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HISTORY OF U-STEMS IN GREEK

A DISSERTATION

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INTRODUCTION: U-STEMS IN THE OTHER INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

The evidence of the Indo-European languages points to the existence in the parent speech of two distinct types of *u*-stems:

I. Stems in which *u* interchanges with *eu*, *ou*, as in *i*-stems *i* interchanges with *ei*, *oi*. Thus nom. sg. -*us*, Skt. *sūnūs*, L. *manus*, Goth. *sunus*, Lith. *sūnūs*, O.B. *synū*—gen. sg. -*eus*, -*ous*, Skt. *sūnós*, L. *manūs* (Osc. *castrous*), Goth. *sunaus*, Lith. *sūnaūs*, O.B. *synu*. These may be called simply *u*-stems.

II. Stems in which *ū* interchanges with *uy*, as in *ī*-stems *ī* interchanges with *iī*. Thus nom. sg. -*ūs*, Skt. *bhrūs*, *ḡvaḡrūs*, *tanūs*, Grk. *ὄφρῡς*, L. *sūs*, O.B. *svekry*—gen. sg. -*uyos*, -*uyes*, Skt. *bhruvās*, (Vedic) *tanūas* (*tanvās*), Grk. *ὄφρῡος*, O.B. *svekrūve*. These may be called *ū*-stems.

It has been held by some (e. g., Bezzenger, B.B. 7 [1883], 73; Joh. Schmidt, Plur. 54 ff.; Johansson, K.Z. 30 [1890], 403 ff., Gött. gel. Anz., 1890, 741 ff.; Kretschmer, K.Z. 31 [1891], 382, 449; Reichelt, B.B. 25 [1899], 240) that there is another I.E. type of *u*-stems in which there is interchange of *ū* with *uā*, parallel to the interchange of *ī* (*iā*) with *iā* (*iē*) in the type represented by Skt. *devī*, *bhārantī*, Grk. *φῑρουσα*, etc. In considering the Sanskrit evidence, we may, with Lanman (Noun Inflection in the Veda), let A = the short *i* (or *u*) type, B the *ī*-*iā*- (*devī*) type, C the *ī*-*iī*- (or *ū*-*uy*-, *nadīs*) type. In the Veda the types B and C of *ī*-stems are distinct in eleven case-forms, while they agree in three. In classical Sanskrit both types have been merged, and their common declension follows Vedic B in eight out of the eleven cases where differences existed between B and C in Vedic. There are some few examples of this transfer in the Veda (Lanman, p. 373), and numerous examples of the transfer of A to B (67 forms from 27 stems). In seven of these eight cases the classical declension of *u*-stems differs in precisely the same manner from the Vedic type C, and a very few forms of this kind are also found in Vedic (Lanman, p. 404). It is on this ground that J. Schmidt assumes the existence of a type B of *ū*-stems, parallel to the type *devī*. But whereas in the case of *ī*-stems, there is in Vedic, aside from all examples of transfer from A or C, a full declensional type B followed by a large class of words, there is no such independent type of *ū*-stems. The classical declension of *ū*-stems and the scattering forms of this type in the Veda

may perfectly well be attributed to the direct analogy of type B of *i*-stems, as already explained by Lanman, p. 401. Add to this that at no period is there a nom. sg. in *-ū* parallel to that in *-ī*, and there is every reason for abiding by the judgment of Lanman, Whitney, and others that there is no evidence in Sanskrit for a type of *ū*-stems parallel to that of *devī*. In fact the conditions in the Veda are so difficult to reconcile with the existence of such a type in the parent speech, that this can be admitted only on the most cogent evidence from the other languages.

But while the *devī*-type of *i*-stems is represented by important categories in other languages, especially the feminines of the present participle and other consonant stems in Greek, Germanic, and Balto-Slavic, the advocates of a corresponding type of *ū*-stems have brought forward only a few scattered forms, none of which is at all decisive. Most of these are from the Greek,¹ where, since we have nom. sg. in *-ia* = Skt. *-ī*, we should expect nom. sg. *-fa* for the corresponding *ū*-stems.

The principal example is *πρέσβα*, derived from **πρεσβῆ* (or **πρεσβῆ*) by Bezzenberger, B.B. 7 (1883), 73; Johansson, K.Z. 30 (1890, article written 1888), 403; J. Schmidt, Plur. 57 (1889, written about 1883); Kretschmer, K.Z. 31 (1891), 382, 449; Schulze, Q.E. 448 (1891); Reichelt, B.B. 25 (1899), 240, following Johansson. Neisser, B.B. 20 (1894), 52, gets *πρέσβα* from **πρεσβέφα*. Grassmann, K.Z. 11 (1862), 24, took *πρέσβα* from **πρεσβῆ*. Misteli, K.Z. 17 (1868), 171, gave *πρέσβα* as equal to **πρεσβέφια*. Misteli's view, also held by some of the ancient grammarians (Etym. Mag. 687, 3; Bekker, A.G. 2, 391, 519), is out of the question. There is no phonetic difficulty in Grassmann's suggestion, but *πρέσβα* could come equally well from **πρεσβῆ*, and be thus counted a fem. to *πρέσβυς* of the type of Skt. *ācivī*. J. Schmidt objects to this on the ground that Skt. adjectives with more than one consonant before the *u* have their fem. in *-ū* and not in *-vī*. But this is not universal in Sanskrit, where, e. g., *phalgū-* has both *phalgū* and *phalgvī* as fem. (Whit. 344, b). And even if mainly true, it is obvious that the type *-vī* was of unrestricted application in Greek, since its representative *-εφια* is the only type of fem. adj. known. He objects further that the form **πρεσβῆ* ought to have been displaced by **πρεσβεια* as **ādḥia* = Skt. *svādvi* was displaced by *īdēia*, etc. But *πρέσβα* is found only in Homer, and there in a sense ("august" not "old") which shows that it was isolated from *πρέσβυς*, which is itself used only as a substantive and is indeed not used at all in Homer. There was no such feeling of relation as between ordinary adj. forms such as *ἡδύς* and *ἡδέια*. Moreover, for an undoubted example of

¹ For example, one of the chief advocates of the type (Johansson, K.Z. 30 [1890], 428) says: "Ausser *i-īā*-stämmen sind von der klasse B nur spärlich reste und eigentlich nur im gr. bewahrt." And J. Schmidt, Plur. 75, says: "... ausserhalb des indischen und griechischen lassen sich die in letzterem am schärfsten auseinander gehaltenen stämme . . ."

-*φια* not replaced by -*εφια*, even where there was no isolation in meaning, cf. *πολλή* from **πολφια* according to the explanation of Schulze, Q.E. 82, now universally accepted. Another example is *πέλλα* derived by Johansson from **πελφα*, but this must rather come from **πέλφια* as suggested by J. Schmidt, Plur. 48, footnote. So also from **πέλφια*, Schulze, Q.E. 82 ff.; Brug., Gr. Gr.³ 45. Under no circumstances does *λφ* give *λλ*. An example on which Johansson, 406, lays much stress is *ἱγννα*, Hom. *ἱγνύη* beside *ἱγνύς*. He supposes that *ἱγννα* is the original form and that *ἱγνύη* got its *η* from the oblique cases. Yet here the short final rests on the testimony of grammarians (e. g., Bekker, A.G. 1382), while *ἱγνύη* is in good use. Johansson, 404, gives the Hom. fem. adjs. *ώκεία*, *βαθεία* and the regular Ionic *βραχεία*, *ταχεία*, as from -*ευᾶ* (-*ū*), Grk. -*εφα*, and not from -*εφια*. He has the same explanation for *Ῥέα* beside *Ῥεᾶ*. But -*εα* for -*εια*, though not so common as in Attic (Meisterhans³, 40, 12), is well known in Ionic, both from inscriptional and manuscript evidence (Hoffmann, G.D. 3, 528 ff.; Smyth, Ionic 197 ff.), and it is altogether unlikely that *ώκεία*, etc., in spite of their antiquity, are anything different. (See below, p. 59.) J. Schmidt, Plur. 58, takes the Hom. acc. sg. fem. *αἰπήν* as the fem. to *αἰπύς*, for **αἰπᾶν* from **αἰπφα*, with *η* from the gen., dat. sg. So also, p. 47, he takes Hom. *αἰπά* from **αἰπφα* a neuter pl. to *αἰπύς*. Schulze, Q.E. 442, agrees with Schmidt on *αἰπά*, but would read with Nauck *πόλιν αἰπύν* for *πόλιν αἰπήν*. A neuter pl. *αἰπά* from **αἰπφα*, which does not prove the existence of a corresponding fem. form (see below, p. 8), may as an apparent *o*-stem form have given rise to *αἰπήν*, if we retain this reading, but there is also the possibility that both are simply isolated forms of an inherited *αἰπός* beside *αἰπύς*. *ἄκανθα* is said by J. Schmidt, p. 58, to be from **ἄκανθφα*. So also Johansson, Gött. gel. Anz., 1890, 751. It may be an instance of the neuter pl. used as a fem. with Grk. -*ᾶ* from original -*α*; cf. *ἄκανθος*, ὁ. Johansson, K.Z. 30 (1890), 424, did not put it under instances of -*φα*, though he was in doubt as to its explanation. The history of *θ*-suffixes in general is too obscure (cf. Brug., Gr. Gr.³ 204) to allow the use of *ἄκανθα* as evidence for the suffix. *ἔάων* is given by Schmidt, p. 58, as a gen. pl. of *ἔϋς* with the same suffix that he assumes for *πρέσβα*. The form is isolated as a fem., no other cases than the gen. pl. being found. It occurs a few times in Epic poetry, always in a substantive use, in the sense of "good things." The word *ἔϋς ἔηος* is anomalous and the history of the form *ἔάων ἔάων* is involved in doubt. Cf. K.B. § 103, 9. Johansson, Gött. gel. Anz., 1890, 744, pronounces the example entirely uncertain. Schmidt gives *ἔρσα* (Hdn. 2. 87, 33) and *ἄερσαν* *τὴν δρόσον Κρήτες* (Hesych.) as probably from **ἄφερσφαι*, saying that *ἔρσην* cannot be taken as equivalent. The short final rests on the testimony of Herodian and Hesychius, except that Pindar, Nem. 3, 78, has *ἔερσ' ἀμφέπει*. The Thesaurus prints *ἄερσαν* without comment, citing only Hesychius. Johansson, K.Z. 30 (1890), 418, takes this word with

short final as an *s*-stem with the suffix *-ǎ*, which he sets up as the fem. formation for various stems. In Gött. gel. Anz., 1890, 744, he calls it an entirely uncertain example of the *-fa* suffix. Both Schmidt and Johansson assume the identity of the neuter pl. with the fem. sg. in the nominative, and bring into account forms like γούνα, δοῦρα, δάκρυα. The last may well be simply the regular plural of δάκρυον. In the case of γούνα and δοῦρα the *-a* is undoubtedly the same as the *-a* (Skt. *-i*, orig. *-ə*) of consonant stems, no matter whether *γονfa, etc., arose in Greek after the analogy of consonant stems, as assumed by Brugmann, Gr. Gr.³ 235, or whether they have simply retained an ending *-uə* or *-uə* in an uncontracted form in contrast to Sanskrit *-ū*. (Cf. Kretschmer, K.Z. 31 [1892], 382.) But of all the neuter plural endings, *-ə* is the one for which there is least proof of identity with a nom. sg. fem. And forms in *-fa*, even if inherited, no more prove the existence of a nom. sg. fem. in *-fa*, than do forms of *n*-stems in *-vǎ* (Skt. *-ni*) prove the existence of a fem. type in *-vǎ*, Skt. *-ni*, etc.

J. Schmidt, Plur. 46, 47, also considers adverbs like τάχα, ὦκα, λίγα, κάρτα as evidence for the suffix *-fa*. These adverbs clearly must stand or fall together, and, as Schulze, Q.E. 82, points out, the form κάρτα cannot come from *κάρτfa, as shown by forms like τέσσαρες, ἄλεισον, σείω, σορός with σσ, σ from τf. He takes such adverbs rather as closely connected with neuters like τάχος, κάρτος, *ὦκος (in ποδώκης), etc. Johansson, K.Z. 30 (1890), 407–409, attempts to show that ἐκυρά, ἀδελφή, οἰσῦā, ριτέā, πετέā originally had the suffix *-fǎ*. It should be evident that such words as these do not constitute evidence in favor of a suffix *-fǎ*. In Johansson's review of Schmidt's Pluralbildungen, Gött. gel. Anz., 1890, 741 ff., the few additional examples cited are too uncertain to affect the result. He gives, for example, αἶα as a fem. to Skt. *āyu-*, p. 751, and L. *silva* as a fem. to a *u*-stem **sulu-*, p. 752.

Schmidt, Plur. 61–75, seeks to trace the type also in other languages than Greek and Sanskrit, but has no convincing examples. For instance, in Latin he gives *anguilla* to ἔγγελος, *lingua* to O.B. *ǵęzy-kǔ* as examples of this suffix. These are also given independently by Johansson, K.Z. 30 (1890), 425. There is nothing to prevent taking these words, however, as original *ā*-stems. Here, as in the Greek, the possibility of deriving at least some of the examples given from a suffix *-fa*, if such a suffix were otherwise proved, is admitted, but in the absence of outside proof, the necessity of such derivation is denied.

With regard to the Proto-Indo-European conditions out of which the I.E. types I and II arose, see especially Hirt, Akzent, §§ 229 ff., 233 ff.; Kretschmer, K.Z. 31 (1892), 325 ff., especially 331 ff. Whatever their origin, it is obvious that the types as

given were fully established in the I.E. period, and form the only safe starting point for a historical study.

It is not intended to include in the scope of this dissertation the history of Greek diphthongal *u*-stems, like Ζεύς, βούς, ἥρως, and the large class in -εύς. It is true that among the numerous explanations of nouns in -εύς there are some which treat them as historically connected with the simple *u*-stems of Type I. Thus Kretschmer in his earlier explanation, K.Z. 31 (1892), 330 f. and 466, regarded the diphthongal stems as a second class of *u*-stems with the nom. and acc. sg. also in the strong grade, comparing Greek nouns in -εύς with the O. Pers. *dahyāuš*, etc. This is also the view of Bartholomae, Ar. Forsch. I, 34; Iran. Grd. I, 190, 1. In his later explanation, Zeitschrift f. öst. Gym. 53 (1902), 711 ff., Kretschmer suggests that the substantives in -εύς are partly derivatives from verbs in -εύω, partly (names of persons) original *u*-stems with vocative in -εῦ and nominative in -εύς after the vocative. Reichelt, B.B. 25 (1899), 238 ff., thinks there was originally one type of *u*-stem with strong grade of suffix in nom. and loc. sg. as in *n*- and *r*-stems, and that in the parent speech, through differences in accent, there arose by leveling the two classes of diphthongal and simple *u*-stems. Other explanations do not connect so closely with simple *u*-stems. Brugmann, I.F. 9 (1898), 365 ff., holds that nouns like φορεύς arose from participles (verbal adjs.) in -η-φ(ο)- which belonged to verbs in -εω. Ehrlich, K.Z. 38 (1902), 53 ff., considers the suffix -ηφ- a combination of two elements: the lengthened final of a nominal *o*-stem (ἵππη- : ἵππηο-) and the secondary suffix -ues- -uos- in its weakest form. But, whatever their true origin, they form a distinct class in Greek, the history of which is a subject by itself and need not necessarily be combined with the history of *u*-stems in the more limited sense.

I. U-STEMS

A. NOUNS

I. AS A DECLENSIONAL TYPE

The *u*-declension of nouns is preserved in Sanskrit, Avestan (in O. Pers. some forms of the plural are wanting), Greek, Latin (in Osc.-Umbr. some forms are wanting), Gothic, Lithuanian, and

Old Bulgarian, and to a certain extent in a more or less disguised form in Armenian and Celtic. It is largely preserved in Old Norse, and more limitedly, in words with short stem-syllable, in West Germanic. (Cf. Braune, *Althochdeutsche Gram.*, § 228.)

II. TRANSFER OF *u*-STEMS TO OTHER DECLENSIONS

In Latin the identity of the nom. sg. of *u*- and *o*-stems led to the gradual transfer of *u*-stems to *o*-stems in Late Latin, and in the Romance languages this change has become complete. (Meyer-Lübke, 2, 4; Gröber, *Grd.* 1, 369.) An early example of this change in classical Latin is seen in *domus*.

So in O. Bulg. the identity of the nom., acc. sg., and acc. pl. of *o*- and *u*-stems led to the frequent transfer to *o*-stem forms in other case-endings (see Scholvin, *Archiv f. slav. Phil.* 2 [1877], 506 ff., for statistics), and in the modern Slavic languages the *o*- and *u*-stems are completely merged. See below, IV. (Oblak, *Arch. f. sl. Phil.* 13 [1891], 25; 11 [1888], 408.)

For Germanic no general statement can be made. In West Germanic *u*-stems with long stem-syllable lost their identity as *u*-stems and went over to other declensions, e. g., in O.H.G. mostly to the *i*-stems, but in part also to the *o*-stems, in O.E. mostly to the *o*-stems. Isolated instances of transfer to consonant stems perhaps occur. (Cf. Kluge, Paul's *Grd.* 1, 458.)

A partial transfer is that of *ju*-stems in Lithuanian, which have only *jo*-stem forms in the dual and plural, except that in the instr. pl. the *ju*-stem form sometimes occurs; *jo*-stem forms also appear in the nom. sg. dialectically, and in the acc. sg. in Old Lithuanian. Leskien (*Nomina* 327) gives as the reason the identity of form in several case-endings of the dual and plural of the *jo*- and *ju*-stems, and the parallelism of function between the suffixes *-jo*- and *-ju*-.

III. TRANSFER IN WHOLE OR IN PART TO *u*-STEMS OF WORDS BELONGING ORIGINALLY TO OTHER STEMS

Kluge (Paul's *Grd.* 1, 458) gives Goth. *fotus*, *handus*, *tunþus*, *wintrus*, O.N. *ǥrn*, *bjǥrn*, O.E. *duru*, *nosu* as original consonant stems. The starting point for the transfer was given by the identity of the acc. sg., acc. pl., and dat. pl. of cons. stems and *u*-stems. But the special occasion was, in some at least, semasiological kin-

ship with inherited *u*-stems. (See Bloomfield, A.J.P. 12 [1891], 13.) Gothic *broþar*, *dauhtar*, *swistar*, *fadar* have the *u*-decl. in all cases of the plural except the genitive. Here *sunus* was no doubt a factor. Greek masculines in *-os* are declined as *u*-stems in the singular in Gothic, but in the plural mainly as *i*-stems.

IV. INSTANCES OF *u*-STEM FORMS WITHIN OTHER DECLENSIONS

The most striking example is in the Slavic. Even in O. Bulg. within the *o*-decl. *u*-stem forms were common, being found, beside the true *o*-stem forms, in all the cases where *u*- and *o*-stems differed, except the voc. sg., nom.-acc., and gen.-loc. dual. The most frequent (in their order) are: dat. sg. *-ovi*, gen. pl. *-ovǔ*, instr. sg. *-ǔmi*, and nom. pl. *-ove*. (See Scholvin, Arch. f. sl. Phil. 2 [1877], 491 ff., for statistics.) In modern Slavic the *o*- and *u*-declensions are completely merged in a single type with various proportions of *o*-stem and *u*-stem forms in the several languages, but always with a strong admixture of the latter. Thus the *u*-stem form is well-nigh universal in the gen. pl. (Arch. 8 [1885], 239; 12 [1890], 33, 35 ff.), and is widespread in the dat. sg. (except in Slovenian, where it is rare, Oblak, Arch. 11 [1888], 524), and nom. pl. (Arch. 12 [1890], 14 f.; 8 [1885], 235). In the gen. and loc. sg. the *u*- and *o*-stem forms appear side by side in most Slavic languages, sometimes with a distinction in use between animate and inanimate objects. In Slovenian especially there has been an extension of the *-ov-* to the dat. and loc. pl. (Arch. 12 [1890], 368, 397; 8 [1885], 244). *u*-stem forms are also found to a much more limited extent in other stems than *o*-stems. The reason for the extension is to be sought in the clear and distinctive character of those *u*-stem endings which most prevailed. For example, the gen. pl. of *o*-stems was like the nom. sg. and it was natural that it should be displaced by the far more distinctive *-ovǔ*.

Lithuanian agent-nouns in *-tojis* (*jo*-stems) have *u*-stem voc. sg. in *-au*, and occasionally gen. sg. in *-aus*. *Brolis*, a *jo*-stem, has voc. *brolaũ*, probably after the analogy of *sĩnaũ* (Brückner, Arch. f. Sl. Phil. 3 [1879], 255). So in O. Bulg. the voc. sg. of *jo*-stems is a *u*-stem form. Umbrian cons. stems have the *u*-stem endings in the dat.-abl. pl. (Buck, Osc.-Umbr. Gr. 126). Umbrian

Trebo, *Fiso* show a transfer from the *o*-stem to the *u*-stem form (Buck, *loc. cit.*, 117). The loc. sg. of Skt. *i*-stems has the ending *-āu* apparently from the *u*-stems. (Cf. Meringer, B.B. 16 [1890], 224; Hirt, I.F. 1 [1892], 226; Bartholomae, I.F. 10 [1899], 12; Reichelt, B.B. 25 [1899], 244.) Compare Latin *noctū* after *diū* (Bartholomae, I.F. 10 [1899], 13).

V. SUFFIXES

*Suffix*¹ *-u-* *substantives*.—This suffix forms nouns in all the eight I.E. branches, except, perhaps, Albanian. Its formations are not numerous in any language except Sanskrit, where there is a fairly large number. Less than twenty are cited for Lithuanian (Leskien, *Nomina* 239), still fewer for O. Bulg. (Scholvin, *Arch. f. sl. Phil.* 2 [1877], 508 f.; Leskien, *Hdbch.* 67), very few for Celtic (Stokes, B.B. 11 [1886], 76 f.), and in Latin and Gothic there is no considerable number. In Sanskrit the accent of neuters is regularly on the root-syllable, and the evidence of the Greek (*γόνυ*, *δόρυ*, etc.) shows that this was the I.E. accent for neuter *u*-stems. Masculines and feminines in Sanskrit are accented either on the root-syllable or suffix. The Lithuanian examples have prevailing suffix accent. Gothic *haidus* (Skt. *ketū-*), *sidus* point to suffix accent. All grades of the root are found. The formations are of all genders in Sanskrit, Avestan, and Latin, masculine in Germanic, Lithuanian, and Slavic. (In the last two all *u*-stem nouns of whatever suffix are masculine.) No specific meaning attaches to the suffix *-u-*, but its formations rarely, if ever, have the force of *nomina actionis*.

The only case where there seems to be any possibility of connecting the suffix with a distinct semasiological category is that of words for parts of the body. There is a considerable number of such, and possibly a partial "adaptation," such as noted in Gothic (see p. 10) is also to be recognized for the I.E. period. Examples are: Skt. *jānu-* n. "knee," etc.; Skt. *bāhū-* m. f. "arm," etc.; Skt. *hānu-* f. "chin," etc. (see below); Skt. *sānu-* m. n. "back." Cf. also L. *manus* f.

¹ Here and elsewhere the term suffix is used without any implication that the formative elements so designated are in all cases really additions to the root. In some cases the same element appears in verb-forms, and may be regarded as a part of the root or base. But when such an element has once become productive it is impossible to draw any sharp line between forms in which it belongs to the root and those in which it does not. As a matter of fact in the great majority of words these elements, whatever their origin, are actually suffixes in the older sense of the term. But certain obvious cases like Skt. *bhū-*s are commonly designated as root-nouns.

Examples:¹ Skt. *āyu-* n. "life," *āyū-* m. "living being," Av. *āyu-* n. "duration," Grk. *αἰών*, L. *aevum*, Goth. *aiws* "time;" Skt. *jānu-* n. "knee," Av. *zanva*,² pl. "knees," Grk. *γόνυ*, L. *genū* n., Goth. *kniu* n. "knee," Eng. *knee*; Skt. *dāru-* n. "piece of wood," *drū-* n. "wood," Av. *dāru-* n. "piece of wood," *dru-* n. "wood," Grk. *δόνυ* n., O. Ir. *daur* n. "oak," Goth. *triu* n. "tree," Lith. *dervà* f. "resinous wood," O.B. *drēvo* n. "tree;" Skt. *paçu-* n. *paçū-* m. "cattle," Av. *pasu-* m. "cattle," L. *pecus pecu*, Umbr. *pequo* "pecua," Goth. *faithu* n. "money," Eng. *fee*, O. Lith. *pekus* m. "cattle" (with *k*); Skt. *bāhū-* m. f. "arm," Av. *bāzu-* m. "arm" (nom. *bāzāuš*), Grk. *πῆχυς*, O.H.G. *buog* "bend," O.N. *bogr* "bend;" Skt. *mādhu-* n. (Ved.) "mead," (class.) "honey," Av. *maðu-* n. "honey," Grk. *μέθυ* n., O. Ir. *mid* n. "mead," O.H.G. *meto* "mead," Eng. *mead*, Lith. *medūs* m. "honey," O.B. *medū* m. "honey;" Skt. *hānu-* f. "chin," Grk. *γένυς* f., L. *genu-īnus*, O. Ir. *giun* m. "mouth," Goth. *kinnus* f. "chin," Eng. *chin*.

Suffix -tu- substantives.—This suffix, like *-u-*, appears in all the eight I.E. branches, except, perhaps, Albanian. It forms chiefly or perhaps entirely *nomina actionis*. The few words with the force of *nomina agentis* like Skt. *māntu-* "counsellor," Goth. *hliftus* "thief," no doubt originally had the force of *nomina actionis*. Compare Skt. *māntu-* "counsel" with the developed meaning seen in *māntu-* "counsellor." An important division of the *nomina actionis* in *-tu-* is that of the verbal abstracts (infinitives and supines). In Sanskrit the infinitives of this formation constitute the great mass of words with the suffix *-tu-*, being formed at will from any root. This is true of the supines in Latin, Lithuanian, and Slavic, and, in Celtic, infinitives formed with original suffix *-tu-* are not infrequent. In this use in verbal abstracts the suffix *-tu-* is not found in Iranian or Germanic. In the formation of substantives other than infinitives or supines,

¹ In the citation of examples no attempt is made to show the relative number of existing forms in the different languages. Preference is given to words with cognate *u*-stems in other languages, and to those whose derivation seems clear. Sanskrit and Avestan words are given in the stem form. The precise phonetic equivalence of words cited as cognates is not assumed.

² Brugmann, Grd. I², 555, and others cite an Av. *zānu-*, but the only form extant is the acc. pl. *zanva*, Yt. 1, 27, which as a *u*-stem form would be isolated in Avestan (cf. Jackson, Av. Gr. § 268), but would be regular if from a *yo*-stem. Hence it is hardly safe to assign to Avestan the *u*-stem form *zānu-*. Mod. Pers., however, has *zānū* "knee."

-tu- is used to form a fair number of words in Sanskrit, several in Avestan, a few in Celtic, less than half a dozen in Lithuanian (Leskien, *Nomina* 564), perhaps but one in O. Bulgarian, many in Latin, and many in Germanic, especially in extensions of the suffix *-tu-*. (See below.)

In Sanskrit the accent of infinitives, when simple, is on the root-syllable, and this holds good also for most of the other Sanskrit stems in *-tu-*. In Lithuanian the accent varies, but the material is too scanty to permit generalization. Lithuanian supines have the accent on the root-syllable. In Germanic, Gothic *daupus*, *friþus*, *wulþus* with others point to root accent, and the words in *-opu-* to accent not on the suffix, while Goth. *flodus* with others, and the words in *-odu-* point to suffix accent. Greek nouns in *-tus* are mainly oxytone. In Sanskrit the strong (guna) grade of root is regular, but the weak and strengthened grades appear (Whit., § 1161). Latin has both strong and weak grades (Stolz, *Hist. Gr.* 548). In Germanic, Goth. *þūhtus* m. "conscience" to *þugkjan*, *kustus* m. "proof" to *kiusan* among others show a weak grade of root. The strong grade appears in *leiþu* n. "cider," I.E. root *lei*. In Lithuanian supines the strong grade was original, but the weak has often entered through the influence of the infinitives (Wiedemann, *Hdbch.* 123). O. Bulgarian supines have the infinitive stem, and this varies, being both strong and weak. In Sanskrit the words are of all genders, but chiefly masculine, masculine in Latin, masculine in Gothic with perhaps a few exceptions, while in West Germanic there has been a movement to the feminine of other abstracts. Greek nouns in *-tus* are fem. with one exception.

Examples: Skt. *pitū-* m. "food, drink," Av. *pitu-* m. "food," Grk. *πίτυς* f. "pine," O. Ir. *ith* m. "grain," Lith. *pētūs* pl. "noon, midday meal;" Skt. *sūtu-* f. "birth, pregnancy," O. Ir. *suth* n. "fetus;" Av. *pəšu-* m. "ford," L. *portus* m., O.H.G. *furt*, "ford," Eng. *ford*; L. *gustus* m., Skt. *√jūṣ* "enjoy," Goth. *kustus* m. "test, proof;" L. *vultus* m., Goth. *wulþus* m. "glory;" O. Ir. *recht* n. "right," O.N. *rēttir* m. "right;" Goth. *leiþu* n. "cider," Lith. *lytūs* m. "rain," *√lei* "pour."

In Latin the suffix is very productive, there being 99 sub-

stantives in *-tus* or *-sus* in Plautus, and nearly 700 in all writers up to the time of Hadrian. In the form *-ātu-* the suffix becomes productive in words denoting offices and official bodies, as *consulātus*, *magistrātus*, *senātus*, etc. (see Stolz, Hist. Gr. 548, and for *-ātu-* also Bloomfield, A.J.P. 12 [1891], 26). In Germanic the widest influence of the *tu*-suffix is seen in the form (Goth.) *-assus*, *-inassus*, (Eng.) *-ness*, starting from verbs in (Goth.) *-atjan*. (Cf. Grk. *-άζω*.) This suffix is very frequent in Germanic, Old Norse alone being without it. Possibly in its later forms outside of Gothic other suffixes than *-tu-* played a part (Wilmanns, Deutsche Gr. 2, 355), but the Gothic forms show that at least in the beginning the suffix was a *tu*-suffix. (For the suffix as a whole see von Bahder, Verbalabstrakta 109 ff.)

Suffix -iū- substantives.—This forms nouns in Sanskrit, Iranian, Greek, Germanic, and Lithuanian. It is rare except in Lithuanian, where its numerous formations include primary *nomina actionis* and both primary and secondary *nomina agentis*. In Sanskrit and Avestan there are both *nomina actionis* and *nomina agentis*. In Sanskrit the accent varies, in Lithuanian it is never on the suffix. The gender is masculine in Sanskrit and Lithuanian, masc. and fem. in Avestan and Germanic. The suffix is clearly Indo-Iranian, and probably Indo-European, though there is no conclusive evidence for the latter.

Examples: Skt. *dāsyu-* m. a demon, Av. *dahyu-* f. "country, nation," O.P. *dahyu-* f. (nom. *dahyāuš*) "province, district;" Skt. *manyu-* m. "mind," Av. *ma'nyu-* m. "spirit;" Skt. *mṛtyu-* m. "death," Av. *mərθyu-* m. "death," perhaps Armen. *marh mah* "death," Hübschmann, Armen. Gr. 472; Lith. *gỹrius* m. "renown," *gĩrti* "celebrate;" Lith. *stėgius* m. "roofer," *stėgti* "cover;" Lith. *bāsius* m. "barefooted one," *bāsas* "barefooted." For the numerous Lithuanian examples see Leskien, Nomina.

Suffix -nu- substantives.—This is rare in any language. It forms nouns in Sanskrit, Avestan, Greek, Latin, Celtic, Germanic, Lithuanian (one example), and Old Bulgarian. The gender varies. In Sanskrit the accent is usually on the ending (except neuters, which have root-accent), and the root has the weak grade as a rule. The Avestan suffix *-snu-* (Jackson, Av. Gr.,

§ 807) is simply an extension of *-nu-*, originating without doubt in words where *s* was part of the original stem.

Examples: Skt. *dānu-* n. "drop, dew," Av. *dānu-* n. "river;" Skt. *dhenū-* f. "cow," Av. *daēnu-* f. "cow," Skt. *√dhā* "suck;" Skt. *bhānū-* m. "light," Av. *bānu-* m. "light, ray;" Skt. *sūnū-* m. "son," Av. *hunu-* m. "son," Goth. *sunus* m. "son," Lith. *sūnūs* m. "son," O.B. *synū* m. "son;" Goth. *þaūrnu-* m. "thorn," O.B. *trīnū* m. "thorn," Skt. *trṇa-* m. "blade of grass." Latin examples are: *sinus* m., *pinus* f. (also *o*-stem), *cornū* n., and perhaps *manus* f.

Suffix -ru- substantives.—This is very rare in any language. It forms nouns in Sanskrit, Avestan, Greek, Germanic, and Lithuanian. It is doubtful in Latin (except in *lacruma*) and Old Bulgarian. Its forms are neuter in Sanskrit (except *çātru-* "enemy") and Avestan, masculine in Germanic and Lithuanian.

Examples: Skt. *āçru-* n. "tear," Av. *asru-* "tear": Grk. *δάκρυ* n., L. *lacruma* *dacruma*; Skt. *çātru-* m. "enemy": Grk. *κότος*, but the suffix may be *-tru-* not *-ru-*.

In Latin the suffix is possibly seen in *tonitrus*, and is certain only in the extended *lacru-ma*. In Lithuanian (Leskien, *Nomina* 440) the suffix is perhaps only a variant beside *-ra-*. In Old Bulgarian Miklosich, 2, 53, gives *darŭ* "gift," and *mīrŭ* "peace, world," but neither is given by Leskien, *Hdbch.* 67, or Scholvin, *Arch. f. slav. Phil.* 2 (1877), 508 f.

Suffix -gu- substantives.—This is apparently the suffix of Lithuanian *žmogùs* "man" (Leskien, *Nomina* 524), and with it has been compared the *-γυ-* in Cretan, *πεῖγυς*, etc. (cf. Brug., *Grd.* 2, 261). Another possible example is Av. *drīγυ-* "poor," perhaps related to Skt. *dāridra-* m. "beggar, stroller," *√drā* "run." Giles, *Proc. Cambridge Phil. Soc.* 25–27 (1891), 14 f., takes L. *augur* from *au-* (= *avi-*) and the same suffix as in *πρέσ-βυς*, Skt. *vanargu-* "wandering in the forest," Lith. *žmogùs*; so also Stolz, *Hist. Gr.* 156. Otherwise Zimmermann, *Rh.M.* 55 (1900), 486.

Other, rare, suffixes containing *u* are: *-āku-* (Skt., Whit., § 1181, *d*); *-mu-* (Av. *gar²mu-* m. "heat"); *-su-* (Skt., Lindner, *Nominalbildung*, § 97); *-thu-* (Skt. and Av., Whit. § 1164;

Jackson, Av. Gr., § 794); *-tru-* (Skt., Whit., § 1185, *g*); *-vanu-* (Skt., Whit., § 1170, *c*); Lith. *-iszius-*, *-orius-* borrowed from Slavic (Leskien, Nomina 599, 447); *-szu-* variant of *-sza-* in Lithuanian (Leskien, 598); *-lu-* only in Lithuanian (Leskien, 470).

B. ADJECTIVES

I. AS A DECLENSIONAL TYPE

The *u*-declension of adjectives is preserved in Sanskrit, Avestan, and Greek. Old Persian has one *u*-stem adjective with a few forms. Gothic has the nom. sg. masc. and fem. and the nom.-acc. neuter. The genitive is represented by *filaus*. Lithuanian *u*-stem adjectives have the *u*-stem forms always in the nom.-acc. sg., and nom. pl., but in the definite adjectives only in the nom.-acc. sg.

II. TRANSFER TO OTHER DECLENSIONS

In Latin the *u*-stem adjectives have gone over to the *i*-stems, Skt. *tanū-*, L. *tenuis*. A very few may have become *o*-stems, Skt. *cāru-*, L. *cārus* (cf. Stolz, Hist. Gr. 456). The only relics of *u*-stem adjectives seem to be *acu-*, in *acu-pedius* (Festus), and *īdūs*. There are no *u*-stem adjectives in Oscan-Umbrian.

In Gothic all cases except those named above have gone over to the *jo*-stems. The transfer in Germanic outside of Gothic has also been in the main to the *o-*, *jo*-stems.

In Lithuanian, except in the cases named above, the *jo*-stem forms are used, save that in the instr. sg. (dialectically and in Old Lithuanian), gen. sg., and instr. pl., *u*-stem forms are also found. In the definite adjectives all cases except the nom.-acc. sg. are of the *jo*-stem form.

In Slavic *u*-stem adjectives have been transferred to the *o*-stems or have been extended by added suffixes.

III. TRANSFER IN WHOLE OR IN PART TO *u*-STEMS OF WORDS BELONGING ORIGINALLY TO OTHER STEMS

Brugmann, Grd. 2, 724, gives Skt. *perū-m* to *perūs* "passing through," *jigyūbhis* to *jigyūs* "victorious," Av. *jagāurūm* to *jagāurūs* "watchful" as instances of transfer from the perfect active participle (weak stem *-us*) to *u*-stems.

In Lithuanian there is frequent transfer of *o*-stem adjectives to *u*-stems, the forms in *-as* and *-us* often appearing side by side in the same word.

IV. FORMATION OF THE FEMININE

The fem. of *u*-stem adjectives is formed in Sanskrit, Avestan, Greek, Germanic, and Lithuanian by the addition of the suffix *-ī* *-iā*. In Sanskrit, however, it could also be formed with *ū* by transfer to the *ū*-declension, and, less often, the same form was used for the fem. as for the masc. In Gothic also the nom. sg. fem. was always the same as the nom. sg. masc., while the other cases were formed with the *ī*-suffix. The use of *-ī* is Indo-European, and it exerted great influence on the *u*-stems as a whole, being a chief factor in the complete transfer to *i*-stems in Latin, and in the partial transfer to *jo*-stem forms in the masc. and neuter in Lithuanian and Gothic.

V. SUFFIXES

Suffix -u- adjectives.—This forms adjectives in Sanskrit, Avestan, Old Persian (one example), Greek, Celtic, Germanic, and Lithuanian. They are numerous in Sanskrit, far outnumbering the substantives with *u*-suffix, much less common in Avestan, far more numerous in Greek than the substantives in *-us* or *-v* not belonging to the *-us -vos* type, infrequent in Celtic or Germanic, but very numerous in Lithuanian, here again far outnumbering the substantives with suffix *-u-*. The accent of adjectives in *-u* (of whatever *u*-suffix) was shown by Bezzenberger, B.B. 2 (1878), 123 ff., to have been originally on the suffix. His list of Vedic examples is about in the proportion of five to one in favor of this rule. He also cites a long list of Lithuanian adjectives that follow the rule and only a few that do not. Greek adjectives in *-us* are regularly oxytone, there being less than half a dozen exceptions. Goth. *hardus* to Grk. *κατρός* and O.H.G. *durri*, O.N. *þurr* also point to accent on the suffix. Goth. *þaursus* as an exception is weakened by O.H.G. *durri*, etc. (cf. Kluge, Nom. Stammbildungslehre, § 182). The root appears in different grades, and there seems to be no special significance attaching to *-u-* as an adjective suffix. For the suffix in Sanskrit see especially Whitney, Skt. Gr., § 1178. In Lithuanian the suffix is primary and secondary. In the first use it has a general adjectival force, in the second it forms derivatives

from substantives and has the force of L. *-osus*, Grk. *-εις*, being especially frequent in this use (Leskien, *Nomina* 244 and 259).

Examples: Skt. *āçû-* "swift," Av. *āsu-* "swift," Grk. *ὤκεις*, L. *ōcior*, *acu-pedium* (Festus), perhaps *accipiter* for **acu-peter* (Lindsay, L.L. 259; J. Schmidt, Plur. 174); Skt. *urū-* "wide," Av. *vo^uru-* "broad," Grk. *εὐρύς*; Skt. *gurū-* "heavy," Av. *go^uru-* (in a compound) "opposing," Grk. *βαρύς*, Goth. *kaūrus* "heavy" (cf. Skt. *āgru-* "unmarried," Av. *ayru-* "non grāvīda"); Skt. *tanū-* "thin," Grk. *τανύ-γλωσσος*, L. *tenuis*, O. Ir. *tana*, O.H.G. *dunni*, O.B. *tīnū-kū* "thin;" Skt. *tr̥ṣū-* "eager, desirous," Goth. *þaūrsus* "dry," O.H.G. *durri* "dry;" Skt. *purū-* "much," Av. *po^uru-* "full," O.P. *paru-* "much," Grk. *πολύς*, O. Ir. *il* "much," Goth. *filu* n. "much;" Skt. *pṛthū-* "broad," Av. *pər²θu-* "broad," Grk. *πλατύς*, Lith. *platūs* "broad;" Skt. *raghū-* "fleet, Grk. *ἔλαχύς*, Av. *rəvī-* f. "the swift one;" Skt. *svādū-* "sweet," Grk. *ῥόδός*, L. *suāvis*, Eng. *sweet*; Skt. *vāsu-* "good," Av. *vohu-* "good," O.P. *vahu-* (in nomen propr. compound), O. Ir. *fiu* "worthy."

Suffix -tu- adjectives.—This forms a very few adjectives in Sanskrit, as *dhātu-* "drinkable," *tapyatū-* "glowing, hot" (Whit., § 1161). It is probable that these are transfers to *u*-stems of *-ata* forms (*pacata*, etc., Whit., § 1176, *e*). So in Lithuanian the suffixes *-tu-*, *-stu-*, *-sztu-* appear along with *-ta-*, *-sta-*, *-szta-* in the formation of a few adjectives (Leskien, *Nomina* 556–59). The suffix in Lithuanian is no doubt simply a by-form of *-ta-*, and in no sense an inherited suffix.

Suffix -iu- adjectives.—This forms a few adjectives in Sanskrit (see Whitney, § 1165, *b*). For "secondary *yu*" in forming adjectives from nominal and pronominal stems see Whitney, § 1178, *h*, *i*. In this use it generally has the force of "desiring or seeking after," and is fairly common.

In Lithuanian, adjectives in *-iu-* are very doubtful (Leskien, *Nomina* 326). It may be said that outside of Sanskrit the suffix *-iu-* does not form adjectives.

Suffix -nu- adjectives.—This forms a very few adjectives in Sanskrit, in the forms *-nu-* and *-anu-* (Whit., § 1162, *b*, *c*), a very few in Avestan, and a few in Lithuanian, which, however, are closely associated with those in *-na-* (Leskien, 355 ff.). The

suffix *-snu-* found in Sanskrit is an extension of the suffix *-nu-*, originating no doubt in words where *s* was part of the stem. Cf. Whitney, § 1194. So also Skt. *-tnu-*, Whit., § 1196.

Examples: Skt. *gr̥dhnū-* "hasty," $\sqrt{gr̥dh}$ "be eager;" Skt. *tapnū-* "burning," \sqrt{tap} "warm;" Av. *zōišnu-* "unclean," Bartholomae, Z.D.M.G. 50 (1896), 689; Jackson, A.J.P. 12 (1891), 68.

Suffix -ru- adjectives.—This apparently forms a few adjectives in Sanskrit, and one or two in Avestan, but in the absence of cognates from other languages it cannot be determined whether the suffix is *-ru-* or *-lu-*. No certain examples of *ru*-adjectives are found in Germanic (Kluge, Nominalstammbildungslehre² 94, 197). In Lithuanian the suffix forms a fair number of adjectives. These outnumber those in *-ra-*, with which they are closely associated (Leskien, Nomina 440 ff.).

Examples: Skt. *patāru-* "flying," \sqrt{pat} "fly;" Skt. *vandāru-* "praising," Av. *van̄dru-* "desiring," Skt. \sqrt{vand} "greet;" Lith. *gaidrūs*, *gėdrūs*, and *gėdras* "bright, clear" (of weather): *φαιδρός*.

Suffix -lu- adjectives.—This forms a few adjectives in Sanskrit and Greek, one or two in Germanic, and a small number in Lithuanian, where they outnumber those in *-la-*.

Examples: Skt. *dhārū-* "sucking," Grk. *θῆλυς*, Skt. $\sqrt{dhā}$ "suck;" Skt. *bhīrū-* "timid," Lith. *bailūs* "fearful;" Kluge (Nom. 193) cites only Goth. *aglus* "heavy" as certain. For Lithuanian see Leskien, Nomina 468. For Skt. *-ālu-* see Whitney, § 1227, *b*.

Other, rare, suffixes containing *u* are: *-āku-* (Skt., Whit., § 1181, *d*); *-ku-* in Lith. (Leskien, 507); *-mu-* in Skt. *stāmū-* "thundering" to \sqrt{stan} "thunder" (Lindner, Altindische Stamm-bildung, § 75; Wackernagel, Ai. Gr. 14); *-su-* in Skt. according to Lindner, § 97, but doubtful. In Lith. *-su-* forms a few adjectives, but is merely a by-form of *-sa-*. (Cf. Leskien, 597.)

II. Ū-STEMS

A. NOUNS

I. AS A DECLENSIONAL TYPE

The *ū*-declension is preserved in Sanskrit, Avestan, Greek, and Old Bulgarian. Latin has it only in the root-nouns *sūs* and *grūs*.

These have the acc. sg. *suem*, *gruem* like Grk. ὀφρύα, etc., and in the nom. pl. the *i*-stem ending -ēs, not differing in this respect from other stems in Latin which follow the cons. declension. The dat.-abl. pl. *sūbus* is the *ū*-stem form, while *suibus*, *gruibus* are after the *i*-stems. Leskien, *Nomina* 241 ff., sees the type also in four Lettic feminines, *pluralia tantum*.

Some of the forms are clearly root-stems in which the *u* is a part of the root, e. g., L. *sūs*, etc., but the type is not limited to such, as shown by Skt. *çvaçrû-*, O.B. *svekry*, etc. Nouns in *ū* are all feminine except a very few somewhat doubtful masculines in Sanskrit, and a masculine or two in Greek. In Sanskrit they are all oxytone (Whitney, 355, c), and in Greek the accent is on the ultima almost without exception.

II. TRANSFER TO OTHER STEMS

In Latin it would seem from *socrus* that *ū*-stems (other than root-stems) became *u*-stems. The shortening before the *m* in the acc. sg. *socrūm* would make that form identical with the acc. sg. of short *u*-stems, and leveling probably caused the transfer of the remaining cases. In the modern Slavic languages *ū*-stems have been lost, going over mainly to the *ā*-stems. Isolated instances of transfer elsewhere are: Goth. *swathrō* (*ōn*-stem), O.B. **kry krūvī* (*i*-stem), Lith. *žuvis* (*i*-stem).

Examples: Skt. *çvaçrû-* "mother-in-law," O.B. *svekry*, L. *socrus* (*ū*-stem), Goth. *swathrō*, with same meaning; Skt. *tanū-* f. "body," Av. *tanū-* f. "body;" Skt. *nṛtū-* m. "dancer," *nṛtyati* "dance;" O.B. *liuby* f. "love," L. *lubet*, etc.; O.B. *čěly* f. "healing, cure," Goth. *hails* "well," Eng. *hale*, *whole*; Skt. *bhū-* f. "earth," Skt. *√bhū* "become;" Skt. *bhrū-* "brow," Grk. ὀφρῦς, Lith. *bruvis* "brow," Eng. *brow*; Skt. *vadhū-*¹ f. "bride," Lith. *vedū*, O.B. *vedq* "I lead." For further examples see Whitney, Skt. Gr. 355, c.

B. ADJECTIVES

Sanskrit alone has the *ū*-declension of adjectives. Here the suffix -*ū-* is used in forming feminines to masculine adjectives in -*ū*. They constitute the bulk of Sanskrit *ū*-stems.

¹ Uhlenbeck, ai. etym. Wörterbuch, s. v. *vadhūs*, cites Av. *vaðu-*, which I have not been able to find.

No other form of *ū*-suffix than the simple *-ū-* seems to appear. (For Grk. *-rū-* see p. 46). Evidence for *ū*-stems from other derivative suffixes is scanty. The suffix *-ūko-*, which forms a few adjectives in Sanskrit and Latin and a noun or two in Greek and Old Bulgarian (Brug., Grd. 2, 256; Whit., § 1180 *f.*), probably arose by the addition of the suffix *-ko-* to a *ū*-stem. So the suffix *-tūti-*, which forms a few nouns in Latin, Celtic, and Gothic, as well as the Latin *-tūdō-*, may point to a suffix *-tū-* (Cf. Pokrowskij, KZ. 35 [1899], 247; Kretschmer, K.Z. 31 [1892], 333).

U-STEMS IN GREEK

A. NOUNS

I. NOUNS IN *-us -v*, GEN. *-eos* (ATTIC *-εως*), REPRESENTING THE ORIGINAL TYPE I (SHORT *u*-STEMS)

The stem-suffix appears in the three forms *-u-*, *-εf-*, and *-f-*. The last two are followed by the case-endings of the consonant stems. In its declension of this type, Greek differs from the related languages chiefly in its extension of the strong form *-εf-* to cases which have the weak form in other languages. The form *-f-*, that is, *-u-*, is confined to certain cases of *νίς*, *γόνυ*, and *δόρυ*. As normal representatives of the declension of this type may be taken *ὁ πῆχυς* and *τὸ ἄστυ*.

The nom. sg. in *-us* and *-v* is parallel to the forms in related languages and calls for no remark.

In all dialects except Attic, so far as there is any evidence, the gen. sg. has *-eos* from *-εf-os*. Greek stands alone in this form, Skt. *-os*, Goth. *-aus*, Lith. *-āus* pointing to an I.E. gen. *-eus* or *-ous* for *u*-stems. The Attic *-εως* is explained as due to the influence of *πόλεως* from Homeric *πόληος* by change of quantity, this with *η* after the loc. (dat.) sg. *πόλῃ*. (So, for example, Brug., Gr. Gr.³ 224). It is possible that the *-έως* of nouns in *-εως* had a share in making *-εως* the regular Attic gen. for *u*-stems. The form *ἄστεως* occurs without exception on Attic inscriptions, e. g., C.I.A. 2, 584 (318–307 B. C.), C.I.A. 2, 379 (229 B. C.), etc., (*ἄ*]στεως, Ditt.² 541, 5, of 421 B. C. in Attic alphabet = *ἄστεως*). Phrynichus (Lobeck, 245; Rutherford, 318) wrongly gives the gen. sg. as *πήχεος* (cf. K.B., § 126, anm. 7), but Photius, 429, 7, p. 316, bids us say *πήχεως* not *πήχους*. Etym. Mag. 687, 11, gives *πρέσβεως*, *πήχεως*, *πελέκεως* as Attic, citing *πρέσβυος* apparently as non-Attic. The usage of later Atticists was not always in accordance with the evidence of the inscriptions, Philostratus and Strabo, for example, having forms in *-eos* (Schmid, Atticismus IV, 20, 586, III, 25). In Aesch. Suppl. 490 at the close of an iambic line, most MSS. read *ἄστεος*. In Soph. O.R. 762, also at the end

of a line, ἄσπεως is read. But Euripides has undoubted instances where the long vowel is demanded, e. g., El. 246, Ph. 842. (K.B., § 126, anm. 2). The non-Attic literary dialects, Epic, Ionic, Doric, show the gen. sg. -εος. Æolic happens not to have the gen. sg., but has other forms of the same declension. The evidence from inscriptions is scanty but decisive for the -εος form, e. g., Boeotian [Ϝ]ἄσπιος S.G.D.I. 491, 3 = C.I.G.S. 3170, 3, with *ι* for *ε* before a vowel; cf. Boeotian *θιός*; Cretan *υἱέος*, L.G. VI, 3.

The dat. sg. is a loc. sg. in origin and has -εῖ (-ει) from -εϜ-ι, parallel to Vedic -avi in *sūnāvi*.

The acc. sg. has -υν -υ, parallel to the forms in related languages, I.E. -um -u. For *υἱέα*, etc., see below under *υἱός*.

The voc. sg. in -υ has a parallel in Goth. -u, Av. -u, but Skt. -o, Lith. *aũ*, O.B. -u show forms going back to I.E. -eu or -ou.

The nom. pl. in -εες (-εις) from -εϜ-ες shows the normal form parallel to Skt. -avas, etc. The uncontracted form -εες seems to have prevailed everywhere except in Attic. For the literary evidence see K.B., § 127. The only inscriptional forms are: Æolic *πρέσβεες*, S.G.D.I. 281, A33 (333 B. C.); Acragas *πρέσβεες*, S.G.D.I. 4254, 11; Cretan *υἱέες*, L.G. VII, 25, 22; Delphian *πρέσ]βεις*, S.G.D.I. 2506, 37 (277 B. C.), probably the *κοινή* form. There is no inscriptional evidence for adjectives, so far as I have noted.

The gen. pl. in -εων from -εϜ-ων is, like the gen. sg., an example of the extension of the strong form of the suffix to weak cases. Herodian I, 428, gives *πήχεων* and *πελέκεων* as Attic. Photius 316 says *πήχεων* not *πηχῶν*, as also *πήχεως* not *πήχους*. C.I.A. II add. 834, C. 15 (324 B. C.) has *πήχεων bis*. The contracted form *πηχῶν* is late (cf. K.B., § 126, anm. 7). A Pergamene inscription of the time of Trajan shows *πηχῶν*.

The dat. pl. in -εσι is a loc. pl. in origin, but with -εσι instead of -υσι after the analogy of the nom.-gen. pl. (so Brugmann, Gr. Gr.³ 237). Homer has *πελέκεσσι* (also *Corinna*) with the ending which is so widespread in the third declension, especially in the Æolic dialects, and is usually explained as an extension from *s*-stems (Brug., Gr. Gr.³, §§ 271 and 273, 1; G. Meyer, Gr. Gr.³,

§ 376; Smyth, Ionic 378; otherwise, K.B., § 118, 10, anm. 9, and Wackernagel, I.F. 14 [1903], 373–375).

In the acc. pl. Cretan alone shows the original ending *-υς*, L.G. IV, 40, *υῖυς* (cf. Goth. *sununs*). Schulze, Com. Phil. Gryph. (1887) 17, holds that Homer had an acc. pl. in *-ῶς* from *-υς*. In Homer *πολέος*, *πολέες*, *πολέων* are found forty-two times, never suffering contraction or synizesis except in two instances, in one of which emendation is easy, while in the other the line is considered spurious. This being true of the gen. sg. and nom.-gen. pl., it is surprising that in eighteen occurrences of the acc. pl. of *πολύς* no less than eight must be read as dissyllables. This dissyllabic form appears in the MSS. sometimes as *πολέας* (Il. 1, 559; Il. 2, 4; Od. 3, 262), sometimes as *πολεῖς* (Il. 15, 66, etc.), and sometimes with variation between the two. It is unlikely that *εα* would contract more readily than *εο* or *εε*. Homer does not have the nom. pl. *πολεῖς*, and Schulze first pointed out that it is unlikely that a nom. form *-εις* would be employed as an acc. before it was in use as a nom. We are not justified in assuming that *πολέας* contracted while *πολέες* did not, nor that *πολεῖς* is to be taken as the correct form of the dissyllabic accusatives, and as a nom. pl. form used in the accusative.

Schulze therefore concluded that Homer used a form in *-ῶς* from *-υς*. This view is borne out by the evidence of the related languages and by Cretan *υῖυς*, as well as by the reading *πολῶς* ascribed to Zenodotus by the scholiast on Il. 2, 4, and now accepted by Fick and Christ. Against this view may be urged the direct statement of the scholiast (*loc. cit.*) that the acc. pl. in *-ῶς* is confined to nouns in *-υς* *-υος*, and the fact that the sole traditional support for *-ῶς* is this reading of Zenodotus.

Wackernagel, I.F. 14 (1903), 369 f., seeks to show that the acc. pl. forms in *-εις* are from *-εως*, which has displaced the original *-υς* under the influence of other cases with *ε*, just as *-εσι* arose for *-υσι* in the dat. pl. (Brugmann, Kurze Gr. 392, accepts Wackernagel's view as probable.) His theory has the advantage of retaining the form *-εις*, which has traditional support, but the weight of this is lessened by the fact that *-εις* can perfectly well be due to the Attic form familiar to the editor, while *-ῶς* in short *υ*-stems

would get no such support. On the other hand it is reasonably certain that the gen. sg. *-εφος* for *-ευσ* or *-φος* and the gen. pl. *-εφων* for *-φων* arose in proethnic Greek, probably also the dat. pl. *-εσι* (unfortunately here the Cretan has only the analogical *νιδσι*), yet these left the accusative forms unaffected, as the *-νν* of all dialects and the Cretan *νιδνς* show. The *-ευσ* could not therefore belong to this stratum, and the later dialectic encroachment of *εφ* in the accusative forms was accompanied by the consonantal endings, i. e., *-ε(φ)α*, *-ε(φ)ας*. A dialectic substitution of *-ευσ* for *-ννς* is only a degree more plausible than would be an acc. sg. *-εν* for *-νν*.

So far as the Attic accusative in *-εσ* is concerned, there is no question of priority to forbid its being a nominative form used as an accusative, for, as far as we know, Attic had nom. pl. *-εσ* from the earliest historical period. There are parallels to this usage elsewhere, e. g., the nom. pl. of the Latin fourth declension in *-ūs* is best taken as an accusative form (so Lindsay, L.L. 398; Brug., Kurze Gr. 391), and the "contracted" nom. pl. of the *-us*, *-vos* declension is an accusative form (Brug., Gr. Gr.³ 266), and the fact that Attic does not have *-εσ* for *-ας* (see Wackernagel) is not a serious objection.

The forms in *-εας* in use in Homer and Herodotus are further examples of the extension of the strong form of the suffix *-εφ-* and the consequent adding of the consonant ending *-ας*.

The nom.-acc. pl. neuter in *-εα*, from *-εφ-α*, has the *α* of the cons. stems (see above, p. 8). The Attic *-η* is after the analogy of the *s*-stems, Wackernagel, K.Z. 25 (1881), 272. Pindar, Nem. 10, 5, has *ἄσση*, Bacchylides 13, 155, *ἄσσηα*. C.I.G. Ins. I, 3, 202 (metrical, third or fourth century B. C.) has *ἄσσηα*. The peculiar form *ἄσσηα* occurs B.C.H. 24 (1900), 71, in a metrical inscription from Boeotia of the third century B. C. For the *ι* see Solmsen, Rh.M. 58 (1903), 614.

The dual nom.-acc. in *-εε* (Attic *-ει*) from *-εφ-ε*, has the usual *-ε* of the Greek nom.-acc. dual. On this *-ε* see Brug., Gr. Gr.³ 231; Kretschmer, K.Z. 31 (1892), 381; J. Schmidt, K.Z. 27 (1885), 292. Herodian II, 324, says that the nominative of the dual in the orators is *τὸ πρέσβη*, from *πρέσβυς*, *πρέσβεος*, but that the form *πρεσβῆ* in Aristophanes (Fr. 495, Dd.) is from

πρεσβεύς, τοῦ πρεσβέος. The dual τὼ πρέσβει occurs on an inscription of Carpathus, Ditt.² 69, 45 and 56 = C.I.G. Ins. I, 977 (fourth century B.C.), ω and η are on the stone, but ε is used for ει. So the Attic *νίει* (written *νιιει*) occurs on an inscription, C.I.A. iv, 418, 9 (before 418 B. C.). Kirchhoff transcribes *νίη*, but cf. Meisterhans³, footnote, 1205.

The dual gen.-dat. *-έειν* from *-εφ-οιν* has the usual ending added to the strong form of the suffix. For the *-οιν* see Brug., Gr. Gr.³ 232, with the literature cited.

So far as there is any evidence, it has been shown that the type *-us -u, -eos* extends throughout the dialects. This is in striking contrast to the *i*-stems, which, outside of Attic-Ionic, and in Ionic also in large measure, have the declension of the *i-ii*-stems, gen. *-ιος*, nom. pl. *-ιες*. Most short *u*-stems have gone over to the declension of the long *ū*-stems in Greek, but in the few substantives where the short *u*-declension has been preserved it is found not merely in Attic or Attic-Ionic, but also in other dialects.

The only nouns in Greek declined according to this type are: ἡ ἔγγχελος, ὁ πέλεκυς, ὁ πῆχυς, ὁ πρέσβυς, ὁ νιός, and the neuters ἄστυ, πῶν, σῶρυ, and perhaps μίσυ. Like these are declined the adjective compounds with πέλεκυς, πῆχυς, or πρέσβυς as final member. See below, p. 62. Wackernagel, K.Z. 25 (1881), 272, assumes a form *δενδρυ- to account for δένδρη, etc., but there seems to be no reason why these should not be from δένδρος as usually taken. For γόνυ and δόρυ, which belong more closely with this type than with any other, but which do not conform to it as a whole, see below, pp. 35 f. Homer has a pl. κῶεα, κῶεσι from which Schmidt, editor of Hesychius, s. v. κυνύπισμα, infers a sg. κῶν like πῶν to pl. πῶεα, but the sg. κῶας is found in Homer, and from this the κῶεα is usually taken.

ἔγγχελος varies in declension, having forms of the *-us -uos* type, especially in the plural. Homer has only the pl. ἐγγέλυες. Archilochus has ἐγγέλυας. According to Tryphon in Athenæus 7, 299, chap. 54, Attic declined the singular like πῆχυς *-εως*, but the plural like nouns in *-us -uos*. So also Ælius Dionys. ap. Eustath. 1231, 35 = ed. Schwabe 72 and 150, 15. Aristophanes has ἐγγέλεις, ἐγγέλεων, and ἐγγέλεσιν. According to Bonitz'

Index, Aristotle uses the nom. sg. ἔγγελος, the gen. sg. ἐγγέλεως and ἐγγέλου, nom. pl. ἐγγέλος, ἐγγέλυες, ἐγγέλεις (once v. l. -ιδες), gen. pl. -ύων, -ίων, -έων, dat. pl. -υσι, -εσι. The grammarians are inclined to take the forms ἐγγέλεως ἐγγέλεων from a nom. sg. ἔγγελος. So Bekker, A.G. 1366. For the usage in other writers see especially Thesaurus, s. v., and also K.B., § 126, anm. 3, 441.

πέλεκυς has the dat. pl. πελέκυσσι in Ælian H.A. xvii, 44, but in xiv, 29 the regular πελέκεσι. Hesychius, s. v. Στειλέη has πελέκυνος (cf. Lobeck, Phryn. 246).

The grammarians mention forms in -υος from πρέσβυς and take the gen. πρέσβεως from πρέσβις. So Etym. Mag. 687, 11, πρέσβις . . . ἀπὸ τοῦ πρέσβις πρέσβιος, πρέσβεες πρέσβεις . . . κλίνεται τὸ πρέσβυς πρέσβυος καὶ πρέσβεως Ἀττικῶς· καὶ ἔστι τρίτον μετὰ τῶν πήχεως καὶ πελέκεως σεσημειωμένων. Chæroboscus 234, 23 = Bekker, A.G. 1413 = Gram. Græci, iv, 1, 233, 6, says the feminine is ἡ πρέσβυς τῆς πρέσβυος and the masculine in Doric is πρέσγυς πρέσγυος, and that πρέσβις πρέσβεως means "ambassador," while πρέσβυς means γέρον. Cf. also schol. Arist. Ach. 93. Chæroboscus ap. Hdn. ii, 707, cites a voc. πρέσβις and an acc. πρέσβιν.

The gen. sg. of υἷς is given as υἱέος not υἱέως. See below, p. 32.

Of the neuters, ἄστυ is the only one in frequent use.

πῶν is found only in Homer and Hesiod, in Homer only in the forms πῶν, πῶεα, πῶεσι, in Hesiod only πῶεα. The grammarian in Cramer, Anecd. Ox. 3, 255, says τὸ πῶν is declined like μέθυ, πῶν πῶνος πῶνι, and that the poet (Homer) made the pl. πῶεα from another sg. πῶας just as he had κῶας and pl. κῶεα.

The word σῶρυ has the gen. σῶρεως in Diosc. 5, 119, and in the Hippiatrica (an anonymous work of the Middle Ages on medicine), but Pliny 34, 29, has *soryos*. The Thesaurus says the genitive should be corrected to σῶρυος (which Pliny has), or the nominative should be taken as σῶρι. The gen. *soreos* is found in Celsus 6, 9. σῶρι is found in Democritus. Galen has the word frequently, but always in the form σῶρυ.

L. and S. s. v., and K.B., § 126, give μίσυ as belonging to the same declension as ἄστυ, though also with the gen. -υος. The

Thesaurus does not give the genitive in *-εως* at all, but thinks on the basis of the Latin use of the word that it may have been used as an indeclinable, when not declined in *-υ -υος*. None of the references in L. and S. or in the Thesaurus, so far as I know, has the genitive in *-εως*, and K.B. give no references. Lobeck, Phryn. 288, in commenting on *σύνηπι συνήπεως* and *σύναπυ συνάπυος* says: "sic τοῦ βράθνος Jul. Afric. Cest. 16, 294. τοῦ μίσνος et τοῦ μίσσεως apud materiae medicae scriptores, itemque σέρεως et σάρεως." In his index Lobeck gives the reference to *μίσσεως* under *μίσυ* not *μίσυν*. Certain it is that such words (mostly of foreign origin) for plants, metals, and medicines were greatly confused among the late writers. So Phrynichus, *loc. cit. supra*, tells us not to say *σύναπι*, but *νάπυ*, and the declension varied as given above. At any rate, the gen. *μίσυος* is by far the most frequent, if that in *-εως* occurs at all. I have found the form in *-υος* in the following: Diosc. 5, 117; Celsus 5, 19, § 8; Galen (ed. Kühn), Vol. XIX, p. 736 *bis*; Hippocrates (ed. Littré) vi, 422, in two MSS., others having *μύσυος*, vii, 354, with no v. l., vii, 414, § 98, one MS. having *μίσυν*, viii, 170, § 76, with no v. l.

In modern Greek no distinction exists between the declensions of original short *u*-stems and original long *ū*-stems, both having been merged with stems the vowel of whose final syllable, *η* or *ι*, had become identical in pronunciation with *υ*. See Hatzidakis, Neugr. Gram. 380; Jannaris, Hist. Grk. Gr., §§ 389, 390, 398, 399; Thumb, Neugr. Volkssprache 36, § 70, 2.

υίός.¹ Exclusive of the *o*-stem forms, *υίός* presents the following: Nom. sg.: *υίός* Lac. S.G.D.I. 4402 = Cauer 4 = I.G.A. 54, the only example of the stem *υίύ-* in Laconian (Boisacq, Dial. Dor. 145), Cretan L.G. ix, 40, *υίύς* mistake for *υίός* L.G. xii, 17; *υιήός* Attic vase, Klein, Gr. Vasen 72 = C.I.G. 8202, and *υιής* Klein, 72 = C.I.G. 8203, mistake for *υιήός*; *ύός*, Attic, C.I.A. iv,

¹ Miller, *Mélanges* (1868) 291; Baunack, *Curt. Stud.* 10 (1878), 88 f.; Nauck, *Mélanges* (1875-1880) iv, 102; Hartel, *Zeitsch. f. öst. G.* 27 (1876), 628; Wackernagel, *K.Z.* 25 (1881), 291; Osthoff, *M.U.* iv (1881), 185 adn. 2; Bergk, *Poetae Melici* (1882) 534; Baunack, *Inscr. v. Gort.* 71 (1885); Schulze, *Com. Phil. Gryph.* 20 ff. (1887); Kretschmer, *K.Z.* 29 (1888), 470 f., Vasen *Inscr.* 187 (1894); Allen, *Papers of Am. School at Athens* iv (1888), 71 f.; Delbrück, *Die Indogerm. Verwandtschaftsnamen* 455 (1889); Kühner-Blass, *Gr. Gr.* (1890) 138; La Roche, *Beiträge zur gr. Gram.* 1 (1893), 222 ff., especially valuable for review of forms, *Homerische Unters.* 46; Brugmann, *Grd.* 2, 299 f., I² 182, 270 f., *Gr. Gr.*³, §§ 14, 29, 183; Meisterhans, *Att. Inscr.*³ 144 (1900); Herwerden, *Lexicon suppl. et dial. s. v.* (1902); Ehrlich, *K.Z.* 38 (1902), 89. In the following pages on *υίός* the abbreviation *loc. cit.* will refer to the works here cited.

1, *b*, 373, 107, metrical sixth century B. C. (C.I.A. i, 398, is usually taken as metrical, and if so seems to have the first syllable short, Usener, *altgr. Versbau* 30. But cf. Baunack, *Inscr.* v. Gort. 71; Allen, *loc. cit.*, 55, 71; Ehrlich, *loc. cit.*, who read it *ύς* as one long syllable. Meisterhans, *loc. cit.*, suggests that it may be a prose inscription); *ύς* Attic, C.I.A. iv, 1, *b*, 373, 94, metrical sixth century B. C.; *ύς* hypothetical form, a figment of the grammarian, *Etym. Mag.* 553, 15; cf. 775, 20; *ύς* or *ύς* attributed to Simonides, see Bergk, *loc. cit.*, Miller, *loc. cit.*

Gen. sg.: *ύος* Homer. Whether Thessalian HYIOΞ of the Sotairos inscription belongs here (*hύος*) or is to be understood as *hύος*, gen. sg. of *ύς*, is still uncertain. See Solmsen, *Inscr. Graecae ad inlustr. Dialectos sel.* 21, footnote 10, with literature cited; *ύός* Homer, Cretan, L.G. vi, 3, Attic MSS., see La Roche, *loc. cit.*, 223; *ύός* Attic, C.I.A. ii, 1513 (400–350 B. C.); *ύός* called pseudattic by Phrynichus (Lobeck, 68; Ruth. 141), see La Roche, *loc. cit.*, 223; *ύός* Attic metrical, time of Empire, C.I.A. iii, 914, 1.

Dat. sg.: *ύ* Homer, Hesiod; *ύί* Homer, Hesiod; *ύί* Homeric doubtful (see K.B., § 435), Argive, S.G.D.I. 3297, 2, prose, time of Empire, Attic, S.G.D.I. 1597, 4, from Dodona, but in Attic dialect, stone has NIEI, Attic MSS., La Roche, *loc. cit.*, 224, Elatea, metrical, third or fourth century B. C. in B.C.H. 10 (1886), 367; *ύί* late Epic.

Acc. sg.: *ύύ* Arcad. S.G.D.I. 1183, Cretan, L.G. vi, 12, x, 15; *ύα* Homer, Ænianian, S.G.D.I. 1438, 6, metrical, Locrian, S.G.D.I. 1500, time of Ætolian League, Bithynian, B.C.H. 24 (1900), 381, 8, metrical, third century B. C., Thasos, Chios, etc., metrical inscriptions; *ύέα* Homer, only Il. 13, 350, various later poets, see La Roche, *loc. cit.*, 223, C.I.G. Ins. i, 3, 819, metrical, second century B. C., *Inscr. v. Olymp.*, footnote 184, third century B. C., *Rev. Ét. Grecq.* 15 (1902), 331, metrical from Pontus, B.C.H. 24 (1900), 381, 16, metrical from Bithynia, third century B. C., same inscription has *ύα*, Phrynichus (Lobeck 68) and Thomas Magister, 367, disapprove the form, though Dio Chrys. uses it, i, 261, 28 (Schmid, *Attic.* i, 86); *ύήα* late Epic (Nicander *Frag.* 110).

Nom. pl.: *víes* Homer; *víées* Homer, Hesiod, Pindar Is. 7, 25, Cretan, L.G. vii, 25, 22; *víeis* Homer, Od. 15, 248, 24, 497 (here *víées* Nauck), Hesiod Frag. 70, 3 (130 K), 136 (68 K) (*víées* Nauck), Attic MSS., La Roche, *loc. cit.*, 224; *véis* Attic, C.I.A. i, 61, 14 (409 B. C.), Corpus (Köhler) transcribes *úḡs*, Meisterhans, *loc. cit.*, *véis*; *víhes* late Epic.

Voc. pl.: *víeis* Homer, Il. 5, 464 (*víes* Nauck).

Gen. pl.: *víōn* Homer (Plato, Demosthenes, Pindar, Quintus of Smyrna; see La Roche, *loc. cit.*, 225). This form could, of course, belong either with *víes* or *víoi*, but is preferably taken with *víes*. Cf. Wackernagel, *loc. cit.*, 290, who makes *víōn* parallel to Av. *pasvām*; *víéōn* Pindar, Attic MSS., La Roche, *loc. cit.*, 225, Protagoras, Smyth, Ionic 398; *víḡōn*, Anth. Pal. viii, 118, 5.

Dat. pl.: *víási* Homer, Cretan, L.G. iv, 37, Soph. Antig. 571, v. l. *víési*; *víési* Attic MSS., La Roche, *loc. cit.*, 225; *véessai* prose inscription from Syracuse, Inscr. Sic. et It. 10 = S.G.D.I. 3235, where Blass reads (τ)ε(λε)σι; *víḡessai* late Epic, La Roche, *loc. cit.*, 226.

Acc. pl.: *víúns* Cretan, L.G. iv, 40, Argive, J.H.S. 13 (1892-93), 128, n. 61, on a fragment from the Acropolis (Meyer, Gr. Gr.³ 461); *vías* Homer; *véeis* Attic C.I.A. iii, 167, 5 (143 A. D.), archaizing inscription, Attic MSS., La Roche, *loc. cit.*, 225; *véis* Attic, C.I.A., ii, 51, 11, 19, 27, 30 (369 B. C.) = Ditt.² 89, C.I.A. ii, add. i, b, 37, 393 = Ditt.² 57, YEΞ (403 B. C.); *véias* Homer, Hesiod, Herodotus, C.I.G. Ins. i, 3, 1189, 4, metrical; *víḡas* late Epic.

Nom.-acc. dual: *víē* Homer, Hesiod; *víée* Attic MSS., La Roche, *loc. cit.*, 224; *víēi* Attic, C.I.A. iv, 418, 9 (before 418 B. C.), stone HYIE. Kirchhoff transcribes *víḡ*, but cf. Meisterhans³, footnote 1205.

Of the nom. sg. forms given, *víis* is a fiction of the grammarian, and *víis* attributed to Simonides by the Florentine Etym. Mag. is rejected by Herodian. The other forms are from the *u*-stem proper.

In the gen. sg. *víos*¹ is without doubt from **vífos* parallel to

¹The analogy of other words and other languages points to the accent *víos* *ví* in the gen.-dat. sg. as suggested by Wackernagel, *loc. cit.*, 290. Schulze adopts Wackernagel's

γουνός δουρός, from *γουνφός *δορφός. The forms *υἰέος*, *ύέος* are like *πήχεος*. The form *υἰέως* is branded as pseudattic by Phrynichus, and Thomas Magister, 367 (ed. Ritschl), bids us write *υἰέος* with an omicron. Further Etym. Mag. 775, 20 says the Athenians wrote *υἰέος* with *ο* not *ω*. The evidence of Attic inscriptions is confined to one example, C.I.A. ii, 1513, with *υἰέος*. The date is fixed between 400 and 350 B. C., so that it would have had *υἰέως*, had this been the Attic form. The spelling *υἰέως* is, however, fairly frequent in the MSS. of Attic writers (cf. Lobeck, Phryn. 68 ff.). *υἱῆος* is a late metrical form developed no doubt through confusion with nouns in *-eus*.

Of the other forms cited all agree with the corresponding forms of the regular declension as given above except the following:

(1) Forms with the suffix grade *-f-* and the consonantal endings, like the gen. *υἱος*, discussed above; dat. sg. *υἱ*, acc. sg. *υἱα*, nom. pl. *υἱες*, gen. pl. *υἱῶν* (see above under forms), acc. pl. *υἱας*, nom.-acc. dual *υἱε*.

Kühner-Blass, § 138, 507, give the dat. pl. *υἱάσι* as parallel to the gen. sg. *υἱος*, nom. pl. *υἱες*, etc. (so also La Roche, *loc. cit.*, 223), but in that case the dat. pl. *πήχεσι* should be explained in the same way. The form *υἱάσι* has been explained from the time of Eustathius (1348, 27) to the present (Wackernagel, K.Z. 25 [1881], 289; Bloomfield, A.J.P. 12 [1891], 24; Kretschmer, K.Z. 29 [1888], 470) as having its *α* from the analogy of other nouns of relationship *πατράσι*, etc. *υἱάσι* is for *υἱέσι*, and this for **υἱύσι* as explained above under the dat. pl. Kühner-Blass, § 118, 417, miss the point of the syllabic liquid in *πατράσι*, etc.

(2) A series of late epic forms made mainly after the analogy of nouns in *-eus*, like the gen. sg. *υἱῆος* cited above; dat. sg. *υἱῆι*, acc. sg. *υἱῆα*, nom. pl. *υἱῆες*, dat. pl. *υἱῆεσσιν*, acc. pl. *υἱῆας* (cf. La Roche, *loc. cit.*, 225 f.).

(3) The acc. sg. *υἱέα*, an extension of the strong grade *-ef-* with the consequent use of consonantal *-a*. Homer has such a form also in the acc. sg. of the adjective, e. g., *εὐρέα πόντον*. The acc. pl. *υἱύνης* has been sufficiently discussed above under the acc. pl.

suggestion and writes *υἱός*, *υἱί*. Cf. Danielsson, *Eranos* 1 (1896), 139, footnote. But it is hard to get around the direct statement of Herodian ii, 614, 36, that the gen. *υἱος* is *properispomenon*, though he is, to be sure, in error in regarding it as from a nom. *υἱς* (not extant). Cf. Etym. Mag. 775, 20. It would seem that the coexistence of a nom. *υἱός* and gen. *υἱός* would prove so confusing as to lead to a difference in accent for the sake of distinctness.

In Homer the *o*-stem forms, nom. sg. *νίος*, acc. sg. *νίον*, voc. sg. *νιέ*, are frequent. The gen. sg. *νιοῦ* occurs once, Od. 22, 238, the dat. pl. *νιοῖσι* once, Od. 19, 418, while *νιούς*, Il. 5, 159, is universally rejected as a false reading. K.-B. give *νίων* as from the stem *νιο-*, but this is an unnecessary assumption; see above under forms. The passages with *νιοῦ* and *νιοῖσι* are suspected of being late additions, cf. Schulze, *loc. cit.*, 25. If these are set aside we have left in Homer only the nom., acc., and voc. sg. of the *o*-stem, these having in distinction from other forms of *νίος* the initial syllable as syllaba anceps. Even these are rejected by Nauck, *loc. cit.* Cf. also Härtel, *loc. cit.* Judging from Homeric conditions just expressed, *o*-stem forms were substituted for *u*-stem forms in just those cases which have *νιν-*. This can hardly be accidental, though a purely phonetic dissimilation (Osthoff, *loc. cit.*) is altogether unlikely. The evidence of inscriptions, especially Cretan and Attic, makes it plain that the *u*-stem form of the word was earlier than the *o*-stem. (Cf. Meisterhans³ 144; Schulze, *loc. cit.*, 25; Kretschmer, K.Z. 29 [1888], 471; Baunack, *Inschr. v. Gort.* 71; otherwise Ehrlich, *loc. cit.*, 90.) Just how the *o*-stem form arose is not determined. Schulze, *loc. cit.*, takes the gen. pl. *νίων* as the starting-point since this form has the appearance of a gen. pl. to *νίος*. (For an ancient view see Etym. Mag. 775, 20 and 553, 15.) In Attic the *o*-stem form completely displaced the *u*-stem form by about 350 B. C.

The suffix is clearly *-ιν-*, and the root the same as in Skt. *sūnū-*, etc., p. 16. The only question is as to the precise form of the root. Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften* 187, suggested that *νίος* was from **σνϕ-ύς*, and Ehrlich, *loc. cit.*, gives an elaborate explanation of all the case-forms on the basis of nom. **suyĩus*, gen. **suyĩyos*. But such a formation as **suy-ĩ-u-* is in itself improbable, and it is safe to assert that no one will accept it, unless it is impossible to derive the Greek form from a **sū-ĩu-* or **su-ĩu-*. But this is not the case. How the forms can be derived from **suyĩu-* has been shown, in the main convincingly, by Schulze, *loc. cit.*, 20 ff. He rightly assumes (since *ι* between *ν* and a following vowel was lost in all dialects but Lesbian) that, e. g., nom. sg.

**su-īu-s* became *ύς*, while gen. sg. **su-īu-os* became *νίφος νίος* (for accent see above, p. 31, footnote), nom. pl. **su-īeues* became *ύέφες, ύέες*, while gen. pl. **su-īu-ōm* became *νίφων, νίων*. He accounts for the extant forms of the developed paradigm by assuming leveling, strong forms passing, e. g., from the nom. pl. to the gen. sg. and, vice versa, weak forms entering strong cases as *νίες* in nom. pl., while the *υ* strictly belonging by phonetic development to the gen.-dat. sg., etc., displaced the *υ*- of the nom.-acc. sg., etc., so that *νίς, νίυν*, arose beside gen. sg. *νίος*, etc. For such forms as gen. sg. *νίός* we must assume not only the influence of strong forms like nom. pl. *νίέες* as given by Schulze, but also, as I think, that of the regular endings *-εος -ει* of the ordinary *u*-stems.

Brugmann still holds (Gr. Gr.³, § 14; Kurze Gr. 92) that *ι* after *υ* and before a vowel is regularly preserved. But *νίς* would be the only example of the retention of an original intervocalic *ι*, except in Lesbian, and Schulze's explanation of the *υ*- in *νίς* as due to leveling from cases where *υ*- came before *-f-* is much to be preferred.

On the assumption that *νίς* owes its *ι* to restoration, Schulze explains the short initial syllable of Homeric nom. sg. *νίος*, acc. sg. *νίόν*, voc. sg. *νιέ* by supposing that these forms stand in the place of original Homeric *νίς, νίυν, νιύ*, and that the latter have retained the quantity of the still earlier *ύς, ύύν, ύύ* from *su-īū-s*, etc. At any rate, it is clear that the situation is different in *νίς*, with no consonant after the *υ*-, from that in *νίος, νίφος* (cf. Brug., Gr. Gr.³, § 14). On the other hand, Attic has *ν(ι)ός*, nom. sg. (Allen, *loc. cit.*, 71) from a form with restored *ι* and secondary loss, like *-ῶα* from *-ῶια* in the participle (Meisterhans³, 59). Leaving out of account the question of quantity, the belief that such forms as *νίς* owe their *ι* to the analogy of other cases receives confirmation from the situation in Attic, where, when the forms of the cons. decl. *νίος*, etc., were no longer in use, the *ι* did drop out just as we should have expected it to do earlier, had it not been for the "Systemzwang" of the other forms.

Inasmuch as *-īu-* is not found as the suffix for this word in any other language, and is rare anywhere, the view of Bezzenger cited with

approval by Delbrück, *loc. cit.*, is not without attractiveness. It is that *νίός* *νίος* was a "Koseform" to **ίνός* like *μαῖα* to *μήτηρ* and Lith. *sėja* to *sesū* "sister." There are no parallels, so far as I know, for such short-forms with suffix *-iu-*, but the suffix *-io-* is fairly frequent in Greek in "Kosenamen." Cf. Fick-Bechtel², 24 f.

In what precedes there has been no attempt to explain why *νίός* should have forms in *-f-* with consonant endings, while other *u*-stems (except *γόνυ* and *δόρυ*) should not. Wackernagel, *loc. cit.*, 290, suggests that gen. pl. *νίϝων* (cf. Av. *pasvām*, etc.) kept its form against the encroachment of *-εων* through its similarity to *πατρῶν*, and that after *θυγατρός*, etc., were formed *νίϝός*, *νίϝί*, etc. Weight is added to this view by the fact that *νίϝσι* is plainly after *πατράσι*, etc.

γόνυ and *δόρυ*.¹ Homer has the gen. sg. *γουνός*, *δουρός* from **γουνός* **δορφός* like the gen. sg. *νίος*. That this gen. sg. in *-υος* is an I.E. type (beside *-eus*) is apparent from Vedic *paçvās*, Av. *χραθιϝō*, and the Greek forms. It is entirely distinct from the gen. in *-υος* as in *γένυος*, which is properly the ending of *ū*-stems. Cf. Kretschmer, K.Z. 31 (1892), 465; Brugmann, Grd. 2, 577. The form *δορός* of Attic tragedy represents the Attic development of **δορφός*. Beside **δορφός* arose **δόρφατος* under the influence of the extensive neuter type in *-α*, *-ατος* (originally *n*-stem; see Brug., Gr. Gr.³, § 212, 3, 4), whence *δούρατος* and *δόρατος* according to the dialectic treatment of *-ρφ-*, *-υφ-*. In the same way arose *γούνατος* and *γόνατος*. Herodian, ii, 940, 15, cites also a gen. sg. *δόρεος*.

Other forms which show the suffix grade *-f-* are: nom.-acc. pl. *Ἄeolic γόννα*, *γόννα*, Hom. *γούνα*, Hom. *δοῦρα*; Hom. dual nom.-acc. *δοῦρε*; gen. pl. *γόνων* for *γόννων* *Ἄeolic* (Sappho 44), Hom. *δούρων*; dat. sg. Hom., Pindar *δουρί*, Pindar, Tragedy *δορί*; the last form is also used in prose in military expressions.

The dat. sg. *δόρει* in the Tragedians, and the nom.-acc. pl. *δόρη* in Eurip. Rhes. 274 are forms of the *ᾶστυ* declension. Cf. the gen. *δόρεος* given by Herodian.

Insriptional forms are: gen. sg. *δόρατος* Argive (Epidaurus), S.G.D.I. 3340 (third century B. C.) = Ditt.² 803, 64, *δόρατ[ος]* Delphian, S.G.D.I. 2501, 30 (380 B. C.) = Cauer 204, 30, *δορός*

¹ For a citation of forms see K.B., § 130, 457 f.

Thebes, metrical, C.I.G.S. 4247; dat. sg. *δόρατι* Kern, Inscr. v. Magn. 105, 106, *δόρατι* Late Cretan, Ditt.² 929, 134 = Mus. Ital. iii, 570, n. 3, *δόρατι* Ditt.² 368, 10 = Inscr. Cos 223, n. 345, *δόρατι* Ætolian, Ditt.² 333, 3 = S.G.D.I. 1418, *δορί* Locrian, metrical, S.G.D.I. 1501; gen. pl. *γονάτων* Epidaurus, S.G.D.I. 3340, 111 = Ditt.² 803, 111 (third century B. C. ?); dat. pl. *γονάτεσσι* Kaibel Ep. Gr. 782, *δοράτεσσιν* Boeotian, metrical, B.C.H. 24 (1900), 70.

For a list of cognates see above, p. 13. For further etymological connections with *δόρυ* see H. L. Ahrens, "*δρῦς* und seine Sippe" (1866), and especially Osthoff, *Etymologische Parerga* (1901) 100 ff., who embodies Ahrens' suggestions with many additions. He arranges the material under eight stem-forms: (1) **deru-* **deru-*, (2) **doru-* **doru-*, (3) **dreu-*, (4) **drou-*, (5) **druy-*, (6) **drū-*, (7) **dru-*, (8) **drū-* or **drū-*.

For the Ablaut relation between Skt. *dāru-* *jānu-* and Grk. *δόρυ γόνυ*, etc., see Brug., Grd. i, 70 f., ii, 1205, note, i², 139, and xliii, *Kurze Gr* 74, 75, with literature cited in last two. Cf. also Meringer, *Sitzungsber d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss.* (Wien, 1892), bd. 125, 2, 21 ff.; J. Schmidt, *K.Z* 32 (1893), 338; Hirt, *Akz.* 220, Ablaut 522, 772.

II. NOUNS IN *-ŷs -v*, GEN. *-vos*

This class includes (1) nouns belonging to Type II (long *ū*-stems), (2) nouns in *-ŷs*, *-ŷ*, belonging originally to Type I (short *u*-stems).

Exclusive of the small number of hypocoristics (see below p. 64), and the nouns given under I above, all *u*-stem nouns in Greek, so far as their declension can be determined, belong to Class II.

There are about two hundred and forty Greek nouns with nom. in *-vs* or *-v*, which belong, so far as there is any evidence, to this declension. As a matter of fact only about seventy or eighty of the two hundred and forty present enough forms to determine the declension. For the remainder the evidence is simply negative. About one hundred of the two hundred and forty have the suffix *-tu-* and are mostly feminine oxytones with long final. See the suffix *-tu-* below. Of the remaining one hundred and forty about half are known only from glosses, mainly in Hesychius, and hence as a rule these furnish no evidence for declension.

gender, or quantity of the final syllable. In the matter of accent the ratio of barytones to oxytones is about two to one, for these glosses. The figures given do not include proper names, for which no complete list was attempted, but of which about fifty examples were noted. So far as the proper nouns show any declension at all, it is that of Class II.

The remaining seventy,¹ i. e., excluding those known only from glosses, and those with suffix *-tu-*, furnish evidence for declension in about forty instances, about half determine the quantity of the final syllable, and all but half a dozen determine the gender. About forty-five of the seventy are barytones, almost equally divided into masculines, feminines, and neuters. The remaining twenty-five are oxytones and perispomena, and are all feminine except *ὁ ἰχθύς*, *ὁ μῦς* (an original s-stem), *ὁ* (but also *ῆ*) *σῦς*. The perispomenon *τὸ γρῦ* has the gen. sg. *τοῦ γρῦ* in Lucian, Lexiphanes c. 19, and hence may be classed as an indeclinable.

Of the twenty-five oxytones and perispomena about fifteen furnish evidence for quantity, either from the usage of the poets or the statements of grammarians. In no instance is the quantity shown to be short only, most have the long final, while a few show the syllable as both short and long. These are: *ἰχθύς* Hdn. i, 416; *ἰσχύς* Pindar Nem. 11, 31; *νηδύν* Hdn. i, 527, Callim., Dian. 160, Boeotian metrical inscription C.I.G.S. 2544 and 2545. *νηδύς* has long final in Anth. Pal. 9, 519, 2 and elsewhere. Homer has it in nom.-acc. sg., but only at end of line.

On the other hand of the forty-five barytones, only about fifteen furnish evidence for quantity. Here the final is usually short, but there are some cases of variation. In no instance is it long only. (The cry *Κόκκυ*, being indeclinable, does not constitute an exception.) Examples of variation are: *γένυν* Eurip. El. 1215, but *γένυς* Phoen. 63, *γένυ* Andr. 1181; *νέκυσ* Il. 4, 492, 18, 180, etc., but *νέκυς* Eurip. Suppl. 70, etc., metrical inscription from Mysia B.C.H. 25 (1901), 327, *νέκυν* Boeotian, C.I.G.S. 2544; *χέλυς* Hom. Hymn Merc. 33, 153, 242, *χέλυς* Callim. Hymn Apoll. 16, Oppian 5, 404, Aratus 268; *στάχυς* Eurip. H. Fur. 5, elsewhere *στάχυς*; *βότρυς*, *μακρῶς* Αττικοί, *βραχέως*

¹ It must be understood that all numbers are approximate.

Ἑλληνες, Moiris, 193, 10, quoted by Kretschmer, K.Z. 31 (1892), 336, βότρυν metrical inscription C.I.G. Ins. i, 1, 781.

Exclusive of glosses and proper names, there are about one hundred and fifteen oxytones (ninety of these being nouns in -*της*), mainly feminine, and with long final, presumably belonging to Class II, and about fifty-five barytones, of all genders, and with short final, also belonging, so far as there is any evidence, to this class. It seems, therefore, safe to assert that the connection between accent and vowel-quantity is too marked to be accidental, and must reflect in some measure I.E. conditions. As noticed above, p. 21, *ū*-stems were prevailing oxytone, while the *u*-type was probably originally barytone in the nom.-acc. sg. The relation in Greek, to be sure, may have become more uniform than it actually was in Indo-European. In general oxytones in -*υς* are based on I.E. Type II, and barytones in -*υς* on I.E. Type I, with a transfer to Type II in the cases other than the nom.-acc. sg., yet the forms in -*υς* are disproportionately frequent, as compared with *ū*-stems elsewhere, and must be due in part also to transfer from Type I. The reason why the transfer in Greek of Type I to Type II arose, or why, since it did become so general, the few examples of Type I were retained at all, is yet to be found. It is worthy of remark that of the small number given under I only *νίυς*, *ἄστυ*, and *γόνυ* do not have byforms of the -*υς* -*υος* declension either in actual use or in the statements of the grammarians. For the general problem of the ultimate origin of the two types and the relation of accent to quantity see the references on p. 8.

The nom. sg. ends in -*υς*, -*ῦς*, masc. or fem., -*ῦ*, neuter. The acc. sg. has correspondingly -*ῦν*, -*ῦν*, -*ῦ*. (The forms with short vowel properly belong to Class I.)

Besides the more usual acc. sg. in -*ῦν* is found that in -*υα* from -*u-m*, as in Skt. *bhrūvam*, L. *suem*, or -*υα* may simply be a new formation after the acc. pl. in -*υας* (Brug., Grd. 2, 550, Gr. Gr.³, § 254; Kretschmer, K.Z. 31 [1892], 466). Such are: *ἰχθύα*, Theocr. 21, 45 and 26, 17, *τρικτύα* · *τριάδα* (Heysch.), *οἰζύα*, Quint. Smyrna, *νηδύα*, *ὀφρύα*, *δρύα* cited by Hdn. ii, 763 as rare forms, *βότρυα* ascribed to Euphorion by Chæroboscus 235, 20 ff. = Gram. Graeci iv, 1, 234, 1 = Hdn. ii, 711, 6.

The gen. sg. ends in *-vos* from *-υμος*, alike from nominatives in *-ūs*, *ūs*, and *ŷ*, and for all dialects so far as there is evidence. So *δρυός* Ditt.² 588, 7, 100, Delos (180 B. C.); *Κόρθυος* nomen propr., Late Cretan, Mus. Ital. iii, 648, n. 61 = B.C.H. 13 (1889), 57; *Κότυος* nomen propr., J.H.S. 22 (1902), 128, Cyzicus; *τῆς ὕος* Ditt.² 615, 14, Myconos (third century B. C.); *Πόλυος* nomen propr., S.G.D.I. 2580, Fg. D. 174, Delphian; *Βίθυος* nomen propr., Thess., Hoffmann G.D. ii, 543, n. 18, 6; *Γέρυφος* nomen propr., Cyprian, Meister G.D. ii, 269, Hoff. i, 246. The ending *-vos* properly has the *υ* short as in other cases before a vowel, but rare instances of *-ūs* occur, as *δρυός* Hes. Op. 436, *ἰλῦος* Il. 21, 318.

The dat. sg., a loc. sg. in origin, ends in *-υι* from *-υμι*, as in Skt. *bhruvi*. *Κόρθυι* nomen propr., S.G.D.I. 5032, Cretan; *Δρυί* nomen propr., S.G.D.I. 3758, 106, Rhodes; *Δέρμυι* nomen propr., dissyllabic, end of hexameter, C.I.G.S. 579 = S.G.D.I. 875, Boeotian (Tanagra); *νάπυι* Ditt.² 804, 17, 21, Epidaurus (late); *ὀσφύι* Ditt.² 602, 2 (third or fourth century B. C.), of Iasus, cf. Schweizer, Pergam. Inschr. 146, 147. For Homeric diphthong, Attic *-υι*, see K.B., § 125, anm. 4. Herodian ii, 347 asserts that the *υι* diphthong is never found at the end of a word, and explains Il. 16, 565 *νέκυι* (dissyllabic) as a case of synizesis like that in Il. 1, 15 *χρυσέφ' ἀνὰ σκήπτρῳ*. Arcadian *πληθι*, S.G.D.I. 1222, 20, is not *πληθυι* as Hoffman, G.D. 246, Herwerden, and G. Meyer, Gr. Gr.³, § 348, take it, but is rather the dat. sg. of *πλήθος*, perhaps with *-ι* by mistake for *-ει*.

The nom. pl. regularly ends in *-ves*, from *-υμες*. There are some examples of a so-called contracted nom. pl. in *-ūs*, properly an accusative form used as a nominative (Brug., Gr. Gr.³, § 266; G. Meyer, Gr. Gr.³, § 355). According to Ælius Dionysius 182 (Schwabe) = Eustath. 1835, 43, *αἱ κάχρῦς* was Attic. See K.B., § 125, anm. 3, for further examples.

In good Attic the acc. pl. ends in *-ūs*. This is also the usual form in New Ionic, and it is found in Homer along with the other ending *-vas*. The ending *-vas* is found in late Attic, in New Ionic beside *-ūs*, and frequently in Homer. Inscriptions present: *ἰ]χθῦς* Ditt.² 584, 1, Smyrna; *στάχvas* C.I.G. Ins. i, 3, 1188, metrical, Melos; *ūs* Ditt.² 615, 13, Myconos, third century B. C.

The form in *-vas* is the one to be expected in original *ū*-stems from comparison with Skt. *bhrúvas*, etc., from *uuns*. That in *-ūs* presents more difficulty. Brugmann formerly (Grd. 2, 678) explained *-ūs* as an extension of the ending which was regular in the case of words which were originally *ǔ*-stems (cf. Cretan *υῖύς*), but now (Kurze Gr. 391, 392) assumes that while this ending was retained in case of original *ǔ*-stems (*γένūs*), forms like *ὀφρῦς* are due to the influence of the acc. sg. *ὀφρῦν*, etc. (Cf. also Gr. Gr.³, § 267, 2). But it is altogether unlikely that the history of *γενῦς* and *ὀφρῦς* is to be separated in this way. According to all evidence the type *-ūs*, *-vos* was, except for quantity in nom.-acc. sg., a unit in all dialects, and we may safely assume that any dialect that preserved **γένυυς* would also have **ὀφρύυς*, making the supposition that *ὀφρῦς* was due to an acc. sg. *ὀφρῦν* superfluous. That the *-υς*, *-ūs* was preserved in this class, while it was largely given up in the original *ǔ*-stems which remained in Class I, is of course not strange, since only in the latter were there forms in *-εϝ-* to influence the ending.

The gen. pl. ends in *-υων*, from *-uυ-ōm*, Skt. *bhruvām*. *βοτρυῶν* C.I.G. Ins. 476, 4 = S.G.D.I. 297, metrical, Mytilene; *ἰχθύων* Mon. Ant. vi, 302, 6 = Ditt.² 427, 6, Late Cretan, Ditt.² 584, 9, Smyrna, Ditt.² 615, 10, Myconos; *ύων* Ditt.² 566, 14 = Michel 730, Pergamum.

To judge from the Skt. *bhrūṣū-*, etc., the Greek dat. pl. (a loc. pl. in origin) should end in *-ῦσι*. This seems to be retained in Homeric forms like *γένυσσι πίτυσσι*, which can stand for *γένῦσι πῑτῦσι*, but aside from forms like this there is no trace of an original *-ῦσι*. It has been replaced instead by *-ῦσι*, usually explained as having the short vowel after the other cases where the *υ* is rightly short before a vowel ending as in the gen. sg. and pl. It is possible, however, that here again, as in the acc. pl., we may recognize the influence of the dat. pl. of the original short *u*-stems, this being retained in declension II, though lost in declension I, where it strictly belonged. Forms like *νεκέσσι*, *σῦεσσι*, *σταχύεσσι*, etc., are due to the extension of the generalized dat. pl. ending *-εσσι*, for which see above under Class I.

The nom.-acc. dual has *-υε*, from *-υϝ-ε*. For this *ε* see above

under Class I. For the dual *ἰχθῦ* see G. Meyer, *Gr. Gr.*³, § 381; K.B., § 125, anm. 3. The gen.-dat. dual in *-νουν* calls for no remark.

The nom.-acc. pl. neuter in *-να* from *-υφ-α* has the usual consonant ending *-α*.

In all the forms of this declension where the suffix has the form *-υμ-* the case-endings are those of the cons. stems, and this is true also of the dat. pl.¹

Like the nouns of Class II are declined the adjectives *τέρυς* and *φóλυς*, and the adjective compounds with words belonging under II as final member. For the latter see below under Compounds. *τέρυς* is known only from Hesychius, who has the following glosses: *τέρυ· ἀσθενές, λεπτόν*, and *τέρυας ἵππους· οὕτω λέγονται ὅσοι ἀδδη-φάγοι εἰσὶ. ἔνιοι τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς*. Of *φóλυς* we have only the following statements: *φóλυες κύνες· οἱ πυρροὶ ὄντες μέλανα στόματα, εἶχον· οἱ δὲ φύλακας*, Hesychius, and *φóλυς· φóλυες κύνες παρὰ τῷ Ἀντιμάχῳ*, Hdn. ii, 938, 14, and i, 236, 26. It is probable that these two words *τέρυς* and *φóλυς* are substantives in origin.

Suffix -u-² substantives.—The suffix *-u-* is shown to be inherited in several words and is to be assumed for many more in which there is the short final *-υς* or *-υ*. Its formations are regularly barytone, and have usually the strong grade of root. In declension they would belong historically under Class I, but most of them have been transferred to the declensional type of long *ū*-stems.

Examples of words with this suffix which follow the declension of Class I are: *γόνυ*: Skt. *jānu-* n.; *δόρυ*: Skt. *dāru-* n. (for both see p. 13); *πήχυς*: Skt. *bāhū-* m. f. (see p. 13); *πῶν*: Skt. *pāyū-* m. "herdsman," Skt. *√pā* "protect;" *πέλεκυς*: Skt. *paraçū-* m. *pārçu-* m. "axe."

Wheeler, *Gr. Nom. Accent* 110, considers the accent of *πέλεκυς* secondary in comparison with *paraçū-*. Cf. Kretschmer, *Einleitung* 106, on etymology. Hesychius, s. v. *ἡμιπέλεκον* has the gloss *τὸ γὰρ δεκάμουνν πέλεκυ (πέλεκυς Musurus) καλεῖται παρὰ Παφίοις*. On the Cyprian inscription from Idalium, S.G.D.I. 60, 15, we have *πε* as an abbreviation of

¹ For *ū*-stems in modern Greek, see above, p. 29.

² But including some words in which the *u* obviously belongs to the root. See footnote, p. 12.

a word used as a measure of value. There is nothing to show declension in either case, and from Hesychius we should take the form to be neuter. It is usual, however, to supply the word in the Idalian inscription as $\pi\epsilon[\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\varsigma]$, so, e. g., Deecke, S.G.D.I. 60, Hoffmann, G.D. i, 72, and this is without doubt correct, as shown by Ahrens, Philologus 35 (1876), 67, citing Hesychius, s. v. $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\kappa\upsilon\varsigma$, and Eustathius, 1878, 56, under the form $\pi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\omega\upsilon$, though of course $\pi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\omega\upsilon$ might equally well be neuter. Hesychius has $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\kappa\upsilon\varsigma$ $\sigma\tau\alpha\theta\mu\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\omicron\nu$ $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\mu\upsilon\eta\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$ $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$ \cdot $\omicron\iota$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\mu\upsilon\eta\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$ (MSS. $\delta\omega\delta\epsilon\kappa$).

Instances of transfer to Class II are: $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\upsilon\varsigma$ precisely equivalent to Skt. *hānu-* (p. 13); $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\theta\upsilon$ precisely equivalent to Skt. *mādhū-* (p. 13). Another instance of such transfer is, I believe (with Kretschmer, K.Z. 31 [1892], 336), $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\upsilon\varsigma$, which has the long final in Homer, but the short in Euripides and later Epic (see above, p. 37). To $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\upsilon\varsigma$ the Av. *nasu-* f. "corpse" is exactly equivalent, and there seems little doubt that this has the short *-u*. The Av. acc. sg. *nasūm* is of no weight because of the frequent presence of \bar{u} for *u* before final *m*, a graphic matter merely (Jackson, Av. Gr., § 23; Bartholomae, Ir. Grd. i, § 268, 1). Brugmann, Gr. Gr.³, § 180, places $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\upsilon\varsigma$ tentatively under the suffix $-\bar{u}$ - $-u\bar{u}$ -. For an absurd etymology of the ancients (derivation from $\kappa\acute{\iota}\kappa\upsilon\varsigma$) see Cramer, Anecd. Ox. i, 296, 27.

Further examples of words with this suffix belonging to Class II are: $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\upsilon\varsigma$: $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\upsilon\omega$, etc.; cf. Hirt, Ablaut 510; $\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\upsilon\varsigma$, connected by Curtius, Grdz.⁵ 341 with $\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\alpha}\chi\eta$, etc., from a $\sqrt{\text{ark}}$ "weave;" $\acute{\alpha}\rho\pi\upsilon\varsigma$, attributed by Etym. Mag. 148, 33, to Parthenius, and given as Æolic for $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\varsigma$ by Hesychius, is thought by Hoffmann, G.D. ii, 231, possibly to be connected with L. *arcus*, O.E. *earh*, "arrow;" $\gamma\acute{\eta}\rho\upsilon\varsigma$: O. Ir. *ga'ir* "cry," L. *garriō*, etc., Brug., Grd. i², 575; $\gamma\lambda\acute{\alpha}\phi\upsilon$: $\gamma\lambda\acute{\alpha}\phi\omega$, connected by Bezenberger, B.B. 27 (1902), 153, with Bulg. *glob* "hollow;" $\kappa\omicron\iota\lambda\upsilon$: Goth. *hails*, O.H.G. *heil* "whole, sound," O.E. *hael*, O.N. *heill* "omen," O.B. *œlū* "sound," Hoffmann, B.B. 16 (1890), 240, Brug., Grd. i², 576; $\kappa\acute{\omicron}\rho\theta\upsilon\varsigma$: $\kappa\omicron\rho\theta\acute{\upsilon}\omega$, $\kappa\acute{\omicron}\rho\eta$, $\kappa\acute{\omicron}\rho\omicron\varsigma$; $\acute{\rho}\acute{\alpha}\pi\upsilon\varsigma$: L. *rāpa*, O.H.G. *ruoba*, Germ. *Rübe* "rape;" $\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\chi\upsilon\varsigma$: O.H.G. *stanga* = Germ. *Stange*, cf. Eng. *sting*; $\kappa\acute{\iota}\kappa\upsilon\varsigma$ seems to be a reduplicated form from the root $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\alpha$ $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}$ "swell," Grk. $\kappa\upsilon\acute{\epsilon}\omega$, etc., with υ as part of the root, not as suffix. See Brug., Gr. Gr.³, § 166, and Hirt, Ablaut 386.

Suffix -tu¹ substantives.—The formations in Greek with this suffix fall into two groups, one a so-called primary, with nouns like ἀγορητής, βρωτής, etc., and a so-called secondary, with numerals like ἑκατοστής, χιλιοστής, etc. All the latter and a great majority of the former are *nomina actionis*. See the list for Homer below, all of which are of this kind. Exceptions, real or apparent, are: ἄστν, βλέτης, δίκτυ, δίκτυς, ἵτης, καττής, κλιτής, μάρπτνς, μίτης, μότνς, πίτης, φίτν, φίτης. Without doubt the suffix -tu- was not consciously felt in any of these, and δίκτυ, δίκτυς, καττής, μίτης do not in all probability contain the suffix -tu- at all. δίκτυ is given only by Etym. Mag. 275, 25, as from δίκτυον “net,” but is probably only a figment of the grammarian. δίκτυς is some sort of animal mentioned only in Hdt. 4, 192, and by Hesychius. With καττής “a piece of leather” (Aristophanes) cf. καττώ κασσύ from *κατ-σιυω. μίτης “bees-wax” is found (*ter*) in one passage in Aristotle, H.A. 9, 40, 10. Its etymology is uncertain. μότνς is known only from Hesychius, who has μότντες· οἱ ἔ[γ]κλυτοι καὶ παρειμένοι.

Of the others, βλέτης “leech,” known only from the Hesychian gloss βλέτης· αἱ βδέλλαι, is taken by Lobeck, Rhematicon 14, from a verb βλέω (cf. βλεῖ· βλίσσει, ἀμέλγει, Hesych.), with mistaken accent for βλετής. It may have had the same development of meaning from “a sucking” to “sucker” seen in Skt. *māntu* “counsel” and “counsellor.” So also μάρπτνς, known only from the Hesychian gloss μάρπτνς· ὑβριστής, probably with mistaken accent for μαρπτής, from meaning “insolence” could come to mean “an insolent person.” This word has been read in Æsch. Suppl. 826, where, however, the MSS. readings are corrupt and μάρπτνς is now commonly given.

Connected with the root *bheu* “be, become,” are φίτν, found for φίτνμα in Aristophanes and Eupolis, and φίτης, used by Lycophron and frequently mentioned by grammarians. Brugmann, Ber. sächs. G. d. W., 1901, 96, suggests that φίτης “begetter,” and φίτν “the thing begotten,” both rest on an abstract *φίτης “the begetting.”

¹ For the suffix cf. Lobeck, Paralipomena 439 ff.; Kretschmer, K.Z. 31 (1892), 333 ff.; K.B., § 329, 28, 272; Brugmann, Grd. 2, 304, 308, Gr. Gr. 3, § 220, Ber. sächs. G. d. W., 1901, 95.

ἄστυ, *ῥτυς*, *πίτυς* are almost the only words with this suffix for which direct cognates are found in other languages (see below, p. 50), and these with *κλιτύς* are the only words, except numerals, in use through a wide range of authors, yet these are just the words for which there was in Greek no consciousness of suffixal *-τυ*. *ἄστυ* from the root *ues*, "dwell," no doubt originally meant "dwelling" in the abstract. (See below, p. 50.) So *ῥτυς* (p. 50) "circle" can easily have developed from "a rounding." *κλιτύς* from the root *k̑lei*, "lean," can have developed the meaning "hill" from "a sloping, leaning." *πίτυς* "pine" (p. 50) is not so easy and constitutes, perhaps, the sole exception to the rule.

There are not quite one hundred Greek nouns in *-τύς* and only *ἄστυ*, *φίτυ*, and *δίκτυ* in *-τυ*. Of the latter, *ἄστυ* is neuter, and so presumably are *φίτυ* and *δίκτυ*, though there is no specific evidence to that effect.

For the nouns in *-τύς* I have found evidence for feminine gender in twenty and for masculine in only one, *ὁ φίτυς* (Eustathius). For the remainder there is no evidence, but except *δίκτυς* (doubtful at the best, see above) in all of them the *-τυς* has the same function that it has in those undoubtedly feminine, and hence there is every reason to assign to these also the feminine gender. Liddell and Scott give *δίκτυς*, Hdt. 4, 192, and *κτιστύς*, Hdt. 9, 97, as masculine, but there is nothing in Herodotus to show the gender, and the meaning and formation of *κτιστύς* justify Schweighäuser (Lex. Hdt.) in taking it as feminine. Some, like *μάρπτυς*, for which there is no evidence, may, however, have been masculine because of special use with reference to a person (cf. *φίτυς*). So Pape, Etym. Wörterbuch, without evidence gives *μάρπτυς* as masculine.

The accent of the neuters *ἄστυ*, *φίτυ*, *δίκτυ* (?) is barytone, in agreement with what appears to be the I.E. rule for *u*-stem neuters (above, p. 12).

The accent of the nouns in *-τύς* is oxytone except in the following instances: *βλέτυς*, *δίκτυς*, *ῥτυς*, *μάρπτυς*, *μίτυς*, *μόττυς*, *πίτυς*, *πλάτυς*, *φίτυς*, Æolic *χέλληστυς* not constituting a real exception.

πλάτυς is found only in Hesychius and is probably a mistake

for *πλάτις*. For the others see above, p. 43. *δίκτης* and *μίτης* do not count, since they hardly contain the suffix *-tu-*.

In declension, so far as known, nouns in *-τύς -τυ* follow Class II except *ἄστυ*, which belongs to Class I. As a matter of fact, over thirty of the total are known only from glosses and hence declension, etc., cannot as a rule be determined, and of the remainder only about thirty have any evidence for declension. On the other hand, there is no evidence that any substantive in *-τυς -τυ*, except *ἄστυ*, belongs to Class I.

For the quantity of the final syllable in the nom. and acc. sg. we have the statements of the grammarians and the usage of the poets. There is evidence from the latter source for the quantity in only a few words. Homer has the long vowel in *ἄκοντιστύς* Il. 23, 622; *βρωτύς* Il. 19, 205, Od. 18, 407; *κλιτύς* Od. 5, 470, but in Attic this word has a short final (cf. K.B., § 125, anm. 2); *μνηστύς* Od. 16, 294, Od. 19, 13; *ὀρχηστύς* Il. 13, 731, a line bracketed by Dindorf. Callimachus has the long vowel in *δίστευτύς*, read by Scaliger in Hymn to Apollo 42, where Schneider retains the MSS. *-την*. Homer has a short vowel in *ἵτύς* Il. 5, 724, Lycophron shows a short vowel in *φίτυς* 462, 486, and Apollonius Rhodius has *θελκτύν* with short vowel, i, 515, but Lobeck, Paral. 440, would read *θέλκτιν* because the final is short and the MSS. vary in accent. Liddell and Scott give *ἐπητύς* with short *ῥ*, and *ὄτρυντύς* with long *ῡ*, but there is no evidence for either. There is nothing in Homer to show that any oxytone in *-τύς* has a short final. The testimony of the grammarians is to the effect that feminine oxytones have the long *ῡ* in the final syllable. Cf. Lentz' edition of Herodian i, 527 and footnote. The short final in *κλειτύς* in Sophocles and Euripides is explained as an extension of the short vowel from the oblique cases. So Kretschmer, K.Z. 31 (1892), 333, and Brugmann, I.F. 11 (1900), 273, Gr. Gr.³ 178. Such instances of shortening by analogy are not confined to nouns in *-τυς*; cf. K.B., § 125, anm. 2. With the exception of *κλειτύς* in Attic, and the isolated and doubtful *θελκτύς*, it may be said that, so far as we have evidence, oxytones in *-τυς* had long *ῡ*, while barytones in *-τυς* had short *ῥ*.

Nouns with the suffix *-tu-* in the related languages (pp. 13 f.)

are mainly masculine barytones with short final. The Greek presents a striking contrast with its preponderance of feminine oxytones with long final.

So far as I know, Kretschmer, K.Z. 31 (1892), 333, is the only one who definitely sets up the suffix *-tū-* for these Greek oxytones, in contrast to the *-tū-* seen in *ἴτυς*, *φίτυς*, etc., and in the formations (chiefly masculine barytones) of other languages. By his view the suffix *-tū-* does not appear outside of Greek except in extensions such as Lettic *-tuv-ā-*, L. *-tūt-*, *-tūti-*, and *-tūdōn-*. Others who have spoken of the suffix in Greek have given it as parallel to that found in Sanskrit, Latin, Germanic, etc. So for example, Von Bahder, *Verbalabstrakta* 94; Hirt, *Akzent* 221; and especially Brugmann, *Grd.* 2, 308, *Gr. Gr.*³, § 220.

Of course no one will deny that the suffix of the Greek oxytones has a long vowel. The question is whether Greek inherited from the parent speech two different suffixes *-tū-* and *-tū-*, or the quantity of the Greek *-tū-* is secondary. I am inclined to the latter opinion. In formation these nouns in *-τυς* bore an at least apparently close relation to verbals in *-τός*, accented on the final; cf. *βοητός* : *βοάω*, *ἀγορητός* : *ἀγοράομαι* with *ἀγαπητός* : *ἀγαπάω*, *κοσμητός* : *κοσμέω*. Hence the oxytone accent, even if itself secondary, must have been of early origin. Then their gender is feminine either from the influence of other abstracts, like those in *-σις*, *-τις*, which were feminine (so Brugmann, *Grd.* 2, 304; cf. Von Bahder, *loc. cit. supra*, on orig. gender), cf. the case in West Germanic, above, p. 14, or were themselves originally feminine (Delbruck, *Grd.* 3, 118; cf. Brug., *Gr. Gr.*³, § 220). In either case the feminine gender must have been of early origin. With this agreement in accent and gender it was most natural that there should be agreement also in the quantity of the final with those nouns which formed the basis of I.E. Type II as represented in the Greek Class II (above, pp. 20 f., 36). Furthermore the suffix performs the same function as is performed by *-tu-* in related languages. Hence I do not consider it necessary to assume an I.E. suffix *-tū-*.

It is frequently stated that the suffix belongs particularly to the Ionic dialect. Eustathius 1180, 6 gives it as Ionic, but

Didymus on Il. 2, 600 calls it Æolic. The statement that it is Attic, made by the scholiast on Il. 19, 233, is clearly an error, and there is a v. l., Ἀντιμάχειος for Ἀττική. Pape, Etym. Wörterbuch 291, and L. and S. (*passim*) give it as an Ionic suffix. Brugmann, Gr. Gr.³, § 220, says it is especially productive in Ionic; cf. his Grd. 2, 308. In K.B., § 329, it is said to be "poetic and dialectic," while Herwerden. Lex. Graecum suppl. et dial., s. v. ἐπισμυκτύν, βαλλητός, ἀπαστός, asserts that it is a favorite suffix in Ionic and Cretan. An analysis of the material gives the following results.¹

There are thirteen found in Homer only, or in Homer and glosses in Hesychius, Eustathius, etc., viz., ἀγορητός (1), ἀκοντιστός (1), ἀλαωτός (1), βοητός (1), δαιτός (1), ἐδητός *passim*, ἐλεητός (2), ἐπητός (1), μνηστός (3, also in Anacreon?), ὀαριστός (3), ὄτρυντός (*bis*, same passage), ῥυστακτός (1), ταυνστός (1).

There are seven in Homer that are also found in other authors, viz., βρωτός Homer (2), Anth. Pal., and Philoxenus *ap.* Athenæus, γραπτός Homer (1), Apoll. Rh., and grammarians, κιθαριστός Homer (1), Phanocles *ap.* Stobæus, ὀρχηστός Homer, Eurip. (1), Lucian (1), ἴτυς (p. 44) Hom., Hdt., Eurip., Xen., Galen, etc., κλε(ι)τός (p. 44) Hom., Eurip., Soph., Lycophron, Nicander, πίτυς (p. 44) Hom., Hdt., Plutarch.

Callimachus has the following: ἀρπακτός (1), ἀσπαστός *ap.* Suidas (1), γελαστός (1), διωκτός (1), μαστός *ap.* schol. (1), [δίστευτός] (1). Callimachus and Manetho have ἀλητός.

Homer Hymn to Apollo 162 has [κρεμβαλιαστός].

Herodotus has: [καταπλαστός] (1), κτιστός (1), ληϊστός (1), δίκτυς (p. 43), ἴτυς (p. 44), πίτυς (p. 44).

Hippocrates has φλεγμαντός as a v. l., viii, 96, and no others.

The usage of other writers is as follows: Soph. κλειτός (p. 44); Eurip. ὀρχηστός, ἴτυς (p. 44), κλειτός; Aristophanes καττός (p. 43), φῖτυ *ap.* Eustath. (p. 43); Thuc. πεντηκοστός; Philoxenes *ap.* Athenæus βρωτός; Plato σωφρομιστός; Aristotle μίτυς (p. 43); Xen. ἴτυς (p. 43), ἑκατοστός, μυριοστός, πεντηκοστός, χιλιοστός; Antimachus *ap.* schol. πωρητός; Æschines and Demosthenes

¹ Figures in parentheses after a word refer to the number of occurrences. Reference is made to pp. 43 f. for words listed there as not consciously having the suffix *-tu*. Words due to emendation are bracketed.

τριπτός; Lycophron φῖτος (p. 43), κλειτός (p. 44); Eratosthenes *ap. schol.* ἀντιμαχηστός; Apoll. Rh. θελεκτός (a doubtful word), γραπτός; Phanocles *ap. Stobæus* κιθαριστός; Anth. Pal. βρωτός, [ἀλαλητός]; Manetho ἀλητός; Nicander κλειτός; Plutarch πῖτος (p. 44), ἑκατοστός; Lucian ὀρχηστός, τετρακτός; Galen ἴτος; Oppian ποθητός.

Cretan inscriptions have ἀμφαντός (written ἀμπαντός), ὄπυστός, *Lex Gort.* sixth century B. C. (see Searles, *Lex. Stud.*), and the possible ἐρετός, *Mon. Ant.*, iii, 67, n. 127.

The following are found in Hesychius only: [ἄειεστός], ἀπεστός, [ἀποδοστός], ἀρτός, βλέτος (p. 43), δειπνηστός, δωμητός, [ἐήτός], ἐλεντός a mistake for ἐλεητός, [ἐπεικτός], θατός, [ἰατός], μάρπτως (p. 43), ξιφιστός, [ὀργητός], ὀρεκτός, πλάτως (p. 44), ποτητός, [τρικτός], φραστός, χαλεπτός, γραμβασιαστός, ὠρητός. Hesychius has ζωεύς· ἢ ζωτός· θώραξ. This has been corrected to ζωγός ἢ ζωτός from Cyrillus, who has ζωγόν θώρακα. Perhaps ζωτός is a mistake for *ζωστός.

To be found in the *Etym. Mag.* only are: ἀπαστός, δίκτυ (p. 43), πρακτός. Suidas alone has ἀφραστός and δωτός. Bekker *A.G.* has ἀβολητός and this is restored in Hesychius. Hesychius and Athenæus have βαλλητός. Theognostus in *Anecd. Cram.* ii, 16, 1 has ἰκτός.

Brugmann, *Gr. Gr.*³, § 220, cites a form ἀποκοντιστός not known to me from other sources, and probably a mistake for ἀκοντιστός. He also has a form τακτός in *Ber. sächs. G. d. W.*, 1901, 95 not known to me from other sources. Pape, *Etym. Wörterbuch*, cites ἀκεστός, which I do not find elsewhere. Herwerden, *Lex. suppl.*, etc., emends Hesychius and reads ἐπισμυκτόν.

A complete list of the numerals in -τός¹ is as follows: ἑκατοστός *Xen.*, Plutarch, *Inscriptions*; μυριοστός *Xen.* (1); πεντακοντός doubtful word, *schol. on Od.* 3, 7; πεντακοσιοστός *Etym. Mag.*; πεντηκοστός *Thuc.*, *Xen.*; τετρακτός *Pythagoreans* and *Lucian*; χιλιαστός *Bechtel*, *Ion. Inschr.* 221 and 147, 20; χιλιοστός *Xen.*; χέλληστος *Æol. inscr. S.G.D.I.* 276; πεντεχιλιοστός *Eccl.*, and finally the various forms τριτός, τριττός, τρικτός, τριπτός.

The form τριπτός on an inscription from Ceos of the second

¹For the numerals in -τός see *K.-B.*, § 330, 12, *h*, 285, Brug., *Gr. Gr.*³, § 248, 2 with the literature cited.

century B. C., Ditt.² 934, 6, is an error for *τριπτύς* or *τρικτύς*. This *τρικτύς* is an emendation for *τρικτῆς* in Hesychius demanded by the alphabetical order and borne out by Delphian *τρικτεῦαν*, Cauer², 204, 34, and by Delian *τρικτυναρχοῦντος* of the second century B. C., Ditt.² 588, 19. Hence Dittenberger, *loc. cit.*, for *τριπτύς* is inclined to read *τρικτύς*. Hesychius has *τριτύς*· *τρίας*, and *τριπτύς* is found in Æschines, Demosthenes, C.I.A. ii, 871, 1053, 500, 502, 517, 518, C.I.G. Sic. et It. 1363, 10, and perhaps elsewhere. *τρικτύς* from *τρίχια* is probably the original form and *τριπτύς* arose under the influence of *τριπτός* = **τριχιος*, *τριτύς* under that of *τριτός*. (So Brug., Gr. Gr.³, § 248, 2; cf. Schulze, K.Z. 33 [1895], 395.)

It is clear from the above that numerals form a class by themselves and appear to have been made as freely in Attic and other dialects as in Ionic. Excluding, therefore, the numerals and the words listed on p. 43, since in the latter there was no consciousness of the presence of a suffix *-tu-*, the situation for the remainder may be summarized as follows:

The suffix is found (1) in poetry: Homer twenty examples, Callimachus six or seven, and scatteringly in others; (2) in prose: (a) Ionic, Herodotus three, and one of these an emendation, Hippocrates one; (b) Non-Ionic, Lucian *ὀρχηστύς* (Timon c. 55) also found in Homer and Euripides; Plato *σωφρονιστύς*; Athenæus (Ulpian) *βαλλητύς* (406, d, 407, c); (3) in Cretan inscription of the sixth century B. C. two words, and the Hesychian gloss *θατύς*· *θεωρία*, which may be Cretan as Herwerden suggests, and is at any rate not Ionic.

There is no indication of dialect in the numerous glosses, except in Eustathius as given above, p. 46. Considering the relative infrequency of the suffix in Ionic prose,¹ or indeed in any prose, one is led to wonder whether the use of it is not after all an indication not of dialect but of antiquity. The Cretan examples belong to the sixth century B. C., and among the poets Homer

¹ I cannot understand the statement made by Smyth, Ionic Dialect 396: "Noteworthy is the considerable number of nouns in *-τύς* in Ionic prose, which in Attic are poetical. Cf. *βρωτύς*, *κτιστύς*, *ἰδητύς*, *ὄτρυντύς* . . ." In his list of eight examples one (*νηδύς*) does not contain the suffix at all, *ἀργύς* is known only from Hesychius, *βρωτύς*, *ἰδητύς*, *ὄτρυντύς* are Homeric, not Attic, while *κτιστύς*, *ληστύς*, and *φλεγμαντύς* constitute the only examples of this suffix in Ionic prose, except the emendation *καταπλαστύς* in Herodotus.

uses the suffix most freely. The few instances of its use among prose writers might be due to poetical reminiscence. If, however, its use in Homer be taken as Ionic, it must be said that the suffix was not confined to that dialect, but belonged to Cretan as well, and possibly to Doric in general.

Very few Greek nouns with this suffix have cognates in the related languages, and those which do are the very ones in which the presence of the suffix was no longer felt in the Greek word, e. g., *ἴνυς*: L. *vitus* m., *ἴνυει* "wind;" *πίτυς*: Skt. *pītū-* m. "juice, food, drink," above, p. 14; *ἄστυ*: Skt. *vāstu-* n. "abode," *ἴνυες* "dwell." The vowel relation is obscure (Hübschmann, Vocal-system 166), perhaps *ṽes*, *uēs*, strengthened grade, by influence of the heavy series. Cf. Buck, A.J.P. 17 (1896), 285, and Reichelt, K.Z. 39 (1903), 47, *sēd* original strengthened grade of *sed*, but from it *səd*(?).

Aside from the numerals, words of this formation are mostly directly related to Greek verbs. For example, Homer has: *ἀγορητύς* to *ἀγοράομαι*, *ἀκοντιστής* to *ἀκοντίζω*, *ἀλαωτής* to *ἀλαόω*, *βοητής* to *βοάω*, etc.; cf. the list for Homer above.

Change of τυ to συ (ἥμιους).—The question of the change of *τυ* to *συ* has been treated most recently by Lagerkrantz, Zur gr. Lautgeschichte (Upsala, 1898) 121 ff., and, more fully, by Brugmann, Ber. sächs. G. d. W., 1901, 89 ff. Brugmann had formerly (Gr. Gr.³ 42) rejected the change of *τυ* to *συ* as a phonetic development, but now accepts it as phonetic except initially and after consonants. He ascribes the frequent presence of *τυ* after vowels in words in *-τυς* to the influence of words like *μνηστής*, etc., where *τυ* coming after a consonant did not change. He does not, like Lagerkrantz, limit the phenomenon to *τῷ*, but admits it for both *τυ* and *τῷ*. His general conclusions are accepted by Kretschmer, Berlin. Phil. Woch., 1902, 1492–95.

The most certain example of *συ* in the suffix is *ἥμιους*. In view of Cretan *ἥμιτυ-έκτω* and Epidaurian *ἥμίτειαν*, few will question the accuracy of Brugmann's statement (*loc. cit.*, 91) that the suffix in *ἥμιους* is identical with that in *τρικτής*, *τετρακτής*, *πεντηκοστής*, etc., that the word was originally a substantive, early became neuter after *τὸ ὅλον*, and thereupon became an adjective,

ἥμιους and *ἥμισυ* being already in use. That the suffix was -*τυ*- had been suggested as early as 1886 by Bechtel in his review of the first edition of Brugmann's grammar, *Philologischer Anzeiger* xvi, 16. That the feeling for the suffix should be soon lost, and hence that the treatment should be different from that of other numerals in -*τυς* is not surprising in view of the special meaning of *ἥμιους*.

The forms of the different dialects present two types: (a) those in -*τυ*- or -*συ*-, (b) those in -*σσο*- or -*σο*-. In Brugmann's list the most important citations for the former are: Cretan [ῥ]μ*ιτυ-έκτω*, *Mus. Ital.* ii, 166, n. 8, l. 3, in the sense of *ἡμέκτων*; Epidaurian *οἶνον ἡμίτειαν*, *Εφ. Αρχ.*, 1899, 1, n. 1 = Ditt.² 938, 9, 27; Phocian *τὸ ἥμισυ*, *S.G.D.I.* 1547, 7, called "vorrömisch" in the *Sammlung*, *loc. cit.*; and for the latter: Cretan *τὰ ἥμισσα*, *Mus. Ital.* iii, 601 ff., 7; Epid. *τὸ ἥμισσον*, *S.G.D.I.* 3325, 15. In addition to the forms cited by Brugmann I may add for *a*: Paros *ἥμισυ*, *Ditt.*² 569, 6 (300–250? B. C.); Magnesia *ἡμίσει*, *Ditt.*² 552, 84 = Kern, *Magn.* n. 100 (second century B. C.), *Ditt.*² 554, 15 = Kern, n. 99 (second century B. C.); Lebadea *ἡμισέων*, *Ditt.*² 540, 44 = *I.G.* Sept. i, 3073 (175–171 B. C.); Teos *ἡμισείας τὰς*, *Ditt.*² 177, 8 (306–301 B. C.); Megara *ἥμυσυ*, *C.I.G.* Sept. i, 43 (third century B. C.); Oropus *ἥμυσυ*, *C.I.G.* Sept. i, 3498 (200 B. C.); Halicarnassus *ἥμυσυ*, Bechtel, *Ion.* 241, *ἥμισυ*, *C.I.G.* Ins. i, 3, 1119, 7 (Roman period); Thera *τὰ ἡμίση*, *C.I.G.* Ins. i, 3, 330, 197 (210–195 B. C.); and for *b*: Cretan *τὸ ἥμισσον*, *Mon. Ant.* vi, 302, 7 = Michel 440, 7 (fourth century B. C., Michel); Cos *ἡμίσσφ*, *Ditt.*² 598, 58 = *S.G.D.I.* 3627 (late); *ἥμισος*, *C.I.G.* Sic. et It. 2030 (Roman period); Astypalea *ἡμίσφ*, *Ditt.*² 493, 11 = *C.I.G.* Ins. i, 3, 168, 12 (first century B. C.); Megara *ἥμισον*, *S.G.D.I.* 3052, *a* (late).

The two forms with *τ*, Cretan [ῥ]μ*ιτυ-έκτω* and Epidaurian *ἡμίτειαν* are both early, before the close of the fifth century B. C. The earliest examples of *ἥμισσο*- are Delphian, Epidaurian, and Cretan, all of the fourth century B. C., one occurrence of each. The examples of *ἥμισο*- are all later than the second century B. C.

Because of the forms in *τ*, Brugmann rightly rejects the view of G. Meyer and Meillet that *ἥμισσο*- arose from I.E. **sēmi-syo*-,

and also the view of J. A. Smith, I.F. 12 (1901), 4, that *ἥμιους* is formed from the old loc. pl. of the stem *sēmi-* (**sēmīssu* "in halves"). But Brugmann continues:

Aber, wie bei **sēmi-suo-*, gerät man auch bei der Zurückführung von *-σοο-* auf uridg. *-tuo-* (C. A. Müller, *De litera Σ*, pp. 62, 68) mit den Lautgesetzen in Konflikt wegen kret. *ἥμισσα*, für das **ἥμιττα* zu erwarten wäre (G. Meyer, *Gr. Gr.*³ 350, K.B. i, 640). Nur mit der Annahme ist durchzukommen, dass **ἥμιτν-* in urgriechischer Zeit zu *ἥμισν-* geworden war. Dieses wurde in die *o*-Deklination übergeführt. Dabei oder darauf wurde *ν* (*u*) konsonantisch, und solches **ἥμισφο-ν* (**ἥμισυο-ν*) ergab weiterhin *ἥμισσον* (cf. lesb. *ἴσσος* = kret. *ρίζφος*). In analoger Weise entstand *γλυκκόν*, älter **γλυκφον*, aus *γλυκύ*. Hiernach hat epid. *ἥμίτειαν* sein altes lautgesetzliches *τ* bewahrt, während die Formen homer. *ἥμίσεις* u.s.w. ihr *σ* von *ἥμισυς -συ* bezogen haben; umgekehrt kret. *[ῆ]μιτν-* für *ἥμισν-* nach den auf der Stammgestalt **ἥμιτεφ-* beruhenden Formen.

The Cretan inscription cited by Brugmann (*Mus. Ital.* iii, 610) for the form *ἥμισσα* is datable by the name of the king somewhere between 277 and 239 B. C. It contains the non-Cretan gen. sg. *πόλεως*, and the more significant form *πράσσεν*, l. 14. The still earlier Cretan inscription, not cited by Brugmann (*Mon. Ant.* vi, 302), is dated by Michel in the fourth century B. C. But this has *πόλεως*, the acc. pl. in *-ους* not *-ονς*, and the form *τὰν θάλασσα* [ν] l. 18. So far as evidence is at hand it is known that those dialects which have *ττ* from *-kʰ-*, etc., have also *ττ* from *-tʰ-*, and that the treatment is exactly parallel. In other words we should expect *ττ* from *-tʰ-* wherever we find *πράττειν*, etc. In accordance with this, Meyer, Blass, and Brugmann are manifestly correct in assuming that in Cretan we should expect **ἥμιττα*. The fact that in the Cretan inscriptions that do have *ἥμισσο-* we also find *σσ* in *πράσσω* and *θάλασσα* is conclusive proof that the Cretan forms *ἥμισσον* and *ἥμισσα* show nothing as to the actual condition in early Cretan, and hence cannot be taken as evidence for a proethnic Greek change of *ἥμιτν-* to *ἥμισν-*.

So far, therefore, as the forms of *ἥμιους* are concerned, the change may or may not have taken place in prehistorical Greek. It is entirely possible that the change of *τυ* to *συ* took place in historical Greek times and that forms like *ἥμισσον* (Cretan and

Boeotian *ἡμιπτον) arose from *ἡμιτφον before the change. In that case the most natural supposition is that the relation of *τυ* to *συ* is dialectic, and on this assumption we should expect *τυ* in those dialects which have *δίδωτι*, etc., and *συ* in those which have *δίδωσι*, etc. Against this assumption are the forms: Phocian ἡμισυ (S.G.D.I. 1547, 7), with a 3d sg. in *-τι*, Theran ἡμίση (C.I.G. Ins. i, 3, 330, 197), with 3d pl. *λάβοντι*, and Megarian ἡμυσυ (C.I.G. Sept. i, 43). The Teian inscription (Ditt.² 177, 8) with ἡμίσειας has also *ἔχουσι*. Other forms with *συ* in Doric dialects are so late as hardly to count. And the two most important forms (Phocian ἡμισυ and Theran ἡμίση) are also so late that in spite of the presence of true Doric characteristics in the inscriptions the forms in *συ* may be due to the *κοινή*.

Suffix -iū- substantives.—This is seen only in *νίς*, and perhaps also in *οἷζύς* (with change to long *ū* under influence of feminine gender and oxytone accent), if Bezzenberger's etymology, B.B. 26 (1902), 168, is correct. He takes *οἷζύς* from **οἷδιυ-ς*, **ο-φιδιυ-ς*, in Ablaut with Lett. *waidét* "complain, lament," *waidi* "complaint, lament," and hence belonging to Lett. *wai* "ah, woe," Goth. *vai*, O.H.G. *wē*, L. *vae*.

Suffix -nu- substantives.—This is found in *θρήνυς*: *θρᾶ-νος*, Skt. *√dhr̥* "hold." *λινύς* (*ū* Tryphiodorus), hence with transfer to *ū* under influence of gender and accent, is uncertain etymologically and can be placed here only with reservation.

Suffix -ru- substantives.—The most certain example is *δάκρυ*: L. *dacruma*, *lacruma*, O. Welsh *dacr*, Corn. *dagr*, Goth. *tagr*, O.H.G. *zahar*, Eng. *tear*, all in sense of "tear;" cf. above, p. 16. Another, less certain, is *μάστρυς*: *μάστροπος*, *μαστεύω*, etc. The words *βότρυς*, *κάχρυς*, and *ὀστρύς*, a sort of tree, are too uncertain etymologically to admit decision as to suffix.

Suffix -lu- substantives.—This suffix is probable in *ἀχλύς*. Berneker, *Die Preussische Sprache* 278, connects O. Prussian *aglo* "rain" (for *aglu*), and suggests on the basis of *akh*: *ak* the possible connection also of Lith. *āklas* "blind," L. *aquilō* "north-wind." Cf. Fick i³, 474. On the other hand Fick i¹, 348 separates *ἀχ-λύς* from Lith. *āklas*, L. *aquilus* "dark," and says it probably belongs with *νυχ-*. Even in that case the suffix would be *-lu-*.

See also G. Meyer, Alban. Wörterbuch s. v. *akul* "ice." The suffix is also probable in ἔγγελος. Cf. ἔχως, L. *anguis*, etc., though the vowel relation is not clear, and direct connection is improbable.

Suffix -gu- substantives.—Cf. above, p. 16. This suffix is frequently assigned to πρέσβος. Brugmann, Ber. sächs. G. d. W. 1889, 53, compared the suffix in ἐγγύς, μεσσηγύς, Lith. *žmogùs* "man," Skt. *vanargū-* "roaming in the forest," *puro-gavā-* "leader." Cf. his article in K.Z. 24 (1879), 62. Bezzenberger, B.B. 4 (1878), 345, compared Skt. *adhrigu-* "irresistibly advancing" and *vanargū-*, and gave to the *gu* the meaning "going." For a less plausible meaning see Curtius, Grdz.⁵ 479. Though Brugmann, Grd. i², 595, says that only uncertain guesses have been made about the latter part of the word, he tacitly accepts in his Kurze Gr. 473 the meaning "going" by translating πρέσβος "im Alter vorausgehend." Cf. also his Gr. Gr.³ 127, and Grd. i², 754.

As regards the distribution of the forms βυ- and γυ- the latter is seen in, or to be inferred from, most of the forms outside of Attic-Ionic. Thus Cretan: πρεῖγυς S.G.D.I. 4992, πρήγιστος, etc., S.G.D.I. 5034; πρεισγευτᾶν gen. pl. S.G.D.I. 5167, 11, from which the frequently cited πρεῖσγυς is inferred. Boeotian: πρισγείες S.G.D.I. 705, 6 (πρισγεες, on stone) = C.I.G. Sept. 2418; πρισγεί[ες B.C.H. 25 (1901), 137; πρισγεί[ας C.I.G.S. 1720. Chæroboscus 234, 23 = Bekker, A.G. 1413, = Gram. Græci iv, 1, p. 233, 7 gives πρέσγυς πρέσγυος as Doric. Hesychius and Etym. Mag. 723, 17, have σπέργυς· πρέσβος.

The Attic-Ionic regularly has the forms with βυ, and so far as I know this appears elsewhere only in Thessalian S.G.D.I. 345, 12, and Lesbian; cf. Hoffmann, G.D. ii, 500.

The forms with γ would be phonetic in those cases where *g^u* came before *u*, those with β in cases where *g^u* was not followed by *u*. Then we must assume leveling in one direction in some dialects and in the opposite direction in others. Cf. Brugmann, Ber. sächs. G. d. W., 1889, 53. Schulze's assumption of dissimilation (Gött. gel. Anz., 1896, 249), Doric πρέσγε[ς] from *πρεσγφεες, is less plausible.

For the first part of the word see Brugmann, *Kurze Gr.* 473, I.F. 13 (1902), 164, Grd. 2, 402, 406, Ber. sächs. G. d. W., 1889, 53, K.Z. 24 (1879), 62; Per Persson, *Studia Etym.* 95; Baunack, *Inscr. v. Gort.* 30; G. Meyer, *Gr. Gr.*³ 184; J. Schmidt, K.Z. 26 (1883), 381. Cf. also on the word *Etym. Mag.* 687, 11; *Herodian* ii, 324.

The word *στλεγγύς*, name of a plant, found only in Theophrastus, H. Pl. 8, 4, 3, may contain this suffix, but the etymology is uncertain.

Suffix -ū- substantives.—Words with this suffix in Greek are prevailingly feminine and with the accent on the final syllable. It is probable that Greek inherited the use of *ū* under the accent to represent feminines, as the same use is found in Sanskrit, but there is no Greek word with this suffix which has been shown to have cognates with long *ū* in other languages, unless it be *χέλυσ*, see below. The root-nouns in long *ū* may have been the starting-point for the use of the *ū* as a suffix in both Sanskrit and Greek. Of these root-nouns Greek has some which show the inherited *ū*. These are given here, although it is understood, of course, that in them the *ū* is not a suffix.

Examples of such root-nouns¹ are: *ūs sūs*: L. *sūs*, Umbr. *sim*; *ι-χθῦς* m.: Lith. gen. pl. *žuv-ū* "fish," Arm. *jukn* "fish;" *ὄφρυς*: Skt. *bhrū-*, etc., above, p. 21, is usually classed as a root-noun (e. g., by Brugmann, Grd. 2, 455), but Osthoff, M.U. iv, 217, and Kretschmer, K.Z. 31 (1892), 336, take it as a dissyllabic stem, which in Sanskrit, etc., lost its root-vowel through suffixal accent. Kretschmer, *loc. cit.*, 332, also gives as a root-noun *ἰλῦς* from *ι-σλῦς* with prothetic *ι* as in *ι-χθῦς*, comparing L. *lutum*, *polluō*, Grk. *λῦμα*, *λύμη* from **σλῦ-μα*. Otherwise Thurneysen, K.Z. 32 (1893), 352.

Brugmann, I.F. 11 (1900), 271 ff., connects *νηδύς* with L. *abdomen*, taking it as a compound of *νη-* "down, below," and *δῦ* a root-noun belonging with *δύομαι* "I enter." It has a short final in Callimachus, and on two Boeotian metrical inscriptions, C.I.G. Sept. 2544 and 2545.

δρυς bears the same relation to *δόρυ*, *δρυ-* as Skt. *asita-jñū-* f., "with dark knees," does to Skt. *jānu-* *jñu-*. See Osthoff, *Parerga*

¹ *μῦς* is an original s-stem, but has in Greek some forms like the *ū*-stems, e. g., acc. sg. *μῦν*, gen. sg. *μῦος* after the analogy of *ὄφρῦν ὄφρῦος*, etc. Cf. Schulze, Q.E. 133 f.

148 ff. Otherwise J. Schmidt, K.Z. 25 (1881), 52. The feminine gender may be secondary, Osthoff, *loc. cit.*, 152. The masculine is found on an inscription from Acarnania in *Eφ. Αρχ.*, 1893, 32. For the word in general cf. Hirt, *Ablaut*, § 772, 151.

The word *ἰγνύς* f. "poples" presumably has the long final, although no metrical proof is at hand. It is evidently to be connected with *γόνυ* (J. Schmidt, *loc. cit. supra* 53) and is exactly parallel to Skt. *asita-jñāt-*. The *ι* is prothetic, and the *-γνύς* bears the same relation to *γόνυ* as *δρῦς* to *δόρυ*.

The feminine oxytone *δελφύς* has presumably the long *ū*, and the cognates make it clear that we have here the suffix *-ū-*, although no other language shows the word with this suffix. *δελφύς*: Skt. *gárbha-* "fetus," Goth. *kalbō*, O.H.G. *kalba* "female calf," O.E. *cealf*, Eng. *calf*.

ἰθύς with long final in Homer is an example of the long *ū* in an oxytone feminine beside the oxytone masculine and neuter adjective with short *u*.

πληθύς: *πλήθος*, *πλήθω*, has long *ū* in Homer, and examples of short final among later writers are doubtful. It is found S.G.D.I. 1479, 18, *πληθύν* Locrian, Lex Gort. vi, 52, *πλεθύν* Cretan.

χέλυσ presents difficulty. It has a long final in Homeric Hymn to Merc. 33, 153, 242, but a short final in Callim. Hymn to Apollo 16, Oppian H. 5, 404, Aratus 268. It is given as a barytone feminine in short *υ* by Hdn. i, 237, 20. There would be no difficulty in Greek in explaining the long final in the Homeric hymn as due to the same sort of metrical lengthening as seen in a few examples in Homer of a long final in masculine oxytone adjectives in *-ύς*. But it has been plausibly connected (e. g., by Hirt, *Ablaut* 473; Kretschmer, K.Z. 31 [1892], 335; Wiedemann, B.B. 27 [1902], 249 ff.) with O.B. *žely* or *žily* with the same meaning. Kretschmer, *loc. cit.*, 386, attempts to explain the *ū* as due to contraction of a long root-vowel (*ā*, *ē*, or *ō*) with *u*, comparing *χελώνη*. If this connection with *žily* is accepted, the word constitutes the sole exception to the statement made above that no Greek noun except the root-nouns can be shown to have an inherited *ū*.

B. ADJECTIVES

The adjectives in *-us -eia -v* represent the same type (I) that is seen in other languages, but with change in some case-forms, as in the substantives of Class I. While most substantive *u*-stems have been transferred to the long *ū*-declension in Greek, and the declensional Type I of the short *u*-stems is found in only a few substantives, the *u*-stem adjectives retain in Greek this type of declension. The only *v*-stem adjectives (not compounds) not declined after this type are *τέρως* and *φόλως*, and these are known only from glosses and might well be substantives used appositively. (See p. 41.) Liddell and Scott give *μῶλως* gen. *-ως*, but this is simply a mistake. There is nothing to show its declension. Adjective compounds with substantives in *-us -v* as final member are declined like the simplex. Those with adjectives as final member are declined like the simplex, and consequently belong to the type here under discussion. (See under Compounds, pp. 61 f.)

The masculine and neuter of these adjectives in *-us* are declined exactly like the substantives of Class I except in the following particulars: (1) The gen. sg. in good Attic ends in *-eos* not *-εως*, though *-εως* is found in late writers. (2) The nom.-acc. pl. neuter has the open form *-εα* in Attic, and not the close form *-η* of the substantives. Attic inscriptions show the gen. *ἡμίσεος*, C.I.A. ii, 794, *d*, 6 (356 B. C.), and the nom.-acc. pl. neuter in *-εα* or *-εια*. Contracted forms in *-η* appear in the second half of the fourth century B. C. beside the forms in *-εα -εια* (Meisterhans³, 150). For the late gen. sg. in *-εως* see Lobeck, Phrynichus 247. The correct reason why the Attic adjective had *-eos* while the substantive had *-εως* is given by Chæroboscus, Gram. Græci iv, 1, 222 (221, *g*). It is that the presence of the adverb in *-εως* to the same adjective led to a desire to keep the gen. sg. of the adjective and the adverbial form distinct. Another explanation is also offered by Chæroboscus, but it is not so plausible.

Inscriptional evidence for the dialects is not very plentiful. Æolic has the gen. sg. *γλύκεος*, S.G.D.I. 272 = C.I.G. Ins. 68, 10, 13 = Hoffmann, ii, 166, time of the Antonines. Herodian, ii, 710, 9 = Chæroboscus, Dict. 223, 15 declares that the Boëtian

gen. of *ταχύς βραδύς* was not *ταχίος βραδίος* (as we should expect from Boeotian *ι* before a vowel), but he fails to tell us what it was. Arcadian has the nom. pl. neuter *θήλεια*, Ditt.² 939, 19. Thera has *τὰ θήλεια*, Cauer² 148 C 27. Laconia has *τὰ βραδεῖα*, Le Bas et Wad. 194 C. Troezen has *βαρέα στενάχοντες* B.C.H. 24 (1900), 179.

The acc. sg. in *-εα* instead of *-υν* is occasionally found. Homer, Il. 6, 291; 9, 72, has *εὔρεα πόντον*, and *εὔρεα κόλπον*, Il. 18, 140; 21, 125. Theocr. 20, 8, 44, has *ἀδέα*. This is simply an extension of the strong grade *-εϝ-* to a case elsewhere treated as weak. The adjective form is like the Homeric *υῖέα*, p. 32.

All simple (i. e., not compounded) adjectives in *-υς* are oxytone in the masculine and neuter and properispomenon in the feminine except the following: *ἥμις*, *θῆλυς*, *μῶλυς*, *πρέσβυς*, *τέρυς*, *φόλυς*, and the Epic forms *ἐλάχεια*, *λίγεια*, *θάλεια*, *θαμειαί*, *ταρφειαί*.

ἥμις is in origin a substantive, though, it must be said, of a class usually oxytone (above, pp. 50 f.); *μῶλυς* is known only from glosses. Hesychius has *μῶλυς*; Etym. Mag. s. v. *ἀμβλύς* has *μωλύς*. Götting, Accentlehre 310, considers the barytone accent wrong. *πρέσβυς* is not an adjective in the positive. *τέρυς* and *φόλυς* belong in declension to Class II and are probably substantives in origin (above, p. 57). The positive *ἐλαχύς* is not in use but is given by grammarians, e. g., Hdn. i, 237, 12, who remarks on the Homeric *ἐλάχεια*. The positive *λίγυς* is in use, e. g., by Pindar, and the feminine *λίγεια* (not *λιγεία*) is prescribed by Arcadius 95, 2. The masculine *θάλυς* to *θάλεια* is not extant. The masculine *ταρφύς* is first found in Æsch. Sept. 535. The masculine *θαμύς* does not occur except in the grammarians, e. g., Bekker, A.G. 563, 8, and Etym. Mag. 75, 15. Aristarchus gives *θαμειαί* and *ταρφειαί*, but Pamphilus gives the forms that would conform to the rule, *θαμείαι* and *ταρφεῖαι*. So K.B., § 145, ii. On the accent of *θῆλυς* see J. Vendryes, Mém. Soc. Ling. 13 (1904), 143.

The Greek adjectives in *-υς* agree in their oxytone accent with the *u*-stem adjectives of the related languages (above, p. 18).

The feminine of adjectives in *-υς* is regularly made in *-εια* and follows the Greek first (*α*) declension. The Ionic regularly has

-*ea*; so almost universally in Herodotus; and this is found beside the other form -*eia* also on Attic inscriptions especially of the fourth century B. C. (Meisterhans³ 40). In Homer the form -*ea* is rare, -*eia* being the regular ending. For the forms in Homer see K.B., § 127, 2, anm. 1; for the Ionic see K.B., § 127, 3, and Smyth, Ionic, §§ 506, 219, 419.

The ending -*eia* is from -*efia*, i. e., from the strong form of the suffix -*ef-* + the feminine-forming suffix -*ia-*, I.E. -*i-* (*iə*). See above, p. 18, and Brug., Gr. Gr.³, § 174. The forms in -*ea* are from -*eia* with loss of the second element of the diphthong. Johansson, K.Z. 30 (1890), 404, takes -*ea* as from -*efa* and not from -*efia*; but see above, p. 7. Cf. also Smyth, Ionic 198, and Meisterhans³ 40.

The precise process by which -*efia* became -*eia* is a matter of dispute. Brugmann, Gr. Gr.³, § 15, 2, and § 51, 1, calls it doubtful, but in his Kurze Gr. § 151, 3, *a*, and 318, 2, he puts it under epenthesis (i. e., *efia* > *eifa* > *eia*). He is doubtless led to this position by his view of Elean *φυγαδείω*, etc., which he derives from -*ηfiω*, through -*ηfiω*, thus explaining the shortening of *η* to *ει* (Gr. Gr.³ Nachträge 573). That epenthesis is the regular process in *af* and *of*, just as in *av*, *ov*, *ap*, *op* (*βαίνω*, etc.) has been generally assumed on the basis of Corinthian *ἀμοιῶν*, *Διδαίῶν*, though now contested by Danielsson, I.F. 14 (1903), 375 ff. But even if true, this would prove nothing for *ef*, since in the case of *ev*, *ep* in contrast to *av*, etc., there is no epenthesis, but vowel lengthening (*φθείρω*, *φθίρω*, etc.). For the reason of this difference, see Goidanich, Le Sorti dei gruppi I.E. -*nj-*, -*mj-*, -*rj-*, -*lj-* nell' ellenismo. On the other hand -*eia* cannot come by the same process as *φθείρω* for **φθεριω*, since *ει* is a genuine diphthong. There is no difficulty in assuming that -*efia* remained unchanged until the dropping of *f*, thus becoming *eia* without any intervening stage. This is made reasonably certain by Boeotian *Καρυκεῖω*, occurring twice, Ef. Αρχ. 1896, 243, and 1900, 107. The only escape from this conclusion would be to assume that the Boeotian form is from -*efio-* not -*efio-*. This is altogether unlikely. As for Elean *φυγαδείω*, etc., this type need not be for -*ηfiω*, but can be from -*ef-ia*, with the grade *ef*, which

must in any event be admitted (see Schulze, Q.E. 457 ff. and Solmsen, Untersuchungen 72).

A still different view is advanced by Prellwitz, Gött. gel. Anz., 1886, 762, who thinks that the regular phonetic development for the nom. sg. fem. of adjectives in *-us* would have been **σφαδεῦα* as *παιδεύω* from **παιδεφίω*, and cites Delphian *τρικτεύαν κηῦαν*, Cauer² 204, 34 = C.I.A. ii, 545, of the year 380 B. C., as an example of this development. The form *τρικτεύαν* is certainly puzzling, but the great mass of evidence is against Prellwitz' view. *τρικτεύαν* seems to be a feminine to a masc. *τρικτενός*, perhaps from a form **τρικτεῦς* (?).

This class of adjectives is much more largely preserved in modern Greek than are the substantives in *-us*, *-v*. The reason is not far to seek. They constituted in classical Greek an important element in the body of adjectives, and there was beside them no large class in *ι* or *η* to cause confusion as in the case of substantives. There has been, however, in modern Greek frequent interchange with adjectives in *-os*, and on the other hand many oxytone adjectives in *-os* have gone over to those in *-us*, perhaps originating in the comparative *-υτερος*, which had gained a wide use, and after which positives in *-us* could be formed. See Hatzidakis, Neugr. Gr. 381; Jannaris Hist. Grk. Gr., §§ 402, 496, 503; Thumb, Neugr. Volkssprache 47, §§ 94, 95.

Suffix -u- adjectives.—With this suffix are formed most of the *u*-stem adjectives in Greek. For the accent see above, p. 58. Cognates in the related languages are frequent. For *βαρύς*: Skt. *gurū-*; *ελαχύς*: Skt. *raghū-*; *εὔρύς*: Skt. *urū-*; *ῥόδύς*: Skt. *svādū-*; *πλατύς*: Skt. *prthū-*; *πολύς*: Skt. *purū-* (on the vowel of the root see Brug., Grd. i², 272; J. Schmidt, K.Z. 32 [1893], 382 f.); *ώκύς*: Skt. *ācū-*; see above, p. 19.

Other examples are: *παχύς*: Skt. *bahū-* "abundant," Lith. *bingùs* "spirited" (of horses) (cf. Brug., Grd. i², 545; Prellwitz, B.B. 21 [1896], 286); *κρατύς*: Goth. *hardus* "hard," O.H.G. *hart* "hard," Lith. *kartùs* "bitter;" *πρᾶνός* < **πρᾶν-ος*: Skt. *prītā-* "beloved," *priyā-* "dear," Goth. *frijōn* "love;" *εὖς* has been variously connected with Skt. *vasū-* "good," Skt. prefix *su-* "good," and Skt. *āyū-* "living." The last is given by Collitz, K.Z. 27 (1885), 183, who cites the literature for other views. Cf. also Schulze, Q.E. 33 ff. The etymology of *εὐθύς* *ιθύς* is uncer-

tain. For various views, none convincing, see Bezzenberger, B.B. 4 (1878), 345 ff.; Meringer, Beiträge (Wiener Akad. 125, 1891) 3; Osthoff, Perf. 534; Thurneysen, K.Z. 30 (1890), 352. Wackernagel, K.Z. 30 (1890), 301 f., takes ἀμβλὺς as "without strength" from *a* privative and *βλὺς *μαλὺς connected with μάλα μάλιστα. For an ancient view see Etym. Mag. 79, 5, where it is derived from τὸ μῶλος. δασύς with its intervocalic σ has presented difficulty, and called forth a variety of explanations. Brugmann, Grd. i.², 748, was inclined to accept G. Meyer's view (Alb. Wörterbuch 65) that δασύς was from *dntsu-s, *δατσυ- because of Albanian *dent-* "make compact, close." In his Gr. Gr.³ 122 he goes back to J. Schmidt's view (Kritik 51 f.) that *dahύς was changed back to δασύς in proethnic Greek after *δενσος (cf. βένθος : βαθύς) and that afterward δασύς came in for *δενσος. See the literature cited in Gr. Gr.³ 122 for other views. In the Ber. sächs. G. d. W., 1901, 92 ff. Brugmann rejects all former explanations and suggests that δασύς is from *δατύς = *dntu-s with the change of τυ to συ for which he argues. See above, pp. 50 f. The *t* in this case is a "root-determinative" and the suffix is -u- not -tu-. This is clear both from the L. *denseō* to Alb. *dent*, and from the great infrequency of the suffix -tu- in adjectives.

Suffix -mu- adjectives.—This is probable in δριμύς. For the etymology see Osthoff, Etym. Parerga 164, who derives from *δρισμυς and compares with L. *tris-tis*.

Suffix -lu- adjectives.—This is seen in θήλυς: Skt. *dhārú-* "sucking," Skt. *√dhā* "suck," Grk. θηλή. It is not shown for any other Greek adjectives.

Suffix -tu- adjectives.—This is not found except in ἥμις, and this is without doubt a substantive in origin. See above, pp. 50 ff.

Suffix -gu- adjectives.—For Brugmann's view of ἐγγύς μεσσηγύς see above, p. 54. Breal, Mém. Soc. Ling. 12 (1902), 242, sees in the -γυς of ἐγγύς an old loc. pl. γυσί, from the root γυ seen in γυῖον "limb," but this is not probable.

C. COMPOUNDS

In compounds where the first member is a noun or adjective in -υς, -υ, gen. -εος (-εως), the first member always ends in υ, but

in those where the first member is a noun in *-us*, *-uos* the first member sometimes ends in *υ*, but more often in *υο*, as *ἰχθυ-βόλος* and *ἰχθυό-βρωτος*, etc. See K.B., § 340, 7 C, α, 330.

Nearly all compounds in which the final member is a noun or adjective in *-us* are adjectives. Some few are nouns, and a few are substantivized adjectives. The accent of the compound adjective is proparoxytone, no matter what the accent or quantity of the final of the simplex. Herodian i, 237, 8, simply says that all compound adjectives in *-us* are barytone, citing *ἐπηλυσ*, *νέηλυσ*, *πολύδακρυς*, *μελάνοδρυς*. Cf. Etym. Mag. 246, 11, Eustath. 833, and Schol. Ven. ad Catal. v. 271, quoted by Lobeck, Phryn. 533. According to Lobeck, Paral. 252, substantives are generally paroxytone. He cites *ἐτυμόδρυς*, *ήμερόδρυς*, *λινόδρυς*, *φελλόδρυς*, *χαμαιδρυς*, and *χαμαιπίτυς*. The last is more probably proparoxytone, and he himself cites *πρότηθυσ* and *ναρδόσταχυς* as substantives. Further, *ψευδαμάμαξυς* and *ψευδατράφαξυς* are not paroxytone.

Of the nouns belonging to Class I, only *πέλεκυς*, *πήχυς*, and *πρέσβυς* are found as the final member in compounds. From *πέλεκυς* we have only *ἐξαπέλεκυς*, frequent in Polybius, from *πήχυς* over thirty compounds, and from *πρέσβυς* only *ισόπρεσβυς*, Æsch. Ag. 78. and *σύμπρεσβυς*. These compounds, when adjectives, have the masculine and feminine in *-us* and the neuter in *-υ*,¹ and are declined like the nouns of Class I.² Substantive compounds under this head are rare. A probable example is *σύμπρεσβυς*. The declension is like that of the simplex.

Compounds with nouns in *-us* *-υ*, *-uos* as final member are formed from *ἀμάμαξυς*, *ἄρκυς*, *ἀτράφαξυς*, *βότρυς*, *γένυς*, *γῆρυς*, *δάκρυ*, *δρύς*, *ἰσχύς*, *ἰχθύς*, *κίκυς*, *νέκυς*, *οἰζύς*, *ὀφρύς*, *πίτυς*, *στάχυς*,

¹ This and similar statements below do not imply that every word has both forms and all genders. Some appear only as masculine, some as feminine, and many do not show the neuter form, but the type is as represented.

² K.B., § 149, xi, and § 126, anm. 9, give the genitive in *-εος*, and say that they are declined like ordinary adjectives in *-us*, except that in the nom.-acc. pl. neuter they have the close form in *-η*, not the open form in *-εα*. But since in this neuter plural form they agree with the nouns of Class I rather than with the adjectives like *γλυκύς*, the presumption is that the gen. sg. also had the substantive form *-εως* in Attic, unless there is evidence to the contrary, and such I have not been able to find. (The compounds of Class II are declined like nouns of II, not like adjectives; see below.) Hdt. 2, 149, has *τετραπήχεος*, Polybius 5, 89, 6, has *ἀπὸ ἑκκαίδεκαπήχους* . . . *ὀκταπήχους*, but neither shows what Attic usage would be. L. and S. give *καλλίπηχυς*, *λυκόπηχυς*, *ἐξαπέλεκυς*, *τετραπήχυς*, and perhaps others, as having the gen. *-εως*. They give *ἀγλαόπηχυς*, *πεντάπηχυς*, *ἑκκαίδεκάπηχυς* as having the gen. *-εος*—on what grounds, I do not know.

τηθύς, φραστός, χέλυς. Their declension is like that of the simplex. The adjective compounds have the masculine and feminine in -vs, the neuter in -v. See footnote 1, p. 62.

Compounds with adjectives in -vs as final member are themselves adjectives, and follow the usual declension of adjectives in -vs -εια -v, except that the feminine in -εια is rare and the form in -vs often does duty both as masculine and feminine. Eustathius 1017, 35 and 833, quoted by Lobeck, Phryn. 538, takes such forms as ἀμφιδάσεια, ἵπποδάσεια, χαλκοβάσεια (all in use in Homer) as the feminine to adjectives in -vs, and explains the accent by saying that they agree in this with compound adjectives in the masculine, as τραχύς but ἄτραχυς, ὀξύς but κάτοξυς, θήλυς but ἄθηλυς. Theophrastus, H. Pl. 3, 13, 6, has ἐπιβαρείαν where the Thesaurus would read ἐπιβάσειαν, and for ὀξυγλυκεία ῥόα, Pollux 6, 80, the Thesaurus would read ὀξυγλυκεία. The masculine forms in -vs for ἀμφιδάσεια and ἵπποδάσεια do not occur (K.B., § 145, ii), and Lobeck, Phryn. 538, takes these feminine forms rather as parallel to μουνογένεια, θεσπιέπεια and similar feminine forms to masculines in -ης. At any rate undoubted instances of the use of the form in -vs as feminine are found, e. g., Theoph. H. Pl. 1, 6, 8, σύνοξυς as feminine.

The following adjectives in -vs are found as the final member of compound adjectives in -vs: ἀμβλύς, βαθύς, βαρύς, βραχύς, γλυκύς, δασύς, δριμύς, εὐθύς, ἡδύς, θήλυς, (θρασύς?), ὀξύς, παχύς, πλατύς, πολύς, τραχύς, ὥκύς. Eustathius 340, 21, says that oxytone (adjectives) in -vs when compounded give up their accent if they keep the ending -vs, as δριμύς ἄδριμυς, τραχύς ἄτραχυς, but if they keep the accent they change the ending, as ἡδύς ἀηδής, βαρύς ἀβαρής, βαθύς ἀβαθής. This is also the statement of Schol. Ven. ad Catal. v. 271, quoted by Lobeck, Phryn. 533. Lobeck, *loc. cit.*, 539, adds that when adjectives in -vs are compounded with prepositions the ending is retained. Lobeck, *loc. cit.*, 536, suggests as the reason for the use now of -vs now of -ης as the ending the following: "Ego sic iudico et statuo, Graecos sub hac conditione terminationem mutasse, si nomen substantivum subjaceret aptum fingendo adjectivo; sin, adjectivi simplicis exitum reliquisse." Lobeck's examples make it plain that he means a

substantive *s*-stem. This is the opinion also of K.B., § 342, *b*, *γ*, 340. The facts bear out Lobeck's view in the main. Aside from the compounds with prepositions, the instances of compounds in *-us* where nouns in *-os* (*-es*) of the same period were well established are of doubtful character.

It is evident from the foregoing that a rather close relation between adjectives in *-us* and noun stems in *-es* exists in Greek. This apparent relation was noticed by the ancients. Thus the writer of Etym. Mag. 210 couples *βάρος* and *βαρύς*; 213, 15, 16, *τάχος* *ταχύς*, *βρίθος* *βριθύς*; 233, 53, 54, *δάσος* *δασύς*, *πάχος* *παχύς*, *γλάφος* *γλαφύς*; 396, 17, *εὔρος* *εὐρύς*, *θράσος* *θρασύς*, *κότος* *κοτύς*, *ἵππος* *ίππύς*; 535, 41, *κράτος* *κρατύς*, *πλάτος* *πλατύς*. Cf. Fick, B.B. 1 (1877), 245 ff., who gives a list of some twenty-five instances of parallel *s*- and *u*-stems. Th. Aufrecht, K.Z. 34 (1897), 458, has a few examples of the same parallelism in Sanskrit.

Compounds with a dental stem as final member and nom. sg. in *-us* are adjectives or substantivized adjectives. They have the declension of the simplex. Most of them have only the one form in *-us* for the masculine and feminine and no neuter form. Where the neuter does occur, it is late. They are: *ὀρθόκορυς* *-υθος*, *τρίκορυς* *-υθος*, *ἔπηλυς*, *υ* *-υδος*, *κάτηλυς* *-υδος*, *μέτηλυς* *-υδος*, *νέηλυς* *-υδος*, *ὄμηλυς* *-υδος*, *σύνηλυς* *-υδος*, *σύγκλυς* *-υδος*. For the compounds in *-ηλυς* no simplex is extant, but the nature of the compound is clear.

The isolated compounds *αὐτόμαρτυς*, *ἱερόμαρτυς*, *ψευδόμαρτυς* are, like the simplex, only apparent *u*-stems and would follow the simplex in declension.

Hypocoristics in -us.¹—There is a considerable class of proper names in *-us* belonging, so far as they are not foreign names, to the hypocoristic type (*Kosenamen*). See Fick-Bechtel² 26; Kretschmer, Vaseninschriften 193, 67, 239; Lobeck, Phryn. 436.

The grammarians report a peculiar type of hypocoristics in *-ūs*, gen. *-ύ*, dat. *ύ*. See Bekker, A.G. 1195; 857, 7; Herodian ii, 707, 615, 625, 665, i, 236; K.B., § 136, 4, *d*. A gen. *-ūdos* is

¹ *Καίνυς*, *-υδος*, f. proper name, Hdn. i, 237, probably belongs under hypocoristics. In Strabo *Καῖνυς* ἡ has the gen. *-υος*. So also *Πάλμυς*, *-υδος*, Hipponax 15, 4, acc.; *Πάλμυν*, *ibid.*, 30 B. Cf. Hdn. i, 237; Chæroboscus, Bekker, A.G. 1408.

found beside \bar{u} , e. g., $\Delta\epsilon\omicron\nu\acute{\upsilon}\delta\omicron\varsigma$ I.G.A. 494 from Erythrae, beside the form cited by the grammarians. According to the evidence of the inscriptions this type with \bar{u} $\bar{u}\delta\omicron\varsigma$ is late, Meisterhans² 139. In earlier times were found only forms of the usual declension as Boeotian $\Delta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\mu\upsilon\iota$, S.G.D.I. 875.

Dental stems with nom. sg. in -us.^{1,2}—A list of such names is here presented on the ground that this type may have absorbed some u - or \bar{u} -stems, parallel to the absorption of i -stems by nouns in $-\delta$, though there is much less evidence for such absorption here, and further because of the occasional interchange with u -stem forms, as $\acute{\kappa}\acute{o}\rho\upsilon\nu$, etc. For the compounds see above.

$\acute{\alpha}\gamma\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$, $\bar{u}\theta\omicron\varsigma$, Hdn. i, 238, feminine oxytone in long \bar{u} , but probably a mistake for $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\nu\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$; cf. Lentz, *ad loc.*, and Coeroboscus 359 g = Gram. Græci iv, l, p. 232; $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\nu\bar{u}\theta\epsilon\varsigma$, Hdn. ii, 763, oxytone in long \bar{u} declined in $-\theta\omicron\varsigma$; $\delta\alpha\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$, $\bar{u}\delta\omicron\varsigma$ Theocr. 2, 110, v. l. $\delta\alpha\tau\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$; $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$, $-\nu\delta\omicron\varsigma$, η see Bonitz, Index Arist., Lexicon de spiritibus 217 has $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$, others $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\upsilon\varsigma$, e. g., Theognost. Cramer, Anecd. Ox. ii, 6, 4; $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\upsilon\delta\epsilon\varsigma$, Hesychius only; $\kappa\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\delta\alpha$, Nicander Al. 170; $\kappa\omicron\kappa\rho\acute{\upsilon}\delta\omega\nu$ · $\lambda\eta\sigma\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ · $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\pi\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$, Hesych. only; $\acute{\kappa}\acute{o}\rho\upsilon\varsigma$, $-\nu\theta\omicron\varsigma$. η Homer; $\kappa\rho\omicron\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$, $-\nu\delta\omicron\varsigma$ feminine in short $-u$ Hdn. i, 237; $\kappa\tilde{\omega}\mu\upsilon\varsigma$, $\bar{u}\theta\omicron\varsigma$, *ibid.*, $\pi\eta\lambda\alpha\mu\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$, $-\nu\delta\omicron\varsigma$, *ibid.*, feminine in short $-u$; $\sigma\mu\iota\nu\acute{\upsilon}\delta\alpha\varsigma$ Pollux x, 173, on the basis of this form and Hesychian $\sigma\mu\iota\nu\acute{\upsilon}\eta$ · $\delta\iota\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\alpha\nu$ and $\sigma\mu\iota\nu\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ · $\sigma\mu\iota\nu\acute{\upsilon}\eta$, Lobeck, Phryn. 302, and the Thesaurus give the form $\sigma\mu\iota\nu\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$, $-\nu\delta\omicron\varsigma$; $\chi\eta\rho\alpha\mu\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$, $-\nu\delta\omicron\varsigma$ v. l. in Hippocr. and Strabo for $\chi\eta\rho\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}\varsigma$, $-\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma$, η ; $\chi\lambda\alpha\mu\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$, $-\nu\delta\omicron\varsigma$, feminine in short $-u$, Hdn. i, 237.

Instances of interchange between u -stems and dental stems are: $\acute{\kappa}\acute{o}\rho\upsilon\nu$ for $\acute{\kappa}\acute{o}\rho\upsilon\theta\alpha$, Il. 13, 132; 16, 215; $\chi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\mu\upsilon\nu$ for $\chi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\mu\upsilon\delta\alpha$, Sappho 64; $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\mu\acute{\alpha}\xi\upsilon\delta\epsilon\varsigma$ for $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\mu\acute{\alpha}\xi\upsilon\varsigma$, Sappho (Etym. Mag. 77, 1).

Other stems (not dental) with forms similar to u -stem forms are: $\kappa\acute{\iota}\nu\delta\upsilon\nu\iota$, dat. sg. Sappho, Fr. 161 (cf. Etym. Mag. 574, 42), as if from $\kappa\acute{\iota}\nu\delta\upsilon\varsigma$; $\acute{M}\acute{o}\varsigma\sigma\upsilon\varsigma$, nomen propr., pl. $\acute{M}\acute{o}\varsigma\sigma\upsilon\nu\epsilon\varsigma$ and $\acute{M}\acute{o}\varsigma\sigma\upsilon\nu\iota$, see Lobeck, Paral. 138; $\phi\acute{o}\rho\kappa\upsilon\varsigma$, $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\kappa\upsilon\varsigma$ and the nomen propr. $\Gamma\acute{o}\rho\tau\upsilon\varsigma$ have the gen. sg. in $-\nu\omicron\varsigma$; the nom. sg. $\acute{T}\acute{\iota}\rho\upsilon\varsigma$ for the more usual $\acute{T}\acute{\iota}\rho\upsilon\nu\iota\varsigma$ has the gen. sg. $\acute{T}\acute{\iota}\rho\upsilon\nu\theta\omicron\varsigma$; Hesychius has $\beta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\upsilon\nu$ · $\tau\acute{o}\nu$ $\beta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\upsilon\nu\tau\alpha$; $\mu\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\upsilon\varsigma$ has gen. sg. $\mu\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\upsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$.

¹ $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\acute{o}\tau\upsilon\varsigma$, Hesych. only, is placed by Lobeck, Paral. 254, alongside $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\eta\lambda\upsilon\varsigma$, etc.; on what grounds I do not know.

² $\acute{\iota}\beta\upsilon\varsigma$, Hesych. only, is thought to have the gen. $-\nu\delta\omicron\varsigma$ because of the Hesychian gloss, $\acute{\iota}\beta\upsilon\delta\eta\nu\alpha\varsigma$ · $\tau\acute{o}\upsilon\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\phi\eta\mu\acute{o}\upsilon\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$. $\acute{\iota}\beta\upsilon\varsigma$ γὰρ ἡ $\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\phi\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$.

NOTES IN EXPLANATION OF THE WORD-LISTS, ETC.

The lists of *u*-stems here presented will no doubt require addition and correction, but are believed as they stand to be reasonably complete. They do not include:

(1) Foreign words. E. g., Hesychius gives ἀβαρύ and ἀρφύς as Macedonian, ἄγλυ and καραρύες as Scythian (καραρύες· οἱ Σκυθικοὶ οἴκοι . . .), ἰβύ and μωύς as Lydian, λίλυ as Libyan; Plutarch gives λάβρως as Lydian for πέλεκυς, and Clem. Alex. gives βέδν as Phrygian for ὕδωρ. The Thesaurus gives μακρύς as a *forma graecobarbara* for μακρός.

(2) Obvious figments. E. g., ἀχύς is set up by Etym. Mag. 182, 1, as an intermediate form between ἄχος and ἀχνύς. The scholiast on Il. 13, 521 coins ἥπυς and βρήπυς to account for βρήπνος, an *o*-stem. But cf. Schulze, Q.E. 337, on ἥπυς, and see his list for other possible *u*-stems. Etym. Mag. 430, 20 coins ἴσυς to go with ἡμίσυς, and 626, 51 ξοῦς in explaining ὀξύς. The grammarians also cite μικύς and μινύς. Bekker, A.G. 1096, has φύς to explain ὀσφύς. Cramer, Anecd. Ox. has νέκις as the form from which νέκυσ is derived. Perhaps δίκτυ (p. 43) should be classed here, as well as γλαφύς adj. Etym. Mag. 233, 54.

(3) Mere dialectic variants like γισχύν· ισχύν, Hesych., βίσχυν or βισχύν· ισχύν Hesych. and Bekker, A.G.; βᾶδύς, Elean for ἡδύς in Pausanias; βροδόπαχυσ, Sappho 65.

(4) Forms set up without good reason. Such are: δένδρν- (see p. 27), γένν cited by Passow but not found (see Lobeck, Paral. 254), οἰσύς σιπύς and perhaps σμινύς (but see p. 65, a dental stem) set up by Lobeck, Phryn. 302, and κῶϋ, see p. 27.

(5) Indeclinable exclamations, cries, etc. Such are: ὤ, μύ or μῦ, κόκκῦ, κνῦ· τὸ ἐλάχιστον, Hesych., cf. Danielsson, Studien i, 54; γρῦ, ὃ ὑπὸ τῷ ὄνυχι ρύπος, ἤδη δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐλάχιστον, Hesych., cf. Danielsson, loc. cit., Kretschmer, K.Z. 31 (1892), 342, Meringer, Beiträge (Wiener Akad. 125) 16; ἄρρν· ἐπίφθεγμα κωπηλατικόν, Hesych.

(6) Mere errors. Some probable errors are given in the lists, but the following are not there cited: τριπτύς, p. 48; αὐτό-ηδν, v. l. in Aristotle, Top. 6, 8, 7, but not now read; ἐλεντύν· ἔλαιον, Hesych., for ἐλεητύν· ἔλεον; δορατοπαχύς, ἑτεροπαχύς, νευροπαχύς, δορυθρασύς, εὐθαρσύς, the last in Etym. Mag., s. v. ἀτρεκής, are shown to be wrong forms for δορατοπαχής, etc., by Lobeck, Phryn. 535; cf. above, p. 63.

(7) Proper names. Here Ἐρινύς is an exception, and there are some other words cited only by grammarians about which I am in doubt. These are included in the lists.

(8) Adverbs. *ἐγγύς* and its compounds were admitted to the lists as having adjectival forms outside the positive. Other adverbs which are probable evidence for *u*-stems are: *πρόχυν* to *γόνυ* (cf. Brug., Gr. Gr.³ 571, 108); *ἀντικρύ* (*ἀντικρύς*) (Attic inscriptions *ἀπαντροκύ* and *καταντροκύ*, Meisterhans³ 81) connected by Meringer, Beiträge (Wiener Akad. 125) 16, and Bréal, Mém. Soc. Ling. 12 (1902), 243, with the words for "horn, head," Grk. *κέρας*, L. *cornū*, etc.

There are other adverbs in *-us* or *-u* or *-ui*, but these are either from original pronominal stems in *u* like Rhod. *ῥπῦς*, Brug., Gr. Gr.³ 49, Grd. i², 183, or are after the analogy of such stems, or else have a particle *u* added as in *πάνν πάγχυ*, Brug., Gr. Gr.³ 257. See lists in Hdn. i, 506, 18; Bekker, A.G. 1341; Brugmann, *loc. cit.*, and cf. also *ἀμύς* · *ὁμοῦ σὺν αὐτῷ*, Hesych., *τυτῶ* Cretan, Mon. Ant. iii, n. 13 (an uncertain word, Searles, Lex. Stud.), and *πλίυι* L.G. xi, 23. For Æolic forms in *-ui* see Hoffmann, G.D. ii, 426.

With the exceptions above noted and allowing for possible oversight, this collection includes all the *u*-stems cited in Liddell and Scott,¹ in numerous indices, and in Hesychius. It also aims to include the dialectic and epigraphical material up to 1904. All words in the Collitz Sammlung, including the recent Cretan number, have been collected, and this material has been supplemented from the indices of the various volumes of the Corpus, the indices of Dittenberger Sylloge², Kern Inschr. v. Magn., from reading the inscriptions published in the chief epigraphical journals of recent years, from Miss Searles' Lexicographical Study of Greek Inscriptions, and from Herwerden's Lexicon Graecum Suppl. et Dialecticum 1902. I also consulted the chief papyrus publications, but the results here were barren. Gradenwitz, Einführung in die Papyruskunde (Leipzig, 1900), cites a form *ὀψύς* from the Berlin papyri, but it is not to be found in the place cited.

In general no attempt is made to give the author or period, but for rare words (except compounds), especially *ἄπαξ λεγόμενα*, the source is given. The use of a name after a word with no remark implies that the word is found only in that writer. (I have relied on the Thesaurus for citations, and where it has erred, I have erred with it.) Words which rest solely on emendation are

¹ For the words in Liddell and Scott I have had access to the lists according to suffix prepared by the late Dr. W. A. Stratton for his projected history of Greek noun-formation. These lists have, by the courtesy of Mrs. Stratton, been left in the care of Professor Buck.

underlined. Words not found in the Thesaurus are marked with a dagger. Where glosses indicate dialect, this is given.

The order of arrangement is by suffix, i. e., in alphabetical order according to the ending, except that compounds under a simplex are in the *usual* alphabetical order. Figures immediately after a word refer to pages of this dissertation. Only those places considered most important are thus referred to, and the index is not intended to be complete in this respect.

WORD-LISTS

A. NOUNS IN -ΥΣ -Υ, -ΕΩΣ (-ΕΩΣ) WITH THEIR COMPOUNDS

πρέσβυς 54, 27 f. ισόπρεσβυς <i>Æsch. Ag. 78</i> σύμπρεσβυς νιύς 29-35 †πέλεκυ 41, <i>Hesych.</i> πέλεκυς 41, 27 f. ἐξαπέλεκυς ἐγγελυς 27, 54 γόνυ 35 f. gen. -φος, not -εος δόρυ 35 f. gen. -φος, not -εος σῶν 28 μίσυ 28, more probably under -υς -υος ἄστυ 44, 50 πῆχυς 41 ἀγλαόπηχυς ἀργυρόπηχυς δεκάπηχυς δίπηχυς	δυοκαικεοσίπηχυς δωδεκάπηχυς οἱ δωδεκάπηχυς εἰκοσίπηχυς εἰνάπηχυς = ἐννεάπηχυς ἐκκαδεκάπηχυς ἐκπηχυς = ἐξάπηχυς ἐλεφαντόπηχυς ἐνδεκάπηχυς ἐννεκοντάπηχυς ἐννεάπηχυς = εἰνάπηχυς ἐξάπηχυς = ἐκπηχυς ἐξηκοντάπηχυς ἐπίπηχυς ἐπτάπηχυς εὐπηχυς ισόπηχυς καλλιπῆχυς λευκόπηχυς ὀγδοηκοντάπηχυς	ὀκτωκαδεκάπηχυς ὀκτώπηχυς οἱ ὀκτάπηχυς παράπηχυ · ἱμάτιον <i>Hesych.</i> , Pollux παράπηχυς πεντάπηχυς πεντεκαδεκάπηχυς πεντηκοντάπηχυς πολύπηχυς ροδόπηχυς τεσσαρακοντάπηχυς τετράπηχυς τριακονταπεντάπηχυς τριακοντάπηχυς τριημίπηχυς τρίπηχυς τρισκαίδεκάπηχυς †χρυσόπᾶχυς <i>Bacchyl. V, 40</i> πῶ 28, 41
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B. NOUNS IN -ΥΣ -Υ, -ΥΟΣ WITH THEIR COMPOUNDS¹

ἱβύς · ἐνφῆμία, στιγμή <i>Hesych.</i> Perhaps gen. -υδος 65, footnote 2 λίβυς · τῶν ὀφειῶν τινες . . . <i>Hesych. et al.</i> φόρβυ · τὰ οὐλα. 'Ἠλεῖοι <i>Hesych.</i> στλεγγύς 55, <i>Theophr. H. Pl. 8,</i> 4, 3 †ληγύς <i>Cram. An. Ox. II, 303, 11.</i> ἄγδυς · ἄγγος. <i>Κρητικόν Hesych.</i> νηδύς 55 †οἰδύς <i>Cram. An. Ox. II, 303, 11</i> γοιδύες · ῥντήρες <i>Hesych.</i> Same as preceding? Cf. γισχύν· ισχύν κάνδυς ὁ κόνδυ κόρδυς · πανούργος <i>Hesych.</i> οἰζύς 53 (ωἰζύς <i>Hesych.</i>) πάνοιζύς <i>Æsch. Cho. 49</i> †τρίσοιζύς <i>Etym. Mag. and</i> <i>Etym. Gud.</i> βράθυ μέθυ 42, 13 γῆθυ = γῆθυον πληθύς 56 ἰθύς 56, <i>Homer</i> †θριθύς · ὁ ἰσχυρός <i>Cram. An.</i> <i>Ox. II, 303, 11.</i>	κόρθυς <i>Theocr.</i> ἰχθύς ὁ 55 ἄνιχθυς ἄπιχθυς (ἀπιχθύς) εὐιχθυς κάλλιχθυς πολύιχθυς φίλιχθυς βέλεκυς · ὀσπρίον τι . . . <i>Hesych.</i> νέκυς 42 κῖκυς 42 ἄκικυς σικύς · ὁ γραφεύς <i>Hesych.</i> κόκκυς · λόφος <i>Hesych.</i> ἄρκυς 42 πολύαρκυς <i>Oppian Cyn. 4, 10</i> μίμαρκυς <i>Aristoph. Athen., etc.</i> κέρκυ unintelligible gloss, <i>Hesych.</i> ἄλκυς ἀναβλύες · πηγαί <i>Hesych.</i> χέλυς 56 χρυσόχελυς <i>C.I.G. 5039, 1</i> ἐγγελυς 27 (cf. -υς, -εος) ἱλύν (εἰλύν) 55 κοῖλυ · τὸ καλόν 42, <i>Hesych.</i> ἐλλυες · ζῶα ἐν . . . ποταμῷ <i>Hesych.</i> σκόλλυς ὁ	ἄλολυς ὁ μόλυς <i>Hdn. II, 938, 17</i> †ἀπολύ · δαίμων ἡ θυσία. ζῶντες ὀμφακες <i>Hesych.</i> , but out of alphabetical order and very doubtful ἀχλύς 53 μῶλυ { κρέμυς <i>Aristotle ap. Athen.</i> 305d { κρέμυς · ὁ ὀνίσκος ἰχθύς <i>Hesych.</i> κλεμύν <i>Anton. Lib., c. 32</i> δάνυες · ἐνέδραι <i>Hesych.</i> , mis- take for θράνυες · ἐδραι Schmidt ἰγνύς 56 λιγνύς 53 γένυς 42 ἀμφίγεινυς · ἀξίνη <i>Hesych.</i> μακρόγεινυς <i>Adamant. Phys.</i> 396 μικρόγεινυς <i>Adamant. Phys.</i> 2, 17 ὀξύγεινυς <i>Pollux 2, 97</i> χαλκόγεινυς <i>Pind. Pyth. 4</i> ἐλαινύς <i>Etym. Mag. and Poly-</i> <i>bios</i> Ἐρινύς nomen propr. θρήνυς ὁ 53
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¹ μῦς original s-stem, 55, footnote.

τρῆνν Cram. An. Ox. II, 120, 34
 †κύνν· πίεσμα, τὸ ἀπὸ στεμφύλων
 ποτόν. Κύπριοι Hesych.
 ἀχνύς· ἡ λύπη Etym. Mag. 182, 1
 ἀμάμαξυς ἡ
 ψευδαμάμαξυς ὁ Arist. Vesp.
 326
 ἀτράφαξυς
 ψευδατράφαξυς Arist. Eq. 630
 ἰξύς
 κάπυς· πνεῦμα, κῆπος Hesych.
 νᾶπυ = σίνηνπυ
 ράπυς (ράφυς), see Athen. 369b
 σίνηνπυ
 ἄρπυν· ἔρωτα. Αἰολεῖς 42, He-
 sych., Etym. Mag. 148, 33
 (Parthenius)
 βαρύ· θυμιαμάτιόν τι εὐώδες Bek-
 ker, A.G. 225, 16
 βαρύς· δένδρα Hesych.
 δρύς 55
 ἄδρυς Pindar, Fr. 23, 126
 †γεράνδρυς· αἱ παλαιαὶ δρύες
 . . . Hesych.
 ἐνάλδρυς, see Lobeck, Paral.
 252
 ἐτνόδρυς Theophr. H. Pl. 3,
 8, 2, and Hesych.
 ἡμερόδρυς· εἶδος δρύος Hesych.
 λινοδρύς
 φελλοδρύς
 χαμαῖδρυς
 χιόρν· ὄνομα δειλόν Hesych.
 μελάνδρυς ὁ
 γέρυς· γέρων Hesych.
 βῆρυς· ἰχθύς Hesych.
 γῆρυς, 42
 βροτόγῆρυς Anth. Pal. 9, 562
 ἐρίγῆρυς· μεγαλόφωνος He-
 sych.
 εὐγῆρυς
 καλόγῆρυς Suidas s. v. κρή-
 γυνον
 μελιχόγῆρυς Tyr. 3, 8
 μελίγῆρυς
 ποικιλόγῆρυς Pind. Ol. 3, 12
 τετράγῆρυς
 τουνθύς· φωνή Hesych.
 ὄθρυν. Κρήτες τὸ ὄρος Hesych.
 δάκρυ 53 f.
 ἄδακρυς
 ἀκριτόδακρυς
 ἀναγκόδακρυς
 ἀπειρόδακρυς Æsch. Suppl. 75
 ἀρίδακρυς
 ἀρτίδακρυς

βαρύδακρυς
 γλυκύδακρυς
 ἐνδακρυς
 ἐπίδακρυς Suidas and Hesych.
 ἐτοιμόδακρυς
 †ιερόδακρυς Athen. 14, 651 f.
 παράδακρυς Diosc. 4, 124
 περιδακρυς
 ποικιλόδακρυς
 πολύδακρυς
 σύνδακρυς
 †συντομόδακρυς Tzetz. (L. & S.)
 ταχύδακρυς Lucian, Navig.,
 c. 2
 ὑπόδακρυς Hesych. s. v. γλαμυ-
 ρόν
 φιλόδακρυς
 ἄμπακρύ· τὸ ἀπαρχῆς — Hesych.
 ὄρυς Hdt. 4, 192
 βόρυς Hdt. 4, 192
 καρορύς· ὕδρα. Κρήτε(ς) Hesych.
 φόρυς· δακτύλιος ὁ κατὰ τὴν ἔδραν
 Hesych.
 βότρυς ὁ 53
 ἀγλαόβοτρυς Nonn. Dion. 18, 4
 ἐλίβοτρυς· ἀμπελὸς τις μέλαινα
 Hesych.
 εὐβοτρυς
 καλλιβοτρυς Soph. Oed. Col.
 682
 μικρόβοτρυς Hesych. s. v. μι-
 κρόρ(ρ)ωξ
 ποικιλόβοτρυς Nonn. Dion. 5,
 279
 πολύβοτρυς
 φερέβοτρυς Nonn. Dion. 19, 53
 φιλόβοτρυς
 ἐργότρυς· κατάσκοπος ἔργων He-
 sych.
 φέρτρυς· ἄθλον. Θούριοι Hesych.
 μάστρυς Photius s. v. ματρυλεῖον
 ὄστρυς¹ Theophr. and Pliny
 ὄφρῦς 55
 ἀντόφρυς· βοτάνης εἶδος He-
 sych.
 δάσφρυς Adamant. Phys.
 εὐφφρυς
 κατόφρυς
 κυάνοφρυς Theocr.
 λευκοφρυς
 λυκοφρυς Diosc. Noth. 3, 117
 μελάνοφρυς Hesych. et al.
 μίξοφρυς
 σύνοφρυς
 ὑπέροφρυς
 χρύσοφρυς

{ κάχρυ
 { κάχρυς 53
 σῶρυ (see -ν, -εος)
 μίσυ (cf. also -ν, -εος)
 σῦς (δς)
 σίσυς
 θατύς· θεωρία 49, Hesych.
 ἱατύς· θεραπεία Hesych.
 πλάτυς Hesych., error for πλά-
 τισ ?
 βλέτυς· αἱ βδέλλαι Hesych.
 †ἐρετύς 48 (?) Mon. Ant. III, 67
 ὄργητύς· ὄργη Hesych.
 ἔδητύς
 ἔητύς· ἀγαθότης Hesych.
 ἐλεητύς
 ποθητύς Oppian C. 2, 609
 ἀλητύς
 ἀλαλητύς
 βαλλητύς Hesych. and Athen.
 ἀβολητύς Bekker, A.G. 322, 9
 δομητύς· κατασκευή Hesych.
 βοητύς Od. 1, 369
 ἐπητύς Homer, Suidas
 ἀγορητύς Od. 8, 168
 ὠρητύς· πῆρως Hesych.
 πωρητύς
 †ποτητύς· τὸ πίνειν Hesych.
 ἀντιμαχητύς (ἀντιμαχητύς)
 Eratosth.
 ἴτυς 50
 δαιτύς Homer
 κλιτύς (κλειτύς) 44
 μίτυς 43, Aristotle, H.A. 9, 40, 10
 πίτυς 44
 ἡμερόπιτύς Hesych. s. v. μή-
 κωνες, acct. -πίτυς
 χαμαίπιτυς
 φίτυ 43
 φίτυς 43
 ἀρπακτύς Callim. Apoll. 94
 πρακτύς Etym. Mag. 316, 34
 τετρακτύς
 †τακτύς²
 ῥυστακτύς Homer, Eustath.
 †ῥορεκτύς· (ὄρεξις) Hesych.
 ἰκτύς· εἰκὼν Cram. An. Ox. II,
 16, 2
 δίκτυ 43, Etym. Mag. 275, 25
 δίκτυς 43, Hdt. 4, 192
 ἐπεικτύς . . . σπουδή Hesych.
 τρικτύς = τριτύς 49
 θελκτύς 48, Apoll. Rh. I, 575
 †ἐπισμυκτύν· ἐπιμυκτηρισμόν 48
 Hesych.
 δωκτύς Callim. Dian. 194

¹Ιοίστρύς Lobeck, Phryn. 302, a mistake for ὄστρυς ?

²Quoted by Brugmann, Ber. sächs. G. d. W., 1901, 95, but I have not been able to find occurrence.

- †φλεγμαντός v. l. in Hippocr. 8, 96
 †άμφαντός 48, Lex Gort. XI, 21, 22
 πεντακοντός (?) Schol. Od. 3, 7
 ὄτρυντός Homer and glosses
 γραπτός
 χαλεπτός · χαλεπότης Hesych.
 μάρπτος · ὑβριστής Hesych.
 ἄρτύς · σύνταξις. φίλια . . . Hesych.
 ἀποδαστός · ἀπομερισμός Hesych.
 γραμβασιαστός · γέλως ὁ μετὰ παιδιᾶς Hesych. (κρ- L. & S.)
 κρεμβασιαστός Homeric Hymn Apoll. 162
 χιλιαστός 48 (= χιλιοστός)
 γελαστός Callim. Del. 329
 καταπλαστός Hdt. 4, 75
 μαστός Callim. Fr. 277
 ἀπαστός · ἀπαστία Etym. Mag. 118, 50
 ἀσπαστός Callim. Fr. 427
 φραστός · σκέψις, ἔννοια . . . Hesych.
 ἀφραστός poet ap. Suidas
 ἀειεστών · τὴν αἰώνιον οὐσίαν . . . Hesych.
 †άκεστός¹
 ἀπεστός · ἀποχώρησις Hesych.
- μνηστός Homer
 δειπνηστών · τὴν τοῦ δείπνου ὥραν Hesych.
 ὀρχηστός
 ληϊστός Hdt. 5, 6
 σωφρονιστός Plato, Legg. 933, e
 κιθαριστός
 ὀαριστός Homer, Hesych.
 κτιστός Hdt. 9, 97
 ἀκοντιστός Il. 23, 622
 †ἀποκοντιστός²
 ξιφιστός · μαχαιορομαχία . . . Hesych.
 χιλιοστός 48
 πεντεχιλιοστός Eccl.
 μυριοστός 48
 πεντακοσιοστός 48, Etym. Mag.
 πενηκοστός 48
 ἑκατοστός 48
 τανυστός Od. 21, 112
 †όπυστός 48, S.G.D.I. 4971
 καττός 43
 τριττός 49
 μόνττος · οἱ ἐ[γ]κλυτοὶ καὶ παρει- μένοι 43, Hesych.
 †δύστεντός Callim. Apoll. 42
 ἀλαωτός Homer, Hesych.
 δωτός Suidas
 ζωτός · θώραξ 48, Hesych., per- haps for *ζωστός?
 βρωτός
- γλάφυ Hesiod. Op. 533, He- sych.
 λα[ι]φύς · δάπανος ἡ βοράς He- sych.
 νάφυ (see νάπυ)
 δελφύς 56
 ὀλόφους · οἶκος. ἔλεος . . . He- sych.
 ὀσφύς
 ἱτυφύς Cram. An. Ox. II, 264, 6, nomen propr.?
 στράχους late for στάχους
 στάχους ὁ, and ἀσταχους ὁ
 ἀγάσταχους
 εὐσταχους
 καλλιस्ताχους
 κολοβόσταχους Diosc.
 μικρόσταχους (?)
 μυριοσταχους
 ναρδόσταχους
 πολύσταχους
 φερέσταχους
 κόχυ · πολύ. πλῆθος Hesych., subst. (?)
 ἀσχυ Hdt. 4, 23, Cram. An. Ox. II, 79, 120
 ἰσχύς
 ἀνισχύς
 αὐτοῖσχύς
 μῶϋ · τὸ ὕδωρ Hesych., prob- ably foreign

C. ADJECTIVES IN -ΥΣ -ΥΣ WITH THEIR COMPOUNDS

- πρᾶϋς 60
 ταϋς · μέγας. πολύς Hesych., from *τησϋ-8, √ ten "stretch"?
 πρέσβος not adj. in positive. See nouns in -υς, -εος
 ἐγγύς adv. 61
 πάρεγγυς adv.
 σύνεγγυς adv.
 λιγύς 58
 βραδύς
 εὐς 60
 ἡδύς 60, 19
 ὑπέρηδus
 βαθύς
 ἀβαθύς error for ἀβαθής, see Lobeck, Phryn. 534
 προβαθύς
 ἰθύς see εὐθύς
 βριθύς
 εὐθύς 60 f.
 μεσευθύς Clem. Alex.
- γλυκύς
 ἐπιγλυκύς Theophr. H. Pl. 3, 18, 10
 ὀξύγλυκυ
 περιγλυκύς Aelian N. A. 15, 7
 ὑπόγλυκυς Athen. 14, 625a
 φιλόγλυκυς
 ὠκύς 60, 19
 †ἱππωκύς Bacchyl. 11, 101
 †ποδώκυς = ποδώκης
 ἀμβλῖς 61
 ὑπαμβλῖς, see Lobeck, Phryn. 539
 θῆλυσ 61
 ἀθλυσ Plutarch
 ἀνδρόθλυσ
 ἀρσενόθλυσ
 ἡμίθλυσ Carm. Anacr. 13, 2
 μιζόθλυσ
 παρθλυσ Etym. Mag.
 παρᾶθλυσ (?)³
 ὑπόθλυσ Aristoph. Frag.
- φιλόθλυσ
 εἰλύ · μέλαν Hesych.
 πολύς 60, 19
 ἀπολυσ
 πάμπολυσ
 ὑπέρπολυσ
 φόλυσ 41, 51, decl. in -υος
 μῶλυσ · ὁ ἀμαθής 57, Hesych.
 μωλῖς Etym. Mag., s. v.
 ἀμβλῖς
 ἀμωλῖς Etym. Mag., loc. cit.
 θαμῖς 58
 δριμύς 61
 ἀδριμυς Eustath. 276, 2
 ὑπέρδριμυς Schol. Luc. D. D. 7, 3
 ὑπόδριμυς Galen
 μάν · πικρόν. Ἀθαμάνες Hesych.
 εὐννν · ἑσπερημένον Hesych., prob. error for εὐνν
 ὀζύς
 ἀποζύς

¹ Cited by Pape, Etym. Wörterbuch, as poetic and = "Heilung," but I have not found its occurrence.

² Given by Brugmann, Gr. Gr. 3, § 220, a mistake for ἀκοντιστός?

³ Thesaurus s. v. πάνθλυσ cites παρᾶθλυσ from Hesychius, but I do not find it.

ἐποξυς	ἐνδασυς Diosc.	βραχύς
κάτοξυς	ἐπίδασυ Theophr.	ἀμφίβραχυς
πάροξυς	ἰππόδασυς only in fem. Hom.	δίβραχυς
σύνοξυς	ὑπέρδασυς	ἐμβραχυ adv.
ὑπέροξυς	θρασύς (θαρσύς)	ἐξάβραχυς
ὑποξυς	ἡμισυς 50 ff.	ἐπιβραχύ or ἐπὶ βραχύ (?)
αἰπύς	πλατύς "salty"	ἡμίβραχυς
βαρύς 60, 19	πλατύς "broad," 60, 19	καταβραχύς or κατὰ βραχύ (?)
ἀβαρύς error for ἀβαρής, see	ἐπίπλατυς (cf. ἐπιπλατής)	πεντάβραχυς
Lobeck, Phryn. 536	ἰσόπλατυς (cf. -τής)	πολύβραχυς
ἐπίβαρυς	καταπλατύς Tzetz. Hist. 11,	τετράβραχυς
περίβαρυς	857	τρίβραχυς
ὑπέρβαρυς (cf. ὑπερβαρής)	ὑπόπλατυς	ὑπόβραχυ adv.
χαλκόβαρυς only in fem. Hom.	κρατύς 60	τρᾶχύς
χαλκοβάρεια (see Lobeck,	βριτύ · γλυκύ. Κρήτες Hesych.	ἄτραχυς Eustath. 340, 21
Phryn. 538)	κοτύς Etym. Mag. s. v. ἀμβλύς	ἐντραχυς
ἀμαρύς · ἄπλετος. πολὺς Hesych.	† γλαφύς Etym. Mag. 233, 54	ὑπότραχυς
τέρυς 41, 57, decl. in -υος	ταρφύς 58	στραχύ · τραχύ Hesych.
εὐρύς 60, 19	ἐλαχύς 58, 60, 19	ταχύς
δασύς 61	παχύς 60	κοχύ · πολὺ, πλῆρες Hesych. adj.
ἀμφίδασυς only in fem. Hom.	ὑπέρπαχυς	or subst.? Cf. nouns n
ἀμφιδάσεια (cf. χαλκόβαρυς)	ὑπόπαχυς	-υς, -υος.

ADDENDA

From Herwerden's Appendix Lexici Graeci Suppletorii et Dialectici, I add two uncertain examples:

βλαδύς mollis, tardus. Hippocr. de aere cap. 20. This represents an emendation, βλαδέα in place of πλατέα, which is not accepted in the new edition of Hippocrates by Kühlewein See Vol. II, p. vi.

τιτύς Cretan = τίσις, ζημία, S.G.D.I. 4976 τὰς τιτύρος. This is uncertain, the inscription being a mere fragment, but probable enough to have deserved mention above.