On Some Nouns with the Suffix *-ti- in Latin

Teigo Onishi
Kyoto University
teigo.onishi@gmail.com

The suffix *-ti- has traditionally been considered to be added to a root in the zero grade to form abstract nouns or *nomina actionis*. Nouns formed with this suffix are widely attested in the IE languages and hence the derivational process is considered to have taken place at the stage of PIE. In Latin, as well as other IE languages, we can find various words which appear to contain the suffix *-ti-.

In this presentation, I will collect nouns which seem to have *-ti- in their suffix from de Vaan's (2008) etymological dictionary and sort them according to their historical vowel grades. My survey reveals that the root vocalism of most Latin nouns formed with this suffix is ambiguous between *o/e* and zero, although traditional explanations tend to favor the zero-grade. However, in contrast to the general pattern, we find some irregular nouns that cannot be derived from a zero-grade root. Recently, Vine (2004) has investigated *ti*-stems with full grade in the root and has suggested that the vocalism of some nouns with the structure *CeH-ti-* and *Res-ti-* may be due to their decompositional origin (so-called τερψίμβροτος compounds). I divide irregular Latin nouns into the following three groups:

a) Nouns with root structure of CeT or CeTT. Here the vocalism is probably due to secondary vowel insertion which took place at an archaic stage; e.g. *messis* 'reaping, crop' < *met-ti-* (Root: *LIV*.442 ?1.*met-* 'to harvest'), *restis* 'rope, cord' < *resg-ti-* (Root: *LIV*.507 *resg-* 'weave', OLith. *rekstis* 'basket')

b) Nouns with root-final laryngeal; e.g. *quiēs, quiētis* 'rest, sleep' (f.Pl.+) < *$k^u_{\wedge}\!\!\underset{\wedge}{i}\bar{e}$-ti-* (Root: *LIV*.393 *$k^u_{\wedge}\!\!\underset{\wedge}{i}eh_1$-* 'to rest'), in which the vocalism goes back to the e-grade or possibly was secondary introduced from the perfect or root aorist. e.g. *quiēvī* 'lay down, sleep(pf.1.sg.)', YAv. *śiiāmā* 'make happy, please(inj./subj.1.pl.)'(Y.58.3). Vine (2004) carefully examines these types and proposes that at least some simplex *CéH-ti-* forms are "decompositional version[s] of τερψίμβροτος first members, where full-grade was preserved under the accent; then on the basis of such *CéH-ti-°→ CéH-ti-* patterns, *CéH-ti-* type could have become established ... as a full-grade *ti*-stem in simplicia."(Vine 2004: 370)

c) Others. This group consists of two problematic nouns: namely, *mōns, montis* 'mountain' and *fōns, fontis* 'spring', which appear to display *o*-vocalism in the root.

Since in Latin and other Italic languages, the enlarged suffix *-ti(i̯)ōn-* (← *-ti(i̯)on-* /*-tīn-*) became more productive than forms with simple *-ti-*, it is unlikely that these two forms are recent formations. I will examine how these nouns are treated in the *LeW*

and *DELL*. The former considers the vocalism to be due to contamination and the latter as stemming from a root noun. I will investigate their accounts citing Schindler's (1972) study on root nouns. Also, I will explore the possibility that these derive from *t*-stems and conclude that these previous approaches are unattractive. As a solution for the vocalism in these nouns, I will propose that they derive from adjectives in **-to-*. Since *i*-stem abstract nouns derived from *o*-stem adjectives typically exhibit *o/e*-acrostatic ablaut, this derivation provides a satisfying explanation for their *o*-grade. This derivation can also explain the masculine gender of these nouns, which is unusual for nouns in **-ti-* in Latin.

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