

A Study of Socio-Linguistic Aspects of Kin Behaviour Among the Yerukala Tribe in Rayalaseema Region of Andhra Pradesh

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INTRODUCTION

The Kin behaviour plays an important role in understanding the social structure of a society and the relationships between individuals. There is a close correlation between the language and kin behaviour among the tribes and one such tribe is Yerukala of Andhra Pradesh. The Kinship system under a linguistic family can be understood as a pattern, because they together share certain structural principles. Iravate Karve (1953) has attempted to show how far the language and kinship systems could be correlated. Yerukala is one of the Principal Tribes inhabiting the Southern part of the Andhra Pradesh, generally known as Rayalaseema comprising the Revenue Districts or Chittoor, Cuddapah, Anantapur and Kurnool. For the present study Ahobilam, a well known religious place, adjacent to the Nallamala forests and valleys in Kurnool District is selected. The place is accessible by road from Allagadda, the taluk centre. Nallamala forests is one of the thickest forests in India. The flora of the forest includes a red sanders, sandal wood teak and bamboo. This forest is inhabited by several wild animals like deers, bears, rabbits, wild sheep, several types of birds and also tiger, cheeta, wolf, and the like. The forest is the main economic source to Yerukalas. Honey, tubers, nuts and various types of fruits are the edible products collected by the local people.

There are 61 households of Yerukala with a population of 263, which comprises of 136 males and 127 females. The Yerukalas inhabiting Ahobilam have been migrated to this place from various parts of Rayalaseema since plenty of bamboo is available for their traditional occupation i.e. basket making besides food gathering. They eat rice, maize, wheat, millets and other cereals as their staple food. Yerukala speak the yerukala dialect an admixture of Telugu, Kannada, Tamil and Marathi. They use both the Yerukala dialect and Telugu. The Yerukala language has no written script and is

still in existence in oral tradition. Yerukala worship their traditional female and male deities, namely Mallamma and Balagurappa, Narasimhaswamy, Singaraiah, Thippaiah, Jwala Narasimhudu, Eswarudu, Maddileti, Konda Mangamma, Sunkamma, Poleramma, Peddamma etc. The Yerukalas have a head man who solves the disputes, and punishes the culprits in the tribe. The head man is an aged person having very high economic position among themselves. Changes are occurring in all aspects of Yerukala life. There are altogether 30 Kinship terms in the Yerukala Kinship terminology. This is more than the world average of 27, of the 30 terms, 27 are classificatory and the three are denotative. Thus, their Kinship terminology is primarily of classificatory in nature. It may be pointed out here that the classificatory terms are extended to both consanguine and affinal kin, including primary Kin.

Denotative terms, on the other hand, are used exclusively to denote a set of affinal Kin. A classificatory term is one that applies to persons of two or more kinship categories, as defined by generation, sex and genealogical Connection, for example, 'Ava' is a classificatory term, because it applies equality to Fa, Fa-Br (el), Fa-Br(y), Mo-Si-Hu(el), Mo-Si-H(y). But they are differentiated with each other with the use of prefixes in accordance with age as 'Peddeva' and Chinnayannu' respectively. The term 'Akka' is also classificatory embracing five distinct Kinship categories. The list of classificatory terms among the Yerukalas are given below.

Classificatory Terms in Yerukala Kinship Terminology

1. Ava Fa, Fa-Br, Mo-Si-Hu, step father.
2. Jejave Fa-Fa, Fa-Fa-Fa.
3. Tata Mo-Fa, Mo-Fa-Fa.
4. Mama Mo-Br, Fa-Si-Hu, Hu-Fa, Wi-Fa
5. Bava Fa-Si-So, Mo-Br-So, Hu-Br(el),
..... Wi-Br(el), Si-Hu(el).

6. Amma Mo, step mother, Mo-Si,
..... Fa-Br-Wi.
7. Angappa Mo-Mo, Mo-Fa-Mo.
8. Jeji Fa-Mo, Fa-Fa-Mo.
9. Atta Fa-Si, Mo-Br-Wi.
..... Hu-Mo, Wi-Mo.
10. Annu Br(el), Fa-Br-So(el), Mo-Si-So(el)
..... Hu-Si-Hu(el), Wi-Si-Hu(el).
11. Thenbbi Br(y), Fa-Br-So(y), Mo-Si-So(y),
..... Hu-Si-Hu(y), Wi-Si-Hu(y).
12. Akka Si(el), Fa-Br-Da(el),
..... Mo-Si-Da(el),
..... Hu-Br-Wi(el), Wi-Br-Wi(el).
13. Thangisee Si(y), Fa-Br-Da(y),
..... Mo-Si-Da(y),
..... Wi-Br-Wi(y), Hu-Br-Wi(y).
14. Nanga Fa-Si-Da(el), Mo-Br-Da(el),
..... Wi-Si(el), Br-Wi(el).
15. Merchenchi Fa-Si ,Da(y), Mo-Br, Da(y)
..... Wi-Si(y), Br-Wi(el).
16. Momu So, Br-So, Si-Si-So (W.S.P)
..... Hu-Br-So, Wi-Si-So.
17. Menamerinomu Br-So (W.S.P), Hu-Si-So,
..... Wi-Br-So, Da-Hu.
18. Pyathu So-So, Da-So, Da-Da-So.
19. Mudhimer- So-So-So, Da-So-So.
imomu
20. Maga Da, Br-Da (M.S.P)
..... Si-Da (W.S.P), Wi-Si-Da,
..... Hu-Br-Da.
21. Menamerimaga Br-Da (W.S.P), Si-Da (M.S.P)
..... Hu-Si-Da, Wi-Br-Da,
..... So-Wi
22. Pethi Da-Da, So-Da.
23. Mudhi merimega Da-Da-Da, Da-So-Da,
..... So-So-Da.
24. Merchennu Hu-Br(y), Si-Hu(y) (WSP)
25. Machada Wi-Br(y), Si-Hu(y) (MSP)
26. Viyyankudu So-Wi-Fa, Da-Hu-Fa
27. Viyyankurlu So-Wi-Mo, Da-Hu-Mo.

A denotative term is one which applies only to relatives in a single Kinship category as defined by generation, sex and genealogical connection. Accordingly one kin term is used to denote one category of relatives only. There are 3 denotative terms in the Yerukala Kinship terminology.

Denotative terms in the Yerukala Kinship Terminology

- (1) Nangaya Hu
- (2) Kulchi Wi
- (3) Savati Co-Wife.

The 30 Kinship terms of the Yerukala indicate

as many as 98 Kin distributed over several generations.

The various Kin terms noticed among the Yerukula language at Ahobilam in the form of terms of reference and terms of address with a equivalent terms in English are mentioned in the Appendix-1.

The way of behaviour expressed towards various Kinsmen are listed below:

- i) Respect : Fa, Mo, Mo-Br(el), Fa-Br(el),
..... Br(el)
..... Mo-Si-So(el), Fa-Br(y)
- ii) Reserved : Br(el), Mo-Si(el), Si(el), Mo-Br-Wi,
..... Fa-Si-Da(el), Hu-Mo, Hu-Fa, Wi-Fa
..... Wi-Mo, Br-Si(el), Wi-Si(el), Hu-Si(el)
- iii) Informal : .. Fa-Fa, Mo-Fa, Mo-Br-So(y), Fa-Si-
..... Da(y)
- iv) Intimate : Wi, Br(y), Si(y), Mo-Br-So(y),
..... Fa-Si-So(y), Fa-Br-So(y) Mo-Si-So(y)
- v) Avoidance: .. Hu-Fa, Wi-Mo, Br-Wi(el), Hu-Br(el)
..... Fa-Si.
- vi) Joking : Wi-Si(y), Hu-Br(y), So-So, Da-So, Wi,
..... Mo-Br-Da(y), Fa-Si-Da(y),
..... Br-Da(WSP), Si-Da (MSP)

RESPECT: Respect is expressed through submissiveness and obedience. Generally relatives who come under submissive category shows respect to the kinsmen on the father's side and on the mother's side are respected by the ego. A person never sits on the cot in the presence of his father and other elder kinsmen. Though a person shows respect to his father and mother alike, gives more respect to the kinsmen on his father side, then on mother's side. Ego always walks behind the father when happened to walk along with their father.

Among the Yerukalas, mother's eldest brother plays a major role. In certain cases the children were brought up under his maintainance. In such cases, children respect to their mother's eldest brother with that of father equally. Generally father is the dominant figure in the family by virtue of his age and role. So other members in the family are expected to give respect to the father.

RESERVED: In this reserved type of behaviour, the members maintain distance and speak with one other only on important occasions. Under this type of behaviour many of the females kin on the paternal and maternal sides are included. A female ego is expected to be reserved with her Hu-Fa, Hu-Mo, Hu-Br(el),

Hu-Si(el). In the Yerukulas tribe, female ego should not move closely with her father-in-law. She maintains distance while talking with him. She never cracks jokes with her husband's elder brother, elder sister and mother.

In the same way male ego maintains reserved type of behaviour with his wife's mother elder sister. Male ego's dealings are closer with his wife's father than his mother-in-law. We find reserved type of behaviour among the siblings in Yerukulas and also of male ego with his Br-Wi, Fa-Si, Fa-Br-Wi, Mo-Br-Wi, Mo-Br-Da(el) among the Yerukulas. Joking is absent between the siblings. Thus reserved type of behaviour is manifested through the distance maintained among the Yerukulas.

INFORMAL: Among the Yerukulas informal type of behaviour is exercised between ego and Fa-Fa, Mo-Fa and elder male cross-cousins. Generally grand parents have much affection upon the grand children. Hence they move closely and do not follow any restrictions between themselves. The grand children and grand parents participates in vague descriptive conversation with out maintaining any distance between themselves. Even though there is a lot of a difference between them. They move more or less like friends. But the ego shows respect to them in the presence of others.

Naturally the ego exhibits informal type of behaviour with his male cross cousins. The ego and elder male cross cousins do not follow any formal restriction, in behaviour.

INTIMATE: Among the Yerukulas intimate type of behaviour is predominantly found between the ego and all his younger kin. Younger brothers and sisters are treated as, friends by ego on certain occasions. Behaviour between the mother and daughters is also marked by intimate and co-operative activities and duties. The mother trains the daughter in all domestic duties. The intimate behaviour can be further viewed as affectionate type of behaviour towards those who come under incestuous relationship with the ego. With these relatives who form in the line of prospective bridges, the ego shows intimate behaviour coupled with joking relationship with younger cross-cousins and nices.

AVOIDENCE: Avoidence observed between ego and mother-in-law, and father-in-law predominantly. Son-in-law observes avoidance with his mother-in-law by maintaining some distance. He never sits or sleeps before her. In the same way the daughter-in-law also maintain

avoidance with her father-in-law by observing the above mentioned restrictions. Besides father-in-law and mother-in-law and mother-in-law, ego must also observe avoidance behaviour with Wi-Si(el), Hu-Br(el). Ego should not come closer or should not talk intimately with his wife's elder sister. In the same way female should maintain distance with her husband's elder brothers.

JOKING: Joking relationship is found predominantly between the ego and wife's younger sister or ego and her husband's younger brother. It is also found between grand parents and grand children. They crack jokes with each other without using any vulgar language. In conversation, ego may tell his wife's younger sister so many things like "I want to marry you also" In the presence of a large gathering including her parents and sister. He has that much of right over her. If she is clever enough she may respond by saying that "you first feed my sister and talk". The joking relationship between the grand parents and grand children provides some sort of entertainment to them. The grand children and grand parents play together and cut jokes with each other.

Thus the kin behaviour and language plays an important role in moulding the characters of various kin. The occurrence of hostile relationships be safe guarded in the society with the help of kinship behaviour between certain categories. The kin behaviour of Yerukulas shows consistency with their kinship terminology and marriage practices.

KEY WORDS Kinship, Yerukala Tribe, Language, Classificatory and Denotative Terms.

ABSTRACT Yerukala is one of the principal tribe groups inhabiting the southern part of the Andhra Pradesh, generally known as Rayalaseema comprising the revenue of districts of Chittoor, Cuddapah, Anantapur and Kurnool. The Kin behaviour plays an important role in understanding the social structure of a society and the relationship between individuals. There is a close correlation between the language and kin behaviour among the Tribes and one such a tribe is Yerukala of Andhra Pradesh. For the present study Ahobilam, a well known religious place, adjacent to Nallamala forests in Kurnool District is selected. There are altogether 30 kinship terms in Yerukala kinship terminology. Of the 30 terms, 27 are classificatory and the 3 are denotative. It may be pointed out here that the classificatory terms are extended to both consanguineal and affinal kin, including primary kin. Denotative terms, on the other hand, are used exclusively to denote a set of affinal kin. The way of behaviour is expressed towards various kinsmen in terms of Respect Reserved, Informal, Intimate, Avoidance and

Joking. The kin behaviour of Yerukala shows consistency with their kinship terminology and marriage practices.

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APPENDIX-1

Kin Terms among the Yerukula at Ahobilam

		<i>Terms of reference</i>	<i>Terms of addressing</i>
(1)	Fa	Ava	Avangaru
(2)	Fa-Fa	Jejava	Jejavangaru
(3)	Fa-Fa-Fa	Jejava	Jejavangaru
(4)	Mo-Fa Tata	Tatangaru	
(5)	Mo-Fa-Fa	Tata	Tatangaru
(6)	Fa-Br		
	a. Elder	Peddeva	Peddevangaru
	b. Younger	Chinnayannu	Chinnayannu
(7)	Mo-Br	Mama	Mama
	a. Elder	Berumenama	Berumenamamagaru
	b. Younger	Menamama	Menamama
(8)	Mo	Amma	Ammangaru
(9)	Mo-Mo	Angappa	Angappangaru
(10)	Mo-Fa-Mo	Berappa	Berappangaru
(11)	Fa-Mo Jeji	Jeji	
(12)	Fa-Fa-Mo	Jeji	Jeji
(13)	Fa-Si Atta		
	a. Elder	Beddatta	Beddatta
	b. Younger	Chinnatta	Chinnatta
(14)	Mo-Si		
	a. Elder	Beddamma	Beddamma
	b. Younger	Choddamma	Choddamma
(15)	Br		
	a. Elder	Berannu	Berannu
	b. Younger	Thenbhi	By Name
(16)	Fa-Br-So		
	a. Elder	Berannu	Berannu
	b. Younger	Thenbhi	By Name
(17)	Fa-Si-So		
	a. Elder to ego	Berumama	Berumama
	b. Younger to ego	Chinnamama	Chinnamama
(18)	Mo-Br-So		
	a. Elder to ego	Berumama	Berumama
	b. Younger to ego	Chinnamama	Chinnamama
(19)	Mo-Si-So		
	a. Elder to ego	Berunna	Berunna
	b. Younger to ego	Thenbhi	By Name
(20)	Si		
	a. Elder	Berukka	Berukka
	b. Younger	Thangisee	By Name
(21)	Fa-Br-Da		
	a. Elder to ego	Berukka	Berukk
	b. Younger to ego	Thangisee	By Name

	<i>Terms of reference</i>	<i>Terms of addressing'</i>
(22) Fa-Si_Da		
a. Elder to ego	Nanga	Nanga
b. Younger to ego	Merchenchi	By Name
(23) Mo-Br-Da		
a. Elder to ego	Akka	Akka
b. Younger to ego	Thangisee	By Name
(24) So Momu	By Name	
(25) Br-So		
(Msn Speaking)	Menameri momu	Mena meri momu
(26) Br-So		
(Woman speaking)	Mena meri momu	Mena meri momu
(27) Si-So		
(Man Speaking)	Mena meri momu	Mena meri momu
(28) Si-So		
(Woman Speaking)	Momu	By Name
(29) So-So	Pyathu	By Name
(30) So-So-So	Mudhimerimomu	By Name
(31) Da-So Pyathu	By Name	
(32) Da-So-So	Mudhimeri Momu	By Name
(33) Da-Da-So	Pyathu	By Name
(34) Da	Maga	By Name
(35) Br-Da		
(Man speaking)	Mega	By Name
(36) Br-Da		
(Women Speaking)	Mena meri Mega	By Name
(37) Si-Da		
(Man Speaking)	Menamerimega	By Name
(38) Si-Da		
(Women Speaking)	Mega	By Name
(39) Da-Da	Mudhi meri maga	By Name
(40) Da-Da-Da	Mudhi meri maga	By Name
(41) Da- So-Da	Mudhi meri maga	By Name
(42) So-Da Pethi	By Name	
(43) So-So-Da	Mudhi meri maga	By Name
(44) Fa-Si-Hu	Mama	Mama
(45) Hu-Fa Mama	Mama	
(46) Wi-Fa Mama	Mama	
(47) Mo-Si-Hu	Nayannu	Nayannu
(48) Mo-Br-Wi	Atta	Atta
(49) Fa-Br-Wi	Choddama	Choddama
(50) Hu-Mo	Atta	Atta
(51) Wi-Mo	Atta	Atta
(52) Hu-	Nangaya	Nangaya
(53) Hu-Br		
a. Elder	Mama	Mama
b. Younger	Merchennu	By Name
(54) Wi-Br		
a. Elder	Mama	Mama
b. Younger	Machada	By Name
(55) Si-Hu		
(Man Speaking)		
a. Elder Sister's		
Husband Mama	Mama	
b. Younger Sister's	Husband	Machada By Name
(56) Si-Hu		
(Women Speaking)		
a. Elder Sister's		
Husband	Mama	Mama
b. Younger sister's		
Husband	Merchennu	By Name

	<i>Terms of reference</i>	<i>Terms of addressing'</i>
(57) Hu-Si-Hu	Anna/ Thenbbi	Anna/ By Name
(58) Wi-Si-Hu	Anna/Thenbhi	Anna/ByName
(59) So-Wi-Fa	Viyyankudu	Mama
(60) Da-Hu-Fa	Viyyankudu	Mama
(61) Wi- Kulchi	By Name	
(62) Hu-Si		
a. Elder	Choddama	Choddama
b. Younger	Merchenchi	By Name
(63) Wi-Si		
a. Elder	Nanga	Nanga
b. Younger	Merchenchi	By Name
(64) Br-Wi		
(Man Speaking)		
a. Elder brother's		
Wife	Nanga	Nanga
b. Younger brother's		
Wife	Merchenchi	By Name
(65) Br-Wi		
(Women Speaking)		
a. Elder brother's		
Wife	Nanga	Nanga
b. Younger brother's		
Wife	Merchenchi	By Name
(66) Hu-Br-Wi		
a. Husband;s Elder		
brother's wife	Akka	Akka
b. Husband's		
Younger brother's		
Wife	Thangisee	By Name
(67) Wi-Br-Wi	Akka/Thangisee	Akka/By Name
(68) So-Wi-Mo	Viyyankuralu	Akka/By Name
(69) Da-Hu-Mo	Viyyankuralu	Akka/By Name
(70) Da-Hu Meri momu	By Name	
(71) Hu-Br-So	Momu	By Name
(72) Hu-Si-So	Mena meri momu	By Name
(73) Wi-Br-So	Mena meri momu	By Name
(74) Wi-Si-So	Momu	By Name
(75) So-Wi	Meri Maga	By Name
(76) Hu-Br-Da	Maga	By Name
(77) Hu-Si-Da	Mena meri maga	By Name
(78) Wi-Br-Da	Mena meri maga	By Name
(79) Wi-Si-Da	Mena meri maga	By Name
(80) Father's wife other		
than ego's mother	Amma	Ammangaru
(81) Mother's Husband		
other than ego's		
father Nayannu	Nayannu	
(82) Co-Wife	Savati	Akka/Thangisee
(83) Co-Husband	Annu/Thenbhi	