a derivative of the ordinal from '9'; cf. numime Ha 26. It is not certain, however, that this last form represents the ordinal from '9,' since derivation from a superlative stem to *newo- (L. novus), after Vet., p. 197, is also possible. For the value of the name in other respects see on Milelinar in 13 above. — Salier: the failure of l to change to rs (53 b) arouses suspicion that the word is a dialect borrowing, and Blum. (p. 78) is doubtless right in affirming connection with L. Salii. The masculine, in contrast to Milelinar, Noniar, shows that here an individual and not a gens is meant. — Hoier: possibly connected with Hule IV 17, if i is erroneously written for l through omission of the cross-bar, as suggested by R. G. Kent, T.C.I., p. 41, or with Horse Hufie as suggested by Dev., p. 257, although the loss of rs cannot be satisfactorily explained. Like Useisier it is probably a divine name, but nothing can be affirmed in connection with certainty in regard to it. — pertome: this word may reasonably be taken as cognate with L. porta, portus, in the sense 'passageway, gate.' The e-grade of the root is attested by ON frydr 'firth,' nom. pl. firder, but the Germanic forms, like L. portus, are u-stems; only pertome shows a transfer to the o-declension. —

Padellar: usually taken as name of a goddess related to L. Panda, O. dat. sg. Patana, both from *Patna, with L. -na- < -ina- and O. anaitysis; for the phonology of Padella see Lexicon, with references. Panda was sometimes identified with Ceres: Varro apud Non., p. 44 M. hanc deam Aelius putat esse Cererem; sed quod in asylum qui confluunt panis daretur, esse nomen fictum a pane dano, pandere, quod est aperire. To the gate bearing the name of Padella there is a Roman parallel in the porta Pandana mentioned by Varro, L.L., V, 42; cf. Fest., p. 246 Li. Pandana porta dieta est Romae, quod semper paterel. — Devoto, p. 168, remarks that the first set of boundaries (ebetrae ... praetorium) consists chiefly of natural landmarks and the second of buildings and similar structures; the first group then lies along the mountain slope and the second along the plain, an ingenious and valuable suggestion, although naturally it is dependent on the interpretation of the individual words, many of which are very obscure.

The conclusions reached in the interpretation of the opening portion of Via may now be briefly summarized. According to the view adopted here dersua and merstu do not mean 'right' and 'left,' nor do they mean 'prospera' and 'iusto.' Like pusnaes and permaes they have reference to omens appearing 'behind' and 'in front,' but the etymology adopted for merstu (after Dev.) presupposes an orientation in which merstu must be toward the east. If the Fisian Mount was on Monte Focie, and the asa deueia was toward the eastern part of the area now occupied by the Piazza dei Quaranta Martiri, it is possible to conceive of the augur sitting on the mount and facing in a southeastward direction. A facing directly toward the east cannot be reconciled with the description of the templum given in VIa, because the mountains, on one of
the slopes of which the augur would have had to sit, lie on the northern and eastern sides of Gubbio. This southeastward facing is admitted by Devoto (“aliquantum ad orientem,” p. 168; cf. T.G., p. 17). Moreover Goidanich (Historia, VIII [1934], p. 245), while he favors southward facing, nevertheless remarks that the decumanus in Iguvium probably ran not due west and east but northwest and southeast, because of the obstacle which the mountains presented against the normal view of the sunrise. In 15-16 hondra esto tudero, etc., it is said that below the limits marked out the parra and crow should be seen dersua, and above the same limits the woodpecker and magpie should be seen mersta. Apparently then, birds seen above the limits are to be counted as higher up the slope of the mountains lying to the east of the city, and consequently in the (south)eastern region, while those seen below are in the lower and consequently more western portion of the city. If we insist on a close equivalence between pernæs pusnaes of Ia 2 and the terms of direction in Via, then pusnaes may be used of those omens which are less forward (literally ‘in the back’), and so dersua or western. For the higher and lower situation of augural birds cf. Servius on Aen., III, 361 præpetes sunt quae secundo auspicio ante eum volant qui auspiciatur ... Sed præpetes aut superiora tenent et præpetes vocantur, aut inferiora et dicuntur inferae. There is also a possibility that the different distribution of the birds in Plaut., As., 260, cited earlier in the commentary on this portion of Via, may have some connection with the
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gate of Padella. Below these limits which are described above, watch for a parra in the west, a crow in the west. Above these limits watch for a woodpecker in the east, a magpie in the east. If the messengers sing forth, (the augur) sitting shall thus make announcement from the tent and shall call the adferlor by name: “(I have seen) a parra in the west, a crow in the west, a woodpecker in the east, a magpie in the east, in the east birds, in the east divine messengers for you, for the state of Iguvium, for this established ordinance.” At each of these rites for the lustration of the people and the purification of the mount (the adferlor) shall hold a ritual wand. The vessels at the Trebulan Gate which are to be exhibited for the purification of the mount he shall so exhibit as to cause fire to be kindled from fire. Similarly at the Tesenacan Gate, similarly at the Veian Gate.

A partial bibliography of material dealing with the augural templum at Rome and Iguvium, beside the standard handbooks onItalic dialects and editions of the Iguvine Tables, would include: K. O. Müller, Die Etrusker, 2nd ed. by Deecke (Stuttgart, 1877), II, pp. 128-64; Regell, N.Jb., CXXIII (1881), pp. 598-637, Valeton, Mnem., XVII (1889), pp. 275-325, 418-52, XVIII (1890) pp. 208-63; Wisso- wa, R.-E., II, pp. 2586-87; Weinstock, Röm. Mitt., XLVII (1932), pp. 95-121; Blumenthal, Klio, XXVII (1934), pp. 1-13; Goldanich, Hist., VIII (1934), pp. 237-69; Ribezzo, I, pp. 55-88, especially 66-78. — 17 combifiatu: the subject is the augur, poei angla aserialo est; similarly for carsitu. — parfa dersua, etc.: here the augur complies with the instructions given him by the adferlor in 4-5. For the ellipsis of the verb see 136 c.
COMMENTARY

18 esisco esoneir: for the expression with -co cf. Va 11 esunesku vepurus. — sequir: Devoto translates 'formulatis,' which suits Ia 5, Vla 56, as well as the present passage. But it would have to be derived from a long-vowel form *sëwo- in contrast to Skt. sëva- 'incitor, incitamentum' which he compares (p. 170), for *sëwo- would almost certainly show the p.1t. change ew > ow, as in L. novus < *newos, cf. O. Núvellum. Since O. sti: om (28 Co., line 22) requires 'entirely' or a similar meaning, it seems best to see an expression of totality in U. seuir, sevom sevum, which can be fully equated in a formal sense with O. siuom. Vetter's 'singula' (p. 236; 'unum quidique' in Ia 5, Vla 56) preserves the notion of individuality belonging to the root *së- which appears to be contained in seuir. — 19 anjerener: cf. afero Vlb 48 = aferum Ib 10; all are from *am(f)-fer-. As a semantic parallel L. shows circumfero: Non., p. 261 circumferre est proprie lustrare; Verg., Aen., VI, 229 idem ter socios pura circumulit unda. The Umbrian verb like the Latin is suppletive, but makes its pf. forms from the root *dö-give: andersafust andirsafust aterafust. — pereca arsmatia: generally taken as a ceremonial wand; cf. L. pertica, the measuring rod used in surveying, and also a portion of land so measured, and the abbreviated form O. perek: used of road-measurement. For the use of a staff in Roman ritual cf. Paul. e Fest., 49 Li. Commoetaulum genus virgulae qua in sacrificis utebantur. The verb on which perca(m), perkaf depends is always habiest or some other form of habetu, except in Vlb 49. The use of anouithimu there has led Br. (p. 56), Dev., (p. 172), Bott. (p. 267) to regard the pereca as a type of toga, and indeed there is some Roman evidence for the ceremonial putting on and taking off of the toga praetexta (cf. for example, Acta fratrum arvalium, pp. 14, 21, 28 Henzen). But there is no etymological support for the interpretation 'toga,' while the equa-
tion with L. pertica, O. perek., is easy. Moreover it would not have been difficult for anouithimu to extend its meaning from 'put on (clothing)' to 'take up, equip oneself with (articles held in the hand, etc.).' I have therefore followed the majority in taking pereca as a wand or staff. — uasor: on the case-ending see 103 a. The word is used in IV 22 of con-
tainers for the cakes called arçlataf and in Vlb 40 for the persondra. — 20 cehefi dia: obscure, although the general sense seems to be that fire is to be kindled from fire, that is, not kindled anew from flint or by attrition. The practice is perhaps explained by Fab. Pict. apud Aul. Gell., X, 15, 7 Ignem a flaminia, id est flaminis Dialis domo, nisi in sacrum efferri ius non est; Fest., p. 94 Li. Ignem ex domo flaminia efferri non licebat, nisi divinae rei gratia. We may therefore con-
jecture that what was forbidden for sec-
cular use was obligatory for sacred use. It is unlikely that cehefi and dia are both verbs, for dia would hardly fall into the same class with herter, etc. (152 c); nor is it likely that dia is an adverb placed in final position after the verb of the clause. It seems best then to take dia as pres. subj. from *dwiy-ät derived, like purdoulit, pepl. purdito, L. duint, etc., from an i-extension of the root *döw-
'give.' cehefi may be derived from *
kyd-li-, the zero-grade of the root found in L. candeo, -cendo (e in the latter being the result of vowel-weakening). The end-
ing -i may represent acc. sg. of a stem in
-lo- (like smursim-e?, lesedi?) or abl. sg. of a stem in -i- (like poni) or abl. sg. of a stem in -u- (like mani). The least awk-
ward construction may be reached by making cehefi an acc. and pir the subject of dia: 'that fire may produce a blaze from fire.' For the verb 'give' in the sense 'cause, produce' cf. L. dare morsus, motus, stragem, ruinas. On the failure of the c to suffer palatalization before e see 46 f. On the problem of cehefi in gen-
eral see, beside the standard editions, Bechtel, B.B., VII (1883), p. 2; R. G.
Before the Trebularian Gate he shall sacrifice three oxen to Jupiter Grabovius. Thus shall he speak after making the libation: "Thee I invoke as the one in-

many editors, but U. b and L. d cannot be etymologically equated. Most recent authorities follow Kretschmer, *Festschrift Adalbert Bezzenberger* (Gottingen, 1921), pp. 89-96, in connecting Grabouie with the Illyrian proper names θράβος, θράβων, Epirote Modern Greek γράβος; 'oak,' Russ. grab 'hornbeam,' adj. grabovyj, taking account of the intrusion of Illyrian culture into Italy across the Adriatic and the close connection of the oak with the cult of Zeus and Jupiter (for details see Rosenzweig, pp. 67-72). The Illyrian theory of the origin of Grabouie does not account for L. Gradivus. R. G. Kent, *T.A.P.A.*, LVII (1926), pp. 56-7, who did not follow Kretschmer's view, sought to maintain a connection between the Umbrian and Latin forms by suggesting that Grabouie is in origin the same word as L. Gradivus, altered as a result of a fancied connection with the Umbrian equivalent of *bos*, the animal which in the Iguvine cult was sacrificed to the three gods who bore the epithet Grabouie. But it may not be too hazardous to suggest that, while the derivation of Grabouie from an Illyrian source is correct, at the same time the Latin form may be explained by contamination with gradior (Mars the "Strider") or with divus or with both. — fetu: cognate with L. facio, Gk. ἤφησιν, although the stem-formation is not fully clear (see 46 g, j with n. 3, 122 d). The sense 'sacrifice, offer' is very frequent, the accusative being used of the victim, parts of the victim (e.g. uatuio), the personbro, and aruiio, which is here taken to refer to cereal-offerings but by many editors as 'exta' (see on Ia 3, Iia 18). The ablative is used of offerings which accompany the principal element of the sacrifice (uiiu, pont); the case-ending of westisia and mefa spefa in V1b 5, V1a 37, is am-

Kent, C.F., XV (1920), p. 366; Goidanich, A.G.I., XXV (1931-32), pp. 52-4; Ribecco, I, p. 79. — 20-21 surur uerisco Tesonocir, surur / uerisco Uchleir: for the possible location of the gates, see Introduction, 4. The spelling Tesonocir with antepenultimate o occurs also in V1a 38, against 4 instances with e e; there is no satisfactory explanation.

V1a 22 - 57 (= Ia 2 - 6). Sacrifice of three oxen to Jupiter Grabovius before the Trebularian Gate. The libation which precedes the sacrifice is followed by a short invocation of the god on behalf of the Fisian Mount and the state of Iguvium and the names of the Mount and of the state (22 teio subocau ... 25 Dei Grabouie). This is followed by the prayers accompanying the sacrifice of the first ox (25 Di Grabouie ... 34 lio subocau). The prayers accompanying the sacrifices of the second and third oxen are given in full in 35-41 and 45-55 respectively, although in content they are identical with 25-34, except for the use of the words etnu and terliu and a reference in 54 to the triad of oxen, which serves as a sort of conclusion to the whole series of three prayers. For the resemblances and differences between the present description and the much shorter one in Ia see the introductory paragraph in the notes on V1a and the outline in the Introduction, 13. The principal difference is of course the inclusion of the full text of the prayers in VI.

V1a 22 Iuue Grabouiei: the epithet occurs in several spellings, of which the most frequent is Grabouie in the Latin alphabet, Krapuvi in the native alphabet. It is used in V1b 1 = Ia 11 of Mars, in V1b 19 = Ia 21 of Vofionus, elsewhere only of Jupiter. Its resemblance to L. Gradivus, epithet of Mars, has struck
boguous. L. *facio* in the technical language of ritual is accompanied by the abl. of the victim: Cato, *R.R.*, 139 *porco pia-culo facio*; Verg., *Ecl.*, III, 77 *cum faciam vitula pro frugibus.* — *naratu*: etymologically equivalent to L. *narrato*, but in part very similar in value to *persnimu*; compare, for example, the passage with b 25 *esoc persnimu uesitis*, the prayer which follows being practically identical, though the deities addressed in the two prayers are different. The three-fold repetition of the prayer introduced in *Via* 22 with *naratu* is followed in 55-6 by *takes persnimu seomum*. Unlike *persnimu*, however, *naratu* is always accompanied by some indication of the content: either the actual words of the prayer or an expression such as *tiçu sevakni* III 27, or a statement on the quality of the victims (e.g., IIb 8, 9), or an indication that the same words are to be used as on some other occasion (e.g., *Via* 59, and through *Vib* and *VIIa*). — *uesitis*: *uesitis* recurs in *Vib* 6, 25 in a similar formula with *persnimu*. It has been taken as a pres. pecl. and as a pf. pecl., the latter view being decidedly preferable, because the pres. should probably end in -*f* (cf. *kutef*, *zeřef*) or in a vowel after loss of -*f*, and because the pouring of the libation, which would take almost no time, is not to be thought of as accompanying the long prayer, but rather as preceding it. *uesitis* apparently belongs to a 4th conjugation verb related to L. *Vesla* as *punio* to *poena*. If it is not a full deponent, the use of the pf. pass. pecl. may be compared with that of L. *cenaltus*, *potus*. For further etymological data see on *uestisa* in *Vib* 6. — *subocau* suboco: in addition to its occurrence here and twice in 24, this expression occurs in the similar prayer to Fisovius Sancius in b 6-8 and to *Tefer Jovius* in b 26-7. *subocau* alone occurs in *Via* 34, 44, 55, b 15 (twice), 36, and in *VIIa* 20 (twice), 22, 23, 33, 34, 36 (twice), the spelling in *VIIa* being regularly *subocauu*. The instances of *subocau*(*u*) not followed by *suboco* are always at or near the end of prayers. *suboco* without a preceding *subocau* does not occur. The pair present a threetailed problem: 1) are the two forms both verbs, or is *subocau* alone a verb? 2) what tense is *subocau*, and what tense is *suboco*, if it is a verb? 3) if *suboco* is not a verb but a noun or adjective, what are its stem class and case-ending? It is difficult to take *subocau* as pf. because the final *u* in a 1 sg. verb form in the Latin alphabet could only stand for the primary ending -*o*, while the -*uu* in *subocauu* would probably point to a *v*-perfect (as in L. *voca-vi*), for which there is no good evidence in the Italic dialects. *suboco*, if pf. of a denominative verb, should probably retain the *ā* of the present stem, as in fut. pf. *prpehast*, etc., despite such forms as *portusl*, *oselu* (*116a*). The view adopted here is that *subocau*(*u*) is 1 sg. pres., while *suboco* is a noun, possibly a root-stem meaning 'the one invoked,' with passive sense as in the root-nouns L. *redux*, *coninix*, *obiex*, Gk. διόμενη, συζηνη, etc. The fondness for the *figura etymologica* which characterizes the language of the Iguvine Tables has preserved the tautological expression 'thee I invoke (as) the one invoked,' and has caused *suboco* to stand immediately after the verb and before *Dei Grubaul*, with which it is closely connected in syntax, while the true object *teeto* takes its normal place before the verb. For phonological details see *49 d*, *54 d*, and for discussion of the problem as a whole see A.J.P., LXXVI (1955), pp. 70-82. — 23 *Fisiu*: the sacred mount or *arx* bears the name of the god Fisus, to whom under the name *Fisus Sansius* three suckling pigs are offered behind the Tesenacan Gate (*Vib* 3 = *Ia* 14-15). The Mount was probably not Monte Ingino, which is situated to the northeast of the town, but Monte Foce, which lies more directly toward the north; see *Introduction*, 4. — *nomneper*: the mention of the name occurs in several other similar formulas of benediction, including *VIIa* 16-17 *satu seritu popler*
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dei. graboue. ocriper. fisiu. totaper.
tiouina. erer. nomneper. erar. nomnep.
fos. sei. pacer. sei. ocre. fisei / (24)
tote. tiouine. erer. nomne. erar. nomne.
arsie. tio. subocau. suboco. dei.
graboue. arsier. frite. tio. subocau /
(25) suboco. dei. graboue. di. grabouie.
tio. esu. bue. peracrei. pihacu.
ocreper. fisiu. totaper. iouina. irer.

lorar Jiouinar, lorar Jiuinar / nome ner/
arsmo, etc. The magical value attached
to names is shown in its positive aspect
here and in its negative aspect through
their deliberate avoidance as a result of
thebanishment and curse in VIb 54, 58-9, VIIa 12, 47-8, Ib
17 is not quite similar; it has rather a
notion of comprehensiveness, as in cevis
Romanus neve nominus Latini neve so-
cium quisquam, in the Senatusconsultum
de Bacchanalibus. — fos sei pacer sei, etc.: the
same formula with the subjunctive
occurs, making allowance for orthographi-
ical variations, in b 7, 26, in each in-
stance near the beginning of the prayer.
abitu Jot(n)s pacer with inv. appears in a
30, b 13, 34, of the same prayers, and
elsewhere. — 24 arsie tio subocau subocau ...
arsier frite tio subocau: the same for-
formula occurs in b 8 with Fisou Sanši and
in 27 with Tefro Ioui, and arsie ... arsier
have generally been translated ‘sancte ...
sancti.’ The value of frite as a noun
‘trust’ related to L. frēlaus is reasonably
sure. It recurs in VIb 15, VIIa 20, 23, 33,
36 in a formula partly similar to the pre-
ent one, but without arsier and with a
divine name in place of arsier; moreover
this second formula regularly occurs near
voked, Jupiter Grabovius, for the Fis-
ian Mount, for the state of Iguvium, for the name of the mount, for the name
of the state. Be thou favorable, be thou
propitious to the Fisian Mount, to the
state of Iguvium, to the name of the
mount, to the name of the state. In
the consecration I invoke thee as the
one invoked, Jupiter Grabovius; in trust
of the consecration I invoke thee as the
one invoked, Jupiter Grabovius. Jupi-
ter Grabovius, thee (I invoke) with this
perfect ox as a propitiatory offering for
the Fisian Mount, for the state of Igu-

the end of a prayer. Our understanding
of the passage is hindered by the lack of
any sure etymology for arsie and the
other words which are assumed to be
related to it: arsmor, arsmahanu, arsma-
ta; but the derivatives of the root *ars-
ā- in general are associated with reli-
gious ritual and priestly functions, while
there is no evidence of their direct ap-
lication to deities. Devoto translates
‘in dedicatione ... dedicationis fidicu’a
(with discussion pp. 188-9). In Roman
ritual dedicatio and consecratio are very
closely associated, but in strict usage
dedicatio is the function of the magistrate
or other person presenting the article,
building, etc., for sacred use, while con-
secratio is the function of the priest by
whose word and act it becomes sacred
property (see J. Marquardt, Römische
Staatsverwaltung, III [Leipzig, 1878], pp.
260-1). It may therefore be slightly bet-
ter to understand arsie of the formula of
consecration. — 25 tio: for the ellipsis of
the verb see 136 c. — peracrei: only
in Tables VI and VII, except for perakre
in Ib 40, which is equivalent to VIIa 51.
In these last two passages the epithet is
applied to heifers; in VIb 52, 56 it is fol-
lowed by sacris, the victims not being
specified; elsewhere peracrei is preceded
by bue and followed by pihacu, and
peracrio must be restored in VIa 54 buo peracnio pilaeo. In the note on Ila 5 it was pointed out that *perakne and peracri stand in a sort of supplementary distribution to one another, and also that each at times stands in apparent contrast with forms of sakra sacra. It is therefore not unnatural to understand peracri, like *perakni, of victims from secular sources in contrast to those raised as temple property. Devoto in his Italian translation renders both words by 'profano.' Yet this view, despite the strong arguments in its favor, is not without its disadvantages. In the first place it seems rather strange that the god should be reminded in the prayers in VIa that the victim was 'brought from outside.' Moreover the traditional connection of peracri with L. acer, acris on the formal side is simple, while if we derive from *per-ag- we must assume contamination with sacri in order to account for the c in place of g. I have therefore, though hesitantly, maintained the older view whereby peracri is a compound of the same stem seen in L. acer but with a semantic development like that of ἄμαιος. The forms peracri, *perakne, seuacne, and also L. sollemnis present an extraordinarily difficult problem, complicated probably by contaminations through popular etymology resulting from an imperfect understanding of the archaic liturgical formulae in which the words often occur. — 26 oser ose: variously interpreted. orer is commonly referred to the same pronominal stem seen in uru, uraku, as gen. sg. by most editors, as abl. pl. by Blum. ose is taken by most as equivalent to L. opere, by Dev. as equivalent to operis, by Blum. as 2 sg. subjunctive of the verb known through inv. osatu, L. operari. This through the advantage of providing a verb on which the clause pusei neip heritu may depend, but the intrusion of the conditional clause pusei ... senti is slightly awkward, and ose does not conform to the pres. subj. paradigm of first-conjugation verbs as seen in aseriaia, kupi-

fiaia. ose is therefore better taken as a noun than as a verb, and both on morphological and syntactical grounds is more probably an ablative than a genitive. The sense is apparently that the sacrifice of the ox is intended to nullify the evil effect of any fire (caused by lightning) on the Mount or of any omission of necessary religious rites in the city, not merely during the ceremony of purification, but perhaps during the entire time that has elapsed since the last purification. The use of the perfects orlo est, subator senti in preference to the future perfect seems to bear out this latter view. — persei ocre Fisie pir orto est: compare the precaution in case of fire caused by lightning in the grove of the Fratres Arvales (Act. jr. arv., p. CCXIII Henzen): ... ibi imm(olaverunt), quod vi tempestat(is) ietu fulmin(is) arbor(es) sacr(i) ictu d(iae) attac(iae) ard(uer(in)...) — 26-7 arsmor dersecor / subator senti: Devoto, who takes ose as abl. of time having reference only to the time of the ceremony itself, understands arsmor dersecor subator sent to refer to a premature dismissal of the priestly colleges, and it would be desirable for arsmo(r) to have a uniform sense here and in 30 below, where the translation 'priesthoods' is defended in the note. But if we have interpreted the context of arsmor ... subator sent correctly, it is unlikely that a 'dismissal of the priestly colleges' would be singled out as one of two types of occurrence requiring expiation. We therefore translate arsmor dersecor as 'due rites.' — 27 pusei neip heritu: since there are certain objections to taking ose as a verb (see on 26 above), we must assume an ellipsis of the verb on which the pusei-clause should depend. futu, the equivalent of L. esto, may be supplied in thought. heritu is apparently abl. of the passive pcpl. of her, herti, its construction being similar to the impersonal use of the ablative absolute in L. consulto, auspice, etc. — huer persceler: partitive genitive with no governing word expressed
III. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

nomneper / (26) erar . nomneper . dei .

grabouie . orer . ose . percei . ocre . fisie .

pir . orto . est . loteme . iouine . arsmor .
dersecor / (27) subator . sent . pusei .

neip . heritu . dei . crabouie . percei .
tuer . perscler . uaseto . est . pesetomest .

peretomest / (28) frosetomest .
daetomest . tuer . perscler . uirse .
aurse . uas . est . di . grabouie . percei .

mersei . esu . bue / (29) peracrei .

pihaclu . pihafei . di . grabouie . pihatu .

ocre . fisie . pihatu . tola . iouina . di .
grabouie . pihatu . ocier / (30) fisier .
tolar . ioinar . nome . nerf . arsmo .

ueiro pequo . castruo . fri . pihatu .

futu . fos . pacer . pase . tua . ocre fis /

(31) tole . iouine . erer . nomne . erar .

unless we take persei as an indefinite
pronoun equivalent to L. quidquid; most
assign to it conditional value as in 28
below. — 27-8 uase to est , pesetom est ,
peretom est , / frosetom est , daetom est ,
etc.: for the meaning of the individual
participles which to go make up these
perfect passive verbs see the Lexicon.
The passage is the clearest example of the
tendency mentioned in Introduction, 5,
to make the language of the formula as
full as possible, as a precaution against
any omission which might make the
prayer invalid. — 29-31 Di Grabouie ...

erer nomne: the general sense of this portion
of the prayer is clear, but there are
certain difficulties not only in the inter-
pretation of individual words but, in one
place, of the syntax as well. However,
the words following nome fall rather easi-
vium, for the name of the mount, for
the name of the state. Jupiter Grabo-
vius, by the effect of this (ox) (bring
it to pass), if on the Fisian Mount fire
hath occurred or in the state of Igu-
vium the due rites have been omitted,
that it be as not intended. Jupiter
Grabovius, if in thy sacrifice there
hath been any omission, any sin, any
transgression, any damage, any delin-
quency, if in thy sacrifice there be any
seen or unseen fault, Jupiter Grabovius,
if it be right, with this perfect ox as a
propitiatory offering may purification be
made. Jupiter Grabovius, purify the Fi-
sian Mount, purify the state of Iguvium.
Jupiter Grabovius, purify the name of
the Fisian Mount, of the state of Igu-
vium, purify the magistrates, the priest-
hoods, the lives of men and of beasts,
the fruits. Be favorable and propitious
with thy peace to the Fisian Mount, to
the state of Iguvium, to the name of
the mount, to the name of the state.
ing of *nerf* is provided by several Oscan passages: Co. 28, line 29 ... J am *nerum just, izic post eizec tr. pl. ni fuld; Co. 108 Minnieis Kaifiliês Minateis *ner*.; Co. 137f Dekis Rahiis Marahéis *niir*. In all these passages 'man, men' would be absurd, since the reference is clearly to public officials. In Table VIb 59, 62, etc. are found the expressions *nerf* *siihitu an*-
*siihitu, nerus* *siihitir an*-
*siihitir*, followed by the contrasting *iouie hostatu anhostatu, iouties hostalir anostalir*. The *nerf* there are contrasted with the youth but are themselves divided into two opposite classes. Although the sense of *siihitu an*-
*siihitu* is uncertain, it is most probable that the *nerf* subdivided in this way include more than the magistrate actually in office. We may therefore translate 'elders,' in the sense 'chief citizens'; in other words men comparable in age and social status to those who composed the Roman senate. — arsmo: cf. the formula *arsmor
dersecor subator sent* in 26-7; usually translated 'rites,' but the meaning of the other nouns in the series is concrete, and it is not really probable that the god is asked to 'purify the rites.' The interpretation of the word is hindered by the lack of any really satisfactory etymology. The adj. *arsmatia,* of the wand carried by the *adjector,* and the verb *arsmahamo* are related, but no equations with forms in other languages are at all convincing. *arsmo* is neuter, if it is correct to assume that the only nom. pl. ending for masc. *o*-stems is -*ur* and that forms like pl. *arsmor* are neuters with extended endings (103 a). There is no objection to Devoto's *'sacerdotes'* (p. 118, etc.), *'societas sacerdotum'* (p. 197), if we understand the neut. noun to have a collective sense like 'priesthood,' the plural here being made to include all the priesthoods of Iguvium. The civil (nerf) and religious authorities, as the two most important elements in the state, are thus the first to be named in the prayers for purification and safekeeping. — *ueiro* almost certainly equivalent to L. *vir*—

though the spelling with *ei* here and in 32, 39 is probably evidence of long *i,* as in Skt. *vîras,* Lith. *vîras* (see Lexicon). *ueiro pequo* form a pair; cf. b 10-11 du-
pursus peturpusus; Ov. Met., I, 285-6 *flumina ... / ... pecudesque virosque ... rapiant;* Avestan, *Videvdut,* VI, 32 pa-
subiya *viraêbya* 'for cattle and men.' The sense of *ueiro,* etc. in the above passages is more like that of L. *hominés* than of *viri.* The ending -*o,* which occurs in every instance of *ueiro pequo* in the Tables, is ambiguous, since it may stand for the gen. pl. (cf. *pihacto* 54, *Aliersio* VIIb 2) or acc. pl. (cf. *ehiato* VIIb 2, with note. If it is acc. pl. masc., it serves as support for the ending in *ueiro; pequo,* like L. *pecua,* is neut., but *ueiro* must be masc.) At first glance it would be natural to take *ueiro pequo* along with the rest of the words in the series as acc., but *rofu* (once), *loru* (twice), *nillu* (twice) make it appear that -*u,* not -*o,* is the normal masc. acc. pl. ending of -*o*-stems. Moreover, if we take *castruo* as equivalent to *'capita'* rather than to *'fundos,* *ueiro pequo* must almost certainly be dependent genitives, and it is difficult to avoid taking *castruo* in this way (see on Va 13). The change of case within the series is admittedly a difficulty, but not an insuperable one, since consistency is maintained within the pair. — *castruo:* see on Va 13; the reasons for taking it as *(per) head* in the latter passage and as *'lives* in the present passage, rather than as *'estates,*' are found partly in the general sense of the passages in Va, partly in the probability on grounds of spelling that *ueiro pe-
quo* in the prayer are genitive plural, in which case the sense *'estates* would be impossible. — fri: like L. *fruges* it may be taken to include both tree-fruit (L. *fructus*) and cereals (L. *frumenta*). — *fulu fos pacer pase tua:* the formula here, with b 13, 34, differs from that in 23, b 7, 26 in the use of inv. instead of subj., in the failure to repeat the verb before *pacer,* and in the inclusion of *pase tua* in assis-
tance with *pacer.* For the seeking of
III. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

nomne . di . grabouie . saluo . seritu .
ocre . fisi . salua . seritu . tota .
iouina . di / (32) grabouie . saluo .
seritu . ocer . fisier . totar . iiouinar .
nome . nerf . arsno . veiro . pequo .
castruo . fri . salua / (33) seritu . futu .
fos . pacer . pase . tua . ocre . fisi . toile .
iiouine . erer . nomne . erar . nomne .
di . grabouie . tio . esu . bue / (34)
peracri . pihacru . ocreper . fisiu .
totaper . iiouina . erer . nomneper .
erar . nomneper . di . grabouie . tio .
subocau /

(35) di . grabouie . tio esu . bue .
peracri . pihacru . etru . ocreper . fisiu .
totaper . iiouina . erer . nomneper .
erar . nomneper . di / (36) grabouie .
orer . ose . persei . ocre . fisie . pir .
orto est . tole . iiouine . arsmor . dersecor .
subator . sent . pusei . neip /

(37) hereitu . di . crabouie . persi . tuer .
percel . uasetom . est . pesetomest .
peretomest . irosetomest . daetomest .
tuer / (38) percel . uirseto . auirseto .
uas . est . di . grabouie . persi . mersi .
esu . bue peracri . pihacru . etru . pihafi .
di . grabouie / (39) pihatu . ocre . fisi .
pihatu . tota . iiouina . di . grabouie .
pihatu . ocer . fisier . totar . iiouinar .
nome . nerf . arsno . veiro / (40)
pequo . castruo . fri . pihatu . futu . fos .
pacer . pase . tua . ocre . fisie . toile .
iiouine . erer . nomne . erar . nomne . di /

Jupiter Grabovius, keep safe the Fisian Mount, keep safe the state of Iguvium.
Jupiter Grabovius, keep safe the name of the Fisian Mount, of the state of Iguvium, keep safe the magistrates, the priesthoods, the lives of men and of beasts, the fruits. Be favorable and propitious with thy peace to the Fisian Mount, to the state of Iguvium, to the name of the mount, to the name of the state. Jupiter Grabovius, thee with this perfect ox as a propitiatory offering for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium, for the name of the mount, for the name of the state, Jupiter Grabovius, thee I invoke.

"Jupiter Grabovius, thee with this perfect ox as a second propitiatory offering for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium, for the name of the mount, for the name of the state (I invoke). Jupiter Grabovius, by the effect of this (ox) (bring it to pass), if on the Fisian Mount fire hath occurred or in the state of Iguvium the due rites have been omitted, that it be as not intended. Jupiter Grabovius, if in thy sacrifice there hath been any omission, any sin, any transgression, any damage, any delinquency, if in thy sacrifice there be any seen or unseen fault, Jupiter Grabovius, if it be right, with this perfect ox as a second propitiatory offering may purification be made. Jupiter Grabovius, purify the Fisian Mount, purify the state of Iguvium. Jupiter Grabovius, purify the name of the Fisian Mount, of the state of Iguvium, purify the magistrates, the priesthoods, the lives of men and of beasts, the fruits. Be favorable and propitious with thy peace to the Fisian Mount, to the state of Iguvium, to the name of
pax deorum or security from harmful visitation by the gods cf. Lucr., V, 1229-30 non divum pacem volis adit ac prece quaestit ventorum pavidus paces ...?; Verg., Aen., III, 370 exorat pacem divum; Livy, VII, 2, 2 pacis deum expositum causam ... lectisternium suit. — 31 salua seritu, etc.: cf. Cato, R.R., 141, 3 pastores pecuaque

salua . seritu . totam iuoina . di .

grabouie . saluuom . seritu . ocer .

fisier . totar / (42) iouinar . nome .

nerf . arsme . uiro . pequo . castruo frij .

saluu . seritu . futu . jons . pacer .

pase . tuua ocre . fisi . tome / (43)

iiouine . erer . nomne . erar . nomne .

di . grabouie . tiom . essu . bue .

peracri . pivaclu . etru . ocriper .

fissiu . totaper . iuoina . erer / (44)

nomneper . erar . nomneper . di . grabouie .

iom . subocau /

(45) di . grabouie . tiom . esu . bue .

peracri . pivaclu . t . ertiu . ocriper .

fissiu . totaper . iuoina . erer . nomneper .

erar . nomneper . di / (46) grabouie orer .

ose . pirse ocrem . fisiem . pir . ortom .

est . toteme . iuoinem . arsmor . dersecor .

subator . sent . pushi . neip / (47) heritu .

di . grabouie . perse . tuer . pescler .

uasetom est . peselom . est . peretom .

est . froselom . est . daetom est . tuer /

(48) pescler . uirseto . auirseto . uas est .

di . grabouie . pirsri . mersri . esu . bue .

the mount, to the name of the state.

Jupiter Grabovius, keep safe the Fisian Mount, keep safe the state of Iguvium. Jupiter Grabovius, keep safe the name of the Fisian Mount, of the state of Iguvium, keep safe the magistrates, the priesthoods, the lives of men and of beasts, the fruits. Be favorable and propitious with thy peace to the Fisian Mount, to the state of Iguvium, to the name of the mount, to the name of the state. Jupiter Grabovius, thee with this perfect ox as a second propitiatory offering for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium, for the name of the mount, for the name of the state, Jupiter Grabovius, thee I invoke.

“Jupiter Grabovius, thee with this perfect ox as a third propitiatory offering for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium, for the name of the mount, for the name of the state (I invoke). Jupiter Grabovius, by the effect of this (ox) (bring it to pass), if on the Fisian Mount fire hath occurred or in the state of Iguvium the due rites have been omitted, that it be as not intended. Jupiter Grabovius, if in thy sacrifice there hath been any omission, any sin, any transgression, any damage, any delinquency, if in thy sacrifice there be any seen or unseen fault, Jupiter Grabovius, if it be right, with this perfect ox as a
third propitiatory offering may purification be made. Jupiter Grabovius, purify the Fisian Mount, purify the state of Iguvium. Jupiter Grabovius, purify the name of the Fisian Mount, of the state of Iguvium, purify the magistrates, the priesthoods, the lives of men and of beasts, the fruits. Be favorable and propitious with thy peace to the Fisian Mount, to the state of Iguvium, to the name of the mount, to the name of the state. Jupiter Grabovius, keep safe the Fisian Mount, keep safe the state of Iguvium. Jupiter Grabovius, keep safe the name of the Fisian Mount, of the state of Iguvium, keep safe the magistrates, the priesthoods, the lives of men and of beasts, the fruits. Be favorable and propitious with thy peace to the Fisian Mount, to the state of Iguvium, to the name of the mount, to the name of the state. Jupiter Grabovius, thee with this perfect ox as a third propitiatory offering for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium, for the name of the mount, for the name of the state, (I invoke). Jupiter Grabovius, bringing forward the triad of perfect oxen as propitiatory offerings for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium, for the name of the mount, for the name of the state, Jupiter Grabovius, thee I invoke.” He shall pray each (portion) silently. In the same manner he shall make the presentation, make pronouncement upon the parts cut off, add to the parts cut off a mefa spefa cake and a ficla cake, and offer grain. He shall perform this sacrifice either with wine or with mead. He shall place the ribs on a tray.

54 peraenio: for peraerio.
(35, 38, 43) and *terlu* (45, 48, 53). — 54 *ito comohola tribrisine buo peracnio plhaco:* cf. Cato, *R.R.*, 134, 2 Iuppiter, *te hoc fero obvmoendo bonas preces precor.* Beside *tribiçiu* the nom. *tribiçiu* occurs in Va 9; for the formation see 60 e, 88, and Lexicon. *peracnio* must almost certainly be restored in place of *peracnio*, the reading of the bronze, since *peracr(e)i* is used 9 times as epithet of the oxen in 25-53, while no other instances of *peracn-* occur in Table VI.

**VIa 55 - 57.** Further instructions for the sacrifice before the Trebulan Gate. The instructions in the corresponding version in Ia 3-6 are similar, except that *kutef pesnimiu* appears in place of *lases persnimiu*, *arvia ustentu* in place of *arvio fetu*, *afépes arves* is included but the reference to a specific type of cake is omitted, and the order in which the various instructions are presented is not the same. For the general character of these instructions, which are concerned partly with the manner of performing the sacrifice, partly with the supplementary offerings to be included, see Introduction, 15. — 55 *lases persnimiu:* cf. Ov., *Met.*, IX, 300 *tacita quoque carmina voce dixit.* — 56 *purduoiu:* the presentation to the god, the second of the three principal stages in the sacrifice, although the actual slaying of the victim, the first stage, has not been previously mentioned, except in so far as it is implied by the general verb *fetu* in 22. Cf. Cic., *ad Att.*, V, 18, 1 *ne quid inter caesa et porrecta, ut atiunt, oneris mihi addatur aut temporis;* Varro, *L.L.*, VI, 31 *itercisi dies sunt per quos mane et vesperi est nefas, medio tempore inter hostiam caesam et exta porrecta fas.* — *proseselo naratu:* the *prosecta* or parts cut off for presentation to the god are the *exta*, if we may judge from Cato, *R.R.*, 134, 4 *ubi exta porsecta erunt;* Varro, *L.L.*, V, 110 *insecta ab eo quod insecta caro, ut in Carmine Saltorum <prosticium> est, quod in extis dicitur nunc porsectum.* The *exta* are identified in Cic., *Div.*, II, 12, 29 as the liver, heart, and lungs. The *adfertor* pronounces upon the *prosecta*, presumably upon their satisfactory condition. Cf. IIb 7-8 *si perakne sevakne upetu eveietu, sevak-ne naratu,* and similarly 10-11. — *meja spefa:* this rhyming pair occurs nine times in VI and VII, while *meja* alone occurs several times in the older tables and in VIb 17. Practically all editors take *meja* to be a cake, and since the equation with *L. mensa* is easy, it may be a broad flat cake to be placed under the *prosecta*, recalling the famous eating of the *mensae* in Verg., *Aen.*, III, 255-7, VII, 112-6. The most satisfactory etymological explanation is that of Kretschmer, *Gl.*, VIII (1916), pp. 79-82: *meja spefa = L. mensa pensa; spefa* is cognate with *L. pendo, pendeo*, and the semantic development of the expression is *what is measured and weighed > flat cake.* — *fiela:* this type of cake, the exact nature of which is unknown, is added to the *prosecta* in the sacrifices before and behind the three gates and at the other stops during the purification of the Mount, and also in the lustration of the people. If the word is from *fig-klā*, with the root of *L. jingo*, according to the usual view, we may assume that the cake was kneaded or fashioned into a certain shape. It may have been similar to the *L. fertum*, since *fertum* and *strues* are associated together in Cato, *R.R.*, 134, the former as an offering to Jupiter, the latter to Janus, while *fiela* and *strüla*, the equivalent of *L. strues*, are associated in several Iguvine passages. — *arvio fetu:* see on Ia 3 for the relation of this expression to the *arvia ustentu* of the earlier tables, and on IIa 18 for the grounds on which *arvio arvia* throughout the present work is taken to signify vegetable offerings rather than *'exia.'* — 57 *heri uiu uiu heri poni:* the choice of wine or *poni* is permitted before the Trebulan and Veian Gates and at the grove of Corelius; elsewhere in the purification and lustration *poni* alone is prescribed, and the corresponding passages of I and VI are fully consistent.
(58) post uerir. treblanir. si. gomia. 
trif. fetu. trebo. iouie. ocriper. fisiu. 
lotaper. iiouina. persae. fetu. aruio. 
\( \text{fetu} / (59) \) pone. fetu. tases. persnimu. 
surur. naratu. puse. pre. uerir. 
treblanir. prosesetir. strusla. ficla. 
arsueitui /

VIB 1 pre. uerir. tesenocir. buf. 
trif. fetu marte. grabouei. ocriper. 
\( \text{fisiu} \) lotaper. iiouina. aruio. fetu. 
\( \text{uattuo} \) ferine. fetu poni / (2) fetu. 
tases. persnimu. prosesetir. jarsio. 
ficla. arsueitui. surur. naratu. puse 
pre. uerir. treblanir /

poni has been variously interpreted, but 
most regard it as \( \text{pō-ni} \) based on the root 
*\text{pō}*- 'drink,' the problem being to determine what the drink-offering actually 
was. Hu. translated 'mulso,' Br. 'lacte,' 
Bū. 'posa,' followed by Pl. and Bk. Dev., 
p. 204, is probably correct in assuming 
it to be an alcoholic product of grain or 
honey established in ritual use before 
the knowledge of grape-wine; 'mead' is 
therefore a suitable conjecture. For an 
offering of mulsum cf. Livy, X, 42, 7 
\( \text{voverat Iovi Victori, si legiones hostium} \) 
\( \text{fudisset, pocillum multis, prinsquam te-} \) 
\( \text{metum biberet, sese facturum. For poni} \) 
\( \text{see, beside the standard editions, Thun-} \) 
\( \text{neysen, Gl., I (1909), p. 242; F. Edgerton,} \) 
\( \text{A.J.P., XXXII (1912), p. 224; Goldänich,} \) 
\( \text{A. G. I., XXV (1931), pp. 95-112; Hof-} \) 
\( \text{mann, B.Jh., CCLXX (1940), pp. 89-90;} \) 
\( \text{Kent, Lang., XIV (1938), p. 216. — uattuo} \) 
\( \text{ferine fetu: this instruction occurs} \) 
in connection with the sacrifices before, 
but not behind, the three gates, and also 
at the groves of Jupiter and Coredius 
and at the Fontuli. Many interpretations 
have been proposed, though none is sure. 
On phonological grounds it is easy to set 
up a connection with L. latus, -eris, with 
\( \text{u v < l} \) (55 a) and stem-variation as in L. 
pecu: pecus, -oris. The uattuo may then 
be the side-portions or ribs, which are 
to be placed on a tray or carrier of some 
kind (ferine) and reserved for the priests 
and other persons. For the setting aside 
of certain parts of the victim for profane 
use, see Wissowa, Religion und Kultus der 
Römer². p. 419, and for detailed discussion 
of the formula see A.J.P., LXXVI 
(1955), pp. 77-9. The noun ferine may 
be related to L. ferio only in the unlikely 
event that uattuo indicates victims, which 
then are slain cultro or ietu (so Blum.). 
Otherwise it must be connected with 
feriu. L. fero, as some sort of carrier on 
which the uattuo are placed or presented. 

VIa 58 - 59 (= Ia 7 - 10). Sacrifice of 
three pregnant sows to Trebus Jovius 
behind the Treblan Gate. For pregnant 
sows as offerings cf. Cic., Div., I, 45, 101 
\( \text{scriptum ... est, cum terrae motus factus} \) 
esset, ut sue plena procuratio fieret, vocem 
ab aede Iunonis ex aree exsilitisse. — 58 
Trebo Iouie: this deity is mentioned only 
here and in the corresponding Ia 8, where 
the o- or ā-stem form Trebe is difficult
to reconcile with Trebo, since both must be dat. sg. For the possibility that Trebo may show a rare ā-stem ending see 25 f. If this possibility is rejected, Trebo must be an u-stem. Since a divine name is more likely to have changed from an u- to an o- or ā-stem than the reverse, the later table may here preserve an older form, as Vetter, p. 245, suggests. The sex of the deity is unknown; the principle that female victims are offered to female deities generally holds good, but in view of the ewe-lambs offered to Tefer Jovius in VIb 22 ff. = Ia 24 ff., we dare not insist on it too rigidly. Of the two genders the masculine is more in keeping with the u-stem. If Trebo is from the same root as trebeít, tremnau, O. trībūm, L. trabs, etc., as seems likely, it is probably the name of some deity of the house, inherited from a stage of Indo-European culture when the wooden house was the rule (cf. Dev., p. 211). — persae fetu: the victims in connection with which this expression occurs are sows, young pigs, boars, heifers, she-calves, sheep, and dogs. persae is regularly followed by fetu except in Ila 21-2 esunu / peřæs futu, while in III 32 pelsanu intervenes. It is quite certain that the expression designates the position of the victim at the moment of sacrifice, and also that persae peřae(m) is in some way connected with persi peři 'foot,' and perso peřum. The latter term, whether taken as 'fossam' with most editors, or 'mound,' as in the present work, gives a satisfactory basis for the formation of an adj. *pedatio-signifying location, like pernaiaf from perne, pustnaiaf from postne. There seems therefore to be no good reason to depart from Bücheler’s view (p. 64) that the victim was stretched on the ground. The same type of sacrifice may be designa-
ited by the Latin expression sacrificium humanum: Paul., Fest., 91 Li. Humanum sacrificium dicebant, quod mortui causa fiebat; Gell., V, 12, 11-12 Simulacrum igitur dei Vedōvis, quod est in aede, de qua supra dixi, sagilas tenet, quae sunt videlicet partae ad nocendum. Quaropri
ter esse demum plerumque Apollinem esse dixerunt; immolaturque ritu humano capra eteusque animalis figumentum luxta simulacrum stat. Cf. also VIb 5, with note on sopo. — 59 strušla: this cake accompa-
neys the sacrifices offered behind the three gates and at Rubinia, across the Sacred Way, and at Acedonia, but only in VI and VII; it is not mentioned in the corresponding portions of I. It is also used in the dog-sacrifice in IIa, and in the sacrifices in III and IV. In every one of its occurrences except in these last two tables, strušla is found in juxtaposi-
tion with fiela. The nature of the strušla may be inferred from that of L. stres, to which the Umbrian word is probably related as a diminutive: cf. Fest., 407 Li. stres genera liborum sunt, digitorum conjuncitorum non dissimilias qui superiec-
ta panicula in transversum continentur.

VIb 1 - 2 (= Ia 11 - 13). Sacrifice of three oxen to Mars Grabovius, the second of the Grabovian trinity, before the Tesenacan Gate. The only new feature is the mention of farśio, which together with the fiela are to be added to the prosecta. The word is here used substab-
tively of spelt-cakes. Cf. Fest., 78 Li. farreum genus libi ex farre factum; Plin., N.H., XVIII, 10 quin et in sacris nihil religiosius confectionis vinulo erat, novaque nuptae farreum praeferebant. farśio are also added to the prosecta in 44 in the sacrifice to Mars Hodius at the grove of Jupiter and in Ila 12 in the sacrifice of a boar to Ahtus Mars. They are not included, however, in the passages of Ia, b corresponding to VIb.

VIb 3 - 18 (= Ia 14 - 19). Sacrifice of three sucking pigs to Fisus Sancius be-
hind the Tesenacan Gate, followed by supplementary offerings to Fisovius Sancius. The sacrifice proper is contained in 3-5. For the victims cf. Cic., Leg., II, 12, 29 iam illud ex institutis pontificium et haruspicipium non mutandum est, quibus hostiliis immolandum cuique deo, cui maturib-
bus, cui laclentibus, cui maribus, cui fe-
After the Tesenacan Gate he shall sacrifice three sucking pigs to Fisus Sancius for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium. He shall sacrifice with mead, perform (the sacrifice) upon the ground, offer grain, recite the same formulas as before the Treblan Gate, pray silently, have a maniple folded double upon his right hand, and add to the parts cut off a *ficia* cake and a *strusla* cake. When he has put the under-parts at the back (of the altar), kneeling he shall offer a libation and a *meja speja* cake in a cup

Sancius alt.: ‘Ciciumque ex istis dederis, ego munus habebo. Nomina terna jero, sic voluere Cures.’ Hunc igitur veteres donarunt aede Sabini, inque Quirinali constituere iugo; Fest., 276 L. statua eius [sc. Gaiae Caeciliae] est in aede Sancus, qui deus dixit fidius vocatur. — 4 man德拉cl0 *fidue* destre habitu: not found in the corresponding passage in Ia 14-16, but the *mantra(h)klu* is called for in IIa 19 in the sacrifice of a dog to Hondus Jovius and in IIb 16 in the sacrifice of a he-goat to Sancius Jupiter. Of particular interest are certain coins of Tuder showing a hand wrapped with a cloth two folds of which cross on the back of the hand, a possible explanation of *fidue* in our text. See A.-K., I, pl. 9; R. Garrucci, *Le monete dell’ Italia antica* (Rome, 1885), p. 29, pl. LV. The association of the cloth over the hand with the solemnization of pledges receives further support from Latin sources: Livy, I, 21, 4 Fidei sollemnem instituit [sc. Numa]. ad id sacrarium flamines bigis currum arcualo vehi iussit manuque ad digitos usque involuta rem divinam facere, significantes fidem tulandan sedemque eius etiam in dexteris sacratam esse; Serv., ad Aen., I, 292 canam Fidem dixit vel quod in canis nominibus inventur; et quod ei albo panno involuta manu sacrificat, per quod ostendititur fidem debere esse secretam. The *mandraclo* in an etymo-
logical sense is, like L. *manele*, a cloth for wiping the hands (for phonology see 18 a). It is interesting to observe that *manele* is one of several medieval designations of the manipule worn over the left forearm by the priest celebrating Mass; the Catholic use of the manipule, however, seems to have originated in the usage of certain Roman civil magistrates; see *Encyclopedia Catholica* under *manipolo.* — 5 *ape sopo postro peperescust*, etc.: here begins the description of special ceremonies in honor of Fisovius Sancius with a libation, a *meja spefa*, and *poni* (9). The prayer in 6-8 agrees in almost all details with VIa 22-25 as far as sub *oc Dei Graboue*, and b 11 *fettu font* to its conclusion in 15 is practically a repetition of VIa 30-4, but the passage extending from b 9 to 11 *wouse auie esone* is peculiar to the ceremony in honor of Fisovius Sancius. The precise relationship of Fisovius Sancius to the Fisus Sancius of 3 (= Ia 15) is not clear. Rosenzweig, p. 74, takes both gods to be the same, and there can be no doubt that they are at least closely connected. Moreover we cannot argue for a difference in the deities from the fact that the sacrifice to Fisus Sancius in 3-5 was a complete ceremony in itself calling for the same prayers as those used before the Trebulan Gate, while the new ceremony has differences in the prayer as well as in the use of a *meja spefa* instead of the struśla of 5; for in VIIa also the sacrifice of three sows at Rubinia is followed at 8 by a new ceremony, again introduced by *ape supo postro pepesca* and containing new prayers, but, like the sacrifice itself, performed in honor of Prestota Šerflia. In its formation *Fisovio-* has the same relation to the u-stem *Fisu-* that L. *Marcius* has to the o-stem *Marcus*, but it is impossible to say with certainty whether we have here a genealogy of deified abstractions or merely a substitution of a patronymic for the primary name. In VIIa the libation to Prestota Šerflia is followed from 37 through 40 by offerings to Fisovius Sancius, the description of which agrees closely in many details with the present passage. — *sopo*: editors in general admit formal equivalence with L. *suppus*, but it is not certain what part of the victim is meant. With *ape sopo postro peperescust* compare VIIa 8, where the same expression occurs, and *supa pustra perstu* in Iia 32. The victims of which *sopo*, *sopa*, etc., is used are sows and young pigs, sheep, and dogs; in other words, some of the same victims with which the expression *persae fetu* is associated (see on VIa 58). Moreover the *supa sumtu* of Ia 9, 16 is replaced by *persae fetu* in the corresponding VIa 58, b 3, in environments otherwise almost identical. The rare L. *suppus* does not give direct help in understanding *sopo*; the most important passages are: Fest., 370 L. *suppum antiqui vocabant quem nunc supinum dicimus ... eius vocabuli meminit Lucl*<li>*-.<us: “si vero das quod rogal, et si suggeris suppus”;* Lucr., I, 1061-2 et simili *ratione animalia suppa vogari contendunt.* It is the etymological relationship and equivalence of meaning between *sopo*, L. *suppus*, and *supinus*, ἀπτιος that may provide the answer. The words of this group may originally have stood in contrast to ‘erect’; at least this is the contrast implied in the Lucretian passage on the manner in which animals walk. But the usual contrast is with *pronus*, πηνης. *sopo* then seems to have been specialized to mean the parts of the victim which are on top when the victim is supine; in other words, the under-parts. Some support for this meaning of *sopo* may be found in a similar use of ἀπτιος in Arist. *P.* L., 658a, 15-19 καὶ τῶν ἐχόντων τρίχας ἐν ἀμφότερα οἱ ἀνθρωποι μόνον ἔχονσιν. τά γάρ τετράποδα τῶν ζῴων ἐν τοῖς ὑπτίοις ὀκτ ἕχει τρίχας, ἀλλ’ ἐν τοῖς παρεάτις μᾶλλον οἱ δ’ ἀνθρωποι τοῦνατον ἐν τοῖς ὑπτίοις μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν τοῖς παρεάνιν. Devoto, p. 208, makes a distinction between *prosekelo* ‘exta’ and *sopo ‘pisera’; but see Kent, *Lang., XIV* (1938), p. 214, and Devoto, T.G., *passim*, where *sopa* is ‘carni’ and
III. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

scalsie . confgos . fetu . fisou . sansi /
(6) ocriper . fisiu . tolaper . iouina . eso .
persnimu . uestisia . uestis . tio . subocau .
suboco fisou sansi . ocrider . fisiu
(7) tolaper . iouina . erer . nomneper .
erar nomneper . jons . sir . pacer . sir .
ocre . fisi . tole . iouine . erer . nomne /
(8) era.r nomne . arsie . tiom . subocau .
suboco . fisou . sanši . asier . /rite .
tiom . subocau . suboco fisou . sanši .
suronl / (9) poni . pesnimu . mefa spefa .
eso . persnimu . fisouie . sanšie . tiom .
esa . mefa . spefa . fisouina ocriper .
fisiu tolaper . iouina / (10) erer .
nomneper . erer . nomneper fisouie .

5 confgos: for conegos. 6 ocriper: for ocriper.

prosešeto is 'visceri.' — uestisia: from an examination of the passages containing this noun and its cognate verb uesticatu it appears that the meaning is 'libation, offer a libation'; so, for example, in IIa 24, 31, 35, where vestikatu is used in association with puni, ves-
kles, kapire. Devoto, p. 185, recognizes two distinct uses of uestisia, uesticatu, illustrated especially in IIa 7-16: the aspersio or sprinkling of the victim before sacrifice, and the libation in the strict sense, which is additional to and not a part of the sacrifice proper. The etymology of the two words, with uestis, is uncertain, but a plausible explanation has been offered by Kretschmer, Gl., X (1920), pp. 154-6, in part anticipated by Bücheler, pp. 52-3: uesticatu is related to L. Vesta as claudicare to claudus, fabricare to faber. *westićeā may be assumed as an intermediate stage in the formation of the actual form uestišia. uestis may be assigned to a verb related to Vestā as punio to poena, with analogy of persnis as a contributing factor in its formation. The semantic development of the whole group shows a generalization from libations poured to Vesta (or else on the hearth) to libations poured to any deity. Moreover the uestisia cannot always have been a liquid offering, since the expressions IIa 28 esmik vestiçam preve fiktu, 31 esmik vestiça afiktu suggest that it was something solid, to be imposed and fixed to the persuntru; but in no case can the precise nature of the uestišia be determined. — scalsie conegos: with minor variations this expression occurs in 16 in connection with the erus of the libation; in VIIa 37, which is almost identical with the present passage, and in IV 15, 18, 20 in the offerings of libations, etc., to Pomonus and Vesona, to

to Fisovius Sancius for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium. Thus shall he pray after pouring the libation: "Thee I invoke as the one invoked, Fisovius Sancius, for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium, for the name of the mount, for the name of the state. Be thou favorable, be thou propitious to the Fisian Mount, to the state of Iguvium, to the name of the mount, to the name of the state. In the consecration I invoke thee as the one invoked, Fisovius Sancius, in trust of the consecration I invoke thee as the one invoked, Fiso-
vius Sancius." Likewise shall he pray with the mead. Thus shall he pray with the mefa spefa cake: "Fisovius Sancius, thee with this Fisovian mefa spefa cake for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium, for the name of the mount, for the name of the state (I invoke). Fiso-
COMMENTARY 255

Hula, and to Tursa. The sense of scalzie has been determined by etymological means (see Lexicon), but since it was used not only for liquids but also for the mefa spefa, which was almost certainly a type of cake, it must have been a broad, shallow bowl rather than a cup. Only in the present passage, with VIIa 37, is scalzie followed by the postposition -c; all the other examples have -to -ta. If we take the forms at their face value, we must assume a difference in the manner of presentation, according as the ueslišta, etc., are offered in the bowl or poured out from the bowl. — conegos (= kunikaz): the majority of scholars have assumed connection with L. contineo, whose meaning 'close the eyes, wink' would then be derived from 'nod, bend over,' the sense of the root *kneigwh-. But the meaning 'kneeling,' which seems to be required for the Umbrian forms, receives better etymological support if we connect these forms with L. genu, nilor, e-nilor, nixus, OL gnixus, the whole group possibly being further connected with gigno, etc., through the kneeling position of the mother at childbirth. Cf. R. Back, I.F., XL (1922), pp. 162-5; Kretschmer, Gl., XIV (1925), p. 224; Pisani, p. 153. The kneeling position in religious ritual is illustrated by certain Oscan coins showing a young man kneeling during the presentation of a pig in the striking of a treaty. Cf. J. Friedländer, Die oskischen Münzen (Leipzig, 1850), p. 81. — 9 Fisouie Sanšie ... 11 uouse auie esone: this portion of the prayer is found nowhere else in the Tables, but its use is called for in VIIa 37-38 through the instruction suront naratu puse post uter Tesonocir. The succession of alliterative pairs in 11 is striking. — 10-11 dupursus petpurpur-sus: for this designation of men and beasts cf. Cic., Dom., 18, 48 hoc ministro omnium non bipedam somum sed etiam quadripedum impurissimo; Rigveda, X, 85, 42 śām no bhava dvipade śām catuśpade 'be a blessing to our bipeds, a blessing to our quadrupeds' (Lanman). Dev., pp. 224-5, gives additional examples from Sanskrit as well as several from Avestan and calls attention to the gradation -purs:- persi 'foot,' like πατήρ: εὐπάτωρ, as evidence of the antiquity of the compounds. — 11 fato should not be equated with L. factum, as in several earlier editions, but with fatum, as implied by the more recent translations 'fata' (Blum.), 'vaticinium' (Dev., Bott.), 'fatum' (Pis., Vet.). The particle of facia is not *fato- < *fahlo-, but felo- (cf. feta IIb 13). fito is uncertain because the i may represent i, ī if equivalent to Skt. bhūiṁ, or ē, in which case it would be an orthographic variant of the stem seen in feta from facia. It seems most natural, however, to derive it from *bhūi-lo, thus bringing it into close relationship with φίνο, O. fīet, L. fio, OL fītum. The pair then show a contrast of sense similar to that in 'word and deed' and may be translated 'prediction and outcome' ('das Vorbestimmte, das Eingetretene,' Vetter). — perne postne: this pair presents no difficulty; cf. πρόσωπο καὶ ὀπίσω, — sepse sarstle: no solution can be regarded as certain. sarstle is generally taken as an adv. in ē- as if to L. *sarcibus in place of sartus, the actual plp. of sarcio. The development of the notion of wholeness or entirety from that of mending may be illustrated by Charis., p. 220 Keil: Sarcete pro integre. sarcetre enim est integrum facere. hinc 'sarlta lecta uti sin' opera publica locantur et ut Porphyrio ex Verrio et Festo 'in auguralibus' inquit 'libris ita est' sane sarctae ... Sepse may be a synonym of sarstle, as 'completely' to 'wholly' or an antonym, as 'individually' to 'collectively.' In seeking an etymology for it we must account for the preservation of p before s (cf. 61 d). If we derive it from the pcp. of a verb equivalent to L. saepio, saeptus, the s in place of t would show the same analogical extension from dental stems as seen in L. labor, lapsus, and the analogy of present-stem forms might be sufficient to prevent the assimilation or loss of the p.
sanšie . ditu . ocre . fisi . tote . iouine . 
ocrer . fisi.e . tolar . iouinar . dupursus /
(11) peturpursus . falo . filo . perne . 
postn . sepse sarsite . wou.se . auie . 
esone . futu . fons . pacer . pase . tua . 
ocre . fisi . tote . iouine / (12) erer . 
nomne . erar . nomne . fisouie sanšie . 
saluo seritu . ocrem . fisi . totam . 
iouinam . fisouie . sanšie . saluo seritu / 
(13) ocrer . fisi.er . tolar . iouinar nome . 
nerf . arsmo . uiro . pequo . castruo . 
frif . salua . seritu . futu . fons . pacer . 
pase / (14) tua . ocre . fisi . tote . iouine . 
erer . nomne . erar . nomne . fisouie . 
sanšie . tiom . esa . mefa . spefa . 
fisouina . ocriper . fisiu / (15) 
totaper . iouina . erer nomneper . erar . 
nomneper . fisouie . sanšie . tiom . 

15 nomneper (first instance): per written small above the line.

For an alternative explanation see Danielsson, Altitalische Studien, III (Han- 
nover, 1884), p. 156 (sepse < *saepicio- 
as wouse < *vovicio-). By either derivation sepse, from the notion of fencing off 
which is inherent in the root, could mean ‘individually’ in contrast to sarsite ‘col- 
lectively.’ — wouse auie esone: of these 
three forms wouse is the most difficult. 
The actual text is wou.se, but all editors 
from Bücheler to the present either read 
it as a single word or at least translate 
it on this basis. Some sort of connection 
with L. voveo, votum is apparent. We 
may derive it from *vogyo- < *vofikyo- < 
*wog*hikyo- after Kent, C.P., XV (1920), 
pp. 364-5, the development of the diph- 
thong -ou- < -of- after syncope being 
parallel to that in aitu < *agetōd. auie 
is generally regarded as an é-extension of the stem seen in auif, L. avis, itself con- 
tained in the further extended forms 
äviäkate, auiecla. auie may then be 
taken as an abstract noun meaning ‘au- 
gury, taking of the auspices,’ and the 
three words will give satisfactory sense 
if we take them as loc. sg. (not dat.; it 
is the dupursus peturpursus who are ex- 
pected to benefit from the prayer), and 
understand them to refer to the three 
principal parts of the ceremony in the 
widest sense: the dedication of the vic- 
tim, the taking of the auspices, and the 
sacrifice proper. See Dev., p. 228, where 
a diagram illustrates the division of the 
whole ceremony (persceto) into its three
component parts, with further subdivision of the *uouse* into *diçlo* and *arsiö* and of the *esono* or sacrifice proper into the acts designated by the verbs *ampentu*, *purdouitru*, and *subra spahatu*. — *futu fons* ... 15 *liom suboueau*: cf. VIIa 30-4, which is closely similar. — **15-16 pesclu / semu uesticalu atripursatu: semu** is generally taken as cognate with L. *semi-* and translated *dimidia, media,* that is, ‘when the prayer is half through, in the middle of the prayer.’ Vetter translates ‘unaquaque,’ from the separative and individualizing force seen in sê-, since there are separate prayers at the presentation of the *uesticà* in 6, the *pone* in 9, and the *mefä spefa* in 9 (cf. *ibid.*, p. 249). But *sehemu* in 36 cannot be so understood unless we take it to refer to the separate parts of the prayer in 25-36, for the ceremony in honor of Tefer Jovius commencing at 24-5 does not call for separate prayers with the *uesticà* and with the *persondro sorson*.

It seems best therefore to follow the general view with regard to *semu*. — *atripursatu*: found also in the instructions for the offering of the *persondro* to Tefer Jovius in 24 ff., for the ceremony with black and white vessels in honor of Pres-tota *Šerfia* in VIIa, for the dog-sacrifice in IIa, and for the sacrifice of a he-goat in IIb. It is frequently preceded by *uesticatu vestikatu*. The principal Latin passages relating to the dancing of the *tripudium* are: Act. frat. aru., p. 26 (Henen) *ibi sacerdotes clusi succincti libellis acceptis carmen descendentes tripodaverunt in verba haec*: enos *Lases iuval*; Livy, I, 20, 4 Saltos *item daedecim Marti Gradibo legit* [sc. Numà] ... *ac per urbeµ ire canenles carminæ cum tripudius sollemnique saltatu iussit*.

Cf. also E. Norden, *Aus altrömischen Priesterbüchern* (Lund, 1939), pp. 190-1, 238-9. The prefix *a-da-ha-a-* in the Umbrian forms evidently means that the *adfertor* in performing the dance moves away from the altar. There is no good reason to assume with Bù., p. 69, that *atripursatu*, like L. *tripudium*, refers to the feeding of sacred fowl for the purpose of taking auspices. — *eäm*: the *mefä spefa* of 9, 14 above. — *erus*: the etymology and meaning are both uncertain. All instances of the word are acc. sg. with the possible exception of IV 14 (abl. pl. according to Vetter), and most depend on forms of the verb *dirstu*, although the governing verb is *prusekatu* in IIa 28, *kuveitu* in IIa 32, *kuveitu teťtu* in IIa 40. A dependent genitive often precedes: *hapanaru* Ia 33, *uesticiar sorsalir* VIIb 38, *uesticiar* VIIb 16, VIIa 38, *proseelo* VIIb 16, 38. That the *erus* was a solid substance and not a liquid is apparent from IIa 32 *iepru erus mani kuveitu*, and IIa 27-8 *katles tuva tefra / teťtu erus prusekatu* shows that at least in some cases the *erus* was a part of the victim itself. Devoto, p. 230, argues in favor of the view that the *erus* was not offered to the gods but distributed to those persons who were present, pointing out that the expression *erus diltu* or its equivalent usually occurs near the end of the instructions for the sacrifice. It may also be significant that there is no clear instance in the Tables of *dirstu* used of something offered to a god; here the normal verb is *purdouitru*, while the instances of *dirstu* and its various forms are almost entirely limited to expressions with *erus* as the object, except for IIa 40 *vinu pune teťtu*, VIIb 10 in the prayer to Fisovius Sancius, and the contracts between the Atledian Brothers and the two *decuñiae* in Va, b. The commonly adopted etymology of *erus* (see Lexicon) is not in conflict with such a view, since the portions distributed could be regarded as ‘divine’ or ‘sacrificial’ by outside persons, and the rohotacism, in contrast to unrohotacized *esono*, might be a mark of popular as against ritual usage. It is strange that the priest should be kneeling while making the distribution, but Dev., p. 223, may have given the correct explanation in suggesting that the vessel was a large one and was placed on the ground. As a technical term of uncertain
subocau fisouie . frite . tiom . subocau . 
pesctu / (16) semu . uesticatu . 
atipursatu . ape . eam . purdinsust . 
proseseto . erus . ditu . eno . scalseto . 
uestisiar . erus . conegos / (17) dirstu . 
eno . mefa . uествisia . sopa . purome . 
efurfatu . subra . spahmu . eno . serse . 
comollu . comalir . persnihimu / 
(18) capif . purdita . dupla . aitu . sacra . 
dupla . aitu /

(19) pre . uerir . uehier . buj trif . 
calersu fetu uosione . grabouie . ocriper .

meaning erus is left untranslated in the present work. — 17 mefa uествisia: these 
two oblations are again offered to Fisovius 
Sanclus in VIIa 37-8, just after the 
sacrifice to Prestota Serfia, and to 
the deity whose name in written Purtupite 
in IV 14. — sopa: acc. sg., as may be 
seen from sopam in the nearly identical 
VIIa 38. — purome: an o-stem has 
replaced the consonant-stem, or the masc. 
ending has replaced the zero-ending of 
the third-declension neuter; in either case 
the result is the same. In a number of 
instances where the postposition -e is 
not used, the normal neut. acc. sg. pir 
pir

appears. — efurfatu: only here and 
in VIIa 38, where the context is identical, 
but jurfan jurfaθ in V1b 43 = Ib 1 must 
be the simplex of the same verb. 
The sense is not certain, but Dev., pp. 232-3, 
has offered the most satisfactory solution 
by taking the verb as a denominative 
from a noun *jurfa < *jorfə, root*bherdh/ 
hordh, (cf.Oicel., OE bord 'labula, axis'), 
and translating 'e lance auffereto.' For the 
use of lances and mensae in Roman ritual 
cf. Verg., G., II, 194 lancialbus et pandis 
fumanlia reddimus exta; Aen., XII, 213-5

cius, thee I invoke. In trust of Fisovius 
I invoke thee." In the middle of the 
prayer he shall pour a libation and dance 
the tripudium. When he has presented 
this (cake) he shall distribute the erus 
of the parts cut off. Then kneeling, 
from the platter the mefa cake and the 
libation and scatter them down into the 
fire. Then sitting he shall grind (the 
(cakes) and shall pray with the ground 
(cakes). He shall move the two loaned 
bowls, he shall move the two consecrated 
bowls.

Before the Veian Gate he shall sacri-
fice three oxen with white foreheads to
behind the Veian Gate (VIb 41 = Ia 34) and across the Sacred Way and at Rubinia (VIIa 39, 44-5 = Ib 37-8), and in Ila and IV. Generally no object is expressed, but Ila 41 *struحlas fiklas suiaىlas kumatlu* shows a series of partitive genitive objects, the first two of which are clearly types of cakes. The expression *antakre(s) kumate(s) pe(r)sni(h)mu* in Ib 37-8 (but not in the corresponding VIIa 44-5) and in Ila 42 seems to show a contrast between whole and ground cakes (?). Dev., p. 234, suggests that the grinding may symbolize the chewing of the cakes by the gods who receive them. All the instances of *kumaltu kumaltu comoltu* occur shortly after the giving of the *erus*, and the grinding is regularly followed by a prayer. *comatir* may possibly be taken as abl. abs. ‘when they have been ground,’ but it is not necessary to repeat in a new construction what has already been expressed by means of *comoltu*. We may therefore take *comatir* as an instrumental abl. indicating that with which or over which the priest prays. — *18 capif*: this type of vessel is used in offering libations and the *pesordro* in 24, 37 = Ia 29, 32, and Ila 8, 34, and as a container for the drink *puni* in Ila 33, 41. It may have had a round bottom, since a *persona*, generally taken as a ‘pit,’ here as a ‘mound,’ had to be made for it (cf. Ia 29, 32, Ila 8, VIb 24, 37). For the distinction of two classes of these cups, *puridi* and *sacra*, cf. the corresponding passage Ia 18-19. In Ib 29, 32 = VIIa 39-40, 45, on the other hand, only the *capif sacra* are mentioned. It is probably best to follow Devoto, pp. 190, 236 in making a distinction between cups which were temple property and those which were loaned or given from outside sources, similar to the distinction between victims *sakre* and *perakne* (see on Ila 5). — *aitu*: used with acc. pl. forms *capif* etc. in VIIa 40 = Ib 29 (sacrifice at Rubinia) and VIIa 45 = Ib 37 (sacrifice at Trans Sanctam), while *aitu* may be supplied in the elliptical sentence Ia 18-19 corresponding to the present passage. The precise meaning is difficult to determine. The adverb *ennu* in Ib 37 shows that here at least the instruction is not merely to “use” *kapi sakra* but to perform some specific act with them at a certain point in the ceremony. The occurrence of *capif ... aitu* at or near the end of the particular ceremony in most cases might make it appear that the bowls were to be removed, but in this case we should probably expect to find the verb compounded with some prefix denoting separation. It is safer therefore simply to translate ‘move,’ a sense close enough to the normal meanings of *L. ago*, Gk. ἀγω. The exact nature of the motion prescribed is uncertain, but it may not be out of place to refer to VIIa 25, where the vessels (*tuesco*) are to be placed in a particular position.

**VIb 19 - 21** (= Ia 20 - 23). Sacrifice of three oxen to Vefionus Grabovius before the Veian Gate. As in the sacrifice to Jupiter Grabovius before the Trebulan Gate in VIIa 22, 56-7 the use of either wine or *pont* is prescribed, and cakes known by the names *mefa speja* and *fieca* are to be added to the *proseclae*, but the instructions for the two sacrifices are not given in the same order. — *19 calersu*: equivalent to *L. calidus*, known from Isid., *Orig., XII, 1, 52 equi qui albam frontem habent, calidi appellantur; Philoxenus calidus λευκομέτωπος*. For the sacrifice of victims with a white spot on the forehead cf. further Hor., *C., IV, 2, 57-60* (sc. *vitulus*) *fronto carvalos imitalus ignis tertium lunae referentis ortum, qua notam duxit niveus videri cetera fulvis*. For similar regulations on the marking of the victim in the Vedic horse-sacrifice see P.-E. Dumont, *L’Ašvamedha* (Paris and Louvain, 1927), p. XII, §§ 67-72. — *Uofione Grabouie*: the third and most obscure of the Grabovian triad. Bū. and the majority of subsequent editors have connected the name with *L. voveo*, U. *vufru* (IE *wog*ʰʰ-), the god therefore being in some way associated with *vows*. 
III. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

fisiu . totaper . iiouina . ualuvo ferine .
fetu . herie . uinu / (20) herie . poni .
fetu . aruiio . fetu . tases . persnimu .
proseseter . meja . spefa . ficla .
arsueitu . suront . naratu . pusi . pre .
uerir / (21) treblanir /

(22) post . uerir . uehier . habina .
trij . fetu . tefrei . ioui . ocriper . fisiu .
totaper . iiouina . serse . fetu . pelsana .
vetu . aruiio . fetu . poni / (23) fetu .
tasis . pesnimu . prosesetir . strusla .
ficla . arueitu . suront . naratu . puse .
uerisco . treblanir . ape . habina .

Pisani, Revue des études indo-européennes, I (1938), p. 11, proposed derivation from *Leudh-jōn-, from the same root found in OGS Jūdije, Germ. Leute (u v < l- as in 55a). Cf. also Pisani, Lingue dell’ Italia antica, p. 157. The name is therefore from the same root as L. Liber, and like Dionysus and Etr. Fufluns the god is one of vegetation and growth. The chief advantage of the new interpretation is that it produces a closer parallel between the Iguvine triad and the Roman triad Jupiter-Mars-Quirinus, for, even though etymological equivalence between Vo-fionus and Quirinus is of course impossible, we may now have in each case a third god associated especially with the farming class as Jupiter and Mars were with the priestly and warrior classes under the social system sometimes assumed for Indo-European and early Italic peoples. Cf. Benveniste, Revue de l’Histoire des Religions, CXXIX (1945), pp. 6-9.

Vib 22 - 42 (= Ia 24 - 34). Sacrifice of three ewe-lambs to Tefer Jovius behind the Veian Gate, followed by supplementary offerings to Tefer Jovius. The sacrifice proper is contained in 22-23. poni

Vofionus Grabovius for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium. He shall place the ribs on a tray, sacrifice either with wine or with mead, offer grain, pray silently, and add to the parts cut off a mefa spefa cake and a ficla cake, and recite the same formulas as before the Treblan Gate.

Behind the Veian Gate he shall sacrifice three lambs to Tefer Jovius for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium. He shall sacrifice sitting, he shall sacrifice (the victims) for burial, offer grain, sacrifice with mead, pray silently, add to the parts cut off a strusla cake and a ficla cake, and recite the same formulas as at the Treblan Gate. When he has presented the lambs, the same

is used, and the cakes called strusla and ficla are added to the prosecta, as behind the Treblan and Tesenacan Gates. — 22 habina: translated ‘agnas’ by nearly all editors; for phonological details see Lexicon. Vetter, p. 177, favors ‘sues castreas,’ arguing that since the victims offered before the three gates are all of the same species (oxen), those behind the Veian Gate should, like those behind the other two gates, be pigs; and for the etymology he suggests that the relation of habina to L. capus, cap(p)o is similar to that of the dialectal verb-root hab- to L. cap-. But neither the argument on grounds of ritual nor of phonology seems a sufficiently cogent reason to depart from the usual interpretation. — Tefrei Ioui: this god is mentioned only in the description of the sacrifice and supplementary offerings behind the Veian Gate, and is nowhere known outside of Iguvium. His name is doubtless connected with tefra, tefra-lo, under which the Lexicon may be consulted for phonological details. If these forms are correctly interpreted as ‘burnt-offerings, place of burnt-offerings,’ then Tefer is evidently a deity
of the hearth, comparable in certain respects to the Roman Vesta. Cf. especially Rosenzweig, pp. 81-2, Dev., p. 238. — serse: the sitting position is prescribed also during the grinding of the cereal-offerings and the prayer which follows, in 41 = Ia 34, as also in Vlb 17 during the grinding which forms a part of the special ceremonies in honor of Fisouius Sancius. — pelsana: this gerundive is used in the equivalent Ia 26, in the sacrifice of a ram to Jovius in Ila 6, in the sacrifice of a dog in Ila 43, and of a sheep in III 32, while the imperative pelsalu is used in connection with the pesondro in Vlb 40. Goldanich, A.G.I., XXV (1933), pp. 70-1, connects pelsana, pelsalu with L. pulsare, offering literary and archaeological evidence for the practice of slaughtering the victim by a blow on the head. Etymologically this is easier than any other interpretation yet proposed, but it offers a serious difficulty in Ila 43 katei asaku pelsans futu and Vlb 39-40 enom ... endendu, pelsalu, since in both of these passages the word occurs near the end of the series of instructions. Bott., p. 277, n. 4, in defending the interpretation, suggested that the instruction in Ila 43 may be an afterthought omitted from its proper place near the beginning and added at the end. This defense, however, will not work for Vlb 39-40. Vetter, p. 178, derives from *pel(p)sa- 'to mince meat,' as a denotative to *pelpos, a stem-variant of pelmner; an attractive but not altogether convincing interpretation. It may be best to revert to the traditional view according to which pelsalu is 'bury.' The etymological support offered by L. sepelire is indeed very weak; in fact connection of the latter with Skt. saparyati 'pay honor to' is fully as satisfactory as an analysis se-pel-, which would be required if the Umbrian and Latin forms are to be connected. But better support for pelsatu as 'bury' may be found in Goth. ga-filhan, us-filhan 'bury (the dead).’ Two advantages in maintaining the sense 'bury' are that it is excel-
purdinsus / (24) eront. poi. habina.  
purdinsust. destroco. persi. vestisia.  
et. pesondro. sorsom. fetu. capirse.  
perso. osatu. eam. mani / (25) nertru.  
tenitu. arnipo. vestisia. vesticos.  
capirso. subotu. isec. perslico. erus.  
ditu. esoc. persnilu. uestis. tiom /  
(26) subocau. suboco. tefro. ioui ocriper.  
fiisiu. totaper. iiuina. erer. nommeper.  
erar. nommeper. fonsir. pacer. si.  
ocre. fis. tote / (27) iouine. erer.  
nomne. erar. nomne. arsie. tiom.  
subocau. suboco. tefro ioui arsier.  
frite. tiom. subocau suboco. tefro.  
ioui. tefre / (28) iouie. tiom. esu. sorsu  
persontru. tefralu. piaclu. ocriper.  
fiisiu. totaper. iiuina. erer. nommeper.  
erar. nommeper. tefre / (29) iouie orer.  
ose. perse ocre. fisie. pir. orto. est.  
tote. iiuine. arsmor. dersecor. subator.  
sent. puls. nep. heritu. tefre iouie /  
(30) perse. touer. pescler. uasetomest.  
pesetomest. peretomest. fsrsetomest.  
daetomest. touer. pescler. uirseto.  
auirseto. uas. est / (31) tefre. iouie.  
perse. mers. est esu. sorsu. persontru.  
piaclu. piafl. tefre. iouie. pihatu.  
ocre. fis. tota. iiuina. tefre. iouie.  
pihatu / (32) ocer. fisier. totar.  
iiuinar. nome. nerf. arsmo. uiro.  
pequo. castruo. fri. pihatu. futu. fons.  

one who has presented the lambs shall offer at his right foot a libation and a pig-persondro. He shall make a mound for the bowl; he shall hold it in his left hand until he has poured the libation; he shall set down the bowl. In like manner he shall distribute the erus at his foot. Thus shall he pray after making the libation: "Thee I invoke as the one invoked, Tefer Jovius, for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium, for the name of the mount, for the name of the state. Be thou favorable, be thou propitious to the Fisian Mount, to the state of Iguvium, to the name of the mount, to the name of the state. In the consecration I invoke thee as the one invoked, Tefer Jovius. In trust of the consecration I invoke thee as the one invoked, Tefer Jovius. Tefer Jovius, (I invoke) thee with this pig-persondro for Tefer as a propitiatory offering for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium, for the name of the mount, for the name of the state. Tefer Jovius, by the effect of this (bring it to pass), if on the Fisian Mount fire hath occurred or in the state of Iguvium the due rites have been omitted, that it be as not intended. Tefer Jovius, if in thy sacrifice there hath been any omission, any sin, any transgression, any damage, any delinquency, if in thy sacrifice there be any seen or unseen fault, Tefer Jovius, if it be right, with this pig-persondro as a propitiatory offering may purification be made. Tefer Jovius, purify the Fisian Mount, the state of Iguvium. Tefer Jovius, purify the name of the Fisian Mount, of the state of Iguvium, purify the magistrates, the priesthoods, the lives of men and of beasts, the fruits. Be favorable and pro-
is fully equivalent, except for insignificant details, to the prayer used in the six sacrifices at the three gates (cf. V Ia 23-34). — 24 eront pot habina purdinsut: for this use of a relative clause to designate the official cf. V Ia 1, 5, b 50, 53. — des-truc persi: cf. Ia 29 testruku peři kapiře peřum feitu; in contrast the pesondro staflare is offered at the left foot in 37, 39, Ia 32. — pesondro: the nature of this offering cannot be determined with certainty. In addition to the pesondro sor som here and the pesondro staflare in 37-41, with the equivalent passages in Ia 27, 30, a persuntru is prescribed in IIa 8, b 13, IV 17, 19, 21. Bü., Bk., and others take it to be a cake in the shape of a pig or sheep, offered in place of the animal itself, and the objection of Krause, R.-E., Suppl. V, p. 237, Blum., p. 62, that this practice did not exist in Italic ritual is hard to understand in the light of Serv. ad Aen., II, 116 sequendum in sacris simulata pro veris accipi, unde cum de animalibus quae difficile inveniuntur est sacrificandum, de pane vel cera flint et pro veris accipiuntur; Fest., 474 Li. Tauri verbenaeque in commentario sacrorum signifi ca farinacea. A more serious objection is that a translation such as ‘animal-cracker’ increases the difficulty of finding a satisfactory interpretation of venpersuntra, which must almost certainly be derived from it with the prefix (or combination of prefixes?) ven- and which is used in IIa 30, IV 7 in evident association with meat. Ribezzo, II, p. 82, proposed a satisfactory etymology in deriving persondro from *persont-ro:- cf. OHG samt, Ocel. synd ‘Sünde’; it was then a sin offering, but we still cannot be certain of its exact nature, and the safest procedure may be, as with erus, to leave it untransliterated. The possibility that it was a cake shaped like an animal is not absolutely excluded, but this can hardly have been its etymological meaning. The prefix in venpersuntra then must be not negative but intensive, or at least must strengthen the notion of removal (of sin) which is already inherent in persondro by Ribezzo’s interpretation; cf. the value of ex- in L. ex- piare and M. Niedermann, I.F., X (1899), pp. 247-56 on some similar uses of L. ve-. — perso: directed to be made for the placing of the cup in the present passage, with Ia 29, in VII 37 = Ia 32, and in IIa 9. It is the exact etymological equivalent of περον and is usually translated ‘fossam,’ but there is good ground for believing that it was rather a mound or a turf-altar of the type mentioned in Verg., G., I, 337 In primis vene rare deos atque annua magnae sacra refer Cerer, laetis operatus in herbis; Hor., C., I, 19, 13-15 Hic vinum mihi caespitem, hic verbenas, pueri, ponite turaque bimi cum patera meri; cf. III, 8, 3-4; Acl. frat. arv., 218 (Henzen) ante aedem in cespite promag(ister) et flam(en) sacr(etum) fecer(unl); cf. Goldânic, A.G.I., XXV (1933), pp. 69-70, who sees a correspondence between the Umbrian perso and the Roman caespes for offerings to terrestrial gods, as the rusem and scorobicatum were used for infernal and the asa and ara for heavenly gods. — 25 uesicos: troublesome because if it is a fut. pf. 3 sg. from *westikâ-us(t), we should rather expect a fut. pf. of the f-type, the usual type in verbs of the first conjugation, while if we take it as a pf. pepl from *westikâ(o)s, with Buek and others, we must assume an ellipsis or an erroneous omission of just. The former of the two alternatives is, I believe, slightly preferable but the sense of the passage is not affected. — subolu: apparently the same verb as subahlu IIa 42 and the pf. pepl. subat or V Ia 27, 36, 46, b 29. The o of subolu is unexpected and does not meet the conditions described in 7 c, but it may represent an exceptional case of o from secondary ā (same verb as hatu hahtu hatu), while the retention of a in subaltor may result from its occurrence in a liturgical formula. Since the priest has just been holding the cup (eam mani nertru lenitu), subolu must be
pacer . pase . lua . ocre . fisi . tote /  
(33) iouine . erer . nomne . erar .  
nomne . tefre . iouie . saluo . seritu ocre .  
fisi . totam . iouinam . tefre . iouie  
saluo . seritu . ocer . fisier /  
(34) totar . iouinar . nome . nerf . arsmo .  
uiro . pequo castruo fri . salua . seritu .  
futu . fons pacer . pase . tua ocre . fisi .  
tote . iouine . erer / (35) nomne . erar .  
nomne . tefre . iouie . tiom . esu . sorsu .  
persondro . tefrali . piaclu . ocriper .  
fisiu . tolaprer . iouina . erer .  
nomneper . erar / (36) nomneper .  
tefre . iouie . tiom . subocau . persclu .  
sehemu . atropusatu /  
(37) pesondro . staflare . nertruco .  
persi . fetu . suront . capirse . perso .  
osatu . suror . persnimu . pase . sorsu .  
apre . pesondro purdinșus / (38)  
proseseto . erus . dirtstu enom .  
vestisiar sorsalir . destruco persi  
persome . erus . dirtstu . pue . sorso .  
purdinșus . enom / (39) vestisiam .  
staflarem . nertruco . persi .  
sururont erus dirtstu . enom . pesondro .  
sorsalem . persome . pue . persnis . just .  
ife / (40) endendu pelsatu . enom .  
pesondro . staflare . persome . pue pesnis .  
fus . ife . endendu . pelsatu . enom .  
usos .orse . pesondrisco . habus / pitious with thy peace to the Fisian Mount, to the state of Iguvium, to the name of the mount, to the name of the state. Tefer Jovius, keep safe the Fisian Mount, the state of Iguvium. Tefer Jovius, keep safe the name of the Fisian Mount, of the state of Iguvium, keep safe the magistrates, the priesthoods, the lives of men and of beasts, the fruits. Be favorable and propitious with thy peace to the Fisian Mount, to the state of Iguvium, to the name of the mount, to the name of the state. Tefer Jovius, thee with this pig-persondro for Tefer as a propitiatory offering for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium, for the name of the mount, for the name of the state, Tefer Jovius, thee I invoke.” In the middle of the prayer he shall dance the tripudium.

He shall offer a persondro for Stabilis at his left foot: he shall make a mound for the bowl in the same manner, he shall pray in the same manner as in the case of the pig-persondro (for Tefer). When he has presented the persondro, he shall distribute the erus of the parts cut off. Then he shall distribute the erus of the libation accompanying the pig-persondro, at his right foot, toward the mound, where he has offered the pig-persondro. Then (he shall offer) the libation for Stabilis at his left foot, and likewise distribute the erus. Then where he has prayed, there he shall place the pig-persondro (for Tefer) on the mound and bury it. Then where he has prayed, there he shall place the persondro for Stabilis on the mound and bury it. Then, sitting, he shall throw over (his head) the vessels which he has kept with the persondra. He shall sit
the instruction to set it down (on the perso). — persico: the actual reading of the text is persitico; Bū. keeps this reading, while translating ‘ad pedem,’ and takes the formation to be related to persi as L. rusticus is to rus. Vetter takes it as an extension in -i- from the pf. pepl. of penercuscit, understanding it of the parts previously placed at the back. Many editors (Bk., Kent, T.C.I., p. 43, Dev.), however, emend to persico, and despite the usual advantage of keeping the original text, it is probably necessary to follow them, in view of the close analogy with 38 destruco persi persone erus dirstu. — 25 - 36: see the general comment above on 23 - 42 and for details see on Vi 23 - 34, with which, mutatis mutandis, the present passage is practically identical. — 37 Stafìare: there is general agreement among editors in equating with L. *stabularem, but the sense is uncertain: according to Bū. and others, ‘sheep-, belonging to sheep,’ as the animal kept in the stabulum in contrast to swine; according to Dev. and Vet., ‘coterelum,-am.’ If we admit two deities, Tefer Jovius and Stabilis Jovius, here as well as in the corresponding Ia 27-32, then Stafìarem has the same relation to Stafì in Ia 30-31 (on which see note) as Tefrali Vi 28, 35, to Tefer. There is admittedly a difficulty in the contrast between 24 destruco persi uestisia et pesondro sorsom fetu and 37 pesondro stafìare nertruco persi fetu; 38 uestisior sorsalit destruco persi persone erus dirstu and 39 uestisiam stafìarem nertruco persi sururot erus dirstu; 39-40 pesondro sorsalem ... endendu pelsatu and 40 pesondro stafìare ... endendu pelsatu. It is not unnatural that earlier editors saw in these contrasting expressions a reference to two kinds of pesondro and uestisia, one simulating or made from a pig, the other simulating or made from a sheep (see on Ia 30-31 stafì and on Vi 24 for the notion of pesondro as a cake in the form of an animal). But it is apparent from Ia 27-8 sufrum pesuntrum / fetu ... Tefri, 30-1 sufrum pesuntrum feitu Stafìli ... that the real contrast is between two persondro-, both sorsom-, but offered in the one case to Tefer Jovius, in the other (despite the uncertainty of the text, on which see note) to Stabilis Jovius. This view receives some confirmation from Vi 28, 35 tiom esu sorsu persontru tefrali pihaciu ... The old interpretation of stafìli, stafìare as ‘ovillum’ (Buck in both editions, Kent, C.P., XV, p. 356) runs into difficulty because the whole expression sufrum pesuntrum must then mean ‘figmentum’ with the specific sense of sufrum ‘pig-’ lost through generalization. We may perhaps assume that the persondro- in both cases was suilili generis and that in certain instances in describing the prior offering the nature of the persondro, rather than its destination for Tefer Jovius, is specified; in this way it is made to appear that the contrast is between sorsom and stafìare. — 38 uestisior sorsalit ... erus: the words uestisior sorsalit refer to the libation which was mentioned in 24 in connection with persondro sorsom and which may actually have been a libation of lard; the erus, if the interpretation adopted for erus above (on 16) was correct, is probably a portion of the libation set aside for distribution. — pte sorsom pur-dinìus: if this is equivalent to ‘near the right foot,’ as appears from 24 destruco persi uestisia et pesondro sorsom fetu, it is slightly tautological in view of destruco persi in 38 just above. — 40 uaso: there is no indication that these are identical with the bowls mentioned in 24, 25, 37. In 24-5 a mound was built for the bowl, it was held in the left hand until the libation was poured, and was then set down. In 37, which begins the instructions for the second offering of the persondro, the making of the mound for the bowl is again prescribed, but the subsequent instructions regarding it are not carried out as in the former instance. — 41 subra spahatu: nowhere else used with uaso or any similar word as its
III. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

(41) *serse* . *subra* . *spahatuanderwomu*.  
\[\text{fersitu . arnipo . comatir . pesnis} .\]  
\[\text{fust serse . pisher . comoltu . serse} .\]  
\[\text{comatir . persnimu} / (42) *purrito . fust} /\]

(43) *vocucom . iouiu . ponne . oui*.  
\[\text{furfant . uitlu . toru . trif . fetu} .\]  
\[\text{marte . horse fetu . popluper . totar} .\]  
\[\text{iiouinar . totaper . iouina . uatuo} .\]  
\[\text{ferine} / (44) *fetu poni . fetu . aruio} .\]  
\[\text{fetu . tases . persnimu . prosesetir} .\]  
\[\text{fasio . ficla . asrueitu . suront . naratu} .\]  
\[\text{puse . uerisco . treblanir} /\]

(45) *vocucom . coredier uitlu . toru*.  
\[\text{trif . fetu . honde . serfi . fetu} .\]  
\[\text{popluper . totar . iouinar . totaper} .\]  
\[\text{iiouinar . uatue . ferine . fetu aruio} /\]  
\[\text{(46) fetu heri . uinu . heri . poni . fetu} .\]  
\[\text{tases . persnimu . prosesetir . tesedi} .\]  
\[\text{ficla arsueitu . suront . naratu . puse} .\]  
\[\text{uerisco . treblanir eno . ocar} / (47) *pihos} .\]  
\[\text{fust . suepo . esome . esono . ander} .\]  
\[\text{uacose . uasetome . just . auif . aseriatu} .\]  
\[\text{uerofe . treblano couertu . reste . esono} .\]  
\[\text{fetiu} /\]

45 *iouinar* (second instance): for *iouina*.

object. Dev. and Pis. assume that the vessels were thrown and broken; the Acta fr. arv. mention a similar throwing away of vessels after ceremonial use (Henzen, pp. 26, 30). — *anderwomu*: the bronze shows *spahatuanderwomu* without word-division; it is therefore uncertain whether we should read *anderwomu* during the interval until he has prayed with the ground (cakes). Anyone at all, sitting, shall grind (the cakes). Sitting, *(adjertor)* shall pray with the ground (cakes). The sacrifice will have been completed.

At the Grove of Jupiter, while they are placing on a platter (the remains of) the sheep, he shall sacrifice three bull-calves; he shall sacrifice to Mars Hodius for the people of the state of Iguvium, for the state of Iguvium. He shall place the ribs on a tray, sacrifice with mead, offer grain, pray silently, add spelt-cakes and a *ficla* cake to the parts cut off, and recite the same formulas as at the Trebulan Gate.

At the Grove of Coredius he shall sacrifice three bull-calves; he shall sacrifice to Hondus Šerius for the people of the state of Iguvium, for the state of Iguvium. He shall place the ribs on a tray, offer grain, sacrifice either with wine or with mead, pray silently, add to the parts cut off a twisted cake and a *ficla* cake, and recite the same formulas as at the Trebulan Gate. Then the Mount will have been purified. If there is any interruption of these rites, they shall be invalid; he must take an observation of the birds, return to the Trebulan Gate, and perform the rite anew.
operates within the compound as in the initial position in the simplex, and the semantic development 'break > interrupt(ion) > interval' may be illustrated by comparison with Germ. Unterbrechung, Eng. without a break, etc. For further details see A.J.P., LXXI (1950), pp. 67-70. — 42 purdito fast: here, as also in VIa 45, it is evident that this expression must be used not of the porrectio but of the conclusion of the whole ceremony

**VIb 43 - 44** (= Ib 1 - 4). Sacrifice of three bull-calves to Mars Hodius at the grove of Jupiter. The details of the ceremony resemble those in the sacrifice to Mars Grabovius before the Tesenacan Gate in 1-2, although they are not given in precisely the same order. — 43 vocucum: phonologically vocu vulku may be equated either with Gk. τούκον (in sense 'aede'; so Bü., Bk.) or with L. vulco (so Br., Blum., and subsequent editors). The interpretation 'grove' is preferable, since 'temple' is approximately the sense of fesnere Ib 11, fesnæfe Ib 16. — furfant: only here, with furfaθ in the corresponding Ib 1. If the etymology and interpretation adopted for efurfantu in VIb 17 above are correct, furfant must refer to the placing of the pieces of the slaughtered sheep on a platter, presumably the lambs sacrificed in 22 ff. The platter may have been used for the distributio, at the final conclusion of which the next sacrifice could begin, assuming that the supplementary offerings prescribed in 24-42 had also been completed in the meantime. — Horse: only here, with Hurie in Ib 2. Editors in general latinize 'Hodio,' but nothing can be affirmed as to the etymology or precise meaning of this epithet of Mars. It cannot be connected with "Ωδιος except on the assumption that the Umbrian word was a borrowing, since the spiritus asper in oðoς, with OCS chordū, presupposes an s-, which could not yield h- in Italic.

**VIb 45 - 46** (= Ib 4 - 7). Sacrifice of three bull-calves to Hondus Šerfius at the grove of Corelius. The instructions are the same as for the preceding sacrifice except that 1) arulot fēlu is given second instead of third in order; 2) a choice of wine or poni instead of poni alone is authorized; 3) the cake called lesedi takes the place of fustio. — 45 Corediar: elsewhere only in the equivalent Ib 4, in the form Kureties. Dev., p. 255, compares the modern place-name Goregge, the name of the decuwa Kuresiats Ib 3, and the name of the gens Corelia (known from Latin inscriptions from Sentinum; cf. Schulze, Lat. Eigenna., p. 355), and also suggests that Corediar is not a divine name but a gentile or ethnic. Nothing, however, can be affirmed with certainty. — Hodne Šerfi: it is clear that Hondus was an infernal deity, both from the etymology of the name and from the fact that Ib 20 calls for the sacrifice of a dog to Hondus Jovius. In the present passage, in place of the epithet Ioui, Hodne is accompanied by Šerfi, which is also applied to Prestota and Tursa of Šerfus Martius (see on 57 below). — 46 lesedi: the corresponding form in Ib 6 is tenzitisim, and in view of the context there is little doubt that the word designated some sort of cake, perhaps a pulled or twisted cake. If the root is the same as in L. tendo, tensio (cf. Bü., p. 81, who compares the Greek cakes called στερνος and στεφας). It is not possible, however, to arrive at a sure etymology and interpretation of lesedi tenzitisim, and the intervocalic d unchanged to rs ř may be a mark of foreign or dialectal origin.

**VIb 46 - 47** (= Ib 7 - 9). Instruction for repeating the whole purification in case there has been any omission. Ib 7 - 9 is practically identical, word for word, except for the difference of the verb forms in vaqetumise, usetome fast, and the general sense of the whole passage is clear, but there are certain difficulties of word-division and grammar. The actual reading of the bronze in the most critical passage is: Ib 8: svepu : esumek : esunu : anter : vakazevaqetumisea-
When he wishes to perform a lustration of the people, he shall go and observe the birds, make the same demands as for the purification of the Mount, make

vif: aseriatu, VIb 47 .suepo . esome . esono . ander . uacose . uaselome . jast . auif . aseriatu. With the exception of Pl., II, p. 670, who was hesitant, most editors since Bû. have taken anter ander in composition with vakaze uacose despite the interpretion in both instances. ander would otherwise be difficult to construe, and anter : menzaru in Ila 16 shows an instance of separation in a word which must be understood as one. With most modern editors I follow Brugmann, Ber. kön. sächs. Ges. Wiss., 1890, pp. 217-8, in deriving uacose vakaze from *vakāt(i)s plus the subjunctive equivalent to L. sit. The failure to show word-division may be explained partly by the identity of final and following initial, partly by the enclitic character of the verb 'be'; cf. fonsir, meresi merse, although in most similar word-groups the division is shown. Of course there is no need for a verb until jast, which may mark the end of the protasis, but Brugmann's view is adopted here as providing the only satisfactory analysis of uacose vakaze; in this case the protasis ends with (s)e, uasetome jast is the apodosis, and what follows is virtually a new sentence. — uaselom vaqetum may be a supine or a pf. pepl.; if it is a supine, the final -e, despite the word-division, must be taken as part of *efust, fut. pf. of etu (cf. ampr-efewus Ib 20, ambr-efuture VIb 56), while ise must be from *iser, fut. pf. pass. of etu (Bû.) or else pf. subj. or fut. pf. act. of etu (Pl., II, p. 389, cf. amb-issit, Plaut., Amph., 71). The construction then, at least by Bücheler's interpretation, would resemble such Latin combinations as servatum itur, factum itur, and the sense would be excellent: 'it shall go for naught, be invalidated.' Yet there are several objections: 1) uaselon as pf. pass. pepl. is already known from VIa 27, 37, 47, b 30; 2) there is no real support for ise as a perfect-system form of the verb 'go'; 3) other things being equal it is better to keep the word-division -e jast. This last argument might also be applied against Devoto's proposal (p. 259) to take ise, efust as forms of the verb 'be' with prefixed en-, though naturally one should not attach undue weight to the word division in view of the treatment given by nearly all recent editors to ander. uacose just before. Dev. makes excellent sense by making uaselom the subject and translating 'vitium inerit,' but from ise we should expect *ize or *inze (cf. Kent, Lang., XIV [1938], p. 216, Buck, § 110.1). It is probably best therefore to regard -e as a postposition attached to uaselom, a pepl. used substantively with the following verb uncompound. The literal sense then would be 'it shall be for nullified'; that is, 'as a thing null and void.' This use of a prepositional phrase with e(n) in place of a predicate nominative is roughly comparable to Latin constructions like cladi fuit, in which theATIVE tends to replace the nominative. — auif aseriatu, etc.: for the taking of auspices anew cf. Verg., Aen., II, 178, in Simon's tale of the departure of the Greek fleet for Greece.

VIb 48 - VIIa 54 (= I b 10 - 45). Lustration of the people. The ceremony proper must be preceded by the taking of the auspices, as in the purification of the Fisian Mount. The adjectiour, accompanied by two prinuali, then proceeds to Acedonia, where he pronounces banishment against any enemy aliens who may chance to be present. After he has made a circuit around the assembled people, he prays to Serifus Martius and Prestota of Serifus Martius and Tursa of Serifus
Martius with imprecations against the enemies of Iguvium and entreaties for favor toward the state and people of Iguvium. The circuit is performed and the prayers said three times. There follows a sacrifice to Serfus Martius at the Fontuli, then a sacrifice to Prestota Serfia of Serfus Martius accompanied by further curses against the enemies of Iguvium and prayers for protection of the city and its people. A libation and cake (mefa spefia) are then offered to Fisovius Sancius, after which the adfertor crosses the Sacred Way and sacrifices three calves to Tursa Serfia of Serfus Martius. After the lustration has been performed for the third time, Tursa Jovia is invoked with curses against enemy states and prayers for favor toward the state and people of Iguvium. Table VIIa ends with instructions for the ceremonial chasing of heifers and the sacrifice to Tursa Jovia of the first three heifers which are caught.

Table Ib 10 - 45 is in essential agreement with the longer version in VIb and VIIa, but it does not contain the text of the prayers and imprecations which are prescribed. The later version on the other hand does not contain a ratification of the foregoing instructions similar to that in Ib 45. Both versions present certain problems in regard to the sequence of the various parts of the lustration. The instructions for the three sacrifices at Fontuli, Rubinia, and Trans Sanctam are presented commencing at VIIa 3 = Ib 24, after the circuit of the assembled people has been performed for the third time and the two prinuati have departed by the way they came. There are certain indications that the sacrifices themselves were partly in progress at the same time; Ib 33-4, for example, shows that the distribution of the erus at Trans Sanctam is to follow immediately after the porrectio at Fontuli. In both versions the instructions which follow after the completion of the third sacrifice are introduced by the words 'after he has made the circuit around the people for the third time.' The instructions in VIIa 46 ff. include the prayer to Tursa Jovia, then at 51 the pursuit of the heifers, while at Ib 40 the clause pustertiu pane pупlu aterafust is followed immediately by the pursuit of the heifers, the prayer to Tursa Jovia being omitted, but the omission of the text of prayers is regular in the older tables, and there is no doubt that the prayer and the pursuit and sacrifice of the heifers to Tursa Jovia (VIIa 53 = Ib 43) are parts of a single ceremony. The difficulty lies in the fact that the ceremony in honor of Tursa Jovia is described after the three sacrifices at Fontuli, etc., and yet in language which implies that it was intended to follow immediately after the third circuit of the people. Moreover two prinuati are directed to participate in the chase (VIIa 52 = Ib 41), although the prinuati are supposed already to have departed after the circuit was completed for the third time (VIb 65 = VIIa 1 = Ib 22-3). Of course there is no certainty that the prinuati were the same in the two instances, but even if we assume that two new prinuati appeared for the chase of the heifers, we are no closer to a solution of the question whether the chase, with the prayer to Tursa Jovia immediately preceding, followed directly after the third circuit, as the words pustertiu pane poplo andirsafust seem to suggest, or whether the three circuits, the three sacrifices, and the ceremony of the heifers actually took place in the order in which they are presented. The former view is supported by Br., pp. 209-10, Dev., p. 297, the latter by Hu., p. 291, Bü., p. 113. The latter is, I believe, preferable. The pursuit of the heifers between the third circuit and the first sacrifice would have introduced an element of disorder into the lustration, and, if it had really been intended, would in all probability have been prescribed at the proper place. It is not too much to believe, as Hu. and Bü. suggest, that andirsafust designates the

illustration in the broadest sense and includes the sacrifice of the victims at the three stations round about the assembled people, which was necessary if the purification was to be fully effective.

The lustration at Iguvium in its most important aspects resembles Roman ceremonies of the same kind, although Dev., p. 261, observes certain differences. The chief literary sources for the Roman lustration are: Cato, R.R. 141 Agrum lustrare sic oportet. Impera suovitaurlilia circummagi: "Cum dìvis volentibus quoque bene eveniat, mando tihi, Mani, uti lilace suovitaurlilia fundum agram terrangoque meum quo+ ex parte sine circummagi sine circumferenda censeas, uti eures lustrare." Ianum lovemque vino praefamino, sic dicit: "Mars pater, te precor quaeoque uti sies volens propitius mihi domo familiaque nostrae, quotus re ergo terram fundamque meum suovitaurlilia circummagi iussi, uti tu morbos visos inivisque, viduerialem vastitudinemque, calamitates interperiasque prohibessis defendas averrancesque; utique tu frages, frumenta, vineta virgillaque grandire beneque eventire siris, pastores pecuque salva servossis duisque bonam salutem valetudinemque mihi domo familiaeque nostrae; harum ce rerum ergo, fundi terrae agrique mei lustrandi lusurique faciendi ergo, siculi diri, macte hisce suovitaurlilbus lacentibus immolandis esto; Mars pater, eiusdem rei ergo macte hisce suovitaurlilbus lacentibus esto," etc.; Dion. Hal., Ant. Rom. IV, 22, 1-2 tòte d' oýn ó Túllioös, ἐπε- δή διέταξε τὸ περὶ τὰς τιμῆςς, κελέβασας τούς πολῖτις ἁπάντας συνεδένιe εἰς τὸ με- γίστον τὸν πῶλος πεδίον ἔχοντας τὰ ὁλα, καὶ τάξας τοὺς ὥ' ἵσπες κατὰ τέλη καὶ τόδε πεζοὺς ἐν φύλαξι καὶ τοὺς ἑσπαλμέ- νους τούς φύλικον ὁπλισμόν ἐν τοῖς ἱδιοῖς ἕκασ- τους λόχιος, καβαμίων αὐτῶν ἔκοψατο ταύρον καὶ κρόθ καὶ τράγῳ. Τὰ δ' ἱερεῖα ταῦτα τρις περικυβηνα περὶ τὸ στρατισιδίων κελέβασας ἔθνει τῷ κατέχοντο τὸ πεδίον 'Α- ρεί. Τούτων τὸν καβαμίων ἑώς τὸν κατ' ἐμὲ χρόνον Ῥωμαίοι καβαλύονται, μετὰ τὴν συνεδένιe τῶν τιμῆςς ἐπὶ τῶν ἐχόντων τὴν ἱερότατην ἀρχην Λοστῶ ὄνομαζοντες. Cf. also the description of the Ambarvalia in Tib., II, 1; Wissowa, Religion und Kultur der Römern, pp. 142-3, 390-1.

The announcement in the same manner, and observe the birds within the same limits. When he has announced the divine messengers he shall hold a ritual wand, take a stole, and place it over his right shoulder. He shall place fire in (the fire-carrier). When that in which he has placed the fire is brought to the sacrifice, he who holds the ritual wand shall carry it; the same shall carry it lighted on his right shoulder. With him shall go two prinuati; they shall hold

VIB 48 - 52 (= Ib 10 - 15). Taking of the auspices. This ceremony is directed to be performed in the same manner as in the purification of the Fisian Mount, with the same formulas and within the same city-limits. The birds to be observed are not named, although in Ib 10-11 we find pernaiai pustnai, the same terms of direction used in Ia 2. The most curious feature of the present passage, however, is that, after the instructions for the ceremonial carrying of the fire, we find in 51-2 (= Ib 13-4) that the taking of the auspices must be repeated, the bird parfa alone being called for in this second observation. A.-K. and Br. in
explanation suggested that the repetition was necessary because the lustration was to take place outside the pomerium, while the first taking of the auspices had effect only within. Dev., p. 265, however, points out that the second observation also takes place before the adfertor has made his descent from the citadel by the uia avicea, and as an alternative explanation suggests that the first observation is intended not for the lustration but only for the preliminaries, perhaps for the fire-ceremony. — 48 stiplatu: cf. Vla 2. — combiatiu: the logical subject must be the augur; cf. Vla 17. The subject of anouihimu, however, is the adfertor, since it is the bearer of the perca arsmatia who pronounces the imprecations and prayers commencing at 53. — 49 ape angla combiianštu: Ib 11 instead has pune kuvurtus and omits the instruction regarding the perca arsmatiam; for perca see on Vla 19. — cringatro: similarly krenkatrum hatu in Ib 11, while in Ib 27, 29 the wearing of a krikatru over the right shoulder is prescribed during the slaughter (?= anpenes) and presentation of the calf. Nearly all editors translate ‘cingatum’ or ‘cingulum,’ and the notion of a girdle or encircling object receives support from the cognates OE hring, OCS kroju ‘circle.’ ‘Stole,’ however, seems an appropriate English translation for a liturgical garment worn over the shoulder. — scapla: hardly a mere substitute in the later language for uze in Ib 27, 29, since onse is used in Vlb 50 just below. scapla is rather the shoulder-blade, over which the cringatro was thrown back. — pir endendu: in Ib 12 ahtim-em, the name of a kind of fire-carrier, depends on ententu. Not only is the name of the vessel omitted here, but immediately below, where it should appear as subject of ferar, it is replaced by the circumlocution pule pir entelust. The deliberate avoidance of the name of the fire-carrier is an almost sure instance of tabu. For tabu among the Scots of the western isles against the names of certain common objects see J. G. Frazer. The Golden Bough, Part II = Taboo and the Perils of the Soul (London, 1911), pp. 292-3. — 50 poe perca arsmatiam habişt: another probable instance of tabu, repeated in 53, 63, VIIa 46, 51. The similarity of this last passage, describing the chasing of the heifers, to Ib 41-2 iveka perakre tusetu / super kumne adfertur, prinuatu tuf tusetutu confirms the identity of poe perca arsmatiam habişt with the adfertor. — aos: etymology and sense are both uncertain, but the unrihotacized s naturally suggests connection with L. assum ‘roast’; what is applied in the one case to the meat is applied in the other to the fire itself; in other words there is no serious objection to following Buck’s interpretation ‘... carry it lighted on the right shoulder.’ aos taken as a supine does not give satisfactory sense, for pir endentu in 49 shows that the fire has already been kindled, and it is not specified that it is to be carried for the purpose of lighting something else. aos then must be taken with Buck as a pf. pl., probably to the verb cognate with L. ardeo. Under certain conditions we should expect *arjo (< *arso- < *ard-lo-), with development of consonants as in [kraurjii], but the difficulty can be avoided if we derive from *ar- or from *as- + *so- appearing analogically in place of -lo- as in L. pressus, pulsus, etc. Goidânich, p. 56, followed by Bott., takes aos as a noun signifying some sort of support for the ahldi- in which the fire is placed in Ib 12, but this is a less easy interpretation, especially in view of Ib 12, where tafle is the name of the flat object on which the fire is carried. — prinuatur: etymology obscure, but the word clearly designates certain officials. They accompany the adfertor in the present augural ceremony and in the exterminatio which immediately follows, and in the actual lustration (55, 56, Ib 19); they join him in the invocation to Ærfus Martius, Prestota, and Tursa
ponisiater . habituto . ennom .  
stiplatu parfa desua . seso . tote .  
iione . sururon . combifiatu .  
uapfe . auieclu . neip / (52) amboltu .  
prepa . desua . combijansì . ape . desua .  
combijansius . uiia . auieclu .  
esonome . etuto . com . peracris . sacris .  
ap . acesoniame / (53) hebetafe .  
benust . enom . termnuco . stahituto .  

(persnimumo laselur 57), and after  
the circuit has been completed for the third  
time, they depart by the same way they  
came (65 = VIla 1 = Ib 23). They  
appear again as participants in the in-  
vocation to Tursa Jovia (VIla 46), and  
in the ritual pursuit of the heifers (VIla  
52 = Ib 41). The number of prinuati is  
fixed as two in the present passage and  
in VIla 46, while VIb 51 (= Ib 15)  
shows that they are to be distinguished  
by special insignia, perca ponisiater. Not  
only from this fact, but from their close  
association with the adfertor, shown by  
the 3 pl. verb forms etuto 52, stahituto 53,  
ambretuto, ambrefurent 56, etc., we may  
infer that they were persons of some  
dignity, perhaps civil magistrates of  
a certain grade. — 51 ponisiater: gen.  
sg. and so used to describe the bearer of  
the perca, while arsmatia is an adj.  
describing the perca itself. The word is  
found only here, with punicate in the  
converting Ib 15. Nearly all editors  
take it as equivalent to L. *puniceatus,  
the relation of which to puniceus, -a,  
-um would be the same as that of togatus  
to toga. The prinuati on the present oc-  
casion then are to carry wands of the  
type used by the officials who are named  
for their purple-ornamented robes. The  
Roman toga praetexta naturally comes to  
mind, but just what official is here desig-  
nated by the wearing of the purple stripe  
cannot be determined with certainty.  

— parfa desua: for a discussion of  
the possible meaning of these terms see on  
VIa 1. — seso: the formation is not  
quite clear, but the word is clearly dat.  
sg. of the reflexive pronoun (see 107, n. 1).  
Table Ib, where the instructions are in  
the second person, has texe (13), while  
VIa 5, with the actual words to be used  
by the adfertor, has mehe. — uapfe  
auieclu: we have learned from VIa 2, 17  
that the augur (poei angla aseriato eest)  
makes his observation from the tremnu  
and reports (combifiatu) to the adfertor,  
who apparently occupies the stone seat.  
Whereas VIa 16 gave the source of the  
announcement, tremnu, the present pas- 
sage gives its destination, uapfe auieclu.  
— neip amboltu, etc.: in VIa 5-7 the  
prohibition was against any noise or inter-  
ruption before the return of the augur  
from the place of observation; here the  
augur is forbidden to move from the spot  
until he has announced the proper omen.  
That amboltu refers to the augur (so Dev.)  
rather than to the adfertor (so Bü.) is  
probable because no change of subject  
is indicated between combifiatu and com-  
bijansì, and because if the adfertor were  
meant, we might expect the two prinuati  
to be included in the prohibition, as they  
are in the command etuto just below.  
Vetter, p. 261, denies close connection  
with L. ambulare on the ground that  
derminatives never transfer to the third  
conjugation, and he translates ‘sich
aufmachen,' taking am- from an- 'up' rather than from amf-. But L. ambultare, although of rather uncertain etymology, is probably not a denominative, and its relation to ambollu may be similar to that in dicare: dicere, educare: dīcere, etc. Moreover the root *bol or *pol which must be assumed as a basis for the new interpretation is without support. It seems best therefore to follow the traditional view of ambollu. — 52 uia auiecla: this was the counterpart of the Via Sacra in Rome, if we may judge from Varro, L.L., V, 47 Carinae poë a caeri-<m>onia, quod hinc oritur caput Sacrae Viae ab Steriae sacello quae pertinet in arce<મ>, qua sacra quotquot mensibus feruntur in arcem et per quam augures ex arce proiecti solent inaugurare. However, there was in Iguvium a (Via) Sahala (= Sancta) also, on one side of which three heifers are offered to Tursa Serfia in VIIa 41 (= Ib 31). — peracris sacris: see on VIIa 25.

VIIa 52 - 55 (= Ib 15 - 18). Banishment of aliens. The adflor, having arrived at Acedonia by the Via Aviecla after taking the auspices, stands at the boundary and directs all persons of the Tadinate nation and tribe and of the Tuscan, Narcan, and Iapudic “name” to depart from among the assembled people of Iguvium or be taken away and punished according to the law. The banishment is proclaimed three times. The versions in VI and in I fully agree in distinguishing two categories of aliens, designated respectively by the terms lo- tar Tarsinaler trifor Tarsinater and Tus- cer Naharcer Iabuscer nommer, but there are certain differences of phraseology; thus in the present version the names of the banished nations and the instructions for apprehending loiterers are all included in the formula to be used by the adflor, while in I the adflor is merely instructed to banish the members of the alien nations, after which the threat s vipis habe ... feitu uru pefe mefs est is given in the direct form. For the banishment of various classes of persons from religious ceremonies in Rome cf. Fest., 198 Li. exeslo, extra esto. Sic enim lieor in quibusdam sacris clamitabat: ‘hostis, vincu- tus, mulier, virgo exeslo’; Verg., Aen., VI, 258-9 ‘procul o procul est profani,’ conclamat vates, ‘tologque absistite luco.’ — 52 Acesoniame: VIIa 52 has Acesonitem, Ib 16 Akeřuniamen; with these forms may be compared O. Akudunniad on a coin (Co. 158) from the modern town Lacedonia, situated east of Benevento and south of Foggia, the name of which may be from *acedonia through reanalysis of phrases containing a preposition and article. The frequent association of U. Acesoniame, O. Akudunniad with the name Aquilonia may be an error resulting from confusion between the two adjacent modern towns Lacedonia and Aquilonia (cf. Co., pp. 171-2). The Acesonia of the Tables is evidently a suburb located on one side of Iguvium and serving as a suitable place for assemblies; Dev., p. 272, places it across the Camignano in the direction of Monte Ingino; the name Crisonia by which this region was designated in the Middle Ages may be derived from Acedonia (cf. Studi etruschi, IV [1930], pp. 226-8). — 53 hebetafe: there is no parallel form in Ib 16, but the word is apparently equivalent to ebetrafe in VIIa 12, with h possibly serving as a mark of vowel-length in crisis of postposition -e + ebel- (although divided between lines), and with erroneous omission of the r. ebetrafe occurred as the first in a series of landmarks to be used in defining the augural templum in VIIa 12-14. If this ‘exit’ lay on the northeaster side of the town, toward the slope of Monte Ingino (see note on VIIa 14), its location may be of some help in locating the hebetaf of b 53 and consequently Acedonia. But there is no proof that the two ‘exits’ were the same, and moreover it is not likely that Acedonia, where the people were assembled, was situated on a steep incline. — termuuo statiülto: no parallel form in Ib 16, but Ib 19 has
poi . percum . arsmatia . habiest.
etusta . eso . eturstahmu . pisest.
totar / (54) tarsinater . trifor.
tarsinater . tuscer naharcer . iabucer.
nornner . eetu . chesu . poplu . nosue.
ier . che . esu . poplu sopir habe /
(55) esme . pople . portatu . ulo . pue.

53 etursta: for eturstahmu: enough blank space for three or four letters follows.

pune prinuvas tus theren termeske; perhaps the sg. denotes the boundary and the pl. the posts (two cippi?) which marked the boundary and at which the two prinuval took their stand. It is quite certain that neither the *ebetras nor the termini were identical with any of the three city-gates, which are called uerof, -ir, etc., accompanied by the proper name of the particular gate. The boundary at which the banishment was pronounced must have been located on the pomerium, and what lay beyond was not really alien territory but was within the Iguvine *trifus (see on 54 below). The aliens then were simply expelled from the area which was to be encircled by the lustral processon. — 53-4 totar / Tarsinater trifor Tarsinater: cf. the similar expression tu
tape(r) Iuvinas tresferper Iuvinas III124-5, 29-30. trifor, tresi in these passages cannot refer to a division into thirds, as L. tribus does in connection with Ramnes, Titiles, and Luceres, the names of the three tribes of early Rome, and as the apparent derivation from *tri- would lead us to expect; unless Iguvium and Tadinum are to be thought of as (originally third) portions of some larger grouping, which is altogether unlikely. A satisfactory sense may be reached through comparison with Livy, XXXI, 2, 6 ... C. Ampium ... per Umbriam, qua titribum Sapinam vocant agrum Boliorum invadere iussit; XXXIII, 37, 1 consul per titribum Sapiniam in Boios venit. The trifus then is a territorial unit, as the tota is a political unit. — Tarsinater: the town from which this ethnic is derived is commonly identified with the modern Gualdo Tadino, situated on the main road between Foligno and Fano, and about 20 km. southeast of Gubbio. Philipp, R.-E., 2te Reihe, VIII, pp. 1999-2000, places it near the Church of S. Maria Tadina, about one mile north of Gualdo Tadino. — Tuscer: the nearest large Etruscan city was Perusia, nearly 40 km. southwest of Iguvium. — Naharcer: the spelling Naharkum in Ib 17 shows that, originally at least, the h must have had etymological value, since the spelling with vowel + h + vowel is not used in the earlier tables merely as a mark of length. A similar Latin spelling occurs in the expression municipi Inleramnnalis Nahartis (C.I.L., XI, 4213: age of Augustus). On linguistic grounds there is no objection to connecting these forms with Nar, the ancient name of the river Nero, since the spelling with a simple (long) a was sufficient once the h ceased to be sounded, but the relative remoteness of the Nar from Iguvium might be an objection. Vet., p. 183, for this reason suggests that Tuscer and Naharcer both refer to a single nearby Etruscan state, perhaps in the vicinity of Perusia; yet there is no evidence of such a state to which Naharcer could refer, and moreover it is

the ritual wand shall pronounce banishment. Thus shall he pronounce banishment: “Whoever is of the Tadinate people, of the Tadinate tribe, of the Tuscan, the Narcan, the Iapudic name, let him go out from this people. Unless a going out from this people takes place, if anyone is caught among this people, bring him to that place to which it is the law,
not inconceivable that the word Tuscer could have been meant to include all Etruscan indiscriminately in the banishment. It may be best therefore to assume that the Naharci were the inhabitants of a state located somewhere along the Nar. Krahe, Gl., XXVI (1938), pp. 95-7, refers our form to a stem *Nah-ar-ko- with -ar- a suffix used in such river-names as 'Isdha, etc., and -ko- designating the dwellers along the river, as in Isaret. — Iabuscer: in a total of 8 instances (including Tapuzkum Ib 17, the only instance in the native alphabet) 5 have b and 3 have p p. The b-forms are perhaps to be compared with L. Burrus, buxus, where b replaced the p of Pównos, πνεος as a result of the difference of degree of tenseness in the voiceless stops in Greek and Latin. If we make allowance for the difference of suffix, the relationship of the name Iabuscer, Tapuzkum (< *Iapud(ī)s-ko-) to that of the Iapyges in the heel of Italy is obvious. Both nations were of Illyrian origin; for the Iabusci cf. Strabo, IV, 207 Καὶ οἱ Ιάποδες δὲ ἥδη τοῦτο ἐπίμικτον Ἰλλυρίων καὶ Κέλτων ἔθνος περὶ τούτων οἰκονομία τόπων καὶ ἴ Ὑσθα πλησιόν τούτων ἐστίν. Pliny, N.H., III, 18, 127 Carnorum haec regio iunelique Iaputum, annis Tinamus. If the proper home of the Iapudes was the region between the Carnic Alps and the Adriatic, the Iabusci banished from the Iguvine lustration were probably an offshoot farther south, perhaps somewhere between Ancona and Ravenna. — nomencl: see on Vla 23 nomneper; the nomen stands for the nation in the widest possible sense; as it is more inclusive than tola and tritus together, so is the alien character of the Tusci, Naharci, and Iabusci more strongly emphasized than that of the Tadinates, who, we may assume, were probably an Umbrian-speaking nation. — ehesu: preposition ehe + pronoun esu are in crasis. — ier: an isolated form, with no parallel in Ib 18, but best taken as a pf. subj. pass. of *i- 'go' used impersonally and thus equivalent in mean-
mersest . fetu . uru . pirse mersest .
trioper . chetrstahamu . ifont .
termnuco . com . prinuatiir /
(56) stahitu . eno . deitu . arsmahamo .
caterahamo . iouinur . eno com .
prinuatir . peracris . sacris .
ambrehtu ape . ambrefurent / (57)
termnomo . benurent . termnuco . com .
prinuatir . eso . persnimumo . tasetur .
surje . martie prestota . şerfia . şerfer /
(58) martier . tursa . şerfia . şerfer .
martier . tolam . tarsinalem . trijo .
do with him that which is the law.”
Three times shall he pronounce banishment. He shall stand on the same spot at the boundary together with the prinuati. Then he shall say: “Arrange yourselves in priestly ranks and military ranks, men of Iguvium.” Then along with the prinuati they shall make the circuit with the unblemished victims. When they have made the circuit and have come to the boundary, at the boundary he and the prinuati shall thus pray silently: “Şerfus Martius, Prestota Şerfia of Şerfus Martius, Tursa Şerfia of Şerfus Martius: the Tadinate state, the
came. The version in Ib is considerably more condensed; it not only omits the text of the prayer but does not even name the deities to whom the prayer is addressed. Instead of the peracris sacris of VIb 56, Ib 20 has tures et pure; and although in Ib the prinuati are present, they are not included in the instructions for the procession and prayer; contrast, for example, ambretuto 56, 63, 64 and apretu Ib 20, amprehtu 21, pe(r)snimumo 57, 64, 65 and pe(r)snimu Ib 21, 22. — 56
arsmahamo caterahamo iouinur: Ib 19-20 with armanu kateramu Ikuvinu is substantially the same, with arm- written for arm- and armanu corrected to read -amu by all editors except Br., who was hesitant (p. 182); the error involves omission of one oblique and one vertical stroke in the Μ. For the phonology of these pl. inv. pass. forms see 127 d. As for the sense it is clear that the Iguvini are ordered to arrange themselves in formation, and it is altogether unlikely that arsmahamo and caterahamo are merely synonyms; one may refer to larger and the other to smaller military units, the former including the latter, or one may refer to infantry and the other to cavalry units (cf. Hor., Epist., II, 1, 190
dum fugiunt equitum turmae peditumque calverae, and Dion. Hal., Ant. Rom., IV, 22 on the Roman lustration, cited above on VIb 48 - VIIa 54). Devoto, p. 277, however, improves on earlier interpretations by seeing a distinction between priestly ranks and military ranks; the connection between arsmahamo and the cult-words, arsmor, arsmatia, arsier is most favorable to such a view whether we take arsmor as ‘rites’ with the majority or as ‘sacerdotum concilia’ with Dev., Bott. caterahamo is generally regarded as a denominative to the equivalent of L. caterva; otherwise Dev. and Bott., but there is no apparent ground for abandoning the traditional view, once we admit the loss of w after r attested by seritu in contrast to L. servare, servire (cf. 54 g). — ambretuto: for the syntax of the plural see 228 a. The sense is nearly equivalent to that of afero aferum. The latter, however, appears to be the proper ritual term for the lustration as a whole, and is used transitively, while ambretuto is used of the actual circumambulation and nowhere has a direct object. Each verb has its own fut. pf., and andirsajust, the suppletive to afero, governs poplo in the three passages where it occurs, yet its
use in VIIa 46 = Ib 40, with reference to the completion of the third circuit, resembles that of *ambrefurent* which is used in VIIb 56 of the first. — 57-8 Serfe Martie, Prestota Šeria Šerfer / Martier, Tursa Šeria Šerfer Martier: this triad is the special object of worship in the ceremonies of the lustration. None of its members is mentioned elsewhere in the Tables (although Tursa alone appears in IV 19), and at the same time no other deities are honored during the lustration, except for Fisovius Sanctus, who receives a libation and cake at VIIa 37, and Tursa Jovia, who is invoked in VIIa 47-51 in a prayer nearly identical with that addressed to the triad in VIIb 57 ff. Šerfer Martius himself is the recipient of a sacrifice of three boars at the Fontuli in VIIa 3-5, while further offerings are made to Prestota Šeria at Rubinia in VIIa 6-36 and to Tursa Šeria across the Via Sancta in VIIa 41-2. The closest Latin cognate to *Šerfer* is *Cerus*: cf. *Fest.*, 109 Li. ... *et in carmine Saliari Cerus manus intelligitur creator bonus*; Varro, *L.L.*, VII, 26 (Kent) ... *in Carmine Saliorum sunt haece: ... Ianeus tam es, duonos Cerus es, duonos Ianus.* Šerfer and Cerus then signify a male deity corresponding to *Ceres*, Oscan *Kerri* (dat. sg. on the Agnone Dedication = Co. 175) in much the same way as the rare *Tel lurus* (Mart. Cap., I, 49) to *Tellus*. For phonological details see 59 e. *Serfe, L. Cerus*, and O. *Kerri* are syncopated, in contrast to unsyncopated L. *Ceres*, *Cer eris*, while the gamination is not expressed in the spelling of *Cerus*, nor in O. *Keri* on the Curse of Vibia (Co. 130). L. *creo*, *-are, crēsco, crēber* are generally admitted into the same etymological group, *crē-* representing a disyllabic base *kerē-* and *crēber < *kres-ro-* possibly showing the same s-extension assumed for L. *Cerēris < *Keres-.* Šerfer is then a deity associated with growth and nourishment, and his importance in the lustration is quite natural. The regular use of *Martier* as an epithet of *Šerfer* is closely connected with the debated question of the agricultural and warlike aspects of Mars. Cf. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, p. 143, Dumézil, *Les dieux des indo-européens*, pp. 28-30; Marback, *R.-E.*, XIV², pp. 1934-37. The importance of Mars in the Roman lustration is apparent from Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.*, IV, 22, 1 Τὸ δ’ ἵερεια ταῦτα τοῖς πειραμώγημι περὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον κελεύσας, ἥνα τὸ κα τέχονι τὸ πεδίον Ἀρεί and from the long prayer addressed to him in the lustration of the field in Cato, *R.R.*, 141. The two female associates of Šerfer Martius show contrasting aspects of his character and activity. Prestota, who is known only from the two versions of the lustral ceremony, has been compared with *An terstatal* on the Agnone Dedication and, more aptly, with the Sabine Praestita (C.I.L., IX, 4322), Jupiter Praestes (C.I.L. XIV, 3555), the Lares Praestites of Ov., *Fast.*, V, 129-36 Praestilbus Maiæ Laribus videre Kalendæ aram constituï parvaque signa deum ... *Slat quoque pro nobis, et praesunt moenibus Urbis, et sunt praesentes auxiliumque ferunt*; cf. also the Roman goddesses Praestana, Arn., IV, 3, Praestitia, Tert., *Adv. Nat.*, II, 11. Praestota Šeria then represents the defensive power of Šerfer Martius which is besought to avert evil from the people of Iguvium. Tursa on the other hand represents the offensive force which terrifies and puts to flight the enemies of the city. The name is clearly related to the verb *tursitu*, forms of which are used as a part of the curse against the enemies of the state (60 = VIIa 49) and with reference to the chasing of the heifers (Ib 40, 41, VIIb 2), and the connection with L. *terror* is scarcely less evident despite the difference in vowel-grade and stem-class and the assimilation *rs > rr*. For the religious concept cf. the similar deification of Pavor and Pallor among the Romans: Livy, I, 27, 7 Tullus in re trepida duodecim voivi Salios fanaque Pallori ac Pavori; Serv. ad *Aen.*, VIII, 285 (Salli) ab Hostilio vero pavorii et
Tadinate tribe, the Tuscan, the Narcan, the Iapudic name, the chief citizens in office and not in office, the young men under arms and not under arms, of the Tadinate state, of the Tadinate tribe, of the Tuscan, the Narcan, the Iapudic name: terrify them and cause them to tremble, cast them down to Hondus, to Hola, overwhelm them with snow, overwhelm them with water, deafen them with thunder and wound

account of Devoto’s objection to L. cinctus, incinctus (p. 282). On the ground that the normal word for ‘gird’ was *kringaom (inferred from eringatro kri-katru) he makes šīhiitu anšīhiitu equivalent to L. accetos non acceitos and as support for accire of summoning to office he cites Cic., Resp., II, 13, 25 ... eumque (sc. Numam Pomphilium) ad regandum ... Romam Curibus accivit; Lucan, I, 584 haec propter placuit Tuscos de more vetusto accirī patres. Yet the use of the simplex in this sense would not seem quite natural; L. cio, cēre, cītus is mostly limited to compounds, while direct connection of šīhiitu with cītus is impossible. I have therefore decided, though hesitantly, to follow the usual view whereby šīhiitu is equivalent to cinctos. The two roots *krengh and *keng/k may easily have coexisted in the language, the latter appearing not only in šīhiitu but also in čiheča: indeed the two may possibly even be variants of a single ultimate root altered by assimilatory or dissimilatory processes. šīhiitu anšīhiitu taken as cinctos incinctos may refer to men in and not in military office; so Bii., p. 99, takes it, and the use of eingitur, cinctus for taking up or being under arms can be supported by Verg., Aen., II, 749 cingor julgentibus armis; Dig., XXXIX, 1, 38 cinctus in alia militia; etc. This gives a sufficiently comprehensive division of the population. If we were to extend the meaning of
sometimes regarded as connected with ὀλλομεν, in which case the h would have no etymological justification. Ribezzo, II, p. 103, suggested connection with the name of the goddess Ηαλς (IV 17). If *Hols is the female counterpart of the infernal deity Ηontus, the present pair of verbs would mean 'Hontus Holae milito,' a tempting explanation, were it not for the fact that analysis of holwu as an actual denominative from *Hols is impossible and Ribezzo gives no really adequate explanation of the verb stem. Connection with ὀλλομεν may not be impossible after all, for all the verbs in the curse beside hundu holwu are joined in alliterative pairs, and it would not be surprising if *olutu should here have received an unetymological initial h, at least in spelling if not in pronunciation. A possible source would be contamination with *Hols or other words of its family, or with hondu itself. The weakness of the sound of h was a source of confusion, and hebeltae Vib 53 with unetymological h, in contrast to ebetafe VIA 12, is an actual instance of this confusion. — ninclu: taken as equivalent to L. ninguitlo by practically all editors except Pis. and Vet., who object to the transitive use of ninclu in the sense 'cover with snow' and translate 'nsealo,' deriving from *ni-n(o)e-lud. A stronger objection to the traditional interpretation is the failure of the form to show an initial sn-: cf. L. ninguit, but Av. snačati, Goth. snai-wwan, Lith. snižga, OCS subst. sněgū, and L. nare but U. snata (see 57 b). Yet despite the loss of s- it seems best to follow the older view. Initial clusters consisting of s + nasal show a certain degree of instability in several IE languages, as a result of sentence-sandhi; it is difficult to find good support for a reduplicated present *ni-n(o)e-lud; and on the other hand the use of ninclu with external accus. although without parallel in Latin, is indirectly implied for Greek by the passive use in Ar., Ach., 1075 κάπετα τηνεν νειρόμενον τάς ἐσβολάς. Xen., Hell., II,
III. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

three, trample them under foot and bind them. Serfus Martius, Prestota Serfia of Serfus Martius, Tursa Serfia of Serfus Martius, be favorable and propitious with your peace to the people of the state of Iguvium, to the state of Iguvium, to their chief citizens in office and not in office, to their young men under arms and not under arms, to their name, to the name of the state.” When they have said this, then he that holds the ritual wand shall say “Go, men of Iguvium.” When he has said this, the same ones shall make the circuit a second time. When the boundary has been reached again, they shall pray in the same manner. He shall speak in the same manner; he shall direct them to go. Then for the third time they shall make the circuit. When the boundary has been reached, in the same manner they shall pray, in the same manner he shall direct them to go. Then the prinuati shall go back by the same road by which they came.

4, 3 οἱ δὲ νεφόμενοι ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ. Cf. also Polyb., XVI, 12, 3. — nepitu: generally regarded as related to Neptunus and translated ‘inundato.’ The interpretations of nineta and nepitu are interdependent insofar as, if one is taken as a curse invoking disastrous weather, the other should preferably be taken in the same way. For curses of this type Dev. compares Gromatici, ed. Lachmann, 350 f. qui configerit terminum moverique dannabiliar a ditis ... domus extirpabiliar, gensque ... omnis interiit ... terra a temperatibus et turbinis ... movebitur ... fructus seae laedentur decucitenturque imbribus alque grandine canaliculis interiunt, robigine occidentur. Vet. derives nepitu from *nepid-itu and translates ‘ad nihilum redigito,’ thus preserving semantic similarity between the two verbs in the pair (see on nineta above). — sonitu: both verbs in the present pair are obscure, but sonitu is in all probability somehow connected with L. sonare. Devoto translates ‘verberato,’ the sense ‘beat’ being derived from the notion of loud noise inherent in the root *swen- > son-, as in the derivation which he adopts for persondu. Whether this beating is to be accomplished by means of lightning and thunder is not clear, but it is altogether natural that a curse of this sort should include this form of divine vengeance. In order to keep fairly close to the probable etymological sense of sonitu I have translated it ‘deafen with thunder.’ — sauitu: possibly related to L. saeculus if c in the latter form is regarded
as an extension and not a part of the root. Nothing can be affirmed with certainty, since the connections of saucius itself are rather uncertain, but the variation of forms with and without -cio could be compared with L. novus: novicius, or for semantic purposes with emo: empticius, suppono: supposticius. sauilu might then correspond to a lost Latin verb whose relation to the pass. adj. saucius would be similar to that in the forms just cited, allowing for the difference in their derivation through the pass. pecl. stem. ‘Wound’ is as satisfactory a translation as we can find under the circumstances. — preplolatu: VIIa 49 has preploholatii, showing that the root-vowel is long. Since preuilatu = preuislatu, the other member of the pair, is clearly a verb of binding, we might expect a similar sense for preplolatu also. Ribecco, II, p. 104, connects with L. pleclo, amplector, deriving from *praeplaikaa-loID, which gives the desired sense and accounts for the length of the root-syllable (see 46 i), but the o-vowel grade is scarcely admissible in a formation of this type. It is best then to follow Bii., Co., and Dev. in regarding preplolatu as a denotative from Umbrian plotus known from Fest., 274 Li. <plotos appetulant> Umbri pedibus planis natos ... et <Macci> us poeta, quia Umbre Sarsinas erat, a pedum planitita, initio Plotus, postea Plautus coepit est dici. Yet the curse is probably intended not merely to inflict lameness on the enemies of Iguvium, as suggested by Conway’s ‘impe- dito, claudum facito,’ but rather to lay them flat (‘sterilis’ Dev.). — preuilatu: an erroneous spelling of preuislatu, which appears in VIIa 49 and which nearly all editors take as equivalent to L. *praevinulato, denotative of vinculum. For the use of pre- in composition with verbs of binding, Bii., p. 101, calls attention to L. praevincio, praerstringo, praeligo. — 61-2: the second portion of the prayer is an entreaty for divine favor toward the state and people of Iguvium. The triad of deities addressed is the same as in the curse preceding, and the population of Iguvium, like the enemy populations in the curse, is divided into nerus sihilii ansihitir, ioutes hostatir anoiatir. — futulo foner pacrer pase uestra, etc.: for the sense of the expression as a whole see on VIa 30. For the plural forms in contrast to sg. laritulu tremitu, etc., see on 60 above.

VIb 62 - VIIa 2 (= Ib 21 - 23). Instructions for repeating the circuit, etc. — 62 dersicurent: reduplicated fut. pf. of deliu, with rs from intervocalic d. — 63 etato Itoinur: this can scarcely be an order for dismissal, despite Dev., § 155, p. 286 (‘ter formula de conventu dimittendo pronunlanda est’), for in this case we should expect some order such as arsmahamo caterahamo directing them to reassemble, and moreover it is altogether likely that they would have been expected to remain in formation until the whole lustration was completed. Possibly they were obliged to perform certain evolutions within the area between the boundary-mark and the three stations at which the sacrifices were to be offered. Cf. the description of the lustration of the Macedonian army in Livy, XL, 6, 1-2 caput mediae canis praeexae et pars ad dexteram, cum exitis posterior ad laevam viae ponitur: inter hane diviosam hostiam copiae armatae traducuntur. For the form of etato see 127 c. — euron: the adfertor and the two prinuati. — termnome: to the boundary-mark at which the adfertor had pronounced the banishment in 53 ff. and at which the Iguvines had been ordered to assemble in 56. — 64 etatian deliu: subjunctive here and in 65 = VIIa 1, in contrast to inv. in 63 and in Ib 21, 22. — 65 eno prinuatu shino etulo eafont uia pora benuro: the two prinuati had joined the adfertor in 50-51 and had proceeded with him to Acedonia and the boundary-marks by the Via A viecla. shino: commonly translated ‘retro,’ but the actual sense is ‘(back) hither’ from the viewpoint of one who is in the in-
(VIIa 1) sururont. pesnimumo.
sururont. deitu. elaiias. eno.
prinuatuer. simo. etuto. erafont. uia.
pora / (2) benuso /

(3) fondliire. abrof. trif. fetu.
heriei. rofu. heriei. peiu. serje. martie.
fetu. popluper. tofar. iuoinar.
totaper / (4) iouina. uatufo. ferine.
fetu. poni. fetu. aruiio. fetu. tases.
persnimu. prosesetir mefa. spefa.
ficla. arsueitu / (5) suront. naratu.
puse. uerisco. treblanir. ape. traha.
sahata. combifian'sust. enom. erus. dirstuv /

(6) rubine. porca. trif. rofa. ote.
peia. fetu. prestote. serje. serjer.
martier. popluper. tofar. iuoinar.
totaper / (7) iouina. persia. fetu.
poni. fetu. aruiio. fetu. suront.
naratu. pusi. pre. uerir. treblanir.
tases. persnimu / (8) prosesetir.
strusla. ficla. arsueitu. ape. supo.

In the same manner they shall pray, in the same manner he shall direct them to go. Then the prinuati shall go back by the same road by which they came.

At Fontuli he shall sacrifice three boars, either red or black; to Serfus Martius he shall sacrifice for the people of the state of Iguvium, for the state of Iguvium. He shall place the ribs on a tray, sacrifice with mead, offer grain, pray silently, add to the parts cut off a mefa spefa cake and a ficla cake, and recite the same formulas as at the Trebulan Gate. When (the porrectio) has been announced from Trans Sanctam then the erus shall be distributed.

At Rubinia he shall sacrifice three sows, red or black, to Prestota Serfia of Serfus Martius for the people of the state of Iguvium, for the state of Iguvium. He shall sacrifice (the victims) upon the ground, sacrifice with mead, offer grain, recite the same formulas as before the Trebulan Gate, pray silently, and add to the parts cut off a strusla cake and a ficla cake. When he has put the underparts at the back (of the altar), then

terior of the town. Cf. Varro apud Non., 131, 9 Li. eo die eis Tiberim redeundum est.

VIIa 1: the exact words of VIIb 65 are repeated in order to make it clear that the new table is a continuation of the instructions for the Lustration.

VIIa 3 - 5 (= Ib 24 - 26). Sacrifice of three boars to Serfus Martius at Fontuli. The instructions are in general similar to those given for several of the sacrifices performed during the purification of the Fisian Mount, but no two agree in all details. — 3 Fondliire: this place is mentioned only here and in the equivalent Ib 24. Dev., p. 288, and in Studi etruschi, IV (1930), p. 238, suggests connection with the medieval Via di Fontevole, more recently Via delle Fonti, old names of the present Via Savelli della Porta, one of the three thoroughfares of modern Gubbio. Derivation of the word as a diminutive of *font- (L. fons) is more satisfactory than connection with L. fundata 'en de sac' (Varro, L.L., V, 145), which Bû, p. 105, offers as an alternative explanation. He further compares Fondliire with Athenian év Alaywac; remarking that the equivalent of ad fontes would have been fondilisco; yet the translation 'at Fontuli' renders the sense adequately in English. — abrof: a boar is offered to Ahtus Mars in IIa 11,
where the stem-variant aprôn- is used, possibly designating a young boar. — peiu: since rofu is ‘red’ peiu must also be a color-name, and ‘black’ (L., pieus) is the only possibility. Dark-colored victims are appropriate because Šerfus Martius was a chthonic divinity; cf. Val. Flacc., III, 439 Tunc piceae maclantur oves (in the purification of the Argonauts from blood-guiltiness); Arn., adv. Nat., VII, 19 qua superis diis ... color laetus acceptus est ac felix hilaritate candoris at vero diis laevis sedesque habitanibus inferas color furvus est gratior et tristibus subjectus e fucis. — Šerfia Maršt: see on VlB 57. — popluper tōlar Hiuinaer, totaper Hiuina: similarly in 6-7, 41, since the lustration is for the people; cf. the expression ocriper Fisiu, totaper Hiuina used in VlA 58, etc., during the purification of the Mount. — 4 utuo ferine feitu: see on VlA 57; poni: on VlA 57; aruiu: on Ia 3; mefa spefa, fiela: on VlA 56. — 5 uerisco Treblanir: on VlB 23. — trahâ Sahata: the prepositional phrase has become fossilized into a place-name like that of the modern Roman Trastevere, and Sahata then takes its case not from traha but from the relation of the whole phrase to the rest of the sentence; in the present instance the case is abl. Most take Sahata as equivalent to Sanctam (sc. viam), while Dev., p. 295, Bott., p. 426, prefer connection with Satanès, Ib 4, the name of one of the deewiae. The question has no bearing on the syntax or interpretation of the passages where the phrase occurs, but it seems more probable that Sahata was a street than an extended region, if we must think of sacrifices being performed in three places at once with the adjectio moving from one to another and instructions being called aloud across the Sahata. — combičianšust: when the properctio of the third sacrifice, in Trans Sahatam, has been announced, the distribution of the erus is to be made at Fontuli; so much is clear from Ib 33-4 pune pertinčus, kařetu, pufe apruf / fakurent, puze erus tefa, where the instruction is really the same as in VlA 5, but is presented in connection with the third instead of the first sacrifice.

VlA 6-8 (= Ib 27-30). Sacrifice of three pigs to Prestota Šerfia of Šerfus Martius at Rubinia. The details resemble those described in the sacrifices behind the Trebulan and Tesenacan Gates not only in the species of victims but also in the manner of slaughter (persae feta) and in the kinds of cakes offered. Moreover the sacrifice proper, like that in honor of Fisus Sancius behind the Tesenacan Gate, is followed by supplementary offerings and prayers, after which in VlA 37-40 a libation and mefa spefa are offered to Fisovius with precisely the same prayers, ceremony of the vessels, etc., as in VlB 5-18. — 6 Rubine: this place cannot be identified by the help of any place- or street-name in modern Gubbio, but Dev. (St. etr., IV [1930], p. 226; T.I., p. 289) suggests a possible connection with the Etruscan names Rupinas (or Surupinas?), C.I.E., 4990 (from Orvieto), Rupenial, 4408 (from Perugia). — 7 persaia feta: see on VlA 58. — 8 strušla: on VlA 59.

VlA 8-36. Supplementary offerings to Prestota Šerfia. The ceremony commences with a libation to be poured into a trench (?). The vessels used in the ceremony are of two kinds, black and white, corresponding to the nature of the prayers in conjunction with which the vessels are used. The first prayer contains an invocation to the deity to visit evil on the Tadinate nation along with the other enemies of Iguvium (cf. VlB 58), followed by entreaties for favor toward the people of Iguvium. The second prayer, which is offered with the white vessels, is an entreaty for the averting of evil from the people of Iguvium and for divine protection of men, beasts, etc. The two prayers are in most respects closely parallel. The same initial invocation is found, mutatis mutandis, in 10-11 and in 25-26. 11-13, with the char-
postro . pepescus . enom . pesclu .
ruseme . uesticatu . prestote . šerfje /
(9) šerfer . martier . popluper . totar .
ioinari . totaper . iouina . enom .
uesclir . adrir . ruseme . eso . persnihimu .
prestota / (10) šerfia . šerfer . martier .
tiom . esir . uesclir . adrir . popluper .
totar . iouinari . totaper . iouina .
erer . nomneper / (11) erar . nomneper .
prestota . šerfia . šerfer . martier .
preuendu . uia . ecla . atero . tote .
tarsinate . trijo . tarsinate / (12) lursce .
naharce . iabusce . nomne . totar .
tarsinater . trifor . tarsinater .
tuscerc . naharcer . iabuscer . nomner /
(13) nerus šitir . anšihitir . iouies .
hostatir . anostatir . ero . nomne .
prestota . šerfia . šerfer . martier .
jetu . jons / (14) pacer . pase . tua .
pople . totar . iouinari . tote . iouine .
erom . nomne . erar . nomne . erar .
nerus . šitihir . anšihitir . iouies /
(15) hostatir . anostatir . prestota .
šerfia . šerfer . martier . saluom . seritu .
poplom . totar . iouinari . salua .
serituu / (16) tomat . iouinam .
prestota . šerfia . šerfer . martier .
saluo . seritu . popler . totar .

with a prayer he shall pour a libation into a trench to Prestota Šerfia of Šerfus Martius for the people of the state of Iguvium, for the state of Iguvium. Then (pouring) from the black vessels into the trench he shall pray thus: "Prestota Šerfia of Šerfus Martius, thee (I invoke) with these black vessels for the people of the state of Iguvium, for the state of Iguvium, for the name of the people, for the name of the state. Prestota Šerfia of Šerfus Martius, in every way turn thou evil against the Tadinate people, the Tadinate tribe, the Tuscan, the Narcan, the Iapudic name, against the chief citizens in office and not in office, against the young men under arms and not under arms, of the Tadinate state, of the Tadinate tribe, of the Tuscan, the Narcan, the Iapudic name, and against their name. Prestota Šerfia of Šerfus Martius, be favorable and propitious with thy peace to the people of the state of Iguvium, to the state of Iguvium, to their name, to the name of the state, to its chief citizens in office and not in office, to its young men under arms and not under arms. Prestota Šerfia of Šerfus Martius, keep safe the people of the state of Iguvium, keep safe the state of Iguvium. Prestota Šerfia of Šerfus Martius, keep safe the name of the people of the state of Iguvium, (the

acteristic preuendu uia ecla atero tote Tarsinate, etc., corresponds to 27-28 with ahuendu uia ecla atero pople totar Iouinan. In 13-15 the purpose of the formula jetu jons pacer pase tua, etc., is to prevent the curse of the preceding lines from having adverse effect upon the people of Iguvium; it is therefore without counterpart in the second prayer. 15 Prestota Šerfia Šerfer Martier, saluom seritu through 23 enom uesticatu ahatripar- satu and 28 through 36 are almost completely identical. — 8 ape supo postro pepescus: for supo see on VII 5, where precisely the same clause is used to introduce the instructions for offerings to Fisovius Sancius. — ruseme: there is no sure etymology, but the word apparently means some sort of trench or pit. Devoto, p. 292, translates 'in mundum,'
having in mind the covered pit or mundus in the Roman comitium (cf. Fest., 255, 273 L.), and for the etymology compare Lith. rūšiš (a hole for winter storage of potatoes: cf. Walde-Pokorny, II, p. 356) but the unrhhotacized s is a difficulty. W.-P.'s root 2. reu- 'aufreissen, graben, aufwühlen' has a variety of extensions; it would be tempting to connect rusem with ṯωσεῖς 'a digging,' but a ti-stem of *ru-g-, *ru-gh- would yield *ruh-li-. It is possible that rusem may be from *ru-dh-li-m with development of the dental cluster as in Fise, Fiso, 44 d, the extended root being the same as in ON rjōda 'reuten, räumen' and other Germanic forms cited by Walde-Pokorny, II, p. 354. For the ritual value of the rusem Goldānich, pp. 65-6, calls attention to the character of the prayer with which it is associated, and especially to the curse contained in the prayer. Cf. also the note on person Vb 24. — uestheticato: see on uestisitas Vb 5. — 9-10 Prestola / Šerfia ... tiom, etc.: for the ellipsis of the verb see 136 c. — 11 preuendo: only here, but etymology and sense are both fairly certain; cf. ahauendu 27, and for the directive force in pre- cf. L. praehi, praecipio, praetendo. — ecla: the sense in conjunction with uia appears to be 'in every way,' but the derivation is very uncertain; possibly from *aiko-lo- (cf. Skt. ekas 'one') with -lo- as in L. singuli and semantic development 'one > individual > each individual > every'; cf. Muller, p. 11. — atero: to be directed against the enemies of Iguvium, and in 27 to be averted from the people of Iguvium; it must therefore signify some aspect of evil, but again the derivation is very doubtful. atero has been connected with adir by Bü., p. 108, the notion 'evil' being derived from 'black' just as the color of the vessels is symbolical; with L. alter by some on the basis of Fest., 99 L. alter et pro non bono ponitur, ut in auguris altera cum appellatur avis quae utique prospera non est; sic alter nonnumquam pro adverso dictur et malo; possibly from *ap-tero- with semantic development as in L. deterrior according to a suggestion of Pl., I, p. 426, II, p. 203; but none of these satisfactorily accounts for the unsyncopated e. Dev., p. 295, translates 'hostem,' with derivation similar to L. ex-lorrem, but the root of L. terra contained an s which would not be assimilated in Umbrian (see Buck, § 115.1). The safest explanation, at least from a phonological viewpoint, is that of Sommer, I.F., XI (1900), pp. 14-16, who derives from *ū-lerom taken as an infinitive equivalent to L. -terere 'rub' but without formal distinction of voice. He then translated 'advėrītō omni via cīviāti Tarsinati *absteri [= interire, interīlum]'; 'Wende auf jedem Wege dem tarsinatischen Staate den Untergang zu' bezw. 'ab.' The unsyncopated vowel is not unnatural in the radical syllable, and for the sense Vetter, I, p. 268, cites L. detrimentum as a semantic parallel. — tole Tarsinate ... 12 Iabuscir nomner: see on Vb 53-4. — 13 nerus ... anostatir: see on Vb 59-60. — Prestola Šerfia Šerfer Marler, futu fons ... 15 hostatir anostatir: evidently intended to preclude any possibility of harm to the people of Iguvium from the curse contained in the lines immediately preceding, for the same precaution is observed in Vb 61-2 just after the curse containing tursitu tremitu, etc., but not in the prayer with the white vessels which commences at VIIa 25 and which is in most respects closely similar to our present passage but contains no curse. A precautionary formula similar in some respects to the present passage occurs in the curse tablets of Cnidus: ήμοι δε δεια και έλευθερα είνας χάντος (cf. Audollent, Defixionum Tabellae, pp. 5-19, and R. G. Kent, C.P., XX[1925], p. 252, who used the Cnidian formula as the basis for a restoration in line 9 of the Oscan curse of Vibia). — 15 Prestola Šerfia ... 18 erar nomine: similar to VIIa 31-33, except that there the prayer was addressed to Jupiter Grabovius for protection toward the Fisian Mount,
iiouinar . totar . iiouinar / (17) nome .
nef . arsmo . uiro . pequo . castruo .
frif . salua seritu . futa . fons . pacer .
pase . tua . pople . totar . iiouinar /  
(18) tol . iouine . erer . nomne . erer .
nomne . prestota . šerfia . šerfer . martier .
tiom . esir . uesclir . adrer . popluper /  
(19) totar . iouinar . totaper . iouina .
erer . nomneper . erar . nomneper .
prestota . šerfia . šerfer . martier . tiom /  
(20) subocauu . prestotar . šerfiar .
šerfer . martier . joner . frite . tiom .
subocauu . ennom . persclu . eso . deitru /  
(21) prestota . šerfia . šerfer . martier .
tiom . isir . uesclir . adrir . tiom .
plerer . popluper . totar . iiouinar .
totaper / (22) iouina . erer .
nomneper . erar . nomneper . prestota .
šerfia . šerfer . martier . tiom .
subocauu . prestotar / (23) šerfiar . šerfer .
martier . joner . frite . tiom . subocauu .
ennom . uescticatu . ahatripursatu . ennom .
ruseme / (24) persclu . uescticatu .
prestote . šerfie . šerfer . martier .
popluper . totar . iiouinar . totaper .
iouina . ennom . uesclir / (25) alfir .
persnimu . superne . adro . trahuorfi .
andendu . eso . persnimu . prestota .
šerfia . šerfer . martier . tiom /  
(26) esir . uesclir . alfir . popluper .
totar . iiouinar . totaper . iouina . erer .
nomneper . erar . nomneper . prestota /  
(27) šerfia . šerfer . martier . ahauendu .

name) of the state of Iguvium, keep safe the magistrates, the priesthoods, the lives of men and of beasts, the fruits. Be favorable and propitious with thy peace to the people of the state of Iguvium, to the state of Iguvium, to the name of the people, to the name of the state. Prestota Šerfia of Šerfus Martius, thee (I invoke) with these black vessels for the people of the state of Iguvium, for the state of Iguvium, for the name of the people, for the name of the state. Prestota Šerfia of Šerfus Martius, I invoke thee; in trust of thy favor, Prestota Šerfia of Šerfus Martius, I invoke thee." Then in prayer he shall speak thus: "Prestota Šerfia of Šerfus Martius, thee with these black vessels, thee with full vessels, for the people of the state of Iguvium, for the state of Iguvium, for the name of the people, for the name of the state, Prestota Šerfia of Šerfus Martius, thee I invoke. In trust of thy favor, Prestota Šerfia of Šerfus Martius, I invoke thee." Then he shall pour a libation and dance the *tripodium*. Then with a prayer he shall pour a libation into the trench to Prestota Šerfia of Šerfus Martius for the people of the state of Iguvium, for the state of Iguvium. Then he shall pray with the white vessels; he shall place them crosswise above the black vessels; thus shall he pray: "Prestota Šerfia of Šerfus Martius, thee (I invoke) with these white vessels for the people of the state of Iguvium, for the state of Iguvium, for the name of the people, for the name of the state. Prestota Šerfia of Šerfus Martius, in every way turn thou aside evil from the

22 šerfiar: for šerfia.
but here to Prestota Šerfia for the people of the Iguvine state. — 17 nome nerf ... castruo frij: see on VIa 20. — 20 subo- causu: see on VIa 22. — frij: see on VIa 24. — ennom pesclu eso deitu, etc.: a new prayer with a new invocation to the goddess and a new set of black vessels, for these are designated in 21 as plener. The vessels used in connection with the prayer in 9-10 had apparently been emptied in the pouring of the libation called for in 8. — 23 akatripursalu: see on Vii 16. — 23 enom ruseme ... 24 totaper Iouina just before the prayer with the white vessels corresponds to 8 enom pesclu ruseme uesticalu, etc., just before the prayer with the black vessels. — 25 superne adro trahuorfi andendu: the symbolic significance of this act is not clear, but it appears from the language that the white vessels are placed above the black ones in a crosswise position; at least it is natural to take superne as a preposition governing adro rather than to make adro the object of andendu with superne as an adverb, for the black vessels, whose use is now finished, would not be placed on top of the white. trahuor-
fi occurs only here but is clearly equivalent to L. transverse; the vessels must therefore have been of oblong or elliptical shape, as Dev., p. 290, suggests. — 25 Prestola Šerfia ... 36: for those respects in which the prayer with the white vessels differs from that with the black see above, on 8 - 36.

uiu . ecla . atero . polpe . totar .
iouinar . hot . iouine . popler . totar .
iouinar / (28) totar . iouinar . neru .
šihitir . ašihitir . iouies . hostatir .
anhostatir . ero . nomne . erar . nomne .
prestota . šerfia / (29) šerfer . martier .
saluom . seritu . poplo . totar .
iouinar . salua . seritu . totam .
iouinam . prestota . šerfia . šerfer / (30) martier . saluom . seritu . popler .
totar . iouinar . totar . iouinar .
nome . nerf . arsno . uiro . pequo .
castruo . frij / (31) salua . seritu . futu .
jons . pacer . pase . tua . polpe . totar .
iouinar . tate . iouine . erer . nomne .
erar . nomne . prestota / (32) šerfia .
šerfer . martier . tiam . esir . vesclir .
alfer . popluper . totar . iouinar .
totaper . iouina . erer . nomneper .

people of the state of Iguvium, from the state of Iguvium, from the chief citizens of the people of the state of Iguvium and of the state of Iguvium, in office and not in office, from the young men under arms and not under arms, from their name, from the name of the state. Prestota Šerfia of Šerfus Martius, keep safe the people of the state of Iguvium, keep safe the state of Iguvium. Prestota Šerfia of Šerfus Martius, keep safe the name of the people of the state of Iguvium and of the state of Iguvium, keep safe the magistrates, the priesthoods, the lives of men and of beasts, the fruits. Be favorable and propitious with thy peace to the people of the state of Iguvium, to the state of Iguvium, to the name of the people, to the name of the state. Prestota Šerfia of Šerfus Martius, thee with these white vessels for the people of the state of Iguvium, for the state of Iguvium, for the name of the people, for the name of
III. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

erar / (33) nomneper . prestotá . šerfia . šerfer . martier . tiom . subocauu . prestotar . šerfíar . šerfer . martier . foner . frite . tiom / (34) subocauu . ennom . persclu . eso . persnìmù . prestota . šerfia . šerfer . martier . tiom . isir . uesclir . alfer . tiom . plener / (35) popluper . tolar . iiouinar . totaper . iiouina . erer . nomneper . erar . nomneper . prestota . šerfia . šerfer . martier . tiom / (36) subocauu . prestotar . šerfíar . šerfer . martier . foner . frite . tiom . subocauu . ennom . uesticatu . ahatri pursatu / (37) uestiša . el . mefa . spefa . scalsie . coneos . fetu . fisou . sansii . popluper . tolar . iiouinar . totaper . iiouina . suront / (38) naratu . puse . post . uerir . tesonocir . uestisiar . erus . ditu . enno . uestisia . mefa . spefa . sopam . purome . efurjatu / (39) subra . spahamu . traf . sahatam . etu . ape . traha . sahata . couortus . ennom . comoltu . comatir . persnìhimu . capif / (40) sacra . aitu / (41) trahaf . sahate . uilla . trif . fetu . turse . šerfie . šerfer . martier . popluper . tolar . iiouinar . totaper . iiouina . persaeu . fetu . poni / (42) fetu . arúio . fetu . tases . persnìmù . prosesetir . strušla . fìclam . arsuëitu . suront . naratu . puse . uerisco . treblaneir . ape / (43) purdiniust . carsitu . pufe . abrons . facurent . puse . erus . dersa . ape . erus . the state, Prestota Šerfia of Šerfus Martius, thee I invoke; in trust of thy favor, Prestota Šerfia of Šerfus Martius, I invoke thee.” Then in prayer shall he pray thus: “Prestota Šerfia of Šerfus Martius, thee with these white vessels, thee with full vessels, for the people of the state of Iguvium, for the state of Iguvium, for the name of the people, for the name of the state, Prestota Šerfia of Šerfus Martius, thee I invoke; in trust of thy favor, Prestota Šerfia of Šerfus Martius, I invoke thee.” Then he shall pour a libation and dance the tripudium. Kneeling he shall offer a libation and a mefa spefa cake in a cup to Fisovius Sancius for the people of the state of Iguvium, for the state of Iguvium. He shall recite the same formulas as behind the Tesenacan Gate. He shall distribute the erus of the libation. Then he shall remove from the platter the libation and the mefa spefa cake and scatter them down into the fire. He shall go to Trans Sanctam. When he has returned from Trans Sanctam, then he shall grind (the cakes) and pray with the ground (cakes). He shall move the consecrated bowls.

At Trans Sanctam he shall sacrifice three heifer-calves to Tursa Šerfia of Šerfus Martius for the people of the state of Iguvium, for the state of Iguvium. He shall sacrifice (the victims) upon the ground, sacrifice with mead, offer grain, pray silently, add to the parts cut off a strušla cake and a fìcla cake, and recite the same formulas as at the Trebulan Gate. When the porrectio has been completed, the order shall be called to the place where they have sacrificed the boars, to distribute the erus. When
VIIa 37 - 40: Fisovius Sancius is again honored with a libation and mefa spefa, as in the ceremony described in VIIb 5-18. Not only do the two passages agree in most details, but VIIa 38 contains a specific direction to use the same formulas as behind the Tesenacan Gate. But apart from Ib 29 kapi sakra aitu there is nothing in the earlier version to correspond to VIIa 37-40 as Ia 16-19 corresponds to VIIb 5-18. Devoto, p. 295, § 162, may therefore be right in suggesting the possibility that an error led to the addition of this passage after the ceremony in honor of Prestota. The actual differences between the present passage and VIIb 5-18 are: 1) the clause VIIb 5 ape sopo postro peperescust is lacking in VIIa; 2) the ceremony in VIIb is performed for the Fisian Mount and the state, that in VIIa for the people and state; 3) the prayers are given in VIIb in full but in VIIa only by cross-reference to the sacrifice behind the Tesenacan Gate; 4) the instruction peseatu / semu ueslicatu atripur-satu VIIb 15-16, the reference to theerus of the prosca, and the use of the expression scalseto ... conegos in connection with uestisar erus are without parallel in VIIa; 5) the direction to the priest to go across the Sancta and to return are naturally not found in VIIb; 6) VIIb 18 mentions cups both purdita and sacra, VIIa 39-40 only sacra. — 37 uestisao: see on VIIb 5. — mefa spefa: on Ia 56. — scalsete conegos: on VIIb 5. — Fisou Sanšii: on VIIb 5. — 38 erus: on VIIb 16. — sopam purome efurfallu: see 139 b. — 39 subra spahamtu: on VIIb 17. — traf Sahatam etu. ape iraha Sahala couortus: the clause beginning with ape is obviously the same instruction as enem Rubiname postro couertu given in 44 below in connection with the sacrifice to Tursa, for both passages are followed by comolitu, comatir persnihimu (et) capif sacra aitu. The adfertor leaves Rubinia for Trans Santacum in order to perform the sacrifice to Tursa, or at least so much of it as requires his personal presence and activity, and remains until after the porrectio, when he gives the order for the distribution of theerus at Fontuli and then returns to Rubinia. — ennom comolitu, comatir persnihimu: see on VIIb 17. — capif / sacra aitu: on VIIb 18.

VIIa 41 - 45 (= Ib 31 - 39). Sacrifice of three heifer-calves to Tursa Serfia at Trans Santacum. The details agree closely with those of the sacrifice behind the Trebulan Gate (VIIa 58-9) as well as with that at Rubinia, although in each case the order in which the separate instructions are given is somewhat different. When the porrectio has been completed, the adfertor calls out the order for the distribution of theerus at Fontuli, which is followed by the distribution at Rubinia, and finally at Trans Santacum. He then goes to Rubinia and performs the ceremony of the grinding, after which he returns to Trans Santacum and repeats the ceremony there. — 44 irahaf Sahate: for the grammatical character of this place-name see on 5 above. — utita: heifer-calves are offered as victims only here and in the equivalent Ib 31. — Turse: see on VIIb 58. — 43 carsitu ... combifiatu ... 44 combifiatu: in Ib 33-5 the verbs are similarly distributed except that the third verb is subjunctive kufi-fiaia. The difference between the two verbs is that carsitu is used of calling out an order, while combifiatu is used of giving information. In the present passage notice is given that theerus has been distributed at Fontuli, and this notice is the signal for the distribution at Rubinia (43 postro combifiatu Rubiname erus / dersa). After a similar notice from Rubinia theerus is distributed at Trans Santacum; on the whole passage cf. Dev., p. 296. — 43 pafe abrons facurent: the same circumlocution is used in Ib 33-4; Dev., pp. 146, 288, regards it as another instance of euphemism. The form abrons is peculiar, for line 3 has abrof, Ib 24, 33 apruf. Since there are no known acc. pl. forms in -ns in the second declension, editors in general have been inclined to
III. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

dirsust . postro . combijatu . rubiname .
erus / (44) dersa . enem . traha .
sahatam . combijatu . erus . dersa . enem .
rubiname . postro . couertu . comoltu .
comatir . persnimu . et / (45) capif .
sacra . aitu . enom . traha . sahatam .
couertu . comoltu . comatir . persnimimu .
enom . purdilom . just / (46) postertio .
pane . poplo . andirsafjust . porse .
perca . arsmatia . habiest . et . prinuatur .
dur . tefruto . tursar . eso . tasetur / (47)
persnimimumo . tursa . iouia . totam .
tarsinatem . trifo . tarsinatem . tuscom .

The erus has been distributed, the instruction shall be passed back to Rubinia to distribute the erus. Then the instruction shall be passed to Trans Sanctam to distribute the erus. Then (the adjertor) shall return to Rubinia, grind (the cakes), pray with the ground (cakes) and move the consecrated bowls. Then he shall return to Trans Sanctam, grind (the cakes), and pray with the ground (cakes). Then the sacrifice will have been completed. When he has made the circuit around the people for the third time, he who holds the ritual wand and the two prinuali shall silently pray thus from the (place of) burnt offerings, to Tursa: “Tursa Jovia: the Tadinate state, the Tadinate tribe, the Tuscan, the Nar-

derive abrons from the same n-stem found in abrunu Ila 11, with various explanations for the anomalous form (cf. Danielsson, Altitalische Studien, III, p. 146; Buck, §181 b; Vetter, p. 270; Pisani, p. 183). Yet in view of the close relationship of the present passage to the three others cited it seems better to assume an o-stem in all four passages and an n-stem only in Ila 11, where there is good reason to believe that the difference in the stem-class corresponds to a difference in the victim (see on Ila 11). Pl., I, pp. 510-11, suggested that abrons was a sandhi-doublet which might have existed beside abrof under certain conditions, presumably under conditions resembling those in 58 a (original medial ns). Our form would then represent an extension of this form into a different phonetic environment. — 45 enum purdilom just: here used of the completion of the whole ceremony, as in Vlb 42.

VIIa 46 - 51. Prayer to Tursa Jovia with imprecations against the enemies of Iguvium. The language of the curse and of the prayer for favor toward the people of Iguvium is identical with that of the version contained in Vlb 57-62, except that now Tursa Jovia alone is addressed and consequently there are certain grammatical variations (e.g. futu for fututo, fons for joner, tua for uesira, etc.); there are also several insignificant orthographical variations. — 46 postertio pane poplo andirsafjust: the same formula occurs in Ib 40, where, however, it directly introduces the instructions for the pursuit of the heifers, the text and even the mention of the prayer being omitted. For discussion of the actual position of the pursuit of the heifers in the order of events see above on Vlb 48 - VIIa 54 (= Ib 10-45), where the lustration as a whole is briefly outlined. — porse perca arsmatia habiest: similarly 51, Vlb 50, 53, 63. — prinuatur dur: there is an apparent conflict between this passage and Vlb 65, where the prinuali are supposed to depart from the scene; see above on Vlb 48 - VIIa 54. — tefruto: used to indicate the spot where the adjertor and prinuali stand while reciting the prayer, as the postposition -to plainly shows.
The similar prayer commencing in VIIb 57 was recited termnuto 'at the boundary.' The form _tefra_ in IIa 27, III 32, 34, IV 2 is commonly understood to designate certain pieces cut from the victims, to be roasted as burnt-offerings, and Oscan _tefurum_ on the Agnone Dedication (Co. 175, lines a 17, b 20) may have a similar sense. The present passage, however, seems to show a transfer of meaning from the object burnt to the place of burning, the hearth ( _L. focus_ or _rogus_, but not _ara_, _U. asa_). — 47 _Tursa Iovia_: Tursa Šerfia of Šerfus Martius is one of the triad invoked in the prayer commencing at VIIb 47, nearly identical with the present one, and was also the recipient of three heifer-calves in VIIa 41; while Tursa without special epithet is honored in IV 19-20 with offerings of a _vestigia_ and _persuntru_. The epithet _Iovio_- on the other hand is borne by the deities Trebus, Tefer, Ticannus, and Hontus. Tursa Jovia, who is mentioned only here, with the accompanying account of the pursuit of the heifers (51-54 = Ib 40-44), evidently signifies the personification of that aspect of Jupiter which inspires terror in the people's enemies, as Tursa Šerfia signifies the same aspect of Šerfus Martius. That Jupiter's power should be invoked in this prayer is quite natural in view of the fact that several of the words of the curse, e. g. _ninnetu_, _neplu_, _sonitu_, seem to refer to disasters arising from the weather. For these and other verbs of the series beginning with _tursitu tremitu_ see above on VIIb 60.

**VIIa 51-54** (= Ib 40-44). Ritual pursuit of the heifers. The _adfterlor_ and _prinuati_ put flight to an unspecified number of heifers, to be caught by persons waiting below the Forum Sehemeniar, and the first three caught are sacrificed to Tursa Jovia at Acedonia. The details of the sacrifice are similar to those at Rubinia (7-8), although they are not presented in the same order. The account of the chase in Ib 40-44 differs in several respects from that in VII. The _adfterlor_ and _prinuati_ each chase a single heifer, making three in all. The chase begins above the place of assembly, and the heifers are caught below the Forum Sehemeniar, as in VII, but apparently by the _adfterlor_ and _prinuati_ and not by whatever persons first succeed in catching them. The pursuit of the heifers may be a ritualistic survival from the time when victims for sacrifices actually had to be hunted. What is more important, however, is its apparent magical character. It is scarcely a coincidence that the pursuit takes place in close connection with the curse against the enemies of Iguvium, and that the victims are offered to Tursa, while the verb _tursitu_ is used both of the chasing of the heifers and as a part of the curse. Parallels to this feature of the Iguvine ritual are by no means wanting. Plato, _Critias_, 119 e, in the mythical story of Atlantis, refers to a similar pursuit of bulls: _άφετον ὅστων ταύρων ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ποσειδόνος ἱερῷ... ἀνεν αἰδῆροι ἕξοις καὶ βράχοις εὐθείησιν, ὅν δὲ ἔλειον τῶν ταύρων πρὸς τὴν στήλην προσαναγ ὄντες κατὰ κορυφῆ αὐτῆς ἔσσατον_. Diog. _Laert._, I, 110, says of the purification of Athens by Epimenides during a pestilence in the forty-sixth Olympiad: _... λαβὼν πρόβατα μέλανα τε καὶ λευκὰ ἐργάς πρὸς τοῦ Άρεων πάγων... κάκειθεν εἰςαν ἵνα οἱ βοῦλιντα, προστάζας τοὺς ἀκολούθοις ἐνα ἃν κατακλίνοι αὐτῶν ἐκαστὸν θεῖεν τῷ προσφέροντι θεῷ· καὶ οὕτω λέγει τὸ κακόν_. The Oscan gerundive _eheiianasum_ on a Capuan inscription (Co. 117) evidently refers to the same practice; cf. _chialo_ in Table VIIb 2 — 51 _iuenga_: how many is not stated, but if a definite number was called for, it was probably twelve, since VIIb 1-2 says that the _fratricus_ is to procure the Atidian Brothers' twelve victims which are to be let loose and pursued after the lustration of the people. — _peracrio_: for the meaning see on Via 25. The form here is gen. pl.; it must therefore be partitive with the sense 'from among the excellent ones,' that is 'from among those most fit for sacrifice.' — 52 _juro_ _sehemeniar_:
naharcom . iapusco . nome . totar /
(48) tarsinater . trijor . tarsinater .
tuscer . naharcer . iapuscer . nomner .
nerf . sihilu . anshilu . iouie . hostatu .
anostatu / (49) tursilu . tremilu . hondu .
hollu . nintu . nepitu . sunilu . sauilu .
prehlostatu . preušlatu . tursa . iouia .
(futu . fons / (50) pacer . pase . tua .
pople . totar . iouinar . tole . iouine .
erar . nerus . šihitir . anšihilir . iouies .
hostatar . anhostatar . erom / (51)
nomne . erar . nomne . este . trioper .
deu tu . enom . iuenga . peracrio .
tursituto . porse . perca . arsmatia .
habiest . et / (52) prinuatur . hondra .
furo . schemeniar . hatuto . totar . pisi .
eri est . paje . trij . promom . haburent .
eaf . acersoniem / (53) jetu . turse .
iouie . popluper . totar . iouinar .
totaper . iouina . suront . naratu . puse .
erisco . treblanir . aruio . jetu /
(54) persaea . jetu . strušla . ficla .
prosesetir . arsueitio . tases . persnimu .
poni . jetu /

(VIIb 1) pisi . panupei . fratrex .
fratrus atiersier . joust erec. sueso .
fratrecale . portaiia . seuacne .
fratrom / (2) atiersio . desenduf . pifi .
reper . fratreca . parsest . erom . ehiato .
ponne . iuenga . tursiandu . hertel /
(3) appei . artiertur . atiersir . poplom .
can, the Iapudic name, the chief citizens in office and not in office, the young men under arms and not under arms, of the Tadinate state, of the Tadinate tribe, of the Tuscan, the Narcan, the Iapudic name: terrify them and cause them to tremble, cast them down to Hondus, to Hola, overwhelm them with snow, overwhelm them with water, deafen them with thunder and wound them, trample them under foot and bind them. Tur- sa Jovia, be favorable and propitious with thy peace to the people of the state of Iguvium, to the state of Iguvium, to the chief citizens in office and not in office, to the young men under arms and not under arms, of the state, to their name, to the name of the state." This he shall say three times. Then he who holds the ritual wand and the prinuati shall chase the heifers (selected) from among those fit for sacrifice. Below the forum of Semonia whoever of the state wishes shall catch them. Whichever three they catch first, these (the adfertor) shall sacrifice at Acedonia to Tur- sa Jovia for the people of the state of Iguvium, for the state of Iguvium. He shall recite the same formulas as at the Treblulan Gate, offer grain, sacrifice (the victims) upon the ground, add to the parts cut off a strušla cake and a ficla cake, pray silently, and sacrifice with mead.

Whoever at any time shall be brother-superior among the Atiedian Brothers, during his term of office shall bring twelve victims for the Atiedian Brothers, which are required on the brotherhood's account, to be let loose when the heifers are to be chased, when the Atiedian adfertor has performed the circuit around
Ib 42 has furu sehmeniar, so that the final r to all appearances is original. Von Planta, II, p. 47, and Buck, § 257.4 explain as a stem in -ārī-, the latter translating 'forum seminarium.' One need not object too strongly on the ground that in Latin the suffix -ārī- appears only as a result of dissimilation of -ātī- (e.g. militaris, popularis, but annalis, Dialis, navalis), for extaris, coquinaris, as well as O. dekkviarim, are exceptions to the general rule. But the loss of the final i would be strange, for it is preserved in uerfale, while there are no really applicable examples to support loss of final i in *sēmenīrī. Devoto translated 'concilii,' deriving from *sēmeno-yā and comparing Skt. samanam 'Zusammenkunft, Festversammlung' (p. 301). The etymology is too far-fetched to be convincing, but the recognition of -ar -ar as a gen. sg. ending is an improvement over older theories. Rhotacism of final s in the earlier tables is decidedly unusual, but ařeper in 30 is an instance. According to the view preferred here sehmeniar sehmeniar is gen. sg. of the name of a goddess identical with L. Semonia and is so rendered in the translation. The only source of our knowledge of Semonia is Macrobius, I, 16, 8 Apud veteres quoque qui nominasset Salutem Semoniam Setiam Segeltiam Tautilinam, fertas observabat. On Semonia's male counterpart Semo and on the ablant-variation in the Latin and Umbrian names see on IIb 1; cf. also Pisan, pp. 186, 196, Pighi, Umbrica, p. 20; Bott., pp. 270, 321.

**VIIa 2 - 4.** Responsibilities of the fratricus in connection with the heifer-chase. The four lines of text on the reverse side of Table VII have some connection with VIIa, as is apparent from the reference to the chase after the completion of the lustration. The fratricus is charged with the responsibility of obtaining the heifers, under penalty of a fine in case he fails. reper fratrea in line 2 arouses the suspicion that the ceremony here may be the private concern of the Atiedian Brother-

hood and distinct from those performed poploper lolar Ioutinar lolaper Ioutina (cf. Dev., pp. 303, 307). But it is difficult to believe that the words appei arfertur Atiersir poplom andersafust refer to any other lustration than the one described in the last portion of VIIa and VIIa. Perhaps the heifer-chase, and not the lustration, may be a special one undertaken in the interests of the Brotherhood; but it is not impossible that reper fratrea merely designates the ceremony as the responsibility of the Brotherhood, without implying that it is for their special benefit. — 1 fratres: on the nature of this official and on the derivation of the word see on Va 23. — fratrus Atiersier: for the dative see 143 a. — seuacne: used here without a noun, as also in III 22, where however it stands beside the adjective sakre. In the present passage, since desenduf is preferably to be taken with seuacne rather than with fratrom Atiersio, seuacne can scarcely mean anything but the heifers which are to be pursued, even though in other passages it is used of a variety of objects connected with ritual. For a list of these objects as well as for a discussion of the meaning of seuacne see on Ia 21. — 2 desenduf: Dev., p. 305, takes with fratrom Atiersio, which is easier so far as its position is concerned, but it is improbable that the accusative of 'two' as a component of 'twelve' has been fossilized as an uninflected form, and moreover it would not be natural for the number of brothers to be stated at all. It seems better therefore to understand the whole expression as meaning twelve victims corresponding to the (twelve) Atiedian Brothers. reper fratrea: see above in the introductory remarks to the present table. — pars est: only here, but similar to L. par est + inf. Bū., p. 118, sets up a distinction whereby pars est is used of that which is in compliance with the law, hertel of that which has been resolved upon (bdoξev). — erom ehiato: the infinitive form erom and the sense of the
andersafust . sue . neip . portust . issoe . pusei . subra . scetro . est / (4) fratrei motar . sins . a . ccc /

whole expression are quite clear, but ehialo presents certain difficulties. The stem can be satisfactorily explained by connecting it with L. hio, -are, etc. (see Lexicon and 45 a, 48 a; for the rare transitive use of L. hio 'spew forth' cf. Val. Fl., VI, 705-6 subitos ex ore cruores / saucia tigris hialf). The ending is more difficult. Vetter and Bott. take the form as a supine, the -< -um being adequately supported by anseriatio aseriatlo, but the construction of a supine with erom (= L. esse) is so unnatural that we are almost forced to take it as a pf. pass. pcpl. The masc. instead of the expected fem. may be explained by the ambiguity of seuaene and pifi and the lack of any distinctly fem. antecedent. The alternative is to take ehialo as neut. sg., making a pf. inf. with the participle uninflected. The choice is difficult, but the former of the two alternatives is perhaps the better. erom ehialo here does not, like kuratu eru Va 26, 29, have the characteristic perfect meaning, but it is possible that the combination of pass. pcpl. + inf. had to serve both as pres. and as pf. inf.; at least no forms like L. amari, moneri, mitti are known in the dialects. — ponne: used with present herei of contemporaneous events, in contrast to appei below with fut. pf. andersafust of prior event. — 3 Atiersir: sometimes taken as dat.-abl. pl., as by Buck, § 172 in additions and corrections; by others, including Vet., Pis., Bott., as nom. sg. On grounds of orthography either view has some support, but the second alternative is preferable since no form of the stem Atiersio- is elsewhere used as a substantive; all stand with a noun, usually a form of frater, and the omission of fratus here would be strange. Havers, Gl., V (1914), pp. 2-3, proposed taking Atiersir as an adnominal dative depending on arfertur, and indeed if it is dat. pl. it

the people. If he does not bring them just as it is written above, the fine for the brother-superior shall be 300 asses.

is hard to see how it could be construed in any other way, since the adjertor does not perform the lustration 'for' the Atiedii, and if he did we should expect abl. + -per. Atiersir then is best taken as nom. sg. in agreement with arfertur. Elsewhere arfertur is not accompanied by Atiersio-, and its use here may result from a desire to emphasize the private nature of the present ceremony, as Dev., p. 308, suggests, or may imply that other adjertores sometimes performed lustrations but that the present instructions in regard to the heifer-chase apply to the lustration performed by the Atiedian adjertor. — 4 motar: the sense is clearly 'the fine for the fratricus shall be 300 asses,' but the construction is difficult to classify. Br. and Bū. prior to his edition (p. 119) took motar 'multae' as nom. pl., but it is in all probability gen. sg. A striking analogy is found in C.I.L., XI, 4766 (from Spoleto; about 200 B.C.?) seiquis seies violasit dolo malo, Iovei boid piaclum datod et a. CCC mollai suntod; mollai though ambiguous here is shown to be gen. sg. by the sentence which follows: eius piaclae molitique dicatore exactio estod. Dative of purpose might be conceivable for the Latin example but not for the Umbrian. It must therefore belong to the judicial class of genitives. — a. CCC: this abbreviation, stating the amount of the penalty, follows sins with an intervening space nearly large enough for five letters. The size of the fine of 300 asses is, according to Bū., p. 119, an indication of the seriousness of the offense from a religious viewpoint, not of the monetary value of the cattle. But see on Vb 9, where reference is made to Devoto's suggestion that both the price of a dinner there and the fine in the present passage presuppose a date after the reduction of the Roman as to $1/24 of its original value.
The alphabetical order is in general the same as in Latin, but k is alphabetized with c, ð is treated as equivalent to rs, ç follows s, and u, v are treated together.


abrof apruf, 'boars.' Acc. pl. apruf Iib 24, 33, abrof VIIa 3, abrons VIIa 43. L. aper 58 b, 60 e, 67, 90; n. on VIIa 43. abrunu, 'young boar' (?). Acc. sg. IIA 11. From *aprōn-, cf. abrof, L. aper. 81 a; n. on loc. cit.

Acesoniam-e, Akefuniam-em, 'Acedonia,' name of a locality in Iguvium. Acc. sg. (+ -em -e) Akefuniamem Iib 16, Acesoniamem VIIb 52; loc. Akefuni 43, (+ -m) Acesoniamem VIIa 52. 2 i, 46 f, 68 e; n. on VIIb 52.

acnu, 'years.' Acc. pl. Vb 8, 12, 14, 17. O. akenei, L. annus, Goth. aþnam, all from *atnu-. 41 f, 74 a; n. on Vb 8.

akrutu: see akru.

adro atru, 'black.' Acc. pl. neut. atru Iib 29, adro VIIa 25; abl. adrir VIIa 9, 10, 21, adrer VIIa 18. L. ater. 3 d, 60 f, 76 a.

afer aferum, 'perform a lustration.' Inf. aferum Iib 10, afero VIIb 48; gdve. gen. sg. m. anferener VIIa 19. For etym. see am- and fertu. 12 a n. 1, 51 e, 60 d, 119 a, 122 c, 128, 153 i; n. on VIIa 19.

afkitu, 'add to, add upon.' Inv. Ia 31. For etym. see an-, fiktu, and n. on Ia 28.

agre, 'field, country.' Gen. sg. agre Vb 9, 14; abl. (+ -tu) akrutu Va 9 (?). ages nom. sg. in minor U, inscr. no. 355 Co., L. ager, ἀγρός, Skt. āstras, Eng. acre. 32 d, 45, 47 a, 55 a, 57 h, 76 a, 90, 142 a; n. on Va 9.

ahatipursatu ahtrepuratu, 'dance the tripudium.' Inv. ahtepuratu Iia 24, 25, 31, 38, ahtrepuratu Iib 18; ahtipursatu VIIa 23, 36, atripursatu VIIb 16, atropusatu VIIb 36. Fom a- + *tripudātōd. Cf. L. tripudium. 10 c, 28 c, 42 b, 117 c; n. on VIIb 16.

ahauendu, 'turn aside, avert.' Inv. VIIa 27. From a- + *wendhetōd. Cf. preuendu, Germ. wenden. 60 n. 2, 119 a.


ahem-em, ahtis-per, of uncertain meaning, possibly 'fire-carrier.' Acc. sg. (+ -em) Iib 12, 12; abl. pl. (+ -per) III 24, 20. From *akti-, cf. L. ago, actio (?). 46 i, 77 b; n. on Iib 12, III 24.

Ahetu, of uncertain meaning, perhaps name of a god Ahtus. Dat. sg. Iia 10, 11. Possibly connected with L. aito, adagium, prod-igium, etc. 25 f, 46 i, 78 b, 90; n. on Iia 10-14.

aitu, 'move, carry' (?). Inv. aitu Iib 29, 37, aitu VIIb 18, 18, VIIa 40, 45; inv. 3 pl. aituta III 13. O. actud, inf. acnum (with analogical extension of the c which comes from q before t), L. ago, ἀγω. 46 j, 119 a; n. on III 13, VIIb 18.


alfr, alfu, 'white.' Acc. pl. neut. alfu Iib 29; abl. alfr VIIa 25, 26, alfer VIIa 32, 34. L. albus, ἀλφός; λευκός Hesych. 7 b, 40, 55 d, 67.

am-, prefix 'around, about.' 134 b.

amboltu, 'walk about.' Inv. VIIb 52. Cf. L. ambulo. 60 d, 116 a, 119 a, 152 f.

ambretuto, amprehtu, 'make the circuit.' Inv. amprehtu Iib 21, apretu Iib 20;
inv. 3 pl. ambretuto Vlb 56, 63, 64; fut. pf. 2 sg. amprefuus Ib 20; 3 pl. ambrefurent Vlb 56. From ambr-’around, about’ + root, etc. 26 c, 60 d, 122 b, 124 d, 125, 134 c, 138 a.

amparitu, act. ‘set up,’ pass. ‘stand up.’ Inv. amparitu III 14; inv. pass. amparirhm 11a 42. Cf. L. paro, pario (?). 11 a, 120 a, 150 d.

ampentu, ‘offer up, slaughter.’ Inv. ampentu IIa 20, III 23, ampetu IIb 10, 11, apentu IIII 27; fut. 2 sg. anpenes IIb 27; fut. pf. 2 sg. apeilus IIb 27, 3 sg. apeilust Va 17. From an- + pend-, cf. L. impendo. 3 d, 29 m, 51 d, 52 d, f, 61 e, 119 a, 123, 124 e, 151 c; n. on IIa 20.

ampefia, of uncertain meaning, possibly ‘part around the foot.’ Abl. sg. IIa 29. From *an(f)-ped-iād, cf. L. amb- + pes (?). 68 e.

amprehu, amprefuus: see ambretuto. an-, prefix ‘up, upon.’ 134 d.

ancla, ancler: see ancla.

andendu antentu, ‘put on, place upon.’ Inv. antentu IIa 20, IIII 15, 16, 17, 17, 22, IV 21, 27, antentu IIb 28, andendu VIIa 25. From an- + tend-, cf. L. tendo. 2 i, 3 d, 119 a with n. 3.

andirsajust aterajust, ‘make the circuit.’ Fut. pf. 3 sg. aterajust Ib 40, andersajust VIIb 3, andirsajust VIIa 46. From am- + root of dirsi tu teṣṭu, L. do. 42 b, 52 d, 117 b, 122 c, 124 d, 125.

andersistu, ‘sit in the way.’ Inv. andersistu VIa 6; fut. pf. 3 sg. andersesistu VIa 7. From ander- + root of sersitu, L. sedeo, sido. 29 b, 60 a, 152 f.

andervacoese, ‘interruption’ + enclitic vb. = L. sit. Nom. sg. contained in antervakoze Ib 8, andervacoese Vlb 47. Probably from *anterv-wakā-li(s) sit, cf. L. inter- + vacatio. 60 a, 77 b, 86 c.

andervomuo Vlb 41, of uncertain meaning, possibly ‘interval,’ as abl. sg. of *ander-womo-, with *wom- from *lom- ‘break,’ cf. O. lamalir ‘be beaten,’ Russ. lom- ‘break.’ 55 a, 60 a, 67; n. on loc. cit.

andirsajust: see andersajust.

anferener: see afero.

angla, ‘(divine) messengers.’ Nom. pl. ancler VIa 16; acc. angla VIa 1, 3, 5, 6, b 49, angla VIa 5, ancla VIa 18. From *an-skip-, cf. L. ciā-mo, ciā-rus. 18 a, 60 c, 65 a, 66.

anglom-e, ‘angle.’ Acc. sg. (+ -e) anglome VIa 9; abl. sg. (+ -lo) angluto VIa 8, 10, 10. L. anglus. 60 c, 75 a.

anhostatir, ‘unarmed, not under arms.’ Dat. pl. anhostatir VIIa 28, 50, anostatir VII 62, VIIa 13, 15; acc. pl. anhostatu VIb 60, anostati VIIa 48. From neg. an- + hostatir, q.v. 2 1, 17 e, 71, 87 a.

anostatir, anostatu: see anhostatir.

anouthimu, ‘wear, put on, hold (clothing, etc.).’ Inv. pass. Vlb 49, 49. Cf. L. ind-uor, ind-ur, Lith. awit ‘wear, put on (shoes).’ 11 a, 134 d, 150 e.

anpenes: see ampentu.

anseriato anzeriatu, ‘observe.’ Pres. subj. 1 sg. aseriaia VIa 2; inv. azeriatu Ib 8, azeriatu Vlb 47; inv. pres. 2 sg. aserio VIa 4; supine anzeriatu Ib 10, anseriato VIa 6, azeriato VIa 1, 6, b 48; plcl. pass. abl. pl. anzeriates Ia 1, IIa 17, azeriater VIa 1. From an- + serwiā-, cf. L. servire, servare. 2 i, 14 b, 25 a, 51 e, 54 g, 57 e, 58 a, 115 a, 117 e, 126 a, 127 a, 129, 153 d.

anshiitir: see anšihitir.


anstipatu, ‘demand.’ Inv. VIa 3. From an- + stipatu. 58 a, 117 c, 134 d.


anšihitir, ‘not in office’ (?). Dat. pl. anšihitir Vlb 62, VIIa 13, 14, 28, 50;
amparitu 297

Amediate, Anzheraton: see ameniatu.

ape, conjunction 'when.' ape Ib 34, IIa 9, b 27, 28, Va 17, 18, 20, 22, api Ia 27, 30, 33, ap III 20, IV 31, ape IVB 5, 16, 23, 37, 49, 52, 56, 62, 63, 63, 64, VIIa 5, 8, 39, 42, 43, ape 1VIII B 3. From *at-k* *e*: L. atque. 31 s, 49 a, 61 a, 112 s, 113 l, 154 b.

apehtre, 'apart.' IV 15. From *ab-ektryd*, cf. O. ekhtr, L. ab + extra, at *xe*. 26 c, 46 i, 76 c, 112 c, 113 d.

apelus, apelust, apentu: see ampenetu.

aplenia, 'sufficient' (?). Acc. pl. apleinia IIa 23; abl. pl. apleinies IIa 23.

For etym. see n. on loc. cit. 68 e.

appu: see ape.

apretu: see ambretulo.

apruft: see abrof.

arfortu: see arsfortur.

armamou: see arsmahamo.

arnipo, conjunction 'until.' VIIb 25, 41.

From ar- ( = ař-, L. ad-) + neg. ne + pom (L. quam, cum) or pod (L. quod).

112 g, 154 b.

ař-a, postposition 'to, toward.' asmam-a IV 6, asem-a IIa 39, IV 16; ereclam-a III 35, IV 3, 10, ereclam-a (written ereclamař) IV 6; etram-a III 34; persklem-ař III 21; spantim-ař III 33; spinam-ař Ila 33, spiniam-a IIa 37. L. ad, ar- (in arbitre, etc.), cf. O. az. 4, 147 a.

ařkani, 'musical accompaniment.' Acc. sg. IV 28. Probably from *ad-kaniem, cf. L. ac-cino, ac-centus. 42 c, 68 a, 86 c.

afapes, noun 'fat' (?). Abl. pl. ařapes Ia 6, 10, 19, 23, b 4, ařeper Ib 30, 33, ařepes Ib 26, 44, IIa 7, ařipes Ib 7, ařiper Ia 27, ařapes Ia 13. L. adipes (?). 36 b, 42 c, 68 b; n. on Ia 3.

arsfortur ařfortur, 'adfortor,' the chief priest in the cult of the Atiedian Brothers. Nom. sg. ařfortur Ia 41, IIa 16, Va 3, 10, arsfortur VIa 8, arsfortur VIa 15, VIIa 3; dat. ařforture IVb 3, 5, 6, ařsforture Ila 2; acc. ařsforturo VIa 17. From *ad-bher-tor*, cf. L. ař-fero, arferia (of dialectal origin?): aqua quae inferis libabatur, Paul. e Fest., p. 10. Li. 3 b, 13 b, 42 c, 55 c, 82 a, 86 b, 90, 91 c.

ařhabas, 'use.' In neiřhabas = nei + ařhabas, pres. subj. 3 pl., cf. L. adhibeant, 34, 152 b; n. on IV 33.

arsier, noun of uncertain meaning, possibly 'consecration, formula of consecration.' Gen. sg. arsier VIa 24, b 27, asier VIIb 8; loc. (?) sg. asier VIa 24, b 8, 27. Probably related to arsmor, arsmahamo, arsmatia. No sure connections outside Umbrian. 68 e; n. on VIIa 24.

arsir, 'other' according to the view preferred here. Nom. sg. m. VIa 6, 7. From *ailio: L. altus, állos. According to another view, with almost equally good support, 'dedicationibus' as abl. pl. of arsier. 32 a, 91 b; n. on Ila 6.

arsmahamo, 'arrange in priestly ranks' (?).

Imv. pass. 2 pl. ařmamou (written armanu) Ia 19, arsmahamo VIIb 56. From *ad-mä-, cf. arsmor, arsmatia. No sure connections outside Umbrian. 73, 117 c, 150 e.

arsmatia, adj. 'ritual.' Acc. sg. arsmatiam VIIb 49, 50, arsmatia VIa 19, b 53, 63, VIIa 46, 51. 68 e, 73.

arsmor, 'rites; priesthoods' (?). Nom. pl. arsmor VIa 26, 36, 46, b 29; acc. pl. arsmo VIa 30, 32, 39, 42, 52, b 13, 32, 34, VIIa 17, 30, asmo VIa 49. From *ad-mo-, cf. arsmahamo, arsmatia. No sure connections outside Umbrian. 73, 103 a.

Ařmune, an epithet of Jupiter. Dat. sg.
IVb 7. Probably from *ad-mōn-, cf. arsmor. 74 f; n. on loc. cit.

arpeitu, ‘approach.’ Inv. Ila 32, b 19, IV 8. Probably from *ad-ke-tōl-(e)lūd, cf. nēkōpās, L. colo. According to another view cognate with L. adpello, -ere. 42 c, 119 a; n. on Ila 32.

arpes: see arfes.

arputrati, ‘discretion.’ Abl. sg. Va 12. L. arbritūtū; root and vocalism uncertain. 15 a, 39, 42 c, 78 b, 86 c.

arsueitu arfēitu. ‘add.’ Inv. arfēitu Ila 12, 29, b 13, III 34, IV 5, arfēitu Ila 6, arfēitu IV 1, arsueitu VIIIa 56, 59, b 2, 5, 20, 44, 46, VIIa 4, 8, 42, 54, arsēitu VIIIb 23. L. advehilo, cf. kuveitu 2 i, 46 j, 119 a.

arcētā, ‘circular’ or ‘crescents,’ name of a type of ritual cakes of a circular or semicircular shape. Acc. pl. IV 22. From *arkelētā-, cf. L. arcus, arcēlum, arculata. 6, 29 e, 46 c, 71, 75 a.


arvēitu arvesitu: see arsēitu.

aruo arvīa, ‘fruits of the field, grain’ (?). Acc. pl. arvīa Ia 3, 9, 26, b 3, 6, 43, Ila 18, 24, arvīa III 31, arvēitu Ia 12, 16, 23, b 25, 28, 32, Ila 6, 11, 12, b 8, 29, arvīo VIIIa 56, 58, b 1, 3, 20, 22, 44, 45, VIIa 4, 7, 42, 53; abl. arves Ia 6, 10, 13, 19, 23, b 4, 26, 30, 33, 44, Ila 7, arvis Ia 27, b 7. Probably related to arvam(-en), L. arvum, as ἀγγος, to ἀγγος. 2 h, 54 c, 68 e; n. on Ia 3, Ila 18.

asa, ‘altar.’ Dat. (or loc.?) sg. ase Ila 19, III 22; acc. (+ -ař) asamař IV 6, (+ -a) asama Ila 39, IV 16, (+ -e) asamė VIIIa 10; abl. asa Ila 38, III 23, IV 16, asa VIIIa 9, (+ -ku) asaku Ila 39, 43. L. ara, O. loc. sg. aasai, cf. possibly also Hitt. hasšas ‘hearth.’ 7 a, 57 d, 66, 90, 145 a.


asiane, noun of uncertain meaning, ‘rear of altar’ (?). Loc. sg. Ia 25. Cf. asa (?). 74 d; n. on loc. cit.

asier: see arsier.

asmo: see arsmor.

asnata, adj. ‘dry.’ Acc. pl. neut. asnata Ila 19, asanatu Ila 34; abl. pl. asonates Ila 37, IV 9. Neg. a- + snata. 87 a; n. on Ila 19.

aso, pcpl. ‘lighted’ (?). VIIb 50. L. assom, arsum, pcpl. to ardeo (?). 129; n. on loc. cit.

Açetus, name of certain deities of uncertain identity. Dat. pl. Ila 14. Perhaps identical with L. dis Ancilibus. 80 b; n. on loc. cit.

atentu: see andentu.

atero, noun ‘evil’ (?). Acc. sg. VIIa 11, 27. Ety. uncertain; see n. on loc. cit.

ateřafust: see andersafust.

Atiēfiate, name of a decuvia among the citizens of Iguvium. Dat. sg. Ila 2, 2. Related to Atiersur Atiēfier as L. Arpinas, -atis to Arpinum. 77 c.

Atiersur Atiēfier, adj. ‘Atidian,’ name of the priestly brotherhood at Iguvium with whose activities the Tables are concerned. Nom. sg. (?) Atiersur VIIb 3; dat. Atiēfie Ila 1, 3; loc. Atiēfie Va 16; nom. pl. Atiēfier Va 1, 14, Atiersur VIIb 11, 16; gen. Atiēfie Ila 21, 35, b 26, Va 12, 25, 27, b 4, Atiersir VIIb 2; dat. Atiersir Bb 8, 14, Atiersier VIIb 1; abl. Atiēfies III 24, Atiēfie Ila 2, III 29, Atiēfier Va 4, 16. Probably related to Atiligio, name of a village south of the modern town of Fabriano. 2 h, 13 a, 33 c, 57 e, 68 e, 90.

atrepufatu atripursatu atropusatu: see ahatripurusatu.

atru: see adro.
**auriteu:** see *arsuetu.*


**auiekate,** pecl. pf. pass. (or pres. act.?) 'taking auspices.' Dat. sg. IIa 1, 3. From denominative vb. *auie-kā-, cf. *auie,* *auiecla,* *auief,* L. *avis.* 70, 79, 117 e.


*auif* *avif,* 'birds.' Acc. pl. avif Ilb 8, *avef* Ilb 10, *auif* VIb 47, 48, 49, *auief* Vla 4, 18, *auuei* Vla 3; abl. *avis* IIa 16, *aves* Ia 1, *auies* Vla 1. L. *avis,* Vedic *vi-,* nom. pl. *vayas,* 'bird.' 6, 26 e, 29 k, 54 b, 61 d, 77 a, 90.


*auuei:* see *auif.*

**azeriatu:** see *anseriatu.*

**benus,** 'come.' Fut. 2 sg. *menes* Ilb 15; fut. pl. 2 sg. *benus* Ilb 16; 3 sg. *benust* VIb 53; 3 pl. *benurent* Va 25, 28, b 5, *benurent* VIb 57; fut. pf. pass. 3 sg. *benusou* VIb 64, 65, VIIa 2. From *g*²-em-, cf. O. *ce-bnust 'venerit,'* L. *venio,* *betao.* 2 k, 49 b, 114 e, 115 g, 123, 124 b, 151 c.

**berva,** 'roasting-) spits.' Acc. pl. *berva* Ila 26, 33; abl. *berus* Ila 23, 35. From *g*²-eru-: L. *veru,* OIr. *bir 'spit,'* Goth. *gairu,* gloss on n̥uµro* oνθoς.* 29 k, 49 b, 61 d, 78 a, 90.


**CCC,** abbreviation for equivalent of L. *trecenti 'three hundred.'* VIIb 4. 104 a.


**calersu kalereu,** adj. 'with white forehead,' as epithet of oxen. Acc. pl. m. *kalefu* Ia 20, *calersu* VIb 19. L. *calidus* in Isid., *Ortg., XI, 1, 52 equi qui albam frontem habent, calidi appellantur.* 42 b, 72.

**kanetu,** 'sing, play (music).' Inv. IV 29. Cf. L. *cano.* 30 b, 46 a, 118 b.

**capirse kapi̯re,** 'bowl.' Dat. sg. Ia 29, 32, IIa 8, *capirse* VIb 24, 37; acc. *capirso* VIb 25; abl. *kapi̯re* Ila 34, 41; acc. pl. *capif* VIb 18, VIIa 39, 45, *kapi̯re* Ia 18, *kapi* Ib 29, 37; abl. *kapi̯rus* Ila 33, IV 5. L. *capis, -idis.* 10 c, 31 e, 42 b, 61 b, 80 c, 90, 102 d.

**kapres, kapru:** see *kabru.*

**karne, karnus:** see *karu.*

**carsitu karêtu,** 'call.' Inv. *karêtu* Ia 33, *karêtu* III 21, *carsitu* VIa 17, VIIa 43. L. *calare,* *kalēw.* 2 a, 9 a, 55 b, 114 e, 118 a.


**karu,** 'roast' (?). Inv. Ila 23. No sure etym. 119 a; n. on loc. *cil.*

**karu,** 'portion, section,' (with *mestru*) 'majority.' Nom. sg. *karu* Va 24, 27, b 4; dat. *karne* Ila 1, 3; abl. *karne* Ila 30; abl. pl. *karnus* IV 7. L. *caro,* cf. Skt. *kṛ̤ḷati 'cut,'* OHG *scran 'cut.'* 17 b, 58 f, 81 a, 90, 91 c; on Ila 1.

from the Rhone Valley, Whatmough, *Prae-Italic Dialects*, 11, no. 327.

**Casios, Kaselate**, name of a *deccvia* among the citizens of Iguvium. Nom. sg. *Casios* Vb 13; dat. **Kaselate** IIB 6, 6, 6; *Caslato* Vb 16. Cf. Casiler. 7 b, 29 l, 77 c, 90, 91 d.

castro **kastruvi** 'heads, lives' (?); according to another view, 'estates.' Acc. pl. **kastruvum** Va 13, 18, **kastruva** Va 20, 22, castruvo Vla 30, 32, 40, 42, 50, 52, b 13, 32, 34, VIIa 17, 30. Cf. O. *castrous*, castrid. L. *castrum*, -a, and see Buck, p. 236, n. 1, which I follow for the most part despite the change of view in his Additions and Corrections. 2 h, 44 c, 54 b, 78 a, 103 a.


**katel**, 'puppy, dog.' Nom. sg. **katel** Ila 43; gen. **kates** Ila 22, 27; dat. (?) **kate** Ila 15; acc. **katlu** Ila 18, 20, 29. L. *catulus*. 29 e, i, 75 a, 90, 91 b.

caterahamo kateramu, 'arrange in military ranks' (?). Inv. pass. 2 pl. **kateramu** Ib 20, caterahomo Vlb 56. L. *catera*. 54 g, 114 e, 117 c, 150 e.

**kazi**, noun of very uncertain meaning, possibly 'kettle.' Acc. sg. III 16, 18. Cf. L. *catinus* (?). See n. on III 16.

**kebu**, 'food' (?). Abl. sg. IV 23. L. *cibum* (?). 39, 46 f, 67.

cenefi, Vla 20, of uncertain morphology and meaning. According to the view adopted here, 'flame, blaze,' as acc. sg. from *kefiom* < *knemios* > *kentliyom* < *knidliyom*, cf. L. candeo, incendium. 46 f, 124 d; n. on loc. cit.

**Claubernir, Klavernie**, name of a *deccvia* among the citizens of Iguvium. Nom. pl. **Claubernir** Vb 8; dat. pl. **Klavernie** IIB 3, 3, **Claverni** Vb 10. 13 b, 68 e.

**klavlaft**, according to the view adopted here 'smearing-sticks'; according to others 'haunches' or 'spoons.' Acc. pl. **klavlaft** Ila 33; abl. **klavles** Ila 36, IV 11. L. *clava, clavula* (?). 75 a; n. on Ila 33.


**Kluvieron**, a gentile name 'Cluvierus.' Gen. sg. Va 15. 68 e.

com, 'with, along with.' Vlb 52, 55, 56, 57. O. **com**, L. *cum*, com-. 4, 46 a.

-com -co -kum -ku, postposition 'at, by; with.' asa-ku Ila 39, 43; testru-ku Ia 29, destru-co Vlb 24, 38; eru-com Vlb 50, eru-ku Ila 31; esu-ku IV 29, esis-co, Vla 18; esunes-ku Va 11; nertru-ku Ia 32, nertru-co Vlb 37, 39; persi-co Vlb 25; pesondris-co Vlb 40; termnu-co Vlb 53, 55, 57, termnes-ku Ia 19; uleris-co Vla 19, 20, 21, b 23, 44, 46, Vla 42, 53; vuku-kum Ib 1, 4, vocu-com Vlb 43, 45; ura-ku Va 5; uvi-um III 28. Etymology same as for com. 45 a. 54 e, 106 b, 147 b, 155 g.

comatir: see comoltu.

**combifiatu kumpfiatu**, 'announce, deliver instructions.' Pres. subj. 2 (or 3?) sg. **kupfiaia** Ib 35; inv. **kumpfiatia** Ib 14, kumpfiatu Ila 35, combifiatu Vla 17, b 48, 51, VIIa 43, 44; fut. pf. 3 sg. combifianisulst Vlb 49, combifiansulst VIIa 5, combifiansulst Vlb 52; pf. subj. 3 sg. combifiansu Vlb 52. Probably from denominative stem *kombeidh-iyā-*, cf. peidō, L. *fiōdo*. 2 b, 3 d, 43, 51 d, 60 d, 114 e, 117 e, 124 f, 125, 126 a, c.


comoltu **kumultu**, 'grind.' Inv. kumaltu Ia 34, kumaltu Ila 9, 41, IV 28, comoltu Vlb 17, 41, VIIa 39, 44, 45; pepl. pass. abl. pl. **kumates** Ia 34 (written **kumates**), Ila 42, IV 29, kumate Ib 37, 38, Ila 10, comatir Vlb 17, 41, 41, VIIa 39, 44, 45. L. *com-molo*, cf. Skt. *mṛṇāti* 'crush.'
conegos kunikaz, pcpl. pf. pass. 'kneeling.' Nom. sg. m. conegos Vlb 5, 16, VIa 37, kunikaz IV 15, 18, 20. Probably from *ko(n)-(g)niq-, cf. L. genu, gnixus in Paul. e Fest., p. 216 Li. gnitor et gnixus a genibus priscis diexerunt. 2 d, 3 d, 7 b, 29 i, 47 d, 114 e, 116 a, 117 b, 131; n. on Vlb 5.

Coredler Kureties, either a divine name or a gentile name 'Coredius.' Gen. sg. Kureties Ib 4, Coredler Vlb 45. 3 d, 42 d, 68 e; n. on Vlb 45.

coueru kuvertu, 'return.' Inv. kuvertu Ib 9, 36, 38, IIa 39, coueru Vlb 47, VIIa 44, 45; fut. pf. 2 sg. kuvertus Ib 11; 3 sg. coueritus VIIa 39, couritus Vla 6; fut. pass. 3 sg. couritusu Vlb 64. L. converto, convertito, etc. 2 a, 12 d, 17 a, 29 b, 35 d, 114 e, 115 g, 119 a, 124 b.

Craboute, Krapuvi: see Graboute.

krematra, 'roasting-pans' (?). Acc. pl. IIa 23. From *krema-tro-, cf. L. crenus, -are. 76 b.

krematriu, 'fat-drippings' (?). Acc. pl. krematuruf Ib 26, krematru IIa 28. Etym. same as for krematra. 76 b; n. on IIa 26.

erringatro krikatru krenkatrum, noun 'stole.' Acc. sg. krenkatrum Ib 11, krikatru III 27, 29, erringatro Vlb 49. Cf. OE hring, OCS krog 'circle.' 2 i, 3 d, 8 d, 60 d, f, 76 b; n. on Vlb 49.

-ku: see -co.


kvestretio, 'quaestorship.' Loc. sg. Ib 45, II 44. Cf. kvestur, L. quaestor. 8 a, 68 e.

kvestur, 'quaestor.' Nom. sg. Va 23, b 2. Probably borrowed from L. quaestor. 46 h, 82 a, 91 c.

kumaltu, kumate(s): see comoltu.

kumiaf: see gomia.

kunnahkle, 'assembly, meeting-place.' Loc. sg. kunnahkle Va 15, kunnakle III 7, 8. From *kom-nā-tlo-, cf. kumne. 75 b, 86 f.

kunme, a place in Iguvium, probably 'Comitium.' Loc. sg. Ib 41. From *kom-nei: O. comenel. 51 c, 74 a, 86 f.

kumpfiatu kupifiatu, kupifiaia: see combifiatu.

kumultu: see comoltu.

kunikaz: see conegos.

kuratu, 'look after, provide.' Pres. subj. 3 sg. kuraia Va 5; pcpl. pf. pass. neut. nom. sg. kuratu Va 24, 26, 29. L. eur, -are, Paol. pf. 3 pl. eoisatens, denominatives to L. cura and its Paol. equivalent. No sure cognates outside Italic. 7a, 21 c, 53 b, 57 c, 114 e, 117 c, 126 a, 131, 149.

Kureiates, name of a deewvia among the citizens of Iguvium. Dat. sg. IIb 3, 3. 77 c.

Kureties: see Coredler.

curnaco, noun 'crow.' Acc. sg. curnaco Vla 2, 4, 15, 17; abl. curnase Vla 1. Cf. L. corinus, with variation of the vowel in the second syllable. 10 b, 12 b, 46 b, 80 a, 90.

kurclasius, of uncertain meaning, probably 'circular, full' (of the moon). Abl. sg. IIa 17. From *kφ- or *kor-kelāsios, cf. L. circularis (with ablaut-variation in the root and a different stem-suffix). 35 d, 46 c, 53 e, 57 d, 68 d, 75 c; n. on loc. cit.

kutef, pres. pcpl. 'speaking in a low tone, murmuring.' kutef Ia 6, 10, 13, 19, 23, b 7, kutep Ib 3. Possibly from *kautens, pres. pcpl. of *kautey6, denominative vb. from pf. pass. pcpl. corresponding to L. cauisus. 2 k, 22, 58 d, 114 e, 118 c, 130, 139 b.


kuvertu kuvertus: see coueru.
daëtom, pe.pl. pass. nom. sg. neut. used as noun 'delinquency.' ViIA 28, 37, 47, b 30. From da- (O. dat, cf. O. dadid 'dediderit' and, more remotely, L. dē) + *iōm (or *iēm?) pe.pl. pass. of etu, cf. peretom. 30 c, 114 e, 122 b, 131, 149.

Dei: see Di.

dēitu teitu, 'say, declare, pronounce, designate.' Inv. teitu IIa 26, 3, 25; III 9, 25, dēitu VIb 56, 63, 64, 65, VIia 1, 20, 51; fut. pf. 3 sg. dersicust VIb 63; 3 pl. dersicurent VIb 62. O. deicum deikum, L. dico. 3 d, 35 d, 46 j, 52 g, 119 a, 124 a, 125.

degurier tekuries, 'decurial, pertaining to the decumia.' Abl. pl. tekuries IIb 1, degurier Vb 11, 16. From *dek-ur-yo-, cf. L. decuria, O. dekkviarim, L. decem. 2 a, 3 d, 45, 68 e, 90, 105 h; n. on IIb 1.

dersa: see dirstu.

dersecor, adj. 'due.' Nom. pl. VIa 26, 36, 46, b 29. Probably from *dedeko-, reduplicated stem from root contained in tičit, L. decet. 67, 103 a.

dersicurent, dersicust: see dēitu.

dersua tesvam, adj. of uncertain meaning, possibly 'western, in the west.' Acc. sg. f. tesvam Ib 13, dersua VIa 2, 2, 4, 15, 16, 17, 17, desvua VIb 51, 52, 52; abl. sg. f. dersua VIa 1. Possibly related to L. dorsum. 3 d, 54 c, 69; n. on VIa 1.

desenduf, 'twelve.' Acc. pl. VIib 2. Cf. L. duodecim, with the components in reverse order. 17 d, 42 a, 46 b, 105 i.

destre testre, adj. 'right' (of position). Acc. sg. f. (+ -e) destrama VIb 49; abl. m. testru III 23, IV 15; (+ -ku) testruku Ia 29, destreco VIb 24, 38; loc. m. testre IIb 27, 28, destre VIb 50; loc. f. destre VIb 4. L. dexter, dextra, δεξιότης; cf. O. destrest = L. dextra est. 2 a, 3 d, 8 a, 29 a, 42 a, 62 d, 76 c, 90.

deueia, 'of the god(s), divina.' Acc. sg. deueia VIa 10; abl. deueia VIa 9. Probably from *deiwīyā-, cf. O. Dei- vai, deivinails, L. divus, Skt. devas. 68 a.


dia, 'give, cause, produce' (?). Pres. subj. 3 sg. VIa 20. Probably from *dūiyāt from *dūī- ablaut-variant of *dūō- 'give' + i, cf. purdōiitu, pur- dīto, L. subj. 3 pl. duint. 15 b, 54 e, 120 a, 126 a.

difue, 'folded double.' Acc. sg. VIb 4. From *dūi-fuīum or *dūi-fuīum with development as in 32 a; for first component cf. dr-, L. bi-, Skt. dvi-, for second cf. U. jatu, L. jai, for compound cf. dr-vojā. 54 e, 88, 105 b.

dirstu teftu, dītu tetu, 'give, distribute.' Pres. ind. pass. 3 sg. tefte Va 7; pres. subj. act. 3 sg. tefra Ib 34, 35, 36, dīsa Vb 13, dersa VIa 43, 44, 44; 3 pl. dirsans Vb 11, 16, dirsas Vb 8; inv. teftu IIa 40, 40, tertu IV 28, dirstu VIb 17, 38, 38, 39, VIia 5; inv. tetu IIa 9, b 21, titu Ia 33, dītu VIb 10, 16, 25, VIia 38; fut. pf. 3 sg. terust Ib 34, dirsust VIa 43. All these forms are based on reduplicated stems, cf. dōomu, Skt. dadāmi, O. fut. didest; cf. also U. diá, pur-dōiitu, L. do, dare, etc. 2 a, 3 d, 10 c, 29 b, c, 35 d, 42 a, b, c, 52 d, 55 c, 58 g, 114 e, 116 e, 119 b, 123, 124 a, 126 a.

disterālinsust, 'become ineffective' or 'make ineffective.' Fut. pf. 3 sg. VIa 7. Possibly denominative to *dis-īeīšiī (gradation of root uncertain), cf. L. dis- and ḫra, de-īrūs, de-īrāre, Germ. Geleise. 57 b, 77 h, 114 e, 120 b, 124 f; n. on loc. cēi.
dilu: see distant.

dupla, tupler, ‘two.’ Acc. pl. f. dupla
Vlb 18, 18; abl. pl. m. tupler Va 19. L. duplus, cf. U. tuplak, L. duplex.
13 d, 38 a, 55 c, 88, 105 b.
dur, tuf, ‘two.’ Nom. pl. dur Vlb 50, VIIa 46; dat. dur Vlb 10, 15; acc. pl. tuf Ib 41; acc. pl. neut. tuva Ib 27, III 32, 34; abl. tuves III 19, (+ -e) tuvere Ib 33. L. duo, ódo, Eng. two, etc.; cf. also U. duti. 2 h, 3 d, 33 c, 42 a, 54 b, 105 b, 155 h.

-e -e -en -em -n -m -me -i, postposition. With acc. into, to, upon. Akerfuniamem Ib 16, Acesontiam-e Vlb 52; ahtimem Ib 12, 12; anglom-e Vlb 9; arvamen III 11; asam-e Vla 10; av ieiklue-e Ib 14; carson-e Vla 13, 14; destram-e Vlb 49; ebeatra-e Vla 12, hebetaf-e Vlb 53; esunum-en III 20, esunum-e Ib 14, esonome-e Vlb 50, 52; fesnafe-e Ib 16; ooscelom-e Vla 12; peñum-e Ib 27, III 33, persom-e Vlb 38, 39, 40; perlom-e Vla 14; purom-e Vlb 17, VIIa 38; presotiaf-e Ib 12; randem-e Vla 14; Rupinan-e Ib 35, 36, Rubinam-e VII a 43, 44; rusem-e VIIa 8, 9, 23; satam-e Ib 38; smursim-e Vla 14; termnom-e Vlb 57, 63, 64; lertiem-e Vla 13; lettom-e Vla 13, 14, 14; todcom-e Vla 10, 10; uapef-e Vla 10, 10, 2 b 51; uasirsлом-e Vla 12; uasebol-e Vlb 47, vagaetum-i Ib 8; veruf-e Ib 9, uerof-e Vlb 47; vuukum-en III 20. With loc. in, on, at. arve-n III 13; eikvases-e Va 4, 16; fesner-e Ib 11; Fisie-m Vla 46; Funtler-e Ib 24, Fondlir-e VIIa 13; manuv-e Ib 23, orece-m Vla 46; scasli-e Vlb 5, VIIa 37; tole-me Vla 26, 46. O. en, -en, L. in, Gk. εν, Eng. in. 4, 8 e, 52 h, 147 d.

eaf eaf, eam: see erec.
ebetraf-e, ‘exit, exits.’ Acc. pl. (+ -e) ebetrafe Vla 12, hebetafe [sic] Vlb 53. Probably from *ê-baile-rô- or *ê-baille-trô-; cf. L. ē, ex and baelo ‘go,’ the latter possibly from root i-î- with prefix an ablaut-variant to ētî, L. ob (see Muller, pp. 59-60). 2 1, 76 a, 86 c.
ekvine (written ekvime), probably name of a street *(Via) Equina.’ Loc. sg. Ib 13. L. equinus. 46 h, 74 e; n. on loc. cit.
ef: see ife.
efurfatu, ‘remove from a platter’ (?). Inv. Vlb 17, VIIa 38. From ē- + fjurtā, cf. furtant.
ehe e, preposition with abl. from, away from. e in easa Ib 38, ehe VI b 54, (in combination ehesu) 54. O. ee- eh-, L. ē, ex, ἐκ, ἐξ. 26 c, 147 c.
eheturstamu etufstamu, ‘banish, pronounce banishment against.’ Inv. pass. sg. etufstamu Ib 16, eturstahmu Vlb 53 (written etursa), 53, echeturstahamu Vlb 55. From e- + *tudes-lā-, cf. luder. 26 c, 57 e, 114 e, 117 c.
ehiato, ‘let loose.’ Pepl. pf. pass. acc. pl. m. (or sg. neut.?) Vlb 2. From ē- + *hiyā-, cf. O. eehianasum, L. hio, hiare. 48 a, 114 e, 117 b.
ehvelklu, noun ‘vote, expression of opinion.’ Acc. sg. Va 23, b 1. From *ê-wel-lô-, cf. ehuellu, L. volo, velle. 26 c, 75 b, 86 c.
eikvasatis, ‘of the college’ (?). Abl. pl. III 11, 29. Cf. eikvases-e, to which eikvasatis is related as L. Arpiznas to Arpinum or Ravennas to Ravenna. 19 b.
eikvases-e ‘members of a (priestly) college’ (?). Loc. pl. (+ -e) Va 4, 16.
eiscurent, 'come to fetch.' Fut. pf. 3 pl. Vlb 10, 15. Probably related to Skt. icchati (< *is-ske-it) 'wish,' OHG eisçon 'fragen,' OE æscian, OCS iskati 'seek,' all these forms representing several different vowel-grades. 114 e, 119 e, 124 b.
etopes, 'resolved.' Pf. 3 pl. Va 2, 14. Etym. uncertain; possibly from *eit-(om h)epens 'rational habuerunt.' 9b, 34, 51 b, 114 e, 115 d n. 1, 124 c, g, 151 b; n. on Va 2.
eman tur, 'accept.' Pres. subj. pass. 3 pl. eman tur Va 8, emantu Va 10. 119 a, 126 a.
endendu ententu, 'insert, place in, on.' Inv. ententu Ib 12, III 15, endendu Vlb 40, 40, 49; fut. pf. 2 sg. entelus Ib 12; 3 sg. entelust Vlb 50. From en- + tend-, cf. andendu, L. tendo. 3 d, 52 f, 60 a, 61 e, 114 e, 119 a with n. 3, 124 e, 125, 127 b.
enen ene, temporal adv. 'then, thence.' ene Ib 35, enem VIIa 44, 44, eine VIIa 10, 11. Cf. eno, enumek, inumek, O. enim, nim, O. eveyu, L. enim. 109 i, 112 d.
enetu, 'commence.' Inv. enetu Ia 1, enetu VIIa 1. From en- + etu. L. inco. 20 c.
en enu enuk, enumek, etc., temporal adv. 'then.' enuk Ia 30, 33, Va 29, inuk Ib 7, III 4, 7, 15, 16, IV 13, 14, enu Ib 36, 37, 38, 38, IIa 9, b 21, eno VIIb 16, 17, 17, 46, 56, 56, 62, 65, VIIa 1, enom VIIb 38, 38, 39, 40, 40, 53, 64, VIIa 5, 8, 9, 23, 23, 36, 45, 45, 51, enno VIIa 38, ennom VIIb 51, VIIa 20, 24, 34, 39; enumek Ib 11, 13, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22, inumek III 9, 11, 26, 34, IV 2, 17, 18 (written inuntek), 20, 21, 24, 26, 27, 28, inumk IV 23, inemek III 20. Cf. enem ene and Oscan and Latin etymology listed after it. 51 e, 109 i, 112 d, 113 h.
entelust, ententu: see endendu.

erec erik er, efek erse, etc., anaphoric pronoun 'he, it,' etc.; sometimes with adverbial value 'then, during that time.' Nom. sg. m. erek Va 11, ere Va 4, ered VIIb 1, ere VIIb 50; neut. efek Va 26, erse VIIa 8; gen. sg. m. ererek III 32, erer VIIa 23, 24, 31, 33, 34, 35, 40, 43, 43, 45, 50, 53, 54, 55, b 7, 7, 10, 12, 14, 15, 26, 27, 28, 33, 34, 35, VIIa 10, 18, 19, 22, 26, 31, 32, 35, irer VIIa 25; f. erar VIIa 23, 24, 26, 31, 33, 34, 35, 40, 43, 44, 45, 50, 53, 54, 55, b 7, 8, 10, 12, 14, 15, 26, 27, 28, 33, 35, 35, 62, VIIa 11, 14, 14, 18, 19, 22, 26, 28, 31, 32, 35, 50, 51; acc. f. eam Vlb 16, 24; neut. efek Ia 30, III 33, 35, IV 3, 21, 32, erse VIIa 6 (adverbial value in the last two passages); abl. m. (+ -com erucom VIIb 50; f. erak III 12; neut. (+ -ku) III 31, eruk III 14 (adverbial); gen. pl. eru Va 8 (?), ero Vlb 62, 62, VIIa 13, 14, 28, erom VIIa 50; acc. f. eaf Ib 42, eaf VIIa 52; neut. eu Ia 2, b 9, eo VIIa 20. O. izc, cf. L. is, ea, id. 2 j, 8 b, 20 d, 31 b, 42 b, 57 c, 106 b, d, 109, 109 a (the basic ref.), 113 c, h.
ereslu, 'statue.' (?) Acc. sg. erečlu IV 13 (first instance; possibly pl.), (+ a) erečluma III 35, IV 3, 10, (+ ač) erečlumara (written erečlamar) IV 6; loc. erečle IV 17, 19; acc. pl. erečlu IV 13 (second instance). Probably from *aile-bal-, cf. erus, esono. 29 e, 75 c; n. on III 35.
eretu: see her.
erihont, eront, etc. 'the same.' Nom. sg. m. erihont Vlb 50, eront Vlb 24; gen. f. erarunt IV 1; abl. m. eruhu Ib 22; f. erahunt Ib 23; erafont Vlb 65, VIIa 1; nom. pl. m. eronunt Vlb 63; abl. f. ererunt (written erererunt) IV 5; neut. eriron Vlb 48. For first element cf. erec; for second element cf. L. hic, hune, etc. 48 a, b, 52 g, 106 c, d, 109, 109 b.
erus, noun of uncertain etym. and meaning, left untranslated. Possibly some-
thing distributed to persons present at the sacrifice. Acc. sg. erus Ia 33, b 34, 34, 35, 36, Ila 9, 28, 32, 40, b 21, IV 14, 27; erus Vlb 16, 16, 25, 38, 38, 39, VIIa 5, 38, 43, 43, 43, 44. Possibly from *aïsus, cf. O. abl. pl. aïsusis 'sacrifices'; cf. also U. esono, 29 n. 1, 60 n. 1, 83; n. on Vlb 16.


esmei, esmik, pronoun 'this, it.' Dat. sg. esmik Ia 28, 31, esmei Vla 5, 18; loc. esme Vlb 55. Skt. asmai; for the stem cf. the initial vowel of ēk̩ ev̩ os, U. etantu. 57 b, 109, 109 c.

eso eso eso esuk, etc., adv. of manner 'thus, as follows.' etc. Hha 3, Va 14, esuk Va 1, eso Vla 2, 3, 8, 16, 22, b 6, 9, 53, 57, VIIa 9, 20, 25, 34, 46, eso Vlb 25, iso Vla 20, isoc VIIb 3. Cf. esu, O. eksuk, exc. 109 e, 112 d, 113 c, h.

esono esunu, adj. 'of the gods, divine, religious' and neut. noun 'rite, sacrifice.' Adj.: dat. sg. f. esune Va 4; abl. f. esuna Va 5; acc. pl. f. esona Vla 3, 5, esoona Vla 18. Noun neut.: nom. sg. esunu Ib 38, Ila 21, 42, III 1, 14; acc. esunu Ib 9, Ila 2, 20, esoona Vla 57, b 47, (+ -en, -e-e) esunumen III 20, esunume Ib 14, esone Vlb 50, 52; abl. esunu IV 30; loc. esune Va 6, esone Vlb 11; gen. pl. esunu Ib 8, eso Vlb 47; acc. pl. esunu Ila 2, 2; abl. esoneir Vla 18, (+ -ku) esunesku Va 11. Probably from *aïs(e)-ono/a, cf. dat. pl. Marruc. aïos, Mars. esos 'disi'; aïos: theoi ἐπὶ Τύγχανον Hesych., aesar Etrusc lingua deus, Suet., Aug., 97; also O. aïsusis, abl. pl. 'sacrifices,' U. erus (?). 13 a, 19 a, 25 b, 57 f, 90.

est est, vb. 'be, is,' etc. Pres. 3 sg. est Ib 18, 18, Ila 15, est Vla 8, 9, 10, 26, 27, 27, 27, 28, 28, 28, 36, 37, 37, 37, 37, 37, 38, 46, 47, 47, 47, 47, 48, 29, 30, 30, 30, 30, 30, 31, 53, 55, 55, VIIb 2, 3; 3 pl. sent Vla 15, 27, 36, 46, b 29; pres. subj. 2 sg. sir VIIb 7, 7, 26 (in fonsir), si Vlb 26, sei Vla 23, 23; 3 sg. si Va 6, 24, 27, b 3, 7, se Ib 8, 8 (in antervakaie), si (in mersi) Vla 33, 48, se (in anteruacose) Vlb 47; 3 pl. sis Va 6, sins VIIb 4; inf. eru Va 26, 29, b 5, erom VIIb 2. O. est ist, inf. ezum, L. est, 遄i, Skt. asti, etc. 4, 8 e, 12 a, 12 d, 41 a, 52 d, 57 e, h, 58 g, 114 e, 115 b, 122 a, 126 b, 123. See also futa, which stands in a suppletive relation to est.

este este, estu, etc., demonstrative pron. 'this, the following.' Acc. sg. m. estu IIb 24; neut. este Ia 1, este Vla 1, 56, b 62, 63, VIIa 51; acc. pl. neut. estu Ila 2, b 23, esto Vla 15, 15. L. iste (?). 109 a, 109, 109 d.

esu esu, etc., demonstrative pron. 'this.' Abl. sg. m. (+ -ku) esuku IV 29, esu Vla 25, 28, 33, 35, 38, 45, 48, 53, b 28, 31, 35, 54, essu Vla 43, (after ch-) ehus Vlb 54; f. esa Vlb 9, 14; gen. pl. esumek Ib 8, esome Vlb 47; abl. esir VIIa 10, 18, 28, 32, (+ -co) esisco Vla 18, isir VIIa 21, 34. Cf. eso, O. eksuk, exc. 57 d, 61 d, 109, 109 e.

esuf, intensive pron. 'oneself.' Nom. sg. m. Ha 40, IV 15. O. essuf, L. ipse. 57 d, 58 f, 61 d, 81 n. 1, 91 c, 109, 109 f.

et et, conjunction 'and.' et Ib 20, IV 7, 12, Va 6, 8, 13, 18, 20, 22, et Vb 9, 13, 14, 15, 17, Ila 19, b 5, 24, VIIa 37, 44, 46, 51. L. et, ĭtī, Skt. ati. 31 d, 41 a, 112 g.

etantu, adj. 'so great.' Nom. sg. f. Vb 6. For e- cf. the initial of eser; for -tantu, L. lanta, cf. tvr, tiv, tv, etc. 2 d, 7 b, 41 a, 61 a, 71, 109 c, k.

etato etato, 'go.' Pres. subj. 3 pl. etatans Vlb 64, etatias Vlb 65, VIIa 1; impv. 3 pl. etatu Ib 21, 22, 23, etato Vlb 63. From *etū-, related to etu as frequentative L. ilo -are to eo ire, except that e- in the Umbrian forms probably stands for the strong grade of the root. 52 d, 57 e, 58 g, 114 e, 117 d, 127 c.
etru, 'other, second.' Dat. sg. f. etre
Iib 2, 3, 4, 5, 6; acc. f. (+ -a)
etrama III 34; abl. neut. etra Vla 35, 38, 43; loc. etre Iib 14; dat. pl. etre
Iib 3, 4, 6 (first instance in each of these three lines); acc. f. etraf Ia 18, 18; abl. etres III 18. From e- (cf. esmei, etc.) + -tero-, with semantic development as in L. alter. 76 c, 105 b, 109 c.
etu etu eetu, 'go.' Fut. 3 sg. est Vla 6, eest Vla 2; inv. etu Iib 10, 14, Ila 33, III 20, IV 21; etu Vlb 48, VIla 39, eetu Vlb 54; inv. 3 pl. etuta III 11, etutu Iib 15, 23, 23, etuto Vlb 51, 52, 65, VIla 1; fut. pf. 3 sg. iust Vla 7; pf. subj. pass. (?) 3 sg. ier Vlb 54. L. eo, ire, eitu, Skt. stml. cf. U. elato. 13 b, 20 a, c, 122 b, 123, 124 b, 126 c, 127 b, c.
etursahamu etursstamu: see ehetursathamu.
ezariaj, 'food-(baskets)' (?). Acc. pl. IV 27. Probably from *ød(e)s-áriaf < *odes-ásiams, cf. L. edo 'eat,' etc. 66 d.
fakurent fakurent, fakust: see fàcia.
fahe, word of uncertain form and sense in Vb 13. Possibly 'roasted.' Cf. φώγο (?), Germ. backen and Eng. bake (?). N. on loc. cit.
famefias 'families' (?). Nom. pl. Iib 2. O. famel, jamelo, L. familia. No sure connection outside Italic. See E-MP, under famulus, where possible Etr. origin is suggested.
far, noun 'spelt.' Gen. sg. farer Vb 9, 14; acc. far Vb 10, 15. O. far, L. far, OE ber 'barley,' cf. U. farsio. 20 a, 59 b, 83, 90.
farsio fasio fasiu, 'spelt-cakes.' Acc. pl. neut. fasiu Ila 12, farsio Vlb 2, fasio Vlb 44. L. farrea, cf. U. far., etc. 2 i, 3 f, 8 b, 53 b, 55 b, 59 a with n. 1, 68 b.
façefele, adj. 'fit for sacrifice.' Acc. sg. (written façefete) Iib 9. Equivalent as if to L. *facibilem; cf. facio, U. fàcia in the ritual sense 'sacrifice.' 77 i.
facia, fetu, etc., 'do, perform, sacrifice offer, place,' etc. Pres. subj. 3 sg. facia Ila 17; pres. subj. 3 sg. feia Va 23, b 1; inv. fetu Ia 3, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 19, 22, 24, 25, 25, 26, 26, 28, 28, b, 2, 3, 3, 6, 25, 27, 29, 32, 43, 44, 44, Ila 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 11, 12, 13, 13, 14, b 7, 10, 26 (written feiu), 29, feitu Ia 4, 5, 7, 9, 18, 24, 28, 31, 32, Ila 20, III 31, 31, 32, fetu Vla 22, 56, 57, 58, 58, 59, b 1, 1, 1, 2, 3, 3, 5, 19, 19, 20, 20, 22, 22, 22, 23, 24, 37, 43, 43, 44, 44, 44, 45, 45, 46, 46, 55, VIla 3, 4, 4, 6, 7, 7, 7, 37, 41, 42, 42, 53, 53, 54, 54, feiu Vlb 3, 22, 47, VIIa 3, 4, feetu VIla 41; inf. faciù Ila 16, façu Iib 22; pepl. pass. abl. sg. f. feta Iib 13; fut. pf. 3 sg. fakust IV 31; 3 pl. fakurent
Ib 34, fakurent VIIa 43. From root *dho-ka, *dhe-(k)-: O. fakiad, L. facio, cf. τιθημι, Skt. dadhalim, Eng. do. 16 a, 31 d, 35 d, 41 b, 43, 46 b, d, g, j, 53 d, 114 e, 115 d, 121, 122 d (the basic ref.), 124 b, 125, 126 a, 127 b, 128.
feetu: see facia.
fefuscere, vb. of uncertain meaning, 'be disturbed, turn out for ill' (?). Pf. 3 sg. (?) Ila 4. Etym. uncertain; possibly connected with φώγο, πέφραται: 'mingle, confound.' 114 e, 124 a.
feia, feitu feitu: see facia.
feiliuf: see filiu.
feisla, noun of uncertain meaning, probably neut. acc. pl. 'vegetables.' Va 11. If this interpretation is correct, from *gıheles-wo-, cf. L. holera, dialectic L. folus cited as "ancient" by Paul. e Fest., 74 Li.; χλός, χλωρός, Eng. yellow, Lith. želvaas 'greenish,' Russ. zelenyi 'yellow,' the Balto-Slavic forms giving evidence of original initial palatal stop. 29 d, 48 b, 54 c, 69.
ferar, ferest: see fertu.

fereīthru, noun of uncertain meaning, possibly 'chopping-board.' Acc. sg. III 16, 18. From *fidē- tro-, cf. L. fīndo, Skt. bhīndīti. (?). 76 b; n. on III 16.
fertu, 'bring, carry, lift.' Pres. subj. pass. 3 sg. ferar Vlb 50; fut. 3 sg. ferest Ila 26; invm. fertu Ia 17, 19, 26, 27, 33, 34, b 12, 12, 13, 14, 15, 15, 16, 16, fertu Vlb 50, 50; invm. pl. fertuta III 13. L. fero, fēgo, Eng. bear. 8 a, 29 b, m, 40, 41 a, 42 e, 114 e, 115 e, 119 a, 123, 126 a 6.

fesnafe, *e, 'temple.' Acc. pl. (+ -e) fesnafes Iib 16; loc. (+ e) fesnere Iib 11. O. fiisnū, cf. L. fānum (-ān- < -dsn-), fēstus, fēriae. Connections outside Italic are uncertain. 35 d, 57 b, f, 74 a, 90.
felu fetu, feta: see faċia.
fīcla fikla, a type of cake, here left untranslated. Gen. sg. fiklas Ila 41; acc. sg. fikla Ila 18, 29, fīcla Vla 56, 59, Vlb 2, 4, 20, 23, 44, 46, VIIa 4, 8, 54, fīclam VIIa 42. Probably from *fig-klā, cf. L. fingo, veīgos, all from root *deigh-. 75 b, 142 b; n. on Vla 56.

fiktu, 'attach, add.' Invm. Ia 28. L. flgo (??). 49 d, 119 a; n. on loc. cit.
fīliu, adj. 'sucking.' Acc. pl. m. feliiuf Ia 14, fīliu Vlb 3. L. fīlius, cf. fēlāre, θηλῆ, θῆλως. 43, 55 b, 68 e.
Fise: see Fiso.
Fisier, adj. in our texts found only with forms of ocar ukar, 'the Fisian Mount,' and hence always sg. m. Gen. Fisier Vla 30, 32, 39, 41, 49, 51, b 13, 32, 33, Fisie Vlb 10; dat. Fisie Vla 40, Fis Vla 30, 33, 42, 50, 52, b 7, 10, 11, 14, 26, 32, 34, Fisie VIIa 23; acc. Fisim Vla 41, 49, 51, Fisi Vla 31, 39, b 12, 31, 33, Fisei VIIa 29; abl. Fisiu Ia 5, 8, 12, 15, 17, 21, 25, 29, 31, Fisiu Vla 23, 25, 34, 35, 45, 53, 55, 58, b 1, 3, 6, 2, 9, 14, 19, 22, 26, 28, 35, Fissiu Vla 43; loc. Fisie Vla 26, 36, b 29, (+ -m) Vla 46. Cf. Fiso. 32 a, 57 b, 68 a, 90, 93 b.

Fiso, name of a god 'Fisus.' Dat. sg. Fise Ia 15; dat. sg. Fiso Vlb 3. From *bh(e)idh-lo-, cf. L. fido, fisus, πειθω. (?). 25 f, 44 d, 78 a; n. on Vlb 3.
Fisotie, name of a god 'Fisovius,' generally in combination with Sansi Sesō. Gen. sg. Fisutie Vlb 15; dat. Fisuvi Ia 17, Fisoul Vlb 5, 6, VIIa 37; acc. Fisouī Vlb 8, 8; voc. Fisouie Vlb 9, 10, 12, 14, 15. Cf. Fiso. 68 e; n. on Vlb 5.
Fisius: see Fisier.
Fondlir-e, name of a place in Iguvium, 'Fonuli, the Springlets.' Loc. pl. (+ -e) Funtlere Iib 24, Fondlire VIIa 3. Probably equivalent as if to L. *font-ulēs. 48 b, 57 f, 60 a, 75 a.
fons, 'favorable.' Nom. sg. fons Vla 42, 50, 52, b 7, 11, 13, 26 (in fonstr), 32, 34, VIIa 13, 17, 31, 49, fōs Vla 23, 30, 33, 40; gen. foner VIIa 20, 23, 33, 36; nom. pl. foner VIb 61. L. Fones, gloss. 'dei silvestres'; cf. Faunus, faveo. No sure connections outside Italic. 22, 29 1, 52 d, 53 b, 58 e, 77 d, 90, 91 d.
frater, '(priestly) brothers.' Nom. pl. frater III 5, Va 1, 14, 22, frater Vb 11, frateer Vb 16; gen. frature III 10, fratuī Iia 21, 35, b 26, III 6, Va 12, 25, 27, 29, b 3, fratum VIIb 1; dat. fratus Vb 8, 13, VIIb 1; abl. (+ -per, -pe) fratrusper Iia 2, III 23, fratruspe II 28. L. frater, φράτης. Skt.
IV.

Pres. (Cf. damage, Grabovius, boiled Via according Ace. Fut. 'frehtu, fuia, furftant, fufant, furtere, 308 frehtef etym. frater, 22, cit. frairex Nom. furfae, 115 b, 32, 31, 36. Cf. L. frētus. 9 b, 80 b.

furo, 'forum.' Acc. sg. furu Ib 42, furo Vila 52. L. forum, cf. fores, θέα, Eng. door, etc., the usual meaning of forum having developed from an earlier meaning 'enclosure around a house,' according to E-MP, p. 444. 12 c, 43, 67.

futu futu, 'be.' Fut. 3 sg. fust Ib 7, 39, III 6, Va 4, 11, 19, 20, just Vila 7, b 39, 41, 42, 47, 47, VIIa 45, b 1, jus Vlb 40; 3 pl. furent Va 22; inv. futu IIa 22, 43, 43, III 14, IV 32, futu Vila 30, 33, 40, 42, 50, 52, b 11, 13, 32, 34, VIIa 13, 17, 31, 49; inv. pl. fututo Vlb 61. Cf. O. just, fufans, L. fui, φω, Skt. bhawali, Eng. be; also U. fito (?) fuia. The absence of the change ë < i (15) may point to a thematic stem *bhūwe-, unless the u is preserved by analogy of other forms in which it is not subject to change. 29 m, 40, 52 g, 57 c, 114 e, 115 c, 122 a, 123, 127 b, c. See also est, to which futu stands in a suppletive relation.

gomia kumiaf, 'pregnant.' Acc. pl. f. kumiaf la 7, gomia Vila 58. L. gomia 'glutton,' cf. γόμος, γόμο. 2 a, 3 d, 35 d, 47 a, 68 a.

Grabouie Grabouie, Krapuvi, 'Grabovius,' epithet of the gods Jupiter, Mars, and Vofionus. Dat. sg. Krapuvi Ia 3, 11, 21, Grabouie Vila 22, b 1, Grabouie Vlb 19; acc. Graboute Vila 24, 25, Grabouie Vlb 23; voc. Grabouie Vila 25, 26, 28, 29, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39, 39, 41, 43, 44, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 51, 51, 53, 54, 55, Grabouie, Vila 27, 37. Probably connected, through an Illyrian medium, with Epirote Modern Gk. γαψός 'oak,' Russ. grab 'hornbeam,' etc. 2 a, b, 3 d, 25 b, 31 c, 33 c, 68 e, 90; n. on Vila 22.

habe habe, habetu habitu, hahtu hattu, 'take, receive, have.' Pres. pass. (?) 3 sg. habe Vlb 54, habe Ib 18; pres. subj. 3 sg. habia Va 17, 19, 21. Fut. 3 sg. habiest Vlb 50, 53, 63, VIIa 46, 51; fut. pf. 3 sg. habus Vlb 40, 3 pl.

bhrālā, Eng. brother. 7 a, 26 h, 29 k, 40, 51 e, 59 f, 60 f, 82 b, 90, 143 a.

fratrece, 'term of office as fraticus.' Loc. sg. VIIb 1. Related to fratrex as L. tribunatus to tribunus, but with apparent transfer to the o-decl. 10 c, 70, 71.

fratrex, adj. 'of the brotherhood' and m. noun 'fraticus, brother-superior.' Nom. sg. m. fratreks Va 23, b 1, fratrex VIIb 1; dat. m. fratrecci VIIb 4; abl. f. (as adj.) fratreca VIIb 2. Cf. frater. 10 c, 25 b, 29 i, 46 e, 70, 90, 91 b, 93 b.

frehtef, 'boiled portions' (?). Acc. pl. (?) Ila 26. Possibly from *bhreg-ti-. For etym. discussion see n. on loc. cit.

frehtu, 'boiled, hot' (?). Acc. sg. IV 31. Possibly pass. pfcl. of vb. to which frehtef is a verbal noun. N. on loc. cit. and on Ila 26.

frij, 'fruits.' Acc. pl. frif Vila 42, 52, b 13, VIIa 17, 30, fri Vila 30, 32, 40, 50, b 32, 34. L. frōx, frūges, cf. O. fruktatōn, L. frōr, fructus, frumentum, Goth. brukjan 'grown,' OE bru-can. 15 a, 61 b, 65 f, 80 a, 102 d.

frile, noun 'trust.' Ab1. sg. Vila 24, b 8, 15, 27, VIIa 20, 23, 33, 36. Cf. L. frētus. 9 b, 80 b.

frosetom, pass. pfcl. nom. sg. neut. used as noun 'damage.' Vila 28, 37, 47, b 30. Probably pfcl. to p3t. *fraussā-formed as if iterative to L. fraudo, -are, and with variation of stem-vowel as in pesetom contrasted with L. peccatum. 22, 30 c, 44 b, 131, 149.

fuia, 'be performed, be.' Pres. subj. 3 sg. fuia III 1; fut. 3 sg. fuiest Va 9. O. fiēet, L. fio, all three being from root *bhī- + ī. Cf. also U. jīlo (?), futu. 114 e, 120 a, 123.

Funtlere: see Fondlir-e.

furent: see futu.

furiant, 'place on a platter' (?). Pres. 3 pl. furfae Ib 1, furiant Vlb 43. From *bhordhī-ā-, cf. efurjatu, Germ. Bord, Eng. board. (?). 1 b, 52 g, 115 d, 117 e; n. on Vlb 17, 43.
haburent! VIIa 52; inv. habetu IIb 23, 23, 27, 28, III 28, IV 30, 31, habitu Vla 19, b 4, inv. pl. habetu habetutu Ib 15, habitutu Vlb 51; inv. habtu Ila 22, 22, hatu Ib 11, hatu Vlb 49, inv. pl. hattu Iib 42, hattuto VIIa 52. O. hajest, pf. subj. hipt, cf. L. habeo and capio, whose roots in O-U. appear to have become contaminated. 2 e, 9 a, b, 13 b, 31 d, 32 b, 39, 114 e, 116 c, 118 a, 121, 121 a, b, 122 e (the basic ref.), 126 a, 127 b, c, 138 a.

habina hapinai, 'lams.' Gen. pl. hapinaru Ia 33; acc. hapinai Ia 24, habina Ia 27, habina Vlb 22, 23, 24. From *ag^-ninä- (cf. L. agnis, agnus) with dissimilatory loss of n, and etymological h possibly from contamination with the U. equivalent of L. haedinus. 2 b, 3 d, 49 b, 74 e; R. G. Kent, Lang., II (1925), pp. 189-90.

habitu, habus, hathu hathu: see habe.

her, herti, heries, etc., vb. 'wish,' in pass., 'be necessary, intended.' Pres. 3 sg. heri IV 26, her (in fishe) Vlb 41; pres. pass. 3 sg. herter Ila 40, III 1, herte Va 6, 8, 10, herti Vlb 8, 11, 13, 16, hertei VIIb 2; fut. 2 sg. heries Ib 10, IIB 21; 3 sg. heriest VIIa 52, heries Vlb 48; pf. subj. 3 sg. heriiei Ila 16; pf. subj. pass. herifi Vb 6; pecl. pass. abl. sg. neut. heriti Vla 27, 47, b 29, hereiti VIIa 37, eretu Ila 4. O. fut. herest, cf. L. horitor, horlor, *haria, Skt. hariati 'delight in,' Germ. gern, Eng. yean.

2 b, 4, 8 c, 9 c, 10 a, 29 m, 48 a, 53 c, 57 h, 114 e, 115 c, e, 121, 121 a, b, 123, 124 b, d, 126 c, 152 d. Cf. also heri.

heri, conjunction in correlative pairs 'either ... or.' heris Ia 4, b 6, 6, heri Ia 4, 22, 22, Iib 9, 10, heri Vla 57, 57, b 46, 46, herie Vlb 19, 20, heriei VIIa 3, 3. Fossilized 2 sg. pres. ind. form of her, etc. 2 j, 112 f, 115 b.


holtu, vb. of uncertain meaning, possibly 'destroy.' Inv. Vlb 60, VIIa 49. Perhaps related to ἀλλοῦμι (but not to L. ab-oleo, if E-M² are right in connecting the latter with alo). 119 a; n. on Vlb 60, including problem of the h.-

hostatus, 'armed, under arms.' Dat. pl. hostatir Vlb 62, VIIa 13, 15, 28, 50; acc. pl. hostatu Vlb 59, VIIa 48. Cf. anhostatir, L. hastatus, hasta, Goth. gazds: x̱érǒv. 35 d, 44 d, 43 a, 71, 114 c, 117 c n 2; n. on Vlb 59-60.

Hulate, name of a deity 'Hula.' Dat. sg. IV 17. Etym. unknown. 66; n. on loc. cit.

Huntak, 'jar' (or 'vat'?). Acc. sg. III 3, IV 32. From *honditak, cf. hondomu, hondra. (?). 80 a; n. on III 3.

Hunte: see Honde.

Huntia, 'the Honda, the festival of Hondus; things pertaining to the Hondia (?).' Nom. pl. neut. (?) Hun-
tia IIa 15; acc. pl. neut. (?)} Huntia IIa
17. Cf. Honde Hunte. 68 e; n. on IIa 15.

Huřie: see Horse.

hutra: see hondra.

III, symbol for 'four.' Vb 9. 104 a.

Ikuvina: see Iouinar.


iepru, 'liver' (?). Acc. sg. IIa 32. Cf. *pau, L. iecur, Skt. yakf. (?). 84 n. 1; n. on loc. cit.

ier: see etu.

ife, adv. 'there, thither.' ife IIb 12, 13, ife Vlb 39, 40, ef Vla 4. L. ibi, Skt. itha, Prakrit idha, all from *i-dhe. 112 d, 113 f.

ifont, adv. 'on the same spot.' Vlb 55. Cf. ife, erafont, isunt, suront. 113 f, i.

Iouinar, Ikuvina, etc., adj. 'Iguvine, of Iguvium' and pl. noun 'men of Iguvium.' Gen. sg. f. Iuvinas Ib 2, 5, Iouinar Vla 32, 39, 42, 49, 64, 52, b 32, 43, 45, 61, VIIa 3, 6, 10, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 21, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 30, 31, 32, 35, 37, 41, 53, Iouinar Vla 30, b 10, 13, 34, Vla 9, 27, 50; dat. f. Ikuvina Ib 13, Iouine Vla 18, 24, 27, 31, 40, 43, 50, 53, b 7, 11, 14, 33, 34, 51, 62, VIIa 14, 18, 31, Iouine Vla 5, Iouine Vla 33, b 10, 27, VIIa 50; acc. sg. f. Iouinam Vla 49, 51, b 12, 33, VIIa 16, 29, Iouina Vla 31, 41, 54, b 31, Iouina Vla 29, 39; abl. f. Ikuvina la 5, 8, 12, 15, 19, 21, 23, 29, 31, b 2, Ikuvina Ib 5, III 24, 25, 30, Iouina Vla 23, 45, 55, 58, b 1, 3, 7, 9, 15, 19, 22, 26, 28, 35, 43, 45 (written ioutinar), VIIa 4, 10, 22, 26, 32, 35, 37, 41, Iouina Vla 25, 34, 35, 43, b 6, VIIa 7, 9, 19, 24, 53; loc. f. Iouine Vlb 29, Iouine Vla 26, 36, (+ -n) Iouinem Vla 46; nom. pl. m. (as voc.) Ikuvinus Ib 21, 22, Ikuvinu Ib 20, Iouinur Vlb 63, Iouinur Vlb 56. L. Iguini, Iuvium.

No clear etym. 2 j, 3 d, 11 a, 13 b, 47 c, 74 e, 90.

inuinek: see eno enu.

Ioui Iuvi, 'Jovius, of Jupiter,' as epithet of several deities and in IIa 6 used alone as a divine name. Dat. sg. Iuvi la 28, Iuvi la 8, 24, b 43, IIa 6, 8, 20, 35, Ioui Ivi IIb 22, Ioui Vla 58, VIIa 53; acc. Iuviu Ib 1, Ioui Vlb 26, 27, 27; abl. Iouiu Vlb 43; voc. m. Iouie Vlb 28, 29, 29, 31, 31, 33, 33, 36, Iouie Vlb 35; voc. f. Iouia VIIa 47, 49. From *d(i)ow-(i)yo-, related to Iu(pater), Iuve, as L. Iovius to Iu(piter), Iovi, or Martius to Mars. 20 a, 25 b, 31 a, 33 c, 53 a, 68 a, 90.


isek, adv. 'in like manner, likewise.' Isek IV 4, ise Vlb 25. Cf. esu, eso, etc. 113 h.

iseceles, adj. with value of pass. pcppl. 'chopped' (?). Abl. pl. IV 7. From *en-seke-li-, cf. pro-seselo, pru-sekatu, L. seclo, -arc, etc. 8 e, 77 g, 86 e.

iso, issoc: see eso.

isunt, adv. 'at the same spot, on the same.' IIa 28, 36, III 16, 17. Cf. isec, isec, and for the second part ifont. 106 c, 112 d, 113 i.

itek, adv. 'thus.' IV 31. Cf. L. ita, item, Skt. iti. 112 d, 113 h.

iku iiku, neut. noun 'words.' Acc. pl. iuka III 28, iuku lIb 23. L. iocus, cf. Lith. juokas 'joke,' OHG jehan 'declare.' 53 a, 67, 90; n. on Iib 23.

iuengar, 'heifer.' Acc. sg. iweka lIb 40; nom. pl. iuengar Vlb 2; acc. iweka lIb 42, iuenga VIIa 51. L. iuvenca, cf.
iwencus, iuvenis, U. iouies, Skt. yuvaśas.
2 h, 3 d, 17 d, 32 c, 52 d, 53 f, 60 c,
70, 90.

Iuieskanes, name of a decwia among
the citizens of Iguvium. Dat. pl.
Iuieskanes IIb 6, Iuieskane IIb 5.
Etym. uncertain, but Dev., p. 356, sug-
gests connection with Iovio- in refer-
cence to the grove in Ib 1 = VIb 43.
74 d.

Iupater, Iuve, name of the god 'Jupi-
ter.' Dat. sg. Iuve patre III 8a 5, b 7,
17, 22, 26, III 22, Iuip IIa 10, Iuve
IIa 3, 31 (word-division and interpre-
tation uncertain), Iuue VIa 22; voc.
Iupater IIb 24. From *D(i)yov-<
*D(i)jou- + forms of *pal(e)- 'father.'
O. Íúveis, Iuvei, Diuvei, L. Jupiter,
Iovis, Zevs, ναῦς, Skt. Dyaus pita, and
more remotely L. deus, dies, etc. 82
b, 90, 98 c.

ius: see etu.

Iuvi: see Ioui.

maletu, pcl. 'crushed, ground.' Acc.
sg. IIa 18. Simplex to comollu kum-
lultu, etc., q. v. 9 n. 1, 17 b.

mandraclo mantraklu, 'hand-towel,
manipule.' Acc. sg. mantraklu IIb 16,
mantrakhlku IIa 19, mandraclo VIb 4.
From *man-trakh-klo-< *man-tragh-tlo-
mi, L. manus and lergeo. 2 e,
18 a, 60 a, 75 b, 89.

mani, 'hand.' Abl. mani IIa 32, mani
VIb 24; loc. (+ -e) manuve IIb 23;
acc. pl. manf IIa 38. L. manus, cf. O.
manim, OE mund, OHG munt. 15 a,
25 c, 51 a, 78 a, 90, 97.

mantraklu: see mandraclo.

manuve: see mani.

Martle, name of the god 'Mars.' Dat.
Marte IIa 11, b 2, Marte VIb 1, 43.
L. Mars, cf. Mavors, O. Mamers from
Fest., p. 117 Li. Mamers Mamertis
facit, id est lingua Osca Mars Martis,
unde et Mamertini in Sicilia dicti, qui
Messanae habitant. 51 a, 80 b.

Martler, 'Martius, of Mars.' Gen. sg.

Marties IIb 28, 31, Martier VIb 9,
15, VIb 58, 58, 61, VIa 6, 9, 10,
11, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23,
24, 25, 27, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36,
41; dat. Martî IIb 24, IIa 11, Martie
VIa 3; voc. Martie VIb 57, 61. L.
Martius. Related to Marte as Ioui (L.
Iovius) to Iu(pater). 68 a.

mefa, a type of cake, here left untranslated;
generally but not always accompanied
by spefa. Dat. sg. mefa IIb 28; acc.
mefa la 16, IV 14, mefa VIa 56, b 17, 20,
VIa 14, 38; abl. mefa IIb 13, mefa VIb
5, 9, 9, 14, VIIa 37. L. mensa, other
connections very uncertain. 58 c.

mehe, first person pronoun, dat. sg. 'to
me.' VIa 5. L. mihi, cf. Skt. mahayam.
48 a, 51 a, 107 a.

menes: see benus.

meneme, 'moon.' (?). Abl. sg. IIa 17.
Probably from *męns-en-i. Sab. (or
Vest.?) mesene (no. 248 Co.), cf. L.
mensis, μήν, Doric μῆς. 29 f, 58 a,
81 a, 145 c.

mers meřs, 'law, right, custom.' Nom.
sg. meřs IIb 18, 18, mers VIa 28 (in
mersel), 38, 48 (both in mersi), b 31,
55, 55; abl. pl. mersus III 6. From
*medos, cf. O. mediss (similar in
meaning and identical in second-
member with L. in-dex), L. modus, médo-
u. 29 j, 35 d, 62 c, 83.

mersta, adj. 'eastern, in the east.' (?).
Acc. sg. m. mersto VIa 3, 4, 16, 17; f.
mersta VIIa 3, 4, 16, meersa VIIa 17;
abl. m. merstu VIa 1; acc. pl. f. merstaf
VIa 4, mersta VIIa 3, 3, 4, 18, 18. Cf.
Goth. ma∂gins (?). 2 f, 26 h, 29 d, 71,
90; n. on VIIa 1.

mersuva, 'accustomed.' Abl. sg. f. mers-
ruva III 11; acc. pl. neut. mersuva
III 28. From *meřds-wo- (the expected
form being *meřsuva), cf. mers meřs.
69.

mestru, comparative adj. 'greater,'
with karu 'part' making up expres-
sion 'majority.' Nom. sg. f. Va 24,
27, b 4. Probably from *mais-trā <
*magis-terā. L. magister, cf. magis, O. superlative mainās, etc. 76 c.

Miletinar, a gentle name or (less probably) a divine name ‘Miletina.’ Gen. sg. Vla 13. Etymology unknown. 74 e; n. on loc. cit.

molar, muta, noun ‘fine.’ Nom. sg. muta Vb 2, muta Vb 6; gen. molar VIIb 4; acc. muta Vb 3. O. molor, -las, -lam, L. muta, all from *molā-.

mugatu, ‘make a noise.’ Inv. Vla 6; pcpl. pass. nom. sg. neut. mugelo Vla 7. Cf. L. mugio, μείζο, μείζοθαμ. 15 c, 30 c, 47 a, b, 116 a, 117 b, 152 f.

muneklu, ‘donation.’ Acc. sg. Va 17, 19, 21. From *moin-e-ilo- (?), vocalism of second syllable uncertain. Cf. L. munusculum, O. müünikü, etc. 21 c, 75 b.


muta mutu: see molar.


naraklum, (oracular) response.’ Nom. sg. Ila 1. From *gnā-rā-ilo-, cf. naralu, L. gnarus, narro, all from an ablaut-variant of root *gnā- ‘know.’ 47 d, 52 b, 75 b, 76 a, 80.

naralu, ‘announce, pronounce, proclaim, speak, recite.’ Inv. naralu Ila 3, b 8, 9, 11, 25, III 27, naralu Vla 22, 56, 59, VIIb 2, 4, 20, 23, 44, 46, VIIa 5, 7, 38, 42, 53. From *gnā-rā-, cf. naraklum, L. gnarus, narro (with gemination not easily explained), all from an ablaut-variant of root *gnā- ‘know.’ 18 a, 47 d, 52 b, 76 a, 117 c, 127 b.

natine, in the social organization of Iguvium apparently equivalent to ‘gens.’ Abr. sg. Ila 21, 35, b 26. L. natio, cf. L. (g)nascor, gens, etc., all from root *gen-.


neip, negative and prohibitive ‘not.’

neip Ila 4, Va 29, neip VIIa 27, 36, 46, b 29, 51, VIIb 3, nep VIIa 6. nei- same as nei. -p < kʷ(e), cf. ape, L. neque, alque. 31 b, 49 a, 52 a, 112 g, 113 l.

nepitu, vb. of uncertain meaning, possibly ‘overwhelm with water.’ Inv. Vlb 60, VIIa 49. Cf. L. Neptuinus (?). 118 d.

nerf, nerus, ‘elders, chief citizens.’ Dat. pl. nerus Vlb 62, VIIa 13, 14, 28, 50; acc. nérvese Vla 30, 32, 39, 42, 49, 52, b 13, 32, 34, 59, VIIa 17, 30, 48. O. nér, gen. pl. nerum (magistrate(s),’ nar'q, Skt. nṛ- ‘man, hero,’ cf. Sabin-Latin Nero, Nero. 29 k, 52 a, 65 e, 82 ; n. on Vla 30.

nersa, conjunction ‘until.’ Vla 6. Probably from *ne-dām, cf. L. nē-que and quon-dam. 112 g, 113 a, k, 154 b.

nertru, adj. ‘left.’ Abr. sg. (+ -ku -co) nertruku In 32, nertruco Vlb 37, 39; nertru Vlb 25. Gk. νέθτρος ‘lower, inferior,’ cf. Eng. north, the left being the less good or inferior side, and the north being at the left if one faces east, as conversely Skt. daksinā is ‘right’ and south.’ 29 a, 52 a, 76 c.

nerus: see nérf.

nesimei, adv. used like predicate adj. ‘next to.’ Vla 9, 9. Apparently from *nedh-īmīd. O. nessimūs, OIr. nessa-
m. 9 c, 44 d, 73 a, 112 a, 113 d, 139 a.

ninciu, vb. of uncertain meaning, possibly ‘overwhelm with snow.’ Inv. Vlb 60, VIIa 49. Probably from *nink-tōd < *snín-gē-tōd. L. ninguit,
cf. vėpsė, Eng. snow. 49 d, 52 b, 57 b, 119 d; n. on Vlb 60.

niru, word-division and meaning uncertain, probably 'black, dark.' Acc. sg. niru Iib 15. L. niger, nigrum (?). 47 c; n. on loc. cit.

ame numer, noun 'name.' Gen. sg. nonmer Vlb 54, 59, VIIa 12, 48; dat. nomine Vla 24, 24, 31, 33, 33, 33, 40, 40, 43, 43, 50, 50, 53, 53, b 7, 8, 12, 12, 14, 14, 27, 27, 33, 33, 35, 35, 62, 62, VIIa 12, 13, 14, 14, 18, 18, 28, 28, 31, 31, 51, 51; acc. numerum [sic] Iib 17, 17, nomine Vla 30, 32, 39, 42, 49, 52, b 13, 32, 34, 58, VIIa 17, 30, 47; abl. nomine Vla 17, (+ -per) Vla 23, 23, 25, 26, 28, 34, 34, 35, 35, 44, 44, 44, 45, 54, 54, 55, 55, b 7, 7, 10, 10, 15, 15, 26, 26, 28, 28, 35, 36, VIIa 11, 11, 19, 19, 22, 22, 26, 26, 32, 33, 35, 35. L. nōmen, Skt. nāma, cf. ôvâma, Eng. name. 2 k, 13 a, 17 d, 29 f, 51 a, 52 h, 81 c, 90.

Noniar, proper name, possibly of a gens 'Nonia.' Gen sg. Vla 14. L. Nonius, cf. nonus (?). 68 e, 105 g.

nosue, conjunction 'unless.' Vlb 54.

From *noi-swai; for first part cf. nei; second part = sue sve. 21 a, 35 d, 112 g.

numem: see nome.

numer, name of a coin 'nummus.' Abl. pl. Va 17, 19, 21. L. nummus, Doric νοῦμος (Epicharmus); further connections uncertain. 67, 145 b.

Nurpier, a personal or gentile name 'of Nurpius.' Gen. sg. Vla 12. Etym. unknown. 68 e.


nuvime, adv. 'last, the last time' (?). Ila 26. According to most, from ordinal stem *nowimo- 'ninth'; according to the view preferred here, from superlative *nowimo-, cf. L. novus, novissimus. 52 a, 73 a, 105 g, 112 b, 113 d; n. on loc. cit.

nuvis, adv. 'nine times.' Ila 25. L. noviens, novies. 52 a, 105 g, 112 b.

ocar ukar, noun 'mount,' always with reference to the Fisian Mount in Iguvium. Nom. sg. ukar Ib 7, ocar Vlb 46; gen. ocer Vla 8, 19, 19, 29, 32, 39, 41, 49, 51, b 10, 13, 32, 33, 48; dat. ocre Vla 23, 30, 33, 40, 42, 50, 52, b 7, 10, 11, 14, 16, 26, 32, 34; acc. ocrem Vla 49, 51, b 12, ocre Vla 29, 31, 39, 41, 51, 53, 31, 33; abl. (+ -per-per-per-pe) ukriper Ia 5, 8, 15, 17, 21, 25, 28, 31, ukripen Ia 12, ocrer Vla 23, 43, 45, 53, 55, 58, b 1, 3, 4, 6, 9, 14, 19, 22, 26, 28, 35, ocreper Vla 25, 34, 35; loc. ukre Va 16, ocre Vla 26, 36, b 29, (+ -m) ocrem Vla 46. L. ocris (Fest., p. 296 L. ocrum antiqui ... moniem conjuration vocabant), δοξίς, cf. also ὄξις, L. ācer. The ending of ocar ukar may reflect an alternate stem in -ari-, for otherwise we should expect -er as in pacer. 2 a, 12 a, 20 a, 35 d, 45 a, 51 e, 57 e, 77 e, 90, 91 d, 93 c, 142 d.

onse uze, 'shoulder.' Loc. sg. uze Iib 27, 28, onse Vlb 50. L. umerus, cf. ὄμος. 2 i, 20 a, 29 d, 52 d, 58 e, 61 a, 67.

oosereclom-e, name of a landmark used in defining the augural templum, possibly 'observation-post.' Acc. sg. (+ -e) Vla 12. Probably from *ob-ser-klem, with vowel of uncertain identity syncope before -klem < -tlom. 2 g, 26 g, 75 b, 36 c; n. on Vla 12.

opeter, upetu, 'choose.' Inv. upetu Iiba 1; inv. 3 pl. upetuta III 10; pecl. pass. gen. sg. opeter Vb 9, 14; pecl. (?) pass. acc. sg. upetu Iib 8, 11, III 22, 26. O. ufeis 'voluntatis,' L. opto, -are. 118 b; n. on Iib 1.

orer ures, demonstrative and anaphoric pron., 'this, that, him, it.' Gen. sg.
ures IV 33, orer Vla 26, 36, 46, b 29; abl. sg. uru Ib 18, uru Vlb 55, (+ -ku) uraku Va 5. Etym. unknown. 109 b, 145 b.

orto, urtas, plpl. pf. ’arisen, rising, occurred.’ Nom. sg. neut. urtu IIa 4, orlo Vla 46, orlo Vla 26, 36, b 29; nom. pl. f. urtas III 10; abl. pl. urtes III 4. L. orior, ortus, Skt. ṛtās, cf. ṛtās; -or- in the Italic forms is probably from ṛ-.

17 a, 90.

osatu, ‘make.’ Inv. Vlb 24, 37. From *op(e)sā-. L. operor, -ari, cf. U. ose (?). 57 d, 61 d, 116 a, 117 c, 124 c.


ostendu ustentu, ‘present, exhibit, elect.’ Fut. pass. 3 pl. osiensendi Vla 20; inv. ustentu Ia 3, 9, 12, 16, 23, 26, b 3, 6, 25, 28, IIa 6, 11, ustetu Ia 17, b 32, 43, IIa 12, b 9, 29, ostendu Vla 20; inv. 3 pl. ustentuta III 5. From *ops- + tend- L. ostendo, ostendere, cf. U. andendu, endendu. 2 i, 3 with d, 8 c, 12 a, 29 b, 55 c, 58 e, 60 a, 61 d, e, 114 e, 115 f, 119 a with n. 3, 123, 127 c.

ote ute, conjunction ‘or.’ ute Ib 24, 27, Va 23, b 2, 10, 13, 15, 18, ute Vla 7, VIIa 6. O. auti, avt, L. aut, cf. ab, avē, avēs, avēs. 10 b, 22, 31 e, 112 g.

ou, uve, ‘sheep.’ Acc. sg. uvm III 8, 10, 12, 26, 31, uve IIa 10; abl. (+ -kum) uvikum III 28; acc. pl. uvef Ib 1, oui Vlb 43. L. ovis, [threading], Skt. aśva, Eng. ewe. 12 a, 54 b, 58 b, 77 a, 90.

p, abbreviation probably for L. pondo or its U. equivalent. Vb 9, 14.

paca, ablative noun with value of improper preposition ‘for the sake of, for.’ Vla 20. Cf. pacer, pase, L. pax, etc. 45 a, 66, 147 f.


Padellar, name of a goddess ‘Padella.’ Gen. sg. Vla 14. Probably from *Padenedor < *Pádendar < *Pándolás. Cf. O. Patanai, L. Panda, pando, paleo. 32 e, 41 f, 42 d, 60 b, 75 a; n. on loc. cit. pafe: see po-.

pane, conjunction ‘when.’ pane Ib 40, pane Vla 46. L. quandoque, cf. U. pane; for -pei cf. ape. 113 k, 1.

parfa, an angural bird of uncertain identity, possibly a jay (?). Acc. sg. par-fam Ib 13, parfa Vla 2, 4, 15, 17, b 51; abl. parfa Vla 1. L. parra, U. and L. forms both being from *par(e)sā-. Connection with yāq ‘starling,’ Goth. sparwa ‘sparrow’ less sure. 59 e, 66.

pars, with est ‘it is fitting, required.’ VIIb 2. L. par (?). 59 a, 83.


pater, found only as a component of Iupater, q.v. 38 a.

pehaner, pehatu: see pihatu.

peia, ‘black.’ Acc. pl. m. peiu Ib 24, peiu VIIa 3; f. peia Ib 27, peia VIIa 6. L. piceus (?). 46 g, 68 a.


Peiefratis, name of a decuvia among the citizens of Iguvium. Dat. sg. Ib 4, 4. Etym. uncertain. 77 c.
peihaner: see piñatun.
peigo: see peico.
peta pein: see pea.
peltmmer, 'meat.' Gen. sg. Vb 12, 17. From *pelm-mer, with loss of p in -lpm-; cf. L. pulmentum, pulpamentum, both with u < o < e before non-palatal l. 29 f, 55 d, 81 c.
pelsatu, vb. of uncertain meaning, here taken as 'bury.' Inv. pelsatu Vlb 40, 40; gdve. nom. sg. m. pelsans Ilia 43; acc. m. pelsanu Ilia 6, III 32; acc. pl. f. pelsana Ilia 26, pelsana Vlb 22. Etym. uncertain; cf. Goth. ga-filhan (?), us-filhan (?) 'bury.' 29 f, 90, 91 b, 153 i; n. on Vlb 22.
perspeusel, pepescus: see perstu.
pepurkurent, vb. 'demand.' Fut. pl. 3 pl. Vb 5. From *pe-pusk-usent (or *pe-pusk-usent ?), cf. L. precor, posco < pork-sko, Skt. pechālī. 35 d, 52 g, 114 e, 124 a, 125, 138 a.
pequo, '(domestic) beasts.' Gen. pl. (?) Vlb 30, 32, 40, 42, 50, 52, b 13, 32, 34, VIIb 17, 30. L. pecū, Skt. paśu, Goth. fallu. 38 a, 78 a, 90.

-per -per -pe, postposition 'for, on behalf of.' ahtis-per III 24, 29; fratrus-per Ilia 2, III 23, fratrus-pe III 28; nomine-per Vlb 23, 25, 26, 24, 34, 34, 35, 44, 44, 45, 45, 54, 54, 55, 55, b 7, 7, 10, 10, 15, 15, 26, 26, 28, 28, 35, 36, VIIa 10, 11, 19, 19, 22, 22, 26, 26, 32, 33, 35, 35; ocri-per Vlb 23, 43, 45, 53, 55, 58, b 1, 3, 6, 6, 9, 14, 19, 22, 26, 28, 35, ocre-per Vlb 25, 34, 35, ukri-per Ilia 5, 8, 15, 17, 21, 25, 28, 31, ukri-pe Ilia 12; Petrunia-per Ilia 21; poplu-per Vlb 43, 45, VIIa 3, 6, 9, 10, 18, 21, 24, 26, 32, 35, 37, 41, 53, puplu-per Ilb 2, 5; re-per VIIb 2; tota-per Vlb 23, 25, 34, 35, 43, 45, 53, 55, 58, b 1, 3, 6, 7, 9, 15, 19, 22, 26, 28, 35, 43, 45, VIIa 3, 6, 9, 10, 19, 21, 24, 26, 32, 35, 37, 41, 53, tuta-per Ilia 5, 8, 12, 15, 19, 21, 25, 29, 31, b 2, 5, III 29, tuta-pe III 24; trefi-per III 25, 30; Vučia-per Ilb 26. From *py < *pru. Cf. pro-pru- (134 o), O. pru, L. prō. 4, 32 d, 56 d, 147 g, 155 g.

perakne, adj. of uncertain meaning, generally applied to sacrificial victims; possibly 'brought from away, from elsewhere' (that is, not raised as temple-property). Acc. sg. peraknem Ilia 10, perakne Ilia 5, 5, 12, 14, b 7, 10; acc. pl. neut. perakneu Vlb 7. peracnio Vlb 54 must be emended to peracnio. Possibly from *per-ag-ni- with adj. suffix -no- replaced by -ni- after stem sakri-; cf. L. per-ag-o. 10 c, 41 f, 77 d, 86 a, 90; n. on Ilia 5.

peracri, adj. of uncertain meaning, probably 'perfect, fit for sacrifice.' Acc. sg. f. perakre Ilb 40; abl. sg. m. peracri Vlb 34, 35, 38, 43, 45, 48, 53, peracret VIa 25, 29; gen. pl. peracri Vlb 51, Vlb 54 (misspelled peraici); abl. peracris Vlb 52, 56. Probably from *per-āk-ri- L. ācer, ācris, cf. U. ocar, ocri-, ākwi, ākwiōs, with semantic development from 'sharp, peaked,' through 'topmost.' 13 a, 77 e, 86 b, 90; n. on Vlb 25.

Perazanie, name of a decemvia among the citizens of Iguvium. Dat. pl. Ilb 7. No clear etym. 68 e.

perca, 'wand, staff' (?). Acc. sg. percam Vlb 53, perca Vlb 19, b 49, 50, 63, Vlb 46, 51; acc. pl. perkaif Ilb 15, perca Vlb 51. L. pertica, O. perek. (for perekais). 29 g, 41 g, 70; n. on Vlb 19; on the whole etymological group see Whatmough, Lang., XXIX (1953), pp. 297-8.

peretom, plcp. pass. nom. sg. neut. translated as noun 'transgression.' Vlb 27, 37, 47, b 30. From per- (L. per, cf. O. pert) + *itom (or *eitom ?), plcp. pass. of etu, cf. daelom. For semantic value cf. ἀνα-βαλω. 30 c, 114 e, 122 b, 131, 149.

pernai̇f, adj. 'from in front.' Acc. pl. f. pernai̇f Ilb 10; abl. f. pernai̇es Ilb 2. From *pernai̇-yā-, cf. perne. 19 c, 53 c, 68 c.

perne, adv. 'before.' Vlb 11. Lith. pėrmai̇ 'in the previous year,' cf. pėvai̇. For -ne cf. U. postne, superne. 112 c, 113 j.
persae peφαι, adj. 'on the ground, stretched on the ground.' Nom. sg. neut. peφαι IIa 22; acc. sg. m. peφαιm IIa 11, III 32; neut. peφαι IIa 13, persae Vla 58, b 3; acc. pl. f. peφαιa lb 28, 32, 44, persaiα VIIa 7, persaea Vla 11, 54. From *pedaiyo-,

perselo persklum, 'prayer, ceremony, acrifice.' Gen. sg. perseler Vla 27, 28, 37, 38, peseler Vla 47, 48, b 30, 30; acc. persklum Ia 1, (+ -a) persklu- mař III 21, perselo Vla 1; abl. persklu III 12, persetu Vlb 36, VIIa 20, 24, 34, peselu Vlb 15, VIIa 8. Probably from *perk-sk-lo, with -sk- through influence of a verb equivalent to L. posco. Cf. pepurkurent, etc. 2 a, j, 3 f, 35 d, 41 e, 59 d, 75 a.

perse peφε, 'join.' Sometimes 'when, while.' peφε IIa 3, perse Vla 47, b 29, 30, 31, persi Vla 37, 38, persel Vla 26, 27, 28, 36, pirse Vla 46, pifi IV 32, pisi Vla 5, 48. From *pid-l < *k-wil-d-; for the first part cf. O. pili, L. quid. 10 c, 112 e, 113 g. See also pls.

persi peφε, 'foot.' Abl. sg. persi Ia 20, 32, persi Vlb 24, 37, 38, 39, (+ -co) persico Vlb 25, where the actual reading persico must probably be emended. L. pες, pedis, Skt. pιt, padαs, (with ablaut-variation) ποις, παδός. 2 a, 38 a, 42 b, 65 f, 80 c, 30.

persinuM pesinum, deponent vb. 'pray.' Inv. pass. persinum Ia lb 7, 21, IV 8, 10, persinum IIa 17, 27, 30, 30, 31, 36, 37, 38, 39, 42, IV II 11, 23, 25, 29, pesinum Ia 6, 10, 13, 19, 23, 26, 34, b 3, 22, 26, 30, 32, 37, 38, 44, Ila 7, 10, b 18, 18, 20, 20, 20, 20, pesinum Vla 55, 59, b 2, 4, 6, 9, 20, 25, 37, 41, 44, 46, VIla 4, 7, 25, 25, 34, 42, 44, 54, persinhimu Vlb 17, VIIa 9, 39, 45, pesinum Vlb 9, 23; inv. pass. pl. persinumo Vlb 57, persinθinumo VIIa 47, pesinumo Vlb 64, 65, VIIa 1;pepl. pass. persnis Vlb 39, pesnis Vlb 40, 41. Apparently denominative from *persk-νι- with -sk- of same origin as in perselo, q.v. Cf. perselo, pepurkur ent. 2 i, 3 with f, 11 a, 59 d, 77 d, 114 e, 120 b, 131.

perso peφum, 'mound, ground, turf-altar' (?); according to another view 'pit, trench.' Acc. sg. peφum Ia 29, 32, peφu Ia 9, 24, persu Vlb 24, 37, (+ -e) peφume IIa 27, III 33, persone Vlb 38, 39, 40. From *pedom. πεδον, cf. persi peφε, L. pες. 67; n. on Vlb 24.

persondu, persuntru, noun of uncertain meaning designating a type of offering, here left untranslated. Dat. sg. persuntru IV 21; acc. persuntru IV 17, 19, persutru Iib 13, pesuntru, Ia 27, pesuntru Ia 30, pesutru Ia 8, pesondu Vlb 24, 37, 37, 39, 40; abl. persondu Vlb 31, 35, persuntru Vlb 28; abl. pl. (+ -co) pesondrisko Vlb 40. per- as in L. per, etc. (?); for -sod- cf. OIrcl. synd 'sin,' L. sons, in-sons. (?). 2 i, 59 d, 60 a, 76 b; n. on Vlb 24.

perstu, vb. 'place, put.' Inv. perstu Ila 32, pestu Iib 19; fut. pf. 3 sg. peperseust Vlb 5, pepescus Vlb Ia 8. From *perk-ske-θd cf. L. parco, com-pesco. 59 d, 114 e, 119 e. Muller, p. 320, suggests ultimate identity of this root ('umgehen, einschränken') with that of perselo, pepurkurent, L. posco, pre-cor, etc. ('bedrängen, von allen Seiten her [be]fragen').

pert, preposition 'beyond, on the other side of.' Ila 36 (but -pert in Ila 35 must be emended to -per). O. pert 'across,' cf. U. per-etom; -t < -t as in post < *pos-th. 147 h.

pertentu, 'stretch forth, place ... over.' Inv. Ila 31, IV 8. From per- (as in perelom) + tend-. L. pertendo, cf. U. andendu, endendu, oslendu. 3 d, 119 a with n. 3.

pescler, pesclu: see persclo.

pesetom, pass. pcpl. nom. sg. neut. translated as noun *śin.* VIa 27, 37, 47, b 30. Cf. L. pecco, peceatum; further connections uncertain. 30 c, 34, 46 b, 116 a, 149.

pesni-: see persnimu.

pesondro, pesuntru: see persondu.

petenata, pcpl. *shaped like or furrowed as if by a comb, comb-(cake).* Acc. sg. f. IV 4. From *pektlen-ā-lam, pcpl. of denominative vb. to *pektlen, cf. L. pecten, *xeiz < *ptklen-. 46 i, 71.

Petrunia-per, name of a gens (?; natine) *Petronia,* Abl. sg. f. + -per IIa 21 (misspelled -port,). 35. L. Petronia (of dialectal origin), U. peturpursus, etc. 68 e, 105 d, n. 2.

peturpursus, *quadruped, beast.* Dat. pl. VIb 11. From *k*Aetur-pod-ufs (quantity of root-vowel uncertain), cf. dupursus, L. quadrupes; also U. Petruniaper. 13 c, 42 b, 49 a, 65 f, 80 c, 88, 105 d.

pithaclu, *propitiatory offering.* Abl. sg. pithaelu VIa 25, 29, 34, 35, 38, 43, 45, 48, 53, b 28, 31, 35; gen. pl. pihaklu Va 8, pihaeo VIa 54. From *plī-ā-llo-, L. piaetulum, cf. pius, O. Pihiiai, U. pithau. Further connection of this group with L. pudus, etc., is possible if *plīo-ā- is from *pw-lyo-ā. 11 b, 13 b, 41, 75 b, 90.

pithau pehaatu *purify.* Inv. pehaua III 3, pihau VIa 29, 29, 39, 39, 39, 40, 49, 49, 50, b 31, 31, 32; pf. subj. pass. 3 sg. pihatfi VIa 38, 48, b 31, pihafii VIa 29; pcpl. pass. nom. sg. m. pihaz Ib 7, pihos VIb 47; gdve. gen. sg. m. pihaner VIIa 19, b 48, pehaner VIIa 20, pehaua VIIa 8. From *plīyu-,- cf. picaclu, etc. 2 a, d, 11 b, c, 29 i, 61 e, 114 e, 117 c, 124 d, 126 c.

Piquier, with Martier, adj. from the name of the deified Pius Martius. Gen. sg. Vb 9, 14. From *pik(u)w(i)yo-, cf. peico, L. picus. 68 e.

pir, noun *fire.* Nom. (?) sg. pir VIa 20; nom. sg. 26, 36, 46, b 29; acc. pir Ib 12, 12, IIa 19, b 12, III 12, 21, pir Vlb 49, 50 (heteroclite form + -e) purome Vlb 17, VIIa 38; abl. sg. pure Ib 20, (+ -to) purelo VIIa 20. πῦς, Germ. Feuer, Eng. fire, cf. O. purasai. 10 b, 14 a, 15 a, 38 a, 55 c, 65 e, 82, 94 n. 1, 90.

pirse, piri: see perse.

pis, pisi, indefinite and (VIIb 2) relative pronoun *any, whoever.* Nom. sg. m. pis(est) VIIa 53, pis(her) VIIb 41, (sve)-pis Ib 18, IV 26, (so)pir VIIb 54, pisi Va 3, 10, pisi VIIa 7, VIIa 52, b 1; neut. pître Va 5, pere Ib 18, pisre VIIb 55; acc. pl. f. piji VIIb 2. From *k*i- (O. pis, píd, L. quis, quid, τι; τι) partly extended by -i. 4, 20 a, c, 42 b, 49 a, 57 d, 62 g, i, 106 a, d, 110 with a, b. See also perse pere, poe poi.


plener, *full.* Abl. pl. VIIa 21, 34. L. plenus, cf. πλήρης, Skt. pīrṇaḥ, Eng. full. 9 a, 52 a, 55 c, 74 b.

po-, pā-, stem of indefinite (Ib 8, VIIb 47) and relative pron. *any, who, which.* Nom. sg. m. poe VIIb 50, poi VIIa 5, b 24, 53, poei VIIa 1, porae VIIb 63, VIIa 46, 51, porsei VIIa 6, porae VIIa 9, f. (sve)pü Ib 8, (sue)po VIIb 47; neut. puře IIa 26, III 5, Va 7; dat. sg. pusme IIa 40; abl. f. pora VIIb 65, VIIa 1; nom. pl. m. pure VIIa 6, 25, 28, b 4, puri VIIb 10, 15; neut. porsi VIIa 19, porsei 15; acc. f. pafe VIIa 52; neut. porse VIIb 40. From *k*o-ā- (O. pui, pai, pūd, L. qui, qua, quod, cf. ποτέρως, πῶς, πῆ, etc.) partly extended by -i. 12 a, 21 a, 49 a, 57 b, c, 106 d, 110.
with b, c, d, e and n. 1, 112 e, 113 g.
See also pis, pisi.

ponde pune, conjunction 'when, after.'
pune lb 1, 10, 11, 12, 15, 19, 33, IIa 1, 7, b 16 (second instance), 21, 22, 27, Va 8, puni lb 20, pone VlB 48, 49, ponne VlB 43, VIb 2. From *p*wom-de. O. pon pún pun, cf. L. quom cum; for second part cf. also U. pane. 2 a, 61 e,
112 e, 113 a, k, 154 b.

poni puni, a substance of unknown identity used in the sacrificial ceremonies of the Atiedian Brothers; according to the view preferred here, 'mead.' Gen.sg.
punes IIa 41, IV 33; acc. pune IIa 18, 33, 40, b 14, 16 (first instance), IV 30; abl. puni IIa 4, 9, 13, 16, 22, 26, 32, b 3, 7, 25, 29, 32, 44, IIa 7, 11, 13, 20, 24, 25, b 9, 20, 29, poni VlA 57, b 1, 3, 9, 20, 22, 44, 46, VIa 4, 7, 41, 54, pone VlA 59. From *pō-ni-, cf. L. pōtus, pōtio, Skt. pānīya- 'drinkable.' (?),
13 a, 77 d, 90, 145 b; n. on VlA 57.

ponsiatere pupicate, 'punicatus' (a purple-clad official). Gen. sg. punicate
lb 15, ponisiate Vlb 51. Related to L. punicus as L. armatus to arma, logatus to loga, etc. 21 a, 46 d, 71, 117
c; n. on Vlb 51.
poplatum ppleum, 'people.' Gen. sg.
popler Vla 19, VIa 16, 27, 30; dat.
pple Vlb 61, VIa 14, 17, 27, 31, 50; acc. ppleum lb 10, ppleub lb 40, poplom VIa 15, b 3, pple Vlb 48, VIa 29, 46; abl. poplo Vlb 54, 54, (+ -per-per) pppler lb 2, 5, ppler Vlb 43, VIa 3, 6, 9, 10, 18, 21, 24, 26, 32, 35, 37, 41, 53; loc. pple
Vlb 55. L. populus, cf. U. Pupfičes (?), Etr. Fuftuns (?), Etr.-Lat. Populonia. No sure connections outside Italic. The whole group may be of Etr. origin; see on III 26, and E.-Mt. under populus.

poran: see po-, pā-.

pora purka 'pig.' Acc. pl. purka lb 27, pora VIa 6. L. porca, cf. porcus, OIr. orc, OE fæhr, OHG farah. 45 a,
55 b, 58 b, 66.

*portatu* purlatu, 'bring.' Pres. subj.
3 sg. portaia VIb 1; inv. purlatu lb 18, portatu VlB 55; fut. pf. 3 sg. porta|t
VIb 3. L. porto, cf. porta, portus, pūrclus, pūriov. 7 a, 12 d, 53 b, 114 e,
116 a, 117 d, 124 b, 125, 126 a, 127 b.

post pus, preposition 'behind.' pus lb 7,
14, 24, post Vla 58, b 3, 22, VIa 38.
O. pūst post, L. post, all from *postii. 31 d, 147 i. See also posterio.

posterior pusterio, 'when ... for the third time.' posterio VIa 46, pusterio lb 40. Combination of post + terti < abl. *tertiōd. 113 c.

posti pustin, preposition with distributive force 'each, at each, per.' pustin
IIa 25, IV 13, pusti Va 13, 18, 20, 21, posti Vb 8, 12, 14, 17. O. pūstin, both from *postiyen < *posti + en (?). For the semantic value compare the distributive use of Germ. nach, Eng. after.
147 j.

postne, adv. 'behind.' Vlb 11. From
*posti(i) + ne, cf. perne, superne. 112 c, 113 j.

postra, pustra, adj. 'at the back; the latter.' Acc. pl. f. postra Vb 13; neut. pustra IIa 32, pustru lb 19, postro Vlb 5, VIa 8. O. pūstri, L. posterus. 29 a, 76 c, 139 b. See also pstor adv.

postro pustru, adv. 'back.' pustru
lb 34, 36, postro VIa 43, 44. From
*posterōd (?) with same stem as postra,
q.v. 112 c, 113 c.

praeclatum, 'rampart' (?). Gen. pl. f.
Vla 13. Pclpl. pf. pass. probably of
ominitive vb. to praco. 27 b, 57, 71, 90, 100 a, 142 b. N. on loc. cit.

praco, a landmark used in defining the augural templum, possibly 'tower'
(of a rampart). Acc. sg. (or gen. pl. ?)
Vla 13. Probably from root-stem
*pṛk- or *pṛk- (gradation uncertain).
Cf. L. com-pescio (< *-perk-skō or *park-skō), comperce in Paul. e Fest., 52 L.;
comperce pro compeseix dixerunt antiqui; U. perst, Eng. park. 65 i, 80 a, 142 b;
no on loc. cit.
pre, preposition 'before, in front of.' pre
Ia 2, 11, 20, pre Vla 22, 59, b 1, 2, 4, 19, 20, VIIa 7. O. prae, L. prae. 19
a, 147 k.

prehabia prehabia, 'provide.' Pres.
subj. 3 sg. prehabia Va 5, prehabia
Va 12. pre- + habia; see habe. 28 a,
126 a.

prepa, temporal conjunction 'before, un-
til.' Vlb 52. From *prei-kwām cf.
pre and L. quam, priusquam. 49 a,
112 e, 154 b.

prepesnimu, 'offer a preliminary prayer.'
Imv. pass. Iib 17. pre- + persnimu.

preplolatu, 'trample under foot' (?). Inv.
preplolatu Vlb 60, preplohotu VIIa
49. Probably denominative vb. in
sense 'flatten' from same stem seen in
plotus Fest., p. 274 Ll. 117 e; n.
on Vlb 60.

presoliat-e, a landmark used in defining
the augural templum, possibly 'fore-
area.' Acc. pl. (+ -e) Vla 12. First
part pre; for second part cf. L. solum
(?). 55 b, 68 e.

Presolota Prestate, name of a goddess
'Prestota.' Gen. sg. Presolotar VIIa
20, 22, 33, 36; dat. Prestate Ib 27,
Presolota VIIa 6, 8, 24; voc. Presolota
Vlb 57, 61, VIIa 9, 11, 13, 15, 16, 18,
19, 21, 22, 25, 26, 28, 29, 31, 33, 34, 35.
From *prai-siā-lā or *prai-siā-lā, vowel-
grade of root uncertain. Cf. stahtūt,
L. sto, stāre, etc. 7 b, 28 c, 31 a, 71,
86 d, 90.

pretra, adj. 'the former.' Acc. pl. f. Vb
12. From *prai-terā, cf. pre, L. praeter.
76 c.

preve, adv. 'separately, in a separate
place.' Ia 28, Ila 9. From *preiwēd,
cf. L. prīvus, O. preiuatud 'reo.' 9 a,
20 a, 112 a, 113 d.

preuenatu, transitive vb. 'turn ... against.'
Inv. VIIa 11. pre- + verb from root
*wend-, cf. Goth. bi-wendan, wandjan,
Germ. winden, Eng. vb. wind. 60 a n.
2, 119 a.

prever, adj. 'single, one ... per ...' Abl.
pl. Va 13, 18. From *preiwo-. L. pri-
vus, cf. U. preve, O. preluatud. 69;
n. on Va 13.

preušlatau, 'bind.' Inv. preušlatau VIIa
49, preušlata Vlb 60. pre- + denom-
native vb. from noun equivalent to
L. vincutum. 29 e, 46 c, 75 a, 117 c;
n. on Vlb 60.

prinuatur, name of certain officials, here
latinized 'prinuati.' Nom. pl. prinu-
vatus Ib 19, 23, 23, prinuvalu Vlb 15,
41, prinuatur Vlb 50, 65, VIIa 1, 46,
52; abl. prinuatir Vlb 55, 56, 57.
Etym. obscure; apparently pri- (cf.
L. prior, etc., Pacl. pri-stafalarikir) +
root of unknown identity + ā-ō- as in
pf. plcp. of first conjugation. 2 h, 57
h, 71; n. on Vlb 50.

procanurent, 'sing forth.' Fut. pf. 3 pl.
Vla 16. From *pro-kan- cf. L. cano,
U. kanetu. 28, 114 e, 134 o.

pronom, adv. 'first.' prumum III 15,
prumu III 3, 23, promom VIIa 52.
πγόμος 'chief,' cf. -per < -πρ. 105 a,
113 a.

prosesalo, prosekuatu, etc., 'cut, cut off.'
Inv. prosekuatu Ila 28, 28 (second
instance written prosekuatu, probably by
error), III 33, 35, IV 2; pcmpl. pass. gen.
pl. proseseeto Vlb 16, 38; dat. proseque-
ete Ila 12, prosešetir Vlb 44, 46, prosešetir
Vla 56, 59, b 2, 4, 23, VIIa 4, 8, 42, 54,
prosesetir Vlb 20; acc. pl. neut. prose-
șetu Iib 12, prosešeto Vla 56. From
*pro-sek(ā)-. L. seco, -āre, Russ. prose-
kalb 'cut through.' 8 a, 30 c, 117 b,
134 o.

prufe, adv. 'well.' Va 27. L. probe, both
from *pro-bhūd; cf. O. prófatted
'probavit.' 54 d, 69, 112 a, 113 d, 139 a.

prumum prumu: see promom.

prupehast, 'purify (in advance).' Fut.
3 sg. IV 32. pro- + pihatu. 29 m, 114
e, 123, 134 o.

prusekatu, prosegete: see proseseeto.

prusecio, 'sacrificial pieces.' Acc. pl.
neut. Ila 23. From *pro-sek-yo-, cf.
proseseto. 68 a, 86 e; n. on loc. cit.
prusikurent, 'declare.' Fut. pf. 3 pl. Va 26, 28. From *pro-sek-usent, cf. L. in-seque, in-sece, ét-ve-æ, én-œæ, é-œæ, U. sukatu. 9 b, 35 d, 49 d, 52 g, 114 e, 124 c, 125, 134 o, 138 a.

pruzufe, adj. 'remaining' (?). Abl. sg. IV 23. Probably from *préð(d)-sod- with ablaut-variant of root *sed- 'sit.' Cf. zefæ serse, L. praes-ses, pro-seda, etc. 35 d, 65 f, 80 c, 86 e; n. on loc. cit.

pue, conjunction 'where.' pue I b 18, pue Vlb 38, 39, 40, 55. Probably from *kʷō-t, cf. poe poi, etc. under stem poi. 112 e, 113 c, g.

Puemune, name of a god latinized as 'Pononus.' Gen. sg. Puemunes IV 3, 11, 12, 26; dat. Puemune III 26, 35, IV 5, 10, 12, 24, 26. Cf. L. Pomona, Sab. or Vest. Poinimunen (Co. no. 248). 4, 74 f.

puf, conjunction 'where, in which.' puf I b 33, puf Vla a, b 50, VIIa 43. O. puf, L. ubi, all from *kʷe-u-dhe. 31 e, 112 e, 113 f.

pumpe, with preceding pisi, 'whoever.' Va 3, 10. With pisi pumpe cf. L. quicumque, the L. and U. forms being fully identical so far as the second and third parts are concerned. 49 a, 106 d, 110 a, b, 112 e, 113 l.

pumpefias, adj. 'quincurial (representing five decuwiae).' Nom. pl. Iib 2. O. pumperiais, cf. U. pantes, L. quintae, pĕxte, Accl. pĕ♠ae. Stem-formation partly obscure. 8 g, 49 a, 68 e, 105 e; nn. on Iib 1-21 and 2.

pune, puni: see pone and poni.

punciato: see pontislatere.

punctes, 'groups of five.' Nom. pl. punctes III 9, 10; abl. punctis III 4. From *ponk(w)-l-, cf. O. pontis 'quinquens,' Pántis, L. Quintius. 8 g, 49 a, d, 53 b, 77 b, 90, 105 e; n. on III 4.

puplu: see poplom.

Pupriæs, epithet of the god Puemune 'Pononus,' tentatively latinized 'Poplicus.' Gen. sg. Pupriæs IV 4, Pupri-
4, 9, pusi VIa 20, 46, b 4, 20, 29, 48, VIa 7, pusei VIa 27, 36, VIb 3, puse VIa 59, b 2, 23, 37, 44, 46, VIa 5, 38, 42, 43, 53. From *kʷut(i)-s-l (?), cf. O. puzi ‘ut.’ L. ut, uti. 2 a, 14 a, 49 a, e, 112 e, 113 m, 154 a.
pusme: see po-.
puste, noun ‘rear’ (?). la. 25. o-, ā-, or i-stem derived from post (?). N. on loc. cit.
pustertiu: see postertio.
pusti: see posti.
pustnaiad, adj. ‘from behind.’ Acc. pl. I. pustnaiad lb 11; abl. pl. I. pusnaiad Ia 2. From *post(i)nai-ā-, related to postine as pernaiad to perne. 2 i, 53 c, 68 c.
pusru: see postra and postro.
puze: see puse.
randem-e, a landmark used in defining the augural lempulum, possibly ‘garden.’ (+ -e) VIa 14. No plausible etym. N. on loc. cit.
rehte, adv. ‘right, in a satisfactory manner.’ Va 24, 26, 29. L. récīd, both from *réktēd, cf. L. rego, rectus, etc. 9 a, 46 i, 56 a, 71, 112 a, 113 d.
re-per, ri, ‘thing, ceremony (with esuna, -e), account.’ Dat. sg. ri Va 4; abl. ri Va 5, (+ -per) reper VIb 2. L. rés, Skt. rás ‘wealth.’ 25 d, 65 c, 79, 90, 93 e, 143 b.
restitu, reste, ‘offer additional sacrifice,’ (in combination with feitu) ‘perform sacrifice anew.’ Inv. restitu Iia 5; pres. pcppl. nom. sg. m. restef Iib 9, reste VIb 47. From rē- + vb. forms equivalent to L. sto, stāre, and sisto, 
-re. (?). 29 b, 58 d, 114 e, 117 a, 119 b, 130 a, 134 q.
revestu, ‘examine, make an inspection.’ Inv. Va 7, 9. L. revisito, fut. inv. to reviso; cf. U. uirseto, L. video, etc. 119 f.
ri: see re-per.
rofu, adj. ‘red.’ Acc. pl. m. rofu VIa 3; f. rofa VIa 6. L. (of dialectal origin) Rufus, cf. ruber, U. rufu. 24 c, 26 e, 35 d, 67.
Rubinam-e Rupinam-e, name of a place in or adjacent to Iguvium, ‘Rubinia,’ Acc. sg. (+ -e) Rupiname Ibe 35, 36, Rubiname VIa 43, 44; loc. Rupinie Ibe 27, Rubine VIa 6. Etym. uncertain; B., p. 106, suggests connection with rusem-e, L. rubus and rusecum, Dev., p. 289, with Etr. rupinas, rupenial. 53 d, 68 e; n. on VIa 6.
Rufrer, masc. proper name ‘Rufre.’ Gen. sg. VIa 14. Same stem as rufru (?). 14 a.
rufru, adj. ‘red.’ Acc. pl. m. rufru Ibe 24; f. rufra Ibe 27. L. ruber, ἐγκόξος, cf. U. rofu. 35 d, 43, 56 a, 76 a, 90.
Rupiname, Rupinie: see Rubinam-e. rusem-e, ‘trench’ (?). Acc. sg. (+ -e) VIa 8, 9, 23. Etym. uncertain. N. on VIa 8.

S, abbreviation for semis or its equivalent in numerical symbol VIIIs. Vb 17.
sacra sakra, adj. ‘sacred, consecrated, belonging to the temple’; as noun ‘sacred article, victim, young pig’ (?). Gen. sg. (?) sakre III 30; acc. sg. sakre Ila 5, 6, 21, III 8, 9, 12, 22; acc. pl. f. sakra Ibe 29, 37, sacra VIa 40, 45, sakref Ia 18, 19; acc. pl. neut. sakreu Va 6; abl. sacris VIb 52, 56. L. sacer, -ra, -rum and -rīs, -re, U. and OL both showing the same variation between o/ā-stem and i-stem. Cf. saha-
tam. No sure connections outside Italic. 10 c, 57 a, 76 a, 77 e, 90; n. on Ila 5.
sahatam, except in Ia 38 always preceded
by *trahu trahaf* tra, the phrase forming an inflected hypostasis used as name of a place in or adjacent to Iguvium, latinized ‘Trans Sanctam.’ Acc. sg. *santia* Iib 35, (+ -e) *sate* Iib 38, *sahata* VIIa 39, 44, 45; abl. *sahata* VIIa 5, 39; loc. *sate* Iib 31, *sahale* VIIa 41. L. sancta, cf. sacer, U. sacra, Sansi. 2 e, 7 c, 26 a, 46 i, 52 e; n. on VIIa 5.


*sanes*, adj. ‘uncooked’ (?). Abl. pl. IV 8. L. *sanus* (?). 74 b; n. on loc. cit.

Sansi *Sače*, epithet of the gods Fisus, Fisovius, Jupiter, and Vesticius, and once (Hib 10) used alone. Dat. sg. *Sače* Ila 4, *Saçi*, Ia 15, Hib 10, 17, *Sansie* Vlb 3, *Sansii* VIIa 37, *Sansi* Vlb 5, 6; acc. *Sansi* Vlb 8, 8; voc. *Sače* Iib 24, *Sansie* Vlb 9, 10, 12, 12, 14, 15. Cf. L. Sancus (see on Ila 4, Vlb 3), *sancire*, which according to Kretschmer, *Gl.*, X (1919), pp.155-6, is denominative to *Sanco*; cf. also *sacra*, L. *sacer*, the connection of which with L. *sancio* etc., Kretschmer denied. 2 c, i, 31 c, 52 d, 68 a, 90, 93 b; n. on Vlb 3.

*sarsite*, adv. of uncertain meaning, possibly ‘in public.’ Vlb 11. From *sarklitēd*, adv. as if from a plp. *sarakto- vir. equivalent to L. *sareio*, with semantic development ‘sewn to-

gether > collectively > publicly.’ (?,) 112 a, 113 d; n. on loc. cit.

Sače Saći: see Sansi.

*satame*, sate: see sahalam.


*sauitu*, vb. of uncertain meaning, possibly ‘wound.’ Inv. Vlb 60, VIIa 49, L. *saecius* (?). 118 d; n. on Vlb 60.

*salse-to*, a ceremonial vessel of some kind, probably ‘cup.’ Abl. sg. (+ -ta-to) *skāleta* IV 15, 18, 20, *scalseto* Vlb 16; loc. (+ -e) *sealstie* Vlb 5, VIIa 37. L. *calix*, κάλυξ, κόλυξ, κοκάλλιον, σῶλις, Skt. kalāsas are all possibly or probably related. 2 a, 29 g, 89 a, 97.

*scapla*, ‘shoulder-blade, shoulder.’ Acc. sg. Vlb 49. L. *scapulae*. 75 a; n. on loc. cit.


sehuem: see semu.

*seipodruepai*, adv. ‘in either direction.’ VIIa 11. From *se(d)-kʷ*otero-kʷe, cf. *putrespe*, O. *pūtereipid*, L. *sedutraque*. 9 c, 49 a, 60 f, 76 c, 87 b, 111 b, 112 e, 113 c, 1.

semenies: see sehmenier.


*seoples*, ‘nails’ (?). Abl. pl. III 17. From *saip-ło- or -lā-, cf. L. *saepes*, *saepio* (?). 75 a; n. on loc. cit.
sepse, adv. of uncertain meaning, possibly 'in private.' VIb 11. From *saip-sêd, adv. as if from a plcp. *saip-so- to vb. equivalent to L. saepio, with semantic development 'fenced off > separately > in private.' (?). 112 a, 113 d; n. on loc. cll.

Serfe, Serfer: see Šerfer.

Serfla, Šerfla: see Šerflar.

seritu, 'watch, watch for, observe; keep.' Inv. seritu VIa 11, 15, 16, 31, 32, 33, 41, 41, 42, 51, 51, 52, b 12, 12, 13, 33, 34, 34, 49, VIIa 15, 16, 17, 29, 29, 30, 31, serituu VIIa 15, seritu Ila 24. Probably from *servi-. L. servio (?), cf. servus, servare, U. anserialto. 54 g, 114 e, 120 c.

serse: see seritsu.


sersitu 'sit.' Inv. sersitu VIb 41; plcp. pres. nom. sg. serse VIa 2, 16, b 17, 22, 41, 41, 41, zeâf Ia 25, 33, 34. L. sedeo, cf. ėðoż, U. sersi. 2 a, j, 42 b, 58 d, 114 e, 118 a, 130 a.


seso, pron. 'for himself.' Dat. sg. VIb 51. From *s(u)oi-so, cf. oï and etc. (?). 107 c with n. 1.

sestentasiaru, adj. 'bi-monthly' (that is, occurring in cycles of one-sixth of a year). Gen. pl. f. III 2. From *seksent-âáši-som, cf. L. sexantiarium. 53 e, 61 d, 68 d, 105 f.

sestu, 'dedicate.' Pres. 1 sg. sestu Iib 24, 2 sg. (?) seste Iib 22; inv. sestu Iib 22. L. sisto, cf. U. restatu, restef. 10 c, 22 b, 114 e, 115 a, 119 b, g.

sesust, 'sit.' Inv. sistu III 8; fut. pf. 3 sg. sesust VIa 5. L. sîdô, inv. sîdîto < *sizd(e)îdô, Skt. sidîto < *sizdēti, cf. U. andersisitu, anderseusust, sersiitu. Formation of fut. pf. sesust not quite clear, but perhaps derived from pf. plcp. equivalent to L. sessus. 61 c, 119 b.

seuacne sevakne, adj. 'perfect, free from fault, unblemished (?); solemn, ceremonial.' Acc. sg. sevakni III 25, 26, 27, sevakne Ila 21, b 8, 8, 9, 10, III 22, IV 18, 19; abl. sevakni Ila 38, 39, sevakne IV 23; acc. pl. sevaknef IV 22, sevakne Ila 16 (?), seuacne VIIb 1; abl. sevaknis Ila 36, 37, IV 25, sevakne IV 9. From *sêw-(seum, O. suów 'omnino') + akni- (?); according to another view, from sê- private (cf. seipodruhpei, L. se fraude) + wak-ni (cf. ander-uaose, uâstom). 41 f, 77 d, 89, 90, 101, n. 1; n. on Ila 21.

seuom sevum, 'each, every.' Acc. sg. neut. sevum Ia 5, sevom VIa 56; abl. pl. seuveir VIa 18. From *sêw-wom, O. suów, cf. L. so-lus, se-d, the underlying sense being that of separate individuality.

siihitr, siihitu: see šiihitr.

sim, 'sow, pig.' Acc. sg. sim Iib 1, si Iib 7; acc. pl. sîf Ia 7, 14, sîf VIb 3, sî VIa 58. L. sîs, suem, ýz, óv. 2 j, 15 a, 57 a, 65 b, 102 e.

sisitu: see sesust.

smursim-e, a landmark used in defining the augural templum, 'temple of Slumacia' (?). Acc. sg. (+e) VIa 13. Etym. and interpretation uncertain; possibly from *Smorkiom (by 12 b, 32 a) as neut. place-name corresponding to L. divine name Morcia. 57 b; n. on loc. cll.

snata, plcp. pass. 'wet' (?). Acc. pl. neut. snata Ila 19, snatu Ila 34; abl. pl. snates IV 9, snate Ila 37. Cf. L. no, nare, vîjzo, Skt. snâti, 'bathe,' OIr. snâm 'act of swimming'; cf. also U. asnata. 57 b, h, 114 e, 117 a; n. on Ila 19.

somo, 'highest; final (?).' Acc. sg. some VIa 9; abl. some VIa 10; loc. sume Ila 15, III 1. L. summus, cf. sub, super, O. svâ, U. sub- su-, super. 13 a, 14 b, 61 e, 73 a, 90.
sonitu, 'deafen with thunder' (?). Inv. sonitu VIb 60, sonitu VIIa 49. Cf. L. sone, -are and -ere, Skt. svanati. 8 g, 54 f, 128 d; n. on VIb 60.

sopa, 'under-parts' (?); in VIb 17, VIIa 38 adj. with value of adv. 'down' (?). Acc. sg. f. sopam VIIa 38, sopa VIb 17; acc. pl. f. supaf IIa 22; neut. supa Ia 9, 16, IIa 22, 30, 32, supo VIIa 8, sopo VIb 5; abl. pl. supes IV 8. 14 c, 54 d, 69, 139 b; n. on VIb 5.

sorsalir, adj. 'pig-, accompanying the pig-persondro.' Gen. sg. sorsalir VIb 38; acc. sg. sorsalem VIIa 39. Cf. sorsom. 77 h, 90.

sorsom suřum, adj. 'pig-'; with pelmner 'pork.' Gen. sg. sorser Vb 12, 17; acc. suřum Ia 27, 30, suſu IIa 8, 9, sorsom VIb 24, sorso VIb 38; abl. sorsu VIb 28, 31, 35, 37; acc. pl. suſuſ Ia 33. Cf. sim, sorsailir. 14 d, 72.

spahatu, 'throw, scatter (?)'; 'distribute' (?). Inv. spahatu VIb 41; inv. pass. spahmu VIb 17, spahamu VIIa 39; pepl. pf. nom. sg. neut. spafu Va 20. Cf. apāo, L. pando, pensus, pateo, spatum, U. spatni, spatnea, Germ. spannen; all are probably related, with an underlying notion of extension in space, but some phonological details are obscure. 44 b, 58 c, 114 e, 117 a, 131 ; n. on Va 20, VIb 17.

spantea, adj. 'at the side.' Acc. pl. neut. IIa 30. Cf. spanti. 53 b, 68 b, 139 b.

spanti, 'side.' Acc. sg. spanti III 34, IV 2, (+ -af) spantimař III 33. Formation obscure, but probably related to spahatu, q.v. 77 a.

spefa, pepl. pass. always preceded by meja, the two making up the name of a type of cake, here left untranslated. Acc. sg. fem. spefa Vla 56, b 20, VIIa 4, 38; abl. spefa VIb 5, 9, 9, 14, VIIa 37. Cf. L. pendo, pensus. 44 b, 58 c, 114 e, 131 ; n. on Vla 56.

Speture, name of a god 'Spector.' Dat. sg. IIa 5. Cf. speturie, L. specio, specto, spectio, σπέτωμα, etc. 46 i, 82 a; n. on loc. cit.

speturie, adj. 'augural.' Dat. sg. IIa 1, 3. From *spektōriyo/-ā-, to Speture, L. -spector, as amatorius to amator. 68 e.

spinia, 'obellisk' (?). Acc. sg. spinia IIa 36, spina IIa 38, (+ -af-a) spinamař IIa 33, spinama IIa 37. From *spin-
yā-, cf. L. spina. 53 d, 68 e.

stakaz, pepl. pass. 'established, appointed.' Nom. sg. m. IIa 15. From *sta-kā-los, cf. stahitu, L. stō, stāre, etc. 29 i, 117 e.

staflem, adj. 'for Stabilis (Jovius)' (?). Acc. sg. staflem Vb 39, stafle Vb 37, 40. Equivalent as if to L. *stabul-

Stafli, in combination with iuve making a divine name here latinized 'Sta-

Stahitu, 'stand.' Fut. 3 pl. staferen Ib 19; inv. stahitu VIb 56; inv. 3 pl. stahituto VIb 53. From *sta-ye/o-, sta-.

Stahni, stahint, cf. L. stō, stāre, U. stahu (minor inscr. no. 355 Co.), stakaz, Stafli, stahmei, stahitu. 57 c, 114 e, 115 d, 120 a, e, 123.

stahmei, 'ordinance' (?). Dat. sg. Vla 5, 18. From *sta-mo- or *sta-mi-, cf. stahitu, L. stō, stāre. 35 d, 73, 143 d; n. on Vla 5.

stahmito, pepl. pass. 'established.' Nom. sg. neut. stahmito Vla 8; dat. stahmitie Vla 18, stahmeitei Vla 5. From denominative vb. to stem contained in stahmei, q.v. 120 b.

Stațita, pepl. pass. 'remaining.' Acc. pl. neut. IIa 42. From denominative vb. to noun *stati- or *statu-, cf. stahitu, L. stō, stāre. 15 b, 57 a, 120 c, 131 ; n. on loc. cit.

Statitatu, 'stop.' Inv. IIa 32, b 19, IV 9. Iterative (without iterative sense) to the denominative vb. assumed for 

Stiplatu, 'stipulate, bargain for, demand.' Inv. stiplatu VIb 48, 51, steplatu lb
sonitu 325

13; pres. inv. 2 sg. stiplo VIa 2. L. stiplor, -ari, cf. L. anstiplatu. 10 c, 114 e, 117 c, 127 a.

strišla, a type of cake, here left untranslated. Gen. sg. strišla IIa 41, IV 1; acc. strišla VIa 59, VIb 5, 23, VIIa 8, 42, 54, strišla IIa 18, 28, IV 2, strišla III 34. From *strw-(i)-k(ε)lā-, cf. L. strues. 15 c, 29 e, g, 46 c, 142 b; n. on VIa 59.

subahtu, subulator, 'take away; omit' (?). Inv. subahtu IIa 42, suboluta VIb 25; pcpl. pf. nom. pl. neut. subulator VIa 27, 36, 46, b 29. From sub- + hahtu, cf. habe. (?). 14 a, 38 b, 103 a; nn. on IIa 42, VIa 26-7.

subocau, 'invoke.' Pres. 1 sg. subocau VIa 22, 24 (twice), 34, 44, 55, VIb 6, 8, 8, 15, 15, 26, 27, 27, 36, subocauv VIIa 20, 22, 23, 33, 34, 36. From *sub-wok-ā-yō, cf. L. voco, -arc, U. suboco. 49 d, 54 d, 114 e, 115 a, 117 c, f; n. on VIa 22.

suboco, noun 'the one invoked' (?). Acc. sg. (?) VIa 22, 24, 25, VIb 6, 8, 8, 26, 27, 27. According to the view adopted here, root-stem noun from *sub-wok-, cf. subocau. N. on VIa 22.

subota: see subator.

subra, adv. 'above, over,' and (VIIa 15, second instance) preposition 'above.' subra Va 20, subra VIIa 15, 15, b 17, 41, VIIa 39, b 3. L. supra. 14 c, 76 a, 112 c, 113 e, 139 b, 147 l.


sue sve, conjunction 'if.' sve Va 24, 24, 27, (in svepu) Ib 8, (in svepis) Ib 18, IV 26, sue VIa 7, 16, VIIb 3, (in suepo) VIb 47. O. suae svaɪ, cf. U. nosue, sueso; L. si < sei, loc. of *so-, a stem-variant of *swo-. 19 a, 54 c, 109 j, 110 b, 112 d, 154 c.

sueso, reflexive pronominal adj. 'his.' Loc. sg. sueso VIIb 1, svesu Ib 45, Ila 44. First element from *swo-, cf. O. suveıs, L. suus, U. sue sve; second element of uncertain origin. 107 n. 1, 108 c, 109 j.

sufuas, noun of uncertain meaning; 'limb' (?). Gen. sg. sufuias IIa 41; acc. pl. sufuiat IIa 22. Cf. L. eʃai-latus, exfiiati (?). 63 e, 142 b; n. on IIa 22.

sufes, noun of uncertain meaning, possibly 'under-board.' Acc. sg. III 17, 19. From *sub-fid-ā-llo-, with same root as feʃehtru. (?). 75 b; n. on III 17.


sume: see somo.

sumel, adv. 'at the same time.' IIa 27. Cf. L. semel, simul. 28 b, 35 d, 55 e, 105 a, 112 g.

sumtu, 'take up.' Inv. Ia 9, 16. L. inv. sumitum, both from *sub-enelōd; cf. U. emantur. 29 b, 61 a, 119 a.

supa, supes: see sopa.

super, preposition with loc. 'above, at the top of.' I Ib 41, IV 19. L. super, cf. ētēg, U. subra, superne. 14 a, 38 a, 61 e, 147 m.


supru, adj. with value of noun 'the top' (?). Abl. sg. IV 3. From *superōd, cf. subra, super, O. supruis, L. superus. 60 e, 76 a.

supu, preposition 'at the bottom of' (?). IV 17. L. sub, cf. ētō, Skt. upa; cf. also U. sopa. 31 f.

suront sururon, adv. 'likewise, in the same manner.' suront VIb 8, 20, 23, 37, 44, 46, VIIa 5, 7, 37, 42, 53; sururon VIb 39, 48, 51, 64, 64, 65, 65, VIIa 1, 1. For first part cf. suror; for second part cf. erihoň, eronl, ifont, L. hic, hunc. 52 g with n. 2, 109 j, 112 d, 113 i.

surur, adv. 'similarly, in the same manner.' surur VIa 20, 20, 56, 59, VIb 2, 4, suror VIb 37, suroro VIb 48.
IV.


šimo čimu, adv. 'hither, back' (to place where the speaker is). čimu Ib 23, 23, šimo Vlb 65, VIIa 1. From *ki-mōd, cf. čive, L. cis, citra, citimus. 2 a, 10 a, 46 b, 69, 73 a, 112 c, 113 c; n. on Vlb 65.

šitir: see šihitir.

čive, adv. 'on the hither side, outside.' Ib 11. From *ki-wel, loc. of *ki-wo-, cf. šimo čimu, L. cis, etc.

t: see Titis.

-ta: see -to.

tafle, noun 'board' (?). Loc. sg. Ib 12. L. tabula, other connections uncertain. 75 d, 90.

Talenate, name of a decuvia among the citizens of Iguvium. Dat. sg. Ib 4, 5. No clear etym. 77 c.

tapistenu, noun of uncertain meaning, possibly 'caldron.' Acc. sg. IV 30. From *tapestēnom, cf. L. tepor, Skt. tapistena, (?). 16 b, 35 d; n. on loc. cit.

Tarsinater, ethnic adj. 'Tadinate.' Gen. sg. Tarsinater Vlb 54, 59, 59, 59, VIIa 12, 12, 48, 48; dat. Tarsinatae Vlb 11, 11; acc. Tafinate Ib 16, 17, Tar- 
sinalem Vlb 58, 58, VIIa 47, 47. L. Tarinates, Ital. Gualdo Tadino. 7 a, 77 c; n. on Vlb 53-4.

tases taçež, plcp. pf. 'silent(ly), in a murmur.' Nom. sg. m. taçež la 26, b 26, 30, 32, 44, lb 7, 39, IV 27, tases Vla 55, 59, b 2, 4, 20, 44, 46, VIIa 4, 7, 42, 54, tasis Vlb 23; nom. pl. m. tasetur Vlb 57, VIIa 46. L. tacitus, cf. Goth. pahan, OHG dagēn, 'be silent.' 2 a, 8 e, 28, 29 i, 30 c, 41 a, 46 b, 114 e, 118 a, 131, 139 b.

tekvias, noun latinized to 'decuviae,' groups each originally composed of one tenth of the citizen body. Nom. pl. lb 1. Cf. dequar tekuries, O. dekk-

viarim. L. decuria, decem, ēsēa, etc. 2 h, 3 d, 45, 46 h, 68 e, 105 h; n. on loc. cit.

tekuries: see dequar.

tefe, 2 sg. personal pron. 'thee.' Dat.
tefe Ib 13, IIb 24, tefε VIa 18; acc. tiu
IIa 25, 25, liom VIa 43, 44, 45, 53, 55,
b 8, 8, 9, 14, 15, 15, 25, 27, 27, 28, 35,
VIIa 10, 18, 19, 20, 21, 21, 23, 25,
32, 33, 34, 35, 36, tio VIa 24, 24,
25, 33, 34, 35, 54, b 6, teio VIa 22. O.
tfei, L. libi, cf. Skt. tubhyam; acc. tiu
equal. to L. te but with an
added element -om. 40, 107 b.
tefra, tefuto, 'burnt-offering, (place of)
burnt-offerings.' Abl. sg. (+ -lo)
tefuto VIIa 46; acc. pl. tefra IIa 27,
III 32, 34, IV 2. O. tefurum. Pro-
ably from *tepro-, cf. L. tepor, Skt.
tapas; connection of tēpaa very doubt-
ful. 57 g, 76 a; n. on VIIa 46.
Tefrali, adj. 'for Tefer.' Abl. sg. VIb
28, 35. To Tefrei as L. Saturnalia to
Saturnus, etc.; cf. also U. Staflarem:
Stafii (†). 77 h.
Tefrei, name of a god 'Tefer.' Dat. sg.
Tefre Ia 24, Tefri Ia 28, Tefrei VIb 22;
acc. Tefro VIb 26, 27, 27; voc. Tefre
Cf. tefra, Tefrali. 25 b, 93 b; n. on
VIb 22.
tehterim, noun 'cover' (?). Acc. sg.
IV 20. Cf. L. lego, lectum; stem-for-
mation uncertain. 32 a, 68 e; n. on
loc. cit.
tieo: see tefo.
teltu: see deltu.
tenitu, 'hold.' Inv. VIb 25. L. teneto;
cf. also U. andendu, endendu, etc., from
a different stem of the same root. 41
a, 118 a.
tenzitim: see tesedi.
terkantur, 'inspect.' Pres. subj. pass.
3 pl. III 9. δεκατηρεω, Skt. pf. dadarsa,
OIr. condurcar, 'conspecturus'; no Italic
connections except possibly personal
names Dercennius, Dercina, Durcatius,
Durcatius (see Pl., I, p. 397, n. 2).
3 d, 114 e, 119 a, 166 a.
termnom-e, 'boundary.' Acc. sg. (+ -e)
termnome VIb 57, 63, 64; abl. (+ -co)
termnucu VIb 53, 55, 57; abl. pl. (+
k) termnesku Ib 19. L. terminus, cf.
OL termen, Skt. tarati 'cross over.'
29 f, 56 b, 74 g.
tertium-e, 'third.' Dat. sg. f. tertie
Iib 6; acc. f. (+ -a) tertiamava IV 2,
(+ -e) tertiamae VIa 13; acc. neut. terti
Iia 28, tertim VIb 64; abl. sg. neut.
tertiu VIa 45, 48, 53; loc. tertie Iib 14.
L. terlius, Skt. श्रिस्त. 90, 103 c, 113 a.
See also postterio.
terio: see postterio.
tesu: see dirstu.
tefε, tefε, tețtu, tețust: see dirstu.
tesedi tenzitim, a type of cake, possibly
'twisted cake.' Acc. sg. tenzitim Iib
6, tesedi VIb 46. Etym. and stem-for-
mation uncertain; possibly related to
L. lendo, lensio. 2 i, 3 d, 42 d; n.
on VIb 46.
Tesenocir, name of a gate in Iguvium,
'Tesenacan.' Abl. pl. Tesenakes Ia 11,
14, Tesenocir VIb 1, 3, Tesonocir VIa
20, VIIa 38. Cf. modern Ital. Tessena-
ra (†). 7 b, 70; Intro., 4.'
testre, testru: see destre.
tesvam: see dersua.
Teteies, gentile name latinized 'Te-
teius.' Nom. sg. Ib 45, IIa 44. L.
Tetieia, Tetlla. 32 b, 53 c, 68 e, 90;
n. on Ib 45.
tetton-e, a landmark used in defining the
augural templum, 'house' (?). Acc.
sg. (+ -e) VIa 13, 14, 14. From *tek-
lom. L. lectum, cf. tēgo. (?). 71;
n. on VIa 13.
tetu: see dirstu.
Ti: see Titis.
Tikamne, name of a deity 'Dicamnus'
(†). Dat. sg. Iia 8. From *dikum(e)-
emos, cf. L. dico, -are (†). 3 d, 10 a, 29 f,
35 d; n. on loc. cit.
tiol: liom: see tefo.
ticεl, 'day' (?). Nom. sg. ticεl Iia 15;
acc. ticlu III 25, 27; abl. ticlu Iib 22.
O. zicolom 'day,' džikulus, cf. L.
dies. (?). According to the more inter-
pretation, from *dik-eles 'dicatio,
dedicatio, declaratio.' 3 d, 9 b, 29 i,
tigit, impersonal vb. 'one is required.'
Pres. 3 sg. Via 17. L. decet, cf. decus, dignus, Homeric δέχομαι, Vedic दाष्टि 'worship.'
3 d, 8 e, 9 b, 46 b, 114 e, 115 c, 118 d.
titu: see dirstu.
tiu: see lefe.
Tlatie, adj., name of a field. Gen. sg. Vb 9. Etym. uncertain; possibly connected with L. Lattium, or else with lātus < *ṭātōs, plcp. of fero. 41 d, 68 a; n. on loc. cit.
-to -ta-tu, postposition 'from.' akрутu (?) Va 9; anglu-to Vla 8, 10, 10; pure-to Vla 20; skalçe-ta IV 15, 18, 20, sealse-to Vlb 16; taru-to Vlla 46; uapersus-to Vla 12, 13. Etym. uncertain; according to Co., related to suffix in L. caelitus, Skt. devahas (IE -los); according to suggestion of Pl., II., p. 453, from reanalysis of abl. sg. ending -t (if admitted as source of -d) + ā (L. ā); Vetter compares Etr. -ta, with same value. 4, 147 o.
toco, word of uncertain form and sense in Vb 13. Possibly 'picked, preserved by pickling.' Cf. Gallo-Latin tucca, tu(e)ctum, taxea (?). N. on loc. cit.
todecir, adj. 'city-', of the city.' Acc. sg. neut. (+ -e) todcome Vla 10, 10; nom. pl. tocor Vla 12; abl. todocir Vla 11. O. tūvtiks, toutica, cf. U. tola. 29 g, 46 e, 70, 90, 103 a.
toru turuf, with uittu vittuf 'bull-calves'; in Ib 20 'victims' (?). Acc. pl. turuf Ib 1, turup Ib 4, toru Vlb 43, 45; abl. tures Ib 20. L. laurus O. τἀρμος, Gk. ταῦρος, cf. Goth. stilur, Eng. steer. 2 k, 22, 26 e, 67.
tolar tutas, 'state' in sense of πόλις; L. civitas. Gen. sg. tutas Ib 2, 5, tola
Vla 30, 32, 39, 41, 49, 52, b 10, 13, 32, 34, 43, 45, 53, 59, 61, Vilia 3, 6, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16, 16, 17, 19, 21, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 30, 31, 32, 35, 37, 41, 47, 50, 52, 53; dat. tute Ib 13, tote Vla 5, 18, 24, 31, 33, 40, 42, 50, 53, b 7, 10, 11, 14, 26, 32, 34, 51, 62, Vilia 11, 14, 18, 27, 31, 50; acc. tuta Ib 16, totam Vla 41, 49, 51, b 12, 33, 58, Vilia 16, 29, 47, tota Vla 29, 31, 39, b 31; abl. (+ per -pe -per) tutaper Ib 5, 8, 12, 15, 19, 21, 25, 29, 31, b 2, 5, III 29, tutape III 24, totaper Vla 23, 25, 34, 35, 43, 45, 53, 55, 58, b 1, 3, 6, 7, 9, 15, 19, 22, 26, 28, 35, 43, 45, Vilia 3, 6, 9, 10, 19, 21, 24, 26, 32, 35, 37, 41, 53; loc. tota Vla 36, b 29, (+ -me) toteme Vla 26, 46. O. ῥωᾳ✍lo toulo, OIr. tuath, Goth. ḫuada, Lith. lautta; connection of L. lotus uncertain. 2 j, 19 a, 23, 25 a, 41 a, 42 e, 57 e, 66, 90, 143 d.
tower: see tuer.
traf trahaf traha tra, preposition 'across.'
tra Ib 31, 35, 11a 13, traf Vila 39, traha Vila 5, 39, 44, 45, trahaf Vila 41. L. trans, both being probably fossilized plcp. pres. nom. sg. *trā-n-s, cf. Skt. trāti 'bring across.' 58 d, 147 p; n. on Vila 5.
trahuorfi, adv. 'crosswise.' Vila 25.
L. transversē, cf. U. traf trahe and vurtus, co-uardt, co-wardt. 17 a, 44 a, 59 c, 112 a, 113 d.
tre: see trif.
Trebe: see Trebo.
trebeit, vb. 'remain.' Pres. 3 sg. Vla 8. Cf. tremnu, Trebo, O. tribiūnum, L. trabes, Goth. batūp. 27 c, 39, 61 e, 114 e, 118 d.
Treblanir, Treplanu, name of a gate in Iguvium. 'Trebulan.' Acc. pl. Treplanu Ib 9, Treblano Vlb 47; abl. pl. Treplanes Ia 2, 7, Treblanir Vla 19, 58, 59, b 2, 4, 20, 23, 44, 46, Vilia 5, 7, 53, Treblanir Vlla 22, Vila 42. Cf. place-names Trebula, Trebia; trebeit, tremnu, etc. 2 b, 3 d, 74 d; Introd., 4.
Trebo, deity of uncertain sex, 'Trebus.'
Dat. sg. Trebe Ia 8; dat. sg. Trebo Vla 58. Cf. trebeit, tremnu. 25 f; n. on Vla 58.
tref treif: see trif.
treifper: see trifo.
tremitu, 'cause to tremble.' Inv. Vla 60, VIIa 49. Cf. L. tremo, τρέμω, τρίμω, Skt. trasati, none of which however shows the same stem-class as tremitu. 118 d.
tremnu, 'augural) tent.' Abl. sg. Vla 2, 16. From *treb-no-, cf. trebalt, O. triibum, L. trabs. 35 d, 52 c, 61 e, 74 a, 145 a.

Treplanes, Treplanu: see Treblianir.
tribistine, 'group of three, triad' (of sacrificial victims). Nom. sg. tribizgu Va 9; abl. tribidine Vla 54. Probably from *tri-peitik-yn/in-, cf. trij and L. pedica (so Brugmann, Ber. Kön. Sächs. Ges. Wiss. [1890], pp. 207-10). The alternative derivation from *triplik-yn/in- is semantically easier, but it does not provide a satisfactory basis for a change l > ŋ. 35 d, 46 d, 58 f, 60 e, 81 b, 88, 90, 91 c, 105 c.

triij, 'three.' Acc. pl. tref Ia 7, 14, 20, 24, b 1, 4, 31, tre Ia 3, 11, b 27, 43, trif Ib 24, trif Vla 58, b 1, 3, 19, 22, 43, 45, VIIa 3, 6, 41, 52, treif Vla 22; acc. pl. neut. triia IV 2; abl. pl. tris III 18, 18. O. tris, L. tres, tres, Eng. three, etc. 2 b, j, 10 a, 26 e, 41 a, 53 c, 56 a, 105 c, 156 h. See also trioper.

trijs, 'tribe.' Gen. sg. trijor Vlb 54, 59, VIIa 12, 48; dat. trijo VIIa 11; acc. trifu Ib 16, trijo Vlb 58, VIIa 47; abl. (+-per) trefiper III 25, 30. L. tribus, the two pointing back to IE *tri-blu-; cf. trif, if we may assume that the basis was an early threefold division of certain nations (?). 14 b, 15 a, 25 c, 40, 78 a, 90, 92; n. on Vlb 54.

triia: see trif.

tripfer, adv. 'three times.' triiuper Ib 21, 22, 22, IIb 25, 25, trioper Vlb 55, VIIa 51. From neut. pl. *irigā 'three' + -per < pert; for second part cf. O. petiropert, L. semper. 105 c, 112 b, 113 b.


tris: see trif.

-tu: see -to.
tua: see tuer.

luder, 'boundary, limit.' Acc. sg. luder Vla 10, 11; nom. pl. luderor VIIa 12, acc. luderum VIIa 15, 16; abl. luderus VIIa 11, b 48. Cf. luderato, etc. Tuder (modern Todi in Umbria); no sure connections outside Italic. 42 d, 57 e, 83, 90, 103 a, 145 c.

luderalo, plcp. pass. 'bounded.' Nom. sg. neut. VIIa 8. Denominative vb. from luder, q.v. 42 d, 114 e, 117 c.

tuer, possessive pronominal adj. of the 2nd person 'thy.' Gen. sg. tuer Vla 27, 28, 37, 37, 47, 47, luer Vlb 30, 30; abl. f. tua Vla 30, 33, 40, 50, 52, b 11, 14, 32, 34, VIIa 14, 17, 31, 50, tuaa VIIa 42. O. tuvai, L. tuus, τεύς; σός < *touos, the various forms showing ablaut-variation in the root syllable. 2 b, 108 a.

tuj: see dur.
tuplak, 'fork' (?). Acc. sg. III 14. Cf. διπλας, L. duplex. 3 d, 80 a, 88, 105 b; n. on loc. cft.
tupler: see dupla.
tures: see loru.

tursar, name of a goddess 'Tursa.' Gen. sg. Tursar VIIa 46; dat. Turse IV 19, Tuse Ib 31, 43, Turse VIIa 41, 53; voc. Tursa Vlb 58, 61, VIIa 47, 49. Cf. tursitu. 2 i, 31 a, 59 a, 66; n. on Vlb 57-8.

tursitu tusetu, 'terrify, chase.' Pres. subj. pass. 3 pl. turstandu VIIb 2; inv. tusetu Ib 40, lersitu Vlb 60, VIIa 49; inv. 3 pl. tusetutu Ib 41, lersituto VIIa 51. Cf. Tursar, L. terreo, terror, and more remotely tremo, U. tremitu. 3 f, 8 b, 12 b, 33 b, 59 a, 60 a, 114 e, 118 b (the basic ref.), 126 a, 127 b, c.

Turskum: see Tuscer.
turuf turup: see loru.

Tuscer, adj. of nationality 'Etruscan,
Tuscan.’ Gen. sg. neut. Tuscer Vlb 54, 59, VIIa 12, 48; dat. neut. Tursce VIIa 22; acc. neut. Turskum Ib 17, Tuscom Vlb 58, VIIa 47. L. Tusce, cf. Etruscus, Τούσκως, etc. 46 e, 70.

Tuse: see Tursar.

tusetu, tusetutu: see lursitu.

tuta, tutape(r), tutas, tute: see tolar. tuua: see tuer.

tuva, tuveru, tuves: see dur.

V, symbol for ‘five.’ Vb 12. 104 a.

uapef-e, vapefe, ‘stone seat, seat.’ Abl. sg. vapefe III 7; acc. pl. (+ -em -e) vapefem Ib 14, uapefe VIa 10, b 51; abl. uapersus VIa 9, (+ -lo) uapersusto VIa 12, 13. L. lapsis; no sure connections outside Italic. 55 a, 61 b, 80 c, 90, 102 d.

vaputu, noun of uncertain meaning, possibly ‘incense.’ Abl. sg. vaputu IIb 10, 17; abl. pl. vaputis IIb 13. From *wapolo-, cf. L. vapor (?); n. on IIb 10.

uas, ‘fault.’ Acc. sg. VIa 28, 38, 48, b 30. From *wak(o)s, cf. uaselom, L. vaco, -are, vacuus. (?) 83.

uaseto uaselom: see uaselom.

uasirslom-e, a landmark used in defining the augural templum, ‘the Vale’ (?). Acc. sg. (+ -e) VIa 12. Etym. uncertain; possibly from *wkri-kelom with s < s < k before er < r < ri, as in 32 d, 46 b; cf. Skt. vakra- ‘curved.’ (?) 75 c; n. on loc. cit.

uasor, ‘vessels.’ Nom. pl. uasor VIa 19; acc. uaso IVb 40; abl. vaso IV 22. L. vAs, basis and vasum, -i; no sure connections outside Italic. 57 d, 83, 90, 103 a, 138 b.

uaselom. pcpl. pass. nom. sg. neut. translated ‘sin.’ uaselom VIa 37, uasetom VIa 47, b 30, uaseto VIa 27; (+ -i -e) vasetumi Ib 8, vasetome IVb 47. Cf. uas, L. vaco, -are (?). 30 c, 34, 129, 149.

vatra, noun of uncertain meaning, here taken as ‘ribs.’ Acc. pl. III 31. Stem-variant of vatuvu, if not merely an erroneous spelling of it. N. on loc. cit. vatuvu vatuvu, noun of uncertain meaning, according to the view adopted here, ‘ribs.’ Acc. pl. vatuvu Ia 4, 13, 22, b 3, 5, vatuvu Ib 25, vatuvo VIIa 57, b 1, 19, 43, 45 (written vatuvo), VIIa 4. From *luktā, cf. L. latera. (?). 2 d, 36 e, 78 b, 90; n. on VIIa 57.

vea, noun designating definite quantities (of meat), here translated ‘portions.’ Acc. pl. vela 12, 17, 17. Etym. uncertain; possibly from proto-Umbrian *weif-f < *weidh- ‘divide,’ cf. L. dividō, Skt. vidhyati ‘ Pierce.’ 65 f, 80 c, 102 d; n. on Vb 12.


veturo: see uetro.


venpersuntra, vepesutra, noun or adj. of uncertain meaning, here left untranslated. Acc. sg. f. vepesutra IIb 15; abl. f. venpersuntra Ila 30, vepesutra IIb 18; abl. pl. vepesuntres IV 7. For prefix cf. vepurus, vepuratu; for second part cf. persondu. 76 b, 87 c; n. on Ila 30.

vepuratu, ‘extinguish.’ Inv. Ila 41. Cf. vepurus, to which vepuratu is a denotative vb. 87 c, 117 c.


ueralfe, adj. with value of neut. noun ‘templum.’ VIa 8. L. verbalbe, cf. also ἐνά, (ὁ)γίγα, ὄγω, the sense of the root being ‘make a statement’: uerale ‘that which has the nature of a designation’ may be a euphemistic substitute for the actual name of the templum. 10 b, 31 e, 43, 54 a, 55 b, 77 b, 90, 95; n. on loc. cit.
uerir, 'gate.' Acc. pl. (+-e -e) veruf  
Ib 9, ueroje Vlb 47; abl. veres Ia 2, 7, 11, 14, 20, 24, uerir Vla 58, 59, b 1, 2, 3, 4, 19, 20, 22, VIIa 7, 38, vereir Vla 22, (+-co) Vla 19, 20, 21, b 23, 44, 46, VIIa 5, 42, 53. O. veru, veruís, cf. L. aperió, operio < *-wer-øy, Goth. warjan 'ward off'; probably also O. vereias, vereiiiai, Ger. Wehr-macht, Land-wehr. 25 b, 67, 90, 103 a.

ueslir, 'vessels.' Acc. pl. veskla Iia 19,  
veskiu Ib 29, 37, Ila 34, b 19; abl.  
veskles Ila 31, 37, b 18, IV 9, 24,  
ueslir VIIa 9, 10, 18, 21, 24, 26, 32, 34. Etym. uncertain; if equivalent to L. vasculis, the e is unexplained; possibly related to ueslicateu, ueslís. 2 d, 46 c, 55 n. 2, 75 c.

ueslicateu 'pour a libation.' Inv. vestikatu  
Ila 24, 31, 35, 37, ueslicateu Vlb 16,  
VIIa 8, 23, 24, 36. Fut. pf. (?)  
uesticos Vlb 25. From *uestikālōd, cf.  
estisiar, ueslís, L. Vesta (?). 70, 117 c;  
n. on Vlb 6.

estisiar, ueslís, L. Vesta (?). 120 c;  
n. on Vla 22.

uestisiar, 'libation.' Gen. sg. uestisiar  
Vlb 38, ueslisiar Vlb 16, VIIa 38; acc.  
estišia IV 14, 19, estišam Ia 28,  
estiša Ia 17, 31, estiša (erroneously  
written vesveca) IV 17, uestisiam Vlb 39,  
estisía Vlb 6, 17, 24, 25, VIIa 38,  
abl. estišia Ila 27, estiša Ila 13,  
estisía Vlb 5, uestisía VIIa 37. From  
estišia-, cf. uesticateu, uestis, L.  
Vesta (?). 8 e, 46 d, 53 d, 68 e, 90;  
n. on Vlb 5.

Uestister, name of a god, 'Vestiscius.'  
Gen. sg. Uesstitier Vla 14; dat. Vestiča  
Ila 4. Cf. uesstitar, uestis, uesticateu.  
68 e; n. on Ila 4.

uestra, possessive pronominal adj. of the  
2nd person pl. 'your.' Abl. sg. f. Vlb  
61. L. vestra, cf. vōs, cf. Skt. vas. 76 c,  
108 b.

Vesune, name of a goddess 'Vesona.'  
Dat. sg. IV 3, 6, 10, 12, 25. Etym.  
uncertain. Possibly related to Vesuvius, Gaulish Vesunna. 74 f; n. on IV 3.

vetu, vb. of uncertain meaning, probably  
'divide.' Inv. Ib 29, 37. Cf. L. di-  
vido, inv. di-vidilo, U. uef. (?). 119 a;  
n. on Ib 29.

uvestne, 'sealed' (of vessels) (?). Abl.  
pl. IV 22. From pft. *op-jesto-no-,  
cf. L. offendix, offendimentum, Eng.  
bend. (?). 44 d, 74 b; n. on loc. cit.

uhtretie, 'auctorship, term of office as  
uhtur.' Loc. sg. Va 2, 15. From  
auktir-etlā, abstract to uhtur < *aukt-  
ūr, as kvestretie to kvestur, with  
stem as in L. amietītia. 35 d, 68 e.  

uhtur, title of an official, 'auctor.' Nom.  
sg. uhtur III 7, 8; acc. uhturu III 4.  
L. auctor, cf. augeo, aēzō. 22, 35 d,  
46 i, 56 a, c, 82 a, 90; n. on III 4.  
VI, symbol for 'six.' Vb 10, 13, 14, 15,  
18. 104 a.

VII, symbol for 'seven.' Vb 17. 104 a.  
uia, 'way, road.' Abl. sg. vēa Ib 14,  
23, via III 11, uiia Vlb 52, 65, VIIa 1,  
11, 27. O. viū, L. via. 2 h, 10 c, 66.  
vinu, 'wine.' Acc. sg. vinu Ila 18, 40,  
b 14; abl. vinu Ia 4, 22, b 6, Ila 25,  
25, 39, b 10, 20, uinu VIIa 57, b 19,  
46. L. vinum, Volsc. uinu, 'Foïnos.  
13 b, 67, 90, 145 b.

uiro, 'men' (in sense of L. homines, -um,  
contrasted with pequō 'domestic ani-  
mals'). Gen. (?) pl. uiro Vla 42, 50,  
52, b 13, 32, 34, VIIa 17, 30, uero  
Vla 30, 32, 39. L. vīr, OIr. fer < *wi-  
ros, Eng. were(wolf); Skt. vṛsas, Lith.  
vyras; quantity of the U. i e unknown.  
11 c, 54 a, 58 b, 76 a, 90; n. on Vla 30.

uirse, pcpl. pass. 'seen.' Nom. sg. neut.  
Vla 28, 38, 48, b 30. Equivalent as if  
to L. *vidētum, pcpl. to video; cf. U.  
auirsete. 10 a, c, 30 c, 54 a, 114 e, 116  
a, 118 a.

vestiša: see uestisiar.

uitla, 'heifer-calves.' Acc. pl. vitlaf
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Ib 31, uiltla VIIa 41. L. vitlula, cf. U. uiltlu. 58 b, 75 a, 90.

uiltlu, 'bull-calves.' Acc. sg. uiltlu IIb 21, 24; acc. pl. vitluf Ib 1, vitlup Ib 4, uiltlu Vlb 43, 45. L. vitulus, Aeolic οὐλός, Dorian οὐλόν 'yearling,' cf. O. Vītelī, L. Italia; also Skt. vaisas 'calf,' (ṛ)ṛoṣ 'year.' 2 k, 8 f, 29 e, 75 a, 90.

ulo ulu, adv. 'there, to that place.' ulu Va 25, 28, b 4, (in purtatulu) Ib 18, uolo Vlb 55. Cf. L. oile, ólim. 13 d, 55 b, 109 g, 112 d, 113 c.

umen, 'unguent.' Acc. sg. umen II a 19, 34; abl. umne IIa 38. L. unguen, both from *ʊŋw'en, cf. U. umtu. 49 b, 52 h, 31 c, 99.

umtu, 'anoint.' Inv. IIa 38, IV 13. L. unguo, Skt. anakti 'anoint.' 49 e, 61 a, 119 a.

une: see utur.

unu, cardinal numeral 'one' (?). Acc. sg. IIa 6, 8. OL oinos, L. unus, oǐ̯h, Goth. ains, Eng. one. (?) 21 c, 105 a; n. on IIa 6.

uoce-com vuku-krum, 'grov'e' (?). Acc. sg. vuku III 21, (+ -en) vukumen III 20; abl. (+ -rum -com) vukukum Ib 1, 4, uoecum Vlb 43, 45; loc. vuke III 3, 21. O. loc. sg. lūvkei, L. lucus. (?). According to an alternative view, 'temple' with Fōitoc, Skt. veśas 'house,' 21 b, 24 a, 55 a, 67; n. on Vlb 43.

Uofoine. name of a god 'Vofionus.' Dat. sg. Vuiune Ia 20, Uofoine Vlb 19. From *leudhyōn(o)- or *loudhyōn(o), cf. L. Liber, OCS ljudžije, Germ. Leube, the root being one associated with growth. (?). 49 c, 74 f; n. on Vlb 19.


upetu, upetuta: see opener.

uraku, ures: see oerer.

urfeta, 'disk.' Acc. sg. IIa 23. L. orbi̯ta, cf. orbis; no sure connections outside Italic. 36 b, 71; n. on loc. cit.

urnasier, adj. 'regular' (?). Gen. pl. urnasiaru III 3; abl. urnasier Va 2, 15. Probably from *ordenǐsyo- with syncope as in 29 f and -rä- < -rã- < -rdn- by 61 e, 53 e, 68 d, 90; n. on Va 2.

uřetu, 'load (fire with incense)' (?). Inv. III 12, IV 30. From *olē- (L. ad-olēre) or from *odē- (L. olēre, cf. odor, oδρη, oδόδο) or possibly from contamination of both. 55 b; nn. on both passages.

urtas, urtes, urtu: see orlu.

usai sașe, pf. 3 sg. 'approved.' (?)

usai Ib 45, usase IIa 44. From *opsak-ed, cf. L. ob- and sanctio. (?) 46 g, 114 e, 124 b; n. on Ib 45.

ustite, 'period (of time)' (?). Loc. sg. IIa 15, III 2. Etym. uncertain; possibly from *op-sit-lo-, cf. L. ob- and sto, stare. N. on IIa 15.

utur, 'water.' Acc. sg. utur IIb 15; abl. une IIb 20. From *udor, udn-. ōδον, Goth. wato, gen. watins, Eng. water. 3 d, 42 d, 61 e, 84.

vuke, vuku: see uoecum.

vufetes, pf. pass. pcp.l, according to the view adopted here 'chosen, according to one's choice.' (?) Abl. pl. IIa 31, IV 25. Possibly from *luthekoulos, cf. L. lutebl, libet, libīta. 49 c, 118 b; n. on IIa 31.

Vuiune: see Uofoine.

vufru, 'votive' (?). Acc. sg. m. Ib 21, 24, 25. From *wogʰh-(e)-ro-, cf. uouse, L. voveo, evξομαι. (?) 49 c, 76 a; n. on Ib 21.

vurtus, 'turn out (unfavorably).'</fut. pf. 3 sg. IIa 2. L. velto vorlo, Skt. vartate, pf. vavartla, Germ. werden, cf. U. couertu, couortus. 54 a, 124 b, 123; n. on loc. cit.

Vuçia-per, name of a gens (?; natine) 'Lucia' (?). Abl. sg. f. (+ -per) IIb 26. L. Lucia (?) , cf. U. Vuvçis. 68 a; n. on loc. cit.

**Vuvçis**, praenomen latinized 'Lucius.'
Nom. sg. Ib 45, (written Vueçis) Ila 44. O. Lúvkis, L. Lucius. 24 c, 32 a, 55 a, 68 a, 90, 91 b; n. on Ib 45.

**uze**: see onse.

X, symbol for 'ten.' Vb 12. 104 a.
XII, symbol for 'twelve.' Iib 2. 104 a.
XV, symbol for 'fifteen.' Vb 17. 104 a.

**zeřef**: see sersitu.
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