CHAPTER - 11

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

11.0. The present study on the kinship terminology of the six communities, viz., the Konkani speaking Gowda Saraswath Brahmins (KQ), the Marathi speaking Raos (MR), the Urdu speaking Muslims (UM), the Malayalam speaking Nambudiri Brahmins (MN), the Koravas (MK), and Muslims (MM) in Kerala aims at the structural description of the kinship terminology of the communities under study within the multicomponental, the skeletal (link structure), the kinological, the sociological, the psychological, the historical and the linguistic - perspectives and attempts to establish that kinship terms are a multicomponental phenomenon speaking on the past, present and the future of culture and kinship structure of a community in a sufficiently assessable measure. Aspects of kinship terminology tend to resemble and differ in the communities despite difference in language, religion, caste etc., sometimes due to universal conceptualisation mechanisms involved in viewing the world of kinship and sometimes due to historical, linguistic factors etc.

11.1. The study is covered in 10 chapters. The first four chapters deal with 1) general structure of kinship organisations of diversified nature in Indian communities, yet with some measure of overlapping in the 'Indian kinship area',
followed by a brief account on the work done in the field in and outside India in compartmentalised perspectives and also in multicomponental perspectives, 2) sociocultural setting of the communities under study, 3) introductory description of the six components within which the analysis is located, 4) methodology adopted in the selection of the speech communities and the analysis of the collected data in each chapter. The following account will summarize the findings of this study.

11.2.

The link component (skeletal) brings forth to light the skeletal framework of kinship terminology in its build up for the six communities. The four kernal relations (parental, filial, spousal and siblingal) and the two sex categories (male and female) give rise to the eight cardinal kins (F, M, S, Q, H, W, B, Z) situated at the periphery of an octogonal nuclear family circle equidistant from ego as the centre or locus point. The families as subnuclear ones, arising out of polygynous (UM, MN, MM) or remarital (male KG & MN; male & female - MR, UM, MK, MM) unions, form outer circles (imperfect) around this circle. The generation of kinship chains underlie a chain of kin links in each case - the basic chains of links being cardinal kins with ego as the starting link. Linking of cardinal kin links is characterised by the properties of permutability, combinability, symmetry, reciprocity, duality and generative capacity (horizontally and or vertically) from
the kernel chains of links. These chains of links are designated by the corresponding terms which are community specific. The generation of links are characteristically exponential in nature with two sex categories. The generation of chains of links are affected by the application of 1) linking rule, 2) role shifting rule and 3) expansions rule. The probable number of chains and the corresponding terms generated are given as \( LCT_n = S^{N-2} \times 2^9 \) from each basic chain of links, which may involve expansion horizontally or vertically. In the overall pattern for the six communities under study, six types of basic chains of kin links are isolated as follows: 1) unitary link structured kin chains, 2) binary link structured kin chains, 3) tertiary link structured kin chains, 4) quartenary link structured kin chains, 5) Penta link structured kin chains and 6) hexa link structured kin chains. When the number of links increased, as a general convention, the distance in kinship also increased and correspondingly structural difference or lengthening is also observed. The computational representation of kin links, their representation by mosaic and Kolam designs are explicit manifestations of the pattern congruity in the structural configuration of kinship chains, which are terminologically represented in its own pattern. Each structural contrast indicates an addition of kin link or links as aspects terminologically, implicitly or explicitly.
The kinological component introduces kinology as the scientific study about kinship. 21 major classes of features are isolated for the six communities which are arranged in the matrix form in the four relational paradigms for the terms of kinship based on some assumed criteria. Of these, the features of 1) clan, 2) descent, 3) inheritance, 4) clan consanguinity, 5) residence which do not explicitly manifest the features terminologically, are treated as generic features which are however responsible for the terminological distinction for the other classes of features. The terms as kins isolated the features for these classes as communities with uniclan system (KG, MR, MK), biclan system (MN), no clan system (UM, MM). Descent is patrilineal for all kins for all paradigms in all communities without a contrastive feature. Based on descent pattern, all the terms represent male kins of all paradigms as patrilocal, females in the filial and siblingual paradigm as patrilocal and all female terms in the parental and spousal paradigm (assumed to be married) as spousolocal, based on the same feature of descent by birth, but shift to spousal residence. All male terms in all the paradigms represent inheritance on paternal line and all female terms indicate inheritance on spousal link in the parental and spousal paradigms in KG and MN. MR male terms only indicate paternal inheritance in all paradigms.
MK terms in all paradigms indicate both parental line of inheritance. In UM and MM the terms in the filial and siblingual paradigms represent inheritance on both parental line, and the terms in the parental and spousal paradigms indicate in addition spousal line of inheritance too. The features of clan onganguinity further categorise the consanguineals.

These generic features are largely responsible for the explicit terminological distinction of the specific features (specific in the sense that the terms explicitly indicate the particular custom either by distinctive terms, or partial or full merging terms with the basic terms). These features are 1) adoption, 2) relation, 3) transition, 4) monogyny, 5) remarriage, 6) cross cousin marriage, 7) cross uncle niece marriage, 8) sibiblingual marriage, 9) range of application, 10) linguistic structure. The biologically conditioned and terminologically differentiated cases of features but in many cases kinologically conditioned features are features of 1) generation, 2) relative age, 3) collaterality, 4) mode of use, 5) of kin and also the class of feature (10). All these class of features have contrastive or subfeatures. Relation is self explanatory in specific paradigms. Transition is traced through parents, filials, sibs and spouses. The marriage rule features deserve special attention in linguistic discrimination and generalisation in a patterned manner. Polygyny is terminologically equated partially in UM and MM and fully equated in MN (in
the filial and parental paradigms. Adoption is rare among the communities except in MN which have merging terms with filials, is terminologically fully distinguished in KG, partially distinguished in UM and MM and fully equated in MK but terminologically not indicated in MR. Remarriage of males is terminologically partially distinguished in KG and MN, and of both sex in MR, in the parental paradigm; in the parental and filial paradigms in MK, in the parental, filial paradigms in MM and in all the paradigms in UM.

The practice of unisexual/bisexual marriages in the parallel generation results in the formation of the parallel/cross kin concept and terminological patterning in treating parents unisexual sibs and bisexual sibs as parallel/cross (preferential) parents and their children as parallel/cross (preferential) sibs and accordingly treating the filials of unisexual/bisexual sibs as parallel/cross filials (KG, MR, MK and in UM (synchronously terminologically only)). While MN have partial merging terms, MR and MK manifest a merging tendency in all the paradigms with some deviations. MN terminology exhibiting kin exogamous marriages terminologically identify practice in the sibblingual paradigm. UM exhibits the same feature terminologically (only). The inclusion of terms in the paradigms are only in terms of kinological pattern in the traditional system. The deceiving terms of UM and MM are explained in the historical component.
Terms in the parental paradigm isolate the kins in the ascending generation, those in the filial paradigm kins of descending generation, those in the siblingual paradigm parallel generation which distinguish terms for relative age and terms for all these generation levels and relative age difference in the spousal paradigm. The terms in the spousal paradigms include all kins of affinal group while the terms in the parental, filial and siblingual paradigm together include the consanguineal group.

There is no restriction on the sex category of the ego in the selection of terms in the parental, and siblingual paradigm in KG, MR, MK and UM but are distinguished for the sex category in the filial paradigm for some terms reflecting marriage patterns. Sex category of ego is not restricted for parental, filial and siblingual paradigms in UM and parental and filial paradigms in MM. For MN no restriction of sex category is found for ego for terms in the parental and filial paradigms. Sex of ego is conditioned for the spousal terms in the respective paradigms in all communities. For MN, MK and MM terms are distinguished according as the sex of the ego in the siblingual paradigm. Sex category of the kin terms is distinguished in all paradigms in all the communities, except in the filial paradigm where sex category of the kin terms is neutralised for MR, MN, MK and MM.
All terms in the parental and filial paradigm indicated the feature of collineality for the basic ascendants and descendents, and for others the features of collineal-collaterality. Terms in the siblingual paradigms denote the feature of collaterality with basic collateral terms. Collaterality is a feature predominantly related to kinological collaterality but may also indicate any apositional feature occurring with the basic feature. Terms in the spousal paradigm indicate the basic spousal collateral terms and also other collateral and the collateral-collineal terms.

Terms in the parental paradigm are largely both address and reference terms especially in the first and second ascending generation, but separate reference terms as an indication of respect are also found in KG. Terms in the filial paradigm are largely reference terms for all the communities but UM, MK and MM use these terms as address terms as endearing terms. Terms of both types are found in the siblingual and spousal paradigms in all the communities.

Regarding the range of application, KG have both denotative and classificatory types of terms. MR have denotative terms in the parental paradigm but in other paradigms the terms are classificatory. The classificatory terms which are limited in MN are of different nature from KG, MR or MK (to some extent). The UM terminology is largely denotative with limited classificatory terms.
Regarding the linguistic structure of terms most of the terms for all the communities are derived. The largest number of terms are found in the spousal paradigm for all the communities except in MN (due to the complete avoidance members of opposite sex especially for the affinals in terminology).

The sub category of kinship terminology in this chapter isolated terms for generation levels, viz., four levels (ascending and descending) in KG, three levels (ascending and descending) in UM, (ascending) in MN, (descending) in MR, two levels (ascending and descending) in MK and MM and one level (descending = for filials only) in MN. The category of relative age isolated three levels in UM, two levels in KG, MN, MM and one level in MR and MK with some community specific differences.

Kin terms are found to be derived from kin concepts or vice versa charging a cyclic mechanism. The pattern congruity in terminological manifestation are represented in terms of equivalence rules, which indicated partial or full merging of terms in the communities. The rules are broadly classified as 1) extension rules, 2) reduction rules.

In the concluding section of the chapter some exclusive features of kinship organisations are pointed out as follows: 1) biological basis of procreational aspect, 2) hereditary nature, 3) close-knit structure over time and space, 4) the freedom of enjoyment of all relations and roles.
within the life time of an individual as a kin, 5) the permutable and combinable character in the formation of chains of kin links, 6) deep sensed psychological emotions, 7) differing nature (to some extent) of power, status, intimacy and solidarity in family.

11.4. The sociological component isolates parallel parameters of kinship organisations and larger social organisations which are rooted in the family as a cross section of the society, viz., 1) style, 2) context, 3) stratification, 4) interaction, 5) power and status, 6) codes and 7) socialisation. Within the repertoire of kinship terms, kin terms are distinguished for kin proper, as a class marker, extended for non-kins as pseudo kins (always excluding the term for father in all the six communities and for mother in KF), distinguished for classes, castes and even species. Kin terms differed in their functional aspects based on the roles, relations, interactions (dyadic or triadic) context (formal/informal), group structure, status and power of the interacting kins exhibiting specific modes of style in verbal behaviour, controlling the choice of codes as kinship terms as restricted or elaborated codes, resulting in the socialisation of the kin individual in family as the smallest society, which helps him in extending this knowledge in larger social organisations, in behaviour patterns, verbal or nonverbal.
Different levels of status, (which is considered to be synonymous with power) are isolated for the six communities. Thus communities terminologically isolated levels of status as follows: 1) super status in KG avoided personal names, kin names formal vocatives or syntactic constructions, but only title for a religious leader in KG. High status had further levels in the communities as:

1) Avoidance of personal names, kin names but only syntactic constructions in address for spouse's parents, husband's elder brothers in KG and for spouses in all the communities with same deviations intercommunally.

2) Kin terms in isolation only (MN, MK & MM).

3) Intra category status, by the affixation of names or modifiers with kin terms.

4) Caste oriented high status kin terms.

5) Caste oriented status level address terms (as kin term) in KG.

6) Terms indicative of 'caste egalitarian attitude' by using kin terms for nonkins in KG, for lower class.

7) Intermediate status - indicated in the utilisation of kin terms.

8) Neutral status - terminologically indicated cutting across the barriers of generations (KG).

9) Low status - by the utilisation of personal names, adjectives, specific kin terms especially in KG, MN and MK.
These restrictions and allowance constitute restricted and elaborated codes which are tools of socialisation for behaviour patterning in the family and community circle. The external or larger sociological forces act as a cohesive force in the integrated socialisation of members of a community. The current trend of breaking up of secondary families and common occupation, and the attainment of formal high education are thunderbolts to the survival of kinship and related terminology.

The parameters isolated (kinological and sociological) in the two respective chapters makes up the whole of kinship as a group concept, analysed within the socket of terminology.

The psychological component isolates kinship terms as stimulus response variables, the fundamental elements of learning psychology. The acquisition of kinship roles, relations, terms and emotions undergoes four stages in line with biological growth (roughly) viz., infancy, childhood, adolescence period and adulthood which are represented graphically. The kin terms are excessively loaded with different types of emotions according as the nature of relation as a kin. Kinship terms are expressive elements of emotions as well as evokers of emotions. The UM terminology explicitly manifest the emotional facts terminologically. The underlying current of the processes of discrimination, generalisation in concept formation of kinship is found to be word and concept associative property explicitly
or implicitly. Kinship term (relations in the beginning) act as stimulus response variables nonverbal and or nonverbal in the patterned chaining of kin terms by partial merging or full merging (lexically or semantically) which underlie the related linking of concepts, and this process involves a cyclic mechanism. These concept formations are represented by simple and complex paradigms with some kin terms illustrating word associations for the six communities. The stimuli which contribute to the formation of concepts are broadly divided as follows:

1. Biologically conditioned stimuli
2. Kinologically conditioned stimuli
3. Biologically conditioned but sociologically dominated stimuli
4. Psychologically conditioned stimuli
5. Economy based stimuli
6. Repetitive stimuli.

Based on these stimuli the formed concepts are discussed and labelled. This aggregate result explained that kinship terms are a psychological phenomenon.

The Historical component links the communities under study to the communities of the past and also of the present on the basis of region, religion, kinship structure and nations in Kerala, in India and outside India and tries to reconstruct
the earlier nodes of departure within observed ranges of terminology.

Regarding the relative intimacy of communities for kinship terminology, the largest number of terms are found to be shared between the IA communities (KG and MR, KG and UM, MR and UM) than in between native communities. This is partly attributed towards general total high frequency in IA communities, and the general regional, religious, dialectal and caste differences in MN, MK and MM. KG and MR share the Dravidian terms either lexically or semantically or kinologically.

The reconstructed terms relate KG to various places viz., Kerala (for one term only), Karnataka, Maharashtra, Orissa, Bihar, Kashmir and also to countries northwest to India and to European countries. The MR terminology relates to north India, central India also (predominantly kinologically) to Karnataka. The UM terminology is wholly related to north Indian Muslim terminology with impact of Persian and Arabic. As an underlying substratum it reflects the non cousin marriage terminology of the north. The MN terminology represents the north Indian zone of no cousin marriage of Vedic period, in the native language Malayalam. The MK terminology essentially represents the Dravidian cross cousin terminology synchronically and dichronically. The MM terminology exhibits earlier substratum of Dravidian cross cousin terminology, later impact
of Nambudiri terminology of Vedic type (to some extent which was modified by the natives further into an extreme classificatory type) and impact of Arabic. The terminology of KG, UM, MN and MM is strengthened by religious and kinological aspects while the terminology of MR and MK is typically kinologically oriented with cross cousin and or uncle niece marriages (MR). The cross cousin terminology of KG strongly links it with people of Bihar and Orissa of ancient times, of the Pali and Ardha Magadhi speech. Some terms of Dravidian (/magan/, /pillai/, /kittai/ etc.) connects them to people of Japan, Greece and neighbouring places. The structural peculiarities (kinological and terminological) in MR strongly suggests MR as an offshoot of Austric group, terminological evidences (inter-generational marriages and neutralisation of sex), the borrowed inalienably possessed terms in KG; the sex neutralising terms, ego sex distinguishing terms for sibs in MN, MK and MM connects the Dravidian communities to other communities (indicating Austricancestry or contact (Mikirs, Nagas, etc) in India, and communities of Malaya, Africa, Australia and central and south America. The overlapping of IA/IE terms in Dravidian or vice versa in a long chain of links along the central belt of the globe west to India suggests original-contact nod somewhere near Greece, of two races, the white and the black, preferrably the patrilineal and matrilineal.
This study also brought to light that the structural evolution of kinship term undergoes a cyclic mechanism from simplex term to complex term then to compound terms in a recurring process. Regarding the semantic (kinological) evolution of terms, the process involved is shuffling in nature of the relations, with little modifications in structure which has helped a great deal in connecting communities in and around India and Kerala. The impact of native communities on the terminology of kinship for the migrant communities or vice versa is negligible in Kerala (diachronically MN may be considered as a migrant community which has completely switched over to Malayalam while kinologically remaining unaffected to a large extent in the traditional set up).

The study has also helped in reconstructing the kinship organisation in Kerala and in India. It appears that the Aryans who followed consanguineal marriages of IE pattern as was prevalent in early European communities continued this practice for sometime in India. The early sources on kinship terminology are the epics, the puranas, the dealing with princely classes, from which it appears that local exogamy was another feature in marriage which was later adopted by the commoners. Clan exogamy was introduced among Aryans after their contact with the then native people of India. This after the incorporation of strict caste system further led to advanced kinship organisation of no cousin marriage in contrast to
cross or parallel cousin marriage. Local exogamy as a rule is not observed in any of the communities under study. Apparently, the selection of the sex category for the momenclature of kin, as a cultural borrowing, before the actual borrowing of the native (Indian) terminology, is observed in Skt terminology. In addition, sanskrit has developed its own pattern different from IE, after its separation from ancestral place. The cluster pattern as $C_1V:C_2 \rightarrow C_1C_2$ ($CE:r \rightarrow Cr$ as in /me:tr/, /pë:tr/, /nanadr/ etc. are some typical examples. The linguistically expressed transitional terms as in UM /cicce:ra bha:y/ preferably indicate Persian impact. Cross cousin terminology either as Dravidian words, or IA words as Dravidian borrowing appeared in IA languages probably after the formation of Prakrits from Sanskrit. The Pali and Ardha Magadhi literature reports many cases of cross cousin marriages (Karve, 1965). The terms are still survived in central and south Indian IA languages (Marathi, Oriya, KG) though the custom need not be widely practised, currently.

One of the significant outcome of this study is the impact of Nambudiri terminology on the native terminology. Before the arrival of Nambudiris in Kerala, the people of Kerala had the typical Dravidian cross cousin terminology which is still survived in southern Kerala to a large extent. After the arrival of Nambudiris in Kerala, (who drastically
changed the life, and culture of the natives, apparently, borrowed the terminology of cousin marriage of the Nambudiris, specifically of the sibblingual group, which was further modified by including cross sibs, including even the husband in address and reference terminologically. It is not clear whether the Nambudiris, independently evolved, the extension of parental terms for cross parents, or they borrowed this concept from the natives (while they themselves might have evolved this as an extension of cousin terminology). Currently SKG has also started using parental terms for cross parents as a marker of socialisation within family circle or a result of native contact.

The linguistic component introduces kinology as a separate branch of Linguistics specifically of interdisciplinary nature. The basic concepts of kinology, linguistic kinology, kinological units like kineme, allokine, basic allokine, kinosocieme, kinopsycheme, kinolingueme, kine etyme are defined. When they are linguistically expressed, they are further qualified as kine lexeme, kine socio lexeme etc.

A seven point criteria was adopted for the designation linguistic forms as kinship terms in order of hierarchy as follows:

1. A kinolinguistic positional contrast.
2. There should be a transitional kin (concept)

3. The contrasting linguistic form, say, a modifier occurs only with the kinship terms. eg: /malga/ 'elder' in KG.

4. Ambiguous terms which are often syntactic constructions differing in deep structure.

5. Generic modifiers occurring with other nouns, when affixed to kinship terms, but with lesser degree of fitness. These terms are also called kinship terms.

6. Structural absence or prohibition or prohibition of specific terms is taken as kinologically significant' null term (In discussion only but not in computation). are treated as kinship terms, and

7. Teknonymous, or simple description types are excluded from labelling as kin terms.

By the utilisation of the isolating principles, and the concepts of kinolinguistic units, contrastive units for the six communities are isolated and tabulated. The terms thus were classified as follows:

1. Elementary terms with
   a. no derived terms
   b. linguistically, different derived terms
   c. linguistically similar derived terms

2. Derived terms standing in contrast with other terms by phonological, morphological units.
3. Descriptive terms of ambiguous nature
4. Complex terms
5. Compound terms

The descriptive terms of ambiguous nature are represented by the tree diagrams and derivations by generative rules in the deep structure.

The kin terms are discussed within the set up of the productive and generative system. The ideal productive system which stands for the terminological distinction of each and every kin cannot be found in any community. A generative system which indicates the generation of more terms from a few terms is the one generally found in many communities. If more structures are employed, for the generation of terms from earlier ones, such a system is said to be generatively productive which is the case in KG, suggestive of explicit terminological correlative system. MR with a limited total number of terms, have a number of denotative terms. Like KG, UM have a large number of elementary terms but compared to high total frequency contributed by the generative tendency of the descriptive type, the significance is diminished in relation to MR. The MN, MK and MM terminologically and structurally constitute a relatively poor system. Thus KG represents structurally (with more markers) and descriptively (with more denotative terms) and classificatorily (semantically) a productive system in terminology. The MR lexically represent a
productive system and classificatorily (semantically) a generation system. The UM represents a structurally, lexically, descriptively and classificatorily (lexically) a generative and productive system of terminology. The MN represents lexically and to a little extent classificatorily (semantically) generative and productive systems. The MK and MM represent classificatorily generative system.

By the computation of percentage frequencies for the dimensions of static elementary terms/elementary term total elementary terms/total individual community terminological frequency, total individual community frequency/total frequency for all the communities, with the average percentage frequency in each category, the terminological fitness curves are drawn. Similarly the percentage frequency for the contrasting markers P/P₁, P/mr, mr/mr and the average frequency in each category is computed and these figures are used to draw fitness curves which illustrated, in a like manner the conclusions arrived on the discussion in the previous section. Thus among the communities under study, KG and UM represent the most suitable curves for the terminological system. The native communities MN, MK and MM are found to be semantically productive and hence comes down below the average curve in many instances. The information content in KG and UM is said to be explicitly loaded, whereas in the native communities
it implicitly loaded, and MR comes in between these two groups. The complexity of terminology is diagrammatically represented.

The foregoing discussions have clearly substantiated that kinship terms are a multicomponental phenomenon, reflecting on the past, present and future of the kinship and related culture of a community, analysed within the set up of the six communities, KG, MR, UM, MN, MK and UM.
INDEX (of kinship terms)*

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<td>akka</td>
<td>'eZ, FZ, FBD, MZD, HeBW'</td>
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<tr>
<td>N₁ akka</td>
<td>'11 Z, FZ'</td>
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<td>N₂ akka:1jo ba:va</td>
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<td>age</td>
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<td>ago:</td>
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<tr>
<td>annu</td>
<td>'eB'</td>
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<tr>
<td>N anna:li onni</td>
<td>'eBw' (SKG)</td>
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<td>apa:</td>
<td>'S' (ad.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>N appa:li mausi</td>
<td>'FyBw' (SKG)</td>
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<td>app2:pa</td>
<td>'FyB' (SKG)</td>
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<tr>
<td>abba</td>
<td>'exclamation marker'</td>
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<td>amma</td>
<td>'M'</td>
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<td>amm2:ma</td>
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<tr>
<td>ayyo:</td>
<td>'exclamatory marker'</td>
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* ad. -- exclusively address term
MKG -- Mangalore KG
NKG -- Northern Kerala KG
SKG -- Southern
Q² -- Female ego
Ö -- Male ego
N -- Personal name
N₁ -- Name before marriage
N₂ -- Name after marriage

** Notes:**
- " -- retroflex
- P -- dental phoneme
- P alveolar
- P denti alveolar
- P retroflex
- II -- parallel
- transcription
- reading transcription
'eB' (SKG)
'S' (NKG), F (MKG)
'PF (SKG)'
'PM (SKG)'
'M (re)'
'II B'
'II Z'
'eB (NKG)'
'II eB'
'wifehood'
'woman with her husband alive'
'eBW, HeZ, C.Sp.M'
'eD'
'eS'
'uterine B'
'uterine Z'
'family'
'family'
'natal house of a married woman'
'widow (with unshaven head)
'plantain sucker'
'kudumbi H'
'D of others of KG'
'S of others KG'
'S of a non KG'
child'
'prostitute'
'child' and cradle'
'kin and kith'
'youth'
'D of a non KG'
'sisters-in-law (wives of two brothers)
'HBW'
'DH'
'yZ'
'yB'
'W (2)'
'yD'
'yZ'
'yS'
'yB'
'affinal kins'
ÖBO, ÖZO'
'likes for specific food during pregnancy (of daughter)'
'D'
'HyB'
'CS, CDH'
'a woman with grand children'
'a man with grand children'
'HZ'
'HZ, BW'
"uterine Z"
"uterine B"
"CD, CSW"
"ceremony conducted prior to marriage to avoid pollution due to death or birth"
"MyZ"
"FyBW"
"calf' (m)
"calf' (f)
"Sp.FBW, Sp.MZ"
"Sp.FB, Sp.MZH"
"young one of an animal, affectionate term for two"
"ÖBS, ÖZS, HBS, WZS"
"S"
"pup"
"pup"
"PPM"
"PPF"
"PPF"
"CCD, CCSW"
"CCS, CCDH"
"seeing the face of a SSS"
"adopted D"
"adopted S"
"S"
"ÖZD, ÖAO, HZD, WBD"
malgɔːdɔ ba:vu
ma:vlu
ma:vlu baccı soyri:kə
ma:ntu
N ma:ntu
ma:mu
N ma:mu
N mamma:li maːyi
ma:yi
maːyi
maːvu
ma:vəlni
ma:və
N maːvə
mevni
mevni
me:lu
mausi
mausi bavndə
leːkə
lektəli
va:rdi:kə
(vidave:li ba:ylə
vasRə
veːnli
veːyu
'eB'
'MB'
cross cousin marriage'
'FeB'
'MeZH'
'MB'
'FZH'
'MBW'
'MBW'
'Sp.M'
'Sp.F'
'MBW, FZ'
'FeBW'
'MeZ'
'FZD, MBD, WZ'
'FZS, MBS, WB, ZH
'Kudumbi wife'
'MeZ, FyBW (SKG), St.M'
sibs through MZ'
'relation'
'relatives'
'marriage'
'widow'
calf'
'C.Sp.M'
'C.Sp.F'
vjiga:
vaige:
valgo:
vokka:lə
vo:Rə
vo:Rənə
vo:restu
satta: soyri:kə
saddu:kə
su:nə
su:li
səsi
senji
šenjo
šenti
šentə
ševa:šeni
sə:s
soyRə
soyri
Rabbu:n getti:li
Rā:nədə
P + L.C.+ma:mu

'C.Sp.F., Priest (ad.)
'C.Sp.M, any middle aged women of marital status (ad.)
'W,younger female kins (ad.)
'bride'
'newly married couple'
'bridegroom party'
'bridegroom'
'marriage by exchange (bisexual sibblingual marriage)'
'WZH'
'SW'
'ÖyBW'
'sapling'
'PPPM'
'PPPF'
'CCCD'
'CCCS'
'woman with husband alive'
'filling the lap of married woman with coconut, rice and betel leaves'
'affinal male kin'
'affinal kins'
'concubine'
'prostitute'
'MB (of place name)'
2. KINSHIP TERMS OF MHARATHI SPEAKING RAOS (MR)

"akka" - 'eZ, FZ0, MZ0, HeBW'
"aga:" - 'H (ad.)'
"ayyl/aya:/ayye:/ma:y" - 'exclamation marker'
"ajji" - 'M's house'
"a:yic> ghar" - 'MF'
"a:ja" - 'FZ(a/y), MBW, FZD(a), MBD(a)
HM, WM, HFZ'
"a:tya" - 'FZH'
"a:tya ca datta" - 'FM'
"a:va/a:vo:y" - 'ado.B'
"uccu vagle:\la bha:u" - 'yD'
"ulli ne:k" - 'child'
"ulli ne:ku:ur" - 'yS'
"ulli pore:ga" - 'tender body of a woman in confinement'
"o:li ba:la:nti" - 'youngest D'
"kargo:ti ne:ku:ur" - 'FyB'
"ka:ka" - 'FyBW'
"ka:ki" - 'W(e)'
"ka:te" - 'infant'
"ka:wla ne:ku:ur" - 'plantain sucker'
"ke:la c\u00f4natee" - 'pup'
"ku:ra bacce" - 'christian child'
"krisa:ni ne:ku:ur" - 'F\u00e2'
co:kRa
ja:vu
ja:vu-ja:vu
javan
te:te/ta:to:y
tuRka:ni no:kur
tholba:
 thollayi
 tholla bhaun
 thollli ne:k
 tholli bhayan
 thollə no:k/porgə
 thollida no:k
da:lla
da:lla cə ghə R
da:lla balle
da:lla ba:yko
da:da
da:dge ne:kur
di:R/di:Ru
dhakla bhaun
dhakli ba:yko
dhakli bhauiji
dhakli ma:

'man'
'Haw'
'wives of Bə'
'DH, OZS, OGS, HZS, WBS'
'FF'
'Christian boys'
'FeB'
'FeBW, MeZ (if MeZ -> FeBW)
'eB'
'eD'
'eZ'
'eS'
'St. S'
'H'
'husband's house'
'H-W'
'
'
eB, FBS(e), MZS, WeZH, HZH, general term of address for males'
'boy (2 years)
'HyB'
'yB'
'W(2)'
'yBW'
'step. M'
'consanguineal kins'
'HZ'
'HZ-BW'
'CC'
'CCC'
'coconut tree'
'coconut tree (big)'
'Nair boy'
'D, OBS, OZD, BD, ZD'
'boy'
'preferential wife'
'SS, HBS, WZS, OBS, ZS'
'bridegroom'
'bride'
'calf'
'W(a)'
'B'
'S'
'youth'
'maiden'
'F'
'Brahmin boy'
'W'
'girl'
'B, FBS, MZS'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bhauji</td>
<td>'BW'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhayi</td>
<td>'eZ, HeBW, general address term for woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhayn</td>
<td>'Z, FBD, MZD'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bha:bhi</td>
<td>'eBW, HeBW, HeZ'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bha:vu band</td>
<td>'siblings'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bha:vy a</td>
<td>'HeB'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma:ma</td>
<td>'MB(e/y), FZH, eZH, WeB, HeB(a) FZS, MBS, HMB, HP, WP'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma:mi</td>
<td>'MBW, WeZ'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma:vsa</td>
<td>'MZH'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma:vsi/ma:si</td>
<td>'MZ(e/y), St.M'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ ma:y</td>
<td>'M'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mukla sugele:la ba:yko</td>
<td>'concubine'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mha:vla</td>
<td>'MB'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mha:rja</td>
<td>'H(ed.)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mhevna</td>
<td>'MBS, FZS, eZH, WB(e/y)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mhevni/mhevne:</td>
<td>'MBS, FZS, eZH, WB, WZ(e/y)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mhevne-dha:tvne</td>
<td>'brother-in-law'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lagin</td>
<td>'marriage'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa:su</td>
<td>'HASL/M'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa:sRa</td>
<td>'H/W.F'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ra:n mund</td>
<td>'widow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saut</td>
<td>'cowife'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sautAR ba:p</td>
<td>'St.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sautAR ma:</td>
<td>'St.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
seva:ganibayko 'woman with husband alive'
su:n 'SW, HZO, QSO',
su:na bayyi 'oldest SW'
soyRa 'DHF, SWF'
soyrin 'DHM, SWM'
svand bhaud 'ubrine b'
hath 'obstinacy'
haljiti 'delivery'

3. KINSHIP TERMS OF URUDU SPEAKING MUSLIMS (UM)

aji: 'H/W (ad.)'
age: 'hey (f)'
-anbayi 'spinstre'
abba 'F'
abba:ji 'F'
abba jañ 'F'
amma 'M (old form)'
amma:ji 'M'
amma xa:la 'MeZ'
ari: 'hey (f)'
are: 'hey (m)
aruve 'likes for food during pregnancy'
a:pa 'eZ'
a:pa ja:ñ 'eZ, HeZ (1), DHM, SWM'
a:Raz 'bride'
「アオハズナ」
「アオノハズナ」
「エジ」
「オニグリ」
「カバサ」
「カバシ」
「カバサジャヴォ」
「カバサブハウ」
「ケッタケ」
「コシミ」
「カワナ」
「カル」
「カタ」
「カタジャニ」
「カタバ」
「キャラ」
「キャラジャニ」
「キャラマ」
「キャラリサ」
「キャラリサラ」
「キャラリブハニ」
「キャララバパイ」
「キャラビャン」
「キャラビャン」
「カッサ」
「カッサ」

'couple'
'bride party'
'W(ed.)'
'W'
'DCS'
'DCD'
'DCDH'
'DCSW'
'pup'
'SCS'
'SCD'
'lineage, family'
'MZH'
'MyZH'
'MeZH'
'MZ'
'MyZ'
'MeZ'
'H/W MZ'
'H/W, MZH'
'MZO'
'MZD'
'MZS'
'H'
'FyB'
'FyBW'
cain clcca:nl
ca:n bhay
ca:n maimu
ca:n mumma:ni
cicca
cicca ja:n
cicca ba:
cicca ta:ya bacco: ki
s'ai:gi
cice:ra bha:y
 cice:ri bha:n
cicca:ni
cicca:ni ja:n
 cicca:ni ma:
cicce:ra-sa:sRa
cicce:ri sa:s
\(\text{ina:la}\)
\(\text{tilla}\)
cho:tha be:ta
cho:thi besi\(\text{ti}\)
cho:tha bha:y
cho:thi bha:n
ji:ji
jith
jejki
je:th

'FyBW'
'eb, WeB'
'MB(2)
'MeBW(2)
'FyB'
'FyB'
'FyB(1)
'marriage of children of brothers'
'FyBS'
'FyBW'
'FyBW'
'FyBW'
'H/W, FyB'
'H/W, FyBW'
'prostitute'
'woman in confinement'
'yS'
'yD'
'yB'
'yZ'
'aZ(2), St. Z., HeZ'
'obstinacy'
'delivery'
'HeB'
‘bride, W’
‘bridegroom’
‘eZH’
‘W(2)’
‘HZ’
‘cross sisters-in-law’
‘HZS’
‘HZD’
‘HZH’
‘DS’
‘DD’
‘DDH’
‘SSW’
‘christian boy’
‘relation’
‘preferential H’
‘preferential W’
‘MF’
‘MM’
‘coconut sapling’
‘marriage’
‘bridegroom’
‘bridegroom party’
‘eZH, WeZH’
‘FPF’
‘FPM’
pad na:na
pad na:ni
pa:ccba bha:y
pa:ccba ba:
pa:cchi
pa:cchi bha:y
pa:la:ka be:ti
pi:di
pi:di va:le
payl'i jo:Ru
payl'ni be:ti
po:tar
po:tar bhau
po:tar jivay
po:tar
pha1de ka bocca
phupha
phupha ja:n
phupha ba:
phuphu
phuphu ja:n
phuphu ma:
phuphe:ra bha:ya
phyphe:ri bha:mn
phuphe:ra sa:sRa
phuphe:ri sa:s
bada bha:y
bada beta
badi betti
badi bha:mn
badi amma
badi ma:
ba:p
ba:p ke pi:diva:le
ba:va
bi: bha:mn
bu:
bu: ma:
bu: ja:n
ba:man ka bacca
be:va
buddi na:nii
budda na:nii
bacca
bacci
bacpan
bacce lozk
bha:na
bha:ti:ja
bha:ti:ji
bha:n
bha:nja
bha:nji
bha:bhi
bha:bhi ja:n
bha:y
bha:ya=bha:ya
bha:y=bha:n
bha:yi ja:n
bho:vaj
bha:vaj ma:
bhau
bhaunayi
maRad
maRad ke p:i: di ve:le
mahaR
malva:ri ka baca
mā:
ke pi: di:vo:le
ma:mu
ma:mu ja:n
maule:ra sa:sRa
'ygst.Z'
'BS'
'BD'
'Z'
'ZS'
'ZD'
'eBW, H/W, eBW'
'eBW(3), H/W eBW'
'B'
'Bs'
'B-Z'
'HyB (elder than ego) HyZH'
'SW, H/W, BW'
'eBW, H/W eBW'
'SW'
'ZH(y/e)
'H'
'H's kins'
'bride price'
'Malayali boy'
'M'
'M's kins'
'MA'
'MB (ygst)'
'H/W, MB'
maurile:ri,sas
ma:ykegh:var:le
ma:y
maindaRjav:y
maindaRba:p
maindaRbeta
maindaRbetai
maindaRbha:n
maindaRbha:y
maindaRbhau
maindaRma:

musalman:nakabacca


mumma:ni

mumma:njat:b

mumma:ni:ma:

maurile:bha:y

maurile:ribha:n

mauskatai

ladka

ladki

ladakpan

R:ndi

Rakha:v

sa:dí

'H/W.MBW'

'natalkins'

'M'

'St.D.H'

'St.F'

'St.S'

'St.D'

'St.Z'

'St.B'

'St.SW'

'St.M'

'Muslimboy'

'MBW.H/W.,MBW(2)'

'MBW(a)'

'MeBW'

'MBS'

'MBO'

'plantainsucker'

'marriage badge'

'child'

'D'

'childhood'

'prostitute'

'concubine'

'marriage'
I. KINSHIP TERMS OF MALAYALAM SPEAKING NAMBUDIRI BRAHMINS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sauhaR</td>
<td>'bridegroom'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sapat</td>
<td>'cowife'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>samdhi</td>
<td>'SWF, DHF'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>samdhin</td>
<td>'SWM, DHM'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>samdhyap</td>
<td>'affinal relatives'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sammandhvakada</td>
<td>'husband's house'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sasura:1</td>
<td>'WZH'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa:dhu</td>
<td>'WB'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa:la</td>
<td>'WBS'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa:le ka bet:ta</td>
<td>'WBD'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa:le ki bet:ti</td>
<td>'WZ'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa:li</td>
<td>'WZS'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa:li ka bet:ta</td>
<td>'WZD'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa:li ki bet:ti</td>
<td>'H/W.M'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa:s</td>
<td>'H/W.F'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa:saRa</td>
<td>'heritage'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>silsila</td>
<td>'woman with husband alive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suha:gin</td>
<td>'uterine B'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suha:g va:li</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa:ga bha:y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agattulla:la</td>
<td>'eBW, St.BW'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acchan</td>
<td>'F'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aniyatt:1</td>
<td>'YZ, ado.Z, St.Z, F8D, FZD, M8D, MZD'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aniyatt:1 de unni</td>
<td>'YZS'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
'S'
'bride'
'first house entrance of a bride in her husband's house'
'Nambudiri maiden (referred by lower castes)
'eB(2)'
'FyZ, MyZ'
'FyBW, St. M'
'MyB'
'spousal house'
'Nambudiri (L.C)'
'Nambudiri woman (L.C)
'H(-E) SWF, DHF, Nambudiri after sammavatanam (completion of religious education)
'Z'
'marriage by exchange'
'FeZ, MeZ'
'marriage'
'children'
'delivery'
'marriage (referred by a lower caste)'
'woman with husband alive'
'S'
'W'
5. KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY OF MALAYALAM SPEAKING KORAVAS (MK)

akkacci: 'eZ, C.T'
akkan/akka: 'eZ, FD, FBD, MD, HZ(e/y), HeBW, WZ, FZD, St.Z'
accE 'F'
annan 'OeB, FS, MS, FBS, FZS, HeZH, WZH, ÖFDH, C.T'
aniyatti 'FD, ÖFSW, St.3W, WZ, HyBW, FBD, MZD'
aniyatti:m ce:ttatt:m
aniyatti:re
aniyan
aliyan
appacci
appE
appu:ppE
amma
ammacci
amma:ccan
amma:vi
amma:van
ammumma
enne:
ala:nkudi penn?
ēdappēranno:n
ēdappēranno:1
kalya:nam
koccaccan
koccamma
čittappE
čittappan tanda
ceRu pilla
ceRu mo:n
ceRu mo:1Ω
ce:ttatti
cettan
custra pillor
tendan
na:ttun/na:ttune!
pasukkutti
pendatti
penn Samarapenn
pe:Rapapenn
pudiyapilla
pudiyennap
magan moy
makkalap
maccambi
maccambi kuttarap
marumon
marumolaap
matplap
mama
ma:ple:m pennum
ma:plekkuttarap
mudukkikumuttayaccE
musttamam
muṭṭayammacci
muṭṭayappacci
muṭṭa nāṭtu:n
muṭṭayamma:vān
muṭṭa:nkudi penṇā
     , makka:la
     , ma:pla
muṭṭa mo:y
     , mo:1 ḥ
me:ṭṭa ppullar ḥ
mo:y
mo:1 ḥ
yele: appacci
     , amma:vān
     , nāṭtu:n
     , ma:pla
     , mo:y
     , mo:1 ḥ
yeḷa:nkudi penṇā
vaḷa kkannā
se:ṣa:RE
se:ṣa:ṛi
songakka:r ḥ
∅

'HM小男孩, FEW, MeZ, HFZ'
'FZ(e)'
'FZ(e)'
'MeB, FeZH'
'wife (first marriage)'
'children by first marriage'
'husband (first marriage)'
'eS'
'eD'
'muslim children'
'S'
'D'
'FYZ'
'MyB', FYZH'
'HyZ'
'husband (second marriage)'
'yS'
'yD'
'wife (second marriage)'
'plantain sucker'
'OZS, WBS'
'OBD, WBD'
'relatives'
'DSW, DDD'
6. KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY OF MALAYALAM SPEAKING MUSLIMS (MM)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ammo:sänka</td>
<td>'HFWF', WFB, DHF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ammo:m</td>
<td>'MB'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ansan</td>
<td>'yb'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ansätti</td>
<td>'yZ'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amma:yi</td>
<td>'FZ, MBW, H/S, FZ, H/W, MBW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amma:yamma</td>
<td>'MM, WM'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amma:yikka:kkä</td>
<td>'FZH'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aliyan</td>
<td>'WB, ZH(e/y)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aliya:nka</td>
<td>'eZH, WeB'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikka:kkä</td>
<td>'eB, St. B, MB (ad.), HeB(ad.), MBS, FZS, FBS, MZS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itta:itta</td>
<td>'eZ, St. X, MZO, FBD, eBw, HeBW, MBD, FZD'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itta:ttande mo:n</td>
<td>'OZS'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'OZO'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uppä:ppa</td>
<td>'PF'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umma</td>
<td>'PM'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umma:mma</td>
<td>'PM'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elacci</td>
<td>'HyBW, WYZ'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elaccan</td>
<td>'HyB, WYZH'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elaccande mo:n</td>
<td>'HyBS'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'HyBD'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ela:ppa</td>
<td>'FyB, MyZH, MH'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elima</td>
<td>'FyBW, MyZ, FW'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elimähde umma</td>
<td>'FWM'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ell:ma:nde va:ppa

, mo:n
, mo:1\textsuperscript{a}

e:la:ppa:nde mo:n
, mo:1\textsuperscript{a}

c:akko:latti
c:eriya mo:n
c:eriya:yi
c:eriya e:la:ppa
n:attu:n
n:attunde ma:pla
kettiyo:n
kettiyo:1\textsuperscript{a}
ka:ne:yt\textsuperscript{a}
pudiya:pla
pudiya:n\textsuperscript{a}
pennal\textsuperscript{a}
pennu:nhal\textsuperscript{a}
pe:Rakka:tt\textsuperscript{a}a mo:n
, mo:1\textsuperscript{a}
pe:Rakku:tti
pe:R\textsuperscript{a}
po:t\textsuperscript{a}tu mo:n
, mo:1\textsuperscript{a}
ba:ppa

'FWF'
'FWS'
'FWD'
'MHS'
'MHD'
'cowife'
'MyB'
'My\textsuperscript{a}W'
'FyB(2)'
'HZ'
'HZH'
'H'
'W'
'marriage'
'bridegroom'
'bride'
'Z'
'W'
'eZ'\textsuperscript{st.5}
'St.0'
'CS,\textsuperscript{m}n'
'delivery'
'ado.S'
'ado.\textsuperscript{u}n'
'F'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>maccunicci</td>
<td>'FZD, MBO'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maccuniyan</td>
<td>'FZS, MBS'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marumo:n</td>
<td>'DH, H/W, DH, OBS, OZS'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marumo:lo</td>
<td>H/WSW, SW, OBS, OZD'</td>
</tr>
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<td>ma:pla</td>
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