

NOTES ON LATIN NOUN FORMATION

1. *lūridus, lūtum*

lūridus denotes the pale colour of bile or of jaundice. The regularly formed noun which went with this was *lūrōr*. It seems reasonable not to divorce this stem from *lūtum*, a plant used for yellow dye. As LEW³ 1.837 suggests, it seems also likely that an earlier **lūros* was characterized more strongly as a colour name with the suffix seen in *lūridus* on the model of *liuidus* and its congeners from **(s)lī-uo-*.

lūtum is itself ambiguous but could plausibly be an ancient nomen instrumenti (cf. *Vesta*; Ériu 25, 1974, 259) **loutom* (cf. *nūn-: nouem*). Thus we have two correct IE formations **lou-to-*, and **lū-ro- < *luH-ró-*. The root here must be different from Pokorny's 1. *leu-* IEW 681. The alternation is reminiscent of λό(Ϝ)ω and λo(Ϝ)έ-σαι, λo(Ϝ)ε-τρον (GEW 2.139).

2. *lūstrum, mōnstrum*

There is no agreed account of *lūstrum* (LEW³ 1.839, DÉLL³ 661–2) or of *mōnstrum* (LEW³ 2.110, DÉLL³ 733–4), either for the base of the former or for the formation of both. Semantically both must be in origin nomina instrumenti, and *lūstrum* would be well explained as **lou-s-tro-m* to *lauō* (cf. *februum: februarīus*). It is true, as LEW³ 1.839 claims, that **louestrom* is phonologically unacceptable; cf. Glotta 59, 1981, 228–9. The trouble with such a reconstruction is the unexplained morphology, however, as well as the incorrect phonology.

If we assume archaic formations of the type of OPruss. *dalptan* 'chisel' and *hortus < *ghor-to-*, we arrive first at **lou-to-* and **mon-to-* 'a means of washing, purifying' and 'of reminding, warning'. As such formations became moribund in Latin, and easily confused with *-to-* participles (thus perhaps explaining the unsyn-copated *monitus*), **lout-o-* and **mont-o-* were segmented as thematically suffixed; then they were reinforced with the productive **-tro-m*. Thus **lout+tro-/mont + tro- → *loussro-/monssro-*. These then simplified the geminate *-ss-* by rule and developed an intrusive *-t-*: **loustro-*, **monstro-*¹).

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1) Cf. with root- or stem-final dental, *claustra* neut.pl.: *claudō, rāstrum < *rāssrom: rādō*, on which see Niedermann *Phonétique historique* (1945) 219 f., whose account is more precise than that of Sommer *Handbuch* 241. It is not essential – *pace* Niedermann – that the *t* develop before **ss* simplified to *s*. What is essential is that **ss* was distinctive in relation to **s* before **r* at the time when **sr* began to move towards *-br-*; on the last, see E. P. Hamp, *Glotta* 50, 1972, 290–1.

The distinctive behaviour of **ss* and **s* in clusters is confirmed by **kert-snā > *kersna* (cf. Osc. *kerssnais*) *> *kes(s)na > cesna* (Festus) *> cēna*, versus Skt. *pārsni-*, Goth. *fairzna: *persna > perna*. See Sommer's excellent account *Handbuch* 253, 260.

Leumann's account, *Lat. Gr.* (1977) 197 § 198 (b), whereby *-str-* would be the direct continuation of **t-tr → *tstr > *sstr*, seems to me inherently less likely