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.

0. 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 form 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, creōscō, hiāscō, viēscō, and the like come from verbal stems, senēscō, ignēscō, irāscō, from nominal stems, and mītēscō, nōtēscō, from adjectival stems. Compared with senēscō, no static forms like -eō, correspond to ignēscō and irāscō.

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

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 >>; nóscō (cõgnōscō) << 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'infinitum seneō << je suis vieux >> et à l'infinitum senēscō << je vieillis >>; il en est de même de tous les verbes en -scō: scīvī sert à la fois de perfectum à sciō et à scīscō³.

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 sitō and stō, sīdō and sedeō, and -cumbo 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 -escō exprimant l'entrée dans l'état: alleō/alleūscō, aneo/anēscō, luceō/lūēscō, seneō/senēscō, tepeō/tepēscō, vireō/virēscō, etc. Les couples ainsi constitués n'ont qu'un seul perfectum, en -ui⁴.

But parfait sigmatique (= si-perfect) is found in some verbs: ardeo/arsī, ardēscō/arsī, and lūceō lūxī. In most cases, -eō and -scö 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 soleō⁵. 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.] (< mītus: 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 feruo '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 nóscō, nóvī/cōgnōvī is to nóscō/cõgnōscō what seneō is to senēscō. The -eō type doesn’t exist which corresponds to nóscō. But the perfect form nóvī 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 nóscō vis-à-vis de nóvī⁶.

Like nóscō/nōvī, sciō, the perfect form of scīscō also means sciō, 'I know'. The confusion between sciō and
sciscō 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 lūdæis quia illic est.

OE  micel menio þāra lūdēa genēow þet hē wæs ðēr.

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 þē nē cūdon hyne.

F  et vous ne le connaissiez 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 cūde (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'), igitur 'be forgiving, forgive, pardon', oblīvīscor 'forget' (*lei-w- [ob- ‘away’] to forget < to wipe, let slip from the mind), and profuliscor 'set forth, set out, start' w(< prōficīō 'advance, make progress, go forward').

Especially, igitur, 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 -tūre, -itūre 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/concalūi ou incalūi; nōscō/cōgnōvi; nōtēscō/innōtūi; senēscō/consenui: 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: adamsco << 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, adamatō means 'to begin to love' and so does adamsco. 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 adamsco are not logical indeed.

1.2 -tō (frequential)

Frequentatives (also called iterative) or intensives denote repeated or intense action. These verbs end in -tāre, -ītāre, -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, d'après 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, habītō from habēō, 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 -tō and cantitō denotes the frequentative anew.

Ab eō quod semel, canit, sī saepius, cantat. Hinc cantitat item alia. (Varrō 'De lingua latina' 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-
 type, the lower a double-
 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.

dicō : to say
dictō : to say often, declare repeatedly
  dictō, -ās, fréquentatif et intensif de dicō : dire à haute voix, répéter, dicter
dictitō : to say often or emphatically, assert repeatedly
  dictitō, -ās : dire souvent, répéter

capiō : to take, lay hold of
captā : 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
curritō : 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.

jacō : 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, pulō.
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
eō: to go
iō: to go

ittō: 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
vīsitō: 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, vīsitō: 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
scripītō: 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 >>

dormiō: to sleep
dormītō: to be sleepy, drowsy

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

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

Cōgitāre ā cōgendōdīctum: mēns plūra in ūnum cōgit, unde eligere 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 lingūā latīnā” 6:43)

1.3 -essō (desiderative) and -tūriō

À capiō correspondant:
1° un duratif en -ā- usité seulement dans des composés sous la forme -cipō, -cupō.
2° un désideratif:

capessō (= dēsiderō capere ) << chercher à prendre, à saisir >>, d’où << entreprendre >> (sens
physique et moral); capessere Italian < chercher à gagner l'Italie >, d'où l'emploi de capassere, sè 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 < captcer >.

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 -essō

Sont anciens quaesō (de *qua-is-so) en face de quaerō (de *qua-is-o) et visō (de *weid-so) en face de videō. L'inflectum vīsō n'a pas de perfectum; mais quaesō et quaerō ont tous deux le même, de type secondaire, quaesīvī, d'où le participe quaesītus. Le type courant comporte une géminnée, qui se maintient après voyelle brève: capessō, facessō, lacessō, petessō en face de capiō, faciō, laciō, petō. Quand il y a un perfectum, il est du même modèle que quaesīvī; ainsi lacessīvī. L'analogie de petō petīvī a pu jouer un rôle, petō ayant par lui-même un sens assez voisin du désidéatif.²⁸

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 -ssō²⁹.

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

lacessō: to provoke, irritate

1.3.2 -tūriō

The future participle ending in -tūru 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
scriptūriō: 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 aspercual 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 suffixed 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 aspercualifier 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. τρέωμο 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. terreo, *tres- > gr. τρέω, and *trem- > lat. tremo/gr. τρέωμο are derived from *ter-.

Pour exprimer l’idée du gonflement, de l’enflure, 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-.

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

2.1 -m-

Par exemple en grec τρέω et τρέω μοι ne s’emploient pas indifféremment. Un présent τρέω μοι 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. ετρέσσα. En latin il y a à la fois un présent premō et un perfectum pressī.

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 élargie, dans tremō. 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, athématicque *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 >>.

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 causatif.

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 sommeil.

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. trásati << 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 grec.

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 here.

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 Latin.

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, δαρβάνω, ἢμαρτάνω, etc. La valeur de ces présents est souvent en grec d’insister sur le début du procès.

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 *cribrum* 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, stratney* '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 lost 35.

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. πτηνόν, 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'éternuement 37.

Sneeze is a next-to-punctual phenomenon, which has some affinity with the perfective aspect. As Comrie 38 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/ō* - to indicate the perfective aspect, *tendō*; the other with e-grade to indicate the durative state, *teneō* 39.

Le cas de *pendō, pependi, pēnsus* est évidemment parallèle à celui de *tendō, tetendi, 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/ō* qui sert à marquer le procès déterminé. De même, *pendō* doit être bâti sur une racine *pen-*. 40.

The case of *pendō, pependi, pēnsus* is evidently parallel to that of *tendō, tetendi, 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, dé-fendō) remplaçant un ancien présent athématic répondant au skr. hánti << 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 perculsus, -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.

Pepuli 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 aspect 44.

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 symbolism 45.

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 blaterō or blattiō, which is collateral to blaterō or blattiō 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 plēræque ab suís vocibus ut haec: upupa, cucūlus, corvus, hirundō, ulula, būbō; ---

(Varrō ’Dē linguā latīnā’ 5.75) 46

Some of them are named after their cries. For example, *cucūlus cucūlat* ‘A cuckoo cries cuckoo.’, *būbō cucūbat* ‘An owl hoots.’, and *cornix cucurit* ‘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

-*ēō* is not always collaterally with -scō. When some verbs with -scō are complementarily separated from ones with -ēō, 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 *lūcēō* ‘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 *cantītō* denotes frequentative anew.

Thus -scō and -itō, 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 Library
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
20. ibid. p.230
22. Meillet and Vendryes, Traité de grammaire comparée des langues classiques, p.156
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
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 Libray

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