

ERIC P. HAMP  
University of Chicago  
Chicago

UDC 807.5—541.2

## DERIVATIVES OF \*SUE IN LATIN

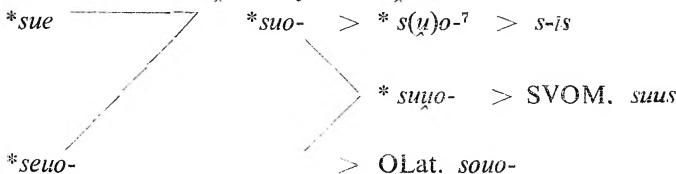
1. *soleō* „be wont“

The current accounts<sup>1</sup> of the obviously isolated, and therefore probably archaic and relic, verb *soleō* are unsatisfactory and inconclusive. They point to connexions which will not hold up<sup>2</sup>.

A possible phonological reconstruction is *\*suelejō*, which could be formed from an underlying thematic substantive *\*suelo*<sup>3</sup>. This in turn would be a thematization of an ancient genitive *\*sue-l* „of oneself, one's own“<sup>4</sup>. The original meaning would have been „have, handle as one's own“. This meaning would explain the use of *solere* in the sense „have relations with“ (de mulieribus). The phrase *ultrā solitum* (and the like) might have replaced an ancient *oltrā suelom*, with the noun on which the verb was formed.

We may now refine the derivation of *sōlus*, discussed in the reference adduced in footnote(4). The verb *soleō* reflects *\*sue-l*, thematized to *\*suelo* „one's own“. But *sōlus* <*\*suelo-o*- is a derived thematization with insertion by rule<sup>5</sup> of *\*e*; its proper original meaning was „pertaining to one's own“ → “restricted to one's own.“ It was by emphasis on the nuance of restriction that the sense of „solitary, alone“ developed.

As the productivity of thematic derivatives with radical *\*-e*-declined, parallel forms such as *\*suelo-* and *\*seuelo-* became more and more liable to contamination. This would account for the presence of *suus* (→ *sui*) beside *sis* <*\*sueis* <*\*suois*. Despite assertions to the contrary<sup>6</sup> *suus* and SVOM cannot go back directly to OLAT. *souos* = Osc. *sívad*, Gk. *έσις* <*\*suois*, since this violates the assumption for *nouos* = Gk. *νέος*. We must assume, rather, that originally there was *\*sue* and the rule-derived *\*seuo-*. Then an analogical *\*suo-* developed. The latter then contaminated *\*seuo-* to yield *\*suo-*, as if a Sievers form. Thus:



This will explain the rise of the duplicate scansion as *s*- and *sū*- in *suēscō* and *suētus* and then in *suādeō*.

<sup>1</sup> See LEW<sub>3</sub>, DELL svv. F. Bader, *BSL* 77, 1982, 119 note 184, avoids an analysis.

<sup>2</sup> See my discussion of *\*sēd-* and *\*sedh-*, as distinguished from *\*sue-*, *Živa Antika* 32, 1982, 33-4.

<sup>3</sup> Not „surprenante“, as DELL calls it.

<sup>4</sup> Parallel to Greek *φίλος*; see *BSL* 77, 1982, 251—62, esp. 261. See my discussion of such remnants, *AJP* 103, 1982, 214—6.

<sup>5</sup> *IF* 82, 1977, 74—6 footnote 4; *JNES* 39, 1980, 215; *Chicago Linguistic Society, Parasession* 1978, 193—4.

<sup>6</sup> Pfister revision of Sommer *Handbuch* (1977) 55 § 53. 2. a; Leumann (1977) 46 § 43a. F. Bader cites (*BSL* 77, 1982, 93 note 54) Buck, but his doublets will not account for all the observed forms.

<sup>7</sup> For loss of *\*y* see *AJP* 96, 1975, 64—6.