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SEMANTIC CHANGES m_1 (loc.) \rightarrow m_2 (abstract) OF THE PREVERB *ex-*

The Latin verbs can appear in sentences not only as simplices but also as preverbal composita. The behaviour of the preverbal composita — the rules of their functioning within a sentence — differ from those of the simplices. In the course of the semantic grouping of the composita several levels of meaning of the preverbs can be observed. The development of these is a historical process, the levels of meaning can be derived from one another. The historical derivation is, however, rendered difficult by the circumstance that these levels of meaning of the preverbs stand before us ready, in their final form already in the earliest periods of linguistic history approachable for us, and coexist in any synchronical condition of the language.

The semantic change of the Latin preverbs can be summed up as follows. Certain preverbs having a local (directive, separative) meaning, beside certain verbs modify the action type or aspect¹ of the corresponding verbal simplex. In the verbal phrases brought about this way their local character is pushed in the background or completely disappears. Thus part of the preverbs have two meanings, *viz.*:

- a) local (directive, separative) meaning; hereinafter: m_1 ; and
- b) meaning modifying action type or aspect;² hereinafter: m_2 .

This phenomenon appears in the most pronounced form in the case of the preverbs *ex-*, *ad-*, *per-* and *con-*(*co-*) in different concrete forms. For the time being we are confining our investigations to the preverb *ex-*, with a claim for generalization, which — *mutatis mutandis* — also applies to the semantic changes of the other preverbs similarly denoting conditions of place.

The preverb *ex-* linked with certain verbs (for example with those meaning motion) has the meanings 'out- (of something)', 'away- (from)', 'down- (from)'. In other groups of verbs, on the other hand, we can observe a contrast according to which the composita as compared with the simplices denote a perfective, intensive, inceptive or instantaneous action. (Such verbs can be mentioned in great numbers. A few examples are: a)

perfective meaning: *expugno*, 1; *exorno*, 1; *exaedifico*, 1; *edoceo*, 2; *efficio*, 3; b) intensive meaning: *efflagito*, 1; *exhortor*, 1; *emunio*, 4; *evinco*, 3; *exoro*, 1; *expeto*, 3; it is to be noted that this group cannot be separated sharply from the verbs of perfective meaning; c) denoting inceptive or instantaneous action: *exclamo*, 1; *extimesco*, 3; *exterreo*, 2; *exaudio*, 4, etc.

The general linguistic considerations, the adverbial origin of the preverbal usage,³ as well as the fact that the preverb occurs in tmesis only according to m_1 (loc.)⁴, strongly support the assumption according to which the m_2 of the preverbs developed from the m_1 , from the historical point of view. This historical process, however, can be followed by us only with the investigation of the synchronous system.

The phenomenon described here has been recognized and analysed already quite long ago. The double meaning of the preverbs was discussed most thoroughly by *A. Meillet*, *D. Barbelenet*, *J. Vendryes* and *C. Grassi*.⁵ They also deal with the general linguistic aspects of the question. They have attempted to find the proper place of the problems of the preverbal composita within the problems of the whole of the Latin verbal aspect in several analyses of the phenomenon connected with the double meaning. For example they have tried to show that the aspect modifying function is a common property of part of the Latin preverbs, and this fact also influences to some extent the development of the system of conjugation.⁶ This phenomenon can be observed not only in other Indo-European languages but also in the Finno-Ugric languages.⁷ This is significant because it indicates also certain general linguistic tendencies.

The classical scholars mentioned above only seize and describe the facts. However, they do not discuss how the aspect modifying meaning (m_2) develops from the m_1 of the preverbs.⁸

The usage of the preverb *ex-* derives from the adverbial usage of the particle *ex*,⁹ an evidence of which is the phenomenon of the tmesis. The preverb is linked with more general meanings of the simplices than the adverb.¹⁰ In the course of changing of the adverbial usage for the preverbal one the particle *ex* loses its close connection with the nomen existing up to that time, while its relationship with the verb becomes permanent and firm. This renders the verb determinate. This process takes place first only in the case of those verbs, beside which the separative government (or the government of the adverbial modifier of origin) connected with the meaning of the *ex-* is — by force of the meaning of the simplex — possible (for example in the major part of the verbs denoting motion). These verbs — as a result of their determinate character — undergo such semantic changes, as a final result of which the meaning of the compositum is no longer equal to the simple addition of the meanings of the verbal simplex and the preverb. (This is in contrast to the adverbial way of construction, where the meaning comes about in an additive manner.)

In this first phase the semantic change goes hand in hand with the transformation of the structure of the whole sentence. The separative adverbial modifier (of origin) can disappear from the sentence — and frequently this is the case —, because the adverb connected with it and

rendering its presence necessary stands already beside the verb, as a preverb. As a result of the determinative effect of the preverb, the separative adverbial modifier can alternate with accusative. Also such adverbial complements can be included in the structure which do not stand there in the case of the adverbial usage. In the case of the verbs belonging to the first group the semantic change goes parallel with the change of the structure:

$$\begin{array}{ccc} V_{m_1} & \rightarrow & V_{m_2} & V = \text{Verbum} \\ \updownarrow & & \updownarrow & \\ S_{\text{struc.1}} & \rightarrow & S_{\text{struc.2}} & S = \text{Sentence} \end{array}$$

In the group of verbs connecting with the *ex-* m_1 , the semantic change and the structural change are a fully comprehensible process. However, in the case of the *certain* sentences it can also occur that in the *given sentence* the compositum cannot be analysed on the basis of the simple addition [$m_V + \text{preverb}_{m_1}$]. The meaning of the composition is not separative. However, the meaning brought about this way can — on the basis of the other occurrences of the compositum — be traced back to m_1 . Independently from this, however, the semantic change of the compositum as compared with the simplex (actionally or aspectually modified meaning) appears for the speaker as the result (m_2) of the meaning of the *preverb*. The speaker ascribes the semantic change to the effect of the preverb, although it is obvious that the reason of the semantic change must be sought in the interrelation of the verb and the preverb.

This allows the speaker to form with the preverb *ex-* also such compositions which — seemingly — have nothing to do with the m_1 of the *ex-*. This is the sphere of verbs of m_2 of the preverb *ex-*. This sphere of verbs — which cannot be discussed here in detail — can be outlined as follows:

a) No adverbial complement of separative value is used beside the basic verb. Thus the compositum itself is not determined by the preverb locally either; the preverb cannot be analysed according to the m_1 .

b) The meaning of the compositum is perfective, intensive, inceptive or instantaneous as compared with the simplex. The structure of government of these composita generally does not change as compared with the simplex.

Thus, the two different groups of verbs can be brought into connection with these two semantic types of the preverb *ex-*. However, there is no sharp demarcation line between the two groups. We find among them also such verbs which connect the two groups with each other. These verbs form the *intermediate group*. Their transitional character manifests itself in the following qualities:

a) They come about in the way characteristic of the first group, and governments characteristic of the first group (separative adverbial modifier, adverbial modifier of origin) occur beside them. In such cases their meaning is generally: m_1 .

b) In the other large group of their occurrence no separative government stands beside them. In such cases their meaning is modified actionally or aspectually as compared with the simplex: m_2 .

In the following part of the paper we shall discuss a few members of the intermediate group of verbs in greater detail. These verbs are in a favoured position, since the development of m_2 from m_1 can be understood and approached best through them.

These few verbs are as follows: *excutio*, 3; *exorior*, 4; *effor*, 1; *edo*, 3; *exuro*, 3; *enitor*, 3; as well as the type *eniteo*, 2; *eluceo*, 2; *excello*, 3; *emineo*, 2.

In these verbs the criteria of the transitional character mentioned above appear with different intensity. There are such among them which actually do not occur for example according to *ex-* m_1 and beside which generally no ablative with separative function stands. In spite of this, because of the meaning of the simplex, the *ex-* m_1 origin can still be observed well on the verb.

The sentences enumerated come about according to the following form:

- | | | |
|--|---|---------------------------|
| 1. V[+N _{acc.}] + [N + ex _{adv.}] | ↔ | V : $m_{\text{simp1.1}}$ |
| 2. [ex- V] [+ N _{acc.}] + N _{sep.} | ↔ | V : $m_{\text{comp.1}}$ |
| 3. [ex- V] [+ N _{acc.}] + . . . | ↔ | V : $m_{\text{comp.1-2}}$ |

The $m_{\text{comp.1-2}}$ means that the meaning of the compositum in the last line can also be separative, but in such cases the preverb appears mostly in m_2 on the verb.

1. Sentences according to line 2

1. 1. Sentences in local (separative) sense (m_1):

patria excussos infesta per undas ausa sequi (Verg. Aen. 7. 299)

exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor (Verg. Aen. 4. 625)

honestum, quod ex virtutibus exoritur (Cic. Fin. 5. 23)

nullum fructum edere ex se sine cultu hominum (Cic. Nat. D. 2. 63)

enixa est utero infantem (Ov. Met. 3. 344)

illius ex oculis cum vult exurere divos, / accendit geminas lampadas acer
Amor (Tibull. 4. 2. 5.)

The occurrence of the *exuro*, 3 + abl. sep. to be found with Cicero is uncertain: *Mihi quidem ex animo exuri non potest esse deos* (Nat. D. 3. 3) al. leg.: *exui*.

The *effor*, 1 does not occur with separative government, and the separative government of the *exorior*, 4 is also very rare.

1.2. With these verbs a few such sentences can also be formed in which not the starting-point but the direction of the action is expressed. The sentences of this character containing (*in/ad* + acc.) have also a local

sense and connect with the m_1 of the preverb. Maeander ex arce Celaenarum ortus in sinum maris *editur* (Liv. 38. 13)
ensisae legiones in aperta et solida (Tac. Ann. 1. 65)

2. Sentences according to the *variants* of line 2:

The ablative of line 2 undergoes a transformation in the sentences. The sentence can include such nouns — in ablative — which do not denote place. The ablative alternates some times with *dative* or *accusative*. All these factors lead to the weakening of the separative character, in different ways.

2.1. The word appearing in the sentence *in ablative does not mean place*:

excitior somno simulacraque noctis adoro (Ov. Heroid. 13. 109).

There is no possibility to interpret the ablative *somno* as a real separative adverbial complement. The meaning of the sentence is: 'I suddenly wake up (from my sleep)' — all the more so because the logical subject is not indicated by the author. The *ex-* m_2 interferes here very strongly in the development of the meaning, for the time being not superseding the m_1 .

2.2. A *dative* can also stand in the sentence *instead of a separative adverbial complement*:

ut lacrimas *excitiant* mihi (Plaut. Capt. 2. 3. 59)
 quia mihi misero cerebrum *excitiant* tua dicta, soror: lapides loqueris (Plaut. Aul. 2. 1. 29)

The dative way of construction — which can, of course, occur in the case of the verb *excitare* only in connection with words meaning persons — goes again hand in hand with the weakening of the separative interpretation of the sentence. For the datives occurring in the examples possessive pronouns can be substituted. They — especially the dative occurring in Plaut. Aul. 2.1. 29 — cannot be transformed into separative adverbial complements:

exc. lacrimas *mihi*: exc. lacrimas *meas*
 exc. cerebrum *mihi*: exc. cerebrum *meum*

This fact renders impossible the interpretation of the compositum according to m_1 of the preverb. In these sentences the verbal phrase has the meaning of a *verbum momentaneum* as compared with the corresponding simplex.

2.3. *The separative adverbial complement alternates with accusative*:

dum per angustias aditus et ingruentem multitudinem *enituntur* (Tac. Ann. 16. 5)
 peditum aciem ita instruxit, ut pars . . . , pars obiectum aggerem *enitertur* (Tac. Ann. 2. 20)

In this group — since part of the verbs are transitive — this phenomenon is not frequent. However, many ablative/accusative alternations occur beside the verbs denoting motion:

excedere numerum (Liv. 26. 19, idem 28. 25, Tac. Ann. 1. 14, idem Ann. 40. 40)

excedere modum (Liv. 22. 39)

exire profluvium sanguinis (Lucr. 6. 1205)

nostrasne evadere demens / Sperasti te posse manus (Verg. Aen. 9. 560)
(Ostorius. . .) *ducit infensos amnemque haud difficulter evadit* (Tac. Ann. 12. 35)

The quality of the verbs denoting motion and of the intransitive intermediate verbs not denoting motion formed with *ex-* m_1 , according to which their separative adverbial complement can alternate with accusative, is in principle identical. It is a phenomenon which goes back to the same reason. The inclusion of this kind of accusative into the structure is given as a possibility already at the substitution of the preverbal way of construction for the adverbial way of construction. The preverb — by the fact that it determines the verb in respect of direction — creates a possibility for the accusative marking *the end of the action* to supercede the adverbial government indicating *continuity*. Thus the appearance of this kind of accusative governments is in final conclusion *the elongation of the directional moment up to the end of the action*. This phenomenon is, of course, much more frequent in the case of the *directive adverbial complements*, because the positive tendency is expressed by these. However, the *separative adverbial complement/accusative* alternation is principally possible and it also occurs in practice. But the moment of the «elongation up to the end of the action» already includes also the possibility of the semantic change m_1 ('to the end'[loc.]) → m_2 ('completely, fully' [not loc.]). Thus the directive meaning easily changes into the perfective aspect-intensity meaning. However, the complete austing of the m_1 takes place only when the words participating in the alternation adverbial complement/accusative do not denote place.¹¹

3. Sentences according to line 3 — m_2

3.1. In the case of the verb *effor* we do not find *ablatus separationis* (originis) at all, and it is very rare also beside the verbs *exorior*, 4 and *edo*, 3. This is the case in spite of the fact that from the meanings of the simplices it can clearly be shown that the compositum came about directly on the basis of the *ex-* m_1 ;

1. ↓ *[V (+N_{acc.}) + (N + ex_{adv.})]

2. ↓ *[(ex_{prev.} V) (+N_{acc.}) + N_{sep.}]

3. ↓ [ex_{prev.} V) (+N_{acc.}) + . . .

However, of the lines only the third one is generally realized. At any rate, in the phrases of the kind *edere gemitum* and *edere partum* it is obvious that the usage of the composita can be traced back to the first and the second line, that is to the *ex- m₁*.

In the case of the verb *enitor*, 3 the position is the same. This verb occurs very seldom with a separative adverbial complement:

enixa est utero infantem (Ov. Met. 3. 344)

The *ex- m₁* strongly interferes in the above meaning 'to bear' even without a separative adverbial complement:

Archo Poridi nupsit, et apud eum plures enisa partus decessit (Liv. 40. 4)

In the case of the verb *exorior*, 4 the usage according to the second line and the *ex- m₁* : 'originates from something' are based on the usage, and eventually on the implication, of the adverbial modifier of origin to be derived from the separative adverbial complement (see above Verg. Aen. 4. 625 and Cic. Fin. 5. 23).

In the case of the verb *effor*, 1 the origin according to *ex- m₁* : 'tells something from somewhere (i. e. from his mouth) out', can also be presumed. However, the verbs mentioned under points 1., 2. and 3. of the intermediate group of verbs form sentences in the majority of the cases according to line 3, that is according to the *ex- m₂*:

exorior, 4:

sed exorti repente insidiatores (Liv. 22. 24)

inde subito exorti Romani (Liv. 1. 14), etc.

effor, 1:

sed fanum tantum, id est locus templo effatus fuerat (Liv. 10. 37)

edo, 3:

petivere, ut proprio sumptu ludos ederent (Tac. Ann. (1. 15)

ede tuum nomen nomenque parentum (Ov. Metam. 3. 580)

edant et exponant, quid in magistratu gesserint (Cic. Leg. 3. 20)

quibus postquam mandata ediderunt in concilio Gallorum (Liv. 5. 36)

excutio, 3:

Tum compediti aut anum limā praeterunt, |Aut excutiunt lapide clavom (Plaut. Men. 1. 1. 10)

illa calamitas excussit hoc genus totum maledicti, ne quisquam audeat reprehendere consulatum meum (Cic. Dom. 28)

enitor, 3:

tu cum omni amore enitere, ut (Cic. Att. 9. 15)

In these examples the original separative meaning of the *ex-* is already completely absent. The meanings of the verbs as compared with their simplices are intensive, perfective or verbum momentaneum. It can occur that the meanings of the simplex and the compositum cannot be exactly distinguished from each other (*edo*, 3: Tac. Ann. 1. 15; Ov. Metam. 3. 580).

3.2. Influence of the composita with *ex-* m_2 on the sentence:

The fullness of the phenomena outlined in 3.1., *viz.* the exclusiveness of the m_2 , is sometimes indicated also by certain elements of the sentence. These elements are most frequently such adverbial modifiers of manner, which show the intensive character of the action, or its inceptive (sudden) character as compared with the simplex. The same thing is sometimes expressed by certain simplex – compositum contrasts.

exorior, 4:

Repentinus Sulla nobis *exoritur* (Cic. Agr. 3. 3)

Subito exorta est nefaria Catonis promulgatio (Cic. ad. Fam. 1.5)

inde *subito exorti* Romani (Liv. 1. 14)

sed *exorti repente* insidiatores (Liv. 22. 24)

excutio, 3:

cum equus prioribus pedibus erectis *quateret*, *excussit* equitem (Liv. 8. 7)

enitor, 3:

omni ope atque opera eniti, ut (Cic. ad Att. 14. 14)

ab iisdem *summa spe enisum*, ne tale decretum fieret (Sall. Iug. 27)

Adverbial complements beside the inceptive or instantaneous verbs (in the examples):

repentinus, repente, subito:

adverbial complements beside the verbs with intensive meanings:

omni ope atque opera, summa spe.

4. The verbal group *emineo, 2; excello, 3; eniteo, 2; eluceo, 2; effulgeo, 2* must be handled in a somewhat different way than those discussed so far. In fact, these do not express action, like the former ones, but the circumstance that the subject *assumes some quality, or gets into some condition*. As a result of this the course of the semantic change also differs from the previous ones.

The verbs of the type *emineo, 2*, etc. occur in Classical Latin much more frequently as composita, than in their corresponding simplex forms. This has a semantic reason. The *deadjectival verbs*, which are related to this group, also occur infrequently as simplices.¹²

Meanings of the corresponding simplices of the group:

<i>niteo, 2</i>	}	'clarus sum'	<i>*cello, 3</i>	}	'altus sum'
<i>luceo, 2</i>			<i>mineo, 2</i>		
<i>fulgeo, 2</i>					

(In the case of the *mineo, 2* from this: 'I threaten' develops.)

Thus, the simplices express that 'someone is (continuously) in some condition'. The same type of meanings can be found also in the case of the – similarly infrequent – usage of the deadjectival verbs as simplices, *viz.*: *albus 3* → *albeo, 2*: 'albus sum'. The reason for the infrequent usage of the verbs of the type *mineo, 2, niteo* ⁹ and the deadjectival verbs

as *simplices* is that in Latin the meaning 'I am some kind of (as something)' ('I am in the quality of something') is more frequently expressed with adjectives (nouns). The *simplices* do not have the *possibility* to express the *aspect* so characteristic of Latin.

Meaning of the *composita*:

<i>eniteo</i> , 2	}	'clarus fio'	<i>excello</i> , 3	}	'altus fio'
<i>eluceo</i> , 2			<i>emineo</i> , 2		
<i>effulgeo</i> , 2					

The same semantic type can be found also in the case of the deadjectival verbs appearing as *composita*, *viz.*: *albus* 3 → *exalbeo*, 2: 'albus fio'.

However, in the case of the verbs enumerated the semantic change has two moments inseparable from each other:

a) The verbs originally denoting physical qualities become now means to express inner qualities:

emineo, 2: 'stand out from somewhere (physically)' → 'excel on account of something, as a result of something, in something.'

b) The m_1 of the preverb *ex-*, on the other hand, becomes m_2 in the way already known to us.

Comparing the meanings of the infrequently used *simplices* and the *composita* we can state that in the case of this type of verbs *the preverb is the only means to express the aspect*. In this sense it is related to the preverbs of the *composita* occurring in 3.1. and 3.2.

On the basis of the meanings of the *simplices* and certain occurrences of the *composita* we must presume that originally these verbs formed sentences similarly according to the *ex m₁* and that their usage is based on the lines

1. V + [N + *ex_{adv.}*]

↓

2. *ex-* V + N_{sep.}

↓

3. *ex-*V +

4.1. Sentences according to line 2

Beside part of the *composita* enumerated, an adverbial complement meaning 'from', 'from among' occurs, or can be implied:

Babyloni in camporum patentium aequoribus habitantes, cum *ex terra* nihil *emineret*, quod contemplationi coeli officere posset (Cic. Divin. I. 42)

stipites non amplius quatuor digitis *ex terra eminent* (Caes. B. G. 7. 73) virgulta ac stirpes *circa eminentes* (Liv. 21. 24) In these examples the sentences were formed according to the *ex- m₁*, the composita still mean here 'elevation' *physically*. The adverbial complements have local (separative) meanings.

4.2. Sentences according to line 2 – in nonlocal (nonseparative) sense:

in eo bello virtus et fortuna enituit Tulli (Liv. 1. 42)
tantum egregio decus enitet ore (Verg. Aen. 4. 150)
quo in bello virtus enituit egregia M. Catonis (Liv. 4.3)
quia nemo eminebat in novo populo (Liv. 1. 17)

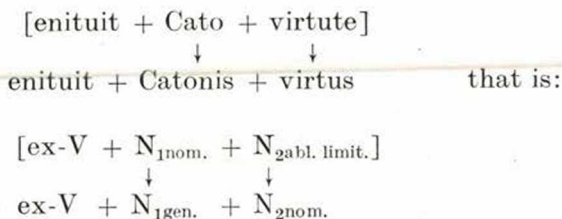
In these sentences adverbial complements of local character also stand beside the composita. However, the verbs express already no longer physical but inner qualities. This is indicated by the subjects (*decus, virtus, fortuna*) and by the adverbial complements (*in novo populo, quo in bello*). The circumstance is also noteworthy that the moment 'from something', 'from among something' is contained here not by an adverbial complement of separative form (except Verg. Aen. 4. 150), but by (*in + abl.*), which generally does not occur beside composita expressing real physical qualities. At the same time, however, the fact of the presence of the adverbial complements also indicates that the preverb *ex-* appears beside the verb still in *m₁*.

The measure of the semantic change of the verb can be elucidated best by the examination of the contents of the subjects. Beside the verbs *anteo*, 4; *antevenio*, 4; *antecedo*, 3 the abstract nouns do not stand as subject, but they generally appear in ablativus limitations. For example:

consulum qui omnes intelligentiā anteibat (Cic. Br. 2. 29)
qui iis aetate anteibant (Cic. Tusc. 1. 5)
qui candore nives anteirent (Verg. Aen. 12. 84)

In these sentences the ablativus limitationis also indicates that the meaning of the verb has changed, its character of expressing motion, physical action has been eclipsed, *viz.*: it has the meaning 'precedes (someone) in some respect', and not 'goes to meet (someone)'. Since these simplices mean motion (*eo*, 4; *venio*, 4; *cedo*, 3), and this is not changed fundamentally even by the preverb, the nouns *aetas, intelligentia, candor* do not appear beside these as subjects in such sentences.

On the other hand, the meanings of the verbs *emineo*, 2; *eniteo*, 2, etc. show in the quoted examples such a high degree of abstraction that the abstract nouns can stand beside them also as subjects, while at the same time the actual (logical) subjects (*Tullus, Cato*) appear in the sentences in genitive:



Remark: Such examples, where a separative adverbial complement or ablative of origin stands beside the composita meaning 'clarus fio', are exceptional. However, it is obvious that also these come into being according to the lines

1. *[V + (N + ex_{adv.})]
2. (ex-V) + N_{sep./orig.}
3. (ex-V) + ...

and the actually used line 3 can be traced back to a line 2 with the meaning 'becomes some kind of (*from some kind of*)'. For example **(ex nigro eluceo)*.

4.3. Sentences according to line 3, *ex-* m₂:

Sentences which do not contain separative/partitive adverbial complements are much more frequent than the sentences of the 4.1. and 4.2. In these the function of the preverb *ex-* is exclusively the modification of the aspect.

Quom haec, quae *excellunt*, me nosse videas (Cic. Pis. 38)
 Rudis *enituit* impulso vomere campus (Verg. Georg. 2. 211)
 bellum exoptabant, ubi virtus *enitescere* posset (Sall. Cat. 57)
 sed *effulgebant* Philippus et magnus Alexander (Liv. 45. 7)
 quo studiosius exprimitur..., eo magis *eminet* et apparet (Cic. Pro Rosc. 41)

If we consider only the sentences of 4.3. — and at the most those of 3.1. and 3.2. —, we can see that the usage of the preverb *ex-* in them cannot be traced back to the *ex-* m₁. The *ex-* appears here purely as a particle expressing the modification of the action type or the aspect. Thus it is clear that the speakers — on the basis of similar sentences — add the preverb *ex-* also to such verbs, in the simplices of which there is no possibility for complementing with ablative of separation, ablative of origin or ablative partitive. Therefore, these latter composita cannot be understood on the basis of the original m₁ of the *ex-*. In the intermediate group, however, the usage of the *ex-* m₂ is still based on the m₁. The *ex-* m₂ can be realized only because it was preceded by such sentences constructed with m₁ which — through the series of the intermediate meanings m₁₋₂ — rendered this possible.

I. Thus we have seen that on the level of the intermediate verbs the meaning and the change of the meaning are determined by certain elements of the sentence environment (the presence or absence of the ablative, the alternation of the ablative with dative or accusative), or the differences of the situation behind these. Within the group itself, the *ex-* m_2 could be derived from the m_1 in a way that we examined the different occurrences of the same verbs. Thus the m_2 , within the intermediate group is not of exclusive validity. No such verb occurred in the research in which the *ex-* would have appeared only in m_2 . (More accurately: the presence of the m_1 – and of line 3 containing the separative – must be presumed sometimes hypothetically. This hypothesis, however, was based on the meaning of the corresponding simplex.)

II. If the *ex-* m_2 appearing in the verb can be derived from the m_1 to be found in other occurrences of the same verb, then it can theoretically be presumed that the meaning of the *preverb ex- itself* can also be derived from the meaning of the *preverb ex-*; that is, a direct relationship can be shown between the *ex-composita* (*exire* type) and the group of verbs containing the *preverb ex-* purely in m_2 (*efficere* type). Thus, theoretically the following scheme of semantic change can be presumed:

$$ex-m_1 [\text{gr. m. motion}] \rightarrow ex-m_{1-2} [\text{interm. gr.}] \rightarrow ex_{m_2} [\text{second gr.}]$$

However, the existence of this line can be maintained for the time being only on the basis of theoretical considerations. The first and third members of the line still require a detailed analysis.

III. The number of verbs to be formed with m_1 of the *ex-* can be defined. With m_1 can appear all those verbs which, as simplices, can draw beside themselves in the sentence adverbial complements with separative meanings or with meanings to be derived from them. This criterion is in the case of m_1 obligatory. However, in the case of m_2 this stipulation becomes invalid, and therefore, as one of the results of the development of m_2 , the range of effect of the *preverb ex-* expands. The behaviour of the *ex-* m_2 becomes independent from the m_1 on this level. Considering the fact that not only the *preverb ex-* behaves like this, this circumstance involves very significant results for the whole of word-formation in Latin.¹³

However, as we have seen this exactly in the case of the intermediate group of verbs, the basis for the becoming independent of m_2 is the process *ex-* $m_1 \rightarrow m_2$. Thus the historical *process* of the development of the *ex-* m_2 depends exactly from the *ex-* m_1 . After the accomplishment of this process, however, the relationship of the m_1 and the m_2 seemingly discontinues. This renders difficult just the recognition of the process-like character of the process. Because of the great number of the intermediary phenomena, this can be studied best on the intermediate group. This, however, a purely methodological question. In reality the groups

belonging to m_1 and m_2 are — through the intermediate group — directly connected with each other.

IV. Further research is required by those preverbs, which undergo a process of semantic change similar to the *ex-*. As a result of this process for example the preverbs *per-*, *ad-* and *con-*(*co-*) can also form composita of perfective, intensive, inceptive or instantaneous meaning. Thus, seemingly there is a synonymy among the meanings m_2 of the above mentioned preverbs, in spite of the fact that the meanings m_1 of these completely differ from each other. This is even more confirmed by the phenomenon according to which some simplices can form composita also with two of these preverbs, without a significant difference in the meaning. Such are for example: *communio*, 4 — *emunio*, 4; *conitor*, 3 — *enitor*, 3; *edisco*, 3 — *perdisco*, 3; *edoceo*, 2 — *perdoceo*, 2; *compleo*, 2 — *expleo*, 2; (*sol*) *exoritur* — *adoritur*; *efficio*, 3 — *perfacio*, 3 (*-conficio*, 3), etc.

This draws our attention to further problems of the preverbal verbs:

IV. 1. As we have also mentioned in point III, we do not know what qualities of certain simplices involve that they can or cannot stand in m_2 just with the given preverb, and why certain simplices can stand also with two of these preverbs. Thus, those qualities of the simplices which influence their capability of becoming preverbized still have to be examined.

IV. 2. In the course of the composita containing the preverb *ex-* it has become clear that the m_2 can realize itself only on account of the fact that it was preceded by a series of sentences containing m_1 of the *ex-*. The m_2 is identical not only with itself but also with the process in the course of which it has come about. (This has been the basis of the synchronous method followed in this paper.) This involves that the synonymy of the meanings m_2 of the preverbs *ex-*, *ad-*, *per-* and *con-* (*co-*) is really only virtual. The meanings m_1 interfere in the development of the meanings m_2 and thus the preverbs with different meanings m_1 in m_2 mean the same thing in different ways.

The tendencies of the influence of the different kinds of m_1 on the m_2 and their concrete facts to be felt in the semantic changes — as historical processes — must be defined more precisely in the course of further investigations.

¹ Hereinafter we call *modification of the action type* that phenomenon according to which the simplex with a continuous meaning after taking a preverb becomes of perfective meaning.

The term *aspect* is used by us in the sense of the following definition: «L'aspect est la catégorie grammaticale, où s'expriment les points de vue positifs ou négatifs sur le déroulement et le terme du procès.» (*J. Brunel: L'aspect et l'ordre de procès* en grec. BSL 42 (1946) 47.

The two categories cannot always be sharply separated from each other. (See for example the certain simplex(continuous) : compositum(perfective-intensive)correlations.)

² The use of the word «meaning» is not quite accurate here. In fact, within the category of the actional-aspectual modifier (m_2) even in the case of the same preverb several kinds of meanings can be realized depending on the simplex. In place of the term «meaning» some people use the term «function» (for example *F. Bader*). In this respect the literature is not uniform.

³ This is mentioned by many authors as a fact. For its demonstration see *J. Zsílka: ÁNYT 5 (1967) 301–304*; and *A. Meillet – J. Vendryes: Traité de grammaire comparée des langues classiques*². Paris 1953. 524 foll.

⁴ About the relationship of the usage of the preverbs in tmesis and the adverbial origin see *Bassols de Climent: Sintaxis latina I–II*. Madrid 1967. 226 foll.

⁵ See *A. Meillet – J. Vendryes: Traité de grammaire comparée des langues classiques*². Paris 1966. 150 foll.; *idem* Linguistique historique, linguistique générale. Paris 1948. 185 foll.; *D. Barbelenet: Questions d'aspect. L'imparfait de TERENCE*. In: *Mélanges offerts à A. Meillet*. Paris 1902. 1–15; *idem* L'aspect verbal dans les propositions temporelles. *RÉL 13 (1935) 48–65*.

⁶ For example *C. Grassi: Problemi di sintassi latina. Consecutio temporum e aspetto nel verbo latino*. Firenze 1966; *A. Ronconi: Il verbo latino. Problemi di sintassi storica*². Firenze 1959. 42 foll.; *A. Meillet: Esquisse d'une histoire de la langue latine*². Paris 1966. 151 foll.

⁷ We mention here only a few relevant works by way of example: *J. Budenz: NyK III (1864) 72–96*; *M. Zsirai: Obi-ugor igékötök (Ob-Ugrian Preverbs)*. Budapest 1933.; *D. Fuchs: Über die ungarischen Verbalpräfixe meg- und el-*. *Keleti Szle X (1909) 304–312*; and more recently: *J. Perrot: Préverbes et aspect en hongrois. Études Finno-ugriennes I (1964) 55–69*.

⁸ The phenomenon is only mentioned but the process itself is not expounded for example by *F. Bader: «Diachroniquement on est passé de la notion d'achèvement à celle d'intensité.»* See: *La formation des composés nominaux de latin*. Paris 1963. 366.

The relationship between the two meanings was shown in Hungarian already by *J. Budenz*, although only on the basis of examples taken at random (*op. cit.* 78 foll.). The same for the Ob-Ugrians see *M. Zsirai: op. cit.* 23 foll.

⁹ See note 3.

¹⁰ *J. Zsílka: op. cit.* 301–304 and *idem* *Nyelvi rendszer és valóság (Language System and Reality)*. Budapest 1971. 69.

¹¹ On the accusative as government in general see *M. Bréal: Essai de sémantique. Science des significations*⁷. Paris 1924. 191–196; *Bassols de Climent: op. cit.* 226 foll.; *I. H. Molnár: MNy 54 (1958) 243–257*.

The earlier authors explained this phenomenon simply with the assumption that at the transfer of the preposition before the verb the nominal part left over «automatically» remains in accusative:

*ire + [ad aliquem] → [ad-ire] + aliquem. See for example *O. Riemann – H. Goeltzer: Grammaire comparée du grec et du latin I–II*. Paris 1897. I. Syntax. This explanation – besides the semantic problems and the fact that it derives the preverb not from adverb but from preposition – is also therefore problematic because it does not know what to do with the *accusative* governments of those composita, the preverb of which as a preposition governs *ablative*.

¹² About the semantics of the deadjectival and denominal verbs see *X. Mignot: Les verbes dénommatifs latins*. Paris 1969. In this work we also find data on the *quantitative* difference between the usage of the preverbal deadjectivals and those without a preverb.

¹³ We do not propose to analyse the influence of the m_2 on the whole of word-formation. A few conspicuous fields are as follows:

a) First of all the domains of verbs connected with the m_2 meanings belong here: the m_2 meanings of the preverbs *ex-*, *ad-*, *con-* (*co-*) and *per-* have their own verbal group, independent from the m_1 .

b) Many deadjectival and denominal verbs can be formed with the m_2 meanings of the preverbs. The *ex-* is very prolific from this point of view. See *X. Mignot: op. cit.*

c) The m_2 of the preverb frequently appears as prefix on nominal roots. The most conspicuous example for this is the m_2 of the *per-*. This, as a prefix having a meaning intensifying the adjective, theoretically is of unlimited validity. It can stand with all such

adjectives which have the semantic criterion of *comparability*. For example: *peramarus*, *pergravis*, *permagnus*, *permultus*, *perparvus*, *perlucidus*, *perdignus*, etc. This meaning of the prefix *per-* can be traced back to the m_2 of the preverb *per-* and through this to the m_1 .

d) The m_2 can also serve for secondary word-formation from certain verbs or nouns, or can be the basis for such secondary word-formation. For example:

d/1. The *ex-* m_2 is the means of secondary word-formation: *cito*, 1 → *suscito*, 1 → *ex-suscito*, 1; (*sacer* 3) → *obsecro*, 1 → *ex-obsecro*, 1.

d/2. The form with the preverb (prefix) *ex-* is the basis for the secondary word-formation: *pugno*, 1 → *expugno*, 1 → *expugnabilis* → *inexpugnabili*; *oro*, 1 → *exoro*, 1 → *exorabilis*, etc. The suffix *-bilis* is frequently added not to the simplex but to the compositium. *loquor*, 3 → *eloquor*, 3 → *eloquens* → *per-eloquens*, etc.

The cases d/1. and d/2. have still many variations of types on account of the combination of the various preverbs and prefixes. This is for example because the *per-* is also added to certain participles as an adjectival prefix and among these can be also such which have already a preverb:

per-appositus,
per-eloquens,
per-attentus, etc.