

A Comparative-Lexical Analysis of Kinship Terminologies in Urdu and English

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Abstract

This paper explores the use of kinship terminologies in English and Urdu by attempting a comparative-lexical analysis using Morgan's (1871) classification of kin into consanguineal and affinal relatives. In other words, the conceptual framework of the paper is based on Morgan's (1871) notion of the patterns of kinship system while the methodological framework is comparative-lexical. The sample consists of three media texts including a drama and a film from English and a drama from Urdu. It was found that kinship works in the same way in both the languages that follow different patterns of kinship: English is Dravidian while Urdu is Sundanese. It is suggested that this is because of the difference in the notions of family unit (nuclear/ joint) and their approach to life, individual and/ or community-based. The paper is intended to deepen understanding of the kinship terminologies in both languages in the absence of any earlier contrastive study of both the languages. It also intends to add meaningfully to the fields of Linguistics, Anthropology, and Sociology.

Keywords: Kinship Terminology, Urdu Language, English Language, Consanguineal Relatives, Affinal Relatives, Descriptive Kinship Terminologies.

Introduction

One of the functions of human languages is to refer to the world. An essential element of linguistic communication is to refer to different relations that one is associated with in the web of human relationships on planet Earth. This reference has been known in literature as kinship terminologies (Kanwal et al., 2025; Kholisin et al., 2022; Stone & King, 2026).

Statement of the Problem

The observation that English has a limited number of kinship terms that are more generic in nature while Urdu has specific terms naming and describing each relation has been the primary reason for the study. Secondly, no research comparing the two languages based on their use of kinship terminologies had been found although such studies do exist between Arabic-English (Al-Ghazali, 2018; Al-Sahlaney & Al-Husseini, 2010), and Arabic-Hindi (Suryanarayan & Khalil, 2021). Thirdly, the interest of the researchers in the media texts led to the choice of the sample.

Research Question

This paper attempts to answer the question given below.

How do kinship terminologies manifest in English and Urdu languages comparatively?

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Research Design

Three media texts have been chosen for analysis: *Aangan* (Duraïd, 2018); *Little House on the Prairie* (Landon & Friendly, 1974); *Coco* (Anderson, 2017). The former is a drama in Urdu while the latter two are in English of which the first is a drama while the second is a computer-animated film.

Sampling

Media texts have been chosen purposively selecting the texts that had most kinship terminologies in them. That is the reason there is one sample from Urdu and two from English so as to have sufficient representation for English as well.

Methodology

The methodology is qualitative employing comparative-lexical analysis focusing on the kinship terminologies.

Literature Review

In a speech community, kinship, the terminology, is used to delineate the relationship between human beings. It is expressed in language to show closeness, level of attachment, affection, joy and respect towards the kin who share code of conduct, values, culture and inheritance.

Read et al. (2012) views kinship as bridging societies, Tonkinson (1991, p. 12) views it as “*a system of social relationships that is expressed in biological idioms using terms like “mother”, “son...”*” while Morgan (1871) defines it as a concept referring to distinct genealogical relationship between an individual and others in a society to show degree of closeness. This individual is of essential significance in Linguistic Anthropology and is called an Ego, the person in relation with whom all kinship terminologies are referred to. It is from Ego’s standpoint that entire family trees are explained (Morgan, 1871; Tonkinson, 1991), and this Ego is equivalent to I.

Moreover, Murdock (1949), like Morgan (1871), basis kinship only on genealogical relationships connected through birth, marriage, or social ties. Stone (2000) identifies it on the basis of either descent or marriage.

Lexicon of kinship

Each language has its own lexicon to refer to the concept of kinship. Malinowski (1930, p.28) calls this vocabulary “*labels for social relations.*” This lexicon differentiates the kin from non-kin and is stored in the semantic network of family in genealogical relations. Aitchison (2003) argued that words with similar beginnings and endings are likely to be tightly bound as they are in the same semantic field and people remember those words more and can relate to them. For example, *khala-zaad behn* and *phupho-zaad behn* have same endings thereby sharing similar semantic fields and are easy to be understood and remembered.

Patterns of kinship system

Morgan (1871) gave six major patterns of kinship system to which Murdock (1949) added one more pattern.

Iroquois Kinship System based on bifurcate merging where *mother* refers to both mother and mother’s sister, and *father*, refers to father and father’s brother giving rise to notions of *parallel cousins* and *cross-cultural cousins* which ultimately lead to the notions of im/permissibility of marriages.

Crow Kinship System expands bifurcate merging to include both matrilineal and patrilineal sides to refer to kin thereby resulting in terms like *uncle* and *aunt*.

Omaha Kinship System also includes expansion of bifurcate merging mainly associated with patrilineal societies based on descent and gender to treat siblings and parallel cousins

equally for referring to kin. In this system, father and father's brother are also called by the same kinship terminology.

Eskimo Kinship System based on lineal kinship drops the distinction between matrilineal and patrilineal relatives while assigning kinship terms. The only difference is gender-based where the terms, *uncle*, *aunt* and *cousin*, are assigned irrespective of age, rank, or any factor other than gender.

Hawaiian Kinship System, the simplest system which includes only generation-based kinship terminologies. The same term is used for Ego's father and all male relatives; similarly, the same term is used for Ego's mother and all female relatives.

Sundanese Kinship System includes a kinship term for each of Ego's relatives, whether consanguineal or affinal, resulting in terms like *pota*, *poti*, *nawasa*, *nawasi*.

Dravidian Kinship System, added by Murdock (1949), includes the *classificatory kinship terminologies*. For example, *uncle* includes all the male relatives of both the patrilineal and matrilineal side; the same goes for *aunt* and *cousin*.

Morgan (1871) divided kinship into two forms: *Standard European-American system of kinship*; *Asian system of kinship*. The former uses *Eskimo pattern of kinship system* and a *mix of classificatory pattern of kinship system* and distinguishes lineal members of ego's generation from collateral members. The latter uses *descriptive terminologies*.

Principles of classification

Kroeber (1909) classifies kinship terminologies into simple descriptive / classificatory typology by suggesting some principles: *generation* (mother/daughter); *affinity* (mother/mother-in-law); *collaterality* (uncle/father); *sex of relative* (male/female); *age*; *bifurcation* (grand-parents/parents); *polarity* (cousins); *sex of speaker* (in some group); *decadence* (alive/ dead relative/s).

Both English and Urdu share a common feature: for each succeeding ancestor beyond "great grandfather/great grandmother," one only adds *great* in English and *par* پر |pâ:(r)| in Urdu. Likewise, *saggā* سگہ |saga:| is added for *biological*, and *sautela* سوتیلا |sū:tæ:la| for *non-biological brother* as equivalent to *step of step brother*, and *sābiqā* سابقہ |sābi'ca:| for *ex* as in *ex-husband*.

Functions of Kinship

Dousset (2011) and Britannica (2017) defined two basic functions that kinship performs in the society: vertical function and horizontal function. The former ensures social continuity and passing on of possessions, traditions, norms, roles, intelligence, capabilities, physical features, skills, professions and even of repute at the level of a family and/or a culture resulting in cultural and religious obligations. Contrarily, the latter relates to relationships through marriage, adoption, or other rituals like friendships, acquaintances. This also results in obligations towards them.

Thus, kinship helps in maintaining unity, cooperation and peace among genealogical relationships.

Types of kinship

Literature on kinship identifies its three types: *consanguineal relatives* and *affinal relatives* (Morgan, 1871); *fictive/ social relations* (Austin, 1988; Kroeber, 1909; Murdock, 1949; Schneider, 1984)

Consanguineal Relatives include both *patrilineal* and *matrilineal* relationships and have been worked out below for both English and Urdu diagrammatically.

Figure 1: Observation-based kinship terminologies for Consanguineal Relatives (general) in English

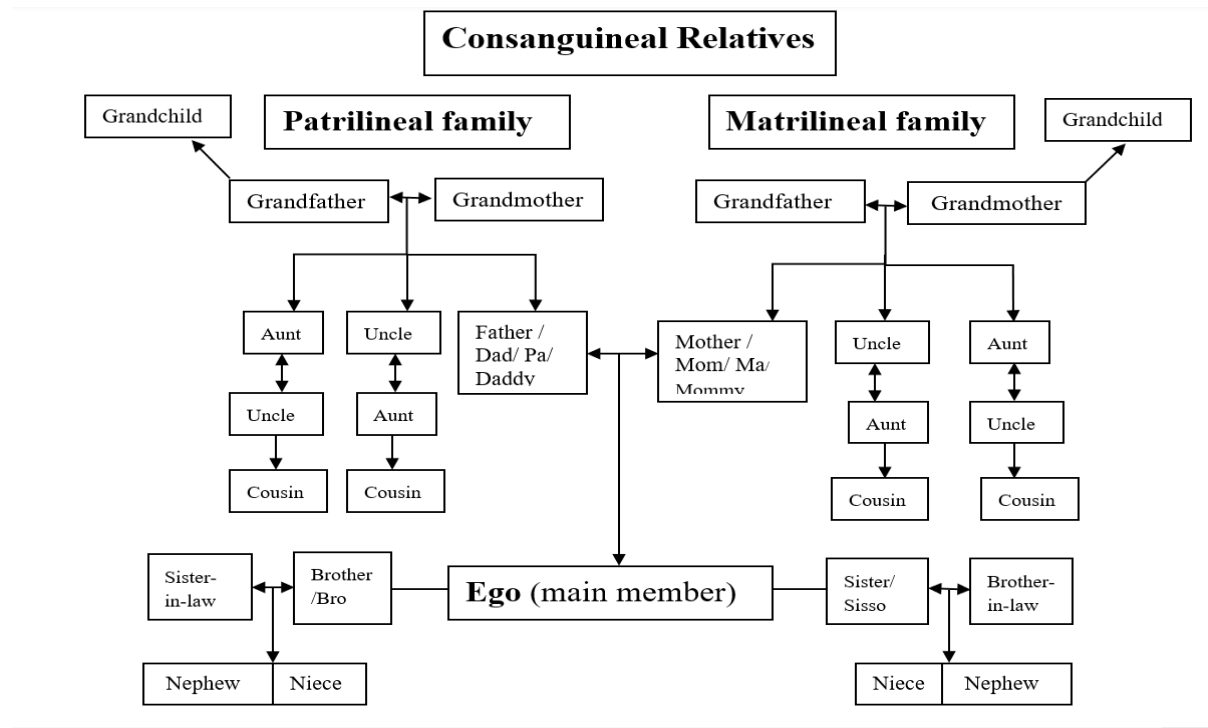
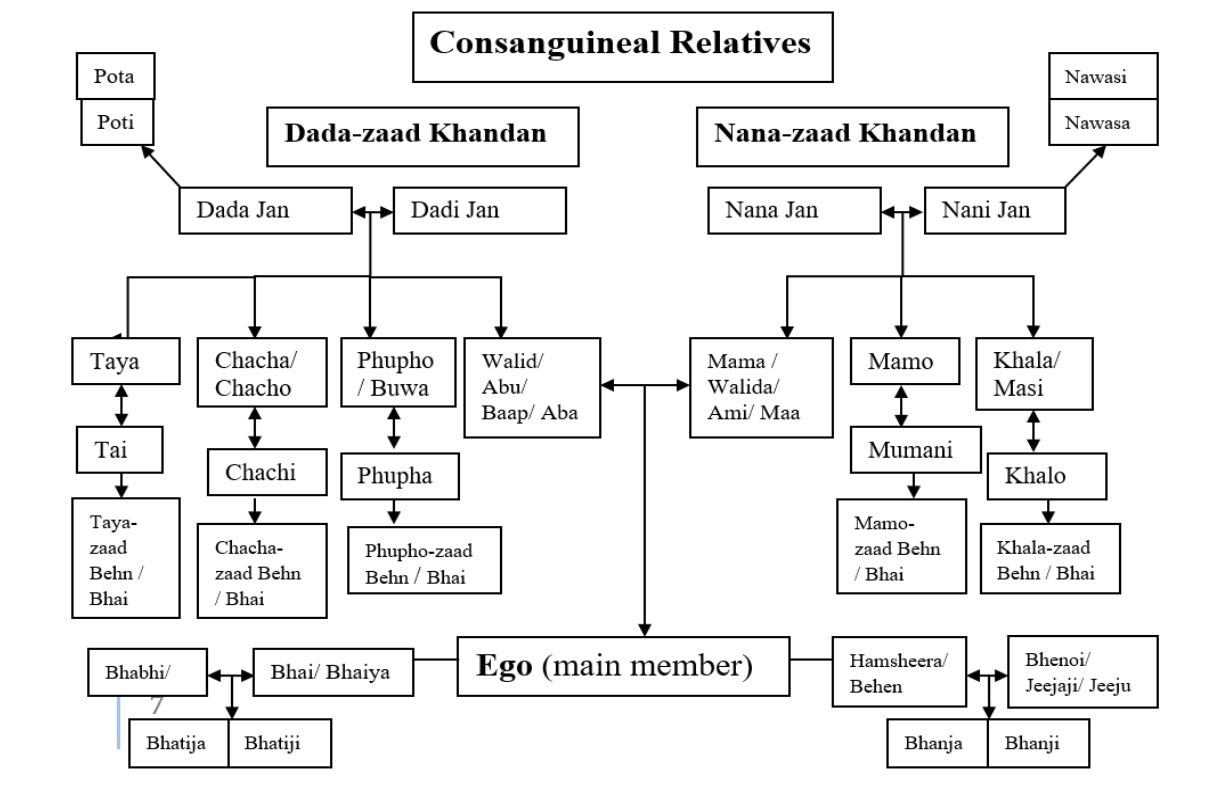


Figure 2: Kinship terminologies for Consanguineal Relatives in Urdu



Affinal Relatives include people who are linked through marriage including in-laws from both the sides. Levinson (2007) and Stone (2000) also count the spouse of a parent's sibling as an affinal relative. These have been worked out for English and Urdu diagrammatically as follows.

Figure 3: Observation-based Kinship terminologies for Affinal Relatives in Urdu

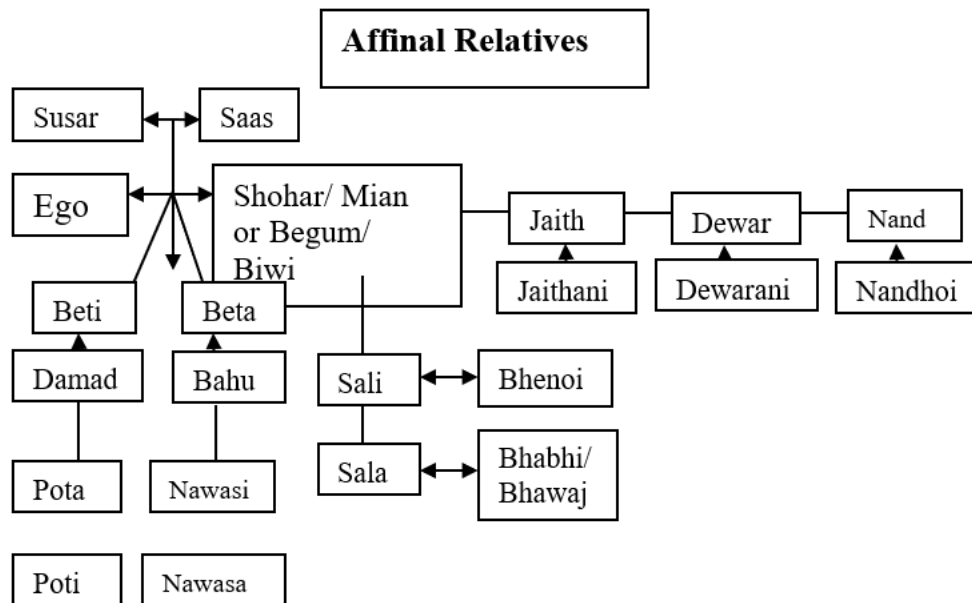
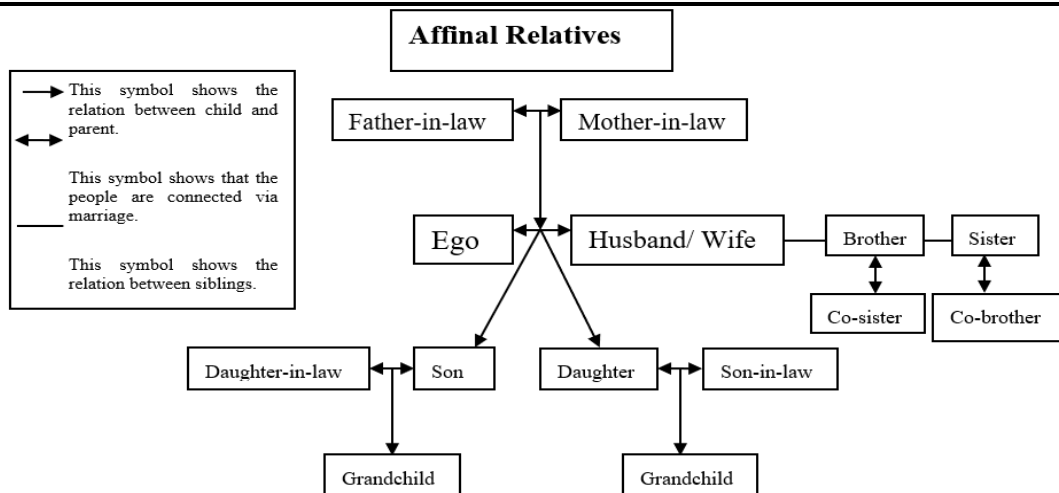


Figure 4: Observation-based Affinal-Kinship-based Terminologies in English



McLennan (1865), while discussing affinal relationships, identifies different rules for exogamy and endogamy. Similarly, Petrow (2014) identifies the existence of monogamous, polygamous and same-sex marriages.

Fictive/ Social Relative

This type of kinship refers to bond/s formed through religious affiliation, cultural practices or close ties among individuals and include god-parents, co-parents, friends or colleagues, live-in relations, civil partnerships, open marriages and trial marriages.

Historical standpoint for kinship terminologies

Morgan (1871), the pioneer in the study of kinship terminologies, argued how they are used in establishing a society.

Sidky (2004) argues that the sequential typologies used by Morgan (1871) helped in the evolution of kinship terminologies into classificatory and descriptive, thereby relating it to diachronic study of the evolution of languages and people. *Kinship* was considered a linguistic expression only in the 19th century (Morgan, 1871). Afterwards, it is taken as a concept that integrates relationships and their role in society, class, gender, person and ethnicity for maintaining unity, peace and cooperation between and among humans.

Comparison of Kinship terminologies in English Vs Urdu

There are around 7,000 languages spoken globally (Duncan, 2023) and each language has its own lexicon for kinship which reflects its culture.

English kinship terms are very familiar and popular because of the literature which is mostly in the English language (Goodenough, 1965) which is the lingua franca.

The English language is split into three stages of development: Old English; Middle English; Modern English (EF English Live, n.d). This division also affected kinship terminologies in the language where terms like *fæder* (father), *mōdor* (mother), *sweostor* (sister), *brōþor* (brother), *swēor* (father-in-law), *sweġer* (mother-in-law), *dōhtor* (daughter) *sunu* (son), (The House Carpenter, 2017) of the Old English/ Anglo-Saxon age do not match Morgan's (1871) classification. But, with the passage of time, English language changed from descriptive (as it had distinctive terms for each kin) to a mix of both Eskimo and classificatory systems.

On the other hand, Urdu, the official language of six states of India and the national language of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, is a mix of Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit languages (Quraishi, 2020). The RCMMS Journal (2019) maintains that Urdu language, in its elegance, parallels French while Warsi (2017, para. 10) views it as a window into the rich culture of the sub-continent.

Factors affecting Kinship terminologies in the Urdu language

Three main factors influence kinship terminologies in Urdu language: religion; cross-culturalism; joint family system.

Rahman (2006) identifies religion as the basis of Pakistani Muslim identity, and Islam deems kinship ties essential to social existence for which Ego is to be held accountable even in the hereafter (Al-Adab Al-Mufrad 49 (n.d.); Kermalli, 2008).

Secondly, Urdu is a cross-cultural language because of borrowing and adapting kin-terms, “*chacha*, *chachi*, *jeeja*, *behnoi*, *phoophah*, *phoophi*, etc. The only exceptions are *khala* and *khalu*, which are Arabic.” (Narayan, 2019) A striking feature of the traditional Urdu kinship terminology is that while there is only one word for mother's brother such as ‘*mamo*’, there are two words, *taya* and *chacha*, for father's brother, which are differentiated by the uncle's age relative to ego's father's age. The former is used for father's elder brother and ‘*chacha*’ for the youngest brother. On the other hand, lexemes for father's sisters are ‘*phopho*’ or ‘*buwa*’ and for mother's sisters are ‘*khala*’ or ‘*masi*’.

Thirdly, *joint family system* refers to *patrilocal residence system*. 56.5% of the Pakistani population is living in *joint family system* (Itrat, et al., 2007). This is one of the reasons for having different kinship terminologies like *Taya*, *Chacha* etcetera. Urdu has separate terms for relations for the details of which, please refer to Figures 1, 2, 3, 4.

Materials and Methods

The media-texts are episodic: the Urdu text consists of 27 episodes while the drama in English (season 1 only) consists of 24 episodes and the film is of 1 hour and 45 minutes. Kinship terminologies in the selected texts have been explored and compared for both the languages using Morgan's (1871) notion of consanguineal relations and affinal relations.

Results and Discussion

Consanguineal relatives

This type of kinship includes relatives from both sides of the family related to ego's biological lineage as shown in Figures 1 and 2.

Table 1: Female parent of Ego

Language	Kinship Term	Instance	Translation	Contextual Usage/ Effect
Urdu	Ama Jan	<i>"Ama Jan Munshi kai sath hisab kitab mai masroof hai"</i> (Duraïd, 2018, ep. 1)	<i>Ama Jan is busy bookkeeping with the Clerk</i>	Copulative compound; refers to Ego's female parent indirectly; expresses affection and endearment
	Ama	<i>"Ama apse mashwara karna hai."</i> (Duraïd, 2018, ep. 9)	<i>Mother, I want to have your guidance.</i>	A single lexeme; adds seriousness and maturity; directly addressing the hearer
	Ami	<i>"Ami kai baad mera koi nai"</i> (Duraïd, 2018, ep. 12)	<i>After Mother, I don't have any one.</i>	Used by a young girl in anger; indirect referral to the mother; expresses less maturity and lack of connection
	Maa	<i>"Maa beti kai jhagray mai q parun!"</i> (Duraïd, 2018, ep. 4)	<i>Why should I get into mother-daughter brabble!</i>	indirect reference to mother; shows anger and disinterestedness
		<i>"Teri maa mar gai teray liya"</i> (Duraïd, 2018, ep. 2)	<i>Your Mother is dead for you!</i>	
	Mama	<i>"Mama ko tou nai bataogi na?"</i> (Duraïd, 2018, ep. 4)	<i>You won't tell (this) to mother, right?</i>	used between two sisters; expresses familiarity with the female parent; shows modernity by shifting to a comparatively newer kinship term
	Bi Jan	<i>"hum faker ni ban jai gai, Bi Jan!"</i> (Duraïd, 2018, ep. 1)	<i>We will not become panhandler, Bi Jan!</i>	A copulative compound used by the son to address mother; expresses maturity, respect and love towards the female parent

English	Mother	<i>"She couldn't follow her mother".</i> (Landon & Friendly, 1974)	referring indirectly to the female parent
		<i>"Ma gently shook Mary and Laura till they got up."</i> (Landon & Friendly, 1974, ep. 1)	refers to mother indirectly; expresses formality with closeness
	Mama	<i>"Mama I want to follow my passion. I want to be a musician"</i> (Anderson, 2017; 14:33)	used generally for addressing a female parent; expresses familiarity and connection; addresses the mother

Six kinship terminologies for Mother were found in Urdu. These include *ama jan*, *ama*, *ami*, *maa*, *mama*, and *bi jan* while the three kinship terms for mother in English include *mother*, *ma*, and *mama*.

Table 2: Male parent of Ego

Language	Kinship Term	Instance	Translation	Contextual Usage/Effect
Urdu	Aba Jan	<i>"Aba Jan, piya bin na awai chain sun kar apni ayashi ki tayari mai masroof hain"</i> (Duraid, 2018, ep. 1)	<i>Aba Jan (Father) is listening to piya bin na awai chain (a song) while being engaged in sensual activities</i>	A copulative compound; <i>Jan</i> , added to <i>Aba</i> , expresses both love and respect; indirect reference
	Baap	<i>"Arey yah baap betay ka mamla hai"</i> (Duraid, 2018, ep. 2) <i>"Baap ka saya Aulad par na ho tou aulad Chami ban jati hai"</i> (Duraid, 2018, ep. 5)	<i>This matter is between father-son duo.</i> <i>In a father's absence, children turn out to be like Chammi.</i>	referring generally to Ego's male parent; expresses irritation and annoyance; refers indirectly
	Aba	<i>"Iska aba sara din tumhary aba kai sath siyasat par baat karta rehta hai"</i> (Duraid, 2018, ep. 5)	<i>His father discusses politics with your father the whole day.</i>	general term of reference; expresses irritation with zero affection and respect
English	Pa	<i>"Pa sold the little house"</i> (Landon & Friendly, 1974, ep. 4)		general term of referring to male parent; expresses formality with love
	Papa	<i>"Is Papa here, yet?"</i>		expressing loving connection

“Papa! I was in there (music market) to polish shoes only.”
(Anderson, 2017, 09:30)

Father	“But, my father, he will never give his permission.” (Anderson, 2017, 13:43)	a general term of referring to the male parent used to express obedience, sadness and formality
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For father, three kinship terms, *papa*, *pa* and *father*, were found for English while another three, *aba jan*, *baap* and *aba* were found in Urdu. For both languages, this terminology falls under Sundanese pattern.

Table 3: Paternal and maternal Male Grandparent

Language	Kinship term	Instance	Translation	Contextual Usage/ Effect
Urdu	Dada	“Apnay baap dada ko galiya baktay tou sharam nai ai” (Duraïd, 2018, ep. 4)	Aren’t you ashamed of using abusive language for your forefathers?	A general term of referring to a paternal grand parent compounded with <i>baap</i> for general reference to ancestors
		“Yah tumharay Dada ka tofah hai jo aj tak bhugat rai hai” (Duraïd, 2018, ep. 13)	He is a gift from your paternal grandfather that we are still suffering from	Specific reference to the paternal-grandfather (deceased, in the data); expresses annoyance
	Nana	“Nana bhi is ka aisa hi tha” (Duraïd, 2018, ep. 4)	His maternal grandfather was also like him (in habits and demeanor)	A general term of reference for a maternal male-grandparent
English	Grandfather	“No one was allowed to talk about grandfather in this house” (Anderson, 2017, 08:45)		Clear general term referring to the paternal male-grandparent of Ego
	Papa	“Papa was a musician” (Anderson, 2017; 01:23)		Generally used for father, but refers to the paternal grandfather in the data
	Grandfather	“We don’t have to let grandfather go alone.” (Landon & Friendly, 1974, ep. 25)		Referring to the maternal grandfather of Ego

For referring to male grandparent of Ego, English was found to be following Eskimo-Dravidian pattern as it is lineal- classificatory while Urdu follows Sundanese pattern of kinship.

Table 4: Paternal and maternal Female Grand parent

Language	Kinship Term	Instance	Translation	Contextual Use/Effect
Urdu	Dadi	“ <i>Dadi ya mujh par jhoota ilzam laga rahi hai</i> ” (Duraïd, 2018, ep. 4)	<i>Oh Dadi, she is accusing me...</i>	General term of referring to paternal grandmother .
	Dadi Malkin	“ <i>Dadi Malkin sai kaho, phir mera kam hojaiga?</i> ” (Duraïd, 2018, ep. 2)	<i>Ask Dadi Malkin if my task would get done</i>	A copulative compound referring to the paternal grandmother where the first co-head, <i>Dadi</i> , refers to the genealogical relation and the second, <i>Malkin</i> , refers to her status of being the eldest and owner at home, expressing regard.
	Nani	“ <i>Tumhari Nani marhom ko Allah bakhshay!</i> ” [Duraïd, 2018, ep. 19]	<i>May Allah forgive your late maternal grandmother!</i>	A general term of reference for maternal grandmother
English	Grandmother	“ <i>A long time ago, when all the grandmothers and grandfathers of today were little boys and little girls... Pa and Ma...</i> ” (Landon & Friendly, 1974, ep. 1)		General term of reference for a Grandmother inclusive of the female grandparent on both sides
	Grandma	“ <i>Grandma Coco has trouble remembering things.</i> ” (Anderson, 2017, 03:20)		A general term of reference for Ego’s grandmother that refers to maternal grandmother in the context

English is found to be Eskimo-Dravidian while Urdu has descriptive kinship terminologies which makes it Sundanese.

Table 5: Grandchildren of an Ego

Language	Kinship Terms	Instance from text	Translation	Contextual Use/ Effect
Urdu	Poti	“ <i>Tehmina bhi Muzaffar Ali Khan ki Poti hai jis kai ap</i> (Subhan) <i>Nawasa ha</i> ” (Duraïd, 2018, last ep.)	<i>Tehmina is the granddaughter of Muzaffar Ali Khan whose grandson you are.</i>	refers to a granddaughter through a son
	Nawasa			refers to a grandson through a daughter

	Beti	<i>"Chammi Beti, ja thora pani la"</i> (Duraïd, 2018, ep. 14)	<i>Granddaughter, Chammi! Fetch me some water.</i>	Although a term of reference to a daughter, refers to granddaughter in the data
English		<i>"...and her grandson and granddaughter got roped in"</i> (Anderson, 2017, 02:37)		general terms of reference for male and female grandchildren respectively; indirect use
	Grandson; Granddaughter			
		<i>"You leave my grandson alone!"</i> (Anderson, 2017, 07:57)		Indirect use of a general term of reference for a male grandchild with passion and emotion
	Grandson			

Kinship terminology for grandchildren makes it Eskimo-Dravidian while Urdu terminology makes it Sundanese.

Table 6: Male sibling of an Ego

Language	Kinship Terms	Instances	Translation	Contextual Use/ Effect
Urdu	Baray bhai	<i>"Baray Bhai Congress kai jalsay mai ja rahay hai"</i> (Elder Brother is going for the Congress's fête) (Duraïd, 2018, ep. 1)	<i>Baray Bhai (Big Brother) is going to the procession organized by Congress.</i>	refers to the elder brother; shows respect
	Bhaiya	<i>"Kia ap nai Bhaiya ko aisay daikha"</i> (Duraïd, 2018, ep. 2) <i>"Jamil Bhaiya apko pasand kartay hai"</i> (Duraïd, 2018, ep. 12)	<i>Have you ever seen your brother like this?</i> <i>Brother Jamil likes you.</i>	Used for both elder and younger brother and/or cousin; shows respect and formality
English	Brother	<i>"My brother went out with the rest of the settlers."</i> (Landon & Friendly, 1974, ep. 8)		Refers to Ego's brother regardless of their age/ rank

Table 7: Female sibling of an Ego

Language	Kinship Terms	Instance	Translation	Contextual Use/ Effect
	Behn	<i>"apni behn ka badla dosray ki behn sai na lai."</i> (Duraïd, 2018, ep. 2)	<i>Do not take revenge of your sister from someone-else's sister)</i>	referring indirectly to the hearers' female sibling mainly to show connection.
Urdu	Apa	<i>"Apa mujhy school ni jana"</i> (Duraïd, 2018, ep. 7)	<i>Elder sister I don't want to go school</i>	Apa is used directly, addressing specifically the elder sister of Ego to show respect and connection

English	Sissa	<i>"Sissa, He is Miguel!"</i> (Anderson, 2017, 23:27)	Sissa is used for addressing sister, which shows closeness between siblings and endearment.
	Sister	<i>"Don't lose your hope, Sister."</i> (Anderson, 2017, 13:20)	used for addressing sister directly by showing connection and support.

Thus, both English and Urdu are descriptive when referring to siblings, male/female, following Sundanese kinship system.

Table 8: Male Uncle of Ego

Language	Kinship Terms	Instance	Translation	Contextual Use/ Effect
Urdu	Chacha Jan	<i>"Salam, Chacha Jan"</i> (Duraïd, 2018, ep. 7)	<i>Hello, younger paternal uncle!</i>	copulative compound where the first constituent refers to the relationship (younger uncle of Ego's father while the second is an endearment and shows close connection, respect and familiarity
	Taya Jan	<i>"Taya Jan, Aba kab ai gai?"</i> (Duraïd, 2018, ep. 6)	<i>Elder paternal uncle, when will my father arrive?</i>	a copulative compound where the first constituent refers to the elder brother of Ego's father while <i>Jan</i> expresses familiarity, closeness and reverence- a combination of love and regard.
English	Mamo Jan	<i>"Mamo Jan, ap khudi khabar bata dain"</i> (Duraïd, 2018, ep. 6)	<i>Maternal uncle, just share the news yourself.</i>	a copulative compound where the first constituent refers to maternal uncle while the second is an endearment; expresses endearing respect
	Uncle	<i>"The uncles helped him hitch the horses to the wagon"</i> (Landon & Friendly, 1974, ep. 7)		a term that refers generally to <i>mother's brother/s</i>
	Uncle	<i>"I will remember this, Uncle."</i> (Anderson, 2017, 08:47)		refers to paternal brother of ego's father; expresses respect, familiarity and formality; does not specify paternal or maternal relation

For the kinship term for Ego's uncles, English is found to be classificatory- Dravidian while Urdu having distinctive terms for each male relative follows Sundanese kinship system.

Table 9: Female relative of Ego

Language	Kinship Terms	Instance	Translation	Contextual Use/ Effect
Urdu	Tai	<i>“aik number ka jhoota hai yah (Shakeel), Tai”</i> (Duraid, 2018, ep. 4)	<i>He is such a liar, paternal Aunt.</i>	Refers to the wife of elder paternal uncle
	Mami	<i>“Tumhari walaiti Mami ka kamal hai”</i> (Duraid, 2018, ep. 12)	<i>This is your maternal aunt’s wonder</i>	referring to maternal aunt;
	Mumani	<i>“Adab Mumani”</i> (Duraid, 2018, ep. 6)	<i>Greetings, Maternal aunt!</i>	refers to the wife of Ego’s maternal uncle; expresses connection and formality with respect
	Phupho	<i>“Ap mujhy sabaq sikhai gina? Najma Phupho”</i> (Duraid, 2018, ep. 15)	<i>Paternal Aunt Najma, are you going to teach me to learn lessons?</i>	refers to paternal aunt; show connection and respect; direct address
	Moasi	<i>“kia hua Moasi?”</i> (Duraid, 2018, ep. 6)	<i>What happened, Maternal Aunt?</i>	refers to maternal aunt; expresses connection and affection; direct address
English	Aunt	<i>“The aunts hugged and kissed them and saying goodbye...”</i> (Landon & Friendly, 1974, ep. 18)		refers to parents’ sister generally; expresses familiarity and closeness; does not specify paternal / maternal aspect

Aunt being, generally used in English for every female relative from both the sides, makes English Eskimo- Dravidian while Urdu is Sundanese with distinctive terminology for each female relative of parent/s.

Table 10: Child relative of Ego

Language	Kinship Terms	Instance	Translation	Contextual use/ Effect
Urdu	Bhaiyah			refers generally to big brother, but here, points out the child of the elder brother of Ego’s father; expresses affinity
	Taya-zaad bhai	<i>“Jamil Bhaiyah meray Taya zaad bhai hani”</i> (Duraid, 2018, ep. 2)	<i>Jamil brother is my patrilineal cousin</i>	refers to the child of the elder brother of Ego’s father
	Bajiya	<i>“Bajiya ap bhaithay; mai abhi ai”</i> (Duraid, 2018, ep. 11)	<i>Sister, have a seat; I will join you in a minute.</i>	refers to an elder sister generally; here, it refers to the relation with an elder female cousin as well as functions as a term of address for her
	Cousin	<i>“The cousins stood around and looked at them.”</i> (Landon & Friendly, 1974, ep. 18)		refers to child/ren of uncle/ aunts; general term; does not specify if the child is of Ego’s aunt’s

With reference to kinship terminology for Ego's child relative, English was found to be Dravidian while Urdu was found to be Sundanese.

Affinal Relatives

Table 11: Male spouse of Ego

Language	Kinship Terms	Instance	Translation	Contextual Use/ Effect
Urdu	Mian	"Mian ka khiyal rakh nai sakti" (Duraïd, 2018, ep. 2)	She cannot take care of her husband.	refers to Ego's husband
		"Jameel Mian khana khao gai"		Not a kinship term, but an honorific
	Mian Jee	"Kiyun Mian Jee? mai theak kah rai ho na" (Duraïd, 2018, ep. 1)	Am I right, dear husband?	refers to husband; addition of <i>jee</i> forms a copulative compound, and adds love and respect-based formality; direct address
	Shohar	"Jab Shohar bahir janay lagai tou behas na kia karo" (Duraïd, 2018, ep. 1)	Do not argue with husband when he is going outside of home.	refers to husband; indirect reference
English		"She and her husband, made their own covered-wagon trip." (Landon & Friendly, 1974, ep. 22)		refers to Ego's husband (male spouse); makes both direct and indirect references
	Husband	"You poisoned my husband." (Anderson, 2017, 56:45)		

English follows the Eskimo pattern of kinship while Urdu follows Sundanese pattern for referring to male spouse.

Table 12: Female spouse of Ego

Language	Kinship Terms	Instance	Translation	Contextual Use/ Effects
Urdu	Biwi	"Kaisi biwi ho tum?" (Duraïd, 2018, ep. 2)	What kind of wife are you?	refers to the relationship of wife directly
		"Meray Bhai ki biwi angrez hai" (Duraïd, 2018, ep. 6)	My brother's wife is English.	refers to Ego's spouse, the husband
	Begum	"Iski Begum ka bhai London sai laya hai" (Duraïd, 2018, ep. 1)	His wife's brother brought this from London.	refers to wife
		"Salma Begum gao chor gai hai" (Duraïd, 2018, ep. 1)	Salma has left the village	Does not refer to wife, therefore, is not a kinship term here, but only an

English	Wife	<i>"A man and his wife were building a house." (Landon & Friendly, 1974, ep. 28)</i>	honorific showing respect and status
			refers to the female spouse

English is found to be following Eskimo pattern while Urdu follows Sundanese pattern for referring to a female spouse.

Table 13: Male parent of a Spouse

Language	Kinship Terms	Instance	Translation	Contextual Use/ Effect
Urdu	Susar	<i>"Lekin saas susar nai buht roka hai"</i> (Duraid, 2018, ep. 23)	<i>But my father-in-law and mother-in-law have tried much to stop me.</i>	refers to father- in-law indirectly
English	Father-in-law	<i>"Her father-in-law and mother-in-law were into shoe making so did she". (Anderson, 2017, 02:58)</i>		

English is Eskimo while Urdu is Sundanese while referring to spouse's male parent.

Table 14: Female parent of a Spouse

Language	Kinship Term	Instance	Translation	Contextual Use/ Effect
Urdu	Saas	<i>"Bari mushkil sai apni Saas sai ijazat lai kar ai ho"</i> (Duraid, 2018, ep. 20)	<i>Got permission from my mother-in-law after a great difficulty</i>	refers to the mother-in-law indirectly
	Ama Jan	<i>"Maaf kijiye Ama Jan"</i> (Duraid, 2018, ep. 1)	<i>Pardon me, Mother-in-law</i>	refers to mother-in-law in a more loving and connected way as compared to <i>saas</i>
English	Mother-in-law	<i>"Her father-in-law and mother-in-law were into sho-e making so did she." (Anderson, 2017, 2:58)</i>		refers to mother-in-law indirectly

English and Urdu are found to be following Eskimo and Sundanese pattern respectively.

Table 15: Sister/Brother of a spouse and wife of Ego's brother/ husband of Ego's sister

Language	Kinship Terms	Instance	Translation	Cultural Use/ Effect
Urdu	Bhabhi	" <i>Bhabhi! ap kai pas mehndi hai</i> " (Duraïd, 2018, ep. 1)	<i>Sister-in-law! Do you have henna?</i>	refers to the wife of Ego's brother; expresses addressing the individual by the relation
	Nand	" <i>Salma Nand hai hamari</i> " (Duraïd, 2018, ep. 3)	<i>Salma is our Sister-in-law</i>	refers to the husband's sister
	Dewarani	" <i>Miany kabhi tujhy dewarani nahi samjha</i> " (Duraïd, 2018, ep 23)	<i>I never considered you as my Sister-in-law.</i>	refers to wife of husband's younger brother
	Behnoi	" <i>Allah hamaray behnoi ki magfirat karay</i> " (Duraïd, 2018, ep. 20)	<i>May Allah forgive our Brother-in-law</i>	refers to sister's husband
	Dewar	" <i>Ap logo kai nai dewar ai hai</i> " (Duraïd, 2018, ep. 3)	<i>Your new brother-in-law has arrived</i>	refers to the younger brother of husband
English	Sister-in-law	" <i>She is our sister-in-law and we should respect this.</i> " (Anderson, 2017, 28:44)		refers to the sister through marriage; expresses formality and connection

English follows Eskimo-Dravidian kinship system while Urdu is Sundanese.

Table 16: Children of Ego's sibling/s

Language	Kinship Terms	Instance	Translation	Contextual Use/ Effect
Urdu	Bhanjay	" <i>Bhanjay ka ghar abad kar raha hai</i> " (Duraïd, 2018, ep. 4)	<i>He is settling his nephew.</i>	refers to the son of Ego's sister; here, indirect reference
	Bhatiji	" <i>bhatiji hai yah meri</i> " (Duraïd, 2018, ep. 5)	<i>She is my niece.</i>	refers to the daughter of Ego's brother; asserting the relationship while standing up for her
English	Niece	" <i>His brother died and left his niece devastated</i> ". (Landon & Friendly, 1974, ep. 16)		refers indirectly to the daughter of Ego's brother

English is Eskimo-Dravidian while Urdu is Sundanese when referring to child/ren of Ego's sibling/s.

Table 17: Wife/Husband of Ego's child

Language	Kinship Term	Instance	Translation	Contextual Use/ Effect
Urdu	Bahu	<i>"Bahu ko yah baat na hi pata clay tou acha hai"</i> (Duraïd, 2018, ep. 1)	<i>It would be better if daughter-in-law does not know about it</i>	general kinship term of Indirect reference
		<i>"Waqt hi waqt hai, Bahu"</i> (Duraïd, 2018, ep. 9)	<i>I have a lot of time, daughter-in-law</i>	direct reference to the kinship used as a term for addressing
	Damad	<i>"Damad ai hai hamaray"</i> (Duraïd, 2018, ep. 7)	<i>Our Son-in-law has arrived.</i>	refers to the relation; is direct; expresses respect and formality
English	Son-in-law	<i>"She taught her son-in-law how to make shoes".</i> (Anderson., 2017, 02:34)		

English follows Eskimo while Urdu follows Sundanese pattern of kinship system for terminologies used for wife/husband of Ego's child.

English, for both the consanguineal and affinal relatives, was found to refer to kins in terms of classes making it generic while Urdu is found to be more detailed and refers to each relationship separately rendering it specificity. This could primarily be because of the lifestyle-differences of the two speech communities: English speakers live in nuclear family system, while Urdu speakers, generally, live in joint family system. Secondly, speakers of English focus on individual while those of Urdu focus on communal life. Consequently, there is the difference of reference to classes or relations. Moreover, Urdu classifies relationships further on the basis of gender (*chaacha*, *chaachi*), age (*taya*, *chacha*; *taayi*, *chaachi*), rank (*baji*, *bajiya*), and generation (*aba*, *baray aba*; *daadi jaan*).

Conclusion

Kinship terminologies are used in a speech community to describe the genealogical relationships between and among its members on the basis of birth and marriage. It was found that these manifest in a similar way in both English and Urdu languages with respect to reference and the use of tokens, but the difference lies in the form: English, being classificatory, is Dravidian while Urdu, being descriptive, is Sundanese with respect to Morgan's (1871) system of kinship terminologies.

The differences in the kinship patterns of the two languages also reflect their cultures: nuclear/joint family unit; individual/ community-based approach to living. The latter results in Urdu terms identifying and specifying relations based on age, rank, gender, and generation while the former identifies classes of relations instead of individual relations.

This work can be extended to more media texts like TV dramas, series and movies. It can also be extended to studying kinship terms in other regional languages as well as other world languages and their dialects.

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