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Editoriale – per i 50 anni di “Sileno” (a cura della Direzione)

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E. Castelnuevo, *Prudentius the Hymnodist: a Watershed in Celebratory Texts*. H. Catania, *Una riflessione sull’identità siceliota attraverso il culto di Apollo Archegetes*. G. Imberciadori, *Semantics and Origin of the Latin Suffix -uriō*. O. Montepaone, *Praising virtue: Leone Allacci’s unpublished work on Aristotle’s Hymn to virtue*. I. Piras, *Le fonti anonime del De* compendiosa doctrina di Nonio Marcello: alcune osservazioni . S. Radatti, *Strategie politiche e identitarie nelle tradizioni epidemiche della Sicilia antica*. G. Trovato, *Latin Pastoral and (Alleged) Pseudonymity: The Case of Marc(i)us Valerius*. G. Vindigni, *Simonide e il cadavere: alcune considerazioni circa un noto passo di Valerio Massimo*

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S. Brillante, «Anche là è Roma». *Antico e antichisti nel colonialismo italiano*, Società editrice il Mulino, Bologna 2023 (S. FRANCISSETTI BROLIN)

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COLLEGIVM COMPOSITORVM COMMENTARII A SILENO NVNCVPATI
ANNO L POST PRIMVM FASCICVLVM IN LVCEM EDITVM
SALVTEM

Magnopere laetantes nos, huius commentarii compositorum collegium, quinquagesimum ab ipsius die natali confectum annum concelebramus.

Eius ortus meritum, anno MCMLXXV, ad auctoritatem adscribendum praeclari illius magistri Quintini doctoris Cataudella – in quem numquam satis gratitudinis tribui possit – qui, paucis adiuvantibus sodalibus et discipulis, novam antiquitatis vocem, procul ab academicis institutis (nec non nummariis subsidiis!), edere voluit, praecipue curans ut Christianae litterae singulari spatio fruerentur.

Ad inscriptonem inveniendam, de mythologia lepidisque Vergilianis versibus mentionem facere visum est. Itaque commentarii “Sileno” inscribuntur, senem illum memorantes qui, ebrius et somno iacens, a duobus versutis adolescentibus vinctus et coactus, tandem canere assentit dicens:

*Carmina quae vultis cognoscite; carmina vobis,
huic aliud mercedis erit.*

(Verg. ecl. 6, 25-26)

* * *

Incepti primordia propter onerosos sumptus et opum exiguitatem haud expedita fuere. Typographicum illis annis munus a parva humilique sed peraudaci officina (SETIM ei nomen) conficiebatur, erga quam gratias enuntiare nunc aequum putamus.

Postea complures supervenerunt vicissitudines, tam graves postulantes difficultates ut negotiorum remissionis saepe impendens periculum esset, vixque ingentibus profusis conatibus id vitaretur.

EDITORIALE

Denique foedus cum “Agorà” typothetica societate factum est, quod “Sileno” servavit eique sine ullo metu operam persequi sinit.

Praeteritis igitur quinquaginta annis, renovato cum vigore ad humanitatis antiquarumque litterarum utilitatem opus pergendum est.

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SEMANTICS AND ORIGIN OF THE LATIN SUFFIX *-URIŌ**

GIULIO IMBERCIADORI

1. INTRODUCTION

The verbs in *-uriō* were labeled already by the ancient grammarians as desiderative (or «meditative») formations:¹ *regulam supini sequuntur tam meditativa quam frequentativa [...] ut lectum lecturio et lectito, mictum micturio et mictito* «the supine rule is followed both by meditative and intensive verbs [...] like *lectum lecturio* and *lectito, mictum micturio* and *mictito*» (Prisc. *gramm.* II 501, 4–6 K).²

I present in (1) a list of all the verbs in *-uriō* that appear in Latin, with the respective authors and *loci* – in case they are not specified below – by which we find the first attestation. The translation given here follows the traditional assumption of desiderative meaning, although we shall see that in some cases a different meaning should be proposed.

(1) Verbs in *-uriō* attested in Latin

(A) Old Latin (3rd–2nd century BCE)

(a) *ēsuriō* (or *essuriō*) «I want to eat» (Plaut.);

(b) *parturiō* «I want to give birth» (Plaut.);

* I would like to thank Guido Borghi, Chiara Bozzone, Benjamin Fortson, Olav Hackstein, Sergio Neri, Alessandro Parenti, Ryan Sandell, and Michael Weiss for their helpful assistance during the preparation of this work. Special thanks go to Brent Vine and David Goldstein for their valuable comments, as well as to Fabio Nolfo and the editorial board of *Sileno*. Needless to say, all errors contained here remain my own.

¹ Cf. also M.L. Weiss, *Outline of the Historical and Comparative Grammar of Latin*, Ann Arbor et al. 2020², 433.

² Where not further specified, the translations of the Latin passages are mine.

- (c) *habitoriō* «I want to have» (?) (Plaut., see fn. 42 below).
- (B) Classical Latin (1st century BCE–2nd century CE)
- (d) *empturiō* «I want to buy» (Varro);
- (e) *nīxuriō* «I want to give birth» (Nigid. *apud* Non.);
- (f) *morturiō* «I want to die» (Cic. *apud* Aug. *gramm.* V 516, 17 K);
- (g) *prōscripturiō* «I want to do new lists of proscription» (Cic.);
- (h) *sullāhuriō* «I want to act like Sulla» (Cic.);
- (i) *petituriō* «I want to candidate myself for the consulate» (Cic.);
- (j) *canturiō* «I want to sing» (Petron.);
- (k) *cacāhuriō* «I want to defecate» (Pompei; literarily Mart.);
- (l) *cenāhuriō* «I want to have dinner» (Mart.);
- (m) *nupturiō*³ «I want to marry sb.» / «I want to get married» (Mart. III 93, 18; Apul.⁴);
- (n) *micturiō* «I want to urinate» (Iuv.).
- (C) Late Latin (from the 3rd century CE on)
- (o) *amāhuriō* «I want to love» (Prisc. *gramm.* II 501, 6 K);
- (p) *dicturiō* «I want to dictate» (Macr. *Sat.* II 3, 16);
- (q) *lēturiō* «I want to read» (Sidon. *epist.* 2, 10);
- (r) *scrīpturiō* «I want to write» (Sidon. *epist.* 7, 18);
- (s) *tacituriō* «I do not want to speak» (Sidon. *epist.* 8, 16).

The present paper does not account for forms with geminate suffix *-ur(r)iō* (e.g., *ligur(r)iō* «I lick», *scatur(r)iō* «I gush»), whose etymology is quite obscure.⁵ In some cases, such verbs clearly represent onomatopoeic formations: cf. *minurriō* «to sing (of birds)», perhaps a loanword from Greek *μινύρομαι* or *μινυρίζω* «id.», and *cucurriō* «to sing (of the rooster)».⁶

³ Although some manuscripts have *nuptuire* and *nuptumire*: see H.E. Butler – A.S. Owen, *Apulei Apologia sive pro se de magia liber*, Hildesheim 1967, 136; D.R. Shackleton Bailey, *Martial. Epigrams*, vol. 1: *Spectacles, Books 1–5*. “Loeb Classical Library” 94, Cambridge MA 1993, 254.

⁴ In Apul. *apol.* 70, 9 the lecture *nubturisse* given by PHI Latin Texts (<https://latin.pack-hum.org/search?q=nubturi>, last accessed: 19/05/2024) is unwarranted: cf. *nupturisse* in Butler – Owen, cit., 136; P. Vallette, *Apulée. Apologie, Florides*, Paris 1971, 84; G. Augello, *Apuleio. L'apologia o La Magia, Florida*, Torino 1984, 286.

⁵ Cf., for the reported examples, M. De Vaan, *Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the other Italic Languages*, Leiden et al. 2008, 343 (s.v. *lingō*) and 543 (s.v. *scatō*).

⁶ See A. Ernout – A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine: histoire des mots*, Paris 1999⁴, 721 (s.v. *minurriō*) and 276 (s.v. *cucurriō*), respectively.

Before beginning the actual discussion of the forms in *-uriō*, I propose two preliminary observations.

On the one hand, it can be noticed from (1) that in Old Latin we have certain attestations only for *ēsuriō* and *parturiō*, which appear in lower literary *genres* like comedy. By contrast, after the 1st century BCE we also find new verbs in *-uriō*, which are now present in all the Latin sociolects and literary styles: inscriptions, Cicero's letters and treatises, Martial's epigrams, etc. Consequently, one has probably to assume an extension of the sphere of usage of this verbal category after the 1st century BCE.

On the other hand, not only do the oldest attestations of the verbs in *-uriō* appear in lower literary forms, but they also refer to the semantic field of bodily and primary needs: examples would be *ēsuriō* for the sphere of eating, *parturiō* for that of giving birth and – still more explicit, albeit later attested – *cacāturiō* or *micturiō*. This seems to support the hypothesis, firstly advanced by Risch⁷, according to which the verbs in *-uriō* had their origin in popular Latin.

2. SEMANTIC ANALYSIS

A detailed analysis of all the occurrences of the verbs in *-uriō* – in particular of the most frequent among them, i.e., *ēsuriō* and *parturiō* – shows that their original meaning was not desiderative. If one then considers that these verbs likely represented denominative formations (see § 3 below), one may hypothesize that their semantic value was not *a priori* fixed, but that it rather depended on the semantic value of the respective derivational base. It follows that the essential meaning of the verbs in *-uriō* may have been «to be in the state described by X», where X corresponds to the derivational base.⁸ The following two sections will present an analysis of some relevant occurrences of *ēsuriō* and *parturiō*.

⁷ Cf. E. Risch, *Der Typus parturire im Lateinischen*, «IF» 61, 1954, 187-195, pp. 190-191.

⁸ Cf., e.g., E. Tucker, *The Creation of Morphological Regularity: Early Greek Verbs in -έω, -άω, -όω, -ύω and -ίω*, Göttingen 1990, 75-82, for a similar description of the semantic value proper to many Greek denominative verbs in *-έω*.

2.1. *Ēsuriō*

The oldest attestations of *ēsuriō* clearly indicate that its meaning was not «I want to eat», but rather «I am hungry».⁹ In some attestations, which will be discussed in details in (2.A), the actual meaning seems even to be «I am very hungry, I starve». This hyperbolic meaning probably constituted the base for the development of the semantics «I go hungry, I am poor», which likely arose by means of an intermediate stage *«I am constantly, permanently hungry». The secondary meaning «I go hungry, I am poor» appears already in Plautus (see 2.B).

(2) Attestations of *ēsuriō* with non-desiderative semantics

(A) «I am hungry; I starve»

- (a) Plaut. *Capt.* 862–866: ERG(asilus). *Ut sacruſices.* / H(egio). *Cui deorum?* ERG. *Mi hercle, nam ego nunc tibi sum summus Iuppiter [...]. Proin tu deum hunc saturitate facias tranquillum tibi.* / HEG. *Esurire mihi videre.* ERG. *Mi quidem esurio, non tibi* «ERG. So you can sacrifice. HEG. To what god? ERG. To me: I'm great Jupiter for you now [...]. So placate this god by making him full. HEG. I can feel that you're hungry. ERG. No, I can feel that I'm hungry, you can't»;¹⁰
- (b) Plaut. *Cas.* 795: *qui amat, tamen hercle, si esurit, nullum esurit* «a lovesick man doesn't feel hunger at all, even if he does feel hunger»;¹¹
- (c) Plaut. *Men.* 926–927: MED(icus). *Dic mihi: en umquam intestina tibi crepant, quod sentias?* / MEN(aechmus). *Ubi satur sum, nulla crepitant; quando esurio, tum crepant* «DOC(tor).

⁹ Cf. A. Walde – J.B. Hofmann, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg 1938-1956³, vol. 1, 392 (s.v. *edō*, «hungere»); Risch, cit., 191 («Hunger haben») and 192-193 («*ēsuriō* oder *parturiō* [...] deren Bedeutung ja streng genommen gar nicht desiderativ ist»); Ernout – Meillet, cit., 341 (s.v. *edō*, «avoir faim»); and De Vaan, cit., 185 (s.v. *edō*, «to be hungry»); differently *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, <https://tll-degruyter-com.emedien.ub.uni-muenchen.de/> (last accessed: 19/05/2024), s.v. 1. *ēs(s)urio*, «edere velle, cibi avidum esse».

¹⁰ Translation after W. de Melo, *Plautus. Amphitryon. The Comedy of Asses. The Pot of Gold. The Two Bacchises. The Captives*. “Loeb Classical Library” 60, Cambridge MA 2011, 595.

¹¹ Translation after W. de Melo, *Plautus. Casina. The Casket Comedy. Curculio. Epidicus. The Two Menaechmuses*. “Loeb Classical Library” 61, Cambridge MA 2011, 95.

Tell me, do your intestines ever rumble, as far as you know? MEN. When I'm full, they don't rumble at all; when I'm hungry, they do.¹² Here we have an antonymic opposition between two stative situations: *ubi satur sum* «when I am satiated» vs. *quando esurio* «when I am hungry». A translation of *quando esurio* as «when I want to eat» would not respect this oppositional pattern. The narrow correlation between *ēsuriō* (originally) «I am hungry» and *satur (sum)* «I am satiated», which often occur in reciprocal contrast, has been noted already by Risch¹³;

- (d) Plaut. *Stich.* 215–216: GEL(asimus) [...] *prae maerore adeo miser atque aegritudine / consenui; paene sum fame emortuos. / CRO(cotium) Ridiculus aequè nullus est quando esurit* «GEL. [...] out of sadness and grief I've grown old; I'm almost dead from hunger. CRO. Nobody is as funny as him when he's hungry».¹⁴ Here *ēsurit* neatly corresponds to previous *paene sum fame emortuos* «I am almost dead from hunger». Thus, it has no desiderative semantics but it rather indicates that Gelasimus is hungry at a very high degree;
- (e) Varro *rust.* II 7, 10: *praegnantem equam neque implere cibo neque esurire oportet* «a mare in foal must neither be over-fed nor be hungry»;¹⁵
- (f) Cic. *fam.* VIII 17, 2, letter of Caelius: *vestras copias non novi; nostri valde depugnare et facile algere et esurire consuerunt* «I don't know about your army, but our fellows are used to fight vigorously and to take cold and to be hungry without difficulties».¹⁶ Here *ēsūrīre* is clearly used in parallelism to *algēre* «to be cold, freeze», which does not possess any desiderative nuance. Furthermore, a translation «want to eat» would not make any sense in this passage, because Caelius is meaning

¹² Translation after de Melo, *Plautus. Casina*, cit., 521.

¹³ Cf. Risch, cit., 193.

¹⁴ Translation after W. de Melo, *Plautus. Stichus. Trinummus. Truculentus. Tale of a Travelling Bag. Fragments*. “Loeb Classical Library” 328, Cambridge MA 2013, 39.

¹⁵ Translation after L. Storr–Best, *Varro on Farming. M. Terenti Varronis rerum rusticarum libri tres*, London 1912, 206.

¹⁶ Translation after D.R. Shackleton Bailey, *Cicero. Letters to Friends*, vol. 1: *Letters 1–113*. “Loeb Classical Library” 205, Cambridge MA 2001, 119.

that his soldiers were used to tolerate without difficulties the condition of being hungry, not that of desiring food;

- (g) Cic. *Tusc.* II 34: *Cretum quidem leges [...], itemque Lycurgi, laboribus erudiunt iuventutem, venando currendo, esuriendo sitiendo, algendo aestuando* «the laws of Crete for instance [...] and also the laws of Lycurgus educate youth by hardships, hunting and running, hunger and thirst, exposure to heat and cold». ¹⁷ As in the previous case, *ēsuriō* is used here as a pendant to a non-desiderative verb, namely, *sitiō* «I am thirsty». Moreover, it is clear from the context that Cicero is referring to the *labores* «toils» as a good educative method for youth not because they teach young people to desire food, but rather because they teach them to be hungry (*esuriendo*) and nevertheless to tolerate this difficult state of affairs;
- (h) CIL XI 6721.34, inscribed on a bullet (*glans*) from Perugia: *esureis et me celas* «you are hungry but you conceal [it] to me». This inscription was realized during the *Bellum Perusinum* (41–40 BCE) and is addressed to the besieged inhabitants of Perugia. The inscriber is clearly referring to the fact that the besieged people are very hungry: they are almost starving. Therefore, a translation «you want to eat but you conceal [it] to me» would seem artificial and unlikely here.
- (B) «I go hungry, I am poor»
 - (a) Plaut. *Amph.* 308–309: *non placet me hoc noctis esse: cenavi modo; / proin tu istam cenam largire, si sapis, esurientibus* «I don't like eating at this time of night. I've just had my dinner; so if you have any sense, donate that dinner to those who go hungry»; ¹⁸
 - (b) Plaut. *Cist.* 40–41: *neque ego hanc superbiai / causa pepuli ad meretricium quaestum, nisi ut ne esurirem* «I didn't push her into prostitution out of pride, only in order not to starve»; ¹⁹
 - (c) Sen. *contr.* I 7, 1, with title *Liberi parentes alant aut vinciantur*

¹⁷ Translation after J.E. King, *Cicero. Tusculan Disputations*. “Loeb Classical Library” 141, Cambridge MA 1927, 183.

¹⁸ Translation after de Melo, *Plautus. Amphitryon*, cit., 39.

¹⁹ Translation after de Melo, *Plautus. Casina*, cit., 141.

«Children must support their parents, or be imprisoned»: *da mi epistulam esurientis istius* «give me the letter of this hungry (father)», where *istius* refers here to the *patrem egentem* «father [...] in need» (accusative singular) named immediately before.²⁰

The first passage of the Latin literature I was able to find in which *ēsuriō* clearly exhibits the desiderative meaning «I want to eat» is that of Ovid presented in (3). Remarkably, this new semantic value also triggered an increase in the valency of *ēsuriō*. Whereas in the attestations in (2) this verb was always intransitive («I am hungry; I starve»), in (3) it is used in its passive diathesis, thus presupposing an innovative transitive meaning «I want to eat sth.».

(3) First desiderative attestation of *ēsuriō*

Ov. *Pont.* I 10, 9–10: *quod mare, quod tellus, adpone quod educat aër, / nil ibi, quod nobis esuriatur, erit* «what the sea, what the earth and also what the air lets grow: nothing will be there, that we would wish to eat».

Although the transitive use of *ēsuriō* – when employed with its desiderative semantic value – became quite frequent (see 4.A), it ought to be noted that *ēsuriō* «I want to eat» cannot be regarded as an inherently transitive verb: e.g., an occurrence of the desiderative meaning without an overt object can be found in (4.A.b). Furthermore, it warrants mention that the secondary meaning «I want to eat» did not replace, but simply coexisted – sometimes even within the corpus of the same author – beside the original one «I am hungry; I starve».

(4) Further attestations of *ēsuriō*

(A) «I want to eat»

- (a) Sen. *epist.* 47, 8: *adice obsonatores, quibus dominici palati notitia subtilis est, qui sciunt [...] quid iam ipsa satietate fastidiat, quid illo die esuriat* «think also of the poor purveyors of food, who note the tastes of their master with delicate skill, who

²⁰ Translation after M. Winterbottom, *Seneca the Elder. Declamations*, vol. 1: *Controversiae, Books 1-6*. “Loeb Classical Library” 463, Cambridge MA 1974, 151.

- know [...] what he will reject through sheer satiety, what he will wish to eat on that particular day»;²¹
- (b) Sen. *epist.* 119, 14: *quaerit* [sc. *luxuria*], *quemadmodum post saturitatem quoque esuriat, quemadmodum non impleat ventrem, sed farciat* «[luxury] seeks how it may want to eat even after repletion, how to stuff the stomach, not to fill it».²² One should note here again the relationship between *ēsuriō* and *satur* (*esse*), *saturitās*, etc., to be observed also in the example discussed in (2.A.c) above;
- (c) Ps. Quint. *decl.* 12, 27, 13: (*cum civitas fame laboret*): *pater liberos esurit* «(when the city goes hungry): the father wants to eat his children»;
- (d) Apul. *met.* I 15, 15: *memini me [...] canem Cerberum [...] esurientem mei prospexisse* «I remember that [...] I saw [...] the dog Cerberus [...] eager to devour me». Here we find *ēsuriō* – in its desiderative meaning – governing a genitive in place of the usual accusative;
- (e) Aug. *reg.* 3, 15: *nec solae vobis fauces sumant cibum, sed et aures esuriant dei verbum* «and not only may your throat eat the food, but also your ears may wish to eat God's word».
- (B) «I am hungry; I starve»
- (a) Sen. *epist.* 17, 6: *toleranda est enim ad hoc properantibus vel fames [...] et quidem vel esurienti ad ista veniendum est* «for when hastening after wisdom, we must endure even hunger [...] Even though we starve, we must reach that goal»;²³
- (b) Sen. *epist.* 91, 18: *et doleas oportet et sitias et esurias et senescas, si tibi longior contigerit inter homines mora* «you must suffer pain, and thirst, and hunger, and old age too, if a longer stay among men shall be granted you»;²⁴
- (c) Sen. *epist.* 119, 7: *at parum habet qui tantum non alget, non esurit, non sitit. Plus Iuppiter non habet* «but one possesses too

²¹ Translation after R.M. Gummere, *Seneca. Epistles*, vol. 1: *Epistles 1-65*. "Loeb Classical Library" 75, Cambridge MA 1917, 305.

²² Translation after R.M. Gummere, *Seneca. Epistles*, vol. 3: *Epistles 93-124*. "Loeb Classical Library" 77, Cambridge MA 1925, 379.

²³ Translation after Gummere, *Seneca. Epistles*, vol. 1, cit., 113.

²⁴ Translation after R.M. Gummere, *Seneca. Epistles*, vol. 2: *Epistles 66-92*. "Loeb Classical Library" 76, Cambridge MA 1920, 445.

little, if he merely does not feel cold, hunger and thirst. Jupiter himself, however, is no better off».²⁵ For the frequent association of *ēsuriō* with *algeō* «I am cold, freeze» and *sitiō* «I am thirsty», see (2.A.f–g) above;

- (d) Petron. 141: *Petelini idem fecerunt in ultima fame, nec quicquam aliud in hac epulatione captabant, nisi tantum ne esurirent* «the people of Petelia did likewise in the extremities of famine, and gained nothing by the diet, except of course that they were no longer hungry». We have already met in (2.A.h) above the employ of *ēsuriō* for the description of people starving during wars or sieges.

2.2. *Parturiō*

In the case of *parturiō*, the oldest attestations show no traces of desiderative semantics, see (5). The original meaning of *parturiō* seems to have been «I am in labor» (said of women or animals), with particular reference to a very specific phase of the pregnancy, i.e., the last and most painful one.²⁶ Interestingly, because of its particular association with a highly painful moment – that of labor –, *parturiō* could also assume at least from Cicero's time on the general meaning «suffer, have pain», without any connection to the original context of the pregnancy (see 5.B).²⁷

(5) Oldest attestations of *parturiō*

(A) «I am in labor»

- (a) Plaut. *Amph.* 1061-1062: *ita erae meae hodie contigit. Nam ubi parturit, deos sibi invocat / strepitus, crepitus, sonitus, tonitrus...* «the experience my mistress had today! Well, when she was in labor, she implored the gods. There's crashing and smashing, rumbling and grumbling»;²⁸

²⁵ Translation after Gummere, *Seneca. Epistles*, vol. 3, cit., 373.

²⁶ The etymological dictionaries are not in perfect agreement concerning the precise meaning of *parturiō*: «will gebären» (Walde – Hofmann, cit., vol. 2, 255 s.v. *pariō*); «accoucher» (Ernout – Meillet, cit., 483, s.v. *pariō*); «to be in labour, give birth» (De Vaan, cit., 446 s.v. *pariō*); «parēre velle, pariendo laborare» (*Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, <https://tll-degruyter-com.emedien.ub.uni-muenchen.de/>, last accessed: 19/05/2024, s.v. *parturio*).

²⁷ Cf., especially, *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, cit., s.v. *parturio*.

²⁸ Translation after de Melo, *Plautus. Amphitryon*, cit., 123.

- (b) Plaut. *Amph.* 1091-1093: *postquam parturire hodie uxor occepit tua, / ubi utero exorti dolores [...]* / *invocat deos immortales* «after your wife began to be in labor today, when the pains were starting in her womb [...], she invoked the immortal gods»;²⁹
- (c) Ter. *Ad.* 487-488: PA(mphila). *Miseram me, differor doloribus. / Iuno Lucina, fer opem: serva me, obsecro.* HE(gio). *Hem! Numnam illa quaeso parturit?* «PA. Oh! oh! I'm wracked with pain. Juno Lucina, help me, save me, I beg you. HE. What! Is she in labor, if you please?»;³⁰
- (d) Pompon. (*Hirnea Pappi* 56 apud Non. 40 M):³¹ *decumo mense demum turgens verminatur, parturit* «finally in the tenth month she swells and has spasms, she is in labor».

In the previous passages the recurrent association of *parturiō* with words indicating shouting (*sonitus*, *tonitrus*, etc.) and/or physical suffering (*dolores*, *differor doloribus*, *verminatur*, etc.) neatly confirms the interpretation of this verb as referring to the culminant and most painful moment of the pregnancy.

- (B) «suffer, have pain»
- (a) Cic. *Lael.* 45: *caput enim esse ad beate vivendum securitatem, qua frui non possit animus, si tamquam parturiat unus pro pluribus* «for, they say, an essential of a happy life is freedom from care, and this the soul cannot enjoy if one man is, as it were, in travail for many».³²

Another context which allows to determine the meaning of *parturiō* as «I am in labor» is represented by those attestations where *parturiō* is employed in narrow relationship with the basic verb *pariō* «I give birth». As (6) shows, the following semantic difference between the two forms emerges: as the process of giving birth is described as going on, *parturiō*

²⁹ Translation after de Melo, *Plautus. Amphitryon*, cit., 127.

³⁰ Translation after J. Barsby, *Terence. Phormio. The Mother-in-Law. The Brothers*. "Loeb Classical Library" 23, Cambridge MA 2001, 307.

³¹ Cf. W.M. Lindsay, *Nonii Marcelli de compendiosa doctrina*, Leipzig 1903, vol. 1, 58.20.

³² Translation after W.A. Falconer, *Cicero. On Old Age. On Friendship. On Divination*. "Loeb Classical Library" 154, Cambridge MA 1923, 157.

appears; in contrast, when the above mentioned process has already been accomplished, then *pariō* is used.

(6) Semantic relationship between *parturiō* and *pariō*

- (a) Ter. Hec. 412–414: *vereor, si clamorem eius hic crebro audiat, / ne parturire intelligat: aliquo mihi est / hinc ablegandus dum parit Philumena* «I'm afraid that, if he hears these repeated cries, he'll realize that Philumena's in labor. I must send him away somewhere until Philumena has given birth»;³³
- (b) Varro rust. III 9, 8: *in cubilibus, cum parturient* [sc. aves], *acus substernendum; cum pepererunt, tollere substramen* «in the lairs, when [the birds] will be in labor, you will have to scatter straw under them; after they will have given birth, you have to take away the straw»;
- (c) Phaedr. IV 24, 1–3: *mons parturibat, gemitus immanes ciens [...] at ille murem peperit mons parturiens* «a mountain was in labor, emitting tremendous groans [...] then, that laboring mountain gave birth to a mouse»;³⁴
- (d) Plin. nat. XXXVI 151: *aëtitae adalligati mulieribus vel quadrupedibus [...] continent partus, nonnisi parturiant removendi [...] sed nisi parturientibus auferantur, omnino non pariant* «eagle stones [...] are worn as amulets by women or four-footed creatures [...] so as to prevent a miscarriage. They must not be removed until they [the women or the four-footed creatures] are in labor [...]; on the other hand, if they were not removed at the moment of labor, no birth would take place».³⁵

Furthermore, the last two examples show that, similarly to the case of *ēsuriō* – where the primary semantics «I am hungry» ended up coexisting with the secondary one «I want to eat» –, also *parturiō* preserved the original meaning «I am in labor» down to Classical and Late Latin.³⁶ Nev-

³³ Translation after Barsby, cit., 189.

³⁴ Translation after B.E. Perry, *Babrius, Phaedrus. Fables*. “Loeb Classical Library” 436, Cambridge MA 1965, 339.

³⁵ Translation after D.E. Eichholz, *Pliny. Natural History*, vol. 10: *Libri XXXVI–XXXVII*. “Loeb Classical Library” 419, Cambridge MA 1962, 121.

³⁶ Further Late Latin attestations of *parturiō* with the meaning «I am in labor» are: Serv. ad Aen. III 73: *parturienti Apollinem matri dicitur praeuisse obstetricis officium* «it is nar-

ertheless, we will see immediately below that also this verb developed a secondary, coexisting desiderative semantics, at least in some contexts.

One may now wonder whether the oldest semantic value «I am in labor» might have arisen from a previous and unattested desiderative meaning, according to a putative development *«I want to give birth» ⇔ «I am in labor». Consequently, the meaning «I am in labor» could no longer be invoked to prove that the verbs in *-uriō* did not represent, in origin, a desiderative category. Notwithstanding this, there are reasons suggesting that the above scenario is unlikely. First, a desiderative semantic nuance would be quite unexpected for a verb with basic meaning «give birth», since this kind of action represents a bodily need – to say it with Risch –, «wobei es sich kaum um einen Wunsch, sondern um einen unwiderstehlichen Zwang der Natur handelt»³⁷. Second, it is noteworthy that a desiderative semantic value «I want to give birth; I prepare myself to let out sth.» is actually attested for *parturiō*, but only since the time of Cicero and Livy. As the examples in (7) show, this particular employ usually required inanimate subjects, like *dolor* «pain», *animus* «soul», etc. This restricted sphere of usage suggests that the desiderative meaning arose only secondarily from the original one «I am in labor» (of women or animals) and thus did not constitute the semantic base from which the latter developed.

(7) Attestations of *parturiō* with desiderative semantics

- (a) Cic. *Phil.* 2, 46, 119: *ut aliquando dolor populi Romani pariat, quod iam diu parturit* «so that the suffering of the Roman people at length brings to birth what it so long wishes to bring to birth»,³⁸
- (b) Liv. XXI 18: *et quod diu parturit animus vester aliquando pariat!* «and may your mind at last bring to birth what it so long wishes to bring to birth!».³⁹

rated that Apollo helped his mother as an obstetric, when she was in labor»; or Hier. *Sirach* 48, 21: *et doluerunt quasi parturientes mulieres* «and they suffered as laboring women».

³⁷ Thus Risch, cit., 191.

³⁸ Translation after D.R. Shackleton Bailey, *Cicero. Philippics 1-6*. “Loeb Classical Library” 189, Cambridge MA 2009, 171.

³⁹ Translation after B.O. Foster, *Livy. History of Rome*, vol. 5: *Books 21-22*. “Loeb Classical Library” 233, Cambridge MA 1929, 53.

Finally, if the desiderative meaning «I want to give birth» really were the most ancient one – having yielded «I am in labor» only secondarily –, one would expect to find at least some traces of such a desiderative semantics in the oldest attestations of *parturiō*. However, as seen in (5.A) above, in the oldest Latin texts *parturiō* shows exclusively the meaning «I am in labor», with specific reference to the culminant and most painful phase of the pregnancy.

2.3. *The desiderative spread*

As mentioned at the beginning of the present section, the desiderative meaning traditionally associated with the verbs in *-uriō* should be regarded as secondary. In particular, I argue that it first originated in the verb *ēsuriō*, where an understandable semantic development «I am hungry» ⇔ «I want to eat» took place. The dating of this semantic shift (and of the following desiderative spread) should be approximately located in the 1st century BCE: *terminus post quem* are the Old Latin attestations of *ēsuriō* and *parturiō*, where one never encounters desiderative semantics (see 2.A and 5.A above); *terminus ante quem* is the very beginning of the 1st century CE, since in the last Ovid *ēsuriō* already exhibits the meaning «I want to eat», see (3) above.

Only secondarily did then the new desiderative nuance spread from the verb *ēsuriō* – the most frequent among the forms in *-uriō* – to many other items belonging to this category, a process which I label «desiderative spread». One of the first verbs in *-uriō* exhibiting a clear and exclusive desiderative semantic value is the hapax *empturiō*, in Varro *rust.* II, 6: *tibi, Niger Turrani noster, [...] quod te empturientem in campos Macros ad mercatum adducunt crebro pedes* «for you, my friend Turranius Niger, since often [...] your feet bring you, when you wish to buy, to the market at Campi Macri».⁴⁰ Further, Cicero's neologisms such as *prōscripturiō* «I want to do new lists of proscription» (*Att.* I 14, 7) or *sullāhuriō* «I want to act like Sulla» (*Att.* IX 10, 6) undeniably testify that *-uriō* was a productive morpheme provided with desiderative meaning in the 1st century BCE at Rome, at least in the idiolect of a cultured speaker like Cicero. Interestingly, these neologisms occur almost exclusively in Cicero's *Epistulae*, which might mean that they prevalently characterized the informal language. Beside above mentioned *empturiō* «I want to buy», other instances of verbs

⁴⁰ Translation after Storr–Best, cit., 124. Cf. also Risch, cit., 191.

in *-uriō* with a transparent desiderative meaning are *cenāturīō* «I want to have dinner» and *nupturīō* «I want to get married».⁴¹ Such a semantic value is also exhibited across-the-board by Late Latin attestations like *scrip-turīō* «I want to write» or *dicturīō* «I want to dictate»: I regard the latter cases as erudite neologisms, likely imitating the Ciceronian neologisms.

Notwithstanding this, not all the verbs in *-uriō* were involved in the above described desiderative spread, since at least some forms occur, whose meaning cannot be deemed to be desiderative.⁴² In particular, I would like to focus here on the following four items.

- (a) *Nīxurīō* is glossed as *qui niti vult, et in conatu saepius aliqua re per-pellitur* «who wants to give birth and is very often constrained to an effort by something» by Nonius (144 M),⁴³ who is quoting Nigidius. This verb is also attested in the *Glossarium Philoxenianum*, where it is translated with the Greek hapax φιλοτοκέω «I desire to give birth». Despite the gloss of Nigidius, I am convinced that an actual desiderative meaning is quite unlikely for *nīxurīō*, since – as already noted in § for *parturīō* – the action of giving birth cannot

⁴¹ Some examples follow. For *cenāturīō*, hapax in Mart. XI 77, 3: *in omnibus Vacerra quod conclavibus / consumit horas et die toto sedet, / cenaturit Vacerra, non cacaturit* «Vacerra spends hours in all the privies, sitting all day long. Vacerra doesn't want to shit, he wants a dinner» (after D.R. Shackleton Bailey, *Martial. Epigrams*, vol. 3: *Books 11-14*. "Loeb Classical Library" 480, Cambridge MA, 1993, 65); for *nupturīō*, Apul. *apol.* 70, 9: *igitur si Claro nupsisset [...], sponte eam diceris sine ulla magia iam olim nupturisse* «thus, if she had married Clarus [...], you would say that already at that time she would wish to get married spontaneously and without magic».

⁴² In the present discussion I will not consider those occurrences of verbs in *-uriō* whose semantic value is unclear, at least to me. Just to give an example, *cacāturīō* in CIL IV suppl. 5242 [Pompei] might be interpreted either as desiderative or as necessitative: *ubi cacaturiero, veniam cacatum* «when I'll want / I'll have to shit, I'll come to shit». Further, the existence of *habiturīō* within the context of an obscene metaphor in Plautus (*Truc.* 149-150) is uncertain: *si arationes / habituru's, qui arari solent, ad pueros ire meliust* «if you're keen on having plow land, you'd better go to boys, who are used to being plowed» (translation after de Melo, *Plautus. Stichus*, cit., 283). *Habituru's* is the version of the *Itali* manuscripts: cf. W.M. Lindsay, *T. Macci Plauti Comoediae*, Oxford 1905, 496 (*habituris*); *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, <https://tll-degruyter-com.emedien.ub.uni-muenchen.de/> (last accessed: 19/05/2024), s.v. ? *habiturio* (*habituru's*); P.-J. Enk, *Plauti Truculentus cum prolegomenis, notis criticis, commentario exegetico*, Leiden 1953, 47 (*habituris*); Risch, cit., 192 fn. 8 («*habiturire* ist zweifelhaft»); G. Augello, *Le commedie di Tito Maccio Plauto*, Torino 1976, 672 (*habituris*); de Melo, *Plautus. Stichus*, cit., 282 (*habituris*).

⁴³ Cf. W.M. Lindsay, *Nonii*, cit., 210, 19-20.

be controlled by wish or will. Thus, a necessitative interpretation «I have to give birth» (⇒ «I am in labor») seems more appealing to me. Further, this analysis is supported by the use of a necessitative verb in the gloss of Nigidius himself, where *perpellitur* «is violently pushed, constrained» appears.

- (b) For *canturiō* three attestations are available. In the first one, from Petron. 64, 2, Trimalchio turns to Plocamus and says: *nihil narras? [...] Et solebas suavius esse, canturire belle deverbis, adicere melicam* «don't you tell anything? [...] You used to be more pleasant company, and sing blank verse very prettily, and put in songs too». ⁴⁴ Then there is a passage in which Festus ⁴⁵ describes the *dagnades*, a type of birds: *sunt avium genus [...], quae vellicando morsicandoque et canturiendo adsidue non patiuntur dormire* «they are a type of birds [...], who pinching, chewing and singing continuously do not tolerate to sleep». Finally, a gloss ⁴⁶ translates *canturiō* with the Greek verb ψιθυρίζω «I chirp». A quick evaluation of these occurrences is sufficient to ascertain that the actual semantic value of *canturiō* was either pluractional (= *cantō* «I sing repeatedly») or essentially unmarked (= *canō* «I sing»), but securely it did not express any desiderative nuance («I want to sing»). ⁴⁷
- (c) Also the three occurrences of *micturiō* seem to request an unmarked translation «urinate, piss», thus equivalent to the basic verb *mingō*: *iam facundo ponente lacernas / Caedicio et Fusco iam micturiente...* «and eloquent Caedicius is now taking off his cloak and Fuscus is now taking a leak» (Iuv. XVI 45–46); ⁴⁸ *noctibus hic ponunt lecticas, micturiunt hic / effigiemque deae longis siphonibus implent* «here at night they halt their litters, here they piss and fill the goddess's

⁴⁴ Translation after W.H. Heseltine – M.D. Rouse, *Petronius, Seneca. Satyricon. Apocolocyntosis*. “Loeb Classical Library” 15, Cambridge MA, 1913, 141.

⁴⁵ Cf. W.M. Lindsay, *Festus. De verborum significatu cum Pauli epitome*, Stuttgart et al. 1913, 60, 11–13.

⁴⁶ Cf. W.M. Lindsay et al., *Glossaria Latina iussu Academiae Britannicae edita*, Hildesheim 1965, vol. 2, 208 fn. 113.

⁴⁷ Cf. already Risch, cit., 192: «Die Bedeutung ist eher „zwitschern“ [...] jedenfalls nicht desiderativ».

⁴⁸ Translation after S. Morton Braund, *Juvenal and Persius*. “Loeb Classical Library” 91, Cambridge MA 2004, 511.

image with powerful streams» (Iuv. VI 309–310);⁴⁹ (*pueri, sacer est locus, extra / meite*): *ne in hoc loco micturiant* «(children, the place is holy, you have to urinate outside): so that they do not urinate in that place» (Schol. Pers. I 113–114).

- (d) Finally, the most evident exception to the desiderative spread is constituted by the second most frequent verb within the *uriō*-class, viz., *parturiō*. Probably also due to its particular semantics, this form preserved its original meaning «to be in labor» from the Old to the Late Latin period, as shown in § . Admittedly, there are some attestations – presented in (7) above – where a metaphorical meaning «I want to give birth; I prepare myself to let out sth.» occurs also for *parturiō*. Nevertheless, such an employ remained quite marginal, and it was limited to inanimate subjects. Further, the fact that this desiderative meaning of *parturiō* is firstly attested in one of the last works of Cicero (*Phil.*) nicely fits the tentative chronology of the desiderative spread proposed above (i.e., 1st century BCE).

We are now in the position to conclude the semantic analysis arguing that at least three verbs in *-uriō* – namely, *parturiō* «I am in labor», *canturiō* «I sing (repeatedly?)», *micturiō* «I urinate, piss» and, perhaps, also *nixuriō* «I am in labor» (?) – seem to exhibit either an only marginal presence or even absence of desiderative meaning (even though one should keep in mind that for some of these items the number of attestations is very scanty). It follows that the desiderative semantics should be regarded as secondary, since it likely spread from *esuriō* «I am hungry; I want to eat» to many – but significantly not to every – member of the *uriō*-class.

3. ETYMOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

While investigating the prehistory of the verbal suffix *-uriō*, one may first think of an etymological connection between this suffix and the future participle morpheme *-t/sūrus*.⁵⁰ Certainly, the possibility of a semantical-

⁴⁹ Translation after Morton Braund, cit., 261.

⁵⁰ On the origin of this suffix, see most recently B.W. Fortson, *The Origin of the Latin Future Active Participle*, in A.J. Nussbaum (ed.), *Verba Docenti. Studies in historical and Indo-European linguistics presented to Jay H. Jasanoff by students, colleagues, and friends*, Ann Arbor et al. 2007, 83–96.

ly-driven association between future participles in *-t/sūrus* and verbs in *-uriō* in the synchrony of Latin cannot be excluded – cf., e.g., *ēsūrus sum* «I am about to eat» ~ *ēsuriō* «I am hungry; I want to eat», *partūrus sum* «I am about to give birth» ~ *parturiō* «I am in labor», etc. However, a problem of this connection consists in the formal mismatch between the long *-ū-* of the future participles and the short *-u-* of the *uriō*-verbs, for which no convincing explanation has been offered so far.⁵¹

In order to account for the origin of the suffix *-uriō*, I will thus propose an alternative two-steps analysis.

3.1. First step

The first step consists in the derivation of adjectives in **-tu-ro-* through the application of the suffix **-ro-* to underlying *tu*-stems.

As can be observed in (8), the derivation of adjectives in **-ro-* from basic *u*-stems is well attested among the Indo-European languages.⁵²

(8) Secondary derivatives in **-ro-* to bases in **-u-*

- (a) Greek γλάφ-υ «cavity, hollow (in the rock)» (only Hes. *Op.* 533: γλάφου πετρῆεν) → γλαφυ-ρό-ς «provided with a cavity, hollow» (*Il.*);⁵³
- (b) Greek *φλέγ-υ- «(act of) burning» (cf. φλέγω «I burn») → φλεγυ-ρό-ς «provided with burning, burning» (*Ar. Ach.* 664);⁵⁴

⁵¹ On this point, cf. also Risch, cit., 187 with fn. 2.

⁵² For further examples beside those presented in (8) (e.g., Greek καπνρός «dried out» [Epicharm. 150] or Vedic *jāsuri-* «hungry» [RV]), see P. Chantraine, 1933, *La formation des noms en grec ancien*, Paris 1933, 230-235; J. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, vol. 2, 2: *Die Nominalsuffixe*, Göttingen 1954, 487-488; A.J. Nussbaum, *Severe Problems*, in J.H. Jasanoff et al. (eds.), *Mír Curad. Studies in honor of Calvert Watkins*, Innsbruck 1998, 521-539, 528; S. Schaffner, *Lateinisch radius und Verwandtes*, «Glotta» 86, 2011, 109-144, 118-122.

⁵³ Cf. P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la Langue Grecque: histoire des mots*, achevé par Jean Taillardat, Olivier Masson et Jean-Louis Perpillou, Paris 1999², 226-227 (s.v. γλαφυρός); M.L. West, *Hesiod. Works and Days*, Oxford 1978, 293; Nussbaum, *Severe Problems*, cit., 528. Differently H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg 1960-1972, vol. 1, 311 (s.v. γλαφυρός), who takes γλαφυρός as dissimilated from *γλαφυλός.

⁵⁴ Differently, though ultimately uncertain, Frisk, cit., vol. 2, 1023 (s.v. φλέγω, with further refs.), who again proposes a possible dissimilation from *φλεγυλός.

- (c) Vedic *pāṃs-ú-* «dust» → *pāṃsu-rá-* «provided with dust, dusty» (RVI 22, 17);⁵⁵
- (d) Latin *lux-u-s, -ūs* «luxury» → **luksu-ro-* «provided with luxury, luxuriant» → *luxur-ia* «luxuriance» (Plaut.);⁵⁶
- (e) Perhaps Latin **gnāru-ro-* «who knows, knowing» (?), which likely represents (i) the ancestor of the *i*-stem adjective *gnāru-ri-s* «expert» (Plaut. 2x) as well as (ii) the derivational base of the causative verb *gnārurat* «lets know».⁵⁷

As can be noted from the examples in (8), the secondarily suffixed morpheme **-ro-* basically had possessive meaning, i.e., «provided with, having X». If X was a verbal abstract, this possessive meaning could further develop to an agentive one: cf., e.g., Greek *φλεγυ-ρό-ς* (: **φλέγ-υ- + φλέγω* «I burn») «provided with burning» ⇔ «burning» (see 8.b above).⁵⁸

However, of major interest for our purposes is the derivation of adjectives in **-ro-* from verbal nouns in *-tu-*. This morphological pattern seems to be rarer than that described in (8) above, where the starting point is constituted by simple *u*-stems. Despite this, examples both from Latin and the other daughter languages can be found, see (9).

(9) Secondary derivatives in **-ro-* to bases in **-tu-*

(A) Extra-Latin examples

- (a) PIE (Proto-Indo-European) **u̯ieh₁-* «envelop; bend» (cf. Vedic *vyáyati* «envelops», Lithuanian *výti* «bend», Latin

⁵⁵ Cf. Wackernagel, cit., 857; M. Mayrhofer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, Heidelberg 1992, vol. 2, 114-115; A.J. Nussbaum, *Two Studies in Greek and Homeric Linguistics*, Göttingen 1998, 152.

⁵⁶ Cf. Weiss, cit., 305 and Schaffner, cit., 119 fn. 26.

⁵⁷ Latin *gnārurat* is attested in a gloss (= Greek *γνῶρῖζει*, see Lindsay et al., *Glossaria*, cit., 162 fn. 9). For *gnāruris* (*Most.* 100 [accusative plural] and *Poen.* 47 [nominative plural]), see now M.L. Weiss, *Pig, Cake and Sun: Observations on the IUVILA Inscriptions*, in S. Hisatsugi (ed.), *Die italischen Sprachen. Neue linguistische und philologische Aspekte*, Hamburg 2021, 167-184, p. 172 fn. 13, who rightly points out that the expected nominative singular should be **gnārur* rather than *gnāruris*, although the latter only occurs in the late author Ausonius. As for the suffix substitution **-o- >> -i-* in Latin adjectives, see M. Leumann, *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre*, München 1977, 346-347 and Weiss, *Outline*, cit., 335.

⁵⁸ Cf. further O. Hackstein, *From Possessive to Agentive. The Emergence of Agentivity in Possessive Adjectives*, in A.A. Catt et al. (eds.), *QAZZU warrai. Anatolian and Indo-European Studies in Honor of Kazuhiko Yoshida*, Ann Arbor et al. 2019, 106-122.

vieō «id.», etc.);⁵⁹ → *tu*-stem **uġéh₁-tu-* / **uġh₁-teŭ-* «(act of) bending» → Old Church Slavonic *vitv-ina* f. «twig, branch» (< **uġh₁-tu-^o*) and possibly Greek ἰτέα [i] f. «willow» (< **uġh₁-téu-eh₂-*), even though the initial long [ī-] might be secondary;⁶⁰ → *ro*-adjective **uġh₁-tu-ro-* «provided with bending» > Lithuanian *výturas* «bandage, roll» and **uġh₁-tu-r-iġo-* > Lithuanian *vytūris* «convolvulus» (type of plant).⁶¹ In the light of (i) the basic verb Lithuanian *výti* «bend» and (ii) the extra-Baltic cognates (cf. the verbal adjective Vedic *vī-tá-* «enveloped»), the circumflex in Lithuanian *výturas* is likely to be secondary;

- (b) PIE **ueġh₁-* «reach towards, purse» (cf. Vedic *véti* «looks into, longs for», Lithuanian *výti* «pursue», etc.);⁶² → *tu*-stem **uġéh₁-tu-* (no direct attestations); → *ro*-adjective **uġh₁-tu-ro-* → **uġh₁-tu-r-iġo-* > Lithuanian *vyturỹs* m. (3) «lark», Latvian (denominative verbs) *vīturuôt* and *vīteruôt* «twit»: the suffixal *u*-vocalism found both in Lithuanian and Latvian suggests that the variant with *-u-* is the original one.⁶³ From a semantic point of view, cf. the cognates Vedic *ve-vīy-ate* «flies» (RV X 33, 2) and Avestan *ā-vaīieinti* «they fly» (Yt. 13, 49), with semantic development «long for» ⇔ «fly». ⁶⁴ If the latter semantic development also took place in the prehistory of Baltic, the meaning

⁵⁹ Cf. S. Neri, *Wetter. Etymologie und Lautgesetz*, Perugia 2017, 198-199 and 324-325, http://www.ctl.unipg.it/issues/CTL_14.pdf (last accessed: 19/05/2024). See also H. Rix et al., *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben. Die Wurzeln und ihre Primärstammbildungen*, Wiesbaden 2001², 695.

⁶⁰ Cf. Frisk, cit., vol. 1, 743 (s.v. ἰτέα) and R.S.P. Beekes, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, Leiden et al. 2010, 604 (s.v. ἰτέα). The relationship between Greek ἰτέα f. «willow» and ἵρυς, -voς f. «rim of the shield», with short initial [i-], is not completely clear: for a throughout discussion, see Neri, cit., 324-325 with refs.

⁶¹ Cf. J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Bern et al. 1959, vol. 1, 1120-1122; E. Fraenkel, *Litauisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 2 vols., Heidelberg 1962-1965, 1268; W. Hock, *Altlitauisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 2021, 1265-1266, <https://alew.hu-berlin.de/> (last accessed: 19/05/2024).

⁶² See Rix et al., cit., 668.

⁶³ For the Baltic attestations, cf. Fraenkel, cit., 1269 and Hock, cit., 1462.

⁶⁴ Cf. C. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, Berlin 1904, 1356 and Mayrhofer, cit., vol. 2, 508 and 510. On the semantic development «long for» ⇔ «fly», see also J. Schindler, *Die idg. Wörter für „Vogel“ und „Ei“*, «Die Sprache» 15, 1969, 144-167, p. 159.

«lark» of Lithuanian *vyturys* can be explained in the following way: Pre-Proto-Baltic **uih₁-tu-ro-* «provided with flying (**uih₁-tu-*), flying» → **uih₁-tu-r-iio-* «flying (creature), bird» > Lithuanian *vyturys* (semantic specialization) «lark»;

- (c) PIE **seh₂(i)-* «rage» (cf. Hittite *sāit* «he raged»);⁶⁵ → *tu*-stem **séh₂i-tu-* > Old Irish *saeth* m. «labor»; → *ro*-adjective **seh₂i-tu-ro-* > Old Irish *saethar* n. «work, labor»;⁶⁶
- (d) PIE **h₂ueh₁-* «blow» (cf. Greek ἄημι «I blow», etc.);⁶⁷ → *tu*-stem **h₂ueh₁-tu-* (no direct attestations); → *ro*-adjective **h₂ueh₁-tu-ro-* > Greek ἄήσυρος «light (as air), agile (of ants)» (Aesch. Pers. 452), Skt. *vātula-* «windy»;⁶⁸
- (e) PIE **(s)mer-* «remember» (cf. Vedic *smárati* «remembers», etc.);⁶⁹ → *tu*-stem **(s)mér-tu-* / **(s)mṛ-téu-* >> **(s)mṛ-tu-* > Greek μάρτυς m./f. «witness» (Pind.; accusative singular μάρτυν in Simon.); → *ro*-adjective **(s)mṛ-tu-ro-* > Greek μάρτυρος m. «id.» (Hom. *Il.* II 302).⁷⁰

(B) Inner-Latin examples

- (a) PIE **seh₂(i)-* «to be sated» (cf. Tocharian B *soy-* «id.»);⁷¹ → *tu*-stem **séh₂-tu-* / **sh₂-téu-* «(act of) being sated, fullness» > Latvian *sātus* m. «moderation (at eating)», → Old Prussian (denominative verb) *sātu-ineis* «you satiate» and possibly Lithuanian *sótus* (3, 1) / *sotùs* (4) «sated, satiating», if arisen through adjectivization of the original abstract in *-tu-*;⁷² →

⁶⁵ See Rix et al., cit., 521.

⁶⁶ Cf. Pokorny, cit., 877; morphologically unconvincing is R. Matasović, *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Celtic*, Leiden et al. 2009, 325, who derives Old Irish *saethar* from **seh₂itro-*.

⁶⁷ See Rix et al., cit., 287.

⁶⁸ Cf. Frisk, cit., vol. 1, 26; Neri, cit., 148; M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary: Etymologically and Philologically Arranged with Special References to Cognate Indo-European Languages*, Oxford 1872, 935.2; more cautious on Greek ἄήσυρος are Chantraine, *Dictionnaire*, cit., 26 and Beekes, cit., 28.

⁶⁹ See Rix et al., cit., 569-570.

⁷⁰ Cf. Frisk, cit., vol. 2, 178-179; Chantraine, *Dictionnaire*, cit., 668-669; G.-J. Pinault, *Aspects de la reconstruction de l'abstrait en indo-européen*, in N. Flaux et al. (ed.), *Les noms abstraits. Histoire et Théories*, 1996, 199-211 and 206.

⁷¹ See Rix et al., cit., 520.

⁷² Cf. Pokorny, cit., 876 (Lithuanian *sotùs* «post-verbal to *sotinti*»); Fraenkel, cit., 857 (s.v. *sotùs*); F. Heidermanns, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der germanischen Primäradjektive*, Berlin 1993, 458 (s.v. **sada-*); Hock, cit., 954 (s.v. *sótus*).

ro-adjective **sh₂-tu-ro-* «provided with fullness» > Latin *satur*, *-ī* «sated»;⁷³

- (b) PIE **uel-* «whirl» (cf. Latin *vol-v-ō* «I roll»);⁷⁴ → *tu*-stem **uel-tu-* (no direct attestation); → *ro*-adjective **u(e)l-tu-ro-* > Latin **voltur* >> *volturus* m. «vulture» (Enn. *ann.* 138 *apud* Serv. VI 595, 8), with analogical reintroduction of the nominative ending *-us*.⁷⁵ The thematic form *volturus* is likely to be the oldest one, since the consonant stem *vo/ultur*, *-is* – normal in Classical and Late Latin – is only attested from Vergil on (*Aen.* VI 597).⁷⁶ In Plautus (*Capt.* 844) only the vocative *volturi* (nominative *volturius* «vulture») occurs, but this derivative in *-ius* is ambiguous, since it can be based both on *volturo-* (*o*-stem) and on *voltur-* (consonant stem). The inner-Latin reshaping *volturus* >> *vo/ultur* may have taken place under the pressure of the antonym *turtur*, *-is* «dove».⁷⁷ In order to account for the semantics, there are two possibilities: either **u(e)l-tu-ro-* «provided with whirl (**uel-tu-*)» ⇔ «circling (bird)» ⇔ «vulture», with reference to the typical movement of this bird; or **u(e)l-tu-ro-* «provided with whirl (**uel-tu-*)» ⇔ «robbing (bird)» ⇔ «vulture», with semantic development «whirl» ⇔ «rob»;⁷⁸
- (c) An old *crux* of Latin morphology, namely the substantives and adjectives in *-tūrus/a* (e.g., *nātūra* «nature», *mātūrus* «ripe»,

⁷³ See De Vaan, cit., 540 (s.v. *satis*) and Weiss, *Outline*, cit., 305 (with question mark).

⁷⁴ See Rix et al., cit., 675.

⁷⁵ Cf. *socerus* instead of *socer* «father-in-law» in Plaut. *Men.* 957; on the latter point, see G. Meiser, *Historische Laut- und Formenlehre der lateinischen Sprache*, Darmstadt 1998, 73.

⁷⁶ Cf. Walde – Hofmann, cit., vol. 2, 830-831 (s.v. *voltur*) and Ernout – Meillet, cit., 751 (s.v. *voltur*), whose etymological connection with Latin *vellō* «pull out» (←PIE root **uelh₃-* «hit», see Rix et al., cit., 679) is difficult to maintain, since one would expect to find some reflex of the interconsonantal laryngeal in Latin; more cautious is De Vaan, cit., 688 (s.v. *voltur*).

⁷⁷ Cf. De Vaan, cit., 688 (s.v. *voltur*), with refs. There was also another predatory bird, whose name ended in *-tur*, *-is*, viz., *astur*, *-is* «goshawk»; however, this word is only attested quite late (Firm., 4th century CE): see Walde – Hofmann, cit., vol. 1, 74 (s.v. *astur*).

⁷⁸ For this semantic development parallels are known: cf. Gothic *wil-w-an* «rob», from the present root PIE **uel-* «whirl» (W.P. Lehmann, *A Gothic Etymological Dictionary*, Leiden 1986, 404 and Rix et al., cit., 675 fn. 6); German *winden*, both «wind» and «wrest»; Lithuanian *sūkti* «wind, turn» but also «deceive, bewitch» (Fraenkel, cit., 939).

etc.), likely arose through suffixation of the morpheme **-ro-* to a sequence **-tu-h₁* > *-tū*, i.e., the old instrumental of *tu*-stems.⁷⁹

Finally, it can be relevant to note that the suffixation of the morpheme *-ro-* to verbal or adjectival abstracts – in particular to *s*-stems – is independently attested in Latin: cf., e.g., **témh₁-s-re-h₂* >> Latin *tenebrae* pl.f. «darkness» (cf. Vedic *támisrā-* «id.»); **kerh₂-s-ro-* > Latin *cerebrum* n. «brain»; Proto-Italic **βoun-es-ro-* >> (see fn. 57 above) **βoun-es-ri-* > Latin *fūnebris* «funerary», etc.

3.2. Second step

The second step consists in the derivation of denominatives in *-īre* from the above mentioned adjectives in **-tu-ro-*. Denominatives in *-īre* from thematic bases mostly possessed the essive meaning «to be in the state described by X», where X corresponds to the derivational base.⁸⁰

In the present paper, I cannot extensively deal with the development of Latin denominatives in *-īre* from thematic bases, for which I refer the

⁷⁹ See Leumann, cit., 316 and Weiss, *Outline*, cit., 322 (with refs.) and 324. Unclear is the relationship between the nominal suffix *-tūrus/a* and the future participle morpheme *-t/sūrus*. A connection between the two is favored by Meiser, cit., 228 and O. Hackstein, *Zur Entwicklung von Modalität in Verbaladjektiven*, in E. Tichy et al. (eds.), *Indogermanisches Nomen: Derivation, Flexion und Ablaut. Akten der Arbeitstagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft, Freiburg, 19. bis 22. September 2001*, Bremen 2003, 51-66, p. 59. In contrast, Fortson, cit., 92-93 argues for keeping these suffixes separated.

⁸⁰ Cf. A.J. Nussbaum, *Studies in Latin Noun Formation and Derivation: ī in Latin Denominative Derivation*, in C. Watkins (ed.), *Indo-European Studies II*, Cambridge MA 1975, 116-161, p. 150. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that some exceptions do exist: e.g., **arto-* «narrow» → *artīre* «to narrow» (*Cato agr.* 40, 3) with factitive semantics; **katulo-* «pup» → *catulīre* «desire pups» ⇔ «to be in heat» (*Varro rust.* II 9, 11). The desiderative nuance found in the last example has been compared with the very similar one shown by Vedic denominatives like *janīyāti* «desires a wife» (← *jāni-* «wife, woman»). However, Elizabeth Tucker, *Some Innovations in the System of Denominative Verbs in Early Indic*, «TPHS» 86, 1988, 93-114, has convincingly argued that such formations likely represent inner-Indic developments; so also B. Vine, *PIE mobile accent in Italic: Further evidence*, in B. Nielsen Whitehead et al. (eds.), *The Sound of Indo-European: Phonetics, Phonemics, and Morphophonemics*, Copenhagen 2012, 545-575, pp. 558-559 and B. Vine, *On the Vedic Denominative Type putrīyānt-*, in D. Gunkel et al. (eds.), *Sahasram Ati Srajas. Indo-Iranian and Indo-European Studies in Honor of Stephanie W. Jamison*, Ann Arbor et al. 2016, 455-469, pp. 460-461 and 466.

reader to Nussbaum⁸¹ and Vine⁸². The essential problem is represented by the fact that, according to the Latin sound laws, the *je/o*-denominatives from thematic bases should belong to the second, not to the fourth conjugation. Vine⁸³ has proposed to account for this discrepancy by elaborating a new accent-conditioned Proto-Italic sound change concerning vowel raising, i.e., $Xe\acute{i}\acute{V} > Xi\acute{i}\acute{V}$.⁸⁴ In any case, the derivational pattern thematic base $\rightarrow$ denominative in *-īre* is well attested in Latin: e.g., **superbo-* «superb» $\rightarrow$ **superbe-je/o-* $\rightarrow$ *superbīre* «to be superb»; **insāno-* «mad» $\rightarrow$ **insāne-je/o-* $\rightarrow$ *insānīre* «to be mad», etc. The same holds for Sabellic: e.g., **seruo-* $\rightarrow$ Umbrian *seritu* «observātō, servātō».⁸⁵

On the other hand, though, also cases are attested in which a thematic base yielded an essive denominative in *-āre* rather than in *-īre*: e.g., **pigro-* «lazy» $\rightarrow$ *pigrāre* «to be lazy», not **pigrīre*; **aīmulo-* «emulous» $\rightarrow$ *aemulārī* «to be emulous», not **aemulīrī*, etc.⁸⁶ Since in attested Latin *-āre* was the only productive verbal suffix, I regard these essive denominatives in *-āre* as more recent formations, whereas the essive denominatives in *-īre* likely came to being during an older phase of Latin prehistory, when the morpheme *-īre* still possessed a certain degree of productivity.

⁸¹ Cf. Nussbaum, *Studies in Latin*, cit., 149-150.

⁸² Cf. Vine, *PIE mobile*, cit., 556-563, esp. fn. 55 for a possible connection to the verbal class in *-uriō*; B. Vine, *A Hoarse of a Different Color* (*Plautus*, Poen. 778 *rāvīō*), in A.I. Cooper et al. (eds.), *Multi Nominis Grammaticus. Studies in Classical and Indo-European Linguistics in honor of Alan J. Nussbaum, on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday*, Ann Arbor et al. 2013, 315-328, p. 322.

⁸³ Cf. Vine, *PIE mobile*, cit., 554-555.

⁸⁴ See also, most recently, M. Kümmel, *Zur Akzentuierung der Denominativa im Indogermanischen*, in D. Gunkel et al. (eds.), *Vina Diem Celebrant. Studies in Linguistics and Philology in Honor of Brent Vine*, Ann Arbor et al. 2018, 167-177.

⁸⁵ Cf. Vine, *On the Vedic*, cit., 461. For another possible Sabellic example, see A.J. Nussbaum, *Agentive and Other Derivatives of “τόμος-Type” Nouns*, in C. Le Feuvre et al. (eds.), *Verbal Adjectives and Participles in Indo-European Languages / Adjectifs verbaux et participes dans les langues indo-européennes. Proceedings of the conference of the Society for Indo-European Studies (Indogermanische Gesellschaft), Paris, 24th to 26th September 2014*, Bremen 2017, 233-266, p. 245 with fn. 50, who tentatively proposes to account for Oscan *louf-i-r* «or» $\Leftarrow$ **«wants»* (< Proto-Italic **louβ-ije/o-*) starting from the thematic adjectival base PIE **leuβ^h-o-* found in Old Church Slavonic *ljubъ* «sweet», Old High German *liob* «dear», etc.

⁸⁶ Cf. A.J. Nussbaum, *Replacing locus ‘place’ in Latin locuplēs*, in D. Gunkel et al. (eds.), *Sahasram Ati Srajas. Indo-Iranian and Indo-European Studies in Honor of Stephanie W. Jamison*, Ann Arbor et al. 2016, 276-295, p. 291.

3.3. Concrete example

Based on the preceding considerations, in (10) I will try to reconstruct the derivation of *parturiō* «I am in labor».⁸⁷

(10) Proposed derivation of Latin *parturiō* «I am in labor»

- (a) *tu*-stem *par-tu-s*, *-ūs* m. «(act of) giving birth»;
- (b) *ro*-adjective **partu-ro-* «provided with giving birth, giving birth» ⇔ «being in labor», with agentive meaning since the derivational base *partus*, *-ūs* is a verbal abstract (§ above);
- (c) *īre*-denominative **parture-ĭe/o-* > *parturit* «is in labor», in parallel to the development **superbo-* «superb» → **superbe-ĭe/o-* > *superbit* «is superb».

The suffix *-uriō* itself likely arose after resegmentation of frequent forms like *ēsur-iō* and *partur-iō*. They were reanalyzed as *ēs-uriō* and *part-uriō*, and synchronically reconnected to the respective perfect passive participles, namely, *ēs-us* and *part-us*. Unsurprisingly, the productive way to create new verbs in *-uriō* in Latin consisted precisely in the application of this morpheme to the respective perfect passive participle, not present stem.⁸⁸

Finally, I argue that some evidence regarding the relative chronology of the *uriō*-class is available. In particular, it seems likely to me that the verbs in *-uriō* arose in a period of Latin prehistory by which *-īre* still functioned as a productive suffix for the derivation of essive denominatives from thematic bases, and it had not yet been replaced by *-āre*. Otherwise, as in the case of *pigrāre* «to be lazy», we would be dealing with forms like **ēsūrāre*, **parturāre*, etc.

4. THE ABSENCE OF VOWEL WEAKENING

It can be noticed that the suffix *-uriō* seems not to have undergone the expected Latin vowel weakening, which would have led to forms like **ēseriō*,

⁸⁷ As Benjamin Fortson (p.c.) kindly points out to me, the derivation of *ēsuriō* – the other more frequent verb in *-uriō* beside *parturiō* – according to the pattern in (10) would still be workable, albeit a bit less transparent. In step (b), one should assume a semantic development «(provided with) eating» ⇔ «hungry» in order to account for the final meaning «I am hungry».

⁸⁸ Cf. Weiss, *Outline*, cit., 433.

**parteriō*, etc., with weakening **u* > *e* / *_rV* as in **suecuro*- > *socerum* «father-in-law» (accusative singular).⁸⁹

4.1. An attempt of explanation

Based on Rix⁹⁰ and Nishimura⁹¹, I assume that the Latin vowel weakening proceeded in two phases. The first one took place approximately in the 5th century BCE, when Latin still possessed word-initial stress.⁹² At that time, the mid and low vowels **e*, **o*, **a* merged into a central vowel **ə*, whereas the high vowels **i*, **u* largely remained unchanged.⁹³ The second phase is to be located in the first half of the 3rd century BCE, see Meiser⁹⁴. By that time, immediately preceding the beginning of the literary period, an important innovation had affected the Latin accentual system, namely, the Penultimate Law. Within this new accentual framework **ə* (< **e*, **o*, **a*) was fronted and raised to **i* (> Latin *i*), thus merging with the unchanged original **i*.⁹⁵ Meanwhile – and crucially for our purposes – I would like to propose that Pre-Latin **u* underwent two distinct developments, described in (11).

- (11) Proposed developments of Pre-Latin **u* in open internal syllable
 (A) Pre-Latin **u* became Latin *i*, thus merging with the already existing *i* which had so many different sources, if the new stress assigned by the Penultimate Law fell either to its left or to its right:
 (a) New stress to the left: e.g., **kántu-ko*- > *cánticus* «musical»; **káput-es* > *cápit-is* «head» (genitive singular); **kórnu-gero*- > *córni-ger* «horned»;⁹⁶ **kórnu-kan*- > *córni-cen* «trumpeter»;

⁸⁹ Cf. Leumann, cit., 80 and Weiss, *Outline*, cit., 127-128, 433.

⁹⁰ Cf. H. Rix, *Die lateinische Synkope als historisches und phonologisches Problem*, «Kratylos» 11, 1966, 156-165, pp. 160-162.

⁹¹ Cf. K. Nishimura, *Patterns of Vowel Reduction in Latin: Phonetics and Phonology*, «HS» 123, 2010, 217-257, pp. 231 and 234.

⁹² For this chronological reference, cf. Meiser, cit., 66 and Weiss, *Outline*, cit., 130-131.

⁹³ See V. Leppänen – T. Alho, *On the Merger of Latin Closed-mid Vowels*, «TPhS» 116, 2018, 460-483.

⁹⁴ Cf. Meiser, cit., 53.

⁹⁵ Cf. Nishimura, cit., 225 and 230.

⁹⁶ On this and the preceding item, see Weiss, *Outline*, cit., 126.

**mánu-kā-* > *mánica* «sleeve»;⁹⁷ **suécuro-* > *sócer-um* «father-in-law» (accusative singular); **uētus-es* > *véter-is* «old» (genitive singular),⁹⁸ etc.;⁹⁹

- (b) New stress to the right: **gēlu-kVdio-* >> *geli-cídium* «night-frost» (already in Cato agr. 65, 2), from the *u*-stem *gelus*, -*ūs* «frost».¹⁰⁰

It is worth remarking that the above described evolution **u* > *i* actually represents the standard development, as far as the weakening of Pre-Latin **u* in open internal syllable is concerned. However, it is generally regarded as independent from the penultimate stress.

- (B) Pre-Latin **u* was maintained as Latin *u* if stressed in the new accentual system. This would be exactly the case for the verbs in -*uriō*, for which one may reconstruct the following development: 1.sg. **ēsuriō* (word initial stress) > *ēsúriō* (Penultimate Law).¹⁰¹

Admittedly, such a development would be valid only for some slots within the paradigm: e.g., the expected outcome of the third person singular should be **ēsurīt* > **éserit*, not *ésurit* (14x in Latin)¹⁰². Despite this, it is worth remarking that not only the first singular (6x) and the third plural (2x) persons of the present, but also the highly frequent present participle **ēsuriēns* > *ēsúriēns* (26x) and all the

⁹⁷ Thus Weiss, *Outline*, cit., 126. For an analogical interpretation, see Leumann, cit., 80.

⁹⁸ That Latin *veter-is* had an old internal *-*u-* can be deduced from the comparison with Lithuanian *vetušas* «old» and Old Church Slavonic *vetъxъ* «id.» (< **uētus-o-*): see Ernout – Meillet, cit., 730 (s.v. *vetus*); De Vaan, cit., 672-673 (s.v. *vetus*); and R. Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic Inherited Lexicon*, Leiden et al. 2008, 518 (s.v. **vetъxъ*); differently Walde – Hofmann, cit., vol. 2, 777 (s.v. *vetus*), where Latin *vetus* is equated with Greek ἔτος n. «year», and Leumann, cit., 374, who explains *vetus* as back-formed to *vetustās* «age, antiquity».

⁹⁹ To the above list one might add some etymologically less transparent examples: e.g., **áku-no-* > *ácinus* «grape», if the latter is really related to *acu-leus* «sting», *acú-tus* «sharpened», etc.; thus De Vaan, cit., 23 (s.v. *acu-*).

¹⁰⁰ From the present account are excluded forms like **frūktu-* «enjoyment; fruit» → *frūctu-ósus* «fruitful» – also with penultimate stress to the right of *u* –, since here *u* is followed by a vowel, not by a consonant.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Nishimura, cit., 236-238 for the application of a similar argument in order to account for the absence of weakening in a form like Latin *concrépuī* «I cracked» (not **concripuī*).

¹⁰² The count of these and the following attestations is based on the PHI Latin Text database (<https://latin.packhum.org/search>, last accessed: 19/05/2024).

persons of the present subjunctive (totally 9x) would have yielded the unweakened variant with *u*.¹⁰³ It is thus conceivable that these forms functioned as analogy pivots for the leveling of the vowel *u* through the whole paradigm.

At the same time, it stands to reason that also the synchronic association with the respective perfect passive participles (*ēsus*, *partus*, etc. – see § 3.3 above) might have played a role in the preservation of *u* in the suffix *-uriō*.¹⁰⁴

Interestingly, the present hypothesis may also explain why in other Latin forms with phonetic structure similar to that of the verbs in *-uriō* (i.e., °*ú.CV.V*) one never encounters the expected vowel weakening. Following Weiss¹⁰⁵, in (12) I divide these items into two main groups.

(12) Further examples of Pre-Latin **u* > Latin *ú* (due to the Penultimate Law)

(A) Substantives whose etymology is in many cases unknown¹⁰⁶

- (a) **kúrkuliō* > *curcúliō* «weevil» (Plaut.);
- (b) **gúrguliō* > *gurgúliō* «throat» (Plaut.);¹⁰⁷
- (c) **índusio-* > *indúsium* «shirt» (Varro), even lacking rhoticism;¹⁰⁸
- (d) **lóngurio-* > *longúrius* «type of spear» (Varro), which Weiss¹⁰⁹ proposes to etymologize starting from *longulus*, thus with velar *l* (see below);
- (e) **lúksuriā-* > *luxúria* «luxuriance» (Plaut.; see (8.d) above), though analogical influence of *luxus* can also have played a role here;¹¹⁰

¹⁰³ However, as Brent Vine and David Goldstein (p.c.) reminds me, one should keep in mind that in the case of the present participle also the oblique stem *ēsuriént-* (29x) is quite well attested. For what it is worth, in Plautus 1.sg. *ēsúriō* is slightly more frequent than *ēsurit* (4x vs. 3x), and the same is true for *ēsúriēns* vs. *ēsuriént-* (again, 4x vs. 3x).

¹⁰⁴ Cf. *mutatis mutandis* Weiss, *Pig*, cit., 172, who invokes analogy with the *tu*-stem abstracts.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Weiss, *Pig*, cit., 171-172.

¹⁰⁶ As duly noted by Weiss, *Pig*, cit., 172, the preservation of *u* in many (but not all) the forms in (A) may also be due to vowel harmony with a *u* in a preceding syllable.

¹⁰⁷ On this and the previous item, see Ernout – Meillet, cit., 285 and 508.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. De Vaan, cit., 643.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Weiss, *Pig*, cit., 172 fn. 14.

¹¹⁰ See Weiss, *Outline*, cit., 129 fn. 11.

- (f) **prō-munturio-* > *prō-muntúrium* «promontory» (Pacuv.);
- (g) **túgurio-* > *tugúrium* «hut» (Varro).¹¹¹

One could add to this group also Latin *decuria* «group of ten men» (Plaut.). However, Weiss¹¹² convincingly traced back *decuria* to a pre-form **dékuerijā-*, assuming a development of unstressed *-*ue-* to *-*ui-* > -*u-*: accordingly, *decuria* likely never had a Pre-Latin vowel **u* in open internal syllable.

(B) Some personal and place names, in some cases of Sabellic or Etruscan origin:

- (a) **Áburio-* > *Abúrius*; **Mámurio-* > *Mamúrius*; **Mérkurio-* > *Mercúrius*; **Mínukio-* > *Minúcius*; **Pérusiā-* > *Perúsia*; **Pléturio-* > *Pletúrius*; **Sángurio-* > *Sangúrius*; **Ūetusio-* > *Vetúrius*, but cf. *véteris* (genitive singular) in (11.A.a) above, etc.;¹¹³
- (b) **Líguriā-* > *Ligúria* (Colum.), which might have also been responsible for the preservation of post-tonic -*u-* in the ethnonym *Lígures* «Ligurians» (Cic.) – note further the adjectives *Liguscus* «Ligurian» (Varro), *Ligusticus* «id.» (Cic.), *Ligustīnus* «id.» (Liv.), etc., all expectedly with -*u-* in a closed internal syllable.¹¹⁴

The previous discussion can thus be summarized by arguing that the weakening of Pre-Latin **u* in open internal syllable did not take place when this phoneme was in words with structure *°*Cú.CV.(C)V(CC)* (*ē.sú.ri.ō, lon.gú.ri.us*, etc.), provided that -*C-* after *-*ú-* was neither a labial (*p, b, f, m*) nor a velar *l*, as I will specify immediately below. If these conditions were met, Pre-Latin **u* became stressed according to the Penultimate Law, because it was followed by two syllables, the first of whom was light: the presence of the stress on it probably prevented **u* from getting weakened

¹¹¹ On the variants *tegurium* and *tigurium*, see Ernout – Meillet, cit., 1198 (s.v. *tugurium*) and P. Baldi, *Latin* *tugurium*, «HS» 110, 1997, 241-247, who regards *tigurium* as the original one. However, he does not offer any explanation for the suffix -*urium* (see p. 246).

¹¹² Cf. Weiss, *Pig*, cit., 172-173.

¹¹³ On these forms, see Weiss, *Pig*, cit., 172, with refs. to the single attestations.

¹¹⁴ However, if one accepts the *fácilius*-rule – according to which proceleusmatic words would have still retained their stress on the initial syllable in Plautine times (Weiss, *Outline*, cit., 121; Weiss, *Pig*, cit., 171 fn. 10) –, then also the -*u-* of *Liguria* ought to be analogical to that of *Liguscus*, *Ligusticus*, etc. For an etymological proposal concerning the ethnonym *Lígures* «Ligurians», see, most recently, G. Imberciadori, *The Bright Ligurians*, «BNF» 57/1, 2022, 81-97.

to **i*. It goes without saying that a fundamental requirement for this pattern to apply was that the involved items consisted of at least four syllables (*ē.sú.ri.ō*, *lon.gú.ri.us*, etc.). By contrast, the weakening **u > i* took place when Pre-Latin **u* was either preceded or followed by the penultimate stress. Such conditions were met in words where **u* was either itself in a penultimate light syllable (stress to its left) or it was followed by at least three syllables (stress to its right): e.g., **^oCu.CV(CC)* (*cá.pi.tis*) or **^oCu.CV̇(C)V(C)* (*ge.li.cí.di.um*).

As briefly hinted at above, a relevant specification concerning the nature of the consonants following Pre-Latin **u* in the examined syllabic structures should now be done. In the present paper I deal exclusively with forms in which the consonant following **u* is neither a labial (i.e., *p, b, f, m*) nor a velar *l* (i.e., *l / _a, o, u, e* or *C*, provided that *C ≠ l*).¹¹⁵ Indeed, the regular vocalic outcomes were disturbed in both these environments. In the context before a labial, all weakened vowels were constantly written with <u> in Old Latin, whereas later the writing with <i> became dominant, «so, daß unabhängig von der Ursprungslautung teils *u* teils *i* bevorzugt wird»:¹¹⁶ e.g., **ponti-fak-s > pontufex > pontifex* «high priest». Moreover, «when the labial is followed by *i*, the spelling *u* is never found».¹¹⁷ On the other hand, in the context before a velar *l* all vowels which had undergone weakening exhibited velarization to *u*: e.g., **Sikeliā- > Sicilia* «Sicily» vs. **Sikeŋo- > Siculus* «Sicilian».

4.2. Potential exceptions

At this point, one may object that the above statement concerning the weakening of Pre-Latin **u* – i.e., absence of weakening in items with structure **^oCú.CV(C)V(CC)* vs. presence of weakening in items with structure **^oCu.CV(CC)* or **^oCu.CV̇(C)V(C)V(C)* – is contradicted by the following evidence.

- (a) The first group of potential exceptions is represented by words with a root vowel *-u-*. However, in these cases the vowel *-u-* is analogically

¹¹⁵ On the velarization of Pre-Latin **l* before the vowel **e*, see G. Imberciadori, *Zur Etymologie von lat. celeber ‚verkehrsreich, belebt; berühmt‘, lat. celer ‚schnell‘ und der Artikulation von frühlat. *-l- / _ē*, «Glotta» 99, 2023, 66-92.

¹¹⁶ Thus Leumann, cit., 87.

¹¹⁷ Thus Weiss, *Outline*, cit., 128.

preserved in the derived forms, independently of the stress conditions:¹¹⁸ cf., e.g., *pudet* «to be ashamed» → *ím-pudēns* «shameless» (not **ímpidēns*), *repudiōsus* «liable to be rejected» (not **repidiōsus*), and *prō-púdium* «shameful act» (with expected *-u-*).

- (b) Other potential exceptions might be: *gnārruris* «expert» (not **gnārēris*), *púrpura* «purple» (not **púrpera*), *sáturī* «sated» (genitive singular, not **sáterī*), *vólturus* «vulture» (not **vólter-us*), and *vólucer*, *-cris* «able to fly» (not **vólecer*), i.e., all words with a structure **^oCu.CV(CC)*. While the discussion of *gnārruris* cannot be pushed much further because of the uncertain prehistory of this word and of the suspect shape of its nominative singular (see (8.e) above with fn. 57), the preservation of the second *-u-* in *púrpura* may be accounted for in two ways: either through vowel harmony¹¹⁹ or by assuming that this loanword from Greek πορφύρα «purple» was synchronically perceived as a reduplicated form,¹²⁰ whose vocalic sequence *u...u* should therefore be maintained. The internal *-u-* in *saturī* (genitive singular) may be analogical to that of the nominative *satur* (< **saturis*), where, after the syncope of the thematic vowel, *-u-* regularly remained preserved in a closed syllable. Similarly, also **u(e)l-tu-ro-s* «vulture» at first became **uolturs* > **voltur* (cf. *satur*): its *u*-vocalism was preserved even after the reintroduction of the nominative ending *-us* in attested *volturus* (see (9.B.b) above). Finally, one should recall that the oblique stem of *volucer*, namely *volucr-*, presented a *muta-cum-liquida*-cluster. If the oldest syllabification was a heterosyllabic one of the type *vo.luc.r-is*, *vo.luc.r-em*, etc., then *-u-* would have been in a closed syllable in all case forms but the nominative singular: since in such environment *-u-* was not expected to undergo weakening, the stem allomorph *volucr-* could have been easily generalized within the paradigm.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ Cf. Weiss, *Outline*, cit., 128; Weiss, *Pig*, cit., 171-172.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Weiss, *Pig*, cit., 172.

¹²⁰ Cf. Ernout – Meillet, cit., 966 (s.v. *purpura*).

¹²¹ Although the etymological relationship between *volucer*, *-cris* «able to fly» (Naev.), *volucris*, *-is* f. «winged creature» (Pacuv.) and *volāre* «fly» (Andr.) is undisputable, the precise morphological prehistory of the two former words is obscure: see De Vaan, cit., 697-698 (s.v. *volō*), with refs.

- (c) A bit more surprising is the last exceptional group, containing diminutives in *-culus* derived from *u*-stems.¹²² According to the hypothesis presented above, one would expect preservation of **u* here, as this vowel became stressed under the conditions of the Penultimate Law. In contrast, it seems that Pre-Latin **u* always underwent weakening to Latin *i* in this class of words: e.g., **manu-* «hand» → *maní-cula* «little hand», not **manú-cula*; **artu-* «joint, limb» → *artí-culus* «id.», not **artú-culus*, etc. This fact, however, could have a morphological explanation: since the morpheme *-culus* derived diminutives only from bases of the third, fourth and fifth declension, it seems reasonable to assume that an analogical transfer of a sequence *-i-culus/a* took place here. The latter sequence would have arisen through the reanalysis of diminutives derived from *i*-stems (type **aid-i-* «temple» → *aedi-cula* «chapel») and would have then been transferred to the diminutives derived from *u*-stems as well.

5. CONCLUSIONS

In the present paper I argued that the oldest semantic value of the verbs in *-uriō* should not be regarded as desiderative, despite the longstanding grammatical tradition supporting this claim. The desiderative nuance likely originated approximately in the 1st century BCE, starting from the most frequent item of this verbal class, viz., *ēsuriō*. Nevertheless, the subsequent desiderative spread did not affect the meaning of every form pertaining to this category: verbs like *canturiō* «I sing (repeatedly?)» or *parturiō* «I am in labor» exhibit absence or only marginal presence of the desiderative semantic value.

From a formal point a view, I proposed to etymologize the verbs in *-uriō* as denominative formations derived from unattested adjectives in **-tu-ro-*, for which morphological parallels could be identified both within and outside Latin: e.g., Latin *satur*, *-ī* «sated» and Greek *μάτρυρος* m.

¹²² On the etymology of the morpheme *-culus* and its complementary distribution with the semantically equivalent *-ulus*, see Weiss, *Outline*, cit., 300–301 and S. Schaffner, *Zur Wortbildung und Etymologie von lateinisch autumnus ‚Herbst‘*, «Graecolatina et Orientalia» 35-36, 2014, 67-102, p. 90 fn. 95.

«witness». This analysis led me to conclude that the original meaning of the verbs in *-uriō* was «to be in the state described by X» – where X is the derivational base –, in fact a typical semantic value for denominative formations.

Finally, I tried to motivate the lack of vowel weakening in the suffix *-uriō* by recurring to its phonetic structure. In particular, the new accentual conditions created by the Penultimate Law starting ca. from the 3rd century BCE, by which the inherited vowel Pre-Latin **u* became stressed in some slots of the paradigm, prevented **u* from getting weakened to Latin *e* before the following rhotic. Notably, the same explanation may account for the preservation of Pre-Latin **u* in other words with phonetic shape nearly resembling that of the verbs in *-uriō*, i.e., *longurius*, *tugurium*, etc.

SVMMARIVM – De Latino suffixo agitur, quod -uriō scribi solet et «desiderativum» ab antiquis grammaticis nuncupatum est. Eius vera significatio atque remota origo exploratur: desiderativam significationem ab operibus antiquissimorum Latinorum scriptorum abesse et eam modo in serioribus auctoribus ortam esse invenitur.

*ABSTRACT – In the present paper, I deal with the prehistory of the Latin suffix -uriō, which is traditionally regarded as desiderative in meaning. After a detailed analysis of the available attestations, I argue that the most frequently attested uriō- verbs – namely, ēsuriō and parturiō – do not exhibit a desiderative semantics in their oldest occurrences. Etymologically, I analyze the verbs in -uriō as denominative formations derived from unattested adjectives in *-tu-ro-. Finally, I propose a possible explanation for the lacking of vowel weakening in their open internal syllable – cf., e.g., Latin ēsuriō, not *ēseriō.*