

THE SERBIAN KINSHIP SYSTEM AND ITS TERMINOLOGY

by

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ABSTRACT

So far as is known the Serbian kinship system has not hitherto been fully explored. This thesis is an attempt to explain the intricacies and implications of the kinship terms. It is also an attempt to present the Serbian kinship system historically as well as contemporarily with the emphasis on the causes and consequences of social change. The kinship terminology is examined linguistically; the kinship system is examined anthropologically. In this respect the author finds an ideal meeting ground of the two disciplines. Throughout the thesis both disciplines are intermingled, being an integral part of each other. The terminology and system are examined from as many points of view as possible. The picture is given in toto without a value judgment. Besides presenting the kinship system as reflected in folk literature, the author also presents it in a less favourable light: the curses pertinent to the kin-terms are also mentioned. Consanguineal, affinal and ceremonial kin are given equal attention in this thesis, because they cannot be separated socio-culturally. Consanguineal kin-terms are the same regardless of the sex of the ego; affinal relatives have different terms depending on the sex of ego.

Serbian kinship terminology is highly developed and indeed one of the most elaborate in existence. All Serbian kin-terms tend to be denotative. The kinship terms are developed equally for the ones that are not graphically represented as well as for those that are. There are 219 terms for 119 various kinship categories. For the relatives close to ego the number of synonyms is high, reaching a maximum of ten synonyms for the father.

Because of the great number of synonyms the author has to introduce some new nomenclature: in this thesis, the STANDARD term is most conservative; the other terms are NON-STANDARD.

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INTRODUCTION

Although many anthropological accounts on the Serbs have been written, there is no single complete work written on kinship. What the possible reason for this may be is very difficult to explain. The fact remains that there has been no anthropologist interested enough in kinship problems to write on them. Therefore, this thesis is not written as a literary compilation. The material that the thesis contains is based mainly on my personal observations, but cannot be entirely labeled as "field work", because the observations have been made extensively over a period of years, rather than intensively, and because they were made prior to the choice of the topic for the thesis. Apart from general theoretical works, the thesis does not make use of any specific reference work. In addition to personal recollection, the author attempted to gather information from as many informants as possible. The questionnaire method of gathering information was abandoned at the very beginning. That system must, of necessity, be statistical and truthful only for the infinitesimally small section of the nation from whom information is sought. The author instead had informal interviews with a number of informants. Where personal interview was not possible, the informants were contacted through correspondence, both in Serbia and outside. The author alone is responsible for the accuracy of the information contained in this thesis.

RULES OF DESCENT

The kin ties of any given individual extend into the infinite number of ascendants. No one is able to trace out his own fully.¹ An individual can trace his descent by one of four methods: patrilineal, matrilineal, bilateral or double. The descent rule in any particular society could follow any one of the four methods, and therefore exclude the other three. In Serbian society the descent is definitely patrilineal in the sense that an individual inherits the family name and family tradition² through the male line. The mother's side, in spite of this, is not entirely disregarded, as could be expected. Descent on the mother's side is also traced. While paternal kin are traced as far back as eight generations, maternal kin are never calculated back more than three generations. By the number of generations one can easily see where the stress lies, but it should also be noted that both sides are represented. Rather than call it double descent one would probably be closer to the truth if Serbian descent is called "revised patrilineal". Patri-local extended family of the Serbian type is coupled with the "revised patrilineal" descent.

The Serbian kin group could be most closely identified as being a clan, being based both on common residence and genealogical descent. Patriclan is an accurate description of the Serbian clan, insofar as the initial definition of a clan itself is appropriate.

1 Including dynastic genealogies, where the first known progenitor must be placed somewhere and therefore a limit set.

2 The main tradition is the family's biggest annual celebration of the patron saint - SLAVA or KRSNO IME.

CLASSIFICATION OF KIN TERMS

We shall briefly examine each of the three ways of classifying kin terms:

1. BY MODE OF USE

In Serbian kinship terminology all the subdivisions are represented:

- a) TERM OF ADDRESS Used when speaking directly to another person. It is further facilitated by the use of vocative. A person can use a kinship term when addressing another person.
- b) TERM OF REFERENCE Speaking about the person that is not present, a speaker may use the kinship term.
- c) PERSONAL NAME A relative could be addressed with his personal name instead of the kinship term. This is valid for the ego's own generation or for the descending generations, but could not be used in addressing the member of the ascending generation.
- d) COMBINATION OF b + c A person could be addressed with the personal name plus the term of reference (Radin stric).
- e) TEKNONYMY Teknonymy is not strongly enforced among the Serbs. It is used mainly by children in referring to the parents of their playmates (Ivina mama).

2. BY LINGUISTIC FORM

Serbian kinship terminology makes provision for all three types of linguistic form:

a) **ELEMENTARY TERM** An elementary term is a morphoneme³ which cannot be divided into smaller particles that retain their kinship meaning. One of the main intentions of this thesis is to demonstrate the prevalence of elementary terms. This task will be done in the chapter which deals with the particular terms.

b) **DERIVATIVE TERM** These are derivational morphonemes which are made from at least two elements. One of the elements must be an elementary kinship term, while the other may or may not be a morphoneme semantically charged with kin relationship. It is also the intention of this thesis to show the particular place that derivative terms have in the Serbian kinship terminology. It will be shown in the examples that derivative terms in Serbian begin in the third⁴ descending and third ascending generation, rather than in the second. This leaves a total of five generations (including ego's own) with either an elementary term or descriptive term. It is somewhat unusual to have a descriptive term, rather than a derivative term, applied to a relative who is closer to ego. The reason for this metathesis will be explained later.

c) **DESCRIPTIVE TERM** This is generally a device to describe anybody who is not a primary relative. In Serbian, a descriptive term is not needed for the primary relatives, or for the secondary, a fair number of the tertiary and quaternary, and even some quinary relatives. In the majority of kinship systems derivative terms apply more

³ Being a minimum meaning unit.

⁴ With one single exception, in the second ascending generation only (staramajka).

often according to the degree of distance from ego. Consequently, descriptive terms apply to those that are even further removed from ego. The very rare exception to this general rule is found among the Serbs, as will be shown.

3. BY RANGE OF APPLICATION

Serbs in this respect also have a somewhat unorthodox approach in the ratio of two possible sets of terms:

- a) DENOTATIVE TERMS Serbs have this type of terms extraordinarily well developed. They are what could be labelled as "the only true kin terms", and certainly the ones that are most precise and unmistakeably particular.
- b) CLASSIFICATORY TERMS The Serbian, like any other kin-term system, employs some classificatory terms. It is of the utmost importance to compare the extent of nomenclature in classificatory terms as opposed to denotative terms. Denotative terms by far outnumber the classificatory terms and support the assumption that Serbian kinship terminology is precise; precision is one of its main features.

CRITERIA FOR A KINSHIP CATEGORY

The nine possible criteria in ascribing an individual to a kinship category, will be examined separately by each criterion:

1. GENERATION The biological fact of reproduction, and consequently of the succession of the generations, is taken very rigorously into account in the Serbian kinship terminology. No two persons belonging to the two different generations could be described by the same kin term. It is possible, however, that a woman can have a child older than a sibling. This relative age is completely disregarded and the kin term is ascribed with the due recognition of the person's generation to which he belongs socially and biologically. If, for example, the nephew is older than his own uncle, the kin terms will apply regardless of the fact of such a drastic inversion in the actual age. Some kinship systems (Crow, Omaha) are capable of promoting or dropping in the kinship terms a particular relative, for one generation. Similar occurrences among the Serbs will be discussed more fully in a separate division.

2. SEX Serbs are culturally and socially very sex-conscious, while reciprocally they are very gender conscious in their language. The kinship terms are either masculine or feminine, giving a full recognition of the sex of the relative. A few neuter terms are applied only in the descending generation, notably for young children in their preadolescent years. Sex and gender for the Serbs are very closely related. Ideally speaking all animate nouns could have either a masculine or a feminine gender. The neuters are treated

more extensively elsewhere. The peculiar term BELA ^vPCELA is grammatically a feminine, but applied to the both sexes.

3. AFFINITY Affinity, as a criterion for a kinship category, is carried to an extreme. More elaborate treatment will be given under the topic of incest. Affinity is carried to such a length that male and female ego have an entirely different set of terms for their respective affinal relatives. Those terms are also - denotative.

4. COLLATERALITY Lineal and collateral terms are rigorously consistent. Some merging between the two occurs in the case of siblings and cousins, but only in a superficial manner. In the discussion concerning cousins it will be noted that this merging is not a bona fide one. Collaterality is fully recognized also for cousins.

5. BIFURCATION Bifurcation is recognized in some cases and not in others. One of the problems which this thesis would like to state, but would not attempt to solve, is that pertaining to bifurcation. A particular case in point is that of TETKA. The problem is stated elsewhere in this paper. Here is noted only the inconsistency of bifurcation in the same generation, the one that immediately preceeds ego's own.

6. POLARITY Polarity has always to meet the requirements of generation, sex differentiation, affinity, collaterality and bifurcation. If a person is in the same generation, of the same sex, affinal only,⁵ collateral rather than lineal, and the requirement

5 Never consanguineal.

of bifurcation is met, then the polarity can be ignored. Such is the case with JETRVA.

The six criteria that have been discussed so far are designated as inherent distinctions. We have shown that every one of these was present in the formation of kinship terminology. The remaining three criteria that follow, therefore, for the sake of clarity could be designated as non-inherent distinctions.

7. RELATIVE AGE Strictly speaking the criterion of relative age is ignored in the Serbian kin-term system. In the chapter on siblings it will be shown, however, that this is not entirely true and that some provision is made for the relative age of the siblings.

8. SPEAKER'S SEX The speaker's sex is completely ignored when applied to consanguineal relatives, and fully recognized when applied to the affinal ones.

9. DECEDEENCE This is the only criterion that is not recognized in the formation of the Serbian kin terms. The kin status of the deceased relative remains unaltered. Nevertheless, when referring to a deceased relative one is bound to say POKOJNI⁶ (the late) plus a kin term or a personal name. The choice of kin or personal name would be followed in the same manner as it was observed during the deceased person's life. Instead of pokojni another expression is heard as often, and that is JADNI⁷ - in the literal translation - poor.

6 POKOJNA for female.

7 Feminine form is JADNA.

SOME SIGNIFICANT ASPECTS OF THE SERBIAN LANGUAGE PERTINENT TO THE KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

In order better to understand the kinship terminology and also subtle psychological implications, several characteristic features of the Serbian language, which play a very prominent part in kinship terminology, should be mentioned:

- 1) The first of these characteristics is a great number of synonyms. As in every language (including English) the number of synonyms for a given thing shows our association with that particular thing. In other words, the more synonyms for the same thing, the closer is our association with it. This can be clearly seen in the enclosed tables; closer relatives to ego have more synonyms, more remote ones progressively fewer.
- 2) The second major characteristic of the language is its frequent use of diminutives. They are also heavily grouped around ego. Diminutives are the best indication of familiarity and affection among relatives.
- 3) The majority of terms follow the same linguistic pattern: consonant-vowel-consonant-vowel. This gives a pleasant melodic sound. The reason for these pleasant-sounding terms is to be found in the great affection existing among relatives.
- 4) The voiced R is a vowel, and not a consonant. Svekrva is trisyllabic: sve/kr/va. The second part of the phrase po krvi is bisyllabic: po kr/vi.
- 5) The accent in Serbian is involved and probably the most difficult aspect of Serbian grammar. The accent is not a dynamic, but a musical

one. They are two short and two long, two falling and two rising for a total of four different accents: short-falling, short-rising, long-falling, long-rising. All four of them have different graphical representation. Ordinarily, the Serbian text is written without the accents. In situations where the forms are identical, but accents different, they may be written in order to avoid any confusion. The accent for kin terminology is particularly important to distinguish nominative-vocative bābo (father) from vocative bābo (grand-mother).

6) Feminine nouns have the nominative singular desinence -a. In the kinship terminology there are very few exceptions: mother (mater), wiSi (svas), daughter (kćī, kćer, ćer, šćer, šćī). Very seldom the masculine nouns have the nominative singular desinence -a. In the kinship terminology they are: baja, bata, braca, deda, dedica, deka, zetonja, paša, prika, rodja, strika, taka, tata, tatica, teča, ćaća, uja, ujka, ujkica, čika, čiča, šura. In addition to these all the derivatives of deda have the same desinence.

7) Double vowel is pronounced twice: poočim.

All spellings are in the Serbian language when kinship terminology is involved. The pronunciation is different from English pronunciation. We shall not give the terms in the international phonetic alphabet, since the pronunciation itself is not of primary importance for the consideration in this thesis. The language that is spoken in Serbia is known as Serbocroatian. Since some Croatian kinship terms differ from their Serbian counterparts, the name of the language is limited to Serbian.

KIN TERMS

This chapter will examine in some detail the kinship nomenclature. Terminology is not mechanically devised convenience, but has a very profound bearing upon the whole social structure, as the thesis will attempt to show. Kinship terminology, just as behaviour patterns, among the Serbs is very elaborate, indeed one of the most elaborate in existence. Every, or almost every relative among the Serbs has his own designation which he does not share with anyone else. This designation is always a term which consists of one single word (some exceptions will be discussed later).

The attached tables are an essential supplement for the treatment of terms. The tables themselves show at a glance that there is more than one term for any particular relative. Where more than one term is listed, they are all synonyms and could be taken alternatively. In cases where more than one term is shown, the first one is the most conventional. Each succeeding term in the table is arranged in the order of increasing affection. Because of this multiplicity the need is shown for some arrangement in reference to them. The author suggests that the first on the list, which is always the most conservative one, be called - STANDARD TERM. All the succeeding ones are therefore non-standard and would not have a special determinant of their own, according to the order in which they appear. We shall discuss them in two main parts. First the consanguineal relatives⁸ will be our subject, and then we shall examine the affinal ones. This will have two main subdivisions for the obvious reason that the terms differ depending upon the speaker's sex.

CONSANGUINEAL RELATIVES

They are independent of the speaker's sex as was already shown in criterion No. 8 of the kinship categories. The terms will be treated separately. Some inconsistencies will be encountered in the subtitles: where the English term is equivalent with the Serbian one, the English is given; when the terms differ in any given trait the description is given (for example FaBr); if there is no similarity whatever, the Serbian term is given for a subtitle.

MOTHER

The standard term is MAJKA. MATI also exists.

MAMA is the term most often employed by young children, but could be used by her offsprings whatever the age they happen to be. MAMICA is a diminutive often found in the Serbian language. The diminutives are discussed in a separate section. They show the greatest affection. MATER is a form identical to the Latin one, and in comparison with other languages⁸ there is no doubt that the term is not a particular one belonging only to the Slavs, or Serbs, but is Indo-European. NANA is a term that can be applied to a mother, but also to a grandmother. However, the person who uses the term applies it only to one of the two and never interchanges them. The recognition of the generation is given in full. KEVA is one of the only two slang words⁹ used in the Serbian kinship terminology. The assumption is that the origin of the term is recent, and most

⁸ Russian, German, English, Dutch, Bulgarian etc.

⁹ Another one being ćale - father.

certainly, chronologically the latest one. In the social change that affects kinship, the terminology change is the last one to occur. The normal process of the change is as follows: first, the rule of residence is changed; second, change in the form of the extended families; third, change in the form of the consanguineal kin groups; fourth and last is the change in the kinship terminology which may or may not occur. It may occur only on condition that the previous three are fully satisfied. When the society changes from one relatively stable equilibrium to another, the kinship terminology is most conservative. It cannot compete with sex, marriage, the family or community organization in the speed by which the disequilibrium operates. The reader should notice that in the case of keva there is no change in the terminology, but rather a subtle change of the meaning of that term.¹⁰ Initially a slang word, it is gradually being accepted as a "standard" one. STARA - "the old one" has milder, yet similar slang qualities with keva.

FATHER

The standard term is OTAC.

TATA is the term most often used by children. Reduplication of the syllable indicates that the possible origin is probably in baby talk. TATICA is the diminutive of the above and increases the affection. CACA is the palatalized form of tata and is used by that segment of the population that does not use the term tata. Any

¹⁰ There is no evidence that keva has ever had a secondary meaning.

individual is apt to be selective and to use only one of the two, but not both. The diminutive equivalent for *ćaća* does not exist. *TATKO* is used by Serbs along the Bulgarian border, and definitely is influenced by Bulgarian.¹¹ *TAKA* is the Serbian abbreviation of the preceding term. *BÂBO* is the only term that is borrowed from Turkish.¹¹ It has three features that are discussed under separate topics: the question of the influence of the foreign terminology upon Serbian; the question of accent in the Serbian language, and finally the question of the nominative and vocative case in Serbian. One should notice that one of the terms for a grandmother is *bàba*, whose vocative case is *bàbo*. For the father - *bâbo*, the nominative and vocative case are identical. Consequently, the vocative case for both a grandmother and a father - *babo* - is identical in form only. The accent is normally not written in Serbian. The pronunciation is quite different and no one can have any doubt whom the reference is to, once the term is uttered. The vocative case is not only preferred, but indeed the only proper one and is always used when directly addressing a person. In direct address it is obvious who is the object of address. Those people who refer to the father as *bâbo* usually choose some other form of addressing the grandmother, and vice versa; those that use *bàba* for the grandmother never refer to the father with the term *bâbo*. The Turkish form for the father is *baba*, but the accent differs from the Serbian one. *BABAJKO* is

11 Discussed separately under the heading: Foreign influence on the Serbian kinship terminology and kinship system.

the Serbian modification of the Turkish term baba. In the Turkish language, however, there is nothing similar. STARI - "the old one" - if used as a masculine noun in the nominative singular, is similar in implication to the term stara for the mother.

BROTHER

The standard term is BRAT.

The non-standard terms are BATA, BRACA, BAJA and BRALE. The first three are used to show affection, but also for another reason. Discussing the criteria for the kinship category, it was said, under No. 7 that relative age is, strictly speaking, ignored in the Serbian kinship terminology. However, when siblings are involved, the eldest sibling is apt to be called by the kin term rather than being referred to by a personal name. The eldest brother, then, would be called by one of the non-standard terms and never by the standard one. This is in conformity with the rule of primogeniture, that is recognized in Serbian social life. BRALE is the term applied to the brother only in exceptional circumstances. It could be used as a reference to a relative and sometimes is used in that way. More often it is used to designate the non-kin brother, that is to say the brother by association, rather than the brother by consanguinity. Brale is a term usually employed by a person referring to a younger one than himself with whom he is not well acquainted. The diminutive for brat is bratić, but it does not have the meaning of a brother, but of his son. In order to distinguish the real brother from the other, it is customary to say RODJENI BRAT - "the born brother", i.e. the sibling, the child of the same parents.

SISTER

The standard term is SESTRA.

SEKA, SEJA and DADA are non-standard terms that are used in referring to the eldest sister similar to those mentioned for the brother. Primogeniture in the socio-cultural meaning is applied only to the males. Kinship terminology recognizes primogeniture also for the girls. Only the eldest one is called by the non-standard term, while all the succeeding ones, regardless of their number, are called by personal name. SESTRICA is a diminutive and normally is not employed as a term constantly, but only sporadically. There is a pronounced tendency to abbreviate a term and, in that way, show affection. Diminutives, because of their desinences, are longer. That is the reason why they are not frequently employed in the everyday speech.

SON

The standard term is SIN.

SINKO and SINAK are the alternatives. These terms are not in common use. The personal name, with unlimited variations, plus complimentary nicknames are preferred.

DAUGHTER

This is a primary relative that defies our division on standard and non-standard terms. It is not possible to decide which one is the most conservative. The reason lies in the nature of the morphology of the language. A dislike for the initial cluster of KČ resulted in truncation of the initial K, so that original KČERKA

was modified to ^{/'}CERKA.¹² By further elimination the term assumed the form of ^{/'}CER or, if original K is preserved, it would be ^{/'}KČER. Sometimes the initial K is replaced by ^ˇŠ, so that the form is ^{ˇ/'}ŠČER. The alternate form is ^{/'}KČI and with the replacement of the initial consonant is ^{ˇ/'}ŠČI.

FaBr

In the case of the parents' brothers the bifurcation appears. So, the father's brother is STRIC, with the affectionate forms STRIKO, STRIKA, STRIČEK. ČIČA and ČIKA are originally also the terms for the FaBr. Now every person in the generation older than ego's is Čika. It is of interest to note that this form of respect for the elders assumes the form of the FaBr and never of the MoBr (ujak). If speculation has its place here, then the reason for this could be sought in the principle of patrilineal descent. ČIKO is the alternative form for Čika and is discussed under the general topic of the vocative.

MoBr

Bifurcation is fully operating and not one of the combined number of thirteen terms for MoBr and FaBr is identical. Beside the standard term UJAK and the diminutive UJKICA, also the two other forms exist: UJKA and UJA. The alternatives for the last two are UJKO and UJO following the general rule that is stated elsewhere in this paper.

12 Which term is chronologically older, ^{/'}čerka or ^{/'}kčerka, is not possible to state with certainty.

FaSi and MoSi

Bifurcation, when concerning sisters of the parents, ceases to exist. This inequality in the kinship terms cannot be explained otherwise than culturally and historically. MoBr enjoyed a different status than FaBr and hence the difference in the term. The parents' sisters, on the other hand, were not significantly differentiated and, consequently, we have a merging of the two owing to the principle of immateriality. The two are functionally unimportant and, consequently, a sufficient basis for their differentiation is lacking.

FaSiHu and MoSiHu

The terms are merged again as was described in the preceding paragraph. They both are associated with the ego's family through marriage with the ego's consanguineal relatives. Because of this they are similar in the kinship terms with their wives who are closer to ego. The terms of ^VTEČA or TETAK are geographically distributed, with the western part of Serbia favouring the latter. The fact that they are of the favoured male sex is overruled by the fact that they are related to ego through the females, where differentiation is less rigidly enforced.

FaBrWi

The term for FaBrWi is STRINA. There is a striking similarity to the term for her husband (FaBr).

MoBrWi

The term for MoBrWi is UJNA. Again we see the similarity in the term with her husband (MoBr). Strina and ujna are both females

and have the same distance from ego as have their male counterparts - tečā. Yet they are terminologically differentiated, while paternal and maternal SiHu are not. The explanation for this occurrence may be sought in the same general rule, as the explanation for FaSiHu and MoSiHu. The sex of the relative is not as important as the sex of the connecting relative. In both cases the sex of the connecting relative is male and therefore their wives are entitled to the separate terms.

COUSIN

Of the six types described in literature for the cousin term,¹³ Serbian cousin terms are most similar to the so-called Hawaiian type, but by no means identical. In the Hawaiian cousin terminology all cross and parallel cousins are called by the same terms as those used for the siblings. The author feels that the only justice to the Serbian cousin kin terms would be to name them "Serbian type". However, it would create a seventh distinct category, which probably could not be justified, at least unless several other ethnically different kinship terminologies are employing the same type. The intention of this paper is to state facts and not to contribute to the general anthropological nomenclature. Taking all this into consideration, and avoiding the possible accusation of ethnocentrism, the author must emphatically state that Serbian cousin

13 Eskimo, Hawaiian, Iroquais, Sudanese, Omaha, Crow.

One should bear in mind that English cousin-terms are of the "Eskimo" type. It is also noteworthy to state that the English kinship terminology in general is of the Eskimo type.

kin-terms are not of the Hawaiian type, but "quasi-Hawaiian".

Cross-cousins and parallel-cousins have exactly the same status.

In the same generation with ego we see the same terminology, hence we may expect and indeed find the same pattern of behaviour.

"Persons toward whom ego behaves in the same manner he will call by the same term; ... persons to whom ego behaves in a different manner he will call by different terms".(S. Tax 1937: 20-1)

Ego acts toward all relatives in his age group (both male and female) as toward his siblings. There is no such a thing as a cross-cousin joking relationship or avoidance, as is observed in other societies. Cousins are called by the same term as siblings for the sake of simplicity in everyday speech. In the discussion of the siblings it was stated that when ego wants to be precise, without leaving any doubt as to his connection to the siblings, he employs the additional phrase rodjeni. Similarly, when precision is required for cousins one has to mention the connecting relatives. The parent of the cousin is always mentioned and that is always the one that is the ego's parents' sibling regardless of the sex. In referring to the cousin then, the male is mentioned twice (FaBr, MoBr) and the female twice (FaSi and MoSi). Theoretically, then, there are eight possibilities. We have already shown that the terms for the FaSi and MoSi are merged, and consequently the number of cousin terms must be reduced by two, so that the total number is six. They are: BRAT OD STRICA, SESTRA OD STRICA, BRAT OD UJAKA, SESTRA OD UJAKA, BRAT OD TETKE, SESTRA OD TETKE. For the first four the terms are denotative. For the last two each term applies to the two cousins:

MoSiCh and FaSiCh. This inconsistency conforms to the terms of the parents' siblings already explained. The alternate forms are:
brat od strica = STRIČEVIĆ; brat od ujaka = UJEVIĆ; brat od tetke = TETKIĆ.

FaFa and MoFa

In the second ascending generation from ego bifurcation ceases to exist. The standard term is DEDA. The affectionate form is DEKA or DEDICA. To differentiate deda from his brothers, he is called RODJENI DEDA.

FaMo and MoMo

The standard term is BABA.

The alternative is BAKA. STARAMAJKA is the only derivative term¹⁴ found in a total of five generations including ego's own. NAKA and the modification of naka - NANA are of particular interest. When the terms for mother were discussed, the term nana was mentioned. It must be repeated that the segment of the population that uses the term nana for grandmother never uses the same term for mother. The generation criterion in creating the kin terms is a rule without a single standard exception.

In the generation of ego's grandparents, bifurcation ceases to exist. It is recognizable only in the generation which precedes his own, and that which follows his own, making up a total of two generations. Ego's own generation is not included in this.

¹⁴ Non-standard.

FaFaFa and MoFaFa

This is the first generation that employs compound terms.¹⁵ The term for great-grandparents is a compound word, consisting of the term for grandparents and the prefix PRA- which means pre- or before. The term is PRADEDA.

FaFaFaFa

The next older generation uses the same stem as the grandparents, but adds a different prefix. This time it is ČUKUN and the term is ČUKUNDEDA.

FaFaFaFaFa

A surprise awaits in the generation which precedes the former. Here the prefix Čukun is disregarded and the term comes back to the prefix pra, which was in the third generation from ego. This time (fifth generation before ego) the prefix pra is used again, but now it is reduplicated. In the fifth generation removed from ego there is the reduplication of the prefix for the first time. For the sake of comparison it should be noted that the English equivalent is great-great-great-grandfather; thus triple reduplication where the Serbian has the first one. The term for the male in the fifth generation level before ego is PRA-PRADEDA. It is necessary to explain this in order to show how one can form an unlimited number of terms for many generations which precedes ego's own. For each

15 In English the first generation next to ego have compounds.

preceding generation another pra is added; thus the male in the sixth generation before ego is PRA-PRA-PRADEDA and in that fashion it could be carried on for a theoretically unlimited number of generations. This is very important for an illiterate society which had a very highly developed oral literature. The tradition of stories about heroes in battles against the enemy (the Turks) was highly developed and extremely elaborate. Ego knew exactly to which generation his progenitor belonged. This was not important for achieving personal social status or as a claim to a certain inherited rights; it was merely an account of events, which held the interest of the whole society and were somewhere on the borderline between legend and history. A curious phenomenon is observed. With the introduction of literacy on a large scale and the desintegration of the zadruga, the average person knows less and less about his forefathers. The number of preceding generations that he is aware of, and interested in, is diminishing. Whether this is an occurrence of a positive or negative value we shall not judge. It is worth noting, however, that the relationship changed not only among living persons, but the attitude toward the dead progenitors was also subject to modification.

BrSo

While the diminutives for some other kin terms are still the designation of the same relation, the diminutive of the brat - BRATIĆ means a brother's son, not the brother himself. The connotation of "little brother" is appropriate for the brother's male offspring. BRATANAC, BRATUČED, BRATUČE and BRATUČIĆ are variants.

SINOVAC has in origin some similarities to bratić. The standard term for son is sin, and it is obvious that sinovac is derivative, although not a diminutive. It is a denotative term applied only to the BrSo. Both terms bratić and sinovac are a demonstration of the preferential treatment of the trio: brother, son and BrSo.

BrDa

Linguistically and socio-culturally the same applies to the BrDa as was said for her sibling. The terms BRATIĆINA and BRATANICA are derivatives of brat. However, the term SINOVICA requires some clarification. It is said that her sibling - sinovac, has a derivational term from sin, and that he is considered like a "little son", not "rodjeni sin". The BrSo's status is close to the status of one's own offspring, but still not identical. One would normally expect that the term for the BrDa should be a derivative form from the term for daughter. Such is not the case. Sinovica is the feminine form of the masculine sinovac, disregarding the initial gender, or rather sex. In the term itself sex is still duly credited, but the circumlocution through which the term is derived is rather involved.

SiSo

SESTRIC is a derivative from sestra. The alternate form is NEČAK.

SiDa

SESTRICINA and NEČAKINJA occur approximately in equal frequencies.

SiHu DaHu HuSiHu¹⁶

The terms for the three relatives are merged in ZET. Alternative ZETONJA is augmentative, but it is meant as good-natured humor. Those that use this alternative are well meaning, and the term has achieved that connotation. If a person wants to use the derogatory term, then he would never use a kin-term, but would be forced to seek it outside the kinship terminology. Of all the Serbian kin terms there is no single one which would have a definite uncomplicated meaning. Svekrva and tašta can be close to it, but the implication is not definite. ŠOGOR is discussed elsewhere. Beside the three relatives merged in zet, šogor is classificatory term for the three others, making a total of six.

BrWi SowI

SNAJA is the female equivalent of the male zet. The reader will notice that the term is relevant only to the two relatives, while zet is relevant to three. Here lies one of the problems which will be stated, but the author has no hypothesis for its solution. The problem will be stated in the section on the affinal relatives. ŠOGORICA is an adaptation of the male šogor according to the genius of the Serbian language, utterly disregarding its original language and original form. More on that problem will be mentioned in the separate section of foreign influences. Šogorica is classificatory term for the six relatives, the same as a male counterpart - šogor, but šogorica competes with Serbian snaja for only two relatives,

16 For the female ego speaking.

while šogor is compared with Serbian zet for three relatives. Alternatives are SNAJKA, SNAHA and SNA. SNAŠA is primarily a kin-term, but it has assumed a specific meaning. It is usually a term of address for the young, married peasant woman.¹⁷ To narrow down the classificatory term snaja her husband is mentioned, for example SNA ZA SINOVCEM.

SoSo DaSo

The standard term is UNUK.

A diminutive (UNUČE), which happens to be neuter in gender,¹⁸ could be used alternatively for SoSo, DaSo and for the SoDa, DaDa, The more common use is for SoSo or DaSo.

SoDa DaDa

The standard term is UNUKA.

The diminutive is UNUČICA.

PRAUNUK and ČUKUNUNUK conform to the general rule that have been laid down for the corresponding generations on the ascending line. To recite them would be a repetition. A clear indication of them is found in the table.

17 The middle aged one is addressed as strina, while the older one is baka. It is of interest to note that inhabitants of the cities for the middle aged women use the term tetka or teta (MoSi) rather than strina (FaSi). A possible explanation for this occurrence must be of a speculative nature; and will be not attempted here.

18 All diminutives in Serbian are not necessarily of the neuter gender.

PRA-PRAUNUK

Generally speaking it is no exception to the above-mentioned rule. However, it has one additional feature which is unique in the Serbian kinship terminology. Namely, this is the single exception of the sex criterion. It is also a single instance where the kinship term is other than the morphoneme which semantically designates the kin. The alternate form is BELA PČELA and the literal meaning in English is "The White Bee". The reason for this breaking of the norm for Serbian kinship terminology is not known. We shall suggest a possible explanation without claiming the validity or exclusiveness of the explanation. In the Serbian language there exists an idiomatic expression "Bela vrana". The literal English translation is "A White Crow", or an idiomatic English equivalent is "A Black Sheep". A crow is black in colour and, therefore, "a white crow" indicates an exceptional rarity. A crow is a bird that has no pleasant association among the Serbs, while a bee is regarded as one of the most useful creatures. It is possible that ordinary "Bela vrana" was replaced by "Bela pčela" because of the extraordinary affection among the relatives. PRA-PRAUNUK or bela pčela is the fifth descending generation from ego. If we take the generations twenty years apart, ego would have to be a hundred years old at the time of birth of the bela pčela. It is then obvious why ego has so seldom a bela pčela. It may also in a way explain the disregard for the sex criterion. Ego has very little interest in determining the sex of a newly born baby five generations and one century his junior.

One cannot apply the same rule for the generations which follow ego as can be done for the generations which precede him, for the simple reason that ego's life time does not allow him to see more than four succeeding generations, and on very rare occasions five. Theoretically, however one may do the same as for the generations older than ego (in adding pra), but this would have no practical applications.

AFFINAL RELATIVES

In the preceding section it was shown that the kin terms remain identical regardless of the speaker's sex. This is valid for the consanguineal relatives only, and not for the affinal. Relatives connected to ego through marriage have a separate denotative assignation. Affinal relatives enjoy practically the same status as consanguineal. In terminology this is exercised by one-word terms for affinal as for the consanguineal relatives. For example, the relationship -in-law is expressed in one single word. This implies closer association between the two groups. The terms will be briefly examined, first for the male ego speaking, and then for the female ego speaking.

MALE EGO SPEAKING

WIFE

The standard term is ^YŽENA.

The morphoneme ^Yžena has a multiple semantic charge. Beside

being a kin term for a wife, it also means a woman in general and also has a connotation of non-virgin. The wife is one of the three¹⁹ relatives that do not have an exclusive kin-term for themselves without being a homonym. Another term for a wife is SUPRUGA which is not the most common one, but which enjoys the exclusiveness of term, without sharing it with the non-kin meaning. The third term is GOSPODJA, which is the least common and whose meaning primarily is non-kin. It is Mrs., being the calque from the German.²⁰ The terms LJUBA and LJUBOVCA are found only in the folk literature and are seldom used in everyday speech.²¹ The fact that the female name "Ljuba"²² also exists is purely a coincidence. The term LJUBOVCA should not be confused with the similar word "ljubavnica" - a mistress, which is, of course, not a kin-term.

WiBr

The standard term is ŠURAK.

Wife's primary and some of the secondary relatives have denotative terms.²³ WiBr is šurak, with the affectionate form ŠURA. The alternate form of šogor is discussed elsewhere.

19 The other two: husband and "Bela pčela".

20 Die Frau. The term Žena (as German Weib) is considered to be employed only by those of lower intellectual status.

21 Both terms are now somewhat archaic.

22 Abbreviation of "Ljubica".

23 Compare with English where all the affinal relatives are -in-law.

WiBrWi

The standard term is denotative [✓]SURNJAJA. The alternate [✓]SOGORICA is merged with five others.

WiSi

The standard term is SVASTIKA.

Both SVAS and SVAJA are pronouncedly affectionate. [✓]SOGORICA is collateral merged type. In the Serbian language the word swastika is known. It is pronounced the same as the standard term for the WiSi, regardless of the difference in spelling.²⁴ Swastika is known only to the small number of people interested in archaeology. In their jargon it is a pre-Greek ornament, used in our time by the Nazi Germany. The identity is purely coincidental. The confusion never occurs between the two.

WiSiHu

The standard term is [✓]PAŠENOG.

The affectionate term is [✓]PAŠA, being the abbreviation of the former. The form of the abbreviation is one that could be normally expected. It coincides with the title of the Turkish high military and governmental official.²⁵ The abbreviated form, therefore, is both incidental and deliberate, if a pun is intended. [✓]SOGOR is again a collateral merged term shared with five others.

24 In the Cyrillic alphabet there is no difference in spelling (свастика)

25 Paša.

WiFa

The standard, and the only existing term is TAST.

WiMo

Here the segmentary democracy and compactness of relatives consanguineal as well as affinal, should be particularly stressed. The affection, mutual love and help between relatives can never be overemphasized as applied on Serbs. The only exception to this is the universally known peculiar relationship between son-in-law and mother-in-law. The son-in-law refers to his mother-in-law by two different terms and neither is complimentary in its etymological meaning. They are either TASTA or PUNICA. English equivalent for *tasta* would be the vane woman, while the term *punica* is equivalent to the thick woman or the fat woman or "fatty". Gradual change is occurring insofar as the former mild avoidance and probably also mild hidden hostility is being gradually replaced by an ingenious, mostly well-intended form of humour.

FEMALE EGO SPEAKING

HUSBAND

The standard term is MUŽ.

In the contemporary language it only means a husband. Archaically it meant any male of marriageable age and older, who enjoys a certain social prestige. The archaic nominative plural for one with the secondary meaning is mužī. The nominative plural for

husband is muževi. In order to avoid any possible misunderstanding it is of interest to note that Serbian marriage rules are monoandrous and never polyandrous. Therefore, the form muževi is only of philological interest, as opposed to archaic muži. Muževi then socially indicate the husbands of as many women, and does not imply polyandry. SUPRUG is the alternative. ČOVEK is the male counterpart for the female žena, being its antonym. Besides serving as a kin term, its secondary meaning is a man. GOSPODIN is the antonym of gospodja and as a non-kin term means mister. GOSPODAR is fading out of use, because of the social changes that are affecting the kinship relations within the nuclear family and particularly the wife-husband relationship. It means a lord and, until the end of the last century, was in the common use. It is now completely eliminated from the serious kinship terminology. If sporadically used, it has definite joking overtones. In the conclusion of this paper it will be stated to a larger degree that no Serbian kin term, once universally incorporated into the language, is ever eliminated. Gospodar is not primarily a kin-term and the gradual elimination of it is not in conflict with the general rule.

HuBr

The standard term is DEVER.

The palatalized form of the previous is DJEVER. Dever should not be confused with ručni dever.²⁶

26 See the ceremonial kin!

HuBrWi

The standard term is JETRVA.

Jetrva is the only affinal kin-term in Serbian where polarity is ignored. It is concomitant with their status in the extended or rather joint-family where the wives of two or more brothers enjoy mutual equality. The jetrva, the wife of the oldest brother, has a husband who enjoys preferential treatment because of primogeniture. It is limited only to him and is not transferred in any way upon his wife. The brothers, then may have a different status, while their wives are equal among themselves. The system is adequately represented in the kinship terminology. [✓] SOGORICA is again appearing as a classificatory term.

HuSi

The standard term is ZAOPA.

Zaopa is the single elementary kin term in Serbian that has a diphthong.²⁷ That is probably the reason why the language did not go into the invention of synonyms, comparable to other relatives. Euphonism of the term was perhaps on the highest level. Any synonym would only be an anticlimax.

HuSiHu

The term for the HuSiHu is ZET. This is one of the problems which this paper will present, but for which it offers no solution. Under the heading of the WiSiHu it is stated that the standard term

27 Along with the derivatives of zaopa - zaović and zaovićina.

is pašenog, and that even a non-standard term - paša - is in existence. Both standard and non-standard terms are denotative, that is to say that they are specific in the sense that they belong to the single kinship category, the category being specific for sex, generation and genealogical connection. On the other hand, the term for HuSiHu is the classificatory term zet. Zet is the term for a person who occupies several kinship categories. Why the language was selective for the WiSiHu, and indiscriminative for the HuSiHu is the question. The difference cannot be explained by any of the rules that are operating in the creation of the Serbian kinship terminology. The only criterion where a possible answer might be sought is in the criterion of bifurcation. It is, however, not clear enough to justify any definite claim. Collaterally HuSiHu and WiSiHu are on an equal basis. Regarding generation, sex, affinity and relative age they are identical.

HuBrSo

The term is DEVERIČIĆ or DEVERIĆ with the palatitized forms DJEVERIČIĆ and DJEVERIĆ. The corresponding form for the WiBrSo does not exist. All these terms are similar in form to the usual form of the Serbian family names. Some of them are even identical. The desinence -IĆ means a descendant of. In all the terms for HuBrSo the derivation comes from the term dever, and hence the identity in the form itself.

HuSiDa

The term is DEVERIČNA.

The term for the WiBrDa is non-existent.

HuSiSo

The term is ZAOVIC¹.

The term is derivative of zaova - his mother. The fact that the term is derived from zaova - female, and not from her husband kin term conforms to the rule of the collaterality. Zaova is closer to ego than her husband.

HuSiDa

The term is ZAOVIC¹INA.

Regarding the derivation, the same is true as what was said for her brother in the preceding paragraph.

HuMo

The daughter-in-law refers to her mother-in-law as SVEKRVA, with the pun form svekriva, which literally means "guilty for everything".

HuFa

The term is SVEKAR.

The father-in-law on both sides (tast and svekar) is saved from the uncomplimentary nomenclature similar to his wife, mother-in-law.

SoWiFa DaHuFa

The standard term is PRIJATELJ.

The word has also the meaning of a "friend". The non-standard term is PRIKA, which is denotative. The rule of the semantic exclusiveness of the kinship morphonemes is still unbroken, bearing in mind the exclusiveness of prika.

SoWoMo DaHuMo

The term is PRIJA.

The female equivalent of the male prijatelj does not exist, as a kin term (prijateljica).

GRAPHICALLY NON-REPRESENTED KIN TERMS

There are some kin terms still awaiting a device for their graphical representation. Any such device would encounter innumerable obstacles because of the differences in the kin systems. The odds are overwhelming against such a device. We shall not propose any invention. The reader should be aware that the terms that follow cannot be found in the enclosed tables. They are, nevertheless, listed twice: in the general inventory of all the kin terms and in the separate listing for the graphically non-represented kin terms. These terms must be of necessity descriptive and sometimes periphrastic.

SIBLING

Let us begin with the negative one. Sibling is a unique kin-term found in English²⁸ that is lacking in Serbian. It does not mean that the Serbian kinship terms are less elaborate and less numerous. One glance at the tables or the inventory of terms will

²⁸ The English word "sibling" is a learned one and not generally known or used. German die Geschwister is more commonly used, but it has a serious limitation being a pluralia tantum.

show the opposite. The lack of the term for a sibling needs, under these circumstances, some explanation. Considering the individual terms, it was repeatedly implied or stressed that the Serbian kin-terms approach the ideal denotative system.²⁹ The terminology is interested more in the concrete relative, than in the abstract relations which may or may not be encountered in life. Such an argument is not universally applied to the Serbian kin-terms. Spouses, parents, children all have terms. Out of the four possible sets of primary relatives³⁰ only the term for siblings is missing, while the terms for the other three exist. The argument for precision in kin terminology is not valid unless applied to all four sets of relatives. Notwithstanding the above, siblings have a significant difference from the other sets. They are the only consanguineal relations in the same generation. The other three sets do not meet one of the two conditions that siblings do.

SPOUSES

Serbian kin terminology has a sex distinction for the spouses. The "he spouse" is SUPRUG, while "she spouse" is a SUPRUGA. The alternate form for suprug - SUPRUŽNIK - is not in common use. The female equivalent of SUPRUŽNICA is known, but almost completely out of use. The common term for the husband and wife pair is SUPRUŽNICI.

29 The ideal denotative system does not exist.

30 Siblings, spouses, parents, children.

CHILDREN

The term for a child is DETE. It does not specify sex, as opposed to suprug or supruga where gender (and sex) is marked. The noun dete is neuter in gender. It is concomitant with the Serbian general rule that the animated nouns are of the neuter gender if they designate the young person or creature. The plural of dete is DEDA.

POSOPAC

A son consecutively born, without an intervening daughter is a POSOPAC. Consequently, posopac could not be the first born son. The number of the sons termed posopac is not limited. The noun is more often used in the plural describing two or more sons - POSOPCI.

MEZIMAC

The last child born is MEZIMAC or MEZIMČE if a son, and MEZIMICA if a daughter. IZTRIŠČE is the alternative term, but it does not specify the sex. While mezimac (mezimče, mezimica) is a sign of a great affection, iztrišče is somewhat dubious in origin and in connotation. Undoubtedly out of the two terms iztrišče is less frequently used, and definitely less affectionate than the former. Having a specific term for the last born child may imply the system of ultimogeniture. In discussing the son, it was said that the Serbian system is a system of primogeniture. Kinship terminology seems to contradict the social rule. However, the youngest child beside the term itself has no other privileges.

PARENTS

The term for parent is RODITELJ. It happens that grammatically the noun roditelj is of masculine gender. The kin term, however, does not specify the sex of the parent. It could be either mother or father. The plural is RODITELJI.

PRARODITELJI

In the preceding paragraph the term for parents is given as roditelji. Elsewhere the system is elaborated according to which, by means of the preposition pra-, the terms for the preceding generations are devised. It has been said that the term for grandfather is deda, and the term for great-grandfather is pradedo. The prefix pra- indicates one generation further removed from ego. The term PRARODITELJI does not conform to the rule that was given for the ego's parents, where specific sex is indicated. The term praroditelji then, has the meaning of the ancestors without limiting itself to any particular generation. The alternative is STARI - the old ones. This stari is the plural, and should be distinguished from the singular stari, the alternate form for father.

PORODICA

PORODICA is a term in Serbian that designates a nuclear family and nothing else. It would be not appropriate to label it as a denotative term, because it is not a single relative, but rather a group of people with special interrelations. The term porodica does not further specify whether it is a complete or incomplete nuclear family. In the collective conscious of the nation, porodica implies the complete nuclear family, but the incomplete nuclear family would be again designated as a porodica, although somewhat reluctantly.

FAMILIJA

This term, because of the similarity to the English term (family³¹) requires a special emphasis. FAMILIJA is a term that means relatives in the broadest sense. Familija is a collective noun by which all the consanguineal and affinal relatives are enveloped. It excludes the ceremonial kin. The Serbian peasants sometimes tend to replace the initial F with V. Thus, the peasant colloquial form is VAMILIJA.

RODJAK

RODJAK is a relative in the broadest sense without any commitment as to the collaterality. All the range from primary to quinary relatives could be included in this term.³² The only criterion that the term recognizes is that of sex: rodjak (or RODJA) is a male relative, while RODJAKA is a female. RODJACI is the plural and identical in meaning with familija. ROJBINA is a collective noun, and the question of number (whether singular or plural) is inappropriate. It implies the multiplicity, although grammatically it is singular. SVOJTA is derivative from the morphoneme svoj which means one's own. A claim that all kin-terms are morphonemes with exclusive kin-semantics is still valid, notwithstanding the derivative

31 Historically the English term "family" has been subjected to semantic change. Originally it had a similar meaning to the Serbian familija. It shows a clear tendency to a narrowing down of the meaning. At the present time it means a nuclear family. In colloquial English, however, it has undergone further narrowing and means only someone's children. Whether the term will undergo any further narrowing in meaning is impossible to predict.

32 There is a tendency to apply this term to more distant relatives, and also to exclude completely the primary relatives from this term.

svojta. Svojta is a collective noun indicating a plurality and not the individual. Therefore, it is not required that the morphoneme has the exclusive of primary kin designation.

STRICEVINA

The term STRICEVINA indicates all the relatives of ego who are connected to him through stric. Everyone in the stric's affinal family is lumped together in the term stricevina. STRICEVIĆI in the narrow sense designates only the children of stric, while in the broader sense it is identical in meaning to stricevina. There is still a further subtle differentiation in meaning between stricevina and stricevići. Stricevina assumes a quality of a quasi-abstract noun with the very broad meaning of everything that is in one way or another connected with the stric. Beside the relatives of stric it also implies the place of residence and any qualitative or quantitative trait of anything that is centered around the stric. Stricevići, on the other hand, has the qualities of a concrete noun with the strict limitation of meaning solely to the kin.

UJEVINA

UJEVINA and UJEVIĆI are the equivalent for ujak of what is written in the preceding paragraph regarding stricevina and stricevići.

TETKIĆI

The corresponding form for tetka, similar to stricevina or ujevina does not exist. The term TETKIĆI means, then, all the persons

who are connected through kin-ties to the tetka.³³

PRIJATELJI

The term for prija, prijatelj and their relatives is PRIJATELJI. The word is a homonym of the nominative plural of prijatelj. Prijatelji, then, beside designating the relatives, also has a meaning of friends. Nevertheless, if employed as a kin-term, it resists any further productivity by the way of derivatives.³⁴

GENERACIJA

GENERACIJA is not the precise equivalent of the English "generation". It indicates the distance of relatives from ego not only vertically in the descending or ascending generations, but also it states the horizontal distance: the number of the lineal and collateral relatives standing between the ego and the particular relative. KOLENO,³⁵ or the palatitized form KOLJENO is the indigenous word for generation.

PO KRVI; PO MLEKU

Consanguineal and affinal relatives³⁶ are called in Serbian the relatives PO KRVI³⁷ and relatives PO MLEKU³⁸ respectively.

33 Note that tetka is FaSi and MoSi, while stric and ujak are FaBr and MoBr respectively.

34 The productivity is unlimited: prijateljstvo, prijateljski, neprijatelj, neprijateljstvo, neprijateljski, prijateljica etc.

35 It is also a homonym for a "knee".

36 Often called the family of procreation and family of orientation respectively.

37 By blood. 38 By milk.

The comparison with the kinship system in both China and India (Jossellin de Jong 1952:26) forces itself. In China and India there is the distinction of "bone and flesh", as applying to paternal and maternal side respectively. Designating the lineal, biological descent, the kinship terminology seeks some concrete representation. It is found either in the parts of the human body³⁹ or in its significant secretion, such as milk. The Serbian system of descent is predominantly patrilineal. It is reflected in the idioms of po krvi and po mleku. Blood is considered the main ingredient of the human body which is essential for all the physiological occurrences, including procreation itself. Milk, on the other hand, is considered definitely inferior to blood in the order of general importance. There is a proverb KRV NIJE VODA⁴⁰ which, in a less often used, modified form is KRV NIJE MLEKO⁴¹ clearly indicating the superiority of blood over milk, socio-culturally speaking.

39 Never in the parts that take the active part in procreation.

40 Blood is not water.

41 Blood is not milk.

CEREMONIAL KINSHIP

An overall tendency of the Serbian kinship system is the desire for the greatest possible expansion of the number of kin. The number of kin that anyone person can have is limited. In order to counteract that limitation the Serbian kinship system⁴² increases their number to a significant degree. There are several categories of ceremonial kin. Neither of them could be simultaneously either consanguineal or affinal in addition to a ceremonial kin. This means that the Serbs seek their potential ceremonial kin outside of their known kin. Each category will be examined separately.

KUM

Of all the ceremonial kin the KUM is regarded with the highest esteem. It is the term that designates both the best man and the godfather. The identicalness of the term shows the system by which the ceremonial kinship operates. Namely, it is one and the same person. In the view of the Serbs, a person who was of utmost importance at the wedding is a logical choice for the christening of the baby, the result of such a union. At the wedding the kum is the most important ceremonial kin; nevertheless he shares his position of honour with two other ceremonial kin: the stari svat and ručni dever. On the christening day, on the other hand, he is the sole ceremonial kin and upon him is bestowed undivided honour. Outside of the church ceremony, the kum has no specific duties or specific rites to perform. The selection of the kum is important. It is concomitant with the

42 Along with the number of other kin systems.

importance that kum will enjoy. A non-kin young adult to middle-aged man,⁴³ who is a very good friend of the individual or, more often, of the whole family, is desirable for a kum. A kum is often sought in a person who is of a slightly higher social status,⁴⁴ who enjoys a certain degree of prestige. The office of the kum is hereditary. Inheritance goes by the principle of the primogeniture. The eldest son inherits the right to continue being a kum for a particular family. The kum is the ceremonial kin-bond that connects people through generations. Some of the people cannot recollect the person who was the original kum. Although they have no written records, the people are able to trace at least three generations. Those that do not know when the first kum was selected, are thus assured that it happened at least four generations removed from ego. The kum is considered to be the spiritual father of the godchild, and it is also thought that he has some mystic union, on the spiritual plane, with the people whose wedding he "witnesses". Bearing this in mind it follows logically that the family is eager to preserve the relationship with the kum through as many generations as possible. The kum christens all the children regardless of their number. Under extraordinary circumstances the kum may cease to perform the duties at the wedding⁴⁵

43 Always a male and never a female.

44 Financial?

45 It is reported that in the traditional Montenegro society there were instances where the kum was entitled to ius primo noctis. Nothing similar is reported for the Serbs. Due to this there is a joking term in Serbian: CRNOGORSKI KUM - the kum from Montenegro.

and christening. These circumstances are limited in number and are well defined. Regarding the marriage they are: if one of the kumč⁴⁶ remains unmarried throughout life; if one of the kumč gets divorced or widowed while young, not due to natural causes, but by being killed in whatever way; if a spouse of one of the kumč becomes insane. Regarding the children the conditions are: if a couple does not produce children; if a woman has a spontaneous abortion; if the first two children in the family are girls; if the children die very young; if a child is born with a mental or physical disorder or acquires one later in life. Not a single one of the reasons listed warrants by itself the ceasetion of the kum-relationship. A reason is considered strong enough if two or more of the aforementioned misfortunes occur. Even then, the initiative for the break of the kum-kinship must always come from the kum himself and never from anyone else.⁴⁷

Traditionally the kum had the sole privilege of choosing a name for the child. During the christening ceremony, when the priest asks what is the child's name, the kum announces his decision. The parents are informed of the child's name at that time as is everyone else. Social change has not affected the hight on which the institution of the kum stands, but it has challenged his exclusive right to name the children. The social change developed in phases: first the kum informed the parents of the child's name in advance;

46 For this and all the conditions that follow sex is not specified; it includes both.

47 Including the affected people.

then in the next phase he consulted them; finally the kum asked the parents their wish regarding the child's name.

The kum never named the kumčē after himself. If he did, it would be considered an instance of the utmost immodesty. Some loosely defined pattern in naming children was prescribed, but not strictly observed. The children were not named after their parents, but after their grandparents. Every child has two sets of grandparents; thus every baby-boy has two grandfathers and every baby-girl two grandmothers. It is extremely rare for both grandfathers or both grandmothers to have the same first name. The problem then arises, which one to choose. That problem is solved ingeniously. The first child is named after the paternal grandparent, the second child after the maternal grandparent. If the custom is strictly followed and a nuclear family has more than four children, the problem poses itself again. This time the kum exercises his prerogative freely: he chooses the name that he likes best, or the one that he would like for himself if he were in a position to choose.

The kum is said to have equivalents in English in both the best man and the godfather. If one insists on being specific then the best man is called VENCANI KUM - the kum by marriage. KUMA is the feminine form of kum and it simply means kum's wife. The kuma is not the godmother, because at the christening ceremony her husband has all the prerogatives of the office. If kum is ego, then the christened child is his KUMČĚ or KUMIĆ. Kumčē is the neuter noun and applies both to boys and girls. Kumić is masculine and applies only to boys. The institution of the ceremonial kinship of kum is

called KUMSTVO. Besides designating the abstract noun of the institution, it also doubles with reference to all of the kum's previous relatives.

STARI SVAT

The descriptive term in the broadest sense is any kin-term that consists of more than one word. According to this extended rule, the STARI SVAT is a descriptive term, insofar as one is obliged to say both parts, and a semantic change occurs if either is omitted. Isolated they have following meaning: stari means old; svat is any guest at the wedding. Stari svat is THE senior guest, the one that becomes a ceremonial kin at the wedding. The alternate form is STAROJKO. After the kum, he is the most important guest at the wedding. After the wedding he has no more customary ceremonies to perform,⁴⁸ but he remains tied with the ceremonial kin for life.

RUČNI DEVER

According to the rule given above RUČNI DEVER is again a descriptive term. He is also a ceremonial kin, acquired during the marriage ceremony. Unlike the kum or starojko, the ručni dever has specific duties during the wedding; namely, he constantly accompanies the bride.⁴⁹ The ručni dever takes the bride to church for the wedding ceremony, and later, during the wedding feast, he is the one

48 Unlike the kum, who christens the offsprings.

49 This is a "cultural clash" with the Anglo-Saxons, where anybody but a female companion for the bride is unthinkable.

who accompanies and leads the bride wherever she goes.⁵⁰ The descriptive term ručni dever should not be confused with the denotative term dever, which is a HuBr. Occasionally the dever (HuBr) can perform the duty of the ručni dever. Levirate is not implied.

NAKONJČE

The NAKONJČE is a two or three-years-old child, previously unrelated, who also becomes a ceremonial kin during the marriage. The custom is that the bride, upon returning from the church to the home, lifts the nakonjce as high up as she can and kisses him. The significance of the custom is of no concern to this thesis. What is important is that the nakonjce becomes a ceremonial kin. The total number of the ceremonial kin acquired during the wedding is four. Nakonjče is a composite derivative word: na - on; konj - a horse. The traditional means of transportation for the occasion of the wedding was a horse. A bride lifted the nakonjče on the horse, usually handed to her by the ručni dever. The means of transportation has changed, but the term nakonjče has not. This strengthens the theory that of the changes in the kinship system, the terminology is the most resistant. If it ever does change it is the last to do so.

POBRATIM

There is a device to acquire a ceremonial "brother". Two young adults can achieve a permanent bond by becomming POBRATIMI.⁵¹

50 In contemporary slang ručni dever (or dever) is a member of the open or secret police force who arrests and accompanies a person to prison.

51 Plural form.

There are various reasons for such a decision. It is of course, up to the individuals concerned to reach a decision to become pobratimi. The "true" relation is the relation "by blood" as was said above. For this reason the ceremony included some ritual mixing of blood of the two persons. One may assume that this custom existed in pagan, pre-christian time. After christianization the term became descriptive in the form of BOGOM POBRATIM - the pobratim by God. The ceremony was performed in the church building or somewhere else,⁵² but always by the priest himself. The abstract noun for the institution is POBRATIMSTVO.

POSESTRIMA

For POSESTRIMA the same is true as was said in the previous paragraph, with the difference that two female persons are involved.

As an illustration of the extraordinary desire of the Serbs to expand their kin, one should emphasize that the pobratim or posestrima are not limited to one's own sex. Two persons of the opposite sex can tie a permanent bond through pobratimstvo. They may be of any age, and the marital status is immaterial. Neither, or one of the two, or both may be married. If neither is married, then the pobratimstvo excludes them as a possible marriage partners of one another.

POSVOJAK

The adopted child is POSVOJAK or POSVOJČE for a boy, and POSVOJKA for a girl. The adoption of children by non-kin occurred

⁵² Cemetery, home.

very seldom, since the "holy duty" for the relatives was to take full care of the child in need.

VERENICI

Fiancé and fiancée together are VERENICI.⁵³ Fiance is VERENIK, and fiancée is VERENICA. When two people become verenici and the date of the wedding is specified, they are immediately considered as being kin. If in the meantime one of them dies or loses his/her life, the relationship between the two families continues regardless of the fact that the two were not actually married.

OCUH

The stepfather is ⁵⁴OCUH or POOCIM. Neither of the two is a compassionate term. The Serbs have a great affection for the "real" kin and for the ceremonial kin. A notable exception are the step-parents. In the collective consciousness of the nation they are identified with villains. In the terminology it is also reflected. The two terms for the stepfather (neither complimentary) should be compared with the ten terms for a father. One of these latter is the standard term, and all of the remaining nine are affectionate variants.

MACEHA

The step-mother has one more term than the stepfather, but she has the least favourable place among the relatives. In the opinion

53 Serbian kinship terminology lacks the term for siblings. English lacks the term for "verenici".

54 The stepfather and stepmother are the only two not "real" kin that have a device for the graphical representation.

of the nation she is consciously identified with the image of the stepmother in "Cinderella". The number of the terms should not be misleading. None is affectionate.

PASTORAK

The stepson is PASTORAK or PASTOR[✓]CE. The term immediately arouses sentimental revulsion. In order to dull the edge, it can be unsuccessfully abbreviated into PASTOR. The attempted abbreviation is inappropriate, because pastor means a priest. Therefore, this abbreviation is used only jokingly. All the terms are avoided to prevent the unpleasant connotation of the term. The stepdaughter is PASTORKA.

POLUBRAT

The half-brother and half-sister are POLUBRAT⁵⁵ and POLUSESTRA respectively. In this respect they are similar to English.

The Serbian verb for a man to marry is OŽENITI SE, a reflexive verb. The word for a woman is UDATI SE, again reflexive.

There is a very strong tendency to refer to the relatives not by the appropriate term, but to put some relatives one place closer to ego either vertically or horizontally. Such is the case for grandmother's sister who is very often referred to as aunt.

55 In English half-brothers have one common parent, step-brothers have none. (German: Halbbruder and Stiefbruder). In Serbian there is no such distinction. If both parents are not common, the Serbian terminology loses interest in further differentiation.

On the other hand, an aunt is frequently referred to as a sister, especially if she is a younger person. This in itself is probably the clearest demonstration of the extraordinary affection among the relatives. The system is so well ingrown, that it does not show any considerable tendency to change. Increasing monetary economy and commercial dealing among relatives did not prove sufficient reason for this affection to undergo a change.

In addition to previous, another occurrence is very symptomatic. Namely, some very intimate friends refer to their friends' spouses by a kinship term which corresponds to the term for brother's wife (snaja) or sister's husband (zet). This occurrence fits into the whole social pattern. It is another trait which gains instead of losing ground, as may be expected. With the nuclearization of the family, the actual correlation in terms of behaviour did not undergo any change to a significant degree. As we have shown in the last example, even the reverse occurred. Friends that are neither consanguineal nor affinal relatives are referred to by a kinship term and treated accordingly.

NON-KIN

As a dénouement for the over-emphasizing of the kinship terms and kinship relations there are some sayings that in a comical way say that the persons are not related.

Moja baba i njegova baba dve rodjene babe.

My grandmother and his grandmother are two RODJENE grandmothers.

It was stated that the descriptive term rodjeni serves to distinguish the lineal from the collateral relative. In this pun-sentence rodjeni could not possibly be an appropriate term, and that is what lends comicality and a point to the saying.

Kumine mi kume, pa njezine druge, iz prvoga sela, rodjeni rodjenastiji deverovski pastorak.

RODJENI, mostRODJENI DEVER's stepson from the friend of my KUMA's KUMA in the next village.

In this involved and comical manner it is stated that there is no relationship whatsoever.

ZADRUGA

The examination of the zadruga is interesting not only from the point of view of kinship, but also from the economic, sociological, religious, political and cultural point of view. The change that occurred within the zadruga is significant. As the zadruga in its complexity deserves the separate article, here will be mentioned only briefly its most prominent characteristics as far as kinship and change within it are concerned.

The zadruga is one of the two traditional Serbian institutions which practically remained untouched by the Turks.⁵⁶ Zadruga is a composite family, being a patrilocal extended family. The strictly observed rule of marital residence was patrilocal.⁵⁷ It is well illustrated in the derogatory term PRIZETKO for those who break the rule and take up residence with or near the bride's parents. The extended family may endure indefinitely, which feature is a direct contribution to the establishment of traditions and institutions. A nuclear family, on the other hand, is transitory and, although is not limited in time, it is more apt to be extinct earlier than the extended or joint family. The proof of this is the history of dynasties.

The zadruga included sometimes individuals of four or even five generations. The male offsprings with their spouses and children,

56 The other one being OPŠTINA - a particular Serbian community that is outside of our interest.

57 The alternate form favoured by some British authors is virilocal. We shall retain the term patrilocal throughout the paper, since it is more appropriately descriptive of the Serbian society. Patrilocal is derivative from pater - father, while virilocal is derived from vir - husband. Among the Serbs father definitely has priority over the husband.

through as many generations as the life time permitted, made up the same household. In extreme cases it consisted of as many as one hundred individuals, but the average number very seldom exceeded fifty, and quite frequently was considerably less. The origin of the zadruga may be traced back to the eighth century. Rapid desintegration began toward the end of the nineteenth century. The zadruga as an institution is over 1000 years old. The desintegration started slowly in the nineteenth century, but picked up the speed of an avalanche, especially after World War II. The breaking up of the zadruga brought about a whole series of problems and an imperative necessity for readjustment in the kinship system. The cause was primarily economic, but the consequences were felt in all the manifestations of life. Change has occurred regardless of its undesirability. The replacement of a highly affectionate relationship by one of comparative coolness created a very strong sentimental reaction. It prevented any drastic change in spite of changed circumstances. More and more emphasis is laid upon the nuclear family. This social change was felt everywhere, but less in kinship relations than in other aspects of life.

The head of the zadruga - STAREŠINA⁵⁸ is usually the eldest male in the zadruga. His prestige is unquestioned, but he is by no means an autocrat or a pantocrator. He is entitled to reach decisions and to give orders to all the members of the zadruga. Customary law

58 In recent times more often - DOMAČIN. His classical counterpart is the Roman Pater Familias.

is the highest law for all the members, and it is also the highest authority for the staresina. Serbian society was an absolutely patriarchal society and the staresina was its patriarch. In the premonetary economy the acquisition of wealth was a result of the efforts of all, in a direct or indirect manner, while the distribution of that wealth was the sole responsibility of the staresina. Agriculture was its primary activity, based chiefly upon male labour. The wealth was divided according to need, regardless of member's actual contribution. The economic power of the staresina is not as important as his moral power. In extraordinary circumstances the staresina is not the oldest male. If the staresina becomes too old and feels that he cannot handle the affairs of the zadruga to the utmost benefit of all its members, he usually suggests that another replace him. In such a case another staresina is "elected". This "election", which is usually carried out by the married males, is sometimes performed even without the content of the former staresina. Such a course, less frequent than the previous one, is taken only if there is a sudden and profound change for the worse in the staresina's mental ability. Although the whole society is male oriented, some instances are recorded where a woman is staresina. In all those cases she was a widow of a former staresina.

Primogeniture was the recognized and approved way of favouring the first-born son. Subsequently, the younger brothers had preference in the order of their birth. Ultimogeniture, although paradoxical, was simultaneously in operation, but to a lesser extent and in a somewhat different aspect. The last-born son was a family's

(particularly the mother's) pet. The first-born daughter had no preference over her sisters except in the case of marriage. The parents attempted to marry their daughters in the order of their birth. If it happened that the younger daughter married first, she could not have a wedding feast until her older sister (or sisters) were married, regardless of the relative wealth of her family. Dowry is desirable, but not essential. The opposite to a dowry would be bridewealth. In the patriarchal society which favours male supremacy, dowry is considered the only right thing and its implication is not questioned either by the giver or receiver.

In the large extended family living in close proximity, tension and friction are bound to occur as a normal consequence of a clash of personalities. It is surprising how in the zadruga so many of these clashes were either avoided or patched up.

The ownership in the zadruga is common for those people who are members of the zadruga at any given time. This means that a person who leaves the zadruga, for whatever reason, is not entitled to any share of the zadruga's wealth. On the other hand, a person who joins the zadruga immediately becomes a co-owner. The intricate system of ownership within the zadruga was not understood or was utterly miscomprehended by the law-makers who patterned their law on a foreign model. The law recognized the private ownership within the zadruga.

Nepotism could be expected in a society where kinship ties are so pronounced. However, in the traditional society there were only a few sinecure or lucrative and desirable positions; nepotism did not

have its normal outlet. At the time when nepotism could have had more influence on the society in general, social changes of great magnitude were accompanying the monetarization of the economy: the zadruga started definitely to decline and occurrences of nepotism were indeed sporadic.

After the Second World War the government was very eagerly promoting an institution which was named zadruga, exactly the same as the traditional one. However, the difference between the two was enormous. The contemporary zadruga is a Yugoslav version of the Soviet kolhoz⁵⁹ and even the name implies that it is primarily an economic institution with the membership composed in an entirely different way from that in the traditional type. All the members in the traditional zadruga were kin, while the criterion for recruiting in the new-type zadruga is entirely different and is not based on kinship ties at all. From the point of view of the kinship system and kinship terminology, therefore, the first one is of interest to this paper, while the second one is of no concern. The time is too short to show appreciable influence upon the behaviour pattern, let alone the terminology itself.

59 Collective husbandry - **коллективное хозяйство.**

INCEST

Exogamy is carried to an extreme. No one from the enclosed tables can marry anyone else in the tables. The Serbian Orthodox Church (still very powerful) prohibits intermarriage if there are not at least five intervening relatives between the spouses. This means that the spouses must be at least six generations (koleno) apart. It is codified by the state law. In practice there is no observed case which would tend to break this rule. If a person belongs to the same clan⁶⁰ the marriage is not permitted, even if prospective spouses or anybody else is unable to trace any actual relation between the two. "Maximal bilateral extension"⁶¹ is even further increased to include all the ceremonial kin also. Cases of incest are not known among the court records. Furthermore, the inhabitants of the same village gradually increase the number of people whom they consider as kin, even if they are not actual kin. This leads to a diminishing number of marriages within the village, and so increases the number of marriages with spouses from neighbouring or even distant villages. The rapid urbanization solved the problem of the availability of a possible mate, but the very rigorous "exogamy" is as much in observance in the city as it is in the country. Change, therefore, is more in the nature of accessibility and selection of a prospective marriage partner than in the categories of permitted and not permitted future spouses.

60 The easiest way to deduce who belongs to the clan is by the presence of the same last name. A coincidence sometimes happens that two people belong to two different clans, but both clans have the same last name. In such a case the people go to great pains in order to prove that they are NOT related.

The poem "Nahod Simeun" (Foundling Simeun) has striking similarities with the ancient Greek tragedy "Oedipus Rex" by Sophocles. The Oedipus complex in the psychoanalytical teachings of Freud derives mainly from that tragedy. If it is true that the author of Nahod Simeun was familiar with the Oedipus myth, then the poem could not be considered as being the product of a Serbian national bard. There is no evidence to support the existence of the Oedipus complex, as applied to the Serbs. The "Electra complex" and "Jocasta complex" have no representation in the Serbian popular ballads.

Onda veli kučka lijepa devojka
POBRATIME Starina Novače
Ti nisi sroa junačkoga
Jer ne ljubis ovakve devojke

...
Kuda prodje gizdava devojka
Ta gora zelena posanula
Od straha od Boga velikoga
Od sramote od lepe devojke
Jer POBRATI Starina Novaka
Pak htease Novaka ljubiti.
A kud prodje Starina Novače
Ona suha gora prolitala
I suha trava pomladila
Od pravde od Starina Novaka
Jer ne ljubi bogom POSESTRIME.

Then said the wench, the pretty maid:
"Pobratime, Starina Novak,
You have no heroic heart,
For you do not make love to such a girl!"

...
Wherever the pretty maid passed,
The green forest withered,
Because of fear of the great God,
And the disgrace of the pretty maid;
For she made Starina Novak her POBRATIM,

61 Marriage forbidden with any relative, however remote, with whom an actual genealogical connection can be traced in any line. (Murdock 1949:303)

And then she wanted to make love with him.
 And where Starina Novak passed,
 The withered forest leafed,
 And the withered grass greened,
 Because of the righteousness of Starina Novak;
 For he did not make love with his POSESTRIMA.

It is of interest to note that the girl is playing an active role (Eva) and that the ceremonial kin are strictly confined to the incest rules as are the consanguineal or affinal ones.

The saying:

Ne zna šta je slas'⁶²
 Ko ne pozna svas.

One does not know the sweetness,
 Unless he knows the SVAS.

is not commonly heard, and cannot be regarded as justification for the conclusion that incest was commonly practised or even desired. The relative involved is affinal, not a consanguineal one. This fact plays a major role in the degree to which the incestuous reference could be tolerated. Sororal polygyny is not implied.

62 The apostrophized form for slast in order to rhyme with svas.

KINSHIP SYSTEM AS REFLECTED IN THE FOLK LITERATURE

The wealth of the Serbian oral literature has been known well in the West for more than a century.⁶³ This literature has great variations in form, themes and quality. A fair percentage is concerned with kinsmen. Out of necessity this paper has to be selective and to impose heavy limitations on the material chosen. The material is so rich that it would probably warrant a thesis for itself. The intention of this section is merely to give several representative pieces. The Serbian oral literature employs the figure of allusion quite frequently. Therefore, a further limitation is imposed: there are quoted only those examples where the kin-term is specifically mentioned. It is roughly estimated that the allusive examples are more numerous than the direct ones. All examples will be given in their original and in English translation. The kin terms will not be translated. If it is generally true that brevity is the soul of wit, then the Serbian oral literature has a full right to claim both - brevity and wit. Sometimes - as is often the case with proverbs - the whole "literary work" consists only of two words. In those words is synthetized the nation's wit, its philosophy and its ability to put it in this highly compressed manner. Everything unnecessary is omitted and only the bare idea remains. That brevity is what gives power to the proverb and what makes the proverb remain alive and youthful for centuries. Whether in proverbs, or any other form of literature (prose or poetry), the extraordinary economy in the language is observed. Not a single superfluous word is present, nor could a single one be omitted without

63 Goethe, Brothers Grimm, LaMartine, Walter Scott, Charles Dickens, Gogol etc.

the meaning suffering greatly. Every word speaks and everyone is placed by the anonymous "writer" in the proper place. Because of the extraordinary brevity and the kinship terminology it is only appropriate to give the two parallel texts. The translation into English must be very free, particularly where verse is involved. This paper will not be involved in the evaluation from the literary point of view. The only condition for the quotation is the specific mention of the kin-terms.

Kad se SINOVAČ ženjase, STRICA ne pitase, a kad se raženjase i STRINU pripitivase.

When SINOVAČ was getting married he did not ask the STRIC, but when he was about to divorce, he asked even his STRINA.

This proverb shows several things: the high esteem to which the stric should be upheld; the somewhat inferior status of strina, concomitant with the status of her sex in the traditional Serbian society; the horror with which divorce is considered; the probable punishment on the sinovac for not consulting his stric in such a vital decision; finally it gives in a nutshell the trio-terms (stric, strina, sinovac) and their relationship.

U svate se ide na veselje, To the wedding party one goes for merriment
Na KUMSTVO se ide po zakonu. To the KUMSTVO one goes by "law".

In both instances the kum is involved. The wedding comes chronologically before the christening and therefore the merriment aspect of it is emphasized. Once the kum has blessed the marriage, it would be unthinkable for him or anyone else not to christen all the offsprings. That idea is given the strongest word that the language can chose. The custom is so strong that it appears as a "law".

"Gde is danas, POSESTRIMO vilo?" "Where are you today, my POSESTRIMA
fairy?"

In folk literature it is possible not only for two persons to become pobratim and posestrima, but it is also possible for a mortal man to become pobratim of a fairy. This shows how strong the desire is for the expansion of one's ceremonial kin.

Zeman dos'o, valja vojevat	The time has come to fight,
Švako svoje da pokaje STARE	And to avenge our STARE.

The Serbs as a nation are not considered as being vengeful. In Serbia there has never been the custom of vendetta.⁶⁴ The national bard is inviting the people to avenge their ancestors and feels so strongly affectionate toward them that he thinks that the fight is justified.

Ja se mojoj SVEKRVI ne svidjam, My SVEKRVA does not like me,
Hvala Bogu često nju ne vidjam. Thank God I don't see her often.

The only exception to the general feeling of affection among the relatives is the peculiar behaviour affecting svekrva or tašta on one hand, and her zet or snaja on the other. That behaviour is, more often than not, expressed in the comical manner. There is an obvious tendency to replace hostility with a joking relationship. It also indicates a definite trend toward avoidance.

ČERKU kara, SNAJI prigovara. She is scolding her ČERKA, so that
the SNAJA may hear.

Hostility, avoidance and intolerance are clearly indicated. In spite of the intention to scold her snaja, the observance of

⁶⁴ In Montenegro vendetta was fairly widespread. In Serbia there is no record of it.

avoidance is overpowering the svekrva's wish, and she is forced to speak indirectly. It also implies such an intimate relationship between mother and her daughter that everything is allowed, even something that normally does not belong in their relationship.

Ljubio sam tri KUME venčane

...

I ljubio devet POSESTRIMAH

...

Ljubio sedam KUMAH krštenih

...

Ja udarim MAJKU na osnago.

I kissed⁶⁵ three women at whose wedding I was KUM

...

I made love with nine POSESTRIMA

...

I made love with seven mothers of my KUMČE

...

I struck my MAJKA.

Such a gross exaggeration as is found in this poem is not a rarity in folk literature. It is highly unlikely that anyone may have "three KUME by marriage, nine POSESTRIME and seven KUMA by christening", let alone making love to them. The exaggeration was required to make a greater contrast with the sin of beating one's own mother. The anonymous poet states that no sin is as big as the disrespect or maltreatment of the mother. The incestuous relations are neither with the consanguineal nor with the affinal relatives, but with the ceremonial relatives. Even in an extreme case of exaggeration, the poet knew where to draw a line.

65 To "kiss" in the Serbian folk literature is the euphemism for the sexual intercourse, similar to the French baiser.

Ti imadeš i OCA i MAJKU, You have OTAC and MAJKA,
 Ni jednoga u astatu nema, Neither of them is seated at the table,
 Da ti pije prvu čašu vina. To drink the first glass of wine.

In the longer poem the three "inhumanities" are listed.
 The final and most inhuman one is the lack of giving due respect to
 the parents.

From the poem "Uroš i Mrnjavčevići" (Uroš and the Brothers
 Mrnjavčević) we give a little longer quote, because of its excellent
 treatment of the Serbian popular ethos.

Kol'ko Marko težio na pravdu,
 Tol'ko moli Jevrosima MAJKA:
 "Marko sine jedini u MAJKE!
 Ne bila ti moja rana kleta,
 Nemoj SINE govoriti krivo
 Ni po BABU ni po STRIČEVIMA,
 Vec po pravdi Boga istinoga;
 Nemoj, SINE, izgubiti duše;
 Bolje ti je izgubiti glavu,
 Nego svoju ogrešiti dušu".

As much as Marko tended toward justice
 As much Jevrosima MAJKA implored:
 "Marko, my only⁶⁶ SON!
 Let not my food be accursed to you,
 Do not speak unjustly,
 Either to your BABO's or to your STRIČEVI advantage
 But according to the justice of the true God;
 Do not lose your soul, SIN,
 It is better to lose your life,
 Than to bring sin upon your soul".

In the dispute that arose among Marko's OTAC, his STRIČEVI
 and Uroš (unrelated to Marko) for the succession to the vacant throne,
 Marko's MAJKA is giving the preceding advice to her son. In world
 literature it is difficult to find the peer to the scope, grandeur

66 The milk with which he was nursed.

and dimension of the ethos that is governing Marko's MAJKA. The key line for the interest of this study is the line

"Ni po BABU ni po STRICEVIMA".

Marko was invited to judge and to decide who of the pretendants is the one that should succeed to the throne. In the instance where the absolute right of one person is not clear, the son is expected to favour his father first, and then his STRICEVI. Marko's mother does not want to influence his decision, but advises him not to be biased toward his relatives. The second part of the advice strengthens the sincerity of the first part. The whole instruction is of super-human proportions paralleled probably only in the maximal requirements of religious doctrine. The Greek classical saying translated into Latin: "Amicus Plato, sed magis amica veritas"⁶⁷ approaches the ideal of the Serbian folk ballad. The significant difference is that Plato is a friend, while in the Serbian ballad the primary relative is involved. The desire for honour and truth of the highest calibre is comparable with the Spartan mother, who would rather see her son dead, than dishonourable.

THE CURSES

The richness of the Serbian folk literature is a well recognized fact. In this paper an attempt is made to show a comparable wealth in the kinship terminology. There is also a third element in

⁶⁷ Plato is my friend, but the truth is an even greater friend.

the Serbian idiom that requires serious consideration. That is the matter of curses in the Serbian language. As famous as Serbs are for their oral literature, they are equally infamous for their curses. Curses, however, that are universally known throughout a nation are as much a part of that nation's psychology as are many other traits. Because of the reasons so far mentioned, the author feels that the only fair representation is to give more than one aspect of life of the said people, however uncomplimentary it may be. A documented paper on this problem alone would be desirable. For the purpose of this paper, curses are of interest only insofar as they affect kinship. Generally speaking, curses are an instance of swinging the pendulum of the accepted norms in a society. Therefore, in the curses, occurrences that are indifferent or of no value for the society, are not present. Only the tabu items are on the list, and precisely that is what their main intention and their main effect is. One should remember that the curses in English are usually centered around religion. English people, being quite religious,⁶⁸ developed a series of tabus that concern religion. Precisely because of that, curses center around it. Otherwise they would defeat their own purpose. Something similar is found among the Serbs insofar as tabu is concerned. Throughout this paper evidence is given of the extraordinary affection among the relatives. Among all the relatives the mother is held in the highest esteem, and she enjoys the highest status in the view of any individual. This is socially recognized. An individual is willing to go to any

68 Genuine or pretended, the author will not attempt to judge. The fact, however, remains that the evidence of religion is pronouncedly felt in the everyday life.

extent in order to provide well-being for his mother. According to our assumption it is no surprise that mother is most frequently mentioned in curses.

In order to achieve reliability, all the curses should be quoted in full. The great majority of them are unprintable. That is what creates a most serious problem in their treatment. The author of this paper will not quote them, but is ~~satis~~satisfied merely to state that their variation is almost unlimited. Their centripetality toward the closest kin, notably the mother, is another demonstration of the concern and preoccupation with one's kin, however paradoxical and negative side that may be.

FOREIGN INFLUENCE ON THE SERBIAN KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY AND KINSHIP SYSTEM

The territory of Serbia borders with countries that have a distinct language of their own. The intermingling of Serbs with the neighbouring peoples was considerable in the course of centuries. The mutual influence, therefore, could be expected in various manifestations of life and culture including the kinship system and the linguistic structure, including the kinship terminology. Serbia has common borders with Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria. Serbia has no common border with any German-speaking country, but the communication and contact between the two nations was extensive. Of the neighbouring nations only in Bulgaria is a Slavonic (Bulgarian) language spoken. The Rumanian language belongs to the Romance family of languages, while

the Hungarian belongs to the Ugro-Finnic group. The German language is a member of the Germanic family of languages which includes also English.

Turkey - similiary to Germany - does not border on Serbia. Serbian life, however, was under prolonged pressure from the Turks. In 1371, on the river Maritsa, in the territory of present-day Bulgaria, the first battle between the Turks and Serbs was fought and a part of the Serbian territory was occupied by the Turks. The Turkish advance was slow, but steady. In 1459, with the fall of Smederevo, the capture of all Serbian territory was completed. In 1804 The First Uprising marked the gradual emancipation and liberation of the Serbs from the Turks. This liberation was not completed until 1912-13. Here are the dates that show the length of time during which the Serbs were under the Turkish domination. If we take the minimum time of 1459-1804 (rather than the maximum 1371-1913) it still gives us a full 345 years.⁶⁹ In popular tradition the battle of Kosovo on June 28, 1389 left a permanent impression. The round number of 500 years "under the Turks" is most often quoted by non-historians. By any standard, it is a long time, during which many changes in the indigenous way of life may be expected. These changes no doubt did occur. For the purpose of this study, it is of great importance to state that the influence upon the Serbian kinship terminology and Serbian kinship system was negligible. Turks were polygynous, while Serbs remained throughout the time monogynous. Therefore in the Serbian language there is no term for the HuWi,

⁶⁹ The maximum would be 532 years.

that is for a co-wife. Since the institution of polygyny did not exist, the term if ever created or adopted would be superfluous. Some influence of Turkish kinship terminology is felt in Serbian only in three instances: BABO, BABAJKO and PAŠA. BABO is one of the non-standard terms for father. BABAJKO is derivative from BABO, but the genius of the language from which it is borrowed is completely disregarded. It is completely Serbianized. The affectionate term for PAŠENOG is PAŠA which coincides with the Turkish NON-kin word. This coincidence is exploited mostly in a humorous manner. Of all the three terms that show some influence of Turkish, it is significant to note that none of them is the standard term. Out of the 3000 Turkish words (or words introduced into Serbian through the medium of the Turkish language) only three are in a way kin-terms. The percentage is low. The Serbian kinship terminology was completed by 1371 and the system did not want to yield.

In spite of the intimate connection with the Rumanian people, there is not a single term among the Serbian kin terms that clearly points to Rumanian influence.

Of all the neighbouring languages Bulgarian is the only Slavonic one. Some terms are similar, probably because of the common origin. There is only one that is clearly Bulgarian: TATKO, the term for the father. Like BABO, it also has a mildly comical connotation. The fact that the term for father comes from the foreign languages is not convincing enough for one to conclude that the Serbian women were marrying foreigners, particularly Turks and Bulgarians. The historic evidence does not show proof for such a

conclusion. Why two foreign words for father exist in the Serbian kinship terminology is not of paramount importance considering that they are only two out of ten terms, and both are non-standard.

Schneeweis⁷⁰ thinks that there are about 2000 German words in the Serbian language. Out of such a number of borrowed words, he suggests only two of the kin terms as having been borrowed from German. Both of them have serious limitations. The first term ŠOGOR is not borrowed directly from German (Schwager), but was introduced into Serbian through the medium of the Hungarian language, where it acquired the form of SOGOR. Whether or not Hungarian SOGOR comes from the German SCHWAGER is outside of the scope of this study. It is true that the term SOGOR exists in both Serbian and Hungarian. It is very likely that the term SOGOR is closer to the genius of the Hungarian kinship terminology than to the Serbian. ŠOGOR is a classificatory term which is applied to six relatives, and the female equivalent⁷¹ is also relevant to six relatives. In Serbian they are all denotative terms, so that the number of terms is twelve compared with the Hungarian two. It is also worthwhile to note that this term is the only one coming into the Serbian language from the Hungarian.

The second, and last, kinship term that Schneeweis considers being borrowed from German is a term found in a manuscript from the year 1468. It is MALŽENA, the term for a MUŽ. He thinks that the first part of the term MAL- is identical with the German GEMAHLE.

70 Die Deutschen Lehnwörter im Serbokroatischen (1960:XVI, 95-6)

71 Šogorica

The term MALZENA does not exist in the contemporary language. The theory is advanced that any morphoneme that is once universally and actively known in the nation is never completely expelled from the language. Of such a term people would at least maintain a passive knowledge. MALŽENA does not meet these requirements. It is completely extinct. MALŽENA as a term occurred only in one manuscript in the XV century. The full recognition of MALŽENA as a bona fide Serbian kin term is therefore dubious.

Besides the four above-mentioned languages (German, Hungarian, Bulgarian, Turkish) there is no evidence that any other language had any influence upon the Serbian kinship terminology. The question of whether Serbian kinship terminology influenced in its turn any other kinship system or kinship terminology is outside the scope of this paper. A well documented paper on this question is highly desirable and would give rise to some comparative studies.

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APPENDIX

HALPERN'S ACCOUNT⁷²

The average villager can trace his ancestry back six to eight generations, without the benefit of any written record... a peasant belonging to the Nedic vamilija, without any notes and with few uncertainties, traced his origin to the widow Neda, who came to Orasac in the late eighteenth century.⁷³ Proceeding through the male line he identified all her descendants, including the more than two hundred members of the Nedic clan living in the village today, as well as many who had left Orasac two or even three generations ago. In addition he was able to tell the native village and in many cases the original clan names of the brides of the various Nedic men. His knowledge was most complete on those of his male ancestors from whom he was directly descended. For them he gave approximate birth and death dates and specific biographical data. In all, over five hundred people within the Nedic clan were identified in one way or another. He also recited approximate genealogies for several other Orasac clan groups, particularly those which had intermarried with his own. Although it would be something of an exaggeration to say that he could precisely identify his own relationship to all 2,000-odd villagers and to trace the ancestry of all the clans in Orasac, nevertheless he was able to give approximate idea of the degree of relationship among a significant portion of the village population.

Young men in their twenties are sometimes able to identify as many as several hundred kinsfolk. (Halpern 1958:157) By the term "several hundred" we understand at least 300. This should be compared with the finding of H.Codere. A sample of 200 Vassar College students coming mostly from the northeastern United States could identify only 30 to 33 kinsmen, of whom six or seven were deceased.

72 Halpern, J.M. A Serbian Village New York: Columbia University Press, 1958 p.156

73 Nedic was interviewed in 1953-54.

THE CODE OF STEPHAN DUŠAN⁷⁴

In the Code of Stephan Dušan⁷⁴ from the year 1349⁷⁵ there are the following mention of the relatives:

Article 52

For treason for any case brother shall not pay for brother, father for son, kinsman for kinsman, if they dwell separately in their own houses; he who hath not sinned shall not pay anything. Only shall he pay who hath sinned, he and his household (Zadruga).

The principle of individual responsibility is firmly established. The zadruga is considered as such a tightly-knit unit that the principle of collective responsibility is confined only to the zadruga, and not to the village or any other group.

Article 66

When brothers are together in one house and someone summons them before the court, he shall dispute the case whom the court shall indicate. But if it so be that one of them be at the Tsar's court or at the court of justice and he come and say: "I will submit my elder brother to the court," then let him do so and let him not be driven by force to the court.

The oldest brother has a privilege and duty to defend his younger brothers in court. If the brothers do not dwell with their father, primogeniture is of utmost importance.

Article 71

Whoso commit a crime, a brother or son or kinsman, who dwell in one house, all shall pay to the lord (gospodar) of the house, or hand over him who did the crime.

74 Translated from the Old Serbian by Malcolm Burr.

75 The middle-fourteenth century is considered to be a summit of the Serbian mediaeval culture.

Article 104

The officer (pristav) of the court shall not call upon a wife when the husband is not at home, nor shall a wife be summoned to court without her husband, but a wife shall give her husband notice when she goes to court. And in that matter a husband is guiltless, until she give him notice.

In the wife-husband team, the husband is the more important member, when one of the two has to deal with the law.

Article 152

...And on a jury there may be neither kinsman nor enemy.

LATIN TRANSCRIPTION OF THE SERBIAN CYRILLIC ALPHABET

A	a	as a in calm
B	b	
V	v	
G	g	as g in go
D	d	
Dj	dj	as gi in Italian giorno (alternate forms: ђ đ)
E	e	as e in ten
Ž	ž	as s in pleasure
Z	z	as s in rose
I	i	as i in fit
J	j	as y in yes
K	k	
L	l	
Lj	lj	as il in failure
M	m	
N	n	
Nj	nj	as ni in onion
O	o	as a in all
P	p	
R	r	
S	s	as s in son
T	t	
Ć	ć	as c in Italian città
U	u	as oo in book
F	f	
H	h	
C	c	as z in German Zimmer
Č	č	as ch in church
Dž	dž	as j in judge
Š	š	as sh in shut

N.B. The order of the cyrillic alphabet is followed.

INVENTORY OF THE SERBIAN KINSHIP TERMS

baba
babajko
baka
babo
baja
bata
bela pčela
bogom pobratim
bogom posestrima
brale
brat
bratanac
bratanica
bratić
bratičina
bratuće
bratućed
bratućić
brat od strica
brat od tetke
brat od ujaka
braca

vamilija
venčani kum
verenik
verenica
verenici

generacija
gospodar
gospodin
gospodja

dada
 dever
 deverić
 deverićić
 deverićna
 deda
 dedica
 deka
 dete
 deca

djever
 djeverić
 djeverićić

✓
 zena

zaova
 zaović
 zaovićina
 zet
 zetonja

iztrīsće

jetrva

koleno
 koljeno
 keva
 kćer
 kćerka
 kci
 kum
 kuma
 kumić

kumstvo

kumč^ě

ljuba

ljubovca

majka

mama

mamica

mater

mač^ěha

mač^ěija

mezimac

mezimica

mezimč^ě

muž^ě

nakonjč^ě

naka

nana

neč^ěak

neč^ěakinja

oženit^ěi se

otac

oč^ěuh

pastor

pastorak

pastorka

pastorč^ě

paš^ěa

pašenog^ě

pobratim

pobratimstvo

po krvi

polubrat
polusestra
pomajka
po mleku
poočim
porodica
posvojak
posvojka
posvojče
posestrima
posopac
posopci
prababa
pradedo
pra-prababa
pra-pradedo
praroditelji
pra-praunuk
pra-praunuka
pra-praunuče
praunuk
praunuka
praunuče
praunučica
prija
prijatelj
prijatelji
prika
punica

rodbina
roditelji
rodja
rodjak
rodjaka

rodjaci
ručni dever

svaja
svas
svastika
svekar
svekrva
svojta
seja
seka
sestra
sestra od strica
sestra od tetke
sestra od ujaka
sestric
sestrica
sestričina
sin
sinak
sinovac
sinovica
sinko
sna
snaja
snajka
snaha
snasa
stara
staramajka
steri svat
starojko
stari
strika
striko
strina

stric
 stricevina
 stričević
 stričevići
 striček
 suprug
 supruža
 supružnik
 supružnica
 supružnici

taka
 tast
 tašta
 tata
 tatica
 tatko
 teta
 tetak
 tetka
 tetkić
 tetkići
 tetkica
 teca

čale
 čaća
 čer

udati se
 uja
 ujak
 ujevina
 ujević
 ujevići
 ujka
 ujkica

ujko

ujo

ujna

unuk

unuka

unuće

familija

✓
ćika

✓
ćiko

✓✓
ćica

✓
ćovek

✓
ćukunbaba

✓
ćukundeda

✓
ćukununuk

✓
ćukununuka

✓
ćukununuće

✓
ćukununućica

✓
šogor

✓
šogorica

✓
šćer

✓
šći

✓
šura

✓
šurak

✓
šurnjaja

GRAPHICALLY NON-REPRESENTED KIN TERMS

bogom pobratim

bogom posestrima

vamilija

venčani kum

verenik

verenica

verenici

generacija

dete

deca

iztr^{vv}isće

koleno

koljeno

kum

kuma

kumić

kumstvo

kum^vće

mezimac

mezim^vce

mezimica

nakon^vjće

o^vženiti se

pastor

pastorak

pastorka

pastorč^ě
pobratim
pobratimstvo
po krvi
polubrat
polusestra
po mleku
porodica
posvojak
posvojka
posvojč^ě
posestrima
posopac
posopci
praroditelji
prijatelji

rodbina
roditelji
rodja
rodjak
rodjaka
rodjaci
ruč^ěni dever

svojta
stari
stari svat
starojko
strič^ěvina
strič^ěvić^í
supruž^ěnici

tetkić^í

ujevina

ujevići

udati se

familija



