

DISSERTATION / DOCTORAL THESIS

Titel der Dissertation / Title of the Doctoral Thesis

„Kinship and Affinity in Indo-European:
Universal, Inherited, Contact, and Area Specific
Features of Indo-European Kinship Terms
(with a Special Focus on the Iranian Branch)“

verfasst von / submitted by

Veronika Milanova, MA

angestrebter akademischer Grad / in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doktorin der Philosophie (Dr.phil.)

Wien, 2020 / Vienna 2020

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt /
degree programme code as it appears on the student
record sheet:

UA 792 327

Dissertationsgebiet lt. Studienblatt /
field of study as it appears on the student record sheet:

Sprachwissenschaft

Betreut von / Supervisor:

Univ.-Prof. Mag. Dr. Melanie Malzahn, Privatdoz.

Acknowledgements

This dissertation is the fruit of almost six years of hard but absorbing work with ever-surprising results. The research has mostly been carried out at the University of Vienna. However, it also profited much from courses of the Leiden Summer School of Linguistics (2016), of the summer school “Roots of Europe” (2017, Copenhagen), Pavia International Summer School for Indo-European Linguistics (2017), and a research-study stay at *Mondes Iranien et Indien* (Paris 2019).

It is not a simple task to give a full list of people to whom I should express my gratitude.

I am greatly indebted to my supervisor, Professor Melanie Malzahn, for her invaluable advice and support, the right proportion of control and freedom of self-expression, endless patience and optimism throughout all these years. Further, this research would not be possible without the Doc-Stipendium of the Austrian Academy of Sciences (ÖAW) that gave me a great chance to concentrate on my work, take part in international conferences and summer schools.

I am also very thankful to all senior colleagues who have educated and consulted me, first of all, professors and lecturers of the University of Vienna (Heiner Eichner, Hans Christian Luschützky, Stefan Schumacher, Martin Peters, Michael Jursa, Karlheinz Mörth, Florian Schwarz, Velizar Sadoski, Stephan Prochazka, and Gebhard Selz). Professor Chlodwig H. Werba (1955–2019), who trained me in Vedic Sanskrit, Old Persian, and Avestan and was eager to see my dissertation ready, will always have a special place in my memory. I would also like to express my gratitude to Profs. Agnes Korn (CNRS, Paris) and Georges-Jean Pinault (EPHE, Paris), and the *Fondation Colette Caillat* represented by Prof. Nalini Balbir, who organised my research-study stay in Paris in 2019. I am thankful to Profs. James P. Mallory (Queen's University Belfast), Birgit A. Olsen (University of Copenhagen, and Vladimir B. Ivanov (Moscow State University) for giving me advice at the final stages of my work. And I should mention Rimma V. Zhuchaeva and Elena B. Gusynina, professors from the Izhevsk State University, who were the first to introduce me into historical linguistics as I studied there.

I would also like to thank the junior colleagues whom I was happy to meet in Vienna and other Universities. Most innovative aspects of this research (in particular, contact and areal studies of kinship terms) were formulated due to collaboration and exchange of ideas with my co-authors and co-applicants, first of all, Sampsa Holopainen (University of Helsinki) and Jeremy Bradley (University of Vienna) but also with András Czentnár (Eötvös Loránd University Budapest) and Terhi Honkola (University of Turku, University of Bristol). Without them this dissertation would not have acquired its unique features. Special thanks to Jeremy for linguistic revision of the text. I am much indebted to Hannes Fellner and Laura Grestenberger (University of Vienna) for their intellectual and moral support in the last year of my work and Stefan Höfler, who was a good example for me how work on a PhD thesis should be done and how one should write an application for a prae-doc scholarship. Other young colleagues that I should mention are Georgios Kostopoulos, Bjarne Simmelkjær Sandgaard Hansen, and Julian Kreidl, who consulted me on

questions pertaining to the Ancient and Modern Greek kinship terminology, Germanic kinship terminologies, and historical phonology of Pashto and Afghan Persian respectively.

Finally, I should also express my gratitude to my family and friends back in Russia and in Austria (especially, Behrooz, Armin, and Hadi) for everything that they did to support and motivate me.

Veronika Milanova

(24.09.2020 Mauerbach)

Table of contents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	3
ABBREVIATIONS	11
GENERAL INTRODUCTION	13
0: 1. MULTIDISCIPLINARY RESEARCH IN ANCIENT IE SOCIETIES	13
0: 2. PIE AND IE KINSHIP TERMS: HISTORY OF RESEARCH AND SOURCES	15
0: 3. THE AIM, TASKS, METHODOLOGY, AND STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS	17
CHAPTER I. WHAT KINSHIP TERMS ARE AND WHAT THEY CAN AND CANNOT TELL US: METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS OF ANTHROPOLOGY AND LINGUISTICS	19
I: 1. KINSHIP AS A PHENOMENON OF HUMAN LIFE AND A SUBFIELD OF SOCIO-CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY	19
I: 1.1. Concise overview of Kinship Studies. Notions and authors relevant for the present research	19
I: 1.1.1. Basic notions of typological studies of kinship	19
I: 1.1.1.1. Kinship and descent	20
I: 1.1.1.2. Family and residence rules	20
I: 1.1.1.3. Kinship and relatives	21
I: 1.1.2. Older typological studies of kinship (evolutionism) and their historical background	22
I: 1.1.2.1. “Die Naturwissenschaft von Menschen”	22
I: 1.1.2.2. Matriarchy myth and its critique	24
I: 1.1.3. Early cultural critique of evolutionism	25
I: 1.1.3.1. Critique of Morgan’s classificatory systems by Kroeber	26
I: 1.1.4. Reanalysis of kinship systems	27
I: 1.1.5. Cultural critique on the (typological) studies of kinship in the 1970–80s	29
I: 1.1.6. (Semi-)typological / (semi-)formal and cultural studies of kinship of recent decades	31
I: 1.1.6.1. Inevitability of research bias	32
I: 1.1.6.2. Morgan and Murdock revisited	33
I: 1.1.6.3. “Descriptive” vs. “classificatory” revisited	35
I: 1.2. Studies of areal kinship patterns as a diplomatic solution between typological and cultural studies of kinship (old and yet innovative approach)	37
I: 1.2.1. Areal / contact studies of cultural and linguistic features	37
I: 1.2.2. Areal / contact studies of kinship patterns	39
I: 1.2.3. Actual and potential developments of areal / contact kinship studies	42
I: 1.2.4. Kinship terms and terminologies in Central Eurasia	43
I: 2. KINSHIP TERMS AS A PART OF THE LEXICAL REPERTOIRE OF NATURAL LANGUAGES	45
I: 2.1. Arbitrary relationship between kinship terms and social conditions	45
I: 2.1.1. <i>Linguistic worldview</i> and <i>linguistic relativity</i> (older research)	45
I: 2.1.2. Cognitive models of the world, conceptual / semantic systems (recent research)	46
I: 2.1.3. Kinship terms as a part of high-context communication	48
I: 2.2. Kinship terms and universal lexicon	51

I: 2.2.1. Basic kinship terms and borrowability	51
I: 2.2.2. Basic categories among kinship term	53
I: 2.3. Reoccurring patterns of derivation and semantic change in terms of social relations	59
I: 2.3.1. <mother> and <father>, <woman> and <man>, <wife> and <husband>	59
I: 2.3.2. <born / birth / offspring (of)> and complex semantics of sibling terms	62
I: 2.3.3. “mutuality of being” and further basic notions	68
I: 3. DISCUSSION AND SUMMARY	70
 CHAPTER II. PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN KINSHIP TERMS AND AN OVERVIEW OF KINSHIP TERMS IN SELECTED INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES	73
II: 1. STRUCTURAL PRINCIPLES OF PIE KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY AND FURTHER INTRODUCTORY REMARKS	73
II: 2. OVERVIEW OF PIE AND IE KINSHIP AND FAMILIAL TERMS	75
II: 2.1. Parents	75
II: 2.1.1. ‘father’	75
II: 2.1.1.1. <i>*ph₂tér</i>	75
II: 2.1.1.2. <i>*atta-</i>	78
II: 2.1.1.3. further terms for ‘father’	82
II: 2.1.2. ‘mother’	83
II: 2.1.2.1. <i>*méh₂tēr</i> or <i>*máh₂tēr</i>	83
II: 2.1.2.2. <i>*anna-</i> (<i>*h₂en-Ho-</i>)	84
II: 2.1.2.3. Germanic <i>*aiþīn-/ōn-</i>	85
II: 2.1.2.4. further forms for ‘mother’	85
II: 2.1.3. ‘parent(s)’	86
II: 2.2. Children	90
II: 2.2.1. ‘son (/ boy / child)’	90
II: 2.2.1.1. <i>*suH-nus / suH-jus</i>	91
II: 2.2.1.2. <i>*putlós</i>	92
II: 2.2.2. <i>*d^hugh₂tēr</i> ‘daughter (/ ? girl)’	94
II: 2.2.3. Hittite words behind DUMU	95
II: 2.3. Men and Women, Husbands and Wives	100
II: 2.3.1. <i>*u₁H-ró-</i> , <i>*h₂nér-</i> , and derivatives of <i>*mer(H)-</i> , vitality and virility	100
II: 2.3.2. <i>*d^hǵ^hǵ^hon-</i> , <i>*mó/ért-o-</i> , and derivatives of <i>*men</i> ‘to think’, men in contrast to others	102
II: 2.3.3. <i>*g^uen(h₂)-</i> ‘woman / wife’	104
II: 2.3.4. <i>*priH-ó/eh₂-</i> and its derivatives, “mutuality of being”	106
II: 2.3.5. <i>*póti-</i> and derivatives of <i>*dóm-</i> , household and ownership	107
II: 2.4. Siblings	110
II: 2.4.1. <i>*b^hréh₂tēr</i> ‘brother’	110
II: 2.4.2. <i>*sǵésor-</i> ‘sister’	113
II: 2.4.3. Anatolian sibling terms	117
II: 2.5. Non-primary consanguineals	119
II: 2.5.1. General structural and semantic tendencies	119
II: 2.5.2. <i>*h₂ey₂(-o-)</i> , <i>*népōt-</i> , and <i>nepos-avunculus</i> debates	125

II: 2.5.2.1. * <i>h₂euh₂</i> (-o-) ‘grandfather’	125
II: 2.5.2.2. * <i>népōt</i> -	126
II: 2.5.2.3. “Matriarchy”, cross-cousin marriage, Omaha hypothesis, and their critique	129
II: 2.5.3. <i>oū</i> - and <i>ijō</i> - derivatives and further appurtenance formations	134
II: 2.5.3.1. * <i>ph₂trou</i> - and * <i>mah₂trou</i> - and their derivatives	134
II: 2.5.3.2. Slavic * <i>strъb</i> / * <i>stryb</i> ‘father’s brother’	136
II: 2.5.3.3. Slavic * <i>vnukъ</i> ‘grandchild, grandson; descendant’	137
II: 2.5.4. Hittite verb * <i>h₂ens</i> and its derivatives	140
II: 2.6. Affinal relatives	143
II: 2.6.1. General structural and semantic tendencies	143
II: 2.6.2. * <i>suek_ur</i> - ‘father/mother-in-law’	145
II: 2.6.3. * <i>gem(H)</i> - and other words for ‘son-in-law’	147
II: 2.6.4. * <i>snus-ó</i> - ‘daughter-in-law’	150
II: 2.6.5. * <i>dajh₂ér</i> ‘husband’s brother’	152
II: 2.6.6. * <i>Hjénh₂tēr</i> ‘husband’s brother’s wife’	153
II: 2.6.7. * <i>ǵlH-?</i> - ‘husband’s sister’	154
II: 2.6.8. wife’s relatives	158
II: 2.6.8.1. Derivatives of * <i>b^hend^h</i> - and similar formations	158
II: 2.6.8.2. * <i>sue</i> -forms	160
II: 2.7. Fictive relatedness, widowhood and orphanage	161
II: 2.7.1. step-parents, step-children, adoption, fosterage	161
II: 2.7.2. widows and orphans	163
II: 3. SPECIAL ISSUES PERTAINING TO PIE KINSHIP TERMS	167
II: 3.1. PIE kinship terms in *-(<i>h₂</i>)ter	167
II: 3.1.1. Kinship terms in * <i>-ter</i> and agent nouns in * <i>-ter</i>	167
II: 3.1.2. Kinship terms in * <i>-ter</i> as compounds	169
II: 3.1.3. Kinship terms in * <i>-ter</i> as a result of delocative derivation	170
II: 3.1.3.1. Kinship terms in * <i>-ter</i> and a comparative suffix	170
II: 3.1.3.2. Kinship terms in *-(<i>h₂</i>)ter and Hitt. <i>-ātar</i>	172
II: 3.1.3.3. Kinship terms in * <i>-ter</i> and life cycle	173
II: 3.2. Kinship terms and grammatical gender. What else kinship terms can tell	175
II: 4. DISCUSSION AND SUMMARY	178
II: 4.1. PIE kinship terminology	178
II: 4.2. Development of IE kinship terminologies	181
II: 4.3. Kinship terms in *<i>-ter</i> and cognition of traditional societies	183
II: 4.4. Specific features of Anatolian kinship terms	184
CHAPTER III. KINSHIP TERMS IN SELECTED MODERN IRANIAN LANGUAGES	185
III: 1. KINSHIP TERMS IN IRANIAN LANGUAGES AS A RESEARCH TOPIC	185
III: 1.1. Iranian languages and peoples	185
III: 1.2. Kinship terms in Iranian languages: state of research, scope and methods	187

III: 2. OVERVIEW OF KINSHIP TERMS IN SELECTED WESTERN IRANIAN LANGUAGES	190
III: 2.1. Relatives of the first genealogical grade	193
III: 2.1.1. Inherited IE, (Indo-)Iranian and further shared terms.....	193
III: 2.1.2. Isolated innovations and borrowings.....	196
III: 2.2. Men and Women, Husbands and Wives	197
III: 2.2.1. Inherited PIE and (Indo-)Iranian terms.....	197
III: 2.2.2. Isolated innovations and borrowings.....	198
III: 2.3. Non-primary consanguineals.....	199
III: 2.3.1. Inherited IE, (Indo-)Iranian and further shared terms.....	199
III: 2.3.2. Isolated innovations and borrowings.....	200
III: 2.4. Affinal relatives.....	202
III: 2.4.1. Inherited IE, (Indo-)Iranian and further shared terms.....	202
III: 2.4.2. Isolated innovations and borrowings.....	204
III: 2.5. Adoptive and constructed relatedness, widowhood and orphanage	204
III: 2.5.1. step-, adoptive, and milk relationships	204
III: 2.5.2. widows and orphans	205
III: 3. OVERVIEW OF KINSHIP TERMS IN SELECTED EASTERN IRANIAN LANGUAGES	207
III: 3.1. Relatives of the first genealogical grade	210
III: 3.1.1. Inherited IE, (Indo-)Iranian and further shared terms.....	210
III: 3.1.2. Isolated innovations and borrowings.....	212
III: 3.2. Men and Women, Husbands and Wives	214
III: 3.2.1. Inherited IE, (Indo-)Iranian and further shared terms.....	214
III: 3.2.2. Isolated innovations and borrowings.....	215
III: 3.3. Non-primary consanguineals.....	217
III: 3.3.1. Inherited IE, (Indo-)Iranian and further shared terms.....	217
III: 3.3.2. Isolated innovations and borrowings.....	221
III: 3.4. Affinal relatives.....	222
III: 3.4.1. Inherited IE, (Indo-)Iranian and further shared terms.....	222
III: 3.4.2. Isolated innovations and borrowings.....	224
III: 3.5. Adoptive and constructed relatedness, widowhood and orphanage	225
III: 3.5.1. step-, adoptive, and milk relationships	225
III: 3.5.2. widows and orphans	226
III: 4. COLLECTIVE TERMS FOR RELATIVES	228
III: 4.1. Inherited PIE and (Indo-)Iranian terms	228
III: 4.2. Borrowed collective terms for relatives	230
III: 5. NEW IRANIAN KINSHIP TERMINOLOGIES IN COMPARISON TO NEW INDO-ARYAN KINSHIP TERMINOLOGIES	232
III: 5.1. (New) Indo-Aryan kinship terminologies as a research topic	232
III: 5.2. Structure of New Indo-Aryan kinship terminologies	233
III: 5.2.1. Linguistic situation on the Indian Subcontinent.....	233
III: 5.2.2. Concise overview of kinship terms in selected New Indo-Aryan languages.....	234
III: 5.2.2.1. Hindi kinship terms:	234

III: 5.2.2.2. The main characteristics and the usage of North Indian kinship terms	237
III: 5.2.3. Dravidian kinship terminologies and cross-cousin marriages. The origin of the relative age distinction in Indo-Aryan	240
III: 6. DISCUSSION AND SUMMARY.....	244
III: 6.1. Iranian kinship terminologies (summary)	244
III: 6.1.1. Iranian New Persian	244
III: 6.1.2. Afghan New Persian (Dari)	245
III: 6.1.3. Tajik.....	246
III: 6.1.4. Yaghnobi	247
III: 6.1.5. Balochi.....	248
III: 6.1.6. Pashto	249
III: 6.1.7. Ossetic (Iron // Digoron).....	250
III: 6.2. Discussion	251
GENERAL CONCLUSION AND FURTHER PROSPECTS	253
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	257
ZUSAMMENFASSUNG	309
ABSTRACT	311

Abbreviations

Languages:

Akk. = Akkadian	NPers. = New Persian (unspecified)
Alb. = Albanian	OAv. = Old Avestan
Arab. = Arabic	OBret. = Old Breton
Arm. = Armenian	OCorn. = Old Cornish
Armc. = Aramaic	OCS = Old Church Slavonic
Av. = Avestan (both Young and Old)	OCz. = Old Czech
Bal. = Balochi	OE = Old English
BCS = Serbo-Croatian, Bosnian, Montenegrin	OFr. = Old French
Bctr. = Bactrian	OFris. = Old Frisian
Belorus. = Belorussian	OHG = Old High German
Bret. = Breton	OInd. = Old Indic
BSl. = Balto-Slavic	OIr. = Old Irish
Bulg. = Bulgarian	OLith. = Old Lithuanian
Celtib. = Celtiberian	ON = Old Norse
Chuv. = Chuvash	OPol. = Old Polish
CINPers. = Classical New Persian	OPers. = Old Persian
CLuw. = Cuneiform Luwian	OPrus. = Old Prussian
Corn. = Cornish	ORus. = Old Russian
Cz. = Czech	Osc. = Oscan
Dan. = Danish	OSerb. = Old Serbian
Egypt. = Egyptian	Oss. = Ossetic
Eng. = English	Oss. I = Ossetic Iron
Finn. = Finnish	Oss. D = Ossetic Digoron
Fr. = French	OSw. = Old Swedish
Gaul. = Gaulish	OW = Old Welsh
Goth. = Gothic	Pal. = Palaic
Gr. = (Ancient) Greek	PAnat. = Proto-Anatolian
Gr. (Att.) Attic Greek	Parth. = Parthian
Gr. (Ion.) Ionic Greek	Pash. = Pashto
Gr. (Dor.) Doric Greek	Pash. (Kak.) = Kakari (Pashto dialect)
Heb. = Hebrew	Pash. (Wan.) = Wanetsi (Pashto dialect)
Hitt. = Hittite	Pash. (Waz.) = Waziri (Pashto dialect)
HierLuw. = Hieroglyphic Luwian	PCelt. = Proto-Celtic
Hung. = Hungarian	PGm. = Proto-Germanic
IE = Indo-European	Phryg. = Phrygian
IrPers. = New Persian of Iran (Standard)	PIE = Proto-Indo-European
It. = Italian	PIIr. = Proto-Indo-Iranian
Khot. = Khotanese	PIr. = Proto-Iranian
Kurd. = Kurdish	Pkt. = Prakrit
Lat. = Latin	Pol. = Polish
Latv. = Latvian	Port. = Portuguese
Lith. = Lithuanian	PSl. = Proto-Slavic
LSorb. = Lower Sorbian	PUr. = Proto-Uralic
Lyc. = Lycian	Sp. = Spanish
Lyd. = Lydian	Rom. = Romanian
MBret. = Middle Breton	Russ. = Russian
MCymr. = Middle Cymrian	RusCS = Russian Church Slavonic
MDu. = Middle Dutch	Slk. = Slovak
ME = Middle English	Slov. = Slovenian
MHG = Middle High German	Sogd. = Sogdian (unspecified)
MLG = Middle Low German	Sogd. B = Buddhist Sogdian
MPers. = Middle Persian	Sogd. C = Christian Sogdian
MW = Middle Welsh	Sogd. M = Manichaean Sogdian
Myc. = Mycenaean (Greek)	Sogd. MG = Sogdian in Sogdian script (Mount Mugh documents)
NHG = New High German	Sogd. S = Sogdian in Sogdian script
NIA = New Indo-Aryan	Sum. = Sumerian
NIr. = New Irish	

Sw. = Swedish
Taj. = Tajik
Toch. = Tocharian
Turk. = Turkish
Udm. = Udmurt (Votyak)
Ukr. = Ukrainian
USrb. = Upper Sorbian
Uzb. = Uzbek
Ved. = Vedic Sanskrit
Yagh. = Yagnobi
YAv. = Young Avestan

Primary sources:

AVP = Atharvaveda Paippalādasamhitā
Bo = Boğazköy: Funde aus den Grabungen (Leipzig, Berlin)
CTH = Catalog der Texte der Hethiter
DB = Dareios: Große Inschrift von Bisotun / Behistun
DSf = Dareios: Susa Inschrift F
Il. = Iliad
KBo = Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi (Leipzig, Berlin)
KUB = Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi (Berlin)
RV = Rigveda
ŚB = Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa
Y. = Yasna

Kinship terms:

Fa = father	GrFa = grandfather	e = elder
Mo = mother	GrMo = grandmother	y = younger
Br = brother	GrCh = grandchild	
Si = sister	Pa = parent	
So = son	Sb = sibling	
Da = daughter	Sp = spouse	
Hu = husband	Ch = child	
Wi = wife		

* reconstructed form
< developed from
> developed into
← borrowed from
→ borrowed into

General introduction

0: 1. Multidisciplinary research in ancient IE societies

Kinship terms, i.e., words denoting various kinds of relationship between people, age and gender, is a topic based on the semantic principle and does not belong to linguistics exclusively. It is a part of multidisciplinary research in human societies. For this reason, I should begin this thesis with a concise summary of what we know about the prehistory of Indo-European (IE) languages and the peoples speaking them. Especially full accounts are provided in the monographs *In Search of the Indo-Europeans* (1989) by James P. Mallory and *The Horse, the Wheel, and Language: How Bronze-Age Riders from the Eurasian Steppes Shaped the Modern World* (2007) by David W. Anthony, *The Indo-European Controversy: Facts and Fallacies in Historical Linguistics* by Asya Pereltsvaig and Martin W. Lewis, in encyclopaedias such as the *Encyclopedia of Indo-European culture* (EIEC 1997), *The Oxford Introduction to Proto-Indo-European and the Proto-Indo-European World* (Mallory & Adams 2006) and, more recently, in the volume *Dispersals and Diversification: Linguistic and Archaeological Perspectives on the Early Stages of Indo-European* (Serangeli & Olander 2019).

Nowadays IE languages (especially English, Spanish, Russian, and Hindi) are native or second languages for numerous people in all parts of the world, but a few thousand years ago Proto-Indo-European (PIE), ancestral to all ancient and contemporary IE languages, was less prominent, merely one of many languages of Eurasia. Temporal and spacial localisation of the PIE homeland and ancient migrations of IE-speaking peoples is one of the central questions of IE studies. The discussion where and when PIE was spoken began more than two hundred year ago. Thus, James P. Mallory¹ can give a list of a few dozens of scholars who have or had some opinion on this question. However, there are only three basic hypotheses that deserve to be mentioned.

The Early Farming Dispersal Hypothesis (Renfrew 1987, 1999) places the IE homeland in Anatolia in the period 8500–6500 BCE and associates the expansion of IE languages in Europe and Asia with the expansion of the Neolithic farmers and agriculture.

The ‘Greater Armenian’ Model emphasizes similarities between the IE, Afro-Asiatic (first of all, Semitic), and Kartvelian languages (Georgian) and explains them by placing the PIE homeland in Southern Armenia or Northern Iran in 5500 BCE (Gamkrelidze & Ivanov 1995).

The “Kurgan” or “Steppe” hypothesis that was most prominently suggested by Maria Gimbutas (e.g., Gimbutas 1956, 1970, 1977, 1994) and elaborated by David W. Anthony (2007) has become the mainstream in recent decades. It states that the PIE language was formed in the Pontic-Caspian Steppe region north of the Caucasus and the Black Sea in the period around 4500 BCE and should be associated with cattle-breeding and horse-riding nomadic societies of the Yamnaya (Pit-grave)

¹ Emeritus professor at Queen's University (Belfast), at a lecture given during the summer school “Roots of Europe” (2017).

cultural-historical area (3500–2500 BCE) stretching from the Bug and Dniester rivers on the west to the Ural and Emba rivers on the east and especially vividly manifested by its burial mounds ('Kurgans'). This hypothesis can be corroborated by special linguistic similarities between the IE and the Uralic languages (e.g., IE loanwords into Proto-Uralic, cf. Koivulehto 2001)² and linguistic palaeontology (e.g., PIE wheeled-vehicle vocabulary, Anthony & Ringe 2015 with numerous references).

According to the classical hypothesis based primarily on the evidence of linguistics, archaeology, and physical (paleo)anthropology, the expansion of the Yamnaya culture to the east about 3000 BCE is associated with the Afanasyevo archaeological culture in Inner Asia and the Andronovo archaeological complex occupying a large territory to the south from the Ural Mountains and eastwards from the Caspian Sea. The Afanasyevo culture might be ancestral to the speakers of the Tocharian branch of IE. The Andronovo complex should almost certainly be connected to the speakers of the Indo-Iranian languages (Mallory 1989: 223–231, Kuz'mina 2007: 3–207). This hypothesis can be supported by indirect linguistic evidence. Numerous Indo-Iranian loanwords including kinship terms were borrowed into Uralic languages in that period (most recently discussed by Holopainen 2019, cf. also **II: 2.3.1**, **II: 2.3.2**, and **II: 2.4.2**). The linguistic ancestors of the Germanic, Baltic, Slavic, and possibly also Celtic and Italic branches are usually associated with the Corded Ware Culture occupying a huge territory from the Netherlands to the upper Volga and middle Dnieper and from Scandinavia to Southern Switzerland (3rd millennium BCE) and subsequently with the Bell Beaker Culture (3rd – beginning of the 2nd millennium BCE) including most of Western and Central Europe (Mallory 1989: 243–257).

Archaeological connections of the Greek, Armenian, and Anatolian branches are more problematic. The linguistic ancestors of the Greeks, Armenians, and poorly-attested Balkan languages (Thracian, Dacian, Illyrian, and Phrygian) possibly arose in the result of contacts between the nomads from the Yamnaya and neighbouring farming communities of the Cucuteni-Tripolye Culture (5th–3rd millennium BCE) on the north-western coast of the Black Sea. The Anatolians might have come to Asia Minor either through the Balkans or through the Caucasus (Mallory 1989: 231–243).

The studies of modern and ancient DNA (aDNA) in Eurasia that began in 2015 (Allentoft et al. 2015, Haak et al. 2015, Kristiansen et al. 2017, Damgaard et al. 2018a, cf. also Anthony & Brown 2017, Klein et al. 2018, Mallory 2019, Mallory & Dybo & Balanovsky 2019) have confirmed many points of the "Steppe" hypothesis, especially as far as the spread of IE languages in Europe is concerned, but has made the prehistory of the Asian Indo-Europeans, Greeks, and Anatolians even more confusing than it was before. The situation is less ambiguous for Indo-Aryan- and Iranian-

² Some scholars also postulate genetic relatedness of the two language families and try to reconstruct the "Indo-Uralic" proto-language (cf. Kloekhorst 2008b, Kloekhorst & Pronk 2019, Anthony & Ringe 2015: 206–207 with references), but such hypotheses are not accepted by all historical linguists.

speaking populations. Although they continue local genetic signatures, they also have distinct DNA markers of the Steppe (Damgaard et al. 2018a: 4–7, Krzewińska 2018, Narasimhan et al. 2019, Mehrjoo et al. 2019, Shinde 2019, Das 2019). However, the Anatolian and Mycenaean burials that have been sampled fail to show a convincing Steppe genetic signature (Lazaridis et al. 2017, Mathieson 2018 et al.).

The genetic data indicate that those Steppe populations that have been associated with PIE (or Late Indo-European minus Anatolian) might have emerged from the contact of two populations: the East Hunter Gatherers (EHG), who populated large territories in Northeast Europe including the Pontic-Caspian Steppe, and Caucasian Hunter Gatherers (CHG), who originally occupied the Caucasus, Anatolia, and North-eastern Iran. The geographical distribution of the CHG has stimulated some to assert that the Asian Indo-Europeans might have dispersed directly from the territory of Armenia or Northern Iran (according to the ‘Greater Armenian’ Model, see above). However, the same data can be used as a counterargument to such a suggestion as the CHG are also associated with numerous ancient non-IE languages and language families of the Caucasus, Anatolia, and Iran. In their turn, the EHG are also ancestral to the speakers of non-IE languages including Uralic.

Such imperfect correlations between genetic, linguistic, and archaeological data is a rule rather than an exception in the study of ancient societies, especially if the evidence is not complete. The process of ethnogenesis and glottogenesis is complicated, multifactorial, and often ambiguous. Thus, in the case of the Asian Indo-Europeans, Anatolians, and Greeks we may be dealing with migrations of elites (cf. **III: 1.1** for further discussion of the Indo-Iranian material). Therefore, the Pontic-Caspian Steppe of the 5th–4th millennium BCE still seems to be the most plausible *Ausgangsland* for most of the IE languages (see the summary in Serangeli 2019: 2–6 with references to emigrational scenarios suggested by Anthony 2019 and Kristiansen 2019).

0: 2. PIE and IE kinship terms: history of research and sources

Research into kinship terms in IE languages and efforts to reconstruct and interpret PIE kinship terms is as old as IE studies themselves. The first discussions of this topic appear in the work of the founding fathers of the discipline such as *Etymologische Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der Indo-Germanischen Sprachen, mit besonderem Bezug auf die Lautumwandlung im Sanskrit, Griechischen, Lateinischen, Litauischen und Gotischen* (1833) by August Pott, *Vergleichende Grammatik des Sanskrit, Zend, Griechischen, Lateinischen, Litauischen, Altslavischen, Gotischen und Deutschen* (1833–1852) by Franz Bopp, and *Compendium der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen* (1861–1862) by August Schleicher.

However, the gold standard of the 19th century on how IE kinship terms should be studied was laid down in the monograph *Die Indogermanischen Verwandtschaftsnamen. Ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Altertumskunde* (1889) by Berthold Delbrück. This was a good example of Neo-

grammarian research with an accurate empirical approach to the linguistic material, but the available ethnographic data and anthropological ideas of that time were also taken into consideration.

The order in which Delbrück presented the material and ideas is also a model example of how a topic based on semantic principles should be handled. He chose exactly the middle position between an extremely multidisciplinary approach when it becomes impossible to evaluate the data objectively and an extremely empiric data-driven approach (the right one for small-scale topics but not for *a priori* multidisciplinary endeavours). He refrained from wilful imaginations about kinship relations of IE peoples as his personal experience dictated. Nor did he go directly *in medias res*. He began with discussing the “Umfang des Begriffes Verwandtschaft” and “Wert der Etymologie” (defining what kinship terms are and what insights we can and cannot expect from them). Further he gave a list of primary and secondary literature he used in his work, after that he proceeded to the empirical data from different language branches and ethnography followed by evaluations and conclusions. In this manner he was able to keep a good balance combining an accurate Neo-grammarian approach to linguistic data with a broadminded and multifaceted vision of kinship terms. The empirical data he collected in his work and the overall approach are still valid and valuable, but details pertaining to sociological and cognitive aspects need revision in accordance with contemporary scholarship.

After Delbrück kinship terms were mostly discussed in articles and reference book entries devoted to specific problems of specific kinship terms. They are mentioned in encyclopaedias such as *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes* (1969) by Émile Benveniste, *Encyclopedia of Indo-European Culture* (1997) and *Oxford Introduction to Proto-Indo-European and the Proto-Indo-European World* (2006) by James Mallory and Douglas Adams, thematic and etymological dictionaries such as *A Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages: A Contribution to the History of Ideas* (1949) by Carl D. Buck, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (1959) by Julius Pokorny, *Nomina im Indogermanischen Lexikon* (2008) by Dagmar S. Wodtke et al., etymological and historical dictionaries, corpora and databases of specific IE languages and branches.

There are a few monographs on kinship terms in PIE and specific IE branches: *The history of the Slavic kinship terms and some terms of the social order* (1959) by Oleg N. Trubachev, *Generative-Extensionist Analysis of the PIE Kinship System With a Phonological and Semantic Reconstruction of the Terms* (1970) by Frank Wordick, *The kinship terminology of Homeric Greek* (1971) by H. Phelps Gates, and finally the influential *Studies in the kinship terminology of the Indo-European languages* (1977) by Oswald Szemerényi. There is also a monograph by Xavier Tremblay *La déclinaison des noms de parenté indo-européens en -ter-* (2003a) devoted specifically to kinship terms in *-ter-. Apart from Wordick’s work, which is an example of an unbalanced multidisciplinary approach based on a rather idiosyncratic hypothesis of Friedrich (1963, 1964,

1966) (criticised in **II: 2.5.2.3** below) all of them contain good ideas and empirical data and deserve scholarly attention. However, none of them possesses the same unique combination of linguistic accuracy and multidisciplinary awareness in accordance with their epoch as Delbrück's monograph had at the end of the 19th century. Trubachev (1959) is valuable as a source of empirical data from the Slavic languages, but this author had to quote ideas of Marxist Evolutionism, which was the main anthropological hypothesis in the Soviet Union but its methodology was much out-of-date in the rest of the world already at the time when his monograph was written. The discussion of kinship terms in Homeric Greek (Gates 1971) is also valuable, but the second part of the book is devoted to a fantastical hypothesis of Friedrich (1963, 1964, 1966), which cannot be taken seriously. Szemerényi (1977) also provided a substantial overview of kinship terms from different IE languages, but most of his etymological hypotheses and sociological considerations were likewise not quite up-to-date already in the 1970s. Tremblay (2003) is devoted to the morphology of **ter*-stems rather than to kinship semantics *per se* (see **II: 3.1** below).

The most valuable ideas about kinship terms should be extracted from articles (especially, Hettrich 1985, Oettinger 1986, 1998, 2004, 2009, Olsen 2013, 2019, *IG* Ljubljana, Pinault 2001, 2005a, 2005b, 2007, 2009, 2013, 2017a, 2017c). The most recent volume on the IE kinship *Kin, Clan and Community in Prehistoric Europe* (Olsen & Nielsen-Whitehead 2020 in print) is going to be published after this dissertation has been submitted.

Research history of Iranian kinship terms is discussed in Chapter **III: 1.2** below.

0: 3. The aim, tasks, methodology, and structure of the thesis

The main aim of this dissertation is the analysis of PIE and selected IE kinship terms with a special focus on the Iranian branch. Along with classical etymological research this study pays special attention to areal and contact aspects of IE kinship terms (lexical and semantic borrowing).

In the course of my work I realised that a multidisciplinary study, even a moderately multidisciplinary project as this thesis, cannot be carried out in a classical way by presenting the data at first and then developing a hypothesis (as it is done, for example by Szemerényi 1977). The first summing-up must already take place before the work with empirical data has begun. Thus, before introducing kinship terms one should understand what these lexical items are, what information we expect to gain from them, and what kind of research question is reasonable in this case.

Thus, my approach is fairly similar to the approach implemented by Delbrück (1889, see the previous section). The main challenge that I have faced is that I have much more material to summarize than Delbrück did. Since the end of the 19th century all disciplines dealing with kinship terms and semantics of natural languages have made great advances and there have appeared new disciplines as well. Therefore, while Delbrück's introduction took about 25 pages, I had to devote an entire first chapter to a summary of anthropological and linguistic research on kinship as a social

and cultural phenomenon and as a part of the lexicon and semantic structure of natural languages. This was necessary to provide a sound theoretical base for a profound and systematic analysis of the empirical material in the following two chapters.

The second chapter is devoted to the revision of reconstructed PIE and selected IE kinship terms, their etymology, semantics, pattern of derivation as well as their features from the point of view of typological, areal, and contact studies.

The third chapter is focused on universal, inherited, contact, and area specific features of kinship terms in selected contemporary Iranian languages (three main variants of Persian, Balochi, Pashto, Ossetic, and Yaghnobi), a topic that has hardly ever been studied by any discipline (cf. **III: 1.2**). The same chapter also provides a short glimpse into contemporary Indo-Aryan kinship terminologies. This choice was motivated by a few factors. Firstly, the Indo-Iranian branch has a long literary tradition, which facilitates etymological and typological research. Secondly, these were and remained languages of the IE frontier, i.e., speakers of these languages have always been in close contacts with speakers of non-IE language, have exchanged lexical items with them and borrowed semantic features untypical of other IE kinship terminologies. For this reason Indo-Iranian material is interesting not only for etymological but also for areal and contact linguistic research of kinship terms. The scope of the research in Iranian kinship terms and conventions pertaining to transcription and transliteration of words are discussed in more detail in the introductory parts of chapter **III**.

Chapter I. What kinship terms are and what they can and cannot tell us: methodological considerations of anthropology and linguistics

I: 1. Kinship as a phenomenon of human life and a subfield of socio-cultural anthropology

I: 1.1. Concise overview of Kinship Studies. Notions and authors relevant for the present research

Kinship studies as a sub-field of socio-cultural anthropology has a history of more than one hundred fifty years. It has collected substantial empirical evidence from different parts of the world and has developed a wide range of theories, approaches, and schools of thought. In my thesis I am not going to provide a full account and history of this discipline as this would not conform to the purpose of my research. An interested reader can find first-hand information in high-quality volumes such as *Kinship and family: an anthropological reader* (Parkin and Stone 2004) or *One discipline, four ways: British, German, French, and American anthropology* (Barth 2005).³

I will however present the most essential terms and notions necessary for my own research. I will focus on two main methodological frameworks of kinship studies: a *typological (formal, sometimes also cross-cultural)* framework and a *cultural (culturally relativistic)* framework (or *particularism*). Antithetic to each other they emerged together with the discipline itself and since then both have been applied in different ways. The first framework was more influential in the past; the second has been increasingly dominant in recent decades. Anthropologists and linguists working with anthropological concepts must inevitably decide what position to take with respect to these conflicting approaches. In general, priority will be given to the work of anthropologists who dealt with kinship terms and linguistic issues.

I: 1.1.1. Basic notions of typological studies of kinship

Since the 1970s, the framework of cultural relativism (cf. **I: 1.1.5**) has been the dominant paradigm in kinship studies and in socio-cultural anthropology in general. Most terms and notions of typological kinship studies were therefore subject to cultural deconstruction. Consequently, there are almost no uncontroversial notions accepted by all contemporary anthropologists. However, I find it reasonable to give a list of notions with minimal ideological charge in order to facilitate further discussion. A full overview of such fairly neutral notions with interpretations can be found in the first chapters of the handbook *Kinship: An Introduction to Basic Concepts* (Parkin 2003 [1997]).

³ Further literature recommendations are given, for example, in Milanova (2020 in print).

I: 1.1.1.1. Kinship and descent

The difference between the notions *kinship* (*filiation*) and *descent* (*lineage*, *succession*) was discussed in Milanova (2020 in print with references to Evans-Pritchard 1940 and 1950, Fortes 1945, Sahlins 1965, Scheffler 1966, 1986, Holý 1996: 44–7, 51–123, and Kraus 1997).

Kinship is simply the way the Ego is related to people from his or her father's and mother's family. *Descent* indicates how *inheritance* and/or *succession* are transmitted from one generation to the other. Descent can be *patrilineal* (= *agnatic*) and *matrilineal* (= *uterine*), *unilineal* and *bilateral* (= *cognatic*). Along the same lines, there can be *patrilineages* (= *patriclans*) and *matrilineages* (= *matriclans*). Unilineal descent groups are usually *exogamous* (taking spouses from other groups). Bilateral descent groups can be both *exogamous* and *endogamous* (taking spouses within their own group). In the dimension of kinship, the Ego is the starting point, whereas in the dimension of descent the *ancestor* (real or putative) is the centre of attraction (for example, royal dynasties are always named after their real or putative founders).

In older anthropological literature scholars used to apply the terms *patriarchal* and *matriarchal* in reference to descent. Today these terms are depreciated because they are misleading (see I: 1.1.2.2). According to Parkin (2003 [1997]: 25), they are sometimes used in modern feminist-oriented anthropology and “mostly confined to denoting authority and modes of domination”. In this case, he recommends applying the terms *patripotestal* and *matripotestal*. However, it should be emphasised that there is no evidence of real matripotestal societies in recorded history. Therefore, when speaking about power relationship in a certain society, it would be even better to employ the terms *egalitarian* and *non-egalitarian* (= *hierarchical* or *androcentric* if one would like to emphasise inequality between sexes).

A society can be hierarchical or egalitarian to various extents. Ethnoarchaeologist Susan Kent (1999: 38–41) determines at least six grades: highly egalitarian, strongly egalitarian, moderately egalitarian, moderately non-egalitarian, strongly non-egalitarian, highly non-egalitarian. The same author points out: “gender *inequality* is an attribute of *highly complex societies* in the past and the present. Such societies organize people stratigraphically by gender, age, ethnicity, class, economics, occupation, appearance, etc. These strata are arranged into opposing categories as superior versus inferior” (p. 41, italics added).

I: 1.1.1.2. Family and residence rules

A *family* ($\approx$ *household*) consisting of parents and their children is a *nuclear* (= *elementary*, *conjugal*) family. Families consisting of more than one nuclear family (e.g., elderly parents and adult children with their wives and children) are *extended* (*joint*) families. Families can be *monogamous* and *polygamous* (*polygynous* if one man has more than one wife or *polyandrous* if a woman has more than one husband). If co-wives are sisters, we speak of *sororal polygyny*. If co-husbands are brothers, we speak of *fraternal* or *adelphic polyandry*. *Sororate* is a special type of

sororal polygyny where a man must marry his wife's sister after the death of his wife. If a woman must marry her husband's brother after the death of her husband, we speak of *levirate*.

If a woman lives in her husband's *natal family*, we have a *patrilocal* ($\approx$ *virilocal*, also *patrivirilocal*) residence. If a man lives in his wife's natal family, we have a *matrilocal* or *uxorilocal* residence (e.g., *errēbu*-marriage in the ancient Near East, see **II: 2.6.3** below). *Ambilocal* residence means that there is no strict rule in whose household a new couple lives. If a couple starts their *family of procreation* outside of their natal families, we have a *neolocal* residence.

I: 1.1.1.3. Kinship and relatives

Originally, the word *kinship* referred to *blood* (= *consanguineous*) *relatives* or *consanguineals* only but was not used for *affinal relatives* or *affines* (= *relatives by marriage*). In contemporary literature it can be used as a cover term for both kinship and *affinity*. Consanguineous relatives can be *lineal*, those who were born from the Ego or from whom she/he was born (parents, children, grandparents, grandchildren, etc.) and *collateral* such as siblings (brothers and sisters), uncles, aunts, cousins. Sometimes designations for collateral relatives can have a *relative age distinction* (specifying younger and elder siblings, also those of spouses and (grand)parents) and/or a *relative gender distinction* (speaker's gender indication, male or female point of view); however, these features, especially the latter, hardly ever occur in IE languages (see **I: 1.2**). Father's brother's or mother's sister's children are one's *parallel cousins*. Father's sister's and mother's brother's children are one's *cross-cousins*. The distinction between cross and parallel cousins is fairly unambiguous for cousins of the first grade, but much more complicated for cousins of more distant grades. For example, whether such a relative as "mother's mother's brother's daughters' child" (= MoMoBrDaCh, see the rules of notation below) is regarded as a cross or parallel cousin depends on the typological system to which it belongs (see 'Dravidian' vs. 'Iroquois' *crossness* in Hage 2006: 397). One's father, mother, brother, sister, son, daughter, husband or wife are traditionally called one's *primary relatives* (but see the critique on this point in **I: 2.2.2** and **I: 2.3**).

I will use the following abbreviation for *formal semantic analysis of kinship*:

Fa = father	GrFa = grandfather
Mo = mother	GrMo = grandmother
Br = brother	Pa = parent
Si = sister	Sb = sibling
So = son	Sp = spouse
Da = daughter	Ch = child
Hu = husband	e = elder
Wi = wife	y = younger

It should be emphasised that the formal analysis as the *componential analysis*⁴ of kinship does not necessarily reflect any indigenous theory of mind behind the term (see the critique and discussion in **I: 1.1.5**, **I: 1.1.6**, and **I: 2.2.2**). I am using these abbreviations as a means of translating kinship terms. Efforts to create a method for understanding authentic meanings and therefore the etymologies of kinship terms are discussed in section 2 of this chapter.

Kinship terms can have a *designative* use, which can be *referential* (e.g., “I know his *mother*”) and *predicative* (“She is my *mother*”). They can also be used *vocatively*: “*Mom*, I am coming soon”. Some scholars also distinguish *kinship terms proper* (like English *mother*, *father*, *son*, *daughter*, etc.) and *kinship terms improper*, words that cannot be called kinship terms in the strict sense but can acquire kinship meaning in a certain context (*man*, *woman*, *boy*, *girl*, etc.) (cf. Dahl & Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001: 202–203, Jonsson 2001: 1204). The difference between the two groups is fairly clear in English and some other standardized languages of contemporary Europe (though not in all of them), but it can be rather vague in languages outside of Europe, dialects, ancient or non-codified languages. The problem of indistinct borders between kinship terms and other terms denoting age, gender, marital or social status of people will be discussed in detail below (especially, in sections **I: 1.1.5**, in the entire part 2 of this chapter, and will be illustrated by numerous examples in chapters **II** and **III**). In this thesis, if not otherwise specified, the notion “kinship term” refers to both kinship terms proper and kinship terms improper.

I: 1.1.2. Older typological studies of kinship (evolutionism) and their historical background

I: 1.1.2.1. “Die Naturwissenschaft von Menschen”⁵

Systematic studies of kinship as anthropological research in general emerged in the middle of the 19th century. It was inspired by advances in natural sciences, first of all, the fundamental work *The origin of species* by Charles R. Darwin (1859), technical progress, and colonial policies of imperial states. The idea that biological organisms, social structures, cultures, arts and languages are becoming more complicated and perfect through time displaced the older “hypothesis of degradation” acknowledged by some pre-modern philosophical traditions (e.g., The *Yuga Cycle doctrine* in Hinduism or the antique hypothesis of a “*Golden Age*”).

In his monographs *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family* (1871) and *Ancient Society* (1877) the pioneer of kinship studies Lewis Henry Morgan suggested that similarly to living organisms human societies should have been evolving through time and the steps of the

⁴ Classical componential analysis uses smaller elements of meaning such as gender, generation, consanguineous versus affinal status and so on (cf. Parkin 2003 [1997]: 54–55). More on the componential analysis and its shortcomings see in **I: 2.2.2**.

⁵ This is how anthropology of the 19th century is referred to in Delbrück (1889: 387). Curiously, even at Delbrück’s time anthropological literature on history of human family was abundant: “Es ist nicht möglich, an dieser Stelle eine auch nur einigermaßen genügenden Überblick über die ungemein reiche anthropologische Literatur zu geben, welche von der Entstehung der menschlichen Gesittung und im Besonderheiten der menschlichen Familie handelt.” (ibid.)

evolution should be the same for all societies of the world: from the most “primitive statuses” to “the status of Civilization”. Each “status” (or “ethnical period”) was characterized by specific forms of “subsistence”, “government”, “language”, “family”, “religion”, “house life and architecture”, and “property” (Morgan 1964 [1877]: 11–23). The modern “Aryan (= Indo-European) and Semitic” cultures were placed by Morgan on the top of this evolutionary sequence. Other societies were placed on lower steps and, according to him, reflected the states of the modern civilizations in their past: “The remote ancestors of the Aryan nations presumptively passed through an experience similar to that of existing barbarous and savage tribes” (ibid.: 15, 427). Similar or even more radical ethnocentric ideas were common for many scholars, philosophers, and writers of his time.

Because each stage of social evolution should correspond to one of the types of the “systems of consanguinity and affinity”, the way kinship terms are arranged in a certain culture would immediately imply its place in the evolutionary sequence. Morgan (ibid.: 325–326, 421–428) reduces five successive forms of family: 1) The Consanguine Family (between brothers and sisters), 2) The “Punaluan” Family (= “group marriage” when a group of brothers cohabits with a group of sisters), 3) The “Syndyasmian” or Pairing Family (between single pairs but without exclusive cohabitation), 4) The Patriarchal Family (between one man and several wives), and 5) The “Monogamian” Family. In his earlier work Morgan (1997 [1871]) collected kinship terms from 139 languages⁶ (“nations and dialects”⁷) of the world and concluded that kinship systems have two main principles of arranging terms: descriptive and classificatory.

The first...describes collateral consanguineity, for the most part, by an augmentation or combination of the primary terms of relationship...for husband and wife, father and mother, brother and sister, and son and daughter, to which must be added, in such languages as possess them, grandfather and grandmother, and grandson and granddaughter...All other terms are secondary. Each relationship is thus made independent and distinct from every other. But the second...reducing consanguineity to great classes by a series of apparently arbitrary generalizations, applies the same terms to all the members of the same class (ibid.: 12)

Simply speaking, descriptive systems describe by means of “primary kinship terms” how people are genealogically related to each other. As for classificatory systems, they merge lineal and collateral relatives into a small number of categories. Descriptive systems, according to Morgan, were common for the “Aryan” (= IE), Semitic, and “Uralian”⁸ families, classificatory systems for the “Ganowánian” (indigenous North American),⁹ “Turanian” (South, East, and Southeast Asian),¹⁰

⁶ Morgan did not manage to collect material from Mongolic, Tungusian, Australian, and African languages (Morgan 1997 [1871]: 467).

⁷ Another trait of the 19th century social science so symptomatic in Morgan’s work is the lack of distinction between languages and ethnicities.

⁸ The cover term “Uralian” implies for Morgan Uralic (Finnish, Estonian, and Hungarian) and Turkic languages (Ottoman Turkish and a dialect of an ethno-religious group Kuzabbashi/Kuzulbashi spoken in Azerbaijan).

⁹ primarily “Omaha”, “Crow”, and “Iroquois” systems in Murdock’s classification (see I: 1.1.4 below).

¹⁰ Chinese, Japanese, and Dravidian

and “Malayan”¹¹ families. In the chapter on the “Ganowánian Family” he also mentioned the “Eskimo” (Morgan 1997 [1871]: 267–277) with a remark that their kinship system combined features of both descriptive and classificatory systems.

The “Malayan” system (ibid.: 448–466), which distinguishes only gender and generation of relatives and merges parents with parents’ siblings, children with nephews and nieces, siblings with cousins, spouses with siblings-in-law, was alleged to be a relic of the most primitive stage of human family evolution. Morgan (ibid.: 457, 479–484) assumed that such a way of classifying relatives reflected the real state of affairs in the past under the circumstances of “promiscuous intercourse” and a subsequent “group marriage” (or “Pinaluanic/Punaluanic bond”, see above).

The “Turanian” (ibid.: 385–431, 484–487) and “Ganowánian” (ibid.: 131–266) systems possessing more complicated classificatory terminologies should be derivatives of the “Malayan” system corresponding to the third and fourth forms of family.

Finally, descriptive systems, which can be “explained from the nature of descent” (ibid.: 472), should be on the top of the human family evolution.

I: 1.1.2.2. Matriarchy myth and its critique

According to Murdock (1949: 185 with references), the hypothesis of “matriarchy” as a stage of human family evolution was supported by all social scientists almost without exceptions throughout the whole second half of the 19th century and found its way into fiction. Thus, in the story *The cat that walked by himself* by Rudyard Kipling we read: “Of course the Man was wild too. He was dreadfully wild. He didn’t even begin to be tame till he met the Woman, and she told him that she did not like living in his wild ways.” It was described in a monograph by Johann Jakob Bachofen *Das Mutterrecht. Eine Untersuchung über die Gynaikokratie der alten Welt nach ihrer religiösen und rechtlichen Natur* (1861) especially articulately. The idea itself was not new: it was borrowed from ancient and medieval historians, but it was especially congruent with the theory of social evolution formulated by Morgan (1964 [1877]: 292–303). He assumed that the first three forms of family being characterised by the absence of stable monogamous or at least polygynous bonds, the only traceable descent might only be matrilineal. He concluded that “matriarchal” tribes must stand on lower steps of evolution, patriarchal tribes a little higher, and bilateral descent should be associated with the most “advanced” peoples.

However, even in the 1860s there were scholars who did not share Bachofen and Morgan’s views on “matriarchy”. Legal historian Henry S. Maine who wrote his monograph *Ancient Law: Its Connection with the Early History of Society, and Its Relation to Modern Ideas* in 1861 (thus in the same year as *das Mutterrecht*) applied an empirical approach in his work (analysis of mostly ancient legal text, much less mythological plots or half-mythological narratives of ancient

¹¹ Tooker (1997: x) explains it as Malayo-Polynesian (thus Oceanic) languages/cultures.

historians) and concluded that “matriarchy” had never been a trait of Indo-European peoples. Although he did not want to state a dogma about non-IE societies, he nevertheless assumed that such forms of social behaviour as “promiscuous horde” or polyandry might simply be exceptional sporadic cases rather than stages of evolution. He assumed that “patriarchal power” as a synonym of the “potency of sexual jealousy” should be a primeval instinct of human beings.

The latter assumption conforms to the mainstream contemporary views of the ancient human family and our current knowledge about social structures of primates and early species of *Homo*. Patrilocal residence (or rather male philopatry) seems to be a common feature for many species of primates. It is well-attested for some Great Apes and is reconstructed for fossil hominids and homines (cf. Lalueza-Fox et al. 2011 on the analysis of twelve Neanderthal individuals at the El Sidrón site) and for ancient modern humans (cf. Haak et al. 2010 on the graves in Eulau belonging to the Corded Ware culture, who could be speakers of ancient IE languages, and Schroeder et al. 2019 on a Late Neolithic mass grave in Poland both belonging to exogamous patrilocal families). Paleoanthropologists and primatologists assume that this behaviour can be explained by the fact that males of the group tend to consider male strangers as their rivals and usually reject them but female strangers are viewed as a resource and are welcome.¹²

One might also assume that patrilineal descent should be associated with more primitive stages of evolution if it is caused by primeval instincts. At the turn of the century there were indeed some curious attempts to apply an inverted evolutionistic scheme as far as descent is concerned: bilateral – patrilineal – matrilineal (Swanton 1905, 1906). It did not yield any result in the end either. By the middle of the 20th century the only plausible conclusion was that there is no direct correlation between descent (or residence rules) and cultural “supremacy” or “backwardness” (Murdock 1949: 186). Moreover, instincts do not determine the entirety of human behaviour. That is why patterns of residence, lineage, and especially power relationship are extremely diverse and multifactorial.

I: 1.1.3. Early cultural critique of evolutionism

By the end of the 19th century many ideas of Morgan and like-minded scholars were gradually rejected. The main object of scepticism was the basic hypothesis that a culture can be analysed through the lens of another culture. Gradually it had become clear that there are no global rules of social evolution, nor is there one universal path all human societies are obliged to follow.

This scepticism was expressed especially strongly in the work of Franz Boas, the creator of the cultural method, who is also viewed as the founding (grand)father of American anthropology. In

¹² However, another group of primatologists and paleoanthropologists have a different opinion. Thus, Blaffer-Hrdy (2009: 233–272) claims that apes often stay in the home group because they get support from their mothers in raising offspring. There is even a curious hypothesis, which is referred to as ‘grandmothering’ or ‘grandmother hypothesis’ (Opie and Power 2008), stating that the ancestors of humans from early *Homo erectus*, through *Homo heidelbergensis* to early moderns might have had a tendency to matrilocality. Women of these early homines needed help from both their mothers and male partners in order to be able to raise enough offspring.

his article “The Limitations of the Comparative Method of Anthropology” (Boas 1896) he criticised evolutionism (to which he referred as the “comparative method”) and suggested a “historical method” instead: “if anthropology desires to establish law governing the growth of culture it must not confine itself to compare the results of the growth alone, but whenever such is feasible, it must compare the processes of growth, and this can be discovered by means of studies of the cultures of small geographical areas” (p. 908). This method, which was consistently implemented by Boas and his students, was predominantly empirical and aimed at studies of distinct cultures and their unique histories rather than at a search for universal features (see also Boas 1965 [1911]). The ideas of Boas were much in accord with the new trend in historical linguistics of that time – the Neogrammarian school – which likewise left aside “global theories” and was confined to purely linguistic topics that can be studied with scientific precision.

The evidence collected by those scholars proved that the simplistic schemes of social evolutionism cannot be supported by empirical data. Subsequent research has shown that there are certain tendencies but not strict laws of social evolution. For example, cattle-breeding societies tend to have a patrilineal descent (Holden and Mace 2003). Nomad societies tend to be more egalitarian than sedentary ones (Beck and Huang 2008: 349–351; Hodgson 2008: 418–419; Keller 2008: 323; De Nicola 2017).¹³ However, the general conclusion was and still remains justified: “The forms of social organisation, indeed, appear to show a striking lack of correlation with levels or types of technology, economy, property rights, class structure, or political integration” (Murdock 1949: 187).

I: 1.1.3.1. Critique of Morgan’s classificatory systems by Kroeber

Concerning kinship terms, it is worth mentioning the article “Classificatory Systems of Relationship” (1909) by Alfred L. Kroeber, who belonged to the first generation of the *Boasians*. Being a specialist in indigenous American languages and cultures and an inspired field researcher, he noticed an unusual complexity of sibling and cousin terminologies in these languages:

Our word brother includes both the older and the younger brother and the brother of a man and of a woman. It therefore embraces or classifies four relationships. The English word cousin denotes both men and women cousins; cousins on the father’s or on the mother’s side; cousins descended from the parent’s brother or the parent’s sister cousins respectively older or younger than one’s self, or whose parents are respectively older or younger than the speaker’s parents; and cousins of men or women. Thirty-two different relationships are therefore denoted by this one English word (ibid.: 77).

Kroeber stated that there can be eight categories of kinship relationship:

- “1. The difference between persons of the same and of different generations,
2. The difference between lineal and collateral relationship,
3. Difference of age within one generation (= relative age distinction)

¹³ This insight is another example of how empirical data dismantled earlier theoretical assumptions. The opposite used to be assumed: that nomads have stricter social structures (cf. Gimbutas 1991, 1994).

4. The sex of the relative,
5. The sex of the speaker (= relative gender distinction),
6. The sex of the person through whom the relationship exists,
7. The distinction of blood relatives from connections by marriage,
8. The condition of life of the person through whom the relationship exists (whether the person is a consanguineal or affinal relative, alive or dead, married or not)."

English kinship terms are determined by only four of these categories while many American languages apply more than four, i.e., from the point of view of the American languages English has a classificatory kinship terminology. Therefore, the difference between classificatory and descriptive is utterly subjective; it depends on the linguistic and cultural background of the observer (ibid.: 77–80).

Another important point Kroeber makes in this article pertains to the connection between kinship terms as linguistic units and social realities (see the further discussion in section 2 of this chapter). For example, in the Dakota language grandfather and father-in-law are designated by the same term. If it implied the same relationship (as the Morgan's school would have assumed), it would mean that the person must marry his mother, which is absurd (ibid.: 82). That is why Kroeber claims that

Even when the social condition agrees perfectly with expressions of relationship, it is unsafe to conclude without corroborative evidence that these expressions are a direct reflection or result of the condition. <...> The causes which determine the formation, choice, and similarities of terms of relationship are primarily linguistic. <...> To connect the institutions and the terms causally can rarely be anything but hazardous. <...> Terms of relationship reflect psychology, not sociology. They are determined primarily by language and can be utilized for sociological inferences only with extreme caution. (ibid.: 82–84).

I: 1.1.4. Reanalysis of kinship systems

By the middle of the 20th century Morgan's theory of social evolution had been ultimately abandoned by all mainstream anthropologists. At the same time the fact that societies are constantly changing was evident (as it is now) and scholars tried to find alternative methods to explain why and how social changes happen.¹⁴ Some tried to apply the historical method suggested by Boas (see above). Others tried to reanalyse and elaborate Morgan's empirical legacy of "kinship systems" but without its out-dated ideological message.

For example, Robert H. Lowie (Lowie 1928: 266–267) suggested distinguishing four types based on the way terms for uncles are expressed. The first two are classificatory: *generational* if Fa = FaBr = MoBr (Morgan's "Malayan" type) and *bifurcate merging* if Fa = FaBr ≠ MoBr (Morgan's "Turanian" and "Ganowánian" types). The other two are descriptive: *lineal* if there is one term for

¹⁴ Notably, the contemporary views of biological evolution has also *evolved* and does not speak of organisms simply becoming more and more complex and perfect through time with the modern human being as the essence and the ultimate aim of it. Nowadays it is considered to be a rather ambiguous and multi-directional process of change without any obvious aim (cf., e.g., Kutschera and Niklas 2004). The same can be said about language change.

father and another term for both uncles (such as in Contemporary English, German or Russian) and *bifurcate collateral* if there are three separate terms for father and both uncles (such as in Arabic, New Persian, or Danish).

The most articulate version of new kinship systems, which has found its way into philological disciplines and is still quoted by some anthropologists, was presented in a handbook by George P. Murdock (Murdock 1949: 233–234). It is quoted in *EIEC* (332–335), in (Milanova 2014: 57–58), and in a number of other articles and books of historical linguists dealing with kinship terms. This is a part of the table taken from Milanova (2014: 57–58) borrowed from *EIEC* (333):

Kin type	Eskimo	Hawaiian	Sudanese	Iroquois	Crow	Omaha
FaFa	<i>GrFa</i>	<i>GrFa</i>	<i>FaFa</i>	<i>FaFa</i>	<i>FaFa</i>	<i>FaFa</i>
FaMo	<i>GrMo</i>	<i>GrMo</i>	<i>FaMo</i>	<i>FaMo</i>	<i>FaMo</i>	<i>FaMo</i>
MoFa	<i>GrFa</i>	<i>GrFa</i>	<i>MoFa</i>	<i>MoFa</i>	<i>MoFa</i>	<i>MoFa</i>
MoMo	<i>GrMo</i>	<i>GrMo</i>	<i>MoMo</i>	<i>MoMo</i>	<i>MoMo</i>	<i>MoMo</i>
Fa	<i>Fa</i>	<i>Fa</i>	<i>Fa</i>	<i>Fa</i>	<i>Fa</i>	<i>Fa</i>
FaBr	<i>Uncle</i>	<i>Fa</i>	<i>FaBr</i>	<i>Fa</i>	<i>Fa</i>	<i>Fa</i>
FaSi	<i>Aunt</i>	<i>Mo</i>	<i>FaSi</i>	<i>FaSi</i>	<i>FaSi</i>	<i>FaSi</i>
Mo	<i>Mo</i>	<i>Mo</i>	<i>Mo</i>	<i>Mo</i>	<i>Mo</i>	<i>Mo</i>
MoSi	<i>Aunt</i>	<i>Mo</i>	<i>MoSi</i>	<i>Mo</i>	<i>Mo</i>	<i>Mo</i>
MoBr	<i>Uncle</i>	<i>Fa</i>	<i>MoBr</i>	<i>MoBr</i>	<i>MoBr</i>	<i>MoBr</i>
Br	<i>Br</i>	<i>Br</i>	<i>Br</i>	<i>Br</i>	<i>Br</i>	<i>Br</i>
FaBrSo	<i>Cousin</i>	<i>Br</i>	<i>FaBrSo</i>	<i>Br</i>	<i>Br</i>	<i>Br</i>
FaBrDa	<i>Cousin</i>	<i>Si</i>	<i>FaBrDa</i>	<i>Si</i>	<i>Si</i>	<i>Si</i>
FaSiSo	<i>Cousin</i>	<i>Br</i>	<i>FaSiSo</i>	<i>FaSiSo</i>	<i>Fa</i>	<i>Nephew</i>
FaSiDa	<i>Cousin</i>	<i>Si</i>	<i>FaSiDa</i>	<i>FaSiDa</i>	<i>FaSi</i>	<i>Niece</i>
Si	<i>Si</i>	<i>Si</i>	<i>Si</i>	<i>Si</i>	<i>Si</i>	<i>Si</i>
MoSiSo	<i>Cousin</i>	<i>Br</i>	<i>MoSiSo</i>	<i>Br</i>	<i>Br</i>	<i>Br</i>
MoSiDa	<i>Cousin</i>	<i>Si</i>	<i>MoSiDa</i>	<i>Si</i>	<i>Si</i>	<i>Si</i>
MoBrSo	<i>Cousin</i>	<i>Br</i>	<i>MoBrSo</i>	<i>MoBrSo</i>	<i>So</i>	<i>MoBr</i>
MoBrDa	<i>Cousin</i>	<i>Si</i>	<i>MoBrDa</i>	<i>MoBrDa</i>	<i>Da</i>	<i>Mo</i>

The six types above are referred to by Murdock sometimes as “the types of kinship terminologies” and sometimes “types of cousin terminologies” because the main criterium is the way cousin terms are structured. The “Sudanese” terminology is purely descriptive. It is named after the country of Sudan, where it is “most prevalent”, according to Murdock. The “Eskimo system” was already mentioned in Morgan (1997 [1871]: 267–277 see above). The “Hawaiian”

terminology¹⁵ corresponds to Morgan's "Malayan system". Finally, "Omaha", "Crow", and "Iroquois" (similar to "Dravidian", see **I: 1.1.1.3**) are variants of Morgan's "Ganowanian system".

Apart from these six types Murdock (1949: 224–250) established eleven "primary types of social organisation", each associated with specific rules of descent and types of cousin terminologies. He claimed that under certain circumstances (changes of residence rules, of descent, or of cousin terminologies) one type can transform into another one and that there are certain evolutionary scenarios / tendencies that can encourage this to happen (ibid.: 252–257). To be sure, this scheme was not as straightforward as Morgan's evolutionary sequence and was no more associated with economic or cultural "supremacy" or "backwardness" of the different types. However, due to their extreme complexity the eleven types of social organisation are less popular among both anthropologists and philologists than the six types of kinship/cousin terminologies. It should also be mentioned that the most recent research has not been able to detect any universals in the cultural evolution of kinship terminology postulated by Murdock (Passmore & Jordan 2020).

I: 1.1.5. Cultural critique on the (typological) studies of kinship in the 1970–80s

In the 1970–80s the central scholar of kinship studies was David Schneider. In Milanova (2020 in print) many pages were devoted to a description of his work. His insights are of great importance to my research not only because he is one of the most influential figures in kinship studies but also because of his valuable remarks concerning the semantic structure of kinship terms (in detail see **II 2.2.2** below).

Schneider was a specialist in the cultures of Oceania; specifically, he studied the culture of the Micronesian island of Yap in the Western Caroline Islands. Among other traits he conducted research on the Yapese kinship terminology and kin groups in the best traditions of classical kinship studies of his time (Schneider 1953). Wolfgang Kraus (p.c.),¹⁶ explaining the reason why Schneider changed his opinion on kinship by the 1970s, emphasised the influence of symbolic and interpretive anthropology (cf. Geertz 1975, Wagner 1975). However, this was probably not the only stimulus. It is more likely that in his talk at a seminar dedicated to the centenary of Morgan's *Systems* (1971), which was transformed into an article "What Is Kinship All About?" (1972), and later into a monograph *A Critique on the Study of Kinship* (1984), Schneider simply drew the logical conclusion of the first century of kinship research.

Before Schneider there existed a long-termed and complex discourse on *biological/physical* and *social kinship*. This was already started by Maine (1861), who called kinship "a legal fiction". It was continued by Durkheim (1898: 316), who made a distinction between *consanguinité* (biological blood ties) and *parenté* (kinship as a social phenomenon), van Gennep (1906: xxvi–xxvii), who similarly differentiated *parenté physique* and *parenté sociale*, and Malinowski (1913 in

¹⁵ Lowie (1928: 266) ascribed the authorship of this term to William Rivers.

¹⁶ Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology at the University of Vienna.

Holý 1996: 16–29), who introduced two definitions borrowed from Roman law: *Pater* (social father) vs. *Genitor* (procreator). The problem with these definitions is that even what is called *physical kinship* does not necessarily correspond to the modern scientific definition of *genetic kinship* but rather to an *indigenous concept of procreation* of a specific people (cf. Holý 1996: 16–29).

Another factor of the paradigmatic shift could be the abundant evidence field researchers had collected by that time and Schneider's own experience with the cultures of Oceania. It had become clear that people in distant parts of the world organise their social life in a much different manner than in Europe or in the USA and they can use quite different concepts to describe their relationships and realities. For example, Yapese kinship terms can hardly be described by means of our kinship terms (Schneider 1953: 219). This leads to the question whether the Yapese have “kinship terms” as we understand them at all.

To a certain extent Schneider also continued the discussion begun by Kroeber (1909, see also I: 1.1.3.1. above), who argued that it was wrong to observe American indigenous kinship terms through the lens of English, and that one should rather create more universal, unbiased criteria to contextualise them. However, Schneider went even further. He challenged the borders between kinship terms proper and other terms of relations touching upon questions that are relevant for linguistics and cognitive science:

The problem of “kinship terminology” depends on a theory of meaning, and the theory of meaning which these older views entailed simply ignored context and rules of use and assumed that every “thing” has a “name” and that the primary meaning of the “name” was the “thing” it named. Any other uses to which it was put were either connotations, extensions or something else again (Schneider 1983: 400).

To illustrate how an unbiased and holistic study of culture should be carried out he created two descriptions of the Yapese society (Schneider 1984: 11–19 and 21–34). The First Description presents a traditional analysis (the italics are original, the underlining is mine):

The cultural unit on Yap called *tabinau* is made up of two kinds of groups. One is a patrilocal extended family, the other is a patrilineage. <...>

The most important function of the patrilineage (*tabinau*) is that of a landholding corporation. The *tabinau* holds plots of land within a village (*binau*). <...>

Thus landholding entails each patrilineage in the political system either as a low-ranking, but still to be counted, unit within the village (and a village – *binau* – is a geographically contiguous association of *tabinau*), or as a high-ranking chiefly lineage with chiefly office in the village, the district, or the alliance of districts. <...>

The lineage is also an economic unit with significant economic functions. <...>

Whether the actual genealogical knowledge extends three or ten generations back, each patrilineage has an otherwise undifferentiated pool of ancestral spirits (*thagith*). <...> the head of the lineage prays to the ancestral spirits, divines to find one who is happy and willing to take action on behalf of the suppliant lineage, and then approaches that spirit directly with the appropriate religious ceremonial and ritual. <...>

The Second Description presents a more emic perspective on the Yapese society:

There is a cultural unit on Yap which is called *tabinau*. *Tabinau* has a number of meanings and can be used in different ways in different contexts. The term can be used to refer to the house or dwelling. It can be used to indicate a person or persons who are related to the speaker through ties to the land. Such ties may be of various sorts – remote, close, via different intervening land

relationships or via a particular kind of land relationship. <...> If there are no people, land alone does not constitute a *tabinau*. And people without a relationship through land cannot constitute a *tabinau*. <...>

In the First Description the Yapese culture is decomposed into domains common in European and US-American cultures (kinship, politics, economics, religion, etc.) and it is implied that the basic meaning of *tabinau* is ‘extended family’ while all other meanings (‘landholding corporation’, ‘chiefly office’, ‘economical unit’, and ‘religious institution’) are assumed to be metaphorical extensions despite the fact that the word denotes everything at once. The Second Description shows, however, that the main motive of this word is ‘land’, not ‘blood’, ‘semen’ or whatsoever. Moreover, the etymology of *tabinau* is “the people of the land” (Schneider 1953: 216).

Yapese kinship terms present a similar complexity. For example, the word *fak-ag*,¹⁷ which denotes one’s own child (gender neutral), a number of other younger lineal and collateral relatives, older relatives who have become so old that they are dependent on their children, and even animate possessions (such as domestic animals), thus, in general, ‘the smallest/least influential member/inhabitant of the *tabinau*’ (Schneider 1953: 219, 1984: 31). Therefore, the word can correspond to English ‘son’ or ‘daughter’ in one context, but in other contexts can have an infinite variety of meanings: ‘a little one’, ‘assistant’, ‘parishioner’, ‘cattle’ and many others.

The domain we have traditionally called ‘kinship’ is Ego-centered, consisting of a network of related persons, such as mother, father, brother, etc. It is not hard to see that this domain is constructed out of many different kinds of components from many different systems. Thus each unit in the system, such as ‘mother’ or ‘father’, is defined first by what might be called a pure ‘kinship’ component, second by an age and generation component, third by a sex-role component, fourth by a class component, and by other components of other kinds as well. <...> Is there one good reason why a particular bundle of components should be characterized by only one of its components rather than by another? (Schneider 2004 [1972]: 263–264).

The only reason why this is done so is the European / American culture or rather research tradition viewing actual biological ties (‘genealogical grid’) as the basis of all social relationships (ibid.: 258). Schneider regards it to be a wrong methodology of observing foreign cultures and suggests that one should at first fathom how the indigenous people under study segment their culture themselves, whether they have the same domains of social life as the researchers have, specifically whether they have kinship “segregated as a domain”.

I: 1.1.6. (Semi-)typological / (semi-)formal and cultural studies of kinship of recent decades

In the recent decades Schneider’s insights have been a starting point for almost all endeavours in kinship studies. Some of his students keep following the same course denying all attempts of cross-cultural research of kinship. They prefer working on issues such as *feminist anthropology*, *queer studies*, and *new reproductive technologies* (see, e.g., the essays in Franklin and McKinnon 2001). Other scholars have been massively criticising everything that he stated. The most

¹⁷ *-ag* is a first person suffix ‘my, me’ (Schneider 1984: 31), obviously with a similar semantics as, for example, the Persian pronoun *-(a)m*.

consistent critique of his approach is presented in the volume by Feinberg and Ottenheimer (2001) and articles by Sheffler (e.g., 1972) and his student Shapiro (e.g., 2008). There are also some scholars who are trying to transform Schneider's cultural relativism into a more moderate approach (Read 2007, 2013, Sahlins 2013, and Carsten 2013). All in all, no serious scholar of kinship as a socio-cultural, linguistic, or psychological phenomenon can avoid taking his opinion into consideration. His talk in 1971 (see above) has become a symbolic milestone for the second century of kinship studies, as Morgan's *Systems* in 1871 was for the first century of this discipline.

Scholars who consistently follow Schneider's approach can discuss topics associated with different kinds of *relatedness* (this term was suggested by Carsten 2000 instead of *kinship* in order to get rid of biological implications of this word¹⁸). It is, however, exceedingly complicated to research kinship terms / terms of relatedness in the context of this approach.

I: 1.1.6.1. Inevitability of research bias

A fairly unbiased study of kinship terms in a single culture is not unimaginable. Such an attempt is presented in a recent paper "The modern Lithuanian kinship system: a descriptive analysis of generational differences in reckoning the saliency of kin terms" (Munck and Dapkunaite 2018). The authors characterise their approach as semi-formal, i.e., at the stage of elicitation they asked their interviewees (native Lithuanian speakers) to list all their kinship relationships without specifying who exactly they should mention and how to structure them (without any imposed "genealogical grid" as Schneider would say), but at the stage of analysis they glossed terms translating them into English (*formal analysis*, see **I: 1.1.1.3** above).

Such a semi-formal analysis is hardly implementable if one has to compare kinship terms in two or more languages or dialects or even in the same language at different times (e.g., Modern and Old Lithuanian kinship terms). Comparison needs some criteria and variables. Moreover, even an utterly synchronic isolated case study cannot be fully objective and one will always have to sort out the evidence: "As one might imagine, many terms were idiosyncratic and some were clearly not kin terms in the usual way ('šuo' – dog; 'žmonės' – people)" (ibid.: 69). In general, it seems doubtful that the observation of foreign cultures can be completely free from researchers' cultural bias because even though reality is continuous, human cognition is discrete and one must segment it into chunks (discussion on the relationship between cognition and reality see **I: 2.1.2** below). A European or US-American scholar has to apply the "genealogical grid" as a means of translation of indigenous kinship and social terms. In the same way as a philologist working with, for example, a Vedic text has to use earlier translations of the Rigveda by Karl F. Geldner or by Stephanie W.

¹⁸ However, the term "relatedness" or similar had been used long before Carsten, cf. Kroeber (1909) "Classificatory Systems of Relationship" and Lowie (1928) "A Note on Relationship Terminologies".

Jamison and Joel P. Brereton keeping in mind that even the best translation does not fully correspond to the original text with all its stylistic means and cultural connotations.¹⁹

I: 1.1.6.2. Morgan and Murdock revisited

Along with followers of Schneider's school there still exist scholars undertaking kinship studies in the Morgan-Murdock tradition. Most of them are however not socio-cultural but physical anthropologists, evolutionary biologists, and primatologists. The ideas of this neo-evolutionary approach are presented in the volume *Early Human Kinship* (Allen et al. 2008). The most advanced research of this kind has been carried out in the context of the VariKin project.²⁰ There are also some social and cultural anthropologists trying to create an effective, less ethnocentric and yet universal typology of kinship terminologies.

One of such typologies can be found in Parkin 2012 (with references especially to Allen 1986, 1989a, 1989b, 2008, 2012). Parkin states that the term "evolution" in its contemporary biological sense hardly has any racist connotations in contrast to its use in social science of the 19th century. However, to be on the safe side, he suggests that one might use terms like "transformation", "change" or "world history" instead (ibid. 183–184). As a starting point he chooses the *tetradic society* postulated by Allen (2008), an endogamous society practicing prescriptive bilateral cross-cousin marriage. Allen's model presupposes that there exist two sets of siblings (male and female in each set). The woman from the first set marries the man from the second set and vice versa. Further, children of the two couples intermarry with each other in the same way. "Prescriptive" implies that this form of marriage should be obligatory. Such a system has not been found in any living society but, according to Allen, can be reconstructed on the basis of the existing evidence. Parkin (2012: 191–195) established nine steps in which the tetradic society can evolve:

1) *Two-line prescriptive or symmetric prescriptive terminologies* (the closest to the *tetradic society*);

2) *'Kachin' three-line scheme* expressing matrilineal cross-cousin marriage. "This involves splitting the category of cross kin plus affines into two classes of wife-takers and wife-givers while preserving both prescription (now unilateral) and cross kin-affine equations" (p. 191);

3) Expansion of stage 1 into an *'Aranda' four-line scheme*, it "bans first cross-cousins in marriage but prescribes second ones, and the terminology consistently maintains *Dravidian crossness*, not *Iroquois crossness* (cf. Hage 2006: 397), throughout. It also maintains cognate-affine equations" (p. 192);

¹⁹ One could also compare the "genealogical grid" with star charts / sky maps showing how celestial bodies are located in the sky for an observer on Earth. Now, long after the dismantling of the geocentric theory and invention of open-space telescopes enabling professional astronomers to acquire more objective knowledge about the Universe, these imaginary celestial spheres are still in use as a coordination tool so that one could know in which sector of the sky celestial bodies and phenomena occur at a specific time.

²⁰ <https://excd.org/research-activities/#varikin> (accessed on 14.08.2020)

4) *Iroquois* type (also see **I: 1.1.4.** above), “non-prescriptive, generally banning first cousins in marriage, but allowing second, third etc. cousins without prescribing them” (p. 192);

5) *Omaha-Crow* type (see above), in which “cross-cousins are linked with kin in adjacent levels whom it would typically be incestuous to marry” (p. 194);

6) *Generational* (Murdock’s *Hawaiian*, Morgan’s *Malayan*);

7) *Bifurcate merging changing into bifurcate collateral* ($Fa=FaBr\neq MoBr > Fa\neq FaBr\neq MoBr$) “can come at any stage. Not very significant in itself diagnostically, but may lead on to next stage if all collateral kin come to be distinguished through separate terms” (p.195);

8) *Zero equation* (according to Allen 1989b; Murdock’s *Sudanese*; Lowie’s *bifurcate collateral*);

9) *Cognatic* (Needham’s term; Lowie’s *lineal*), similar to Morgan/Murdock’s *Eskimo* type but is not completely the same “since such terminologies tend to retain classificatory equations in +2” generation (p. 195).

Without going much into detail and into a huge research history of this typology, one cannot fail to notice that it is not based on Morgan’s original hypothesis presuming that the age-gender type was the original one, but the core motive of this typology is still cross-cousin marriage, i.e., whether the social group under study has this marriage practice and if so, whether it is prescribed or optional. It does not seem to be an unreasonable criterium for a typology, on the one hand, although anthropologists joke that this is because Morgan himself was married to his cross-cousin²¹ (Parkin 2012: 203). On the other hand, as it was correctly emphasised by Kroeber (1909, see **I: 1.1.3.1.** above), kinship terms do not fully reflect marriage practices and other sociological features.

A serious question arises at this point is what underlying reality a typology should indicate. What relevance does it have apart from the aesthetic joy of giving a certain kinship terminology a sophisticated label? As for Morgan, his typology was instrumental for his time and he knew what he expected from it. It was supposed to indicate how “primitive” or “advanced” a certain people was, which is an unacceptable formulation nowadays. Therefore, it is not easy to understand what contemporary anthropologists and further researchers expect to discover by ascribing a kinship terminology to one of those evolutionary types.

Curiously, in the same article Parkin (2012: 199) himself admits open-mindedly that “grand paradigms of change are less likely to be useful than specific histories of change in limited regions of the world”, almost repeating Boas’s statement (Boas 1896: 908, see above **I: 1.1.3**). The problem of “grand paradigms of change” in kinship terminologies is the impossibility of their empirical verification because unlike phonological, morphological and semantic changes in separate kinship terms, the evolution of structures of kinship terminologies is an extremely slow process. Most attested kinship terminologies have hardly ever undergone dramatic structural

²¹ Cousin marriage was not an uncommon practice in Anglo-American culture in the 19th century, especially among rich and noble families (see also **II: 2.5.2.3** below).

changes (if any) in their recorded history, which is much too short for the time being. For example, most IE kinship terminologies (see chapter II, esp. sections II: 2.5 and II: 2.6) did not change their structure dramatically within their recorded history. One would have to wait another few thousand years to see how they will be developing and whether the suggested hypotheses are valid.

What an effective, realistic and unbiased typology should look like and what its variables should be is a question of great concern in kinship studies of the recent decades. Thus, Kronenfeld (2006: 203) claims:

A good typology is one that takes account of what structure we find in the natural world, while enabling clean and effective analytic statements relating to a given theoretical goal. Such a typology captures the distinctions and uniformities that are basic to the analysis in a form appropriate to the analysis, and thus to the theory on which the analysis is based. Effective typologies are thus in part theory dependent, and hence, different analytic goals may require different typologies – even when the same events are being classified. Typologies are conceptual tools that we analysts create to aid our work; they are not judged as “true” or “false,” but, rather, are evaluated according to their usefulness.

I: 1.1.6.3. “Descriptive” vs. “classificatory” revisited

As far as the present research is concerned, the most useful modern typology I was able to find is that of UCLA Emeritus Dwight Read, who has tried to create a typology based on indigenous structural properties (Read 2007, 2013). He agrees with main-stream anthropologists that a kinship terminology is not a direct reflection of the social conditions or biological relatedness but “a cultural construct with an internal logic that makes it possible to use kin terms computationally in a logically consistent manner as a way to determine kin relations among individuals” (Read 2013: *Structural Properties of Kinship Terminologies*²²). Such calculations are possible if one is informed about the *kin term product* of the language under study (the internal rules of its kinship terminology) that can differ from culture to culture. For example, according to the logic of American English, one’s cousin is one’s uncle’s or aunt’s daughter.²³

Read assumes that the diversity of kinship terminologies in the world is virtually infinite. They are determined by a specific selection of *generating terms* ($\approx$ *primary kinship terms*). Two types are, however, the most wide-spread and well-studied.

²² The article is published online and has no page marking. That is why I give titles of paragraphs.

²³ How this kinship term computation functions is highlighted by narrations about the son who married his father’s wife’s mother. One story of this kind can be found in *Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā* telling of the king-father and his son who married a princess and her mother-queen respectively (the last Vetāla’s tale / riddle). The relationships between children of the two couples were too confusing for Vikramasena to calculate (cf. e.g., Śivadāsa 176–178). A similar problem is described in a Russian joke about a man who went mad after he had discovered that he was his own grandfather calculating his kinship status as follows: “I got married to a widow, and my father to her daughter. My father and his wife had a child, who became my grandson. But as I am a son of my father, his child is my brother, and his wife is my step-mother. Consequently, her mother should be my grandmother. And if my wife is my grandmother, *I am my own grandfather*”. The logic of this calculation is strictly biological with the exception of step-parenthood, which however has had the same legal power as biological parenthood in Russia as in many other cultures of Europe since ancient times. Therefore, according to the internal logic of Russian kinship, one might be both grandson and husband, both brother and grandfather and even one’s own grandfather.

The first type, which approximately corresponds to Morgan's descriptive type, includes English kinship terminology and most terminologies in the Western part of Eurasia. They are based on generating terms <child> (obviously in the meaning 'offspring' rather than an age grade) and <parent> (or <child> and <mother/father>); the <self> position can be either gender marked or gender neutral (cf. Read 2013: Figure 6), thus on Schneider's "genealogical grid" (see **I: 1.1.5.** above). Obviously, the notions <brother>, <sister> or <sibling> do not belong to the generating set of this system. Sibling terms are secondary and can be analysed as <parent/mother/father's child> or sometimes simply '(co-)child' or 'one of the children' (see **I: 2.3.** and **II: 2.4.**).

The second type, which corresponds to Morgan's classificatory type, adds the notion <sibling> to the generating set. The conspicuous feature of this type are equations between lineal and collateral relatives (such as 'brother' of 'father' = 'father' and 'son' of 'brother' = 'son'), relative age distinction and/or relative gender distinction for siblings and other collateral relative (see **I: 1.1.1.3** above).

Further, Read agrees with cultural relativists also on the point that kinship can be established on ideas other than biological procreation or age such as feeding and nourishment, residence, nursing, godparenthood, fosterage, a name giver / name receiver relation and fraternization (or "blood kinship",²⁴ cf. Read 2007: 330 with references). Sometimes, such alternative concepts can even be more influential than biological one. In this case, a terminology will be outside of the "descriptive-classificatory" discourse and will present a separate type. For example, the !Kung San terminology is modified by a name giver / name receiver relationship. In this society "a child has a close relation with his/her name giver and then has kin relations with other individuals by reckoning kin relations from the perspective of one's name giver" (Read 2013 *Generation of Structure* and Figure 4).

There is one point that should be specially emphasised. In contrast to the majority of anthropologists, Read does not believe that the entire diversity of kinship terminologies can be evolutionary derived from one single prototype (like "Allen's tetradic model", see in **I: 1.1.6.2.**). In contrast to Morgan he also finds it highly implausible that classificatory terminologies might transform into descriptive ones (see **I: 1.1.2.1**) or the other way around because the two types are based on completely different cognitive principles. All in all, it seems that the first type makes an emphasis on the vertical relationship (parent-child) building genealogies, while the second one has a predominantly horizontal (siblingship) logic building age-gender sets (cf. also Marshall 1983 on the Oceanic siblingship, and Kornilov 2003: 181–182 on Chinese terms for siblings).

The two principles hardly have anything to do with knowledge or ignorance of biological processes of procreation. Moreover, languages having kinship terminologies built on the genealogical principle still have terms denoting age and gender differences while terminologies of

²⁴ A special blood mixing ritual is obviously meant.

the second type include terms denoting genealogical relationships. The difference between them is the point where the logical emphasis is set.²⁵ Terminologies of the first type give analytical primacy to the genealogical relationship between parents and children; simply speaking, they describe who was born from whom. Terminologies of the second type emphasise age and gender differences between relatives. I would assume that the original aim of the first type was to determine legal heirs of someone's property or titles or someone's descendants and ancestors. The second one might have been motivated by various social needs. For example, it could be targeted at describing subtle hierarchal differences between members of the community based primarily on age and gender (cf. "positional terminology" in Japanese, Kitaoji 1971: 1039–1045). In Dravidian kinship terminologies the relative age distinction is tightly interwoven with marriage rules (III: 5.2.3).

Although Read finds Morgan's terms "descriptive" and "classificatory" still applicable as technical terms for two basic types of kinship terminologies, I am inclined to rename them for my thesis according to their main function. This would help to avoid confusion between Morgan's and Read's interpretation of the two types and unnecessary ethnocentric associations Morgan's terms arouse. Therefore, the "descriptive type" will be called *genealogical* and the "classificatory type" will be called *age-gender* from here on.

I: 1.2. Studies of areal kinship patterns as a diplomatic solution between typological and cultural studies of kinship (old and yet innovative approach)

I: 1.2.1. Areal / contact studies of cultural and linguistic features

Geographical / areal distribution of cultural and linguistic patterns and contact-induced culture or language change is by no means an untrodden path in anthropology and other fields of humanities.

One of the precursors of contact and areal studies of culture was *diffusionism* (cf. a discussion and references in Blaut 1987) that consisted of many schools of thought including German and Austrian *Kulturkreislehre* (cf. Graebner 1911, Schmidt and Koppers 1924, Schmidt 1930). In part, this approach was opposed to evolutionism but, at least at its early stages, it was inspired by colonial policies and Eurocentric racist discourse. *Diffusionism* was to a greater extent a philosophical rather than philological or anthropological approach in the modern sense.

The first serious approach that emerged within academic anthropology was applied by students of Franz Boas's, first of all, by the aforementioned Alfred Kroeber and by Clark Wissler. They suggested the concept of *culture area* "as a formulation expressing the regional character of human

²⁵ It may rather be explained by limited capacities of human working memory. According to the observations of the psychologist George A. Miller, a number of objects (or chunks) that an average human being can hold in working memory is limited to 7 ± 2 (Miller 1956). Luck & Vogel (1997) assume that this number should be even smaller (around 4). This may be the reason why no kinship terminology activates all eight dimensions suggested by Kroeber (1909, cf. I: 1.1.3.1). Kinship terminologies are usually focused on a few dimensions leaving other dimensions without attention.

social behaviour” (Wissler 1927: 891, cf. also Kroeber 1948 [1923]: 538–571). At first, this research was concentrated on indigenous American cultures (Kroeber 1939, cf. Buckley 1989 on Kroeber’s heritage). Later there appeared similar studies for other parts of the world (cf. Bacon 1946, 1953 for Asia). Another student of Boas, Robert H. Lowie, (apud Kroeber 1948 [1923]: 542, footnote 1) stated once: “When we do not know the distribution of a phenomenon, we know nothing that is theoretically significant”. Therefore, in spite of certain challenges of this research method (for example, uncertainty how areas should be delimited, cf. Murdock 1968b or Bacon 1953) it is still considered a well-accepted method in anthropology.

Areal / contact studies have become an established approach in linguistics as well. In the context of my thesis it would be reasonable to mention the *Sprachbund* (cf. Trubetzkoy 1930) or the *linguistic area* to which many IE languages belong – *Standard Average European* (SAE). The initiative to take a glance at languages of Europe habitual to us with self-reflection as possessing certain “exotic” or typologically marked features uncommon for languages spoken elsewhere was taken by a Boasian of the second generation Benjamin Lee Whorf (2012 [1939/1941]: 178, see also Sapir-Whorf’s hypothesis **I: 2.1.1** below), who compared SAE to Hopi, an indigenous American language. Later his hypothesis was modified and elaborated by prominent specialists in linguistic typology (Dahl 1990, Haspelmath 1998, 2001, Heine and Kuteva 2006, and van der Auwera 2011).

Nowadays, SAE presupposes a set of idiosyncratic features shared by contemporary languages of Europe irrespective of their genetic affiliation but alien or rare among other languages of the world and thus primarily confined to the *European (Macro-)area*. Haspelmath (2001) listed these features and projected them onto a map. It turned out that the epicentre of SAE must be contemporary German and French with Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese, Northern Italian dialects, and Albanian delimiting the core area, but the extended macro-area embraces most of Europe and some languages of the Caucasus.²⁶ The features in question must have been formed during the great migrations and the transition from Antiquity to the Middle Ages (Haspelmath 1998, 2001). That is why SAE is sometimes referred to as ‘Charlemagne Sprachbund’ (van der Auwera 1998: 824–825). To the best of my knowledge, until now mostly morpho-syntactic features have been taken into account in the context of SAE (such as participial passive and have-perfect, see the full list and the distribution in Haspelmath 2001). Research on lexico-semantic features of SAE is not familiar to me.

I tried to compare the geographical distribution of kinship patterns with the distribution of the morpho-syntactic SAE features. The only positive correlation is the spread of the *cognatic* pattern for non-primary relatives. However, this can also be simply Romance or French influence (see the discussion in **II: 2.5.1** and **II: 2.6.1** below). This moderate result can be explained by the fact that

²⁶ English, Romanian, and Greek comprise the closest periphery of SAE. The next layer consists of the North Germanic languages, Balto-Slavic languages and Hungarian. The most marginal languages possessing only 1 or 2 SAE features are Bretonic, Welsh, Basque, Maltese, Armenian, and Georgian. Indo-Iranian, Tocharian, and Irish are logically outside of SAE (Haspelmath 2001: 1505, incl. map 107.13).

the most basic structural features of kinship terminologies (such as genealogical principle of categorisation) are obviously more conservative and more archaic than morpho-syntactic features of SAE (see **I: 1.1.6.2** above) and embrace the area larger than was delimited in Haspelmath (1998, 2001, see the next sections), while lexical features are usually confined to specific language families or smaller contact zones (e.g., the North-Western Fringe of Europe, the Mediterranean area, the Near East, etc.).

I: 1.2.2. Areal / contact studies of kinship patterns

As far as kinship terms and terminologies are concerned, the areal / contact approach has always been preferred less than formal and cultural approaches both by anthropologists and by linguists. In most cases when geographical / areal patterns for kinship terms were applied or discovered, it was merely a tool of secondary importance or an unintentional by-product of the research. As surprising as it might sound, areal studies of kinship could have been initiated by Morgan himself. This is how kinship terminologies are grouped in the contents of *Systems* (Morgan 1997 [1871]):

“Part I. Descriptive kinship system of relationship. Aryan, Semitic, and Uralian families.

<...>

Part II. Classificatory systems of relationship. Ganowánian family.

<...>

Part III. Classificatory systems of relationship – Continued. Turanian and Malayan families.”

One cannot fail to notice that distribution of types is almost strictly geographical:

Part I: Europe and Southwest Asia;

Part II: North America

Part III: South, East and Southeast Asia and Oceania.

Morgan was also the first who noticed all conspicuous features of the second and third group of languages, not only the “classificatory” principle of categorising collateral and lineal relatives but also gender marking of the Ego and relative age distinction. These features were, however, of secondary importance for him as an evolutionary-minded scholar and a man of his time, as was their geographical distribution.

For most Boasian scholars the areal study of kinship terms was also of little relevance. In particular, Kroeber, although understanding that kinship terminologies of Native Americans are more similar to each other than to European kinship terminologies and that this is not by chance (see **I: 1.1.3.1** above), was more interested in geographical distribution of customs, economic patterns, folklore, mythological motives, religious practices and similar content features. He believed that the connection between language and sociology and consequently between kinship terms and social traits should be rather arbitrary (notably, he was one of the early critics of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, see below **I: 2.1** below).

Murdock (1949: 191–196) stated that “distributional studies by careful historical anthropologists have uncontrovertibly shown that culture traits and trait-complexes tend to be found among contiguous and related peoples” but “traits of social organisation show practically no tendency to yield distribution of this type” (p. 192) unless the cultures under study entail related languages. The traits he compared were forms of marriage, forms of family, types of clans, types of bilateral kin groups, types of moieties, rules of residence, rules of descent, and types of cousin terminologies (p. 193–194). Especially against the background of the cultural critique discussed in the previous sections, I am inclined to agree with Murdock that one can hardly deny that such features as rules of descent or residence, or types of clans can fairly easily change within the same society and are not always unambiguously detectable. However, one can argue about the last point in this list, “cousin terminologies” (the famous six kinship systems). The reason why their distribution did not show any geographical correlation might be their insufficient adequateness.²⁷ As stated above, Morgan’s two types (and Read’s first two types) do correlate with geography fairly well. One can hardly come across an *age-gender* kinship terminology in Europe or Southwest Asia. It cannot be excluded that genealogical terminologies sporadically occur in South Asia, Oceania or among indigenous Americans.²⁸ But as a tendency, genealogical terminologies are found in the western part of Eurasia and age-gender terminologies in the Circum-Pacific region, in America, and in East Asia.

Obviously, Murdock was not completely satisfied with his conclusion about the influence of the areal / contact factor on kinship terminologies and decided to test it employing smaller elements such as the types of sibling terminologies. He reported on this in the paper “Patterns of Sibling Terminology” (1968a). He collected and analysed 800 sibling terminologies from different parts of the world²⁹ and as an honest scholar had to admit that geographical correlations are indeed present and such a positive result was unexpected for him.³⁰ Further, he developed a classification consisting of seven main types (p. 3–4):

Type A (The Kordofanian or Undifferentiated Sibling Type) possessing only 1 undifferentiated term, which can be glossed as <sibling>;

Type B (The Yoruba or Relative Age Type): <younger sibling> and <older sibling>;

²⁷ Read (2013 *Introduction*) states that terminologies that are classed together by Murdock’s classification are often completely dissimilar to each other. “The !Kung san and the American/English terminologies are both classified as Eskimo terminologies, for example, yet the two terminologies differ on almost every aspect other than superficially similar distinctions among genealogical cousins, uncles and aunts.”

²⁸ Read (2013, Figure 11) assumes that the Shipibo kinship terminology (in Peru) should be derived from a “descriptive” base, but its structure is still much different from everything one can come across in Europe.

²⁹ Murdock initiated a database “World Cultures”, in which he collected a lot of ethnographic evidence from different part of the world. Now it is digitalised and can be used by scholars on: <https://ehrafworldcultures.yale.edu/ehrafe/>. This is, however, not an open-access resource. I was able to use it by means of library credentials of the University of Vienna.

³⁰ It is not expressed overtly in the paper, but it seems likely that Murdock’s original aim was to collect more evidence proving the lack of correlation between geography and kinship patterns.

Type C (The Algonkian or Skewed Age Type): <older brother>, <older sister>, and <younger sibling>;

Type D (The Dravidian or Age-Sex Type): <older brother>, <older sister>, <younger brother>, <younger sister>;

Type E (The European or Brother-Sister Type): <brother>, <sister> (fewer than 20% of terminologies from Murdock's collection)³¹

Type F (The Melanesian or Relative Sex Type) divided into 4 subtypes:

1. <sibling of the same sex as the Ego>, <sibling of the opposite sex>
2. <sibling of the same sex>, <brother (woman speaking)>, and <sister (man speaking)>
3. <sibling of opposite sex>, <brother (man speaking)>, and <sister (woman speaking)>
4. <brother (man speaking)>, <brother (woman speaking)>, <sister (man speaking)>, and <sister (woman speaking)>;

Type G: (The Siouan or Complexly Differentiated Type): mixture of Type D and Type F (up to 8 terms).

Murdock (ibid.: 4–7) found out that type A is stochastically more frequent in Africa,³² type B and F in Insular Pacific, type C in North America, type D in East Asia, type G in South America, type E in Europe, West Asia and North Africa. However, still adhering to his older ideas he tried to explain most similarities by relatedness of languages. He claimed that in most parts of the world “the distribution of types of sibling terminology follows very closely the boundaries of known linguistic divisions, especially language families and subfamilies” (p. 5) with only two exceptions. The first place where the types “override linguistic borders” includes all of Europe, northern and north-eastern Africa, southwest Asia, and the Caucasus. Most sibling terminologies of this big region are of type E. The second such place, where sibling terminologies of type D are spread, embraces South, Southeast and East Asia (including Dravidian, Japano-Ryukyuan, Sinitic, Tungusic, Turkic, Tibeto-Burman, Mon-Khmer, Modern Indo-Aryan languages).

Murdock's further step was to check how types of sibling terminologies correlate with rules of descent and his six kinship systems (ibid.: 11–15). However, he could not detect any secure correlations between them. He said that “for reasons of space, and also because my ideas on the subject have not yet crystallized, I intend to content myself here with a presentation of evidence

³¹ “one more example of anthropology's destruction of ethnocentric illusions!” (ibid. p. 4).

³² Africa seems to have a much greater diversity of sibling terminologies. It may well be that it has all kinds of kinship terminologies attested in the rest of the world in addition to those that are attested exclusively there (like the !Kung San type, I: 1.1.6.3). Even some Afro-Asiatic languages spoken in Africa have terminologies of age-gender type similar to Dravidian or American terminologies (cf. Jillo 2014 on the Banna kinship terminology). The emergence of age-gender terminologies in Africa deviates from the general geographical logic as Africa is exceedingly far from South and East Asia and Americas, where such terminologies are common. In my opinion, this fact can become more justified if we admit that both genealogical and age-gender principles as well as all other possible principles on which kinship terminologies can be based might have emerged before the Advent of Homo sapiens sapiens from Africa. However, this question is outside of the scope of this thesis.

and to defer until later, or leave to others, an analysis of the precise nature and mode of operation of the indicated functional determinants” (p. 12).

These observations of Murdock’s show that not all social traits can follow the geographical logics but only the traits that are not changing too quickly and have a direct realisation in the language (kinship terms). Two years later he published another paper “Kin Term Patterns and Their Distribution” (1970) with a more refined classification of sibling terminologies consisting of 22 types and a distribution of terminologies also for grandparents, grandchildren, uncles and aunts, nephews and nieces, cross-cousins and siblings-in-laws. He did not draw any conclusion from these distributions because the paper was only aimed at collecting data for future research endeavours of his own and other scholars’.³³

I: 1.2.3. Actual and potential developments of areal / contact kinship studies

As areal / contact kinship studies are a semi-formal approach with emphasis on linguistic and cultural features of a specific region, they synthesise the best techniques of both a typological approach and cultural relativism. In my opinion, such a diplomatic solution would be favourable. The reason why it has never received enough attention and has not become mainstream in studies of kinship was the unfortunate time Murdock published his ground-breaking articles. It happened shortly before the “Schneiderian turn”, after which some anthropologists became disappointed in research of kinship terms altogether, and others, trying to prove that Schneider was wrong, insisted on doing classical formal kinship studies with double zeal.

The only areal study I have been able to find pertains to cultures of Oceania: a volume *Siblingship in Oceania* (Marshall (ed.) 1983) and an article “Structural Patterns of Sibling Classification in Island Oceania: Implications for Culture History” (Marshall et al. 1984). These studies are a positive model of areal research. It was done by a multidisciplinary team for a large and yet delimited territory. It applied typology but one that was specifically designed for research of this kind (it was based on Murdock 1970’s classification of sibling terminologies elaborated by Marshall). It had a clearly formulated aim to compare how patterns of sibling terminologies correlate with the known linguistic division, with the archaeological and historical evidence, with the evidence from physical anthropology, and with further multidisciplinary data. The general conclusion was that the patterns are mainly determined by linguistic relatedness and contact factor but not by any abstract functional determinants (such as residence or lineage rules).

Marshall’s research exemplifies the advantages of the areal / contact approach that enables a wider multidisciplinary dialogue and an up-to-date question statement. Typologies based on areal tendencies do stand on a firm ground and the data of empirical case-studies are systematised. The

³³ For the sake of simplicity, I will apply the classification of sibling terminologies from Murdock (1968a) in this thesis. For the regions in question (where IE languages are spoken) the original classification is not less efficient than the refined one. For the researchers who have to deal with further regions it would be more advisable to use the classification in Murdock (1970).

geographical distribution of kinship patterns thus is likely to reveal the history of ancient migrations and cultural contacts in a similar way as the distribution of ancestral DNA patterns (cf. Reich 2018a and 2018b, Herrera and Garcia-Bertrand 2018) or mythological motives can (cf. Berezkin 2015 and 2016³⁴).

Although anthropology has collected abundant empirical material on kinship, there is still much to check and verify. Therefore, I can hardly imagine that such research can be done by one scholar or even one group of scholars for all the patterns that occur in the world. Global surveys of kinship patterns such as Murdock (1968a, 1970) and more recently Dziebel (2007: 185–307) are overtly pilot studies inviting further research. Valid global conclusions can, in my opinion, only be drawn after detailed studies of areal patterns of kinship terminologies in specific regions of the world have been carried out. It might be a series of multidisciplinary projects done by specialists in those specific regions (such as Marshall et al. 1984). A promising base for such research can be the data collected by the VariKin project³⁵ as soon as this database is published.

I: 1.2.4. Kinship terms and terminologies in Central Eurasia

The question of areal / contact kinship studies is a topic that is gathering momentum now. There is a team working on contact phenomena between Iranian, Uralic, and Turkic languages in the context of Central Eurasia (e.g., Milanova et al. 2019a, 2019b, and 2020 in print).³⁶

Their preliminary study has shown that the areal factor is determinant for structural peculiarities of kinship terminologies in this region. As far as specific kinship terms are concerned, the situation is not the same for all of the three language phyla. Direct lexical borrowing of specific kinship terms takes place fairly often in all of them (on borrowability of kinship terms in general see **I: 2.2.1.** below). However, it has been essentially less massive in Iranian and Turkic than in the Uralic languages. Since IE languages tend to be quite conservative in preserving inherited vocabulary in this semantic field, we can reconstruct many PIE kinship terms (see chapter **II**). The same is true for Proto-Turkic kinship terms, but not for Proto-Uralic, for which only a handful of kinship terms can be reconstructed.

As Central Eurasia has an intermediary position between the *western macro-area* with *genealogical* kinship terminologies and the *eastern macro-area* with *age-gender* terminologies (see

³⁴ The latter presents a quantitative approach in comparative mythology. It does not imply content interpretation of specific myths but rather analysis of geographical distribution of motifs, i.e., small elements of narratives (e.g., “a raven hides the Sun”, “celestial boat”, “mother-earth”, etc.). The results of such studies often correlate with ancestral DNA and archaeological research data.

³⁵ see the description on <https://excd.org/research-activities/kinbank/> (14.08.2020)

³⁶ In this project, Central Eurasia is understood as the historical and contemporary contact zone between the respective speaker communities: Northern Iran, Afghanistan, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan as well as (historically and contemporarily) Turkic- and Uralic-speaking regions in the Volga, Ural, and Western Siberian regions of the Russian Federation. As regards difficulties defining the term “Central Eurasia”, see www.fas.harvard.edu/ces_definition.html, www.iub.edu/~ceus/, www.centraleurasia.org.

I: 1.1.6.3 above), its kinship terminologies possess features of both of them. It is especially vivid in Uralic languages. Those of them spoken in Western Europe and in the northern part of Eastern Europe (such as Finnish, Estonian, Karelian, and Komi) have classical genealogical terminologies like their IE neighbours. Hungarian is also predominantly genealogical but with relative age distinction for siblings similar to the neighbouring Bulgarian kinship system. Finally, most languages spoken in more eastern parts of Russia (such as Mari, Udmurt, Khanty and Mansi) have a system with a curious relative age distinction merging the older subdivisions of a younger generation with the younger subdivision of the older generation (in Dziebel 2007: 207, 237–241, 253–254 it is referred to as *Siberian Generational Type* since this type of relative age distinction occurs mostly in languages of Siberia such as Mongolian, cf. Rykin 2011). How and why it happened that Uralic kinship terminologies have such a structural and lexical diversity is still a question for further research. Even the type of the original Uralic kinship terminology is not quite clear. The discussion whether it had relative age distinction or borrowed it from their eastern (Turkic or Paleosiberian) neighbours has been discussed since the 19th century (cf. Smirnov 1889, 1891, 1895 vs. Setälä 1900). This research group assumes that it was borrowed (in most cases together with specific words) but there are also substantial arguments against it (e.g., the origin of male ancestral DNA of the Uralic people from East Asia).³⁷ What is completely certain is only that either the western or eastern Uralic languages not only borrowed a few terms from their neighbours but changed the entire generative principle of structuring kinship terminologies.

As for modern Iranian and Indo-Aryan languages, the contact situation and its results in the two branches is not completely the same. This is a good example of how two closely related language branches may develop different kinship terminologies due to the contact / areal factor (see the further discussion in Chapter **III**).

³⁷ The recent studies of the demographic history of the Uralic-speaking people (Rootsi 2007, Ilumäe 2016, Tambets 2018) have shown that distribution of mitochondrial haplogroups correlate with geography but Y-chromosome haplogroup N3a occur among modern speakers of all Uralic language apart from Hungarian and Estonian. Therefore, the spread of the languages correlates well with the spread of male speakers. This haplogroup N3a is also found in Siberian and East Asian populations and is predominant in prehistoric specimens of northeast China.

I: 2. Kinship terms as a part of the lexical repertoire of natural languages

I: 2.1. Arbitrary relationship between kinship terms and social conditions

Following the discussion above, especially the insights of Kroeber (1909: 82–84, quoted in section **I: 1.1.3.1.**), who claimed that “terms of relationships” are determined primarily by linguistic factors, and Schneider (1972, 1983, 1984 see in **I: 1.1.5.**), who urged scholars to carry out holistic analyses of cultures without segmenting them into domains common for the societies of Modern Europe and the USA, I cannot avoid suggesting that one should analyse kinship terms not as an intentional description of social conditions but rather as a part of the “linguistic worldview” of a specific speakers’ community. The question how people categorise things in their language, how these categories reflect the conditions and realities around them, and further questions pertaining to the relationship between the *signifié* and the *signifiant* are of high relevance not only for anthropology but also for linguistics and cognitive science.

Linguistic worldview is a highly complex and ambiguous notion and has a long history in philosophy, anthropology, and linguistics. Different schools of thought and different authors have had their own interpretation of this subject. An actual summary of this research can be found in volumes such as *Explorations in Linguistic Relativity* (Pütz & Verspoor 2000), *The Linguistic Worldview: Ethnolinguistics, Cognition, and Culture* (Glaz & Danaher & Łozowski 2013), monographs by Kornilov (2003) and Underhill (2009, 2011), and an article by Zalizniak (2013). An especially comprehensive account of both older research and new perspectives on this question can be found in Lakoff (1987) and Everett (2013). All hypotheses described and summarised in these sources deal ultimately with semantics or, in a wider sense, with the semiotics of natural languages. The older studies (referred to in **I: 2.1.1.**) were mostly instances of philosophical, historical, and cultural research often accompanied by some ideological agenda. The recent studies (in **I: 2.1.2.**) are usually carried out by specialists in cross-cultural communication, applied linguistics, and cognitive science. Some of these scholars pursue pragmatic aims such as facilitating effective communication among international business partners and optimisation of lexicographic work, while others do fundamental research of human cognition.

I: 2.1.1. Linguistic worldview and linguistic relativity (older research)

Discussions of the relationship between reality, cognition, and the language were already begun by ancient philosophers (Plato, Democritus, and Aristotle) and German thinkers of the 17th and 18th century (G. W. Leibniz, J. G. Hamann and J. G. Herder referred to in Glaz & Danaher & Łozowski 2013: 11–12). However, the term “worldview” (*Weltansicht*) in its more modern sense was first formulated by Wilhelm von Humboldt (Humboldt 1836, Trabant 2000). His hypothesis was elaborated further by Leo Weisgerber (1930) and other representatives of the Neo-Humboldtian approach (who called the subject *Weltbild der Sprache* or *sprachliches Weltbild*) and had a certain

influence on three generations of the Boasian school: on Franz Boas himself, Edward Sapir, and Benjamin Lee Whorf (cf. Boas 1942, Sapir 1921, 1931, Whorf 2012 [1939/1941], see also Koerner 2000 on the research history of the “Sapir-Whorf hypothesis of linguistic relativity”). The main idea of both the (Neo-)Humboldtian approach and the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis is that reality is perceived through the lens of one’s mother tongue (including not only its lexical but also grammatical features) and is delimited by it.

This assumption was extensively criticised by the next generations of linguists, social scientists, and psychologists. Thus, Edward T. Hall, an anthropologist and specialist in intercultural communication, claimed that the main mistake of the approach suggested by Humboldt’s and Sapir-Whorf’s school was the prerequisite that “*language was thought*” (Hall 1989 [1976]: 31, original italics), whereas research in neurology and cognitive science showed that language is by no means the only tool of thought. Music, visual images, and even muscular activities can be used as a means of communication and cognition, and one can hardly transform images created by music, visual arts, or dance into a verbal form. It was also found out that people with aphasia or other disorders of speaking and hearing behave as reasonable as those who can hear and speak and are able to solve the same intellectual tasks (cf. Kornilov 2003: 116–119 with references).

I: 2.1.2. Cognitive models of the world, conceptual / semantic systems (recent research)

Although the early formulation of *linguistic worldview* and *linguistic relativity* is mostly abandoned, the connection between language, thought, and cultural/social/environmental conditions cannot be denied. However, this connection is obviously not as straightforward as scholars of the past assumed. In his monograph “Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things. What Categories Reveal about the Mind”, the cognitive linguist George Lakoff (1987: 370) states that the mind is not only a “mirror of nature” and concepts are not exclusively “internal representations of external reality”. As far as the connection between language and thought is concerned, Lakoff (1987: 310–312) suggests that one should distinguish “conceptual systems” ($\approx$ linguistic worldviews) from “conceptual capacities” (the human ability to understand principles of categorisation). Different languages categorise things differently, i.e., they do have different *conceptual systems*. However, it cannot prevent people from understanding foreign principles of categorisation because human beings have similar *conceptual capacities*. One speakers’ community is thus not secluded from another one by its *linguistic worldview*. As I was arguing in **I: 1.1.6.1** above, the research bias is not completely inevitable. European and US-American scholars have to use categories familiar to them (e.g., English “primary kinship terms”) to explain categories in the foreign languages they study. It is not the worst tool of research as long as they are conscious of the fact that these words are means of translation and not an objective metalanguage for indigenous concepts:

<...> differences in conceptual systems do not necessarily entail that understanding and learning is impossible. And the fact that one can learn a radically different language does not mean that it does not have a different conceptual system.

The difference between translation and understanding is this: translation requires a mapping from one language to another language. Understanding is something that is internal to a person. It has to do with his ability to conceptualize and to match those concepts to his experiences, on the one hand, and to the expressions of the new language on the other (ibid.: 312).

This statement of Lakoff's has been corroborated by studies of cognitive scientists such as Lera Boroditsky and Caleb Everett. Empirical studies of different cognitive aspects of language (especially space and time cognition) have shown that people acquire specific categorisation principles together with their mother tongue and it does influence the way they perceive reality, but categorisation principles of a foreign language can also be acquired quite well in the course of intentional learning (e.g., Boroditsky 2018).

Finally, the connection between language and social conditions (and environment as a whole) is not direct either. Hall (1989 [1976]: 153) states that "people avoid verbalizing what they take for granted ... because much behaviour is experienced not on the verbal layer but on the emotional". Therefore, it is more correct to say that the language neither determines cultural features nor describes them accurately but rather gives unintentional hints of them. The hints can be more or less direct depending on the type of communication or message. It can be characterised either as *high-context* (HC) when "most of the information is either in the physical context or internalized in the person, while very little is in the coded, explicit, transmitted part of the message" or *low-context* (LC) when "the mass of the information is vested in the explicit code" (ibid.: 91, see also in Hall & Hall 1990: 6–10). For example, traditional cultures, rural people and small communities tend to have more HC communication with each other than inhabitants of large modern cities. Similarly, in their family circles people can express themselves less explicitly than at work.

The most LC type of message is believed to be a feature of "scientific worldviews" (the term used by representatives of the Moscow school of cultural semantics, cf. Apresyan 2006, Zalizniak & Levontina & Shmelev 2005, and Zalizniak 2013) or "scientific models" (Lakoff 1987: 118–135) aimed at reflecting an objective point of view of the world in accordance with actual scientific knowledge. It is opposed to "naïve linguistic worldviews" (Kornilov 2003: 3–21, Zalizniak 2013) or "folk theories" (Lakoff 1987: 118–135) reflecting subjective, spontaneous, pre-scientific, and pre-logical perception of reality in a specific language. The Moscow school sees a clear difference between the two. It assumes that *the scientific worldview* is dynamic and universal for all societies that have a scientific tradition. *Naïve linguistic worldviews* are culturally determined and conservative. The aim of the former is to describe the world according to the actual scientific knowledge as precisely and explicitly as possible. The latter reflects the cultural experience of speakers of a specific language implicitly. Lakoff has a fairly similar opinion on the points pertaining to *folk theories* ($\approx$ *naïve linguistic worldview*) but assumes that *scientific models* are also

multiple and not as objective as one believes them to be because even such an exact science as mathematics (ibid.: 353–369) can have multiple variants and does not describe the world as it is. Objective knowledge is the aim of science but eventually not its result. Lakoff thus concludes that neither *folk theories* nor *scientific models* can provide an “access to a God’s eye view of nature or to some transcendental rationality” (ibid.: 368).

Therefore, contemporary research on the topic of “linguistic worldview” is also based on the principle of relativity. People speaking different languages indeed have different *cognitive models* of the world. However, this relativity is today no longer considered in absolute terms. One can acquire a foreign language and understand its principles of categorisation. Further, this relativity is not ethnocentric. No natural or artificial language has priority in reflecting the world objectively; even scientific terminologies are not free from opinion and bias. Finally, contemporary researchers dealing with *worldviews* emphasise that one must know the difference between speakers’ communities and ethnicities, i.e., a study of a foreign linguistic model of the world and principles of categorisation implies “nothing more than a study of the semantic system of a specific language observed in a typological perspective”³⁸ (Zalizniak 2013: 6) and not necessarily an analysis of the mentality, “national character”, “spirit”, or “soul” of the people (ibid: 8). Languages are not disconnected from the ethnicities who speak them, but one should be careful with interpreting traits of a certain language as indicators of social or psychological traits of the people as it was done by social scientists and scholars of the past (e.g., Morgan, see **I: 1.1.2.1**, and the early researchers of *linguistic worldviews*).

I: 2.1.3. Kinship terms as a part of high-context communication

Kinship terms can be used in a *low-context* communication such as legal, scientific, or medical discourse. It is especially the case in industrial and urban societies and large cities nowadays. However, I suppose that most of these lexical items belong to the domestic domain and were coined in family circles or small communities where people understood each other by the merest hint. Therefore, we can be on the safe side to assume that the majority of kinship terms and other words associated with them such as age and gender ascriptions, and even certain terms of social hierarchy (like the majority of other words in natural languages apart from special scientific or legal terms) were coined spontaneously and are part of *high-context* communication. This is thus one of the biggest challenges of the study of kinship terms (as the study of the lexis of natural language in general). They were not coined to transmit explicit information about social structures that scholars and scientists of the recent centuries would like to know (see the difference between Schneider’s first and second description of the Yapese society in **I: 1.1.5** above). They may well be

³⁸ «языковая картина мира—это не что иное, как семантическая система некоторого языка, рассматриваемая в типологической перспективе».

categorised by some internal logic, but this kind of categorisation usually differs from the *conceptual system* of contemporary social science.

Principles of categorisation may be transparent and natural for the speakers of the language, who are familiar with the context, but not for outsiders. Kinship terms can denote not only kin, age-gender, and social hierarchy relationship simultaneously but be associated with a wide range of multifaceted cultural implications and connotations. For example, they can be associated with the mode of production because people take metaphors from their daily life and speak about things that occupy their thoughts. Thus, plant-cultivating sedentary societies are logically expected to use more plant metaphors (such as ‘seed’ = ‘offspring, child(ren), descendant(s)’, ‘branch, offshoot’ = ‘offspring, child’, ‘root’ = ‘ancestor(s)’ or sometimes ‘descendant’, or ‘tree’ = ‘family’) than cattle-breeding nomads. Plant metaphors for coining kinship terms are thus well-presented and deeply rooted in the languages of the Fertile Crescent (e.g., Sumerian *numun* ‘seed’ and ‘offspring’, Armc. *zāra*³⁹ ‘seed, sowing’ > ‘sperm; offspring, family’,³⁹ Heb. *zāra*⁴⁰ ‘id.’, Akk. *zēru* ‘id.’, Arab. *šajara* ‘tree’ > ‘lineage’,⁴⁰ Gesenius 1962: 207–208, 905, Jagersma 2010: 118, 353, *OArD* s.v.). The Bible is full of plant metaphors depicting the course of a human life as argued in the article “People Are Plants – a Conceptual Metaphor in the Hebrew Bible” (Basson 2006). Notably, separate IE languages show similar semantic developments of plant metaphors (e.g., Hitt. *uar(ru)ualan-* ‘seed; progeny’, Gr. ὁμό-σπορος ‘sibling; relative’, Kloekhorst 2008a: 980, *GE* s.v.). The Yaghnobi argot (“secret language”) has highly imaginative terms denoting husband and wife: *sārsánka* ‘man / husband’ (lit. ‘upper millstone / runner’) and *taksánka* ‘woman / wife’ (lit. ‘lower millstone / bed stone’) metaphorically equating grinding with sexual intercourse (Andreyev et al. 1957: 319, 331 with references to Klimchitski 1940: 113, cf. also Novák 2010: 150, 166). However, almost none of such plant-cultivating or plant-processing metaphors for kinship can be reconstructed for the PIE vocabulary.

Plant-cultivating vocabulary of PIE is, in general, very limited. Many items denoting plants in IE languages are loanwords (cf. Kroonen 2012a, 2012b). Instead there are numerous notions associated with milk, blood (cf. Guerreau-Jalabert 2013, Harders 2013, Moreau 2013, Garnier & Sagard & Sagot 2016: 2), and the womb (see below). ‘Milk’ and ‘womb’ can stand for ‘mother’s milk’ and ‘mother’s womb’, but at the same time they might imply milk and procreation of agricultural animals, which is the base of subsistence for cattle-breeding communities. ‘Blood’ and not ‘seed’ was obviously the metaphor for the male sperm in PIE imagery as it was common for Roman medical and philosophical ideas (Moreau 2013: 42, cf. also Schneider 1980 [1968] on “the metaphor of blood” in American culture). This evidence supports the classical hypothesis that PIE

³⁹ Cf. Armc. *Zarubabāl* Zerubbabel (lit. ‘the seed / offspring of Babel’, biblical character, Ezra 5:2).

⁴⁰ The word is also used in the phrase *šajarat al-nasabi* ‘family tree’ (*OArD* s.v. *šajara* and *nasab*, cf. also **III: 4.2** for *nasab*). The word *šajara* was borrowed into Persian exclusively in the meaning ‘genealogy’ (along with bookish *šajar* ‘tree’), cf. Kiselyova & Mikolayčik (1978: 476) and Tavakkoly (2009: 574).

tribes are likely to have had a mobile nomad economy for most of the time of their common existence (e.g., Anthony 2007 and numerous recent articles of the same author).

If one studies kinship terms in a living or well-attested language and has access to texts, corpora, and informants, extraneous meanings⁴¹ of kinship terms can also give much cultural information (cf. articles in the volume Tolstaya 2009 et al. discussing ethnolinguistic perspectives on kinship terms). This kind of research needs, however, a concentration on specific dialects of a language (cf., Kaczinskaya 2018 on extraneous meanings of kinship terms in northern dialects of Russian of the Arkhangelsk region).

The other trait and challenge of *high-context* notions is their conservativeness in contrast to scientific notions that are being constantly verified and renewed. Lexemes belonging to the stable daily vocabulary at a specific moment were usually coined a long time ago and reflect the past state of affairs constructing numerous temporal layers of cultural and cognitive experience of many generations of speakers. For example, such notions as ‘sunset’ and ‘sunrise’ implying outdated geocentric models of the universe are still well-established in many contemporary languages, they are even used in certain scientific contexts like weather forecasts (cf. Kornilov 2003: 14–21). Similarly, kinship notions that have been firmly lexicalised in a specific language at a specific time present the same challenge. Both their structures and etymologies (unless they are too general like ‘birth’ or ‘a little one’) may reflect circumstances and traditions from hundreds or thousands of years before. Thus, for example, Dravidian kinship terminologies still encode cross-cousin marriage despite the fact that this social practice was outdated already in the 1950s (see **III: 5.2.3**).

These complexities and challenges are characteristic not only for kinship terms but also for other words of the core lexical repertoire of any natural language. Lakoff (1987: 91–96 with references to Dixon 1982) gives an example of how Dyirbal, an indigenous language of Australia, categorises nouns. Its nouns can be subdivided into three categories (“genders”), whose principles of categorisation may be understood only if one is familiar with the mythology of the tribe. Categorisation of nouns in IE languages is not always formalised and rational either. One of the examples is the difference in declination of Russian nouns «труп» ‘corpse’ and «покойник» (or its synonym «мертвец») ‘a dead person’. From the point of view of modern science and common sense both of them are merely a dead body. However, the first word is declined as an inanimate noun (acc. = nom.), and the second one as an animate noun (acc. = gen.). A rational positivistic explanation of this kind of categorisation is impossible. It can only be explained in mythological terms as a folk belief that dead people are not simply passive objects but can still behave like alive (e.g., love and hate, punish or protect their relatives, take vengeance on their enemies). Notably, this example also shows the conservativeness of the pattern. The ‘dead person’ remains animate

⁴¹ In this case “extraneous meanings” implies usage of kinship term to denote non-human living beings (e.g., animals, mythological creatures), inanimate objects (e.g., food, furniture), plants, and abstract notions, also usage of kinship terms in toponymy, anthroponymy, as well as interjections and obscene expressions.

even though this superstition does not conform to the actual scientific knowledge about the nature of death. The opposite connection, when grammatical gender is perceived as biological gender and inanimate or abstract notions are imagined masculine or feminine due to their grammatical gender, is even more common (e.g., Boroditsky et al. 2003 and Everett 2013: 222–246 on interdependence of the grammatical gender and the structural feature of IE kinship see **II: 3.2** below).

Therefore, any word of a natural language including kinship terms is not limited by its semantic field but can be connected with numerous threads with other segments of the semantic structure of a language and is always bound by context.⁴²

I: 2.2. Kinship terms and universal lexicon

I: 2.2.1. Basic kinship terms and borrowability

Another question of concern of scholars dealing with semantics of natural languages is whether languages of the world share some common concepts and if so, what these concepts can be. This question is equally relevant for scholars doing research in theoretical and cultural semantics, glottochronology / lexicostatistics, and loanword typology. The solution of this question would have both fundamental and applied significance because it would enable linguists and anthropologists to describe the meaning of any kinship terms without too much ethnocentric bias and might, in some cases, give a clue to the etymologies of some of these lexical items as well. Nevertheless, the majority of linguists have never dealt with this question seriously (Lakoff 1987: 179–182). This question was mostly left to cognitive scientists and philosophers (such as Wittgenstein 1953, Brown 1958, Zadeh 1965, Berlin and Kay 1969, and Rosch 1978, Varela et al. 1991). Therefore, the questions of basic categories like diachronic semantics are still an untrodden path and a matter of intuition and faith in historical linguistics.

If the hypothesis of Lakoff (1987, mentioned in **I: 2.1.2** above) on *conceptual systems* and *conceptual capacities* is valid and people with different linguistic models of the world can understand each other, it presupposes that there must exist at least some concepts common for all humanity. These common *conceptual capacities* cannot be based on some *transcendental* knowledge but on similar experience shared by all human beings. What this shared experience should be is, however, not a simple question.

⁴² In this context I should mention the experiments on natural speech processing gained in the Gallant Lab at UC Berkley (e.g., Huth et al. 2016). The results that they published are still exceedingly preliminary and should be handled with caution but, in my opinion, they are worthy of mentioning at least in a footnote. It seems that the cortex of the brain indeed has segments that react to certain semantic fields ‘tactile’, ‘visual’, ‘numbers’, ‘time’, ‘person’, etc. (cf. also ‘semantic maps’ on <https://gallantlab.org/huth2016/>, accessed on 4.08.2020). However, one word can be recognised by numerous parts of the cortex, and the same segment in the cortex can react to different words. Most kinship terms are located in ‘social’ segments of the cortex. For example, there is a segment in the right temporoparietal junction that gets activated on hearing the words ‘mother’, ‘wife’, ‘pregnant’, and ‘family’, the segment located next to it reacts to ‘wife’, ‘family’, ‘house’ and ‘owner’.

Kinship terms have a rather curious status in the research of the *universal lexicon*. On the one hand, there is a widely-held assumption that kinship terms belong to the core / basic vocabulary of any language and must therefore exemplify fairly universal notions. It is not untrue that in the context of one language family or linguistic area kinship terms usually belong to the most stable vocabulary (cf. Mallory 2010). On the other hand, empirical studies of kinship terms in all parts of the world show that kinship notions are, on the contrary, culturally determined to the highest extent and only a few of them can be considered common for all humankind (see the discussion in sections **I: 1.1.3.1**, **I: 1.1.5**, **I: 1.1.6.1**, and **I: 1.1.6.3**).

Thus, when discussing the borrowability of lexical items, Doerfer (1988: 56–99, esp. 99) distinguished *Kerngrundwörter*, the most basic notions that can hardly ever be displaced by loanwords, and *Randgrundwörter*, less basic notions that are often displaced by loanwords. The selection of *Kerngrundwörter* for kinship was traditionally made on the basis of German material. His conclusion was not surprising. Terms for the primary relatives in the formulation of classical anthropology (relatives with the minimal distance on the genealogical grid, see **I: 1.1.1.3** above), inherited words *Vater*, *Mutter*, *Sohn*, *Tochter*, *Bruder*, and *Schwester* should be *Kerngrundwörter* while *Onkel*, *Tante*, *Cousin*, *Cousine*⁴³ borrowed from French should be *Randgrundwörter*. Similarly, the original Swadesh lists of basic vocabulary (Swadesh 1950: 161) consisting of 215 words included nine kinship terms and associated notions: ‘brother (elder)’, ‘child (son or daughter)’, ‘father’, ‘husband’, ‘man’, ‘mother’, ‘sister (elder)’, ‘wife’ and ‘woman’. However, the more elaborated famous list of 100 words (Swadesh and Sherzer 1971: 283) only includes ‘man’ and ‘woman’. The recent Loanword Typology (LWT) project (e.g., Tadmor 2010) created two lists of the most stable vocabulary: a longer “unweighted list” of the most borrowing resistant items and a shorter “weighted list” also called “the Leipzig-Jakarta list of basic vocabulary”.⁴⁴ As far as I understand, the first one is based on the primary evidence from informants while the second one also considers additional factors. The unweighted list (ibid.: 67) contains six kinship notions ‘married woman’, ‘younger sister’, ‘younger brother’, ‘child-in-law’, ‘married man’, and ‘older sister’. The Leipzig-Jakarta list of basic vocabulary (ibid.: 69–71) includes only one kinship term ‘offspring (son or daughter)’.

It may look conspicuous that the most basic terms like ‘mother’ and ‘father’ according to the LWT lists do not belong to the borrowing resistant vocabulary. However, it is likely to be true.

⁴³ Fr. *oncle* ‘uncle’ < Lat. *āvuncūlus* ‘maternal uncle, MoBr’; Fr. *tante* < Lat. *amita* ‘paternal aunt FaSi; Fr. *cousin(e)* < Lat. *consōbrīnus* ‘MoSiSo; cousin of the first grade’ (see also the discussion in **II: 2.5.1** below). Doerfer also included *Neffe* and *Nichte* in the list of French borrowings, which is obviously an erroneous assumption. These words are likely to be fairly regular reflexes of OHG words *nefa*, *nevo* ‘grandson, descendant, cousin, nephew’ and *nift(el)* ‘niece’ (Kroonen 2013: 386–387). However, the English *nephew* (< ME *neveu*, *nepheu* ← OFr. *nevo*, *neveu* < Lat. *nēpos* ‘grandson’) and *niece* (< ME *nece* ← OFr. < Vulgar Lat. **neptia* < Lat. *neptis* ‘granddaughter’) are indeed borrowings from French and not regular reflexes of OE *nefa* ‘nephew; grandson; stepson’ and *nift* ‘niece, granddaughter; stepdaughter’ (*OED* and *AHD* s.v.) (see also in **II: 2.5.2.2**).

⁴⁴ <https://cals.info/word/list/leipzig-jakarta/> (accessed on 2.08.2020)

Some languages only have nursery terms to denote ‘mother’ and ‘father’, and exactly this group of kinship terms is borrowed very easily, especially in their vocative usage and in the context of bilingualism. The terms *Mama* and *Papa* were borrowed into the Germanic and Slavic languages from French in the time when all local aristocracies spoke French on a daily basis, sometimes even better than their territorial languages (Dahl & Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001: 219 and **II: 2.1.1.3** below). The terms *an(n)a-* ‘mother’ and *at(t)a-* ‘father’ are wide-spread both in Turkic and Uralic languages of the Volga-Kama region (Tatar *äniy*, *ana* or Chuv. *anne* > Udm. *anay*, Tatar *ätiy* or Chuv. *ata* > Udm. *atay*). These words can hardly have any connection with similar IE forms (e.g., Hitt. *atta-* and *anna-* or Oss. *æda* and *æna*, see in **II: 2.1.1.2** and **II: 2.1.2.2**), but in the context of the Volga-Kama region this parallel is unlikely to be a mere coincidence (further examples can be found in Milanova et al. 2019a: 8, cf. also Korn (in print): 217 footnote 38 on borrowing of vocative kinship terms in Balochi).

All in all, by now it has become clear that “primary kinship terms” are tentatively primary only in the macro-area of genealogical kinship terminologies, to which the majority of IE languages belong (cf. also Rácz et al. 2019), and otherwise applicable exclusively for a quick translation (formal analysis) of kinship terms in other languages (see **I: 1.1.6.1**) but not for a profound analysis of their meaning and etymology.

I: 2.2.2. Basic categories among kinship term

Das Feld der Verwandtschaftsnamen erfreut sich einer gewissen Beliebtheit in der strukturellen Semantik (vgl., Fritz 1974; Lounsbury 1978 [1964a]), da es ihr stark taxonomischer Charakter erlaubt, das gesamte Feld mit Hilfe einer Handvoll Merkmalsoppositionen zu beschreiben. Der Nachteil bei der Analyse von Verwandtschaftsnamen ist, dass sie erstens immer relational sind und, zweitens oftmals nicht nur reine Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen ausdrücken, sondern auch kulturelle und rechtliche Beziehungen. (Blank 1997: 213)

In the first half of the 20th century, anthropologists (Lounsbury 1956, Goodenough 1956, Wallace and Atkins 1960, Romney and d’Andrade 1964) inspired by the article of Kroeber (1909, see in **I: 1.1.3.1** above) created the so-called *componential analysis*, the aim of which was to make the analysis of kinship terms more objective and less Eurocentric. For some time, this method was favoured because it was believed that it can facilitate an automatized / digitalised analysis of kinship. However, it eventually became clear that this method does not solve problems of the *formal analysis* but rather “multiplies entities” and only creates an illusion of objectivity. For example, a *componential analysis* of the Greek word ἀδελφός (copulative suffix ἄ- + δελφός ‘womb’ < PIE **sṃ-gʷelbʰ-*, OInd. *ságarbhya-* ‘a brother of whole blood, one by the same father and mother’, Beekes 2010: 20) would be something like: “consanguineal relative + zero generation + male + first grade”. It is obvious that this description is even further from the etymology of ἀδελφός than the English word ‘brother’ or at least ‘male sibling’ used in the *formal analysis*. The *formal analysis* reflects how an average English speaker understands the word while the

componential analysis shows how a European or US-American anthropologist or social scientist interprets it but definitely not as an average speaker of Ancient Greek did. Therefore, if the *formal analysis* is only ethnocentric, the *componential analysis* is both ethno- and sciento-centric.⁴⁵ The meaningful components ('genealogical grade/distance', 'consanguinity', 'generation', 'sex') of kinship terms suggested by this approach due to their abstractness are even less basic than simple English kinship terms. Therefore, if one would like to carry out an unbiased componential analysis of kinship terms, one should discover what kinship categories are basic, but for this purpose one should at first understand what basic categories are.

The best-known approach to this problem was suggested by representatives of the long-termed project Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM), first of all, by the Polish-Australian linguist Anna Wierzbicka (e.g., Goddard & Wierzbicka 2014, Wierzbicka 2016a, 2016b, 2017). The main prerequisite of this school is that words and notions in all languages can be analysed by means of *lexical primes* (= *lexical primitives*) and *lexical universals* (also called *lexical molecules* in some papers). The lexical primes are 65 elementary (unambiguous, least polysemous) notions that, according to the NSM scholars, can be found in any language ('I', 'you', 'big', 'small', etc., see the full list in Wierzbicka 2016b: 410). *Lexical universals* are more complex notions reflecting, however, universals of human cognition, i.e., meanings attested as such in the majority of languages and presenting an intermediary group between elementary notions (*lexical primes*) and culturally determined notions. The NSM approach is mostly based on the classical view of categories as innate knowledge of all human beings (Wierzbicka 2015).

An alternative approach, more influential in cognitive science, is the *prototype theory* or the study of *basic-level categories* (sometimes referred to as *folk-generic level categories*) best formulated in the research of Rosch (1987), Berlin and Kay (1969) and Lakoff (1987, esp. p. 39–57 with references to other authors). To a certain extent, *basic-level categories* correspond to the NSM *lexical universals*. They are supposed to be the concepts that are neither too general nor too specific and for this reason are the simplest concepts for human cognition. For example, the concept "chair" is neither as general as "furniture" nor as specific as "armchair" or "wheel-chair". Similar research was carried out on for colours, animals, plants and other concepts. Some insights pertaining to kinship terms have also been gained. Thus, Lakoff views the English word *mother* as an instance of a *basic-level category*. This concept is neither as general as "a consanguineal relative" nor as specific as "a birth mother". Although 'mother' is a complex meaning, "a cluster category" (comprising "birth mother", "genetic mother", "legal mother", "adoptive mother", etc. simultaneously) and in different languages the elements of this cluster can be different, it is, nevertheless, simpler for understanding than "consanguineal relative" or one of its more specific

⁴⁵ Scholars who use componential analysis do not always understand this fact. For example, Trautman (1981: 30) characterises the *formal analysis* as "the language of a tribe we can call the Anthropologoi". In my opinion, this joking definition is much more applicable to the classical *componential analysis* with its unnatural variables.

meanings such as “birth mother” (ibid.: 74–76, 80–82, 199–203). On this level speakers of different languages might have some shared experience. These insights explain especially well why the *componential analysis* of kinship mentioned at the beginning of this section is even worse than the *formal analysis*. This is because it applies notions superordinate to the *basic-level categories*. The *formal analysis* is flexible, it uses notions from all layers but mostly from the layer of more specific (subordinate) categories, which is also not optimal but acceptable in some cases (for example, if the kinship terminology under study is of the genealogical type).

The *prototype theory* disagrees with the NSM on a few important points. Firstly, they assume that universal categories are not innate knowledge but the result of shared human experience. It does not believe in the existence of *semantic primes* and claims that categories do not consist of separate features and cannot be split into them but should be perceived holistically as a *gestalt*. Nevertheless, one cannot fail to notice that some NSM *lexical primes* correspond to something to which Lakoff refers as *image schemas* (“part-whole”, “up-down”, “inside-outside”, “front-back”, etc.) and some to *graded categories* (“big vs. small”, “a short time vs. a long time”, etc.) (ibid.: 269–283). It can be summarized as follows. There is a speaker (‘I’) surrounded by frequently reoccurring *gestalts* (*basic-level categories*) like a *chair* or the *mother*. And there are certain taxonomic concepts (*image schemas* and *graded categories*) like *in-out*, *above-below*, *high vs. low* that enable the speaker to set relations between the *gestalts* and him-/herself. The *image schemas* are explained by the bodily experience of human beings (Lakoff 1987 with reference to Johnson 1987).

Both the NSM and the *prototype theory* differ from Schneider’s formulations (Schneider 1972 and 1984, mentioned above in I: 1.1.5 especially the quote Schneider 2004 [1972]: 263–264). Schneider believed in the existence of *pure systems* ($\approx$ NSM *lexical primes*, concepts like *I – you*, *up – down*, etc., $\approx$ Lakoff’s *image schemas*) as opposed to *conglomerate* (1972) / *bounded* (1984) systems, which are culturally determined, but in contrast to both approaches he did not believe in complex universal concepts like *lexical universals* or *basic-level categories*. He was deeply convinced that kinship terms cannot belong to any kind of universal concepts and are thus completely culturally dependent, while both Lakoff and Wierzbicka ascribe basic kinship terms exactly to the group of complex but (fairly) universal notions. The point on which all of them agree is that kinship terms do not have a strict and unambiguous taxonomic character (such as one-element-based taxonomies *up-down*, *left-right*) as it was/is traditionally assumed and the analysis of kinship terms can hardly ever be completely formalised.

Apart from the analysis of the word *mother*, the prototype theory does not say much on *basic-level categories* for kinship. Wierzbicka has worked on the problem more consistently and has a clear vision of it. Evaluation of the NSM approach, in general, is outside of the scope of this thesis, but the insights for kinship terms, in my opinion, deserve some attention because they are based on extensive empirical evidence.

The list of 65 *lexical primes* (Wierzbicka 2016a, 2016b) contains only one word associated with kinship rather indirectly: ‘people’. However, the list of *lexical universals* (Wierzbicka 2016b: 412) includes ‘mother’, ‘father’, ‘birth’ [‘born’], ‘wife’, ‘husband’, ‘man’, ‘woman’,⁴⁶ and ‘child’. Notably, such notions as ‘brother’, ‘sister’, ‘girl’, ‘daughter’, ‘boy’, and ‘son’ that seem to be natural and inevitable in the languages of Europe are not included in the list because, according to extensive ethnographic data, they are not attested as such in many languages (even in Europe). As it has been mentioned above with a reference to Murdock (1968a: 4), only 20% of world’s languages have terms equivalent to English ‘brother’ and ‘sister’ (sibling terminology of type E). Some languages have separate words for little girls and adult girls (like Russ. девочка ‘a little girl’ vs. девушка ‘an adult / teenage girl’) or an even subtler distinction of girl’s age-grades.⁴⁷ Some have the designations ‘male child’ vs. ‘female child’ (like Sp. *niño* vs. *niña*) but not ‘girl’ and ‘boy’ as such. Many languages have combined notions ‘son/boy’ and ‘daughter/girl’ instead of separate ones as it is habitual in Europe (more on this point in II: 2.3). Some languages like the Yapese mentioned above (in I: 1.1.5) combine all four notions for children and many other meanings in one single word. If the *prototype theory* did more research on kinship, they would probably state that such kinship terms belong to the *subordinate categories*. Goddard & Wierzbicka (2014) also claim that the notions ‘parent’, ‘sibling’, ‘male’ (noun), and ‘female’ (noun) can hardly be considered universal. Especially the latter two due to their abstractness⁴⁸ are part of the European (and precisely Anglophone) scientific discourse rather than notions of any natural language (Wierzbicka 2016a: 65–66). In terms of the *prototype theory* these words would obviously be ascribed to categories of the *superordinate level*.⁴⁹

Wierzbicka states that one can decompose the meaning of any kinship terms in any language by means of the eight *semantic universals* and a few *semantic primes* (e.g., ‘I’, ‘mine’, ‘the same’, ‘big’, ‘small’ and others) more naturally than it is done by *formal analysis* or *componential analysis* (see above). For example, using the universals ‘woman’ and ‘to be born’ and the primes

⁴⁶ Goddard and Wierzbicka (2014: 52) point out: “particular cultures may recognize an additional “third gender” and/or recognize ways of “gender-shifting” (as in many Oceanic societies), but this doesn’t mean that they go without the categories of ‘men’ and ‘women’”.

⁴⁷ Khare (1982: 245 footnote 6) quoted examples from different authors how girls can be differentiated by age in Hindi. One classification is *kumārī* ‘girl under five’, *kiśorī* ‘girl under 15’, *vadhuṭī* ‘young woman living in her father’s house’, and *ciraṇṭī* ‘young woman’. An even subtler classification is *gaurī* ‘a girl of eight’, *rohiṇī* ‘a girl of nine’, *kanyā* ‘a girl of ten’, and *rajasvalā* ‘a girl over ten (after menarche)’.

⁴⁸ Wierzbicka (ibid.) noticed that natural languages prefer more concrete designations of male and female subjects (*man*, *boy*, *rooster*, *bull*, *stallion* vs. *woman*, *girl*, *hen*, *heifer*, *mare*) rather than abstract males and females. In particular, the situation in English (*male* ‘man, male animal’ and *female* ‘woman, female animal’) or Latin (*mās* ‘man, male animal’ and *fēmīna* ‘woman, female animal’) is typologically rare. Many languages do not have cover terms for human and non-human males and females. For example, in German, one can neither refer to a female animal as *Frau* nor call a woman *Weibchen* (anyway, not in a neutral style). The same complementary distribution is common for Russian женщина ‘woman’ and самка ‘female animal’.

⁴⁹ The notion *human* is also far from basic. A good IE example of this is Toch. B *onolme* ‘living being, person, creature’ denoting both human beings and animals. Svetlana Burlak (RAS, open lecture) assumes that it can be explained by the religious worldview of the Tocharians, precisely the Buddhist believe in reincarnation.

‘someone’, ‘body’, ‘inside’, ‘this’, ‘before’, ‘for some time’, ‘be (someone)’, and ‘be (somewhere)’ one can give a true-to-life description of the English word ‘mother’ (Wierzbicka 2016b: 413):

someone’s *mother*:

a woman, before this someone was born

this someone’s body was for some time inside this woman’s body

The primes and universals should also be enough to describe terms with a more complex structure, for example, a polysemous term *ngunytju* ‘Mo, MoSi’ (and a number of other female relatives of the same age as the mother) in Pitjantjatjara spoken in Central Australia (ibid.: 419):

1. *ngunytju*⁰ (‘mother’, i.e., ‘birth-giver’ ≈ English ‘mother’)

2. *ngunytju*¹ (‘mother’s sister’):

someone can say about a woman “this is my *ngunytju*”

if this someone can think about her like this:

“her mother is my mother’s mother, her father is my mother’s father

because of this, this is someone like my mother”

3. *ngunytju*²:

someone can say about a woman “this is my *ngunytju*”

if this someone can think about her like this:

“this is not one of my *ngunytju*-s

at the same time, this is someone like my *ngunytju*-s”

The authors of the *prototype theory* do not quite agree with this description, especially, on the point that “the woman who gave birth to the child” should always be the main or primary meaning of *mother*-terms (see also in **I: 2.3.1** below). As it was mentioned above, even synchronically the English word *mother* is a “cluster model” comprising a number of meanings. Such *basic-level categories* are named *radial*. Any radial category has a centre, which may have certain universal properties but is also determined by conventions common for the given culture:

The central case, where all the models converge, includes a mother who is and always has been female, and who gave birth to the child, supplied her half of the child’s genes, nurtured the child, is married to the father, is one generation older than the child, and is the child’s legal guardian (Lakoff 1987: 83).

Therefore, the central case (even without culture specific extensions and extraneous meanings) is already complex and consists of notions “woman”, “birth mother”, “genetic mother”, “nurturer”, “father’s wife”, “an older relative”, and “foster mother”. Linguistically, any of these meanings can be the etymology of the word for ‘mother’ (on the etymology of the English word and the PIE term **méh₂tēr* or **máh₂tēr*, see in **II: 3.1** below).

There are more complicated cases. This is an NSM description of a sibling term in Kayardild, another indigenous language of Australia (Wierzbicka 2016b: 417):

thabuju (“older sibling, same sex, male ego”):

a man can say about another man “this is my *thabuju*” if he can think about him like this:

“his mother is my mother, his father is my father,

he was born before I was born”

a child can say the same about another child if after some time both these children can be men

The description does show how a European person would explain this term in order to understand it, but this does not mean that the speaker of the language perceives it like that. Especially on the background of Read's hypothesis about the two macro-areas (Read 2007, 2013 mentioned in **I: 1.1.6.3**) it seems likely that Australian kinship terminologies as terminologies of the second macro-area due to their geographical position should set logical emphasis on age and not on genealogy. The fact that the relative in question was born before the speaker should probably take the first place in the gloss. A more complicated instance of this kind is the Middle Mongolian word *aqa*, which was borrowed into numerous languages of Eurasia as a kinship term or a term of social hierarchy (see IrPers. *āqā*, **III: 2.1.1**). As a kinship term it is usually glossed in Middle Mongolian as 'the Ego's elder brother or father's younger brother', 'husband's elder brother or husband's father's younger brother' but it can also denote any relative older than the Ego but younger than his parents. The word was also used as a noble title and is still used as a polite form of address especially to older people both in Mongolian and in the recipient languages (e.g., IrPers. *āqā* 'mister'). NSM scholars have not analysed it as far as I know, but I assume that the formulation should definitely deviate a little from the course suggested in the previous entries:

*aqa*⁰

someone can say about a man "this is my *aqa*" if this someone can think about him like this:
"he was born before I was born but after my father / mother was born
his mother is my mother, his father is my father or
my father's mother/mother's mother is his mother, my father's father/mother's father is his father"
a child can say the same about another child if after some time this other child can be a man

*aqa*¹

someone can say about a man "this is my *aqa*" if this someone can think about him like this:
"he is not my *aqa* but, at the same time, he is like my *aqa*"
(e.g., "I must treat him with respect")

Although 'mother', 'father', and 'to be born' must be included into this logical sequence, the age difference between *aqa* and the speaker should be in the main focus. It is by no means additional or optional information because it provides an exhaustive explanation of the wide range of primary and secondary meanings of this term (cf. Rykin 2011: 44–45 with references). Whether it should be the same in the Australian instances quoted above can only be answered by specialists in those languages and cultures.

In spite of all critical points, the advantage of the NSM analysis of kinship terms is that one might indeed decompose their meaning in a natural way and gain insights about their etymology. Thus, if we compare an NSM-like analysis of the Greek word ἀδελφός (for example, "someone who was inside of the same mother before he was born and is or will be a man"), it is indeed much closer to the etymology of the word than "brother" or "male sibling" used in the *formal analysis*,

not to mention the excessively long and complex description used in the *componential analysis* at the beginning of this section. The explanatory power of this simple description is higher than its complexity. However, this methodology does not solve all problems. In order to put these elements together and to construct a picture which would correspond to the authentic meaning, scholars should also be equipped with knowledge of the culture whose language they study and take into consideration areal features of the kinship terminology in question. The description of the term should include all its possible meanings because not always the most obvious of them can give a hint of its etymology.

I: 2.3. Reoccurring patterns of derivation and semantic change in terms of social relations

As it has been said under point **I: 2.1.3** above, kinship terms may have some unexpected etymologies based on specific cultural realities. However, there are also certain reoccurring patterns of their derivation and semantic change. Basic notions of kinship, whose part may be played by, for example, the NSM lexical universals, can give a clue to them.

I: 2.3.1. <mother> and <father>, <woman> and <man>, <wife> and <husband>

According to the NSM approach, the kinship notions ‘mother’ and ‘father’ are lexical universals that can be included in the semantic structure of culturally determined kinship terms, which was illustrated by the examples above. However, being complex notions, they can also be analysed. Wierzbicka (2017 with references to the insights of developmental psychology) suggests that the meaning of these basic notions should not be stable throughout the entire life of a speaker. In children’s and adults’ speech the word has a different meaning. It is suggested that the evolution of meaning from *Mummy* to *mother* in an Anglophone society should go through six stages (ibid.: 23):

Stage I. The ‘I’ and ‘you’ stage:

(a) *Mummy* (a mother speaking to her child, for example “*Mummy* is here”)

I, you can say *Mummy* to me, you can’t say it to anyone else

I feel something good towards you

I know that you feel something good towards me

(b) *Mummy* (a child speaking to his/her mother, e.g. “*Mummy*, do it”)

you, I can say *Mummy* to you, I can’t say it to anyone else

I feel something good towards you

I know that you feel something good towards me

At the second stage, *Mummy* becomes a more objective ‘someone’ towards whom the child feels good, and at the third stage the child understands that *Mummy* is not unique and other children have their own *mummies*. Another thing the child understands at the third stage is that people can be of different age and the *Mummy* is ‘not a child’ and nor are others’ *mummies*. Stage 4 is the transition from *mummy* to *mother* and a conceptual change from ‘someone, not a child’ to the notion ‘woman’. At the fifth stage the child realises that *mother* is not only a substitute for *mummy*

but also a ‘birth-giver’ (“before I was born, my body was for some time inside this woman’s body”). Finally, at stage 6 *mother* is simply a ‘birth-giver’, i.e., an adult concept of motherhood comes into play (see also Lakoff’s view on the adult concept ‘mother’ in **I: 2.2.2** above). Similar evolution from a very special person and mutual ‘feeling something good towards each other’ to a more abstract ‘man, begetter, mother’s husband, and the head of the household’ can be reconstructed for the concept *daddy-father* (ibid.: 22–28). This is the sequence typical for average children growing up in English-speaking societies. Among other peoples and speakers’ communities, the evolution of the terms may be substantially different.

It is conspicuous that at the first stages the main motive of the meaning is simply ‘feeling good towards each other’. Wierzbicka points out that this component “is a feature of early childhood kin words in many languages, and that such words often show certain recurring morphological and phonological features, such as full or partial reduplication” (ibid.: 28). Therefore, the hypothesis that many nursery terms such as *Mummy* and *Daddy* were originally derived from child or child-imitating speech (cf. Jakobson 1959) seems to be justified.

The notion ‘feeling good towards someone’ can produce terms with an internal etymology as well. For example, Fr. *belle-mère* ‘mother-in-law; step-mother’ (see **II: 2.6.1** and **II: 2.7.1** below) or Arab. *’aziz* ‘(adj.) dear, nice; (n.) close friend, relative’. In Dari and Pashto the abstract noun *’aziz-dār-i*,⁵⁰ which literally means ‘sharing relatives’ denotes ‘affinity, kinship through marriage’ (Kiselyova & Mikolayčik 1978: 519, Aslanov 1985: 590).

As for the adult words, unless the language has only nursery terms for mother and father, they sometimes mean ‘birth-giver’ and ‘begetter’ respectively. However, their etymology can also overlap with terms for ‘woman’⁵¹ and ‘man’, ‘wife’ and ‘husband’ and further extensions such as ‘lord’ and ‘lady’, ‘householder’, ‘care-giver’, ‘nurturer’, etc. (cf. Lakoff’s *radial categories* mentioned in the previous section). Old Indic terms *bhārtar-* ‘husband’ and *bhartrī* ‘mother’ (discussed in **II: 3.1.1**) are good examples of these overlapping meanings.

As it was said above (in reference to Goddard & Wierzbicka 2014, Wierzbicka 2016a), it is precisely the notions ‘woman’ and ‘man’ that can possess a status of universal meanings but not ‘male’ and ‘female’ or even the more abstract scientific notion ‘sex / gender’. The concept ‘human’ as many examples in chapters **II** and **III** will show usually equates with ‘man’. According to the NSM, ‘women’ and ‘men’ are categories opposed to and defined by the category ‘children’. Children are described like this (Goddard & Wierzbicka 2014: 31):

⁵⁰ The element *-dār-* is the Present stem of the New Persian verb *dāštan* ‘have’. As a second part of a compound it has either a simple meaning ‘having’ (e.g., IrPers. *šowhardār* ‘having a husband’ > ‘married’) or, particularly in the Afghan variant of Persian, a more specific meaning ‘sharing, having something in common’ (e.g., *watandār* ‘compatriot’ from *watan* ‘motherland’). The polysemous suffix *-i-* in this case is an abstract suffix.

⁵¹ Cf. NPers. *mādinē/a* ‘female; woman’ and Pash. *māndinā, māinā* ‘id.’ related to NPers. *mād(ar)* ‘Mo’ (**III: 3.2.1**). Jeremy Bradley (University of Vienna, p.c.) points out that in the Mari language the word «аба» ‘mother’ can be used as an adjective ‘female’ (e.g., «аба цöча» sow, lit. ‘female pig’).

- a. people of one kind
- b. all people are people of this kind for some time, they can't be people of this kind for a long time
- c. when someone is someone of this kind, it is like this:
- d. this someone's body is small
- e. this someone can do some things, this someone can't do many other things
- f. because of this, if other people don't do good things for this someone at many times, bad things can happen to this someone

The description expressed in simple words includes a hint at children's small size and dependence on adults' care and the fact that childhood is temporary. As for *women* (ibid.: 32), their most conspicuous feature, the ability to give birth, is underlined. In this respect the notion *woman* is fairly identical to the notion *mother*:

- a. people of one kind
- b. people of this kind are not children
- c. people of this kind have bodies of one kind
- d. the bodies of people of this kind are like this:
- e. inside the body of someone of this kind there can be for some time a living body of a child

'Men' are (ibid.: 33):

- a. people of one kind
- b. people of this kind are not children
- c. people of this kind have bodies of one kind
- d. the bodies of people of this kind are not like women's bodies
- e. parts of bodies of this kind are not like parts of women's bodies

The authors themselves admit that the description of a man sounds rather superficial. Different cultures can have their own implication what a man should be. However, the juxtaposition of men as something general or unmarked against specific and marked "women and children" seems to be a real existing motive in the daily cognition of traditional societies.⁵² Masculine qualities (strength and a big body size) that are often reflected in etymologies of words denoting men (see II: 2.3) are also opposed to the qualities of women and especially children (a small body size, dependence, and weakness).

Notions associated with male and female body parts or their functions sometimes become neutral terms for 'man' and 'woman' too, but this semantic pattern is not very frequent because such words are usually tabooed (cf. Goddard and Wierzbicka 2014: 52). However, there is at least one example where the etymology of a word for 'man' goes back to the designation of the male genitals: Hitt. **pešan*- 'man, male person' (nom. sg. *LÚ-aš*, gen. sg. *pé-eš-na-aš*, HEG P 585–587, Kloekhorst 2008a: 670 with references). Examples of any stylistically neutral words for 'woman'

⁵² Cf. the biblical quotation: "οἱ δὲ ἐσθίοντες ἦσαν τετρακισχίλιοι ἄνδρες χωρὶς γυναικῶν καὶ παιδίων" – "And they that did eat were four thousand men, beside women and children" (Matthew 15: 38). An interesting observation concerning the word for 'man' in different languages is its ambiguous nature 'man = human being' (or even simply 'human subject, unit, person'). Both the Greek original and the English translation cannot avoid applying this ambiguous word. It is notable that in the Russian an unambiguous word «человек» 'person' is used.

derived from female genitals or ‘womb’ are also very rare and usually denote female animals rather than women. Toch. A *kuli* ‘woman; female (animal)’ and Toch. B *klīye* ‘id.’. Pinault (2005b: 209–211) reconstructs the word as (nom.sg.) **gʷh₂n-n-éi* / (gen.sg.) **gʷh₂n-n-i-ós* ‘womanhood’ a collective form based on **gʷh₂n-én* / **gʷh₂n-n-’* f. ‘one being at dripping’, which may be an internal derivative from **gʷéh₂n-ṇ* / **gʷh₂n-én-* n. ‘dripping’ (**gʷelH* ‘träufeln, quellen’, LIV² 207) implying ‘uterus (in the regular menstrual discharge)’, see also Pash. *awrata* ‘woman’ originating from Arab. *awrat* ‘sexual organs’ (III: 3.2.1). However, the semantic development ‘mother’ > ‘womb’ is more frequent (Rus. *матка*, Late Lat. *mātrix* > Fr. *matrice*). The notion ‘breast-feeding’ and ‘breasts’ as the base of a word for ‘woman’ or ‘girl’ occurs a little more frequently (Lat. *fēmīna* < **dʰeh₁-mh₁n-eh₂*⁵³ ‘a nursing / breastfeeding one’, Slavic **děva* ‘girl, young woman; virgin’⁵⁴ < **dʰoh₁i-uaḥ₂* ‘a nursing / breastfeeding one’⁵⁵, Gr. *παρθένος* ‘girl, young woman; virgin’ < **pr̥-steno-* ‘having protruding breasts’⁵⁶).

As universals, ‘wife’ and ‘husband’ are necessary to build affinal terms. As complex notions, they often overlap with semantics of ‘woman’ and ‘man’ (German *Frau* and *Mann*), sometimes with ‘mother’ and ‘father’ (see Ved. / OInd. *bhartar* and *bhartrī*, II: 3.1.1) or the concept ‘feeling good towards someone’, which is semantically close to the concepts ‘friend’ or ‘colleague’ (e.g., OInd. *priyā-* ‘wife; beloved one’ vs. Slov. *prijatelj* ‘friend’, see II: 2.3.4 below). Another group of notions that ‘wife’ and ‘husband’ can be based on are those associated with the notions “mutuality of being” and household (cf. 2.3.3).

I: 2.3.2. <born / birth / offspring (of)> and complex semantics of sibling terms

Gretchen: “*Wer liegt hier?*”

Volk: “*Deiner Mutter Sohn.*”

Goethe, *Faust*

Passive or medial forms of verbs with a meaning ‘to give birth’ or ‘beget’ and their abstract nominal realisation ‘birth’ also belong to one of the NSM lexical universals for kinship notions. The notion ‘to be born’ can be included in the semantic structure of both the genealogical type of

⁵³ Obviously, a motion formation of a medial participle suffix in **-mh₁no-* (de Vaan 2008: 210) from the verbal root **dʰeh₁i* ‘(Muttermilch) saugen’ (LIV² 138–139).

⁵⁴ E.g., OCS, ORus. *дѣва/děva* ‘girl, maiden’, Pol. *dziewczyna* ‘girl’, Slov. *děva* / *devica* ‘virgin’ (along with Slov. *děkla* ‘girl’, see II: 2.2.1.2).

⁵⁵ In this case it would rather mean ‘the one who is capable of breast-feeding’, ‘potential mother’. Alternatively, the word can be reconstructed as **dʰeh₁-uaḥ₂* ‘suckling’ related to Slavic **dětę* ‘child’, a Slavic *nt*-stem based on **dʰeh₁-ti-* ‘sucking’ (Snoj 2003: s.v. *děva*, cf. also II: 2.5.1). In this case, it will be formally similar to the proterokinetic stem **dʰeh₁-u-* / **dʰh₁-eu-* (n.) ‘sucking’ postulated by Pinault (2005a, 2007, 2009, 2017a) as a possible base of the PIE term for ‘daughter’ **dʰugh₂tér-* (see II: 2.2.2 and II: 3.1.3.1).

⁵⁶ This etymology was suggested by Klingenschmitt (1974: 273–278). There is an alternative etymology for this word though. Janda (2014: 545–554) interprets it as **pr̥-dʰh₁n-ó-* ‘ausgesetzter Siegerpreis’, i.e., ‘the one who is put forward / who is being presented / advertised (so that a man could notice and marry her)’. Therefore, the first etymology would underline her physiology and the second her status of a marriageable girl.

kinship terminologies describing who was born from whom, and the age-gender type describing who was born before or after someone (Read 2007, 2013, see in **I: 1.1.6.3.** above). Possible developments of this concept are discussed in Milanova (2020) assuming that <born> and <birth> should be enriched with a more concrete notion <offspring (of)>.⁵⁷ This triple notion can be a starting point for not only terms for ‘child’ (‘son’ or ‘daughter’), which is self-evident, but also for ‘sibling’, ‘brother’, ‘sister’ (at least in genealogical kinship terminologies). It can also be realised as a non-specified term for ‘relative’ and as many other words denoting individuals and social institutions.

Milanova (2020) suggests that this statement can be illustrated with derivatives of the PIE verb **ǵen_{h1}* ‘erzeugen’ (LIV² 163–165, NIL 139–153). The original meaning of the proterokynetic *men*-stem of this verb **ǵén_{h1}-m(e)n-* should obviously be interpreted as an abstract notion ‘birth/procreation’, which can be reanalysed as abstract ‘origin’, ‘relatedness’, ‘kinship’ and collective ‘offspring’, ‘family’, ‘race’, ‘people’. All this range of meanings is attested for Ved. / OInd. *jániman-* and *jánman-*⁵⁸ (Grassman 1873: 475–476).

In some Eastern Iranian languages one can find reflexes of a hysterokynetic stem **ǵnh₁-mén-* (NIL 140) that can be interpreted as an individualised notion ‘son, boy’ (Wakhi *zəmān* ‘son, boy, young animal, nestling’, Steblin-Kamenski 1999: 437) or plural ‘sons’ (Pashto *zāmān* ‘sons’, pl. of *zoy*, Aslanov 1985: 464, 479, cf. also **III: 3.1.1**).

The semantic development of the Latin reflex of the proterokynetic stem *germen* (< **genmen*, by dissimilation⁵⁹) is of special interest. Originally, it had a collective (‘descendants, offspring’) or a metaphoric (‘offshoot, sprout, bud’) meaning (NIL 140). Its derivative in Late Latin adjective *germānus* (< **germnānus* ‘belonging to (the same) offspring / descendants’⁶⁰) acquired the meaning ‘uterine, full, true’ (about a sibling) and was eventually nominalised as ‘(own, full) brother’⁶¹ and *germāna* ‘(own, full) sister’,⁶² i.e., a child of the same mother and father. Obviously, the masculine and feminine forms were at first used as adjectives (as synonym of the adjective *uterīnus*, -a ‘from (the same) uterus ‘womb’, see below) accompanying inherited words for siblings, *frāter germānus* (as in Cicero *In Verrem* 2.1.128.2, Livius *Ab Urbe Condita* 41.27.2.5, Gaius, *iur.*, *Gai Institutionum epitome* 2.8.6.8) and *soror germāna* (Ennius *Annales* 1.40, 1.46, Plautus *Cistellaria* 451, Cicero *De Divinatione* 1.40.10, 1.41.4), but were later nominalised. In

⁵⁷ A similar idea was expressed in Ameka (2016), being a comment to Wierzbicka (2016b). He suggested that the concept ‘child of’ should also be added into the list of universals.

⁵⁸ On forms with and without laryngeal syncope see Höfler (2017: 263–264)

⁵⁹ Höfler (2017: 264, footnote 869). An alternative reconstruction of Lat. *germānus* suggested by Olsen (2018a: 305–306) **ǵnh₁-m_{h1}no-*, which might be a dederuplicated middle participle perfect **ǵe-ǵnh₁-m_{h1}no-* (cf. Ved. *jajñāná-* ‘born’). In this case, its semantic development would be fairly similar to OE (*ge*)*boren* (**II: 2.4.1**).

⁶⁰ Similar to *Rōma* → *Rōmānus* ‘belonging to Rome’

⁶¹ *Numitor germanus Amuli* – “Numitor, the brother of Amulius” (Ovidius, *Fasti* 4.53)

⁶² *sed neque quod matrem nec germanam esse videbam hanc tibi, cuius me magnus edebat amor* – “but I saw that she was neither your mother nor your sister love to whom kept gnawing at me” (Catullus, *carmina* 91.5–6)

modern Spanish and Portuguese, the reflexes of these forms *hermano* / *hermana* and *irmão* / *irmã* are used as every day terms for ‘brother’ and ‘sister’.

A form morphologically and semantically similar to Lat. *germānus* is a Slavic adjective **roden* with the semantics ‘one’s own / real / native (mother, home, land, language, etc.), full (brother, sister)’, i.e., ‘associated with one’s birth / origin’ (Rus. родной ‘id.’ Slov. *roden* ‘id.’). It is derived from the noun **rôdъ* ‘birth; family, etc.’ (OCS *rodъ*, Russ. род, Slk. *rod*, BCS *rôd*, etc.) reconstructed as BSl. **rodos* (cf. Latv. *rads* ‘relative; kinship; tribe’, Derksen 2008: 437, *ALEW* II / 844, *SRJa* XI–XVII XXII / 179–183), which should originate from the Balto-Slavic root **red^h* ‘to appear, be born; give birth, bring fruit’ without clear outer-Balto-Slavic parallels (*LIV*² 497, *ALEW* II / 843–844). In Russian the plural form of this adjective «родные» has the meaning ‘relatives’ as in the state expression «родные и близкие» ‘kith and kin’,⁶³ which has curious parallels in other languages, cf. Gr. “κασίγνητοι θ’ ἑταροὶ τε” (Il. 24: 793)⁶⁴ and Sogd. *kant kōtar*.⁶⁵

The form **ġēnh₁-m(e)n-* can therefore be lexicalised in many different ways. It can denote abstract notions connected to procreation and family / social life. It can play a role in forming collectives and individuals, who can be children, siblings, undifferentiated relatives, and further associates.

The verbal adjective **ġnh₁-tó-/teh₂-* ‘born / begotten’ (cf. *NIL* 142) can be lexicalised in a number of ways as well. Ved. *jātá-* (Grassman 1873: 482) has an abstract meaning (‘birth’, ‘origin’ RV I 45:1, I 83:5), a collective meaning (‘tribe’, ‘lineage’ RV II 25:1), and can also denote individuals (‘child, son’, RV I 117:16, II 25:1; or ‘living being, creature’, RV III 54:8) as YAv. *zāta-* (*AiW* 1689). Its Latin cognate can have a kinship meaning as well: *(g)nātus* ‘son’, *(g)nāta* ‘daughter’ (see II: 2.1.3 below), *(g)nāti* ‘children, offspring’, parallel to ON *kundr* ‘son’ (*ONP* s.v.). A related form is *co-gnātus* ‘relative from mother’s or father’s side’, which was counterintuitively reanalysed as ‘sibling-in-law’ in Late Latin (see II: 2.6.1 below), is a parallel development to the Greek form (αὐτο)κασίγνητος (< **kmt-i*⁶⁶) usually glossed as ‘brother (especially born by the same mother)’⁶⁷ but actually denoting all kinds of brothers and cousins. Gates (1971: 14–16) points out that this word is attested in Aeolic and is used as a regular word for ‘brother’ in Cyprian; it does not occur in Attic-Ionic prose, but Herodotus used this word in the general meaning ‘kinsman’, which was probably its meaning also in Homeric Greek (see

⁶³ OCS близокъ (lit. ‘the one who is nearby’) means ‘relatives’ (see II: 2.5.3.3)

⁶⁴ For κασίγνητοι see this section below, for ἑταροὶ see II: 2.4.2 below.

⁶⁵ The first word is a loanword from some Semitic language (cf. Akk. *kinattu*, *kinātu* ‘colleague, friend’), the second one is an Indic borrowing *gotra* ‘family’. This compound was discussed in the talk by Nicholas Sims-Williams “Les connaissances sans frontières, hier et aujourd’hui” <https://www.aibl.fr/seances-et-manifestations/coupoles-312/coupoles-2019/article/nicholas-sims-williams-les?lang=fr> (accessed on 5.08.2020)

⁶⁶ This element must anyway express mutuality like Lat. *co-*, but its origin is not quite clear (cf. Chantraine 1999: 503).

⁶⁷ Because of the passage “κασίγνητος καὶ ὁπατρος”, which implies that κασίγνητος might be complementary to the notion ‘having the same father’ (Il.11.257, 12.371)

“κασίγνητοι θ’ ἕταροι τε” above). The *vṛddhi*- form **ḡénh₁-to-* n. ‘born one’ yielded OHG *kind* ‘child’ > NHG *Kind* (Steer 2015: 33, 35, Höfler 2018: 3).

Therefore, in this case there is a clear semantic border between children and siblings. The former are simply ‘offspring’, while the latter are ‘co-offspring (co-child, co-son, or co-daughter)’. However, the borders between siblings and undifferentiated relatives are indistinct again.

In discussing terms for siblings, it would be advantageous to mention observations of developmental psychology, precisely the study on acquisition of terms for ‘brother’ and ‘sister’ by French-speaking Swiss children carried out by Piaget (1965 [1928]) and other psychologists and psycholinguists after him and summarised in Wierzbicka (2017: 33–41). As in the case of terms for ‘mother’ and ‘father’, the perception of these words depends on the age of children. At the first stage, children (aged 4 to 7/8) assume that *frère* / *brother* and *sœur* / *sister* are simply *garçon* / *boy* and *filles* / *girl* respectively, thus, something synonymous with a ‘child’. One of Piaget’s interviewees said that his father could not be a brother because he was not a boy, another one claimed that his father had been a brother when he had been a boy. At the second stage, children of 8 or 9 believe that brothers and sisters are those who were born next to them, i.e., their younger siblings. At the third stage, aged around 7–10, children say that brothers and sisters are children who are born in their family without mentioning the order of birth. Only at stages IV and V (formulated only in Wierzbicka), at the age of over 10, children realise that adults can also be / have brothers and sisters.

One can surely argue that most established terms for siblings were most probably coined by adults and the first three stages of children’s perception of the terms cannot have any relevance here. Nonetheless, the etymologies of the above-mentioned sibling terms indicate that the notion ‘child’ does play the key part in their semantic structure.

According to Steer (2015: 271, cf. also *NIL* 140–141), **ḡnh₁-tó-* can be the base of the abstract noun **ḡnh₁-tí* / **ḡnh₁-téj-* f. ‘birth’ > Ved. *prá-jāti-* f. ‘procreation, birth, potency’ (*PW* IV / 928), OE *gecynd* f./n. ‘race, offspring, kind’ (*AHD*, s.v. *kind*², *kind*¹ adj. < *gecynde* ‘natural’). The *vṛddhi*-form **ḡénh₁-to-* n. ‘born one’ also has a respective *ti*-abstract **ḡénh₁-ti-* f., which can denote groups of people and individuals: ON *kind* ‘family, lineage, rank; kin, people, tribe; living being, animal’ (*ONP* s.v.), Lat. *gēns* ‘extended noble family; people, tribe, nation; race; country’ (Lewis and Short 1891: 808–809), Lith. *gentis* ‘relative; kin; tribe, sib’ (Smoczyński *SEJL* 169–170), YAv. *fra-zaiṇti-* ‘offspring’ (> NPers. *farzand* ‘child’, see **III: 2.1.1**).

The form **ḡnh₁-tí*, in its turn, became the base of **ḡnh₁-ti-Hon-* ‘associated with birth’ > Lat. *nātiō*, *-ōnis* ‘a race of people, nation’ (usually foreign, not the Romans) coined by means of adding

the “Hoffmann suffix”.⁶⁸ Morphologically it is also very close to the form *co-gnātiō* ‘kinship by blood’ (cf. *NIL* 143).

Another interesting semantic development of this verbal root is the Germanic form **kuninga-* ~ **kununga-* (> OE *cyning*, *cyng* > Eng. *king*, ON *konungr*, etc.) which might be a derivative of the PGm. **kunja-* (< **ġnh₁-iġo-*) ‘extended family, clan’ by means of the individualising suffix **-inga/-unga* (< **-enġo-*), cf. Kroonen (2009: 311). A similar instance is the semantic development of Hitt. *haššu-* ‘king’ derived from the verbal root **h₂ens* (see in **II: 2.5.4** below).

The evidence above indicates fuzzy borders both between different kinds of kinship terms (relative – sibling – child), and between kinship terms proper and further terms of social relations (family – nation – race). Why a certain word was lexicalised as ‘king’ but not ‘living creature’ or ‘son’, ‘brother’ and not ‘relative’ or ‘citizen’ (cf. Gr. *φράτερ* in **II: 2.4.1** below) is a matter of convention and can only be explained by the context in which this word was used. Nonetheless, this seeming semantic chaos can gain a fairly simple inner logic if we assume that the core meaning of all of these words is ‘birth / born, offspring (of)’.⁶⁹

collective realisation: ‘offspring’	individual realisation: ‘one of the offspring of...’	
(nuclear) family	<u>an older person speaking:</u> child (boy, girl), son, daughter, etc.	<u>a younger person speaking:</u> sibling, brother, sister, etc. (‘offspring of the same mother and father’)
extended family (clan, kin, lineage, dynasty, etc.)	relative, kinsman, clansman, descendant, grandchild, cousin, nephew, niece, etc. (‘offspring of the same (real or putative) ancestor’)	

⁶⁸ “Hoffmann suffix” **-Hon-* (Hoffmann 1976: 381) with a meaning ‘having / possessing X’. Pinault (2000) and Dunkel (2001) following Hamp 1972) reconstructs this suffix as **-h₃on*. Olsen (2004, 2010: 87–190, 2013) assumes that words with such a suffix are compounds with a root noun **h₃onh₂-* ‘charge’ (> Lat. *onus* ‘burden’). These compounds can have various forms. The form *ṣ-h₃noh₂* is a *bahuvrīhi* compound which means ‘whose load, charge is x’ (e.g., **h₂iū-h₃onh₂-* > Ved. *yūvān* ‘having a lot of life-force’ > ‘young’, Olsen 2010: 121). It may also be based on thematic nouns or adjectives **-ó-h₃onh₂-* (e.g., **putló-h₃onh₂-* ‘in charge of sons’ > Av. *putrān* ‘who has sons’, *ibid.*) that can be further thematised (e.g., **mātro-h₃n(h₂)-ah₂* ‘the one with maternal authority’ > Lat. *mātrōna* ‘matron’, similarly Lat. *patrōnus*, *ibid.* 160, cf. Gr. *νιωνός* ‘SoSo’, **II: 2.5.1**). The form *x-h₃ónh₂-* is a determinative compound ‘a load (collective) of x’ (e.g., Gr. *ἀνδρών* ‘men’s apartment (a collective of men)’, *γυναικών* ‘women’s apartment (a collective of women)’, *ibid.*: 136). It can also be based on primary and secondary *i*-stems and have the form **-i-h₃ónh₂-* ‘a load / group of X’ (as in *nātiō* ‘load, group of individuals that have been born’, *ibid.*: 144) and **-i-h₃n(n₂)-o-* ‘associated with / belonging to a load, group of X’ (Lat. *āmītīnus* ‘descendant from a father’s sister’, *ibid.* 178, cf. also Goth. *fadrein* ‘parents’ and OCS *материнъ* ‘maternal’, **II: 2.1.1.2**, Lat. *sōbrīnus* and *consōbrīnus*, **II: 2.5.1**, Lith. *avynas* ‘MoBr’, **II: 2.5.2.1**). Therefore, the thematised form of the “Hoffmann” suffix / root nouns can function as a suffix of appurtenance. Alternatively, Alan Nussbaum (apud Martin Peters and Melanie Malzahn, lectures, Steer 2015: 575–195 and Höfler 2017: 33–36) reconstructs the “Hoffmann” suffix as **-h₁o/en-* consisting of the case ending instr. sg. *-h₁-* (instrumental hypostasis) with a secondary suffix *-e/on-*, which should mean ‘smb./smth. with x’. Such nouns can be either amphikinetic or hysterokinetic. According to Steer (2015: 195), the hysterokinetic form was originally an adjective, while the amphikinetic form was a derived noun.

⁶⁹ The table was also applied in Milanova (2020: 203, see Table 1).

people, tribe, nation, state, royal family, etc.	member of the community, citizen, a special member of the community (king, prince), etc. (‘offspring of the same (usually putative) ancestor’)
Human race, living beings, etc.	human being, living being, etc. (‘offspring of the same ancestor in the remote past’)

Speakers of modern European languages know that one can refer to a nation or even all humankind as a big family in a metaphorical sense, but for some small communities in the remote past it might not have been even a metaphor. People of their village or camp, which was an extended family at the same time, were perceived as the only real human beings in contrast to the beasts and evil spirits outside of the fence. Thus, the literary meaning of many ethnonyms is simply ‘people’ (e.g., Deutsch < OHG *thiutisk* ‘zum (eigenen) Volk gehörig’ < **teu̯teh₂*, cf. OIr. *túath* ‘people, land, country’, Lith. *tautà* ‘id.’, DWDS s.v. *deutsch*). This might still be the case in some contemporary non-urban small communities living far from the modern European and US-American civilisation. Thus Sahlins (2013: 89) states that “in Amazonia, people both determine their own kin by opposition to their enemies, and they reproduce the former by assimilating the latter”. Moreover, one can hardly be sure that this view on one’s own people⁷⁰ is completely absent from social cognition of modern societies. On the emotional or subconscious level it has always been there (cf. Anderson 2006).

The concept ‘offspring’ can be expressed through notions other than abstract nouns derived from the verbal form ‘to be born’, for example, ‘blood’, ‘belly’, ‘womb’, ‘seed’, e.g., Gr. ἀδελφός and ἀδελφή (see in **I: 2.2.2** above), OInd. *sodar(y)a* (< *udara-* ‘womb’), Late Lat. *co-uterinus*, Oss. *šəvællon* ‘child’ and *əvšəməær* ‘brother’ (< **əm-šəvæær* ‘co-uterinus’),⁷¹ and Gr. ὁμό-σπορος ‘sibling; relative’. In non-IE languages we have Turk. *kardeş* ‘(younger) sibling’ < **karndaš* (*karn* ‘belly’ + *-daš*, a morpheme expressing mutuality) (Stachowski 2019: 204).

It should be emphasised that both IE and non-IE evidence indicates that the notions ‘born’, ‘birth’, ‘belly’, ‘womb’ and the like never imply matrilineal descent (this should anyway be valid, in particular, for the PIE term **suH-nu-/ju-* ‘son’, **II: 2.2.1.1**, and derivatives of the root **h₂ens*, **II: 2.5.4** below). I am also convinced that notions like ‘seed’ are likewise not always associated with patrilineal descent (even if the given society is in fact patrilineal). As it was intuitively formulated already by Delbrück (1889: 454), “die Wörter bezeichnen nicht das Ding nach allen seinen Merkmalen, sondern nur ein einzelnes Merkmal des Dinges” and, further, by the scholars working on the *prototype theory* (see the discussion of the term ‘mother’ as a *cluster meaning* or

⁷⁰ Even if “one’s own people” are related by ties other than biological, they often try to prove that they do share biological relatedness as well. Ethnic groups who speak the same language or genetically related languages, especially minority ones, often want to believe that they originate from the same biological ancestors who spoke the same language (cf., e.g., Mirhosseini & Abazari 2016 on language attitudes in a bilingual Farsi-Azerbaijani context in Iran).

⁷¹ Both derived from Oss. *šəvæær-* ‘womb’ (< **su-bara-* ‘foetus-bearer’, for **su-* cf. Skt. *śāva* ‘young animal’, Gr. κύημα ‘foetus’) (*IESOJa* I / 205–206, III / 213–214).

radial category in **I: 2.2.2** above), the word describes only one aspect of the concept overtly but implies all other aspects. The reasons why exactly birth and not begetting is usually chosen as a basis of such terms might be various. Firstly, birth is a more obvious event for the community. Secondly, words like ‘birth’ and ‘belly’ are less tabooed or sacralised than words associated with sexual intercourse or male organs. Thirdly, the fact of being born by the same mother in a traditional patrilineal society presupposes by default that the father should also be the same, as many factors (such as high mortality of women during birth) make it common for a man to have children from different women but not vice versa (especially in case of polygyny), even though exceptions (such as *levirate* or *polyandry*) are possible. It must thus be too obvious for the speakers and unnecessary to verbalise. Kinship terms and terminologies in natural language in contrast to any kind of scientific terminologies are not even aimed at being unambiguous, articulate, and understandable for all outsiders (see Hall 1989 [1976] on *high context communication* in **I: 2.1.2** above).

I: 2.3.3. “mutuality of being” and further basic notions

Universal notions for kinship listed by Wierzbicka (2016a, 2016b) should be enriched by a notion (or a group of notions) that can be referred to as “mutuality of being”, or “belonging to one another”. This is how kinship was defined by the social anthropologist Marshall Sahlins in the essay “What Kinship Is – And Is Not” (2013). He assumes that the main motive of all kinship notions (no matter whether they are expressed through words associated with biological procreation or words with different meanings) is having something in common: common substance (blood, bone, flesh, etc.), common food, a common house or land, a common way, common spirit, etc.

In language this idea can be expressed overtly through prefixes: PIE **sem(h₂)-(o)-* / *som(h₂)-(o)-* > Gr. ἀ- and ὁμό- (as in ἀκοίτης m. / ἀκοίτης f. ‘spouse (bed-fellow)’ and ὁμό-σπορος ‘brother; relative’), OPers. *ham(a)-* / NPers. *ham-* (OPers. *brātā ... hamātā hamapitā* ‘full brother (having the same mother and father)’ and NPers. *ham-šira/e* ‘sister’ (lit.) ‘having the same milk’), etc. Sometimes, it is only implied, for example, in adjectives with general meaning ‘belonging to offspring (of the same / my family)’. Like in the case of all other basic notions it can be lexicalised as a kinship term proper (as the examples above) and as a term for other kinds of social relationships, e.g., ‘friend’, ‘companion’, ‘neighbour’, ‘colleague’ (OPers. **ham-bāga-* ‘a co-sharing one’ > MPers. *hambāy* ‘companion; co-heir’ but Afghan NPers. *ambāq* ‘co-wives’, derived from PIr. **baǰ* ‘to bestow, divide, have a share; to give, apportion’ < PIE **b^heh₂g* ‘to divide, share’, *ESIJ*a II / 52, Cheung 2007: 1–2, also Proto-Celtic **kēlyo* ‘companion’ > NIr. *fear céile* ‘husband’ and *bean chéile* ‘wife’, Ó Dónaill 1992 s.v. *céile*). The same pattern occurs in non-IE languages: e.g. Kyrghyz *bōrdoš* ‘relative’ < **bagyr+daš* ‘sharing the same liver’ (Stachowski 2019: 204–205, cf. also Ottoman Turk. *kardeş*, **I: 2.3.2** above).

There are also further basic notions (some NSM *semantic primes*, in the *prototype theory* some of them are usually called *graded categories*) on which kinship terms can be based. By themselves they have nothing to do with kinship or social life though. Notions ‘big’ vs. ‘small’, ‘a long time’ (= ‘old’) vs. ‘a short time’ (= ‘young’) can denote, for example, adults (> ‘(grand)parent’) and children (> ‘son’, ‘daughter’, ‘boy’, ‘girl’, or another younger consanguineous or affinal relative) or people of high and low social statuses respectively (e.g., NHG *Eltern* ‘parents’ and Slov. *starši* ‘id.’ both meaning simply ‘the older ones’; Lat. *puer* ‘boy’ and *puella* ‘girl’ derived from the root **peh₂u-* ‘small’, IrPers. *bačče* ‘child’ < PIE **uetsó-* ‘having one year’, see further examples in **II: 2.1.3**, **II: 2.2.1.2**, **II: 2.5.1**, and **III: 2.1.1**).

I: 3. Discussion and summary

Historical research of kinship terms and other terms of social relations in especially ancient and reconstructed languages is a challenging task as connections between realities, mind, and language are arbitrary. Moreover, most of these lexical items are part of *high-context communication* that is not even targeted at reflecting the world precisely and unambiguously (see **I: 2.1.2** and **I: 2.1.3**). Kinship terms neither determine social structures nor do they describe them explicitly but rather give indirect and unintentional clues to the entire environment in which the people under study live(d). Such words are also conservative and usually reflect not the actual state of affairs at the time the language is / was actively spoken but previous conditions. Consequently, the internal etymology of kinship terms (being a good source of information about archaic morphological patterns) should not be the main and definitely not the only source of cultural information. Moreover, many terms of relations (e.g., nursery terms) do not have any internal etymology and can only be interpreted as expressions of affection or respect (or disrespect) towards addressees and many terms denote very general ideas (e.g., ‘a little one’ or ‘born’ lexicalised as ‘child’, ‘son’, or ‘daughter’, ‘strong’ lexicalised as ‘man’, etc.).

Nevertheless, observed in a wider context, kinship terms (even nursery terms) can gain significance. Similar to DNA markers, archeological artifacts, or mythological motives they can give information about migrations and about cultural and linguistic contacts between peoples. Structural features of kinship terminologies can be especially indicative for this purpose (see in **I: 1.2**).

Typological studies discussed under figure **I: 2.2** and Milanova & Holopainen & Bradley (2020 in print) have shown that, contrary to the old stereotype, kinship terms belong predominantly to culturally determined vocabulary. There might be just a few kinship notions fairly common for all languages of the world, which anyway do not correspond to the “primary kinship terms” in modern languages of Europe. The representatives of the NSM project suggest that these notions should be ‘mother’, ‘father’, ‘woman’, ‘man’, ‘wife’, ‘husband’, ‘to be born’, and ‘child’. These insights seem to be very practical because they help to analyse kinship terms in languages outside of Europe without too much Eurocentric bias. They can also function as reoccurring patterns for coining kinship terms giving hints on their etymologies. Along with these fairly global patterns, there exist also stable areal patterns and contact phenomena that determine the content and, especially, the structure of kinship terminologies of a specific region.

It follows that not only realities can be detected through kinship terms but, in their turn, extralinguistic data are necessary to formulate more plausible hypotheses about structures, content, and etymologies of ancient and reconstructed kinship terms and terminologies. Therefore, taking into account the discussion in sections **I: 1.1.6.3** and **I: 1.2** together with the classical *Urheimat* theory that places the IE homeland in the Steppe region to the north of the Caucasus or the

alternative ‘Greater Armenian’ hypothesis that has become a little less implausible than before due to the recent ancient DNA studies (see **Introduction 0: 1**), i.e., anyway in the first macro-area comprising most of Europe, the Caucasus, and the Near East, one can assume that the PIE kinship terminology and most attested IE kinship terminologies should have features of the “descriptive” type suggested by Read (2007, 2013) and should be based on the genealogical principle. (The shape of the PIE kinship terminology cannot be the main determinant factor in the homeland question. It definitely excludes marginal hypotheses such as those placing the PIE homeland in India, but it would not contradict all three main hypotheses.)

One can thus suppose that primary kinship terms in PIE were ‘mother’, ‘father’, and ‘child’ (son, daughter). If analysed historically, terms for ‘brother’ and ‘sister’ in their modern English sense should be secondary and not always compulsory, even though they can be and usually are lexicalised as ready-made notions. (We speak here of a linguo-semantic feature, not of the social value of siblingship.) On the other hand, taking into account that one of the important functions of such a kinship terminology might be incest avoidance, it is clear why many languages do possess specific terms for children of the same parents. In any case, a terminology of this type cannot develop a great variety of sibling terms with relative age and relative gender distinction because the only relevant information in this context is the fact of being born to the same parents or in the same family (see the examples in **I: 2.3.2**, **I: 2.3.3** above and **II 2.4** below). (Here we also speak of a linguo-semantic feature as the relative age / the right of seniority might well have had a high social value in many IE societies.) Further, such a terminology tends to have different terms for parents and their siblings (to follow either the *zero-equation* pattern or the *cognatic* one as far as terms for uncles and aunts are concerned, **I: 1.1.6.2**). The same scenario should be valid for kinship terminologies of ancient daughter languages. Modern IE languages can have some deviations from these patterns caused by various factors both linguistic and cultural. In particular, modern Iranian and, especially, Indo-Aryan kinship terminologies can combine features of both genealogical and age-gender types due to their geographical localisation, which will be shown in chapter **III**.

It should be underlined once again that specific features of kinship terms and terminologies (both etymologies and structural points) are first and foremost part of the semantic structure of a specific language, and not an accurate description of the society or mentality (see **I: 1.1.3.1** and **I: 2.1.2**). They are not completely disconnected with social realities, but should be handled with caution. Contrary the erroneous preconceptions of some 19th-century social scientists (see **I: 1.1.2**) these features may by no means be interpreted as a sign of ‘advancement’ or ‘backwardness’ of the culture.

Under points **I: 1.1.5**, **I: 2.1.3**, and **I: 2.3** I argued that the semantics of kinship terms is rather fuzzy, especially in the historical perspective. For example, terms for ‘father’ and ‘mother’, ‘man’ and ‘woman’, ‘wife’ and ‘husband’ can semantically overlap with each other. The same is true for terms denoting children, siblings, cousins and unspecified relatives. There are no clear borders

between kinship notions proper and improper (age-gender ascriptions, terms of social hierarchy, etc.) either. The “primary kinship term” *mother, father, son, daughter, brother, and sister* are tentatively primary only within the area of the genealogical kinship terminologies. Nevertheless, for readers’ and author’s convenience these terms as well as certain elements of the classical *componential analysis* will be used for structuring chapters **II** and **III** and for quick translations of kinship terms (see **I: 1.1.1.3** and **I: 2.2.2** on the *formal* and *componential analysis* and **I: 1.1.6.1** on inevitability of the research bias). For a more detailed analysis of meaning and etymology of kinship terms I will apply an NSM-like approach (**I: 2.2.2**).

Extraneous meanings of kinship terms (usage of kinship term to denote animals, plants, objects, personal names, toponyms, or obscene words, cf. **I: 2.1.3**) can also give much valuable cultural information. I will mention some of such usages in the text. However, a systematic study of this kind can only be carried out on the material of specific limited corpora and present a topic for a separate research endeavour.

Chapter II. Proto-Indo-European kinship terms and an overview of kinship terms in selected Indo-European languages

II: 1. Structural principles of PIE kinship terminology and further introductory remarks

The question in which order kinship terms should be presented in this chapter is not trivial because whether consciously or subconsciously it reflects a pre-categorisation by the author. The structure will in one way or another typically reflect the way of categorisation common for an author's own native language especially if there is no explicit theoretical view along the lines discussed in Chapter I. As most work on the PIE kinship semantics has been done by scholars who speak English, German, or other major European languages, the way of categorisation and structuring has always been as it is common in these languages.⁷² The model example of the English way of categorisation is shown in Buck (1949: 79–134). However, in some cases this peculiarity of cognition can be advantageous. If the author of a thematic dictionary is a native speaker of the language under study, the analysis of his or her way of categorisation enables the researcher to gain the first impression of how kinship and familial notions are structured in that language. This way of elicitation can be especially effective if the aim of the author was not anthropological, but purely linguistic (e.g., lexicography). I have found such sources for New Iranian and Indo-Aryan languages (see Karve 1965, Hassandoust 2011: I / 487–548; Ansari et al. 2015, see in Chapter III).

As for PIE kinship terms we can only make guesses about their semantics and structure. Nevertheless, as it has been said at the end of Chapter I, taking into consideration the area where PIE was most probably spoken (the Steppe region to the north from the Caucasus, as per Anthony and Ringe 2015), we can assume that it could be fairly similar to the majority of terminologies of Europe, the Caucasus, and the Near East familiar to us. Therefore, such a kinship terminology should be based on the genealogical principle (see I: 1.1.6.3), i.e., the relationship between 'parents' and 'children' should be in the main focus, there should be no more than two stable terms for siblings without relative age and relative gender distinction, terms for parents and their siblings should be different, and the terms for affinals should not be equal to the terms for consanguineals.

Thus, at the beginning (II: 2.1–2.3) I list terms for parents and children that construct the frame of a *genealogical* kinship terminology and terms for spouses, which in many cases are the same as terms for men and women and necessary variables for affinal kinship terms. In section II: 2.1 and II: 2.2 some terms for grandparents and grandchildren are mentioned as they are often extensions or derivatives of the terms for parent and children. Section II: 2.4 provides terms for brothers and sisters and their derivatives. In the context of a *genealogical* kinship terminology, terms for non-primary consanguineals need a special section (II: 2.5) because they are not equated with the

⁷² In a similar vein, during a lecture held in Vienna in 2016 Mark Hale reminded us to be aware of the fact that reconstructed languages always somehow resemble the reconstructor's native one.

primary terms (as it may be the case in *age-gender* terminologies). The same is relevant for the affinals (**II: 2.6**) denoted by terms clearly distinct from terms for consanguineals. Section **II: 2.7** is about terms of step-relationships and terms for more marginal relations.

As I have argued in the second part of chapter **I** (particularly in **I: 2.3**), especially historically, kinship and familial terms do not have strict semantic borders. Therefore, the sections below will also mention some terms denoting age-gender categories such as ‘woman’ and ‘man’, ‘girl’ and ‘boy’, and social hierarchy terms like ‘master’ or ‘mistress’ if their semantics overlaps synchronically or diachronically with kinship terms proper. As most traditional pre-modern societies in the world are / were androcentric and patripotestal (**I: 1.1.1.1** and **I: 1.1.2.2**), terms for male relatives will precede terms for female relatives in all sections.

Another point that should be mentioned before we pass on to the empirical data is a special status of the Anatolian branch within the IE language family. This is a complex topic in itself as Anatolian differs from other IE languages (traditionally referred to as *Core Indo-European*) on many points pertaining to nominal and verbal morphology, semantics, and vocabulary (cf. Melchert 1998, Eichner 2015, Kloekhorst & Pronk 2019) including kinship terms that will be discussed below (cf. also Olsen 2019: 145–146 and 161 inc. footnote 3 on the controversial usage of the notion *Core Indo-European*). However, it is not always clear whether these conspicuous features are archaisms or innovations. The most neutral current opinion is that this branch split from the IE proto-languages prior to all the other ones, which is also confirmed by the recent aDNA research (cf., Damgaard et al. 2018a, Serangeli 2019: 2–6, Anthony 2019, Kristiansen 2019, and the discussion in **Introduction 0: 1**), but the differences between Anatolian and Core IE are still not extreme enough to postulate some pre-PIE stage (like *Indo-Hittite*, cf. Kloekhorst & Pronk 2019). Anyway, Anatolian kinship terms will often require special subsections in this chapter.

II: 2. Overview of PIE and IE kinship and familial terms

II: 2.1. Parents

II: 2.1.1. ‘father’

II: 2.1.1.1. **ph₂tér*

The main reconstructed form for ‘father’ is a hysterokinetically inflected word **ph₂tér-/ ph₂tr-’*: e.g., Ved. nom.sg. *pitā́*, dat.sg. *pitré*, OAv. nom.sg. *(p)tā*, dat.sg. *fəδrōi*, YAv. nom.sg. *p(i)tā*, dat.sg. *piθre*, Sogd. *pit(ə)r*, *p(i)tar*, *pitr*, Khot. *pāte*, Bctr. *pidō*, OPers. nom.sg. *pitā*, gen.sg. *piça* (< **pitras*), MPers./Parth. *pid(ar)*, Gr. nom.sg. *πατήρ*, gen.sg. Attic *πατρός*, Lat. nom.sg. *pater*, gen.sg. *patris*, OIr. nom.sg. *athair*, gen.sg. *athar*, Goth. voc. sg. *fadar*, Toch. A nom.sg. *pācar*, gen.sg. *pācri*, Toch. B nom.sg. *pacer*, gen.sg. *pātri*, Arm. nom.sg. *hayr*, gen.sg. *hawr* (cf. AiW 905–906, IEW 829, CPD 68, Kellens–Pirart II / 268, EIEC 194–195, Gharib 1995: lemma 565, 1359, 7808, Blažek 2001: 28–29, NIL 554–562, Hassandoust 2011: I / 499, Schmitt WAPKI 234). The fact that it is attested in eight branches spoken from the ultimate eastern to the ultimate western border of the ancient IE linguistic continuum permits one to assume that **ph₂tér-* existed already in the PIE epoch. The internal etymology of this term and its meaning in PIE presents a special problem and will be discussed under point II: 3.1 below.

Baltic and Slavic do not have regular reflexes of **ph₂tér-*, but there are several forms that some scholars interpret as derivatives of it: numerous reflexes and derivatives of the PSl. **strǣb* or **stryb* (< Pre-PSl. **strǣjǐ*) ‘father’s brother’ (see II: 2.5.3.2), PSl. **pastorǣk* ‘step-father’ or ‘step-son’ (possibly from **pō-ph₂tor-*, cf. Trubachev 1959: 53, NIL 555, see the discussion in II: 2.7.1), and a divine name ORus. *Stri-bog* (< “**ph₂triǵ-b^hagos*” ‘father-god’ similar to **dǵiēus ph₂tér-* ‘heaven god’, as per Blažek 2001: 29 with references to Vey 1958). Olsen (2019: 151–152) reconstructs the word as a compound **ph₂tr-h₂uh₂-io-* ‘pertaining to the paternal ancestor’ (cf. **h₂eu_h₂(-o-)*, II: 2.5.2.1).

All these instances share a phonological difficulty. This is the origin of the cluster *str-*. Some scholars (Vey 1931, 1953 and Vaillant 1950) see it as a modification of the cluster **pt(r)-*. Pohl (1980) likewise tries to prove the regularity of such a cluster modification based on other examples from Slavic: e.g., IE “**ōku-ptro-*“ > ORus. *jastrǣb* ‘hawk’ or PSl. **grebti* > Rus. *зречму*, Cz. *hřěsti*, OPol. *grześć*. Pohl’s arguments seem unconvincing to me because the sound change in his examples only takes place in medial position and is one of the effects of “the law of open syllables”.⁷³ Consequently, it could explain *st* in forms like PSl. **pastorǣk* ‘step-father’ or ‘step-son’ but not the word-initial *str-* in the other forms.

⁷³ similar examples from Eckert et al. (1983: 57–60): **met-teĩ* → **me-tteĩ* → *me-sti* ‘to sweep’ (1. Sg. Prs. Rus. меть), **ved-teĩ* → **ve-dteĩ* → *ve-tteĩ* → *ve-sti* ‘to lead’ (1. Sg. Prs. Rus. веду), **plekt-teĩ* → **ple-ktteĩ* → **ple-tteĩ* → *ple-sti* ‘to plait, to weave’ (Lat. *plectere*), etc.; also **seb-dm̥* → **se-bdm̥* → *se-dm̥* (Rus. семь, Germ. sieben)

Kortlandt (1982: 26) does not believe that these three Slavic words are derived from **ph₂tér-* and suggests other etymologies for them. ORus. *Stri-bogъ* might be a shortening from *“*Stəržibogъ”* ‘God beware’ the first element of the compound being the imperative of the verb **stergti* ‘guard’⁷⁴ (Derksen 2008: 467) similar to *Daždъbogъ* ‘God give’ the first element being the imperative of the verb *dati* ‘give’⁷⁵ (*ESSJa* IV / 182–183). PSl. **pastorъkъ* might be a cognate of Lith. *pāstaras* ‘the last’ and Lat. *posterus* ‘next, following’ (cf. Zubatý 1891: 315–17) or a derivative of the IE word for daughter **d^hugh₂tér-* (see in II: 2.7.1).

Another Slavic term for ‘father’ that was supposed to be a reflex of **ph₂tér-* is **bata*, **bat^la* or **batja*⁷⁶ more common in South (see below) and East Slavic languages (e.g., Rus., Ukr. col.-voc. б́а́тя,⁷⁷ б́а́тька, б́а́тько ‘father’, also батюшка ‘father (obs.); Holy Father, priest’, Belarus. ба́цька, ба́ця, Ukr. батьки (pl.) = Belarus. бацькі (pl.) ‘parents’, *ESSJa* I / 163–164, *ESUM* I / 152, *RES* II / 279–278). This hypothesis was first suggested by Lavrovsky (1867: 12 apud Trubachev 1959: 21) and was sometimes mentioned or discussed by classical Slavists (Sreznevsky, *SDRYa* I / 45–46) or Indo-Europeanists of the older generation, who did not take into consideration the laryngeal theory (*ESSJa* I / 163–164, Trubachev 1959: 21), but has not been discussed in recent decades. Even if this Slavic word had some connection to **ph₂tér-*, it cannot be its regular reflex.

The initial /b/ is probably least problematic in this context. It might be explained, for example, as a result of the contamination with the word **brat(r)ъ* ‘brother’ (< **b^hréh₂ter-*, see II: 2.4.1). In some Slavic languages this word indeed denotes (elder) brother (first of all, Bulg. б́а́тко, б́а́ре ‘elder brother, (Voc.) husband’s elder brother’ vs. ба́ща /bášta ‘father’, *BER* I / 36–37, *ESSJa* I / 163). There is even an alternative etymology that the word is a hypocoristic form of Slavic **brat(r)ъ* and the meaning ‘father’ should be an extension (Chernykh 1999: I / 79). In general, the word seems to have a very broad semantics (e.g., OSerb. *bata* ‘brother; friend, companion; father, father-in-law; brother-in-law; old man’, BCS *băća* ‘(elder) brother, father’, Macedonian б́а́ре ‘elder brother’, *RSA* I / 325 apud *ESSJa* I / 163–164), which can be explained by its predominantly vocative usage. In many Slavic languages it is / was a polite form of address to men, usually but

⁷⁴ < PIE **sterg* ‘sich sorgen um’ (*LIV*² 598)

⁷⁵ < PIE **deh₃* ‘geben’ (*LIV*² 105–106)

⁷⁶ Chernykh (1999: I / 79) reconstructs this word as an *-nt*-stem **bate*, (gen. sg. **batete-*, which is not attested) because of the Old Russian form «б́а́тѧ» attested in the Kiev chronicle (12th c.). A regular reading of *ѧ* should indeed be a nasalised /ɛ/ < **en*. However, Trubachev (1959: 21) compares this case with ORus. д́а́дѧ ‘uncle’ (see II: 2.5.1 below) and rejects such an interpretation, which can by no means be read as /dɛdɛ/ but only as /d^lad^la/. Moreover, all other Slavic words with the suffix *-ent-* were neuters and usually denoted small children or animals (ORus. телѧ/*tele* ‘calf’, робѧ/*robe* ‘child’), which could be acceptable for ORus. д́а́дѧ (possibly ‘grandfather (д́ед)’s son’) but definitely contradicts the meaning of the word *batja* denoting people older than the speaker. The origin of this diminutive or possessive suffix is by itself a question of much debate (see Matasović 2014: 31–32, Olander 2015: 87).

⁷⁷ Some sources claim that in some East Slavic dialects б́а́тя can also mean ‘elder brother; uncle; father-in-law’ (e.g., *ESSJa* *ibid.*, Chervych 1999: I / 79). The dialects and varieties of Russian I am familiar with use this word exclusively in the meaning ‘father’.

not necessarily older than the speaker (like *āqā* in Persian, see **I: 2.2.2** above and many other similar instances in chapter **III**).

The absence of any traces of the suffix **(t)er* can also be tolerated. Speakers of Proto-Slavic seem to have perceived the relics of the *r*-stems as specifically feminine kinship terms and the traces of **(t)er* have been kept in their paradigm even in the modern languages (Rus. дочь – (gen.sg.) дочери, (мать – (gen.sg.) матери)).⁷⁸ The term **brat(r)ъ* shows *r* sporadically in older Slavic languages (OCS братръ, OPol. and OCz. *bratr*, USrb. *bratr*; LSrb. *bratr* (arch.), cf. Derksen 2008: 60), but as many masculine nouns it belonged to *ǫ*-stems already in Proto-Slavic. Therefore, the loss of *r* in a Slavic masculine noun does not seem impossible.

What is problematic is the situation with the vowels. The expected Balto-Slavic form could be **ptē*, which would yield something like **p̃ti*, **p̃ti*⁷⁹ (if not simply **ti*) in Proto-Slavic⁸⁰ and could result in East and West Slavic with voicing of the first stop as **boti* or **beti* (or **botъ* or **betъ* if it was reanalysed as an *ǫ*-stem). It is only Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian *ъ* and *ь* that could yield the sound *a*.⁸¹ Curiously, the oldest evidence is indeed OSerb. *bata* with its broad semantics (see above). However, Bulgarian, where the words бѣтко and баша occur especially frequently (see above), did not usually share this sound change,⁸² but it can be explained by some contact phenomenon. As for the East Slavs, they could borrow the word through the literacy from the South Slavic languages together with many other words and linguistic features (Uspenskiy 2002: 35–408). It is also notable that the word occurred in the Oldest Russian texts only twice: «бѣта» in the Kiev chronicle (12th c.) and «батка» in birch-bark scroll № 290 (14th c.) but became frequent in all East Slavic languages in the 15th century, especially in the form батѣка / батѣко, батюшка / батюшко, (cf. *SRJa XI–XVII* I / 80, *ESSJa* I / 163, Chernykh 1999: I / 79, *RES* II / 279–278, *NKRJa* s.v. texts of the 15th c. and further).

No matter whether **bat(j)a* is or is not a reflex of **ph₂tér-*, a Balkan origin⁸³ of the word seems more than likely because the word is conspicuously well-attested in the languages influenced by the Church Slavonic culture.⁸⁴ The meaning (merging ‘father’ with ‘elder brother’) is even more

⁷⁸ The word **ętry* ‘HuBrWi’ (OCz. *jatrev* ‘id.’, etc.) < PIE **H₁énh₂ter-* ‘id.’ (see in **II: 2.6.6** below) also shows distinct traces of **(t)er*. However, it was enlarged and reanalysed as a long *ū*-stem obviously already in Proto-Slavic (Derksen 2008: 158–159 and *ESSJa* VIII / 188–190).

⁷⁹ A consonant cluster like **ptē* would not confirm to “the law of open syllables” in Proto-Slavic and can be resolved by means of an anaptyctic vowel, most probably a non-etymological *ъ* or *ь* (as an analogy to, e.g., **p̃tica* ‘bird’ which is derived from the PIE **put-* ‘a small one’ and has an etymological *ъ* < *u*, see in **II: 2.2.1.2** below). An anaptyctic *ǣ* seems much less expected for Proto-Slavic.

⁸⁰ Raising of *ē* before a final resonant (cf. Matasović 2014: 30): e.g., **mēh₂tēr* > BSl. **mātē* > PSl. *mati* (e.g., ORus. мати).

⁸¹ In Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian both *ъ* and *ь* in strong positions have developed into *a* (cf. Slov. *dan* ‘day’ vs. Rus. день ‘id.’ < **dъnъ* ‘id.’, Slov. *sánje* ‘dream’ vs. Rus. сон ‘sleep, dream’ < **sъnъ* ‘id.’, SCr. *òtac* ‘father’ vs. Cz. *otec*, see below).

⁸² Bulg. ден ‘day’, сън /son/ ‘sleep, dream’, отец ‘father’ (a less common word than баша)

⁸³ V. Polák apud Trubachev (1959: 21) suggested that the word comes from the Balkan substrate.

⁸⁴ The word is completely missing in Polish and Slovenian. Historical and etymological dictionaries (*ESSJa* I / 163, *RES* II / 279–280) give a couple of examples from Czech and Slovak, but they are marginal (e.g., Slk.

conspicuous and implies either a non-IE origin of the word or a non-IE influence on its semantics (as it is obviously the case in Bulgarian, cf. also Hung. *bátya* ‘elder brother / uncle’, Alb. *bac* ‘id.’ and the discussion in **I: 1.2.4** above).

It should be emphasised that Russian «батьа» and especially «батюшка» have a certain sacral or ecclesiastic hue. Thus, батюшка is always a sacred character like the tsar or a priest. In classical literature of the 19th century this was also a polite term of address to strangers. One could address one’s own father this way, and it would mean that he or she respects their father like a god or tsar. This word belonged to the vocabulary of highly religious people (mostly merchants or peasants). Nowadays, «батюшка» only denotes the Orthodox priest. As for «батьа», it has a curious sociolinguistic feature. It means ‘father’ but belongs exclusively to the male speech and expresses familiarity or disregard of the highest degree. Such a register pendulum is usually common for words of South Slavic origin. The irregular phonological correspondences between Russian and Bulgarian / CS evidence, *bat’a* vs. *bašta* and not **bača* vs. *bašta*⁸⁵ make genetic relatedness of these words less likely. The form borrowed into East Slavic was most probably similar to OScR. *bata*. Notably, the Serbo-Croatian word *băšta* also means ‘Holy Father, Prior in the monastery’. This is a Bulgarian / CS borrowing used along with the more everyday word *băča* ‘(elder) brother, father’ (cf. also OCS, Macedonian баштина ‘heritage; hereditary estate’, Bulg. бащина / *baština* ‘heritage; native land’ also borrowed into Serbo-Croatian with the same meaning, *ERHSJe* I / 86, *ESSJa* I / 165). It seems, therefore, that the word emerged somewhere in the Balkans and spread throughout the area of Slavia Orthodoxa together with literacy and educated South Slavic people.

Baltic languages also have a candidate to be a defective reflex of **ph₂tér-*, namely OPrus. *towis* ‘father’, Lith. *tėvas* ‘id.’ and Latv. *tēvs* ‘father, old man’. Its structure is too complex for a nursery term, and it might have some internal etymology. Szemerényi (1977:7) suggested that the form might presents a case of contamination of Proto-Baltic **tē-* (< BSl. **ptē-* < **ph₂tér-*, see above, cf. also in OAv. *ptā* > *tā*) with “**awos*” (~ **h₂euh₂os*, cf. OPrus. *awis* ‘uncle’, **II: 2.5.2.1** below). This scenario is not unrealistic, especially the connection with “**awos*”, but is not completely convincing either. Alternatively, one can suppose that the syllable *te-* at the beginning is taken from some local Baltic nursery terms like Lith. *tetis*, an attested nursery terms for ‘father’ (Munck and Dapkunaite 2018: 70, cf. also **II: 2.1.1.3**).

II: 2.1.1.2. *atta-

PIE might have had another term for ‘father’ **atta-* (> Hitt. *attaš*; OCS *отѣцъ*; Alb. *at(ë)*, Goth. *atta*, Gr. *ἄττα*, Lat. *atta*, cf. Trubachev 1959: 18–23, *EIEC* 195, Derksen 2008: 383, Kloekhorst 2008a: 225–226). In Anatolian, Albanian, and Slavic the reflexes of **atta-* (or its possible variant

bača ‘senior shepherd’) and may be likewise caused by contact with Church Slavonic culture (the Moravian mission). Anyway, even if this word exists in some dialects of these languages it seems to be not as common as in Balkan South Slavic languages and the East Slavic languages influenced by them.

⁸⁵ Unlike Rus. *sveča* ‘candle’ vs. OCS *svešta* ‘id.’

tata-*, see in **II: 2.1.1.3 below) are the only terms for ‘father’. Some branches that retained reflexes of **ph₂tér-* have also reflexes of this form.

The origin of this term and its function in PIE is a question of debate. It might have been coined as a nursery term, but its usage was definitely not always restricted to the baby talk or the informal register. It cannot be completely excluded that reflexes of **atta-* in different IE branches have different origins (different contact phenomena or independent coinages). Similar forms are very wide-spread throughout entire Eurasia among various language families (cf. Elamite *atta* / *adda* ‘father’,⁸⁶ Sum. *ad(da)* ‘father; forefather, great-grandfather’,⁸⁷ *at(t)a*-forms in numerous Turkic and some Uralic languages⁸⁸).

An example of erroneous ascription of *atta-* to the reflexes of this PIE form in a specific IE language can be found in Sen (1972, 1987). This author mentioned a Sanskrit (post-Vedic) word *attā*, which he glossed as ‘mother’ and tried to connect to the IE evidence. He expressed disagreement with Monier-Williams, who assumed that the word is of Dravidian (or Central Asian) origin. What Monier-Williams (1899: 16) wrote was that *attā* was probably a colloquialism borrowed from “Deccan”,⁸⁹ “said to occur chiefly in dramas”, and it glossed the word as ‘mother, mother’s sister, elder sister’; (in Prākṛit) ‘mother-in-law’. *PW* (I / 108) glossed it as ‘mother, elder sister, mother’s elder sister’.⁹⁰ The semantics of this word suggested by these lexicographers resembles the semantics of the Tamil word *attai* (Nanjilnattu Vellalar variation) glossed by Trautmann (1981: 34–38) as ‘father’s sister, mother’s brother’s wife, spouse’s mother’ (cf. **III: 5.2.3** on the semantics of Dravidian kinship terms). Burrow (1947: 366) gives similar examples from other Dravidian languages and points out that OInd. *attā* can only be found in lexicons, not in attested texts. Therefore, the evidence is not quite secure and the existence of this form in ancient Indo-Aryan languages is highly doubtful, and if it should have existed, it was most probably a Dravidian loanword. Further Sen (1987: 258) mentioned homophonous terms in New Indo-Aryan languages: Sindhi *ātā* ‘grandfather’, Gujarati *ātājī* ‘id.’, and Assamese *ātā* ‘term of address to a respectable old man’. However, this evidence is still not sufficient to change the situation. These words might have been brought by one of the numerous conquerors from the Near East or Central Asia in the Middle Ages (e.g., by the rulers of the Dehli Sultanate or the Great Mughals, cf. Kuczkiewicz-Fraś 2003).

⁸⁶ Hallock 1969: 671

⁸⁷ Volk 1999: 79

⁸⁸ See examples in Milanova & Holopainen & Bradley (2020 in print: 357)

⁸⁹ The word “Deccan” (< OInd. *dakṣiṇa* ‘south, right side’) is usually used in the geographical meaning and denotes the southern part of the Indian peninsula. In Monier-Williams’ terminology it is obviously used as a cover term for the languages spoken in that region. The Dravidian languages may be designated by this word. However, Monier-Williams could also mean Dakhini, a New Indo-Aryan language with a massive Perso-Arabic and Turkic admixture that emerged in the Delhi Sultanate in the 14th century and was brought to South India (Deccan) together with the Muslim conquest (Kuczkiewicz-Fraś 2003: 59–60).

⁹⁰ Cf. also OInd. (dramas) *atti(kā)* = *anti(kā)* = *artikā* ‘eSi’ (*PW* I / 108, 252, 432).

Along the same lines, one cannot fail to notice that the instances of displacing **ph₂tér-* with *atta*-forms in IE language have certain space-time correlations. The first epicentre is Ancient Southwest Asia (the Near East in the 3^d–2nd millennium BCE), where *atta*- occurs in Hittite and its non-IE neighbours Sumerian and Elamite. The second epicentre is Eastern Europe and the eastern part of Western Europe about two thousand years ago embracing the Slavic languages and Gothic. It is likely that the ancestor of Albanian acquired its *at(ë)* from the same source. In the latter case we can also suspect contact with some Turkic languages that might have brought homophonous terms for ‘father’ from their homeland somewhere in the Altai Region.

As for the Gothic evidence, there have been discussions on the distinction between the words *fadar* and *atta*. The former occurs exclusively as a part of the word *fadrein*⁹¹ ‘ancestry; parents, ancestors’ (syn. Goth. *bērusjōs* = Gr. γονεῖς, πρόγονος, see also in **II: 2.1.3** and **II: 2.4.1**) or ‘lineage, family’ (= Gr. πατριᾶς) and as a Hapax form “*abba, fadar*” (= Gr. ἄββᾱ ὁ πατήρ, Galatians 4:6). Sen (1972, 1987) assumed that *atta* was not a simple word for father but rather a term of address to venerable older men or specifically to the ‘divine father’. He also tried to argue that this should have been the meaning of PIE **atta-*. This view was justly criticised by Ebbinghaus (1974), who collected and analysed all instances of both forms and drew a convincing conclusion that *atta* was obviously a common everyday word for ‘father’, which could be used in all possible contexts (recently confirmed by Hansen 2018: 178), while *fadar* in its initial form (but not its derivative *fadrein*) seems to be a high-style or obsolete word in Wulfila’s dialect. Whether it was the case in all Gothic dialects or all East Germanic languages is a question that cannot be answered on the bases of the available material (cf. also Ebbinghaus 1974, esp. pp. 98–99).

The existence of the common PGm. word **attan-* is even more questionable. Hansen (2018, 2020 in print) is cautiously inclined to keep the word in the list of Proto-Germanic kinship terms, which might belong to the common IE heritage, but the problems associated with *atta*-forms in Germanic cannot be properly solved. First of all, outside of the Gothic Bible this evidence has a rather marginal position in the lexicon of the ancient and contemporary Germanic languages (especially in comparison to the Slavic evidence): OHG *atto* ‘forefather, ancestor, parent’s father’, MHG *atte* ‘father’, NHG (Wals dialect) *atto* ‘father’, a derivative MHG *ätte* (< PGm. **attain*) ‘parents’s father’ and a PN Goth. *Attila*, ON *Atli* (also *atti*) OHG *Etzilo* (< PGm. **attilan*) (Hansen 2018: 177–178 with numerous references to primary and secondary sources). It should be mentioned that Snædal (2015) convincingly argues that the quoted Germanic personal names may also be of Hunnic origin probably related to Chagatai *atliγ* ‘famous’ and Turkish *adlı* ‘named,

⁹¹ According to Casaretto (2004: 327–328), the word should be reconstructed as PGm. **fadrīna* adj. ‘paternal’, an adjective derived from **fader-* with a complex suffix **-i-Hno-* a thematised version of the “Hoffmann suffix” (**I: 2.3.2** above), which was nominalized in Gothic. According to Olsen (2010: 178) and Hansen (2020 in print), we are dealing here with a determinative compound with the noun **-h₃on(h₂)-* ‘charge, load’ or a complex suffix of appurtenance **-i-h₃n(h₂)-o-* (as in OCS материнъ ‘maternal’). Thus, the meaning of the word must be “belonging to / associated with the group of fathers”.

famous’ and should be reconstructed as **agtala-* ‘horseman’ derived from **agta* ‘horse’ (cf. Turkish *at* ‘id.’).

The Old Frisian evidence *aththa* was listed by *IEW* (71) and Lehmann (1986: 46) as a cognate, but obviously it is derived from the word *ēth* ‘oath’ (Hansen 2018: 178 with references to Holthausen 1925: 4 and Lendinara 1990: 298; also Boutkan and Siebinga 2005: 29-30). It might also be etymologically related to the feminine forms like Goth. *aiþei* ‘mother’, reflexes of the PGm. **aiþīn-/ōn-* f. ‘mother’ (see in 2.1.2.2 below), which was also erroneously assumed to be a derivative of PGm. **attan-*.

However, the main problem of the *atta*-forms is their irregular phonology. The only instance of a fairly regular phonological behaviour of **atta-* are Slavic reflexes of this proto-form. Trubachev (1959: 23) reconstructs the Pre-PSl. form as **āt-ik-*, i.e., *atta* with the suffix *-ik-*.⁹² In Slavic Post-PIE *ā*⁹³ became *ǫ* (Lat. *māre* ‘sea’ vs. Rus. *мопе* ‘id.’, or Gr. *ἄκρος* ‘the highest, topmost, etc.’ vs. Pol. *ostrzy* ‘sharp’). The sound /k/ was transformed into /ts/ in the course of the third palatalization of the Slavic velars (e.g., **ōvbkā* > Rus. *овца* ‘sheep’, cf. *ibid.*: 26–27).⁹⁴ The existence of **ātik-* in Proto-Slavic seems to be quite justified phonologically and confirmed by the frequency of its reflexes in all Slavic languages old and new (see cf. in Trubachev 1959: 18), which cannot be said about the Proto-Germanic form. All *atta*-forms in Germanic languages apart from OHG *Ezilo* violate Verner’s Law. The geminated stops like *-tt-* are also highly uncommon for the Gothic phonology (Marchand 1957, esp. p. 52). Hansen (2018: 178–179) sees two possible solutions for this problem. The first of them was suggested by Kroonen (2011: 111), who assumed that the original form was ***at-on-* ~ ***at-n* that later changed into **attan-* according to Kluge’s law (PGm. *-Tn-* > *-tt-*). Alternatively, the irregularities can be explained by the nature of nursery terms that can remain unchanged while ordinary lexical items are undergoing phonological changes. To be sure, none of the assumptions sounds fully satisfying.

In general, the PIE status of **atta-* cannot be considered as firm as the status of **ph₂tér-*. It seems likely that we might be dealing here with homophonous forms of different origins. Nevertheless, if the word **atta-* existed in PIE, it was most probably a vocative equivalent of **ph₂tér-*, which was the referential term for ‘father’ (cf. I: 1.1.1.3 and I: 2.2.1 above). Thus, **atta-* could be a term of (polite) address to the father or another older person. The difference in usage was obviously not very strict, **atta-* could be used as a referential term and **ph₂tér-* could be used

⁹² Trubachev (*ibid.*: 26) interpreted **-ik-* as an appurtenance suffix, but I assume that the context suggests that this should rather be a diminutive suffix expressing affection or simply an extension morpheme with empty semantics especially common for Slavic and Indo-Iranian languages (cf. Jamison 2009).

⁹³ It seems that it does not matter whether it was an original PIE **a* like in **att-ik-* or **mari-* (cf. Rasmussen 1989: 239 with references on the problem of the PIE word for ‘sea’), which occurred very rarely, or a secondary *a* (< **h₂e*) like in Gr. *ἄκρος* (< **h₂ek-ro-*). The secondary long **ā* (< **eh₂*) is reflected as *a* in Slavic: **steh₂-ro-* > OCS *старъ* ‘old’ (cf. *ibid.*: 101, Derksen 2008: 465).

⁹⁴ The Slovenian term for ‘father’ is *oče*. It may be a generalised vocative form (e.g., OCS *отъче*) in which the phoneme /ʃ/ emerged from /k/ in the course of the first Slavic palatalization of velars (Snoj 2003: s.v.)

vocatively. That is why some languages preserved only one of those terms, and the languages that retained both, reanalyzed them in a different way. Thus, Old Irish had a word *aite*, which might be a reflex of **atta-*. In contrast to *athair* (< **ph₂tér-*) ‘father’, it designated ‘foster-father, tutor, teacher’ (Charles-Edwards 1993: 80, *EIEC* 195). In Homeric Greek ἄττα is used only as a term of address to older people “with whom the speaker is on intimate terms” (Gates 1971: 32). Thus, Thelemakhos employs this address to Eumaios (Odyssey 16:31), Achilles and Menelaos to Phoinix (Iliad 9.607 and 17.561). Notably, πατήρ can also be used as a vocative term, but it is typically a term of address to a complete stranger (Gates 1971: 6). Especially telling examples are ξεῖνε πάτερ (Odyssey 7.48 and 8.145) or πάτερ ὦ ξεῖνε (Odyssey 18.122), which literally means ‘foreign/alien/guest father’ or ‘father stranger/guest’. The most adequate translation into English would probably be ‘dear guest’ with ‘dear’ as a synonym of other formal terms of address like *Mister* or *Sir*. Therefore, ἄττα seems to be a more emotional word than πατήρ, which was a more formal polite term of address like Eng. *Mister* or *Sir*.

In the languages in which both words occur *atta-*, thus, seems to belong to a lower register than the reflexes of **ph₂tér-*. This observation made some scholars speculate about different sociolects in PIE. Meillet (*EM* ix) assumed that the reconstructed PIE lexicon can be divided into “mots nobles” / “vocabulaire de l’aristocratie” and “mots roturiers”. This hypothesis was criticized already in the 1930s by Specht (1935: 249, footnote 2) and later in the 1950s by Isachenko (1952: 47) and Trubachev (1959: 11–13), who called it anachronistic. In my opinion, one should not be so hasty. Firstly, as it was discussed above, we cannot be quite sure that *atta-* forms in different IE languages originate from the same PIE word and whether the distribution of these two forms in Greek or Old Irish reflects the state of affairs in PIE. Secondly, if **atta-* existed in PIE and survived in some branches, it is more likely that we are dealing here with registers or synonymy but not with full-fledged isolated sociolects confined to specific social strata. It is conspicuous that, for example, Balto-Slavic preserved all *nobles* kinship terms in **-ter* apart from **ph₂tér-*⁹⁵ and Anatolian preserve a term for ‘daughter’ (see **II: 2.2.3** below). The state of the Albanian kinship terminology can be explained by its remarkable contact situation in recent millennia.

II: 2.1.1.3. further terms for ‘father’

The term **tata-/ *tato-* ‘father’ (Leiden reconstruction: **todo-*) > CLuw. *tāta/i-* and Lyc. *tede/i-*, Cz. *tata*, New Welsh *tad*, OInd. *tata*, Lat. (inscriptional) *tata*, Gr. τέττα (cf. Trubachev 1959: 18, *EIEC* 195, Kloekhorst 2008a: 225–226) is also wide-spread throughout the entire IE linguistic continuum. In Welsh and Anatolian, it is the main term for ‘father’. It might be a variant of **atta-* or an independent formation.

⁹⁵ The lack of reflexes of **ph₂tér-* in Balto-Slavic may also be explained by merely phonological reasons. As it was shown in **II: 2.1.1.1**, the expected Balto-Slavic form might have been **ptē*, which could yield simply **tē* in Baltic and **ti* in Slavic. If this scenario took place in reality, the word must have indeed disappeared or changed unrecognisably.

Another nursery term for ‘father’ is **papa-*. It is especially frequent in New IE languages but occurs in the ancient languages as well: Lat. *papa*, Pal. *pāpa-* ‘father’, Gr. *πάπα*. Its PIE status is not excluded but highly doubtful. In some cases like in Greek and Latin (and the Romance languages in general) this term seems to be a simple hypocorism of Gr. *πάτηρ*, Lat. *pater*, and e.g., It. *padre*. Slavic languages that have no reflexes of **ph₂tér-* and Germanic language whose reflexes of **ph₂tér-* were modified by the First Germanic Sound Shift and do not begin with /p/ (e.g., OHG *fater*, ON *faðir*) have borrowed *papa* from French in the 17th–19th cc.⁹⁶ (see also I: 2.2.1 above).

The New IE languages spoken in Asia have forms *bābā*, *bāpā*, *-o*, *-u* and the like (e.g., NPers. (col., voc.) *bābā* ‘(grand)father’, Kurd. *bab(a)*, *bav*, *baw* ‘id.’), which are considered by some authors to be variants of **papa-*, but they should rather be borrowings from the neighbouring Semitic and Turkic languages (Turk. *baba*, Arab. *ab*, cf. examples in Chapter III). Sometimes, one can even date such loanwords. Thus, according to Karve (1965: 109), the forms *bāpa*, *bāpū*, *bābū*, *bābā* and *bābo* occurring in Hindi, Urdu and other languages of Northern India and almost replacing the inherited forms *pitā* and *piu* should be derived from the term *bāppā*. The word might have its origin in Rajputana and Gujarat about the 7th or 8th century CE and apparently has connections with the Central Asian world too.⁹⁷ The Italian word *babbo*, which is also aimed at replacing the inherited word *padre*, is a curious coincidence in this case.

II: 2.1.2. ‘mother’

II: 2.1.2.1. **méh₂tēr* or **máh₂tēr*

The most wide-spread term for ‘mother’ attested in all major IE branches excluding Anatolian (see below) is **méh₂ter-/ *méh₂tr-* or **máh₂ter-/ *máh₂tr-* (AiW 1167, IEW 700–701, Kellens–Pirart II / 286, CPD 53, EIEC 385–386, Gharib 1995: lemma 920, 5244, Blažek 2001: 27–28, NIL 457–461, Hassandust 2011: I / 501, Schmitt WAPKI 213): e.g., Ved. nom.sg. *mātā́*, gen./abl.sg. *mātúr*, OAv. acc.pl. *mātarāš*, voc.pl. *mātarō*, YAv. nom.sg. *māta*, Sogd. *māt*, Khot. *māta*, Bctr. *mado*, OPers. *-mātar-* (in the compound *ha-mātā* ‘having the same mother’), MPers./Parth. *mād(ar)*, Arm. *mayr*, gen.sg. *mawr*, Old Phryg. *ματαρ*, Gr. Doric *μάτηρ*, Attic *μήτηρ*, gen.sg. *μητρός*, acc. sg.

⁹⁶ Thus, the DWDS (s.v. *papa*) says that the word was borrowed into German in the second half of the 17th century. According to the NKRJa (папа, папенька s.v.), until 1830 the word «папа» occurs in Russian texts only in one specific meaning ‘the Pope’. The first usage of this word as a kinship term speaks for itself: «Маман не вывозила меня с собою, а папа возобновлял свои знакомства после долговременного отсутствия из столицы» - “Maman did not take me with her, and papa was visiting his old acquaintances after the long absence in the capital” (F. V. Bulgarin «Письма провинциялки из столицы» 1830). In another instance one can vividly observe that the word is not properly declined but used as an indeclinable foreign proper name: «Она поклонилась и сказала: Папá (nom.sg.) здесь не было?» - “She made a bow and said: Has papá been here?” (N.V. Gogol «Записки сумасшедшего» 1835). Normally this construction requires a noun in the genitive. In an accentuated text one can also see that the stress is on the last syllable like in the French original. Later it was moved to the first syllable as it is common for similar nursery terms in Russian. Obviously, in colloquial daily speech the word began its existence a little earlier, because its diminutive form «папенька» occurs in texts since 1806.

⁹⁷ The name of one of the early chiefs of the Rajputs, some of whom originated from Central Asian tribes of Scythian origin, was Bappa Rawal (ibid. 109, 167).

μητέρα, Lat. *māter*, ON *móðer*, OIr. *máthair*, gen.sg. *mathar*, OPrus. *mothe*, *mūt(h)i*, acc.sg. *mūttin*, *muttien* (but *pomatre* ‘step-mother’), Lith. *mótė* ‘woman; wife’ (! but its derivative *motyna* means ‘mother’), OCS, ORus. *мати*, gen.sg. *матере*, Toch. A *mācar*, Toch. B *mācer*, Alb. *motër* ‘sister’ (see II: 2.4.2 for further discussion). Unlike **ph₂tér-* this form shows signs of acrostatic inflection (the internal etymology and the meaning of the term is discussed in II: 3.1).

II: 2.1.2.2. **anna-* (**h₂en-Ho-*)

There is another root frequently occurring in IE terms for ‘(grand)mother’, ‘woman’, etc. Kloekhorst (2008: 174, 285) suggests that all those forms cannot originate from the same root but there must be two different roots reflected in Anatolian *annaš* ‘mother’ and *hannaš* ‘grandmother’. The possible meaning of the first one **anna-* attested only in the Anatolian branch (PANat. **Honno-*, as per Kloekhorst *ibid.*) was ‘mother’. The second one **h₂enHo-* denoted mostly (grand)parents, older non-primary relatives, and ancestors.

- 1) ‘mama, (old/adult) woman’: Hitt. *annaš*, Pal. *ānnas*, CLuw. *ānna/i*, Lyd. *ēna-*, Lyc. *ēne/i* ‘mother’ (Kloekhorst *ibid.*: 174);
- 2) ‘grandmother, ancestor, etc.’: Hitt. *hannaš* ‘grandmother’, Lyc. *χῆῆna-* ‘id.’, OHG *ano* ‘(Ur)großvater, Ahn’, *ana* ‘(Ur)großmutter, Ahne’, Lat. *ānus* ‘old woman (married or unmarried)’, OIr. *Ana* ‘mother of gods’ (divine name), Gr. ἀννίς (Hesych) μητρὸς ἢ πατρὸς μήτηρ’, Arm. *han* ‘grandmother’, YAv. *niiāka-* ‘grandfather’ and *niiākā-* ‘grandmother’, OPers. *niyāka-* (< **h₂n-ijo-/eh₂-*) ‘grandfather’, *apaniyāka-* ‘great-great-grandfather’,⁹⁸ Sogd. (ə)nyāk ‘grandfather, grandsire’, Bctr. *niiago* ‘grandfather’, MPers. *niyāk*, *niyāg* ‘grandfather’, Parth. *niyāg* ‘id.’, OPrus. *ane* ‘female ancestor’, and Lith. *anýta* ‘husband’s mother’ (cf. AiW 1094, IEW 36, Brandenstein and Mayrhofer 1964: 135, CPD 60, EIEC 238, Gharib 1995: lemma 1205, Kloekhorst 2008a: 285, Hassandust 2011: I / 523, 525, Schmitt WAPKI 80, 103, 113, 222); German *Enkel* ‘grandson’ and Slavic **v̋nukъ* ‘id.’ can also be derivatives of this form (see II: 2.5.3.3 below).

EIEC (386) argues that this distinction is not necessary as it can be a result of analogy in Hittite. Thus, *annaš* corresponds to *attaš* ‘father’ (see II: 2.1.1.2 above) while *hannaš* corresponds to *huhḫaš* ‘grandfather’ (< **h₂euh₂-o-*, see II: 2.5.2.1 below). Therefore, all those words can reflect the same proto-form **anna-* (**h₂enHo-*) ‘older (female) relative’. In case of Hittite it is also possible that the word *annaš* like *attaš* was some local nursery word and is probably disconnected from the rest of the IE evidence.

⁹⁸ The contexts in which the word was used (e.g., *hya manā pitā Vištāspa utā Aršāma hya manā niyāka tyā ubā ajīvatam* ‘both my father Vištāspa and my grandfather Aršāma were alive’, DSf 12–13) imply that it could denote specifically ‘FaFa’, but semantics of the other Iranian attestations indicates that it denoted a grandfather on either side.

II: 2.1.2.3. Germanic **aiþīn-/ōn-*

Apart from the inherited PIE term for ‘mother’ some Germanic languages have reflexes of the PGm. form **aiþīn-/ōn-* f. ‘mother’ (Hansen 2018: 209–211, 2020 with numerous references), also borrowed into Finnish as *äiti* ‘id.’ (Sanders 2010: 205). In the Gothic Bible *aiþei* is the only term for ‘mother’. Further forms, ON *eiða* ‘mother’, MHG *eide* ‘mother’, and a derivative OHG *fuotar-eidī* ‘wet nurse’ were used along with the reflexes of the PIE term (Hansen *ibid.*).

Traditionally, it was assumed to be a derivative of PGm. **attan-* ‘father’ and, consequently, a nursery term (Kroonen 2013: 15, Köbler Goth. s.v. *aiþei*, Köbler ON s.v. *edda*, see also the discussion on PIE **atta-* in II: 2.1.1.2 above). The majority of scholars nowadays (Hansen 2018: 209–211 with references to Mezger 1959: 86, Lehmann 1986: 20 and others) find it doubtful, because the word does not sound like a nursery term; it is too difficult for children to pronounce. The word might be a derivative of PGm. **aiþa-* (< **h₁óǵi-to-*) ‘oath’, i.e., ‘verbal contract’.⁹⁹ Hansen reconstructs it as **h₁óǵiti-h₃n(h₂)-*¹⁰⁰ ‘the one who is charged with oath’ and interprets as a ‘legal wife’ (cf. Lat. *spōnsus* ‘betrothed, bridegroom’, -a f. ‘betrothed, bride’,¹⁰¹ Rus. наречённая ‘bride’, Pol. *narzeczona* ‘id.’, lit. ‘appointed’¹⁰²) later reanalysed as ‘mother’. Mezger (1959: 86) points out that OE *æwe* (f. / n.), which reflects the related form PGm. **aiwa-*, **aiwō-* (< **h₁óǵi-uo-*), can mean ‘married woman, married couple’. The word could also function as an adjective in the meaning ‘lawful, legal (wife, daughter, etc.)’ as in:

Mon mot feohtan orwige, gif he gemeteð oþerne æt his æwum wife <...> oððe æt his dehter æwum borenre oððe æt his swistær borenre oððe æt his medder ðe wære to æwum wife forgifen his fæder.

“A man may fight without a liability of wergild, if he encounters another man with his **lawful wife** <...> or with his **lawful born daughter**, or with his born sister or with his mother who was **lawful wife** given to his father (LawAf 1, 109: 42.7, translated in Preston (2012: 130).

Therefore, the meaning of the related words creates an impression that **aiþīn-/ōn-* was a ‘respectable matron’.

II: 2.1.2.4. further forms for ‘mother’

Further forms for ‘mother’ in the IE languages are not very varied and unlike the Germanic word discussed in the previous section clearly involve nursery terms. The most frequent form is **mam(m)a*. In many cases *mam(m)a*-forms might have emerged independently as hypocorisms of the descendants of **méh₂ter-*. However, the opposite can also be true and the word **méh₂ter-*, which may well be reconstructed as **máh₂ter-*, can be based on a nursery term **ma-* (see II: 3.1.3 below). Even though *mam(m)a*-forms seem to be more frequently attested in modern IE languages

⁹⁹ The word may have an etymological connection to Gr. οἶτος ‘fate’ and OIr. *oeth* ‘act of swearing’ (Mezger 1959: 85).

¹⁰⁰ With a “Hoffmann suffix” (in the phonological form reconstructed by Olsen 2006: 127) or **h₁óǵiti-h₁n-* ‘the one with oath’ (see I: 2.3.2).

¹⁰¹ Part. Perf. of *spondēo* ‘to promise sacredly, to warrant, vow’ (Lewis and Short 1891: 1745)

¹⁰² Part. Perf. of Rus. (obs.) наречь ‘name, appoint’ (Slav. **rekti* ‘speak’, cf. Derksen 2008: 433)

this is rather a question of the survival of text genres; minor occurrences in ancient languages show us that they already existed in Antiquity (Gr. μάμμα / μάμμη ‘mother; ‘mother’s breast’; (later) grandmother’, also μαμμία ‘id.’, (adj.) μαμμικός ‘of a (grand)mother’, *LSJ* 1078, *GE* 1277–1278). Ancient IE languages show a preference for the form **amma* (Gr. ἀμμά(ς), ἀμμία ‘mother, foster-mother, nurse’, ON *amma* ‘grandmother’, OHG *amma* ‘mother, nurse’ > NHG *amme* ‘wet-nurse’, *LSJ* 83-84, *GE* 110, Buck 1949: 94). However, both forms have obviously existed since ancient times. For example, in Albanian both forms co-occur *amë*, *mëmë*, *nënë* (Orel 1998: 4, 260, 291), similarly as in New Indo-Aryan language *mā(ī)*, *ammā* (Karve 1965: 109).

The form **akka* mentioned in *IEW* (23) and *EIEC* (386), in my opinion, cannot be included in the list of common IE kinship terms. The only attestation with the meaning ‘mother’ OInd. *akkā* is most probably a word of Dravidian origin (cf. Tamil *akkā* ‘elder sister’, Trautmann 1981: 34, 151). Lat. *Acca* is almost exclusively used as a part of the PN of a mythological character *Acca Laurentia*.¹⁰³ The Gr. evidence ἀκκώ is interpreted as a ‘bugaboo for children’ (*GE* 68).

II: 2.1.3. ‘parent(s)’

As it was argued in I: 2.2.2, a gender irrelevant concept ‘parent’ (sg.) has a higher degree of abstractness than ‘mother’ and ‘father’ and cannot be a *lexical universal* (in the view of the NSM approach) or a *basic level category* (according to the *prototype theory*). Such a term is optional and may well be missing in some languages. The images and functions of ‘mother’ and ‘father’, both biological and social, especially in a traditional society, differ from each other so dramatically that coining one cover term for both of them is not the most immediate task of a language. Even Semitic and some other Afro-Asiatic languages that have a tendency to derive feminine and masculine kinship terms from the same root (Akk. *aḥum* ‘brother’ and *aḥatum* ‘sister’, *mārum* ‘son’ and *mārtum* ‘daughter’, Egypt. *s3* ‘son’ and *s3t* ‘daughter’, *sn* ‘brother’ and *snt* ‘sister’, see the discussion in II: 3.2 below) do have suppletive forms for ‘mother’ and ‘father’: e.g., Akk. *ummum* and *abum* (*AL* s.v.), Egypt. *mwt* and *it* (Willems 1983: 153).

More often one confronts plural or dual forms denoting ‘parents’ or compounds literally meaning ‘father and mother’ (see the examples in Buck 1949: 104). In Germanic languages it is common to refer to parents as ‘older relatives’, e.g., NHG *Eltern*, Dan. *forældre*, similarly Latv. *vecāki* and Slov. *starši*.¹⁰⁴ Notably, German *Elternteil* ‘parent’ is a fairly artificial word, anyway secondary to its stylistically neutral plural form. The simplest pattern is to use terms for ‘mother’ and ‘father’ for this purpose. It may be coordinating (*dvandva*) compounds like OInd. *mātārāpitārā* (RV IV 6:7), Bret. *tad-ha-mam*, Sogd. *māt-pitri*, NPers. *pedar-o-mādar* or elliptic *dvandva*

¹⁰³ Thus, in the corpus *PHI Latin texts* (s.v.), the word occurs twelve times, only as a PN.

¹⁰⁴ The Latvian example is a nominalised form derived from *vecs* ‘old’ (< PIE **uet-s-ó-* ‘having (many) years’ from **uēt-os* ‘year’, cf. Lith. *vėtušas* ‘old’ and OCS *ветѣхъ* ‘id.’, Smoczyński *SEJL* 745, see also IrPers. *bačče* ‘child’, III: 2.1.1 below). The Slovenian one is the comparative grade of the adjective **starb-* ‘old’ < PIE **steh₂-ro-* (Derksen 2008: 465, 517). Both forms might be calques of German *Eltern*.

compounds, like OInd. *mātārā(u)* (RV X 120:7), and *pitārā(u)* (RV I 20:4), Lith. *tėvai* (‘fathers’), Goth. *bērusjōs* (‘mothers’, see II: 2.4.1 below), *attan*, and *fadrein* (also ‘ancestry; ancestors’, originally adj. ‘paternal’, see II: 2.1.1.2 above). As it is obvious from some examples above, the term ‘fathers’ (more rarely ‘mothers’) can often refer not only to the parental couple but to all older relatives and even all ancestors. It seems to be the case of Gr. *πατέρες*, an abstract term for ‘ancestors’,¹⁰⁵ in contrast to *τοκῆες* (sg. *τοκεύς* Homer+)¹⁰⁶ and *γονῆες* (sg. *γονεύς* post-Homeric)¹⁰⁷ usually denoting more immediate older relatives, parents or grandparents (Gates 1971: 9–10). The form *γενέτης* ‘father’ and ‘son’ are not directly derived from *γενετή* (< **ġenh₁-etah₂* ‘birth’) – as is the standard explanation – but according to Fraenkel (1910: 48; 1912: 31, 134) remade simplexes based on compounds in -τής in the meaning both passively ‘born’ and actively ‘beget’ (which are themselves based on root nouns).

Nevertheless, PIE, at least at its later stages, might have had terms for ‘birth-giver’ and ‘begetter’ both derived from the root **ġenh₁* ‘to give birth, beget’ (LIV² 163–165, NIL 139–153, see also I: 2.3.2 for other derivatives of this root). Such forms are attested in three key IE languages: OInd. *jānitar-*, Lat. *gēnitor*, Gr. *γενέτωρ* (also *γεννήτωρ* < **ġenh₁-tor-*, and *γενετήρ* < **ġenh₁-tér-*) and OInd. *jānitrī-*, Lat. *gēnētrix* / *gēnītrix*, Gr. *γενέτειρα* (< **ġenh₁-trih₂-*). All these words are typical nomina agentis and being a sort of kinship terms must have originally had an amphikinetic or acrostatic accent (like OInd. *bhārtar* ‘husband’, see the discussion in II: 3.1 below), which was retained in some cases. However, even in Vedic texts the hysterokinetic form *janitā́* is more frequent. The inherited acrostatic (amphikinetic) form only occurs in the nom.sg. (RV III 1:12, XX 2:6, XX 20:9, XX 28:6) and always in combinations with the verb *jajā́na* (3sg., pf. of *jan* < **ġenh₁*), *jānītā... jajā́na* ‘the begetter begot’. Tichy (1995: 288) assumes that this accent change was caused, first of all, by the analogy with *pitār-*.

The semantic difference between **ġenh₁-tor-* and **ph₂-tér-* has been a question of debate. Especially many questions have been caused by passages where they co-occurred:

pitā́ devānām janitā́

‘father and begetter of gods’

(RV IX 86:10 translated by Jamison & Brereton 2014: 1321)

dyaúr me pitā́ janitā́ nábhīr átra

bāndhur me mātā́ prthivī mahīyām

‘My father, my progenitor, is Heaven; here is my navel.

My mother, this great earth, is my relation’

(RV I 164:33 translated by Jamison & Brereton 2014: 358).

¹⁰⁵ ἐξ ἔτι *πατρῶν* ‘from the time of (our) parents’ (Odyssey 8.245), *πατέρων γένος* ‘the lineage of ancestors’ (Odyssey 24.508, Iliad 6.209).

¹⁰⁶ < **tokeus* derived from *τίκτω* ‘beget, give birth’ < **teḱ* (Chantraine 1999: s.v., LIV² 618) and parallel to *τόκος* ‘birth; offspring’ and *τέκος* ‘offspring, child’

¹⁰⁷ < **ġonh₁eu* derived from **ġenh₁* (see in the main body of the text) and parallel to *γόνος* ‘offspring, etc.’ and *γένος* ‘id.’ Both *τοκεύς* and *γονεύς* are *o*-grades of *eu*-stems, synchronically denominals.

Φοῖβός μοι **γενέτωρ πατήρ**, τον βόσκοντα γάρ εὐλογώ,
 τὸδ ὠφέλιμον εμοί πατέρος ὄνομα λέγω Φοῖβου του κατὰ ναόν.
 “Phoebus (Apollo) is a **(biological) father** to me; I praise the one who feeds me;
 the name of father, beneficial to me, I give to Phoebus who rules this temple”
 (Euripidis, Ion 136–139, translated by Robert Potter).

<...> *O Romule, Romule die,*
Qualem te patriae custodem di genuerunt!
*O **pater**, o **genitor**, o sanguen dis oriundum!*
 O Romulus, godly Romulus, what a guardian of your country did the gods beget you!
 O **father** and **begetter**, O blood sprung from the god! (Ennius, Annales 1.106–108)

Some scholars (e.g., Gates 1971: 6 with references) even tried to argue that **gēnh₁tor-* denoted a biological father whereas **ph₂tér-* designated a ‘social father’, ‘the head of the household’. This distinction (Lat. *pater* vs. *genitor*) has even found its way into anthropological discourse (see **I: 1.1.5**). However, a closer look at these words in other contexts (e.g., corpus *PHI Latin texts* s.v.) permits us to state that they were simply synonyms and were often used in order to avoid tautology:

saepe pater dixit: “generum mihi, filia, debes,”
saepe pater dixit: “debes mihi, nata, nepotes”
 <...>
*“da mihi perpetua, **genitor** carissime,” dixit*
*“virginitate frui! dedit hoc **pater** ante Dianae.”*
 The father often said: “Daughter, you owe me a son-in-law”
 The father often said: “Daughter, you owe me a grand-son”
 <...>
 “O, **father**, dearest,” she said, “grant me to enjoy perpetual virginity.
 It was granted to Diana by (her) **father**” (Ovidius, Metamorphoses 1. 481–482, 486–487)

This text shows that the relationship between *genitor* and *pater* is similar to the relationship between *nata* (< **gēnh₁-teh₂-*, cf. also in **I: 2.3.2** above) and *filia*. They are simply synonymous to each other and are used to avoid tautology. The usage of these two words immediately after one another (pleonasm) as in the previous four examples was not very frequent (the example about Romulus is the only Latin example I could find in the *PHI Latin texts* s.v.). In some cases, like in the Greek text, it can have an explanatory function (according to the plot, Apollo was indeed Ion’s biological father), but in the Vedic and Latin examples this pleonasm obviously has a purely emphatic function (like in coordinating compounds / twin forms, e.g. *safe and sound*). Notably, all these four passages are highly emotional. Thus, Olsen (2018b: 258 with references to Schmitt 1967: 152–154) points out that phrases **ph₂tér gēnh₁tōr* or **gēnh₁tōr ph₂tér* might belong to IE poetic language.¹⁰⁸ What is true is that **ph₂tér-* was indeed a more multifunctional word with semantics embracing the entire complex of ideas associated with ‘father’ (‘begetter + mother’s husband + householder + an older male relative + the one who takes care of the family’, a radial category, cf. **I: 2.2.2** above) and for this reason more common both in ancient and modern IE

¹⁰⁸ Olsen (2018b) assumes that OAv. *zqθā ptā ašahiiā* (Y. 44) may be translated as ‘father and begetter of Truth’.

languages, while **ĝénh₁tor-* was more specified, i.e., focused in the idea of procreation, at least, as the etymology indicates.

Along the same lines, a word for ‘parent(s)’ occurring in Slavic languages (Rus. «родитель» ‘male parent, begetter’, «родительница» ‘female parent, birth-giver’ usually used in plural «родители», similarly Slov. *roditelj*, *roditeljica*, and *roditelji*¹⁰⁹) derived from the Slavic root **rodъ* (see I: 2.3.2) with an agentive suffix *-telⁱ* (cf. Rus. учи-тель ‘teacher’, probably a variant of PIE **-ter*, cf. Matasović 2014: 28–30). The existence of such words does not mean that established terms for ‘father’ and ‘mother’ (e.g., Rus. «отец» and «мать») cannot denote biological parents. Like in the examples above, pleonastic usage of «отец-родитель» has mostly an emphatic function:

Но сочетание традиционного главенства и нравственного авторитета вовсе не обязательно. Иногда таким авторитетом был наделен или дед, или один из сыновей, или большуха, тогда как формальное главенство всегда принадлежало мужчине, мужу, **отцу, родителю**. But a combination of the traditional leadership and moral authority was by no means necessary. Sometimes, such authority was given to the grandfather, one of the sons, or the mistress of the house, while the formal leadership always belonged to the man, the husband, **the father, the begetter** (NKRJa, a journal article 2002, s.v.).

The dictionary *SRJa XI–XVII* (XXII / 184–185) mentions other curious facts about semantics of this word in Russian. Similarly to some aforementioned examples, «родители» could have a meaning ‘(dead) ancestors’, which is retained until now in the term «родительский день» ‘the day of memory of the deceased (when people visit graves of their dead relatives)’. The even more curious fact is that in Old Russian the word could also mean simply ‘relative’. This seems to be a similar semantic change that happened to the famous translator’s false friend *parent-* ‘relative, kinsman’ in Late Latin and Romance languages. The original meaning of Lat. *pārens*, the *nt*-participle of the verb *pārīo* ‘to bear, produce, give birth’ (< **pérh₃-i-*, de Vaan 2008: 445–446, possibly originating from **perh₃* ‘verschaffen’, LIV² 474), was ‘parent’ or ‘grandparent’. Notably, its derivative *pārento* means ‘perform the rites at the tombs of the dead’ (Varro +) and *pārentātīo* is fairly similar as Rus. «родительский день» mentioned above. In Late Latin (not before Augustus) the word started to acquire a wider meaning that resulted in the modern meaning of this word and its derivatives in the Romance languages: Fr. *parent* ‘relative; (pl.) parents (along with *père et mère*)’, *noms de parenté* ‘kinship terms’, It., Port. *parente* ‘relative, kinsman; Sp. *pariente* ‘id.’ (col. also ‘spouse’).¹¹⁰

All in all, it seems that words denoting parents show some similar tendencies for semantic extensions as words denoting offspring (see the table in I: 2.3.2). Historically or sometimes even synchronically they inclined to become terms for ancestors and even all relatives.

¹⁰⁹ which seems to be less common than the German calque *starši* (corpus *Nova Beseda*, s.v.)

¹¹⁰ Romanian *părinte* ‘father; priest; (pl.) parents’ seems to have preserved only the original Latin meaning of the word (Iliescu & Roman 1971: 282).

II: 2.2. Children

As it was discussed in **I: 2.2** and **I: 2.3**, the concept ‘child’ is supposed to be as universal as ‘father’ and ‘mother’, which cannot be said about the concepts ‘boy’, ‘girl’, ‘son’, and ‘daughter’. Thus, the way these concepts were categorised in PIE can but need not be the same as it is in English or German. At the beginning of my research I thought that concepts like ‘boy’ and ‘girl’ must be more primary than ‘son’ and ‘daughter’ and the former must be the origin of the latter (cf. Milanova 2019/2020: 283–289). To a certain extent, it seems to be true. Empirically, the semantic change ‘boy’ → ‘son’, ‘girl’ → ‘daughter’ is more common than the opposite development (Buck 1949: 87). Anyway, there are instances like in NPers. *pesar* ‘son / boy’ (< PIE **putlo-*, see below) and *doxtar* ‘daughter / girl’ (< PIE **d^hugh₂tér-*, see below) functioning as both a kinship term and an age-grade, but I do not know any examples of a word for ‘son’ or ‘daughter’ reanalysed irreversibly as ‘boy’ or ‘girl’ without traces of the previous kinship meaning. It seems that an established kinship meaning can get lost only together with the word. However, as I argued in **I: 2.3.2**, ‘boy’ and ‘girl’ are as complicated, varied, and culturally determined categories as ‘son’ and ‘daughter’, or even more so. All four terms often originate from words with the meaning ‘offspring’ or ‘child’.

On the one hand, the existence of specific terms for children with an inherent relational meaning (‘child of’ > ‘son of’ or ‘daughter of’) seems to be programed in the kinship terminology of the *genealogical* type aimed at tracing who and from whom someone was born (see **I: 1.1.6.3**).¹¹¹ It does not only pertain to IE but should be fairly common for the languages of the Near East as well (at least, as claimed by Bartash 2018: 6). On the other hand, the fact that IE languages such as Modern Indo-Iranian can do well without them (Milanova 2019/2020 and chapter **III** of the thesis) can imply that the distinction ‘girl vs. daughter’ and ‘boy vs. son’ need not be a salient feature of IE languages. It is also not quite clear whether it was typical for PIE and what was the original meaning of the PIE terms we traditionally gloss as ‘son’ and ‘daughter’.

II: 2.2.1. ‘son (/ boy / child)’

It is assumed that a common PIE term for ‘son’ cannot be reconstructed. IE languages have coined a number of various forms denoting boys, young men, and sons (see, e.g., Buck 1949: 87–90, 105–106). Among them, there are two forms that may be dated as PIE. However, their transparent etymologies (see below) give us the right to assume that we are dealing here with

¹¹¹ The evidence from the Uralic languages can be an argument in favour of this hypothesis. Languages of the Finnic branch possessing a well-formed genealogical kinship terminology, can have specific terms for children with an inherent relational meaning (Fin. *tytär* ‘daughter’ vs. *tyttö(nen)* ‘girl’, which is a derivative of the former, but *poika* ‘boy/son’, Estonian *tütar* ‘daughter’ vs. *tüdruk* ‘daughter’, *poeg* ‘son’ vs. *poiss* ‘boy’). However, Uralic languages with age-gender terminologies are more consistent in combining the meaning in one word: Hung. *lány* ‘girl/daughter’ and *fiú* ‘boy/son’, etc. (Vincze 1978: 104, Milanova & Holopainen & Bradley & Czéntnár 2019a, Sampsa Holopainen and Jeremy Bradley p.c.).

ancient terms for ‘child’, which were lexicalised as ‘son’ at some point. That is why I prefer glossing them as ‘son / boy / child’ inclusively.

II: 2.2.1.1. **suH-nus* / *suH-ius*

The most widespread term attested in eight IE branches is based on the root **suH-* enlarged with the suffix *-*nu-* (Ved. *sūnú-*, Av. *hunu-*, Goth. *sunus*,¹¹² OCS *synъ*, OPrus *souns*, Arm. *owstr*¹¹³) or *-*iu-* (Gr. *viús*, Toch. A gen.sg. *seyo*, Toch. B *soy*) (IEW 913–914, EIEC 533, NIL 686–690). The root **suH-* is a zero-grade of **seuH* ‘to give birth (< to be pregnant)’ (LIV² 538). The verb is only attested in Indo-Iranian and probably in Anatolian if Hitt. *sunnai-* ‘füllen’¹¹⁴ (< **seuh₃* ‘to fill’) is a cognate.

Traditionally, **suH-nu-/suH-iu-* are assumed to be based on *n-* and *i-*present stems, equivalent to passive verbal adjectives and should mean ‘the born one’ (Brugmann 1906: 224, 290). Pinault (2017a: 91–92) finds this etymology too trivial and suggests interpreting it as an abstract ‘birth’ concretized as ‘offspring’. According to him, the *iu-*form should be based on an abstract noun “**suh₃-i-*“ enlarged with a secondary suffix *-*eu-/ou-* as in **ph₂tro_u-/ph₂tru-* (see in II: 2.5.3.1). The *nu-*form might have originated from “**suh₃-n_u-* > **suh₃-n-*“, the weak stem of “**súh₃-men-* ‘carrying, begetting’” remade as a *u-*stem analogically to the *iu-*form. Pinault’s morphological analysis looks very complicated but semantically both traditional view and his interpretation sound plausible.

It should be mentioned that Indo-Iranian languages have a few other nominal derivatives of **seuH* with a related meaning: Ved. *sūtu-* (AV+) ‘pregnancy’ (PW VII / 1162), which has a cognate in Old Irish *suth* ‘fruit, produce; offspring, issue, progeny’ (eDIL s.v.), OInd. *sūna-* ‘born’, *sūnā* f. ‘daughter’, also *suta-* m. ‘son; prince’, *sutā* ‘daughter’ (PW VII / 1051, 1167), and YAv. *haota-*¹¹⁵ n. ‘brood; offspring’ (of Daevic creatures in contrast to *ciθra-* ‘(noble) offspring’, cf. AiW 587, 1732). Other essential forms are Welsh *hogen* ‘girl’ (< **suH-keh₂-*) and its derivative *hogyn* ‘boy’ (GPC s.v.) and Toch. B *säsuwa*¹¹⁶ (nom.pl.) ‘sons’ (cf. NIL 617–618). Further, Majer (IG Ljubljana §1 with references to EWAia II / 714 and Sergio Neri, p.c.) assumes that Alb. *gjysh* ‘grandfather’ should be reconstructed as Post-PIE **suHsijos* or **suHsēn* and must be a derivative of this root similar to Ved. *sūṣā* ‘birth-giver’.

¹¹² < PGm. **su-nu-* with loss of laryngeal (for which see Müller 2007: 142).

¹¹³ probably, a product of contamination with *dowstr* ‘daughter’ (Olsen 1999: 148–149).

¹¹⁴ < **su-né-h₃-* (as per Melchert 1987: 23–25), **su-nó-h_{1/3}-* (as per Kloekhorst 2008a: 785), cf. also LIV² (539).

¹¹⁵ < **séuH-to/eh₂-*, probably a secondary full-grade like in **génh₁-to-* n. ‘born one’ (NHG *Kind* ‘child’) (Vine 2004: 360–362, NIL 617–618, Höfler 2018: 3 with references, see also I: 2.3.2 above)

¹¹⁶ < **susuH-uos-* m., it must be a reduplicated perfect participle active (Winter 1985, Rau 2017)

II: 2.2.1.2. *putlós

Another term for ‘son’ that may have a PIE status is *putló-: Ved. (nom.sg.) *putráh*, (dat.sg.) *putráya* ‘son’, OAv. (acc.sg.) *puθrəm* ‘son; child’, YAv. (nom.sg.) *puθras(-cā)*, (dat.sg.) *puθrāi* ‘id.’, Sogd. *pišē, pašē, piθrē* (< **puθraka*) ‘son’, Khot. *pūra* ‘id.’, Bctr. *poro, pouro* ‘id.’, OPers. (nom.sg.) *puça*, (nom.pl.) *puçā* ‘son’, MPers. *pus(ar)* ‘id.’, Parth. *puhr* ‘son’, Lat. *putus* ‘boy’, more common in a diminutive form *pūtillus* ‘boy’ and *pūtilla* ‘girl’, Osc. *puklum* ‘boy, son’,¹¹⁷ Faliscan *putellio* ‘infant’¹¹⁸ (AiW 909–911, EIEC 533, Szemerényi 1977: 18, Kellens–Pirart II / 268, Gharib 1995: lemma 2798, 7529, 8330, de Vaan 2008: 502–503, Bakkum 2009: 194, Hassandust 2011: I / 504, Schmitt WAPKI 235). The Hittite word *pulla-* (see II: 2.2.3) might also be a cognate.

The communis opinio is that the word is based on the root **paṭ-* ‘small’ (or **peh₂u-* as per de Vaan 2008: 448, 450)¹¹⁹ enlarged with *-t-*, which obviously had an individualizing function, and a diminutive suffix *-lo*. Other derivatives of **put-* show that the meaning of the word should be ‘a small one’: Lat. *pullus* (< **put-slo-*) ‘foal, chick, young of an animal’ (Plautus +),¹²⁰ Latv. *putns* ‘bird’, OCS *pŭtica* ‘bird’, Rus (dial.) *pótka* ‘bird’, Cz. *pták* ‘bird’ (< BSl. * *put-* ‘bird’) (ibid., Derksen 2008: 424–425). In its origin, the suffix **-lo-* must have been a suffix of appurtenance¹²¹ but could also function as a diminutive suffix: e.g., Lat. *rēgulus* ‘a petty king; king’s son’ (dim. from *rex* ‘king’) or *servula* ‘girl-servant’ (dim. of *serva* ‘servant, slave’), Goth. *barnilō* ‘little child’, *Wulfila* (lit. ‘little wolf’), Slov. *děkla* ‘girl’ (either from *dě-ka*, a hypocoristic form of **děte* ‘child’, or **dětko* ‘id.’, see II: 2.5.1 below and II: 2.3.1 above) cf. Shields (2000: 139), Snoj (2003: s.v. *děkla*) and Pinault (2017b and p.c.).

Forms without *t*-enlargement can have fairly the same meaning: Gr. *παῖς, παῖδος*, and (Lesbian, Beotian) *πάις* (< Proto-Gr. **paṭ-i-δ-*, with the Greek suffix of appurtenance *-id*, which could also function as a diminutive suffix, and thus ‘one of the small ones’ or ‘a small one’ with a diminutive suffix), Lat. **pŭer* ‘boy’ (< **ph₂u-ero-*) and its derivative *pŭella* ‘girl’ (< **puere-la*)¹²² (cf. Meier 1975: 58, de Vaan 2008: 496, Beekes 2010: 1142–1143).

¹¹⁷ Buck (1904: 323) glosses the Oscan word “puerum, filium” (acc.sg.)

¹¹⁸ De Vaan (2008: 502) glosses the word as ‘son’, but Bakkum (2009: 194) claims that it should be interpreted as ‘infant’. Moreover, Faliscan has another better attested word for ‘son’ *fileo* or *hileo* (cf. Lat. *filius*). Bakkum (ibid.) also points out that the phonology of *putellio* is irregular, because PIE **-tlo* should yield Faliscan *-klo* as it does in Oscan. For this reason this author assumes that the word should most probably be an innovation and not a regular reflex of PIE **putlo-*.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Lat. *paucus* (< **peh₂u-ko-*) ‘few, small in number’, *parvus* (< **peh₂u-ro-*) ‘small’ (cf. Gr. *παῖρος* ‘little’), Goth. *fawai* [nom.pl.] ‘few’ (< **ph₂(e)u-o-*), (ibid.)

¹²⁰ Nyman (1977, 1979) and Nielsen (1998: 67) apud Olsen (2010: 80 footnote 113) assume that this form could also be a reflex of **putló-*.

¹²¹ e.g., pronominal genitive in *-ēl*, from **-é-lo-* in Hittite: *ammēl* ‘of me, my’ < *ūk* ‘I’ or Lat. *humilis* ‘low, little, etc.’, lit., ‘on/of the earth’ derived from *humus* ‘earth’ (Pinault 2017b: 655 with references to Rieken 2008), cf. also examples in II: 2.2.3 below.

¹²² Parallel to a diminutive masculine form *puellus* ‘young boy’ (Pl.+.) (de Vaan 2008: 496).

Therefore, both PIE terms for ‘son’ are simply terms for ‘children’, ‘young animals’, or other ‘small creatures’. The form **suH-nu-/suH-ju-* was surely lexicalised as ‘son’ in Germanic, Balto-Slavic, Greek, Tocharian, and Armenian. This word is attested in the oldest Indo-Iranian texts as well but along with reflexes of **putló-*. Karve (1965: 93) noticed that *sūnús* occurred fairly often in Vedic but was gradually backing away in later Sanskrit literature. On the contrary, the word *putrá-* did not prevail much in Vedic but was getting more and more frequent in later texts. Iranian valued the reflex of **suH-nu-* even less. In Old Avestan it occurs only once already in a specific pejorative meaning: *drūjō hunuš* ‘son of the Deceiver’ (Y. 51.10). YAv. *hunu-* (e.g., Yašt 5.57, 10.113, 19.41) becomes part of the *daevic* vocabulary denoting offspring of evil people and beings and should be translated as something like ‘spawn’ rather than ‘son’ (cf. de Vaan 1997: 130, Schmitt 2009: 30). In Middle Persian it was also used in a pejorative meaning *hunušak* ‘offspring (daevic)’ and *hunušakēnīdan* ‘to bear daevic offspring’ (cf. CPD 45, Blažek 2010: 105). Edelman & Molchanova (2019: 118) doubt that *hunu-* has ever been a full synonym of *puθra-* in Iranian. The root **suH-* can be found in Celtic but not in the form of **suH-nu-/suH-ju-*. It might have existed in Anatolian but was used in a completely different meaning (see above). In Italic it is not attested at all. Thus, the word **suH-nu-/suH-ju-* with a narrow meaning ‘son’ belongs predominantly to the central area of IE (historically including the Indo-Iranian and Tocharian branches).

As for **putlo-*, the evidence above shows that the root **peh₂u-* (**pay₂-*) ‘small’ and its derivative **put-* ‘a small living being’ might well be PIE words, but **putlo-* in the meaning ‘(human) child, boy, son’ is common only for Indo-Iranian and Oscan. Other Italic attestations have a similar morphology (which is not surprising as *lo*-diminutives were productive in this language), but they have no established kinship meaning. Other cognates also deviate from the Indo-Iranian forms either semantically or morphologically. The existence and derivational history of Hitt. *pulla-* is a question of debate. All of them can thus be independent formations based on either **peh₂u-* (**pay₂-*) or **put-*. The form **putlo-* might have existed in PIE as well, but the question is whether it was lexicalised as ‘son’ or could denote any small living being or thing. The original meaning of Ved. *putrá-*, OPers. *puça-*, and Av. *puθra-* (and even ClNPers. *pusar* and *pūr*, cf. III: 2.1.1) was obviously not restricted to ‘son’ but was all-inclusive like Gr. παῖς.¹²³ Osc. *puklum* had both a kinship and non-kinship meaning.

The word **suH-nu-/suH-ju-* thus seems to be the only common IE term for ‘son’ which can be securely reconstructed for PIE. Obviously, its original meaning was simply ‘offspring, child’, but it was reanalysed as a relational term ‘son (of)’ already in late core PIE (excluding Hittite, see in II: 2.2.3 below). The term **putlo-* in the meaning ‘son’ might be an Indo-Iranian innovation, which was in the process of replacing the older reflexes of **suH-nu-* inherited from PIE already in the most ancient texts. (The Oscan evidence might have developed a kinship meaning independently

¹²³ For example, in Vidēvdāt (18: 38) discussed in II: 3.1.1 below the word *puθra-* means ‘foetus’.

because other Italic cognates do not have it). It might well be that the branches of core IE that show no traces of **suH-nu-/suH-ju-* possessed it at some point of their pre-literate history too but replaced it by various innovations like it was the case in Indo-Iranian. Latin coined the term ‘son’ on the basis of the root **d^heh₁(i)* ‘suck, suckle’ (LIV² 138): Lat. *filius* m. -a f. (< **d^h(e)h₁i-l-* ‘suckling, child’, similar to Latv. *dēls* ‘son’, de Vaan 2008: 219–220). Some Anatolian languages also chose this root to coin their terms for ‘son’: Lyc. *tideime/i-* ‘son, child’ (Melchert 2004: 66) and, possibly, CLuw. *titaimmi-* ‘suckling (?)’¹²⁴ (< **d^hi-d^heh₁-*, LIV² 138 with references to Oettinger 1979: 347 inc. footnote 178 and Melchert 1994: 19), cf. also OCS *děte* ‘id.’ and **dēva* (II: 2.5.1 below and I: 2.3.1 above). The Celtic forms OIr. *macc*, OW *map*, OBret. *mab*, *map*, OCor. *mab* all meaning ‘boy, son’ (< PCelt. **mak^wo-*) have a vague etymology. Matasović (2009: 253–254) finds the derivation from the root **meh₂k-* ‘raise, grow’ uncertain for both semantic and phonological reasons.

The absence of stable terms denoting specifically sons is well in concord with the discussion in I: 2.1.3 and I: 2.3.2 above. In a traditional patrilineal society sons are the means of subsistence. If someone speaks of children, sucklings, or little ones, one often means sons by default (cf. also NPers. *bačče* / *bača* (III: 3.1.1).

II: 2.2.2. **d^hugh₂tér* ‘daughter (/? girl)’

Hysterokinetically inflected **d^hugh₂tér-/ d^hugh₂tr’-* (AiW 749, IEW 277, Kellens–Pirart II / 260, EIEC 147–148, Gharib 1995: lemma 3535, 3684, 3685, 3711, Blažek 2001: 25–26, Werba 2006, NIL 126–130, Hassandust 2011: I / 507) is the most prominent PIE kinship term that is attested or left traces in all IE branches apart from Albanian:¹²⁵ e.g., Ved. nom.sg. *duhitā́*, dat.sg. *duhitré*, OAv. nom.sg. *dugədā*, gen.pl. *dugədrəm*, YAv. nom.sg. *duyda*, gen.pl. *duydrəm*, Sogd. *δ(u)γut*, *duydar*, *duyda*, Khot. *dutar-*, OPers. **duxči-* (< PIr. **duxθrī* based on the weak stem, cf. MPers. *duxš* ‘princess’ and Armenian *dšxoy* ‘id’ borrowed from Iranian, cf. also forms in III: 2.1.1 and III: 2.4.1)¹²⁶ and **duxtar-* (> MPers. *duxt(ar)* ‘daughter’), Parth. *duxt*, Arm. *dowstr*, Gr. nom.sg. *θυγάτηρ* gen.sg. *θυγατρός*, Osc. *futír*, Goth. *dauhtar*, Gaul. *duxtir*, OLith. gen.sg. *dukterės*, OCS nom.sg. *dbšti*, gen.sg. *dbštere*, Toch. A *ckācar* ‘daughter, girl’, Toch. B *tkācer* ‘id.’. One can find it even in the Anatolian languages: e.g., Lyc. *kbatra-* (< **d^hugh₂tr-eh₂-*) (cf. Melchert 1993: 33; NIL 126); HierLuw. acc.sg. ^{FILIA}*tú-wa/i-tara/i-na* and ^{FILIA}*tú-wa/i-ta[ra/i-na]* /*tuatra/i-* (Kloekhorst 2011: 239 with references to Hawkins 1978: 112–116). The word was also borrowed into some

¹²⁴ The precise meaning of this word is debated. It is only attested in a phrase: *anniš titaimmeš* (KBo 2.1 i 33, 40) “nurturing mother” (according to Melchert 1993a: 228) or “Mutter (und) saugendes (Kind)” (HEG T 344). Yakubovich (2015: §6.5) claims that Luwian participles in *-(a)mm(a/i)-* can be “both agent and patient oriented” depending on the context. Cf. also Blažek (2010: 98) for an analysis of this word.

¹²⁵ The Albanian word for ‘daughter’ is *bijë* and (South Tosk and Italo-Alb.) *bilë* < Proto-Alb. **birilā*. It can have an etymological connection to Lat. *fília* (Orel 1998: 25 with further literature).

¹²⁶ The Old Persian form is attested only indirectly as an Elamite *dukšiš* ‘royal woman, princess’ (Werba 2005: 711–714 with references to Benveniste 1966: 35–50 and other authors).

non-IE language: e.g., Finn. *tytär* ‘daughter’ (< Baltic **dukter-*, cf. Lith *duktė*) and its derivative *tyttö(nen)* ‘girl’ (Katz 2003: 177, Junttila 2015: 96, 159).

Some older Italic and Celtic languages preserved this term too: Osc. *futír*, Gaul. *duxtir*, Celtib. *tuateres* (NIL 126). The origin of OIr. *der-*, *dar-*, *ter-* ‘daughter, girl’ (NIL 126) is debated; they might be variants of the expected form **ducht(a)ir* the first syllable missing probably because of its homonymy with the prefix **do-/*du-* ‘bad’ (Hamp 1975: 39–40). Old Irish also developed an innovation *ingen* (Ogam *INI-GENA* from **eni-genā* ‘drinnen geboren’), a similar formations to Lat. *indīgēnus* ‘native, vernacular, indigenous’ or Gr. ἐγγενής ‘native’ (Ziegler 1994: 188, Sims-Williams 2003: 304, Matasović 2009: 116, see also II: 2.4.3 below). Latin had no traces of **d^hugh₂tér-*. The established term for daughter was *fīlia* (f. of *fīlius*, see above).

The internal etymology and meaning of this word in PIE will be discussed in section II: 3.1 below. The usage of **d^hugh₂tér-* in ancient texts shows that at least in Late core PIE the word already had an established kinship meaning. The situation with the Anatolian evidence is a topic for a special discussion.

II: 2.2.3. Hittite words behind DUMU

Hittite evidence is fairly poor as far as terms for children are concerned because they are mostly expressed by Sumerograms. ‘Son’ was usually written as DUMU or DUMU.NITA and ‘daughter’ as DUMU.MUNUS. Sometimes they had complements implying that both words must end in *-la*: DUMU-*la-aš* (KBo 5.13 iv 19), acc.sg. DUMU-*la-a(n)* (KUB 1.16 ii 4.57), dat.sg. DUMU-*li* (KUB 24. 7 iii 25 and iv 36), and DUMU.NITA-*li* (KUB 24.8 i 19–20), and daughter’ acc.sg. DUMU.MUNUS-*la-an* (KBo 20.101 Rs.? 3) quoted in Melchert (1980: 90) and Kloekhorst (2011: 238). Melchert (1980) suggests that the term for ‘son’ and probably ‘boy’ (TUR-*lan*, KBo 3.4 ii 12–13) should be read as *ayawala-*, an otherwise attested Hittite word with unclear etymology occurring in the same context as DUMU (“Tawagalawa Letter”, KUB 14.3 i 6–12). This suggestion was however rejected by Puhvel (1992: 264) and Hoffmann (1992). Oettinger apud Starke (1987: 243–244) and Hoffmann (1992: 292–293) assume that the Hittite word could sound as *pulla-* (< **pu(t)sló-*, as per Melchert 1994: 160, cf. Lat. *pullus* in II: 2.2.1.2, or **putló-*, cf. Olsen 2010: 80 footnote 113), which might have occurred in KBo 17. 29 + 20.1 i 2 and can also be equated with a personal name *Pulli* (e.g., ^m*Pulli* in KBo 5.7 vs. 42 and other texts, cf. Hoffmann 1992: 293). Kanišite Hittite might have had special terms for ‘son’ and ‘daughter’ or rather ‘male offspring’ and ‘female offspring’ attested only as onomastic elements *-ḫšu* and *-ḫšu-šar* (Kloekhorst 2019: 235–239, also discussed in II: 2.4.2 and II: 2.5.4 below).

Hoffmann (ibid.) also suggests that the feminine variant DUMU.MUNUS could stand for more than one Hittite word and can designate both reflexes of **d^hugh₂tér-* (see below) and *pulla-*, which might be used for children of both sexes. The usage of these two Sumerograms, especially in phrases like DUMU.NITA^{MEŠ} DUMU.MUNUS^{MEŠ} (e.g., in KUB 29.1 iv 2) seems to imply two

different Hittite words. However, other reasons for the two forms are also imaginable. In this context, it would be advantageous to take into consideration not only Indo-European but also Near Eastern comparative material. The languages of the Ancient Near East indeed had a tendency to use either the same word for ‘son’ and ‘daughter’ (if they had no feminine gender) or two words derived from the same root (if they had this grammatical category and could coin motion formations). Thus, in Sumerian, which only distinguished between animate and inanimate nouns, the word *dumu* was not a gendered term (Bartash 2018). It meant ‘offspring’ or ‘associate’ (cf. NPers. *farzand*, see **III: 2.1.1** below) rather than specifically ‘son’. Female children were designated with the same word.¹²⁷ Dilexic terms *dumu nita* and *dumu munus* were facultative and occurred only in two cases. Firstly, if precise knowledge of gender was necessary but was not clear from the context. Secondly, if the text was influenced by Babylonian scribes, whose native language distinguished feminine and masculine gender. Thus, in such texts *dumu nita* stood for Akk. *mārum* ‘son’ while *dumu munus* implied *mārtum* ‘daughter’. It might well be that Hittite scribes simply inherited the dilexic Sumerograms from their Babylonian colleagues. Strictly speaking, the Akkadian words are also one lexeme with two different suffixes (‘male offspring’ and ‘female offspring’) rather than two different words. This feature seems to be, in general, characteristic both for Semitic (and possibly some other Afro-Asiatic languages, cf. Wangert 2014: 92–93 on Egyptian designations of children) and for IE languages (Lat. *filia* und *filius*, Gr. *παῖς* in **II: 2.3.1.2** above) of the Circum-Mediterranean region. Therefore, Hoffmann’s hypothesis that both of the dilexic Sumerograms could stand for *pulla-* in some texts might be valid (cf. also Martínez-Rodríguez 2019 on the Mesopotamian background of Anatolian *dvandva*-compounds).

This feature may also be explained by the fact that gender can be perceived as an element of social status, but children in many ancient societies did not have any definite social status until a certain age and, consequently, did not have gender (Karl 2004: 65–66, Moraw 2014: 15–16). Similarly, people outside of the social hierarchy (slaves) remained ‘children’ forever (Gr. *παῖς* ‘child / slave’, *παῖς* ‘girl / female slave’, cf. Räuchle 2014). Terms for older relatives are usually gendered quite distinctly and very often suppletive as well (especially ‘father’ and ‘mother’, see **II: 2.1.3** above).¹²⁸

The situation with Sumerogram DUMU.MUNUS is even more complicated because Hittite had words that did not end in *-la* and could be reflexes of PIE **d^hugh₂tér-*, cognates of the Hieroglyphic Luwian forms mentioned in the previous section.

¹²⁷ The other Sumerian term for ‘child’ *di₄-di₄-la* was likewise ungendered. Notably, terms denoting older boys and girls were gendered, but they did not usually have a kinship meaning: *ki-sikil* ‘teenage girl, young woman’ (similar to Gr. *παρθένος*, see **II: 3.1** below) and *ġurus* ‘teenager, youth’ (ibid.: 21).

¹²⁸ James P. Mallory (Queen’s University Belfast, p.c.) also points out that every community has its own concept of which age a person acquires a gender identity. We can often see that some societies employ gendered grave goods for very young children while others do not mark gender until the individual is of marriageable age. And, in some instances, we find the oldest members of society no longer receiving what we might regard as gendered-marked grave goods.

Hitt. ^{MUNUS}*duttarijata/i-* (KUB 22.40 iii 18, KBo 24.126 obv.28, and Bo 4120 r.col. 4) denotes a female ritual practitioner (Starke 1987, Kloekhorst 2011: 239, Milanova 2019/2020). The determinative MUNUS and the context imply that the word should most probably be a personal name or a designation of some female occupation. However, in some less frequent cases simple kinship terms can have this determinative too (^{MUNUS}*annaneka-* ‘sister by the same mother’, e.g., KBo 21.35 i 11, ^{MUNUS}*annaṽanna-* ‘step-mother’, KBo 6.26 iii 30, ^{LÚ}*kaina-* ‘in-law, kinsman’, KUB 13.4 i 30). So far there has not been any consistent study on the usage of determinatives MUNUS and LÚ with kinship terms. Alice Mouton (CNRS, p.c.) also pointed out that there are instances of names and professions used without determinatives (Trémouille 2014). From her experience with Hittite texts, she concludes that scribes did not feel compelled to systematically use the determinatives, whatever category they were dealing with and, therefore, it would be risky to try to formulate a rule evolving around the presence or absence of determinatives for a certain category of nouns. Nevertheless, a detailed corpus study of determinatives for human subjects would, of course, yield some interesting results. In general, this situation seems to be very much in accord with the discussion in the theoretical section I: 2.1 about blurred borders between kinship terms and other words denoting people.

The text Bo 4120 r.col. 4 (quoted in Starke 1987: 251) is too fragmentary to be informative. What is clear is that we are dealing with a description of some ritual. However, in the context of the other two excerpts a kinship term proper does not seem likely. The first of them (KUB 22.40 iii 16–20) is about the 36th day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} Festival (cf. Haas 1994: 820). It describes manipulations over the statue of the Sun Goddess of Arinna:

- (16) [GIM-a]n^{ma}kan kī karaptari nu ^dUTU ^{URU}PÚ-na
 (17) [KASKAL-az] SUD-anzi PANI ^dUTU ^{URU}PÚ-na ṣ^{hu}ualliṣ kiṣtanuanzi
 (18) [na]mma DINGIR^{LUM} ^{MUNUS}*duttarijatiṣ* ṣ^{naniti} kangatiti
 (19) [na]mma ANA ^dUTU SISKUR pianzi GIM-an^{ma} MUNUS.LUGAL
 (20) [IN]A ^{URU}ankuwa ari nu^{kan} ANA ^dUTU ^{URU}PÚ-na mukiššar tianzi

- (16) As soon as this is finished, (they) pull the Sun Goddess of Arinna
 (17) from the road. Before the Sun Goddess of Arinna (they) extinguish cones (?).
 (18) After that *duttarijati* (?) appeases (?) the divinity and treats (it) with the *gangati*-plant.
 (19) Then (they) give the Sun Goddess an offering. And as soon as the Queen
 (20) arrives in Ankuwa, (they) put the invocation to the Sun Goddess of Arinna.¹²⁹

The practitioner *duttarijati* seems to be responsible for treating the statue of the goddess (possibly washing it and decorating it with the herb *gangati*) after it was standing on the road.¹³⁰ Such a para-priestess might indeed be a *girl* from a noble family who was honoured to perform small ritual tasks in a temple or at some public events. Starke (1987: 252) suggests that

¹²⁹ The text of the translation is a summary of translations in Starke (1987: 252), *CHD* (L–N / 325a), *HEG* (G / 484–485), Christiansen (2006: 99) and Alice Mouton’s suggestions (p.c.).

¹³⁰ *CTH* 491 (V.6) discussed in Strauß (2006: 104) tells about the purification of statues of gods with *gangati*-herb.

^{MUNUS} *duttarijati* should be equated with DUMU.MUNUS (*šuppeššara*-), whose title should most probably be translated as “a consecrated girl”, a practitioner assisting at different cultic activities. The best preserved texts that mention this character describe Paskuwatti’s (CTH 406), Anniwiyani’s (CTH 393) and Ammā’s (CTH 456.2.1) Rituals (discussed in Collins 2019/2020) and the Festival of the Hattic goddess Titiwatti (CTH 639, quoted and discussed in Taggar-Cohen 2006: 317–320).

Similar traditions existed in Greece: ἀρρηφορία and ἀρκτηία for girls from 5 to 10 years old (cf. Burkert 1977: 155–156, 394–395, Dowden 1989: 24–32, Sommerstein 1990: 188–189, Poulkou 2006: 155–158) or the position of κνηφόρος for girls in their early teens (cf. Sourvinou-Inwood 1988: 54–56, Sommerstein 1990: 190). The institution of Vestal Virgins in Rome was possibly a modified variant of the same traditions. Some scholars like Dowden (1989) believe that this phenomenon could have a PIE origin and be associated with puberty rites, but this may also be the residue of some local Anatolian and Mediterranean practices. The continuity between Anatolian and Greek practices involving girls into cultic activities has recently been discussed in Rutherford (2019).

Notably, Hittite had a more everyday word for ‘adolescent / unmarried girl’ *zintuḫi* (Sum. KI.SIKIL), which was probably of Hattic origin (Hattic *zintu* ‘Enkelkind’, *HEG* W–Z / 750). I assume that DUMU.MUNUS *šuppeššara* might be an elevated synonym of this word used specifically in a religious context (cf. Collins 2019/2020: 456). The same may be valid for ^{MUNUS} *duttarijati* if it is a syllabic variant of DUMU.MUNUS *šuppeššara*.

The other text (KBo 24.126 obv. 27–31) tells about some ritual that a girl or woman Piḫa-IR-i and a boy or a man Uraḫešma must perform. After that they must receive instructions and guidelines from the Queen or someone in her presence about their further duties:

(27) *mān ani*-UD.KAM-ti U[D.KAM-z]a SIG₅-ešzi nu-šmaš^m uraḫešmaš^f piḫa-IR-i[šš-a]

(28) *arḫa aniḫanzi arḫa-ma-šmaš iḫar* ^{MUNUS/f} *duttarijatijaš*

(29) *parattašattan aniḫanzi namma-za-aš* MUNUS.LUGAL *piran* GAM *teḫḫi*

(30) *n-aš uatarnaḫmi n-aš a[rḫ]a* “KASKAL-šiaḫmi” *mān-ma-šmaš ŪL* *kuitki* ḪUL-uešzi

(31) [nu KI]N SIG₅-ru

(27) If today the day is propitious, Uraḫešma and Piḫa-IR-i

(28) will ritually treat themselves. The way *d/Duttarijati* (?) (does it), from them (29) they will ritually remove the *parattašatta*.¹³¹ After that I will bring them to the queen (or “...I, the queen, will order them to come to me”)

(30) and I will instruct them and will set them on the way. If nothing bad is going to happen to them,

(31) the KIN-oracle should be positive.¹³²

¹³¹ Alice Mouton (p.c.) recommended me leaving this word untranslated as none of the sources dare to translate it precisely. The context implies that it might be something profane, improper for the sacred duties the two people are going to take.

¹³² The translation of the text is a summary of translations in *HEG* (T / 471–474, P / 449), *CHD* (Pa / 141), van den Hout (1995: 119–120), Alice Mouton by personal communication.

Although this passage is fairly clear, further circumstances are vague. The text is also damaged in many places, and the personal names are not mentioned in any other texts. What makes the text even more complicated is its syntax. As it was mentioned in Milanova (2019/2020: 278–279 with references to Hoffner 1993), we are confronted here with irregular behaviour of the pre-/postposition *iṣar* before the noun in question. The general rule says that this indeclinable must be a postposition, but in late Hittite (not before Hattušili III) it could precede the noun if it was either a logogram without a complement (*iṣar* [ŠE]Š-YA “like my brother”, KUB 21.38 rev. 2) or a personal name in a stem form (*iṣar*^mManini “like Manini”, KUB 5.1 i 43, both quoted in Hoffner 1993: 47). However, *duttarijati-aš* (gen.sg.) is neither a logogram nor a noun in a stem-form. Thus, this collocation might as well be read as *iṣar*^f*Duttarijati-aš* ‘like (in the manner of) Duttariyati’, but the case ending makes it doubtful. It is clear that the two people, male and female, must perform some ritual similar to the one done by someone whose name or occupation is *duttarijati*. I am inclined to think that it might have been a consecration of children or teenagers from high-status families after which they could assist at religious events and festivals. Some slightly similar rituals are described in the CTH 667 “Celebrations in the Zalpuwa Land” (discussed in Corti 2010: 95–98).

As for the morphological structure of the word, it might be a derivative of a Luw. (*)*duttar(i)* possibly occurring in the fragment -*jan-zi* ^{MUNUS}*du-ut-tar-ja-ta-as'-kan* (Bo 4120 r.col. 4). Starke (1987: 251) interprets it as “...*duttarija* (dat. sg.)// *t-aš-kan* ...” but HEG (T / 472) prefers the reading *duttarijataš* (gen.sg. of *duttarijata*). Unfortunately, this text is badly damaged, which makes it impossible to analyse this instance more profoundly. Milanova (2019/2020: 278 with references to Yakubovich 2015: §6.2 and Kloekhorst 2008a: 904) states that the morpheme *-i(ja)-* looks formally similar to the genitival suffix as in Luw. *tadiya* ‘paternal’. Thus, **duttarija* could be an adjective literally meaning ‘daughter-like’ or ‘girl-like’ (as suggested by Yakubovich, p.c.). The morpheme *-ti-* might correspond to the Luwian suffix *-tt(i)-/-d(i)-* (Starke 1980: 76–77, Plöchl 2003: 57, Zehnder 2010: 96), used as an extension for nouns, especially nouns denoting people. To some extent, its function seems to be similar to the function of the *k*-suffixes in the Indo-Iranian and Slavic languages (cf. Jamison 2009), i.e., in many cases they simply had empty semantics or were means of nominalisation. Thus, *duttarijati* could eventually mean ‘daughter’ or ‘girl’ again (more on its semantics see **II: 3.1** below).¹³³

Many facts mentioned above indicate that the word ^{MUNUS}*duttarijata/i-* was a Luwian borrowing in Hittite texts and was possibly used to denote a kind of ritual practitioner. A simple word for ‘daughter’ was obviously some word ending in *-la*, possibly *pulla-*. The Sumerograms DUMU.MUNUS might stand for either of the words depending on the context.

¹³³ Like Slov. *ženska* ‘woman’ is actually a substantivised adjective of appurtenance derived from an older word for ‘woman/wife’ *žéná*, now used mostly in the meaning ‘wife’.

II: 2.3. Men and Women, Husbands and Wives

As I argued in I: 2.2.2 and I: 2.3.1, terms for ‘man’ and ‘woman’ and their kinship counterparts ‘husband’ and ‘wife’ also belong to the basic vocabulary. As it has also been discussed in the theoretical sections, these terms are usually polysemous. Men are often equated to husbands and women are even more often equated to wives. Further, men can be equated to fathers and householders, women to mothers and mistresses of the house. Apart from all this, some words for ‘man’ are derived from words for ‘human being’ or equated to it. All these patterns can be found in the IE languages and in the reconstructed PIE terms for ‘man’ and ‘woman’.

II: 2.3.1. ** μ iH-ró-, * h_2 né $\acute{r}$ -, and derivatives of * $mer(H)$ -, vitality and virility*

The word ** μ iH-ró-* (AiW 1453–1454, IEW 1177–1178, CPD 91, Kellens–Pirart II / 306, EIEC 366, NIL 726-9) is a term for ‘man’ with an undeniable PIE status: Ved. *vīrá-* ‘(strong) man, hero, (adult) son’, Av. *vīra-* ‘man; human being; warrior’ (OAv. attested only as abl.sg. *vīrāq̃* and acc.pl. *vīrāṇg*), MPers. *vīr* ‘id.’, Lat. *vīr* ‘man; husband’ (de Vaan 2008: 681), OIr. *fer* ‘man; husband; tribesman, relative’ (eDIL s.v.), Goth. *wair*¹³⁴ ‘man (adult male)’ (Köbler Goth s.v.), Lith. *výras* ‘man’ (Derksen 2015: 505), Toch A *wir* ‘young’ (CETOM s.v.). The word may also be attested in Slavic. ORus. *vira* ‘wergild’ is derived either directly from PSI. **virb* ‘man’ (?) or from the substantivized adjective *вирьная* ‘wergild’, but it may also be a Germanic loanword (RES VII / 214). The word was also borrowed into Permic languages of the Uralic family from Indo-Iranian: Komi *veres* ‘husband’ (*ver* ‘man’) and Udm. *vor-goron* ‘(old) man’ (Holopainen 2019: 308–309 with references to Katz 1983: 175, 2003: 174, Zhivlov 2010: 171 and others).

This PIE word is obviously based a Caland adjective in *-ro*, but the root it is derived from is a question of debate. It may have some connection to ** μ éiH-es-* (Ved. *váyas-* n. ‘power, food’, Lat. *vīs* ‘strength, force’, Gr. *ἰς* ‘id.’) and mean ‘a strong one’ (Stüber 2002: 184–185). Similarly, Pinault (2001: 95–96) interprets the word ** μ iH-ró-* “doté de force virile”, which corresponds to the semantics of this word in the IE languages quite well. Some scholars (Matasović 2004: 147, footnote 315) assume that the root may be associated with ** μ eih₁-* ‘sein Augenmerk richten auf, trachten nach’ (LIV² 668–669) and ** μ iH-ró-* originally meant something like ‘hunter’ (cf. also NIL 727 footnote 1 for other etymologies).

Another PIE word for ‘man’ is ** h_2 né $\acute{r}$ / h_2 nr’-* (AiW 1047–1053, IEW 765, Kellens–Pirart II / 274 275, EIEC 366, NIL 332–5): Ved. *nár-* ‘man; human being (as opposed to animals and gods); hero; warrior’ (Kazzazi 2001: 50–71), Av. *nar-* ‘man; person’ (more productive than *vīra-*), MPers. *nar* ‘male, manly’, Arm. *ayr* ‘id.’, Gr. *άνήρ* ‘man; human being’, Phryg. *α ν αρ* ‘man, spouse’, Osc. *niir* ‘man’. It can also have a secondary thematic form ** h_2 né $\acute{r}$ -o-*: Ved. *nára-* ‘man’ (AVP +), YAv. *nara-* ‘id.’, OIr. *ner* ‘wild boar’ (eDIL s.v., cf. NPers. *nar* ‘male animal’; (adj.) ‘masculine’ (Wolff

¹³⁴ A short *-i-* in Germanic, Italic, and Celtic is due to Dybo’s law (Schrijver 1991: 340).

1965: 805), Oss. *næl* ‘id.’ < **narija-* adj. ‘male, virile’, Cheung 2002: 208) and MCymr. *ner* ‘lord, chief (frequently of God)’ (GPC s.v.).

According to Schindler (1972: 36, 38, cf. also Rieken 1999: 14, 18 and Rasmussen 1999: 485), we are dealing here with a root-noun with *e/z*-ablaut derived from the verbal root **h₂ner* ‘to be strong’ (e.g., Parači *nar* ‘to be able’, YAv. *hu-nara* ‘Wundermacht’, OIr. *so-nirt* ‘tapfer, stark’). Further etymologies are listed in *NIL* (333, footnote 1). However, they are less convincing.

Indo-Iranian, Italic, and Celtic have reflexes of both **u₁H-ró-* and **h₂né-*. Both of them co-occur in the Vedic texts (e.g., RV VI 2:4, III 51:4, III 52:8). Kazzazi (2001: 98) draws the conclusion that “*nár-* bezeichnet die hohen Herren, *vīrá-* den aus deren Gruppe durch besondere (speziell körperliche) Kräfte herausragenden einzelnen Helden“. Additionally, Ved. *vīrá-* in passages like *sugávaḥ suvīraḥ* (RV I 116:25, “the one having good cows and good men”) denotes adult sons (cf. Pischel 1897: 239–240). This usage has a simple explanation. The main value of the family were not simply helpless male sucklings some of whom died in childhood but strong adult sons who were able to perform all the duties this society expected from men. Apart from Old Indo-Aryan, the two words hardly ever co-occur in the same text but have a dialectal rather than semantic distribution.

There are several feminine nouns derived from these two words: Ved. *vīrā-* ‘Heldin’ (ŚB), Old Lat. *vira* ‘Frau’, Ved. *nārī-* (RV) ‘(Ehe)frau’ and Av. *nāirī-* ‘id.’, YAv. also *nāirikā* (AiW 1065–1066, Kellens–Pirart II / 276, *NIL* 726, 332). They should most probably be independent formations or, at best, late PIE. Latin also has a word *vīrāgo* (gen.sg. *-inis*) ‘a man-like, vigorous, heroic maiden, a female warrior, heroine’ (Lewis and Short 1891: 1995), which could refer to the Amazons or goddesses like Diana (Seneca *Phaedra* 54), which can be some kind of derivative from *vir*. An especially interesting instance of usage is the passage from the Vulgata 2: 23 (discussed in **II: 3.2** below).

This seems to be not merely a folk etymology, but the derivational history of *vīrāgo* is not quite clear. Pisani (1935: 780) assumes that “**wirāk-*” may be a hypocoristic form of *vir* and *-on* is simply an individualising suffix. Alternatively, Pinault suggests (2001: 96–97) reconstructing it as “**u₁rāk-h₃on-*” ‘possessing male qualities’ consisting of a collective noun “**u₁reh₂-*” “actions viriles” enlarged with an abstract suffix *-k-* and a “Hoffmann’s suffix” (see **I: 2.3.2** above). The sound *-k-* becomes voiced due to the laryngeal *h₃* (as it was observed by Hamp 1972).

The etymology of a similar Latin word *virgo* ‘girl, maiden, young woman’ is even less clear. Ledo-Lemos (2002: 219–225) tried to reconstruct it as “**wir-g^wōn-*” the second element being the word for ‘woman’ (cf. **II: 2.3.4**), but his analysis is unacceptable both semantically and morphologically (de Vaan 2008: 682). Garnier (2014) suggests an etymology **h₁u₁i-h₁g^h-ōn-* ‘a not-covered, unmounted one’ (derived from the verb **h₁er^gh* ‘besteigen’, *LIV*² 238–239) With the famous privative prefix **h₁u₁i-* implying a physiological viginity. He assumes that the word was originally used by cattle-breeders to denote young female animals like Hitt. *natta=arkant-* ‘not-

covered, unmounted’. This hypothesis does not sound courtly but would conform well to the worldview of cattle-breeders, but in this case, Lat. *virgo* is not related to *vir* at all.

Olsen (2003, 2010: 130) assumes that both *vīrāgo* and *virgo* should ultimately be derived from **ueih₁* ‘exhibit strength, vigour, drive’, but *virgo* should be a more archaic formation **u₁ih₁-rah₂-h₃onh₂-* ‘someone loaded with vigour, youth and freshness’ with the “Hoffmann” suffix, while *vīrāgo* should be a later derivative of Lat. *vīr* ‘man’ with the productive suffix *-āgō* and, therefore, ‘possessing male qualities’.

Another group of curious forms occurring both in the ultimate Western and almost ultimate Eastern edge of the IE continuum, are derivatives of nominal root **mer(H)-* possibly ‘young’, which can be enlarged with various suffixes: Ved. *márya(ka)-* ‘young man; young warrior; husband/lover of a young woman’,¹³⁵ OPers. *marīka* ‘vassal’, YAv. *mairiia* ‘scoundrel, villain’,¹³⁶ Bctr. *μαρηγο* ‘servant’, Gr. *μειραξ* (m./f.) ‘girl, boy’ with the suffix of appurtenance **-iio-*, Welsh *morwyn* ‘young woman, maiden, unmarried woman; female servant, etc.’, OCor. *moroin* ‘girl, maiden’ < Proto-Celtic **moreinā-*, MW *merch* ‘girl, unmarried woman, daughter’ (< **mer-k-*), Lith. *mergà* ‘girl’ (< **mer-g-*) and Lith. *martì* ‘girl, bride (without children); daughter-in-law’ < (**mor-t-iH-*), and Lat. *marītus* ‘a married man, husband’ (< **‘having a young woman’*) (cf. AiW 1151–1152, EWAia II / 329–330, GPC s.v., Smoczyński SEJL 375, de Vaan 2008: 365, Beekes 2010: 921–922). The Baltic form was also borrowed into Finnish as *morsian* ‘bride’ (Junttila 2015: 94).

II: 2.3.2. **d^hǵ^hm-on-*, **mó/ért-o-*, and derivatives of **men* ‘to think’, men in contrast to others

This group of terms for ‘man’ do not usually become kinship terms proper but are used as generic terms for human beings. There are two words with secured PIE roots.

The word **(d^h)ǵ^h(m)m-e/on-* (Buck 1949: 80, IEW 414–415, EIEC 366, NIL 87) is a derivative from **d^héǵh-om-* ‘earth’ (IEW 414–416, EIEC 174, NIL 86–99): Lat. *homō* (XII Tables +) ‘man, human being, person’ (de Vaan 2008: 287–288), OIr. *duine* ‘id.’ (< **(d^h)ǵ^hm-iio-*, NIL 88, eDIL s.v.), OLith. *žmuo* ‘id.’, Lith. *žmogùs* ‘id.’, *žmonės* ‘people, population’ and *žmonà* ‘woman, wife’ (Smoczyński SEJL 790–791), Goth. *guma* (corresponds to Gr. *ἄνθρωπος*), OHG *gomo* (survived in NHG *Bräuti-gam*), Ved. *-jman-* in compositions like *pári-jman-* ‘ringsherum seiend’ (NIL 87).

The etymology is usually explained by mythological and religious beliefs that the human being belongs to the earth (or is made of soil) in contrast to the celestial gods (cf. Heb. *hā-’ādām* m. ‘human being, man; Adam’ and *hā-’ādāmāh* f. ‘ground’, HALAT I / 11, 14). Buck (1949: 80) mentions Homeric collocations *ἐπιχθόνιοι ἄνθρωποι* / *ἄνδρες* (e.g., Odyssey 8.479, Iliad 1.266, 272) and *ἐπουράνιοι θεοί* (e.g., Odyssey 17.484, Iliad 6.129). However, in some cases a simple

¹³⁵ According to the observations by Kazzazi (2001: 279), Ved. *márya-* occurs especially often in combination with *yósā-* ‘girl, young woman; young wife, etc.’ (< **h₂ie_u-s-ó-* ‘Lebenskraft habend’, cf. Höfler 2017: 37, 460–461, see also Iranian examples in III: 3.2.1).

¹³⁶ The word obviously belonged to the Daevic vocabulary (cf. EWAia II / 329–330 with references).

everyday explanation like ‘a person living / born on the land’ (cf. Lith. *žmónės*, see above, or Rus. земляк ‘compatriot’) cannot be excluded either.

Kroonen (2013: 353–354 with references to Berneker 1898: 360–361) assumes that the accusative stem allomorph **d^hg^hm-on-* lost its initial stops in Proto-Germanic and gave rise to the proto-form PGm. **mannan-*, which existed along with **guman-* and eventually became the most common word for ‘man’ in the Germanic languages. Alternatively, the form might be etymologically related to Indo-Iranian and Slavic forms derived from the root **men* ‘einen Gedanken fassen’ (LIV² 435–436) implying that men in contrast to animals are imbued with mind: Ved. *mānu* ‘man; Manu ‘the ancestor of all human beings’ and *mānuṣ-* ‘id.’, YAv. *manuš.čiθra* (PN) ‘the seed (descendant) of Manuš’, OCS *mъžъ* ‘man, husband’, Rus. *muž* ‘husband’, (poet., obs.) ‘man’, Slk. *muž* ‘man, husband’ (< PSl. *mъžъ* < **mon-g^h-io-*, the suffix *-g^h-* might be the same as in Lith. *žmogùs*, see above), cf. AiW 1135, EWAia (II / 309–310), ESSJa (XX / 158–161), Derksen (2008: 330). The Indo-Iranian word might be reflected in Ugric ethnonyms: Hung. *magyar* ‘Hungarian’, Mansi (North) *mańsi*, (South) *māńcī*, (East) *möäńś*, (West) *māńś* ‘Mansi /Voguls; child that has not been baptised’ (Holopainen 2019: 133 with references to UEW s.v. *mańcī*, Katz 1985: 148, 2003: 124, 168, Lushnikova 1990: 225–226 and others).

As for the word **m₁-tó-*, a verbal adjective derived from the verbal root **mer* ‘to disappear, to die’ (LIV² 439–440, NIL 488–491), and its *vṛddhi* form **mé/órt-o-* (AiW 1148, Buck 1949: 81, IEW 735, Kellens–Pirart II / 282, EIEC 366, NIL 489), it must indeed have some poetic or mythological origin. The form **m₁tó-* is well-attested as Gr. βροτός ‘mortal’, Ved. *mṛtá-* ‘dead’, and YAv. *mərata-* ‘id.’. The *vṛddhi* form is preserved as Ved. *márta-* ‘mortal, man’, OAv. *marata-* ‘id.’, and, possibly Gr. **μόρτος* attested as μορτός¹³⁷ ἄνθρωπος θνητός (Hesych, Kallimachos). The *vṛddhi* vowel in this word is a question of debate. The Greek evidence indicates that it should be the *o*-grade (Beekes 2010: 242–243, Kulikov 2017, Höfler 2018: 5), but the evidence from the Uralic languages Mordvin (Erzya) *mir’d’e*, (Mokša) *mir’d’e* ‘man, husband’, Udm. *murt* ‘man; person; stranger; (dial.) husband’, Komi *mort* ‘man, human’ reflecting PUr. **mertä-*, which was borrowed from Pre-Proto-Indo-Iranian, indicates the *e*-grade (Katz 1983, Tremblay 1998, Steer 2015: 33, 77, 165). In terms of phonology, nothing prevents the Uralic proto-form from reflecting the verbal adjective **m₁tó-* (Katz 2003: 123 and Lushnikova 1990), but this hypothesis has a certain semantic difficulty. Ved. *mṛtá-* and YAv. *mərata-* are only attested as ‘dead’ and never mean ‘mortal’ or ‘man’. Nevertheless, Gr. βροτός ‘mortal’ and negated forms Ved. *amṛta* ‘immortal’ and OAv. *aməša-* ‘id.’ (Grassman 1873: 94, Kellens–Pirart II / 203, NIL 489) imply that the verbal adjective could still mean not only ‘dead’ but also ‘mortal’¹³⁸ and prospectively ‘man’ (see the full summary of this discussion in EWAia II / 327 and Holopainen 2019: 143–145).

¹³⁷ < **m₁tó-* as per NIL (489)

¹³⁸ This is a point of discordance between Martin Kümmel and Sampsa Holopainen, which is not simple to solve. In my opinion, Prof. Kümmel is right that one should only take into consideration the attested data and

EIEC (366) states that the verbal adjective and its *vṛddhi* form obviously belonged to the southern dialects of Late PIE. The related form **mar-t-ijō-* > OInd. *martya-* ‘Sterblicher, Mensch’ (AiW 1148–1150, PW V / 582, Kellens–Pirart II / 286, EWAia II / 327–328), Av. *mašīia-* ‘human being (in contrast to *daēuua*); man’, OPers. *martiya-* ‘Mann; Lehensmann, Gefolgsmann’ (Brandenstein and Mayrhofer 1964: 132) must be an internal Indo-Iranian innovation (cf. *NIL* 489). Notably, a non-poetic meaning ‘man (male person)’ and prospectively ‘husband’ is common exclusively for Iranian (see **III: 2.2** and **III: 3.2**). Arm. *mard* ‘man, human being; husband’ might also be a calque or even a loanword from some Iranian language (see the discussion in Martirosyan 2010: 452–453).

II: 2.3.3. **gʰen(h₂)-* ‘woman / wife’

gʰen(h₂)-* (cf. Buck 1949: 82, *IEW* 473–474, *EIEC* 648, *NIL* 177–85) along with **sor-/ser-* (discussed in **II: 2.4.2) belongs to one of the most ancient layers of the reconstructed PIE vocabulary. The semantics of its attestations indicate that the core meaning of this word should be ‘(adult married) woman; wife’.

The derivational history of this word is also a question of debate due to variations in morphological appearance of this word in different IE languages. Many scholars (e.g., Meid 1966, Schindler 1972, Hamp 1979, Pinault 2005a, Ledo-Lemos 2002) claim that the original form was a root noun with *o/e*-Ablaut **gʰón-* / **gʰén-* (as per Schindler 1972: 33) while **gʰénh₂-* was a proterokinetic *h₂*-stem with originally collective meaning. In particular, Pinault (2005a: 479–450 and p.c.) considers **gʰénh₂-* to have the same structure as the base of **H₁énh₂-ter-* ‘husband’s brother’s wife’ (see **II: 2.6.6**). In his opinion, both of them are enlarged with the collective suffix **-eh₂-* and denote “a group of women, womanhood”. He assumes that the root **H₁én-* designates an “exchanged woman” (who has come from another family) and **gʰen-* a woman in general.

The evidence that such a root noun once existed is however very weak. One possible reflex of this alleged form might be OIr. *bé* (n., later f.) ‘woman’ (*eDIL* s.v. 1 *bé*), a marked term occurring mainly in poetic and legal texts along with more common OIr. *ben* (f.) ‘woman, wife’ (*eDIL* s.v. *ben*), whose accent paradigm is the perfect instance of the proterokinetic inflection **gʰénh₂-* / **gʰn-éh₂-* (see Harðarson 1987: 127). Another possible reflex of the root noun is Hitt. (acc.sg.) *kuinnan* ‘woman’ (< **gʰén-m*) as it was suggested by Neu (1990: 208–217), who interpreted the passage *ku-in-na[-aš]-ša-an* (KUB 12.60 i 24) as *kuinnan=šan* ‘his wife’. According to Güterbock (1992), this interpretation contradicts the context. Thus, the existence of this word is doubtful. Kloekhorst (2008: 501–505 with references to Carruba 1994) is inclined to reconstruct the Hittite word for ‘woman’

attested meanings, but I think that in this precise case we have enough indirect evidence to assume that the Indo-Iranian verbal adjective could have the meaning ‘mortal’ too.

as **kuṽan-*,¹³⁹ nom.sg. MUNUS-*anza* as /k^hant^s/ (< **g^henh₂-s*), acc.sg. MUNUS-*nan* stands for /k^hannan/ or /k^hennan/ <<< **g^henh₂-m*, and gen.sg. MUNUS-*naš* as /k^hannas/ or /k^hennas/ < **g^henh₂-os*. As for the other Anatolian forms (CLuw. *uānā-* ‘woman’ including forms enlarged with the suffix *-tti-* (see 2.2.2 above) CLuw. *uānatt(i)-/unatt(i)* ‘id.’ and HierLuw. FEMINA-*natti*, Lyd. *kāna-* ‘id.’), some scholars tried to interpret them as root nouns (Gusmani 1985: 130, Oettinger 2004: 164–165), but others again as *h₂*-stems **g^hon-eh₂-* or **g^hen-eh₂-* (cf. Starke 1980: 85, Melchert 1992: 36–37, 1993a: 254–255, Kloekhorst 2008a: 504–505).

The weakness and controversial character of the Anatolian evidence makes some scholars doubt a PIE root noun **g^hen-* existed at all. Thus, Jasanoff (1989: 136, footnote 4) admits that **g^hén-h₂/g^hn-éh₂* might have been derived from such a root noun at some earlier stage of PIE, but the latter has not left any traces in IE languages. According to his scenario, the starting point of all attestations must be precisely **g^hén-h₂/g^hn-éh₂*, which had the meaning ‘woman’ already in the parent language. In late PIE the nom. sg. **g^hén-h₂* became **g^hén-* in accordance with Szemerényi’s law (**VRH#* > **VR#*,¹⁴⁰ *ibid.* 137 with references to Nussbaum 1986: 129–130 and Szemerényi 1970: 155) and its co-habitation with other forms of the paradigm, the normal strong stem **g^hénh₂*, the weak stem **g^hnáh₂*, the ‘Lindeman’ weak stem **g^hṇnáh₂*, and the weakest stem **g^hṇh₂* gave rise to different kinds of inconsistencies and analogical formations (*ibid.* 139). While OIr. *ben* is the result of a fairly regular development of the proterokinetic **g^hénh₂* from PIE to Old Irish, the form *bé* emerged as a result of a contamination of late Pre-OIr. **g^hén-* (**g^hén-* < **g^hénh₂*) with neutral *n*-stems (*ibid.* 138–140). The non-ablauting stem **g^hénā* is a hybrid between the weak and strong stem. It was adopted by Balto-Slavic (OPrus. *genna* ‘woman’, OCS жена ‘woman, wife’), dialectal Greek (Boeotian βανά ‘id.’, Corinna 21, and (gen.sg.) βανῆκες, Hesych), and Germanic. In the latter it was reanalysed as a secondary *n*-stem **k^wenōn-* (Goth. *qino* ‘woman’, ON *cwene* ‘id.’, OHG *quena*) and as an *i*-stem **k^wēni-* (Goth. *qens* ‘Frau’, Old Saxon *quān* ‘noblewoman’). Indo-Iranian forms such as Ved. *jāni-* ‘woman, wife’, and YAv. *jaini-* ‘id.’ (OAv. attested only as nom.pl. *jānāiō*), Toch. A *śām* ‘id.’, Toch. B *śana* ‘id.’ and Arm. *kin* ‘id.’ were back-formed from the accusative form **g^hénh₂-m* analogically to the *-ih₂*-stems (*devī*-forms in Indo-Iranian) (*ibid.* 137, cf. also Kellens–Pirart II / 243, Martirosyan 2010: 363–364).

Another Indo-Iranian form is based on the weak stem **g^hn-áh₂-* > Ved. *gná-* ‘woman (specifically ‘female deity’ or ‘god’s wife’), OAv. *gānā-* ‘id.’ (Kellens–Pirart II / 239, Kazzazi 2001: 208–211). Gr. (nom. sg.) γυνή ‘woman, wife’ reflects the ‘Lindeman’ weak stem **g^hṇnéh₂*. The oblique stem of this Gr. word, e.g., gen. γυναικός, and Arm. (nom. pl.) *kanay-k’* ‘women’ are derivatives of the same stem (Harðarson 1987: 129).

¹³⁹ The word may also be attested as a designation of female deities ^d*Kuṽanšeš* (^dMUNUS^{MEŠ}) mentioned along with ^d*Pišeneš* (^dLÚ^{MEŠ}) in KUB (43.30 iii 12), KBo (11.32 obv. 38), KUB (2.13 ii 54) and some other texts (see the discussion in Kloekhorst *ibid.*).

¹⁴⁰ Cf. also **VRs#* > **VR#* in **ph₂tér-s* > **ph₂tér* > Gr. πάτηρ

As far as etymology of this word is concerned, a few scholars tried to connect it either to the verbal root **ġenh₁* ‘to beget, give birth’ (Schmidt 1879: 134 referred to in Trubačev 1959: 106–107) or to the nominal root **ġ’óu-* ‘cow’¹⁴¹ (Szemerényi 1977:7 5–78), or other similar words, but none of these attempts was able to go beyond speculations. The fact that the word is not analysable does not seem surprising if we take into account its antiquity.

II: 2.3.4. **priH-ó/eh₂-* and its derivatives, “mutuality of being”

Concepts associated with affection, co-existence, and sharing are probably the most frequently reoccurring patterns for coining terms denoting spouses of both sexes. Buck (1949: 96–97) gives quite a few instances of such formations. Most of them are, however, innovations common to separate languages or branches of IE (e.g., Gr. ἀκοίτης m. ‘husband’, ἄκοιτις f. ‘wife’ lit. ‘bedfellow’ derived from κοίτη ‘bed’,¹⁴² Lat. *coniunx* ‘wife; husband’ from *conjūgo* ‘unite’, ORus. хоть ‘wife, concubine, lover; wish, desire’¹⁴³).

There is no form of this kind that can be reconstructed for PIE, but there is a group of related words derived from the root **preiH-* ‘one’s own, pleasant’ with an unclear derivational prehistory (IEW 844, NIL 568–573).¹⁴⁴ It pertains, first of all, to simple thematic stems **priH-ó/eh₂-* > Ved. *priyá-* ‘lieb, beliebt, erwünscht, Gefallen findend; Geliebte, Gattin; Tochter’ (RV+) (Grassman 1873: 889), OInd. *priyá-* m. ‘der Geliebte, Gatte; Schwiegersohn’ and *priyá* f. ‘die Geliebte, Gattin’ (PW IV / 1160), Av. *friia-* ‘lieb, befreundet’ (AiW 1026, Kellens–Pirart II / 271), PGm. **frija-* ‘free’ > Goth. *freis* ‘id.’, OE *frēo* ‘free; one’s own’ and its derivatives *frēobrōðor* ‘full brother’.¹⁴⁵ Germanic and Slavic also have a secondary verbal form based on **priH-eh₂-* > PGm **fri(j)ōn-* ‘to love’ and PSl. **prijati* ‘please, favour’. In Germanic their nominal derivations are based on the *nt*-participle **fri(j)ōnd-* > (Goth. *frijonds* ‘friend’, OE *frēond* ‘friend, beloved one, kinsman’, ON *frændi* m. ‘friend; relative’, OHG *friunt* ‘id.’, etc.). The agent noun **priH-éh₂-tel-* yields OHG *friudil* ‘lover, beloved one, friend’ with feminine forms *friudila* and *friudilin* ‘girl-friend, concubine, bride, wife, etc.’, and Slavic **priateljь* > Rus. приятель ‘friend’, Slov. *prijatelj* ‘id.’, etc. (Krahe and Meid GS III / 181, Köbler Goth, ON, OHG s.v., Kroonen 2013: 155, Derksen 2008: 419–420, Matasović 2014: 28–30). The Iranian middle participle **frija-mna-* is reflected as Oss. I *lymæn*, Oss. D *limæn*, *nimæl* ‘friend, lover’ (Cheung 2002: 201–202).

¹⁴¹ Cf. IEW 482–483; EIEC 134–135

¹⁴² a similar derivational pattern as ἀδελφός (see I: 2.2.2 above)

¹⁴³ The word occurs, for example, in the *The Tale of Igor's Campaign* (line 56) in the meaning ‘beloved wife’, cf. ESSJa (VIII / 85–86) for the etymology and parallels in other Slavic languages.

¹⁴⁴ It may be a derivative of a primary verbal root **preiH-* ‘vertraut, lieb sein / werden’ attested only in the Indo-Iranian branch (LIV² 490) or of a secondary verbal root reanalysed from the nominal forms (cf. discussion in NIL 569–570, footnote 1).

¹⁴⁵ The search in DOE (s.v.) shows that the word was a hapax legomenon in Old English. It occurs only once in the poem “Exodus” (337) to describe the relationship between biblical Jakob and Esau.

II: 2.3.5. **póti*- and derivatives of **dóm*-, household and ownership

The concepts associated with house and household can also become the source of kinship terms. The most famous example is Modern English *husband* < (OE *hūs-bōnda*), whose original meaning was ‘farmer, householder’.¹⁴⁶ Similarly, Dan. (obs.) *hustru* ‘wife’ < **hus-fru*, cf. NHG *Hausfrau* (Buck 1949: 97). Gr. δάμαρ, -αρτος (Iliad+)¹⁴⁷ ‘wife’ (δόμορτις γυνή, Hesych) ‘wife’ and OInd. *dāra*- ‘id.’ might have originated from the locative **dmh₂-ér* ‘in the house’ from **dém-h₂*- ‘construction’ (the base of Gr. δέμας ‘body’, Pinault 2017a: 95). Lat. *uxor* ‘wife’ might also be reconstructed as **h₁uk-s-ōr* ‘the one at home’, probably a substantivisation of the adverb **h₁uk-s-ér*- ‘at home’, a delocative derivative of **h₁éuk-s-* ‘house, place of living’ (cf. Ved. *ókas*- ‘id.’, Gr. οἶκος ‘id.’) as suggested in Pinault (2013: 250, cf. also Höfler 2017: 25–26).

At least one term of this kind can be reconstructed for PIE, **póti*- (cf. IEW 842, EIEC 371, Pinault 2017c: 342) > Ved. *pāti*- ‘master; husband, lover’ (RV+), Av. *paiti* ‘id.’,¹⁴⁸ Gr. πόσις ‘husband’ (Iliad+), *pōtis* (adj.) ‘able, capable’, Lith. *pàts* (OLith. *patis*) ‘husband’ (formerly ‘master’), Toch. A *pats* ‘husband’, Toch. B *pets* ‘id.’. Feminine forms are Ved. *pātnī* ‘mistress; wife; goddess’ (RV+), YAv. *paθnī*- ‘mistress’, Gr. πότνια (Myc. *po-ti-ni-ja*) ‘mistress, queen; goddess’ (< **pótnih₂*, similar to **h₃rég-n-ih₂*- > *rājnī*-) along with Toch. B **epetsa* ‘consort, wife, fiancée’ (attested only in obl.sg. *epetso*, THT 275 b4) reflecting *(*h₁*)*n-potih₂*-¹⁴⁹ (as reconstructed by Pinault 2017c: 342, 348). Apart from numerous Indo-Aryan compounds and phraseologisms (see in ibid.: 343–344, 345–346), there are three word combinations that can have a PIE status: **dem-s poti* ‘master of the house’ > Ved. *dāmpati*- ‘id.’ (also used in the dual as ‘master and mistress of the house’), also *pátir dán*, OAv. *dāng paiti*- ‘id.’, Gr. δεσπότης ‘master (of the house), lord’, **g^hos(ti)-pet-* or **g^hos(ti)-poti-* > Lat. *hospēs* ‘host’, OCS господь ‘lord, master’, господинъ ‘id.’,¹⁵⁰ and **uók-s poti*- or **uók-ós poti*- ‘master of the village’ > Ved. *viśpāti*- ‘master of the clan’, YAv. *vīspati*- ‘id.’ and OLith. *viešpatis* or *viēšpatis* ‘master, lord’, OPrus. (f. acc. sg.)

¹⁴⁶ The word is borrowed from Old Norse: *hūs-bōndi*. The second element of this compound means ‘a man who has land and cattle’ (cf. Dan. *bonde* ‘farmer’), the present participle of the verb *būa* ‘to live, dwell, have a household’ (< PGm. **bōan*- ~ **būan*-, cf. Germ. *bauen* ‘to build’, < *PIE **b^hueh₂*- ‘wachsen, entstehen, werden’, LIV² 98–101), AHD (s.v. *husband*), Kroonen (2013: 71).

¹⁴⁷ Gates (1971: 69, footnote 62 with references to Harrison 1968: 5) states that in post-Homeric Greek the word δάμαρ was used to denote a wife whose children were legitimate in contrast to children of a concubine.

¹⁴⁸ Ved. *póti*- has a split paradigm depending on the context: gen./abl. sg. *pātes* of *póti* ‘master’, gen./abl. sg. *pātyur* of *póti* ‘husband; lover’ (analogically to *t₂*-stems that include kinship term, e.g., gen.sg. *bhrātur* ‘brother’). Avestan has both meanings but without morphological variations: OAv. (gen.sg.) *patōiš* (~Ved. *pātes*) (see the examples in AiW 821 and Kellens–Pirart II / 265 and discussion in Pinault 2017b: 339–341).

¹⁴⁹ For some reason unclear to me Pinault (2017c: 342) interprets this word as ‘co-mistress’, which should be similar to Ved. *sa-pātnī*- ‘concubine’. However, the prefix *(*h₁*)*n-* should obviously be equated to the preposition / local adverb **én-* / *h₁én-* ‘in’, cf. Toch. B *eprate* ‘resolute, steadfast’ < ‘having a resolution within’ (Dunkel 2014: II / 223 inc. footnote 16, cf. also OIr. *ingen* ‘daughter’, lit. ‘in-born’ mentioned in II: 2.2.2 and II: 2.4.3). What the meaning of such a compound could be is not quite clear. It might possibly be ‘the senior wife’.

¹⁵⁰ The change *t* > *d* in the Slavic word is not regular (cf. Derksen 2008: 180). There have been attempts to explain it by borrowing from Germanic (cf. Pinault 2017c: 341–342), but unlike Slavic none of the Germanic languages has preserved a reflex of this proto-form (cf. ESSJa VII / 61–63).

waispattin ‘housewife’, cf. also MPers. *-bed* ‘master, lord’ (in *mobed* < **magu-pati* ‘a Zoroastrian cleric’ or *dahibed* ‘the ruler of the land’, etc.). In Germanic this proto-form is reflected in the compound Goth. *brub-faþs* ‘bride-groom’ along with *hunda-faþs*, *þusundi-faþs* ‘leader of hundred / thousand’ (cf. *PW* III / 517, IV / 410, *AiW* 1463, *ESSJa* VII / 58–63, *CPD* 18, 23 Kellens–Pirart II / 254, Beekes 2010: 319, de Vaan 2008: 291, Kroonen 2013: 121, *ALEW* II / 743).

The most recent and fullest summary of the research history of the form **póti-* can be found in Pinault (2017c). Discussing and refuting earlier hypotheses, he proposes a new etymology based on an old assumption. The most straight forward scenario – mentioned among others in Sadovski (2001: 114–115) and Hackstein (2010a: 81) – is deriving this *i*-stem from a verbal root **pet-* that may have meant ‘to be strong, powerful’, which is, however, not attested independently. Verbal forms attested in Latin *pōtior* (< **poti-je/o-*) ‘to become master of, to take possession of’ and *potis esse* > *posse* ‘to be able’ are obviously secondary denominal coinages. The adjective *pōtens*, which looks like a present participle, can be a derivative of *possum*. The derivational history of Indo-Iranian verbal forms Ved. *pat* ‘possess; have power over, etc.’ (cf. *pátyate* 3sg.pres.mid.) and YAv. **paθiia-* (cf. *paiθimna-* ‘to have in possession’, Y. 57.20) (Grassman 1873: 763, *EWAia* II / 72) is less clear as they presuppose a reconstruction **pot-je/o-*. Pinault (2017c: 345) assumes that the point of departure should be an adjective **patyant-* parallel to *rājant-* ‘to be king’ or another kind of analogical formation. The hypothesis of Dunkel (2005) about **poti-* as a back-formation from **potej-Ø*, a false pronunciation of **ph₂tér-* by children does not seem convincing.

A completely different approach was already suggested by Schrader (1907: 337–341) and supported by Pedersen (1935: 80–88) and Benveniste (1954: 259–264). They noticed that some languages have homonymous particles of specification, limitation and identity or emphatic reflexive pronouns: Hitt. *-pat* ‘the same, self, aforementioned, etc.’,¹⁵¹ Lith. *pāt* ‘precisely, just, self, etc.’ (indeclinable emphatic particle) and *pàts* (f. *patì*) ‘oneself, the same, the very, etc.’ (declinable semi-pronomen), Lat. *ipse*, and YAv. *x^vaē-paiθiia-* ‘one’s own’ (OPers. *uvaipašiya-* ‘id.’). According to Benveniste, **poti-* might have originally been an emphatic reflexive pronoun ‘self’ that later developed into a full-fledged noun ‘master’. Such a semantic development is indeed attested: e.g., Lat. *ipse* ‘a chief person’,¹⁵² Dan. (dial.) *han selv* ‘the master of the house’ and *hun selv* ‘the mistress of the house’, Rus. *cam* (col., obs.) ‘master of the house; husband’ (cf. *ibid.*: 260). This hypothesis was meticulously analysed and criticised by Szemerényi (1964: 337–373). He collected many instances of usage of the aforementioned particles and pronouns and found out that they have many functions different from the semantics of ‘self’. In general, he was very sceptical about the PIE noun **poti-* being connected to the auxiliary words in question, but his own assumptions about the etymology of this word were even more speculative (*ibid.*: 388–389).

¹⁵¹ However, Kloekhorst (2008: 652) reconstructs it as **-b^hod-*.

¹⁵² Lat. *ipse* can be used with any person of authority: “*Ipse dixit*. – He himself (i.e., Aristotle) said it.” (König et al. 2001: 752).

The main aim of Szemerényi's argumentation was to prove that the possible reflexes of the PIE auxiliary word **-pat* could by no means be an emphatic reflexive pronoun, but merely an intensifier of some sort. His analysis of the Hittite evidence (ibid. 345–349) is fairly convincing. The semantics of Hitt. *-pat* is broad and indeed has many other usages apart from 'self'. For some reason unclear to me, he also included into the analysis OPers. *patiy / patiš* and Av. *paiti* (ibid.: 353–358) that have even less to do with 'self' than the Hittite particle. His argument against OPers. emphatic reflexive *uvai-pašiya* (ibid.: 358–362) sounds less convincing and his claim that the 'self'-semantics of Lith. *pāt* and *pāts* (ibid.: 349–351) is a calque of the Russian emphatic reflexive pronoun *сам* is already highly speculative.

The Russian word «сам»¹⁵³ is by itself a topic for a PhD thesis (e.g., Goncharov 2015) and a challenge for both historical and general linguistics.¹⁵⁴ It belongs to the Proto-Slavic vocabulary **samъ* 'on one's own, by oneself' (cf. OCS *самъ*, Slk. *sám*, Bulg. *сам*, etc.), but its semantics and morpho-syntax is not completely the same in all Slavic languages (Chernykh 1999: 137). The usage Szemerényi characterised as a calque from Russian is probably the most typologically common usage of emphatic reflexives: Lith. *jis pāts* 'he himself' (~ Rus. *он сам*) or *pāts karālius* 'the king himself' (~ Rus. *сам король*). One can express it in English (with *himself*) or in German ("er selbst" or "der König selbst") in the same manner. No explanation as contact phenomenon is necessary here. The only striking parallel in these two languages are so-called 'self'-superlatives: Lith. *pāts gerāsis* 'the best' (~ Rus. *самый лучший*), also common for Latvian (*pats labais* 'id.') and Ukrainian (*самий добрий* 'id.') (cf. Goncharov 2015: 94–95 with references to Ambrazas et al. 1997, Weiss 2006 and others). This pattern is, however, completely unknown for other Slavic languages and must, thus, be an East Slavic innovation.¹⁵⁵ This is a question for another research, but I would preliminarily say that in this case Lithuanian influence over Russian or a common Baltic-East Slavic innovation cannot be excluded either. Therefore, the semantic of the Lithuanian noun *pāts* 'husband' and the homonymic auxiliaries need not be explained by Russian influence and can be natural developments within this language.

As for Pinault (2017c), he agrees with Szemerényi on the point that the noun **poti-* cannot be a direct reanalysis of **pot(i)-* 'self' but does not deny their connection altogether. He supposes that

¹⁵³ Strictly speaking, like Lithuanian Modern Russian has actually two differently inflected forms adjectival «самый» and pronominal «сам».

¹⁵⁴ The problem begins with the lack of a convincing etymology. The Pre-Balto-Slavic form is reconstructed as **sōmō-* (Snoj 2003 s.v.). Slavists are usually inclined to ascribe it to the derivatives of PIE **sem-* 'one, single' (>>> Ved. *samā* 'the same', OPers. *hama-* 'id.', Gr. *ὁμό-*, etc., ibid.) due to its core meaning in Slavic languages 'one, on one's own, by oneself, alone, etc.'. Dunkel (2014: II / 724 footnote 39 with references to Darms 1978: 172, 482) lists it among the derivatives of the anaphoric pronoun **sō-*.

¹⁵⁵ In South and West Slavic languages superlatives are coined with the prefix *nai-* added to the comparative form of an adjective: e.g., Slov. *mlad* m. 'young' – *mlajši* 'younger' – *najmlajši* (PONS Slovenian, s.v.) Pol. *młody* – *młodszy* – *najmłodszy* 'id.' (Ermola 2011: 58–59). There are also synthetic superlatives but with other auxiliary words. Prescriptive grammars of Ukrainian prefer forms with *nai-* too (*вищий* 'tall, high' – *вищий* 'taller, higher' – *найвищий* 'the tallest, the highest', cf. Mušinskaya 2014: 71), but this is obviously due to language policies rather than purely linguistic factors.

the starting point was a particle *-pot*¹⁵⁶ that served as an intensifier expressing the idea of exclusiveness and excellence (just as the Lithuanian auxiliaries do). He assumes that such a morpheme could be used in constructions like **h₁uésu-Hom h₁uésu-pot-i n.* (or *h₁uésu-pot-i-s m.*) ‘exclusively good of all good ones (= the best)’ with **poti-*, which had become inflected, as a suffix. The same morpheme could be used in phrases like **uik-ós-poti-s* ‘the clan itself’ > ‘the essence of the clan’ > ‘the lord of the clan’. Eventually, **poti-* was extracted from the genitival phrases of this kind and reanalysed as a full-fledged noun ‘master, lord’.

The hypothesis about the connection between the auxiliary **-pat* and **poti-* is fascinating and semantically plausible but morphologically problematic and requires too many additional assumptions. It may well be an instance of homonymy (cf. Dunkel 2014: II / 631–632). Moreover, the classical hypothesis about a verbal root **pet* ‘to be powerful’ as the basis of **poti-* cannot be rejected altogether. The word belongs to one of the most archaic layers of PIE vocabulary (as the above-mentioned collocation **déms *poti-* indicates, in which the older unproductive gen. sg. **déms* instead of the younger and more productive **dm-és* is used) and can be a relict form of a no more productive verb much the same as with **g^hen(h₂)-* and other kinship terms discussed in this section.

II: 2.4. Siblings

As I discussed in chapter I (esp. I: 2.2.2 and I: 2.3.2), sibling terms due to their diversity in the universal perspective cannot be considered basic. On the other hand, terminology of the genealogical type, the main function of which is to accurately describe who is whose child or parent, must be programmed to have one or two specific terms for children of the same parents (either ungendered ‘sibling’ or two gendered terms ‘brother’ and ‘sister’) distinguishing them from other relatives of the same generation. In this case, their etymology is usually based on the idea of being born to the same parents or in the same family. Therefore, a sibling term is one of the contextual realisations of the proto-concept ‘offspring’ (see the discussion and examples in I: 2.3.2, and Milanova 2020). All these presumptions seem to be true for the PIE sibling terms.

II: 2.4.1. **b^hréh₂tēr* ‘brother’

The acrostatically inflected *ter*-stem **b^hréh₂ter-/ *b^hréh₂tr-* (cf. AiW 971–972, IEW 163–164, Kellens–Pirart II / 274, EIEC 84, Gharib 1995: lemma 479, 789, 2131, 2704, Blažek 2001: 24–25, NIL 38–41, Hassandust 2011: I / 510, Schmitt WAPKI 154) is attested in the majority of IE languages: e.g., Ved. nom.sg. *bhrātā*, dat.sg. *bhrātre*, OAv. nom.sg. *brātā*, YAv. nom.sg. *brāta*, gen.sg. *brāθrō*, Sogd. *βrāt(ar)*, Khot. *brātar-*, Bctr. *brado*, *barado*, OPers. nom.sg. *brātā*, MPers. *brād(ar)*, Parth. *brād(ar)*, Arm. nom.sg. *elbayr*, gen.sg. *elbawr*, Lat. *frāter*, Goth. *broþar*, OIr.

¹⁵⁶ Otherwise, the Hittite form would sound as **paz* (ibid.: 348 with references to Melchert 1994: 177).

bráth(a)ir,¹⁵⁷ OCS *brat(r)ъ*, OPrus. *brāti*, Toch. A *pracar*, Toch. B *procer*. The Greek word φράτερ (Att.) / φρήτηρ (Ion.) denotes the member of the φράτρα, and thus ‘kinsman’, ‘clansman’. An innovation ἀδελφ(ε)ός (< **sm-g^helb^h-ejo-* ‘co-uterine’, see also in **I: 2.2.2, 2.3.2**) was coined instead.¹⁵⁸ The Ossetic cognate (*æ*)*rvad* acquired a similar meaning ‘relative; a person with the same surname’ (Abaev *IESOJa* II / 437–439, cf. also Oss. *ævšamær* ‘brother’ **I: 2.3.2** and **III: 3.1.2**).

Anatolian and Albanian have no reflexes of this form. The Albanian word *vëlla* has an unclear etymology. *EIEC* (84) assumes that the derivational prehistory of the word must be Proto-Alb. **waládā* < **awadl-ā* < **awá-del* ‘mother’s brother’s son’ (Proto-Alb. **awa* < **h₂eu^hh₂os* ‘mother’s brother’, see **2.5.1** below). Orel (1998: 503–504) suggests another etymology: **swe-laudā* (< **leudh-* ‘people’) ‘one’s own man’, which is more plausible than the previous suggestion. The Anatolian evidence will be discussed separately (see **II: 2.4.3** below).

The derivational prehistory of the suffix **h₂ter-* and its role in the etymology of **b^hréh₂ter-* will be discussed in section **II: 3.1**. As for the root element of this word, if one ignores hypotheses such as that of Trier (1947: 255), who interprets **b^her-* as ‘fence’, the association of this element with the verbal root **b^her* ‘bring, carry’ (*LIV*² 76, *NIL* 15–30) seems uncontroversial in the literature. Disagreement only exists with respect to the exact semantic relation. Szemerényi (1977: 24–32) famously suggested segmenting the word as “**b^hr-ātēr-*”, **b^hr-* being the zero-grade of **b^her* with the transitive meaning ‘to keep well-looked after, hold in honour’ and “**ātēr-*”, probably, the oldest word for ‘fire’. This etymology, however, offers a few problems. First of all, the postulated form “**ātēr-*” did not mean ‘fire’ but obviously ‘a fireplace’ (**h₂eh₁-t(-)r-*¹⁵⁹ as per de Vaan 2008: 60, Lat. *āter* ‘black’ ← ‘like a fireplace’). Secondly, a verbal governing compound of that type (verbal head + noun) requires a full-grade root noun as the head (or more productively a thematic or otherwise enlarged stem like in the OInd. type *bharád-vaja-* ‘carrying winner’s prizes’), not a zero-grade of the root (cf. Dunkel 1992). Finally, the image of a fire-keeper (or rather ‘hearth-keeper’) in IE cultures is usually associated with a female character, e.g. wives and mothers or Vestal Virgins in Rome. Therefore, Szemerényi’s etymology fell out of favour in recent decades.

The majority of scholars of recent decades (Carruba 1995:154, Pârvulescu 1996, Blažek 2001: 25, and Pinault 2007: 276–7, 2017: 89) are inclined to think that **b^hréh₂ter-* was still derived from the root **b^her*, but in the meaning ‘to give birth’ nominalized as ‘birth’ (> ‘offspring’). Such a formulation conforms to the general typological observations (discussed in **I: 2.3.2** above) very well. The semantic development ‘bring, carry > give birth’ is by itself fairly common: e.g., English

¹⁵⁷ The Irish word was reanalysed as specifically ‘member of a religious community, monk’. The term for ‘male sibling’ is *derbráthair*, lit. ‘real brother’ (*eDIL* s.v. *bráth(a)ir* & *derbráthair*).

¹⁵⁸ Kretschmer (1910) assumed that this etymology of the word implies matrilineal descent. This hypothesis was, however, dismissed by Hermann (1935: 101) and Gonda (1962), cf. also the discussion in **I: 2.3.2** above.

¹⁵⁹ It may have an etymological connection with the root **h₂eh₁s* ‘make dry (by means of heat)’ (*LIV*² 257).

bring forth, OHG *trächtig* ‘pregnant (about animals)’, Slov. *nosečnica* ‘pregnant woman (lit. ‘female carrier’), Pash. (←Arab.) *hāmīlā* ‘pregnant (also lit. ‘female carrier’), etc. Finally, **b^her* and its derivatives in IE languages show many meanings associated with birth and pregnancy.

Reflexes and derivatives of **b^her* denoting procreation and children are attested in many IE branches. In Iranian we come across YAv. *barəθrī-* ‘a pregnant woman; womb’ (see 3.1 below), YAv. *baraiti* is ‘to bring forth (about animals)’ (Vidēvdāt 15, 49), NPers. *bār* ‘burden; foetus’ (< Proto-Iranian **bār-a-*) and *bārdār* ‘pregnant (lit. having a foetus)’ (*ESIJ*a II / 96–97), Pash. *wārla* f. ‘pregnant, esp. of mares’ (< **baratī*, Pres. Part., *NEVP* 90). One of the meanings of OIr. *breth* is ‘child-bearing, parturition’ (*eDIL* s.v. *breth*). An interesting example is Slavic **bermenъnъ* ‘loaded > pregnant’ (> Rus. *беременная* ‘pregnant’, Pol. *brzemienna* ‘id.’, Bulg. *бременна* ‘id.’) derived from **bĕrmę* n. (> OCS *бръма* / *brĕmę* ‘load, burden’, ORus. (Novgorod) *берѣмя* ‘armful, bundle, burden’, Cz. *břímě* ‘heavy load, burden’, BCS *brěme* ‘weight, load, pregnant woman’). The acute intonation of Russian and Serbo-Croatian indicates that we should reconstruct the form as **b^hérH-men-* (*ESSJa* I / 195–197, Derksen 2008: 37). In this case, it would formally correspond to Ved. *bhárīman-* n. ‘Erhaltung, Ernährung, Nahrung’, post-Vedic also m. ‘Haushalt, Familie’. However, Vedic and Old Indic also had a simple *aniṭ*-form *bhárman-* n. ‘Erhaltung, Pflege, etc.’, later also ‘Last; Lohn; Gold, Nabel’ (Grassman 1873: 929, *PW* V / 214, 218) parallel to Gr. *φέρμα* ‘fruit of the earth; fruit of the womb’. *EWAia* (II / 249 with references) assumes that *bhárīman-* can be secondary, coined analogically to such forms as *jániman* (see I: 2.3.2 above) with etymological *ĩ* (< **H*). The Slavic accent may also originate from the long grade of the root vowel, and **bĕrmę* should probably be reconstructed as **b^hér-men-* (> Ved. *bhárman-* ‘Trage, Darbringung’, RV VIII 2:8, *ibid.* and Jasanoff 2017: 168).

The root **b^her* in the meaning ‘to give birth’ is especially prominent in Germanic. It was obviously one of the established meanings of the verb **beran* already in Proto-Germanic because most of its reflexes have it as well: Goth. *bairan*, ON *bera*, OE *ge-beran*, OHG *beran*, etc. The noun **barna-* n. ‘child’ (Goth., ON, OHG *barn*, OE *bearn*, etc.) with a curious parallel in Lithuanian *bėrnas* ‘id.’ (*ALEW* I / 107) and **buri-* m. ‘son’ (Goth. *baur* ‘id.’, ON (poet.) *burr* ‘id.’, OE *byre* ‘son, child’) may also have a Proto-Germanic status (cf. Kroonen 2013: 53, 85). Further, there are quite a few other formations in specific Germanic languages. For example, one of the Gothic terms for ‘parents’ *bērusjōs* is also derived from this root. It is likely to be a plural (elliptical dual) of the unattested form **bēruzī* reconstructed by Bammesberger (1995: 5) as a relict of a perfect participle (f.) **b^hēr-us-ih₂* ‘die getragen Habende’ (cf. also Rau 2017: 378), i.e., ‘mother’.

Of special interest is the passive participle (*ge*)*boren*, which could be used in the meaning ‘consanguineal (relative)’ in Old English. The variant *boren* occurs in the King Alfred’s Laws (*LawAf* 1, 109: 42.7) quoted in II: 2.1.2.3 above: “æt his dehter æwum **borenre** – with his lawfully born daughter” and “æt his swistær **borenre** – with his born sister”. In the same text we also find “Æfter þære ilcan wisan mon mot feohtan mid his **geborene** mæge – After the same manner a man

may fight in company with his **born** kinsman (*LawAf* 1, 109: 42.6).” Sometimes it occurred together with ‘brother’:

Swa se dysiga talað, <pa><man> on bocum broðor nemnað þæt man mæne his geborene <broðru>; <ac><man> mæneð þæt ealle men syndon on Criste gebroðru, forþan þe we <habbað> anne fæder, & ane modor <...>

So the foolish man thinks, (when) in books ‘a brother’ is mentioned, that one means his **born** (**brothers**. But one) means that all men are brothers in Christ, because we have one Father and one Mother (*Evil Tongues* 35, 52, analysed and translated in McDougall & McDougall 1997: 219, 223)

and

Þēah þe græf wille golde strēgan brōþor his geborenum, byrgan be dēadum, mǣpmum mislicum <...>

Though a brother will strew with gold his **brother’s** grave and bury him among the dead with various treasures <...> (*The Seafarer* 97–99, translation from *the Exeter Book* II / 9)

The second excerpt shows that (*ge*)*boren* can be used not only as an attribute of a kinship term, but can also be nominalised in the meaning ‘brother’ (similar to Lat. *germānus* in Spanish and Portuguese, see **I: 2.3.2** above). Pârvulescu (1996) assumes that PIE **b^hréh₂ter-* might have originated from elliptic phrases like “*geborene (brōþor)*” or “*(frater) germānus*”. See further discussion in **II: 3.1** below.

II: 2.4.2. *s_uésor- ‘sister’

The form **s_uésor-* (AiW 1864, IEW 1051, CPD 95, Gharib 1995: lemma 4323, EIEC 521, NIL 680–683, Hassandust 2011: I / 514) is wide-spread throughout the entire IE continuum: e.g., Ved. nom.sg. *svásā*, dat.sg. *svásre*, YAv. nom.sg. *x^van̥ha*, acc.sg. *x^van̥harəm*, Sogd. *xwār*, Khot. *hvar-*, Bctr. *xoauo*, MPers. *xwah(ar)*, Parth. *wxār*, Lat. nom. sg. *sōror*, gen.sg. *sorōris*, Toch. A *ṣar* (< **ṣāsār*) and Toch. B *ṣer* (< **ṣser*),¹⁶⁰ OIr. *siur*, gen.sg. *sethar* (analogical to *mathair* ‘mother’ and *brathair* ‘brother’),¹⁶¹ Goth. *swistar*, Arm. nom.sg. *k’oyr*, gen./dat. Sg. *k’er* ‘id.’, Lith. nom.sg. *sesuō*, OCS *cecrpa*.

Formally the word looks like an amphikinetic *r*-stem stem, but such an interpretation is obviously not correct because neither the expected weak stem **s_uesr’-* nor the root **s_ues* are attested. In addition, most scholars prefer viewing it as a compound **s_ué-sor-* (Pinault 2013: 240).

The common Greek term for ‘sister’ is ἀδελφή, Ion. ἀδελφ-εή (see **I: 2.2.2** and **I: 2.3.2**), but a reflex of **s_uésor-* is marginally attested in Hesych’s list as ἑορ: θυγάτηρ ‘daughter’ ἀνεψιός ‘(first) cousin’ and ἑορες (pl.) προσήκοντες ‘(female) relatives’, συγγενεῖς ‘id.’ (*GE* s.v.). Janda (1999: 320–322) tries to connect this word to ὄαρ ‘wife’ reconstructing it as “**s_uós_r* ‘Frau (aus der eigenen Großfamilie)’”, while **s_uésōr* (collective) > ἑορ should designate “Gesamtheit der Frauen (aus der eigenen Großfamilie)” that can be reanalysed as a single person, parallel to **uód_r* ‘water’ vs. *uédōr* ‘waters’. This hypothesis presents at least two serious problems. First of all, such an

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Schindler (1967: 249)

¹⁶¹ Cf. McCone 1994: 283, Schrijver 1995: 47

interpretation presupposes that **súesor-* must again be based on a root **sues-*, which is not attested. Secondly the neutral gender of nouns like **uódŕ* can hardly be congruent to the semantics of *őap*. Pinault (2013: 241) suggests that *őap* cannot be related with *ěop* and should be reconstructed as either **h₂uós-r* ‘house, dwelling > the one in the house’ (from **h₂ues* ‘(ver)weilen, die Nacht verbringen’, *LIV*² 293) or **uós-r* ‘dowery’ (possibly a legal term ‘the one with dowery’ from **ues* ‘kaufen, verkaufen’, *LIV*² 693). The latter suggestion seems to be phonologically more likely than the former.

The Albanian term *vájzë* ‘girl’ is analysed by Orel (1998: 493 first suggested by Hamp 1986) as a reflex of **súesor-* (> Proto-Alb. **swesarā* > **vēharē* > **varē* > *vájzë*), but Stefan Schumacher (p. c.) and Marek Majer (*IG Ljubljana* §3) find this etymology doubtful. The Albanian word for ‘sister’ is *motër* (< **meh₂ter-*, see II: 2.1.2.1). There is quite an extensive literature on the prehistory of this word (summarised in Majer *IG Ljubljana* §1–2). The most plausible hypothesis, ideally compatible with the discussion in I: 2.3.2 above, was originally suggested by Hamp (1986, 1996) and elaborated by Majer (*IG Ljubljana* §3–5). They assume that Alb. *motër* is not a direct reflex of **meh₂ter-*, but a derivative with the meaning ‘born by the same mother’ > ‘sister’. Most probably it was a (Post-)PIE adjective **meh₂t-(e)r-o/eh₂-* ‘of the (same) mother’ or ‘having the (same) mother’ of the type **rot-h₂-o-* ‘having wheels’ (> Ved. *rátha-* ‘chariot’) derived from **rot-eh₂-* ‘wheel’. As Lat. *germānus* it might be an elliptic formation originating from a phrase like **meh₂t(e)reh₂ swesōr*, ‘sister from [the same] mother’ or ‘sister having [the same] mother’ (Majer *ibid.*: § 4).

Reflexes of **súesor-* were also borrowed a few times into Uralic languages. Finnish, Estonian *sisar* ‘sister’, Karelian *sizär* ‘id.’, Ludic and Veps *sizar* ‘id.’ < Finnic **sisar-* are borrowed from Baltic *sesor* (> Lith. *sesuō*). Udmurt *suzer* ‘(younger) sister’, Komi *sozor* ‘Fadenbruch (im Gewebe)’¹⁶² (< Permic **sozer*) and Mordvin (Erzya) *sazor(o)* ‘(younger) sister’, (Moksha) *sazâr(ă)* ‘id.’ and, possibly, Mari *šūžar*, *sêžar* ‘id.’ are borrowed from Indo-Iranian (Holopainen 2019: 222–224 with references to Joki 1973: 312, Katz 1985: 216, 2003: 175–176, *UEW* s.v. *sasare*, Rédei 1986: 58–59).

Since the time of August Pott and Franz Bopp the term for ‘sister’ is one of the most frequently discussed PIE words. Formally, **súesor-* looks like a compound consisting of two elements, most probably **sue-* and *sor-*. Both elements as well as the way they are combined are a question of much debate. The recent overview of the research history of this word can be found in Pinault (2013) and Harðarson (2014).

It has become a *communis opinio* that the meaning of **súesor-* should approximately be ‘a woman of one’s own family’ and that the second element of this compound should be a word for

¹⁶² Curiously, Russian dialects of the Archangelsk district, spoken very closely to the region where Komi is spoken, also used the kinship term «сестра / сестрица» in the context of handicraft. They denote paired threads in the weaving comb and knitting stitches (Kaczinskaya 2018: 138).

‘woman’. The interpretation ‘cognata femina’ consisting of the reflexive pronoun “**sva*” ‘one’s own’ and “**star*” (< “**su-tar*” ‘birth-giver’, cf. **suH*- **II: 2.2.1.1** above) and related to OInd. *strī* ‘woman, wife’ (**III: 3.2.1**) was suggested already by Pott (1833: 126) and supported by Bopp (1833: 1136 apud Harðarson 2014: 25), who interpreted the word as “angehörige Frau”. Schleicher (1861–1862 II / 338) had a similar opinion: “**sva-sutar* femina propria”. The first who suggested an almost modern reconstruction „*sva-sa₂r*–“ was Brugmann (1876: 394). He was also the first to connect the numerals **tisrēs* (< **tri-sr-ēs*) ‘three’ and **k^uéte-sr-es* ‘four’ in Celtic, e.g., OIr. (nom.) *téoir*, *cethéoir* and Indo-Iranian Ved. (nom.-acc.) *tisráh*, *cátasrah*, YAv. (acc.) *tišrō*, *catayrō* (for which see most recently Malzahn 2010 and Pinault 2013: 243, 245–256) and Lat. *uxor* ‘wife’¹⁶³ to reflexes of the element **sor-*. Meillet (1931: 8–9) und Benveniste (1935) further added YAv. *hāirišī-* ‘woman’ to the list. After the decipherment of Hittite, Ehelolf (1936: 184–186) noticed that Hittite feminine nouns and proper names have a motion suffix *-(š)šara-* (Hitt. *išha-ššara-* ‘mistress, lady’ vs. *išhā-* ‘master, lord’, ^l*Hištahšu-šar* vs. ^m*Hištahšu*, cf. also Luwian forms in **II: 2.4.3** below). Szemerényi (1967: 215–216, 1977: 37–38) added YAv. *ānhairī-* ‘female, woman’, CLuw. *ašrul(i)-* ‘feminine’, and *ašrulāhit-* ‘womanhood’ to this list.

Some scholars (notably Kim 2005, 2009) assume that **sor-* is also reflected in Toch. B *šarya* ‘beloved one’ (THT 33 a 4, etc.), but Pinault (2013: 241–242) rejects this suggestion because this word does not mean ‘woman’ at all.¹⁶⁴ The hypothesis of Kim’s (ibid.) that Oss. (D) *silæ*, (I) *syl* ‘female’ (see **III: 3.2.1** below) can belong to the derivatives of **sor-* has not become a communis opinio either. Willi (2010: 251 quoted in Harðarson 2014: 48) also believes that the Greek theonym Ἥρα (**Sérā* < **sēr-áh₂-*) is a *vṛddhi*-form of **ser-* ‘relating/belonging to women, of women’ > ‘the goddess of women’ (cf. Pinault 2013: 248 for the critique of this hypothesis).

Due to the form of YAv. *ānhairī-* and CLuw. *ašrul(i)-*, it has often been assumed that the word should be reconstructed with an initial vowel or a laryngeal as **esor-* or **h₁es-e/or-* (Szemerényi 1977: 35–38, Oettinger 1986: 124–125, Rieken 1999: 262, Kim 2005, Hackstein 2010b: 52–64). This hypothesis is not accepted by everyone. Pinault (2013: 247) and Harðarson (2014: 38–42) assume that these forms should be secondary. In particular, the Luwian word was obviously motivated by specific phonotactic properties of this language (cf. also Melchert 1994: 243, 267).

The first element of the compound seems to be related to the reflexive pronominal stem **sue-*, **se-*, **su-* ‘one’s own’ (Dunkel 2014: II / 751–762). Some scholars (Meillet 1933: 20, Benveniste 1969: 215) assumed that “**swe*” had a collective meaning ‘social group, extended family’. Hence,

¹⁶³ There have been a few suggestions about the derivational prehistory of Lat. *uxor* summarised in Harðarson (2014: 32–35). He prefers reconstructing it as a determinative compound **h₁uks-sōr* ‘house + woman’. (ibid.: 35, 48). This etymology is problematic because the existence of determinative compounds in PIE is doubtful (see the discussion below). See **II: 2.3.5** for an alternative interpretation.

¹⁶⁴ Tocharian has two words for ‘woman’. One of them, Toch. A *šām* ‘woman, wife, lady’, Toch. B *šana* ‘id.’, possessing a dignified value, is a reflex of PIE **g^uenh₂* (see **II: 2.3.3** above) The other one is an innovation, the generic terms for ‘woman, female’: Toch. A *k_uli* Toch. B *klīye* (*klyīye*, *klyiye*) (discussed in **I: 2.3.1** above).

the two most commonly accepted analyses of **súesor-* are ‘one’s own woman’ or ‘the woman of the extended family’. Both of them are semantically acceptable but morphologically problematic if we consider them to be compounds. Pinault (2013: 244 with references to Risch 1949: 290–294 and Meier-Brügger 2002: 297) argues that the existence of determinative (*tatpuruṣa*) compounds in PIE is highly doubtful. This view is criticised by some (Harðarson 2014), but is widely acknowledged by the majority of other historical linguists. Therefore, the well-known etymology “**su-esōr* the woman (member) of the joint family” suggested by Szemerényi (1977: 42–47)¹⁶⁵ cannot be accepted.

However, the hypothesis of a Bahuvrīhi-compound “**su-esōr* la consanguinea” (Pisani 1951: 7–8) and its more refined version “**su-h₁esh₂ōr* das Blut der eigenen Sippe besitzend” (Normier 1980/1981: 53–59), in which a heteroclitic noun **(h₁)ésh₂-r / (h₁)ésh₂-n-* ‘blood’ is postulated, also have their own shortcomings. The form **su-*, the zero-grade of **sue-*, is not attested in any other compounds (cf. Dunkel 2014: II / 751). Moreover, it would be more natural to coin compounds with *n*-stems (Harðarson 2014: 30 with references to Nussbaum 1986: 123).

Finally, Pinault (2013: 244–245) suggests that we should deal here with a phrase **súé- *sór-* ‘one’s own woman’, which had been unverbated before the pronoun acquired the feminine gender (became **súé-h₂-*). This hypothesis is not perfect either because it does not account for the usage of **súé-* in the oblique cases (Harðarson 2014: 31–32). However, Pinault’s general direction of thought may be correct. It is clear that some non-standard solution is necessary in this case.

One possible way out would be to assume that **súesor-* was neither a compound nor a nominal phrase, but a simple word with a motion suffix **-sor*. Anatolian examples indicate that it could exist both in the form of a root morpheme and in the form of a feminising suffix in the same language synchronically (cf. CLuw. *ašrul(i)-* ‘feminine’ and CLuw. **nānašri-* ‘sister’ as derived from **nāna/i* ‘brother’, see below). Hittite also shows that the suffix was not unproductive at a certain time in some dialect of PIE. The origin of the suffix **-sor* must be in the unverbated phrases or compounds, but **súesor-* need not necessarily demonstrate the process of grammaticalisation but already its result. The part of **súé-* could be easily explained if we take a look at *svās* ‘his own (people)’ and *bhártā svānām* “the supporter of his own (people family, clan, tribe, etc.)” in the passage ŚB XIV 4,1,19 (quotes II: 3.1.1). The pronouns *svās* (nom.pl.) and *svānām* (gen. pl.) of Ved./OInd. *sva-* ‘one’s own’ is used as a noun in this case. A nominalised **súé-* usually occurs in the form of derivatives (YAv. *x^oaētu-* ‘associate, relative’, Gr. ἔται (pl.) ‘id.’ ἑταῖρος ‘companion’, Rus. сват ‘father of the child-in-law’; (obs.) match-maker, see further in Dunkel 2014: II / 756, 759), but, as the Vedic example shows, occasional usage of a bare stem in

¹⁶⁵ In Szemerényi’s interpretation (ibid.: 42) “**sū-* ‘joint family’” is not a reflexive pronoun, but an abstract noun derived from **seuH-* ‘give birth’. Semantically, existence of such a form is possible and would fit well in my general hypothesis about sibling terms, but phonological difficulties and the fact that the noun “**sū-*” or “**sue-*”, which would denote an extended family, is not attested, do not permit me to accept his hypothesis. In this case, we should have a different pattern of coining a sibling term.

the meaning ‘relative’ or ‘friend’ is also not impossible. A similar usage of Rus. «свой» and is also imaginable¹⁶⁶ (cf. Lat. *sua* ‘mistress, a beloved one’, Cicero *Philippicae* 2.69.9). Therefore, **súesor-* could be an instance of a feminised pronoun (similar to Late PIE **súé-h₂-*) and could mean simply ‘one’s own (about a woman) / die Eigene’ > ‘female relative’. A possible problem with this solution is that we cannot be completely sure that the Anatolian pattern is valid for PIE. It seems likely that Anatolian languages reanalysed **sor-* as a (lexical) motion suffix because of contact with Akkadian and other local languages that had a masculine-feminine gender system and many motion formations (see II: 3.2 below). Whether PIE had such a trigger is questionable.

A more plausible scenario would be a compound with an adverbial head similar to kinship-term compounds having the adverbs **pro-* (‘one generation removed from someone’) and **(H)apo-* (‘two generations removed from someone’): e.g., Ved. *prá-napāt-* ‘great-grandson’, Lat. *pro-nepōs* ‘id.’, Gr. *πρό-παππος* ‘great-grandfather’, OPers. *apa-niyāka-* ‘great-great-grandfather’, Lat. *ab-nepōs* ‘great-great-grandson’, etc. Along the lines of Pinault’s hypothesis the origin of such compounds are unverbated phrases. In this case, the second element should be interpreted as a noun **sor-* ‘woman’, while the first one might be the pronominal stem **súé-* with adverbial semantics (Dunkel II / 754–756). Most probably it was either locative semantics ‘among our own ones’ or genitive one ‘of our own ones’. This hypothesis also explains the accent and ablaut vowels.

II: 2.4.3. Anatolian sibling terms

Anatolian does not have any correspondences with other IE languages as far as sibling terms are concerned. Hittite forms are *nekna-* / *negna-* ‘brother’ (only one syllabographic attestation voc.sg. *ne-eg-na*, KBo 20.31 obv. 6, otherwise as Sum. ŠEŠ or Akk. *AḪU*) and *neka-* / *nega-* ‘sister’ (well-attested both syllabographically and logographically as Sum. NIN or Akk. *AḪĀTU*). Besides, there are compounds ^(MUNUS)*annaneka-* (c.) ‘sister by the same mother’ (e.g., KBo 21.35 i 11) and *pappan(n)ikna-* (c.) ‘brother sharing the same father, paternal brother’ (e.g., KUB 26.5 iii 59). Further, there are Luwian forms CLuw. *nānija-* (adj.) ‘of a brother’, *nānaḫit-* ‘brotherhood’, *nānašrija-* (adj.) ‘of a sister’, and HLuw. *nanasri-* (c.) ‘sister’ indicating that Luwian sibling terms were **nāna/i-* ‘brother’ and *nānašri-* ‘sister’. Lycian terms are *nēne/i-* ‘brother’ and *nere/i-*¹⁶⁷ ‘sister’ (*CHD* N / 425 – 432, *HEG* N / 297–302, Melchert 2004: 44, *HED* N / 101–109, Kloekhorst 2008a: 176, 601, 627). In addition, the forms *Nana-* and *Nani-* are part of Anatolian anthroponyms such as Luwoid *Huhanani*, Lyc. *Ερμενηννις*, *Αρμουνανις*, Lyd. *Nannaś Bakivalis* (cf. *HED* N / 107 with references) and the form *-nika* occurs in Kanišite Hittite feminine names such as *šupia-nika* (along with *šupia-ḫšušar*, cf. Kloekhorst 2019: 57 with references to Laroche 1966: 308, see also II: 2.5.4 below).

¹⁶⁶ For example, in a state expression «быть своим т. / своей ф.» “to be part of / to be related”

¹⁶⁷ < **nenehri-*, cf. Luw. *nānašri* (Carruba 1969 / 1970: 269–72, 277 and 1978: 169)

It is debated how these forms are related to each other. The Proto-Anatolian form for ‘brother’ is usually reconstructed as **neĝno-* or **negno* with *ĝ* or *g*, which was only retained in Hitt. *nek/gna-* and disappeared before nasals in other Anatolian cognates (cf. Neumann 1991: 107, Kloekhorst 2008a: 601). It is conspicuous that in Luwian and Lycian the term for ‘sister’ is obviously derived from the term for ‘brother’ by means of the motion suffix originating from **sor-* (discussed in the previous section), but Hittite seems to show an opposite pattern (cf. *CHD N* / 431). The starting point seems to be PAnat. **neĝo-* or **nego-* ‘sister (?)’ reanalysed as Hitt. *neka-* / *nega-* ‘sister’ and Luw. **niĵa-* ‘id.’ (possibly attested as a part of the compound ^{LÚ/MUNUS} *ānni-niĵa-mi-* ‘cousin’, see **II: 2.5.4** below). The form **neĝno-/ *negno* ‘brother’ > Hitt. *negna* and Luw. **nāna/i-* look like its derivatives.¹⁶⁸ For some reason Luw. **niĵa-* was lost and a new term was coined on the basis of the terms for brother. This derivational scenario sounds plausible. However, in contrast to Eichner (1988–90: 383) and Watkins (1995), I would not try to find any sociological explanation of this situation (e.g., “matri- or thygatriphokale Kulturzustände”). In my opinion, it must have some internal linguistic reason.¹⁶⁹

This situation would be less confusing if the etymology of *nek/ga* and *nek/gna* was clear. But it is also a mystery. Some scholars (Melchert 1980: 95) state that these words do not have any parallels outside of Anatolian. We are either dealing with nursery terms or loanwords. In my opinion, if they should have any IE etymology, it would be most promising to view them as derivatives of the root **genh₁* ‘to give birth, to beget’, i.e., ‘belonging to offspring’ as the general semantic hypothesis assumes sibling terms to be (see **I: 2.3.2** above). In Anatolian this verbal root was not as productive as in many other IE branches but is attested: ^(UZU) *genzu-* (< **ĝénh₁-su-*) ‘abdomen, lap’, which had a metaphorical meaning ‘kindness, mercy’ (cf. *genzuu₂ala-* ‘kind-hearted’, Kloekhorst 2008a: 468). Eichner (1974: 185) made a cautious suggestion that Hitt. *nek/ga-* might reflect the proto-form **ĝénh₁eh₂* with a secondary metathesis in the root but has not developed this idea further. A similar hypothesis pertains to Hitt. *nek/gna*. Neumann (1991) interprets the word **h₁en-ĝénh₁-o-* “der, welcher (in die gleiche Familie) hineingeboren ist (wie seine Geschwister)” as OIr. *ingen* ‘daughter’ (see **II: 2.2.2** above) or Gr. ἑγγονος ‘grandchild; descendant’ (see **II: 2.5.1** below)¹⁷⁰ the first element being the preposition **h₁en-* ‘in’. Dunkel (2014: II / 551 incl. footnote 10) reconstructs Hitt. *nek/gna* as **ne-ĝn(h₁)-ó-* ‘born nearby’. Olsen (2019: 147) also suggests that the form might also be **me-ĝnh₁-ó-* ‘with-born’.

Steer (2015: 43–60) also shares the opinion that Anatolian sibling terms must be derived from **genh₁* and provides a detailed morphological analysis of these words. As it was already suggested by Neumann (1991, 1996), he chooses a compound **_h-ĝénh₁-* ‘in-born’ or ‘being in the family’ (with the zero-grade of **h₁en-* ‘in’) as a starting point. By means of internal derivation it was

¹⁶⁸ For example, Watkins (1995: 359) suggests Gr. τέκνον as an analogue.

¹⁶⁹ There is evidence that at least Neolithic pre-IE inhabitants of Anatolia (Çatalhöyük) were patrilocal and exogamous (Chyleński 2019).

¹⁷⁰ Steer (2015: 47) also provides an entire list of similar formations.

nominalised as a secondary amphikinetic noun **né-ĝonh₁-* / (gen.sg.) **n(e)-ĝnh₁-é/ós* ‘the one who is in-born / who is in the family’. He reconstructs the Proto-Anatolian paradigm of this word as (nom.sg.) **néĝō(n)*, (acc.sg.) **néĝōm*, (gen.sg.) **n(e)ĝn-ós*. The strong stem was later reanalysed as an *o*-stem **néĝos* (> Hitt. *negā-* ‘sister’), while on the basis of the weak stem an adjective of appurtenance **n(e)ĝn-ó-* ‘associated with sister’ (Hitt. *negna-* ‘brother’, Luw. **nāna/i-* ‘id.’, etc.) was coined. Such an etymology can also help to solve the Hittite ‘sister-brother’ controversy. In my opinion, PAnat. **néĝō(n)* need not mean specifically ‘sister’. It might have had a meaning ‘an in-born one’, ‘a relative living in the same house’, or ‘sibling’. Later the strong stem and the weak stem could be perceived as two different but related words and could be conventionalised as ‘sister’ and ‘brother’ respectively.

II: 2.5. Non-primary consanguineals

II: 2.5.1. General structural and semantic tendencies

Many IE terms for non-primary consanguineal relatives (grandparents, grandchildren, aunts, uncles, nephews, nieces, cousins) are derived from terms for the relatives of the first genealogical grade (mother, father, son, daughter, brother, sister). They are of special interest to anthropologists of the typological school, because they have a classifying value. Thus, Parkin (2015) states that attested IE kinship terminologies mainly belong to two types: the *zero-equation* (*Sudanese*, *bifurcate collateral*) type, when each secondary relative is scrupulously described according to their place in the *genealogical grid* (there are specific terms for FaFa and MoFa, SoDa and DaDa, MoBr and FaBr, etc.) and *cognatic* (*lineal* or *Eskimo*) type, when the gender of the linking relative is irrelevant (FaFa=MoFa, SoDa=DaDa, MoBr=FaBr, etc.) (discussed in I: 1.1.4 and I: 1.1.6.2 above). He assumes that the *zero-equation* type well-preserved only by the Indo-Iranian branch (the eastern fringe of the IE continuum) should be more archaic than the *cognatic* type. This conclusion is motivated by the general hypothesis of the Oxford school of kinship studies that the *cognatic* type is the most advance evolutionary type of kinship systems (discussed and criticised in I: 1.1.6.2 above).

In reality, the two types have a tendency to synchronically co-exist and can transform into one another in both directions. Both ancient and modern Germanic kinship terminologies show many instances of compounds / unverbated phrases that follow the *zero-equation* pattern. They are especially productive in the Skandinavian languages. However, such terms usually co-exist with terms that follow the *cognatic* pattern. Thus, Old Norse had *fǫður-faðir* ‘FaFa’ and *mōður-faðir* ‘MoFa’ along with the more ancient *afi* ‘grandfather’ (see II: 2.5.2.1 below) and *fǫður-mōðir* ‘FaMo’ and *mōður-mōðir* ‘MoMo’ along with *amma*¹⁷¹ ‘grandmother’. Modern Swedish and Danish likewise have *farfa(de)r* ‘FaFa’, *morfa(de)r* ‘MoFa’, *farmo(de)r* ‘FaMo’, *mormo(de)r*

¹⁷¹ < **ammōn* ‘parents’s mother, wet nurse’, cf. NHG *Amme* ‘wet nurse’ (Hansen 2017: 209).

‘MoMo’, but Danish also has *bedstefar* ‘grandfather’ and *bedstemor* ‘grandmother’. Further, Old Norse had terms *fǫður-brōðir* ‘FaBr’, *mōður-brōðir* ‘MoBr’, *fǫður-systir* ‘FaSi’, *mōður-systir* ‘MoSi’ (ONP s.v.), reflexes of which are still well-preserved in Modern North Germanic languages along with *cognatic* French loanwords Dan., Nor. *onkel* and *tante*, Sw. *onkel* and *tant* (Parkin 2015: 224 with references to Barlau 1981: 199). Similarly, Old English *sunu sunu*, *dohtor sunu* co-existed with *nefa* ‘grandson’ (see II: 2.5.2.2 below). Irish has *mac mic* ‘SoSo’ and *mac inghine* ‘DaSo’ parallel to *garmhac* ‘grandson’ and *inghean mic* ‘SoDa’ and *inghean inghine* ‘DaDa’ parallel to *gairinghean* ‘granddaughter’ (Buck 1949: 109, 111).

Moreover, different segments of the same terminology might be different (e.g., terms for uncles and aunts can follow the *zero-equation* pattern, while terms for grandparents can be *cognatic*, cf. Lat. *avus* ‘grandfather’ and *avunculus* ‘MoBr’, see II: 2.5.2.1 below).

Further, unlike Parkin (2015) we should distinguish between *zero-equation* terms proper (e.g., established terms for FaBr and MoBr, such as ORus. стрый / строи ‘FrBr’ and уи ‘MoBr’, or OHG *Vetter* ‘FaBr’ and *Oheim* ‘MoBr’, see II: 2.5.2.1 and II: 2.5.3.2 below) and simple descriptive compounds or phrases such as NHG *Vaters Schwester*. The former do indeed seem to be gradually disappearing from the IE languages of Europe, but the latter can occur in any language and at any time. Some of them may be established terms such as OIr. *bráthir athar* ‘FaBr’, *bráthir máthar* ‘MoBr’, *siur athar* ‘FaSi’, *siur máthar* ‘MoSi’ (eDIL s.v.) or Sogd. *xwāre-zātē* ‘SiSo’. However, some are obviously occasional: e.g., Gr. πατράδελφος ‘FaBr’ along with πάτρω (see II: 2.5.3.1 below), Latv. *tēvabrālis* ‘FaBr’, *mātesbrālis* ‘MoBr’ alongside with a genitival derivative *tēvocis* ‘FaBr’ and a French loanword *onkulis* ‘uncle’ (see below), *tēvamāsa* ‘FaSi’, *mātesmāsa* ‘MoSi’ parallel to *tante* ‘aunt’ (Buck 1949: 113, Parkin 2015: 211–212).

As far as ancient texts are concerned, it is sometimes difficult to decide whether such compounds and phrases are established lexicalised kinship terms or *ad hoc* formations in the context of translations or specific legal terminology. Thus, Parkin (ibid.: 220) claimed that πάππος ‘grandfather’¹⁷² and τήθη ‘grandmother’ (see below), which are not mentioned in the most ancient Greek texts, must have ousted an ancient *zero-equation* pattern realised through terms such as Gr. μητροπάτωρ ‘MoFa’ (Iliad 11.224) and πατροπάτωρ ‘FaFa’ (Pindar *Pythian* 9.82). According to observations of Gates’ (1971: 20), the former terms are indeed not mentioned in Homer, but he believed that the usage of μητροπάτωρ was not motivated by the absence of πάππος in the active vocabulary of Homer but by the needs of the narration as it was important to specify the linking parent. The most vivid example how such occasional descriptive references can be used in fiction is a passage from Goethe’s *Faust* (I have chosen as an epigraph for I: 2.3.2) when in reply to Gretchen’s question “Wer liegt hier?” the crowd answers “Deiner Mutter Sohn”. The usage of this

¹⁷² This word seems to be a derivative of πάππα ‘daddy’ (cf. II: 2.1.1.3 above). In my opinion, its derivational prehistory might have been similar to πάτρω (see II: 2.5.3.1 below), but later it was reanalysed as a simple masculine o-stem.

descriptive phrase does not imply that the German of the legendary Faust or the German of the 18th–19th cc. did not have an established kinship term for ‘brother’. Here it is obviously used as a kind of euphemism in order to avoid saying directly “Your brother is deadly wounded”.

The question why *zero-equation* terms proper are disappearing from the languages of Europe is also not that simple. As one of the social reasons, Parkin (2015: 229–230) mentions an increasing predominance of the nuclear family, for which precise specification of non-primary relatives is unimportant, but, as a whole, he is inclined to view it as a typologically programmed process. I find the latter assumption of his rather speculative (see **I: 1.1.6.2** above). I do not believe that a comparison with the Indigenous Aleut people (“Eskimos”), whose ethnonym is used to denote the *cognatic* pattern, is reasonable in this case as their kinship terminology is of age-gender type and apart from the *cognatic* pattern for non-primary relatives has little in common with kinship terminologies of Europe (see **I: 1.1.6.3** and Read 2013: *Introduction*). However, it would not be wrong to assume that decreasing relevance of all forms of collective identity in the modern world can indeed be one of the reasons of such a simplification and impoverishment of European kinship terminologies.

An observation of Parkin’s that he did not emphasise in his article seems to be more valid. He mentioned that increasing predominance of *cognatic* terms for non-primary relatives first appeared and was most comprehensive in the post-Latin Romance languages. Guerreau-Jalabert (2013: 63) assumes that this reorganisation of kinship (or rather transition from uni-lineal to bilateral descentence rules) took place in the time of the Church Fathers (4th–8th centuries CE), but it had been slowly growing ripe in the Roman Empire (cf. also Harders 2013 and Moreau 2013).

If we put the data on the map and take into consideration historical circumstances, the correlation between the depth of the Romance (especially Norman-French and later Modern French) influence and the spread of the *cognatic* pattern (sometimes together with direct or calque borrowings) is fairly robust. It is old and deep in the territories where Romance languages are spoken, in English and other languages of Britain, and in Dutch. Modern Greek terms for non-primary consanguineals are also ideally *cognatic* (Andromedas 1957 and below), which can be explained by deep and long-termed mutual influence in the Greek-Roman world. In German and languages farther from the core zone this feature is younger and less consistent. Standard languages tend to have *cognatic* patterns, while dialects may preserve *zero-equation* terms much better.

The circumstances in which this structural feature emerged, the time at which it took place (transition from Antiquity to the Middle Ages) and the area of its spread permit to cautiously label it as a SAE feature (see **I: 1.2.1** above). However, this feature is not all-embracing and can clash with other areal tendencies in specific parts of Europe. Thus, the North Germanic and Baltic languages obviously have a local preference for *zero-equation* terms at least for parents’ siblings and their children, sometimes combining them with French loanwords or innovations with a *cognatic* pattern (see above). Similar contradictory tendencies are also common for their

neighbours speaking the Finnic languages of the Uralic family.¹⁷³ Languages of the Balkan-Carpathian region (Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian, Slovak) show an even stronger tendency to preserve the original *zero-equation* pattern in contrast to other Slavic languages (cf., Parkin 1995, Parkin 2015: 209–219 and examples in **II: 2.5.2.1** and **II: 2.5.3.2**).

It should be emphasised that this feature was more linguistic than sociological both in the core zone and on the margins, because women and female lineage were not considered completely equal to male heirs and male lineage well until the beginning of the 20th century. Especially as far as the crown and other high titles are concerned, women were taken into account only in exceptional cases. Thus, in the 19th century the Russian non-primary kinship terms already followed the *cognatic* pattern, but exactly at this time the Tsar title could be transmitted exclusively through the male line.

As far as purely linguistic patterns (outside of the *zero-equation* vs. *cognatic* dimension) are concerned and apart from descriptive phrases or compounds, there are several other ways to coin terms for non-primary relatives.

A frequent pattern is ‘big father / mother’, especially wide-spread in Western Germanic and Celtic languages of the recent millennium, which can again be a contact phenomenon with French (cf. *grand-père* and *grand-mère*), but occurring in other languages and epochs too: OInd. *pitāmaha* ‘FaFa’ and *pitāmahī* ‘FaMo’, *mātāmaha* ‘MoFa’ and *mātāmahī* ‘MoMo’ (PW IV / 716, V / 702, Delbrück 1889: 474), Dutch *grootvader* and *grootmoeder*, NHG *Großvater* and *Großmutter*, Rom. *tată mare* and *mamă mare*, Bret. *tadkoz* and *mammgoz* (Buck 1949: 109–110, cf. also Welsh *tad* in **II: 2.1.1.3** above). Curiously, this semantic pattern can also be found in kinship terminologies of *age-gender* type, but they interpret ‘big father’ and ‘big mother’ as different kinds of uncles and aunts: e.g., Tamil *appā* ‘Fa’ – *periyappā* ‘father’s elder brother (FaeBr)’ (and a number of other male relatives older than the father), *ammā* ‘mother’ – *periyammā* ‘MoeSi’ (and a number of other female relatives older than the mother) (Trautmann 1981: 34),¹⁷⁴ similarly Udm. *amaï* ‘father’ – *бадзымамаï* ‘FaeBr’, *анай* ‘mother’ – *бадзыманай* ‘FaeBrWi’ (Dushenkova et al. 2008 s.v.).

A related pattern is “old father / mother”: OE *ealdfæder* and *ealdmōdor*, OIr. *senathair* (lit.) ‘old father’ and *senmáthair* (lit.) ‘old mother’ (*eDIL* s.v. *senathair* and *senmáthair*), also Lith. *sénmotė*,¹⁷⁵ Latv. *vec(ais)tēvs* and *vecāmāte* (cf. Latv. *vecāki* ‘parents’ **II: 2.1.3** above), Rus. (dial.) *мать / мама стара*.¹⁷⁶ Like parents (see **II: 2.1.3**), grandparents can be referred to as simply ‘old(er) ones’: Lith. *senelis* ‘grandfather’ (along with *tėvukas*, see below), *senelė* (obs.)

¹⁷³ Standard Finnish has, for example, a cognatic pattern for grandparents (*isoisä* ‘GrFa’ and *isoäiti* ‘GrMo’) but a curious hybrid pattern for parents’s siblings (*setä* ‘FaBr’, *eno* ‘MoBr’, *täti* ‘aunt’). Standard Estonian has *vanaisa* ‘GrFa’ and *vanaema* ‘GrMo’ *onu* ‘uncle’ and *tädi* ‘aunt’, but some dialects of this language can have either a system of three terms for parents’ siblings similar to the Finnish one or a full-breed *zero-equation* system (Koski 1990, Samps Holopainen and Jeremy Bradley, p.c.)

¹⁷⁴ There are also *ciṇṇappā* ‘FayBr’ and *ciṇṇammā* ‘MoySi’ (ibid.)

¹⁷⁵ *EIEC* (239) assumes that the word can even be reconstructed for PIE **seno-mah₂ter*.

¹⁷⁶ < **steh₂-ro-*, cf. **II: 2.5.3.2** below for the Slavic examples

‘grandmother’ (cf. Lat. *sēnex* ‘old man’). The latter is now replaced by *močiutė* (see below) and *bobutė*¹⁷⁷ (Buck 1949: 109–110, Smoczyński *SEJL* 408, Parkin 2015: 210, Munck and Dapkunaite 2018: 70).

The symmetrical pattern ‘small children’ as a reference to grandchildren seems to be confined to Modern French and its direct contact partners (Fr. *petit-fils* ‘grandson’ and *petite-fille* ‘granddaughter’ and its calques Dutch *kleinzoon* and *kleindochter*) and ‘grand-children’ to the languages of Britain (along with Modern English also Ir. *garmhac* < **gor-mac* ‘grandson’ and *gairinghean* < **gor-inghean* ‘granddaughter’, *gor-* is a cognate of Gr. ὑπέρ ‘above, beyond, etc.’, Lat. *super* ‘id.’, cf. Buck 1949: 111–112, Matasović 2009: 398, Dunkel 2014: II / 835–838). Symmetrically to grandparents, who are ‘the old ones’, grandchildren can be called ‘the new ones’: HLuw. *naṃa/i-* ‘great-grandson’ (cf. CLuw. *nāṃa/i-* ‘new’, Hitt. *nēṃa-* ‘new, fresh’ reflecting PIE **néu-o-* ‘new’ attested in many IE languages (Melchert 1994: 263).

Many attested IE terms for non-primary relatives are genitival or possessive formations of terms denoting children and parents: Gr. υἱωνός¹⁷⁸ m. and υἱδοῦς m. ‘SoSo’, υἱωνή f. and υἱδῆ f. ‘SoDa’, and derived from υἱός ‘son’ (see II: 2.2.1.1 above) and θυγατρίδοῦς m. ‘DaSo’ and θυγατρίδῆ f. ‘DaDa’ derived from θυγάτηρ ‘daughter’ (see II: 2.2.2 above) along with ἑγγονος ‘descendant’, (lit.) ‘in-born’, which has become an established term for grandchildren in New Greek (εγγονός ‘grandson’ and εγγονή ‘granddaughter’), OInd. *dauhitra-* ‘DaSo’ > Hindi *dohitā* ‘id.’ and OInd. *pautra-* > Hindi *potā* ‘id.’ (cf. III: 5.2.2.1, Buck 1949: 111–112, *GE* s.v., cf. similar examples in the following sections). Lith. *močiutė* ‘grandmother’ is a diminutive / an appurtenance form of *móčia* ‘mother’,¹⁷⁹ *tėvukas* ‘grandfather’ (suffix *-ukas*, see II: 2.5.3.3) is derived from *tėvas* ‘father’ (see II: 2.1.1.1), but Latv. *tēvocis* means ‘uncle’ (Parkin 2015: 210–211). Lat. *mātertēra*¹⁸⁰ ‘MoSi’ (Plautus+) is derived from *māter* ‘mother’, *amita* ‘FaSi’ is a diminutive form of **amma-* (cf. Gr. ἀμμία ‘foster-mother’, etc. II: 2.1.2.4). Ved. *mātula-* ‘MoBr’ (Br+) (< **mah₂ter-o-*) is an appurtenance formation to Ved. *mātár-* ‘of the mother’ (cf. *EWAia* II / 347). Most of such derivatives are independent formations. However, some of them may have a PIE status (cf. **ph₂trou-*, **mah₂trou-*, and other similar forms in II: 2.5.3).

Some terms for non-primary relatives are derivatives of sibling terms. Their meaning can be simple (e.g., ἀδελφιδέος ‘nephew; BrSo, SiSo’ derived from ἀδελφ(ε)ός ‘brother’ with the genitival suffix *-id*) or tricky. Thus, the etymology of Lat. *sōbrīnus* (later *consōbrīnus*) ‘cousin, MoSiSo’,

¹⁷⁷ derived from *boba* ‘old woman’, cf. Rus. *baba* ‘(old) woman; grandmother’ (Buck 1949: 110).

¹⁷⁸ Olsen (2010: 186) reconstructs it as **suH₂iu-h₃n(h₂)-ó-* ‘the one under the charge of the son’ as a formation similar to Lat. *mātrōna* and *patrōnus* (cf. I: 2.3.2) if I understand it correctly. Along the lines of Nussbaum’s interpretation of the “Hoffmann suffix” as an instrumental hypostasis (in this case used as comitative), the word would mean ‘someone (together) with the son’, i.e., ‘someone on the side of the son’.

¹⁷⁹ derived from *motē* ‘woman, wife, (obs./dial) mother’ (see II: 2.1.2.1 above)

¹⁸⁰ with the comparative suffix **-ter-o-* (discussed in II: 3.1 below).

(*con*)*sōbrīna*, f. ‘cousin; MoSiDa’ (< **suesr-īn-o-* ‘he/she of the sister’)¹⁸¹ seems to imply that the word should have originally denoted sister’s children, which is reflected in Sp. *sobrino* ‘nephew’, Port. *sobrinho* ‘id., and this meaning was either widened or ousted by the meaning ‘cousin’ (French *cousin*) (see the discussion in Delbrück 1989: 511–512 and Beekes 1976b: 51–52). In my opinion, the core meaning should rather be ‘he/she associated with the sister’ and thus SiCh or ‘cousin’ (a kind of sister). The latter sounds strange if we mean a male cousin, but this meaning has parallels in Old Russian: «братанъ»¹⁸² m. ‘BrSo, nephew; cousin’ and «братан(н)а» f. ‘BrDa, niece; cousin’ and thus ‘someone associated / like a brother’ either male or female (SRJa XI–XVII I / 319), cf. also ORus. «сестреницъ» m. ‘SiSo, nephew’ (similar to Lith. *sestrėnas* ‘id. symmetrically to *broliėnas* ‘BrSo’,¹⁸³ Parkin 2015: 210) but «сестреница» f. ‘cousin’, obviously ‘someone like sister’ (SRJa XI–XVII XXVI / 97). Arm. *k’eri* ‘MoBr’ may be a derivative from Arm. *k’oyr* ‘sister’ and a morphological parallel to OInd. *svasrīya-* ‘SiSo’ < **suesr-ij-o-* ‘he/she/it of the sister’ along with *bhrātrīya-* ‘BrSo’ (cf. II: 2.5.3.1 below) with a curious semantic development, but it can also be an independent formation on the basis of **sue-* (see the discussion in Martirosyan 2010: 661).

IE languages have a few specific words to denote non-primary kin. For example, Greek had *τήθη* (< **d^hēd^heh₂*¹⁸⁴) ‘GrMo’ and its derivative *τηθίς*, -ίδος ‘aunt’ (lit. ‘she of the grandmother’ or ‘little grandmother’ with the suffix -*id*, Meier 1975: 51). The term for ‘uncle’ *θεῖος* might be a -*ijo-* derivative either from *τήθη* or simply from the same stem **d^hēd^h-* that lost its first syllable. Its motion formation *θεία* ‘aunt’ emerged in the 1st c. CE and ousted *τηθίς* (Gates 1971: 38). The words *θεῖος* and *θεία* have become the main terms for ‘uncle’ and ‘aunt’ in Modern Greek and were borrowed into the Romance languages (e.g., It. *zio* and *zia*, Sp. *tio* and *tia*). It is possible that this form is related to Slav. **dědъ* ‘grandfather’ (OCS, ORus. OSerb. дѣдъ / *dědъ*, Cz. *děd*, ect.) and Lith. *dėdė* ‘uncle’, but it cannot be proven. East Slavic forms (like Rus. дядя ‘uncle; (dial.) father’) due to ORus. written form дѣдѣ /*dědę*/ ‘uncle’ (originally possibly ‘FaBr’) and Serbian (Dalmatian) *dundo* ‘FaBr’ are sometimes assumed to be a Slavic *nt*-stem usually denoting small children or animals (ORus. телѣ / *tele* ‘calf’, робѣ / *robe* ‘child’, дѣтѣ / *dětę* ‘id.’, cf. Matasović 2014: 31–32, Olander 2015: 87), derived from *dědъ* and, thus, ‘small grandfather’ or ‘grandfather’s child’, but this hypothesis is not accepted by all scholars (Trubachev 1959: 85).

The two most ancient terms for non-primary consanguineal relatives whose PIE status is proven are **h₂eu_h₂(-o-)* ‘grandfather’ with its derivatives and **népōt-* ‘descendant; grandson; nephew’.

¹⁸¹ Olsen (2019: 150) prefers reconstructing this word as **suesri-h₃no-* with a modified form of the “Hoffmann” suffix (I: 2.3.2).

¹⁸² Olsen (2010: 164–165 and IG Ljubljana §4) assumes that Slavic formations of this kind (also OCz. *bratran*) should be reconstructed as **b^hrātró-h₃onh₂-* ‘someone having brotherly authority’ and may be a similar formation to Gr. *νιωνός* (see above), Lat. *mātrōna* and *patrōnus* (I: 2.3.2).

¹⁸³ But *brolienė* f. means ‘BrWi; sister-in-law’. This is a feminine counterpart of *svainis* / *svogeris* ‘brother-in-law’ (II: 2.6.8.2) in contemporary Lithuanian (Munck & Ruta Dapkunaite 2018: 70).

¹⁸⁴ with deaspiration of the initial *d^h* according to Grassman’s law

These words are problematic both in terms of etymology and in terms of semantics. In the 1950s–1980s they caused fervent debates between American and European anthropologists and linguists.

II: 2.5.2. **h₂euh₂(-o-)*, **népōt-*, and *nepos-avunculus* debates

II: 2.5.2.1. **h₂euh₂(-o-)* ‘grandfather’ (IEW 89; EIEC 237–238, 609)

This proto-form is reconstructed on the basis of Hitt. *ḫuḫḫa-* ‘grandfather’, HierLuv. *huha-* ‘id.’, Lyc. (gen.sg.) *xugaha* ‘id.’, Lat. *avus* ‘id.’, Arm. *haw* ‘id.’ (Melchert 2004: 86, Kloekhorst 2008a:352–353), ON *afi* ‘id.’ (Boutkan and Siebinga 2005: 86), and possibly Toch. B *āwe* ‘grandfather’ or ‘uncle’¹⁸⁵. Kloekhorst (2008: 353) points out ablaut and accent inconsistencies between the Hittite form, which should be reconstructed as **h₂uh₂-ó-*, and other cognates implying the proto-form **h₂éuh₂-o-*. That is why he assumes that the original form must be the root noun **h₂éuh₂-* that was later thematised.

The *o*-stems became the basis of **h₂euh₂-ij̥-o/eh₂-*, an appurtenance formation in *-ij̥o-*: Lat. *āvia* ‘grandmother’, Gr. (Hesychius) *αῖα* ‘mother, grandmother’, OIr. *aue* ‘descendant, grandson’ (< Proto-Celt. **awyo-*), OPrus. *awis* ‘uncle’, Lith. *avýnas* ‘MoBr’¹⁸⁶ (Proto-Slav. **ujb* ‘id.’ >) ORus. *уи* ‘id.’, OPol. *uj* ‘id.’, Pol. *wuj(ek)* ‘uncle’, Cz. (obs. / dial.) *ujec* ‘MoBr’, Slk. *ujko, ujo, ujec* ‘MoBr’, OSerb. *оуиць* ‘MoBr’, BCS *ùjak* ‘id.’, Bulg. (в)уйка, (в)уйча ‘id.’, вуйна ‘MoBrWi’ (Trubachev 1959: 81–84, EIEC 239, Derksen 2008: 507–508, Matasović 2009: 49–50, Beekes 2009: 31, Rau 2011/2012: 17–18).

Apart from simple *o*-stems denoting grandfather, there are also secondary *n*-stems **h₂euh₂-en/on-* with deviating meanings. As such they are attested only in Germanic: Goth. *awō* ‘grandmother’ and ON *ái* ‘great-grandfather’ (< PGm. **awōn*), which is the base of the Proto-Germanic form *awun-haima-* > OE *ēam* ‘MoBr’, OFris. *ēm* ‘id.’, OHG *ōheim* ‘id.’, MHG *ōheim(e)*, *æheim(e)* ‘Oheim, Mutterbruder, Neffe, Onkel, Schwestersohn, Vetter, Verwandter’, MLG *ōm, oem, ohm, òme, ohēm, oheim, òhem* ‘Oheim, Onkel, Mutterbruder, Schwestersohn, männlicher Verwandter, Vetter, Cousin’, MDu. (east) *ohem, oom, (o)ome* ‘uncle, grandfather, brother-in-law’ (Köber OHG, MHG, and MLG s.v., Boutkan & Siebinga 2005: 86). The meaning of the second element is not clear: either ‘home’ (‘he who lives in [or: belongs to?] the house of MoFa’, as per Osthoff apud Boutkan & Siebinga 2005: 86) or ‘dear’ like in Welsh *tad cu* < **tatos koimos* ‘grandfather’, (lit.) ‘dear father’, as per Much (apud Boutkan & Siebinga ibid.). Other derivatives of the *n*-stem are a Proto-Celt. **awon-tīr/-tro-* attested as OCor. *euitor* ‘uncle’, Corn. *ewnter* ‘id.’ MBret. *eontr* ‘id.’, MW *ewythr, ewythr* ‘id.’, and OIr. *amnair* ‘MoBr’ (< **awn-er*, by analogy with the *ter*-stems) ‘mother’s brother, maternal kinsman’ (Matasović 2009: 48, eDIL s.v. *amnair*, GPC s.v. *ewythr*, GK s.v. *ewnter*) and Lat. *avunculus* ‘mother’s brother’ reconstructed as

¹⁸⁵ The texts in which the word is used (THT 289 b 3, THT 1231 a4) do not permit us to interpret it unambiguously (cf. Thomas 1988 and CEToM s.v. *āwe* and *āwi*).

¹⁸⁶ Olsen (2019: 149) prefers reconstructing Lith. *avýnas* as **h₂auh₂i-h₃no-* with a modified form of the “Hoffmann” suffix (I: 2.3.2).

**h₂eu_h₂-on-tro/tlo*. The suffix seems to be similar to the appurtenance/diminutive suffix *-lo-* (discussed in II: 2.2.1.2 above) or it can be interpreted as a contrastive suffix **-ter-o-*, which can also have a genitival value (cf. Lat. *mātertēra* ‘MoSi’ in II: 2.5.3 below).

There is no convincing etymology for this word. In older sources one can find attempts to derive this term from the root **aw-* interpreting it as a cognate of either Ved. *ávati* ‘help, support’ (< **h₁euH-* ‘helfen, fördern’, as per LIV² 243f.) (Szemerényi 1977: 48) or Lat. *avēre* ‘desire’ (~ **h₂eu-* ‘enjoy’, as per LIV² 274) (Walde–Hoffmann 1938: 89). Recent sources do not suggest any etymology.

The main semantic problem of this form is the inconsistency between simple *o*-stems denoting grandfather (on either side) and derivatives with the meaning ‘MoBr; maternal uncle’. The two forms could even co-occur simultaneously within one language: Lat. *avus* ‘GrFa’ vs. ‘*avunculus*’ ‘MoBr’ (along with *patruus* ‘FaBr’, see II: 2.5.3). Somehow this inconsistency did not disturb the Romans and, thus, might have been acceptable for PIE people too. However, many scholars (Beekes 1976b) tend to view the meaning ‘MoBr’ as a secondary semantic development.

Another problem, which is rather a pseudo-problem, because it was formulated by scholars who neglected morphological details and interpreted **h₂eu_h₂(-o-)* and all its derivatives as the same form (e.g., Friedrich 1963, 1966 and Lounsbury 1964a, 1964b) is so-called ‘generational skewing’, in this case the usage of the same word for ‘grandfather’ and ‘uncle’. As many accurate historical linguists (such as Beekes 1976b and Hettrich 1985: 457) have pointed out before, there is a very clear morphological and semantic distinction between **h₂eu_h₂(-o-)* ‘GrFa’ and all other forms derived from it. Some of them (such as Germanic **haima*-forms) are obviously post-PIE. The *-ijo*-forms may have a PIE status, but it cannot be completely certain as appurtenance formations of this kind were very productive in many ancient IE languages. Moreover, apart from ‘MoBr’, *-ijo*-forms can mean ‘grandmother’ and ‘grandson’, i.e., they can denote any grandfather’s associate. Celtic and Latin forms construct a kind of Italo-Celtic isogloss. Therefore, from the point of view of morphology these are completely different words just like **h₂nér* and its motion formations are (see II: 2.3.1). The problem lies not in **h₂eu_h₂(-o-)* itself, but in the semantics of the word **népōt-*, which is contextually associated with it.

II: 2.5.2.2. **népōt-*

The term **népōt-/ *népot-/ *nept-*¹⁸⁷ m., **neptíh₂-* f. (cf. AiW 1039, IEW 764, CPD 57, Kellens–Pirart II / 274, EIEC 239–240, NIL 520–524, Schmitt WAPKI 219) designating grandchildren, nephews and nieces is attested in most IE branches: Ved. nom.sg. *nápāt* (RV+), dat.pl. *nádbhyas* (RV X 60:6) ‘descendant; grandson’ and voc.sg. *pranapāt* ‘great-grandson’ (RV VIII 17:13), *naptí* ‘(grand)daughter’ (RV+), YAv. nom.sg. *napā*, OAv. loc.pl. *naḥšu* ‘id.’, YAv. nom.sg. *napti*

¹⁸⁷ **h₂nep-ōt-*, as per Beekes (1969: 45) and Schrijver (1991: 21, 150–153, 363–366), but this reconstruction is not supported by others scholars.

‘granddaughter’, OPers. nom.sg. *napā* ‘grandson’, MPers. *nap* ‘id.’, Lat. nom.sg. *nepōs*, gen.sg. *nepōtis* ‘grandchild, descendant’, *neptis* ‘granddaughter’ (Afranius), *prōnepōs* ‘great-grandson’, *prōneptis* ‘great-granddaughter’, OIr. gen.sg. Ogam NIOTTA ‘sister’s son’, nom. sg. *nia*, gen.sg. *nieth*, *niath* / *niad* ‘son; the son of an exiled man who is a member of his maternal kindred, a nephew’ and possibly *necht* ‘grand-daughter or (?) niece (*eDIL* s.v.), ON *nefi* ‘nephew, kinsman’ and *nipt* ‘close relative, sister’s daughter’ (Köbler ON s.v.), OE *nefa* ‘grandson; brother’s son’ and *nift* ‘niece, step-daughter’, OLith. *nepuotis* ‘grandson; nephew’ and OLith. *neptė* ‘granddaughter’ (Vijūnas 2009: 178–179). Slavic forms (ORus. *нети* ‘nephew’, OSerb. *нети* ‘sister’s son’) and OLith. *neptis* reflect a *-ijo*-stem (cf. OAv. *naptiia-* ‘granddaughter’s husband; great-grandson’). ORus. *нестера* (< **neptera*) ‘niece’ is an innovation parallel to Indo-Iranian forms Ved. *naptar-* ‘grandson; offspring’ (> Hindi *nāṭī* ‘DaSo’, III: 5.2.2.1) and YAv. *naptar* ‘id.’ (Trubachev 1959: 76–79, *EWAia* II / 11–12).

It is not clear whether Greek has a direct reflex of **népōt-*. The alleged reflex is *νέποδες* attested in Odyssey (4.404): ἀμφὶ δέ μιν φῶκαι *νέποδες* καλῆς ἀλοσύδνης “and around him the seals, *νέποδες* of the fair sea-born one (an epithet of Thetis)”. The context permits two interpretations “offspring of the sea-born one” or “footless / swim-footed (creatures) (cf. *πούς* ‘foot’) of the sea-born one”. Later this word occurs in Hellenistic texts in the meaning ‘children’. Beekes (1969: 105–106) claimed that the interpretation ‘footless’ or ‘swim-footed’ should not be the right interpretation, but, in his opinion, *νέποδες* cannot be a reflex of **népōt-* either. Like Szemerényi (1977: 150) and later Schrijver (1991: 21), he assumed that ἀνεψιός ‘cousin’ must be a Greek reflex of **népōt-* and should be reconstructed as **h₂nept-ij-o-* with a laryngeal at the beginning of the word (Beekes 1969: 45). However, in Beekes (1976a: 52), he withdrew his earlier suggestion and interpreted ἀνεψιός as PGr. “**ha-neptio-*” and, thus, **sm-neptijo-* ‘co-grandson/co-nephew’ (cf. also Rieken 1999: 93), which is fairly similarly to Welsh forms *cefnder* ‘male cousin’, *cifnither* ‘female cousin’ < **kom-nepōt-* ‘co-grandson’ or ‘co-nephew’ and **kom-neptih₂-* ‘co-granddaughter’ or ‘co-niece’ (Benveniste 1969 I / 234).¹⁸⁸

Alb. *nip* ‘grandson, nephew’, *mbesë* ‘granddaughter, niece’ may be inherited; however, most probably, they are borrowings from Latin *nepōs* and *nepōtia* (Orel 1998: 250, 300). Tocharian, Anatolian and Armenian do not have reflexes of this form. The word was also borrowed into Etruscan: *nefts/nefs/nefis* ‘grandson’ from Italic (Steinbauer 1993: 288–292).

There have been a few attempts to explain the etymology of this word. Some scholars interpreted it as “**ne-pot(is)-*” ‘not a master’ (Bopp 1871 [1837]:189–190, Trubachev 1959: 78, Oettinger 2009, Olsen *IG* Ljubljana §3), “**ne(vo)pot-*” (Machek 1948: 98) ‘new master’, or “**(H)ne-pot-*” (from “**Han-*” ‘grandfather, ancestor’) ‘(little) master belonging to the grandfather’ (Szemerényi 1977: 150). However, such etymologies cannot be upheld because they do not

¹⁸⁸ A cousin term with a similar derivation prehistory is also attested in Uralic, precisely in Hungarian: *unoka-testvér* ‘cousin (lit. co-grandchild)’, see 2.5.3.3. for *unoka* ‘grandchild’, which is a Slavic loanword.

conform to the structure of the word. According to the current view, **népōt-* should be analysed as **nép-ōt-* similar to **mag^h-ōt-* ‘girl’ (> OHG *magad* ‘id.’) and should be a primary amphikinetic *t*-stem (Schindler 1975: 61, Vījūnas 2009: 169-180). Rieken (1999: 93) also admits a proterokinetic paradigm and thus either

sg.	nom.	<i>*nép-ōt(-s)</i>
	acc.	<i>*nép-ot-ŋ</i>
	loc.	<i>*nep-ét-i</i>
	gen.	<i>*nep-t-és</i>

or

sg.	nom.	<i>*nép-ōt(-s)</i>
	acc.	<i>*nép-ot-ŋ</i>
	gen.	<i>*nep-ét-s</i>

Both reconstructed paradigms are irregular. In a classical amphikinetic or proterokinetic paradigm the root in the oblique cases must have a zero-grade (gen. **ŋp-t-és* or **ŋp-ét-s*), but the root has the *e*-full grade in all cases.¹⁸⁹ However, the suffix ablaut *-ōt-* (in strong stems)/*-t-* (in weak stems), well-preserved in Indo-Iranian, Proto-Baltic and East Italic, indicates relics of an amphikinetic paradigm. An even more serious problem with this hypothesis is the postulated root **nep*, which does not have any other reflexes in any IE language.

Steer (2015: 25–42) assumes that this problem can be solved if we analyse **népōt-* as a secondary amphikinetic stem. This is an attempt to revive an old hypothesis with a new morphological analysis. Steer (ibid.) suggests that the point of departure should be a hysterokinetic compound **ŋ-pēt-* / (gen.sg.) **ŋ-pt-és* ‘helpless, powerless’ (see **poti-*, II: 2.3.5 above), which may be directly attested in Gr. ἡ-πεδ-ανός ‘weak’ and OInd. *ápatya-* ‘progeny (consisting of children)’ (< **ŋ-pet-jo-*) and might have become the basis of an internally derived amphikinetic noun **népōt-* ‘a powerless one > child’ (such as, e.g., HLuw. *ni-muwiza-* ‘child’ derived from *muwa-* ‘strength, courage’ or Gr. νήπιος ‘childish’ < **ŋ-h₁p-i₂jo-* ‘unable to grasp’, ibid. with references to Starke 1990: 452 and LIV² 237). This etymology sounds semantically plausible (cf. I: 2.3.1 above) and the morphological analysis is convincing. The only difficulty is an insecure status of the verbal root **pet-* ‘to be able, strong’ (see the discussion II: 2.3.5).

The semantics of this word is as contradictory as its morphology. It can denote grandchildren and children of one’s siblings. The former meaning is especially common for the most ancient attestations (see the examples above), but some languages can have both meanings even synchronically (e.g. It. *nipote* ‘grandchild; nephew, niece’, *nipoti* (pl.) ‘descendants’ and Romanian *nepot* ‘grandson; nephew’, *nepoată* ‘granddaughter; niece’, cf. Buck 1949: 111, 115). Curiously, Sp. *nieto/a* and Port. *neto/a* denote only grandchildren, while Fr. *neveu* and *nièce* only siblings’

¹⁸⁹ Such irregularities made some scholars (Tremblay 1996a: 101–102, 1996b: 50–51, 2003b: 236, 2004: 579) postulate an alternative acrostatic or “anakinetic” paradigm which is, however, unnecessary. However, the generalisation of **nep-* instead of *ŋp-* can also be explained by PIE phonotactic rules.

children. This meaning occurs in Latin texts (not before the 2nd c. CE) (Szemerényi 1977:156, Beekes 1976b: 49–55). Germanic languages seem to show both meanings from the beginning of their recorded history. In German the meaning ‘grandchild’ was traceable well into the 19th c. (Hettrich 1985: 458). Old Lithuanian attestations ($\approx$ beginning of the 16th century) denoted mostly grandchildren, while Slavic and Celtic only siblings’ children (*NIL* 521).

Beekes (1976b: 55) and Hettrich (1985: 458) conclude that the semantic change ‘grandchild’ $\rightarrow$ ‘sibling’s child’ or ‘grandchild $\rightarrow$ grandchild + sibling’s child’ in different IE branches was parallel but independent. Contact phenomena also played a part in this process. The distribution of meanings in the Romance languages correlates with their geographical position fairly well. Germanic languages might have gone through this change together / under the influence of French. In any case, Middle English borrowed this meaning from Norman French together with the lexical items themselves. Alternatively, Beekes (1976b: 53–55) suggested that the original PIE meaning might be neither ‘grandchild’ nor ‘sibling’s child’ but ‘offspring, descendant’, which is well-attested for Indo-Iranian cognates (Ved. *apāṁ nāpātam* ‘water’s offspring’, RV I 22:6a, YAv. *apam napā*, Yt. 19:51).¹⁹⁰ On the other hand, a semantic change ‘grandson’ $\rightarrow$ ‘descendant’ is also common (cf. Slavic *vъnukъ* in **II: 2.5.3.3** below, cf. also semantic development ‘(grand)parents’ $\rightarrow$ ‘ancestors’ **II: 2.1.3** above).

Another semantic challenge is associated with the fact that in some ancient and even new languages (see the example above) reflexes of **népōt-* denote specifically ‘sister’s child’ or ‘daughter’s child’, which makes it a logical counterpart for **h₂éu_h₂(-o-)*, allegedly ‘mother’s father’ and its derivatives denoting mother’s brother.

II: 2.5.2.3. “Matriarchy”, cross-cousin marriage, Omaha hypothesis, and their critique

Semantics of **népōt-* and **h₂éu_h₂(-o-)* with its derivatives puzzled linguists and anthropologists for a few decades. Some of them tried to find a sociological, extra-linguistic explanation for it. None of these hypotheses has received common acknowledgement, but I will mention them for the sake of research history.

Some scholars (Isachenko 1952: 61–73, Benveniste 1969: 223–237) suggested that these terms could be signs of matrilineal descent and cross-cousin marriage (see **I: 1.1.6.2**) when the ideal marriage partner for the male Ego was either FaSiDa or MoBrDa. This view was convincingly criticized by Beekes (1976b: 45–47) for the lack of positive evidence. Parallel- or cross-cousin marriages have occurred among some IE societies in recent millennia but, in most cases, were taken over from non-IE neighbours or caused by exceptional circumstances.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. also Rus. зять ‘DaHu / SiHu’ and сноха ‘SoWi / BrWi’ (**II: 2.6.3** and **II: 2.6.4**) that can also be viewed as instances of generational skewing. However, a more realistic explanation is that these words originally meant simply ‘bride-groom’ and ‘bride’ respectively. A generational skewing in ORus. братанъ ‘BrSo, nephew; cousin’ can also have a simple explanation ‘someone who is associated with or similar to a brother’ (see **II: 2.5.1** above).

In many cases, acceptance of cousin- and other consanguineal marriages by IE-speaking peoples is explained by contacts with cultures of the Southwest Asia. This must be a reason why particularly ancient and modern Iranian-speaking communities had / have such marriages (cf. Spooner 1965, 1966). According to Saadat et al. (2004), in Iran the rate of cousin marriages is 30% in the Shia Persian majority and 52,1 % for the Sunni Persian minority. Mazahéri (1938: 194 quoted in Beekes 1976b: 45) claims that it is FaBrDa who is considered to be the ideal partner for the male Ego.¹⁹¹ Cousin marriages are also common for Afghanistan, Pakistan, and even Muslim countries of Europe (Bosnia, Cosovo, Albania) (Bittles 2015: 37). The reason why the ancient Greeks accepted consanguineal (uncle- or cousin-) marriages could also be a substantial Near Eastern cultural influence. Notably, in Rome endogamy was usually strictly forbidden (Harders 2013: 24–25).

In general, the correlation between religion as the strongest cultural factor and the attitude to consanguineous marriages is robust (Romeo & Bittle 2014, esp. p. 7, Figur 1, Bittles 2015: 36). Cross-cousin and uncle-niece marriages are permissive in the Dravidian branch of Hinduism but are strictly prohibited / proscribed in its North Indian IE branch (see **III: 5.2.3** for further details). It can also be observed in the Greek and Russian Orthodox Churches, in which any kind of consanguineal marriage is likewise proscribed. However, it is allowed by the Coptic Orthodox Church. In the Roman Catholic Church a Diocesan approval was required for marriages of third cousins or closer until 1917. Further, consanguineal marriages are allowed in Protestantism, Judaism, Theravada Buddhism, Zoroastrism,¹⁹² and partially in Taoism and forbidden in Tibetan Buddhism and Sikhism (Bittles 2015: 36).

This overview indicates that most IE cultures try to avoid cousin-marriage. The most vivid example is North Indian Hinduism that has been resisting adopting the Dravidian marriage pattern for millennia. The difference between the Greek / Russian Orthodox (Indo-Europeanised traditions) and Coptic (Egyptian, Near Eastern) Orthodox Christianity is also telling. As for Christianity of West European type, its tolerance to cousin-marriage is full of contradictions. There are studies on cousin marriage in the British society of the 12th–19th century. This practice was alternately approved or prohibited depending on the ever-changing opinions of church authorities and whims of monarchs (Kuper 2002). It is also well-known that by the 19th century all royal families of

¹⁹¹ My native informants say that cousin marriage indeed exists but is gradually becoming less common in Iran. Curiously, they cannot say for sure whether parallel- or cross-cousin marriage is more preferable, which means that the tradition is already blurred.

¹⁹² Spooner (1966: 52–56) also mentioned an enigmatic practice referred to as *xwētūdās*, *xwētōdat*, or *xwētōdah* “next-to-kin marriage” (YAv. *xʷaēvadaša-* m., -*ṣi* f. ‘the one who married his nearest kin’, AiW 1860) in Pahlavi texts. This must have been a part of the Zoroastrian tradition allowing marriages with relatives of the first genealogical grade and even regarding them as a high virtue. However, if it indeed existed, it must have been a religious rather than social practice and usually occurred in the circumstances of polygyny. For example, when a man already had a wife unrelated with him, he could also marry his daughter, sister, or mother. In any case, due to the lack of sociological evidence, the existence of such a tradition in Ancient Iran is doubted by many scholars (Spooner *ibid.*: 53)

Europe were related to each other and, thus, in this social stratum, cousin marriages were mostly unavoidable (e.g., Queen Victoria herself was married to her cross-cousin). However, all this has very little to do with the PIE society and early IE peoples.

Exogamy and unacceptance of consanguineal marriages among IE peoples are also supported by archaeological and ancient DNA studies (Mittnik 2019 et al., Anthony 2019).

The semantics of *népōt-* and **h₂eu_h₂(-o-)* are most probably not associated with matrilineal descent, because the semantic of terms for affinal relatives (see **II: 2.6** below) speaks against it and there is little positive evidence for matrilineal societies in IE history.¹⁹³ As for terms like Gr. ἀδελφ(ε)ός and other terms for ‘children’ and ‘siblings’ derived from words like ‘belly’, ‘womb’, ‘to be born’, etc., they need not be viewed as signs of matrilinearity (see the discussion in **I: 2.3.2** above).

Another hypothesis that emerged and achieved some prominence in the middle of the last century and was an even more sophisticated attempt to combine historical linguistics with kinship studies was the so-called Omaha hypothesis. It was first suggested in the article “An evolutionary sketch of Russian kinship” (1963) by Paul Friedrich, who was a professor of Social Thought at the University of Chicago and a poet. In this article he tried to trace the evolution of Russian kinship from the Pre-PIE time until the middle of the 20th century. Each evolutionary stage had a different type of social organisation that he selected from the eleven types listed and described in Murdock (1949: 224–259, see **I: 1.1.4** above). Friedrich (1963: 23, endnote 11) wrote that the idea to ascribe the PIE kinship terminology to the Omaha time had been suggested to him by a famous anthropologist Floyd Lounsbury in personal communication. Later this idea was shortly mentioned by Lounsbury himself (1964a: 375, 1964b: 1091), and developed in Friedrich (1964, 1966a, 1966b) and Wordick (1970). The hypothesis had also some importance for Gates (1971: 39–82).

The main problem with this hypothesis, as it was formulated by Beekes (1976b: 47), is that none of the authors “gives clear and concrete parallels but only speaks in general terms”. It was especially the case with Friedrich (1963, 1966). For him both **h₂eu_h₂(-o-)* and all its derivatives were one form “awyos” which he glossed as ‘MoFa / MoBr’ (e.g., Friedrich 1963: 2) without any account of how he had come to such a conclusion. Further, (p. 3 and 8) he claimed that PIE and Proto-Slavic kinship terminology must have had terms for elder and younger siblings, but he does not give any examples from PIE or Slavic.¹⁹⁴ A relative age distinction for siblings and other relatives can indeed be expected from an Indigenous Americans terminology like the Omaha one, but most Slavic and other IE languages do not usually have terms with such semantics (see the discussion in **I: 1.1.6.3** and **I: 1.2** above). The hypothesis was, thus, being developed by ignoring the empirical data and contradicting the evidence. Notably, Wordick (1970) reconstructed

¹⁹³ There are some rare examples like matrilineal royal succession among the Picts (Boyle 1977) or *errēbu-* marriage in Anatolia (cf. **II: 2.6.3**), but the majority of IE cultures were patrilineal.

¹⁹⁴ He might have meant terms like Bulg. «братко» ‘elder brother’, but their PIE and even Proto-Slavic origin is highly doubtful (see the discussion in **II: 2.1.1.1** above).

**h₂eu_h₂(-o)-* along with its derivatives as one single item ignoring morphology and semantics (e.g., “H_aewyH_aós”, p. 252). This shows that questions on IE kinship terminology and its development cannot be solved without understanding the details of word formation.

If Friedrich had not been a professor at the University of Chicago but at some institution of less authority, his articles would probably not have attracted so much attention, but the hypothesis became somewhat fashionable in the 1960s–1970s. It was seriously discussed by Gates (1971) in the final part of his, in general, accurate and useful work. In any case, the Omaha hypothesis received its detailed linguistic critique already in Beekes (1976b), Szemerényi (1977), and Hettrich (1985). At the same time, kinship typologies themselves were subject to an even deeper critique by Needham (1971) and Schneider (1972, 1984) (see **I: 1.1.5** above). Moreover, this hypothesis cannot be justified from the point of view of areal studies (see **I: 1.2**). The precursors of the Omaha and Proto-Indo-Europeans were isolated from each other by aeons of years and thousands of kilometres and cannot have any shared features beyond mere chance.

The *nepos-avunculus* question may have a simpler solution. For example, Leumann (1888: 77 apud Delbrück 1889: 503–504) suggested that **népōt-* might have designated an orphan who was brought up in his mother’s father or mother’s brother household. Notably, some reflexes of **népōt-* (OE *nift*, see above) can have a meaning ‘step-child’. Along the same lines, Bremmer (1976, 1983) assume that the terms could be associated with the institution of fosterage described in Celtic, Greek, Indo-Aryan, Iranian, Slavic, Germanic, Latin, and even Hittite sources when a child was brought up in his mother’s brother’s or, more rarely, mother’s father’s family. Such a tradition could contribute to establishing good relationships between two extended families. Bremmer is, however, not explicit enough how his hypothesis solves the problem of **h₂eu_h₂(-o)-* ‘GrFa’ and its derivatives meaning ‘MoBr’, but from the logic of his argumentation it seems to be a symmetric semantic change. If ‘mother’s brother’ especially often became a foster-father, it was this kinship term that changed its meaning. The relationship between ‘mother’s brother’ and ‘sister’s son’ in IE cultures and beyond is anyway a topic in itself. In such a study, one should be especially careful with distinguishing mythology, fiction, legendary and half-legendary stories from scrupulous ethnography and be attentive to other details of the evidence, which has not always been done by Bremmer.

Beekes (1976b: 60) was not very critical about Bremmer’s hypothesis. He even suggested using NIr. *garmhac* ‘nephew; grandson’ that has a Middle Irish variant *gormac* ‘adoptive son’ as an example of similar semantic development. However, he did not believe that it can explain everything.

Further, one finds the hypothesis that **h₂eu_h₂(-o)-* might indeed denote ‘mother’s father’ because ‘father’s father’ was simply **ph₂tér-* (Risch 1944 quoted in Beekes 1976b: 57–58), which was criticised by Benveniste (1969: 226). Hettrich (1985: 463) insisted on viewing the meaning ‘mother’s brother’ for the derivatives of **h₂eu_h₂(-o)-* as post-PIE, which can, of course, be

confirmed by the morphological diversity of terms for ‘mother’s brother’ derived from **h₂eu_h₂-(o)-*. The semantic change, according to him, was caused by the transition from a nomadic to a more sedentary way of life and intensification of contact between the Ego and his mother’s family. For the same reason, **népōt-* changed its meaning to ‘sister/daughter’s son’ in some IE dialects. Gamkrelidze and Ivanov (1995) and *EIEC* (238) likewise assume that the terms for ‘uncle’ were restricted to the meaning ‘mother’s brother’ after a specific term for ‘father’s brother’ (like Lat. *patruus*, see **II: 2.5.3** below) had been coined.

In my opinion, ambiguous semantics of terms denoting non-primary younger relatives can be explained if we take a less biased glance on the traditional society. The attitude to children well until the beginning of the 20th century was much less considerate than ours today. They were not in the center of attraction in the family but had a rather marginal position. The birth of a child was usually an annually reoccurring occasion and its death was not as an uncommon event as it is now. One healthy woman could give birth to more than ten children in her life.¹⁹⁵ Thus, a man who had more than one wife could beget dozens of children, many of whom would die in childhood.¹⁹⁶ In these circumstances, men did not usually pay much attention to their children under a certain age. For example, in the Celtic society the distinction of children according to their inherited social status began only after they turned seven years old. Before that children of the nobility had hardly any more social value than children of slaves. From the age of seven to fourteen they were treated as half-valuable as their parents (cf. Karl 2004: 62–67 with references to Kelly 1988: 82–84). Therefore, it is not surprising that all small children in the household (the man’s grandchildren, his brothers’ children, his daughter’s or sister’s children fostered in the same extended family, and probably even his own younger children under a certain age) might indeed compile one large category of the least important members of the family, strategic supply in case his adult sons and daughters could not justify his hopes.

Another important fact that should be taken into consideration is that in a large family, in which the eldest sibling may be much older than the youngest sibling, there may be generational skewings (in a biological sense). Thus, the grandchildren of the eldest brother may be of the same biological age as children of his youngest brother (who will be nephews and nieces of the former).¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁵ An example from daily life ethnography is my own grandmother, who gave birth to eleven children in the period between 1935 and 1958, two of whom died in infancy.

¹⁹⁶ It is difficult to count death and birth rate in antiquity. Horn (2016: 301 with references) says that in Late Antiquity and the Byzantine world only half of newly-born children were destined to survive until the age of 10. For late Medieval and Early Modern Russian history an average good example was probably Tsar Alexei Michailovich, the second from the Romanov dynasty, who begot sixteen children with two wives and eleven of them (68.75%) survived until adulthood. An average bad example might be his son Peter I, who had eleven lawful children with two wives and only three (27.3%) of them survived.

¹⁹⁷ It can be observed in big families even nowadays. In the big family of my grandmother some of my cousin’s children (my genealogical nephews and nieces of the second grade) are of the same age as me or even slightly older. One of them had a child (my genealogical granddaughter of the third grade) when I was under 18 years old.

II: 2.5.3. *ou-* and *io-* derivatives and further appurtenance formations

II: 2.5.3.1. **ph₂trou-* and **mah₂trou-* and their derivatives

At least two secondary *u*-stems denoting non-primary consanguineal relatives may have a PIE status: **ph₂trou-* derived from **ph₂tér-* (II: 2.1.1.1 above) and **mah₂trou-* derived from **máh₂ter-* ‘mother’ (II: 2.1.2.1 above). A detailed morphological and semantic analysis of these forms is given in Rau (2011/2012). The secondary amphikinetic *u*-stems **ph₂trou-/ph₂tr̥u-* and **mah₂trou-/mah₂tr̥u-* are exemplified by Gr. *πάτρω*ς and *μήτρω*ς respectively that can have at least three different meanings in ancient Greek sources. The first meaning is ‘paternal uncle (FaBr)’ and ‘maternal uncle (MoBr)’ occurring in Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, and Herodotus. The second meaning is ‘FaFa’ and ‘MoFa’ or ‘ancestral kinsman on father’s or mother’s side’ (e.g., Stesichorus, Eustathius). In Rau’s opinion, this meaning can be confirmed by the adjectives *πατρώιος* / *πατρώϊος* and *μητρώιος* / *μητρώϊος* (Homer+) ‘belonging / pertaining to the father / mother’ that can be substantivized as *τὰ πατρώια* / *πατρώια* and *τὰ μητρώια* / *μητρώια* (n. pl.) ‘father / mother’s property (that can be inherited)’ (cf. Balkan South Slavic *baština* ‘id.’ in II: 2.1.1.1 above). Finally, *πάτρω*ς and *μήτρω*ς can denote any male kinsman on father’s or mother’s side as attested in the Law Code of Gortyn (see the sources and analysis of some texts in Rau 2011/2012: 3–11).

Genitival *io*-derivatives of **ph₂trou-* are attested in Indo-Iranian and Germanic. The Indo-Iranian forms are Ved. *pitr̥vya-* ‘FaBr’ (Brahm +) and YAv. *tūiriia-* ‘id.’ (V. 12: 15–18 together with derivatives *tūiriia-* ‘FaSi’, *tūiriio.puθra-* ‘FaBrSo’ and *tūiriia.dugdar-* ‘FaSiDa’) that can be reconstructed for Proto-Ir. as “**p₆Htr̥u-*io*-*” (Rau 2011/2012: 15–16). The Germanic forms are *fatureo* / *fataro* / *fetiro* ‘FaBr’, OE *fædera* ‘id.’, and OFris. *fidir(i)a* / *federia* ‘id.’ (< Proto-West-Germanic **fadurjan-* < PGmc. **faðurwijan-*). On the basis of these two forms one can reconstruct a PIE stem **ph₂tr̥u-*io*-* (ibid.: 17), of the same type as **h₂eu_{h₂-*ij*-o/eh₂-}* (discussed in II: 2.5.2.1 above). The suffix *-io-* can have two meanings: 1) belonging to someone / associated with someone (Lat. *avia* ‘GrMo’) 2) standing in a relationship of descent to someone (Lith. *avýnas* ‘MoBr = MoFaSo’) (ibid. 17–19).

Lat. *patruus* ‘FaBr’ should also be based on **ph₂trou-*. Rau reconstructs it as **ph₂treu-ó-*, a thematic *vṛddhi*-form, which is also known as a means of genitival derivation. Thus, it may have similar semantics as the suffix **-io-* in the previous form (ibid.: 20–23).

Finally, some languages also show related feminine forms: Gr. *μητρυνία* ‘step-mother’, Arm. *mowrow* (gen.sg. *mawrowi*) ‘id.’, OE *mōdrige* ‘MoSi’, OFris. *mōdire* ‘id.’, OHG *muotera* / *muatirra* ‘id.’ < **mah₂tr̥u_{h₂-*ij*eh₂-}* / **mah₂tr̥u_{h₂-*ij*eh₂-}* < ***mah₂tr̥éu_{h₂-*ij*eh₂-}* (cf. NIL 458, Rau 2011/2012: 23–24 footnote 49). Rau assumes that they might be either *devi*-formations on the basis of **mah₂trou-* ‘mother’s brother’ or exocentric derivatives of **mah₂trou-* ‘mother’s ascendant kinsman / brother’ and, thus, ‘one connected with the mother’s ascendant kinsman / brother’.

This argumentation of Rau’s is elegant and sounds convincing. However, I find his conclusion about the meaning of the *u*-stem excessively complicated. He assumes that the semantics of

**ph₂tr_u-i_{jo}*- ‘MoBr’ implies that the primary meaning of **ph₂trou-* must be ‘MoFa’. He also assumes that the general meaning of secondary *u*-stems must be ‘the one in charge of something / someone’ (e.g., **démo_u-/d_{mu}-* ‘the one in charge of the house(hold)’ > Gr. δμῶς ‘slave’, Ved. *dāmūnas*- ‘housemaster’ derived from **dómu-/dému-* ‘house’) (ibid.: 23). In my opinion, secondary amphikinetic *u*-stems (similarly to *i_{jo}*-derivatives) simply express the idea of appurtenance. In this function they have become especially productive in Slavic languages (see below), but they might have had this semantics already in PIE. I would also assume that the widest meaning of **ph₂trou-* and **mah₂trou-* ‘any relative on father / mother’s side’ must be the original one. Semantics of the adjectives πατρώιος / πατρώιος ‘of the father’ and μητρώιος / μητρώιος ‘of the mother’ would even imply that the meaning might have even been ‘anyone / anything associated with father / mother’ (people, houses, lands, property, etc.).

Thus, the core meaning of both **ph₂trou-* and **ph₂tr_u-i_{jo}*- (as of the Prakrit form *pittiya-* ‘FaBr’ < **ph₂tr-i_{jo}*- derived by means of *-i_{jo}*- directly from **ph₂tér-*, also quoted in Rau 2011/2012: 17) was simply ‘the one associated with the father’. The fact that **ph₂tr_u-i_{jo}*- has two suffixes of appurtenance at a time should not be a problem for an inflecting language in full bloom, but might only imply that this form is a few centuries younger than the underlying **ph₂trou-*. A similar case is the pair OInd. *bhrātrīya-* (adj.) ‘fraternal’, (n.) ‘brotherhood’, and (m.) ‘(Fa)BrSo; nephew’ (PW V/ 409, Monier-Williams 1899: 770/3) with the simple suffix *-i_{jo}-eh₂*- and Ved. (AV+) *bhrātrīya* ‘(Fa)BrSo; cousin’ (PW V / 409, Monier-Williams 1899: 770 / 2, cf. YAv. *brātruuiia-* m. ‘BrSo’ and *brātruuiiā-* f. ‘BrDa’, AiW 972) with the complex suffix *-u-i_{jo}-eh₂*-.

Secondary *u*-stems can often serve as a base for further derivations in Slavic languages. Complex genitival suffixes *-ov-(b)sk-* (<*-*o/e_u-sk-*)¹⁹⁸ and *-ov-ič/ć-* (< *-*o/e_u-ik-i_{jo}*-) are well-attested in Slavic personal names, surnames, and patronymics: e.g., *Kalin-ow-sk-i* or *Mark-ov-ić* (cf. also kinship term ORus. *брат-ов-учь* ‘BrSo’, Ulukhanov and Soldatenkova 2006: 26, Mengel 2014: 108–115). An even better example is Pol. *poemat Mickiewicz-ow-sk-i* ‘Mickiewicz’s narrative poem’ (Houle 2013: 39). In Russian one can say *отца-ов дом*, which already means ‘father’s house’, but it has an extended variant more common in the contemporary languages *отца-ов-ск-ий дом*.¹⁹⁹

All in all, both the simple secondary *u*-stems **ph₂trou-* and **mah₂trou-* and the complex stems derived from them seem to be appurtenance formations with a core meaning ‘of the father’ or ‘of the mother’. Their ultimate semantics in specific languages depended on the context and conventions.

¹⁹⁸ In a heterosyllabic position PIE **e_u* and **ou* yield Slavic *ov* (cf. Olander 2015: 53 with references). The suffix *-sk-* is obviously related to Germanic **-sk-* (> Scandinavian *-sk-*, West Germanic *-sk-* > NHG *-sch-*, ME *-sh-*) in adjectives of appurtenance: e.g. Dan. *dansk* ‘Danish’ or OE *englisk* ‘English’, etc.

¹⁹⁹ It goes without saying that very few Slavic words with such suffixes can be traced into PIE, but the uniformity of conglomerate genitival suffixes throughout the entire Slavic continuum indicates that they were already used in the Proto-Slavic epoch.

An alternative reconstruction of these two forms was originally suggested by Szemerényi (1977: 55–61) and elaborated by Olsen (2016, 2019: 151–152). According to this hypothesis, we are dealing here with a compound whose second element must be **h₂uh₂-* the zero-grade of **h₂eu₂h₂-* ‘grandfather, ancestor’ (cf. II: 2.5.2.1) and thus **ph₂tr-h₂uh₂-* ‘pertaining to the paternal ancestor’ and **mātro-h₂uh₂-* ‘pertaining to the maternal ancestor’. This hypothesis works well for these two forms but not for such forms as Ved. (AV+) *bhrātṛvya* ‘(Fa)BrSo; cousin’ and even less for Ved. *dāmūnas-* ‘housemaster’ (see above). Therefore, in my opinion, Rau’s morphological analysis of **ph₂trou-* and **mah₂trou-* as secondary *u*-stems sounds more plausible and sparing.

II: 2.5.3.2. Slavic **strǫjь* / **stryjь* ‘father’s brother’

All Slavic languages have or had specific words denoting FaBr or uncle originating from the proto-form **strǫjь* or **stryjь* (< Pre-PSl. **strǫjǐ*):²⁰⁰ OCS стрѣи / стрѣика / стрѣка / стрѣка стрѣя ‘FaBr’ (and a derivative стрѣня ‘FaSi’), ORus. стрѣи / стрѣи / строи ‘paternal uncle (FaBr); GrFaBr; great-GrFaBr’ (and derivatives стрѣиня ‘uncle’s wife’, стрѣичичь / стрѣичичь / строиичь ‘uncle’s son’), OPol. *strycz* / *stryczek* / *stryj* / *stryk* ‘FaBr’, also *stary stryj* ‘GrFaBr’ (lit. ‘old FaBr’) and *starszy stryj* ‘great-GrFaBr’ (‘older FaBr’), OSerb. стрѣи / стрѣицъ / стрѣя ‘FaBr’ (Trubachev 1959: 79–80, Derksen 2008: 470).

Some scholars (Mikkola 1908–1909: 124–125, Vaillant 1950, Isachenko 1952: 56–58, Trubachev 1959: 81–82, Pohl 1980) are inclined to view Slavic ‘FaBr’ as a cognate of Ved. *pitṛvya-* ‘FaBr’, YAv. *tūiriia-* ‘id.’ and the related West Germanic words (see the previous section). This hypothesis is perfect as far as semantics is concerned but has a phonological problem: the sound change **ptr-* > Balto-Slavic **str-* is not common (see the discussion in II: 2.1.1.1).

There is an alternative hypothesis connecting this form to Lith. *strūjus*²⁰¹ (OLith., dial.) ‘grandfather’, (17th/18th c.) ‘old man’, ‘uncle’ (Derksen 2008: 470, 2015: 432, ALEW II / 982–983) and Celtic forms OIr. *sruith* (adj.) ‘old, venerable’; (noun, m.) ‘sage, the Elder’, OW *strutiu* (pl.) ‘the old’ and OBret. *strot* ‘old man’ (cf. Falileev 2000: 143, reconstructed as **stru-ti-* by Matasović 2009: 357–358).

²⁰⁰ This Slavic form is traditionally reconstructed with *y* (< PIE **ū*), but a reconstruction with *ь* (< PIE **u*) is also possible and is now even more preferable (cf. Snoj 2003: 705). Although all Slavic languages apart from Russian show reflexes of PSl. **y*, the emergence of this sound can be explained by the “tense” position of *ь* before *j* (cf. Eckert et al. 1983: 107–108). Old Russian did not take part in this sound change and had forms with both *y* and *ь*. The latter was often written with *o*, which was at first a graphic alternative but became a real phoneme /o/ after the loss of “yers” (*стрѣи* > *строу* like *сънь* > *сон* ‘sleeping, dream’). According to the *NKRJa* (texts of the 11th–14th c.), all three variants were represented and sometimes even occurred together in the same texts (e.g., in the Kiev Chronicle 12th c. and in the Volhynian Chronicle 13th c., the former also has a few instances of the fourth variant of writing *стрѣи*, which obviously had a mere graphic value). The variant *стрѣи* was obviously an OCS variant and its co-occurrence together with the genuine Old Russian forms with *ь* and *o* was a manifestation of a diglossy (cf. Trubachev 1959: 80 with references to Lyapunov 1899).

²⁰¹ Derksen (2015: 435) claims that Lith. *strūjus* postulated by Būga RR (I: 486, II: 716, 722, III: 655) is not certain.

Pedersen (1909:81) and *LEIA* (S-189) suggested that all these words may have some etymological connection with OInd. *sthūrā-* ‘big, strong, thick, massy’, YAv. *stūra-* ‘strong’; OSw. *stūr* ‘big’, which is a *ro*-adjective from the stem **stéh₂-u-* ‘firm stand’ (*EWAia* II/ 768; Rau 2009: 123) derived from the root **steh₂* ‘wohin treten, sich hinstellen’ (*LIV*² 590). Rau (ibid.) views its derivational history as **stéh₂-u-*²⁰² ‘firm stand’ → **st^(h)h₂u-ro-* ‘firm, strong’ > **st^(h)uh₂-ro-*. The development from **stuh₂-ro-* to the expected form is complicated. There might have been a laryngeal metathesis with subsequent laryngeal drop: **stu(h₂)r-i̯o-* > BSl. **stru-i̯o-* and **stu(h₂)r-ti-* > Celtic **stru-ti-*.

If this etymology is correct, **str̥jb / *stryjb* must also be connected to Slavic **star̥b* ‘old’ (e.g., Rus. *cmар*, SCr. *stār*, cf. also Lith. *stróras* ‘thick, fat’) reflecting **stéh₂-ro-* (along with Ved. *sthirá-* ‘stable, strong’ < **st^(h)h₂-ró-*) (cf. Rau 2009: 164). Schrijver (1995: 453) tried to present this fact as a contra-evidence against this etymology arguing that **star̥b* belongs to the Slavic accent paradigm (a), i.e., it is usually stressed on the first syllable and cannot drop the sound *a*.²⁰³ In my opinion, this fact only means that **str̥jb / *stryjb* and **star̥b* must have been coined in the Pre-BSl. epoch independently from each other. Therefore, this etymology is worthy of taking into consideration.

Now the dichotomy **str̥jb / *stryjb* and **ujb* (II: 2.5.2.1) is well-preserved only in Serbo-Croatian and Bulgarian: BCS *стриц/stric* ‘FaBr’ and *ујак/ujak* ‘MoBr’, *стрина/strina* ‘FaBrWi’ and *ујна/ujna* ‘MoBrWi’ along with *тетка/tetka* ‘Fa/MoSi’ and *теча/teča* ‘Mo/FaSiHu’; Bulg. *стрико* along with *чичо* ‘FaBr’, *(в)уйчо* ‘MoBr’, *стрин(к)а* ‘FaBrWi’, *(в)уйна* ‘MoBrWi’ along with *лея* ‘Fa/MoSi’ and *тетка* ‘id.’ (cf. Trubachev 1959: 79–87, Kitanova 1999). Standard Slovenian and West Slavic languages tend to choose one of the two terms to denote both uncles: Slov. *stric* ‘uncle, Slk. *strýko* ‘id.’, Cz. *strýc* ‘id.’, Pol. *wuj(ek)* ‘uncle’ (while ‘aunt’ is Slov., Slk., Cz. *teta*, and Pol. *ciotka*), but dialects can still show both terms (Parkin 1995). East Slavic languages displaced both of them with innovations (e.g., Rus. *дядя* ‘uncle’ together with *тётя* ‘aunt’ and similar forms in other East Slavic languages, see II: 2.5.1).

II: 2.5.3.3. Slavic **v̥nuk̥b* ‘grandchild, grandson; descendant’

Slavic **v̥nuk̥b* is another interesting kinship term with a debated etymology. It is well-attested in all Slavic languages: OCS *вѣноукъ / v̥nuk̥b* (m.) ‘grandson; descendant’ along with *nt*-stem *вѣноуча / v̥nučę* (n.) ‘grandchild’ (*SJaStS* I / 308), Rus. *внук* ‘grandson’, *внучка* (ORus. *внука*) ‘granddaughter’ Ukr. *внук / онук / унук* ‘grandson’, *вну(ч)ка / ону(ч)ка / уну(ч)ка*

²⁰² The form **st^huh₂* has survived in compounds (e.g., YAv. *aša-stū-* ‘having strength through Aša’, Ved. *su-ṣthu* ‘well’) and derivatives (Ved. *sthūnā-* ‘pillar’, Gr. *στῦλος* ‘id.’) (Rau 2009: 123), the full-grade **stéh₂-u-* can be reflected in the Slavic *stav̥b* ‘Glieder’ (Rasmussen 1989: 101 with references to Kurylowicz 1968: 219).

²⁰³ I do not quite understand why Schrijver mentions the accent paradigm at all. The phoneme /a/ is stable and can hardly be dropped even unaccented, but he is right on the point that we cannot derive PSll. **str̥jb / *stryjb* directly from PSll. **star̥b*.

‘granddaughter’ Cz. *vnuk* ‘grandson’, *vnučka* ‘granddaughter’, Pol. *wnuk* (OPol. *wnęć*) ‘grandson’, *wnuczka* ‘granddaughter’ Slov. *vnuk* ‘grandson’, *vnúkinja* ‘granddaughter’, Bulg. *внук* ‘grandson’, *внучка* ‘granddaughter’, etc. (Trubachev 1959: 73–74, Derksen 2008: 530–531). This word was also borrowed into some Uralic languages: Hung. *unoka* ‘grandchild’ (gender irrelevant, obviously from some South or West Slavic source) and Mari *уныка* borrowed from Russian ‘id.’ (cf. Vincze 1978: 104, *MaDi* s.v.).

The most likely underlying Pre-Balto-Slavic form acknowledged by many scholars (e.g., *BER* I / 167, *ESUM* I / 410, Chernykh 1999 I / 158, Snoj 2003: 828, *ESSJe* Š–Ž / 333, *RES* VII / 326, Derksen 2008: 531, Olsen *IG* Ljubljana) should be **unouko-*.²⁰⁴ A much less likely form could also be **unanko-* / **unonko-*, which would yield **vbnqk*²⁰⁵ in Common Slavic (cf. “**Han-on-ko-*” as per Szemerényi 1977: 52 or “**h₂en-h₂en-ko-*” as per *EIEC* 386, cf. **h₂en(H)o-* in II: 2.1.2.2 above). This reconstruction is supported exclusively by the isolated evidence from Old Polish *wnęć* (*RES* VII / 326 with references) but contradicts all other attestations including the contemporary Polish form *wnuk*.²⁰⁶ In the Baltic languages this word is attested only as a borrowing from East Slavic (Lith. *anūkas* ‘grandchild; grandson’) and cannot help to solve this question. Completely speculative etymologies like the one suggested by Vaillant (1974: 536) will be left out of the discussion.

Even the most plausible Pre-Balto-Slavic form permits more than one etymology. The first syllable of the word **unouko-* must reflect PIE **(H)ŋ-*.²⁰⁷ In most cases the vocalised *ŋ* yields *in*, but especially in the first syllable, it may sometimes be realised as *un* (like PIE **h₁ŋ* ‘in’ > Slavic **vb(n)* ‘id.’ cf. Matasović 2004: 340, 347). The second syllable can be either a simple diphthong *ou-* or might have an initial laryngeal *Ho-*. The final syllable looks like the multifunctional nominal suffix *-ko-*, well-attested in many IE languages, especially Indo-Iranian and Balto-Slavic (Jamison 2009), but might also be a part of the root. Hence, the PIE form should be **(H)ŋ(H)ouko-*, which permits three or even four different interpretations.

The most obvious interpretation is an amphikinetic *u*-stem (like **ph₂trou-/ph₂tru-* II: 2.5.3.1 above), derived from **h₂en-* (cf. **h₂en(H)o-* ‘grandmother; grandparent’ II: 2.1.2.2 above). It was assumed by many scholars before (cf. Derksen 2008: 531), but was articulately formulated in Snoj (2003: 828) and *ESSJe* (Š–Ž / 333). They postulate a paradigm **h₂én-ou-/h₂ŋ-u-* ‘grandparent’, which might be attested as Lat. *ānus*, *-ūs* ‘old woman’. Its derivative **h₂ŋ-ou-ko-* with *-ko-* as a diminutive suffix should mean ‘small grandparent’ > ‘grandchild’. Such a semantics pattern is not

²⁰⁴ The prothetic *v* and monophthongization of tautosyllabic Pre-BSl. **ōu* > (BSl. *ǫu* > Early Common Slavic *ō* >) Late Common Slavic *u* are effects of the “Law of Open Syllables” and First and Second Common Slavic Vowel Shift (Olander 2015: 51, 62, 66 with references).

²⁰⁵ Monophthongization of nasal diphthongs (Olander 2015: 66).

²⁰⁶ The sound *q* would give a variety of sounds in different Slavic languages, cf. BSl. **rónka* ‘hand, arm’ > Rus., Cz. *ruka*, Pol. *ręka*, OCS. *rōka*, Slov. *roka*, Bulg. *rāka* (Derksen 2008: 439–440).

²⁰⁷ From the point of view of phonology, it does not matter which laryngeal it was. In the initial position before a vowel or a syllabic consonant all of them were simply lost (cf. Olander 2015: 47).

isolated, cf. OHG *Enkel* ‘id.’ (OHG *eniklīn* < **aninkilaz*) derived from OHG *ano* ‘ancestor; grandfather’ (Köbler OHG s.v.), Slov. *dedič* (*dédinja* f.) ‘heir(ess)’ derived from *ded* ‘grandfather; ancestor’ (ESSJe Š–Ž / 333), cf. also OIr. *aue* ‘descendant, grandson’ (II: 2.5.2).

This etymology sounds plausible both formally and semantically. The only doubtful part is the semantics of the *u*-stem in question. Lat. *ānus* looks very conspicuous against the background of its cognates, none of which is a *u*-stem (see II: 2.1.2.1), and must be some secondary derivative. Taking into account the discussion in II: 2.5.3.1 above, we can assume that it was a genitival derivative ‘belonging to the old’ or the like. As it is often the case also with *ijo*-derivatives, the idea of appurtenance may be understood in different ways: 1) being in a relationship of descent to someone (e.g., OIr. *aue* or Slav. **ujь*, see above, cf. Slov. *dedič*), 2) being associated with someone (Lat. *avia* ‘grandmother’ is associated with *avus* ‘grandfather’), or 3) being part of / one of, similar to, possessing qualities of (Ved. *narya* ‘viril’), which is obviously relevant for Lat. *ānus* ‘old woman’ (‘one of the old ones’). Therefore, as I see it, the core meaning of **h₂én-ōu-/h₂ŋ-ū-*, generalised in Slavic as **h₂ŋ-ōu-*, was probably ‘belonging to the grandparents’. In Latin the ultimate meaning became ‘of the same age as the grandparent / old person’. In Slavic it was most probably realised as ‘the one descending from the grandparent’ with a secondary diminutive / individualising suffix *-ko-*.

It is not improbable that a full grade complex suffix might have been established in Slavic parallel to a well-attested zero-grade possessive / diminutive suffix **-u-ko-* (> Baltic **-ukas*, Slavic **-ькѣ* > Rus. -ок), which can be found in Lith. *varn(i)ùkas* ‘a small raven’ vs. *var̃nas* ‘raven’, *broliùkas* ‘little brother’ vs. *brólis* ‘brother’, *tévukas* ‘grandfather’ vs. *tévas* ‘father’, Rus. сынок (ORus. сын-ѣк-ѣ) ‘little son’ vs. сын ‘son’, and цвет-ок (OCS цвѣт-ѣк-ѣ) ‘flower’ (i.e., ‘belonging to (ORus. цвѣтъ) blossoming’)²⁰⁸ (quoted in Brugmann 2006: 492–493). OPers. *Vahauka-* existing along with OInd. *Vasuka-* can be an indication that the full-grade might have existed along with the zero-grade (ibid.: 493). However, in this case it must be **-eu-ko-* > Slav. *-juk-*²⁰⁹ (cf. Machek 1957: 571–572). Such a possessive / diminutive suffix is attested mostly in East Slavic. It was usually used to coin patronymics (e.g., Мит-юк ‘son of (Д)митрий’) or designations of apprentices of various craftsmen (шевчук ‘tailor (ORus. швец)’s apprentice’), preserved mostly in Ukrainian and Belorussian surnames. Some scholars (Tolkachev 1976: 121–122) assume that Ukrainian and Belorussian dialects, which were under authority of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania until the 14th century, borrowed this suffix from Lithuanian and shared it with Russian dialects after becoming part of the Russian state. Thus, if Slavic **внукѣ* is really derived

²⁰⁸ In Slavic languages this suffix might have been extracted both from primary *u*-stems + *-ko-* (like «сын-ѣк-ѣ» ‘son’, which was a *u*-stem already in PIE, cf. II: 2.2.1.1) and from secondary *u*-stems + *-ko-* (like цвѣт-ѣк-ѣ, which is an *ō*-stem). It is also very difficult to distinguish between suffixes *-ькѣ-* and *-ѣкѣ-* (OCS вид-ок-ѣ ‘witness’ or близ-ок-ѣ ‘relative’) because of the sound change *ь/o* > *o* in some Slavic languages (Bulgarian, Russian) and general contamination between *ŷ*- and *ō*-stems (Orr 1983: 31–32, 38–40, Mengel 2014: 109).

²⁰⁹ Slavic *ju* reflect Pre-BSl. **-eu-* in a tautosyllabic position (Olander 2015: 52–53 with references).

from the root **h₂en-*, its derivational history can hardly have any direct connection to the Ukrainian suffix *-juk-*. I prefer a two-stage scenario suggested in the previous passage: a secondary *u*-stem was coined in Late PIE and the suffix *-ko-* was added in Proto-Slavic.

The idea that a term for ‘grandson’ can be derived from the term for ‘grandmother’ does not seem heretical to me because similar patterns exist (cf. *τήθη* ‘grandmother’ and *θεῖος* ‘uncle’). First of all, we are not sure about the core meaning of **h₂en-*. It might have been something like ‘old age’, ‘maturity’, or ‘old person’ and not specifically ‘grandmother’. Even if the core meaning was indeed ‘grandmother’, it is not a problem either. Small children are associated with women because they live together with their mothers and grandmothers in women’s apartments. Therefore, this etymology need not indicate lineage or inheritance but rather imply the person who spends time with the grandchild and takes care of it.

Olsen (*IG Ljubljana*) has recently suggested an alternative etymology: **h₁η-h₁oukos* ‘an inborn, housemate’ with **h₁η-* being a preposition ‘in’ (see above) and **h₁ouko-* being some nominalised form of the verb **h₁euk-* “sich an etw. gewöhnen, lernen” (*LIV*² 244, cf. Ved. *ucyasi* ‘you are used to’, Lith. *jùnkstu* ‘get used to’, Slov. *učiti se* ‘learn’). In this case we would deal with an *einālios*-compound (Gr. *εινάλιος* ‘(located, living) in the sea’, Ernst Risch 1981: 115 [1945: 18]). The nominal form in question may mean ‘house, dwelling; home’ (as an Ilr. *s*-stem Ved. *ókas-* ‘comfort; house’, cf. OAv. *an-aocah-* Y.44.15 that may be translated either as ‘hostile’ or ‘homeless’). The meaning ‘house; home’ is not attested in Slavic but cannot be excluded. The Russian term for ‘nephew’ is «племянник» derived from «племя» ‘tribe, clan’ and, thus, ‘a member of the clan’. It makes the etymology ‘member of the household’ quite plausible. Apart from it, Slavic has a reflex of a thematic stem **h₁ouko-* > **ukъ* ‘learning; habit’ (Rus. *найка*, Slov. *nauk* ‘science; study’). Thus, alternatively, the noun **h₁η-h₁ouko-* may also originate from a verb with a preverb **h₁η-* attested as such in many Slavic complex verbs and their nominal derivatives (e.g., Slov. *v-nášati* ‘bring inside; put in’, *v-nòs* ‘in-put’, *PONS* Slovenian s.v. *vnášati*, *vnòs*). In this case, it would mean ‘the one who is known to the insiders’ or less likely ‘the one who lives inside’.

Finally, a compromise between the classical hypothesis and Olsen’s hypothesis could be **h₁η-ou-ko-*, which would also mean ‘insider’ (‘the one who belongs inside’).

II: 2.5.4. Hittite verb **h₂ens* and its derivatives

Anatolian terms for non-primary consanguineals are not well-known. Many of them are hidden behind logograms ŠEŠ *ABI* ‘FaBr, uncle’ (e.g., KUB 26.1 i 9–10) or DUMU ŠEŠ / DUMU.ŠEŠ ‘BrSo, nephew’ (*CHD* N / 429–430), but some occur in syllabic writing: e.g., Neo-Hitt. / Luwoid

LÚ/MUNUS *āninnijami*-²¹⁰ ‘cousin’ (e.g., KUB 21.1 iii 36, KBo 5.3 iii 29) derived either from Luw. **ānni-nija*-, which can be associated with Hitt. (MUNUS) *annaneka*- (c.) ‘uterine sister, sister born by the same mother’ (see II: 2.2.3 and II: 2.4.3 above, as per Watkins 1995) or from a term for ‘mother’s sibling’ **ānni(ia)nna/i*- (as per Melchert 1993b: 16) or **ānni-nanija*- ‘MoBr; uncle’ (as per HED A / 71–72).

The only group of terms that are fairly well-attested are terms for ‘grandparents’ (see II: 2.1.2.2 and II: 2.5.2.1 above) and ‘grandchildren’: CLuw. *hamša/i*- / HLuw. *hamsa*- ‘grandson’, CLuw. *hamšukkala*- / HLuw. *hamsuk(w)ala* ‘great-grandson’, also adj. *hamsi(ia)*- ‘grandson’s’, Lyc. *ḫahba*- ‘grandchild’, Carian *ksbo* ‘id.’, Palaic *hamšu*- ‘id.’, and, possibly, Hitt. *hammaša* ‘grandchild’ (Carruba 1970: 22, Melchert 1994: 286, Adiego 2007: 261, 334). The latter is attested only once (KBo 10.10 iv 9) and might be a Luwian loanword or even a personal name of debated origin (see the discussion in Kloekhorst 2008a: 279 with references to Laroche 1962: 29 and *HW*² H / 120). Parallel to this word there are also Hitt. *ḫāšša*- ‘descendant’, HLuw. *hasu*- ‘family; descendants’, Lyd. *eša*- ‘offspring’, and Hitt. *hanzāšša*- ‘id.’²¹¹ (Kloekhorst 2008a: 293, 319–321, 323–324).

According to the established opinion, all these words are derived from one verbal root **h₂ens* ‘give birth, beget’ (*LIV*² 269, **h₂óms*, as per Kloekhorst 2008a: 319, **h₂éms*, as per Kloekhorst 2019: 237) > Hitt. *ḫāš* / *ḫāšš*, HLuw. *has*-. In Hittite this verb is as productive and multifunctional as the verb **ǵenh₁* (see I: 2.3.2) in other IE languages (see *HEG* H / 191–211, *HW*² III / 391–394, 397–400, Kloekhorst 319–321 for verbal attestations and nominal derivatives). Its participle *ḫāššant*- could have both a passive participial meaning ‘(new)-born’²¹² and nominal semantics ‘child, son’ (e.g., KUB 23. 102 i 15). Further, there is also Hitt. *ḫāššātar* (n.), an abstract heteroclitic noun derived from *ḫāšš* by adding an abstract suffix *-ātar* (see II: 3.1 below). It had a wide range of abstract and concrete meanings: ‘birth, delivery’ (KBo. 17, 65 Rs. 45), ‘(male) potency’ (KUB 9, 27 + 7, 8 i 2–3), ‘womb’ (KUB 24, 13 ii 14–16), ‘fecundity of plants’ (KBo. 6, 34 ii 31–34), ‘offspring’ (KUB 1, 16 ii 69–70 and KUB 8, 62 iv 3) and ‘family’ (KUB 11, 1 + KBo. 19, 96 iv 31/23–24). Its derivative *ḫāššannaša/i*-²¹³ (c.) means ‘(blood) relative’ (KUB 13.20 i 33).

A *u*-stem exemplified by Hattuša Hitt. *ḫāššu*- ‘king’²¹⁴ and **ḫāššuš(ša)ra*- (MUNUS.LUGAL-*ra*) ‘queen’ and by Kanišite Hittite onomastic elements *-ḫšu*- ‘male offspring, son’, *-ḫšu-šar*

²¹⁰ *-ama/i*- is a suffix of appurtenance occurring, for example, in CLuw. *maššan-āma/i*- ‘the one belonging to god’ derived from *māššan(i)*- ‘god’ (Melchert 1993a: 16, 2003: 195, Steer 2015: 53).

²¹¹ < **h₂ns-ó-sio*- with genitival suffix *-ašša/i* < PIE **-o-sjo*, cf. OInd. *-asya*, Gr. *-oio* (cf. Kloekhorst 2008a: 293).

²¹² Such a (middle-)passive “theme-oriented” or “stative-resultative” semantics is common for Hittite *nt*-participles (Fellner & Grestenberger 2018).

²¹³ Weak stem *ḫāššann* + *-ašša/i* as in Hitt. *hanzāšša*- (*HW*² III 410–412; Kloekhorst 2008a: 216, 319).

²¹⁴ As observed by Zinko (2018/2019) *ḫāššu*- designated the king as a political office, while the king in his role of the supreme sacrificer is called by the word *t/labarna*-, which may be a Hattic borrowing.

‘female offspring, daughter’²¹⁵ may have cognates outside of Anatolian: OInd. *ásu-* (m.) ‘vital (divine) power, vigour’, Av. *a(η)hu-* (m.) ‘id.’ and Av. *ahu-* (m.) ‘lord; master’, also designations of gods OInd. *ásura-* and Av. *ahura-/* OPers. *aura-*, and ON *áss-* ‘one of the *Æsir*’ (Kloekhorst 2008a: 319–320, 2019: 235–239). For example, Eichner (2002) explained these etymological connections through the concept ‘sexual and procreative soul’ (“Sexual- und Zeugungsseele”) as the core meaning of the nominal derivatives of **h₂ens*.

Pinault (2019) prefers viewing these groups of words as derivatives of four different verbal roots. He supposes that Hitt. *ḫaššu-* ‘king’ is indeed connected to Av. *ahu-* ‘lord; master’ and Av. *ahura-/* OPers. *aura-*, and ON *áss-*, but they are derived from the root **h₂ens* ‘to direct, guide, steer’ postulated by Watkins (1995:8–9). OInd. *ásu-* ‘vital (divine) power, vigour’ and Av. *a(η)hu-* ‘id.’ should probably reflect a *u*-stem **h₁és-u-* of the root **h₁es-* ‘to be’ (Pinault 2019: 295–296 with references to Schlerath 1968:146–53, MW 121a; KEWAi III / 637 and EWAia I / 147). He (ibid.: 292–293) also suggests disconnecting Anatolian terms denoting grandchildren (such as CLuw. *ḫamša/i-*) and descendants (e.g., Hitt. *ḫāšša-*) due to phonological and semantic inconsistencies. He is of the opinion that there is no such PIE consonantal cluster that would yield -šš- in Hittite and **-mš-* in Luwian.

I think that, as far as semantics is concerned, most of above-mentioned forms can theoretically be related to each other quite regularly. “Offspring → child (son), grandchildren, descendants” and “grandchildren ↔ descendant” are frequent semantic patterns (cf. discussion in II: 2.5.2 above). “Offspring → “lord” or “king” is less common, but an occurring development (see I: 2.3.2). The semantic difference between Hattuša Hitt. *ḫaššu-* ‘king’ and Kanišite Hitt. *-ḫšu-* ‘male offspring; son’ and their feminine pendants is also not unprecedented.²¹⁶ The only point in which I am inclined to agree with Pinault (2019) is the origin of OInd. *ásu-* ‘vital (divine) power, vigour’ and Av. *a(η)hu-* ‘id.’.²¹⁷ These words indeed seem to be somehow odd among the other attestations and the existence of Av. *ahu-* (m.) ‘lord; master’ parallel to *a(η)hu-* implies that the latter might indeed be a homonym with a different etymology. However, even this semantic inconsistency is not that dramatic. Hitt. *ḫaššātar* (n.) can also have a fairly similar meaning in some context (see above).

As far as the phonological problem Hitt. -šš- vs. Luw. **-mš-* is concerned, it has been discussed by many scholars (Melchert 1988: 211–3 and 1994: 163–5; Kimball 1999: 329–32, Eichner 2002:

²¹⁵ The motion suffix *-šar-* is discussed in II: 2.4.2 above.

²¹⁶ The model example is the ways how reflexes of **g^hen(h₂)-* were reanalysed in the Germanic languages (II: 2.3.3 above and Buck 1949: 82): Eng. *queen* vs. *quean* with pejorative meaning (cf. also socially unmarked Danish *kone* ‘wife’ and *kvinde* ‘woman’).

²¹⁷ Cf. Ved. *púnar no ásum prthiví dadātu púnar dyáur deví púnar antárikṣam* “May Earth restore to us our **vital spirit**, may Heaven the Goddess and mid-air restore it” (RV X 59:7 translated by Jamison & Brereton 2014) or YAv. *yō huuqm aḡhūuqm yaoždāite humatāišca hūxtāišca huuarštāišca* “der sein **Gemüt** vollkommen macht durch gute Gedanken und gute Worte und gute Taten” (V. 5.21, translated by Wolff 2010: 344).

137 footnote 19) and they seem to have found a good solution: dissimilation of PANat. *-ns-* into Luwian *-mš-*.

Therefore, while the suggestion of Pinault (2019) deserves to be taken into account, the established hypothesis seems to be more plausible.

II: 2.6. Affinal relatives

II: 2.6.1. General structural and semantic tendencies

Based on the genealogical principle the PIE kinship terminology has a clear distinction between consanguineal and affinal relatives. This difference was obviously not only terminological but also cultural. As it was already argued in **II: 2.5.2.3** above, consanguineal marriages were uncommon for ancient IE people and should have been uncommon for PIE society too.

PIE had a handful of specific terms for this kind of relationship (see in the sections below) preserved in many ancient and in some modern (mostly eastern IE) languages until now. Apart from these lexical items, there are numerous innovations.

Ancient IE terms for affinals follow mostly the *zero-equation* pattern differentiating between wife's relatives and husband's relatives. More recent terminologies of Western Europe tend to have *cognatic* affinal terms merging husband's parents with wife's parents, husband's siblings with wife's siblings, etc. (Parkin 2015). Simply speaking, terms for affinals just like terms for non-primary consanguineals are gradually getting less varied and complex (see the discussion in **II: 2.5.1** above). As I have already argued above, I prefer viewing this process not as a general tendency but rather as an areal (SAE or Romance) phenomenon. The *cognatic* pattern is less common for Armenian, Iranian, and Balto-Slavic. In contemporary Indo-Aryan languages term for siblings-in-law follow the *zero-equation* pattern, but terms for parents-in-law may be *cognatic* (cf. Hindi terms, **III: 5.2.2.1**). As far as recent centuries are concerned, this process can partly be explained by social and cultural circumstances such as decreasing significance of all forms of collective identity. However, this cannot be the only reason, because the process of unification of different affinal terms began already in the Middle Ages.

As it was with consanguineals non-primary relatives the epicentre of the *cognatic* pattern seems to be again (Old) French and other Romance languages. It might be called "blood vs. in-law pattern". One simply takes terms for consanguineal relatives and modifies them with a specific element. Thus, English compounds with *in-law* (ME *broþer-in-lawe*, *fader and moder in lawe*, etc.) can be traced back into the 14th century and may originate from Anglo-Norman compounds like *frere en lei* (first half of the 12th century) and post-classical Latin *frater in lege* (15th century), *pere en lei* (beginning of the 13th century or earlier) and *pater in lege* (from 13th century), cf. *OED* (s.v. brother-in-law, father-in-law). These terms were reproduced by the Celtic languages: cf. Welsh *tad / mam / mab / merch / brawd / chwaer yng nghyfraith* 'father / mother / son / daughter / brother / sister-in law' with *cyfraith* 'law' (*GPC* s.v.). Buck (1949: 123) points out that "in-law" means "in

the Canon Law (*jus canonicum*)”, i.e., relationship acknowledged / blessed by the Church as ‘father’, ‘mother’, ‘son’, ‘daughter’, ‘brother’, and ‘sister’. Notably, until fairly recently in-law terms denoted also step-relationship (*OED* *ibid.*). Similar semantics is common for French *beau-* / *belle-*terms that should have emerged from polite phrases like *beau-sire* and *bel-ami* that acquired the meaning “affinal” or “step-” in the 16th century. French terms were calqued by Bretonic (e.g., *tad-kaer*, *mam-kaer*, etc.) and by Dutch (e.g., *schoonvader*, *schoonmoeder*, etc.) (cf. Buck 1949: 123).

German (*Schwiegermutter/vater*, *Schwiegersohn/tochter*, etc.) and Modern North Germanic terms for mother and father-in-law (Dan. *svigerfar/mor*, *svigersøn/datter*) modified by an inherited PIE word seem to follow the same French pattern. However, it seems that the Germanic branch had a tendency for structural unification and simplification of affinal kinship terms even before (Old) French influence. Thus, the Proto-Germanic term for ‘brother-in-law’ **swēgura-* preserved in some languages until now (OHG *Schwager* ‘id.’ and *Schwägerin* f., Dan. *svoger* ‘id.’ and *sviderinde* f., also Dutch *zwager* ‘id.’, but *schoonzuster* f., Buck 1949: 122–123) was obviously *cognatic* already in Proto-Germanic. This form is a *vṛddhi*-formation to PGm. **swehra(n)-* m. ‘father-in-law’ that had this undifferentiated *cognatic* meaning already in its earliest attestations: Goth. *swaihra* ‘id.’ (and *swaihrō* f.), OSw. *svær* ‘id.’, OE *swehor*, *swēor* ‘id.’ (and *sweger* f.), OHG *swehur*, *sweher* ‘id.’ (and *swigar* f.) (*ibid.*, Darms 1978: 7–12, Kroonen 2013: 498, see also II: 2.6.2 below).

Some languages show curious semantic developments. For example, Old Norse, along with terms with more specified meaning, had a word *māgr* denoting all kinds of male in-laws (also ‘step-father’ and ‘step-son’) and *māgkona* denoting all kinds of female in-laws (*ONP* s.v.).²¹⁸ According to Kroonen (2013: 361), this word should be reconstructed as PGm. **mēga-* (m.) ‘son-in-law’ (> Goth. *mēgs* ‘id.’, etc.), which is obviously a *vṛddhi*-formation to PGm. **magu-* (m.) ‘boy, relative’ (> Goth *magus* ‘boy’, ON *mōgr* ‘id.’, OE *magu* ‘child, young man, son’, etc.).²¹⁹ Old West Germanic languages widened the meaning of **mēga-* (> OHG *māg* and OE *mæg*) to any kind of relative:

<...> *mon mot feohtan mid his geborene mæge* <...>
 “a man may fight in company with his **born kinsman**”²²⁰

The plural of OE *mæg māgas* had an undifferentiated meaning ‘relatives, kinsmen’:

Nu unc mæran twam magas uncre sculon æfter cuman, eard oðþringan gingran broþor.

²¹⁸ In contemporary Icelandic *mágur* means specifically ‘WiBr; SiHu’ and *māgkona* ‘WiSi; BrWi’. They co-exist with the archaism *svili* ‘WiSiHu’ (cf. ON *svilar* ‘id.’, II: 2.6.8.2) and the innovations *tengdafaðir* ‘Fa-in-law’ and *tengdamóðir* ‘Mo-in-law’ (from the verb *tengja-* ‘to tie together’), cf. Merrill (1964).

²¹⁹ cf. also PGm. **magapi-* f. ‘girl, maiden’ (Goth. *magaps** f. ‘id.’, OE *mæg(e)ð* f. ‘id.’), which may either be a derivative of PGm. **magu-* (Kroonen 2015: 346 – 347) or a reflex of the PIE primary amphikinetic *t*-stem **mag^h-ōt-*, cf. II: 2.5.2.2 above.

²²⁰ King Alfred’s Book of Laws 109, 42.6, 9th century translated in Preston (2012: 130)

“Now we, a glorious pair, must be succeeded by our **kinsmen**, younger brothers shall seize [our] place.”²²¹

Romance languages have an opposite development. The Latin *co-gnātus/a* (cf. also *co-gnātiō* ‘kinship by blood’, discussed in **I: 2.3.2** above), whose original meaning was simply ‘the one who is born in the same family / to the same parents’ and denoted consanguineal relatives on mother’s or father’s side, acquired a counter-intuitive meaning ‘sibling-in-law’ in Late Latin inscriptions. This is an established meaning in modern Romance languages: It. *cognato*, -a, Sp. *cuñado*, -a, Port. *cunhado*, -a, Rom. *cumnat*, -ă, also borrowed into New Greek as *κουινιάδος*, -α ‘sibling of spouse’²²² (Buck 1949: 123, 126–127). The intermediary step was obviously ‘some relative (of secondary relevance)’ or the like.

Descriptive terms for affinal relatives are also not rare and can occur in any languages and at any time: Lat. *uxōris frāter* ‘WiBr’ or *virī soror* ‘HuSi’ (along with *glos*, see below **II: 2.6.7**), ON *verfaðir* ‘HuFa’ (along with *māgr* ‘a male affinal’) and *vermōðir* ‘HuMo’ (along with *svāra* ‘mother-in-law’ **II: 2.6.2**, and the above mentioned *māgkona* ‘a female affinal’), Nlr. *athair céile* ‘HuFa’, *máthair céile* ‘HuMo’, *deartháir céile* ‘HuBr’, and *deirfiúr céile* ‘HuSi’, etc. (Buck 1949: 122–123, Ó Dónaill 1992 s.v.).

II: 2.6.2. **syékū-* ‘father/mother-in-law’

IE languages show a few forms denoting parents-in-law related to each other. The oldest ones are **syékū-h₂-* f. (> Ved. *śvaśrū-* ‘mother-in-law’, CINPers. *xusrū* ‘id.’, Lat. *socrus* ‘id.’, OHG *swiga/ur* ‘id.’, NHG *Schwieger* f. ‘id.’,²²³ Goth. *swaihiro* ‘id.’,²²⁴ OCS, ORus. *свекры* (gen.sg. *свекръве*) ‘husband’s mother’, BCS *svěkrva* ‘id.’, Rus. *свекровь* ‘id.’, Welsh *chwegr* ‘mother-in-law’, etc.) and **syékū-o-* m. (> Ved. *śvásura-* ‘father-in-law’,²²⁵ YAv. *x^vasura-* ‘id.’, Sogd. (ə)*xwaš* ‘id.’ CINPers. *xusur* ‘id.’, Lat. *socer* ‘id.’, Gr. *ἐκυρός* ‘husband’s father’, OHG *suehur* ‘father-in-law, wife’s father’, NHG *Schwäher* ‘id.’, (O)Lith. *šėšuras* ‘husband’s father’,²²⁶ OCS, ORus. *свекръ* ‘id.’, Rus. *свёк(о)п* ‘id.’, and possibly Alb. *vjéhërr* ‘father-in-law’ < Proto-Alb. **wexuro* < **swesuro*). The third form **syékūreh₂-* f. must be a motion formation of **syékū-o-* either in PIE or most probably later: Gr. *ἐκυρά* ‘husband’s mother’, Lat. (inscriptions) *socera*

²²¹ *The Missing Brother* (Anglo-Saxon Riddle 88) translated in Luo (2018: 89)

²²² Just (2000: 109 footnote 9) points out that young middle-class urban Greeks confuse *κουινιάδος* with *γαμπρός* (cf. Gr. *γαμβρός*, **II: 2.6.3** below).

²²³ West Germanic should reflect a *u*-stem (*NIL* 674 with reference to Bammesberger 1990: 179).

²²⁴ East and North Germanic should reflect an *ōn*-stem (*ibid.*)

²²⁵ The initial irregular *ś* (instead of regular *s* as in *śvásar-* < **syésor-*) in Vedic can be explained by the assimilation with the word internal *ś* (< PIr. *ś* < PIE *ḱ*) (Grassman 1873: 1433).

²²⁶ The Lith. term for ‘HuMo’ is *anýta* (see **II: 2.1.2.2** above). For some reason, Buck (1949: 122) marked *šėšuras* as obsolete. He also glossed the innovations *uošvis* m. and *uošvė* f. as *cognatic* terms. However, in the study by Munck and Dapkunaite (2018) all four terms are familiar to the speakers who interpret *šėšuras* and *anýta* as terms for husband’s parents, *uošvis* m. and *uošvienė* f. (not *uošvė* !) as wife’s parents. Derksen (2015: 446) also quotes a dialectal usage of *šėšuras* as ‘brother-in-law’.

‘wife’s mother’, Arm. *skesur* ‘husband’s mother’ with its derivative *skesr-ayr* ‘husband’s father’ (lit. ‘mother-in-law’s man’), and Alb. *vjehërrë* ‘mother-in-law’ (< Proto-Alb. **wexurā* < **swesurā*). Along with Germanic attestations of a *vṛddhi*-derivation **sūēkūr-o-* (see **II: 2.6.1** above) there are a few Indic examples: Classical OInd. *śvāśura-* adj. ‘pertaining to the father-in-law’, Kashmiri *hahar* ‘WiBr’, Sindhi *hūrā* ‘brother-in-law’ (typologically similar to Middle Arm. *aner-jag* ‘WiBr’, lit. ‘wife’s father’s boy’). This parallel evidence need not but may indicate a PIE status of this formation (cf. AiW 1874, IEW 1043–1044, Trubachev 1959: 118–125, Darms 1978: 12, Orel 1998: 510–511, EIEC 85, 195–196, 386–387, Gharib 1995: lemma 776, NIL 672–675, Martirosyan 2010: 427, 581–582).

The derivational history of these terms is a question of debate. It seems most likely that they are based on the strong stem of a proterokinetic noun ***sūēkūr-/uén-* n. with a heteroclititic suffix *-ūr-/uén-*. Peters (1980: 184–185) considers this type of derivation to be partially similar to the derivation of Ved. *devī* f. (< **deṃuih₂-*) ‘goddess’ and *deva-* m. (< **deṃuo-*) ‘god’ both originally appurtenance formations ‘belonging to/associated with the sky (**dīéu-/diu-*) / heavenly one’.²²⁷ Thus, the masculine form **sūēkūr-o-* is simply a thematisation of ***sūēkūr-*, while the feminine form also included a metathesis *ūr > ru* before C: ***sūēkūr_h₂ > *sūēkrú-h₂-* (cf. also Pinault 2017a: 96). Furthermore, the attested forms also show a certain resemblance to the hystero-kinetic kinship term **daih₂uér* m. ‘HuBr’ (**II: 2.6.5** below) with the restituted full-grade in the root (cf. Mayrhofer 1986: 161–162, Rieken 1999: 265–266), which may be an internal derivation of some proterokinetic *-ūr-/uén-*-stem (cf. NIL 673 for further interpretations).

According to observations of Hettrich’s (1985: 464), these terms are specified as husband’s parent only in Baltic, Slavic, Greek, and Armenian. Otherwise, the terms are clearly *cognatic* or ambiguous. Vedic seems to have both meaning. In the passage RV X 85:46 (quoted and discussed in **III: 5.2.2.2**) obviously husband’s parents are meant:

However, another passage seems to imply the opposite:

dvēṣṭi śvaśrūr āpa jāyā ruṇaddhi

“My **mother-in-law** hates me; my wife pushes me away” (RV X 34:3a).

Jamison & Brereton (2014: 1430) translate it as “Her mother-in-law [=my mother] hates me; my wife pushes me away”. The opinion of these scholars should definitely be taken into consideration, but in this case such a translation seems to be a mere cultural interpretation because nothing in the text itself suggests this meaning. The evidence from Hindi (**III: 5.2.2.1**) implies that the terms might have denoted parents-in-law on either side already in the Vedic epoch.

There is no established etymology of this word. Most suggestions such as that of Szemerényi (1977: 65–66), who interpreted the term for ‘father-in-law’ as a compound “**swe-kōru-s*” “head (**kōru-*, cf. Lat. *cerebrum*) of the joint family (**swe-*)”, or the hypothesis of Linke (1985) about

²²⁷ The difference is that **deṃuih₂-* and **deṃuo-* are *vṛddhi*-derivations based on the weak stem **diu-*.

**kreu*_{h2}- ‘blood (outside the body)’ as the second part of the compound are too speculative from the morphological point of view to be taken into account.

The hypothesis of Pinault (2017a: 96–97) deserves some attention. He assumes that the postulated proterokinetic form ***suek_u*- must have emerged as a hypostasis of a locative **sueku-* of the type **dmh₂-ér* ‘in the house’ (see II: 2.3.5 above). Hence, ***sueku-* must denote a place or a social institution. He interprets this *u*-stem as a *bahuvrīhi* compound ***sue-teku-* ‘having/taking (others’) child as his (their) own’ (cf. **tek* ‘to beget’, LIV² 618). This etymology is more realistic than all previous ones, but it has not only phonological but also semantic difficulties. It implies that parents-in-law were a kind of adoptive parents for the in-coming woman. Such a combination of meaning is indeed attested in French and the languages that were influenced by the French or Norman culture (see *beau-père*, etc. in II: 2.6.1), but PIE **suekur-o-* and **suekrú-h₂-* do not denote step-parenthood. Moreover, we cannot be sure that these terms followed the *zero-equation* pattern and denoted only wife’s parent-in-law (husband’s parents). It is not impossible that they denoted parents-in-law on both sides already in PIE (see the discussion in Hettrich 1985: 464–466).

The form ***suek_u*-/*-uén-* might also be a *-u₂*-/*-uén-* stem derived from **sue-k-* found in the cardinal ‘six’ (< ***suekas-* ‘in einer eigenen Reihe stehend’, i.e., ‘the sequence number of the first finger on the other hand’, Dunkel 2014: II / 759, 394) with the semantics similar to Lith. *svėčias* ‘guest, foreigner’ < **sue-t-jo-* ‘belonging to his / her own people (not to us)’. It would mean that ***suek_u*-/*-uén-* simply denoted the other group of people or the other family while **suekur-o-* and **suekrú-h₂-* were ‘parents of the other family’. As most IE peoples have always preferred marrying non-relatives, this etymology is quite plausible from a cultural point of view.

II: 2.6.3. **gem(H)-* and other words for ‘son-in-law’

Terms for ‘son-in-law’ in different IE branches might be derived from the same root, usually reconstructed as **gem(H)-* ‘to marry’ (Gr. γαμέω ‘id.’), but have heterogeneous suffixes (IEW 369–370, EIEC 533, Blažek 2001: 26–27, NIL 136–139). The main attested forms are:

**gem(m)H-(e)r-o-* > Gr. γαμβρός ‘(any) in-law’ (e.g., Pindar *Nemean* 5.37 about Poseidon in reference to Nereids), ‘son-in-law’ (Iliad 6.249 about Priam’s daughters’ husbands), ‘brother-in-law’ (e.g., Iliad 5.474 about Hector’s sisters’ husbands; Sophocles *Oedipus Tyrannus* 70 about Creon, Oedipus’ wife’s brother), ‘father-in-law’ (*Septuaginta* Exodus 3.1 about Iethro, Moses’ father-in-law, cf. also πενθερός II: 2.6.8 below), also ‘fiancé, bridegroom, husband’ (Sappho 111.5), Lat. *gēner* ‘son-in-law’ (cf. Beekes 2010: 259; de Vaan 2008: 258, GE s.v.);

**gē/ómH-ōt-er-* > Ved. *jāmātar-* ‘son-in-law’ (RV+), also *ví-jāmātar* (RV I 109:2), YAv. *zāmātar-* ‘id.’, Sogd. *zāmatē* (< **zāmātar-aka*), M/NPers. *dāmād* ‘son-in-law, bride-groom’ (AiW 1689, EWAia I / 585–586, Gharib 1995: lemma 11146, Hassandust 2011: I / 529, 532);

ĝemH-(u)u-ijo-* > YAv. *zāmaoiia* ‘son-in-law’ (*Farhang-i ōīm* 630, discussed in *AiW* 1689, Szemerényi 1977: 70 and *EWAia* I / 586) with a complex genitival suffix *-uijo-* (cf. **II: 2.5.3.1 above);

**ĝ(e/o)mH-t-er-* > Alb. (Tosk) *dhëndërr*, (Gheg) *dhāndër(r)* (Proto-Alb. **dzanra*, as per Orel 1998: 82) ‘son-in-law, bridegroom’;

**ĝemH-t-o/ah₂-* > Lith. *žentas* ‘son-in-law; brother-in-law (SiHu)’ (or < **ĝnh₃-to-*, as per Derksen 2015: 516–517);²²⁸

**ĝmH-t-i-* > OCS, ORus. *зять /zětъ* ‘bridegroom’, SC *zèt* ‘son-in-law; brother-in-law (SiHu)’, Rus. *зять* ‘son-in-law; brother-in-law (SiHu)’ (or < **ĝnh₃-ti-*, as per Derksen 2008: 543–544).

The nature of the reconstructed root is debated. Schwarz (1975: 200) interprets it as **ĝem* ‘to match, pair’ (> Sogd. **ōzam* 1) ‘compensate’, 2) ‘condemn’, Szemerényi (1977: 72) and Tremblay (2003a: 156, footnote 188) as **ĝem(H)-* ‘to pay (for the bride), to marry by paying’. Furthermore, as it is obvious from the examples above, there are cases of contamination with other roots: first of all, **ĝenh₁-* ‘beget’ and **ĝneh₃-* ‘recognise’ (*LIV*² 168–170, *NIL* 154–162).

Pinault (2017a: 105–106) suggests that the verbal root in question should be **gem* (*LIV*²: 186) ‘drücken, zusammenpressen; fassen’ (Gr. (aor.) γέντο ‘he grasped’, OCS жьмѣ/жьмѣ ‘I press’, Toch. B *kamānte* (pret. mid.) ‘they were taken’). It would imply that a son-in-law is someone who seizes or simply takes a bride. However, this root taken in its original form cannot yield the attested reflexes in Lithuanian and Slavic. The acute intonation in Balto-Slavic indicates the presence of a laryngeal and PIE **g* will regularly yield *g* (not *ž*) in Lithuanian and *ž* (not *z*) in Slavic (the Indo-Iranian affricates and sibilants can be explained by secondary palatalization before *e*). Pinault assumes that this problem can be solved if we presuppose a contamination with **ĝenh₁-* ‘beget’. The starting point, thus, must be an action noun **ĝém-* collectivised as **ĝmm-éh₂-* ‘seizing’ and thematicized as **ĝmh₂-o-* yielding Gr. γάμος ‘marriage; wedding’. Further forms were coined independently according to different patterns on the basis of **ĝém-h₂-*. Semantically, this suggestion sounds plausible, but the contamination with **ĝenh₁-* is surely an *ad hoc* assumption. Another possible solution would be to exclude Balto-Slavic attestations from the list. As it is suggested by Derksen (2008: 543–544, 2015: 516–517), these forms might be derived from the root **ĝneh₃* ‘recognise’. Latv. *znuōts* ‘son-in-law; brother-in-law (SiHu, WiBr)’ must in any case be reconstructed as **ĝnoh₃-tó-* parallel to Ved. *jñāta-* ‘known, recognised’ and Gr. γυνωτός ‘relative; brother’ also γυνωτή f. ‘sister’ (cf. see further derivatives of **ĝneh₃-* with kinship meaning in *NIL* 154–162). Likewise, Ved. *jārā-* ‘lover, suiter’ may be reconstructed as either **ĝnh₃-ro-* (*EWAia* I / 588) or **ĝmh₂-r-ó-* (*HED* K / 14, Pinault 2017a: 106).

Hitt. ^{LÚ}*kaina-* c. ‘in-law; kinsman’ (Akk. *ḪAT(A)NU*) and its derivatives ^{LÚ}*kainant-* c. ‘id.’ and ^{LÚ}*kainatar* n. ‘in-lawship’ might have originated from **ĝmH-ino-* (*HEG* K / 459–460, *HED* K / 12–

²²⁸ *NIL* (136, 138, inc. footnote 9) also mentions Lat. *genta* ‘son-in-law’, which, according to *EM* (270), is allegedly attested in a gloss, but it is obviously a miscopying of the real son-in-law form *gener* (see above).

14), but it is more likely that it should be reconstructed as **kōi-no-* ‘friendly, intimate, dear’ and its cognates should be Lat. *cīvis* ‘(fellow) citizen’, Latv. *siēva* ‘wife’, and OInd. *śiva-* ‘friendly, favourable’ (cf. Melchert 1994: 148 and Kloekhorst 2008a: 427). This term had broad semantics and functioned as a counterpart to *ḥaššannašša/i-* (c.) ‘consanguineal relative’ (see **II: 2.5.4** above):

DUMU.M]EŠ-ŠU [ŠEŠ.ME]Š-ŠU ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*gaenaš-šešš-a* ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*ḥaššannaššaš* Û ERÍN.MEŠ-ŠU
 ‘his sons, his brothers and **his in-laws**, his blood relatives and his soldiers” (KBo 3.67 i 2–3)

Another term that can denote ‘son-in-law’ is ^{LÚ}*kūša* (cf. also *kūšāta-* n. ‘bride-price’). Both its semantics and etymology is a question of debate. *HED* (K / 288–289) interprets *kūša* as ‘female, feminine’ and ^{LÚ}*kūša* ‘wife-related male in-law’, i.e., ‘wife’s kinsman’ along with ^{LÚ}*kaina-* ‘sister/daughter’s husband (and his relatives)’ as these two types of in-laws seem to be juxtaposed in KUB 23.72 Rs. 41. However, Kloekhorst (2008: 497–498) glosses it as ‘daughter-in-law, bride; son-in-law’. Weitenberg (1975) tried to connect it with κύσθος ‘female sex-organ’, but a more plausible PIE reconstruction is **ĝeus-o-* ‘the chosen one’ (as per Rieken 1999: 258). Kloekhorst (2008: 498) points out that PIE **ĝeus* (*LIV*² 166) has rather a meaning ‘taste, enjoy’ in most IE branches (incl., Hitt. *kukuszi* ‘taste’, KUB 10.99 i 29). Notably, Germanic languages show the same semantic change “taste > choose” (ON *kjósa* ‘to choose’, Dutch *kiezen* ‘to choose’). The word may also be interpreted as ‘the loved one’, ‘the desired one’, or ‘cherished one’ as Ved. *juṣ* implies:

pitéva putrān prāti no juṣasva
 “Like a father his sons, **favour** us in return”

In this case, the word would belong to the same semantic pattern as reflexes of **priH-ó/eh₂-* and other words mentioned in **II: 2.3.4** above.

The only word denoting specifically ‘son-in-law’ in Hittite is ^{LÚ}*antijant-* (cf. also *andaijandatar* n. ‘son-in-lawship’). Some interpret it as **anda iġant-* ‘who has gone inside’ (Balkan 1948, *HED* A / 79), which, according to Kloekhorst (2008: 187–188), is semantically not implausible but may also be a folk-etymological adaptation. Such semantics does not indicate that the entire Hittite society was matrilocal (**I: 1.1.1.2**), because the context in which the word was used says for itself:

nu kuiš DUMU.SAL hantezziš nu-šši-ššan ^{LÚ}*antijantan* [dupl. XII 4 II 8 ^{LÚ}*antijandan*] *appāndu nu*
LUGAL-uš apāš kišaru (KBo 3.1 ii 38–39)
 “one that is a first-rank daughter, they shall take an ^{LÚ}*antijantan* for her, and he shall become king”

Thus, in this case, we obviously deal with *errēbu*-marriage (Akk. *errēbu* ‘in-coming son-in-law’), which was practiced in Babylon and other Near Eastern societies. If a man had no sons to inherit his property or title, it was transmitted to his (oldest) daughter’s husband (Burrow 1937). In Ancient Greece, if a man had no sons, he could bequeath his property to a daughter. In this case the daughter was to marry the closest agnatic kinsman, usually an uncle of a first cousin (Harders 2013: 24–25).

A similar tradition and a similar term might have existed in Ancient Germanic society. The word **aiþma-* preserved in West Germanic languages could originally denote this kind of relationship: OE *āðum* ‘son-in-law; brother-in-law’, OFris. *āthum*, *āthom*, *āthem* ‘son-in-law; father-in-law’, OHG *eidum*, *eidam* ‘id.’ MHG *eidem* ‘id.’, NHG *Eidam* ‘son-in-law’ (Boutkan and Siebinga 2005: 28–29, Kroonen 2013: 15–16, Hansen 2017: 211–213 with references and examples). Hansen (2017: 212) points out that in Modern German dialects terms *Ädem*, *Edem*, *Éidem* (MoselFr.) and *ēram* (RheinFr.) have a specific narrow meaning ‘oldest daughter’s husband who moved in with the daughter’s family (Erbtochtermann)’. The most plausible etymology must be **h₁áj-t-mn-o-* ‘the one related to share / part’ derived from **h₁áj-t-men-* n. ‘share, part’ (ibid.: 2013 with references to Orel 2003: 10, Boutkan and Siebinga 2005: 29).

II: 2.6.4. **snus-ó-* ‘daughter-in-law’

A PIE term for ‘daughter-in-law’ is attested a little better than that for ‘son-in-law’ and might have a PIE status in accordance with exogamic practice. It is reconstructed as a feminine thematic *o*-stem **snus-ó-* (IEW 978, EIEC 148, NIL 625–626, Hassandust 2011: I / 534): Ved. *snuṣā́* (AV+) ‘daughter-in-law’, Sogd. *šwnš(h)* / *šunuš(a)* / ‘id.’, Bctr. *asnōuo*, ClNPers. *sunuh*, *sun(h)ār*²²⁹ ‘id.’, Gr. *υῠός* ‘daughter-in-law’ (also ‘bride’ in Theocritus *The Bridal of Helen* 15), Arm. *now* (gen.sg. *nowoy*) ‘daughter-in-law’, Lat. *nurus* ‘id.’ (also ‘young woman’ in Ovidius *Metamorphoses* 2, 366), OHG *snur*, *snora* ‘daughter-in-law’, ORus. *снѣха*, *сноха* ‘daughter-in-law; sister-in-law’ (BrWi)²³⁰, and possibly Alb. *núse* ‘fiancée; bride; young woman (in marriageable age); younger daughter-in-law; BrWi’ (Demiraj 1997: 302–303).²³¹

There are numerous assumptions about the etymology of this word. Specht (1941: 90–91) associated this word with the Vedic verb *sanóti* (< **senh₂*, LIV² 532) ‘achieve, attain, gain’ thus ‘the one who was gained (by buying or abducting)’. Brugmann (1907) viewed it as a derivative of the root **snu-* ‘bind, tie’ (~ **snéh₁* ‘spin’, as per LIV² 571–572) implying the notion of binding two families. Indeed, NHG (obs.) *Schnur* ‘daughter-in-law’ is formally similar to the word *Schnur* ‘cord, lace’ (cf. OInd. *snāvan-* ‘sinew’, YAv. *snāvarə* ‘id.’, Gr. *νεῦρον* ‘sinew, tendon; nerve’, *nervus* ‘sinew, muscle’), but this may be a random similarity. Some scholars (Kretschmer 1907: 36 footnote 1 and 1909: 375–376) assumed that it might be an appurtenance formation of **suH-nu-* ‘son’. Szemerényi (1977: 68–69) likewise imagines the derivational history as **snusó* << ***sūnu-sū-s* ‘son’s wife’ (**sū-* ‘woman’, e.g. Ved. *sū-* ‘mother’ < **seuH-* ‘to give birth’, see II: 2.2.1.1). Semantically, all these hypotheses are plausible but have a range of morphological and phonological difficulties.

²²⁹ Without sound change IIr. *s* > Ir. *h* because of subsequent *n* (Kümmel 2012: 141–142).

²³⁰ The meaning ‘sister-in-law’ occurs already in the most ancient texts (SRJa XI–XVII XXV / 271).

²³¹ Orel (1998: 302–303) assumes a borrowing from some Late Latin form (cf. Lat. *nūpta* ‘bride, wife’). Stefan Schumacher (p. c.) informs me that this is definitely not a directly inherited word.

Gamkrelidze and Ivanov (1995: 663, footnote 34) and *EIEC* (148) assume that **snusó-* could be derived from an unattested **sneu*, an enlarged variant of which might have been **sneub^h* (Lat. *nūbere* ‘marry (about a woman), to be married (about a man)’, RusCS *снубити* ‘pimp’,²³² Slov. *snučiti* ‘to woo/court (a girl)’, Lewis and Short 1891: 1222, *EM* 499, *IEW* 977–978, *LIV*² 574, *PONS* Slovenian s.v.), a derivational base of Lat. *nūpta* ‘bride, wife’ and possibly Gr. *νύμφη* ‘young wife, bride; marriageable girl; (Hellenistic Greek, Septuagint) daughter-in-law’ (also ‘nymph’) (Gates 1971: 39, Beekes 2010: 1026, de Vaan 2008: 417). Thus, both root variants obviously had semantics associated with courtship and marriage, but without any obvious connection to other roots.

Among recent etymologies one should mention the one suggested in Janda (2000: 172–174). He considers **(s)nus-ó-* to be an adjective derived of an *s*-stem **neues-* ‘agreement’ (cf. **neu* ‘nicken, (den Kopf) neigen’, *LIV*² 455–456) and later substantivized as ‘the means of agreement’ or the like. The initial *s* can be explained either as a *mobile s* (Mayrhofer 1986: 119–120) or as an analogy to **syékru-h₂-* and **syékur-o-*. As an additional argument supporting his theory Janda (2000: 173–174) puts forth derivatives of the root **prek-* ‘ask’ (*IEW* 821–822, *LIV*² 490–491): Lith. *piršlys* ‘suitor’, Lat. *proculus* ‘id.’, Arm. *harsn* ‘bride, daughter-in-law’. Both **prek-* and **neu-* and their derivatives can, therefore, reflect the PIE ritual of marriage proposal: proposing and nodding in reply.

A rather complex derivational scenario from an *n*-stem of the root **ues* ‘(ver)kaufen’ (*LIV*² 693) or ‘to pledge in exchange’ (Melchert 2015: 411–413) is suggested in Pinault (2017a: 100–102, cf. also his etymology of Gr. *ᾠα* in Pinault 2013: 241, discussed in **II: 2.4.2** above). He reconstructs the word as reduplicated **usn-usn-ó-* ‘exchanging after exchanging’ (similarly to Ved. *menāmenam*) with subsequent reshaping into **(s)nus-ó-*.

It is conspicuous that many IE words combine the meaning daughter’s husband with sister’s husband and son’s wife with brother’s wife. This fact was used in the “Omaha” speculations in the 1960–70s (see **II: 2.5.2.3**). A more simple and plausible explanation would be that the starting point for such terms is often a word with the meaning ‘bride-groom / young husband’ or ‘bride / young wife’, which is also well-attested even for the oldest forms (see especially Gr. *νύμφη* and Slavic attestations above). The same semantic development is vivid in Ved. *vadhū* ‘bride, young wife; (later) daughter-in-law, younger kinsman’s wife’ (*PW* VI / 662, see **III: 2.4.1** and **III: 5.2.2.3** for Iranian and New Indo-Aryan cognates) and Rus. *невеста* ‘fiancée; bride; marriageable girl’ (cf. also Bulg. *невяста* ‘bride; daughter-in-law’, OCz. *nevěsta* ‘bride; daughter/sister-in-law’) and *невестка* ‘So/BrWi’. According to *SRJa XI–XVII* (XI / 40), in the oldest texts ORus. *невѣста/nevěsta* had both meanings. The derivative *невѣстка* (*невѣска*, *невестка*) first appears in the 14th century. OCS *невѣста* is also glossed as “νύμφη, sponsa, nurus” inclusively (*ESSJa* XXV /

²³² According to *SRJa XI–XVII* (25 / 271), the Russian CS attestations and their derivatives *снубление* ‘pimping’ and *снубокъ* ‘pimper’ only had a pejorative meaning.

70).²³³ Both OInd. *vadhū*, YAv. *vaδū* and Slavic **nevěsta* might ultimately be derived from the verbal root **uēd^h* ‘führen’ (*LIV*² 659). This verb and its synonyms are regularly used in the meaning ‘to marry (about a man)’: e.g., Lith. *vėsti* ‘to lead, to marry (about a man)’, ORus. (в)вести жену ‘to lead a wife (to bring a wife into the house/family)’, Lat. *uxōrem dūcere*, etc. (e.g., *EWAia* II / 497–498, cf. also Latv. (obs.) *līgava* and Lith. *núotaka* in **II: 2.6.8.1** below). An alternative etymology for OInd. *vadhū* is discussed in Pinault (2017a: 104–105, see also **II: 2.6.5** below).

This semantics shows obviously a family-centred rather than ego-centred vision of in-law relationship in an exogamic society: ‘new-coming young wife in the family / our young wife’ > ‘daughter-in-law, BrWi’, ‘young husband for the family / our young husband’ > ‘son-in-law; SiHu’.

II: 2.6.5. **daj(h₂)uér* ‘husband’s brother’

A specific term denoting husband’s brother, the hysterokinetically inflected noun **daj(h₂)uér-* / *daj(h₂)ur-* (cf. *IEW* 179; *EIEC* 84; *NIL* 58–60) is attested in eight branches of IE: e.g., Ved. (acc.sg.) *deváram*, LPl. *devṛṣu* ‘id.’, Pash. *lewár* (< **θaiuar-* *EVP* 40, *ESIJ*a II / 310–311) ‘id.’, Gr. δᾱήρ (< **δαιήρ*, Beekes 2010: 296), (gen.pl.) δᾱέρων ‘id.’ (*Iliad* +), Lat. *lēvir/laevir* (only in glosses)²³⁴ ‘id.’, Arm. *ta(y)gr* ‘id.’ (with regular **u* > *g* Godel 1975: 82, 96, Martirosyan 2010: 600–601), OE *tacor* ‘id.’, OHG *zeihhur* id.²³⁵, OLith. (gen. pl.) *dieverū*, Lith. *dieveris* ‘id.’, Latv. *diēveris* ‘id.’, OCS дѣверь / *děverь* ‘id.’, OCz. *deveř* ‘id.’, BCS *djěvēr* ‘husband’s brother; best man (at a wedding)’ (Trubachev 1959: 133–135, *ESSJa* V / 19, Derksen 2008: 105, 2015: 128, *RES* XIII / 86–88).

Leaving aside completely implausible etymologies (such as those listed in *RES* XIII / 87) or problematic ones (e.g., Oettinger 2009), I would like to mention the etymology suggested by Pinault (2017a: 102–105). He assumes that **daj(h₂)uér-* (< **dah₂iúér-*) should be a delocative derivation (cf. **II: 3.1** below and **s₂uék₂ur-* **II: 2.6.2.** above) based on the weak stem of a secondary hysterokinetic *u*-stem ***dah₂-i-éu-* / *dah₂-i-u-* (which, in my opinion, might also be amphikinetic as other similar formations, see **II: 2.5.3** above). This *u*-stem should denote a bride-groom or husband. Accordingly, the *r*-stem must mean ‘someone on the side of the husband, close to the

²³³ The research history of Slavic **nevěsta* is provided in *ESSJa* (XXV / 70–76, cf. also Snoj 2003 s.v.).

²³⁴ Fraenkel *LEW* (I / 94) and Leumann (1977: 68) assume that the word might have been modified by “folk” etymology *laevus* ‘left’ + *vir* ‘man’. Leumann (1977: 155) also has an alternative suggestion that the word is probably borrowed into Latin from Sabinian, in which **d* > *l*. A similar example is *lingua* (Goth. *tuggo*, NHG *Zunge*). Prósper (2019: 461) finds the former hypothesis more likely.

²³⁵ With a Verschärfung **-u-* > **-g-* between an *i*-diphthong and a syllabic liquid or nasal thus **daj₂ur-* > **daj₂ur-* > **daj₂ur-* > **taikuraz* similarly as in OE *ācurna* and OHG *aih-hurno* ‘squirrel’ vs. Lat. *viverra* ‘polecat’ (as per Seebold 1982: 174–175, 182–183) or analogically to the precursor of Lith. *lái(g)uonas* ‘WiBr’ (Orel 2003: 399, Oettinger 2009: 128, Olsen 2013: 207 footnote 8, see also **II: 2.6.8** below).

husband’.²³⁶ The base of the *u*-stem must be ***deh₂-i-* derived from the verb **deh₂(i)* ‘teilen’ (Ved. *day* ‘to distribute, to divide’, Gr. *δαίομαι* ‘to be torn, distracted’, *LIV*² 103–104). According to Pinault (ibid.), this root occurs as a prefixed form **ye-deh₂-* ‘to bring away (from her birthplace)’ in OInd. *vadhū* (< **ye-dh₂-u-* possibly ‘taken away’ or ‘associated with marriage’) ‘bride; daughter-in-law’, OE *weotuma* ‘dowry’, OHG *widemo* ‘id.’, Gr. (nom.pl.) *ἑδνα* ‘bride-price, wedding gifts’, ORus. *вѣно/věno* ‘dowry; bride-price’ (< **ye-dh₂mno-*).²³⁷

However, one unprefixated form, not mentioned by Pinault, may also have some connection to the nuptial context. PGM. *tīdi-* f. (< **dih₂-ti-* < ***dh₂i-ti*) > ON *tíð* f. ‘time; hour; church service’, OE *tīd* f. ‘time, season, hour’, OHG *zīt* n./f. ‘age, time; time of prayer’ (Arm. *ti* ‘time’ might also be reconstructed as **dh₂i-to-* or **dh₂i(i)o-*, cf. Rasmussen 1989: 51, Kroonen 2013: 516) can not only have an abstract meaning ‘time’ but also denote a specific time span such as ‘church service’ or ‘celebration’. It is reflected in derivatives OE *hēahīd*, ON *hātīð* (> New Icelandic *hátīð* ‘celebration’), and OHG **hōhzīt* (Zoëga 1967 [1910]: 188, Köbler OHG **hōhzīt*, *DWDS* s.v. *Hochzeit*)²³⁸ denoting ‘great (church) feast’, which might as well be a wedding (NHG *Hochzeit*).

II: 2.6.6. **H₂énh₂tēr* ‘husband’s brother’s wife’

Some languages of the southern and eastern area of IE have preserved a specific term for **dāh₂uér*’s wife (cf. *IEW* 505–506, *EIEC* 522, Blažek 2001: 27, *NIL* 204–207): Ved. *yātar-* ‘HuBrWi’ (AVP+), Pashto *yor* ‘id.’, NPers. (Isfahan) *yād* ‘id.’, (Iranian) NPers. *jāri*²³⁹ ‘id.’ (< *yāθrīkā-* based on the weak stem (*H*)*j₂h₂-t(e)r-*, *EWAia* II / 410, Hassandust 2011: I / 544), Gr. nom. pl. *εἰνατέρες*, gen. pl. *εἰνατέρων* ‘id.’ (*Iliad* 6.378, 6.383, 22.473, 24.769), sing. nom. *ἐνατηρ*, dat. *-τρι*, acc. *-τερα* (late Anatolian inscriptions), voc. *εἴνατερ*, gen. *-τερος* (Herodianus 1.419.12) (Neumann 1987, Beekes 2010: 389, *GE* s.v.), Late Lat. nom. pl. *ianitrīcēs* ‘wives of brothers’ (de Vaan 2008: 294), Arm. *nēr* gen.dat.sg. *niri* ‘HuBrWi’ (Martirosyan 2010: 503–505), OLith. (17th c.) *jéntė*, gen. sg. *jenterš*, East Lith. *intė* ‘id.; wife’s sister, daughter-in-law’, Latv. (Courlandish) *jentere* ‘HuBrWi’ (Derksen 2015: 211), OCS *ѣтры* / *jetry* ‘id.’, ORus. *ятры*, gen.sg. *ятрѣве* ‘So/BrWi’ (~ *сноха* or *невестка*, see II: 2.6.4 above), OCz. *jatrev* ‘HuBrWi’ (only in Bible translations), OPol. *jatrew(ka)* ‘BrWi’ (*ESSJa* VIII / 188–190).

**H₂énh₂ter-* is the least clear kinship term in **(h₂)ter*. Its meaning in younger languages was often contaminated with other designations of daughters- and sisters-in-law. However, older

²³⁶ This derivational scenario presupposes a coinage of a proterokinetic *r/n*-stem with an abstract meaning ‘husband’s side’ as an intermediary step, which is not well in concord with the view of Rau (2009: 54, footnote 56). The latter assumes that the obligatory condition for the sound change in Germanic must be the original amphikinetic paradigm **dāh₂iūr-/dh₂iūr-* → **dāh₂iūr-/dih₂iūr-* → **dāh₂iūr-/dih₂iūr-*. On the other hand, an amphikinetic paradigm contradicts the Greek and Vedic evidence.

²³⁷ a thematisation with laryngeal loss, simplification of nasal clusters after a consonant (Hackstein 2002, Nussbaum 2010: 269–272) and Winter lengthening in the Slavic attestation (Petit 2002: 146)

²³⁸ The OHG word is attested only in a phrase *thio hōhūn gizīti*, 9th c. (ibid.)

²³⁹ on *y > j* see III: 2.4.1 below

languages clearly indicate that the meaning of the PIE form must be self-reciprocal ‘husband’s brother’s wife’.²⁴⁰ As any non-primary term, it is optional and is missing in many languages, but PIE is nonetheless not unique in this respect. Terms with similar semantics sometimes occur in terminologies of traditional patrilocal societies: e.g., Mari (Uralic language in Russia) *акавел* ‘sister-in-law, husband’s elder brother’s wife’ (aka ‘(elder) sister’ + *вел* ‘side’).

As almost all attested forms were reshaped (e.g., in Slavic the most ancient forms were already *ū*-stems), it is very difficult to reconstruct the original ablaut pattern of the word. Most scholars (e.g., Beekes 1972: 34, Tremblay 2003a: 93, Petit 2004: 68 footnote 102, Rau 2009: 54, footnote 56) are inclined to interpret it as an amphikinetic noun **(H)jénh₂tē/ōr-/ (H)jñh₂-tr-é/ós*. EWAia (II / 410) suggests a proterokinetic paradigm **Hjénh₂ter-/Hjñh₂tér-*. Pinault (2005a: 478, 2007: 276–277, 2017: 90) views it as a product of the contamination of hysterokinetic and acrostatic inflectional patterns.

As the original meaning of many terms denoting daughters- and sisters-in-law was ‘bride; young wife’, ‘beloved one’, or simply ‘young woman’ (see II: 2.6.3 and II: 2.6.4 above, cf. also Lith. *martì* II: 2.3.1 above), we can expect the etymology of this term to imply some of these or similar concepts, which was later conventionalized as specifically ‘HuBrWi’. Pinault (2005a: 478, 2007: 277, 2017a: 90) convincingly argues that **Hjén* should be viewed as a noun **h₁jén-* ‘given / taken / exchanged (woman)’ derived from the root **h₁ai* ‘give; take’ (e.g. Hitt. *pēhhi* ‘id.’, αἴνωμαι ‘take’, LIV² 229). A further discussion on the derivational history of the kinship terms in **(h₂)ter* is given in II: 3.1 below.

II: 2.6.7. **ġ/H-?-* ‘husband’s sister’

A few IE languages have a specific term for ‘husband’s sister’ that may have the same origin: Gr. (Homeric) γάλωος ‘HuSi’, (Att.) γάλως ‘HuSi, BrWi’, (Hesychius) γάλις γαλαός ‘HuSi’, Phryg. γελарος ‘BrWi’, Lat. *glōs* ‘HuSi, BrWi’, Arm. *tal* ‘HuSi’, OCS з(ѣ)лѣва ‘id.’, Rus. золовка ‘id.’ and possibly Ved. (AVP) *giri* ‘BrWi’ (cf. IEW 367–368, EIEC 521–522). Some scholars (Joki 1973: 267) believe that this word was borrowed into Proto-Uralic as **kālīw* ‘in-law’ (e.g., Fin. *käly* ‘BrWi’). However, it is a rather speculative hypothesis (Milanova & Holopainen & Bradley 2020 in print: 347 with references). The word is, in general, rather problematic both formally and semantically.

²⁴⁰ Cf. the difference between the OCS and the Standard Russian translations of Ruth (1:15): «се, возвратися **ятровъ** твоя к людем своим и к богу своим» (OCS version) vs. «вот, **невестка** твоя возвратилась к народу своему и к своим богам» (Standard Sinod translation) “See, your **sister-in-law** has gone back to her people and to her gods” (Standard English translation). The Vulgata and the Greek Bible apply different words to denote HuBrWi too: “cui dixit Noemi en reversa est **cognata** tua ad populum suum et ad deos suos vade cum ea” (cf. II: 2.6.1) “καὶ εἶπεν Νωεμὶν πρὸς Ρουθ Ἴδοὺ ἀνέστρεψεν ἡ **σύννυμφός** σου πρὸς λαὸν αὐτῆς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτῆς.” (cf. II: 3.1.3.3). The translations are taken from <https://www.bibelwissenschaft.de> and <http://www.my-bible.info> (15.08.2020).

Beekes (1976a: 15) is inclined to reconstruct the proto-form as a hysterokinetic *u*-stem (similar to those discussed in II: 2.5.3 above) with a full-grade in the nominative: (nom.sg.) $*\hat{g}élh_2\bar{o}u-s$ / (acc.sg.) $*\hat{g}l̥h_2-éu-ṃ$ / (gen.sg.) $*\hat{g}l̥h_2-u-ós$. The Phrygian form $\gamma\epsilon\lambda\alpha\rho\varsigma$ (< $*\gamma\epsilon\lambda\alpha\rho\varsigma$), which, in Beekes' opinion, might well be Greek, points to the full grade in the root with a thematised suffix $-(e)u-o-$. The Greek form $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda(o)\omega\varsigma$ (< $*\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\rho o-$) reflects a thematised oblique stem. The Hesychius form $\gamma\alpha\lambda\alpha\acute{o}\varsigma$ as if from $*\hat{g}l̥h_2-éu-o-$ might reflect a thematization of the old accusative form, while $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\varsigma$ should be an alternative *i*-stem $*\hat{g}l̥H-i$. Lat. *glōs*, a secondary Latin *s*-stem (Brosman 2004: 6 with references), can be reconstructed as $*\hat{g}l̥h_2-\bar{o}u-s$ (Beekes 1976a: 13–16, 2010: 258–259). Schrijver (1991: 131, 199) argues that $*\hat{g}l̥h_2-\bar{o}u-s$ could not yield Lat. *glōs* directly. The laryngeal must have been lost early and *l* was not vocalised: $*\hat{g}l̥h_2-\bar{o}u-s > *golōs > glōs$. De Vaan (2008: 266) assumes that the starting point should be either a root noun $*\hat{g}l̥h_2-$ or an adjective $*\hat{g}l̥h_2-u-$ which had different derivatives in different branches. In particular, Lat. *glōs* should reflect the form $*\hat{g}loh_2-(u-)$.

The initial consonant of Arm. *tal* (instead of the expected $*cal$) can be explained by a contamination with *ta(y)gr* 'husband's brother' (IEW 368, Olsen 2013: 206, footnote 2). Martirosyan (2010: 595–597) suggests two alternatives: *tal* either might reflect $*\hat{g}(\acute{e})lh_2-\bar{o}u-s >$ Proto-Arm. $*t\acute{a}luw > *talw$ (in dialects one finds forms like *taləv* and *tavl*) or the development (nom.sg.) $*\hat{g}l̥H-\bar{o}i > *t\acute{a}lu(i) > *talw$, (oblique stem) $*\hat{g}l̥H-i- > *tal(i-)$ (although the attestations of *i*-stems like Gr. $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\varsigma$ mentioned above are rare and unsystematic).

Slavic attestations (Derksen 2008: 551) might have emerged from Slavic $\bar{u}/u\bar{u}$ -stems: $*\hat{g}l̥h_2-u- > *g\ddot{u}lh_2-u- \rightarrow *g\ddot{u}l-h_2u- \rightarrow *g\ddot{u}l-u\bar{u}- \rightarrow *g\ddot{u}l\bar{u}-/g\ddot{u}l\bar{u}\bar{u}- \rightarrow *z\ddot{u}ly/ z\ddot{u}l\bar{u}v$ with a metathesis $*h_2u- > *uh_2-$ and subsequent co-vocalisation to $u\bar{u}$ - (analogical to the case of *svekry* 'mother-in-law', (gen.sg.) *svekrŭve*). The change $*l̥ > \ddot{u}l$ is a standard Proto-Slavic development (Matasović 2004, see also II: 2.5.3.3 above). Later an *a*-stem $*z\ddot{u}l\bar{u}va$ was formed on the base of the oblique case: OCS з(ѣ)лѣва 'HuSi', Rus. золѡвка 'id.', OCz. *zelva* 'HuSi; sister-in-law (BrWi), daughter-in-law', BCS *z\ddot{a}ova* 'HuSi' etc. Old Polish also has an *i*-stem: OPol. *zelw*, *zlew*, *zelwi* (SSp XI / 315–316). Alternatively, Witczak (1998 apud Majer IF 125 § 24) assumes that the underlying pre-form of the Slavic attestations must be the *s*-stem $*\hat{g}l̥h_2-\bar{o}s$, which was later reanalysed as a $\bar{u}/u\bar{u}$ -stem. The same pre-form could also yield Att. $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega\varsigma$ and Lat. *glōs*.²⁴¹

The reconstructed meaning of this word is 'husband's sister' exclusively. However, as the examples above show in some languages it can also be a self-reciprocal term 'HuSi / BrWi' and even denote daughters-in-law.

²⁴¹ Majer (ibid.) assumes that the same must be valid for another well-know Slavic $\bar{u}/u\bar{u}$ -stem $*ljuby *ljub\bar{u}ve$ 'love', which, in his opinion, must originally be an animate amphikinetic *s*-stem $*leub^h-\bar{o}s$ reflected in Lith. *liaupsė* f. 'praise, adoration'.

There is no common opinion whether Ved. *giri-* ‘BrWi’ (?) belongs to the list of its cognates. This word was discovered by Eichner-Kühn (1976: 28–32) in the AV Paippalādasamhitā (AVP XIX 19, 11: Mantra ĀpMB II 22,5 = BhGS 2, 27):

pari tvā girer amiham
pari bhrātuh pari svasuh
pari sarvebhyo jñātibhyaḥ <...>

“Umharnt habe ich dich weg vom Berge (?), um(harnt) weg vom Bruder, um(harnt) weg von der Schwester, um(harnt) von allen Verwandten“
 (translated by Stenzler apud Eichner-Kühn ibid.)

According to Eichner-Kühn (1976: 28–32), the context suggests that *girer* should be interpreted as a kinship term, obviously ‘sister-in-law (BrWi)’, not as a ‘mountain’. Moreover, there is a similar text (AVP XIX 19.11) in which another term for ‘sister-in-law’ *yātuh* ‘HuBrWi’ (II: 2.6.6) is used instead.

In spite of semantic and contextual plausibility, this hypothesis has weak points. First of all, this Vedic word is phonologically incompatible with the Slavic evidence which indicates a palatal *ġ* as the initial consonant.²⁴² Thus, the expected Vedic form should be **jiri-*, while *giri-* presupposes a proto-form **g/h₂-i*. One can assume that the Slavic cognate might deviate (as it might well be the case with the word for ‘son-in-law’, see II: 2.6.3 above). However, it is the Slavic words that seem to be more regular, consistent and better attested than the Vedic word in this case. Furthermore, the existence of the postulated *i*-stem is dubious. For this reason some scholars (Griffiths and Lubotsky 2009: 118–121) deny that *girer* could denote a sister-in-law in the given AVP passage and prefer the older translation ‘mountain’.²⁴³ Others (e.g., EWAia I / 487–488) accept the interpretation ‘sister-in-law’ but assume that the word is either a result of contamination with the Ved. *giri-* meaning ‘mouse’ or ‘mountain, hill’ or a borrowing from a non-IE language. The latter possibility is by no means surprising (see the discussion in I: 2.2.1 above). OInd. *nānāndar-* ‘HuSi’ may be a Dravidian loanword (cf. Kannāḍa *nāḍini* / *nāḍani* ‘HuySi; yBrWi’, Karve 1965: 262–263, Beekes 1976a: 16, Mayrhofer EWAia II / 10 found it doubtful but did not account for his opinion).

As for the etymology of the word **ġ/H-?*, there have not been any credible suggestions yet. In case of terms for secondary relatives, semantics is not always simple to predict. If it is a secondary *u/i*-stem, it might be some kind of appurtenance formation of the root **ġ/H-*. An *ōs*-stem derived from this verb might be a formation similar to **h₂éus-ōs* ‘dawn’.²⁴⁴ WP (I / 631 with references to

²⁴² The proto-form was reconstructed with *ġ* due to the Slavic attestations: *ġ* > Slav. *z* (**ġneh₃-* > Rus. *знать*), *g* > *g* (**ġug-ō-m* > OCS *igo* ‘yoke’) (cf. Eckert et al. 1983: 29–30).

²⁴³ “It seems to us that Eichner-Kühn too lightly dismissed the possibility that this ritual is aimed at a ‘homesick aboriginal slave from the mountains’. The text of ĀpastambaGS 8.23.7, quoted above, implies that the *dāsa-* ‘slave’ was among the categories of servants whose running away the preceding sūtra was meant to curtail.” (ibid.:120)

²⁴⁴ Steer (2015: 63–82) suggests the following derivational history of this word: proterokinetic **h₂ués-os* / *h₂us-és-* n. ‘Morgenrot, Hellwerden’ (derived from **h₂ués* ‘(morgens) hell werden’, LIV² 292–293) → possessive adjective hysterokinetic **h₂us-és-* ‘mit Morgenrot versehen, Morgenrot bringened’ → amphikinetic **h₂éus-ōs* f. ‘die Morgenrot Bringende, Göttin der Morgenröte’ (alternatively, hysterokinetic

Ascoli 1863: 319–320) suggest that the word might be derived from the root “*ḡelə-*” ‘to laugh, to enjoy’ (> Gr. γελᾶω ‘id.’, γέλως ‘laughter’, Arm. *calr* ‘Gelächter’ obviously **ḡelh₂* ‘in Lachen ausbrechen’, as per *LIV*² 162), but *IEW* (367–368) did not mention this hypothesis. Formally, such a derivation is not impossible. Semantically, it would mean either ‘the one who is associated with laughing’ or ‘the one who brings laughter’. Thus, like **daiḡh₂uér* (II: 2.6.5) the word could hint at the wedding feast. And yet, as is the case with the above-mentioned OInd. *nānāndar-* ‘HuSi’, which seems to have some connection to the verbal root *nand* (*nāndati-*, RV, AV+) ‘sich freuen, Freude empfinden, beglückt sein’, the connection between **ḡlH-?* and **ḡelh₂* may be merely a folk-etymology (Trubachev 1959: 136, *EWAia* II / 10–11). What makes this etymology even less likely is the fact that ‘laughing’, at least in Indo-Iranian society, was associated with loose behaviour (cf. Ved. *hasrá-* f. ‘prostitute’, YAv. *jahī*, *jahikā* ‘id.’ are related to Vedic root *has* ‘laugh’, *EWAia* II / 81–812).

Further, it is also conspicuous that Latin, Greek and Old Indic show curious parallels: Lat. *glōs* ‘sister-in-law’ and *glīs* ‘dormouse’, Gr. γαλόως ‘husband’s sister’ and γαλέη ‘weasel, marten’ and Ved. *giri-* both ‘sister-in-law’ (?) and ‘mouse’. Oettinger (1998: 649–54) gives further examples of similar metaphorical transfer from other IE and non-IE languages: e.g., It. *belladonna* ‘beautiful woman’ and ‘weasel’, German (dial.) *Gevatterle* ‘weasel’, Sw. *jungfru* ‘virgin’ and ‘weasel’, Arab. *īrsa* ‘bride’ and ‘weasel’, Hung. *menyét* ‘daughter-in-law’ and ‘weasel’, etc. (ibid. 651). He concludes that this semantic change is either associated with a taboo on employing the animal’s name or as a comparison between young women and this small and gracious and yet toothy and predatory animal is apparently universal and not connected to any language family. It is also obvious from his examples that the primary meaning is ‘young woman, husband’s sister,’ etc. and not ‘weasel’ or ‘mouse’. Thus, in this case the connection seems to be rather folk-etymological as well.

The associations with laughter, loose behaviour, and naughty animals might be justified in this case, because ‘husband’s sister’ could be an odious character. Karve (1965: 71–79) mentioned double standards pertaining to local and in-coming women in Indian extended families. In her father’s house a girl could enjoy more freedom, could even have a secret lover, which is against the ideals of the Vedic religion and Hinduism (such as *kanyādāna*, cf. Khare 1982) but could take place and could be tolerated by the girl’s family of origin. Daughters-in-law could not afford to be flirty. They were under constant vigilant control by the members of husband’s household, in particular, by husband’s sisters, who viewed in-coming women as rivals. This relationship could be especially tense when husband’s sister was previously married but expelled by her husband and had to return to her father’s house. In general, it does not seem that the word had positive connotations. This may be one of the reasons why it eventually disappeared from most IE languages.

**h₂us-és-* might be of delocative origin: lok. sg. **h₂us-és* ‘beim Morgenrot, beim Hellwerden’ and **h₂éus-ōs* f. ‘die sich beim Hellwerden Zeigende’.

II: 2.6.8. wife's relatives

As it was argued in II: 2.6.2 above it cannot be excluded that terms for parents-in-law had the *cognatic* structural pattern already in PIE because all attested terms for specifically wife's parent in the IE languages that have such terms are independent innovations with mostly vague etymologies or loanwords: Slavic **tīstī* m. 'WiFa' and **tīstjā* f. 'WiMo' (ORus. тѣсть, тѣсть 'WiFa' and тѣща, тѣща 'WiMo', Rus. тѣсть 'WiFa' and тѣща 'WoMo', Pol. *teść* 'father-in-law' and *teściowa* 'mother-in-law', Slov. *tást* 'father-in-law' and *tásčā* 'mother-in-law' (cf. Trubachev 1959: 125–128), Lith. *uošvis* m. 'WiFa' and *uošvė / uošvienė* f. 'WiMo' (cf. Derksen 2015: 482–483 with references to Klingenschmitt 2008), Arm. *aner* 'WiFa' and *zok'anch* 'WiMo' (Olsen 1999: 32–33, 946, Martirosyan 2010: 81–82). Nevertheless, specific terms such as **dajh₂uér* 'HuBr', **H₁énh₂tēr* 'HuBrWi', and **ǵlH-?* 'HuSi' imply the existence of specific terms at least for 'wife's brother', 'wife's sister', and 'wife's sister's husband'. This situation is by no means unprecedented (for example, Hindi does not distinguish husband's and wife's parents but has numerous terms for different kinds of siblings-in-law, cf. III: 5.2.2.1). It would even be symmetric to the structure of the non-primary consanguineals, in which terms for grandparents seem to have a *cognatic* pattern **h₂eu_h₂(-o-)* 'grandfather (on either side)', but terms for uncles and aunts on mother's and father's side are different (see II: 2.5.2).

The oldest attested terms for wife's relatives are mostly based on the reflexive stem **sue-* or the verbal root **b^hend^h* 'bind'.

II: 2.6.8.1. Derivatives of **b^hend^h*- and similar formations

The derivatives of **b^hend^h* (LIV² 75) are Gr. πενθερός 'father-in-law, brother-in-law, son-in-law' (Iliad+) and πενθερά, f. (Demosthenes+), Ion. -ή (Callimachus) 'mother-in-law' (< **b^hend^h-er-o-* > Lith. *beñdras* 'participant, sharer', cf. Ved. *bándhu-* 'relative; clansman', each of them implying the meaning 'ally', e.g., in a war, cf. also OPers. *baⁿdaka-* 'vassal; follower' and IrPers. *x^(w)išāvand* 'relative', III: 4.1) (Beekes 2010: 1171–1172). The fact that πενθερός and πενθερά denoted specifically wife's parents cannot be completely proven. The masculine form occurs in Homeric Greek twice (Iliad 6.170 and Odyssey 8.582) in the context that permits multiple interpretations. Gates (1971: 25) points out that it was the scholia and not Homer himself that suggested the meaning 'wife's father'. Moreover, in all later sources it has a wide all-inclusive meaning 'in-law' (similar to ON *māgr* or Hitt. ^{LÚ}*kaina-*, discussed in II: 2.6.1 and II: 2.6.3 above). For example, in the Greek New Testament (Luke 12.53) we come across the meaning 'husband's mother':

διαμερισθήσονται πατὴρ ἐπὶ υἱῷ καὶ υἱὸς ἐπὶ πατρί, μήτηρ ἐπὶ τὴν θυγατέρα καὶ θυγάτηρ ἐπὶ τὴν μητέρα, πενθερά ἐπὶ τὴν νόμφην αὐτῆς καὶ νόμφη ἐπὶ τὴν πενθεράν.

"The father shall be divided against the son, and the son against the father; the mother against the daughter, and the daughter against the mother; the mother-in-law against her daughter-in-law, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law".

In Modern Greek these words denote parents-in-law on either side (cf. Buck 1949: 122). Therefore, it is more likely that *πενθερός* and its feminine pendant were Greek innovations with broad semantics used along with older more specific words for husband's relatives.

There might have been another ancient term with binding semantics reflected in Ved. *syālā-* 'wife's brother' (RV I 109:2, cf. also **III: 5.2.2**) and Slav. **šurĭ* 'id.' (ORus. шюринъ / шуринъ / шоурин 'id.', *Nestor's Chronicle* +, cf. NKRYa s.v. шуринъ, шуричъ 'WiBrSo', Rus. шурин 'WiBr' OPol. *szura, szuza, szurzy* 'id.', OSerb. шоупа 'id.', SCr. *šūra; šūr(j)āk* 'id.'. In earlier sources (e.g., IEW 915, Trubachev 1959:139) this attestations are considered to be cognates. In later work their relation is mostly doubted (e.g., Szemerényi 1977: 94, Darms 1978: 447) or denied (Derkson 2008: 488). EWAia (II / 782) suggests comparing them, but does not give any further details.

Trubachev (1959: 139) assumed that both forms are based on the verbal root **sġū-* 'sew' (~ **sġeuH-*, as per LIV² 545, cf. Ved. *sġvyati* '(he) sews' Rus. шить 'to sew'). For the Slavic evidence, it seems to be a plausible etymology: **sġeuH-r-iġo-*²⁴⁵ > **šurĭ*, but **sġeuH* can hardly ever yield Ved. *syālā-*.

Olsen (2013: 207, footnote 7) tries to reconstruct the proto-form for both Slavic and Vedic forms on the basis of the verbal root **seh₂(i)-* 'bind, connect' (**sh₂eġ*, as per LIV² 544). The Vedic form might be either a full-grade of the *ro-/lo-*Caland form **sġeh₂-ró-/ló-* or a secondary thematised collective **sh₂i-ōr-*. However, none of these forms would yield the Slavic forms. Olsen suggests that a possible solution here could be a contamination with **sġékuro-*, but it seems more likely that the words are simply derived from different roots.

Lith. (obs.) *laigonas / laigōnas* 'wife's brother' seems to have a similar semantics. Olsen (2013: 207, incl. footnote 7) reconstructs it as **loġG-h₃n(h₂)-o-* 'someone with binding, associative charge' (cf. Lat. *ligō* 'bind'). However, Gliwa and Šeškauskaitė (2015) have recently suggested an alternative etymology. They assume that the word should be related to Latv. (obs.) *līgava* 'bride' and be interpreted as 'bridesman'. Both words may have an etymological connection to Lith. *lingti* 'swing' and *laigyti* 'dance, frolic, frisk' (possibly **leġg / leġġ* 'springen', as per LIV² 405) implying the ritual dance that the bride (*līgava*) performed at her wedding, while *laigonas / laigōnas* must be the causative form 'the one who brings *līgava* for the dance', who ususally was her 'brother'. Typologically, Latv. *līgava* can be compared to Lith. *núotaka / nuotakà* (more rarely *tekuōlė* along with Lith. *martì*, see **II: 2.3.1**) 'bride' derived from *tekėti* 'move (about the Sun in the sky), flow (river, water), marry (about a bride)' (**tek^h* 'laufen, fließen', LIV² 620–621). The ritual context suggested by Gliwa and Šeškauskaitė is fascinating and may indeed take place, but the implications can also be simpler: bringing a bride from her natal family into her husband's family. Therefore,

²⁴⁵ It might have been a Caland *ro-*adjective later enlarged with the suffix *-iġo-* (**II: 2.5.3.1**)

Latv. *līgava* and Lith. *núotaka* obviously follow the same semantic pattern as OInd. *vadhū* and Slavic *nevěsta* (see II: 2.6.4 and II: 2.6.5 above).

II: 2.6.8.2. **sue*-forms

The stem **sue*- / **se*- / **su*- ‘own’s own’ (Dunkel 2014 II / 751–762) often becomes a base for kinship and social terms. Even a bare stem by itself can have the meaning ‘relative; clansman’ (cf. *bhártā svānām* ‘the supporter of one’s own people (family, clan, tribe, etc.)’ in the passage ŚB XIV 4,1,19 discussed in II: 3.1.1 below). Its derivatives can refer to “our own ones”, the people associated with the speaker (such as Gr. ἔτης < **sue*-to- ‘clansman; citizen’ and obviously PIE **suesor*- ‘sister’, II: 2.4.2) or, on the contrary, to those who are “on their own” (by themselves, not with us), “other people”, (such as Lith. *svečias* < **sue*-t-ijo- ‘guest, stranger’, and possibly PIE **suekrú*-h₂- ‘mother-in-law’ and **suekur*-o- ‘father-in-law’, see II: 2.6.2).

Some of its derivatives may be of PIE antiquity. Gr. ἀέλιοι / αἰέλιοι m. pl. (**sm-suelioi*) ‘co-brothers-in-law’, οἱ ἀδελφὰς γυναῖκας ἐσχηκότες ‘who have sisters as wives’ (Hesych), εἰλίονες m.pl. (Pollux 3.32) ‘id.’, and ON (pl.) *svilar* ‘id.’ can go back to PIE **suelijon*- / **sueliHon*- (cf. *EIEC* 85) or **sueli*-h₃onh₂- ‘whose charge is a cross-connection’ with a “Hoffmann suffix” (as per Olsen 2013: 209).²⁴⁶ Lith. *sváinė* ‘WiSi’, Latv. *svaīne* ‘id.’, and Arm. *k’eni* ‘id.’ emerged from **suoinijeh*-. (Masculine Baltic form Lith. *sváinis* ‘WiSiHu’ and Latv. *svaīnis* ‘id.’ may be derivatives of their feminine pendants.)²⁴⁷ OHG *giswīo* ‘brother-in-law (SiHu); male affinal relative’ and (gi)swīa ‘sister-in-law (HuSi); female (affinal) relative’ should be reconstructed as a form with a “Hoffmann suffix” **su(e)i*-h₃on(h₂) (*EIEC* 85, Olsen 1999: 803 and 2013: 209–211 with references to Graff VI / 863 and Starck and Wells 1990: 224, Matrosyan 2010: 661, *ALEW* II / 995–996). Slavic forms like Rus. *свояк* ‘WiSiHu’ and *свояченица* ‘WiSi’ or Slov. *svak* ‘brother-in-law’ and *svakinja* ‘sister-in-law’ obviously belong to derivatives of **sue*- too but should be independent Slavic formations. Slav. **svīstī* ‘WiSi’ > ORus. *свєсть* ‘id.’, Rus. (dial.) *свєсть*, *свєстка*, *свєсточка* ‘id.’, OPol. *świeść* ‘id.’, Bulg. *свєс(т)ка* ‘id.’ is an even more archaic inner-Slavic formation with a debated etymology (Trubachev 1959: 140–141).

As any kinship terms for secondary relatives, these terms are subject to borrowing. Western Slavic languages and Lithuanian adopted NHG *Schwager* and *Schwägerin* to denote brothers- and sisters-in-law: Cz./Slk. *švagr* m. and *švagrová* f., Pol. *szwagier* m., *szwagierka* / *szwagrowa*, Lith. *svogeris* (a synonym of *sváinis*). Many languages spoken in Asia and Eastern Europe borrowed a Turkic term for ‘wife’s sister’s husband’: Arm. *bajanaq* ‘id.’, NPers. *bājenāq* ‘id.’, Modern Gr.

²⁴⁶ See the discussion on the “Hoffmann suffix” I: 2.3.2 above.

²⁴⁷ According to Parkin (2015: 209–213) and Munck & Dapkunaite (2018), both Lith. *sváinė* f. (a less common synonym of *brolienė*) and *sváinis* m. and Latv. *svaīne* f. and *svaīnis* m. actually follow the cognatic pattern now and should be glossed as ‘sister-in-law’ and ‘brother-in-law’ respectively.

μπατζανάκης / *badzanákis* ‘id.’,²⁴⁸ Bulg. баджанák ‘id.’ (also балдѣза ‘WiSi ← Turk. *baldız* ‘id.’), BCS *pašenog* or *pašanac* ‘WiSiHu’. The similarity of the latter form to Chuvash *pošana* (→ Mari *posana* ‘id.’, Udmurt *bušon(o)* ‘id.’) indicates that the word must be a borrowing from Bulgar-Turkic (obviously, Danubian Bulgarian) in the Early Middle Ages. The form *bajanaq* should be equated to the Turkish word *bacanak* ‘id.’ (cf. Tatar (dial.) *bâcanaq* ‘id.’) (Andromedas 1957: 1087, Trubachev 1959: 141, Hammel 1968: 30, Kitanova 1999: 282, Milanova & Holopainen & Bradley 2020 in print: 356–357 with references).

II: 2.7. Fictive relatedness, widowhood and orphanage

Due to often deplorable hygienic conditions and primitive medicine death was not a rare guest both in poor and rich families well until the beginning of the 20th century. Children were especially vulnerable, but even the most robust adults in the full bloom could be stricken by numerous then-incurable infectious or inflammatory disease that have become easily treated or prevented only in the last 100 years. Women would often die in labour or from puerperal fever. Never-ending military conflicts would take lives of many men. All these challenges must have stricken PIE society and the ancient IE peoples too. Accordingly, they must have had widows and orphans, step-children and step-parents, and must have been familiar with the institution of adoption and fosterage.

II: 2.7.1. step-parents, step-children, adoption, fosterage

All IE languages have some terms denoting step-parents and step-children, but none can be reconstructed for PIE (cf. the list in Buck 1949: 128–129). The only term with PIE status that might have had such semantics is **népōt-* ‘grandchild / nephew’. Some Celtic and Germanic reflexes of this form indeed have a meaning ‘step-child’ or ‘adopted child’ (see the examples II: 2.5.2.2). This can be a secondary development in these specific languages but might also be one of the inherited meanings of this PIE word as its original semantics was obviously ‘a younger relative of secondary importance (not a direct heir)’ (see II: 2.5.2.3).

A group of ancient terms denoting step-relationships are secondary *u*-stems and *ijo*-formations derived from terms for ‘mother’ and ‘father’ (see II: 2.5.3.1). They could denote either relatives from mother’s or father’s side or step- or adoptive parents (Gr. μητροιά ‘step-mother’, Arm. *mowrow* ‘id.’). As it is clear from the Law Code of Gortyn quoted in Rau (2011/2012: 10–13), it was precisely an ascending relative on mother’s or father’s side that would often become a guardian or an adoptive parent for an orphan. It might have been the same in PIE society and among early IE peoples. That is why terms for step- and adoptive parents are often contaminated

²⁴⁸ Hammel (1968: 30) also mentions *badzanakia* f. ‘HuBrWi’. PONS (Greek) and some other Modern Greek dictionaries give the form μπατζανάκισσα / *badzanakisa* f. ‘id.’ Just (2000: 109 footnote 9) points out that young middle-class urban speakers do not use such words any more.

with non-primary consanguineals (cf. also the discussion on fosterage in **II: 2.5.2.3** above). Alternatively, genitival derivatives from terms for parents and children can also have the meaning ‘someone like mother’, ‘a kind of father’, ‘a kind of daughter’, etc.

Along the same lines, many younger terms for step-parents and step-children are derivatives or compounds of terms for parents and children. Late Latin had words like *patrāster* ‘a kind of father’ implying ‘step-father’ (Buck 1949: 128–129) but also ‘father-in-law’ (as per Lewis and Short 1891: 1315, cf. also *mātrāster*, *fīlīaster*, *fīlīastra*) preserved in some Romance languages (e.g., Sp. *padrastro* ‘step-father’, *madrastro* ‘step-mother’, *hijastro* ‘step-son’, *hijastra* ‘step-daughter’). This pattern was replicated by French *beau/belle*-forms and British *in-law*-forms (see **II: 2.6.1** above). However, it must be a Latin-Romance innovation, which was later applied in French, Dutch, and Anglo-Norman, rather than an inherited PIE pattern because reflexes of PIE *in-law* terms (discussed in **II: 2.6.2** – **II: 2.6.8**) never denote step-relationship.

Terms for step-relationships in Baltic and Slavic are often formed with the prefix Baltic *po-* / Sl. *pa-* (possibly originating from PIE **h₂ep-* or **h₂po-* ‘after, by, at’ > OInd. *āpa-* adv. ‘away, from’; Gr. *ἀπό* ‘from, away from’; Lat. *ab* prep. ‘from, away’) that usually has a negative or pejorative meaning (‘quasi-, pseudo-’) in Slavic (Derksen 2008: 407, Matasović 2014: 174). The oldest form might be **pastorьkъ* > Bulg. *настрок* ‘step-father’ and *настроче* ‘step-child’, OCz. *pastorek*, *pastorě* ‘step-child’, Slov. *pástorek* ‘step-son’, *pástorka* ‘step-daughter’, BCS *pàstorak* ‘step-son’ and *pàstorka* ‘step-daughter’. Trubachev (1959: 53) assumes that this form should be reconstructed as *“*pō-pātōr* (a derivative from PIE **ph₂tér-* ‘father’), which is very speculative. The phonological problem of this hypothesis (**pt* > *st*) is discussed in **II: 2.1.1.1** above. It also has a semantic difficulty. Apart from a rather ideosyncratic and isolated Bulgarian evidence, all other attestations indicate the meaning ‘step-child’ and not ‘step-father’. *ERHSJe* (II / 616 with references to Fraenkel 1923) states that masculine SCr. *pàstorak* is a re-creation based on the feminine *pàstorka*. The latter can be reconstructed in the following way: Proto-Slavic **pa-dŭkter* (**pa-* ‘not real, quasi-’ + **dŭkter* < **d^hugh₂tér* ‘daughter’) → **padkter* (cluster simplification) > **padter* → **paster* + (Slavic diminutive suffix) *-ьkъ* m., *-ьka* f. This hypothesis can be supported by typological parallels from Lith. *pó-dukrė*, *pó-dŭkra* ‘step-daughter’ and further parallel Balto-Slavic formations OCS *падъшти* / *padъšti* ‘step-daughter’, Rus. *падчерица* ‘id.’. Further forms with this Balto-Slavic prefix are Lith. *patevis* ‘step-father’ and *pósūnis* ‘step-son’, OPrus. *patowelis* ‘step-father’, *pomatre* ‘step-mother’, *passons* ‘step-son’, and *puducra* ‘step-daughter’, Rus. *пасынок* ‘step-son’, OPol. *pasynek* ‘great-great-grandson; step-son’ (cf. Fraenkel 1937: 82, Trubachev 1959: 53, 57–58).

Germanic terms for step-relationship are coined with the element PGm. **steup-* > OHG *stiof-* > NHG *Stief-*, OE *stēop-* > Eng. *step-*, OFries. *stiap-* / *stiep-*, ON *stjūp-* (attested also as *stjūpr* ‘step-son’) > Sw. *styv-*, etc. is associated with verbal forms such as OHG *stiufen* ‘der Eltern oder der

Kinder berauben', OE *āstȳpan* 'berauben', *āstȳpte* 'verwaist' < PGm. **steupa-* 'abgestutzt, abgestumpft, beraubt' without any obvious extra-Germanic connections (DWDS s.v. *Stiefvater*).

Step-relationship can be expressed by different words such as Gr. πρόγονος (lit. 'born earlier') that could be both 'ancestor' and 'a child born in the previous marriage, step-child'. Buck (1949: 128) points out that both meanings are preserved in Modern Greek as πρόγονος 'ancestor' and προγονός 'step-son', προγονή 'step-daughter' and προγόνοι 'step-child' (cf. also Lat. *prīvignus* 'step-son' and *prīvigna* 'step-daughter' with *prīvus* 'single', i.e., 'one of separate birth'). Accordingly, a child could call father's new wife a new person in the family as Lat. *noverca* (ibid.).

II: 2.7.2. widows and orphans

The form **(H)uid^heuo/eh₂-* (cf. *EIEC* 642) is attested in many languages and is definitely of PIE origin: e.g., Ved./OInd. *vidhāvā* 'widow' (*a-vidhavāḥ* nom.pl. 'not widows', RV X 18:7a and *vidhāveva* = *vidhāvā-iva* 'like a widow', RV X 40:2c), YAv. *vidāuuā* 'widow' (also well-attested in New Iranian languages, see III: 2.5.2 and III: 3.5.2 below), Gr. ἡῖθεος m. 'unmarried youth, unmarried young woman', Lat. *viduus* adj. 'deprived or bereft of a husband or wife, bereft of a lover, spouseless, mateless, widowed', *vidūa* f. 'widow; unmarried woman', OIr. *fedb* 'widow', Goth. *widuwo* 'id.', OE *widewe*, *wudewe* 'id.' (Kroonen 2013: 585), OCS *вѣдова* 'id.', OPrus. *widdewū* 'id.', Alb. *ve*²⁴⁹ 'id.' (Grassman 1873: 131, Lewis and Short 1891: 1989, *AiW* 1443, *EWAia* II / 556, *eDIL* s.v. *fedb*). The Anatolian cognate may be Hitt. ^{MUNUS}*udati* 'foster-mother; widow', but this word may also be a personal name of non-IE origin (*HEG U* / 141–143 with further literature, it is not listed in Kloekhorst 2008a).

It is fairly obvious that the word is based on a *u*-stem but the underlying root is a question of debate. According to the classical hypothesis (Roth 1870: 223–224, Delbrück 1989: 442–445, Trubachev 1959: 112–113), it must be a prefixed verb *“*vidh-“* 'to be empty, to lack' (as Lat. *viduus* and Gr. ἡῖθεος indicate) interpreted as **ui-* 'away' + **d^heh₁-* 'to put, to set' (*IEW* 1127–1128, *EIEC* 642, and *LIV*² 136–138). Alternatively, Tichy (1993: 15–19) assumes that the word is a *u*-stem derived from the root **h₂uid^h*²⁵⁰ 'verletzend, tödlich treffen' (> OInd. *vidhyati*, as per *LIV*² 294–295) reflected in Ved *vidhú-* 'mortally wounded' (about the Moon, RV X 55:5, AV IX 10:9, 'vereinsamt, einsam' in Grassman 1973: 1282). The form **h₂uid^h-eu-o-s* 'a relative of the deceased' (Lat. *viduus* and Gr. ἡῖθεος) should be a thematic *vṛddhi* from this adjective (similar to **ph₂treu-ó-* > Lat. *patruus* 'FaBr' based on **ph₂trou-*, cf. II: 2.5.3.1), which could originally mean 'left alone' (cf. also Goth. *widuwairna*²⁵¹ m. 'orphan', lit. 'widow's child') later reanalysed as 'lonely; unmarried; widowed; orphaned'. The **h₂uid^h-eu-eh₂* should have been a collective form 'family of the deceased', which was later individualised as 'widow'. The collective semantics of

²⁴⁹ It may be an inherited word (from Proto-Alb. **widewā*) or a borrowing from Latin (Orel 1998: 497).

²⁵⁰ The quality of the initial laryngeal is not quite clear (see Darms 1978: 332, 334–335).

²⁵¹ with a suffix **-ern-* as in ON *þerna*, OHG *diorna* f. 'maid, girl' < PGm. **þew-ern-ōn-* (Kroonen 2013: 585)

this word can be a good explanation why terms for ‘widower’ (m.) in IE daughter languages (OHG *wituwo* m. ‘widower’, ORus. вѣдовецъ ‘id.’ Kroonen 2013: 585, *SRJa XI–XVII* II / 38) are secondary independent formations. Alternatively, it may be explained by the fact that a widower was a less common phenomenon than a widow. On the one hand, men must have lost their wives even more often due to the high mortality of women as a result of birth complications in the circumstances of primitive medicine. On the other hand, men could have more than one wife or could marry again, while remarriage of widows in traditional societies may be prohibited or at least disapproved.

As far as remarriage of widows is concerned, there is no certainty on this question. For example, in Medieval Germanic-speaking societies widows, especially young and wealthy ones, could remarry (Ricketts 2010: 133–175). Women who married a few times are also mentioned in Scandinavian sagas (e.g., Hallgerður in the *Njáls saga*). Even in the Hindu society, which was / is especially unfriendly to widows (and women as a whole) and preferred them to remain unmarried and isolated from the society or become a *satī* (join her husband on his funeral pyre), there was/is also a practice similar to the Semitic practice of *levirate* (OInd. *niyoga*-) permitting / prescribing a man to marry his brother’s widow (cf. Sutherland 1990, Jamison 2017: 135–136). This tradition might have been described already in RV (X 18:7–9):

úd īrṣva nār; abhī jīvalokām gatāsum etām ūpa śeṣa éhi
hastagrābhāsyā didhīśós tāvedām pátyur janitvām abhī sám babhūtha
 “Arise, woman, to the world of the living. You lie beside him whose life is gone. Come here!
 You have come into existence now as wife of a husband who has grasped your hand and wishes to have you.”²⁵²

and in RV (X 40:2c)

kó vāṃ śayutrā vidhāveva devāram māryaṃ ná yóṣā kṛṇute sadhāstha á
 Who takes you to bed, like a widow her brother-in-law, (or) to a rendezvous like a maiden a dashing youth?

Out of general typological consideration (see **I: 1.1.3** above), we can assume that the most radical scenario (such as *satī*-) might take place among the highest social strata, but can hardly be a standard procedure (Karve 1965: 77). Each time when such a practice is mentioned in fiction or ethnography (e.g., in the Mahabharata or in the famous travel report of Ibn Fadlan about Russia of the 10th century), some outstanding man is meant (e.g., King Pāṇḍu or an influential Viking chief). This statement can be confirmed by archeological evidence. Mallory (p.c. and 1990: 36 with references to Rychkov 1982) points out that a study of over 1447 burials from the Yamnaya culture, which is presumably some stage of Indo-European, (cf. **Introduction 0.1**) revealed that only 3.5% involved paired burials – two individuals together – and of them, an even much smaller percentage (0.7%) involved the burial of a male and female. Banning or disregarding widows, especially childless / sonless ones because of their ritual impurity (as it is done, for example, in

²⁵² On the relationship between ‘husband’s younger brother’ and ‘elder brother’s wife’ in societies of North India see in **III: 5.2.2.2** below.

India, cf. Lamb 1997, 1999), can be economically reasonable for a stable sedentary community, but banning a young, strong and fertile woman seems too extravagant for a nomadic society. It is likely that remarriage of widows was not impossible, but obviously more problematic than remarriage of men.

Nevertheless, it does not mean that among PIE people there were no widowers. Institutionalised *polygyny* presupposes that a man may have more than one wife if he wants to and can afford it. Thus, it pertains again, first of all, to high-status and wealthy men, while low-status and less wealthy men might well have only one wife. Some men could be too old and disinterested in remarriage. However, to be a widower in a traditional society is still different than being a widow. For a woman to lose a husband might mean to lose the only / the main means of subsistence, to lose her status of a matron, and become dependent on the mercy of her or her husband's relatives, while a widowed man does not usually lose his status and means of subsistence.²⁵³ If we view the situation under this angle, it becomes clear why PIE and other ancient languages have well-established terms precisely for widows, which are often etymologically related to terms for 'orphan' and other poor and helpless people.

This idea can be illustrated by the Balto-Slavic words *šeirỹs* 'widower', *šeirẽ* 'widow', OCS *сирѣ* 'deprived, poor', ORus. *сирота* 'orphan; dependent person (peasant); beggar', Pol. *sierota* 'orphan', etc. reconstructed as BSl. **šeiros* < PIE **kei-ro-* possibly related to Ved. *śayú-* 'orphan' and YAv. *saē* 'id.' (Brugmann 1906: 353, *EWAia* II / 615, Chernykh 1999 II: 165, Derksen 2015: 442, *ALEW* II / 1017). Along with this lexeme, there is Lith. *našlỹs* 'widower', *našlẽ* 'widow', and *našlãitis* 'orphan'. It might be a derivative of PIE **nek* 'to disappear, to be lost' (Ved. *náśyati* 'he/she/it disappears', Toch A (pres.mid.) *nāknāštār* 'id.', *LIV*² 451–452) and a cognate of Gr. *νεκρός*, *νεκρός* 'dead; corpse', Lat. *nex* 'death; murder', and ON *naglfar* 'Totenschiff' (Leskien 1891: 462, Būga 1922: 273, Preveden 1929: 148, Trubachev 1959: 113–114, Derksen 2015: 330, *ALEW* II / 688, Steer 2015: 89–105).

Another ancient word for 'orphan' is attested as Gr. *ὀρφανός* 'orphaned, orphan'; 'bereft, abandoned', Lat. *orbus* 'orphaned, bereft', Arm. *orb* 'orphan', OInd. *ár̥bha-* 'small, young, weak' < **h₃orb^h-o-* 'orphaned, orphan',²⁵⁴ and as genitival *i̯ō-*-derivatives of the basic form OIr. *orb(b)a*, *orbbae*, *orpi* 'patrimony; heritage', Goth. *arbi* 'id.', OHG *arbi*, *erbi* 'id.', ON *erfi* 'ritual burial celebration' (Beekes 2010: 1113–1114, *eDIL* s.v. *orb(b)a*, *DWDS* s.v. *Erbe*). Some scholars (Trubachev 1959: 39–40, *ESSJa* XXXII / 131–133, Derksen 2008: 373) add Slavic **orbъ* 'servant, slave' (OCS *рабъ* 'slave', Cz. *rob* 'id.', BCS *ròb* 'id.') with its derivative Slavic *nt*-stem **orbę*

²⁵³ Under certain circumstances the status of a woman might become even higher after her husband's death as it was in Medieval Novgorod (11th–15th c.), where women could inherit property and take part in trade (Levin 1983). However, in the circumstances of the extended household, property usually belongs to the whole family, not a specific person.

²⁵⁴ As a verbal root **h₃orb^h* might be attested in Hittite: *harp-^{ta(ri)}*, *harp-^{zi}* < **h₃orb^h-to-* '(intr.) to separate oneself and (re)associate oneself elsewhere, to change allegiance; to join with, to take the side of; (trans.) to associate (someone) with; (+ *anda*) to combine, to join together' (Kloekhorst 2008a: 311–312).

‘child’ (ORus. робя ‘child’, (pl.) робята, Rus. ребёнок ‘id.’) to the list of cognates. The word also belongs to the famous early layer of IE borrowing into Proto-Uralic: Finn. *orpo* ‘orphan’, North Saami *oarbis* ‘orphan; lonely and deserted’, Mordvin (Erzya) *urus* and (Moksha) *oros* ‘orphan’, Khanty *-urj* in the compound *jəŋg-urj* ‘id.’ emerged from the Proto-Uralic form **orpV-*, which may reflect PIIr. **Hár^ha-*. However, a borrowing from another branch of IE is also possible (Holopainen 2019: 166–168 with references to Sammallahti 1988: 542, Zhivlov 2014: 138, Aikio 2015: 61).

Greek and North Germanic terms for widow imply loneliness. Gr. χήρα (< **ǵ^heh₁-ro-*) ‘widow; a woman left by her husband’ (Iliad+) should be a derivative from the verb **ǵ^heh₁* ‘leave behind’ (OInd. *jáhāti* ‘he leaves behind’, Gr. χατέω ‘to lack, to desire’, LIV² 173, Beekes 2010: 1630–1631), while ON *ekkja* ‘unmarried woman; widow’, Dan. *enke* ‘widow’, Sw. *änka* ‘id.’ (cf. Goth *ainakls* ‘lonely’) are derived from PGm. **aina-* (< **Hoj-Hn-o-*) ‘one’ (ONP s.v. *ekkja*).

II: 3. Special issues pertaining to PIE kinship terms

II: 3.1. PIE kinship terms in *-(h₂)ter

Kinship terms in *-(h₂)ter are above-mentioned *ph₂tér ‘father’ (II: 2.1.1.1), *méh₂tēr or *máh₂tēr ‘mother’ (II: 2.1.2.1), *d^hugh₂tér ‘daughter’ (II: 2.2.2), *b^hréh₂tēr ‘brother’ (II: 2.4.1), and *H₁énh₂tēr ‘husband’s brother’s wife’ (II: 2.6.6). The presence of the common formant implies that the terms should have something in common. There have been numerous debates on the morphological and semantic aspects of these words (most recently discussed by Milanova 2016, 2018, 2019/2020, 2020).

II: 3.1.1. Kinship terms in *-ter and agent nouns in *-ter

At first sight, the kinship terms in question are similar to agent nouns in -ter, especially productive in Indo-Iranian and Greek but sporadically occurring in many other IE branches (Tichy 1995). The general idea that kinship terms may denote functions or duties of different member of the family is not implausible. Moreover, there exist kinship terms like *génh₁-tor- (Lat. *genitor* ‘begetter; father’, cf. II: 2.1.3) that are proven agent nouns. Thus, it is not surprising that Bopp (1871 [1837]: 189–191) suggested that “*patár* Ernährer oder Herrscher” should be derived from “*pā*” (~ *peh₂(i) ‘schützen, hüten, weiden’, LIV² 460), “*mâtár* Gebälerin” from “*mā* messen, schaffen, hervorbringen”, and “*Duhitár* Säugling” from “*duh* melken”. Further, he interpreted “*b^hrātar” as “der Erhalter, als der Mutter, der Schwestern und jüngeren Brüder Stütze nach des Vaters Tod” (ibid: 190–191) and thus as an agent noun of the root “*b^har” being reanalyzed as ‘take care of, support’. Bopp (ibid. 190–191) also believed that the Vedic *bhartar*- m. (RV+) ‘Erhalter, Ernährer; Mietsherr; Herr, Gatte’ (Grassman 1873: 929; PW V / 216, cf. also *bhartr̥* f. (AV+) ‘Erhalterin, Ernährerin, Mutter’, Grassman 1873: 929; PW V / 216), which is indeed a agent noun derived from *b^her according to this very pattern, might be a variant of Ved. *bhrátar*- ‘brother’.

Ved. *bhartar*- is also one of the illustrative examples of agent nouns discussed in Tichy (1995). She observed that it can have a hysterokinetic paradigm if the word means ‘the one who is carrying or is taking care of someone in a specific situation’ like in *bhartá vájrasya dhr̥ṣṇóḥ* ‘the bearer of the bold mace’ (RV X 22:3). “Mit Bezug auf den Ehemann oder den Anführer einer Gruppe, der diesen Status zur bleibenden Eigenschaft hat, wird deshalb akrotones *bhártar*- verwendet (Tichy 1995: 287)“:

práthiṣṭa yāman prthivī cid eṣām bhárteva gárbham svám ic chāvo dhuḥ

Even the Earth has spread herself at their journey. **Like a husband** an embryo, they have implanted their own strength (in the earth) (RV V 58:7)

evām ha vá enam svá abhisámviṣanti, bhártā svānām śréṣṭhaḥ puraetá bhavaty annádó dhipatir yá evām véda

So versammeln sich um den seine Leute, der dieses Wissen hat, er wird zum **Erhalter**, Obersten und Anführer seiner Leute, zum Esser der Nahrung, zum Oberherrn (ŚB XIV 4,1,19 = BÄU I 3,18)²⁵⁵

(It should be emphasised that the Viennese school of IE studies and Steer (2015: 197–207) prefer interpreting Vedic barytone *’-tar*-stems as originally PIE amphikinetic rather than acrostatic nouns.)

In spite of the phonological resemblance, the word *bhártar*- ‘husband’ can hardly have any common morphological prehistory with *bhrátar*- ‘brother’. The former could be reconstructed as PIE **b^hértor*- (cf. Tichy 1995: 57–61) and I do not see any regular way how it can yield Ved. *bhrátar*- and other attested IE forms. Sometimes, it is assumed that the root **b^her* had a *seṭ*-variant **b^herH*- (see Ved. *bharīman*- and OCS брѣмѧ / *brěmę*, see the discussion in II: 2.4.1 above), but an acrostatic / amphikinetic agent noun derived from it would most probably yield Ved. **bharitar*-.²⁵⁶ The semantic difference between ‘husband’ and ‘brother’ is also problematic and not simple to explain. In general, *bhártar*- seems to belong to the Indo-Iranian rather than inherited PIE vocabulary. Strictly speaking, it may even belong to the Indo-Iranian layer as far as morphology and the meaning ‘carrier’ is concerned, but the semantic development of this form in these two sub-branches was different. The masculine form YAv. *bāšar*- ‘(horse)keeper’ (Hōm-Yašt, Y. 11, 2) is not a kinship term at all. The semantics of the feminine form *barəθrī* ‘mother; a pregnant one (i.e., the one who is carrying the foetus); womb’ seems to emphasize physical aspects of motherhood²⁵⁷ in contrast to Ved. *bhartrī* ‘the one who is taking care’, which points out the social role of motherhood (AiW 910, 946 and NIL 16, Tichy 1995: 43 with references to Hoffmann 1986: 166, 179, *ESIJ*a II / 96).

It is only the terms **méh₂tēr* and **ph₂tér* that can have relatively plausible etymologies as agent nouns. Thus, **ph₂tér* can indeed be derived from **peh₂(i)* and mean ‘protector’ or ‘breadwinner’ (see also the etymology of the NPers. *šowhar* ‘husband’, III: 2.2.1). The only difficulty is why it is hysterokinetic and not acrostatic / amphikinetic like Ved. *bhártar*- ‘husband’. As for ‘mother’, Tremblay (2003a: 85, 150 inc. footnote 164) follows the hypothesis suggested by Eichner (1973: 65–67), who connects the root **mā-* with **meh₂-* ‘zeitlich passend sein, die/zur rechte(n) Zeit sein’. Therefore, “**meh₂tōr*–“ would be “the one who makes smth./ smb. ripe” (i.e., “gives birth at the right time”).²⁵⁸

Attempts to connect other kinship terms in **-ter* with agent nouns have not been a great success. The interpretation of **d^hugh₂tér* as **d^hug^htér*- ‘milk-maid, servant’, a derivative from **d^heug^h-*

²⁵⁵ analyzed and translated by Tichy (1995: 163)

²⁵⁶ One can imagine that **b^hérHtor*- could transform into **b^héHrtor*- and then into **b^hréHtor*- through a double metathesis or a *Schwebeablaut* (cf. Tremblay 2003: 91), but this is a rather *ad hoc* solution.

²⁵⁷ An especially vivid example is a passage from Vidēvdāt (18: 38): *hō mām auuaša vərənqn nijaiṇti yaša vərhrkō caṅṅbarə-zagrō barəθriiāt haca puṅrəm niždarə-dairiiāt* “der zerstört meine Leibesfrucht ebenso, als ob ein vierfüßiger Wolf das Kind aus dem **Mutterleib** herausrisse” (translated in Wolff 1910: 421).

²⁵⁸ Eichner (p.c.) believes that the word originally designated a womb, cf. YAv. *barəθrī* above.

‘treffen; taugen; (Ilr.) Milch geben’ (LIV² 148–149), suggested by Pârvulescu (1993), or “nourricière” (as per Tremblay 2003a: 90) is semantically not completely insane but phonologically problematic because both Greek and Vedic evidence indicated h_2 preceding *-ter* in the PIE form.²⁵⁹ The hypothesis is especially weak as far as the term **H₁énh₂tēr* is concerned. Tremblay (2003a: 94) considers **H₁énh₂tōr-/H₁ñ-tr-* a cognate of Rus. *jadró* ‘kernel, core’ (< **h₁en-d(h)r-ó-m*, as per Derksen 2008: 157) and Ved. *Índra-* (← **Hind-ró-* ‘large, abundant’) and interprets it as ‘reinforcement’ (“accroissement”) or the ‘uterus’ (“ventre”) of a family, which sounds wild both semantically and morphologically.

Olsen (2019) prefers the scenario with agent nouns combined with analogical transformations. She assumes that **ph₂tér* and **d^hugh₂tér* were coined as agent nouns with the meaning ‘protector’ or ‘herdsman’ and ‘milk-maid’ respectively (see above). The term **b^hréh₂tēr* might likewise be an agent noun derived from the root related to PSl. **bōrti se* ‘to fight’ (OCS брати сѧ / *brati se* ‘fight’, cf. Jasanoff 2017: 80, possibly PIE **b^horH-* > Lith. *bárti* ‘scold, accuse, forbid’, Lat. *ferīre* ‘hit’, OHG *berjan* ‘hit, pound, knead’, Derksen 2008: 57–58) with the original meaning ‘fighter’ or ‘brother-in-arms’ (Olsen 2019: 147–148). However, the term **máh₂tēr* must be an analogical formation based on the nursery term **mama-* (ibid. 146), while **H₁énh₂tēr* an analogical formation based on **h₁ieh₂nt-* ‘a travelling one’, i.e., ‘an in-coming woman’ (ibid.: 152). Semantically, Olsen’s etymologies are not implausible, but they still do not solve the morphological and phonological challenges mentioned above.²⁶⁰

The hypothesis about kinship terms in **-ter* as agent nouns has another serious problem emphasised in Pinault (2009: 28). It is not clear why terms denoting female relatives have a masculine suffix **-ter* and not **-t(e)r-ih₂* as one can expect from a feminine agent noun (Ved. *bhartrī* or Gr. γένετῖρα).

II: 3.1.2. Kinship terms in **-ter* as compounds

The presence of a laryngeal in the middle of each kinship term in **-ter* made most scholars suspect that we are dealing here with either a conglomerate of suffixes (see below) or compounding. Thus, Cowgill (in Sihler 1988: 558–559) assumed that the words must be analysed as compounds “**p-H₂tér-*“, “**dhug-H₂tér-*“, “**yñ-H₂tér-*“ or “**yén-H₂ter-*“, “**má-H₂ter-*“, and “**bhrá-H₂ter-*“ with *-H₂ter-* ‘kinsman’ or ‘kinship’. These authors were not specific about the etymologies of these words. They only suggested that “**p-H₂tér-*“ and “**má-H₂ter-*“ may be derived from nursery terms *papa* and *mama* respectively. A similar hypothesis was described in Carruba (1995), who viewed the second element of the compound as “*-H₁ter-*“ ‘image; person (> own); blood;

²⁵⁹ The development $Th_2 > T^h$ is attested (e.g., Ved. *sthūnā-* ‘pillar’ originating from **stéh₂-u-* ‘firm stand’, cf. II: 2.5.3.2), but the opposite development is highly improbable.

²⁶⁰ In addition, PSl. **bōrti se* ‘to fight’ taken as a base of the term for ‘brother’ is also problematic phonologically as it would yield «борот-» in Russian (as in Rus. бороться ‘fight’) instead of the attested form «брат».

kinship’ probably attested as HLuw. *atari-* and Lyc. *alta* and formally similar to “**Hner*” ‘man’ (cf. **h₂ner-*, II: 2.3.1) and “**Hsor*” (as in **syésor-*, II: 2.4.2 above). Neither of these authors explained what kind of compound they mean. These could possibly be determinative compounds, but their existence in PIE is doubtful (see II: 2.4.2 above).

II: 3.1.3. Kinship terms in *-ter as a result of delocative derivation

The derivational history and functions of *ter*-stems could be a topic for a PhD thesis by itself. Apart from kinship terms and agent nouns in *-ter, this suffix occurs in a large group of words denoting temporal and spacial relationships: adverbs and prepositions like Lat. *in-ter* ‘between’ or *prae-ter* ‘beyond, before, etc.’ (also with *-tr-o: Ved. *á-tra* ‘here’, *anyá-tra* ‘elsewhere’, *deva-trá* ‘among gods’, *martya-trá* ‘among men’), adjectives, which are usually mere thematisations of adverbs and preposition in -ter Gr. πρό-τερ-ος ‘the former, the one before’ and ὕσ-τερ-ος ‘the latter, the one behind’, comparative grades of some adjectives such as OInd. *priya-tar-a-* ‘dearer’ and Gr. πιστό-τερ-ος ‘more loyal’, and sometimes possessive pronouns Gr. ἡμέ-τερ-ος ‘our’ and ὑμέ-τερ-ος ‘your’ (pl.) (cf. also Dunkel 2014: I /180–181, 194–198). One can also observe it in heteroclitic nouns in *-t_ṛ-/-ten- (see below) and instrumental nouns in *-tro- (e.g., Gr. φέτρον **b^her-tro-* ‘bier, litter, frame’, along with the suffixes -tlo-, -d^hro- and -d^hlo-, NIL xxiii, 19).

A large-scale study of all these forms that would be both profound and all-embracing has not been carried out so far, but preliminary examination suggests that all of them must ultimately have some kind of locative value because this is the inherent nature of the PIE suffix *(e)r- (cf. Nussbaum 1986: 235–247, Dunkel I / 162–167). Thus, Olsen (2010: 7–85) discusses the relationship between heteroclitic nouns in *'-t_ṛ-/-tén-, agent nouns, and instrumental nouns. According to her analysis, agent nouns emerged from the endingless locative singular of heteroclitic nouns and became the derivational base for acrostatic agent nouns and instrumental nouns. Steer (2015: 197–207) has devoted a short chapter to the suffix *-ter in agent nouns, heteroclitic nouns, and words denoting temporal and spacial relationships. Like Tichy (1995) and Olsen (2010), he concludes that this suffix in all of them must have emerged as an endingless locative singular of proterokinetic abstracts in *'-t_ṛ-/*-tén- and ér-locatives of t-stem and was later used as a ready-made locative suffix.

II: 3.1.3.1. Kinship terms in *-ter and a comparative suffix

Lohmann (1965: 217) and Szemerényi (1977: 10) suggested that the function of *-ter in kinship terms should be more similar to *-ter in the comparative grade of adjectives rather than in agent nouns. This idea was developed further in a series of articles and talks by Pinault (e.g., 2005a, 2007, 2009, 2017a, and p.c.). Like most contemporary scholars (e.g., also Rieken 1999: 267–268), he assumes that we deal here with a complex suffix *(e)*h₂ter*. The laryngeal element -(e)*h₂*- should

be a well-known collective / abstract suffix, while **-ter* must have a contrastive value. Taken together, the suffix should mean “belonging by contrast to the group of...”.

Accordingly, the root morpheme must be a noun. Thus, **b^hréh₂ter-* must be based on a zero-grade of the root noun **b^hér-* / *b^hr’-* ‘birth’ > ‘child’ (e/z-Type A, Schindler 1972: 38, see the discussion in **II: 2.4.1** above) ‘belonging to the group of (male) children’, **H₂énh₂ter-* on **H₂én-* ‘exchanged woman’ (see **II: 2.6.6** above), **máh₂ter-* simply on the nursery term *mama*. The derivational history of the other two words is more complicated. Pinault assumes that **ph₂ter-* should be based on the weak stem of **ph₁-éh₂-* ‘field, fold, estate > household, family’ (possibly attested as an s-stem **ph₁eh₂-s-* > Gk. πῑός m. ‘kinsman by marriage’, and Vedic *páthas-* n. ‘living place, resting place’), which must be a collective of the root noun **peh₁-* ‘move’ (**peH* ‘sich bewegen’, as per *LIV*² 459), and thus ‘a man in (his own) household’. The noun **d^hug* in **d^hugh₂tér-* might have emerged from the weak stem of the hysterokinetic *u*-stem **d^hh₁-éu-* / *d^hh₁-u-* ‘the sucking one’ (which in its turn should be an internal derivative of a proterokinetic stem **d^héh₁-u-* / *d^hh₁-eu-* ‘sucking’²⁶¹) with “expressive” suffix *-g-* as in Lith. *mergà* ‘girl, maiden’, Welch *merch* ‘girl, woman’ (see **II: 2.3.1** above). This must be, therefore, ‘one of the female children’.

Kinship terms in **-ter* should stand in a privative opposition to kinship terms without this suffix: **d^hugh₂tér-* to **suH-nu-* / **suH-ju-* (**II: 2.2.1.1**), **b^hréh₂ter-* to **népōt-* (**II: 2.5.2.2**), **H₂énh₂ter-* to **súésor-* (**II: 2.4.2**), **ph₂ter-* to **máh₂ter-* (the latter must have **-ter* analogically to **ph₂ter-*) (Pinault 2007: 276–277, 2017a: 88–91 and p.c.).

In general, Pinault’s hypothesis is more consistent and better-elaborated than any hypothesis about kinship terms in **-ter* as agent nouns. The etymologies for each separate term make sense. The etymology for **b^hréh₂ter-* is my personal favourite. The idea that ‘born / birth’ can be reanalysed as ‘brother’ and non necessarily as ‘son’ or ‘child’ is not unrealistic as argued in **I: 2.3.2**. (The development ‘born’ > ‘child’ is simply more self-evident than ‘born’ > ‘brother’ or ‘relative’, cf. also Milanova 2020). The idea that **máh₂ter-* is nothing more than ‘one of *mamas*’ seems simple, but simple does not mean wrong. As for **ph₂ter-*, **d^hugh₂tér-*, and **H₂énh₂ter-*, the etymologies are morphologically speculative, but semantically plausible. Notably, like Steer (2015) Pinault (2007: 273–274) believes that the suffix **-ter* in both of these groups of nouns has the same origin (endingless locatives) and the only difference is that agent nouns are based on action nouns (**h₁i-tér-* / *h₁i-tr-* “while going”), while kinship terms in **-ter* are based on collective nouns.

In any case, when we deal with such ancient words as these three, it is very difficult to go beyond speculations. We cannot be sure that the form that can be reconstructed is its original form. It might well be that the word was shortened or corrupted already in the proto-language. It seems to

²⁶¹ A *u*-adjective (like **pélh₁-u-* / *pélh₁-éu-* ‘full’) derived from the verbal root **d^héh₁i-* ‘suck, suckle’, see also Lat. *fēmīna* and especially Slav. **děva*, which may also be reconstructed as **d^héh₁-u-* (**I: 2.3.1**) and further derivatives of this root (**II: 2.2.1.2**).

be especially likely for **ph₂ter-*. This was obviously a very frequently used word, and as it was in Ancient Greek (see the final paragraphs of **II: 2.1.1.2** above), it could also be a vocative term of polite address (like OIr. *popa* ‘father; Master, Sir’ ← Lat. *papa*, *eDIL* s.v.). Such words are especially subject to different kinds of (often irregular) phonetic simplifications, omission of initial, medial and final sounds and even syllables. The word *Sir* is a simplified Lat. *senior* ‘older’, *Mister* is a corrupted form of *master*, which is ultimately Lat. *magister*, *ma’am* is a shortening of *Madam*. The most striking example is Rus. *сударь* m. / *сударыня* f. (a shortened form of *государь* ‘Lord, Sir’, which in its turn is a corrupted form of «господарь» derived from «господь» < **g^hos(ti)-poti-*, see **II: 2.3.5** above). This word was sometimes transformed into a kind of enclitic *-s* in colloquial speech of the 19th century (e.g., “Извините-с!” instead of “Извините-сударь / сударыня!” Excuse me, Sir/Madam!).²⁶² This evidence gives an idea that the morpheme preceding *-h₂ter-* in **ph₂ter-* might have been a little longer but was cut in quick colloquial speech already in the proto-language. It might have been, for example, a nursery term **papa-* or **poti-* ‘master’ (**II: 2.3.5**).

II: 3.1.3.2. Kinship terms in **(h₂)ter* and Hitt. *-ātar*

If a complex suffix **-h₂ter* existed in PIE, it might have reflexes apart from kinship terms. Blažek (2001: 29–30) considers the Hittite suffix *-ātar* to be a possible candidate. This suffix constructs abstract heteroclitic nouns from verbal and nominal roots: Hitt. *aššijātar* / *aššijānn-* n. ‘love’ derived from *aššijā-* ‘to love’, Hitt. *anniatar* / *anniann-* n. ‘motherhood’ derived from *anna-* c. ‘mother’ (Rieken 1999: 380, Kloekhorst 2008a: 174, 226). Almost any Hittite kinship term has an abstract noun with this suffix. Thus, *NIN-tar* (**negātar-*) ‘sisterhood’ (KUB 21.38 obv. 38 and 53–54) and *ŠEŠ-tar* ‘brotherhood’ (KUB 23.102 i 3–18, KUB 19.20 rev. 28 and 30) occurs in letters of Hittite monarchs and should probably be translated as ‘equality of ranks’ when one monarch is as mighty as the other one (*CHD* N / 428, 431–432).

Phonologically, the suffix can indeed be reconstructed as PIE **-eh₂-t_ṛ* / *-eh₂-tn* based on the abstract **-eh₂-* (Melchert 1994: 85–86, Rieken 1999: 382), but it is not clear whether this similarity is merely formal or etymological. There is no established opinion whether the suffix is inherited or coined within Anatolian or even Hittite. Carruba (1994, esp. 54) believes that the suffix should be an internal Hittite development parallel to the Luwian complex abstract suffix *-āh-it*²⁶³ with a

²⁶² This enclitic *-s* often occurs in the classical theatre plays of the 19th century in the speech of waiters or poor city dwellers.

²⁶³ Hitt. *ḫattulātar* ‘health’ vs. Luw. *ḫattulāḫit* ‘id.’, Hitt. *innaraḫūtar* ‘force’ vs. *ānnarummāḫit-* ‘id.’, Hitt. *MUNUS-(an)natar* (**kuḫannātar*) ‘womanhood’ vs. Luw. *ašrulāḫit-* ‘id.’, Hitt. *LU-nātar* (*pišnātar*) ‘manliness’ vs. Luw. *zidāḫit* ‘id.’ (Carruba 1994: 52). Carruba (1995) did not even admit Hitt. *-ātar-* being etymologically connected with kinship terms in **-ter* because he considers them compounds with “**H₁ter-*” ‘kinship, tribe’ (see above).

laryngeal h_2 preserved.²⁶⁴ Melchert (1994: 85–86) agrees that Luwian *-āh-it* and Hitt. *-ātar* should be etymologically related, but he considers **-éh₂-t_ṛ* to be a common Anatolian morpheme (cf. CLuw. *-attar* / *at(ta)n-* in *kuršattar* ‘parcel of land < *cutting’, Lyc. *-a/edri-* in *huwedr(i)-* ‘all’ parallel to CLuw. *šuyātar* n. ‘fullness’) but less productive in Luwian than in Hittite because of *-āh-it*. Rieken (1999: 381–382) and Kloekhorst (2008: 226) assume that **-éh₂-t_ṛ* must have been coined in Proto-Anatolian or even in PIE, but Kloekhorst prefers reconstructing this suffix as PIE **-ótr/-ótn*. Pinault (2019/2020 and p.c.) keeps kinship terms in **-ter* and Hitt. *-ātar* apart.

Hittite / Anatolian *-āt(t)ar-* stems and kinship terms in **-h₂ter* cannot be completely equal to each other because the former are abstract neutral nouns and the latter are animate nouns denoting people. Nevertheless, kinship terms in **-h₂ter* might have gone through a similar derivational scenario as hysterokinetic and amphikinetic (acrostatic) agent nouns (see above) and might have emerged from the endingless loc.sg. of neutral proterokinetic **h₂ter-* stems.

Thus, a hypothetical noun ***máh₂t_ṛ-* / *m(a)h₂tén-* would mean ‘in (among) mothers > motherhood’ (similar to Hitt. *annijatar* / *annijann-* n., see above). Its hysterokinetic locative hypostasis ***m(a)h₂tér-* / *m(a)h₂tr-* would be an adjective ‘pertaining to motherhood, motherly’. An amphikinetic noun ***máh₂tor-* would be a substantivisation of its hysterokinetic variant (cf. Steer 2015: 201–207), which was finally reanalysed as the acrostatic **máh₂ter-* familiar to us.²⁶⁵ Similarly, ***b^hráh₂t_ṛ-* / *b^hr(a)h₂tén-* ‘in (among) children (born in the same family) > brotherhood’ could go through the same transformation.

As for the other three terms, they might have had the same experience but changed their inflectional paradigms due to different circumstances. In my personal opinion, these changes had little to do with semantics but were rather of morphological and phonological character. An abstract term ***(H)iénh₂t_ṛ-* n. could mean, for example, ‘giving / taking (the bride) > bridehood / sister-in-lawship’ (see the final paragraph in II: 2.6.4 above). A noun ***d^huégh₂t_ṛ-* n. would mean ‘the status of a daughter’ or ‘girlhood’. It should be mentioned here that Kloekhorst (2011: 241 with references to Beekes 1995: 175) reconstructs the Proto-Anatolian nom.sg. as ***d^huégh₂tr-* postulating a hysterokinetic paradigm of the *bandi*-type, whatever etymology ***d^huég* could have. An abstract noun on which **ph₂tér-* is based could mean ‘household’ or ‘authority’.

II: 3.1.3.3. Kinship terms in **-ter* and life cycle

The Anatolian evidence shows that the suffix **-āt(t)ar-* could be very productive and could modify many nouns and verbs. There remains one question. If a reconstructed suffix **-h₂ter* was at

²⁶⁴ Melchert (1994: 85) assumes that factitive denominal verbs such as Hitt. **negnahh-* (ŠEŠ-*ahh-*) ‘to make someone a brother, treat / regards someone as a brother’ (CHD L–N / 431) could be the basis for abstract nouns in *-ātar*. However, Rieken (1999: 382 footnote 1917) and Kloekhorst (2008: 226) deny it.

²⁶⁵ Such a scenario does not work ideally for specific IE languages. According to observations of Fellner (2015 and p.c.), in Vedic barytone (amphikinetic / acrostatic) *-tar*-stems have participial syntactic functions and oxytone (hysterokinetic) *tár*-stems behave like nouns, while, for example, in Greek both types (δῶτωρ and δότηρ) are simply nouns.

least half as productive as *-atar* in Hittite, why only five words were preserved and what kind of special relationship connects them? The set of privative oppositions suggested by Pinault (see **II: 3.1.3.1** above) is somewhat artificial and I do not see any internal logic in it. I would expect the words to build a system of their own.

As it was suggested in a series of articles and talks (Milanova 2016, 2018, 2019/2020) this internal logic might well be age differences. Thus, **d^hugh₂tēr* would be someone with a status of a ‘daughter’, which would imply that being a ‘daughter’ (not ‘wife’ or ‘bride’) was her main social function. Daughters / girls are unmarried and usually young. They can / must perform certain cultic duties (see Hitt. ^{MUNUS} *duttarijata/i-*, **II: 2.2.2** above). In most traditional IE societies they must be virgins. Women with a status of **máh₂tēr* ‘mother’ are older. They are married and have children. **H₂énh₂tēr* could originally mean ‘bride’. In traditional societies the status ‘bride / young wife (without children)’ had a certain difference from ‘wife and mother’ because child-bearing was the most important function of a woman at that time. This period could sometimes be rather long. For example, in Ancient Wales a girl could be engaged and start staying with her bridegroom’s family regularly at the age of twelve, but the consummation of marriage was usually postponed until the age of at least fourteen (Charles-Edwards 1993: 176). Ossetic also has a special term *k_oyrdwat / kurdwat* denoting a sojourn of an engaged girl in her fiancé’s family (Abaev *IESOJa* I / 610–611, see also Yagh. *qīngōlá* ‘young woman before the first pregnancy’ related to Pash. *čangālá* ‘fiancee’, **III: 3.4.1**). Similarly, the original meaning of Gr. *νύμφη* (see **II: 2.6.4**) was precisely ‘the girl between the engagement and the birth of the first child’ when the girl was no more *παῖς* ‘child’, *κόρη* ‘girl / daughter’, or *παρθένος* ‘unmarried girl / virgin’ (see **I: 2.3.1** above) but not yet *γυνή* ‘wife’ and *μήτηρ* ‘mother’ (Gillespie 2014). Notably, the word *κόρη*²⁶⁶ became the only unmarked term for ‘daughter’ in Modern Greek, *νύμφη* displaced *νύος* in the Hellenistic period and has been successfully functioning in the meaning ‘SoWi’ or ‘BrWi’²⁶⁷ since then (Milanova 2019/2020: 287–289 with references to Gates 1971: 39, Versnel 1994: 276–283, Clark 1998: 13–22, esp. 14, Cole 1998: 32–35). The word for ‘HuBrWi’ in the Greek Bible is *σύν-νυμφός* (Ruth 1:15), lit. ‘co-bride’.

The difference between **ph₂tēr* and **b^hréh₂tēr* could also be age and social status. Like *gr̥hastha* in the Hindu society (Michaels 1998: 108) or Eng. *husband* could be a man who has his own household, family, and children, while **b^hréh₂tēr* is one of the children under the authority of his **ph₂tēr* as the etymology of the word implies. Milanova (2016: 4, 2018: 80–81) assumes that **ph₂tēr* and **b^hréh₂tēr* might have had some cultic meaning similar to the life stages of *āśrama-*

²⁶⁶ The etymology of Gr. (Att.) *κόρη* / (Ion.) *κούρη* / (Dor.) *κόρη, κόρα* and its masculine pendant *κόρος / κοῦρος / κῶρος*, originally *κόρφα* and *κόρφος* respectively (<**koruo/eh₂-*) is vague (Rozwadowski 1925: 116–117, Szemerényi 1977: 12–16, Blažek 2010: 100–101, Beekes 2010: 752–753, 764). The most plausible hypothesis (also preferred by Beekes *ibid.*) views the word as a derivative of the verbal root *κορέννυμι* ‘sate, fill’ (< **kerh₃* ‘sättigen, füttern’, *LIV*² 329).

²⁶⁷ > NGr. *νύφη / nífi* ‘id.’ (Andromedas 1957: 1087).

system in Hinduism (Michaels 1998: 85–113, Flood 1997: 61–65) or age-grades (cf. McCone 1986: 16–22, 1987, Lyle 1997). In particular, I assumed that **b^hréh₂tēr* as ‘one of the born ones’ could be similar to Hindu *dvija* ‘twice-born’, a boy after the initiation rite *upanayana*, who had gained the access to the Vedic knowledge. Such a possibility cannot be excluded but is not compelling. The simplest every-day life interpretation of kinship terms in **-ter* would be viewing them as marital statuses: **b^hréh₂tēr* ‘bachelor’, *ph₂tēr* ‘married man’, **d^hugh₂tēr* ‘unmarried girl’, **H₁énh₂tēr* ‘engaged / newly married girl’, and **máh₂tēr* ‘married woman with children’.

II: 3.2. Kinship terms and grammatical gender. What else kinship terms can tell.

The final point I would like to discuss in the chapter about PIE kinship terms is not mentioned in any literature source that I used in my work. Much has been said on interdependence between kinship terms and culture, but it seems that no one has ever done research on how specific linguistic features influence kinship terms and how kinship terms reflect linguistic features. In particular, it is interesting to observe how grammatical gender and kinship terms interact with each other.

There is a great amount of literature devoted to the evolution of the feminine gender in PIE (Brugmann 1891, Tichy 1993, Ledo-Lemos 2000 / 2003, Matasović 2004, Luraghi 2011, Nussbaum 2014, and many others). The most important point on which all scholars agree is that the feminine gender is a fairly young feature that emerged in Late PIE and continued its formation in the specific IE languages. Early PIE had only common (“animate”) and neutral (“inanimate”) gender. One of the main factors in this process was the rise and expansion of thematic *ō*-stems reanalysed as masculine and *h₂*-stems reanalysed as feminine that dramatically reshaped the older PIE system of stems and the entire case-system from presumably ergative – absolutive to nominative – accusative (cf. Orr 1983: 18–33, Widmer 2005, Stüber 2007, Goedegebuure 2013, Pinault 2011, 2014).

At first sight, the situation seems to be simple. If a language has a well-established grammatical feminine, it should apply this means to coin motion formations. As most PIE kinship terms had been coined in the circumstances of the older PIE common – neutral gender system they are suppletive, i.e., feminine nouns are not motion formations of their masculine pendants but are coined independently from different roots.²⁶⁸ It is different in languages that developed grammatical feminine gender earlier. Thus, Semitic language are especially rich in motion formations with kinship meaning. Many of them obviously emerged already in Proto-Semitic (Akk. *aḫu* ‘brother’, Arab. *aḫ* ‘id.’, Heb. *’āḫ* ‘id.’, Ugarit *’aḫ* ‘id.’, Aram. *’ḥ*, Syrian *’aḫā* ‘id.’, Ge’ez *’āḫw* ‘id.’ < Proto-Semitic **’aḫ* and Akk. *aḫāt* ‘sister’, Arab. *’uḫt* ‘id.’, Heb. *’āḫōt* ‘id.’, Ugarit *’aḫt*

²⁶⁸ The term **suekrú-h₂* ‘mother-in-law’ is most probably an appurtenance formation (II: 2.6.2). Ved. *vīrā* ‘heroine’, Old Lat. *vira* ‘woman’, Ved. *nārī* ‘woman / wife’, and Av. *nāirī* ‘id.’ (II: 2.3.1) should be post-PIE forms. Words like **neptíh₂* ‘granddaughter / niece’ (II: 2.5.2.2) and **pótnih₂* (II: 2.3.5) might be rare examples of a Late PIE motion feminine noun or post-PIE forms as well.

‘id.’, Syrian *ḥātā* ‘id.’, Ge’ez *’əḥət* ‘id.’ < Proto-Semitic **’aḥwat*, Orel & Stobova 1995: 7, *AL* s.v.). Some Afroasiatic languages of Northern Africa share the same feature: e.g., Egypt. *sn* ‘brother’ and *snt* ‘sister’ (Willems 1983: 153).

However, even after the rise of the feminine the core IE languages have always been conservative as far as kinship terms are concerned. They preserved lexemes from the proto-language and were not especially hasty to displace them with innovations. Motion formations usually occur among new terms for non-primary and affinal relatives (see **II: 2.5**, **II: 2.6**). It is especially conspicuous in Slavic. Although this language branch has a very flexible derivational morphology and all the means to coin motion formations, suppletive kinship terms have always prevailed.

Greek adopted the new trend more willingly. Gates (1971: 37–39) points out that the reason why the word *νύος* ‘daughter-in-law’ was displaced by *νύμφη* (see **II: 2.6.4** and **II: 3.1.3.3**) was that post-Homeric Greek had a strong preference for masculine nouns in *-ος* and feminine in *-η/α* and tried to eliminate or reshape all nouns that did not conform to this pattern (cf. Modern Gr. (obs.) *θυγατέρα* ‘daughter’). There appeared at least fifteen pairs of masculine and feminine kinship terms derived from the same root (ibid.). Even terms for relatives of the first genealogical grade were involved in this process (Gr. *ἀδελφός* and *ἀδελφή*). Such pairs are also abundant in Old and New Indo-Aryan and ancient Iranian languages (O/YAv. *nar-* m. ‘man’ and O/YAv. *nāirī-* / YAv. *nāirikā* f. ‘woman’, YAv. *tūirīa-* ‘FaBr’ and *tūirīā-* ‘FaSi’, OInd. *putra-* ‘son’ and *putrī* ‘daughter’, similarly *sūna-* m. and *sūnā-* f., *suta-* m. and *sutā-*, etc. **II: 2.2.1**, **II: 2.3.1**, **II: 2.5.3.1**, **III: 5.2.2.1**), in Latin (Lat. *fīlius* and *fīlia*) and later in Romance languages.

It seems, therefore, that the tendency to coin motion formations for kinship terms is stronger in the South than in the North, more common for IE languages of Asia and the Mediterranean region. It cannot be excluded that Semitic patterns played a certain part here (see also the discussion on Sum. *dumu*, **II: 2.2.3** above). There is a vivid anti-suppletive tendency in the Anatolian languages (see, for example, terms for siblings in **II: 2.4.3** above). Even though the feminine as a grammatical category did not exist in this branch, *šar*-forms were productive (cf. also **II: 2.4.2**). Consequently, language contact and areal linguistics has some relevance even in this case.

Curiously, the point at which IE languages are especially conservative is terms denoting men and women. There are terms denoting male and female spouses derived from the same root (like Germ. *Gatte* and *Gattin*), but unmarked terms for men and women derived from the same root are rare in IE. This circumstance has always been especially annoying for translators of the Bible because it prevented them from translating one of the key passages of the *Genesis* (2: 23):²⁶⁹

²⁶⁹ The transliteration of the Hebrew text is borrowed from <https://biblehub.com>. The translations are taken from <https://www.bibelwissenschaft.de> and <http://www.my-bible.info> (3.04.2020).

Hebrew original:

wa-yōmer hā-’ādam zōt happa’am ‘ešem mē-’āšāmay, ū-ḥāśār mib-bəśārī; lə-zōt yiqqārē ’iššāh, kī mē-’iš luqohāh-zōt.

Septuaginta:

καὶ εἶπεν Ἀδὰμ Τοῦτο νῦν ὅστούν ἐκ τῶν ὀστέων μου καὶ σὰρξ ἐκ τῆς σαρκός μου· αὕτη κληθήσεται **γυνή**, ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ **ἀνδρὸς** αὐτῆς ἐλήμφθη αὕτη

OCS translation:

И рече аѡам: се, нынѣ кость отъ костей моихъ и плоть отъ плоти моея: сѣя наречетсѣя [**жена**], яко отъ **мужа** своего взѣта бысть сѣя.

Vulgata:

*dixitque Adam hoc nunc os ex ossibus meis et caro de carne mea haec vocabitur **virago** quoniam de **viro** sumpta est*

Luther:

*Da sprach der Mensch: Das ist doch Bein von meinem Bein und Fleisch von meinem Fleisch; man wird sie **Männin** nennen, weil sie vom **Manne** genommen ist.*

King James Version:

*And Adam said, This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh: she shall be called **Woman**, because she was taken out of **Man**.*

These excerpts from the main classical translations of the Bible show principle impossibility of translating the Hebrew pun *’iš* ‘man, husband’ vs. *’iššāh* ‘woman, wife’ into any IE language of Europe adequately. The German and Latin translations made an effort, but both Lat. *virago* (see II: 2.3.1) and NHG *Männin* denote a man-like woman, while *’iššāh* is a simple unmarked term for ‘female person; woman; wife’ corresponding to (O)Rus. жена, Gr. γυνή, and Lat. *mulier* (cf. Hiltbrunner 2008). Ved. *nārī-* ‘woman / wife’, and Av. *nāirī-* ‘id.’ would probably be the only IE words that could be fairly suitable for the translation of this passage.

II: 4. Discussion and summary.

II: 4.1. PIE kinship terminology

As IE kinship terminologies have quite a few common terms, we can reconstruct and draw schemes for both consanguineal and affinal relatives in late PIE (see Figure 1 and 2). Like a kinship terminology in any natural language, it presents a compilation of heterogeneous elements coined at different periods and usually without conscious intentions (cf. **I: 2.1.3**). It is not simple to determine the relative age of each separate item. However, it is clear that motion formations must belong to the youngest layer. Thematic *o*-stems and appurtenance formations in *-ijo-* must be also fairly young, but sometimes archaic forms can be thematized secondarily (e.g., **h₂eu_h₂(-o-)*, **II: 2.5.2.1**). Complex forms like **s_uésōr* ‘sister’, secondary amphikinetic *u*-stems (**II: 2.5.3**), **ter*-stems (**II: 3.1**) and other *r*-stem (**II: 2.6.2**, **II: 2.6.5**) must be older than motion formations and thematic *o*-stems, but not the most archaic. Simple athematic forms like **suHnu-* / **suH₂iu-* ‘son’, **népōt-* ‘grandson / nephew’, **h₂nér-* ‘man’, and **g^henh₂-* should be the oldest ones.

Anthropological considerations discussed in Chapter **I** (especially **I: 1.1.6.3**) permit to assume that the structure of the terminology for consanguineal relatives can / should be pictured as a classical genealogical tree. However, certain linguistic factors can make the terminology deviate from a strict genealogical principle.

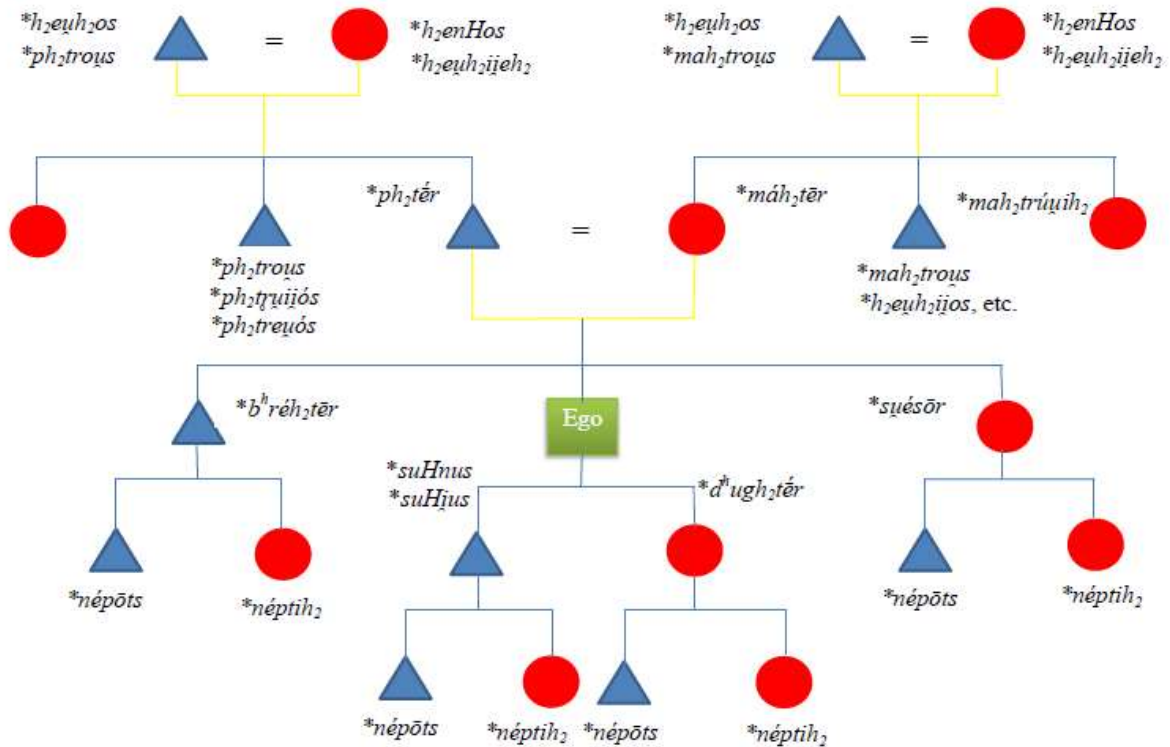


Figure 1: PIE consanguineals

The main emphasis is set on the relationship between parents (**ph₂tér* ‘father’ and **máh₂tér* ‘mother’) and children (**suHnus* / **suHjus* and possibly **putlós*²⁷⁰ ‘son’ and **d^hugh₂tér* ‘daughter’). That is why these terms are well-preserved in many IE languages and some of them even found their way into non-IE (e.g., Uralic) languages as well. They may function as age-grades and social terms in certain contexts, but at least in late core PIE they must have acquired a stable kinship meaning (II: 2.1–II: 2.2, II: 3.1). An existence of specific terms for children with an inherent relational meaning seems to be programmed in most kinship terminologies of the genealogical type aimed at tracing and describing who is whose parent or child (first paragraphs of II: 2.2). Along the same lines, such terminologies tend to possess one or two sibling terms to delimit children born by the same parents without relative age and relative gender specification because these details are irrelevant in this context. Thus, the terms **b^hréh₂tér* ‘brother (one of the children born by the same mother / in the same family)’ and **súésōr* ‘sister (one’s own female)’ are likewise well-attested in many IE languages and may be also considered “primary”.

Further, we can reconstruct the terms **h₂eu_h-(o)-*, **népōt-* and **h₂enHo-*. The meaning of the latter is fairly clear: ‘an older relative / person’, usually ‘(grand)mother’ (II: 2.1.2.2). The former two are more problematic: **h₂eu_h-(o)-* was most likely ‘grandfather’ (II: 2.5.2.1) and **népōt-* was the term for a younger relative of secondary importance (‘grandchild’, ‘nephew’, ‘niece’, and possibly ‘step/foster-child’) (II: 2.5.2.2). Both terms could take adverbs **pro-* (‘one generation further’) and **(H)apo-* (‘two generations further’) to denote great- and great-great-grandparents and -grandchildren. Thus, a PIE-speaker could keep 4–8 generations in mind (cf. Miller 1956, Luck & Vogel 1997 on the limitations of human working memory discussed in I: 1.1.6.3 and Müller & Hinz & Ullrich 2015: 66 with references to Bradley 2002 on the memory structure in Bronze Age Societies). Generational skewing in **népōt-* need not be explained by sophisticated sociological factors or by comparing them with exotic kinship terminologies (like ‘Omaha’). In this case, we are obviously dealing with simple biological generational skewing, which can occur in large families. In these circumstances, elder brother’s grandchildren can be of the same age as younger brother’s children. This skewing can be observed in any family with substantial age-differences within one generation. If all of them live in the same household (as patrilocal extended residence would imply), they all have fairly the same status or possibly no status in case they are still very small (II: 2.5.2.3). The etymology ‘helpless, powerless’ (II: 2.5.2.2) is well in accord with this assumption. In general, terms for very young and very old relatives tend to be less varied than terms for active members of the community.

In other cases, generational skewing can be a pure linguistic phenomenon. Thus, words like **ph₂trou-* and **mah₂trou-* obviously denoted any male relative on father’s and mother’s side (anyway ‘grandfather’ and ‘uncle’), while their motion formations like **mah₂trúuih₂-* could

²⁷⁰ The problem of **putló-* is discussed in II: 2.2.1.2.

theoretically denote any female relative on father's and mother's side. Such words could also have the semantics 'someone like the mother / father'. That is why some such formations denote step-relationship or orphans' guardians (II: 2.5.3.1). Likewise reflexes of **h₂eu_h₂-ij-o/eh₂-*, e.g. Lat. *avia* 'grandmother' or Slavic **ujb* 'mother's brother', do not indicate any generational skewing but the idea of appurtenance to the grandfather's household (II: 2.5.2.1). Post-PIE forms for non-primary consanguineals show such semantics ('someone belonging to / associated with / on the side of / similar to a primary relative) fairly regularly (II: 2.5.1).

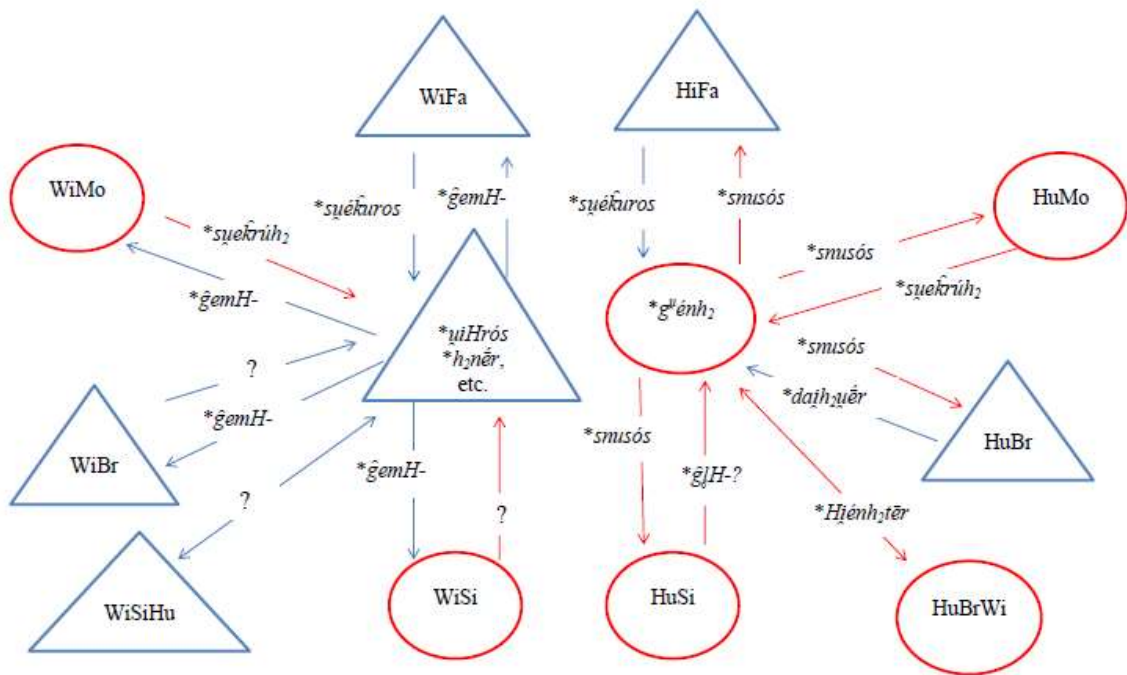


Figure 2: PIE affinals

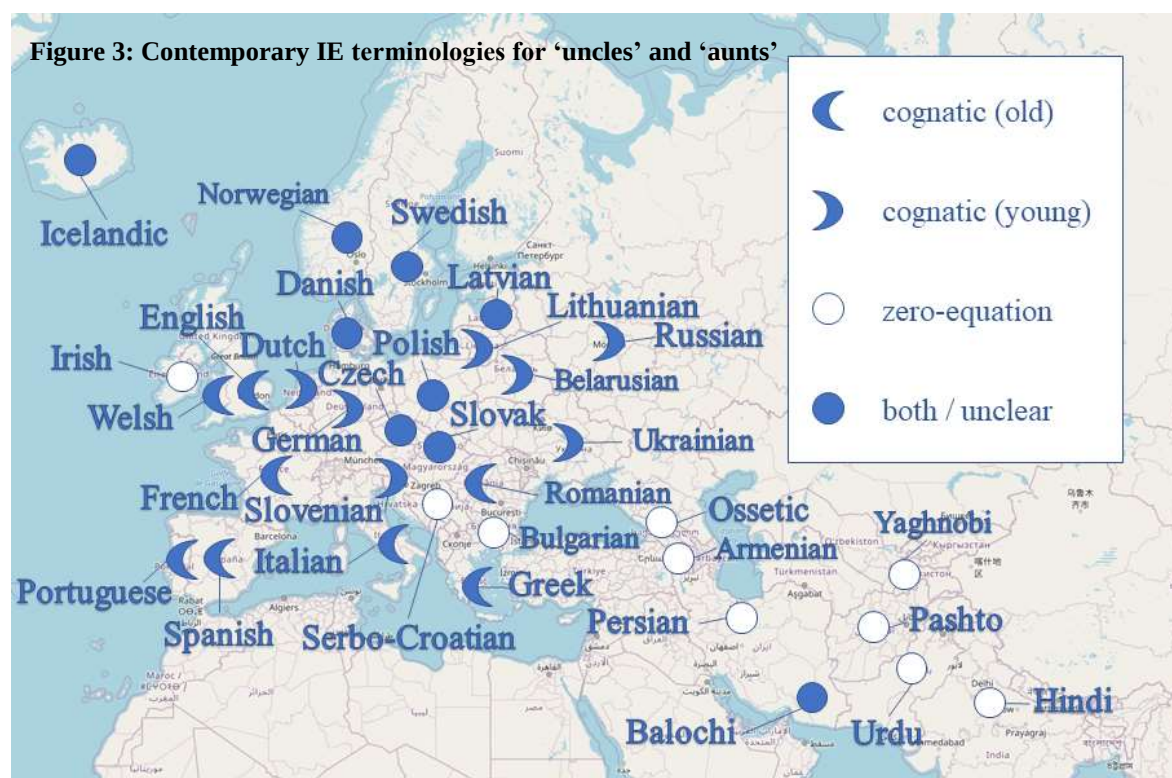
PIE has a set of clearly attested affinal terms. The basis of this scheme are terms for 'man / husband' (**uiH-ró-*, **h₂nēr-*, II: 2.3.1) and 'woman / wife' (**gʷénh₂-*, II: 2.3.3). The terms **póti-* and **pótni_h* can also be added to this list (II: 2.3.5). Such terms can have other kinship and non-kinship meanings (I: 2.3.1 and II: 2.3).

Terms for people living in the same patrilocal household (**dai_h₂uér* 'husband's brother' and his wife **Hjénh₂tēr*, **gʷlH-?* 'husband's sister', II: 2.6.5–II: 2.6.7) are attested better than terms for wife's relatives (II: 2.7.8) mostly represented by independent innovations and loanwords. The terms for 'daughter-in-law' and 'brother's wife' **smusós* (II: 2.6.4) is attested better than the terms for 'son-in-law' and 'sister's husband' **gem(H)-* (II: 2.6.3). The meaning 'SoWi = BrWi' and 'DaHu = SiHu' is again an example of a purely linguistic generational skewing, because the primary meaning of these terms was obviously 'bride / young wife / new-coming wife' and 'bride-groom / young husband' respectively. This is a regular semantic development exemplified by a number of other terms for 'daughter-in-law' such as OInd. *vadhū-* or Gr. *νύμφη* (II: 2.5.4) or 'son-in-law' like

NPers. *dāmād* ‘bride-groom; son-in-law; sister’s husband’ (cf. **III: 2.4.1** below). The terms for ‘parents-in-law’ could follow the *zero-equation* pattern already in PIE: **suekrúh₂* ‘mother-in-law (on both sides)’ and **suekúros* ‘father-in-law (on both sides)’ (**II: 2.6.2**).

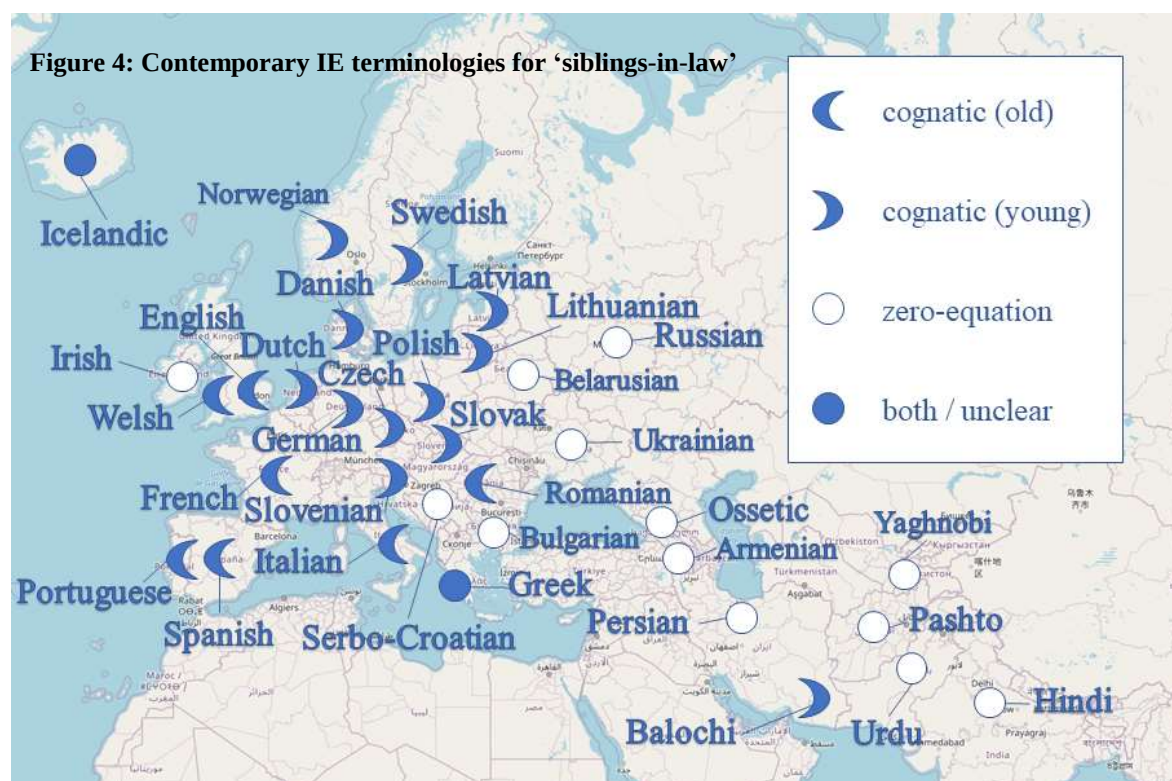
II: 4.2. Development of IE kinship terminologies

Both *zero-equation* (‘Sudanese’) pattern and *cognatic* (‘Eskimo’) pattern for non-primary relatives are common for terminologies of the genealogical type and can evolve into each other in both directions. The expansion of *cognatic* kinship terminologies in the languages of Europe can be partially explained by the emergence of bilateral descent rules during the time of the Church Fathers (**II: 2.5.1**). Further, *cognatic* terminologies seem to be common for less *androcentric* and, in general, more democratic societies. However, such a correlation might be coincidental simply because both democracy and *cognatic* terminologies are common for Modern Europe. Medieval and Early Modern European societies with *cognatic* kinship terminologies (France, Britain) were by no means *egalitarian*. Many of them did not consider women to be equally good heiresses as male heirs and the female lineage as relevant as the male lineage until the recent century. This can, thus, be a purely linguistic feature and a vivid example of arbitrary relationship between kinship terms and social conditions (**I: 2.1**).



Although this feature shows no safe correlations with sociology, it correlates well with geography and language contact. The predominance of *cognatic* terminologies in Modern Europe is an areal / contact phenomenon, which was induced by the influence of the Romance languages in Late Antiquity and spread all over Europe sometimes together with direct lexical borrowings of

French words such as *tante*, *oncle* and *cousin(e)* or their calques (II: 2.5.1). Among all kinship patterns this seems to be the only good candidate to be a Standard Average European (SAE) feature. However, in order to confirm it, more detailed research into the kinship terms in Modern languages and dialects is needed. In general, the distribution of the morpho-syntactic SAE features does not correlate perfectly with kinship patterns because the most basic structural feature (genealogical principle of classification) is much more conservative than morpho-syntax and is common for the majority of kinship terminologies in Western Eurasia, while minor features (spread of specific kinship terms or certain lexico-grammatical or semantic features) are more innovative than that and correlate much better with languages families or branches or areas smaller than SAE (I: 1.2.1). For example, the equation between in-law and step-relationship obviously emerged in Late Latin, but became productive in French and Anglo-Norman and was adopted by some neighbouring languages, but it is completely unknown to other IE languages (II: 2.6.1).



One lexico-grammatical feature that has clear territorial correlations is the high productivity of motion formations in the Southern parts of the IE continuum and its moderate productivity in the North. Thus, Greek, Italic and Romance languages, and ancient Indo-Iranian²⁷¹ coin(ed) feminine kinship terms (like Lat. *filius* – *filia*) from their masculine pendants more willingly than Balto-Slavic, Germanic, and Celtic. There is a morphological reason why suppletive kinship terms prevail in IE languages. The feminine gender emerged very late. However, this phenomenon can hardly be

²⁷¹ In Iranian languages this tendency is well-attested for Avestan, but it has been lost in many New Iranian languages (see below). It can be explained by the general loss of grammatical gender and, possibly, by the influence of the Turkic languages, which is was even more important than the Semitic influence in recent centuries. From the Iranian languages discussed in Chapter III only Pashto has many motion formations.

explained by morphology alone. Balto-Slavic, Germanic, and Celtic language also have / had morphological instruments to coin motion feminines and did it (Slavic **tīstī* m. ‘WiFa’ and **tīstjā* f. ‘WiMo’, Lith. *uošvis* m. ‘WiFa’ and *uošvė* ‘WiMo’, **II: 2.6.8**, NHG *Schwager* m. ‘brother-in-law’ and *Schwägerin* f. ‘sister-in-law’, **II: 2.6.1**, NIr. *feor céile* ‘husband’ and *bean chéile* ‘wife’, **I: 2.3.3**), but not as extensively as the Southern languages. Moreover, Anatolian did have pairs of kinship term derived from the same stem (Luwian **nāna/i-* ‘brother’ and *nānašri-* ‘sister’, Kanišite Hittite *-ḫšu-* ‘male offspring, son’, *-ḫšušar* ‘female offspring, daughter’) in spite of absence of the grammatical feminine. They simply used the suffix **-sor* for this purpose (**II: 2.4.3**, **II: 2.5.4**). The reason (at least, one of the reasons) was obviously contact with the Near Eastern languages (first of all, Semitic) possessing such a morpho-semantic feature in their kinship terminologies (**II: 3.2**).

The areal and contact factor is not irrelevant even for the spread of nursery terms. The *atta-* forms in different IE languages might have different origins, in some cases borrowings from local non-IE languages in different periods of time (**II: 2.1.1.2**). The words *mama-* and *papa-* became wide-spread in the languages of Europe due to the French cultural influence (**II: 2.1.1.3**). The forms **bata* / **bat^ha* / **batja* spread in the Slavic language must be likewise cultural borrowings from South Slavic of the Balkan-Carpathian region (**II: 2.1.1.1**). However, as far as nursery terms are concerned, there is always a possibility of coincidence or parallel development.

II: 4.3. Kinship terms in **-ter* and cognition of traditional societies

Kinship terms in **-ter* (**ph₂tēr* ‘father’, **II: 2.1.1.1**, **máh₂tēr* ‘mother’, **II: 2.1.2.1**, **d^hugh₂tēr* ‘daughter’, **II: 2.2.2**, **b^hréh₂tēr* ‘brother’, **II: 2.4.1**, and **H₁énh₂tēr* ‘husband’s brother’s wife’, **II: 2.6.6**) have always attracted special attention by all researchers because unlike other fairly random lexical items used in IE kinship terminologies they seem to possess a special internal logic, which, however, is not clear at first sight.

The locative nature of the suffix **(t)er* occurring in words denoting temporal and spacial relationships indicates that kinship term in **-ter* may represent a system of statuses (**II: 3.1.3**). In my opinion, the least speculative connecting motive would be an age-grade system or a system of marital statuses (**II: 3.1.3.3**). This formulation does not contradict the fact that PIE kinship terminology was based on the *genealogical* principle. Any language with a *genealogical* kinship terminology can have a few terms denoting age-grades overlapping with kinship terms (e.g., Gr. κόρη ‘girl, young unmarried woman’ and ‘daughter’, νύμφη ‘young/engaged or newly-married woman’ and ‘daughter-in-law’, γυνή ‘married woman with children’ and ‘wife’). PIE **d^hugh₂tēr* ‘daughter’, **H₁énh₂tēr* ‘husband’s brother’s wife’, and **máh₂tēr* ‘mother’ might have had similar age-grade semantics overlapping with kinship semantics. In the same way, **ph₂tēr* ‘father’ might be a ‘householder and married man’ and ‘father’ (Lat. *pater familias*) and **b^hréh₂tēr* was an ‘unmarried man / one of the children born in the family and living under the authority of the same father’ and ‘brother’. Especially in traditional societies these social roles implied certain rights and

duties, certain dress-code and code of conduct. Thus, apart from age-grades and kinship terms, these words were also social statuses. In which meaning one of these terms was used depended on the context.

The reason why we view these words as specifically kinship terms and perceive all other meanings as only metaphoric extensions is a peculiarity of our modern cognition splitting our social life into segregated domains, but a speaker of PIE could perceive all meanings as an integral whole (I: 1.1.5).

II: 4.4. Specific features of Anatolian kinship terms

Anatolian kinship terms (II: 2.1.1.2, II: 2.1.2.2, II: 2.2.2, II: 2.2.3, II: 2.4.3, II: 2.5.4, and II: 2.6.3) have little in common with kinship terms in other IE languages.

The most prominent parallel is the term for ‘daughter’ Luwian **tuatra/i-*, Lyc. *kbatra*, and Hitt. ^{MUNUS}*duttarijata/i-* (II: 2.2.2, II: 2.2.3). This evidence indicates that kinship terms in **-ter* do not belong to the youngest layer of PIE vocabulary. It would be well in concord with the fact that none of the feminine kinship terms in **-ter* has a feminine suffix. Moreover, it is also possible that the suffix **-h₂ter* was especially productive exactly in Anatolian (II: 3.1.3.2).

Further parallels are terms for ‘grandmother’ and ‘grandfather’: **h₂enHo-* > Hitt. *hanna-* ‘grandmother’ and Lyc. *χñna-* ‘id.’ (II: 2.1.2.2) and **h₂eu_hh₂(-o-)* > Hitt. *huh_hha-* ‘grandfather’, HierLuv. *huha-* ‘id.’, Lyc. *xuga-* ‘id.’ (II: 2.5.2.1). Hitt. *pulla-* might have the same origin as **putl_ó-*, but this evidence is highly problematic (II: 2.2.1.2 and II: 2.2.3). An etymological connection of Anatolian **anna-* and **atta-* forms to homophonous forms in other IE languages is possible but doubtful (II: 2.1.1.2 and II: 2.1.2.2).

We do not have enough evidence about Anatolian kinship terminologies, but on the basis of the attested forms we can draw a conclusion that they were fairly similar to other terminologies of the Near East with anti-suppletive tendencies for feminine terms (II: 3.2).

Chapter III. Kinship terms in selected modern Iranian languages

III: 1. Kinship terms in Iranian languages as a research topic

III: 1.1. Iranian languages and peoples

The Iranian branch of Indo-European is especially closely related to the Indic (= Indo-Aryan) branch and two minor subgroups, Nuristani and Dardic languages,²⁷² constructing the Indo-Iranian entity. Nowadays Iranian languages are spoken in a large part of West and Central Asia. On the historical scale Iranian can be subdivided into Old Iranian (6th to 3rd centuries BCE, e.g., Old Persian, Avestan, Median, Scythian), Middle Iranian (approx. 4th century BCE to 9th century CE, Parthian, Middle Persian-Pahlavi, Sogdian, Bactrian, Khwārezmian, Saka, Middle Scytho-Sarmatian languages), and New Iranian (since the 9th century CE). There are different approaches to the question of genetic and geographical subdivision of New Iranian languages, but the most neutral one is simply East vs. West. West Iranian languages are exemplified by New Persian, Balochi, Mazandarani, Gilaki, Kurdish, Tat, etc. East Iranian includes Ossetic, Yaghnobi, Pashto, and a number of minority languages mostly spoken on the Pamir, e.g., Wakhi, Ishkashimi, Munji. It should be emphasised that this subdivision is historical and does not always reflect the actual geographical location of the Iranian languages. As the data given in the next sections show, it is also not the main factor determining the vocabulary of the language. For more information on Iranian languages see the handbooks *OIrJa*, *CLI*, Windfuhr (2009) and articles by Schmitt (2013), Durkin-Meisterernst (2013), Paul (2013a and 2013b), and Cheung (2013).

As I mentioned in the **Introduction (0.1)**, according to the widely-accepted “Steppe” hypothesis,²⁷³ the homeland of the Indo-Iranians was located geographically in the direct proximity to the east from the Yamnya cultural-historical area, which may be ancestral to all Indo-Europeans. In the 3rd–2nd millennium BCE speakers of Proto-Indo-Iranian were migrating through the southern Ural Steppes to Central Asia (Andronovo Archeological Complex and later Bactria-Margiana Archaeological Complex, Mallory 2002, Kuz'mina 2007: 3–207). The dialectal division between Indo-Aryan and Iranian languages should have been formed between 2000 and 1800 BCE.

²⁷² The Dardic languages are traditionally considered to be a subgroup of Indo-Aryan. However, it is still a question of debate. The affiliation of the Nuristani languages is even more questionable. They may be likewise a subgroup of Indo-Aryan or a separate branch of Indo-Iranian (see the discussion in Mayrhofer 1984, Kogan 2005, Kuz'mina 2007: 307–320, Liljegren 2008: 29–36, Kümmel 2018).

²⁷³ As a linguist, I find the alternative ‘Greater Armenian’ homeland hypothesis that I mentioned in the introduction extremely confusing specifically for the Indo-Iranian languages. If speakers of the Indo-Iranian languages migrated into Iran and the Indian subcontinent directly from the Southern Caucasus, I do not understand how they could have ancient contacts with the Uralic languages and left so many loanwords (cf. Holopainen 2019). Likewise, as it was correctly emphasised in Narasimhan et al. (2019: 11), the alternative hypothesis can hardly explain the special genealogical proximity between Indo-Iranian and Balto-Slavic languages manifested, in particular, by the “satem” innovation and “ruki” sound laws. For this reason, in this chapter I will only discuss the classical (‘Steppe’) hypothesis of the Indo-Iranian prehistory.

Kroonen & Barjamovic & Peyrot (2018: 10 with references to Anthony 1995, Anthony and Ringe 2015, Kuznetsov 2006: 638–645, Teufer 2012: 282) explain this dating by the earliest available archaeological evidence of two-wheeled chariots (around 2000 BCE) and the words associated with this technical innovation attested in both of these language branches and by the evidence from a Tell Leilān text found in Syria (around 1800 BCE) and mentioning *marīannu* (cf. Ved. / OInd. *mārya(ka)*- ‘young man; young warrior’, **II: 2.3.1**). Thus, already at the beginning of the 2nd millennium BCE speakers of Indo-Aryan languages started migrations into northern Mesopotamia (Mitanni Kingdom) and towards the Indian subcontinent. The people who eventually gave rise to Persian and other Western Iranian languages may have migrated across the Iranian Plateau in the last quarter of the 2nd millennium BCE. The first written record (Bisotun inscription) was carved in approx. 520 BCE, but personal and geographical names were already mentioned in Assyrian and Babylonian sources starting in the 9th century BCE (Schmitt 2013: 228). The prehistory of Eastern Iranian languages is less clear. It seems that their ancestors remained in Central Asia and gradually spread over vast territories from the Black Sea to China. The ancient languages of those tribes (Scythians, Sarmatians, Sakans, Sogdians, Bactrians, and Khwarezmian) became the base for the modern Eastern Iranian languages (cf. Kuz’mina 2007: 349–450).

Since the most ancient times, Iranian languages have been in contact with heterogeneous non-IE peoples. As a part of the Indo-Iranian unity they interacted with the Proto-Uralic people and later with speakers of specific Uralic branches and languages (most recently discussed by Holopainen 2019). There is substantial evidence of Indo-Iranian contacts with the Oxus civilisation / BMAC (Hinze 1998, Lubotsky 2001, Mallory 2002, Lamberg-Karlovsky 2005, Kuz’mina 2007: 323–325). On coming to the Iranian Plateau speakers of the Ancient Western Iranian languages began the process of acculturation with the speakers of Elamite and had active contacts with other civilisations and languages of Ancient West Asia (Henkelman 2003, 2011).

In the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period the most obvious contact partner was the Arabic culture due to the expansion of the Arabic Caliphate and adoption of the Islam by the majority of the Iranian-speaking peoples of the Near East and Central Asia. Along with Semitic influence one should point out extensive and multifaceted contacts with Turkic-speaking peoples. First reports on Turkic-speaking tribes in the Mongolian-Steppes come from the 6th century CE, soon after which many areas that were traditionally inhabited by Iranian peoples were Turkified (Bregel 1991, Fragner 1999: 49–51, Damgaard et al. 2018b). East Iranian peoples had contacts with Turkic in the epoch of the Uyghur Khaganate (744–840). At that time Sogdian served as the language of trade, management, and literature in Transoxiana and China and became the model of the Uyghur script (cf. Yoshida 2009: 281).

An overview of historical circumstances that led to the formation of the unique Turkic-Persian tradition in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period is provided in Canfield (1991 with earlier literature). This tradition was rooted in Persian culture transmitted by the Achaemenids of

the 4th and 5th centuries BCE and the Sasanians of the 3rd to 7th centuries CE. After the Iranian peoples of south-western Iran, Khorasan and Transoxiana were conquered by the Arab Muslims in the 7th–8th centuries, they became part of the Arabic Caliphate that integrated the culture of the Hellenistic world. Persian culture was Arabised, but the Arab conquerors in Iran were also Persianised. As for the culture of Khorasan and Transoxiana, it remained the same well into the 8th century with Middle Persian, the language of the Sasanian Empire as *lingua franca* in that region. Later on Arabic became the only literary language and Persian remained in use as a colloquial idiom. It was under the rule of the Samanids (819–1004), Persian-speaking people of debated Turkic origin, when Persian of the pre-Islamic times with a great deal of Arabic vocabulary and written in Arabic script was revived as a literary language. The Turko-Persian Islamicate culture with Persian as the official language of the court was evolving under the rule of further Turkic dynasties: the Qarakhanids (999–1140), Seljuqs (1040–1180), and Ghaznavids (977–1186). The Mongols and the Timurids were also supportive to the high Persianate culture.

The climax of the Turko-Persian tradition was reached under the rule of the “gunpowder empires” (as they are referred to in Canfield 1991: 19): the Ottomans (1299–1922) in Asia Minor, the Safavids (1501–1722) in Iran, and the Mughals (1526–1858) in India. All of them patronised Persian literature and used Persian as the official language of the court. Therefore, from the 16th to the 18th centuries the vast territory from Asia Minor to East Bengal was dominated by Turko-Persian culture. The Ottomans changed Persian to the local Turkic vernacular as the official language of the court and gave up the Persianate culture quite early. The Safavids patronised Persian culture as their predecessors. Northwestern India under the Mughal rulers was the place where the literary norm for both Hindustani (the base of Hindi and Urdu) and Eastern Farsi (Dari) was established (Kiselyova 1985: 13).

Interaction with colonial states (first of all, Great Britain and Russia, later the Soviet Union) and globalisation processes in the recent two centuries have influenced political and social life of many Iranian-speaking people dramatically, but as far as kinship terms are concerned this influence is hardly to be seen (cf. Kiselyova 1985: 42–45, Canfield 1991: 21–32).

III: 1.2. Kinship terms in Iranian languages: state of research, scope and methods

Research history of kinship terms in Iranian language is rather short. To the best of my knowledge, in the frame of European or US-American scholarship a substantial study of this topic has never been carried out. All that was written were separate and not very numerous articles, entries in historical and etymological dictionaries, or subchapters in monographs devoted to specific Iranian language. Old Persian, Avestan, and a few terms from Middle and New Iranian languages have been used as scattered examples in articles and monographs on PIE and IE kinship (see instances in chapter II).

Among monographs that mention Iranian kinship terms I should especially highlight “Towards a historical grammar of Balochi” (Korn 2005: 298–308) that summarises the data from Dames (1891), Gilbertson (1925), Pehrson (1966), Barker & Mengal (1969), Pastner (1978), Ahmad (1985), Elfenbein (1963, 1990 / II), Farrell (1990), Rzehak (1991), Hashmi (2000) on the origin and internal etymology of Balochi kinship terms. Novák (2013: 172 – 176) gives a list and analysis of Yaghnobi kinship terms.

Etymological dictionaries I actively used in my work are Horn (1893) and Hassandoust (2015) for Persian, *EVP* and *NEVP* for Pashto, and *IESOJa* for Ossetic. The *Etymological dictionary of the Iranian languages (ESIJa I–V, 2000–)*, which embraces reconstructed Iranian forms from *A* to *N* at the moment, is also a valuable source of information about Iranian kinship terms and their etymology. Loanwords from Turkic and Mogolic languages are listed in dictionaries by Doerfer: *TME* and *Türkische Lehnwörter im Tadschikischen* (Doerfer 1967).

The relevant articles are Spooner (1965, 1966), Bateni (1973), and Aliakbari & Toni (2008) on kinship terms and practices in Iran, Rzehak (1995) on the Balochi material, Besolova (2013) on the Ossetic kinship. Recently, there has appeared an article written by the peers of Russian Iranian studies and established specialists in New Iranian etymology, Džoy I. Edelman and Elena K. Molchanova (Edelman & Molchanova 2019), providing an overview and analysis of kinship terms in many New Iranian languages.²⁷⁴

Due to this situation, I had to begin my work from summarising already existing materials of the majority languages (Persian and Pashto) and the best-studied minority language (Balochi, Ossetic, and Yaghnobi).²⁷⁵ The methods used were predominantly the methods of historical linguistics (work with secondary sources), but I also consulted the brand-new corpus of the Tajik language (*NKTJa*) and carried out small interviews with native speakers. More extensive interviews and field research have to be conducted in further research endeavours.

I discuss kinship terms of Old and Middle Iranian languages in Chapter II because almost all of them are cognates of IE kinship terms and do not present much interest for this chapter.

The structure of the tables in the following sections was partially inspired by the way how “A Comparative Thematic Dictionary of the New Iranian Languages and Dialects” (Hassandoust 2011: I / 489–548) written by a native Persian speaker categorises kinship terms. The differences from the kinship terminologies of Europe are not dramatic, but they still exist. In contrast to such authors as Buck (1949: 87–91, 105–106), who has different lists for words denoting ‘boy’ and ‘son’, ‘girl’ and ‘daughter’, Hassandoust (2011: I / 504–509) has only two lists for undifferentiated meanings ‘son/boy’ and ‘girl/daughter’. Further, in addition to simple categories ‘brother’ and ‘sister’

²⁷⁴ It is regrettable that this valuable article is rather short and is only published in Russian in a journal of low international visibility. I came across it by chance at the very last stage of my research.

²⁷⁵ Originally, I also planned to include Kurdish into the analysis, but due to the epidemy of the COVID-19 the best sources were not accessible to me. Moreover, Kurdish with its numerous dialects presents a separate problem. That is why it was decided to leave this material for further research projects.

characteristic for any European dictionary, Hassandoust has categories for elder and younger brothers and sisters (ibid.: 510–517). Therefore, for a native speaker of Persian (and obviously of many other Iranian languages) the category ‘sibling’ has traits of both genealogical and age-gender terminologies (**I: 1.1.6.3**). However, on many other points Iranian kinship terminologies are similar to the majority of IE kinship terminologies.

How forms from different Iranian languages should be quoted was not a trivial question because all of them have different conventions of transliteration. The only possible way to apply the same kind of notation for all of them is the IPA, which is sometimes used by scholars who concentrate specifically on phonology and phonetics. However, in the scope of my study this technique would make the data even less transparent. Therefore, I simply apply conventions accepted for each separate language (explained in detail below).

The overview of kinship term will include a discussion of certain sound laws pertaining to the Iranian languages in focus. However, due to time and space limitations a full account of historical phonology cannot be provided in the frame of this thesis. In the discussion of Persian historical phonology I was guided by Hübschmann (1895) and Ivanov (2019 and p.c.). Korn (2005: 53–287) gives a full list of sound developments in Balochi. A comprehensive account of East Iranian historical phonology with the focus on Yaghnobi is provided by Novák (2013). Skjærvø (1989) discussed sound laws in Pashto. The monograph by Cheung (2002) is dedicated to Ossetic vocalism, but it also includes an overview of consonantal sound changes.

III: 2. Overview of kinship terms in selected Western Iranian languages

The languages selected for the analysis are the New Persian macrolanguage and Balochi.

Persian has three main variants: Standard New Persian of Iran or Iranian Persian, Afghan Persian (Dari), and Persian of Tajikistan (Tajik) (cf. Lazard 1989, Windfuhr & Perry 2009, Paul 2013a, Ivanov 2019). All three variants have many dialects. The forms quoted in the tables belong mostly to literary standards, but a few dialectal and colloquial words are mentioned as well.

The situation of diglossy and polyglossy is very common in Persian. There are numerous minority Iranian languages spoken in the territory of Iran, Afghanistan and Tajikistan. In addition, there are non-IE contact partners. For examples, Azeri Turkish (South Azerbaijani) counts 11 million speakers in Iran even though it has no official status (cf. Mirhosseini & Parisa 2016). Dari has active contacts with Pashto and other East Iranian languages. It also has a special historical connection with the languages of North India which can be traced back to the epoch of the Mughal Empire (see III: 5.2.1). There are also Turkic and Mongolic languages spoken in Afghanistan (Kiselyova 1985: 38–42). The main contact partners of Tajik are Uzbek and Russian.

In addition to the substantial difference in vocabulary and minor differences in grammar, the three variants of Persian have clear differences in phonology, especially in their vowel systems not always consistently discussed and described in handbooks on the Iranian languages. The rules are fairly transparent for Iranian New Persian and Tajik as both of them have a codified literary norm. However, there are different approaches to the Dari vocalism due to the absence of the official literary norm (cf. Miller 2012: 164–165). In order to avoid misunderstanding, in this study I consistently used the convention of Kiselyova & Mikolayčik (1978) applied as standard by many specialists in New Persian phonology (cf. Ivanov 2019: 26) and languages of Afghanistan (Julian Kreidl, University of Indiana Bloomington, p.c.). I also give Classical Persian forms from Horn (1893) and from the *Shahnameh* (Wolff 1965) if they are different from contemporary forms. This is the scheme of vowel correspondences between different variants of Persian:

CNPers.	<i>a</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ī</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ū</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>ay</i>	<i>aw</i>
Dari	<i>a</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ī</i> ²⁷⁶	<i>ē</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>ay/ē</i>	<i>aw</i>
Taj.	<i>a</i> <a> ²⁷⁷	<i>o</i> <o>	<i>i</i> <u>		<i>e</i> <e>	<i>u</i> <y>	<i>ū</i> <y>		<i>ay/e</i> <ай/е>	<i>aw</i> <аб>
IrPers.	<i>a</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>i</i>		<i>o</i>	<i>u</i>		<i>ey</i>	<i>ow</i>

The final and some unstressed syllables (especially prop-vowels) can be affected by the so-called *e*-vocalisation in Iranian New Persian, and by *a*-vocalisation in Dari and Tajik (cf. IrPers.

²⁷⁶ CNPers. vowels *ī* and *ū* have been preserved in Dari. However, due to the qualitative changes in the short vowels *i* > *e* and *u* > *o*, the long vowels are no longer part of the minimal pairs *ū* vs. *u* and *ī* vs. *i*. That is why many scholars prefer transcribing the long vowels as simply *i* and *u* (cf. Efimov & Rastorgueva & Sharova 1982: 24–25).

²⁷⁷ Cyrillic spelling

zāde vs. Dari, Taj. *zādā* ‘child’ below, also IrPers. *sefid* vs. Dari *sqfēd*, Taj. *sqfed* < MPers. *spēd* ‘white’). Due to this phenomenon, we have Dari, Taj. *padar* ‘father’, which cannot be a regular development of CINPers. *pidar*. This process has been activated in recent two or three centuries and is an areal phenomenon for both Turkic and Iranian languages. Thus, Eastern Turkic language (Uzbek and Turkmen) also have *a*-vocalisation, while Turkish has *e*-vocalisation (Ivanov 2019: 27–30): e.g., Turk. *yenge* ‘BrWi; uncle’s wife’ vs. Uzb. *yanga* ‘eBrWi’ (cf. III: 2.4.1).

Balochi is a minority language spoken mostly in Balochistan, a region located in Pakistan and Southeastern Iran, but speakers of this language are scattered over a number of countries of West, South, and Central Asia. Due to these circumstances Balochi has many dialects and regional varieties. Most sources subdivided them into three main variants: Western, Eastern, and Southern (Korn 2005: 40–42). Western Balochi is spoken in Northwestern Balochistan and in the Sindh province of Pakistan (Dadu district). Western Balochi minorities are also scattered in the northeastern regions of Iran, and in Turkmenistan. Speakers of Eastern Balochi live in Northeastern Balochistan, in the Northwestern part of the Sindh province of Pakistan, and in the Punjab province of India. The Southern variant is located in Southern Balochistan and Karachi. Small communities are also to be found in Oman and the United Arab Emirate (Korn in print, Figure 2). The main contact language for all varieties is Persian. The Southern variant and the Eastern variant are in active contacts with New Indo-Aryan languages. Western Balochi also has a contact with Brahui, a Dravidian language spoken in Southern Iran (III: 5.2.3).

For the notation of Balochi forms I follow Korn (2005 and in print). For the notation of Persian forms I use a simplified variant of the standard transcription. Thus, if I quote an Arabic loanword in the Persian discourse which has letters denoting specific Arabic consonants missing in Persian, I write it as it is pronounced in Persian (cf. Majidi 2006). However, if an Arabic word in the Arabic context is meant, I transcribe it according to the conventions of Arabistic (Procházka et al. 2014):

Arab. ص /s/ = Pers. /s/,

Arab. ث /s/ = Pers. /s/,

Arab ط /t/ = Pers. /t/,

Arab. ظ /z/ or ڌ /z/ = Pers. /z/,

Arab. ض /d/ = Pers. /z/,

Arab. ذ /d/ = Pers. /z/,

Arab. ح /h/ and ه /h/ = Pers. /h/

Arab. ع /ʕ/ is not pronounced and, thus, simply dropped.

However, I find it more practical to transcribe or, in this case, transliterate the digraph *خو* as /x^(w)/ rather than simply /x/ because it reflects the historical Iranian pronunciation and in the literary Dari it may still denote the real pronunciation (Efimov & Rastorgueva & Sharova 1982: 72).

If not otherwise specified, all data quoted in the tables below are borrowed from Spooner (1966), Bateni (1973), and Aliakbari & Toni (2008), and Tavakkoly (2009) for Iranian New

Persian, Kiselyova & Mikolayčik (1978) for Afghan Persian, Kalontarov (2007, 2008) and *NKTJa* for Tajik and commented by Vladimir B. Ivanov (Moscow State University, p.c.), Julian Kreidl (University of Indiana Bloomington, p.c.) and native speakers of Persian. Balochi Material is taken from Rzehak (1995 and p.c.) and Korn (2005, in print with references and p.c.). Classical Persian forms marked as “H.” are borrowed from Horn (1893) and updated according to new transcription rules. Those that are marked as “W.” occur in the *Shahnameh* (Wolff 1965).

III: 2.1. Relatives of the first genealogical grade

III: 2.1.1. Inherited IE, (Indo-)Iranian and futher shared terms

Gloss	Iranian Persian	Afghan Persian (Dari)	Tajik	Balochi (East, South, West)	origin
Fa	<i>pedar</i>	<i>padar</i> (CINPers. <i>pidar</i> / <i>padar</i> H. <i>pidar</i> W.)		<i>pīt</i> (E, S) <i>pis(s)</i> (S, W)	< PIr. * <i>p^(l)tar</i> - < PIr. * <i>pHtár</i> - < PIE * <i>ph₂tér</i> -
	<i>bābā</i> (Fa or GrFa)		<i>bobo</i>	<i>bābā</i>	Central Eurasian / Near Eastern wander word
			<i>dodo</i>		Central Asian wander word, see III: 3.1.1
	<i>ab, abu, abā, abi, bo, bu</i> (mostly in PN or state expressions)			<i>abbā</i> (E, S) <i>abbō</i> (W)	Arabic <i>ab</i> - ‘Fa’
Mo	<i>mādar</i>		<i>modar</i>	<i>māt</i> <i>mās</i>	< PIr. / PIr. * <i>mātar</i> - < PIE * <i>máh₂ter</i> -
	<i>māmā(n)(i)</i>		<i>momon</i>		French <i>maman</i> ²⁷⁸
	<i>nane</i>	<i>nana</i>			shared nursery term
			<i>oča</i>		← Uzb. <i>oča</i>
	<i>vālede</i>	<i>vāleda</i>	<i>valida</i>		← Arab. <i>wāliḍa</i> ‘genitrix’, ²⁷⁹
So/boy	<i>pesar</i> (CINPers. <i>pus(ar)</i> , <i>pūr</i> H. <i>pusar</i> , <i>pūr</i> W. ²⁸⁰)		<i>pisar</i>	<i>pus(s)ag</i> (E, S) ←NPers.	< PIr. * <i>puθrá</i> - < PIr. * <i>putrá</i> - < PIE * <i>putlo</i> -
Da/girl	<i>doxt(ar)</i> (CINPers. <i>duxt(ar)</i> H., W.)		<i>duxt(ar)</i>	<i>dut(t)uk</i> ‘girl, doll’ (S) <i>dut(t)ak</i> ‘id.’ (S, W) ²⁸¹	< PIr. * <i>dugdár</i> - < PIr. * <i>d^(h)ug^hHtár</i> - < PIE * <i>d^hugh₂tér</i> - ²⁸²
	<i>dušize</i> ‘young lady’ (polite form of address) (CINPers. <i>dōšize</i> ‘virgin’ W.)	<i>dōšiza</i> ‘id.’	<i>dūšiza</i> ‘id.’ (also adj.) ‘virgin’	see SpSi	< PIr. * <i>duxθrī(-kā)</i> -, see II: 2.2.2
	CINPers. <i>kanīz(ak)</i> H., W. ‘virgin, girl’ > <i>kaniz</i> ‘maid (female servant)’ (see East Iranian forms in III: 3.4.1) ²⁸³				< PIr. * <i>kani-Han</i> - ‘endue with youth’ ²⁸⁴

²⁷⁸ Cf. Deyhime (2012)

²⁷⁹ derived from the Arabic root *w-l-d* ‘give birth’ (see also *walad* below)

²⁸⁰ In the *Shahnameh* both forms can also denote ‘grandson’ (see attestations in Wolff 1965: 200, 205). The form *pūr* is obviously associated with Parth. *puhr* (cf. *nabēra*, III: 2.3.1).

²⁸¹ Korn (2005: 241, inc. footnote 318) points out that the meaning ‘daughter’ is only attested in Mayer (1910: 48). Otherwise, the word is glossed as ‘girl’ or ‘doll’. A more common word for ‘daughter’ is *jīnik(k)*, *janik(k)*.

²⁸² See the discussion in Werba (2005).

²⁸³ The meaning ‘girl / daughter’ is attested in Kurd. (Sorani) *kač / kič* < **kan-č*- < **kani-ka*- (cf. Tsabolov I / 505–506).

²⁸⁴ Cf. MPers. *kanīg* (< **kanī-kā*-) ‘girl; maid’ and *kanīzag* (< early MPers. *kanī-čak*). The word is also attested as Ved. **kan(i)yan*- ‘girl; virgin; unmarried young woman; daughter’ (nom.sg. *kanyā*, gen.pl. *kanīnām*) and Av. *kainīian* / *kainīn*- ‘id.’ (OAv. dat.pl. *kainibiiō*, YAv. nom.sg. *kaine* < **kan(i)jā* < **kani-Hā*, later also *kainikā*, gen.sg. *kainīnō* < **kani-Hn-ah*-) and as adj. Ved. *kanīna*- ‘young’. This should be a possessive derivative (see “Hoffmann suffix” I: 2.3.2) of **ken(H)*- ‘begin; young age’ (cf. ORus. конь ‘end; terminus’, καίνος ‘new, fresh’, Lat. *recēns* ‘recently’) attested as a verb only in Slavic *-*čęty* (Rus. начать

			<i>jīnik(k)</i> <i>janik(k)</i> (E, S)	derived from Bal. <i>jan-</i> 'woman / wife' < <i>*ǵ^hen(h₂)-</i>
		<i>peḡla</i> ← Pash.		Pashto innovation, see III: 3.1.1
child	<i>bačče</i>	<i>bača</i> ²⁸⁵	<i>bač(č)</i> 'son, boy' <i>bačak(k)</i> (W) 'id.' <i>bačik(k)</i> (S) 'id.' ←NPers.	< PIIr./PIr. <i>*vatsá-</i> < <i>*uetsó-</i> ²⁸⁶
	<i>farzand</i> 'offspring (son or daughter)', ²⁸⁷			< PIr. <i>*fradžanti</i> cf. YAv. <i>fra-zaiṇti-</i> (I: 2.3.2) < PIIr. <i>*prajanti-</i> < PIE <i>*pro</i> + <i>*ǵénh₁ti-</i>
	<i>zāde/a</i> ²⁸⁸ 'offspring' (mostly in names and state expressions)		<i>zahg</i> (W, S) <i>zāg</i> (W) <i>-zātk</i> (W), <i>-zatk</i> (S), <i>-zāxt</i> (E), <i>zāk/g</i> (W) ²⁸⁹	< PIr. <i>d^žāta(ka)-</i> < PIIr. <i>*jāta(ka)-</i> < PIE <i>*ǵnh₁tó-</i> see II: 2.3.2
	<i>kudak</i>	<i>kudak</i>	<i>kūdak</i> ²⁹⁰	PIr. <i>*kuta(ka)-</i> 'small', cf. YAv. <i>kutaka-</i> 'id.', ²⁹¹
	<i>owlād</i> (pl.) 'children'	<i>awlād</i>	<i>awlod</i> 'descendant, generation; relatives'	Arab. <i>walad</i> / (pl.) <i>awlād</i> 'child'
	<i>ebn</i> (only in PN)		<i>ibn</i> (only in PN)	Arabic <i>ibn</i> 'son'
	<i>tefl</i> 'infant'		<i>tifl</i> 'infant'	Arabic <i>ṭifl</i> 'baby, infant'
Br	<i>barādar</i> (CINPers. <i>birādar</i> H., W.)		<i>barodar</i>	<i>brāt</i> (E, S) <i>brās</i> (S, W)

'begin', зачатъ 'conceive a child') (ESSJa IV / 109, CPD 49, EWAia I / 297–298, Kellens–Pirart II / 229, ALF 142–143, Kazzazi 2001: 125–132, LIV² 351, ESJa IV / 220).

²⁸⁵ Sg. *bačče* / *bača* usually refer to boys, while plural forms can also include girls (Vladimir Ivanov, Lomonosov Moscow State University, p.c.). In the Shahnameh the primary meaning of the word *bač(č)e* was 'young animal' (Wolff 1965: 116).

²⁸⁶ Cf. MPers. *waččag* 'child, baby, cub' (CHD 85). See most recently in Höfler (2017: 94): **u(e)t-s-ó-* as a possessive adjective derived from **uét-os* n. 'year' and consequently 'ein Jahr (als Dauer/als Alter) habend' (CLuw. *ušša/i-* 'year', Ved. *vatsá-* m. 'calf; one-year-old animal'. See also East Iranian cognates in **III: 3.1.1**. Curiously, in Balto-Slavic this adjective was reanalysed as 'having many years' > 'old', see *vetušas* 'old', Latv. *vecs* 'id.', *vecāki* 'parents', and OCS ветѣхъ 'old' (**II: 2.1.3** above).

²⁸⁷ as per Horn (1893: 181), also *farzand* < MPers. *frazand* 'son, offspring', an ungendered term with an inherent relational meaning, similar to Sum. *dumu* (**II: 2.2.3**).

²⁸⁸ Due to the initial *z* the word cannot be a direct reflex of OPers. **dāta-* attested in the PN *Dāta-vahaya* ('well-born') and possibly a compound *uvā-dāta-* 'genealogy' (WAPKI 167, 269, see also **4.1** below) and must be borrowed from an Iranian language in which the PIE palatal **ǵ* (PIr. *dz*) yielded /*z*/. Along with the PN *Dāta-vahaya* there is a curious form *Vahayazdāta-*, which is usually interpreted as parallels to JAv. *Vaṇhu-dāta-* and *Vohu.dāta-* 'having a good law' with *dāta-* n. 'law' derived from the verb **dā* 'lay, put, install' < PIE **deh₁* or 'giving the best' (IP I / I / 90–91, 99, II / 28, WAPKI 166–167). However, the NPers. PN *Behzād* implies that it can be a reversed variant of *Dāta-vahaya*.

²⁸⁹ The latter four are used in compounds denoting children of certain relatives, such as *gwahār-zātk* 'SiCh' and *brā-zātk* 'BrCh' (= nephew, niece), *trū-zātk* 'aunt's child' and *nākō-zātk* 'uncle's child' (= cousin), etc. (Korn 2005: 304).

²⁹⁰ The word shows irregular vocalism. IrPers. *kudak* and Taj. *kūdak* regularly correspond to CINPers. *kōdak* 'child; foetus' (Horn 1893: 194, Wolff 1965: 669), while Dari *kudak* reflects a CINPers. form with *ū*. It can possibly be due to the analogy with CINPers. *kūtāh* / *kūteh* 'short, small' (cf. Horn *ibid.*).

²⁹¹ Cf. also MPers. *kōdak* (AiW 472, CPD 51).

eBr	<i>āqā</i> ‘master / lord; mister; (rarely) father’	<i>āgā</i> (also ‘lord, mister; the head of the family; father’)	<i>aka</i> ‘eBr’ ← Uzb. <i>oġo</i> ‘master / lord’		Mong. <i>aḡa</i> , <i>aḡa</i> , <i>aḡai</i> ‘male relative older than the Ego, but younger than the Ego’s parents’, I: 2.2.2
		<i>āgā-lāla</i> <i>lālā</i>		<i>lālā</i> (W) ‘Br’ <i>lālō</i> (E) ‘Br’	unknown ²⁹²
	<i>kākā</i>	see ‘FaBr’		see ‘FaBr’	NIA <i>kākā</i> ‘FayBr; eBr’, see III: 2.3.1 and III: 5.2.2.1
Si	<i>x^(w)āhar</i>		<i>xohar</i>	<i>gwār</i> <i>gwahār</i> (S) <i>gu(h)ār</i> (E, W) <i>gōhār</i> (E)	< PIr. * <i>xwāhar</i> - < PIIr. * <i>syāsar</i> - < PIE * <i>syésor</i> -
	<i>hamšire</i>	<i>hamšira</i>			NPers. innovation, see II: 2.3.3 ²⁹³
eSi	<i>ābjī</i> ‘Si’ or ‘eSi’ (< * <i>āpa-baji</i>) ²⁹⁴	<i>āpa</i>	<i>apa</i>		Turkic ²⁹⁵
		<i>dādā</i>		<i>dādā</i> ‘Si’ (S, W)	onomatop.

Most lexical items denoting relatives of the first genealogical grade in the West Iranian languages in focus, especially in Persian, are inherited from PIE. Quite a few words are borrowed from Arabic because it has been the dominant cultural language in this region throughout many centuries. However, Arabic words do not usually displace the inherited kinship terms but are used as more formal (high register, literary, academic, abstract) synonyms. For example, words like *ab* ‘Fa’ and *ibn* ‘So’ occur almost exclusively in personal names or state expressions (e.g., *ab-o/va-ajdād* ‘fathers and grandfathers = ancestors’). The same is true for *bin* ‘son’ and *bint* ‘daughter’. Some are restricted to the vocative usage: e.g., *axav-i* (lit. ‘my brother’). The term *vālede* ‘Mo’ is also a high register word and a polite form of address. In the Ottoman Empire this word was used as a royal title of the Sultan’s mother: *Valide* ~ “Queen Mother” (Stachowski 2019: 343, Duden s.v. *Walide*). The term *tefl* / *tifl* ‘infant’ can be used in scientific discourse in contrast to inherited terms like the Bahuvrīhi compound *čandmāhe/a* ‘id.’ (having / lasting for *čand-māh*- ‘a few months’) or the nursery term *čuča* ‘nestling, infant’. The form *owlād* / *awlād* ‘child, children’, which can have both singular and plural semantics in the recipient languages is simply a more literary or formal synonym of *bačče/a* or *kudak*. Sometimes, Arabic words are used to fill in some lacuna. As many other IE languages (see **II: 2.1.3**), Iranian languages do not strive to coin gender

²⁹² The word also occurs in Urdu in the meaning ‘master; teacher of the master’s children; slave’ (Korn 2005: 302 with references). The initial *l*- excludes Turkic origin.

²⁹³ Also borrowed into Turkish: *hemşire* ‘eSi; medical nurse’ (Stachowski 2019: 171)

²⁹⁴ Cf. Bashkardi, Gilaki, Kermani, Mazandarani *ābāji* ‘eSi’ (Hassandoust 2011: I / 516) and similar twin forms such as *āgā-lāla* ‘eBr’ (see the table above). The word *bāji* is another Turkic word for ‘eSi’ (Turk. *baci*, Stachowski 2019: 74).

²⁹⁵ cf. Turkish *abla* / *apa* ‘id.’, Uzbek *opa* ‘id. (Milanova & Holopainen & Bradley 2020 in print: 356)

neutral terms for parents. Thus, *vāledeyn* / *vāledayn* / *validayn* (dual of Arab. *wālid*) ‘parents’ is a more laconic variant of phrases like *pedar-o-mādar*. Some words exist in theory (native speakers recognise them as Arabic words), but they do not belong to the authentic Iranian lexicon in daily use (e.g., *um(m)* ‘mother’, IrPers. *oxt* ‘sister’ = Arab. *uxt* ‘id.’).

All quoted terms for elder siblings belong predominantly to the colloquial register and vocative usage. Outside of the familial context, these words often function as polite terms of address. They are only included and are properly glossed in special academic dictionaries such as Hassandoust (2011, 2015), but they are usually missing in general reference books. Sometimes, it is not clear how exactly the word should be glossed. For example, Hassandoust (2015: II / 1233) glosses the term *dādāš* of Turkic origin,²⁹⁶ which is pragmatically a masculine counterpart of *ābjī* (see the table), as simply ‘brother’. Aliakbari & Toni (2008: 8–9) likewise gloss both terms as ‘brother’ and ‘sister’ respectively. Hassandoust (2011 / I) does not mention the former suggesting *kākā* (p. 512) for the role of ‘elder brother’ instead, but he glosses *ābjī* as a colloquial variant of the inherited word *x^(w)āhar* (p. 515). However, my native informants (aged 40 and older) claim that in the familial context there can be only one *dādāš* and only one *ābjī*, precisely the eldest siblings. It should be emphasised that all such terms (apart from unclear cases like Taj. *dodar* ‘yBr’, see below) are direct lexical borrowings from languages of Central or South Asia.

Balochi seems to lack relative age distinction for siblings even in the colloquial register. The words *lālā* and *dādā* are vocative forms for ‘brother’ and ‘sister’ respectively (Rzehak 1995: 209 and p.c.). However, it is also possible that some information is simply missing because Balochi is still a scarcely researched language.

III: 2.1.2. Isolated innovations and borrowings

Among terms for relatives of the first genealogical grade there are only a few isolated items, not shared by other Iranian or IE languages. The most conspicuous of them are the Tajik terms for ‘younger brother’: *uka*, a direct lexical borrowing from Uzbek, and *dodar* of unclear origin. Gaffarov (I / 316 apud Edelman & Molchanova 2013: 121) quoted the Classical NPers. form *dādar* but without any hints on its origin. Tajik also borrowed a term for ‘mother’ *oča* from Uzbek (cf. also *dodo-yu-oča* ‘father and mother = parents’ also borrowed by Yaghnobi *dōdō-ōčā* ‘Fa and Mo’ and *ōčādōdō* ‘Mo and Fa’). The Afghan Persian dictionary by Kiselyova & Mikolayčik (1978, s.v.) has a colloquial word for ‘child’ *oštok* ‘child’ possibly borrowed from some Turkic source, cf. Uzbek *ushoq* ‘baby’ (Agnes Korn, CRNS and Murad Suleymanov, EPHE. p.c.).

²⁹⁶ The form *dadaš* occurs in some Turkic dialects and is formally similar to *kardeş* ‘(younger) sibling’ (Doerfer III / 191).

III: 2.2. Men and Women, Husbands and Wives

III: 2.2.1. Inherited PIE and (Indo-)Iranian terms

gloss	Iranian Persian	Afghan Persian (Dari)	Tajik	Balochi (East, South, West)	origin
man / human being	<i>ādam</i> ²⁹⁷ <i>ādamīzād(e/a)</i> ²⁹⁸		<i>odam</i> <i>odamizoda</i>	<i>ādam</i>	← Heb. <i>’āḏām</i> ‘id.’, cf. II: 2.3.2
	<i>ensān</i>	<i>ensān</i>	<i>inson</i>	<i>ensān</i>	← Arabic <i>īnsān</i> ‘id’
	<i>bašar</i> ²⁹⁹				← Arabic <i>bašar</i> ‘id.’
man / Hu	<i>mard</i>		<i>mard</i> <i>mardak</i> ‘man, human being’ <i>mardina</i> (also adj. ‘manly, courageous’) ³⁰⁰	<i>mard</i> ←NPers.	< PIr. <i>*martiya</i> - II: 2.3.3
Hu	<i>šowhar</i> <i>šuyi</i>	<i>šawhar</i> (CINPers. <i>šōy</i> W., H. <i>šōhar</i> W.)	<i>šawhar</i> <i>šūyi</i>		< PIr. <i>*šautar</i> - < PIr. <i>*šuyant</i> - ³⁰¹
	<i>xānedār</i> ‘master of the house; married man’	<i>xānadār</i> ‘id.’	<i>xonador</i> ‘id.’		Pers. innovation: ‘having house / family’ <i>xāne/a</i> ³⁰² ‘house’ + <i>dār</i> , see I: 2.3.1
	<i>kadxodā</i> ‘head of a village / small town’		<i>kadxudo</i> (also ‘master of the house; married man		Pers. innovation: <i>kad</i> - ‘house’ (in compounds) ³⁰³ and <i>xoda</i> ‘lord’ ³⁰⁴
woman / Wi	<i>zan</i>			<i>jan, jānēn</i> (S, W) <i>jīnēn</i> (W)	< PIr./PIr. <i>*jan(i)</i> - < PIE <i>*g^hen(h₂)</i> -
	<i>bānu</i>	<i>bānū</i> < MPers. <i>bānūg</i>	<i>bonu</i>		< PIr. <i>*dmāna-paṇnī</i> ‘mistress of the house’, ³⁰⁵ see PIE <i>*poti</i> - and <i>patnih₂</i> -, II: 2.3.5
		<i>artina</i> < Pash.			see III: 3.2.1
				<i>zāl</i> (E, S) ← CINPers. <i>zāl</i> ‘old woman’ ³⁰⁶	< <i>*zard</i> -, verbal adj. of <i>*zar</i> - ‘make old’ < <i>*gerh₂</i> ‘id.’, ³⁰⁷ cf. YAv. <i>zarəta</i> - ‘old’

²⁹⁷ The word *ādam* is also used in impersonal sentences similar to German ‘man’ (Tavakkoly 2009: 26).

²⁹⁸ cf. *zāde/a* ‘offspring’ in **III: 2.1** above.

²⁹⁹ *ensān* and *bašar* belong to a higher register than *ādam* and denote abstract notion like ‘humankind’

³⁰⁰ The suffix *-ina* should have emerged from PIr. *-aina* as in Old Persian *aṅang-aina*- ‘from stone’ (Korn & Olsen 2012: 204).

³⁰¹ MPers., CINPers. *šōy* (CPD 80, Wolff 1965: 579). Both words are ultimately derived from PIr. **šau* / **šū* ‘feed; make provision’, an enlarged version of PIr. **pah* / *š* ‘id’ (< PIE **peh₂(i)*), LIV² 460, cf. **II: 3.1.1** above). The full discussion and further examples are given in *ESIJa* (III / 85).

³⁰² < PIr. **kāna*- / *xāna*- ‘house, hut; building; fortress, see also *xānewade* ‘family’ in section 4 (*ESIJa* IV / 340–346)

³⁰³ < PIr. **kata*-/ *xata*-, a variant of *kāna*- / *xāna*- (*ESIJa* ibid.)

³⁰⁴ < PIr. **hwa-tāwant*- ‘having his own power’ (Korn 2005: 305 footnote 120 with references to Friedrich C. Andreas apud Lentz 1926: 293, also Novák 2013: 103). Meillet (1911–1912: 110) assumed that Gr. αὐτοκράτωρ might have been a calques of this form.

³⁰⁵ Hassandoust (2015: I / 399–400 with further literature)

³⁰⁶ Horn (1893: 143)

³⁰⁷ see AiW 1682, LIV² 165–166, cf. MPers. *zarmān* ‘old man; old age, decrepitude’ (CPD 98)

	<i>xānum</i> (mostly ‘lady, mistress’)	<i>xānom</i>	<i>xonum</i>		←Turkic f. of <i>xan</i> (<i>qan</i> , <i>qaγan</i> , <i>qaγan</i> , <i>kagan</i>) ³⁰⁸
spouse	<i>hamsar</i>				NPers. innovation ³⁰⁹
co-Wi	<i>havu</i> ³¹⁰			<i>hapōg</i> (S) <i>hapōk</i> (W)	< PIr. <i>*ha-paθnī</i> ‘id.’, see PIE <i>*poti-</i> and <i>patnih₂</i> , II: 2.3.5
		<i>ambāq</i>			< OPers. <i>*ham-bāga-</i> ‘a co-sharing one’, see I: 2.3.3
			<i>palonj</i> (←Sogd. <i>panānc</i> ‘id.’ (see East Iranian examples, III: 3.2.1))		< PIr. <i>*ha-paθnī</i> ‘id.’ based on PIE <i>*pótnih₂</i> , II: 2.3.5
			<i>kundoš</i> (Kosonsoy dial.)		← Uzb. <i>kundoš</i> ‘id.’

III: 2.2.2. Isolated innovations and borrowings

Some Balochi dialects have terms for ‘husband’ and ‘wife’ of Indo-Persian origin: *lōgē wāja* (S) ‘Hu’, *lōg-wāja* (E, S) ‘id.’, *lōgī* (S, W) ‘Wi’. The word *lōg* means ‘house, family’ and must have been borrowed from some Indo-Aryan language (Hindi, Urdu *log* ‘people; folk; caste; husband, man, mankind; family, household’ < Prk. *loga-*, OInd. *loka-* ‘world’ cf. *UrEnD* 654, McGregor 1993: 901). Korn (2005: 159 footnote 442) admits that this might be an ancient loanword (cf. Parthian *lōg* ‘world’ borrowed from Middle Indic). The word *wāja* is obviously NPers. *x^(w)āja-* ‘old, respectable’, which seems to be an allegro form of *xodā* ‘lord’ (Korn 2005: 305 footnote 120 with references to Andreas apud Lentz 1926: 293). Therefore, in terms of semantics this compound is very similar to Pers. *kadxodā* / *kadxudo* (see **III: 2.1.1** above).

³⁰⁸ Stachowski (2019: 168)

³⁰⁹ Lit. ‘having the same head’, cf. Oss. *æmsær* | *ænsær* (adj.) ‘equal’ (*IESOJa* I / 146)

³¹⁰ Edelman & Molchanova (2019: 134–135) have an alternative etymology: PIr. *ha-vadūkā-* ‘co-bride’ (cf. *bayog* ‘bride; Da-in-law’, **III: 2.4.1**).

III: 2.3. Non-primary consanguineals

III: 2.3.1. Inherited IE, (Indo-)Iranian and further shared terms

Gloss	Iranian Persian	Afghan Persian (Dari)	Tajik	Balochi (East, South, West)	origin
GrFa	<i>pedarbozorg</i> ³¹¹	<i>padarkalān</i> ³¹²	<i>padarkalon</i>		lit. ‘big father’ Persian innovation ³¹³
	<i>bābā</i>	<i>bābā</i>	<i>bobo</i> <i>bobokalon</i> ‘great-GrFa’	<i>bābū</i> ‘FaFa’ (E, W)	Central Eurasian / Near Eastern wander word
				<i>pīruk</i>	NPers. <i>pīr</i> ‘old’
GrMo	<i>mādarbozorg</i> <i>māmā(n)bozorg</i>	<i>mādarkalān</i>	<i>modarkalon</i> <i>onakalon</i>		lit. ‘big mother’ Persian innovation
		<i>bibi</i>			shared nursery term
		<i>bibikalān</i> / <i>bibikalon</i>	‘great-GrMo’		
GrPa	<i>niyākān</i> (pl. mostly abstract) ‘ancestors’		<i>niyokon</i>	<i>nak(k)</i> (E, S)	< PIE <i>*h₂n-ijo-(ka-)</i> , derived from <i>*h₂enHo-</i> , II: 2.1.2.2, cf. OPers. <i>niyāka-</i> ‘GrFa’, MPers. <i>niyāk</i> , <i>niyāg</i>
FaBr	<i>amu</i>		<i>amak</i>		← Arab. <i>ʕam-</i> ‘id.’
	see ‘eBr’	<i>kākā</i>		<i>kākā</i> (S, W) and <i>kākī</i> ‘FaBrWi’ (W)	NIA <i>kākā</i> ‘FayBr; eBr’, ³¹⁴ see III: 5.2.2.1
MoBr	<i>dāyi</i> (←Turk.)		<i>taḡo</i> (←Uzb.)		Turkic ³¹⁵
	<i>xālu</i> (rare)		<i>xolu</i> (rare) <i>xolak</i>		Semitic word of unclear origin, cf. Arab. <i>xāl</i> ‘id.’
		<i>māmā(ji)</i>		<i>māmā</i> (E, S) and <i>māmī</i> (E, S) ‘MoBrWi’	South Asian wander word, see III: 5.2.2.1
uncle (any)				<i>nākō</i>	< PIE <i>*h₂n-ijo-(ka-)</i> , cf. NPers. <i>niyākān</i> ³¹⁶
FaSi	<i>amme</i>	<i>amma</i>	<i>amma</i>		← Arab. <i>ʕamma</i> ‘id.’
MoSi	<i>xāle</i>	<i>xāla</i>	<i>xola</i>		Arab., f. of <i>xālu</i>
aunt (any)				<i>trū</i> (S, W) <i>trī</i> (S, E)	< PIE <i>*ph₂tru-ijeh₂-</i> , see II: 2.5.3.1, cf. YAv. <i>tūriiā-</i> ‘FaSi’ ³¹⁷
GrCh	<i>nave</i> ³¹⁸ ‘GrCh’				< <i>*népōt-</i>
		<i>nawāsa</i> ‘GrCh’		<i>nawāsag</i> (E, S) ‘GrCh’ ←NPers. <i>n(u)wāsag</i> (W) ‘id.’ ←NPers.	< Plr. <i>*napā9ra-</i> ³²¹

³¹¹ < OPers. *vazārka-* ‘big’ (cf. Brandenstein & Mayrhofer 1964: 153)

³¹² Related words with a meaning ‘big’ occur in Parthian and Middle East Iranian language (Hassandoust 2015: IV / 2227). There are no obvious external Iranian cognates.

³¹³ In my opinion, such expressions are fairly young and might be calques of Fr. *grand-père* and *grand-mère* (see also *māmā(n)(i)*, III: 2.1.1 above)

³¹⁴ Dorofeeva (1960: 66), Korn (2005: 301). The origin of NIA *kākā* is discussed in III: 5.2.2.1.

³¹⁵ Doerfer (III / 196–197) claims that the word existed in two variants **taḡaj* and **tāyī* with a regular alternation of the long vowel and *-aya-* (< *a’a*) similar to *xān* vs. *xāyan*. The form *dayi* originates from Turkish, *taḡo* comes from Uzbek.

³¹⁶ Korn (in print: 211)

³¹⁷ Korn (in print: 208–210)

³¹⁸ The underlying MPers. form must be **napak/g-*, cf. *bačče* < *waččag* (III: 2.1.1 above).

				<i>nimāsag</i> (S,W) ³¹⁹ ‘id.’ ←Pash. <i>bar-nwās</i> (W) ‘great-GrCh’ ³²⁰	
				<i>naptag</i> (S) ‘great-great-GrCh’	cf. YAv. <i>naptar-</i>
	<i>nabire</i> ‘great-great-GrCh’ (!)	<i>nabēra</i> ‘GrCh’ (CINPers. <i>nabīr(e)</i> ‘GrSo’, <i>nabīrepusar</i> ‘id.’ W.	<i>nabera</i> ‘GrCh’		Parth. * <i>nabēpuhr</i> < OIr. * <i>napāt-pu9ra</i> ‘boy-GrCh’ ³²²
		<i>kawāsa</i> ‘great-GrCh’		<i>kawāsag</i> (E) ‘great-GrCh’ <i>kuṛāsag</i> (E, S) ‘id.’ <i>kōrāsag</i> (S) ‘id.’	←Pashto (see III: 3.3.1 below)

In Persian one uses special terms for aunts’ and uncles’ spouses: e.g., IrPers. *zanamu* ‘FaBrWi’, *zandāyi* ‘MoBrWi’, *šowharamme* ‘FaSiHu’, and *šowharxāle* ‘MoSiHu’. Terms denoting nephews, nieces, and cousins are purely descriptive compounds: e.g., IrPers. *doxtarx*^(w)*āhar* ‘SiDa = niece’, *pesarbarādar* ‘BrSo = nephew’, or Dari *x*^(w)*āharzāda* ‘SiCh = nephew or niece’, Taj. *duxtari amak* ‘FaBrDa = cousin’ or *ammabača* ‘FaSiDa = cousin’, Bal. *brā-zātk* ‘BrCh = nephew or niece’. Classical New Persian also had descriptive terms for ‘grandparents’: *pidarmādar* ‘MoFa’ (Wolff 1965: 185).

III: 2.3.2. Isolated innovations and borrowings

The evidence in the table shows that this group of terms is much less monolithic and much more diverse. It has more innovations and loanwords, many of which are restricted to specific languages and language varieties.

Even the three variants of Persian have quite a few differences. In addition to the semantic and formal inconsistencies among terms for grandchildren presented in the table, Iranian Persian has two other terms denoting younger relatives: *natiĵe* ‘great-GrCh’ (Arab. *natiĵe* ‘result’) and *nadide* ‘great-great-GrCh’ (lit. “unseen, not-yet seen”) (Spooner 1966: 51 footnote 1). Tajik Persian has a

³²¹ Korn (2005: 89 inc. footnote 70 with references to Hübschmann 1890: 559 and Geiger 1891: 415, 430). This form must be some secondary form based on **napat-*, cf. YAv. *naptar* ‘id.’ (**II: 2.5.2.2**).

³¹⁹ The first two forms are borrowed from NPers. (cf. the Afghan form). The last one may either be a distorted NPers. form or a loanword from Pashto (Korn 2005: 234), cf. Pash. *nmasai* (**III: 3.3.1**).

³²⁰ NPers. *bar* ‘on, over’ (cf. YAv. *upara*) and a suffixless variant *n(u)wāsag* (Korn 2005: 303 inc. footnote 108).

³²² Andreas apud Lentz (1926: 297), Gershevitch (1985 [1973]: 267–272), Hassandoust (2015 / IV / 2730–2731)

specific term for ‘nephew, niece’ *jīyan* (< Uzb. *žīyan* ‘nephew’) along with simple descriptive terms.

There is a Classical New Persian word *afdār* ‘uncle, nephew’, which may be related to Dari *awdor* / *awdar* ‘FaBr’. The word is not attested in Old and Middle Persian and its equation with YAv. *tūiriia-* ‘FaBr’ (see **II: 2.5.3.1**) is doubtful. Szemerényi (1977: 59) assumed that the word might be either a reflex of OPers. *ha-pitar-* (**I: 2.3.3**), which could yield MPers. **habdar-* and NPers. **avdar* / *afdār* or, even more likely, an Arabic loanword *āfad* ‘nephew’ remade analogically to *pid* / *pidar*, *pus* / *pusar*, *mād* / *mādar*, etc. See the full discussion in Hassandoust (2015: I / 232–233). Korn (in print: 209 inc. footnote 10) likewise finds the connection with YAv. *tūiriia-* rather doubtful. Dorofeeva (1960: 67) claimed that the Afghan Persian *awdor* / *awdar* had been borrowed from some modern Indo-Aryan languages, but she did not give any further details.

The distribution of loanwords is also telling. Thus, the most important source language for Iranian Persian is Arabic. Cultural Arabic words are also important for the other languages and varieties in focus, but Tajik has more Turkic elements, Dari and (especially, Southern and Eastern) Balochi have quite a few loanwords from New Indo-Aryan.

For example, the term *kākā* should most probably be equated with modern Indo-Aryan *kākā* or *čāčā* ‘FayBr’ (Karve 1965 [1953]: 110) or ‘(Ego’s)eBr’ (in some dialects of Urdu, cf. *UrEnD* 556). In Iranian languages this word occurs in both meanings, but ‘FaBr’ (without specification of age) seems to be more frequent (**III: 2.1.1**, **III: 3.1.1**, and **III: 3.3.1**, cf. also Spooner 1966: 51 footnote 1). The motion formations *kākī* ‘FaBrWi’ is only attested in Southern Balochi, the forms *čāčā* m. and the and *čāčī* f. are only attested Eastern Balochi. The origin of *kākā* or *čāčā* is discussed in section **III: 5.2.2.1**.

Another wide-spread New Indo-Aryan term is *māmā* ‘MoBr’ (see **III: 5.2.2** below). It is sometimes even used together with the Indian honorific *-jī* (see the Dari example in the table). East and South Balochi also have a feminine variant *māmī* ‘MoBrWi’.

Further New Indo-Aryan terms attested in Balochi are: *nānā*, *nānō* ‘MoFa’ and *nānī* ‘MoMo’ (E), *ḡāḡā* ‘FaFa’ and *ḡāḡī* ‘FaMo’ (E, S), *māsī* ‘MoSi’ (E, S), *pupī* ‘FaSi’ (E, S) (cf. **III: 5.2.2.1**). The terms *čuk(k)* ‘child’ (E, S) and *čuk^h-zāxt* ‘grandchild’ (E). In addition, Balochi might have two Brahui terms: *balluk* ‘grandmother’ (S, W) and *tātī* ‘aunt’ (W) (Korn 2005: 299–308 and in print with references, cf. also **III: 5.2.3**).

III: 2.4. Affinal relatives

III: 2.4.1. Inherited IE, (Indo-)Iranian and further shared terms

Gloss	Iranian Persian	Afghan Persian (Dari)	Tajik	Balochi (East, South, West)	origin
Fa-in-law	(descriptive)				Pers. innovation
	(Isfahan) <i>busure</i> ³²³	<i>xosor</i> (CINPers. <i>xusur</i> H., W.)	<i>xusur</i>	<i>wasirk</i> <i>was(s)rik</i> (E)	< PIr. * <i>xwát̪ura-</i> < PIIr. * <i>sṷácura-</i> < PIE * <i>sṷékur-o-</i>
Mo-in-law	(descriptive)				Pers. innovation
	<i>xoš(dāman)</i> <i>xaš</i> <i>xosru</i> ³²⁴	<i>xošu</i> (CINPers. <i>xusrū</i> H.)	<i>xušdoman</i>	<i>was(s)ū(g)</i> <i>was(s)ī(g)</i> (E, S)	< PIr. * <i>xwát̪rū-</i> < PIIr. * <i>sṷac̪rū-</i> < PIE * <i>sṷek̪rū-h₂-</i>
So-in-law / bride-groom	<i>dāmād</i> (can also be ‘SiHu’)		<i>domod</i>	<i>zāmāt</i> (E, S) <i>zāmās</i> (W)	< PIr. <i>dāmātar-</i> < PIIr. * <i>jāmātar-</i> < Pre-IIr. * <i>ǵē/ómHōter-</i> , II: 2.6.3
SiHu		<i>yāzna</i>	<i>yazna</i>		← Turkic ³²⁵
Da-in-law / bride	<i>arus</i> (also ‘BrWi’)		<i>arūs</i>		← Arab. <i>ṣarūs</i> ‘id.’
	(only CINPers. <i>sunuh</i> , <i>sun(h)ār</i>)			<i>nišār</i>	< * <i>snus-ó-</i> , see II: 2.6.4 above
	(only CINPers. <i>bayog</i>)				Indo-Aryan, cf. YAv. <i>vaδū-</i> , II: 2.6.4 , II: 2.6.5
BrWi		<i>yanga</i> (also ‘uncle’s wife’)			← Turkic ³²⁶
HuBr	(descriptive)				Innovation
		(<i>h</i>) <i>ēwar</i> (col.) ³²⁷	(<i>h</i>) <i>ewar</i> (South-East dialects) <i>yūvar</i> (Badakhshan) ³²⁸		< PIr. / PIIr. * <i>daiwár-</i> < PIE * <i>daǵ(h₂)uér-</i>
HuBrWi	<i>jāri</i> ³²⁹ <i>yād</i> (Isfahan)				PIr. * <i>yāt(a)r-</i> / * <i>yāθr-</i> < PIIr. * <i>yāt(a)r</i> < PIE * <i>H₁neh₂t(e)r</i> ³³⁰
WiSi	(descriptive)				Innovation
		<i>x(y)āšna</i>			borrowed from East Iranian ³³¹

³²³ < **bābā* + **x^(w)asuaraka* (*ESIJ*a III / 487)

³²⁴ These forms are listed in *ESIJ*a (III / 485) and Edelman & Molchanova (2019: 128) but are absent in all contemporary descriptions of kinship terminology in Iranian Persian. They are also unfamiliar to my native informants. Thus, we obviously deal here with obsolete or regional words. However, the corresponding Tajik form seems to be quite common in the contemporary language. According to *NKTJ*a (s.v. хушдоман), *xušdoman* occurs in the most recent texts. The second element of the compound *dāman* / *doman* is not explained in any source.

³²⁵ Cf. Azeri *yezne* ‘sister’s husband’, Chagatai *yāznā* ‘eSiHu’ that were also borrowed into Uralic languages: Moksha *ezna* ‘eSiHu’, Khanty *yesnā* ‘brother-in-law’ (Doerfer 1967: 20, Milanova & Holopainen & Bradley 2020 in print: 357 with references).

³²⁶ Cf. Turkish *yenge* ‘BrWi; uncle’s wife’, Uzb. *yanga* ‘eBrWi’, Tatar *ciŋgäy* ‘id.’, Chuvash *iŋke* ‘id.’ (Stachowski 2019: 358) also borrowed by some Uralic languages: Mari *yenga* ‘id.’, Udmurt (Beserman) *eŋgey* ‘aunt’ (Milanova & Holopainen & Bradley 2020 in print: 357).

³²⁷ Zoroastrian Dari also has/had *d(e)ver* ‘Br’: *dver-mira* or *dver-e mira* ‘HuBr’, *dver-zen* ‘WiBr’, *dver-e mas* ‘eBr’, *dver-e kasog* ‘yBr’, *dver xōnda* ‘step-Br’ (Edelman & Molchanova 2019: 120 with references to Ivanov 1939: 12).

³²⁸ Quoted in *ESIJ*a (IV / 132)

³²⁹ The Late MPers./ NPers. sound change *y > j* (as in MPers. *yuvān* ‘young’ > Late MPers. *juvān* ‘id.’, NPers. *javān* ‘id.’ is describe in Hübschmann (1895: 150–151), cf. also *ESIJ*a (IV / 135).

³³⁰ Attested Indo-Iranian forms are obviously based on the weak stem of **H₁énh₂ter-* (**II: 2.6.6**)

SpSi	see ‘girl; lady’ (III: 2.1.1)			<i>duksīč /duskīč</i> < <i>*duxθrī-čī</i> 332	< PIr. <i>*duxθrī</i> , see II: 2.2.2
WiSiHu	<i>bājenāq</i>		<i>boja</i>		Turkic, see II: 2.6.8.2
				<i>ham-zāmāt</i> (E, S) ‘co-son/brother-in-law’	derived from <i>zāmāt</i>

As it is the matter with non-primary consanguineals, terms for affinal relatives tend to be descriptive as well. Thus, along with Dari *xosor* one can come across descriptive compounds: Dari *padarzan* ‘WiFa’ or *mādaršawhar* ‘HuMo’, Taj. *dodararūs* ‘WiyBr’ can be used as a synonym of *qaynī* of Turkic origin (see below). In the current Iranian Persian all affinal terms apart from *dāmād*, *arus*, *jāri*, and *bājenāq* are descriptive: *pedarzan* / *pedaršowhar* ‘WiFa/Mo’, *mādarzan* / *mādaršowhar* ‘HuFa/Mo’, etc. The inherited terms for ‘parents-in-law’ and ‘husband’s brother’ seem to be still in use in Dari and Tajik, but both these languages (especially the latter) also have many Turkic loanwords. Balochi likewise has descriptive terms: *wasir-zā(t)k* (E, W), *wasar-zāxt* (E) ‘SpBr’ (lit., ‘father-in-law’s child’). Some compounds of this kind are, however, less trivial. For example, Dari *xosorbora* ‘WiBr’ and Taj. (Badakhshan) *xusurbəra* ‘id.’ cannot be interpreted as ‘brother’s father-in-law’. The element *xosor-/xusur-* obviously implies the meaning ‘in-law’ similar to NHG *Schwieger-*. The collective terms Dari *xosrān* ‘wife/husband’s relatives’ and *xosorxēl* ‘wife’s father’s relatives (wife’s older relatives)’ indicate this function of *xosor* too (Edelman & Molchanova 2019: 133).

Further, all variants of Persian have a curious descriptive term denoting a son-in-law who lives together with his wife’s family: IrPers. *dāmād sar-e xāne*, Dari *xāne-dāmād*, Taj. *xonadomod* (cf. *errēbu*-marriage, II: 2.6.3 above).

Collective terms for affinal relatives are discussed in section 4 below.

The structure of Persian kinship terms for affinals indicates that kinship terminologies can be fairly insensitive to social conditions. As I discussed in II: 2.5.2.3, consanguineal marriages have been familiar to the Iranians for many centuries, but we can hardly see any traces of it in the terminology. There is a clear distinction between consanguineal and affinal relatives. The only possible hint on cousin marriages may be specific terms for different kind of uncles and aunts (see III: 2.3.1) because it is exactly ‘FaBrDa’ (Arab. *bint ‘am*) who is viewed as the ideal marriage partner in Muslim societies (Spooner 1966: 56–58). However, such a structure of the ‘Sudanese’ type was obviously common for PIE and Proto-Iranian too. It is also common for many New Indo-Aryan languages whose speakers have always rejected consanguineal marriages of any kind (cf. III: 5.2.3).

³³¹ EVP (98), NEVP (97) and ESIJa (III / 486) compare this word with Pash. *xōxīna* ‘id.’ (see III: 3.4.1 below).

³³² Korn (2009: 204–205 with references)

III: 2.4.2. Isolated innovations and borrowings

Due to its location in Central Asia, Tajik has Uzbek loanwords unshared by other variants of Persian. The most important of them is *kelin* (*kelinčak*) ‘bride / SoWi/BrWi’ (= *arūs*) ← Uzb. *kelin* ‘daughter-in-law; young woman’ (Doerfer 1967: 23). The term *qaynī* (← Uzb. *qayni(ni)* ‘WiyBr / HuyBr’) is given in Kalontarov (2008 s.v.), Doerfer (1967: 43) and Doerfer *TME* (III / 577–578), but I could not find it in *NKTJa*.

Dari has a few colloquial and dialectal forms – *qengāl* ‘a girl who is engaged with someone, fiancée’, *kingāla* ‘prostitute’, (Kabul dial.) *qingāl* ‘betrothed’, (Panjshir dial.) *kingol(a)* ‘bridegroom’ (*EVP* 19, Kiselyova & Mikolayčik 1978 s.v., *NEVP* 20) that must be equated to Pash. *čangól* ‘fiancé’ and *čangalá* ‘fiancée’. *NEVP* assumes that the word was borrowed by Pashto from Persian. However, *ESIJ*a (IV / 222–223) finds it doubtful due to phonological reasons and suggests that the word should have its origin in some East Iranian language (see the further discussion in III: 3.4.1).

West Balochi has *amzulp* ‘WiSiHu’ and (*h*)*amjīrāt* ‘HuBrWi’ of unclear origin (Korn 2005: 307).

III: 2.5. Adoptive and constructed relatedness, widowhood and orphanage

III: 2.5.1. step-, adoptive, and milk relationships

As it is universally common, terms for step- and adoptive relationships are derived from terms for biological relationships. All of these terms are fairly recent in New Iranian languages. Thus, no proto-forms can be reconstructed.

In Iranian Persian, it is common to use the prefix *nā-* ‘not-, non-’ in combination with the suffix *-i*. It is used with kinship terms denoting relatives of the first genealogical grade: *nāpedari* ‘step-Fa; adoptive Fa’, *nāmādari* ‘step-Mo; adoptive Mo’, *nāpesari* ‘step-So; adopted So’, *nādoxtari* ‘step-Da; adopted Da’, *nāx^(w)āhari* ‘adoptive sister; half-sister’, and *nābarādari* ‘adoptive brother; half-brother’. Terms for siblings and other collateral relatives can be used with a formant *nātani* (‘not from the same body’): *x^(w)āhar-e-nātani*, *barādar-e-nātani*, *dāi-ye-nātani*, *xāle-ye-nātani*, *amu-ye-nātani*, *amme-ye-nātani* (Bateni 1973: 326). Afghan Persian uses the formant *-andar* for this purpose, which already existed in Classical New Persian (see *-andar* related to Ved. *antara-* in Horn 1893: 27). Half-siblings or step-siblings can also be referred to as *barādar-i-nāsak(k)a* and *x^(w)āhar-i-nāsa(k)ka* coined by means of the formant *nāsa(k)ka* borrowed from Pashto (see III: 3.5 below). The word *andar* also occurs in Tajik, e.g., *padarandar* and *pisarandar* (Kalontarov 2008 s.v.), but a more common way of describing adoptive/step-relationship in Tajik is by adding the Uzbek element *ūgay* (Doerfer 1967: 49,): e.g., *modari ūgay*, *padari ūgay*, *doxtari ūgay*, *pisari ūgay*, *bačai ūgay*, *farzandi ūgay*, *dodori ūgay* (Kalontarov 2007, 2008 s.v. and *NKTJa* s.v.).

The word occurring in all Persian variants is *x^(w)ānde* / Taj. *xond(e)*, a verbal adjective of the verb *x^(w)āndan* ‘read; learn; sing’ (< PIE **s₁uēnh₂* ‘tönen, klingen’, *LIV*² 611, cf. also Horn 1893:

110). It can also be used to describe non-biological relatedness: e.g., *mādar* x^(w) *ānde* ‘adoptive/step-Mo; guardian (lit. named / appointed mother)’ (Tavakkoly 2009: 801).

Balochi has predominantly synthetic means to coin such terms: e.g., *mātō* (S, W) / *mātū* (S) / *māsū* (S, W) ‘step-/adoptive Mo’, *pitō* / *pitū* / *pis(s)ō* (S), / *pis(s)ū* (W) ‘step-/adoptive Fa’, *gwārō* (S) ‘adoptive/half-Si’, *brātō* (S) ‘adoptive/half-Br’, *čuk(k)ō* (S) ‘adopted/step-Ch’. There are also *pitār*k (W) ‘step-/adoptive Fa’ and *mātūn* (E) ‘step-/adoptive Mo’ possibly borrowed from Brahui. The term *naḥusx* (E) ‘step-Da’ (< OIr. **napaθr-* which later contaminated with *pus(s)ag* ‘son’) may be another piece of evidence that PIE **népōt-* could denote step-children along with grand-children and sibling’s children (see the discussion in II: 2.5.2). Compounds *pēzāda(g)* (W) ‘adopted/step-So’ and *p^hizādag* (E) ‘step-So, HuSo’ could be based on *pit* / *pis(s)* and MPers. *zādag* / NPers. *zāde/a* (see III: 2.1.1) (Korn 2005: 307–308 inc. footnotes and references).

As it is common in many Muslim societies, polygyny is legally permitted in most Iranian-speaking countries and communities, but it does not seem to be *comme il faut* among educated middle-class inhabitants of cities (possibly due to the processes of globalisation). Terms for ‘co-wife’ are attested and lexicalised in all Iranian language (III: 2.2.1 and III: 3.2.1), but terms like ‘the other father’s wife’, ‘child of the other father’s wife’ are marginally attested in East Iranian languages in focus (III: 3.5), but are missing in the discussed West Iranian languages. Descriptive phrases like *zan-e pedar* ‘FaWi’, *havuzāde* ‘FaWiCh’ or *bačče-ye-havu* ‘id.’ are theoretically possible but are not established terms.

Another kind of relatedness that should be mentioned in the Iranian context is milk-kinship. It is almost ubiquitous in the Near East, Central Asia, the Balkan region, and the Caucasus and is considered the third kind of relatedness along with consanguinity and affinity. Ties created by means of lactation have the same cultural value as genealogical ties. Marriages between milk-siblings are usually strictly-forbidden (Parkes 2004a with numerous references, El Guindi 2018a, 2018b, 2019, 2020). The standard term for this kind of relationship is Arab. *riḏāʿa* ‘suckling; milk-kinship’³³³ pronounced as *rezā* / *rizā* in Persian. Thus, terms for milk-kinship are: IrPers. *mādar-e rezā(y)i* ‘mother-in-suckling’, *barādar-e rezā(y)i* ‘brother-in-suckling’, etc. (Tavakkoly 2009: 481, see the further discussion on milk-kinship in III: 3.5.1).

III: 2.5.2. widows and orphans

Persian has preserved the PIE term for ‘widow’ *biwe* / *bēwa* / *bewa* < MPers. *wēwag* < Plr. **vidavaka-* (cf. YAv. *viḍauuā*) (Horn 1893: 60, Hassandoust 2015: I / 583, see also II: 2.7.2). Orphans are usually designated by Arabic words: *yatīm* ‘orphan; farm labourer’ and *saḡīr* ‘small

³³³ El Guindi (2020: 90) points out that the Arabic culture distinguishes three established kinds of kinship *nasab* ‘kinship through procreation’ (cf. III: 4.2), *muṣāhara* ‘kinship through marriage’, and *riḏāʿa* ‘kinship through suckling’.

child; under-age; orphan'. In Balochi one can refer to a widow as *rančori*, *ran*, or *ranenzan* and to the orphan as *čori* or *yatīm* 'orphan'.

III: 3. Overview of kinship terms in selected Eastern Iranian languages

The languages selected for the analysis are Pashto, Yagnobi, and Ossetic.

Pashto is the next important Iranian language after Persian. Despite its importance scholars find it “a challenging language to study and describe” (David 2014: xi). There are several traditions how Pashto sounds should be transliterated and transcribed by the Latin script, which is especially misleading for people who do not have Pashto in the main focus of their research (Miller and David 2014: 9–29).

Further, there is no common classification of Pashto dialects. As it was put by Elfenbein (*NEVP* vii) “dialects are tribal constructs, serving as important identity markers” that can but do not always obey strict geographical logic. For example, the subdivision may be based on geography and the status of dialects: Southern Pashto is the national language of Afghanistan (also “Standard Pashto”) along with Dari Persian, while Northern Pashto spoken in Northern Pakistan and Punjab and Central Pashto spoken in Balochistan are a minority language. Alternatively, Robson and Tegey (2009) suggest another geographical subdivision: Western (Kandahar) dialect, the Central (Kabul) dialect, and the Eastern (Ningrahar) dialect. *NEVP* (vii–viii) following Skjærvø (1989: 385–389) prefers a fourfold classification according to the phonetic properties of each dialect (pronunciation of special Pashto consonants ښ ځ څ ږ and some vowels):³³⁴ Northwest Pashto (Central/West Ghilzay, most of Afghanistan south of Ghazni to Kalat-i Ghilzay, Paktiya), Northeast (‘Hard’) Pashto (most of Pakistani Northwest Frontier Province, Yusufzay, Afridi, Peshawar, Mohmand, Northeast Ghilzay, Tarkani (Dir), Khatak, Shinwari, Bangash, Orakzay, Bajaur, Kohati, Tajik Khel), Southwest (‘Soft’) Pashto (South Ghilzay, most Pashto west of Kandahar, Waziri, Mahsudi), and Southeast (‘Soft’) Pashto (Atsazay, Kakari, Bannu, Chhach, Waziri, Mahsudi, Tor Tarin, Spin Tarin (Wanetsi), Khatak) (*NEVP* viii). Miller (2014: 31–44) suggests an even more complex classification.

The problems of classification are interrelated with problems of lexicography. To the best of my knowledge, there is no dictionary of Pashto that is perfectly consistent in labelling dialects. The authors of the *New Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto* did their best to update and correct the data from Morgenstierne’s *EVP* (1927) pertaining to dialects, but they admit that some inexactitudes could still remain. Aslanov (1985), which is considered to be the best synchronic dictionary of Pashto,³³⁵ is focused on Standard Pashto. Some words in this dictionary have the label “regional” (Rus. «областное») but without any specification.

Due to these circumstances, I have only one column for all Pashto words. If specific dialects are labelled in Aslanov (1985) or *NEVP*, I mention this information. In order to avoid confusion with Pashto consonants, I will consistently use a Latinised version of the transliteration in Aslanov

³³⁴ Two sounds ښ /x/, ځ /ǧ/ are especially symptomatic. They are pronounced as retroflex sibilants in Southwestern dialects, medio-palatal fricatives in northwestern dialects, as *š* and *ž* in southeastern dialects, and as *x* and *g* in northeastern dialects (cf. Skjærvø 1989: 386).

³³⁵ As per Lutz Rzehak, FU Berlin (p.c.)

(1985) because this was the main source of Pashto data in this study. In particular, the above mentioned consonants will be transliterated as ځ = *x*, ځ = *ğ*, ځ = *ts*, ځ = *dz* or *z*, ځ = *ž*. The retroflexes will be transliterated as it is common in the Indological tradition (ṭ, ḍ, ṛ, ṇ). In Standard Pashto only *a* and *ā* have a relevant quantitative difference. In some dialects other vowels can also be long or short (cf. Skjærvø 1989: 387–388). As the main focus of this study is not on phonology and the majority of the quoted forms belong to Standard Pashto, all vowels apart from *a* vs. *ā* are notated as short as it is done by many scholars (Aslanov 1985, Skjærvø 1989, NEVP, David 2014).

Pashto has numerous contact partners: Afghan Persian, New Indo-Aryan, Nuristani and Dardic languages (Robson and Tegey 2009, David 2014: 8).

Ossetic, which has its origin in the languages of Scythian and Sarmatian nomadic tribes, is now a peripheral language spoken mostly in two regions: Autonomous Republic Alanian – North Ossetia in Russia and the former Autonomous Region of South Ossetia in Georgia. It has two clearly delimited and mutually unintelligible variants: Iron and Digoron. The modern literary norm is based on Iron, but Digoron has preserved more archaic features (Cheung 2002: 1, Thordarson 1989, 2009). Ossetic phonology and orthography is a challenging topic. The modern Ossetic alphabet is based on the Cyrillic script, but there are also Georgian and Latin versions. However, the transcription, which should rather be referred to as transliteration because it does not reflect the actual pronunciation, is fairly unified and practical for a historical linguist. In my thesis I will follow the conventions of Cheung (2002).

The main contacts partners of Ossetic are languages of the Caucasian *Sprachbund* belonging to different language families that influenced Ossetic on all levels: phonological, grammatical, and lexical. Azeri Turkish was once a *lingua franca* on the Caucasus and left visible traces in the Ossetic vocabulary. As the Islam was only adopted by a minority of Ossetians and this rather late (in the 18th century), the influence of Arabic and Persian has been minimal and indirect, mostly through the medium of local Caucasian languages or Azeri. In the recent centuries Ossetic has received numerous cultural borrowings from Russian, but this influence is of the least relevance for kinship terminology (IESOJa IV / 160, Thordarson 1989: 467, Cheung 2002: 1, 3–4, Chirikba 2008).

Yaghnobi is a minority language spoken in northern Tajikistan. Historically this language has a strong connection with Sogdian. The precise nature of this connection is not quite clear. It may either be a descendant of Sogdian (e.g., Bielmeier 1989: 480) or a descendant of a language related to Sogdian (see Novák 2013: 66–67 and 2018: 27 with references to earlier sources). As a threatened minority language without long literary tradition Yaghnobi has been a subject to much foreign influence. Many languages have left traces in its vocabulary. Historically, the main contact language for Yaghnobi has been Tajik, through which not only Persian but also many words of Arabic and Turkic origin have been borrowed. The Pamir languages interacted with Yaghnobi already in the antiquity. Numerous Uzbek (Turkic) loanwords came into Yaghnobi directly or

through Tajik. Russian influence on Tajik and Yaghnobi was especially strong in the 20th century and does not have much relevance for kinship terminology (Novák 2018). Yaghnobi forms are written according to the transliteration rules applied in Novak (2010, 2013, 2018).

If not otherwise specified, the data for Pashto are borrowed from Aslanov (1985) and *NEVP*, for Yaghnobi from Andreyev et al. (1957) and Novák (2010, 2013: 172–176), for Ossetic from Abaev (1970), *IESOJa*, Cheung (2002: 149–255), Takazov (2003), and Besolova (2013).

III: 3.1. Relatives of the first genealogical grade

III: 3.1.1. Inherited IE, (Indo-)Iranian and further shared terms

gloss	Pashto	Yagnobi	Ossetic (Iron Digoron)	origin
Fa	<i>plār</i> , Wan. <i>piyār</i> < <i>*piḍar</i> - ³³⁶	<i>padār</i> ← Taj.	<i>fyd</i> <i>fidæ</i>	< PIr. <i>*p^(l)tar-</i> < PIr. <i>*pHtár-</i> < PIE <i>*ph₂tér-</i>
	<i>ab(ā)</i> , <i>abāk</i> (Voc.) <i>abu</i> (in PN) <i>abawáyn</i> 'parents' ³³⁷			← Arabic <i>ab</i> 'id.'
	<i>bābā</i> (also 'GrFa') <i>bābō</i> (Voc.) <i>bābāgān</i> 'ancestors'	see 'GrFa'	<i>baba</i> (also 'GrFa')	Central Eurasian / Near Eastern wander word
	<i>dādā(ji)</i> (dial. also 'eBr')	<i>dōdō</i> ← Taj.	<i>dada</i> (also 'GrFa')	Central Asian wander word
Mo	<i>mor</i> < <i>*māwar-</i> < <i>*mādar-</i>	<i>mōdār</i> ← Taj.	<i>mad</i> <i>madæ</i>	< PIr. / PIr. <i>*mātar-</i> < <i>*māh₂ter-</i>
		<i>oča</i>		← Uzbek <i>oča</i>
So / Boy	<i>zoy</i> / <i>zuy</i> 'son' ³³⁸ - <i>dzóy</i> m., - <i>dzáy</i> f. 'child' - <i>zay</i> m., - <i>zay</i> ³³⁹ f. 'child' ³⁴⁰	<i>žúta</i> (Sogdic) ³⁴¹ <i>žútak</i>		< PIr. <i>ǵāta(ka)</i> / <i>ǵāha(ka)</i> < PIr. <i>*jāta-/jāsa-</i> < PIE <i>*ǵ_hh₁tó-</i> / <i>*ǵ_hh₁só-</i> , see II: 2.3.2
	- <i>bur</i> (only in compounds) ³⁴²	<i>púlla</i> 'child; boy; (adj.) small' < <i>*púθraka-</i>) ³⁴³ (Sogdic) ³⁴⁴ <i>pull(č)ák</i>	<i>fyrt</i> <i>furt</i>	< PIr. <i>*puθrá-</i> < PIr. <i>*putrá-</i> < PIE <i>*putlo-</i>
Da / girl		<i>γayk</i> ← Pamir ³⁴⁵ <i>γaykák</i>		unclear etymology
	<i>lur</i> < <i>*duwar-</i>	<i>duxtar</i> ← Taj. <i>duxtarxón</i> ← Taj. 'unmarried / marriageable girl'		< PIr. <i>*dugdár-</i> < PIr. <i>*d^(h)ug^hHtár-</i> < PIE <i>*d^hugh₂tér-</i> ³⁴⁶

³³⁶ The reconstruction of this and further *r*-stems is given in Skjærvø (1989: 406). The contemporary forms are obviously emerged from the acc. or voc. sg.

³³⁷ The inherited form is *mor-au-plār* 'Mo and Fa'.

³³⁸ Skjærvø (1989: 398) suggests the reconstruction **zahaka-* because of the regular development *-ahā-* > *ā* > *o* (see also *loy* 'big' < **dahāka-* under 'eBr' below). This would imply an *s*-stem based on the zero grade of the root, possibly a possessive adjective **ǵ_hh₁só-*.

³³⁹ Pash. -*áy* m. < PIr. **-akah*, Pash. -*áy* f. < PIr. **-akā*, -*ikā*, -*akī* (Skjærvø 1989: 399).

³⁴⁰ They are used in compounds for different kinds of secondary kinsmen like *lewərdzáy* 'HuBrSo', *lewərdzáy* f. 'HuBrDa', *toṛəyzay* m. 'MoSiSo', *toṛəyzay* f. 'MoSoDa', *toṛəzáy* m. 'FaSiSo', *toṛəzáy* f. 'FaSiDa', *toṛəzáy* 'MoSiDa', *toṛəzáy* 'MoSiDa'.

³⁴¹ Sogd. B *z't()k*, Sogd. M *z'ty(y)*, Sogd. C *z'ty /zātē/* (Novák 2013: 175). Here and further "Sogdic" means that the word is also attested in Sogdian and therefore belongs to the common Yagnobi-Sogdian vocabulary (Novák p.c.).

³⁴² E.g., Pash. *bur* m., -*a* f., Waziri *bīra* < **apuθra-* 'childless' (Skjærvø 1989: 398, Edelman & Molchanova 2019: 117), see also *tərbúr* 'FaBrSo' (III: 3.3.1).

³⁴³ See the discussion in Novák (2013: 115)

³⁴⁴ Cf. Sogd. S -*pyδ'rk*, -*pδ'r*, Sogd. B -*pyδ'rk*, -*pδ'r*, -*pšy*, Sogd. M -*pšy* /*piš*/ (as a part of compounds) (Novák 2013: 171)

³⁴⁵ cf. Yazghulami *yačag*, Shughnani *γāc*, Rushani *γac*, Sargoli *γoc* (Novák 2013: 176)

³⁴⁶ See the discussion in Werba (2005).

	<i>nǰəl</i> ‘fiancée’, <i>ǰəl</i> ‘girl, young woman’ < * <i>kaininī</i> <i>jil(k)ǰy</i> , <i>nǰəl(k)ǰy</i> ‘id.’ < * <i>kaninī-ka/i-kī</i> ‘id.’ <i>jīnǰy</i> , <i>jīnǰǰy</i> ‘id.’ < * <i>kainin-kī-kī</i> ³⁴⁷			< PIIr. * <i>kani-Han-</i> , III: 2.1.1
	<i>pégla</i> ‘girl; virgin’			unclear ³⁴⁸
			(Turkic loanword, see below)	
Ch	<i>bačá</i> ← Dari <i>bačará</i> ‘girl’	<i>bačá</i> ← Taj. <i>bačaák</i> ← Taj..	(D) <i>biccew</i> ‘boy’ ← NPers.	< PIIr./PIr. * <i>vatsá-</i> < * <i>uetsó-</i> , see III: 2.1.1 ³⁴⁹
			<i>zænæg</i> ‘children, offspring’	< PIr. * <i>dʰanHa-</i> < PIE * <i>ǵe/onh₁-o/h₂-</i> ³⁵⁰
	<i>kašáy</i> m., <i>kasáy</i> f. ‘the only child’ <i>kəšr</i> , <i>kəšər</i> , <i>kīšer</i> m. ‘younger one’ <i>kəšra</i> f. ‘yDa/ ySi’		<i>kəstær</i> ‘a younger one (relative, friend, etc.)’ < * <i>kasu-tara-</i>	PIIr. * <i>kasu-</i> , OAv. <i>kasu-</i> ‘small (in size or number)’, OInd. <i>kaṣṭa-</i> ‘bad’ ³⁵¹
		<i>farzánd</i> ← Taj.		see III: 2.1.1
		<i>ǵūǵák</i> ← Taj. <i>kūdak</i>		see III: 2.1.1
		<i>awlōd</i> ‘offspring’ ← Taj.		Arabic, see III: 2.1.1
Br	<i>wror</i> < * <i>brāwar-</i>	<i>vʹrōt</i> ‘(y)Br’ <i>bʹrōdár</i> ← Taj. <i>bʹrat</i> ← Rus. <i>bʹratíška</i> ← Rus.	(<i>æ</i>) <i>rvad</i> (<i>æ</i>) <i>rvadæ</i> (mostly ‘kinsman; person with the same surname’)	< PIr. <i>brátar-</i> < PIIr. * <i>bʰrátar-</i> < PIE * <i>bʰréh₂ter-</i>
			(isolated innovation, see below)	
eBr	<i>loy</i> / <i>luy</i> ³⁵² <i>ǵǵá</i>	<i>akó</i> , <i>aká</i> ← Uzb.	(no specific terms)	Mong. <i>aḡa</i> , <i>aḡa</i> , <i>aḡai</i> ‘male relative older than Ego, but younger than Ego’s parents’, I: 2.2.2
	<i>lālā</i> <i>kokolālā</i>			unknown, see parallel examples in III: 2.1.1
yBr		<i>vʹrōt</i> ‘(y)Br’		< PIE * <i>bʰréh₂ter-</i>
		<i>dōdár</i> ← Taj.		cf. III: 2.1.2
Si	<i>xor</i> < * <i>xwāhr</i>	<i>ǰōr</i> (Sogdic) ³⁵³	<i>xo</i> <i>xwæræ</i> (also ‘female relative’) ³⁵⁴	< PIr. * <i>xuāhar-</i> < PIIr. * <i>suāsar-</i> < PIE * <i>suēsor-</i>

³⁴⁷ See the full discussion of these forms in Kreidl (2018: 27–29 with references)

³⁴⁸ EVP (56) suggests the reconstruction **payō-gatā-* with the first element being equated to Pash. *pəy-* ‘milk’ and Av. *paēman-* ‘mother’s milk’ the second element being the verbal adjective of *gam* ‘come’ (cf. also ESIJa III / 132), but NEVP (68) finds this etymology highly doubtful.

³⁴⁹ Ossetic (D) has inherited reflexes of **vatsá-* > *wæs* ‘calf’ (IESOJa IV / 97–98). Yaghnobi likewise has *wása* ‘id.’ borrowed from some Pamir languages (cf. Wakhi *wəšk* ‘id.’, Andreyev et al. 1957: 350, Novák 2010: 183).

³⁵⁰ Cf. YAv. *zana-* ‘humankind’, Ved. *jana-* ‘human being; people, etc.’, Gr. γένος ‘race, kin, stock, etc.’ and γόνος ‘child, offspring, etc.’ also borrowed into a Uralic language Komi зон ‘son’ (IESOJa IV / 296–297, Holopainen 2019: 384). Along with this form, IESOJa (IV / 294) also mentions a reflect of a *ti*-stem *zæjs* | *zæjca* (more rarely *zæjnæ*) ‘children, offspring’

³⁵¹ See EVP (34), IESOJa (I / 589). Mayrhofer (EWAia I / 330) assumes that the word might be related to NHG *hager* ‘thin’.

³⁵² Skjærvø et al. (1987: 194a) and Skjærvø (1989: 398) reconstructs the form as **dahāka-*, which may be etymologically related to Khotanese *daha-* ‘man, husband’ and Wakhi *ḍāi* ‘id.’ (cf. also Schwarz 2012).

³⁵³ Sogd. M *xwʹr* / *xʹār* / ‘sister’ (Novák 2013: 93)

eSi	(isolated term, see below)	<i>ap(p)á</i> ←Uzb., Taj.	(no specific terms)	← Turkic
ySi		<i>ǰōr</i> (Sogdic)		

The table indicates that East Iranian languages have preserved some PIE terms for relatives of the first genealogical grade too. However, there are quite a few innovations and borrowings: shared East Iranian, regional, and isolated. A conspicuous feature of Yaghnobi is the number of loanwords within the category which is assumed to be the most resistant against borrowings. Even term for ‘mother’ and ‘father’ were displaced by Persian and local Turkic lexical items.

Both Pashto and Yaghnobi possess a relative age distinction for sibling terms well-attested in dictionaries. However, as it is the case in West Iranian languages, this is a feature of the colloquial register. Ossetic does not show any signs of a relative age distinction for siblings. Although this language was also a subject to Turkic and other Central Asian influence in its history, the influence of the Caucasian languages has obviously been stronger.³⁵⁵ Ossetic terms for siblings are remarkable for the reason that the inherited ones broadened their meaning and denote also relatives and people with the same surname. Speaking about one’s full brother, one must use the term *ævsymær* | *ænsuvær* (see the further discussion in next section). The collective term for ‘siblings’ is *mady zænæg* ‘mother’s children’. Curiously, Pash. adjective *morāný* / *morāný* ‘one’s own; consanguineal; uterine (brother, sister)’ is also derived from *mor* ‘mother’.

III: 3.1.2. Isolated innovations and borrowings

Pashto has forms with the meaning ‘mother’ or ‘grandmother’ of unclear origin: *atkó*, *atkáy*, *adáka*, *adəkəy*, *adé* (Voc.). To a certain extent, they resemble Indo-Aryan forms like OInd. (Dramas) *attā* ‘Mo’ (possibly of Dravidian origin) mentioned in II: 2.1.1.2 but can also be independent formations. The terms *bābo*, *babəy* ‘eSi’ might likewise have some connection to New Indo-Aryan (see *bābáy* ‘BrWi, III: 3.4.1). The term *kokáy* / *kakóy* m. and *kakáy* f. ‘infant; suckling’ is a borrowing from Urdu *khokha* ‘small; a small one’ (NEVP 38).

Ossetic is especially rich in isolated innovations and borrowings. It lost its inherited term for ‘daughter’ now attested only as a part of the compound *xodyǵd* ‘HuSi’ (III: 3.4.1) and displaced it with a Turkic word: *kyzg* | *kizgæ* < **kiz-akā* ← Turkic, cf. Turk. *kız* ‘id.’, Uzb. *qiz* ‘id.’ (Cheung 2002: 199 with references to Thordarson 1986: 278, 1990: 26). There are also *kyzgus* | *kizgæ osæ* ‘young woman’ (lit. ‘girl-woman’, Besolova 2013: 63). The term *læppu* | *læppo*, *læqwæn* ‘boy, young man; son’ (also Iron *læppyn* ‘nestling; young animal’ < **lāg-qwā*- ‘man-child’) is a

³⁵⁴ The Iron form is derived from the old nominative **hwahā*, while the Digoron form is derived from the genitive **hwahrāh* or is a back-formation from the compound *xwærifurt* ‘nephew, niece (SiCh); grandchild (DaCh)’ (Cheung 2002: 248–249).

³⁵⁵ I discussed this question with Oleg Belyaev (Moscow State University, RAS) and Helen Guinashvili (Ilia State University) in personal communication. To the best of their knowledge, contact partners of Ossetic in the Caucasus do not have specific terms for elder and younger siblings apart from purely descriptive phrases like Eng. ‘elder brother’.

loanword from the local Caucasian substrate possibly also borrowed into Hungarian through Alanian, cf. Alan. *lāk-wen-* > *legeny* ‘young man’ (*IESOJa* II / 30–32, Róna-Tas & Berta 2011: 1333–1334). Two well-established terms for ‘(small) child; baby’ do not occur in any other Iranian language outside of Ossetic: an innovation *syvællon* || *suvællon* (< **syværron* ‘pertaining to *syvæ* || *suvæ* ‘womb’, **I: 2.3.2**), an Arabic borrowing *sabi* (← Arab. *sabī*)³⁵⁶ and the compound *sabisyvællon* (*IESOJa* III / 6–7, Besolova 2013: 62).

Returning to sibling terms, one should point out that *ævsymær* || *ænsuvær* (< **æm-syvær-* also adjective ‘co-uterine’ see **I: 2.3.2**) is etymologically related to *syvællon* || *suvællon* ‘child’. This is how one refers to one’s full brother. According to Abaev (*IESOJa* I / 205–206), the word can be used as an adjective to denote a uterine sister (*ævsymær xo* || *ænsuvær xwæræ*) and gives examples from epics and other older texts. However, Oleg Belyaev (Moscow State University, RAS, p.c.) informs me that he has never come across such collocations in contemporary authentic texts and corpora. Besolova (2013: 63) suggests the descriptive phrase *kýzg ævsymær* ‘girl–brother/sibling’ as a designation of a full sister.

As some languages of Central Asia, Yaghnobi possesses a so-called “secret language”, specific words used by restricted groups of people (Troitskaya 1948): e.g., *zamágna* / *zⁱmágna* ‘girl (suckling)’ and *zamakón* / *zⁱmakón* ‘mother (the one who suckles)’ derived from *zamák-* ‘suck’ (Andreyev et al. 1957: 367, Novák 2013: 202).

³⁵⁶ This word seems to be confined to the Caucasian region (Besolova 2013: 62).

III: 3.2. Men and Women, Husbands and Wives

III: 3.2.1. Inherited IE, (Indo-)Iranian and further shared terms

gloss	Pashto	Yaghnobi	Ossetic (Iron Digoron)	origin
man / human being	<i>ādami</i> / <i>ādamay</i> m. ←NPers., Arab. <i>ādamáy</i> f. <i>ādamzād</i> m. ←NPers. <i>ādamzāda</i> f.	<i>ōdām</i> ←Taj. <i>ōdāmīzōd</i> ←Taj.	<i>adæm</i> (pl./coll.) ‘people; human beings’ ←Pers., Arab. <i>adæymag</i> ‘man; human being	← Hebrew <i>’ādām</i> ‘id.’, cf. II: 2.3.2
	<i>insān</i> m., <i>insāna</i> f.	<i>ins</i> ←Taj.		← Arabic <i>īnsān</i> ‘id’
	<i>bašar</i>			← Arab. <i>bašar</i> ‘id.’
Hu / man	<i>meṛō</i> (Wan. <i>maṛō</i>) ³⁵⁷ <i>mard</i> ← Pers.	<i>mard</i> ←Taj. <i>mardák</i> ←Taj. <i>mardīna</i> ←Taj. <i>mórti</i> (Sogdic) ³⁵⁸		<PIIr. <i>*martiya-</i> , II: 2.3.3
		<i>wīr</i> / <i>vīr</i> (Sogdic) ³⁵⁹		< PIE <i>*uīH-ró-</i> , II: 2.3.1
	<i>nar</i> , <i>nər</i> <i>nāriná</i> (also adj. ‘musculine, viril’; cf. Taj./Yagh. <i>mardina</i>)		<i>næl</i> ‘male (mostly about animals); man’ < <i>*narija-</i> ³⁶⁰	derived from PIE <i>*h₂né-</i> or PIE <i>*h₂ner-o-</i> , II: 2.3.1
Hu			<i>moj</i> <i>mojnæ</i> (also Iron <i>mojag</i> ‘fiacé, future husband’)	possibly related to YAv. <i>nmāniia-</i> ‘belonging pertaining to the house’ ³⁶¹
Wi /Wo		<i>inč</i> (Sogdic) ³⁶² < PIr. <i>*jáuni-kā-</i> ³⁶³	<i>us</i> (<i>w</i>) <i>osæ</i> <PIr. <i>*iaušā-</i> ³⁶⁴ (also <i>usag</i> <i>wosag</i> ‘fiacée, future wife’ <i>us-xicaw</i> (<i>w</i>) <i>osæ-</i> <i>xecaw</i> ‘mistress of the house’	PIE <i>*h₂iéu-Hn-i-</i> ‘a young one (lit. ‘having young age’) PIE <i>*h₂iéu-s-o-</i> ‘id.’ ³⁶⁵

³⁵⁷ Skjærvø (1989: 398)

³⁵⁸ Sogd. <mrty> (*martī*) (Gharib 1995, lemma 5474)

³⁵⁹ Sogd. B, C, S <wyr> (*wīr*) (ibid: lemma10418)

³⁶⁰ Cheung (2002: 208)

³⁶¹ < **dmāniia-*, cf. OAv. *dāmāna-* ‘house’, Ved. *māna-* ‘id.’ (AiW 1094, Kellens–Pirart II / 262, Cheung 2002: 205–206), see also other derivatives of PIE **dóm-* in II: 2.3.5

³⁶² Sogd. S *ʔync(h)*, *ynch*, Sogd. B and MG *ʔync(h)*, Sogd. M *ʔync*, Sogd. C *ʔync* (ʔimj) (Novák 2013: 86)

³⁶³ As per Novák (2013: 97)

³⁶⁴ Abaev (*IESOJa* IV / 20–21 following Miller 1907: 332–333) and Cheung (2002: 234)

³⁶⁵ Both forms are ultimately derived from the noun **h₂éi-u-s-/h₂éi-éu-s-* > Ved. *áyuṣ-* n. ‘vital force’ (cf. *EWAia* II / 421, Höffler 2017: 461). The Sogdian / Yaghnobi form must be a variant of **h₂iey-Hn-o-* (> Lith. *jáunas* ‘young’, OCS юнъ ‘id.’), a thematised form of the “Hoffmann” possessive adjective (I: 2.3.2 above). The Ossetic form is a substantivised possessive adjective **h₂iey-s-ó-*, also reflected in Ved. *yóṣan-*, *yóṣā-*, *yóṣít-* ‘girl; young woman’ (cf. *IESOJa* IV / 20, Smoczyński *SEJL* 230–231, Cheung 2002: 18, 234, Höffler 2017: 37). Olsen (2010: 122–123) reconstructs the Vedic form as nom. sg. **h₂iéus-h₃ñh₂-s* > Ved. *yóṣāñh*, nom. pl. **h₂iéus-h₃ñh₂-es* > Ved. *yóṣāñah*.

	<i>xódza</i> < PIr. * <i>stri-čī</i> - ³⁶⁶ (<i>maróxa</i> < * <i>martā-</i> <i>stri-</i> ‘married woman’, NEVP 98)		<i>syl</i> <i>silæ</i> < * <i>stri(iā)-</i> ‘female animal; woman’, ³⁶⁷	< PIIr. *(H) <i>strī</i> ‘woman’ of debated origin ³⁶⁸
	<i>mermān(a)</i> < * <i>mēnbān</i> ³⁶⁹			PIr. * <i>dmāniya-paṅnī</i> ‘mistress of the house’, see <i>bānu</i> , III: 2.2.1
	<i>māndinā</i> , <i>māinā</i>			←NPers. <i>mādine/a</i> ‘female, feminine; mare’ derived from <i>māde/a</i> ‘feminine’ (cf. <i>mād(ar)</i> ‘Mo’, ³⁷⁰
		<i>zan</i> ←Taj.		< PIIr./PIr. * <i>jan(i)-</i> < * <i>g^hen(h₂)-</i>
	<i>xānūm</i> / <i>xānām</i> ‘lady’ <i>xānāma</i> ‘lady, wife’		- <i>xan</i> f. (in PN) - <i>qan</i> m. (in PN) ³⁷¹	←Turkic f. of <i>xan</i> (<i>qan</i> , <i>qayan</i> , <i>qayan</i> , <i>kagan</i>), see III: 2.2.1
	<i>arwāta</i> , <i>awráta</i> <i>artinā</i> ³⁷²			Arab. <i>awrat</i> ‘sexual organ’, ³⁷³
co-wife	<i>bān</i>	<i>pinōnč</i> (Sogdic) ³⁷⁴		IIr. * <i>sa-pātnī-</i> ‘id.’, ³⁷⁵ based on PIE * <i>pótnih₂</i> , II: 2.3.5
		<i>kundōš</i> ←Taj. (Kosonsoy dial.)		← Uzb. <i>kundoš</i> of unclear origin
			(innovation of unclear origin)	

III: 3.2.2. Isolated innovations and borrowings

In this group of words Ossetic has even more innovations and borrowings not shared by other East Iranian languages. To begin with, the terms for ‘man’ and ‘husband’ is *læg*, which, according to IESOJa (II / 19–21), must be a Caucasian substrate word.³⁷⁶

The terms *nælgøjmag* ‘male person; man’ and *sylgøjmag* ‘female person; woman’ are compounds consisting of *næl* ‘male animal; man’ and *syl* ‘female animal; woman’ (see the table in III: 3.2.1) and a word *-gøjmag* ‘person’ possibly derived from *gom* | *igon* ‘mouth’ and used mostly as the second element of compounds (also *ud-gøjmag* ‘human being < soul + person’, *ibid.* I / 522,

³⁶⁶ EVP (77–78)

³⁶⁷ Cheung (2002: 228), Kim (2005)

³⁶⁸ Cf. Ved. *strī-* ‘woman, wife’, Av. *strī-* ‘id.’ Tichy (1995: 43) and EWAia (II / 763) do not see any possibility to find a convincing etymology. Kim (2005) suggests that the word may be a derivative of **sor-* (II: 2.4.2): Ved. *strī-* < PIIr. *s(t)rī-* < PIE *(*h*₁)*sér-ih₂-* (nom./acc.), Oss. *syl* | *silæ* < **sryā-* (oblique) (p. 159). However, this hypothesis is criticised by Pinault (2013: 242).

³⁶⁹ NEVP (51–52)

³⁷⁰ Horn (1893: 213), NEVP (50) and Tavakkoly (2009: 802)

³⁷¹ IESOJa (IV / 140)

³⁷² possibly a similar formation as Taj./Yagh. *mardina* ‘man’ (III: 2.2.1)

³⁷³ cf. Taj. *awrat* ‘body from the navel down to the knees; nakedness; woman’, Wakhi *awrát*, (*h*)*avrat* ‘woman’, Turk. *avrat* ‘woman (pejorative)’ (Steblin-Kamenskiy 1999: 88, Stachowski 2019: 68, NKTJa s.v.)

³⁷⁴ Sogd. *panānč* ‘id.’ < **hapaṅnī-ānčā-* (cf. Yagh. *inč* ‘woman’), Henning (1940: 17), EVP (15, 44), Andreyev et al. (1957: 306), Gharib (1995, lemma 6876), Novák (2013: 114)

³⁷⁵ as per EVP (15), NEVP (14)

³⁷⁶ However, there is an old hypothesis by Sköld (1925: 29) and Bielmeier (1977: 180–185) that the form might have emerged from PIr. *wiryaka* > **wryak* > **wlag* > **læg* (cf. PIE **uiH-ró-*, III: 2.3.1).

Cheung 2002: 192). Synonymic constructions are *nælæstæg* (lit. ‘male bone’) and *sylæstæg* (lit. ‘female bone’). This kind of formations should be calques from Turkic compounds like Balkar *erkek-rəw* ‘man’ and *tišti-rəw* ‘woman’ (*IESOJa* II / 167). A curious parallel from the Uralic-Turkic contact phenomena are words like Udmurt *пиосмурт* / *piosmurt* ‘man’ and *кышномурт* / *kjšnomurt* ‘woman’ (Dushenkova 2008 s.v.) based on the inherited Udmurt words *пи* / *pi* ‘boy, young man, son’ and *кышно* / *kjšno* ‘woman / wife’ and the Iranian loanword *мурт* / *murt* ‘man, person, human being’ (II: 2.3.2) analogically to Tatar *ир кеше* / *ir keşe* ‘man’ (‘man’ + ‘human being’) and *хатын кеше* / *xatın keşe* ‘woman’ (‘woman’ + ‘human being’) (Jeremy Bradley, University of Vienna, p.c.).

Some innovations are based on the word *byn* || *bun* ‘bottom, foundation, ground; legacy > inherited household’ (< Plr. **buna-*, OAv. *būna-* ‘ground, floor, depth, root’, Ved. *budhna-* ‘id.’): *binojnag* ‘wife’, *binontæ* ‘family, wife’ (*IESOJa* I / 261–262, 278–279, Cheung 2002: 174). Due to phonological inconsistencies, these two words cannot be etymologically related to Pash. *bən* ‘co-wife < Ilr. **sa-pátñi-* (cf. Ilr. **pati-* > Oss. **faj-* in *fajnost*, not **baj-* see III: 3.4.1, *IESOJa* I / 262 contra Gershevitch 1985 [1955]: 130 footnote 4).

Further, there are forms with the productive Iranian prefix *ham-* > Oss. *æm* expressing ‘mutuality of being’ (I: 2.3.3). The original meaning of *æmygyr* || *æmigir* ‘rival’ was ‘co-wife’. The second element of the compound may be associated with the Iron form *gyr* ‘boar’ (cf. the animalistic semantics of **uH-ró-* and **h₂né-* in some IE language II: 2.3.1), obviously a borrowing from some Caucasian language (Georgian *k’erat’i* ‘id.’, *ibid.*: I / 147–148, 519). The form of this word is conspicuously similar to Bal. *(h)amjirāt* ‘HuBrWi’ with an unclear etymology (III: 2.2.2). However, the connection between them, either etymological or through borrowing, is highly problematic.

The word *æmk’ay* / *ænk’ay* ‘spouse’ (< **ham-k’ay* lit. ‘fellow in the couple’) is based on *k’ay* ‘even number; couple’ of unclear origin (*IESOJa* I / 144, 616–617). Another term for ‘spouse’ is *udæmbal* || *odæmbal* ‘spouse’ < *ud* ‘soul’ + *æm-bal* || *æn-bal* ‘associate, fellow-fighter’ (*bal* < **bāra-* ‘group, party, detachment, gang’, also *balc* || *balci* < **bārti-* ‘journey, trip (originally on a horse-back)’, *IESOJa* I / 135, 232–234, IV / 6–8, Cheung 2002: 170, 233).

III: 3.3. Non-primary consanguineals

III: 3.3.1. Inherited IE, (Indo-)Iranian and further shared terms

gloss	Pashto	Yaghnobi	Ossetic (Iron Digoron)	origin
GrFa	<i>niká</i> <i>ġarniká</i> / <i>wərniká</i> ³⁷⁷ ‘great-GrFa’ <i>lāġwur-niká</i> ‘great- great-GrFa’			< PIE <i>*h₂n-ijō-(ka-)</i> , derived from <i>*h₂enHo-</i> , cf. YAv. <i>niiāka-</i> ‘id.’, II: 2.1.2.2
			(descriptive terms)	Ossetic
	<i>bābā</i> <i>bābāji</i>	<i>bōbō</i> / <i>bōbī</i> ←Taj. <i>pōp</i> (← Pamir) ³⁷⁸ also ‘ancestor; relative’	<i>baba</i> (also ‘Fa’)	Central Eurasian / Near Eastern wander word
		<i>bōbōkalōn</i> ←Taj.		Pers. innovation see III: 2.3.1
			<i>dada</i> (also ‘Fa’)	Central Asian wander word
GrMo	<i>niyā</i> (MoMo) <i>ġwəra niyā</i> ‘great- GrMo’ <i>wərla-ānā</i> ‘great- GrMo’			< <i>*h₂nijeh₂-</i> derived from PIE <i>*h₂enHo-</i> , YAv. <i>niiākā-</i> , II: 2.1.2.2
	<i>anā</i> / <i>anāy</i> <i>ġwərla-anā</i> / <i>ġwurla-anā</i> ‘great- GrMo’		<i>æna</i>	PIE <i>*h₂en-Ho-</i> or Near Eastern and Central Asian wander word (cf. Turk. <i>anne</i> ‘Mo’)
			(descriptive terms)	Ossetic
			<i>xistær</i> ³⁷⁹ <i>mad</i> <i>xestær madæ</i> (lit.) ‘senior mother’ (I) <i>zæronð</i> ³⁸⁰ <i>mad</i> (lit.) ‘old mother’ (I) <i>styr</i> ³⁸¹ <i>mad</i> (lit.) ‘big mother’	Oss. innovations
			<i>nana</i>	shared nursery term
		<i>bībī</i> ←Taj.		shared nursery term
		<i>mōmī</i> / <i>mōmō</i> ←Taj.		shared nursery term

³⁷⁷ (dial.) *ġwərnika* ‘great-GrFa’, (Waziri) *ġwərnika* ‘id.’ and *ġwərnio* ‘great-GrMo’, (Kakari) *wurnika* ‘great-GrFa; ancestor’. According to EVP (26), the first element may be associated with Pash. *ġwərs* ‘thick’ possibly connected to YAv. *gouru-* ‘heavy’, Ved. *gurú-* ‘id.’. However, NEVP (32) finds this etymology uncertain. The element *wur-* and *wə-* in some dialectal forms may be connected to the prepositions *war-/wə-* < PIr. *frā-* < PIE **pro-*, Adv. ‘forward, before’ (EVP 27, 88, ESIIa III / 54). Edelman & Molchanova (2019: 124) connect this element with Pash. *ġwara* ‘selected; serious; influential’.

³⁷⁸ Cf. Wakhi *pūp* ‘id.’, Munji *pōp* ‘id.’, Shughni, Rushani, Yazghulami *bob* (Andreyev et al. 1957: 308)

³⁷⁹ The word *xistær* | *xestær* (adj.) ‘older’ (often substantivized as ‘an older person’ or pl. ‘the Elders’) < P(E)Ir. **hwašta-tara-* comparative grade derived from the superlative grade ‘older of the oldest ones’ is based on the reflexive pronoun *xi* | *xe* ‘one’s own’ (see *xicaw* | *xecaw*, III: 3.2.1 above). Such a semantic development ‘one’s own’ > ‘older, important, influential’ is typical for East Iranian languages, e.g., Sogd. B *γwyštar* (xwēštar) ‘an older/influential person, leader, teacher’ (IESOJa IV / 204).

³⁸⁰ Cf. Bal. *zāl* (III: 2.2.1)

³⁸¹ < PIE **stéh₂-ro-* (II: 2.5.3.2)

FaBr	<i>trə</i> (or ‘uncle’) (<i>tərlá</i> / <i>tərlá</i> f. ‘FaBrDa’ ³⁸² <i>tərbúr</i> ‘FaBrSo’ ³⁸³)			PIE <i>*ph₂tr̥u-l̥io-</i> , cf. YAv. <i>tūiriia-</i> , see II: 2.5.3.1
			(descriptive term)	Ossetic
	<i>amú</i>	<i>amák</i> ← Taj.		← Arab. <i>ʕam-</i> ‘id.’
	<i>akā</i> (also ‘old / adult man’)			possibly related to <i>āqā</i> / <i>āgā</i> / <i>aka</i> , see III: 2.1.1.
	<i>kākā</i> (<i>kākáy</i> ‘FaBrWi’)			NIA <i>kākā</i> ‘FayBr; eBr’, see III: 5.2.2.1 , see also WestIr. examples in III: 2.1.1 and III: 2.3.1
MoBr	<i>niyāyá</i> , <i>niyāyí</i> , <i>nuy</i> (Waz.) <i>nyō(i)yə</i>			PIr. <i>*nāfiya</i> ‘relative’ ³⁸⁴ or derived from <i>nānā-</i> ‘Mo’ or <i>nyāka-</i> ‘GrFa’ (<i>ESIJ</i> V / 535)
		<i>xōlák</i> ← Taj. ³⁸⁵		derived from Arab. <i>xāl</i> ‘id.’
			(descriptive term)	Ossetic
	<i>māmā</i> <i>māmāji</i> (<i>māmi</i> / <i>māmáy</i> ‘MoBrWi’)			South Asian wander word, see III: 5.2.2.1 See also III: 2.3.1 for WestIr. examples
FaSi	<i>tror</i> (or ‘MoSi’) <i>troráke</i> <i>trandára</i> <i>tror(yān)e</i> (Pakistan and Northern dial.) (<i>trōrmeṛə</i> ‘FaSiHu’ <i>trorzáy</i> ‘FaSiSo’ <i>trorzáy</i> ‘FaSiDa’)			Pash. innovation <i>trə</i> ‘FaBr’ + <i>mor</i> ‘Mo’ (as per <i>NEVP</i> 83) or <i>trə</i> ‘FaBr’ + <i>xor</i> ‘Si’ (as per Edelman & Molchanova 2013: 122) ³⁸⁶
			(descriptive term)	Ossetic
	<i>ammá</i>	<i>ammá</i>		← Arab. <i>ʕamma</i>
MoSi	<i>xālá</i>	<i>xōlá</i> ← Taj. ³⁸⁷		← Arab. <i>xāla</i> ‘id.’
	<i>torəy</i>			unclear ³⁸⁸
			(descriptive terms)	Ossetic
GrCh		(W) <i>n’páyšin</i> , (E) <i>n’péšin</i> (Sogdic) ³⁸⁹ < <i>*nafṑr-</i>		< <i>*naptṛ-</i> or <i>*napa-</i> <i>puṑrya-</i> ³⁹⁰

³⁸² According to *EVP* (38), Skjærvø (1989: 401), and *NEVP* (83) *-la/-lə* < *lur* ‘girl/Da’ (**3.1.1**).

³⁸³ < *tūiriio.puṑrá* (*NEVP* 83)

³⁸⁴ Cf. YAv. *nāfiia* ‘belonging to the family’ (as per *EVP* 50 and *NEVP* 60)

³⁸⁵ Andreyev et al. (1957: 360) also glosses it as ‘step-father’ and ‘father-in-law’ (voc.).

³⁸⁶ See also Korn (in print: 208–209 with references to *EVP* 81).

³⁸⁷ Andreyev et al. (1957: 360) also glosses it as ‘step-mother’ and ‘mother-in-law’ (voc.).

³⁸⁸ *NEVP* (84) finds a connection with *trə* impossible.

³⁸⁹ Sodg. *M np’ýšn, npyyšn / napišn* ‘GrSo’ (Gharib 1995 Lemmas 6036, 6050)

³⁹⁰ Edelman & Molchanova (2019: 124 with references to Gershevitch 1954: 139).

	<i>karwasáy, kawasáy</i> 'great-GrCh' <i>karwasáy</i> 'great-GrDa'			unclear, ³⁹¹ cf. WIr. examples in III: 2.3.1 above
		<i>nabēra / n'bērá</i> ←Taj.		Parth. * <i>nabēpuhr</i> < OIr. * <i>napāt-puṣra</i> 'boy-GrCh', see III: 2.3.1
		<i>č'bēra</i> 'great-GrCh'		←Taj. (dial.) <i>čaberá</i> , derived from NPers. <i>nabera</i> 'GrCh', but further details are unclear
	(W) <i>lmasáy</i> , (E) <i>nmasáy / nwasáy</i> m. ←Dari (W) <i>lmasáy</i> , (E) <i>nmasáy</i> , <i>nmasáy</i> f. ←Dari <i>nawāsá</i> 'nephew' ←Dari			< PIr. * <i>napāṣra-</i> , see III: 2.3.1
			(descriptive terms)	Ossetic

The evidence for non-primary consanguineal relatives in the three languages in focus is very diverse and is a result of independent development. Pashto has preserved archaic features best of all. It has inherited PIE items (e.g., *niká*, *trə*, see the table) and items coined by means of suffixation (e.g., *xwərayáy*, *xorayáy* 'SiSo' < **xwahriya-ka-*, cf. OInd. *svasrīya-* 'id.', **II: 2.5.1**, *wrārá*, Waz. *wəryārə* m. 'BrSo' and *wrerá* f. 'BrDa', cf. OInd. *bhrātrīya-* 'fraternal; brotherhood; (Fa)BrSo', **II: 2.5.3.1**, Skjærvø 1989: 408, *NEVP* 91, 96, Edelman & Molchanova 2019: 123). The other pair of Pashto words with a challenging etymology is *tindāra / tindór* / (Waz.) *tandiār* 'FaBrWi' and (Waz.) *na/əndyār* 'MoBrWi'. *EVP* (53) and *NEVP* (58) suggest that the second element of these compounds may be *-antaryā-* f. (cf. Pers. *-andar* in terms for step-relations, **III: 2.5.1**). Therefore, the first word should be reconstructed as *trə* + *-antaryā-* 'the other paternal uncle', i.e., 'the woman associated with the paternal uncle', while the second should be a similar compound based on *nuy* 'MoBr'. An alternative etymology for *na/əndyār* may be a borrowed Persian phrase **nān-i digar* (lit. 'another mother', *ESIJ* V / 535–536).

The majority of terms for non-primary collateral relatives are coined by means of compounding. Apart from the compounds mentioned in the table, Pashto also has *xurdzá / xurdzá*, *xwarzá* 'SiDa' (cf. *-zāde-* and *-zay-* compounds in **III: 2.1.1** and **III: 3.1.1**). In Ossetic we find especially many descriptive compounds: *fydy fyd* || *fidi fidæ* 'FaFa', *mady fyd* || *madi madæ* 'MoFa', *fydy mad* || *fidi madæ* 'FaMo', *mady mad* || *madi madæ* 'MoMo' (along with *xistær mad* || *xestær madæ* 'senior

³⁹¹ Forms like Pash. *kawasáy* or Bal. *kawāsag* may be the result of a contamination of *kuṛāsag* and *nawāsag* (Gershevitch 1985 [1973]: 275, Korn 2005: 234 footnote 287), but the ultimate origin of all these forms is not clear. Gershevitch (1985 [1973]: 275–276) reconstructs *kuṛāsag* as **kar-nwāsag* with **kar-* being equated with Sogd. (loc.) *karya* 'in succession' and Bal. *danikarā* 'until (dā) now' and compounded with Pers. *nawāsa* 'GrCh', which should yield the meaning 'before GrCh (one generation further than the GrCh)'. He also quoted a similar form in Bashkardi (a Southwestern Iranian minority language) *kar(r)anauk* 'great-great-GrSo'. This etymology sounds semantically plausible and is accepted by *NEVP* (40) but not completely certain (Agnes Korn, p.c.).

mother’, etc., see the table), *fydy* ^(æ)*fsymær* || *fidi* ^(æ)*nsuvær* ‘FaBr’, *mady* ^(æ)*fsymær* || *madi* ^(æ)*nsuvær* ‘MoBr’,³⁹² *fydy xo* || *fidi xwæræ* ‘FaSi’, *mady xo* || *madi xwæræ* ‘MoSi’. Grandchildren can also be referred to by simple descriptive term: *fyrty fyr* || *furti furt* ‘SoSo’, *fyrty kyzg* || *furti kizgæ* ‘SoDa’, *kyzgý læppu* || *kizgi biccew* ‘DaSo’ *kyzgý kyzg* || *kizgi kizgæ* ‘DaDa’, *zænægý zænæg* || *zænægý zænæg* ‘grandchildren’.

An especially remarkable Ossetic term is *xæræfyr* || *xwærifurt* (m./f. also pl. *æmxæræfyrttæ* || *ænxwærifurttæ* ‘people related through a woman’), which was originally coined as a term for ‘SiSo’ or ‘female relative’s So’ (as its transparent etymology permits to state) but later became a gender neutral term for sister’s and daughter’s children (along with simple descriptive terms, see above). This word has not become a general term for ‘grandchild’ or ‘sibling’s child’. Brother’s children are referred to purely descriptively: *ævsymæry læppu* || *ænsuværi læppo* ‘BrSo’, *ævsymæry kyzg* || *ænsuværi kizgæ* ‘BrDa’ (see the table for ‘BrSo’ and BrDa’). So are the son’s children (see the previous passage).

Therefore, the word *xæræfyr* || *xwærifurt* has fairly similar semantics as postulated for PIE **nepot-* and may serve as a parallel to the *nepos-avunculus* question (see the discussion in **II: 2.5.2.2 – II: 2.5.2.3**). Scholars of the past tried to explain it by primeval matrilineal residence or even “matriarchy”. Abaev (*IESOJa* IV / 176) mentioned that the central characters of the Nart Sagas, who were related to the water deity Donbetyr through his daughter Dzerassæ, often spent time with their mother’s relatives (*mady ’rvadæltæ*) and received valuable presents from them. Abaev also pointed out that similar friendly attitudes towards *xæræfyr* || *xwærifurt* were typical for the Ossetians in their daily life. It may be true that both epic characters and the Ossetians are on friendly terms with their mother’s kin. In nomadic societies (as the ancestors of the Ossetians probably were) women can indeed be more involved in social life, but pastoral economy is not well-compartable with matrilineal descent (see **I: 1.1.2.2** and **I: 1.1.3**), which is in general hard to imagine in a Central Asian or Caucasian society of the Bronze or Iron Age.

The Nart Sagas clearly picture a typical androcentric society with patrilineal descent. Thus, after staying with his wife’s relatives for some time, *Æxsætæg* is to take Dzerassæ and bring her to the Narts. Otherwise, he would become *midagmoj* ‘in-coming son-in-law’ (cf. *xāne-dāmād*, **III: 2.4.1**). Later, after his tragic death, pregnant Dzerassæ must go to the Narts alone otherwise, if her children are born in her parents’ house, her husband’s relatives will never recognise them as *Æxsætæg*’s offspring (“Wærææg and his sons”, e.g., in Libedinskiy 1978: 45–58).

In my opinion, the markedness of the term *xæræfyr* || *xwærifurt* indicates that this kind of relatives was not an insider but a guest in one’s patrilocal family, someone with whom one can have an informal relationship, who can be cherished and spoiled in contrast to one’s own children under *patria potestas*, a kind of additional child. In some cases, this relationship can be

³⁹² The initial vowel in *æfsymær* || *ænsuvær* usually gets dropped in such compounds (Takazov 2003 s.v., Abaev 1970: 143).

institutionalised. Edelman & Molchanova (2019: 122–123) mention that some Iranian-speaking societies on the Pamir have a tradition to allocate a part of the bride-price to the maternal uncle of the bride (Taj. *haqq-i šir* lit. ‘the right of milk’). However, the same authors point out that terms for the special relationship between the maternal uncle and his sister’s children (with the exception of Oss. *xæræfyrt* || *xwærifurt*) are missing in the contemporary Iranian languages.

III: 3.3.2. Isolated innovations and borrowings

Pashto dialects spoken in Pakistan and Punjab have borrowed local words: e.g., *čāčī*, *čāčāy* ‘FaBrWi’ (III: 5.2.2.1), also attested in East Balochi (III: 2.3.2). Yusufzay (Northern) Pashto has a word *māšo* ‘MoSi’ borrowed from a Dardic language (cf. Torwali *māšo* ‘id.’ OInd. *mātuḥṣvasr-*, NEVP 52, Edelman & Molchanova 2019: 122).

III: 3.4. Affinal relatives

III: 3.4.1. Inherited IE, (Indo-)Iranian and futher shared terms

gloss	Pashto	Yaghnobi	Ossetic (Iron Digoron)	origin
Fa-in-law	<i>sxər, sxar</i> ‘WiFa’ <i>xusər, xusúr</i> ← Dari	<i>x^usúr</i> ← Taj.		< PIr. * <i>xwát^sura-</i> < PIr. * <i>swácúra-</i> < PIE * <i>suékur-o-</i>
			<i>xicaw</i> <i>xecaw</i> ‘HuFa’ (lit. ‘owner, master; head of the family’, ³⁹³	<i>xic</i> <i>xec</i> ³⁹⁴ < PIr. * <i>xwaθya-</i> ³⁹⁵ < PIr. * <i>suā-</i> + <i>-aw</i> (cf. OInd. <i>-vant</i>) ‘having / disposing of his own people’
			‘WiFa’: (isolated term, see below)	unclear
			‘WiFa’: (descriptive term)	Ossetic
Mo-in-law	<i>xwāxe/a</i> < * <i>xwasru(wa/i)kā</i> ³⁹⁶			< PIr. * <i>xwat^srú-</i> < PIr. * <i>swacrú-</i> < PIE * <i>suékru₂-</i>
		<i>afšín</i> ‘title’ (Sogdic) ³⁹⁷ ← Scythian	(<i>æ</i>) <i>fsin</i> (<i>æ</i>) <i>fsinæ</i> ‘HuMo’! (also ‘mistress of the house’)	< PIr. <i>abi-šaiθni</i> ‘inhabitant of the house’ ³⁹⁸
			(D) <i>wosilīnæ</i> ‘WiMo’	derived from <i>wosīnæ</i> ‘wife; mistress’ < <i>wosæ</i> + <i>-īnæ</i> ³⁹⁹
			‘HuMo’ and ‘WiMo’ (descriptive terms)	Ossetic
So-in-law / bride-groom	<i>zum</i> < * <i>zāma-</i> <i>zalmáy</i> < * <i>zāmāta-ka</i> ‘young man; bridegroom’ ⁴⁰⁰	<i>dōmód</i> ← Taj.	<i>tamada</i> ‘master of ceremonies (esp. at weddings)!’ (← Adyghe ← Turk. ← Pers.) ⁴⁰¹	PIr. <i>ḏāmātar-</i> < PIr. <i>jāmātar-</i> < Pre-PIr. * <i>ǵé/ómHōter-</i> , II: 2.6.3

³⁹³ There are also *səryxicaw* /sɜrɛxisau/ | *sərixecaw* /sɜrixetsau/ ‘husband (lit. the master of (my) head’, cf. NPers. *sar* ‘head’), *xəzary xicaw* ‘master/mistress of the house’

³⁹⁴ This is an oblique stem of *xi* | *xe* ‘one’s own’ < gen.sg. **hwahya-*, cf. YAv. *x^vahe*, Ved. *svásya* (*IESOJa* IV / 196, Cheung 2002: 248), cf. also *xistær* | *xestær* (**III: 3.3.1** below).

³⁹⁵ Cf. OAv. *x^vaiθiia-* adj/adv. ‘personal(ly)’, ‘in person’. The word occurs in Y. 33, 7: *ā mā [ā]idūm vahištā, ā. x^vaiθiīācā mazdā darəšačcā*. AiW (1862) interprets the word as “selbisch, persönlich”. Kellens–Pirart (I / 123, II / 217) segment it as *ā.x^vaiθiīācā* and prefers to leave it untranslated: “demandez-moi les meilleurs (...), ô Mazdā, ... et résolument”. Humbach & Faiss (2010: 97) consider *ā* to be a preverb; they translate the passage as “Come hither to me, O you Best Ones, hither in person and boldly, O Wise One / Kommt hierher zu mir, o Ihr Besten, hierher in Person und kühnlich, o Weiser”. See the full discussion in AiW (1862), Miller (1907: 334), Bartholomae (1908: 74), *IESOJa* (IV / 197).

³⁹⁶ Skjærvø (1989: 402)

³⁹⁷ Sogd. *S’fšyn* (afšīn) ‘Afshin (title)’ (Gharib 1995 lemma 678)

³⁹⁸ Cf. YAv. *aibi-šoiθni* / *aibi-šōiθna* f. (*IESOJa* I / 110–111, Cheung 2002: 55, 157)

³⁹⁹ It must be a substantivized adjective like Taj. / Yagh. *mardina* or Pash. *nāriná* ‘manly > man’ (**III: 2.2.1, III: 3.2.1**).

⁴⁰⁰ As per NEVP (101). There is also *zalmáy* f. ‘girl’ (Aslanov 1985 s.v.).

⁴⁰¹ Cf. Turk. *damat* ‘son-in-law’, Adyghe *thāmādā* ‘an older person; HuFa; bride-groom; master of ceremonies’ → Georgian, Oss. *tamada* ‘master of ceremonies, showman’, Rus. *тамада* m./f. ‘master of ceremonies, showman/showwoman (specifically at weddings)’ (*IESOJa* III / 227 with references)

			siaxs (also ‘SiHu’)	Oss. innovaton: *visi-āxša- ‘taken to the family’, ⁴⁰²
	čangól m. ‘fiancé’			< *kanya-kāta- ⁴⁰³ ‘wanting to have a girl to marry’ (East Iranian compound)
SiHu		yázná ← Uzb., Taj. ⁴⁰⁴		← Turkic, see examples in III: 2.4.1 above
Da-in-law / bride		arūs arūsák ← Taj.		← Arab. <i>ṣarūs</i> ‘id.’
	nğor < *nušār- < *snuša- ⁴⁰⁵		(D) <i>nostæ</i> < *snausa-	< PIE *snus-ó-, see II: 2.6.4 above
		kanīzak ‘maid (female servant)’ ← Taj.	kynz kinzæ < PIr. *kanīči- ⁴⁰⁶	< Proto-Ir. *kani-Han-, III: 2.1.1
	čangálá f. ‘fiancée’	qīngōlá ‘young woman before the first pregnancy’		f. from čangól
BrWi	wrandār(a) wrendār(a) < *wrandyār			derived from wror ‘Br’, ⁴⁰⁷
		yangá ← Uzb., Taj.	(D) <i>kenkeğazæ</i> < *kenke-ğazæ ‘wife’s relative who brings her to her husband’s house; toastmaster at a wedding’ ⁴⁰⁸	← Turkic, see examples in III: 2.4.1 above
HuBr	levár < *θaiuar-, cf. II: 2.6.5	ḡéwir	tiw tew	< PIr. / PIIr. *daiwár- < PIE *daj(h ₂)uér-
HuBrWi	yor < yāwar			PIr. *yāt(a)r- / *yāθr- < PIIr. *yāt(a)r < *(H)ṛh ₂ t(e)r, see also WestIr. example in III: 2.4.1
		ḡéwirinč ḡéwiri inč		compound with ḡéwir, inč see III: 3.2.1
			fajnust fajnostaē	Oss. innovation: *fay-nostaē < EIr. *pati-snausa- ‘husband’s sister-in-law’ ⁴⁰⁹

⁴⁰² The first element of the compound must be PIE *u_{éi}k- ‘settlement; family’ (cf. YAv. *vīs-pati-*, **II: 2.3.5**), the second element can be derived from the verb *azun* (D.) ‘give shelter; feed; cherish, etc.’ possibly related to YAv. *āxš* ‘keep; keep smb. under guard’ (*IESOJa* I / 97, III / 101–102).

⁴⁰³ See the full discussion of this term in *ESIIa* (IV / 222–223). This kind of compounds seem to be reoccurring in Iranian languages: cf. Oss. *usgur* | *wosgor* ‘bride-groom; fiancé; young man’, lit. ‘asking for a wife’ (Besolova 2013: 64), Yagh. *inčnōsa* ‘a man who wants to marry’ (Novák 2010: 71).

⁴⁰⁴ Andreyev et al. (1957: 366) also glossed it as ‘aunt’s husband’ and ‘niece’s husband’.

⁴⁰⁵ Skjærvø (1989: 405), *NEVP* (55)

⁴⁰⁶ Cheung (2002: 199)

⁴⁰⁷ *EVP* (89) and *NEVP* (91) suggest a similar derivational pattern as in *tindāra* ‘FaBrWi’ (**III: 3.3.1**). Alternatively, *ESIIa* (IV / 132) assumes that it can be reconstructed as *brāθrijā ‘BrWi’ + *iāθr (see *yor* ‘HuBrWi’).

⁴⁰⁸ The second element of the compound *ğazæ* can be some derivative from *ğaz-* ‘to make jokes’ (*IESOJa* I / 593)

⁴⁰⁹ PIE *poti- ‘Hu; master’ (**II: 2.3.5**) + *snuso- ‘So/BrWi’ (**II: 2.6.4**), Abaev (*IESOJa* I / 417)

HuSi			(I) <i>xodyǵd</i> < <i>xo</i> ‘Si’ + <i>*dugdā</i> ‘Da’	Oss. innovation
	(isolated loanword, see below)			New Indo-Aryan
			(descriptive term)	Oss. innovation
WiBr	<i>áxxay</i> / <i>áwxay</i> (also ‘SiHu’) ⁴¹⁰			<i>*ā-hwasurya-ka-</i> (cf. OInd. <i>śvaśurya-</i> ‘WiBr / HuBr’) with prothetic <i>ā</i> (NEVP 12, Edelman & Molchanova 2019: 132)
		<i>x^u surbūra</i> ← Taj. (dial.)		See Dari <i>xosorbora</i> ‘id.’, III: 2.4.1
		<i>dōdararūs</i> ← Taj.		see Taj. <i>dodar</i> ‘yBr’, III: 2.1.2, III: 2.4.1
			(descriptive term)	Oss. innovation
WiSi	<i>xuxina</i> / <i>xoxina</i> (Waz.) <i>x(w)šīna</i>			< <i>*xwasrū-ainā-</i> ‘of the mother-in-law’, ⁴¹¹ cf. <i>xwāxe/a</i>
			(descriptive term)	Oss. innovation
SpSi		<i>qaysangīl</i> <i>qaysingīl</i> (← Uzb.)		← Turkic, cf. Taj. <i>qaynī</i> ‘WiBr’, see III: 2.4.1
WiSiHu	<i>bajā</i>	<i>bōja</i> / <i>pōčō</i> (← Taj.)		Turkic, see II: 2.6.8.2
			<i>æmsiaxs</i> (lit. co- SiHu’)	see <i>siaxs</i> above

In this group of terms, Pashto is again more conservative than Yaghnobi and Ossetic. Yaghnobi terms for affinal relatives are mostly borrowings. Ossetic has many innovations (see in the table and below) and descriptive compounds: e.g., *usy xo* || *wosi xwæræ* ‘WiSi’, *usy* ^(æ)*fsymær* || *wosi* ^(æ)*nsuvær* ‘WiBr’, *lægy xo* || *lægi xwære* (along with Iron *xodyǵd* ‘HuSi’), *usy mad* || *wosi madæ* (along with Digoron *wosilīnæ*) ‘WiMo’, *lægy mad* || *lægi madæ* (along with (æ)*fsin* || (æ)*fsīnæ*) ‘HuMo’, *usy fyð* || *wosi fidæ* ‘WiFa’ (along with *xicaw* || *xecaw*) ‘HuFa’ (listed in Besolova 2013).

III: 3.4.2. Isolated innovations and borrowings

Pashto is rich in terms for ‘brides’ and ‘bride-grooms’. Another such innovation which should be mentioned is *nāwakāy* / *niwāka* / *nāwe* / (Waz.) *nowye* / (Kak.) *nāwgī* < ‘bride; young wife’. EVP (54) and NEVP (59) reconstruct it as **nawakī* similar to OInd. *navyā* (*strī*) ‘new wife’ (cf. also Rus. *новобрачная* f. ‘newly-wed’). The terms *sanḍū* ‘WiSiHu’ (cf. Punjabi *sāṇḍhū* ‘id.’, Sindhi *saṇḍhū* ‘id.’, cf. Hindi *sārḥū*, *sāḍhū* ‘id.’, **III: 5.2.2.1**) and *nandrōr* / *ndrōr* ‘HuSi’ (cf. Punjabi *nand* ‘id.’, OInd. *nānāndar-* ‘id.’ **II: 2.6.7**) are adopted from a New Indo-Aryan language (Karve 1965:

⁴¹⁰ also *áwxay* (Kak.), *āxša* (Wan.) (NEVP 12)

⁴¹¹ a genitival formation, obviously, an East Iranian or Pashto innovation, also borrowed into Afghan New Persian (EVP 98, Aslanov 1985: 390, NEVP 97, ESJa III / 486).

147, NEVP 58). The address term *bābāy* ‘BrWi; also polite form of address to an older woman’ might likewise be a loanword from Indo-Aryan (cf. Hindi / Urdu / Punjabi, etc. *bhābhī* / *bhābī* ‘(e)BrWi’, discussed in **III: 5.2.2** below).

Ossetic has a specific term for ‘wife’s father’ *kaiys*, *kais* | *kajes*. There are also *kaistæ*, *kajystæ* (pl.) ‘wife’s kin’ and *kaiszinad*, *kajyszinad* | *kajjeszīnadæ* ‘affinity; relationship through marriage’ (Besolova 2013: 65). The etymology of the word is highly problematic. Abaev (*IESOJa* I / 568) assumed that it might be a euphemism “*ka + is*, *ka + es*” ‘someone’, which is not impossible but is not completely satisfactory either.

III: 3.5. Adoptive and constructed relatedness, widowhood and orphanage

III: 3.5.1. step-, adoptive, and milk relationships

East Iranian terms for adoptive and constructed relationship are varied. Pashto has a few inherited words that may be quite old: e.g., *māyrá* / *mayrá* ‘step-mother; father’s another wife’ (< Plr. **mā9rjā-*, NEVP 53, Edelman & Molchanova 2019: 133, cf. **II: 2.5.3.1**), its adjectival variant *meranáy* ‘step-mother’ (‘a step-motherly one’, cf. *moranáy* ‘motherly; uterine’) and a compound *merzáy* / *mærezáy* ‘step-mother’s child; half-sibling’ (Aslanov 1985: 865, 875). Half-siblings can also be referred to as *bundzáy* m. / *bundzáy* f. ‘child of the other wife of the same father’ derived from *bān* ‘co-wife’ (EVP 15, Aslanov 1985: 129).

Some terms are borrowed from Persian: Pash. *plandár*, *patandar* ‘step-Fa’ (NEVP 62), *bačandar* ‘step-So’ (← Dari *padar-andar*, *bača-andar*, **III: 2.5.1**), Yagh. *bačaxōnd* ‘step-son’ (cf. Taj. *xond(e)*-forms, **III: 2.5.1**). The formant *nāsaká* (‘non-consanguineal’) borrowed from an Indo-Aryan source is used with terms for collateral relatives: *nāsaká wror* ‘step-brother’, *nāsaká xor* ‘step-sister’ (Dorofeeva 1960: 66, Aslanov 1985: 885).⁴¹²

Ossetic terms for step-parents are descriptive: *fydy us* | *fidi wosæ* ‘FaWi’ along with *dykkag mad* | *dukkag madæ* ‘the second mother’, *mady læg* ‘MoHu’ (Besolova 2013: 61). Step-siblings are marked with the element *kond* ‘done; made’ (verbal adj. of *kæryn* | *kænun* ‘do, make’) as in *ævsymærgond*, *ænsuværgond* ‘step-brother’, *xogond* | *xwærægond* ‘step-sister’ and *kængæ* ‘artificial’ (adverbial participle of the same verb) as in *kængæ ævsymær* | *kængæ ænsuvær* ‘step-brother’ (Besolova 2013: 59). Similarly as it is in English, children who have only one common parent are referred to *ærdæg* (< **arda-ka-* ‘half, side’) *ævsymær/xo* | *ænsuvær/xwæræ* ‘half-brother/sister’ (ibid.).

Milk-relatedness is reflected in the East Iranian languages too. Pashto has borrowed the Perso-Arabic word *rizāyi* (**III: 2.5.1**): e.g., *wror rizāyi* ‘milk-brother’ (Aslanov 1985: 449). Ossetic has an inherited concept *æmzizi ævsymær* | *æmzizi ænsuvær* ‘milk-brother’ (*zizi* ‘breast’, Besolova 2013:

⁴¹² The term *sak(k)a* ‘consanguineal; full (brother)’ and its antonym *nasa(k)a* occurs in both Pashto and Dari (Dorofeeva 1960: 66). It may be associated with Urdu *sagā* ‘one’s own; real (friend); *sagā bhāī* ‘full brother’, cf. OInd. *sva-ka-* ‘id.’ (PW VII / 1414, Dumont 1962: 17, Karve 1965: 191, *UrEnD* 442, McGregor 1993: 972–973).

59) and Turkic⁴¹³ loanwords *æmcek* | *enceg*, *ænceg* ‘guardian, sponsor; (obs.) foster-parent, foster-child; milk-sibling’ and *qan* ‘foster-child’ (*IESOJa* I / 142–143 and II / 262, Takazov 2003: 264; Besolova 2013: 59).

The latter term denotes a different kind of relationship than simply milk-siblingship. It is connected to the Caucasian fosterage custom (*atalyk* ‘fatherhood’ a word of Turkic origin) fairly similar to the fosterage tradition in Medieval Celtic societies implying that a child was given to a family belonging to a lower social stratum than his or her parents and should stay with these people until a certain age, often until the age of puberty (Parkes 2004b). Such practices pursued two main aims – alliance-building and education – and were one of the manifestations of feudo-vassalic relations. Contrary to Bremmer (1976: 71–72), this does not seem to be “one of the typical features of the Indo-European family” because among IE societies this kind of fosterage is only securely attested for the Celts (Charles-Edwards 1993: 78–82, Parkes 2006) and for the Ossetians. In the latter case, it is obviously a common Caucasian practice borrowed by the Ossetians from their non-IE neighbours. It is not attested in other Iranian-speaking societies, who are familiar with milk-kinship but not with fosterage (*IESOJa* I / 142–143). Kosven (1935) also points out that the custom is not attested among Turkic-speaking peoples outside of the Caucasus either despite the fact that the terms *atalyk*, *æmcek*, and *qan* are of Turkic origin. Thus, both *atalyk* and the Celtic fosterage should be areal phenomena analogous but unrelated to each other.

III: 3.5.2. widows and orphans

Yaghnobi and Pashto have borrowed the inherited Persian term for ‘widow’: Pash. *bewá* (←Dari) ‘widow’ and Yagh. *bīwa* (←Taj.) ‘widow; unmarried woman’. Yaghnobi also has a compound with an Arabic word *bīwa za(‘)īfa* ‘widowed woman’ and with an inherited word *bīwa inj* ‘id.’. The compound *bīwa mōrti* is a term for ‘widower; widowed man’. Pashto *yatīm* ‘orphan (whose father is dead)’ (← Arab. *yatīm* ‘orphan; farm labourer’, III: 2.5.2.) and *yasīr* ‘orphan (whose mother is dead)’ (← Arab. *yasīr* ‘small’) are also loanwords (Aslanov 1985: 987, 988, Novák 2013: 16). Pashto has another group of terms associated with widowhood: *kwāṇḍ* / *kawṇḍ* ‘widower’, *kwāṇḍa* / *kūṇḍa* / *kūṇḍakáy* ‘widow’, *kwāṇḍtób* / *kwāṇḍtún* / *kwāṇḍtyá* ‘widowhood’, *kwāṇḍedál* / *kūṇḍedál* ‘to become a widow(er)’ (Aslanov 1985: 709). The etymology of the word is vague.

Apart from established terms, one can find a few innovations. The most interesting of them is *sartóra* ‘widow’ with a reversed variant *torsáre*. This is a feminine variant of the *bahuvrīhi* compound *sartór* ‘having one’s head uncovered; helpless’. This word is the base of the abstract noun *sartorí* ‘widowhood’ but also ‘shame’ and a verb *sartoredál* ‘to disgrace oneself; to become a widow’ (Aslanov 1985: 258, 510). In its second meaning the word is similar to the Russian verb

⁴¹³ Chagatai *ämjek* ‘breast, nipple’, Turk., Azeri *ämjäk* ‘id.’, etc. (*IESOJa* I / 142)

«опростоволоситься» ‘to disgrace oneself’ (lit. ‘to get one’s hear uncovered’). Another transparent *bahuvrīhi* compound is *plārməṛay* ‘orphan’, lit. ‘having a dead father’ (ibid.: 180, cf. CLNPers. *pidarmurde* ‘id.’, Wolff 1965: 185).

Ossetic *idæz* ‘widow’ is an inherited word (**III: 2.5.2** and **II: 2.7.2**), which can be reconstructed as Alanian *idweĵ* (→ Hung. *özvegy* ‘id.’, as per Róna-Tas & Berta 2011: 1334). The term for ‘orphan’ *sizæŕ* || *sezæŕ* is also inherited: < **saju-čara-* ‘living as an orphan’ (cf. Ved. *śayú-* ‘orphan’ and YAv. *saē* ‘id.’, **II: 2.7.2**) + Oss. *cæryn* || *cærun* ‘to live’ (Av. *car* ‘to go’). This word is a base for *sizærgæŕ* || *sezærgæŕ* (**-kæŕ* ‘watching’) ‘upbringer of orphans; widow’ (Miller 1907: 332, *IESOJa* I / 303, 589–590, III / 106–107, Cheung 2002: 224).

III: 4. Collective terms for relatives

III: 4.1. Inherited PIE and (Indo-)Iranian terms

The most ancient inherited terms denoting family and unspecified relatives are derivatives of the reflexive stem **sue-* and the root **b^hend^h-* (discussed in II: 2.4.2 and II: 2.6.8). They can denote both consanguineals and affinals. IrPers. *x^(w)iš* ‘relative’, Dari *x^(w)ēš* ‘id.’. Taj. *xeš* ‘id.’, Pash. *xex* m., *xexa* f. ‘affinal relative’ should be reconstructed as PIr. **xwaθya-* < PIE **suat-ijo-* ‘belonging to our own (people)’ (Hassandust 2015: II / 1221). This form is the base of many other terms: Oss. *xicaw* || *xecaw* ‘master; owner; HuFa’ (see III: 3.4.1) and *xicon* || *xecon* ‘relative’, abstract nouns like StPers. *x^(w)iši* ‘kinship’, Dari *x^(w)ēši* ‘id.’, Taj. *xeši* ‘affinity’ and compounds such as IrPers. *x^(w)išāvand* ‘relative’; (adj.) ‘related’, Dari *x^(w)ēšāwand* ‘id.’, Taj. *xešowand* ‘id.’ (< **-ā-banda-* ‘bound’, cf. also NPers. *bastegān* ‘relatives’, *bastegi* ‘kinship’), also *x^(w)išāvandi* ‘kinship; relatedness’ (Tavakkoly 2009: 150–151 and 401, Besolova 2013: 66, Hassandoust 2015: II / 1221, other derivatives of PIE **b^hend^h-* are discussed in II: 2.6.8.1). Ossetic *xion* || *xeon* are coined directly from the reflexive stem *xi* || *xe* < **sue-* (Besolova 2013: 66). Pash. *sak(k)á* ‘consanguineal’ borrowed from a New Indo-Aryan language and its extended variant *sakanáy* ‘related’ are derived from the same PIE stem (see *sagā* < OInd. *svaka-*, III: 3.5.1).

As it was mentioned above, East Iranian languages have preserved many derivatives of the root **gēnh₁* ‘to give birth’, especially among terms denoting children (III: 3.1.1). Pash. *zay* ‘child’ often occurs in names of larger tribal units: *Mandozay* ‘Son of Mando’ (pl. *Mandozi*, ‘Sons of Mando’), *Yusufzay* ‘Son of Yusuf’, etc. (Glatzer 2002: 270). The compound *zāwzāt/d* ‘generation, offspring, lineage’ is coined by adding the verbal adjective *-zād(e)* ‘born’ occurring in Persian words (III: 2.1.1) with the (present) stem *zāw-/zow-* ‘give birth’ (cf. *zowál* ‘give birth’, *zowálay* ‘born’, *zowúnke* ‘woman in childbirth’, *zowána* ‘birth’, Aslanov 1985: 464, 479).

In Ancient and some Middle Iranian languages one of the symbols of relatedness was the navel either based on the simple thematic stem (YAv. *nāfa-* ‘navel; family’ and *naftia-* (adj.) ‘related’, OPers. *nāmanāfa-* ‘name and family; genealogy, pedigree’ (DB IV 90), also **Hunāfa-* ‘having a good family/origin’ (PN in Elamite texts), Inscriptional Parth. *nāf* ‘family’, Zoroastrian MPers. *nāf* ‘family’, Manichaean MPers. *nāf* ‘family’, Khwarezmian *n’f* ‘town’) or on the *ah*-stem (YAv. *nāfah-* n. ‘kinship, family’, Sodg. *n’f* ‘people, nation’, AiW (1062), Cheung (2002: 207), Baghbidi (2009: 59 with further literature). This semantics seems to be of common Indo-Iranian origin: see Ved. *nābhi-* (RV I 164:33, discussed in II: 2.1.3).⁴¹⁴ The meaning associated with relatedness has only been preserved in Ossetic as *Naf* < *nāfa-* ‘name of a divinity and also a holiday (protector of the inhabitants of a settlement)’ along with (Digoron) *naft(f)æ* ‘navel’ < **nāfah-* (IESOJa II / 149, Cheung 2002: 207).

⁴¹⁴ The Iranian **-f-* may be the result of some contamination, possibly with **naftiya-* ‘belonging to the offspring’ (Cheung 2002: 207).

As it is universally common, the image of ‘house(hold)’ or ‘home’ may symbolise a family too. It can be exemplified by the Persian compounds with *xāne/a* ‘house’ (see *xāne/adār*, III: 2.2.1): *xāndān* ‘family; house; dynasty; lineage’ (< PIr. *-*dāna*- ‘something laid / put; receptacle’⁴¹⁵) and *xānewāda/e* ‘id.’. The second element of the latter compound may be related to OPers. *uvādā(ta)*- ‘genealogy’ (DB IV 90–91), which can be reconstructed as either PIr. **swajā(ta)*- ‘one’s own birth’ (see OPers. *dāta*-, III: 2.1.1) or PIr. **swadhā(ta)*- (Ved. *svadhā*-) ‘one’s own nature, personality’ (Baghbidi 2009: 59 with further literature, WAPKI 269).

In their origin, words with the meaning ‘house’ or ‘family’ can be terms denoting people. Thus, Pash. *kor* ‘house; family (especially women); homeland’ is a reflex of OPers. *kāra*- ‘people, army’ < PIE **koro-* ‘war’, **kor-jo-* ‘war band, soldiers’ (**kor-jo-* ‘Männerbund’, EVP 33, NEVP 39, NIL 440–444). The transition from military semantics to the familial one can hardly be a universal phenomenon, but it occurs in the languages of the West and Central Asia. For example, the Arabic word *rajul* ‘foot-soldier’ became a simple word for ‘man; husband; mister’ (Stephan Prochazka, University of Vienna, p.c.). In this meaning it is also present in the New Iranian languages: Pash. *rajúl* ‘man; husband, influential person’, IrPers. *rajul* ‘influential person’ (Aslanov 1985: 445, Tavakkoly 2009: 474). Pash. *kor* has numerous derivatives: *korba* ‘family man; master of the house; married man’ and *korbana* ‘housewife’,⁴¹⁶ *korwālā* (adj.) pertaining to the family; family man; member of the family’ with an Indo-Aryan suffix *-wālā* also occurring in Afghan Persian (e.g. *šahrwālā* ‘inhabitant of the city’, Dorofeeva 1960: 26), an older compound *kor-mā* ‘wife; family; lineage’ (< **kāra-damā*, EVP 34, 44, NEVP 51–52, Hassandoust 2015: I / 400), and a younger compound *kor-u-kahól* ‘family’ (*kəhól* or *kahól* ‘family, lineage’ pl. of *kul* possibly of Indo-Aryan origin, cf. Hindi *kula* ‘family’, Karve 1965: 46–47, Aslanov 1985: 700–703).

Oss. *xəzar* || *xəzaræ* ‘house’ with unclear etymology is the base of many social term: *xəzaron* ‘member of the household’, *xəzarvəndag* (< *xəzar* ‘house’ + *fəndag* ‘way’) ‘genealogy’, etc. (IESOJa IV / 159–161).

Another ancient word still preserved in some Iranian languages is IIr. **táyuk-man-* (Ved. *tókman-* ‘offspring’) > **tauxmā-* (> OPers. *taumā* ‘offspring; lineage’, YAv. *taoxman-* ‘seed; kinship’, MPers. *tōhmag* ‘seed; stock; family’, *ham-tōhmag* ‘relative; relation’) > Pash. *tuxmá* ‘origin; pedigree; (botanic) seed’, Oss. *t’ymy-t’yma* ‘distant relatives’ (possibly **tauxmāya tauxmā*) also borrowed into Armenian *tohm* ‘lineage’ and Georgian *t’omi* ‘lineage; generation’ (Benveniste 1951: 37–39, IESOJa III / 357–358, Kellens 2002: 434–435 footnote 25, WAPKI 251–252). Persian has preserved this word too, but its culinary and biological meanings ‘seed; kernel; egg (usually *toxm-e morǵ* ‘hen/bird’s egg’); testicles’ and *toxmak* ‘ovum’ are now primary and the kinship

⁴¹⁵ Verbal adjective in *-na* of the root **dā-* < PIE **deh₁* ‘stellen, legen, setzen; herstellen, machen’ (cf. ALF 245, LIV² 136–138, ESIJa II / 426–427, NIL 102).

⁴¹⁶ *-bana* may be associated with NPers. *bānū* ‘the mistress of the house; lady’ (see III: 2.2.1).

meaning is rather marginal. It occurs in older dictionaries (Kiselyova & Mikolayčik 1978: 203–204), but not in all contemporary reference books (it is missing in Tavakkoly 2009: 238).⁴¹⁷

III: 4.2. Borrowed collective terms for relatives

The biggest part of loanwords denoting family and unspecified relatives are of Arabic or Semitic origin. In most cases they are shared by a few Iranian languages.

The most remarkable word is Arab. *qawm* ‘people; tribe; nation’ (*OArD* 685) usually denoting large groups of people, for example, people of one village, but usually the entire tribe or nation: NPers. *qowm* / *qawm* / *qawm* ‘people, tribe; relatives’, Yagh. *qa’ m*, *qawm*, Pashto *qawm* ‘people; tribe; inhabitants (of a village), a group of tribes’, *qawmi* (adj.) ‘pertaining to the tribe; national; ethnic’, Oss. (rare) *qawn* ‘family, tribe; generation’ (Dorofeeva 1960: 14, *IESOJa* II / 270, Aslanov 1985: 649, Glatzer 2002: 267, Tavakkoly 2009: 714, Novák 2010: 93).

Another prominent word is *xēl/xeyl* derived from Arab. *xayl* ‘horses; cavalry; a body of men, troop’ (*OArD* 248). In Pashto the word *xel* is a specific term denoting units constructing a tribe *qawm* (see above). In combination with various kinship terms it acts as a basis for various kinds of relatives: *plārxēl* ‘father’s relatives’, *māmāxēl* ‘MoBr’s relatives’, *zumxēl* or *dāmādxeli* ‘son-in-law’s relatives’, *xwāḡixēl* ‘mother-in-law’s relatives’. There are also compounds *xelxānā* ‘tribe, dynasty’ (with Persian *xāna* ‘house’) and *hamxel* ‘belonging to the same *xel*’ (Aslanov 1985 s.v., *NEVP* 95, Glatzer 2002: 267). In Persian apart from Dari *xēl* ‘lineage, family, clan’ it does not have a kinship meaning: IrPers. *xeyl* ‘horse herd; multitude’ (more frequently used as *xeyli* ‘many, much, very’), Taj. *xel* ‘sort, type’ (Kiselyova & Mikolayčik 1978: 341, Tavakkoly 2009: 404, *NKTJa* s.v.). However, the kinship meaning is attested in Kurd. (Sorani) *xēl* ‘clan; family; nomads’ and in Oss. (Digoron) *axil* ‘family; generation’ (*IESOJa* I / 90, Tsabolov II / 471).

Another word wide-spread among Muslim peoples is Arab. *qabīla* ‘people; tribe; sib; race’ (*OArD* 637) → IrPers. *qabile*, Dari *qabīla* ‘id.’, Taj. *qabila*, Pash. *qabil(a)* ‘tribe’, Kurd. *qabīl* ‘id.’ (Tavakkoly 2009: 698, Tsabolov II / 126–127).

A few Arabic words derived from the root *q-r-b* ‘to approach, to be near’ (*OArD* 648–649) were borrowed into Iranian: IrPers., Dari, Pashto *qarābat*, Taj. *qarobat* ‘closeness; kinship; neighbourhood’, Pash. *qurb* ‘id.’, Pash. / Taj. *qurbāt* ‘id.’, Pash. *qarābatdār* ‘relative; close person (endued with kinship)’ (Aslanov 1985: 642, *NKTJa* s.v.)

The Arabic word *nasāb* (pl. *ansāb*) ‘descent, origin, birth; kinship, relation, lineage; genealogy’ derived from the root *n-s-b* ‘to belong to, to be related to, to descend from’ (*OArD* 803) is borrowed in the same or similar meaning into Persian (all variants) and Pashto, cf. also Dari/Pash. *nasabnāmā* ‘genealogical tree (a scheme)’ (Kiselyova & Mikolayčik 1978: 697, Aslanov 1985: 895, Tavakkoly 2009: 919, *NKTJa* s.v.). Another Arabic word of this kind is *nasl* (pl. *ansāl*)

⁴¹⁷ A native speaker of Iranian Persian (61 years old) said that *toxmak* can be used for ‘family’ in pejorative meaning.

‘descendants, offspring, progeny’ derived from the root *n-s-l* ‘to reproduce, to procreate’ (Kiselyova & Mikolayčik 1978: 698, Aslanov 1985: 896, Tavakkoli 2009: 920, *OArD* 806).

Further, Arab. *nutfā* ‘seed; sperm’ is reanalysed as Dari, Pash. *nutfā* ‘seed; foetus; offspring; lineage’ (Kiselyova & Mikolayčik 1978: 701, Aslanov 1985: 899). However, there is also Arab. *raḥim* ‘womb; mercy; kinship’ → Dari *rahem* ‘womb; kinship’ (Kiselyova & Mikolayčik 1978: 398).

Turkic loanwords denoting family are not very numerous: e.g., Dari *olōs* ‘lineage, family; tribe; people’, Pash. *wulās* ‘id.’, Yagh. *kūč* ‘family; wife’ (Doerfer 1967: 24, Kiselyova & Mikolayčik 1978: 79, Aslanov 1985: 955, Novák 2010: 88).

Some loanwords have an unclear origin. For example, IrPers./Dari *tabār*, Taj. *tabor* (bookish) ‘lineage; kinship; relatives; house, etc.’ and Pash. *ṭabār* / *ṭabār* ‘family (wife); tribe, sib; people; dynasty’, also Pash. *ṭabārdār* ‘family man’ (Kiselyova & Mikolayčik 1978: 195, Aslanov 1985: 272, Tavakkoli 2009: 230) are similar to Hindi (Northern dialects) *ṭabbar* ‘family, household’ and Urdu *ṭabār* ‘family, dynasty; tribe, people, race’ (*UrEnD* 204), which, according to McGregor (1993: 401) and *NEVP* (85), should be a loanword from Lahnda, a dialect of Punjabi (cf. also Hershman 1981: 98), but the ultimate origin is unclear.

Finally, Persian also has the term *fāmil* borrowed from French.

Frequently words denoting family or dynasty occur as a part of coordinating compounds (cf. Sogd. *kant kōtar* ‘kith and kin’, **I: 2.3.2**). Such compounds may consist of inherited words, of loanwords, or combine one inherited and one loanword: e.g., Taj. *xešu tabor* = *xešu aqrabo*, IrPers. *qawm-o-x^(w)iš*, *il-o-tabār*, Dari *qawm-o-xēl*, *asl-o-nasab*.

III: 5. New Iranian kinship terminologies in comparison to New Indo-Aryan kinship terminologies

III: 5.1. (New) Indo-Aryan kinship terminologies as a research topic

The analysis of kinship terms in New Iranian languages will not be accomplished if we do not take at least a quick glance at kinship terminologies in New Indo-Aryan languages. Their starting point was the same, but due to different cultural and linguistic environments each of them has developed their own unique features.

Kinship terms in Indo-Aryan languages have received much more attention than Iranian kinship terms. The majority of the scholars involved in this research were however social anthropologists and sociologists. Accordingly, as it happened to other issues of kinship studies (see the discussion in **Chapter I**), most of the systematic research of kinship patterns had been carried out until the middle of the 1980s and after that it has been transformed into gender and personhood studies often pertaining to social problems of contemporary India. Nevertheless, the work done between the 1950s and 1980s (especially extensive field materials) was of high academic quality and provided a substantial base for further research endeavours.

According to Vatuk (1982: 61), the person who initiated the studies of kinship terminologies in North India was Louis Dumont, one of the classical authors of the French anthropological school. He wrote a number of articles (Dumont 1961, 1962, 1964, 1966a, 1966b, 1975) on kinship terms in Indo-Aryan languages. However, his main research interests were not kinship terminologies but the genesis of inequality in the Hindu society. This was the topic of his famous monograph *Homo Hierarchicus: Essai sur le système des castes* (Dumont 1966b).

The most comprehensive study of Indo-Aryan kinship terms and practices was done by Iravati Karve, an outstanding native Indian anthropologist and sociologist combining in her work both emic and etic perspectives on the subject. She wrote a few books on Indian kinship, the most important of which is *Kinship Organization in India* first published in 1953 and revised in 1965 and 1968.⁴¹⁸ This monograph provides an overview of Indo-Aryan kinship terminologies in their historical development and regional Indian kinship patterns in the middle of the 20th century. Thus, the first main chapter is devoted to the ancient and historical period including a corpus analysis of kinship terms in the Vedic and later Sanskrit literature. A few words are said on kinship terms in Pali and Ardhamagadhi. Further, she describes kinship organization and lists kinship terms in subsequently “the Northern Zone”, “the Central Zone”, “the Southern Zone”, and “the Eastern Zone”. The Northern and Central Zone imply cultures speaking Indo-Aryan languages, the Southern Zone – Dravidian-speaking cultures, and the Eastern Zone – Austro-Asiatic languages (Munda and Mon-khmer). Such division is necessary because the Zones indeed have different marriage and kinship practices and substantial differences in kinship terminologies. Despite Karve

⁴¹⁸ In the thesis I quote the second edition of this monograph because the third one was not accessible to me.

being a sociologist, this book can be a good starting point for linguistic inquiries concerning kinship terms.

Among the next generation of scholars who have dealt with Indian kinship I should highlight Sylvia Vatuk, who wrote a series of valuable articles on the usage of kinship terms mostly in the 1960–1980s (e.g., Vatuk 1969, 1982). To the best of my knowledge, she is still (or was until recently) an active researcher, but in recent decades she concentrated on social problems of the Indian society (see her homepage).⁴¹⁹ Further scholars to be mentioned are Lina Fruzzetti, who often wrote in co-authorship with Ákos Östör (see Fruzzetti & Östör 1976), Günther-Dietz Sontheimer (1977), and Pauline Kolenda (1987).⁴²⁰

Among historical linguists who have contributed to the topic Indian kinship (even though her research has been concentrated mostly on ancient material) I should mention Stephanie Jamison (1996, 2009, 2017).

III: 5.2. Structure of New Indo-Aryan kinship terminologies

III: 5.2.1. Linguistic situation on the Indian Subcontinent

Before discussing North Indian kinship terminologies at least a few sentences should be said about the linguistic and cultural circumstances in which New Indo-Aryan languages have been evolving.

After splitting from the common Indo-Iranian ancestors more than 3500 year ago and settling down on the Indian Subcontinent, speakers of Indo-Aryan languages found themselves on the Southeastern frontier of the historical IE continuum surrounded by a number of non-IE communities: speakers of Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic (Munda and Mon-khmer), and Tibeto-Burman languages. Ancient Indo-Aryan speaking migrants were obviously not puristically-minded and adopted local linguistic and cultural features quite extensively (cf. Witzel 2019). The Dravidian influence is especially vivid on all levels of Indo-Aryan languages (Sjøberg 1992 and Ruzsa 2013 with earlier literature).

In the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period, India was gradually conquered by Muslim rulers from West and Central Asia who spoke mostly Early (Eastern) New Persian or Arabic: the Delhi Sultanate (711–1526) (Srivastava 1966 [1950], Jackson 1999) and, subsequently, the Mughal Empire (1526–1858) (Richards 1993). It was under the reign of the famous Mughal Emperor Akbar (1556–1605), the patron of both Persian and Hindi intellectuals, when the ‘syncretic’ or ‘hybrid’ Indo-Persian style in art and literature was formed (cf. **III: 1.1**). The result of cultural and linguistic fusion is still traceable in the language and culture of India. Thus, Kuczkiewicz-Fraś (2003: 12) emphasises that Hindi-Russian dictionary (Beskrovniy 1972) containing 75 000 words has almost

⁴¹⁹ <https://anth.uic.edu/profiles/vatuk-sylvia-j/> (accessed on 28.07.2020)

⁴²⁰ I got familiar with this authors and the topic kinship organisation in India at the course „Person und Verwandtschaft in Südasien“ (2015) held at Vienna University by Martin Gaenszle.

two thousand Perso-Arabic hybrids along with other numerous loanwords including a few kinship terms (see below).

Finally, the British government over India (1858–1947) also lead to dramatic changes, but more in the political and social life rather than in the local language. Nevertheless, returning to kinship terms, one should mention the words *ankal* (Uncle) and *āṇṇī* (Auntie) used mostly to denote FaBr and FaBrWi (Vatuk 1982: 85).

III: 5.2.2. Concise overview of kinship terms in selected New Indo-Aryan languages

As NIA kinship terminologies are not in the main focus of this thesis, I will only mention the terms most relevant for the discussion and those that were borrowed into New Iranian languages. As the base of the analysis I took the Hindi kinship terminology, but I will also provide examples from other NIA languages. The structure of kinship terminologies is based on Karve (1965: 109–157, 165–210) and Ansari et al. (2015). The shape and the main contents of the table below are borrowed from Vatuk (1969, 1982), further contents are taken from Karve (1965: 142–149)⁴²¹ and verified with Turner (1966) and McGregor (1993).

III: 5.2.2.1. Hindi kinship terms:

Term	gloss	Partial Content of Category
<i>bābā, dādā</i>	FaFa	FaFaBr, FaMaBr, FaFaSiHu, FaMoSiHu, and further older male father's relatives
<i>dādī</i>	FaMo	wife of <i>bābā</i> or <i>dādā</i>
<i>nānā</i>	MoFa	MoFaBr, MoMoBr, MoFaSiHu, MoMoSiHu, and further older male mother's relatives
<i>nānī</i>	MoMo	wife of <i>nānā</i>
<i>cācā, kākā</i> ⁴²² <i>tāū</i> < OInd. (post-Ved.) <i>tātagu</i> - 'FaBr' ⁴²³ <i>pitiya</i> < Prk. <i>pittiya</i> - 'FaBr' (II: 2.5.3.1)	FayBr / FaeBr	FaFaBrSo, FaMoBrSo, FaFaSiSo, FaMoSiSo, and further classificatory paternal uncles
<i>cācī, kākī</i> / <i>tāī</i>	FayBrWi / FaeBrWi	wife of <i>cācā</i> / <i>tāū</i>
<i>māmā, māmū</i> ⁴²⁴	MoBr	MoFaBrSo, MoMoBrSo, MoFaSiSo,

⁴²¹ Karve's data are a little more heterogeneous and include terms from a few Hindi dialects. Vatuk elicited her data in Uttar Pradesh.

⁴²² The origin of these terms is unclear. Karve (1965: 110) assumed that they might be of Turkic origin, but does not provide any further details. In my opinion, if the word is indeed of Turkic origin, the most obvious proto-type might be an *āqā/aka*-form 'eBr/FayBr' (I: 2.2.2 and III: 2.1.1), which might have been borrowed through some Early NPers. dialect spoken in India by the Turko-Persian conquerors (see III: 1.1 and III: 5.2.1), resyllabified as *kākā* and then palatalised as *cācā* in some dialects. It is plausible both semantically (see Urdu *kākā* in III: 2.3.2) and phonologically. As the data above indicate the syllable structure CVCV prevails over VC(C)V even though the latter is not impossible. Alternatively, Turner (1966 lemma 2998, 4734) suggests that the word **kākka*- 'senior male relative' might be of Dravidian origin (Kannada *kakka* 'uncle', Telugu *kakka* 'daddy', Malayalam *kākke* 'MoBr'), while **cāccā* is marked by him as a "nursery word?". The hypothesis about the Turkic origin sounds somewhat more attractive in this case.

⁴²³ PW (III / 292), Turner (1966 lemma 5755), McGregor (1993: 446)

⁴²⁴ The origin of this word is unclear. The word first appears in the *Pañcatantra* (around 200 BCE – 300 CE, Classical Sanskrit) as a term of polite address (*māmaka*). Some earlier scholars associated it with the Epic Sanskrit *mātula* (< **meh₂ter-o-*, cf. II: 2.5.1), but this hypothesis is not supported in more recent sources (Trautmann 1981: 151). It is conspicuous that similar forms are attested in many Dravidian languages: e.g.,

		MoMoSiSo, and further classificatory maternal uncles
<i>māmī</i>	MoBrWi	wife of <i>māmā</i>
<i>bū(v)ā</i> , <i>phūphī/ū</i> , <i>phūvā</i> < Prk. * <i>piucchā</i> - < * <i>pituh-ṣvasr</i> - ⁴²⁵	FaSi	FaFaBrDa, FaMoBrDa, FaFaSiDa, FaMoSiDa, and further classificatory paternal aunts
<i>phūphā</i> (derived from <i>phūphī</i>)	FaSiHu	Husband of <i>phūphī</i>
<i>ma(u)sī</i> < Pkr. <i>māucc(h)ā</i> -, <i>mā(u)(s)sīā</i> - < * <i>mātuh-ṣvās</i> - ⁴²⁶ <i>xāla</i> ← NPers./Arab. (III: 2.3.1)	MoSi	MaFaBrDa, MoMoBrDa, MoFaSiDa, FaBrWiSi, and further classificatory maternal aunts
<i>mausā</i> (derived from <i>ma(u)sī</i>) <i>xālū</i> ← NPers./Arab. (III: 2.3.1)	MoSiHu	Husband of <i>mausī</i>
<i>mā</i> , <i>ammā</i> , <i>māi</i> <i>mātā(jī)</i> < PIE * <i>máh₂tēr</i> - (II: 2.1.2.1)	Mo	
<i>bāp(ū)</i> (cf. II: 2.1.1.3) <i>pitā(jī)</i> < PIE * <i>ph₂tér</i> - (II: 2.1.1.1)	Fa	
<i>sasur</i> < PIE * <i>suekur-o</i> - (II: 2.6.2)	Fa-in-law	
<i>sās</i> < PIE * <i>suekrú-h₂</i> - (ibid.)	Mo-in-law	
<i>pitasarā</i>	Fa-in-law's yBr	<i>cācā</i> of Hu or Wi
<i>tāyasarā</i>	Fa-in-law's eBr	<i>tāū</i> of Hu or Wi
<i>bhāī</i> < PIE * <i>b^hréh₂ter</i> - (II: 2.4.1) <i>bīr(ā)</i> < PIE * <i>uiH-ró</i> - (II: 2.3.1) ⁴²⁷	Br	FaBrSo, MoBrSo, FaSiSo, MoSiSo, and further classificatory male cousins
<i>bhābhī</i> ⁴²⁸ / <i>bhābahū</i> < <i>bhāī-bahū</i> (see below)	(e)BrWi / yBrWi	Wi and WiSi of <i>bhāī</i>
<i>bah(e)n</i> , <i>bahan</i> , <i>bahin</i> < OInd. (post-Ved.) <i>bhaginī</i> 'Si' ⁴²⁹ <i>jījī</i> , <i>dīdī</i> ⁴³⁰	Si eSi	FaBrDa, MoBrDa, FaSiDa, MoSiDa, and further classificatory female cousins
<i>jījā</i> <i>bah(e)noī</i> < OInd. <i>bhaginī-pati</i> ⁴³¹	(e)SiHu	Hu and HuBr of <i>bahen</i>
<i>sālā</i> < Ved. <i>syālā</i> - (II: 2.6.8.2)	WiBr	WiFaBrSo, WiMoBrSo, and similar classificatory relationships
<i>sālī</i> < * <i>syālī</i>	WiSi	WiFaBrDa, WiMoBrDa, and similar classificatory relationships
<i>sārḥū</i> , <i>sāḍhū</i> ⁴³²	WiSiHu	Hu of <i>sālī</i>
<i>devar</i> < PIE * <i>daj(h₂)uér</i> - (II: 2.6.5) / <i>jeṭh</i> < Ved. <i>jyēṣṭha</i> - 'the biggest; the oldest' ⁴³³	HuyBr / HueBr	HuFaBrSo, HuMoBrSo, HuFaSiSo, HuMoSiSo

Tamil *māman* 'MoBr' (ibid., further examples in Burrow & Emeneau 1961: 3945), which could imply Dravidian origin (cf. Turner 1966 lemma 10055, Smirnitckaya 2019: 175). Karve (1965: 92, 230) assumed that both Indo-Aryan and Dravidian might have borrowed the term from some third source. Due to these circumstances, I prefer labelling this term as "South Asian wander word".

⁴²⁵ as per Turner (1966 lemma 8177), Karve (1965: 110), McGregor (1993: 687)

⁴²⁶ as per Turner (1966 lemma 10001), Karve (1965: 110), McGregor (1993: 839)

⁴²⁷ as per Turner (1966 lemma 12056), Karve (1965: 110), McGregor (1993: 739)

⁴²⁸ This Hindi word is missing in Turner (1966). In any case, it can hardly be a nursery term but rather a derivative of *bhāī* like obviously *bhābahū* < *bhāī*+*bahū* 'brother's bride / brother's young wife'. The word *bhābhī* might as well be a reflex of *bhrātṛbhāryā*- (mentioned by Turner 1966 lemma 9666 shortly along with *bhārturjāyā*- > *bhāujjā*- lemma 9660).

⁴²⁹ PW (V / 174) interprets it as „die Glückliche, insofern sie nicht allein steht, sondern einen Bruder hat“.

⁴³⁰ Turner (1966 lemma 5232) claims that this must have emerged from the nursery term **diddā*- 'breast, mother, sister, relative'.

⁴³¹ as per McGregor (1993: 715), cf. also II: 2.3.5 for Ved. *pati*- 'husband'

⁴³² The etymology of the word is problematic. Turner (1966 lemma 13875) and McGregor (1993: 1003) reconstruct the form as **syālī-voḍhr*- 'the one who leads **syālī* (> *sālī*) away' (cf. *voḍhar*- 'the one who brings, carries, leads, etc.', PW VI / 1425).

<i>daurānī</i> / <i>jeṭhānī</i>	HuyBrWi / HueBrWi	Wi of <i>devar</i> / <i>jeṭh</i>
<i>nanad</i> < OInd. <i>nānāndar</i> -, II: 2.6.7	HuSi	HuFaBrDa, HuMoBrDa, and similar classificatory relationships
<i>beṭā</i> < Pkr. <i>biṭṭa</i> - ‘boy’ ⁴³⁴ <i>laḍkā</i> , <i>larḱā</i> < Pkr. * <i>laḍikka</i> - ‘child’ ⁴³⁵ <i>putra</i> (Sanskrit), II: 2.2.1.2	So/boy	(in certain circumstances includes <i>bhatījā</i> and <i>bhānjā</i>)
<i>beṭī</i> < Pkr. <i>biṭṭī</i> - ‘girl’ <i>laḍkī</i> , <i>larḱī</i> (f. of <i>laḍkā</i> , <i>larḱā</i>) <i>dhī</i> , <i>dhiyā</i> < PIE * <i>dʰugh₂tér</i> -, II: 2.2.2 <i>putrī</i> (Sanskrit)	Da/girl	(in certain circumstances includes <i>bhatījī</i> and <i>bhānjī</i>)
<i>bhatījā</i>	BrSo	So of <i>bhāī</i> , <i>sālā</i> , <i>devar</i> / <i>jeṭh</i> , and further classificatory brothers
<i>bhatījī</i>	BrDa	Da of <i>bhāī</i> , <i>sālā</i> , <i>devar</i> / <i>jeṭh</i> and further classificatory brothers
<i>bhānjā</i>	SiSo	So of <i>bahen</i> , <i>sālī</i> , <i>nanad</i> , and further classificatory sisters
<i>bhānjī</i>	SiDa	Da of <i>bahen</i> , <i>sālī</i> , <i>nanad</i> , and further classificatory sisters
<i>jamāī</i> < Pre-Iir. * <i>ǵē/ōmHōter</i> - (II: 2.6.3)	DaHu	Hu of <i>beṭī</i> , <i>bhatījī</i> , <i>bhānjī</i> , <i>potī</i> , <i>dhevtī</i>
<i>bahū</i> < Ved. <i>vadhū</i> - (II: 2.6.4)	SoWi	Wi of <i>beṭā</i> , <i>bhatījā</i> , <i>bhānjā</i> , <i>potā</i> , <i>dhevtā</i>
<i>potā</i> < Pkr. <i>potta</i> -, cf. OInd. <i>pāutra</i> - ⁴³⁶	SoSo	So of <i>bhatījā</i> or <i>bhānjā</i>
<i>potī</i> < Pkr. <i>pottiā</i> -, cf. OInd. <i>pāutrī</i> - ⁴³⁷	SoDa	Da of <i>bhatījā</i> or <i>bhānjā</i>
<i>dhevtā</i> <i>dohitā</i> < Pkr. <i>dōhitta</i> -, cf. OInd. <i>dāuhitra</i> - ⁴³⁸ <i>nātī</i> ‘DaSo’ < Pkr. <i>ṇattu(a)</i> - / <i>ṇattia</i> - cf. OInd. <i>nāptar</i> - (II: 2.5.2.2) ⁴³⁹ <i>nawāsā</i> ← NPers. (III: 2.3.1)	DaSo	So of <i>bhatījī</i> or <i>bhānjī</i>
<i>dhevtī</i> <i>dohitī</i> < Pkr. <i>dōhittī</i> -, cf. OInd. <i>dāuhitrī</i> - <i>nātin</i> (f. of <i>nātī</i>)	DaDa	Da of <i>bhatījī</i> or <i>bhānjī</i>

The data above show that most terms are either inherited words or internal innovations. However, if one takes a glance at dialects, especially of Muslim communities, one can find quite a lot of Persian terms, also of Semitic or Turkic origin. Ansari et al. (2015) provides a detailed list of kinship terms in Urdu dialects of Mysore (Southern India) and Lucknow (Northern India). It is conspicuous that even in Mysore the word *xāla* for ‘MoSi’ prevails over *ma(u)sī* especially among speakers older than 21 years old. In the Lucknow variant the inherited word is missing altogether. It has various modifications of *xāla* and *baji* (Turk. *baci*, see **III: 2.1.1**), which can also denote elder

⁴³³ PW (III / 157), McGregor (1993: 380). This should be an ellipsis of the original phrase *jeṭhā- devār*- ‘the oldest HuBr’. Karve (1965: 147) claims that the form *jeṭh devar* is in use in Hindi.

⁴³⁴ as per Turner (1966 lemma 9238), unclear origin (“defective word”)

⁴³⁵ ibid. (lemma 10924), unclear origin (“defective word”)

⁴³⁶ ibid. (lemma 8416), a thematised vṛddhi-form of OInd. *putrā*- ‘son’ (cf. **II: 2.2.1.2**)

⁴³⁷ ibid. (lemma 8417)

⁴³⁸ ibid. (lemma 6605), a thematised vṛddhi-form of OInd. *duhitār*- ‘daughter’ (cf. **II: 2.2.2**)

⁴³⁹ ibid. (lemma 6955)

sister. The male pendant of *xāla* – *xālu(jān)*⁴⁴⁰ (Lucknow), and *xālei* (Mysore) denotes, however, MoSiHu, not MoBr designated by the Standard South Asian term *māmā*, *māmū*. Further, both variants have the Central Asian word for ‘eSi’ *āp(p)ā(jān)* or *āpī* (**III: 2.1.1**, **III: 3.1.1**). In the Mysore variant they exist along with the Standard forms *jījī* and *dīdī*, Lucknow does not know the latter at all. Arabic *wālid* ‘Fa’ is attested in Mysore (cf. IrPers. *wālede* ‘mother’, **III: 2.1.1**). Finally, younger speakers of the Southern dialect tend to refer to all kinds of aunts as *āṇṇī* (English term, see above), but *ankal* is confined to MoSiHu.

One can find Iranian, Semitic, and Turkic loanwords among other social terms. For example, the Punjabi term for the biggest social institution is *zāt* (cf. NPers. *zāde*, **III: 2.1.1**), which can denote a varṇa, a nation, or a religious group. Its synonym is *kawm* (see Arab. *qawm*, **III: 4.2**). Thus, one can say *brāhmaṇ kawm* or *Hindū kawm*. Punjabi *xāndān* (cf. NPers. *xāndān*, **III: 4.1**) denotes the minimal lineage or dynasty (Hershman 1981: 98–100). Hindi also knows *khāndān* ‘family; family line; dynasty’ and *khāndānī* ‘familial; hereditary; of good family’ (Vatuk 1969: 111, McGregor 1993: 235).

III: 5.2.2.2. The main characteristics and the usage of North Indian kinship terms

It should be obvious from the data quoted above that the general structure of Hindi kinship terminology is still of genealogical type with a clear difference between consanguineal and affinal relatives. In addition, it has ‘classificatory’ tendencies equating many relatives of the same generation. However, these tendencies are not absolute. Instead of referring to one’s BrDa and HuBrDa as *bhatījī*, one can call the latter descriptively *jēṭhautī* ‘HueBrDa’ or *derautī* ‘HuyBrDa’ (see this and similar Hindi form in Karve 1965: 148–149).

The feature that makes New Indo-Aryan kinship terminologies different from other IE languages is a relative age distinction for many collateral and affinal relatives (not only for siblings). In this respect they are strikingly different even from the Iranian kinship terminologies I discussed in this thesis. As I emphasised in part **III: 2.1.1** and **III: 3.1.1** of this chapter, Iranian terms denoting elder and younger siblings exist mostly on the level of *parole* and are designated almost exclusively by Turkic or Mongolic loanwords, while most New Indo-Aryan terms with a relative age distinction are of Indo-Aryan origin and an integral part of the social vocabulary. An observation from the digital ethnography how important such terms could be is a small talk between a teacher of Pashto and a speaker of some New-Indo-Aryan language under the video on the YouTube dedicated to Pashto kinship terms.⁴⁴¹ In the video, the teacher gives a list of Pashto

⁴⁴⁰ NPers. *jān* (Taj. *jon*) ‘life, soul, body’ < **ui-āna-*, cf. OInd. *vyānā-* ‘one of the five vital airs’ < (*vi* + *an* ‘breathe’) often used as a particle of endearment in Persian and other Iranian languages (Efimov & Rastorgueva & Sharova 1982: 64, Korn 2005: 135–136 with references to Andreas & Wackernagel 1931: 322 and Moshkalo 1991: 29). In New Indo-Aryan languages this particle has an honorific semantics (synonymic to *jī*, see below).

⁴⁴¹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tPj9Fzh1iNc> (accessed on 29.07.2020)

terms with an English and (possibly) Urdu translation, but a viewer Ahsan Khan asks: “Iska tarjuma kare 1) zet ??? 2) zethani ???” (How should one translate *jeṭh* and *jeṭhānī*?). The teacher asks to explain what the words means and receives an answer: ‘eHuBr’ (“shohar ka bada bhai”) and ‘eHuBrWi’ (“bade bhai ki biwi”). The teacher gives descriptive designations *mashar lewar* (= *māś(ə)r lewar*, lit. ‘elder *lewar*’) and *mashra yor* (= *māśra yor*, lit. ‘elder *yor*’) because Pashto does not know such terms (cf. **III: 3.4.1** for *yor* and *lewar*).

Curiously, unlike it is in Iranian languages it is precisely sibling terms that lack a well-established relative age distinction: *bhāī* and *bah(e)n* can denote both elder and younger brothers and sisters. There is a special term for elder sister *dīdī* or *jījī*, a motion formation of *jījā* ‘eSiHu’ (Karve 1965: 111, 113). It is included in the dictionary by McGregor (1993: 374), but it is often missing in the list of the main kinship terms (e.g., Vatuk 1969). The notion ‘elder brother’ can be expressed descriptively *baṛā* / *baḍā bhāī* or *bhāī-sahab* / *saheb* ‘big brother’ (McGregor 1993: 763). Alternatively, one can use either a derivative *bhāiyā* (Herschman 1981: 254 on Punjabi kinship terms) or *bhāī-jī* with the North Indian particle of respect⁴⁴² or *bhāī-jān* with the Persian particle (cf. Ansari et al. 2015: 120 on the Urdu material). This situation may be explained by the fact that in the North Indian cultures younger relatives are usually addressed by their personal name, while older relatives must be addressed by an appropriate (or sometimes slightly elevated) kinship term (see Vatuk 1982 on the discrepancies between genealogical and vocative usage of kinship terms). That is why the people who one addresses as *bhāī* or *bah(e)n* are *a priori* either his or her elder siblings or other older or more respectable persons.

The next important observation one can make analysing the data is that not all collateral relatives have elder and younger marking. Almost all of them pertain to the members of the extended patrilocal family. The strictest difference is the difference between *jeṭh* ‘eHuBr’ and *devar* ‘yHuBr’. The former is the person whom the new-coming wife should avoid. She must not speak to him and be always veiled in his presence. The other term for this relationship is *bhāśur* (< **bhrātr-śvāsura-*, Turner 1966 lemma 9669, Fruzzetti & Östör 1982: 236 footnote 8) because he is like the father-in-law for the woman, whom she must also avoid as the rest of her husband’s older relatives.⁴⁴³ On the contrary, *devar* is the person with whom the woman has a *joking relationship*, i.e., a relaxed informal communication often with erotic implications. In cases when the *niyoga* (or *levirate*) is necessary, it is *devar* (or a classificatory *devar*) who must marry or have a sexual intercourse with the *bhābhī* ‘eBrWi’ to produce a son for his deceased brother. The relationship between *devar* and *bhābhī* can even be one of socially tolerated form of adultery for a woman. In some societies of Northern India (among lower varṇas) this kind of relationship are institutionalised as *fraternal polyandry* (Karve 1965: 34–35, 112, Herschman 1981: 173–188, cf.

⁴⁴² For honorifics *saheb* and *jī* see Mehrotra (1981: 123–125).

⁴⁴³ Vatuk (1982: 64) claimed that avoidance practices were becoming more relaxed especially in the urban areas, but it seemed to be a living tradition in the 1980s when the article was written.

also **I: 1.1.1.2**). Other people who have institutionalised joking relationship are *jījā* ‘eSiHu’ and *sālī* ‘(y)WiSi’. They can also marry especially in case *jījī* ‘eSi’ (*jījā*’s wife) dies (cf. *sororate*) (ibid.: 185).

The practices of *niyoga* are not accepted by all North Indian communities, especially by the highest *varṇas* (see the discussion in Karve 1965: 20–27, 63–83, 173).⁴⁴⁴ Nevertheless, to become the first or the only wife of the eldest son (*bhābhī* and *jeṭhānī*) in the family is the best option that a woman can have in her matrimonial career. Karve (ibid.: 71) points out that the famous passage from RV (X 85:45–46) in connection with Suryā’s marriage describes precisely the position that *bhābhī*–*jeṭhānī* might attain:

imāṃ tvām indra mīḍhvaḥ suputrāṃ subhāgāṃ kṛṇu
dāsāsyām putrān ā dhehi pātim ekādaśāṃ kṛdhi
samrājñī śvāsūre bhava samrājñī śvaśrvām bhava
nānāndari samrājñī bhava samrājñī ādhi devṛṣu

“Make this woman here, o Indra the rewarder, possessed of good sons and of good fortune. Confer ten sons on her: make her husband the eleventh.

Become sovereign queen over your father-in-law; become sovereign queen over your mother-in-law.

Become sovereign queen over your sister-in-law, sovereign queen over your brothers-in-law”
 (translated by Jamison & Brereton 2014: 1525)

Returning to avoidance, I should mention that such a practice is not confined to North Indian societies, but is also well-attested among the Ossetians. Ossetic had a special term *kýnz wajsadæg* (lit. ‘silent daughter-in-law’) for a newly-married woman who was observing the custom *wajsadyn* || *wajsadun*, i.e., remained silent in the presence of her husband’s relatives. At the beginning she was allowed to speak to younger women of the family and the village, in a while with boys and younger men, in about a year with her husband’s elder brother’s wife and mother-in-law, but had to remain silent in the presence of her husband’s eldest brother, father-in-law, and all elder male relatives forever (*IESOJa* IV / 43). In one of the Nart Sagas (“Birth of Uryzmæg and Hæmyts”) there is an episode when after the death of her husband pregnant Dzerassæ comes to the Narts alone and her respectful silence should signify that she is a younger daughter-in-law.

There is a great temptation to see these two traditions originating from the common Indo-Iranian source. It cannot be excluded, but such an assumption cannot go far beyond speculations. Other Iranian cultures also have avoidance practices, but they are mostly motivated by the Islam. The Arabic word *maḥram* denotes close relatives (including the husband) and friends, the people who have an access to the rooms where women live. At the same time the word also denotes the people who one cannot marry (apart from the husband to whom the woman is already married) (Kiselyova & Mikolayčik 1978: 649). Thus, *maḥram* has a completely opposite meaning than the

⁴⁴⁴ Both Karve (1965: 19) and Vatuk (1969: 108) maintain that *bhābhī* often plays a part of a family coach for *devar* and *daurānī* in the period when they are newly-married or about to be married because in the Indian society it is inappropriate to discuss psychological and sexual problems with one’s parents. Discussing intimate topics seems to be, in general, one of the main functions of a joking relationship in this case.

Indian *joking relationship*. An argument against the common origin of North Indian and Ossetic practice is the fact that daughter-in-law avoidance is a wide-spread custom in the Caucasus. In many non-IE Caucasian languages the inherited terms for ‘daughter-in-law’ were tabooed and replaced by Iranian reflexes of IE **snusó-* (see the examples and the discussion in Tuite & Schulze 1998). Therefore, this Ossetic tradition might be an areal Caucasian phenomenon. The situation is less certain with the Indo-Aryan avoidance practice. No literature on this topic is familiar to me. Analysing the stories in the Sanskrit literature Karve (1965: 64) points out that *devar* originally denoted both younger and elder husband’s brother and *niyoga* could be performed with any of them. Thus, the avoidance of *jeth* does not seem to be an inherited state of affairs. In any case, both avoidance and joking relationship occur in different parts of the world (de Vienne 2018) and can be independent cultural phenomena.

What should be emphasised in this case is that language does not reflect the social practice straightforwardly. Indo-Aryan avoidance practice is designated by specific kinship terms (*jeth*, *bhāsur* vs. *devar*, *bhābhī* vs. *bhābahū*, *jethānī* vs. *daurānī*), but Ossetic has no established terms of this kind. The term *kynz wajsadæg* ‘silent daughter-in-law’ is a historical term and the other relevant terms such as HueBr and HueBrWi are expressed through occasional descriptive phrases: *xistær tiw* and *xistær fajnust* (IESOJa IV / 43 with references to an article in the journal *Fidiuæg* 1962 VII / 67).⁴⁴⁵ Thus, a relative age distinction at least for daughters-, sisters-, and brothers-in-law was once a social feature of the Ossetic culture but not a semantic feature of the Ossetic language. The reason why this feature has become social in North Indian societies and was lexicalised in New Indo-Aryan languages is their unique contact situation.

III: 5.2.3. Dravidian kinship terminologies and cross-cousin marriages. The origin of the relative age distinction in Indo-Aryan

Vatuk (1969: 94) begins her article about the structure of North Indian kinship terminologies by quoting Louis Dumont (1966a), who claimed that North Indian kinship systems should be a kind of “compromise between a ‘Dravidian’ practice and an Indo-Aryan verbal heritage” (p. 114). This statement is true for some Indo-Aryan languages spoken in the frontier zone between the two phyla (roughly in the Central India), but for many other New Indo-Aryan languages it can only be true if one means certain semantic features of Dravidian kinship terminologies, but not all of them and by no means the social practice common for Dravidian-speaking peoples.

The main feature of Dravidian kinship terminologies, both the ideal type (similar to the Iroquois type, see **I: 1.1.4**) and attested terminologies in Dravidian languages is the distinction between parallel and cross cousins (of all grades). Parallel cousins are simply referred to as one’s own siblings, while cross-cousins are named by other terms, e.g., Tamil has:

⁴⁴⁵ Abaev did not specify the name of the author and the journal is beyond my access.

aṇṇaṇ ‘eBr’ = FaBrSo, MoSiSo, SpMoBrSo, SpFaSiSo, MoMoBrSoSo, MoMoSiDaSo, and further male parallel cousins when older than the ego or linking spouse

tampi ‘yBr’ = the same when younger than the ego or linking spouse

akkā ‘eSi’ = FaBrDa, MoSiDa, SpMoBrDa, SpFaSiDa, MoMoBrSoDa, MoMoSiDaDa, and further female parallel cousins when older than the ego or linking spouse

taṇkacci ‘ySi’ = the same when younger than the ego or linking spouse

but

attāṇ ‘eMoBrSo’, ‘eFaSiSo’, ‘SpeBr’ = SpFaBrSo, SpMoSiSo, MoMoSiSoSo, MoMoBrDaSo, FaFaBrDaSo, FaFaSiSoSo, MoFaBrSoSo, MoFaSiDaSo and the similar when older than the ego or linking spouse

macciṇaṇ ‘yMoBrSo, yFaSiSo, SpyBr’ = the same when younger than the ego or linking spouse

mayni eMoBrDa, eFaSiDa, SpeSi = SpFaBrDa, SpMoSiDa, MoMoSiSoDa, MoMoBrDaDa and the similar when older than the ego or linking spouse

koḷuṇṭi yMoBrDa, yFaSiDa, SpySi = the same when younger than the ego or linking spouse

Likewise mother’s brother (Tamil *māmaṇ*) is equated to spouses’s father (father-in-law) and father’s sister (Tamil *attai*) is equated to spouses’ mother (mother-in-law). In general, Dravidian does not have specific terms for affinal relative. All affinal relative are equated to some consanguineal relatives (see the full list of terms in Trautmann 1981: 34–39 Figure 2.2).

This distinction has/had not only linguistic but also social value. The classical pattern of the Dravidian marriage is/was⁴⁴⁶ the marriage with a cross-cousin. The additional rule was that the bride-groom must be older than his bride but younger than her parents. Thus, for example, in a Tamil-speaking village a girl must marry her *attāṇ* ‘eMoBrSo’ or ‘eFaSiSo’ but cannot marry *macciṇaṇ* ‘yMoBrSo’ or ‘yFaSiSo’, while the man’s choice must be his *koḷuṇṭi* ‘yMoBrDa’ or ‘yFaSiDa’ but not his *mayni* ‘eMoBrDa’ or ‘eFaSiDa’. In some Dravidian societies this rule also includes ‘mother’s younger brother’ and ‘elder sister’s daughter’ as possible marriage partners (an uncle-niece marriage) because this kind of relationship also conforms to both the rule of crossness and the rule of relative age (Karve 1965: 246–247, Trautmann 1993–1994 [1979]: 79).

The pattern of North Indian kinship is based on decidedly different principle. The cross-parallel distinction has neither linguistic nor social value. Consanguineal marriages are not allowed. The rule of *sapinda*⁴⁴⁷ states that before marriage takes place, family records are being checked for seven generations on the male side and five generations of the female side in order to prevent a consanguineal union (Kapadia 1958: 117–137, Karve 1965: 48–49). As it was correctly emphasised

⁴⁴⁶ Karve (1965: 223) mentioned that traditional Dravidian marriages were beginning to be outmoded in the 1950s–1960s when she was writing her book. Already at that time younger educated people who were in contact with the North Indian and West European cultures preferred marrying non-kin. Thus, Dravidian marriage practices are predominantly historical phenomena rather than a vibrant traditions.

⁴⁴⁷ < *sa-* (mutuality) + *piṇḍa* ‘ball of rice (an offering to dead ancestors); body’, i.e., either those who have the right to offer *piṇḍa* because they have the same ancestors or those who share the same body because they have common relative on mother’s or father’s side (Karve 1965: 48).

by Trautmann (1993–1994 [1979]: 81), for the Indo-Aryan kinship system the law of marriage is based on the proximity (the bride and the bride-groom may not be close relatives), while for the Dravidian system the kind of relationship has more relevance than the proximity.

There are instances of mixed Indo-Aryan and Dravidian kinship terminologies and there are Indo-Aryan speaking social groups practicing cross-cousin marriages. Most of them can be found in the frontier zone (Gujarat, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, see the map in Trautmann 1993–1994 [1979]: 85) where people of the two language phyla live side by side and communicate with each other on a daily basis. For example, one of the dialects of Gujarati called Mer uses classical North Indian terms for the underlying Dravidian structure (ibid.: 83 Figure 2):

Kinship term	Gujarati	Mer
<i>kāḱā</i>	FaBr	FaBr = MoSiHu
<i>kāḱī</i>	FaBrWi	–
<i>māsī</i>	MoSi	MoSi = FaBrWi
<i>māsā</i>	MoSiHu	–
<i>fuī</i>	FaSi	FaSi = MoBrWi = SpMo
<i>fuā</i>	FaSiHu	–
<i>māmā</i>	MoBr	MoBr = FaSiHu = SpFa
<i>māmī</i>	MoBrWi	–
<i>sasaro</i>	SpFa	–
<i>sāsu</i>	SpMo	–

It should be mentioned that some Old and Middle Indo-Aryan texts tell about consanguineal marriage practices (Karve 1965: 43, 98). Trautmann (1973, 1974) carried out an analysis of these stories and concluded that all instances of cross-cousin marriage are located inside the modern geographical borders of the Dravidian system. Therefore, this feature cannot be of Indo-Aryan origin and most probably was uncommon for other ancient IE communities too (cf. II: 2.5.2.3).

While a relative age distinction in Dravidian kinship terminologies has relevance for the selection of marriage partners, it plays a completely different part in North Indian social cognition. It is interwoven with the *varṇa-jāti* system (Aktor 2018) and represents subtle hierarchy within the extended family. Similarly to *varṇas* and *jātis* kinship statuses have different social value.

The greatest difference is between bride-givers and bride-receivers. The latter always have a higher status than the former. “Not only is the family which gives a daughter in marriage supposed to have a status inferior to the family which receives a daughter, but even a village which gives a daughter is inferior in status to a village which receives one” (Karve 1965: 125). That is why the word *sālā* ‘WiBr’ is an expression of “mild abuse or contempt” (ibid.: 113). In the Medieval and Early Modern Period the entire clan of the bride became vassals of the bride-groom clan. That is why in order to strengthen their position in India Akbar the Great and further Mughal Emperors married daughters of Rajput clans (Richards 1993: 20–24).

The fact that terms with a relative age distinction mostly pertain to the members of the patrilocal extended household conforms well to the necessity of setting up hierarchal system within the family. However, to some extent, it can also be a kind of calque of Dravidian kinship terms. Tamil

has different terms for elder and younger father's brother (*periappā* 'big father' and *cinṇappā* 'small father') and elder and younger mother's sister (*periammā* 'big mother' and *cinṇammā* 'small mother'), but *māmaṇ* 'MoBr' and *attai* 'FaSi' do not have an established relative age distinction. North Indian kinship terminologies only distinguish elder and younger father's brother (those who might live in the same extended household). Anyway, what was borrowed was a very general and rather superficial idea, a semantic rather than social feature because most Indo-Aryan communities did not understand and did not accept the Dravidian marriage practice.

The example of the Iranian languages that have borrowed terms with a relative age distinction from their Turkic and Mongolic neighbours implies that in Indo-Aryan such a borrowing might have begun as a simple lexical borrowing. Thus, the badly-attested Dravidian kinship terms in late Old Indic (such as *attā* 'Mo', *atti(kā)*, *anti(kā)*, *artikā* 'eSi', **I: 2.1.1.2**) might be the direct evidence of it. In the course of time, as the idea of a relative age was adopted and properly adjusted to Indo-Aryan kinship terminologies, they coined their own terms for this semantic feature.

In their turn, Dravidian languages can also adopt foreign features. The brightest example of it is the Brahui kinship terminology. Brahui is a Dravidian language spoken in the Southeastern Pakistan and southwestern Iran. Most people who speak this language are Brahui-Balochi bilinguals. As one can expect, the structure of the Brahui kinship terminology is a calque of the Balochi kinship terminology with cognatic terms for grandparents (*pīra* 'GrFa' and *balla* 'GrMo') and parents' siblings (*illa* 'uncle' along with *māmā* 'MoBr' and *tāta* 'aunt', cf. Balochi terms *balluk* 'GrFa' and *tātī* 'aunt', **III: 2.3**) and without a relative age distinction (Smirnitskaya 2019: 181–184).

III: 6. Discussion and summary

III: 6.1. Iranian kinship terminologies (summary)

III: 6.1.1. Iranian New Persian

	1 st genealogical grade	spouses	non-primary kin	affinals
internal resources				
inherited (PIE)	<i>pedar</i> 'Fa' <i>mādar</i> 'Mo' <i>pedar-o-mādar</i> 'parents' <i>pesar</i> 'So' <i>doxtar</i> 'Da' <i>barādar</i> 'Br' <i>x^(w)āhar</i> 'Si'	<i>zan</i> 'Wi'	<i>nave</i> 'GrCh'	<i>dāmād</i> 'DaHu; SiHu' <i>žari</i> 'HuBrWi'
inherited (Ilr.)	<i>farzand</i> 'Ch' <i>bačče</i> 'Ch; So'	<i>havu</i> 'co-Wi'		
inherited (Ir.)			<i>nabire</i> 'great-great GrCh'	
innovations (Pers.)	<i>hamšire</i> 'Si'	<i>šowhar</i> 'Hu' <i>šuyi</i> 'Hu' <i>hamsar</i> 'Sp'	<i>pedarbozorg</i> 'GrFa' <i>mādarbozorg</i> 'GrMo' <i>nadide</i> 'great-great-great-GrCh' <i>barādarzāde</i> 'BrCh' (<i>pesarbarādar</i> 'BrSo' <i>doxtarbarādar</i> 'BrDa') <i>x^(w)āharzāde</i> 'SiCh' (<i>pesarx^(w)āhar</i> 'SiSo' <i>doxtarx^(w)āhar</i> 'SiDa') <i>zanamu</i> 'FaBrWi' <i>zandāyi</i> 'MoBrWi' <i>šowharamme</i> 'FaSiHu' <i>šowharxāle</i> 'MoSiHu' <i>pesaramu</i> 'FaBrSo' <i>doxtaramu</i> 'FaBrDa' <i>pesaramme</i> 'FaSiSo' <i>doxtaramme</i> 'FaSiDa' <i>pesarxāle</i> 'MoSiSo' <i>doxtarxāle</i> 'MoSoDa' <i>pesardāyi</i> 'MoBrSo' <i>doxtardāyi</i> 'MoBrDa'	<i>pedaršowhar</i> 'HuFa' <i>pedarzan</i> 'WiFa' <i>mādaršowhar</i> 'HuMo' <i>mādarzan</i> 'WiMo' <i>barādaršowhar</i> 'HuBr' <i>x^(w)āharšowhar</i> 'HuSi' <i>barādarzan</i> 'WiBr' <i>x^(w)āharzan</i> 'WiSi'
nursery terms	<i>bābā</i> 'Fa, GrFa' <i>nane</i> 'Mo'		<i>bābā</i> 'Fa, GrFa' <i>bibi</i> 'GrMo'	
external influence				
Arabic / Semitic	<i>vālede</i> 'Mo' <i>vāledeyn</i> 'parents' <i>axav-i</i> 'Br' (and many other words less common in authentic discourse)		<i>amu</i> 'FaBr' <i>amme</i> 'FaSi' <i>xāle</i> 'MoSo' <i>xālu</i> 'MoBr' (rare) <i>natije</i> 'great-GrCh'	<i>arus</i> 'SoWi; BrWi'
Turkic	<i>ābji</i> '(e)Si' <i>dādāš</i> '(e)Br'		<i>dāyi</i> 'MoBr'	<i>bājenāq</i> 'WiSiHu'
NIA and South Asian	<i>kākā</i> 'eBr'			
other loanwords	<i>māmān</i> 'Mo' (French)			

III: 6.1.2. Afghan New Persian (Dari)

	1 st genealogical grade	spouses	non-primary kin	affinals
internal resources				
inherited (PIE)	<i>padar</i> ‘Fa’ <i>mādar</i> ‘Mo’ <i>padar-o-mādar</i> ‘parents’ <i>pesar</i> ‘So’ <i>doxtar</i> ‘Da’ <i>barādar</i> ‘Br’ <i>x^(w)āhar</i> ‘Si’	<i>zan</i> ‘Wi’		<i>xosor</i> ‘Fa-in-law’ <i>xošu</i> ‘Mo-in-law’ <i>dāmād</i> ‘DaHu’ <i>SiHu</i> ’ <i>ēwar</i> ‘HuBr’
inherited (IIr.)	<i>farzand</i> ‘offspring’ <i>bača</i> ‘child; son’			
inherited (Ir.)		<i>ambāq</i> ‘co-wife’	<i>nabēra</i> ‘GrCh’ <i>nawāsa</i> ‘GrCh’	
innovations (Dari / Pers.)	<i>hamšira</i> ‘Si’ <i>āqā-lālā</i> ‘eBr’	<i>šawhar</i> ‘Hu’ <i>hamsar</i> ‘Sp’	<i>padarkalān</i> ‘GrFa’ <i>mādarkalān</i> ‘GrMo’ <i>barādarzāda</i> ‘BrCh’ (<i>pesarbarādar</i> ‘BrSo’ <i>doxtarbarādar</i> ‘BrDa’) <i>x^(w)āharzāda</i> ‘SiCh’ (<i>pesarx^(w)āhar</i> ‘SiSo’ <i>doxtarx^(w)āhar</i> ‘SiDa’) <i>zanamu</i> ‘FaBrWi’ <i>šawharamma</i> ‘FaSiHu’ <i>šawharxāla</i> ‘MoSiHu’ <i>pesaramu</i> ‘FaBrSo’ (<i>awdorbača</i> ‘id.) <i>doxtaramu</i> ‘FaBrDa’ <i>pesaramma</i> ‘FaSiSo’ <i>doxtaramma</i> ‘FaSiDa’ <i>pesarxāla</i> ‘MoSiSo’ <i>doxtarxāla</i> ‘MoSoDa’	<i>xosorbora</i> ‘WiBr’ <i>awdorxosor</i> ‘Fa-in-law’s Br’ (and descriptive terms similar to IrPers.)
nursery terms	<i>bābā</i> ‘Fa, GrFa’ <i>nana</i> ‘Mo’		<i>bābā</i> ‘Fa, GrFa’ <i>bibi</i> ‘GrMo’	
external influence				
New Iranian			<i>kawāsa</i> ‘great-GrCh’ (Pashto)	<i>x(y)āšna</i> ‘WiSi’ (Pashto)
NIA and South Asian	<i>lālā</i> ‘eBr’		<i>kākā</i> ‘FaBr’ <i>māmā</i> ‘MoBr’	
Arabic / Semitic	<i>vāleda</i> ‘Mo’ <i>vāledayn</i> ‘parents’ (and many other words less common in authentic discourse)	<i>artina</i> (through East Iranian)	<i>amu</i> ‘FaBr’ <i>amma</i> ‘FaSi’ <i>xāla</i> ‘MoSo’ <i>xālu</i> ‘MoBr’ (rare)	<i>arus</i> ‘SoWi; BrWi’
Turkic	<i>āpa</i> ‘eSi’ <i>dādā</i> ‘eSi’ <i>āgā</i> ‘(e)Br’			<i>yāzna</i> ‘SiHu’ <i>yanga</i> ‘BrWi’
other loanwords			<i>awdor</i> / <i>awdar</i> ‘FaBr’ (unclear origin)	

III: 6.1.3. Tajik

	1 st genealogical grade	spouses	non-primary kin	affinals
internal resources				
inherited (PIE)	<i>padar</i> ‘Fa’ <i>modar</i> ‘Mo’ <i>padaru modar</i> ‘parents’ <i>pisar</i> ‘So’ <i>duxtar</i> ‘Da’ <i>barodar</i> ‘Br’ <i>xohar</i> ‘Si’	<i>zan</i> ‘Wi’ <i>mard</i> ‘Hu’		<i>xusur</i> ‘Fa-in-law’ <i>domod</i> ‘DaHu’; <i>SiHu</i> ’ <i>yūvar</i> / (e)war ‘HuBr’ (dial.)
inherited (IIr.)	<i>farzand</i> ‘offspring’ <i>bača</i> ‘child; son’			
inherited (Ir.)			<i>nabera</i> ‘GrCh’	
innovations (Taj. / Pers.)	<i>hamšira</i> ‘Si’	<i>šawhar</i> ‘Hu’ <i>šūyi</i> ‘Hu’ <i>hamsar</i> ‘Sp’	<i>padarkalon</i> ‘GrFa’ <i>modarkalon</i> ‘GrMo’ <i>onakalon</i> ‘GrMo’ <i>bobokalon</i> ‘great-GrFa’ <i>bibikalon</i> ‘great-GrMo’ <i>barodarzoda</i> ‘BrCh’ (<i>pisari barodar</i> ‘BrSo’ <i>duxтари barodar</i> ‘BrDa’) <i>xoharzoda</i> ‘SiCh’ (<i>pisari xohar</i> ‘SiSo’ <i>duxтари xohar</i> ‘SiDa’) <i>dodarzoda</i> ‘yBrCh’ <i>zani amak</i> ‘FaBrWi’ <i>šawhari amma</i> ‘FaSiHu’ <i>zani tašo</i> ‘MoBrWi’ <i>šawhari xola</i> ‘MoSiHu’ <i>amakbača</i> ‘FaBrCh’ (<i>pisari amak</i> ‘FaBrSo’ <i>duxтари amak</i> ‘FaBrDa’) <i>ammabača</i> ‘FaSiCh’ (<i>pisari amma</i> ‘FaSiSo’ <i>duxтари amma</i> ‘FaSiDa’) <i>xolabača</i> ‘MoSiCh’ (<i>pisari xola</i> ‘MoSiSo’ <i>duxтари xola</i> ‘MoSoDa’) <i>tašobača</i> ‘MoBrCh’ (<i>pisari tašo</i> ‘MoBrSo’ <i>duxтари tašo</i> ‘MoBrDa’)	<i>xušdoman</i> ‘Mo-in-law’ <i>dodarsūyi</i> ‘HuBr’ <i>dodararūs</i> ‘WiBr’ <i>xoharšū</i> ‘HuSi’
nursery terms	<i>bobo</i> ‘(Gr)Fa’ <i>dodo</i> ‘Fa’ <i>nana</i> ‘Mo’		<i>bobo</i> ‘(Gr)Fa’ <i>bibi</i> ‘GrMo’	
external influence				
Arabic / Semitic	<i>valida</i> ‘Mo’ <i>validayn</i> ‘parents’ (and many other words less common in authentic discourse)		<i>amak</i> ‘FaBr’ <i>amma</i> ‘FaSi’ <i>xola</i> ‘MoSo’ <i>xālu</i> ‘MoBr’	<i>arūs</i> ‘SoWi; BrWi’
Turk.	<i>oča</i> ‘(Gr)Mo’ <i>ona</i> ‘Mo’ <i>dodoyu oča</i> ‘parent’ <i>aka</i> ‘eBr’ <i>uka</i> yBr’ <i>dodar</i> ‘yBr’ <i>apa</i> ‘eSi’	<i>kundoš</i> ‘co-Wi’	<i>tašo</i> ‘MoBr’ <i>jīyan</i> ‘nephew’	<i>yazna</i> ‘SiHu’ <i>yanga</i> ‘BrWi’ <i>boja</i> ‘WiSiHu’

New Iranian		<i>palonj</i> ‘co-wife’ (East Iranian)		
other loanwords	<i>momon</i> ‘Mo’ (French)			

III: 6.1.4. Yaghnobi

	1 st genealogical grade	spouses	non-primary kin	affinals
internal resources				
inherited (PIE)	<i>žúta(k)</i> ‘So’ <i>púlla, pull(č)ák</i> ‘Ch’ <i>ǰōr</i> ‘Si’	<i>wīr / vīr</i> ‘Hu’		<i>šéwīr</i> ‘HuBr’
inherited (Ilr.)		<i>inč</i> ‘Wi’		
inherited (Ir.)			(W) <i>n’páyšin</i> , (E) <i>n’péšin</i> ‘GrCh’	
innovations (Sogdic / Yaghnobi)		<i>pinōnč</i> ‘co-Wi’	<i>ǰōri žúta</i> ‘SiSo’ <i>amáki žúta</i> ‘FaBrSo’ <i>amáki ɣayk</i> ‘FaBrDa’ <i>ammáy žúta</i> ‘FaSiSo’ <i>ammáy ɣayk</i> ‘FaSiDa’ <i>xōláki žúta</i> ‘MoBrSo’ <i>xōláki ɣayk</i> ‘MoBrDa’ <i>xōláy žúta</i> ‘MoSiSo’ <i>xōláy ɣayk</i> ‘MoSoDa’	<i>šéwirinč / šéwiri inč</i> ‘HuBrWi’
nursery terms	<i>dōdō</i> ‘Fa’			
external influence				
Persian (Tajik)	<i>padár</i> ‘Fa’ <i>mōdár</i> ‘Mo’ <i>duxtár</i> ‘Da’ <i>bačá</i> ‘Ch’ <i>farzánd</i> ‘Ch’ <i>b^urōdár</i> ‘Br’		<i>bōbō / bōbí</i> ‘GrFa’ <i>bōbōkalōn</i> ‘GrFa’ <i>bībī</i> ‘GrMo’ <i>mōmī / mōmō</i> ‘GrMo’ <i>nabēra / nibēra</i> ‘GrCh’ <i>čibēra</i> ‘GrCh’	<i>x^usúr</i> ‘Fa-in-law’ <i>dēmōd</i> ‘So-in-law’ <i>x^usurbūra</i> ‘WiBr’ <i>dōdararūs</i> ‘WiyBr’
other New Iranian	<i>ɣayk, ɣaykák</i> (Pamir)		<i>pōp</i> ‘GrFa’ (Pamir)	
Arabic / Semitic			<i>amák</i> ‘FaBr’ (through Taj.) <i>ammá</i> ‘FaSi’ <i>xōlák</i> ‘MoBr’ (through Taj.) <i>xōlá</i> ‘MoSi’	<i>arūs</i> <i>arūsák</i> (through Taj.)
Turkic (Uzbek)	<i>oča</i> ‘(Gr)Mo’ <i>dōdō-ōčá / ōčà-dōdō</i> ‘parents’ <i>akō, aká</i> ‘eBr’ <i>dōdár</i> ‘yBr’ <i>ap(p)á</i> ‘eSi’	<i>kundōš</i> ‘co-wife’		<i>yázná</i> ‘SiHu’ <i>yangá</i> ‘BrWi’ <i>bōja / pōčō</i> ‘WiSiHu’ <i>qaysangīl / qaysingīl</i> ‘SpSi’
other loanwords	<i>b’rat</i> (Russian)			

III: 6.1.5. Balochi

	1 st genealogical grade	spouses	non-primary kin	affinals
internal resources				
inherited (PIE)	<i>pīt</i> (E, S) / <i>pis(s)</i> (S, W) ‘Fa’ <i>māt</i> / <i>mās</i> ‘Mo’ <i>brāt</i> (E, S) / <i>brās</i> (S, W) ‘Br’ <i>gwār</i> / <i>gwahār</i> (S) / <i>gu(h)ār</i> (E, W) / <i>gōhār</i> (E) ‘Si’	<i>jan</i> , <i>janēn</i> (S, W) / <i>jinēn</i> (W) ‘Wi’	<i>nākō</i> ‘uncle’ <i>trū</i> (S, W) / <i>trī</i> (S, E) ‘aunt’ <i>naptag</i> (S) ‘great-great-GrCh’	<i>wasirk</i> / <i>was(s)rik</i> (E) ‘Fa-in-law’ <i>was(s)ū(g)</i> / <i>was(s)ī(g)</i> (E, S) ‘Mo-in-law’ <i>zāmāt</i> (E, S) / <i>zāmās</i> (W) ‘So-in-law’ <i>nišār</i> ‘Da-in-law’
inherited (Ilr.)		<i>hapōg</i> (S) / <i>hapōk</i> (W) ‘co-wife’		
inherited (Ir.)				<i>duksīč</i> / <i>duskīč</i> ‘SpSi’
innovations (Balochi)	<i>jinik(k)</i> <i>janik(k)</i> (E, S) ‘Da’		<i>bar-nwās</i> (W) ‘great-GrCh’ <i>čuk^h-zāxt</i> (E) ‘GrCh’ <i>trū-zātk</i> ‘aunt’s child’ <i>nākō-zātk</i> ‘uncle’s child’ <i>māmā-bač</i> (E) ‘MoBrCh’ <i>gwahār-zātk</i> ‘SiCh’ <i>brā-zātk</i> ‘BrCh’	<i>ham-zāmāt</i> ‘WiSiHu’ <i>wasir-zā(t)k</i> (E, W) / <i>wasar-zāxt</i> (E) ‘SpBr’
nursery terms	<i>bābā</i> ‘Fa’ <i>lālā</i> (W) / <i>lālō</i> (E) ‘Br’ <i>dādā</i> (S, W) ‘Si’		<i>bābū</i> (E, W) ‘FaFa’	
external influence				
NPers.	<i>pus(s)ag</i> (E, S) ‘So’ <i>bač(č)</i> ‘son, boy’ <i>bačak(k)</i> (W) ‘id.’ <i>bačik(k)</i> (S) ‘id.’	<i>mard</i> ‘Hu’ <i>zāl</i> (E, S) ‘Wi’	<i>pīruk</i> ‘GrFa’ <i>nawāsag</i> (E, S) / <i>n(u)wāsag</i> (W) ‘GrCh’	
Pashto			<i>nīmāsag</i> (S, W) <i>kawāsag</i> (E) / <i>kuṛāsag</i> (E, S) / <i>kōrāsag</i> (S) ‘great-GrCh’	
NIA and South Asian	<i>čuk(k)</i> (E, S) ‘child’		<i>kākā</i> (S, W) ‘FaBr’ <i>kākī</i> (S) ‘FaBrWi’ <i>čāčā</i> (E) ‘FaBr’ <i>čāčī</i> (E) ‘FaBrWi’ <i>māmā</i> (E, S) ‘MoBr’ <i>māmī</i> (E, S) ‘MoBrWi’ <i>nānā</i> , <i>nānō</i> (E) ‘MoFa’ <i>nānī</i> (E) ‘MoMo’ <i>ḍāḍā</i> (E, S) ‘FaFa’ <i>ḍāḍī</i> (E, S) ‘FaMo’ <i>māsī</i> (E, S) ‘MoSi’ <i>pupī</i> (E, S) ‘FaSi’ <i>balluk</i> (S, W) ‘GrMo’ <i>tātī</i> (W) ‘aunt’	
Arabic / Semitic	<i>abbā</i> (E, S) / <i>abbō</i> (W) ‘Fa’			

III: 6.1.6. Pashto

	1 st genealogical grade	spouses	non-primary kin	affinals
internal resources				
inherited (PIE)	<i>plār</i> 'Fa' <i>mor</i> 'Mo' <i>zoy / zuy</i> 'So' <i>lur</i> 'Da' <i>wror</i> 'Br' <i>xor</i> 'Si'	<i>meṛá</i> / (Wan.) <i>maṛá</i> 'Hu'	<i>niká</i> 'GrFa' <i>niyá</i> 'MoMo' <i>trə</i> 'FaBr' or 'uncle'	<i>sxər, sxar</i> 'WiFa' <i>xwāxe/a</i> 'Mo-in-law' <i>zum</i> 'So-in-law' <i>nğor</i> 'Da-in-law' <i>levar</i> 'HuBr' <i>yor</i> 'HuBrWi'
inherited (IIr.)		<i>ḡádzá</i> 'Wi' <i>bən</i> 'co-wife'		
innovations (Pashto)			<i>ḡarniká</i> / <i>wərníká</i> 'great-GrFa' <i>lāḡwur-niká</i> 'great-great-GrFa' <i>ḡwəra niyá</i> 'great-GrMo' <i>wərla-ānā</i> 'great-GrMo' <i>ḡwərla-anā</i> / <i>ḡwurla-anā</i> 'great-GrMo' <i>ka(r)wasáy</i> m. 'great-GrSo', <i>kaṛwasáy</i> f. 'great-GrDa' <i>wṛār</i> / Waz. <i>wəryār</i> m. 'BrSo', <i>wṛerá</i> f. 'BrDa' <i>xwərayáy</i> , <i>xorayáy</i> 'SiSo' <i>xurdzá</i> / <i>xurdzá</i> 'SiDa' <i>tror</i> 'FaSi' or 'MoSi' <i>toṛəy</i> 'FaSi' <i>trōrmeṛá</i> 'FaSiHu' <i>tindāra</i> / <i>tindór</i> / (Waz.) <i>tandiār</i> 'FaBrWi' (Waz.) <i>na/əndyār</i> 'MoBrWi' <i>tərlá</i> / <i>tərlá</i> f. 'FaBrDa' <i>tərbúr</i> 'FaBrSo' <i>trorzáy</i> m. 'FaSiSo' <i>trorzáy</i> f. 'FaSiDa'	<i>wrandār(a)</i> / <i>wrendār(a)</i> 'BrWi' <i>áxxay</i> / <i>áwxay</i> 'WiBr; SiHu' <i>xuxina</i> / <i>xoxina</i> (Waz.) <i>x(w)šīna</i> 'WiSi'
nursery terms	<i>bābā</i> '(Gr)Fa' <i>dādā</i> 'Fa; eBr'			
external influence				
NPers. (Dari)	<i>bačá</i> 'Ch'		(W) <i>lmasáy</i> , (E) <i>nmasáy</i> / <i>nwasáy</i> m. 'GrSo' (W) <i>lmasáy</i> , (E) <i>nmasáy</i> , <i>nmasáy</i> f. 'GrDa' <i>nawāsá</i> 'nephew'	<i>xusár</i> , <i>xusúr</i> 'Fa-in-law'
NIA and South Asian	<i>atkó</i> , <i>atkáy</i> '(Gr)Mo' <i>bābo</i> , <i>babəy</i> 'eSi'		<i>kāká</i> 'FaBr' <i>kākáy</i> 'FaBrWi' <i>čāčī</i> , <i>čāčáy</i> 'FaBrWi' <i>māmá</i> 'MoBr' <i>māmi</i> / <i>māmáy</i> 'MoBrWi' <i>lālā</i> 'eBr' <i>kokolālā</i> 'eBr'	<i>saṇḍú</i> 'WiSiHu' (<i>na</i>) <i>ndror</i> 'HuSi' <i>bābáy</i> 'BrWi'

Turkic	(loy / luy) <i>ǣǵǵ</i> ‘eBr’		<i>akǵ</i> ‘FaBr’ <i>anǵ</i> / <i>anǵy</i> ‘GrMo’	<i>bajǵ</i> ‘WiSiHu’
Arabic / Semitic	<i>ab(ā)</i> ‘Fa’ <i>abawáyn</i> ‘parents’	<i>arwáta</i> , <i>awráta</i> <i>artiná</i> ‘Wo; wife’	<i>amú</i> ‘FaBr’ <i>ammá</i> ‘FaSi’ <i>xālá</i> ‘MoSi’	
further			(Yusufzay) <i>māšo</i> ‘MoSi’ ←Dardic	

III: 6.1.7. Ossetic (Iron | Digoron)

	1 st genealogical grade	spouses	non-primary kin	affinals
internal resources				
inherited (PIE)	<i>fyd</i> <i>fidæ</i> ‘Fa’ <i>mad</i> <i>madæ</i> ‘Mo’ <i>fyr̥t</i> <i>furt</i> ‘So’ (<i>æ</i>) <i>rvad</i> (<i>æ</i>) <i>rvadæ</i> ‘Br; relative’ <i>xo</i> <i>xwæræ</i> ‘Si’			(D) <i>nostæ</i> ‘Da-in-law’ <i>tiw</i> <i>tew</i> ‘HuBr’
inherited (Ilr.)		<i>us</i> (<i>w</i>) <i>osæ</i> ‘Wi’		<i>kynz</i> <i>kinzæ</i> ‘Da-in-law’
inherited (Ir.)		<i>moj</i> <i>mojnæ</i> ‘Hu’		<i>xicaw</i> <i>xecaw</i> ‘HuFa’ (<i>æ</i>) <i>fsin</i> (<i>æ</i>) <i>fsinæ</i> ‘HuMo’
innovations (Ossetic)	<i>ævsymær</i> <i>ænsuvær</i> ‘Br’ <i>syvællon</i> <i>suvællon</i> ‘child’	<i>binojnag</i> ‘Wi’ <i>æmk’ay</i> / <i>ænk’ay</i> ‘Sp’	<i>fydy fyd</i> <i>fidi fidæ</i> ‘FaFa’ <i>mady fyd</i> <i>madi madæ</i> ‘MoFa’ <i>fydy mad</i> <i>fidi</i> <i>madæ</i> ‘FaMo’ <i>mady mad</i> <i>madi madæ</i> ‘MoMo’ <i>xistær mad</i> <i>xestær madæ</i> ‘GrMo’ (I) <i>zæronnd mad</i> ‘GrMo’ (I) <i>styr mad</i> ‘GrMo’ <i>fydy (æ)fsymær</i> <i>fidi</i> (<i>æ</i>) <i>nsuvær</i> ‘FaBr’, <i>mady (æ)fsymær</i> <i>madi</i> (<i>æ</i>) <i>nsuvær</i> ‘MoBr’ <i>fydy xo</i> <i>fidi xwæræ</i> ‘FaSi’ <i>mady xo</i> <i>madi xwæræ</i> ‘MoSi’ <i>fyrty fyr̥t</i> <i>furti furt</i> ‘SoSo’ <i>fyrty kyzg</i> <i>furti kizgæ</i> ‘SoDa’ <i>kýzgy læppu</i> <i>kizgi biccew</i> ‘DaSo’ <i>kýzgy kyzg</i> <i>kizgi kizgæ</i> ‘DaDa’ <i>zænægý zænæg</i> <i>zænægí</i> <i>zænæg</i> ‘grandchildren’ <i>xæræfyr̥t</i> <i>xwærifurt</i> ‘SiSo; DaSo’ <i>ævsymæry læppu</i> <i>ænsuværi læppo</i> ‘BrSo’ <i>ævsymæry kýzgy</i> <i>ænsuværi</i> <i>kizgæ</i> ‘BrDa’	(D) <i>wosilīnæ</i> ‘WiMo’ <i>usy mad</i> <i>wosi</i> <i>madæ</i> ‘WiMo’ <i>kaiys, kais</i> <i>kajes</i> ‘WiFa’ <i>usy fyd</i> <i>wosi fidæ</i> ‘WiFa’ <i>lægy mad</i> <i>lægi</i> <i>madæ</i> ‘HuMo’ <i>siaxs</i> ‘DaHu’; SiHu’ <i>fajnostæ</i> <i>fajnostæ</i> ‘HuBrWi’ <i>æmsiaxs</i> ‘WiSiHu’ <i>xodygd</i> ‘HuSi’ <i>lægy xo</i> <i>lægi</i> <i>xwære</i> ‘HuSi’ <i>usy xo</i> <i>wosi</i> <i>xwæræ</i> ‘WiSi’; <i>usy (æ)fsymær</i> <i>wosi (æ)nsuvær</i> ‘WiBr’
nursery terms	<i>baba</i> ‘(Gr)Fa’ <i>dada</i> ‘(Gr)Fa’		<i>nana</i> ‘GrMo’	

external influence				
Caucasian	<i>læppu</i> <i>læppo</i> , <i>læqwæn</i> ‘So’			
New Iranian	(D) <i>biccew</i> ←NPers.			
Turkic	<i>kызg</i> <i>kizgæ</i> ‘Da’		<i>æna</i> ‘GrMo’	
Arabic / Semitic	<i>sabi</i> ‘Ch’			

III: 6.2. Discussion

New Iranian languages share many lexical items and structural features with other IE languages. They are fairly conservative in preserving reflexes of PIE and ancient Indo-Iranian and Iranian kinship terms. The general structure is still very similar to the structure of the reconstructed PIE kinship terminology with distinction between relatives of the first genealogical grade and non-primary consanguineals, between consanguineal and affinal relatives.

Nonetheless, the analysis of Persian, Balochi, Pashto, Ossetic, and Yaghnobi kinship terminologies (III: 2, III: 3, and III: 4) has shown that geographical localisation and historical contact with other languages are of great importance too. All of these languages have numerous borrowings from their neighbours. The spread of the Islam has resulted in numerous Arabic cultural borrowings in all of these languages including kinship terms. The subsequent spread of Turkic languages is also traceable in all of them. It is the Turkic (Turko-Mongolic) feature that along with literary terms for siblings of Murdock’s type E (I: 1.2.2), Persian, Pashto, and Yaghnobi have terms for elder and younger siblings that are used mostly in the colloquial register. For Ossetic the influence of the Caucasian languages that do not have a relative age distinction was more decisive than the influence of Turkic (Azeri). The case of Balochi is less clear. However, it is conspicuous that its contact language Brahui, which should have a relative age distinction as other Dravidian languages, does not have this feature either (III: 5.2.3). Therefore, the absence of this structural feature in Balochistan may be consistent.

Each of the languages has its own local contact partners, which is clearly reflected in kinship terminologies. The Afghan Persian, Pashto and especially East and South Balochi have borrowed many Indo-Aryan / South Asian term. Tajik and Yaghnobi have quite a few Turkic (mostly Uzbek) and Pamir items in use. Turkic (Azeri) and Caucasian influence is traceable in Ossetic. There are Dardic terms in Pashto. Brahui kinship terms occur in South and West Balochi.

Terms for non-primary consanguineal and affinal relatives are especially subject to borrowing, but all languages in focus have loanwords in all segments of their kinship terminologies. Yaghnobi kinship terminology has more borrowed than inherited items.

North Indian / New Indo-Aryan kinship terminologies (III: 5) have the same basic structure as Iranian languages with a clear difference between consanguineal and affinal relatives, but they also show classificatory tendencies (equation of non-primary relatives with relatives of the first

genealogical grade) and have an established relative age distinction for many kinds of collateral and affinal kin, mostly for the members of the patrilocal extended family (first of all, father's brothers, husband's brothers and their wives). This feature was motivated by the contact with the Dravidian languages. However, with the exception of a few cases in the Frontier Zone (Central India) this similarity is superficial, linguo-semantic but not sociological. Dravidian kinship terminologies are based on the practice of cross-cousin marriage, in which a man must marry his younger cross-cousin or elder sister's daughter. North Indian kinship terminologies apply a relative age distinction for establishing subtle hierarchies between the members of the extended patrilocal household (analogically to the *varṇa-jāti* system outside of the family) and the behavioural code between them. In some communities, the difference between *jeṭh* (*bhāśur*) 'eHuBr' and *devar* 'yHuBr' is important because the latter but not the former can take part in *niyoga* (*levirate*).

Finally, the data in this chapter indicate that New Iranian and New Indo-Aryan languages have both an ancient (genealogical) relatedness and contact / areal connections with each other. Due to the expansion of Islam and the Persinate culture in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period they had a great deal of both cultural and linguistic convergences. North India under the Mughal Emperors was the place where the literary norm for both Eastern Persian and Hindustani was established. New Iranian and New Indo-Aryan languages and their kinship terminologies are fusions of inherited IE, West Asian, Central Asian, and South Asian features.

General conclusion and further prospects

A conventional conclusion of this thesis is that PIE, many IE, and Indo-Iranian kinship terminologies, especially their structures, draw a fairly unambiguous picture of a patrilineal, predominantly patrilocal, and androcentric society as the majority of societies in the world are or used to be. However, as it was broad-mindedly formulated by Karve (1965: 378), “no linguistic region has the same kind of kinship pattern, no two castes possess identical relationship behaviour and no two families in a caste act in exactly the same way. A description can give but a generalized picture of a type of social conduct which is ever-changing <...>”. Therefore, this almost self-evident inference can hardly be the main or the only aim of contemporary studies of ancient societies. As everything else in natural languages formation of kinship terms and terminologies is a complex and multifactorial process which cannot be reduced to a direct reflection of social structures. Kinship terms can but do not necessarily tell us explicitly and unambiguously what kind of lineage, marriage, and residence rules the society has or had. However, they can provide us with information on many other points.

Through the lens of kinship terms we can learn much about the morphology of a given language: e.g., the number of grammatical genders (**II: 3.2**) and derivational patterns (cf. **II: 2.5.3**). Sometimes, they can also give a clue to the environmental conditions, the way of life, and the mode of production. Thus, cultures of the Fertile Crescent used many plant- and plant-cultivating images as metaphors of kinship relationships, which occur in later IE languages too but cannot be reconstructed for PIE (**I: 2.1.3**). Instead, we see that IE terms for children are often associated with terms for young (usually agricultural) animals or birds (PIE **putlos*, **II: 2.2.1.2**, NPers. *bačče* / *bača* vs. Oss. (D) *wæs* ‘calf’, **III: 2.1.1**). Schneider (1980 [1968]) claimed that modern American kinship ideas are based on “the metaphor of blood”, which may be true for the imagery of other IE cultures too. However, the metaphor of milk and, possibly, the womb or belly (Gr. ἀδελφ(ε)ός ‘Br’, Oss. *ævsymær* || *ænsuvær* ‘id.’, **I: 2.3.2**) may be even more important. For example, the PIE term **d^hugh₂tér* ‘daughter’ might well be based on the idea of lactation (**II: 2.2.2**, **II: 3.1**) as many later terms for ‘children’ (Slavic **děva* ‘girl’, Lyc. *tideime/i-* ‘son, child’, Lat. *fīlius* ‘id.’, etc.) and ‘siblings’ (NPers. *hamšire/a* ‘sister’). In these cases one can imply mother’s milk and mother’s womb, but agricultural animals, their procreation and lactation may also stand on the background.

No matter whether we are trying to see social structures or the way of life in the etymology of kinship terms, this kind of research has but a limited effectiveness for multidisciplinary purposes (as it was emphasised by Delbrück 1889). Some words (nursery terms) do not have any internal etymology. The etymology of other lexical items can be very general: ‘small’ or ‘helpless’ for ‘child’ (e.g., Gr. *παῖς* or HLuw. *ni-muwiza-*, cf. **II: 2.2.1.2**, **II: 2.5.2.2**), ‘old’ for ‘(grand)parents’ (e.g., Dan. *forældre* ‘parents’ Latv. *vecāki* ‘id.’ and Slov. *starši* ‘id.’, OE *ealdfæder* ‘grandfather’ and *ealdmōdor* ‘grandmother’, OIr. *senathair* ‘grandfather’ and *senmáthair* ‘grandmother’ **II: 2.1.3**, **II: 2.5.1**). The shape of many especially ancient words is so distorted that we can hardly

postulate any verifiable etymology for them (e.g., PIE kinship terms in **(h₂)ter* or **g^hen(h₂)-* ‘woman’). By itself etymological research is of more relevance for internal linguistic rather than for multidisciplinary aims.

As I hopefully was able to show in Chapters **II** and **III** of this thesis a contemporary multidisciplinary approach to the study of kinship terms should be a balanced combination of qualitative and quantitative methods, i.e., etymological research (including an accurate phonological and morphological analysis of forms otherwise we will not know whether the similarity of words in two languages is caused by their genetic relatedness, through borrowing, or random factors) should be combined with studies of areal and contact patterns and their correlations with data from other disciplines (e.g., archaeology, modern and ancient DNA research). In this case, even terms with opaque internal etymology or without it can gain significance.

Thus, the location of the PIE homeland (see the “Steppe” hypothesis, Introduction **0.1**) and the shape of the majority of attested IE kinship terminologies (see Chapter **II**) already give us a clue that the PIE and early IE kinship terminologies must be fairly similar to other kinship terminologies of West Eurasia (e.g., Semitic or Western Uralic ones). This must have been a terminology based on the genealogical principle (cf. “descriptive” type, **I: 1.1.6.3**) focused on the relationship of parents and children, showing clear distinction between consanguineal and affinal kin and possessing sibling terms of “brother-sister” type (cf. Murdock’s type E, **I: 1.2.2**). Deviations from this structure can in most cases be explained by secondary convergences with non-IE kinship terminologies. For example, terms like *aka* (*āqā*) ‘elder brother’ (and possibly, *kākā* / *cācā* ‘elder brother / father’s younger brother’) or *āpā* ‘elder sister’ in New Iranian and New Indo-Aryan kinship terminologies are direct lexical borrowings from Turkic and Mongolic languages while terms like *tāū* ‘father’s elder brother’, *jeṭh* ‘husband’s elder brother’ and *bhābhī* ‘husband’s elder brother’s wife’ are semantic borrowings from Dravidian languages (discussed in Chapter **III**). Minor elements of East Asian kinship terminologies are traceable in Bulgarian (e.g., *batko* / *bate* ‘elder brother’) due to the special circumstances of the Bulgarian ethno- and glottogenesis. Therefore, in this respect kinship terms and terminologies can contribute to the research into the origin of languages and peoples speaking them similar to modern and ancient DNA markers.

The pilot study into selected New Iranian kinship terminologies and the glimpse into New Indo-Aryan kinship terminologies presented in the **III** Chapter have shown that cultural and linguistic contacts are well-detectable through the lens of attested kinship terms. For example, the spread of the term *māmā* ‘mother’s brother’ in South Asia (both in New Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages) and in Iranian languages (Balochi, Pashto, Afghan Persian), notably among peoples who have social structures and marriage practices completely different from each other, correlates well with their historical and modern contacts. Similarly, a proliferation of the relative age distinction in the New Indo-Aryan and New Iranian languages is a contact phenomenon with non-

IE languages and has little to do with social changes within these cultures (even though it can be secondary applied to emphasis certain social features such as hierarchy differences between the members of the extended family). A more comprehensive study including data from dialects and minority languages, which should be ideally implemented in the form of an electronic database, would show even more valuable details. Such a project may take place in the future.

Bibliography

- Abaev, Vaso I. 1970. *Русско-осетинский словарь / Russian-Ossetic dictionary* (2nd revised edition). Moscow: Sovetskaya Encyclopedia.
- Adams, Douglas Q. 2013. *A dictionary of Tocharian B*. (Revised and greatly enlarged. 2nd edition). Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Adiego, Ignacio J. 2007. *The Carian Language*. Leiden: Brill.
- AHD = *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language of the English Language*: <https://ahdictionary.com/>
- Ahmad, Mumtaz. 1985. *Baluchi Glossary. A Baluchi-English Glossary: Elementary Level*. Kensington/Maryland: Dunwoody Press.
- Aikio, Ante. 2015. The Finnic ‘secondary e-stems’ and Proto-Uralic vocalism. *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* 95, 26–66.
- AiW = Bartolomae, Christian. 1904. *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*. Strassburg: K. J. Tübner.
- Aktor, Mikael. 2018. Social Classes: *varṇa*. In: P. Olivelle and D. R. Davis, Jr. *Hindu Law: A New History of Dharmaśāstra*. NY: Oxford University Press, 60–77.
- AL = *Akkadian Dictionary* (Association Assyriophile de France): http://www.assyrianlanguages.org/akkadian/index_en.php
- ALEW I–II = Hock, Wolfgang; Bukevičiūtė, Elvira-Jūlia; Schiller, Christiane et al. 2015. *Altltauisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Vol. 1–2. Hamburg: Baar.
- ALF = Hoffmann, Karl; Forssman, Bernhard. 1996. *Avestische Laut- und Flexionslehre*. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft.
- Aliakbari, Mohammad; Toni, Arman. 2008. The Realization of Address Terms in Modern Persian in Iran: A Sociolinguistic Study. *Linguistik online* 35, 3/08.
- Allen, Nicholas. 1986. Tetradic theory: an approach to kinship. *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford* 17/2, 87–109.
- . 1989a. Assimilation of alternate generations. *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford* 20/1, 45–55.
- . 1989b. The evolution of kinship terminologies. *Lingua* 77, 173–185.
- . 2008. Tetradic Theory and the Origin of Human Kinship Systems. In: Nicolas J. Allen et al. (eds). 2008, 96–112.
- . 2012. Tetradic Theory and Omaha System. In: Thomas R. Trautmann and Peter M. Whiteley (eds). *Crow-Omaha: New Light on a Classic Problem of Kinship Analysis*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Allen, Nicholas. J.; Callan, Hilary; Dunbar, Robin; James, Wendy (eds). 2008. *Early Human Kinship: From Sex to Social Reproduction*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Allentoft, Morten E. et al. 2015. Population genomics of Bronze Age Eurasia. *Nature* 522, 167–172.

- Ambrasas, Vytautas et al. 1997. *Lithuanian Grammar*. Vilnius: Baltos Lankos.
- Ameka, Felix K. 2016. A comment to Wierzbicka 2016b. *Current Anthropology* 57 (4), 421–422.
- Anderson, Benedict. 2006. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (Revised edition). London: Verso.
- Andreyev, M. S. et al. 1957. *Ягнобские тексты с приложением ягнобско-русского словаря / Yaghnobi texts with the supplement of the Yaghnobi-Russian dictionary*. Moscow–Leningrad: Izbatelstvo Akademii Nauk SSSR.
- Andreas, Friedrich C.; Wackernagel J. 1931. Die erste, zweite und fünfte Ghāthā des Zurathuštro (Josno 28. 29. 32). Anmerkungen. In: *Sonderdrucke der Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen: Philologisch-historische Klasse*. Berlin: Weidmann, 304–329.
- Andromedas, John. 1957. Greek Kinship Terms in Everyday Use. *American Anthropologist* 59 (6), 1086–1088.
- Ansari, Zakia R.; Shabnam, Srushti; Priyadarshi, Brajesh. 2015. Kinship terms of Urdu in Mysore and Lucknow varieties: a comparative study. *Indian Linguistics* 76 (1–2), 113–130.
- Anthony, David W. 1995. Horse, wagon & chariot: Indo-European languages and archaeology. *Antiquity* 69, 554–65.
- . 2007. *The Horse, the Wheel, and Language: How Bronze-Age Riders from the Eurasian Steppes Shaped the Modern World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- . 2019/2020. Ancient DNA, Mating Networks, and the Anatolian Split. In: Matilde Serangeli; Olander, Thomas (eds). *Dispersals and Diversification: Linguistic and Archaeological Perspectives on the Early Stages of Indo-European*. Leiden: Brill, 21–53.
- Anthony, David W.; Ringe, Don. 2015. The Indo-European Homeland from Linguistic and Archaeological Perspectives. *Annual Review of Linguistics* 1, 199–219:
<https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-linguist-030514-124812>
- Anthony, David W.; Brown, Dorcas R. 2017. Molecular archaeology and Indo-European linguistics: Impressions from new data. In: Bjarne S. S. Hansen et al. (eds). *Usque ad radices. Indo-European studies in honour of Birgit Anette Olsen*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 25–54.
- Apresyan Yuriy D. (ed). 2006. *Языковая картина мира и системная лексикография / Linguistic worldview and systematic lexicography*. Moscow: Yazyki slavyanskoy kultury.
- Ascoli, G. J. 1863. γάλως, glos; 2. Ênder (pers.). *Historische Sprachforschung (KZ)* 12 (4), 319–320.
- Aslanov, Martiros G. 1985. *Пушту-Русский Словарь / Pashto-Russian dictionary* [2nd edition]. Moscow: Русский язык.
- van der Auwera, Johan. 1998. Conclusion. In: Johan van der Auwera (ed). *Adverbial Constructions in the Languages of Europe*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 813–836.

- . 2001. Standard Average European. In: Bernd Kortmann and Johan van der Auwera (eds). *The Languages and Linguistics of Europe: A Comprehensive Guide*. Berlin–Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 291–306.
- Bachofen, Johann J. 1861. *Das Mutterrecht: Eine Untersuchung über die Gynaiokratie der alten Welt nach ihrer religiösen und rechtlichen Natur*. Stuttgart: Kraiss & Hoffmann.
- Bacon, Elizabeth. 1946. A Preliminary Attempt to Determine the Culture Areas of Asia. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 2 (2), 117–132.
- . 1953. Problems Related to Delimiting the Culture Areas of Asia. *Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology* 9 (Asia and North America: Transpacific Contacts), 17–23.
- Baghbidi, Hassan Rezai. 2009. Darius and the Bisotun Inscription: A New Interpretation of the Last Paragraph of Column IV. *Journal of Persianate Studies* 2 (1), 44–61.
- Bailey Harold W. 1972. A Half-Century of Irano-Indian Studies. In: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland* 104, 99–110.
- . 1979. *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bakkum, Gabriël Cornelis Leonides Maria. 2009. *The Latin dialect of the Ager Faliscus: 150 years of scholarship*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Balkan, K. 1948. Eti hukukunda içgüveylik. *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* 6, 147–152.
- Bammesberger, Alfred. 1990. *Die Morphologie des urgermanischen Nomens*. Heidelberg.
- . 1995. Zur Vorgeschichte von gotischen *berusjos* und *fadrein*. *Beiträge Zur Geschichte Der Deutschen Sprache Und Literatur* 117 (1), 3–8.
- Barker, Muhammad A.; Mengal, Aqil Khan. 1969. *A Course in Baluchi*. Vol. 1–2. Montreal: Institute of Islamic studies, McGill University.
- Barlau, Stephen B. 1981. Old Icelandic kinship terminology: an anomaly. *Ethnology* 20, 191–202.
- Bartash, Vitali. 2018. Sumerian “child”. *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 70, 3–15.
- Barth, Fredrik. 2005. *One discipline, four ways: British, German, French, and American anthropology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bartholomae, Christian. 1908. Zu den arischen Wörtern für ‚der erste‘ und ‚der zweite‘. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 23, 43–92.
- Basson, Alec. 2006. ‘People Are Plants’– a Conceptual Metaphor in the Hebrew Bible. *Old Testament Essays* 19 (2), 573–583.
- Batani, M.R. 1973. Kinship terms in Persian. In: *Anthropological linguistics* 15, 324–327.
- Beck, Lois; Huang, Julia. 2008. Nomads. In: Bonnie G. Smith et al. (eds). *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Women in World History*. Vol. 3. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 348–352.
- Beekes, Robert Stephen Paul. 1969. *The Development of the Proto-Indo-European Laryngeals in Greek*. The Hague–Paris–London: Mouton.

- . 1972. The nominative of the hysterodynamic noun-inflection. *Historische Sprachforschung* 86, 30–63.
- . 1973. The Greek *i*- and *u*-Stems and πόλις, -ηος. *Glotta* 51, 228–245.
- . 1976a. Some Greek *aRa*-Forms. *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 34, 9–20.
- . 1976b. Uncle and nephew. *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 4, 43–64.
- . 1995. *Comparative Indo-European linguistics. An introduction*. Amsterdam-Philadelphia: Benjamins.
- . 2010. *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*. Leiden: Brill.
- Benveniste, Émil. 1935. Un nom indo-européen de la «femme». *Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris* 35, 104–106.
- . 1951. Études sur le vieux-perse. *Bulletin de la société de linguistique de Paris* 47, 21–51.
- . 1954. Problèmes sémantiques de la reconstruction. *Word* 10, 251–264.
- . 1966. *Titres et noms propres en iranien ancien*. [Travaux de l'Institut d'Études Iraniennes de l'Université de Paris 1]. Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck.
- . 1969. *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes*. Volume I&II. Paris: Éds. de Minuit.
- Bielmeier, Roland. 1977. *Historische Untersuchung zum Erb- und Lehnwortschatzanteil im ossetischen Grundwortschatz*. Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe 27, Asiatische und Afrikanische Studien. Peter lang: Frankfurt am Main.
- . 1989. Yaghnōbī. In: *CLI*, 480–488.
- BER I–VII = Georgiev, V. I. et al. 1971–. *Български етимологичен речник / Bulgarian etymological dictionary*. Vol. 1–7. Sofia: Izdatelstvo na BAN / Akademično izdatelstvo “Prof. M. Drinov”.
- Berezkin, Yuri. 2015. Spread of Folklore Motifs as a Proxy for Information Exchange: Contact Zones and Borderlines in Eurasia. *Trames. Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences* 19 (1), 3–13: doi:10.3176/tr.2015.1.01.
- . 2016. Stratigraphy of Cultural Interaction in Eurasia Based on Computing of Folklore Motifs. *Trames. Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences* 20 (3), 217–227: doi:10.3176/tr.2016.3.01.
- Berlin, Brent; Kay, Paul. 1969. *Basic Color Terms: Their Universality and Evolution*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Berneker, Erich. 1898 Etymologisches. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 9, 360–364.
- Beskrovniy, V. M. (ed). 1972. *Хинди-русский словарь / Hindi-Russian dictionary*. Vol. I–II, Moscow: Sovetskaya Entsiclopedia.
- Besolova, E. B. 2013. Макроконцепт родства и свойства (тугхæстæгдзинад æмæ хионты амонæг макроконцепт) в осетинском языке / Macro-concept of terms of kinship and affinity in the Ossetic language. *Izvestia SOIGSI* 9 (48), 58–68.

- Bittles, Alan H. 2015. The Prevalence and Outcomes of Consanguineous Marriage in Contemporary Societies. In: Alison Shaw and Aviad Raz (eds). *Cousin Marriages: Between Traditions, Genetic Risk and Cultural Change*. New York–Oxford: Berghahn, 33–45.
- Blaffer-Hrdy, Sarah. 2009. *Mothers and Others: The Evolutionary Origins of Mutual Understanding*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Blank, Andreas. 1997. *Prinzipien des lexikalischen Bedeutungswandels am Beispiel der romanischen Sprachen*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag.
- Blaut, J. M. 1987. Diffusionism: A Uniformitarian Critique. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 77 (1), 30–47.
- Blažek, Václav. 2001. Indo-European kinship terms in **-ǵ₂ter*. In: Ondřej Šefčík; Bohumil Vykypěl (eds). *Grammaticus*. Brno: Masarykova Universita, 24–33.
- . 2010. Synové Indoevropanů / Sons of Indo-Europeans. *Linguistica Brunensia* 58 (1–2), 93–120.
- Boas, Franz. 1896. The Limitations of the Comparative Method of Anthropology. *Science New Series* 4 (103), 901–908.
- . 1965 [1911]. *The Mind of Primitive Man*. New York: The Free Press; London: Collier-MacMillan Limited.
- . 1942. Language and culture. In: Waldo G. Leland (ed). *Studies in the History of Culture: The Disciplines of the Humanities*. Menasha, Wis.: Published for the Conference by the George Banta Pub. Co, 178–184.
- Bopp, Franz. 1871 [1837]. *Vergleichende Grammatik des Sanskrit, Send, Armenischen, Griechischen, Lateinischen, Litauischen, Altslavischen, Gotischen und Deutschen* (3^d edition). Volume III. Berlin: Dümmler.
- Boroditsky, Lera. 2018. Language and the Construction of Time through Space. *Trends in Neurosciences* 41 (10), 651–653.
- Boroditsky, L., Schmidt, L., & Phillips, W. 2003. Sex, syntax, and semantics. In D. Gentner & S. Goldin-Meadow (Eds). *Language in mind: Advances in the study of language and cognition*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 61–80.
- Boutkan, Dirk; Siebinga, Sjoerd Michiel. 2005. *Old Frisian etymological dictionary*. *Indo-European Etymological Dictionaries Online*. Alexander Lubotsky (ed). *Indo-European Etymological Dictionaries Online*. Leiden: Brill.
- Boyle, Alexander. 1977. Matrilineal Succession in the Pictish Monarchy. *The Scottish Historical Review* 56 (161 / 1), 1–10.
- Bradley, Richard. 2002. *The Past in Prehistoric Societies*. London. Routledge.
- Brandenstein, Wilhelm; Mayrhofer, Manfred. 1964. *Handbuch des Altpersischen*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

- Bregel, Yuri. 1991. Turko-Mongol influences in Central Asia. In: Robert L. Canfield (ed). *Turko-Persia in Historical Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 53–77.
- Bremmer, Jan N. 1976. Avunculate and Fosterage. *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 4, 65–76.
- . 1983. The Importance of the Maternal Uncle and Grandfather in Archaic and Classical Greece and Early Byzantium. *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 50, 173–186.
- Brosman, Paul. 2004. The Greek nouns in *-ōs* and *-eus*. *Folia Linguistica Historica* XXV (1–2), 1–19.
- Brown, Roger. 1958. How Shall A Thing be Called? *Psychological Review* 65, 14–21.
- Brugmann, Karl. 1876. Zur Geschichte der stammabstufenden Deklinationen. Erste Abteilung: Die Nomina auf *-ar-* und *-tar-*. *Studien zur griechischen und lateinischen Grammatik* 9, 361–406.
- . 1891. Zur Frage der Entstehung des grammatischen Geschlechts. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 15, 523–531.
- . 1906. *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*. Zweite Bearbeitung. II: Lehre von den Wortformen und ihrem Gebrauch. Erster Teil: Allgemeines, Zusammensetzung (Komposita), Nominalstämme. Strassburg: K.J. Trübner.
- . 1907. Νυός, *nurus*, *snušá* und die griechischen und italischen femininen Substantiva auf *-os*. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 21, 315–322.
- Buck, Carl Darling. 1904. *A grammar of Oscan and Umbrian with a collection of inscriptions and a glossary*. Boston: Ginn.
- . 1949. *A Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages: A Contribution to the History of Ideas*. University of Chicago Press.
- Buckley, Thomas. 1989. Kroeber's Theory of Culture Areas and the Ethnology of Northwestern California. *Anthropological Quarterly* 62 (1), 15–26.
- Būga, K. 1922. *Kalba ir senovė*. Kaunas: Švietimo Ministerijos leidinys.
- Būga RR I–III = Būga, K. 1958–1962. *Rinktiniai raštai*. Vol. 1–3. Sudarė Z. Zinkevičius. Vilnius: Valstybinė politinės ir mokslinės literatūros leidykla.
- Burkert, W. 1977. *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche*. Stuttgart: Berlin, Köln, Mainz: Kohlhammer.
- Burrow, Millar. 1937. The Complaint of Laban's Daughters. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 57 (3), 259–276.
- Burrow, T. 1947. Dravidian studies VII. Further Dravidian words in Sanskrit. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies (BSOAS)* 12 (2), 365–396.
- Burrow, T.; Emeneau, M. B. 1961. *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Canfield, Robert L. 1991. Introduction: the Turko-Persian tradition. In: Robert L. Canfield (ed). *Turko-Persian Historical Perspective*. Cambridge–NY: Cambridge University Press, 1–34.

- Carruba, Onofrio. 1969 / 1970. Su alcuni nomi di parentela in licio e in nesico. *Parola del Passato* 24, 269–278.
- . 1970. *Das Palaische. Texte, Grammatik, Lexikon*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- . 1978. Il relativo e gli indefiniti in licio. *Die Sprache* 24, 163–179.
- . 1994. Der Stamm für “Frau” im Hethitischen. P. Vavroušek (ed). *Iranian and Indo-European Studies: Memorial Volume of Otokar Klíma*. Praha: Enigma Corporation, 13–25.
- . 1995. Die Verwandtschaftsnamen auf -ter des Indogermanischen. In: Smoczyński, Wojciech (ed). *Kuryłowicz Memorial Volume*. Vol. I. Cracow: Universitas, 143–158.
- Carsten, Janet. 2000. Introduction: cultures of relatedness. In: Janet Carsten (ed). *Cultures of Relatedness*. Cambridge; New York; Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1–36.
- . 2013. What Kinship Does – and How. *Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 3 (2), 245–251.
- Casaretto, Antje. 2004. *Nominale Wortbildung der gotischen Sprache: die Derivation der Substantive*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter.
- CEToM = A Comprehensive Edition of Tocharian Manuscripts (University of Vienna): <https://www.univie.ac.at/tocharian/?home>
- Chantraine, Pierre. 1999. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque: histoire des mots* [2nd edition]. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Charlse-Edwards, Thomas Mowbray. 1993. *Early Irish and Welsh kinship*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- CHD L–N, P, S = Goedegebuure, Petra M.; Güterbock, Hans G.; Hoffner Harry A., and van den Hout, Theo P. J. (eds). 1980–. *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
- Chernykh 1999 I–II = Chernykh, P. Ya. 1999. *Историко-этимологический словарь современного русского языка / Historico-etymological dictionary of the contemporary Russian language* (3^d edition). Moscow: Russkiy Yazyk.
- Cheung, Johnny. 2002. *Studies in the Historical Development of the Ossetic Vocalism*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.
- . 2013. Neuostiranisch. In: *HI*, 274–279.
- Chirikba, Viacheslav. 2008. The Problem of the Caucasian Sprachbund. In: Pieter Muysken (ed). *From Linguistic Areas to Areal Linguistics* (SLCS 90). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 25–93.
- Christiansen, B. 2006. *Die Ritualtradition der Ambazzi. Eine philologische Bearbeitung und entstehungsgeschichtliche Analyse der Ritualtexte CTH 391, CTH 429 und CTH 463* [StBoT 48]. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Clark, Isabelle. 1998. The Gamos of Hera. In: Blandell, Sue; Williamson, Margaret (eds). *The sacred and the feminine in Ancient Greece*. London, New York: Routledge, 13–26.

- CLI = Schmitt, Rüdiger (ed). 1989. *Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.
- Cole, Susan Guettel. 1998. Artemis at the Borders of the Polis. In: Blandell, Sue; Williamson, Margaret (eds). *The sacred and the feminine in Ancient Greece*. London, New York: Routledge, 27–43.
- Collins, Billie Jean. 2019. Virginité in Hittite Ritual. In: Ronald I. Kim, Jana Mynářová, Peter Pavúk et al. (eds). *Hrozný and Hittite: The First Hundred Years. Proceedings of the International Conference Held at Charles University, Prague, 11–14 November 2015*. Leiden: Brill, 455–468.
- Corti, Carlo 2010. “Because for a long time (the gods of Zalpa) have been ignored...hence these offerings in this way do we donate.” New celebrations in the Zalpuwa land. *JANER* 10, 92–102.
- CPD = MacKenzie, D. N. 1986 [1971]. *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary*. London – New York – Toronto: Oxford University Press.
- Chyleński, Maciej. 2019. Ancient Mitochondrial Genomes Reveal the Absence of Maternal Kinship in the Burials of Çatalhöyük People and Their Genetic Affinities. *Genes* 10 (207), doi:10.3390/genes10030207
- Dahl, Östen. 1990. Standard Average European as an exotic language. In: Johannes Bechert; Giuliano Bernini; Claude Buridant (eds). *Toward a Typology of European Languages*. Berlin – New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Dahl, Östen; Koptjevskaja-Tamm, Maria. 2001. Kinship in grammar. In: Irène Baron et al. (eds). *Dimensions of Possession*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co, 201–225.
- Dames, Mansel Longworth. 1891. *A Text Book of the Balochi Language, consisting of Miscellaneous Stories, Legends, Poems, and a Balochi-English Vocabulary*. Lahore: Punjab Government Press.
- Damgaard, Peter de Barros et al. 2018a. The horse herders and the impact of early Bronze Age steppe expansions into Asia. *Science* 360 (6396): DOI: 10.1126/science.aar7711
- . 2018b. 137 ancient human genomes from across the Eurasian steppes. *Nature* 557, 369–374 (2018): <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41586-018-0094-2>
- Darms, Georges. 1978. *Schwäher und Schwager, Hahn und Huhn*. München, Kitzinger.
- Das, R., Upadhyai, P. Investigating the West Eurasian ancestry of Pakistani Hazaras. *Journal of Genetics* 98 (43): <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12041-019-1093-2>
- David, Anne Boyle. 2014. *Descriptive Grammar of Pashto and its Dialects*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Delbrück, B. 1889. *Die Indogermanischen Verwandtschaftsnamen. Ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Altertumskunde. Abhandlungen der Königlich Sächsischen. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Kl., XI/5, Leipzig*, 381–606.

- Demiraj, B. 1997. *Albanische Etymologien: Untersuchungen zum albanischen Erbwortschatz*. Amsterdam, Atlanta: Rodopi.
- Dennis, Andrew et al. 2000. *Laws of Early Iceland. Grágás: the Codex Regius of Grágás with material from other manuscripts II* (University of Manitoba Press Icelandic Studies 5). Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.
- Derksen, Rick. 2008. *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic Inherited Lexicon*. Leiden Indo-European Etymological Dictionary Series. Vol. 4. Leiden: Brill.
- . 2015. *Etymological Dictionary of the Baltic Inherited Lexicon*. Leiden Indo-European Etymological Dictionary Series, Volume: 13. Leiden: Brill.
- Deyhime, Guitty. 2012. France xvi. Loanwords in Persian. *Encyclopaedia Iranica* X/2, 181–184.
- Dixon, R. M. W. 1982. *Where Have All the Adjectives Gone?* Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Doerfer TME I–IV = Doerfer, Gerhard. 1963–1975. *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen: unter besonderer Berücksichtigung älterer neupersischer Geschichtsquellen, vor allem der Mongolen- und Timuridenzeit*. Vol. 1–4. Wiesbaden: Steiner.
- . 1967. *Türkische Lehnwörter im Tadschikischen*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- . 1988. *Grundwort und Sprachmischung. Eine Untersuchung an Hand von Körperteilbezeichnungen*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH.
- Dorofeeva, L. N. 1960. *Язык фарси-кабули / Afghan Persian*. Moscow: Vostochnaya Literatura.
- Dowden, Ken. 1989. *Death and the Maiden: Girls' Initiation Rites in Greek Mythology*. London – New York: Routledge.
- Duden Online: <https://www.duden.de/>
- Dumont, Louis. 1961. Marriage in India: the present state of the question, part 1. *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 5, 75–95.
- . 1962. Le vocabulaire de parenté dans l'Inde du nord. *L'Homme* 2, 5–48.
- . 1964. Marriage in India: the present state of the question, part 2. *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 7, 77–98.
- . 1966a. Marriage in India: the present state of the question, part 2. *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 9, 90–114.
- . 1966b. *Homo Hierarchicus: Essai sur le système des castes*. Paris: Gallimard.
- . 1975. Terminology and prestations revisited. *Contributions to Indian Sociology* n. s. 9, 197–216.
- Dunkel, George. 1992. Two old problems in Greek: πτόλεμος and τερψίμβροτος. *Glotta* 70, 197–225.
- . 2001. The sound-system of Proto-Indo-European. In: Huld, Martin E.; Jones-Blay, Karlene; Volpe, Angella Della; Dexter, Mirriam Robbins (eds). *Proceeding of the Twelfth Annual*

- UCLA Indo-European conference, Los-Angeles, May, 26-28, 2000. Washington, DC: Institute for the Study of Man, 1–14.
- . 2005. Latin *-pte, -pe, -per, -pse*; IE Limiting **-po-te, *-pe-r* and **póti-* ‘master’. In: Karlene Jones-Bley et al. (eds). *Proceedings of the Sixteenth Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference (Los Angeles, November 5–6, 2004)* (JIES Monograph Series 50). Washington, DC: Institute for the Study of Man, 173–189.
- . 2014. *Lexicon der indogermanischen Partikeln und Pronominalstämme*. Vol. 1–2. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Durkheim, É. 1898. Kohler, Professor J., Zur Urgeschichte der Ehe. Totemismus, Gruppenehe, Mutterrecht (Review). *l'Année sociologique* 1, 306–19.
- Durkin-Meisterernst, Desmond. 2013. Mittelliranisch. In: *HI*, 239–257.
- Dushenkova, T. R. et al. 2008. *Удмуртско-русский словарь / Udmurt-Russian dictionary*. Izhevsk: RAN UrO: <https://dict.fu-lab.ru/dict?id=129449>
- DWDS = Digitales Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache: <https://www.dwds.de/>
- Dziebel, German V. 2007. *The Genius of Kinship: the phenomenon of human kinship and the global diversity of kinship terminologies*. Youngstown; New York: Cambria Press.
- Ebbinghaus, Ernst A. 1974. Gotica IX. *General Linguistics* 14 (2), 97–101.
- Eckert, Rainer; Crome, Emilia; Fleckenstein, Christa. 1983. *Geschichte der russischen Sprache*. Leipzig: Enzyklopädie.
- eDIL = Electronic Dictionary of the Irish Language: <http://www.dil.ie/>
- Edelman, D. I.; Molchanova E. K. 2019. Об истории терминов родства и свойства в иранских языках и диалектах / History of terms of kinship and affinal in Iranian languages and dialects. In: Vladimir A. Popov (ed). *Алгебра родства: Родство. Системы родства. Системы терминов родства* Вып. 17 / *Kinship Algebra: Kinship. Kinship systems. Systems of kinship terms* 17. St. Petersburg: Russian Academy of Sciences; KIO, 114–142.
- Efimov, V.A.; Rastorgueva V.S.; Sharova E.M. 1982. Персидский, таджикский, дари / Persian, Tajik, Dari. In: *OIrJa* III, 5–230.
- EI = Encyclopaedia Iranica Online: <http://www.iranicaonline.org/>
- Ehelolf, Hans. 1936. Hethitisch-akkadische Wortgleichungen [IV. išḫaššara- = „Herrin“]. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 43, 170–195 [184–186].
- Eichner, Heiner. 1973. Die Etymologie von heth. *mehur*. *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 31, 53–107.
- . 1974. Informationsteil Indogermanische Chronik 20b / 79 (Otten H. Eine alhethitische Erzählung um die Stadt Zalpa). *Die Sprache* 20, 184–185.
- . 1988–1990. Indogermanische Chronik 34 – B. Anatolisch. *Die Sprache* 34, 354–398.
- . 2002. Indogermanische Seelenbegriffe. In: J. Figl and H.D. Klein. *Der Begriff der Seele in der Religionswissenschaft*. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 131–141.

- . 2015. Das Anatolische in seinem Verhältnis zu anderen Gliedern der indoeuropäischen Sprachfamilie aus aktueller Sicht. In: T. Krisch and S. Niederreiter (eds). *Diachronie und Sprachvergleich. Beiträge aus der Arbeitsgruppe "historisch-vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft" bei der 40. Österreichischen Linguistiktagung 2013 in Salzburg*. Innsbruck: IBS, 13–26.
- Eichner-Kühn, Ingrid. 1976. Vier altindische Wörter. *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 34, 21–37.
- EIEC = Mallory, J. P.; Adams, Douglas Q. 1997. *Encyclopedia of Indo-European culture*. London. Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn.
- Elfenbein, Josef. 1963. *A Vocabulary of Marw Baluchi*. Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale.
- . 1990. *An Anthropology of Classical and Modern Balochi Literature*. Vol. 1–2. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- El Guindi, Fadwa. 2018a. Milk kinship. In: Hilary Callan (ed). *The International Encyclopedia of Anthropology*. Wiley Online Library:
<https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118924396.wbiea1358>
- . 2018b. Turning cousins into siblings: the transformational character of kinship. In: Vladimir A. Попов (ed). *Алгебра родства: Родство. Системы родства. Системы терминов родства* Вып. 16 [Kinship Algebra: Kinship. Kinship systems. Systems of kinship terms 16]. St. Petersburg: Russian Academy of Sciences; KIO, 184–211.
- . 2019. Elicitation of kinship data: reflections on the case of Arabian kinship. In: Vladimir A. Попов (ed). *Алгебра родства: Родство. Системы родства. Системы терминов родства* Вып. 17 [Kinship Algebra: Kinship. Kinship systems. Systems of kinship terms 17]. St. Petersburg: Russian Academy of Sciences; KIO, 203–211.
- . 2020. *Suckling: Kinship More Fluid*. London: Routledge.
- EM = Ernout, Alfred; Meillet, Antoine. 1985 [1932]. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine: histoire des mots*. (4th edition) Paris: Klincksieck.
- EnIr = Encyclopædia Iranica Online: <http://www.iranicaonline.org/>
- Ermola, V. I. 2011. *Польская грамматика в таблицах и схемах / Polish grammar in tables and schemes*. St. Petersburg: KARO.
- ESIJ_a I–V = Rastorgueva, Vera S.; Edel'man, Dzhoy I. 2000–. *Этимологический словарь иранских языков / Etymological dictionary of the Iranian languages*. Vols. 1–5. Moscow: Vostochnaya literatura.
- ESSJ_a I–XXXIX = Trubachev, Oleg N.; Varbot, Zh. Zh.; Merkulova V. A. et al. 1974–. *Этимологический словарь славянских языков. Праславянский лексический фонд / Etymological dictionary of the Slavic languages*. Vols. 1–39. Moscow: Nauka.
- ESSJ_e = Bezljaj, France; Snoj, Marko; Furlan, Metka. 2005. *Etimologiški Slovar Slovenskega Jezika / Etymological Dictionary of Slovenian Language*. Ljubljana: Izdala Slovenska Akademija Znanosti in Umetnosti.

- ESUM I–VI = Melnichuk, O. S. 1982–2012. *Етимологічний словник української мови / Etymological dictionary of the Ukrainian language*. Vol. 1–6. Kiev: Nauk. dumka.
- ERHSJe I–III = Skok, Petar; Deanović, Mirko. 1971–1973. *Etimologijski rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika*. Vol. 1–3. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akad. Znanosti i Umjetnosti.
- Evans-Pritchard, Edward E. 1940. *The Nuer: A Description of the Modes of Livelihood and Political Institutions of a Nilotic People*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- . 1950. Kinship and the Local Community Among the Nuer. In: A. R. Radcliffe-Brown & D. Forde (eds). *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*. London: Oxford University Press, 360–391.
- Everett, Caleb. 2013. *Linguistic Relativity: Evidence Across Languages and Cognitive Domains*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- EVP = Morgenstierne, Georg. 1927. *An etymological vocabulary of Pashto*. Oslo: Dybwad.
- EWAia I–III = 1992–2001. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen*. Vol. 1–3. Heidelberg: Winter.
- The Exeter Book II* = *The Exeter Book: an Anthology of Anglo-Saxon Poetry*. Part II: Poems IX - XXXII ed. by W. S. Mackie. London – NY – Toronto: Oxford University Press.
- Falileev, Alexander I. 2000. *Etymological Glossary of Old Welsh*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Farrell, Tim. 1990. *Basic Balochi. An Introductory Course*. Naples: Instituto Universitario Orientale, Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici.
- Feinberg R.; Ottenheimer, M. (eds). 2001. *The Cultural Analysis of Kinship*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Fellner, Hannes. 2015. The syntax of nominalizations in Vedic Sanskrit (handout). 16th World Sanskrit Conference. Bangkok, June 28–July 2, 2015.
- Fellner, Hannes A., and Laura Grestenberger. 2018. Die Reflexe der *-nt- und *-mh₁no-Partizipien im Hethitischen und Tocharischen. In: Elisabeth Rieken (ed). *100 Jahre Entzifferung des Hethitischen: Morphosyntaktische Kategorien in Sprachgeschichte und Forschung. Akten der Arbeitstagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft vom 21. bis 23. September 2015 in Marburg*. Wiesbaden: Reichert, 63–82.
- Flood, Gavin. 1997. *An introduction to Hinduism*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.
- Fortes, M. 1945. *The Dynamics of Clanship Among the Tallensi*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Fraenkel, Ernst. 1910. *Geschichte der griechischen Nomina agentis auf -ter, -tor, -tes (-t-)*. Teil 1: Entwicklung und Verbreitung der Nomina im Epos, in der Elegie und in den außerionisch-attischen Dialekten. Berlin–Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- . 1912. *Geschichte der griechischen Nomina agentis auf -ter, -tor, -tes (-t-)*. Teil 2: Entwicklung und Verbreitung der Nomina im Attischen, Entstehung und Accentuation der Nomina auf -tes. Berlin–Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- . 1937. Baltische Miszellen 3-5. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 55, 81–96.

- . 1962. *Litauisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Fraenkel LEW I–II = Fraenkel, Ernst. 1962–1965. *Litauisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Vols. 1–2. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter.
- Fragner, Bert G. 1999. *Die „Persophonie“: Regionalität, Identität und Sprachkontakt in der Geschichte Asiens*. Berlin: Das Arabische Buch.
- Franklin, Sarah; Susan McKinnon (eds). 2001. *Relative Values: Reconfiguring Kinship Studies*. Durham; London: Duke University Press.
- Friedrich, Paul. 1963. An Evolutionary Sketch of Russian Kinship. In: Viola E. Garfield and Wallace L. Chafe (eds). *Symposium on Language and Culture: Proceedings of the 1962 Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society*. Washington, D. C: American Ethnological Society, 1–26.
- . 1964. Semantic Structure and Social Structure: An Instance from Russian. In: Ward H. Goodenough (ed). *Explorations in Cultural Anthropology: essays in honor of George Peter Murdock*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 131–166.
- . 1966a. Proto-Indo-European Kinship. *Ethnology* 5 (1), 1–36.
- . 1966b. The Linguistic Reflex of Social Change: From Tsarist to Soviet Russian Kinship. *Sociological Inquiry* 36 (2), 159–185.
- . 1980. Studies in the Kinship Terminology of the Indo-European Languages by Oswald Szemerényi (Review). *Language* 56 (1), 186–192.
- Fritz, Gerd. 1974. *Bedeutungswandel im Deutschen*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Fruzzetti, Lina; Akos, Östör. 1976. Is there a structure to north Indian kinship terminology? *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 10 (1), 63–95.
- . 1982. Bad Blood in Bengal. In: Ákos Östör, Lina Fruzzetti and Steve Barnett (eds). *Concepts of person: kinship, caste, and marriage in India*. Cambridge, M.A.: Harvard University Press, 31–55, 236.
- Gaffarov I–II = Gaffarov, M. A. 1914–1927. *Персидско-русский словарь / Persian–Russian dictionary*. Vol. 1–2. Moscow.
- Gamkrelidze Tamaz; Ivanov, Vjačeslav. 1995. *Indo-European and the Indo-Europeans*. Berlin, New-York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Garnier, Roman. 2014. Sur l'étymologie du latin *virgō* «vierge». *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia (SEC)* 19 (2), 59–70.
- Garnier, Roman; Sagart, Laurent; Sagot, Benoît. 2016. Milk and the Indo-Europeans. In: Martine Robbeets and Alexander Savelyev. *Language Dispersal Beyond Farming*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 291–311.
- Gates, Henry P. 1971. *The kinship terminology of Homeric Greek. Memoir 27 of the International Journal of American Linguistics*. Baltimore: Waverly Press.
- GE = Montanari, Franco et al. 2014. *The Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek*. Leiden: Brill.

- Geertz, C. 1975. *The interpretation of cultures: selected essays*. London: Hutchinson.
- Geiger, Wilhelm. 1891. Lautlehre des Balūčī. *Abhandlungen der I. Classe der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 19 / II, 397–464.
- Gershevitch, Ilya. 1954. *A Grammar of Manichean Sogdian*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- . 1985 [1955]. Word and Spirit in Ossetic. In: N. Sims-Williams (ed). *Philologia Iranica*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 127–138.
- . 1985 [1973]. Genealogical descent in Iranian. In: N. Sims-Williams (ed). *Philologia Iranica*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 265–277.
- Gesenius 1962 = *Wilhelm Gesenius' hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament* bearbeitet von Frants Buhl. 17. Auflage. Berlin: Springer.
- Gilbertson, George W. 1925. *English-Balochi Colloquial Dictionary*. Vol. 1–2. Hertford: Paragon Publications.
- Gillespie, Caitlin C. 2014. Girlhood Interrupted: Unstable Transition in Euripides. In: S. Moraw and A. Kieburg (eds). *Mädchen im Altertum – Girls in Antiquity*. Münster–New York: Waxmann, 205–219.
- Van Gennep, A. 1906. *Mythes et légendes d'Australie*. Paris: Guilmoto.
- Gharib, B. 1995. *Sogdian Dictionary (Sogdian – Persian – English)*. Tehran: Farhangian Publications.
- Gimbutas, Marija. 1956. The prehistory of eastern Europe. Part 1. Cambridge, MA: Peabody Museum.
- . 1970. Proto-Indo-European culture: The Kurgan culture during the fifth, fourth, and third millennia B.C. In: George Cardona, Henry M. Hoenigswald & Alfred Senn (eds). *Indo-European and Indo-Europeans*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 155–198.
- . 1977. The first wave of Eurasian steppe pastoralists into Copper Age Europe. *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 5(4), 277–338.
- . 1991. *The Civilization of the Goddess: The World of Old Europe*. San Francisco: Harper.
- . 1994. *Das Ende Alteuropas. Der Einfall von Steppennomaden aus Südrussland und die Indogermanisierung Mitteleuropas*. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft.
- GK = *Gerlyver Kernevek / Cornish dictionary* (Dynnargh dhe'n Akademi Kernewek): <https://www.akademikernewek.org.uk/>
- Glatzer, Bernt. 2002. The Pashtun Tribal System. In: G. Pfeffer and D. K. Behera (eds). *Concept of Tribal Society*. New Delhi: Concept Publishers, 265–282.
- Glaz, Adam; Danaher, David; Łozowski, Przemysław. 2013. Introduction. In: Adam Glaz – David Danaher – Przemysław Łozowski (eds). *The Linguistic Worldview: Ethnolinguistics, Cognition, and Culture*. London: Versita, 11–24.
- (eds). 2013. *The Linguistic Worldview: Ethnolinguistics, Cognition, and Culture*. London: Versita.

- Gliwa, Bernd; Šeškauskaitė, Daiva. 2015. Zu litauisch *laigonas* ‘Bruder der Braut’, lettisch *līgava* ‘Braut’. *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia (SEC)* 20 (2), 101–109.
- Goddard, C.; Wierzbicka A. 2014. *Words and Meanings. Lexical Semantics across Domains, Languages, and Cultures*. Oxford University Press.
- Godel, Robert. 1975. *An introduction to the study of classical Armenian*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.
- Goedegebuure, Petra. 2013. Split-ergativity in Hittite. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie* 102 (2), 270–303.
- Goncharov, Julie. 2015. *In Search of Reference The case of the Russian adjectival intensifier samyj* (PhD thesis). University of Toronto.
- Gonda, Jan. 1962. Gr. *adelphós*. In: *Mnemosyne* 15, 390 – 392.
- Goodenough, Ward C. 1956. Componential analysis and the study of meaning. *Language* 32, 195–216.
- GPC = *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru / A Dictionary of the Welsh Language*: <http://www.welsh-dictionary.ac.uk/>
- Graebner, Fritz. 1911. *Methode der Ethnologie*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung.
- Graff I–VI = Graff, E. G. 1834–1846. *Althochdeutscher Sprachschatz oder Wörterbuch der althochdeutschen Sprache*. Vols. 1–6. Berlin: Nikolai.
- Grassman, Hermann G. 1873. *Wörterbuch zum Rigveda*. Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz.
- Griffiths, Arlo; Lubotsky, Alexander. 2009. Two Words for ‘sister-in-law’? Notes on Vedic *yātar-* and *giri-*. In: Pirart, Éric (ed.). *Zarathushtra entre l'Inde et l'Iran: études indo-iraniennes et indo-européennes offertes à Jean Kellens à l'occasion de son 65e anniversaire*. Wiesbaden: Reichert, 115–121.
- Guerreau-Jalabert, Anita. 2013. Flesh and Blood in Medieval Language about Kinship. Christopher H. Johnson et al. (eds). *Blood and Kinship: Matter for Metaphor From Ancient Rome to the Present*. New York: Berghahn Book, 61–82.
- Gusmani, Roberto. 1985. Lydisch *kāna-* und luwisch *wana-*. In: Ölberg, Hermann M. (ed). *Sprachwissenschaftliche Forschungen: Festschrift für Johann Knobloch zum 65. Geburtstag am 5. Januar 1984, dargebracht von Freunden und Kollegen*. Innsbruck: AMÖ, 127–132.
- Güterbock, Hans G. 1992. Ist das hethitische Wort für „Frau“ gefunden? *Historische Sprachforschung* 105, 1–3.
- Haak, Wolfgang et al. 2010. Die schnurkeramischen Familiengräber von Eulau – ein außergewöhnlicher Fund und seine interdisziplinäre Bewertung. In: H. Meller, K. W. Alt (eds). *Anthropologie, Isotopie und DNA – biographische Annäherung an namenlose vorgeschichtliche Skelette? 2. Mitteldeutscher Archäologentag vom 08. bis 10. Oktober 2009*

- in Halle (Saale). Halle (Saale): Landesamt f. Denkmalpflege u. Archäologie Sachsen-Anhalt, 53–62.
- . 2015. Massive migration from the steppe was a source for Indo-European languages in Europe. *Nature* 522, 207–211.
- Haas, Volkert. 1994. *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion*. Leiden: Brill.
- Hackstein, Olav. 2002. Uridg. *CH.CC > *C.CC. *Historische Sprachforschung* 115, 1–22.
- . 2010a. Lateinisch omnis. In: Ronald Kim et al. (eds). *Ex Anatolia lux. Anatolian and Indo-European studies in honour of H. Craig Melchert*. Ann Arbor – New York: Beech Stave Press, 75–84.
- . 2010b. *Apposition and Nominal Classification in Indo-European and Beyond*. Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Hage, Per. 2006. Dravidian Kinship Systems in Africa. *L'Homme* 177–178, 395–408.
- HALAT I = Koehler, Ludwig et al. 2004. *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament* (3^d edition). Vol. 1 (Aleph–Ajin). Leiden–Boston: Brill.
- Hale, Wash E. 1986. *Ásura- in Early Vedic Religion*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Hall, Edward T. 1989 [1976]. *Beyond Culture*. New York: Anchor Books Doubleday.
- Hall, Edward T.; Hall, Mildred R. 1990. *Understanding cultural differences: keys to success in West Germany, France, and the United States*. Yarmouth: Intercultural Press.
- Hallock, Richard T. 1969. *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Hammel, Eugene A. 1968. *Alternative social structures and ritual relations in the Balkans*, Englewood Cliff, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Hamp, Eric P. 1972. Palaic *ḫa-a-ap-na-aš* ‘river’. *MSS* 30, 35–37.
- . 1975. **dhugHtēr* in Irish. *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 33, 39–40.
- . 1979. Indo-European **g^hen-Ha*. *Historische Sprachforschung* 93, 1–7.
- . 1986. Alb. *vajzë, motrë*. In: Roncaglia, Carlo Messori / Pellegrini, Giovan Battista (eds.): *Studi albanologici, balcanici, bizantini e orientali in onore di Giuseppe Valentini*. Firenze: Olschki, 109–110.
- . 1996. The nominative singular of *r*-stems. *Baltistica* 31, 139–140.
- Hansen, Bjarne S. S. 2017. Alleged nursery words and hypocorisms among Germanic kinship terms. Bjarne S. S. Hansen et al. (eds). *Usque ad radices. Indo-European studies in honour of Birgit Anette Olsen*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 207–220.
- . 2018. Nursery words and hypocorisms among Germanic kinship terms. *NOWELE. North-Western European Language Evolution* 71 (2), 176–183: <https://doi.org/10.1075/nowele.00011.han>

- . 2020 in print. Primary kinship terms in Germanic. In: Benedicte Nielsen Whitehead & Birgit Anette Olsen (eds). *Kin, clan and community in prehistoric Europe*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press (page numbers are yet unknown).
- Harders, Ann-Cathrin. 2013. Agnatio, Cognatio, Consanguinitas: Kinship and Blood in Ancient Rome. Christopher H. Johnson et al. (eds). *Blood and Kinship: Matter for Metaphor From Ancient Rome to the Present*. New York: Berghahn Book, 18–39.
- Harrison, A. R. W. 1968. *The Law of Athens*. Vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Harðarson, Jón Axel. 1987. Das uridg. Wort für „Frau“. *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 48, 115–138.
- . 2014. Das andere Wort für Frau im Urindogermanischen. In: Neri, Sergio (ed). *Studies on the collective and feminine in Indo-European from a diachronic and typological perspective*. Leiden: Brill, 23–55.
- Hashmi, Sayad. 2000. *Sayad Ganj. The First Balochi Dictionary*. Karachi
- Haspelmath, Martin. 1998. How young is standard average European? *Language Sciences* 20 (3) 271–287.
- . 2001. The European linguistic area: Standard Average European. In: Martin Haspelmath et al. (eds). *Language Typology and Language Universals*. Vol. 2. Berlin – New York: Walter de Gruyter.
- Hassandust 2011 (I–II) = Hassandust, Mohammad. 2011. *Farhang-e riše-šenaxti-ye zabān-e fārsi / The dictionary of Persian dialects*. Vols. 1–2. Tehran: Academy of Persian Language and Literature.
- Hassandust 2015 (I–V) = Hassandust, Mohammad. 2015. *The etymological dictionary of Persian*. Vols.1–5. Tehran: Academy of Persian Language and Literature.
- Hawkins, J.D. 1978. The Luwian Word for “Daughter”. *Historische Sprachforschung (KZ)* 92, 112–116.
- HED = Puhvel, Jaan. 1984–. *Hittite Etymological Dictionary*. Berlin: de Gruyter Mouton.
- HEG = Tischler, Johann. 1983–2016. *Hethitisches Etymologisches Glossar*. Mit Beitr. von Günter Neumann und Erich Neu. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck.
- Heine, Bernd; Kuteva, Tania. 2007. *The Changing Languages of Europe*. OUP Oxford.
- Henkelman, Wouter F. M. 2003. Persian, Medes, and Elamites: Acculturation in the Neo-Elamite Period. In: Giovanni B. Lanfranchi, Michael Roaf & Robert Rollinger (eds). *Continuity of empire (?): Assyria, Media, Persia*. History of the ancient Near East Monographs 5. Padova: Sargon, 181–231.
- . 2011. Cyrus the Persian and Darius the Elamite: A case of mistaken identity. In: Robert Rollinger, Brigitte Truschnegg, and Reinhold Bichler (eds). *Herodot und das Persische Weltreich: Akten des 3. Internationalen Kolloquiums zum Thema „Vorderasien im*

- Spannungsfeld klassischer und altorientalischer Überlieferungen*“, Innsbruck, 24.–28. November 2008. *Classica et orientalia* 3. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 577–634.
- Henning, Walter Bruno. 1940. *Sogdica*. London: Royal Asiatic Society.
- Hermann E. 1935. Einige Beobachtungen an den idg. Verwandtschaftsnamen. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 53, 97–103.
- Herrera, Rene J.; Garcia-Bertrand, Ralph. 2018. *Ancestral DNA, human origins, and migrations*. London; San Diego; Cambridge: Academic Press.
- Hershman, Paul. 1981. *Punjabi Kinship and Marriage*. Delhi: Hindustani Publishing Corporation.
- Hettrich, Heinrich. 1985. Indo-European kinship terminology in linguistics and anthropology. *Antropological linguistics* 27 (4), 453–480.
- HI = Ludwig Paul (ed). *Handbuch der Iranistik*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.
- Hiltbrunner, Otto. 2008. *Mulier* oder *femina* Augustinus im Streit um die richtige Bibelübersetzung. *Vigiliae Christianae* 62 (3), 285–302.
- Hinze, Almuth. 1998. The Migrations of the Indo-Iranians and the Iranian Sound-Change $s > h$. In: Wolfgang Meid (ed). *Sprache und Kultur der Indogermanen: Innsbruck*, 22.–28. September 1996. Innsbruck: Inst. für Sprachwiss. d. Univ. Innsbruck, 139–153.
- Hodgson, Dorothy L. 2008. Pastoralism. In: Bonnie G. Smith et al. (eds). *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Women in World History*. Vol. 3. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 418–419.
- Höfler, Stefan. 2017. *Der Stier, der Stärke hat. Possessive Adjektive und ihre Substantivierung im Indogermanischen*. Universität Wien (PhD thesis).
- . 2018. The Caprice of O... . On a Proto-Indo-European substantivization type and its excesses in Ancient Greek (handout). The 38th East Coast Indo-European Conference, June 15–17, 2018, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
- Hoffmann, Karl. 1975. Ved. *dhānuṣ-* and *pāruṣ-*. In: Narten, Johanna (ed). *Aufsätze zur Indoiranistik*. Volume 1. Wiesbaden, 327–337.
- . 1976. Ein grundsprachliches Possessivsuffix. In: Johanna Narten (ed). *Aufsätze zur Indoiranistik* II, 378–383. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.
- . 1986. Avestisch *š-*. In: Rüdiger Schmitt & Skjarvø Prods O. *Studia grammatica Iranica. Festschrift für Helmuth Humbach*, 163–183. München: R. Kitzinnger.
- Hoffmann, Inge. 1992. Das hethitische Wort für “Sohn”, in: H. Otten et al. (eds). *Hittite and Other Anatolian and Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Sedat Alp*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 289–293.
- Hoffner, Harry 1993. Hittite *iuar* and related modes of expressing comparison. *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 43, 39–51.
- Holden, Clare Janaki; Mace, Ruth. 2003. Spread of cattle led to the loss of matrilineal descent in Africa: a coevolutionary analysis. *Proceeding of the Royal Society B* 270 (1532), 2425–2433.

- Holopainen, Sampsa. 2019. *Indo-Iranian borrowings in Uralic: critical overview of the sound substitutions and distribution criterion*. University of Helsinki (PhD thesis).
- Holthausen, Ferdinand. 1925. *Altfriesisches Wörterbuch*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Holý, Ladislav. 1996. *Anthropological Perspectives on Kinship*. London, Chicago: Pluto Press.
- Horn, Paul. 1893. *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie*. Strassburg: Verlag von Karl J. Trübner.
- Horn, Cornelia. 2016. Children and the experience of death in Late Antiquity and the Byzantine world. In: Christian Laes and Ville Vuolanto (eds). *Children and Everyday Life in the Roman and Late Antique World*. London: Routledge, 300–317.
- van den Hout, Theo. 1995. *Der Ulmitešub-Vertrag*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Hübschmann, Heinrich. 1890. Geiger's Etymologie des Balūčī. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 44, 554–561.
- . 1895. *Persische Studien*. Strassburg: Verlag von Karl J. Trübner.
- von Humboldt, Wilhelm. 1836. *Über die Verschiedenheit des menschlichen Sprachbaues und ihren Einfluss auf die geistige Entwicklung des Menschengeschlechts*. Berlin: Druckerei der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Huth, A., de Heer, W., Griffiths, T. et al. 2016. Natural speech reveals the semantic maps that tile human cerebral cortex. *Nature* 532, 453–458.
- HW² = Friedrich, Johannes – Kammenhuber, Annelies. 1975–. *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*. 2. Völlig neu bearbeitete Auflage. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Iliescu, Maria; Roman, Al. 1971. *Rumänisch-Deutsch, Deutsch-Rumänisch Wörterbuch*. Leipzig: Veb Verlag Enzyklopädie.
- Illumäe, Anne-Mai, et al. 2016. Human Y Chromosome Haplogroup N: A Non-Trivial Time-Resolved Phylogeography That Cuts across Language Families. *The American Journal of Human Genetics* 99 (1), 163–173: doi:10.1016/j.ajhg.2016.05.025.
- IESOJa I–V. = Abaev, Vaso I. 1958–1989. *Историко-этимологический словарь осетинского языка / A historical-etymological dictionary of Ossetic*. Vols. I–V. Moscow & Leningrad: Akademiya Nauk SSSR.
- IEW = Pokorny, Julius. 1959. *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Vol. 1. Bern–München: Francke Verlag.
- IP = Mayrhofer, Manfred. 1979. *Iranisches Personennamenbuch*. Band I: Die Altiranischen Namen. Wien: Verlag der ÖAW.
- Isachenko, Alexandr V. 1952. Индоевропейская и славянская терминология родства в свете Марксистского языкознания / Indo-European and Slavic kinship terminology in the view of the Marxists linguistics. *Slavia* 22 (1953 / 1954), 43–80.
- Ivanov, Vladimir B. 2019. *Очерк теории персидского языка / A Sketch of the theory of the Persian language*. Vol. 1. Moscow: Sadra.

- Ivanov W. A. 1939. The Gabri spoken by the Zoroastrians of Persia. *Rivista degli studi orientali* 18 (1), 1–57.
- Jackson, Peter. 1999. *The Delhi Sultanate: A Political and Military History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jagersma, Abraham Hendrik. 2010. *A descriptive grammar of Sumerian*. Leiden University (PhD thesis).
- Jakobson, Roman. 1959. Why ‘Mama’ and ‘Papa’? In: Bernard Kaplan and Heinz Werner (eds). *Perspectives in Psychological Theory: essays in honor of Heinz Werner*. New York: Internat. Univ. Press 1960, 124–134.
- Jamison, Stephanie W. 1996. *Sacrificed wife/sacrificer's wife: women, ritual, and hospitality in ancient India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 2009. Sociolinguistic Remarks on the Indo-Iranian *-ka-Suffix: A Marker of Colloquial Register. *Indo-Iranian Journal* 52, 311–329.
- . 2017. Marriage and the Householder. Patrick Olivelle and Donald R. Davis (eds). *The Oxford History of Hinduism: Hindu Law: A New History of Dharmaśāstra*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 125–136.
- Jamison, Stephanie W.; Brereton, Joel P. (trans.). *The Rigveda. The Earliest Religious Poetry of India*. Vols. 1–3. Oxford: University Press.
- Janda, Michael. 1999. Zur Herkunft von homerisch ὄαπ. In: Deger-Jalkotzy, Sigrid et al. (eds). *Florent Studia Mycenaea: Akten des X. International Mykenologischen Colloquiums in Salzburg vom 1.-5- Mai 1995*, Vol.2. Vienna, 315–324.
- . 2000. *Eleusis. Das indogermanische Erbe der Mysterien*. Innsbruck.
- . 2005. *Elysion: Entstehung und Entwicklung der griechischen Religion*. Innsbruck.
- . 2014. *Purpurnes Meer: Sprache und Kultur der homerischen Welt*. Innsbruck : Inst. für Sprachen und Literaturen der Univ. Innsbruck, Bereich Sprachwissenschaft.
- Jasanoff, Jay H. 1989. Old Irish bé ‘woman’. *Ériu* 40, 35–41.
- . 2017. *The Prehistory of the Balto-Slavic Accent*. Leiden–Boston: Brill.
- Jillo, Zinabu Tunu. 2014. *Kinship Terms in Banna People of Southern Ethiopia*. Addis Abeba University (Master Thesis).
- Jochens, Jenny. 1995. *Women in Old Norse society*. Ithaca–London: Cornell University Press.
- Johnson, Mark. 1987. *The Body in the Mind: The Bodily Basis Of Meaning, Imagination, And Reason*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Joki, Aulis. 1973. *Uralier und Indogermaner*. Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne 151. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura.
- Jonsson, Niklas. 2001. Kinship terms in grammar. In: Martin Haspelmath et al. (eds). *Language Typology and Language Universals / Sprachtypologie und sprachliche Universalien / La typologie des langues et les universaux linguistiques. An International Handbook / Ein*

- internationales Handbuch / Manuel international*. Vol. 2. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 1203–1214.
- Junttila, Santeri. 2015. *Tiedon kumuloituminen ja trendit lainasanatutkimuksessa. Kantasuomen balttilaislainojen tutkimushistoria*. University of Helsinki (PhD thesis): helda.helsinki.fi/bitstream/handle/10138/158777/tiedonku.pdf?sequence=2
- Just, Roger 2000. *A Greek island cosmos: kinship & community on Meganisi*, Oxford: James Currey, and Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.
- Kaczinskaya, Irina B. 2018. *Термины родства и языковая картина мира (по материалам архангельских говоров) / Kinship terms and linguistic worldview (based on the materials of Archangelsk idioms)*. Moscow: Indrik.
- Kalontarov, Ja. 2007. *Новый русско-таджикский словарь / New Russian-Tajik dictionary*. Dušanbe.
- . 2008. *Новый таджикско-русский словарь / New Tajik-Russian dictionary*. Dušanbe.
- Kapadia, K. M. 1958. *Marriage and Family in India*. (2nd edition). Calcutta: Oxford Press.
- Karl, Raimund. 2004. *Altkeltische Sozialstrukturen* (Habilitationsschrift aus dem Fach keltische Altertumskunde). Wien&Bangor: Gwynedd.
- Karve, Iravati. 1965. *Kinship Organisation in India* (2nd revised edition). Bombay: Asia Publishing House.
- Katz, Hartmut. 1983. Zu idg. **mṛtó-*. *Sprache* 29, 174–177.
- . 1985. *Studien zu den ältesten indoiranischen Lehnwörtern in den uralischen Sprachen*. Habilitationsschrift. University of Vienna.
- . 2003. *Studien zu den ältesten indoiranischen Lehnwörtern in den uralischen Sprachen* (aus dem Nachlaß hrg. Von Paul Widmer, Anna Widmer und Gerson Klumpp). Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter.
- Kazzazi, Kerstin. 2001. „Mann“ und „Frau“ im *R̥gveda*: mit einem Exkurs über Wörter für „Frau“ im *Atharvaveda*. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft.
- Kellens, Jean. 2002. L'idéologie religieuse des inscriptions achéménides. *Journal Asiatique* 290, 417–464.
- Kellens–Pirart I–II = Kellens, Jean; Pirart, Eric. 1988–1990. *Les textes vieil-avestique*. Vol. 1: Introduction, texte et traduction. Vol. 2: Répertoire grammaticaux et lexique. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.
- Keller, Shoshana. 2008. Central Asia. Modern Period. In: Bonnie G. Smith et al. (eds). *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Women in World History*. Vol. 1. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 323–330.
- Kelly, Fergus. 1988. *A Guide to Early Irish Law*. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

- Kent, S. 1999. Egalitarianism, equality, and equitable power. In: Tracy, L. Sweely. *Manifesting Power: Gender and the Interpretation of Power in Archaeology*. London, New York: Routledge, 30–48.
- Khare, R. S. 1982. From *Kanyā* to *Mātā*: Aspects of the Cultural languages of Kinship in Northern India. In: Ákos Östör, Lina Fruzzetti and Steve Barnett (eds). *Concepts of person: kinship, caste, and marriage in India*. Cambridge, M.A.: Harvard University Press, 143–171 and 243–247.
- Kim, Ronald. 2005. Ossetic *silæ/syl* and the Indo-Iranian Word for ‘Female’. *International Journal of Diachronic Linguistics and Linguistic Reconstruction* 2, 123–168.
- . 2009. Another look at Tocharian B *ṣarya*. *Historische Sprachforschung* 122, 100–110.
- Kimball, Sarah E. 1999. *Hittite Historical Phonology*. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck.
- Kiselyova, Lidia N. 1985. *Язык дару Афганистана / The Dari language of Afghanistan*. Moscow: Nauka.
- Kiselyova, L. N.; Mikolayčik, V. I. 1978. *Dari-russkiy slovar (Dari-Russian dictionary)*. Moscow: Russkiy yazyk.
- Kitanova, M. 1999. Materialy k slovaryu bolgarskih terminov rodstva (Materials of the dictionary of Bulgarian kinship terms). In: Tolstaya, S. M. *Kategoriya rodstva v yazyke i kulture (Category of kinship in language and culture)*. Moscow: Indrik, 279–302.
- Klein, L. S. et al. 2018. Discussion: Are the origins of Indo-European languages explained by the migration of the Yamnaya culture to the West? *European Journal of Archaeology* 21, 3–17.
- Klingenschmitt, Gerd. 1974. Griechisch παρθένος, in: M. Mayrhofer – W. Meid (eds). *Antiquitates Indogermanicae: Studien zur indogermanischen Altertumskunde und zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte der indogermanischen Völker. Gedenkschrift für Hermann Güntert zur 25. Wiederkehr seines Todestages [IBS 12]*. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck, 273–278.
- . 2008. Lit. *uošvis*. *Baltistica* 43(3), 405–430.
- Kloekhorst, Alwin. 2008a. *Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon*. Leiden Indo-European Etymological Dictionary Series. Vol. 5. Leiden: Brill.
- . 2008b. Some Indo-Uralic Aspects of Hittite. *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 36 (1 & 2), 88–95.
- . 2011. The accentuation of the PIE word for ‘daughter’. *Studies in Slavic and General Linguistics* 37, 235–243.
- . 2019. *Kanišite Hittite. The Earliest Attested Record of Indo-European*. Leiden: Brill.

- Kloekhorst, Alwin; Pronk, Tijmen. 2019. Introduction: Reconstructing Proto-Indo-Anatolian and Proto-Indo-Uralic. Alwin Kloekhorst and Tijmen Pronk (eds). *The Precursors of Proto-Indo-European: The Indo-Anatolian and Indo-Uralic Hypotheses*. Leiden: Brill, 1–14.
- Köbler Goth = Köbler, Gerhard. 2014. *Gotisches Wörterbuch* (4th edition): <https://www.koeblergerhard.de/gotwbhin.html>
- Köbler OHG = Köbler, Gerhard. 2014. *Wörterbuch des althochdeutschen Sprachschatzes* (6th edition): <http://www.koeblergerhard.de/ahdwbhin.html>
- Köbler MHG = Köbler, Gerhard. 2014. *Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch* (3^d edition): <https://www.koeblergerhard.de/mhdwbhin.html>
- Köbler MLG = Köbler, Gerhard. 2014. *Mittelniederdeutsches Wörterbuch* (3^d edition): <https://www.koeblergerhard.de/mndwbhin.html>
- Köbler ON = Köbler, Gerhard. 2014. *Altnordisches Wörterbuch* (4th edition): <http://www.koeblergerhard.de/anwbhinw.html>
- König, Ekkehard et al. 2001. Intensifiers and reflexive pronouns. In: Martin Haspelmath et al. (eds). *Language Typology and Language Universals / Sprachtypologie und sprachliche Universalien / La typologie des langues et les universaux linguistiques. An International Handbook / Ein internationale Handbuch / Manuel international*. Vol. 1. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 747–760.
- Koerner, E. F. K. Towards a ‘Full Pedigree’ of the ‘Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis’ From Locke to Lucy. In: Martin Pütz; Marjolijn Verspoor (eds). *Explorations in Linguistic Relativity*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1–23.
- Kogan, Anton. 2005. *Дардские языки. Генетическая характеристика / Darden languages. Genetic characteristic*. Moscow: Vostochnaya literatura RAN.
- Koivulehto, J. 2001. The earliest contacts between Indo-European and Uralic speakers in the light of lexical loans. In: C. Carpelan, A. Parpola, & P. Koskikallio P. (eds). *Early Contacts Between Uralic and Indo-European: Linguistic and Archaeological Considerations*. Helsinki: Suom. Ugr. Seura, 235–263.
- Kolenda, Pauline. 1987. *Regional difference in family structure in India*. Jaipur: Rawat Publ.
- Korn, Agnes. 2005. *Towards a Historical Grammar of Balochi*. Studies in Balochi Historical Phonology and Vocabulary. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.
- . 2009. Lengthening of *i* and *u* in Persian. In: W. Sundermann, A. Hintze and F. de Blois (eds). *Exegisti monumenta: Festschrift in Honour of Nicholas Sims-Williams*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 197–213.
- . (in print). Kinship Terms in Balochi: A Patchwork Family. Gian Pietro Basello; Matteo De Chiara; Sabir Badalkhan (eds). *Festschrift Adriano Rossi*. Dipartimento Asia, Africa e Mediterraneo (Series Minor), 207–228 + Plates IX–XIV.

- Korn, Agnes; Olsen, Birgit A. 2012. On Armenian *-agin*: additional evidence for a third West Middle Iranian dialect? *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 66/2, 201–220.
- Kornilov, Oleg A. 2003. *Языковые картины мира как производные национальный менталитетов / Linguistic worldviews as derivatives of national mentalities*. Moscow: KDU.
- Kortlandt, Frederick. 1982. IE * *pt* in Slavic. *Folia Linguistica Historica* 16 (3), 25–28.
- Koski, Mauno. 1990. The terms ‘uncle’ and ‘aunt’ in their semantic field. *Linguistica Uralica* XXVI (4), 239–246.
- Kosven, M. O. 1935. Аталычество / Atalyk fosterage. *Советская этнография / Soviet ethnography* (1935 / 2): <https://web.archive.org/web/20120128105752/http://constitutions.ru/archives/6319> (original pages unknown).
- Krahe and Meid GS I–III = Krahe, Hans; Meid, Wolfgang. 1969. *Germanische Sprachwissenschaft*. Band 1–3. (7. Auflage). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Kreidl, Julian. 2018. *Archaisms and Innovations in Pashto Dialects* (master thesis). Indiana University.
- Kraus Wolfgang. 1997. Zum Begriff der Deszendenz: Ein selektiver Überblick. *Anthropos* 92 (1), 139–163.
- Kretschmer P. 1907. Ionier und Achäer. Die Apokope in den griechischen Dialekten. *Glotta* 1(1), 9–59.
- . 1909. Griechisch (Book Review). *Glotta* 4 (4), 349–392.
- . 1910. Die griechische Benennung des Bruders. *Glotta* 2, 201–213.
- Kristiansen, Kristian et al. 2017. Re-theorising mobility and the formation of culture and language among the Corded Ware Culture in Europe. *Antiquity* 91 (356), 334–347.
- . 2019. The Archaeology of Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Anatolian: Locating the Split. In: Matilde Serangeli and Olander, Thomas (eds). *Dispersals and Diversification: Linguistic and Archaeological Perspectives on the Early Stages of Indo-European*. Leiden: Brill, 157–165.
- Kroeber, Alfred L. 1909. Classificatory Systems of Relationship. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 39, 77–84.
- . 1939. *Cultural and natural areas of native North America*. (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology 38). Berkeley: University of California Press.
- . 1948 [1923]. *Anthropology: Race, Language, Culture, Psychology, Prehistory*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co.
- Kronenfeld, David B. 2006. Issues in the Classification of Kinship Terminologies: Toward a New Typology. *Anthropos* 101 (1), 203–219.

- Kroonen, Guus. 2011. *The proto-germanic n-stems: a study in diachronic morphophonology*. Amsterdam–New York: Rodopi.
- . 2012a. On the etymology of Greek *áglis* and *gélgis* ‘garlic’: an Akkadian loanword in Pre-Greek. *Journal of Indo-Indo-European Studies* 40 (3 & 4), 289–299.
- . 2012b. Non-Indo-European root nouns in Germanic: Evidence in support of the Agricultural Substrate Hypothesis. In: Riho Grünthal and Petri Kallio (eds). *A linguistic map of prehistoric Northern Europe*. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, 239–260.
- . 2013. *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Germanic*. Leiden Indo-European Etymological Dictionary Series, Vol. 11. Leiden: Brill.
- Kroonen, Guus; Barjamovic, Gojko; Peyrot, Michaël. 2018. Linguistic supplement to Damgaard et al. 2018a: Early Indo-European languages, Anatolian, Tocharian and Indo-Iranian. DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.1240524
- Krzewińska, Maja. 2018. Ancient genomes suggest the eastern Pontic-Caspian steppe as the source of western Iron Age nomads. *Science Advances* 4 (10): DOI: 10.1126/sciadv.aat4457
- Kuczkiewicz-Fraś, Agnieszka. 2003. *Perso-Arabic Hybrids in Hindi: the Socio-Linguistic and Structural Analysis*. New Delhi: Manohar.
- Kümmel, Martin. 2012. The Iranian Reflexes of Proto-Iranian **ns*. *Orientalia Suecana* LXI, 138–145.
- . 2018. Substrata in Indo-Iranian and related questions. Handout of a presentation held at 5.6.2018 in the conference Loanwords and substrata in the Indo-European languages, Limoges.
- Kulikov, Leonid. 2017. Indo-Iranian. In: Karpović, Mate (ed). *The Indo-European Languages* (2nd edition). London–NY: Routledge, 205–213.
- Kuper, Adam. 2002. Incest, Cousin Marriage, and the Origin of the Human Sciences in Nineteenth-Century England. *Past & Present* 174, 158–183.
- Kutschera, Ulrich; Niklas, Karl J. 2004. The modern theory of biological evolution: an expanded synthesis. *Naturwissenschaften* 91, 255–276.
- Kuz'mina, E.E. 2007. *The Origin of the Indo-Iranians*. Leiden: Brill.
- Kuznetsov, P. F. 2006. The emergence of Bronze Age chariots in Eastern Europe. *Antiquity* 80, 638–645.
- Lakoff, George. 1987. *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things. What Categories Reveal about the Mind*. Chicago – London: University of Chicago Press.
- Lalueza-Fox, Carles. 2011. Genetic evidence for patrilineal mating behavior among Neandertal groups. *PNAS* 108 (1), 250–253.
- Lamb, Sarah. 1997. The Beggared Mother: Older Women's Narratives in West Bengal. *Oral Tradition* 12 (1), 54–75.

- . 1999. Aging, gender and widowhood: Perspectives from rural West Bengal. *Contributions To Indian Sociology* 33 (3), 541–570.
- Lamberg-Karlovsky, C. C. 2005. Archeology and Language. The case of the Bronze Age Indo-Iranians. E. F. Bryant and Patton L. L. (eds). *The Indo-Aryan Controversy. Evidence and inference in Indian history*. London – NY: Taylor & Francis Ltd.
- Laroche, E. 1962. Review of: KBo X. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 57, 27–31.
- . 1966. *Les noms des hittites*. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Lavrovskiy, P. A. 1867. *Коренное значение в названиях родства у славян / The core meaning in Slavic kinship terms*. St. Petersburg: Tipografia Imperatorskoy akademii nauk.
- Lazard, Gilbert. 1989. Le persan. In: *CLI*, 263–293.
- Lazaridis, I., A. Mittnik, N. Patterson, S. Mallick, N. Rohland, S. Pfrengle, A. Furtwängler, et al. 2017. Genetic origins of the Minoans and Mycenaeans. *Nature* 548 (7666), 214–218: doi:10.1038/nature23310
- Ledo-Lemos, Francisco J. 2000 / 2003. *Femininum Genus: A Study on the Origins of the Indo-European Feminine Grammatical Gender*. München: LINCOM Europa.
- . 2002. The etymology of Latin *uirgō* and the Latin evolution of the consonant group **-rg^w-*. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 107, 219–239.
- Lehmann, Winfred P. 1986. *A Gothic etymological dictionary*. Leiden: Brill.
- LEIA = Vendryes, J. de. 1974. *Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien* (Lettres R, S). Paris: CNRS.
- Lendinara, Patrizia. 1990. The Survival of Indo-European Words in Old Frisian. *Amsterdamer Beitrage zur alteren Germanistik* 31–32, 285–310.
- Lentz, Wolfgang. 1926. Die nordiranische Elemente in der neupersischen Literatursprache bei Firdosi. *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* 4, 251–316.
- Leskien, August. 1891. *Die Bildung der Nomina im Litauischen. Abhandlungen der Königlich Sächsischen. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften XII (III)*. Leipzig, 151–618.
- Leumann, E. 1888. Indogerm. *népôt, néptr* „waise“. In: Rudolf von Roth (eds). *Festgruss an Otto von Böhtlingk zum doktor-jubiläum, 3. februar 1888*. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 77–78.
- Leumann, Manu. 1977. *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre*. München: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung.
- Levin, Eve R. 1983. Women and property in Medieval Novgorod: Dependence and independence. *Russian History* 10(2), 154–169.
- Lewis, Charlton T.; Short, Charles. 1891. *A new Latin Dictionary*. New York: Harper and Brothers. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press.
- Libedinskiy, Ju (trans.) 1978. *Сказания о Нартах: осетинский эпос / The Nart Sagas: Ossetic Epos*. Moscow: Sovetskaya Rossiya.

- Liljegren, Henrik. 2008. *Towards a grammatical description of Palula. An Indo-Aryan language of the Hindu Kush*. University of Stockholm (PhD thesis).
- Linke, Uli. 1985. Blood as a metaphor of the Proto-Indo-European. *Journal of Indo-European Studies*, 13, 333–376.
- LIV² = Rix, Helmut (ed). 2001. *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben*. [2nd edition]. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- Lohmann, Johannes. 1965. *Philosophie und Sprachwissenschaft*. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot.
- Lounsbury, Floyd G. 1956. A semantic analysis of the Pawnee kinship usage. *Language* 32, 158–194.
- . 1964a. A Formal Account of the Crow- and Omaha-Type Kinship Terminologies. In: Ward H. Goodenough (ed). *Explorations in Cultural Anthropology: essays in honor of George Peter Murdock*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 351–394.
- . 1978 [1964b]. The Structural Analysis of Kinship Relations. In: Geckeler, H. (ed). *Strukturelle Bedeutungslehre*. Darmstadt: WBG, 164–192 (Original in: Horace G. Lunt (ed). 1964. *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Linguists*. Den Haag: Mouton & Co, 1073–1090).
- Lowie, Robert H. 1928. A Note on Relationship Terminologies. *American Anthropologist* 30 (2), 263–267.
- LSJ = Liddell, H. G.; Scott, R.; Jones, H. S. et al. 1961 [1843]. *A Greek-English Lexicon* (9th edition). Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Lubotsky, Alexandr. 2001. The Indo-Iranian Substratum. In: Christian Carpelan et al. (eds). *Early contacts between Uralic and Indo-European : linguistic and archaeological considerations; papers presented at an international symposium held at the Tvärminne Research Station of the University of Helsinki 8–10 January, 1999*. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, 301–317.
- Luck, S. J.; Vogel, E. K. 1997. The capacity of visual working memory for features and conjunctions. *Nature* 390 (6657), 279–281.
- Luo, Shu-Han. 2018. Tender Beginnings in the Exeter Book Riddles. In: Susan Irvine and Winfried Rudolf (eds). *Childhood and Adolescence in Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture*. Toronto – Buffalo – London: University of Toronto Press, 71–94.
- Luraghi, Silvia. 2014. Gender and Word Formation: The PIE Gender System in Cross-Linguistic Perspective. In: Sergio Neri; Roland Schuhmann (eds). *Studies on the Collective and Feminine in Indo-European from a Diachronic and Typological Perspective*. Leiden: Brill, 199–231.
- Lushnikova, Alla V. 1990. *Стратификация Ирано-Уральских языковых контактов / Stratification of Irano-Uralic linguistic contacts*. Moscow: Institute of Linguistics of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR (PhD thesis).

- Лярунов, В. М. 1899. Исследование о языке Синодального списка 1-ой Новгородской летописи. / A Study of the language of the Sinod copy of the First Novgorod chronicle. St.-Petersburg: Otdelenie ruskogo yazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoy Akademii Nauk.
- Lyle, Emily. 1997. Age Grades, Age Classes, and Alternate Succession: A Restatement of the Basis at the Societal Level of Indo-European Symbolic Partition. *Emania* 16, 63–71.
- Machek, Václav. 1948. Etymologies slaves. *Récueil linguistique de Bratislava* 1, 93–116.
- . 1957. *Etymologický slovník jazyka českého a slovenského*. Praha: Nakl. Akad.
- McCone, Kim. 1986. Werewolves, cyclopes, diberga and fianna: juvenile delinquency in Early Ireland. *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 12, 1–22.
- . 1987. Hund, Wolf und Krieger bei den Indogermanen. In: W. Meid (ed). *Studien zum indogermanischen Wortschatz*. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck, 101–154.
- . 1994. Zum Ablaut der keltischen *r*-Stämme. In: J.E. Rasmussen and B. Nielsen (eds). *In honorem Hogler Pedersen. Kolloquium der Indogermanische Gesellschaft vom 25. Bis 28, März 1993 in Kopenhagen*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 275–254.
- McDougall, David; McDougall, Ian. 1997. ‘Evil Tongues’: a previously unedited Old English sermon. *Anglo-Saxon England* 26, 209–229.
- McGregor, R. S. 1993. *Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*. Oxford – Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- MaDi = *Mari-English Dictionary* (Department of Finno-Ugric Studies at the University of Vienna): www.mari-language.com
- Maine, Henry Sumner. 2012 [1861]. *Ancient Law: Its Connection with the Early History of Society, and Its Relation to Modern Ideas*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Majer IF 125 = Majer, Marek. (forthcoming). Slavic **ljuby* and the heterogeneity of the inflectional class in **-y*. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 125 (pages numbering is unknown yet).
- Majer IG Ljubljana = Majer, Marek. (forthcoming). Proceedings of the IG Arbeitstagung: 100 years of comparative linguistics at the University of Ljubljana, Ljubljana, 4–7 June 2019 (pages numbering is unknown yet).
- Majidi, Mohammad-Reza. 2006. *Einführung in die arabisch-persische Schrift*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag.
- Malinowski, B. 1913. *The family among the Australian Aborigines*. London: Hodder.
- Mallory, James P. 1990. Social Structure in the Pontic-Caspian Eneolithic: A Preliminary Review. *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 18 (1 & 2), 15–58.
- . 2002. Archeological models and Asian Indo-European. In: Nicholas Sims-Williams (ed). *Indo-Iranian Languages and Peoples*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 19–42.
- . 2010. Semantic field and cognate distribution in Indo-European. In: T. M. Nikolaeva (ed). *Исследования по лингвистике и семиотике: сборник статей к юбилею В. В. Иванова*

- / *Studies of Linguistics and Semiotics: Festschrift for V. Ivanov*. Moscow: Yazyki slavyanskih kultur, 180–190.
- . 2019. The Caucasian substrate hypothesis. *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 47, 1–8.
- Mallory, J. P.; Adams, D. Q. 2006. *The Oxford Introduction to Proto-Indo-European and the Proto-Indo-European World*. Oxford University Press.
- Mallory, J. P.; Dybo, A.; Balanovsky O. 2019. The Impact of Genetics Research on Archaeology and Linguistics in Eurasia. *Russian Journal of Genetics* 55, 1472–1487.
- Malzahn, Melanie. 2010. All Indo-European Compounds are Derived from a Common Origin: New Evidence for a Darwinian View of IE Nominal Compounding. In Stephanie W. Jamison, H. Craig Melchert und Brent Vine (eds). *Proceedings of the 21st Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference*. Bremen: Hempen Verlag, 183–187.
- Marchand, James W. 1957. The Proto-Germanic long stops. *General Linguistics* 2, 51–69.
- Marshall, Mac (ed). 1983. *Siblingship in Oceania: Studies in the Meaning of Kin Relations*. ASAO Monograph No. 8. Lanham; New York; London: University Press of America.
- Marshall, Mac. 1983. Introduction: Approaches to Siblingship in Oceania. In: Mac Marshall (ed). *Siblingship in Oceania: Studies in the Meaning of Kin Relations*. ASAO Monograph No. 8. Lanham; New York; London: University Press of America, 1–15.
- Marshall, Mac, et al. 1984. Structural Patterns of Sibling Classification in Island Oceania: Implications for Culture History [and Comments and Replies]. *Current Anthropology* 25 (5), 597–637: doi:10.1086/203199.
- Martínez-Rodríguez, Elena. 2019. Anatolian Kinship Word-Pairs and their Mesopotamian Connection. In: Ignasi-Xavier Adiego et al. (eds). *Luwic Dialects and Anatolian: Inheritance and Diffusion*. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 181–203.
- Martirosyan, Hrach K. 2010. *Etymological Dictionary of the Armenian Inherited Lexicon*. *Indo-European Etymological Dictionaries Online*. Alexander Lubotsky (ed). Leiden: Brill.
- Matasović, Ranko. 2004. *Gender in Indo-European*. Heidelberg: Winter Verlag.
- . 2009. *Etymological dictionary of proto-Celtic*. *Etymological Dictionary of the Armenian Inherited*. Leiden: Brill.
- . 2014. *Slavic Nominal Word-Formation. Proto-Indo-European Origin and Historical Development*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Mathieson, I., Alpaslan-Roodenberg, S., Posth, C. et al. 2018. The genomic history of southeastern Europe. *Nature* 555, 197–203: <https://doi.org/10.1038/nature25778>
- Mayer, Thomas J. L. 1910. *English-Biluchi Dictionary*. Calcutta.
- Mayrhofer, Manfred. 1984. *Lassen sich Vorstufen des Uriranischen nachweisen?* Wien: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- . 1986. *Indogermanische Grammatik. Halbband 1. Lautlehre [Segmentale Phonologie des Indogermanischen]*. Heidelberg: Winter.

- Mazahéri, Aly-Akbar. 1938. *La famille iranienne aux temps anté-islamique*. Paris: Librairie Orientale et Americaine.
- Mehrjoo, Zohreh. 2019. Distinct genetic variation and heterogeneity of the Iranian population. *PLoS Genet* 15 (9), e1008385: <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pgen.1008385>
- Mehrotra, R.R. 1981. Non-kin forms of address in Hindi. *International journal of the sociology of language* 32, 121–138.
- Meid, Wolfgang M. 1966. Idg. *g^hen Frau. *Historische Sprachforschung* 80, 271–272.
- Meillet, Antoine. 1911–1912. Notes iraniennes. *Mémoires de la Société de linguistique de Paris* 17, 107–112.
- . 1931. Essai de chronologie des langues indo-européennes. *Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris* 32, 1–28.
- . 1933. *Esquisse d'une histoire de la langue latine*. Troisième édition révisée et augmentée. Paris: Librairie Hachette.
- Meier, Michael. 1975. -íð-. *Zur Geschichte eines griechischen Nominalsuffixes*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Meier-Brügger, Michael. 2002. *Indogermanische Sprachwissenschaft* (8th edition). Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Melchert, H. Craig. 1980. The Hittite Word for “Son”. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 85, 90–95.
- . 1987. Reflexes of *h₃ in Anatolian. *Die Sprache* 33, 19–28.
- . 1988. Luvian lexical notes. *Historische Sprachforschung* 101, 211–43.
- . 1992. The third Person present in Lydian. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 97, 31–54.
- . 1993a [1989]. *Lycian Lexicon*. (2nd edition). (= *Lexica Anatolica* 1). Chapel Hill.
- . 1993b. *Cuneiform Luvian Lexicon* (= *Lexica Anatolica* 2). Chapel Hill.
- . 1994. *Anatolian Historical Phonology*. Amsterdam – Atlanta: Rodopi.
- . 1998. The Dialectal Position of Anatolian within Indo-European. B. Bergen et al. (eds). *Proceedings of the Twenty-Fourth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society: Special Session on Indo-European Subgrouping and Internal Relations*. Berkeley: Berkeley Linguistic Society, 24–31.
- . 2003. Chapter Five: Language. In: Craig H. Melchert (ed). *The Luwians. Handbook of Oriental Studies. Section 1 The Near and Middle East, Band: 68*. Leiden: Brill, 170–210.
- . 2004. *A Dictionary of the Lycian Languages*. Ann Arbor – NY: Beech Stave Press.
- . 2015. Reciprocity and commerce in Bronze and Iron Age Anatolia. In: Archi, Alfonso (ed). *Tradition and Innovation in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the 57th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale at Rome (4–8 July 2011)*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 409–416.

- Mengel, Swetlana. 2014. Besonderheiten der slavischen Wortbildung unter sprachlichen Aspekten. In: S. Mengel (ed). *Slavische Wortbildung im Vergleich. Theoretische und pragmatische Aspekte*. Berlin: LIT Verlag, 104–128.
- Merrill, Robert T. 1964. Notes on Icelandic Kinship Terminology. *American Anthropologist* 66 (4 / 1), 867–872.
- Mezger, Fritz. 1960. German *aipa-* „Eid, Eideshelfereid“: got. *aipei* „Mutter“. *Historische Sprachforschung (KZ)* 76, 85–86.
- Michaels, Axel. 1998. *Der Hinduismus: Geschichte und Gegenwart*. München: C.H. Beck.
- Mikkola, J. J. 1908–1909. Zur slavischen Etymologie. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 23, 120–127.
- Milanova, Veronika. 2014. Proto-Indo-European kinship terms (master thesis). University of Vienna.
- . 2016. (Proto-)Indo-European kinship terms in *-ter and (ancient) age-grade systems (handout). Symposium *Kin, clan and community – a symposium on Indo-European social institutions*. University of Copenhagen, 17 May 2016: https://www.academia.edu/34436295/Proto-Indo-European_kinship_terms_in_-ter_and_ancient_age-grade_systems
- . 2018. Праиндоевропейские термины родства на *-ter и возрастные степени. [Proto-Indo-European kinship terms in *-ter and age grades]. In: Vladimir A. Popov (ed). *Алгебра родства: Родство. Системы родства. Системы терминов родства* Вып. 16 [Kinship Algebra: Kinship. Kinship systems. Systems of kinship terms 16]. St. Petersburg: Russian Academy of Sciences; KIO, 70–97.
- . 2019/2020. ^{MUNUS/f}*duttarijata/i-* and some other Indo-European maidens. In: Ronald I. Kim, Jana Mynářová, Peter Pavúk et al. (eds). *Hrozný and Hittite: The First Hundred Years. Proceedings of the International Conference Held at Charles University, Prague, 11–14 November 2015*. Leiden: Brill, 277–294: https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004413122_015
- . 2020. Brothers and many others: The concept ‘offspring’ and its semantic extensions in Indo-European languages. *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 48 (1 & 2), 189–217.
- . 2020 in print. Indo-European kinship terms as an interdisciplinary topic (Reconstruction of social realities – anthropological views and methodological considerations). In: Benedicte Nielsen Whitehead & Birgit Anette Olsen (eds). *Kin, clan and community in prehistoric Europe*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press (page are yet unknown).
- Milanova, Veronika; Holopainen, Sampsa; Bradley, Jeremy; Czentnár, András. 2019a. The areal factor in formation of kinship terminologies. (A talk at the *XIII Congress of anthropologists and ethnologists of Russia 2–6 July 2019 in Kazan*): https://www.academia.edu/40382318/The_areal_factor_in_formation_of_kinship_terminologies
- . 2019b. Iranian terms for siblings in the genealogical, areal, and typological perspectives (handout). A talk at the *Ninth European Conference of Iranian Studies (ECIS 9), Berlin, 9–13 September 2019*:

https://www.academia.edu/40382411/Iranian_terms_for_siblings_in_the_genealogical_areal_and_topological_perspectives

- . 2020 in print. Contact phenomena in Indo-European kinship and social terms and beyond (a pilot study with special focus on the Iranian and Uralic languages in the context of Central Eurasia). In: Romain Garnier et al. *Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Loanwords and Substrata in Indo-European languages (Limoges, France, 4th–7th June 2018)*. Innsbruck: Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft, 345–366.
- Miller, Wsewolod. 1907. Beiträge zur ossetischen Etymologie. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 21, 323–334.
- Miller, Corey. 2012. Variation in Persian Vowel Systems. *Orientalia Suecana* LXI, 156–169.
- . 2014. Pashto Dialects. In: David (ed). 2014, 31–44.
- Miller, Corey; David, Anne Boyle. 2014. Phonology and Orthography. In: David (ed). 2014, 9–29.
- Miller, George A. 1956. The magic number seven, plus or minus two: some limits on our capacity for processing information. *The Psychological Review* 63 (1), 81–97.
- Mirhosseini, Seyyed-Abdolhamid; Parisa Abazari. 2016. ‘My Language Is Like My Mother’: Aspects of Language Attitudes in a Bilingual Farsi-Azerbaijani Context in Iran. *Open Linguistics* 2 (1): doi:10.1515/opli-2016-0018
- Mitnik, Alissa et al. 2019. Kinship-based social inequality in Bronze Age Europe. *Science* 366 (6466), 731–734.
- Monier-Williams, M. 1899. *A Sanskrit-English dictionary: Etymologically and Philologically Arranged with Special Reference to Cognate Indo-European Languages*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press.
- Moraw, Susanne. 2014. Introduction. In: S. Moraw and A. Kieburg (eds). *Mädchen im Altertum – Girls in Antiquity*. Münster–New York: Waxmann, 13–26.
- Morgan, Lewis Henry. 1997 [1871]. *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press.
- . 1964 [1877]. *Ancient Society* (ed. by Leslie A. White). Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press by Harvard University Press.
- Moreau, Pilippe. 2013. The Bilineal Transmission of Blood in Ancient Rome. Christopher H. Johnson et al. (eds). *Blood and Kinship: Matter for Metaphor From Ancient Rome to the Present*. New York: Berghahn Book, 40–60.
- Moshkalo, Vyacheslav V. 1991. Белуджский язык / The Balochi language. In: *OIrJa* V / 1, 5–90.
- Müller, Stefan. 2007. *Zum Germanischen aus laryngalthoretischer Sicht: Mit einer Einführung in die Grundlagen der Laryngaltheorie*. Berlin–NY: Walter der Gruyter.
- Müller, Johannes; Hinz, Martin; Ullrich, Markus. 2015. Bell Beakers – chronology, innovation and memory: a multivariate approach. In: Maria Pilar Prieto Martínez and Laure Salanova

- (eds). *The Bell Beaker Transition in Europe. Mobility and local evolution during the 3rd millennium BC*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 57–68.
- de Munck, Victor C.; Dapkunaite, Ruta. 2018. The Modern Lithuanian Kinship System: A Descriptive Analysis of Generational Differences in Reckoning the Saliency of Kin Terms. *Journal of Baltic Studies* 49 (1), 63–86.
- Murdock, George P. 1949. *Social Structure*. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- . 1968a. Patterns of Sibling Terminology. *Ethnology* 7 (1), 1–24.
- . 1968b. World Sampling Provinces. *Ethnology* 7 (3), 305–326.
- . 1970. Kin Term Patterns and Their Distribution. *Ethnology* 9 (2), 165–208.
- Mušinskaya, V. V. 2014. *Украинская грамматика в таблицах и схемах / Ukrainian grammar in tables and schemes*. St. Petersburg: KARO.
- Narasimhan, Vagheesh M. 2019. The formation of human populations in South and Central Asia. *Science* 365 (6457), eaat7487; DOI: 10.1126/science.aat7487
- Needham, R. 1971. Remarks on the Analysis of Kinship and Marriage. In: R. Needham (ed). *Rethinking Kinship and Marriage*. London: Tavistock, 1–34.
- Neu, Erich. 1990. Das hethitische Wort für „Frau“. *Historische Sprachforschung* 103, 208–217.
- Neumann, Günter. 1987. Zur Verwandtschaftsbezeichnung **ánatḫe*. *Glotta* 65, 33–37.
- . 1991. Hethitisch *negna*- ‘Bruder’. *Historische Sprachforschung* 104, 63–66.
- . 1996. Hethitisch-luwische Verwandtschaftswörter. *Die Sprache* 38, 1–13.
- NEVP = Elfenbein, J.; MacKenzie, D.N.; Sims-Williams N. 2003. *A New Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.
- Nielsen, Benedicte. 1998. *Latinske nomina instrumenti dannet med *-lo-, *-slo- og *-tlo-. Om det indbyrdes slægtskab mellem tre indoeuropæiske nominalsuffikser* (Master thesis). University of Copenhagen.
- NIL = Wodtko, Dagmar S., Irslinger Britta, Schneider Carolin. 2008. *Nomina im Indogermanischen Lexikon*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter.
- NKRJa = *Национальный корпус русского языка / National Corpus of the Russian Language*: <http://ruscorpora.ru/new/>
- NKTJa = *Национальный корпус таджикского языка / National Corpus of the Tajik Language*: <http://tajik-corpus.org/>
- Normier, Rudolf. 1980 / 1981. Nochmals zu **sor-*. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 85, 43–80.
- De Nicola, Bruno. 2017. *Women in Mongol Iran: The Khātūns, 1206–1335*. Edinburgh University Press.
- NIL = Wodtko, Dagmar S.; Irslinger, Britta; Schneider Carolin. 2008. *Nomina im Indogermanischen Lexikon*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter.
- Nova Beseda = *Korpus slovenskega jezika / Corpus of the Slovenian language* (Inštitut za slovenski jezik Frana Ramovša ZRC SAZU): http://bos.zrc-sazu.si/s_beseda.html

- Novák, Ľubomír. 2010. *Jaghnóbsko-český slovník s přehledem jaghnóbské gramatiky*. Praha: Univerzita Karlova v Praze Filozofická fakulta.
- . 2013. *Problem of Archaism and Innovation in the Eastern Iranian Languages* (PhD thesis). Prague: Univerzita Karlova v Praze.
- . 2018. Yaghnobi: an example of a language in contact. *Chatreššar* 2018 (2), 26–50.
- Nussbaum, Alan J. 1986. *Head and Horn in Indo-European*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- . 2010. PIE *-Cmn-* and Greek τρᾶνής ‘clear’. In: Ronald Kim et al. (eds). *Ex Anatolia Lux. Anatolian and Indo-European studies in honor of H. Craig Melchert*. Ann Arbor – New York: 269–277.
- . 2014. Feminine, Abstract, Collective, Neuter Plural: Some Remarks on each (Expanded Handout). In: Sergio Neri; Roland Schuhmann (eds). *Studies on the Collective and Feminine in Indo-European from a Diachronic and Typological Perspective*. Leiden: Brill, 273–306.
- Nyman, Martti. 1977. The Family Resemblance of Latin caput and capillus (and what can be gleaned from it). *Indogermanische Forschungen* 82, 163–190.
- . 1979. On Evaluation, Causation and Validation: Pre-Latin **-tl-*. *Folia Linguistica Historica* V (1), 185–191.
- OArD = Arts, Tressy. 2014. *Oxford Arabic dictionary: Arabic – English, English – Arabic*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ó Dónaill, Niall. 1992. *Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla*. Baile Átha Cliath: An Gúm.
- OED = Oxford English Dictionary: <https://www.oed.com/>
- DOE = Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus: <https://tapor-library-utoronto-ca.uaccess.univie.ac.at/doecorpus/>
- Oettinger, Norbert. 1979. *Die Stammbildung des hethitischen Verbuns*. Nürnberg: Carl.
- . 1986. Avestisch *hāiriš-* ‘Frau’ syn- und diachron. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 91, 116–128.
- . 1998. Wiesel und Gevatterin: Zu einem semantischen Problem. In: Bökönyi, Sándor (ed). *Man and the animal world*. Budapest: Archaeolingua Alapítvány, 649–654.
- . 2004. Griechisch γυνή ‘Frau’ und der Ursprung des ‘i-Kollektivums’. In: Kirsch, Thomas; Lindner, Thomas; Müller, Ulrich (eds). *Analecta homini universali dicata. Festschrift für Oswald Panagl zum 65. Geburtstag*. Volume 1. Stuttgart: Verlag Hans-Dieter Heinz.
- . 2009. Die Derivationsbasis von idg. **daiuér-* (**sh₂daiuér-*) ‘Bruder des Ehemannes’. *Die Sprache* 48, 127–131.
- Olander, Thomas. 2015. *Proto-Slavic Inflectional Morphology. A Comparative Handbook*. Leiden: Brill.
- Olsen, Birgit Anette. 1999. *The noun in Biblical Armenian: origin and word-formation*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

- . 2003. Fresh shoots from a vigorous stem: IE * $\mu ih_1 r\acute{o}$ -. In: Brigitte L. M. Bauer and Georges-Jean Pinault (eds). *Language in Time and Space A Festschrift for Werner Winter on the Occasion of his 80th Birthday*. Berlin – NY: Mouton de Gruyter, 313–330.
- . 2004. The complex of nasal stems in Indo-European. In: James Clackson; Birgit A. Olsen (eds). *Indo-European Word Formation: Proceedings of the Conference Held at the University of Copenhagen October 20th–22nd 2000*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 215–248.
- . 2006. Some formal peculiarities of Germanic *n*-stem abstracts. In: Karlene Jones-Bley (ed). *Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference, Oct. 27–28, 2005* (Journal of Indo-European Studies. Monograph Series 52), Washington, D.C.: Institute for the Study of Man, 123–142.
- . 2010. *Derivation and Composition: Two Studies in Indo-European Word Formation*. Innsbruck: Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft.
- . 2013. A note on Indo-European in-laws. In: Cooper, Adam I.; Rau Jeremy; Weiss, Michael (eds). *Multi nominis grammaticus: studies in classical and Indo-European linguistics in honor Of Alan J. Nussbaum on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday*. Ann Arbor, New York: Beech Stave Press, 206–213.
- . 2016. On aunts and step-mothers – women’s role in Indo-European society (handout). Kin, clan and community: a symposium on Indo-European social institution in Copenhagen (17.05.2016).
- . 2018a. What Happened to the Middle Participle in Latin? In: Dieter Gunkel et al. (eds). *Vina diem celebrant: studies in linguistics and philology in honor of Brent Vine*. Ann Arbor – New York: Beech Stave Press, 299–308.
- . 2018b. The Development of Interconsonantal Laryngeals in Indo-Iranian and Old Avestan *zqθā ptā*. In: Lucien van Beek et al. (eds). *Farnah: Indo-Iranian and Indo-European Studies in Honor of Sasha Lubotsky*. Ann Arbor; New York: Beech Stave Press, 256–269.
- . 2019. Aspects of family structure among the Indo-Europeans. In: B. A. Olsen, Th. Olander, and K. Kristiansen (eds). *Tracing the Indo-Europeans: New evidence from archaeology and historical linguistics*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 145–163.
- Olsen IG Ljubljana = Olsen, Birgit. (forthcoming). Insiders and outsiders – the etymology of Slavic **vъnukъ* ‘grandson’. *Proceedings of the IG Arbeitstagung: 100 years of comparative linguistics at the University of Ljubljana, Ljubljana, 4–7 June 2019* (pages numbering are yet unknown).
- ONP = Dictionary of Old Norse Prose (University of Copenhagen): <https://onp.ku.dk>
- Opie, Kit; Power, Camilla. 2008. Grandmothering and Female Coalition: A Basic for Matrilineal Priority. In: Nicholas J. Allen et al. (eds). 2008. *Early Human Kinship: From Sex to Social Reproduction*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 168–186.
- Orel, Vladimir.E. 1998. *Albanian etymological dictionary*. Leiden: Brill.

- . 2003. *A handbook of Germanic etymology*. Leiden: Brill.
- Orel, Vladimir E.; Stolbova, Olga V. 1995. *Hamito-Semitic Etymological Dictionary: Material for a Reconstruction*. Leiden–NY–Köln: Brill.
- Orr, Robert. 1983. *The role of the ū-stems in the morphological remodelling of the common Slavic nominal declensional system* (PhD thesis). University of Alberta.
- Parkes, Peter. 2004a. Milk kinship in Southeast Europe. Alternative social structures and foster relations in the Caucasus and the Balkans. *Social Anthropology* 12 (3), 341–358.
- . 2004b. Fosterage, Kinship, and Legend: When Milk Was Thicker than Blood? *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 46 (3), 587–615.
- . 2006. Celtic Fosterage: Adoptive Kinship and Clientage in Northwest Europe. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 47, 359–395.
- Parkin, Robert. 2003 [1997]. *Kinship: an Introduction to Basic Concepts*. Oxford; Malden: Blackwell Publishers.
- . 2012. Kinship as classification: towards a paradigm of change. *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford* 4 (2), 183–211.
- . 2015. Indo-European kinship terminologies in Europe: trajectories of change. *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford* 7 (2), 205–233.
- Parkin, Robert; Stone, Linda. 2004. *Kinship and family: an anthropological reader*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing.
- Pârvulescu, Adrian. 1993. IE. **dhughatēr* “daughter” and Grassmann’s law. A phonetic and semantic analysis. *Indogermanische Forschungen: Zeitschrift für Indogermanistik und Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft* 98, 55–91.
- . 1996. IE. *bhrātēr* “brother”. *Indogermanische Forschungen: Zeitschrift für Indogermanistik und Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft* 101, 99–106.
- Passmore, S.; Jordan, F. 2020. No universals in the cultural evolution of kinship terminology. *Evolutionary Human Sciences*, 1–23.
- Pastner, Carroll McC. 1978. Kinship Terminology and Feudal Versus Tribal Orientations in Baluch Social Organization: A Comparative View. In: Wolfgang Weissleder (ed). *The Nomadic Alternative*. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 261–274.
- Paul, Ludwig. 2013a. Neupersisch. In: *HI*, 258–268.
- . 2013b. Neuwestiranisch. In: *HI*, 269–273.
- Pedersen, Holger. 1909. *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht.
- . 1935. Zum Lautwert Zeichens „pat“ im Hittitischen. *Archiv orientální* 7, 80–88.
- Pehrson, Robert Niel. 1966. *The social organization of the Marri Baluch*. New York: Aldine Publishing Company.

- Pereltsvaig, Asya; Lewis, Martin W. 2015. *The Indo-European Controversy: Facts and Fallacies in Historical Linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Peters, Martin. 1980. *Untersuchungen zur Vertretung der indogermanischen Laryngale im Griechischen*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Petit, Daniel. 2002. Lituanien *krienas*: étymologie et histoire des mots. *Historische Sprachforschung* 115, 138–150.
- . 2004. *Apophonie et catégories grammaticales dans les langues Baltique*. Leuven – Paris.
- PHI Latin texts = Classical Latin Texts (Packard Humanities Institute): <https://latin.packhum.org/>
- Piaget, Jean. 1965 [1928]. *Judgment and Reasoning in the Child*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Pinault, Georges-Jean. 2000. Védique *dāmūnas*, Latin *dominus* l'origine du suffixe du Hoffmann. *Bulletin de la société de linguistique de Paris* 95, 61–117.
- . 2001. Le type latin *uorāgō*: un reflet d'un suffixe indo-européen. *Glotta* 77, 85–109.
- . 2005a. Analyse étymologique d'un nom de parenté indo-européen. In: Schweiger, Günter (ed). *Indogermanica: Festschrift Gert Klingenschmitt; indische, iranische und indogermanische Studien*. Tübingen: Schweiger VWT-Verl, 465–485.
- . 2005b. Tocharian 'Woman'. In: Kazanskiy N. N. *Ирда́ ма́насā. Сборник статей к 70-летию со дня рождения профессора Леонарда Георгиевича Герценберга / Collection of articles for the 70th birthday of Prof. Leonard G. Gerzenberg*. St. Petersburg: Nauka, 201–214.
- . 2007. A Star is born. A "New" PIE *-ter-Suffix. In: *Verba Docenti. Studies in historical and Indo-European linguistics presented to Jay H. Jasanoff, ed. by Alan J. Nussbaum*. Ann Arbor-New York: Beech Stave Press, 271–279.
- . 2009. Review on Tremblay, La déclinaison des nom de parenté. *Kratylos* 54, 24–36.
- . 2011. L'origine déictique du genre féminin indo-européen. *Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris* CVI (1), 129–182: doi:10.2143/BSL.106.1.2141867.
- . 2013. The Lady (almost) Vanishes. In: Adam I. Cooper; Jeremy Rau; Michael Weiss (eds). *Multi Nominis Grammaticus: Studies in classical and Indo-European linguistics in honour Of Alan J. Nussbaum on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday*. Ann Arbor – New York: Beech Stave Press, 240–254.
- . 2014. Distribution and Origins of the PIE Suffixes *-ih₂-. In: Norbert Oettinger; Thomas Steer (eds). *Das Nomen im Indogermanischen. Morphologie, Substantiv versus Adjektiv, Kollektivum. Akten der Arbeitstagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft vom 14. bis 16. September 2011 in Erlangen*. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 273–306.
- . 2017a. The self-representation of the Indo-European society through kinship terms. In: Harald Bichlmeier; Andreas Opfermann (eds). *Das Menschenbild bei den Indogermanen*. Hamburg: Baar, 81–111.

- . 2017b. In the heat of the day. In: I. Hajnal; D. Kölligan; K. Zipser (eds). *Miscellanea Indogermanica. Festschrift für José Luis García Ramón zum 65. Geburtstag*. Innsbruck: Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft, 641–659.
- . 2017c. Tracing the expression of mastery and power in IE languages. In: Bjarne S. S. Hansen et al. (eds). *Etymology and the European Lexicon: Proceedings of the 14th Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft, 17-22 September 2012, Copenhagen*. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 337–351.
- . 2019. Hittite *ḫaššu-* ‘king’ and the Indo-Iranian *ásura*-Problem. In: Adam Alvah Catt; Ronald I. Kim; Brent Vine (eds). *QAZZU warrai. Anatolian and Indo-European Studies in Honor of Kazuhiko Yoshida*. Ann Arbor – NY: Beech Stave Press, 292–302.
- . 2019/2020. One Century of Heteroclitlic Inflection. In: Ronald I. Kim, Jana Mynářová, Peter Pavúk et al. (eds). *Hrozný and Hittite: The First Hundred Years. Proceedings of the International Conference Held at Charles University, Prague, 11–14 November 2015*. Leiden: Brill, 295–316.
- Pisani, Vittore. 1935. Il suffisso femminilizzante indoeuropeo *-on* (*-ion*, *-tion*, *-uon*) e alcune sue tracce nella declinazione. *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di Scienze morali, storiche et filologiche* 6 (XI), 775–794.
- . 1951. *Vxor*. Ricerche di morfologia indeuropea. *Miscellanea Giovanni Galbiati* III. Milano: Biblioteca Ambrosiana, 1–38.
- Pischel, Richard; Geldner, Karl Friedrich. 1897. *Vedische Studien* (Vol.2). Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.
- Plöchl, R. 2003. *Einführung ins Hieroglyphen-Luwische* [DBH 8]. Dresden: Verlag der TU Dresden.
- Pohl, Heinz Dieter. 1980. Slavisch *st* aus älterem **pt*? *Die Sprache* 26/1, 62–63.
- PONS Slovenian = Bodlaj, Lena. 2009. *Kompaktwörterbuch Slowenisch*. Stuttgart: PONS GmbH.
- Pott, August Friedrich. 1833. *Etymologische Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der Indo-Germanischen Sprachen, mit besonderem Bezug auf die Lautumwandlung im Sanskrit, Griechischen, Lateinischen, Littauischen und Gothischen*. Lemgo: Meyer.
- Poulkou, M. 2006. Arkteia. Überlegungen zu den nackten ‘Bärinnen’ in Brauron, in: G. Koiner et al. (eds.), *Akten des 10. Österreichischen Archäologentages*. Wien: Phoibos, 155–159.
- Preobrazenskij, Alexandr G. 1918. *Etymologičeskij slovar russkago jazyka*. Moskva: Liasner.
- Preston, Todd. 2012. *King Alfred’s Book of Laws*. Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Company.
- Preveden, Francis R. 1929. Etymological Miscellanies. *Language* 5 (3), 147–154.
- Procházka, Stephan et al. 2014. *Skriptum für das Sprachmodul Arabisch I (Arabisch A)*. Auflage 4. Vienna: Institut für Orientalistik der Universität Wien.
- Prósper, Blanca María. 2019. What became of “Sabine l”? An Overlooked Proto-Italic Sound Law. *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 47 (3 & 4), 457–506.

- Puhvel, Jaan. 1992. Philology and etymology, with focus on Anatolian. In: Edgar C. Polomé and Werner Winter (eds). *Reconstructing Languages and Cultures*. Berlin – NY: Mouton de Gruyter, 261–270.
- Pütz, Martin; Verspoor, Marjolijn (eds). 2000. *Explorations in Linguistic Relativity*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- PW I–VII = Böhtlingk, Otto; Roth, Rudolph. 1855–1975. *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*. Vols. 1–7. St-Petersburg: Eggers.
- Rácz, P.; Passmore, S.; Sheard, C.; Jordan, F. M. 2019. Usage frequency and lexical class determine the evolution of kinship terms in Indo-European. *Royal Society Open Science* 6 (10), 191385: <https://doi.org/10.1098/rsos.191385>
- Rasmussen, Jens Elmegård. 1989. *Studien zur Morphophonemik der Indogermanischen Grundsprache*. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität.
- . 1999. Zur lautlichen Regularität der indogermanischen Paradigmenstruktur. In: H. Eichner and H.C. Luschützky (eds). *Compositiones Indogermanicae in memoriam Jochem Schindler*. Praha: Enigma Corporation, 483–500.
- OIrJa I–V = Rastorgueva, Vera S. et al. 1979–2010. *Основы иранского языкознания / Basics of the Iranian linguistics*. Vols. I–V. Moscow: Nauka.
- Rau, Jeremy. 2009. *Indo-European Nominal Morphology: the Decads and the Caland System*. Innsbruck: Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft.
- . 2011/2012. Indo-European Kinship Terminology: **ph₂tr-ou-/ph₂tr-ū* and its Derivatives. *Historische Sprachforschung* 124, 1–25.
- . 2017. The derivational history of the perfect participle active. In: Claire Le Feuvre, Daniel Petit & Georges-Jean Pinault. *Verbal Adjectives and Participles in Indo-European Languages*. Bremen: Hempen Verlag, 377–389.
- Räuchler, Viktoria. 2014. Das ewige Mädchen. Zum Bild der Sklavin im Athen klassischer Zeit. In: S. Moraw and A. Kieburg (eds). *Mädchen im Altertum – Girls in Antiquity*. Münster–New York: Waxmann, 237–252.
- Read, Dwight W. 2007. Kinship Theory: A Paradigm Shift. *Ethnology*, 46 (4), 329–64.
- . 2013. A New Approach to Forming a Typology of Kinship Terminology Systems: From Morgan and Murdock to the Present. *Structure and Dynamics* 6 (1), Permalink: <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/0ss6j8sh>
- Rédei, Károly. 1986. *Zu den indogermanisch-uralischen Sprachkontakten*. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Linguistik und Kommunikationsforschung 16. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Reich, David. 2018a. Ancient DNA Suggests Steppe Migrations Spread Indo-European Languages. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 162, (1), 39–55.

- . 2018b. *Who We Are and How We Got Here. Ancient DNA and the New Science of the Human Past*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Renfrew, C. 1987. *Archaeology and Language. The puzzle of Indo-European origin*. London: Jonathan Cape.
- . 1999. Time depth, convergence theory, and innovation in Proto-Indo-European: ‘Old Europe’ as a PIE linguistic area. *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 27, 257–293.
- RES I–XIII = Anikin A. E. 2007–. *Русский этимологический словарь / Russian etymological dictionary*. Vol. 1–13. Moscow: Rukopisnye Pamyatniki Drevney Rusi.
- Richards, John F. 1993. *The Mughal Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ricketts, Philadelphia. 2010. *High-Ranking Widows in Medieval Iceland and Yorkshire: Property, Power, Marriage and Identity in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*. Leiden: Brill.
- Rieken, Elisabeth. 1999. *Untersuchungen zur nominalen Stammbildung des Hethitischen*. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag.
- . 2008. The origin of the *-l* genitive and the history of the stems in *-il-* and *-ul-* in Hittite. In: Jones-Bley et al. (eds). *Proceedings of the 19th Annual Indo-European Conference (Los Angeles, November 3-4, 2007)*. (JIES Monograph Series 54). Washington, DC: Institute for the Study of Man, 239–256.
- Risch, Ernst. 1944. Betrachtungen zu den indogermanischen Verwandtschaftsnamen. *Museum Helveticum* 1, 2, 115–122.
- . 1981 [1945]. Griechische Komposita vom Typus μέσο-νόκτιος und ὅμο-γάστριος. In: *Museum Helveticum* 2 (1), 1945, 15–27 (Reprinted in Ernst Risch. *Kleine Schriften*, ed. by Annemarie Etter and Marcel Looser. Berlin – New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1981, 112–124.)
- . 1949. Griechische Determinativkomposita. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 59, 1–61, 245–294.
- Robson, Barbara; Tegey, Habibullah. 2009. Pashto. In: Windfuhr (ed). 2009, 721–772.
- Romeo, Giovanni; Bittles, Alan H. 2014. Consanguinity in the Contemporary World. *Human Heredity* 77 (1–4), 6–9: <https://doi.org/10.1159/000363352>
- Romney, Kimball and d’Andrade, Roy G. 1964. Cognitive aspects of English kinship terms. *American Anthropologist* 66 (3/2), 146–170.
- Róna-Tas, András; Berta, Árpád. 2011. *West Old Turkic. Turkic loanwords in Hungarian*. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz.
- Rootsi, Siiri, et al. 2007 A Counter-Clockwise Northern Route of the Y-Chromosome Haplogroup N from Southeast Asia towards Europe. *European Journal of Human Genetics* 15 (2) 204–211: doi:10.1038/sj.ejhg.5201748.
- Rosch, Eleanor H. 1978. *Principles of categorization*. In E. Rosch & B. B. Lloyd (Eds). *Cognition and categorization*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum, 27–48.
- Roth, R. 1870. Etymologien. *Historische Sprachforschung* 19 (3), 215–224.

- RSA I = Matić, Lubomir. 1959. *Речник српскохрватског књижевног и народног језика / The dictionary of Serbo-Croatian literary and colloquial language*. Vol. 1. Belgrad: Institut za srpski jezik SANU.
- Rutherford, Ian. 2019. From Zalpuwa to Brauron: Hittite-Greek religious convergence on the Black Sea, in: S. Blakely and B.J. Collins (eds). *Religious Convergence in the Ancient Mediterranean [Studies in Ancient Mediterranean Religions 2]*. Atlanta: Lockwood, 391–410.
- Ruzsa, Ferenc. 2013. The influence of Dravidian on Indo-Aryan phonetics. Jared S. Klein and Kazuhiko Yoshida (eds). *Indic Across the Millennia: from the Rigveda to Modern Indo-Aryan*. Bremen: Hempen Verlag, 145–152.
- Rychkov, N. A. 1982. Опыт статистической характеристики коллективных погребений степных племен эпохи бронзы / Statistical characteristics of the collective burials of the Bronze Age Steppe tribes. *Методологические и методические вопросы археологии / Methodological and methodical questions of archeology* 1982, 85–105.
- Rykin, Pavel. 2011. The system of kinship and affinity terms in the Middle Mongolian. *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 64 (1), 25–47.
- Rzehak, Lutz. 1991. *Arbeit, Eigentum und Sozialstruktur in autarken Gemeinwesen belutschischer Wanderviehhalter und Ackerbauern: mit einer Studie über den jüngsten Wandel bei den Belutschen der Murgab-Oase* (PhD thesis). Berlin.
- . 1995. Menschen des Rückens – Menschen des Bauches. Sprache und Wirklichkeit im Verwandtschaftssystem des Beluchischen. In: Ch. Reck und P. Zieme (eds). *Iran und Turfan: Beiträge Berliner Wissenschaftler, Werner Sundermann zum 60. Geburtstag gewidmet*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 207–229.
- Saadat, M.; Ansari-Lari, M.; Farhud, D. D. 2004. Consanguineous marriage in Iran. *Annals of Human Biology* 31 (2), 263–269.
- Sadovski, Velizar. 2001. Bāhuvrīhis und Rektionskomposita im Ṛgveda und Avesta. In: Stefan Wild and Harmut Schild (eds). *Norm und Abweichung. Akten des 27. Deutschen Orientalistentages (Bonn, 28. September bis 2. Oktober 1998)*. Würzburg: Egon Verlag, 101–120.
- Sahlins, Marshall. 1965. On the Ideology and Composition of Descent Groups. *Man* 65 (7–8), 104–107.
- . 2013. *What Kinship Is-And Is Not*. Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Sammallahti, Pekka. 1988. Historical phonology of the Uralic languages with special reference to Samoyed, Ugric and Permic. In: Denis Sinor (ed). *The Uralic languages: description, history and foreign influences*. Handbuch der Orientalistik 8: Handbook of Uralic studies 1; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 478–554.
- Sanders, Ruth. 2010. *German: biography of a language*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Sapir, Edward. 1921. *Language. An Introduction to the Study of Speech*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and company.
- . 1931. Conceptual categories in primitive languages. *Science* 74, 578.
- Scheffler, Harold W. 1966 Ancestor Worship in Anthropology: or, Observations on Descent and Descent Groups [and Comments and Reply]. *Current Anthropology* 7 (5), 541–551.
- . 1986 The Descent of Rights and the Descent of Persons. *American Anthropologist* 88 (2), 339–350.
- Schindler, Jochem. 1967. Tocharische Miszellen. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 72, 239–249.
- . 1972. L’apophonie des noms-racines indo-europeens. *Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris* 67, 31–38.
- . 1975. Armenisch *erkn*, griechisch ὀδύνη, irisch *idu*. *Historische Sprachforschung (KZ)* 89, 153–65.
- Schleicher, August. 1861–1862. *Compendium der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*. I: Kurzer Abriß einer Lautlehre. II: Kurzer Abriß einer Formenlehre. Weimar: Böhlau.
- Schmidt, Johannes. 1879. Zwei arische *a*-Laute und die Palatalen. *Historische Sprachforschung (KZ)* 25, 1–179.
- Schmidt, Wilhelm. 1930. *Ursprung und Werden der Religion: Theorien und Tatsachen*. Münster in Westfalen: Aschendorff.
- Schmidt, Wilhelm; Koppers, Wilhelm. 1924. *Völker und Kulturen*. Regensburg: Josef Habel.
- Schmitt, Rüdiger. 1967. *Dichtung und Dichtersprache in indogermanische Zeit*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- . 2000. Die iranischen Sprachen in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- . 2013. Altiranisch. In: *HI*, 227–238.
- Schmitt WAPKI = Schmitt, Rüdiger. 2014. *Wörterbuch der altpersischen Königsinschriften*. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag.
- Schneider, David M. 1953. Yap Kinship Terminology and Kin Groups. *American Anthropologist* 55, 215–36.
- . 1980 [1968]. *American Kinship: a Cultural Account*. Chicago – London: University of Chicago Press.
- . 1972. What is Kinship All About? In: Priscilla Reining (ed). *Kinship Studies in the Morgan Centennial Year*. Washington D.C.: The Anthropological Society of Washington, 32–63. Reprinted in: Parkin, Robert; Stone, Linda (eds.) 2004. *Kinship and Family. An anthropological reader*. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishing, 257–274.
- . 1983. Conclusions. In: Mac Marshall (ed). *Siblingship in Oceania: Studies in the Meaning of Kin Relations*. ASAO Monograph No. 8. Lanham; New York; London: University Press of America, 389–404.

- . 1984. *A Critique of the Study of Kinship*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Schrader, Otto. 1907. *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte. Linguistisch-historische Beiträge zur Erforschung des indogermanischen Altertums* (3. neubearbeitete Auflage). Jena: Hermann Costenoble.
- Schrijver, Peter. 1991. *The reflexes of the PIE laryngeals in Latin*. Amsterdam - Atlanta: Rodopi.
- . 1995. *Studies in British Celtic Historical Phonology*. Amsterdam - Atlanta GA.
- Schroeder, Hannes et al. 2019. Unraveling ancestry, kinship, and violence in a Late Neolithic mass grave. *PNAS* 116 (22) 10705-10710: <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1820210116>
- Schumacher, Stefan; Matzinger, Joachim. 2013. *Die Verben des Altalbanischen: Belegwörterbuch, Vorgeschichte und Etymologie*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Schwarz, Martin. 1975. Proto-Indo-European $\sqrt{\text{gem}}$. In: *Monumentum H. S. Nyberg*. Vol. 2. Leiden: Brill; Téhéran: Bibliothèque Pahlavi, 195–211.
- . 2012. Transformations of the Indo-Iranian Snake-man: Myth, Language, Ethnoarcheology, and Iranian Identity. *Iranian Studies* 45 (2), 275–279.
- SDRYa I–III = Sreznevsky, I. I. 1893–1912. *Материалы для словаря древне-русского языка по письменным памятникам / Materials for the dictionary of the Old Russian language on the basis of written evidence*. Vol. 1–3. St. Petersburg.
- Seebold, Elmar. 1982. Der Übergang von idg. -w- zu germ. -k- und -g-. *Indogermanische Forschungen*, 172–194.
- Sen, Subhadra Kumar. 1972. A Note on Gothic ‘ATTA’. *Bulletin of the Department of English. Calcutta University. New series* viii (1), 35–36 (the page numbering is not certain as the paper was not available to me).
- . 1987. Gothic *atta* and *fadar*: A Semantic Analysis. In: Beekes, Robert; Stephen Paul (eds). 1992. *Rekonstruktion und relative Chronologie*. Innsbruck: Inst. für Sprachwiss. d. Univ., 255–259.
- Serangeli, Matilde. 2019. Introduction: Dispersals and Diversification of the Indo-European Languages. In: Serangeli & Olander (eds). 2019, 1–20.
- Serangeli, Matilde; Olander, Thomas (eds). *Dispersals and Diversification: Linguistic and Archaeological Perspectives on the Early Stages of Indo-European*. Leiden: Brill.
- Setälä, Eemil N. 1900. I. N. Smirnow’s Untersuchung über die Ostfinnen. *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* 17, 17–28.
- Shapiro, Warren. 2008. What Human Kinship Is Primarily about: Toward a Critique of the New Kinship Studies. *Social Anthropology* 16 (2), 137–153.
- Shields Jr., K. 2000. The Hittite word for ‘son’ and the origin of the Indo-European diminutive suffix *-lo-. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 105, 137–142.
- Shinde, Vasant. 2019. An Ancient Harappan Genome Lacks Ancestry from Steppe Pastoralists or Iranian Farmers. *Cell* 179 (3): <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cell.2019.08.048>

- Sihler, Andrew L. 1988. Greek reflexes of the syllabic laryngeals with a postscript on PIE kinship terms in **-H₂ter*. In: Alfred Bammesberger (ed). *Die Laryngaltheorie und die Rekonstruktion des indogermanischen Laut- und Formensystems*. Heidelberg: Winter, 547–561.
- Sims-Williams, Patrick. 2003. *The Celtic inscriptions of Britain: phonology and chronology, c.400-1200*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Śivadāsa = Rajan, Chandra (transl.). 2006. *Śivadāsa. The Five-and-Twenty tales of the Genie (Vetālapañcaviṃśati)* (2nd edition). London: Penguin Books.
- SJaStS I = Kurz, Josef et al. 1966. *Slovník Jazyka Staroslověnského / Lexicon Linguae Palaeoslovencae*. Vol.1. Praha: Academia.
- Sjøberg, Andree F. 1992. The impact of Dravidian on Indo-Aryan: an overview. In: E. C. Potołomé and W. Winter (eds). *Reconstructing languages and cultures*. Berlin – NY: De Gruyter Mouton, 507–530.
- Skjærvø, Prods O. 1989. Pashto. In: *CLI*, 384–410.
- Skjærvø, P. O.; Khaleghi-Motlagh, Dj.; Russell, J. R. 1987. Aždahā. *Encyclopædia Iranica* III / 2, 191–205.
- Sköld, Hannes. 1925. *Die Ossetischen Lehnwörter im Ungarischen*. Lund: Gleerup. Leipzig: Harrassowitz.
- Smirnitskaya, Anna A. 2019. Проявление межэтнических контактов в системах терминов родства некоторых дравидийских языков / Contact phenomena pertaining to kinship terms in selected Dravidian languages. In: Vladimir A. Popov (ed). *Алгебра родства: Родство. Системы родства. Системы терминов родства* Вып. 17 / *Kinship Algebra: Kinship. Kinship systems. Systems of kinship terms* 17. St. Petersburg: Russian Academy of Sciences; KIO, 171–186.
- Smirnov, Ivan N. 1889. *Черемисы: историко-этнографический очерк / The Cheremis: a historical and ethnographic essay*. Kazan: Tipografiya imperatorskogo universiteta.
- . 1891. *Пермяки: историко-этнографический очерк / The Permyaks: a historical and ethnographic essay*. Kazan: Tipografiya imperatorskogo universiteta.
- . 1895. *Мордва: историко-этнографический очерк / The Mordvins: a historical and ethnographic essay*. Kazan: Tipografiya imperatorskogo universiteta.
- Smoczyński SEJL = Smoczyński, Wojciech. 2007. *Słownik etymologiczny języka litewskiego / Lietuvių kalbos etimologijos žodynas / Etymological dictionary of the Lithuanian language*. Vilnius: Vilniaus universiteto Filologijos fakultetas.
- Snædal, Magnús. 2015. Attila. *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia (SEC)* 20 (3), 211–219.
- Snoj, Marco. 2003. *Slovenski etimološki slovar / Slovenian etymological dictionary* (2nd edition). Ljubljana: Modrijan.

- Sommerstein, A. H. (ed., tr.). 1990. *Lysistrata. The Comedies of Aristophanes*, Warminster: Aris & Phillips Ltd.
- Sontheimer, Günther-Dietz. 1977. *The joint Hindu family: its evolution as a legal institution*. New Delhi: Manoharlal.
- Sourvinou-Inwood, Christiane. 1988. *Studies in Girls' Transition: Aspects of the Arkteia and Age Representation in Attic Iconography*. Athens: Kardamitsa.
- Specht, Franz. 1935. Zur baltisch-slavisches Spracheinheit. *Historische Sprachforschung (KZ)* 62 (3/4), 248–258.
- . 1941. *Die indogermanische Familie und der Unsterblichkeitsgedanke*. München.
- Spooner, Brian. 1965. Kinship and Marriage in Eastern Persia. *Sociologus* 15 (1), 22–31.
- . 1966. Iranian Kinship and Marriage. *Iran* 4, 51–59.
- Srivastava, Ashirbadi Lal. 1966 [1950]. *The Sultanate of Delhi (711–1526) including the Arab Invasion of Sindhi, Hindu Rule in Afghanistan and Causes of the Defeat of the Hindus in Early Medieval Age*. Agra: Shiva Lal Agarwala & Company educational publishers.
- SRJa XI–XVII I–XXX = Barkhudarov S. G.; Bogatova G. A. et al. 1975–. *Slovar russkogo yazyka XI–XVII vekov / Dictionary of the Russian language of the 11th–17th centuries*. Vol. 1–30. Moscow: Nauka.
- SSp I–XI = Stanisław Urbańczyk et al. (1953–2014). *Słownik staropolski*. Vol. 1–11 + suppl. Warszawa: Polska Akademia Nauk (and others).
- Stachowski, Marek. 2019. *Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch der türkischen Sprache*. Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka.
- Starck, Taylor; Wells, John C. 1990. *Althochdeutsches Glossenwörterbuch*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Starke, Frank. 1980. Das luwische Wort für „Frau“. *Historische Sprachforschung (KZ)* 94, 74–86.
- . 1987. Die Vertretung von uridg. **dhugh₂tér*- „Tochter“ in den luwischen Sprachen und ihre Stammbildung. *Historische Sprachforschung (KZ)* 100, 243–269.
- . 1990. *Untersuchung zur Stammbildung des keilschrift-luwischen Nomens*. (Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten 31). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Steblin-Kamenskiy, Ivan M. 1999. *Этимологический словарь ваханского языка / Ethymological dictionary of the Wakhi language*. St. Petersburg: Peterburgskoye yazykovedenie.
- Steer, Thomas. 2015. *Amphikinese und Amphigenese. Morphologische und phonologische Untersuchungen zur Genese amphikinetischer Sekundärbildungen und zur internen Derivation im Indogermanischen*. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- Steinbauer, Dieter H. 1993. Etruskisch-ostitalische Lehnbeziehungen. In: Helmut Rix (ed). *Oskisch-Umbrisch: Texte und Grammatik*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 287–306.
- Strauß, Rita. 2006. *Reinigungsrituale aus Kizzuwatna: Ein Beitrag zur Erforschung hethitischer Ritualtradition und Kulturgeschichte*. Berlin: de Gruyter

- Stüber, Karin. 2002. *Die primären s-Stämme des Indogermanischen*. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- . 2007. Zur Entstehung des Motionssuffixes idg. *-ih₂-. *International Journal of Diachronic Linguistics and Linguistic Reconstruction* 4, 1–24.
- Stüber, Karin; Zehnder, Thomas; Remmer, Ulla. 2009. *Indogermanische Frauennamen*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter.
- Sutherland, Gail Hinich. 1990. *Bīja* (seed) and *kṣetra* (field): male surrogacy or *niyoga* in the *Mahābhārata*. *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 24 (1), 77–103.
- Swadesh, Morris. 1950. Salish Internal Relationships. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 16 (4), 157–167.
- Swadesh, Morris (posthumous); Sherzer, Joel (ed). 1971. *The Origin and Diversification of Language*. London: Routledge and Kegan Pau
- Swanton, John R. 1905. The Social Organization of American Tribes. *American Anthropologist* 7 (4), 663–673.
- . 1906. A Reconstruction of the Theory of Social Organization. In: Berthold Laufer (ed). *Boas anniversary volume; anthropological papers written in honor of Franz Boas*. New York: G.E. Stechert & Co, 166–178.
- Szemerényi, Oswald. 1964. *Syncope in Greek and Indo-European and the Nature of Indo-European Accent*. Naples.
- . 1967. The Alleged Indo-European *sor- ‘Woman’. *Kratylos* 11, 206–221.
- . 1970. *Einführung in die Vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- . 1977. Studies in the kinship terminology of the Indo-European languages. In: *Acta Iranica (Varia 1977)*, Leiden, Brill, 1–240.
- Tadmor, Uri. 2010. Loanwords in the world’s languages: Findings and results. In: Martin Haspelmath & Uri Tadmor (eds). *Loanwords in the world's languages: a comparative handbook*. Berlin: de Gruyter Mouton, 55–75.
- Taggar-Cohen A. 2006. *Hittite Priesthood* [THeth 26]. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Takazov, Fedar M. 2003. *Дигорско-русский словарь / Digoron-Russian dictionary*. Vladikavkaz: Alania.
- Tambets, Kristiina, et al. 2018. Genes Reveal Traces of Common Recent Demographic History for Most of the Uralic-Speaking Populations. *Genome Biology* 19, 139: doi:10.1186/s13059-018-1522-1
- Tavakkoly, Hossein. 2009. *Wörterbuch Persisch–Deutsch* (2nd edition). Aachen: Tavakkoly Amol, H.
- Teufer, M. 2012. Der Streitwagen: eine “indo-iranische” Erfindung? Zum Problem der Verbindung von Sprachwissenschaft und Archäologie. *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan* 44, 271–312.

- Tichy, Eva. 1993. Kollektiva, genus femininum, und relative Chronologie im Indogermanischen. *Historische Sprachforschung* 106, 1–19.
- . 1995. *Die Nomen agentis auf -tar- im Vedischen*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Thordarson, Fridrik. 1986. Ossetisch *uæxsk / usqæ* “Schulter”. Lexikalische Marginalien. In: R. Schmitt and P. O. Skjærvø (eds). *Studia Grammatica Iranica. Festschrift für Helmut Humbach*. München: Kitzinger, 499–511.
- . 1989. Ossetic. In: *CLI*, 456–479.
- . 1990. Old Ossetic Accentuation. In: Ehsan Yarshater (eds). *Iranica varia: papers in honour of Professor Ehsan Yarshater*. Leiden: Brill, 256–265.
- . 2009. Ossetic languages: history and description. In: *Encyclopædia Iranica Online*: <https://iranicaonline.org/articles/ossetic>
- Thomas, Werner. 1988. Toch. B *orotse-pacere* “Großeltern”? *Historische Sprachforschung (KZ)* 101, 155–165.
- Thomson, George Derwent. 1950 [1941]. *Aeschylus and Athens: a study in the social origins of drama* (2nd edition). London: Lawrence & Wishart.
- Tolkachev, A. I. 1976. К истории словообразования форм со значением субъективной оценки (квалитативов) личных собственных имен греческого происхождения в древнерусском языке XI-XV вв. III / Derivational history of forms of subjective value (qualitatives) of personal names of the Greek origin in the Russian languages in the 11–15 c. (part III). *Этимология / Etymology* 1976, 112–135.
- Tolstaya, Svetlana M. et al. (eds). 2009. *Категория родства в языке и культуре / The category of kinship in language and culture*. Moscow: Indrik.
- Tooker, Elizabeth. 1997. Introduction. In: Morgan 1997 [1871], vii–xix.
- Trabant, Jürgen. 2000. How relativistic are Humboldt’s “Weltansichten”? In: Martin Pütz; Marjolijn Verspoor (eds). *Explorations in Linguistic Relativity*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 25–44.
- Trautmann, Thomas R. 1973. Consanguineous marriage in Pali literature. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 93 (2), 158–180.
- . 1974. Cross-cousin marriages in ancient north India? In: T. Trautmann (ed). *Kinship and history in South Asia*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, 59–80 (the page numbering is uncertain as the article was not available to me).
- . 1981. *Dravidian Kinship*. Cambridge – London – NY: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1993–1994 [1979]. The Study of Dravidian Kinship. In: Patricia Uberoi (ed). *Family, Kinship and Marriage in India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 74–90.
- Tremblay, Xavier. 1996a. Un nouveau type apophonique des noms athématiques suffixaux de l’indo-européen. *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 91, 97–145.

- . 1996b. Zum suffixalen Ablaut o/e in der athematischen Deklination des Indogermanischen. *Die Sprache* 38, 31–70.
- . 1998. Sur *parsui* du Farhang-ī-Ōim, *ratu-*, *pṛtu-*, *pitu-* et quelques autres thèmes avestique en -u-. Essais de grammaire comparée des langues iraniennes III. *Studia Iranica* XXVII, 187–204.
- . 2003a. *La déclinaison des noms de parenté indo-européens en -ter-*. Institut für Sprachen und Literaturen der Universität Innsbruck.
- . 2003b. Interne Derivation: “Illusion de la reconstruction” oder verbreitetes morphologisches Mittel? Am Beispiel des Awestischen. In: E. Tichy, D.S. Wodtko, B. Irslinger (eds). *Indogermanisches Nomen. Derivation, Flexion und Ablaut. Akten der Arbeitstagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft, Freiburg, 19.-22. Sept. 2001*. Bremen: Hempen Verlag, 231–259.
- . 2004. Die Ablautstufe des Lokativs der akrostatischen Nomina. *Apophonica* III. In: Adam Hyllested et al. (eds). *Per Aspera ad Asteriscos. Studia Indogermanica in honorem Jens Elmegård Rasmussen sexagenarii Idibus Martiis anno MMIV*. Innsbruck: IBS, 573–589.
- Trémouille, Marie-Claude. 2014. *Répertoire onomastique*. In: *Hethitologie Portal Mainz*: <http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetonom/ONOMASTIdata.html>
- Trier, Jost. 1947. Vater: Versuch einer Etymologie. *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Germanistische Abteilung* 65 (1), 232–260.
- Troitskaya, A. L. 1948. *Abdolti* – арго цеха артистов и музыкантов Средней Азии / *Abdolti* – the argot of performers and musicians of Central Asia. *Sovetskoye Vostokovedenie* 5, 251–274.
- Trubachev, Oleg N. 1959. *История славянских терминов родства и некоторых терминов общественного строя* / *The history of the Slavic kinship terms and some terms of the social order*. Moskva: Izdat. Akad. Nauk SSSR.
- Trubetzkoy, Nikolaj S. 1930. Proposition 16. In: *Actes du premier congrès international des linguistes à la Haye, du 10-15 avril 1928*. Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff, 17–18.
- Tsabolov I–II = Tsabolov, Ruslan L. 2001–2010. *Etimologičeskiy slovar kurdsckogo yazyka..* Vols. 1–2. Moscow: Vostochnaya literatura.
- Tuite, Kevin; Schulze, Wolfgang. 1998. A Case of Taboo-Motivated Lexical Replacement in the Indigenous Languages of the Caucasus. *Anthropological Linguistics* 40 (3), 363–383.
- Turner, R. L. 1966. *A comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*. London – NY: Oxford University Press.
- UEW = Károly Rédei et al. 1988. *Uralisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

- Ulukhanov, I. S; Soldatenkova, T. N. 2006. Семантика древнерусской разговорной лексики (социальные названия лиц) / Semantics of Old Russian colloquial speech (social terms). *Russian Linguistics*, 1 – 52
- Underhill, James. 2009. *Humboldt, Worldview and Language*. Edinburgh University Press: doi:10.3366/edinburgh/9780748638420.001.0001.
- . 2011. *Creating Worldviews*. Edinburgh University Press.
- UrEnD = *Urdu-English Dictionary: a Comprehensive Dictionary of Current Vocabulary*. New Delhi: Ajay Book Service, 2008.
- Uspenskiy, Boris A. 2002. *История русского литературного языка (XI—XVII вв) / History of the Russian literary language (11th–17th c.)* (3^d edition). Moscow: Aspekt Press.
- de Vaan, Michiel. 1997. Avestan **pouru.zao9ra-*. *Die Sprache* 39/1, 128–135.
- . 2008. *Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the other Italic Languages*. Indo-European Etymological Dictionaries Online edited by Alexander Lubotsky. Leiden: Brill.
- Vaillant, André. 1950. *Grammaire comparée des langues slaves*. Volume 1. Lyon: IAC.
- . 1974. *Grammaire comparée des langues slave*. Tome IV. La formation des noms. Lyon: IAC.
- Varela, J.; Thompson, E.; Rosch, E. 1991. *The embodied mind: Cognitive science and human experience*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Vatuk, Sylvia. 1969. A structural analysis of the Hindi kinship terminology. *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 3, 94–115.
- . 1982. Forms of address in the North Indian family: an exploration of the cultural meaning of kin terms. In: Ákos Östör, Lina Fruzzetti and Steve Barnett (eds). *Concepts of person: kinship, caste, and marriage in India*. Cambridge, M.A.: Harvard University Press, 56–98 and 242–243.
- Versnel, H.S. 1994. *Inconsistencies in Greek and Roman Religion 2: Transition and Reversal in Myth and Ritual*. Leiden, New York: Brill.
- Vey, Marc. 1931. Slave st provenant d'i-e. pt. *Bulletin de la société de linguistique de Paris* 32, 65–67.
- . 1953. Le nom de l' 'autour' en slave. *Bulletin de la société de linguistique de Paris* 49, 24–40.
- . 1958. К этимологии русского *Стрибогъ* / About the etymology of Russian *Stribogŭ*. *Вопросы языкознания / Linguistic questions* 1958 /3, 96–99.
- de Vienne, Emmanuel. 2018. Joking and Avoidance Relationships. *The International Encyclopedia of Anthropology*. Wiley Online Library: <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118924396.wbiea2075>
- Vijūnas, Aurelijus. 2009. *The Indo-European Primary t-stems*. Innsbruck: Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft.
- Vincze, Lajos. 1978. Kinship Terms and Address in a Hungarian Speaking Peasant Community in Rumania. *Ethnology* 17 (1), 101–117.

- Vine, Brent. 2004. On PIE Full Grades in Some Zero-Grade Contexts: *-tí, *-tó. In: James Clackson and Birgit A. Olsen. *Indo-European Word Formation. Proceedings of the Conference held at the University of Copenhagen October 20th–22nd 2000*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 357–379.
- Volk, Konrad. 1999. *A Sumerian reader* (2nd edition). Rome: Editrice pontificio istituto biblico.
- Walde, Alois; Hoffmann, Johann Baptist. 1938. *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (3^d edition). Heidelberg: Winter.
- Wallace, Anthony F. C.; Atkins, John. 1960. The meaning of kinship terms. *American Anthropologist* 62, 58–80.
- Wagner, R. 1975. *The Invention of Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Wangert, Manuela. 2014. Echte Wertschätzung oder nur rein Mittel zum Zweck? Das Bild des Mädchens in der Grabdekoration des pharaonischen Ägyptens. In: S. Moraw and A. Kieburg (eds). *Mädchen im Altertum – Girls in Antiquity*. Münster–New York: Waxmann, 91–103.
- Watkins, Calvert. 1995. Some Anatolian words and forms: Hitt. *nega-*, *negna-*, Luv. **niya-*, *nāni-*. Heinrich Hettrich (ed). *Verba et structurae: Festschrift für Klaus Strunk zum 65. Geburtstag*. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck, 357–361.
- Weisgerber, Leo. 1930. Die Zusammenhänge zwischen Muttersprache, Denken und Handeln. *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Bildung* 6, 57–72.
- Werba, Chlodwig. 2005. Sanskrit *duhitar-* und ihre (indo-)iranische Verwandten. Zur ‘Vokalisierung’ der Laryngale im Ur(indo)iranischen. In: Günter Schweiger (ed). *Indogermanica – Festschrift Gert Klingenschmitt: Indische, iranische und indogermanische Studien dem verehrten Jubilar dargebracht zu seinem fünfundsechzigsten Geburtstag*. Regensburg: Taimering, 699–732.
- Widmer, Paul. 2005. Der altindische *vr̥kí*-Typus und hethitisch *nakkī̯-*: Der indogermanische Instrumental zwischen Syntax und Morphologie. *Die Sprache* 45 (1–2), 190–208.
- Wierzbicka, Anna. 2015. Innate conceptual primitives manifested in the languages of the world and in infant cognition. In: Stephen Laurence and Eric Margolis (eds). *The Conceptual Mind: New Directions in the Study of Concepts*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 379–412.
- . 2016a. New perspectives on kinship. Overcoming the Eurocentrism and Scientism of Kinship Studies through Lexical Universals In: Nancy Bonvillian (ed). *The Routledge Handbook of Linguistic Anthropology*. London: Routledge, 62–79.
- . 2016b. Back to ‘Mother’ and ‘Father’. Overcoming the Eurocentrism of Kinship Studies through Eight Lexical Universals. *Current Anthropology* 57 (4), 408–429.
- . 2017. The meaning of kinship terms. A developmental and cross-linguistic perspective. In: Zhengdai Ye (ed). *The Semantics of Nouns*. Oxford University Press, 19–62.

- Whorf, Benjamin Lee. 2012 [1939/1941]. The Relation of Habitual Thought and Behavior to Language. In: John B. Carroll et al. (eds). 2012. *Language, Thought, and Reality: Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf* (2nd edition). Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 173–204 (Originally in: Leslie Spier, A. Irving Hallowell, Stanley S. Newman (eds). 1941. *Language, Culture, and Personality: Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir*. Menasha, Wisconsin: Sapir Memorial Publication Fund, 75–93.)
- Willems, Harco O. 1983. A Description of Egyptian Kinship Terminology of the Middle Kingdom, c. 2000-1650 B. C. *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 139, 152–168.
- Willi, Andreas. 2010. Hera, Eros, Iuno Sororia. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 115, 234–267.
- Windfuhr, Gernot; Perry, John R. 2009. Persian and Tajik. In: Windfuhr (ed). 2009, 416–544.
- Windfuhr, Gernot (ed). 2009. *The Iranian Languages*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Winter, Werner. 1985. Tocharian B *soy*, A *se* and Related Forms. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 105 (2), 259–264.
- Wissler, Clark. 1927. The Culture-Area Concept in Social Anthropology. *American Journal of Sociology* 32 (6), 881–891.
- Witczak, Krzysztof T. 1998. “Dwa terminy prasłowiańskie w ujęciu diachronicznym (1. **zъly* > **zъlъva* ‘siostra męża, szwagierka’, 2. **plo* ‘otwarta przestrzeń wodna’).” *Slavia Occidentalis* 55, 133–138.
- Witzel, Michael. 2019. Early ‘Aryans’ and their neighbors outside and inside India. *Journal of Biosciences* 44 (3), 1–10.
- Wittgenstein, Ludwig. 1953. *Philosophical Investigations*. New York: Macmillan.
- Wolff, Fritz (transl.). 1910. *Avesta: die heiligen Bücher der Parsen*. Strassburg: Verlag von J. Trübner.
- . 1965. *Glossar zu Firdosis Schahname*. Hildesheim: Georg Olm Verlagbuchhandlung.
- Wordick, Frank J.F. 1970. *A Generative-Extensionist Analysis of the PIE Kinship System With a Phonological and Semantic Reconstruction of the Terms*. University of Michigan (PhD thesis). Ann Arbor: University Microfilms.
- WP = Walde, Alois; Pokorny, Julius. 1927/1932. *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen*. Berlin–Boston: De Gruyter.
- Yakubovich, Ilia. 2015. *The Luwian Language*. Oxford Handbooks Online: <http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199935345.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199935345-e-18>
- Yoshida, Yutaka. 2009. Sogdian. In: Gernot Windfuhr (ed). 2009, 279–335.
- Zadeh, Lotfi. 1965. Fuzzy Sets. *Information and Control* 8, 338–353.
- Zalizniak, Anna A. 2013. Русская семантика в типологической перспективе. К вопросу о термине ‘языковая картина мира.’ / Russian semantics in typological perspective. Some

- comments on the concept 'linguistic model of the world'. *Russian Linguistics* 37 (1), 5–20: doi:10.1007/s11185-012-9101-7.
- Zalizniak Anna A.; Levontina Irina B.; Shmelev Alexey D. 2005. *Ключевые идеи русской языковой картины мира / The key concepts of the Russian model of the world*. Moscow: Yazyki slavyanskoy kultury.
- Zehnder, T. 2010. *Die hethitischen Frauennamen. Katalog und Interpretation*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Zhivlov, Mikhail. 2014. Studies in Uralic vocalism III. *Journal of Language Relationship* 12, 113–148.
- Ziegler, Sabine. 1994. *Die Sprache der altirischen Ogam-Inschriften*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Zinko, Michaela. 2018/2019. Das hethitische Königtum Sprachliche Darstellung in IBoT 1, 30 Vs. 1–8 (CTH 821 »Das Königtum und göttliches Recht«). *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 72/2, 265–291.
- Zoëga, Geir T. 1967 [1910]. *A Concise Dictionary of Old Icelandic*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Zubatý, Josef. 1891. Slav. *pastorъкъ*. *Archiv für slawische Philologie* 13, 315–317.

Zusammenfassung

Die Rekonstruktion der urindogermanischen Verwandtschaftsterminologie und Fragen zur Etymologie und kulturellen Interpretation von Verwandtschaftsbegriffen in indogermanischen Sprachen haben in der historischen Linguistik eine lange Tradition. Seit dem Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts bis in die jüngste Zeit hat in der Indogermanistik jedoch der Blick auf den zeitgenössischen anthropologischen Diskurs sowie auf die Einsichten von Disziplinen wie Kognitions-, Areal- und Kontaktlinguistik gefehlt. Die vorliegende Arbeit soll diese Lücke schließen.

Das erste Kapitel beginnt mit einer kurzen Übersicht über Autoren und Konzepte der Sozial- und Kulturanthropologie, die für das Thema relevant sind. Im Anschluss behandle ich Fragen der kognitiven Linguistik wie der Entsprechung zwischen (sozialen) Realitäten und ihrer Reflexion in der Sprache, der historischen Semantik, wiederkehrenden Ableitungsmustern und semantischen Veränderungen der Verwandtschaftsbegriffe und ihrer Entlehnbarkeit.

Das zweite Kapitel widmet sich der Überarbeitung rekonstruierter uridg. und ausgewählter idg. Verwandtschaftsbegriffe, ihrer Etymologie, Ableitungsmuster und ihres semantischen Wandels sowie ihrer Merkmale in Bezug auf typologische, areal- und kontaktlinguistische Studien.

Das dritte Kapitel konzentriert sich auf universelle, ererbte, kontakt- und areallinguistische Merkmale von Verwandtschaftsbegriffen in ausgewählten zeitgenössischen iranischen Sprachen (drei Hauptvarietäten des Persischen sowie Belutschi, Paschtu, Ossetisch und Yaghnoobi).

Die Hauptschlussfolgerung dieser Studie ist, dass Verwandtschaftsbegriffe soziale Bedingungen nicht immer direkt und eindeutig widerspiegeln und isoliert betrachtet nicht als Mittel zur Rekonstruktion alter sozialer Strukturen verwendet werden können, wie dies von einigen Forschenden in der Vergangenheit angenommen wurde. In einem breiteren Kontext können Verwandtschaftsbegriffe jedoch an Bedeutung gewinnen. Ähnlich wie DNA-Marker, archäologische Artefakte oder mythologische Motive können sie Informationen über Migrationsbewegungen und kulturelle und sprachliche Kontakte zwischen Völkern geben.

Abstract

Reconstruction of the Proto-Indo-European kinship terminology and questions pertaining to the etymology and cultural interpretation of kinship terms in Indo-European languages has a long tradition in historical linguistics. However, since the end of the 19th century until a very recent time Indo-Europeanists working on this topic hardly ever took a glance at the contemporary anthropological discourse and the insights of disciplines such as cognitive, areal, and contact linguistics. This thesis is aimed at filling these gaps.

The first chapter starts with a concise survey of authors and concepts of social and cultural anthropology relevant for the topic. Then I proceed to questions of cognitive linguistics such as correspondences between (social) realities and their reflection in the language and to the questions of historical semantics, reoccurring patterns of derivation and semantic change in kinship terms and their borrowability.

The second chapter is devoted to the revision of reconstructed PIE and selected IE kinship terms, their etymology, pattern of derivation and semantic change as well as their features from the point of view of typological, areal, and contact studies.

The third chapter is focused on universal, inherited, contact, and areal features of kinship terms in selected contemporary Iranian languages (three main variants of Persian, Balochi, Pashto, Ossetic, and Yaghnobi).

The main conclusion of this study is that kinship terms do not always reflect social conditions directly and unambiguously and taken isolated cannot be used as the means of reconstruction of ancient social structures as it was supposed by some researchers in the past. However, observed in a wider context, kinship terms can gain significance. Similar to DNA markers, archaeological artefacts, or mythological motives they can give information about migrations and about cultural and linguistic contacts between peoples.