

KINSHIP TERM SURVEY IN SARNAMI HINDUSTANI.

A As their ancestors in India did, so also the Hindustani people of Suriname refer to their relatives mainly by kinship terms. The origine of this cultural phenomena probably dates back a long time. We may asume that the use of kinship terms has a culturally relvant reason. According to Kellett, for instance, husbands and wives in India prefer to address each other by circumlocution rather than use given names because of superstition. E.g. a husband may call his wife 'mother of Prem', Prem being the eldest son. This is part of a superstition common to Bramah-nism with scores of other beliefs. (Kellett 19..)

Not only husbands and wives avoid the use of given names, most adults alude to one another as 'father/mother of so-and-so'. Even when meeting a childhood-friend after a number of years, most adults will not use the given name anymore, but address the person as 'bhaai' (brother), 'bahien' (sister), or 'father/mother of so-and-so' if the name of the oldest child is known.

However, in Surname we see a tendency to use more given names among adults. This happens most likely under influence of Western culture. It has been observed that this tendency is stronger in the city as compared to the rural area. More and more Hindustani youngsters go to secondary schools, particularly in and around the city, and spend their adolescence where family names or given names are used, but not kinship terms. It can therefore be expected that this tendency will increase rather than decrease.

This paper is a collection of kinship terms still in use among the Hindustani people of Suriname. It includes Hindu as well as Moslem terms. The family-trees and the list of terms form the main body of the paper. Some additional observations and comments have been added.

Two family-trees have been drawn, one where ego is male and one where ego is female. This was necessary because a few terms are different for males and females. The size of the circles and triangles ( indicating male and female respectively), shows whether a person within the same generation is older or younger than ego or ego's spouse. All the relatives shown in the family-tree may not be alive at ~~successive~~ the same time, but all kinship terms may have to be used in ego's life time.

Twelve people acted independently as informants. Three of those are men. Their ages range from 63 to 14. Two of them are Moslem, the others are Hindu or Christians from a Hindu background.

During the survey not all informants were asked to give all kinship terms. It turned out that most informants were confident about kinship terms of relatives they actually have, but were uncertain about terms that were not personally relevant to them. They also found it hard to consistently identify with ego.

#### B Some observations and comments.

Children and young people are normally called by their given names. Quite often they use the names by which they are officially registered at school and nicknames at home.

When talking about ones siblings a person may indicate whether they are older or younger than himself by adding 'barka' (big) or 'tjhota' (little) to the terms 'bhaai' (brother) or 'bahien' (sister). Cousins often are also referred to as 'bhaai' or 'bahien. In an extended family living in one house the smaller children may not even know exactly who are real brothers and sisters and who are cousins. In analogy a cousin's wife or husband may be called 'bhaudjie' (sister-in-law) or 'bahanoi' (brother-in-law). If the exact relationship is in focus ego will refer to

his cousin as 'hamaar mausie ke beta' (the son of my mother's sister), or 'hamaar daada ke bietia' (the daughter of my father's older brother), etc. When talking to older brothers and sister the younger ones in many Hindu families address them as 'bhaai' or 'diedie' respectively. In Moslem families the older sister(s) may be called 'boeboe), the older brother(s) 'bhaai'. These terms are not only used as vocatives, but also when talking about them to a person who also calls them by that vocative, e.g. "Toe diedie se bol de kie ..." ("Say to 'diedie' that ...") However, when the older sibling is not the addressed person but the topic of conversation, the term 'bhaai' or 'bahien' is used, e.g. "Hamaar bahien aspataal me hai." ("My sister is in the hospital")

The kinship terms for the preceding generation show some differences in Hindu and Moslem terminology. In the list that goes with the family-tree the Hindu term is given first, and if there is a different term used by Moslems it is following the /.

Not only older sisters are being addressed by a vocative which is different from the kinship term. Parents-in-law may call their daughter-in-law 'doelahienia' (the bride), and, if they have more than one daughters-in-law, they may refer to a specific one as, for example, 'Ratan ke doelahienia', (Ratan's bride), Ratan being their son. Parents-in-law may also call their daughter-in-law 'batjia', derived from 'batjie' (little one). This term 'batjie' may also be used for ego's husband's younger sister, or for any young girl of the next generation. More common is the vocative 'betie' (daughter) for girls and 'beta' (son) for boys, and can be used for any child or young person, known or unknown.

A son-in-law, (damaat), may be addressed as 'bhaija'.

Children are often heard to use the Dutch terms 'oom' and 'tante' (uncle and aunt) for any adult that is not a relative and who is of the same

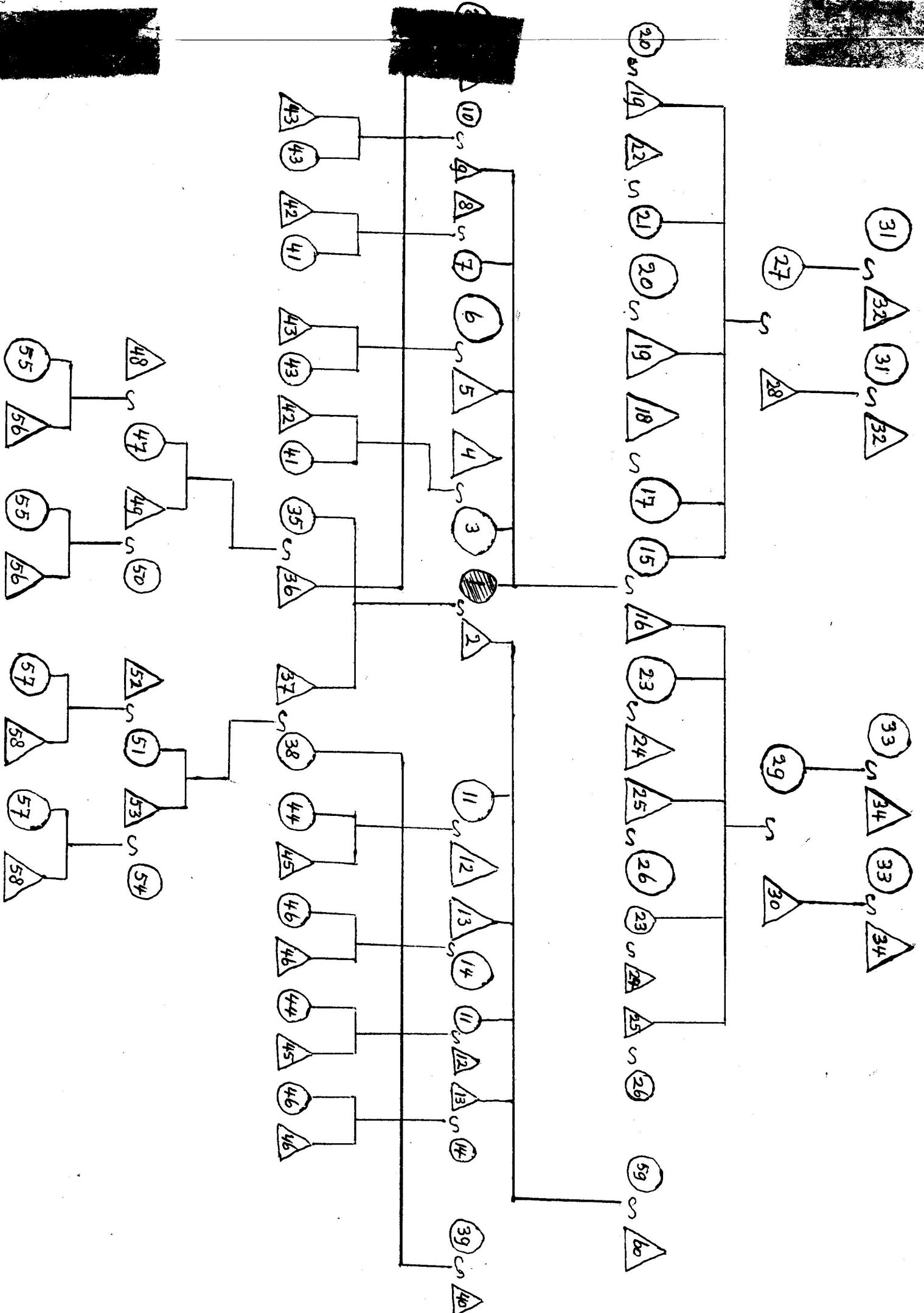
generation as their parents. Adults may address unrelated adults of roughly their age as 'bhaai' or 'bahien', (brother or sister). All older people that are grandparents of adults may be addressed as 'baap' (father) or 'maai' (mother).

Kinship terms and vocatives are sometime consciously used for the 'wrong' people for certain reasons. A girl ~~marrying~~ ~~into~~ her husband's family and household, may be called 'bhaudjie' (~~daughter~~-in-law) by her unrelated neighbours. A person may call a woman of his own age or younger 'diedie' to show respect for her higher social status or higher education or so.

When does a person acquire his proper kinship term? Those used by the generation of ego's parents and beyond are of course established at birth.

Kinship terms used by the same or the next generation, as well as by in-laws are usually established at marriage. For example, children may call their father's younger sisters and brothers by their given names, but when these aunts and uncles get married the children begin to call them 'kaaka' (father's younger brother) or 'phoewa' (father's sister).

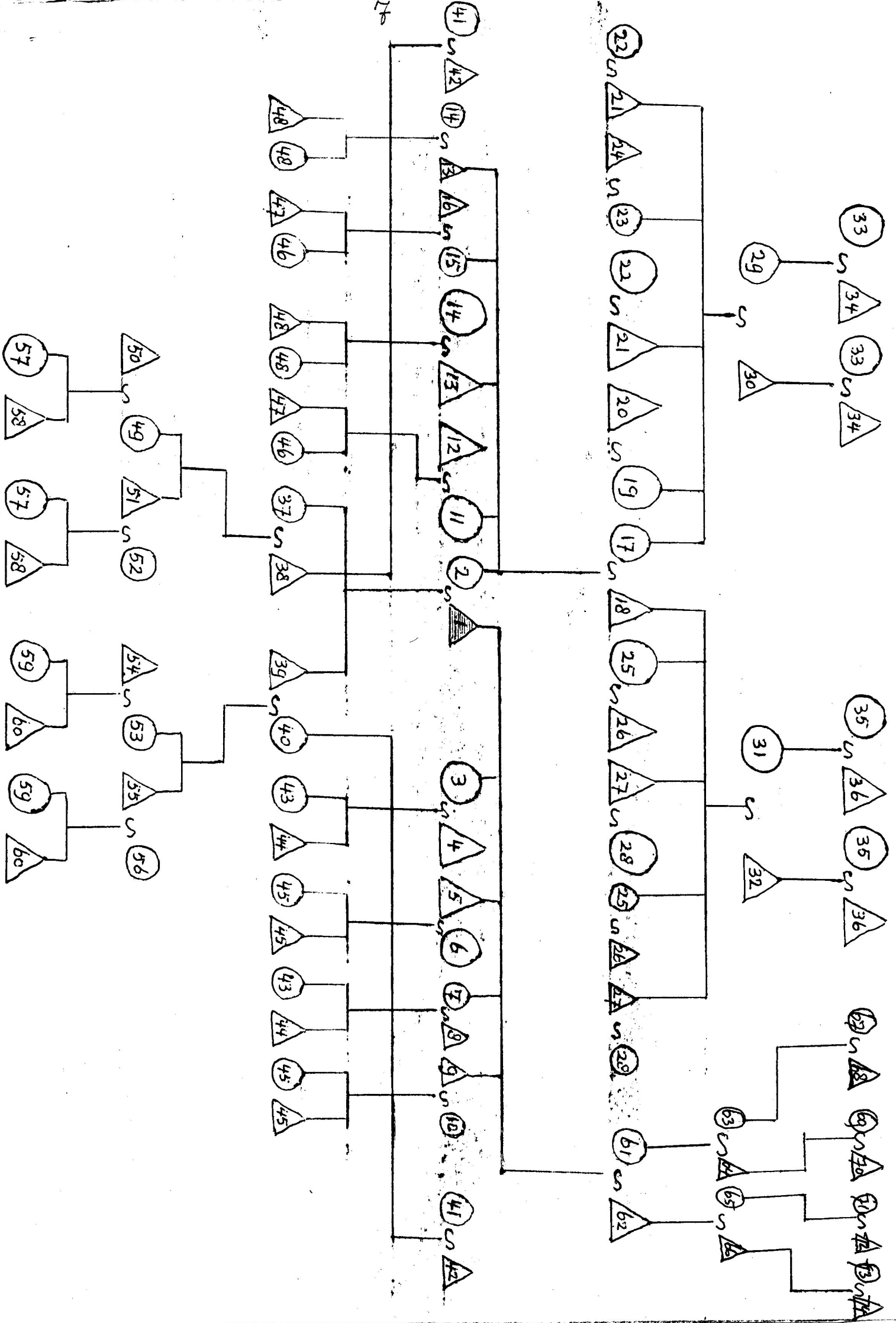
The use of kinship terms gives a great sense of belonging, and the explicit expression of the relationship is bound to add to the feelings of security of a Hindustani person. It is therefore not surprising that the main kinship terms are maintained and will be maintained even when in some families the Harnami Hindustani language is being replaced by Dutch or another language.



KINSHIP TERMS in Sarnami Hindustani.

○ ego = male (terms following / are used by Moslems)

1 ego	33 par-naana
2 biehautie	34 par-naanie
3 (barka) bhaai	35 beta
4 bhaudjie	36 patch
5 (barka) bahien	37 betie
6 bahanoi	38 damaat
7 (tjhota) bhaai	39 samdhie
8 saharadj, tjhotkie	40 samdhien
9 (tjhota) bahien	41 bhatiedja
10 bahanoi	42 bhatiedjie
11 saar	43 bhaine
12 saharadj	44 aurat ke bhatiedj&e
13 saarie	45 aurat ke bhatiedjie
14 saaroe	46 aurat ke bhaine
15 baap	47 pota
16 maai	48 pota ke aurat
17 daada / barka baap	49 potien
18 barkie maai	50 potien ke aadmie
19 phoewa	51 naatie
20 phoepa	52 naatie ke aurat
21 kaaka / tjatja	53 naatien
22 kaakie / tjatjie	54 naatien ke aadmie
23 maama / maamoe	55 par-pota
24 maamie	56 par-potien
25 mausie / khaala	57 par-naatie
26 mausa / khaaloe	58 par-naatien
27 aadja / daada	59 sasoer
28 aadjie / daadie	60 saas
29 naana	
30 naanie	
31 par-aadja / par-daada	
32 par-aadjie / par-daadie	



KINSHIP TERMS in Sarnami Hindustani.

ego = female (terms following / are used by Moslems)

1 ego	33 par-aadja / par-daada
2 biehauta	34 par-aadjie / par-daadie
3 (barka) bhaai	35 par-naana
4 bhaudjie	36 par-naanie
5 (barka) bahien	37 beta
6 bahanoi	38 patch
7 (tjhota) bhaai	39 betie
8 bhaudjie	40 damaat
9 (tjhota) bahien	41 sand
10 tjhotkoe	42 sandhien
11 barkoe	43 bhatiedja
12 barkie	44 bhatiedjie
13 nanat	45 bhaine
14 nandoi	46 aadmie ke bhatiedja
15 dewar, tjhotkoe	47 aadmie ke bhatiedjie
16 dewraanie, tjhotkie	48 aadmie ke bhaine
17 baap	49 pota
18 maai	50 pota ke aurat
19 daada /barka baap	51 potien
20 barkie maai	52 potien ke aadmie
21 phoewa	53 naatie
22 phoepa	54 naatie ke aurat
23 kaaka / tjatja	55 naatien
24 kaakie / tjatjie	56 naatien ke aadmie
25 maama / maamoe	57 par-pota
26 maamie	58 par-potien
27 mausie / khaala	59 par-naatie
28 mausa / khaaloe	60 par-naatien
29 aadja / daada	61 sasoeer
30 aadjie / daadie	62 saas
31 naana	63 aadja
32 naanie	64 aadjie
	65 naana
	66 naanie
	67 par-aadja
	68 par-aadjie
	69 par-aadja
	70 par-aadjie
	71 par-naana
	72 par-naanie
	73 par-naana
	74 par-naanie