

# newar kinship terms in the light of kinship typology

Iswaranand Sresthacharya

According to Schusky, 1965, there are two major ways of classifying kinship systems, one which classifies such systems according to the terms used for addressing one's cousins and one which classifies such systems according to the terms which one uses for one's parents and their siblings<sup>1</sup>. The purpose of this study is to examine the Newar kinship system from these two points of view.

## A. Classification of Kin Systems by "Cousin" Terminology.

Six major types of kinship system are commonly distinguished on the basis of cousin terminology: 1. The Eskimo system, 2. The Hawaiian system, 3. The Iroquois system, 4. The Crow system, 5. The Omaha system, and 6. The Sudanese system. Figure 1. summarizes the defining features of each of these six types. From Figure 2 it can be observed that all cousins are lumped with siblings. Thus, the term, *dāju*, is used not only for one's elder brother but also for any son of either of one's parent's siblings who is older than ego; *kijā* is used for one's younger brother, but also for any son of either of one's parent's siblings who is younger than ego; *tatā* is used both for one's older sister and for a daughter of one's parent's siblings who is older than ego; and *kehe* applies to one's younger sister as well as to a daughter of a parent's sibling who is younger than ego. It may be fairly concluded that the system of kinship terms found in Newari is a system of the Hawaiian type.

## B. Classification by Terms for Parents and their Siblings.

According to Schusky there are four basic types within this type of classificatory scheme: 1. The lineal system, 2. The generational system, 3. The bifurcate merging system, and 4. The bifurcate collateral system.

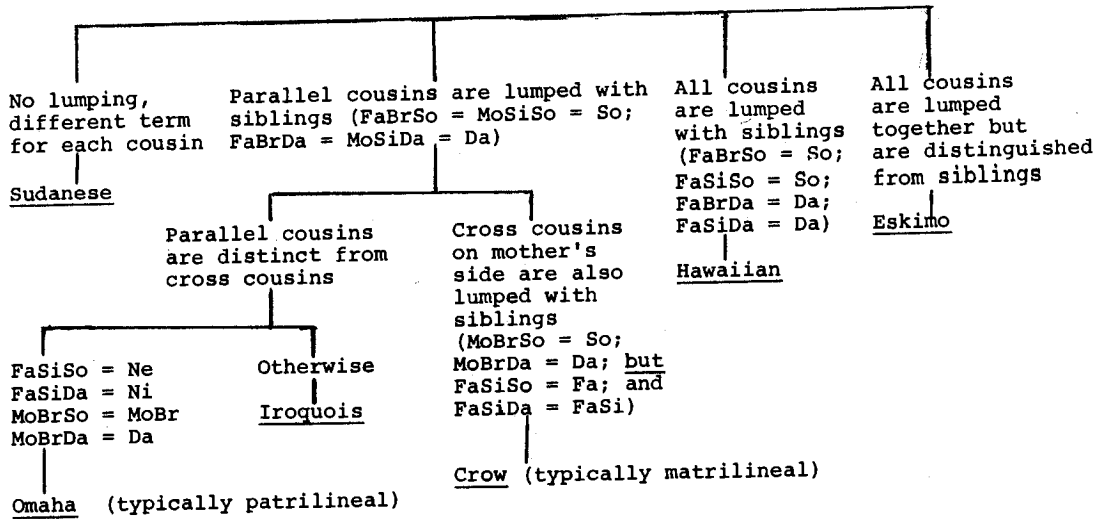


Figure 1. Six major types of kinship system commonly distinguished on the basis of cousin terminology.

With Figure 1 in mind consider now Figure 2, which outlines the relevant portion of the Newar Kinship system.

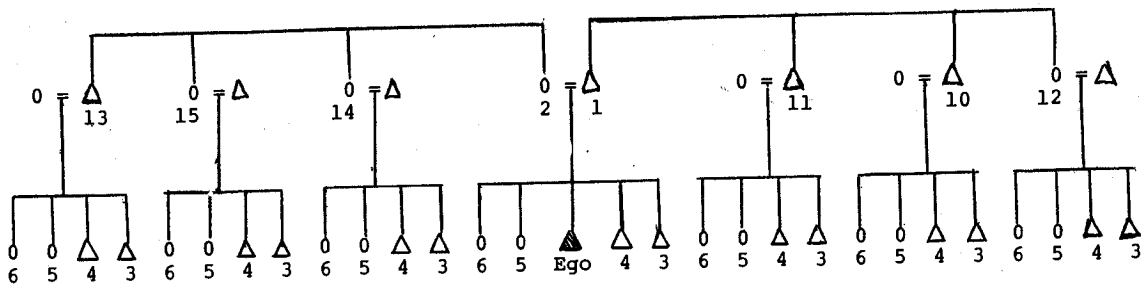


Figure 2. Chart of Newari Kinship Terms for Cousins and for First Ascending Generation.

Terms for Figure 2:

- |                            |                                    |
|----------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. bāā, bwā, abu, bau      | 10. taa-bāā (older than father)    |
| 2. māā                     | 11. ciri-bwā (younger than father) |
| 3. dāju (older than ego)   | (Gbj. Srt. kakā)                   |
| 4. kijā (younger than ego) | 12. nini (age irrelevant)          |
| 5. tatā (older than ego)   | 13. pāju (age irrelevant)          |
| 6. kehę (younger than ego) | 14. tari-māā, taa-māā              |
|                            | 15. camā, ca-māā                   |

(Numbers 7, 8, and 9 are omitted from Figure 2).

Figure 3 summarizes the defining features for each of these types.

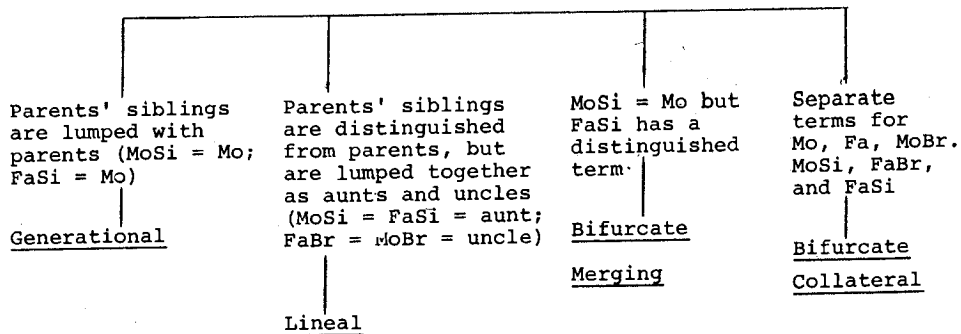


Figure 3, Types of Kin Term Systems According to First Ascending Generation.

Schusky notes in addition that the generational system is similar in principle to the Hawaiian system, the Sudanese system is bifurcate collateral, and most Iroquois, Crow, and Omaha systems are bifurcate merging.

From Figures 2 and 3 it can be seen that the Newar system is closely related to the bifurcate merging system. Newari has no single term for Mother's Sister but distinguishes obligatorily between elder and younger Mother's Sister. What differentiates the terms for Mother's Sisters and the term for Mother are the relative age prefixes. The same relationship holds between the term for Father and the terms for Father's Elder and Younger Brothers. By contrast, Father's Sister and Mother's Brother have separate terms, apparently unrelated morphemically to the terms for Father and Mother.

C. A Glossary of Kirtipur-Nagāā-Pāngā Newari Kinship Terms

This glossary makes use of the following abbreviations:

Ad.	Term of address.	Ni	Niece
Br	Brother	Pa	Parent
Cf.	Compare	Resp.	Respectful form.
Ch	Child	Rf.	Term of reference
Da	Daughter	Srt.	Used by Sresthas
El	Elder	Sb	Sibling
Fa	Father	Si	Sister
Gbj.	Used by Gubhājus	So	Son
Hu	Husband	Sp	Spouse
		var.	variant
Jyp.	Used by Jyāpus	var. of	is a variant of
Ktm.	Kathmandu form	Wi	Wife
Mo	Mother	Yr	Younger
Ne	Nephew		

aji, Ad. Rf. 1. Mother's mother. 2. Father's mother. 3. Only female ancestor of the third descending generation. (Rf. ghat ghae aji, tapāā aji.)

abu, Ad. Rf. (Honorific var. abu-ju) Father.

abu-bājyā, Ad. Rf. (Used both for individuals and collectively) Ancestor. (Syn. bājyā-aju).

āju, Rf. 1. Father's father. 2. Mother's father. (Cf. Ad. bājyā)

kakā, Ad. Rf. (Gbj. Srt.) Father's younger brother.

kakā-bājyā, Ad. Rf. 1. Father's father's younger brother. 2. Mother's father's younger brother.

kakā bāā, Rf. Father's younger brother. (Cf. Ad. bāā).

kakā bāāju, Rf. Husband's father's younger brother. (Cf. Ad. bāā).

kalāā, Rf. (kalāta-) (Direct address avoided with circumlocutions such as Rām-yā māā, Mother of Ram) Wife. (Syn. nakī, jahān).

kāki, Ad. Rf. (Gbj. Srt.) Father's younger brother's wife.

kāki-māā, Ad, Rf. (māma-, Gbj. Srt.) Father's younger brother's wife.

kāki-māā, Ad. Rf. (Honorific var. (Rf. only) kāki-māā-ju) Husband's father's younger brother's wife.

kāe, Ad. Rf. (kāya-) Son.

kāe-cā, Ad. Rf. Brother's son.

kāe-bhau, Rf. Son's wife. (Cf. Ad. bhau-macā, Resp. bhalimacā).

kāe-bhāju, Ad. Rf. (Resp.) Son.

kijā, Ad. Rf. 1. Younger brother. 2. Parent's sibling's son (younger than ego). 3. Ad. any hu.yu.Br. (Rf. kijā bhata kijā bwata).

kijā bhāju, Rf. (Resp.) Younger brother. (Cf. Ad. kijā).

kijā-bhata, Rf. Husband's younger brother. (Cf. Ad. kijā).

kijā-bhau, Ref. Younger brother's wife. (Cf. Resp. Ad. bhali-macā).

kijā-bhwata, Rf. (var. kijā-bhata) Husband's younger brother. (Cf. Ad. kijā).

keḥ, Ad. Rf. 1. Younger sister. 2. Parent's sibling's daughter (younger than ego). 3. Ad. Husband's younger sister. 4. Ad. HuPaSbDa (younger than Hu).

keḥ bhata, Rf. 1. Husband's younger sister. 2. Husband's parent's sibling's daughter (younger than husband). (Cf. Ad. keḥ).

keḥ bhwata, Rf. (var. of keḥ-bhata).

keḥ mae-ju, Rf. (Resp.)<sup>1</sup> Younger sister. 2. Parent's sibling's daughter (younger than ego). (Cf. Ad. keḥ).

kwii, Rf. Descendant of the fifth generation (including SoSoSoSoSo; DaDaDaDaDa; SoDaSoSoSo; DaSoDaDaDa; SoSoDaSoSo; DaDaSoDaDa; SoSoSoDaSo; DaDaDaSoDa; SoSoSoSoDa; DaDaDaDaSo; SoSoDaDaDa; DaDaSoSoSo; etc. for all 64 fifth generation). (No.Ad.). (Syn. kwii-macā).

- kwii-macā, Rf. Descendant of the fifth generation.  
(No. Ad.). (Syn. kwii).
- ghāḥ ghāḥ aji, Rf. Female ancestor of the third ascending generation (including FaFaMo; FaMoMo; MoFaMo, MoMoMo). (Cf. Ad. aji). (Syn. tapāā aji).
- ghāḥ ghāḥ āju, Rf. Male ancestor of the third ascending generation (including FaFaFa; FaMoFa, MoFaFa; MoMoFa) (Cf. Ad. bājyā). Syn. tapāā āju ghāe ghāe bājyā).
- ghāḥ ghāḥ bājyā. same as above.
- cama, Ad. Rf. Mother's younger sister. (Cf. Gbj. cāḥ; Srt. ciri-māḥ).
- ca-māḥ, Ad. Rf. (ca-māma-, var. of camā) Mother's younger sister.
- cāḥ, Ad. Rf. (Gbj.) Mother's younger sister. (Cf. Jyp. camā; Srt. ciri-māḥ).
- ciri-abu, Ad. Rf. Father's younger brother. (Syn. ciri-bāā, ciri-bwā).
- ciri-pāju, Ad. Rf. 1. Mother's younger brother. 2. Mother's younger sister's husband.
- ciri-bāā, Ad. Rf. Father's younger brother. (Syn. ciri-bwā, ciri-abu).
- ciri-bu, Rf. Father's younger brother. (Cf. Ad. ciri-bāā, ciri-abu ciri-bwā).
- ciri-bwā, Ad. Rf. Father's younger brother.
- ciri-mal-ju, Ad. Rf. (var. of ciri-male-ju) Mother's younger brother's wife. (Ktm. ciri-male).
- ciri-māḥ, Ad. Rf. (māma-) Father's second (or subsequent) wife, Father's co-wife, Step-mother.
- cir-bāā, Ad. Rf. (var. of ciri-bāā).
- cir-māḥ, Ad. Rf. (var. of ciri-māḥ).
- chae, Ad. Rf. Grand child, descendant of the second descending generation (including SoSo, DaDa, DaSo, DaDa). (Syn. chae-macā).

- chae-jilājāḡ, Rf. (jilājana-) Grand daughter's husband (including DaDaHu, SoDaHu). (Cf. Ad. jicā-bhāju).
- chae-bhinā-macā, Rf. Sister's grand child (including SiSoSo; SiSoDa; SiDaSo; SiDaDa). (Syn. chae bhincā). (Cf. Ad. bhincā).
- chae-bhincā, Rf. Sister's grand child (including SiSoSo; SiSoDa; SiDaSo; SiDaDa). (Syn. chae bhinā-macā). (Cf. Ad. bhincā).
- chae-bhau, Rf. Grandson's wife (including DaSoWi; SoSoWi). (Cf. Ad. bhau-macā).
- chae-macā, Rf. Grand child (including SoSo; SoDa; DaSo; DaDa). (Cf. Ad. chae).
- chē-jicā, Rf. A man who is provided with board and room by his wife's kin.
- chwii, Rf. Great grand child, descendant of the third descending generation (including SoSoSo; SoSoDa; SoDaSo; SoDaDa; DaSoSo; DaSoDa; DaDaSo; DaDaDa). (No. Ad.). (Syn. chwii-macā).
- chwii-macā, Rf. Great grand child, descendant of the third descending generation. (No Ad.). (Syn. chwii).
- jahān, Rf. Wife. (Address avoided with circumlocutions such as Rām-yā māā, Mother of Ram). (Syn. kalāā, nakii).
- jicā, Rf. 1. Daughter's husband. 2. Younger sister's husband. 3. Elder sister's husband. (Cf. ad. jicā-bhāju).
- jicā-dāju, Rf. Elder sister's husband. (Cf. Ad. dāju).
- jicā-pāju, Rf. Father's (elder or younger) sister's husband. (Cf. Ad. pāju).
- jicā-bhāju, Ad. Rf. (Resp.) 1. Daughter's husband. 2. (Elder or younger) sister's husband.
- jilājāḡ, Rf. (jilājana-) 1. Daughter's husband. 2. Younger sister's husband. (Cf. Ad. jicā-bhāju).
- jilājāḡ bhāju, Rf. Ad. 1. Resp. daughter's husband, 2. Younger sister's husband.



jiica, Ad. Rf. (var. of jicā).

taa-kehe, Rf. Collective term for brothers and sisters as well as cousins. (Cf. Srt. phukii).

taa-bāā, Ad. Rf. Father's elder brother. (Cf. Jyp. tari-bāā).

taa-māā, Ad. Rf. (māma-) 1. Mother's mother. 2. Father's mother. 3. (Srt. Gbj.) Father's elder brother's wife.

tatā, Ad. Rf. 1. Elder sister. 2. Parent's sibling's daughter (older than ego). 3. (Ad. only) Husband's elder sister (Cf. Rf. tatā-ju, tatā-bhata).

tatāā-ju, Ad. Rf. (Srt.) Elder brother's wife. (Cf. Jyp. bhwata; Gbj. pii-bhata).

tatā-ju, Rf. Husband's elder sister. (Cf. Ad. tatā). (Syn. tatā-bhata).

tatā-bhata, Rf. Husband's elder sister. (Cf. Ad. tatā) (Syn. tatā-ju).

tatā-bhwata, Rf. (var. of tatā-bhata).

tapāā-aji, Ad. Rf. Female ancestor of the third ascending generation (including FaFaMo; FaMoMo; MoMoMo). (Syn. ghāe ghāe-aji). (Ktm. tapāe-aji).

tapāā āju, Rf. Male ancestor of the third ascending generation (including FaFaFa; FaMoFa; MoFaFa; MoMoFa). (Syn. ghāe ghāe-āju). (Cf. Ad. tapāā bājyā). (Ktm. tapāe-āju).

tapāā bājyā, Ad. Rf. Male ancestor of the third ascending generation (including FaFaFa; FaMoFa; MoFaFa; MoMoFa). (Ktm. tapāe bājyā).

ta-māā, Ad. Rf. (māma-, var. of tari-māā) 1. Mother's elder sister. 2. Father's elder brother's wife.

tari-abu, Ad. Rf. Father's elder brother. (Syn. taa-bāā). (Cf. ciri-bwā, FaYrBr).

tari-nini, Ad. Rf. Father's elder sister. (Cf. ciri-nini, FaYrSi).

tari-pāju, Ad. Rf. Mother's elder brother. (Cf. ciri-pāju, MoYrBr).

- tari-bāā, Ad. Rf. Father's elder brother. (Cf. ciri-bāā, FaYrBr).
- tari-bu, Ad. Father's elder brother. (Cf. Rf. tari-bwā, tari-bāā, tari-abu).
- tari-bwā, Ad. Fr. Father's elder brother. (Cf. ciri-bwā, FaYrBr.)
- tari-male-ju, Rf. Mother's elder brother's wife. (Cf. Ad. male-ju).
- tari-mal-ju, Rf. (var. of tari-male-ju).
- tari-māā, Ad. Rf. 1. Father's elder brother's wife.  
2. Mother's elder sister.
- tā, Ad. Elder sister. (Ref. tatā).
- tāā-bhata, Rf. Husband's elder sister. (Cf. Ad. tatā).
- tātā, Ad. Rf. (Child talk) Elder sister.
- twāe, Rf. Bond friend. (Compounds ambiguously with kin terms: twāe kijā, Bond friend's younger brother, Younger brother's bond friend; twāe kāe, Bond friend's son, Son's bond friend, etc.) (Ad. avoided).
- twāe-ju, Rf. (Resp.) Bond friend.
- thaa, Rf. (thawa-) Relatives, close kin.
- thaa-gu che, Rf. Husband's home.
- thaa che, Rf. (A married woman's) father's home.
- thaa che khalaa, Rf. (khalaka-) (A married woman's) father's relatives.
- thaa thiti, Rf. Relative, Kin.
- thyākā macā, Rf. An adopted child.
- dadā, Rf. (var. darā) Elder brother. (Cf. Ad. dāju).
- dadā-bhata, Rf. (var. darā-bhata, Jyp.) Husband's elder brother. (Cf. Ad. dāju). (Cf. Gbj. Srt. dāju-bhata).

- dadā-bhwata, Rf. (var. of dadā-bhata, var. dara-bhwata).
- darā, Rf. (var. of dadā).
- darā-bhata, Rf. (var. of dadā-bhata).
- darā-bhwata, Rf. (var. of dadā-bhwata).
- dā, Ad. Elder brother, (Cf. Rf. dāju).
- dāi dāi, Ad. Rf. (Child talk) Elder brother.
- dāju, Ad. Rf. 1. Elder brother. 2. Parent's sibling's son (elder than ego). 3. (Ad. only) Elder sister's husband. (Cf. Rf. jicā-dāju). 4. (Ad. only) Husband's elder brother. (Cf. Jyp. Rf. dadā-bhata; Srt. Gbj. Rf. dāju-bhata).
- dāju-bhata, Rf. (Gbj. Srt.) Husband's elder brother. (Cf. Jyp. darā bhata). (Ad. dāju). dāti-pāju, Rf. Mother's second eldest brother (either elder or younger than mother). (Cf. Ad. păju).
- dāti-male-ju, Rf. (var. dāti-mal-ju) Mother's second eldest brother's wife. (Cf. Ad. male-ju, mal-ju).
- dāe, Ad. Elder brother. (Cf. Rf. dāju).
- duu-pāsā, Rf. The female chaperone of the bride who accompanies her to the groom's house.
- dwalā-ji, Rf. A man who is given food and lodging by his wife's kin.
- dhwam-bwā, Rf. Father's elder brother. (Cf. Ad. taa-bāā).
- nakij, Rf. Wife. (Ad. avoided with circumlocutions such as Rām-yā-māā, The mother of Ram). (Syn. kalāā, jahān).
- nālā, Rf. Adopted. (Occurs with a wide range of kin terms; nāla-kāe, Adopted son; nālā-kehe, Adopted younger sister; nālā-kijā, Adopted younger brother; nālā-tatā, Adopted elder sister; nālā dāju, Adopted elder brother; nālā-macā, Adopted child; nālā-mhyāe, Adopted daughter).
- nini, Ad. Rf. Father's (elder or younger) sister.

nini-aji, Rf. Father's father's (elder or younger) sister. (Cf. Ad. aji).

nini-khalaa, Rf. (khalaka-) Father's (elder or younger) sister's husband's kin.

nini-bajee, Rf. Father's father's (elder or younger) sister. (Cf. Ad. bajee).

nini-pāju, Rf. Father's (elder or younger) sister's husband. (Cf. Ad. pāju). (Syn. jicā-pāju).

nini-māā-ju, Rf. Husband's father's (elder or younger) sister. (Ad. avoided).

nini-māā-ju, Ad. Rf. Term of respect used by persons of lower caste for an elderly woman of higher caste.

nini-māju. (Var. of nini-māā-ju).

nhe-thu, Rf. Husband's former wife. (Ad. avoided). (Cf. li-thu, Husband's later wife).

nhe-su, Rf. Pertaining to husband's former wife. (Occurs with a range of kin terms: *nhe-su-kāe*, Son by husband's former wife; *nhe-su-mhyāe*, Daughter by husband's former wife; *nhe-su-macā*, Child by husband's former wife). (Cf. li-su, pertaining to husband's later wife).

pāu, Ad. Rf. (Child talk) Mother's (elder or younger) brother.

pāju, Ad. Rf. Mother's (elder or younger) brother.

pāju, Ad. Father's (elder or younger) sister's husband. (Rf. nini-pāju).

pāju khalaa, Rf. (khalaka-) Mother's (elder or younger) brother's wife's kin.

pāju-bajee, Rf. 1. Mother's mother. 2. Mother's mother's (elder or younger) brother's wife. 3. Father's mother's (elder or younger) brother's wife. (Cf. Ad. bajee).

pāju-bājyā, Rf. 1. Father's mother's (elder or younger) brother. 2. Mother's mother's (elder or younger) brother. (Cf. Ad. bājyā).

- pāe-aji, Rf. Grandmother's brother's wife (includes FaMoElBrWi; FaMoYrBrWi; MoMoElBrWi; and MoMoYrBrWi). (Cf. Ad. aji, pāe-ji).
- pāe-ji, Ad. Grandmother's brother's wife (includes FaMoElBrWi; FaMoYrBrWi; MoMoElBrWi; and MoMoYrBrWi). (Cf. Rf. tapāā-aji, pāe-aji). (Syn pāju-bajee).
- piili-māeli, Rf. (var. pijili, Collective term used only with reference to a set of kin) Husband's (elder and younger) brothers' wives.
- phukii, Rf. (phukija-) Lineage, male kin descended from a common ancestor.
- phukii-bākā, Rf. Relatives.
- phukii-bākae, Rf. 1. Father's (elder and younger) brothers and their sons (collective term).  
2. Relatives.
- bajee, Ad. Rf. (Srt.) Grandmother (includes FaMo and MoMo).
- bajee-māā, Ad. Rf. (Jyp.) but Rf. only (Srt.) Grandmother (includes FaMo and MoMo). (Cf. Ad. (Srt.) bajee).
- babā, Ad. Rf. (Child talk) Father.
- bāu, Rf. 1. Younger brother. (Cf. Ad. kijā). 2. Any younger boy.
- bāāju, Rf. (Gbj. Srt.) Husband's father. (Cf. Ad. bwā) (Cf. Jyp. sasaa-bwā).
- bājyā, 1. (Ad. Rf.) Grandfather (includes FaFa and MoFa). 2. (Ad. only) Male ancestor of the third ascending generation. (Cf. Rf. ghāe ghāe bājyā, tapāā bājyā).
- bu, Ad. Fr. Father. (Syn. bwā, bāā, abu).
- bau, Rf. Father. (Ad. bāā, bwā, abu).
- bwā, 1. (Ad. Rf.) Father. 2. (Ad. only) Husband's father.
- bwā-ju, Rf. A mother who has eloped with a paramour. (Ad. avoided). (Cf. māā-ju, A father whose wife has eloped with a paramour).

bhāṅ-macā, Ad. Rf. (var. of bhalimacā).

bhāṅ-macā, Rf. Bride.

bhāṅ-macā-mae-ju, Rf. (Resp.) Bride.

bhata, Rf. Husband's kin (Occurs with various other kin terms: keḥ-bhata, Rf. Husband's younger sister (Cf. Ad. keḥ); darā-bhata, Rf. Husband's elder brother (Cf. Ad. dāju); dāju-bhata, Rf. Husband's elder brother (Cf. Ad. dāju); tatā-bhata, Rf. Husband's elder sister (Cf. Ad. tatā); tāā-bhata, Rf. Husband's elder sister (Cf. Ad. tatā); māā-bhata, Rf. Husband's mother (Cf. Ad. māā). Also Cf. (Gbj.) pii-bhata, Elder brother's wife).

bhali-macā, Ad. Rf. (Resp., var. bhāṅ-macā) Son's wife.

bhāāta, Rf. Husband. (Ad. avoided by used of circumlocutions such as Rām-yā bau, Ram's father).

bhinā-macā, Rf. Sister's child (includes ElSiSo; YrSiSo; ElSiDa; YrSiDa) (Cf. Ad. bhincā).

bhincā, Ad. Rf. Sister's child (includes ElSiSo; YrSiSo; ElSiDa; YrSiDa).

bhincā jilājāṅ, Rf. (jilājana-) (Elder or younger) sister's daughter's husband. (Cf. Ad. jicā bhāju).

bhincā bhāju, Rf. (Resp.) Elder sister's son. (Cf. Ad. bhincā).

bhincā bhau, Rf. Father's (elder or younger) sister's son's wife. (Cf. Ad. bhau-macā).

bhincā maeju, Rf. (Resp.) Younger sister's daughter. (Cf. Ad. bhincā).

bhau, Rf. 1. Son's wife. 2. Younger brother's wife. (Cf. Ad. bhau-macā)

bhwata, Rf. (var. of bhata).

bhwata, Rf. (Jyp.) Elder brother's wife. (Cf. Srt. tatāā-ju; Gbj. pii-bhata).

bhwii, Rf. Descendent of the sixth descending generation (including SoSoSoSoSoSo; DaDaDaDaDaDa, etc. for all sixty-four kin relations). (No. Ad.).

- macā-yā bau, Ad. (Avoidance term) Husband.
- macā-yā māā, Ad. (māma-, Avoidance term) Wife.
- mamā, Ad. Rf. (Child talk) Mother
- male, Ad. Rf. (Gbj.) Mother's brother's wife.
- male-ju, Ad. Rf. (var. mal-ju) Mother's (elder or younger) brother's wife. (Ktm. male).
- mal-ju, Ad, Rf. (var. of male-ju).
- māā, Ad. Rf. (māma-) Mother.
- māā-cā, Rf. (Child talk, term of affection) Mother.  
(Cf. Ad. māā).
- māā-ju, Rf. A father whose wife has eloped with another man. (Cf. Ad. bau, bāā, abu).
- māā-bhata, Rf. (Var. māā-bhwata) Husband's mother.  
(Cf. Jyp. sasaa-māā).
- māmā, Ad. Rf. (Jyp.) Father's younger brother's wife.  
(Cf. Gbj. Srt. kāki, kāki-māā).
- māmā, Ad. Rf. (Child talk) Mother.
- māmā-cā, Ad. Rf. (Child talk) Mother. (Cf. Rf. māmā).
- mai, Ad. Rf. (Jyp. Gbj.) 1. Younger sister (Child talk).  
2. Any young girl. (Cf. Srt. maiyā).
- maiyā, Ad. Rf. (Srt.) 1. Younger sister (Child talk).  
2. Any young girl. (Cf. Jyp. Gbj. māi).
- mhyāe, Ad. Rf. (mhyāca-) Daughter.
- mhyāe-cā, Ad. Rf. Sibling's daughter (including ElBrDa; YrBrDa; ElSiDa; YrSiDa).
- mhyāe-chae, Rf. Daughter's child (including DaSo; DaDa). (Cf. Ad. chae).
- mhyāe jilājāā, Rf. (jilājana-) Daughter's husband.  
(Cf. Ad. jicā-bhāju).
- mhyāe mae-ju, Rf. (Resp.) Daughter. (Ad. mhyāe).

- lakhā-pau, Rf. Wife's child by a former husband. (Ad. Avoided). (Ktm. lakhāpā).
- lakhā-pau-macā, Rf. Wife's child by a former husband. (Ad. Avoided). (Ktm. lakhāpā-macā).
- lāhi, Rf. (Collective term) Blood relatives. (Lit. one's flesh and blood).
- li-thu, Rf. Husband's second wife, co-wife.
- li-thu nhe-thu. Rf. General term for wife and co-wife (Syn. nhe-thu li-thu) (Ad. avoided).
- li-su, Rf. Pertaining to one's husband's second wife or co-wife. (Occurs with other kin terms: lisu-kāe, Rf. Hu second WiSo; lisu-mhyāe, Rf. (mhyāca-) Hu second WiDa; lisu-macā, Rf. Hu second WiCh).
- wii, Rf. Descendant of the fourth descending generation (including SoSoSoSo; DaDaDaDa; SoSoSoDa; DaDaDaSo; etc. for all sixteen kin of the fourth generation).
- samilcā, Rf. Female chaperone of the same age as the bride who accompanies the bride to the groom's house and stays with her for the first few days after the wedding.
- samji, Rf. 1. Daughter's husband's Parent (including DaHuMo and DaHuFa). 2. Son's wife's parent (including SoWiMo and SoWiFa). (Ad. avoided).
- samji khalaa, Rf. (khalaka-) 1. Son's wife's family. 2. Daughter's husband's family.
- sasaa, Rf. (sasala-) Pertaining to the in-laws, one's affines, the family of one's spouse.
- sasaa-aji, Rf. Wife's grandmother (including WiFaMo and WiMoMo) (Cf. Ad. aji).
- sasaa-kakā, Rf. (Srt. Gbj.) Wife's father's younger brother. (Cf. Jyp. sasaa-ciri-bwā).
- sasaa-kāki, Rf. (Srt. Gbj.) Wife's father's younger brother's wife. (Cf. Ad. kāki). (Cf. Jyp. sasaa māmā, Rf. (Ad. māmā)).
- sasaa-kāki-māā, Rf. (var. sasaa-kāki) Wife's father's younger brother's wife.



sasaa-kāki-māā, Rf. (var. sasaa-kāki, Srt. Gbj.) Wife's father's younger brother's wife. (Cf. Ad. kāki, kāki-māā) (Cf. Jyp. sasaa māmā).

sasaa-kāe-cā, Rf. X. Spouse's father's younger brother's son. (Includes HuFaYrBrSo and WiFaYrBrSo). (Cf. Ad. kāe-cā).

sasaa-kijā, Rf. Wife's younger brother. (Cf. Ad. kijā). (Cf. kijā-bhata, Rf. Husband's younger brother).

sasaa-kehę, Rf. Wife's younger sister. (Cf. Ad. kehę).

sasaa khalaa, Rf. (khalaka-) 1. (Gbj. Srt. Jyp.) Wife's father's family. 2. (Jyp. only) Husband's father's family.

sasaa ciri-bwā, Rf. (Jyp.) 1. Husband's father's younger brother. (Cf. Ad. bwā). (Cf. Srt. Gbj. sasaa kakā). 2. Wife's Father's younger brother. (Cf. Ad. ciri-bwā). (Cf. Srt. Gbj. sasaa kakā).

sasaa taa-māā, Rf. (māma-) 1. (Srt. Gbj.) Husband's father's elder brother's wife. (Cf. Ad. māā). 2. (Srt. Gbj.) Wife's father's elder brother's wife. (Ad. taa-māā). 3. (Jyp.) Spouse's grandmother (including WiFaMo; WiMoMo; HuFaMo; and HuMoMo). (Cf. Ad. māā).

sasaa tatā, Rf. Wife's elder sister. (Cf. Ad. tatā) (Cf. tāā-bhata, HuElSi; tatā-bhata, HuElSi).

sasaa dā, Ad. Wife's elder brother. (Cf. Rf. sasaa-dāju).

sasaa dāju, Rf. Wife's elder brother. (Cf. Ad. dāju).

sasaa pāju, Rf. Spouse's mother's brother (including HuMoYrBr; HuMoElBr; WiMoElBr; and WiMoYrBr). (Cf. Ad. pāju).

sasaa bu, Rf. Wife's father. (Cf. Ad. bwā, bāā, abu).

sasaa bājyā, Rf. Wife's grandfather (includes WiFaFa and WiMoFa). (Cf. Ad. bājyā).

sasaa bau, Rf. 1. Wife's father. 2. (Jyp.) Husband's father. (Cf. Ad. bau).

sasaa bwā, Rf. 1. Wife's father. 2. (Jyp.) Husband's father (Cf. Gbj. Srt. bāāju). (Cf. Ad. bwā).

sasaa male-ju, Rf. (var. sasaa malju) Spouse's mother's brother's wife (including WiMoYrBrWi; WiMoElBrWi; HuMoYrBrWi; and HuMoElBrWi). (Cf. Ad. malju).

sasaa māā, Rf. (māma-) 1. Wife's mother. 2. (Jyp.) Husband's mother (Cf. Gbj. Srt. māju). (Cf. Ad. māā).

sasaa māmā, Rf. Spouse's father's younger brother's wife (including WiFaYrBrWi and HuFaYrBrWi). (Cf. Ad. māmā).

sasaa mayāe-cā, Rf. Spouse's father's younger brother's daughter (including HuFaYrBrDa; and WiFaYrBrDa). (cf. Ad. mhyāe-cā).

syāā-, Rf. A prefix used to indicate a blood relative. (Occurs with a variety of other kin terms: syāā-kijā, Rf. A younger brother consanguinally related; syāā-dāju, Rf. An older brother related by blood; syāā-kehe, Rf. A younger sister related by blood; syāā-tatā, Rf. An older sister related by blood; syāā-taa-kehe, Rf. Collective term including brothers and sisters both older and younger. This term also includes all the cousins.

#### REFERENCES

Schusky, Ernest L. 1965. Manual for Kinship Analysis. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The author wishes to express his gratitude to Austin Hale for writing this paper based upon the author's notes and for typing two drafts of the paper.

