

# Baltic kinship terms in Finno-Ugric, Indo-European kinship terms and their family structure

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RIKSBANKENS  
JUBILEUMSFOND  
FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF  
THE HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

SWEDISH  
COLLEGIUM  
*for* ADVANCED STUDY



27th November 2024

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Previous Studies

Baltic kinship  
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# Previous studies on kinship loanwords

- ▶ Vilhelm Thomsen (*Beröringer mellem de finske og de baltiske (litauisk-lettiske) Sprog*, 1890.)
- ▶ Seppo Suhonen (“Die Baltischen Lehnwörter der Finnish-ugrischen Sprachen”. In: *The Uralic Languages. Description, History and Foreign Influences*. Ed. by Denis Sinor, 1988, 606ff.)
- ▶ Lars-Gunnar Larsson (“Baltic influence on Finnic languages”. In: *The Circum-Baltic languages: typology and contact*. Ed. by Östen Dahl & Maria Koptjevskaja-Tamm, 2001.)
- ▶ Petri Kallio (“On the ”early Baltic” loanwords in Common Finnic”, 2008.)
- ⋮

# The Baltic Kinship Terms in Finnic I

## ► DAUGHTER

Baltic >> Finnic

## ► BRIDE

Baltic

>> Finnic

>> Saamic

## ► NEPHEW

Baltic >> Finno-Saamic

## ► SISTER

Baltic >> Finnic

cf. Proto-Indo-Iranian >> Permian

parallel loans into some Finnic languages (Estonian, Livonian, Votic)

## ► FAMILY / HOUSEHOLD

Baltic >> Finnic

# The Baltic Kinship Terms in Finnic II

- ▶ SON-IN-LAW

Baltic >> Finnic

Also:

- ▶ VILLAGE, NEIGHBOR

Baltic >> Finno-Saamic

- ▶ In-Law

Later loan: Latv. *ķeluvainis* 'wife's sister's husband'

<< Liv. *kālu* 'sister in law', Est. *kāli*, *kālu*, *kālo* 'wife of the brother of husband' (PU *\*kāliw* 'sister-in-law'),

# Implications I

- ▶ “ (...) an intensive cultural influence, leading to marriages across the Proto-Finnic / Baltic linguistic border and thus to bilingualism.” (Larsson 2001: 239)
  - ▶ **Baltic >> Finnic / Saamic loanwords:**  
Baltic speakers shifted to Finnic / Saamic (**Baltic substratum, Finnic suprastratum**)
  - ▶ **Finnic >> Baltic loanwords:**  
Finnic speakers shifted to Baltic (**Finnic substratum, Baltic suprastratum**)
  - ✎ If examples in morphology are included, there are influences in both directions (“Finnic >> Baltic” and “Baltic >> Finnic”).
- ▶ What sort of socio-linguistic aspects could more female kinship loanwords reflect in the contact situation?
  - ▶ A possible proof of IE female exogamy ⇒ Baltic women married in Finnic families (cf. Dini 2014: 232, Jakob 2024: 116–117).

# Implications II

- ▶ For 'daughter', 'nephew', 'sister', 'sister's husband':  
Baltic men / women marrying into Finnic families, shifting to Finnic.
- ▶ For 'bride':  
Wouldn't it make more sense to assume Baltic men marrying to Finnic families, shifting to Finnic?
- ▶ For a later loan 'wife's sister's husband':  
Finnic men marrying into Baltic families, shifting to Baltic.
- ▶ Can these hypotheses be tested by aDNA analysis?

# Kinship terms in Proto-Indo-European I

## ► Basic kinship terminologies reconstructible for PIE:

*\*ph<sub>2</sub>tér-* ‘father’

*\*máh<sub>2</sub>ter-* ‘mother’

*\*d<sup>h</sup>ugh<sub>2</sub>tér-* ‘daughter’

*\*bráh<sub>2</sub>ter-* ‘brother’

*\*h<sub>1</sub>iénh<sub>2</sub>ter-* ‘husband’s brother’s wife’

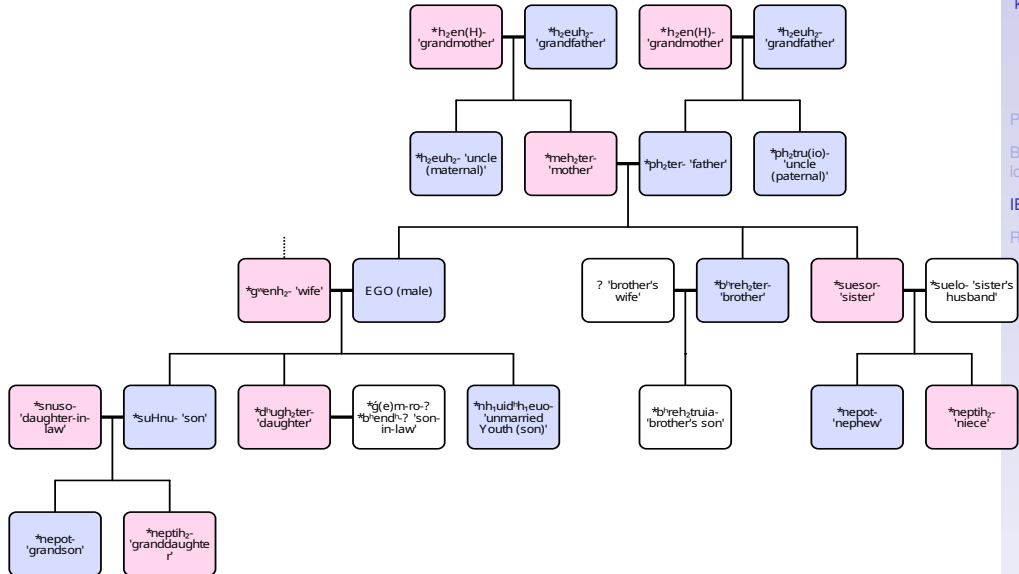
! ‘son’: *\*suHnú-*, *\*suH-io-*, *\*suH-iu-*, *\*putló-*

cf. Delbrück 1889, Mallory & Adams 1997: 332ff., 369ff. Olsen 2019.

## ► Their family / social structure:

- patriarchal / patrilocal, exogamous [daughters marry away] (Delbrück 1889)

# Male perspective



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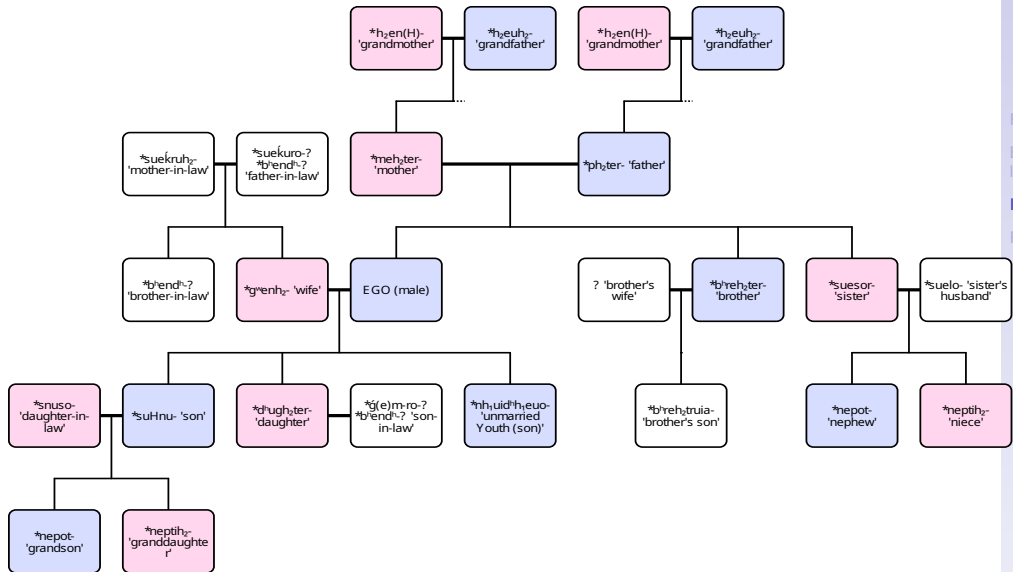
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# Male perspective



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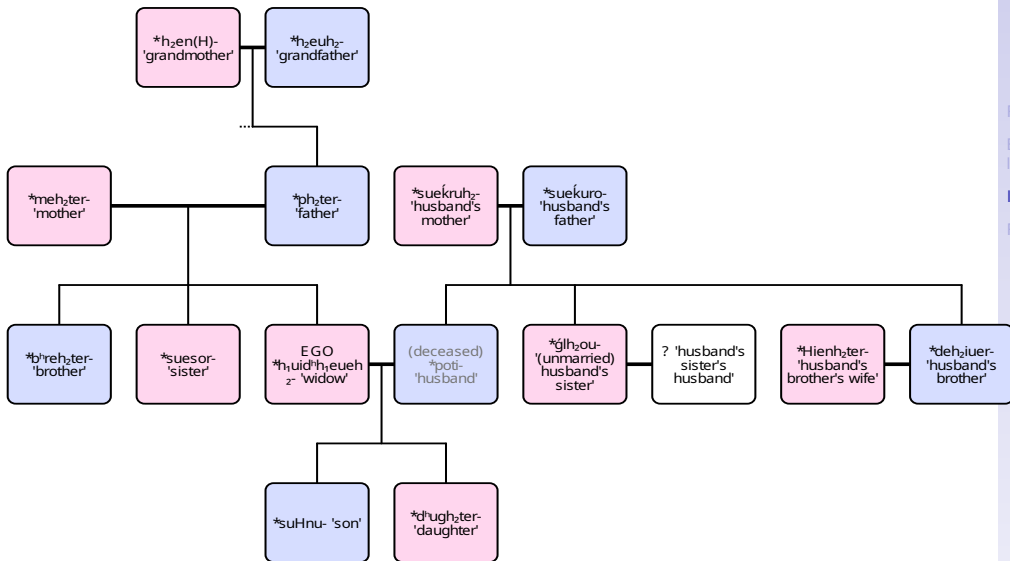
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# Female perspective (widow)



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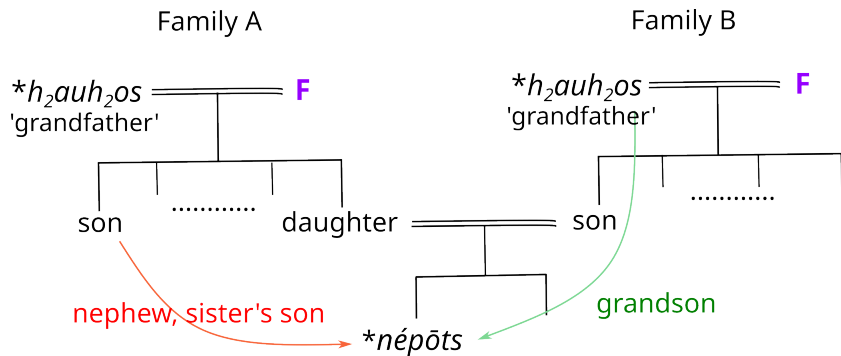
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# Kinship terms in Proto-Indo-European II

- ▶  $*h_2auh_2os$  - 'father's father / maternal uncle',  $*népōt-$  /  $*nept-$  'grandson / nephew' → implying the cross-cousin marriage? (cf. Benveniste 1969: I, 227, Mallory & Adams 1997: 370)
- ▶ Probably no, if we assume both 'paternal / maternal grandfather' for  $*h_2auh_2os$  - (Olsen 2019: 149).



Based on Olsen (2019: 151).

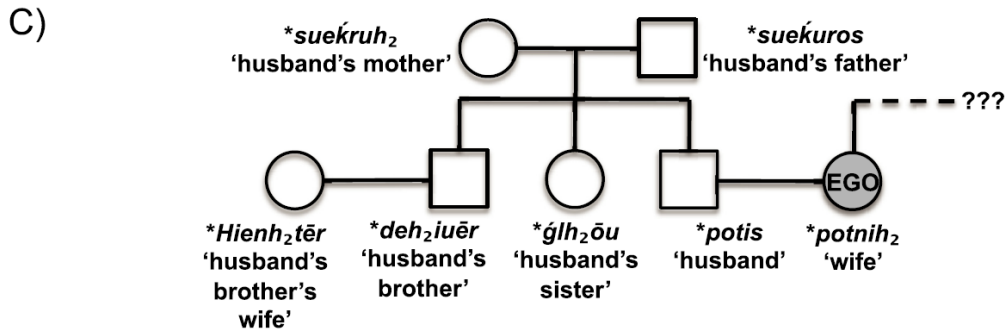
# Interdisciplinary Approach I

## Sjögren et al. 2020

- ▶ A study combining archaeology and bio-anthropology on the kinship relationship of ancient individuals from cemeteries.
- ▶ Late Copper Age Bell Beaker culture of South Germany  
24 burials from Irlbach and 18 burials from Alburg  
Strontium and oxygen isotope analyses  
aDNA analyses
- ▶ Confirmed:
  - ▶ nuclear families
  - ▶ female exogamy, male primogeniture (cf. Delbrück 1889: 590)
  - ▶ alliances through kinship, exogamic practices and foster children forged alliances, likely linking families into clans (cf. Olsen 2023: 300).

## Interdisciplinary Approach II

Baltic kinship  
terms in  
Finno-Ugric,  
Indo-European  
and



**Fig 9.** Social institutions as a model: 9A: Exogamy and male foundation of new settlements within existing patterns. 9B: Exogamy and male foundation of new settlements in period of geographical expansion. 9C: Kinship diagram of the reconstructable Proto-Indo-European terms for relatives of the marital partners. The wealth of words for relatives on the husband's side versus the absence of those on the wife's side is consistent with a system of patrilocal exogamy.

Sjögren et al. 2020: 19.

Thank you.

**Pichkar, Surowieca & Creanza 2024**

<https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2322881121>





**Zhang, Zheng, Yan & Jin 2019**

<https://doi.org/10.1093/nsr/nwy083>

**Creanza et al. 2015**

<https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1424033112>

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## ► DAUGHTER

Lith. *duktė* (3<sup>b</sup>), OPru. *dukti* (PB *\*dukter-*; PIE *\*d<sup>h</sup>ugh<sub>2</sub>-tér*) ‘daughter’  
>> Finn./Kar./Votic *tytär*, Veps/ Est. *tütar*, Liv. *tūdār*

## ► BRIDE

Lith. *martì* (4) ‘bride’, Latv. *mārša* ‘wife of brother’, OPru. acc. *martin* / *martan* ‘bride’ (PB *\*martiā-*)

>> Finn. *morsian* ‘bride, fiancée’, Kar. *moršien* ‘bride’, Veps *murz’ain* ‘(young) wife’

>> Saamic (NSaa. *moar’sē*, SSaa. *moårsie*, ISaa. *myerssee*, etc.)

### ► NEPHEW

OLith. *nepotis*, Lith. *nepuotis* (4), *neptis* (Bretkūnas) ‘nephew’, (cf. *nepuotė* ‘niece’; PIE *\*népōt-/nept-*, fem. *\*neptíH-*)

>> Finn. *nepaa* (*\*nepata?*); *nepas*, *nevas* (*nepaha-*), *neppo* (diminutive) ‘child of brother or sister on the father’s side’ (Thomsen 1890: 203);

NSaa. *næppe* ‘niece; cousin’, SSaa. *neäbede* ‘sister’s child, sister’s grandchild’, Lule Saa. *niehpē* ‘sister’s child’ (PSaa. *\*neapē*), Proto-Finno-Saamic *\*nepa-* (cf. Álgú)

### ► SISTER

Lith. *sesuõ* (3<sup>b</sup>), OPru. *swestro* (E), *schostro* (GrA, GrF) (PB \**ses(e)r*- [*< PIE \*swésor- / \*swésr-*])

>> Finn. *sisar*, R-Kar. *sizar*, L-Kar. *sizār*, Veps *sisar*;

cf. Proto-Indo-Iranian \**swasar* >> Mordvin E *sazor* ‘younger sister’, Udmurt *suzer* ‘id.’, Komi *sozor* ‘twin threads’ (cf. Milanova, Holopainen & Bradlev 2020: 349);

parallel loans: Est. *sõsar*, Liv. *sõzār*, Votic *sõzar*

### ► FAMILY / HOUSEHOLD

Lith. *šeimà* (4), *šeimýna* (1) ‘family, household’, Latv. *sàime* ‘household staff, family in a wider sense’, OPru. *seiminan* ‘servants’ (PB \**šeimā-*)

>> Finn. *heimo*, Veps *heim* (-o-), Votic *ōimo* ‘house lineage, tribe’, Est. *hõim*, *hõime* ‘kin, relatives’, Liv. *aim* ‘servants, household’

## ► SON-IN-LAW

Latv. *znuõts* ‘son in law’ (PB *\*žnōta-* [PIE *\*ĝnoh<sub>3</sub>-to-* ‘acquaintance’]; cf. Lith. *žéntas* (1) ‘son-in-law’ < *\*ĝenh<sub>1</sub>-to-*), or PGmc. *\*knōdi* ‘family, clan’ (< PIE *\*ĝnoh<sub>1</sub>-tí-*; Goth. *knops*, OHG *knuot*, Kroonen 2013: 297), cf. Álgv.

>> Finn. *nuode* ‘sister’s husband’

Also:

- Lith. *káimas* (1) ‘village’, *kaimýnas* ‘neighbor’, OPru. *kaiminan* ‘id.’  
>> Finn./Votic *kaima* ‘namesake’, Est. *kaim* (-u-) ‘id.’, NSaa. *guoibmi* ‘comrade, companion, spouse’, SSaa. *gaalletjh-guejmie* (in a compound) ‘spouse’



► Later loan:

Latv. *ķeluvainis* ‘wife’s sister’s husband’

<< Liv. *kālu* ‘sister in law’, Est. *kāli*, *kālu*, *kālo* ‘wife of the brother of husband’ (PU *\*kāliw* ‘sister-in-law’ <<? >>? PIE *\*ǵlh<sub>2</sub>u-*), cf. Thomsen 1890: 258ff. Koivulehto 1994: 140, Olsen 2023: 297.