



Fig. 7: Second version of affinal relationships in tribal Middle Indian terminology (three medial levels).

ego's male and female 'siblings' form one pair, the 'spouse' along with the female and male 'sibling's spouse' form another, while the omnipresent 'the connected' (see footnote 43), one for each sex, indicate yet another two to complete level 0. The latter two pairs are forerunners of 'child's spouse,' the terms following in level -1.

Who are the 'the connected'? If in genealogical terms they are specified as 'child's spouse's parent,' the terminology normally offers no explicit upper link for them to level +1,<sup>49</sup> so the question must remain open. This uncertainty is contagious, since it reflects upon their children on level -1, the pair containing 'child's spouse.' Consequently I

have marked the pair by an X. No such uncertainty hinges upon the speaker's male or female 'other sex sibling's child,' since this is clearly a member of the third line within the system as a whole. As the third basic difference of tribal terminologies, compared to the standard two-line system (of Fig. 2), most include separate terms for 'other sex sibling's child' and 'child's spouse,' i.e., do not contain the standard South Indian equation.

So far, the system's mode of affinal exchange is clear, but for the status of 'the connected' and their children marked X in Fig. 6. Perhaps their identity can be approached after the introduction of yet another (the last available) pair that could not be included in Fig. 6 for technical reasons, because its place had been taken by one of the two 'the connected.' I refer to 'parent's other sex sibling's child' of Fig. 2, simply known as 'cross-cousin' in

<sup>49</sup> Except for the Juang system (McDougal 1963: 138) where the male 'the connected' is seen as the 'son' of two categories equated with 'child's spouse' of each sex.