

usually about as unambiguous. The m. genitives to *esse* are just as clear; and the present participles, which if substantivized denote an agent, are the most unambiguously non-neutral of all the forms. On the other hand, forms like *boni* and *fortis* are never used with words like *memini*, *memoria*, or *causa*: it is necessary to specify with a noun, type *bonae rei* or *uiri boni*.

The Prosody of puluis

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Ennius Ann. 282 *iamque fere puluis ad caeli uasta uidetur*;
Verg. Aen. 1.478 *per terram, et uersa puluis inscribitur hasta*.

On the strength of these two lines Lachmann, on Lucr. 1.853, declared the last syllable of *puluis* to be long, and Norden, Aen. VI³ p. 451, although he considered the Ennian scansion an instance of metrical lengthening, added with due caution: "wenn *puluis* nicht vielmehr eine Analogiebildung nach *sanguis* ist". In 1948 I showed (see now *Studia Enniana*, 1968, 32f.) that the prosody of Ennius Ann. 315 *puluis fulua uolat* was relevant to the problem, because, whereas a final syllable consisting of short vowel plus *s* is always, except in proper names, treated as short in the thesis by Ennius¹), here the final of *puluis* is treated as long. I deduced that Lachmann was right.

Sebastiano Timpanaro, *Gnomon* 42, 1970, 361f., holds that Lachmann was wrong, because in the whole of Latin poetry there is no instance of *puluis* with long final in the thesis before a vowel, and because Vergil, Aen. 11.877, scans *puluis*. Timpanaro's views on such matters carry the greatest weight, and I must therefore reply

¹) There is, apart from the line under discussion, one alleged exception to the rule, Ann. 216 *studiosus quisquam*, in a passage which, for other reasons, I consider patched by Cicero. Timpanaro, to be quoted immediately, now admits, as against his earlier denial, that the preceding line was patched by Cicero; on this one he refuses to accept my view. Let us assume, for a moment, that he is right: can it be an accident that, of the only two exceptions, one is formed by a word which Lachmann had declared to be a spondee before this particular issue arose?

straight away that in this instance his arguments seem to me to prove nothing at all. Timpanaro does not deny that *sanguis* originally had, and in classical poetry still can have, a long final²⁾. And yet in the whole of Latin poetry there is no instance of *sanguis* with long final in the thesis before a vowel, and Vergil scans *sanguis* not only once but three times (georg. 3.508; Aen. 2.639; 5.396).

These are the facts of the prosody of *puluis*, with some comment necessarily arising from them. Now let us see the reason behind the facts.

Neutral *s* stems such as *genos* have the normal grade of the stem in the nominative singular. Masculine and feminine *s* stems may be expected, like other consonant stems, to show a lengthened form. This is seen in *Cerēs* and *arbōs*, and probably also in *pubēs* and *molēs*, if it is correctly inferred from *puberes* and *molestus* that these are *s* stems which by various analogical pressures were deflected into other declension schemes. Compounds such as *εὐγενής* are also to be thought of in this connexion. The examples given here all *es* or *os* stems: there is, however, little doubt that there were also Indo-European *is* stems: see Wackernagel—Debrunner, Ai. Gr. II. 366. These, then, should have a nominative ending in *īs*. *puluis* is the only Latin example. *cinis* might be expected to conform, but here the ending was subject not only, as in *puluis*, to analogical pressure from the *i* stems but also to the operation of *breuis breuians*. In Greek, on the other hand, the word occasionally still shows the long vowel: Aeschylus, Suppl. 783, has *κόνις*, and the accusative *κόνιν* (Prom. 1085; Suppl. 180) is clearly based on the analogy of the nominative. The evidence of Indoeuropean morphology³⁾ and of Latin prosody thus agrees and bears out Lachmann's view on *puluis*, and with it the rule that Ennius does not allow final *s* in the thesis to make position, except in proper names.

Korrekturzusatz: an isolated *uomis*, Verg. georg. 1. 162, does not seem to affect the issue.

²⁾ To the examples of *sanguis* with long final given by Neue-Wagner³ I p. 243 add now Hor. c.s. 50; see BICS 11.1964.74.

³⁾ Although the responsibility for what is briefly stated here is my own, I gratefully acknowledge the advice, never asked for in vain, of O. Szemerényi.