

A PRELIMINARY REPORT ON KINSHIP
TERMINOLOGIES OF THE BODISH SECTION OF
SINO-TIBETAN SPEAKING PEOPLES

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Thirty years ago, at a time when anthropologists had already published several thousand reports on peoples from all over the world, Nepal was still a blank spot on the ethnographical map. Nepal has since the fall of the Rana regime allowed anthropologists to carry out fieldwork in most parts of the country, and hundreds of reports on various groups and subjects have now been published. The lack of an extensive and detailed descriptive material is, however, still felt, especially by anthropologists engaged in comparative studies.

The purpose of the present report¹ is to present ten kinship terminologies of the Bodish Section of the Bodish Division of Sino-Tibetan speaking peoples². Only two of these have previously been described in the literature.

The report presents firstly the kinship terminologies of the three Thakāli groups and examines next the use of kinship terms among the Thakālis. Finally, subsidiary to the Thakāli kinship terminologies seven related kinship terminologies are also presented. The latter are based on only a few interviews and given in a simplified

transcription. They may contain mistakes but have, however, been published now with the hope, that they might be of some service to anthropologists engaged in comparative studies until more complete and revised versions become available.

THE KINSHIP TERMINOLOGIES OF THE THAKĀLIS

The Thakālis consists of three ideal endogamous groups known as Tamāng, Mawātan, and Yhulkāsummī.³

A Tamāng Thakāli is a socially recognized member of one of the following four patrilineal clans: Cyokī (Gaucan, nep.), Sālkī (Tulācan, nep.), Dimcan (Śercan, nep.), and Bhurkī (Bhaṭṭacan, nep.). The traditional settlement of the Tamang Thakālis is Thāk Sātsai, the southern part of Thāk Kholā in Mustang District. Today the majority of the Tamāng Thakālis are still living in Thāk Sātsai, but a significant number is also found in the hills and plains south of Thāk Kholā. The latter includes descendants of migrants who left Thāk Sātsai up to more than a century ago, as well as migrants who themselves left Thāk Kholā.

A Mawātan Thakali is a socially recognized member of one of the following four patrilineal clans: Rhoṭen Phowe (Lālcān, nep.), Budi or Puten Phowe (Hirācan, nep.), Gumlī thowā Phowe (Juhārcan, nep.), and Gumlī cyāngpā Phowe (Pannācan, nep.). The Mawātan Thakālis is the indigenous population of Mārphā (Mawā, tha.) village in Pāc Gāū, the northern part of Thāk Kholā. At present the majority of the Mawātan Thakālis are still found in Mārphā, but a significant number of migrants have in the past three decades settled in the hills south of Thāk Kholā

A Yhulkāsummī Thakāli is a socially recognized member of one of the following patrilineal descent units or groups: Gyalkī Phowe, Khya Phowe, Jhisīn Phowe, Che Phowe, Sākā Phowe, Sṛane Phowe, Bom Phowe, San Phowe, Syāngtan Phowe, Pāsīng Phowe, and Bompo Phowe.⁴ The traditional settlement of the Yhulkāsummī Thakālis is Thini (Thin, tha.), Syāng, and Chimāng villages in Pāc Gāũ, and the Yhulkāsummī Thakālis are according to their original village divided into three subgroups known as Thin, Syāngtan, and Chimtan. Today all but a few Yhulkāsummī Thakālis are still found in these three villages.⁵

Though the literature on the Thakālis now numbers more than twenty articles and books, the kinship terminologies of the Thakālis have yet not been published. Here the kinship terminologies of the Thakālis are presented in table no. 1 - 3.

A kinship terminology is here defined as a set of kinship terms, and a kinship term as a word primarily used by socially recognized relatives in addressing or speaking of each other. The use of kinship terms is, however, as discussed below, only one of several ways in which relatives can address and refer to each other. Moreover, kinship terms are also used in address between persons who are not socially recognized relatives.

We shall here not carry out an etymological analysis of the Thakāli kinship terms, but can, however, note that most Thakāli kinship terms are related with the kinship terms found in other kinship terminologies of the Bodish Section, especially with those of the Tamang subfamily.⁶ A few terms as e.g. māmā, māijyu, phupu, and kākā are Nepali terms and more recently introduced.

The right columns of the tables include only the most important relatives of the categories of the left columns. Distant relatives have been omitted due to simplification. There are, however, also a number of second generation relatives who have been omitted due to the fact, that they are not a priori classified into a particular category.

Thus, there are no fixed kinship terms between a man or a woman and the children of those persons whom he or she classifies in the same categories as his or her first generation cross-cousins, or reciprocally, between a man or a woman and those persons whom he or she classifies in the same categories as his or her parents' first generation cross-cousins. The tables includes therefore no terms for e.g. FZSS, FZSD, FZDS, FZDD, MBSS, MBSD, MBDS, MBDD, and FFZS, FFZD, FMBS, FMBD, MFZS, MFZD, MMBS, and MMBD.⁷

On the other hand, there are fixed kinship terms between a man or a woman and the children of those persons whom he or she classifies in the same categories as his or her first generation parallel-cousins, or reciprocally, between a man or a woman and those persons whom he or she classifies in the same categories as his or her parents' first generation parallel-cousins.

Furthermore, there are no fixed kinship terms between a man or a woman and the children of those persons whom he or she classifies in the same categories as his or her parents' first generation cross-cousins. That is, between second generation cousins if those grandparents through whom the relationship is traced are of different sex. The tables includes therefore no terms for e.g. FFZSS, FFZSD, FFZDS, FFZDD, FMBSS, FMBSD, FMBDS, FMBDD,

MFZSS, MFZSD, MFZDS, MFZDD, MMBSS, MMBSB, MMBDS, and MMBDD.

On the other hand, there are fixed kinship terms between a man or a woman and the children of those persons whom he or she classifies in the same categories as his or her parents' first generation parallel-cousins. That is, between second generation cousins if those grandparents through whom the relationship is traced are of the same sex. Second generation cousins will in these cases classify each other in the same way as first generation cross-cousins if the parents through whom the relationship is traced are of different sex, and as siblings if the parents through whom the relationship is traced are of the same sex.

THE USE OF KINSHIP TERMS

Socially recognized relatives address and refer among the Thakālis each other by using kinship terms, personal names, nicknames, and titles. Which is actually used depends on the seniority between the speaker and the person whom he or she address or refers to.

Seniority between consanguine relatives is determined according to generation, and secondary according to actual age if the relatives are of the same generation. A man is thus always junior to his FFBS, even if he actually happens to be older. Seniority between affines is determined so, that a person is senior to those relatives of his or her spouse whom the spouse is senior to, and junior to those whom the spouse is junior to.

Senior relatives address and refer to junior relatives by using kinship terms, personal names, and nicknames. Generally, senior relatives use names and nicknames

as long as the junior relatives are unmarried or yet not grown up, and kinship terms as long as the junior relatives are married or grown up. Junior relatives should on the other hand address and refer to senior relatives only by using kinship terms or titles.

The Thakāli kinship terminologies include two kinship terms used in reference only. Women refer to other women who have married into the same patrilineal descent unit or group as themselves as *ṭayusyā* when their husbands are older than the husbands of the women whom they refer to, and as *āmtensyā* when their husbands are younger. The term *ṭayusyā* includes thus e.g. HyBW, while the term *āmtensyā* includes e.g. HeBW.

The Yhulkāsummī kinship terminology includes five kinship terms used in address and reference to one of several brothers, namely *pon*, *mocyāng*, *prite*, *sone*, and *kānchā*. *Pon* refers to the eldest and *kānchā* to the youngest of the brothers. Senior relatives use often these kinship terms when addressing junior men who are one among several brothers. In reference usage is generally limited to parents speaking of their sons, and elder brothers speaking of their younger brothers. On the other hand, junior relatives seldom use these terms when addressing senior relatives. There exist among the Yhulkāsummī Thakālis no corresponding terms for a line of sisters.

Also the Nepali kinship terminology⁸ includes a number of kinship terms used in address and reference to one of several brothers, namely *jethā*, *māilā*, *sāilā*, *kāilā*, and *kānchā*. The corresponding terms for a line of sisters are *jethi*, *māili*, *sāili*, *kāili*, and *kānchi*. These kinship terms are widely used by senior relatives when addressing junior relatives, and by parents in reference

to their children, and by elder siblings in reference to their younger siblings. Junior relatives can also use these terms though only in combination with other kinship terms. An elder brother can address his younger brother as *kānchā*, while a younger brother cannot address his elder brother as *jethā*, but must use the combination *jethā dājyu* or *jethā dāi*, or the kinship terms *dājyu* (nep., e.g. eB) or *dāi* (nep., e.g. eB).

The Thakālis have as other groups in Nepal being in close contact with the Nepali groups adopted these kinship terms into their own language. Furthermore, many of the Thakāli migrants' descendants born and living outside Thāk Kholā speak Nepali as their first language and use thus the Nepali kinship terminology.

Table no. 1 - 3 do not include any kinship terms for husband and wife. Thakāli contain a word *peh* which can be translated as wife, and a word *pah* which can be translated as husband. These words are, however, not kinship terms according to our definition in that relatives never use them when addressing or referring to each other.⁹ Spouses use also not personal names when addressing and speaking of each other.

Spouses usually address each other by using the 2nd person singular personal pronoun, *kyāng* (Tamāng and Mawātan Thakāli) or *kīh* (Yhulkāsummī Thakali), and refer to each other by using the 3th person singular personal pronoun, *th.* It is, however, not unusually to hear spouses address each other with various interjections as e.g. *whoī*, *hey* ! The spouses will after the birth of a child usually refer to each other as *kolā āmā* (*tha.*, the child's mother) and *kolā āwā* (*tha.*, the child's father), or as *Kiran-e āmā* (*tha.*, Kiran's mother) and

Kiran-e āwā (tha., Kiran's father) if the child is named Kiran.

Furthermore, a person should never in the front of another person refer to his or her spouse by using the words pah and peh. A man will thus never as his daughter "Pah khatāng yolā ?" (tha., "Where has the husband gone ?") but ask "Māh khatāng yolā ?" (tha., "Where has the son-in-law gone ?") or "The khatāng yolā ?" (tha., "Where has he gone ?").

Among the Thakālis marriage usually takes place between persons who are or who are considered to be relatives. Therefore most Thakālis can trace their relationship to other relatives along more than one line. In such cases the line which reflex the closest relationship is used. This can be illustrated with a few examples.

A Yhulkāsummī Thakāli married to his sister's husband's sister is related to his sister's daughter as āsyāng - koime (e.g. MB - ZD) through his sister, and as āgumā - koime (e.g. FZH - WBD) through his wife's brother. Marriage is, except in extraordinary cases, forbidden between āsyāng - koime, and allowed between āgumā - koime. Therefore the former relation is considered the closest and is actually used in this particular case. Further, the man is related to his brother-in-law as syāngbo - māh (e.g. WB - ZH) through his sister, and as māh - syāngbo (e.g. ZH - WB) through his wife. In such cases where the relations are equal close the first established is used.

In another case, a Yhulkāsummī Thakāli woman married a man whose father's brother's daughter was her father's second wife. The spouses were before their marriage related as āsyāng - koime (e.g. MB - ZD, here

FWFBS - FBDHD) but were anyway allowed to marry in that the husband belonged to another clan than his wife's real mother. The relation between the husband and his wife's father was before the marriage *syāngbo - māh* (e.g. ZH - WB, here FBDH - WFB) but became after the marriage *māh - ken* (e.g. DH - WF) in that *māh* through daughters are considered social more important than *māh* through sisters.

Usually marriage takes among the Thakālis place between real or classificatory cross-cousins.¹⁰ A son-in-law is therefore usually related to his father-in-law as *konca - āsyāng* (e.g. ZS - MB) through his mother or as *konca - āgumā* (e.g. WBS - FZH) through his father, and as *māh - ken* (e.g. DH - WF) through his wife. The latter is considered the social most important in that a *māh* has many important obligations towards his *ken*. Therefore the latter is usually used but it is, however, not unusually for a son-in-law to address his father-in-law as *āsyāng* and a father-in-law to address his son-in-law as *konca* if the son-in-law has married his real matrilineal cross-cousin.

Kinship terms are not only used between socially recognized relatives. Persons who are not socially recognized relatives, as e.g. members of different ethnical groups, use often kinship terms when they address each other. Young Yhulkāsummī men address thus, for instance, usually the daughters of the Tamāng household they visit as *ānā* (e.g. eZ) and *picyāng* (e.g. yZ), or as *didi* (nep., e.g. eZ) and *bhāini* (nep., e.g. yZ), according to age.

Formal friendship is in Nepal a widespread custom with important social, economical, and political functions. It is often established between persons of diffe-

rent ethnical groups. Among the Thakālis formel friendship is known as rowa (nep., mit) when it is established between two men, and as ngyahla when it is established between two women. The two friends will refer to each other as rowa and address each other as brothers if they are men, and refer to each other as ngyahla and address each other as sisters if they are women. Moreover, their children will address each other as siblings.

Each major Thakāli village includes also some Nepali speaking peoples of the tailor-musician caste (tha., ḍulī; cf. nep., damāi) and of the blacksmith caste (tha., kemī; cf. nep., kāmī). These peoples address the adult Thakālis as ākhe (e.g. FF), mom (e.g. FM), ācyo (e.g. eB), and āna (e.g. eZ) even if they happens to be older than the Thakālis whom they address. On the other hand, the Thakālis never address these peoples by using kinship terms, but use the words ḍulī and kemī for the men, and ḍulīsyā and kemīsyā for the women.

The rich Thakālis' servants address their adult male masters as ākhe, āwā, and ācyo, and their adult female masters as mom, āmā, and āna even if they happens to be older than their masters. On the other hand, the Thakālis address their servants by using personal names.

It is thus generally the case, that persons of high status, that is senior Thakālis versus junior Thakālis, Thakālis versus ḍulī and kemī, and masters versus servants, address persons of low status by using personal names, while persons of low status never use personal names but kinship terms which indicate their low position in relation to the persons whom the address.

OTHER KINSHIP TERMINOLOGIES OF THE BODISH SECTION

The Bodish Section includes among others the Gurung Branch and the Bodish Branch. The Gurung Branch includes according to Shafer (1955) Gurung, Tamang, and Thakāli, but has by Mazaudon (1978) been extended to include also Manangba and the Nar language. Moreover, I have suggested it to include also Tangbetan, Tetangtan, and Chusangtan.¹¹ The Bodish Branch includes Central Tibetan, Sherpa, and a number of other languages and dialects related to these.

The Tamangs is one of the largest groups in Nepal and is mainly found in the hills north, east, and south of Kathmandu Valley. A large number of Tamangs, and other Nepalese, are also found in Darjeeling District in India. They are mostly descendants of migrants who came to Darjeeling several generations ago. Back in 1891 more than half of the population in Darjeeling were of Nepalese origin, and one-third had been born in Nepal.¹²

The Tamang kinship terminology has been described in at least three reports. Fürer-Haimendorf (1956) presents a kinship terminology based on material from the Risingo area, Höfer (1969) presents one based on material from Dhading District, and Hall (1978) one based on material from the Langthang area.

In 1978 I made a short preliminary study of the Tamangs of Darjeeling District and collected their kinship terminology (see table no. 4). The terminology is basically identical with the ones reported in the literature. In Darjeeling, the terminology is only used by those

Tamangs who still speak Tamang as their first language. The majority of the Darjeeling Tamangs speak, however, Nepali as their first language and use thus the Nepali kinship terminology. The latter use, however, still a number of Tamang terms, thus e.g. akhe for grandfather, mom for grandmother, apa for father, and ama for mother.

The Manangbas are found in the Nyesyang area in Manang District, and are also known as the Nyesyangbas. The area was until recently closed for most foreign research, and the literature on the Nyesyangbas is limited. Gurung (1976, 1977a, 1977b) is the only anthropologist, and Mazaudon (1978) the only linguist who have described the Nyesyangba culture and language in detail. None of these works include, however, the Nyesyangba kinship terminology. In 1978 I visited Nyesyang area and collected the Nyesyangba kinship terminology (see table no. 5).

The people of Nar and Phu villages in Manang District are known as the Nar-Phu people. The villages are still closed for most foreign research, and the only ethnographical informations on them is found in Gurung (1976, 1977a, 1977b). In 1978 while visiting Nyesyang I had the chance to make an interview with a man from Phu village and to collect the Phu kinship terminology (see table no. 6). My informant stated that there are only few differences between the kinship terms used in Phu and Nar villages, and mentioned as an example that FF is called babu in Phu while he is called akhe in Nar. Material collected by Mazaudon (see below) indicates, however, more significant differences.

Chusang area in Mustang District, situated between the Tibetan speaking villages of Lo in the north and the Tibetan speaking villages of Kagbeni and Muktinath areas in the south, is also closed for most foreign research and has yet to be described in the ethnographical literature.

During my fieldworks in Thāk Kholā I have made inquiries about the Chusang area. My preliminary material suggests, that the peoples of Chusang area speak several distinct dialects closer to Thakāli than to Tibetan. Furthermore, there are three separate groups in the area, namely the people of Tangbe village known as the Tangbetans, the people of Tetang village known as the Tetangtans, and the people of Chusang, Caili, and Gyakar villages. The members of these groups do ideally not intermarry.

The Tangbetans claim, that they original came to Tangbe from a now deserted village near Braka in Nyesyang. A significant number of Tangbetans have now settled in Jomsom village in Thāk Kholā where they form the largest single group among the permanent residents. The Tetangtans claim also, that they original came from Manang District, namely from Nar village.

Unfortunately, I have only collected the kinship terminology used by the people in Chusang village (see table no. 7).

The Bodish Branch of Sino-Tibetan languages includes, as noted above, a number of languages and dialects related to Central Tibetan and Sherpa. The Tibetan dialect spoken in Tsumje village in Tsum area in the northern part of Gorkha District belongs according to Allen (1976)

to the Bodish Branch. Kawakita spent in 1953 a few weeks in Tsumje and has in Kihara, ed. (1957) presented parts of the Tsumje kinship terminology.

The Tibetan speaking people living in Gyasumdo area in Manang District speak according to themselves a dialect closely related to the dialects spoken in Nubri and Tsum areas towards the east. The Gyasumdo Tibetans are descendants of migrants who came to Gyasumdo from Kyirong and other border areas in Tibet several generations ago. They have been briefly described by Gurung (1976, 1977b), and by Messerschmidt (1972). None of these works include, however, the Gyasumdo kinship terminology. I shall here present the Gyasumdo kinship terminology which I collected during a visit to Gyasumdo in 1978 (see table no. 8).

Also Baragaun Tibetan, a dialect spoken in Kagbeni and Muktinath areas in Mustang District, belongs to the Bodish Branch. The Baragaun Tibetans have been described by Schuler (1977, 1978), and by Fürer-Haimendorf (1975), but none of these works include, however, the Baragaun Tibetan kinship terminology. I shall here present the Baragaun Tibetan kinship terminology which I collected during several visits to Baragaun in 1976 - 78 (see table no. 9).

Also the dialect of Sherpa spoken by the Sherpas of Helambu area belongs to the Bodish Branch. The Helambu Sherpa kinship terminology has been presented by Goldstein (1975), but the material do not include the terms used for several important affinale relatives. Also Graham Clarke, Oxford University, who recently made a long fieldwork in Helambu, has collected the Helambu Sherpa kinship termino-

logy. As long as his material awaits publication, and for comparative reasons, I shall here present the Helambu Sherpa kinship terminology which I collected in 1975 during a short visit to Helambu (see table no. 10).

POSTSCRIPT

Martine Mazaudon, C.N.R.S. in Paris, has collected and kindly sent me an extensive material on the kinship terms used by the Mawātan Thakālis, the Yhulkāsūmmī Thakālis, the Risiangku (Risingo) Tamangs, the Nyesyangbas, and the people of Nar and Phu.

Mazaudon's Risiangku Tamang material is recorded in a phonemic transcription, cf. Phonologie du Tamang, SELAF, Paris, 1973. She informs me, that she has not made a phonological analysis of the other dialects and therefore she has converted the rough phonetic transcription of her own notes on these dialects into a simplified transcription more or less consistent with my own transcriptions. She notes further, that this simple transcription, in the absence of anything better, may be taken as a starting point for anthropologists engaged in comparative studies of kinship and marriage systems.

The aims of Mazaudon's and my studies are somewhat different, so it is only natural that her preliminary lists in a few cases should not include all the kinship terms presented in the tables here, and that her lists of relatives included under the terms are not so extensive as the ones presented here. In general, Mazaudon's material confirms the informations presented here. There are, however, also a few cases where our material differs.

Mazaudon's list of Risiangku terms includes the term ^{1/2}cha:po for WZH. I have not recorded this term among the Darjeeling Tamangs but recognize it in the Mawatan Thakāli term chawo for WZH. Mazaudon has the term aru for MyZ, while I have asu (cf. tib., a-sru and sru-mo). Further, she has the term ¹chaja for all grandchildren, while my Darjeeling Tamang material includes chaya for SS and DS, chayani for SD, and chani for DD.

Mazaudon has among the Nyesyangbas recorded the term aku for HF and WF, and the term tchye for FyB. The latter may also include FeB. The Nyesyangba kinship terminology presented here has the term agu for FyB, MyZH, HyB, FZH, HF, and WF. Unfortunately, Mazaudon has not collected the terms for MyZH, HyB, and FZH. Further, for the term acyung (e.g. yB) presented here she has three alternative terms, namely acyong, ale, and moyong. Mazaudon has for the term nani (e.g. yZ) from Braka village the alternative term atsen. Mazaudon notes, that the terms acyong and ale also can be used as vocative for S, and further that the term anga which is normally the vocative for eZ and also yZ, also can be used as vocative for D. Finally, she has the term kwen for SS and the term ko:mi for SD. The former may also include BS, and the latter BD. On the other hand, the table presented here has cha for S and BS (m.s.), chame for D and BD (m.s.), koe for SS, and koime for SD.

Mazaudon's material shows, as noted above, more significant differences between the kinship terms used in Nar and Phu villages. From Nar village she has the term ele for S and B, the term kola for S and D, the term anga for yZ, and the term kontsa for SS. The terms ata, nana, cheme, and koime do not occur in her corpus. From

Phu village she has the term ata for eB, cyontsa for yB, kola for S, same for D, kondza for BS and ZS, kommi for BD and ZD, and kommi for SS, SD, DS, and DD. The term nana do not occur in her corpus. She notes that the people of Nar use the term mam for FM and MM.

Table no. 1: The Tamāng Thakāli kinship terminology

yāngkhe	FFF
yāngmom	FFM
ākhe (khe)	FF, FFB, MF, MFB, HF, HFB
mom	FM, FMZ, MM, MMZ, HM, HMZ
āwā (ābā)	F
āthowa	FeB, FFBS (e.t. F), FMZS (e.t. F)
kaka	FyB, FFBS (y.t. F), FMZS (y.t. F), HyB
āgu (āku)	MZH
māmā	MB, MFBS, MMZS
āgumā	FZH
ken	WF, WFB
āmā	M
āmthowa (ānthowa)	FeBW, FFBSW (FFBS e.t. F), FMZSW (FMZS e.t. F)
ācyāngma	FyBW, FFBSW (FFBS y.t. F), FMZSW (FMZS y.t. F)
āphi	MeZ, MFBD (e.t. M), MMZD (e.t. M), WeZ
ācyāng	MyZ, MFBD (y.t. M), MMZD (y.t. M), WyZ
ngeren	FeZ, FFBD (e.t. F), FMZD (e.t. F), HeZ
phupu	FyZ, FFBD (y.t. F), FMZD (y.t. F), HyZ
māījyu	MBW, MFBSW, MMZSW
syungme	WM, WMZ
ācyo	eB, FBS (e), FFBS (e), FMZSS (e), MZS (e), MFBDS (e), MMZDS (e), HeZH
āle	yB, FBS (y), FFBS (y), FMZSS (y), MZS (y), MFBDS (y), MMZDS (y), HyZH
āna	eZ, FBD (e), FFBSD (e), FMZSD (e), MZD (e), MFBDD (e), MMZDD (e), HeBW
picyāng	yZ, FBD (y), FFBSD (y), FMZSD (y), MZD (y), MFBDD (y), MMZDD (y), HyBW

solt̄i	MBS, MFBSS, MMZSS, FZS, FFBDS, FMZDS
solt̄isyā	MBD, MFBSD, MMZSD, FZD, FFBDD, FMZDD
syāngbo (syāngwo)	WB
ācyumāh	ZH (f.s.), FBDH (f.s.), MZDH (f.s.)
māh	ZH (m.s.), FBDH (m.s.), MZDH (m.s.), DH, BDH (m.s.), SDH
nguca	eBW, FBSW (FBS e.t. ego), MZSW (MZS e.t. ego).
cāng	yBW, FBSW (FBS y.t. ego), MZSW (MZS y.t. ego), SW, SSW
āpren	HeB
chāwa	WZH
ca	S, BS (m.s.), FBSS (m.s.), MZSS (m.s.), WZS, ZS (f.s.), FBDS (f.s.), MZDS (f.s.), HBS
came	D, BD (m.s.), FBSD (m.s.), MZSD (m.s.), WZD, ZD (f.s.), FBDD (f.s.), MZDD (f.s.), HBD
konca	SS, DS, ZS (m.s.), FBDS (m.s.), MZDS (m.s.), WBS, BS (f.s.), FBSS (f.s.), MZSS (f.s.), HZS
koime	SD, DD, ZD (m.s.), FBDD (m.s.), MZDD (m.s.), WBD, BD (f.s.), FBSD (f.s.), MZSD (f.s.), HZD

Table no. 2: The Mawātan Thakāli kinship terminology

khyopen	FF, FFB, MF, MFB, HF, HFB
momwe	FM, FMZ, MM, MMZ, HM, HMZ
āwā (ābā)	F
ākhen	FeB, FFBS (e.t. F), FMZS (e.t. F), HeB
kaka	FyB, FFBS (y.t. F), FMZS (y.t. F), HyB
khīcyāng	MZH
āsyāng	MB, MFBS, MMZS
ākhamā	FZH
ken	WF, WFB
āmā	M
ācyāmā (ācyemā)	MZ, MFBD, MMZD
ānkhe	FeBW, FFBSW (FFBS e.t. F), FMZSW (FMZS e.t. F), HeBW
āncyāng	FyBW, FFBSW (FFBS y.t. F), FMZSW (FMZS y.t. F), HyBW
ngekhen	FeZ, FFBD (e.t. F), FMZD (e.t. F), HeZ
ngicyāng	FyZ, FFBD (y.t. F), FMZD (y.t. F), HyZ
nī	MBW, WBW
syungme	WM, WMZ
ācyo	eB, FBS (e), FFBS (e), FMZSS (e), MZS (e), MFBDS (e), MMZDS (e)
āle (cyon)	yB, FBS (y), FFBS (y), FMZSS (y), MZS (y), MFBDS (y), MMZDS (y)
āna	eZ, FBD (e), FFBSD (e), FMZSD (e), MZD (e), MFBDD (e), MMZDD (e)
mīcyāng (srinca)	yZ, FBD (y), FFBSD (y), FMZSD (y), MZD (y), MFBDD (y), MMZDD (y)
nuī	MBS, MFBSS, MMZSS, FZS, FFBDS, FMZDS, eZH, FBDH (FBD e.t. ego), MZDH (MZD e.t. ego)

solt̥i	MBS, MFBSS, MMZSS, FZS, FFBDS, FMZDS
nuīlyāng (solt̥isyā)	MBD, MFBSD, MMZSD, FZD, FFBDD, FMZDD
syāngbo (syāngwo)	WB
chāmo	WZ, WFZ
chāwo	yZH (f.s.), FBDH (f.s., FBD y.t. ego), MZDH (f.s., MZD y.t. ego), WZH
māh	yZH (m.s.), FBDH (m.s., FBD y.t. ego), MZDH (m.s., MZD y.t. ego), DH, BDH (m.s.), SDH
cāng	BW, FBSW, MZSW, SW, BSW, SSW
ca	S, BS (m.s.), FBSS (m.s.), MZSS (m.s.), WZS, ZS (f.s.), FBDS (f.s.), MZDS (f.s.), HBS
came	D, BD (m.s.), FBSD (m.s.), MZSD (m.s.), WZD, ZD (f.s.), FBDD (f.s.), MZDD (f.s.), HBD
konca	SS, DS, ZS (m.s.), FBDS (m.s.), MZDS (m.s.), WBS, BS (f.s.), FBSS (f.s.), MZSS (f.s.), HZS
koime	SD, DD, ZD (m.s.), FBDD (m.s.), MZDD (m.s.), WBD, BD (f.s.), FBSD (f.s.); MZSD (f.s.), HZD

Table no. 3: The Yhulkāsummī Thakāli kinship terminology

khyopen	FF, MF
momān	FM, MM
āwā (ābā)	F
āthowa	FestB, FFBS (est.t. F), FMZS (est.t. F)
āphowa	FelB, FFBS (el.t. F), FMZS (el.t. F)
ācyāngba	FyB, FFBS (y.t. F), FMZS (y.t. F)
āgu (āku)	MZH
āsyāng	MB, MFBS, MMZS
āgumā	FZH, HZH
ken	WF, WFB
khe	HF, HFB
āmā	M
ācyam	MZ, MFBD, MMZD, WZ, BWZ
āmthowa	FestBW, FFBSW (FFBS est.t. F), FMZSW (FMZS est.t. F)
āmphowa	FelBW, FFBSW (FFBS el.t. F), FMZSW (FMZS el.t. F)
āmcyāngba	FyBW, FFBSW (FFBS y.t. F), FMZSW (FMZS y.t. F)
ngekhen	FestZ, FFBD (est.t. F), FMZD (est.t. F), HestZ
ngeten	FelZ, FFBD (el.t. F), FMZD (el.t. F), HelZ
ngicyāng	FyZ, FFBD (y.t. F), FMZD (y.t. F), HyZ
ānī	MBW
syungme	WM, WMZ
mom	HM, HMZ
pon	estB, FBS (est), FFBS (est), FMZSS (est)
ācyo	elB, FBS (el), FFBS (el), FMZSS (el)
mayung	yB (f.s.), FBS (f.s., y), FFBS (f.s., y), FMZSS (f.s., y)

cyon	yB (m.s.), FBS (m.s., y), FFBS (m.s., y), FMZSS (m.s., y), yZ (f.s.), FBD (f.s., y), FFBSD (f.s., y), FMZSD (f.s., y), HyBW
srin	yZ (m.s.), FBD (m.s., y), FFBSD (m.s., y), FMZSD (m.s., y), WyBW
ānā	eZ, FBD (e), FFBSD (e), FMZSD (e), HeBW, WeBW
chiwā	MZS, MFBDS, MMZDS
chimā	MZD, MFBDD, MMZDD
udung	MBS, MFBSS, MMZSS, FZS, FFBDS, FMZDS, eZH (f.s.), FBDH (f.s., FBD e.t. ego), MZDH (f.s., MZD e.t. ego)
olyāng	MBD, MFBSD, MMZSD, FZD, FFBDD, FMZDD
syāngbo	WB
māh	ZH (m.s.), FBDH (m.s.), MZDH (m.s.), DH, BDH (m.s.), SDH
chāwo	yZH (f.s.), FBDH (f.s., FBD y.t. ego), MZDH (f.s., MZD y.t. ego), WZH
cāng	BW, FBSW, MZSW, SW, BSW (m.s.), SSW
ākhen	HestB
āten	HelB
ācyāng	HyB
nī	WBW
ānkhen	HestBW
ānten	HelBW
āmcyāng	HyBW
ca	S, BS (m.s.), FBSS (m.s.), MZSS (m.s.), WZS, ZS (f.s.), FBDS (f.s.), MZDS (f.s.), HBS
came	D, BD (m.s.), FBSD (m.s.), MZSD (m.s.), WZD, ZD (f.s.), FBDD (f.s.), MZDD (f.s.), HBD
konca	SS, DS, ZS (m.s.), FBDS (m.s.), MZDS (m.s.), WBS, BS (f.s.), FBSS (f.s.), MZSS (f.s.), HZS
koime	SD, DD, ZD (m.s.), FBDD (m.s.), MZDD (m.s.), WBD, BD (f.s.), FBSD (f.s.), MZSD (f.s.), HZD

Table no. 4: The Darjeeling Tamang kinship terminology¹³

akhe	FF, MF
mam	FM, MM
apa (aba)	F, <u>HF</u> , <u>WF</u>
abhen (aba theba)	FeB, MeZH
agu (aba cyangba)	FyB, MyZH
aseng	MB, FZH, WF, HF
siolon	FZH
ken	WF, HF
ama	M, <u>WM</u> , <u>HM</u>
amen (amren)	MeZ, FeBW
asu	MyZ, FyBW
angi	FZ, MBW, WM, HM
syumi	WM, HM
jojo	eB, FBS (e), MZS (e), <u>WeB</u> , <u>HeB</u>
cyon (ale)	yB, FBS (y), MZS (y), <u>WyB</u> , <u>HyB</u>
nana	eZ, FBD (e), MZD (e), <u>WeZ</u> , <u>HeZ</u>
buring (angan)(anga)	yZ, FBD (y), MZD (y), <u>WyZ</u> , <u>HyZ</u>
samdhi	MBS, FZS
samdhini	MBD, FZD
jethu	WeB
salo (syangbo)	WyB
mahgen	eZH
mah	yZH, DH
ja	S, BS (m.s.), ZS (f.s.), HBS, WZS
jame	D, BD (m.s.), ZD (f.s.), HBD, WZD
kon	ZS (m.s.), BS (f.s.), HZS, WBS
konme	ZD (m.s.), BD (f.s.), HZD, WBD
chaya	SS, DS
chayani	SD
chani	DD
cangen	eBW
cang	yBW, SW

Table no. 5: The Nyesyangba kinship terminology

akhe	FF, MF
me	FM, MM
awa (aba)	F
abthewa	FeB, MeZH, HeB
agu	FyB, MyZH, HyB, FZH, HF, WF
asyang	MB, WB
ama	M
amthewa	FeBW, MeZ, WeZ
amcyang	FyBW
aru	MyZ, WyZ
ani	FZ, WM, HM, HZ
ancang	MBW
ata	eB, FBS (e), MZS (e), FZS (e), MBS (e)
acyung	yB, FBS (y), MZS (y), FZS (y), MBS (y)
ana	eZ, FBD (e), MZD (e), FZD (e), MBD (e)
nani	yZ, FBD (y), MZD (y), FZD (y), MBD (y)
nyilong (solti)	MBS, FZS
nyilong (soltini)	MBD, FZD
mah	ZH, DH
cang	BW, SW
ca	S, BS (m.s.)
came	D, BD (m.s.)
koe	SS
koime	SD
pha	H
pa	W

Table no. 6: The Nar-Phu kinship terminology

akhe (babu)	FF, MF
ebi	FM, MM
acyo	F
agu	FB, HB
mah	FZH, MZH, ZH, DH
asyang	MB, WF, HF, WB
ama	M, MZ
me	FBW
eni	FZ, HM, WM
nyenye	MBW
ata	eB, FBS (e), MZS (e), MBS (e), FZS (e)
kola	yB, FBS (y), MZS (y), MBS (y), FZS (y), S
nana	eZ, FBD (e), MZD (e), MBD (e), FZD (e), HeZ, WeZ
cheme	yZ, FBD (y), MZD (y), MBD (y), FZD (y), HyZ, WyZ, D
cang	BW, SW
konca	BS, ZS, SS, DS
koime	BD, ZD, SD, DD
phe	H
per	W

Table no. 7: The Chusangtan kinship terminology

khe	FF, MF, WF, HF
man	FM, MM, WM, HM
yijo	F
asyang	FB, MB
uma	FZH, MZH
ama	M
encha	FZ, MZ
encang	FBW, MBW
ale	eB, FBS (e), MZS (e), MBS (e), FZS (e), HeB
cyonca	yB, FBS (y), MZS (y), MBS (y), FZS (y), HyB
nana	eZ, FBD (e), MZD (e), MBD (e), FZD (e), WeZ
srinca	yZ, FBD (y), MZD (y), MBD (y), FZD (y), WyZ
syangba	WB
mah	ZH, DH
cang	BW, SW
ca	S, BS (m.s.), ZS (f.s.)
ceme	D, BD (m.s.), ZD (f.s.)
konca	SS, DS, BS (f.s.), ZS (m.s.)
koime	SD, DD, BD (f.s.), ZD (m.s.)
pha	H
pa	W

Table no. 8: The Baragaun Tibetan kinship terminology

meme	FF, MF
ibi	FM, MM
uh	F, FB, MZH
asyang	FZH, MB, WF, HF
ama	M
shromo (momo)	MZ, FBW
ani	FZ, WM, HM
nene (neme)	MBW, WM, HM
acyu	eB, FBS (e), MZS (e), MBS (e), FZS (e)
no	yB, FBS (y), MZS (y), MBS (y), FZS (y)
ichi	eZ, FBD (e), MZD (e), MBD (e), FZD (e), WeZ
nomo	yZ, FBD (y), MZD (y), MBD (y), FZD (y), WyZ
syangbo	WB
makpa	ZH
namo	BW
bica	S, BS (m.s.), ZS (f.s.)
bomo	D, BD (m.s.), ZD (f.s.)
chop	SS, DS, ZS (m.s.), BS (f.s.)
chamo	SD, DD, ZD (m.s.), BD (f.s.)
khogar	H
gyeme (gyemen)	W

Table no. 9: The Gyasumdo Tibetan kinship terminology

meme	FF, MF
ibi	FM, MM
awa	F
au	FB, MZH
asyang	MB, FZH, WF, HF, WeB
ama	M
ani	FZ, MBW, WM, HM
syomo	MZ, FBW
acyo	eB, FBS (e), MZS (e), MBS (e), FZS (e), HeB
no	yB, FBS (y), MZS (y), MBS (y), FZS (y), HyB
achi	eZ, FBD (e), MZD (e), MBD (e), FZD (e), HeZ, WeZ, HeBW
numo	yZ, FBD (y), MZD (y), MBD (y), FZD (y), HyZ, WyZ, HyBW
syangbo	WB
makpa	ZH, DH
nama (namo)	BW, SW
bica	S, BS (m.s.), ZS (f.s.)
bomo	D, BD (m.s.), ZD (f.s.)
cau	SS, DS, BS (f.s.), ZS (m.s.), WBS
caumo	SD, DD, BD (f.s.), ZD (m.s.), WBD
khewa	H
bime	W

Table no. 10: The Helambu Sherpa kinship terminology

meme	FF, MF
ibi	FM, MM
pawa	F
au	FB, MZH
asyang	MB, FZH, WF, WeB
ani makpa	FZH
gyubu	WF
ama	M
chichi	MZ, WeZ
asa	FBW
ani	FZ, MBW, WM
gyuma	WM
ata	eB, FBS (e), MZS (e)
no	yB, FBS (y), MZS (y)
ashi	eZ, FBD (e), MZD (e)
nomo	yZ, FBD (y), MZD (y)
syabu	WyB
agu	WZH
nyemu	WyZ
makpa	ZH, DH
nama	BW, SW
bu	S
bumo	D
kyobu	H
cyungma	W

NOTES

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2. See Shafer (1955) for a classification of Sino-Tibetan languages. We shall, however, here follow Mazaudon (1978) and refer to Shafer's Gurung Branch as the Tamang subfamily.
3. Nepali words are indicated with a following (nep.) and follow the transcription of Turner (1965). Widely known Nepali names of localities and groups outside Thāk Kholā are, however, given in their conventional form.
Thakāli words are indicated with a following (tha.) and follow my own simple transcription system as there does not yet exist a standard transcription system for Thakāli. It has never been easy for me to transcribe Thakāli words and I am aware that the pre-

sent transcription in certain respects differs from the one used in my previous articles on the Thakālis. It has in Thakāli words often been a problem for me to hear whether a vowel is short or long, and whether a consonant is aspirated or not. Further, the transcription of a word such as e.g. 'ca' (tha., son) is a problem in that the forms 'tsa' and 'dza' also seem correct to me. Finally, and most important, Thakāli is a tonal language and includes words distinguished by pitch and melodic features only. The present system does not separate words distinguished by pitch and melodic features only and is thus too simple to give a correct transcription of Thakāli words. For a better transcription, see Mazaudon (1978).

4. The present list is a revised version of the one given in Gauchan and Vinding (1977 : 99).
5. A few Thin households are found in Jomsom village but in a political context these still belong to Thin village.
6. See Benedict (1941) and Allen (1975, 1976) for the emytology of related kinship terms.
7. The symbols used are conventional, thus F for father, M for mother, B for brother, Z for sister, S for son, and D for daughter; e.t. refers to elder than, and y.t. to younger than. Furthermore, est. means 'eldest only', and el. means 'elder, excluding the eldest'. These symbols are placed in brackets immediately after the relative when they indicate a comparison with the speaker. Finally, m.s. refers to male speakers, and f.s. to female speakers.

8. See Doherty (1974) for parts of the Nepali kinship terminology.
9. Tables no. 4 - 10 include however, for comparative purposes, the words for husband and wife.
10. Cf. Vinding (1979), which includes an analysis of the kinship terminologies presented here.
11. Cf. Mazaudon (1978 : 158). Mazaudon touches in her article on the problem of "sociological divisions" and "linguistic divisions". I am aware that here only the three Thakāli groups have been defined in clear and explicit terms. It might in a Nepali context be useful to discuss the problems of defining 'ethnical groups' as raised by e.g. Narroll (1964). What do we after all mean by a Gurung, a Magar, or a Sherpa ?
12. Caplan (1970 : 6).
13. The kinship terms are, for underlined relatives, used in address only.

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