## The "\* $s\bar{u}$ " family. The complex relationship between the verbal root \* $se\mu H$ - and the pronominal stem \*sue-.

Roots with the (primary or secondary) meaning 'to give birth' or 'to beget' are often used in the IE languages as a derivational base for words denoting kinship relationships. Some of them are productive throughout the whole language family (e.g.,  $*\hat{g}enh_I$ - > Ved.  $j\hat{a}$ - 'child, family', Lat.  $germ\bar{a}nus$  'blood relative, brother', Gr.  $\gamma \acute{e}vo\varsigma$  'family, kin', NIL 139ff.), while others are only attested as such in one (e.g.,  $*h_2ens$ - > Hit.  $ha\acute{s}s\bar{a}tar$  'family, offspring', CLuw.  $ham\check{s}a/i$ - 'grandchild', cf. Kloekhorst 2008: 319) or a few branches (e.g.,  $*b^her$ - > Goth. barn 'child', Latv.  $b\bar{e}rns$  'child', Ved.  $bh\bar{a}ry\acute{a}$  'wife', NIL 18).

\*seuH- 'to give birth' (originally probably 'to be/get full (pregnant)', as per Oettinger 1979: 159, 298) is one of the oldest roots of this type. The proto-form \*suH-nu-/suH-iu- 'son' (e.g., Av. hunus, OCS synt, Gr υίός, Toch. A gen.sg. seyo, NIL 686ff.) is commonly acknowledged to be its derivative. Some scholars, however, believe that this form was not the only kinship term originating from the root \*seuH- and possessing a PIE status. Szemerenyi (1977: 32-47, 65-7, 96) postulates an ancient nominal form "\*sū-" with a hypothetic meaning 'everything that was born > (extended) family', which, according to him, might have been preserved in the proto-forms \*suésor- 'sister' (e.g., Gr. ἔορ '(female) relative, daughter, niece', Arm. k'oyr, Lat. soror, OIr. siur NIL 680ff.) and \*suékūg- 'parents-in-law' (e.g., Ved. śvaśrú, 'mother-in-law', NPers. xusrū 'id.', OE sweger 'id.'; Gr. ἑκυρός 'husband's father', OLith. šešūras) (a similar idea about a noun "\*swe" is presented in Benveniste 1969: 215). A more recent analysis of \*suesor- as derived from the root "\*swe" in the meaning 'extended family' can be found in Janda (1999: 320ff.).

In my talk I would like to discuss a possible connection between the verbal root \* $se\mu H$ - and the pronominal stem \* $s\mu e$ -, and the semantics of the element \* $s\mu e$ - in the most ancient forms \* $s\mu e s\mu e$ - and \* $s\mu e k\mu e$ - (younger forms such as Lith.  $s\nu a ine$  'wife's sister' or Rus.  $ceo a\kappa$  'wife's sister's husband' are of less interest because the meaning of the element \* $s\mu e$ - in them is obviously 'one's own' and these words are individual formations in separate IE branches).

## References:

Benveniste, Émile. 1969. Le vocabulair des institutions indo-européennes. Vol.1. Paris: Les éditions de minuit. Janda, Michael. 1999. Zur Herkunft von homerisch ŏαρ. In: Deger-Jalkotzy, Sigrid et al. (eds). Floreant Studia Mycenaea: Akten des X. International Mykenologischen Colloquiums in Salzburg vom 1.-5- Mai 1995, Vol.2. Vienna, 315-24.

Kloekhorst, Alwin. 2008. Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon. Indo-European Etymological Dictionaries Online. Alexander Lubotsky (ed). Leiden: Brill.

NIL: Wodtko, Dagmar S., Irslinger Britta, Schneider Carolin. 2008. Nomina im Indogermanischen Lexikon. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter.

Oettinger, Norbert. 1979. Die Stammbildung des hethitischen Verbums. Nürnberg.

Szemerényi, Oswald. 1977. Studies in the kinship terminology of the Indo-European languages. In: *Acta Iranica (Varia 1977)*, Leiden: Brill.