

20. ma:man payyan/ 'mother's elder or younger  
 amma:ñci brother's son'  
 used to refer  
 macca:n/  
 ma:ppillai/ used to address  
 ma:ma:
21. ma:ma: 'father's elder or younger  
 sister's husband'  
 used to address as well as to refer
22. atta pulla/ 'father's elder or younger sister's  
 morap pōnnu daughter'  
 used to refer
23. atta payyan/ 'father's elder or younger sister's  
 atta:n/ son' used to refer  
 ma:ma:/ used to address  
 ma:ple:
24. nānkaya:/ 'elder brother's wife'  
 annan camca:ram/ used to refer  
 anni/ used to address  
 manni
25. tampi camca:ram 'younger brother's wife'  
 used to refer