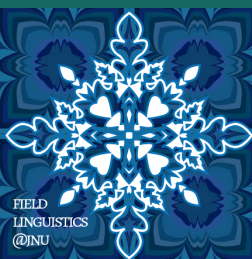
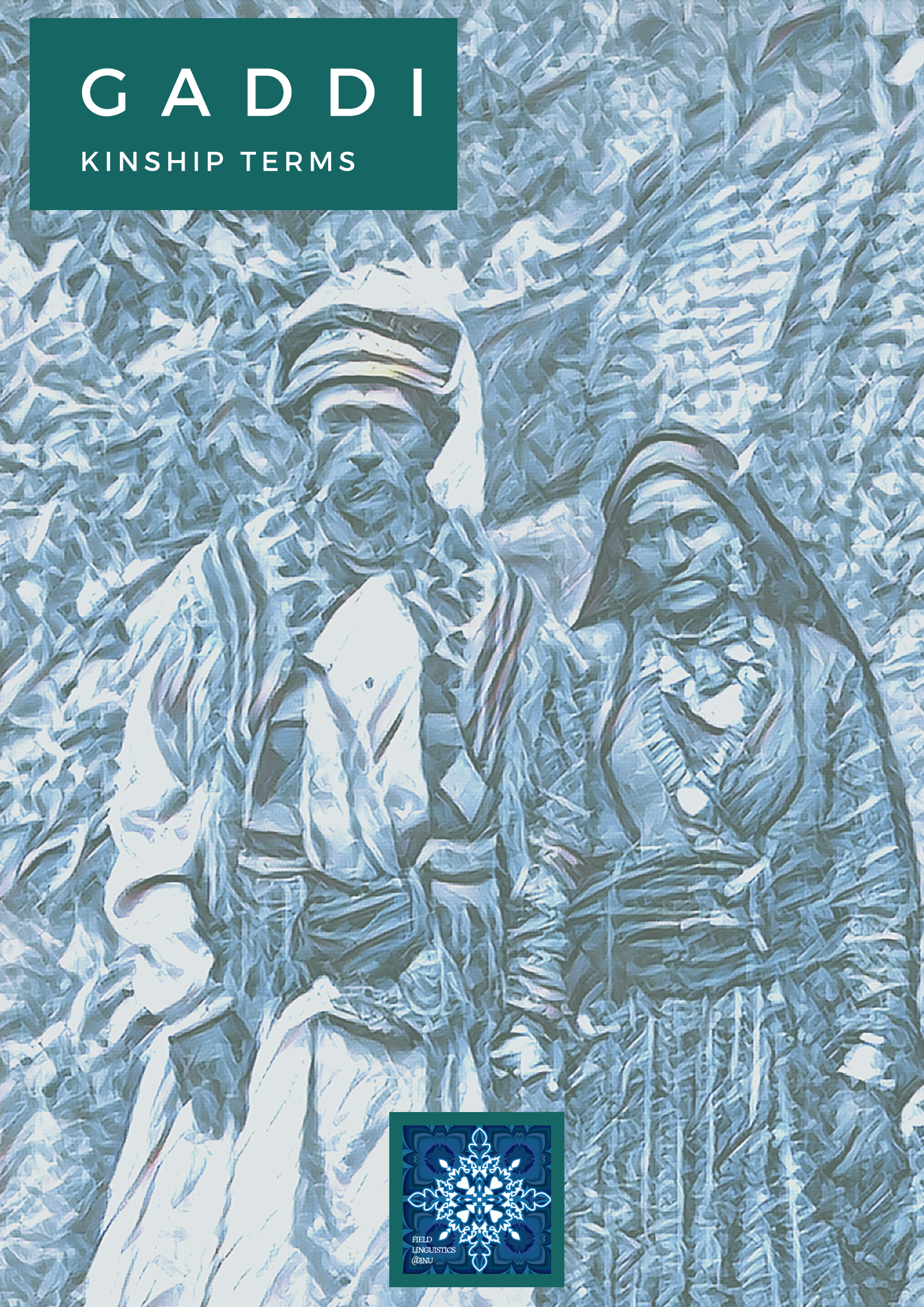


GADDI

KINSHIP TERMS



Gaddi Kinship and Kinship Terminology

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Introduction

This work explores the kinship terminology of the Gaddis, with special focus on the changes it is undergoing in younger speakers. [Section 1](#) elaborates on the various kinship terminologies and the various approaches to studying the kinship terms of a community. A short introduction to Gaddi societal relations is provided in [Section 2](#), and the following section, [Section 3](#), details the kinship terms, both reference terms and address (direct and indirect terms). A comparison of the kinship terms with age of the Ego as the variable is in [Section 4](#). [Section 5](#) illustrates the variation in the use of kinship terms across ages. [Section 6](#) has a discussion of the various possible factors that have impacted the change noted in the use of the kinship terms of Gaddi.

1. Issues in the study of kinship

1.1 Defining kinship

Kinship is an important organising principle in human societies. Parkin (1997) defines kinship as:

A kin term or kinship term or relationship term designates a particular category of kin or relative regarded as a single semantic unit. It can be conceptualised formally as containing one or more kin types, though empirically it will be applied to a number of different genealogical positions.

The whole ensemble of kinship term is referred to as a kinship terminology or relationship terminology. Kinship terminologies have describable patterns but these vary from society to society. The terminology of direct address differs from terminology of reference. According to Parkin, the reference term describes the true classification of the kinship. (Ref)

The kin behaviour of any community stages a crucial role in understanding the social structure of a society and the relationships between individuals. Karve (1953) postulates that the kinship system under a linguistic family can be understood as a pattern. Karve

analyses the kinship organisation of a range of castes of the Marathi-speaking zone. In her work, she discovered an incongruity between the kinship terminology and the marriage—and kinship—rules. She realised that the terminology of the group corresponds to the terminologies of Northern India, while the marriage rules are in sync with the Dravidian populations of Southern India. She later extended her study of kinship terms to various parts of India and attempted to demonstrate the astonishing Indian family organisation and kinship behaviour of the nation and beyond.

Dube (1953) notes that kinship being an intricate subject and exacting a lot of demands, has lost importance among Indian social anthropologists and sociologists. She says that “kinship as an organizing principle is no longer as important as it used to be in the past”. She, thus, expresses the need for increased research on kinship in the Indian context.

1.2 Analysis of kin relations

Parkin (1997) describes two approaches in the analysis of kin terminology — the formal approach vs. the componential approach. This report uses the latter because it captures the significance of affinal kin and can justify the linguistic role in forming kin categories. According to Parkin:

componential analysis examines kin terms in respect not of the component kin types of each individual term, but of more general features such as gender, relative age, generation, line or side (such as patrilineal or matrilineal), consanguineal versus affinal status and so on, whether of ego, alter or some link relative. (Parkin, 1997, p. 55)

This study broadly takes what is known as an ‘Indological perspective’ as it provides the basic structure to understand the elements of continuity and change in the society. There could be two outlooks here — the researcher can look at kinship systems from the point of view of descent or from the point of view of marriage alliances.

In the descent view, groups are recognised or defined on the basis of shared descent; anthropologists designate them as descent groups. Analysis of kin relationships in a descent promises to provide a comprehensive sociological understanding of certain types of kinship systems in India. An exemplary study based on this approach was T.N. Madan’s (1965) study of kinship of the Kashmiri Brahmin society. He brought out the strong patrilineal ideology that characterises the kinship system of Kashmiri Pandits.

In India, patrilineal and matrilineal descent systems are the most common, with the patrilineal system being quite popular in the Northern parts of the country. The following are the six descents that can be traced in our society.

- *Patrilineal descent*, traced in the male line from father to son,
- *Matrilineal descent*, traced in the female line from mother to daughter,
- *Double descent*, traced in both the father’s line as well as mother’s line for different attributes such as movable property in one line and immovable in another,

- *Cognatic descent*, where attributes are passed on equally through both parents. Membership can be acquired either from the father or the mother.

The last two are very rare to find:

- *Parallel descent*, here the descent line is sex specific. Men to their sons while women to their daughters
- *Cross alternative type descent*, in this, men transmit to their daughters and women to their sons.

This approach, although very organised and productive, does not fully capture the essence of kinship organisation. In this approach, the emphasis is laid on social organisation of descent and little focus is given to the 'affinity' aspect of relationships.

The second point of view, also known as the 'sociologist approach' studies kinship via an analysis of the patterns and rules of marriage, paying attention to many hidden aspects of kinship in the process. The main advocate of this approach is Louis Dumont who has emphasised the function of marriage in the field of kinship in South India by showing the contrast between *consanguine* and *affine* in Dravidian kinship terminology.

Lineage, normally is an exogamous entity, i.e., a boy and a girl of the same lineage are not supposed to marry. A larger exogamous category is called the clan exogamy which is commonly practice among the Hindus.

1.3 Analysis of kinship terminology

Morgan (1871) proposed kin terms and terminologies to be distinguished as either descriptive or classificatory. A descriptive terminology can only represent one type of relationship between two people, while classificatory terminology is able to represent different types of relationships. For example, if a community uses the same word for every cousin and doesn't distinguish between them, then the society's kinship terminology would be classificatory. On the other hand, if a community marks each relation with a certain term, its kinship terminology would fall under the category of descriptive. There are no clear cut classificatory or descriptive kinship terminology systems. They are always a mixture of both, with only the degree of being classificatory or descriptive varying.

Morgan also suggested that a descriptive term of one society is capable of becoming a classificatory term in other society. For example, in some societies, one would refer to many different people as "father", for example, the grandfather, father's brother, elder brother may all be referred to by the same terminology.

The Gaddi language has descriptive terminology for all the close affinal and non-affinal relationships, but becomes classificatory in case of distant relationships by adopting the terminology closest to that relationship. It would be justified to call it a combination of both categories.

Mahapatra (1969) talks about fictive kinship. He defines it as a mechanism of assigning kinship terminology to people who are not actually a part of the kin. Fictive kin are functional to form ties that are essential for survival, such as a brother or sister outside one's kin. This concept can be extended to understand the idea of close-kin relationship. For instance, two unrelated people from same the community can call each other cousins since they are related to each other by their membership to the community, while being from different families of clans. In the case of Gaddis, close kin are usually marked by maternal kin terminology.

Abbi (2001), talks about different forms of address and terms of references. Her analysis is crucial in studying kin relations and terminologies. Before delving into the terms of direct or indirect reference, one should understand the logic of kin addresses. Any address is governed by status. A status could be defined by many social factors, such as education, age or wealth. While wealth and education are achieved statuses, age is an ascribed status. Kin addressing also considers the ascribed status of a relation, for instance, the sister of a husband in northern India is ascribed a higher status than the wife irrespective of their ages.

Direct forms of address are the ones used when the speaker is face to face with the addressee, speaking to him/her. An indirect address happens when the addressee is not in the same location as the place where he/she is being talked about. Indirect address terms may overlap with reference terminology.

On the basis of status, the following are the types of social relationships that are formed.

- *Symmetrical relationship: one* where speaker and addressed are of same status.
- *Asymmetrical relationships: one* where either speaker or addressed has a lower status than other.

Apart from the above-mentioned factors, intimacy, caste, class, location of the discourse and presence and absence of the addressee also influence kin addressing.

2. Gaddi societal relations

The Gaddi community practices *gotra* exogamy like other Hindus, by which a person cannot marry within the clan of his/her father. This community accepts cross and parallel cousin marriage. An informant, who was a brahmin by caste, informed me that it is traditionally forbidden in the community to marry someone from the same Gotra or someone from a different caste. However, inter caste marriages are becoming common in villages. One informant, around 80-90 years old, still maintained that inter-caste marriages were and still are unacceptable, and any couple who violates the caste hierarchy will be boycotted by the community.

The community prefers intra-caste arranged marriages, but in the current scenario it is becoming flexible in terms of accepting inter caste "love marriages". Intramural-caste marriages can take the following forms:

- *məŋgidʒa* or *danpur*: In this type of marriage the families choose partners for the eligible bachelors in the village or even outside the village. It is the most commonly found intra-caste arranged form of marriage.
- *bətasata*: this refers to cross cousin and parallel cousin marriage. In this marriage type two parallel cousins such as the Ego and the Ego's mother's sister's son are eligible to get married. I came across only one case of such a marriage.
- *hədnodʒ*: This practice was famous for older generations in which the couple would get married in childhood and would meet only after the girl attains puberty. The popular age for marriage was 16 years. This practice is not so common these days.

Since this community, much like most communities of India, is the product of a patriarchal set up; the desired offspring is the male child. The reason for preferring the male child over female ones, as informed by an (old male) informant, is two-fold. First, males are preferred because they are required to carry forward the generation and family name, as the community is patrilineal. Secondly, families required male members to carry forward their occupation as a shepherd, a job considered unsuitable for women.

Divorces are acceptable in the community, but are often handled outside the law. The elders of the family of the man and the woman take charge of matters involved in divorce. After the divorce, the man has to give an allowance to the woman, and in case the couple bore any children before getting divorced, the mother is encouraged to keep them. Exceptions are also reported. The allowance provided by the man is called *kharcha* and it is imperative that it be regularly paid until the woman gets remarried or any of the children finds a source of income. In case of government employment on the male partner's part, the *kharcha* is fixed to be 50% of his total income.

The inability of the woman to produce a male heir is also a reason given for the remarriage of a man. While men can keep more than three wives (multiple wives are referred to as *səkən/səkəni*), women are allowed to remarry only in certain cases, such as on the demise of the husband or in case of divorce.

3. The kinship terminology of the Gaddis

3.1 Data Collection and Sampling

The study focuses on two aspects of kin relations. First it focuses on extracting kin terminology of the tribe. Second, it attempts to study age-determined and education-determined variation in the use of the terminology. The data has been collected mostly from two villages, Spaidu and Kandbadi, in Palampur, which is in Kangra district of Himachal Pradesh. The total number of participants in the study was 15.

For the field work, Anvita Abbi's book *A manual for linguistic fieldwork and structures of Indian languages* (2001) was referred to, to develop an interview schedule (see Appendix

I) to extract kin terminology. This schedule was divided into two parts on the basis of kin. Along with the interview schedule, observation and an open-ended questionnaire were also used to extract relevant information about family organisation, marriage rules and general cultural practices of the community.

The two categories were affinal and non-affinal kin ties. The schedule was further elaborated to extract reference term, address terms (direct and indirect) and relationship type (symmetrical and asymmetrical) for each relation.

All the terminology mentioned were defined keeping the Ego (the informant) at the centre. The tool was not gender specific; it included all the possibilities of kin relationships. The research tool is provided in the following pages for reference.

In order to fulfil both the objectives of the study, purposive sampling with age being the defining variable was preferred. The data was gathered from three age groups, which were marked as V1, V2 and V3.

For affinal relations, the age groups were the following:

- Group1(V1): 55-85 (4)¹
- Group 2(V2): 15-55(4)
- Group 3(V3): 5-15(4)

For non-affinal relationship, the age groups were redefined² as below.

- Group 1(V1): 60 and above (3)
- Group 2(V2): 30-60 (2)
- Group 3(V3): 18-30 (4)

The various non-affinal and affinal relationship terminology i.e. the reference and address terms, are described in Table 1 in the next few pages.

B = Brother
 Ch = Child(ren)
 D = Daughter
 F = Father
 H = Husband
 M = Mother
 S = Son
 W = Wife
 Si= Sister

¹ This refers to the number of speakers

²V3 was redefined as 5-15 age group does not fulfill the criteria to obtaining relations from marriage.

Non-Affinal	Group	Reference	Address (Direct)	Address (Indirect)	Rel'p
paternal great-grandfather	v1	pəɾdaddu	<i>as grandfather or father calls</i>	dadu	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v2	pəɾdaddu	daddu	dada dʒi	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v3	daddu	dada dʒi	dada dʒi	<i>asymmetrical</i>
paternal great-grandmother	v1	pəɾdaddi	<i>as father calls/ idʒdʒi/daddi</i>	idʒdʒi/daddi	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v2	pəɾdaddi	idʒdʒi/daddi	daddi	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v3	pəɾdaddi	daddidʒi	daddidʒi	<i>asymmetrical</i>
maternal great-grandfather	v1	pəɾnənnu	<i>as mother calls/ pəɾnənnu/nənnu</i>	nənnu	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v2	pəɾnənnu	pəɾnənnu	nənnu	
	v3	pəɾnənnu	nənnu/nanadʒi	nənnu/nanadʒi	
maternal great-grandmother	v1	pəɾnənni	<i>as mother calls</i>	pəɾnənni	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v2	pəɾnənni	nənni	pəɾnənni	
	v3	pəɾnənni	nənnidʒi	pəɾnənni	
great grandson (man's)	v1	pətru	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i> (sera gəbbu)	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v2	pətru	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	
	v3 ³				
great granddaughter (man's)	v1	pətri	<i>name</i>	<i>name/ seri kuɭi</i>	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v2	pətri	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	
	v3				
great grandson (woman's)	v1	d ^h jotru	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v2	d ^h jotru	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	
	v3				
great granddaughter (woman's)	v1	pətri	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v2	pətri	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	
	v3				
paternal grandfather	v1	daddu	<i>as grandfather or father calls</i>	dadu	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v2	daddu	daddu	dada dʒi/dada	
	v3	daddu	dada dʒi	dada dʒi	
paternal grandmother	v1	daddi	<i>as father calls/ idʒdʒi/daddi</i>	idʒdʒi/daddi	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v2	daddi	idʒdʒi/daddi	daddi	
	v3	daddi	daddidʒi	daddidʒi/dadi	
maternal grandfather	v1	nənnu	nənnu	nənnu	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v2	nənnu	nənnu	nənnu	
	v3	nənnu	nənnu	nənnu	
maternal grandmother	v1	nənni	nənnu	nənnu	<i>symmetrical</i>
	v2	nənni	nənni	nənni	
	v3	nənni	nənnidʒi	nənnidʒi	
grandson (man's)	v1	pətru	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i> (sera dəbbu)	<i>symmetrical</i>
	v2	pətru	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	
	v3				
granddaughter (man's)	v1	pətri	<i>name</i>	<i>name/ seri kuɭi</i>	<i>symmetrical</i>
	v2	pətru	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	

³V3, being too young, does not qualify to be part of this relationship

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	v3				
grandson (woman's)	v1	d ^h jotru	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i> (sera gəbbu)	<i>symmetrical</i>
	v2	d ^h jotru	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	
	v3				
granddaughter (woman's)	v1	d ^h jotri	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v2	d ^h jotri	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	
	v3				
father	v1	cəca/bəpu	cəca/cəc	mera cəc	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v2	papa	papa	papa	
	v3	papadzi	papadzi	papaji/papa	
mother	v1	əmma/idzd zi/caci	əmma/idzdzi/caci	əmma/idzdzi/cac i	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v2	əmma/mə mmi	əmma/məmmi	məmmi	
	v3	məmmidzi	məmmidzi	məmmi	
father's elder brother	v1	taja/tjadz i	tjadzi	taja	<i>symmetrical</i>
	v2	tjadzi	tjadzi	tjadzi	
	v3	taudzi/taja dzi	tjadzi	tjadzi	
father's younger brother	v1	cacu	cacu	cacu	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v2	cacu	cacu	cacu	
	v3	cacu	cacadzi	caca	
father's elder sister	v1	bubbi	bubbi	bubbi	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v2	buə/ bubbi	buə/ bubbi	buə/ bubbi	
	v3	buadzi	buadzi	buadzi/buə	
father's middle sister	v1	bubbi	bubbi	bubbi	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v2	buə/ bubbi	buə/ bubbi	buə/ bubbi	
	v3	buadzi	buadzi	buadzi/buə	
father's younger sister	v1	bubbi	bubbi	bubbi	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v2	buə/ bubbi	buə/ bubbi	buə/ bubbi	
	v3	buadzi	buadzi	buadzi/buə	
mother's elder brother	v1	mama	mama	mama	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v2	mama	mama	mama	
	v3	mamadzi	mamadzi	mamadzi	
mother's middle brother	v1	mama	mama	mama	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v2	mama	mama	mama	
	v3	mamadzi	mamadzi	mamadzi	
mother's younger brother	v1	mama	mama	mama	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v2	mama	mama	mama	
	v3	mamadzi	mamadzi	mamadzi	
mother's elder sister	v1	mɔsi	mɔsi	mɔsi	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v2	mɔsi/masi	mɔsi/masi	mɔsi/masi	
	v3	masidzi/m asi	masidzi/masi	masidzi/masi	
mother's middle sister	v1	mɔsi	mɔsi	mɔsi	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v2	mɔsi/masi	mɔsi/masi	mɔsi/masi	
	v3	masidzi/m asi	masidzi/masi	masidzi/masi	
mother's younger sister	v1	mɔsi	mɔsi	mɔsi	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v2	mɔsi/masi	mɔsi/masi	mɔsi/masi	

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	v3	masidzi/masi	masidzi/masi	masidzi/masi	
son	v1	gubru/dəb bu	<i>name</i>	sera dəbbu/ <i>name</i>	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v2	gubru/dəb bu	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	
	v3	gubru/dəb bu	<i>name</i>	beta/ <i>name</i>	
daughter	v1	kuḷi	<i>name</i>	seri kuḷi/ <i>name</i>	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v2	kuḷi	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	
	v3	kuḷi	<i>name</i>	beta/ <i>name</i>	
twins	v1	dʒʰonkdu	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v2	dʒoɖu/dʒu dʒwəi	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	
	v3	dʒuɖwa	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	
ego's elder brother	v1	bəɖka	bəɖka/bʰai	bʰai	<i>symmetrical</i>
	v2	bʰai	bʰai	bʰai	
	v3	bʰai	bʰai	bʰai	
ego's middle brother	v1	mənʝedʝi/məndʒla	bʰai	bʰai	<i>symmetrical</i>
	v2	mənʝedʝi/məndʒla	bʰai/ <i>name</i>	bʰai/ <i>name</i>	
	v3	bʰai	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	
ego's younger brother	v1	nikka bʰai/əlka bʰai	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>symmetrical</i>
	v2	nikka bʰai/əlka bʰai	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	
	v3	name	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	
ego's youngest brother	v1	nikka bʰai/əlka bʰai	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>symmetrical</i>
	v2	nikka bʰai/əlka bʰai	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	
	v3	name	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	
ego's elder sister	v1	moti bən/ bəddi bən	bənɖzi/bobbo/bən /didi	bənɖzi/bobbo/bən /didi	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v2	bəddi bən	didi	didi	
	v3	dididʒi	diddi	diddi	
ego's younger sister	v1	nikki bən/ əlki bən	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v2	name	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	
	v3	name	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	
ego's youngest sister	v1	nikki bən/ əlki bən	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v2	name	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	
	v3	name	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	
elder paternal uncle's children	v1	təer/ təeri	bʰai/ bən	təer	<i>symmetrical</i>
	v2	təer	bʰai/ bən	təer	

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	v3	tæɾ	b ^h ai/ bɛŋ	b ^h ai/b ^h ɛŋ	
younger paternal uncle's children	v1	pətrɛr/ pətrɛri	b ^h ai/ bɛŋ	pətrɛr	<i>symmetrical</i>
	v2	pətrɛr	b ^h ai/ bɛŋ	pətrɛr	
	v3	pətrɛr	b ^h ai/ bɛŋ	b ^h ai/b ^h ɛŋ	
elder paternal male cousin	v1	tæɾ/ tæɾi	b ^h ai/ bɛŋ	tæɾ	<i>symmetrical</i>
	v2	tæɾ	b ^h ai/ bɛŋ	tæɾ	
	v3	tæɾ	b ^h ai/ bɛŋ	b ^h ai/b ^h ɛŋ	
younger paternal male cousin	v1	pətrɛr/ pətrɛri	b ^h ai/ bɛŋ	pətrɛr	<i>symmetrical</i>
	v2	pətrɛr	b ^h ai/ bɛŋ	pətrɛr	
	v3	pətrɛr	b ^h ai/ bɛŋ	b ^h ai/b ^h ɛŋ	
elder maternal uncle's children	v1	məməra/ m aɭɛr	b ^h ai/ bɛŋ	b ^h ai/ bɛŋ	<i>symmetrical</i>
	v2	maɭɛr/ maɭɛri	b ^h ai/ bɛŋ	b ^h ai/ bɛŋ	
	v3	maɭɛr/ maɭɛri	b ^h ai/ bɛŋ	b ^h ai/ bɛŋ	
younger maternal uncle's children	v1	maɭɛr/ maɭɛri	b ^h ai/ bɛŋ	b ^h ai/ bɛŋ	<i>symmetrical</i>
	v2		b ^h ai/ bɛŋ	b ^h ai/ bɛŋ	
	v3		b ^h ai/ bɛŋ	b ^h ai/ bɛŋ	
maternal aunt's children (younger to ego)	v1	mosɛr/ mosɛri	b ^h ai/ bɛŋ	b ^h ai/ bɛŋ	<i>symmetrical</i>
	v2	mosɛr/ mosɛri	b ^h ai/ bɛŋ	b ^h ai/ bɛŋ	
	v3	mosɛr/ mosɛri	b ^h ai/ bɛŋ	b ^h ai/ bɛŋ	
paternal uncle's children	v1	b ^h ai/ bɛŋ	b ^h ai/ bɛŋ	b ^h ai/ bɛŋ	<i>symmetrical</i>
	v2	b ^h ai/ bɛŋ	b ^h ai/ bɛŋ	b ^h ai/ bɛŋ	
	v3	b ^h ai/ bɛŋ	b ^h ai/ bɛŋ	b ^h ai/ bɛŋ	
affinal relations					
husband	v1	laɖa	hunŋa/ <i>first child's father</i>	mera laɖa	<i>symmetrical</i>
	v2	laɖa	hunŋa	laɖa	
	v3	laɖa	hunŋa	laɖa	
wife	v1	laɖi	<i>name</i> /bəɖʒ ^h ɛŋi	laɖi	<i>symmetrical</i>
	v2	laɖi	<i>name</i>	laɖi	
	v3	laɖi	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	
husband's elder brother	v1	dʒətt ^h i	dʒətt ^h i dʒi	dʒətt ^h i	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v2	dʒətt ^h i	dʒətt ^h i dʒi	dʒətt ^h i	
	v3	dʒətt ^h i dʒi	dʒətt ^h i dʒi	dʒətt ^h i dʒi	
husband's younger brother	v1	deor	<i>name</i>	mera deor	<i>symmetrical</i>
	v2	deor	<i>name</i>	mera deor	
	v3	deor	<i>name</i>	deor/ <i>name</i>	
husband's elder sister	v1	raŋo	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i> / raŋo	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v2	raŋo	<i>name</i>	raŋo	
	v3	raŋo/ as husband calls	didi/ bɛŋdʒi	raŋo	
	v1	nəŋan	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>asymmetrical</i>

husband's younger sister	v2	nəŋan	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	
	v3	nəŋan	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	
wife's brother	v1	sa a	sa a/ <i>name</i>	sa a	<i>symmetrical</i>
	v2	sa a	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	
	v3	sa a	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	
wife's sister	v1	sa i	sa i/ <i>name</i>	sa i	<i>symmetrical</i>
	v2	sa i	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	
	v3	sa i	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	
son's wife's mother	v1	kuḍəmni	kuḍəmni	kuḍəmni	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v2	kuḍəmni	kuḍəmni	kuḍəmni	
	v3	kuḍəmni	kuḍəmni	kuḍəmni	
son's wife father	v1	kuḍəm	kuḍəm	kuḍəm	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v2	kuḍəm	kuḍəm	kuḍəm	
	v3	kuḍəm	kuḍəm	kuḍəm	
daughter's husband's father	v1	kuḍəm	kuḍəm	kuḍəm	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v2	kuḍəm	kuḍəm	kuḍəm	
	v3	kuḍəm	kuḍəm	kuḍəm	
daughter's husband's mother	v1	kuḍəmni	kuḍəmni	kuḍəmni	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v2	kuḍəmni	kuḍəmni	kuḍəmni	
	v3	kuḍəmni	kuḍəmni	kuḍəmni	
spouse's father	v1	haura	<i>as husband/ wife calls</i>	haura/jəbra	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v2	haura	<i>as husband/ wife calls</i>	haura	
	v3	haura	<i>as husband/ wife calls/papadzi</i>	haura	
spouse's mother	v1	hahu	<i>as husband calls</i>	hahu/dzəbri	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v2	hahu	<i>as husband calls</i>	hahu	
	v3	hahu	<i>as husband calls</i>	hahu	
father's elder brother's wife	v1	t̪ai	t̪ai	t̪ai	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v2	t̪aidzi	t̪aidzi	t̪ai	
	v3	t̪aidzi	t̪aidzi	t̪ai	
father's younger brother's wife	v1	caci	cacidzi	caci	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v2	caci	cacidzi	caci	
	v3	caci	cacidzi	caci	
father's elder sister's husband	v1	buer	buer	buer	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v2	buer	buer	buer	
	v3	buedzi	buedzi	buedzi	
father's younger sister's husband	v1	buer	buer	buer	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v2	buer	buer	buer	
	v3	buedzi	buedzi	buedzi	
mother's elder brother's wife	v1	mami	mami	mami	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v2	mami	mami	mami	
	v3	mamidzi	mamidzi	mami	
mother's younger brother's wife	v1	mami	mami	mami	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v2	mami	mami	mami	
	v3	mamidzi	mamidzi	mami	
mother's sister's husband	v1	masaḍ	masaḍ	masaḍ	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v2	masaḍ	masaḍdzi	masaḍdzi	
	v3	masaḍ	masaḍdzi	masaḍdzi	
son's wife	v1	nuh/laḍi	laḍi	laḍi	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v2	nuh/laḍi	laḍi	laḍi	

	v3	nuh/laɟi	laɟi/ name	laɟi	
daughter's husband	v1	dzuāi/pron a	pron a	dzuāi	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v2	dzuāi/pron a	pron a	dzuāi	
	v3	dzuāi/pron a	pron a	dzuāi/ <i>name</i>	
friend elder	v1	b ^h ai	b ^h ai	b ^h ai	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v2	b ^h ai	b ^h ai	b ^h ai	
	v3	b ^h ai	b ^h ai	b ^h ai	
friend younger	v1	mitr	<i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v2	moser	moser	moser	
	v3	dost/friend	dost/ <i>name</i>	<i>name</i>	
stranger male younger	v1	b ^h aidzi	b ^h aidzi	b ^h aidzi	<i>depends on social status</i>
	v2	b ^h aidzi	b ^h aidzi	b ^h aidzi	
	v3	b ^h aidzi	b ^h aidzi	b ^h aidzi	
stranger female younger	v1	bɛn/ huŋ	bɛn/ huŋ	bɛn/ huŋ	<i>depends on social status</i>
	v2	bɛn/ huŋ	bɛn/ huŋ	bɛn/ huŋ	
	v3	bɛn/ huŋ	bɛn/ huŋ	bɛn/ huŋ	
friend's father	v1	cacu/taja/ masaɖ	cacu/taja/masaɖ	sera caca/ masaɖ	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v2	uncle	uncle	sera bapu	
	v3	uncle	uncle	sere papa	
friend's mother	v1	mɔsi	mɔsi	mɔsi	<i>asymmetrical</i>
	v2	aunty/ mɔsi	mɔsi	mɔsi	
	v3	aunty	aunty	aunty	

honorific (affixes)	nil
pet	<i>name</i>
bride	nɔi laɟi
bridegroom	laɖa
orphan	nəboɖa
only child	keɭa
neighbor	pron a/ srik
childless	outrə
bachelor	kuara/ behura
widow	rɛnɖ
widower	rɛnɖua
rich	set ^h / set ^h ani
spinster	kuari
two wives of same man	sɔkən/ sɔkənɟi

Table 1: Non-affinal and affinal relationship terminology

4. Thematic data analysis of Gaddi kinship terminology

4.1 Classificatory and descriptive terms

Consanguineal relations are defined as blood relations which are acquired by birth and are givens. Consanguineal terms can be further classified into closest blood relation and distant blood relation. Following are the close and distant consanguineal relations and the corresponding address terms.

Close blood relations

Father (F): <i>cəca/ bapu</i>	Sister (Si): <i>moti beŋ/ bæddi beŋ</i>
Mother (M): <i>əmma/ idʒdʒi/ caci</i>	Daughter (D): <i>kuʃi</i>
Brother(B): <i>bʰai/ əŋʰedʒi/ məndʒla/ nikka</i>	Son (S): <i>gubru/ dəbbu</i>
<i>bʰai/ əlka bʰai</i>	

Distant blood relations⁴

FFF: <i>pəɾdaddu</i>	FF: <i>daddu</i>
FFM: <i>pəɾdaddi</i>	MMF: <i>pəɾnənnu</i>
MMM: <i>pəɾnənni</i>	SoSo: <i>pətru</i>
SoD: <i>pətri</i>	DSO: <i>dʰjotru</i>
DD: <i>dʰjotri</i>	FF: <i>daddu</i>
FM: <i>daddi</i>	MF: <i>nənnu</i>
MM: <i>nənni</i>	FB (elder): <i>tæri</i>
FBC (younger): <i>hpətrər/ pətrəri</i>	MBCh: <i>məmera/maʃer</i>
BD: <i>bʰatidʒi</i>	Bso: <i>bʰatidʒa</i>
SiD: <i>bʰaŋadʒa</i>	SiSo: <i>bʰaŋadʒi</i>
FBW(Elder): <i>tai</i>	FBW: <i>caci</i>
FSiH: <i>buer</i>	MBW: <i>mami</i>
MSiH: <i>masaq</i>	

Affinal relationships represent relationships acquired through marriage. Affinal relations may also be further categorized into many sub categories. The following are the close and distant affinal relations and the corresponding address terms.

Close affinal relations

H: <i>laqa</i>	W: <i>laqi</i>
HB (elder): <i>dʒəttʰi</i>	HB (younger): <i>deor</i>

⁴As mentioned above, Gaddi terminology is descriptive in nature, and hence, does not have many compound terms of reference. Only in a few cases of distant indirect address, compound terms are used. Example: *mosira dəbbu*, son of my mother's sister.

HS (younger): <i>raŋo</i>	His: <i>nəŋan</i>
WB: <i>saɫa</i>	WSi: <i>saɫi</i>
DHM: <i>kuɖəmni</i>	SoWF: <i>kuɖəm</i>
SoWF: <i>kuɖəmni</i>	HF: <i>haura</i>
HM: <i>hahu</i>	SoW: <i>nuh/laɖi</i>
DH: <i>dzuāi/proŋa</i>	

Distant Affinal relations

WBW: <i>jəttʰaŋi</i>	BW: <i>brodʒi</i>	SiH: <i>dʒidʒa</i>
WBWF/M: <i>mɪsi/masaɖ</i>	HFB and WFB: <i>taja/cacu/cacadʒi</i>	

4.2 Gaddi kinship reference and address terms

The **direct address** forms are not the same as the reference terms in most cases. One can see the difference in Table 2 below.

<i>Relationship</i>	<i>Reference terms</i>	<i>Address terms (direct)</i>
<i>paternal great grandfather</i>	pəɾdaddu	<i>as grandfather or father calls</i>
<i>maternal great grandfather (mother's side)</i>	pəɾnənnu	<i>as mother calls/pəɾnənnu/nənnu</i>
<i>great grandson (man's)</i>	pətru	name
<i>father</i>	cəca/bapu	cəca/cəc
<i>mother</i>	əmma/idʒdʒi/caci	əmma/idʒdʒi/caci
<i>father's elder brother</i>	taja/tajadʒi	tajadʒi
<i>father's younger brother</i>	cacu	cacu
<i>f's elder sister</i>	bubbi	bubbi
<i>elder cousin brother f's</i>	təer/təeri	bʰai/bəŋ
<i>younger cousin brother f's</i>	pətrər/pətrəri	bʰai/bəŋ
<i>elder mbc</i>	məmera/maɭer	bʰai/bəŋ
<i>wife</i>	laɖi	name
<i>husband's elder brother</i>	dʒəttʰi	dʒəttʰidʒi

Table 2: Reference and address term incongruence

- Very few reference terms have honorific affixes, one only affix being -dʒi, and the use of this was restricted to a particular generation. This suggests that Gaddi language has no regular honorific affixes.
- The structure of address forms is [reference term+honorific] in case of the speaker being of lower status than the addressee. And when the speaker is higher in status than the addressee, the speaker simply uses the name of the addressee.

- Further, in case of cousins, the direct address term brings distant non-affinal relations to the same status as close non-affinal ones by the use of the same address term for both. For example, *pətrər/pətrəri* (paternal cousin) are addressed as *b^hai/ bən*, the same address term for one's siblings.

The structure of the **indirect address term** is [1st/3rd person pronoun + genitive marker + reference term] for both the cases of asymmetrical and symmetrical relations. For example, *seri kuḷi* (his daughter) and *mera cəc* (my father). There are exceptions to this structure, ones where the relation lacks intimacy. For example, *tajadzī* (father's elder brother) and *jətt^hidzī* (husband's elder brother).

<i>Relationship</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Address (Direct)</i>	<i>Address (Indirect)</i>
<i>great granddaughter (man's)</i>	<i>pətri</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>name/ seri kuḷi</i>
<i>father</i>	<i>cəca/bapu</i>	<i>cəca/cəc</i>	<i>mera cəc</i>
<i>father's elder brother's wife</i>	<i>ṭai</i>	<i>ṭai</i>	<i>ṭai</i>
	<i>ṭaidzī</i>	<i>ṭaidzī</i>	<i>ṭai</i>
<i>mother's elder brother's wife</i>	<i>mamidzī</i>	<i>mamidzī</i>	<i>mami</i>

Table 3: Indirect reference terms

The Gaddi language lacks any regular honorific suffix on its address terms. It was observed, however, that the honorific suffix *-dzī* was added to direct address terms by speakers of younger generations to many terms. This addition of honorific may be a case of second language (Hindi) influence, but what's perhaps more interesting is that this borrowing has led to a slight modification in the structure of Gaddi kinship terms. For instance, while speakers of older generations would use the term *jətt^hi huṇna* for one's husband's brother, speakers from newer generations would use *jətt^hidzī huṇlea* in its place.

5. Variation in kinship terms with age

While the middle age group seemed to have retained most of the original terminology, the younger generation showed cases of vocabulary loss and modification. On analysis of the data many themes emerged. The following are the generalizations made.

It was observed that while the older and middle generations successfully retained many direct and indirect address terms, the younger generation made certain modifications. Consider Table 4, which exemplifies these facts.

<i>Relationship</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Address (Direct)</i>	<i>Address (Indirect)</i>
paternal grandfather	V1	<i>As grandfather or father calls</i>	<i>dadu</i>
	V2	<i>daddu</i>	<i>dada dzī/dada</i>
	V3	<i>dada dzī</i>	<i>dada dzī</i>

paternal grandmother	V1	<i>as father calls/</i> idʒdʒi/daddi	idʒdʒi/daddi
	V2	idʒdʒi/daddi	daddi
	V3	daddidʒi	daddidʒi/dadi
maternal grandfather	V1	nənnu	nənnu
	V2	nənnu	nənnu
	V3	nanadʒi	nanadʒi/nani
maternal grandmother	V1	nənnu	nənnu
	V2	nənni	nənni
	V3	nanidʒi	nanidʒi

Table 4: Retention of original terminology by V1 and V2

The speakers of V1 did not use any honorific affixes, while the speaker of V2 and V3 showed many instances of honorific suffixation. This is illustrated in Table 5.

<i>Relationship</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Reference Term</i>	<i>Address (Direct)</i>	<i>Address (Indirect)</i>
great grandfather	V1	pəɾdaddu	<i>As grandfather or father calls</i>	dadu
	V2	pəɾdaddu	daddu	dada dʒi
	V3	daddu	dada dʒi	dada dʒi
father	V1	cəca/bapu	cəca/cəc	mera cəc
	V2	papa	papa	papa
	V3	papadʒi	papadʒi	papaji/papa
mother	V1	əmma/idʒdʒi/caci	əmma/idʒdʒi/caci	əmma/idʒdʒi/caci
	V2	əmma/məmmi	əmma/məmmi	məmmi
	V3	məmmidʒi	məmmidʒi	məmmi

Table 5: Addition of the honorific affix 'dʒi' by V2 and V3

While the speakers of older generation used separate reference terms, direct and indirect address terms, the younger generation was seen replacing the reference terms with the address terms and the address terms with the name of the person, even in cases of indirect address [see Table 6 for the exemplification].

<i>Relationship</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Reference Term</i>	<i>Address (Direct)</i>	<i>Address (Indirect)</i>
middle brother	V1	mənʲhedʲi/məndʒla	b ^h ai	b ^h ai
	V2	mənʲhedʲi/məndʒla	b ^h ai/ name	b ^h ai/ name
	V3	b^hai	name	name
husband's younger brother	V1	deor	name	mera deor
	V2	deor	name	mera deor
	V3	deor	name	deor/ name

Table 6: The addition of names of addressee by V2 and V3

Now, consider the data in Table 7.

<i>Relationship</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Reference Term</i>	<i>Address (Direct)</i>	<i>Address (Indirect)</i>
husband's elder sister	V1	raŋo	name	name/raŋo
	V2	raŋo	name	raŋo
	V3	raŋo/ <i>as husband calls</i>	didi/ beŋdʒi	raŋo
father's elder sister's husband	V1	buer	buer	buer
	V2	buer	buer	buer
	V3	buedʒi	buedʒi	buedʒi

Table 7: Replacement of informal/intimate terms with formal/distant terms by V2 and V3

From the data above, it is evident that the intimate and informal vocabulary is often replaced with formal vocabulary by adding *-dʒi*. These relations were also reported to be formal ones by V3, while V1 reported them to be informal and intimate. For example, “husband's older sister” was earlier an intimate relation where the person was addressed by her name but in recent generations it has changed into a formal relationship where she is addressed as *didi*.

There are quite a few instances of vocabulary loss in this language. Many terms, reference terms as well as address terms used by the older generation were found absent in the younger generation's vocabulary, as illustrated in the data in Table 8.

<i>Relationship</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Reference Term</i>	<i>Address (Direct)</i>	<i>Address (Indirect)</i>
father	V1	<i>cəca/bapu</i>	cəca/cəc	mera cəc
	V2	papa	papa	papa
	V3	papadʒi	papadʒi	papaji/papa
mother	V1	<i>əmma/idʒdʒi/caci</i>	əmma/idʒdʒi/caci	əmma/idʒdʒi/caci
	V2	əmma/məmmi	əmma/məmmi	məmmi
	V3	məmmidʒi	məmmidʒi	məmmi
father's elder sister	V1	<i>bubbi</i>	bubbi	bubbi
	V2	bua/ bubbi	bua/ bubbi	bua/ bubbi
	V3	buadʒi	buadʒi	buadʒi/bua

Table 8: The forgone vocabulary

6. The impact of education and media on kinship terms

The Gaddi community currently places a high value on education since they have settled down in villages and are looking for alternate employment opportunities. Historically, most Gaddis were illiterate and there was no importance given to the education of either men or women. Now, the scenario seems to be no different from that of other parts of the country. Both male and female members are encouraged to at least acquire primary education. While no highly educated or well employed women was noted during the field trip, there were a

handful of cases of educated, well established men. Currently, the community seems to prefer a private school education over a government school one. Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) are also working in this area to provide the required help in this regard, such as transportation, filling language barriers (of people coming from outside Himachal, such as Jharkhand and Nepal), and providing tuitions.

The medium of instruction in a primary school is Hindi, a language which is neither the local dialect nor the children's mother tongue. Therefore, its influence is quite evident in the language of the younger generation. This influence (and also that of Punjabi) is extended by media such as films, songs and television series. The media instruments used in the community were songs, television programmes and newspapers, and none of them were in Gaddi (except for few recorded Gaddi songs, which is a very recent occurrence). The very presence of these strong media instruments can act as a potential language influencer.

The presence of a context of another language, in the form of education and media, can be a catalyst for change, and this is evident in Gaddi too. A large number of kinship terms used by younger generations are borrowed from English, Hindi and Punjabi [see Table 9].

<i>Relationship</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Reference Terms</i>	<i>Address (Direct)</i>	<i>Address (Indirect)</i>
father	V1	cəca/bapu	cəca/cəc	mera cəc
	V2	papa	papa	papa
	V3	papadzi	papadzi	papaji/papa
mother	V1	əmma/idʒdʒi/caci	əmma/idʒdʒi/caci	əmma/idʒdʒi/caci
	V2	əmma/məmmi	əmma/məmmi	məmmi
	V3	məmmidzi	məmmidzi	məmmi
father's elder brother	V1	taja/tajadzi	tajadzi	taja
	V2	tajadzi	tajadzi	tajadzi
	V3	taudzi/tajadzi	tajadzi	tajadzi
father's younger brother	V1	cacu	cacu	cacu
	V2	cacu	cacu	cacu
	V3	cacu	cacadzi	caca
father's elder sister	V1	bubbi	bubbi	bubbi
	V2	bua/ bubbi	bua/ bubbi	bua/ bubbi
	V3	buadzi	buadzi	buadzi/bua

Table 9: The influence of other languages

The vocabulary items above that are marked in bold were originally not a part of Gaddi kin terminology. They appear to be borrowed from other languages present in the environment (physical and media-based) of the Gaddi speaking community. For instance, *papa* and *memmi* could be result of either western influence or even Hindi influence. While terms like *buadzi*, *cacadzi* seem to have been borrowed from Hindi, *tajadzi* could be a result of lexical borrowing from Punjabi.

Conclusion

The community traces patrilineal descent and is patrilocal in nature. The kin terminology is mostly of a descriptive type. The community also assigns fictive kinship terms. Many reference terms and address terms have modified or been replaced over generations because of factors such as education, modernisation and the influence of various media.

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Appendix

Questionnaire used for the collection of data on Gaddi kinship terms and terminology

1. नाम(na):-----
2. उमर(umār):-----
3. पेशा(pesha):-----

	Reference terms	Address terms (direct)	Address terms (indirect)	Relationship type (symmetrical or asymmetrical)	Additional remarks/ comments
<i>Affinal relations</i>					
paternal great-grandfather					
paternal great-grandmother					
maternal great-grandfather					
maternal great-grandmother					
great-grandson (man's)					
great-granddaughter (man's)					
great-grandson (woman's)					
great-granddaughter (woman's)					
paternal grandfather					
paternal grandmother					
maternal grandfather					
maternal grandmother					
grandson (man's)					
granddaughter (man's)					
grandson (woman's)					
granddaughter (woman's)					
father					
mother					
father's elder brother					
father's middle brother					
father's younger brother					
father's elder sister					
father's middle sister					
father's younger sister					
mother's elder brother					
mother's middle brother					
mother's younger brother					
mother's elder sister					
mother's middle sister					
mother's younger sister					
son					
daughter					

GADDI KINSHIP

twins					
ego's elder brother					
ego's middle brother					
ego's younger brother					
ego's youngest brother					
ego's elder sister					
ego's younger sister					
ego's youngest sister					
ego's paternal elder female cousin					
ego's paternal younger female cousin					
ego's paternal elder male cousin					
ego's paternal younger male cousin					
ego's maternal elder female cousin					
ego's maternal younger female cousin					
ego's maternal elder male cousin					
ego's maternal younger male cousin					
<i>Non-affinal relations</i>					
husband					
wife					
husband's elder brother					
husband's younger brother					
husband's elder sister					
husband's younger sister					
wife's brother					
son's wife's mother					
son's wife father					
daughter's husband's father					
daughter's husband's mother					
spouse's father					
spouse's mother					
father's elder brother's wife					
father's younger brother's wife					
father's elder sister's husband					
father's younger sister's husband					
mother's elder brother's wife					
mother's younger brother's wife					
mother's sister's husband					
son's wife					
daughter's husband					
friend elder					
friend younger					
stranger male younger					

GADDI KINSHIP

stranger	female					
younger						
friend's father						
friend's mother						
(ego's) fiancé						
pet						
honorific (affixes)						
bride						
bridegroom						
orphan						
widow						
widower						

4. आपके घरमें कौन-कौनहै ? (tunde g^hara ma koṇ koṇ hin?)
5. आप अपने _____(use reference term)को कैसे बुलाती हैं ?(for indirect address terms) [tuse apṇe laḍe dzo kijan heṇde]
6. गद्दिमें _____(kinship relation) को क्या बोलते हैं ? (for reference terminology) [Gaddi ma laḍe ju kae balənde]
7. आप इन्का परिचय दिजिये(for direct referencing) [tuse ijara parce dassa]
8. Additional information: