
UNIT-1 MEANING, DEFINITION & TYPES OF KINSHIP

Structure

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Learning Objective
- 1.3 Meaning, Definition of Kinship
- 1.4 History of Kinship Study
- 1.5 Types of Kinship
- 1.6 Kinship Terminologies & usages
- 1.7 Let Us Sum Up
- 1.8 Glossary
- 1.9 Check your Progress: Ans Key
- 1.10 Model questions
- 1.11 References

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The word “kinship” has been used to mean several things-indeed; the situation is so complex that it is necessary to simplify it in order to study it. “Kinship relationship” has several referents, which must be kept sharply separated analytically. There are biological referents, behavioural referent and linguistic referents (among others). According to the dictionary kinship has to do with relationships by blood; or consanguinity; affinity with relationships brought by marriage. All cultures distinguish various categories of kins and affines, and these categories, with their associated pattern of rights and obligations, make up what social anthropologists call kinship system. In some societies every individual is, or think he is, related by kinship or affinity to everyone else: in others, including most western ones, a man’s kins and affines are limited for practical purposes to a few close relatives. But in every society some relationships of kinship and affinity are culturally recognized. Biologically not only human beings but all animals have “kinship”. But the vital point is that unlike other animals, human beings consciously and explicitly use the categories of kinship to define social relationships.

1.2 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After go through this unit you will be able to:

- know about the history of kinship study
- understand the meaning of kinship
- Explain the types of kinship
- Study the different terminologies and usages of kinship

1.3 MEANING AND DEFINITION OF KINSHIP

The Concept of Kinship is considered the lifeblood or the social building blocks of the people anthropologist. In non-Introduction to Socio-cultural Anthropology industrialized, non-literate cultures, kinship, marriage and the family form the bases of social life, economic activity and political organization. The behavior and activities of people in such societies are usually kinship oriented (Keesing, 1981).

Thus, one of the main concerns of anthropologists in studying the ways of life in small-scale, non-industrial societies is to understand the principles of kinship, marriage and the family. In contemporary, modern societies, most people's contacts outside the home are with non-relatives. However, people in non-industrial cultures spend their lives almost exclusively with relatives and associates. Everyone is related to, and spends most of his/her time with, everyone else, and rules of behavior attached to particular kin relationship are basic to everyday life (Kottak, 2002; Keesing, op cit). Kinship is defined as the network in which people are related to one another through blood, marriage and other ties. Kinship is a kind of social relationship that ties people. Kinship is universally found in all societies. Kinship can be created through three ways:

Definitions Robin Fox: "Kinship is simply the relations between 'kin' that is persons related by real pulative or fictive consanguinity".

Aberchrombie and others: "The social relationships deriving from blood ties (real and supposed) and marriage are collectively referred to as kinship".

A.R. Radcliffe Brown: Kinship is "a system of dynamic relations between person and person in a community, the behaviour of any two persons in any of these relations being regulated in some way, and to a greater or less extent by social usage".

In simple words, "The bond of blood or marriage which binds people together in group is called kinship".

1.4 HISTORY OF KINSHIP STUDY

The scientific study of kinship systems is only a century old, but in that brief period it has engendered more controversy and a great variety of theoretical formulation than have most aspects of human society. The early studies concentrated on the terminological systems for the most part and utilized then as evidences for historical relationships or as survivals of assumed earlier stages of society based on promiscuity and group marriage. The anthropologist Lewis Henry Morgan was the founder of kinship studies. He watched the Iroquois, a Native American group in the North eastern United States. He was mostly interested in what was keeping societies

together. He was the first to state the different types of kinship systems that exist, in his book, called "*Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*". English scholar Radcliff Brown brought the kinship studies in the new state by involving *comparative method*. Evans Pritchard, through his study of the Nuer revealed its importance in political organization. Fortes through his "Dynamics of Clanship" among Taiensi of Ghana discussed descent groups in details. G.P. Murdock's "social structure" and Levi-Strauss's "Elementary Structure of Kinship" are other classics in the kinship literature.

1.5 TYPES OF KINSHIP

On the Basis of blood Relation: this is the principle of consanguinity. A consanguine is a person who is related to another person through blood. Consanguines include kin, not friends. Examples of consanguines are the following: a parent's (father/mother/grand-parent) relation to a child; relation between siblings (brothers and sisters); an individual's relation to his/ her uncle, aunt, niece or nephew; etc.

On the basis of Marriage: this is the principle of affinity. e.g. kinship ties between husband and wife; husband and his wife's group; wife and her husband's group, etc (3) through adoption, fostering, god-parenthood, etc. This is called the principle of fictitious kinship. Fictitious kinship is, in other words, a kind of relationship in which two individuals create a kind of parent-child relationship without any blood or marriage ties.

Rule of Descent 'Descent' refers to the social recognition of the biological relationship that exists between the individuals. The 'rule of descent' refers to a set of principles by which an individual traces the descent. There are three basic rules of descent: Partilineal descent, matrilineal descent and bilators descent. (a) Patrilineal Descent. According to this rule, descent is traced through the father's or men line. Here the descent criterion is restricted to males, and only descendants of a common ancestor the male line will be recognized as kin.

These are known as agnatic or patrilineal kin. (b) Matrilineal Descent. Here the descent of the individual is traced through the mother or female exclusively. The descendants are called here uterine or matrilineal kin.

These two modes of tracing the descent are called "unilineal", that, they select one "line" either the male or female. These principles or rules are not necessarily mutually exclusive within society. (c) Bilateral Descent. This is a rule in which the descent is traced through both the lines or female line and also the male line for some or the other purpose. What is important here is that almost all kinship systems recognize 'bilateral' relationship that is, relationships to both maternal and paternal kins. Ex: Some societies such as the "Yake" Nigeria, utilize matrilineal descent for some purposes and patrilineal descent for others. Here that exists a system of 'double unilineal descent' which is normally known as "double descent" Importance of the

Rule of Descent The rule of descent is very important for two main reasons: (a) Rule of descent establishes for every individual a network of social positions in which participates. He comes to know about his obligations and rights. (b) Rule of descent invariably defines some rights of inheritance. Inheritance and successor would go normally along the line of descent.

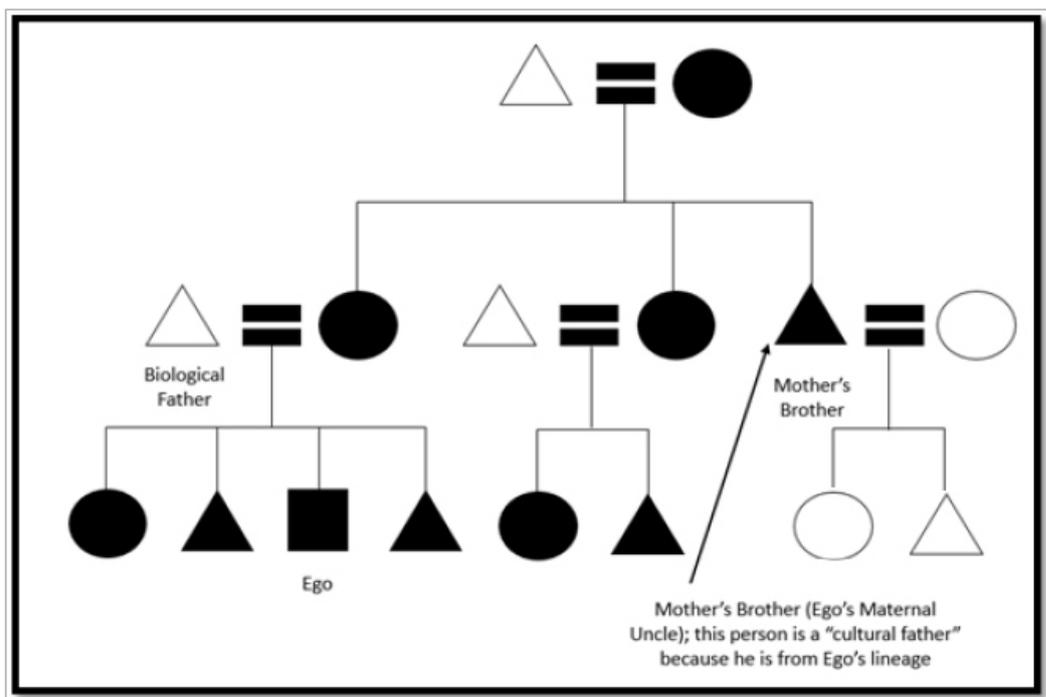
Kinship includes the terms, or social statuses, used to define family members and the roles or expected behaviors family associated with these statuses. Kinship encompasses relationships formed through blood connections (consanguineal), such as those created between parents and children, as well as relationships created through marriage ties (affinal), such as in-laws. Kinship can also include “chosen kin,” who have no formal blood or marriage ties, but consider themselves to be family. Adoptive parents, for instance, are culturally recognized as parents to the children they raise even though they are not related by blood.

While there is quite a bit of variation in families cross-culturally, it is also true that many families can be categorized into broad types based on what anthropologists call a kinship system. The kinship system refers to the pattern of culturally recognized relationships between family members. Some cultures create kinship through only a single parental line or “side” of the family. For instance, families in many parts of the world are defined by patrilineal descent: the paternal line of the family, or fathers and their children. In other societies, matrilineal descent defines membership in the kinship group through the maternal line of relationships between mothers and their children. Both kinds of kinship are considered unilineal because they involve descent through only one line or side of the family. It is important to keep in mind that systems of descent define culturally recognized “kin,” but these rules do not restrict relationships or emotional bonds between people.

Mothers in patrilineal societies have close and loving relationships with their children even though they are not members of the same patrilineage. The descent groups that are created by these kinship systems provide members with a sense of identity and social support. Kinship groups may also control economic resources and dictate decisions about where people can live, who they can marry, and what happens to their property after death.

The two kinship diagrams below show how the descent group changes in unilineal kinship systems like a patrilineal system (father’s line) or a matrilineal system (mother’s line). The roles of the family members in relationship to one another are also likely to be different because descent is based on lineage: descent from a common ancestor. In a patrilineal system, children are always members of their father’s lineage group. In a matrilineal system, children are always members of their mother’s lineage group. In both cases, individuals remain a part of their birth lineage throughout their lives, even after marriage. Typically, people must marry someone outside their own lineage.

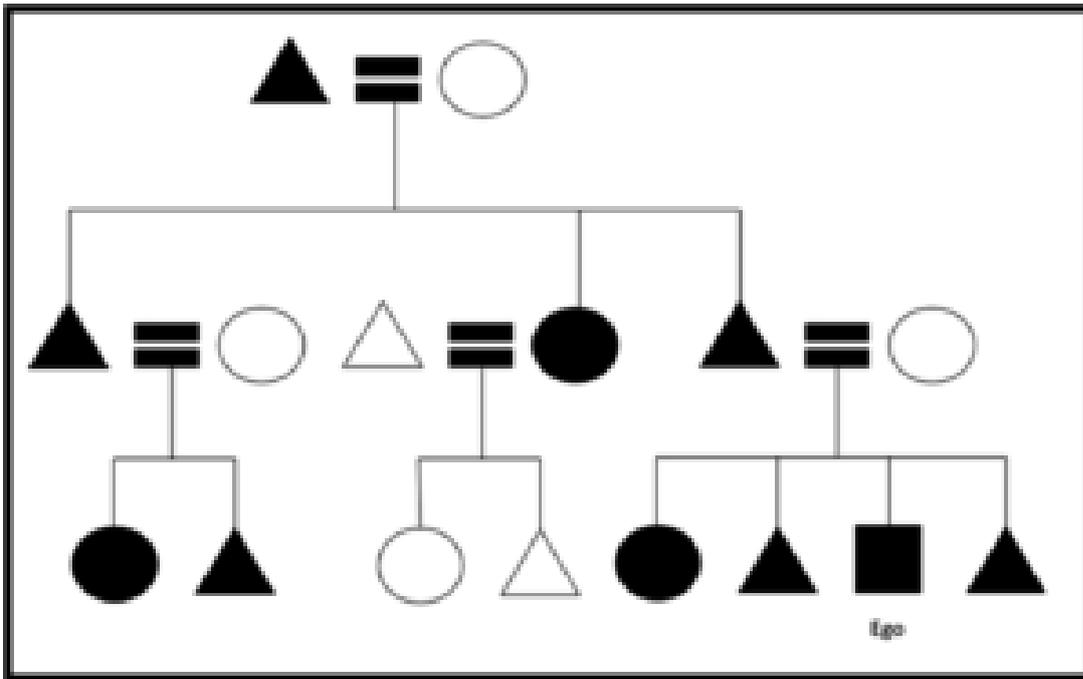
In general, bilateral kinship is more focused on individuals rather than a single lineage of ancestors as seen in unilineal descent. Each person in a bilateral system has a slightly different group of relatives. For example, my brother's relatives through marriage (his in-laws) are included in his kinship group, but are not included in mine. His wife's siblings and children are also included in his group, but not in mine. If we were in a patrilineal or matrilineal system, my brother and I would largely share the same group of relatives.



(Figure 1: This kinship chart shows a patrilineal household with Ego in the father's lineage.)

Matrilineages and patrilineages are not just mirror images of each other. They create groups that behave somewhat differently. Contrary to some popular ideas, matrilineages are not matriarchal. The terms “matriarchy” and “patriarchy” refer to the power structure in a society. In a patriarchal society, men have more authority and the ability to make more decisions than do women. A father may have the right to make certain decisions for his wife or wives, and for his children, or any other dependents. In matrilineal societies, men usually still have greater power, but women may be subject more to the power of their brothers or uncles (relatives through their mother's side of the family) rather than their fathers.

Among the matrilineal Hopi, for example, a mothers' brother is more likely to be a figure of authority than a father. The mother's brothers have important roles in the lives of their sisters' children. These roles include ceremonial obligations and the responsibility to teach the skills that are associated with men and men's activities. Men are the keepers of important ritual knowledge so while women are respected, men are still likely to hold more authority.



(Figure 2: The kinship chart shows a matrilineal household with Ego in mother's lineage.)

Some anthropologists have suggested that marriages are less stable in matrilineal societies than in patrilineal ones, but this varies as well. Among the matrilineal Iroquois, for example, women owned the longhouses. Men moved into their wives' family houses at marriage. If a woman wanted to divorce her husband, she could simply put his belongings outside. In that society, however, men and women also spent significant time apart. Men were hunters and warriors, often away from the home. Women were the farmers and tended to the home. This, as much as matrilineality, could have contributed to less formality or disapproval of divorce. There was no concern about the division of property. The longhouse belonged to the mother's family, and children belonged to their mother's clan. Men would always have a home with their sisters and mother, in their own matrilineal longhouse.

Check your progress 1.1

Note:

- i. Write your answer in the space given below
- ii. Compare your answer with the one given at the end of this Unit.

Q1. Which kinship system establish on the basis of blood relationship?

Ans-

Q2. Which kinship system establish on the basis of marriage?

Ans-

Q3. Match the Following ;

Group A

Radcliff Brown
Evans Pritchard
GP Murduck

Group B

Nuer
Social Structure
Comparative Method

1.6 KINSHIP TERMINOLOGIES & USAGES

Affinal Kinship:

The bond of marriage is called 'affinal' kinship. When a person marries, he establishes relationship not only with the girl whom he marries but also with a number of other people in the girl's family. Moreover, it is not only the person marrying who gets bound to the family members of the girl but his family members also get bound to the family members of the girl. Thus, a host of relations are created as soon as a marriage takes place. For examples, after marriage a person becomes not only a husband but he also becomes brother-in-law and son-in-law. Here it may be noted that in English language a number of relations created by marriage are referred by the same term. Thus, the same term brother-in-law is used for bahnoi sala, jija and saddhu. On marriage a person also becomes foofa, nandoi and mausa. Likewise a girl on marriage becomes not only a wife but also becomes daughter-in-law, she also becomes chachi, bhabhi, devrani, jethani, mami etc. Thus marriage creates a host of relationships which are called affinal kin.

Consanguineous Kinship:

The bond of blood is called consanguineous kinship. The consanguineous kin are related through blood whereas the affinal kin are related through marriage. The bond between parents and their children and that between parents and their children and that between parents and their children and that between siblings is consanguineous kinship. Siblings are the children of the same parents. Thus, son, brother, sister, uncle (chacha), elder uncle (tau) nephew and cousin are consanguineous kin, i.e. related through blood. In this connection it may be pointed out that blood relationship may be actual father of a child is unknown. An adopted child is treated as if it were one's own biologically produced child. Thus, blood relationship may be established not only on biological basis but also on the basis of social recognition.

Degree of kinship On the basis of nearness of distance relatives can be classified in several categories.

Primary Kins:

Some relatives are very close direct and near, for example, father, son, sister-brother, husband-wife. They are called primary kin. According to Dr. Dubey, there are eight

such primary kin. They are husband-wife, father-son, mother-daughter, father-daughter- mother-son, younger-elder brothers, younger-elder sister and sister-brother.

Secondary Kins:

There are secondary kins. They are primary kin of primary kin. In other words, they are related through primary kin. They are not our primary kin but are the primary kin of our primary kin, hence our secondary kin. For example, father's brother (chacha), sister, husband (bahnoi) are secondary kin. The father is my primary kin and his brother is the primary kin of father. Therefore, father's brother is my secondary kin, the primary kin of primary kin. Similarly, sister is my primary kin but her husband is my secondary kin.

Tertiary Kins:

There are tertiary kins. They are secondary kin of our primary kin and the primary kin of our secondary kin. Thus the wife of brother-in-law (sala) called sarhaj in Hindi, is tertiary kin because brother-in-law is my secondary kin and his wife is the primary kin of brother-in-law similarly, the brother-in-law of my brother is my tertiary kin because the brother is my primary kin and his the brother-in-law is the secondary kin of my brother.

According to Murdock, there are thirty-three secondary and 151 tertiary kin of a person. Kinship terms are those terms which are used in designating kin of various types. Morgan made an important study of kinship terms. He classified these terms into (i) Classificatory system, and (ii) Descriptive system.

i) Classificatory System:

Under the classificatory system the various kins are included in one category and all referred to by the same term. Thus, the term 'uncle' is a classificatory term. It is used for chacha, mama, mausa, foofa,tau, etc. Similarly the terms 'nephew' 'cousin' and 'in-law' are classificatory terms. The Sema Naga of Assam use aja for mother, father's brother's wife, and mother's sister. Among kuki clans, hepu, is used for father's father, mother's father; brother's son; wife's brother wife's brother's son. Thus, people of various age groups are designated by the same term. Among Angami Naga, the same terms are used for members of opposite sexes. The word she stands for elder brother, wife's elder sister; husband's elder brother, elder sister's husband, brother's wife; father's brother's wife. In Hindi the word 'Samadhin' is a classificatory term as it refers to father and mother of daughter-in-law and of son-in-law.

ii) Descriptive System:

Under descriptive system one term refers to only one relation. It describes the exact relation of a person towards another. For example, father is a descriptive term. Similarly, mother is a descriptive term. Similarly, mother is a descriptive term. In Hindi we have mostly, descriptive terms. Thus the terms chacha, mama, mausa, tau,

sala, bahnoi, nandoi, bhanja, bhatija, bhabhi, devar, etc. are descriptive terms and designate the speakers's exact relation.

It may be remarked that there is no place in the world where either the pure descriptive or the pure classificatory system is used. Both the systems are found prevalent. Kinship usages. The study of kinship system does not end with the description of various kins and the basis of their classification but it also includes the study of behaviour patterns of different kins. Every relationship involves a particular type of behaviour. The behaviour of a son towards his father is one of respect while the behaviour of husband towards wife is one of love. The behaviour of a brother towards his sister is one of affection. There are some usages which regulate the behaviour of different kin. These usages are called kinship usages. Some of these usages are the following:

Avoidance:

In all societies the usage of avoidance is observed in one form or another. It means that the two kin should remain away from each other. In other words, they should avoid each other. They should not only avoid sexual relationship but in some cases avoid seeing the face of each other. Thus, a father-in-law (sasur) should avoid daughter-in-law. The son-in-law should avoid in the mother-in-law. The purdah system the Hindu family illustrates the usage of avoidance. Different explanations have been given for the usage of avoidance. Two of them are functionalist explanations given by Fred Eggan and G.P. Murdock. According to them, avoidance serves to foster further and more serious trouble between relatives. The third is the Freudian explanation according to which avoidance represent a sort of institutionalized neurotic symptom.

Joking Relationship:

It is the reverse of avoidance relationship. Under it a relation is permitted to tease or make fun of the other. The relationship between devar-bhabhi, jija, sali, is joking relationship. The joking may amount to exchange of abuse and vulgar reference to sex.

Teknonymy:

The word 'teknonymy' has been taken from the Greek word and was used in anthropology for the first time by Tylor. According to this usage a kin is not referred to directly but he is referred to through another kin. A kin becomes the medium of reference between two kin. Thus in traditional Hindu family a wife does utter the name of her husband. She calls him through her son or daughter. He is referred to by her as the father of Guddu or Tannu.

Avunculate: This kinship usage is a peculiar feature of matriarchal system. It gives to the maternal uncle (mama) a prominent place in the life of his nephews and nieces. He has special obligations towards them which exceed those of father. He has a prior right over their loyalties. He comes first among all male relatives.

Amitate: When a special role is given to the father's sister, it is known as amitate. The father's sister gets more respect than the mother.

Couvade: This is a queer usage which is found among many primitive tribes like the Khasi and the Toda. Under this usage, the husband is made to lead the life of an invalid along with his wife whenever she gives birth to a child. He refrains from active work and takes sick diet. He observes the same taboos which are observed by his wife. This kinship usage thus involves both the husband and wife.

Kinship usages accomplish two major tasks. First, they create groups; special groups; special groupings of kin. This marriage assigns each mother a husband, and makes her children his children, thereby creating a special group of father, mother and children, which we call "family". The second major function of kinship usages is to govern the role relationships between kin; that is how one kinsman should behave in a particular kinsman's presence, or what one kinsman owes to another. Kinship assigns guidelines for interactions between persons. It defines proper, acceptable role relationship between father and daughter between brother and sister, between son-in-law and mother-in-law and between fellow lineage members and clansmen. Kinship thus acts as a regularizer of social life. It may, however, be noted that rules governing the relationship between a pair of kinsmen may be highly "patterned" in some societies to allow little leeway for spontaneity or individual differences, while in other societies, such rules may be less "patterned" so as to leave much room for individualized behaviour.

Functions of Kinship:

Kinship usages accomplish two major tasks. First, they create groups: special groupings of kin. Thus marriage assigns each mother a husband, and makes her children his children, thereby creating a special group of father, mother and children, which we call "family".

The second major function of kinship usage is to govern the role relationships between kin; that is how one kinsman should behave in a particular kinsman's presence, or what one kinsman owes to another. Kinship assigns guidelines for interactions between persons. It defines proper, acceptable role relationship between father and daughter, between brother and sister, between son-in-law and mother-in-law and between fellow lineage members and clansmen. Kinship thus acts as a regularizer of social life and maintains the solidarity of social system.

It may, however, be noted that rules governing the relationship between a pair of kinsmen are integrative in nature and are group-oriented.

Check your progress 1.2

Note:

- i. Write your answer in the space given below

ii. Compare your answer with the one given at the end of this Unit.

Q4. Mention any one function of kinship system?

Ans-

1.6 LET US SUM UP

- The anthropologist Lewis Henry Morgan was the founder of kinship studies. He watched the Iroquois, a Native American group in the North eastern United States.
- He was the first to state the different types of kinship systems that exist, in his book, called “*Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*”.
- English scholar Radcliff Brown brought the kinship studies in the new state by involving *comparative method*. Evans Pritchard, through his study of the Nuer revealed its importance in political organization.
- Fortes through his “Dynamics of Clanship” among Taiensi of Ghana discussed descent groups in details.
- G.P. Murdock’s “social structure” and Levi-Strauss’s “Elementary Structure of Kinship” are other classics in the kinship literature.
- Kinship is defined as the network in which people are related to one another through blood, marriage and other ties. Kinship is a kind of social relationship that ties people. Kinship is universally found in all societies.
- Rule of Descent ‘Descent’ refers to the social recognition of the biological relationship that exists between the individuals. There are three basic rules of descent: Partilineal descent, matrilineal descent and bilators descent.
- The bond of marriage is called ‘affinal’ kinship. When a person marries, he establishes relationship not only with the girl whom he marries but also with a number of other people in the girl’s family.
- The bond of blood is called consanguineous kinship. The consanguineous kin are related through blood whereas the affinal kin are related through marriage.
- Under descriptive system one term refers to only one relation. It describes the exact relation of a person towards another.
- In all societies the usage of avoidance is observed in one form or another. It means that the two kin should remain away from each other. In other words, they should avoid each other.

1.7 GLOSSARY

Kinship- Kinship is defined as the network in which people are related to one another through blood, marriage and other ties.

Patrilineal- Patrilineality, also known as the male line, the spear side or agnatic kinship, is a common kinship system in which an individual's family membership derives from and is recorded through their father's lineage.

Matrilineal- Matrilineality is the tracing of kinship through the female line. It may also correlate with a social system in which each person is identified with their matriline – their mother's lineage – and which can involve the inheritance of property and/or titles.

1.8 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q1- Consanguineal kinship system establish on the basis of blood relationship.

Ans to Q2- Affinal kinship system establish on the basis of marriage.

Ans to Q3- Match the Following;

Group A

Radcliff Brown
Evans Pritchard
GP Murduck

Group B

Comparative Method
Nuer
Social Structure

Ans to Q4- The major function of kinship usage is to govern the role relationships between kin; that is how one kinsman should behave in a particular kinsman's presence, or what one kinsman owes to another. Kinship assigns guidelines for interactions between persons. It defines proper, acceptable role relationship between father and daughter, between brother and sister, between son-in-law and mother-in-law and between fellow lineage members and clansmen.

1.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

- Define kinship system and discuss about the history of kinship study?
- What are the basic kinship formation criteria?
- Why kinship is important in society?
- Describe various types of kinship?
- Elucidates various kinds of kinship usages?
- What are the important terminologies in kinship organization?

Write short notes on;

- a) Joking Relationship
- b) Teknonymy
- c) Avunculate
- d) Amitate
- e) Couvade

1.10 REFERENCES

- Dube, Leela 1974. Sociology of Kinship.
- Karve, Irawati 1953. Kinship Organisation in India. Deccan College PostGraduate Research Institute: Poona
- Madan, T.N. 1965. Family and Kinship A Study of the Pandits of Rural Kashmir. Asia Publishing House: New Delhi
- Popular Prakashan: Bombay Jain Shobhita 1996a. Bharat mein Parivar, Vivah aur Natedari. Rawat Publishers: Jaipur
- Singh, Yogendra, 1973: Modernization of Indian Tradition (Delhi: Thomson Press).
- Uberoi, Patricia (ed.) 1994. Family, Kinship and Marriage in India. Oxford University Press: New Delhi.

UNIT-2 KINSHIP SYSTEM IN NORTH INDIA & SOUTH INDIA

Structure

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Learning Objective
- 2.3 Kinship bonds in north and south India
- 2.4 Kinship system in the context of north India
- 2.5 Kinship system in south India
- 2.6 Kinship functions in different parts of India
- 2.7 Clan & Lineage
- 2.8 Let Us Sum Up
- 2.9 Glossary
- 2.10 Check your Progress: Ans Key
- 2.11 Model questions
- 2.12 References

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Kinship system is essentially a ‘cultural system.’ There is no universal kinship pattern in the world. It varies according to varying cultural systems. By way of illustration, we may refer to differences in kinship patterns obtaining in European and Indian societies. In the former a very clear-cut distinction is drawn between consanguineous kin and affinal kin—the two are poles apart. Kinship terminologies used in these societies bring out the distinction very boldly.

2.2 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- To study the Kinship system in the context of north India
- To know about the Kinship system in south India
- Understand the Kinship functions in different parts of India
- Understand the concept of Clan & Lineage

2.3 KINSHIP BONDS IN NORTH INDIA & SOUTH INDIA

Irawati Karve identified the northern zone as the region that lies between the Himalayas to the north and the Vindhya ranges to the south. We can describe the basic structure and process of kinship system in this area in terms of four features that is kinship groups, kinship terminology, marriage rules, and ceremonial exchange of gifts among kin.

2.3.1 Kinship group

Sociological studies in various parts of North India show the predominance of social groups based on the principles of co-operation and kinship between men. Patrilineage: We can say that broadly speaking kinship organization in North India is based on unilineal descent groups based on male descent. Members of patrilineages form land holding cooperative groups that may also engage in conflict with similar but rival groups.

Clan and Lineage groups:

They are both based on the principle of descent from a common ancestor or ancestress, depending upon whether the group is patrilineal or matrilineal. When the ancestor can be actually traced, the group is a lineage but when it goes so far back as the ancestor becomes a mythical figure then it is known as a clan. In North India, there is both lineage and clan exogamy. In the jati based society, we also have gotra exogamy where a gotra refers to an ancient ancestor, a mythological sage.

Caste and Sub caste: A Caste usually refers to a jati or a local group but many units known as castes refer to a community that has a name and occupation but may be sub-divided into smaller units based on some criteria that separates them out for marriage. For example the name of the overall caste may be Aggarwal, but there may exist sub-castes within this community based on some character like relative purity of past marriage, a slightly different occupation or some other marker. For example one sub-caste may compose of dealers in grain while another to dealers in gold and silver.

Fictive Kin: We should also mention the recognition of fictive kinship in Indian society. Often, people, who are not related either by descent or marriage, form the bonds of fictive kinship with each other. For example a woman may tie a rakhi on a man and he becomes her fictive brother. Among Christians the practice of naming a person as Godfather or Godmother at the time of baptism of the child is an institutionalized form of fictive kinship.

2.3.2 Kinship Terminology

Descriptive Nature of North Indian Kinship Terms: The kinship terminology is the expression of kinship relations in linguistic terms. In the case of North India, we can call the system of terminology as bifurcate collateral where each kinship term is descriptive. A descriptive kin term is unique and used for only one relationship. Unlike the English terms, uncle, aunty, cousin, which do not reveal age, patrilineal/matrilateral ties, the North Indian kinship terms are very clear. For example, when we say chachera bhai, it can be easily translated as father's younger brother's (chacha's) son, who stands in the relationship of a brother (bhai) to the speaker. Similarly, mamera bhai means mother's brother's (mama's) son. We find a clear-cut distinction made between parallel and cross-cousins. The children of one's brother are bhatija (for male child) and bhatiji (for female child). The children of one's sister are bhanja (for male child) and bhanji (for female child).

Kinship Terms Signifying Social Behaviour: The concept of kinship behavior was given by A.R. Radcliffe-Brown. He identified three kinds of kinship rules that inform kinship behaviour. (1) Unity of the Sibling Group (2) Distance of adjacent generations (3) Merging of alternate generations 134 Institutions and Processes both kinship terms and behaviour reflect these principles. Two major forms of kinship behaviour are joking relationships and avoidance relationships. Both serve the same function, to reduce tension and act as a cathartic mechanism in case of relationships that are precarious.

These are relationships that have an ambiguous character and the norms tend to be liable to infraction. For example, Oscar Lewis (1958) in his study of a North Indian village has described the pattern and relationship between a person and his elder brother's wife. This is popularly known as Devar-Bhabhi relationship, which is characteristically a joking relationship. By the rules of Hindu marriage a man can possibly marry his elder brother's widow but not his younger brother's wife. The latter should be seen as a daughter-in-law. However in most cases there is no actual possibility of such a union occurring yet the potential sexuality of the relationship remains. Thus the tension is masked through joking. As a contrast to the joking relationship is the behaviour of avoidance between a woman and her husband's father. Similarly, she has to avoid her husband's elder brother.

The term for husband's father is shvasur and for husband's elder brother is bhasur. Bhasur is a combination of the Sanskrit word bhratr (brother) and shvasur (father-in-law), and is, therefore, like father-in-law. Activity 1 Name some popular movies where the joking relationship between Devarbhabhi is highlighted? How was the joking aspect of relationship depicted? Write your answer and discuss with your friends or learners at the study centre.

2.3.3 Kinship Groups in India:

Kinship groups play a very important role in the daily life, rituals and social ceremonies of the Hindus. In order to better understand the structure of the kinship system in India, it is necessary to divide the country into four zones to understand the complexity of the kinship system. Iravati Karve (1953) while discussing the kinship features of the Indian society divides the entire country in terms of language and topographical features-north, south, east and west. To put it in a slightly different way, we can also divide the entire nation under three broad kinship groups: Indo-Aryan (in the north, a subset of Indo-European), Dravidian (largely in the south) and Munda (central and eastern, affiliated with the larger Austro Asiatic family (Trautmann, 2000).

The Dravidian system holds a very important place as far as the study of the kinship system is concerned. Various studies bring out the fact that the Dravidian system in India goes back well over a thousand years in the written record. The Dravidian system of India is relatively resistant to changes beyond fairly simple transformations of the basic pattern. It is in fact quite conservative in its practices

and functioning so much so that people who no longer speak Dravidian languages may not understand the kinship pattern at all. In this zone, the kinship system is relatively a complicated structure whereby both patrilineal and patrilocal and matrilineal and matrilocal dominates the family, caste and community equally. The important features of the Dravidian kinship patterns are:

- In matrilineal camp all property belongs to the women- wife and the mother.
- Each clan possesses a name of some animal or plant or some other object.
- A person can only marry outside one's own clan.
- In marriages, the families exchange daughters.
- Marriage between children of two sisters not permissible.
- In a southern family, there is no clear cut distinction between family of birth and family of marriage.
- No special norms of behaviour are applicable to married girls in the south.
- Marriage does not symbolise women's separation from the father's house.

While discussing the Dravidian Kinship system, it becomes absolutely necessary to bring in the views of Dumont and Trautmann who are regarded as the most authoritative on the subject. Both of them characterize the system with reference to both the categorical and the jural levels.

Dumont (1953) defines the Dravidian Kinship system, "as combination of configuration of four principles of opposition: distinction of generation..., distinction of sex, distinction of kin identical with alliance relationship, and distinction of age. [Moreover,] the system embodies a sociological theory of marriage... and supposes—as well as favours—the rule of marrying a cross cousin."

Trautmann (1981), while defining Dravidian Kinship system, includes sex, generation, relative age and crossness as important parameters. For him, the kinship system is a social organisation bounded by rules – the rules of cross cousin marriage. Contrary to this view, Anthony Good (1996) argues that there is no such thing as the Dravidian Kinship System. This view of his is posited after deep engagement with the Dravidian Kinship system. Through his prolonged study of the community he concluded that *there is no such thing as the Dravidian Kinship System* because of the following reasons:

1. **Empirically**, the great majority of Dravidian speakers in South Asia do not have a Dravidian kinship system as conventionally defined. Neither the relationship terminology nor the preferential marriage rules are in fact as they have been conventionally represented.
2. **Taxonomically**, "the Dravidian kinship system" forms one element in an inadequately constructed typology of kinship systems.

3. *Theoretically*, the notion of a “kinship system” leads to an overly static analysis, and involves an unacceptable degree of reification.

Turning to the Indo-Aryan system of India, embracing the vast population of North India, unlike the Dravidian system, the Indo-Aryan system appears to be structured by the opposition of wife-givers and wife-takers, which differentiates the affine of one side from those of the other; and these are governed by a logic such that a giver of a giver is a giver, the taker of a taker is a taker, but the giver of a taker or a taker of a giver is a consanguine, i.e. a brother or sister (Trautmann, 2000). In the northern zone, the important features of kinship organization are as follows:

- Kins junior are addressed by their personal names and senior to ego by their kinship term.
- All children are equated with one’s own sibling group and all children of one’s sibling group are again equated with one’s own children.
- The principle of unity of generation is observed, that is, both great grandfather and grandfather are given the same respect as the father.
- Within the same generation older and the younger kin are kept distinct.
- Duties and behaviour patterns of members of three generations are strictly regulated.
- Marriage among close kin is not permitted.

The salient features of kinship organization of central India are not very different from northern India. The important features are:

- Consanguinity is the main consideration for marriage.
- Castes are divided into exogamous clans and arranged in hypergamous hierarchy.
- The relationship between kin are governed by custom of ‘*Neota*-gifts’, according to which cash gift given is equal to cash gift received.

In the central part of the country, cross cousin marriage is not allowed; all consanguine of ego's generation are called brothers and sisters. Marriage alliances are, nevertheless, repeated, but only with a one or three generation delay, that is, with more distant (second or fourth) cousins, who are not classed as brother and sister.

In eastern India kinship organization is different. The kinship organization here has no pattern. Mostly tribal in form, cross cousin marriages are rarely practiced, though bride price is common. After marriage a man lives in a separate household detached from parental dwellings.

2.4 KINSHIP SYSTEM IN THE CONTEXT OF NORTH INDIA

We find that people know whom not to marry. In sociological terms, the same thing can be expressed by saying that there are negative rules of marriage in North India.

We can also say that marriage is allowed only outside a defined limit. The rule of exogamy is in North India. Clan Exogamy: Belonging to one's natal descent line is best expressed in matters of marriage. No man is allowed to marry a daughter of his patriline. In North India lineage ties upto five or six generations are generally remembered and marriage alliances are not allowed within this range.

In such a situation the lineage turns into the clan and we speak of gotra (clan) and gotra bhai (clan mates). The Four Clan Rule: In Irawati Karve's (1953) words, according to this rule, a man must not marry a woman from his father's gotra, his mother's gotra, his father's mother's gotra, and his mother's mother's gotra. Another related kind of exogamy, which exists in North India, is village exogamy. A village usually has members of one or two lineages living in it. Members belonging to the same lineage are not permitted to intermarry. This principle extends even to the villages, which have more than two lineages. In other words, a boy and a girl in a village in North India are like a brother and sister and hence cannot intermarry.

Marriages within the Sub Caste: Associated with local terms is the idea of the status of various units within the sub-caste. Taking the example of 135 the Sarjupari Brahmin of Mirzapur district in Uttar Pradesh, studied by Louis Kinship Dumont (1966), we find that each of the three sub-castes of Sarjupari Brahmins of this area is divided into three houses (kin groups or lineages) which range hierarchically in status.

The marriages are always arranged from lower to higher house. This means that women are always given to the family, which is placed in the house above her own. In this context, we can also refer to the popular saying in North India that 'the creeper must not go back'. The same idea is reflected by another North Indian saying that 'pao pujke, ladki nahin le jainge' (i.e., once we have washed the feet of the bride groom during the wedding ceremony, we cannot accept a girl from his family, because this will mean that we allow that side to wash our feet or allow the reversal of relationships).

In North India, such a reversal is not allowed and thus, we find the rule of prohibition on marriage with patrilineal cross-cousins. Another principle should also be mentioned here. It is rule of no repetition. This means that if the father's sister has been married in a family (khandan), one's own sister cannot be given in marriage to that same family (Dumont, 1966). A prohibition on repetition shows that matrilineal cross-cousin marriage is barred in North India. Thus, we find that both patrilineal and matrilineal cross-cousin marriages are not allowed in North India.

Ceremonial Exchange of Gifts among Kin Ceremonial exchange of gifts on the occasions of life cycle rituals provides us with the understanding of a patterned behaviour among various categories of kin. Generally, the bride-givers, in correspondence with their inferior status vis-a-vis bride-takers, initiate the process of

gift-giving during marriage and continue to give greater amounts of gifts. In other words, you can say that gift-giving and receiving is a well-defined social activity.

A.C. Mayer (1960) has described in his study of kinship in a village in Malwa that all gifts given by one's mother's brother are called mamere. In contrast to the gifts given by the mother's brother, there are gifts known as ban, given by one's agnates. Ban is the term used also for the gift, which is given by other relatives such as the groom's sister's husband to the groom's wife's brother. This shows that the groom's sister's husband (or father's sister's husband in the context of the ascending generation) is viewed to be a part of agnatic kin vis-a-vis the groom's wife's brother (or mother's brother for the ascending generation).

2.5 KINSHIP SYSTEM IN SOUTH INDIA

Let us first define the area that we will include in our discussion of South Indian Kinship System. The states of Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Kerala are generally considered as South India. In the region occupied by these four states, we find a fairly common pattern of kinship organization. Like in the North, we find diversity in the kinship pattern in the South too. We must not forget that in this region, the state of Kerala is distinct because of its matrilineal system of descent and the practice of inter-caste hypergamy. Secondly despite common 136 Institutions and Processes elements, each of these four linguistic regions may have its distinct socio-cultural patterns of kinship. Having defined the area, let us now begin with a discussion of kinship groups.

Kinship Groups Kin relatives in South India are mainly categorized in two groups namely, the patrilineage and the affines. (i) **Patrilineage:** In South India, just as in North India, relating to various categories of kin beyond one's immediate family implies a close interaction with members of one's patrilineage. The patrilocal residence amongst the lineage members provides the chances for frequent interaction and cooperation.

Thus, the ties of descent and residence help in the formation of a kin group. Such a group is recognized in both South and North India. For example, K.Gough (1955) in her study of the Brahmins of Tanjore district describes patrilineal descent groups, which are distributed in small communities. Each caste within the village contains one to twelve exogamous patrilineal groups. (ii) **Affinal Relatives:** Opposed to the members of a patrilineage, we have the kin group of affinal relatives (those related through marriage). Beyond the patrilineage are the relatives who belong to the group in which one's mother was born, as well as one's wife. They are a person's uterine (from mother's side) and affinal (from wife's side) kin, commonly known as mamamachchivan. In this set of relatives are also included the groups in which a person's sister and father's sister are married. The nature of interaction between a patrilineage and its affines, as described by Dumont (1986) is always cordial and

friendly. From this discussion of kinship groups, we now move on to the description of kinship terminology

Kinship Terminology

The expression of kin relationships follows a clear-cut structure with a great deal of precision. Main features of this system, according to Louis Dumont (1986: 301), are that (i) it distinguishes between parallel and cross-cousins and (ii) it is classificatory. Let us discuss these two features. This is also referred to as bifurcate-merging.

- (i) **Parallel and Cross-cousins:** Parallel cousins are those who are the children of the siblings of same sex. This means that children of two brothers or, of two sisters are parallel cousins to each other. Cross-cousins are those, who are the children of the siblings of the opposite sex. This means that children of a brother and a sister are cross-cousins. The kin terminology in South India clearly separates the two categories of cousins. There are very good reasons for doing so because in South India, parallel cousins cannot marry each other while cross-cousins can. The parallel cousins are referred to as brothers/sisters. For example, in Tamil, all parallel cousins are addressed as *annan* (elder brother) or *tambi* (younger brother) and *akka* (elder sister) or *tangachi* (younger sister). Cross-cousins are never brothers/sisters. They are referred, for example in Tamil, as *mama magal/ magan* (mother's brother's daughter/son) or *attai magal/magan* (father's sister's daughter/son)
- (ii) **Classificatory Nature of Kinship Terminology:** The distinction between parallel and cross-cousins combined with the classificatory nature of terminology makes the Dravidian kinship terms a mirror image of the kinship system in South India. The terminology becomes classificatory in the following manner. The person's own generation is terminologically divided into two groups: a) One group (known as *Pangali* in Tamil) consists of all the brothers and sisters, including one's parallel cousins and the children of the father's parallel cousins. (b) The other group comprises cross-cousins and affinal relatives such as wife/husband of the category (a) relatives. In Tamil, this category is called by the term of *mama-machchinan*.

Marriage Rules Kinship system in South India is characterized by positive rules of marriage. This means that preference for a particular type of alliance in marriage is clearly stated and practised. (i) Three Types of Preferential Marriage Rules: The preferential marriage rules are of the following three types.

- (i) In several castes in South India, the first preference is given to the marriage between a man and his elder sister's daughter. Among the matrilineal societies like the Nayers, this is not allowed.

- (ii) Next category of preferred marriage is the marriage of a man with his father's sister's daughter. In other words, we can also say that a woman marries her mother's brother's son. In this kind of marriage, the principle of return is quite evident. The family, which gives a daughter, expects to receive a daughter in return in marriage.
- (iii) The third type of preferential marriage is between a man and his mother's brother's daughter.

In a way, this is the reverse of (ii) above. Some castes, such as the Kallar of Tamil Nadu, Havik Brahmin of Karnataka, some Reddy castes of Andhra Pradesh, allow only this type of cross-cousin 138 Institutions and Processes ii) Restrictions regarding Marital Alliances: In this context it is necessary to see what are the restrictions imposed with regard to marriage between certain relatives. For example, in certain castes a man can marry his elder sister's daughter but not younger sister's daughter. Also a widow cannot marry her deceased husband's elder or younger brother or even his classificatory brother. Here we find that for each individual, the prohibited persons for marriage differ. Then there is, of course, the rule that a person cannot marry in one's own immediate family and one's lineage. The lineage in the case of the Kallar sub-caste is known as Kuttam (Dumont 1986).

All individuals in the lineage are forbidden to marry persons of the lineage. Ceremonial Exchange of Gifts among Kin The process of gift-giving and taking reflects the principles governing the separation/ assimilation of various categories of kin relationships. This is the reason why we look at this aspect of kinship behaviour. Gifts and counter-gifts in South India from certain persons to other persons or from certain groups to other groups can be distinguished in two categories. (i) Gifts passing from the bride's family to the groom's family or the reverse can be seen as a series of exchanges between affines. This is one category of gift-exchange. (ii) The other category of gift-giving and taking occurs within each of the two groups. We can call it internal exchange of gifts.

It is sometimes possible for a person to make/receive gifts from both sides. Because of the positive rules of marriage between relatives, often certain individuals are placed in the positions of receivers and givers at the same time. In other words, there is a process of merging of relationships. Element of Reciprocity in Gift-giving: In conclusion, we may say that in the context of kinship behaviour at ceremonial exchanges of gifts in South India, the element of reciprocity is present, though the bride-givers have to pay more gifts than they receive. In comparative terms, we may say that in North India, the gifts travel from the bride-givers to bride-takers in a unidirectional manner. As a result, the bride-givers, in turn, receive the enhanced prestige and status in their own community. In South India, the positive rule of marriage means that gifts are exchanged among close relatives. There is always the difference in the amount of gifts both sides exchange but their flow has to remain both-sided. It cannot be as unidirectional as it is in North India.

2.6 KINSHIP FUNCTIONS IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF INDIA:

In the following section, we will discuss how kinship prevails and functions in different parts of the country as argued by eminent sociologists and anthropologists. Leela Dube (2000), in her paper on “Doing kinship and gender” brings out the complex interplay of gender and kinship, drawing from her own life experiences. She quite clearly discusses how the roles and function of each and every member of the family was fixed and also quite gendered in nature. Her mother, whom she believed to be a progressive women of her time, carried out all duties of a mother and a wife as prescribed but also showed the way to a new ways of living, not shunning the existing system. For example, while imparting adequate training in housework to girl children, to make the girls ready for marriage; she also asserted that she wouldn’t like to be too strict with her daughters about the training, as no one could confirm the fate of her daughters after their marriage.

In another instance, Dube discusses how she and her sisters were constantly reminded by their mothers not to fight over petty issues as a time may come when they might not even get a chance to see each other post their marriage. Yet in another instance, she discusses how her family didn’t resist her decision of marrying a man who didn’t belong to her community, Maharashtrian Brahmin, but was a Brahmin of a Hindi speaking community. All these instances bring out very clearly the rules of the kinship system, how one is bounded by the rules of kinship system and also the possibility of negotiation with the kinship system.

Madsen (1991) while discussing the Kinship structure in the Northern parts of the country, specifically amongst the Jats of Western Uttar Pradesh, discusses how the hypergamous stylisation of the wife-takers are considered superior and the wife-givers as inferiors in these parts of the country. Here, the notion of equality among kinship clan pervades the whole culture and a strong sense of brotherhood prevails. The kinship clan functions both on hierarchical and egalitarian values. Rules of marriage are quite strict here. Men and women of the same clan cannot marry each other as they are thought to be brothers and sisters. The Jats community observes certain marriage prohibitions to ensure that clans and khaps remain of equal rank despite the inequality generated by a marriage. Exchange of brides between two families in a reversible pattern is prohibited as it creates an alliance based on equality between two families. This could lead to the formation of closed groups exchanging brides among themselves weakening "loyalty" to the clan (Milner, 1988). To further ensure that marriages do not result in inequalities, the Jats adhere to the “four gotra rule.” This rule prohibits marriage between a boy and a girl who share any of the gotras of their father, mother, father's mother or mother's mother. The Jat kinship system has a certain internal consistency.

The marriage prohibitions are mechanisms to regulate marriages to ensure inter-alia clan equality by putting a brake on both exchange marriages which may lead to the

formation of closely related elite clans, and on repetitive unidirectional marriages which may create a hierarchical system of hypergamous clans.

While discussing the kinship ties amongst the Santal community in a village called Chuapara, in Dumka district, Jharkhand, India, Nitya Rao (2005), discusses the processes by which kinship relations, particularly patrilineages, are being strengthened amongst the Santal community in the village. Here the kinship relations are being reformulated in context of the struggle for a separate state of Jharkhand, emphasising on a tribal/adivasi identity. Kinship operates here in gendered ways in distributing resources and organizing work, time, and space (Dube 1997). Women here for the first time ever demanded for universal land rights which was bestowed on them in the year 1996 amidst a lot of chaos and conflict. Kinship in this community transmits both identity and resources. Kin groups have played an important role in legitimizing access to land and ensuring social agreement. Women have come in the forefront to protect their rights and are actively engaging with external state sources of legitimacy.

De Neve (2008), in the paper on Kinship and its morality in an urban industry in Tamil Nadu discusses the role of kinship and kin morality in contexts of work. The paper focuses on the ambivalent nature of kin morality when mobilised outside the household and the family. Ethnographic evidence shows how employers frequently invoke the morality of kinship and caste in an attempt to secure a reliable and compliant labour force and to avoid overt class confrontation.

However, employers' efforts to promote kinship-real or fictive-and its morality in the workplace appear inadequate in the face of high labour turnover and frequently collapsing employer-worker relationships in small-scale industries. While employers' repeated use of kin ideology succeeds in silencing the workers on the shop floor, it is much less effective in securing a stable labour force in the long run. The argument put forward in the paper points out the limitations of kin morality, and questions its effectiveness in informal contexts of labour employment. The discussion sheds new light on the role of caste and kinship in recruiting, retaining and disciplining labour in India's informal economy.

2.7 CLAN & LINEAGE

Clan is a unilineal kin group which is exogamous, claims descent from a common ancestor. It is often represented by totem. Clans are either or matrilineal or patrilineal descent. A clan is segmented into unequal which are branches of descent of common ancestor. A corporate descent groups whose members can trace their genealogical links to a known common ancestor. According to Hoebel, "A lineage is an extended unilateral kinship group descended from a known ancestor or founder, who ordinarily lived not more than 5 or 6 generations back. He, in the case of the patrilineage or she, in the case of the matrilineage, is a real person and not a mythological or legendary figure." A lineage is a unilineal descent group that can

demonstrate their common descent from a known apical ancestor. Unilineal lineages can be matrilineal or patrilineal, depending on whether they are traced through mothers or fathers, respectively. Whether matrilineal or patrilineal descent is considered most significant differs from culture to culture. A lineage is a group of kin whose members can trace their descent from a common ancestor. A clan is a group whose members believe they have a common ancestor but cannot trace the relationship genealogically. Both lineages and clans are important in regulating marriage. These are of two types

Matrilineal Lineage:

In maternal lineage, ego becomes a member of consanguineal kin group of his mother and has no such relations with fathers group. Individuals are relatives if they can trace descent through females to the same female ancestor. While both male & female children are members of their mother's matrilineal descent group, only daughters pass on family line to their offspring.

Patrilineal Lineage:

We can say that broadly speaking kinship organization in North India is based on unilineal descent groups. When the lineage membership group is traced on the basis of shared descent in one line, we call it a unilineal descent group. In North India, we have mostly patrilineal descent groups. This means that the descent is traced in the male line from father to son. Members of patrilineages cooperate as well as show antagonism in various situations.

According to Majumdar & Madan, "A Clan or Sib is often the combination of few lineage and descent may be ultimately traced to a mythical ancestor, who may be human, human like, animal, plant or even inanimate." "Clan is that collection of unilateral families, the members of which claim their descent from a common ancestor, real or mythical." "Clan is an exogamous division of a tribe, the members of which are held to be related to one another by some common ties; it may be belief in a descent from a common ancestor, possession of a common totem or habitation of a common territory."

Matrilineal Clan:

In this type of family descent is traced along the female line and inheritance of property also takes place along the female line of descent. The Veddas, the North American Indians, some people of Malabar and the Khasi tribe are matrilineal. Generally the matrilineal families are matriachal and matrilocal.

Patrilineal Clan:

According to this rule, descent is traced through the father's or men line. Here the descent criterion is restricted to males, and only descendants of a common ancestor the male line will be recognized as kin. These are known as agnatic or patrilineal kin.

The kinship groups family lineage (vansh), clan (Gotra) play significant role in regulating the life of their members in traditional societies and certain extent in modern societies as well.

Check your progress2.1

Note:

- i. Write your answer in the space given below
- ii. Compare your answer with the one given at the end of this Unit.

Q1. Mention the important features of the Dravidian kinship system?

Ans-

Q2. Who wrote the paper “Doing kinship and gender”(2000)?

Ans-

2.8 LET US SUM UP

- Irawati Karve identified the northern zone as the region that lies between the Himalayas to the north and the Vindhya ranges to the south.
- Sociological studies in various parts of North India show the predominance of social groups based on the principles of co-operation and kinship between men.
- The concept of kinship behavior was given by A.R. Radcliffe-Brown. He identified three kinds of kinship rules that inform kinship behaviour. (1) Unity of the Sibling Group (2) Distance of adjacent generations (3) Merging of alternate generations.
- Irawati Karve (1953) while discussing the kinship features of the Indian society divides the entire country in terms of language and topographical features-north, south, east and west.
- In North India, such a reversal is not allowed and thus, we find the rule of prohibition on marriage with patrilineal cross-cousins. Another principle should also be mentioned here. It is rule of no repetition.
- K.Gough (1955) in her study of the Brahmins of Tanjore district describes patrilineal descent groups, which are distributed in small communities. Each caste within the village contains one to twelve exogamous patrilineal groups.

- In South India, the positive rule of marriage means that gifts are exchanged among close relatives. There is always the difference in the amount of gifts both sides exchange but their flow has to remain both-sided.
- Leela Dube (2000), in her paper on “kinship and gender” brings out the complex interplay of gender and kinship, drawing from her own life experiences. She quite clearly discusses how the roles and function of each and every member of the family was fixed and also quite gendered in nature.
- A clan is segmented into unequal which are branches of descent of common ancestor. A corporate descent groups whose members can trace their genealogical links to a known common ancestor.
- According to Hoebel, "A lineage is an extended unilateral kinship group descended from a known ancestor or founder, who ordinarily lived not more than 5 or 6 generations back.

2.9 GLOSSARY

Exogamy- Exogamy is the social norm of marrying outside one's social group. The group defines the scope and extent of exogamy, and the rules and enforcement mechanisms that ensure its continuity.

Clan - Clans, in indigenous societies, tend to be exogamous, meaning that their members cannot marry one another.

Lineage- A lineage is a unilineal descent group that can demonstrate their common descent from a known apical ancestor.

2.10 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS: ANS KEY

Ans to Q1-The important features of the Dravidian kinship patterns are:

- In matrilineal camp all property belongs to the women- wife and the mother.
- Each clan possesses a name of some animal or plant or some other object.
- A person can only marry outside one’s own clan.
- In marriages, the families exchange daughters.
- Marriage between children of two sisters not permissible.
- In a southern family, there is no clear cut distinction between family of birth and family of marriage.
- No special norms of behaviour are applicable to married girls in the south.

Marriage does not symbolise women’s separation from the father’s house

Ans to Q2- Leela Dube (2000), wrote the paper “Doing kinship and gender”.

2.11 MODEL QUESTIONS

- Describe the Kinship system in the context of north India?
- Briefly explain the Kinship system in south India?
- Explain the Kinship functions in different parts of India

- Write short notes on;
 - a) Fictive Kin
 - b) Clan
 - c) Lineage

2.12 REFERENCES

- Bose, N.K. 1967, Culture and Society in India. Bombay : Asia Publishing House
- Das, S. (2012). *Sociology of Kinship*. Delhi: Laxmi Publication.
- Dube, L. 1974 *Sociology of Kinship: An Analytical Survey of Literature*
- Dube, L. 1969 (a) *Matriliny and Islam*. National Publishing House: Delhi
Dube, L. 1969 (b) *Inheritance of Property in a Matrilineal Muslim Society*. All India Sociological Conference: New Delhi
- Karve, Irawati 1953. *Kinship Organisation in India*. Deccan College PostGraduate Research Institute: Poona
- Karve, Irawati, 1961: *Hindu Society: An Interpretation* (Poona: Deccan-College):
Lannoy, Mandelbaum, D.G. 1970 : *Society in India* (Bombay: Popular Prakashan) .
- Madan, T.N. 1965. *Family and Kinship A Study of the Pandits of Rural Kashmir*. Asia Publishing House: New Delhi
- Shobhita 1996a. *Bharat mein Parivar, Vivah aur Natedari*. Rawat Publishers: Jaipur
- Singh, Yogendra, 1973: *Modernization of Indian Tradition* (Delhi: Thomson Press).
- Srinivas, M.N. 1963: *Social Change in Modern India* (California, Berkeley: University of California Press).
- Srinivas, M.N. 1980: *India: Social Structure* (New Delhi: Hindustan -Publishing Corporation)
- Uberoi, Patricia (ed.) 1994. *Family, Kinship and Marriage in India*. Oxford University Press: New Delhi.