Där Östersjön är Västersjön
Seal, kus Läänemeri on Idameri

Festskrift till Virve och Raimo Raag
Pühendusteos Virve ja Raimo Raagile

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RIITTA-LIISA VALIJÄRVI (RED.)
On the development of some Saami kinship terms

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1. Introduction

The relationships we have with our family members are arguably the strongest bonds in human society, and the terms we call our kin by are an integral part of every language. Consequently, the study of kinship terminology holds an important place in the research of any given people’s language, culture and history. Accounts on the Saami kinship terminology range from comparative lists of kinship terms in different varieties (e.g. Drake 1918: 220–226; Itkonen 1948: 301–305) to more detailed descriptions of the kinship terminology in specific idioms (e.g. Falkenberg 1953; Whitaker 1955: 125–133) and historical-comparative studies of the Saami kinship system as a whole (e.g. Bergsland 1942).

A striking feature of the traditional Saami kinship terminology is that while there is only one word for ‘mother’s brother’ (e.g. standard North Saami eanu), there are two words for a brother of the father. These two terms for paternal uncles are differentiated by the uncle’s age relative to ego’s father (e.g. standard North Saami eahki ‘father’s elder brother’ vs. čeahci ‘father’s younger brother’). Similarly, there is only one word for ‘father’s sister’ (e.g. standard North Saami siessá), but two age-differentiated terms for a sister of the mother (e.g. standard North Saami goaski ‘mother’s elder sister’ vs. muottá ‘mother’s younger sister’). This terminology, which distinguishes relative age only for same-sex siblings of the parents, is attested throughout the Saamic languages and is thus of a considerable age. All six words for siblings of the parents can be reconstructed to Proto-Saami and all but the word for ‘mother’s younger sister’ have been reconstructed even further back within Uralic (YS: 22, 32, 58, 78, 124; UEW: 34, 72, 74, 189, 432–433; note however that the etymology of siessá ‘father’s sister’ in UEW is marked as uncertain; cf. Kümmel 2015: 123). Table 1 shows the terms for siblings of the parents

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1 At the Department of Modern Languages at Uppsala University there is an unpublished card index entitled Samisk etymologisk ordbok (‘Saami etymological dictionary’), compiled by Trygge Sköld, Bert-Erik Isacsson and Torvald Ranta between 1955 and 1960. In this card index, muottá ‘mother’s younger sister’ is suggested to be a borrowing, and the derivational suffix of its polar term muottal (also found in siessal, polar term of siessá ‘father’s sister’) is put in relation with Germanic diminutives. A Germanic etymology for muottá etc. has also been proposed by Ruong (1969: 49), who associates it with Swedish mor ‘mother’, and by Kümmel (2015), who suggests a Germanic form *mōþō(n)- ‘mother’s sister’ as the source of the word.
in standard North Saami, along with their cognates in standard Lule Saami (SaaL) and standard South Saami (SaaS), as well as their reconstructed Proto-Saami (PSaa) forms. Note that the glosses given here are slightly simplified: in several varieties, the terms used for the parents’ siblings can—at least in the traditional terminology—also refer to cousins of the parents, in some cases even including second or third cousins (see, e.g., Falkenberg 1953: 82).

Table 1: Traditional terms for siblings of the parents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard North Saami</th>
<th>SaaL</th>
<th>SaaS</th>
<th>PSaa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>eanu  ‘mother’s brother’</td>
<td>ånoj</td>
<td>jyöne</td>
<td>*ɛn⁵j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eahki ‘father’s elder brother’</td>
<td>iehke</td>
<td>jiekie</td>
<td>*ɛkē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čeahci ‘father’s younger brother’</td>
<td>tjehtje</td>
<td>tjetsie</td>
<td>*ɛččē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siessá ‘father’s sister’</td>
<td>siessá</td>
<td>seasa</td>
<td>*sēsā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goaski ‘mother’s elder sister’</td>
<td>goasske</td>
<td>gāeskie</td>
<td>*kāskē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muottá ‘mother’s younger sister’</td>
<td>muohtá</td>
<td>muahra</td>
<td>*mōdhē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As seen in Table 1, the standard languages reflect the traditional Saami kinship terminology, differentiating relative age for paternal uncles and maternal aunts. In this paper, I present data from several varieties of North Saami, Lule Saami and South Saami where this age distinction has been lost. Based on these materials, I conclude that there is a tendency for the words traditionally meaning ‘father’s younger brother’ and ‘mother’s younger sister’ to obtain a general meaning ‘father’s brother’ and ‘mother’s sister’, respectively, while the corresponding words for elder siblings of the parents are rendered obsolete.

The data presented here stem both from published sources and previously unpublished word collections, as well as from original interviews with speakers of Čohkkiras (Jukkasjärvi) North Saami and the Lule Saami forest dialect, recorded between 2018 and 2020. All interviewed speakers—three women and five men—were born in the 1930s and 1940s. The original data gathered by myself were obtained through elicitation, making it possible to ascertain not only which words and meanings are found in a specific idiolect, but also which words are not used by the interviewed speaker. I have also chosen to limit myself to those written sources which explicitly include information on whether a certain word is not in use, leaving the materials of e.g. Lagercrantz (1939) and Hasselbrink (1981–85) outside the scope of the study.

The original North Saami data presented here were collected in connection with an ongoing project aimed at producing a grammatical description of Čohkkiras North Saami (see Kejonen 2020 for a project description); the original data on Lule Saami were recorded as part of a small-scale documentation project supported by the Uppsala Language Documentation Group UPPLADOC (see Kejonen, forthcoming). These original materials are given in the respective standard orthographies of North Saami and Lule Saami, slightly adapted to reflect local pronunciation (e.g. Čohkkiras North Saami č
pro c). Materials gathered by other scholars are quoted in their original form and glosses in other languages have been translated into English. The previously unpublished materials presented here, collected by K. B. Wiklund (1868–1934) in 1886 and Björn Collinder (1894–1983) in 1928–33, are provided in two appendixes.

2. Data

Already some two decades before he became the first professor of Finno-Ugric languages at Uppsala University, the young linguist K. B. Wiklund did pioneer work in documenting the Saamic varieties spoken in Sweden. Among his vast primary materials, stored at the Uppsala University library, is a list of kinship terms noted down in the reindeer herding district of Girjįs in 1886. In this list, presented in its whole in Appendix 1, there are two words for paternal uncles, as well as two words for maternal aunts: äähki ‘father’s brother, older than father’, čäähci ‘father’s brother, younger than father’, koske ‘mother’s sister, older than mother’ and muóhta ‘mother’s sister, younger than mother’. In other words, the traditional kinship terminology of the Saamic languages was still retained in this dialect in the late 1800s.

When Wiklund’s successor Björn Collinder conducted linguistic fieldwork in the same area in 1926, a radical change in the kinship terminology had already taken place. In this period of just forty years, the age distinction of both maternal aunts and paternal uncles had been lost, albeit in two different ways. According to the speaker interviewed by Collinder, the words āhkè and tšāhtšē, meaning ‘father’s elder brother’ and ‘father’s younger brother’ in the traditional kinship system, were both used in the general meaning ‘father’s brother (older or younger than father)’. The word meaning ‘mother’s elder sister’, on the other hand, was not known at all, while the word muţhā, meaning ‘mother’s younger sister’ in the traditional system, was used for all maternal aunts, regardless of age (Grundström 1946–54: 74, 341, 538, 1162).

Today, this development has gone even further. The speaker from Girjįs with whom I work the closest only uses the words čeahči (genitive-accusative čeavž) and muohá (genitive-accusative muohā), and only in a general meaning ‘father’s brother’ and ‘mother’s sister’. He is not familiar with the standard North Saami word goaski ‘mother’s elder sister’; however, he remembers his father using the word eahki. He also remembers his father using the form muohtā, although he himself says muohā, as did his mother.

The situation in the Girjįs district is exceptional in that it is possible to follow the simplification of the kinship terminology over a period close to a century and a half: from Wiklund’s pioneer work in the late 1800s and the precise transcriptions of Collinder in the 1920s to the high-quality recordings of today. The development itself is, however, not unique for this dialect. North of Girjįs, in the dialects of Čohkkiras North Saami spoken in the reindeer
herding districts of Leaváš and Gabná, the situation appears to be much the same. In this area, I have only noted the words čēahči and muohá, and only in a general meaning ‘father’s brother’ and ‘mother’s sister’. The use of the word čēahči in the meaning ‘father’s brother’ has even been pointed out as an example of discrepancy between the Čohkkiras variety and the North Saami standard language (Hansegård 1988: 215; curiously enough, Hansegård makes no mention of the terms used for maternal aunts). None of the speakers I have interviewed uses the standard North Saami words eahki ‘father’s elder brother’ or goaski ‘mother’s elder sister’.

The loss of an age distinction has likely taken place earlier in this area than in Girjijis. In word collections made by Björn Collinder in 1928 and 1930, only the words traditionally referring to ‘father’s younger brother’ and ‘mother’s younger sister’ are noted in Leaváš and Gabná, and only in a general meaning, e.g. Gabná tšōy̤šē ‘father’s brother (older or younger than father)’ and muōhā ~ muōhā ‘mother’s sister (older or younger than mother)’. The equivalents of the standard North Saami words eahki ‘father’s elder brother’ and goaski ‘mother’s elder sister’ are not as not used by the speaker interviewed by Collinder in Gabná; for Leaváš, no information is given on these two words.

The western variety of Čohkkiras North Saami, spoken in Norway, seems to agree with its eastern neighbour. From a speaker of this variety, I have recorded the forms čēahči and muohá (genitive-accusative muodá). This speaker did not recognize the standard North Saami word eahki ‘father’s elder brother’, nor the word goaski ‘mother’s elder sister’.

When Collinder documented the dialect of the Sárevuopmi district in 1930 and 1932, he noted both terms for paternal uncles and both terms for maternal aunts from one speaker. However, even this speaker regarded the words ģēhkē ‘father’s elder brother’ and k̈ōske ‘mother’s elder sister’ as obsolete. From other speakers in the same district, Collinder has only noted the words meaning ‘father’s younger brother’ and ‘mother’s younger sister’ in the traditional system, and only in the general meaning ‘father’s brother’ and ‘mother’s sister’.

Further north, in the Gárasavvon (Karesuando) dialect of North Saami spoken in the Lávnjčítvuopmi district, the age distinction of paternal uncles was still maintained when Collinder documented the variety in 1933. On the mother’s side, however, the age distinction had already disappeared and the word muōgōkā, meaning ‘mother’s younger sister’ in the traditional system, was used for all maternal aunts, regardless of age. The word for ‘mother’s elder sister’ was not used by the speaker interviewed by Collinder. Just shy of two decades later, in 1952, the anthropologist Ian Whitaker noted that the traditional (or “classic”) system of differentiating paternal uncles and maternal aunts by relative age was no longer found in the Lávnjčítvuopmi district, and that “chéccé was almost universally used even when referring to persons properly designated in the classic system as ekkē, although older persons recognized this latter term even if they did not use it. The term for mother’s elder
sister, goas’ke, seems to have disappeared entirely.” (Whitaker 1955: 128). Whitaker further noted the words for siblings of the parents as used also when referring to the parent’s first cousins. During a subsequent documentation trip in 1977, he found that these words were no longer used for cousins of the parents, but only for their siblings (Whitaker 1979: 86, 1980: 233).²

In the neighbouring Geaggánvuopmi district, the speaker interviewed by Collinder in 1933 maintained an age distinction both for paternal uncles and for maternal aunts. Surprisingly enough, however, no cognate of standard North Saami goaski ‘mother’s elder sister’ is attested for this speaker. Instead, the loanword tẽ’te (cf. Finnish tätti ‘aunt’) is noted with the meaning ‘mother’s sister (older than mother)’. In other words, this speaker retained the system of expressing the relative age of the parents’ same-sex siblings, but the lexical material used for this purpose had been partly replaced, as a foreign word with a wide meaning ‘aunt’ had been borrowed with the narrower meaning ‘mother’s elder sister’. When the anthropologist Robert N. Pehrson documented the kinship terminology of Geaggánvuopmi in 1952, he recorded all four traditional terms for paternal uncles and maternal aunts: “Thus, Ego calls his father’s brother or father’s male cousin older than father ăkke and his father’s brother or father’s male cousin younger than father čæcce, his mother’s elder sister or female cousin goas’ke, his mother’s sister or female cousin younger than mother muossa.” (Pehrson 1964: 26).³ However, Pehrson (1964: 27) also noted that fifteen out of twenty interviewed speakers used the words traditionally referring to younger siblings or cousins of the parents also for the parents’ elder relatives.

The late loss of an age distinction is also documented in the Bástečearru district, south of Girjijis. While the word korškė ‘mother’s elder sister’ is attested in Collinder’s materials from this area, it is noted as obsolete. According to the speaker interviewed by Collinder, the word mūohta used to refer to a younger sister of the mother, but at the time of the interview it was used for elder and younger maternal aunts alike (Grundström 1946–54: 341, 538). Further south, in the Lule Saami dialects of Sirges and Jåhkågasska, Harald Grundström has noted the word ēhkē (standard Lule Saami iehke) ‘father’s elder brother’ as “almost obsolete” (“nästan obrukligt”). For one speaker from

² Another kinship term noted down by Whitaker in 1952 merits further comment. In a footnote on the nominative plural vānhēnāk ‘parents’, Whitaker (1979: 83) writes: “In retrospect I cannot believe that this is correctly recorded, as the Karesuando plural would end in -t. It may well be an example of the unconscious influence exerted on the fieldworker by Nielsen’s dictionary.” While this is possible, it may very well also be the case that the final -k noted by Whitaker is actually correct: the nominative plural suffix -k was still in use when Collinder documented the Lávnnjitvuopmi dialect some twenty years earlier (e.g. muȯ̆ϑhd, nominative plural of mūohtā ‘mother’s sister’).

³ On the following page, Pehrson (1964: 27) notes that “Könkämä Lappish generally substitutes an initial c for initial ē, thus čæce and [its polar term] čæccet become cæce and cæccet.” The development of a voiceless dental fricative *g to a sibilant s, seen in the word muossa, is also found in other dialects of North Saami, as well as in Pite Saami, Ume Saami and the southern variety of Saamic documented by Per Holmberger in the 1770s (Kejonen 2019: 228).
Jåhkågasska, the word ɓeḗh (standard Lule Saami tjihtje) is noted as having been used in the meaning ‘father’s younger brother’ before, but at the time of the interview, this word was used for all paternal uncles alike. The word mūʻhtā (standard Lule Saami muohtā) is noted only in a general meaning ‘mother’s sister’ in Jåhkågasska, whereas no such general meaning is given for koːske (standard Lule Saami goasske) ‘mother’s elder sister’ (Grundström 1946–54: 74, 341, 538, 1162).

The loss of an age distinction has also taken place in the Lule Saami forest dialect spoken in the Jiellelvårre reindeer herding district. In 1923, Björn Collinder noted the existence of the word for an elder brother (or cousin) of the father in this variety (Grundström 1946–54: 74; note however that no transcription is provided for this word). In interviews with two speakers of this dialect, carried out in 2019 and 2020, none of the speakers recognized this word (standard Lule Saami iehke), nor the word for ‘mother’s elder sister’ (standard Lule Saami goasske). Instead, both speakers used the words tjihtje (genitive tjietje) and muodā (accusative muodáv) in a general meaning ‘father’s brother’ and ‘mother’s sister’.

Finally, the same loss of an age distinction is also attested in the southernmost varieties of Saamic. In 1941, Björn Collinder noted the counterparts of standard North Saami eahki ‘father’s elder brother’ and goaski ‘mother’s elder sister’ as missing in the Hjerjedaelie (Härjedalen) dialect of South Saami. Instead, he noted the word dzė tze (standard South Saami tjietsie) in the general meaning ‘father’s brother’ and the word mūgātā ~ mūgā (standard South Saami muahra) in the general meaning ‘mother’s sister’ (Collinder 1943: 17, 65, 108, 109).

At approximately the same time as Collinder documented the Hjerjedaelie dialect, Knut Bergsland noted that the relative age distinctions of the traditional kinship terminology were “almost completely levelled out” (“nesten helt utjevnet”) in the Plassje (Røros) dialect of South Saami spoken in Norway. The word čiečie, meaning ‘father’s younger brother’ in the traditional system, was used regardless of age, as was the word meeata, traditionally meaning ‘mother’s younger sister’. The word jiekia, meaning ‘father’s elder brother’, was noted as “almost not used” (“brukes nesten ikke”) and the word goāskie (standard South Saami gæskie) was attested only as referring to a maternal grandmother’s elder sister (Bergsland 1942: 152). As noted by Bergsland, this latter shift in meaning points towards the late loss of an age distinction in the terms for maternal aunts.

3. Discussion
In the varieties of North Saami, Lule Saami and South Saami described here, the relative age distinction in the terms for paternal uncles and maternal aunts has been wholly or partly lost. Instead there is a tendency, noted in passing
already by Collinder (1953: 157, 1959: 110), for the terms traditionally meaning ‘father’s younger brother’ and ‘mother’s younger sister’ to take on a general meaning ‘father’s brother’ and ‘mother’s sister’, respectively, and for the words referring to elder siblings of the parents to fall out of use. One notable exception to this rule is the situation documented by Collinder himself in Girjjis, where the two terms for paternal uncles were apparently used interchangeably close to a century ago. This situation could be seen as an intermediate step towards the present state of affairs in the area, where the word originally meaning ‘father’s younger brother’ has taken on a general meaning ‘father’s brother’, just as in several other varieties described here.

In a number of varieties, there is also a tendency to lose the word for ‘mother’s elder sister’ before the word for ‘father’s elder brother’. This can for instance be seen in Whitaker’s description of the situation in Lávnjtjvuopmi, as well as in the contemporary materials from Girjjis. In both of these cases, the word eahki ‘father’s elder brother’ is still remembered—although not used—while the corresponding term on the mother’s side of the family is altogether unknown. This tendency can also be seen in the idiolect documented by Collinder in Geaggánvuopmi, where the Saami word for ‘mother’s elder sister’ has been replaced by a loanword, while the traditional terminology remains intact on the father’s side of the family. In this context, it should however also be noted that there is a male bias in the material as a whole. For instance, both Collinder’s data and my own materials from the Lule Saami forest dialect represent male speakers only. The extent of which this bias affects the data is not clear—unfortunately, I have only been able to interview male speakers of this dialect.

The dialects of North Saami and Lule Saami described here are spoken in a contiguous area, making it likely that the developments in these varieties are related. In the case of South Saami vis-à-vis North Saami and Lule Saami on the other hand, two factors make a common innovation less likely. First, there have been no regular contacts between these groups, the distance between e.g. Hierjedaelie and Lávnjtjvuopmi being some 800 km as the crow flies. Second, as shown above, the loss of an age distinction has taken place recently, in some cases as late as during the last century. While the situation in Pite Saami and Ume Saami—the two Saamic languages traditionally spoken between Lule Saami and South Saami—would merit further research, I have not had the opportunity to make any detailed investigations of these varieties.

As none of the languages in contact with Saamic makes an age distinction for paternal uncles or maternal aunts, it is easy to imagine one or several varieties of Saamic losing this feature as a result of language contact. Even though this scenario is possible—or even probable, considering the significant impact of the neighbouring languages on Saamic—language contact alone cannot account for the words meaning ‘father’s elder brother’ and ‘mother’s elder sister’ recurrently being rendered obsolete in favour of the words originally meaning ‘father’s younger brother’ and ‘mother’s younger sister’. Of course,
it cannot be ruled out that the identical developments in e.g. Lávnnjítvuopmi and Hierjedaelie may be a mere coincidence. It is however a conspicuous fact that none of the varieties treated here uses the words traditionally reserved for elder uncles and aunts in a general meaning, but instead favour their younger counterparts—everything else being equal, there should be no reason to favour one age category over another. It seems, then, that the motivation for these developments should be looked for among extralinguistic factors.

Compared to many other endangered indigenous languages of the world, the Saamic varieties must be seen as fairly well documented. Although much is still to be done in terms of language documentation and description, the published and unpublished materials on Saamic present a unique possibility to study the change of language over time. In this paper, I have described one such case of language change: the loss of an age distinction in the terms for paternal uncles and maternal aunts in several varieties of North Saami, Lule Saami and South Saami. While a definitive explanation for this change remains to be found, I hope that the data presented here can benefit further research on kinship terminology and language change.

4. Conclusion

In the traditional kinship terminology of the Saamic languages, there are two words referring to a paternal uncle, differentiated by the uncle’s age relative to ego’s father (e.g. standard North Saami eahki ‘father’s elder brother’ vs. čeähci ‘father’s younger brother’). Similarly, there are two age-differentiated words referring to a maternal aunt (e.g. standard North Saami goaski ‘mother’s elder sister’ vs. muoŧŧá ‘mother’s younger sister’). Drawing on both published and previously unpublished materials, as well as on original interviews, I show that in several varieties of North Saami, Lule Saami and South Saami, this age distinction has been lost. Instead, the words traditionally reserved for the parents’ younger same-sex siblings have gained a general meaning (e.g. Čohkkiras North Saami čeähči ‘father’s brother’ and muohá ‘mother’s sister’) while the terms traditionally referring to an elder paternal uncle and elder maternal aunt have fallen out of use. This change in the kinship terminology has taken place recently, in some cases as late as during the last century.
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References

Kejonen, Olle. Forthcoming. The inflectional verb morphology of the Lule Saami forest dialect.


Appendix 1

“Släktskapsnamn, norra Gellivare 1886”, K. B. Wiklund’s manuscript collection 17, Uppsala University library.

farbrors hustru: ipmi, gen. imee
morbrors ”: “ ”
farbror, äldre än far: äähki
” yngre ” ”: čäähcic
morbor: äänuj
faster: siessa.
fasters man: maahka
en mans sväger: sibjuk
” kvinnas ” en mans svägerska eller svägerskas kusin: sibjuk
en kvinnas svägerska: maahka
sonhustru: ” ”
måg: vivva
brorsbarn: čäähcceep, čääheep.
systerbarn: näähpaat, näähpam! vokativ.
moster äldre än mor: koske
” yngre ” ”: muöhta.
kokes systerbarn: koskeep
muöhtas ”: muöhtal.
siessas brorsbarn: siessal
fartars, morfars barnbarn: aad’dup
farmors, mormors ”: ahkup.

4 In the original manuscript, there is a question mark under the final vowel of this word (cf. North Saami *mannji*, Lule Saami *mannje*).
Appendix 2

Materials from Björn Collinder’s North Saami word collections, archived at the Institute for Language and Folklore (Institutet för språk och Folkminnen), Uppsala. North to South: Ordsamling från Kónkämä, Karesuando [= KK, SaaN Geaggänvuopmi, 1933], ULMA 10041; Ordsamling från Lainiovuoma, Karesuando [= Lv, SaaN Lávnnjitvuopmi, 1933], ULMA 06029; Ordsamling från Suijavaara by, Karesuando [= Su, SaaN Sudjávárri, 1932], ULMA 05409; Ordsamling: Sevä-dialekten, Muodoslompolo kapellag, Pajala [= Se, 1932], ULMA 05373; Ordsamling från Saarivuoma, Jukkasjärvi [= Sv, SaaN Sáre-vuopmi, 1930, 1932], ULMA 10040; Ordsamling från Rautasvuoma, Jukkasjärvi [= Rv, SaaN Gabná, 1930], ULMA 09898; Ordsamling från Kaalasvuoma, Jukkasjärvi [= Kv, SaaN Leaváš, 1928], ULMA 01911). Abbreviations: elat. = elative, gsg = genitive singular, npl = nominative plural.

**Eahki ‘father’s elder brother’**

KK¹ ēhkê, farbror (äldre än far); Lv¹ ēhkê, äldre farbror; Sv² ēhkê (obsolet; Sv² känns inte vid det), † Sv², isän vanhempi veli; † Rv

**Čeahi ‘father’s younger brother’**

KK¹ tståzt’ê, elat. tståzt’zên, setä (yngre än far); Lv¹ tståzt’ê, tståzt’zê, gsg tståzt’sê, yngre farbror; Su tståzt’ê, npl tståzt’ësê, setä; Se³ tståzt’ê, npl tståzt’ësê, elat. tståzt’ësêh, tståzt’ësêh, †farbror (yngre o. äldre), Sv² tståzt’ësêh, †isän nuorempi veli; Rv¹ tståzt’ësê, gsg tståzt’ësê, farbror (äldre l. yngre än fadern); Kv¹b tståzt’ê, farbror

**Goaski ‘mother’s elder sister’**

† † Lv¹; † Sv², Sv² kve’ske- (obsolet; Sv² känns inte vid det), äldre moster; † Rv¹

**Muottá ‘mother’s younger sister’**

KK¹ muót’hâ, muót’hâ, moster (yngre); Lv¹ muót’hâ, npl muót’hâkh, moster; Sv² muót’hâ, Sv² muót’hâ, yngre moster, Sv² muót’hâ, Sv² muót’hâ, npl muót’hâh’t moster; Rv¹ muót’hâ, muót’hâ, moster (äldre l. yngre än mor); Kv¹b muót’hâ, moster
Errata

p. 47  \( \text{mu}\ddot{o}\dot{\theta}\acute{a}h\kappa \) should read  \( \text{mu}\ddot{o}\dot{\theta}\acute{a}h\kappa \)

p. 48  \( \text{dz}\acute{\varepsilon}^\prime \text{tze}^\prime \varepsilon \) should read  \( \text{dz}\acute{\varepsilon}^\prime \text{tze}^\prime \varepsilon \)

p. 53  \( \text{Kk}^1 \text{m}\ddot{\iota}\dot{o}\dot{\theta}^\acute{\imath} \) should read  \( \text{Kk}^1 \text{m}\ddot{\iota}\dot{o}\dot{\theta}^\acute{\imath} \)

p. 53  \( \text{Lv}^1 \ldots \text{mu}\ddot{o}\dot{\theta}\acute{a}h\kappa \) should read  \( \text{Lv}^1 \ldots \text{mu}\ddot{o}\dot{\theta}\acute{a}h\kappa \)