

Suffixes in Latin as an Aspectualizer

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Abstract

This paper examines the way suffixes in Latin function as an aspectualizer, from aspectual, semantic, etymological, and morphological points of view. We distinguish the type which is added to the root like *-scō*, *-tō*, *-essō*, and *-tūriō* from the one which forms an extended present stem as an expansion, added to the simple root, like *-m-*, *-n-*, and *-d-*. In some verbs, the necessary change of meaning takes place because of their inherent meaning. The frequentative *-tō*, *inter alia*, shows the leveling of the meaning like *canō*, *cantō*, and *cantitō*. The aspectuality of the morphemes, *-m-*, *-n-*, and *-d-* are next-to-lost and are maintained in several verbs in Latin. If a verb indicates an event, then the event sometimes consists of a punctual action and a durative state. For example, in the case of 'to sleep', it is natural that falling asleep at a certain point of time happens first and the state of sleeping takes place next. The meaning of a verb depends on the root on which it is based and the grade of vowel gradation. The suffixal morphemes function to adjust the meaning of a verb.

O. Introduction

Morita (1997) examined the way a nasal infix in Latin functions as an aspectualizer and Morita (1998) examined the way prefixes in Latin function as an aspectualizer. This paper examines the way suffixes function as an aspectualizer from aspectual, semantic, morphological, and etymological points of view.

We distinguish the type which is added to the root like *-scō*, *-tō*, *-essō*, and *-tūriō* from the one which forms an extended present stem as an expansion, added to the simple root, like *-m-*, *-n-*, and *-d-*. Then we discuss some implications which are different between the simple verbs and the suffixed ones.

1. suffixes

1.1 *-scō* (inchoative)

1.1.1 Inchoative verbs with *-scō*

Inchoative (also called inceptive) verbs add the ending *-scō/-scere* either to the present stem of another verb or to the stem of a noun or adjective in order to indicate entrance upon an action, or the beginning of an action.

In word-formation, there are three types: one derived from verbal stems, another derived from nominal stems, and the other from adjectival stems. For example, *crēscō*, *hīāscō*, *viēscō*, and the like come from verbal stems, *senēscō*, *īgnēscō*, *īrāscō*, from nominal stems, and *mītēscō*, *nōtēscō*, from adjectival stems. Compared with *senēscō*, no stative forms like *-eō*, correspond to *īgnēscō* and *īrāscō*.

Le type en *-ske/o s'est abondamment développé pour former des présents dérivés comme lat. *senēscō*, *tepēscō*, (*ob*) *dormīscō*, etc., lesquels indiquent généralement d'une action ou l'entrée dans un état¹.

Le suffixe *-scō* indique que l'action ou l'état commence à prendre une certaine intensité, et il désigne

ainsi le début de l'action: *senēscō* << je deviens vieux >>; *nōscō* (*cōgnōscō*) << je commence à connaître >>; *scīscō* << je cherche à savoir >; *crēscō*, *suēscō*, *calēscō*; etc.².

This suffix is very productive and means nothing but the changing phase of a phenomenon. Once the phenomenon has been accomplished, the suffix finishes playing a role and disappears. In most cases, the perfect tense form in *-scō* is the same as in *-eō*.

1.1.2 Asymmetry between *-eō* and *-scō*

The inchoative verb has no perfect tense of its own, but it may use that of the verb on which it is based.

Un perfectum unique, *senuī*, répond à la fois à l'inflectum *seneō* << je suis vieux >> et à l'inflectum *senēscō* << je vieilliss >>; il en est de même de tous les verbes en *-scō*: *scīvī* sert à la fois de perfectum à *sciō* et à *scīscō*³.

A perfect tense form sometimes corresponds to two different forms in the present tense. For example, *stetī*, *sēdī*, and *cubuī*, are respectively the perfect tense forms of *sistō* and *stō*, *sīdō* and *sedeō*, and *-cumbō* and *cubō*. The notion of an accomplished process is just one in comparison with the action: to stand up, to sit down or to lie down and with the consequent state : to be standing, to be sitting, or to be lying.

Les verbes en *-eō* exprimant l'état ont souvent à côté d'eux un verbe en *-ēscō* exprimant l'entrée dans l'état: *albeō/albēscō*, *aneō/anēscō*, *lūceō/lūcēscō*, *seneō/senēscō*, *tepeō/tepēscō*, *vireō/virēscō*, etc. Les couples ainsi constitués n'ont qu'un seul perfectum, en *-uī*⁴.

But *parfait sigmatique* (= *sī*-perfect) is found in some verbs: *ardeō/arsī*, *ardēscō/arsī*, and *lūceō lūxī*. In most cases, *-eō* and *-scō* are collateral. But in several cases, *-eō* is not collateral to *-scō*, and vice versa.

The verb indicating the state which corresponds to the inchoative *suēscō* is *soleō*⁵. There doesn't exist **sueō*, which should be collateral to *suēscō*. According to Pokorny, it is *soleō*, bin *gewohn'* (mit *l* für **dh*) which is collateral to *suēscō*, *werde gewöhnt'* (<**suedh-sko*). Both of them come etymologically from **se-/s(e)ue-* 'sich' (=self).

In some verbs: *nōtēscō* 'become known' (< *nōtus*: known), and *mītēscō* 'grow mild' [no perf.] (< *mītis*: mild), the *-eō* type doesn't exist which has a strong tendency to indicate the state. Instead 'copula and adjective' construction seems to be more suitable for the imperfective state.

Perfect forms are rarely found in some verbs: *fervēscō* 'become boiling' and *lūcescō* 'begin to shine, grow light' in comparison with *ferveō* 'be boiling hot, boil' and *lūceō* 'be light, clear; shine'. It is probably true that *-scō* gives an impetus to the meaning of the root, playing a role as an impetus which causes accomplishment and achievement. Some verbs with *-scō*, indicating the changing phase of a phenomenon, are complementarily separated from ones with *-eō*, indicating the consequent state, in terms of the aspectual meaning in the present tense.

In the case of *nōscō*, *nōvī/cōgnōvī* is to *nōscō/cōgnōscō* what *seneō* is to *senēscō*. The *-eō* type doesn't exist which corresponds to *nōscō*. But the perfect form *nōvī* is its equivalent. This may be attributed to its meaning like the type mentioned above.

Le sens du parfait s'est ensuite étendu au présent comme dans *nōscō* vis-à-vis de *nōvī*⁶

Like *nōscō/nōvī*, *scīvī*, the perfect form of *scīscō* also means *sciō*, 'I know'. The confusion between *sciō* and

scīscō took place.

Cōgnōscō means ‘to become thoroughly acquainted with (by the senses or mental capacities), to learn by inquiring, to examine, investigate, perceive, see, understand, learn’ in the present tense; in the perfect tense, ‘to know’ (very frequent in all periods and species of composition) ⁷. In a way, the perfect of Latin is Janus-faced; it takes on a stative meaning which refers to the present and a perfective meaning which refers to the past. In the case of *cōgnōscō*, *cōgnōvī* has two meanings: one is ‘I have learned’ and the other is ‘I know’. Chronologically, it is natural that ‘I learned’, consequently ‘I know’. The nature of the perfect can be examined by comparing translation equivalents across languages where some use the perfect (or the past tense), and others use the present of a stative verb. Generally speaking, when a mention is focused on the result of an action, then the present state is emphasized. On the other hand, when a mention is focused on an action itself, then the past event is emphasized. According to Morita (1992), which examined *cōgnōvī* in the Godspel according to Saint John from an aspectual point of view:

12:09 Lat. *cōgnōvī ergō turba multa ex Iūdāeīs quia illīc est.*

OE micel menio þāra Iūdēa genēow þæt hē wæs ðær.

F La foule nombreuse des Juifs apprit qu’il était là.

G Da erfuhr eine große Menge der Juden, daß er dort war.

The situation shows many Jews gathered to see Lazarus, who was revived from death. Then *cōgnōvī* means ‘I came to know’ or ‘I learned about’ and corresponds to the past tense of *erfahren*, *erkennen* (in comparison with *kennen*), *merken* in German, ‘passé simple’ in French, and *genēow*, *wiste* in Anglo-Saxon. In a nutshell, *cōgnōvī* refers to the past.

8:55 Lat. *et nōn cōgnōvistis eum.*

OE and gē nē cūðon hyne.

F et vous ne le connaissez pas.

G und ihr kennt ihn nicht.

The situation shows that Jesus told the Jews that he was the one who was sent by the Father to the world and that they should renounce vanity and follow the words of the God; when they wouldn’t follow Jesus he said: ‘you don’t know Him’. In this case, *cōgnōvī* means ‘I know’ and corresponds to the present tense of *kennen*, and *wissen* in German, ‘passé composé’ in French, and *cūðe* (preterite-present verb) in Anglo-Saxon. To summarize, *cōgnōvī* refers to the present state.

Furthermore, some verbs, in spite of being inchoative in form, have no inchoative force in their meaning: *crēscō* ‘grow, spring forth’ (< *creō* ‘create, produce’), *īgnōscō* ‘be forgiving, forgive, pardon’, *oblīvīscor* ‘forget’ (**lei-w-* [ob- ‘away’] to forget < to wipe, let slip from the mind), and *proficīscor* ‘set forth, set out, start’ w(< *prōficiō* ‘advance, make progress, go forward’).

Especially, *īgnōscō*, which literally means ‘not to wish to know, not to search into’, hence, changed from its original meaning to the meaning with especial reference to a fault or crime: ‘to pardon, forgive, excuse, overlook, indulge’.

Crēscō is not necessarily a counterpart of *creō* in meaning. In brief, it doesn’t mean the inchoative of *creō*. This clearly shows asymmetry between the two.

1.1.3 prefix + root + -scō

Les formations de fréquentatifs en *-tāre*, *-itāre* s’accommodaient mal d’un préverbe donnant l’aspect

déterminé: des composés comme *conclāmitāre* et *ērogitāre* sont très rares en face de *clāmitāre*, *rogitāre*.--- De même pour les inchoatifs en *-scō*, le suffixe *-scō* ne convenait plus au perfectum, celui-ci impliquant l'idée de l'état atteint, tandis qu'un préverbe apparaissait pour souligner cette valeur: d'où l'alternance *calēscō/concaluī* ou *incaluī*; *nōscō/cōgnōvī*; *nōtēscō/innōtuī*; *senēscō/cōnsenuī*: le préverbe s'étendit, du reste, par analogie à l'infectum, bien que ce fût illogique. En outre, *ad-* et *ob-*, qui prenaient facilement une valeur ingressive, renforçaient le sens inchoatif du suffixe: *adamscō* << je m'éprends de >>; *obdormīscō* << je m'endors >>⁸.

According to Morita (1998), *ad-* sometimes co-occurs with the suffix *-scō*, but some verbs prefixed by *ad-* mean inchoative without the suffix *-scō*. For example, *adamō* means 'to begin to love' and so does *adamscō*. Originally, in order to emphasize the notion of perfectivity, a prefix is sometimes added to the perfect of a verb suffixed by *-scō* and then the prefix is extended to the present, but this is nothing but an analogy. Therefore, verbs such as *addormīscō* and *adamscō* are not logical indeed.

1.2 -tō (frequentative)

Frequentatives (also called iterative) or intensives denote repeated or intense action. These verbs end in *-tāre*, *-itāre*, *-titāre*, and follow the supine stem.

A frequentative verb is usually a first conjugation verb formed from the fourth principal part of another verb and which originally had the idea of the action being repeated; in many verbs, this idea became lost in time and no discernible difference in meaning is seen in the two verbs.

À *canō* correspond un intensif: *cantō*, *-ās*, *-āvī*, *-ātum*, *-āre*, qui, dès les plus anciens textes, concurrence *canō* sans que la nuance itérative ou intensive soit toujours visible, et qui s'est spécialisé dans le sens propre de << chanter >>. --- *Cantō*, à son tour, un intensif *cantitō*, *-ās*⁹.

For example, *cantō* coming from *canō*, *dormitō* from *dormiō*, *habitō* from *habeō*, and the like are typical. Especially, *cantō* is frequentative in form, but mostly agrees in meaning with *canō*. In reality, while *cantō* is not thought of as frequentative in the course of time, *cantō* is suffixed by *-itō* and *cantitō* denotes the frequentative anew.

Ab eō quod semel, canit, sī saepius, cantat. Hinc cantitat item alia. (Varrō 'Dē linguā latīnā' 6:75)¹⁰
(From the fact that a person sings once, he *canit*; if he sings more often, he *cantat*. From this, *cantitat* 'he sings repeatedly' and likewise other words.)

According to Varro's native intuition, *cantō* was losing its frequentative connotation, and instead *cantitō* was taking on the frequentative meaning.

This kind of meaning change is universal irrespective of languages. For example, in *o-mi-o-tsuke* in Japanese, *tsuke*, which originally means a side dish, comes from *tsukeru* (to add). *Tsuke*, which is a part of the root indicating 'to add', means *tsuke-mono* (mono means a thing), that is, something added to a main dish. But *tsuke* used to also mean *miso soup* (bean's paste-based soup), which should be added to rice or a main dish. In Japanese, *o-* is an honorific affix as well as *mi-*. To begin with, *o-tsuke* loses the honorific implication and consequently another honorific affix *mi-* is prefixed. In the course of time, *mi-o-tsuke* is not looked on as honorific and finally still again *o-* is affixed to *mi-o-tsuke*. Now *o-mi-o-tsuke*, still in use, is considered to still be honorific in Modern Japanese.

Like *canit*, *cantat*, and *cantitat*, in some verbs in Latin, as the frequentative implication is lost, the suffix is added

anew in order to take on a frequentative nuance. Now look at the following triplet: the upper is a root verb, the middle a single-*t* type, the lower a double-*t* type. It may be the lower one that takes on a frequentative nuance. The middle one takes on a touch of such a notion, depending on the verb.

dīcō: to say

dictō: to say often, declare repeatedly

dictō, -ās, fréquentatif et intensif de *dīcō*: dire à haute voix, répéter, dicter¹¹

dictitō: to say often or emphatically, assert repeatedly

dictitō, -ās: dire souvent, répéter¹²

capiō: to take, lay hold of

captō: to strive to seize, lay hold with zeal or longing; catch at

captitō: to strive eagerly after (rare)

currō: to run, move quickly

cursō: run here and there or back and forth

curitō: to run about, run hither and thither

faciō: to make, do, perform

-*factō*: to make, do, perform

factitō: make or do frequently; be wont to make or do

fugiō: to flee or fly, run away

fugitō: to flee eagerly or in haste; shun

habitō: to have frequently, be wont to have; inhabit

legō: to bring together, gather, collect, read

lectō: = *lectitō*

lectitō: to gather or collect eagerly or often; read often or with eagerness or with attention

veniō: to come

ventō: to be wont to come

ventitō: to come often, to be wont to come

In a way, although *jactō* does have the additional meaning ‘boast’, it is true of this type. For as s/he is getting accustomed to doing something, s/he is usually becoming self-confident.

jaciō: to make go > to throw, cast, throw out in speaking, utter

jactō: to throw, cast, hurl, boast of

jactitō: to bring forward in public, utter

To the contrary, in *crōciō* / *crocitō*, the quality of its meaning changed from *crōciō*, which means ‘to cry or croak as a raven’, to *crocitō*, which means ‘to croak loudly’. Conclusively, the restriction on the choice of the subject is withdrawn.

On the other hand, in *glōciō* ‘to cluck as a hen’ and *gloctorō* ‘to cry as a stork’, the restriction is imposed on the

choice of the subject, although, in a morphological sense, *gloctorō* doesn't correspond to *glōciō* in terms of frequentative.

In some verbs, this frequentative idea became lost in the course of time and no discernible difference in meaning is seen in the two verbs. Especially, in some verbs, which are closely related to a daily routine action, the triplet tends to indicate the same meaning.

mergō: to dip, dip in, immerse

mersō: to dip in, immerse

mersō, *-ās* a remplacé *mertō*, comme *pulsō*, *pultō*.

mersitō: to dip in, immerse (post-classic)

pendō: to hang down, suspend > to weigh, weigh out

pēnsō: to weigh or weigh out carefully

pēnsitō: to weigh, weigh out

pēnsitō < *pēnsō* < *pendō*¹³

eō: to go

itō: to go

ititō: to go

dūcō: to lead, conduct, draw

ductō: to lead, draw, conduct; delude < *dūcō*

ductitō: to lead

gerō: to bear, carry, wear, have

gestō: to bear, carry, have < *gerō*

gestitō: to carry often or much, to be wont to carry or bear

videō: to see, go to see, visit

vīsō: to go or come in order to look at, look at attentively, behold

vīsītō: to see, go to see, visit

(*Vīsō*, although not a first conjugation verb, is a frequentative meaning 'look at attentively'. From this verb, another frequentative is formed, *vīsītō*: to see, go to see, visit.)

In this respect, *singultō* 'to hiccup, sob' applies to this theory, but actually it has just one form.

Now look at the couple: the upper is a simple verb; the lower is a suffixed one. For the most part, both have the same meaning.

clāmō: to call, cry out

clāmitō: to cry out violently

nōscō: to get a knowledge of

nōscitō: to know, recognize

pellō : to beat, strike, push

pulsō : to beat, strike, push

[*pultō* : to beat, strike, knock (collateral form of *pulsō*)]

rogō : to ask, question

rogitō : to ask or inquire with eagerness

trahō : to draw, drag, haul

tractō : to draw violently, drag, tug, haul

incipiō : to begin

inceptō : to begin, undertake, attempt < *incipiō*

Next, look at the couple in which the frequentative form still indicates a touch of repetition and a habitual notion.

scribō : to write, draw

scriptitō : to write often, compose

vergō : to bend, turn

versō : to turn, wind, twist, or whirl about often or violently

[*vertō* : to turn, turn round or about]

volvō : to roll, turn about, turn round, tumble

volūtō : to roll, turn, twist, or tumble about

volūtō, -ās : fréquentatif-intensif de *volvō* << rouler à plusieurs reprises >>¹⁴

dormiō : to sleep

dormītō : to be sleepy, drowsy

Like most of them, going through the change of meaning, *habitō* originally means 'to hold' and then 'to possess' and finally 'to have'. Through the evolution, *habeō* tends to be replaced by the frequentative *habitō*¹⁵.

According to Varro's native intuition, bringing several ideas together into one repeatedly is nothing but thinking or considering. In this sense, *cōgitō* may be said to be the frequentative of *cōgō*.

Cōgitāre ā cōgendō dīctum: mēns plūra in ūnum cōgit, unde ēligere possit.

(*Cōgitāre* 'to consider' is said from *cōgere* 'to bring together' : the mind *cogit* 'brings together' several things into one place, from which it can choose.)

(Varrō 'Dē linguā latīnā' 6:43)¹⁶

1.3 -essō (desiderative) and -tūriō

À *capiō* correspondent¹⁷:

1° un duratif en -ā- usité seulement dans des composés sous la forme -*cipō*, -*cupō*.

2° un désidératif:

capessō (= *dēsīderō capere*) << chercher à prendre, à saisir >>, d'où << entreprendre >> (sens

physique et moral); *capessere Italiam* << chercher à gagner l'Italie >>, d'où l'emploi de *capessere*, sē *capessere* avec le sens de << se diriger vers >>, comme *facessere*.

3° un intensif:

captō << chercher à prendre >>, d'où << faire la chasse à >>, << convoiter >>, et << capter >>.

Now we think of desideratives, which indicate desire or tendency, and look forward to an action. There are two types of desideratives: one ends in *-essō*; the other in *-tūriō*. The former type is sometimes called meditative.

1.3.1 *-ssō*

Sont anciens *quaesō* (de **quais-so*) en face de *quaerō* (de **quais-ō*) et *vīsō* (de **weid-so*) en face de *videō*. L'infectum *vīsō* n'a pas de perfectum; mais *quaesō* et *quaerō* ont tous deux le même, de type secondaire, *quaesivī*, d'où le participe *quaesītus*. Le type courant comporte une géminée, qui se maintient après voyelle brève: *capessō*, *facessō*, *laccessō*, *petessō* en face de *capiō*, *faciō*, *laciō*, *petō*. Quand il y a un perfectum, il est du même modèle que *quaesivī*; ainsi *laccessivī*. L'analogie de *petō* *petivī* a pu jouer un rôle, *petō* ayant par lui-même un sens assez voisin du désidératif¹⁸.

In Latin, there are some archaic traces of the future tense form ending in *-sō*, which are represented by *capsō*, *dīxō*, *faxō*, and correspond to the future tense form ending in *-σω* in Greek. This type of the future has a special meaning and helps to make the result outstanding. This suffix of the 'resultative' future has something to do with the formation with *-ssō*¹⁹.

For example, *arcēssō* (ar=ad + *cēssō*), which is a causative form of *accēdō*, designates 'to summon, fetch', while *acciō*, without the suffix in question, designates merely the calling without indicating the coming of the person called. To conclude, the former includes the result; the latter doesn't. Furthermore, from an aspectual point of view, the suffix *-ssō* indicates the perfective aspect.

Now compare the upper with the lower in the following list. The lower verbs, looking forward to an action in the future, take on a touch of the resultative-future nuance.

capiō: to seize

capessō: to seize eagerly, strive to reach a place or limit

faciō: to do

facessō: to do eagerly or earnestly, accomplish

incēdō: to go

incēssō: to enter, attack

laciō: to entice, allure

laccessō: to provoke, irritate

1.3.2 *-tūriō*

The future participle ending in *-tūrus* is thought to consist of a stem of a supine ending in *-um* and an infinitival form of *sum*, **erom* < **es-om*. In spite of the difference in the lengthening of *-u-*, it reminds us of the desideratives ending in *-tūriō*, like *partūriō* 'to desire to bring forth' and hence 'to envy'²⁰. Compared with the *-ssō* type, *-tūriō*

indicates the notion of desire much more clearly.

emptūriō : to be all agog for buying

ēsuriō : to desire to eat > to be hungry

partūriō : to desire to bring forth, envy

minctūriō : to desire to urinate

nuptūriō : to desire to marry

cantūriō : to desire to sing

cēnātūriō : to have an appetite for dinner

dictūriō : to long to say

scrip̄tūriō : to desire to write

amātūriō : to wish to love

habitūriō : to desire to have

mictūriō : to want to urinate

1.4. -b- of *amābam/amābō*

An aspectual morpheme *-ba-* is suffixed to the root of a verb in the imperfect tense in Latin. It is etymologically related to ‘be’ in English. This suffixal morpheme indicates the state. For example, *sedēbat* corresponds to *s/he was sitting*. Morphologically, the internal linguistic forms in *sedēbat* and *s/he was sitting* are somewhat identical. In any case, it is an aspectualizer in the imperfect.

2. Expansion/Élargissement/Erweiterung

The roots which end in a consonant in some languages appear with a different consonant in other languages. For example, in comparison with skr. *trāsati* ‘he trembles’ and gr. *τρέω*, gr. *τρέμω* and lat. *tremō* include an expansion *-m-*, which appears in *premō* and *dormiō* in Latin. From this, it is followed that both **tres-* and **trem-* come from the same root **ter-*. In this case, *-s-* and *-m-* alike are an expansion, which helps to indicate a certain nuance as a morpheme. For example, **trep-* > lat. *trepidus*, **ters-* > lat. *terreō*, **tres-* > gr. *τρέω*, and **trem-* > lat. *tremō*/gr. *τρέμω*²¹ are derived from **ter-*.

Pour exprimer l’idée du gonflement, de l’enfleure, il existe une racine de forme **teu-*, pour laquelle sont attestées dans diverses langues des formes élargies **twel-*, **twer-*, **twen-*, **twem-*, et aussi une racine de forme **keu-* dont on connaît des élargissements **kwel-*, **kwen-*, **kwem-*²².

**Twel-*, **twer-*, **twen-*, and **twem-* are all extended roots and then the consonants *l/r/n/m* are expansions. These morphemes are called *élargissement* in French and *Erweiterung* in German. In Latin, *tumēō* ‘to be swollen’ comes from **teu-*. Nothing is referred to about the perfect stem and supine in Lewis and Short²³ or Ernout and Meillet²⁴. But its frequentative *tumēscō* has its perfect stem. From this, it is followed that *tumēō* takes on a durative aspect, which depends on the morpheme *-m-*. Now we examine several morphemes suffixed to the roots to function as an aspectualizer.

2.1 -m-

Par exemple en grec *τρέω* et *τρέμω* ne s’emploient pas indifféremment. Un présent *τρέμω* indique

qu'on est pris d'un tremblement, tandis que *τρέω* indique un tremblement dont on n'envisage pas le terme. D'autre part à côté de *τρέμω*, il n'existe ni aoriste ni parfait, alors que *τρέω* est accompagné d'un aoriste hom. *ετρεσσα*. En latin il y a à la fois un présent *premō* et un perfectum *pressī*²⁵.

In Greek, there is neither aorist nor perfect in *τρέμω*, corresponding to *tremō* in Latin, while there exists an aorist form in *τρέω*, corresponding to *terreō* in Latin, according to Ernout and Meillet: *terreō*; La racine est celle qui se retrouve, autrement élagrie, dans *tremō*²⁶. For *-m-* functions as an aspectualizer.

Especially, an event 'to sleep' is divided into two parts. First, 'to fall asleep' happens and is followed by 'to be sleeping'. In Latin, the morpheme *-m-* functions in order to take on a durative implication.

Dormiō est un présent dérivé de la forme élargie, athématique **drem-*. Voir les observations faites sous *premō* et sous *somnus*. Pour exprimer la notion de << dormir >>, à l'aspect indéterminé, on a recouru à la racine **der-* avec le suffixe de présent **-em-*, qui indique l'aspect << indéterminé >>²⁷.

La forme à élargissement *-m-* de *dormiō* marquait un état qui dure et ceci a entraîné l'élimination des formes verbales de **swep-* autres que celles du causatif²⁸.

L'élargissement *-em-* indique un procès qui dure; en latin, on a ainsi *dor-m-iō*, qui indique le fait d'être en état de sommeil²⁹.

An aspectual morpheme *-m-* indicates the durative state. In Latin, *dormiō* means the state of sleeping.

La racine **ter-* << trembler >>, qui a un caractère expressif, n'existe guère sans élargissement.

Le groupe de **trem-* est représenté notamment par gr. *τρέμω*. Un groupe **tres-* figure dans skr. *trāsati* << il tremble >>. *τρέω* << je tremble >> --- Le type **tres-* est à **trem-* ce que **pres-* de *pressī* est à *premō*. Ici, *-em-* indique le procès qui dure, comme l'indique la différence de valeur de *τρέω* et de *τρέμω* en grec³⁰.

In addition to *dormiō* and *tremō*, this suffix is also found in *fremō* and *premō* in Latin. The meaning 'to press' may depend on the suffix *-m-* with durative value. Usually, it takes a certain period of time to do some pressing. It goes without saying that it takes a certain period of time to do some roaring and then *fremō* includes *-m-*. In Gothic *qiman* and Anglo-Saxon *cuman* coming from the root **gwem-* instead of **gwa-*, is also found this *-m-*, but the meaning of the suffix is next to lost. In Latin a trace of this very archaic type survives here³¹.

In addition to *-m-*, a suffix *-t-* functions the same as *-m-* indicating a durative action in *tre-m-ō* and *dor-m-iō* in Latin. For example, *pateō* 'to be open' for *aperiō* 'to open' indicates the durative state. But this *-t-* is an archaic trace in Latin³².

2.2 -n-

Le suffixe **-ne/o* servait en indo-européen à former des thèmes de présents, généralement dérivés de thème constitués par la racine seule. Le latin en a des exemples dans *cernō* (de **kri-nō*), *linō*; le grec dans *δάκνω*, *δαρθάνω*, *ἀμαρτάνω*, etc. La valeur de ces présents est souvent en grec d'insister sur le début du procès³³.

The value of this suffix seems to focus on the realization of the process. Now we look at the following verbs to

see if the nasal functions as an aspectualizer.

Cernō ‘to separate, sift’ comes from **krei-*, which indicates the idea of ‘to sift’, but in Latin this meaning is not maintained except in a denominative of *crībrum* without *-n-*. *Linō* ‘to daub, spread’ comes from **lei-* ‘slimy’ but it is suggested that it is probably identical to **lei-* ‘to flow’³⁴. The nasal of *sternō* ‘to spread out, stretch out’ is also seen as an aspectualizer from the fact that the present of Vedic *strnati, strnite* ‘he spreads/pours’ is an ancient present with an expansion **-na-* in the root. In addition, *sinō* ‘to let, allow’, *spernō* ‘to sever, separate’, *pōnō* ‘to put’, and *contemnō* ‘to despise’ have the same suffixal nasal. These verbs are said to have the characteristics of an ancient form.

Furthermore, we examine *-stināre* ‘to stand up’, *tollō* ‘to lift’, and *sternuō* ‘to sneeze’, whose meanings are influenced by the nasal.

In order to indicate the state ‘to be standing’, e-grade is used like *stāre*. On the other hand, in order to indicate a terminated event from beginning to end, the nasal morpheme is used like *-stināre*. *Standan* in Anglo-Saxon is the same type, but the meaning of its nasal is lost³⁵.

Le présent à infixe nasal qu’elle possédait indique d’une manière plus forte encore le procès qui aboutit à un terme et signifiait << enlever >>³⁶.

The nasal of **tol-n-ō* > *tollō* is referred to as a suffixal aspectualizer.

Le sens de << éternuer >> de lat. *sternuō*, gr. *πτάρνημαι*, provient sans doute en grande partie de la valeur propre du présent à nasale, dont l’aspect déterminé se prête à indiquer un phénomène brusque tel que l’éternuement³⁷.

Sneeze is a next-to-punctual phenomenon, which has some affinity with the perfective aspect. As Comrie³⁸ picks up a punctual verb, *cough*, as long as we are in real time it is unlikely that anyone would want to refer to the duration or successive phases that make up the situation.

In this case, the nasal functions as an aspectualizer. But, like coughing, sneezes (*atchoos*) are sometimes repeated a couple of times. So a frequentative form, *sternūtō*, is very common.

Judging from the characteristic that, like a nasal infix, the suffix *-n-* disappears in the perfect stem and supine, this suffixal morpheme is a kind of aspectualizer.

2.3 -d-

Two verbs derive from **ten-*: one with a suffix **-de/o-* to indicate the perfective aspect, *tendō*; the other with e-grade to indicate the durative state, *teneō*³⁹.

Le cas de *pendō, pependī, pēnsus* est évidemment parallèle à celui de *tendō, tetendī, tēnsus*. Mais, en face de *tendō*, on a le verbe exprimant l’état *teneō*, qui montre immédiatement que tout le verbe *tendō* est fait sur un présent à suffixe **-de/o-* qui sert à marquer le procès déterminé. De même, *pendō* doit être bâti sur une racine *pen-*⁴⁰.

The case of *pendō, pependī, pēnsus* is evidently parallel to that of *tendō, tetendī, tēnsus*. But in comparison with *tendō*, the verb indicating the state, *teneō*, exists. The morpheme *-d-* is a suffix which functions to take on a perfective aspect. Like this, *pendō* comes from the root **pen-*.

Des présents en *-tō* et en *-dō*. Il s'agit d'un élargissement ancien. Le latin a tiré parti de ce procédé d'élargissement. Il possède d'une part un petit groupe de verbes en *-c-tō*: *flectō*, *nectō*, *pectō*, *plectō*; et de l'autre des verbes en *-dō* (dont le *d* peut représenter **d* ou **dh*) comme *cūdō*, *tendō* (en face de *teneō*) avec un perfectum *tetendī*, *frendō* (en face de *fremō*), *-fendō* (dans *of-fendō*, *dē-fendō*) remplaçant un ancien présent athématique répondant au skr. *hānti* << il frappe >>, *pendō*⁴¹.

In the type like *flectō* 'to bend', *nectō* 'to bind', and *pectō* 'to comb', an element of derivation **-te/o-* is found.

Only the form with *per-* survived because of its perfective value. Compared with *perculī* and *perculus*, *-ll-* of *percellō* comes from *-ld-* and **-d-* is a suffix, which helps the verb take on a perfective aspect. This suffixal morpheme has some congeniality with the prefix *per-*. That is why only *percellō* survived from among several compound forms. In Morita (1998)⁴², which deals with the prefixal aspectualizers, the characteristic of *per-* is referred to as follows: judging from the fact that *per-* has something etymological to do with the word 'perfection', it is reasonable to think *per-* has some affinity with the idea of perfection. In addition, the inherent meaning of this group itself takes on a perfective aspect. Thence, this function represents *per-* in terms of aspectuality.

Pepulī et *pultāre* montrent que la racine est ici **pel-*. Le *-ll-* de *pellō* en face de *pulsus* suppose un présent à suffixe **de/o-* indiquant l'aspect << déterminé >> (procès aboutissant à un terme); la formation est la même que dans *tendō* en face de *teneō*, *tetinī*, *tentus*, etc. (cf. le cas de *-cellō*, *vellō*, *fallō*)⁴³

Here the suffix functions as an aspectualizer. Furthermore, the *-ll-* of *vellō* comes from *-ld-* like *pellō*. The remarkable feature of this formation is that the present form takes on a perfective aspect⁴⁴.

3 Suffixes as an aspectualizer in English

3.1 Iterative suffixes in English

There are also two types of suffixes forming iterative and frequentative in English: one is *-er*, the other *-le*. The former is represented by *mutter*, *glimmer*, *flicker*, *whisper*, *clatter*, *stammer*, *stutter*, *stagger*, *shiver*, *shudder* and so forth, while the latter is represented by *babble*, *chuckle*, *drizzle*, *sizzle*, *sniffle*, *cackle*, *twinkle*, *dazzle* and so forth. Both of them have something to do with onomatopoeias.

3.1.1 English *-le*

First, we examine *babble* in English and *babae* in Latin, both of which have the same root from a viewpoint of sound symbolism⁴⁵.

Latin *babae* is an imitative word of unarticulated or indistinct speech and means an exclamation of wonder and joy: *Goodness me!*, *Wonderful!*, or *Strange!*. Latin *balbus*, derived from the same root as *babae*, means 'stammering/stuttering'. In addition, Russian *balalaika*, an imitative word, is derived from this root. Thus reduplication is characteristic of this kind of onomatopoeic word.

English *babble*, with a suffix forming a frequentative verb, is in contrast with Latin *blatterō* or *blattiō*, which is collateral to *blaterō* or *blatiō* respectively. The gemination of *t* shows more expressiveness and corresponds to the function of a frequentative suffix.

3.1.2 English *-er*

Next, we examine English *mutter* and Latin *muttiō* or *murmurō*, both of which derive from the same root **mu-* denoting the sound of speaking almost inaudibly with nearly closed lips. Latin *muttiō* and *murmurō*, beginning with **mu-*, are onomatopoeic words and mean ‘to mutter or murmur’. English *mutter*, with a suffix forming a frequentative verb, similarly begins with **mu-* and denotes the same as Latin equivalents. The striking features of the Latin equivalents here are gemination of a consonant in *muttiō* and reduplication in *murmurō*. Besides, this is also found in Latin *susurrō*, which means ‘whisper’ with the frequentative suffix.

3.1.3 The relation between meaning and form

Reduplication is, especially, found in some words denoting the cries of some birds and fowls. According to Varro:

--- dē hīs plēraeque ab suīs vōcibus ut haec: upupa, cucūlus, corvus, hirundō, ulula, bībō; ---
(Varrō ‘Dē linguā latīnā’ 5:75)⁴⁶

Some of them are named after their cries. For example, *cucūlus cucūlat* ‘A cuckoo cries cuckoo.’, *bībō cucūbat* ‘An owl hoots.’, and *cornix cucurrit* ‘A crow caws.’ in the Varro’s way.

Latin *cacabō*, indicating the natural cry of the partridge, corresponds to English *cackle* from a viewpoint of sound symbolism. This represents the correspondence of the Latin’s reduplication and the English frequentative suffix as far as onomatopoeic words are concerned. Furthermore, English *gaggle* and German *gackern* are a different representation of the sound. The former represents the expressiveness by the combination of geminated *g* and affixed *-le*, while the latter by the frequentative suffix *-rn*.

3.1.4 Inchoative

Inchoative shows the changing of a phase. In this sense, the action of making dirty things white certainly shows the changing of a certain phase as well as the action of making incomplete matter complete, depending on the point of view. For example, *whiten* means ‘to make or become white’, and in addition verbs ending with *-en*, like *lengthen*, *deepen*, and *sharpen* show inchoative. When English *-en* shows inchoative, then it usually corresponds to Latin *-scō*. But in English, there is no independent morpheme forming inchoative except the suffix *-en*. Besides *-en*, some English words ending with *-sce* (verb), *-scent* (adjective), and *-scence* (noun) are found even now. This suffix *-sce* dates back to Latin *-scō*. The feature of Latin *-scō* is maintained in *convalescent* ‘in the process of recovering’ and *adolescent* ‘in the process of growing to adulthood’.

4. Conclusions

-eō is not always collateral with *-scō*. When some verbs with *-scō* are complementarily separated from ones with *-eō*, indicating the consequent state, in terms of the aspectual meaning, then there rarely exists a perfect form in the verbs with *-scō*. In a nutshell, *lūcēscō* ‘to become light’ is to *lūceō* ‘to be light’ what *nōscō* is to *nōvī*. In addition, like the asymmetry between *crēscō* ‘to grow’ and *creō* ‘to create’, a sign of semantic change comes into being.

Cantō is frequentative in form, but mostly agrees in meaning with *canō*. In reality, while *cantō* is not thought of as frequentative in the course of time, *cantō* is suffixed by *-itō* and *cantitō* denotes frequentative anew.

Thus *-scō* and *-tō*, when they are not considered to be suffixes in the course of time, are subject to lose their own

function. Then a verb itself is subject to semantic change.

On the other hand, suffixal morphemes such as *-m-*, *-n-*, and *-d-*, are relics. But they function as an aspectualizer. *-m-* functions to show a durative state in the present, like *dormiō* 'to be sleeping'. *-n-* functions to indicate a terminated event from beginning to end as a nasal morpheme is used like *-stināre*. But *standan* in Anglo-Saxon is the same type, but the meaning of its nasal is lost. In this sense, like a nasal infix, the nasal suffix plays a role in the same way in terms of aspectuality. As for *-d-*, in parallel to *tendō*, *teneō* exists. The morpheme *-d-* is a suffix which functions to mean the perfective aspect. Like *pendō* coming from the root **pen-*.

English and Latin words with the suffixes forming the frequentative aspect are both originally onomatopoeic. So naturally, a kind of reduplication is often found. In English, word-formation is mainly by the suffix, or partly by the combination of both the suffix and reduplication, while in Latin, it is mainly by reduplication.

Notes

1. Meillet and Vendryes, *Traité de grammaire comparée des langues classiques*, pp.189-90
2. Ernout and Thomas, *Syntaxe latine*, p.217
3. Meillet and Vendryes, *Traité de grammaire comparée des langues classiques*, p.264
4. *ibid.* p.286
5. Ernout and Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*, p.663
6. *ibid.* p.603
7. Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, p.362
8. Ernout and Thomas, *Syntaxe latine*, pp.218-9
9. Ernout and Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*, p.93
10. The Loeb Classical Library
11. Ernout and Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*, p.173
12. *ibid.*
13. *ibid.* p.494
14. *ibid.* p.752
15. *ibid.* p.287
16. The Loeb Classical Libray
17. Ernout and Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*, p.95
18. Meillet and Vendryes, *Traité de grammaire comparée des langues classiques*, p.281
19. Ernout and Meillet, *Morphologie historique du latin*, pp.162-3
20. *ibid.* p.230
21. Meillet, *Introduction à l'étude comparative des langues indo-européennes*, pp.176-7
22. Meillet and Vendryes, *Traité de grammaire comparée des langues classiques*, p.156
23. Lewis, C.T. and Short, C. (1933) *A Latin Dictionary*, Oxford at the Clarendon Press.
24. Ernout, A. and Meillet, A. (1985) *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*, Klincksieck.
25. Meillet, *Introduction à l'étude comparative des langues indo-européennes*, p.177
26. Ernout and Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*, p.688
27. *ibid.* p.184
28. *ibid.* p.635
29. *ibid.* p.534
30. *ibid.* p.700
31. *ibid.* p.534
32. Meillet and Vendryes, *Traité de grammaire comparée des langues classiques*, p.177

33. *ibid.* p.189
34. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch I,II*, p.664
35. Ernout and Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*, p.654
36. *ibid.* p.694
37. *ibid.* p.648
38. Comrie, *Aspect*, p.42
39. Ernout and Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*, p.683
40. *ibid.* p.495
41. Meillet and Vendryes, *Traité de grammaire comparée des langues classiques*, p.281
42. Morita(1998), p.14
43. Ernout and Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*, p.494
44. *ibid.* p.718
45. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch I,II*, p.91
46. The Loeb Classical Library

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