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THE LEXICOLOGY AND ETYMOLOGY OF
RUSSIAN FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

As soon as a person has more relatives than Adam, he or she has a problem in designating them, whether they are in a blood relationship (*rodstvo, v rodstve*) or a relationship by marriage (*svojstvó, v svojstve*), that is whether they are *rodstvenniki* or *svojstvenniki*. The terms for a blood relationship (*krovnoe rodstvo*) include, for example, *(rodnoj) otec* and *(rodnaja) mat´*, these being the parents (*roditeli*) and their children (*deti*) being *syn* 'son' or *doč* 'daughter', *brat* 'brother' or *sestra* 'sister', and in a descending line *vnuk* 'grandson' or *vnučka* 'granddaughter' and *pravnuk* 'great-grandson' or *pravnučka* 'great-granddaughter', while ancestors in an ascending line are *ded(uška)* 'grandfather' and *bab(uš)ka* 'grandmother', *djadja* 'uncle' and *tëtja* 'aunt'. Relationships by marriage include *otčim* 'stepfather', *mačexa* 'stepmother', *pasynok* 'stepson' and *padčerica* 'stepdaughter'. One or both of the parents may not be the natural ones (*nerodnoj*). They may be an adoptive or foster father (*priëmnyj otec*) and adoptive or foster mother (*priëmnaja mat´*), their adopted or foster child (*priëmnyj rebënok* or *priëmyš*) being *priëmnyj syn* or *priëmnaja doč* (adopted or foster son or daughter). A foster brother or sister, fed by the same mother as the rest of her family, will be *moločnyj brat* and *moločnaja sestra* respectively. There may equally well be a stepfather (*otčim*) or stepmother (*mačexa*) in the family. It is perhaps worth noting that in Russian, as in English, a stepmother can represent an evil or hostile force (think of all those wicked stepmothers in fairytales): «Природа была мне не злою мачехой, но доброю, нежною матерью» (V. Belinskij). The adjective *svodnyj* is commonly used in referring to the stepchildren (*svodnye deti*), the stepbrother being *svodnyj brat* and the stepsister *svodnaja sestra*, but the prefix *pá-*, a variant of *po-*, also plays a part, for stepson is either *svodnyj syn* or *pasynok* (*pá- + syn + ok*) and stepdaughter either *svodnaja doč* or *padčerica* (*pá- + dčeŕ + ica, dčeŕ* being a Russianized form of *dščeŕ*, an archaism based on the Old Church Slavonic equivalent of *doč*): «Я нисколько не удивляюсь обыкновенной вражде между падчерицами и мачехами» (A. Herzen). *Svodnyj* is also used loosely of half-relationships, which should be more correctly expressed by the adjectives *edinokrovnyj* (having the same father

but a different mother) and *edinoutrobnyj* (having the same mother but a diffe-rent father), so that a half-brother and half-sister (loosely *svodnyj brat* and *svod-naja sestra*) are in the latter sense properly *edinoutrobnyj brat* (or *edinoutrob-nik*) and *edinoutrobnaja sestra*, and in the former sense *edinokrovnyj brat* and *edinokrovnaja sestra*.

Otec, otčim

Otec, from Common Slavonic *otьcь, is related to Indo-European *ătta 'father' and its derivative *ăttikos 'paternal', cf. Albanian *at* 'father', Greek *átta* 'father', *Attikós* 'Attic, Athenian', Gothic *atta*, Old High German *atto* 'father', Sanskrit *attā* 'mother', Turkish *ata* 'father' (Černyx 1994: s.v. *otec*, Miklosich 1886: s.v. *otŭ*). The Latin *atta* 'grandfather' is a children's word apparent also in *atavus* 'ancestor' (Trubačev 1959:22). *Atta is seen as an expressive (familiar) formation originating in infants' babbling. Indo-European *ă- gave Slavonic *o*-. Proto-Slavonic *otьcь came from *otьkъ, a derivative of *otъ 'father' seen in Old Russian and Old Church Slavonic *otьnь* 'paternal' and dialectal Russian *bezotnoj* 'fatherless', *otik* 'male animal' and *otëk* 'father' (Vasmer 1976-80: s.v. *otec*). The change of -*k*- to -*c*- in Slavonic is apparently an example of the third palatalization (*atta > *att-ikó-s > **otьk̂ó-s* > *otьcь). It is possible that the adjectival sense of *att-iko-s was maintained in Balto-Slavonic *att-ik-as with the suffix -*ika*- seen still in Lithuanian *brolikas* 'brother's son' : *brolis* 'brother'.

Otčim was evidently formed with the verbal suffix -*im*- seen in Russian *podxalim* 'toady' (with the root *xal*- seen in *naxal* 'insolent fellow') and *pobra-tim* 'sworn brother' (with no verbal root, like *otčim*). The stress of *ótčim* appears to have changed from *otčím seen still in Ukrainian *vitčím*.

Mať, mačeha

The Indo-European noun for 'mother' is *mātḗr, common to all Indo-European languages and without parallel in the extent of its distribution among blood relationship terminology. Its passage into Slavonic was *mātḗr > *mátē > *mátĕ. This -*ĕ* with circumflex intonation gave -*i* (*mati*), which was subsequently reduced to *matь*. Some have suggested that the *ma*- part of the word originated in children's babble (Trubačev 1959:30, 33). The -*r*- is retained in the oblique cases (genitive *materi*) and in dialect (*matьr̂*), cf. Lithuanian *motė*, genitive *mo-ters* 'woman', Farsi *madar*, Sanskrit *mātā́* (accusative *mātáram*), Armenian *mair*, Greek *mḗtēr*, Latin *māter*, Old High German *muoter* 'mother', Albanian *motrë* 'sister' (Vasmer 1976-80, Preobraženskij 1958: s.v. *mať*).

Mačexa originates in **matjexa*, Common Slavonic for stepmother, formed from the word for mother with the expressive suffix **-jex-a* giving the modern pejorative suffix *-ex-a*. It can be explained as **mat-jes-a*, where *-jes-* is an Indo-European suffix of the comparative type, so that the form with the suffix means 'like a mother', cf. Latin *mater-tera* 'maternal aunt'.

Syn, pasynok

This term goes back to Indo-European **sūnus*, which is common to a number of Indo-European languages. It derives from Indo-European **seu-* > **sŭ̄-* 'give birth to' + *-n-us*, a suffix forming deverbal nouns of the passive voice (Cyganenko 1970: s.v. *syn*), cf. Old Prussian *souns* (accusative *sunun*), Sanskrit *sūnúṣ*, Gothic *sunus*, Old High German *sunu*. With the root **sŭ-* compare Sanskrit *sūtē* 'gives birth to, produces', *sutáḥ* 'son'. **Sūnus* literally means 'born by a mother' (Trubačev 1959:50).

The Common Slavonic noun **pasynъkъ* is derived with the prefix *pa-* and suffix *-ъkъ*, originally only used in *u*-stems, from *synъ* < **sūnus*, in much the same way as Lithuanian *pó-sūnis*, except that the Lithuanian shows a change from *u*-stem to *ja*-stem not seen in Russian *pasynok* < **pa-synъ-kъ* (Trubačev 1959:53).

Dočʹ, padčerica

The word for 'daughter' in all Slavonic languages goes back to Common Slavonic **dъkti*, which originates from Indo-European **dhughətḗr*. There are related terms in other Indo-European languages, such as Sanskrit *duhitā́*, Avestan *dugdar-*, Armenian *dustr*, Greek *thugátēr*, Gothic *daúhtar*, Old Prussian *duckti*, Lithuanian *duktė̇*, genitive *dukters*. The Slavonic lost the schwa (*ə*) and the ancient stem in *-r-*. Russian *dočʹ* is a shortening of *doči* < **dъči* < **dъkti*. As for the meaning of **dhughətḗr*, it has been linked with the root **dheu(gh)-* 'milk, gives milk', cf. Sanskrit *dōgdhi* 'milks' (Trubačev 1959:56, Černyx 1994, Vasmer 1976-80: s.v. *dočʹ*). Thus **dhughətḗr* is someone who gives milk.

Directly linked with Slavonic **dъkti* (accusative **dъkterъ*) is the noun *padčerica* with the prefix *pa-*. The formation **padъkti* (**padъkterъ*) gives rise to Russian *pa-dčer-ica*. Old Church Slavonic *dъšti* (> *dščerʹ*, an archaism in Russian) with the same prefix gives *padъšterica*, which is parallel with *padъčerica* after loss of the *-ъ-*, cf. Bulgarian *šterka* 'daughter', *pašterica* 'stepdaughter'. Cognate with these various forms are Lithuanian *pódukra* and Old Prussian *poducre* (Trubačev 1959:57).

Brat, bratan

In most Indo-European languages the word for brother goes back to Indo-European *bhrā́tēr*, Common Slavonic *bratrъ*, Gothic *brōþar*, Old High German *bruoder*, Old English *brōðor*, Sanskrit *bhrátar-*, Greek *frátēr* (member of a brotherhood), Latin *frāter*, Old Prussian *brati*. It is likely that the original meaning of the word was 'member of a brotherhood', cf. the Greek *adelfós* for 'brother' in the relationship sense. Slavonic *bratr*, *bratъ* go back to Indo-European *bhrā́tēr*, the form *bratъ* presumably arising by dissimilation from *bratr*, which survives in some languages, such as Czech *bratr* (Trubačev 1959:59).

Linked with *brat* are words such as *bratan*, *bratanič*, which in Old Russian and in dialect could be used to denote a brother's son; Ušakov lists *bratan* as a dialectal term meaning, among other things, a brother's son. Some of these terms are still current in standard language, as for instance Ukrainian *bratanyč* and Polish *bratanek*. They are, of course, all suffixal derivatives of the word for 'brother', cf. also *bratanka* 'brother's daughter'.

Sestra, sestrič

The Indo-European word for 'sister' is an ancient *r*-stem. It is reflected in the Indo-European languages in a contrast between the nominative singular and the oblique cases of the singular, as seen in Balto-Slavonic *sesuo*, *sesers*, while in Slavonic only the oblique cases are represented (*sesr-* > *sestr-*). Typical of Slavonic was the transition *-sr-* > *-str-*, which links the Slavonic with Germanic, cf. from Indo-European *swesr-* comes German *Schwester*. While Slavonic changes the *r*-stem to an *a*-stem (*sestra*), Lithuanian keeps the archaic consonant inflexion (*sesuo*, genitive *sesers*). It is not thought that the *-t-* was originally part of the Indo-European root (some have supposed that it fell out). The original root was probably *swe-*, cf. its survival in Slavonic *svekry* (see below). This can be seen in Latin *soror* < *swosor*, while there is no trace of the ancient *-w-* in Lithuanian *sesuo* or Russian *sestra*. This suggests that the Indo-European root may have had two forms, one with *-w-* and the other simplified to *s-*. The etymology of the Indo-European *swésor* has been convincingly thought by Pisani and Mayrhofer (see Trubačev 1959:65-66) to be *su-esor* 'of one's own blood', where *esor* : *esr* 'blood' is seen in Sanskrit *ásṛk*, Hittite *ešḫar*.

Just as with 'brother' there are Russian dialectal derivatives of 'sister' for various relationships, e.g. *sestrič*, *sestrinec* 'sister's son' and *sestrenica* 'sister's daughter', cf. Ukrainian *sestryč*, *sestrineć* 'sister's son' and *sestrinka*, *sestrinycja* 'sister's daughter' and Polish *siostrzeniec*, *siostrzenica*. Most of these words follow typical Slavonic word-forming practices. One might notice especially

*sestrĕnьcь, Polish *siostrzeniec*, Ukrainian *sestrineć* 'sister's son', from *ses-trĕnъ*, Polish *siostrzan*.

Deti, rebёnok

*Dĕtę (Russian *ditja*) is the one name for a child that is undoubtedly Common Slavonic. Nearly all Indo-European words for child are neuter (German *Kind*, Greek *téknon*, Slavonic *dĕtę*) and many are deverbal substantivized adjectives, cf. *Kind* < Indo-European *ĝentóm* 'born', *téknon* (also meaning 'that which is born') < *tíktō* 'I bear', *dĕtę* < *dĕtent- 'fed'. The plural *deti* (singular *dĕtь* alongside *dĕtę) is still the normal word for 'children', though the singular is limited in use and has been replaced by *rebёnok*. The plural form *dĕti is a special form of *dĕtę (the usual plural of which would be *dĕtęta); in effect what is being avoided is the neuter form as being too inanimate for living things, although in Indo-European the neuter was used for young creatures. Slavonic *dĕtę* contains *ĕ* < *oi* < Indo-European *əi*, cf. Sanskrit *dháyati* 'he sucks the breast' and Old Church Slavonic *dojǫ* 'I feed with the breast', from Indo-European *dhēi- : *dhoi- 'milk, give milk'. Thus *dĕtę goes back to *dhojtent-, with the participial suffix -ent- and the suffix -t-, which may indicate a passive form ('fed with the breast'). Cognate are Latvian *dēls*, Latin *filius* 'son' (< *fēlius* with normal *f* < Indo-European *dh*), Latin *fēllare* 'suck', *fēmina* 'woman', Sanskrit *dhēnúṣ* 'milch cow' (Vasmer 1976-80: s.v. *ditja*, Černyx 1994: s.v. *deti*).

Another word for child was Indo-European *orbh-, which can be seen in some Indo-European languages as meaning 'orphan', cf. Greek *orfanós*, Latin *orbus*, Armenian *orb*. The original root meant 'young', cf. Sanskrit *árbha(ká)* 'small boy'. The derivative forms in Russian have been said by Meillet to fall into three groups: *rab*, *rabota*, *rebёnok* (Trubačev 1959:39). Indo-European *orbho- gave Proto-Slavonic *orb- 'weak, powerless', which gave East and West Slavonic *robъ and South Slavonic *rabъ, cf. Old Russian *robę* 'child', Russian dialect *robja*, *robjatko*, *robёnok*, Ukrainian *párubok* 'fellow, lad' (< *pá-robok*), Polish *parobek*. Russian *rebenok* is a local change from *robenok* due to assimilation before the change *e* > *ё* (Trubačev 1959:40). The initial form was *orbę, genitive *orbęte, and Russian *robenok* came from *robja*, Old Russian *robę* (Vasmer 1976-80, Černyx 1994: s.v. *rebёnok*).

When considering members of the so-called nuclear family, one should not forget that its sociological pre-eminence, at least in some cultures, represents the modern result of a transition from earlier predominance of the extended family, expressed thus in *Literaturnaja gazeta* 9, 1971 (cited in Kotelova 1984: 426, s.v. *nuklearnyj*): «переход от так называемой объединенной семьи (де-

душка, бабушка, их дети и внуки) к семье ʻнуклеарнойʼ (отец, мать, де-
ти)». In this broader conception of the family, aunts and uncles played a major
role and their position in the hierarchy was clearly defined. In Old Russian, for
example, there were separate words for paternal uncle, i.e. father's brother and
father's sister's husband, and maternal uncle, i.e. mother's brother and mother's
sister's husband, viz. respectively *stryj* (or *strij*, *stroj*) and *vuj* (or *uj*), as in
modern Polish (*stryj*, *wuj*) and Latin (*patruus*, *avunculus*). Dalʹ (1912-14: s.v.
vuj) gives the following early example, which records them both: «Святослав
не хотел против вуя своего Изяслава воевать, но, опасаясь стрыя Свято-
слава, не смел от него отстать» (taken from the Russian Primary Chronicle,
Povestʹ vremennyx let, with the orthography modernized). The feminine *stry(n)ja*
and *(v)ujka* could be used respectively for paternal and maternal aunt, i.e.
father's and mother's sister (= *tëtja rodnaja*) and father's and mother's brother's
wife (*tëtja po svojstvú*), as can the western Ukrainian *stryna* and *vujna* respec-
tively (compare the Latin *amita* ʻpaternal auntʼ and *matertera* ʻmaternal auntʼ).
Perhaps fortunately these subtleties did not survive in modern Russian, where
djadja and *tëtja* are now used for uncle and aunt, respectively, regardless of the
side of the family involved. It is worthy of note that outside the nuclear family
no special stress tends to be placed on relationship by marriage; separate words
are not normally used for uncle in the sense father's or mother's sister's hus-
band (i.e. aunt's husband) as distinct from father's or mother's brother.

Stryj (*stroj*)

In Indo-European the paternal uncle had a name almost identical to the
word for ʻfatherʼ, i.e. **pətru(j)o*, derived with a suffix from **pəter-*, cf. Latin
patruus, Greek *pátrōs*, Sanskrit *pítr̥vyaṣ*. The form **stryjь* has survived in Sla-
vonic languages other than East Slavonic, where it has been replaced by *djadja*,
but until the 14th century *stryj* was widely used in Old Russian and only later
became an archaism. Ukrainian still keeps the old name in south-western dialects,
e.g. *stryj*, *stryk*, *stryjko*, *stryko*. It is cognate with Lithuanian *strūjus* ʻgrand-
fatherʼ, Old Irish *struith* ʻold, respectedʼ, Old High German *fatureo*, *fetiro*, Ger-
man *Vetter* ʻcousinʼ (Vasmer 1976-80: s.v. *stroj* II). Mikkola gives the correct
etymology (Trubačev 1959:80), likening it to *patruus*, especially in the Indo-
Iranian (Avestan) *tūirya-*, which contains the null grade of **pəter*, i.e. *ptr-*. Vey
has pointed out (1932:65-67) that Slavonic *st(r)-* is normally derived from Indo-
European *pt(r)-*, so that Slavonic **stryjь* is thus from **ptruwjo* (see Trubačev
1959:80, note 492).

Uj (vuj)

Old Russian *ui*, Old Church Slavonic *oui*, Ukrainian *vuj*, Old Polish *uj*, Polish *wuj* all derived from Common Slavonic **ujь*. The word has been forgotten in Russian and one must therefore be cautious about Dal′ when he lists as Russian the words *uj*, *vuj*, *uec*, *ujčič*, *vuec*, *ujka* and *vujka* (1912-14: s.v. *uj*), since he is essentially listing Old Russian words. Phonetically one should notice the prothetic consonants that develop in the word, especially *v-* but also *h-* in Czech dialect *hojec*, *hojček* and Lower Sorbian *huj*, *hujk* (Trubačev 1959:80), but the oldest form is *ujь* with *u-* continuing the Indo-European diphthong *au-*. The Indo-European form is therefore **awjos* with the comparative degree suffix *-jo-*, which can be seen in a number of Indo-European languages (Vasmer 1976-80: s.v. *uj*), e.g. Latin *avia* 'grandmother' (cf. *avus* 'grandfather'), Old Prussian *awís*, Lithuanian *avýnas* 'maternal uncle', Gothic *awō* 'grandmother', Old High German *ō-heim* (modern German *Oh(ei)m*), Old Irish *aue* (**awjo*), Armenian *hav* 'grandfather'. The differences in syllable separation are notable: Latin *avia* < **a/wja* and Lithuanian *avýnas* < **a/w-* but Slavonic *ujь* < **aw/jos*. In Slavonic, Indo-European **-jos* gives *-jь*. Lithuanian *avà* 'maternal aunt' goes back to Indo-European **awos*. One should note that Lithuanian *avà* and *avýnas* are being ousted by *teta* and *dėdė*, just as *(v)uj* and *(v)ujka* have been ousted in Russian by *djadja* and *tëtja*. *Avýnas* was derived from **awos* with the suffix **-īno* forming adjectives, which is seen in Russian dialect *djad-ina* 'uncle's wife' (Trubačev 1959:83). In recent years there have been suggestions that Indo-European **awos* was simplified from an earlier version having laryngeals which survives in Hittite *ḫuḫḫaš* 'grandfather'. William Austin derives both Latin *avus* and Hittite *ḫuḫḫaš* from a common 'Indo-Hittite' form *xauxos* (Trubačev 1959:84).

Djadja

The modern East Slav languages have forgotten both ancient specialized terms for maternal and paternal uncles and use *djadja* for both. In early Old Russian and Old Church Slavonic works *djadja* does not occur at all. Its first meaning in East Slavonic dialects was not only 'uncle' but also 'father'. In Ukrainian dialects *djadja* and *djadik* still mean 'father'. In the literature Russian *djadja* is seen as related to *dědъ* 'grandfather'. It is a word derived from children's babbling (Preobraženskij 1958, Černyx 1994: s.v. *djadja*) like dialectal Russian *tjatja* 'father'. Vasmer (1976-80: s.v. *djadja*) sees it as formed by assimilation of *dědę* from *dědъ*. Old Russian *dędę* meant 'father's or mother's brother' (there was no differentiation of maternal from paternal grandfather or grand-

mother): «Изяславъ и Святославъ выяша дядю стрыя своего Судислава изъ поруба» (Trubačev 1959:85). In Russian dialects derivatives exist meaning 'aunt': *dédina*, *dédinka*, *dédinuška*, *dédna*, *djádina*, *djádinka*, cf. Ukrainian *djadina* 'aunt, uncle's wife'. Serbian (Dalmatian) *dundo* = *stric* 'father's brother' is not clear.[1] Lavrovskij sees it as reflecting a nasal as in Old Russian *dędę*, but here the *ę* is only an orthographical feature and does not mean that nasals were actually present.

Tëtja

From Common Slavonic **teta* derive Old Church Slavonic and Old Russian *teta*, *tetъka* 'aunt', Russian *tëtja*, *tëtka*, *tëteńka*, *tëtuška* and dialectal *tëta*, *tëtjuxa*. *Tëtja* with a soft second *t* was rare before the end of the 18th century. The Russian dialect *tjaťka* is externally reminiscent of dialectal *tjatja* 'father'. Here belongs Lithuanian *teta* 'aunt', cf. *tėtė*, *tėtis* 'daddy'. The similarity to words for father is apparent also in Greek *tétta* and Latin *tata* 'father'. Generally Slavonic *teta* is seen as a reduplicated form of infants' speech, similar to *baba* and *tata*, *tjatja* (Trubačev 1959:86-87, Vasmer 1976-80: s.v. *tëtja*). French *tante* and German *Tante* are not connected with Russian *tëtja*, *tëtka* (Černyx 1994: s.v. *tëtja*).[2]

Plemjannik, plemjannica

From an aunt's and uncle's point of view, their brother's or sister's daughter and son (niece and nephew) are respectively *plemjannica* and *plemjannik*. These words developed from Old Russian *plemjanьnik*, from *plemę* (*plemja*) 'tribe', literally 'relative, member of the same tribe', cf. dialectal *plemjannyj* (= *plemennoj*). The modern meaning became established in the 16th to 17th century. *Plemenьnikъ* with the suffix *-ikъ* came from the Common Slavonic adjective **plemenьnъjь*, derived from *plemę* in the genitive *plemene* (Černyx 1994: s.v. *plemjannik*, Cyganenko 1970: s.v. *plemja*). It survives with the prefix *so-* giving *soplemennik* 'fellow tribesman'. *Plemja* itself derives from the Common Slavonic **plemę* < **pled-men* 'people, progeny', formed from **pled-*, a variant of **plod-*, with the suffix *-men* (Vasmer 1976-80: s.v. *plemja*). *Pled-*, from Indo-

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[1]   It appears to originate from Istro-Romanian *cuńåt* 'brother-in-law' from Italian *cognato* (*konjato*); an analogous Romanian form could give **kunjdo*, **kundo* with following assimilation to *dundo*.

[2]   The French is from Old French *ante* < Latin *amita*, where *-it-a* is a suffix and *am-* is from **amma* (as in Greek *ammá* 'mother').

European *ple- (*pel-) 'produce, engender' with the suffix -d, is related to Greek *plḗthos* 'multitude', Latin *plebs* 'common people, crowd', *plēre* 'fill, fulfil', cf. Russian dialect *plemiťsja* 'multiply, breed'. Trubačev (1959:79) notes that *plemę* could be directly from *ple-men*.

In older Russian it was possible to distinguish between a brother's son (*synovec, bratan(ok), bratanič*) or daughter (*synovica, bratanka*) and a sister's son (*sestrënok, sestrič(ič), sestrinec*) or daughter (*sestrenica, sestrična*), as it still is to some extent in Russian dialect. For example, Ušakov records *bratan* as a dialectal word meaning, among other things, 'brother's son'. Some of these terms are still current, for instance, in Ukraine (*bratanyč* and *bratanka, bratanycja; sestrinok, sestryč, sestrineć* and *sestrinka, sestrinycja*) and also in Poland (*bratanek* and *bratanica, siostrzeniec* and *siostrzenica*).

Netij

In Old Russian, the word *netii* meant a nephew (son of a brother or sister) and was derived from *neptii*, cf. Sanskrit *nápāt, náptār* 'grandson', *naptī* 'granddaughter' (Vasmer 1976-80: s.v. *netii*). The Indo-European root was *neptjo*, *neptijo* > Common Slavonic *netij*. Indo-European *nepot-* was made up of *ne-* 'not' + *pot(is)* 'powerful' as seen in Slavonic *gos-podъ* = elder in a tribe; the meaning seems to have been 'under-age, dependent'. *Nepōt-*, a vowel-lengthened form of *nepŏt-*, is seen in many Indo-European languages, such as Latin *nepōs*, Sanskrit *nápāt-*, Lithuanian *nepuotis*, Old High German *nevo*. *Neptjo* has the null-grade obtained from *nepŏt-*. Slavonic *netij* was obtained by the simplification of *-pt-* to *-t-* (Trubačev 1959:77-78).

Ded(uška), praded

Slavonic *dědъ* goes back to the Indo-European root *dhē-* reduplicated (as in infants' babbling) to give Slavonic *dě-d-(o)* < *dhēdh(ē)-*, which is reflected in some Greek relationship terms, such as *theĩos* 'uncle' (< *thḗios*), *tḗthē* 'grandmother' (dissimilated from *thēthē*) and *tēthìs* 'aunt' (see Vasmer 1976-80, Černyx 1994: s.v. *ded*). All these are respectful terms for older relatives. East Slavonic *djadja* 'uncle' is related to *dědъ*, cf. Polish dialect *dziadko* 'uncle', already coinciding phonetically with *dziad, dědъ*. From *dhēdh-* stretch semantic threads to uncle and even father, cf. the phonetic closeness of *tat-*, *tet-* : *dad-*, *ded-*. There are other examples of an etymological link between father and uncle (Trubačev 1959:69, see under *stryj* above). Compare also Venetian *deda* 'aunt'.

Further ascending lines of this relationship are expressed with the prefix *pra-* from Indo-European **pro-* 'before', cf. Common Slavonic **pradědъ*, Russian *praded* 'great-grandfather' as in Latin *pro-avus* 'great-grandfather'. The prefix is added again if a further line of the relationship is required, as in *prapraded* 'great-great-grandfather', but in practice these are rarely used (Trubačev 1959:70). No attempt to differentiate a maternal from a paternal grandfather with special nouns is found; one would just use *ded po materi* and *ded po otcu*.

Bab(uš)ka, prababuška

The root word *baba* is fairly unanimously treated as a word of infants' babble (with a long *-ā-* it would continue Indo-European **b(h)āb(h)-*), cf. Italian *babbo* 'father', Welsh *baban* 'child', English *baby*, Swedish dialect *babbe* 'child, little boy', Middle High German *bābe, bōbe* 'old woman, mother', *buobe* 'child, servant', Lithuanian *boba* 'woman', Albanian *bebe* 'child' (Trubačev 1959:72). This reduplication is found in words for 'father' in some non-Indo-European languages, such as Turkish *baba*, Chinese *baba*, Indonesian *bapa(k)* (Černyx 1994, Vasmer 1976-80: s.v. *baba*). The derivative *babuška* is popular in Russian.

As with *ded*, further ascending lines of relationship are shown with the prefix *pra-* (and *prapra-* if necessary), cf. *pra(pra)babuška* 'great-(great-)grandmother'. There is no differentiation of a maternal from a paternal grandmother using special words; one would simply use *babuška po otcu* and *babuška po materi*.

(Pra)vnuk, (pra)vnučka

Russian *vnuk* 'grandson' and *vnučka* 'granddaughter' are derived from Common Slavonic **vъnukъ*, which early lost the jer in its weak position. The *v-* was prothetic before *ъ-*, which could not stand alone at the start of a Slavonic word. This *ъ-* was a reduction of Indo-European **ă-*, so that Slavonic **ъn-* (without the suffix *-ukъ*) was from Indo-European **ăn-*. Polish *wnęk* shows late nasalization from *wnuk*. The Indo-European root **ăn-* is found in a number of relationship terms, such as Latin *ănus* 'old woman', Old High German *ano*, Middle High German *ane, an, ene*, German *Ahn* 'forefather', Old Prussian *ane* 'grandmother', Lithuanian *anyta* 'husband's mother', Hittite *annaš* 'mother', Greek *annís*, Armenian *han* 'woman'. The closest to the Slavonic in formation and use is German *Enkel* from Old High German *eninchilī* 'grandson' (a diminutive of *ano* with the suffix *-inklī(n)*). The root **ăn-* is perhaps an element of

infants' speech like *at-* in *atta* (see under *otec* above). Černyx (1994: s.v. *vnuk*) points out, however, that Common Slavonic *ъn-* could come from Indo-European **un-* but not **ăn-* (which would give **on-*). Machek has suggested that *ъ-* instead of *o-* could have come about as a result of influence of *u-* in the following suffix, but Černyx suggests that the root may have been **nu-* (< Indo-European **new- : *now-*, as in Russian *novyj*), giving *vъ-nu-k-ъ* with a meaning something like 'another new', i.e. a second generation. However, Trubačev (1959:74-75) points out that there was probably a laryngeal present at the start of Indo-European **(h)an-*; this may have affected the succeeding vowel qualitatively but not quantitatively.

Further descending levels of the relationship are indicated with the prefix *pra(pra)-* to give *pra(pra)vnuk* 'great-(great-)grandson' or indeed *pra(pra)vnučka* 'great-(great-)granddaughter'. Etymologically *pra-* has no meaning here and is used by analogy with *praded* and *prababuška*.

As for cousins, the Latin distinction between mother's sister's child (*consobrinus*, *consobrina*) and father's sister's child (*patruelis*) is not made in Russian. Though the loanwords *kuzen* and *kuzina* occur in some contexts, they are of limited currency. The usual way of expressing these relationships in Russian is with the adjectives *dvojurodnyj*, *trojurodnyj* and if need be *četverojurodnyj* (related in the second, third and fourth degree respectively). The adjectives *dvojurodnyj* and *trojurodnyj* thus serve to express the relationship to each other of persons descended in separate lines from a common ancestor, respectively a grandparent and a great-grandparent. Alongside *rodnye bratja* 'brothers german' (having both parents the same) there are *dvojurodnye bratja* '(male) first cousins, cousins german' (having both grandparents the same on one side) and *trojurodnye bratja* '(male) second cousins' (with two great-grandparents the same). The female equivalents are *rodnye sëstry*, *dvojurodnye sëstry* and *trojurodnye sëstry*. In descending lines of relationship of this type (*nisxodjaščie kolena/pokolenija*), although not ascending (*vosxodjaščie*) ones, the adjective *vnučat(n)yj* can be used instead of *trojurodnyj*; for instance, *vnučatnyj brat* is the (male) second cousin. A more distant relationship (*dal'nee rodstvo*) is usually expressed periphrastically; a third cousin, for example, would normally be *brat* (or *sestra*) *v četvёrtom kolene* (or *pokolenii*), i.e. brother or sister in the fourth generation, though one occasionally finds *četverojurodnyj brat* or *četverojurodnaja sestra*.

In English the phrase 'second cousins' properly expresses the relationship of the children of first cousins to each other, but it is loosely used to express the relationship of one first cousin to the children of another first cousin, who are more correctly described as 'first cousins once removed'. In Russian this affinity (a sort of nephew/niece versus uncle/aunt relationship at one remove) is expressed

with the phrases *dvojurodnyj plemjannik / dvojurodnaja plemjannica* for the son/daughter of the first cousin and *dvojurodnyj djadja / dvojurodnaja tëtja* for this son's/daughter's parent's first cousin. Each of these Russian phrases means 'first cousin once removed', but in slightly different senses according to the sex and standpoint of the people concerned (whether along the descending or the ascending line of relationship). If we move one step down the line of descent, this same relationship one generation further on (in English 'second cousin once removed') is described in Russian as *trojurodnyj* (*vnučatyj*) *plemjannik / trojurodnaja* (*vnučataja*) *plemjannica* for the grandson/granddaughter of the first cousin, and *trojurodnyj* (not *vnučatyj*) *djadja / trojurodnaja* (not *vnučataja*) *tëtja* for the grandson's/granddaughter's parent's second cousin.

The grandparents are *ded* and *babuška* and their grandchildren (*vnučata*) are *vnuk* and *vnučka*. By combining the familiar adjective *dvojurodnyj* with these terms, the concept of great (or grand) uncle/aunt and great (or grand) nephew/niece can be conveyed, since this affinity is a sort of grandfather/grandmother v. grandson/granddaughter relationship at one remove. Thus *dvojurodnyj ded* is a great-uncle (parent's uncle) and *dvojurodnaja babuška* is a great-aunt (parent's aunt), while *dvojurodnyj vnuk* is a great-nephew (nephew's or niece's son) and *dvojurodnaja vnučka* is a great-niece (nephew's or niece's daughter). When the epithet *trojurodnyj* (but not in this case *vnučat(n)yj*) is attached to the words for grandparents and grandchildren, the idea of first cousins <u>twice</u> removed can be expressed, since these are in a sort of grandfather/grandmother v. grandson/granddaughter relationship at one more step down the line of descent from the grand-uncle/grand-aunt v. grand-nephew/grand-niece kinship. Thus a (male) first cousin twice removed is *trojurodnyj vnuk* (the female equivalent being *trojurodnaja vnučka*) in the sense 'grandson or granddaughter of a first cousin' and *trojurodnyj ded* or *trojurodnaja babuška* in the sense 'grandparent's first cousin'.

As mentioned above, the great-grand relationships are expressed in Russian with the help of the prefix *pra-* and the great-great-grand ones with *prapra-*, so that *praded* and *prababuška* are respectively great-grandfather and great-grandmother, *pravnuk* and *pravnučka* great-grandson and great-granddaughter, *prapraded* and *praprababuška* great-great-grandfather and great-great-grandmother, and *prapravnuk* and *prapravnučka* great-great-grandson and great-great-granddaughter. These words combine with *dvojurodnyj* to denote great-granduncle (*dvojurodnyj praded*), great-grandaunt (*dvojurodnaja babuška*), great-grandnephew (*dvojurodnyj pravnuk*), great-grandniece (*dvojurodnaja pravnučka*) and so on. When combined with *trojurodnyj* they convey the notion of first cousins three (or more) times removed; thus a (male) first cousin three times removed is *trojurodnyj pravnuk* (great-grandson of a first cousin) or *trojurodnyj praded* (great-grandfather's first cousin).

It is also possible to use the adjective *dvojurodnyj* (and presumably *troju-rodnyj* if required) with some of the words for in-laws (for which see below) to express such ideas as cousins-in-law if need be. For example, the words *svojaki* and *nevestki* denote respectively men married to two sisters and women married to two brothers, so that *dvojurodnye svojaki* are men married to two first cousins, i.e. (male) cousins-in-law (Dal′ 1912-14: s.v. *svojak*). However, relationships by marriage outside the nuclear family are not generally dignified with special terms. Notions like cousin-in-law and nephew-in-law, if required, could be expressed with the phrase *po svojstvú*, cf. *tëtja po svojstvu*. Indeed, distant relationships tend not to be described with a high degree of precision, and the more remote the relationship, the more vague may become the phrases used to express it, such as *rodstvennik do pjatogo kolena*.

Perhaps the most difficult problems in family relationships are presented by the in-laws, particularly because there are in Russian separate words for in-laws on both sides of the immediate family, that of the husband and wife.

Muž, žena

The Indo-European for 'man' underwent a change of meaning in Slavonic that brought it into the terminology of relationships. Thus Common Slavonic *mǫžь* 'man, husband' was formed. As for its etymology, it is traditionally linked with the Indo-European word for 'man': German *Mann*, Sanskrit *manu-* < *man-* 'think', which distinguishes him from animals as *Homo sapiens*. We find the same root in the Slavonic term *mǫdo* 'testicle', a derivative of Indo-European *man-* with suffix *-do*. *Mǫžь* is derived from *man-* with suffixes: *mon-g-jo-s*. Numerous scholars have seen the suffix *-g-* in this word (Trubačev 1959:96-97) but in fact more than one suffix is involved here (*mon-g-jo-*). The development of its sense into 'husband' is secondary and late (Trubačev 1959:104).

Common Slavonic *žena*, which developed *ž* from g^w, goes back to the Indo-European form *g^wenā*, cf. Old Prussian *genno* 'woman' (vocative), *gema* 'wife', Gothic *qinō* (< *g^wen-ōn*) 'woman, wife', *qēns* (< g^wēn-) 'spouse', Old High German *quena* 'woman, wife', Old English *cwene*, *cwēn*, English *quean* 'hussy', *queen* 'king's wife' (see Barnhart 2000: s.vv. *quean*, *queen*), Sanskrit *jāniṣ* 'woman, wife', *gnā* 'goddess', Armenian *kin* 'wife' (< g^wena), Albanian *zonjë* (< g^weniā) 'woman', Old Irish *ben* (< g^wenā) 'woman', Persian *zän* (Černyx 1994: s.v. *žena*). The root is g^wen- 'give birth' (Pokornyj 1959:473), i.e. a woman gives birth (Cyganenko 1970: s.v. *žena*). G^w- before the front vowel *e* gave Slavonic *ž*. The final stress of Indo-European g^wená gave Slavonic *žená*.

Traditionally the music-hall comedian will joke about his mother-in-law, *tёšča* (wife's mother), while the comedienne might joke about her *svekrov́* (husband's mother). The fathers-in-law are respectively *test'* (wife's father) and *svё-kor* (husband's father). Although uncomplimentary references to mothers-in-law, especially by husbands, can be found in Russian literature («и он вспомнил противную свою тёщу» – M. Roščin), *tёšča* can suggest a friendly family atmosphere: «Неподалёку, на углу канала Грибоедова, был ресторан-под-вальчик, в просторечьи 'под тёщей'» (Ju. German).

Svёkor, *svekrov́*

Slavonic **svekry*, originally a *ū*-stem with genitive **svekrъve*, has undergone a complicated series of phonetic and morphological changes. Russian even has in dialect the original form *svekrý* (indeclinable), which has been eliminated from other Slavonic languages. Generally it has been changed to an *a*-stem (in dialect *svekrova*, *svekrovja*) or an *i*-stem (in standard Russian *svekrov́*). The standard form came from the accusative singular *svekrъvь* from *svekry* (Cyganenko 1970: s.v. *svekrov́*). Other dialectal forms include *svekra* and *svekruxa*. The male equivalent is more uniform. The Common Slavonic was **svekrъ* < **swekros*, cf. Old Church Slavonic *svekrъ*. The modern Russian form *svёkor* suggests an earlier *svekъr-* with epenthetic *-ъ-* via the intermediate **svekr̥*. Russian *svekrov́* is cognate with Latin *socrus* (genitive *socrūs*, feminine) 'mother-in-law', Sanskrit *śvaśrūs*, Old High German *swigur* (< **svegrū-*), Welsh *chwegr* (< **svekru-*), Armenian *skesur*, Albanian *vjéhёrrё*, Greek *hekurá*, while *svёkor* is cognate with Latin *socer* 'father-in-law', Greek *hekurós*, Sanskrit *śvaśuras*, Lithuanian *šešuras*, Old High German *swehur*, Albanian *vjerr*, *vjehёrr* (Vasmer 1976-80: s.vv. *svёkor*, *svekrov́*, Černyx 1994: s.v. *svekrov́*). Forms in other languages suggest an Indo-European **swek̂rū-s* with palatal *-k̂-*, but Slavonic *k* could not derive from this unless there was dissimilation from *s-s* to *s-k*,[3] i.e. unless Slavonic **svekry* derived from earlier **sve-sry* (Trubačev 1959:120; Cyganenko 1970: s.v. *svekrov́*), the first part of which is *sve-* : *svo-* : *svojь* 'one's own' (Trubačev 1959:122) and the second unclear part of which was changed to *kry* 'blood' by popular etymology, as if the meaning were 'of one's own blood'. The masculine *svёkor* would then follow by analogy. Pedersen argues that **sve-krūs* (feminine) existed alongside **svékuros* (masculine) and from the former came the *-k-* in Slavonic, which was passed by analogy to the masculine **svekrъ* (Vasmer 1976-80: s.v. *svekrov́*). Cyganenko (1970: s.v. *svekrov́*) suggests that *svekrъ* goes back to Common Slavonic **swekros* < Indo-European **swekrūs*

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[3]   Though, as Trubačev points out (1959:121), Slavonic does not usually dissimilate *s-s*.

with the root *swe-* > *sve-* (*svoj*) and perhaps *kr-* < *kur-* linked with Greek *kúrios* 'having strength or power'. It would seem that parallel Indo-European *u*-stems existed, one with and one without palatal *k̂*: **swekrū* : **swek̂rū*. From these were derived the parallel masculine forms **swékūros* : **swék̂ūros* (< **swekru-os*). This is analogous to what later happened in Slavonic: *svekrъ* > *svekъrъ*.

Tesť, tёšča

The etymology of Slavonic *tьstь* has not been definitively established, but Lavrovskij (1867:66) has an interesting suggestion: comparison with the Greek *tíktō, tékō* 'give birth', i.e. *tьs-tь* signifies the parent of one's wife, cf. Frankish *tichter*, with which Hirt compared the Slavonic word (Trubačev 1959:125). The feminine *tёšča* is a derivative (from **tьst-jā*) of the masculine, for which there are three deverbal possibilities: *tьstь* is a collective noun with an ancient *i*-stem; *tьstь* is the name of a figure of masculine gender like *gostь*; or *tьstь* is the name of a female figure. The masculine is most likely and the collective sense would fit well. The original sense was therefore not wife's father when the verb from which it derived was lost. It determined rather the relationship of a parent or parents to me myself: a son-in-law called his wife's parents his parents.

Tьstь, a collective with the sense 'having given birth', is a kind of epithet involving the ancient custom of treating a relationship by marriage as equal to a blood relationship. Besides the root **tek̂-* there is another etymology of the words: **tьstь* and **tьstja* are linked with Slavonic **teta*, Lithuanian *teta* 'aunt', cf. Greek *tétta*, Russian *tjatja* 'father'. In this etymology *tьstь* is from **tьt-stь* with suffix *-st-(h)i* and reduced vocalism of the root **tьt-*, its meaning being 'finding oneself in place of (*-st-(h)i*) a father (*tьt-*). Here, with the suffix *-io-*, belongs Old Prussian *tisties*, which may be borrowed from Slavonic (Trubačev 1959:126; Fasmer 1964-73: s.v. *tesť*). Černyx (1994: s.v. *tesť*) sees the word as possibly belonging to a group of relationship terms with the Indo-European root **tat-* : **tet-* : **tit-* and the suffix *-t-(ь)*. Thus Common Slavonic **tьstь* is from *tьt-t-ь* (< **tĭt-t-ĭs*) with dissimilation *tt* > *st*, a view shared by Isačenko (Trubačev 1959: 127).

Suppose the Russian mother-in-law wished to remonstrate with her son-in-law. How would she address him? As *zjať* (daughter's husband) or one of its diminutives such as *zjatёk* or *zjatjuška*, the same word as her husband would use in addressing his son-in-law.

Zjať

The Common Slavonic **zętь* is an old formation, as suggested by its presence in all the Slavonic languages with little or no variation in form or meaning, and derives from Indo-European **ĝenətis*, the root of which is **ĝen-* : **ĝenə-* (: **ĝₑnə-*) 'bring into the world'. Cognates include Lithuanian *žentas* (< Indo-European **ĝenótom*) 'daughter's husband', Old High German *kind* (< **ĝentóm*) 'child', Latin *genitus* (< **ĝenətos*) 'birth', *(g)nātus* (< **ĝₑnətos*) 'born', Sanskrit *jātáḥ* (root *jan-*) 'born', *jnātíṣ* 'relative', *jánati* 'gives birth', Greek *gnōtós* 'relative', Albanian (Tosc) *dhëndër* 'suitor, young married man, son-in-law'. To this root but without the suffix *-t-* belong Latin *geno* : *gigno* (with reduplicated stem) 'bring into the world' and *genesis* 'origin' (Trubačev 1959:129-130, Černyx 1994: s.v. *zjať*, Fasmer 1964-73: s.v. *zjať*). The original meaning of the word would be either someone continuing the family or conceivably someone known: the Indo-European root *ĝen-* 'know', giving Russian *znat'* from **ĝnō-* (**ĝenə*) with the change *ĝ > z*, is the same as that meaning 'give birth, be born' and probably derives from the latter (Fasmer 1964-73: s.v. *zjať*).

If the mother-in-law and father-in-law had a son who was married and not a daughter, mother and father would traditionally speak to their daughter-in-law using two different words. To a woman her daughter-in-law is *nevestka* (son's wife in relation to her mother-in-law), but to a man his daughter-in-law is properly *snoxa* (son's wife in relation to her father-in-law) or affectionately *snošeńka*, although nowadays *nevestka* is often used instead (see Ušakov 1935-40: s.v. *nevestka*). Usage in this respect has changed; *snoxa* can now be found used by both a father-in-law and a mother-in-law to their daughter-in-law (especially in rural areas), i.e. as a synonym of *nevestka* in this sense (Kuznecov 2000: s.v. *snoxa*).

Snoxa

Old Church Slavonic and Old Russian *snъxa* has cognate forms in other Indo-European languages: Sanskrit *snuṣā́*, Latin *nurus* (genitive *nurūs*) < **(s)nusus* < **snusos*, Greek *nuós* < **(s)nusós*, Armenian *nu*, Old High German *snur*, archaic and dialectal German *Schnur* (see Kluge 2002: s.v. *Schnur* 2), Old English *snoru*, Old Norse *snor*, *snør*. Apart from a few reworkings after *a*-stems (notably Sanskrit *snuṣā́* and Old Church Slavonic *snъxa*), all these forms continue an old feminine *o*-stem, Indo-European **snus-ós* < **sneu-* 'bind, knit';[4]

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[4]   The closeness in sound and constant association with Indo-European **sūnus* 'son' (*snoxa* = son's wife) explains the earlier etymology **snusā* from *sūnu-*, with the normal change *s > x* after *u* in Slavonic, but the disappearance of *-ū-* caused doubts and

someone 'bound' in a relation by marriage is someone 'related'. Germanic *snuzó- came from Indo-European *snus-ós if the accent falls on the syllable after the consonant *z* (Trubačev 1959:131, Kluge 2002: s.v. *Schnur* 2); Old High German *snur*, *snura* has *r* < *z* (Černyx 1994: s.v. *snoxa*). It is not clear whether *snus-ós* goes back to cross-cousin marriages of the matriarchate, when one's wife was one's cousin, i.e. whether it meant 'niece, cross-cousin' as well as 'son's wife'; otherwise one must conclude that it arose a little later than cross-cousin marriage, already as a term for relationship by marriage (Trubačev 1959:131). Derivatives of this word exist, mainly in Russian dialect, for a father-in-law living in sin with his daughter-in-law: Daľ gives *snoxaŕ*, *snoxač* and *snošnik* with this sense (1912-14: s.v. *snoxa*), while Ušakov gives only *sno-xač* with the note 'dialectal' (1935-40: s.v. *snoxač*). Being in a sexual relationship of this kind is *snoxačestvo*.

Nevestka

Nevestka has displaced *snoxa* in some Slavonic languages, such as Ukrainian. It is a derivative of *nevesta* 'fiancée, bride', Old Church Slavonic *nevěsta*. The Common Slavonic is *nevěsta*. Miklosich gives two possible etymologies (1886: s.v. *nevêsta*): from the root *ved-* 'lead', cf. Old Russian 'vedena bysť Rostislava za Jaroslava'; and with the sense 'unknown', *ne-věsta*. Other suggestions include *nevě-sta* (locative of *newos* 'new' + suffix *-sta* as in *starosta*, but such compounds do not have a locative form), *nāv-esta* (connected with *naŕ* 'corpse' and *nevod*), a link with Lithuanian *vaisa* 'fertility' (i.e. meaning 'maiden'), a link with Sanskrit *viś* 'enter', *niviś* 'marry, take a husband', and a link with Lithuanian *viešěti* 'be a guest'. Trubeckoj gives a detailed study of the word (Trubačev 1959:92). He considers *ne-věd-ta* 'unknown' pure popular etymology and also discounts *nevo-věsta*, associated with *vesti*. He deems it best to see the word as a whole and not view it as a compound. He views it as an Indo-European prototype *newisthā*, the superlative of *newos* 'new, young' meaning 'youngest'. The Slavonic underwent a phonetic transition to *newьsta*. There then occurred a change of sense linked with *wistos*, the past passive participle of the verb *weid-* : *woid-* : *wid-*, i.e. *ne-vьstā* 'not known (by a man)'. Then the *oi*-grade penetrated into all forms, giving *nevoistā*. Trubačev regards this as unconvincing (1959:92) but admits that all new etymologies are equally doubtful and notes that Vasmer (1976-80: s.v. *nevesta*) with justification cites the old etymology *nevěsta* = unknown, which came about by linguistic taboo that

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most now accept the link with *snus-ós* < *sneu-*. As a result of this link, German *Schnur* in the sense 'string, lace' is etymologically identical with *Schnur* in the old sense 'daughter-in-law' (Fasmer 1964-73: s.v. *snoxa*).

would protect a woman entering a new household from evil spirits. Isačenko prefers to see a link with *vesti* 'lead, marry', cf. Latin *uxorem ducere* 'lead (= marry) a wife'. Černyx (1994: s.v. *nevesta*) notes that a similar usage occurs in the Novgorod birch-bark writ number 9: «*водя новую жену*». Accordingly he surmises that Common Slavonic *nevěsta* was made up of two roots, *nev-* and *ved-* with the suffix *-t-*: **nev-ved-t-a*, i.e it originally meant 'newly led (in marriage)'. This does not, however, account for the jať (*ě*) in the word, and Černyx suggests there was later influence of the verb **věděti* 'know'; after Christianization, when the viriginity of the bride was important, the meaning of the word could have been interpreted as 'unknown (by a man)'. Thus Černyx combines the two original etymologies advanced by Miklosich. On the whole the straightforward derivation favoured by Vasmer is probably the best; Trubačev notes (1959:93-94) that it was customary to treat the bride to be as a stranger in the house of the groom, as part of the ritual for protecting her from harm.

Unfortunately *zjať* and *nevestka* are potentially ambiguous words, since they can denote other in-laws, namely brother-in-law and sister-in-law, though properly speaking only in limited circumstances. *Nevestka*, for example, is strictly a sister-in-law only in the sense of a brother's wife or husband's brother's wife. However, it is used for a wife's brother's wife too (like the old, now dialectal, *jatrov́* and *jatrovka*, which could also mean a husband's brother's wife) and, loosely, as a synonym of *zolovka* 'husband's sister' and *svojačenica* 'wife's sister'. In other words *nevestka* has broadened its range of meanings to include all uses of the English word 'sister-in-law' (and indeed daughter-in-law); one dictionary defines it as 'a married woman in relation to the relatives of her husband – father, mother, brothers, sisters, sisters' husbands, brothers' wives' (Evgeńeva 1981-84: s.v. *nevestka*). This development is perhaps to be understood when it is borne in mind that Russians themselves sometimes confuse the words available and tend to seek a more straightforward way of expressing these relationships (Forbes 1964:396, fn.), often preferring less confusing phrases like *otec ženy* (= *test'*), *otec muža* (= *svëkor*), *sestra ženy* (= *svojačenica*), *sestra muža* (= *zolovka*). Similarly *zjať* could be rendered as *muž dočeri* 'son-in-law', *muž sestry* 'brother-in-law' and *muž zolovki*, literally the husband of one's husband's sister, as required.

Jatrov́

Common Slavonic **jętry* 'husband's brother's wife', Old Russian *jatry* (genitive *jatrъve*) are now reflected in old dialectal forms like *jatrov́*, *jatrova*, *jatrovka*, *jatrov́ja* and *jatrovica*. All these old names are dying out in Russian as

the old terminology is forgotten and new forms appear, like *snošenicy* 'brothers' wives'. For example, Ukrainian *jatrivka* has virtually gone out of use. The related forms in Indo-European languages point to a common Indo-European form **jenəter*, which in some languages, e.g. Greek, kept its schwa (*ə*), while in others, e.g. Balto-Slav, it was lost; this is parallel to Indo-European **dhŭghətḗr* 'daughter' > Greek *thugátēr*, but Balto-Slav **dŭktēr*, Gothic *daúhtar*. Loss of the schwa in medial position gave **jenəter* > **jęti* (like *mati*), but this was influenced by *svekry* to give **jętry*. Baltic has retained the correct forms, Lithuanian *jentė* (genitive *jentės*, *jenters*), Latvian *ietere*, *ietaļa*. Cognates include Sanskrit *yātar-*, *yātā-* 'husband's brother's wife', Greek *enatéres*, Homeric plural *eináteres*, Latin *jānitrīces* 'brothers' wives, sisters-in-law', Armenian *ner*, *nēr* 'brothers' wives or wives of the same man', Phrygian (accusative singular) *ianátera* (Trubačev 1959:138, Vasmer 1976-80: s.v. *jatrov́*). The original etymological meaning of **jenəter*, **jętry* is unknown (Trubačev 1959:138).

Zolovka

The Common Slavonic form is **zъly* (genitive **zъlъve*), the Old Church Slavonic *zъlъva*, the Russian dialect *zolva* (Irkutsk), *zolvica* (Tveŕ) and the standard Russian *zolovka* 'husband's sister'. The word has been lost to most West Slavonic languages and survives in Russian better than in Ukrainian (*zovícja*), where it is little used. **Zъly* is an old *ū*-stem that has been reshaped in Russian like *svekry* as *zъlъva* > *zolovka*. It therefore follows the usual path of a *ū*-stem in developing into an *ā*-stem. The Common Slavonic is related to Indo-European words going back to **ĝ_elōu-s*: Greek *gálōs*, Latin *glōs*, Armenian *tal*, *calr*, all with the preserved meaning 'husband's sister'. **Ĝ_elōu-s* may be linked with the Greek root *gal-*, *gel-* 'enjoy oneself, make merry' (Trubačev 1959:136), cf. Greek *geláō* 'laugh', *gélōs* 'laughter'.

Svojačenica, svojak

These forms are derived from the Indo-European pronominal root **swe-*, the implication of which is 'one's own', *svoj*, i.e. related by marriage (*svojstvenniki*). The masculine form *svojak* should properly be used for a wife's sister's husband, i.e. the husband of a *svojačenica* 'wife's sister'. In Slavonic there are different grades of root vocalism for these compounds: alongside **svo-*, **svojo-* in Russian *svojak* there is **svъ-* < **svĭ-* in Russian dialect *svesť*, *svëstka*, *svëstočka* (= *svojačenica*) < **svъstъ*, cf. Ukrainian *svist́* 'sister-in-law' (husband's sister or brother's wife). Daĺ lists other dialectal variants parallel with *svesť*

(1912-14: s.v. *svest′*): *svestja*, *svěst′*, *sveś*, *sviś* and *svjaś*. The ending of the word is unclear: is it *svьs-ti* or *svь-stь*? Iľinskij thinks the latter (Trubačev 1959: 140), with *-stь* from *st(h)ā* 'stand, be in a state', so that *svьstь* = standing in relationship by marriage. Trubačev thinks it is better to see *svьstь*, *svěstь* as an ancient abstract noun with the sense 'belonging to one's own' (*svojstvo*, relationship by marriage, with *-stь* having its typical word-forming function), followed by semantic transfer to a person of the female sex, *svojačenica*. Russian *svojak*, *svojačenica* (dialectally *svojačina*, *svojka*, *svojakinja*) have a transparent etymological link with *svojь*, Russian *svoj*. Baltic examples are analogous: Lithuanian and Latvian *svainis* 'wife's sister's husband' (Trubačev 1959:141).

On the male side, no single word covers all senses of the English 'brother-in-law'. *Zjat′* for instance is only a brother-in-law in two senses: sister's husband or husband's sister's husband (husband of *zolovka*). For a wife's sister's husband (husband of *svojačenica*) the word *svojak* should strictly be used. Readers of Gogol's *Šineľ* will perhaps recall another word for brother-in-law in the rather amusing account of the Basmačkins' footwear: «И отец, и дед, и даже шурин, и все совершенно Басмачкины ходили в сапогах». *Šurin*, occasionally *šurak*, is a wife's brother (*svojačenica* being a wife's sister), but to a wife her husband's brother is *deveŕ* (*zolovka* being her husband's sister). As for the parents of the spouses, they would refer to their opposite numbers as *svat* (son-in-law's or daughter-in-law's father) and *svatja* (son-in-law's or daughter-in-law's mother). The latter word, of course, is not to be confused with *svaxa*, the female equivalent of *svat* in its other sense, 'matchmaker'.

Svat, svaťja

Svat can be defined as the father or male relative of one of those entering into matrimony in relation to the parents or relatives of the other. Likewise *svaťja* is the mother or female relative of one of those entering into matrimony in relation to the parents or relatives of the other. In Russian dialect, *svatovstvo* is a relationship by marriage (*svojstvo*), though in the standard language it is rather 'matchmaking'. The word is connected with the pronominal stem *svo-*, *sve-* 'one's own', cf. Greek *étēs* 'relative, cousin', Lithuanian *svečias*, *svetys* 'guest, stranger', Latvian *sveša* 'someone else's' (stem *svetjos*), Gothic *swēs* 'own', Sanskrit *svás* 'one's own', Russian *svoj* 'one's own'. *Svat* can be explained as deriving from Indo-European *swōtos*, from the Indo-European root *sewe- : *swe- : *swo-* and the suffix *-t-* (Černyx 1994: s.v. *svat*, Trubačev 1959:142). From the same root comes Russian *svaďba* 'marriage' (= *svaťba*). The original meaning of *svat* would therefore have been 'of one's own, a close relative' and

it would have applied to relationship by marriage (when a stranger becomes one's own); compare the feminine form *svatǰa* in that sense with *svaxa* applied to a female matchmaker (the latter derived with the characteristic suffix for names of female professions, e.g. *portnixa*). The matchmaker sense is a relatively new development brought about by the later verbal forms like Russian *svatat́*. As a result of contamination the form *svaxa* is sometimes used in dialect in the sense 'mother of a son-in-law (*zjat́*) or of a daughter-in-law (*snoxa*)'.

Šurin

The most likely etymology of *šurin* is from Indo-European **sjəur(io)* < **sjū-* 'sew', i.e. 'bind, knit'. Here belong not only Slavonic *šurъ* but also Sanskrit *syālá-ḥ* 'wife's brother', with a different grade of root vocalism from *šurъ*. This is preferable to Berneker's linking of *šurъ* and *sve-kъrъ* and Pedersen's assumption that *šurъ* comes from **seur-*, with the same root as Russian *svojak* (see above), i.e. *svoj* 'one's own'. There are phonetic difficulties with this last etymology (Trubačev 1959:139), whereas *šurъ* presupposes not **seur-* but **sjour-* (**sjəur-*), which has the same quantitative alternation as Slavonic *šiti*, Lithuanian *siūti*, Indo-European **sju-*. Vasmer (1976-80: s.v. *šurin*) dismisses any connection with *praščur* 'forefather' (< Proto-Slavonic **praskjurъ* < Indo-European **(s)keur-*, **(s)kur-*, cf. Lithuanian *prakurėjas* 'ancestor') and with **k̂euros*, connected by vowel alternation with Greek *hekurós* and Sanskrit *śváśuras* 'husband's father, father-in-law' (see also Trubačev 1959:72-73).

Deveŕ

Old Church Slavonic *děverъ* and Russian *deveŕ* are of Common Slavonic origin. Common Slavonic **děverъ* has been largely lost in West Slavonic but is still represented in East and South Slavonic. It has a large number of cognates in other languages, e.g. Latin *lēvir*, Greek *dāḗr* < *dai(w)ēr*, Sanskrit *dēvā́r*, Old High German *zeihhur*, Old English *tācor*, Armenian *taigr*, which all have a similar sense to *děverъ*, husband's brother (Vasmer 1976-80, Černyx 1994, Preobraženskij 1958: s.v. *deveŕ*). The common form is Indo-European **dāiwēr*. Latin *lēvir* shows a local Italic replacement of Indo-European *d* with Sabine *l* and alteration of the ending *lēver* under the influence of Latin *vir* 'man'. Lithuanian and Latvian *dieveris* may be borrowed from Slavonic (Trubačev 1959:134). Owing to the closeness of meaning of Lithuanian *laiguonas* (*laigonas*, *laigūnas*) 'wife's brother' (= *šurin*), it may be etymologically related to Indo-European **dāiwēr*, if one assumes **daiguonas* as an earlier form. The change *d* > *l* may

be a rare sound change in Indo-European or a desire to avoid linkage with Lithuanian *iš-daiga* 'joke, prank'. The occurrence of *-g-* in this Lithuanian form is interestingly like old Indo-European dialect forms such as Old High German *zeihhur* < Germanic **taikuraz* with Germanic *k* = Indo-European **g*, cf. Armenian *taigr*. The change may have happened in Indo-European as there occur instances of strengthening *w* by prefixing *g* > *g^w* in a number of Indo-European languages. If this is so, Lithuanian *laiguonas* preserves the initial form of the Indo-European name for a husband's brother. The final stress pattern in Greek *dāér* and Sanskrit *dēvár* suggests that the original stress on *děverь* was final, though it is now initial (Trubačev 1959:135).

Before concluding this study it would perhaps be useful to note a form of relationship that is neither exactly by marriage nor necessarily by blood: godparenthood. The godparents are *krëstnyj (otec)* and *krëstnaja (mat')*, i.e. godfather and godmother respectively, who are known in more formal ecclesiastical language as *vospriemnik* and *vospriemnica*, because they receive from the font the child being christened (i.e. *krestimyj* or *krestimaja*). The godfather and godmother would refer to, and be known by, each other and the parents of the godchildren (*krëstnye deti*) as *kum* and *kuma* respectively. This sort of spiritual relationship is therefore called *kumovstvo*. More than one godson (*krestnik* or *krëstnyj syn*) or goddaughter (*krestnica* or *krëstnaja doč*) of the same godparent would be known to each other as *krëstnyj brat* or *krëstnaja sestra*, corresponding to the obsolete English terms godbrother and godsister respectively.

Kum, kuma

Kum is generally seen as a reduction of *kъmotrъ* 'godfather' (in modern dialectal Russian, *kmotr*), which is a new formation from *kъmotra* 'godmother', which goes back to popular Latin *commāter* with the same sense. Probably a godfather was originally called **kъpetrъ* or **kǫpetrъ*, cf. Old Church Slavonic *kupetra* 'godmother' and Old Church Slavonic glagolitic *kupotrъ*, from popular Latin *compater* 'godfather', whence Albanian *kumptër, kundër*. Compare also the Romanian *cumetră* 'godmother' and *cumetru* 'godfather' (Fasmer 1964-73: s.vv. *kmotr, kum*). However, the relationship *u : ъ* in *kum* is hard to account for. Similarly *kuma* is seen as a shortening of *kъmotra*, but this does not explain the vocalism *u : ъ*. Attempts to link it to Turkic *kuma* 'young wife' are unsatisfactory owing to the difference in meaning. In that case one must assume a semantic effect of *kъmotrъ, kъmotra* and the new formation *kum* from *kuma* (Vasmer 1976-80: s.v. *kuma*). Černyx (1994: s.v. *kum*) plausibly surmises that Latin *commāter* was borrowed during the Christianization of the Slavs in two vari-

ants, *kъmótrъ (which later acquired the sense 'godfather' and survives in dialect as *kmotr*) and *kúmotrъ (which was reduced to *kumъ*).

Clearly the terminology that is associated with family relationships in Russian is complex (though not all the terms in this survey are equally widely used), but the relationships themselves are in some cases complex and the terminology used in English is not always straightforward either. Each language has its own peculiarities. In English, for instance, there is a convenient method of denoting relationships by marriage by appending *in-law* to the appropriate noun, but Russian has its convenient adjectives *dvojurodnyj* and *trojurodnyj*, and if necessary *četverojurodnyj* etc., which allow a number of complex and sometimes distant relationships to be concisely expressed. It is rare to reach a point where these adjectives no longer suffice to characterize a distant relative (*daľnij rodstvennik*). Not many, after all, are inclined to take genealogical nicety to the point described here: «Родство, свойство и кумовство считается там чуть не до двенадцатого колена» (P. I. Meľnikov-Pečerskij, *Na gorax*, cited in Evgeńeva 1981-84: s.v. *kumovstvo*).

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