CHAPTER - 9

THE HISTORICAL COMPONENT

9.0. Introduction

When groups are isolated from their original groups for a certain period of time, living in different environments, they tend to differ genotypically - in the distribution of genes and phenotypically - in the distribution of certain physical features (Montague, 1959:219-20) and also culturally. The divergence from the ancestral group and convergence towards the contact group is motivated by factors of 1) attraction, 2) pressures of diversified nature and 3) adjustment towards host or guest groups. Interference may be horizontal (host group influencing guest group) or may be vertical (guest group influencing host group). Thus groups may be separated horizontally or vertically from the ancestral group. The six factors contributing to evolution are - migration, isolation, mutation, genetic drift, natural selection and hybridisation (Montague, 1959:220). These biological factors may as well be applicable to the cultural evolution inclusive of social and linguistic evolution. Fossils if regionally considered are very much helpful in linguistic study. Kinship terms as belonging to one of the oldest stock of basic vocabulary deserve special attention in this connection. There are
however several cases where it becomes problematic when considering past events and terminology, that who borrowed from whom and language families tend to fuse together in complex knots.

This chapter intends to provide some historical inferences available from the terminology of kinship and related organisations within the set up of the six communities under study. The terms available in the works of Karve (1950, 1965) and Ghurye (1955) are utilised in the tracing the terms to proximate as well as remote past. Many of the reconstructions posited especially by Karve (1965) and also by Ghurye are given in the specific contexts. Reference to other authors available also are made use of. The terminology is found to be connected not only with other languages of India, but also with those of Japan, Arabia, Persia, Central and South America, Greece, Germany, Italy, Slavic region etc. A number of original and revised etymologies are attempted, some yet with not final answers and may have other solutions on plausible grounds than those posited in this chapter. With the terminology of kinship as the major implement, this chapter thus provides an explanation on:

1) the relative measure of intimacy of the groups under study, terminologically,

2) The reconstruction or the relation of the terms to other terms or their probable derivation,
3. The linking of the communities to various regions in India on the terminological basis.

4. The linking of the communities to different regions on the terminological basis.

5. The linking of the communities to other kinship organisation on the terminological basis.

6. The impact of contact and interference on the terminology of kinship for the six communities.

7. The linking of the communities to the proximate and the remote past.

8. The reconstruction of the kinship organisation in Kerala and in India, with respect to the respective communities under study.

9. The evolutionary aspects of the structure of kin terms - their cyclic nature.

10. The evolutionary aspects of the kinological meaning of the terms - their shuffling nature.

11. The phenomenon of migration, contact and interference of the guest and host communities - the layering of substrata.

12. On the possibility of the dichotomous division of two linguistic groups and correlated groups in the past reflected synchronically on the terms.
9.1. Relative intimacy of the communities under study in terms of the terminology of kinship

9.1.1. Methodology

Terms are selected which either in isolation and or which occur with modifiers (the modifiers only are taken in such situations) are counted for computation. If kinologically significant, those occurring with the modifiers are also taken for consideration. For example, the modifier /mu:ttə/ and /mu:ttayaco/ in MK are taken separately and the term /mu:ttəma:y/ is not taken but only the modifier /mu:ttə/ as modifier is taken for counting. The relative intimacy of the communities under study in terms of sharing of larger number of the terms is found to be as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Communities</th>
<th>Frequency of shared terms</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KG &amp; MR</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KG &amp; UM</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MR &amp; UM</td>
<td>23</td>
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<tr>
<td>MN &amp; MK</td>
<td>22</td>
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<tr>
<td>MN &amp; MM</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MK &amp; MM</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KG &amp; MK</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KG &amp; MN</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KG &amp; MM</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
MR & MK  
MR & MM  
MR & MN  
UM & MN  
UM & MK  
UM & MM  

9.1.2. Discussion: Relative intimacy of the communities

The three migrant communities KG, MR and UM of IA family share the largest number of terms. KG and MR are more closely related than KG and UM or MR and UM. MR and UM share the least number of terms in this language, mainly due to the lower total frequency of terms in MR. Hence despite the distinction of caste, religion and language, the IA communities share more terms than the single language speaking communities - the natives of Kerola. This larger number of sharing of terms is attributed towards some historical factors and will be discussed subsequently.

The native communities speaking Malayalam of the Dravidian family belong to the three dialects of regional variation, also with caste and religion distinction. MN represents the Brahmin dialect of central Kerola, MK the non-Brahmin (largely representing the dialect of southern Kerola) dialect of the southern Kerola, and MM the Muslim speech of the northern Kerola. Compared to the first group of the migrant
communities, the number of shared terms is lesser in the guest communities. This may be partly attributed towards the general lower total frequency of the terms in these three communities and partly due to the religion, caste and regional differences. Among the native communities the largest number of terms is shared by MN and MK, then by MN and MM and lastly by MK and MM. This is due to the fact that the dialect of MN to some extent is a kin to the northern dialect and hence the larger number of terms of similarity. The speech of MK is more akin to Tamil and the kin terms specifically show affinity to Tamil terms. It can be seen that the number of terms shared by KG and MK is more than those shared by the same language speaking communities MK and MM. This is due to the fact that KG have many Dravidian terms which are found in MK. Kinologically also KG and MK are notably akin to each other more than MR, since they are kept at distance due to the practice of uncle niece marriage in MR. It is KG which keeps more affinity with the native language and family than the other other IA communities under study. Next comes KG and MM nearer to each other due to their sharing of some Dravidian and Arabic words. The UM keep distance equally with all the native communities by sharing only 5 terms which are shared also by all communities. The longest distance kept is found to be between MR and MN, which do not have some terms of Dravidian stock like /maccuniyan/, /akka/ etc. (Vide the graph 9.1.3).
Reconstruction of kinship terms:

Reconstruction in the sense done by the comparative linguists involving systematic rules is not attempted here. The tracing of the terms sometimes leads to distant languages and hence links the languages to other languages either by contact or by genetic relationship about which much of certainty cannot be claimed as far as kin terms are concerned. Thus resemblance may be direct (as ancestors or contact communities) or indirect and recurring (passed on from community to community). Some of the terms in the surface structure (phonological similarity) link themselves to an entirely different language as Malayalam terms with Germanic or French giving rise to the situation as to which family these terms belong, whether to Indo Aryan, Indo-European or Dravidian.

The communities are taken one by one and under each community terms are taken. If shared by other communities, the corresponding terms are also given. The collected terms from other languages are also given. The probable reconstruction is also given. A term originally innovated even when the root term is the ancestral one, is also taken as the perform or rather basic form within two asterisks on the right hand side of the form. The communities under study are KG, MR, UM, MN, MK, MM and are numbered as 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. respectively. The terms of the specific community under discussion are given under the section (a) with all its derivants in the
language, those of the other communities under study are given in section (b), and in section (c) all the existing corresponding terms of other languages observed are given and a possible reconstructed form is also given. It should be noted that terms are not reconstructed (in many cases) but the existing terms are given as the reconstructed term in the general set up. Many of the reconstructed forms are indebted to Karve (1965) and some to Ghurye (1955) and other authors. New reconstructions are also attempted. If the reconstruction is original in this work it is marked within two asterisks on either side of the term or as * *.

Symbols used in reconstruction

a) * ---- basic preform

b) *......* ---- newly introduced preform from observation in the present study

c) ** ---- communally innovated terms as preform

d) *......* ---- newly introduced preforms in this study as an innovation of the respective community.

9.2.1. Kinship terms in KG

1. /akka/ 'eZ' (1)

b. /akka/ (2), /akkan/ or /akkacci/ (5)

c. /akkai/, /akkan/, /akkacci/ - Ta. 1,2

/ta:akka/, /ta:kkal/ - Ka

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1. Karve (1965)
2. Burrow and Emeneau (1962)
From all these data /akkai/ is reconstructed as the preform /age:/ is also apparently derived from /akkai/. Similar terms are found in KG, MR, UM and also in other languages like Kannada /age/, Irula /age:/, Urali /agve/. In MR /age/ is used to address the wife. This term is also found in the northern dialect (Kasargode) of Malayalam. From this term other variants like /vaiga:/, /vaiga:/, /ago:/, /vaiga:/, /vivo:/ are derived in KG with derived and different kinological meanings.

In Sanskrit also /akka/ is given as a term but it seems as a clear borrowing from the (IA) languages.

2. /ajj:/ 'FF' \(\rightarrow\) /ajji/ 'MF' (1)
b. /a:jja/ 'MF' /a:jji/ 'MM' (2)  
/acchan/ _(4)  
/acce/ ___ (5)  
/elaccan/ ___ (6) and all their derivants.  
c. /a:jya/ 'FF' - Pali  
/a:rya/ Skt.  

3. a. /ma:yi/ /layi/ 'm' (2)  

This term has a number of derived terms in the communities under study. The derivants are taken for each community separately.

KG: /amma/ ---> /ma:mu/ 'MB' also in (3)  
-->/ma:yi/ 'MBW' ---> /ma:yi/ 'Sp.M'  
-->/ma:vu/ 'Sp.F'  
-->/ma:vlo/ 'MB' ---> /ma:vlni/ 'MBW'  
-->/mausi/ 'MyZ' ---> /paceci/ 'MyZ' NKG  
-->/amma:ma/ 'MM(SKG) ---> /amma:ma/ 'MM'  

MR /ma:y/ ---> /ma:ma/ 'Mb' ---> /ma:mi/ 'MBW'  
-->/a:ya/ 'M', /a:yi/ 'MyM(SKG)'  
-->/ma:vla/ 'MB'  
-->/ma:vso/ 'MyZH'  
-->/ma:vsi/ 'MyZ'
UM  /amma/ 'M' --+ /ma:y/ 'M'  
---+ /ma:mu/ 'MB' --+ /mumma:ni/ 'MBW'  
---+ /maula/ 'MB' --+ /maula:ra bha:y/ 'MBS'  

(/maula/ in isolation is not available only with the terms as cited above similar examples are available vide under 'index')

MN  /amma/ 'M' --+ /amma:man/ 'MB' --+ /amma:yi/ 'MAW'  
---+ /amma:ttə/ 'natal home'  

MK  /amma/ 'M' --+ /ammacci/ 'M'  
---+ /amma:vən/ 'MB' --+ /amma:vi/ 'MAW'  
---+ /amma:ccan/ 'MB'  
---+ /ammumma/ 'MM'

MM: In MM the basic term for mother is derived from the Arabic term /ummi/ but other terms are derived from the earlier term which they used before they became converts to Islam. The derived terms are either fully earlier forms or newly innovated or a combination of native and Arabic term //amma// 'M' (not available now in the dialect)

---+ /ammo:n/ 'MB' (newly innovated, umma+an)  
/umma:n/* --+ /ammu:n/ --+ /ammo:n/  

and hence a pronunciation adjustment:

---+ /amma:yi/ 'MBW'  
---+ /ammo:sa:ŋka/ 'Sp.F'  
---+ /amma:yəmma/ 'Sp.M' (amma:yi+umma)  
---+ /amma:yikka:kka/ 'FZH'
Almost all IA and Dravidian languages have similar terms. The major languages are only dealt here which are relevant in the study.

**Sanskrit**

\(/ma:\text{tr}/, /\text{amba}/ \quad 'M' \)

\(--->/ma:\text{ta}/ \quad --->/ma:\text{tula}/ \quad 'MB' /ma:\text{tula}:ni/'MBW' \)

\(/ma:\text{tule}:ya/* 'MB'/ma:\text{tule}:yi/',',\)

\(/ma:\text{tr} \text{svasr}/ 'MZ'\)

**Prakrit**

\(/ma:\text{ta}/, /\text{amma}/ \quad 'M' \)

\(-- /ma:\text{tulo}/ \quad 'MB' \)

\(-- /ma:\text{tula}:ni/ \quad 'MBW' \)

\(-- /ma:\text{tuccha}/ \quad 'MZ' \)

**Ardha maghadhi**

\(/ma:\text{ta}/, /ma:ya/, /ma:y/ \)

\(-- /am\text{ma}/, /am\text{magi}/ \quad 'M' \)

\(-- /maul\text{aga}/ \quad 'MS' \)

\(-- /ma\text{uch}\text{a}/ \quad 'MZ' \)

\(-- /ma\text{ulani}/, /ma\text{mi}/'MBW' \)

\(-- /ma\text{ma}/, /ma\text{mag}\text{a}/'WF' \)

It can be seen that the languages Konkani, Marathi and Urdu are akin to the Prakrits given above in the terminology of kinship. If we take the terms of all languages/dialects regionally and or socially spread, the variants themselves will give the regular correspondence which can be easily derived by rules. The present study does not attempt an elaborate presentation of rules for all terms. An example of the regular phonological change can be illustrated from the term for mother.
A number of innovations have been adopted by Skt. and Pkt. in course of time probably due to the contact with the Tamil in central and central eastern India. Details are discussed elsewhere. Corresponding terms in other languages are given below which clearly show interlinking of the languages in subsequent intervals of time and or trace to an earlier contact region.

/mama/, /mama/, /mate/ -- Lettic
/mama/, /mama/, /motyan/ -- Lithuanian
/mama/ -- Russian
/matka/ -- Slovakian
/ama/ 'F', /ame/ 'M' -- Manchu (Swadesh, 1962)
/mate/, /meter/, /ma/, /maia/, /mamme/, /mammia/, /ammas/
/amnia/ -- O.Gr.

Similar terms are found in Romance (French, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish languages), Celtic and Gothenic languages.

/*mater/ --> PIE (*/mater/ --> */matr/ --> */mata/...).
4. a. /a:vsu/ 'M' (1)  
   b. /a:va/ 'FM' (2)  
   c. /awis/ 'FB' - Old Prussian & Lithuanian  
   /awos/ 'FF/MF' - PIE, 'MB' - Italian  
   /avus/ 'MB' - Anglo Saxon  

Ghurye (1955:22) derives Marathi /ai/ from /avus/. Lalitha Bai (1977:244) derives Konkani /a:vsu/ from PIE /awos/. The preform is */awos/*

5. a. /a:bu/ 'PF' (1)  
   b. /abba/ 'F' (3)  
   c. */wbbi/ 'F' Arabic

6. a. */dde ba:vu/ 'Parallel brother' (1) The term is derived from Dravidian /eda-/ 'middle'

7. a. /anna/ 'e8' (1) --> /anu/, /a:nu/  
   b. /annan/ (5)  
   c. /annan/ -- Ta. The preform is */annan/

8. a. /alixa/ 'WB' (1)  
   b. /aliyan/ 'WB' (5), (6)  
   c. /o:liya/ 'Ka.
   /o:liya/ 'WB' - Toda

Karve (1965:233) says that /aliyan/ as a kinship term not available in Tamil and the word /aliyan/ 'one who has great love is responsible for the term /aliyan/ in Kannada and

Malayalam. But the term /aliyan/ is formed of /a:l + ya +an/ where /-ya/ is a honorific suffix found in many of the northern and southern dialects of Malayalam in Kerala,12,13 and /a:l/ represents 'person/man'. The daughter's husband is the most respected person in the family and this suits the situation than the earlier suggestion. The preform is */a:l+ya*/

9. a. /onnI/ 'eBW' (1)
   b. /bhau/ 'SW' (3)
   c. */vadhu/ 'bride' Skt
      **/vahini/* 'Mar.

10. a. /uli (pu:tu)/ 'eS' (1)
    b. /ulli (mook)/ 'yS' (2)
    c. */vrdham/ 'grown' Skt
       /vadlom/ , Pkt.

11. a. /ka:sa/ (ba:vu)/ 'uterine brother' (1)
    c. /kasis/ 'FBS, MBS, FZS, NMZS' -- O.Gr.

Gates (1971) found /ka:sis/ as difficult to relate to the exact meaning and related to 'uterine or cousin' and based on KG terminology, Lalitha Bai (1977:224) related to parallel sib. But the present information clarifies the situation that the original meaning was 'cousin brother'


The preform hence is */kasis/* cousin. It is now evident from other connections, i.e., when the English term written in phonemic script */kasin/* relates to this term and the reconstruction is validated. Further the KG and also the Kashmir Pandits who have this term are linked to this term which is not attested in any of the other Indian languages. KG has apparently in course of time made a semantic shift from parallel relation to uterine relation.¹⁴

12. a. */keski/* 'widow with unshaven head'.
This term newly innovated by the community indicated the two types of widows one with shaven heads /bodki/ and the other with unshaven head. However these terms are rarely used and is considered as embarrassing for the native speakers.

13. a. */ke:li/* koń 'plantain sucker' (1)
   b. /ve:la/ ← koń 'calf' — Ta.
   c. */kanra:/ 'calf' — Skt.

14. a. */ke:sa:mb/* 'plantain sucker' (1)

15. a. /kutum/ 'family'
   c. /kutum/ — Skt.

16. a. /kuli:/ 'family' (1)
   c. /kula/ 'family' — Skt.

¹⁴. It should be noted that, the information in Ghurye (1955) collected from Greek and ancient literature are based on written records while living languages are more helpful in evaluation of facts. *The form (Kasargode, 1978)* is probably borrowed from KG. in Kasaragode.
17. a. /go:vu/ 'H' (1)
b. */go:ho/ 'H' -- Skt.
/ogo/ -- Bengali.

In Oriya it is used for both H or W.

18. a. /celli/: 'S' (1)
/ce:li/ 'D' /co:du/ 'D(ic)' /ce:dy/ 'S' (2)
c. /ce:la/ -- Bengali, /te:le/ 'S' Muslim/bengali

19. a. /coRdu/ 'child' (1) /coRdu/ 'children'
/coRdu ba:zi/ 'kin and kith' c. * /te:ild / *' (English)

20. a. /ja:v/ 'HBW' (1)
b. /ja:vvu/ (2)
c. /jaui/, /ba:i/ -- Mar.
* /ya:tr/ -- Skt (Karve, 1965:112).

21. a. /ja:v:yi/ 'DH' (1)
b. /javaty/ (2)
/ja:v/y/ (3)
c. */jama:tr/ -- Skt /jamau/ -- Pkt
/jama:ya/ -- Pkt /javay/ -- Mr.
/jamat/ -- Av /damat/ -- Turkish
/zentas/ -- Lithuanian /genaro/ -- Latin
/genro/ -- Portuguese /gambros/ -- O.Gr.
* /gen/ -- PIE

This term which is widely and more or less uniformly spread
along the IE, II, IA trace back to the PIE */gen/ and Skt. */jamastr/.

22. a. */tangi/ 'yz'
   c. */tankai/, */tankacci/, /enakai/, /tankal/ — Ta.
      */kai/ 'branch' */kayai/ 'ez'15

This etymology */kayai/ is given by Caldwell (1913:100) occurring in the Tamil poetry. Actually this term should have included in item(1)akka but to point out some structural peculiarity it is dealt in here. Terms occurring as body parts as inalineably possessed types are characteristic of Dravidian, Mikir (Pakrasi, 1955), African languages (Greenberg, 1966), Spears (1973) and South and Central American languages (Dunn and Dunn, 1972), Goulet (1981) are reported, which bear historical significance.

23. */tamma/ 'y8' (1)
   c. */tamma/ — Ka. /tampi/ — Ta.
       /ambi/ — Ta. /tammadu/ — Te.

The two stems posited by Caldwell (1913:399) and Karve (1965:248) for the elder and the younger sib are */mun/ and */pin/ respectively. The present reconstruction involves a semantic change of the term also available in Tamil */tamanna/ 'ez'. Thus */tamanna/ —> */tammanna/ —> */tamma/ (progressive assimilation.)

15. Caldwell (1913).
24. a. /gakli (du:və)/ 'y(Z)' (1)
   b. /gəkli (bətyko)/ 'W-2' (2)
   c. */ghəki/ 'small' -- Marathi

25. a. */gəkəi/ 'W(2)' (1)

26. a. /dəyji/ 'consanguineal kins (1)
   b. /dəyərə/ (2)
   c. */dəyə*-/* -- Skt (?)

It is taken as 'those who inherit' and apparently this word is Sanskrit since /dəyə bhaːɡa/' division of inherited property' is given by Karve (1965:343) as the title of the book on inheritance by Jimutavahana.

27. a. /duːvə:/ 'D' (1)

   */duːvəl/* 'BS'

   **/duːval/* 'likes for food during pregnancy'

   c. /duckti/ -- old Prussian
      /dukte/ -- Lithuanian
      /duhitr/ -- Skt
      */dhuːya/* -- Pkt
      /dhiya/ -- Hindi
      /thugater/* -- O.Gr.
      */dhug teə/* -- PIE

Two reconstructions one Indian and the other outside India are possible,
28. /de::Ru/ 'HyB' (1)
   b. /di::Ru/ (2)
   /de:vaR/ (3) --- /de:vaRa:ni/ 'Hy8w'

c. /dieveris/ -- Lithuanian
   /deveru/ -- Old Slavic
   /dever/ -- Russian

All IA languages have similar terms sometimes indicating.

        /deyara/, /diyara/ -- Pkt.
   /devr/ -- Skt.
   /daer/ -- O.Gr.
   */levir/ -- Lat.

*/levir/ appears to be the earlier form as derived from
/vir/ 'H' -- PIE */daiveer/*. Does it indicate /dvi vara/
' Hy(2)' and levirate?

29. a. /nattu/ 'CS' (1) --- /nati/ 'CD'
   b. /na:t/ 'CC' --- /na:tand/ 'CCC' (2)
   c. /nepotis/ 'grand son' -- Lithuanian

   /napat/ -- Avesta
   /naptr/ /nattu/ -- Pkt.
   /nati/ -- Hindi  */naptr/ -- Skt.
   /nepos / -- grandson -- Latin
   /neto/ -- , -- Portuguese
   */napot/ -- , -- PIE (vide 36, 57)
30. a. /nanand̐a/ 'HZ' (1)
   b. /nanand̐/ (2), (3) → /nanand̐yi/ (3)
   c. This term is available in almost all IA languages and also similar terms are found in the Dravidian languages but not found in the IE languages which makes the situation doubtful. Is it an extension of /nana/ or the IE stock? In Dravidian languages other terms are available preferably of the native stock /attiga/. As is the case, the reconstructed term is attributed towards Sanskrit */nanadr/ even if it is a later innovation. The UM term /nanand̐yi/ is derived as the contracted form /nanadr + pati/.
   /nananda/ → Pkt /nanand/ → Marathi
   /nanadr/ → Skt (vide 80).
31. a. /nijj̐:ba:vû)/ 'uterine brother' (1)
   c. */nijam/ 'true' → Ta.
32. a. /padd̐̐/ 'calf' (1)
       → /padd̐/ 'calf (female)
   b. /paːda/ (2) & (3) → /paːdi/ (3)
   c. A proper reconstructed form could not be identified.
33. a. /pagaR (maːvû)/ 'Sp., FB' → /pagaR maːyî/ 'Sp.FZ'
   c. */pagaram/ 'exchange' → Dravidian
34. a. /pl̐iːla/ 'child (of an animal)' (1)
   b. /pilla/ 'child' (5)
   /maːple/ 'H' (6) & (6)
   /pudiyaːpl̐a/ 'bridegroom' (5,6).
   c. /pillai/ → Ta
Derived terms for the daughters are also available in these IE languages. This term along with some other terms create doubtful situations regarding the original contact places of these groups, though not a single ancestor. Details are discussed elsewhere (vide 9.11).

35. a. /pettJ/ 'pup' (1) /hetti/ 'female pup'

36. a. /puttu/ 'S' (1) —> /putany/ 'AS'
   —> /poru/ 'S'
   b. /poruga/ —> (2) /porugl/ 'D'
      /potara/ 'SS' —> /potari/ 'SD'
      —> /kotara/ 'SCS' —> /kotari/ 'SCD'

   c. /puthra/ 'S' — Avesta
      /putus/, /putillus/ 'boy' — Latin

The terms /puttu/, /poruga/ and /potara/ are all derived from the Sanskrit term "putra/.

Marathi has another term /putani/ the female form of /putanya/ which is lost in Konkani and in Mhāratha Raos. The Mharatha Raos equate parallel filials with the basic filials.

37. a. */p'ntɔ/ 'CCS' (1) ---> */pɔnti/ 'CCD' --->
    ---> */pɔntjo/ 'PPF' ---> *pontja:u/ 
    ---> */pɔntji/ 'PPP' ---> *pontja:y/

    c. */nattunia/ -- PKT.
    /pərnati/, /panati/ -- Hindi
    /panati/ -- Nepali / pərnati/ -- Bengali
    /panatu/ -- Marathi */prənatə/ -- Skt.

    */penthura/* -- 'HF' -- Lithuanian

In KG two terms suggest for reconstruction as alternative forms. Of these the Skt term seems to be more valid and the modifier */pra-/* is as old as IE languages. However the plural form */prontrɔ/ has close similarity with the Lithuanian term and we can see in many cases a final loss of the IE */-os/ or Lithuanian */-is/ or */-is/ is found in the KG. Hence two terms are posited as preforms which may need revision.

38. a. */p'nskɔ/ 'adopted son' (1) ---> poski 'adopted D'

    c. */pəsə/ 'S' -- Varli
    /posis/ 'H' -- O.Gr.

The similarity to old Greek seems to be quite accidental. The Greek term indicate 'to rule' while the Konkani term indicate 'to rare up'.
39.a. /bappa/ 'F' (1) \rightarrow /apa:/ 'endearing term'

b. /ba:p/ (2) & (3), /tholpa:/ 'FyB' (2)
   /ba:ppa/ (6)
   /ap\d/ (5) \rightarrow /appu:ppa/ 'PF'
       \rightarrow /aittappE/ 'FyB' etc.
   /apphan/ 'FyB' (4)
   /acchan/ 'F'

Almost all languages have similar terms.
/pappos/ 'grand father' - O.Gr.
/pater/ 'F' - O.Gr, La.
/pitr/ - 'Skt'
/piya/, /piu/, /bappa/ Pkt

The KG term /bappu:su/ is derived from Greek /pappos/ From
Arabi /ubbi/ is derived the term for the father in MM
/uppa/ and its derivants /uppa:ppa/ 'PPF'. Hence in this con-
nection the pertinent terms of reconstruction are */pater/,
*/pappos/ and */ubbi/; */pitr/.
(More than one term is taken to show interferences at various
stages).

The Arabic term as exclamation is available in KG as
/abba/. This term is available in UM also /abba/ (See-4).
41. a. /ba:l/ 'child' /ba:lænti/ 'woman in confinement'
   **/ba:læntiːr/* 'delivery'
   **/ba:luːve/ 'obstinacy'

b. /ba:lænti/ 'woman in confinement' (2)
   /va:lyakka:ran/ 'younger' and its derivant (6)

c. /ba:laka:h/ 'hoy' -- Skt.

42. a. /ba:vu/ 'B' (1)

A number of terms are derived from this term and in the description and reconstruction each derivant is taken separately and their existing corresponding terms in KG, MR, and UM and other languages are given. In reconstruction if a term newly innovated it is denoted by an asterisk though remote or basic term may be another term.

a. /ba:vu/ 'B' (1)
   /bhaː/ (2) /bhaːy/ (3)
   /bhaya/, /bhaː/ -- Pkt.
   /bhaː/ -- Mar. /bhaː/ -- Sindhi
   /phratar/ -- O.Gr. /frater/ -- Latin
   */b̥h̥r̥aːt̥/ -- Skt.

a. /bːyːli/ 'Z' (1)
   /bhayn/ (2) /bhaːn/ (3)

Similar terms are not available in IE languages but widely spread in IA languages. Thus it appears this reminising process is independently evolved by Sanskrit in India. The corresponding terms in IA languages are given below:
The more appropriate term will be */bhretrini/*

a. */bhauji/ 'BW' (1)
   */bha:voji/ (2) */bha:v:oj/ (3)
   */bhaujaya/ — Pkt.
   */bhawoj/ — Hindi
   */bhavajai/ — Mar.
   */bhavOjl/ — Skt.

a. */bla:voji/ 'eZh' (1)
   */bhavoji/ 'HB WB' — Mar.

a. */bayy/* 'He3' (1)
   */bha:vy Ya/* (2)

Though the terms in KG looks similar to MR they are different. The KG term */b:ayj/* is analysed as */bha:vu + /b:ayj/*. A mere masculanising suffix changes the kinological meaning. In MR the term is analysed as */bhu+ya/* where */-ya/* is an honorific suffix. The */-ya/* as an honorific suffix is apparently a Dravidian suffix occurring with many other terms as */me:hu:niya/*, */avuka/* and more over the Telugu */-ga:ru/* is a double honorific suffix as */-ga + ru/*. */-ya/* as a honorific and plural suffix occurs in many dialects of Malayalam and further in this study */aliya/* also has the honorific suffix. The Kannada term */at:ige/* also is an example (The reconstructed suffix appears to be */ka —> ga —> ya/*).
a. /bacc/ 'BS' (1) --->/bacci/ 'BD'
/bhati:ja/ 'BS' (3) --->/bhati:ji/ 'BS' (3)

**/bacc/a/ -- Mar. */bhratrja/ -- Skt

a. /bavnd/ 'siblings' (1)

*/bha:vu band/" (2)

The KG term is the contracted form of MR.

a. /bha:bhi/ 'e8w' (2) & (3)

The term appears to be an hybrid of Sanskrit and perhaps Persian or Arabic as **/bha:y + bi:bi/* which is not discussed by other scholars.

a. /bhanja/ 'ZS' (3) --->/bha:qi/ 'ZD'

Similar terms are available in Prakrit, Hindi, Sindhi, except in Marathi, Konkani, Bengali (/bhagne/) which traces to the Sanskrit form **/bhaginiJa/. These terms are not available in IE and II languages and are innovated by Sanskrit after the arrival in India which indicate early Dravidian or native contact.

Other terms for relative age difference is not discussed here. Hence though the term basic to male sib traces origin to the other derivants are innovated later probably after their arrival in India and some of them after the contact with the native communities. It can be seen that as further indication of this contact phenomenon, terms themselves have been borrowed by the central IA languages from the contact.
Dravidian languages.

43. a. /ba:ylo/ 'W' (1) /ba:yko/ (2)
   c. /bayako/, /baylo/ -- Mar.
   /bairi/ -- Gujarathi
   */bharya/ -- Skt.
   This term is not available in IE or II languages.

44. */bodki/* 'widow'

45. a. /malgɔːdɔ(putu)/ 'a(S)' (1)
   c. */malo/ 'big' -- Tamil.

46. a. */məntu/* 'FeB' (1) --*/məvɔ/ 'FeBw'
   c. Derived from Sanskrit */mahan/* 'great'

47. a. /mevnɔ/ 'MBS, WB, ZH' (1) --*/mevni/ 'MBD'
   b. /mhevna/ (2) --*/mhevni/
      /maccambi/ 'MBS' (5)
      /maccunyan/ 'MBS' (6) --*/maccunlcci/ 'MBD'
   c. /mehuna/ -- Mar. --*/mehuni/ */maccinan/* 'WYB' -- Ta.
      --*/mattunan/ 'WYB'
      --*/mattuni/ 'WYZ'
      /maiduna/ '', -- Kannada
      /mahunaya/ 'FZS' -- Ardhamagadhi --*/mehuniya/ 'MBS'
      /mehuniga/ 'ZH'

Karve (1965:98) states that a number of cases of cross cousin marriages have been reported in the Ardhamagadhi literature.
From the information of Mukherjee (1981:41-2) also it can be inferred that the terms of Bihar and Orissa strongly reflect cross cousin marriage though at present the communities do not favour this custom. For all these reasons it can be deduced that the IA term /maitthuna/ apparently have no priority over the Dravidian word /meccadal/ 'the preferred one' as the two terms suggested by Karve (1965:233) but she is not fully convinced in taking the Dravidian etymology. Hence */maittunan/ may be the reconstructed term which is available in Malayalam also which is spoken at the southern most part of India. Similar terms are also available in other Dravidian languages like Tulu /maitadi/ 'FZO'. Toda/matchuni/ 'MBC, FZC' all belonging to the southern part of India where the IA contact in the early historic times might not have taken place.

It is probable that the IA languages which evolved as Prakrit languages had contact in high intensity in the central and eastern central regions with Dravidian languages (Prabhu, 1980) had borrowed these terms also.

48. a. /me:13/ 'W of a Kudumbi' (1)
   c. */mahila/ 'woman' — Skt.

49. a. */leek/* 'kinship' (1) → /lekti:lI/ 'kins'

b. /anbayi/ 'unmarried'
   **/vivar:na/ 'marriage' — Skt.
51. a. /vardi:k/ 'marriage' —> /vore:tu/ 'bridegroom' —> /vokk:li/ 'bride' —> /vo:R:/ 'newly married couple' —> /voR::n:/ 'bridegroom party'

b. /nhavRa/ 'bridegroom' (2) —> /nhavri/ 'bride'

/ve:li/ 'wife, marriage' (4) —> /aupa:sanam ve:li/ 'the daily homa performed at the marriage sacrifice Fire.'

c. */var-/* 'bridegroom — Skt

/vir/ 'H' — Latin

It is not clear whether the Latin /vir/ is connected with Sanskrit /var/. Earlier tendency to reconstruct the Skt /var/ 'to marry' then has to revise and then has to be attached to the word /vir/ and similar terms of IE stock.

/maritue/ — Latin
/mari/ — French
/marito/ — Italian
/marido/ — Portuguese
/marido/ — Spanish

In II languages similar terms are not found. It appears that the Sanskrit term is a retention of the IE term. II languages and Balto Slavic language have the old Greek derived terms /posis/ and other terms. Konkani in the course of time innovated many terms from the basic term. Some of the IA languages...
add the modifier to the basic term to indicate the nval kin status of the relative in question. In fact it is not in strict sense a kin term but a generic term used for the kins. In some languages like UM and MK and MM however similar terms are used in kin connotation.

52. a. /satta: (soyri:k(rc)/ 'Marriage by) exchange' (1)
   c. / sat·ta/ 'exchange business' -- Gujarathi

53. a. /saddu:k(r)/ 'WZH'
b. /sa:dhu/ (3)
c. /sarhu/ -- Hindi /sadhu/ -- Napali
   /sadhu/ -- Mar. /cattakan/ -- Ta.
   /shadraga/ -- Telugu /saddaka/ -- Kannada
   /cattagan/ -- Malayalam
*/syalivodr/ -- Skt (Ghurye, 1955).

Though the term is found in the Dravidian languages also it is more widely spread in the IA languages. Other languages of the IE stock do not have this term except old Norse /svili/. It appears that it is only an accidental similarity since the term of the IA is derived from the term /sya:la/, /sya:li/ where /sya:la/ indicates the one who gives the parched rice for the homa in a winnowing (Sya·pan) to the ZH (ie.WB) (Ghurye, 1955:48), Kapadia, 1947:25-60) and thus this term might be a later innovation in India or it may be a retention of the old Norse term. In many cases it has been found
that more than one etymology suited which could be adequately explained in both situations with different meanings. This may often lead the scholars to erroneous conclusions (for example, Southworth (1982) reconstruction of the Tamil term /cako:dar/ to the English term /sister/ which is totally wrong that the Tamil term is derived from the Sanskrit /sah:daal/ 'B' - one who has born from the same womb'). Mere phonological similarity and phonological correspondence will not help in reconstruction if other alternatives on firm grounds are available. All languages agree with some patterned phonological rules towards another language even if it is not related to the other genetically. This does not mean that reconstruction methods are not valid but caution should be taken to do so and one has to examine the other neighbouring languages also (vide. 54).

54. a. */su:li/ 'yBW' (1)
   c. /sa:la/ 'WB' /sa:li/ 'WZ' (3)
   */sy:a:la/ 'WB' -- Skt.

Similar terms in the IA languages can be found in the list given by Ghurye (1955) and also Karve (1965).

55. a. */su:n/ 'SW' (1)
   b. /su:n/ (2)
Similar terms in the connotation for son are available in the Balto-Slavic languages also. The term posited above is taken from Gates (1971). The reconstructed term is attributed towards PIE.

56. a. /souyRa/ 'affinal kin' (1) \( \text{soy} \text{yr} \cdot \text{ka} \) [proposed]
   c. /svasura/ --- Skt

Marve (1965:191) gives the reconstruction suggested by Katre. In there are other terms in MR and WM which are more closely related to the above one.

/sa:sRa/ 'Sp.M' (2) \( \rightarrow \) /sa:s/ 'Sp.M'

/sa:sRa/ 'Sp.F' (3) \( \rightarrow \) /sa:s/ 'Sp.M'

\( \rightarrow /\text{sasura}:\text{i}/ 'husband's house''

/soyra/ 'affinal kin' \( \rightarrow \) Mar.

*/svasura/ 'Sp.F' \( \rightarrow \) Skt

Though Karve (1965:191) acknowledges Katre for the etymology as /svasuraka/ she derives the more appropriate etymology as /svasura/ \( \rightarrow \) /sahura/ \( \rightarrow \) /saura/ /soyra/. /sa:s/ is derived from /svasru/ \( \rightarrow \) Skt as a remote etymology, further derivations may be given */sestu/* '2' - Lithuanian and similar terms in
allied languages.

*/soror/* 'Z' -- Latin

Similar terms are available in French, Italian and Gothic or Teutonoc languages. But a corresponding masculine term is not found in any of the language given in the list by Ghurye (1955: 222).

57. a. /senti/ 'CCCC' --- /senti/ 'CCCD'
   --- /senj/:/ 'PPPF' --> /senji/ 'PPPM'

   The corresponding terms in Marathi are /khaiper panatu/ and /khaiper panaja/ and are not related to Konkani terms. It is not evident whether the Konkani /senti/ is related to Lithuanian /sentis/ or the analysis as the /se+por+nattu/ 'hundred + old + grandson' since in Sanskrit /pra-/ denotes 'old' (Lalitha Bai, 1977) is more valid. (Vide 36, 29 which gives /putr/ --- /naptr/ --- /sentr/.

58. a. /sa:si/ 'sapling'

   b. /srsti/ -- Skt (?)

   a. /sеваа:гни/ 'woman with husband alive' (1)

59. b. /seva:ganl ba:yc:ko/ " (2)
   /suha:gin/ " (3)

   b. /saubha:gya/ 'prosperity' -- Skt.

60. a. /Ra:nd/ 'prostitute' (1)
    b. /Rа:n mund/ 'widow' (2)
c. */raːnti/ -- Pahadi (Karve, 1965:113)

*/raːnde/ 'W' -- Vagri boll (Varma, 1975:268)*/ ran/

'S' Punjabi

*/raːnd/ 'Widow' (ibid.)

*/munde/ 'widow' (Karve, 1950)

The term in MR is a hybrid of IA and Dravidian term and further a duplicated term with same meaning. The original meaning appears to be Pahadi */raːnti/ 'W' and also Punjabi */raːn/-

9.2. Kinship terms in MR

61. a. /aːtya/ 'FZ, MBW, MBD, etc.' (2)

c. /atta/, /tettə/ 'F' -- O.Gr.

/atta/, /tetta/ -- Latin

It is not clear whether the MR term which is Tamil */atta/ is also related to the IE languages and that the Sanskrit term /taːta/ is derived from these. O.Gr terms. Since IE has other terms for father, these terms appear to be of non-IE origin as in the case of /naːna/. Hence for the time being while the Sanskrit /taːta/ keeping separate MR /aːtiya/ is reconstructed as Tamil */atta/ + the honorific suffix /-ya/.

62. a. /kaːka/ 'FyB' (2) --> /kaːki/ 'FyBW'

b. /caːcca/ ',, (3) --> /caːcci/ 'FyBW' and also other derivations:

c. /kaːka/ ',, -- Rajasthani, Gujarati, Mar., Hindi.

/caːca/ ',, -- Sindhi, Punjabi, Pahari.
Karve attributes (1965:110) this term to Turkish origin
(/chicha/ 'FB' -- Bulgarian.

63. a. /ta:ta/ 'FF' (2)
   b. /cula/ 'FYB' (2)
   /culata/ -- Mar.


   /ga:ga/ 'FF' (3) -- /da:di/ 'FM' (3) and other derivatives.

   c. /A number of terms bear similarity to this term of other language family stock as already discussed. They are given as follows:

   /ga:ga/ 'FF' -- Hindi, Bihari, Bengali, Gujarathi, Oriya, Punjabi, Rajastani, Sindhi
   /dedo/ 

   /teta/ 'F' -- Lithuanian and similar terms in many Balto Slavic languages.

   /teta/, /atta/ 'F' -- O.Gr
   /tata/, /btta/ ,, -- Latin
   /atir/ ,, -- Old Irish
   /tata/ ,, -- Skt
   /taya/ ,, -- Mar.
   /tata/ 
   /attai/, /tattai/ 'EZ' -- Tamil

   */-ttan/ ,, -- Tamil
/atta/ or /attan/ may be taken as the preform for /a:tya/. Another form which suggests antiquity is the term */tattai/ which is available even now in MM in the reduplicated now labelled as Muslim speech form. The Muslim speech retains some of the Tamil forms in this dialect of Malayalam.

64. a./dalla/ 'H' (2)
   c.*/dadal/ , , -- Mar.

The term /dadal/ is also available in Konkani with the meaning 'man'.

65. a.**(keela (2) natta:/ 'Plantain sucker'
   c.**/nett / -- Tamil

66. a./nata:va:lil/ 'preferential mate 'FZD' (2)
   b./natha/ 'relation' (3)

67. a./ok/ 'S' --- /e:k/ 'D'
   --- /ne:kuR/ 'child'
   c./lo:k/ 'S' -- Mar. --- */le;k/* 'D'.

MR changes some of the Marathi in this dialect.

68. a./saut/ 'cowife' -- (2)
   b./sapat/ , , -- (3)
   c./saptna/ , , -- Skt

69. a./sva:nd bha:Ra/ 'uterine B' (2)
   b./svand ba:vu/ , , (1)
   c.*/svaka banda bha:nt.r/* -- Skt.
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70. a./a:pa/ 'eZ' (3)
   c./a:pa/ 'Z (y/e)' -- Muslim Bengali

71. a./a:Raz/ 'W'
   c./a:rus/ -- Persian & Arabic

72. a./a:Rat/ 'W' (3)
   b./a:rat/ -- Punjabi /imrat/ 'W' woman Arabic
   c./a:Rat/ -- Persian

73. a./xa:vind/ 'H' (3)
   b./xa:vind/ -- Hindi
   c./* An etymology could not be identified.

74. a./xa:la/ 'MZ' (3) --- /xalai/ 'MZH'
   b./kha:la/ 'MZ' -- Hindi
   c./xa:le/ 'MZ' -- Persian
   * /khaleti/ 'MZ' (Arabic --> /khali/ 'MB')

75. a./ji:ji/ 'eZ' (3)
   b. The terms /di:di/ and /ji:ji/ are available in the IA languages like Hindi, Pahari, Bihari, Bengali, Nepali, Raja­
thani, Oriya. The original term is derived from the Sindhı

* This is from the fragmentary data collected from the wife of Mr. Shamsul Haq from Bangla Desh who speaks Muslim speech of Bengali language having many terms in common with UM with kinological distinction. A detailed data could not be collected since she was on a short visit to India while her hus­band doing research in the Kerala University in the Dept. of Linguistics.
*/da:di/ 'ez'.
76.a./je:th/ 'HeB' (3) --> /je:tha:ni/ 'HeBW'
b./e:ttan/ 'eB' (4) --> /e:ttat/i/ 'ez'
/c:ttan/ 'OZH' (5) --> /c:ttatI/ 'eBW'
c. These terms are typical of the northern zone described by Karve (1965).
c. */jye:sth/ 'eB' -- Skt.
77.a./jo:Ru/ 'W' (3)
c. */jo:Ru/ 'W' -- Persian
78.a./dulha/ 'bridegroom' (3) --> /dulhan/ 'bride'
b./dulahan/ 'H' -- Hindi
c. */dulha/ -- Persian
79.a./na:na/ 'MF' (3) --> /na:ni/ 'MM' and other derivants.
c./nana/ -- Skt  /nana/ -- Turkish
/nennos/ 'FB' -- O.Gr. /nenna/ 'FZ'
/nanna/ -- Persian
*/anna/, /an-?/ -- PIE
/annal/, /tannal/ 'M' -- Tamil
It is possible that the terms in Tamil and the other terms not
of India may be related by contact situation of remote past.
80.a./nava:sa/ 'DS' (3) --> /nava:si/ 'DD'
--> /kava:sa/ 'DOS'
--> /kava:si/ 'DDD'
81. a./nikkaːh/ 'marriage' (3)
   b./nikkaːh/ (6)
   c */nikkaːh/ -- Arabic.
82. a./pāːcchi (bhaːy) 'HeB' (3)
   c */pīːce/ 'back'
83. a./pāːlak (bēːta)/ 'adopted S' (3)
   b./pāːlna/ -- Hindi.
84. a./pīːdī/ 'lineage' (3)
   c */pīːdī/
85. a./pāːlān (bēla)/ 'eS' (5)
   c */pāːlā/ 'first'
86. a./phuphu/ 'FZ' (3) and its variants
   c */pitr svasr/ 'FZ' -- Skt.
87. a./bu/ 'eZ' (3)
   /bubu/ -- Muslim Bengali.
   c */buːin/* 'Z' -- Eastern Bengali (Chatterji, 1960:112).
   Chatterji gives the form which in the contracted form as a
   new innovation is used by the Muslims, some times reduplicated
   as in MB, which actually traces the origin to the Sanskrit
   /bhandā/.
88. /maːndaːr (maː)/* 'step M' (3)
   I could not find any other similar form connected with
kins but there is a term in Konkani /maider/ 'back courtyard' and this may indicate that 'one comes behind' the major kin and probably a Persian word the nasalisation innovated change.

89. a. /ladka/ 'S, boy' (3) \(\rightarrow\) /ladki/ 'D, girl'
    c. /ladka/ 'boy' \(=\) /\text{lad}\text{ka}/ 'boy'

90. a. /beta/ 'S' (3) \(\rightarrow\) /beta/ 'D'
    c. */putra/ -- Skt (/bac\text{da}\rightarrow be\text{ta}/)

91. a. /maRa\text{g}/ 'HB' (3)
    c. /mar\text{d}/ -- Hindi */mard/ -- Persian

92. a. /sauha\text{R}/ 'H' (3) \(\rightarrow\) /s\text{a}rdi/ 'marriage'
    c. */so\text{h}\text{a}\text{R}/ -- Persian

93. a. /silsila/ 'heritage' (3)
    c. */si\text{l}\text{si}la/ -- Persian

94. a. /sam\text{dh}i/ 'C.Sp.F' (3) \(\rightarrow\) /sam\text{dhi}/ 'C.Sp.M'
    c. /samb\text{dh\text{in}}/ 'relation' -- Skt

95. a. /sagga-bha:y/ 'uterine B' (3)
    c. */svaka (bha:y) Skt

9.2.4. Kinship terms in MN

96. a. /agattulla:\text{la}/ 'W' (4)
    c. The terms which are found in Tamil bear semantic similarity than phonological similarity to MN terms.
Hence the reconstruction is done on the semantic basis.

*/agamudayaːl/ 'W' -- Tamil from the masculine form */agamudaːyaːl/, */aːttukaːran/ etc. It also bears similarity to some extent to the Sanskrit term */grha paṭi/ and */grha paṭni/. It is not clear that who borrowed from whom the semantic aspect in the ancient period, borrowing done only on the terminological level and probably not on kinological level at first. The Skt term is as old as Vedic times. It is also probable (or more correctly certain) that the MN were either originally IA speakers which their dialectic peculiarities strongly suggest had contact with the earlier Malayalam people (or any Dr. people of earlier abode?) the MN natives, the Tamil speakers in Kerala borrowed these terms and later evolved these terms. But it does not seem so. It is the Nambudiris in the northern Kerala who were responsible for the simplified classificatory terminology as against the southern Kerala type reflective of cross cousin marriage. In northern Kerala the general tendency for equating the parents of spouses with own parents is attributed towards the Nambudiris and further, the terminology for the elder brother and elder sister extended for cross cousin is an extension of the terminology for the Nambudiris, but for them they are all parallel sibs with restriction on kin endogamous marriages. After this a number of innovations were made by the natives (Dravidians) by equating the husband with...
the elder brother terminologically. As an immediate preform the Tamil form in semantic sense can be taken for MN form. A number of terms in the Nambudiri speech are nativised Sanskrit terms. The other examples will illustrate some cases.

97. a. /aniyan/ 'yB' (4) \(\rightarrow\) /aniyatti/ 'yZ'
   b. /ansan/ ' ' (6) \(\rightarrow\) /ansatti/ ' ';
   c. */anujah/ ' ' -- Skt.

98. a. */avidutta:rai/ 'H'

99. a. */andaJanam*/ 'W' (4)
   c. */andaR/ + /janam/ 'inside + people' -- Skt.

100. a. */illam/ 'clan, house' (4)

101. a. */unnil/ 'S' (4)
   il2. a. */o:niccauntli/ 'Nambudiri boy undergoing Vedāic education. 
   c. */upanayanam/ 'ritual initiation' -- Skt.
   /unnil/ -- Dravidian.

A hybrid form of Sanskrit and Dravidian.

103. a. */a:ñala/ 'B' (4)
   b. /a:ñala/ ' ' (6)
   c. */a:ñala/ -- Malayalam.

104. a. /dapparannoon/ 'B' (4)
   b. /dapparannoon/ 'B' (5) \(\rightarrow\) /dappaRanno:1/ 'Z'
   c. */udaippiRappu/* 'uterine sib' -- Tg.
105. a. */o:ppa/ 'O.B' (4) → /o:ppl/ 'OZ'
This term is native, innovated by the Nambudiris and now available in the Nair dialect of Malabar also. It is closely related to the Sanskrit form /sahor:da/ 'one who has born from the same womb', and this term indicates that 'one who has with self' (from the same body of the mother). In Tamil also this semantic translation is available /udaippiRappu/ 'uterine sibs' (male & female).

106. a. /aupa:snam ve:li/ 'the homa conducted at the marriage sacrificial fire (4)
   c. */aupa:sanam/ + var/ → Skt.

107. a. */kuttan/ 'S' (4) → /kutti/ 'D' (4)
   b. /kutti/ 'S/D', C' (6) → /pe: rakutti/ 'CC' (5),
   c. */kuttan/ 'boy' → Tamil (Pillai, 1972:529)

/gudda/ → Kannada
In Konkani /guddo/ indicates 'short fellow and /guddi/ 'the female form, which is available in Kannada also (vide, 108).

108. a. /ku:di/ 'W' (4) and its derivants
   c. /ku:di/ → Punjabi
   /hon kuri/ 'D' → Gondi (Karve, 1965:335).
   **/kuri/ 'W' (ibid, 337) → Mundari
   /kuki/ 'D' → Rajasthani (Ghurye, 1955:222).

It is not clear whether the Rajasthani form and the other forms are related.
Ikuril 'spouse' - Maringer (Australian) - (Falkenburg (1962: 39). Does this term indicate the Austro Asiatic origin by its presence in the Mundari and Maringer? There are reports that the inhabitants of Australia are migrants from India of the Austro Asiatic Group (Chatterji, 1960:37)\(^\text{18}\)

It evidently suggests an underlying substratum of Austro Asiatic culture further validated but its existence in the languages Punjabi and Rajasthani the earlier settlements of this group in the prehistoric times. A detailed study (which is at present beyond the scope of this work) will isolate an amount of language stock on the spread of this racial group in the prehistoric times. Pillai (1972:526) give this as the Skt form but in Sanskrit or other IE languages this term is not available in either of these meanings and hence cannot be accepted.

This term is widely distributed in Malayalam and Tamil also, especially in the dialects akin to Tamil as in MK and Paniya (Nair, 1976:104-5).

109. a. /cicta + (assi) + amma)/ 'PyZ' (4)
   b. /cicta + app$/ 'FyB' (5)
   c.*/cinna/ 'small' -- Tamil

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18. It appears that the Austric group spread all over north India with the major contact group as Tibeto Burman which is reflected not only through kin terms, but also by the numerals. Gowda (1983) however does not connect these two groups.
110. a. /tʰravaːd/* 'spousal home' (4)
111. a. /ceRiya + (amma)/ 'FyBW' (4)
   b. /ceRiya amma:van/ 'MyB' (5)
   /ceRiya:mo:n/ 'MyB' (6)
   c.*/ceRiya/ -- Mal.
112. a. /nambudiri/ 'H 'Nambudiri' (5)
   --->/ele:mbu:ri/ 'HyB'
   c./brahma/* + /sri:/ 'Light of Brahma' Skt.
   b. /pe:raː pé/ 'FeB' (5)
   c. /pe:raːkutti/ 'CC' (6)
   c.*/periya/ 'big' -- Tamil
113. a. /pRa:savam/ 'deliYery' (4)
   c.*/pRasu/ 'M' -- Skt.
114. a. /mangalya stri:/ 'woman with husband alive' (4)
   c.*/mangalam + stri/ -- Skt.
115. a. /meːrricil/* 'marriage' (4)
   c. /meː + iruttal: / 'home + to sit' -- Mal.
116. a. /mahan/ 'S' (4) --> /maːl/ 'D' and other derivants
   b. /moːː/ , , (5) --> /moːː/ 'D' ,
      /moːn/ , , (6) --> /moːː/ 'D' ,
   c.*/magan/ -- Tamil
      /moːlika/ -- Skt
      */moː:/ 'CS' -- Japanese
Another evidence as Austro Asiatic substratum is available.

117. a. */ma:t:tam/ 'marriage' (4) -- Mal.

118. a. */mut:ta amma:van/ 'MeB' (4)
b. */mut:ta yammacci/ 'MeZ' (5)
c. */mut:ta xma:n/ 'eS' (6)

c. */mutta/ 'big' -- Mal.

119. a. */valya (acchan)/ 'FeB' (4)
b. */valiya/ 'big' -- Mal.

120. a. */saho :dar:an/ 'B' (4) -- */saho :dari/ 'B' (4) -- Skt

121. a. */kalya:nam/ 'marriage' (5)
b. */kalya:nam/ 'happiness, prosperity' -- Skt

122. a. */tande:n/ 'F' (5)
c. */tentai/ 'F'

These are types of inalienably possessed kin terms typical of Dravidian, African, Central and South American and Japanese terms. In MK this is a further innovated term by the affixation of the masculine suffix */-an/.

123. a. */pen:n: / 'W' (5) -- */pudiyann:/ 'bride'

b. */penk:da/ 'marriage' (4)
This term is available in the Nair dialect of southern Kerala and denoted the heir of the male ego in the matrilineal communities. The MK has borrowed this term from the neighbouring Nair feudal lords Pillai (1972:1542) refers to the term /se:sam kodukkuga/ 'to give a piece of cloth from the funeral pyre of the deceased, to the heir' clearly indicative of the succession.

9.2.6. Kinship terms in MM

Majority of the terms in MM have already appeared while discussing the other communities. Here the remaining or relevant terms are discussed.

126. a. /uppa/ 'F' (6)
   c.*/ubbi/ 'F' -- Arabic

127. a. /umma/ 'M' (6)
   c. /ummi/ 'M' -- Arabic
In Malayalam they have nativised the Arabic terms. A number of terms are available of Arabic origin in MM but in kinship they are relatively few in relation to UM where they employ a number of Persian and Arabic terms.

128. a. */kakkolatt/* 'W' (2) (6)
129. a. */kettiyo:* 'H' (6) --> */kettiyo:l/* 'W'
130. a. */kenidyt/* 'marriage' ( )
   c. */ka:mt/* -- Arabic
131. a. */peRakka:ta m:n/* 'St. S' (6)
132. */pe:R/* 'delivery' -- Mal (5), (6)
132. a. */po:ttu m:n/* 'adopted S' (6)
   c. */po:ttu/* 'to bring up' -- Mal.

The terminology of kinship on regional basis

Regionally, the terminology of KG has a mixed system of denotative and classificatory of the central zone - as given by Karve (1968) that of central India - as found in Marathi, with some distinctions. The only term borrowed in Kerala is */aliya/* 'WB' and all other Dravidian terms either as terms themselves or as kinologically equated terms such as */ma:ntu/* 'FeB, MeZH', */ma:v:* 'FeBW, MeZ, /N bappe/ 'FyB, MyZH', */mausi/* 'FyBW, MyZ' which are different from Marathi terms but are similar to Dravidian kinologically have been borrowed in subsequent intervals of time of migration and stay in various
places. Thus the terms /təŋgi/ 'yZ', /təmme/ 'yB', /məiву/ 'Sp.F' relate them to Karnataka, /ba:vũ/ 'eZH', /Ra:nə/ 'prostitute' to Andhra Pradesh, /onni/ 'eBW', /ponji/ 'PPM' etc. to Maharashtra, /bayyɔ/ 'HeB', /baccɔ/ 'ZS' to Hindi regions, /ajjɔ/ 'FF', /mevŋɔ/ 'WB', /mevɬɔ/ 'MB' etc. to Bihar (Pali and Ardhamagadhi), /ba:ri/ 'W' to Gujarath, /ka:sa/ 'uterine' to Kashmir Pandits etc. The antiquity of Tamil contact (/akka/ 'eZ' and other terms) as to Bihar or Marathasthra cannot be ascertained, the most probable antique contact region being at Bihar. Some of the terms of Maratha region retained with marginal occurrence such as /bappu bavŋɔ/ 'FBC', /mausi baundʒ/ 'MZC' etc. The absence of Marathi terms like /nipaŋja/ 'PPP', /kha:par panaja/ 'PPPF', /ka:ka/ 'FyB', /a:tya/ indicates either loss in KG or segregation of KG as separate group from the Marathi speaking groups. Terms distinct from Marathi such as /du:vɔ/, /səntɔ/, /su:li/ etc. are found.

The MR terminology also belongs to the central zone, akin to Marathi region largely, but shows terminological or kinological affinity to Karnataka with terms like /kə:ta/ 'FF', /ma:ma/ 'MB, MBS, FBS, WB', /a:lɔya/ 'FZ, MBW, FZD, MBD' etc. There are some distinctive terms of north and central zone like /ka:ko/, /sa:sRɔ/, /ba:shɔli/ etc. Thus MR terminology is largely akin to Maharashtra and Karnataka.
The UM terminology shows a clear cut pattern of the terminology of northern zone of Muslim speech. Using kin terms as modifier as marker of affection and respect apparently indicate Muslim influence (Vide p. 323). It traces no influence of Malayalam except /xa:la amma/ 'MZ' a semantic borrowing of hybrid structure.

MN terminology suggests an earlier IA speech of MN outside Kerala, the terminology of no cousin marriage of northern zone in the shifted language Malayalam, distinct from the native pattern (Tamil) of cross cousin marriage (prior to their arrival). The impact of Nambudiri terminology has brought out drastic changes in the region by change of terminological pattern to no cousin marriage, with further innovations.

The MK terminology is akin to Tamil terminology (or early Malayalam terminology) with current influence of Nair speech. The MM terminology shows an earlier substratum of Malayalam terminology, with the current influence of Arabic terminology. In MN it is a case of interference of total language shift, the kin pattern not changed, in MM it is the Arab impact, the influence of guest community on the native people.

8.4. The Terminology of Kinship on the Basis of Religion

The elaborate terminology of KG is related to the Brahmanical religion of the community. Elaborate ceremonies related to marriage, death and upanayana (ritual initiation) and
other ceremonies of the sixteen samskaras and other religious functions always required the elderly kins and ancestors. The prevalence of a joint patrilineal family system also gave rise to the elaborate terminology, and the terms for ascendants and also for descendents trace a four point line on each category. This ordering of the lineals is thus derived from the religious and kinological basis.

Differentiation of generation even by six levels is not new to Skt, or other IE languages and terms were found for even six generations in the lineal ascendants (Ghurye: 1955). Hence though the recital of names ancestors has a religious colouring, in actual sense it appears that there is subsequent reduction of ascendants terminologically in course of time which may indicate the decreasing size of the kingroup under a roof (residence). It may also indicate an earlier longer span of life. In Greek and Latin culture the ancestor worship was rather in parallelism to the religious concepts in worship and clans were named after heroes. The Indian terminological departure however took up a religious and also kinological outlook in a different mould within the newly evolved religion of Hinduism of the Aryan-Dravidian contact. The terminology of MR and MK does not weigh any religious significance. The departure of the UM terminology from the northern -

19. Dravidian contact - here used in the loose sense, may underlie earlier substratums of Austrics and others.
nology is attributed towards religious reasons and reflects the inroad of Islam and its language - Persian and Arabic, after the invasion of the Arabs in 712 A.D and the conversion of Indian population into Islam by force in North India. The newly evolved language - Urdu - the Dakkini Hindi introduced a number of terms in the language to keep affinity with ancestral speech of Delhi or Simali Urdu (Chatterji, 1960:207). Earlier forced Muslim elements, linguistic or nonlinguistic later became the proud labels of features for the converts. The terminology of MN can be rather fully envisaged within the fold of religion. Every act of their life is conditioned by the religious restrictions and it appears they have made them even more stricter than in the past. The strict caste distinction in every act of their life resulted in the terminological differentiation and a considerable number of terms are attributed towards this feature more than the actual kin distinction within the family circle. The extreme mode of avoidance of opposite sex is reflected in the absence of affinal terms for wife's relatives, ZH, FZH and the avoidance of term even for father (however as status marker in address). Separate rooms, deities and ornaments for males and females etc. are evident clues for their strict categorial distinction mainly based on religion and sex category. However the unusually strict restriction on the behaviour pattern of the women (and also on men-theoretically as an extension) has other historical signi-
The following conclusions may be found rather pointing towards the possible underlying truth of the Parasurama legend. Parasurama, the pious sage of the historical period is supposed to have killed his mother Renuka on the request of his father as she was found guilty of her charity by his father. When all the other sons disobeyed this order Parasurama followed his father's orders. Later when his father was killed at the hands of a Kshatriya king he took a vow to wipe out the whole Kshatriya race and is said to have killed the kings 21 times. In order to extpiate this sin he is said to have revived the land of Konkan and given them to Brahmins from various places of India (Iyer, 1981:170-1)²⁰. Legend says that Parasurama asked the Brahmins to abide by certain rules laid down by him²¹. It is quite probable that the MN tracing their origin to the family of Parasurama, with the typical dress in white for the women which is not found among other Brahmin castes of India for the married women. Finding the ill-fate of his mother he or his brothers might have laid restrictions on the life of the women of their family. The Arabic terminology in MN reflect the Arabic contact long before the advent of the Islam in Kerala and later.

²¹ A number of works like Kerala mahalmyam reports this story.
²² The 64 rules (Iyer, 1981:262-6) all of which are not apparently original to Parasurama but are later additions.
the religion has considerably influenced the community in the emergence of a separate speech known as Arabi Malayalam (Ahmad Kutty, 1981). The northern Muslim speech is a specific replica of this, where the Arab and the Muslim influence first set foot in.

9.5. The relative measure of interference of the terms: On the kinological basis

The KG terminology while preserves the larger part of Skt derived terminology within the language set up, evolved many Dravidian patterns terminologically representing the pattern as sexual siblingual marriages, bisexual siblingual marriages, and cross cousin marriages thus terminologically isolating the feature of clan exogamy. Currently sexual marriages, bisexual siblingual marriages, and cross cousin marriages are theoretically favoured or rather allowed, the real cases being very rare. The system of clan exogamy is the rule. Countable cases of clan endogamous (one in my own spousal family) marriages are noticed where the members in some cases are not acquainted before marriage and thus the only connecting link being the most remote gotra genitor label. Kinologically the terminology shows affinity to the terminology of Marathi and Oriya.

The MR linguistically is a member of IA group, kinologically largely represents the Dravidian group with a consistent pattern of uncle-niece marriage and cross cousin
marriage. They prefer uncle niece marriage and that too with the eZD over crosscousin marriage. The sample community consists of a kingroup interlinked by marriage with the two clans /cavaːn/ and /gorkaR/ of their total 12 clans. Karve (1950:60) suggests that the uncle-niece marriage of the south is an Austro-Asiatic trait. The physical features of these people also in the surface structure for some of the members with snubbed nose and protruded narrow forehead reminds some of the Austric tribes in India. The community when culturally examined represents many of the Austro-Asiatic traits, viz., the worship of stone /dhoːnda/ which they name as their God with other Hindu Gods and ancestors, burial in a sitting position in double round-dig pit, the sacrifice of the goat at the marriage and at the death, of kins, the counting by twenties, the neutralisation of the sex category of the kin (terminologically) the uncle niece marriage, placing food at the burial place and at the place of death etc. Many traits are borrowed from the Brahmins. Probable mixing of the two castes make them currently a mixed cultural group but at the underlying structure and for the major cultural traits, they represent one of the earliest tribes of India. Their movements and appearance proclaim a sense of courage, with raised heads, straight posture and swift walking especially among women. Their nomadic life and temporary settlement - habits qualifies them specifically as the tribes of the planes with little
interest in education, still sticking to the occupation of fortune telling and begging. They are neatly dressed in appearance unlike other nomadic tribes. They claim to be the descendants of Shivaji, the Maratha warrior who himself belonged to the non-Kshatriya caste and became a Kshatriya only after the coronation suggesting the early Austriic ancestry of the group. Further account on their rootless nature is stated by historical travellers as well as in the Epics and Puranas.

The UM though currently represent a Muslim community of the Deccan, now residing in Kerala, represents the terminology of the northern zone terminologically of no cousin marriage by the manifestation of the terms like /cicoe:ra bha:y/, /ta:ye:ra bha:y/ etc. but of course with some measure of the interference of the Persian language and terms in using the possessive case marker with the kin terms after (not exactly) the Persian model, such as /pedar-e- arus/ 'father of daughter-in-law', /zan-(e) barq:dar -(e)-zan/ 'wife of brother of wife' (WBW). In north Indian languages they are of ambiguous nature. Thus as in MM in which the terminology reflects an earlier cross cousin marriage, the UM terminology reflects the earlier custom of no cousin marriage, and hence their earlier marriage customs as Hindus. The imitating terms, those for affinals and consanguineals thus reflect the earlier relation as brothers and sisters, is apparently the case, and not the native influence of reducing tendency of terminology, or the general tendency.

22. VideConnection.
of reduction of terminology widely now current in most of the communities. Further the UM does not follow a much restricted behaviour with affinals of opposite sex as in KG, MN or MM.

The MN terminology in the native language set up to which they apparently have shifted from earlier IA language reflects the early terminology of the northern zone treating the filials of parents sibs as parallel sibs with partially merging terms but has evolved through later innovative changes also. It also reflects the structure in the framework of Malayalam, the equating terminologies for the female sib for parents not found in IA or Dravidian languages in the usual pattern but found in the Il languages like /teta/ Lithuanian, /tetja/ Russian, Assamese /jethai/ and found in many IE languages like old Greek, French, Latin, Irish etc. Hence this structure is found to be one of the archaic traits. The absence of terms also points towards the descendents of a community of the Vedic period who separated much earlier from the ancestral group. Many of the features of terminology of the Vedic period suits the MN terminological pattern. The features pointed out by Karve (1965) are:

1. Absence of a term for the cousin,
2. Terms for descendents and other than one's own children were rare,
3. Eldest son alone married and inherited the property (Karve, 1965:28, 63).
But Karve mixes this with polyandry.

Many changes have occurred in their terminology. As in other aspects it is the guest community which had effects on the host community. The terms which are different from Tamil and Kannada such as /o:ppa/, /o:ppo:l/ are partial semantic retentions of the Sanskrit /saho:gara/. The terms /mutte:ssan/ and its counter part has similarity with the Tulu term /mutta:jjje/ 'PF'. In this connection it may be said that does Tulu represent the early shifted language of the MN or more correctly their kin groups in the Tulu speaking area adjacent to Kerala before it again evolved into another language as Malayalam? For a conclusion about this a more detailed study of Tulu is needed. Close connection of Tulu with Telugu, Parji etc. has been pointed out by Rao (1982). Equating the spousal parents with one's own terminologically is an innovation of the MN which later was adopted by the natives. Apparently many of the cultural specialities attributed as of Nairs are actually the borrowed elements from the Nambudiri culture. The white dress of the women, found in any other Brahmin castes of India except that of the ancient sages and their women found in pictures and white is not a preferable dress for women among the tribes of south India, in the present conditions among the Tamil Brahmins white was considered as a marker of widowhood.

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28 Also pointed out by Iyer (1981).
The food specialities of the Nambudiris, the preparations made out of rice and milk, curd curries, pappadom, kanji are all apparently Nambudiri contributions to Kerala culture. The serpent worship though available widely in the south, the grave yards are not generally found in the house compound. There is a legend that the MN were brought from Taxila, the ancient habitat of the supposed Nagas. The serpent cult is also found to be widely spread in the north, western countries west to it and the various figures on the seals reveal that the serpent cult was (Heras, 1953) widely spread in these places, and accordingly if the Nambudiris came from Taxila (at least one group) there is chance to believe that they did worship the snakes not in fear of the creatures, developed in Kerala but rather a continuation of the early serpent culture. The MN is evidently a contribution of the Nambudiris to Kerala. All these reference suggest the possible settlements of the MN from historic times there major places of the northern most part of India, Bengal and Andhra (Andhra may be connected by the various food items prepared out of rice, (Iyer, 1981:171) relates them on features house name, exogamy, caste counterance, frank and

24. Characteristic of Chinese families, a further suggestion for MN ancestors earlier settlement in Taxila.
outspoken native, proficient vedic study, many of them are not admissible.

The MK retains the Tamil terminological system to larger extent along with Malayalam terms. Kinologically the terminology reflects cross cousin marriage. The terminology of MM reflects the cross cousin and siblingual marriage system apart from the introduction of the Arabic terms.

9.6. The relative measure of the intimacy of the terminological system and the group. The nature of dispersion from the ancestral group: some probable possibilities

The terminological similarity, if earlier to a distant language or group indicates the separation from the concerned group earlier possible separation from the ancestral group. Thus indicates either ancestral or regional or linguistic common nod. Difference indicate 1) dispersion from the ancestral nod, 2) difference of religion, 3) caste, 4) religion, 5) language, 6) dialect or 7) fusion or divergence due to contact. In KG Dravidian interference in subsequent intervals of time, the Kannada and apparently the Tamil influence in MR, the Persian and Arabic influence in UM, the total language influence in MN resulting in the complete shift - with a long history, in MK the Malayalam influence treating MK speech as dialect of Malayalam yet retaining the Tamil terms in some category, retention of earlier Nambudiri/other commu-
nal speech with an over layering of the newly acquired Arabic terminology in UM are all cases of dispersions from the ancestral group in the parameters listed earlier.

3.7. The probable reconstruction of the kinship organisation in Kerala and in India envisaged within the framework of the terminology of six communities under study.

To begin with, it has been pointed out by many scholars that the early system of exogamy among the Aryans was local exogamy. The influence have been apparently adopted by the princely classes which were later adopted by the commoners and widely found in the communities of North India25. That marriage rules have been often started from the ruling classes have also been pointed by (Hopkins, 1981). The terms now found in the northern languages and in the UM terminology was a later innovation after the introduction of the clan exogamy—the class of terms for the filials of parent sibs. We do not know how long the Dravidian terminology and the cross cousin marriage system have been creeping into the language of the KG and MR26. In the case of KG the terminology must have started entering the language at the most at the eve of the formation of Prakrits.

25. Most of the early literature deals with life of princely classes, and information is extracted from these sources.
26. Dravidian terminology in an indirect way might have started interfering by the introduction of sex category (of ego) restricted terms in Sanskrit.
like Pali and Ardha Magadhi in which references to cross cousin marriages have been made. The terminology itself bears resemblance to Pali and especially to the Ardha Magadhi terms of kinship given in Karve's (1965) list. The differences are attributed towards the dispersion horizontally in many cases but also may be conceptualised vertically, i.e., by the effect of the host group on the guest group or vice versa. The terminology of KG and MR are most closely related because of their linguistic affinity and also common area of borrowings from the Dravidian languages, outside Kerala. Both KG and MR have some of the terms pointing towards remote ancestor such as /a:vsu/ (KG), /a:va/ (MR) etc. The shared terms of UM and KG represent northern zone indicative of their common ancestral group linguistically as Sanskrit and racially as Aryans. The introduction of the term /ba:p/ in KG and other languages must have been after the Turkish invasion and after the advent of Islam in India especially in the central western part of India which replaced the earlier term /piu/ (Pkt). Karve's conclusion after the Rajput /bappa Ra:val/ hence cannot be accepted.

The close similarity of the MN and MM terminology is attributed to the dialectal affinity whatever, on the regional basis. The MK and MM shows least similarity, due to the dialectal difference and also religion distance. All the commu

27. The term 'racially' is used in a loose sense and not in strict sense anthropologically.
nities share the terms for M, MB, MBW which is also the case in most of the Indian languages and the term for mother is shared by a number of languages outside India indicative of a continuous spread of this term along a belt in mid horizontal line of the globe, west to India up to western end of Europe which indicate interlinking of the various communities of the world by this term. A few examples are given below:

/ma:daR/ -- Persian
/amu/ -- FB
/ammas/ -- Old Greek
/mater/ -- PIE
/ummi/ -- Arabic

The terminology of KG thus reflects a relatively later introduction of the cross cousin marriages and sexual and bisexual siblingual marriages deviant from the earlier non cousin marriages of which no known reference is available from the informants or other sources. It has been explained in many places that the terminology of MN is simplified or rather relatively a reduced one. Many of the terms are of a synonymous nature differing only in caste and sex difference and some of them are connected with kin allied concepts. Equating fillials of parents sibs with the uterine sibs partially has some similarity with the terminology of the north in the semantic sense and also with UM. The early system of generation removed
marriages\textsuperscript{28} have left no traces on the terminology of IA languages or Dravidian (MN) - the shifted language of the IA. However the later kin organisation within the frame work of non-kin marriages is retained to some extent in the terminology. A hybrid or mingling of the two types of terminological system is available in KG. In MR the terminology is a hybrid one a mixture of the two linguistic (hybrid terminological system) families but kinologically they remain as a Dravidian group suggestive of their racial ancestry either as Austro Asiatic or a mixture of Austric and Dravidian. (Hybrid here used in the sense not the individual terms are hybrids but the system as a whole hybrid of two language families). Since the clan exogamy is attributed towards non-Aryan culture the system borrowed in its extremity resulted in the non kin marriages.

Descriptive terms in northern zone are available for all generation. In the parallel generation they are explicit indication of kin exogamous marriage. While the other two reflect Persian influence in linguistic structure. The UM retained the parallel generation terms and some affinal terms in Perso-Arabic mould (eg. /mauleera bha:y/ MBS, /ta:ye:ri sa:s/ 'Sp.Fe8W'). Early Austric or Dravidian kin organisation apparently was framed on uncle-niece marriage. Uncle niece marriage has been attri-

\textsuperscript{28} Different from intergenerational marriages conceptually marriage unions with some generation removed (5,7) in the same clan in the central meaning here.
buted towards Austric culture by Karve (1950:60). But it appears that intergenerational marriages with two degrees removed was the characteristic feature of the Austric group as found in many of the Australian tribes, the two degrees removed as a later innovation. These intergenerational marriages have been promoted on economic motives and especially in the secondary unions among the Sema Nagas (Sreedhar, 1983). Whether the intergenerational marriages with two degrees removed prevailed in South Indian communities is not clear. It appears that the early system of uncle niece marriage in other communities later resulted in the grand father - grand daughter marriage and then to the cross cousin marriages in other communities as in Nagas and the Australians.

Thus dispersion might have been like this:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{MF} \times \text{DD} \quad \text{(Australian & Naga communities)} \\
\ast \text{MB} \times \text{ZO} \quad \text{-----} \\
\text{MBS} \times \text{FZD} \quad \text{(Dravidian communities)}
\end{align*} \]

That is, the splitting took place from one generation removed leading to the intergenerational marriage first as a shot of inheritance, then as regularised rules. This was also mapped to the parallel generation among the Australian tribes by marriage with the cross cousins with two degrees removed. Thus these intergenerational and intra generational marriages were characterised by bisexually linked kins (MB, MF, MBS). In Aryan society, on the other hands in earlier
times perhaps outside India, the consanguineal marriages and sexual siblingual marriages were common. Hence the Muslim custom of sexual and bisexual siblingual marriages indicates a fusion of the IA (also later apparently Arabic or Muslim) and Dravidian kin structure. The Greek and Roman culture might have been adopted by the Arabic people (apart from the religious connection attached to the custom of marriage between the children of the two brothers).

9.8 The evolutionary aspect of the structure of kinship terms

The evolutionary aspects of the structure of the kinship terms have been pointed out as early as Morgan (1871) that the evolution of kinship terms turns a face of descriptive to the compound terms. The structural evolution of kinship terms involves a cyclic nature in the course of time. The descriptive terms which are of a syntactic type reduce to compound types, and repeated contraction lead to the formation as simplex terms. The syntactic description elaborately explains the links of kinship chains by the simplex kin terms and some such frequently used terms result in the contraction and hence gives rise to compound, complex and simplex terms. This process is recurring and hence cyclic in nature whenever new terms and kinological aspects are introduced. Ample examples from the present study can be given but restricted to a few examples.
The term /pacci/ 'MyZ' (KG) is descriptive in its primitive form i.e., Skt. /mastr svasar/ → Pkt. (Pali & Ardhā Magadhi) /ma:ucch/ and /ma:ucch/ respectively, → a Marathi dialect /mauci/, /mausi/ SKG, → /mausi/, → /pacci/ (MKG).

The UM term reflects the cyclic nature in kinship terminological evolution. Consider the example /phupe:ra bha:y/ 'FZS'. Skt /pitr svasar/, Pali /pi:ucch/, Ardhā Magadhi /piu­ccha/, northern zone /pivasi/, /pufi/, /pisi ma/, /phuphi/, /phuphu/ (also available in UM) is a contracted term of syntactic structure, the possessive case marker covertly indicated. This term after several contractions appears as a simplex term which is again chained with an other term to form a syntactic construction. Further the term /phuphi sa:s/ of the Shafi Urdu speakers about whom data was collected, shows a further reduction from the Hanafi Urdu term /phuphe:ri sa:s/ 'Sp.FZ'.

In MR the term /culata/ is derived or contracted from the Sanskrit term /ksudra ta:ta/ 'FyB (inferior father) which changes to /khudda ta:u/ → /culata/.

A diagram of cyclic nature of structural evaluation of kin terms.
The caste kin terms /kunna:ttla:lα/ 'A nambudiri maiden' referred to by a lower caste member is derived from the term or contraction of the term /kunna + agattulla:lα/ 'child + a Nambudiri wife' - A Nambudiri unmarried girl'. The term /ma:pla/ 'H' is derived from the syntactic construction /ma:mman pillal/ 'MBS' which again combines with /pudiya/ to form the fused form /pudiya:pla/ 'bridegroom' in MK and MM. The description of kin terms is also in a chain found in Persian, Swedish, Irish, Anglo Saxon etc. This method of describing kinship at length may be considered as primitive mode in labelling concepts. A few examplex from other languages are given.

/pedar - e - arus/ 'F - of - SW' -- Persian
/sunaus sunnu/ 'grand son' -- Lithuanian
/sonson/ ' ' ' ' -- Swedish
Thus it can be seen that the structural evolution of kin terms involves a cyclic mechanism.

9.9 The evolutionary aspects of the meaning of the kin terms: The shuffling nature of kinological meanings

A number of terms cited from various languages which are found to be similar in surface structure are found to be undergoing a shuffling of changes within the circle of various kin relations. If for example a term, taken from the IE languages, this shuffling will be convincingly illustrated. The term /nana/ found in Indian languages and its correspondences in the various languages of the world will illustrate a typical example.

/nannos/, /nannos/ 'FB, MB' -- Old Greek
/nanna/, /ninna/ 'FZ, MZ' -- Old Prussian
/ane/ 'grand mother' -- Old High German
/ane/ 'M' -- Middle M
/nana/ 'M' -- Persian
/nana/ 'M' -- Skt (Vedic data)
/nano/ 'MM' /na:nl/ 'MM' -- Sindhi
These cases illustrate the shuffling nature of the kinological meaning of the terms. This term with some other terms like /tate/: /mate:r/, /pate:r/ is found to be spread long the broad belt of the central globe. I am not aware whether it has any further extension i.e., in America but in Japanese the terms are varied and are of the reduplicative type to a larger extent as /chichi/ 'F', /haha/ 'M', /ko/ 'S & D', /sofu/ 'FF', /sobo/ 'FM' and are of specific structure of phonological reduplication. It is not also certain that the Japanese /ani/ 'e8' and /ane' 'e2' are related to the IE term /nennos/ for the term in Naga language is related to the Japanese term.

For the Japanese data I am indebted to Prindle (1973). Other terms are taken from Karve (1965) and Ghurye (1955).

One example from the Dravidian languages and their kinological shifting in other languages will be discussed.
It can be seen that while in Malayalam and other languages except Telugu the terms occur with a honorific suffix /-ya/ a plural marker) in Telugu the marker is specifically singular and nonhonorific in nature.

9.10. The phenomenon of migration, contact and interference of the guest and host communities

When migration takes place if the guest community is a minority group without any attraction for the host community, the guest community generally gets affected by the host community. Several factors have been attributed towards migration as economic (Thomas: 1925, Pouchar, 1970, Mangalam, 1968) ideological (Taft and Robins, 1955, Lee, 1966; Mangalam & Swetzmgers, 1970; Kammayer, 1972, Toney, 1973; Koppel, 1976)29 Prabhoo, 1980). Accordingly interference either by the guest community or host community depends on socio-religious-political factors. The moulding of KG terminology is attributed towards frequent migration in the long history of the people from central Asia to Kashmir in India, to Bihar, and then to all over the Konkan coast often motivated by religious and

economic motives and pressures in subsequent intervals of time yet keeping the identity from time historical with the banks of river Saraswathi and the Sage Saraswatha. The terminology itself spots various places of migration starting from the original abode somewhere to farther in west. Several cultural and linguistic elements of the contacting languages had been crept into the language yet keeping its identity to this time.

The Maratha Raos strongly suggest an earlier clear substratum of the Austric ancestry somewhere in Maharashtra which are still known for the aboriginals of mixed culture especially the Shils. The claimed descendance from Shivaji also strengthens this fact. They also thus represent an old group with a shifted language and even if shows Kannada affinity at present in outward structure, reflects retention of the Austric trait in Kinship. Within a short period mastered the communicative knowledge of Malayalam and their men are multilinguals. In the case of UM it is the invaded group of Turks and the religion had brought change in their life, language and culture. In Kerala as in the case of MR and KG they are not affected by the native language as in cultural aspects, UM admit the native Muslims into their marriage fold. The MN is the typical example how a guest community can considerably change the life style of the host community, they in turn completely giving up their language, but not the cultural elements. Nairs and
Ezhavas had shifted to a type hypogamous unions of concubinage nature with the Nambudiris from their earlier consistent practice of polyandry. They are responsible for the changed pattern of the terminology of kinship of earlier cross cousin to the more simplified no cousin of marriage terminology (only in terminology and further reduction to a pattern of economy on terminology). It is the MN culture such as white dress for women, the food specialities, the snake worship (?), the refinement over polyandry to hypogamous unions of concubinage type among the Nairs and the house structure as /na:1 kettu/ (four structure), /attu kettu/ (eight structure), /padina:Ru kettu/ (sixteen structure), with familial temples and serpent groves etc. were later adopted by the Nairs. It is also possible that the Nambudiris brought the festival of Onam to Kerala the introduction of rice gruel/kanji/ and /pappadam/ might have been introduced by the Nambudiris. Incidentally the KG are also in favour of kanji and pappadam. Above all Nambudiris were the community responsible for the emergence of Malayalam as a separate language, after its contact with the Sanskrit language and today Malayalam has absorbed so much of Sanskrit vocabulary that sometimes it appears that the Sanskrit words out number native words, but the pronunciation is different from Telugu or Kannada who maintain similarity with Sanskrit in pronunciation. The Trichur dialect itself apparently Malayalam in Nambudiri intonation pattern of Sanskrit - their earlier language. This case is not a surprise
because when I happened to hear a piece of conversation in Marathi in Mysore, it was very much similar or identical to the Ernakulam dialect of KG (which differ very much from the NKG dialect and slightly different from the SKG dialect and also the Christian Konkani of Mangalore on intonation pattern. There is some similarity when a KG speaks Malayalam only for communication purpose to the speech of a Nambudiri which characteristic of /R/ phoneme cluster in prominence such as /tɔRanu/ 'opened' against the KG /tɔRanu/. The pronunciation of /R/ is prominent.

The Korava community which was earlier a Tamil community both linguistically and culturally is now identified as a Malayalam speaking community with Tamil influence. They are fast improving in language and culture after the pattern of their Nair feudal landlords. The case of MM is also of guest contact and interference of Arabs and later by other Muslims. Hence as far as Kerala is concerned the KG is little influenced by the terminology of kinship. In other aspects also the native interference is not significant (when compared to the vast treasure of language). The language and culture of the people is kept without much change even after about 700 years separation from Goa, least interference is found in MR and then in UM, the cases of MM is one of guest interference in terminology with its specific feature but in totality it is case of mutual interference the MN weighing above the native community in in
fecting it.

In the case of MK it is the native interference or rather vertical higher caste interference and among the MM it is the guest community which influenced the native communities in Kerala.

9.11. The central global belt of black race: probable suggestion on the dispersed group

In the previous discussions a number of instances were pointed out where were connected links of various languages and language families. This section further points out another linking element by way of structural similarity of terms of Dravidian and hence their probable early common point. The most significant and striking features of the terminology of kinship in MR in this study and further in Dravidian languages, Naga languages, North African languages, central and south American languages even Japanese (not all features) are:

1) neutralisation of sex category of the terminology of two opposite sex category of a kin, 2) neutralisation of generation, 3) selectional restrictions on the sex category of ego with respect to the selection of a kin term and 4) the inalienably possessed kin terms. Neutralisation of the sex category of the kin nomenclature has been reported in Australian tribes, among the Maratha Raos, MN, MK & MM in the present study, among the Sema Nagas (Sreedhar, 1983), Japanese,
(Prindle, 1973), among the African Bantu speakers, Malay speakers (Greenberg, 1966). In Guinea the terms are characterised and formed as inalienably possessed structures and that too of body parts (Spears, 1972) as in the Dravidian terms /tankal/ → /tan + kai/ 'self + hand'; /talal/ /tall/ still available in Malayalam and Telugu /tall/ 'M' and supposedly points towards a matrilineal kin organisation (?) of the Dravidian stock. The terms of Dravidian languages are characteristic of the selection of the sex of the ego where they are not necessary or obligatory are also found in many communities of north eastern India as in Mikirs, Pakrasi (1955) Malay (Greenberg, 1978).

Dunn & Dunn (1972) in a study of Kitkatla group among the Tsimshian society (Tlingit, Haida, Kwatikul (American Indian languages) refers to the inalienably possessed kin terms, distinction of the sex category of the ego for specific kin term, and neutralisation of the sex category for the kin terms in the descending generation as for example for the child.

Goulet (1981) reports the inalienably possessed terms, male-female distinction for ego in the selection of kin terms, and neutralisation of generation in the Guajiro kin terminology in Venezuela and Columbia. Australian terms are characterised by the restriction on the sex category of ego, neutralisation of generation and neutralisation of the sex cate-
gory of the kin question terminologically (Scheffler, 1978). It is thus here to be assessed that there might have been a common point in the very distant past and this horizontal layering of the features of structure of kin terms strongly suggest an earlier possible stretched geographical region in the central globe on linguistic ground and will it be an exaggeration if it is said that this represents one of the most archaic human group before or at the time of splitting off the continents to these present geographical location. Archaeological evidences also connect Central America, South America, Africa, India and Australia (Kurup, 1972). It may be possible that a relatively narrow strip of water might have separated this part from Europe and Africa. Krishnamurthi (1960) refers to Greenberg saying that there is close resemblance between the African languages and the Dravidian. Hence it appears that the current central global belt might have been in the southern global hemisphere in the distant past. The terms which are spread among the black and white races (Arabs, people of south India suggest, though tentatively, early contact regions inhabited by the white and the black somewhere near Greece. It may seem to be not on a solid ground, yet it appears thought provoking to relate Greek /oika/ with Kodagu /okka/
The patri-joint family who are the famous ancestor worshippers with a warrior tradition.
Hence the probable contact areas of the black and white race are somewhere in the environs of Greece which later spread eastwards long a belt. The non-white kinological feature mentioned earlier suggests also an earlier black racial spread along the central belt of the globe spread contiguously over a period of time which later was dispersed either due to migration or geographical forces of separation.

9.12. Concluding remarks

The preceding discussion clearly leads to the conclusion that kinship terminology more than any stock of language data is a repository of strong elements of reconstruction of earlier groups - racial, social or geographical. The regionally spread terms in the communities in a country constitute unbroken links forming chains of prehistoric kinship organisations and also the racial joining, apart from reflecting the present and the future trends of the group (under study). These insights were already made by the renowned scholar Morgan. His insights about the terminology of kinship from the experiences of the world communities are the oldest and perhaps still fresh green even more than many aspects. He was the one who pointed out that kin terms are linguistic fossils and that there appears to be two great divisions of human family the Indo-European and the Indo-American (Morgan, 1871, 1959:233)

30. Details have been already discussed.
of which the several communities of the world converge and a common point of departure may be discovered. Though it cannot be claimed that there were only two divisions of human families it is almost evident that there was at least one major division of the world families, the possibilities of other widely distributed families cannot be ruled out.