4.1 A note on kinship terminology in Telugu

In the previous chapter, we have examined the significance of the relationship between different kinship terms and each one of the sociological factors such as class, caste, education and age, by using the technique called chi-square analysis. The aim of this chapter is to describe in detail, the variation found in the use of kinship terms for addressing different categories of kin. Before we go on to discuss the nature of variation in the use of kinship terms of address in this region, a note on Telugu kinship terminology would be in order.

Kinship terminology in Telugu is classificatory. All kinship relations are classified into large groups, the members of which stand in a similar relationship to the ego. The use of these terms also determines the ego's pattern of behavior towards these relatives. For example, the relations 'father', 'father's elder brother' and 'father's younger brother' stand in the classificatory relationship of a father to the ego, and the kinship terms clearly reflect this fact.

Let us look at these terms of address:

1. Father - /naayana/
2. Father's elder brother - /peddanaayana/
3. Father's younger brother - /cinnaayana/

All the above terms have the word /naayana/ which means 'father' in common. The terms 2 and 3 are prefixed by the adjectives
/pedda/ meaning 'big' and /cinna/ meaning 'small' respectively, thus revealing the differences in age. The relations ‘mother’s elder sister’s husband’ and ‘mother’s younger sister’s husband’ are addressed by the same terms used for addressing the relations ‘father’s elder brother’ and ‘father’s younger brother’ respectively, because they all stand in the same relationship to the ego. The spouses of these relations, stand in the relationship of a mother to the ego, and their children are considered to be his brothers and sisters. The children of maternal uncles and aunts and paternal uncles and aunts, who are cross-cousins, are considered to be the potential mates of the ego. One should note here, that there is no distinction between the terms used for blood relatives (consanguineal) and the terms used for affinal relatives (those who are related by marriage). In the above example, the relation ‘father’s elder brother’ is a blood relation and ‘mother’s elder sister’s husband’ is an affinal relation.

Kinship terms in Telugu reveal the relative age of the person being addressed. Thus there are separate terms of address for elder brother and younger brother, elder sister and younger sister, elder brother-in-law and younger brother-in-law, and elder sister-in-law and younger sister-in-law. There are also separate terms of address for father’s elder and younger brothers and mother’s elder and younger sisters.

Telugu kinship terminology does not reflect a clear-cut distinction between one’s family of birth and one’s family of marriage. For example, the relations elder sister /akka/ and
'fathers sister' /atta/, who are members of the man's family of birth can become the members of his family of marriage as well. This is because, in Andhra, a man can marry his elder sister's daughter, or his father's sisters daughter. Hence, they may become his mothers-in-law. Similarly, the relation 'mother's brother' /maama/ can become the ego's father-in-law, because the ego may marry the offspring of the mother's brother. The terms of address used for mother-in-law and father-in-law are /atta/ and /maama/, irrespective of whether these relations are related by blood or marriage. A male speaker who is married to his sister's daughter would address his parents-in-law by the terms /akka/ (elder sister) and /baava/ or /maama/ (brother-in-law). A female speaker who is married to her maternal uncle, would address her parents-in-law by the terms /avva/ (grandmother) and /taata/ (grandfather). The term /maama/ is used to address one's brother-in-law because the younger brother of the ego's mother may be the brother-in-law as well.

Marriage is central to Telugu kinship terminology. All kinship terms may be dichotomized into terms for blood relatives, and terms for blood relatives who may be affinal relatives as well. The cross-cousins of the ego are also the potential mates of the ego. They are the ego's blood relatives, who may become the affinal relatives as well. A man can marry either one of these relations:

1. Elder sister's daughter
2. Father's sister's daughter
3. Mother's brother's daughter

This practice of marrying cross-cousins is called /meenarikam/
conversely, a girl can marry either one of these relations:

1. Mother's younger brother
2. Father's sister's son
3. Mother's brother's son

Therefore, the terms of address used for maternal or paternal uncles are the same as the terms of address for 'father-in-law', because the former are potential fathers-in-law. The terms of address used for a child's father-in-law and mother-in-law are /anna/, meaning 'brother' and /vadina/ meaning sister-in-law, for a female speaker and /baava/ or /maama/ meaning 'brother-in-law' and /akka/ meaning 'sister' respectively, for a male speaker. This is because of the patterns of marriage prevalent in this part of the country, where a man can seek alliance for his children from the offspring of his sister, and a woman, from the offspring of her brother. Thus, we can see the importance of marriage or alliance to the kinship terminology in Telugu.

The usage of kinship terms may be widely extended instead of being restricted to the immediate family group, and these relationships of kinship and affinity are transmitted to other generations. For example, anyone who stands in the relationship of a parent to the ego's spouse, would be in the relationship of a parent-in-law to the ego, and hence may be addressed by the relevant kinship term. The children of the ego may address these relations by the terms of address used for grandparents.

The presence of different forms of address for kinship relations in Telugu, implies different degrees of politeness. One can use terms of endearment like /ayya/ to address male members.
and /amma/ for female members, along with the kinship terms. For example, the relation sister-in-law may be addressed by the term /vadina/ or /vadinamma/ ( /vadina/+/amma/ ). The relations /akka/ 'sister' and /anna/ 'brother' may also be addressed as /akkayya/ and /annayya/, where the suffix /ayya/ is common to both these terms. A very polite form of address would be, the use of the kinship term with the honorific suffix /gaaru/. This suffix is normally used when addressing people who are superior in terms of age or social status. For example /maama gaaru/ means 'father-in-law'. However, the form of address used, may also vary with the context. In a very formal situation, the honorific suffix may be used, and in a less formal situation it may not be used. The honorific suffix is usually used when referring to particular kin, although they may not always be addressed in this manner. Often, there is an avoidance in the use of kinship terms, in order to denote distance between the addressor and the addressee. For example a son-in-law may avoid addressing his mother-in-law or vice-versa.

The use of kinship terms may be extended metaphorically to address people who are not related to the ego in any manner. This serves to establish a kind of bond between the speaker and the person being addressed. The terms /akka/ 'sister' and /anna/ 'brother' may be used as polite forms of address for females and males older than the addressor. If the addressee is much older than the ego, the term /amma/ and /ayya/ may be used, for females and males respectively. Females who are considerably younger than the ego may be addressed by the terms /ammaai/ and /paapa/ which are generic terms for girls or the terms /amma/ and /talli/.
Males who are a lot younger than the ego may be addressed by the term /abbaai/ (which is a generic term for a boy) or the terms /baabu/, /naayana/ and /ayya/. The terms /avva/ and /taata/ are polite forms of address used for old women and men respectively.

4.2 Description of terms of address from the data

This part of the chapter consists of a description of the terms of address used in the region under study.

4.2.1

Two terms of address have been reported to be used for the relation 'mother'— a) /amma/ b) /mammi/. The data shows that there is almost no variation in the use of address forms for the above term. There was only one informant in the entire sample group who used the term 'mummy'.

4.2.2

There is considerable variation in the use of address terms for the relation 'father'— a) /naayana/, b) /naanna/, c) /baabu/, d) /ayya/, e) /naannagaaru/, f) /appa/, g) /anna/, h) /D Di/. The term /naayana/ is used by ninety-two percent of the speakers belonging to the lower class (L.C), and by a much smaller percentage in the other classes. It is used by people of all castes although in differing proportions. The highest percentage of speakers using this term belong to the caste group 10 (C 10). The correlation between class and caste becomes evident here. That is, most of the members of C10 happen to belong to the L.C. The percentage of speakers using this term is relatively higher in C 6, 7, 9 and 10 when compared to the other caste groups. Most of the users of this term belong to the
illiterate category. The usage seems to decrease as the level of education increases, and increase from the youngest age group (A) to the oldest (C). From this single instance of usage of address terms, one can infer that there is a higher percentage of illiterate people in L.C.

The term /naanna/ is widely used by the mass media. In the data this term is used more often by the lower middle (L.M) and the upper classes (U.M, U.C) and by a very small percentage of speakers in L.C. It is used by members of the caste groups 1,2,3,4,5 and 8, more frequently than the rest. This term is used mostly by literate speakers (S,E) and the usage decreases from the youngest age group to the oldest, being used more often by the younger generation (age group A).

The term /baabu/ has been used mostly by speakers of L.M, U.M and U.C and very rarely by members of L.C, and also more often by the caste groups 3 and 5 than the other groups. The usage is more common among educated speakers (S,E) than the illiterate. There is a higher proportion in the age group A, followed by B using this term.

The term /ayya/ means 'sir' or 'master' but it is also used as a vocative to address males. It has been used mostly by speakers of the L.C, belonging to various castes, educational categories and age groups.

The term /naannagaaru/ consists of the term /naanna/ followed by the honorific suffix /gaaru/. It is used by educated speakers and mostly by those belonging to the caste groups 1 and 2. The term /appa/ has been used by Tamil speakers who have settled down in this region. They speak Telugu in the house but
have retained some of the Tamil kinship terms in their speech.

The terms /anna/ and the English term 'daddy' have been used by one speaker each.

4.2.3

Six forms of address have been used for the relation 'mother's mother' -- a) /ammamma/ b) /avva/ c) /baammagaaru/ d) /paaTi/ e) /jeeji/, f) /maamma/.

The terms a) and b) which have a significant distribution have been considered for analysis. The other terms of address have less than one percent frequency of occurrence in the data.

The term /ammamma/ is widely used in this region. It is used more frequently by speakers of the U.M and U.C than the other classes, and also by C 1, 2, 3 and 4 followed by C 5, 6 and 8. The lowest percentage of speakers using this term is found in C 9 and 10. The usage is seen to increase with the level of education of the speaker and does not vary with the factor age.

The term /avva/ is used more often by L.C, followed by L.M, when compared to the upper classes. This term is used the most by caste groups 7, 9, and 10 and the least by C 1, 3 and 4. Also, the usage of this term varies with the level of education of the speaker, with the highest percentage belonging to the illiterate category and the lowest to the educated category. Age does not seem to be relevant to the usage of this term.

The terms /baammagaaru/ and /maamma/ are used by speakers who are not originally from Nellore. These terms are used in other Telugu speaking regions of Andhra Pradesh.

The Tamil term /paaTi/ has been used by Tamil speakers who
have settled down in this region.

The term /jeeji/ has been used by only one speaker.

4.2.4

Three forms of address have been found to be used for the relation 'mother's father'. They are, a) /taata/ b) /taatayya/ c) /taatagaaru/ in this order of precedence.

The term /taata/ is used more often by the lower classes (L.C, L.M) when compared to the other classes and also more frequently by C 6,7,8,9 and 10. The percentage of speakers using this term is highest in the illiterate group and lowest in the educated group. There is an increase in the use of this term from the youngest to the oldest age group. That is, this term is used more often by the older generation.

The term /taatayya/ consists of the term /taata/ followed by the suffix /ayya/. It is a more polite term than the former /taata/. This term seems to be more commonly used by the upper classes (U.M, U.C) than by the lower classes. It is used by a larger number of speakers belonging to the caste groups 1,2,3 and 4 than the other castes. There is an increase in the use of this term from the lowest to the highest educational category and a decrease from the youngest to the oldest age group.

The term /taatagaaru/ which consists of the honorific suffix /gaaru/ is used by only about one percent of the speakers, who happen to be educated and belong to C 1. This usage is less common probably because of the intimacy of the speakers with their grand parents. However this term is used frequently while referring to this relation.
4.2.5

The relation 'mother’s elder sister' has been addressed in six different ways. They are a) /peddamma/ b) /aamma/ c) /peddi/ d) /amma/ e) /doDDamma/ f) /kaaki/.

The term /peddamma/ is used by most of the speakers in the sample group irrespective of their class, caste, education and age.

The term /aamma/ is used only by speakers of C 1, 3, 4 and 5 and is absent in the other castes. The speakers using this term happen to belong to the literate categories (S, E). Class and age do not appear to be relevant to the usage of this term.

The term /peddi/ has been used by very few speakers, because this term is not commonly used in this region. This term is usually used in the Telangana region.

The term /amma/ means mother, but it may be used to address people who stand in the relationship of ‘mother’ to the addressor. It is also a polite form of address for a woman or a girl.

The term /doDDamma/ has been used by only one speaker. This term is used in the Telangana region.

The term /kaaki/ is a Marathi term and has been used by a single speaker in this region.

4.2.6

The relation 'mother’s elder sister’s husband' has been addressed in six ways -- a) /peddanaayana/ b) /peddanaanna/ c) /peddabaabu/ d) /aayya/ e) /naanna/ f) /kaakaa/.

The term /peddanaayana/ is the most frequently used term of address. It consists of the prefix /pedda/ meaning ‘older’ and
/naayana/ which is the term for 'father'. The terms /peddanaanna/ and /peddabaabu/ also contain the prefix /pedda/.

The term /peddanaayana/ is used more often by the members of the lower class, when compared to the other classes. It is used more frequently by members of C 7, 9 and 10 when compared to the rest of the speakers. The percentage of speakers using this term is highest in the illiterate category and lowest in the educated category and higher in the older age groups (B, C).

The term /peddanaanna/ is used mostly by the classes other than L.C, and more often by C 1, 2, 3, 4 and 8 when compared to the other caste groups. The percentage of speakers using this term increases from the illiterate to the educated category and decreases from the youngest age group to the oldest.

The term /peddabaabu/ is used by only about two percent of the speakers in the sample group.

The term /aayya/ which has also been used to address one's father is used by only two speakers in the sample group.

The term /naanna/ which means 'father' and the Marathi term /kaakaa/ are used by a single speaker each.

Seven forms of address have been used for the relation 'mother's younger sister' — a) /cinnamma/ b) /pinnamma/ c) /pinni/ d) /aanTi/ e) /akka/ f) /amma/ g) /kaaki/.

The term /cinnamma/ is used by a higher proportion of speakers belonging to the lower classes and also the caste groups 5, 6, 7, 9 and 10, when compared to the others. The percentage of speakers using this term decreases from the illiterate category
to the educated and increases from the youngest age group to the oldest.

The term /pinnamma/ is used less often by the L.C, than the other classes. This term is used mostly by members of C 1 and 3 and also by the age group A. The usage of this term does not seem to vary with the education of the speaker.

The term /pinni/ is generally used by the mass media. The data shows that it is used by only about one percent of the speakers belonging to the L.C, and the highest percentage is found in the upper classes. It is used predominantly by C 1,2,3 and 4 and is not used at all by C 7,8,9 and 10. The percentage of users of this term is lowest in the illiterate group and highest in the educated group, and is higher in the age groups A and B, than the age group C.

The term /aanTi/ is used by speakers of the caste group 8 (Christians) irrespective of their class. It is used by educated speakers and mostly by the younger generation.

The term /akka/ means 'elder sister' and is used by less than two percent of the speakers in the sample group.

The term /amma/ is used to address one’s mother. However, the usage of this term indicates that there is a close relationship between the addressor and this relation.

The term /kaaki/ is from Marathi and is used by the same speaker who has consistently used this term.

4.2.8

The relation 'mother's younger sister's husband' has been addressed in seven different ways--a)/cinnaayana/  b)/cinnaana/
The terms a) and b) are the most frequently used terms of address in this region. These terms consist of the prefix /cinna/ meaning 'small' followed by the term for 'father'. The term /cinnaayana/ is used by almost all the speakers belonging to L.C, and by a smaller number of people belonging to the other classes. The caste groups 7, 9 and 10 have the highest proportion of speakers using this term. There is a decrease in the percentage of users of this term from the lowest to the highest educational category and an increase in the percentage of users from the youngest to the oldest age group.

The term /cinnaana/ has not been used by even a single speaker from L.C, but is used with almost equal frequency by the other classes, irrespective of the factor caste. It is used more often by the educated speakers, and the usage is very low in the illiterate category. This term is used mostly by the younger generation.

The term /baabaai/ is used mostly by the upper classes (U.M, U.C) and more often by C 1, 2, 3 and 4. It is not used at all by the caste groups 7, 9 and 10. There is an increase in the percentage of users from the illiterate to the educated category. This term is used mostly by the age groups A and B.

The term /cinnabaabu/ is used by only two percent of the speakers in the sample group.

The English term 'uncle' is used by speakers of C 8 (Christians), most of whom are educated, irrespective of their class. It is used by the younger age groups (A and B).

The term /anna/ means brother. It is probably used because
there is not much difference in age between the addressor and the addressee.

The term /kaakaa/ is used by only one speaker.

4.2.9

The relation 'mother's younger brother' has been addressed in four different ways -- a) /maama/ b) /maavayya/ c) /baava/ and d) /maavagaaru/.

The term /maama/ is used by most of the speakers in the sample group irrespective of their class, caste and education. This term is used more frequently by the age groups B and C when compared to A.

The term /maavayya/ consists of the term /maama/ followed by the suffix /ayya/. The data shows that this form of address is not very widely used in this region. This term is used more frequently by the upper classes (U.M, U.C) and C 1, 2, 3, 4 and 8 than the other speakers. The usage of this term increases from the lowest to the highest educational category and decreases from the youngest age group to the oldest.

The term /baava/ is used mostly by L.C and by C 5, 6, 7, 9 and 10. It is not used at all by the caste groups 1, 2, 3, 4 and 8. A relatively high percentage of speakers from the illiterate category use this term. It is used more often by the age group C and is not used by even a single speaker belonging to the age group A. The term /baava/ stands for the relation 'ego's sister's husband' or 'brother-in-law'. In Andhra, a girl can marry her mother's younger brother. Hence, he is addressed by this term. The fact that this term is used more often by the L.C, may imply
that uncle-niece marriages are more common among this group.

The respectful term /maavagaaru/ is used by less than one percent of the speakers in the sample group. This may be due to the fact that the difference in age between the addressor and the addressee is not very great, or that there is more intimacy between the two relations.

4.2.10

The relation 'mother's elder brother' is addressed by the same terms as those used for the relation 'mother's younger brother'.

4.2.11

The relation 'maternal uncle's wife' has been addressed in six different ways -- a) /atta/ b) /akka/ c) /attamma/ d) /attayya/ e) /amma/ and f) /aanTi/.

The terms /atta/, /attamma/ and /attayya/ have the word /atta/ in common, but are differentiated by the suffixes ' amma' and 'ayya'.

The term /atta/ is widely used by all sections of speakers in this region.

The term /akka/ actually means 'elder sister'. This term is used to address the above relation because, in Andhra, the ego's sister may be the maternal uncle's wife as well (ref. sec. 4.1). The term akka has been used mostly by the L.C and by C 5, 6, 7, 9 and 10, the highest usage being observed in C9. This term is used more often by the illiterate category and by the age group C.

The term /attamma/ is a more polite form of address than the term /atta/. It is used more often by the upper classes (U.M, U.C) and C 3 and 8 when compared to the other speakers. It
is used mostly by the literate speakers (S, E), irrespective of their age.

The term /attayya/ is used by speakers of all classes except the L.C. It is used more often by C 1,2,4, and 8. The usage is not observed in the caste groups 3,6,7,9 and 10. This term is used by literate speakers, mostly belonging to the younger generation (age group A). It is not commonly used in Nellore region but is found in use in the Krishna district.

The term /amma/ means 'mother' and is used when there is a high degree of intimacy between the addressor and the addressee.

The English term /aanTi/ has been used by a single speaker who happens to be a Christian.

4.2.12

Six forms of address have been used for the relation 'father's mother' -- a) /avva/ b) /naayanamma/ c) /naanamma/ d) /jeejamma/ or /jeeji/ e) /baamma/ f) /appamma/.

The term /avva/ is widely used in this region. The highest percentage of speakers using this term belong to the L.C and the caste groups 7, 9, and 10. This term is used mostly by the illiterate category, and the usage does not seem to vary with the age of the speaker. This term is also used as a vocative to address any old woman.

The term /naayanamma/ (meaning father's mother), consists of the term /naayana/ and suffix /amma/. It is used more often by the upper classes (U.M,U.C) and the caste groups 1,3, and 4. The usage is more common among educated speakers and the age groups B and C.
The term /naanamma/(/naana/+amma/) is a slight variation of the above term. It is used more frequently by the upper classes (U.M, U.C) and C 1,2,4 and 8. It has not been used by even a single speaker from L.C. It is used mostly by literate speakers (S,E), and the largest number of speakers using this term belong to the age group A.

The term /jeejamma/ is used only by members of C 3,5,6 and 7 irrespective of their class. It has not been used by speakers of the other castes. Most of the speakers using this term belong to the younger age groups (A,B).

The term /baamma/ is not commonly used in this region. Most of the speakers using this term have not been residing in this region for a long time. About three percent of the speakers in the sample group reported using this term. It has been used only by speakers of C 1,3,4 and 8 of all classes. It is not used by the illiterate speakers. It is used mostly by the age group A and is not used at all by the age group C.

The term /appamma/ is from Tamil. When translated into English it means, 'father's mother'. This has been used by a Tamil speaker settled in this region.

4.2.13

The relation 'father's father' has been addressed in four different ways. They are -- a) /taata/ b) /taatayya/ c) /jeejinaayana/or /jeejayya/ and d) /taata gaaru/ in this order of preference.

The term /taata/ is not only used to address one's grandfather, but is considered a polite form of address for an old man. This term is widely used by all speakers, in the sample
group, although the highest percentage of users belong to the lower classes (L.C, L.M). This term has been used by a relatively small number of speakers in C3, the reason being that they have used other terms of address. The usage of this term is highest in the illiterate category and lowest in the educated category. It is used more often by the age group C when compared to the other groups.

The term /taatayya/ consists of the word /taata/ followed by the suffix /ayya/. This term is considered to be more polite and endearing than the term /taata/. It is used more often by the upper classes (U.M, U.C) and C4, when compared to the other groups. It has been used more frequently by educated speakers as against the illiterates and the age groups A and B as against the age group C.

The term /jeejinaayana/ has been used mostly by the upper classes (U.M, U.C) and particularly by the caste group 3 (Komatis). It has been used by a few speakers belonging to C5 and is not used at all by the other speakers. The people using this term happen to be literate (S, E) and most of them belong to the age groups A and B.

The term /taata gaaru/ which is a very respectful form of address is used by less than one percent of the speakers in the sample group. This is probably because of the intimacy between the speakers and this particular kinship relation.

4.2.14.

Eight different forms of address have been found to be used for the relation 'father's elder brother'. They are --a)
We can see that the terms used for this relation are almost the same as those used to address one's 'mother's elder sister's husband' (ref. sec. 4.2.6). This is because these two categories of kin stand in the same classificatory relationship to the ego (addressor). Most of the above kinship terms have the prefix /pedda/ meaning 'elder' in common, and when literally translated into English, they mean 'big father'.

The term /peddanaayana/ is used by people of all castes and classes. However, the percentage of users decreases from the lowest economic class to the highest and also from the illiterate category to the educated category. This term is used more often by the age groups B and C.

The term /peddanaanna/ is used mostly by the classes other than the lower class. This term is not used frequently by the caste groups 7, 9 and 10. It is used more often by the literate speakers than the illiterates, and mostly by the younger generation (age group A).

The term /peddayya/ is used by very few speakers. It has been used by speakers of the older generation. The term /peddabaabu/ has been used by speakers who use the term /baabu/ to address their fathers.

The English term 'uncle' has been used only by Christians. The term /aayya/ is used only by members of C3 (Komatis). It has also been used to address the relation 'mother's elder sister's husband' (ref. sec. 4.2.6).

The term /peddappa/ is of Tamil origin. It consists of the
Telugu prefix /pedda/ (big) and the Tamil term for father /appa/.

This is an interesting evidence of code-mixing.

The term /kaakaa/ which is from Marathi, is used by a single speaker who has been consistently using it.

4.2.15

The relation 'father's younger brother' has nine variant terms of address. These terms are almost similar to the terms used for one's 'mother's younger sister's husband', because they stand in the same relationship to the ego (ref. sec. 4.2.8).

Four of the terms that are used have been considered for analysis because the rest account for less than four percent of the occurrence in the data. The terms are -- a) /cinnaayana/ b) /cinnaana/ c) /baabaai/ d) /cinnabaabu/ e) /ankl/ f) /anna/ g) /cinnayya/ h) /kaakaa/ i) /cinnappa/.

Most of these terms of address have the prefix /cinna/ meaning 'small' in common. The term literally means 'small father'.

The term /cinnaayana/ is used by almost all the speakers belonging to the lower class. There are relatively fewer speakers using this term in the other classes. It is used more often by C 6, 7, 9 and 10 when compared to the other caste groups. The percentage of users decreases from the illiterate category to the educated, and increases from the youngest age group to the oldest. This means that people of the older generation use this term more frequently then the others.

The term /cinnaana/ is used mostly by the classes other than the lower class. It is used by people of all castes, the highest
percentage of users belonging to C. Educated speakers use this
term more often when compared to the illiterates, and the
percentage of users decreases from the youngest age group to the
oldest.

The term /baabaai/ is not used at all by the L.C, and is
used mostly by the upper classes (U.M, U.C). It is used by a
large percent of speakers belonging to C2 and 4 and by fewer
speakers in the other caste groups. It is not used at all by C
7,9 and 10. Most of the speakers using this term are literate
and belong mostly to the age groups A and B. The term /baabaai/
is not widely used in Nellore, but is found to be used in the
Krishna district.

The term /cinnabaabu/ is used by a small number of speakers.
These speakers also happen to address their fathers by the term
/baabu/.

The term 'uncle' has been used only by Christians.

The term /anna/ means 'brother'. This term is probably used
because there is not much difference in age between the addressor
and addressee.

The term /cinnayya/ has been used by only two speakers.

The term /kaakaa/ is from Marathi and there is a single
speaker using this term.

The term /cinnappa/ consists of the Telugu prefix /cinna/
meaning 'small' and /apppa/ which is a Tamil word for 'father'.
This is again an evidence of code mixing. The actual term of
address for this relation in Tamil, is /cittappa/.

4.2.1

Five different forms of address have been used for the
relation 'father's elder sister'. They are, a) /atta/ b) /attamma/ c) /attayya/ d) /akka/ and e) /aanTi/.

The terms /attamma/ and /attayya/ have the word /atta/ in common, followed by the suffixes /amma/ and /ayya/ respectively. These suffixes make the kinship terms sound more polite and endearing.

The term /atta/ is widely used by all sections of speakers in this region. However, a higher proportion of speakers in the lower and lower middle classes use this term, than in the upper classes, irrespective of the factor caste. Since a large number of people in the lower castes belong to the lower class, the term 'lower class' becomes almost synonymous with lower caste. This term is used more often by the illiterates when compared to the literate speakers, and also by the age groups B and C.

The usage of the term /attamma/ is seen to increase from the lowest to the highest economic class and is used by speakers of all castes. It is used more often by the literate speakers and those belonging to the younger generation (age group A), than the other groups.

The term /attayya/ is not generally used in this region, but the usage is prevalent in the Krishna district. This term has been used only by speakers of C 1, 2 and 4 of all classes, and is not used at all by the other caste groups. The members of the caste groups 2 and 4 are not numerically dominant in this region. It is used mostly by educated speakers, and age does not seem to be relevant to the usage of this term.

The term /akka/ means elder sister. About one percent of
the speakers reported using this term. These speakers have probably heard their fathers use this term to address their elder sisters, and may have imitated them.

The English term /aanTi/ was used by only one speaker who happened to be a Christian.

4.2.17

The terms of address for the relation 'father's younger sister' are similar to those used to address the relation 'father's elder sister'. The pattern of usage of these terms is the same as that for the above relation.

4.2.18

Four different forms of address have been reported to be used for the relation 'paternal aunt's husband'. They are --

a) /maama/ b) /maavayya/ c) /baava/ d) /maava gaaru/.

The term /maama/ is widely used by all sections of speakers. Some of them use this term along with the suffix /ayya/ while some of them use this term along with the honorific suffix /gaaru/.

The highest percentage of people using the term /maama/ belong to the lower class, while the usage is seen to decrease with the increase in the income level. It is used by speakers of all castes, although it is used less frequently by C 1,2,3,4 and 8 when compared to the other caste groups. This term is used more often by illiterates when compared to the other speakers and also, more often by the age groups B and C.

The usage of the term /maavayya/ increases from the lowest to the highest economic class. This term is used more often by C 1,2,3,4 and 8, than by the other caste groups. It is used more
often by the literate speakers as against the illiterates, and also by the age groups A and B.

The term /baava/ is used by less than three percent of the speakers in the sample group. It has been used only by speakers belonging to C 5 and 6, irrespective of their class or age. Most of these speakers belong to the illiterate category.

The term /maava gaaru/ has been used by a single speaker, who is educated.

4.2.19

The relation 'father's elder brother's wife' has been addressed in six different ways -- a) /peddamma/ b) /aanTi/ c) /amma/ d) /aamma/ e) /peddi/ and f) /kaaki/.

These terms of address are almost similar to the terms used for the relation 'mother's elder sister' (ref. sec. 4.2.5). The term /peddamma/ is used by ninety six percent of the speakers in the sample group, the other terms being used by only four percent. This term is used by all sections of speakers, irrespective of their class, caste, education and age.

The term /aanTi/ has been used only by Christians.

The term /amma/ means mother. It may be used when there is a close relationship between the addressor and the above relation.

The term /aamma/ has been used by a couple of speakers belonging to C 3 (Komatis). This term has also been used by the same speakers to address the relation 'mother's elder sister'.

The term /peddi/ is used by a single speaker who originally belongs to the Telangana region.

The term /kaaki/ is from Marathi.
Six terms of address have been found to be used for the relation 'father's younger brother's wife'—a) /cinnamma/ b) /pinnamma/ c) /pinni/ d) /aanTi/ e) /amma/ f) /kaaki/.

These terms are almost the same as the terms of address used for the relation 'mother's younger sister' (ref. sec. 4.2.7) because these categories of kin, stand in the same relationship to the ego.

The percentage of speakers using the term /cinnamma/ is seen to decrease from the lowest to the highest economic class. It is used more often by C 5, 6, 7, 9 and 10 than the other caste groups. The percentage of usage of this term decreases from the illiterate to the educated category and increases from the youngest age group to the oldest.

The term /pinnamma/ is used more frequently by the upper classes (U.M, U.C) than the lower classes (L.C, L.M). This term is used mostly by C 1 and 3 and by a relatively small number of speakers in the other caste groups. The literate categories (S, E) use this term more often than the illiterate category and the usage does not vary with the age of the speaker.

The term /pinni/ is used by all classes except the lower class and the highest percentage of users belong to the uppermost economic class (U.C). It is not used at all by C 7, 8, 9 and 10 and is used mostly by the caste groups 1, 2, 3 and 4. Most of the speakers using this term belong to the educated category and to the age groups A and B. This term is not widely used in this region. It is used in the central coastal districts of Andhra.

The English term /aanTi/ has again been used by Christians
of all classes, all of whom are literate. These speakers happen to belong mostly to the age group A.

The term /amma/ means 'mother' and its usage implies a close relationship between the addressee and the above relation.

The term /kaaki/ has been used by the same speaker who has used it earlier.

4.2.21a

The relation 'wife' has been addressed in the following ways-- a) name b) /eeveei/ c) /meei/ d) no direct address e) /oseev/ f) /pilla/.

There is a significant association between the usage of these different terms of address, and the factors 'caste', 'class', 'education' and 'age'.

Addressing 'one's wife' by name is observed in all classes, although it is relatively less frequent in the lower class (L.C). People of C 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 8 use this form of address more often than those belonging to C 7, 9 and 10. The literates as opposed to the illiterates, and speakers of the age groups A and B are found to address their wives by name more often than the other speakers.

Nearly a fourth of the speakers in the sample group claimed to use the terms /eei/ or /eeveei/ to address their wives. The highest percentage of speakers using these terms of address, belong to the lower economic class, and the lowest number to the upper class. The percentage of usage is seen to decrease from the illiterate to the educated category. Speakers belonging to C 7, 9 and 10 and the age group C, use these terms of address more often.
than the others.

The term /meei/ is used only by the lower classes (L.C, L.M) and the caste groups 6,7,9 and 10 and also, the age groups B and C. No speaker belonging to the educated category or the age group A is found to use this term of address.

Avoidance of direct address is common among people of all classes, but is relatively higher in the upper class (U.C). Only speakers belonging to C 3,4,5 and 7 reported to use this form of address. Avoidance of terms to address this relation is not found in the age group A or the educated category.

The term /oseev/ is used only by members of C 1 (Brahmins), belonging to all classes. They happen to be literate and belong to the age groups B and C.

The term /pilla/ has been used by a single speaker belonging to L.C, and the caste group 10. This speaker also happens to be illiterate.

4.2.21b

There is significant variation in the use of terms of reference for the relation 'wife'. The different forms of reference are, a) name b) /maa aaDoolLu/ or /maa vaalLu/ c) /naa b(h)aarya/ d) /maa aaviDa/ e) /naa penDlam/ f)/aame/ g) /maa sriimati/.

Most of these terms of reference are used along with possessive pronouns, such as /naa/ (first person singular) or /maa/ (first person plural, or honorific singular).

The use of the name to refer to one's wife is more common in the upper classes and C 1,2,3,4,5 and 8 when compared to the other caste groups. It is found more often among the literate.
speakers when compared to the illiterates. Speakers of the younger generation are seen to refer to their wives by names more frequently than those of the older generation.

The term /maa aADooLLu/ literally means 'our women folk' and /maa vaaLLu/ means 'our folk'. These terms are used mostly by the lower class (L.C), and by very few speakers in the upper class. The highest percentage of speakers using these terms belong to the caste groups 6 and 7. The usage of these terms is seen to decrease considerably from the illiterate to the educated category. They are used more often by the age groups B and C.

The term /bhaarya/ is of Sanskrit origin. Quite a few speakers have pronounced this term without the aspiration, as /baarya/. It is used mostly by the lower middle and upper middle classes and by people of all castes. This term is used mostly by literate speakers as against the illiterates, and more frequently by those of the older generation, than the younger generation.

Speakers of the upper middle and upper classes are found to use the term /maa aaviDa/ to refer to their wives more often than the other speakers. The word /maa/ is a first person, possessive pronoun and the word /aaviDa/ is a polite form of the third person singular, feminine, subjective pronoun. The highest percentage of speakers using this term belong to C 1 followed by C 8. This term is used mostly by educated speakers, irrespective of their age. The term 'maa mrs' is also used to refer to the relation 'wife'.

The term /naa penDlam/ means 'my wife'. The word 'pendlam'
has often been pronounced as /peLLam/. This term of reference is used mostly by the L.C and is not used at all by the upper class. It is used mostly by people of C 7,9, and 10 and by speakers of the illiterate category. The usage of this term is seen to increase from the youngest age group to the oldest.

A few speakers from L.C have also used the term /aa pilla/ meaning 'that girl' to refer to their wives.

The term /aame/ is a third person singular, feminine subjective pronoun. It is less polite than the term /aaviDa/ in the politeness hierarchy (ref.sec.1.7.5). This term of reference is used by speakers of all classes, and all caste groups except C 2,8,9 and 10. It is used mostly by the illiterate and semi-literate speakers of all ages.

The term /maa sriimati/ is a very formal term of reference and has been reported to be used by a single speaker.

4.2.2a

The relation 'husband' has been addressed in six different ways. They are, a)/eevanDi/ b)/ayya/ c) name d) /baava/ e) no direct address f) /maama/ / maavaya/.

One can infer from the usage of these terms, that there is no reciprocal relationship between husband and wife. The man addresses his spouse by name more often than a woman addresses him by his name. It should be noted that several people in the age group A were not married. Therefore, they reported from observation, the terms that they thought would be used, to address the relations 'husband', and 'wife'.

The term /eevanDi/ is the most polite form of address (ref.sec.1.8). The usage of this term is relatively high in
C 1,2,3 and 4 when compared to the other caste groups and is not used at all by C 10. There is an increase in the usage of this term, from the lower class to the upper class and from the illiterate category to the educated. It is used by people of all ages.

The term /ayya/ means 'master' and is used predominantly by speakers belonging to the lower class. There is a decrease in the percentage of speakers using this term from the lower class to the upper middle class, and it is not used at all, by speakers of the upper class. It is used more often by members of C 6,7,9 and 10 than by the other castes and is not used by even a single speaker in C 1. It is used by a high proportion of speakers in the illiterate category. Also, there is an increase in the usage of this term from the youngest to the oldest age group.

Addressing one's husband by name is common among all classes other than the lower class, and in all caste groups except C 6,7,9 and 10. This form of address is used more often by literate speakers as opposed to the illiterates. The largest number of speakers using this term, belong to the age group A.

The term /baava/ is used by people of all classes except the upper class. The usage of this term normally implies that the speaker is married to her cross cousin or her mother's younger brother. There is a relatively high proportion of people using this term in C 6,7,9 and 10. This term is not used by members of the caste groups 2,4 and 8. Most of the speakers using this term belong to the illiterate and semi-literate categories and the age group C.
Avoiding the use of any terms to address one's husband is found in all classes and castes. It is reported mostly by the age group C, and by none of the speakers in the educated category. The ego may address this relation by pronouns in his immediate presence. However, only about two percent of the speakers in the sample group reported avoidance of direct address. Hence, it is difficult to predict any pattern of usage from this evidence.

The term /maama/ has been mostly pronounced as /maava/. The terms 'maava' and 'maavayya' have been used by all sections of speakers although a small number have used them.

4.2.22

There is considerable variation in the use of terms of reference for the relation 'husband'. They are, a) /aayana/ b) /maa vaaru/ c) /maa inTaayana/ d) /maa baava/ /maava/ e) name and f) /maa swaami/.

Most of these terms of reference are preceded by the first person possessive pronoun /maa/ (which may be plural or singular honorific).

The term /aayana/ is a third person, singular, masculine subjective pronoun. The highest percentage of speakers using the term /aayana/ belong to the lower class, and the percentage decreases as one moves to the upper class. This term is used less frequently by the caste groups 1, 3 and 8 when compared to the other groups. The usage of this term decreases from the illiterate category to the educated and increases from the youngest age group to the oldest.

The word /maa/ is a possessive pronoun and the word /vaaru/ is a third person singular honorific pronoun. The term /maa
vaaru/ is the most polite form of reference and it is used mostly by the upper classes (U.M, U.C) and by an insignificant number of speakers belonging to the lower class. It is also used mostly by C 1, 2, 3, 4 and 8 and by none of the speakers in C 7. Educated speakers use this term more often than the illiterates, and the highest percentage of speakers using this term, belong to the age groups A and B.

The term /maa inTaayana/ means 'master of the house'. This term of reference is used mostly by the lower classes (L.C and L.M) and the caste groups 7 and 10. The usage of this term is seen to decrease from the illiterate to the educated category. It is used by people of all ages.

The terms /baava/ and /maama/ or /maava/ are terms of address and reference for one's cross-cousins. Since in Andhra, one may marry one's cross-cousins, these terms are used to refer to one's husband. The terms /maa maava/, /baava/ are used mostly by people of the lower classes and by none in the upper class. They are used by people of all caste groups except 2, 4 and 8. Most of speakers using this term belong to the illiterate and semi-literate categories and the older generation (age group C). This may imply that cross-cousin marriages are more common among these classes.

The use of one's name to refer to one's husband is more common in the upper classes, irrespective of their caste. CB has the highest percentage of speakers using this form of reference. It is used mostly by the literate speakers, as against the illiterates and particularly, those who belong to the age group
A.

The term /maa swaami/ means 'my lord'. This term is used by only two speakers who happened to belong to C 3 and the age group C. This term of reference is rarely used.

One should note, that the percentage of speakers referring to their spouses by names, is higher among the males, than the females. This is because it is not considered respectful to refer to one's husband by his name. It is said that the life span of the husband decreases, if this is done. Referring to spouses by names is more common among the younger generation. This reflects the changing values of society and their impact on speech.

4.2.23

The relation 'wife's elder brother' may be addressed in any one of the following ways -- a) /baava/ b) name c) /maama/ d) /baava gaaru/ e) /anna/ f) /baavayya/. This relation could also be the ego's cross-cousin. Hence the terms used to address one's cross-cousins are used here.

Speakers normally use any one of the above terms if the addressee is older than them, or address this relation by his name if he is younger. Some speakers reported addressing the above relation by name irrespective of his age.

The term /baava/ which has the largest frequency of occurrence is used almost proportionately by speakers of all classes, castes and education levels. However, the percentage of users of this term is relatively higher in the age group C.

Addressing the above relation by his name, is common among people of all classes and castes. The highest number of people using this form of address, belong to the educated category and
also to the age group A.

The term /maama/ is used more frequently by the lower class when compared to the other classes. It is not used at all by the upper class. This term is not found to be used by C 1, 2 and 3. The caste groups 6, 9 and 10 have a relatively high percentage of people using this term. The percentage of usage is seen to decrease from the illiterate to the educated category, but it is used by people of all ages.

The term /baava gaaru/ is a very respectful form of address and is used more often by the upper classes and the caste groups 1, 4 and 8. No speaker belonging to C 2, 3, 7, 9 and 10 has used this form of address. The percentage of usage is observed to increase with the level of education. It is used by people of all ages.

The term /anna/ means 'brother'. However, the above relation is the ego's brother-in-law and as a rule should be addressed by the terms used for a cross-cousin. The term /anna/ is used a little more often by the upper classes and educated speakers when compared to the other categories of speakers. It has been used only by members of C 3, 5, 8 and 9 and the age groups B and C.

There is a single speaker using the term /baavayya/, who happens to hail from the Krishna district.

4.2.24

The relation 'wife's younger brother' has been addressed in the following ways — a) name b) /baava/ c) /maama/ d) /abbayya/.

Most of these terms are almost similar to the terms used to address the relation 'wife's elder brother' (ref. sec. 4.2.23). In this case, the relation is younger than the ego. Ninety percent
of the times, this relation is addressed by his name because he happens to be the younger brother of the ego's wife.

The term /baava/ is used by people of all classes. It is used more often by the caste groups 3 and 4 when compared to the other groups. It has been used by people of all educational categories. The usage is not found in the youngest age group. All the speakers in this group have addressed the above relation by his name.

The term /maama/ or /maava/ has been used by less than two percent of the speakers in the sample group.

The term /abbayya/ which is a generic term for a boy has been used by only two speakers who are not educated.

4.2.25

Seven forms of address have been reported to be used for the relation 'wife's elder sister'-- a) /vadina/ b) /akka/ c) name d) no direct address e) /vadinamma/ f) /vadina gaaru/ g) /ammaai/.

The term /vadina/ is widely used by speakers in the sample group. It is used with almost equal frequency by the lower classes and the upper middle class and a little less frequently by the upper class. It is used by speakers of all castes, although the percentages are higher in C 1,4 and 7, when compared to the other caste groups. The usage of this term does not vary significantly with the level of education or the age of the addressee.

The term /akka/ has been used more often by the lower middle and upper classes. The members of the caste groups 1,2,4,7 and 10 have not used this term. This term is used by people of all educational categories and ages, with slightly varying
Speakers of all classes, castes and educational categories are found to address the above relation by her name. However, the percentage of speakers using this form of address is a little higher in the age group A.

Avoidance of kinship terms to address this relation is relatively high in the upper class and is common among people of all castes, irrespective of their education and age.

The term /vadinamma/ and the term /ammaai/ which is a generic term for a girl, account for about three percent of the occurrence in the data. Therefore, it is not possible to conclude anything from this evidence.

The term /vadina gaaru/ is a respectful form of address. This term is reported only by the members of C 3, 5 and 6 irrespective of their economic class and education. It is found to be used mostly by the age group C and is not used by the age group A.

4.2.26

The forms of address used for the relation 'wife's younger sister' are, a) name b) /ammaai/ and c) no direct address.

The above relation is addressed by her name most often, by speakers of all castes, classes, ages and educational categories.

The term /ammaai/ is used only by members of C 1, 3, 5 and 7 belonging to all classes except the upper class (U.C). It is used by people of all educational categories, but is not used by the age group A.

Avoidance of kinship terms to address this relation is
reported by about one percent of the speakers in the sample group. The speakers happen to belong to the caste groups 1, 5 and 6 of different classes and are mostly in the the age group A.

4.2.27

The relation 'wife's father' has been addressed in seven different ways -- a) /maama/ b) /maavayya/ c) /maava gaaru/ d) no direct address e) /baava/ f) /aaya/ g) /ankl/.

We can see that the terms /maama/, /maavayya/ and /maava gaaru/ have the word /maama/ in common, but are differentiated by the use of the suffixes, /aaya/ and /gaaru/.

The term /maava/ is used by people of all classes, but the percentage of speakers using this term is observed to decrease from the lowest to the highest economic class. Members of the caste groups 6, 7, 9 and 10 use it more frequently than the others. Speakers belonging to the illiterate category have used this term more frequently than the other two categories. This term is used by people of all ages but the percentage is seen to increase from the youngest age group to the oldest.

The term /maavayya/ is used more frequently by the lower middle and upper classes (L.M, U.M, U.C) when compared to the lower class. It is used by members of all caste groups except C 9, but the highest percentage of users belong to the caste group 4. This caste group consists primarily of speakers who do not originally belong to Nellore. This caste group consists of the castes Kamma and Velama. The term /maavayya/ is not widely used in this region. Speakers belonging to the educated category are observed to use this term more often than the others. The age
groups A and B use it more often than the age group C.

The term /maava gaaru/ which is a very respectful form of address, is used by all the classes except the lower class, and the highest percentage of users belong to the upper class. It is used mostly by C 1,2,3,4 and 8 and is not used at all by C 6,7,9 and 10 and by the illiterate category. The usage of this term also varies with the age of the speaker, the highest percentage belonging to the age group A, and being completely absent in the age group C.

The avoidance of direct address of the above relation is not found in the lower classes, but is observed in the upper middle class and is highest in the upper class. It has been reported only by speakers of the caste groups 1,3 and 5 but is absent in the other castes. This custom is not observed among the illiterate speakers and is present only in the age group C.

The term /baava/ , /ayya/ and /ank1/, together account for less than three percent of the occurrence in the data. Hence it is not possible to predict any pattern of usage.

4.2.28

The relation 'wife's mother' has been addressed in the following ways -- a) /atta/ b) /attamma/ c)/akka/ d) /atta gaaru/ e) /attayya/ f) no direct address g)/amma/ h) /akkayya/ i) /aanTi/.

The percentage of speakers using the term /atta/ is seen to decrease from the lower class to the upper class. It is used by members of all castes although the percentage of users in C 3 and 4 is relatively small, the reason being that they are found to use the other terms of address. The usage is highest in the
illiterate category and the oldest age group, and lowest in the educated category and the youngest age group.

The term /attamma/ is used by a higher proportion of speakers in the upper classes when compared to the lower classes. The largest number of speakers using this term belong to C 3. The usage of this term is seen to increase from the lowest educational category to the highest, and decrease from the youngest age group to the oldest.

The term /akka/ which means 'elder sister' is used to address one's mother-in-law, because in South India, a man can marry his sister's daughter. About twelve percent of the speakers in the sample group have used this term. The largest percentage of speakers using this term belong to the lowest economic class and the illiterate category, and the smallest percentage of users belong to the upper class and the educated category. This usage is not reported by the caste groups 2,3 and 8 but is present in all the other castes and all age groups. This could imply that uncle-niece marriages are less common among these people.

The term /atta gaaru/ is a formal and respectful term of address. It is not used by the lower class but is used by all the other classes. This form of address is not used by members of the caste groups 6,7,9 and 10. This term is used only by literate speakers as against the illiterates and is used more frequently by the younger generation than the older generation.

The usage of the term /attayya/ does not seem to vary with the class of the speaker. It is used only by people belonging to C 1,2,4 and 5 and predominantly by C 2 and 4. This term is
widely used in other coastal districts of Andhra Pradesh. Most of the people using this term belong to the educated category irrespective of their age.

Avoidance of direct address for the relation 'wife's mother' is reported in the upper classes. This usage is most marked among people of the caste group 3 and is absent in most of the castes, and the illiterate category. This mode of address is found only among the older generation.

The term /akkayya/ which means elder sister, is not commonly used in this region. Less than one percent of the speakers in the sample group have used this term.

The term /aanTi/ has been used by only one speaker.

4.2.29

The relation 'husband's elder brother' has been addressed in six different ways. They are, a) /baava/ b) /baava gaaru/ c)/maama/ d) no direct address e) /anna/ f)/maavayya/.

It should be mentioned here, that the above relation is the potential mate of the ego's elder sister. Hence, the terms of address used for this relation, are the same as those used to address the relation 'elder sister's husband', or 'brother-in-law' and also the ego's cross-cousins. In the past it was not unusual to find two sisters married to two brothers in this region, but such marriages are becoming less common these days. The terms of address used here, would depend on the nature of the relationship between the speaker and the above relation. For instance, if a girl is married to her cross-cousin, there would be a certain degree of intimacy between the speaker and her husband's elder brother. There may exist, a joking relationship
between them. On the other hand, if the girl is married into a different family, there may be little interaction between the two. In some households, people cover their heads in the presence of the elder brother-in-law. Consequently the terms of address used, may be very formal.

The term /baava/ is the most widely used term of address. The highest percentage of people using this term belong to the lower class and the smallest percentage belong to the upper class. It is used by people of all castes, although the users of this term are relatively low in C 3. It is used less frequently by the educated speakers than the others. The usage of this term does not vary with the age of the speaker.

The term /baava gaaru/ is used more often by the upper classes, and is used by none in the lower class (L.C), and by people of all caste groups except C 6,7,9 and 10. This term is used more often by educated speakers and by members of the age groups A and B. The term /maava/ is used to address one's male cross-cousin as well as one's maternal uncle. Since in South India, a girl may marry her mother's younger brother, this term is used to address her husband and her husband's elder brother as well. The term /maava/ is used by people of all classes and educational categories. It has not been used by members of the caste groups 2,3,4 and 8 and by very few people in C 1. Speakers of the age groups B and C use this term more frequently than those belonging to the age group A.

The avoidance of direct address is reported more often by the upper classes, irrespective of their education. This custom
is found predominantly in the caste group 3 and the highest percentage of speakers who reported this, belong to the age group A.

The term /anna/ which means 'elder brother' and the term /maavayya/ (which is a slight variation of the term /maava/) are used by less than two percent of speakers in the sample group.

4.2.30

Seven forms of address have been used for the relation 'husband's younger brother'. They are, a) name b) /abbayya/ c) no direct address d) /baava/ e) /maridi gaaru/ f) /abbaai/ and g) /maama/.

This relation is usually addressed by his name if he is younger than the addressor. If he is older than the addressor, other terms of address are used, or there is an avoidance of direct address. The addressor is the sister-in-law of the above relation. Therefore she is treated with respect and affection. The terms of address used depend on the nature of their relationship.

However, about sixty percent of the speakers in the sample group claimed to address the above relation by his name. People of the upper classes and the educated category are observed to use this form of address more often than the other speakers. The factors caste and age do not have a bearing on the usage of this form of address.

The term /abbayya/ is used mostly by the lower and lower middle classes and is not used at all by the upper class. It is predominantly used by members of C 7 and 9. The highest percentage of speakers using this term belong to the illiterate
category and the lowest percentage to the educated category. It is used most frequently by the age group C.

The avoidance of direct address is present in all classes, but is observed to a greater extent in the upper classes. This usage is highest in C 1, and is not reported by the caste groups 2,8,9 and 10. It is quite common among the literate people (as against the illiterates), and also in the age group A.

The term /baava/ is used by speakers of all classes and educational categories. The highest percentage of speakers using this term belong to C 8. This term is used more often by the age group A than the other groups.

The term /maridi gaaru/ is a very formal and polite form of address. It is used mostly by the upper classes and the caste groups 3,4 and B. Its usage is absent in the lower class. This term is used only by literate speakers and by the age groups A and B.

The terms /abbaai/ and /maava/ are used by very few speakers. Therefore one cannot predict any pattern of usage of these terms.

4.2.31

The following terms of address have been used to address the relation 'husband's elder sister'-- a) /vadina/ b) /cinnamma/ c)/akka/ d)/pinnamma/ e)/vadina gaaru/ f)/pinni/ g)/vadinamma/ h)/amma/ i) name.

Almost always, the relation 'husband's elder sister' is older than the addressor. Therefore, she is treated with a lot of respect and is rarely addressed by her name. This relation could be the addressor's cross-cousin, and also the potential mate of
her elder brother. However, since a girl may marry her mother's younger brother, the above relation may be her mother's sister, or stand in such a relationship to the ego. Therefore she has also been addressed by the terms used to address one's mother's sister.

The term /vadina/ is widely used by people of all classes. However, the lowest percentage of users is found in the lower class. This term is used with almost equal frequency by all castes except C 1, which has a relatively higher percentage of users. There is a marked increase in the usage of this term from the illiterate to the educated category, and a decrease, from the youngest age group to the oldest.

The term /cinnamma/ which is a term of address for one's mother's younger sister, is used mostly by the lower classes. It is used more often by C 7 and 9 and is not used at all by the caste groups 1, 2, 3 and 4. There is a high percentage of users in the illiterate category and none in the educated category. There is an increase in the usage of this term, from the youngest to the oldest age group.

The term /akka/ meaning 'elder sister' is used more frequently by the upper class. This term is used by all castes, except C 4 and the highest percentage of users belong to C 5. It is used more often by the literate speakers, but by people of all ages. Addressing this relation by the term for 'sister' although she stands in the relationship of a sister-in-law, could imply that cross-cousin marriages, are less favoured by these categories of speakers.
The term /pinnamma/ is a variant of the term /cinnamma/. It is used mostly by the lower and lower middle classes and is not used at all by the upper class. It is used by people of all castes except C 3 and 9. The usage of this term is observed to decrease in percentage from the lowest to the highest educational category and increase from the youngest to the oldest age group.

The term /vadina gaaru/ which contains the honorific suffix /gaaru/ is used mostly by the upper classes and is not used at all by the lower class. It is used only among the caste groups 1,2,3,4 and 5, with the highest percentage of occurrence belonging to the caste group 3. It is used only by literate speakers and by none in the illiterate category, and more often by people of the younger generation.

The term /pinni/ which is a variation of the term /pinnamma/, is used only by the caste groups 3,4 and 6.

The term /vadinamma/ contains the word /vadina/ followed by the suffix /amma/ and is a polite form of address. It has been used by an insignificant number of speakers in the sample group.

The term /amma/ is again a polite form of address for a female. It has been used by very few speakers.

The speakers who address the above relation by name, happen to belong to the educated category.

4.2.32

The relation 'husband's younger sister' has been addressed by the following terms -- a) name b) /akka/ c)/cinnamma/ d)/vadina/ e) /pinnampa/ f) /amma/ g) /vadina gaaru/ h) /ammaai/ and i) /maradalamma/
The terms of address that have been used for this relation are almost the same as those used to address the relation 'husband's elder sister', although with varying frequencies (ref.sec.4.2.31). If the addressee is younger than the addressor, she is normally addressed by her name. In this case, the above relation is addressed by her name more often than by the other terms.

The term /vadina gaaru/ which contains the honorific suffix /gaaru/ has been used by only about one percent of the speakers in the sample group.

The term /ammaai/ is a generic term for a girl. This term is normally used when there is no familiarity between the addressor and addressee.

The term /maradalamma/ contains the term /maradalu/, a term of reference for a female cross-cousin who is younger than the ego, followed by the suffix /amma/. This term is rarely used as a form of address. Only one speaker claimed to use this term.

Seven forms of address have been reported to be used for the relation 'husband's mother'. They are, a) /atta/ b) /attamma/ c) /atta gaaru/ d) /attayya/ e) /amma/ f) /avva/ g) /aanTi/.

These terms are almost similar to the terms used to address the relation 'wife's mother' (ref.sec.4.2.28), except that the usage of the term /akka/, and the avoidance of direct address is not present here. As we have explained earlier, a man's mother-in-law could be his elder sister, whereas a woman's mother-in-law cannot be her sister. Also as there normally is some degree
of interaction between a mother-in-law, and her daughter-in-law, address terms are used between them.

The term /atta/ is used more frequently by the lower classes than the upper classes. It is used by people of all castes, although it is used more often by C 6, 7, 9 and 10. The highest percentage of speakers using this term belong to the illiterate category and to the oldest age group. This term is used by relatively fewer people in the age groups A and B.

The term /attamma/ consists of the word /atta/ followed by the suffix /amma/, which makes it sound more endearing. The usage of this term is seen to increase from the lowest to the highest economic class, and does not vary according to the caste of the speaker. The largest number of speakers using this term belong to the caste group 3. It is used more frequently by literate speakers and also by the younger age groups (A and B).

The very polite term /atta gaaru/ is not used by the lower class, but is used almost equally by the other classes. It is not used by C 6, 7, 9 and 10 and by few speakers in the caste group 5. It is used mostly by educated speakers and people of the younger generation. It is not used at all by the illiterates and speakers belonging to the age group C.

The term /attayya/ is used mostly by speakers of C 4, irrespective of their economic class. The usage of this term is not very common in this region. This term has been used mostly by the castes who are not numerically preponderant in this region. It has not been used by speakers of C 5, 7, 8, 9 and 10. It is used more often by literate speakers, as opposed to the illiterates and by people of all age groups.
The term /amma/ not only means 'mother', but is also a polite form of address for any female. In this case it indicates a close relationship between a daughter-in-law and her mother-in-law.

The term /avva/ which means 'grandmother' is used by all classes except the upper class. A person who marries her maternal uncle, addresses her mother-in-law by this term. It has not been used by educated speakers. This term is used mostly by the older generation. This probably indicates that such marriages are less common among the younger generation.

The English term /aanTi/ has been used by only one speaker.

4.2.34

The relation 'husband's father' has been addressed by the following terms -- a) /maama/ b) /maavayya/ c) /maava gaaru/ d) no direct address e) /taata/ f) /ayya/ g) /ankl/.

The same set of terms have been used to address the relation 'wife's father', with varying frequencies (ref. sec. 4.2.27).

The term /maama/ is used more frequently by the lower class and lower middle class when compared to the other classes. It is used by people of all castes. The percentage of users is relatively low in C 1, 2, 3 and 4, when compared to the other caste groups. The usage of this term decreases from the illiterate to the educated category and increases from the youngest age group to the oldest.

The usage of the term /maavayya/ is seen to increase from the lowest to the highest income group. It is used mostly by members of the caste group 4, many of whom are not original
inhabitants of this region. This term is not commonly used in Nellore region. The percentage of speakers using this term increases from the illiterate category to the educated. It is used more frequently by the younger age groups (age groups A and B).

The term /maava gaaru/ which is the most polite form of address, is used mostly by the upper classes (U.M and U.C) and by none in the lower class (L.C). It is used by speakers of all castes except C 7,9 and 10 and the highest percentage of users belong to C 3. It is used more often by educated speakers and by none in the illiterate category. The usage of this term decreases from the youngest age group to the oldest.

The avoidance of kinship terms to address this relation, is common in all classes but is found only in the caste groups 1,3,6 and 7. It is relatively less common in the educated category and the age groups A and B.

The term /taata/ which means 'grandfather' is used only by female speakers to address the above relation. This is because a girl may marry the younger brother of her mother. Hence, her husband's father would be her grandfather. This term is used by only two percent of the speakers in the sample group. It is not used by the upper class and is found only in C 4,5 and 7. This term is used by speakers of the illiterate and semi-literate category, but not by the educated speakers. It is used mostly by the age group C.

The terms /ayya/ meaning 'master' and the English term 'uncle' are used by only one speaker each.
4.2.35

The relation 'sister-in-law' (husband's brother's wife) has been addressed by the following terms -- a) /akka/ /name b) /akkayya/ c) /celli/.

The above relation stands in the classificatory relationship of a sister to the addressor. Therefore, the term /akka/ meaning 'elder sister' is used to address the above relation if she is older than the addressor. She is addressed by her name if she is younger than the addressor. This term is used by most speakers, irrespective of their class, caste, education or age.

The term /akkayya/ is used by all speakers other than those belonging to the lower class. This term is not generally used in this region. It is used mostly by members of the caste groups 2 and 4, and is not used at all by C 7,8,9 and 10. The usage of this term is higher among the literate categories (S,E) and the age groups B and C than in the other groups.

The term /celli/ is used by only about one percent of the speakers in the sample group.

4.2.36

The relation 'brother-in-law' (wife's sister's husband) is addressed in the following ways -- a) /anna//name b) /annayya/ c) /tammuDu/.

The above kin relation stands in the classificatory relationship of a brother to the addressor. Hence he is addressed by the terms of address used for 'elder brother' if he is older than the addressor, and by his name if he is younger than the addressor.

The term /annayya/ is used only by members of the caste
groups 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6, and by all classes except the lower class. The usage does not seem to vary with the education and age of the speaker.

The term /tammuDu/ has been used by only one speaker. It is normally used as a term of reference for one's younger brother.

4.2.37

Six different forms of address have been found to be used for the relation 'maternal uncle's son'. They are, a) /baava/ b) /maava/ c) name d) /maavayya/ e) /anna/ f) /abbayya/

The above relation is addressed by kinship terms if he is older than the addressee, and by his name if he is younger. Some speakers claimed to address this relation by name, irrespective of his age.

The term /baava/ is used by a relatively higher proportion of speakers in the upper class and by speakers of all castes, though the highest percentage of users belong to the upper class and C 3, followed by C 4. The usage of this term increases from the lowest to the highest educational category. It does not appear to vary with the age of the speaker. This term is used by the mass media.

The term /maava/ is normally used to address one's maternal or paternal uncles. This term has been used in this region to address one's male cross-cousin. There is a marked difference in the usage of this term between the lower class (who use it more frequently) and the other classes. It is used by people of all castes, though it is used less often by speakers of the caste groups 1, 2, 3 and 4. The usage of this term decreases from the
lowest to the highest educational category. It is used more often by the age group A when compared to the other groups.

Addressing the above relation by his name, is more common among educated speakers, irrespective of their class, caste and age. It is used by a higher proportion of speakers in C1, 2 and 8.

The term /maavayya/ (/maava/+/ayya/) is used by speakers of C 4, 5 and 8. It is not widely used in Nellore but is found in use in the central coastal districts of Andhra.

The terms /anna/ and /abbayya/ are used by very few speakers. Hence, it is difficult to predict any pattern of usage. The term 'anna' means 'elder brother' and /abbayya/ is a generic term of address for a boy in this region.

4.2.38

The relation 'paternal aunt's son' stands in the same classificatory relationship as 'maternal uncle's son', above, to the ego. Hence, the terms of address that are used for these two relations, are similar. They are, a) /baava/ b) /maama/ c) name d) /maavayya/ e) /anna/ f) /baavayya/ g) /baava gaaru/.

For this kinship relation, the terms /baavayya/ and /baava gaaru/ have been used in addition to the terms used for the relation 'maternal uncle's son'. These terms have been used by an insignificant number of speakers because this usage is not common in this region.

4.2.39

The relation 'maternal uncle's daughter' has been addressed by the following terms -- a) /vadina/ b) / akka/ c) name d) /cinnamma/ e) /vadinamma/.

The above relation is addressed by kinship terms if she is
older than the addressor, and by her name, if she is younger than the addressor. Some speakers claimed to address this relation by name, irrespective of her age.

The term /vadina/ is used to address one's sister-in-law. Since a cross-cousin is a prospective sister-in-law, the same terms are employed to address these relations in Telugu kinship terminology. For a male speaker, this relation is his potential mate if she is younger than him.

The term /vadina/ is used by speakers of all classes and castes. There is a higher percentage of users in the illiterate category as opposed to the other educational categories. It is used with almost equal frequency by speakers of all ages.

The term /akka/ meaning 'sister' is used more often by the classes other than the lower class, irrespective of the caste. The highest percentage of people using this term is found in C 5 and it is used more often by the literate speakers as against the illiterates. There is a higher proportion of speakers using this term in the age group A than in the other groups.

Speakers of all castes and classes address the above relation by name. There is an increase in the usage of this form of address from the lowest to the highest educational category and from the youngest to the oldest age group.

The term /cinnamma/ which is a term of address for one's mother's sister, has been used mostly by speakers who are not very educated.

The term /vadinamma/ consists of the term /vadina/ and the suffix /amma/ which makes it sound more endearing. This term has
been used by only two speakers.

4.2.40

The relation 'Paternal aunt's daughter' has been addressed by the following terms -- a) /vadina/ b) /akka/ c) name d) /cinnamma/ and e) /vadinamma/.

These terms of address are similar to the terms used to address the relation 'maternal uncle's daughter', because they stand in the same classificatory relationship to the ego. The same explanation holds for the usage of the above kinship terms.

4.2.41

Three terms of address have been reported to be used for the relation 'elder sister' -- a) /akka/ b) /akkayya/ c) name.

The term /akka/ is used by speakers of all classes and castes. The highest percentage of speakers using this term, is found in the illiterate category, because people of the other categories have used different terms. The usage of this term, is seen to increase from the youngest age group to the oldest.

The term /akkayya/ consists of the term /akka/ followed by the suffix /ayya/. It is not widely used in Nellore region. The speakers who use this term belong to all classes except the lower class. This term is used more often by C 2 and 4. Members of the caste groups 7, 9 and 10 have not been found to use this term. This term is used more often by literate speakers as against illiterates, and the usage of this term decreases from the youngest age group to the oldest.

Addressing this relation by name is found in all classes, and castes. This form of address is used mostly by the age group A, irrespective of the education of the speaker.
4.2.42

The relation 'younger sister' has been addressed by the following terms -- a) name b) /cellemma/ or /celli/ c) /cellela/ d) /cellaai/.

The above relation is usually addressed by her name because she is younger than the addressor. About five percent of the speakers in the sample group, claimed to use the other terms of address.

4.2.43

Five terms of address have been used to address the relation 'elder’s sister’s husband'. They are, a)/baava/ b)/maama/ c)/baava gaaru/ d)/maavayya/ and e) /baavayya/ .

The term /baava/ is widely used by all speakers, irrespective of their caste, class and education. The highest percentage of people using this term, belong to the age group A.

The term /maama/ is a term of address for one’s maternal uncle. But in Andhra, a girl may marry her mother’s younger brother. Hence, this term is used to address one’s brother-in-law as well. The term /maama/ is used by speakers of all classes. It is used by a relatively high percentage of speakers in the caste group 9, and is not used at all by C 2,3 and 4. This term is used more frequently by the illiterate and semi-literate category of speakers when compared to the educated category. It is used mostly by the age groups B and C.

The term /baava gaaru/ contains the honorific suffix /gaaru/. This term is used more frequently by the upper classes and the lower middle class, and by a negligible number of
speakers in the lower class. It is used mostly by educated speakers, and people of all castes, except C 7, 9, and 10. Since a higher percentage of people in the upper classes are educated, this explains why this term is used more often by the upper classes. The highest percentage of people using this term belong to the age group B.

The terms /baavayya/ and /maavayya/ are used by less than three percent of the speakers in the sample group. Therefore, one cannot predict any pattern of usage. These terms are variations of the terms /baava/ and /maava/. As it has already been mentioned, these terms are not widely used in this region, but are found in use in the central coastal districts of Andhra Pradesh.

4.2.44

Eight forms of address are used for the relation 'younger sister's husband'. They are, a) name b) /baava/ c) /abbayya/ d) no direct address e) /maama/ f) /ayya/ g) /maridi gaaru/ h) /baava gaaru/.

This relation is generally addressed by his name. However, if he is older than the addressee, he may be addressed by any one of the above kinship terms. The terms of address that are used, in this case, vary according to the sex of the speaker. The terms /baava/, /baava gaaru/ and /maama/ are used by male speakers, while the terms /abbayya/, /maridi gaaru/ and /ayya/ are used by female speakers. Avoidance of direct address, was also reported by female speakers.

Addressing the above relation by name is more common in the upper classes (U.M, U.C) than the lower classes (L.C, L.M).
This form of address is used by people of all castes and age groups, but a little more often by literate speakers.

The term /baava/ is used by most speakers, irrespective of their class and caste. The highest percentage of people using this term, belong to the educated category. The usage of this term decreases from the youngest age group to the oldest.

The term /abbayya/ is a generic term of address for a boy. It has been used mostly by speakers of the lower class and is not used at all by the upper class (U.C). This term is also used mostly by the illiterate speakers and is not used by anybody in the educated category. Speakers of all castes except C 1, 2 and 8, are observed to use this term. The highest percentage of people using this term, belong to the age group C (older generation).

Avoidance of direct address, is found among the upper classes and the caste groups 1, 3 and 5, being highest in C 3. This usage is not present among the other castes and does not vary with the education and age of the addressee.

The rest of the kinship terms account for only about six percent of the distribution in the data.

The term /maama/ is used by all classes except the upper class. It is used by members of the caste groups 5, 6, 7 and 9, but not the other castes. Speakers of the older generation are found to use this term more often than the others. Education does not seem to be relevant to the usage of this term.

The term /ayya/ is a polite form of address for any male.

The term /maridi gaaru/ is used mostly by the upper class, and by C 3, 4, 5 and 10. This usage is absent in C 1, 2, 6, 7, 8 and 9.
It is used mostly by speakers of the younger generation and by none in the age group C, irrespective of the level of education. The honorific form /baava gaaru/ is used by only two speakers in the sample group.

4.2.45

The relation 'sister's son' stands in the classificatory relationship of a son to a female speaker and a son-in-law to a male speaker. The terms of reference used, reflect this fact. However, this relation is generally addressed by his name because he is one generation younger than the addressor. He is also addressed by generic terms of address for boys such as /baabu/ and /abbaai/ or the terms /naayana/ and /ayya/.

4.2.46

The relation 'sister's daughter', stands in the relationship of a daughter to a female speaker and a daughter-in-law to a male speaker. The terms of reference used for this relation, reflect this fact. This relation is generally addressed by her name. She is also addressed by the terms /ammaai/, /amma/ /paapaa/.

4.2.47

The relation 'brother's son' stands in the relationship of a son-in-law to a female speaker and a son to a male speaker. In joint families, where brothers live together, there is a close relationship between a man and the sons of his brother. This relation is addressed by his name or the same terms used to address one's son such as baabu/, /abbaai/, /naayana/ and /ayya/.

4.2.48

The relation 'brother's daughter' stands in the
classificatory relationship of a daughter-in-law to a female speaker and a daughter to a male speaker. The terms of address used for this relation, are the same as those used to address one's sister's daughter. She is addressed by her name, or the terms /amma/, /ammai/ and /paapaa/.

4.2.49

The relation 'elder brother' has been addressed in the following ways -- a) /anna/, b) /annayya/, c) name.

The term /anna/ is used by people of all castes and classes, but there is a preponderance in the lower class. This is because, the upper classes have used other terms of address more often. The usage of this term is seen to decrease from the illiterate to the educated category. It is used more often by the age group C, when compared to the other groups.

The term /annayya/ is not widely used in this region. The usage of this term is seen to increase from the lowest to the highest economic class. This term has not been used by C 7 and 9, and there is a preponderance of users in C 2,3 and 4. It is used more frequently by the educated speakers than the other categories of speakers and also, more often by the age groups A and B.

Only five percent of the speakers claimed to address this relation by name. This usage is present in all castes and classes, but it is more common in the educated category and the age groups A and B.

4.2.50

Two forms of address have been reported to be used for the
relation 'younger brother'.

This relation is generally addressed by his name. A few speakers also claimed to address this relation by the term /tammuDu/ which means 'younger brother'. This term is generally used to refer to one's younger brother.

4.2.51

The relation 'elder brother's wife' has been addressed by the following terms. a)/vadina/ b) name c)/vadinamma/ and d)/vadina gaaru/. However, if this relation is younger than the ego, she is addressed by her name.

The term /vadina/ is widely used by people of all classes and castes. The usage of this term does not vary with the education and age of the speaker.

The above relation has been addressed by her name, by people of all classes except the upper class. The factors education and age, do not appear to be relevant to the usage of this form of address.

The terms /vadinamma/ and /vadina gaaru/ have the word /vadina/ in common. They are differentiated by the suffixes /amma/, and the honorific suffix /gaaru/. These terms are used by less than four percent of the speakers in the sample group.

4.2.52

Four forms of address are reported to be used for the relation 'younger brother's wife'— a) name b)/amma/ c) /ammaai/ d) no direct address

This relation is usually addressed by her name, but other terms of address have also been used. To some extent, the sex of the speaker determines the form of address that is used.
Addressing the above relation by name, is reported by speakers of all classes and castes, irrespective of their education or age.

The term /amma/ is a polite form of address for a girl or a woman. It has been used only by male speakers, irrespective of their age or socio-economic background.

The term /ammaai/ is used by speakers of all classes except the upper class (U.C), and most of them happen to be males. Most of the speakers using this term belong to C 1 and 2. This term has not been used by the caste groups 3, 4, 7, 8, 9 and 10. This term is used by people of all educational categories, but a little more often by the age group C, than the other groups.

Avoidance of kinship terms to address this relation is reported only by males. In our society, a reserve is maintained between a man and the above relation, though they may speak to their elder brothers' wives. This form of address is used by speakers of all classes, but there is a preponderance in the upper class. It has been reported mostly by C 3. It is observed more often in the educated category and the age groups A and B.

4.2.53

The relation 'son' is usually addressed by his name or the terms /oreei/, /baabu/, /ayya/ and /naayana/. The people who reported using the term /oreei/ belong mostly to the lower class and the illiterate category. It has been reported only by the age groups B and C. /oreei/ is not a respectful way of addressing a person. However, it may be used when the addressee is younger than the addressor or when the relationship between the addressor
and addressee is one of intimacy. Parents normally discontinue to use this term of address when the son is grown up. This term is also used to address people who are socio-economically inferior to the addressor (normally if he is younger than the speaker). In this case the relationship between the addressor and addressee is not symmetrical.

This term is not used to address one's 'son-in-law', who is given a lot of respect.

4.2.54

The relation 'daughter' is mostly addressed by her name. Sometimes, other generic terms that are used to address a girl, are used, such as /ammaai/, or /paapaa/.

The term /meei/ is also used in this region to address a female who is younger than the addressor. This term is generally used when the daughters are young. It is also used to address some one who is socially inferior, especially servant maids. However, if this relation is older than the speaker, this term is generally not used.

4.2.55

Eight forms of address have been reported to be used for the relation 'son-in-law'. They are, a) name b) no direct address c) /abbayya/ d) /ayya/ e) /baabu/ f) /alluDuu/or/alluDu gaaru/ g)/naayana/ h) /abbaai/

Addressing this relation by name is common among people of all classes and castes. However, very few speakers in C 3 have used it, when compared to the other castes. There is a higher percentage of people using this form of address among the literate speakers as against the illiterates, and in the age
groups A and B.

Avoidance of direct address is more common among the people of the upper classes (U.M, U.C) when compared to the other classes. This has not been reported by C 2, 6, 7 and 10. The highest percentage of speakers who reported this mode of address belong to C 3. Avoidance of direct address, is reported more often by educated speakers and by people of the age group C. Most of the speakers who reported this mode of address happened to be females. This reflects the reserve maintained between a mother-in-law and a son-in-law.

The term /abbayya/ which is a generic term for a boy, is frequently used by the lower classes, and more often by women. It has not been used by even a single speaker in U.C. It has been used mostly by the caste groups 6 and 7. A relatively high proportion of illiterates claimed to use this term, when compared to the other groups. This term is used only by the age groups B and C.

The term /ayya/ is used by people of all classes. It is a polite term of address, used to address males. This term has not been used by C 2, 4, 8, 9 and 10. Education and age, do not have a bearing on the usage of this term.

The terms /baabu/ and /naayana/ are used to address males who are younger than the ego. These terms may also be used to address the son of the ego.

The term /alluDu/ is the term of reference for the relation 'son-in-law'. The usage of the polite term /alluDu gaaru/ to address one's son-in-law may denote social distance between the
addressor and addressee or indicate the respect which is conferred on a son-in-law. This feature is not uncommon in our society. In fact the latter is rarely addressed by the intimate term /oreei/ which may be used to address one's son. About three percent of the speakers in the sample group have used this term to address this relation. It is used by speakers of all classes. It has not been used by members of C 7, 8, 9 and 10. Education does not seem to be relevant to the usage of this term.

4.2.56

Three forms of address are used for the relation 'daughter-in-law' -- a) name b)/ammaai/ c)/amma/.

This relation is generally addressed by her name by people of all castes and classes, age groups and educational categories. Sometimes, she is addressed by the terms /ammaai/, /paapaa/ or /amma/. The terms /ammaai/ and /paapaa/ are generic terms of address for girls, and the usage of these terms implies that the addressee is younger than the addressor. The term /amma/ however, may be used to address females of all ages, irrespective of the relative age of the addressor. It is a polite form of address.

4.2.57

Eight forms of address have been used to address the relation 'child's father-in-law' -- a)/anna/ b) no kinship term c)/baava/ d)/maama/ e)/anna gaaru/ f)/baava gaaru/ g)/cinnaayana/ h)/annayya/.

The term /anna/ which means 'elder brother', is used by a large number of speakers, irrespective of their class or caste. Educated speakers are observed to use this term less often than those belonging to the other categories. It is used more often by
the age groups A and B. The term /anna/ is used mostly by females, because a woman may give her children in marriage to her brother’s children, whereas a man cannot do so. The above relation stands in the relationship of a brother to a female speaker.

The above relation may also be addressed by his name, or second person pronouns such /nvvvu/ (singular) or /miiru/ (singular honorific), instead of any kinship terms. This form of address is used by people of all castes and classes, but more often by educated speakers when compared to the other groups. It has been reported by people of all age groups, but particularly by males.

The term /baava/ which means ‘brother-in-law’ is used frequently by people of the lower middle and upper middle classes belonging to various castes. The usage of this term does not vary with the education of the speaker, but it is used more often by speakers of the age group C than those belonging to the other age groups. This term is used mostly by males, because, for a man, his sister is the potential mother-in-law of his child, and her husband, his brother-in-law.

The term /maama/ is used to address one’s maternal uncle, as well as one’s brother-in-law, because the ego’s mother’s younger brother could also be the brother-in-law. This term has been used mostly by males, to address their child’s ‘father-in-law’, because this relation stands in the relationship of a brother-in-law to male speakers. The term /maama/ is used more often by the lower class as opposed to the other classes, and is
not used at all by the upper class. It is used by all castes except C 1,2 and 4. There is a higher percentage of speakers using this term in the illiterate category and the age group C.

The term /anna gaaru/ which is a very respectful form of address is used mostly by educated speakers and the upper classes (U.M, U.C). This usage is absent in the lower class. This term is not used by the members of the caste groups 6,7,9 and 10. It is used more often by the age groups A and B when compared to the age group C.

The term /baava gaaru/ which also consists of the honorific suffix /gaaru/, has a similar pattern of usage as the above term.

The term /cinnaayana/ is used to refer to ones 'father's brother' or anybody in that classificatory relationship. It has been used by speakers of the lower class and those who are illiterate, to address the above relation.

The term /annayya/ which is a variation of the term /anna/ has been used by a couple of speakers.

4.2.58

The relation 'child's mother-in-law' has been addressed by the following terms -- a) /vadina/ b) name / no kinship terms c) /akka/ d) /vadina gaaru/ e) /vadinamma/ f) /akkayya/ g) /cinnamma/.

The term 'vadina' which means 'sister-in-law' is used by a high proportion of people in the lower classes (L.C, L.M), and its usage is seen to decrease from the lower class to the upper class. Caste does not seem to be relevant to the usage of this term. The highest percentage of speakers using this term belong to the illiterate category, because the educated speakers are
found to use other terms of address. This term is used mostly by females, because for a woman, her child's father-in-law may be her brother, and his wife stands in the relationship of a sister-in-law. This term is used more frequently by the age groups A and B, than by the age group C.

Addressing the above relation by name or pronouns is reported by speakers of all castes, classes and age groups. It is reported a little more often in the educated category when compared to the other groups. Male speakers are also observed to avoid addressing the above relation directly.

The term /akka/ which means 'elder sister', is used by people of all classes, castes and levels of education. The usage of this term increases from the youngest age group to the oldest. It is used mostly by males, because for a male speaker, this relation may be his sister, or stands in that relationship.

The term /vadina gaaru/ is used mostly by the upper classes, and also by educated speakers. It is used by none in the illiterate category. It is not used by members of the caste groups 6,7,8,9 and 10. There is a higher percentage of speakers using this term in the age groups A and B, than in the age group C.

The term /vadinamma/ contains the term /vadina/ and the suffix /amma/ which makes the term sound more endearing. A very small number of speakers claimed to use this term of address.

The term /akkayya/ is used mostly by members of the caste groups 1,2,3 and 4, irrespective of their class, age or education. Address forms with the suffix /ayya/ are more common in other Telugu speaking regions of Andhra and are not widely
used in this region.

The term /cinnamma/ is used to address or refer to one's mother's sister or anybody who stands in this classificatory relationship. It has been used only by two speakers to address the above relation.

4.3 Speech variation

In the previous section of this chapter, we discussed the variation in the use of terms of address for various kinship relations. There is considerable variation, in the use of address terms for some of these relations—for example, the relations 'husband', 'wife' and 'father', to name a few. On the other hand, there is absolutely no variation in the terms of address used for a few relations, such as 'mother', 'son' 'daughter' etc. The usage of these terms, is seen to vary according to the economic class, caste, age and level of education of the speakers. Different categories of speakers can be distinguished statistically, by the different frequencies of usage of these terms of address. It becomes evident here, that one cannot talk of caste dialects or class dialects as absolute entities. Various social factors are responsible in accounting for speech variation, in differing degrees. We will now discuss the variation in speech, in relation to the factors 'class', 'caste', 'education' and 'age'.

4.3.1 Class and speech variation By the term 'class', we mean 'economic' class. Sociologists use various criteria to determine the membership of people in different social classes. It has already been explained in the chapter on methodology (ref. sec.
2.2.1) how the speakers in the sample group have been divided into different classes—lower class (L.C) lower-middle class (L.M) upper-middle class (U.M) and upper class (U.C), on the basis of their income.

According to Milroy:

"Social class is a broad, large-scale category. Although it is an apparently simple idea and has undoubtedly enabled linguists to shed considerable light on the social functions of language in cities, it is a very difficult notion to pin down, unless consistently used at a high level of abstraction. Basically the idea is that people can be ordered with respect to the rest of society by quantifiable characteristics like income, education, occupation, residence or life-style (there is little agreement amongst sociologists on which characteristics are most satisfactory) " (Milroy, Leslie., 1987:13).

It appears from the analysis of the data that there is a close correlation between the factors 'class', 'caste' and 'education'. A large number of people belonging to the lowest economic class, also belong to the lower castes (ref.tables 2.i,j and graphs iii.e,f), and a high percentage of these speakers happen to belong to the illiterate category. This fact is clearly reflected in their speech. For example, the usage of the term /eeveei/ which is not a very polite term of address for one's wife, (ref. sec.4.2.21a) is reported by fifty six percent of the people belonging to the lower class, about fifty percent
of the people who are illiterate and by fifty percent of the members of the caste groups 9 and 10 (these castes are ritually and economically lower than the other castes). The highest percentage of speakers using this term belong to the oldest age group, which also has the maximum number of illiterate speakers.

Let us look at another example. The term /baava gaaru/ is a very polite form of address for the relation 'husband's elder brother', or in other words 'brother-in-law' (ref. sec.4.2.29). It consists of the honorific suffix /gaaru/. This term is not used by even a single speaker in the lower class (L.C). It is used by a few speakers in the lower middle class (L.M) and by a relatively higher number of speakers in the upper middle and upper classes. It is used by a negligible number of people in the illiterate category and comparatively, by a much larger number of people in the literate category (this category includes people with school-level education as well as higher education). From this evidence, one can infer two things—(i) that there is a close association between the factors 'class' and 'education' and (ii) that the upper classes (U.M, U.C) are closer to each other in their speech than to the lower classes (L.C, L.M).

A high proportion of speakers from the lower and lower middle classes address the relation 'husband's sister', by the term /cinnamma/ which means 'mother's sister' (ref. sec.4.2.31,32). The usage of this term may imply that the addressee is married to her mother's younger brother. Hence her husband's sister would be her mother's sister as well. Even though the addressee is not actually married to her maternal uncle, the usage of this term of address is metaphorically
extended to this relation. The data shows that this usage is not very common in the upper class and in fact, is not found at all in the upper middle class (this class consists primarily of Brahmins who rank very high in the ritual hierarchy though not necessarily in terms of economic status). Even the term /baava/ meaning 'brother-in-law' (ref.sec.4.2.9,10) to address one's maternal uncle has been employed mostly by speakers of the lower class (L.C). The usage of certain other terms is absent in the upper class. For example, the term /meei/ (ref.sec.4.2.21a) which is not a very polite form of address for one's wife is not reported by any speaker belonging to the upper classes (U.M and U.C). This form of address is normally used for a female when the addressee is superior to the addressee in terms of age or in terms of social or economic status (a mother may address her daughter by this term). The term /ayya/ meaning 'master' to address one's husband is reported by none of the speakers in the upper class and by an insignificant number of speakers in the upper middle class (ref.sec.4.2.22a). These examples show how the differences in beliefs and practices of different people, and their attitudes towards relationships are reflected in speech.

It emerges from the data, that the greatest amount of difference in speech, lies between the lowest economic class (L.C) and the upper classes (U.C and U.C). The speech of the lower middle class (L.M) is sometimes close to that of the lower class and sometimes to that of the upper classes. This shows that the people of the lower middle class are approximating to the higher classes in their speech. The people of the lower class who are
illiterate, on the other hand, do not appear to be making any conscious effort to imitate the speech of the higher classes. There are a few terms of address which are not used at all by speakers of the lower class. For example, the term /naanamma/ to address the relation 'father's mother' and the term /attayya/ to address the relation 'maternal aunt' (ref. sec. 4.2.11,12) to name a few. These terms are used by speakers of all the other classes. Another fact that should be noted is that barely any speakers from the lower class have used the honorific suffix /gaaru/ along with the kinship terms, to address any relation.

The pattern of usage of terms of address by people of different classes shows that no speech variety is a discrete entity. From this one can determine the probability of occurrence of forms of address in different classes. One can say for instance, that a certain form is likely to be used by the lower class or that it is less likely to be used by the upper classes. It seems to be harder to predict the pattern of usage of the lower middle class (L.M).

4.3.2 Caste and speech variation The various castes represented in the sample have been grouped into ten caste groups. It has already been explained that the analysis shows that the speech of every caste in this region cannot be distinguished, but that the various castes may be grouped into a fewer number of caste groups (ref. sec. 2.3,2.4). The greatest amount of difference in speech is found to exist between the castes at the upper end of the ritual hierarchy and those at the lowest end. Therefore, these castes have been regrouped into caste groups on the basis of their ritual and socio-economic similarities. The castes 1,2 and 3
being the twice-born castes or varnas, have a high ritual status (ref.sec.1.9,11). The caste groups 4 and 5 consist predominantly of the land-owning classes, which occupy a high place in the power structure. All these castes enjoy an almost equal social status. The caste groups 6 and 7 are the occupational groups, while the caste group 8 consists of a religious group—the Christians. The caste groups 9 and 10 are the scheduled castes and tribes, and occupy a relatively low position in the social hierarchy.

In accordance with the patterns of social stratification in Andhra Pradesh (ref.sec.1.11), the caste groups 1, 2 and 3 may be regarded as the upper castes. The caste groups 4 and 5 may be described as the upper middle castes. The caste groups 6 and 7 may be regarded as the lower middle castes. The caste group 9 represents the scheduled castes and the caste group 10 comprises the scheduled tribes. The caste group 8 is a religious group. The data shows that on the basis of their speech, education and economic status this group may be ranked alongside the caste groups 4 and 5 (ref.tables 2.i,j and graphs iii.e,f). We will hereafter refer to these caste groups as C1, C2 ... C10.

The data reveals that there is a close parallel between the caste structure and class structure in this region (ref.graph iii.e). A large percentage of people belonging to the upper castes also belong to the upper economic classes and a high proportion of people belonging to the lower castes also belong to the lower economic classes. The castes of the middle order are distributed in different economic classes. This suggests that
these castes are in a state of mobility.

It is observed that, except for a few terms of address which are used particularly by some castes, most of the terms are used by members of all the castes, although with varying frequencies. For example, the term /oseev/ to address one's wife is reported only by C 1 (Brahmins) (ref.4.2.21a). The term /jeejinaayana/ to address the relation 'father's father' (ref.sec.4.2.13) is used by a high proportion of speakers belonging to C 3 (Komatis), and is not used by most of the other castes. The Komatis are said to be conscious of their caste identity. They also have a caste association in this region which looks after the interest of its members. This is probably why the usage of this term is confined mostly to this caste.

Speakers of the caste groups 2 (Rajus) and 4 (Kamma, Velama) are found to use terms which are not widely used in this region. For instance, the terms /pinni/ and /baabaai/ to address the relations 'mother's younger sister' and 'mother's younger sister's husband' are used more often by members of these castes than the other castes (ref.sec.4.2.7,4.2.8). The usage of address terms with the suffix /ayya/, such as /akkayya/ 'elder sister', /annayya/ 'elder brother', and /attayya/ 'aunt' (ref.sec.4.2.11,41,49) is more common among speakers of these castes. The speakers of these castes are not numerically significant in this region. They have migrated at some time from the neighbouring Telugu speaking districts of Andhra Pradesh, and use forms which are generally used in these regions. These terms of address are found to be used in the Krishna district, whose speech is considered to be the prestige bearing variety in
Telugu (ref.sec.1.6). This speech is also close to that used by the mass media.

The English terms occurring in the data have been consistently used only by the Christians. (ref.sec.4.2.7, 8,19,20). Most of these speakers who were interviewed, claimed to have converted themselves from the ritually lower castes. Most of them are well educated, and this has helped them to improve their economic and social status. In the usage of terms of address, their speech is close to that of the upper castes. This may be cited as an example of social mobility and its bearing on speech.

The data shows that the term /baava/ to address one's maternal uncle has not been used by members of the caste groups 1,2,3,4 and 7 (ref.sec.4.2.9,10). It has been used by speakers of all the other castes. It is a term of address for the relation 'brother-in-law'. It has already been mentioned that in this region, the practice of a girl marrying her maternal uncle is prevalent (ref.sec.4.1). The absence of usage of this term, may imply that marriages between uncles and nieces are less common among these castes.

A few terms of address are not used by members of the ritually lower castes. For example, the term /pinni/ to address the relation 'mother's younger sister' has not been used by speakers of C 7,8,9 and 10, but has been used by all the other castes (ref.sec.4.2.7,20). This form of address is not widely used in this region. Also, usage of the honorific suffix /gaaru/ along with kinship terms of address is not found in C 7, 9 and 10 and by very few speakers in C 6. This form of address is used by
an insignificant number of speakers belonging to the lower class (L.C). The correlation between lower caste and lower class becomes evident here.

The usage of various terms of address in this region, reveals that the speech of C1 (Brahmins), C2 (Rajus) C3 (Komatis) and C4 (Kamma, Velama) is closer to each other than to that of the other castes. The caste groups 1 and 3 have a high literacy rate, which may be the reason why their speech is closer to the standard variety of Telugu, which is used in educational institutions. The caste groups 2 and 4 as we have already explained, are not numerically preponderant in this region. Their regional variety of speech is closer to the prestige bearing dialect of Telugu. The usage of terms of address reveals that the speech of the caste groups 5 and 8 is quite similar. There is proximity between the speech of the caste groups 6 and 7 on the one hand and 9 and 10 on the other hand. Therefore, on the basis of the pattern of usage of terms of address, these ten caste groups have been regrouped into four groups. Group 1 consists of the caste groups 1,2,3 and 4, group 2 consists of the caste groups 5 and 8, groups 3 consists of the caste groups 6 and 7 and group 4 consists of the caste groups 9 and 10. The data shows that these groups are differentiated by the frequencies with which different forms of address are used (ref. tables v,vi in appendix).

To sum up, the greatest distance in speech is found between the caste groups 1,2,3 and 4 on the one hand and the caste groups 9 and 10 on the other hand. The speech of the caste groups 5,6,7 and 8 seems to be approximating to the standard variety of
Telugu. No such attempt at linguistic change is observed in the caste groups 9 and 10.

The differences in speech that have been ascribed to caste differences, seem to be due to the difference in the levels of education rather than to the membership in castes. It is a fact that the castes at the upper end of the social hierarchy have always had a greater access to educational facilities than the castes at the lower end of the hierarchy. Hence, people who are educated tend to be acquainted with the standard variety of the language used in educational institutions.

4.3.3 Education and speech variation Education has emerged as a very important parameter in accounting for speech variation. The speakers in the sample are divided into three educational categories- the illiterate, the school educated and the educated categories (ref. sec. 2.2.2). The latter two may be described as the literate categories as opposed to the illiterate category.

The frequency of usage of various terms of address clearly varies with the level of education of the speaker. Very often, the frequency of usage of a term is seen to increase or decrease from the illiterate to the educated category. For example, the usage of kinship terms with the honorific suffix /gaaru/ is very rare among the illiterate speakers and relatively high among the other speakers, the highest usage being observed among the educated speakers (ref. sec. 4.2.23, 27, 28, 29).

Again, the term /naanna/ to address one's father, (ref. sec. 4.2.2) is usually used by the mass media. This term is used by only four percent of the people belonging to the
illiterate category, but by a much higher percentage of people in the literate categories (thirty eight percent in the semi-literate and fifty percent in the educated category).

Addressing one's husband or wife by name, is more common among the literate categories when compared to the illiterate category (ref.sec.4.2.21a,22a). This usage implies that the relationship between the husband and wife is viewed as one of solidarity or of equality.

A few terms of address are used by very few speakers belonging to the illiterate category. For example, the term /baamma/ is not used by even a single speaker belonging to the illiterate category (ref.sec.4.2.13). There are a few terms of address which are not used by members of the educated category, but are used by the other speakers. For instance, the terms /avva/ and /taata/ to address the relations 'husband's mother' and 'husband's father' respectively, are not used by the educated speakers, but are used by speakers of the other two categories (ref.sec.4.2.33,34). These terms are actually used to address one's grand parents. Hence, the usage of these terms to address one's parents-in-law implies that the addressee is married to her maternal uncle. The absence of usage of these terms by educated speakers, implies that uncle-niece marriages are on the decline in this group. Also, the usage of the term /baava/ meaning 'brother-in-law' to address one's maternal uncle, is found mostly in the illiterate category. It is used by very few people in the literate category (ref.sec.4.2.9,10).

Education has served to bring about a certain degree of uniformity in the speech of various classes and castes, because
educational institutions employ the standard variety of the language for the purpose of teaching. We can cite the example of Christians in this study. Most of the speakers in this group claimed to have converted themselves from the socio-economically backward castes. This group has a high rate of literacy and the usage of terms of address shows that, in their speech, this group is closer to the upper castes. There is no uniformity in the speech of particular castes or particular economic classes but one can differentiate between the speech of the educated and the illiterate.

From the pattern of usage of the various terms of address, we come to understand that the greatest distance in speech varieties lies between the illiterate and educated groups. The speech of the semi-literate category is closer to that of the educated category. Hence, one can broadly distinguish between the speech of the educated people and that of the uneducated.

4.3.4 Age and speech variation The speakers in the sample group have been divided into three age groups - the group A consists of speakers up to twenty years of age, group B consists of speakers between the ages of twenty one and forty, and group C consists of speakers who are forty one and over forty one (ref.sec.2.2.3). The age group A has been regarded as the younger generation and the age group C has been regarded as the older generation.

It has been observed that most of the kinship terms in the data have been used by speakers of all age groups, although with varying frequencies. For example the term /naanna/ (ref.sec.4.2.2) to address one's father, is used by
speakers of all ages, although the highest percentage of usage is found in the age group A. This term of address is used by about fifty six percent of the speakers belonging to the age group A, thirty two percent of the speakers in the age group B and twenty five percent of the speakers in the age group C. The frequency of usage of this term is clearly seen to decrease from the youngest age group to the oldest. In other words, the highest frequency of usage is found in the age group A and the lowest frequency is found in age group C. Similarly, the term /peddanaan/ to address the relation 'father's elder brother' is used more often by the age group A, than by the other age groups.

The term /baava/ (ref.sec.4.2.9,10) which means 'brother-in-law' to address one's maternal uncle is employed more often by speakers of the older generation when compared to the other speakers. The usage of this term implies that the above relation is the potential mate of the ego's sister. Similarly, the usage of the term /akka/ (ref.sec.4.2.11) meaning 'elder sister', to address the relation 'maternal uncle's wife', shows a similar pattern of usage. The usage of these terms increases from the youngest age group to the oldest. Addressing one's parents -in-law by the terms /avva/ and /taata/ (ref.sec.4.2.33,34) which are terms of address for one's grand parents, is not found in the age group A. All these examples prove that uncle-niece marriages are more common among the older generation, and that such marriages are now on the decline.

The forms of address used for the relations 'husband' and 'wife', clearly reflect the changing nature of the husband-wife relationship. In the present day, we are witnessing a shift
from the joint family type of organization to the nuclear family type, especially in the urban areas (ref.sec.1.10). This seems to have brought about a greater degree of intimacy in a husband-wife relationship. This change is marked by the change in the terms of address employed for each other (ref.sec.4.2.21, 22). Addressing each other by name, indicates a reciprocal relationship between the two people (ref.sec.1.7.5). On the other hand, addressing a person by a respectful form of address, and being addressed by name in return, suggests that the relationship is asymmetrical, or that one person has more power than the other. It is found that speakers of the younger generation usually address their wives by names. Addressing their husbands by their names is reported by a higher percentage of people in the age group A than by the other age groups. However, the percentage of speakers addressing their spouses by their names is higher among males than among females. From this we can infer that the husband-wife relationship is not symmetrical, but that a change is taking place in the nature of this relationship, and that this change is being initiated by the younger generation. Addressing one's husband by name is reported by about thirty three percent of the speakers in the age group A, seven percent of the speakers in the age group B and three percent of the speakers in the age group C. Addressing one's wife by the terms /meei/ and /oseev/, which are not very polite forms of address, or the avoidance of address terms is absent among the younger generation.

Some forms of address which are not widely used in this
region, such as /pinni/ 'mother's younger sister' or /baabaai/ 'mother's younger sister’s husband' (ref.sec.4.2.7,8) are used more often by the age groups A and B, than the age group C. The term /baamma/ for instance has not been used by even a single speaker in the age group C (ref.sec.4.2.12). The speech of the older generation may be regarded as being more representative of the speech of this region. It appears that innovations in speech are being initiated by the younger age group.

It is observed that speakers of the younger generation are less particular about the use of kinship terms. For example female cross-cousins are addressed by the term /vadina/ if they are older than the addressee. This is a term of address for one's sister-in-law, or prospective sister-in-law. It is observed that people of the younger generation use this term a little less frequently than, those of the older generation. They are found to use the term /akka/ (sister) to address this relation more often than the older age groups (ref.sec.4.2.39, 40). This reveals their attitude towards cross-cousin marriages.

The pattern of usage of terms of address reveals that the speech of the age group B is closer to that of the age group C, than to the age group A. The greatest distance in speech lies between the age group A and the age group C. we can say that changes in language use are being initiated by the younger age group.
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