

Kinship Terminology in the Corpus of Bulgarian and Ukrainian Parallel Texts

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Abstract. In this study we examine the occurrences and correspondences of terms for blood kinship in a Bulgarian–Ukrainian parallel corpus of fiction. All instances of the terms selected for study, matching and non-matching, were located and counted, and the frequencies compared. Several interesting asymmetries are found, some due to differences in the structure of the kinship systems, which in turn have roots in culture and history, others reflecting diverse features of language and the practice of literary translation.

Keywords: kinship terms, text corpus, corpus linguistics, parallel texts, Bulgarian language, Ukrainian language, cultural heritage.

1 Introduction

Kinship term systems as a reflexion of social relations within the human community at a certain stage of its development have always attracted the attention of linguists. Yet the development of this field of research, though vigorous, has been uneven. Bulgarian and Ukrainian are among the languages that appear to have received less than their due share of attention, especially as a pair for comparative studies. Such investigations are of high relevance due to the continuous development of society, which entails, among other things, the evolution of the institution of kinship and the associated terminology as an object of linguistic analysis.

In Bulgaria the study of kinship terms goes back to the mid-20th century. The results of several disjoint projects (two questionnaires by Stoyko Stoykov and one by the Ethnographic Institute with Museum at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, as well as research done for the *Atlas Linguarum Europae*) provided material for an unpublished volume of the *Bulgarian Ethnographical Atlas* (1985) and eventually an encyclopaedic dictionary of family relations and their names in Bulgarian dialects [1].

The system of family relationships of Bulgarian immigrants in southern Ukraine in the late 19th–early 20th century was explored in detail by Mykola Derzhavin in the context of a comprehensive study of the language, culture and life of this minority.¹

¹ The work in question presents a comprehensive list of terms for consanguinity, marital and spiritual affinity (only *stepson* and *stepdaughter* are missing), with regional characteristics and descriptions of family customs. A particular note is made of the fact that Bulgarian col-

In a bibliography of more than 1000 research works on kinship terms published in the Russian Empire and the USSR in 1845–1995, only nine deal with Ukrainian material; moreover, eight of those have appeared in 1954–1961, and five are authored by one scholar, Andriy Buryachok [3: 59]. The most comprehensive one is his monograph *Terms of Consanguinity and Affinity in Ukrainian* [4], where the terms of consanguinity (blood kinship) and affinity (marital relationships) are systematised and etymological, historical and linguo-geographical comments are provided. This monograph as well as *Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language* [5] and *Etymological Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language* [6] remain the most informative Ukrainian sources on this topic to date.

In this study we used a parallel corpus of Ukrainian and Bulgarian texts (CUB) and explanatory, etymological, dialect and translation dictionaries of both languages. Such resources comprise that cultural heritage which reflects the peculiarities of the life style and world view of an ethnic and social group and is an inexhaustible mine of material for research on various aspects of this group at different historical stages of its development.

2 The Composition of the Corpus

The bilingual corpus consists of Bulgarian and Ukrainian parallel texts available in electronic libraries or obtained by us from paper editions through scanning, optical character recognition and error correction by *ad hoc* software tools and by hand. For this reason the corpus is composed of fictional works, mostly of novels, which dominate in such sources.

Because original and translated parallel texts for Ukrainian and Bulgarian are hard to come by, especially in online-accessible computer-readable form, we also use Bulgarian and Ukrainian literary translations from other languages as corpus material. Thus CUB has several sectors, all roughly equal in size, each of which covers parallel Bulgarian and Ukrainian texts with the same original language. (See [7] for more details on the general makeup of the corpus.) The current version of CUB includes ten sectors, each measuring approximately 800,000 words on the Bulgarian and 700,000 words on the Ukrainian side, with eight original languages, namely Bulgarian, English, French, German, Italian, Polish, Russian and Ukrainian. There are two sectors with Russian and two with English originals. This amounts to an approximate total of 15 million words in the entire corpus.

3 The Experiment

The lexical items studied in this experiment were kinship terms, mostly for consanguineous relations (ancestors, descendants and ancestors' descendants), but also some others if they tend to be lexicalised in the same way as consanguineous ones (espe-

onists' families at the time tended to consist of parents and children, and the older generation lived in the youngest son's family (which, we may observe, is a typical Ukrainian custom) [2: 99–100].

cially in the area of uncles and aunts, where parents' siblings aren't always distinguished from parents' siblings' spouses). All instances of these terms in the corpus, matching and non-matching, were located and counted.

One obvious problem in a study of this kind is deciding what should be included. Homonyms (e.g., Bg *син* 'blue' : *син* 'son', Uk *мати* 'to have' : *мати* 'mother') were eliminated as a matter of course, as were derived but distant meanings that only concern one of the corpus languages (Bg *маминка* 'madam (of a brothel)' < *мама* 'mum', Uk *мамка* 'wet-nurse' < *мама* 'mum'). However, secondary meanings that can be rendered by kinship terms in both languages were counted (*сестра* 'nurse, paramedic' < 'sister'). We excluded most derived words (Bg *бащиния* 'parental possessions, inheritance', Bg *отечество*, Uk *батьківщина*, *вітчизна* 'fatherland', Uk *брататися* 'fraternise', etc.), leaving only collective nouns and possessive and relational adjectives, which often correspond to nouns in the parallel text.

4 The Kinship Systems

Both Bulgarian and Ukrainian have underived terms for eight kinds of blood kin:

- 1) parents;
- 2) siblings;
- 3) cousins;
- 4) children;
- 5) parents' parents (grandparents);
- 6) parents' siblings (uncles and aunts);
- 7) siblings' children (nephews and nieces);
- 8) children's children (grandchildren).

Further terms can be obtained by several mechanisms. Both languages use the iterable prefix *пра-* 'great-', usually with terms for parents' parents and children's children, though occasionally, especially in translations from English and German into Bulgarian, with parents' siblings and siblings' children as well. In Bulgarian degrees of cousinhood are distinguished by ordinal numerals used with cousin terms (*първи братовчед* 'first cousin'), but there are no terms for ancestors' cousins or cousins' descendants.² Ukrainian can form terms for any kinship relation by using cardinal-derived operations (*двоюрідний брат* 'first cousin', *троюрідний племінник* 'second cousin's son'), as well as ordinal-derived ones (*брат у перших* 'first cousin' ~ *брат у першому стрічному* 'brother in the first paternal uncle's [branch of the family]', *дядечко в третих* 'parent's third cousin'), though the latter are seldom found in the corpus.

5 The Older Generations

Both languages have terms for ancestors of indefinite past generations, as well as for

² The translator of *The Swan Flock* by Vasyl Zemlyak attempts to render Uk *дядечко в третих* (*других, перших*) as Bg *вуйчо от трето* (*второ, първо*) *коляно* 'maternal uncle of the third (second, first) generation', but this is hardly an established term.

grandfathers, great-grandfathers, and so on. Since they overlap significantly, the most frequent terms will be presented together.

	—	<i>предок</i>	<i>працур</i>	<i>прадід</i>	<i>дід</i>
—		34	3	6	234
<i>предци</i>	4	21	4	1	1
<i>прадеди</i>	5	192	7	20	1
<i>деди</i>	4	20	4	1	20
<i>прадядо</i>	4	15	15	30	
<i>дядо</i>	27			2	533

In this table, as in all ones, the Bulgarian terms label the rows, the Ukrainian ones the columns, and every cell contains the number of times when the two terms match (or, where the row or column is labelled by a dash, when the other term is used with no corresponding kinship term in the parallel text).

In Bulgarian the frequent words for ‘ancestor’ are all *pluralia tantum*, and include *деди* and *прадеди*, which have split off from the lexemes *дядо* ‘grandfather’ and *прадядо* ‘great-grandfather’ (pl. *дядовци* and *прадядовци*). In Ukrainian no such split has happened, and *діди* and *прадіди* (pl. of *дід* and *прадід*) have both precise and imprecise meanings [5.2: 299], but there is the word *працур*, synonym of *предок* ‘ancestor’. The most common pair for ‘ancestors’ turns out to be *прадеди:предки*.

We see that Uk *дід* ‘grandfather’ fails to correspond to a kinship term significantly (by an order of magnitude) more often than Bg *дядо* does, part of the reason for which is that, although both have the meaning ‘old man’, the Ukrainian word assumes it more readily.

For ‘great-grandmother, grandmother’ we have:

	—	<i>прабаба</i>	<i>баба</i>
—			201
<i>прабаба</i>	2	11	
<i>баба</i>	89		525

Here, too, one can see that Uk *баба* ‘grandmother’ corresponds to no kinship term 2¼ times more often than its Bulgarian counterpart, for a similar reason (being a more common way of saying ‘old woman’) and also because it can simply mean ‘woman’ in some styles.

The four most frequent items in the lexical and semantic field FATHER in Bulgarian are *баща*, *татко*, *отец* and *родител*; in Ukrainian they are *батько*, *тато*, *отець* and *панотець*.³ The frequencies of the correspondences are as follows:

³ Bulgarian and Ukrainian form, together with Belorussian, a small class of Slavic languages whose most common word for ‘father’ is not a descendant of Proto-Slavic **отьсь*, but of **бата*, **bat-(i)-ja*, which in turn is thought to be a semantically shifted simplification of Proto-Slavic **brat(r)ь* ‘brother’ [8.1: 37, 6.1: 152]. The item is a relatively new one: in Ukrainian it is first attested in 1504 [4: 13]. The same root has produced Bulgarian *бате*, *батко* ‘elder brother’ and Ukrainian regional *бадя* etc. (Section 6) with the wide range of meanings ‘close older relative, brother, sister’s husband, parent’s brother’ [9: 21], likely relics of early

	—	<i>батько</i>	<i>тато</i>	<i>отець</i>	<i>панотець</i>
—		381	32	121	61
<i>баща</i>	185	3361	76	47	3
<i>татко</i>	27	283	379	2	2
<i>отец</i>	174	8		233	40
<i>родител</i>	37	297	3		

Several things about this table invite attention. First, Uk *батько* fails to correspond to any kinship term in the parallel text more than twice more often than Bg *баща* does. Second, the match *татко:батько* is 3¾ times more frequent than the match *баща:тато*. This is partly explained by the fact that Bg *баща* is almost never used in direct address, unlike Uk *батько* (vocative *батьку*).

(1) Bg: *Слушай, татко* — започна тя възбудено.

Uk: *Послухай, батьку*, — почала вона збуджено. (Alexander Belyaev, *Ariel*)

Finally, *баща:отець* is 6 times more frequent than *отец:батько*, showing that in Ukrainian the old Slavic term for ‘father’ has kept its old meaning to a greater degree than in Bulgarian.

In the field MOTHER two terms lead by a wide range in each language: an unmarked word (Bulgarian *майка*, Ukrainian *мати*) and a hypocoristic one (*мама*).

	—	<i>мати</i>	<i>мама</i>
—		314	28
<i>майка</i>	181	3274	206
<i>мама</i>	17	169	435

Uk *мати* fails to correspond to any kinship term in the parallel text 1¾ times more often than Bg *майка* does, which is similar to what we saw above. The relation of the number of occurrences of a neutral term matching a hypocoristic one, however, is reversed: *майка:мама* is more frequent than *мама:мати*. Here, too, this has to do with a restriction in the use of one of the Bulgarian terms: *мама* (unlike in Ukrainian) never has an overt possessor and can seldom be used for anyone’s mother other than the speaker’s.

(2) Bg: *Аз ще бъда твоя майка...*

Uk: *Я буду твоею мамой...* (Carlo Collodi, *The Adventures of Pinocchio*)

The corpus doesn’t do justice to the variety of terms for UNCLE and AUNT that Ukrainian has. The general terms *дядько* ‘uncle’ and *тітка* ‘aunt’ dominate absolutely, at the expense of more specific terms, which are still alive in the dialects of the southwest. The term *стрий* (*стрийко*), *стрик* ‘father’s brother’ is not found at all, and *вуйко* ‘mother’s brother’ only seven times, thrice as a kenning for ‘bear’ and four times as a situational synonym for Belbo’s uncle Carlo in *Foucault’s Pendulum* by Umberto Eco (though he’s *дядько* ‘uncle [general term]’ on the other occasions); the third meaning listed in [5], ‘form of respectful address for an older man’, is not attest-

forms of social organisation, where elder brothers, fathers and uncles had similar duties within the large family.

ed at all. Similarly, *вуйна* ‘mother’s brother’s wife’ and *стрийна* ‘father’s sister; father’s brother’s wife’ are absent in the corpus, and *дядина* ‘uncle’s wife’ only appears twice. In Bulgarian the semantic domains UNCLE and AUNT show immense variation across dialects and over time. In the corpus we find *чичо* ‘father’s brother’, *свако* ‘aunt’s husband’, *вуйчо* ‘mother’s brother’ and *бай* ‘gaffer’ (not a kinship term, but a frequent correspondence for *дядько*), as well as *леля* ‘aunt (in general), father’s sister’, *стрина*, *чинка* ‘father’s brother’s wife’, *вуйна* ‘mother’s brother’s wife’ and even the German loan *танти* in Pavel Vezhinov’s novel *Traces Remain*, but no occurrence of (chiefly Western) *тетка* ‘mother’s sister’. Both Uk *дядько* ‘uncle’ and *тітка* ‘aunt’ (with their diminutive forms) fail to correspond to any kinship term in the parallel text more often than their several Bulgarian counterparts taken together, by a factor of 3.25 and 2.7, respectively.

6 Ego’s Generation

The Bulgarian words *батко* ‘elder brother’ and *кака* ‘elder sister’ appear seldom in the corpus (10 and 3 times, respectively); indeed, it would be difficult to expect them in texts with other than Bulgarian originals. Terms for elder siblings are found in Ukrainian dialects (*бадя*, *бадьо*, *бадей*, *баді(у)ка*, *баді(у)ко* ‘elder brother’ [9: 21] і *леля*, *ле(і)ліка*, *ліца* ‘elder sister’ [9: 256, 263], *тета* ‘significantly elder sister’ [9: 544]), but not in the standard language, and not in the corpus.

The Ukrainian word *брат* ‘brother’ and its cognates (excluding *братчик*, which means ‘monk’ more often than not) fail to correspond to kinship terms 1.2 times more often than the corresponding Bulgarian words. For *сестра* ‘sister’ the ratio is reversed to just over 1 in the other direction. Yet the only Bulgarian terms which are used without a kinship counterpart on the other side significantly more often than the corresponding Ukrainian terms are *братовчед* ‘male cousin’ and *братовчедка* ‘female cousin’, with a ratio of 4 and 2.4, respectively. A possible explanation is that Uk *двоюрідний* (*троюрідний*, ...) *брат*, *двоюрідна* (*троюрідна*, ...) *сестра*, *брат у/сестра в перших* (*других*, ...) are lengthy and requires the degree of the kinship (first, second etc. cousin) to be known, and *кузен* and *кузина*, though more common in the corpus, are still felt as foreign.

	—	<i>брат</i>	п-юр. <i>брат</i>	<i>кузен</i>
—		350	3	19
<i>брат</i>	291	2556		1
<i>братовчед</i>	75	18	66	308

	—	<i>сестра</i>	п-юр. <i>сестра</i>	<i>сестра в перших</i>	<i>кузина</i>
—		172			5
<i>сестра</i>	181	1403			
<i>братовчедка</i>	12	6	25	2	90

7 The Younger Generations

Each corpus language has one item for ‘son’ (Bg, Uk *син*) and two for ‘daughter’, with a slight difference in register (Bg *дъщеря*, *щерка* and Uk *дочка*, *донька*), which often correspond to words meaning ‘boy’ and ‘girl’, respectively (Bg *момче*, *момиче*; Uk *хлопець*, *дівчинка*), or ‘child’ (Bg *дете*, *чедо*, *чадо*; Uk *дитина*). In addition, in Ukrainian the same meanings can be expressed by productive derivational suffixes (*гетьман-ич* ‘hetman’s son’, *шевч-ук* ‘tailor’s son’, *багач-ук* ‘rich man’s son’, *без-батч-енко* ‘no father’s son’; *султан-івна* ‘sultan’s daughter’, *коваль-ова* ‘blacksmith’s daughter’). Since neither the suffixed derivatives nor ‘boy’, ‘girl’ or ‘child’ are genuine kinship terms, they were not counted from the outset, so we have no data on how often they match one another.

	—	<i>син</i>	suffix	<i>хлопець</i>	<i>дитина</i>
—		308			
<i>син</i>	214	2906	25	25	40
<i>момче</i>		83			
<i>дете</i>		66			
<i>чедо</i>		9			
<i>чадо</i>		16			

	—	<i>дочка</i>	<i>донька</i>	suffix	<i>дівчинка</i>	<i>дитина</i>
—		144	47			
<i>дъщеря</i>	104	1141	496	82	21	26
<i>щерка</i>	5	25	23	12	3	
<i>момиче</i>		20	10			
<i>дете</i>		46	21			
<i>чедо</i>		3	1			

These tables reveal several interesting facts. First, Uk *син* fails to correspond to any kinship term (or ‘boy’ or ‘child’) almost 1½ times more often than Bg *син* does. For Uk *дочка* and *донька* on one hand, and Bg *дъщеря* and *щерка* on the other, this ratio is even 1¾. Second, Bulgarian replaces ‘son’ with ‘child’ and especially with ‘boy’, and also ‘daughter’ with ‘girl’ and especially with ‘child’, more readily than Ukrainian. From the second table one sees that Bg *дъщеря* and Uk *дочка* are each other’s preferred counterparts, but Bg *щерка* is equally likely to correspond to Uk *дочка* and *донька*.

In the field NEPHEW both languages use two terms (Bg *племенник* ‘nephew’ and *братанец* ‘brother’s son’ and Uk *небіж* and *племінник* ‘nephew’), not counting Uk *братанич* ‘brother’s son’, which only appears once. The corpus doesn’t feature Bg *сестриник* ‘sister’s son’ or Uk (regional) *непїт*, *нипїт*, *непот* ‘nephew, sibling’s son’ [9: 330], *братанець*, *синовець* ‘brother’s son’, *сестричич* ‘sister’s son’ at all.

	—	<i>небіж</i>	<i>племінник</i>
—		14	5
<i>племенник</i>	15	107	64
<i>братанец</i>	2	34	7

The field NIECE is even more narrow, with only *племенниця* in Bulgarian and *небога* and *пемінниця* in Ukrainian (no instances of *братанка* or *синовиця* ‘brother’s daughter’). Interestingly, while Uk *небіж* is twice more frequent than *пемінник*, the frequencies of *небога* and *пемінниця* are nearly equal.

8 Lost in Translation

Occasionally kinship terms with different meanings are found in the same place in the Bulgarian and the Ukrainian text.

Sometimes the reason is that different terms have been used with the same non-literal meaning: *брат:отець* (20 times) and *отец:брат* (4 times) as a monk’s title, *чичо:батько* (5 times) for addressing an older man, *баба:мати, матінка* (4 times) for an elderly woman.

In some places a translator has chosen not to express a relation fully for convenience’s sake, as when *дядечко в третіх* ‘parent’s (in this case, mother’s) male third cousin’ from the Ukrainian original of *The Swan Flock* by Vasyl Zemlyak is rendered as *далечен вуйчо* ‘distant maternal uncle’ three times in the Bulgarian translation for want of a concise and precise term,⁴ or when Uk *брат* ‘brother’ and *сестра* ‘sister’ correspond to Bg *братовчед* ‘male cousin’ and *братовчедка* ‘female cousin’ (18 and 6 times, respectively) for brevity. The complexity of the relation is likely the reason for which *great-nephews and great-nieces in The Forsyte Saga* by John Galsworthy, rendered as *праплеменници и праплеменнички* in Bulgarian (which is correct to the letter, though unusual), have become *троюрідн[і] пемінник[и] і пемінниц[і]* (actually ‘second cousins’ sons and daughters’) in the Ukrainian. The number of repetitions of ‘great-’ in terms for distant ancestors and descendants is a domain in which translators are careless particularly often.

Sometimes the reason is the vagueness or ambiguity of a term in a third-language original. Thus Belbo’s uncle Carlo, who as we mentioned earlier is *вуйко* ‘mother’s brother’ several times in the Ukrainian text, is *чичо* ‘uncle [not mother’s brother]’ in the Bulgarian one: the Italian word *zio* is indifferent to whether the relative is a father’s or a mother’s brother (or indeed an aunt’s husband), though there is a slight hint in the narration that he was from the mother’s side of the family. Similarly, the breadth of the meaning of Italian *nipote* ‘nephew, niece; grandchild’ appears to have caused 3 occurrences of *внук:небіж* and 5 of *внучка:небога*.

Finally, mistranslations also occur, albeit very seldom:

⁴ It is interesting to trace the translations of this term in the novel. The first occurrence is rendered as *трети братовчед на майката* ‘third cousin of the mother’; on the second, the word *вуйчо* ‘maternal uncle’ is added; on the third, *вуйчо от трето коляно* ‘maternal uncle of the third generation’ is used; and then *далечен вуйчо* takes over, until *вуйчо от трето коляно* reappears on the last occasion.

The emphasis on the distance may reveal a case of quantity turning into quality: in late 19th–early 20th-century Bulgaria, according to [10], parents’ second (and first) cousins were simply considered uncles and aunts and called by the same terms as parents’ siblings, whereas parents’ third cousins were not kin at all (and one was allowed to marry their children).

- (3) Bg: *Вижте, Елдари и синове човешки, денят дойде!*
 Uk: *Узри, елдарський народо, та ви, отці людей, час настав!*
 En (original): *Behold, people of the Eldar and Fathers of Men, the day has come!*
 (John RR Tolkien, *The Children of Húrin*)

All men are sons of men, but not all are fathers. The Bulgarian translator has substituted, consciously or not, a common turn of speech for a highly unusual one.

- (4) Bg: *Заселник беше и синът на милата мисис Макендър, Чарли Макендър ...*
 Uk: *Небіж любої мисіс Мак-Ендер, Чарлі Мак-Ендер, теж поселенець ...*
 En (original): *Dear Mrs. MacAnder's boy, Charlie MacAnder, was one ...*
 (John Galsworthy, *The Forsyte Saga*)

It is said in the novel that Mrs. MacAnder never had any children, so the Bulgarian translator's reading of *boy* as 'son' can't be correct, although Charlie being her nephew (also mentioned elsewhere) remains the Ukrainian translator's guess.

9 Complex Cases

Our corpus is composed of fiction, which need not be translated literally. Although in most cases a kinship term corresponds to a term with the same general meaning or to nothing at all, on some occasions one finds a term with a different meaning or a composition or a union of two terms. Let us look at some of the possibilities.

9.1 Gender mismatch

Eight times the Bulgarian text features a female kinship term and the Ukrainian one its male correlate, and once it is the other way around, either because a character is anthropomorphised into different sexes or because idiomatic expressions happen to use just these terms:

- (5) Bg (original): *А Луната е сестра на Слънцето.*
 Uk: *А Місяць — брат Сонця.* (Marko Marchevski, *Island Tambuktu*)
- (6) Bg: *Моят братовчед плъхът Чуа ми каза ...*
 Uk: *Моя двоюрідна сестра, пацючиха Чуа, казала мені ...*
 (Rudyard Kipling, *The Jungle Book*)
- (7) Bg: *Б-бабини деветини...*
 Uk: *Д-дідівські прийомчики...*
 (Arkady and Boris Strugatsky, *Monday Begins on Saturday*)
- (8) Bg: *Научил си се там, във Вавилон, да изскачаш като пърле пред майка си.*
 Uk (original): *Навчився там, у Вавилоні, вискакувати поперед батька.*
 (Vasyl Zemlyak, *Green Mills*)

9.2 Alternative alter

In 18 sentence pairs the same ego is referred to by different kinship terms in the two

languages, because different alters are chosen (in the diagrams the arrows go from ego to alter):



(9) Bg: *Този път в Мортън отидоха братовчедките ми.*

Uk: *Замість мене до Мортона пішли його сестри.*

(Charlotte Brontë, *Jane Eyre*)

(10) Bg (original): *И отде да знам дали дядо ти Минко не го е платил на Палазов това злато.*

Uk: *Та й хіба я знала, чи тато не повернув золото Палазову?*

(Bogomil Raynov, *Don't Make Me Laugh*)

9.3 Converse relations

On 28 occasions the person who is ego in each text is alter in the other:



(11) Bg: *Разбира се, Маугли, като дете на дървар, беше наследил множество човешки инстинкти...*

Uk: *І справді, Мауглі несвідомо перейняв навички свого батька-лісоруба...*

(Rudyard Kipling, *The Jungle Book*)

(12) Bg: *Джон не бе много привързан към майка си и сестрите си...*

Uk: *Джон був не дуже ніжний син і брат...*

(Charlotte Brontë, *Jane Eyre*)

9.4 Superposition of relations

In 13 sentence pairs a superposition of two Bulgarian terms corresponds to one Ukrainian term, 12 times the opposite takes place, and once there are superpositions (different ones) on both sides:



(13) Bg: *Князът има две братови дъщери!*

Uk: *У князя дві небоги!*

(Henryk Senkiewicz, *With Fire and Sword*)

(14) Uk: *Це Вел Дарті, — мовив Сомс, — син моєї сестри.*

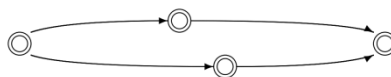
Bg: *Доведох Вал Дарті — каза Соумс. — Племенника ми.*

(John Galsworthy, *The Forsyte Saga*)

(15) Bg: *... госпожа маршалката дьо Фервак настояваше един неин дядов брат да стане кавалер на ордена.*

Uk: *... пані де Фервак вимагала орден за дядечка свого батька.*

(Stendhal, *Red and Black*)

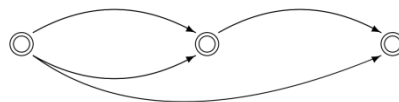


As could be expected, several of these involve relations that are hard to express with a single term in one of the languages (Bg *прачичо* 'great-uncle' ~ Uk *брат діда* 'brother of grandfather', Uk *двоюрідна племінниця* 'female cousin once removed' ~ Bg *дъщеря на братовчед* 'daughter of a cousin').

On six further occasions the text which expresses the relation of the ego to the alter by a single term also states the ego's relation to the connecting link:

(16) Вг: Младежът е син на Ландолфо от Прочида, роден брат на мессер Джани от Прочида...

Ук: Той юнак — син Ландольфа з Прочіди і братанич того мессера Джанні з Прочіди...



(Giovanni Boccaccio, *The Decameron*)

(17) Ук: Я — Торін, син Траїна, сина Трора, короля Самітної гори!

Вг: Аз съм Торин, син на Траин и внук на Трор, Краля на Планината!

(John RR Tolkien, *The Hobbit*)

(18) Вг: Хуор пък се венчал за Риан, братовчедката на Морвен; тя била дъщеря на Белегунд, син Бреголосов.

Ук: Гуор одружился з Риан, двоюрідною сестрою Морвен, донькою Белегунда, онукою Бреголаса.

(John RR Tolkien, *The Children of Húrin*)

9.5 Union of relations

In 27 sentence pairs one Bulgarian term corresponds to a union of two Ukrainian ones, and 16 times the opposite takes place. Most often (16 and 14 times, respectively) one side says ‘parents’ and the other ‘father and mother’ (in this order, with only two exceptions).

(19) Вг: Тя изпрати веднага да свикат всичките ѝ хора, двамата ѝ пастори, децата ѝ.

Ук: Вона покликала всіх своїх людей, обох пасторів, сина ѝ дочку.

(Heinrich Mann, *Young Henry of Navarre*)

(20) Вг: На братовчеди е позволено — отвърна Вал.

Ук: Кузенові ѝ кузині можна, — сказав Вел.

(John Galsworthy, *The Forsyte Saga*)

(21) Вг: Е — продължи мистър Рочестър, — щом нямате родители, сигурно имате някакви роднини — чичовци, вуйчовци, деди и вуйни.

Ук: Гаразд, — провадив далі містер Рочестер, — коли вже у вас немає батьків, то все ж мусить бути якась рідня: дядьки або тітки.

(Charlotte Brontë, *Jane Eyre*)

(22) Вг: За майка си и баща си взех отделен пакет.

Ук: Потім запакувала подарунки батькам: (Alberto Moravia, *Two Women*)

10 Conclusions

Kinship terms are a culturally marked section of vocabulary. Bulgarian and Ukrainian are closely related, so there are no deep distinctions between their kinship term systems, although there are certain differences.

One repeated observation is that Ukrainian often uses a kinship term where Bulgarian uses a proper name, personal pronoun, some other kind of description, or no description at all; the opposite is much less common—though this is true for kinship

terms that express relations of older or younger generations, not of ego's own. Some differences are due to formal reasons, such as the failure, in Bulgarian, of *баща* 'father' to form a vocative and of *мама* 'mummy' to be used of a mother other than the speaker's (or, in certain circumstances, the listener's), which makes their distributions unlike that of their Ukrainian counterparts. In the semantic group of the younger generation, the presence of productive derivational suffixes with the meaning 'son of', 'daughter of' (applicable to proper names and words for persons by trade and social standing) are a conspicuous peculiarity of Ukrainian.

In both languages the lexical expression of the concept of family is undergoing simplification. We saw this on the example of the semantic domains UNCLE, AUNT, NEPHEW and NIECE: as the social significance of these relations decreases, so does the need for distinguishing their varieties, and the precise terms (Bg *тетка* 'maternal aunt', Uk *чмуї(ко)* 'paternal uncle') tend to become obsolete and many survive only in dialects, being replaced in common use by more general terms. At the same time words for basic kinship relations (grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, brother, sister, son, daughter, grandson, granddaughter) remain in active use and change little over time.

One may also note that the terms for female kin are tangibly less varied than the terms for male kin: the masculine character of society as a whole and of the texts, produced for the most part by men and about men, underlines the masculine view of the world.

The study of this problem in a comparative aspect is particularly valuable for translators and foreign language teachers. But apart from being important for linguistics, such investigations have a significant extralinguistic weight (especially for sociology, anthropology, cultural studies).

11 Future Work

Although at its present size CUB can already be used for comparative research of vocabulary and phraseology, the reliability of the results of such research should grow with the volume of the corpus, and could benefit from a better balance of texts of different fictional genres across its various sectors. At the same time, it would be expedient to study the distribution of meanings of the lexical items of interest in comparable and large monolingual corpora and compare the results.

The inclusion of other kinship terms, including relationship by marriage, is a further obvious direction in which the investigation can develop.

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