

Birgit Anette Olsen  
University of Copenhagen

The element  $-\omega\varsigma < *-\delta u\varsigma$  of the two Greek kinship terms  $\mu\eta\tau\rho\omega\varsigma$  ‘mother’s brother, maternal ancestor’ and  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\rho\omega\varsigma$  ‘father’s brother, paternal ancestor’ is traditionally interpreted as a suffix (e.g. Beekes 1973: 233 and Risch 1974: 160), which would then have a quite marginal status. More recently, Widmer (2008) has suggested that we would be dealing with hypostatic formations based on locative adverbial forms in  $*-eu$  from thematic stems, assuming the derivational chains  $*pat(e)r-eu/*m\acute{a}t(e)r-eu$  ‘beim Vater/bei der Mutter’ ▶  $*patr-\delta\acute{u}-/*m\acute{a}tr-\delta\acute{u}-$  ‘beim Vater/bei der Mutter seiend/ befindlich’, ‘zum Vater/zur Mutter gehöriḡ’ ▶  $*patr\acute{o}u-/*m\acute{a}tr\acute{o}u-$  ‘zum Vater/zur Mutter gehöriḡ’, though the single steps of the derivation can hardly be corroborated. A quite different scenario was proposed by Szemerényi (1977: 55ff) who, dismissing the plethora of semantic and formal interpretations of the alleged suffix, suggested an analysis as older compounds whose final member would be etymologically connected with Latin *avus* ‘grandfather’. In the presentation Szemerényi’s idea will be updated in the perspective of Kloekhorst’s interpretation of Hitt.  $ḫuḫḫa-$ , HLuv.  $ḫūḫa-$ , Lyc.  $\chi uge-$  ‘grandfather’ as an original ablauting root noun, and the implications of such an analysis for our understanding of IE family structure will be discussed.

#### REFERENCES

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