

1. Kinship Terms: Uses and Scope

Kinship has been a central topic of social and cultural anthropology for more than a century. Several subjects must be distinguished. A kinship system consists of a set of rules that define how people are related to each other and the words (kinship terms) that identify these relationships. "In English only two terms, *mother* and *father*, can be used to refer only to a single individual and a single relationship. Other terms, such as *aunt*, *uncle* and *cousin*, are used not only for many individuals but also for a variety of biological and sociological relationships. *Kinship groups* refer to institutions or corporate groups made up of certain classes of relatives." (*Encyclopedia Americana* 1996 Vol. 16:472).

A student of Native American peoples, Lewis Henry Morgan, discovered that kinship terminologies vary widely among human societies and that historically unrelated groups, geographically distant from one another and speaking unrelated languages, have similar kinship terminologies. This discovery, presented in a landmark book published in 1871, led Morgan and his successors to conclude that each type of terminology resulted from a particular type of social institution, especially marriage and family organization in varying forms. But information on many of these institutions was not yet available, and their existence was inferred from the terminologies rather than established by independent evidence.

Morgan's work gave rise to much debate and research. It is not established that causal connections do indeed exist between kinship terminologies and certain aspects of kinship organization- in particular rules governing choice of marriage partners. Kinship generally refers to the systems of human relationships. More specially, it is the system of socially recognized and defined relationship between people. It is the relationship between people who are held to be biologically related or who are given the status of relatives by marriage,

adoption, or other ritual. Although all societies recognize such relationships, and specify them with a set of terms, they differ in the inclusiveness of their definitions in the assignments of rights and duties to specific kinship positions. Even though adoption and other ritual can bind people in relationship, only two kinds of kinship often are distinguished: those between relatives who trace descent from a common ancestor (consanguine, or “blood,” relatives) and those connected by marriage (affinal relatives).

Kinship is the board term for all the relationships that people are born into or create later in life that are considered binding the eyes of society. Every person belongs to “a family of orientations” (e.g. mother, father, brothers, and sisters); many adults also belong to “a family of procreation” or orientation” (which includes a spouse or spouses and children). Familial bonds of descent and marriage may be traced through a genealogy. Inheritance and succession (the transmission of power and position in society) usually follow kinship lines.

Kinship plays an important part in all societies as a means of organizing certain minimal social groupings (the family), of providing social legitimacy (marriage), and of establishing ties of mutual responsibility and their recognition by law. It is major factor regulating behavior between individuals and affecting the formation of social, political, and territorial groups. Kinship is most important in societies that have few other social, political, legal and religious institutions. In such societies it fulfills many functions and is the major regulator of social life.

Kinship terms are sets of labels used to classify relatives into a limited number of categories. “English uses four principle criteria for distinguishing kin categories: (1) generation (one’s own generation – brother, sister, cousin), ascending generation (father, mother, uncle, aunt) descending generation (son, daughter, nephew, niece); (2) sex (all terms excepts cousin); (3) linearity Vs. colaterality (father Vs. uncle); and (4) blood Vs. marriage (brother Vs. brother-in-law). But the terms aunt and uncle ignore the criterion that

distinguishes between consanguinity and affinity, and cousin ignores the criterion of sex” (ibid 472).

Societies that value seniority, such as those of Nepal, have special terms for older brother and younger brother, older sister and younger sister and younger sister, and father’s older brother and father’s older sister. Maithili also use for brother and sister separate terms that depend on the sex of the speaker. Different terms are used for father’s brother and mother’s brother and for father’s sister and mother’s sister.

Descent refers to a line several generations deep from a particular ancestor or ancestors. Where it is traced unilineally – through either the mothers (matrilineal descent) or through the fathers (patrilineal descent) – an individual has a single ancestor in each ascending generation: mother, mother’s mother (maternal grandmother), mother’s mother’s mother and so on; or father, father’s father’s (paternal grandfather), father’s father’s father, and so on. For most purpose, in matrilineal societies, descendants of these ancestors through females are counted as kin; in patrilineal societies, descendants through males are counted as kin. Where descent is traced bilaterally – through all possible lines – the number of ancestors doubles at each ascending generation. Of the vast number of ancestors and their descendants, only a limited number will be remembered and selected for sustained relationships.

Maithili people trace their ancestry bilaterally, and they do so for various purpose. One of these is to seek connection to historically significant persons or famous individuals. Another reason is to analyze their ancestry for exogamous marriage, requiring marriage outside their bounds since endogamous marriage is forbidden among them. In a system of bilateral descent, it is possible to claim kinship without regard to a specify line of descent, so that there are no rules that specific the sex the linking kinspersons.

“The family is a universal human institution because it fulfills a great many different functions: sexual, reproductive, educational, economic, affectional, and often others. In

addition, it is a very flexible institution, adapting to the changes and transformations that societies undergo. Social change in traditional societies is reflected in the transformations of family and kinship system” (ibid: 474).

The smallest kinship group is termed the *nuclear family*, consisting of parents and their children and based on the marriage tie. Nuclear families may be grouped into larger units such as polygynous families, including one father and husband but several wives and their children. Extended, or “joint”, families include brothers and their wives and children. “Stem” families include three generations: grandparents, one or more of their children, and their spouses and children. The high rate of divorce and remarriage produces “composite” families, including stepsiblings and half- siblings, with the simultaneous existence of stepparents and parents. This situation was not possible when remarriage resulted from the death of the partners.

“The foundation of the scientific study of this subject (Kinship Terminologies) was laid by Lewis H. Morgan in his systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family (Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge XVIII, Washington D.C. 1871). In this work assembled comprehensive schedules for every major area of the globe except Africa and Australia, for which data were largely or wholly inaccessible to the author. Morgan grouped all terminologies under two main heads - the descriptive and the classificatory” (*Encyclopedia Britannica*, Vol.13:403).

There is rich literature about kinship terms. However, a very few researches have been carried out on this respect in Nepal especially in our department. In addition, only three researches have been conducted regarding the Maithili language in the department.

Bhusal (2001) made a componential analysis of ‘English and Kumal Kinship Terms’ and found out that most of English Kinship relations are addressed by name whereas in Kumal, they are addressed by Kinship Terms.

Chaudhary (2005) compared pronominal in the Tharu and English and concluded that both the Tharu and English have more or less similar number of pronouns, except for a few more words in the Tharu language. It is because of the existence of alternatives words in the Tharu language in Chitawan.

Giri (1982) conducted a research entitled “English and Nepali Kinship Terms: A Comparative Linguistic Study”. She states that in English most of the kinship relations are addressed by name whereas in Nepali they are addressed by kinship terms.

Joshi (2004) compared English and Newari kinship Terms on which her major findings were presented as: Newari language is rich in terms of kinship terms in comparison to English language, English does not make distinction between elder and younger kinship relations but Newari language does this distinction by using the terms ‘tarimha’ and ‘cirmha’, etc.

Karn (2006) carried out a research on “Terms of Address in Maithili and English Language” and found out:

- Most of the kinship terms of Maithili are used in addressing people but only a few kinship terms are used as address terms on English. Only ascending generation receives little and others are usually addressed by N in English.
- Many kinship terminologies are used both for referring to an individual and for addressing him in Maithili but only a few kinship terminologies are used for both of the above functions in English.

Kattel (2001) compared Terms of Address used by English and Nepali and found out that Nepali has more kinship terms than that of English; it has kinship terms even to address strangers, but English lacks these terms.

Khanal (2004) compared Forms of Address of Tharu and English Language and summed up that most of Tharu Kinship terms can function as forms of address whereas, in

English, ascending generation only receives title and others are usually addressed by Ns (FN).

Mahato Tharu (2001) compared subject - verb agreements in English and Tharu Languages and found out that

- In English, the second and third person pronouns don't change for honorific forms whereas they do in the Tharu.
- The Tharu verbs are marked for formal and informal forms, which is not found in English verbs.
- Both English and Tharu verbs don't agree with the categories of 'gender' etc.

Rai (2001) compared English, Nepali and Limbu Kinship Terms and found out that in comparison to English, Nepali and Limbu have more kinship terms. In English a very few relations are referred to by the terms of relationships. In most of the cases, the relationships are addressed by names.

Rai (2005) compared English and Rai Bantawa Kinship Terms and found out that English has a few kinship terms in comparison to Bantawa's in terms of number. In English a few relations are referred by the kinship terms and almost all relations are addressed by name whereas, Rai Bantawa has a lot of kinship terms in comparison in English and almost all relations are addressed by kinship terms.

So far, on comparative linguistic study on kinship terms in Maithili and English has been exclusively carried out. So the researcher would like to conduct a research in this venture and would like to lay foundation on Maithili kinship terms for further study regarding different varieties of Maithili language.

Objectives of the Study

The study has the following objectives:

- a) To ascertain different terms used for Maithili and English kinship relations and their corresponding addressive forms.
- b) To compare and contrast those terms.
- c) To recommend some pedagogical implications.

Significance of the Study

The study will mainly be significant to the anthropologists. This will equally be fruitful to all those students, teachers, textbook writers, syllabus designers and other researchers who are interested in sociolinguistic aspect of English and Maithili languages. It will also be useful to those who are interested in knowing English and Maithili kinship relations and their corresponding addressive forms. It may also be the foundation for further researches on the related issues.

Definition of Technical terms and abbreviations

Definitions of Technical Terms:

Affinal relatives: People who are related by marriage.

Appellative forms: Naming relationship between two persons.

Addressive forms: The forms by which someone is addressed.

Consanguineal relatives: People who are related by birth.

Ego: The person from whom the relationship is expressed.

Genealogy: A written or oral statement of the names of individuals and their kin relations to one other.

Kinship relations: Relationship by socially recognized bonds of descent or marriage or both.

Core kinship relations: Relationship including father, mother brother, sister, son, daughter and their spouses.

Peripheral kinship relations: Relationship through the members of the core kinship relations.

Direct kinship relations: The ego's own relationships, core as well as peripheral.

Indirect kinship relations: The ego's relationship through his or her spouse.

Abbreviations:

P	-	Parents
F	-	Father
M	-	Mother
FF	-	Father's father
FM	-	Father's mother
MF	-	Mother's father
MM	-	Mother's mother
B _e	-	Elder brother
Si _e	-	Elder sister
B _y	-	Younger brother
Si _y	-	Younger sister
H	-	Husband
W	-	Wife
S	-	Sibling
Sp	-	Spouse
St	-	Step
So	-	Son
D	-	Daughter
C	-	Child
O	-	Offspring
T	-	Taboo
L	-	Loconym
FN	-	First Name

2. Methodology

The methodology adopted to carry out the research is described below:

Source of Data

Both primary and secondary sources were utilized to collect the data.

Primary Source

The native speakers of Maithili from Dhanusha and Mahottari district were used to elicit the terms of address used in this language.

Secondary Source

The researcher consulted with Kattel (2001), Khanal (2004), Karna (2005), Chaudary (2006) and other reference materials for the terms of address in English.

Sampling Procedure

The population of the study consisted of seventy two native speakers of Maitili speech community. Out of these seventy two, thirty six were from Dhanusha and remaining thirty six from Mahottari. The stratified random sampling procedure was used to sample the population. Both males and females as well as illiterate, literate and educated native speakers were consulted for the elicitation of data. Here, the informants who were deprived of formal education were regarded as illiterate, informants acquired education below S.L.C level as literate and informants having qualification of S.L.C. or above as literate.

The sample population in terms of districts, sex and qualification is tabulated below:

SAMPLE POPULATION

Table No. 1

S.N.	Districts	Sex						Total
		Male			Female			
		Illiterate	Literate	Educated	Illiterate	Literate	Educated	
1.	Dhanusha	6	6	6	6	6	6	36
2.	Mahottari	6	6	6	6	6	6	36
Grand Total								72

Tools for Data Collection

The tool used to collect the data was a set of interviews questionnaire (see Appendix 1). In the questionnaire, the exhaustive list of kinship terms of address was incorporated. It was finalized according to the norms as used for kinship relatives, established both by consanguinity and affinity, and the terms of address used for social relations including strangers, teachers, students, friends, professionals and other persons in the community. As all the terms of address used in English were analyzed on the basis of secondary sources, there was no necessity to prepare tool for it. The researcher has used Kattel (2001), Khanal (2004), Karna (2005) and Chaudhary (2006) for the English terms of address.

Process of Data Collection

To collect the data, the researcher personally visited the native speakers of Maithili in both the districts. Especially the native speakers from Dhanusha and its nearby VDCs like Kathal, Balha, Khajuri and Thadhi were consulted in Dhanusha and similarly, the native speakers from Janakpur and its nearby VDCs like Devpura - Rupaitha, Mahendranagar,

Sapahi, and Benga - Shivapur were consulted in Dhanusha. All the types of informants mentioned in the table no. 1 were included in the study.

First of all, the researcher established rapport with the informants by introducing himself and telling them about his purpose. After that the preset questionnaire were distributed and they were asked to answer the question in their own language. An oral interview was conducted in case of illiterate population and the data was recorded manually.

Limitations of the study

The study was restricted in the following ways:

1. It was confined to the analysis of data derived from only seventy two native speakers of Dhanusha and Mahattari.
2. It was limited to the dialects used in Janakpur (with nearby villages) in Dhanusha and nearby villages in Mahottari.
3. It was limited in analyzing only the terms of address used for kinship relations like grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, uncle, aunt, nephew, niece, brother, sister, husband, wife, step-father, step-mother, step-son, step-daughter, 'in-laws' and social relations including teachers, students, strangers, friends, professionals like doctor, judge, nurse and some other persons in Maithili community.

3. Textual Analysis

Presentation, Analysis and Interpretation of Data

After the collection of data from the native speakers of Maithili, the researcher, here, has analyzed the data and compared it with English address terms. He has used Kattel (2001), Khanal (2004), Karna (2005), Chaudhary (2006) and other reference materials as a source of data for English kinship terms of address. The data is tabulated in terms of the number of frequency where the most frequent terms are presented at first and accordingly the least frequent at last. The most frequent term of address is taken as the more common usage and the less frequent one is regarded to be less common usage Maithili. The table below indicates the number of informants and the terms of address used by them. The tabulation of data is followed by its descriptive analysis and interpretation as well.

People are related to each other in one way or the other. The relationship may be tied either by consanguinity or by affinity. Kinship terms include both consanguineal and affinal relations which is presented in this part of the research. As the study is concerned with the relationship that covers two generations before and after the ego, the tables below are categorized in terms of ego's generation.

Ego's Older Generation

- **Father and Mother**

Table No. 2

Terms of Address	Father		Mother	
	No.	%	No.	%
B buj (yau)	38	52.77		
B bu (ho/yau)	26	36.11		
P p	4	5.55		
b u	3	4.16		
Pit j	1	1.38		
M y (ge/gai)			36	50
M i (ge)			24	33.33
M			7	9.71
M mm			4	5.55
m t j			1	1.38

The table above shows that the most common terms for addressing father in Maithili language is 'b buj' used by 52.77% informants. Similarly 'b bu' is also widely used terms which is used by 36.11% informants. The term 'P p', 'Pit j' and 'b u' are also mentioned by some informants among which 'p p' and 'pit j' can be taken as the influence of English and Hindi respectively. Similarly, the most common terms for mother in Maithili are 'm y' and 'm i' both though the term 'm y' is used by 50% informants and 'm i' by 33.33% only. The terms 'm', 'mamm', and 'm t ji' are also mentioned by some informants. 'Mamm' can be taken as the influence of English and mat ji as the influence of Hindi over Maithili.

English, on the other hand, has the terms ‘Dad’, ‘Daddy’ and ‘father’ which are used for father and ‘mum’ and ‘mummy/mother’ used for mother. Among these, ‘dad’ and ‘Mum’ are more common terms used for father and mother respectively.

Step-father and Step-mother

Table No. 3

Terms of Address	Step Father		Step Mother	
		%	No.	%
babu (j)	55	76.38		
b bu (ho/yau)	9	12.5		
p p (yau/ho)	5	6.94		
b u (ho)	3	4.16		
m y/ M i/ M (ye)			47	65.27
badk m y/choTk			20	27.77
m y/kaniy m y				
mamm			3	4.16
sat m y			2	2.77

Most informants have used the terms ‘b bu (ji) for their step-father which can be taken as the most widely used terms for one’s step-father. 12.5% informants haven’t used any term for step-father saying that second marriage of woman is prohibited in Maithili culture, so they have no idea about the term used for it. For step-mother 65.27% informants have used the term ‘m y/m /m ’ which are the most common terms and less common terms are ‘mamm ’ and ‘sat m y’. It has been found that if a man has two wives, the children of his

first wife use the term ‘chotki m y /kaniy m y’ for his second wife and the children of his second-wife use the term ‘badki m y’ for his first wife. In English, the terms ‘dad’ is used for one’s step father. For one’s step- mother the term ‘mum’ is used. Similarly, English people at use ‘FN’ to address both their step- father and step-mother.

Paternal Grandfather/ Grandmother and Maternal Grandfather/ Grandmother

Table No.4

Terms of Address	Paternal Grandfather		Paternal Grandmother		Maternal Grandfather		Maternal Grandmother	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
B b (j)	63	87.5			S			
B b (s heb)	5	6.94						
D d	4	5.55						
D			50	69.44				
Daiy			14	19.44				
D d			5	6.94				
D d ma			3	4.16				
N n (j)					72	100		
N n (j)							65	90.27
N n m							7	9.27

The table above shows that most Maithili speakers address their paternal grandfather as b b which is widely used term in Maithili speech community. Similarly, the terms b b (s heb)’ and dada are also used for one’s paternal grandfather. For paternal grandmother, the most common term is ‘d i’. The terms like ‘daiy’, ‘d d’ and ‘d d ma’ are used for paternal grandmother. Maternal grandfather and maternal grandmother are addressed by the terms

‘n n ’ and ‘n n ’ respectively. ‘N n m ’ is less common term used for maternal grandmother. In English, both paternal and maternal grandfathers and grandmothers are addressed in the same way. ‘Grandpa’/’Granddad’ and ‘Grandma’ are used to address grandfather and grandmother respectively. The terms ‘Nana’, ‘Nanna’ and ‘nanny’ are also used to address grandmother in English.

Uncle and Aunt

Uncle refers to the brother of one’s father or mother and husband of one’s aunt. Aunt refers to the sister of one’s father or mother and the wife of one’s uncle. Several terms of address used for addressing one’s uncle and aunt can be analyzed paternally and maternally in Maithili.

Paternally

(For Uncle)

Father’s brother: k k

Father’s sister’ husband: pis /phuph

(For Aunt)

Father’s sister: pis / phuw

Father’s brother’s wife: k k

Maternally

(For Uncle)

Mother’s brother: m m

Mother’s sister’s husband: maus

(For aunt)

Mother's sister: maus

Mother's brother's wife: mam

In this research, the term uncle has included father's brother, mother's brother and mother's sister's husband and aunt has included father's brother's wife, mother's sister and mother's brother's wife.

Paternal Uncle, Maternal Uncle, Paternal Aunt and Maternal Aunt

Table No. 5

Terms of Address	Paternal Uncle		Maternal Uncle				Paternal Aunt		Maternal Aunt			
	Father's Brother		Mother's Brother		Mother's Sister's Husband		Father's Brother's Wife		Mother's Sister		Mother's Brother's Wife	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
K k	32	44.4										
C c	18	4										
Badk kaka/chotak	12	25										
		16.6										
K k /phul k k	8	6										
FN k k /c c	2											
Uncle		11.1	58	80.								
M m		1	14	5								
FN m m		2.77		19.	72	10						
Maus (j)				4		0	38	52.				
K k							18	7				
C c								25				
B dk k k /							12					
Chotk k k /phul							4	16.				
k k								6	72	10		
Anti								5.5		0	72	100

Maus												
m m												

Various terms are used in Maithili to address uncle and aunt. It has paternal and maternal distinction in addressing these kinship relations. Father's brother is addressed by 'k k' which is widely used term. Another widely used term for this relation is 'c c'. People also add the terms like 'phul/gulab/nanu/son' etc before k k / c c and address them as phul k k, nanu k k etc.. Similarly one addresses his father's eldest brother as 'badk k k' and father's youngest brother as 'chotk k k'. Some people use the term 'FN k k / c c' to address their 'k k' e.g. 'Manohar k k'. The term "uncle" used for addressing one's father's brother can be taken as the influence of English over Maithili. Mother's brother is addressed by 'm m' or 'FN m m' in Maithili. Similarly, mother's sister's husband is addressed by the term 'maus'. All the above mentioned titles used for uncle are addressed by 'uncle (T)' 'uncle FN (TFN)' in English.

Like 'father's brother', 'father's brother's wife' i.e. aunt is also addressed by different terms in Maithili. Most informants has used the term 'k k' for father's brother 'wife which can be the most widely used term. The term 'c c' is also widely used in Maithili community for addressing this relation. Like father's brother, Maithili speakers also use the term 'badk k k', 'phul/nanu k k' etc. to address their father's brother's wife. If one addresses his k k as 'nanu k k', then his wife is addressed as 'nanu k k' and the wife of 'chotk k k' is chotk k k. The term ant is used by younger generation which can be taken as the influence of the English title 'aunt'. Similarly, mother's sister is addressed by the kin-title 'maus' and mother's brother's wife is addressed by 'm m'. In English, aunt is addressed by the kin-titles 'aunt', 'aunty' or 'kin-title FN'.

Ego's Own Generation

- **Husband and Wife**

Table no.6

Terms of Address	Husband		Wife	
	No.	%	No.	%
Son's/daughter's name +ke+b bu/p p	40	55.55		
(he)yau/ye	25	34.72		
Sw mi n th/pr n n th	7	9.72		
Son's/daughter's name +ke+m y/m i			28	38.88
Ye			14	19.44
FN			13	18.05
Referring to natal village			12	16.66
kaniy			5	6.94

In Maithili language, wives don't address their husband by their name which can be taken only as the linguistic consequence of taboo. Instead of uttering their husband's name, they use other linguistic constructions devoid of any pronominal force or which have no reference to the name of person addressed e.g. '(he) yau'. Similarly to avoid their names, husbands and wives usually depend on 'teknonymy'. They address each other by referring to their son's/daughter's name. For example 'sonu ke b bu' to address one's husband and 'sonu ke m y' to address one's wife whose son's name is Sonu. The terms 'sw m n th' and 'pr n n th' used by some informants, are usually used in written language like in letter writing. To address one's wife or husband, people also use the linguistic construction 'ye'. Addressing

wife by her first name also common in Maithili society. Similarly, wife is also addressed by referring to her natal village, e.g. 'Janakpur b l ' for one's wife if she is from Janakpur. Some informants had also used the terms 'kaniy ' for addressing one's wife. In English, husband and wife address each other mostly by their FN. They also use the terms 'dear' or 'darling' to address each other.

Brother and Sister

Table No. 7

Terms of Address	Elder Brother by Younger Bro. and Sis.		Elder Sis. By Younger Bro. and Sis.		Younger Bro. by Elder Bro. and Sis.		Younger Sis. By Elder Bro. and Sis.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Bhaiy	32	44.44						
Bhaij	27	37.5						
L l/phul/son+bh i	7	9.72						
Badk /chotk +bh ij	6	8.33						
Did (badk /chotki+)			58	80.5				
Bahin			9	12.5				
L l/phul/bauw +did			5	6.94				
Bh i					29	40.2		
Bauw					25	34.7		
FN					18	25		
Bahin							32	44.4
FN							25	34.7
Bauw							15	20.83

The terms 'bhaiy ' and 'bh ij ' are most widely used for elder brother and 'did ' for elder sister. The terms like 'l l/phul/son' etc are also added before the address terms to

address both elder brother and sister, for example 'l l bh i, son did' etc. These terms are added only to avoid uttering the name of one's elder siblings. Though the informants had not used the term 'FN + bhaiy', and 'FN+ did', this term is also widely used in Maithili community. The above terms i.e. 'l l/phul' etc. are used only to particularize them instead of using their 'FN'. Sometimes the adjectives 'badk /badk' is used for the eldest siblings (brother and sister) and chotk /chotk for the used for youngest siblings. Though the term 'bahin' is widely used for one's younger sister, some people use it for elder sister as well. Younger brother is addressed by the kin - title 'bh i'. Similarly, the use of 'FN' is also widely used for both one's younger brother and sister. Younger brother and sister are addressed by the endearment 'bauw'; as well. In English, on the other hand, people use 'FN' to address both their elder and younger siblings.

Brother-in-law and Sister-in-law

Brother-in-law here includes the younger brother of one's husband (dewar), brother of one's wife (s r), husband of one's sister (bahinoi) and wife's sister's husband (s dhu). Similarly, sister-in-law includes elder brother's wife (bhauj), sister of one's husband (nanaid), wife's elder sister (jethsair) and wife's younger sister (s ir).

Table No. 8

Terms of Address	Brother-in-law								Sister-in-law							
	Dewar		S r		Bahino		S dhu		Bhauj		Nanaid		Jethsai r		S ir	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Bauw	24	33.														
Nickname	22	3														
Dewar	19	30.														
(j)	7	5														
FN		26.	3	44.												
FN (j)		3	2	44												
S r		9.7	2	36.												
S l			6	11												
(s heb)			8	11.	3	47.										
Bhaiy			6	11	4	22										
P hun				8.3	1	20.										
Sirname+				3	5	8										
j					1	16.										
j j j					2	66	72	10								
pahun					7	9.7		0	39	54.						
mehm n					4	2			28	1						
s dhu (j)						5.5			5	38.						
bhauj						5			8	20	27.					

bh b										6.9	18	7				
FN+bh b										4	14	25				
Bauw											12	19.				
Nickname											8	4				
Did												16.	6	95.		
FN												6	9	8		
Nanaid												11.	3	4.1	5	69.
Did												1		6	0	4
Bahin															1	26.3
FN(j)															9	8
S l (j)															3	4.1
Chotk /ka																6
niy																

In Maithili, husband's younger brother is addressed by the terms 'bauw ' or 'nick name' put by sister-in-law (bhauj). He is also addressed by the kin-title 'dewar' or by using his 'FN'. Wife's elder brother is addressed by 'bh ij ' or 'bhaiy ' and her younger brother is addressed by the term 'FN (ji), e.g. 'Suraj j ' if her brother's name is 'Suraj'. The kin-title 's r' and the term 's l s heb' are also used for addressing wife's younger brother. Sister's husband is addressed by the terms 'p hun' or 'mehm n'.

There seems caste wise distinction in using these terms. Among these terms, the term 'jjj j ' can be taken as the influence of Hindi over Maithili. Wife' sister's husband is addressed by the kin-title 's dhu'. English, on the other hand, has only one concept 'brother-in-law' for the above kin-titles of Maithili and English people address their 'brother-in-law' by their FN.

Similarly, English people address their sister-in-law by FN but Maithili has different concepts for it and they are addressed by several terms. In Maithili, for addressing one's elder brother's wife (bhauj), the terms 'bhauj / bh b' or FN plus bhauj /bh b (e.g. kanchan bh b, puj bh b)' are used. For husband's elder sister, the term 'did' is used and for his younger sister the term of endearment 'bauw', 'nick name' put by one's 'bhauj' 'FN' or the kin-title 'nanaid' is used. For wife's elder sister, people use the terms 'did' or 'bahin' though the second one is less used term in Maithili. For wife's younger sister, the terms 'FN j' or 'S l j' are used. Some informants had used the terms chotk /kaniy for addressing one's 's ir' but they can be interpreted as the result of the joking and teasing relationship between 's ir' and 'bahino'. In Maithili culture, between a man and his wife's younger sister, direct joking and teasing is possible and people use such type of terms in their joking mood.

Ego's Younger Generation

Son, Daughter, Step-son and Step-daughter

Table No. 9

Terms of Address	Son		Daughter		Step-son		Step-daughter	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Bauw (re)	42	58.33						
FN	19	26.38						
Bet	11	15.27						
Bauw (ge)			38	52.77				
FN			24	33.33				
Bet			10	13.88				
FN					61	84.72		
Bauw					11	15.27		
FN							58	80.55
Bauw							14	19.44

The table above shows that addressing one's son and daughter as well as step-son and step-daughter are similar in Maithili. For addressing one's son, the terms 'bauw', 'FN' or kin-title 'bet' is used. Similarly, to address one's daughter, the terms 'bauwa', 'FN' or 'beti' is used. Likewise, for addressing one's step-son and step-daughter, the terms 'FN' and 'bauw' are given by informants. In English, all son, daughter, step-son and step-daughter are addressed mostly by their FN.

Son-in-law and Daughter-in-law

Table No. 10

Terms of Address	Son-in-law		Daughter-in-law	
	No.	%	No.	%
P hun	32	44.44		
mehm n (j)	18	25		
surname j	18	25		
pahun	4	5.55		
kaniy			37	51.38
nick name			13	18.05
dulhin			8	11.11
putohu/			6	8.33
referring to natal village			4	5.55
referring to first child			4	5.55

The kinship terms used for son-in-law in Maithili is ‘jam y’ and for daughter-in-law is ‘putoh ’. Son-in-law is addressed by ‘p hun’, ‘mehm n (j)’ or ‘surname j ’ e.g. ‘jh j , p thakj ’ etc. where ‘jh ’ and ‘p thak’ are surname. The term, ‘pahun ’ is also used for son-in-law. Daughter-in-law, on the other hand is addressed by ‘ kaniy , ‘nick name’ i.e. the new personal name given by the mother-in-law like mah rani, gul b kumair’ cand ’ etc, or ‘dulhin’ or ‘putohuw ’. Similarly, Daughter-in-law is also addressed by referring to her natal village’s name (woman from X village) e.g. ‘Sug b li’ is used for their whose natal village is ‘Sug ’. If the women has given birth to a child, sometimes she is also addressed by referring

to her child's name e.g. 'santos ke m y' for a women whose son's name is 'Santos'. In English, son-in-law and daughter-in-law are addressed by their FN.

Nephew and Niece

Nephew refers to the son of one's brother or sister and niece refers to the daughter of one's brother or sister. In Maithili, several kinship terms are used for nephew and niece.

Brother's Son: bhatij (for both male and female sibilings)

Sister's Son: bhaign (for male sibilings)

Brother's Daughter: bhatij (for both male and female sibilings)

Sister's Daughter: bhaigan (for male sibilings)

 bahindh (for female sibilings)

Table 11

Terms of Address	Brother's Son		Sister's Son				Brother's Daughter		Sister's Daughter			
	Bhatija		Bhaigna		Bahinput		Bhatiji		Bahindhi		bhaigani	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
FN	28	38.8										
Bauw	25	34.7										
Bhatij	14	19.4										
Bet	5	6.94										
Bhaign /bh gin			31	43								
B bu												
FN			19	26.3								
Bauw			17	23.3								
Bh nj			5	6.94								
FN					28	38.8						
Bauw					18	25						
Bet					16	22.2						
Bahinput					10	13.8						
FN							29	40.2				
Bauw							20	27.7				
Bhatij							16	22.2				
bet							7	9.72				
FN									29	40.2		
Bauw									19	26.3		
Beti									14	19.4		

Bahindh									10	13.8		
Bhaigan											32	44.4
FN											19	26.3
Bauw											16	22.2
bh nj											5	6.94

In Maithili, the son of one's brother is addressed by 'FN' 'bauw' or 'bhatij' by both male and female sibilings. The terms 'bet' is used only by male sibilings for one's brother's son. Sister's son is addressed by 'bhaigan /bh gin/b bu', 'FN', 'bauw' or 'bh nj' by male sibilings. The term 'bh nj' can be regarded as the influence of Nepali over Maithili. Female sibilings address their sister's son by the terms 'FN', 'bauw', 'bet' or 'bahinput'. The kin-title 'bahinput' is less used term to address sister's son though some informants has used it. Brother's daughter is addressed by 'FN', 'bauw' or 'bhatij' by both male and female sibilings. The term 'bet' is used by male sibilings for one's brother's daughter. Male sibilings address their sister's daughter by using the terms 'bhaigan', 'FN', 'bauw' or 'bh nj'. Female sibilings address their sister's daughter by 'FN', 'bauw', 'bet' or 'bahindh'. Though the term 'bahindh' is used by 13.88 % informants, it is not widely used term of address. In English, people usually use the term 'FN' to address their nephew and niece.

Grandson and Granddaughter

Table No. 12

Terms of Address	Grandson				Granddaughter			
	By Paternal Grand-parents		By-Maternal Grand-parents		By Paternal Grand-parents		By Maternal Grand-parents	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Pot /pot b bu	41	56.94						
Bauw	19	26.38						
FN/pet name	12	16.66						
N ti/n ti b bu			40	55.55				
Bauw			16	22.22				
FN/pet name			16	22.22				
FN/pet name					30	41.66		
Pot (r n)					28	38.88		
Bauw					14	19.44		
Natin							28	38.88
FN/pet name							22	30.55
bauw							22	30.55

There is no distinction in addressing grandson and granddaughter by paternal and maternal grandparents in English but this distinction is highly available in Maithili. Paternal grandparents address their grandson by 'pot /pot b bu', 'bauw ' or 'FN/pet name'. Similarly, they address their granddaughter by the terms 'FN/Pet name', 'Poti' (r ni)' or by

'bauw '. Likewise, maternal grandparents use the terms 'n ti/n ti b bu', 'bauw ' or 'bauw '
'FN/ pet name' for addressing their grandson and 'natin ', 'FN/ pet name' or 'bauw ' for
addressing their granddaughter. It has been seen that grandparents sometime put pet name to
their grandchildren as it is said that grandparents have great affection for their grandchildren.
In English, grandchildren are addressed only by their FN.

4. Conclusion

On the basis of the analysis and interpretation of data collected from seventy- two native speakers of Maithili and its comparison with the terms of kinship terms used in English, the following findings have been concluded:

- a) Kinship terms used in English and Maithili are greatly different from other with some similarities.
- b) Most of the kinship terms of Maithili are used in addressing people but only a few kinship terms are used as address terms in English. Only ascending generation receives title and others are usually addressed by FN in English.
- c) Many kinship terminologies are used both for referring to an individual and for addressing him in Maithili but only a few kinship terminologies are used for both of the above functions in English. For example the kinship terms ‘k k ’, ‘m m ’, ‘sadhu’ etc are used for both referring and addressing them. In English, the kinship terms ‘uncle’ seems to be performed for both these functions.
- d) English people can address their step-father and step-mother by their FN but Maithili people never address them by their FN.
- e) Maithili wife mostly depends on ‘teknonymy’ to avoid uttering her husband’s name as uttering one’s husband’s name is regarded as egregious violation of social and family norms and values. Besides, it is considered as a great sin in Maithili community.
- f) Though Maithili speakers use FN to address their younger brother and sister, they don’t address their elder sibilings by their FN but FN is common for addressing one’s younger and elder sibilings in English.

- g) In Maithili, the terms 'ge'/ye' and 're/ho'/'yau' are gender markers used either before or after the address terms. 'ge/ye' is used for female and 're/ho/yau' is used for male.
- h) Paternal and maternal distinction is not important English terms of address but this distinction is very important in Maithili.
- i) Even strangers are addressed by kinship terms in Maithili but English people use the phrase 'Excuse me' to address strangers.
- j) Terms of endearment 'bauw ' is widely used for addressing one's younger generation in Maithili.
- k) TLN or TFN in English is used as LNT or FNT in Maithili.
- l) To address a teacher, English teacher uses TLN or FN but teacher uses FNT or LNT or T to address another teacher in Maithili.
- m) English students address their teacher by T or TLN where as Maithili students address their teacher by T like sir/miss/madam/m star s heb/guruj /dev j .
Similarly students are addressed by their FN by a teacher in English but they are addressed by FN, LN, or T in Maithili.
- n) English speakers use the terms 'Your Majesty' and 'Your Highness' respectively to address their King/Queen and Prince/Princess. Maithili, on the other hand, has many terms to address these people. Maithili speakers address their King by 'r j s heb', mah r j' or 'sark r', Queen by 'mah r ni', sark r' or 'r n s heb'.
Similarly, Prince is addressed by 'r j kum r j , 'yubar j' or 'adhir j kum r' and Princess is addressed by 'r j kum r j ', 'yubr gy ' osr 'adhir j kum r '.
- o) The professional like doctor, judge and officer usually addressed by 'T plus s heb/ j in Maithili. Doctor is also addressed by 'd ktar b bu', judge by 'sr m n' and

'officer by 'sir' in Maithili. English, on the other hand, uses the terms T or TLN for addressing them.

- p) Mutual TLN in English and 'FN+j or 'LN+j ' in Maithili are most commonly found between newly introduced adults.
- q) The unique concept like 'baraghariy ', 'bartuh r' and 'bahalab n' are also addressed by different address terms in Maithili. Only 'bartuh r', is addressed by 'aguw ', 'ghatak' or 'kutumb', English language has only a few kinship terms like matchmaker and mediator.

On the basis of the conclusion mentioned above, the following recommendations are made for the appropriate use of the terms of address:

- a) As there is no one to one correspondence between each and every English and Maithili terms of address, it can create difficulty for English student learning Maithili and vice versa. So, the major teaching focus should be given on the points of differences between these two languages.
- b) Maithili learning English speakers should be taught the terms 'bhaiy /bhaij ' and 'did /bahin' to address elder brother and sister respectively. Similarly the terms 'bh i/bauw ' and 'bahin/bauw ' are taught respectively for addressing younger brother and sister. Likewise, Maithili speakers learning English should be made aware that only FN can be used addressing both elder and younger sibilings in English.
- c) Maithili speakers learning English should be made aware that English husband and wife address each other by their FN. Similarly, Maithili learning English speakers should be taught that addressing husband by FN is regarded as a sin in this culture so instead of uttering name, a husband is addressed by a reference to the name of his son/daughter or simply by the terms 'yau/ye'.

- d) English speakers should be made aware of the forms 'ge/ye' used for female and 'ho/yau' used for male which are added either before or after the another address terms or used alone to address someone.
- e) English speakers learning Maithili should be taught Maithili kin-titles showing paternal and maternal distinction. Similarly, Maithili speakers learning English should be clarified that paternal and maternal distinction is less important in English.
- f) Maithili speakers should be suggested to use the phrase. 'Excuse me' to address strangers and English speakers should be taught different kin-titles like 'b b ', 'd ', 'bh i s heb' or 'bauw ' and other used to address strangers according the age, sex and status of the addressor and addressee.
- g) English speakers learning Maithili should be suggested to use the term 'T + s heb' to address professionals like doctor, judge or officer and English learning Maithili speakers should be taught the terms 'T or TLN' to address them.
- h) English speakers should be taught the unique Maithili concepts like 'barghariy ', 'bartuh r', 'bahalb n' and address terms used for them.
- i) The teacher should teach these terms of address creating meaningful situation and using suitable language games.
- j) Text-book writers should also compose books highlighting the terms of address of these language so that students do not face any complexity in initiating a conversation.

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Appendix – 1

अन्तर्वाता प्रश्नावली

(Interview Questionnaire)

नाम (Name) :

उमेर (Age) :

पत्ता (Address) :

लिङ्ग (Sex) :

शैक्षिक योग्यता

(Academic Qualification) :

पेशा (Occupation) :

कृपया अहाँक उत्तरमे सम्बोधनक शब्द मात्र लिखु ।

(Please only write the terms of address in your answer)

१. निम्न व्यक्तिसभक सम्बोधन अहाँक परिवारमे कोना काइल जाइत ?

(How are the following persons addressed in your family?)

क) छोट बहिनद्वारा बड्का भाइक

(Elder brother by younger sister)

ख) बहिनद्वारा छोट भाइक

(Younger brother by sister)

ग) भाइद्वारा दिदीक

(Elder sister by brother)

घ) भैयाद्वारा बहिनक

(Younger sister by elder brother)

ङ) बड्का भाइद्वारा छोट भाइक

(Younger brother by elder brother)

च) छोट भाइद्वारा बड्का भाइक

(Elder brother by younger brother)

छ) पत्नीद्वारा पतिक
(Husband by wife)

ज) पतिद्वारा पत्नीक
(Wife by husband)

२. निम्न सम्बन्धित सभक अहां कोना सम्बोधन करैछी ?

(How do you address the following relatives?)

क) अपन भौजीके
(Your sister-in-law)

ख) अपन ननैदके
(Your sister-in-law)

ग) अपन सालिके
(Your sister-in-law)

घ) अपन जेठसैरके
(Your sister-in-law)

ङ) अपन देवरके
(Your brother-in-law)

च) अपन साहुके
(Your brother - in - law)

छ) अपन सारके
(Your brother-in-law)

ज) अपन बहिनोइके
(Your brother-in-law)

३. हिनका सभकेलेल कोन सम्बोधन शब्द प्रयोग काइल जाइत अछि?

(Which address terms are used for them?)

क) अपन मायके लेल

(For one's mother)

ख) अपन बाबुके लेल

(For one's father)

ग) अपन सौतेल मायके लेल

(For one's step-mother)

घ) अपन सौतेला बाबुके लेल

(For one's step-father)

ङ) अपन बाबाके लेल

(For one's paternal grandfather)

च) अपन दादीके लेल

(For one's paternal grandmother)

छ) अपन नानाके लेल

(For one's maternal grandfather)

ज) अपन नानीके लेल

(For one's maternal grandmother)

झ) अपन मामाके लेल

(For one's maternal uncle)

ञ) अपन सोनु नामक मामाके लेल

(For one's maternal uncle named Sonu)

ट) अपन मामीके लेल

(For one's maternal aunt)

- ठ) अपन मौसाके लेल
(For one's maternal uncle)
- ड) अपन मौसीके लेल
(For one's maternal aunt)
- ढ) अपन काकाके लेल
(For one's paternal uncle)
- ण) अपन काकीके लेल
(For one's paternal aunt)
- त) अपन मनोहर नामके काकाके लेल
(For one's uncle named Manohar)

४. अहाँक भाषाके निम्न व्यक्तिसभके कोना बोलाइल जाइत ?

(How are the following persons addressed in your language?)

- क) बाबुद्वारा बेटा (Son by father)
- ख) बाबुद्वारा बेटी (Daughter by father)
- ग) मायद्वारा बेटा (Son by mother)
- घ) सतबा मायद्वारा बेटीके / बेटाके
(Daughter / Son by step-mother)
- ड) साउस / ससुरद्वारा जमाय
(Son-in-law by mother-in-law / father-in-law)
- च) साउस / ससुरद्वारा अपन पुतह
(Daughter-in-law by mother-in-law / father-in-law)
- छ) काकाद्वारा भतिजी
(Niece by uncle)
- ज) काकाद्वारा भतिजी
(Nephew by uncle)

- भ्र) पिसीद्वारा भतिजा
(Nephew by aunt)
- ज) पिसीद्वारा भतिजी
(Niece by aunt)
- ट) मामाद्वारा भैगना
(Nephew by maternal uncle)
- ठ) मामाद्वारा भैगनी
(Niece by maternal uncle)
- ड) मौसीद्वारा बहिन बेटी
(Niece by maternal aunt)
- ढ) मौसीद्वारा बहिन बेटा
(Nephew by maternal aunt)
- ण) बाबाद्वारा पोता
(Grandson by grandfather)
- त) दाईद्वारा पोता
(Grandson by grandmother)
- थ) बाबा / दाईद्वारा पोती
(Granddaughter by grandfather / grandmother)
- द) नाना / नानीद्वारा नाति
(Grandson by grandfather / grandmother)
- ध) नाना / नानीद्वारा नातिन
(Granddaughter by grandfather / grandmother)

५. अहाँ निम्न अपरिचितके सम्बोधन कर चाहैत छी मुदा उचित सम्बोधन नहिं जनैत छी तऽ हुनका सभक कोना सम्बोधन करब ?

(Your want to address the following stranger but you don't know terms to address him/her. How do you address him/her?)

- क) अपरिचित बृद्ध पुरुष

(The stranger is an old man)

- ख) अपरिचित बृद्ध इस्त्र

(The stranger is an old woman)

- ग) अपरिचित युवाके

(The stranger is a young man)

- घ) अपरिचित युवती

(The stranger is a young woman)

- ङ) अपरिचित बच्चा

(The stranger is a child)

६. अहाँ अपन साथीके कोना बजबइछि ?

(How do you address your friend?)

- क) अहाँ अपन नजिकके (घनिष्ठ) साथी सुमनके

(To your close friend Suman)

- ख) अहाँ अपन मित्र सन्तोषके

(To your friend Santosh)

- ग) अहाँ अपन साथी गिताके

(To your friend Gita)

- घ) अहाँ अपन अविवाहित साथी सुजाताके

(To your unmarried friend Sujata)

ड) अहाँ अपन विवाहित साथी सोनमके

(To your married friend Sonam)

७. विद्यालयमे निम्न सदस्य सभक कोना सम्बोधन काइल जाइत ?

(How are the following members addressed in the School?)

क) शितल भा नामक गुरुके शिष्यद्वारा

(A student to a teacher named Shital Jha)

ख) एकगोट गुरुके दोसर गुरुद्वारा

(A teacher to a teacher)

ग) देवीजी के शिष्यद्वारा

(A student to a female teacher)

घ) मिना यादव नामक विद्यार्थी के गुरुद्वारा

(A teacher to a student named Meena Yadav)

ड) प्रधानाध्यापकद्वारा शिक्षकके

(A headmaster to a teacher)

८. अहाँके समुदायमे निम्न व्यक्ति सभक सम्बोधन कोना काइल जाइत ?

(How are the following persons addressed in your community?)

क) चिकित्सक (Doctor)

च) हाकिम (Officer)

ख) परिचारिक (Nurse)

छ) राजकुमार (Prince)

ग) राजा (King)

ज) राजकुमारी (Princess)

घ) रानी (Queen)

झ) मन्त्री (Minister)

ड) न्यायधिश (Judge)

ञ) प्रधानमन्त्री (Prime Minister)

९. निम्न व्यक्ति सभक सम्बोधन अहाँक समाज मे कोना होइत अछि ?

(How are the following persons addressed in your Society?)

क) बरघरिया

(Person of the house considered to be having higher status in the village)

ख) बरतुहार

(Person who brings marriage proposal in the bride's / bridegroom's home)

ग) हरबाह

(The Ploughman)

घ) चरबाह

(The Cowboy)

ङ) गिरहस

(Land lord)

च) बहलवानगिरहस

(The person who handles the Bullock-cart)

यी प्रश्नावली एहिठाम समाप्त होइत अछि । सहयोग लेल धन्यवाद ।

This is the end of questionnaire.

Thank you very much for your kind information.