

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1. General Background

Nepal is a land of ethnic diversity and linguistic plurality. So it is known as a multiracial, multicultural, multireligious and multilingual country. Despite its small size, Nepal is a home of an amazing cultural and linguistic diversity corresponding with an ecological multiplicity. The 2001 census has identified 92 plus languages spoken as mother tongues by more than 102 ethnic communities, (Central Bureau of Statistics 2001) while Ethnologue (2005) lists 126. Such figures highlight the ethnic and linguistic diversities that contribute towards the cultural mosaic of Nepal. Moreover, this multilingual setting has made Nepal an interesting and sometimes even intriguing area of linguistic research.

The roughly estimated hundreds of languages spoken in Nepal belong to four major language families. Among them, more than three fourth of them belong to Tibeto-Burman language family. Others belong to Indo-Aryan; Austro-Asiatic and Dravidian language families while one of them namely 'Kusunda' is considered as language isolate.

Kumal is one of the endangered and the least studied languages of Nepal (Yadava and Turin, 2005), spoken by estimated 4105 people altogether in eight Village Development Committees (VDCs), in Dhading district of Bagmati zone in central Nepal (CBS, 2001). The term Kumal refers to both the people and language they speak. Kumal people recognize themselves with ethno name like *Kumhale* in Kumal located places. It is spoken in some places of Tanahu, Gorkha, Lamjung, Chitwan, Syanja, Palpa, Gulmi, Dhading, Arghakhanchi, Nuwakot, Dang, Pyuthan districts.

According to the CBS report of 2001, there are 6,533 Kumal as mother tongue speakers.

1.1 Kumal People

Kumal people are the marginalized aboriginal inhabitants of various parts of Nepal, who have been living since early days. They are the residents of the hill, Terai and inner Terai from eastern part to the western part of Nepal. The major areas of Kumal are Tanahu, Gorkha, Lamjung, Chitwan, Nawalparasi, Syangja, Palpa, Gulmi, Dhading, Arghakhanchi, Nuwakot, Dang and Pyuthan districts. The places where the kumal people reside with their majority are Salyantar VDC of Dhading district, Chamlingtar VDC of Gorkha, valley of Daraudi river in Gorkha, Belani, Tamsariya, Prasauni, and Narayani VDCs of Nawalparasi, Amarpur VDC of Gulmi, Chapthok, Sidheshwor, Darsa, and Rampur VDCs of Palpa, Meghauri, Jutpani, Bhojad areas of Chitwan, Bulingtar, Bharatipur, Kotthar areas of Nawalparasi, Bhanu village of Tanahu, Buttar of Nuwakot and others.

Since early days Kumal people have been following the occupation of pottery making, fishing and farming which are their main occupations. It is said that the name of Kumal has been taken after the occupation of pottery making. These days, only a few number of Kumal people follow this occupation. Majority of Kumal people follow farming instead of pottery making.

Dor Bahadur Bista (1980: 128) states that the people who settle down in the banks of rivers, streams where it is plain land and do pottery making are Kumal and they look like 'Mongolian' and their neighboring castes are Danuwar, Darai and Majhi.

Generally, they are in black complexion, average height with Mongolian face. They are innocent in nature. They are hard working with robust body. They hesitate to be

familiar with strangers due to the lack of education. The Kumal women seem cheerful and they seem good host at home. They wear black *Gunyu*, *Patuka*, *Cholo* and *Ghalek* as their traditional dresses. The Kumal males simple wear *Topi* on head, *Kachhad* and *Dharo* on waist. They are friendly, co-operative with other social groups.

We don't find any book in which the origin and spread of Kumal people is described but Dhadinge Kumal say that their ancestors might have come from the terai region to Salyantar and Ratmata of Dhading district and some people also claim that at first their living area was Salyantar where the land is plain on the side of Ankhu and Budhi Gandaki river. They perhaps chose the area to settle down and pottery making but later they went to Ratmata and Ramkot due to the various reasons. With the span of time, their language also slightly changed. Later, Kumal's language and culture have been converged to the mainstream language and culture due to the widespread use of the Nepali language in every sector. Some people say that costume of Kumal is like Tharu people of Terai and they perhaps might have separated from Tharu community and migrated through river side and came to the hill side plains and valleys also. But there is not any evidence to prove it. Although they look like Mongolian, they are Aryans and they follow the culture, tongue, religion of Aryans. We can say that they have Mongolian complexion due to the relation with hill dwellers. It is said that Kumal are neighbors of Terain aborigines, Tharu because of their tongue, culture and religious rites which is somehow similar to them. It is believed that Kumal people were spread through Terai to hill side and from there to inner Terai but we cannot ensure about the exact history of Kumal until there is the genetic historical research on them.

Farming is the main occupation of Dhadinge Kumal except pottery making; they grow grain and do other works for living. They involve in chopping wood, building

constructions, carrying loads, distillery affairs, and fishing as well. Most of them live in the plain land of river banks. Salyantar, Peepaltar, and Ratmate Kumal do fishing also for living. Ratmate and Peepletare Kumal of Maldi VDC cut down trees and sell the timber for money. Kumal of Benighat lives around the slope Land of Trishuli River do fishing, break stones for concrete to earn money. But the number of Kumal is decreasing in pottery making. Only old people do the job of making pots out of clay whereas the youths take interest to do other jobs.

Dhadinge Kumals are downtrodden and uneducated as well. They are victim of poverty. Ramkote Kumal of Muralibhanjyang VDC and Salyantar Kumal of Salyantar VDC seem to take interest in educating their children. The rate of schooling children in these villages is high rather than other villages. There is only one SLC graduate person in Peepaltar of Maldi VDC among the population of 520. They reply that due to the poverty, they are not able to send their children to school. They do not have jobs for cash income. They keep cows, pigs, chickens and they take interest in producing local wine and drinking. But like Brahmin and Chhetry, they are not interested in keeping buffalos and eating milk ware. They have been passing days in traditional life style. They believe on witch doctor, gods, and they follow traditional ideas of curing sick people. There is one thing about them they sometimes do the magical trick on clean rice to find the criminals in the village. Instead of this, the people offer them little money.

Dhadinge Kumals have got their won socializing activities such as greeting, social festivals, *parimo* and *jhamre* systems that resemble their social customs. Although they are in similar with Brahmin and Chhetry in greeting, they follow a few distinct ways of greeting to their seniors. They respect by using the term '*tore*' or '*toreheru*'.

The wife's father offers respect to her husband's father (*samdhi-samdhi*) by saying '*Moisalam Batou*.'

They observe various social rites from birth to death like *chhaiti*, *pasni*, wedding and funeral. The Kumal women are not restricted to do household works like cooking meal when they are in menstruation period. But they don't have the custom of '*Bratabandha*' to their sons whereas they follow the systems of rearing the head (*Chuda Karma*) and making hole in nose or ears. The newly born infant is named on the 9th day after the birth without priest by taking bath to both mother and infant. The mother should not remain under the system '*chhuwachhut*' while she gives the birth of a baby. The father of the baby takes name from the priest and tells the family the name of the baby. It is not like Brahmin or Chhetry. They kill a cock and a hen for the birth of a son and daughter respectively. They have got distinct ways of performing their own social rites (Source: Field visit, 2066 B.S).

Since they belong to Hindu religion, they have faith on heaven, hell, sin, god, rebirth, fate etc. They respect the cows considering Goddess Laxmi. They eat pork, buff, and chicken and drink wine. They respect Gods like Ganesh, Shiva, Bishnu, Goddess and they perform *Satyanarayan Pooja*, *Lakh Batti*, forming a terrace with *bar* and *peepal* etc. They perform various religious activities like *Kulayan pooja*, *Banskhandi pooja*, *Mandale wai*, and *semre pooja*, *Deshantari* and *Phirantari Mai*, *Sempooja*, *Nag-Nagini pooja*, *Chandi pooja* etc (Source: Field visit, 2066 B.S).

1.1.1 Demography and Distribution

CBS report (2001) shows that there is the existence of 35 language communities in Dhading district. Among them, Kumal is one. The total Kumal speakers in Dhading

are 4,105. Similarly the report shows that there are 6,635 Kumal as mother tongue speakers (CBS report 2001) through out the country.

Kumal recognize themselves with different ethno names of different places of Dhading. Kumal people of Maidi recognize themselves as *Kumhale* and Murallbhanigyang Kumal as *Kumale*. What is interesting is that the language and culture that Kumal follow is slight different in each Kumal living areas.

Table 1: Region Wise population of Kumal

Sn.	Region	No. of Male	No. of Female	Total	Percentage in Total Population
1.	Eastern Development Region	3,778	3,670	7,448	0.14%
2.	Central Development Region	11,700	11,511	23,211	0.29%
3.	Western Development Region	26,930	28,789	55,719	1.22%
4.	Mid-western Development Region	5,840	5,840	11,680	0.43%
5.	Far western Development Region	635	695	1,331	0.06%

Sources: Kumal Aawaj, 2009.

This table shows that Kumal people are found in five development regions. The largest population of Kumal (55,719) is in western development region where as the least population (1,331) of Kumal is in far western development region.

The following table shows the places and speakers of Kumal language as mother tongue in Dhading district.

Table 2: VDC wise population of Kumal in Dhading:

VDCs	No.of Kumal Speakers
Aginchok	13
Benighat	15
Khari	297
Maidi	614
Muralibhanjyang	742
Nilkantha	21
Salyantaar	2152
Sankosh	251
Total	4105

(Source: Population Census 2001)

This study is based mainly on the Kumal speakers of Dhading district. Geographically the district is with the high hills, rivers and with little fertile land. Salyantar VDC is densely Kumal populous area where is plain land (tar) but without irrigation. This area is between the two rivers Budhi Gandaki and Ankhu Khola. The soil is a bit red with low fertility power, Ramkot village is in the Muralibhanjyang VDC, near the district headquarter that is hill where a few Kumal people live and Peepaltar and Ratmata villages of Maidi VDC which lie on the bank of the river with some Kumal

residents. Kumal live in the side of the river in Khari VDC. Mostly Kumal live in bank of the rivers in the areas of Dhading Destrict.

1.2 Kumal Language

In the context of Nepal, most people speak Indo-Aryan languages. Therefore, it is one of the influential language families in Nepal (Yadava and Turin, 2005). Kumal is one of those languages that belong to Indo-Aryan branch of Indo-European family with 6,533 of the total population (CBS Report 2001) but having very few speakers using it as native language.

According to CBS 2001, Kumal population by mother tongue is 523 in urban and 6010 in rural areas of Nepal. This shows the most Kumal people live in rural parts of Nepal. Kumal is one of the potentially endangered languages of Nepal since very few people speak it and mainly Nepali language has influenced it as a lingua franca e.g. out of 6533 population of Kumal, 6007 use Nepali as a second language (Population Census, 2001) and there is no doubt but its oral literature is rich. The Kumal native speakers are decreasing in number since there is no any bright future in knowing their language and high impact of Nepali as an official language as well.

1.2.1 Name

The word 'Kumal' refers to both the people and the language. Kumal is one of the potentially endangered (Yadava and Turin, 2005) and one of the least studied languages of Nepal. There is a saying in the society on how Kumal word is given to Kumal people is that the Sanskrit word 'Kumbhakar'. (Srivastav, 1962) refers the person popular for making the pot out of clay and later this word may have changed into Kumhar or Kunhar or Kumhale and ultimately Kumal.

According to Hiramani Sharma Paudyal(2043: 7), the word Kumal is derived from Kumbhkar(Sanskrit)>Kumhar(Prakrit)>Kumhal>Kumal. But according to Dayananda Srivastav (1962: 22) as cited in Hiramani Sharma Paudel (2043: 7), the word Kumal has been derived from Kumbha-kar (Sanskrit)> Kuhar (Prakrit) > Kumale means potter. In Sanskrit, the word 'Kumbha' refers the clay pots and the manufacturer of them is called 'kumbhakar'. Thus it is clear that 'Kumal' is the ethnonym offered to the people due to job of pottery and they are reputed as Kumal people. Dhadinge Kumals say that the other people tease them calling *Mate*.

1.2.2 Genetic classification

Despite its small size, Nepal accommodates an amazing cultural diversity including linguistic plurality. This multilingual setting confers on Nepal a distinctive position on the linguistic map of the world and renders it as one of the most fascinating areas of linguistic research.

Owing to its small area with multiple languages, it is natural in Nepal that speakers of different languages are sometimes settled in the same locality, especially in urban area, and come into closer contact. As a result, they use a link language to communicate and interact in carrying out interpersonal and sociolinguistic activities. Most of non-Nepali speakers are found using lingua franca. However, educated people from the Terai region often tend to use Hindi as a lingua franca for inter community in the region (Yadava, 2003).

Bandhu (1993) has presented languages families of Nepal as in the following figure:

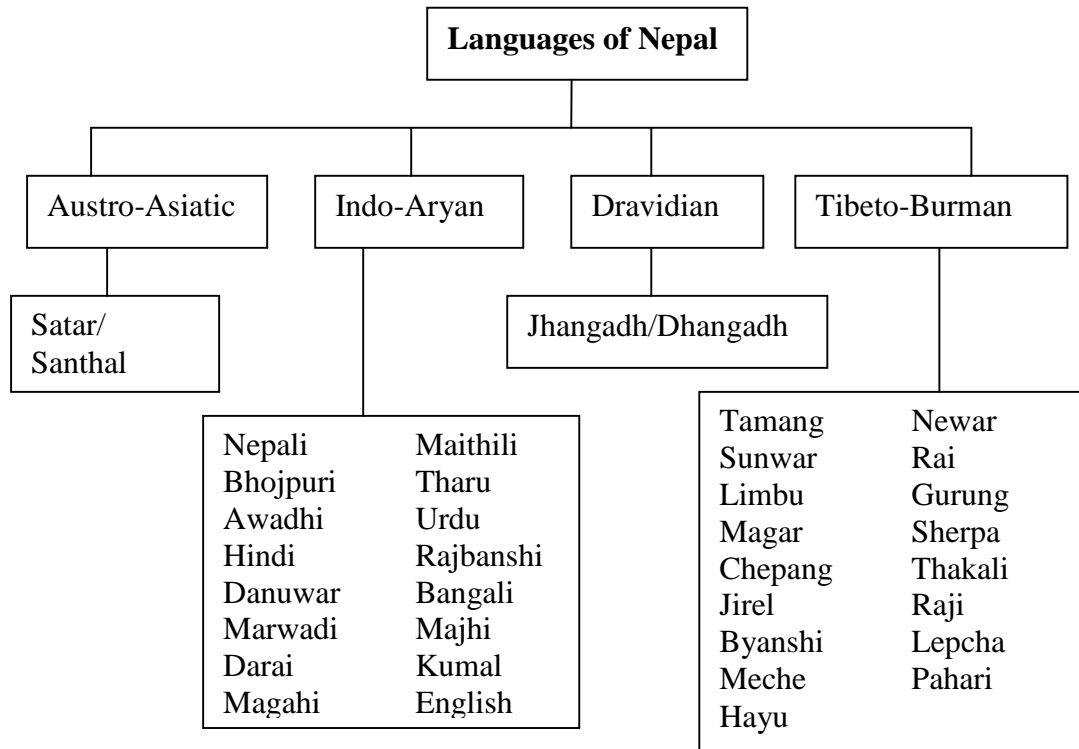


Figure 1: Language families of Nepal

Since the above figure includes Kumal language, it doesn't show the genetic affiliation of it. This figure, therefore, is related only to the language families of Nepal.

The languages families of Nepal are: Indo- Aryan, Tibeto-Barman, Austro-Asiatic and Dravidian. In these families, at least sixty different ethnic communities or caste include these four families and these communities within the country's present political boundaries speak over 92 languages as mother tongues. Therefore, it is obvious that Nepal is a multilingual country. This multilingual setting creates challenging theoretical and methodological issues for sociolinguistic research in Nepal. One of such issues can be raised on the Kumal language.

Pokharel, B.K. (2031 B.S.) says Kumal falls under the Ardhamāgadhī branch of Indo-Aryan language family. The family tree is given below:

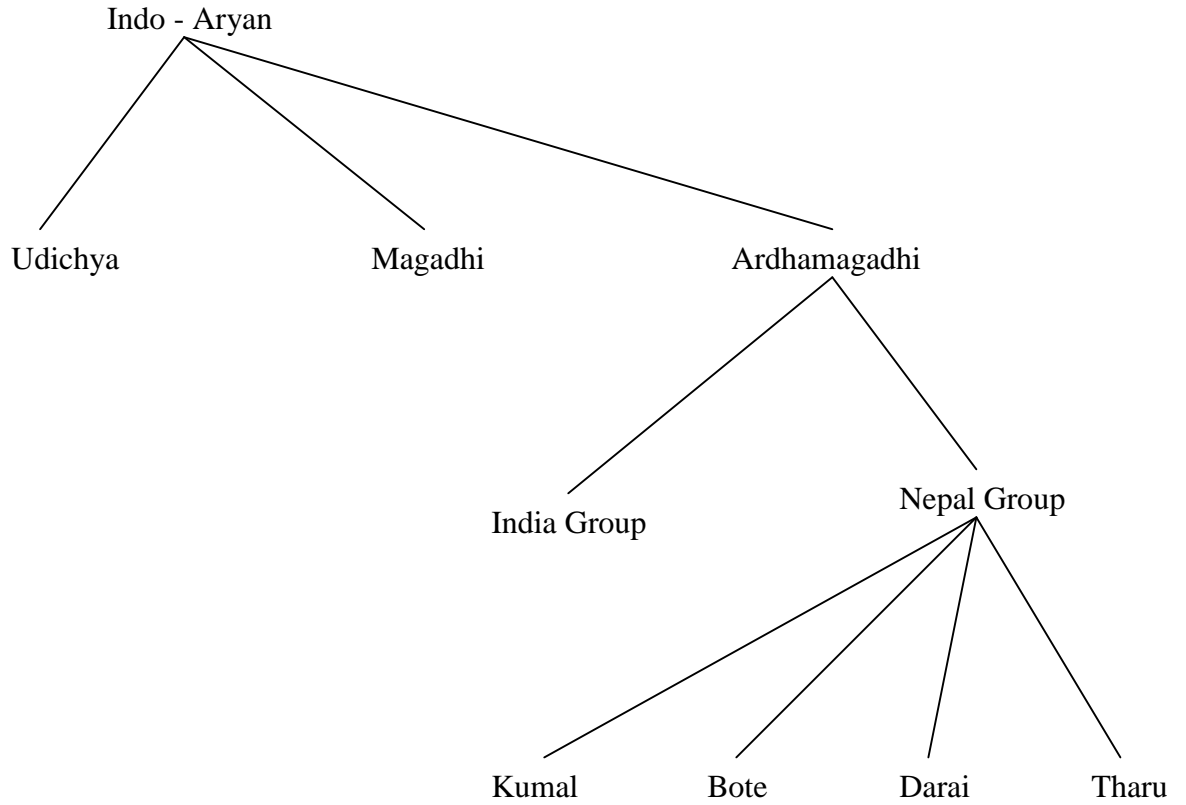


Figure 2: Genetic affiliation of the Kumal language

Source: Pokhrel (2031 V.S.)

The following tree diagram presents genetic classification of the Kumal language:

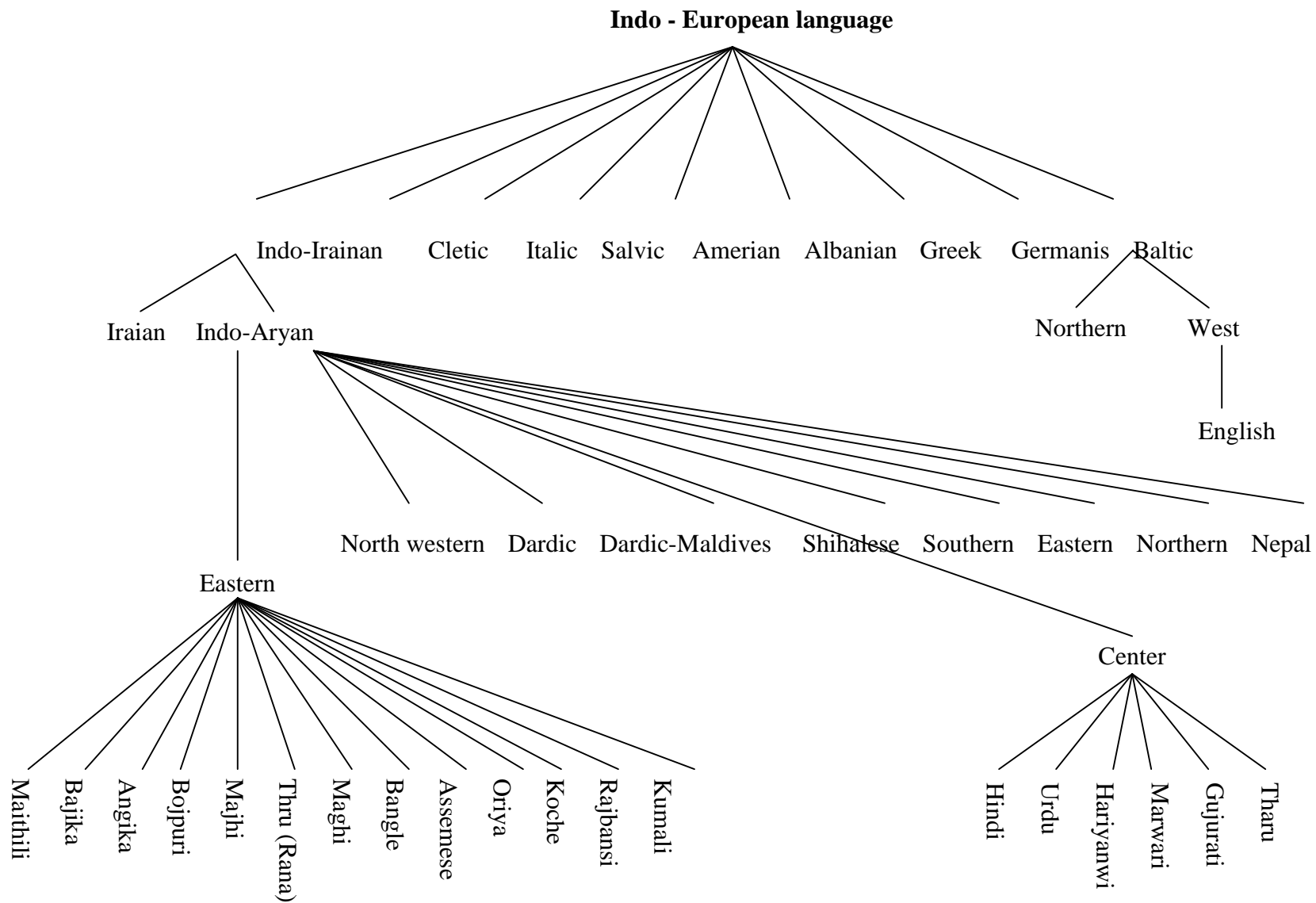


Figure 3: Classification of Indo-European languages.

Source: Yadava, Y.P. and C. Grove, eds. 2008. The Report of National Languages Policy Recommendation Commission 1994 (2050VS). Kathmandu: Central Department of Linguistics.

1.3 Kinship

Different castes use different kinship terms to signify different kinship relations. The study of kinship has focused much attention to the terms people use to classify and identify their relations. In 19th century, Lewis Henry Morgan (in Carrol, 1956), an American anthropologist, developed his theory of kinship in which he explained kinship terminologies used in non-literate societies reflected low level of culture and that the terminologies common in civilized societies indicated an advanced stage of development. This theory was abandoned when the discovery was made that the limited number of kinship systems in use are found among both technologically simple and advanced societies.

Since kinship is a universal phenomenon, it is the major concern in anthropological study, kinship terms are though tools for understanding the ties between in any given societies. They signify certain basic human attachments made by all people and reflect the way in which people give meaning and ascribe importance to human interactions. Kinship based societies organize human communities based on real, biological relationships among the members of that community. These biological relationships are both vertical and horizontal. The relationships that are based on the lines of decent, they are called vertical kinship relationships vertical lines of decent are the relationships between ancestors and descendants. One is related to his/her mother and father in a vertical kinship relationship.

On the other hand, horizontal kinship relationship is a relationship which gets its value from vertical kinship relationship. For example, brother and sister stand in such relation. This relationship between brother and sister gets its value because the two individuals share the same immediate parents.

MacIver (in Tyler, 1969) defines “the bond of blood or marriage which binds people together in group is called kinship”. According to the dictionary of anthropology, “kinship refers to the social recognition and expression of genealogical relationship, both consanguinal and affinal.” Thus it comes to be clear that kinship is a system of social recognition marriage and birth as well as that binds people together in a group. Generally kinships are of two types: real kinship and pseudo or not real/genuine kinship. The relationship which formed from consanguinal relations is called real kinship e.g. the relationship between parents and children and father and mother which is formed through genetic relations.

Affinal kinship is formed through biological/sexual intercourse or marriage relation like the relation between husband and wife and their peripheral relationships. e.g. *sasu-sasra, dewar-bhauju, sala, Sali, jwai, bhinaju* etc. Different kinship terms are used to contact or call people in the society which are not of real kinship. Such relationship is called pseudo kinship. Such as *ketaketi, budhabudhi, ama, buwa, sasu, sasra, bhai, bahini* etc. that is called the network of kin. The kinship terms for *nokar, dharmputra/dharmputri*, that are not real kin known as factious kinship where as ritualized kinships are denoted by ‘*mit saino*’ also. The degree of kinships is categorized into three parts:

- a) Primary kinship: This covers consanguinal and marriage or affinal relations that are close – relationships husband-wife, father – son, mother – son, mother – daughter, brother – father, daughter – sister are under this category.
- b) Secondary kinship: It denotes the groups of the persons who are bounded by the primary kinship. e.g. grandfather, mother-in-law, niece, nephew are under the degree of secondary kinship.

- c) Tertiary kinship: The primary relationship of the secondary kinship group is called the tertiary kinship. e.g. great-grand parents, father-in-law of father or brothers. Each group race, or tribe has its own distinct religious, cultural, traditional, norms and values which is practiced in kin group. The kinship system is outcome of cultural norms and values reflect the network of kinship.

1.4 Review of Related Literature

Kumal is one of the potentially endangered and the least studied language of Nepal. The study of the comparison between the kinship system in English and Kumal language has not been found. When going through the research, the researcher found a very few researches have been conducted regarding the comparative study of kinship terms of different languages in Nepal.

There are very few researches carried out on this language. The major works available in the Kumal language are Bista (2034 V.S.), Paudyal (2043 V.S.), Pokhrel (2050 V.S.), Gautam (2000), Parajuli (2001), and Marasaini (2009).

Bista (2034 V.S.) describes the physical complexion of Kumal as more Mongoloid than Majhi and Danuwar. He says that Kumal people live in the valleys of rivers and streams. He mentions them as Kumal or Kumhale involved in the pottery.

Paudyal (2043 V.S.) shows the main study of language spoken in Palpa and Nawalparasi districts. The study includes a description of social and cultural tradition of Kumal people. It is also a morphological study in which he has compared Kumal language with Bote, Darain, Bhojpuri and Awadhi. He also mentions a brief description of Kumal grammar in the study.

Pokhrel (2031 V.S.) states Kumal living in east as well as west especially in the inner Terai belonging to Ardhamagadhi group of Indo-Aryan branch.

Gautam (2000) describes the people involved in pottery are Kumal and the language spoken by them is also Kumal. He also mentions that this language is developed from Ardhamagadhi Prakrit and is similar to Bote, Majhi, and Darai.

Parajuli (2001) provides a brief description of Kumal people and language. The main concern of his study is grammar of the Kumal language. He also describes phonology, morphology and syntax of the language in his study.

There are numerous studies in kinship terms of English. Some of them are Carrol (1956) “Kinship System in English” and Tyler (1969) “Introductory survey of kinship system in English.”

Giri (1982) in her research entitled “English and Nepali Kinship terms: A Comparative Study” carried out English and Nepali kinship terms and their corresponding addressive forms. This is a descriptive study and very useful for a language teacher since it gives an insight into the forms that are equivalent, different and not existing between these languages. She thinks that this study will help the native speakers of Nepali who are learning English as a foreign language.

Rai (2001) has conducted a research entitled “A comparative linguistic study of English, Nepali and Limbu kinship terms”. Her main objectives were to determine English, Nepali and Limbu kinship terms and to make a comparison and contrast between them.

1.5 Statement of Problem

No study has been carried out about the relation between English and Kumal languages in the aspect of kinship terms in morphological structure and ego and addressee form in Kumal language. This study tries to find out the kinship terms in the Kumal language and make the comparison and contrast in morphological structure

and ego and addressive form between the kinship system in English and Kumal languages. For this within the study, following problems are identified.

- a. What are the kinship terms in Kumal?
- b. Are there similarities and differences in morphological structure and ego and addressee form in English and Kumal kinship system?

1.6 Objectives of the Study

The objectives of this study are as follows:

- i. to investigate the kinship terms in Kumal.
- ii. to compare and contrast the kinship terms of English and Kumal in terms of morphological structure and ego and addressee form.

1.7 Significance of the Study

The kinship relations and terms will be significant basically to anthropologists since it is used to denote the relations are the major concerns to the anthropological study.

Apart from this, it will also be momentous to the linguists, sociolinguists and other researchers who want to undertake researches on the kinship terms in future. It is hoped that it will be helpful resource to all the general readers from other language communities rather than Kumal community if they want to get information and knowledge about morphological structure of Kumal kinship relations and corresponding addressive forms.

1.8 Definition of the Technical Terms

- Alter : the person to whom a relationship is being indicated
(contra. Ego)
- Affinity : relationships by marriage ties.
- Core K.R. : Relations include the relationships of father, mother,
and brother, sister, son, daughter and their spouses.
- Caste : a form of social organization based on religious beliefs
in the supremacy of Brahmins any hereditary and
exclusive class. Kroeber defines caste as an
endogamous and hierarchized group in which one is
born and out of which one can't move (quoted by
Berghe 1967).
- Cognatic Descent : descent from an ancestor or ancestress through a series
of links that can be male or female or any combination
of two.
- Consanguinity : relationship by blood (i.e., presumed biological) ties. A
consanguine is a relative by birth. (i.e., a blood relation)
as distinguished from 'in-laws' (affines) and step-
relatives.
- Direct K.R. : the ego's own relationships, core as well as peripheral.
- Descent : a relationship defined by connection to an ancestors (or
ancestress) through a culturally recognized sequence of
parents – child links.

- Ego : the point of view taken in describing a relationship, e.g., ego's parents, ego's siblings.
- Family : a social group characterized by common residence and economic cooperation.
- Indirect K.R. : it includes the ego's relationships through his or her spouse.
- Kinship : relation based on or modeled on the culturally recognized connection between parents and children (and extended to siblings and through parents to more distant relatives).
- Linguistic study : the scientific study of language.
- Matrilineal descent : descent from an ancestress down through a series of (or uterine) female links (through daughter, daughter's daughter etc.)
- Peripheral K.R. : relationship through the members of the core kinship relations.
- Patrilineal descent : descent from an ancestor down through a series of (or agnatic) male links (i.e., through the ancestor's son, his son's sons, his son's son's son).

Kinship Terminology: a system of linguistic categories for denoting kinds or relatives.

CHAPTER II

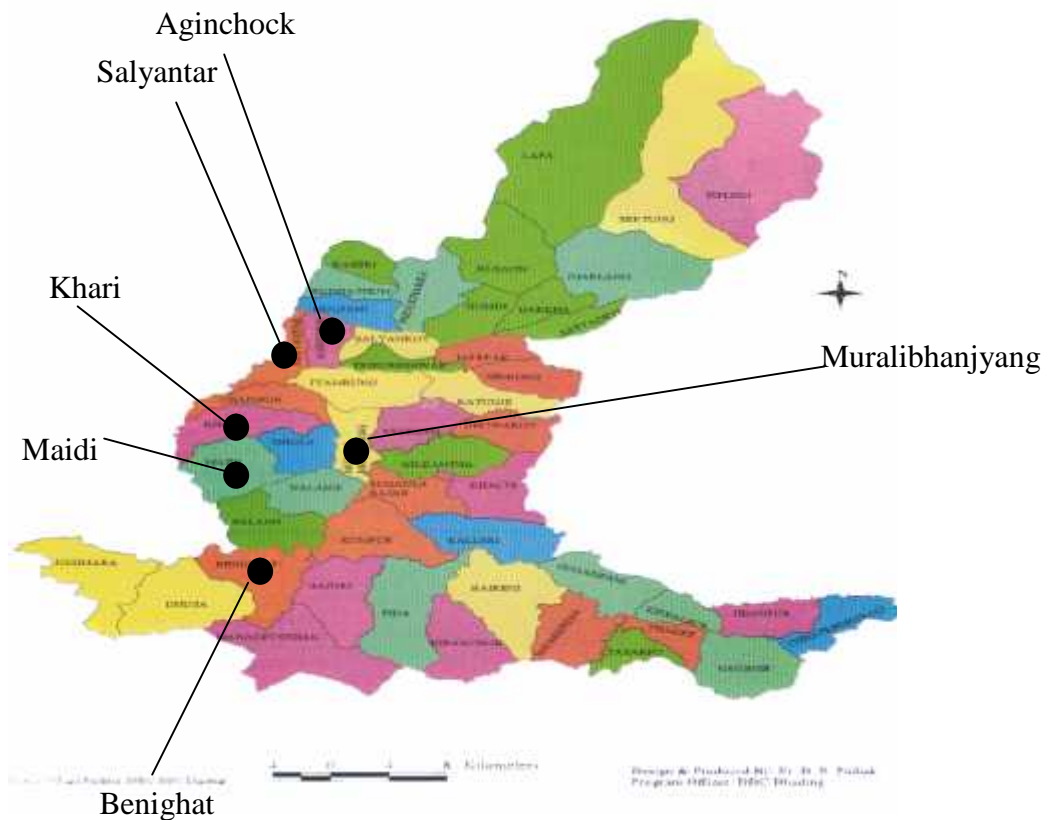
METHODOLOGY

This study was carried out using following methodology:

2.1 Field Site

This Study was based on the Kumal people of Dhading district. Three VDSs (Salyantar, Maldi and Muralibhanjyang) were selected through random sampling where majority of Kumal reside. The given map of Dhading shows the VDCs where Kumal people live and the selected field site.

Map of Dhading District showing the Kumal speaking area.



Source: Dhading in map, 2003. Published by GIS unit/DIDC, District Development Committee, Dhading.

2.2 Sources of Data

The researcher has utilized both primary and secondary sources of data.

2.2.1 Primary Sources

The researcher had utilized the primary sources of data from questionnaires, interview and group discussion with the informants, Kumal native speakers to carry out this research work.

2.2.2 Secondary Sources

For secondary sources of data, the researcher has consulted books, journals, magazines, documents, e.g. Corral (1956), kinship system in English and Tyler (1969), Introductory survey of kinship system in English.

2.3 Sampling Population

For the investigation of Kumal kinship terms, sources of data were collected from 75 informants individually as well as group wise from Kumal native speakers residing Salyantar, Maldi and Muralibhanjyang VDCs of Dhading district.

This study was based on the forty informants to elicit the Kumal kinship terms. The distribution of population is given as follows:

Table 3: Selection of the informants for personal interview

VDCs	Salyantar				Muralibhanjyang				Maidi			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
No. of population	5		5		5		5		5		5	
	Literate	Pre-literate	Literate	Pre-literate	Literate	Pre-literate	Literate	Pre-literate	Literate	Pre-literate	Literate	Pre-literate
Education	2	3	1	4	1	4	2	3	3	2	2	3
Age	Above 45	Below 45	Above 45	Below 45	Above 45	Below 45	Above 45	Below 45	Above 45	Below 45	Above 45	Below 45
Total respondents	10				10				10			

Group Discussion: 15 Persons in Each VDC.

Table 4: selection of informants according to age, sex and education.

VDCs	Male	Age	Female	Age	Education		Total
					Pre-literate	Literate	
Salyantar	7	Above 50	8	Above 45	12	3	15
Muralibhanjyang	7	Above 50	8	Above 45	9	6	15
Maidi	7	Above 50	8	Above 45	21	4	15

2.4 Process of Data Collection

The data for the study was elicited with the help of the already prepared interview schedule Jestha 14-30, 2066 B.S. To confirm the data, the researcher has participated daily informal conversation with informants for one week. The process of data collection can be pointed as follows:

1. Firstly, the researcher prepared required interview schedule (research tool), visited to the selected VDCs and built rapport with the known Kumal natives.
2. Secondly, she asked them to help to make contact with other people from whom she could collect necessary information.
3. After collecting the data through interview schedule the researcher participated daily conversation with the Kumal natives for a week to crosscheck the validity of the data.

4. Kumal kinship terms were elicited on the basis of English kinship terms because English kinships were already established.
5. The data is analyzed descriptively.
6. Analysis and presentation has been carried out making comparison between English and Kumal kinship through ego's addresses and morphological structure.
7. The English kinship terms are based on Carrol (1956) 'Kinship System in English' and Tyler (1969), 'Introductory survey of Kinship System in English'

2.5 Delimitations of the Study

The present study has the following limitations:

- i. The study is related only to the kinship terms.
- ii. The data collected are only from 75 Kumal native speakers of Dhading.
- iii. The language informants are of only three VDCs namely Salyantar, Muralibhanjyang and Maldi VDCs of Dhading district.
- iv. The researcher was limited to questionnaires, informal interviews and group discussion.
- v. The English kinship terms are taken from Carrol (1956) 'Kinship System in English' and Tyler (1969), 'Introductory survey of Kinship System in English'.

CHAPTER III
ANALYSIS, INTERPRETATION AND
PRESENTATION OF DATA

3.1 Formation of Kinship Terms in Kumal

The kinship system is predominantly paternal and generational which has different terms for different generation of both ascending and descending scales. The Kumal language has different terms to refer to the kin related by blood. From the above listing the contention that general aspect is more important in this system than kin related terms will have been quite clearly borne out. Further, the following morphological analysis can be made which will mark those which are compound. The given comparison between Kumal and English will clearly show some of the interesting features existing in their kinship system.

In the following, an attempt has been made to provide a first approximation of the system in Kumal:

3.1.1 Kin related by blood

Kin related by blood: The relationship that is made by blood is called consanguine relation. It is of two types: core and periphery. The relationships which are made by marriage are also core and periphery.

3.1.1.1 Own generation:

Male Sex

a) *Dai* 'elder brother': The term *dai* refers to older male varieties of same kinship man. It is the term for elder brother. In the Kumal language birth order plays vital role

to denote eldest to the youngest. For this birth order the term '*dai*' takes up to 12 different adjectives.

If a person has twelve elder brothers, they are addressed as follows.

- i) *Jetho dai* (eldest brother)
- ii) *Mailo dai* (second eldest brother)
- iii) *Sahilo dai* (third eldest brother)
- iv) *Kahilo dai* (fourth eldest brother)
- v) *Thailo dai* (fifth eldest brother)
- vi) *Rahilo dai* (sixth eldest brother)
- vii) *Antare dai* (seventh eldest brother)
- viii) *Mantare dai* (eighth eldest brother)
- ix) *Jantare dai* (ninth eldest brother)
- x) *Lakhantare dai* (tenth eldest brother)
- xi) *Panimantare dai* (eleventh eldest brother)
- xii) *Kanchho dai* (youngest elder brother)

In this type of kinship birth order is counted.

b) *Bhai* 'younger brother':

This term refers younger male varieties of same kinship man. In this kinship also birth order is counted as in '*dai*'. This kinship also uses up to 11 adjectives to denote birth order.

If a person has eleven younger brothers, they are addressed as follows:

- i) *Mailo bhai* (great younger brother)
- ii) *Sahilo bhai* (second younger brother)
- iii) *Kahilo bhai* (fourth younger brother)
- iv) *Thahilo bhai* (fifth younger brother)
- v) *Rahilo bhai* (sixth younger brother)
- vi) *Antare bhai* (seventh younger brother)
- vii) *Mantare bhai* (eighth younger brother)
- viii) *Jantare bhai* (ninth younger brother)
- ix) *Lakhantare bhai* (tenth younger brother)
- x) *Panimantare bhai* (eleventh younger brother)
- xi) *Kanchho bhai* (youngest brother)

The kinship terms are used by the speaker in relation to others provided they are older or younger than the speaker. If they are younger than the speaker, personal names are used to address them. Further, it is birth order and not genealogical position which is decisive. No older man will address a person younger in years with a kinship term whereas if he belongs to a generation genealogically senior to this own is addressed by *dai*. Sometimes name is used to address the seniors also.

Female Sex:

c) *Didi* ‘elder sister’:

This term in Kumal refers ‘elder’ female varieties of same kinship man. Birth order is also counted in this kinship as in ‘*dai*’. This kinship also uses up to 12 adjectives to denote birth order.

If a person has twelve elder sisters, they are addressed like this:

- i) *Thuli didi* (eldest sister)
- ii) *Maili didi* (second elder sister)
- iii) *Sahili didi* (third elder sister)
- iv) *Kahili didi* (fourth elder sister)
- v) *Thahili didi* (fifth elder sister)
- vi) *Rahili didi* (sixth elder sister)
- vii) *Antare didi* (seventh elder sister)
- viii) *Mantare didi* (eighth elder sister)
- ix) *Jantare didi* (ninth elder sister)
- x) *Lakhantare didi* (tenth elder sister)
- xi) *Panimantare didi* (eleventh elder sister)
- xii) *kanchhi didi* (youngest elder sister)

d) *Bahini* ‘younger sister’:

This term in Kumal refers younger varieties of same kinship man. Birth order is also counted in this kinship as in ‘*didi*’. This kinship also uses up to 11 adjectives to denote birth order.

If a person has eleven younger sisters, they are addressed like this.

- i) *mahili bahini* (great younger sister)
- ii) *sahili bahini* (second younger sister)
- iii) *kahili bahini* (third younger sister)

- iv) *thahili bahini* (fourth younger sister)
- v) *rahili bahini* (fifth younger sister)
- vi) *antare bahini* (sixth younger sister)
- vii) *mantare bahini* (seventh younger sister)
- viii) *jantare bahini* (eighth younger sister)
- ix) *lakhantare bahini* (ninth younger sister)
- x) *panimantare bahini* (tenth younger sister)
- xi) *kanchhi bahini* (youngest sister)

‘*Didi*’ and ‘*bahini*’ kinship terms are used by the speaker in relation to others provided they are ‘older’ or ‘younger’ respectively than the speaker. The younger persons than the speaker are addressed by their names whereas ‘*didi*’ term is used to address their elders. Sometimes name is used to address the unmarried elders.

Here is an attempt to describe the relationship made by blood in Kumal and English comparatively:

Table 5: Comparison of relationship by blood in Kumal and English.

Ee				Ey			
Kumal		English		Kumal		English	
<i>jetho</i>				<i>mailo</i>			
<i>mailo</i>				<i>sahilo</i>			
<i>sahilo</i>				<i>kahilo</i>			

<i>kahilo</i>	<i>dai</i>	brother	ego	<i>thahilo</i>	<i>bhai</i>	brother	ego
<i>thahilo</i>				<i>rahilo</i>			
<i>rahilo</i>				<i>antare</i>			
<i>antare</i>				<i>mantare</i>			
<i>mantare</i>				<i>jantare</i>			
<i>jantare</i>				<i>lakhantare</i>			
<i>lakhantare</i>				<i>panimantare</i>			
<i>panimantare</i>				<i>kanchha</i>			
<i>thuli</i>	<i>didi</i>	sister		<i>mahili</i>	<i>bahini</i>	sister	
<i>mahili</i>				<i>sahili</i>			
<i>sahili</i>				<i>kahili</i>			
<i>ahili</i>				<i>thahili</i>			
<i>thahili</i>				<i>rahili</i>			
<i>rahili</i>				<i>antare</i>			
<i>antare</i>				<i>mantare</i>			
<i>mantare</i>				<i>jantare</i>			
<i>jantare</i>				<i>lakhantare</i>			

<i>lakhantare</i>				<i>panimantare</i>			
<i>panimantare</i>				<i>kanchhi</i>			

Ee = ego's elder, Ey = ego's younger

a) The following Kumal mono morphemic free basic forms have the following corresponding English forms:

Kumal English

Dai brother

Bhai brother

Didi sister

Bahini sister

The above comparison shows the single free basic forms in Kumal are close kinship terms like in English. So in both Kumal and English we find same closeness in relationship that the above kinship terms resemble in their formation.

b) Free forms used in combination in Kumal and their corresponding form in English:

Table 6: Comparison of relationship that are in free forms in Kumal and English

Kumal			English
(Adjectives for male)	Base	Compound words	Free form
<i>jetho</i>	<i>dai/bhai</i>	<i>jetho dai/bhai</i>	brother
<i>mailo</i>	<i>dai/bhai</i>	<i>mailo dai/bhai</i>	brother

<i>sahilo</i>	<i>dai/bhai</i>	<i>sahilo dai/bhai</i>	Brother
<i>kahilo</i>	<i>dai/bhai</i>	<i>kahilo dai/bhai</i>	Brother
<i>thahilo</i>	<i>dai/bhai</i>	<i>thahilo dai/bhai</i>	Brother
<i>rahilo</i>	<i>dai/bhai</i>	<i>rahilo dai/bhai</i>	Brother
<i>antare</i>	<i>dai/bhai</i>	<i>antare dai/bhai</i>	Brother
<i>mantare</i>	<i>dai/bhai</i>	<i>mantare dai/bhai</i>	Brother
<i>rantare</i>	<i>dai/bhai</i>	<i>jantare dai/bhai</i>	Brother
<i>lakhantare</i>	<i>dai/bhai</i>	<i>lakhantare dai/bhai</i>	Brother
<i>panimantare</i>	<i>dai/bhai</i>	<i>panimantare dai/bhai</i>	Brother
<i>kanchho</i>	<i>dai/bhai</i>	<i>kanchho dai/bhai</i>	brother
Adjectives for female			
<i>thuli</i>	<i>didi/bahini</i>	<i>thuli didi/bahini</i>	sister
<i>mahili</i>	<i>didi/bahini</i>	<i>mahili didi/bahini</i>	sister
<i>sahii</i>	<i>didi/bahini</i>	<i>sahili didi/bahini</i>	sister
<i>kahili</i>	<i>didi/bahini</i>	<i>kahili didi/bahini</i>	sister
<i>thahili</i>	<i>didi/bahini</i>	<i>thahili didi/bahini</i>	sister

<i>rahili</i>	<i>didi/bahini</i>	<i>rahili didi/bahini</i>	sister
<i>antare</i>	<i>didi/bahini</i>	<i>antare didi/bahini</i>	sister
<i>mantare</i>	<i>didi/bahini</i>	<i>mantare didi/bahini</i>	sister
<i>jantare</i>	<i>didi/bahini</i>	<i>jantare didi/bahini</i>	sister
<i>lakhantare</i>	<i>didi/bahini</i>	<i>lakhantare</i> <i>didi/bahini</i>	sister
<i>panimantare</i>	<i>didi/bahini</i>	<i>panimantare</i> <i>didi/bahini</i>	sister
<i>kanchhi</i>	<i>didi/bahini</i>	<i>kanchhi didi/bahini</i>	sister

Morphological analysis

The comparative morphological analysis of the own generation kinship terms between English and Kumal is given in the following table:

Table 7: Comparative morphological analysis of the own generation kinship terms.

Kumal				English		
Birth order for male	Base	Birth order for female	Base	Order	Male	Female
<i>jetho</i>	<i>dai</i>	<i>jethi</i>	<i>didi</i>	elder	brother	sister
<i>mailo</i>	<i>dai/bhai</i>	<i>maili</i>	<i>didi/bahini</i>	younger	brother	sister
<i>Sahilo</i>		<i>sahili</i>				

<i>kahilo</i>		<i>kahili</i>				
<i>Thahilo</i>		<i>thahili</i>				
<i>Rahilo</i>		<i>rahili</i>				
<i>Antare</i>		<i>Antare</i>				
<i>Mantare</i>		<i>Mantare</i>				
<i>Jantare</i>		<i>Jantare</i>				
<i>Lakhantare</i>		<i>Lakhantare</i>				
<i>Panimantare</i>		<i>Panimantare</i>				
<i>kancho</i>	<i>bhai</i>	<i>kanchi</i>	<i>bahini</i>			

In Kumal the elder brother is addressed by ‘*dai*’ and younger brother by ‘*bhai*’ but in English the single free form ‘brother’ is used to address whether he is elder or younger brother. The English kinship system ignores the age where it is core in Kumal to determine the kinship. Adjectives are attached to the basic form to indicate the senior or juniors in Kumal adjectives with final ‘*i*’ are attached to the base for female kinship term. *Thuli, mahili, sahili, kahili, thahili, rahili, antare, mantare, jantare, lakhantare, panimantare*, and *kanchhi* adjectives are used for indicating elder or younger sister. To refer elder sisters, these adjectives are attached to the base *bahini*. Similarly, *jetho, mailo, sahilo, kahilo, thahilo, rahilo, antare, mantare, jantare, lakhantare, panimantare*, and *kanchho* adjectives are attached to the base *dai* for elder brother and *bhai* for younger brothers. But *antare, mantare, jantare,*

lakhantare, and *panimantare* are the kin terms that are attached for both male and female.

From the view of the kinship term formation, Kumal compounding kin terms resemble the farther relationship which seems closeness in English being single kin terms. In Kumal, if a person has three elder brothers, they are age wise categorized from senior to junior like this: *jetho*, *mailo*, *sahilo*, *kahilo*, *thahilo*, *rahilo*, *antare*, *mantare*, *jantare*, *lakhantare*, *panimantare*, and *kanchho* for brothers and *jethi*, *mahili*, *sahili*, *kahili*, *thahili*, *rahili*, *antare*, *mantare*, *jantare*, *lakhantare*, *panimantare*, and *kanchhi* for sisters. The adjectives *jetho* for eldest brother, *mailo* for second elder brother, and *sahilo* for third elder brother are attached to the base *dai* to address brother according to their age in Kumal.

Likewise, it goes on *didi* or *bahini*. In Kumal, age is core in the categorization of kinship in own generation whereas it is not found in English. *Bahini* refers younger varieties of same kinship man in Kumal. Brother and sister in English corresponding to *dai* and *bhai* and *bahini* in Kumal are of same morphological complexity but in Kumal, adjectives are attached to the base *dai*, *bhai*, *bahini* to address the multiple brothers or sisters according to their age.

3.1.1.2 First ascending generation:

Male Sex

a) ***Bau***: this single free form kinship term in Kumal refers to a male parent of a child. It refers to 'father'. Birth order is also counted for the elders and younger.

If a person's father has eleven elder brothers, they are addressed like this:

Jetho bau (Fathers great elder brother). Adjective *jetho* is attached to the base *bau* to denote eldest father.

Mailo bau (father's second elder brother): the adjective *mailo* is attached to the base *bau* to refer second eldest father.

Sahilo bau (father's third elder brother): the adjective *sahilo* is attached to the base *bau* to denote third eldest father.

Kahilo bau (father's fourth elder brother): the adjective *kahilo* is attached to the base *bau* to denote fourth eldest father.

Thahilo bau (father's fifth elder brother): the adjective *thahilo* is attached to the base *bau* to refer fifth eldest father.

Rahilo bau (father's sixth elder brother): the adjective *rahilo* is attached to the base *bau* to refer sixth eldest father.

Antare bau (father's seventh elder brother): the adjective *antare* is attached to the base *bau* to refer to the seventh eldest father.

Mantare bau (father's eighth elder brother): the adjective *mantare* is attached to the base *bau* to refer to eighth eldest father.

Jantare bau (father's ninth elder brother): the adjective *jantare* is attached to the base *bau* to refer to ninth eldest father.

Lakhantare bau (father's tenth elder brother): the adjective *lakhantare* is attached to the base *bau* to refer to tenth eldest father.

Panimantare bau (father's youngest elder brother): the adjective *panimantare* is attached to the base *bau* to refer to the youngest elder father.

If a person's father has eleven younger brothers, they are addressed like this:

Mailo bau (father's great younger brother): *mailo* adjective is attached to the base *bau* to denote great younger father.

Sahilo bau (father's second younger brother): *sahilo* is an adjective which is attached to the base *bau* to refer to the second younger father.

Kahilo bau (father's third younger brother): the adjective *kahilo* is attached to the base *bau* to denote the third younger father.

Thahilo bau (father's fourth younger brother): the adjective *thahilo* is attached to the base *bau* to refer to the fourth younger father.

Rahilo bau (father's fifth younger brother): the adjective *rahilo* is attached to the base *bau* to refer to the fifth younger father.

Antare bau (father's sixth younger brother): the adjective *antare* is attached to the base *bau* to refer to the sixth younger father.

Mantare bau (father's seventh younger brother): the adjective *mantare* is attached to the base *bau* to refer to the seventh younger father.

Jantare bau (father's eighth younger brother): the adjective *jantare* is attached to the base *bau* to refer to the eighth younger father.

Lakhantare bau (father's ninth younger brother): the adjective *lakhantare* is attached to the base *bau* to refer to the ninth younger father.

Panimantare bau (father's youngest younger brother): the adjective *panimantare* is attached to the base *bau* to refer to the youngest younger father.

Female Sex

Phupu: This kinship term is used for a female who is an elder or younger sister of a person's father. If a person's father has three elder or younger sisters, they are addressed like this.

Thuli phupu (father's great elder/younger sister)

Maili phupu (father's second elder/younger sister)

Saili phupu (father's second elder/younger sister)

Kahili phupu (father's second elder/younger sister)

Thahili phupu (father's second elder/younger sister)

Rahili phupu (father's second elder/younger sister)

Antare phupu (father's second elder/younger sister)

Mantare phupu (father's second elder/younger sister)

Jantare phupu (father's second elder/younger sister)

Lakhantare phupu (father's second elder/younger sister)

Panimantare phupu (father's second elder/younger sister)

Kanchhi phupu (father's youngest elder/younger sister)

b. Ama: The term ama refers to the mother parent of a child. This term refers to 'mother' in Kumal.

i) Jethi ama: This kinship term in Kumal is used to address female who is elder of a person's mother. Generally, if a person's mother has three elder sisters, they are addressed as:

Jethi ama (mother's great elder sister)

Maili ama (mother's middle elder sister)

Sahili ama (mother's small elder sister)

ii) Kanchhi ama: This kinship term in Kumal is used to address female who is younger sister of a person's mother. If a person's mother has three younger sisters, simply they are addressed like this:

Maili kanchhi ama (mother's great younger sister)

Sahili kanchhi ama (mother's middle younger sister)

Kanchhi kanchhi ama (mother's small elder sister)

Mama: This kinship term in Kumal is used to address male who is elder or younger brother of a person's mother. If a person's mother has three elder or younger brothers, they are addressed like this:

Jetho mama (mother's great elder/younger brother)

Mailo mama (mother's middle elder/younger brother)

Kanchho mama (mother's small elder/younger brother)

Both sex

c)Bauama: This compounding word refers 'parents' in Kumal.

The Kumal and English relationships of father's side and mother's side are shown in the given table comparatively:

Table 8: Comparison of relationship by first ascending generation in Kumal and English

Male				Female			
Kumal		English		Kumal		English	
<i>Jetho</i>	<i>bau</i>	uncle		<i>Jethi</i>	<i>ama</i>	aunt	
<i>Mailo</i>				<i>Mahili</i>			
<i>Sailo</i>				<i>Sahili</i>			

<i>Kahilo</i>			ego	<i>Kahili</i>		ego
<i>Thahilo</i>				<i>Thahili</i>		
<i>Rahilo</i>				<i>Rahili</i>		
<i>Antare</i>				<i>Antare</i>		
<i>Mantare</i>				<i>Mantare</i>		
<i>Jantare</i>				<i>Jantare</i>		
<i>Lakhantare</i>				<i>Lakhantare</i>		
<i>Panimantare</i>				<i>panimantare</i>		
<i>Jetho</i>	<i>mama</i>	uncle	<i>Thuli</i>	<i>maiju</i>	aunt	
<i>Mailo</i>			<i>Mahili</i>			
<i>Sailo</i>			<i>Sahili</i>			
<i>Thulo</i>	<i>bhenaji</i>	uncle	<i>Thuli</i>	<i>phupu</i>	aunt	
<i>Mailo</i>			<i>Mahili</i>			
<i>Kanchho</i>			<i>Kanchhi</i>			
<i>Bau</i>		dad	<i>Ama</i>		mom	

The periphery relations emerging through consanguine relationship of the father's and mother's side are indicated differently. The kinship terms *bau* and *ama* in Kumal are corresponding English kinship terms dad and mom which are single free morpheme.

The given table shows the morphological analysis of kinship term in Kumal and English that are used in ego's first ascending generation:

Table 9: Ego's first ascending generation kinship term in Kumal and English

Kumal	English
<i>bau</i>	dad
<i>ama</i>	mom
<i>mama</i>	uncle
<i>maiju</i>	aunt
<i>bhenaji</i>	uncle
<i>phupu</i>	aunt

The kinship terms, *bau*, *ama*, *mama*, *bhenaji*, *phupu* are free single morpheme in kumal and their corresponding form in English, dad, mom, uncle, aunt are also free single morpheme. The structure of these kin terms shows similarity and the relationship that they refer same closeness. On the other hand, the adjectives are attached to the base to address ego's father's brothers, mother's sisters and brothers, father's, sister's husband.

a) The following table shows the free morphemes used in combination:

Table 10: Comparison between Kumal and English First ascending generation

Kumal			English
Adjectives for male	Base	Compound word	Free form
<i>Jetho</i>	<i>bau/mama/bhenaji</i>	<i>Jetho bau/...</i>	uncle
<i>Mailo</i>	<i>bau/mama/bhenaji</i>	<i>Mailo bau/...</i>	uncle
<i>Sahilo</i>	<i>bau/mama/bhenaji</i>	<i>Sahilo bau/...</i>	uncle
<i>Kahilo</i>	<i>bau/mama/bhenaji</i>	<i>Kahilo bau/...</i>	uncle
<i>Thahilo</i>	<i>bau/mama/bhenaji</i>	<i>thahilo bau/...</i>	uncle
<i>Rahilo</i>	<i>bau/mama/bhenaji</i>	<i>Rahilo bau/...</i>	uncle
<i>Antare</i>	<i>bau/mama/bhenaji</i>	<i>Antare bau/...</i>	uncle
<i>Mantare</i>	<i>bau/mama/bhenaji</i>	<i>Mantare bau/...</i>	uncle
<i>Jantare</i>	<i>bau/mama/bhenaji</i>	<i>Jantare bau/...</i>	uncle
<i>Lakhantare</i>	<i>bau/mama/bhenaji</i>	<i>Lakhantare bau/...</i>	uncle
<i>Panimantare</i>	<i>bau/mama/bhenaji</i>	<i>Panimantare</i> <i>bau/...</i>	uncle
Adjectives for female			

<i>Thuli</i>	<i>ama/maije/phupu</i>	<i>Thuli ama/...</i>	aunt
<i>Mahili</i>	<i>ama/maije/phupu</i>	<i>mahili ama/...</i>	aunt
<i>Sahili</i>	<i>ama/maije/phupu</i>	<i>Sahili ama/...</i>	aunt
<i>Kahili</i>	<i>ama/maije/phupu</i>	<i>Kahili ama/...</i>	aunt
<i>Thahili</i>	<i>ama/maije/phupu</i>	<i>Thahili ama/...</i>	aunt
<i>Rahili</i>	<i>ama/maije/phupu</i>	<i>Rahili ama/...</i>	aunt
<i>Antare</i>	<i>ama/maije/phupu</i>	<i>Antare ama/...</i>	aunt
<i>Mantare</i>	<i>ama/maije/phupu</i>	<i>Mantare ama/...</i>	aunt
<i>Jantare</i>	<i>ama/maije/phupu</i>	<i>Jantare ama/...</i>	aunt
<i>Lakhantare</i>	<i>ama/maije/phupu</i>	<i>Lakhantare ama/...</i>	aunt
<i>Panimantare</i>	<i>ama/maije/phupu</i>	<i>Panimantare ama/...</i>	aunt
<i>Kanchhi</i>	<i>ama/maije/phupu</i>	<i>Kanchhi ama/...</i>	aunt

Morphological analysis

The comparative morphological analysis of the first ascending generation kinship terms between English and Kumal is given in the following table:

Table 11: Comparative morphological analysis of first ascending kinship terms.

Kumal				English		
Birth order for male	Base	Birth order for female	Base	Order	Male	Female
<i>Jetho</i>	<i>bau/mama/bhenaji</i>	<i>Jethi</i>	<i>ama/maiju/phupu</i>	-	uncle	aunt
<i>Mailo</i>		<i>Maili</i>				
<i>Sahilo</i>		<i>Sahili</i>				
<i>Kahilo</i>		<i>Kahili</i>				
<i>Thahilo</i>		<i>Thahili</i>				
<i>Rahilo</i>		<i>Rahili</i>				
<i>Antare</i>		<i>Antare</i>				
<i>Mantare</i>		<i>Mantare</i>				
<i>Jantare</i>		<i>Jantare</i>				
<i>Lakhantare</i>		<i>Lakhantare</i>				
<i>Panimantare</i>		<i>Panimantare</i>				
<i>Kancho</i>	<i>Kanchi</i>					
	<i>bau</i>		<i>ama</i>		dad	mom

The adjectives with final ‘o’ are attached to the base to form the kin term for males and these adjectives like ego’s own generation, show the age wise division and addressive forms from seniors to juniors, *jetho*, *mailo*, *sahilo* and *kanchho* are the adjectives which indicate the eldest to smallest one. For example, *jetho bau* refers the great elder father/ego’s father’s great brother. Like wise, the female marking adjectives, *jethi*, *mahili*, *sahili*, *kanchhi*, are attached to the base to indicate the ego’s mother’s sisters and brother’s wife, father’s sisters who are in different age. For example, *mahili maiju* indicates middle elder than ego who is the wife of ego’s mother’s middle elder brother. Such varieties of kinship lacks in English due to ignoring the age. Thus, it is clear that the compounding Kumal kinship terms as shown in the above table, are corresponding English mono morphemic free forms. The relations that seem close in English seem a bit farther in Kumal due to the use of adjectives in noun kin terms.

3.1.1.3 Second ascending generation

- a) *Baji*: This kinship term in Kumal refers the father’s or mother’s father.
- b) *Aboi*: This kinship term in Kumal refers the father’s or mother’s mother.
- c) *Bau-baji*: This compounding kinship term in Kumal is used to address ancestors.

Here the emphasis is on the male progeny, so the form is obtained by combining *bau* and *baji* which refer to males only.

The following table shows Kumal and English kin terms used for ego’s second ascending generation:

Table 12: Second ascending generation in Kumal and English

Male		Female	
Kumal	English	Kumal	English
<i>Baji</i>	grandpa	<i>aboi</i>	grandma

Kumal

English

bau-baji

forefathers

Morphological analysis

The comparative morphological analysis of the second ascending generation between English and Kumal is presented in the following table:

Table 13: Comparative morphological analysis of second ascending kinship terms.

Kumal				English		
Birth order for male	Base	Birth order for female	Base	Order	Male	Female
-	<i>baji</i>	-	<i>aboi</i>	-	grandpa	grandma
<i>Jetho</i>	<i>baji</i>	-	<i>aboi</i>	-	grandpa	grandma
<i>Mailo</i>	<i>baji</i>	-	<i>aboi</i>	-	grandpa	grandma

The single free forms *baji* and *aboi* are the corresponding English compound forms ‘grandpa’ and ‘grandma’ respectively. The adjective grand is attached to the base ‘pa’ or ‘ma’ in English to form grandpa and grandma but their equivalent words in Kumal are single free forms. This formation of kin term shows that the relationship between

ego and ego's second ascending generation is closer in Kumal than English. The term *bau-babi* in Kumal is a compound word for ancestors and the term forefather in English is a compound word which focuses on the male progeny.

3.1.1.4 Third ascending generation:

The third ascending generation is obtained by the term *baji* and *aboi* which is same to the second generation. *Baji* is a single kinship term that is also used to address father's father's father. Likewise, *aboi* is used to address father's mother's mother and father's father's mother.

The gap between second ascending generation and third ascending generation shows the close relationship because of the use of same kin term.

The given table shows the comparison between Kumal and English kinship terms which are used for ego's third ascending generation:

Table 14: Second ascending generation in Kumal and English

Male		Female	
Kumal	English	Kumal	English
<i>Baji</i>	great grandpa	<i>aboi</i>	great grandma

Morphological analysis

The comparative morphological analysis of the third ascending generation between English and Kumal is presented in the following table:

Table 15: Comparative morphological analysis of third ascending kinship terms:

Kumal				English		
Birth order for male	Base	Birth order for female	Base	Order	Male	Female
-	<i>baji</i>	-	<i>aboi</i>	-	great grandpa	great grandma
<i>Jetho</i>	<i>baji</i>	-	<i>aboi</i>	-	great grandpa	great grandma
<i>Mailo</i>	<i>baji</i>	-	<i>aboi</i>	-	great grandpa	great grandma

Kumal English

Bau-baji forefathers

The single free form *baji* in Kumal refers both for grandpa and great grandpa.

Likewise *aboi* refers both for grandma and great grandma. It shows close gap between ego's second ascending generation and third ascending generation in Kumal but it lacks in English. Two adjectives (great and grand) are attached to the base 'pa' or 'ma' to form great grandpa or great grandma. The more the adjectives are attached to the base kin term, the more the relation goes far. Thus, the relationship seems closer in Kumal than English.

3.1.1.5 First descending generation

- a) *Chhora*: it is a kinship term to address the son of a person in Kumal. Birth order is also counted in this kinship as in ‘*dai*’. This kinship also uses up to 12 adjectives to denote birth order.

Jetho chhoro (eldest son)

Mailo chhoro (second son)

Sahilo chhoro (third son)

Kahilo chhoro (fourth son)

Thahilo chhoro (fifth son)

Rahilo chhoro (sixth son)

Antare chhoro (seventh son)

Mantare chhoro (eighth son)

Jantare chhoro (ninth son)

Lakhantare chhoro (tenth son)

Panimantare chhoro (eleventh son)

Kanchho chhoro (youngest son)

- b) *Chhori*: this kinship term in Kumal is used to address the daughter of a person.

Birth order is also counted in *chhori* as in *didi*.

Jethi chhori (eldest daughter)

Maili chhori (second daughter)

Sahili chhori (third daughter)

Kahili chhori (fourth daughter)

Thahili chhori (fifth daughter)

Rahili chhori (sixth daughter)

Antare chhori (seventh daughter)

Mantare chhori (eighth daughter)

Jantare chhori (ninth daughter)

Lakhantare chhori (tenth daughter)

Panimantare chhori (eleventh daughter)

Kanchhi chhori (youngest daughter)

c) *Bachha bachhi*: This term is used to refer the children in Kumal.

Keta and *keti* are also used to denote son and daughter respectively.

The relationship of ego with his first descending generation in Kumal and English is given in the table below:

Table 16: First descending generation in Kumal and English

Male		Female			
Kumal		English	Kumal		English
<i>Jetho</i>			<i>Jethi</i>		
<i>Mahilo</i>			<i>Mahili</i>		
<i>Sahilo</i>			<i>Sahili</i>		

<i>Kahilo</i>	<i>chhora</i>	son	<i>Kahili</i>	<i>chhori</i>	daughter
<i>Thahilo</i>			<i>Thahili</i>		
<i>Rahilo</i>			<i>Rahili</i>		
<i>Antare</i>			<i>Antare</i>		
<i>Mantare</i>			<i>Mantare</i>		
<i>Jantare</i>			<i>Jantare</i>		
<i>Lakhantare</i>			<i>Lakhantare</i>		
<i>Panimantare</i>			<i>Panimantare</i>		
<i>Kancho</i>			<i>Kanchi</i>		

Here, the single free forms *chhora* and *chhori* in Kumal are corresponding English single free forms son and daughter respectively. Both in Kumal and English, ego's son and daughter are addressed by the terms which are of same morphological complexity. That's why; the relationship of parents with their children seems same closeness in both Kumal and English.

Bachha bachhi is a term in Kumal for children which is made up of two free forms *bachha* and *bachhi*. This term is used for children in group and it seems the relation with ego is not so close but in English it seems closer.

Morphological analysis

The comparative morphological analysis of the first descending generation is presented in the following table:

Table 17: Morphological analysis of first descending kinship terms.

Kumal				English		
Birth order for male	Base	Birth order for female	Base	Order	Male	Female
<i>Jetho</i>	<i>chhoro</i>	<i>Jethi</i>	<i>chhori</i>	elder	son	daughter
<i>Mailo</i>		<i>Maili</i>		younger	son	daughter
<i>Sahilo</i>		<i>Sahili</i>				
<i>Kahilo</i>		<i>Kahili</i>				
<i>Thahilo</i>		<i>Thahili</i>				
<i>Rahilo</i>		<i>Rahili</i>				
<i>Antare</i>		<i>Antare</i>				
<i>Mantare</i>		<i>Mantare</i>				
<i>Jantare</i>		<i>Jantare</i>				
<i>Lakhantare</i>		<i>Lakhantare</i>				
<i>Panimantare</i>		<i>Panimantare</i>				
<i>Kancho</i>						

3.1.1.6 Second descending generation:

a) *Nati*: This term is used to address the son of a person's son or daughter. Birth order is also counted for *nati* in the same way as in *chhoro* eg.

jetho,.....kanchho.

b) *Natni*: This term is used to address the daughter of a person's son or daughter. Birth order is also counted for *natni* in the same way as in *chhori* eg.

jethi,.....kanchhi.

c) *Nat-natni*: It is the term to refer grandchildren.

The following table shows the relationship of ego with his second descending generation:

Table 18: second descending generation in Kumal and English

Kumal			English
Adjectives for male	Base	Compound word	Kin term
<i>Jetho</i>	<i>nati</i>	<i>jetho nati</i>	grand son
<i>Mailo</i>	<i>nati</i>	<i>mahilo nati</i>	grand son
<i>Sahilo</i>	<i>nati</i>	<i>sahilo nati</i>	grand son
<i>Kahilo</i>	<i>nati</i>	<i>kahilo nati</i>	grand son
<i>Thahilo</i>	<i>nati</i>	<i>thahilo nati</i>	grand son
<i>Rahilo</i>	<i>nati</i>	<i>rahilo nati</i>	grand son

<i>Antare</i>	<i>nati</i>	<i>antare nati</i>	grand son
<i>Mantare</i>	<i>nati</i>	<i>mantare nati</i>	grand son
<i>Jantare</i>	<i>nati</i>	<i>jantare nati</i>	grand son
<i>Lakhantare</i>	<i>nati</i>	<i>lakhantare nati</i>	grand son
<i>Panimantare</i>	<i>nati</i>	<i>panimantare nati</i>	grand son
<i>Kanchho</i>	<i>nati</i>	<i>kanchho nati</i>	grand son
Adjectives for female			
<i>Thuli</i>	<i>natni</i>	<i>jethi natni</i>	grand daughter
<i>Mahili</i>	<i>natni</i>	<i>mahili natni</i>	grand daughter
<i>Sahili</i>	<i>natni</i>	<i>sahili natni</i>	grand daughter
<i>Kahili</i>	<i>natni</i>	<i>kahili natni</i>	grand daughter
<i>Thahili</i>	<i>natni</i>	<i>thahili natni</i>	grand daughter
<i>Rahili</i>	<i>natni</i>	<i>rahili natni</i>	grand daughter
<i>Antare</i>	<i>natni</i>	<i>antare natni</i>	grand daughter
<i>Mantare</i>	<i>natni</i>	<i>mantare natni</i>	grand daughter
<i>Jantare</i>	<i>natni</i>	<i>jantare natni</i>	grand daughter

<i>Lakhantare</i>	<i>natni</i>	<i>lakhantare natni</i>	grand daughter
<i>Panimantare</i>	<i>natni</i>	<i>panimantare natni</i>	grand daughter
<i>Kanchhi</i>	<i>natni</i>	<i>kanchhi natni</i>	grand daughter

Morphological analysis

The comparative morphological analysis of the second descending generation is presented in the following table:

Table 19: Comparative morphological analysis of second descending kinship terms.

Kumal				English		
Birth order for male	Base	Birth order for female	Base	Order	Male	Female
<i>Jetho</i>	<i>nati</i>	<i>Jethi</i>	<i>natni</i>	elder	grand son	grand daughter
<i>Mailo</i>		<i>maili</i>		younger	grand son	grand daughter
<i>Sahilo</i>		<i>Sahili</i>				
<i>Kahilo</i>		<i>Kahili</i>				
<i>Thahilo</i>		<i>Thahili</i>				
<i>Rahilo</i>		<i>Rahili</i>				
<i>Antare</i>		<i>Antare</i>				

<i>Mantare</i>		<i>Mantare</i>				
<i>Jantare</i>		<i>Jantare</i>				
<i>Lakhantare</i>		<i>Lakhantare</i>				
<i>Panimantare</i>		<i>Panimantare</i>				
<i>Kancho</i>						

From the given table, it seems obvious that the relation of ego with his son's or daughter's children is closer in Kumal than English since Kumal kinship term is free single morpheme whereas English kinship term is made up of two free forms. The kin term structure is more complex in English than Kumal.

Nat-natini is used for grand children in Kumal which resembles same closeness of relation in English.

3.1.1.7 Third descending generation:

- a) *Panati*: This term is used to address the son's son's son or daughter's daughter's son. Birth order is also counted for *panati* in the same way as in *chhoro* eg. *jetho*,.....*kanchho*.
- b) *Panatni*: This term is used to address the son's son's daughter or daughter's daughter's daughter. Birth order is also counted for *panatni* in the same way as in *chhori* eg. *jethi*,.....*kanchhi*.

Under this category, the relationship of ego with his great grand children is shown in the following table:

Table 20: third descending generation in Kumal and English

Kumal			English
Adjectives for male	Base	Compound word	Kin term
<i>Jetho</i>	<i>panati</i>	<i>jetho panati</i>	great grand son
<i>Mailo</i>	<i>panati</i>	<i>mahilo panati</i>	great grand son
<i>Sahilo</i>	<i>panati</i>	<i>sahilo panati</i>	great grand son
<i>Kahilo</i>	<i>panati</i>	<i>kahilo panati</i>	great grand son
<i>Thahilo</i>	<i>panati</i>	<i>thahilo panati</i>	great grand son
<i>Rahilo</i>	<i>panati</i>	<i>rahilo panati</i>	great grand son
<i>Antare</i>	<i>panati</i>	<i>antare panati</i>	great grand son
<i>Mantare</i>	<i>panati</i>	<i>mantare panati</i>	great grand son
<i>Jantare</i>	<i>panati</i>	<i>jantare panati</i>	great grand son
<i>Lakhantare</i>	<i>panati</i>	<i>lakhantare panati</i>	great grand son
<i>Panimantare</i>	<i>panati</i>	<i>panimantare panati</i>	great grand son
<i>Kanchho</i>	<i>panati</i>	<i>Kanchho panati</i>	great grand son
Adjectives for female			

<i>Thuli</i>	<i>panatni</i>	<i>jethi panatni</i>	great grand daughter
<i>Mahili</i>	<i>panatni</i>	<i>mahili panatni</i>	great grand daughter
<i>Sahili</i>	<i>panatni</i>	<i>sahili panatni</i>	great grand daughter
<i>Kahili</i>	<i>panatni</i>	<i>kahili panatni</i>	great grand daughter
<i>Thahili</i>	<i>panatni</i>	<i>thahili panatni</i>	great grand daughter
<i>Rahili</i>	<i>panatni</i>	<i>rahili panatni</i>	great grand daughter
<i>Antare</i>	<i>panatni</i>	<i>antare panatni</i>	great grand daughter
<i>Mantare</i>	<i>panatni</i>	<i>mantare panatni</i>	great grand daughter
<i>Jantare</i>	<i>panatni</i>	<i>jantare panatni</i>	great grand daughter
<i>Lakhantare</i>	<i>panatni</i>	<i>lakhantare panatni</i>	great grand daughter
<i>Panimantare</i>	<i>panatni</i>	<i>panimantare</i> <i>panatni</i>	great grand daughter
<i>Kanchhi</i>	<i>panatni</i>	<i>kanchhi panatni</i>	great grand daughter

Morphological analysis

The comparative morphological analysis of the second descending generation is presented in the following table:

Table 21: Morphological analysis of the second descending kinship terms.

Kumal				English		
Birth order for male	Base	Birth order for female	Base	Order	Male	Female
<i>Jetho</i>	<i>panati</i>	<i>Jethi</i>	<i>panatni</i>	elder	great	great
					grand son	grand daughter
<i>Mailo</i>		<i>Maili</i>		younger	great	great
<i>Sahilo</i>		<i>Sahili</i>			grand son	grand daughter
<i>kahilo</i>		<i>kahili</i>				
<i>Thahilo</i>		<i>Thahili</i>				
<i>Rahilo</i>		<i>Rahili</i>				
<i>Antare</i>		<i>Antare</i>				
<i>Mantare</i>		<i>Mantare</i>				
<i>Jantare</i>		<i>Jantare</i>				
<i>Lakhantare</i>		<i>Lakhantare</i>				
<i>Panimantare</i>		<i>Panimantare</i>				
<i>Kancho</i>						

The term *panati* is made up of attaching *pa* to base *nati*. Likewise *panatini* is made up of attaching *pa-* to the base *natni*. Whereas as the English terms are made up of attaching two free forms ‘great grand’ to the base son or daughter. The kin terms great grand son and great grand daughter are more complex in the structure than their corresponding terms in Kumal. So the relation seems farther in English than Kumal.

3.1.1.8 Other relations

Some of the other kin terms in the descending generation:

- a) *Bhatij*: This term refers to the son of a person’s younger or elder brother. Birth order is also counted for *bhatij* in the same way as in *chhoro* eg.
jetho,.....kanchho.
- b) *Bhatiji*: This term is used to address to daughter of a person’s younger of elder brother. Birth order is also counted for *bhatiji* in the same way as in *chhori* eg.
jethi,.....kanchhi.
- c) *Bhanja*: It is a term in Kumal to address the son of a male person’s sister. Birth order is also counted for *bhanja* in the same way as in *chhoro* eg.
jetho,.....kanchho.
- d) *Bhanji*: This term in Kumal is used to address the daughter of a male person’s sister. Birth order is also counted for *bhanji* in the same way as in *chhori* eg.
jethi,.....kanchhi.

The following table presents an attempt of comparison of other kinship terms between Kumal and English:

Table 22: Comparison of other kinship terms between Kumal and English

Kumal			English
Adjectives for male	Base	Compound word	Kin term
<i>Jetho</i>	<i>bhatij/bhanja</i>	<i>jetho bhatij/bhanja</i>	nephew
<i>Mailo</i>	<i>bhatij/bhanja</i>	<i>mahilo</i> <i>bhatij/bhanja</i>	nephew
<i>Sahilo</i>	<i>bhatij/bhanja</i>	<i>sahilo</i> <i>bhatij/bhanja</i>	nephew
<i>Kahilo</i>	<i>bhatij/bhanja</i>	<i>kahilo</i> <i>bhatij/bhanja</i>	nephew
<i>Thahilo</i>	<i>bhatij/bhanja</i>	<i>thahilo</i> <i>bhatij/bhanja</i>	nephew
<i>Rahilo</i>	<i>bhatij/bhanja</i>	<i>rahilo</i> <i>bhatij/bhanja</i>	nephew
<i>Antare</i>	<i>bhatij/bhanja</i>	<i>antare</i> <i>bhatij/bhanja</i>	nephew
<i>Mantare</i>	<i>bhatij/bhanja</i>	<i>mantare</i> <i>bhatij/bhanja</i>	nephew
<i>Jantare</i>	<i>bhatij/bhanja</i>	<i>jantare</i> <i>bhatij/bhanja</i>	nephew
<i>Lakhantare</i>	<i>bhatij/bhanja</i>	<i>lakhantare</i> <i>bhatij/bhanja</i>	nephew

<i>Panimantare</i>	<i>bhatij/bhanja</i>	<i>panimantare</i> <i>bhatij/bhanja</i>	nephew
<i>Kanchho</i>	<i>bhatij/bhanja</i>	<i>Kanchho</i> <i>bhatij/bhanja</i>	nephew
Adjectives for female			
<i>Thuli</i>	<i>bhatiji/bhanji</i>	<i>jethi bhatiji/bhanji</i>	niece
<i>Mahili</i>	<i>bhatiji/bhanji</i>	<i>mahili</i> <i>bhatiji/bhanji</i>	niece
<i>Sahili</i>	<i>bhatiji/bhanji</i>	<i>sahili bhatiji/bhanji</i>	niece
<i>Kahili</i>	<i>bhatiji/bhanji</i>	<i>kahili</i> <i>bhatiji/bhanji</i>	niece
<i>Thahili</i>	<i>bhatiji/bhanji</i>	<i>thahili</i> <i>bhatiji/bhanji</i>	niece
<i>Rahili</i>	<i>bhatiji/bhanji</i>	<i>rahili bhatiji/bhanji</i>	niece
<i>Antare</i>	<i>bhatiji/bhanji</i>	<i>antare</i> <i>bhatiji/bhanji</i>	niece
<i>Mantare</i>	<i>bhatiji/bhanji</i>	<i>mantare</i> <i>bhatiji/bhanji</i>	niece
<i>Jantare</i>	<i>bhatiji/bhanji</i>	<i>jantare</i>	niece

		<i>bhatiji/bhanji</i>	
<i>Lakhantare</i>	<i>bhatiji/bhanji</i>	<i>lakhantare</i> <i>bhatiji/bhanji</i>	niece
<i>Panimantare</i>	<i>bhatiji/bhanji</i>	<i>panimantare</i> <i>bhatiji/bhanji</i>	niece
<i>Kanchhi</i>	<i>bhatiji/bhanji</i>	<i>kanchhi</i> <i>bhatiji/bhanji</i>	niece

Morphological analysis

The comparative morphological analysis of the other kinship terms is presented in the following table:

Table 23: Morphological analysis of the other kinship terms.

Kumal				English		
Birth order for male	Base	Birth order for female	Base	Order	Male	Female
<i>Jetho</i>	<i>bhatija/bhanja</i>	<i>Jethi</i>	<i>bhatiji/bhanji</i>	elder	nephew	niece
<i>Mailo</i>		<i>Maili</i>		younger	nephew	niece
<i>Sahilo</i>		<i>Sahili</i>				
<i>kahilo</i>		<i>Kahili</i>				
<i>Thahilo</i>		<i>Thahili</i>				

<i>Rahilo</i>		<i>Rahili</i>				
<i>Antare</i>		<i>Antare</i>				
<i>Mantare</i>		<i>Mantare</i>				
<i>Jantare</i>		<i>Jantare</i>				
<i>Lakhantare</i>		<i>Lakhantare</i>				
<i>Panimantare</i>		<i>Panimantare</i>				
<i>Kancho</i>						

The kin terms bhatij and bhanja in Kumal are the corresponding term nephew in English. Bhatij in Kumal is the son of elder or younger brother and bhanja is the son of elder or younger sister. The addressive form of these both kin terms is same in English i.e. nephew. Likewise, bhatiji, the daughter of elder or younger brother and bhanji, the daughter of elder or younger sister in Kumal are the corresponding form niece in English. The term niece in English refers the daughters of elder or younger brother or sister. Morphologically, bhatij, bhanja terms are of same complexity in structure to English term nephew. So, these relations in Kumal and English are of same closeness. Bhatiji and bhanji are the Kumal kin terms which are of same complexity in structure to English term niece. In Kumal, the term with final 'i' refers the female whereas it lacks in English. These relationships seem a bit far than the relationship with male variety. However, in Kumal and English, these relations seem same closeness from the ego side.

3.1.2 Kin by marriage

- i) Swasni: the woman that a man married to. The term swasni refers to wife in English.
- ii) Soutene swasni: this term refers to the second wife.
- iii) Logne: the man that a woman married to. This term refers to husband in the English language.
- iv) Bhenaji (for sister's husband and for father's sister's husband)
- v) Maiju (for mother's brother's wife)
- vi) Thuli ama (for father's elder brother's wife)
- vii) Kanchhi ama (for father's younger brother's wife)
- viii) Joi (for younger sister's husband)
- ix) Sasra (for wife's father/husband's father)
- x) Sasu (for wife's mother/husband's mother)
- xi) Sala (for wife's younger brother)
- xii) Sali (for wife's younger sister)
- xiii) Jethan dai (for wife's elder brother)
- xiv) Buhari (for son's wife)
- xv) Samdhini (for son's wife's mother)
- xvi) Samdhi (for son's wife's father.)

The following table shows the kin by marriage in Kumal and English:

Table 24: Kinship terms by marriage in Kumal and English

Male			Femle	
S.N.	Kumal	English	Kumal	English
1.	<i>logne</i>	husband	<i>swasni</i>	wife
2.	-	-	<i>sautene swasni</i>	second wife
3.	<i>bhenaji</i>	uncle	-	-
4.	-	-	<i>maiju</i>	aunt
5.	-	-	<i>thuli ama</i>	aunt
6.	-	-	<i>kanchhi ama</i>	aunt
7.	<i>joi</i>	brother-in-law	-	-
8.	<i>sasra</i>	father-in-law	<i>sasu</i>	mother-in-law
9.	<i>sala</i>	brother-in-law	<i>sali</i>	sister-in-law
10.	<i>jethan dai</i>	brother-in-law	<i>jethi sasu</i>	sister-in-law
11.	-	-	<i>buhari</i>	daughter-in-law
12.	<i>samdhi</i>	-	<i>samdhini</i>	-

Some Kumal kin terms are not found in English. For example, *samdhi* and *samdhini* in Kumal are referred to ego's son's or daughter's father-in-law and mother-in-law respectively that lacks in English kin system. From this, it comes to know that the relationship between spouse's parents seem closer in Kumal than English. The Kumal kin terms, *logne*, *bhenaji*, *swasni*, *maiju*, are single words which have the English

corresponding single term husband, uncle, wife, and aunt respectively. These kin terms are single words of same complexity in structure. So their meaning may seem equal closeness in referring the relationship.

But on the other hand, Kumal kin terms like, *joi*, *sala*, and *jethan dai* are the corresponding English terms brother-in-law. These terms denote different relationships made by marriage in Kumal whereas these relationships are referred by a term brother-in-law in English. These relations seem closer and more intimacy in Kumal than English since a single term is used in English for these three *joi*, *sala*, and *jethan dai* relationship. Brother-in-law is made up of three morphemes that seem farness relationship in English whereas closeness in Kumal since its corresponding addressive terms in Kumal are single words.

Sasra in Kumal is used for addressing father-in-law. *Sasra* is single form whereas father-in-law is made up of three morphemes. So the relationship referred by father-in-law is a bit farther than in Kumal. *Sautene swasni* in Kumal and second wife in English are of same morphological complexity. That's why, the relationship referred by these terms seem same closeness in Kumal and English.

Kumal kin terms *thuli ama* and *kanchhi ama* are made up of two free morphemes where as their corresponding English kin term aunt is a single free morpheme. In this sense, the relationship denoting by aunt in English seems closer and more intimacy than in Kumal. *Sasu* is a single term in Kumal for mother-in-law which is made up of three morphemes. *Sali* is a single term and its corresponding English term is sister-in-law. *Sali* in Kumal shows close relationship. Kumal kin term *jethi sasru* is made up of two free morphemes where as its English corresponding term sister-in-law is made up of three morphemes. The structural difference of kin terms shows the far or close relationship in feeling. *Buhari* in Kumal is a single term whereas its English

corresponding term daughter-in-law is made up of three morphemes. The wife of son is of closer relationship in Kumal than English due to the structure of the kin term.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 Findings:

After the analysis of Kumal and English kinship relations and terms, the following findings have been made:

The Kumal language is rich in kinship in comparison to English language. There are few kinship relations and corresponding addressive forms in the stock of English kinship vocabulary whereas Kumal language has many terms to symbolize different kinds of kinship relations. In Kumal, there are many terms for many relations but in English single term is enough for many relations. There is no corresponding between term and relations. It is overlapping one term for many relations.

- a) In the Kumal language, kinship terms of the same generation have up to 12 adjectives to express the relationship. In the Kumal language birth order plays vital role to denote eldest to the youngest. But in English there are not such types of affixes and birth order also does not have any vital role to play. Gender marker for male and female are *-o* and *-i* respectively. e.g. *jetho dai*, *mailo dai*, *sailo dai*, *kahilo dai*, *jethi didi*, *maili didi*, *sahili didi*, *kahili didi*, etc in Kumal but only elder brother/elder sister is sufficient in English.
- b) In the same way, for the same generation of younger brother and sister have up to 11 adjectives to denote birth order. Adjectives for male and female takes *-o* and *-i* markers respectively. For example, *mahilo bhai*, *sahilo bhai*, *kahilo bhai*, *mahili bahini*, *sahili bahini*, *kahili bahini*, etc. But in the case of English, only younger brother/sister is used for the same generation of younger.

- c) The English language has the cover term ‘great grand parents’, ‘grand parents’, and ‘parents’ to nominate the relations PPP, PP, and P. But this is not found in the Kumal language. In Kumal, ‘*baji*’ and ‘*aboi*’ are the single term to symbolize PPF, PPM, PF and PM and ‘*bau*’ and ‘*ama*’ for F and M respectively.
- d) There is no distinction between elder and younger kinship relations in the English language whereas it is clearly seen in the Kumal language by using the term ‘*jetho*’, ‘*jethi*’ ‘*kanchho*’, ‘*kanchhi*’ to symbolize senior and junior in age. In English, most of the relations are addressed by their name but in Kumal community, even their daughter’s or younger sister’s husband is addressed by using the term ‘*joi*’ rather than by their names. In English community, females even call their husbands by their name whereas it lacks in Kumal community.
- e) The Kumal term ‘*dai*’ denotes the relationships of ego’s Be, FB_{e/y} so, FSi_{e/y} so and MSi_{e/y} so who is elder than ego. But in English, the term ‘brother’ denotes these relationships whether they are younger or elder than ego. The term ‘brother’ in English does not concern with the age but it concerns in Kumal.
- f) In Kumal, the kin terms ‘*baji*’ and ‘*aboi*’ refer the second ascending generations (FPP, FP, MPP, MP) whereas in English, great great grand parents, great grand parents, the compounding kin terms are used respectively. The more the structure of Kin term is complex; the relationship that it indicates is farther. If the Kin term is single, it shows the closer relationship.
- g) In the case of relations according marriage single words are used in Kumal e.g. *joi*, *sasu*, *sasra*, *salo*, *sali*, *jethan*, *nanda*, but in the case of the English

language, these kinship terms are not used in single word but in the compound form e.g. son-in-law, mother-in-law, father-in-law, brother-in-law, sister-in-law, brother-in-law, sister-in-law are used respectively. Morphologically it seems that in Kumal these relationships are close whereas in English these relationships are not so close.

- h) It seems that Kumal people have joint family system in comparison to English because *baji* and *aboi* are used for second and third ascending generations of male and female respectively. But in the case of English grand father, great grand father, grand mother, and great grand mother are used.

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Appendix - 1

English Kinship Questionnaire

Part I:

This research aims to determine the kinship terms of Kumal language and to compare and contrast them with that of English language. Please respond to each item according to how you use those terms in your daily life. Your response/answers will be used for research purpose.

-Sushila Sharma

Part II:

In which relations do the following people stand and what terms do you use to call them?

1	The couple who gave birth to you	_____	_____
2	The man who gave birth to you	_____	_____
3	The woman who gave birth to you	_____	_____
4	the man who is born before you of the same couple	_____	_____
5	The man who is born after you of the same couple	_____	_____
6	The female who is born before you of the same couple	_____	_____
7	The female who is born after you of the same couple	_____	_____
8	The person who is married to you	_____	_____
9	The person who is born of you	_____	_____
10	The male person who is born of you	_____	_____
11	The female person who is born of you	_____	_____
12	Husband/wife's father	_____	_____
13	Husband/ wife's father	_____	_____
14	Husband/wife's mother	_____	_____

15	His wife	_____	_____
16	Husband/wife's younger brother	_____	_____
17	His wife	_____	_____
18	Husband/ wife's elder sister	_____	_____
19	Her husband	_____	_____
20	Husband/wife's younger sister	_____	_____
21	Her husband	_____	_____
22	Son's wife	_____	_____
23	Daughter's husband	_____	_____
24	Son's son	_____	_____
25	His wife	_____	_____
26	Son's daughter	_____	_____
27	Her husband	_____	_____
28	Daughter's son	_____	_____
29	His wife	_____	_____
30	Daughter's daughter	_____	_____
31	Her husband	_____	_____

Part III:

In which relations do the following person stand and what term do you use to call them? Relations are from your own and form your husband/wife's side. Write within the blanks provided it for the relations an terms.

	Your own	Addressive Form	Your Husband/wife's	Addressive Froms
1. Father's father	_____	_____	_____	_____
2. Father's mother	_____	_____	_____	_____
3. Father's elder brother	_____	_____	_____	_____
4. His wife	_____	_____	_____	_____
5. Father's elder sister	_____	_____	_____	_____
6. Her husband	_____	_____	_____	_____
7. Father's younger brother	_____	_____	_____	_____
8. His wife	_____	_____	_____	_____

9. Father's younger sister				
10. Her husband				
11. Mother's father				
12. Mother's mother				
13. Mother's elder brother				
14. His wife				
15. Mother's elder sister				
16. Her husband				
17. Mother's younger brother				
18. His wife				
19. Mother's younger sister				
20. Her husband				
21. The couple who gave birth to your father				
22. The couple who gave birth to your mother				
23. Father's elder/younger brother's son (elder than you)				
24. His wife				
25. Father's elder/ younger brother's son (younger than you)				
26. his wife				
27. Father's elder/younger brother's daughter (elder than you)				
28. Her husband				
29. Father's elder/younger brother's daughter (younger than you)				
30. Her husband				
31. Father's elder/younger				

sister's son (elder than you)				
32. His wife				
33. Father's elder/younger sister's daughter (elder than you)				
34. Her husband				
35. Father's elder/younger sister's daughter (younger than you)				
36. her husband				
37. mother's elder/younger brother's son (elder than you)				
38. His wife				
39. Mother's elder/ younger brother's son (younger than you)				
40. His wife				
41. Mother's elder/younger brother's son (younger than you)				
42. His wife				
43. Mother's elder/ younger sister's son (elder than you)				
44. His wife				
45. Mother's elder/younger sister son (younger than you)				
46. His wife				
47. Mother's elder/younger brother's daughter (elder than you)				
48. Her husband				

49. Mother's elder/younger brother's daughter (younger than you)				
50. Her husband				
51. Mother's elder/ younger sister's daughter (elder than you)				
52. Her husband				
53. Mother's elder/younger sister's daughter (younger than you)				
54. Her husband				
55. Elder brother's wife				
56. Younger brother's wife				
57. Elder sister's husband				
58. Younger sister's husband				
59. Elder brother's son				
60. His wife				
61. Elder brother's daughter				
62. Her husband				
63. younger brother's son				
64. His wife				
65. Younger brother's daughter				
66. her husband				
67. Elder sister's son				
68. His wife				
69. Elder sister's daughter				
70. her husband				
71. Younger sister's son				
72. His wife				
73. Younger sister's daughter				
74. Her husband				
75. Husband's wife how is the				

other person than you				
76. Husband's wife's son who is the other person than your child				
77. His wife				
78. Husband's wife's daughter who is the other person than your child				
79. Her husband				
80. Husband's wife's son/daughter's son who is the other person than your own				
81. His wife				
82. husband's wife's son/daughter's daughter who is the other person than your own				
83. Her husband				
84. Father of your father's father				
85. His wife				
86. A daughter of your son/daughter's son/daughter				
87. her husband				

Part IV: Personal Information

Name:

Address:

Sex

Male

Female

Age in years:

Qualification:

Nationality:

Date:

Part V: Group Information

Group:

Number of People:

Sex

Male

Female

Age in years:

Qualification:

Nationality

Date:.....

That is the end of questionnaire. Thank you very much for your kind information!

Appendix B

गौथलीकर गुँड

मोइ नाम मुनियाँ वटौ । मोर घर रामकोट वटौ | हमर गाउँमा धेरै खालकर चरावटौ | मरगाउँमा काग, जुरेली, ढुकुर, लाटोकोसेरो, चिबे वटौ । यहाँ भगैरा, सारौ, गौथली, कुखुरा, परेवा पनि वटौ । मुइ चराचुरुङ्गी मन परैलौ चराहरुले पनि घर बनाइलौ । चराका घरलाई गुँड कहटौ ।

चराका गुँड थरी थरी वटौ कागले भिँगा वटुकर रुखका हाँगामा गुँड बनाइल्टौ । लाटोकोसेराले रुखका टोड्कामा गुँड बनाइलौ । भँगोराले घरका खट्प्यालमा गुँड बनाइलौ । परेवाले घरका खापा र कुनामा गुडबनाइलौ गौथली घरका दलिनमा गुँड बनाइलौ । गौथलीको गुड अरु चराका भन्दा फरक परैलौ ।

गौथली हिलो माटोले गुँड बनाइलौ । यसले कुवा, धारो, भएका ठाउँ वटौ चुच्चामा माटो लेल्टौ । गौथलीले एक पटक एउटा गौथलीले केराउका दानाजति माटो ल्याइलौ । गौथलीले धेरै दिनस ज्ञादाठ सम्म माटो ओसारैलौ । दश, पन्ध्र दिन पछाडी गुँड तयारी हखैलौ । कहिलेकाही विचैमा गुँड भत्काइलौ । गौथलीले गुँड भत्कौलौ पछाडी दोहो-न्याइकन माटो ओसारैलौ । गुँड तयार करलै गौथलीले थेरै मिहिनेत करेलौ ।

माटोले बनैलौ गुँडभिन्न गौथलीले सुकैलौ घसौटा पनि जम्मा करैलौ । गौथलीको गुँड न्यानो हखैलौ । गुँडले गौथलीलाई, घाम, पानी, हावा, हुरीबाट जोगाइलौ । यसले सर्प, चील, कागजस्ता शत्रुबाट पनि जोगाइलौ ।

संवाद

उर्मिला	:	मामा नमस्कार वटौ !
मामा	:	नमस्कार, तोर खबर के वटौ ?
उर्मिला	:	राम्रै वटौ । तो के सन्चै वटौ ?
मामा	:	सन्चै वटौ, तोर आभास कहाँ गैलौ ?
उर्मिला	:	आवै वारीमा काक्रा फर्सी रोप्दै वाटेस् । आजु आकासमा कन्याडकुरुड देखल्टौनी ।
मामा	:	वाउस कहाँ गैलौ ?
उर्मिला	:	मासें खेतमा गल्हौ ।
मामा	:	आमासे वोलाउन

उर्मिला : हखैलौ । एकैछिन बसा है ।

Appendix c

Some sentences of Kumal

I eat rice

मुई भात खानु ।

Give me money

मोके पैसा लेउ ।

My home is in Ramkot

मोर घर रामकोट हखौ ।

This is my Book

यो मोर किताव हखौ ।

Father gave us (two) money

बाउले हब्री दुइटाके पैसा दिलौ ।

Father gave us money

बाउले हब्रीहरुके पैसा दिलौ ।

We two go home

हवी दुइटा घर जाई ।

This our (two) book

यो हवर दुईजनाकर किताव हखौ ।

This book is ours

यो किताव हवर हखौ ।

You go home.

तुइ घर जा ।

You (two) go home

तुरिया दुइटा घर जा ।

You are naughty

तुरियाहरु बदमास बटा ।

Who called to you ?

तोके कुनले बलौलौ ।

This your pen.

यो तोर कलम हखौ ।

What kind of girls is she?

उ कस्तो खालको केटी होखौ ?

When does he go home?

उ कया घर जालौ ?

Which book do I give him?

उसके कुन किताव दिम ?

Which book do I give her?

उसके कुन कर किताव दिन ?

This is his book

यो उसकर किताव हखौ ?

This book is his.

यो किताव उसकर हखौ ।

This is her letter

यो उसकर चिठी हखौ ।

Where did they (two) go?

तिनीहरु दुईटा कहाँ गइलौ ।

Where did they go?

तिनीहरु कहाँ गइलौ ?

What is given to them?

उसके क्या देलौ ?

This is their house.

यो सरकर घर हखौ ।

Here, pay yourself

यहाँ, तुझे तिर है ।

How can I do myself?

मुझे अफै कसीसके गरै सकैनु ।

Some this is difficult

त्यो चिज गाहो बटौ ।

Nobody is there.

त्यहाँ कुनैनि नाखौ ।

Nothing is there inside

भिन्न केही ननि नाखौ ।

Every body is here

यहाँ सबैजना बटौ ।

Everything is easy

सबै सजिलो बटौ ।

Is anything there inside?

भिन्ने केही बटौ ?

I met a friend whose father is minister

मुझे साथी भेटनु त्योकर बाउ मन्त्री हखौ ।

I went such a place where cows were running

मुझे यस्तो ठाउँ गल्लु त्यहाँ गाइहरु कुत्ते रउ ।

When Sita came to my room, I was smoking

सीता कोठामा आलट्याममा मुझे चुरोट खाइरल्लु ।

Appendix-D

English Kinship Relations and Corresponding Addressive Forms

S.N	Kinship Relations	Appellative Use	Addressive Use
1	PPE	Great-grand-father	Great grand pa
2	PPM	Great-grand-mother	Great grand ma
3	PP/MP(PP)	Grand parents	-
4	FF/MF	Grand father	Grandpa
5	FM/MM	Grand mother	Grandma
6	FB _e	Uncle	Uncle
7	FB _e W	Aunt	Aunt
8	FB _y	Uncle	Uncle
9	FB _y W	Aunt	Aunt
10	FSI _e	Aunt	Aunt
11	FSI _e H	Uncle	Uncle
12	FSI _y	Aunt	Aunt
13	FSI _y H	Uncle	Uncle
14	MB _e	Uncle	Uncle
15	MB _e W	Aunt	Aunt
16	MB _y	Uncle	Uncle
17	MB _y W	Aunt	Aunt
18	MSI _e	Aunt	Aunt
19	MSI _e H	Uncle	Uncle
20	MSI _y	Aunt	Aunt
21	MSI _y H	Uncle	Uncle

22	<p>FEB_{e/y}So</p> <p>FSI_{e/y}So</p> <p>MB_{e/y}So</p> <p>MSI_{e/y}So</p> <p>(elder than ago)</p>	Cousin	N
23	<p>FB_{e/y}SoW</p> <p>FSI_{e/y}SoW</p> <p>MB_{e/y}SoW</p> <p>MSI_{e/y}SoW</p> <p>(elder than ago)</p>		
24	<p>FB_{e/y}So</p> <p>FSI_{e/y}So</p> <p>MB_{e/y}So</p> <p>MSI_{e/y}So</p> <p>(younger than ago)</p>	Cousin	N
25	<p>FB_{e/y}SoW</p> <p>FSI_{e/y}SoW</p> <p>MB_{e/y}SoW</p> <p>MSI_{e/y}SoW</p> <p>(younger than ago)</p>	-	N
26	<p>FB_{e/y}D</p> <p>FSI_{e/y}D</p> <p>MB_{e/y}D</p> <p>MSI_{e/y}D</p> <p>(younger than ago)</p>	Cousin	N

27	$FB_{e/y}DH$ $FSI_{e/y}DH$ $MB_{e/y}DH$ $MSI_{e/y}DH$ (younger than ago)	-	N
28	$FB_{e/y}D$ $FSI_{e/y}D$ $MB_{e/y}D$ $MSI_{e/y}D$ (younger than ago)	Cousin	N
29	$FB_{e/y}DH$ $FSI_{e/y}DH$ $MB_{e/y}DH$ $MSI_{e/y}DH$ (younger than ago)	-	N
30	P	Parents	-
31	F	Father	Dad
32	M	Mother	Mom
33	S	Siblings	-
34	B_e	Brother	N
35	B_eW	Sister-in-law	N
36	B_y	Brother	N
37	B_yW	Sister-in-law	N
38	SI_e	Sister	N
39	Si_eH	Brother-in-law	N

40	Si _y	Sister	N
41	Si _y H	Brother-in-law	N
42	H	Husband	N
43	W	Wife	N
44	O	Offspring	-
45	So	Son	N
46	SoW	Daughter-in-law	N
47	D	Daughter	N
48	DH	Son-in-law	N
49	OO	Grand children	-
50	SoSo	Grand son	N
51	SoSoW	-	N
52	SoD	Grand daughter	N
53	SoDH	-	N
54	DSO	Grand son	N
55	DSOW	-	N
56	DD	Grand daughter	N
57	DDH	-	N
58	So/D So/D So	Great grand son	N
59	So/D So/D SoW	-	N
60	So/D So/DD	Great grand daughter	N
61	So/D So/DDH	-	N