members of such groups exchange visits occasionally such as during wedding and funeral ceremonies. Thus the broad range of descent relationships often become too formal and perfunctory.

DESCENT

Kinship descent traces the root of a man or woman identifying his or her link with the ancestors. Descent is the origin of a person based on his genealogical bond i.e. his link with his father or grand father or great grand father. It can happen to the other side also, that is link of a woman with his mother and grand mother from mother line, or origin can be identified on the basis of both the lines at the same time. Thus, descent can be of two kinds

(a) unilateral descent,

(b) bilateral descent subdivided into (i) patrilineal descent and (ii) matrilineal descent.

Anthropologists have defined descent from various viewpoints, we can discuss the meaning of descent from three angles— (a) Descent implies the direct relation between two generations or more depending on the social functions of the group. Meyer Fortes defines descent as *"A descent group is an arrangement of persons that serves the attainment of legitimate social and personal ends"*. He is not emphasising on the biological origin of the members of the descent group. So, from this viewpoint, descent group comprises of people from different generations tied by the thread of social customs, rules and regulations.

(b) Another group of scholars stress on the biological aspect to define 'descent' according to G.P. Murdock, *"Descent refers solely to a cultural principle whereby an individual is socially allocated to a specific group of consanguineal kinsmen"*. If we consider descent from this aspect, we are to emphasise on the point of blood relationship between two or more generations.

(c) Descent may be understood in reference to the residence of a particular person, i.e., whether persons of two generations are living in a place depending on their paternal relationship or maternal relationship that will decide their descent. Here also the importance of blood relationship is emphasised, at the same time, blood relations with father's group or mother's that is also considered.

> **Makhan Jha** further points out, "The rule of residence that determines the domestic group is primarily determined by the patterns of a people's technoeconomic adaptation. The residence rule has a tendency to be bilocal where the techno-environmental adaptation is unstable enough or where the technoeconomic positions of men and women are so nearly equivalent that a more flexible rule of residence is found to be most adaptative. Thus, this view provides that rules of descent can be well determined by rules of residence."

If we consider descent combining all the above views, we may say, descent implies the origin of man in terms of his birth, blood ties, residence and social identity. From this definition we may single out some characteristic features which are common among the members of descent group.

(1) Members of a descent group identify themselves from a common ancestor from whom they have been originated.

(2) The ancestors are not mythological or symbolic but they are real human beings.

(3) The members of a descent group are linked by blood ties, that is, they should have consanguineous kinship bonds.

(4) Marriage is not allowed among the members of the same descent group.

(5) Inheritance and succession rules are to be commonly enjoyed by the members of a descent group.

Descent groups can be of several types of which bilateral descent is most common among the modern people. In this case descent is traced to both father and mother. It may extend to more than four generations and even further. It is very difficult to maintain such a complicated type of kin relationship so, kinship in modern times is traced through both the parental lines but in most occasions people fail to identify ancestors more than three or four generations back.

In the primitive and preliterate societies unilateral descent was more common and any one line of parental connection with the ancestors is totally ignored. Unilateral descent can be of two kinds again—

(a) Patrilineal descent and

(b) Matrilineal descent.

If the descent is traced unilineally through the father, the individual is connected with a consanguineous kin group through the male lines. Here, one's kingroup includes his or her own siblings, father's siblings grand father's siblings etc. But in each generation the daughter of the family goes out of the group as her identity will be guided by her hunband's family ties. After her marriage her children will find their kingroup in their father's family ignoring the origin of their mother. In the system of patrilineal descent the common ancestor is a male who is called agnate. So, the kins are sometimes referred as agnatic kin.

If the descent is searched only through mother's line it is **matrilineal kinship.** This system of descent includes both female and male relatives of mother, mother's mother and always considering mother's line. In such cases the male members of each generation are to be identified in terms of his mother's family members and his children are to consider their common ancestors from mother's line ignoring their patrilineal identity. Descendants of a common female ancestress are called uterine kin and the female ancestress is known as cognate.

The kin who are related through father and mother are **filials**. Ego that is the individual is related to his brother's son as a filial. This relationship may include both the consanguineal kins and affinal kins. For instance, one's wife's brother's son is also a filial to him related through affinal bonds.

The relation between an individual and his father, grand father or great grand father is **lineal**. A parallel relationship can occur at the same time, like, the relation between an individual and the son's of his grand-father that is, the continuing generations of his father's brothers is known as **collateral** relationship. The collaterals reckon the same ancestors but not in a direct line.

The **corporate** kin consists of all the kin — patrilineal, matrilineal and collateral. This obviously takes a very large number of people into consideration.

Double descent is another type of descent though it is too complicated and so rarely followed. In a double descent group some kins are included following male lines and some following female lines simultaneously. As a result of this twofold

recognition, the individual belongs to two, rather than one, consanguineous kin groups, one patrilineal and the other matrilineal.

Crossing or alternating descent is a rare type of descent which represents a system in which men transmit to their daughters and women to their sons. Thus, the boys will take their mother's line to identify their kin relation and the girls will be identified by their father's lineage. As this gives birth to complexity it is an exceptional variety only.

KINSHIP USAGES

The members of kingroup identify themselves as closely related as they are originated biologically from a common ancestor. But, in a society only biological relationship can never be enough. While living close to one another they develop different behavioural practice and on the basis of those their kinship identification becomes meaningful and practicable. Amongst the members of a kingroup certain modes of interactions are allowed depending on the degree, descent and type of kinship relations they share, all of the members are not going to exchange same type of behaviours. For example, siblings share close and informal interactions but a distance is generally maintained between the brothers and sisters after they attain a specific age. More than one sisters may sleep together but a brother and a sister may not be allowed to do so. Again, when two boys of different age play together, one may fight with other if they are not sharing the same kin identity, but if the brothers are playing, the younger one should not fight with the elder brother and even when it happens he must touch the feet of the elder brother afterwards. Though some usages most common in a kingroup have become obsolete in many cases, some are practised even now. There are certain types of coactive behaviour patterns which exhibit a regularity, a more or less permanent and definite structure. Generally, a specific behaviour is expected only from kin and anthropologists have found out some of the standard kinship behaviours which are more or less common among most of the kingroups. Those are— Avoidance, Joking relationships, Technonymy, Avunculate, Amitate, Couvade.

AVOIDANCE

In most of the societies a distance is maintained through behaviour among affinal kins, perhaps this started due to the indirect and formal contact between such kins at least in the initial stages. Either the man or the woman generally interact with their in-laws in a formal manner. The relation between son-in-law and mother-in-law or father-in-law and daughter-in-law provides the most common example of avoidance as in such cases kinship relation is developed only when the concerned persons are grown up and not for the connection between their own selves directly. A bride groom relates himself with the bride's family only as the husband of the bride, so it is an indirect and formal relation. Older Navaho Women traditionally worc tiny bells known as 'mother -in-law bells' that were designed to warn son-in-laws of their approach so the men might absent themselves.

Tylor for the first time attempted to explain the reasons behind the practice of avoidance among primitive communities. According to him, in matriarchal families of earlier times son-in-law used to stay in his wife's family and as a stranger to that house he avoided his mother-in-law. Thus, he related son-in-law and mother-in-law avoidance causally to matrilocal residence.

Frazer opined that, among some primitive tribes brother-sister avoidance w common. He took the example of a ceylonese tribe and the Trobriand islander among those people no relation between brothers and sisters was allowed, probab due to the prevention of any sexual intimacy between two opposite sexes. But th question remains, why then avoidance relation is found even among the people o same sex.

Freud too had the same kind of feeling that sexual attraction between boys an girls is obvious, irrespective of their social relationship. Infantile sexual passion f the parent of the opposite sex is quite normal according to him. So, avoidance observed to prevent any problems that may occur in adult lives.

Lowie felt, generally avoidance rules are attached to the daughter-in-law wh comes from another background and has to adjust with new social, cultural an moral attitudes, consequently she remains alien to the new family for some time an to avoid any probable sexual harrassment from the male members of this ne family, such usage is most common.

Another scholar Turnery–High pointed out that, the newcomer in the famil enters the place through somebody, either the bride or the bride groom, so he or sh has to interact with the others in formal manner and only with their spouses in non formal manner. This lessens their strain to adjust with more people in a short period.

Radcliffe – Brown has provided the most contemporary explanation when h said, the people coming from another family may always face difficulty in coping wit the new family and the chances of conflict is high, so to avoid such possibility societ offers the rule of avoidance. If restrictions are there in the way of developin intimacy the chances of conflict may also be reduced.

But, all the above explanations are related to in-law relations, not the relatio between brothers and sisters. In most cases it is seen that avoidance is applied t create distance between female and male members of the kingroup. For instance the avoidance is applicable between father-in-law and daughter-in-law or son-in-law and mother-in-law or brothers and sisters or husband's elder brother and the brother's wife. Thus, it seems initially it was introduced so that sexual interrelations can be restricted formally. At the same time, the intention to prevent any possibility of hostile relationship between two kin group members has also been one of the reasons for the introduction of avoidance as kinship usage.

JOKING RELATIONSHIP

Societies approve close and non formal relationship in some cases also. Extreme degree of intimacy is allowed there, which include exchange of raw jokes, obscene and often abusive reference to sex, deep satire and so on. Most common instances of such relationship can be found between a man and his wife's sister or a woman and her husband's brother. They are potential mates so to overcome such a possibility society itself allows a kind of intimacy between them which can make them free and informal to that extent which may not lead to any unnatural and undesirable sex problems.

In many societies joking relations prevail between grand parents and grand children. Generally, the parents become strict to the children as it is their responsibility to rear them up in socially recognised way, but the children need some indulgence too for developing their personality which may not always bound to follow

the known path. Here comes the role of grand parents who in the form of jokes and light behaviour let the child grow up in their own way.

A joking relationship may not be essentially reciprocal, and so it can be used as a mechanism of social control. It may exercise correction through ridicule. Among oraon and Baiga of West Bengal, the joking relationship between grandparents and grand children is very popular. Instance of grand father marrying his grand daughter has been found among oraon. Even the instance of grandson marrying his grandmother has been found among Baiga. Thus, joking relationship can even take a serious turn like this. Though these are exceptions.

COUVADE

This usage is related to the pregnancy period of one's wife. When the lady suffers from labour pain, her husband is expected to feel that pain so intensely as if he himself is also suffering from the same pain. This is most common among the khasi and the Toda. The husbands are to lead an almost invalid life during that period, he goes on sick diet and observes certain taboos. In khasi tribe the husband does not wash his clothes or cross a river till the child is born. This usage is meant to justify and develop an intimate relationship between the husband and wife keeping the baby as the basic bond between the two. This implies, the need for strengthening social fabric it is essential to make the husband and wife thoroughly loyal to one another.

Different scholars hold different views regarding the origin and need of this particular kinship usage. Malinowski believes that couvade is a strong bond of married life and a social mechanism devised to secure paternal affection. Raglan pointed out that, before the institution of marriage has been introduced it was essential to identify the real father of a child and to make him responsible for the birth of the child as well as the development of the child. Probably for this reason such an usage was initiated which later smoothened the path for introducing marriage as a social institution which ultimately led to the development of social discipline.

Some of the scholars argued, this social usage originated from an environmental factor. When husband and wife are closely staying together waiting for the baby, the pain and physical discomfort of the wife may affect the husband too, not because any other reason but only because he is witnessing everything that happens to his wife and being touched intensely by it.

If the society is patrilocal, there is limited chance for the development of couvade as the father automatically becomes responsible for the rearing up of the child and it is socially accepted that the girl is to stay with her husband only in his house, so there is no question of taking extra measures to impose paternity on the man concerned. But in many cases the usage prevails even in patrilineal and patrilocal societies. The most rational explanation can be so, that, the relation between a man and woman should be very close and intimate while they are accepted as husband and wife because upon their relationship only the entire social fabric is dependent as parent children relationship is the basic bond of society and more than one families, clans, tribes are joined together only through the husband-wife relationship. This couvade is symbolic in this respect.

TECNONYMY

Technonymy refers to the usage, very common among rural people of India which implies calling a close relative taking that name of his / her children or spouses. It is also shared by the tribal people like khasis of Meghalaya and by other primitive societies of the world. In general the children are used as medium of technonymy. If one has to address his wife he would address her with the name of the son or daughter. Often the son-in-law of a particular family is addressed in the name of his wife i.e. the daughter of that family. In the opinion of Tylor, this type of usage developed as in earlier times women used to be regarded as the supreme authority of the society and so son-in-law was to be identified through the daughter of the house.

AVUNCULATE

There are some matrilineal societies where the maternal uncle of a child takes the most important authoritative place in his life, in most occasions he becomes the main guardian even out weighing his father. Such position of the maternal uncle is the covention which is known as 'avunculate'. In such case, the maternal uncle enjoys a pre-eminent place in the life of the child, he bears some special obligations towards his sister's children, he enjoys a prior right over their loyalties and he is even obliged to transmit his property to his nephew. This kind of authority enjoyed by the maternal uncle is designated as avuncupotestality. This kinship usage prevails basically in matrilineal societies, but may also be found among patrilineal socieities as a result of diffusion or as a continuation of a previous mode of matrilineal system. If maternal uncle takes the responsibility of rearing up the children of his sister keeping them in his residence, the condition is referred to as avunculocal residence. Even among the Hindus, the usage prevails in some forms, as the first rice taking of the child is to be ceremonially done by the maternal uncle of the child or the birth of the first child of a woman takes place under the supervision of her brother. There are the relics of avuncupotestality of earlier times.

AMITATE

A type of kinship usage relates father's sister too closely with the children, that is known as 'amitate'. Here father's sister becomes prominent in matters of rights and authorities. She acts almost as the head of the household and exercises her supreme authority over her brother's children. Radcliffe Brown and I. schapera considered this person as 'female-father'. Malinowski identified such usage among the matrilineal Trobriands. It has been found that, among Todas in India the father's sister officiates at the cremation ceremony which indicates her influence in her brother's family. This usage developed as in normal times these kin relatives are not interacted very frequently. As father's sister belongs to some other family after her marriage, so she may lose close contact with her brother's children. To avoid this possibility usage has been developed so that this kin relation remains close. Chappel and coon opined that, for the absence of descent contact such relationships as the relation with father's sister or mother's mother may fall low and so such usages originated to keep the rate of interaction balanced and proportional.

Kinship usages which were too obvious and compulsory in the earlier days, have undergone several changes in most cases. The tribal groups have acquired so many changes in their value systems, Life styles and patterns of behaviour. Though Tylor

and Frazer recorded the kinship usages as most common and popular ones among the tribal people, now many of such usages have become mere rituals in many cases and some have been abondoned altogether. However, many modern behavioural modes may be explained in terms of such usages even at the present moment.

KINSHIP TERMS : DESCRIPTIVE AND CLASSIFICATORY

Kinship implies the relationship of different kinds among the people related by birth place, by blood, by social bonds etc. However, there can be several options to the people of specific groups about how should they designate their kins. Various terms are used by different groups. such terms can be of two varieties — a) Classificatory terms and b) Descriptive terms.

(A) Classificatory terms : Primitive people used some terms to designate different people of the same generation. Several people, lineal as well as collateral, and often even affinal, are all referred to by the same term of designation. This implies several people are grouped into same class depending on the similarity of social relationship with a particular person. Such terms refer more to relationship rather than to kin. For example, among the Ho tribe mother's brother, father's sister's husband and the fathers of both husband and wife are termed as 'hoyar'. This occurs as among them the custom of cross-cousin marriage is prevalent and they may lead to the situation in which mother's brother and father's, sister's husband can become father-in-law at a moment. Generally, wife's sister was not being designated by any particular term as she was viewed as a potential mate.

Lewis Henry Morgan introduced the study of Kinship terms. Specifically those terms which classified a number of people together under a common term of address. He came to discover that one's own father, his brothers and cousins, and even some distant male relatives of the same generation are called by the same common term, which means 'father'. Morgan further found that social relations were more important than biological relations in respect of kinship terminology. While explaining classificatory system, Morgan gives the example that, one's father's brother's son is his brother and generally same term is used to designate that brother and one's own brother. Thus, the principle of classification is carried to every person in several collateral lines, near and remote, in such a manner as to include them all in the several great classes. This type of kinship system as presented by Morgan is also called the **Dakota type of nomenclature** after the name of the people (Dakota) among whom it was first discovered.

The scientific study of kinship began with the publication of **Morgan's Systems of consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family** published in 1870. He ultimately fitted the typological scheme to his evolutionary framework, where he said that, "Primitive systems were classificatory, whereas civilized systems were descriptive." Morgan pointed out that, in most kinship terminologies large number of genealogical relationships can be denoted with 12 to 50 terms that make up human kinship terminologies. What makes this possible is using a limited number of classificatory criteria to define terms, limiting the distance that counts as a denotable kinship relationship, and the fact that the use of these terms is relative to each individual in the society. Kinship terminologies are thus systematically limited by classificatory restrictions and relative application.

The major elements of classificatory system of kinship can be identified as :

(a) When same term is used to designate more than one persons, the common

point that is emphasised is the descent or origin of the kin relations. It is genetic i its connotation, such as, mother's brother and sister's son.

(b) Classificatory system is a method of dividing kin according to the socia relations and not always the blood relations. It gives importance to the socially established categories.

(c) Classificatory term depends on social organisation and power of the particular society. The terms are determined by such factors.

Now, we can consider some examples of classificatory kinship systems. The Sema Nagas of Assam use 'aja' to refer to (1) mother, (2) father's brother's wife and (3) mother's sister. They use the term 'angu' to mean (1) mother's brother, (2) mother's brother's child, (3) husband's father, (4) wife's father, (5) husband's brother and (6) wife's brother. Thus, they use the same term for as many as six relations and it is also used to include persons of two generations.

Among 'Kuki' clans 'Hepu' is used for (1) father's father; (2) mother's father; (3) mother's brother; (4) Wife's father; (5) mother's brother's son; (6) wife's brother; (7) wife's brother's son. Here, even people from two different generations are falling under same classificatory term. Among the tribal people same thing happens when the term 'Gain' is used to refer (1) mother's brother's son, (2) father's sister's child, (3) wife's brother's child, (4) wife's brother's daughter's child, (5) daughter's daughter. The Hos are fond of cross-cousin marriage. Even marriage with the mother's sister is common amongst them. Thus intergenerational distance is limited which results in the use of a common term even for the people from different generations.

Another example can be taken from Tamilian Society where (1) mother's brother, (2) father of sister's husband and father-in-law, all are addressed by the same kinship term 'Mama', as cross-cousin marriage is popular among them.

It has been seen that among the Buguns of NEFA, the kinship term 'Mukhan' is used for two sets of relationships, one from paternal and other from maternal side. 'Mukhan' refers to father's elder brother and mother's elder sister, hence the distinction of sex is also overruled. This further suggests in a way a bilateral system of reckoning descent.

Social functions often explain the use of terms but the use of terms can also determine social relations. Often the terms 'brother' and 'sister' are used to designate someone who does not have any affinal or consanguineous relationship. Such use restricts marriage between these two persons though it was not socially restricted.

It can be summed up as, the origin of a particular term of kinship may not be found in any logical source, but once it is introduced it fulfils certainly some important functions in the society— it identifies persons, recognizes kinship, explains social functions such as marriage, taboo etc.

Morgan specifically felt that classification system of kinship terms prevailed mostly among the tribal people of primitive variety. One reason may be, wants being limited, the needs of the language was also very limited. Lack of linguistic expressions might have developed the system of using same term to satisfy different needs during early days of civilization. Irawati Karve further opined, matriarchal society was having a close link with the cross-cousin marriage as an institution and in such societies mostly classificatory terms could be found, the reason behind which

was to ensure simplicity in social relations, Presently, Classificatory terms are giving way either to descriptive terms or to the usage of taking names only for any kin designations.

Types of Classificatory terms: Classificatory terms of kinship are different in different societies. On the basis of socio-cultural realities the terms may develop and the specific system of using terms can be identified as follows :

1. **Inuit or Eskimo systems :** The distinguishing features of the Inuit or Eskimo system are that all cousins are lumped together under the same term but are distinguished from brothers and sisters and all aunts and uncles are under the same terms but are distinguished from father and mother. In this system emphasis is on this idea, although relatives on both mothers and father's sides are equally important. The most important relatives are generally those closest to me. This is particularly true in our society, where nuclear family generally lives alone, separated from and not preferably involved with other relatives except on ceremonial occasions.

2. **Omaha system :** Here, father and father's brother are referred to by the same term. This way of classifying relatives differs to a large extent from the commonly practiced system in our society, in which no term that applies to a member of the nuclear family is applied to any other relative, these people live in patrilineal system. Though this system is named after Omaha Indian tribe of North America, this can be found in many other countries as well.

3. **The crow system :** This system is named after the North American tribe, crow Indian tribes follow matrilineal social structure. It can be considered as matrilineal equivalent to the patrilineal Omaha system. It specifies the relatives of mother's side instead of father's side. The crow Indians call father, father's brother, father's sister's son by one term. Similarly father's sister and father's sister's daughters are referred under a common term.

4. **The Hawaian system :** This system is followed in Hawai and some other Malyo-Polynesian speaking areas. It is the simplest system where least number of terms used. In a generation, all relatives of the same sex has been referred by one term, eg. mother means female relatives of both the sides in the category of mother.

   Similarly sister means all female cousins and ego from both sides. Sometimes the system is called, generational system.

5. **The Iroquois system :** This system is named after the Iroquois Indian tribe of North America. Father and father's brother are referred here by the same term. Same principle applied for ego's mother and mother's sisters. But mother's brothers and father's sisters are referred separately by different terms. In case of cross cousins, both the sets are reffered with the same term but differentiated by sex. This means mother's brother's son and father's sister's son belong under the same term. But parallel cousins are invariably referred with different terms and sometimes they are equated with ego's brother and sister under a single term.

6. **Sudanese system :** This system is rare. It is also called a descriptive system because here a large number of terms are used-One for each type of relative for both the father's and mother's side, each of the cousins is also distinguished.

1.26

G.P. Murdock had also trie... ...ded into two sect...

1. **By the mode of use :** The kinship ter... ...Some terms are for direct address... the basis of the mode of use. A term of address is used to call a r... others are for indirect reference. A term of reference is used to refer a rela... for talking, whereas speaking about him or her for a third person.

2. **By the linguistic structure :** Here the kinship terms are distinguis... elementary, derivative and descriptive. An elementary term deno... irreducible word like father, mother, nephew etc. as in English langu... derivative term is like grand father, brother-in-law, step daughter e... descriptive term is one, which combines two or more elementary term... denote a special relative. In Bengali language many such terms are foun... masi-ma, mami-ma etc.

3. **By the range of application :** Here the kinship terms are differentiated... two groups-denotative terms and classificatory terms. Denotative terms... applied to the relatives of a single kinship category, defined by... generation, sex, and genealogical connection. Sometimes such a t... denotes only one person like father, mother, husband, wife, father-in-law... but otherwise it applies to many persons of identical kinship connection... The English terms brother, sister, daughter, son-in-law etc. denote sev... persons with the same designation. In contrast a classificatory term is... term that applied to the persons of two or more kinship categories. Kroe... and Lowie advocated six criteria behind terminological discrimination. T... are sex, generation, affinity, collaterality, bifurcation and polarity. Biolog... differences between male and female is reflected in kinship terminology. T... facts of reproduction align people automatically in different generatio... Affinity arises due to the social phenomena of marriage and incest tab... Societies differ markedly with the process of distinguishing the relatives.

(B) DESCRIPTIVE TERMS

A descriptive term of designation describes one's distinct and direct relati... towards the kin who is referred by the term. Thus 'aunt' is a classificatory term b... 'mother' is a descriptive term. Morgan identified descriptive term as one whic... subsume relatively small numbers of types, preferably having unique referents.

Morgan pointed three characteristic features of descriptive kinship terms —

(a) These terms refer to blood relationships with the particular person.

(b) These keep the collateral lines clear and distinct from each other.

(c) Except for the nearer relatives, the terms are essentially descriptive. Morga... also suggested that the kinship terminology cannot be 'borrowed', and any similari... would adduce it to the migration of people from one place to another. In descriptiv... system each relationship falls in the recognised relationship. Then relations are n... classified but are addressed only as their description is given.

Examples can be provided from Bengali kinship terms which are explicitl... descriptive in the sense it pinpoints the exact relationship of a person and his/he... kins. Father's elder brother is termed as 'Jetha', younger brother is termed as 'kaka... one's own elder sister is named as 'Didi', younger one is to be designated as 'bon... and even depending on the place of succession, they are to be designated a...

'Bordada' or 'Bordidi' (elder brother and sister) after them 'Mejodada' or 'Mejodidi' (the second in order). So, the kinship terms here are distinct and elaborate. It is obvious that descriptive terminology restricts the relationship within few members because all the distant kin members can hardly be designated specifically with distinct terms. Generally descriptive kinship terms are referred to the single biological family comprising of man, wife and childern. The term of address for other social relation, not directly involved in this family which are usually vague and indistinct, are not included in the descriptive kinship system.

As in the modern civilized world people are more depending on nuclear family structure, the kin relations are being reduced which offers scope for descriptive kinship terminology.

CONCLUSION

The theory of kinship has been developed through the works of Morgan, Radcliffe- Brown, Malinowski, River, Levi-strauss and others. Contributions of Boas, Kroeber and Lowie are no less important. In India, Iravati karve for the first time took initiative in this direction. On Indian kinship the contributions of Louis Dumont, katleen Gough, A.C. Mayer and T.N. Madan can be noted.

Levi-strauss, on the basis of his structural theory identified two forms of kinship structures – elementary and complex. He said, throughout the world there are four fundamental kin relationships:

(1) Brother-sister,

(2) Husband-wife

(3) Father-son

(4) Mother's brother-sister's son.

He said, *"the development of alliances between groups through the exchange of women, is the fundamental fact of kinship".*

Thus, he was not emphasising on the point of descent while analysing kinship structures. Along with four fundamental kin relationships he could identify some more which fall in the category of complex structures which include the in-laws of the children of the house.

Rivers, Kroeber, Radcliff-Brown and Malinowski, all were having contributions to the idea of kinship terminology. Radcliff-Brown and Malinowski gave importance to social structure while Rivers and Kroeber debated on the issue of classification of social system by kinship. Rivers opined social system can be divided by kinship and social relations can be understood by kinship terms, Kroeber negated both the points. Efforts have been made to comprehend kinship from different perspectives — evolutionary, structural, functional and social organisation. A large number of field works have also been done in this direction.

In India, Dumont studied the structural similarity between interregional kinship systems. Kathleen Gough attempted to relate the linkages of family and kinship with the modes of production. T.N. Madan researched on family and kinship among the Kashmiri Brahmins and he observed, kin relationship is having two major dimensions—

(a) the closeness among primary kins guided by their direct blood relation

(b) collaterals believe in strong kin unity being influenced by their common descent.

LEWIS H. MORGAN ON CLAN

One of the most influential of all 19th-Century anthropologists and one wh[o] writings are widely read today is Lewis H. Morgan.. His **Systems of Consanguin[ity]** **and Affinity of the Human family** published in1871, established the studies [of] kinship and some would say, Social Anthropology itself. His **Ancient Society** la[ter] attracted the notice of his exact contemporary Karl Marx, whose interest in Mor[gan] was made known by Frederick Engels after Marx's death in **The origin of the Fam[ily,]** **private property, and the state.** Morgan thus became regarded as a founder [of] Marxist Anthropology.

Morgan and his followers tried to look into the details of the origin and earl[y] forms of social institutions. They believe social instituions evolve gradually and fol[low] several steps while analysing social institutions. Morgan found family is [a] comparatively recent innovation and the earliest form of kin group known to ma[n is] the clan or horde. He commented further, that, matrilineal clans were the earl[iest] form of social group, clans came into existence when lineages became large; t[hey] became too large to be effective or to be supported by too many number [of] members, through a combined effort. Fission resulted, in which the descent gr[oup] splitted into two or more new groups. When such groups continued to recognise t[heir] relationship to each other, a clan was formed.

Morgan believed, the clan or sib is a non-corporate descent group in wh[ich] members maintain their relationship with each other through a common ancestor [but] the relationship is not genealogically demonstrated, often the linking ancesto[r is] fictive.

According to Morgan clans are functional groups which operate on a large scale than corporate groups :

- They may be exogamous and thus regulate marriage.

- Their dispersed characteristic allows for individual access to other local groups outside of their own through clan affiliation and this access to other regional resources.

- Finally, clans are often very important ceremonial groups, which may share religious or sacred obligation between the members of the clan and between different clans.

Regarding the origin and development of clan, Morgan has his own view, that is, society was initially a promiscuous one. There was no system of marriage. Consequently, paternity was always difficult to determine. Descent was thus reckoned through the female line. Later, promisquity gave way to comparatively more regularised Sex-relations and property also was accumulated. At this stage, fathers felt that they were being deprived in a way as they did not have the right of fatherhood, neither they were allowed to transmit property to their own offspring. Finally, the patrilineal sib system was established as a result of the revolt probably which took place in the interest of the male counterparts of the society.

Morgan's account of the reasons behind the emergence of exogamous sibs and the sequence of matriliny and patriliny are more conjectural than historical. His contention is disproved by the distribution of sibs in contemporary primitive societies. It may be anticipated from Morgan's theory that, the distribution is not universal. Always matriliny has not been succeeded by patriliny and often matriliny persisted even at the modern stage.

TYLOR'S ANALOGY

Tylor's contribution to the controversy was to introduce the term, 'matriarchal' which he saw as the female parallel to Maine's usage of the term 'patriarchal'. For example

> **Tylor** says — "All, then that can be properly meant by saying that a patriarchal tribe follows male and a matriarchal female kinship is that, their social arrangements such as membership of the family and clan, succession, and inheritance are framed on the one line rather than the other."

Tylor further stated that, there are uniform and universal cultural status unaffected by variations of race, language and cultural specificities. Tylor believed if the cultural state is considered it would be an order in which the first step is maternal complex, second is intermediate maternal-paternal complex and the third one is paternal complex.

The maternal complex is defined to consist of (1) matrilineal descent, (2) inheritance of property and rank through the female line. (3) Succession to office along the same line etc. At the same time Tylor makes us aware of the fact that, matriarchy does not mean that "women govern the family", but that actual power is rather in the hands of their brothers and uncles on the mother's side. Such a society, wherein all the elements of a matriarchal structure are found in absolute form is quite rare. The Khasi comes only near it.

Tylor's theory thus lacks factual evidences and Lowie is critical about Tylor's argument while he says cultural stratification is hardly logical as a continuous process

of diffussion always exists. Lowie further points out that, there are two states of social organisation, that is, matriarchy and patriarchy are not chronological stages but two separate theories are to be identified. This is corroborated by the fact that many primitive tribes are patriarchal and have been so from the primitive days, while source of the most advanced tribes are matrilineal.

From Morgan and Tylor's assumptions we can conclude that—(1) 'sib' or 'clan' organisation can be found mostly in the interme-diary types of society not in either of the primitive or most advanced societies.

(2) The relation between matriliny and patriliny is neither causal nor fixed-sequential.

Finally, alongwith Lowie we may come to the conclusion that, clans originated at that point of historical development of civilization when the mode of residence and method of property inheritance required regularisation. Depending on the economic factors of a specific area and the nature of resources available sometimes social organisation was developed.

CLAN ORGANISATION IN INDIAN TRIBES

Clan organisation is found among almost all the Indian tribes, even among the backward tribes like Kamar, the Chenchu and the Birhor. Some exceptions are there, like tribes inhabiting in Andaman Islands and Kadar, who do not have clan organisations. Though clan organisation is very common and popular among Indian people, a general absence of definition of the terms and uniform terminology poses a serious problem to study Indian tribal clan organisations. We can take some examples of clan organisations from different parts of India, specially West Bengal.

The korwa, a tribe of Middle-India, mainly proto-Austroloid is divided into exogamous clans. The Oraon, Munda. Gurdon clans from the Khasi are exogamous, matrilineal, matrilocal. Inheritance of property takes place only through the female line. Hence, the Khasi clans furnish an example of clan based social organisation. **The Naga of Assam have got clans which is known as 'Khel'**, however, it is only territorial and not necessarily a kinship group. The Todas are divided into two endogamous moities called Tartharol and Teivaliol.

In West Bengal, almost all the tribes have clan organisations. The Lodhas of the forest region of Midnapur district are divided into clans. Each clan has a God of its own. The clans are — Bhaktaa, Mallik, Kotal, Nayek, Digar, Paramanik, Dandapat, Adi, Bhuiya.

Bhuiya tribe is found every where in West Bengal, excepting Darjeeling and Murshidabad. They are divided into many clans, they religiously follow the taboos defined by the clan. 'Birhors' of Purulia are divided into number of clans who are named after animals, plants, flowers, fruits etc. Marriages do not take place in the same clan. The clans are : Hembrom, Induar, Latha, Murum, Sauria, Manandi etc. The Mundas are scattered in almost all the districts in West Bengal. They are divided into different 'killis' or clans. Mr. Risley had collected the names of 340 Munda clans of which some important ones are — Bhengra, Jirhul, Amba, Mundari, Porti, Kerketta etc. Mahalis of Jalpaiguri and Midnapur are divided into 34 clans but now all of them can not be traced. The clans are further subdivided eg. Murmu clan of this tribe is subdivided into— (1) Sada Murmu, (2) Ghancher Murmu, (3) Bewara Murmu, (4) Datela Murmu, (5) Handi Murmu and (6) Sun Murmu.

Santhals inhabiting Midnapur mainly, are divided into 12 clans. They are— (1) Kisku, (2) Hansda, (3) Murmu, (4) Hembrom, (5) Mandi, (6) Soren, (7) Tudu, (8) Baske, (9) Besra, (10) Chore, (11) Panria and (12) Bedea. Presently Bedea clan has become extinct. It is known that, previously different clans were preoccupied with various family trades. eg. people of 'Soren' clan worked as soldiers, Murmu people were priests etc.

Kharia tribe lives in the forest region of M.P., Bihar, Orissa and West Bengal. They are divided into various clans. The kharias are organised into three groups which are further divided into clans. The groups are — (1) Hill Kharias (2) Doodh Kharias and (3) Dhelki Kharias. Hill Kharias are divided into Gulgu, Bhuiya, Jaru, Badya, Tessa, Hembrom clans. Doodh Kharias have several clans named as Dungdung, Kulu, Samad, Bilung, Sareng, Ba, Topo, Hiro etc. Dhelki Kharias are also divided into clans like Muru, Soren, Samad, Barliha Charha, Hansda, Topno, Mel. Each of the clan is having a totem which can be fish, Tortoise, Stone, Paddy, Nut, Cowdung etc.

Ho tribe was the dweller of Chhotonagpur, presently they are found in different areas. Ho tribe accepted maximum amalgamation of Aryan blood so, being one of the primitive Austric races they are fair complexioned and good looking. In Singbhum district of Bihar, specially near 'Chaibasa' a great number of Ho people reside and the region is named as 'Kolhan' region. These people are divided into different 'killi' or clans which are named after animals, plants, flowers and fruits and these are their 'Totems' or religious symbols. The clans to be found are mainly Purati, Baroli, Shoy, Hansda, Hembrom etc.

Savars of Purulia in West Bengal do not have any caste or clan division. Thus, there can be certain exceptions where tribes are not divided into clans.