LIMBU KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY
A DESCRIPTION

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Introduction*

The following is a description of the kinship terms in the
Limbu language as it is spoken in Tamphula village in the Koshi
Zone of Eastern Nepal. A brief historical sketch is provided to
place the Limbus in a socio-historical perspective for the reader
unfamiliar with Nepalese society. The Limbu terminology of
kinship is described, and subsequently a number of kinship terms
are related to Tibeto-Burman etyma. Finally, some concluding
remarks are made, and diagrams and an alphabetical list of
glossed kinship terms are included at the end of the article.

The definition of kinship adhered to throughout this
article is that given by Sheffler (1972):

> A kinship term is employed to designate a category
> of kinsmen; a kinsman is an individual to whom one
> (Ego) is related by genealogical connection, and ge-
> nealogical connections are those culturally-posited
> relations among individuals which are presumed to be
> established by processes of conception and birth and
> which are held to be inalienable and congenital.

Historical and Linguistic Background

The Kirantis, who were once the dominant political and cultural force in Nepal and ruled over the Kathmandu Valley in the time of Buddha, are generally believed to have been the progenitors of various presentday Tibeto-Burman peoples such as the Limbu, Bahing, Thulung, Newari and the Rai peoples. Although Kiranti influence was once wide-spread in central Nepal,[1] most present-day 'Kiranti' peoples live in eastern Nepal with the exception of the Newari[2] who are believed to be indigenous to the Valley.

Indeed, the term 'Kiranti' now denotes the Eastern Himalayan peoples of Tibeto-Burman linguistic and ethnic stock presently inhabiting eastern Nepal and the Sikkimese borderland. Linguistically, it represents one of Benedict's (1972) seven major divisions within Tibeto-Burman, and the term is employed by some modern linguists in its stricter sense to refer specifically to the Limbus.[3]

Although relatively little is known about Nepal's early history, it is believed that the original Kirantis (also:

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1. Toponymical studies in the Valley and surrounding areas could yield valuable data as to the extent of Kiranti influence. On the basis of what little is known, it might be conjectured that Kiranti influence was quite widespread (E.J.M. Witzel, personal communication).

2. Benedict (1972) classifies Newari as being a Kiranti language, whereas Shafer (1955, 1974) leaves it unclassified within Tibeto-Burman. The ramifications of such linguistic classifications for the classification of ethnic groups is not obvious.

3. S.K. Chatterji (*alias* Sunītikumāra Cāturjyā) (1957), however, employs 'Kiranti' as a blanket term for all Sino-Tibetan peoples to the north and east of the Deccan.

Kirātī/Kirāmtī)[1] descended from the area between the Sunkosi and Tamakosi in eastern Nepal and, if we are to rely on the chronicles, after three successive attacks by the *Kuruṅ, Thuluṅ* and *Eluṅ,* contingents, gained control of the Valley around the beginning of the eighth century BC. *Yalambara,* leader of the *Eluṅ,* conquered the cattleherder nation of king *Bhuvanasiṁha* and established the Kiranti dynasty in the Valley.

Though inconsistencies between historical and the genealogical data of the chronicles cast serious doubt on the veracity of the legend that *Gautama Buddha* came to the Valley and expounded 1300 teachings in Kathmandu during the reign of the seventh Kiranti king *Jitedāstī* in the sixth century BC, it is alleged by the chronicles that during Kiranti rule Buddhist teaching gained currency and remained a persistent influential force in the Valley. Buddhism did not, however, replace the prevalent Shiva-oriented form of Hinduism practiced in the Valley alongside the veneration of indigenous Kiranti deities. After his pilgrimage to Buddha's birthplace *Kapilavastu* in 265 BC, the emperor *Aśoka* visited the Valley, allegedly during the reign of the fourteenth Kiranti king *Sthuṅko,* erecting five stupas in Patan.

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1.   In transcribing Nepalese names, the widely used transcription system (Gonda 1963) for rendering *Devanāgarī* orthography into Roman alphabet is employed, with the exception of well known Nepalese names and terms for which standard and widely used English spellings exist. The choice is admittedly arbitrary in some cases, but consistent application of Gonda's transcription system, though not always true to modern Nepalese pronounciation, enables accurate transliteration back into *Devanāgarī* script whilst obviating the problem of assigning arbitrary *ad hoc* spellings to Nepalese names with little currency in English. All *Devanāgarī* transcriptions are italicized. Although other transcription systems have been devised for transcribing *Devanāgarī* more recently (notably J.R. Firth's All-India Roman, T.W. Clark's adaptation thereof for Nepali, and Meerendonk's Gurkhali Roman), the present system has been chosen, as it has enjoyed a longer tradition and is familiar to most orientalist scholars.

After what, according to the chronicles, must have been a turbulent period in the Valley, during the reign of the twenty-eighth Kiranti king *Paṭuka* in the third century BC, various assaults by the *Somavansī* tribes were suffered. During the abbreviated reign of *Paṭuka*'s son, the Kirantis were defeated by the first of five *Somavansī* kings, *Nimiṣa,* and in ca. 225 BC, over two millenia ago and after five centuries of Kiranti cultural and political ascendancy, kiranti rule in the Valley was brought to an end.

The *Somavansī* dynasty was succeeded by the *Licchavī* dynasty and subsequently yet other dynasties. In the beginning of the thirteenth century the allochthonous *Malla* dynasty was established which by the eighteenth century had left Nepal fragmented into numerous kingdoms and vassal states.

The Gorkhalis had been in the process of migration to the Valley since the sixteenth century, and the definitive Gorkhali conquest of Nepal by *Pṛthvī Nārāyana Śāha* had by 1769 led to the political consolidation of all areas roughly comprising present-day Limbuwan into Nepal as well as to the installment of the presently reigning dynasty.

Despite the unification of Nepal, no one Nepalese culture or Nepalese people can be said to exist. Various highly divergent ethnic groups reside in Nepal, and 58 languages are spoken within Nepal's borders (Korolev 1968), the majority of which belong to the Tibeto-Burman language family. The Indo-Duropean language of the Gorkhalis, nowadays known as Nepali, functions as Nepal's *lingua franca* and medium of formal education and administration and is currently the native language of approximately 50% of the population (Korolev 1968). During the regime of the Rana ministers, the languages of ethnic groups whose native language was not Nepali, especially speakers of Tibeto-Burman languages, were subject to

systematic suppression on the part of the government.[1]

Despite Nepal's religious diversity and religious syncretism, the Hindu caste system has come to dominate Nepal's social fabric. Peoples originally unfamiliar with this system, such as the Gurung, Kiranti and Magar, have been assigned a position within the caste hierarchy somewhat lower than the second or warrior caste, *kṣatriya* or *chetrī* (Bista 1980). The intricate dynamics of this assimilation process are discussed in Hansson (1982).

The Limbus

The Limbus, in particular, were amongst the last peoples to lose their independent status during the consolidation of the Nepalese state under *Pṛthvī Nārāyaṇa Śāha* and his successors. At the beginning of the eighteenth century after the independent Limbu kingdoms in eastern Nepal had finally been subjugated, the Limbus, who had developed their own literary tradition in an indigenous *Devanāgarī*-based Limbu script, were viewed by the government as a threat to a united Nepal. The use of the Limbu alphabet was banned and the possession of Limbu writings outlawed.

Although now a minority in Nepal's multi-ethnic society, the Limbus' sense of identity as a separate people is particularly strong. The Nepalese governmental authorities have come to governmentally control all former tribal lands except those

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1. Jung Bahadur Rana came to power in 1846 and made use of the chaotic political situation to acquire powerful positions for his relatives and subsequently make these positions hereditary. As of the middle of the nineteenth century, the Ranas controled public affairs in Nepal for 105 years, after which the supreme authority of the reigning dynasty within the monarchy was restored.

of the Limbus, who have retained their ancestral land rights
(Caplan 1964). These land rights are determined through the
Limbu kinship system. The autochthonous Limbu *kipaṭa-* system
of land tenure was still operative in *Limbuvāna* in 1975 along-
side the governmental *raikara*-system (Jones & Jones 1976, Bista
1980). Limbus also enjoy relative freedom in the choice of
marital partner as opposed to surrounding Hindu peoples and
the Lepchas of Sikkim (Barnouw 1955).

The present-day Limbus are a sedentary people of the
Mongoloid race, predominantly inhabiting sub-alpine regions in
eastern Nepal's Koshi and Mechi zones and the western fringes
of Sikkim and Darjeeling. Their main means of subsistence
consists of agriculture, animal husbandry and some limited
cottage industries such as weaving. The Limbus refer to them-
selves in their own language as jakthuŋba[1] and to their lan-
guage as jakthuŋpa:n.

The Limbu language is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken by
approximately 180,000 people and may be roughly divided into
four distinct dialect groups. In the eastern part of the
Limbu domain, the panthar dialect is spoken, literally the
dialect of the *pañca thara* or five clans.[2] The *tāplejuṅ* dialect

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1. In rendering Limbu words, including the various kinship
   terms discussed in this article, use has been made of
   International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). The transcription
   is broadly phonetic and not necessarily phonemic. As a
   detailed study of Limbu phonology is in preparation, any
   statements as to the phonemic status of Limbu speech sounds
   will be withheld for the time being. IPA transcriptions of
   Limbu words are not italicized in our text.

2. It is this dialect of Limbu which will probably come to
   serve as the basis for written standard Limbu, not based on
   its suitability as a standard for all speakers of Limbu but
   as a result of the circumstance that the written form of
   this dialect is being used in Sikkimese primary schools in
   Limbu-speaking areas where laudable attempts are being made
   to revive Limbu as a written language. No such policy for
   stimulating the use of Limbu as a written language within
   or outside of the system of formal education exists in Nepal.

(including tamərkhole, jaŋrupe and mɔiwakhole dialects) is
spoken in the northern part of the Limbu domain along the Tamar
river. The phedappe dialect is spoken in and around the Tehra-
thum district of eastern Nepal. Literally the dialect of the
cha thara or six clans, the tɕhətthɔre dialect (including
tɕhətthɔr pokhɔri and daŋappatɔhɔm rdzun), apparently heavily
influenced by the neighbouring 'Rai' languages, shares the
lowest degree of mutual intelligibility with other Limbu
dialects.[1]

Field Work

        During a three month-stay in the Spring of 1984 in the
small village of Tamphula in Tehrathum District (Koshi Zone)
in eastern Nepal, one of the authors conducted linguistic
field work with informants whose native language was the p^{h}edappe
dialect of Limbu. The main purpose of the sojourn was the col-
lection of an extensive corpus for study of the pronominal verb
morphology of Limbu,[2] but special attention was also devoted to
kinship terms. During the stay amongst the Limbus of Tamphula
village, an exhaustive list of Limbu kinship terms in the
p^{h}edappe lexicon was compiled (see Appendix A), and the use of
these terms was subsequently observed *in situ*. Nepali served
as the contact language for communication with the Limbu-
speaking target group.

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1.   I wish to thank Mr. *Dillī Vikrama Ĩnvābā*, field phonetician and
     Limbu region coordinator of the Linguistic Survey of Nepal
     (Kathmandu), for providing me with dialect information.
     However, I accept sole responsibility for any contention
     made in this article (GvD).

2.   The results of the work on pronominal morphology of the
     Limbu verb are to appear elsewhere (GvD).

Limbu Kinship Terms

Limbu differentiates kin on the basis of generation, age
within generation, sex, sex of speaker, sex of connecting re-
lative, and, in in-law relations, kin via sibling *versus* kin
via spouse.

Not all Tibeto-Burman kinship terminologies adhere strictly
to what Schusky (1965) calls the 'generation principle'. In the
Bathang dialect of Tibetan, for example, a man calls his mother-
in-law 'mother's mother', a practice attributable to teknonymy.
Teknonymy is a widespread and well attested phenomenon in
Tibeto-Burman kinship nomenclature (Benedict 1941), whereby ego
employs a term properly used by ego's child. The Kuki, Lepcha
and Bathang (Tibetan) nomenclature affords excellent examples
of how teknonymy works in violation of the generation principle.
Moreover, Benedict (1941) notes that the close resemblance of
some Tibeto-Burman kinship terminologies to the system generally
referred to by anthropologists as the canonical Omaha-type re-
sults in inherent incompatabilities with the generation principle
at several points. In some Tibeto-Burman languages, for example,
maternal cross cousins are terminologically equated with parent's
siblings and paternal cross cousins with sibling's offspring
(vide Benedict 1941).

In addition to making distinctions on the basis of genera-
tion, Limbu differentiates on the basis of age within generation
in terms of the relative age of the kin with respect to the
speaker, as in the following Limbu sibling terms:

elder brother	p^{h}u
elder sister	nɛʔnɛʔ
younger sibling	nusaʔ

What Schusky (1965) terms the 'sex principle' is not strictly
upheld in the above Limbu sibling terms. Both younger brother

and younger sister are classified together under the blanket
term nusa? which is indifferent as to sex.

Age in generation also functions distinctively in kinship
terms referring to members of ego's parents' generation. Age
in generation relative to ego's parent is only distinctive,
however, in the case of terms denoting parallel aunts and
uncles (same sex as parent):

father's elder brother	tumba
father's younger brother	p^hɔŋa?
mother's elder sister	tumma
mother's younger sister	suma?

In the case of cross uncles and aunts (different sex from
parent), age within generation relative to ego's parent is
not expressed in the terminology:

father's sister	n^ya?
Mother's brother	n^wa?

The age in generation principle similarly applies to aunts
and uncles by marriage. Parallel uncles by marriage are ter-
minologically differentiated on the basis of age within genera-
tion of their spouse relative to ego's parent. Mother's younger
sister's husband, wedded to suma? (above), is termed p^hɔŋa?,
whereas mother's elder sister's husband, wedded to tumma (above),
is termed tumba. Parallel aunts by marriage are likewise dif-
ferentiated. Father's younger brother's wife, wedded to p^hɔŋa?
(above), is termed suma? whereas father's elder brother's wife,
wedded to tumba (above), is termed tumma.

In contradistinction to parallel aunts and uncles by
marriage, cross aunts and uncles by marriage are not terminol-
ogically differentiated on the basis of age within generation
of their spouses. Cross aunts by marriage, mother's brothers'

wives, wedded to $k^w a\textipa{?}$ (above), are called $n^y a\textipa{?}$, whereas cross uncles by marriage, father's sisters' husbands, wedded to $n^y a\textipa{?}$ (above), are called $k^w a\textipa{?}$

Recapitulating, the spouse of a tumba is referred to as tumma and *vice versa*. The spouse of a $p^h \textipa{O}\textipa{n}a\textipa{?}$ is referred to as suma\textipa{?} and *vice versa*. The spouse of a $k^w a\textipa{?}$ is called $n^y a\textipa{?}$ and *vice versa*. Limbu kinship nomenclature does not distinguish between uncles and aunts by blood and uncles and aunts by marriage.

It should be noted in passing that not all Tibeto-Burman kinship terminologies equate uncles and aunts by blood with uncles and aunts by marriage. In Gurung, for example, a cross uncle (MOBR) is called *mom*, whereas a cross uncle by marriage (FASIHU) is called *au-mo*. A cross aunt (FASI) is called *pha-ne*, whereas a cross aunt by marriage (MOBRWI) is called *ani* (Pignède 1966).

In Limbu, parallel cousins are freely equated with siblings. Both age within generation relative to ego and sex are therefore relevant criteria. Elder male and female parallel cousins are referred to as $p^h u$ and $n\varepsilon\textipa{?}n\varepsilon\textipa{?}$ respectively, and parallel cousins younger than ego are called nusa\textipa{?}, regardless of their sex. For cross cousins neither age within generation nor sex is terminologically significant. All cross cousins are referred to by the term lu\textipa{n}a\textipa{?}.

Just as in Limbu, parallel cousins are classificatory siblings in Gurung. Gurung, however, sees the parents of such parallel cousins as classificatory parents of ego. The single Gurung term '*a-pa* denotes father, father's brother and mother's sister's husband. Pignède mentions the existence of a marriage taboo between ego and his/her parallel cousins amongst the Gurungs. Limbu, on the other hand, lacks such classificatory terms for the parents of parallel cousins:

father	pa
father's elder brother or mother's elder sister's husband	tumma
father's younger brother or mother's younger sister's husband	p^{h}ɔŋaʔ

It is not known to the authors whether this terminological distinction in Limbu has any analogue in terms of marriage taboos or preferences.

Sex of connecting relative, which is such an important criterion in ego's parents' generation and irrelevant to terms applying to grandparents and great-grandparents and offspring. The term t^{h}ɛba functions to denote both one's maternal and paternal grandfather, and iuma serves to denote both maternal and paternal grandmother. Male and female great-grandparents are termed su:t^{h}ɛba and su:iuma respectively. Children are termed saʔ, grandchildren mɛntɕ^{h}aʔ and great-grandchildren mu:mɛntc^{h}aʔ. All three terms are indifferent as to sex of referent.

The Tibetan kinship system distinguishes between elder siblings depending on the sex of speaker (Benedict 1941). This distinction is made in yet other Tibeto-Burman languages and Benedict maintains that it 'must be regarded as archaic for the group as a whole' (319).

In Limbu, there is a single term for elder sister (nɛʔnɛʔ) and elder brother (p^{h}u), regardless of the sex of the speaker. Although sex of speaker is irrelevant to terms denoting siblings by blood and parallel cousins (classificatory siblings), Limbu does reflect the Tibeto-Burman sex of speaker criterion in its terms for siblings-in-law. The siblings-in-law terms are given in Table 1 and 2.

Differentiation of in-law terms on the basis of sex of speaker is evident in the fact that a male calls all of his brothers-in-law kuŋba, whereas a female speaker does not employ this term at all. A female speaker, on the other hand, calls her brothers-in-law p^hu, p^hup^hudre, su?mippa or paŋmik, contingent upon both brother-in-law's age in generation and the sex of connecting relative. A male speaker uses the term p^hu to denote an elder brother but never to denote a brother-in-law, and the terms p^hup^hudre, su?mippa and paŋmik are never employed by a male speaker.

The sex of speaker criterion which Benedict believes to be an archaic distinctive feature to Tibeto-Burman sibling terminology is seen to function in Limbu but is expressed solely in the five brother-in-law terms. The terms for denoting sisters-in-law and siblings are indifferent to the sex of the speaker. Moreover, the sex of speaker distinction in Limbu, where it applies, is not restricted to relatives whose age in generation is greater, unlike the posited archaic Tibeto-Burman sex of speaker distinction which applies to elder sibling terminology.

In examining the data in Tables 1 and 2 (which are also to be found diagramatically rendered in Figures 2 to 5), another terminologically distinctive parameter meets the eye, i.e. whether the sibling-in-law is related to ego via spouse or via sibling.[1]

First of all, the terms for sister-in-law are different depending on whether she is related to speaker through the speaker's sibling or through the speaker's spouse. If we were to consider the data of the male speaking in-law system alone, we might be led to conclude that the sex of the connecting

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1. On every horizontal line denoting sibling relationship in Figures 1 through 6, the elder siblings are depicted to the left and the younger siblings within a generation are situated to the right.

Siblings-in-law, male speaking

(1) sister-in-law through wife
   (older than wife)   nɛ?nɛ?

(2) sister-in-law through elder
   brother   nɛndre

(3) brother-in-law through wife
   (older than wife)   kuŋba

(4) brother-in-law though elder
   sister   kuŋba

(5) sister-in-law through wife
   (younger than wife)   su?mipma

(6) sister-in-law through younger
   brother   ɔŋ?ekma

(7) brother-in-law through wife
   (younger than wife)   kuŋba

(8) brother-in-law through younger
   sister   kuŋba

Table 1

Siblings-in-law, female speaking

(1) sister-in-law through husband (older than husband) nɛʔnɛʔ

(2) sister-in-law through elder brother nɛndre

(3) brother-in-law through husband (older than husband) pʰu

(4) brother-in-law through elder sister pʰupʰudre

(5) sister-in-law through husband (younger than husband) suʔmipmaʔ

(6) sister-in-law though younger brother ɔŋʔekmaʔ

(7) brother-in-law through husband (younger than husband) suʔmippaʔ

(8) brother-in-law through younger sister paŋmikʔ

Table 2

relative is the necessary and sufficient criterion for ter-
minologically differentiating the speaker's female siblings-
in-law. However, the sex of connecting relative criterion
fails to adequately explain the same terminological differen-
tiation in the female speaking system where the sex of the
connecting relative is constant. Here only the parameter of
whether the sister-in-law is related via the female speaker's
spouse, male, or via her sibling, also male, can account for
the difference in sister-in-law terms in the female speaking
in-law system.

Secondly, besides being necessary to account for the
sister-in-law terms in the female speaking system, this same
parameter can successfully account for the brother-in-law terms
in the female speaking system and the sister-in-law terms in
the male speaking system, making it superfluous to invoke the
sex of connecting relative criterion.

Rather, it appears that siblings-in-law are terminolo-
gically differentiated on the basis of minimally four
criteria: sex, age in generation, sex of speaker, and whether
the sibling-in-law is related to ego via spouse or via sibling.
Only the first of these four criteria is relevant to each of
the sibling-in-law terms. The remaining three are, however,
both necessary and sufficient to account for the sibling-in-
law terminology.

Lastly, the spouses of siblings-in-law through speaker's
spouse in both male and female speaking systems are each refer-
red to by one of the three terms for ego's own siblings, p^hu,
nɛʔnɛʔ or nusaʔ. Rather than suggesting greater affinity, the
use of these terms suggests nothing *per se,* as the terms applying
to members of the core family (siblings, parents, grandparents
and offspring) as well as terms for uncles and aunts are the
most used terms of address for non-kin.

Sex of speaker dependant terminology also occurs else-
where in the Limbu system of kinship terminology. Ego refers
to his own offspring as sa?. Ego also refers to offspring of
siblings of the same sex as sa?. Equivalently, both ego's
parents and his/her parallel aunts and uncles (tumba, tumma,
p^{h}ɔŋa?, suma?) refer to ego as sa?, parallel uncles and aunts
calling ego as if though he/she were their own child. Yet, a
male speaker refers to offspring of siblings of the opposite
sex as lamsa?, regardless of the sex of the referent. A
female speaker refers to sons and daughters of siblings of the
opposite sex as nakpa respectively. Equivalently, ego's cross
uncle (k^{w}a?) refer to ego as lamsa?, whereas ego's cross aunts
(n^{y}a?) refer to ego as nakpa (male ego) or nakma (female ego).
Not only are the terms used by cross uncles and cross aunts
distinct by virtue of the speaker of sex criterion, the cross
aunt's terms for cross nephews and cross nieces distinguish
sex of referent, whereas the terms employed by the cross uncle
in referring to his cross nieces and nephews do not reflect
the sex principle.

The sex principle and the sex of speaker distinction are
also reflected in Limbu offspring-in-law terminology. Whereas
the sex principle does not apply to the term for 'child' or
'offspring' (if necessary, a son may be denoted by the circum-
locution jɛmbittc^{h}a?sa?, literally 'male child', and a daughter
as mɛntc^{h}uma?sa?, literally 'female child'), Limbu does dif-
ferentiate between a daughter-in-law (paŋli) and a son-in-law
(paŋmi), though regardless of the sex of the speaker. Spouses
of parallel nieces and nephews (classificatory offspring) are
also denoted as paŋmi and paŋli respectively.

Nieces-in-law and nephews-in-law are treated in a similar
fashion. Cross uncles (k^{w}a?) are said to refer to the spouses
of their cross nieces and nephews as lamsa? paŋmi and lamsa?
paŋli respectively. Cross aunts (n^{y}a?) are said to refer to

spouses of cross nieces and cross nephews as nakma paŋmi
and nakpa paŋli respectively.[11]

Additionally, Limbu indicates an individual's age within
generation by order of birth by the following ordinal terms:

'tumba	first-born	(masculine)
'tumma	first-born	(feminine)
sa'rumba	second-born	(masculine)
sa'rumma	second-born	(feminine)
'iaŋsumba	third-born	(masculine)
'iaŋsumma	third-born	(feminine)
pʰokʔ'waba	youngest	(masculine)
pʰokʔ'wama	youngest	(feminine)

Males and females are treated separately. The eldest
female amongst a group of siblings will be called tumma, for
example, even if she is the fourth child and unless she is the
youngest child.

These ordinal terms, like other kinship terms, are used
as terms of address and, as such, frequently occur in the vocative
case with the syllabic ending [-e] appended to the nominative or
casus rectus form. Unlike all other kinship terms, however, these
ordinal terms when in the vocative do not take the first-singular
possessive prefix. (See further below.)

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1. The terms for nieces-in-law and nephews-in-law, though eli-
cited as responses, were never observed in actual spontaneous
usage. They may constitute actual, extant Limbu kinship
terms, but their circumlocutionary character makes them
suspect. As the only compound forms in the entire system
of kinship terminology, lamsaʔ paŋli, nakma paŋmi and nakpa
paŋli bear great resemblance to the corresponding Nepali
kinship terms भान्जे जुवाइँ (bhānje juvāiṁ), भतिजे जुवाइँ
(bhatije juvāiṁ) and भतिजे बुहारी (bhatije buhāri) respect-
ively, and, as such, could conceivably be calques or loan
translations from Nepali.

The terms for denoting parallel uncles and aunts older than parent, i.e. parent's elder siblings of the same sex, are identical to the ordinal term denoting 'first-born'. Whether this must be regarded as a case of polysemy or simple homophony is not evident.

Two Notes on Limbu Morphology Relevant to Kinship Terms

The Vocative and Possessive Affixes

All the kinship terms have thus far been given in their *casus rectus* form. When used as forms of address, they appear in the vocative case with the vocative case ending [-e]. The vocative case ending is by no means peculiar to kinship terms.

jɛmbittɕʰaʔ   man
jɛmbittɕʰaʔe   man!

Yet, it seems that kinship terms, far more so than any other nouns, including proper names, are the words most frequently occurring in the vocative.

When addressing one's relatives, the relationship to ego, whether genuine or fictitious (vide infra), is expressed by the first-singular possessive prefix [a-]. When this possessive prefix is appended to a kinship term, a number of morphological alterations may take place, as follows.

(1) A syllable-final nasal segment may be inserted between noun and prefix, e.g.

pʰu   elder brother
ampʰue   my elder brother!

(2) Syllable-initial plosives preceded by the possessive affix may assimilate for voice, e.g.

kuŋba   brother-in-law
aŋguŋbae   my brother-in-law!

(3)   Forms containing or consisting of two reduplicated
       segments may drop the first of these when the pos-
       sessive prefix is added, with insertion of the nasal
       segment mentioned in (1).

> nɛʔnɛʔ   elder sister
>
> annɛʔe   my elder sister!
>
> p^hup^hudre   brother-in-law (through elder
>   sister, female speaking)
>
> amp^{h}udree   my brother-in-law!

(4)   Occasionally a non-reduplicated initial syllable is
       dropped when the possessive prefix is added, with
       the insertion of the nasal segment mentioned in (1),
       e.g.

> nusaʔ   younger sibling
>
> antɕ^{h}aʔe   my younger sibling!

cf. saʔ   child

> asaʔe   my child!

In the form antɕ^{h}aʔe just given, we see yet another process
at work, whereby [s] becomes [tɕ^h]. This phenomenon is discus-
sed in the ensuing section.

The first-singular prefix is, of course, not the only pos-
sessive prefix in Limbu, and second-singular and third-singular
possessive prefixes, [ke-] (with nasal segment: [kɛN-]) and
[ku-] (with nasal segment: [kuN-]) respectively, also occur
with kinship terms and all other nouns in the same fashion,
e.g.

> p^{h}ɔŋaʔ   uncle (father's younger brother or
>   mother's younger sister's husband)
>
> amb^{ɦ}ɔŋaʔ   my uncle
>
> kɛmb^{ɦ}ɔŋaʔ   your uncle
>
> kumb^{ɦ}ɔŋaʔ   his/her uncle

As pointed out previously, it is usual not to omit the first-

singular possessive prefix when using a kinship term as a term
of address in the vocative, though it may be omitted with a
difference in meaning. The possessive prefix is not employed
together with the ordinal kinship terms.

A Phonological Note

The Limbu speech sounds [s] and [tɕʰ] are regular allophones
of the phoneme /s/ occurring in complementary distribution. For
present purposes, the rule may be formulated as:

$$/s/ \longrightarrow [tɕ^h] \Big/ \begin{Bmatrix} t \\ n \end{Bmatrix} \underline{\quad}$$

In other words, the voiceless sibilant phoneme /s/ is realized
as [tɕʰ] ensuing the dental plosive /t/ or dental nasal /n/. In
all other environments it is realized as [s]. This phonological
regularity in the Limbu language has ramifications for the
kinship terms containing /s/, e.g.

nusa?	younger sibling
antɕʰa?e	my younger sibling!
suma?	aunt (mother's younger sister or father's younger brother's wife)
antɕʰuma?e	my aunt!

Similarly, the forms mɛntɕʰa? 'grandchild' and muːmɛntɕʰa?
'great-grandchild' can be seen to be regular derivations of sa?
'child' by prefixation. Derivational morphology of kinship
terms will be touched upon in the following section.

Limbu Kinship Terms in Light of the Tibeto-Burman Kinship Lexicon

The Limbu terms for parents and offspring, ma, pa and sa?,
correspond to the Tibeto-Burman roots reconstructed by Benedict

(1941)[1] - *ma 'mother', *på 'father' and *za ∿ *tsa 'offspring'.

The Limbu term for younger brother or sister nusa? can be regarded as compounded from the two Tibeto-Burman roots *na.w 'younger sibling' and *za 'offspring'. The first element nu is cognate to Classical Tibetan ནུ *nu* 'younger sibling' which also takes part in compounds to give gender-specific younger sibling terms (Benedict 1941: 314-5).

Limbu nɛ?nɛ? 'older sister' is a reduplicated form corresponding to Tibeto-Burman *s-nam 'sister, daughter-in-law, wife'.

Limbu pʰu 'elder brother' is cognate to Tibetan ཕུ *phu* 'elder brother, male speaking', corresponding to the Tibeto-Burman root *puw meaning 'grandfather' and which has retained this meaning in the modern southern Tibeto-Burman languages, but which, as Benedict (1941, 1972) contends, has undergone a 'striking semantic transference' and adopted the meaning 'elder brother' throughout the northern Tibeto-Burman area. This phenomenon is not without historical precedent in Tibeto-Burman (q.v. Benedict 1941: 319-20). (On semantic metastasis in Tibeto-Burman, see Matisoff 1978.)

Limbu nʸa? 'cross aunt' corresponds to Tibeto-Burman *ni(y) 'father's sister' or 'mother-in-law', whereas Limbu kʷa? is cognate to Benedict's Tibeto-Burman root *kuw 'mother's brother'. The glide elements occurring finally in the reconstructed root occur as post-consonantal glides in both modern Limbu forms.

Limbu suma? 'parallel aunt, younger than parent' appears to be a compounded form of which the first member is cognate to Classical Tibetan སྲུ *sru* 'mother's sister' for which Benedict was unable to identify any Tibeto-Burman root (1941: 318).

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1. All Tibeto-Burman proto-roots are those reconstructed by Benedict (1981).

Benedict himself (1941)[1] identifies Limbu p^hɔŋa? 'parallel uncle, younger than parent' as cognate to Tibetan ཨ་བང་= བང་པོ *'a-bań = bań-po* 'father's sister's husband, mother's sister's husband', Chepang *pang* 'uncle', Vayu *pong-pong* 'father's brother', Garo *a-wang* 'father's younger brother', Lashi *vang-mo* 'father's older sister's husband, husband's father' and (Benedict 1972) archaic Chinese X̱i̱waŋ/X̱i̱weŋ[S] < *phwaŋ, corresponding to which he posits the reconstructed Tibeto-Burman root $*b^w$aŋ ~ $*p^w$aŋ 'father's brother'.

Limbu *tumma* and *tumba* 'parallel aunt and uncle, older than parent' respectively are compounded from tum- and the Limbu sex-specific nominal-adjectival suffix -ma/-Pa. No correspondence to a Tibeto-Burman root has been identified, but the formal conformity of these forms with the ordinal kinship terms has already been commented upon.

Benedict (1941) posits the root *ts'e 'great, old' underlying numerous honorific kinship terms in Tibetan, including the honorific sibling terms, the words ཆེ་བ་ ~ ཆེན་པོ *cheba chenpo* 'great' and the plethora of Tibetan words which are derivates of ཆེ *che-*. Limbu t^hɛba 'grandfather' appears to be a compound of t^hɛ-and either pa 'father' or the masculine suffix -Pa. The first morpheme t^hɛ may be the reflex in Limbu of Tibeto-Burman *tš'e and/or it could be cognate to archaic Chinese *tso* 'grandfather', whence the modern Mandarin compound *zŭ-fŭ* 'grandfather'. In some cases Archaic Chinese *ts* is the reflex corresponding to Tibeto-Burman initial *ts. Sufficient evidence is presently lacking, however, to determine whether Limbu *th* is a regular reflex of Tibeto-Burman *ts in initial environments.

Limbu x̱uma 'grandmother' similarly appears to be a compound

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1. Although Benedict probably did not have a complete corpus of Limbu kinship terms at his disposal, he was aware of the Limbu form p^hɛŋa?, available to him as *am-pang-a*.

on the basis of either ma 'mother' or the homophonous feminine
suffix -ma, with an unidentified morpheme i̯u- .

Benedict (1941: 332) points out that 'it cannot be too
strongly emphasized that only a remote relationship (Urver-
wandtschaft) exists between Tibeto-Burman and Chinese. The
slight degree of resemblance in the kinship terminologies of
the two stocks, therefore, calls for no especial comment'.
However, Dr. Alfons Weidert has indicated on the basis of pri-
marily Limbu materials that a number of unique lexical corres-
pondences exist between the Kiranti languages of eastern Nepal
and Archaic Chinese (personal communication).

In addition to the possibility of Limbu t^hɛ-ba being cognate
to Archaic Chinese *tso*, one may speculate whether the first element
in the Limbu compound kunba 'brother-in-law, male speaking' is
cognate to Archaic Chinese k^wən 'older brother', which has been
retained in modern Mandarin kūn, an old-fashioned term of re-
ference for 'older brother', restricted to formal writing and
less unlikely in Guóyǔ than in Pǔtònghuà Mandarin (Dr. J.C.P.
Liang, personal communication 1984).

The terms for great-grandparents are derived by prefixation
of su: — su:t^{h}ɛba 'great-grandfather' and su:i̯uma 'great-grand-
mother'. The term for great-grandchild is derived by prefixation
of mu: — mu:mɛntɕ^{h}aʔ 'great-grandchild'. The corresponding
terms in Tibetan are both derived by prefixation of the affix ཡང
yaṅ, e.g. ཡང་ཚ *yaṅ-tsha* 'great-grandchild' from ཚ་བོ *tsha-po*
'grandchild', ཡང་མེས *yaṅ-mes* 'great-grandfather' from མེས་པོ
mes-po 'grandfather'.

As pointed out above, mɛntɕ^{h}aʔ 'grandchild' itself is
a regular derivative of saʔ by prefixation of m n-. In this
connection it is interesting to note that Benedict (1941, 1972)
posits a root *ts'a 'grandson, child' for the 'Tibetanized
languages of Nepal' related to or ultimately derived from Tibeto-

Burman *za 'child'. It is possible that the Limbu terms for man (*vir* as opposed to *homo* 'm na) and woman are derivatives of Limbu kinship terms via the following proposed etymology: jɛmbittǫ^{h}aʔ 'man' from jɛmba 'husband' and saʔ 'child', mɛntǫ^{h}umaʔ 'woman' from mɛn- (ɛe above) and sumaʔ 'mother's younger sister'.

Limbu lamsaʔ 'cross niece/cross nephew, male speaking' appears to be a compound of lam- and saʔ 'child'. In Limbu, the word lam means 'road, direction' and corresponds to Tibeto-Burman *lam 'road'. However, there is no cogent reason for ascribing the first element of lamsaʔ to the same etymon as lam 'road'. Rather, the first element may correspond to Tibeto-Burman *la-[.]m 'fathom, arm-spread', which would correlate with informants' indications that parallel nieces and nephews were felt to be more proximal to ego and cross nieces and nephews more remote.

Limbu paŋli 'daughter-in-law' bears resemblance to some of the forms upon which Benedict (1972) bases his Tibeto-Burman reconstructed root *b-liy 'grandchild, neice/nephew', notably Garo (aŋ-)ri < *li, Burman ၉၂ၚ *mrè* (in inscriptions: *mliy)* and Nung phəli. Such a tentative relation, however, seems not to account for the formally related modern Limbu form paŋmi (in Pāñcthare dialect: paŋləmi (Cemajoñ 1958/59), and Phedappe speakers of *Myāñluñ* also use this form), unless the latter is a rhyme analogy of paŋli plus mi $\overset{ʔ}{<}$ *ma.k 'son-in-law' (vide infra).

Limbu naꞵpa 'cross nephew, female speaking' and naꞵma 'cross niece, female speaking' appear to be cognate to the widely re-presented Tibeto-Burman root *ma.k ∼ *s-ma.k, underlying numerous similar kinship terms in modern Tibeto-Burman languages. Benedict (1972) cites Tibetan མག་པ *mag-pa*, Lepcha myok < *s-mak, Dhimal hma-wa, Miri mak-bo ∼ mag-bo, Kachin da-maʔ, Burmese sa-mak, Lahu ɔ-má-pā, Lushei ma.k-pa, Pwo maʔ, Sgaw maʔ and (1941) Mru, Meithei and Kukish. These terms, however, signify 'son-in-law'. Limbu naꞵpa, if cognate, represents a case of Tibeto-Burman semantic metastasis.

Both Limbu forms or formed by suffixation of either mas-
culine or feminine noun affix -Pa/-ma. The Limbu terms for
cross niece and cross nephew formally resemble the Tibetan
terms ![Tibetan script] *mag-pa* 'son-in-law' and ![Tibetan script] *mna^h-ma* 'daughter-
in-law', both polysemantic terms also denoting 'bridegroom' and
'bride' respectively.

Limbu me?l 'wife' corresponds to Tibeto-Burman *mow, de-
noting some female relation or simply 'woman'.

Limbu ɔŋ'?ekma 'sister-in-law through younger brother' is
the feminine form of the Limbu word ɔŋ'?ekwa 'infant, child not
yet able to speak' formed by suffixation of the feminine nominal
affix -ma. Although no corresponding masculine form *ɔŋ'?ekpa
occurs in the Phedappe dialect under study, the term *an̈ekpā*
occurs in the *Pāncathare* dialect of Limbu (Subba 1979) in the
meaning 'husband's younger brother', whereas *an̈ekmā* has the same
meaning as in Phedappe, i.e. 'younger brother's wife'.

Concluding Remarks

In Limbu society, kinship terms are employed to address
and refer to consanguinal and affinal relatives. Kinship terms
in practice generally replace an individual's given name, both
as a term of address and of reference. In this way an outsider
rapidly gains insight into the structure of a family.

Kinship terms are also used metaphorically as terms of
address and reference to non-kin in which case a person's age
and social position with respect to speaker determines the kin-
ship term used. For example, an elderly woman may be addressed
by a younger person as ịumae 'grandmother (vocative)'. Such
metaphorical usage of kinship terms to apply to non-kin is well
attested in many other cultures and is certainly prominent
among the peoples of Nepal. The ordinal terms also be used by

non-kin familiar with the family of the addressed. For example, the third-born son of a family may be called 'iaŋsumbae 'third-born (masculine, vocative)' by the neighbours.

No inferences about the social structure amongst the Limbus can be made on the basis of the field work conducted with its emphasis on linguistic aspects of kinship terminology. The authors concur with Kroeber's view that 'Terms of kinship reflect psychology, not sociology. They are determined primarily by language and can be used for sociological inferences only with extreme caution' (1909: 84).

Although not actual kin as we define it above, the seba or bond friend of the same sex as ego may be mentioned, with which ego shares a special relationship. The corresponding Nepalese terms are *mit* or *mit-sāthī* for a male bond friend and *mitinī* for a female bond friend or for the wife of a male bond friend. The Limbu terms paʔiŋ and maʔiŋ denote father's and mother's bond friend respectively.

Barnouw (1955: 28) notes that such a friendship amongst the Rai of eastern Nepal is 'initiated by a simple ceremony ... which commits the two partners to a quasi-familial relationship'. Quasi-, pseudo- or fictitious kinship are, according to Schusky (1974: 3, 69), relationships formed along the lines of and resembling consanguinal kinship relations.

According to Barnouw, the sense of relationship is so strong between ego and his/her *mit/mitinī* that an incest taboo holds between their two families.[1] We are of the opinion that terms such as quasi-, pseudo- and fictitious kinship are more indicative of the putative categories of the anthropologist (i.e. kin vs.

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1. The field work did not disclose whether amongst the Limbus an incest taboo holds between ego's family and the family of his/her seba.

non-kin) than of those of the Limbus. We do not know whether the ego-seba bond is formed along the lines of consanguine relatives, nor whether it may be viewed as 'a socially defined equivalent of affinal or consanguine ties' (Schusky's definition of fictitious kinship, 1965: 76).

Use of such terms leads one to think that relationships such as that of the seba amongst the Limbus are derived from the kinship system, at least in the minds of those involved. In this way, a researcher defines the character of such social relations within sich cultures *a priori* through presuppositions in his own mind. We therefore advocate an alternative approach whereby a study is made of the manner in which the bond with the seba is symbolically expressed without delimiting one's range of vision to the domain of kinship.

Kinship is primarily an aspect, not a determinant of behaviour. In connection with Limbu kinship classification in a broader Tibeto-Burman perspective, we should like to draw attention to kinship categories such as they exist amongst the Limbus according to Jones & Jones (1976), who base their observations on field work conducted in the vicinity of Tehrathum Bazar in eastern Nepal from 1967-1969. This article is based on fieldwork conducted in the same area. Jones & Jones established that the Limbus employ three kinship categories in order to organize labour and land use. The first category consists of patrilinear kin, the 'bongsoli' or 'relatives by the bone'. The second category consists of mother's brothers, the 'mamoli' or 'relatives of the flesh'. The third category consists of affinal relatives, the 'kutumba'.

These categories were observed amongst the Tibetans by the Jesuit priest Ippolito Desideri who traveled to Tibet in the years 1715-21. According to Desideri the difference between རུས་པ་ཅིག་ rus-pa cig 'one bone' and ཤ་ཅིག་ sa cig 'one flesh' is that the former denotes a group descendant from some

same remote ancestor, whereas the latter denotes normal proximal consanguinal relatives. Relation through membership of the same bone, though genetically distant, was viewed by the Tibetans as an inviolable bar to matrimony. An incest bar also applied to members of the same flesh in the first degree, though offspring of mother's brother were eligible candidates for marriage to ego, and were often taken as partners in wedlock (Benedict 1941).

Benedict (1941) maintains that the 'one flesh' versus 'one bone' distinction is nowhere prominent in his own modern Tibetan sources. The term རུས་པ་ཆིག་ , according to Benedict, in modern Tibetan denotes an 'exogamic patrilineal lineage or gens'. Benedict mentions that some remnant of this distinction was attested by O'Malley for the speakers of the Dänjongkä dialect of Tibetan, called Bhotias, residing in Sikkim, a group observed to practice cross cousin marriage.

Benedict further notes that the Lepchas believe the bones and brain to originate ontologically from the father's semen, whereas flesh and blood are believed to ontologically develop from the mother's vaginal secretions. The term 'bone' in Tibetan and its cognates in other Tibeto-Burman languages often have to do with terms for family or kin group (Benedict 1941: 328). This and other considerations lead Benedict to conclude that there was 'an ancient cultural stratum, underlying both Chinese and Tibeto-Burman cultures, in which cross-cousin marriage was a conspicuous feature'.

The distinction, no longer observed to exist amongst the Tibetans by Benedict, was also not mentioned by our own informants, the Phedappe dialect speakers of Limbu.

According to the above, marriage was strongly tied to the kinship system. According to Jones & Jones, the categories 'one bone' and 'one flesh' do not play any role in the choice

of marital partner. They dispute the idea that the kinship
system serves as an instrument to forge matrimonial ties,
whereby the role of the male is decisive, either as 'wife-
takers' or as 'wife'givers'. Jones & Jones maintain that Limbu
women decide for themselves 'because of their control over their
own labour in everyday production, rather than factors which
are related to the structures of the Limbu 'kinship system".'
It must be emphasized, however, that the significance of what
we call 'kinship' for Limbus as individuals is ever changing,
both in time and, at any given point in time, in different
contexts. According to Jones & Jones, the categories 'one
flesh' and 'one bone' still exist for the Limbus but are re-
levant only to the production process, having no function in
establishing matrimonial ties.

The relationship of kwa?, mother's brother, to lamsa?,
sister's son, may be considered in a similar fashion. Mother's
brothers (= 'mamoli', Jones & Jones) play a role in the pro-
duction process and, according to other authors (Sagant 1973,
Barnouw 1956), in ceremonial functions. Particularly in
Sagant's description, it becomes apparent that kwa? and lamsa?
behave differently towards each other in different situations.

Mother's brother has the same status as a member of ego's
own clan, according to Sagant. He may even issue orders in the
household of his sister's son. When kwa? (MOBR) receives lamsa?
(SISO) in his house, he places lamsa? in the front portion of
the house, a place associated with superior *kin* status, but also
in the lower portion of the house in keeping with the lower *social*
status of the lamsa?.

The meaning of kinship and the use of kinship terms form a
set of symbols and meanings in the midst of other such sets.
These must be studied in action within other cultural domains.
Kinship is not a universal determinant of behaviour. It too
is subject to being reshaped and redetermined, as with the
categories 'one flesh' and 'one bone'.

Comparison with other Tibeto-Burman kinship systems is important in this regard in order to shed light on matters such as cultural change and loans. In this article, kinship was isolated for lexical purposes in the awareness that kinship cannot be isolated in real life.
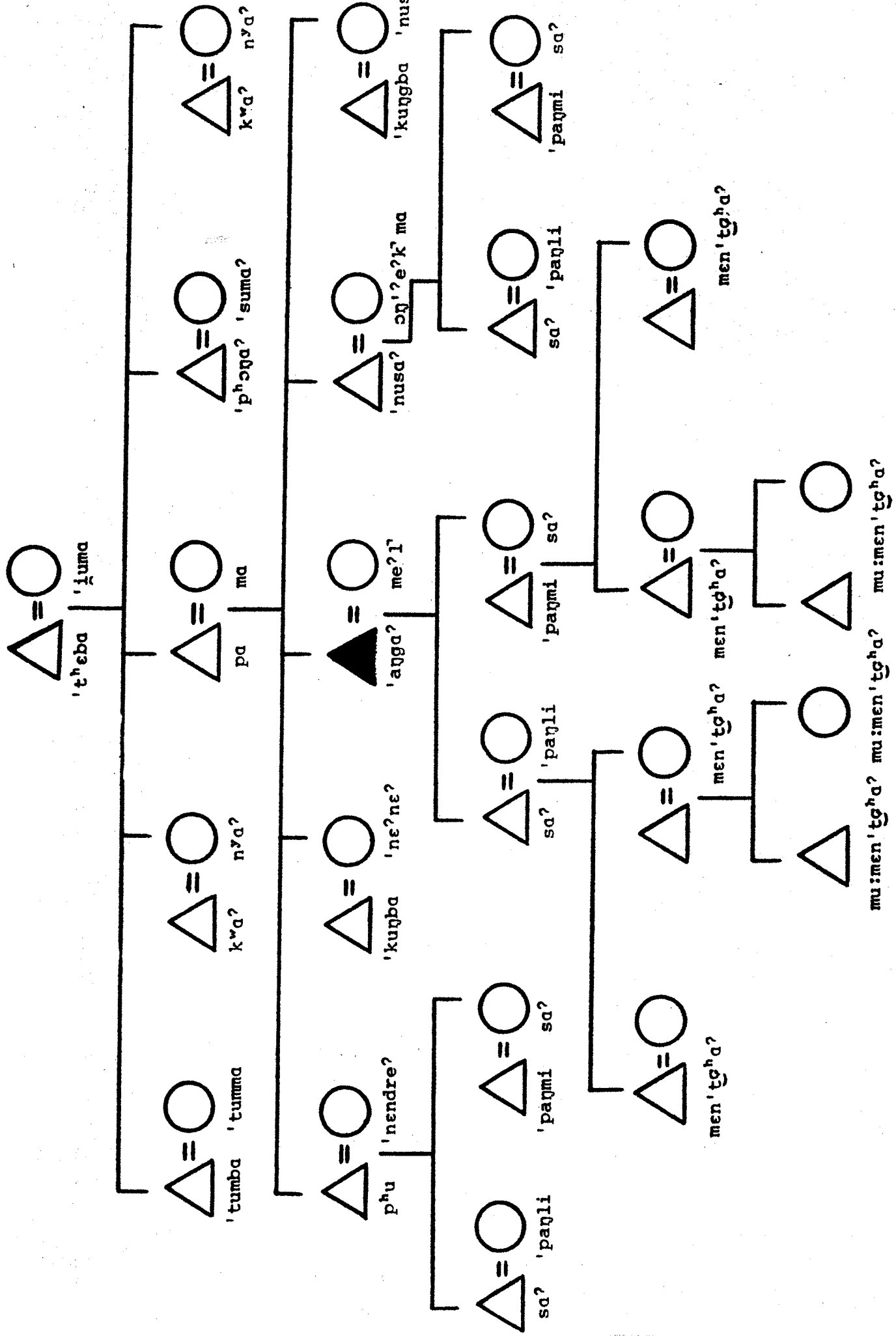
Figure 1. Limbu System, male speaking (Part I: paternal relatives and male siblings' offsprin

Figure 2. Limbu System, male speaking (Part II: maternal relatives and female siblings' offspring).
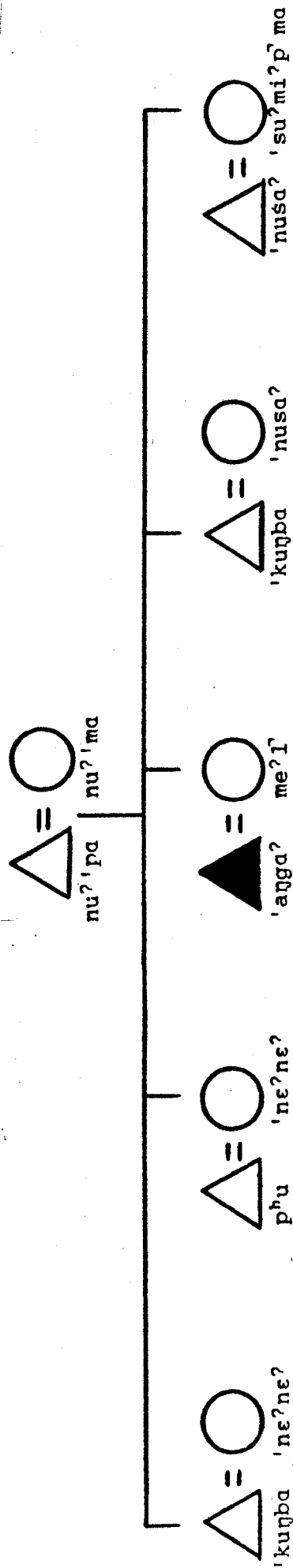
Figure 3. In-Law System, male speaking

Figure 3. In-Law System, female speaking

Figure 4   Limbu System, female speaking (Part I: maternal relatives and female siblings' offspring)

Figure 5   Limbu System, female speaking (Part II: paternal relatives and male siblings' offspring)

Glossary of Limbu Kinship Terms
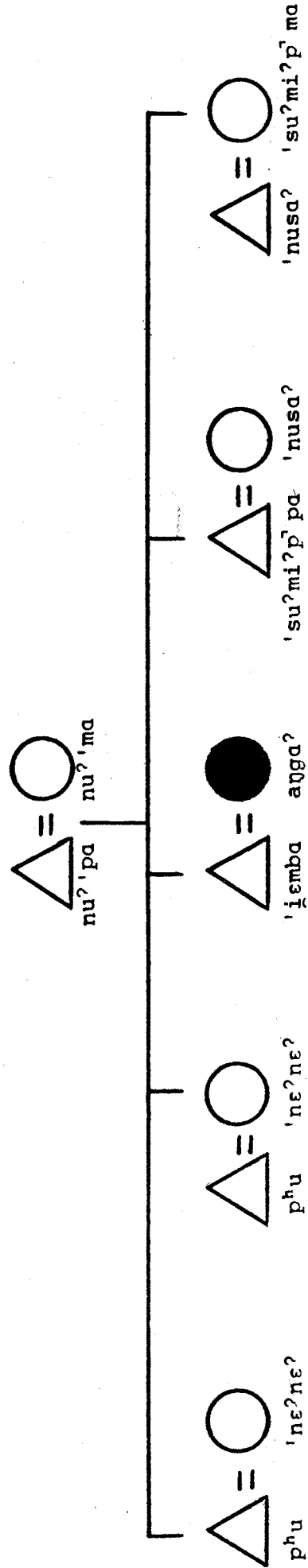
am'ba	See pa .
am'ma	See ma .
am'ma 'pa?k̚ ma	See ma 'pa?k̚ ma .
am'ma 'tumma	See ma 'tumma .
am'pʰu	See pʰu.
'ampʰudre	See pʰupʰudre.
ã'weː	Reduced, familiar form of ampʰuʷeː , the vocative form of ampʰu.
'i̯aŋsumba	[adj.] third-born (masculine).
'i̯aŋsumma	[adj.] third-born (feminine).
'i̯emba	Husband.
'i̯embitçʰa?'sa?	A male child.
it'tcʰaba	Father-in-law of offspring.
it'tcʰama	Mother-in-law of offspring.
'i̯uma	Grandmother.
'ka?p̚ saba	Twin.
'kʰo?sa?	Bastard, child without a father.
'kuŋba	Wife's elder brother, wife's younger brother, elder sister's husband (if ego is male), younger sister's husband (if ego is male).
kʷa?	Maternal uncle or husband of paternal aunt.
'lamsa?	Sister's child (if ego is male).
'lamsa? 'paŋli	Sister's son's wife (if ego is male).
'lamsa? 'paŋmi	Sister's daughter's husband (if ego is female).
'luŋa?	A cousin related through a maternal uncle or a paternal aunt.
ma	Mother (Also familiarly: mother-in-law)
ma?iŋ	Mother's bond friend
ma 'pa?k̚ ma	Father's second wife (if ego is child of first wife).
ma 'tumma	Father's first wife (if ego is child of second wife).
me?l̚	Wife.
mɛn'tçʰa?	Grandchild (either grandson or granddaughter).
'mɛntçʰuma?'sa?	A female child.
muːmɛn'tçʰa?	Great grandchild (either great-grandson or great-granddaughter).

'na?k̓ ma?	Brother's daughter (if ego is female).
'na?k̓ ma? 'paŋmi	Brother's daughter's husband (if ego is female).
'na?k̓ pa?	Brother's son (if ego is female).
'na?k̓ pa? 'paŋli	Brother's son's wife (if ego is female).
'nɛndre?	Elder brother's wife.
'nɛ?nɛ?	Elder sister, elder female cousin related through paternal uncle or maternal aunt, wife's elder sister, husband's elder sister, wife's elder brother's wife, husband's elder brother's wife.
nu? 'ma?	Mother-in-law.
nu? 'pa?	Father-in-law.
'nusa?	Younger sibling (younger brother or younger sister), Younger cousin related through paternal uncle or maternal aunt, wife's younger brother's wife, wife's younger sister's husband, husband's younger brother's wife, husband's younger sister's husband.
nʸa?	Paternal aunt or wife of maternal uncle.
ɔŋ'?e?k̓ ma	Younger brother's wife (the feminine form of the word ɔŋ'?e?k̓ wa' which lacks gender and means 'baby').
pa	Father (Also familiarly: father-in-law).
pa?iŋ	Father's bond friend.
'paŋli	Son's wife, brother's son's wife (if ego is male), sister's son's wife (if ego is female); [Also occasionally: brother's son's wife (if ego is female), sister's son's wife (if ego is male)].
'paŋmi	Daughter's husband, brother's daughter's husband (if ego is male), sister's daughter's husband (if ego is female); [Also occasionally: brother's daughter's husband (if ego is female), sister's daughter's husband (if ego is male)].
'paŋmi?k̓	Younger sister's husband (if ego is female).
pʰo?k̓ 'waba	[adj.] youngest sibling or offspring (masculine).
pʰo?k̓ 'wama	[adj.] youngest sibling or offspring (feminine).
'pʰɔŋa?	Father's younger brother, mother's younger sister's husband.
pʰu	Elder brother, elder male cousin related through a paternal uncle or maternal aunt, wife's elder sister's husband, husband's elder brother, husband's elder sister's husband.
'pʰupʰudre	Elder sister's husband (if ego is female).

saʔ	Child (either son or daughter), brother's child (if ego is male), sister's child (if ego is female).
sa'rumba	[adj.] second-born (masculine).
sa'rumma	[adj.] second-born (feminine).
su:'i̯uma	Great-grandmother
'sumaʔ	Mother's younger sister, Father's younger brother's wife.
'suʔmiʔp'ma	Husband's younger sister, wife's younger sister.
'suʔmiʔp'pa	Husband's younger brother.
su:'tʰɛba	Great-grandfather.
'tʰɛba	Grandfather.
'tumba	Father's elder brother, mother's elder sister's husband.
'tumba	[adj.] first-born (masculine).
'tumma	Mother's elder sister, Father's elder brother's wife.
'tumma	[adj.] first-born (feminine).

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