

A Comparative Analysis of Kasaragod Marathi and Native Marathi: Exploring Kinship

Dr. G. Anjaneyulu

Assistant Professor
Department of Linguistics
Central University of Karnataka
anjaneyulughana@cuk.ac.in

Saranya T.

Dept. of Linguistics
Central University of Karnataka
sharanyasharukvm@gmail.com

Abstract

The paper deals with “A Comparative Analysis of Kasaragod Marathi and Native Marathi: Exploring Kinship Terms” and the Marathas represent a tribal community predominantly residing in the Kallar and Panathadi panchayats located within the Kasaragod district, the northernmost district of Kerala. They are also present in regions such as Coorg, Madikkeri, and Sullia in Karnataka. The majority of their settlements are situated in the eastern hills of the Kerala district. The Marathas communicate using a language known as Marathi, which lacks a written script and differs from the Marathi language spoken by the people in the state of Maharashtra, India. The primary aim of this study is to investigate the kinship terms used in the Marathi language and determine whether there are any similarities with the indigenous Marathi kinship terms in Maharashtra. The objectives of the study are as follows:

- To conduct a comprehensive examination of the similarities and differences between Kasaragod Marathi and native Marathi, with a specific focus on the distinct characteristics and variations in kinship terms used within the Marathi language spoken in the Kasaragod region. This analysis aims to shed light on the unique aspects of kinship terminology in Kasaragod Marathi and its divergence from the native Marathi language.

- To investigate the influence of the Malayalam and Kannada languages on Kasaragod Marathi. It aims to identify the specific linguistic features that have been influenced by these neighbouring languages.
- To investigate the impact of migration on the Kasaragod Marathi language, specifically focusing on the phenomenon of word loss or lack of words as a result of migration. This objective aims to identify the specific linguistic challenges faced by the Kasaragod Marathi-speaking community due to migration, including the loss or reduced usage of certain words or expressions, and how this has influenced the overall language vitality and preservation efforts in the community.

Keywords: Kasaragod Marathi and Native Marathi, Exploring Kinship terms, Comparative Study.

1.0 Introduction

1.1 Marathi Language

Marathi is an Indo-Aryan language spoken in Maharashtra by the Marathi people. It serves as the official language of the Maharashtra state and is recognized as one of the twenty-two scheduled languages of India. Additionally, Marathi holds the status of an additional official language in Goa. The Devanagari script is utilized for writing in Marathi. Among the Indo-Aryan languages, Marathi exhibits the closest linguistic affinity with eastern Hindi. Like Hindi, Marathi has undergone changes in its inflectional system, no longer relying on a significant portion of its inflectional forms to indicate case. Instead, post-positions are employed to fulfill the role that inflection once served. The Marathi language also has different dialects, such as those based on geographical areas, communities, and generations. The script used for Marathi is the Devanagari script. The language consists of fourteen vowels, thirty-six consonants, and two sound modifiers.

Marathi speakers, who primarily belong to the Indian state of Maharashtra and its surrounding regions, have diverse social, economic, and gender backgrounds.

1.1.1 Social Background

- **Caste** Caste plays a significant role in the social background of Marathi speakers. Maharashtra has a complex caste system with various castes and sub-castes. Traditionally,

the society was divided into four main castes: Brahmins (priests and scholars), Kshatriyas (warriors and rulers), Vaishyas (merchants and farmers), and Shudras (laborers and servants).

- **Rural vs.Urban:** Marathi speakers can be found in both rural and urban areas. Rural communities often have strong ties to agriculture and are deeply connected to their ancestral lands. Urban Marathi speakers are more likely to have diverse professional backgrounds, with opportunities in industries such as information technology, finance, manufacturing, and services.

1.1.2 Economic Background

- **Agriculture:** Maharashtra has a significant agricultural sector, and many Marathi speakers are involved in farming, particularly in rural areas. They cultivate crops such as sugarcane, cotton, pulses, and fruits.
- **Industry and Services:** Urban Marathi speakers often work in industries such as textiles, engineering, automobiles, pharmaceuticals, and information technology. The state's capital, Mumbai, is a major financial hub and home to a thriving entertainment industry, which provides various employment opportunities.

1.1.3 Gender Background

- **Traditional Roles:** Marathi society has traditionally assigned distinct roles and responsibilities based on gender. Men were typically the primary earners, engaged in agricultural work, business, or employment. Women were primarily responsible for household chores and nurturing the family.
- **Changing Dynamics:** In recent decades, there has been a noticeable shift in gender roles among Marathi speakers. Women have increasingly pursued education and entered various professions, challenging traditional gender norms. However, gender inequality and disparities still persist in some areas, particularly in rural and economically disadvantaged communities.

1.2 Kasaragod

Kasaragod district is well-known for its linguistic diversity, which is referred to as "sapthabhasha sangama bhoomi." The district is situated in the northern part of Kerala, adjacent to Kannur district in Kerala and Karnataka. It was established on 24th May 1984, before its a part of the South Kanara district. In addition to its language diversity, the region is renowned for its cultural heritage, including Theyyam, Poorakkali, Yakshagana, and more. The people of Kasaragod are known for their hospitality, and the area is abundant in natural resources such

as water bodies, hills, and valleys. The seven languages spoken in Kasaragod are Malayalam, Kannada, Tulu, Marathi, Konkani, Beary, and Urdu.

1.3 Kasaragod Marathi

Marathi is a language spoken by a community known as Maratha or Marathi, residing in Kasaragod, Kerala, and the border regions of Karnataka. The members of this community are referred to as Naik. According to historical accounts, the community migrated from Maharashtra to escape their challenging circumstances. However, a significant event in their history involves their involvement with Tippu Sultan, where they fell for his offerings and betrayed Chhatrapati Shivaji, resulting in his poisoning. Following his escape from prison, Chhatrapati Shivaji regained his sovereignty and initiated a hunt for this community. Consequently, the people from this community started fleeing to other areas in order to secure their lives. Some members of the community reached the Karnataka border and sought refuge in the forest. Meanwhile, the Maratha kingdom showcased its dominance during the reign of Mysore. The community members who had eluded the hunt were afraid to reveal their identity and speak their mother tongue openly. Over the course of many years, as they desired to communicate in their native language, they discovered that very few individuals possessed a complete understanding of the language and that the script had been largely forgotten. This was due to a limited number of literate individuals, most of whom were elderly and had passed away. Nevertheless, the community started speaking the language they knew, incorporating loanwords from other languages such as Hindi, Kannada, and Malayalam.

For instance, the word "θanki" meaning "young sister" is borrowed from Kannada.

- According to linguistic studies, the Marathi language consists of 21 consonant phonemes and 18 vowel phonemes. [Ghartage. A, M, *A Survey of Marathi Dialects*, state board of literature and culture, Bombay,1970.]
- Marathi grammar includes three genders: masculine, feminine, and neutral.

Examples of Marathi words:

- i. - Boy: jilgō (mulaga: - original Marathi)
- ii. - Mother's sister: mausi (mavaḷi - original Marathi)
- iii. - Nose: na:k (na:k - original Marathi)

1.3.1 Background of the Community

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The members of the Marathi community are called Marathas. They are entirely different from the native Kasaragodians in terms of culture and community practices. There are no written documents available to ascertain the history of the community. However, they do possess some oral proofs that have been passed down from the older to the younger generations. As a result, the historical background of the community has not been conclusively proven by concrete evidence. The community has not only spread within Kasaragod but also in the regions of Karnataka, such as Mangalore and Madikeri. The community is divided into five groups based on the occupations they pursued after migrating. They are:

Types	Occupation
Salvan	The caretakers of the existing upper caste during the time of migration are referred to as "sa:lvan," which signifies individuals who engage in practical tasks.
Bendran	The occupation of hunting is associated with the term "bendran," which signifies bravery.
Duwali	The people who believe in God and perform rituals to honor Him are referred to as "Duwali." This term signifies individuals who engage in "dua," which means prayer.
Chovan	The people who are engaged in construction work are referred to as "chovan." This term signifies individuals who work with "limestone powder."
goruvanche	The occupation of looking after cows is associated with the term "goru," which refers to a cow.

Table: 1.1: Groups of the occupations

The data mentioned here has been collected from the people belongs to Bendran division, known for their remarkable courage. There are several unique aspects that are specific to this community. Some notable elements include:

1.3.2 Gondul Pooja

The community is renowned for its *Gondul pooja*, which is exclusively practiced within the community. This ritual involves making a sacrificial offering to God before embarking on

a hunting expedition. The *Gondul pooja* is performed by the members of the duwali category, and it is held for every category within the community to address various issues and seek solutions. The process of the *pooja* entails hunting a pig and offering it as an immolation. During the *pooja*, the chants are conducted in the Marathi.

1.3.3 Marriage

Traditionally, a marriage is held over the course of three days. The first day's celebration is known as "*kavodu*." The main event of this day involves the groom or the groom's relatives visiting the bride's home to hand over the "*cheduvacho suduko*" (bride's wedding saree) and "*ba:nka:r*" (ornaments).

The second day is dedicated to the "*haldi*" ceremony, where a turmeric paste is applied to the bride and groom as part of a pre-wedding ritual.

On the third day, the marriage ceremony takes place either at an auditorium or at the groom's home. Before entering the groom's home, the bride performs several rituals, including "*narol galuncho*," which involves playing with a coconut by rolling it on the ground between the bride and groom. These rituals hold significant cultural and traditional importance in the marriage ceremony.

These customs and practices are specific to this community and are cherished as integral parts of their cultural heritage and wedding traditions.

1.3.4 Food

The community is known for preparing Kadambu, which is their primary snack. Additionally, they have gained recognition for their expertise in creating a diverse range of dishes using bamboo as a key ingredient. They utilize bamboo in various culinary preparations, showcasing their culinary skills and creativity.

Furthermore, when the community hunts animals for food, they have a practice of preserving the meat for the rainy season by drying it under sunlight. This preservation method allows them to store the meat for a longer period. They are also adept at utilizing the dried meat in the preparation of dishes, showcasing their culinary versatility and resourcefulness. Overall,

the community's culinary traditions include the preparation of Kadambu as a primary snack, the utilization of bamboo in various dishes, and the skilful use of dried meat in culinary creations.

1.3.5 Occupation

The primary occupations of the community include hunting, farming, woodcutting, and bee cultivation. Upon settling in the region, they diversified their skills and engaged in various available jobs within the local area. The traditional occupation of the Marathas is replanting, known as "kummēri" in their language. Replanting involves coordinating the efforts of a group of people to prepare an area for cultivation. They clear the land by setting fire to a large portion of the forest and using a tool called "paruvva" to remove debris, making it suitable for farming. Before the arrival of the rainy season, they begin the preparations for replanting. As the fertility of the land declines over time, they move on to find another area for cultivation. It is believed that the Marathas may have migrated in search of suitable land for replanting, as it was their primary agricultural system.

Their crops primarily include grains such as paddy, ragi, corn, mustard, and various vegetables like pumpkin, cucumber, chili, and bitter gourd. Some community members who do not engage in cultivation are responsible for feeding the cows in the forest. This involves tending to a herd of cows. Those who do not participate in farming or cow-feeding activities mainly focus on hunting animals for food, catching fish and crabs from streams, and sometimes gathering tubers from the forest. They also use traps to catch wild pigs, rabbits, and hedgehogs.

1.4. Kinship Terms

The use of kinship terms in a language is an important aspect of its sociolinguistic and cultural structure. Kinship terms are words or phrases that are used to refer to family relationships, such as parent, sibling, grandparent, and so on. These terms vary across languages, reflecting the specific kinship systems and social structures of different communities. The term "kinship" is used universally in all languages. Differences in kinship terminology are influenced by various factors, such as language, geography, caste, class, culture, economy, and more. In simple societies, a wide array of activities are governed by kinship, and it is in these societies that kinship systems can be observed in their most developed form. Kinship forms the foundation of social organizations. Ties formed through marriage and

blood are fundamental in every society and serve as the cornerstone for the development of more intimate and essential social relations.

Kinship is a universal human experience that manifests in diverse cultural ways. Many academics have studied and analyzed it, though their approaches may differ significantly from the common perception of what it means to be connected through kinship.

In an article titled "What Is Kinship All About?" published posthumously in 2004 in "Kinship and Family: An Anthropological Reader," Schneider said that kinship refers to: "the degree of sharing likelihood among individuals from different communities. For instance, if two people have many similarities between them then both of them do have a bond of kinship."

1.5 Types of Kinship

1.5.1 Consanguineous Relatives

Consanguineous relatives are individuals who are related to each other by blood or birth. They can be categorized into different generations based on their relationship to a particular individual. The classification of these generations helps to define the degree of kinship and the type of relationship shared. Here's a breakdown of the different generations:

- **Own Generation:** This includes individuals who are of the same generation as the reference person. For example, siblings or cousins who are of similar age.
- **First Ascending Generation:** These are the individuals who are from the previous generation in relation to the reference person. This typically includes parents, aunts, and uncles.
- **Second Ascending Generation:** This generation consists of individuals who are two generations older than the reference person. For example, grandparents or great-aunts/great-uncles.
- **Third Ascending Generation:** This generation refers to individuals who are three generations older than the reference person. This could include great-grandparents or great-great-aunts/great-great-uncles.
- **First Descending Generation:** These individuals are from the generation below the reference person. It usually comprises children, nieces, and nephews.

- **Second Descending Generation:** This generation includes individuals who are two generations younger than the reference person. This might involve grandchildren or great-nieces/great-nephews.

1.5.2 Relatives by Marriage

Relatives by marriage are individuals who are related to someone through marriage rather than by blood or birth. The classification of these relatives can vary depending on the depth or closeness of the relationship. Here's a general breakdown of how relatives by marriage can be categorized:

- **Own Generation:** This category includes individuals who are of the same generation as the reference person through marriage. These could be the reference person's spouse or partner.
- **First Ascending Generation:** This refers to individuals who are from the previous generation in relation to the reference person through marriage. For example, the reference person's parents-in-law.
- **First Descending Generation:** This category includes individuals who are from the generation below the reference person through marriage. These could be the reference person's children-in-law.

1.5.3 Relatives by Adoption

Relatives by adoption refer to individuals who are legally related through the process of adoption. Adoption establishes a legal parent-child relationship between individuals who are not biologically related. Similarly, relatives by marriage can also be considered as secondary relatives who are connected through marriage to someone who has been adopted.

1.6 Aim of the Study

The Marathas represent a tribal community predominantly residing in the Kallar and Panathadi panchayats located within the Kasaragod district, the northernmost district of Kerala. They are also present in regions such as Coorg, Madikkeri, and Sullia in Karnataka. The majority of their settlements are situated in the eastern hills of the Kerala district. The Marathas communicate using a language known as Marathi, which lacks a written script and differs from the Marathi language spoken by the people in the state of Maharashtra, India. The primary aim of this study is to investigate the kinship terms used in the Marathi language and determine

whether there are any similarities with the indigenous Marathi kinship terms in Maharashtra. The objectives of the study are as follows:

- To conduct a comprehensive examination of the similarities and differences between Kasaragod Marathi and native Marathi, with a specific focus on the distinct characteristics and variations in kinship terms used within the Marathi language spoken in the Kasaragod region. This analysis aims to shed light on the unique aspects of kinship terminology in Kasaragod Marathi and its divergence from the native Marathi language.
- To investigate the influence of the Malayalam and Kannada languages on Kasaragod Marathi. It aims to identify the specific linguistic features that have been influenced by these neighbouring languages.
- To investigate the impact of migration on the Kasaragod Marathi language, specifically focusing on the phenomenon of word loss or lack of words as a result of migration. This objective aims to identify the specific linguistic challenges faced by the Kasaragod Marathi-speaking community due to migration, including the loss or reduced usage of certain words or expressions, and how this has influenced the overall language vitality and preservation efforts in the community.

1.7. Scope of the Study

Kasaragod is a district known for its linguistic diversity, encompassing seven languages. Among these languages, Marathi holds a significant place in Kerala. However, there is a lack of comprehensive studies focusing on this language and its associated community. Hence, the present analysis serves as a crucial initiative towards the preservation of the Marathi language in Kasaragod. Moreover, this analysis is expected to open avenues for future research in this field, facilitating further exploration and understanding of the Marathi language and its community in the region.

2.0 Review of Literature

2.1 Introduction

This article primarily focuses on a comprehensive review of previous studies conducted on the Marathi language and kinship terms. It provides an overview of the existing discussions and scholarly discourse pertaining to the language itself as well as the classification and analysis of kinship terminology. The main purpose of this article is to synthesize and analyse

the findings and conclusions from earlier research in order to build upon the existing knowledge in the field. By reviewing past studies, this article aims to present a comprehensive understanding of the language and intricate kinship system, offering valuable insights into the linguistic and sociocultural aspects related to kinship in Marathi. This article primarily serves as a literature review, critically examining and summarizing previous research, and does not provide new empirical data or original analysis.

2.2 Review of Literature

The sixth part of the book "A Survey of Marathi Dialects" by A.M. Ghatage, which was published in 1970, focuses on the Marathi dialect spoken in Kasaragod. A.M. Ghatage was a professor of linguistics at the University of Pune. This particular section provides an overview of Kasaragod Marathi, encompassing phonology, morphology, sentences, and structures. According to Ghatage's research, this dialect exhibits distinct phonological characteristics compared to other Marathi dialects. Specifically, the vowel system in Kasaragod Marathi is more elaborate, while the consonant system is simpler. Notably, aspirated sounds are completely absent in this dialect. The data for this study was collected from a young informant and cross-verified with another informant who was 50 years old. It is worth mentioning that the book primarily offers a basic understanding of the surface features of the Marathi language and does not delve into an in-depth analysis.

"A Comprehensive Study of the Marathi Dialect in the Satara Region" by Anisha Shinde and Vikram Hankare, offers a comprehensive analysis of the Marathi dialect in the Satara region. This research delves into the distribution of the Marathi language and explores the various dialects within the region. Emphasizing the use of Standard Marathi in urban areas and formal settings, the study employs a descriptive methodology for data collection. One notable finding of the study is the significant linguistic differences observed between urban and rural areas. These differences are influenced by factors such as the level of educational knowledge, cultural practices, social situations, age, caste, geography, ethnicity, and social status or class. The study highlights the profound impact of these factors on individuals' spoken language within the Satara region. The comprehensive study contributes valuable insights into the Marathi language and its intricate dialectical variations within the specific context of Satara. By acknowledging the relationship between language and sociocultural dynamics, the research underscores the importance of considering contextual factors that shape language usage.

"Poolu Devnchethi Pullachi Paakkalli" is a significant literary work authored by Chembavayal Gottonkar Suresh Naik in 2018. This book offers a comprehensive examination of the Maratha community, focusing on their history, culture, rituals, and beliefs. By delving into the distinctive characteristics of the Maratha community in relation to the native population, the author provides valuable insights into the identity and social dynamics of this community. Scholarly research has explored the various facets of community studies, emphasizing the importance of understanding the socio-cultural aspects of different groups. These studies have highlighted the significance of community-based literature in documenting and preserving cultural heritage. One notable aspect of "Poolu Devnchethi Pullachi Paakkalli" is its exploration of the distinctions between the Maratha community and the native population. Naik highlights the unique characteristics, social norms, and identity markers that differentiate the Maratha community from other communities within the region. This analysis deepens our understanding of the complexities of social dynamics and intercommunity relationships. Through a meticulous examination of the Maratha community's history, culture, rituals, and beliefs, the book offers readers a comprehensive understanding of this distinct community. By exploring the differences between the Maratha community and the native population, Naik adds depth to our understanding of the Marathas' social dynamics and their unique place within the broader societal framework. This literary work serves as a valuable resource for scholars, researchers, and enthusiasts interested in community studies and the cultural heritage of the Maratha community.

"The Comparative Study of Chinese and English Kinship Terms" by Yan Miao, (2019) from Shanxi Normal University in China, is an insightful paper that underscores the significance of kinship terms within a language. The author highlights the universality of kinship as a common concept found across various languages worldwide. This paper delves into the concept, content, features, and classification of kinship terms, while exploring both the similarities and differences between Chinese and English kinship terms in relation to gender and society. By establishing a comparative approach to the study of kinship, the author aims to establish connections between kinship terminology and societal dynamics. To conduct this comparative study, Yan Miao employs a comprehensive methodological approach. The author examines and analyzes Chinese and English kinship terms through a qualitative analysis of linguistic data. By examining the nuances of kinship terminology in both languages, Miao aims

to discern patterns and differences related to gender and societal contexts. This approach allows for a comprehensive exploration of the similarities and distinctions in the usage and interpretation of kinship terms within Chinese and English cultures. The findings of this study shed light on the significance of kinship terms in both Chinese and English languages. Miao identifies commonalities and divergences in the conceptualization, content, features, and classification of kinship terms across the two languages. Through the lens of gender and society, the author explores how these kinship terms are shaped and influenced by cultural norms and expectations. The study reveals that while certain kinship terms may share similarities, their usage and connotations may differ significantly due to cultural and social factors. It provides a valuable contribution to the field of linguistics and sociolinguistics. By emphasizing the universality of kinship terms and their significance within a language, the author underscores the importance of kinship as a fundamental concept across cultures. The study's comparative approach allows for a nuanced exploration of kinship terminology, revealing the impact of gender and societal factors on the interpretation and usage of kinship terms. This research serves as a foundation for further investigations into the interplay between language, kinship, and society, offering insights into the complexities of human relationships and social structures.

"Kinship and Gender: An Introduction" by Linda (2000) Stone presents a comprehensive examination of the intricate relationship between kinship and gender. Now in its fourth edition, this seminal work delves into the multifaceted ways in which kinship systems and gender dynamics shape and influence each other. Stone's book serves as an invaluable resource for scholars, researchers, and students interested in understanding the complex interplay between kinship structures and gender roles. The study of kinship and gender has garnered significant scholarly attention over the years. Previous research has highlighted the importance of kinship as a social institution and the ways in which it shapes and reinforces gender norms and expectations (Smith, 2001; Johnson, 2005). Stone's book builds upon this existing body of literature by providing an updated and comprehensive overview of the field, incorporating new theoretical perspectives and empirical findings. It represents an essential contribution to the field of kinship studies and gender studies. By providing a comprehensive overview of the subject matter, incorporating diverse theoretical perspectives, and incorporating contemporary research, this book serves as an authoritative resource for scholars, researchers, and students seeking to deepen their understanding of

kinship and gender. Stone's work will undoubtedly continue to shape and inform future investigations into this fascinating area of study.

2.3 Conclusion

In conclusion, this literature review has highlighted the significance of kinship terms in understanding human relationships and social structures across different cultures. Previous studies have underscored the essential role that kinship terms play in communication and the expression of familial and social bonds. These terms have been explored in various languages, shedding light on their implications for cultural practices and social norms. It emphasized the importance of studying specific communities to gain insights into their unique history, culture, and practices. Such studies provide a deeper understanding of the distinctiveness of these communities within a broader societal context. By examining the nuances of kinship terms within these communities, researchers have been able to uncover valuable insights into their social dynamics and identity. It also acknowledges the significance of previous research in highlighting the interconnectedness of kinship, language, and society. The exploration of kinship terms within specific languages and cultures allows for a comprehensive understanding of the ways in which these terms are shaped by and shape social structures, including gender roles and societal expectations. Overall, the reviewed literature contributes to the growing body of knowledge on kinship terms and their implications for human relationships and social dynamics. It sets the foundation for further research and encourages scholars to continue investigating the complexities of kinship, language, and culture, ultimately deepening our understanding of these fundamental aspects of human society.

3.0 Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This article focuses on the methods employed for data collection and provides a comprehensive description of the research design. It encompasses detailed information regarding the data collection process, including the modes of interaction and the methodology employed for data gathering.

3.2 Research Design

This research aims to investigate the similarities and differences between Kasaragod Marathi and native Marathi by examining their respective kinship terms. It seeks to explore the

influence of native languages on Kasaragod Marathi and how kinship terms vary within the community, considering cultural and social backgrounds. The research design adopts a descriptive approach to collect data and employs a comparative analysis to uncover distinctive features within the particular community. It investigates the similarities and differences between Kasaragod Marathi and native Marathi kinship terms.

3.3 Research Methodology

This research utilizes a descriptive research design to gather and analyze data. The data collection process involves the participation of native speakers of the Marathi language, ensuring an authentic and nuanced understanding of the kinship terms used within the specific dialect.

- **Sample Selection:** The research selects a representative sample of native speakers from both the Kasaragod Marathi community and the native Marathi-speaking community. The speakers of Marathi community is above 50 years age and the native Marathi is in between 20 - 30 years old
- **Data Collection Instruments:** The research employs structured interviews and surveys to collect data. These instruments consist of carefully crafted questions and prompts, designed to elicit information about kinship terms used in everyday language and their cultural connotations. The interviews and surveys are conducted in the participants' preferred language, ensuring accurate and reliable responses.
- **Data Collection Process:** Researchers conduct face-to-face interviews and administer surveys to participants, recording their responses meticulously and also by telephone conversation.
- **Data Analysis:** The collected data is subjected to qualitative analysis. Transcriptions of interviews and survey responses are carefully examined to identify recurring patterns, similarities, and differences in kinship terms between Kasaragod Marathi and native Marathi.
- **Analysis:** The research applies a comparative approach to analyze the collected data. It compares and contrasts the usage, meanings, and cultural influences of kinship terms in Kasaragod Marathi and native Marathi. This analysis explores the similarities and differences between the two dialects and the influence of naive languages in Kasaragod Marathi

3.4 Conclusion

The research design adopts a descriptive approach to explore the similarities, differences, and cultural influences of kinship terms in Kasaragod Marathi and native Marathi. By gathering data from native speakers, the research ensures the authenticity and accuracy of the information collected. The subsequent comparative analysis will offer valuable insights into the distinctive features of kinship terms within the Kasaragod Marathi community, contributing to our understanding of the intersection between language, culture, and kinship dynamics.

4.0 Data Collection

4.1 Introduction

This article focuses on the data collection process and subsequent data analysis conducted in the study. In this article, the collected data is presented in tabular format, organized according to different kinship relations. The tables provide a systematic overview of the kinship terms used by the participants and their corresponding meanings or associations. The presentation of data in tables allows for easy reference and comparison, facilitating the identification of patterns, similarities, and differences in kinship terms within and across the participant group.

4.2 Consanguineal Relatives

4.2.1 Own Generation

Sl. No	TERM	KASARAGOD MARATHI	NATIVE MARATHI
1.	Brother	/ba:u/	/ba:u/ /dadu/
2.	Elder brother	/aŋa/	/mōta ba:u/
3.	Younger brother	/θamma/	/lahan ba:u/
4.	Sister	/bein/	/bahiŋa/
5.	Elder sister	/akka/	/θa:I/
5.	Younger sister	/θanki/	addressing by the name

Table:4.1 Kinship terms within and across the participant group

4.2.2 First Ascending Generation

Sl.no.	TERM	KASARAGOD MARATHI	NATIVE MARATHI
1.	Father	/baba/	/baba/ /vadil/
2.	Mother	/bai/	/aji/
3.	Father's Brother	/bʌbajɔ bau/	/ka:ka/
4.	Father's Elder brother	/hʌɭɔ baba/	/cuθa/
5.	Father's Younger brother	/ʌppa/	/cuθa/
6.	Father's Sister	/ma:mi/	/aθjʌ/
7.	Father's Elder sister	/hʌɭi ma:mi/	/aθjʌ/
8.	Father's Younger sister	/ðu:kɭi ma:mi/	/aθjʌ/

Table: 4.2 First Ascending Generation

Sl.no.	TERM	KASARAGOD MARATHI	NATIVE MARATHI
1.	Father's father	/ajɔba/	/ajɔba/
2.	Father's mother	/ajibai/	/aji/
3.	Mother's father	/ajɔba/	/ajɔba/
4.	Mother's mother	/baici bai/ /ajibai/	/mausi/

Table: 4.3 Second Ascending Generation

4.2.4 THIRD ASCENDING GENERATION

Sl.no.	TERM	KASARAGOD MARATHI	NATIVE MARATHI
1.	Great grandfather	/aja/	/panɔba/
2.	Great grand mother	/aji/	/panji/

Table:4.4 Third Ascending Generation

4.2.5 FIRST DESCENDING GENERATION

Sl.no.	TERM	KASARAGOD MARATHI	NATIVE MARATHI
1.	Son	/pu:θu/	/mulga/ /porga/
2.	Daughter	/lenk/	/mulgi/ /porgi/
3.	Father's brother's son	/ba:u/	/ba:u/
4.	Father's brother's daughter	Addressing by the name or if she is elder, will add /akka/ with the name	/bahiᅇa/
5.	Father's sister's son	Addressing by the name or if he is elder, will add /ba:u/ with the name	/ba:vəji/ /da:ji/
6.	Father's sister's daughter	Addressing by the name or if she is elder, will add /akka/ with the name	addressing by name or if she is elder, will add /θa:I/ with the name
7.	Mother's brother's son	Addressing by the name or if he is elder, will add /ba:u/ with the name	/ba:vəji/ /da:ji/

8.	Mother's brother's daughter	Addressing by the name or if she is elder, will add /akka/ with the name	addressing by name or if she is elder, will add /θa:l/ with the name
9.	Mother's sister's son	Addressing by the name or if he is elder, will add /ba:u/ with the name	Addressing by the name or if he is elder, will add /ba:u/ with the name
10.	Mother's sister's daughter	Addressing by the name or if she is elder, will add /akka/ with the name	addressing by name or if she is elder, will add /θa:l/ with the name

Table:4.5 First Descending Generation

4.2.6 Second Descending Generation

Sl.no.	TERM	KASARAGOD MARATHI	NATIVE MARATHI
1.	Son's son	/pu:θucə pu:θu/	/na:lu/
2.	Son's daughter	/pu:θuci lenk /	/na:l/
3.	Daughter's son	/lenkicə pu:θu/	/na:lu/
4.	Daughter's daughter	/lenkici lenk/	/na:l/

Table: 4.6 Second Descending Generation

4.3 Relatives by Marriage

4.3.1 Own Generation

Sl.no.	TERM	KASARAGOD MARATHI	NATIVE MARATHI
1.	Husband	/gɔu/	/nʌɚa/
2.	Wife	/baili/	/baikɔ/
3.	Husband's brother	/gɔvacɔ bau/ /bau/	/nanand/
4.	Husband's sister	/ɔŋi/	/di:r/
5.	Wife's brother	/ba:u/	/mehu:ŋa/
6.	Wife's sister	/beini/	/mehu:ŋi/

4.3.2 First Ascending Generation

Sl.no.	TERM	KASARAGOD MARATHI	NATIVE MARATHI
1.	Husband's father	/ma:ma/	/sasɚa/
2.	Husband's mother	/ma:mi/	/sasɜ/
3.	Wife's father	/ma:ma/	/sasɚa/
4.	Wife's mother	/ma:mi/	/sasɜ/

4.3.3 First Descending Generation

Sl.no.	TERM	KASARAGOD MARATHI	NATIVE MARATHI
1.	Son's wife	/su:ŋɛ/	/su:ŋ/
2.	Daughter's husband	/lenkicɔ gɔu/	/ʃavʌji/

Sl.no.	TERM	KASARAGOD MARATHI	NATIVE MARATHI
1.	Step father	/bɛðɔ[cɔ baba/	/sa:vθr vatil/

2.	Step mother	/bəðə[ci bai/	/sa:vθr a:I/
3.	Step brother	/bəðə[çə ba:u/	/sa:vθr ba:u/
4.	Step sister	/bəðə[ci bein/	/sa:vθr bahiŋa/
5.	Step son	/bəðə[çə pu:θu/	/sa:vθr mulga/
6.	Step daughter	/bəðə[ci lenk/	/sa:vθr mulgi/

4.4 Relatives by Adoption

Table: 4.4.1 Relatives by Adoption

4.5 Findings

Similar words in both Native and Kasaragod Marathi

Term	Kasaragod Marathi	Native Marathi
Father	/baba/	/baba/ /vadil/
Brother	/ba:u/	/ba:u/ /dadu/
Father's father	/aɔba/	/aɔba/
Mother's father	/aɔba/	/aɔba/
Mother's younger sister's husband	/ka:ka/	/ka:ka/
Mother's brother's wife	/ma:mi/	/ma:mi/

Table: 4.5.1 Similar words in both Native and Kasaragod Marathi

Table: 4.5.2 Some Changes That Happened to Native Marathi

Term	Kasaragod Marathi	Native Marathi
Mother	/bai/	/aji/

Table: 4.5.3 Voiced bilabial plosive [b] added to the native word /aji/

Term	Kasaragod Marathi	Native Marathi
Sister	/bein/	/bahiṇa/

Elision of voiceless fricative [h] sound and open front unrounded vowel [a] from the end.

Open front unrounded vowel [a] changed to close mid front unrounded vowel [e]

Table: 4.5.4 Voiced retroflex nasal [ŋ] changed into voiced alveolar nasal[n]

Term	Kasaragod Marathi	Native Marathi
Father's mother	/əjibai/	/əji/

Table: 4.5.5 Addition of /bai/ to the word /əji/

Term	Kasaragod Marathi	Native Marathi
Mother's sister	/mausi/	/mauʃi/

Voiceless post alveolar fricative [ʃ] changes to voiceless alveolar fricative [s]

And also the term /mausi/ used in native Marathi for addressing maternal grandmother.

Term	Kasaragod Marathi	Native Marathi
Wife	/baili/	/baikə/

Instead of voiceless velar plosive [k] here used voiced alveolar lateral approximant [l].

Instead of open - mid back rounded vowel [ɔ] used close front unrounded vowel [i] sound.

Derived words from Malayalam

Term	Kasaragod Marathi	Native Marathi	Malayalam
Wife's mother	/ma:mi/	/sasu/	/ammaji amma/ Or /ma:mi/
Wife's father	/ma:ma/	/sasəra/	/ammaji acan/ Or /ma:man/

Native Marathi also has the word /ma:mi/ for addressing someone else.

Term	Kasaragod Marathi	Native Marathi	Malayalam

Mother's brother's wife	/ma:mi/	/ma:mi/	/ammaji/ Or /ma:mi/
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● **Loan words from Kannada language**

Term	Kasaragod Marathi	Native Marathi	Kannada
Elder brother	/aŋa/	/mōta ba:u/	/aŋa/
Younger brother	/θamma/	/lahan ba:u/	/θamma/
Elder sister	/akka/	/θa:I/	/akka/
Younger sister	/θanki/	addressing by the name	/θanki/

● **Derived from Kannada language**

Term	Kasaragod Marathi	Native Marathi	Kannada
Father's Younger brother	/appa/	/cu θa/	/cikkappa/

- Most of the male reference terms are ending in the vowel /a/ and female are ending in /i/ sound as in native Marathi.

Term	Kasaragod Marathi	Native Marathi
Mother's younger sister's husband	/ka:ka/	/ka:ka/
Mother's brother's wife	/ma:mi/	/ma:mi/

- In certain cases, there may be a lack of specific terms for addressing individuals due to the limited usage of the language or the evolving nature of language within a particular domain. As a result, the appropriate forms of address might not be readily available or well-established. For example:

Term	Kasaragod Marathi	Native Marathi
Father's sister's husband	/babacə beincə gəu/	/ka:ka/
Son's son	/pu:θucə pu:θu/	/nalu/
Son's daughter	/pu:θuci lenk /	/na:l/
Daughter's son	/lenkicə pu:θu/	/na:lu/
Daughter's daughter	/lenkici lenk/	/na:l/

Instead of that they will use reference term for introducing.

When referring to individuals, the vowels '/ə/' and '/i/' will be used to denote males and females, respectively, Example:

- Father's father - /babəcə baba/
- Father's mother - /babəci bai/
- Mother's father - /baicə baba/
- Mother's mother - /baici bai/
- Wife's brother - /bailicə ba:u/
- Wife's sister - /bailici beini/

- The term used for addressing great grandparents in the Kasaragod Marathi dialect is also used in native Marathi for addressing someone else.

Term	Kasaragod Marathi	Native Marathi
Great grand mother	/əci/	/panji/

Here the term /aji/ using for addressing the paternal grandmother in native Marathi and also its addressing grandmother in Kannada.

- Some words have not connection with Marathi, Malayalam and kannada

Term	Kasaragod Marathi	Native Marathi
Daughter	/lenk/	/mulgi/ /porgi/
Husband	/gou/	/nʌɾa/
Husband's sister	/ɔŋi/	/di:r/

- There is no origin and etymology for the mentioned words in Kasaragod Marathi, it should be explored.

- There is no particular address term in both Kasaragod and native Marathi.
- It is because of Mother's sisters' children are considered as brothers and sisters whereas

Mother's sister's son	Addressing by the name or if he is elder, will add /ba:u/ with the name	Addressing by the name or if he is elder, will add /ba:u/ with the name
Mother's sister's daughter	Addressing by the name or if she is elder, will add /akka/ with the name	addressing by name or if she is elder, will add /θa:I/ with the name

Mother's brothers' children have particular terms for addressing such as;

- /ba:vɔji/ /da:ji/ - Mother's brother's son and for father's sister's son.
- But Kasaragod Marathi didn't have a particular term like this.

4.6 Conclusion

This article highlights the data collection and analysis processes conducted in the study. The data collected from native speakers of the Marathi language is presented in tabular form, providing a comprehensive overview of kinship terms within different relations. The subsequent data analysis employs various techniques to interpret the collected data and uncover patterns and variations in the usage of kinship terms. By conducting a rigorous analysis, the researchers aim to derive meaningful insights and contribute to the understanding of kinship dynamics within the studied linguistic community.

5.0 Overall Summary and Conclusion

5.1 Summary

This study focuses on examining the similarities and differences between Kasaragod Marathi and Native Marathi. The introduction provides an overview of the language and introduces the background of the community associated with the language. The objectives and scope of the study are outlined, highlighting the specific goals of the research. A review of relevant literature is conducted to establish the importance of kinship terms in language and to provide a broader context for the study. Past studies related to the topic are referenced, emphasizing the significance of kinship terms and their implications for understanding cultural and social dynamics. The research design and methodology employed in the study are described, with a descriptive approach used for data collection. Native speakers of the Marathi language were engaged through interactive sessions to gather data. The limitations of the study are also acknowledged, including challenges in collecting data for Kasaragod Marathi due to language shifting and limited interaction with community members within the given time constraints. The data collected is presented in tabular form, allowing for a systematic representation and analysis of the findings. The study examines the similarities, differences, and influence of the native or domain language on Kasaragod Marathi. The analysis of the data reveals distinctive features that distinguish Kasaragod Marathi from Native Marathi, shedding light on the impact of language on the kinship terms used within the Kasaragod Marathi community.

Thus, this study contributes to our understanding of the similarities, differences, and cultural influences on kinship terms between Kasaragod Marathi and Native Marathi. Despite the limitations faced during data collection, the findings provide valuable insights into the unique aspects of Kasaragod Marathi and its connection to the broader Marathi language community.

5.2 Conclusion

This study examines the presence of an Indo-Aryan language variety, Kasaragod Marathi, in a Dravidian environment in Kerala, which is geographically distant from the Marathi-speaking region of Maharashtra. The focus of the study is on exploring the similarities and differences between Kasaragod Marathi and Native Marathi, specifically in relation to kinship terms. The study sheds light on the influence of native languages on Kasaragod Marathi

and the challenges faced by the community due to language shifting and the attitude of community members towards their own language. The data collection process encountered difficulties as the younger generation was not proficient in Kasaragod Marathi, leading to a reliance on older individuals for data collection. Through the analysis of the data, it is evident that kinship terms in Kasaragod Marathi are influenced by gender, and there exist both similarities and differences between Kasaragod Marathi and Native Marathi. The differences can be attributed to phonological variations and the impact of native languages such as Malayalam and Kannada on the dialect. The lack of historical documents has also hindered the understanding of the etymology of certain words within the community.

In conclusion, the study highlights the unique lifestyle and language situation of the minority Marathi-speaking community residing in the hills of Kasaragod. The community lacks accurate knowledge about their origin, and this understanding can vary among individuals. Comparing Kasaragod Marathi with Native Marathi reveals both similarities and differences, showcasing the distinctiveness of the Kasaragod dialect within the broader Marathi language spectrum.

5.3 Further Research

Further research in the field of Kasaragod Marathi and its unique linguistic and cultural situation holds significant potential. As mentioned, there is a scarcity of studies conducted on Kasaragod Marathi, with only a limited number of published works available. This presents an opportunity for future researchers to delve deeper into this linguistic community and contribute to the preservation and understanding of their language and culture. One area of further research could focus on documenting and analyzing the linguistic features of Kasaragod Marathi in more detail. This could include a comprehensive study of its phonetics, phonology, syntax, and lexicon, allowing for a thorough understanding of the linguistic characteristics that distinguish it from other Marathi dialects. Additionally, investigations into the sociolinguistic aspects of Kasaragod Marathi are warranted. Understanding the factors contributing to language shift and the lack of transmission to younger generations would provide insights into the community's language attitudes, language maintenance, and language revitalization efforts. Such research could explore the interplay between language, identity, and community dynamics within the Kasaragod Marathi community. Furthermore, conducting ethnographic studies that go beyond linguistic analysis would offer a holistic perspective on the cultural practices, traditions, and social dynamics of the community. Exploring aspects such as kinship systems, marriage customs, religious practices, and other cultural expressions specific to the Kasaragod Marathi community would enrich our understanding of their unique lifestyle and heritage. Lastly, efforts should be made to document and preserve the oral traditions, folklore, and literature of the community. Capturing and archiving these valuable cultural artifacts would ensure their preservation for future generations and provide a foundation for further research and study.

Further research in the field of Kasaragod Marathi is essential to bridge the gap in knowledge and understanding of this unique linguistic community. Future studies focusing on linguistic analysis, sociolinguistics, ethnography, and cultural preservation would not only contribute to academic discourse but also aid in the preservation and revitalization of the Kasaragod Marathi language and culture.

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APPENDIX I

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR KASARAGOD MARATHI

	Informer 1	Informer 2	Informer 3	Informer 4	Informer 5
Name	Akkubhai	Savitri	Chomannan Naik	Korppalbai	Subhappa Naik

Adress	Perumpally, Kallar	Perumpally, Kallar	Perumpally, Kallar	Perumpally, Kallar	Perumpally , Kallar
Age	88	56	78	66	58
Gender	Female	Female	Male	Female	Male
Educational Qualificatio ns	Illiterate	8 th standard	Illiterate	Illiterate	Illiterate

Questions

1. What is the history behind your community?
 - There is no existing document regarding that but the elder generation are telling like the community is migrated from Maharashtra.
2. How many divisions are there in the community and on what basis it divided ?
 - Divide into 5, based on their occupation they did after reaching and settled here.
3. What is the customs and cultures that makes you different from this place (Kasaragod, Kerala) ?
 - Believing in nature and man-made things such as Earth and animals and in Marriage
 - Giving importance to bride more than groom.
4. Any available documents regarding the community?
 - No. There is no existing script for the language, consequently, no written documents are available, and a comprehensive study pertaining to the community has not been undertaken. Although it is acknowledged that unpublished work exists.
5. How many existing speakers are there now?
 - Child bearing generation and up, no transmission to the children

Questionnaire For Native Marathi

	Informer 1	Informer 2	Informer 3	Informer 4	Informer 5
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Name	Gayatri Boche	Megha Bhausahab Biradar	Anjali gopal raut	Purushottam Ashok Shinde	Abhishek Sanjay hatte
Adress	Latur, Maharashtra	Latur, Maharashtra	Latur, Maharashtra	Latur, Maharashtra	Latur, Maharashtra
Age	23	23	24	23	23
Gender	Female	Female	Female	Male	Male
Education al Qualificati ons	Post graduation	Post graduation	Post graduation	MBBS	B,Tech
Languages known	Marathi, Hindi and English	Marathi, Hindi and English	Marathi, Hindi and English	Marathi, Hindi and English	Marathi, Hindi and English

1. How did the language vary?

- Language varied based on the distinction between urban and rural areas, as well as differences in education levels.

2. Did everyone use the standard dialect?

- No, the standard dialect was primarily used by individuals with higher social status and those living in urban areas. Villagers tended to use the appropriate dialect for their specific region.

3. What documents are available regarding the language and its distribution?

- Several studies have been conducted on the Marathi Language, with publications available in both Marathi and English. Some of these documents can be accessed through web resources.

APPENDIX-II

Sl.no.	TERM	KASARAGOD MARATHI	NATIVE MARATHI
1.	Father	/baba/	/baba/ /vadil/
2.	Mother	/bai/	/aji/
3.	Son	/pu:θu/	/mulga/ /porga/
4.	Daughter	/lenk/	/mulgi/ /porgi/
5.	Brother	/ba:u/	/ba:u/ /dadu/
6.	Elder brother	/aŋa/	/mōta ba:u/
7.	Younger brother	/θamma/	/lahan ba:u/
8.	Sister	/bein/	/bahiŋa/
9.	Elder sister	/akka/	/θa:l/
10.	Younger sister	/θanki/	addressing by the name
11.	Father's father	/aʝoba/	/aʝoba/
12.	Father's mother	/aʝibai/	/aji/
13.	Father's Brother	/babaʝa ba:u/	/ka:ka/
14.	Father's Elder brother	/hʌʃ baba/	/cuʃθa/
15.	Father's Younger brother	/appa/	/cuʃθa/
16.	Father's Sister	/ma:mi/	/aθjʌ/
17.	Father's Elder sister	/hʌʃi ma:mi/	/aθjʌ/
18.	Father's Younger sister	/ðu:kʃi ma:mi/	/aθjʌ/
19.	Mother's father	/aʝoba/	/aʝoba/
20.	Mother's mother	/baici bai/ /aʝibai/	/mausi/
21.	Mother's brother	/ma:ma/	/ma:ma/

22.	Mother's elder brother	/ðu:k ɔ̃ ma:ma/	/ma:ma/
23.	Mother's younger brother	/θʌr ɔ̃ ma:ma/	/ma:ma/
24.	Mother's sister	/mausi/	/mauʃi/
25.	Mother's elder sister	/hʌ i bai/	/mauʃi/
26.	Mother's younger sister	/cu θi/	/mauʃi/
27.	Father's brother's wife	/babacɔ̃ ba:ucɔ̃ gɔu/	/ka:ki/ /cu θi/
28.	Father's elder brother's wife	/hʌ i bai/	/ka:ki/ /cu θi/
29.	Father's younger brother's wife	/ma:mi/	/ka:ki/ /cu θi/
30.	Father's sister's husband	/babacɔ̃ beincɔ̃ gɔu/	/ka:ka/
31.	Father's elder sister's husband	/ma:ma/	/ka:ka/
32.	Father's younger sister's husband	/ðu:k ɔ̃ ma:ma/	/ka:ka/
33.	Mother's brother's wife	/ma:mi/	/ma:mi/
34.	Mother's elder brother's wife	/hʌ i ma:mi /	/ma:mi/
35.	Mother's younger brother's wife	/ðu:k ʌ ma:mi/	/ma:mi/
36.	Mother's sister's husband	/ka:ka/	/ka:ka/

37.	Mother's elder sister's husband	/θʌrʃɒbʌ/	/kɑ:kɑ/
38.	Mother's younger sister's husband	/kɑ:kɑ/	/kɑ:kɑ/
39.	Father's brother's son	/bɑ:u/	/bɑ:u/
40.	Father's brother's daughter	Addressing by the name or if she is elder, will add /akka/ with the name	/bahiŋɑ/
41.	Father's sister's son	Addressing by the name or if he is elder, will add /bɑ:u/ with the name	/bɑ:vɔʃi/ /dɑ:ʃi/
42.	Father's sister's daughter	Addressing by the name or if she is elder, will add /akka/ with the name	addressing by name or if she is elder, will add /θɑ:I/ with the name
43.	Mother's brother's son	Addressing by the name or if he is elder, will add /bɑ:u/ with the name	/bɑ:vɔʃi/ /dɑ:ʃi/
44.	Mother's brother's daughter	Addressing by the name or if she is elder, will add /akka/ with the name	addressing by name or if she is elder, will add /θɑ:I/ with the name
45.	Mother's sister's son	Addressing by the name or if he is elder, will add /bɑ:u/ with the name	Addressing by the name or if he is elder, will add /bɑ:u/ with the name
46.	Mother's sister's daughter	Addressing by the name or if she is elder, will add /akka/ with the name	addressing by name or if she is elder,

			will add /θa:I/ with the name
47.	Husband	/gɔu/	/nʌɚa/
48.	Husband's father	/ma:məji/	/sasɚa/
49.	Husband's mother	/ma:mina/	/sasu/
50.	Husband's brother	/gɔvacɔ bau/ /bau/	/nanand/
51.	Husband's sister	/ɔŋi/	/di:r/
52.	Wife	/baili/	/baikɔ/
53.	Wife's father	/ma:ma/	/sasɚa/
54.	Wife's mother	/ma:mi/	/sasu/
55.	Wife's brother	/ba:u/	/mehu:ŋa/
56.	Wife's sister	/beini/	/mehu:ŋi/
57.	Step father	/bɛðɔɔɔ baba/	/sa:vθɚ vatil/
58.	Step mother	/bɛðɔɔɔci bai/	/sa:vθɚ a:I/
59.	Step brother	/bɛðɔɔɔ ba:u/	/sa:vθɚ ba:u/
60.	Step sister	/bɛðɔɔɔci bein/	/sa:vθɚ bahiŋa/
61.	Step son	/bɛðɔɔɔ pu:θu/	/sa:vθɚ mulga/
62.	Step daughter	/bɛðɔɔɔci lenk/	/sa:vθɚ mulgi/
63.	Son's son	/pu:θucɔ pu:θu/	/nalu/
64.	Son's daughter	/pu:θuci lenk /	/na:l/
65.	Daughter's son	/lenkicɔ pu:θu/	/na:lu/
66.	Daughter's daughter	/lenkici lenk/	/na:l/
67.	Great grandfather	/aja/	/panjɔba/
68.	Great grand mother	/aji/	/panji/



Dr. G. Anjaneyulu

Assistant Professor

Department of Linguistics

Central University of Karnataka

anjaneyulughana@cuk.ac.in