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DERIVATIVES OF *SUE IN LATIN

2. *suēscō*, *suētus*

It has been noticed, e.g. by Ernout — Meillet s.v., that *suēscō* „get accustomed“ is the inchoative matching *soleō*, but the morphological implications of this observation have not been drawn. We have seen that *solēre* may be derived from **sue-l(-o-)*. This can be true whether or not we follow Calvert Watkin's argument for *-ē-*, *TPS* 1971, 59—70.

Now the surface relation of *solēre*: *suēscere* is that of *alb-ēre*: *alb-ēscere*, which Leumann (1977) 553-4 § 415 D has summarized as that of primary **stative* to deverbative inchoative. However, I have shown that there is little basis for a reconstruction **sūēdh-* (footnote 2), and that **u* is lost in Latin before tense front vowel (footnote 7). Therefore we cannot follow the weak proposals that have been offered to explain *suēscō* and *suētus*. A fresh departure is indicated.

The only way to arrive at long *ē* and yet avoid the loss of the preceding *u* would seem to require the loss of an intervocalic **i*, whereby two old **ē s* contracted⁸. This leads us to **sueie-*. A match for this stem shape is found in Skt. *svayám*.

Our two verbs can now be related as **sue-le-iō*: **sue-ie-sk'ō*; later they fell phonetically in with the productive *statives* and *inchoatives*. Their formations show us a suppletion in functional equivalence of **sue-l* and *sue-i(e)-*. It is possible that we see a reflex of **(s)ueie-* in Albanian *vetë* „self, alone“ (cf. *tre* „3 masc.“), rather than the **(s)uoi-* which has been supposed.

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These formations in **sue-* are to be distinguished from the clear and old separate, if related, sense of the IE lexeme **sue* which when compounded gave social terminology seen in *soror* „sister“, *sōcer* and *socrus -ūs* „husband's parents“, to which may now confidently be added *sodālis* thanks to the form in SVO- attested in the Satricum inscription.

Yet another developed sense, related to that seen in *sōlus*, is to be seen in *socors -rdis* „sluggish“ < **sue-cord* — „lacking in heart“, with the notion of separation. It may be that *so-luō* contains the same first element. Here again we seem to see **sue* sharing the field as a prefix / preverb „apart“ with **sē*, just as in the source reflexive pronoun.

The best explanation for *sōbrius* might be **so-ēbrius-* < **sue* + *ēbrios*.

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⁸ A context which apparently prevented the rounding of **e* to *o*.