KINSHIP IN BANGLADESH

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This book is dedicated to

PROFESSOR WILEY HENRY MOSLEY

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FOREWORD

Clarence Maloney

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This is the first substantial work on kinship in Bangladesh. I am highly
pleased to introduce it on behalf of K.M.A. Aziz, one of the very few pro-
fessional anthropologists in the country. The book is based on observations
made during over 10 years of field data collection for the Cholera Research
Laboratory (now the International Centre for Diarrhoeal Disease Research,
Bangladesh) and utilizes the vast data bank built up by that institution.
This work was originally a thesis, but it has been substantially revised and
improved over the past two years.

This book should be read along with the only other book on Bengal kinship,
by Inden and Nicholas, *Kinship in Bengali Culture,* a recent work analyzing
kinship as a cultural domain in West Bengal state of India and largely within
the context of what is now thought of as Bengali "Hindu culture." Their work
avoids the traditional conceptual categories used in kinship studies, and
they find, using indigenous categories for analysis, that 8 basic kinship
categories form the core of the system: father, mother, husband, wife, brother,
sister, son, daughter. Variants of these are expanded backwards and forwards
generationally, and outward to increasingly remote degrees of relationship,
cutting across all other systems, overlapping and intertwining, and having
multiple meanings inferring lineage, birth, sex, age, generation, sharing and
giving of food, of knowledge, of land, and of "bodily substance." The tendency
is to reach out to include all with whom one has personal connections.

Bengali kinship thus is a case of an extremely descriptive system, but at
the same time, because the terms have multiple meanings and are extended to
non-kin villagers and to casual acquaintances too, there is a continuous
tendency to classification of more distant relationships, to draw them termi-
nologically closer. Aziz provides a vast quantity of data to see how this
works. I have counted about 215 kin terms in his Appendix VI; these are
used by Hindus and/or Muslims, for reference and/or address. Aziz also has
gone to the trouble to provide us with cognates or parallel terms for all
these categories in 8 other Indo-Āryan languages: Bihārī Hindī, Assamī, Oriyā,
Sindhī, Panjābī, Hindī, and Ūrdū. And in his Appendix XI Aziz lists a further
544 terms, most of which can be used in 7 variations according to different
kinship links with ego; these terms are all compounds of the original 215.
Aziz shows in several chapters how these fall into a cultural pattern, and he
adds an interesting section on dyadic relationships, which makes the function-
ing of the kinship pattern come alive for us; he also provides a table

classifying the dyadic relationships (joking permitted, respectful, etc.). He
then goes on, in a highly significant section on fictive kinship, to describe
how people in the village, or work situation, or in a casual encounter, are
brought through use of kin terms into facilitating relationships.

Such a diffuse and amorphous system is difficult to handle. It is one
thing to work out a kinship system for a culture in which there are highly
restrictive marriage rules, as some Australian aborigines with their bands and
moieties, or Dravidian-speaking people with their preferential cross-cousin
marriage, or some North American Indian groups with their matrilineal clans.
It is another thing to work out a system which is as amorphous and diffuse as
the Japanese, the Eskimo, the modern American, or the Bengali. Fortunately,
Aziz does not force his data into any of the kinship types identified by
earlier anthropologists, but he lets the patterns appear as he perceived it
in years of field observation, and as he himself has experienced it as a
Bengali.

Bengali kinship evolved over many centuries in the context of classical
North Indian peasant-urban civilization, and Iravati Karve showed that across
the whole of northern South Asia the kinship patterns, like the Indo-Āryan
languages, are only variants of each other. One of the first questions the
reader will ask is to what extent this has been modified by Islamic conver-
sion. Inden and Nicholas in a brief appendix list some distinctive Muslim
Bengali kinship terms and conclude that the Hindu and Muslim sets are but
variants of a single system. Aziz provides more data to judge that opinion.
And it turns out that almost all his 82 named kin categories hold up in both
Hindu and Muslim society; only 7 or 8 basic terms are different for Muslims,
besides some honorific modifiers; these are retained as conscious symbols of
Arabic or Persian.

This book will enable us to conclude that the superimposition of Islam in
Bangladesh, while it introduced Shari'ā law and permitted marriage within
degrees of relationship considered incestuous by Hindus, nevertheless is
grafted on the earlier base with only marginal change in the system as a
whole. The Muslim kin terms Aziz gives do not imply new perceptual categories
of kin. This should not be surprising, seeing that Muslims in other parts of
Asia have adapted Shari'ā rules in novel ways; Muslims of Śrī Lankā prohibit
parallel cousin marriage; Māpiḷḷas, Muslims of Kērala State, are matrilineal,
as are the Lakshadvīp Islanders. Muslims of Indonesia have modified the
original Islamic bias of patriliny to one of bilaterial relationships such
as prevail there.

Islamic norms have become modified to accommodate the underlying cultural
patterns in several ways. The marriage ceremony is itself far more ritualis-
tic than in original Islam, and is a sacrament in all but name, symbolizing
the deeper significance of marriage. The position of widows is affected by
the underlying Hindu attitude toward them, for Aziz shows that Muslim widows
remarry much less often than widowers, and suffer "socio-economic deprivation."

The polygyny allowed in Islam is rare. The Islamic concept of *mahr*, or dower brought by a groom at marriage, is mostly violated, according to Aziz, and instead there is increasing tendency to give dowry (assets brought by the bride). The *kul* or *kula* (lineage segment having a commonly revered ancestor, and its in-marrying women) cannot theoretically be recognized in Islam because it does not tolerate *pūjā* or giving of food to ancestors, and because Islam does not recognize exogamy of a lineage segment. But Aziz points out that the *kul* is known to Muslims too, though with less consciousness than to Hindus, and while Muslims do not do *pūjā* to their ancestors, they can assist their dead ancestors by praying to Āllāh or feeding the poor on behalf of the dead persons.

The literature on marriage in traditional Indian culture is truly vast; in the great body of *Dharmaśāstra* texts (on behavioral norms and laws) marriage is the most frequently appearing subject. There are many traditional marriage rituals and institutions therein which find little or no mention in Aziz's book. This is because Aziz describes kinship features which are significant in the study area. He has nothing to say about *vaṁśa* (lineage) though it appears significant in some other parts of Bangladesh, nor about *Dāyabhāga* (Bengali Hindu inheritance code), nor *sapiṇḍa* (set of kin identified in the funeral ceremony). He has only slight reference to *śrāddha* (Hindu funeral ceremony) and *gotra* (mythical exogamous clan). These are of more fundamental importance in the kinship structure of high caste Hindus than among the fishers and other low castes of Aziz's study area.

The Bengali cultural system and the kinship domain within it certainly embody the various streams of culture that from prehistoric times merged together here. Aziz correctly traces most of the terms to Sanskrit, following Shahidullah. But not all those terms are of Indo-Āryan source; some are Dravidian terms picked up by Indo-Āryan in western India and brought down the Gaṅgā to Bengal (there is no Dravidian speech or kinship directly underlying Bengali). Examples are the terms *māmā* and *māmānī* (mother's brother has an important role in the Dravidian kinship system), *ammā* (which also happens to be Arabic), and *abbā*. Pre-Āryan polyandry as enshrined in the *Mahābhārata* and found today through the Himālayas, is doubtless reflected in the joking relationship Aziz describes between a married woman and her husband's younger brother, and which also runs throughout North India. On another level, I feel that the pre-peasant Muṇḍa-speaking inhabitants of the eastern Gaṅgā plains, whose ancestors came from Southeast Asia bringing the practice of cultivation, contributed some modifying elements: probably the tendency to an atomistic system with little lineage depth, the fading out of village exogamy, a tendency to bilateral relations more than the terminological system suggests, and the pre-Muslim predominance of the *gotra* system. And more recently the Ārabic system has been grafted on, but mostly in a symbolic sense as terminology, as this book shows.

In recent years much has been published in sociological jargon about family type—nuclear, joint, extended, and what not. Aziz adopts an existing tabulation form for family type, but it is clear from the results that these

"types" are not conceptual or contrastive categories within Bengali culture, and are not named. Inden and Nicholas also show that these are imposed categories not valid in Bengali society. The fundamental unit is the *bāri* (homestead) which has various kin from time to time according to circumstances, often in generational cycles. Aziz confirms this when he says that in the study area every married couple was at some time a member of a "joint family." He also shows that absence from the *bāri* for years does not negate one's membership in it. The concepts nuclear, joint, and extended family, do have some validity in an economic and hierarchical sense, as it is those households having property to preserve intact that tend to remain as larger units longer, but this is not an index of either modernization or urbanization, nor is it a factor in analysis of the kinship system.

A practical point to be understood more widely is that English kinship terms should be avoided when talking about kin relations in any cultural system where they do not fit; one should use only descriptive terms, as Aziz does throughout. In English the following terms refer to two different kinds of kin each: grandfather, grandmother, brother-in-law, sister-in-law, son-in-law, daughter-in-law, niece, nephew, uncle and aunt (which can be further extended); while cousin actually refers to 8 kinds of kin. But there is no ambiguity if we use descriptive terms such as "mother's brother's son." Also, the English terms "family" and "relative" are to be strictly avoided if one is talking about a definable unit. The two most important definable units in Bengali are household *(ghar)* and homestead *(bāri)*

This book is published with diacritical marks. Unfortunately these are not used much in Bangladesh publications, but the standard Indic diacritical marks enable one to accurately pronounce any word. Moreover, since Aziz compares kin terms in many cognate languages these marks are absolutely essential. His system has one major variant from the standard Indic system: he transcribes *r* as *ḍ*, so that *bari* and *larkī* come out *bāḍi* and *ladkī*. He makes a few concessions to journalistic transcription, so that *Id* comes out *Eid*. Otherwise his transliteration is generally accurate, and of real importance in getting the words right.

Understanding of kinship behavior should have certain practical uses, such as in assessing decision-making within the household. His illustrative case-by-case presentation of dyadic relationship could be highly useful, for instance, in promoting female education and family planning. He includes considerable peripheral information of practical value, as on rising age of marriage, visiting patterns of women, what people attend the sick at a hospital, and changes in household furnishings over three quarters of a century. The most important effect, however, is a better understanding of outward-rippling kinship network, and what this means in Bengali society, culture, and modern adaptation.

It is on this point that I wish to express some philosophical conclusions of my own. Both Aziz, and Inden and Nicholas, show the outward-extending degrees of kinship distance: *ghar, bāri, kul, vaṁśa, guṣṭhi, svajan, ātmiya,*

ātmiya-svajan, dur samparker lok, anek dur samparker lok, isti or *kutumba, jāt,* and on to "fictive kin" categories such as *pīr bābā, ukil bābā,* and *dharma bābā,* and one hears elsewhere in Bangladesh of *dharma ātmiya,* ritual kin relations which can be established between people of different religions or sexes; kin terms are used too in widening geographical zones, in the *pārā samāj, grām, des,* and beyond that get diluted so that almost any two strangers can use kin terms in transaction of daily affairs. Aziz shows the importance of fictive kinship in facilitating economic activities, as when a landlord refers to his laborers with kin terms, or a bus conductor calls a passenger *bhāi* to urge payment for ticket. And he shows how field workers in his own research found it not only useful, but necessary, to establish nominal kin relationships in the households of the informants they visited.

This is the way Bengali society operates. Foreigners often fail to comprehend why it is that Bengalis do not so readily join voluntary associations, or trust each other in cooperatives, or establish the extent of formal "friendship" links that characterize urban life in some places. Kinship is inherently a set of mutual expectations and obligations, and the Bengali pattern is that these extend outward from the immediate family with decreasing intensity to cover almost any type of interpersonal contact, and this over-rides all other types of social organization. This pattern evolved over a couple millennia of peasant life in Bengal. One of the notable feature of Bengali society is that full peasant life could function practically without urban centers—markets, wholesale trade, varied production of goods and varied services, the social and political hierarchy, and the religious hierarchy, all could function without cities. When the British left Bangladesh was barely 3% urban; by 1961 it was only 5.5%, and today is only 9%, one of the lowest in the world despite the population density. One cannot expect the set of social relations so highly adaptive to rural Bengal to give way in a generation to urban-like social forms; Inden and Nicholas state that Calcutta is not so different in this regard. It has been said that Bangladesh villages are elusive, and indeed they are, for the true unit of settlement is the atomistic *pārā,* hamlet or neighborhood; within it the *bāri* is atomistic, and within it the *ghar,* and within it the individual. Like the settlement pattern, the kinship pattern is atomistic and extremely descriptive, as we have said, with the terms cutting across all other systems, overlapping and intertwining, and having multiple meanings inferring almost everything about relationships and life. We may go further and say the personality pattern is similar. Each individual, like the *bāri* and *pārā,* looks out for himself with relatively little commitment to formal social organisations or ideological factions. But at the same time the myriad ways in which the individual is linked with wider society is characterized by a vast melange of short-term or longer-term mutual expectations and obligations. This book provides the raw material—the terms and dyadic relationships, to understand this. When we use English we lamely call this "kinship" and "fictive kinship," but it implies much more than what is evoked by the English word; it is the over-riding organizational principle of Bengali society.

Clarence Maloney
May 31, 1979

Kinship systems are universal. These are always important, though in differing degrees. In the structure of all human societies kinship systems are relatively easy to identify and lend themselves to fairly simple analysis. Kinship is only one aspect of social structure. Though this aspect of study has received the most attention from anthropologists the investigation on Bangladeshi kinship awaits detailed analysis. In this work there is an attempt to discover and identify the Muslim and Hindu kin terminologies of eastern Bangladesh. In this analysis efforts will be made to reveal the demographic, social, economic, and behavioural correlates of kinship categories among Muslims and Hindus. This study is presented to the public in the hope that it would stimulate further scholarly work in this little explored but important field of Bangladeshi culture.

There have been very little comparative studies available on Muslim and Hindu kin terms and behaviour of eastern Bangladesh. This study will throw a comparative light on the Muslim and Hindu kinship in the study area concerned. This analysis will affirm the practical value of a scientific grasp of the kinship structure of the land in understanding its social structure. As with many studies of kinship around the world I have discovered that biological relationships are not always the most fundamental to the kinship system of Bangladesh. Of course, in my examination of the subject of kinship I have made a special effort to investigate how the Bangladeshi culture perceives the nature of biological relationships.

I began the present study in 1964 by formulating a schedule of the data needed on the family. In 1968 a detailed listing of all possible descriptive kinship vocabulary was prepared by me. Detailed data on kinship structure was collected in 1974. This study brings together field data on kin terms and behaviour collected over a period of twelve years. For this entire period I lived in the study villages and had an opportunity to gain an intimate understanding about the underlying factors associated with the interaction of the kin members leading to decision makings in their everyday familial living.

It is hoped that the book will appeal to the general reader, to the student interested in family living, to leaders of discussion groups, and above all to teachers in the social sciences. It seeks to provide them with compact, clear, and authoritative findings about kinship categories and their importance in the social structure of rural Bangladesh.

To increase the usefulness of the book I have included kinship trees from the standpoints of Muslim male ego and married Muslim female ego of the study area. Further, I have added in the appendix the listing of kin terminologies as prevalent in nine Indo-Aryan language speaking areas and the exhaustive descriptive kinship vocabulary along with the Muslim terms of address for seven generations in the study area.

The book is longer than I should desire, but its length is not the end product of a wish to record all the details for posterity. Rather, I have tried at each stage to substantiate, to support empirically, my assertions and generalizations. This does not make for quick reading, but at least the reader is in a better position to judge the argument for himself.

This book evolved out of my thesis — Kin Terminologies and Family Structures of Muslims and Hindus in Matlab *Thānā* and Neighbourhood, Rural Bangladesh — approved for the degree of Master of Philosophy by the University of Rajshahi. But for the constant help, inspiration and guidance I received from my supervisors, Dr. S.A. Qadir and Dr. Joanna Kirkpatrick of the Institute of Bangladesh Studies this research work could not have been completed. Both of my supervisors have spent a good deal of their time in going through the chapters and in suggesting various improvements.

I owe more than I can repay to the people of Matlab *Thānā* and vicinity, whose conversation and humour was found to be a great source of learning for me. I would like to express deep feelings of gratitude to my teachers Dr. C.T. Maloney, Dr. Jean Ellickson, Dr. David Kopf, and Dr. S.A. Akanda. I am extremely grateful to Professor Peter J. Bertocci of the Oakland University, Michigan, U.S.A. and to Professor Wiley H. Mosley of the Johns Hopkins University, Maryland, U.S.A. for encouraging me to undertake the publication of this research. I owe a debt to Dr. A.K. Nazmul Karim and Dr. Ahmadullah Miah of the Dacca University, Dacca; Dr. Mustafa Nurul Islam and Professor Sunil Kumar Mukherjee of the Jahangirnagar University, Dacca; and Dr. Lincoln C. Chen of the Ford Foundation, Dacca for offering valuable suggestions. Among my esteemed colleagues at Cholera Research Laboratory (now International Centre for Diarrhoeal Disease Research, Bangladesh), Dacca, Dr. George Curlin, Dr. Willard F. Verwey, Mr. M. Shafiqul Islam, Mr. A.K.M.A. Chowdhury, Dr. M.U. Khan, Dr. R.J. Levine, Dr. D.H. Huber, Mr. Makhlisur Rahman, Ms. Sandra Huffman, Mr. M. Shahabuddin, Mr. M. Shamsul Islam Khan, Mr. Cyril Gomes, Mr. M. Nurul Huda, Mr. Asem Ansari, Ms. Afroza Anwary; Mr. M. Azizul Huq, Mr. M.Mukhlesur Rahman, Mr. S.M. Abdul Aziz, Mr. S.R. Patwary and other members of the staff, the Field Surveillance Activities at Matlab, Comilla, who freely gave me the benefit of their knowledge and experience have been extremely helpful in the preparation of this book. My wife Saiyada Fatima Zohra has been a source of constant encouragement and useful advice over the years spent on this study.

It is the all-out efforts of those mentioned which have made this book possible. Last, but not least, I would like to thank the Cholera Research Laboratory, Dacca for providing every possible assistance and help in presenting this book to the public.

K.M. Ashraful Aziz

ABSTRACT

Kin terminologies and family structures among Muslims and Hindus are described. The terminologies are described in a logical way through a semantic analysis. The members of significant kindred divisions are identified and their socioeconomic relationships are analysed.

The analysis is based on data obtained from personal observations, interviews and census information, covering a population of 263,000 in rural Bangladesh. Certain data are obtained from part or all of the study population. Analysis of the data shows that:

(1) Certain cultural features are shared between Muslims and Hindus while others are not.

(2) The basic social structure is centred around a system of kinship relations.

(3) Kinship is viewed as a set of role expectations, role behaviours, and role perceptions.

(4) Through the use of quasi kin terms, non-related people become closer which leads to cooperation in social and economic matters.

(5) The patrilineal and patrilocal elementary or joint family is the normal type of family unit.

(6) Scandal or grossly irregular behaviour is likely to damage the name of all the blood related families.

(7) Lineage titles possess hierarchical social value, although in the selection of a marital partner, economic considerations frequently get priority.

(8) Marriage is almost universal. It is viewed as the continuing of existing families rather than as the creating new families. Nearly all plural marriages are serial monogamy. Marriage rarely occurs before the female's puberty. The marriage generally is consummated without any specific waiting period.

(9) Age at marriage for females shows a continuous upward trend.

(10) Often marriage breakups occur significantly in the initial years of marriage.

(11) In decision making the husband dominates the
      wife.

(12) A comparison and analysis of the various kinship
      terms in different Indo-Aryan languages are useful
      in understanding the persistence of certain kin
      types and terminologies.

(13) The fictive kin relations outside the village relate
      to gains in social, political, matrimonial and economic
      matters including the buying and selling of goods and
      services.

A GENERAL GUIDE TO THE READER ON TRANSLITERATION OF THE BENGALI ALPHABETS

A uniform system of the diacritical marks in transliterating non-European alphabets the following table of signs, approved by the International Congress of Orientalists has been followed in this book.

অ	a	ক	k	ঠ	$ṭh$	ব	b
আ	$ā$	খ	kh	ড	$ḍ$	ভ	bh
ই	i	গ	g	ঢ	$ḍh$	ম	m
ঈ	$ī$	ঘ	gh	ণ	$ṇ$	য	y
উ	u	ঙ	$ṅ$	ত	t	র	r
ঊ	$ū$	চ	ch	থ	th	ল	l
ঋ	$ṛ$	ছ	chh	দ	d	ব	v
এ	e	জ	j	ধ	dh	শ	$ś$
ঐ	ai	ঝ	jh	ন	n	ষ	$ṣ$
ও	o	ঞ	$ñ$	প	p	স	s
ঔ	au	ট	$ṭ$	ফ	ph	হ	h
						ক্ষ	$kṣ$

া	$ā$	ে	e
ি	i	ঃ	$ḥ$
ী	$ī$	ং	$ṁ$
ু	u	ৈ	ai
ূ	$ū$	ো	o
ৃ	$ṛ$	ৌ	au

Little work has been done by anthropologists and sociologists on kin-
ship and family structures in the eastern part of Bangladesh. Bessaignet
(1968), Qadir (1960), Khan (1962), Shahidullah (1963), Ahmed (1968), Bertocci
(1970), Ellickson (1972), and Islam (1974) have dealt briefly with kinship
and family structures in Bangladeshi villages. There have been no compara-
tive studies available on Muslim and Hindu kin terminologies and family
structures of eastern Bangladesh.[1]

The purpose of this study is to describe the kin terminologies and
family structures of Muslims and Hindus in Matlab *thānā*[2] and its vicinity
in a rural area of Bangladesh. The study will also attempt to discover and
identify the demographic, social, economic, and behavioural correlates of
kinship categories.

Kinship relations are a set of interacting roles that are customarily
ascribed to various statuses of kinsmen. Members of every culture use a
set of words that symbolize each of its kinship statuses. The words used
by speakers born in a certain area to designate kinsmen are called kin
terms, and the whole is called the system of kin terminology. This study
will present to its readers the system of kin terminology as prevalent in
the rural area of Bangladesh, various anthropologists including Hammel
(1965), Burling (1965), Lounsbury (1965), Goodenough (1965), Tyler (1965),
Vatuk (1969), Inden and Nicholas (1977) have shown that kinship termino-
logies are neatly structured. The system of kin terminology can be described
with respect to certain elements and certain relationships among these same
elements, similar to descriptions of phonological and grammatical systems.

The kin terminologies are as old as the family. Kinship involves
three possible avenues of descent: it can be traced through males, through
females, or both. The recognition and solidarity of kinship are based upon
the affection originating in consanguinity (genetic relationships under
which one should be more helpful toward persons with whom the individual
shares genes than toward others) and affinity (relationships established
through marriage).

A kinship system includes in it, the presence of a family. There are
many types of family units varying in their kinship, their size and manner
of their common life. The rights, duties and behaviours of relatives in
relation to one another are a part of the kinship system. Behaviour toward
relatives is usually not the same as behaviour toward nonrelatives.

In most of the cases, the family groupings in the study area could be
interpreted in terms of various sets of social relationships based on
genealogical reckoning. Unrelated persons, however, may develop quasi-

Map 1: Bangladesh map showing the Matlab area of empirical data collection.
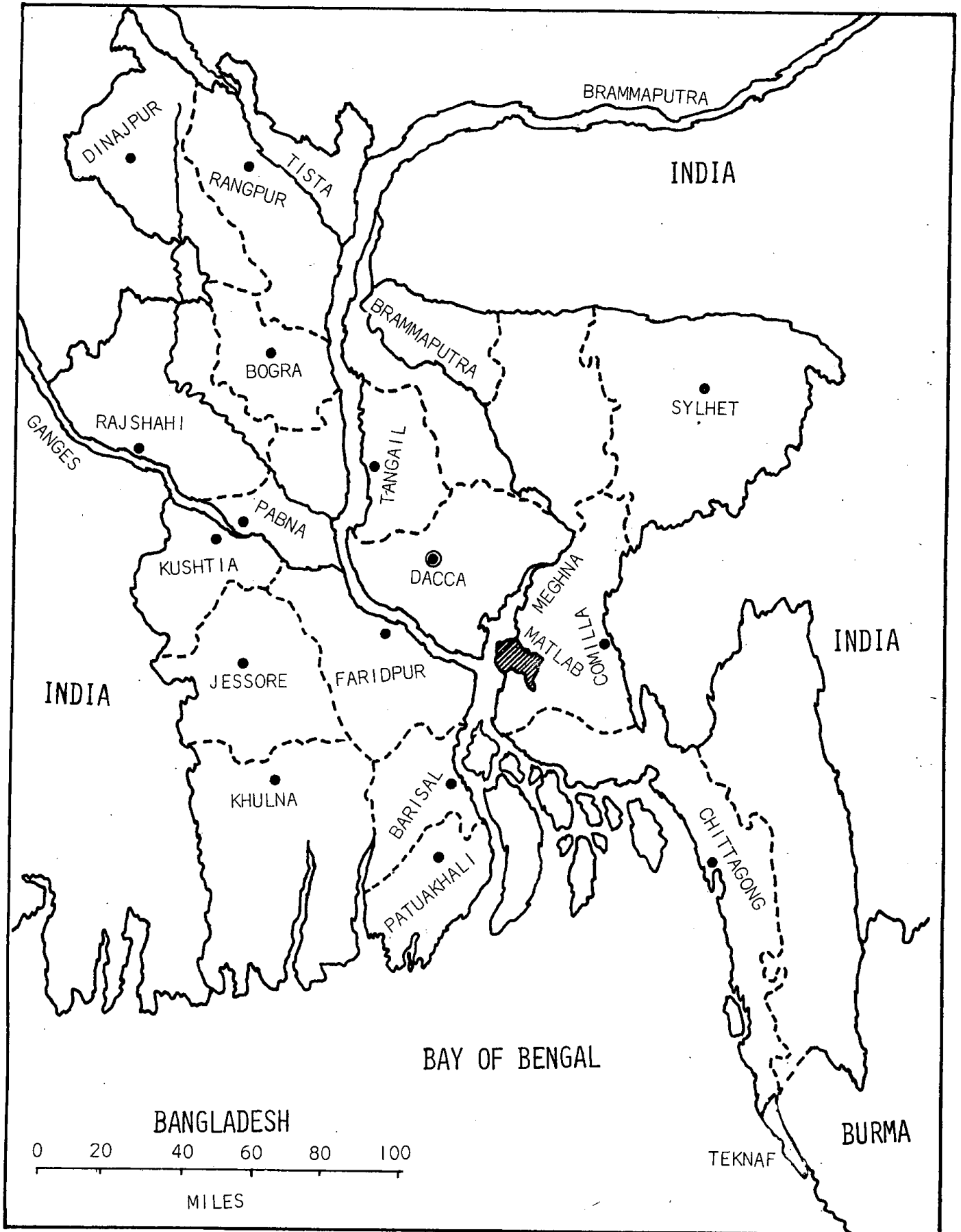
kinship bonds between them. Barkow (1978:13) noted that familiarity and habituation tend to be helpful toward those whom we are socialized with and those with whom we grow up or at least have become familiar.

In genealogy and kinship can be found the precise nature of the judicial rules of the society, and the roles of various family relationships. A study of these within a society would reveal the nature, the functions, the reasonings, and the social basis for various kin terms and family structures. The present research will demonstrate that the kinship terms and most of the family structures in the study area are genealogically specified and therefore premised on the familial relationships.

The semantic structure of each set of kinship terms reflect certain fundamental principles of family structure. For kinship identification in the rural societies under study, the following eight criteria have been used. It was determined that kin terms should specify:

(1) Difference in generation levels (father, son, grandparent, grandchild, etc.). Every kin term in the study area unambiguously specifies the generation of kinsmen to whom it refers.

(2) Difference in age levels within the same generation (elder and younger brother and sister, father's elder and younger brother, etc.).

(3) Difference between lineal and collateral relationships. The unilineal principle is one that is organized through identification with only one line of relatives. Under such a system if the identification is made only through males it is known as a patrilineal system. The children of both sexes belong to the group of their father, which is, in turn, the group of his father's father, his father's father's father, and so on. The children of the man's son and of the son's son and so on, belong to the same group or *vaṁśa*.[3] Collaterals are traced through a sibling tie. Bangladeshi kinship recognizes mainly the lineal tie through males.

(4) Difference in sex of relatives (brother, sister, nephew, niece, etc.).

(5) Difference in sex of ego, the point of reference for terms of address (males and females may have two separate systems of terms).

(6) Difference of sex of the persons through whom the relationship is established (father's brother, mother's brother,

father's sister, father's father's sister's daughter's daughter, etc.), known as a "cross sex" tie.

(7)   Difference between genetic relatives and those connected by marriage (sister or mother versus husband's mother, etc.), i.e. consanguineal versus affinal ties.

(8)   Identification of *dāk-balā samparka* (relationship through addressing) or fictive kin ties and its connectedness with consanguineal or affinal ties.

The present work is empirical as well as analytical based on study data. In addition to this analysis an effort was made to provide some relevant cross-cultural references.   In summary, it is a study on kin terminologies and some of their relationships with family structures, socio-demographic and socio-economic aspects as prevalent among Muslims and Hindus of Matlab and neighbourhood in rural Bangladesh.

BACKGROUND, SETTING AND METHOD

Background of Data

The Cholera Research Laboratory (CRL) was established in Dacca, Bangladesh, in 1960 to develop, improve and demonstrate measures for the prevention and eventual eradication of cholera. An essential component of this programme is the conduct of controlled field trials of cholera vaccines. Villages of Matlab *thānā* and its vicinity in the Comilla and Dacca districts[1] were selected for relevant studies. The field trials began in 1963 and initially covered 23 villages with a population of 28,000 individuals. In 1964 the trial area was expanded to include an additional 35 villages and cover a total population of over 60,000. The area was further expanded in 1966 to cover an additional 74 villages, giving a total population of 112,000. In 1968 another 101 villages were added, comprising a total population of 225,000 persons in 233 villages. In 1974 census of CRL the population in these villages was found to be 263,000 which constituted the study population of this research.

The Study Area

It is located in a deeply flooded area of Bangladesh which is inter-sected by networks of tidal rivers, streams and channels and branches of two of the world's mightiest rivers, the Padma and the Meghna. The climate is subtropical and the Tropic of Cancer passes through the area. There are traditionally six seasons in the Bengali year. These are summer (March-May), rainy season or monsoon (May-July), autumn (July-September), late autumn (September-November), winter (November-January) and spring (January-March). Summer and winter are the two popular seasons which bring the married daughters to their parental homes for enjoying mangoes and rice cakes, respectively.

None of the families in the study area claim foreign blood (that is, Arab or Persian origin). According to the CRL census of 1974 about 83 per cent of the people are Muslims. Almost all the remainder are Hindus.

The language of Comilla district is a dialect of Bengali in which many Perso-Arabic elements are found (Webster 1910:29). Bengali, like other modern languages of the sub-continent, has been a growing language. It has grown in respect to phonology, vocabulary, morphology and syntax, deriving benefit from those languages with which it came in contact in the course of its history of well over one thousand years (Hilali 1967: Editor's Preface). In the realm of their kinship vocabulary, the people of the study area have built up over their main dialect structure a fine

Map 2: Matlab area map showing the location of study villages

Matlab Surveillance Area, 1974

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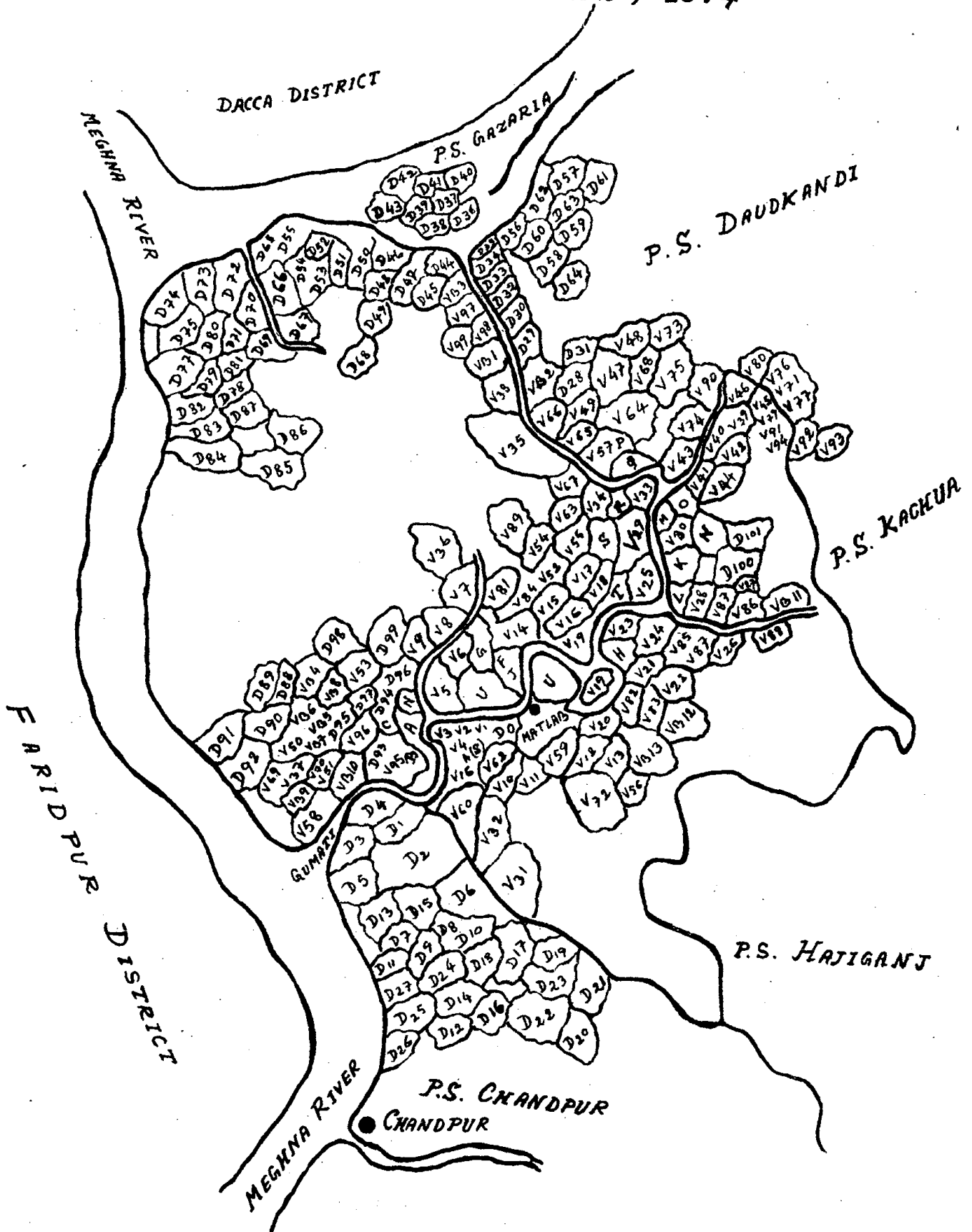
superstructure with word-elements borrowed from a number of languages including Sanskrit, Hindi, Urdu, and Arabic. From the dialect structure, kin terms from non-Aryan and local sources can easily be isolated. In Matlab such local words are categorized as *deś gērāmer buli* or 'village tongue.' Such 'village tongue' frequently include words having similarity with Prakrit and *Prāchīn Bāṃlā* or 'Old Bengali' terms.

During the British period the Hindus aspired to speak correct Bengali but the Muslim villager was content by using *Musalmānī Bāṃlā*[2] as it was called, introducing as many Persian and Urdu words as possible (Webster 1910:30).

In the study population 41.5% males and 18.5% females claimed to be literate in 1974. Through a practical test of capability of simple reading and writing (Appendix III) 38.3 per cent of the male and 17.2 per cent of the female in this population aged five years and over were found to be literate in the same year. The age specific literacy rate of the tested study population is shown in table 26.

The principal occupations in the Matlab area are agriculture and fishing. Fishing is traditionally and primarily here a Hindu occupation. Agriculture, fishing and other means of earning have not been technologically developed. The same methods have been used for centuries. The main field crops are rice, millet, jute, pulses, oil seeds, potato, sweet potato, wheat, onions, chillies, and turmeric and other spices. Most of the cultivable land is given to rice, the dietary staple. A small quantity of jute is grown as a cash crop. Land for house-building as well as for cultivation is in great shortage and is expensive. Extensive earth filling is frequently required for expansion of homestead areas. The land is flat and fertile. In the monsoon it is difficult to find a plot of ground raised sufficiertly for appropriate burial of the dead.

Villages have an average population of 1,100 persons, and the average population density exceeds 2,000 per square mile. This figure is based on the total amount of residential, arable, and waste land. If only residential land is considered, the density increases tenfold. During the monsoon, since most of the land is under water, the actual population density increases. The population density here is one of the highest in the world. According to unpublished CRL data, there has been rapid population growth in the study area; between 1966 and 1975 the gain was around 25 per cent (see Table 1). With such gain the population here is to be doubled within a period of 36 years. In Comilla district in the five years ending 1902, the average birth rate was just over 37 per thousand of the population and the reported death rate was 24 per thousand (1910:33). Typical dwellings have high-pitched rooves, made of corrugated iron or thatched with grass. The walls are made of interlaced bamboo or jute-stick matting, or more rarely of tin-sheets. Every house has a mud floor.

Above: Closely constructed dwellings in a densely populated fishing village.

Below: A motorized passenger launch providing transport between distant villages and to towns.

With **the** exception of a seven-mile motorable road connecting the
Matlab *thānā* headquarters with that of Chandpur its sub-division[3] head-
quarters, there are no other paved road in the entire study area. During
the monsoon season, when most footpaths are submerged by water, internal
communication and transportation is accomplished mainly by country-boat.
At other times of year, people move mainly on foot. A few motorized
passenger launches provide transport between distant villages and to Dacca
and other large towns.

Methods

During April-June 1974, a census of the entire study area was conducted
by the CRL. Prior to this census, a census was done in one half of the
study area in 1968 and in the other half in 1970. In 1974, sixty-seven
census workers including six supervisors participated directly in the
census work. The census workers were assisted by the locally employed
illiterate females of the study area. Some of these female workers were
traditional midwives locally known as *dāis*. Every such female worker
employed by CRL was designated as *dāi*. Every census enumerator had field
work experience of eight to twelve years. Their educational level ranged
from ten years of secondary schooling to completion of four years of
college education.

The work was managed from four census camps. Each camp was established
at a different location to minimize the distance from camp to place of work.
Each camp was provided with residential and food facilities for the census
workers. Supervisors in each camp were responsible for work assignments
and for seeing that the enumeration work ran smoothly and properly. Each
census team consisted of two trained field enumerators and a *dāi* of the
area under enumeration. Speedboats and jeeps were available for the trans-
portation of enumerators and supervisors in the field. The frequent move-
ment of supervisors was necessary to achieve quality in data collection as
well as to raise the morale of field workers.

A two-day training course was held for enumerators, including one in
the field. During this training, definitions and procedures were
established. For the purpose of census, the study population of each
village was listed according to family and *bāḍī*.[4] In the census form
(Appendix I), every village was identified by name and assigned a
separate number. Religious affiliation for each family was recorded.
Every family and every individual family member were assigned new indivi-
dual numbers. Every person's name, age, sex, marital status and exact
relationship to the head of the family was recorded. In the study 233
villages were included, with a total population of 263,000.

An intensive effort was made to include all persons who actually
lived with the family. No effort was made to follow the sequence of

numbering of family and individual members given in the previous censuses. Numbers were assigned according to the geographical order of various families.

In the previous census, efforts had been made to obtain reasonably accurate ages by beginning with the age of the youngest child in the family and then asking the ages of the older children, parents, and other members. While doing the census, an effort had been made to correct any obvious discrepancies in the ages reported by the informants. Age was recorded in the 1974 census by adding the appropriate number of years to the ages of those included in the previous census. Any earlier gross inaccuracies were corrected according to a revised estimate. Individuals with known dates of birth were listed both by previously calculated age and by actual dates of birth. Any name changes (common in children) since the earlier census were recorded. The old name was retained and the new one added in parenthesis. Information on present marital status and marital history was obtained from all females ten years of age or older and males fifteen years of age or older. Individuals were asked how often they had been divorced or widowed, and the answers recorded. All individuals were asked their exact relationship to the Head of the family.

Socioeconomic information was obtained during the 1974 census and recorded on a special form (Appendix II). For each household information was obtained on the type of material used for the dwelling roof. Information on the dimensions of each dwelling unit was obtained. Roof material was physically observed and dwelling dimensions measured by measuring rope. Inquiries were made on number of years of education, and primary and secondary occupations. For every family, information on "modernity" such as whether the family received a remittance or owned a radio, watch, hurricane[5], a quilt was obtained. Further, the number of cows, number and types of boats, size and type of construction material of dwellings were recorded as an estimate of capital wealth.

2,319 households chosen on the basis of a systematic sampling of 5% of the total number of households were visited a second time and asked about literacy and agrarian income. The respondents who claimed to be able to read and write during the census were given a simple test to prove their ability (Appendix III). During the follow-up visit information on land yield, rather than the ownership of land, was obtained and converted into taka at the current market prices.

Literacy test and land yield information were taken from every twentieth household. In selecting the twentieth household, the starting household number of every village was chosen on a random basis.

After the census was over, it was felt that every individual recorded during the census of 1974 must be given his previously assigned individual number along with the individual number of 1974. The original number of

every individual concerned was recorded against the current number during
regular visits by field workers assigned in each village. Through such a
process the census of 1974 was thoroughly checked and verified in the
field.

CRL census enumerators probably had special success in interviewing
the respondents since they approached the informants with an understanding
of the cultural factors including a strong feeling of belongingness to the
same people. Since 1966 one half of the population and since 1968 the
remaining population mentioned above have been kept under surveillance by
CRL field workers who, under the guidance and field supervision of the
author, record and report vital events including birth, death, migration,
marriage and divorce.

Family Structures:

Andrew Billingsley (Williams and Stockton 1973:41-47) has suggested a
typology of family structures and a large number of family functionings.
The present work based upon data collected from the sample households of
the study area uses Billingsley's typology (Appendix 4) to examine the
family types prevalent in the study area.

Billingsley has suggested three general categories of families: nuclear,
extended, and augmented. These are then subdivided into twelve types of
family structure. The types are based on whether a family has a married
couple or a single parent, whether it includes children, whether other re-
latives live with the family, and whether unrelated persons live with the
family and function as family members. Family functions have been classi-
fied by Billingsley as instrumental and expressive. Instrumental functions
are those which pertain to relations of the family to its external environ-
ment. Included among instrumental family functions are providing stable
employment, adequate shelter, formal education, and sufficient income.
Expressive functions are those related to the "internal" affairs of the
family. Functions of this type include maintaining a sense of belonging,
self worth, companionship, and good marital adjustment. Instrumental-
expressive family functions, according to Billingsley, are those which
involve an inextricable mixture of instrumental and expressive functions
related primarily to sex, reproduction, childbearing, and child rearing.
In the presentation here of data on family functionings, types of function-
ings indicated by Billingsley will become evident, although not always in
the terms referred to above. In addition to statistical data on family
functionings, information based on the personal observations of the author
during his field work is presented here.

The present study would be based partly on empirical data collected
by the CRL field workers under the overall design and field guidance of
the author. In the process of implementing the work the author worked

in the field alongside the field workers covering the entire data collection period. During the past 12 years the author has been intimately involved in the field work for maintaining high quality of the field data collected from the 233 CRL study villages. Frequent home visits by the author for over a decade helped to know the people and the study area well. During the course of field visits certain respondents inquired about the author's home village. When the village name was given immediately a remark came 'you are one of us.' Such remark came forth since the village was located very close to the study area. In addition to the empirical data referred to above, much of the information presented in this study was gained through personal observation by the author.

Cultural Background: Muslims and Hindus

The Muslim settlement in Bengal is generally dated with the conquest of this country by the great Turkish General Ikhtiyar Al-Din Muhammad bin Bakhtiar Khalji in 1201 A.D. (Rahim 1963:37). There was possibly some Arab settlement in the Chittagong coastal area prior to that. In the ninth or tenth century A.D. seafaring Arab traders were known to have been in that region. But after the Muslim conquest, Muslim teachers and preachers and *sūfī*[6] saints followed the soldiers into Bengal to begin their missionary work (1963:151-59).

In the first regular census of 1872 in British India it was observed that Muslims formed the majority population in Bengal. There was an increase of the Bengali Muslims during the period of the British rule in Comilla district. Writing in the District Gazetteer of Tippera (now Comilla) J.E. Webster noted, "The Muhammadans, allowing widows to remarry and on the whole more robust than their Hindu fellows, tend to multiply faster as will be apparent from an examination of the census figures. The Hindus, who in 1872 formed 35.2 per cent of the population, decreased to 31.2 per cent in 1891, and to 29 per cent ten years later. In 1901 the census showed 70.5 per cent of the population to be Muhammadans, all *Hanāfīs* of the *Sunnī* sect; 29 per cent were Hindus mostly *Vaisṇavs*[7] (Webster 1910:24-25). J.A. Vas, quoting the Census Report of 1910, said, "The Mohammedan population is growing at a relatively much greater rate than the Hindus. This is not due to conversions, of which very few are recorded. The greater fecundity of the Mohammedans is explained by the prevalence of polygamy and widow remarriage, the lesser inequality between the ages of husband and wife, the greater nutritiousness of dietary and their greater material prosperity" (Vas 1911:44).

Apparently, a high birth rate was the single most important factor for the rise of Muslim population of Bengal in the British period.

All available evidence indicates that Muslim birth rates are still higher than Hindu. This must result primarily from higher fertility among

Muslim women, not from polygyny. It is well known that population growth is determined by the number of children born to each woman. The child-bearing period of Muslim women is on the average longer than that of the Hindus. This can be easily explained by the fact that Muslim widows re-marry and continue to bear children, while widow remarriage among Hindus is still uncommon.

In the study area the Muslim lineages and homesteads commonly have titles or names. The origins of these are quite diverse. There are differences in the significance of one title or name as opposed to another. Lineage titles denoting high status often function as patronymics whereas other titles do not. In this sense they contradict the more usual situation, which corresponds to the *hādis* or sayings of Prophet Muhammad and often cited in support of Islamic egalitarianism. Frequently Saiyad, Sheikh, *Pāṭhān* and Mughal are referred to as four high status groups at the head of stratified Muslim communities.

With the exception of some 2,000 *Pāṭhāns* and as many Saiyads, nearly all the Muhammadans of Comilla district called themselves Sheikh (Webster 1910:24). The Saiyads claimed direct descent from the Prophet Muhammad. The Sheikhs derived their status from putative descent from Prophet Muhammad's tribe in Mecca. The *Pāṭhāns* and Mughals asserted their real or imaginary descent from groups of foreign origin.

Despite the reported historical presence of a variety of Muslim castes in the Matlab area, this author has not found the above mentioned caste groupings with the exception of a few Muslim quasi-caste groups. It must be mentioned here that in the entire study area the author came across a few Muslim lineages having *Sheikh* and *Pāṭhān* titles though none of these people claimed any trace of non-local blood.

The ethnic origin of the bulk of population in Bangladesh is still a matter of conjecture, although the people physically appear to be a mixture of different stocks. Most Bangladeshis are common, ordinary folk with a long tradition of beliefs and ideas. Such a stock can very well be termed as *folk* since the connotation does not mean otherwise.

The caste system recognizes a large number of groups of different ranks. It is a hierarchy of endogamous groups that individuals enter only by birth. For a Hindu the domestic ceremonies and customs, his home and temple worship, his circle of friends and relatives and occupation all depend mostly upon the level of the group into which he was born. The families of a caste often have a common name.

In the study area the Brahmans and Kayasthas are few. The great majority of the Hindus are Namasudras and Kaibarttas who are the followers of *Viṣṇu* or *Kṛṣṇa*. Though the Brahmans and *Kāyasthas* basically belong to the

Above: Hindu religious figures (From right to left): God *Jagannāth* (a
     different name of *Krsna*), His sister *Subhadrā* and brother *Balarām.*
     In front of *Subhadrā* is seen small metallic representations of
     Krsna and *Rādhā.*

Below: A female follower of the *Vaisnavic* customs.

sect of *Sāktas*[8], they occasionally follow the *Vaiṣṇavic* customs. The following statement indicates the predominance of *Vaiṣṇavic* people in Comilla district: "In 1901 the census showed that 29 per cent of the population of Comilla district were Hindus, mostly *Vaiṣṇavs*. The Namasudras and Kaibarttas were all followers of Visnu and only a few Saktas are to be found among the higher castes" (Webster 1910:27).

The forms of religion prevalent in Bangladesh during the pre-Muslim period were of two types, the primitive as practised by the tribal peoples, and the Hindu. Buddhism was to a great extent a continuation of Hinduism or Brahmanism with certain modification or improvement. Brahmanical doctrine was very much present in Hinduism. The tribal people, although converted to either Hinduism or Buddhism, did not practise rigid forms of their adopted religions. Hinduism in Bangladesh has incorporated many primitive elements such as nature worship and worship of the dead. Rivers and rivulets are generally considered sacred. In conducting a religious service many times the Hindus are required to go to the water points of rivers or canals. The *tulsī* plant, the *bel* and the *baṭ* trees are objects of worship.

Aspects of Culture Sharing

In general, the Muslims and Hindus in the Matlab area live side-by-side, although there are villages which are exclusively Hindu or Muslim. In traditional culture, there are many aspects common to both groups. "In the interior villages people of both communities live side-by-side, and so the relation between them is indeed an important factor in rural life" (Mukherjee 1971:13).

> During the Muslim rule the Hindus began to put on shoes, and *jamas* which is a type of shirt. The Hindus gradually learnt to adopt the Persian menu like *pilau*, *korma*, and *kofta*. Under the influence of Islam the rigours of untouchability were mitigated, and there also arose a religious reformer like Chaitanya.[9] The Hindus still bear as a mark of honour the surnames given to them by the Muslim rulers such as Sarkar, Mallik (Arabic Malik, master), Majumdar, Tarafdar, Shaha (Persian Shah, King) (Shahidullah 1963:5-6).

In addition to the common use of shoes, *jāmās* and sharing of the above mentioned eating habits the Hindus and Muslims under study commonly use the surnames introduced by the Muslim rulers.

The Muslims, particularly the cultivators and labouring class, put on *luṅgi* (a cloth like skirt) *nimā* or a small half shirt and a cap. The Muslim women wear saree. *Payjāmā* (loose cotton trouser), shirt — long or short, and *tupi* (cap) formed the dress of the well-to-do Muslim males and

the religious teachers, such as the *mullās*[10] and *maulvis*.[11] They dis-
favoured a Muslim who did not wear a cap.

The *dhuti*[12] was the common dress of the Hindu males. The women of
Hindu well-to-do families generally put on *Kāmchuli* (tight-breast) and
Odnā (scarf). They adorned themselves with various ornaments, such as
necklace, bracelet, bangles, ear-rings, nose-ring, etc. ·The use of
vermilion marks and conch-shell bangles was common in all classes of
women.

In Bengal until around 1940, the beginning of the Pakistan movement,
a good number of Muslims also used to wear *dhuti*. Village Muslims, parti-
cularly the *mādrāsā* (school which emphasises Islamic education) educated
Muslims used mostly *lungi* and *kurtā* (shirt). The common use of *dhuti* by
Hindu and Muslim indicated inferiority of the Muslim. The Muslims adopted
this Hindu cultural symbol particularly related to the middle class in an
effort to get accepted in the same social level.

After interviewing several educated people of the study area I learnt
that *dhuti* was commonly worn by Muslims and Hindus until 1925. In this
year C.R. Das the noted nationalist leader of Bengal died. Following the
death of C.R. Das there were communal riots and demands for a separate
homeland for Muslims, following which *dhuti* gradually became the exclusive
dress for Hindus, and *pāyjāmā* and *lungi* became the exclusive dress for
Muslims. Since the partition of Bengal in 1947 the Hindus of East Pakistan
started imitating Muslim dress. As a result the Hindus discontinued the
use of *dhuti* and started wearing *pāyjāmā* and *lungi*. After the independence
of 1971, some of the Bangladeshi Hindus are seen wearing *dhuti* again.

During the Moghal rule towards the end of the 17th century
through the influence of Urdu a number of Urdu-Hindi words were
adopted by the Muslims of Bengal, such as *chacha* (father's
younger brother, *chachi* (father's younger brother's wife),
phupi (father's sister), *phupa* (father's sister's husband),
nana (mother's father), *nani* (mother's mother), *bakri* (she-goat),
jhut (false), etc. This led to the development of a new style
of Bengali popularly called *do-bhasi* (bilingual) *Bangla*, in
which a vast literature of Bengali verse, called the *Punthi*[13]
literature, was composed by Muslims and a few Hindus (1963:6).

A Muslim will never use the Hindu terms *Iśvar* or *Bhagavān* in addressing
God, but he does not hesitate to use the Persian word *Khodā* as equivalent
to *Allāh*.[14] Similarly a Hindu never uses the Arabic word *Assālāmu-
ālāikum*[15] for greetings but he happily uses the Persian word *Ādab* for ·the
same purpose when he meets a Muslim. The Muslim also reciprocates in the
same way. The Hindus avoid the expression *Assālāmu-ālāikum* because it is
specifically used by Muslims and recommended by Islamic Teachers. *Ādab*

is a Persian word which means salutation. It is believed that this word did not come from any religious source and as a result it is acceptable to both Muslims and Hindus.

The Muslims in the Matlab area greatly depend upon the Hindu service castes. There are relatively few Muslim service people since the Hindu castes have long been in existence. There are almost no Muslim barbers, washermen, milkmen, goldsmiths or blacksmiths. There are, however, some Muslim fishermen in the area.

Observations from Matlab indicate a separation of Muslim gypsy and *bādyakar* (drum-beater) people respectively from the rest of the Muslim social system and cultural framework. These two groups of Muslims maintain a great deal of autonomy like the lower Hindu caste members.16 The boat-dwelling gypsy, and the *bādyakar* claim to have embraced Islam but they are casual in its observances. Like Hindu caste members the gypsies eat and intermarry only with other gypsies. *Bādyakars* marry within their own group but they try to have inter-dining relationship with other Muslims and have no reservation for allowing entery of other Muslim and Hindu members in their residential houses.

Cultural Differences

The *Azān* which is a public call for Muslim prayer five times a day, constantly reminded the Hindu members of the society about the existence of an alien faith. Mentioned below are some of the salient features of social customs indicating differences between Muslims and Hindus. Members of both the religious groups in the study area unanimously agreed with such differences. Under such cultural background Muslims and Hindus frequently felt it convenient to live in contiguous residential areas with their respective fellow coreligionists.

MUSLIM	HINDU
Eats beef.	Does not eat beef, since the cow is considered as a goddess.
Does not separate the head of a sacrificial animal from its body.	Separates the head of sacrificial animal from its body.
Does not eat pork or turtle meat.	Pork is eaten by certain castes. Turtle meat is eaten commonly.
May wash hand on the eating plate after finishing a meal.	Does not wash hands on the eating plate after finishing a meal.
May not defecate in an east-west (i.e. toward Mecca) sitting position.	May defecate in an east-west sitting position.
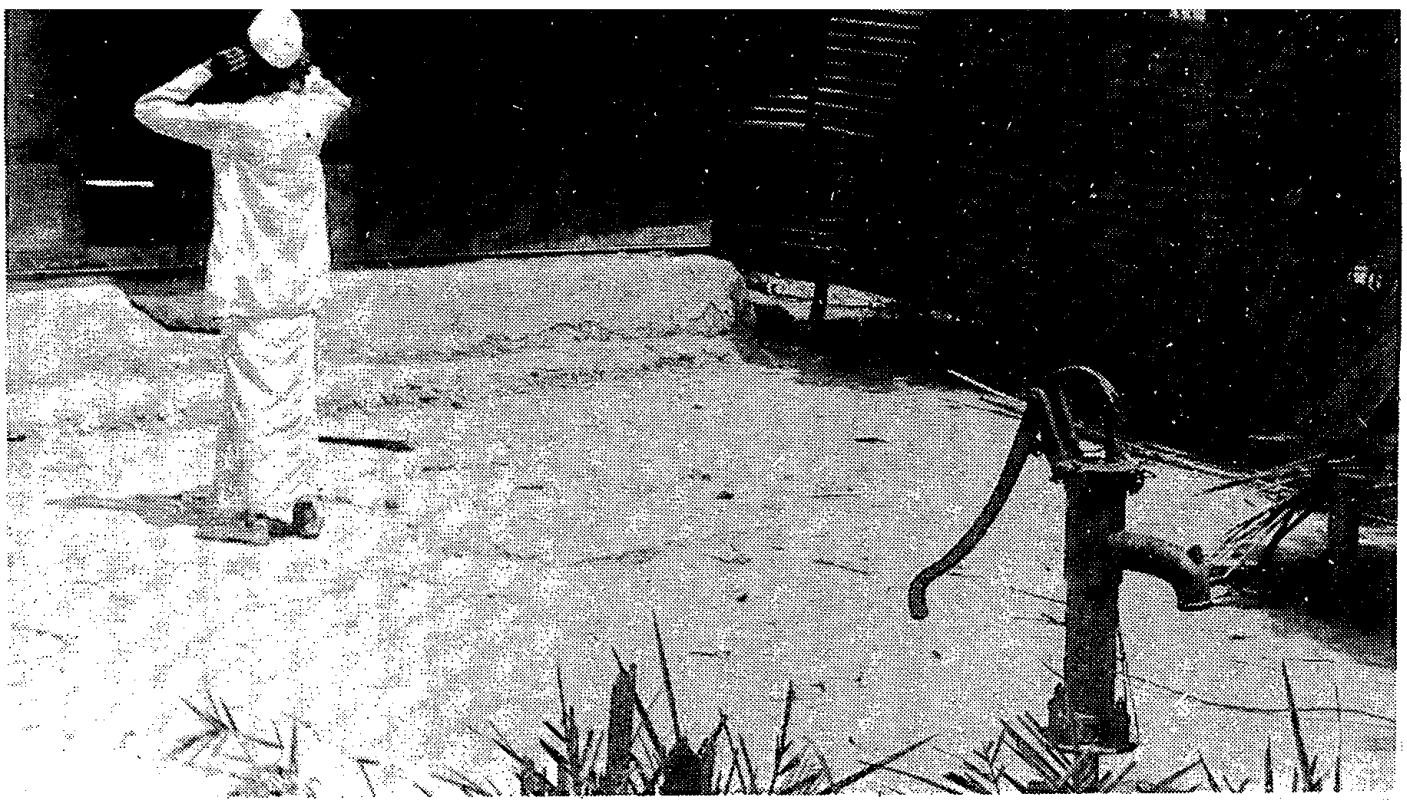
Above: The *Āzān* is a public call for Muslim prayer five times a day. The
curtain used by the neighbouring homestead as seen in the right side
indicate a rigorous segregation of the sexes.

Below: Hindu women boiling paddy outside the homestead courtyard. They are
not obliged to keep their activities restricted inside the homestead
compound.

MUSLIM	HINDU
Does not urinate in a westerly direction.	May urinate in a westerly direction.
Circumcises male children.	Does not circumcise male children.
Does not wear *dhuti* while praying.	Ideally wears *dhuti* at the time of worship.
Wears a *tupi* 'cap' at the time of prayer. (Most elderly males wear it as an ordinary part of dress.)	Does not ordinarily wear a cap at any age or any occasion.
Is encouraged to wear a beard.	Is not encouraged to wear a beard.
Does not sleep or lie in bed with his or her feet in a westerly direction.	Does not sleep or lie in bed with his or her feet in an easterly direction. (Gods and goddesses stay in the East.)
Need not change cloth used overnight by married men and women.	Must change cloth used overnight by married men and women.
Women do not use vermilion or conch-shell bangles.	Married women use vermilion and conch-shell bangles.
Widows may use luxurious clothing and ornaments.	Widows may not use luxurious clothing and ornaments.
Prohibits music and drum beating in the mosque compound.	Allows bell-ringing and conch-shell blowing as part of the religious ceremony inside the temple. (Music and drum beating are common in order to gain the blessings of gods and goddesses.)
Does not spread cow-dung mixed with water in a room or courtyard.	Each morning spreads cow-dung mixed with water over the floor of each room and the entire courtyard.
May do anything on his or her birth date day.	May not fix the date of his or her marriage or cut hair or nails on his or her birth date day.
Women are encouraged by religious leaders to observe seclusion from strangers.	Women are not obliged to observe seclusion from strangers.
Chooses most names from the Arabic and Persian languages.	Chooses most names from the Sanskrit and Bengali languages.
Greets by raising the right hand.	Greets with folded palms.

MUSLIM	HINDU
Prefers the use of Perso-Arabic words.	Prefers the use of Sanskritized Bengali words.
Does not prefer to breathe last outside the dwelling house.	Prefers to breathe last outside the dwelling house near a *tulsī* or basil plant (which is regarded as a sacrament of the presence of god *Viṣṇu*.)
Buries the dead.	Burns the dead, except children ten years of age or younger who are either buried or dropped in water.17
Believes that the house of God is in the West.	Believes that gods and goddesses live in the East.
Contracts marriages and formally divorces.	Enters into marriage as a sacrament and does not formally divorce.
May change a marriage date and time.	Does not change the time of a marriage once it is fixed and declared by a priest except under certain specific circumstances.
Never seeks financial assistance from a Hindu for a religious purpose.	May seek financial assistance from a Muslim for a religious purpose.

CHAPTER II

VILLAGE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Social Groupings Within Village

People in a typical village in the Matlab area are internally segmented into different groups such as the *ghar*, *bāḍī*, *gusthī* or *svajan*, *ātmīya* and *ātmīya-svajan*. Definition of these terms can help to provide an understanding of village social structure. The role of kinship in the maintenance of social structure is one primary concern of the present research.

The *ghar* or household literally means the housing unit which accommodates all members of a particular family or *parivār*[1] of any type. Members of one household may have one to four residential houses. Each household unit is called a *chulā* which means 'hearth group' or *khānā* which means 'eating unit.' The *ghar* membership is mainly based upon patri-virilocal residence. It is the primary unit of production and consumption. The *ghar* is an area of interpersonal relations. In his study on the Pandits of rural Kashmir T.N. Madan made the following observations:

> A villager's attachment to his house is great. He is born
> and brought up in it; and here he gets shelter, food and emotional
> security. It is again here that he receives and entertains his
> kith; performs various rituals and ceremonies; keeps his belong-
> ings; and when the end comes, it is here he wants to die. To an
> individual *ghar* is symbolic of the purpose of his existence and
> strivings. All the major events in his life and in the lives of
> his coresident relatives (births, marriages, partitions and deaths)
> take place in this home. He devotes his life to make a contri-
> bution, in one capacity or another, to the upkeep of the *ghar*
> (house and household) to which he belongs. The sentiments of love,
> sharing and solidarity that characterize interkin relations in a
> well-integrated household, are in the individual's estimation, the
> highest ideals of human conduct (Madan 1965:53-54).

The functional aspects of the *ghar* in the study area have great simi-
larities with that existing in the Pandit society of Kashmir. The *ghar*
rarely consists of more than 15 people. Familial in character, the *ghar*
normally includes consanguineal kin members and their married partners, and
has individuals of one to three generations. In addition to consanguineal
members it may include other kin or affines.

Bāḍī literally means "a homestead," but commonly refers to a group of
households who share the same courtyard. If the relationship of the heads
of households within a *bāḍī* is determined, then the relationship of the

21

KEY:
FRONT DOOR
BACK DOOR
DITCH WITH GHĀT
LATRINE WITH FENCING
LATRINE WITHOUT FENCING
PATHWAY
TUBEWELL
MOSQUE
CANAL WITH GHĀT

MAP 3. LOCATION OF DWELLINGS IN 1974 IN THE PART OF
A TYPICAL MUSLIM VILLAGE IN THE STUDY AREA

SCALE: ¼" = 30 STEPS

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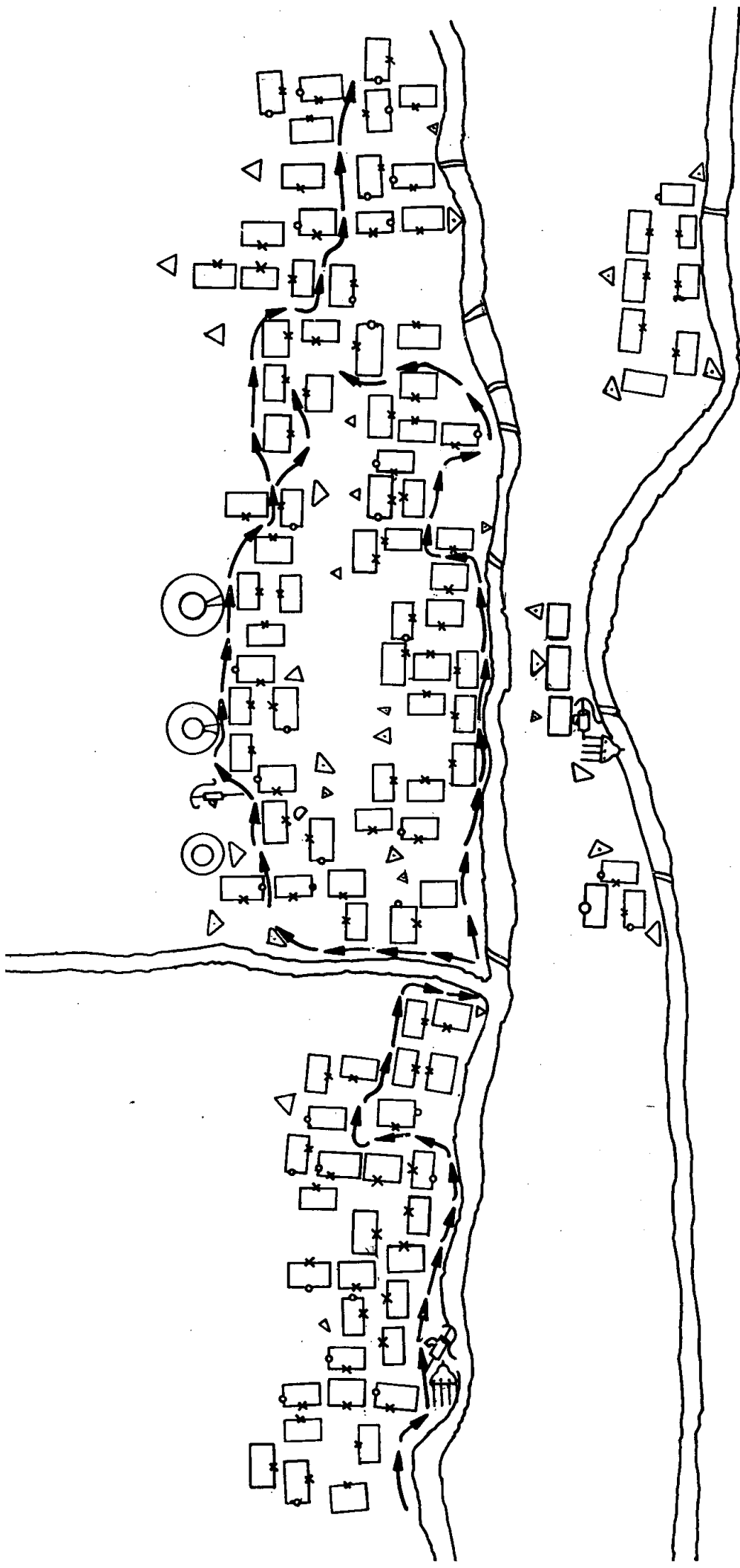
A Muslim homestead or *bādī* site.

households themselves can be understood from the point of view of kinship. In the present research this was done in one randomly selected village with a population of 2,264 having 426 households spread in 66 *bāḍīs*. Mean size of the *bāḍī* was 6.45 households. Out of a total of 66 *bāḍīs*, 7.57% had a single household. Among the remaining *bāḍīs*, it was found that in 75.40%, heads of households were patrilineally related; in 18.03%, at least one head of household was affinally related to the rest; and in 6.55%, at least one head of household was unrelated to the rest. The *bāḍīs* with at least one affinally related household had relationships of any given head to another like grand-daughter's husband, wife's sister's husband's son, sister's daughter's husband, sister's son, mother's sister, wife's sister's husband, wife's brother, and wife's elder brother's son. Thus within a *bāḍī* the heads of household may be related either by blood or affinal connection. Less frequently certain heads of household may have neither of such relationships. Each family has a functional head but normally the *bāḍī* has no recognized head. The *bāḍī* members cooperate with each other specifically in crisis situations. The eldest male and female members of the *bāḍī* are shown special respect and consulted in various social matters. Although each member household within the *bāḍī* has its own economic interests, the *bāḍī* usually is a cohesive social unit. Normally a *bāḍī* inherits the status of the most successful living or dead member of it. The member of a certain *bāḍī* may proudly declare that he is the grand-grandson of so and so *Pātoyārī*.[2] Thus a *bāḍī* may be known as the *Karim Pātoyārī Bāḍī* indicating that Karim is or had been its most successful or honourable member. Among the Muslims, a *Niṣṭā Padabī* 'inferior title' can gain in status and fame from higher achievement by one or more members of the *bāḍī*. A *bāḍī* member with the highest achievement is frequently referred to with pride by fellow members of the *bāḍī*. On the other hand if any member of a *bāḍī* is engaged in any highly disapproved of social activity, he or she is referred to as the *Gusthīr Kalanka* 'black spot' of the *guṣthī*. The expression *gusthīr nāk-kān kātā* 'act of cutting of the nose or ear of the *guṣthī* is also sometimes used in such a context.

The literal meaning of the term *guṣthī* is a group of households or families all of whom are agnatically related with the exception of in-marrying wives and out-marrying daughters. It consists of all the male patrilineal descendants of a great-grandfather. Common ancestry provides a sense of belonging that binds together the members of a *guṣthī*. Members can trace their common origin to a single deceased male ancestor. It is not unusual for a prosperous household of a *guṣthī* to build a house in a new residential plot within the same village or, rarely, in a neighbouring village. Such a new site is usually called by its occupants the *nūtan bāḍī* or 'new house' and the old site as the *purān bāḍī* or 'old house.' Thus, the members of the same *guṣthī* may or may not live in the same homestead. Members of the *guṣthī* who trace their ancestry from the single common male whether they live together or not, belong to the same *Kul*. However, in the Matlab study area among the Hindus the *Kul* consciousness was much greater compared with the Muslims. On the other hand, the *guṣthī*

consciousness was found to be stronger among the Muslims of Matlab, though both the terms of *Kul* and *gusthī* are synonymous. Muslims can assist their dead ancestors in gaining religious merit mainly by praying to *Allāh* and feeding the poor on behalf of the deceased persons. On the other hand, un-like the Muslims, the Hindus feed and worship their dead ancestors for providing personal comfort and satisfaction. For the Hindus the crows play an unnatural role. They are fed and propitiated during the rites related to the cremation of the dead, and oblations as the ancestral spirits are believed to take the form of crows to eat the food especially dedicated to them. This tradition of offering food to the crows might have resulted in the present boldness that is observed in crows around domestic dwellings. They are often observed to even steal food from the childrens' hands.

After marriage, a Muslim woman acquires the *gusthī* membership of her husband, although she retains membership in her father's *gusthī*. Ellickson has observed that a Muslim woman, upon marriage, acquires almost dual *gusthī* membership. Although she and her children receive gifts as members of an allied *gusthī* when they visit her parental home, she retains rights of inheritance and asylum within her natal *gusthī* (1972:26). Hindu women after the marriage no longer retains the *gusthī* membership of her father. After coming to her husband's house she becomes a member of her husband's *gusthī*.

In his rural study in the Dacca district, Islam found that some people who are only affinally related claim to belong to the same *gusthī*. While genealogical proximity serves to admit people of only casual acquaintance to one's *gusthī*, close residence or even proximate age and potential friend-ship can lead people to say they are of the same *gusthī* as others. In this wider sense it is a term that means that the relationship is somehow more intimate, more demanding of fellowship and special privilege than other relationships (1974:67). In this research, however, affinally related people with the exception of the wives of the patrilineally related men were not considered as the members of the same *gusthī*. In addition, for *gusthī* membership a common ancestor traceable by genealogical tree was considered necessary with the above exception.

Ātmīya-svajan refers to those people who are considered as "kinsmen." To define this compound term *ātmīya* and *svajan* will be considered separately as well as in a compound form. In a *gusthī* all members have a common ancestor, traceable by a genealogical tree. In an aggregate these people are called 'nijer' or own *(sva-)*, 'lok' or people *(-jan)* (Biswas 1961: 822, 292). To become a *ātmīya* a common ancestor is not necessary. The term *ātmīya* refers to the reflexive word *ātmā* which means one's 'soul' (Dev 1216:1958). Within the *ātmīya* membership there may be different *gusthīs*, and the membership extends through different villages. People who are affinally[3] related claim *ātmīya* membership. Consanguineally related people to the mother (e.g., mother's brother), outmarrying consanguineally related women of the *gusthī* of male ego (e.g., ego's married sister, etc.)

are referred to as *ātmīya-svajan*. The affinally related people are commonly referred to as *iṣṭi* by the Hindus and *khes* by the Muslims of the study area. However, in this research the affines would be referred to as *iṣṭi* only.

Next to *bāḍī* membership, *samāj* membership is most important. Every *samāj* has a territorial boundary. Whoever is a resident within that boundary automatically becomes member of that particular *samāj*. Unlike a Muslim *samāj*, a Hindu *samāj* or 'social group' is frequently formed on the basis of caste lines only. The *samāj* pattern is taken as the basic frame of reference for social activities. The *samāj* has the authority to award punishment if anyone deviates from the established social norms. Every individual is conscious about the controlling authority of *samāj*. Social control of individuals who are involved in activities against the social and religious tradition of the society is an important function of the *samāj*. From area to area the *samāj* pattern varies from highly cohesive to loosely informal. The *samāj* territory where rights and obligations tended to be clear cut, and social opinion effective the role of *samāj* becomes curtailed.

As the dominant aspect of social organization in the Hindu parts of the study villages, the caste system greatly affects the daily social and economic activities. According to traditional caste rules, one must marry and share homestead food with only fellow caste members. However, recently the Hindus have adopted food sharing roles which cross some caste lines. Social control is exerted by fellow *samāj* members who can threaten expulsion from the caste group for ignoring established rules. Caste members within the study area are related to each other, by blood or marriage ties, through endogamy. Thus unlike a broad Muslim class, the prevalent Hindu caste grouping in the study area may be viewed as an extended kin group.

The word for both caste and religion is *jāt*. The word *jāt* is widely known among the Hindus. An orthodox Hindu will not do anything which is likely to jeopardize an individual's *jāt* membership. Thus, a Hindu will not eat beef, will not allow any non-Hindu to enter their dining room and normally will not marry outside the caste group.

For a proper knowledge of the Muslim culture one must have intimate information on social class structure among Muslims. A Hindu caste differs from a Muslim class in its strict enforcement of permanent endogamy. The Hindu social life is primarily centered around the caste grouping to which the individual belongs. A Muslim is urged to make every effort to protect life, property and honour of every fellow Muslim. This indicates the spirit of fellow feeling among all Muslims.

There is sect identification among Muslims. In the study area, all Muslims belong to *Sunni* sect of *Hānāfiā*[4] school of Islamic law. Sect members believe that the Prophet Muhammad was the last prophet and that after him no other person could be designated in that position.

Among the Muslim population in Matlab there is no rigorous class system like caste or *varṇa* as is found among the Hindus, however marital relationships are restricted in a few occupational groups such as the *bādyakar* or 'drum beater' and the boat dwelling gypsies or *bāidyās*.

Deś or *grām* means village. A person will categorize another as a fellow villager or outsider, and after fellow *guṣṭhī* or *svajan*, *ātmīya*, *ātmīya-svajan*, *samāj* members, and fellow villagers will be given priority in matters of consideration and fellowship. A fellow villager, or more frequently a *samāj* member, may be addressed as brother, brother's wife, brother's son, sister, sister's son, uncle, uncle's wife or sometimes even son-in-law. Through the use of quasi kin terms, non-related people come closer to each other which helps to develop cooperation in social and economic matters. On identification with a village, Ellickson observed that "people identified themselves all as members of a particular village. This was evidenced when they were outside the village or in concern about reputation of the village. There are efforts by villagers to keep disputes within the village. They thought that village affairs should be dealt within the village. There was competition and internal conflict within the village, but as far as possible it stopped at the borders of the village" (1972:70). In the study villages, disputes are settled within the village. Only rarely inter-village leaders sit to settle any dispute within a single village. Such joint sitting may take place in an extremely complicated case when the leaders within the village fail to settle the dispute. Decision on matters such as a cold blooded murder, rape by a man from a neighbouring village, and land disputes may sometimes be considered extremely complicated. In recent times a new crime of this level has been observed. In particular there have been isolated reports of secret killings of bullocks with the sole intent of removing only the skin, which commands a high price. In such cases important leaders from several *samāj* from both religious groups coming from inside or outside the village may sit together for an appropriate decision. However, such cases are rare. Usually in solving such issues heavy fines are imposed in relation to the total wealth at the disposal of the offender. Recently in one of the study villages, a man in broad-daylight, chopped off the head of his elder brother who was milking a cow. This case was referred to a joint session of influential *samāj* leaders belonging to several villages. The leaders succeeded in solving the matter by allocating a certain portion of the offender's land in favour of the minor sons of the murdered person.

In the study area the native sports competitions between villages are well known. Recently four or five villages participated in a *hādudu*[5] competition. The author attended the exciting final game between two villages. The winning village team was awarded a handsome trophy. The game was patronized by young as well as old village leaders. The whole of the winning village shared the joy of victory. To avoid any direct clash between the supporters of the two teams precaution in the form of the presence of influential people well known in several villages were taken.

All the members of a *bāḍī* who are blood related through the patri-
lineal line, have a strong sense of closeness and feel that their relation-
ship is much more solid and dependable than their relationship to spouses
who have been brought as brides to the *bāḍī*. As a result, when a village
girl is married outside the village she keeps close contact with her
brothers and sisters left behind in her family of procreation. Brothers
maintain close relationship to their sisters and stress their links to natal
family members whenever opportunity permits by making gifts and by inviting
them to their parental home. When a brother visits a married sister's place
he is specially cared for and fed by the sister. All the women of the
village after marriage go to their husband's father's homes and live there
throughout their life. But a woman always maintains a special feeling for
her father's home or *Bāper Bāḍī*. She always looks for opportunity to visit
her father's place. Whenever possible a father arranges a social visit by
his married daughter. If such visit is accompanied by the son-in-law, then
special meals are invariably prepared. As a result such visit is greatly
favoured by the children of the household.

In the family, children are usually raised by their parents and
siblings. Grandparents are not responsible for primary care of children.

Under normal circumstances, *ghar* or household ties are very close. A
man's duties are first to his own *ghar* family, then towards his *gusṭhī* or
svajan. Such duties continue to follow to his close *ātmīya* and *ātmīya-
svajan*, then to his *samāj* and then to his village. The lines of *ātmīya*
and *ātmīya-svajan* usually cut across the villages since such relationships
are established mainly through marriage. Sometimes the line of *gusṭhī* may also
cut across the *bāḍī* boundary and occasionally across the village, if new
residence is taken up by *bāḍī* members. The *ghars* in the study area can be
considered the most important economic units, wherein they work together,
raise crops, attend livestock and, in fact, produce most of the things they
consume. In the study area, a household is subject to a variety of external
controls, some from larger social organizations, such as *gusṭhī*, *ātmīya*,
ātmīya-svajan on the control of the household in such matters as mate
selection, fixing of groom price[6], adoption of children, and so on, suggests
the areas of control by blood, affinal, and bilateral relations. In such
matters the influence of *gusṭhī* members is more important than those of
ātmīya and *ātmīya-svajan* members. In all the three groups, the influence
of *ghaniṣṭha samparka* (close relation) is the most important.

Kinship as a factor in Social Organization

The interests and behaviour of individuals vary within each society,
and ways of living change with time. But continuity of life is sustained
through accepted patterns of social relations and common beliefs, goals and
rules of behaviour.

The basic social structure and values of rural Bangladeshi societies are anchored in a system of kinship relations. The degree of emphasis on kinship and family, as well as the nature of these relations, varies widely among societies at all technical levels. Such technical levels clearly vary when the agriculture is dependent on anything from the bullock operated simple plough to the power operated tiller. Kin and family are important everywhere and they form the basic structure of social organization in many societies.

The techniques of rural Bangladeshi societies, however elaborate or ingenious they may be, are largely non-mechanized. Under such circumstances, within the household and within the wider kin circle, social and economic cooperation is an important aspect of life for efficient household management.

The men and women of a family cooperate in production through a division of labour based on gender, and this division of labour varies in rigidity and in the tasks performed. The tasks of Muslim and Hindu women vary in respect to different religious requirements, but basic production tasks are the same for both groups. Child care, household tasks and food preparation are primarily done by women. Salary earning, trade and financial management are done by men.

Ellen Sattar has reported on the people who help village women with their various tasks. She collected her information in a *thānā* near Matlab. She found that women have a lot to do in their village homes, and that they are helped in many tasks, such as husking the paddy. When asked about their work in general, 33% of the women surveyed said that their daughters helped them; 12% said that their sons helped (half of these mentioned both sons and daughters); 11% said that their mothers-in-law helped; 7% said that husbands helped; just over 5% said sisters-in-law or daughters-in-law helped; 7% said servants helped; and 14% said that they had no helpers and had to husk rice with a sister-in-law or neighbour (1975:50-51).

Men in general have higher status and authority over women of their households, although older women may have influence over junior men. Until marriage a female has to remain satisfied under the authority of her parents, on marriage her husband and particularly the mother-in-law exercise authority over her until she bears several children. During her widowhood she usually prefers to stay under the supervision of an unmarried grown-up son. If in due course he marries then she may continue to stay with him but all sons will provide economic support. Control of property by men and freedom from child care allows them to enter specialized economic and political roles, such as working in the fields, fishing, buying and selling in the market, and participating in *samāj* leadership. Regarding status of women Raunaq Jahan notes, "Men refuse to share in household work because it is regarded as woman's job and hence inferior. A woman's status about being inferior to a man's, is a thesis universally accepted by *Bāṅgālī*. In a recently done survey of two localities, one rural and one urban, it was found that

Above: Hand operated irrigation in progress.

Below: The kitchen activities are exclusively woman's job.

70 per cent of rural and 80 per cent of urban men, as compared to 39 per cent of urban women agree with the statement that 'it is natural and right for women to have inferior status to men'" (1975:13). A high birth rate (on an average 7.9 live births per woman) coupled with associated problems in a poverty stricken rural society like the present study area, leads women into a largely subservient role to their male counterparts.

Kinship bonds make a claim on people's loyalties. A common language and a common dietary experience make members of a household feel more comfortable with one another. They understand one another. They feel they can count on one another for support. Every Muslim and Hindu household belongs to a *gusthī* within the *samāj* or village. Unlike the Muslims, every Hindu family belongs to a caste. Thus the united village community hardly exists. Bertocci has reported, "From the point of view of the resident, the community is that complex of groups and institutions with and in which he daily interacts. Thus, for a Bengali peasant, certain activities are associated with his 'village' or *gram*, and others with his family of procreation *(poribar)*, patrilineage *(gusthi)*, and bilaterally extended kin ties *(atmiya)*, all of which may or may not be coterminous with his 'village'." Certain activities are further associated with his mosque *(masjid)*, if he is a Muslim, whose congregation may or may not be coterminous with his "village" (1970:3). Caste, *samāj* and kinship form the core of village social organization and this splits the village into different social groupings.

Kinship in Religious Participation

On some religious occasions kin members have certain specific types of participation among both Muslims and Hindus. In the present discussion participation in religious activities by members of the kin group will be the main focus. By joining important religious functions members of individual kin groups further strengthen their already existing strong social bonds. Among the Muslims this is the case during the two major religious festivals of *Eid-ul-Fitr* and *Eid-ul-Azha*. The importance of visiting the village home or *bādī* by household members employed elsewhere was reflected in a news item on the occasion of *Eid*. The newspaper reported on the annual exodus from the city to the countryside for *Eid-ul-Fitr* and commented on the crowds in launches, buses and trains that connect Dacca with other parts of the countryside (The Bangladesh Observer 1976:1).

The two *Eid* festivals are the occasion for special and relatively sumptuous feasts. Matrilateral and affinal kinsmen come to these feasts. The feasts and exchanges of visits between members of different patrilineages are the significant social features of these occasions (Bertocci 1970:130). During the *Eid* days the ties of kinship are cemented by the exchange of food and visits between the members of the kindred. Following the month-long fasting in the month of *Ramjān* on the first day of *Saoyāl*, *Eid-ul-Fitr* is celebrated. Muslims breakfast early and wear new clothing. The men go

to the *Eid-gāh*[8] or mosque for their *Eid* prayers. Following these prayers Muslims embrace each other. On this day sweet preparations are made including vermicelli. These sweet dishes are shared with friends and relatives. Both consanguineal and affinal relatives who live reasonably nearby visit each other during the day to exchange greetings and to enjoy traditional sweets. Ahmad (1976:337) describing the solidarity and amity existing within caste and kinship in a Muslim village of Eastern Uttar Pradesh noted, "Among the *biradaris*, on the other hand, the fraternal soli- darity and amity supposed to prevail among their members and anticipated by their kinship links is expressed through appropriate social rituals. The practice among the Julahas of the village represents the most elaborate form of this ritual, though similar practices exist in other *biradaris*. Each year, on the occasion of *Idul-Fitr*, all Julaha household heads in the village form themselves into a party and go from house to house eating vermicelli *(siwayan)*. The vermicelli are served at each house in a common plate and every member of the party partakes of the dish from the same plate. Participation in this ritual, which is supposed to symbolize the amity and equality amongst the Julaha households within the village, is unfailingly regular." In the study area among the gypsies or *bāidyās*, and among the *bāidyakars* or drum-beaters who usually practice endogamy such solidarity and amity was observed.

During *Eid-ul-Fitr*, *fitrā*, or a prescribed quantity of food grain or equivalent amount of money payable for every member of the family, is given to the poor fellow Muslims so that they can enjoy *Eid*. The deserving poor relatives also may be given *fitrā*. If a wealthy person wishes to donate food or money according to religious prescription, he must consider first among his nearest relatives those who are poor and deserving.

Next comes the *Eid-ul-Azhā* which is celebrated on the tenth day of the month of *Zilhaj*. On this occasion Muslims get up early in the morning and say their *Eid* prayer in a big congregation at the *Eid-gāh*. Following the prayer the Muslims embrace each other including the members of the kindred. On return from *Eid-gāh* they sacrifice cows or goats in the name of *Allāh*. The general rule is that a cow can be sacrificed in the name of seven persons, and a goat in the name of one person. Sacrifice is preferred in the name of each member of the household. If this is not possible financially, a pres- .cribed sacrifice may be offered for each adult member of the household. In the case of inability to do this, a sacrifice is offered in the name of the head of the household only.

Table 2 indicates the distribution of annual animal sacrifice or *korbānī* on the occasion of *Eid-ul-Azhā* in 483 families in a Muslim agri- cultural village at Matlab during 1972, 1973 and 1974. The figures show that on the average 22.6 per cent of families could afford to sacrifice at least in the name of one individual of the household. During the three-year period under review the participation in *korbānī* varied only slightly, the range being 20.1% to 24.6%. With such low percentages of *korbānī* there is

correspondingly little distribution of meat among relatives. Traditionally
the meat of the sacrificial animal is divided into three equal parts out of
which one part goes to own house, one part to relatives and friends, and
another part to the poor. The lower percentage of the performance of
korbānī is a hint about the economic level of the families under consi-
deration.

The meat of the sacrificed animal is cooked and people have an early
meal with it. Specialized meals including meat dishes are prepared in
large quantities for consumption by household members as well as for distri-
bution among relatives and friends. Cooked meat of the sacrificed animal is
sometimes sent to close relatives who are staying in distant places. From
the wife's point of view such relatives may include her parents and her son-
in-law.

The *Śab-i-Barāt* is one of the important religious festivals of the
Muslims and is performed on the night of the fourteenth day of *Śabān*. On
this occasion Muslims offer sweets and bread in the name of their deceased
kin. They visit their graves and offer prayers for the peace of the departed
souls. Night-long prayers, in mosques and houses, beseeching the mercy
and the guidance of the Almighty are offered by the Muslims on this Holy
occasion. The common belief is that *Śab-i-Barāt* is the night of record during
which *Allāh* blesses His followers for the coming year.

Like *Śab-i-Barāt, Śab-i-Qadar* is another important religious festival of
Muslims which is performed in the lunar Arabic month of *Ramjān* every year.
On this occasion prayers continue for whole night in the mosque as well as
in the household. Special food items are prepared on the occasion. Members
of the kindred invite each other to participate in *iftār* party (breaking of
day long fast at sunset) on that day. It is believed by all Muslims that on
this night of *Ramjān* 27, 1,400 years ago the Holy Quran was revealed to
mankind through the Prophet of Islam Hazrat Muhammad. According to religious
precepts this night is considered as the most blessed of all God's nights
(and days). The Holy book says that "is better than a thousand nights."
In merit and honour thus, the occasion is a night of special divine blessings.
In addition to nightlong prayers the Muslims visit the graves of their near
and dear relatives offering prayers for the salvation of the souls.

Only occasionally in the study area do the Muslims perform the naming
ceremony of a new born known as *āqīqā*. In celebrating this occasion two
goats are sacrificed for a male child or one for a female child. The meat of
the sacrificed animal is divided into three equal parts out of which one
share goes to the family of the newborn, one share to the relatives and
friends, and the third share to the poor.

The well-to-do Muslims of the study area also hold a *ziāfat,* or 'invita-
tion ceremony,' which is a feast arranged after the death of a family
member for the salvation of his or her soul. In the *ziāfat* ceremony all the
close consanguineal and affinal relatives of the deceased are invited. In

addition, some of the deceased's known acquaintances and the poor are also invited. Every invitee makes a special effort to attend it. If anyone fails to attend, at the first available opportunity he apologises to the host concerned and explains his genuine reasons for not coming. In the study area the author participated in two *ziāfat* ceremonies in which hundreds of people were served sumptuous meal on the occasion.

In the study area, the Hindu religious calendar provides a number of days which involve festive preparations. On these auspicious occasions though the religious aspects are important, there is joy in both the preparation and the get-togethers. In Matlab area, one of the most eagerly awaited events is the fair or *melā* (a religious fair) held on the occasion of *Rath Yātrā* during the rainy season. The women and children of each *bāḍī* or lineage group will preferably take one of their best countryboats, plied by a male member of the *bāḍī*, to go to the *melā*. The women make offerings of food or money to God *Jagannāth* at the local temple to ensure good health and prosperity for their family members. The site of the *melā* is filled with cottage industry products which include various household items made by specialized people of repute and different lucrative toys for children. The women and children spend the whole day in shopping and in participating in various fun. The *melā* provides one of the very few opportunities when most women and children of a *bāḍī* can make a trip outside the village together, with the goals of religious gain and entertainment. In the *melā*, the members of one *bāḍī* happen to meet members of other *bāḍīs*, particularly those related by affinal connections, they invariably exchange greetings and entertain each other in addition to inquiring about the welfare of the respective family and *bāḍī* members.

In the study area several major religious festivals take place outside the household and *bāḍī* premises supported by the collection of *chāndā* or contributions from almost all the households of a caste group in a particular village. In most villages of the study area the village caste group is an extended kin group through marital alliances. Thus by organizing major religious festivals the extended kin group finds an opportunity to join together for a common religious purpose. Such commonly organized religious festivals include the chariot race or *Rath Yātrā* in front of the temple of god *Jagannāth* and worship of the goddesses *Dūrgā*, *Kālī*, *Gangā*, *Lakṣmī*, *Sarasvatī*, *Śītlā* and *Manasā*. On the tenth day of new moon of October (Bengali month of *Āśvin*) comes the feast of *Daśami* during the worship of the goddess *Dūrgā*. This worship is specifically dedicated to the memory of ancestors. Each family offers the usual sacrifices to its deceased ancestors, and also presents them with clothes such as are usually worn by men and women, in order that the deceased ancestors may be properly clothed. On the occasion of such religious festivals close consanguineal and affinal relatives might visit each other according to convenience. However, daughters' and son-in-laws' presence are specifically requested on these occasions. These are among the occasions when *nāiyar* or home visits by married females are arranged by the parents or other relatives. During such

events married daughters make particular effort to visit their *bāper bāḍī* or father's house.

In Hindu marriage it is customary to invite both consanguineal and affinal relatives. During a son or daughter's marriage, which is considered a religious event, a father will invite members of the lineages of his father-in-law and maternal uncle, his maternal uncle-in-law and son-in-law, and children's father-in-law in addition to the members of his own lineage. In many cases only representatives of the lineages attend the marriage ceremonies. However, the widows have no participation in marriage activities. The common belief is that since the widow has lost her husband by her touch ill luck may follow, but she is not barred from attending the marriage ceremony. Weddings with all their preparations and ceremonies are enjoyed by both men and women and involve the participation of various lineage groups. In the early part of the marriage ceremony the names of all the deceased ancestors whose names can be recollected are uttered ceremoniously before a priest by the father of the bride and the groom. In the absence of the father this function may also be performed by his brother or son. Performance of this ceremony takes place in the respective houses of the groom and bride separately. This ceremony is done with the specific objective of salvation and peace of the departed souls. If after a marriage date is settled and before the starting of a marriage ceremony news comes of the birth or death of a blood relation, the marriage will be postponed for a certain number of days.

On certain occasions celebration centres around particular kin members. During the event known as *jāmāi-ṣaṣṭhī* all the sons-in-law must be invited. Usually such invitations are made to the daughters' husbands. If the family is well-to-do, the brother's daughter's husbands are also invited. Exchange of new clothing takes place particularly between the mother-in-law and son-in-law. The mother-in-law blesses the son-in-law for a long life. There is another similar occasion known as *śītal-ṣaṣṭhī* during which the mother blesses her son for a long life. Through yet another occasion known as *bhrātr-dvitīyā* or *rākhi-bandhan*, the brother and sister pray for each other's long life and perform certain specific rituals. On all these occasions elaborate feasts are arranged.

In Hindu funeral rites and ceremonies kinsmen have specific roles. The dead body is taken to the place of cremation by the deceased individual's sons, by blood relations on the father's side, or by other kinsmen. Persons eligible for setting fire to the mouth of the dead or *mukhāgni* are the following: the eldest of the living sons, or wife, or daughter, or younger brother, or father, or paternal uncle, or grandfather, or maternal uncle, or mother's father and others in the case of males; and son or daughter or co-wife's son, or husband, or son's wife or brother, and others in the case of females. Death is followed by a period of impurity determined by various factors, such as the nature of kin relation of the individuals with the deceased, their occupation, their caste, etc. In the study area all the

blood relations of the deceased and his wife undergo such impurity and avoid physical comforts such as sitting on luxurious seats or sleeping on bed-steads, and they become strict vegetarians for certain period according to caste prescription. The sons as well as the wife of the deceased avoid salt for ten or twelve days according to capability. The sons avoid use of any metallic utensil and bear in their hands a piece of iron. The son is required to wear only one piece of cloth which has no tailoring. This cloth is not changed during the whole period of impurity. A straw mat is carried by him for sitting purposes. In the study area the period of impurity varied from 11 days to 30 days according to different caste. At the end of the period of impurity all the restrictions are withdrawn and the sons shave off their hair and perform a ceremony known as *srādha* with the help of a priest. On the day of *srāddha* the sons of the deceased invite all their blood relations to bathe and dine with them for the benefit of the deceased soul. The author attended the *srāddha* ceremony of a *Kāyastha* Brahman in the study area. The ceremony was performed on the 11th day of death. Through the officiating Brahman of the *srāddha* the soul *(ātmā)* of the deceased was presented with all the daily requirements for its survival and comfort which included food, bedding, clothing and furniture. It is believed that these provisions will be used by the deceased without which the latter will suffer. This *srāddha* was participated by different available kinsmen, neighbours and friends of the deceased belonging to different castes and religion. Those who participated in the cremation were treated as special guests. The deceased belonged to a well-to-do family. The budget for the *srāddha* was reported to be about Taka 2,000.00 which would be equivalent to U.S. $133.

From the above discussion it is obvious that kin members play an important role in various religious functions. In the funeral rites of Hindus the role of the son is vital since he is the most preferred indivi-dual to set fire to the mouth of the dead. Among both Muslims and Hindus the kin members have certain obligations towards the deceased kinsmen. In both cases the kinsmen arrange feasts for the salvation of the departed soul. If necessary, for arranging appropriate post-funeral feasts it is customary among both Muslims and Hindus to sell a certain portion of the landed property of the deceased. Among the Hindus the number of religious functions is greater when compared with the Muslims. In both the religious groups most of the religious functions which involved kin members provided for feasts and exchange of gifts. The intensity of gift-exchange and feasting is lower the higher a family's level of poverty. But in spite of poverty every family makes maximum effort to celebrate every religious occasion in a befitting manner. Traditionally during *Eid* and certain *Pūjā* (worship) holidays all the family members who happen to be outside the village or in distant places make every effort to return home to join the rejoicings with kin members. Thus they enjoy a significant diversion from routine duty and the opportunity for showing friendly gestures to kinsmen. The above discussion has distinctly shown that the Hindus find more occasions to manifest kinship relations in rittal.

The importance of kinship in religious participation becomes apparent
from the observations by Dube of an Indian village which lies in the
culture area of Andhra-desa.

> A young married man separating from his parents or
> brothers generally maintains close connections with the
> family or families. However, as the immediate cause for
> separation is often a quarrel or an acute difference of
> opinion, for some time the separating families continue
> to have strained relations. ... When the relations between
> the main family and the seceding family are once again
> cordial, they start taking interest in each other's affairs
> and problems. Ceremonies, feasts and festivals bring them
> all together. Rites connected with the major crises of
> life are great occasions for family reunions. Particularly
> in the event of death old quarrels and misunderstandings are
> generally forgotten and all near-relations assemble for the
> last rites. In the rituals that follow the presence of all
> the branches of the family is regarded as obligatory, and
> the absence of anyone at such an occasion is bound to be
> viewed very seriously. This would almost always lead to a
> permanent breach of relations between the absenting unit and
> the other units of the same family (1961:134).

CHAPTER III

KINSHIP AND SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

The Mobility System

Usually a person's position in the society is set by his "socioeconomic status." Socioeconomic status is normally determined by a person's income or wealth, occupation, housing and education. Such types of criteria may be termed as the "objective" aspects of stratification. The most significant indicator of socioeconomic status is occupation. Occupation is frequently found to be correlated with income and education. It also relates to non-economic aspects of stratification, such as class consciousness, cultural behaviour, social interaction, and prestige. For example, those who follow unskilled occupations may not only have low incomes and little education, but they also identify themselves as *"Kāmlā Śreṇī"* or "working class." Members of these unskilled occupations share similar values and beliefs. Socially they interact more often with one another, and belong to the same social status level.

In the study area social distance among the Muslims is minimal, so that classes merge with those above and below them, and mobility occurs frequently. In most cases among Muslims, class is ascribed only in the first few years of life, after which it is usually achieved.

A society like Bangladesh whose technology and labour force require-ments are changing very slowly may still display much social mobility. In fact, the effects of technological mobility must be held constant before we can gain an idea of the "true" openness of a society or compare the openness of societies, that is to say, before we know how much of the mobility is due to individual rather than purely technological factors. As a result of individual mobility some persons simply move up and others slip down, on the basis of such things as their own achievement orientation or levels of aspira-tions. In one of the Hindu study villages it is on record that the followers of the *Varman* fishing caste enhanced their social status by taking up the practice of using sacrificial thread *(paitā)* because they obtained a sanction to do the same from a visiting *Guru* or religious teacher over 30 years ago.[1] Lowie had similar finding in India. His observations in this connection are mentioned below:

> The caste system is so thoroughly entrenched in India that new castes are constantly arising. A section of one caste will devise a differentiation of custom or occupation and then claim a superior status, refusing to eat and intermarry with former fellows. Thus shoemakers may separate from those who work with

raw *hide.* A low caste will enhance its own self-respect, even
if unsuccessful in impressing its betters, by tabooing the
remarriage of widows, by lowering the age of marrying off a
daughter, or by assuming without true warrant a sacred thread·
(Lowie 1966:273).

In the study area, Muslim social mobility is much greater than that of
Hindus and the role of status and wealth likewise much more important. The
Muslims there do not emphasize social restrictions like the Hindus, though a
few exceptions were observed in this connection. The Muslims in general were
found to be reluctant to take cooked food in the houses of gypsies and
bādyakars who are also Muslim by faith. They, however, do not mind taking
food items in those houses which were purchased from commercial places or
shops in finished form. The gypsies and *bādyakars* say that such attitudes of
Muslims is due to *himsā* envy of them. On the other hand the Muslims justify
their behaviour by saying that in the everyday activities of these people
there were various un-Islamic aspects. Not sharing cooked food in these
houses is a way of expressing disapproval of un-Islamic ways of doing things.
On the whole, among the Muslims the degree of hierarchical gradation is
looser and mobility is relatively greater within the scale. Status plays a
greater role in determining social distance and this consideration is a
subtle blend of numerous definable elements.

A few points must be said concerning the Hindu caste society. Caste is
a mechanism for maintaining the status quo in a society characterized by a
traditional division of labour. Members of a caste are endogamous and
practice commensualism. Caste members are expected to perform levels of
kinds of work defined as appropriate for the caste. At Matlab certain
fishermen in a group have turned to weaving and conchshell bangle making.
Most of the Hindus in the study area are committed to fixed status and
strict endogamy with a few exceptions. Commensualism is no longer a strict
rule among them.

The presence of social mobility brings in flexibility in class
boundaries. Occupational mobility is usually a major indicator for changes
in life styles and group participation. In the study area educational
achievement proved to be an important prerequisite to occupational and
income mobility. The extent of equality of opportunity (e.g., proximity
of educational institutions) and individual achievement orientation like
learning professional skills plays a vital role in the absence of any signi-
ficant development of technology in determining the rate of upward mobility.

Mobility and Marriage

Marriage among the Muslims is said to be a contract signed by two
parties, one for each side. The consideration of the contract is *mahr*,[2]
gift to the bride, the amount of which not being fixed by law, varies
upward from a few taka.

Marriage can be contracted only between a woman and a man who is her *kuf* or 'equal.' This equality, according to *Hanifites*, refers to such status indicators as birth and profession. It is not necessary that the wife be the equal of the husband since "men are not degraded by cohabitation with women who are their inferiors" (Kapadia 1959:159). Muslims are enjoined to marry only Muslims, but while a male may marry even a *kitabia* or who belongs to a 'revealed religion' the marriage of a Muslim woman to a non-Muslim is not considered valid. In fact, the conversion of the husband to another religion automatically annuls a marriage, and the wife must find a new Muslim spouse.

Islam has improved the status of women by restricting polygyny to four wives, by assigning a share of inheritance to women, by declaring *mahr* as a gift to the bride.

Among the Hindus marriage is said to be sacred and irrevocable. The parties to the marriage cannot dissolve it at will. They are bound to each other until the death of either of them; and the wife is supposed to be bound to her husband even after his death. Demands for personal gratification and pleasure are subordinated, and the individual is called upon to make marriage a success by means of compromise and adjustment (1959:169).

The Hindus have both endogamous and exogamous rules limiting the selection of a mate. They are divided into a number of castes which are endogamous groups; and in practice the caste is again divided into a number of subcastes. Members of each of the subcastes prefer to marry within the specific subcaste to which they belong. The multiplicity of groups thus restricts the choice of a mate within the bounds of a limited number of families.

Until recently in the study area breaches of caste endogamy were punished by excommunication from the caste. Caste exercises a considerable influence over its members as it touches an individual's life in all aspects of social relationships.

The economic hierarchy has a major share in determining the kin group. Within the caste or the community the persons belonging to Class I tend to marry within the same class and thus kin groups are formed of families belonging to the same economic level. Those in Class II naturally like to set up consanguineous relations with the top, and similarly Class III with Class II and Class I; but the parties sought for are obviously more inclined to marry within their own classes or in that of a higher order (Mukherjee 1971: 240).

Based on landholding the Matlab study population was divided into three classes. The household members who owned land 4 acres or above were put under Class I. Those who owned land measuring 1.50 to 3.99 acres and 0 to 1.49 acres were put under Class II and III respectively. For comparative study of socioeconomic level of first married partners 266 randomly selected Muslim couples were studied. Table 3 shows the frequency distribution of marital partners among Muslims at Matlab according to land ownership. The

data in this table show that Class I male partners married only Class I
female partners. The table further shows that Class II and Class III male
partners frequently married within their own respective classes. In these
two classes it is seen that some females from higher classes married males
from lower classes. Because of individual merit and other factors the male
may be able to get a female partner from a higher class, occasionally even
from two steps up. Table 4 shows that among Hindus marriage occurred mostly
between equals.

A high degree of mobility of individual families in establishing marital
connection between economic classes was not observed in the study area. Fre-
quently equal economic status was sought in finalizing a marriage. From CRL
routine marriage registration data it was gathered from a rough estimate that
middle class people make particular effort to marry within similar occupa-
tional groups. In the Muslim middle class most of the marriages occurred
between agricultural families. A cultivator boy prefers to marry a girl from
another cultivator family of equal economic standing. It is expected that a
cultivator's daughter would be most suitable for management of another
cultivator's household activities. A cultivator's wife must be equipped with
the knowledge of storage and preservation of agricultural commodities. In
order to help her husband she must be well conversant with the year round
routine of agricultural activities. Similarity of traditional family occu-
pation of both boy and girl are almost compulsory in the cases of milkmen,
mat-makers, fishermen, potters, weavers, bamboo basket makers, clothes
washers and animal skin processors. In these cases similar professional
background is required mainly because the housewife is expected to parti-
cipate directly in the professional activities just mentioned. Most of these
occupations, with the exception of clothes washing and pottery making which
are exclusively Hindu traditional occupation are followed both by Muslims
and Hindus.

From the marriage registration data, it was found that in most cases in
lower class marriages, there is no occupational similarity between families
of marital partners. Agricultural and non-agricultural labour are the
primary occupations in this class, as is shown in Table 5 which shows the
primary occupation of all males studied ten years of age and older. In the
lower class some of the occupations are indicative of a poor income. Such
occupations include the plying of countryboat and begging. In most of the
cases within a *bāḍī* jurisdiction one is very likely to find wide differences
in the professional background of different household heads, even though
most head of households of a certain homestead are related by blood or
affinity. Membership in the same lineage has certain definite advantages.
For example the benefit of a high status *bāḍī* title is shared particularly
by the blood related kins. Thus a *bāḍī* with prestigious title *Pātoyārī*
may have beggars, labourers and agriculturists. In spite of such variation
in occupational background all the household members equally share the
bāḍī title *Pātoyārī*.

About 0.8% of the *bādīs* in the study area have no title at all. It was
observed that when a non-titled person wants to use a self-imposed title
he will frequently use the title *Gāzī*. But that did not mean that all the
Gāzī titles were self-imposed. As a result it is necessary to differentiate
between an 'original' or *āsal Gāzī* and a self-titled *Gāzī*. In the study area
one person who was the son of Kafiluddin, who had no title, married into a
titled family known as *Darjī* or tailor. Both these titled and non-titled
families have almost equal economic standing. Social standing of the girl's
titled family is slightly higher.

The village people in the study area agree that among Muslims there are
two major divisions in the *gusthī* titles. These two major divisions are
'*Chār ghairā*' and '*Aṭ ghairā*' which literally mean belonging to the group
of 'four houses' and 'eight houses' respectively. The group of four houses
includes the titles *Chowdhury, Mazumdar, Bhūmiyā, Khān, Pātoyārī* and *Miyā,*
and all remaining titles were included under the traditional term of 'eight
houses.' All the *gusthī* titles that are included in a sample of 5% families
among Muslims and Hindus at Matlab are shown in Table 6. When marriage takes
place between families of similar economic background then the family titles
under the category of *Chār ghairā* and *Aṭ ghairā* are sought by the respective
parties. A boy or girl of *Aṭ ghairā* would happily be ready to select a
marital partner from *Chār ghairā* even though they have slightly lower economic
standing. Apparently a higher title will offset a small, but not large
economic discrepancy. In this connection there is a common saying that, *"kul*[3]
jāl diyā khāile peṭ bhare nā," which means "one cannot eat and fill the stomach
by cooking the members of one's *kul* as a meal." After religious considerations,
economic considerations are the most important factors in the selection of
spouses.

The marital union of two partners depends wholly on the favourable
opinion of the influential *gusthī* members of the boy and girl concerned.
For enhancing *ijjat* or prestige of a man in the village it is required for him
to have a network of powerful *istis* or affinal relatives. One may become a
professional musician, weaver or a carpenter after receiving appropriate
lessons from relations who may be consanguineal or affinal relatives.
Commonly there is a continuous desire and effort on the part of a kin to raise
the position of his *gusthī* members. One of the usual ways of gaining prestige
and power is through marriage. A well qualified son of a less wealthy *gusthī*
may be able to marry a daughter from a wealthy and more reputed *gusthī*.

Level of Material Living, 1899 and 1974

Socioeconomic level of a family is reflected in the items of furniture for sitting and sleeping, in the types of eating and cooking utensils, instruments for economic production and miscellaneous implements and receptacles of each household.

The household items provide the standard of living of a family either of wealth or poverty. From such items one can judge the social and economic level of families. Before the development of trade and technology when the agricultural family possessed the plough and availed the services of domesticated animals, considerable economic activities took place in and around the household. During 1899 the everyday life of study population was dominated by economic activities around the household. Very little is known about family life in the times of the household dominated economy. Based on the household items of 1899 it is possible to build dependable ideas on the level of material living.

It is commonly agreed that an important cause of changes in economic production is technology, which includes the knowledge and use of inventions and of material culture. From the material contents of the household the levels of technology and standard of living of family members can be understood to a considerable extent.

The changes mentioned in the comparative list of household contents which made significant impact on the standard of living include the introduction of the following: wooden chair and table, mosquito-net, blanket, aluminium and enamel utensils, power operated rice mills for husking paddy, tin and steel suitcases, trunks, buckets, wooden almirahs and standard measures. During the census of 1974, in the study households the use of hurricanes, quilts, watches and radios was noted. The findings showed that in the lower income group of agricultural Muslims, simple nuclear families and simple extended families had none of these items in 54.7% and 37.3% of households respectively. Within the middle and higher income the figures were as follows for simple nuclear and simple extended families, respectively: middle income group - 37.8% and 26.5%; higher income group - 23.3% and 7.4%. In Table 7 it can be seen that compared with simple nuclear families larger numbers of simple extended families owned single or combinations of these objective items.

It is interesting to note that in the study area type of seat offered to a visitor or fellow villager is an indicator of the status of the latter. From higher to lower status, the offerings might be: (1) chair, (2) round wooden or cane stool, (3) low wooden stool or *chhota chauki* or (5) *pidi* or plank seat. In most families, many of these items must be borrowed.

A mat is also a common and popular sitting device in the sub-continent. In the study area it was observed that a mat of fine texture is considered more appropriate for a person of higher socioeconomic status rather than a
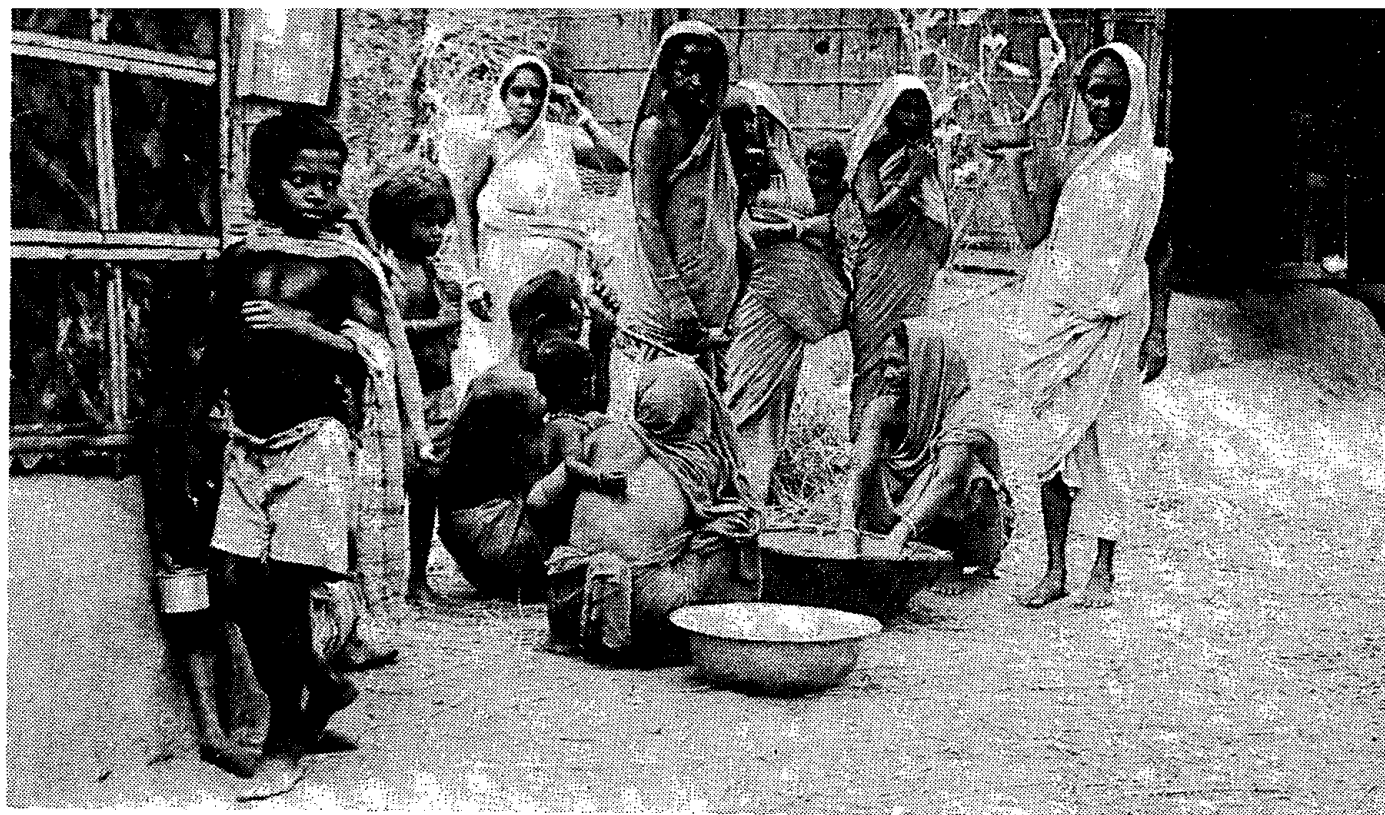
Above: Women buying sweet potatoes from a peddler.

Below: Women drying paddy using the sun's light.

coarse *hoglā*. From such a person the individual with lower socioeconomic
status usually maintains a certain level of physical distance as a mark
of respect.

It is obvious from the above discussion that the contents of the houses
vary according to the position in life by the owner of the respective houses.
Household contents around 1899 were recorded through interview during field
visits in not too distant areas of Matlab by the British Settlement Officer
J.G. Cumming. His findings were published in 1899 (Cumming 1899:23-24).
The contents of houses around 1974 were noted through observation method by
the present author. The comparison of the contents of houses (Appendix V)
during the above two periods has demonstrated certain major changes. Such
changes include introduction of new goods and new methods of production which
helped in attaining higher standards of living.

Different forms of household assets affect quality of life in retirement
particularly. In an age of low-cost medical care for the aged, household
assets allow the purchase of goods and services which prevent or delay deteriora-
tion in health or bring forth quick recovery from illness. Possession of
assets build circumstances for borrowing and provide a sense of financial
well-being which permits a higher level of consumption (Henretta and
Campbell 1978: 1206). In the study area it was observed that during the
famine of 1974 certain household assets served as a medium for procuring
food grains in low income families.

CHAPTER IV

FAMILY AND FAMILIAL INSTITUTIONS

Family and Family Typology

The family is the only institution so far devised by human society for
the preservation of its future generation and its culture. The family
systems have different types which correspond to variations in social
cultures. Every culture devises its own family structure based on the
formula which proves successful in fulfilling certain basic human needs
under its specific circumstances. In their different and ever changing
typologies all family systems aim to gain one common goal, considered
essential for the survival of society, which is procreation and the rearing
and socialization of children.

In the study area each *bādt* or homestead may contain one or more joint
or nuclear families. A nuclear family consists of a man, his wife and their
unmarried children; they usually live in one house and always have a common
hearth. An extended family consists of several nuclear families united by
parental or sibling ties; typically it consists of a father, several of his
married and unmarried sons, and their wives and children. If the extended
family is a joint family, they cook at a common hearth, store grain in a
common granary, usually accept the leadership of the male with highest
management capacity, and they hold rights as coparceners in a common estate.
The distinguishing feature of a joint family compared with an extended one
is the co-ownership of property or estate. In the study area, according to
the 1968 census, in 101 villages there were 19,433 hearth units. After
6 years (in 1974) there was a new census in the same villages which revealed
that the total number of hearth units had risen to 21,772. This is a total
increase of 12.03% or an annual increase of approximately 2%.

"Family development" refers to cyclical changes in the size and composi-
tion of viable domestic groupings based upon the family. These are changes
brought about by the birth, marriage, and death of the family members. They
involve not merely changes in family constituency, but also changes in the
relationship of the family with its means of subsistence. As a domestic
unit, the family is viable when its labour capabilities can exploit its
means of subsistence (e.g. if it has adequate cultivators for agricultural
fields owned) and if its means of subsistence will provide adequate economic
support (Stenning *In* Goody 1962:92). According to Goody the domestic group
grows, changes, and dissolves with the growth cycle of lineage, and a
particular elementary family is only an episode in this cycle. At any given
time in a lineage there are domestic families at every stage of development
(Goody *In* Goody 1962:53-54).
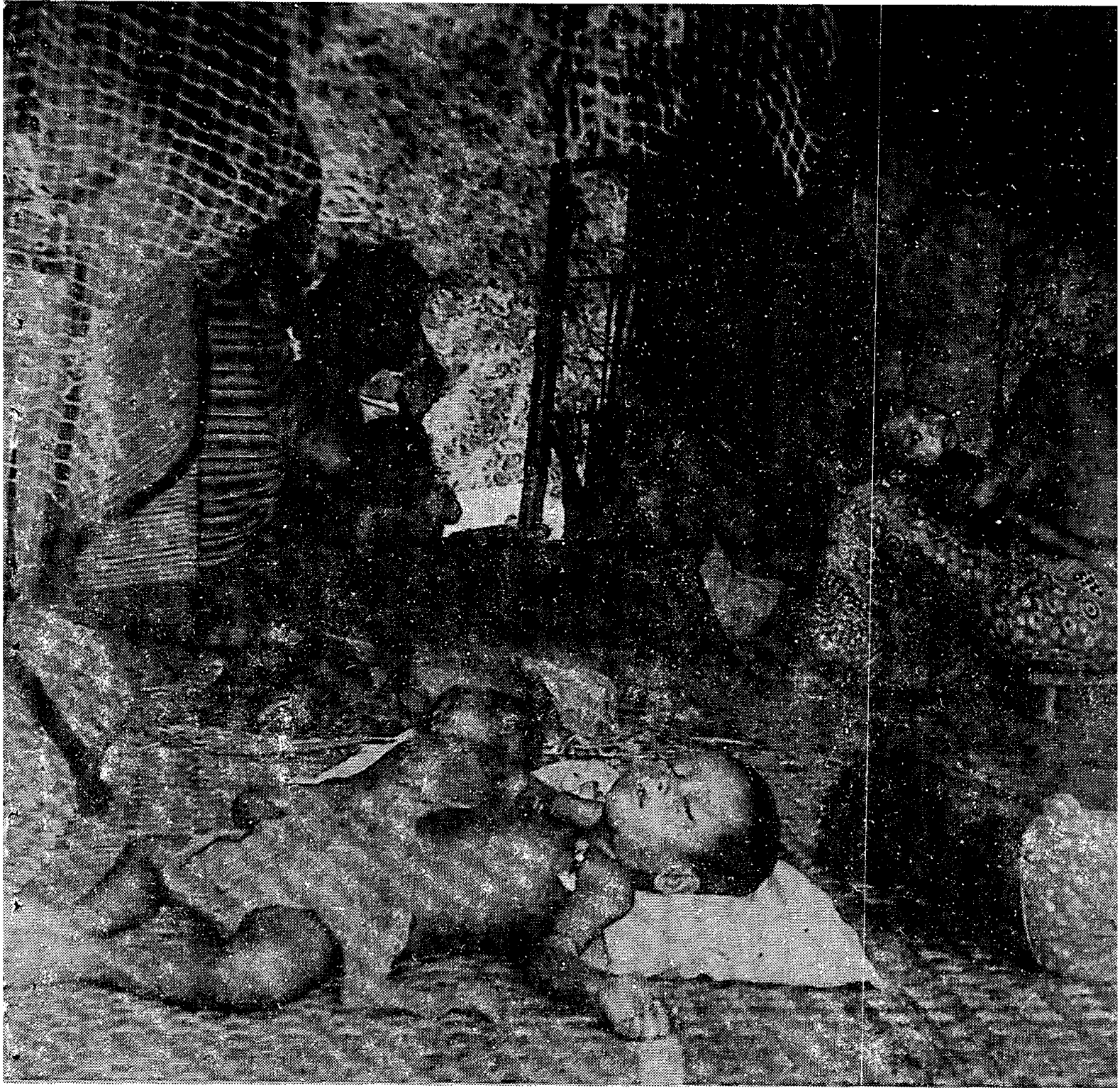
The children of a Hindu joint family having a afternoon nap while a few
younger babies are being breastfed.

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In the sample population under study, 722 of 2,319 domestic units had agriculture as their primary means of subsistence. Table 8 shows domestic units according to annual income and agriculture as the chief source of subsistence.

Statistics show that in agricultural families, providing an adequate means of support is an increasingly difficult task. With the annual 2% rise in hearth units, comes a steadily increasing need for more land for housing and crops. Already, most people in the area have less than 50 feet of living space per person (see Table 9). Cost of house materials and land is continually rising. There are already a number of landless families (see Table 10), and the figures are likely to increase. Approximately 30% of the agricultural simple nuclear families are landless, and are compelled to seek employment other than agriculture usually on a daily wage basis.

The nuclear family unit is locally called a *ghar*. The head of each family is termed as *mālik,* and *kartā* by Muslims and Hindus respectively. These are the terms of reference used by kin members as well as unrelated people for identification of the head of the family. If the family owns one residential house and one kitchen house, the former is termed a *baḍa ghar* and the latter is called a *pāk ghar*. If in the same homestead there is more than one residential house then the house in which the head of the family resides will be known as *baḍa ghar* which literally means 'big house' indicating that in it the head of the family resides. The remaining houses are identified according to the location or direction of such house from the position of the head's house. For example, if the additional house is located to the east of the head's house, then it will be known as *pūber ghar* or *pūber bhiṭir ghar* (house standing on raised mud floor of eastern location). Likewise, if the houses are located to the north, south or west then the identification will be made accordingly. There is no recognized *bāḍī* head for practical purposes. But the senior male and female members of the *bāḍī* are accorded special respect because of their specific position in the family tree.

The family takes many forms in different societies, although it is always focused on conjugal (man-and-wife) and parental relationships. It can be based upon one marriage or upon many. The distribution of numbers of marriages for males and females in the study area is shown in Table 11 and 12. It can emphasize paternal, maternal, or both lines of descent. It can be highly extended going much beyond the isolated nuclear family of husband, wife, and children. The variation in family form among societies indicates that kinship is not only biological but is a social status, which, as in adoption, "blood-brotherhood," and even marriage, can be entirely independent of biological relatedness.

Economic life is primarily organized around household or *ghar* units. Certain cooperation is occasionally needed from the group of households or *bāḍī* to overcome the bottlenecks of agricultural operation. Households

depend upon one another for loans of food grain, cash, exchange of labour, sharing of common courtyard for processing harvested agricultural products, sharing of agricultural implements and bullocks, sharing of utensils. Certain inherited paternal property is kept separate for common use with the objective of gaining maximum benefit. These items of common use would include pond, parlour, country-boat, pathway within the *bāḍī* compound and graveyard. When inter-household support does not come forth, it is sought from alternative sources beyond the *bāḍī*, neighbourhood or even village. However, for social security purposes interhousehold cooperation within the *bāḍī* is essential. Every household is run under separate economic management based on the earnings of the household members which can be termed as a primarily independent economic unit. In spite of this independent economic management there was a continuity between the households as noted above. Within the *bāḍī* the houses are semi-permanent establishments. Majority of the house structures are over 25 years old. The economy has tied the members of the majority of the households to an agricultural economy on a continuous basis. The majority of the households in the study are small and simple. In the study area 44% of the total households are simple nuclear families. But a considerable number of families in the study area does have intricate and elaborate family situations. Thirty-seven per cent of the total are extended families as typed by Billingsley. In actuality these are joint families as defined earlier. It can be viewed that the joint family is a conglomeration of several nuclear families having the characteristic trait of the senior-most male member functioning as the authority in whom lies the economic leadership including the ownership of property. Increasing poverty, modern communication system and movement from parental homestead to other places on account of employment are the chief factors responsible for the breaking up of joint families.

Among both Muslims and Hindus in the study area, kin encourage the continuing existence of a nuclear family. These members of the kindred put pressure on the parents to stay together, and provide moral support and economic cooperation in times of stress. Information on the typology of family structures among Muslims and Hindus in the study area is presented in Tables 13 and 14. In both the populations over 53% of the domestic units are based upon the incipient nuclear family consisting of a man and his wife and its extensions in the simple and attenuated types.

The patrilineal and patrilocal elementary or joint family is the normal type of family unit met within the study villages. When a son-in-law settles with his wife's parents, we occasionally get examples of matrilocal residence. But this is rare and is largely confined to the cases of a few orphans and children of very poor parents who take recourse to the method of marrying a girl and then continue to live with their parents-in-law.

Although the joint family is approved by social tradition, in the study sample we could not find a single family in which five generations live together under the same roof. In the study area it is rare to find a family

in which all nuclear families of three generations share a common house.
In actual practice joint families in the study area are small units, and
often they consist of parents and their married sons and their wives along
with children, or of brothers and their wives along with children. Table 15
shows the generation status of individual members in the sample population
among Muslims and Hindus. Among the Muslims 35% of the population belonged
to the current generation and the generation below the current one had 56%
of the population. Thus about 91% of the Muslim sample population belonged
to these two generations. Percentage of ascending generation appears to be
low. This fact is reflected in Table 16 which shows average life expectancy
in the study area at specified ages by sex. Table 17 shows that among
Muslims in the 2,028 sample households under study, in relation to the heads
of households there were only 11 great grandfathers, 2 great grandmothers,
2 grandfathers, 9 grandmothers, 42 fathers, and 342 mothers. Table 18 shows
similar trends among the Hindus under study. The life course of individuals
is punctuated by transition points — the relinquishment of familiar roles
and the assumption of new ones (Foner and Kertzer 1978:1081). By the
present author a significant difference in behavioural role was identified
in the study area particularly, in respect of communicating knowledge on
sexual behaviour through the mother and the grandmother. It was observed
that the mother found it delicate in conveying facts of life regarding
sexual matters to her children, whereas the grandmother was comfortable in
communicating such information to her grandchildren. Compared with the
number of mothers in the study area the number of grandmothers is extremely
small. Under such circumstances the grandmother as a source of sex
information stands highly inadequate. In generation-set societies like
rural Bangladesh, although bases of social inequality other than generation
are operative, the generation-set system is more definitive. In the study
area individuals become part of the formal generation-stratification system
as members of a generation-set. Thus by knowing which generation an indivi-
dual occupies it is possible to form a distinct idea of his socially defined
roles and tasks, his rights and obligations, his relations with members of
different generations.

It is common for sons to separate from their parents within a few years
of their marriage. As a result of this separation they start as an elementary
family, which comprises at first only the husband and wife. This elementary
family gradually becomes larger as children are added to it. When sons grow
up, get married and continue to live with their wives in the parental home
with co-owned property the unit can once again be classed as a joint family.
Effective married life begins almost immediately after the marriage ceremony,
or in few cases within six months at the most.

For a year or so after his marriage a son continues to live with his
parents. His wife also lives with him. Domestic quarrels and dissensions
develop within this period and compel him to start thinking about separation.
In some cases this takes place in the course of the next year; in others it
may take several years until several children are born or in other words the

number of his dependents gets bigger. Those extended families who can keep themselves together for about five years generally are able to live under the same roof without any quarrel for a quite longer period. Nevertheless, separation is known to have taken place, in some cases, even after ten to twelve years of living together.

From the results of his 1960 survey of the village Dhaniswar in the Comilla district, Qadir noted the following findings on the disintegration of joint families.

In the majority opinion families break because members fail to concur in opinion or abide by the single decision of the family head. Economic hardship due to high prices of consumer and utility goods coupled with increasing family size and decreasing per capita holding has also to some extent contributed to the disintegration of the family (1960:116-17).

In 1974 the present author found the above points even more applicable in his study villages in view of the continuing high inflationary trends.

It is necessary to point out that an equivalent of the term 'family' is used by the members of the society to denote three different social units, each varying from the other slightly. It may mean: (1) the elementary family or the 'house', (2) the joint family consisting of several family units under a single head or (3) a still larger family comprised of nearkin consisting of paternal, maternal and affinal relatives. In the third type of household, from one to all such types of nearkin may be present. However, from Tables 17 and 18 it is seen that among both Muslim and Hindu household members the percentages of nearkin and non-kin were very small. In 2,028 Muslim households there were only 28 non-kins and in 291 Hindu households there were only 7 non-kins. Mukherjee (1977:6) in a study of 4,119 family units during 1960-61 found only 3 cases of non-kins included as family members. Results of this study distinctly show that inclusion of non-kins as family member was more uncommon in West Bengal compared with the families of the study area.

Selling or buying land or a house, starting litigation, leaving the *bāḍī* permanently, arranging marriage, finalizing a guest list for a wedding or funeral feast are among the activities for which prior consultation with the senior members of the extended family is regarded obligatory and useful. The extended family is usually the group of patrilineally related families within a *bāḍī*. If the affairs of any unit are in "bad shape" the elders of the extended family are expected to intervene. Habits of gambling, addiction to narcotics or country-made liquor, stealing, and premarital or extra-marital sexual relationships by family members are always admonished by the elders. Such admonition frequently creates a special distance between the younger and older generations. If a young man cannot keep his wife under control, or if the quarrels of two become open and loud too frequently,

it is expected that senior members of the extended family will take initiative in correcting the couple. In all such cases they will be within their customary realm of power if they intervene. They can demand that their advice be heard and followed. Sometimes such insistence results in a divorce which frequently gets the support of the neighbours also.

Among the Karimojong of Africa, the senior generation about to retire abandons its prerogatives stage by stage "until at the end it has abdicated its superior status, relinquished its corporate control of public affairs and reduced itself to a collection of separate, aged individuals" (Dyson - Hudson 1966:193). In the study area within the family unit the eldest male is generally regarded as the head. His wife or the next senior male is given the second place. A respectful son very often describes his old widowed mother as the 'head' of the family. However, in many cases the de facto head of the family may be a son under whose guidance and supervision the land is cultivated or the craft or profession of the family is practised. Parents dominate the scene in their youth and early middle age. With approaching old age when they become ineffective in the management of household economy, including property, they gradually retire from such activities. Nominally they remain the heads of the family, but their sons have delegated power and authority to conduct the management of property and profession as they like. As long as the father remains the real head of the family, the mother is given responsibility for domestic management. Sons are expected to obey her and the daughters-in-law are expected to perform household duties according to her guidance. Any inability or reluctance on the part of a daughter-in-law to carry out the instructions of her mother-in-law frequently leads to constant exchange of verbal abuses, and in some cases to ultimate separation from the son. Between sons and daughters, as a rule, preference is shown to the former, but if the sisters have considerable seniority in age, their younger brothers are expected to respect and obey them.

In 133 villages of the study area a routine collection of mortality statistics indicated a very high infant mortality rate and an excess female mortality above one year of age. It was found that, on the average, 12% of newborns die by the end of the first year. The female mortality rate exceeded the male rate by an average of 94% in the age group 15-24 years. An average of 41% excess mortality for females compared to males was found in the age group 1-4 years. There was a small but consistent excess in female mortality above 45 year of age (Aziz and Hossain 1974:27). In the study area the author observed a general reluctance to spend money on the treatment of sick female members of the household. Frequently for treatment the females had to depend on religio-medical services offered by spiritual person at almost no cost. In explaining the higher mortality among females, the pattern of food distribution in each family is worth noting. In the study area it was learnt through interview and observation that in most cases, meals were served first to the children with some favouritism to the boys in the process of distribution. In food serving next comes the turn of

the adult male members, and finally whatever remains in the pot is shared by all the adult female members of the household. In the poor families, frequently the female members do not have their turn taking breakfast, though other members have it.

The preponderance of two-generation over three-generation households is greatest among the poor families. The decline in the number of generations has weakened the family both as an economic unit and as a social unit. Traditional tensions growing out of competition between brothers over inheriting paternal property affect the relations between numerous households in the village. If a couple do not have any son, sometimes one daughter will remain at home. The parents may then have to gain a satisfactory son-in-law with permanent residency to carry on his homestead. Tables 19 and 20 show the nuclear families with no son and no daughter, respectively, in the Muslim population under study, according to size of family and occupational distribution. From the data it is revealed that a slightly higher number of nuclear families had no daughter compared with nuclear families with no son. From family size 9 and upward, very few nuclear families were without either sons or daughters. From family size 10 upward, all the sharecroppers and skilled labourers included at least one son and one daughter. Table 21 shows the distribution of households by family size and number of rooms at Matlab according to the CRL census of 1974. The average family size was 5.85 persons which was identical for both Muslims and Hindus. According to family type there was variation in family size. About 58 percent of the population lived in small families. About 89 percent households were headed by males and about 11 percent households were headed by females. Single person households were usually headed by widows. Table 22 shows the construction of dwellings in the study area.

Family Cycle

Table 23 presents the age distribution of the sample population up to the age of ten. Up to eight years the ages were based on exact date of birth and the remaining ages on given age. The age structure of children can be viewed in terms of readiness for a shift from one phase to the next. According to Fortes in the first phase a child is almost totally dependent on the mother for food, shelter and love. In the second phase the child learns walking, talking, feeding and cleanliness. In the third phase the sexual division of roles becomes effective (1962:10). Over 32% of the total population was found to be ten years of age or younger which indicates the extent of the load of responsibility for socialization on the part of the parents. In every society during the initial years of the child's life it needs the direct assistance and guidance from the mother as well as from the other members of the family for developing basic psychophysical capabilities. In the child's life when the sexual division of roles and activities becomes effective, for appropriate training the sons get attached to their fathers and the daughters to their mothers. It was observed in the study area that the child of ten years of age or older has a clear understanding of the exclusiveness of male and female participation in certain games. For
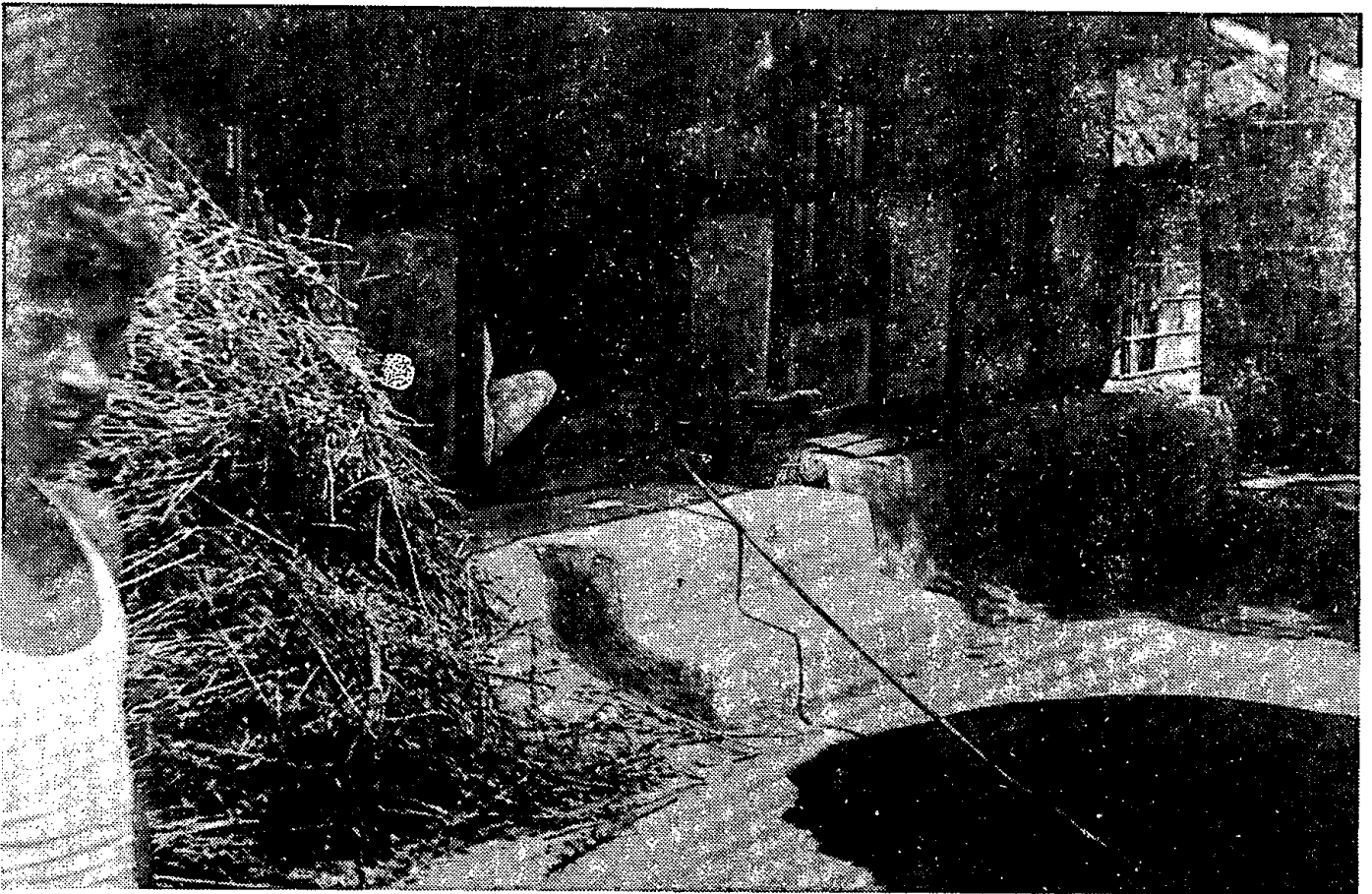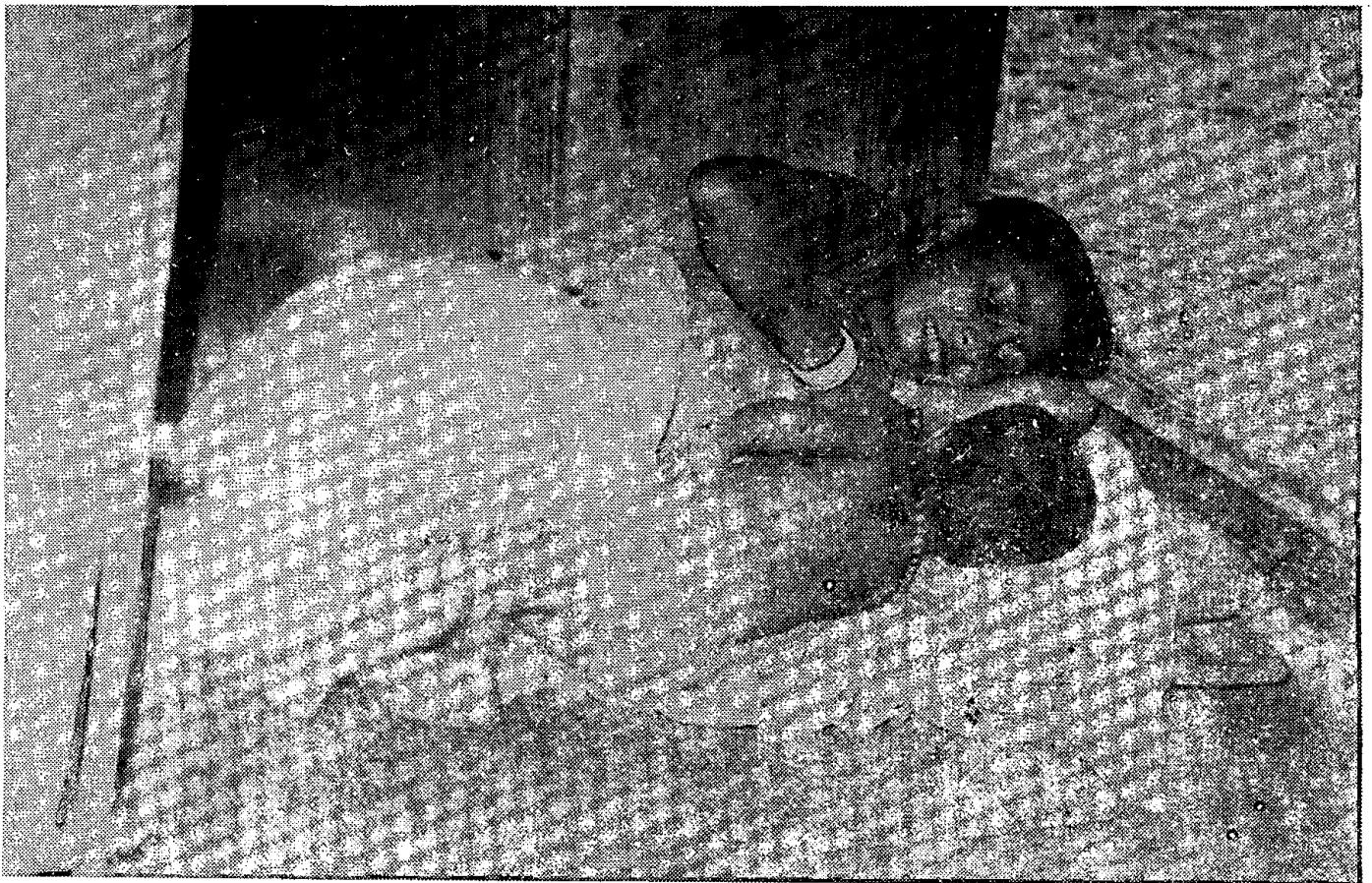
Above: The mother and the child in an intimate situation.

Below: Drying grains in the inner part of a Muslim homestead or *bāḏī*.

example, a game which shows the birth process of a young goat does not have
the participation of girls. Also only boys are allowed to watch the copula-
tion of a bull and cow. Girls know that for them, watching such an event
would be a matter of *śaram* or 'shame'.

Changes occur in the size and composition of nuclear families. An
incipient nuclear family commences as a legal union of husband and wife in
marriage. This union is devoted to the procreation of legitimate children,
their care during infancy, their socialization, and their material support
until sexually mature. This unequivocal process of expansion comes to an
end when the first child, particularly the first male child, marries and
reproduces, setting up a similar incipient nuclear family. From now on, the
original family is in a state of dissolution. This may be concealed, how-
ever, by the birth of further children especially when the full reproductive
span of spouses, particularly the male spouse is utilized in polygynous
unions. Complete dissolution occurs when all their offsprings have married,
excluding the eventuality of death or divorce of spouses.

The formal development of the simple nuclear family begins by definition
when children are born to the spouses. But in the agricultural and fishing
society under study this must be regarded as one of the crucial stages in the
formation of a domestic unit based upon the family. Among both agricultural
and fishing people, the birth of a male first child is considered a sign of
good luck because eventually he will take care of the property.

As the family grows, the everyday activity of its members will be
performed by the division of the homestead into its male and female sections
known as outer house or *bāhir bāḍī* and inner house or *bhitar bāḍī*.

The subsequent development of the nuclear family is, in effect, the
marital history of the male household head and his wife or wives. Normally,
sons and daughters are added to the simple family including a man and only
one wife. Rarely it may be expanded by the addition of other wives and their
children. Further, children may be added to these husband-wife components.
Divorce may take place, but normally the children born to a man stay with
him, or are claimed by him when they are at the age of seven to ten. All
these developments are crucial in considerations of the viability of the
simple or compound family household.

For the moment it is convenient to turn to the period of dissolution of
a family as defined earlier. When the married sons have demonstrated their
own powers of procreation, their allocations of property may be turned over
to them for the formation of their homesteads and households. Now, the sons
have become husbands and fathers.

While these developments have been taking place, the father's
personal power, occupational skills and fertility have been going down.
Although serial monogamy and the children resulting from new unions may

temporarily conceal the fact, he is steadily losing dependents as they
get married. The parents frequently prefer to live with the last un-
married son.

In the study area all the married couples had experience living in an
extended family, even for a short period. The sons of the extended family
usually form their own separate establishments, mainly for the reasons
stated earlier after their marriages. In this way more and more independent
family establishments come into existence.

The extended family often breaks up at the death of the man who origi-
nally founded it. When a family is divided, usually it splits into as many
units as there are individual or nuclear families.

Sooner or later after the death of a father, a complete distribution of
property occurs among both Muslims and Hindus. Among Muslims when an
extended family divides, the commonly held agricultural property is distri-
buted among its members mainly according to religious prescription. According
to the traditional custom among Muslims, the main living room of the parents
usually goes to the youngest son at the time of distribution of property among
the children. In the case of Hindus the commonly held property is distributed
according to the traditionally followed rules. When an extended family is
split following the father's death, his main living house usually goes to his
wife, or in her absence, to his eldest son.

Though the grandfathers and uncles may live in separate *ghars* and own
separate estates, and their wives may cook separately, the children of the
bāḍī are not psychologically dependent wholly on their own parents. A child
is generally fondled by the mother and father, and sometimes by younger
uncles as a demonstration of affection. If a child is lucky enough to have
a grandfather or grandmother, he or she will also be fondled by them. Some-
times grandparents may make a show of fondling in the presence of their son
to please him, in order that they might receive favourable care in their old
age. The girls after attaining the age of 11 or 12 years stay mostly in the
company of women and children within the *bāḍī* compound. At this stage,
particularly in well-to-do families, they are relieved of duties outside the
bāḍī compound. Further they will start wearing cloth covering the legs down
to the ankle. They are strictly advised to shun the company of male play-
mates.

After marriage the young man may see his wife now and then working side
by side with other young brides in the courtyard of the *bhitar bāḍī* or inner
house. A man can speak to his wife only occasionally in the presence of
others when the wife is young and has not produced any child. When she
becomes the mother of few children the husband may speak to her more often,
but even then direct address to her is forbidden by convention. In no case
is the young wife allowed to talk to strangers. Usually there is no assign-
ment of duty outside the *bāḍī* courtyard until the young wife becomes the
mother of a few children.

The services of children are frequently utilized by both husband and wife to pass on messages between them when either of them is not available on the spot or when there is a senior person present. The senior person referred to here may include the father, mother, father's brother, father's brother's wife, elder brother and so forth.

Marriage Practices

Among both Muslims and Hindus, there are three main features in the traditional form of marriage. These features are as follows: (1) the proposal of marriage is initiated by the bridegroom's party, (2) the marriage usually takes place at the bride's home, and (3) marriages are arranged by the parents, other relatives, friends or acquaintances of the parties to be united.[1] In the Muslim and Hindu marriage practices, however, there are certain differences. Among the Muslims *mahr* or a certain amount of payment under specific conditions is to be made by the bridegroom or his family to the bride in every case of marriage. Such an agreement for payment is given to the bride symbolizing her worth as a person to the bridegroom.[2] Among the Hindus in certain cases the bridegroom is required to pay a certain amount known as *pan* or "price" to the father of the bride. The amount of *mahr* as well as *pan* is fixed through negotiation by the parties of the bride and bridegroom. The payment of the *mahr* amount may be made either in cash or kind or both. In the case of *mahr* partial deferred payment is allowed. In the case of *pan* the whole amount is paid in cash at the time of marriage.

A Hindu marriage is performed by a priest. The Muslims have no priests in the strict sense of the word; any educated person is qualified for the performance of priestly offices, and can perform rites of a marriage. The Muslim marriage is performed by a respectable related or unrelated male designated as *ukil* or pleader with two male witnesses. Among Muslims marriage is a contract and usually the terms of the contract are formally documented. The Hindu marriage is a sacrament and needs no formal documentation.

A decade ago, it was more difficult for a man to find a wife than the reverse. But now a woman's family commonly takes the initiative in looking for a bridegroom. This is essential if a woman's family wishes to arrange a marriage into a wealthier one.

In certain cases of marriage which are called *gharjamai* the bridegroom comes to live in his father-in-law's house permanently. Among Muslims in the sample population of the study area, there were eleven such marriages, and in the Hindu population, only one (see Tables 17 and 18). If his wife dies without issue, he is frequently compelled to return to his original home. But in some cases the parents-in-law decide to keep him as a member of the family and arranges another marriage.
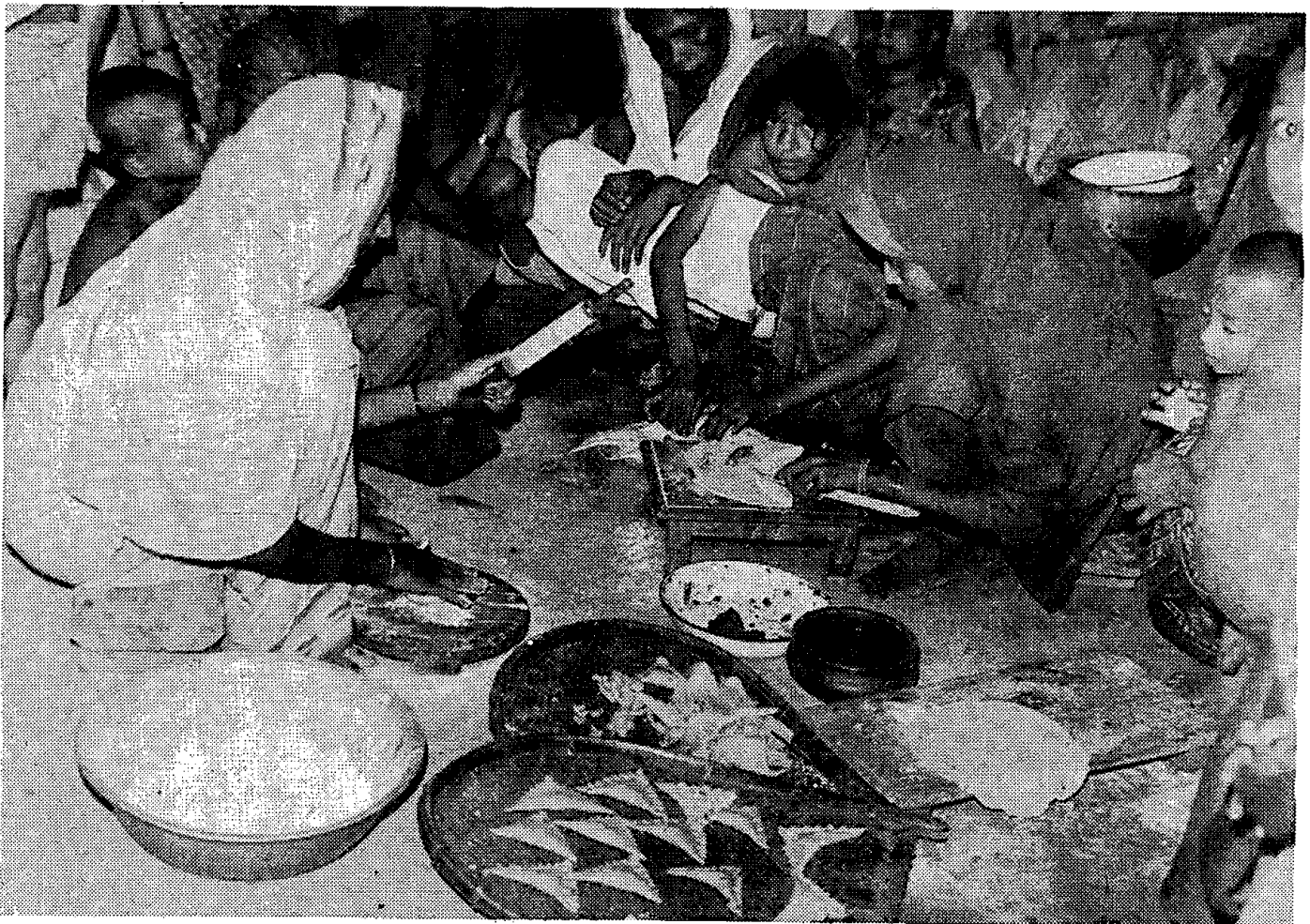
Above: Rice cakes with traditional designs are being made by the kin
members and neighbouring fictive kins of the bride in preparation
of a Muslim wedding.

Below: (Left) A Muslim woman bringing home chillies having them plucked
from the field.

(Right) A Muslim housewife washing clothes sitting in the inner
courtyard.

Under the Muslim marriage rules, an individual is allowed to marry a parallel-cousin or cross-cousin. The cohesion of the family is reinforced by the practice of cousin marriages among all Muslims. Normally there is no cross-cousin marriage among the Hindus. Compared with them this form of marriage is preferred among the Muslims though parallel-cousin marriages are by no means barred. A male Muslim may marry the daughter of his father's brother, his mother's sister's daughter, his mother's brother's daughter or his father's sister's daughter whenever the families concerned agree to such a match. During 1975, out of 1,719 marriages between Muslims who were being married for the first time, only 62 were between parallel-cousins and 84 between cross-cousins. Though the Hindus under study do not allow first-cousin marriage, among them there is no universal feeling that such marriages are incestuous. In the study area a Hindu married his mother's brother's daughter and has lived a normal married life for the past five years apparently without any problem from the samāj members.

Both Muslims and Hindus have incest regulations. According to custom in the study area, a Muslim may marry anyone who is not a sibling or otherwise proscribed. Specifically, according to Islamic rule, a girl may not marry her brother, father's brother, mother's brother, mother's father, father's father, brother's son, or sister's son. A boy may not marry his sister, mother's sister, father's sister, mother's mother, father's mother, brother's daughter, sister's daughter. These proscriptions are always heeded. One exception that occurred in the study area (a man married his widowed step-mother[3]) resulted in expulsion from the samāj.

The rule of marriage among the Hindus under study is that a person (1) must not marry in his patri-family which can be called the patri-clan in some cases and (2) must also avoid marriage (a) with the children of his mother's siblings and cousins and (b) with the children of his father's sisters and the children of his father's female cousins. Incest regulations among Hindus demand that a person cannot marry any member of his patri-family, an offspring of a mother's sibling or cousin, an offspring of his father's sister, or the offspring of his father's female cousin. In the study area, among all castes, marriages between cousins, even those removed from each other two or three degrees, is highly disfavoured. But the Hindu population of each village is interconnected by kinship bonds. Marriages take place within the village frequently, and the mother's kin are not totally avoided. Incest regulations help to unite different families into larger cooperating wholes. Such larger exogamic units are more common among Hindus than Muslims for reasons already stated.

Marriage is almost universal in the study area. If she has no physiological defects, most of the females in the area expect to be married before she is twenty. Universality of marriage in Bangladesh and in the Matlab study area is well reflected in the age specific percentages of never married women shown in Tables 24 and 25.

Regarding polygyny the Muslim Family Laws of 1961 stated
that no man during the subsistence of an existing marriage
shall, except with the previous permission in writing of the
Arbitration Council, contract another marriage. Contravention
of this may make a person liable to pay the amount of dower to
the existing wife and if convicted to suffer imprisonment up
to one year, or with a fine up to five thousand takas, or with
both (Qadir 1968:5).

The very low rate of polygyny at Matlab (see Table 17) shows that
Muslim Family Laws Ordinance of 1961 affected existing practices very little.
In the study area polygyny[4] is permitted among Muslims and Hindus. In spite
of such permission a very small number of them have more than one wife[5] Of
1,681 married men, only 19 had two wives, and only one had three. Among the
Hindus, out of 238 married males only three of them had two wives. In a
different rural study done in 9 villages of Mymensingh in 1967, it was found
that in a sample of 280 families (i.e. 5%) only 14 husbands had more than
one wife (Qadir 1970:10). Very small number of polygyny at Matlab may be
mainly attributed to wide spread poverty. Traditionally after marriage the
wife is almost wholly dependent economically on her husband. Employment
outside home on the part of the housewife is considered degrading and even
sinful by many. However, polygynous marriages in the study area are believed
to be emanated from considerations of wealth, luxury, and sex-urge.

Tables 11 and 12 show the study population at Matlab according to number
of times married. In the case of plural marriages the great majority of them
were cases of serial monogamy rather than polygyny. These data indicate the
age of entry into marital union, interruption and the extent of stability of
marital bonds which are important determinants of a woman's exposure to the
risk of childbearing. In the same population a different study (Aziz,
Chowdhury and Mosley 1970) noted that the extent of multiple marriages among
males was considerably higher than among females. With increasing age, males
showed an almost continuous upward trend in multiple marriages. Among
Muslims, by the age of sixtynine 88% had married more than once as compared
to 48% among Hindus. This continuous upward trend was maintained only until
the age of 45 to 49 in females. Tables 24 and 25 show the percentages of
never married among females. It is evident from these data that the number
of never married women were very small. The percentage of never married
women at Matlab seem to be slightly lower than other data presented in
table 24. Table 25 shows the percentage of never married women in five
developing countries obtained through the World Fertility Survey (WFS) and
referred to by Kendall (1977:513). As of March 1977 these WFS data have
been published or were in press. The percentage of never married women at
Matlab is much lower than the figures of WFS countries. Such proportion is
an important characteristic feature in the fertility behaviour of any
population.

The Muslims provide certain procedures whereby marriages may be dissolved. In the case of Hindu marital partners there is no provision of divorce, but couples do get separated and remarried with other partner when marital adjustment is not possible. Among the Muslims under study, sometimes marital ties continue between the families of both marital partners even after the death of one of the partners. In cultural terms this can be seen in the few cases of levirate and sororate that were noted during the routine marriage registration in the study area.

Though according to Islamic provisions marriage is viewed as a contract, in reality the terms of the contract have been formalized and deprived of much of their effect.

In pre-Islamic days marriage was looked upon as a kind of sale in which, after the consent of the parties had been given, the husband made to the wife's father a payment called *mahr*. Muslim marriage has kept this ancient form; but the dower is assigned to the wife and considered to be an indemnity for the sacrifice of her person (Gaudefroy-Demombynes 1968:128).

In the study area among the Muslims, the amount of *mahr* varied widely according to the socioeconomic status of the families concerned. The *mahr* amount of randomly selected 609 marriages was examined. In the case of 22% of the marriages, the *mahr* varied from Taka 300.00 to Taka 1,000.00. In 56% of the marriages, the *mahr* varied from Taka 1,001 to 5,000. In the remaining 22% of the marriages, the amount varied from Taka 5,001 to 35,000. When a *mahr* amount is fixed the previous *mahr* amounts for the girls of the same family are cited in fixing the new *mahr*. The higher *mahr* amount indicates higher social status. Against the *mahr* amount the groom's party takes ornaments and clothing, at the time of marriage ceremony which are proudly exhibited by the bride's party to the guests present. In the marriage contract, the price of ornaments and clothes is shown as part of the *mahr* amount termed as *oyāsil* or paid. In some cases such gifts are taken from the groom's side which are not really owned by the groom. These are borrowed by the groom's party partly from other members of the kindred. After the marriage ceremony is over and the bride takes up formal residency in her husband's house, the above mentioned borrowed items are returned to the real owners. Only occasionally these items are replaced by a capable husband. The amount of *mahr* mentioned above in every case was fixed by the mutual consent of both the groom's and the bride's party, and 22% of the *mahr* amounts were exceedingly small. In the study area the marriage ceremony was celebrated in most cases in the house of the bride's father.

According to Kapadia, Islam has improved the status of woman by restricting polygyny to four wives, by assigning a share of inheritance to women and by declaring *mahr* as a gift to the bride (1959:199). Above, I have reviewed the actual position of Muslim women in the study area to some extent in respect to polygyny and the fate of the *mahr* amount or gift to the bride.

Among Muslims at Matlab certain temporary marital bars are applicable to a woman who is in *iddat*[6] following the death of or divorce of her husband. A divorced woman is prohibited to the same husband until she has been married to someone else, has lived with him and has been divorced. In the study area if any divorced couple is interested in reunion, the divorced wife is married usually with the former husband's distant relation of advanced age. In the case of such a marriage the woman gets a divorce after three months and three days and her former husband marries her again. Such marriage is locally known as *hillā* marriage.

In the study area among both Muslims and Hindus marriage infrequently takes place before the girl reaches puberty. Under increasing economic hardship the parents of the boys have lost the traditional interest in getting prepubertal or *nābālikā* daughters-in-law, rather they prefer to bring home post-pubertal or *sābālikā* daughters-in-law so that they can participate in the household economic activities without any delay. After the marriage the girl most frequently is taken to the husband's place to join the husband without any waiting period. Among the Hindus in the cases of marriage prior to menstruation, two marriage ceremonies take place which are known as *āger biyā* or earlier marriage and *pāchher biyā* or latter marriage. *Pāchher biyā* occurs on the fifth day of the first menses. In both the ceremonies service from priest is required. Sometimes sexual union takes place before the second marriage. In a Hindu fishing village with a population of 2,000, only one of the twelve marriages that took place during the last year were of the *pāchher biyā* type. According to difference in occupational background, the number of *pāchher biyā* is likely to vary. Phadke (1927:100) writing on sex problem in India noted, "There is hardly any need to prove anew that early marriage leads to early cohabitation. It is mere idiocy to argue that when boys and girls are married at an early age a kind of steady love for each other arises in their hearts. If at all there are any inevitable consequences of early marriage they are that a depraved premature passion pollutes the hearts of the young couple, that, if unfortunately the fear of elders in the house, which is usually a sufficient check, is absent -- and often even with the implicit consent of the elders -- the passion is encouraged and the girl experiences sexual relations with the husband long long before attaining puberty, and that all chances are wiped away of the husband and the wife remaining aloof from each other for a certain period after the wife's maturity." In certain cases in the study area the bride does not leave her parental home before she attains puberty, and in certain other cases she shares the bed with the mother or grandmother of the husband to keep away from early cohabitation at an unripe age.

Previously among the Hindus *paner biyā* or purchase of bride was most common. During the past decade, *paner biyā* has declined to a great extent, and has been replaced by the payment of a heavy dowry to the boy known as *yautuk*. A decade ago in certain Hindu families another type of marriage known as *dāner biyā* used to take place. In the case of *dāner biyā*, the father of the girl used to bear all the expenditures of marriage and did not

accept any gift from the boy's side. But now the girl's father is compelled to make heavy payment in order to get a suitable male partner for the daughter. In the past, the father of the girl usually spent money according to his capacity in the few cases of *dāner biyā* only. But now before almost all marriages, a list of demands is presented to the girl's father from the boy's side for fulfillment. Such demands may lead to debt on the part of girl's father. If the girl is of fair complexion, then the demand by the boy's side is smaller, and if the girl is of dark complexion such demand is higher. The complexion of the boy is not taken into consideration. In the case of the boy, the earning capacity is an important consideration. In the past when *paṇer biyā* was common, the rate of *paṇ* or bride price was higher among fishermen, potters, mat makers and milkmen because of their technical skill in their respective traditional professions.

Informants have unanimously agreed that when *paṇer biyā* was most common, the marriage ceremony took place in the groom's father's house. According to key informants this was frequently the case as recently as twenty years ago. The bride price and all the expenditures of a wedding were the responsibility of the groom's father. Usually the bride was taken to the groom's house for the actual marriage ceremony after payment of *paṇ* money and the presentation of gifts of clothes and ornaments. Presently the groom is given money by the bride's father and the marriage ceremony usually takes place in the bride's father's house since it involves expenditure. However, in the study area few marriages occurred both among Muslims and Hindus in the bridegroom's house. Such a marriage is known as *'tolā biyā'* which literally means 'take out marriage'.

In the Hindu fishing village mentioned earlier the author found that five male widowers had 'kept' widowed women or *āśritā* without any announced marriage. This practice of keeping women is accepted with much reluctance by the members of the society. The birth of children in such unions is strongly frowned upon. As a result, information about conception is usually concealed. Although a live baby from such union is termed as illegal or *jāraj*, such child is allowed to inherit parental property like a legal child. In the above five cases two women obtained legal right of obtaining a certain amount of landed property from the male partner. This right does not include the right of selling. After the death of such a woman, the property will revert to her male partner or his legal heir. According to the informants, approximately fifteen years ago such partners were excluded from various major socio-religious functions and no one would eat at their houses. If anyone accepted an invitation from such person he was invariably fined by village elders. In her absence, the above type of female partner is referred to as *chhināl* or *beśyā* which means a fallen woman.

Among the Hindus, after a daughter is married, her parents may not customarily eat in the son-in-law's house until after a grandson is born. This is true in the case of *dāner biyā* which has been explained above. A rice eating ceremony is held at the time a first grandson reaches the age of seven or twelve months. On this occasion the son-in-law invites his

parents-in-law. In addition to a sumptuous meal they are presented with
new clothings by the son-in-law. The parents-in-law in turn invite their
grandson and his parents to their house. On such an occasion the grandson
receives various gifts from his maternal grandparents. From then on the
restriction in taking food is withdrawn. Formerly, in the case of *paner
biyā*, parents of the married daughter did not take food in the son-in-law's
house for one year, but now there is no such restriction. In *paner biyā*
the daughter is practically sold in exchange for money and hence there is
no restriction in taking food. Among Muslims there is no bar on the part of
a daughter's father to visit the son-in-law's house.

In the study area according to the 1974 census of CRL a Muslim
agricultural village had 681 ever married females, out of whom 22.5% got
remarried subsequently. Similarly in a Hindu fishing village there were
400 ever married females out of whom 26.7% were widowed. Among these
widows 6.5% eventually got remarried. Though there is a significant
difference between Muslim and Hindu remarriage percentages, it is evident
that widow remarriage which was unacceptable among the latter is now
gradually finding its way.

All over northern India, as well as in the study area, the words for
"marriage" are always different from the words for "widow-marriage." Among
the Muslims widow marriage is frequent and is one of the traditional forms.
The second marriage of a Hindu woman needed no rigid ritual and vows. It is
merely considered to be a living together of a man and a woman after letting
a few friends and relatives know about it. Recently the author attended a
marriage between a widower and a widow in a Hindu fishing village. In this
case the marriage was attended by about twenty guests from both sides. The
marriage took place in the girl's house. No priest was needed to solemnize
the marriage. On the occasion of the first marriage of this girl, she was
formally handed over to the bridegroom by her father. Though in the second
marriage the father of the girl was present, he could not perform the task
of handing over since he did it once earlier. In this marriage the girl
was formally handed over by her elder brother. When doing so, the brother
announced before the guests present that he was formally handing over his
sister to so and so and this announcement was followed by an exchange of
garlands by the partners.   j

In northern India the word for marriage is *biyā* (Sanskrit-*Vivāha*)
and terms for widow-remarriage are *sāgāi, kārewā,* and *sānga*. In the study
area the word for marriage is *biyā* and the word for widow remarriage is
hāngā among both Muslims and Hindus. But among the Muslims such marriage
is frequently referred to as *nikāh*. *Nikāh* is an Arabic word which means
'sexual union through contract.' In the study area the marriage of a
widow was not prohibited in any caste. But is commonly believed that
widow marriage does not have the sacredness of a first marriage. A
widower's remarriage is considered as sacred as his first. But such a
marriage does not receive the usual enthusiastic reception from the *samaj*
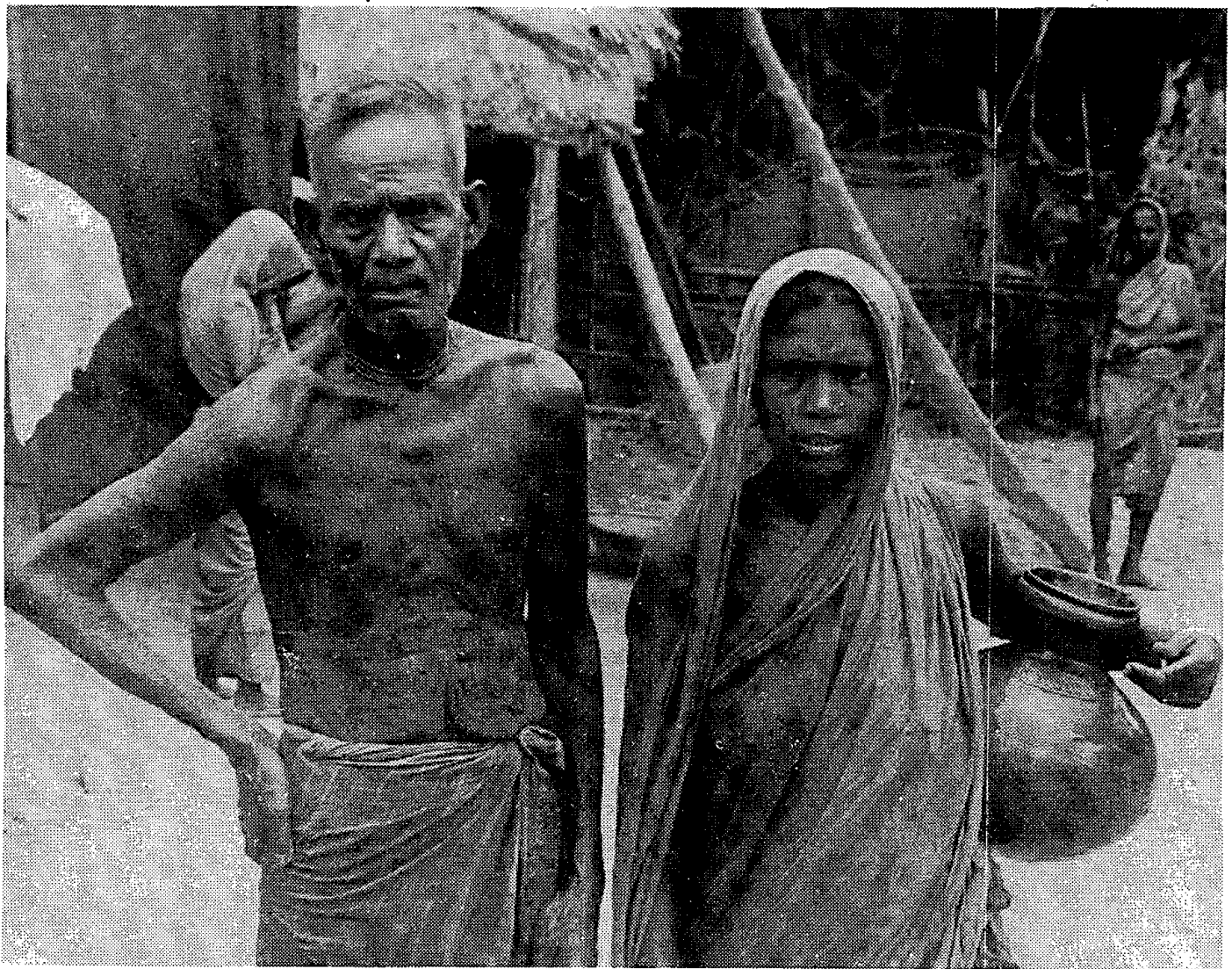
Above: A pair of Hindu widow and widower living together as man and wife.
There was no formal marriage ceremony for them. They have children
of their own.

Below: Women and children at work.

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members. The older children of the widower usually do not welcome such a marriage and gradually may develop a mutual distrust with the step-mother and also with the father. Such marriages are especially noted by *samāj* members and their maladjustments if any are widely discussed. Children of such a family find it more difficult to get a suitable marital partner. In the study area among 4,734 routinely registered married partners of 1976, 1.7% of the brides were widows and 4.2% of the grooms were widowers. The data presented in table 11 indicate that a high proportion of older adult males have married more than once. The small number of widowers who may not remarry is likely to belong to one or more of the following categories. They may be too old, disabled, may have opposition of the older children from previous marriage, may not possess resources to provide minimal support to the partner to be married, fear of severe criticism from the kin and *samāj* members, and so forth.

Giving a daughter to a man who is a widower indicates the inability of the father to find a suitable partner. Such a marriage is sometimes contracted to gain social status and power. Such marriage also takes place when a father fails to make appropriate matrimonial expenditures. In some instances this might indicate physical drawbacks or premarital sex on the part of the girl. Usually a man goes down in the social status scale to a certain extent when he gives his daughter to a widower. If the age gap between such partners is very wide the father receives heavy, but temporary, criticism from the fellow *samāj* members.

Data from the 1968 CRL census in the study area which covered a population of 109,054 showed that the singulate mean age at marriage for males was 24.9 years and for females it was 15.7 years. Ruzicka and Chowdhury (1978:20) noted that in the 1974 CRL census population of 263,000 the singulate mean age at marriage for males was 24.6 years and for females it was 17.0 years.

The national censuses of 1951, 1961 and 1974 found the singulate mean age at marriage for males to be 22.4, 22.9, 24.0 respectively. On the other hand for females it was 14.4, 13.9 and 15.9 respectively. The national census data showed a continuous upward trend in the male age at marriage, but in the case of female age at marriage the data showed fluctuation. According to the Bangladesh Retrospective Survey of Fertility and Mortality (BRSFM) the singulate mean age at marriage for males was 24.9 years and that for females 16.5 years in 1974 (Census Commission 1977:58). An increase in female education might be one of the contributory factors in the rising age at marriage. Islam, et al. (1978) showed that females in the study area who are currently 45+ years of age had reported 4.6% literacy, followed by the age group 25-44 with 16.6%, 15-24 age group with 29.9% and 10-14 age group with 31.7%. These data indicate that the females have been attending school in increasing proportion with the passage of time. Kendall's (1977:516) observations are worth noting here. He observed, "As expected there is a positive association between the length of formal education and

age at marriage in Fiji, Pakistan, Thailand and Malaysia where the more educated women marry later than those with less education. Education appears to delay first marriage in the majority of developing countries and could have been a major factor in reducing the incidence of childhood marriages in countries where they existed. The further spread of formal education of girls is bound to reduce the early exposure to childbearing."

A recent work done in the study area identified late menarcheal age which was mainly attributed to malnutrition factors. This work done by Chowdhury, et al. (1977:319) noted that in the study area under the present research only few have attained menarche by age 13, and only one-fifth of girls aged 14 have reached menarche. The median age of menarche was found to be 15.8 for Muslims and 16.0 for Hindus. The same study (1977:322) indicated that the proportion of ever married females of a given age is much higher among those who attained menarche. Among both Muslims and Hindus, for non-menarcheal girls, the proportion ever married is low for all age groups and shows only a slight increase as age increases. From this work the rising age of menarche seems to be one of the important factors facilitating the delay of marriage.

In the study area, in almost all the cases of post-menarcheal marriages, the bride is most frequently taken to the husband's house to join the latter without any waiting period. This brings the newly married females into the sphere of activities of effective marriage. In addition, when the post-pubertal woman leaves for the husband's house the chances of intimate mixing with any member of the opposite sex other than the husband is largely eliminated.

It is worth noting here that the Muslim Family Laws Ordinance of 1961 set the minimum age of marriage for the bride at sixteen and that for the bridegroom at eighteen (Qadir 1968:5). While considering the variation of trends of age at marriage revealed from the CRL censuses of 1968 and 1974 it must be remembered that during the census of 1968 the recorded age was the given age with certain assistance from the interviewer. Since the ages recorded in 1974 were those given in 1968 plus six years, significant under estimation of the age of brides was probably avoided. Age estimation of children is more reliable than that of teenaged girls who may appear to be younger than they actually are.

The earlier the marriage of women takes place, the greater will be the chances of her bearing more children. Busfield and Knodel note that early childbearing is associated with higher parity, short birth intervals, and large completed families (Hunt II 1976:162). A moderate rise in the age of marriage of girls, however, may not effect the population growth dramatically since the fertility is also lower among very young wives.

The author identified 100 first married women in randomly selected villages in the study area who were married and had pregnancy terminations within the period of 1970 to 1975. From the probable date of consummation

of the marriage and the termination of the first pregnancy the average
elapsed time was 24 months with a standard deviation of 10.66 months. Out
of these 100 pregnancy terminations, 96 were live births, 3 were mis-
carriages, and 1 was a stillbirth. The time interval shown here might
seem a little shorter since the calculation did not take into consideration
those married women who did not have any pregnancy. termination on record.

A continuing change in the age at marriage for females noted above is
likely to influence the pattern of population growth. The problems of rising
cost of living, increasing desire for education (see Table 26) and lack of
success of early marriage may have been important contributory factors in
making these significant changes in the marital patterns particularly for
the females mentioned above.

Because most families are large (see Table number 21), including in all
probability several daughters, and because of the heavy demand of dowry by
the families of both Muslim and Hindu boys, marriage may provide an un-
bearable economic burden. A daughter can be married only when her parents
can afford it. Those who receive an education try to achieve certain
standards of living before marriage. In the past, it has been found that
very early marriages were correlated with more frequent divorces and family
problems than later ones, therefore early marriages are now frequently dis-
couraged.

With the higher percentage of literacy and the improvement in public
communication systems, the standard of the choice of marriage partners has
considerably changed. The standards for the selection of a boy will mainly
include income level, education, family background, health and age. For the
selection of brides, body complexion, education, family background, financial
background of parents, health and age are considered. For partners of either
sex every effort is made to select one who is adequately endowed with all
or nearly all of the above mentioned qualities.

At the time of marriage both the parties involved may make gifts of
money, ornaments, clothing, household effects and other properties. Most of
the gifts almost invariably come from the purse of the father of the female
partner. The most popular gifts for male partners include the transistor
radio and wrist watch. Sometimes deferred payment of part of the dowry is
arranged. During the past twelve years, to the knowledge of the author, in
the Matlab study area over a dozen divorces have occurred due to the non-
payment of the promised dowry amount. The parents of the woman who cannot
afford to provide appropriate dowry to a man may be compelled to select a
groom, often a widower (see Table 32) with higher age.

The high proportion of more than once married beginning at an early
age for both sexes indicates a high percentage of unsuccessful marriages
(see Tables 11 and 12). The extent and causes of divorce in rural society

would be a worthwhile area for further investigation. When marriage takes place at an early age, a female partner may find it more difficult to adjust to the demands of her husband and his family. Moreover, traditionally every newly married woman tries to bear a baby as soon as possible because by doing so she will gain more security within her husband's family. The more children she has, the less the probability of divorce.

Inheritance Among Muslims and Hindus

Kinship comes into play not only in relation to marriage, but in regard to inheritance as well. Both the Islamic and Hindu laws do not regard woman on a footing of equality with man in regard to her capacity to own property. According to Islamic law of inheritance two daughters inherit equivalent to the property inherited by one son. Legally a Muslim woman is an heir to the property of her father, mother, husband, son and daughter. The property of a Muslim woman remains separate from that of her husband. She can dispose or sell her property in whatever way she likes. When a man dies his widow should inherit one eighth of his property and if he dies childless, she should inherit one fourth; daughters should inherit half of the son's shares. If no son is born to the couple, daughters alone cannot inherit all their parents' property, a part of which must go to their father's brother's son.

There is a gap between a woman's inheritance rights and the actual practice. Widows always demand inheritance but it is used by their sons. If a widow demands inheritance, she is expected to live in her husband's household and not go back to her parents. Traditionally daughters give up the right of inheritance in favour of their brothers unless the family happens to be wealthy or very poor. By giving up the right of inheritance the daughters may visit their *bāper bāḍī* or father's house several times annually following the death of their father. By not claiming the paternal property a woman can easily maintain cordial relation with her brothers. In case of divorce or widowhood she would need her brother's help or guardian's protection and sometimes she may move back to the *bāper bāḍī* especially following a divorce. It was observed that frequently women did not want to strain relations with their brothers by claiming their shares in paternal property.

When some married women in the study area were interviewed on inheritance of paternal property, the following typical responses were noted.

> Prior to death the father made legal transfer of all his property in favour of his sons so that the daughters could not claim any.

> The daughter said that her father's property had been completely eroded by river.

She did not claim any paternal property as she had
enough of her husband's property.

Her paternal property was enjoyed by her brothers.
She received cordial reception whenever she visited
them.

Her father had no property.

Her father was alive, so the question of handing over
property did not arise. Her father and brother kept
track of her welfare.

Her father had little property so she did not make
any claim on it.

She did not claim any paternal property but when she
was at a starving point she had been given her due
share.

When further clarification on the above mentioned first response was
sought from a few elderly Muslim villagers it was learnt that strictly
speaking according to the Islamic law the successors to property could not
be deprived totally by way of transferring the ownership of land to any
other person or institution as a gift. From the said informants it was
further learnt that a Muslim could sell part or whole of his property but
he could not make a gift of his landed property exceeding one-third of the
whole.

These responses reflect the current position of women in matters of
inheriting paternal property. In the study area, it was reported that,
among Muslims, before the death of father married sons with several children
usually put pressure on the father to hand over the title of land. Only in
some cases the sons became successful in such effort. The demand of a son
for handing over the title of land before the death of his father appears
quite reasonable when one considers the traditional Islamic law. According
to such law if a man's son died before him, his grandsons and granddaughters
did not have the right of inheritance. But certain people in the study area
believed that the said law did not in fact debar children of deceased father in
getting property of the grandfather, rather it was left to the will of the
grandfather. The secular law stated in the Muslim Family Laws Ordinance of
1961 invalidated the said traditional law. In spite of such invalidation,
the Islamic law appears to be in force and many people are not aware of this
secular law. However, it was observed that in some cases the influential
members of the samāj concerned put pressure on the grandfather to give the
grandchildren born to a deceased son their due share of property. Such
efforts are sometimes successful. Among the Hindus in the study area,
grandchildren could inherit even though their father had died first.

The Hindus in the study area divide paternal property equally among the sons. The daughters inherit no paternal property.

> Jimutvahana a famous Bengal jurist asserted that a widow
> had the right to inherit her husband's entire property in the
> absence of any son. He refuted in an elaborate argument the
> opinion of those who held that the brother and other relations
> of the deceased should have preference over his widow, or the
> latter would be entitled only to maintenance. But he noted
> that the widow shall have no right to transfer the property by
> sale, mortgage or gift, and the enjoyment of the widow should
> be consistent with the life of a chaste widow, entirely devoted
> to the memory of the deceased husband (Majumdar, et al. 1963:610).

It appears that Jimutvahana's interpretations are not applicable at Matlab. The following observations were made by the author on inheritance of property by the Hindus at Matlab. If a married man leaves behind a wife, but no children, the entire property will be inherited by his brother, who will have the responsibility to bear the expenses of food, shelter and clothing of the deceased brother's widow. If the widow wants to visit holy places in the name of the deceased husband then such expenditures are usually met from the resources of her husband. In a few cases it was observed that after the death of her husband, the wife sold all his property although there was a minor son. It was usually said that the wife sold the property to meet the expenses of the son. Usually such selling is done with the consent of the influential villagers who put their signatures on the sale deed as witnesses. A widow with a daughter only was also seen selling the property of the deceased husband in the name of the maintenance of her daughter and for arrangement of her marriage. If a widow has no son then the grandsons born to her daughter would inherit the property of her deceased husband. According to the Hindu law a widow's right to property is limited only to her life interest in the same. Legally she has absolute power over disposal of income therefrom, but has no right of alineation. In the study area the widow did not always enjoy such absolute power and in a few cases she sold the property under certain circumstances. Though the daughter does not inherit any paternal property a considerable amount of money is spent on her. The following is a list of expenditures made by the father for a daughter.

(1)   Gifts of ornaments and household effects at the time of
       marriage.

(2)   Customary expenditure on the occasions of the birth,
       and rice taking ceremony of the first grandson.

(3)   The cost of *nāiyar* or social visits to the parental
       home after her marriage.

(4)   Sometimes her support if she is widowed. A woman may
      return to her parental home upon the death of her
      husband.

During the lifetime of father sometimes he may make a deed of gift or
dān patra in favour of daughters though he may have living sons. This may
be done for a specific son also. Regardless of the amount given by deed of
gift, the remaining portion is divided according to the traditional rule of
an equal share for every son, after the death of the father. This rule is
colloquially known as *tullyaṁśa*. Division of the agricultural property is
usually accomplished by the sons themselves according to a mutual under-
standing of traditional rules. For division of the house and household
effects, the assistance of village leaders is frequently sought. Division
here may vary according to individual contribution to the household economy.
Sometimes a piece of property is set aside for the use of the widow during
her lifetime, which will later be divided among the sons. An adopted son
will share equally with his brothers, and if there is any attempt to dis-
criminate against him, village elders will successfully intervene. One son
will usually purchase his brothers shares of a fishing boat and its equip-
ment, a process in which village elders will assist.

Recently among the Kaibarttas, the husband of a young married woman was
killed by unknown assailants. The woman was left with a breastfeeding male
child. She decided to return to her father's home permanently where she and
her child were received cordially. The widow got all her ornaments, and her
husband's bank balance and insurance money in spite of objection by the
husband's father. It was learnt that the father of the widow was planning
to get her remarried and was willing to make a gift of a certain portion of
land in favour of the grandson.

In wealthy families the landed property is divided among sons and
daughters during the lifetime of father. Property is divided among sons by
verbal arrangement. But property is given to a daughter as a gift by legal
document, because it is known that after the father's death his sons might
ignore a verbal agreement and keep all the property for themselves. A
mother's property, if there is any, is inherited by sons only.

In wealthy families, in a few cases it was observed that during the
lifetime of the grandfather the grandsons were given certain portions of
the landed property as gifts, by verbal arrangement. Occasionally in
wealthy families, a wife is legally given landed property for use during
her lifetime. After the death this property will go to her sons.

According to certain informants, legally, each group of sons born to
each wife should get an equal share, and that share should be divided regard-
less of the number of sons in the group. In this case some sons may get more
than others. In one Hindu fishing village under the study the author found
two such cases of property division. During the field investigation it was

learnt that among Hindus of the area, village elders rather than legal courts are always turned to for settlement of questions involving the ·division of property.

Concentration of landed property in a few hands does not appear to be a problem in the study area. In reviewing the land ownership in two villages, it was found that the greatest amount of land (reportedly 17 acres of agricultural land) was owned by a joint Hindu fishing family with 23 members. However the majority of fishing families are landless. In a survey of a Hindu fishing village with 316 households, it was found that only 40% owned land. In a Muslim agricultural village, the figure was 70%. In the latter village, the greatest amount of land owned by a household was 9 acres. The Muslim *bāḍī* which included the household with 9 acres consisted of a total of three households headed by brothers. One of the brothers owned only 1 acre, which indicated that there had been either loss or gain in inherited property within the family. There are similar variations in land-ownership among the households of many lineages. A lineage which makes it-self completely landless by selling or losing the *bāp dādār sampatti* 'ancestral property' is frequently designated as *poḍā kapāillyā* 'one who has burned up his fortune.' No capable person wishes to part with his ancestral property without some alternative ensured as a means of support. Ancestral property is also valued because it is associated with the memory of a person's forefathers. Household effects of close deceased kin are valued in the same way.

Property is important to society and hence subject to legal, religious and customary controls. Especially in a society such as that studied where many people have no saleable specialized skills except agriculture, landed property is a vital part of family life.

Widowhood

Widowhood is an important aspect of family life with social consequences both for members of the immediate family and the *samāj*. It is more of a problem among women than among men. Widows tend to be very poor.

With the loss of her husband, a woman's life apparently becomes joyless. Upon interviewing 25 Muslim widows, selected at random it was found that only 2 had returned to their *bāper bāḍīs*. The rest remained in the *svāmīr bāḍī* or 'husband's house.' One widow who had returned to her father's house was childless and the other had only a daughter. All but one of those living in their husband's houses had a son and all but one were considered members of a joint family. Having a son provides a widow with a feeling of much more security within her husband's family. But all widows have the right to stay with their husband's families and will usually do so if they had been married for several years and particularly if they have children. Women whose husbands die at an early stage of marriage are more likely to return

to their natal homes. In either case, most widows are regarded almost
like servants or must beg for their support. Of the 25 interviewed, only
three had sufficient support from agricultural land to avoid this.
Widowers who have lived with their wive's families have the same alter-
natives in terms of residence but they seldom have as difficult a plight.

Satīdāha[7] or the custom of burning oneself in the funeral pyre of
husband was banned in the early nineteenth century. The tradition of depri-
ving a widow of any form of comfort or happiness is continuing. Following
the death of her husband a Hindu widow must take vegetables exclusively for
varying periods as prescribed by different caste regulations. She must not
apply hair oil, wear any ornaments or decorations or put any vermilion (a
sign of marriage) in the parting of her hair; she must wear only white cloth;
and she must stay away from various religious ceremonies. One key informant
said that as long as the parents-in-law are alive the widow continues to
draw reasonable attention and care, but after their death she becomes more
helpless. Srivastava (1974:145) noted that in the event of the death of a
male person in Rajasthan and eastern U.P. of India the widow of the deceased
becomes helpless and her condition becomes pitiable. On husband's death she
has to lead her life at the mercy of other members of the family. Her domi-
nance over the younger women is reduced. Not only in the family but even
outside the family her social status is changed. Even on auspicious
occasions her presence among other women should be inauspicious. Thus her
social status is reduced.

A Muslim widow is allowed to do things normally as she was doing when
her husband was alive with the exception that during *iddat* she must not
adorn herself.

There are many widows both in the study area and in Bangladesh as a
whole. Table 27 shows that in 1974 in the study population there were
11,571 widows as compared to 1,224 widowers despite the excess of female
mortality described earlier. Table 28 provides statistics about widows at
the national level in 1961, 11.6% of all females were widows. In the age
group 20-29 years 6.79% were widows. This shoots up to 41.06% in the age
group 40-49 and a spectacular 82.10% in the 60+ age group. National
statistics on widowers are not presented here. Table 29 shows the age and
sex breakdown of the study population. Side by side with this Table by
comparing the age specific rate of widows and widowers it is possible to
gain a clearer view regarding the magnitude of the problem of widows and
widowers.

These figures can be explained not by excessive male mortality, which
is not the case in Bangladesh, but by less demand of widows in the marriage
market. Not only do men in older age groups tend to remarry more often than
women but they also prefer to marry women of relatively younger age groups.
Besides perhaps being less desirable as a marriage partner especially if she
can no longer have children, the older widow's interests may be focused on

her children and household and she may have no wish to remarry. Wealth and a shortage of male marital partners may make an older widower a reasonably attractive mate and male interests are traditionally not as exclusively focused on the household and children.

Table 30 provides statistics on widow and widower remarriage in the Matlab area during 1975. Data were collected by CRL field workers during their routine monthly home visits. Out of 2,658 marriages, 7.40% involved a widow or widower. 6.63% involved widowers, and only 1.18% widows even though there are almost ten times as many widows within the population. In only .41% of marriages both partners had been widowed.

For both widows and widowers, remarriage provides the means of starting a new family cycle within the context of the old domestic group. Sometimes a widow or widower can maintain the household as a continuing domestic group without remarriage, for instance if a child marries and brings a spouse into the parent's household. But often a widowed parent who does not remarry joins the household of an offspring or other kin. He or she must fit into a group which already has its own authority structure, and the original household and the widowed person's position within it come to an end.

The loss of a marital partner has been seen as one of the most significant factors precipitating self-destruction (Bock and Webber 1972:28). The author reviewed the death reports collected during 1973-1974 by CRL field workers from the entire study area and found only one case of suicide by a widowed Muslim woman who was over fifty years old. The deceased had lost her husband approximately four years prior to the suicide. She was staying alone in her husband's house and apparently developed mental imbalance following the death of her husband. She hanged herself to death. There was no suicide among the widowers. After a thorough examination of the death reports in the widowed population under study it was established that in the relevant population suicide did not appear to be a problem.

In a Hindu fishing village some of the key informants stated the following aspects of the life of a widower.

(1)   In most of the cases when the spouse dies the male
      partner remarries.

(2)   The widower in about 50% of the cases maintains sexual
      relations with one or more women who may be married,
      unmarried or widowed. Sometimes such women are openly
      favoured by cash or kind.

(3)   The widower may decide not to remarry because he has adult
      sons and daughters-in-law. He may feel uneasy about having
      a young (or 'new') wife. The children of a very old widower
      may put pressure on him not to remarry, through his friends.

(4)   Sexual impotency may be one of the causes of remaining widower.

(5)   For certain services like preparation and serving of food, washing of cloth, and care during sickness the widower has to depend on others.

(6)   A good number of services can only be obtained from a wife and are discontinued in her absence.

Most widowed persons in the study area have experienced a loss of sexual role, and changes in recreation and kinship roles. For parents, changes have occurred in connection with child care and socialization. Most widowers have lost their housekeeper. On the other hand many widows have lost their provider and their opportunities for social interaction with kin-members, especially those residing outside the village. Free movement by a widow in the age range of probable remarriage is socially frowned upon. In the entire study area the author knew of several cases of pregnancies among the widows which occurred during 1970-1974. Such cases mostly occurred in the fishing communities. The pregnant widows had induced abortion with the exception of one who had a live birth. The child born alive was suffocated to death immediately following the birth.

The negative, long term consequences of widowhood seem to derive from loss of marital partner as well as from socioeconomic deprivation.

Fictive Kinship Within the Village

Three forms of kin relationships have been delineated by sociologists and anthropologists: consanguineal, affinal, and fictive. Among these three forms, less thoroughly studied has been the nature of the fictive kinship which encompasses the adoption of nonrelatives into kin-like relationship (Ibsen and Klobus 1972:615).

The importance of kinship is immediately revealed when one finds that any unrelated senior member of a village is not called by proper name but by an appropriate fictive kin term. In the study area as a matter of fact, useful social intercourse is possible only with a kinsman, real or ficti-tious. Even a visiting outsider in the village might be addressed by an appropriate kin term with the objective of a fruitful social intercourse. In the study area a villager addresses a fellow villager by fictive kin term based on membership in three separate social groupings: (1) members of the neighbourhood known as *paḍśī*, (2) members of the *samāj* known as *samājī*, and (3) members of the same village known as *deśī*. If the head of an un-related household is addressed as *chāchā*, all the members of his household and lineage will be addressed with appropriate kin terms as would the relatives of a real father's younger brother. Fictive kin terms have the

same sort of permanency as real kin terms. Such term may change, sometimes
only by marriage within the village. A fictive kin will remain as a
fictive kin whether mutual socioeconomic relationship continually exists or
not. Since the village society is a patriarchal society the unrelated
senior members of the village are frequently addressed as *dādā* and *dādī* or
paternal grandfather and grandmother, *jethā* and *jethī* or father's elder
brother and his wife, and *chāchā-chāchī* or father's younger brother and his
wife.

In addition to the fictive kin terms based on the above mentioned three
social groupings within the village, there are three other types: such as
(1) *pīr bābā*, (2) *dharma bābā*, (3) *ukil bābā*. Among Muslims, the followers
of the *pīr bābā* 'religious teacher' are known as *pīr, ārphati* or *jākeri
bhāi*. Followers usually address the *pīr* as *quebla bābā* and his wife, as
ammājī or 'respected mother.' The size and geographical spread of following
depend entirely on individual leaders. A Hindu religious teacher or *dīksā
guru* or *goṁsāi* is sometimes addressed as *guru* or *goṁsāi bābā* which means
'teacher-father' and his wife as *guru* or *goṁsāi ma*. In the case of both
Muslims and Hindus the members of the ascending and descending generations
of the religious teacher are addressed by the appropriate fictive kin term.
Recently the author attended a gathering of the followers of a *dīksā guru*.
The gathering had about 40 men and women. All of them were sitting closely
in mats, dividing themselves according to sex. They were singing religious
songs in chorus accompanied by traditional musical instruments. In the fore-
ground they kept a group photograph showing their *guru bābā* and *guru ma*.
Several fresh flowers and a few lighted candles were kept near the photograph
as a mark of respect. Following the session of religious songs all of them
were scheduled to dine together. This was a routine gathering for gaining
religious merit. It was arranged jointly by the followers who hailed from
different surrounding villages. All the followers address one another as
guru bhāi or *guru bon* according to sex difference and consider themselves
bound by ritual brotherhood.

A *dharma bābā* or spiritual father is a specific individual who has
helped another with an important personal problem. The latter proposes the
relationship, and if accepted, it endures for life. *Dharma bābā* is the
term of reference. The term of address is *bābā*. Similarly there could be
dharma ma (-mother), *dharma put* (-son), *dharma jhi* (-daughter), *dharma bhāi*
(-brother), and *dharma bon* (-sister). This relationship extends no further.
These spiritual kin terms are used by both Muslims and Hindus. This type of
relationship can be established between a Muslim and a Hindu also. A
dharma bābā may be approached for moral support or help in solving certain
problem, may be presented with new fruits or certain other newly harvested
agricultural products and may be invited to a feast on special occasions.
A relationship of mutual help may also grow up between a *dharma bābā* and his
fictive son. A *dharma bābā* may present new clothings to his fictive son on
special occasions, like *Durgā Pūjā* in the case of Hindus and *Eid* in the case
of Muslims. A *dharma bābā* may counsel or admonish his fictive son. He is
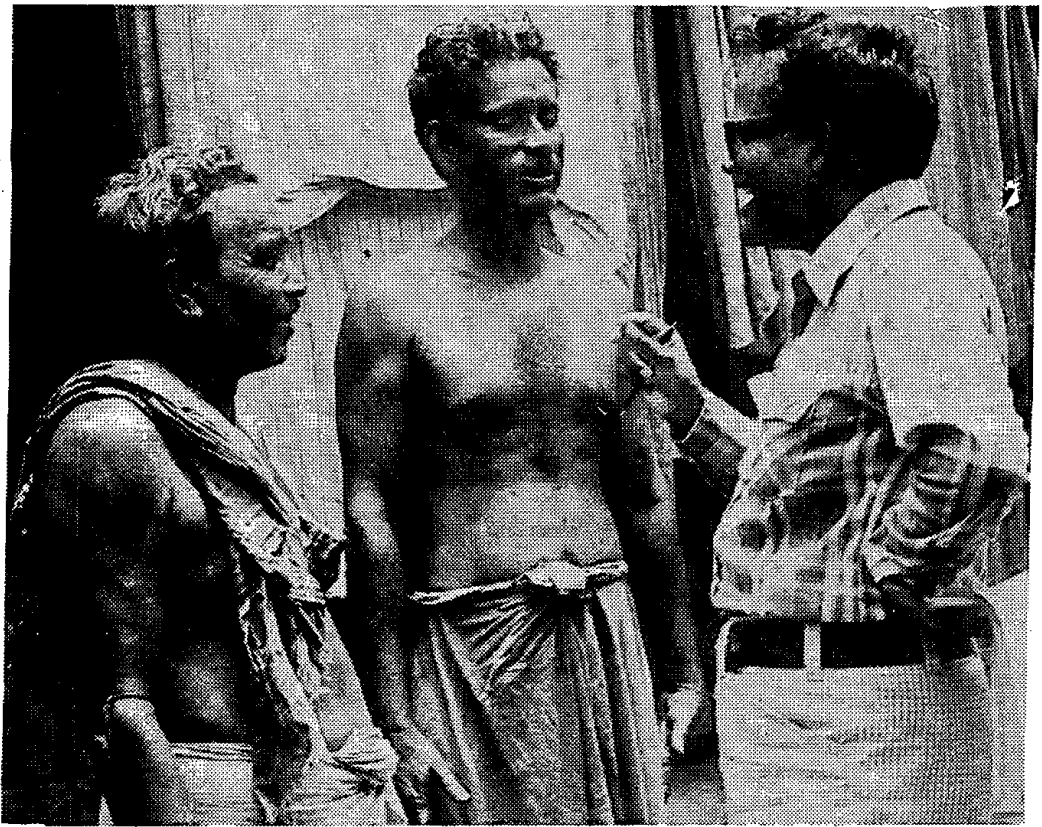
Above: The author with key informants.

Below: The widow of a Hindu religious teacher or *Goṁsāi* known as
Goṁsāi mā.

found to play this role infrequently. In the study area it was observed that between individuals of spiritual or *dharma* kin relationship bond traditionally there could not be any sexual relation illicit or legal. The most likely important factors in establishing a spiritual bond are to obtain emotional and material support without the risk of sexual abuse. In the study area on the part of Hindu widows there are socio-religious restrictions on their marriage. Under such circumstances a Hindu widow without a suitable protector prefers to establish any of the spiritual relationships noted above to ensure the needed protection. Hindus were employing spiritual kin terms even before the advent of Islam.

The fictive kin term *ukil bābā* means 'pleader father.' It is used by Muslims only. The *ukil bābā* acts according to religious prescription on behalf of the guardians of a girl at the time of her wedding. This term is used as a reference. The term of address is *bābā* or father. Customarily at the time of wedding, from the assembled guest a non-related person of reasonable status is usually appointed as *ukil bābā*. In front of two male witnesses, he obtains the girl's consent to marry the boy and formally announces this to the groom. By doing this responsible job the *ukil bābā* achieves the position of a guardian for the couple. He is recognized as *ukil bābā* and addressed as *bābā* by the couple throughout his lifetime. Shortly after the marriage, he may formally entertain the couple at his residence and bless them. By being designated as a *ukil bābā*, the individual is given special recognition as an important man in the marriage ceremony and subsequently he is well respected by the couple as their *bābā*. The wife of *ukil bābā* is also respected like a mother and addressed as *mā*. This relationship does not usually spread beyond these two individuals. Jacobson (1976:120) noted that at Muslim marriage in Central India, the bride and groom acquire *nikāi* parents who are usually, but not always, selected from among the relatives and friends of the bride. The *nikāi* parents are supposed to act to resolve any difficulties that may arise for the newlyweds.

Ordinarily without exception a senior member of any unrelated family will be invariably addressed by an appropriate fictive kin term. Junior members of the families with lower socioeconomic standing normally will not be referred to or addressed by fictive kin term by the senior members of the families with higher socioeconomic standing. However, behaviour towards such junior members will resemble the actual behaviour with similar real kinsmen.

In the study area, responses by children and parents of both the religious groups showed that fictive kin terms were most commonly used during childhood, and it appeared that the greatest proportion of childhood usage was initiated as a result of parental encouragement. This practice was found mostly confined to the *samāj* group where children find playmates and friends. If the children fail to use the appropriate fictive kin term for a senior unrelated *samāj* member, the act is termed as *betamiji* or

beādabi. The parent will take immediate punitive step to rectify such unbecoming conduct.

On the use of fictive kin terms by rural people in Bangladesh, Rounaq Jahan said that after puberty restrictions are put on a girl's movement, and she can meet members of the opposite sex only with the family's consent. Within the village, girls can see and talk to un-related men, but they address each other in appropriate kin terms, i.e. *bhāi bon* (brother sister), *kākā* (uncle), *māmā* (mother's brother), and so forth (1975:6). Writing on the Muslim women in India Bhatty (1976:104) noted, "Even inside the house she is not supposed to mix with men other than her brothers, father and grand-father. The age at which this seclusion is imposed varies from community to community, but it starts even at six and rarely above twelve. This practice is deemed necessary because woman is conceived as a sex object, who inevitably arouses, by mere appearance, sensual desires in men over which they are not expected to have any self-control." In the study area, on the attainment of puberty the movement of girls outside the homestead without the company of any immediate family members ceases.

As stated earlier, in addition to the spiritual kin relationship terms of *bābā, mā, put, jhi, bhāi* and *bon* the religious teacher is addressed as *bābā* and his followwrs as *bhāi* and *bon*. Likewise, there are other categories of fictive kin terms. These are (1) *paḍśī* (2) *samājī* and (3) *deśī*. Out of these, the intensity of social interaction is deepest within the *paḍśī* or neighbourhood fictive kin members. The *paḍśī* fictive kin members live in a face-to-face situation and every day visit each other's house very frequently. They attend each other, in the hours of crisis, with a feeling of responsibility. The elderly female *paḍśī* fictive kin members are given emergency calls to attend the expectant mothers at any hour of day and night. Affectionate response is received on such calls. At death, *paḍśī* kin members are invariably informed and come forward willingly to offer all kinds of necessary assistance. Many a times on important socio-religious occasions the representatives of the *paḍśī* fictive kin households are invited to join.

On certain socio-religious occasions the participation by the representatives of *samāj* fictive kin members is a must. Such occasions will include the marriage ceremony, two annual *Eid* festivals of Muslims, all major Hindu religious festivals worshipping gods and goddesses, death ritual and *ziāfat* or *śrādha* dinners arranged for the salvation of the departed soul. Depending on financial capability, the head of a household might invite *deśī* or village fictive kin members on a selective basis or might invite everyone in the households concerned. The Muslim death ritual known as *jānājā* is usually participated in by adult male members of the *samāj* kin circle. Attendance in such a *jānājā* by *samāj* fictive kin members becomes obligatory simply on hearing the news of the death. Participation by *deśī* kin members is also expected in the Muslim death ritual. The Hindus do not ordinarily allow *deśī* fictive kin members to attend the *dāha* event if they belong to different *samāj* groupings. An interesting bit of *deśī* fictive kinship is

provided by the man who comes to reside in his wife's village. He will
address all older men as his father-in-law or *śvaśur* though it is a term of
reference in the case of affinally related *śvaśur*. These men in turn will
address him as son-in-law or *jāmāi*. The male children will be known as
bhāginā or 'sister's son of the village.' They will refer to older men as
their mother's brothers and call them usually *māmu* or *māmujī*. The son-in-
law who resides at his wife's father's house is referred to as *ghar jāmāi*
but addressed as *jāmāi*. In the study villages there are a few popular
sayings regarding the position of *ghar jāmāi*. Two of such sayings are
ākkal thākle ghar jāmāi thāke nā which means if a person is sharp enough he
will not stay as *ghar jāmāi*; the other statement is *ghar jamāiyā śvaśur
bādī māuger lāth-thi khāy* which means a resident son-in-law in his father-
in-law's house gets kick from wife, or in other words he is compelled to
listen to his wife's directions.

> In his study village of Malwa, Mayer found, "kin terms of
> address are used by fellow-villagers unrelated by either real
> or ritual ties. This is in part an extension which enters into
> all social intercourse. ... A story is told, for instance,
> of a shopkeeper who built up his trade from small beginnings.
> His son took over on his death; but he was haughty, and instead
> of calling people by their fictive kin terms, used their proper
> names. Within a few years his customers had left him, and he
> was penniless."

> Mayer continued, "This wide use of kin terms is little
> more than a form of courtesy. It is different from the
> attitude of fellow villagers towards each other, for these
> call each other village kinsman *(gany ka rista)* whether or
> not there is any mutual obligation between them" (1960:146).

Whether real or fictious, kinship relations are prominent in the social
network of the village. In each of the study villages the patterns of inter-
action are interpersonal patterns; between villages the ties are kin ties
with or without the biological tie of kinship. In this respect the village
society under the present study is a "folk society." The discussion on
fictive kinship within the village made above shows a close applicability
of the following observations by Redfield.

> "The members of the folk society have a strong sense of
> belonging together. The group see their own resemblances and
> feel correspondingly united. Communicating intimately with
> each other, each has a strong claim on the sympathies of the
> others. The personal and intimate life of the child in the
> family is extended, in the folk society, into the social
> world of the adults. It is not merely that in such a society
> relations are personal; it is also that they are familial and

the result is a group of people among whom prevail the
personal and categorized relationships that characterize
families as we know them, and in which the patterns of
kinship tend to be extended outward from the group of
genealogically connected individuals into the whole
society" (1952:101).

Under the present study villages Redfield's "folk society" can be seen
in its nearest form mainly among the *padśī* and *samājī* kin members. In every
neighbourhood and *samāj*, members receive each other psychologically as kin.
There would seem to be a population limit beyond which point individuals
are no longer perceived as kin. That point is probably reached when the
interaction of its members goes beyond the *samāj* jurisdiction when the social
interaction can no longer be termed as face-to-face relationship for the
majority fictive kin members involved.

KIN TERMS AND BEHAVIOUR

Bāmlā and Other Indo-Aryan Terminologies

Here an attempt has been made to describe the kin terminologies pre-
valent among the Muslims and Hindus in the study area located in rural
Bangladesh; and among the Bihari, Assami, Oriya, Nepali, Hindi, Urdu,
Punjabi and Sindhi speaking areas. The parts included in these areas are:
Sind (now a part of Pakistan), Punjab (West Punjab part of Pakistan, and
East Punjab part of India), the Indian administrative units of Delhi, Uttar
Pradesh, part of Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Bihar, Bengal, Assam, and the
Independent Kingdom of Nepal.

> The Indo-Aryan language brought by the invading Aryans some-
> time during the second half of the second millenium B.C. spread
> eastward from the Punjab into the Ganges valley. By 600 B.C. it
> established itself over the greater part of north India, from
> eastern Afghanistan to Bengal. If written in Devanagari script
> with a reference for indigenous and Sanskrit words, the language
> is known as Hindi. Hindus of northern India have accepted this
> Hindi as their language of literature and as medium of conversa-
> tion. Urdu is the Muslim form of this Hindi language which uti-
> lizes the Persian script, and has cultivated Perso-Arabic voca-
> bulary, excluding, as far as practicable, all Sanskrit and
> indigenous words (Chatterji, et al., ed. 1970:57).

> Assamese is very closely related to Bengali. Old Assamese
> and old Bengali formed practically one language. Assam remained
> a Hindu State almost all through with an independent history.
> Oriya also resembles Bengali very much. Its literature focuses
> the history and culture of Orissa as a Hindu kingdom. Nepali
> was established by the Gurkhas in Nepal, and it flourishes as
> an independent language, though allied to Hindi (1970:61).

A comparison and explanation of the various kinship terms used in the
linguistic region of the northern part of the Indian subcontinent is very
helpful towards understanding the persistence of certain kin types and
terminologies. Bihari, Assami, Nepali, Hindi, Punjabi and Sindhi terms are
quoted from Karve's book entitled *'Kinship Organization in India.'* The kin
terms used by Muslims and Hindus in the study area were collected from the
people belonging to different villages located at distances of approxi-
mately ten miles apart from one another. The Urdu terms were collected
from several Urdu speaking domiciled Bangladeshis by the present author.
These terms are shown in appendix VI. The Arabic kin terms referred to
in this chapter were obtained through conversation with a few Arabs

currently residing in Dacca. This attempt was made with a view to
examine the extent of similarity with the kin terms used by the Arabic
and Bengali speaking persons.

Outside the study area the terms for father include *bāpā*, *pitā*,
babujī, *āp*, *bābuwā*, *bā*, *bābā*, *bābū*, *bābai*, *buba*, *buwā*, *bappa*, *nannā*, *babo*,
pīu, *bābal* and *bāp* (Karve 1964:109). In Urdu the terms for father are *bāwā*
and *abbā*. At Matlab only Muslims use the term *abbā* which is also the Urdu
term. Furthermore, Muslims use the terms *bābā*, *bājī* and *bājān*. The term
bābā is used in the Nepali and Punjabi languages. The term *bā* is used in
Nepali. At Matlab the Muslims use the term *bā* with suffixes *jī* and *jān*. At
Matlab for father the Hindus use the terms *bābā*, and *bābū*. The term *bābū* is
used in the Nepali and Hindi languages. In Arabic the terms for father
include *bābā* and *abbā*. The terms for father vary in different parts of
Bangladesh (Shahidullah 1964:Editor's note). For example in Rangpur district
the father is addressed as *bāpak* and in Noakhali district he is addressed as
bāyājī (Appendix VII).

In Uttar Pradesh and Bihar people commonly add the suffix *jī* to kinship
terms used for people older than the speaker (Karve 1964:109). A custom
similar to this was found among the Muslims in Bangladesh when they addressed
the father as *bājī* or *bāyājī* as mentioned above.

The term for father's father is *dādā*, *dādo*, or *dāddā* in all the langu-
ages under consideration with the exception of the Nepali and Oriya languages,
and Bengali spoken by Hindus in the study area. The commonly used term for
father's grandfather is *par–dādā* and for mother's grandfather, *par–nānā*,
except in the Bengali and Oriya languages. The prefix *par* and *para* which
sound like the Sanskrit prefix *pra* are used for different relationships as
will be evident from the terms of different linguistic areas of India
(1964:109). Such a prefix was not in use in the study area. Muslims in the
study use the terms *baḍa bhāi* and *dādā*, and Hindus use the term *ṭhākur dā*
for father's father. The terms *bada bāp* and *baḍa abbā* are used by Muslims
for father's grandfather and only the former term is used by Hindus in this
respect. The same terms are also used for mother's grandfather. In Arabic
sometimes the term *dādā* is used for father's father.

The commonly used terms for mother are *mā*, *āī*, *ammā*, *āmā* and *māī*.
The term *mā* is used in Bengali, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi and Hindi. *Āī* is used
in Assami, Oriya and Sindhi, *ammā* in Bengali spoken by Muslims, and Urdu,
āmā in Nepali and Sindhi and *māī* in the Punjabi and Hindi languages. *Mā* and
māī are derived from Sanskrit *mātṛ*; *ammā* from Sanskrit *āmbā* (1964:109) and
again *ammā* from the same Arabic term. The term *mā* is used by all Hindus in
the study area. The majority of the Muslims of the study area use the term
mā, but less frequently they use the term *ammā*. It is probable that the
Muslims borrowed this word from the Arabic or Urdu language. In both
Arabic and Urdu the term for mother is *ammā*. In Arabic the term *māmā* is
also used in addressing the mother. However, in Bengali this term is used

for maternal uncle. In the study area both Muslims and Hindus use the term *māta* for mother in writing only, as is the case with *pita* for father.

Terms for father's mother are *dādī, dāī, ghara ki bajej, gunsai mā, dāddī* and *āmmā* in different languages under consideration. The term *dādī* is used in the Bengali spoken by Muslims, Sindhi, Punjabi, and Hindi languages (Appendix VI). Muslims of the study area use the terms *dādī, buā,* or *bibijī* for father's mother, whereas the Hindus use the term *thākur mā.*

The term for mother's mother is *nānī* except in the Nepali and Oriya languages (1964:109). In the study area such terms among Muslims include *nānī, nānu, nānījī* and *nānī bujī.* Among Hindus these terms are *didi* and *didimā.* The term *nānā* is used for mother's father by Muslims in the study area and by Bihari and Hindi speaking peoples. For this kin the term *nāno* is used in Sindhi, and *nānnā* is used in Punjabi. Among the Hindus in the study area for mother's father the term *dādā* or *dādu maśāy* is used. The term *nānā* or *nānī* is used for mother's mother in colloquial Arabic in some countries including Egypt and Syria. In colloquial Arabic these terms are also used for mother's father.

For father's father's mother the term is *par-dādī* in the Bihari, Punjabi and Hindi languages. In the Sindhi language this term is *para dādī* (1964:109). In the Bengali language, used by both Muslims and Hindus, the term *bada mā* is commonly used for father's father's mother. However, sometimes the term *bada āmmā* is used by Muslims in the study area.

For mother's father's mother the term is *par nānī* in the Bihari and Hindi languages. In the Sindhi language this term is *para nānī* and in the Punjabi language, *par nānī*. In the Nepali language this term is quite different. The Nepalese use the words *jijū, āmā,* and *jyāmā* (1964:109). For mother's father's mother both the Hindus and Muslims in the study area use the term *badamā*. But the Muslims here also use the terms *buā* and *bibi* in addressing the mother's father's mother.

Above, it is seen that the terms *dādī* and *nānī* are used by the Muslims of the study area as well as by most of the northern Indian people. In northern India the terms *dādī* and *nānī* are used by both Muslims and Hindus. The Hindus of the study area believe that the terms *dādī* and *nānī* are of strictly Muslim origin and that under no circumstance may they use these terms of address. However in certain places in northern India, Hindus do use these terms. This has been reported by Bangladeshis who have travelled in India. The term *nānā* for older relatives on the mother's side may have a Sanskrit origin. In one Rigveda hymn the mother is mentioned as *nānā* (1964:109).

In Bengali the Hindu term *thākurdā* is meant for father's father. Likewise, *thākur mā* is meant for father's mother. The term *thākur* comes from the Sanskrit word *thākkur* which is an honourable address used for a respectable person. The kin position which has the word *thākur* as prefix in the term of address is accorded a very special respect. *Thākurdā* and *thākurmā* literally means 'respectable father' and 'respectable mother.' The prefix

Above: Great grandmother caressing the great grandchild while a grand
daughter looks on.

Below: Child care by siblings.

is used exclusively by the Hindus (Das 1937;913).

Father's elder brother is *pitiyā*, *jethā-bā*, *dadda*, *jethā*, *bābo*, *taiyā*, *tāū*, and *jethā maśay*. Father's younger brother is *chāchā*, *kākā*, *Khudatā kākā*, and *khudā*. *Tau* and *taiyā* are derived from the Sanskrit term *tāta* which means father. The meaning of the word *jyeṣṭha* is elder, and *mahāśay* means a great man. Thus the meaning of *jethā maśay* stands as the respected elder brother of the father. The words *chāchā* and *kākā* do not appear in early literature. *Khudā* is derived from the Sanskrit word *kṣudra* which means small. *Khudā* thus really stands for *khudda tāu* which means little father. *Tāū* is dropped and only *khudā* remains (Karve 1964:110-11). In the study area both Muslims and Hindus use the term *jethā* for father's elder brother. While addressing his father's elder brother a Muslim will address him simply as *jethā*, but a Hindu may add a suffix *maśay* with this term. The term *jethā* is also used in the Nepali and Oriya languages. For addressing the father's younger brother the term *kākā* which was borrowed from the Persian language is used by both Muslims and Hindus of the study area. The term *chāchā* is used exclusively by Muslims and *khudā* exclusively by the Hindus. It may be mentioned here that the term *chāchā* is used in Bihari, Punjabi, Hindi and Urdu Languages. While talking with a colleague coming from Nawabganj *thānā* of Dacca district, the author came to know that the rural Muslim people there do not use the term *jethā* in addressing the father's elder brother. Instead they use the term *baḍa chāchā* and avoid the term *jethā*.

The wives of the above kinsmen are called *jethī*, *jethīmā*, *chāchī*, *kākī*, *khudī* or *khudīmā*. These words are the feminine forms of the words used for the male kinsmen. In the study area the Muslims· address the father's elder brother's wife as *jethī*, but while doing so the Hindus usually add a suffix *mā*.

In the study area, for father's younger brother the terms *jādu* and *puti* were used less frequently by both Muslims and Hindus. The term *jhi* was infrequently used by both the Hindus and Muslims at Matlab to address the father's younger brother's wife. Shahidullah noted in his lexicon of Bangladesh dialects that the term *jādu* was used as a term of address for father's younger brother as well as for wife. Furthermore, this term was used for father's sister in the districts of Faridpur, Noakhali and Comilla. He noted that the term *jhādu* was used as a term of address for father's younger brother's wife in the Chittagong district, and *jhi* was used in Faridpur and Comilla districts. In the latter two districts the term *jhi* was used for addressing the mother's sister. He also noted that the term *jāṅgei* was found in use as a term of address for father's sister's husband in Comilla district (1964:Editor's note). Shahidullah categorized these terms under Bengali dialects. As stated above the kin term *jādu* included in its jurisdiction more than one type of kin member. In one instance it included both male and female kin. The term *jhi* covered three different types of female kin members. This is also true at Matlab and the use of it is

confined to Muslims alone. As noted above, the term *jãṅgei* was not in use for father's sister's husband at Matlab.

The father's sister is addressed as *piusi* or *ãttã* in the Oriya language; *puphī* in Sindhi; *buã* or *phūpphī* in Punjabi; and *phūphī*, *phūphū*, *phūvã*, *buvã* or *didi* in Hindi language (Karve 1964;111). In the study area for father's sister the Muslims use the words *hukku*, *hufu*, *phuphu*, *phuphu ãmmã*, *phuphuji* and the Hindus use *pisī* and *pisīmã*. With the term *phuphu* a suffix *ãmmã* or *ji* is used by some Muslims, and with the term *pisī* the suffix *mã* is used by some Hindus. In the study area among the Muslims the father's sister's husband is addressed as *phuphã* or *phuphãjī*; among the Hindus he is addressed as *pisã* or *pisã maśãy*. In Arabic the term for father's sister is *ãammã*.

The terms *phūvã*, *phūphī* and *pisīmã* can be traced back to Sanskrit *pitṛ-svasã* which became the *Prãkrit* term *piucchã* (Banerjee 1967:13335).

The mother's brother is addressed as *mãmã* in the Bengali, Bihari, Assami, Nepali and Hindi languages. He is addressed as *mãmo* in the Oriya and Sindhi languages. In Punjabi he is addressed as *mãmmã* and also as *manwan*. In Urdu the term is *mãmujãn*. With the exception of Punjabi term *manwan* the term *mãmã* or *mãmo* for mother's brother appears to be almost universal in all the languages under consideration. The *mãmã's* wife is addressed as *mãmī* in most of the language areas under consideration. The exceptions are found among the Punjabi where one of the terms is *mawin*, the Nepali who use the term *mãijū*, and the Oriya who use *mai* which is a term for mother among Hindi speaking people. One of such terms used by Muslims in the study area is *mãmãnī* which is almost similar to the equivalent term *mumãnī* in Urdu (Appendix VI).

For mother's sister only the Muslims in the study area use the terms *khãlã*, *khãlãmmã*, and *khãlãjī*. The Urdu and Hindi term *khãlã* and the Urdu term *khãlã ãmmã* are synonymous with the Muslim terms, at Matlab. At Matlab for mother's sister the Hindus used *mãsī* and *mãsīmã*. The term *mãsī* was also used in the Sindhi and Hindi languages. The term *mãusī* was used in the Oriya and Hindi languages. At Matlab, mother's sister's husband is termed as *khãlu* and *khãluji* by the Muslims, and the Hindus call him *mãusã* and *meso maśãy* usually (Appendix VI). The word *mãsī* is generally derived from *mãtṛ-svasa* through *Prãkrit mausīã* (1967:1705). Like the Urdu and Hindi term *khãlã*, this term is also used in Arabic to address the mother's sister.

Shahidullah noted that the terms *jãṅgei* and *muã* are used for addressing the mother's sister's husband in the Comilla district and the term *mawã* is used in the Noakhali district. He reported that the terms *mui* is used for *maisa* in the Mymensingh district (1964:Editor's note). None of these terms were found in use at Matlab, though the author came across the term *mai* elsewhere in Comilla district. The terms referred to here were not used in other languages under consideration with the exception of Bengali dialect.

In the study area, the Muslim younger brother addresses his elder brother by using the kin terms *miyā bhāi*, *bhāiju*, *bada bhāi* and *bhāi* and a Hindu uses the terms *thākur bhāi*, *dādā*, *sonā bhāi* and *manā bhāi*. Regardless of age all brothers are referred to as *bhāi*. The prefix *miyā* or *thākur* is used to emphasize the authority of the elder brother which he is likely to hold over his younger brothers after the death of the father. Here the authority means traditional special right of opinion on familial and social matters. Such an opinion may be sought in arranging a marriage, a post-funeral feast and so forth.

At Matlab the Muslims use the kin terms *āpā*, *bubu*, *bujī* and *buā* while addressing the elder sister. The Hindus use the term *didi* for elder sister. Similarly the term *didi* is used in the Bihari, Nepali and Oriya languages. The term *āpā* is used in the Oriya and Urdu languages. Regardless of age, the sister is referred to as *bain* or *bon* by both Muslims and Hindus in the study area. The younger sister is frequently addressed by her name.

The *Prākrit* word *bhāi* was derived from the Sanskrit word *bhrātṛ*. The term *bon* is derived from the word *bhaginī* which was mentioned in Sanskrit literature. Literally *bhaginī* means 'wife of somebody else' or a woman without any sex relation' (Banerjee 1967:1651). Both the Muslims and Hindus in the study area refer to brother and sister as *bhrātā* and *bhaginī* in written form only.

The elder male children of uncles and aunts are addressed as *miyā bhāi* by Muslims and *dādā* by Hindus. Such elder female children are addressed as *āpā* by Muslims and *didi* by Hindus. In the case of both male and female addressees, to help proper identification part of the name of the addressee may be used. For example, if Fazlur Rahman is the first cousin of a Muslim in the study area he is usually addressed as Fazlu *Miyā Bhāi*. Similarly if Dinesh Chandra Saha is the first cousin of a Hindu he is usually addressed as Dinesh*dā* (*dā* being abbreviation of *dādā*). The younger cousins are frequently addressed by name. In Bengali the words for brother and sister are literally *bhāi* and *bon*. For reference purpose appropriate prefixes are used to these words to show the exact relationship with the speaker. For example *jethāta bhāi*, *chāchāta bhāi* or *khuḍāta bhāi* or *bon* means brother or sister who is the child of father's elder or younger brother. The prefixes *phuphāta* and *pisāta* are used to refer to the child of the father's sister. Similarly, *khālāta* or *masāta* is used to refer to the child of the mother's sister, and *māmāta* is used to refer to the child of mother's brother. The prefixes *jethāta* and *māmāta* are used commonly by the Muslims and Hindus, and the rest of the prefixes mentioned above are specific either to Muslims or Hindus. Shahidullah found additional terms for *khālāta* in the Noakhali and Comilla districts. The term in Noakhali was *muiyyā* and in Comilla it was *muhāt* (1964:Editor's note). The terms *muiyyā* and *muhāt* were not in use at Matlab.

In rural Bangladesh there is a wide variation in the reference term for son. Some of the variations are *betā* in Rangpur and Noakhali, *sāoāl* in Dacca,

put in Comilla and Mymensingh, *puā* in Sylhet, *poā* in Chittagong and *polā* in Faridpur and Bakerganj (Appendix VII). Among both Muslims and Hindus in the study area the words for referring to a son are *put*, *polā*, *chhele* and *koyā*. The last mentioned term being used for the young and immature sons only. The word *put* is derived from the Sanskrit term *putra*. The word *put* is also used in the Assami, Nepali, and Punjabi languages (Appendix VI) At Matlab among Muslims and Hindus the common terms of reference for a daughter are *māiyā*, *meye*, *jhi* and *beti*. They also use the term *kui* for the daughter who is immature and young. The term *beti* is also used in the Bihari, Nepali, Punjabi, and Urdu languages (Appendix VI). In part of the study area the term *nāiyarī* was used by Muslims for referring to a daughter. *Nāiyarī* means a female guest, and users of this term stated to the author that if a daughter is referred to by any other term then her marriage might be delayed.

In the study area both among Muslims and Hindus the words for brother's son and daughter are *bhātijā*, *bhāir betā* and *bhāi put;* and *bhātiji*, *bhāir beti*, and *bhāijhi*, respectively. Similarly for the sister's son and daughter the terms are *bhāgina* and *bain put;* and *bhāgnī* and *bainjhi*. Frequently in the cases mentioned here, the use of the term is determined according to the sex of the speaker among both Muslims and Hindus in the study area. For example when a man is speaking, his sister's daughter would be referred to as *bhāgnī*. When a woman is speaking she would be referred to as *bainjhi*.

For son's son and daughter, and son's grandson and granddaughter the words are of Sanskritic origin. The words for daughter's son and daughter; daughter's grandson and granddaughter also had Sanskritic origin. The terms *nāti* and *nātin* are derived from the Sanskrit word *nāptṛ* which is used in the early Sanskrit period for a son, and later for a grandchild (Karve 1964:111). In the study area these terms are *nāti* and *nātin*, and *puti* and *putin*. These terms are the same for both Muslims and Hindus.

In the study area both Muslims and Hindus use the word *svāmī* commonly as a term of reference for husband. The terms *heite* and *hete* are used by both the Muslims and Hindus as terms of reference for husband. The literal meaning of both these terms is 'he.'

The terms of reference for wife are *bau* (Sanskrit:*vadhu*), *strī* (derived from Sanskrit), *heti* ('she'), *ginnī* or *grhiṇī* ('she' of the house), and *parivār* 'family.' The terms *bau*, *strī*, *heti* and *parivār* are used by both Muslims and Hindus in the study area. Though the term *parivār* literally means 'family' it was widely and easily understood as a term of reference for wife in the study area. The term *ginnī* is exclusively used by Hindus.

The term for 'she' was ordinarily the term of reference for wife. Such a term varied from place to place according to variation in dialect. Grierson found the terms *heti* and *tāi* in Comilla district as terms of

reference for wife (1903:244). Shahidullah found the use of *hātāi* in Mymensingh and Comilla, and *tāin* in Sylhet as terms of reference for wife (1964:Editor's note). In the study area it was observed that when a husband badly needed the presence of his wife, under certain permissible circumstances he may utter the expression *kai gelā ga* which means 'where have you gone.' It was learnt from several persons of the Dacca district that there was such an expression *śunchha nāki* which means 'do you hear me.' In the language areas being considered here, no term of address could be identified for wife. All the terms mentioned are terms of reference.

Frequently the kin terms for husband's sister and her husband are *nanad* and *nandāi*. The terms for these kin members in Bengali, Bihari, Nepali, Oriya, Hindi, and Urdu are *nanad* and *nandāi* or synonyms for these terms. In the study area, both among Muslims and Hindus the term for husband's elder sister is *nanas* and for the younger sister *nanad*. However, the term of address for Muslim elder sister is *āpā* and for Hindu elder sister it is *didi*. In Sanskrit the husband's sister is *nanādr*, and her husband is *nanāndr -pati* (Karve 1964:112). In the study area Muslims refer to the husband's father and wife's father as *haur* and *śvaśur miyā*. The Hindu terms of reference are *haur* and *śvaśurmaśāy*. The term *śvaśur* is derived from the Sanskrit *svasru*. In the study area among Muslims the terms of reference for husband's mother are *harī, śvāśudī* and among the Hindus such terms are *hāurī* and *śvāśudī*. The terms of reference for husband's elder brother are *bhāśur* or *bhāur* which are used by both Muslims and Hindus in the study area. In the study area among Muslims the term of address for *bhāśur* is *baḍa miyā bhāi* (for eldest), *maijā miyā bhāi* (for second elder) and *seja miyā bhāi* (for third elder). There is no term of address for *bhāśur* among the Hindus. *Bhāśur* literally means 'brother father-in-law' (Sanskrit *bhrātr- śvaśur*).

In the study area the husband's elder brother's wife is addressed by a Muslim as *bhābī* and *bhāuj* and by a Hindu as *baudi*. The terms of reference for husband's younger brother are *deor* and *devar* among both Muslims and Hindus in the study area. Among Muslims sometimes he is addressed as *miyā bhāi*. This address is used as a mark of respect to the husband's younger brother who is many times useful in getting things done favourable to the elder brother's wife. Likewise, among Muslims the husband's younger brother's wife is sometimes addressed as *bhābī* and among Hindus she is addressed as *baumā*. *Devar* is a Sanskrit word. In the study area among the Hindus the elder brother of the husband is a tabooed relation for a wife. She must not speak to him or show her face to him. He is to her as a father-in-law. Though husband's brothers are referred to by the same terms among the Muslims and Hindus of the study area, the behaviour pattern varies. Unlike Hindus, among the Muslims *bhāśur* is respected like an elder brother by the younger brother's wife. Among the Hindus the husband's younger brother is an affectionate individual. A joking relationship (*thaṭṭā* or *thisārā samparka*) is maintained with the younger brother of the husband who is a Muslim. The practice of levirate was found to be prevalent among the Muslims. The absence of levirate among the Hindus seems

correlated with the affection but absence of crudity in the wife-*debar* relationship.

The elder sister's husband is addressed by a man and woman as *bhāisāb* and *jāmāi bābu* by Muslims and Hindus, respectively, in the study area. The younger sister's husband is referred to as *dulā miyā* and *jāmāi* by Muslims and Hindus, respectively.

In the study area among both Muslims and Hindus the term for daughter's husband is *jāmāi*. In Sanskrit this term is *jāmātr*. Under the study area the common term for son's wife is *bau*. Among both Muslims and Hindus she is frequently addressed as *baumā* by persons of ascending generation. At Matlab there is a common term for husband's brother's wife or for wives of brothers. This term is *jāl* or *jā*. The son of the husband's elder brother is termed as *bhāur kar* and his daughter is termed as *bhār kanā* or *bhāur kanyā* exclusively by the Muslims of the study area. The husband's younger brother's son is referred to as *deor put* and daughter as *deorjhi* by both Muslims and Hindus.

The wife's elder brother referred to as *bar giri* is exclusively used by Muslims. In referring tc this kin both the Muslims and Hindus commonly use the term *hamundi* or *samundi*. In referring to the wife's younger brother they commonly use the term *śālā*. The wife's elder sister is *jethas* and younger sister is *śālī*. The terms *śālā* and *śālī* are used in most of the language areas under consideration here. Often the term *śālā* is used as a word of mild abuse or contempt to unrelated males, as it implies an illicit connection between the speaker and the *śālā's* sister. Sometimes the term *śālī* is also used the same way. Less frequently the term *samundi* or *bar giri* is used in the same context.

With the help of the kinship terms presented above a person would be able to designate accurately even the distant kin members in a few words. The above mentioned linguistic regions differ from one another in many aspects of social organization and kinship behaviour. It is apparent from the above study that the kinship terminologies prevalent in the study area conform to the pattern of the other regions in northern India.

The above discussed *Bāmlā* categories of relationship can best be described in a logical way through a semantic analysis of the terminologies concerned. Such an analysis will lead to a deeper understanding of the meaning of a set of terms and of the way speakers use them. Six semantic dimensions as used by Burling (1965:111) are included in the analysis below.

For kin type notations, the procedures adopted by Murdock (1960:133-134) have been followed and used as a base the eight genealogically closest relationships designated in standard English (father or *bābā*:Fa, mother or *mā*:Mo, son or *polā*:So, daughter or *māiyā*:Da, brother or *bhāi*:Br, sister or

bon:Si, husband or *svāmī*:Hu, wife or *parivar*:Wi), specifying kin types as relative products of these (e.g. Fa Br Wi) with such additional distinctions according to relative age, sex of ego in referring to the particular kin type.

Kin Terms	Con-sanguineal vs. Affinal	Gen-eration	Lineal vs. Colla-teral	Sex of Kins-man	Rela-tive Age	Speak-er's Sex	Patterned Behaviour by Muslims at Matlab
FaFaFa	C	+3	L	M		Both	Respect
FaFaMo	C	+3	L	F		Both	Respect
FaFa	C	+2	L	M		Both	Joking permitted
FaFaWi	C	+2	L	F		Both	Joking permitted
MoFa	C	+2	L	M		Both	Joking permitted
MoFaWi	C	+2	L	F		Both	Joking permitted
Fa-in-law's Fa	A	+2		M		Both	Joking permitted
Fa-in-law's Mo	A	+2		F		Both	Joking permitted
Mo-in-law's Fa	A	+2		M		Both	Joking permitted
Mo-in-law's Mo	A	+2		F		Both	Joking permitted
Fa	C	+1	L	M		Both	Respect
Mo	C	+1	L	F		Both	Respect
FaYBr	C	+1	C	M	Y	Both	Respect
FaYBrWi	A	+1	C	F	Y	Both	Respect
FaEBr	C	+1	C	M	E	Both	Respect
FaEBrWi	A	+1	C	F	E	Both	Respect
FaSi	C	+1	C	F		Both	Respect
FaSiHu	A	+1	C	M		Both	Respect
MoSi	C	+1	C	F		Both	Respect
MoSiHu	A	+1	C	M		Both	Respect
MoBr	C	+1	C	M		Both	Respect
MoBrWi	A	+1	C	F		Both	Respect
Fa-in-law	A	+1		M		Both	Respect
Mo-in-law	A	+1		F		Both	Respect
Fa-in-law of all types of Br&Si	A	+1		M		Both	Respect
Mo-in-law of all types of Br&Si	A	+1		F		Both	Respect
Hu	A	O		M		F	Respect
Wi	A	O		F		M	Consideration
Br	C	O	C	M		Both	Mutual support
EBrWi	A	O	C	F		Both	-
HuBrWi	A	O		F	E	F	
Si	C	O	C	F		Both	Protection
ESiHu	A	O	C	M	E	Both	Joking permitted
YSiHu	A	O	C	M	Y	Both	Affection

Kin Terms	Con-sanguineal vs. Affinal	Gen-eration	Lineal vs. Colla-teral	Sex of Kins-man	Rela-tive Age	Speak-er's Sex	Patterned Behaviour by Muslims at Matlab
HuEBr	A	O		M	E	F	Respect
HuYBr	A	O		M	Y	F	Joking Permitted
HuESi	A	O		F	E	F	Respect
HuYSi	A	O		F	Y	F	Affection
WiEBr	A	O		M	E	M	Respect
WiEBrWi	A	O		F	E	M	Joking Permitted
WiYBr	A	O		M	Y	M	Joking Permitted
WiYBrWi	A	O		F	Y	M	Joking Permitted
WiESi	A	O		F	E	M	Respect
WiYSi	A	O		F	Y	M	Joking Permitted
WiYSiHu	A	O		M		M	Mutual respect
Fa-in-law of Ch, in-laws of Br&Si of all types	A	O		M		Both	–
Mo-in-law of Ch, in-laws of Br&Si of all types	A	O		F		Both	–
So	C	-1	L	M		Both	Affection
SoWi	A	-1	L	F		Both	Affection
Da	C	-1	L	F		Both	Affection
So-in-law	A	-1		M		Both	Affection
BrSo	C	-1	C	M		Both	Affection
BrSoWi	A	-1	C	F		Both	Affection
BrDa	C	-1	C	F		Both	Affection
BrDaHu	A	-1	C	M		Both	Affection
SiSo	A	-1	C	M		Both	Affection
SiSoWi	A	-1	C	F		Both	Affection
SiDa	C	-1	C	F		Both	Affection
SiDaHu	A	-1	C	M		Both	Affection
WiEBrSo	A	-1		M		M	Affection
WiEBrDa	A	-1		F		M	Affection
WiSiHuSo	A	-1		M		M	Affection
WiSiHuDa	A	-1		F		M	Affection
Resident So-in-law	A	-1	L	M		Both	Consideration
Da-in-law's Br	A	-1		M		Both	Affection
Da-in-law's BrWi	A	-1		F		Both	Affection

Kin Terms	Con-sanguineal vs. Affinal	Gen-eration	Lineal vs. Colla-teral	Sex of Kins-man	Rela-tive Age	Speak-er's Sex	Patterned Behaviour by Muslims at Matlab
GSo	C	-2	L	M		Both	Joking permitted
GSoWi	A	-2	L	F		Both	Joking permitted
GDa	C	-2	L	F		Both	Joking permitted
GDaHu	A	-2	L	M		Both	Joking permitted
GrGSo	C	-3	L	M		Both	Affection
GrGSoWi	A	-3	L	F		Both	Affection
GrGDa	C	-3	L	F		Both	Affection
GrGDaHu	A	-3	L	M		Both	Affection

Muslim and Hindu Kin Terminologies

There are no real differences in the patterning of kinship terms between Muslims and Hindus. However, over the past century the Muslims have made an increasing effort, beginning in the urban areas and slowly involving the rural areas, to replace words identified as 'Hindu' with exclusively Muslim terms (Appendix X). In the kinship vocabulary terminological differences between the two groups consist of (a) several and some synonyms covering certain kin members of 5 generations and (b) Muslim honorific modifiers replace the paternal modifiers used by Hindus. For example, the Hindu kin terms *thākur-dā* and *thākur-mā* are replaced by *dādājī* and *dādijī* by the Muslims. These terms indicate father's father and mother respectively. *Thākur* is the term used for a chief which indicate the position of these two kin members in the Hindu joint family. The replacement of it by a honorific term *jī* among the Muslims indi-cate a somewhat different position of these kin members. The paternal modi-fiers *thākur*, *masāy*, and *bābu* are used by Hindus to enhance the dignity of their kinship terms for senior kin members. Muslims do not employ these modi-fiers, but instead have their own set of modifiers. Some of these are *miyā*, *jān*, *jī*, and *ju*. Thus, younger sister's husband may be addressed as *jāmāi miyā*, and mother-in-law may be addressed as *ammājān*. However, it would appear that many of the Muslim and Hindu kin terminologies share a striking similarity in their patterns of usage.

Bangladeshi kin terms used by Muslims in the study area are shown in figures 1 and 2 from the standpoint of male ego and the married female ego. The kinship terms shown in both these figures have semantic compounds which indicate sex, age, generation and birth. In the case of father's brother the kin term varies if he is younger or older than the father of the ego. Varia-tion in the kin term is not seen with the difference of such juniority and seniority in respect to the ego's mother's sister or mother's brother. There are variations in the terms of address for father's parents and mother's

parents. The terms for father's parents used by the Hindus (Appendix VI) indicate that they are more important than the parents of the mother. Further the kinship terms vary for the kin members of the ego's own generation in the cases of elder and younger position in respect to the ego. For example, the ego's elder sister would be addressed as $\bar{a}p\bar{a}$ who is a person of respect, while the younger sister would be addressed by name who is a person of affection to the addresser. For the kin members of the ego's younger generation the terms of address do not vary according to the age of the referent.

Bangladeshi Kinship Terminological System

Classes of kinsmen overlap one another as shown in the figure below (Figure 3). Similarly the classes of terms for kinsmen overlap. These overlapping areas represent the intersection of different contexts and systems of classification.
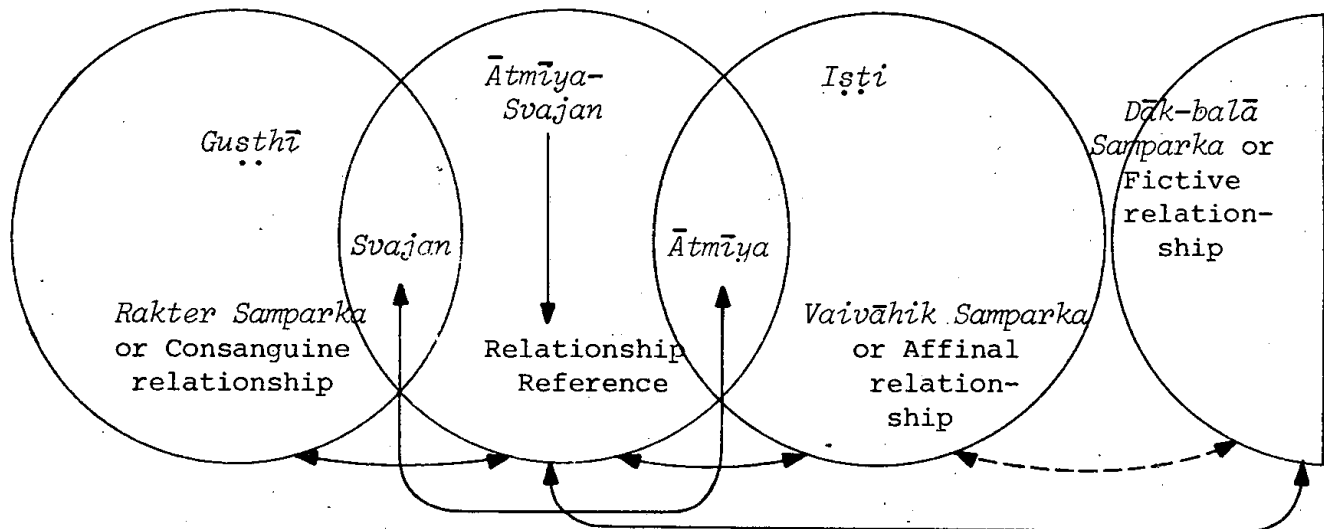
Figure 3: Inter-relationships of kinship in Bangladesh

The *gusthī* and *isti* are mutually exclusive sets with the exception of acquired *gusthī* membership of the wife. *Svajan* refers to *gusthī* membership and *ātmīya* refers to *isti* membership. The *ātmīya-svajan* is overlapping with both *gusthī* and *isti*. The *ātmīya-svajan* indicates a relationship reference. This relationship in addition especially indicates the consanguineally related people of the ego's mother and the outmarrying consanguineally related women of the ego. *Dāk-balā samparka* is a fictive relationship with no relations by either blood or marriage, comparable to the "residual" *ātmīya-svajan*. Members of such *dāk-balā samparka* do not fall under the classes of either *gusthī* or *isti*. The dotted line (Figure 3) indicates that a fictive relation could change into a affinal relation with the establishment of marriage. All the members of the *gusthī*, *isti* and *dāk-balā samparka* may be grouped as "kinsmen" or relatives.

FIGURE 1 ፥ MUSLIM MALE
EGO KINSHIP TREE IN
THE STUDY AREA

▲ ● Svojon
△ ○ Ātmīya
▲ ○ Ātmīya-Svojon
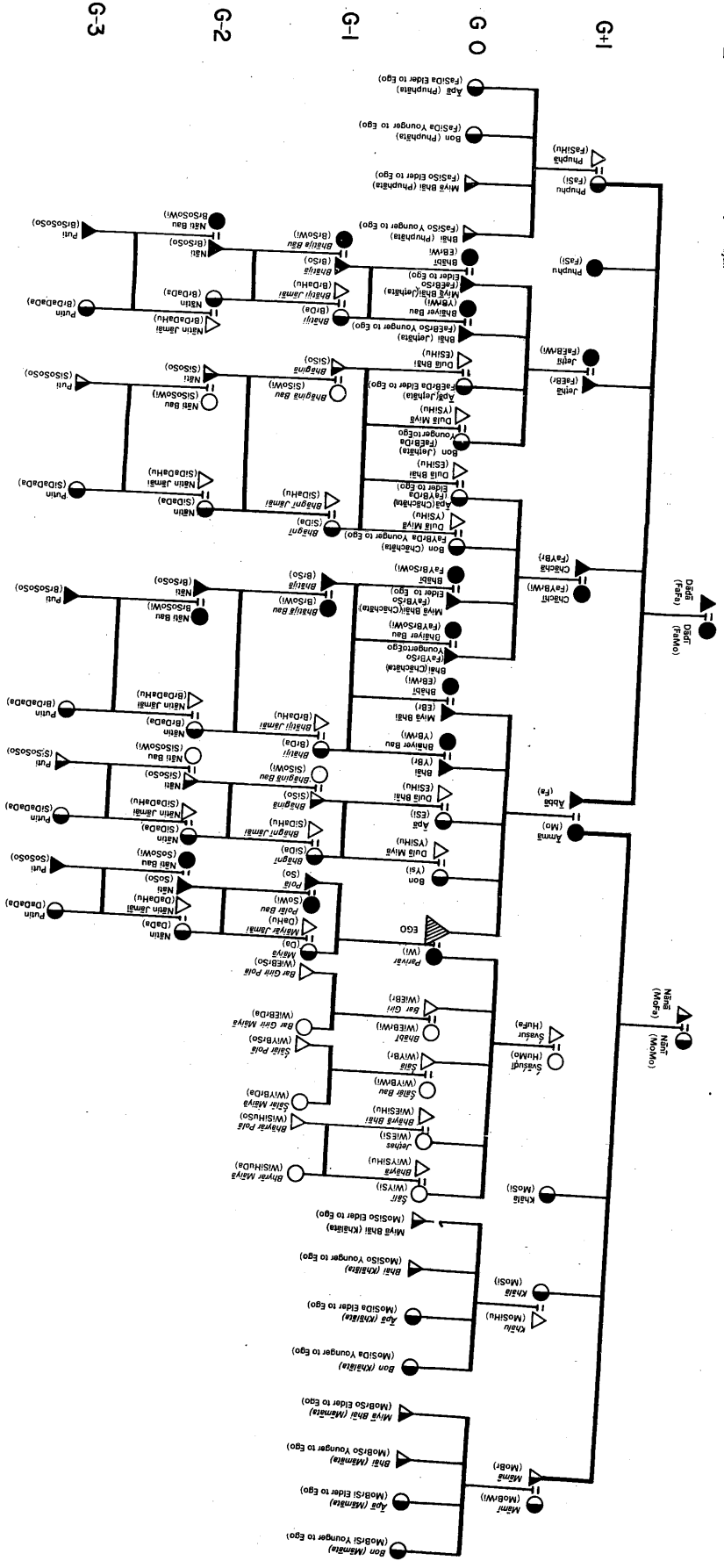
FIGURE 2: MUSLIM MARRIED FEMALE
EGO KINSHIP TREE IN
THE STUDY AREA

Svojan

Ātmiya

Ātmiya-Svojan
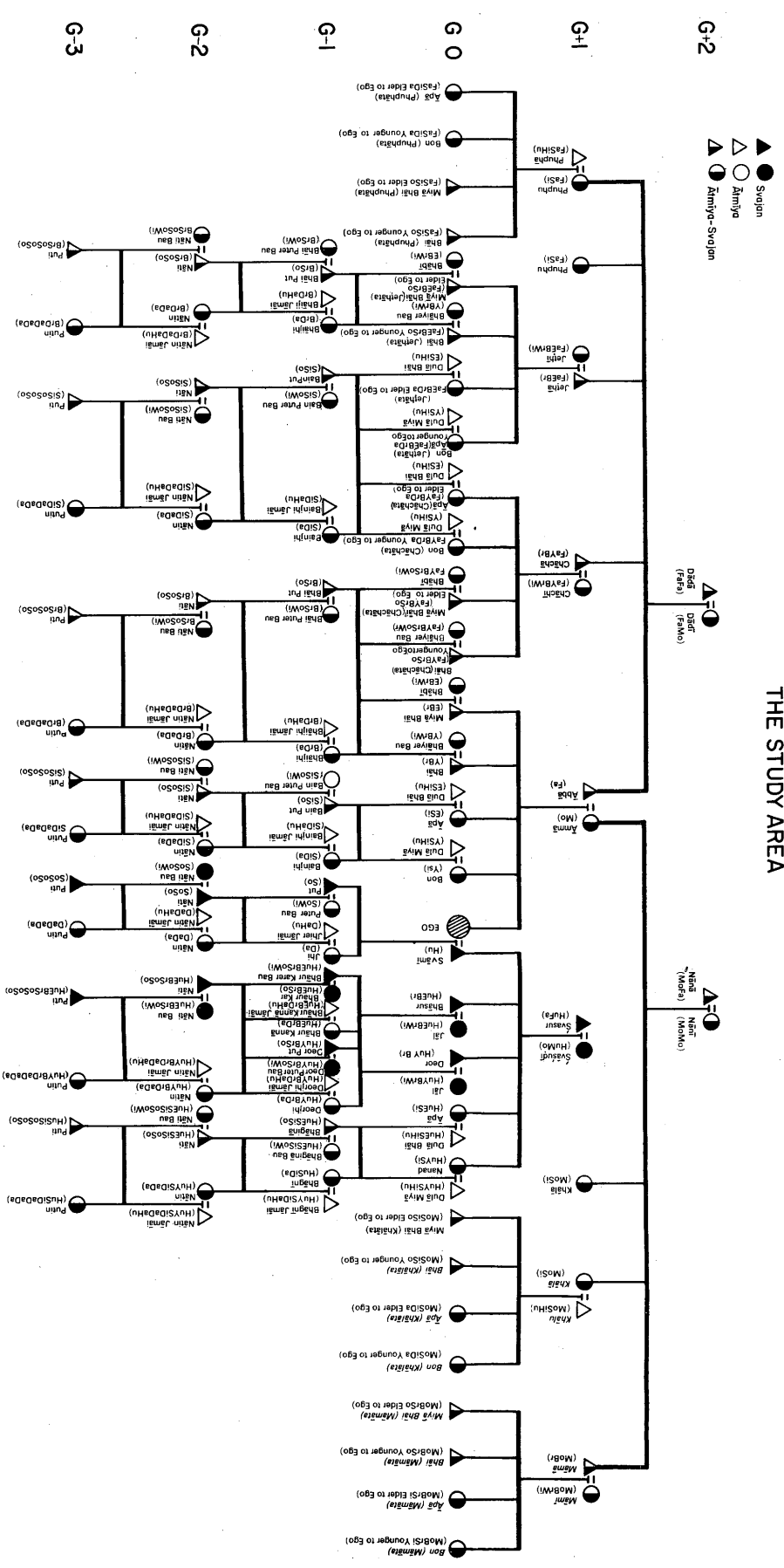
The Bangladeshi Muslim "descriptive kinship terminology" includes more than one thousand and five hundred kinship vocabulary words. A comprehensive listing of descriptive terms are shown in Appendix XI. The long listing of this vocabulary is primarily an indicator of the fact that it provides the exact description of any kinsman by a title that distinguishes him or her from the remainder. The detailed presentation of the system of descriptive kin terms as listed in Appendix XI clearly shows in it a pattern of simplicity. Inden and Nicholas (1977:90) noted that all of the kin terms are originated from words describing the eight basic classes of kin which include father, mother, son, daughter, husband, wife, brother, and sister.

The present study would show that synonyms and alternate terms are used to generate the descriptive titles by a variety of forms of modification, including the use of suffix or prefix, gender change, semantic alteration, word composition with two or more parts, and terminology composition with component word other than kin term indicating gene sharing or non-sharing of parents, age, sex and so forth. Most of the descriptive terms would have the use of prefixial adjuncts like *āpan, sat, chāchāta, jeṭhāta, phuphāta, Khālāta* and *Māmāta* (Appendix XI). The detailed descriptive terminology is known and used by all adult Bangladeshis. Such terms are used only in special contexts. Through the usage pattern of descriptive kin terminologies all kinsmen become like the eight basic kin terms as noted earlier. Thus in the terms of addresses (Appendix XI) one can find aggregating of these terms along with the terms for their spouses. The users of the comprehensive descriptive kin terms could address the people of the entire series of terms by name, and by only 33 kin terms of address. In the ascending generation these terms of address included *bada bāp, badamā* (+3 Generation), *dādā, dādī, nānā, nānī* (+2 Generation), *abbā, ammā, chāchā, chāchī, jeṭhā, jeṭhī, phuphu, phuphā, māmā, māmī, khālā, khālu* and *tālui, māai* (+1 Generation). In the ego's generation these terms included *miyā bhāi, bhābī, bau, āpā, bhāisāb, dulā miyā, bhāi, beyāi, beyān.* Such terms of address for the descending generations included *baumā, jāmāi, putrā,* and *jhiārī* (-1 Generation), *baumā, jāmāi* (-2 Generation), and *baumā, jāmāi* (-3 Generation). Underneath the limited number of terms of address lie the importance of descriptive kin terminologies.

For example father's father is addressed as *dādā* and at the same time mother's brother's father-in-law is also addressed as *dādā.* Here the former is considered as having close relationship and the latter is considered as a distantly related person. As a result for an understanding of the exact worth of these two individuals in the kinship system the knowledge of the terms of address is not adequate unless one knows the descriptive title of the kin relationship.

Through the descriptive as well as the terms of address an individual can differentiate the *istis* acquired at marriage from the individuals of *gusṭhī* members. Such differentiating terms of address include *tālui, māai,*

dulā miyā, beyāi, beyān, baumā, jāmāi, putrā and *jhiārī* (Appendix XI). A
son, grandson and greatgrandson would be addressed by name but their spouses
would be addressed by the term *baumā*. The male members of the descending
generation of one's *gusṭhī* are usually addressed by name. On the other
hand the female members coming through the establishment of affinal relation-
ship are addressed by the term *baumā*. This difference in addressing indi-
cates a formal intimate relationship with the incoming daughters-in-law.
The males being addressed by name, usually enjoy an intimate informal
relationship with the members of the ascending generation. Similarly the
outmarrying females of the *gusṭhī* are addressed by name by the members of the
ascending generation of their family of orientation, whereas the spouses of
these females are addressed by these people as *jāmāi*.

Cousins in Bangladeshi Kinship System

When the father has a younger brother and an elder brother as shown in
Figure 4, the younger and elder brother's sons and daughters will have the
same kinship relationship with his own sons and daughters.
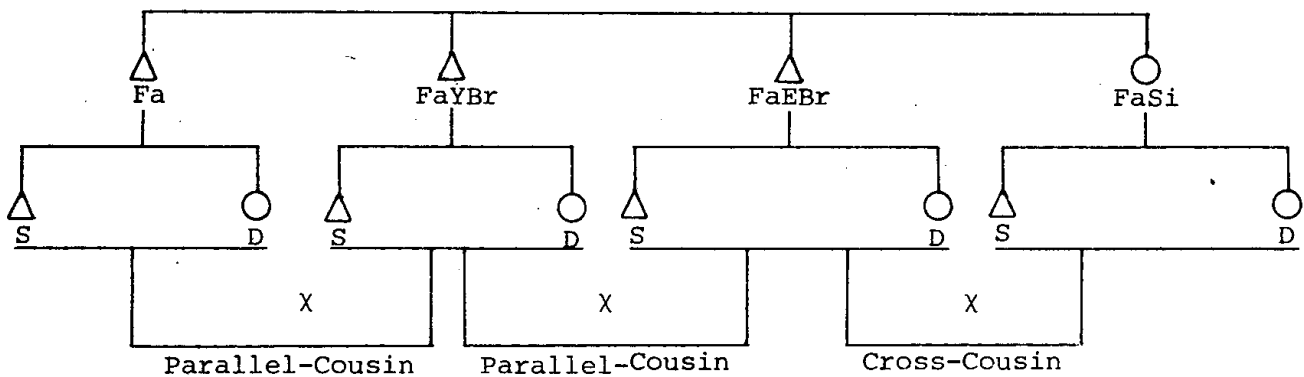
Figure 4

The χ marks in the figure indicate the same kinship relationship:
bhāi (brother) or *bon* (sister).

Mo   MoSi   MoBr

S   D   S   D   S   D

γ   γ

Parallel-Cousin   Cross-Cousin
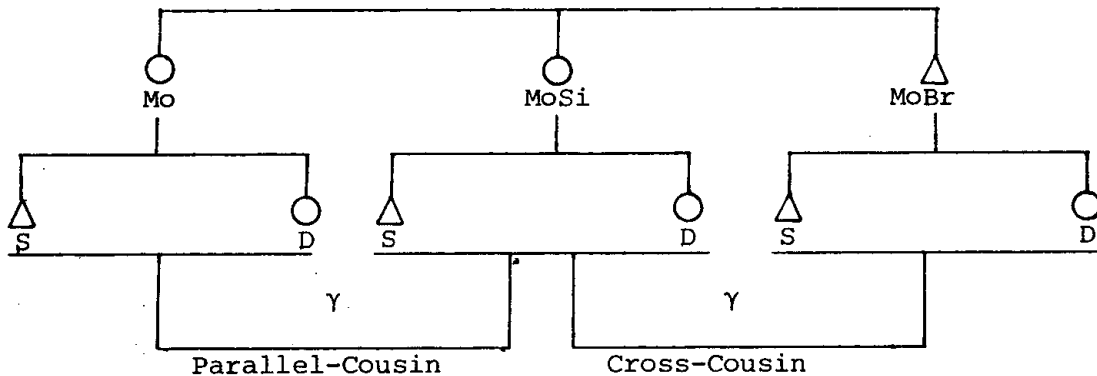
FIGURE 5

The γ marks in the figure indicate the same kinship relationship: *bhāi* (brother) or *bon* (sister).

The γ marks in the figure indicate identical kin relationship with the siblings of three different parents. When the parents of brother or sister cousins shown in figure 4 or 5 are of same sex they are termed as parallel-cousins. When these parents are of opposite sex then the offspring will be termed as cross-cousins. In the Bangladeshi kinship system both the parallel-cousins and cross-cousins have the same relationship terms. All these cousins are described as brothers and sisters, though prefixial adjuncts like *chāchāta, jethāta, phuphāta, Khālāta* and *Māmāta* distinguish one from the other in such a way that there is no doubt in conversation as to their exact relationships (Appendix XI). It is important to know whether the relationship is parallel or cross-cousin, because the difference in the identification has an implication in the future marriage prospect of the cousins. In the study area, among Muslims there were 62 parallel-cousin marriages as compared to 84 cross-cousin marriages. This preference for cross-cousin marriage indicate greater emotional considerations for the mother's or father's sister. On the other hand among the Hindus in the study area marriage between parallel and cross-cousins is prohibited. This taboo ideally extends up to seven ascending generations in the paternal side and up to five ascending generations in the maternal side. It was observed that these ideals were not strictly followed and a few exceptions might have occurred. With reference to the kinship system two different types of rules are found to be practised in the study area. Among the Hindus there is a prohibition on marriage between parallel or cross-cousins. Contrary to this, among the Muslims of the same area such marital unions are preferred.

Significant Divisions of the Kindred

Taking into consideration the sex differences, there are eight basic social positions in kinship reckoning. These are father, mother, son, daughter, brother, sister, husband and wife. Here in this analysis of signi-

ficant kindred divisions persons belonging to these kin positions would be
referred to as the immediate family members.

> A married man and woman are a single social unit whose
> solidarity, joint interests, and responsibilities take prece-
> dence over obligations and interests either may have in any
> other relationship. Their relations to their independent
> progeny might appear to be an exception to this principle, but
> ideally their obligations to their progeny are joint and cannot
> be in conflict with their mutual interests. The unity of
> married pairs extends to almost all aspects of kin relationships
> and to many aspects of social relationships generally. Whatever
> obligation a person may have to kinsmen, for example, his
> marriage partner must share that obligation as well. A man
> should be as prepared to give financial aid to a dependent kins-
> man of his partner as to one of his own (Goodenough 1965:263).

The above stated ideal is not always met in fact. Local ways of classi-
fying kin relationships takes into account such departures from the ideal.
Here lies the importance of studying classification of kin relationships under
various cultural settings.

Every married woman in the study area refers to her father's house as
bāper bāɗī and her husband's house as *svāmīr bāɗī* or *śvaśur bāɗī*. After
looking at the immediate family members of the husband and wife separately
one finds that there is a parallel term for the corresponding relatives in
each family. For example the parents of both husband and wife are addressed
by the same term though for reference a different term is used. Beyond the
immediate family, the cousins of each ego are identified by his or her
brothers and sisters with the terms which give the exact relationship. For
example the reference term *chāchāta bhāt* would mean father's younger brother's
son. In the study area when the cousins of the wife are addressed by the
husband's siblings they would identify all the cousins in groups by the terms
beyāi for males and *beyān* for females. The same formula of addressing would
be applicable when the cousins of husband are addressed to by the siblings of
the wife. The siblings of the wife or husband are referred to as *tālāta
bhāi* for male and *tālāta bon* for female as terms of reference though they are
addressed as *beyāi* and *beyān* respectively. It is unanimously agreed upon by
the villagers that among the members of the *beyāi* and *beyān* groups the *tālāta
bhāi* and *tālāta bon* are the closest. To single out the importance of kin
ties with the siblings of wife or husband the specific terms of reference
for them are used. The *tālāta bhāi* and *tālāta bon* are received with informal
cordiality. Beyond them the *beyāi* and *beyān* are received with formal
cordiality. The latter are not considered as close kin and as a result the
behaviour with them is marked by extreme personal attention to express a
show of close relationship though in reality the relationship is not consi-
dered as close. The social visit by a *tālāta bhāi* and a *tālāta bon* is a
frequent event in a comparative sense. Beyond them the visit of a *beyāi*
and *beyān* is rare. Sometimes *beyāi* and *beyān* become affinally closer than

tālāta bhāi and *tālāta bon.* This is achieved among both Muslims and Hindus through the establishment of a marital alliance between *beyāi* and *beyān.* Such marital alliance is usually possible when such a match receives internal blessings from close kin members of the families concerned.

A person refers to his or her own cousins with terms that indicate exact relationship but refers to a brother's or sister's spouse's cousins with group terms because in reality he or she considers the former more important.

There is consensus in the study population that while relationships with blood relatives and in-laws rest upon different bases, consanguineal and affinal kin are equally likely to be seen as long as one's marriage remains intact. Table 31 shows the percentages of consanguineal and affinal relations in 2,028 Muslim households and 291 Hindu households in the study area. It is revealed that slightly over three fourths of the Muslim and Hindu household members belong to a consanguineal category of relatives. Each member of such household serves as a pivotal connecting link between his or her kindred (his consanguineal relatives and their in-marrying affines) and his or her spouse. When representatives of a kindred are seen, they are seen either by both husband and wife or by the spouse for whom these relatives are kindred. Thus, imbalances which occur in the kin networks of married couples result from one of the spouse's inability or unwillingness to maintain a link with representatives of his/her kindred. Such imbalances across kindreds have been referred to as "asymmetrical kinship" in the kinship literature. Giving an account of kinship and marriage among the Meo Muslims of Rajasthan Aggarwal (1976:284, 289) noted virilocality scatters the *bahins* after marriage, but they look forward eagerly to re-unions when the family news will be exchanged. This is especially valuable because there is no person among a woman's affinal family to whom she can freely express her feelings.

In the study area, from a review of published out-migration data for five years covering 1968-69 to 1972-73, it is found that annual migration out of females due to divorce/separation and widowhood varied from 7.10% to 10.39% (Chaudhury and Curlin 1975:213-14).

Divorce and remarriage pose a series of alterations in kin ties which necessarily result in imbalances between one's own and former spouse's kindred. For the male spouse and minor children, the absence of the wife/ mother who provided a pivotal link to her kindred entails the possibility that social relations with her relatives will cease. The divorced men are unlikely to see the kin of their former wives. Upon remarriage a new set of affinal kinship relations come into operation. The pivotal role each spouse does or does not play in maintaining contacts with the respective kindred will determine the extent to which balance is attained across different kindred.

For the child, relatives of both absent mother and resident father are consanguines. These relatives comprise the child's kindred and thus legally and morally have some duties and claims. The child grows up in a kinship

universe which is one-sided because interaction and support are very likely
to occur with only the paternal half of his kindred. Socio psychological
relationships and material supports from the matri-kin are then potentially
lost. After divorce the wife leaves the husband's house leaving behind all
the children born to him usually with the exception of the breastfeeding
one[1]. In a few cases when the mother of the child is divorced, she may
decide to leave behind even her breastfeeding child in the care of the child's
father. In the study area this happens only when there is extreme disliking
for the husband. Upon the remarriage of the father due to the negligence of
the step-mother some of such breastfeeding children of absent biological
mothers may gradually embrace death. Such a negligent role of the step-
mother is well recognized by the neighbours though may not be openly admitted
by the kindred of the husband.

Through remarriage of parents, the child acquires stepkin. But these
relatives do not appear to have the same meaning to the child as his con-
sanguineal kin. In addition, stepkin have no legal standing or necessary
moral obligations to a child. One could not expect stepkin to show the same
interest in the child as would representatives of the kindred of the absent
parent from whom the child may be isolated. In the study area the daughter
from a wife's first marriage reared in her second husband's house is referred
to as *āt-tuā jhi* "the daughter who has been brought by a holding hand."
Similarly such a son is referred to as *āt-tuā-put*. Here the word *'put'* means
son.

In the study area it is commonly agreed that one may have liking for
one's connections, but one has a duty to one's relations. 'Relative' usually
means in this context a consanguineal kinsman or *rakter samparka* (blood
relation), and 'connection' an affinal one or *vaivāhik samparka* (relation
through marriage). Sometimes the distinction is between 'close relationship'
or *nikaṭ samparka* and distant relationship or *dūr samparka*. Essentially the
contrast is betweer the optional element in dealing with kin by marriage or
distant kin, and the obligatory element in dealing with kin by blood or close
kin. In the study area blood relations are considered as *svajan* or own people;
the others come into the family as spouses of the male members. Each male
member of the same lineage has unalterable ties with all blood relations.
Such a tie exists even though certain individuals have not met each other,
though it weakens in proportion to genealogical distance.

> Whether a villager lives in a simple or a joint family, his
> primary ties are structured through his blood relatives. The fact
> of birth gives him his first point of reference, from which as long
> as he lives in the village he can never disengage himself. Blood
> descent is traced equally through the father's and mother's lines
> (Foster 1967:57).

The definition and role of blood relatives given above are applicable to
a certain extent in the societies under the present study. Both Muslims and
Hindus under study follow the patrilineal descent system. Lineage is traced

through the father. They follow a patrilocal residence system, the wife coming to live with the husband's family after marriage, although in the case of Muslims only, the wife retains certain inheritance rights in her paternal lineage.

In the study area most of the married females who were permanently residing in the husband's house make it a point to make a few annual visits to their respective parental homes or *bāper bādīs*, usually located in the surrounding villages. They take along their minor children. When the children grow up, the married daughter goes to her *bāper bādī* infrequently. This does not mean that she feels less close towards the members of her paternal home. As a married woman has more children, her visits to the *bāper bādī* become an increasing burden to her parents in terms of food and accommodation. Each married woman's parental home is also her brother's home. To her children these homes are the *nānār bādī* or maternal grand-father's home and the *māmār bādī* or maternal uncle's home.

The above mentioned *bāper bādī* and *māmār bādī* are the most frequently visited places by married daughters, and nephews and nieces, respectively. It is customary on the part of unmarried brothers and sisters to make a few annual visits to the married sister's place known as the *boner bādī*. A great majority of the married women stay within the parental homestead of the husband and thus they live in close proximity of the consanguineal kinsmen of her husband. A husband will visit his father-in-law's house infrequently, because he considers it a *parer bādī* or 'house belonging to others', but he will usually let his wife and children visit several times a year. If rela-tions between a man and his wife's relatives become strained, perhaps because of his not being formally invited to his wife's sister's wedding or perhaps because of an unpaid loan, the man may temporarily stop visiting his father-in-law's house and restrict his wife and children from doing so. But normally he will visit occasionally and be welcomed, although he will not stay very long because his visits demand very special hospitality. There is a saying in the village which has the following words *śvaśur bādī madhur hādi, dudin pare jhāṭār bādī*. This statement literally means, the father-in-law's house is a pot of honey but after a stay of two days a broomstick beating may be forthcoming. This saying clearly indicates why the son-in-law considers the father-in-law's house a *parer bādī* or "house belonging to others." However, this place is not *parer bādī* to his wife and children.

In the *śvaśur bādī*, the father-in-law's house, the son-in-law is usually offered special dishes. Items in his dish may specifically include the fatty portion of a fish or the head of a large fish, or leg of a chicken through the courtesy of the mother-in-law. Inclusion of chicken curry in the menu is a sign of special hospitality. Traditionally, without the inclusion of chicken curry in the menu *jāmāi ādar* or affection to the son-in-law is not fully expressed. When the son-in-law returns home the members of his family of orientation invariably ask about the menu presented to him during the visit to the in-law's house.

Visits by a mother-in-law to her son-in-law's house or *jāmāi bādī* are more frequent than visits by the father-in-law. The mother-in-law's visit is very welcome to her *jāmāi bādī* in times of sickness and especially at the time of confinement of her daughter. For this reason her stay there is prolonged. Whenever the mother-in-law pays a visit to her *jāmāi bādī* she takes with her many necessities of life including agricultural produce. Traditionally, she tries to give special material favour to her married daughters without the knowledge of her adult sons. Furthermore, during such a visit she gives loving companionship to her grandchildren if there are any.

Behind the above mentioned visits to different *bādīs* in the study area a variety of objectives were noted. The frequently mentioned objectives were: (1) to participate in a wedding, (2) to participate in funeral rites, (3) to escort a female visitor returning home, (4) to participate in a religious ceremony, (5) to enjoy annual fruits and rice cakes, (6) to obtain financial assistance or a loan, (7) to cement social relationship, (8) to consult in selecting marital partners for sons and daughters, (9) to earn meals in exchange for service, (10) to visit the paternal home to give birth (occasionally), (11) tc see a sick kin member, (12) to visit the paternal home following strained relations with a husband or in-laws, and (13) to receive medical treatment.

The above findings on the visiting patterns of the kindred were revealed by following stays outside the home for a complete year. This followup was done randomly in 100 Muslim and 100 Hindu households in the study area which were selected for this purpose. Among both Muslims and Hindus the visiting patterns were generally similar (Appendix VIII). It is apparent that not all persons related through blood or marriage consider themselves kindred. Usually the siblings do not consider themselves to have an identical set of relatives. Most of the people in the study area agree that one's brother's wife's brothers and sisters are considered as relatives only by the brother concerned. Identification of operational categories of kinship is necessary for an understanding of the significant kindred divisions. Relevant here are elements of personal knowledge, duration of contact, performance of services and affective attitudes, which make up the content and boundaries of the kindred, within and outside the consanguineal circle. The definitions of kindred may vary between individual informants and according to individual circumstances.

At the Matlab Cholera Hospital the author obtained information on the relationship of attendants with patients in 62 married Muslim cases who reported for treatment. The collected data are noted here along with the frequency of each type of relationship. Out of 62 cases, 39 were males and 23 females. Males were attended by a son (9), brother (7), father (4), brother's son (4), mother (2), father's younger brother's son (2), father's father (2), grandson (2), father-in-law (2), maternal uncle (1), maternal uncle's son (1), son's father-in-law (1), and by no one (2). Females were

Above: Undertaking a four-mile journey on foot to see the sick mother
accompanied by her seven year old son, an unmarried sister and an
unmarried daughter of her sister.

Below: A foundation laying ceremony of a toilet room being performed
by a Brahman is attended by sister's children beside others.

attended by a mother-in-law (6), husband's elder brother's wife (5), son (4), husband's younger brother (3), father-in-law (2), husband's elder brother (2), and grandson (1). Those who performed the job of an attendant at least indicate the types of relations who can be depended on at the time of severe ailment. A variety of circumstances must have influenced the selection of attendants. The place of onset of the diseases might have influenced the selection of the attendant in a few cases. Under certain circumstances distant relatives also could play the role usually expected from near relatives.

In the study area, the common surname of the patri-lineage was symbolic of the social unity of each lineage member, and served also as a mark of identification. However, in order to identify the significant divisions of the kindred, the sets of kin group we are looking for are not merely structured arrangements of kinsmen on a genealogical chart. The significant kindred divisions would identify people related by kinship who meet, consult together, engage in common social activities and treat one another as part of the personal fabric of their lives.

Empirical recognition of the smallest units of kin who operate in close contact and influence one another's opinions and behaviour are of great importance in understanding the workings of rural Bangladeshi society. Such understanding may be essential to identify the social processes of the elementary family itself.

Ghanistha samparka (ati nikater) relationships involve a wide set of rights and obligations and endure for life. *Dūr samparka* 'distantly related' persons have no such lifetime obligations. *Anek dūr samparka* or 'most distantly related' persons may marry among Muslims, although Hindus try to avoid marital connections with individuals belonging to generations up to the seventh ascending order on the paternal side and up to the fifth generation on the maternal side.

To a female ego the immediate family members of self, father, son-in-law, maternal uncle, brother, sister, mother's sister, father's sister, grandson-in-law, sister's daughter and husband's sister are usually considered *ghanistha samparka*. To a male ego such relations are the immediate family members of self, father, son-in-law, sister, maternal uncle, brother, sister, mother's sister, father's sister, grand-son-in-law, father-in-law, sister's daughter, wife's brother, and wife's sister. Usually all the members of the immediate family of the ego are given intimate attention and affectionate treatment at the *māmār bādī* or the maternal uncle's home. Frequently affection and consideration are received from the maternal uncle for the entire life, but the same is received from the father-in-law for a shorter period. The maternal grandmother and maternal uncles are traditionally great sources of affection. Daughters usually receive from parents the highest level of affection and love. However, it appears that sons receive higher attention and protection from parents compared with the daughters. For example, after a review of deaths

from drowning in the Matlab study area it was learnt that the number of
deaths was almost double among the females compared with males who had not
yet learned to walk. The deaths of children below walking age could only be
attributed to the negligence of the caretaker (Aziz 1975:1). In showing
cordiality and affection, second to the mother usually comes her sister, and
then in order the ego's father's sister.

According to the informants in the study area *dūr samparker lok* or
'distant related people' include the parents' maternal uncles. Similarly
anek dūr samparker lok or 'most distant related people' include the parents'
maternal uncle's maternal uncle and so forth. Because of genealogical
distance these two types of relatives are seldom visited by anyone. Majority
of the most distant related people are not even seen in any one's lifetime.
It is probable that the latter category of relatives may be rarely met in a
few gatherings for a wedding ceremony or a funeral rite.

The compositions of family members in households (see Tables 17 and 18)
reflect the above mentioned factors relating to significant divisions of
kindred. There are very few instances of in-laws and married sisters, along
with their husbands and children, staying as regular members in the household.
Within this framework economic activities have a certain role in assigning
greater or lesser attention to a certain kin. For example, when a son earns
more he frequently receives more personal care from the parents.

From the above analysis one may gain certain insights regarding the use-
fulness of operationally significant kin ties as a tool of diffusion of ideas
through kinship network. The use of kinship network for such purpose is
likely to bear positive results in the following aspects:

1. Once something is favourably reported by close kin it receives
    serious consideration.

2. Messages for women will be communicated quickly to wider circles
    through visit of married women to their *bāper bāḍīs* or father's
    house.

3. Where technical skill is not required for adoption of a new
    idea, approach through close kin members is likely to bear
    favourable result. A house to house distribution of
    contraceptive oral pill was done in 150 villages of the study
    area in 1975. It was observed that contraceptive use is often
    the result of a group decision. When one woman in a *bāḍī*
    starts using pills, several more often follow her. The leader
    of the contraceptive distribution project arrived at the conclu-
    sion that if the lessons of the Matlab contraceptive distri-
    bution project are to be applied at a national level, the
    critical question would be how to establish a continuing
    relationship of caring and confidence between the implementing

agency of the government and the women of each rural
bāḍī (Huber and Harvey 1977:22).

4. Social visits by close kin members have the potentiality
   to be utilized as a source of diffusion of new ideas relevant
   to the developmental programmes in the rural area.

5. New information related to social, economic and political
   issues is usually communicated within the operationally
   significant kindred group with greater enthusiasm.
   Information received through close relatives is normally
   given greater credence.

6. At times of major decisions on economic and social matters
   usually villagers consult and depend upon their close
   relatives.

In sum, from these findings it can be said that implementation of any
developmental program in our rural areas is likely to receive greater success
if it is approached through the utilization of kinship network which is still
a universal aspect of the rural social structure in Bangladesh. *Bāḍī* seems
to be a suitable basic unit of analysis for any sociological or epidemio-
logical study in the context of an existing decision making process.

Specific Dyadic Roles and Relationships

A study of dyadic roles and relationships is essential in understanding
the organization of the Bangladeshi patriarchal family and cooperation and
conflict prevalent in it. Each family includes a group of interacting
personalities who constantly make socio-psychological interchange and put in
action specific efforts to satisfy their goals and needs. Most of the
relationships described here occur between kin types belonging to both
Muslim and Hindu religious groups unless specifically mentioned otherwise.
A kin type identifies any category of relationship which can be conceived as
differing in any way from another. Srivastava (1974:17) noted that a des-
cription of the attitudes which kinsmen have to one another may provide us
with an account of the effective kin-group. A study like this would be
valuable for functional theory, because familial interaction show very well
how parts of culture are interrelated.

FaFa/SoSo (Father's Father and Son's Son): The FaFa and SoSo usually
maintain between them a joking relationship[1] with marked informality. The
FaFa may tease the SoSo by saying that he wants to marry the sister of SoSo.
The SoSo in turn may tell the FaFa that he will break his waist and leg. He
may also say that he will drown the FaFa in water. Usually they are members
of the same *bāḍī* and have the opportunity to see each other frequently.
The FaFa very happily fondles the young SoSo. Whenever the SoSo is punished

by any other relative he looks upon the FaFa for comfort. The FaFa and SoDa relationship also follows similar pattern. The following examples will illustrate the type of joking relationship between them. The FaFa may tell the SoDa that she is looking sexy and that he has married her. Furthermore, the FaFa may say that he will arrange her marriage with the man with whom she (SoDa) has been maintaining sexual connections. In turn the SoDa may call the FaFa an old lazy fellow. She may tell the FaFa that he should get married but instead of doing that he is annoying her for obtaining sexual pleasure.

MoFa/DaSo (Mother's Father and Daughter's Son): It has been observed that in general the same relationship obtains between the MoFa and DaSo as between the FaFa and SoSo. The interaction between MoFa and DaSo is less frequent because in most of the cases they live in *bāḍīs* which are situated geographically apart. In the study area it was observed that the grand-children frequently visit the house of the MoFa along with their mother. On certain occasions the MoFa also makes a return visit. Such visits help to strengthen the existing relationship. The MoFa and DaDa relationship is similar.

FaMo/SoSo (Father's Mother and Son's Son): The FaMo sometimes offers a helping hand to the mother of the child in early child care. For example she may routinely apply mustard oil on the body of the SoSo and place him out in the sun to get the sun's rays. Frequently the FaMo acts as a constant guard and provides protection to the child. The FaMo who due to old age retires from usual activities may take care of the SoSo so that the parents of the SoSo can utilize the time in a productive way. Such performance on the part of the FaMo makes her a useful member of the household even at an old age. When the SoSo cries as a child the FaMo sometimes scares him by speaking about the coming of an imaginary figure[2] like a giant, or a spirit.

After the SoSo is weaned the FaMo provides lessons on certain aspects of behaviour preferred   by her. For example the FaMo may give instruction that one should drink water only in a sitting position. It was observed that sometimes she acts as a disciplinarian. The above pattern of behaviour was also observed between FaMo and SoDa, MoMo and DaSo and MoMo and DaDa. The latter two relationships are somewhat conditioned by residence factors.

In the case of marriageable age SoDa and DaDa, the author was told that the FaMo or MoMo often tells them the experiences of her early married life specifying particularly how she managed with the various in-laws. These experiences are narrated to provide necessary instructions for the SoDa or DaDa in facing her newly married life. Such instructions usually do not come from the FaMo or MoMo for the SoSo or DaSo.

Fa/So (Father and Son): An intimate relationship between Fa and So was not usually observed. The father as the source of family authority is largely a disciplinarian. He spends relatively little time in close intimate

contact with his son. This happens particularly when the son is five years old or over. A father expects his son to be dutiful and obedient. For any failure in the expected performance the father feels it reasonable to punish his son. Sometimes the father is observed in beating a son, between ten and fifteen years of age, for refusal to perform duties assigned to him. With such a background of personal relationship, a son feels like behaving toward his father with an attitude of respect. A similar pattern of behaviour is extended to his father's brothers. However, depending on relative age, a father's YBr may maintain a very intimate relation with his brother's son.

Skinner's discussion of Mossi father-son avoidance points to the possible reasons behind the above mentioned pattern of relationship between Fa and So.

> Mossi fathers are so sensitive about being eventually
> replaced by their sons that they often resent the boys' growth
> and development. The first son is the target of this fear and
> hostility because he is the one who will benefit most from the
> father's death. However, if the first son happens to die, then
> the son who is next in line becomes the subject of his father's
> uneasiness. Mossi men have been known to upbraid their sons
> for growing beards, the significance of which is seen in the
> fact that men do grow beards as a sign of mourning on the death
> of their father. As a rule, Mossi fathers tend to avoid any
> situation in which their eldest sons may be compared with them.
> For example, a man and his grown-up son do not walk together
> for fear of the embarassment which would be created if a stranger,
> not recognizing the age differential between them, greeted the son
> before he greeted the father (Skinner 1961:57).

In the study villages it was found that unmarried grown-up sons usually avoid the company of their father. Normally, the presence of a son is specifically requested when the father needs some assistance from him.

In the landless families, usually the father cannot remain as a source of authority to his son for long. In the study area it was observed that at about the age of 10 years the sons of such a father are compelled to sell their labour to strengthen the income of the family. When the sons grow up they frequently refuse to share their income for the personal benefit of the parents. Such non-sharing of personal earnings gradually may become a source of tension between the father and son. In a poor landless family the father normally equates a son or *put* with his *khet* or an agricultural plot. An old beggar might make an emotional plea for alms by saying *'āmār khet put nāi'* which means 'I do not have any agricultural plot or son.'

Fa/Da (Father and Daughter): Compared with the mother a father is less tough in his dealings with the daughter. A daughter behaves with her father in a respectful manner. Such kind of behaviour on her part also extends to the father's brothers. The father is able to maintain an affectionate

relationship with a daughter almost always since there is no personal clash with her on material grounds in any significant way. The father usually expresses very soft and kind sentiments towards the daughter since she is considered as a temporary member in her father's family till her marriage.

Mo/So (Mother and Son): The deep affection of the mother for her children are believed to have a root in *nādīr tān* or the 'pull of the umbilical cord.' It is further believed that there cannot be any substitute of the biological mother. During the first few years of son's life, the mother acts as a warm and supportive personality to satisfy the basic needs of the infant. If the first birth is a son, the child is received with great joy by the mother as well as by the concerned members of the kindred. The mother makes a sincere effort for the welfare of her son and tries to provide all kinds of protection to him. In the study area it was frequently observed that a mother procures various types of amulets including a piece of torn shoe to provide protection to her son from sickness and against evil spirits. In the study area the evil spirit possessed during the initial stage of life following birth is widely known as *tākuriā*. According to the medical scientists of CRL, this *tākuriā* is nothing more than neo-natal tetanus.

The son's personal request for any favour from his father is preferably channeled through his mother. The mother acts as a disciplinarian in a significantly soft way compared with the father. The mother usually points out the good qualities of her son and keeps hiding his deficiencies to her husband. Taking advantage of his mother's soft heart, the son frequently tries to ignore her instructions which are not to his liking. Sometimes the son also dares to tell lies to his mother which he will not usually do while talking to his father.

To a poor widow a grown up son is a source of social security and old age support.

Mo/Da (Mother and Daughter): This relationship is similar to that of Mo and So. As the daughter becomes efficient in discharging household duties and caring for the siblings, and approaches marriageable age, the mother turns most affectionate if her daughter is well-disciplined in her movements and highly courteous in her behaviour. Under such circumstances, the daughter approaches the mother quite respectfully. The daughter receives instructions in proper behaviour from her mother. Such instructions are provided keeping in view the future marriage of the daughter and the circumstances under which the daughter will be required to adjust to the agnates of her husband and their wives, her mother-in-law, and so on. The mother remains fully conscious that after marriage the daughter will no longer be around her, rather she would be required to stay permanently in her husband's house.

Every mother in the study area wants her daughter to be fully prepared for an efficient role as a housewife when she gets married. Usually after

the daughter attains puberty the mother requests the respectable near and
distant relatives to keep their eyes open for a suitable marital partner.
At the time of such a request the special qualities of the daughter concerned
are narrated. In the list of qualities level of formal education including
the ability to read the Holy Quran, good manners, capability in house-keeping
and mastery in culinary arts are frequently mentioned by the mother.

EBr/YBr (Elder Brother and Younger Brother): Elder brothers at an early
age demonstrate a disciplinary attitude towards younger brothers and expect
to be treated with respect. In the practical sense, the position of authority
is retained by the elder brother to a considerable extent until the younger
brother is able to establish a separate residence.

In polygynous or serially monogamous families it is most common for half
brothers to feel competitive and somewhat hostile to one another. The
brothers born of the same parents are believed to possess the *eki rakter
bandhan* or 'tie of the same blood'. Usually they grow up together in the same
environment and normally continue to develop a feeling of closeness and unity
until they get married. After getting married the brothers become competitive
for attainment of individual standard of living. If there is a wide
difference of wealth between two brothers, then the wealthy one feels socially
obligated to provide financial support to the other for maintaining a minimal
standard of living suitable to the lineage concerned.

During the lifetime of the father, in arranging the marriage of a YBr,
the EBr plays an important role. If the father is an elderly person, he may
be reminded by the elder son about his responsibility of arranging a suitable
marriage for his younger son. Usually when the father arranges the marriage
of a younger son, he seeks the opinion of the elder sons regarding the suit-
ability of a proposed match. If the father is dead, the EBr frequently tries
hard to get a suitable marital partner for the YBr. Many times such an
assistance in arranging a marriage proves helpful in the development of a
useful cooperative spirit between the conjugal units of two brothers.
Whether the father is living or dead, frequently a financially capable EBr
makes a significant material contribution in solemnizing the marriage of a
YBr.

EBr/YSi (Elder Brother and Younger Sister): The YSi looks upon the EBr
in a respectful way and regards him as her "protector." She takes special
care of the EBr in serving meals, in keeping his living area clean, in taking
care of his clothing and in offering personal care at the time of sickness.
Usually the EBr takes special care of the YSi in the following ways: he
(1) buys her new clothing, cosmetics and snacks, (2) takes her along on
visits to the maternal uncle's house, (3) sometimes escorts her to school,
(4) watches over her when she is outside the *bāḍī* courtyard, and (5) vows
to avenge her for any maltreatment.

The EBr sometimes plays a key role in arranging the marriage of the YSi.
If the father dies before the marriage of the YSi, suitable arrangement of

her marriage becomes obligatory on the part of the EBr. By undertaking such a responsibility, the EBr functions as a substitute of the father. In such a situation, it is frequently observed that an unmarried EBr delays his own marriage while arranging suitable marital unions for his younger sisters. Frequently the elder brother give wholehearted material and moral support in arranging the marriage of their younger sisters. Sometimes the EBr plays a key role in providing a job for the husband of the YSi. During the lifetime of the father, the EBr may point out one of his friends or an acquaintance of his friends as a possible candidate to be the groom of his YSi. If successful in such an effort, the EBr gets the credit of playing an instrumental role in arranging the marriage of YSi.

ESi/YSib (Elder Sister and Younger Sibling): Elder sisters are given the responsibility of taking care of younger siblings. When the elder sister is over ten years old she is frequently required to function as the substitute of the mother to the YSib in several ways. In the main she is expected to provide the following types of care for the YSib: she may (1) hold him for hours ordinarily while walking around the *bāḍī* courtyard in an effort to keep him contented and comfortable, (2) lull him to sleep, (3) feed him milk or food, (4) cleanse his buttocks after defecation, (5) assist in bathing and putting on clothes, and (6) play with him, if their age difference is not too wide.

By taking care of YSib, the ESi relieves the mother for other essential household activities. If the ESib belongs to a joint family, then her cousins of equivalent age sometimes give her a helping hand in the above performances. But if she is the member of a nuclear family and has several younger siblings, then her responsibility in taking care of those siblings is greater. At first, the ESi may at times resent performing the above mentioned assignments, but gradually she learns to consider these as part of her routine daily activities. When she shirks her assignments and goes off to play with her friends, her mother may say that she has gone for *śaytānī* or to 'give company to the devils' (i.e., fellow playmates).

MoBr/SiSo (Mother's Brother and Sister's Son): A SiSo is expected to behave respectfully towards his MoBr. The MoBr is always affectionate towards the SiSo. The SiSo is allowed to make frequent visits to the house of the MoBr, where he is always, cordially received. The MoBr is a potential father-in-law of the SiSo. A well established MoBr is expected to extend a helping hand to a SiSo whenever the opportunity permits. This situation is known as *māmur jor* or 'strength of maternal uncle.' Furthermore, the tradition that a SiSo may ask without reasoning very special favours of his MoBr is known as *māmur bāḍīr ābdār*. This tradition might be related with the unclaimed parental property right of the SiSoMo.

Hu/Wi (Husband and Wife): Traditionally husbands and wives do not come close to each other during the course of daily activities. Routinely during normal activities the closest proximity occurs at the time of serving meals.

In the study area during the field work, it was quite clear that the wife expected major decisions to come from her husband. When a newly married woman was asked regarding the total number of children she would like to have, the most common reply was that decision on such an important matter lay with her husband. Again in 36 study villages, when in November, 1975 contraceptive oral pills were delivered at home free of cost without asking for any guarantee of use, about 70 per cent of 586 married women with one previous live birth refused to even accept the supply of the same without consent from the husband. Furthermore, in 12 villages of the study area contraceptive injections with 3 to 6 month durations were given to 224 married women in 1976. Out of these 224 participants, 16 women received the contraceptive injection without obtaining permission from their husbands. As a result, subsequently each of them was physically beaten by her husband and was prevented from receiving further injection. From the above examples it is evident that a husband demands constant unquestioning obedience from his wife and wishes to hold rigid authority over her without any consideration of her viewpoint. The husband is almost always a dominant personality over his wife. The husband is given respect, obedience and service by his wife with a feeling of religious duty and also as an appreciation for providing the basic needs like food, clothing and shelter.

Co-Wives: The cases of having two living wives simultaneously were few in the study area. The nature of relations between co-wives are considered to be conflictive. The factors that diminish conflict between co-wives are hierarchical status relations, a wide age difference between co-wives, and the residential separation of each wife.

In the study area, relations between groups of children within a household born to different wives deserves particular attention. Among Muslims under study in an agricultural village of 211 conjugal units, it was found that only one conjugal unit included children both of a deceased wife and a present one. Also if wives remarry, because of divorce or death of a husband, they usually do not bring their children into the new household. The children stay with their fathers or grandparents. Children from former marriage in a household often receive poorer food, treatment and so forth than the children of the present marriage. Second marriages are sometimes arranged between related partners. This may be an effort to ensure reasonable attitude and behaviour towards the woman's children.

Mo-in-law and Da-in-law (Mother-in-law and Daughter-in-law): The Mo-in-law - Da-in-law relationship is the most important of all in-law relationships in the patrilocal families of the study area. The newly married woman frequently comes as an unknown individual to reside permanently in her husband's house. During daily household activities she remains in closest contact with her Mo-in-law. The Mo-in-law plays a leading role in providing the Da-in-law necessary guidance and direction in undertaking household duties in the new environment.

A tense relationship between the Mo-in-law and Da-in-law is frequently observed during a year or two from the date of coming of the Da-in-law. If the tension continues more than two years or so the chances of breaking off the marriage was greater. When tensions are high the Mo-in-law may say things like: (1) "I will throw you out from the house and then surely you will live on rice gruel collecting the same from different people's houses," (2) "I will get my son married again and following that you will be earning your living by collecting left over straw from the agricultural field and by collecting wild wood to be used as fuel," and (3) "Your mother's husband promised so many items of dowry to my son but those promises are now totally forgotten."

If the marriage remains intact for a few years then frequently friendly relations between the Mo-in-law and Da-in-law are observed. Such a friendly relationship is frequently possible when the Da-in-law becomes accustomed to and learns to accommodate to the attitude and behaviour of her Mo-in-law.

EBrWi/HuYBr (Elder Brother's Wife and Husband's Younger Brother): To a new bride the HuYBr is the first among the male members to whom she speaks and shows her face. Among both Muslims and Hindus a joking relationship exists between these kin members. However, among the Muslims the joking relationship is a permitted way of behaviour which ultimately may lead to a marriage in the event of the death of the elder brother if the younger brother is a bachelor or a widower. Such marriage sometimes takes place to gain the selfish end of the younger brother in retaining the widow's share of her husband's property. Although a joking relationship exists between the EBrWi and HuYBr among the Hindus this does not have the strength of social sanction. To a Hindu, the EBrWi is comparable to a mother and sometimes she may be addressed as such. Among the Hindus when joking takes place between the EBrWi and HuYBr there are limitations. A Hindu EBrWi may claim sweets for assistance in arranging the marriage of the HuYBr with a girl of his liking. When a social visit is due and in the absence of her husband the EBrWi is reluctant to go, the HuYBr may encourage her to undertake the trip along with him as a replacement of his brother. Among the Muslims such a joking relationship takes place in a little more serious way. For example they may share food from the same plate and on certain occasions they may apply on the face of each other cosmetics and different kinds of traditional colouring materials. When the HuYBr marries and begets children his relationship with his EBrWi is no longer marked with obedience and sympathy.

YBrWi/HuEBr (Younger Brother's Wife and Husband's Elder Brother): Both of them maintain a relationship of avoidance. This avoidance is emphasized greatly among the Hindus compared with the Muslims. A Hindu YBrWi is not permitted to appear in the presence of HuEBr who is respected like a father-in-law. She cannot speak to him or offer any direct assistance in his daily activities and as a result she also cannot serve any food to him. But there are exceptions to such strict avoidance. During the interview in the field

a few Hindu women reported that by keeping the eyes down *(nīch mui chāiyā)* and by covering the face completely, the YBrWi could serve food to HuEBr. When the YBrWi needs to call the attention of HuEBr she will do so through a third person. Among the Muslims their relationship is like that of elder brother and younger sister. The YBrWi must show high respect to the HuEBr and should be prepared to obey his instructions when given. Direct address to HuEBr is usually avoided. Only in few cases direct address was observed, specifically if the YBrWi came from a well-known lineage, had higher education, and contributed to the family welfare.

BrWi and HuYSi (Brother's Wife and Husband's Younger Sister): Between these two the relationship frequently does not remain sweet. The HuYSi cannot accept easily the addition of a new member in the family, from a different lineage, with certain specific prestige and position as the daughter-in-law of the house. The BrWi always tries hard to keep the HuYSi satisfied in every possible way. When there are wives of several brothers, a competition goes on to satisfy the HuYSi. While serving meals the BrWi may especially favour the HuYSi with good pieces of fish or meat. Sharing of cosmetics also is frequently helpful in keeping her satisfied.

The BrWi always apprehends that the HuYSi might complain about her to the mother-in-law. In the village such complaints on trifling matters are referred to as *kutnāmī* or slandering. Regarding the BrWi, the HuYSi may report to her mother, or in her absence to the aunts, that the BrWi ate before her mother or brother, without authorization she visited a neighbour or talked to a stranger, she obtained some cosmetics from the market through her brother or she purchased the same herself from the trading gypsy pedlar and so on. If the BrWi demands participation by HuYSi in household duties, the latter gets furious and considers herself above such obligations.

The viewpoint of the HuYSi is that in the near future she is going to leave this house permanently for her husband's house where she will be required to work hard. She feels that it is the BrWi who should work hard in the brother's house. In the future, if the HuYSi becomes a widow along with several children and needs shelter in her brother's household, she then comes under the control of the BrWi. Such a widow is particularly highly neglected by the BrWi when her parents are dead.

YBrWi and EBrWi (Younger Brother's Wife and Elder Brother's Wife): When they belong to a joint family, both of them are expected to contribute equally in the household activities. Each of them tries hard to obtain an equal share of the food for her children. If either of them has a greater number of children it becomes the point of discussion while distributing the food items. In such a case particularly in the poor families the mother with more children will eat a lesser quantity herself. Customarily it is obligatory on the part of the YBrWi to obey the EBrWi. The EBrWi also in turn must show affection for the YBrWi. Outwardly both of them try to maintain a sweet relationship. But when any neighbour comes, each of them

gets pleasure by narrating bitter experiences of behavioural aspects of the other. The topic of such complaint frequently includes the issue of greater and lesser participation in work. Sometimes the EBrWi makes complaint about self-pride or *phuṭāni* by the YBrWi and vice-versa.

ESiHu and WiYSi (Elder Sister's Husband and Wife's Younger Sister): Both among the Muslims and Hindus a joking relationship exists between them. Some of these jokings include the serving of betel leaf using unconventional leaf to the ESiHu, hiding of personal effects of daily use by the WiYSi, and partial cutting of the beard or hair while the ESiHu is asleep. The ESiHu may apply cosmetics suddenly on the face of the WiYSi. The ESiHu frequently makes humorous statements to the WiYSi. For example, if the WiYSi is wearing any flower in her hair she may be told that with the nice smell of the flower, a groom may be coming with great joy. Furthermore, when the ESiHu is leaving the village home for a trip to the town he may inquire to the WiYSi whether she needs any ornament or a groom, and so forth. Among both Muslims and Hindus, on the death of a wife the widowed husband may marry the deceased wife's younger sister. Among the Muslims a man cannot marry two sisters together who are born of the same mother. But among the Hindus marrying of two sisters at a time is allowed though not socially encouraged. A somewhat similar joking relationship exists between the ESiHu and WiYBr. By maintaining a sweet relationship with wife's younger brother, the husband makes a special effort to satisfy his wife.

CousinBr and CousinBr (Cousin Brother and Cousin Brother): A man or boy's cousins include his father's elder or younger brother's son. When they belong to a joint family, the relationship among the cousins is of particular importance since the property is co-owned by all the family members. When the joint family breaks down and the family estate is divided, a distance is created between the cousins. If an elder cousin dies, any of the bachelor or widower younger cousins may marry the widow. Such a marriage takes place mainly in order to keep the lineage property within the control of its own household unit. Such marriages occur only among the Muslims. Even after the breakdown of joint family, the cousins try to maintain a cooperative spirit among themselves in order to enhance the joint prestige and hard-earned good name of their forefathers. Cooperation among the cousins is highly appreciated by the members of the *samāj* concerned. In the background of such a social appreciation and recognition, if there is any internal conflict between the cousins the same is not expressed in public unless the differences are of grave nature.

CousinBr and CousinSi (Cousin Brother and Cousin Sister): The daughter of one man and the son of his brother make up this relationship. Among the Muslims the CousinBr is allowed to marry a CousinSi. Such marriage do not occur among the Hindus. Though the above type of marriage is allowed among Muslims, when such a CousinBr or CousinSi remains unmarried, a certain distance is enforced between them by the respective parents or guardians.

Unless they marry, in no case will the CousinBr and CousinSi be allowed to associate with each other. If either cousin marries someone else, special distance is no longer maintained.

FaSiDa/MoBrSo (Father's Sister's Daughter and Mother's Brother's Son): Among the Muslims   riage may take place between these cousins. But among the Hindus marriage does not occur between them. According to the Islamic law of inheritance, between such a CousinBr and CousinSi certain property interest exists. Through marriage between FaSiDa and MoBrSo property interest is kept within already connected families and from the parents' point of view the brother and sister get closer.

In the case of such a marriage, frequently marriage expenditure is kept at a minimum by a mutual agreement between both the families. Among the Muslims, when the FaSiDa and MoBrSo remain unmarried, free mixing between them is not permitted because of the possibility of their marriage. However, among the Hindus such cousins maintain the usual close relationship which is seen between a brother and a sister. Such a closeness is allowed among the Hindus since marriage between the FaSiDa and the MoBrSo does not take place.

Patterns of Verbal Abuse:

There are certain patterns of verbal abuse among the family members. As per observations made in the field, it may be said that about 25% of the families in the village do not normally use terms of verbal abuse. The majority of the remainder at least occasionally use verbal abuse among them-selves. For females, the vocabulary of verbal abuse is limited but among males it is unrestricted. When a male head of a family uses abusive language, the remainder of the family members do not hesitate to do so. Verbal abuse follows certain rules among family members, though there are no hard and fast rules observed between unrelated people.

When senior male members are in the house, female members will refrain from using verbal abuse. Once the males leave for outside work, verbal abuse begins, often because of trivial matters. Frequently abusive words are used between co-wives, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law and wives of two brothers. The male members use the abusive words on return from the day's work when they receive complaints of irregularity from family members. The male members use abusive words for lesser time since they work mostly outside the home where situation does not permit frequent use of verbal abuse. When the verbal abuse within the household goes beyond the pres-cribed limit, then physical punishment may follow. If the wife calls the husband 'a prostitute's son' then she may be beaten with a stick or may be slapped by her husband. An account, made from observations done in a Muslim agricultural village of the study area having about 500 families, it was estimated that such punishments were given fairly regularly to about 10% of the wives and to another 10% occasionally. In the same village, three

cases of divorce in one year's time resulted mainly from frequent irregular use of verbal abuse. It is commonly agreed by both Muslim and Hindu villagers in the study area that the majority of those who use verbal abuse within the household or *bāḍī* follow certain rules, but that some people distinctly have no limits in using abusive words. Those who use terms of abuse come from all socioeconomic levels.

Verbal abuse between mother and son, father and son, husband and wife, brother and brother, and brother's wife and his sister sometimes are taken exception to and referred to influential members of the *samāj* who sit together and listen to the complaint. The guilty person may be given a punishment like a beating with shoes or a fine, or he may be given a warning only after being asked to deliver a formal apology. When influential members sit together the parties involved are asked whether they will agree to the judgement of the *samāj* members. Once both parties agree, then judgement on the matter is pronounced. Otherwise the aggrieved party is advised to take proper action with the moral support of the *samāj* members.

During verbal abuse the term *sāuyā* or vagina is frequently used by both sexes, but the term *cheṭ* or penis is used mainly by males. Females probably do not utter the term penis even when they start uttering abusive words without any limit, because of the feeling of shame which is *śaram* or *lajjā*.

Once verbal abuse starts between adult females, it continues for prolonged periods until the arrival of the adult male members. When the children start words of abuse, they do it without any limit. Children aged around seven or above frequently have a clear understanding about the meanings of the terms of verbal abuse. In the presence of the adult males the minor girls refrain from using words of abuse because of fear of punishment. When the adult males are not present the restriction in using words of abuse no longer exists. The presence of their mother does not inhibit children of either sex from using verbal abuse. Children have no rules in using terms of verbal abuse.

The terms of verbal abuse commonly used in the study area are noted below with a classification of the expressions according to their contents. The approximate English version of the terms of abuse are shown below against examples in exact Bengali dialect.

   (1) Terms of abuse associated with sex organs:

        amār cheṭer tale āuinnā: An individual who
        comes under my penis.

        tor heḍā diyā bām̐ś dhukāmu: I will push a
        bamboo through your vagina.

        sāuāḍā kamu ki: You vagina what should I say.

        ki chet kas: What penis you are talking.

(2)   Terms involving vaginal discharge:

lerḍi tor mohe ditām: I give the vaginal
discharges into your mouth.

lau khāuinnā: One who drinks menstrual
blood.

āmār lerḍi khā: You drink my vaginal discharge.

ler khāuinnār jhi: Daughter of an individual
who drank vaginal discharge.

(3)   Words indicating sex relations with animals:

tor māyer upar śuyar chare: let a pig be on
your mother.

kuttār chodā: Son of a mother who was fucked by
a dog.

(4)   Words indicating pre-marital and extra-marital sexual
intercourse:

tor māre chudi: I fuck your mother.

chudānī: A woman who offers herself for sexual
enjoyment.

chutmārānī: A woman who offers herself for sexual
gratification.

(5)   Terms indicating professional backgrcund and personal
character of parents:

metharer bāchchā: An offspring of a sweeper.

phakirer jhi: Daughter of a beggar.

chhinālnīr put: Son of a woman who maintains extra
marital sexual relations.

hārāmzādā: A son born out of wedlock.

(6)   Terms pointing out physical defects and deformities:

pemchī; Owl faced

tui kānā, lemda: You are blind and lame.

kujā: Hunch backed.

(7)   Term for an incestuous relationship:

   tui tor bāper bāḍī yā naile tor bāper sāthe thākas:
   You go to your father's house; otherwise you sleep
   with your father.

(8)   Terms threatening physical assault:

   jutā diyā bāirāmu: I will beat you by shoes.

   jāurār put tor bāpe āiyuk tāmsā dekhāmu:
   Son of a father born out of wedlock, let your
   father come I will show you fun (here 'fun'
   indicates possibility of physical assault).

(9)   Terms referring to personal character:

   khānki: A prostitute woman.
   badmāiś: A scoundrel.

(10)   Terms indicating imaginary kin relationship:
   śālā: Wife's brother.

   śālār put: Son of a wife's brother.
   śālīr jhi: Daughter of a wife's younger sister.
   sattner jhi: Daughter of a co-wife.
   haurer put: Son of a father-in-law.

(11)   Terms comparing the individual with an animal:

   śuyar: A pig.
   bereṣ: A bull.
   chhāgī: A she goat.

(12)   Terms referring to one's lineage:

   tor gusthīr māre chudi: I fuck the mother of
   your lineage.

   tor gusthīr mukhe lāth-thi: Let there be a kick
   on the face of your lineage.

(13)   Terms wishing major ailment:

   tore śītlāy neuk: Let the goddess of smallpox
   take you.

   tor hate paṁchā lāguk: Let your hand get leprosy.

The different terms of verbal abuse just mentioned were noted by the author during field visits when those were being used by various kin members. The terms could be noted by sitting quietly in a room nearby the site of the verbal exchange. During heated moments, the exchange goes on in shouts. Only a few typical examples are noted under each category of classification. The number of examples do not indicate a greater or lesser emphasis on a particular category of the terms under classification. However, it was observed that terms of abuse referring to incest relationships are very few. This is probably because these are mainly used between members of different kin groups. Apart from the categories of verbal abuse included here there are others which are used less frequently and are not mentioned here.

Verbal abuse usually is triggered by trifling matters, such as breaking of utensils, defecation or crop damage by domestic animals and birds, irregular behaviour of children like defecation in an improper place or beating of fellow children, and taking of vegetables and fruits without permission. The elder villagers share the opinion that the frequency of using terms for verbal abuse is on the increase. The women and men who use these terms habitually are well-known among the villagers. A fellow villager ordinarily will be extra careful while talking with such people, but the latter do not need a large audience since they remain busy enough most of the time abusing those persons nearby. In a monograph of Rajput child rearing the pattern of quarreling among Rajput women was noted as follows:

> The women are more openly quarrelsome than the men. Tempers have no chance to 'cool off' in the close quarters of the courtyard, and minor irritations build up into open hostility. A woman with whom this matter was discussed agreed that the women fought so much because they could not leave the courtyard. She said that if they could take a walk for an hour, most of the quarrels would not occur. Quarrels often begin over some minor matters. Two women may disagree over the cooking or the children, and the bickering begins. In an extended family, the other women usually take sides, and eventually all the women are lined up against each other. Neighbouring women, hearing the rumpus, come to add their voices' worth to the quarrel so that finally the courtyard is filled with angry women. Such an extensive performance, however, does not occur frequently. The women vary considerably in how often they quarrel. We were told that in some houses the women fight daily, in some once a week, and in some not for months at a time (Hitchcock and Minturn 1964:261).

Both in Uttar Pradesh and Bangladesh, women mostly remain confined within the boundaries of the courtyard. Under such circumstances, with the slightest disagreement, women often engaged themselves in verbal abuse or

quarreling. In the Rajput situation a lot of neighbouring women get them-
selves directly involved in the harangues, but in Matlab it was observed
that in the case of abuse between two female household members, sometimes a
neighbour might come to the spot and pass an opinion favouring one side then
soon after leave the place. The participation of additional persons only
prolongs the abusing activity.

Use of abusive language does not always involve any genuine personal
attack. The terms of abuse often have in them the inspiration for putting
more and more energy into doing heavy work particularly in respect to pushing
or lifting of heavy materials. In doing such work the terms of abuse are
formally chanted in chorus for exerting the fullest available energy from all
participants. Sometimes abusive words are directed to the juniors in an
effort to create a feeling of shame for non-participation in the routine
activities. In the study area it was observed that terms of abuse were fre-
quently used for rectification of behaviour and for greater participation in
economic activities. If this technique of rectification fails, physical
punishments follow.

On the vulgar language recently an editorial in an English language
Dacca daily paper said:

> Vulgarity seldom gets praised. Seldom? Perhaps it were
> advisable to say never. Yet now we hear that it has been
> given the stamp of approval by a psychologist at a scholarly
> international meeting held in Wales for the past three days.
> In Latin the word 'vulgarist' meant the common people who
> usually lack the questionable refinement of calling a spade
> an agricultural implement. People who call napkin a serviette
> or a lavatory a convenience, are considered to be refined; and
> such expression are often to be found in middle-class society
> a hundred years ago. ... Over refinement of language is a
> mistake (The Bangladesh Observer 1976: Editorial).

In the study area the abusive words were unrefined words and sometimes
such expressions are called *mukh lāḍā-lāḍī* or terms coming from one's mouth
to hurt the feelings of any individual. The author found this *mukh lāḍā-
lāḍī* activity as part of daily conversation among most of the people of all
ages and both sexes in the study villages. Terms of abuse are frequently
used within the household among both Muslims and Hindus in Matlab *thānā*.
Among both these groups the terms of abuse and their pattern of use are
almost the same.

The terms of abuse prevalent in the study area included imaginary kin
relationships. The terms indicating imaginary kin relationships were in
common and frequent use. There was a difference in the context of the use
of these terms compared with the rest of the terms mentioned above. Unlike
other terms, these terms had the potentiality of mild application. By not

using the imaginary kinship terms if anyone decides to make reference to either of the parents with an abusive suffix like *'metharer bāchchā'* or 'an offspring of a sweeper' could create the feeling of an unpardonable offence. On the other hand if someone uses the imaginary abusive kin term like *'haurer put'* which means 'the son of a father-in-law' could be termed as a humorous reference according to the convenience of the addresser.

SIGNIFICANCE OF KINSHIP BEYOND THE VILLAGE

Marriage Relations

Marriage relations are most frequently sought outside the village, since this will bring new people into the domain of the kinsmen. A new lineage other than one's own may have highly respected and well placed members. Important kinsmen who are distantly related are also taken into consideration at the time of settling a marriage since they might be able to provide certain favours in the future. With a wider circle of kinsmen a family can enhance its social and economic power. The marital relationship outside the village is evaluated by the fellow villagers. If the match is with an influential family it is proudly mentioned by the lineage members and this enhances their prestige in the eyes of other fellow villagers.

Marriage within the village does not help in extending the circle of acquaintances, because all the people in a village already know each other. But the forming of such matches to people in different villages widens a family's circle of acquaintances. Marriage connections between different villages not only bind the lineages concerned by kinship ties, but also bind each lineage with other kinsmen of the in-laws. When a son-in-law visits his wife's village, he is given due respect and affection befitting to a son-in-law in any house of the village. All the sons-in-law in a village coming from different villages have a special set position in the eyes of the villagers in general. When the villagers talk to a visiting son-in-law about their village, they will refrain from making any negative remarks. A son-in-law comes for only a short visit to his father-in-law's house, so the villagers make favourable remarks which they hope will be carried back to the visitor's village. If a marriage with a lineage of a different village is successful, then in the same village more marriages are sought and established. When a marital relation is established with a new village, various lineage members concerned exchange visits among themselves, an additional help in establishing further marital connections. If a new marriage in a different village proves to be successful, then parents of marriageable boys and girls may contact either of the families and seek their cooperation in settling marriages for their children.

Marital relationship with a different village offers a greater scope for social visits. A visiting affinal kinsman is cordially received and entertained specially for several days continuously on various ceremonial occasions of the year, whereas affinal relations within the village usually do not visit each other for overnight stays. When several girls from the

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same village marry into a second village, certain social advantages follow. The women coming from the same village maintain cordial relationships with each other. When one of them goes on a visit to her father's house, the near-kinsmen of other married daughters in the same village might contact her to ask about the welfare of their married family member. The behaviour patterns of one village are spread to another village through marital alliances. The new daughter-in-law from different villages bring new ideas and specialties with them, and learn new specialties and manners in the husbands' houses. Thus a married woman may act as an idea and information link between villages.

In a single *bādī* there may be several daughters-in-law belonging to several households coming from a single different village. In such a case it was observed that several of the daughters-in-law, along with their children, may journey together to their *bāper bādīs* by a countryboat, jointly sharing the expenses.

When marital relationships are established outside the village, the affinal relations meet only occasionally which is helpful in maintaining a very cordial relationship. When affinal relatives visit each other after a long period they express respect or affection deeply, whichever is appropriate.

If an unmarried daughter has a *khut* or 'physical defect,' her marriage may be settled in a distant village unless she is wealthy (in which case she may be married within the village but into a family with a weak economic status). However, the author during the field work came across an unmarried high caste Brahman girl aged little over 30 years. Several years back she appeared in the Secondary School Certificate Examination. When personal inquiry was made she frankly admitted that neither she nor her guardians had any plan for her marriage. This decision was due to a minor deformed look in her face and slight deformity in one of her feet. This unmarried girl has an unmarried educated sister about 10 years younger to her. It was reported that her younger sister who possessed a normal health was going to be married with a Bank Official at a total expenditure of Taka 50,000.00. Minor physical defects also become a deciding factor for remaining unmarried on the part of a girl. Generally this is true in the case of higher caste girls. They are barred from marrying a lower caste boy. However, minor physical defects on the part of males does not stand on the way of marriage irrespective of caste ranking.

Marital relationships in different villages offer a wider opportunity of economic cooperation. Through the help of a well placed affinal kinsmen a person may get a job, partnership in business or support for higher education. In giving economic favour one always considers one's own relatives with a feeling of priority.

Marital relationship outside the village is particularly useful in maintaining the traditional position of the boy. If the boy marries outside his own village he will be cordially invited to make social visits to his father-in-law's house, but when the marriage occurs within the same village the boy is seldom invited to his father-in-law's house. In addition, if he is married within the village, he must be very careful about his behaviour toward his wife, because it might be reported to her kinsmen. If the wife comes from a different village such reports are not as easy. If the daughter is married within the village, she may seek favours from her father's family for her husband and children. If the daughter is married outside the village such drawing from the parents' resources becomes difficult. Both the parents and the brothers of the girls prefer to settle her marriage outside the village so that she does not frequently draw financial benefits from them and so that the parents do not learn about her inconveniences and problems of conjugal life. If a girl is married outside the village of her birth she makes greater personal effort for adjustment with her husband and his kinsmen.

In the study area, compared with Muslims, the Hindus have the history of a greater number of marriages within the village. As a result most of the families within a village have become related to each other by affinal connections. Traditionally, the marriage rule is that a man must not marry into his father's gotra[1] or lineage, in his mother's gotra and his father's mother's gotra. Because Hindus in most villages are already interrelated, and because of the marriage rules just stated, most people are now compelled to look for marital partners within the same caste outside the village. In these respects among the Hindus in northern India the following customs were observed.

> For purposes of marriage a village is an exogamous
> division of society. This means that all the people belong-
> ing to one caste living in a village behave as if they were
> descendants of one common ancestor. This idea however is
> never stretched so far as to consider the whole village as
> one family for all social purposes (Karve 1964:129).

Unlike in the northern India village exogamy is not the rule among the Hindus in the study villages. Rather in the past some marriages took place within the village.

Men in each study village took wives from surrounding villages. Mate selection in most of the cases leads to a network of kinship ties covering a radius of 15 to 20 miles. At least 60 per cent of the marriages took place within the proximity just mentioned. Distance between the residence of non-related marital partners is shown in Table 32. The data presented in this Table was obtained from the registration forms completed for all marriages in the study area during 1975 (Appendix IX). The data in the Table show that 7% of the marriages took place within the village. Further it is seen that an additional 10% and 43% of the marriages occurred within

the union and *thānā* respectively. In addition to these, 25% of the marriages occurred within the district. It is further revealed that about 15% of the marriages occurred outside the district. Over 83% of the marriages occurred outside the union indicating preference for marriage beyond walking distance. Marriage outside the union keeps the married daughter away from her parents and as a result she makes special effort for adjustment with her husband and his immediate family members.

Regarding distance between the residences of marriage partners, information was collected in 1967 from a sample of 280 families covering nine villages in Trishal *thānā* under Mymensingh district. This study revealed the following data:

> Nearly 65% of the marriages have taken place between
> **husband** from the present village and wife from another
> village; 23% with husband and wife both from the present
> village; 3% with wife from the present village and husband
> from another village, and 9% with both husband and wife
> from outside the village of present residence (Qadir 1970).

The above study done in Mymensingh district shows that 23% of the couples married within the village, whereas at Matlab only 7% married within the village. At Matlab though about 93% of the daughters were married outside the village, at least the young married daughters were found to be visiting their *bāper bāḍī* whenever opportunity permitted them to do so.

Economic Connections and Kinship

On different occasions kin members maintain economic connections with other kin members residing outside the village. It was observed that approximately 25% of the cultivable land of cultivators is owned in other village areas. If such land is not directly managed by the owner then it is managed with the assistance of relatives living in the nearby villages. If the relatives are not willing to undertake the responsibility then only non-relatives get the opportunity for work. By giving preference to relatives one gets his own share of benefit as well as providing benefit to them at no loss.

When an individual requires a personal loan in cash or kind, first he may approach his near-relatives within and outside the village. Outside the village, for a loan one would approach the close blood relations first. Such a blood relation may be one's own brother, paternal uncle or cousins. Outside the village they may be employed or self-employed persons and sometimes have their own businesses. Usually beyond one's own village, the blood relations such as the maternal grandfather and maternal uncle are the potential providers of a loan. When an individual has no suitable blood

relations for providing a loan, he normally would ask for the same from his father-in-law, wife's sister's husband, son-in-law, wife's brother, or sister's husband. Particularly when any loan amount is obtained from affinal relatives, an individual makes every effort to return the money at the time due otherwise he feels guilty and ashamed. Frequently, delay in repayment of a loan amount from affinal relatives may lead to a strained relationship. To the knowledge of the author, in the study area a father-in-law committed suicide by taking poison after he repeatedly failed to repay a loan amount to his son-in-law who lived in another village. However, such a recourse is extremely rare. With a blood relation one usually has a greater personal understanding and wider common interest, as a result of which, delay in repayment of a loan amount usually does not lead to a strained relationship before liberal extensions of the time limit for repayment.

For selling cultivable land within the village, consanguineal relatives residing outside the village will receive certain preference. Although in this case the individual is losing ownership, the possibility remains that in the future, he may obtain some benefit. Such possible benefits include: (1) becoming a sharecropper, (2) buying back the land, (3) not losing prestige, and (4) having the feeling that he has not actually sold the land. Preference for selecting a buyer within or outside the village is the same in the case of selling ornaments or household effects. All the above items, including land, can be sold to relatives at a significantly lesser price than the going market rate with an understanding that within a specified period, if the money can be returned the ownership also will be given back. Such transactions may take place with non-relatives only at a bargaining price. Several of my key informants in a Hindu fishing village stated the role of relatives in buying and selling of movable and immovable properties in the following way: If anyone wishes to sell land the same must be offered first to the close relatives who are willing and capable to buy the same. The first preference goes to a blood brother. If such brothers have strained relationship then the *samāj* leaders will create compelling circumstances to sell it to the brother. If the brother is not capable and not willing then the same will be offered to other near-relatives at about 15% to 20% less price than the market rate. The same is the case in selling house and household effects. The lesser price might be useful someday in future if the individual badly needed any kind of material and moral assistance.' The normal rule is that when one wishes to part with landed property, house, or household effects the same must first be offered to a suitable close relative at a lesser price than the prevailing market rate.

Relatives from a different village may be taken as business partners or assistants, and such partners are usually trusted at a higher level than non-kinsmen. If any relative happens to have the authority of employing a person in a public concern, it is very likely that he will make every effort to employ one of his near relatives. In such appointments sometimes a wife's younger brother may be preferred to a brother. This usually happens when the wife commands certain control over the decisions of her husnand. This

kind of influence from a wife is possible only if she comes from an influential family which has contributed significantly for the personal attainments of her husband. Such contribution is usually made immediately following marriage in the form of providing financial support for higher education.

If a man does not have any highly placed near-relative, he may look for a distant relative or even a fictive kinsman to approach in order to gain a job. When a kinsman goes to another kinsman with the expectation of getting a job, he will usually take him any of the following items: big fish, fruit, purified butter known as *ghī*, or a fine variety of rice. Though he may purchase his gifts from the regular market, at the time of handing it over to the relatives he claims that the item was procured from his *bāḍī* compound. A kinsman like a nephew, wife's brother, wife's sister's son, daughter's son, or son-in-law's brother are sometimes allowed food and accommodation for certain periods as a support for higher education. Such a kinsman in return may do the job of house tutor for children of the host household. Usually fruits, like jackfruit, mango, green and ripe cocoanut, water melon, papaya, banana, and agricultural products like *ātap* rice[2] for making rice cakes, a special variety of paddy for making *chiḍā*[3] and *muḍi*[4] a variety of high quality of seeds, fish, milk products, etc. are sent to a married sister's house, married daughter's house or sometimes to a father-in-law's house. Within a radius of 3/4 miles certain relatives may send a plough and bullocks even with labour free of cost to assist the relatives of neighbouring villages. Such relatives will include a married sister, a married daughter, the father-in-law, and sometimes even the wife's married sister. Such relatives from a neighbouring village along with other fellow villagers might come forward to weed or harvest agricultural fields at the request of the kinsman when there is a labour shortage within the village concerned. These people, in exchange for labour, will be entertained with special food, and no cash payment will be made. Special care is taken in all types of entertainment so that the visiting relatives, along with their fellow villagers, do a good job as well as appreciate the hospitality. Such labour utilization is in no way inexpensive. The advantage is that at the hour of need the required service is available. This system of labour utilization is called *māgnā badlā* or free labour service.

Sometimes employment outside the village leads to the establishment of affinal connections outside the district. In the study area this happened in the case of certain landless labourers who moved out to the districts of Sylhet, Jessore and Rajshahi for seasonal employment. Because they felt they would achieve a better standard of living, a few landless families even moved to the villages in which they found work. Usually these families counted on the goodwill of affinal or less frequently consanguineal relatives, to help them in their new homes. If they failed to achieve a reasonable level of economic advantages in spite of the cooperation of relatives, sometimes they returned to their original villages. They were always welcomed back enthusiastically even after absences of ter or twelve years, and accommodated in their original *bāḍīs*.

A skilled carpenter, weaver, or tailor sometimes is approached by young relatives from other villages for acceptance as an apprentice. Such apprenticeship is allowed for relatives, like wife's brother, sister's son, daughter's son, and son-in-law's brother. Sometimes such apprentices are chosen as a partner for a daughter's marriage, with certain exception among the Hindus.

From the discussion of economic connections with kinsmen we find the following aspects worth noting: (1) certain relatives are given preference for economic considerations, e.g., a married sister, among the Muslims, may delegate her share of paternal property to her brothers; (2) a wealthy relative may help a needy one in order to maintain the prestige of the family and himself; (3) specialized occupational skills are transmitted preferably to kinsmen; (4) economic connections help to maintain cordial relations among kinsmen; (5) certain transactions, such as the sale of property, are preferably made between relatives; (6) through economic assistance to relatives, a wealthy man may gain the support of kinsmen and the respect of other members of the society; (7) economic assistance to kinsmen is considered a religious virtue; and (8) economic assistance is usually provided to either consanguineal or affinal kin, but an exception was observed in Comilla town where affinal kinsmen were excluded from learning the skill of polishing the famous *hukkā* or hubble bubble in an effort to keep the secret of the skill confined within consanguineal relatives.

Fictive Kin Outside the Village

Use of fictive kin terms is a part of everyday communication in many contexts outside the village. While visiting his wife's mother's village, a person will frequently use appropriate fictive kin terms in addressing or referring to unrelated persons. In the wife's village when addressing the senior persons one will frequently use fictive kin terms like *chāchā* or *jethā*, *miyā bhāi* or *bhāi*. In turn their wives will be addressed by appropriate fictive kin terms. In short the wife's fictive kin relations in her village of birth will be addressed or referred to by appropriate fictive kin terms by the husband concerned. Similar is the case in the mother's village. If one meets an individual coming from any village where he has kinsmen they will start communication by addressing each other with the appropriate fictive kin term.

The villager purchases his required commodities frequently from the neighbouring village market or even further afield in the small or large towns. In making such purchases the buyer and seller many times address each other by appropriate fictive kin terms such as *jethā*, *chāchā* or *kākā*, *bhāi*, *miyā bhāi* or *dādā*. The mutual use of fictive kin term helps in maintaining a cordial and useful relationship. The rural shopkeepers keep frequent contact with business people in the market places outside the village and through such contact obtain facilities such as credit. Fictive kin relationship helps very much in obtaining goods on credit. The middlemen who purchase commodities such as jute, potatoes, paddy, vegetables, eggs, and chickens from the

producer by making home visits in different villages invariably use an appropriate fictive kin term while addressing the seller. In such cases the seller may be male or female. The addresses for female will frequently include *mā*, *bain*, *bhābī*, and *chāchī*. The appropriate term for male counterparts of these individuals will be used in addressing the males with the exception of the male counterpart of mother. The terms for "father" are used in different ways. The individual who offers alms may be addressed as father. Sometimes a non-related child also may be addressed by the term of father as a mark of affection. If the purchaser is an elderly person and the seller is of the age of his son he may address him as *bājān* or *bābā* which means "father." It may be mentioned here that a biological father may address his son out of affection as "father."

In the study villages CRL field workers undertake frequent home visits for obtaining required data Most of the CRL field workers have been freely using appropriate fictive kin terms in addressing the individual family members. Regarding the spontaneity in accepting a fictive kin term of address one of the CRL fieldworkers narrated to me a certain experience. Once in a household, not seeing the woman inside the house, the worker addressed her as *jethī* (i.e. father's elder brother's wife) and then promptly a reply came with the words "my mother-in-law is not at home." Following this response the worker could realize that the term of address was wrongly used and he then addressed the woman as *bhābī* (i.e. elder brother's wife) which brought her outside the house with a broad smile. This personal approach in addressing both male and female members of each family proved to be highly effective in obtaining willing cooperation from the individual concerned.

It was found that when a woman is addressed by the term *jethī* or *bhābī* or the like according to age she will not hesitate to talk personally to the male field worker, which is otherwise not conventional. By using appropraite fictive kin terms, the CRL male field worker has gained acceptance in every household, almost as a family member. He is able to talk easily with a young unmarried girl addressing her by the fictive kin term *bain* or sister. The field workers who become expert in using fictive kin terms performed their activities with much greater success.

In duscussing fictive kinship outside the village the patron-client relationship comes into the picture. In a patron-client relationship the use of fictive kin terms is very fruitful. A patron is one who does more than provide work and income for his clients. He helps clients in times of crisis by providing credit facilities and by looking after the welfare of the client's children particularly in respect to education and employment. Many times the patron intercedes with various powerful people on the client's behalf and even protects him against those who are hostile. In turn the client is more than an employee. He is a helper at the time of various needs and crisis. He is a reserved strength for the patron and vice versa. Rural leaders and their followers regardless of particular village affiliations address each other by appropriate fictive kin terms. When a villager

travels in a motor launch or bus he may be addressed by the ticket seller as *jethā, chāchā* or *kākā, miyā bhāi* or *dādā*, or *bhāi*. If the passenger is female she may be addressed as *mā* or *bain*. Not every passenger will be addressed by a kinship term. Such terms are used mainly to gain prompt action in making payments. The use of fictive kinship terms mentioned above by ticket sellers does not require established intimate relationship. When the ticket seller addresses certain passengers by appropriate fictive kin terms according to age, response comes forth quickly in the shape of making the appropriate payment. If any passenger fails to make payment for buying the ticket he or she invariably addresses the ticket seller by kinship terms as *miyā bhāi* or *bābā*.

If an individual belonging to a different village is employed as a carpenter, house repairer, labourer on an annual basis, or such, then he may address the employer as a fictive *jethā, chāchā* or *kākā, miyā bhāi* or *dādā* and the like. In response to such terms of address the employer is expected to behave with him gently and affectionately. The domestic male and female workers hired on an annual basis are mutually both addressed by appropriate fictive kin terms which helps in the development of effective working relationship. The domestic female workers hired on an annual basis are addressed by the children of the household by fictive kin terms like *āpā, buji,* or *didi, chāchī* or *kākī* (father's younger brother's wife), *jethī* (father's elder brother's wife), and *phuphu* or *pisī*. Such male workers are addressed as *chāchā, jethā, miyā bhāi* or *dādā* and *bhāi*. The terms *khālu* or *masā* (mother's sister's husband), *phupā* or *pisā* (father's sister's husband), and *dulā bhāi* or *jāmāi bābu* (sister's husband) are not ordinarily used to address the male workers. These terms are particularly avoided since they indicate marital connection with the female members of their own family. In a similar situation while addressing the female worker we have seen above that addresses like *chāchī* or *jethī* are used. Though these terms indicate marital connection, the women involved in these relationships come from different families. However, the female worker is not addressed as *khālā* or *māsī* since mother's sister is below only the mother in terms of attachment.

To get a suitable employment in any office or organization the job seeker may approach a fictive kin who is already employed to get a favourable consideration. If an employed person assists a fictive kin in getting a job it is not considered as favouritism. But if such a person assists one of his blood or affinal relations in getting a job the same will be classified as favouritism. As a consequence of this, a person with employing authority sometimes recruits fictive kin members of his own, his maternal uncle's or his wife's village rather than his own blood or affinal relations. By employing fictive kin relations one enhances his strength within the organization where he is employed by surrounding himself with supporters. By doing it one also gains the support of such employee's consanguineal and affinal kinsmen for material and political gain. Persons who aspire to high political office find it useful to favour fictive kinsmen of different villages. In doing so, they may gain the support of the employed persons' kinsmen at the

time of election. Sometimes fictive kinsmen of different villages are
offered jobs by highly placed persons in public office on the condition of
marrying members of their closely related families. The job is given when
the individual remains as a fictive kin, so that such employment is not
categorized as favouritism. After some months of such employment the
marriage takes place giving no indication that it was prearranged.

The fictive kin relations outside the village described above relate
to gains in social, economic, political, matrimonial matters and in buying
and selling of goods and services. Use of fictive kin terms, as has been
indicated, is particularly useful in gaining a quick and effective working
relationship even when the individuals involved are not acquainted with each
other.

When out of one's own village fictive kin relationships are maintained
by the economically weak, it is done mainly to keep alive or to initiate the
element of patronage in a relationship. External relations through the use
of fictive kin terms have advantages. Such relationships bring economic
benefits and they facilitate useful contact with people who have the power
to offer favours. When the above fictive kinship sub-sets are aggregated we
can derive the network of fictive kin relationships prevalent in the general
society.

In establishing fictive kin relationships there is no religious bar.
However, a Muslim is expected to be addressed by a Muslim kin term, and a
Hindu by a Hindu kin term. For example, if an individual wishes to use the
term elder brother he will use the term *miyā bhāi* for a Muslim and the term
dādā for a Hindu. As has been seen, fictive kin relationships outside the
village often have an economic basis. An intelligent person often tries to
develop a continuing fictive kinship relationship with those people who may
be useful in obtaining expected financial gain.

But as also has been seen, sometimes fictive relationships have purely
social and familial purposes. This is true particularly in one's own village,
maternal uncle's village, and wife's village. An individual will usually
maintain a fictive kin relationship already established by his senior
consanguineal or affinal relatives. A relationship such as this sometimes
has significant social value which continues for generations.

TABLE 1

POPULATION GROWTH BETWEEN 1966 AND 1975 AT MATLAB

Year	Crude Birth Rate Per 1000	Crude Death Rate Per 1000	Natural Increase (Percent)
1966-67	47.1	15.0	3.2
1967-68	45.4	16.6	2.9
1968-69	46.6	15.0	3.2
1969-70	45.3	14.0	3.0
1970-71	43.5	14.8	2.8
1971-72	44.5	21.4	2.3
1972-73	41.8	16.2	2.6
1973-74	45.6	14.2	3.1
1974-75	39.8	19.8	2.0

TABLE 2

ANNUAL ANIMAL SACRIFICE BY MUSLIMS IN 483 FAMILIES
DURING 1972 TO 1974

Year	Sacrificed Number	Percentage	Not Sacrificed Number	Percentage
1972	119	24.6	364	75.4
1973	112	23.2	371	76.8
1974	97	20.1	386	79.9

TABLE 3

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF MARITAL PARTNERS AMONG MUSLIMS AT MATLAB
ACCORDING TO CLASS OF LAND-OWNERSHIP

Class of Land-owner-ship	Class of Male Partners	Class of Female Partners	Frequency	Percentage
4 acres +	1	1	5	1.88
		2		
		3		
1.50 - 3.99 acres	2	1	14	5.26
		2	72	27.07
		3	21	7.89
0-1.49 acres	3	1	7	2.63
		2	49	18.42
		3	98	36.84
Total			266	100.00

TABLE 4

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF MARITAL PARTNERS AMONG HINDUS AT MATLAB
ACCORDING TO CLASS OF LAND-OWNERSHIP

Class of Land-owner-ship	Class of Male Partners	Class of Female Partners	Frequency	Percentage
4 acres +	1	1		
		2	1	1.79
		3	1	1.79
1.5 - 3.9 acres	2	1	2	3.57
		2	18	32.14
		3		
0-1.4 acres	3	1		
		2	8	14.29
		3	26	46.43
Total			56	100.00

TABLE 5

ALL MALES OF 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OLDER BY PRIMARY OCCUPATION AMONG
BOTH MUSLIMS AND HINDUS AT MATLAB, 1974

Occupational Category	Number	%
1. Owner worker	20298	21.9
2. Owner non-worker	1401	1.5
3. Sharecropper	1023	1.1
4. Agricultural labourer	14976	16.2
Agricultural Sub-total (1-4)	(37698)	(40.7)
5. Fisherman	3275	3.5
6. Fish Seller	368	0.4
7. Rents Fishing Equipment	15	0.0
Fishing Sub-total (5-7)	(3658)	(3.9)
8. Labourer (non-agricultural)	9673	10.4
9. Boatman	2812	3.0
10. Cottage Industry	529	0.6
11. Service	3979	4.3
12. Businessman	4918	5.3
13. Beggar	253	0.3
14. Student	21088	22.7
15. Disabled	1447	1.6
16. Unemployed	3763	4.1
17. Other	2895	3.1
Non-productive Pursuits Sub-total (13-17)	(29446)	(31.8)
Total	92713	100.0

TABLE 6

GUSTHĪ TITLES IN A SAMPLE OF 5% MUSLIM AND HINDU FAMILIES
AT MATLAB, 1974

Title	Frequency	Percentage
Basāk, Hāfez, Kar, Dafadār, Nāg, Letā, Ṭhākur, Sukāni, Chairman, Chorā, Peār, Bādyakar, Bairāgī, Dhar, Ganak, Gāin, Imām, Kamār, Kāndār, Kerānī, Kirtaniā, Mukhtār, Mutsuddi, Nāpit, Pātikar, Saodāgar, Sāyed, Sārem	1	0.04 Each
Adhikāri, Bakśī, Bandukśī, Bat, Bhoj, Chāklādār, Jhāla, Qāri, Kudāl, Nama, Pāloyān, Rāy, Saud, Sipāi, Sākhārī, Śikārī, Sim, Bayāti, Dāragā	2	0.08 Each
Bāburchī, Bāgh, Barkandāj, Chakravarti, De, Khāmār, Mistri, Mandal, Pāl, Tahsildār, Tāti, Māla, Bālā	3	0.13 Each
Banik, Bhaumik, Bisvās, Dālāl, Datta, Piyādā, Poddār, Amin, Raj	4	0.17 Each
Akhanda, Goldār, Member, *Rārhi*	5	0.21 Each
Baidya, Khandakār, Pathān	6	0.25 Each
Bāidyā, Ghos, Miyā, Ṛṣī	7	0.30 Each
Bada, Maulānā, Sāhā	8	0.34 Each
Darjī, Kabirāj, Mallik, Mīr, Sutār	9	0.38 Each
Dhopā, Nāth	10	0.42 Each

TABLE 6 Contd.

Title	Frequency	Percentage
Khaliphā, Mājhi	11	0.46 Each
Varman, Chaukidār, Hāolādār, Śekh	12	0.51 Each
Pharājī, Hājrā, Jamādār, Taphadār, Chaudhurī	13	0.55 Each
Dāktār	14	0.59
Śīl	16	0.68
Majumdār, Sikdār	17	0.72 Each
Hāoyāldār, No Title	19	0.81 Each
Phakir	20	0.85
Māl	21	0.89
Mrdhā	22	0.93
Kāzi, Tālukdār	23	0.98 Each
Saiyāl	26	1.10
Bhūmiyā	32	1.36
Sardār	35	1.49

TABLE 6 Contd.

Title	Frequency	Percentage
Dhāli, Munsī	36	1.53
Bakāul, Deoyān	37	1.57
Master	47	2.00
Dās	54	2.30
Hāji	57	2.42
Pātoyāri	60	2.55
Gāzi	87	3.70
Khān	97	4.12
Mullā	109	4.63
Sarkār	130	5.53
Miyāji	131	5.57
Bepāri	276	11.73
Pradhāniā	423	17.98

TABLE 7

MUSLIM FAMILY MEMBERS BY OBJECTIVE CATEGORIES, ANNUAL INCOME AND AGRICULTURAL
OCCUPATION UNDER SIMPLE NUCLEAR AND SIMPLE EXTENDED FAMILIES AT MATLAB, 1974

Objective Categories	Nuclear			Extended		
	Annual Income in Taka					
	<2500 %	2500-5000 %	>5000 %	<2500 %	2500-5000 %	>5000 %
None	54.7	37.8	23.3	37.3	26.5	7.4
Hurricane	25.6	31.5	35.9	33.9	28.0	23.7
Hurricane & Quilt	14.4	25.8	22.6	16.2	31.8	30.4
Hurricane, Quilt & Watch	4.4	3.1	14.4	7.7	9.2	25.4
Hurricane, Quilt, Watch & Radio	0.9	1.8	3.8	4.9	4.5	13.0
Total Family Members	1923	743	451	1088	664	1028

TABLE 8

PRIMARY AGRICULTURAL HOUSEHOLDS AMONG MUSLIMS AND HINDUS BY ANNUAL
INCOME AT MATLAB, 1974

Annual Income in Taka	Number of Households	Percentage
<2500	224	31.0
2500-5000	233	32.3
>5000	265	36.9

TABLE 9

FAMILY MEMBERS BY RELIGION, PER CAPITA AREA OF DWELLING HOUSE IN
SIMPLE NUCLEAR AND SIMPLE EXTENDED FAMILIES AT MATLAB, 1974

Square Feet	Muslim				Hindu			
	Nuclear		Extended		Nuclear		Extended	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
<50	2784	37.2	2660	35.5	316	38.0	397	47.7
50-100	834	11.1	1124	15.0	35	4.2	70	8.4
>100	48	0.6	39	0.5	6	0.7	8	0.9

TABLE 10

DISTRIBUTION OF AGRICULTURAL AND LANDLESS MUSLIM FAMILIES IN THE SAMPLE
POPULATION ACCORDING TO SIMPLE NUCLEAR AND SIMPLE EXTENDED TYPES

Types of Family	Owner works		Owner does not work		Share Cropper		Landless	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Simple Nuclear	496	54.50	70	7.69	72	7.91	272	29.89
Simple Extended	407	67.49	50	8.29	29	4.80	117	19.40

TABLE 11

PERCENTAGE OF MALES BY AGE AND NUMBER OF TIMES EVER MARRIED
AT MATLAB, 1968

Age	Total Population	Number of Times Ever Married				
		0 Percentage	1 Percentage	2 Percentage	3 Percentage	4+ Percentage
All Ages	35396	41.1	44.2	11.1	2.6	0.9
10-14	7608	100.0	-	-	-	-
15-19	4245	98.8	1.1	-	-	-
20-24	2606	75.4	23.2	1.1	0.1	-
25-29	3150	20.9	70.6	7.4	0.9	0.1
30-34	3178	2.1	83.2	12.5	1.6	0.4
35-39	3337	0.7	79.0	16.3	3.1	0.9
40-44	2399	0.5	74.8	19.3	4.2	1.1
45-49	2346	0.2	69.6	23.4	5.1	1.8
50-54	1666	0.1	66.6	23.6	7.4	2.3
55-59	1338	0.4	64.7	25.8	6.5	2.5
60-64	1241	-	62.1	26.3	7.4	4.2
65+	2282	0.1	58.2	28.8	8.7	4.1

TABLE 12

PERCENTAGE OF FEMALES BY AGE AND NUMBER OF TIMES EVER MARRIED
AT MATLAB, 1968

Age	Total Population	Number of Times Ever Married				
		0 Percentage	1 Percentage	2 Percentage	3 Percentage	4+ Percentage
All Ages	43733	38.0	53.0	8.1	0.7	0.2
5-9	9838	99.9	0.1	-	-	-
10-14	6397	94.4	5.6	-	-	-
15-19	3905	17.9	78.8	3.2	0.1	-
20-24	3863	0.6	90.6	8.4	0.4	0.1
25-29	4246	0.1	86.7	12.2	0.8	0.2
30-34	3133	0.2	83.6	17.2	1.5	0.3
35-39	2848	0.1	80.3	17.5	1.5	0.6
40-44	2063	-	77.0	20.7	1.9	0.4
45-49	1977	-	79.7	18.6	1.3	0.4
50-54	1705	-	79.0	17.8	2.5	0.7
55-59	1069	-	82.4	15.6	1.9	0.1
60-64	1158	-	81.9	16.4	1.4	0.2
65+	1531	-	85.2	12.7	1.8	0.3

TABLE 13

TYPOLOGY OF FAMILY STRUCTURES AMONG MUSLIMS AT MATLAB, 1974

Types of Family	Number of Households	Percentage
Nuclear Families		
Incipient	64	3.16
Simple	939	46.30
Attenuated	123	6.06
Extended Families		
Incipient	90	4.44
Simple	603	29.73
Attenuated	43	2.12
Augmented Families		
Incipient		
Incipient Extended	2	.10
Nuclear	8	.40
Nuclear Extended	15	.74
Attenuated	1	.05
Attenuated Extended		
Not in Billingsley's Typology		
Other	140	6.90
Total	2028	100.00

TABLE 14

TYPOLOGY OF FAMILY STRUCTURES AMONG HINDUS AT MATLAB, 1974

Types of Family	Number of Households	Percentage
Nuclear Families		
Incipient	16	5.49
Simple	124	42.61
Attenuated	17	5.84
Extended Families		
Incipient	19	6.53
Simple	83	28.52
Attenuated	6	2.06
Augmented Families		
Incipient		
Incipient Extended	1	.34
Nuclear	1	.34
Nuclear Extended	2	.69
Attenuated	1	.34
Attenuated Extended	1	.34
Not in Billingsley's Typology		
Other	20	6.87
Total	291	100.00

TABLE 15

GENERATION STATUS OF INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS IN THE STUDY POPULATION
AMONG MUSLIMS AND HINDUS AT MATLAB, 1974

Generation	Muslim			Hindu		
	Number	%	Cumulative %	Number	%	Cumulative %
+2	24	0.20	0.20	8	0.45	0.45
+1	424	3.60	3.80	79	4.48	4.93
O	4129	35.05	38.85	612	34.73	39.66
-1	6539	55.51	94.36	932	52.89	92.55
-2	651	5.52	99.88	126	7.15	99.70
Unknown	12	0.10	100.00	5	0.28	100.00

TABLE 16

AVERAGE LIFE EXPECTANCY ($^{o}e_{x}$) AT SPECIFIED AGES BY SEX BASED ON 1966-67, 1967-68, AND 1968-69 DEATH REPORTS BY CRL AT MATLAB

Age	Both sexes	Male	Female
0	50.33	51.03	49.50
1	56.16	57.27	54.90
5	57.12	57.70	56.54
10	53.22	53.82	52.63
15	48.74	49.34	48.13
20	44.44	44.81	43.82
25	40.29	40.45	39.66
30	36.05	36.02	35.41
35	31.73	31.70	31.60
40	27.32	27.29	26.82
45	23.20	23.30	22.69
50	19.29	19.37	18.73
55	15.58	15.78	15.00
60	11.85	12.11	11.32
65	8.26	8.40	7.86
70	4.59	4.61	4.55

Source: A.K.M.A. Chowdhury, K.M.A. Aziz, and Wiley H. Mosley, *Demographic Studies in Rural East Pakistan* (Dacca; Pakistan-SEATO Cholera Research Laboratory, 1970), p.15.

TABLE 17

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MUSLIM KIN TYPE FROM STANDPOINT OF
EGO (HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD) AT MATLAB, 1974

Type of Relationship	Number	Percentage
Great Grandfather	11	0.09
Great Grandmother	2	0.01
Grandfather	2	0.01
Grandmother	9	0.07
Father	42	0.35
Mother	342	2.89
Stepmother	11	0.09
Head of Household	2028	17.18
Wife	1681	14.24
One Additional Wife	20	0.16
Son	3408	28.87
Stepson	9	0.07
Adopted Son	13	0.11
Daughter	2570	21.77
Stepdaughter	5	0.04
Adopted Daughter	19	0.16
Brother	209	1.77
Stepbrother	15	0.12
Sister	86	0.72
Stepsister	3	0.02

TABLE 17 Continued

Type of Relationship	Number	Percentage
Father's Brother's Son	3	0.02
Brother's Son	64	0.54
Brother's Daughter	48	0.40
Sister's Son	8	0.06
Sister's Daughter	7	0.05
Brother's Son's Wife	3	0.02
Son's Wife	361	3.05
Daughter's Husband	11	0.09
Adopted Son's Wife	3	0.02
Stepson's Wife	2	0.01
Son's Children	590	5.00
Adopted Son's Children	5	0.04
Daughter's Children	38	0.32
Wife's Sister	5	0.04
Wife's Brother	2	0.01
Husband's Brother	2	0.01
Father's Brother	3	0.02
Father-in-law	4	0.03
Mother-in-law	31	0.26
Brother's Wife	73	0.61
Non-Kins	28	0.23
Other	15	0.12

TABLE 18

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF HINDU KIN TYPE FROM STANDPOINT OF
EGO (HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD) AT MATLAB, 1974

Type of Relationship	Number	Percentage
Great Grandfather	4	0.22
Grandfather	1	0.05
Grandmother	2	0.11
Father	5	0.28
Mother	67	3.78
Head of Household	291	16.45
Wife	238	13.45
One Additional Wife	3	0.17
Son	488	27.58
Daughter	356	20.12
Adopted Daughter	1	0.05
Brother	44	2.48
Sister	24	1.35
Brother's Son	12	0.67
Brother's Daughter	16	0.90
Sister's Son	3	0.17
Sister's Daughter	6	0.33
Brother's Son's Wife	2	0.11
Son's Wife	50	2.82

TABLE 18 Continued

Type of Relationship	Number	Percentage
Daughter's Husband	1	0.05
Son's Children	103	5.82
Daughter's Children	2	0.11
Brother's Son's Children	6	0.33
Brother's Daughter's Children	1	0.05
Wife's Sister	1	0.05
Wife's Brother	3	0.17
Father's Brother	1	0.05
Father's Sister	1	0.05
Mother's Brother	1	0.05
Mother's Sister	1	0.05
Father-in-law	1	0.05
Mother-in-law	4	0.22
Brother's Wife	16	0.90
Sister's Husband	1	0.05
Non-Kins	7	0.39
Other	6	0.33

TABLE 19

NUCLEAR FAMILIES WITH NO SON IN A MUSLIM POPULATION OF 1448 ACCORDING TO
SIZE OF FAMILY AND OCCUPATION AT MATLAB, 1974

Size of Family	Agricultural Occupation			Labour	Skilled Labour	Other
	Owner Worker	Owner doesn't work	Share Cropper			
3	2.7	1.7	4.2	5.2	5.8	6.4
4	7.9	9.2	11.0	15.1	12.8	20.2
5	12.4	16.8	16.1	16.1	14.0	8.3
6	20.3	31.9	18.6	19.8	27.9	23.9
7	23.8	16.0	27.1	28.6	15.1	11.0
8	18.8	7.6	18.6	9.9	17.4	17.4
9	8.0	14.3	4.2	4.2	7.0	8.3
10	5.2	2.5		1.0		
11	1.0					4.6
%	56.9	8.2	8.2	13.3	5.9	7.5
Population	824	119	118	192	86	109

TABLE 20

NUCLEAR FAMILIES WITH NO DAUGHTER IN A MUSLIM POPULATION OF 1793 ACCORDING
TO SIZE OF FAMILY AND OCCUPATION AT MATLAB, 1974

Size of Family	Agricultural Occupation			Labour	Skilled Labour	Other
	Owner Worker	Owner doesn't work	Share Cropper			
3	2.2	2.3	4.2	7.9	5.3	5.1
4	8.2	8.5	7.3	15.3	9.6	10.8
5	14.2	16.5	15.3	18.5	30.9	15.2
6	21.0	31.1	17.3	22.7	21.3	19.0
7	26.0	15.0	32.8	22.7	8.5	14.6
8	16.0	11.3	13.3	7.4	16.0	17.7
9	7.8	13.5	10.7	2.8	8.5	15.8
10	3.6	3.8		2.8		
11	1.0					1.9
%	58.1	7.4	8.4	12.0	5.2	8.8
Population	1042	133	150	216	94	158

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TABLE 21

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY FAMILY SIZE AND NUMBER OF
ROOMS AT MATLAB, 1974

Household size (persons)	Number of households	Number of rooms						
		None	1	2	3	4	5	6
All households	45,024	756	36,883	6,222	989	151	16	7
1	1,263	211	1,051	1	-	-	-	-
2	2,481	145	2,325	11	-	-	-	-
3	4,334	136	4,121	77	-	-	-	-
4	5,885	99	5,515	269	2	-	-	-
5	7,217	69	6,656	480	12	-	-	-
6	7,287	46	6,435	783	23	-	-	-
7	6,239	32	5,155	1,013	39	-	-	-
8	4,299	11	3,171	1,039	75	3	-	-
9	2,532	5	1,495	908	121	3	-	-
10	1,408	1	641	631	127	8	-	-
11	782	1	191	459	125	6	-	-
12 & more	1,297	-	127	551	465	131	16	7

TABLE 22

CONSTRUCTION OF THE DWELLINGS AT MATLAB, 1974

Material	Roof	Walls
Tin	34,213	3,218
Other	10,051	32,494
Mixed	-	8,538
Total*	44,264	44,250

* apart from the 756 households without separate room for living, information
was not available for additional 10 households (roof) and 24 households
(walls).

TABLE 23

SINGLE YEAR AGE DISTRIBUTION BY RELIGION FROM 0-10 YEARS
IN THE SAMPLE POPULATION AT MATLAB, 1974

Age	Muslim:Both Sexes			Hindu:Both Sexes		
	Number	Percentage	Cumulative %	Number	%	Cumulative %
0	538	4.56	4.56	58	3.28	3.28
1	422	3.58	8.14	59	3.34	6.62
2	448	3.80	11.93	42	2.38	8.99
3	387	3.28	15.21	65	3.68	12.67
4	364	3.08	18.30	49	2.77	15.44
5	365	3.09	21.39	53	3.00	18.44
6	304	2.58	23.97	51	2.88	21.32
7	319	2.70	26.67	43	2.43	23.76
8	276	2.34	29.01	41	2.32	26.07
9	348	2.95	31.96	45	2.54	28.62
10	363	3.08	35.03	65	3.68	32.30

Kinship in Bangladesh

TABLE 24

AGE SPECIFIC PERCENTAGES OF NEVER MARRIED WOMEN: COMPARISON
OF NATIONAL CENSUSES AND OTHER DATA

| Age Group | Females | | | | |
	1951 Census	1961 Census	1965 PGE	1974 BRSFM	1974 Census
10-14	73.7	67.4	82.0	94.0	90.5
15-19	11.3	8.3	13.0	32.3	24.5
20-24	3.0	1.3	1.6	4.6	3.2
25-29	1.1	0.5	0.2	1.1	0.9
30-34	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.6
35-39	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.4
40-44	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.5
45-49	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.3

Sources: 1951 - Census of Pakistan 1951, Census Bulletin No. 5, Part II,
East Bengal, Table 4.

1961 - Census of Pakistan 1961, Volume 2, East Pakistan, Table 13.

1965 - Final Report of the Population Growth Estimation Experiment,
1962-65, Table V.8.

1974 - BRSFM (Report on the 1974 Bangladesh Retrospective Survey
of Fertility and Mortality, 1977).

1974 - Census Data, Table 5.

TABLE 25

AGE SPECIFIC PERCENTAGES OF NEVER MARRIED WOMEN

| Age | CRL Census | | Proportion of Women Never Married | | | | |
| | 1968 | 1974 | W.F.S. Data | | | | |
	Matlab		Fiji	Thailand	Malaysia	Pakistan	Dominican Republic
All Ages	3.3	10.1	26.9	28.8	N.A.	33.0	30.7
15-19	18.0	39.4	87.7	84.7	89.0	62.0	84.5
20-24	0.5	2.7	34.5	41.4	50.0	22.0	47.3
25-29	0.1	0.3	9.2	19.2	21.0	8.0	20.5
30-34	0.2	0.1	3.6	10.1	10.0	3.0	4.1
35-39	0.1	0.2	3.3	6.3	6.0	2.0	4.1
40-44	-	0.1	2.0	3.8	-	1.0	3.0
45-49	-	0.1	1.1	3.3	-	1.0	3.6

TABLE 26

AGE SPECIFIC LITERACY RATE OF THE COMBINED MUSLIM AND HINDU
STUDY POPULATION AT MATLAB, 1974

Age in Years	Persons Claimed Literate			Number of Persons with Correct Response			Percent of Correct Response		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
5-9	43	24	67	27	11	38	62.8	45.8	56.7
10-14	277	219	496	249	208	457	89.9	95.0	92.1
15-24	319	271	590	310	264	574	97.2	97.4	97.3
25-44	237	253	490	223	231	454	94.1	91.3	92.7
45+	199	50	249	183	44	217	92.0	88.0	91.2
Total	1075	817	1892	992	758	1750	92.3	92.8	92.5

TABLE 27

AGE SPECIFIC RATE OF WIDOWS AND WIDOWERS AT MATLAB, 1974

Age	Male			Female		
	Ever Married	Number of Widower	%	Ever Married	Number of Widow	%
15-19	514	2	0.4	8145	43	0.5
20-24	3133	7	0.2	8613	105	1.2
25-29	4647	14	0.3	7748	160	2.1
30-34	6702	25	0.4	8723	417	4.8
35-39	6572	35	0.5	6378	642	10.1
40-44	6570	38	0.6	5911	997	16.9
45-49	5027	86	1.7	4235	1178	27.8
50-54	4563	87	1.9	3986	1560	39.1
55-59	3249	114	3.5	2874	1527	53.1
60-64	2748	148	5.4	2450	1617	66.0
65 +	5063	666	13.1	3800	3282	86.4
Total	48788	1222		62863	11528	

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TABLE 28

NUMBER OF FEMALES MARRIED AND WIDOWED BASED ON THE NATIONAL
CENSUS REPORT OF 1961

Age	Number of Females	Number of Married Women	Number of Widowed Women	Percentage of widowed women in relation to female population
All ages	24,491,000	10,700,000	2,735,000	11.16
0-9	39,345,000			
10-19	4,020,000	2,421,000	21,000	.52
20-39	6,786,000	6,258,000	425,000	6.79
40-59	3,110,000	1,813,000	1,312,000	41.06
60+	1,190,000	207,000	977,000	82.10

Source: Government of Pakistan, *Population Census of 1961: Age, Sex and Marital Status* (Karachi: Government of Pakistan: Office of the Census Commissioner, 1962), p.4-165.

TABLE 29

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF MUSLIMS AND HINDUS BY AGE AND SEX:
COMPARISON OF SAMPLE POPULATION AND 1974 CRL CENSUS

| | CRL Census: 1974 | | Sample Population | | | |
| | Muslim & Hindu | | Muslim | | Hindu | |
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
0-4	9.11	8.69	9.25	9.05	7.60	7.80
5-9	6.72	6.33	6.75	6.90	6.95	6.25
10-14	8.06	7.82	7.30	7.50	7.50	8.65
15-19	5.47	5.10	5.55	5.20	5.90	5.20
20-24	3.41	3.45	3.45	3.45	3.90	3.20
25-29	2.47	3.07	2.30	3.25	1.95	2.90
30-34	2.52	3.22	3.05	3.25	3.47	3.45
35-39	2.57	2.55	2.30	2.20	2.25	2.75
40-44	2.37	2.22	2.30	2.40	2.55	2.35
45-49	2.04	1.70	1.80	1.75	2.30	1.50
50-54	1.69	1.49	1.60	1.45	1.75	1.65
55-59	1.30	1.05	1.20	1.20	1.45	0.90
60-64	1.11	1.04	1.10	0.95	0.90	1.25
65-69	0.83	0.71	0.70	0.70	0.85	1.15
70+	1.09	0.80	1.30	0.75	1.05	0.90
% of total	50.76	49.24	49.95	50.00	50.37	49.90
Total Population	68024	65968	5968	5832	895	872

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TABLE 30

REMARRIAGE OF WIDOWS AND WIDOWERS SHOWING RELATED AND NON-RELATED
PARTNERS, AMONG 2658 MARRIAGES AT MATLAB, 1975

Marital Status at Marriage		Non-related		Related	
Male	Female	Number	%	Number	%
Divorced	Widowed	6	.22	2	.07
Widower	Divorced	56	2.10	14	.52
Never Married	Widowed	6	.22	7	.26
Widower	Never Married	77	2.89	19	.71
Widower	Widowed	8	.30	3	.11

TABLE 31

CONSANGUINEAL AND AFFINAL RELATIONS IN 2028 MUSLIM HOUSEHOLDS
AND 291 HINDU HOUSEHOLDS AT MATLAB, 1974

Types of Relationship	Muslim		Hindu	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Consanguineal	7455	76.82	1145	77.89
Affinal	2249	23.18	325	22.11

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TABLE 32

DISTANCE BETWEEN THE RESIDENCE OF NON-RELATED MUSLIM OR HINDU MARRIAGE PARTNERS
ACCORDING TO MARITAL STATUS AT TIME OF MARRIAGE AT MATLAB, 1975

Types of Partners		Within Bari	Village	Union	Thana	District	Other
Male	Female						
Never Married	Never Married	3	67	95	421	235	126
Never Married	Divorced	1	7	5	20	18	6
Divorced	Never Married	1	13	21	93	57	27
Widower	Never Married			3	23	18	12
Husband + 1 wife	Never Married				15	10	20
Husband + 1 wife	Divorced		4	4	10	7	12
Widower	Divorced		3	6	14	10	8
Divorced	Divorced		8	8	49	17	8
Total		5	102	142	645	372	219
Percentage		0.34	6.87	9.56	43.43	25.05	14.75
Cumulative Percentage		0.34	7.21	16.77	60.20	85.25	100.00

APPENDIX I

CENSUS — 1974
CHOLERA RESEARCH LABORATORY
MATLAB, COMILLA

Village : —————— Code : —————— Family No. : —————— Previous Family No. ——————

Bari : —————— Religion : ——————

Ind. No.	Mother's No.	Dwelling No.	Name	Age	Sex	Marital Status	Relation to Head	Date of Birth	Date of Death	Date of M-In	Date of M-Out	IMMUNIZATION SCHEDULE													Remarks
												T	Date	T	Date	T	Date	T	Date	T	Date	T	Date		
1																									
2																									
3																									
4																									
5																									
6																									
7																									
8																									
9																									
10																									
11																									
12																									
13																									
14																									
15																									
16																									
17																									
18																									

Any Dwelling with Tin Roof ? Yes [ ] No [ ]

Date of Census : —————— Signature : —————— Family Type : —————— Family No. : ——————

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APPENDIX II

'SOCIOECONOMIC PART OF CRL CENSUS FORM 1974, MATLAB

CENSUS — 1974
CHOLERA RESEARCH LABORATORY
MATLAB, COMILLA

Village : _____
Bari: _____
Code : _____
Religion : _____
Family No. : _____
Date Completed : _____
Previous Family No. _____

Ind. No.	Mother's No.	Dwelling No.	Name	Age	Sex	Marital Status	Relation to Head	Date of Birth	Education	Read/Write P	Read/Write A	Occupation Primary I	Occupation Primary O	Occupation Secondary I	Occupation Secondary O
1															
2															
3															
4															
5															
6															
7															
8															
9															
10															
11															
12															
13															
14															
15															
16															
17															
18															

Land Yield — Taka — Maunds — Unk
Cash
Paddy
Kaon
Wheat
Potato
Swt.Pot.
Jute

Receive Remittance?......Yes ___ No ___
Own radio?......Yes ___ No ___
Own any watch?......Yes ___ No ___
Own hurricane?......Yes ___ No ___
Own lep (quilt)?......Yes ___ No ___

Number of cows: _____
Number of boats: _____
Kosha [ ]   Dhusha [ ]   Baro [ ]

Sources of water during Winter Season
Oct.-Jan. (Aswin 16th-Magh 15)

	River	Canal	Tank	Ditch	T.W.	Other	Unk.
Drink							
Cook							
Bathe							
Wash							

Use fixed latrine?............Yes [ ] No [ ]
Latrine within
15 yds. from a
used water source?.........Yes [ ] No [ ]
Majority usually use
pot for washing
after defecation?...........Yes [ ] No [ ]

Dwelling No. | Roof | Walls | Dimensions (feet)
1	Tin [ ] Other [ ]	Tin [ ] Tin-mixed [ ] Other [ ]	Length ___ Breadth ___
2	Tin [ ] Other [ ]	Tin [ ] Tin-mixed [ ] Other [ ]	Length ___ Breadth ___
3	Tin [ ] Other [ ]	Tin [ ] Tin-mixed [ ] Other [ ]	Length ___ Breadth ___
4	Tin [ ] Other [ ]	Tin [ ] Tin-mixed [ ] Other [ ]	Length ___ Breadth ___

শিক্ষার পরীক্ষা-১

আমার বাড়ী মতলবের রামদাসপুরে। মতলব চাঁদপুর মহকুমার অধীনে। নৌকাই যাতায়াতের একমাত্র উপায়। চারিদিক নদ-নদী খাল-বিলে ভরা। কৃষিকাজ ও মাছ ধরা এখানকার দুইটি বড় পেশা। নদীতে অনেক রকমের মাছ পাওয়া যায়। মাঠে ধান ও আলু বেশ হয়। মতলব একটি বড় বাজার। এখানে একটি ভাল কলেজ আছে। ইহা গৌরবের বিষয় যে এখানে কলেরা হাস্পাতালের একটি শাখা আছে। এই হাস্পাতালে অতি উচ্চমানের আধুনিক চিকিতসার সুযোগ রহিয়াছে। মরার মত কলেরা রোগীও ডাক্তারের কুশলী চিকিতসায় বাঁচিয়া উঠে।

শিক্ষার পরীক্ষা-২

আলী নিয়মিত লেখাপড়া করে। রোজ সকালে সে ঘুম থেকে উঠে। সে ভাল করে হাত মুখ ধুয়ে নেয়। মুড়ি ও গুড় দিয়ে নাশতা করে বই পড়তে বসে। বই পড়া শেষ করে পাঠশালার জন্য তৈরী হয়। রোজ সে ঠিক সময় মত পাঠশালায় যায়। সে খুব ভাল ছাত্র। ছুটির পর বাড়ীতে এসে বইপত্র রেখে মাঠে খেলা করতে যায়। সে বল খেলতে ভালবাসে। বাড়ীতে ফিরে সময় মত পড়তে বসে। পড়া শেষ করে রাতের খাবার খায়। তারপর নিজের বিছানায় শুয়ে পড়ে। সকাল বেলা মোরগের ডাকের সাথে সাথে তার ঘুম ভেঙ্গে যায়।

BILLINGSLEY'S TYPOLOGY OF FAMILY STRUCTURES

Types of Family	Household Head		Other Household Members		
	Husband & Wife	Single Parent	Children	Other Relatives	Non-relatives
Nuclear Families					
Incipient	X				
Simple	X		X		
Attenuated		X	X		
Extended Families					
Incipient	X			X	
Simple	X		X	X	
Attenuated		X	X	X	
Augmented Families					
Incipient	X				X
Incipient Extended	X			X	X
Nuclear	X		X		X
Nuclear Extended	X		X	X	X
Attenuated		X	X		X
Attenuated Extended		X	X	X	X

In the above table the structural types are defined by the use of χ's in the appropriate categories. For example, the incipient nuclear family consists of only a husband and wife, the simple nuclear family consists of a husband and wife and one or more children, and the attenuated nuclear family consists of a single parent and one or more children.

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A comparison of the contents of rural households around the years 1899 and 1974. Appropriate remark will follow only when any change was observed around 1974.

(a)   List of furniture for sitting and sleeping:

   (1)   *Modā*, cane or bamboo stool. In 1974 only the well-to-do could afford *modā*.

   (2)   *Chhota chauki*, stool.

   (3)   *Pāti*, mat of fine texture.

   (4)   *Chāti*, coarse mats of different sorts.

   (5)   *Piḍi*, plank seat.

   (6)   *Bālis*, pillow stuffed with cotton or rags.

   (7)   *Kānthā*, covering made of old clothes and rags instead of a quilt.

   (8)   *Chauki*, wooden bedstead, one or two kept by well-to-do cultivators.

   (9)   *Dhusā*, quilt; also to be found in the house of well-to-do cultivators.

      In 1974 wooden chair, *jal chauki* or small wooden stool, *maśārī* or mosquito-net, *toṣak* or bed mattress, *kol bālis* or long round pillow; *lambā ṭul* or long bench, *gol ṭul* or round stool, *kambal* or blanket and *ṭebil* or table were found mainly in the well-to-do houses.

(b)   List of eating utensils:

   (1)   *Thāl*, a plate, generally of bell-metal. In 1974 aluminium plates were seen in addition to bell-metal ones.

   (2)   *Ghaṭi*, a brass water pot. In 1974 aluminium pots were seen in addition to brass water pots.

   (3)   *Bāsan*, crockery plate.

(4) *Hanki*, earthen plate.

(5) *Bati*, brass cup. In 1974 aluminium cups were seen in addition to brass cups.

(6) *Glas*, of brass, rarely to be found. In 1974 in addition to those made of brass, aluminium and enamel "glasses" were seen.

(7) *Badna*, a brass or earthen water pot. In 1974 aluminium water pots were also seen.

(8) *Kharti*, an earthen water pot.

(9) *Khada*, a stone cup. In 1974 stone cups were rarely seen.

(10) *Khoda*, an earthen cup.

(c) List of cooking utensils:

(1) *Deg*, a pot, for cooking rice. It is made of *pital* (alloy of copper and zinc). It is used by well-to-do cultivators. In 1974 *degs* made of aluminium were seen.

(2) *Bokna*, brass pot. In 1974 such aluminium pots were seen.

(3) *Kadai*, iron pan.

(4) *Raing*, earthen pot. In 1974 similar aluminium pots were seen. For boiling paddy haploid drum was frequently used in place of *raing*.

(5) *Patil*, earthen pot, smaller than *raing*. In 1974 earthen pots were replaced by aluminium pots to a great extent.

(6) *Sara*, earthen pot cover. In 1974 aluminium pot covers were also seen.

(7) *Kalsi*, a brass or earthen water pitcher. In addition to such pitchers in 1974 steel buckets were used.

(8) *Jhanjhar*, earthen perforated vessel for straining water when washing rice. In 1974 tin and aluminium perforated containers were also available for the same purpose.

(9)   *Hātā,* iron ladle or spoon.

(10) *Hātā,* wooden ladle, also called *deoya.*

(11) *Tagārī,* bowl.

(12) *Mālā,* cup made of a cocoanut shell.

(13) *Dāiler-kātā,* a pestle used for grinding pulses after they are boiled. It is made of iron and also of wood.

(14) *Pātā* and *Putā,* a flat stone and a stone roller used in grinding condiments for curry.

(15) *Bāoli,* made of iron or *pital* for placing the cooking utensils over the hearth, or for taking them down.

(16) *Degchi,* large and small copper vessels; invariably used by Muhammadans. In 1974 such copper vessels were mostly replaced by aluminium vessels. In 1974 spoons of various sizes made of aluminium and brass were found in common use.

(d)   Instruments for cutting or digging:

(1)   *Hat dāo,* large hand knife.

(2)   *Bati dāo,* fish knife.

(3)   *Sartā,* nut cracker.

(4)   *Kanchi,* sickle.

(5)   *Kodāl,* spade.

(6)   *Khantā,* digging hoe.

(7)   *Kudāl,* axe.

In 1974 in addition to the above instruments iron rods with flattened tips were seen for digging purpose.

(e)   Miscellaneous Implements:

(1)   *Changā,* bamboo ladder.

(2)   *Hok,* a piece of hard wood with a pointed end, used for making holes in the ground when putting stakes round the field.

(3)   *Phodbāṁś,* bamboo needle used in thatching houses.

(4)   *Sūṁch* and *Baḍ sūṁch,* small and large needle.

(5)   *Gāmlā,* earthen vessel containing fodder for the cattle.

(6)   *Ser,* cane measure containing one seer. In 1974 weighing stones and scale was used for measuring commodities.

(7)   *Kāṭhā,* basket measure for grain, of various sizes.

(8)   *Kupī,* earthen or tin pot to contain kerosene and lamp wick. In 1974 *kupī* made of earth was not seen but there was brass made *kupī,* and a higher number of tin made *kupīs.* In well-to-do houses hurricanes were found in use.

(9)   *Śik,* an iron rod for cleaning the *hukkā* tube.

(10)   *Gāchhā,* earthen or wooden stand for the lamp.

(11)   *Hukkā,* a hubble-bubble pipe for smoking tobacco, usually made of cocoanut shell.

(12)   *Kalki,* an earthen bowl for tobacco, placed on the top of the *hukkā* when smoking.

(13)   *Baithak, hukkā,* stand made of wood, earth or brass.

(14)   *Dheṁki,* pedal used in husking rice. In 1974 the use of *dheṁki* was far less as there were power operated rice mills in the nearby market places. However, most of the agricultural households maintained *dheṁki* but their present day use was much less.

(15) *Kāil* or *gāil*, wooden mortar.

(16) *Chhiā*, pestle for the above.

(17) *Kulā*, winnowing basket.

(18) *Chimṭā*, a pair of tongs made of iron or bamboo.

(19) *Chālain*, a sieve.

(20) *Tukri*, a basket.

(21) *Jhāṭā*, a broom.

(22) *Luri-pātil*, an earthen pot, filled with water and mud, used in giving a fresh coating of mud to the floor of the houses every morning.

(23) *Hāin*, comb made of bamboo. In 1974 bamboo made combs were not found and combs made of plastic, aluminium, and buffallo horn seen.

(24) *Āynā*, mirror.

(25) *Chhāti*, cloth umbrella.

(26) *Pātlā*, a covering for the head and shoulders against rain, made by leaves of *gāb* fruit.

(27) *Jomrā*, a tortoise like covering for the head and shoulders against rain made of *Kuruch* leaves.

(28) *Bauśi*, a fish hook.

(29) *Kouch*, a fish harpoon.

(30) *Hochā*, *pala*, *thui*, most common bamboo traps for catching fish.

Pāner bātā or *pān* serving brass plate is not mentioned in the above list which was found in common use in 1974. *Chilumchī* or the portable brass or aluminium made hand washing basin was found in 1974 only in well-to-do houses.

(f)   Receptacles:

(1)   *Jhāil*, small bamboo made box used for keeping
      toilet articles.

(2)   *Māchā*, bamboo platform for keeping the grain
      pots.

(3)   *Ḍol*, large cyclindrical basket made of bamboo
      mats, used for storing grain.

(4)   *Ḍulā*, small basket for keeping fish.

(5)   *Matki*, earthen jar. In 1974 earthen jar was
      replaced by steel drums in a few cases.

(6)   *Ḍālā*, a small bamboo basket.

(7)   *Āillā*, earthen pot for keeping fire.

(8)   *Tāmāku-ḍibi*, bamboo vessel used for keeping
      tobacco.

(9)   *Sikkā*, a jute net bag for holding earthen
      pots of various kinds and sizes.

(10) *Chhālā*, sack for carrying or storing grain.

(11) *Jhākā*, large bamboo basket.

(12) Small bamboo basket.

(13) *Kalsī*, large earthen pots for keeping rice,
      kalai, etc.

(14) *Peṭrā*, bamboo work box for keeping clothes
      and rent receipts. In 1974 *peṭrā* was replaced
      by tin and steel made suitcases and trunks.

(15) *Sindhuk*, a small wooden chest to be found in
      the house of well-to-do cultivators. In 1974
      sindhuk were mostly replaced by almirahs.

APPENDIX VI

KIN TERMINOLOGIES OF CERTAIN INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGE SPEAKING AREAS

Sl. No.	Kin Type	Bengali used by Muslims	Bengali used by Hindus	Bihari	Assami
1.	Fa	*Bābā, Abbā, Bājān, Bājī*	*Bābā, Bābu*	*Bāpā, Pitā, Babujī*	*Āp*
2.	FaFa	*Dādā, Dādu, Dādājī, Bada Bhāi*	*Thākurdā, Thākur dādā*	*Bābā, Dādā, Ajā*	
3.	FaFaFa	*Bada bāp, Bada ābbā*	*Bada bābā*	*Pardādā*	
4.	MoFa	*Nānā, Nānājī*	*Dādā, Dādā mašāy*	*Nānā*	
5.	MoFaFa	*Bada bāp, Bada ābbā*	*Bada bābā*	*Parnānā*	
6.	FaBr				
	(a) Elder	*Jethā, Jethāju, Jethājī*	*Jethā mašāy, Jethā*	*Pitiyā*	
	(b) Younger	*Chāchā, Chāju, Chāchājī, Kākā, Kāgu, Jādu, Puti*	*Kākā, Bābu, Khudā, Jādu, Puti*	*Chāchā, Kākā*	
7.	MoBr	*Māmā, Māmu, Māmujī*	*Māmā*	*Māmā*	*Māmā*
8.	Mo	*Mā, Ammā*	*Mā*	*Maiyā, Iyā, Āiyā, Mayā*	
9.	MoMo	*Nānī, Nānu, Nānījī, Nānī bujī*	*Didi, Didimā, Didimani*	*Nānī*	
10.	MoFaMo	*Badamā, Buā, Bibi*	*Badamā*	*Parnānī*	
11.	FaMo	*Dādī, Buā, Bu, Bibijī, Dādījī, Dādu*	*Thākurmā*	*Dādī, Dāī, Ajī*	

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Sl. No.	Kin Type	Bengali used by Muslims	Bengali used by Hindus	Bihari	Assami
12.	FaFaMo	*Baḍamā, Bada āmmā*	*Bada mā*	*Pardādī*	
13.	FaSi	*Hukku, Huphu, Phuphu, Phuphujī*	*Pisī, Pisīmā*		
	(a) Elder	-	-		
	(b) Younger	-	-		
14.	MoSi	*Khālā, Khālāmmā, Khālājī*	*Masīmā*		
	(a) Elder	-	-		
	(b) Younger	-	-		
15.	Br	*Miyā bhāi, Bhāiju, Bada bhāi, Bhāi*	*Thākur bhāi, Dādā, Sonā dādā, Manā dādā*		
	(a) Elder	-	-		
	(b) Younger				
16.	FaBrSo				
	(a) FaEBrSo	*Jeṭhāta bhāi*	*Jeṭhāta bhāi*	*Pitiaut-bhāi*	
	(b) FaYBrSo	*Chāchāta bhāi*	*Khuḍāta bhāi*		
17.	FaSiSo	*Phūphāta bhāi*	*Pisāta bhāi*	*Phupherā-bhāi*	
	(a) FaESiSo	-	-	-	
	(b) FaYSiSo	-	-	-	
18.	MoBrSo	*Māmāta bhāi*	*Māmāta bhāi*	*Mamerā-bhāi*	
	(a) MoEBrSo	-	-	-	
	(b) MoYBrSo	-	-	-	
19.	MoSiSo	*Khālāta bhāi*	*Masāta bhāi Māstuto bhāi*	*Mauserā-bhāi*	
	(a) MoESiSo	-	-	-	
	(b) MoYSiSo	-	-	-	

Sl. No.	Kin Type	Bengali used by Muslims	Bengali used by Hindus	Bihari	Assami
20.	Si	*Bain, Bon*	*Bain, Bon*	*Behan, Bahan*	*Bhanī*
	(a) Elder	*Āpā, Bubu, Bujī, Bu*	*Didi*	*Didī, Jijī*	
	(b) Younger				
21.	FaBrDa				
	(a) FaEBrDa	*Jethāta bain*	*Jethāta bain*	*Pitaut-bahan*	
	(b) FaYBrDa	*Chāchāta bain*	*Khudāta bain*		
22.	FaSiDa	*Phuphāta bain*	*Pisāta bain*	*Phupheri-bahan*	
	(a) FESiDa	–	–	–	
	(b) FYSiDa	–	–	–	
23.	MoBrDa	*Māmāta bain*	*Māmāta bain*	*Mameri-bahan*	
	(a) MoEBrDa	–	–	–	
	(b) MoYBrDa	–	–	–	
24.	MoSiDa	*Khālāta bain*	*Masāta bain*	*Mauseri-bahan*	
	(a) MoESiDa	–	–	–	
	(b) MoYSiDa	–	–	–	
25.	So	*Put, Polā, Chhele, Koyā*	*Put, Polā, Chhele, Koyā*	*Betā, Puta*	*Pūt, Po, Betā*
26.	BrSo (man speaking)	*Bhātijā, Bhāir betā*	*Bhātijā, Bhāir betā*	*Bhatijā*	*Bhatizā*
27.	BrSo (woman speaking)	*Bhāi put*	*Bhāi put*	*Bhatijā*	
28.	SiSo (man speaking)	*Bhāginā*	*Bhāginā*	*Bhanjā*	
29.	SiSo (woman speaking)	*Bain put*	*Bain put*	*Bhānjā*	

Sl. No.	Kin Type	Bengali used by Muslims	Bengali used by Hindus	Bihari	Assami
30.	SoSo	*Nāti*	*Nāti*	*Pota*	*Nātī*
31.	SoSoSo	*Puti*	*Puti*	*Par-pota*	
32.	DaSo	*Nāti*	*Nāti*		*Nātī*
33.	DaSoSo	*Puti*	*Puti*		
34.	DaDaSo	*Puti*	*Puti*		
35.	Da	*Māiyā, Jhi, Meye, Beti, Nāiyarī, Kui*	*Meye, Jhi, Māiyā, Kui, Beti*	*Betī, Dhiyarī*	
36.	BrDa (man speaking)	*Bhāir beti*	*Bhātijī, Bhāir beti*	*Bhatijī*	
37.	BrDa (woman speaking)	*Bhāijhi*	*Bhāijhi*	*Bhatijī*	
38.	SiDa (man speaking)	*Bhāgnī*	*Bhāgnī*	*Bhānjī*	
39.	SiDa (woman speaking)	*Bainjhi*	*Bainjhi*	*Bhānjī*	
40.	DaDa	*Nātin*	*Nātin*		
41.	DaDaDa	*Putin*	*Putin*		
42.	DaSoDa	*Putin*	*Putin*		
43.	SoDa	*Nātin*	*Nātin*	*Potī*	
44.	SoSoDa	*Putin*	*Putin*	*Par-potī*	
45.	FaSiHu	*Phuphā, Phuphajī*	*Pisā, Pisā maśāy*	*Phuphā*	
46.	HuFa	*Haur, Śvaśur, Abbājī*	*Haur, Śvaśur maśāy, Bābā*	*Sasur*	

Sl. No.	Kin Type	Bengali used by Muslims	Bengali used by Hindus	Bihari	Assami
47.	WiFa	*Haur, Śvaśur, Miyājī, Abbājī*	*Haur, Śvaśur maśāy, Bābā*	*Sasur*	
48.	MoSiHu	*Khālu, Khāluji*	*Mausā, Meso maśāy*	*Mausā*	
49.	MoBrWi	*Māmī, Māmānī*	*Māmī, Māmīmā*	*Māmī*	
50.	FaBrWi			*Cācī, Kākī*	
	(a) FaEBrWi	*Jethī, Jethī Āmmā*	*Jethīmā, Jethī*		
	(b) FaYBrWi	*Chāchī, Jhī*	*Khudīmā, Khudī, Kākīmā, Kākī, Jhi*		
51.	HuMo	*Harī, Hāurī, Śvaśudī, Āmmā, Āmmājī, Āmmājān*	*Harī, Hāurī, Śvaśudī, Mā*	*Sāsū, Sās*	*Xāhu*
52.	WiMo	*Harī, Hāurī, Śvaśudī, Āmmā, Āmmājī, Ammājān*	*Hāurī, Śvaśudī, Mā*	*Sāsū, Sās*	*Xāhu*
53.	Hu	*Svāmī, Heite, Hete*	*Svāmī, Heite, Hete*	*Bhatār, Dulhā*	
54.	HuEBr	*Bhāur, Bhāśur*	*Bhāur, Bhāśur*	*Bhāsur*	*Zethā*
55.	HuYBr	*Deor, Devar, Chhota Miyā*	*Deor, Devar, Thākurpo*	*Devar*	*Dewar*
56.	WiEBr	*Bar Giri, Hamundi, Samundi*	*Hamundi, Samundi*	*Sārā*	
57.	WiYBr	*Śālā, Śyalak*	*Śālā, Śyalak*		
58.	SiHu (man speaking)				
	(a) ESiHu	*Bhāisāb, Dulā bhāi*	*Banu, Jāmāi bābu, dādā bābu*	*Jijā*	*Bhinihī*
	(b) YSiHu	*Dulā miyā, Jāmāi miyā*	*Jāmāi Bainer jāmāi*	*Bahan-jāmāi*	

Sl. No.	Kin Type	Bengali used by Muslims	Bengali used by Hindus	Bihari	Assami
59.	SiHu (woman speaking)				
	(a) ESiHu	*Bhāisāb, Dulā bhāi*	*Banu, Jāmāi bābu, dādā babu*	*Jijā, Pāhuṇā*	*Bhinihi*
	(b) YSiHu	*Dulā miyā, Jāmāi miyā*	*Jāmāi, Bainer jāmāi*		
60.	HuSiHu	*Nandāi*	*Nandāi*	*Nanadoi*	
61.	WiSiHu	*Bhāyrā bhāi* (ESiHu), *Bhāyrā* (YSiHu)	*Bhāyrā bhāi* (ESiHu) *Bhāyrā* (younger to Ego)	*Sadhu*	
62.	SoWiFa	*Beyāi*	*Beyāi*	*Samdhi*	
63.	Wi	*Parivār, Strī, Hetī*	*Parivār, Strī, Ginnī, Hetī*	*Mehrāmī, Boh, Dulhan, Gharnī*	
64.	HuSi			*Nanada*	*Nandī*
	(a) HuESi	*Nanās, Āpā*	*Nanās, Didi*	*Didi, Jijī*	
	(b) HuYSi	*Nanad, Bibi*	*Nanad, Ṭhākurjhi*		
65.	WiSi				
	(a) WiESi	*Jethas, Bujī, Āpā*	*Jethas, Didi*	*Didi*	
	(b) WiYSi	*Śalī*	*Śalī*	*Sārī*	
66.	BrWi (man speaking)				
	(a) EBrWi	*Bhāuj, Bhābī*	*Boudi*	*Bhaujī, Bhojāī, Bhāyāhu*	*Bau, Bowārī*
	(b) YBrWi	*Bau, Baumā*	*Baumā, Bau*		
67.	BrWi (woman speaking)				
	(a) EBrWi	*Bhāuj, Bhābī*	*Baudi, Bauthān*	*Bhauji, Bhojāī*	*Bau, Bowārī*
	(b) YBrWi	*Bau, Baumā*	*Baumā Bau*	*Bhayahu, Gotnī*	

Sl. No.	Kin Type	Bengali used by Muslims	Bengali used by Hindus	Bihari	Assami
68.	HuBrWi				
	(a) HuEBrWi	*Bhābī, Bhāuj*	*Didi*	*Jeṭhānī*	
	(b) HuYBrWi	*Bhābī*		*Devrānī*	
69.	WiBrWi	*Bhābī*	*Baudi*	*Sarhaj*	
70.	SoWiMo	*Beyān*	*Beyān*	*Samādhan*	
71.	DaHuMo	*Beyān*	*Beyān*	*Samadhan*	
72.	DaHu	*Jāmāi*	*Jāmāi*	*Damād, Jamāī*	*Zowāī*
73.	HuBrSo	*Bhāur kar* (EBrSo), *Deor put* (YBrSo)	*Bhāśur po, Bhāśur put* (EBrSo) *Deor po, Deor put* (YBrSo)	*Jaut*	
74.	HuSiSo	*Bhāginā*	*Bhāginā*		
75.	WiBrSo	*Bar Girir polā, Samundir polā* (EBrSo), *Śālār polā* (YBrSo)	*Samundir polā* (EBrSo), *Śālār polā* (YBrSo)		
76.	WiSiSo	*Bhāyrār put Bhāyrār beṭā*	*Bhāyrār put Bhāyrār beṭā*		
77.	SoWi	*Bau*	*Bau*	*Putoh, Bahu*	*Bowārī*
78.	HuBrDa	*Bhār kanā Bhāur kanyā* (EBrDa), *Deorjhi* (YBrDa)	*Bhāśurjhi* (EBrDa), *Deorjhi* (YBrDa)	*Jayadi*	
79.	HuSiDa	*Bhāgnī*	*Bhāgnī*		
80.	WiBrDa	*Bar girir māiyā Samundir māiyā* (EBrDa), *Śālār māiyā, Śālārjhi* (YBrDa)	*Samundir māiyā* (EBrDa), *Śālār māiyā, Śālārjhi* (YBrDa)		

Sl. No.	Kin Type	Bengali used by Muslims	Bengali used by Hindus	Bihari	Assami
81.	WiSiDa	*Bhāyrār māiyā* (ESiDa)	*Bhāyrārjhi* (ESiDa)		
82.	Co-wife	*Hatīn, Satīn*	*Hatīn, Satīn*		

	Nepali	Oriya	Sindhi	Punjabi	Hindi	Urdu
1.	*Bābuwā, Bā, Bābā, Bābū, Bābai, Bubā*	*Bappa, Nanna*	*Bābo, Pīu*	*Bābal, Bāba Bāp, Piu*	*Pitā, Bāp, Bābū*	*Bāwā, Ābba Abbājān*
2.	*Jibā, Jijū babu, Barājyū, Bajyā, Bāje*	*Jeje bapa, Gunsai bapa, Ajā, Thākura-bāpā*	*Dādo*	*Dāddā*	*Dādā, Bāba*	*Dādājān Dādā ābbā*
3.	*Jijū, Jijyū*	*Anājā*	*Para-dādo*	*Para-dādo*	*Par-dādā*	
4.	*Jibā, Maulibāje, Maulākobāje*	*Ajja, Nannā*	*Nāno*	*Nannā*	*Nānā*	*Nānā ābbā, Nānajān*
5.		*Anaajā*	*Para-nāno*	*Par-nānā*	*Par-nānā*	
6.(a)	*Jetha-bā Jetha babu, Barā bābu*	*Dadda, Sanna baba, Jethapā*	*Bābo, Kāko*	*Taiyā*	*Pitiya, Tau*	*Bade ābbā*
(b)	*Kākā, Kanchābā, Kanchobābū*	*Kakka, Khudata kaka, Cacchā*	*Cāco*	*Cācā*	*Cācā, Kākā*	*Chāchā, Chāchājān*
7.	*Māmā*	*Mamo*	*Mamo*	*Māmmā, Manwan*	*Māmā, Māmū*	*Māmūjān*
8.	*Āmā, Amai, Mahātārī, Mā*	*Mā, Akkā, Attā, Āī, Jā*	*Māu, Āī, Amā*	*Mā, Māī, Amrī*	*Mā, Mātā, Māī*	*Āmmā, Ammijān*

Sl. No.	Nepali	Oriya	Sindhi	Punjabi	Hindi	Urdu
9.	*Barā mā*	*Āī, Āji*	*Nānī*	*Nānī*	*Nānī*	
10.	*Jiju, Āmā Jyāmā*		*Para-nānī*	*Par-nānnī*	*Par-nānī*	
11.	*Ghara ki bajej*	*Gunsai mā*	*Dādī*	*Dāddī, Ammā*	*Dādī*	*Dādī āmmā*
12.			*Para-dādī*	*Par-dādī*	*Par-dādī*	
13.		*Piusi, Āttā*	*Puphī*	*Buā, Phūpphī*	*Phūphī, Phūphū, Phūvā, Buvā, Didi*	*Phuppijān*
(a)	–	–	–	–	–	–
(b)	–	–	–	–	–	–
14.		*Mausī*	*Māsī*	*Māssī*	*Mausī, Māsī, Khālā*	*Khālājān Khālā*
(a)	–	–	–	–	–	–
(b)	–	–	–	–	–	–
15.		*Bhai*	*Bhāī, Bhāū, Dādo, Dādā*	*Bhāī, Bīr, Mājāya, Vīr, Bhayyā, Bhirā*	*Bhai, Bir*	*Badā*
(a)		*Uparabhāi*	–	–	–	–
(b)					–	
16.			*Sauṭu*	*Patrer-bhai*	*Cācerā-bhāī*	
(a)		*Jethāpua, Daddai puvabhai*	–	–	–	
(b)		*Kakkoi puvabhai*	–	–	–	

Sl. No.	Nepali	Oriya	Sindhi	Punjabi	Hindi	Urdu
17.		*Pivasi puvabhai*	*Puphātu*	*Phūpperā-bhāī*	*Phupherā-bhāī*	
(a)		–	–	–	–	
(b)		–	–	–	–	
18.		*Mamo-puvabhai*	*Mārotu*	*Malver-bhai*	*Mamerā-bhāī*	
(a)		–	–	–	–	
(b)		–	–	–	–	
19.	*Mused bhāī*	*Mausi-puvabhai*	*Masātū*	*Masera-bhāī, Maser*	*Mauserā-bhāī*	
(a)	–	–	–	–	–	
(b)	–	–	–	–	–	
20.		*Bhauni, Bahin*	*Bhenu, Bhena*	*Bhain, Dhiahni, Manjai*	*Bahan, Bahin*	
(a)	*Didī*	*Attā, Apā Didī*	*Dādī*	–	*Jījī*	*Bahen, Apā*
(b)	*Bainī, Bahinī*	*Balā*	–	–	–	
21.			*Sauti*	*Patrer-bhain*	*Cacerī-bahan*	
(a)		*Daddai-zia-bhauni*	–	–	–	
(b)		*Kakkoi-zia-bhauni*	–	–	–	
22.		*Piusi-zia-bhauni*	*Puphāti*	*Phūppherī-bhain*	*Phupherī-bahan*	
(a)		–	–	–	–	
(b)		–	–	–	–	

Sl. No.	Nepali	Oriya	Sindhi	Punjabi	Hindi	Urdu
23.		Mamo-zia-bhauni	Māroti	Malver-bhain	Mamerī-bahan	Māmuzād behen
(a)		–	–	–	–	–
(b)		–	–	–	–	–
24.		Mausi-zia-bhauni	Māsātī	Maser-bhain	Mauserī-bahan, Khālajāda-bahan	Khālāzād behen
(a)		–	–	–	–	–
(b)		–	–	–	–	–
25.	Sānu, Kāncho Choro, Pūt, Beto, Larko	Puvo, Jadā, Pilā, Puā, Po	Putu	Betā, Ladkā, Pūt, Putra	Putra, Ladkā, Betā	Ladkā, Beta
26.	Bhatijo	Puttura	Bhāityo	Bhatījā, Bhatrijā	Bhatījā	Bhātijā
27.	Bhadoho, Bhado		Bhāityo	Bhatijā, Bhatrijā	Bhatījā	Bhātijā
28.	Bhānij, Bhānic	Bhanajā	Bhānejo	Bhanejā, Bhanewan	Bhānjā	Bhānjā
29.		Bhanajā	Bhānejo	Bhanejā, Bhanewan	Bhānjā	Bhānjā
30.	Nātī	Nātu, Napta, Nātī	Poto	Potrā, Pottā	Potā	Potā
31.	Panātī, Palātī	Ananāti	Para-poto	Par-potā, Par-potrā	Par-potā	Par-potā
32.		Nātu, Napta, Nāvsā, Nātī	Dohito	Dohtrā	Dohitā, Nawāsā, Nātī	Navāsā

Sl. No.	Nepali	Oriya	Sindhi	Punjabi	Hindi	Urdu
33.	Panti, Palātī	Ananātī	Para-dohiṭo	Dhī, Dhīahan		
34.						
35.	Chorī, Putrī, Betī, Larkī	Zia	Dhīu, Dhīa, Niānī	Par-dohtrā, Betī, Ladkī	Dhī, Dhiyā, Ladkī, Betī, Ladkī, Betī Putrī	Ladkī, Betī
36.	Bhatijī	Ziari	Bhāitī	Bhatījī, Bhatrījī	Bhatījī	Bhatījī
37.			Bhāitī	Bhatījī, Bhatrījī	Bhatījī	Bhatījī
38.	Bhānji	Bhanaji	Bhānejī	Bhanejī, Bhanewīn	Bhānjī	Bhānejī Bhānjī
39.		Bhanaji	Bhānejī	Bhanejī, Bhanewīn	Bhānjī	Bhānejī, Bhānjī
40.	Nātinī	Natuni	Dohitī	Dohitrī, Dohtī	Dohitī, Nātin	Navāsī
41.	Panatini, Palātini	Ananātuni	Para-dohitī	Par-dohtī, Par-dohtrī	Par-dohitī	–
42.	Panātini, Palātini		Para-potī	Par-potī, Par-potrī	Par-potī	–
43.	Nātinī	Natuni	Potī	Potī, Potrī	Potī	Potī
44.	Panātinī, Palātinī	Ananātuni	Para-potī	Par-potī, Par-potrī	Par-potī	Par-potī
45.	Phupājū	Piusa	Puphaḍu	Phupphā, Phupphaḍ	Phūphā	Phūppā, Phūpa
46.	Sasuro	Sasura	Sahuro	Sahura, Saura, Susar	Sasur	Susara, Khūsar
47.	Sasuro	Sasura	Sahuro	Sahura, Sasur, Susar, Saura	Sasur	Susar, Khūsar, Ābbājan

Sl. No.	Nepali	Oriya	Sindhi	Punjabi	Hindi	Urdu
48.	Kākā, Kanābā, Kanco bābu	Mausa	Māsaḍu	Māsaḍ	Mausa, Khālū	Khālū, Khālūjān
49.	Maijū	Mai	Māmī	Māmmī, Mawin	Māmī	Māmī, Mumānī
50.			Cācī			Chāchī
(a)	Jethiāmā, Bariāmā	Dethei, Jethāi	–	Cācī	Tāī	–
(b)	Kākī	Khuḍī, Kākī	–	Tāī	Cācī	–
51.	Sāsubājeī, Sāsū	Sasu, Attā	Sasu	Sahuri, Sāssū, Sas, Sauhri	Sās	Sas, Khush dāman
52.	Sāsubājeī, Sāsū	Sasu	Sāsu	Sahuri, Sāssū, Sas, Sauhri	Sās	Sasu, Ammijān, Sās
53.	Purus, Poī	Ghoytā, Gerasta, Andrā, Arjya	Bhatāru, Charavāro, Muḍsu, Ghoṭu	Balam, Gobbru, Wanra, Jaḍa	Bhatār, Pati, Banrā	Khāwind, Miyā, Saohar, Khasam
54.	Jethā, Jethājyū	Dethsur, Jerdasura	Jethu	Waḍḍā-der	Jeth devar	Jeth
55.	Devar	Devar, Diara, Debara	Deru, Gauro	Nikkā-der	Devar	Devar
56.	Jeṭhān	Sālā, Ghara-ārdu-bhāi	Sālo	Sālā	Sādā, Sāla	Sālā-bhāni, Sālā
57.	Sālo	Bākkīra	Sālo	Sālā	Sādā, Sāla	Sālā bhāni, Sālā

Sl. No.	Nepali	Oriya	Sindhi	Punjabi	Hindi	Urdu
58.		Grāmahasaka	Bheṇīvio	Banoi, Bhanaviyā	Bhanoī, Bahneū	Bahnoī
(a)	Bhinājū			Jijjā, Behanoī		
(b)	Baine					
59.						
(a)			Bheṇīvio	Jijjā, Behanoī	Bhanoī, Bahneū	Bahnoī
(b)						
60.	Nandebhāī (YSiHu)	Nanadei	Nināna jo ghoṭu	Nanaviyā, Nandoī	Nandoī, Nandosī	Nandoī
61.	Sārhudājū (ESiHu) Sārhubhāī (YSiHu)		Saṇḍhū	Sāṇḍhū	Sāḍhū	
62.	Samdhi		Seṇu	Kudam, Sakkā	Samdhī	Samdhī
63.	Ghar, Gharbār, Joī, Swāsnī	Maipo, Bhāriya	Bah	Bahuti, Ran, Patnī, Jorū, Tari, Kuḍī, Savāṇi	Jorū, Gharanī, Jauja	Bivī, Begum, Jorū
64.	Nandā	Nanad	Nināna	Nināṇ, Nand, Nanan	Nanand	Nanad
(a)	–	–	Mahandi	–	–	–
(b)						
65.	Jeṭhi Sāsū		Sālī	Sālī	Sālī	Sālī
(a)		Ded sasu, Jeṭhī	–	Jathal	–	–
(b)		Sālī, Kelikuñchikā				

Sl. No.	Nepali	Oriya	Sindhi	Punjabi	Hindi	Urdu
66.			*Bhājāi*	*Bhaijai,* *Bharjāi*	*Bhāvaj*	
(a)		*Bhaujo,* *Nūabohū*	*Bhābhī*	*Bhābbī*	*Bhābhī*	*Bhābhījān,* *Ammi bhawāj*
(b)		*Bhai vahu*		*Wir-bahuti*	*Bahū,* *Bhayahu*	
67.						
(a)	*Bhāujū,* *Bhāujyā*	*Bhaujo,* *Nūabohū*	*Bhājāi*	*Bhābbī*	*Bhābhī*	
(b)		*Bhai vahu*	*Bhābhī*	*Wir-bahuti*	*Bahū,* *Bhayahu*	
68.						
(a)	*Jethanī*	*Jā, Jothānī*	*Jethānī*	*Jethānī*	*Jethānī*	*Jethānī* *Bhābhī*
(b)	*Deurānī,* *Dewarānī*	*Jā*	*Derānī*	*Deurani,* *Dirani*	*Devarānī*	*Devrānī*
69.		*Salbhavjo*	*Sālejī*	*Silehaj,* *Salojhar*		*Sāle-ki-bivī*
70.			*Seni*	*Kudammī,* *Sakkī*	*Samdhin*	*Samadhan*
71.			*Seni*	*Kudammī,* *Sakkī*	*Samdhin*	*Samadhan*
72.	*Jowuā*	*Jaiñ*	*Jato, Niāno*	*Jawāi*	*Jamāi,* *Pāhuna*	*Dāmād*
73.		*Patura*	*Jethoto,* *Derātu*	*Jathutta,* *Darutta*	*Jethauta,* *Deratta*	*Jethā-ka-lādkā* *Devar-ka-lādkā*
74.		*Nañāndra*	*Nanatu*	*Nanotar*	*Nandaut*	*Nand-ka-lādkā*

Sl. No.	Nepali	Oriya	Sindhi	Punjabi	Hindi	Urdu
75.	*Bhaḍahī*		*Sālāju,* *Sālātu*		*Sālot*	*Sale-ka-lāḍkā*
76.	*Bhadoho,* *Bhaḍo*		*Sālīju*			*Salī-ka-ladkā*
77.	*Buwārī,* *Buhārī,* *Bahu*	*Bohu,* *Parajhia*	*Nuhā, Nuhū*	*Bahū, Nuhā,* *Nhu, Patoh,* *Patohu*	*Bahū,* *Patohū*	*Dulhān,* *Bahu*
78.		*Ziari*	*Jethātī,* *Deroṭī*		*Jethautī,* *Derautī*	*Jethka-ladkī* *Devarka-laḍkī*
79.			*Nanati*		*Nandotī*	*Jethki* *ladkī,* *Nandki* *ladkī*
80.	*Bhadahi*		*Sālāti*		*Salotī*	*Sale-ki-ladkī*
81.			*Sālīti*			*Sāli-ki-ladkī*
82.			*Pahāja*	*Saukan,* *Sauhkana*	*Saut,* *Sautin,* *Sauk*	

KIN TERMS FOR SON AND FATHER IN DIFFERENT RURAL AREAS OF BANGLADESH

Term of Reference for Son	Term of Address for Father	Areas
Betā	*Bāpak*	Rangpur
Sāoāl	*Bābā*	Dacca
Put	*Bājī*	Mymensingh
Palā	*Bābā*	Hajong of Mymensingh
Puā	*Bābā*	Sylhet
Put	*Bābuyo*	Comilla
Betā	*Bāyājī*	Noakhali
Polā	*Bābā*	Bakerganj
Polā	*Bājī*	Faridpur
Sāoāl	*Bāp*	Bagerhat
Sall	*Babā*	Jessore
Poā	*Bāyājī*	Chittagong
Holā	*Bāyājī*	Hatia of Noakhali
Holā	*Bāyājī*	Chhagalnaiya of Noakhali
Hoot	*Bāu*	Ramganj of Noakhali
Poā	*Bābā*	Chakma dialect

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APPENDIX VIII

INDIVIDUAL VISITS TO KIN MEMBERS BY MONTH AND RELIGION IN 1975 AT MATLAB

Religion & Sex	Type of Kin	Number of Visits by Month: January to December												Average Annual Visits	Average Duration Per Visit
		Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec		
Muslim Female	Father	13	12	11	9	11	9	9	8	10	14	5	7	118	10.17
Hindu Female	Father	15	15	10	8	9	12	10	10	16	18	9	11	143	10.00
Muslim Male	Maternal Uncle	14	15	13	11	10	9	6	8	7	3	3	6	105	7.67
Muslim Female	Maternal Uncle	17	11	13	10	12	5	13	3	4	3	2	4	97	8.58
Hindu Male	Maternal Uncle	14	9	8	14	11	12	4	2	8	6	7	8	103	6.25
Hindu Female	Maternal Uncle	12	11	8	9	13	12	9	7	5	6	8	11	111	7.42
Muslim Male	Son-in-law	2					2			1				5	0.67
Muslim Female	Son-in-law	6	4	2	6	5	3	1	3		2	6	1	39	5.08
Hindu Male	Son-in-law	2	2										2	6	0.83
Hindu Female	Son-in-law	5	3		13	6	5	2	2	5	4	3	5	53	7.17
Muslim Male	Fa-in-law	1			2	2	2	2	3		2			14	3.08
Hindu Male	Fa-in-law			3	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	2		19	3.75

CHOLERA RESEARCH LABORATORY
Marital Status Registration Form

Sl. No. / / Event / / Study No. / /

Date of event : Day / / Month / / Year / /

Information (Male Partner):

Name : _____ V.T.S.No.'68/'70_____ Census No. '74_____

Age / / Type of age: /Census/ / M-in / Date M-In / /

Marital status prior to this event:

Never married / / Married / / Widowed / / Divorced / /

Separated / /

If the prior event was married, widowed, divorced or separated.

then specify the duration of that event in month / /

No. of previous Marriages / / Widowed / / Divorced / /

Education / / Occupation / /

Usual Residence (Male Partner):

Village:............... P.O._____ Dt.:_____ Code / /

Total birth history from previous marriages: (if any)

Live birth / / Living children / /

Information (Female Partner):

Name:_____ V.T.S.No.:'68/'70_____ Census No.'74_____

Age / / Type of Age:/Census/ / M-in / Date M-In / /

Marital status prior to this event:

Never married / / Married / / Widowed / / Divorced / / Separated / /

If the prior event was married, widowed, divorced or separated.

then specify the duration of that event in month / /

No. of previous marriages /_____/   Widowed /_____/   Divorced /_____/

Education /_____/   Occupation /_____/

Father's education /_____/   Father's occupation /_____/

Female Partner usually stays with:/Parents/ /Husband//Other Relative/
    /Non-related/

Residence of female partner prior to this event:

Village:_____ P.O._____ Dt.:_____ Code /_____/

Total birth history from previous marriages: (if any)

Pregnance /_____/ Live birth /_____/ Living children /_____/

Event: Government Reg. /_____/   Not registered /_____/

Was there any relationship between partners: / Yes / / No /

Fa Bro Son /_____/   Mo Bro Son /_____/

Fa Bro Daugh /_____/   Mo Bro Daugh /_____/

Fa Sis Son /_____/   Mo Sis Son /_____/

Fa Sis Daugh /_____/   Mo Sis Daugh /_____/

Other relative /_____/   Non-related /_____/

Distance between the residence of the male and female partners (65):

Within Bari /__/ Village /__/ Union /__/ Thana /__/ District /__/

Other /____/

(For marriage event only)

Marriage arranged by /Guardian/   /Partners/

How many children they like to have /_____/

1. Conscious
2. Unaware
3. No Choice

Reported by :_____   Date_____

EXCLUSIVELY MUSLIM KIN TERMS IN STUDY VILLAGES

Generation	Kin Terms	English Abbreviation of Kin Terms
+ 3	*Buā*	MoFaMo
+ 2	*Nānā; Nānī*	MoFa; MoMo
+ 1	*Abbā, Bājān; Ammā*	Fa; Mo
	Chāchā; Chāchī, Jhi	FaYBr; FaYBrWi
	Phuphu; Phuphā	FaSi; FaSiHu
	Khālā; Khālu	MoSi; MoSiHu
O	*Miyā Bhāi*	EBr
	Chāchāta Bhāi, Chāchāta Bon	FaYBrSo , FaYBrDa
	Phuphāta Bhāi; Phuphāta Bon	FaSiSo; FaSiDa
	Khālāta Bhāi; Khālāta Bon	MoSiSo; MoSiDa
	Bhābī, Bhāuj	EBrWi
	Āpā, Bubu, Buji	ESi
	Bhāi-sāb, Dulā Bhāi	ESiHu
	Dulā Miyā	YSiHu
	Bar Giri	WiEBr

APPENDIX XI*

DESCRIPTIVE KINSHIP TERMS AND THEIR TERMS OF ADDRESS FOR SEVEN
GENERATIONS (+3 GENERATION TO -3 GENERATION)

I. DESCRIPTIVE KINSHIP TERMS AND THEIR MUSLIM TERMS OF ADDRESS
FOR THIRD GENERATION PRIOR TO EGO (+3 GENERATION)

A.	Āpan
B.	Sat
C.	Chāchāta
D.	Jethāta
E.	Phuphāta
F.	Khālāta
G.	Māmāta

Descriptive Terms		Terms of Address
Bāper+dādā	FaFaFa	Baḍa bāp, Bada ābbā
Māyer+dādā	MoFaFa	Baḍa bāp, Bada ābbā
Bāper+dādī	FaFaMo	Baḍamā, Baḍa āmmā
Māyer+dādī	MoFaMo	Baḍamā, Buā, Bibi

II. DESCRIPTIVE KINSHIP TERMS AND THEIR MUSLIM TERMS OF ADDRESS
FOR SECOND GENERATION PRIOR TO EGO (+2 GENERATION)

Descriptive Terms		Terms of Address
Bāper bāp	FaFa	Dādā
Bāper mā	FaMo	Dādī
Māyer bāp	MoFa	Nānā
Māyer mā	MoMo	Nānī
Svāmīr bāper bāp/Strīr bāper bāp	HuFaFa/WiFaFa	Dādā
Svāmīr bāper mā/Strīr bāper mā	HuFaMo/WiFaMo	Dādī
Svāmīr māyer bāp/Strīr māyer bāp	HuMoFa/WiMoFa	Nānā
Svāmīr māyer mā/Strīr māyer mā	HuMoMo/WiMoMo	Nānī

* Key: Every lettered term noted in the box is to be used in the place where-
ever plus (+) sign appears in the entire series of terms. In a single
descriptive term if the plus (+) sign appears more than once then only
one plus (+) sign to be used at a time. While utilizing (+) sign
followed by the words 'strīr bāp', 'svāmīr bāp' and 'strīr mā',
'svāmīr mā' the reader will require to take every pair of these words
as equivalent to the reference term 'father-in-law'/'mother-in-law'.

The meanings of the lettered derivative terms are as follows: A. Own
B. Step C. Related to the father's younger brother D. Related to the
father's elder brother E. Related to the father's sister F. Related
to the mother's sister G. Related to the mother's brother.

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III.   DESCRIPTIVE MUSLIM KINSHIP TERMS AND THEIR TERMS OF ADDRESS
FOR SECOND GENERATION PRIOR TO EGO (+2 GENERATION)

A. *Āpan*		E. *Phuphāta*
B. *Sat*		F. *Khālāta*
C. *Chāchāta*		G. *Māmāta*
D. *Jethāta*		

Descriptive Terms

Descriptive Terms		Terms of Address
Bāper+chāchā	FaFaYBr	*Dādā, dādu, dādājī*
Bāper+chāchī	FaFaYBrWi	*Dādī, buā, bu, bibijī*
Bāper+jethā	FaFaEBr	*Dādā*
Bāper+jethī	FaFaEBrWi	*Dādī*
Bāper+phuphu	FaFaSi	*Dādī*
Bāper+phuphā	FaFaSiHu	*Dādā*
Bāper+māmā	FaMoBr	*Nānā, nānājī*
Bāper+māmī	FaMoBrWi	*Nānī, nānījī*
Bāper+khālu	FaMoSiHu	*Nānā*
Bāper+khālā	FaMoSi	*Nānī*
Chāchār+strīr bāp	FaYBr WiFa	*Dādā*
Chāchār+strīr mā	FaYBr WiMo	*Dādī*
Jethār+strīr bāp	FaEBr WiFa	*Dādā*
Jethār+strīr mā	FaEBr WiMo	*Dādi*
Phuphur+svāmīr bāp	FaSi HuFa	*Dādā*
Phuphur+svāmīr mā	FaSi HuMo	*Dādī*
Māmār+strīr bāp	MoBr WiFa	*Nānā*
Māmār+strīr mā	MoBr WiMo	*Nānī*
Khālār+svāmīr bāp	MoSi HuFa	*Nānī*
Khālār+svāmīr mā	MoSi HuMo	*Nānī*
Māyer+chāchā	MoFaYBr	*Nānā*
Māyer+chāchī	MoFaYBrWi	*Nānī*
Māyer+jethā	MoFaEBr	*Nānā*
Māyer+jethī	MoFaEBrWi	*Nānī*
Māyer+phuphu	MoFaSi	*Nānī*
Māyer+phuphā	MoFaSiHu	*Nānā*

Descriptive Terms		Terms of Address
Māyer+khālā	MoMoSi	*Nānī*
Māyer+khālu	MoMoSiHu	*Nānā*
Māyer+māmā	MoMoBr	*Nānā*
Māyer+māmī	MoMoBrWi	*Nānī*
Svāmīr bāper/strīr bāper+chāchā	HuFa/WiFa FaYBr	*Dādā*
Svāmīr bāper/strīr bāper+chāchī	HuFa/WiFa FaYBrWi	*Dādī*
Svāmīr bāper/strīr bāper+jeṭhā	HuFa/WiFa FaEBr	*Dādā*
Svāmīr bāper/strīr bāper+jeṭhī	HuFa/WiFa FaEBrWi	*Dādī*
Svāmīr bāper/strīr bāper+phuphu	HuFa/WiFa FaSi	*Dādī*
Svāmīr bāper/strīr bāper+phuphā	HuFa/WiFa FaSiHu	*Dādā*
Svāmīr bāper/strīr bāper+khālā	HuFa/WiFa MoSi	*Nānī*
Svāmīr bāper/strīr bāper+khālu	HuFa/WiFa MoSiHu	*Nānā*
Svāmīr bāper/strīr bāper+māmā	HuFa/WiFa MoBr	*Nānā*
Svāmīr bāper/strīr bāper+māmī	HuFa/WiFa MoBrWi	*Nānī*
Svāmīr māyer/strīr māyer+chāchā	HuMo/WiMo FaYBr	*Nānā*
Svāmīr māyer/strīr māyer+chāchī	HuMo/WiMo FaYBrWi	*Nānī*
Svāmīr māyer/strīr māyer+jeṭhā	HuMo/WiMo FaEBr	*Nānā*
Svāmīr māyer/strīr māyer+jeṭhī	HuMo/WiMo FaEBrWi	*Nānī*
Svāmīr māyer/strīr māyer+phuphu	HuMo/WiMo FaSi	*Nānī*
Svāmīr māyer/strīr māyer+phuphā	HuMo/WiMo FaSiHu	*Nānā*
Svāmīr māyer/strīr māyer+khālā	HuMo/WiMo MoSi	*Nānī*
Svāmīr māyer/strīr māyer+khālu	HuMo/WiMo MoSiHu	*Nānā*
Svāmīr māyer/strīr māyer+māmā	HuMo/WiMo MoBr	*Nānā*
Svāmīr māyer/strīr māyer+māmī	HuMo/WiMo MoBrWi	*Nānī*
Svāmīr bāper/strīr bāper+bhāiyer+ svāmīr bap/strīr bāp	HuFa/WiFa Br HuFa/ WiFa	*Dādā*
Svāmīr bāper/strīr bāper+bhāiyer+ svāmīr mā/strīr mā	HuFa/WiFa Br HuMo/ WiMo	*Dādī*
Svāmīr bāper/strīr bāper+boner+ svāmīr bāp/strīr bāp	HuFa/WiFa Si HuFa/ WiFa	*Dādā*
Svāmīr bāper/strīr bāper+boner+ svāmīr mā/strīr mā	HuFa/WiFa Si HuMo/ WiMo	*Dādī*
Svāmīr māyer/strīr māyer+bhāiyer+ svāmīr bāp/strīr bāp	HuMo/WiMo Br HuFa/ WiFa	*Dādā*
Svāmīr māyer/strīr māyer+bhāiyer+ svāmīr mā/strīr mā	HuMo/WiMo Br HuMo/ WiMo	*Dādī*
Svāmīr māyer/strīr māyer+boner+ svāmīr bāp/strīr bāp	HuMo/WiMo Si HuFa/ WiFa	*Dādā*
Svāmīr māyer/strīr māyer+boner+ svāmīr mā/strīr mā	HuMo/WiMo Si HuMo/ WiMo	*Dādī*

IV.   DESCRIPTIVE KINSHIP TERMS AND THEIR MUSLIM TERMS OF ADDRESS
FOR FIRST GENERATION PRIOR TO EGO (+1 GENERATION)

Descriptive Terms		Terms of Address
Bāp	Fa	*Bābā, ābbā, bājān, bājī*
Mā	Mo	*Mā, āmmā*
Strīr bāp	WiFa	*Ābbā, ābbājī*
Strīr mā	WiMo	*Āmmā, āmmājī*
Svāmīr bāp	HuFa	*Ābbā, ābbājī*
Svāmīr mā	HuMo	*Āmmā, āmmājī*

DESCRIPTIVE MUSLIM KINSHIP TERMS AND THEIR TERMS OF ADDRESS FOR FIRST
GENERATION PRIOR TO EGO (+ 1 GENERATION)

A. *Āpān*	B. *Sat*	C. *Chāchāta* D. *Jeṭhāta*	
E. *Phuphāta*	F. *Khālāta*	G. *Māmāta*	

Descriptive Terms		Terms of Address
Bāper chhoṭa+bhāi	FaYBr	*Chāchā, chāchājī, jādu, kākā*
Bāper chhoṭa+bhāiyer strī	FaYBrWi	*Chāchī, jhi*
Bāper baḍa+bhāi	FaEBr	*Jeṭhā, jeṭhājī*
Bāper baḍa+bhāiyer strī	FaEBrWi	*Jeṭhī, jeṭhī āmmā*
Bāper+bon	FaSi	*Phuphu, phuphujī*
Bāper+boner svāmī	FaSiHu	*Phuphā, phuphājī*
Māyer+bhāi	MoBr	*Māmu, māmujī, māmā*
Māyer+bhāiyer strī	MoBrWi	*Māmī, māmānī, māmī āmmā*
Māyer+bon	MoSi	*Khālā, khālā āmmā*
Māyer+boner svāmī	MoSiHu	*Khālu, khālujī*
Strīr+chāchā	WiFaYBr	*Chāchā, chāchā miyā*
Strīr+jeṭhā	WiFaEBr	*Jeṭhā, jeṭhājī*
Strīr+phuphā	WiFaSiHu	*Phuphā, phuphājī*
Strīr+khālu	WiMoSiHu	*Khālu, khālujī*
Strīr+māmā	WiMoBr	*Māmu, māmujī, māmā*
Svāmīr+chāchā	HuFaYBr	*Chāchā, chāchājī*
Svāmīr+jeṭhā	HuFaEBr	*Jeṭhā, jeṭhājī*

Descriptive Terms		Terms of Address
Svāmīr+phuphā	HuFaSiHu	*Phuphā, phuphājī*
Svāmīr+khālu	HuMoSiHu	*Khālu, khālujī*
Svāmīr+māmā	HuMoBr	*Māmu, māmujī, māmā*
Strīr+chāchī	WiFaYBrWi	*Chāchī, chāchī āmmā*
Strīr+jeṭhī	WiFaEBrWi	*Jeṭhī, jeṭhī āmmā*
Strīr+phuphu	WiFaSi	*Phuphu, phuphujī*
Strīr+khālā	WiMoSi	*Khālā, khālā āmmā*
Strīr+māmī	WiMoBrWi	*Māmī, māmānī, māmī āmmā*
Svāmīr+chāchī	HuFaYBrWi	*Chāchī, chāchī āmmā*
Svāmīr+jeṭhī	HuFaEBrWi	*Jeṭhī, jeṭhī āmmā*
Svāmīr+phuphu	HuFaSi	*Phuphu, phuphujī*
Svāmīr+khālā	HuMoSi	*Khālā, khālā āmmā*
Svāmīr+māmī	HuMoBrWi	*Māmī, māmānī*
Bhāiyer+strīr bāp	BrWiFa	*Tālui, tāluijī*
Bhāiyer+strīr mā	BrWiMo	*Māai, māaijī*
Boner+svāmīr bāp	SiHuFa	*Tālui, tāluijī*
Boner+svāmīr mā	SiHuMo	*Māai, māaijī*
Strīr+Bada+bhāiyer+strīr bāp	WiEBrWiFa	*Tālui, tāluijī*
Strīr+bada+bhāiyer+strīr mā	WiEBrWiMo	*Māai, māaijī*
Strīr+bada+boner+svāmīr bāp	WiESiHuFa	*Tālui, tāluijī*
Strīr+bada+boner+svāmīr mā	WiESiHuMo	*Māai, māaijī*
Svāmīr+bada+bhāiyer+strīr bāp	HuEBrWiFa	*Tālui, tāluijī*
Svāmīr+bada+bhāiyer+strīr mā	HuEBrWiMo	*Māai, māaijī*
Svāmīr+bada+boner+svāmīr bāp	HuESiHuFa	*Tālui, tāluijī*
Svāmīr+bada+boner+svāmīr mā	HuESiHuMo	*Māai, māaijī*

V. DESCRIPTIVE KINSHIP TERMS AND THEIR TERMS OF ADDRESS FOR EGO'S GENERATION (0 GENERATION)

Descriptive Terms		Terms of Address
Svāmī	Hu	None
Strī	Wi	None

DESCRIPTIVE KINSHIP TERMS AND THEIR MUSLIM TERMS OF ADDRESS FOR
EGO'S GENERATION (0 GENERATION)

A. *Āpān*	B. *Sat*	C. *Chāchātā*	D. *Jeṭhātā*
E. *Phuphātā*	F. *Khālātā*	G. *Māmātā*	

Descriptive Terms		Terms of Address
Baḍa+bhāi	EBr	*Miyā bhāi, bhāiju*
Baḍa+bhāiyer strī	EBrWi	*Bhābī*
Chhoṭa+bhāi	YBr	By name
Chhoṭa+bhāiyer strī	YBrWi	*Chhoṭa bau*
Baḍa+bon	ESi	*Baḍa*
Baḍa+boner svāmī	ESiHu	*Bhāisāb, dulābhāi*
Chhoṭa+bon	YSi	By name
Chhoṭa+boner svāmī	YSiHu	*Dulā miyā, jāmāi miyā*
Svāmīr baḍa+bhāi	HuEBr	*Miyā bhāi*
Svāmīr baḍa+bhāiyer strī	HuEBrWi	*Bhābī*
Svāmīr chhoṭa+bhāi	HuYBr	*Bhāi, By name*
Svāmīr chhoṭa+bhāiyer strī	HuYBrWi	*Bubu, buā*
Svāmīr baḍa+bon	HuESi	*Āpā, bujī*
Svāmīr baḍa+boner svāmī	HuESiHu	*Bhāisāb*
Svāmīr chhoṭa+bon	HuYSi	*Chhoṭa āpā, bujī*
Svāmīr chhoṭa+boner svāmī	HuYSiHu	*Chhoṭa bhāi, bhāi*
Strīr baḍa+bhāi	WiEBr	*Miyā bhāi, baḍa bhāi*
Strīr baḍa+bhāiyer strī	WiEBrWi	*Bhābī*
Strīr chhoṭa+bhāi	WiYBr	*Chhoṭa bhāi, By name*
Strīr chhoṭa+bhāiyer strī	WiYBrWi	*Buā*
Strīr baḍa+bon	WiESi	*Baḍa āpā, bujī*
Strīr baḍa+boner svāmī	WiESiHu	*Bhāisāb*
Strīr chhoṭa+bon	WiYSi	By name
Strīr chhoṭa+boner svāmī	WiYSiHu	*Chhoṭa bhāi, By name*
Chheler+strīr bāp	SoWiFa	*Beyāi, beyāisāb*
Meyer+svāmīr bāp	DaHuFa	*Beyāi, beyāisāb*
+Bhāiyer chheler+strīr bāp	BrSoWiFa	*Beyāi, beyāisāb*
+Bhāiyer meyer+svāmīr bāp	BrDaHuFa	*Beyāi, beyāisāb*
+Boner chheler+strīr bāp	SiSoWiFa	*Beyāi, beyāisāb*
+Boner meyer+svāmīr bāp	SiDaHuFa	*Beyāi, beyāisāb*

Descriptive Terms		Terms of Address
+Bhāiyer strīr+bhāi	BrWiBr	Beyāi, beyāisāb
+Boner svāmīr+bhāi	SiHuBr	Beyāi, beyāisāb
Chheler+strīr mā	SoWiMo	Beyān, beyānsāb
Meyer+svāmīr mā	DaHuMo	Beyān, beyānsāb
+Bhāiyer chheler+strīr mā	BrSoWiMo	Beyān, beyānsāb
+Bhāiyer meyer+svāmīr mā	BrDaHuMo	Beyān, beyānsāb
+Boner chheler+strīr mā	SiSoWiMo	Beyān, beyānsāb
+Boner meyer+svāmīr mā	SiDaHuMo	Beyān, beyānsāb
+Bhāiyer strīr+bon	BrWiSi	Beyān, beyānsāb
+Boner svāmīr+bon	SiHuSi	Beyān, beyānsāb

VI. DESCRIPTIVE KINSHIP TERMS AND THEIR MUSLIM TERMS OF ADDRESS FOR FIRST GENERATION FOLLOWING EGO (-1 GENERATION)

A. Āpān	B. Sat	C. Chāchātā	D. Jethātā
E. Phuphātā	F. Khālātā	G. Māmātā	

Descriptive Terms		Terms of Address
+Bhāiyer chhele	BrSo	By name
+Bhāiyer chheler bau	BrSoWi	Bau, baumā
+Bhāiyer meye	BrDa	By name
+Bhāiyer meyer jāmāi	BrDaHu	Jāmāi, jāmāi miyā
+Boner chhele	SiSo	By name
+Boner chheler bau	SiSoWi	Bau, baumā
+Boner meye	SiDa	By name
+Boner meyer jāmāi	SiDaHu	Jāmāi, jāmāi miyā
Strīr bada+bhāiyer chele	WiEBrSo	By name
Strīr bada+bhāiyer cheler bau	WiEBrSoWi	Bau, baumā
Strīr bada+bhāiyer meye	WiEBrDa	By name
Strīr bada+bhāiyer meyer jāmāi	WiEBrDaHu	Jāmāi, jāmāi miyā
Strīr chhota+boner chhele	WiYSiSo	By name
Strīr chhota+boner chheler bau	WiYSiSoWi	Bau, baumā

Descriptive Terms		Terms of Address
Strīr chhoṭa+boner meye	WiYSiDa	By name
Strīr chhoṭa+boner meyer jāmāi	WiYSiDaHu	*Jāmāi, jāmāi miyā*
Chheler strīr+bhāi	SoWiBr	*Putrā*
Meyer svāmīr+bhāi	DaHuBr	*Putrā*
Bhāiyer chheler strīr+bhāi	BrSoWiBr	*Putrā*
+Bhāiyer meyer svāmīr+bhāi	BrDaHuBr	*Putrā*
+Boner chheler strīr+bhai	SiSoWiBr	*Putrā*
+Boner meyer svāmīr+bhāi	SiDaHuBr	*Putrā*
Chheler strīr+bhāiyer strī	SoWiBrWi	*Putrā bau*
Meyer svāmīr+bhāiyer strī	DaHuBrWi	*Putrā bau*
+Bhāiyer chheler strīr+bhāiyer strī	BrSoWiBrWi	*Putrā bau*
+Bhāiyer meyer svāmīr+bhāiyer strī	BrDaHuBrWi	*Putrā bau*
+Boner chheler strīr+bhāiyer strī	SiSoWiBrWi	*Putrā bau*
+Boner meyer svāmīr+bhāiyer strī	SiDaHuBrWi	*Putrā bau*
Chheler strīr+bon	SoWiSi	*Jhiārī*
Meyer svāmīr+bon	DaHuSi	*Jhiārī*
+Bhāiyer chheler strir+bon	BrSoWiSi	*Jhiārī*
+Bhāiyer meyer svāmīr+bon	BrDaHuSi	*Jhiārī*
+Boner chheler strīr+bon	SiSoWiSi	*Jhiārī*
+Boner meyer svāmīr+bon	SiDaHuSi	*Jhiārī*
Chheler strīr+boner svāmī	SoWiSiHu	*Jhiārī jāmāi*
Meyer svāmīr+boner svāmī	DaHuSiHu	*Jhiārī jāmāi*
+Bhāiyer chheler strīr+boner svāmī	BrSoWiSiHu	*Jhiārī jāmāi*
+Bhāiyer meyer svāmīr+boner svāmī	BrDaHuSiHu	*Jhiārī jāmāi*
+Boner chheler strīr+boner svāmī	SiSoWiSiHu	*Jhiārī jāmāi*
+Boner meyer svāmīr+boner svāmī	SiDaHuSiHu	*Jhiārī jāmāi*

VII. DESCRIPTIVE KINSHIP TERMS AND THEIR MUSLIM TERMS OF ADDRESS FOR SECOND GENERATION FOLLOWING EGO (- 2 GENERATION)

A.	Āpān	B.	Sat	C.	Chāchātā	D.	Jeṭhātā
E.	Phuphātā	F.	Khālāta	G.	Māmāta		

Descriptive Terms		Terms of Address
* Chheler chhele	SoSo	By name, bhāi
* Chheler meye	SoDa	By name, āpā, bujī
* Meyer chhele	DaSo	By name, bhāi
* Meyer meye	DaDa	By name, āpā, bujī
+Bhāiyer chheler chhele	BrSoSo	By name, bhāi
+Bhāiyer chheler meye	BrSoDa	By name, āpā, bujī
+Bhāiyer meyer chhele	BrDaSo	By name, bhāi
+Bhāiyer meyer meye	BrDaDa	By name, āpā, bujī
+Boner chheler chhele	SiSoSo	By name, bhāi
+Boner chheler meye	SiSoDa	By name, āpā, bujī
+Boner meyer chhele	SiDaSo	By name, bhāi
+Boner meyer meye	SiDaDa	By name, āpā, bujī
Chheler strīr+bhāiyer chhele	SoWiBrSo	By name, bhāi
Chheler strīr+bhāiyer meye	SoWiBrDa	By name, āpā, bujī
Chheler strīr+boner chhele	SoWiSiSo	By name, bhāi
Chheler strīr+boner meye	SoWiSiDa	By name, āpā, bujī
Meyer svāmīr+bhāiyer chhele	DaHuBrSo	By name, bhāi
Meyer svāmīr+bhāiyer meye	DaHuBrDa	By name, āpā, bujī
Meyer svāmīr+boner chhele	DaHuSiSo	By name, bhāi
Meyer svāmīr+boner meye	DaHuSiDa	By name, āpā, bujī
* Chheler chheler strī	SoSoWi	Nāti bau
* Chheler meyer svāmī	SoDaHu	Nātin jāmāi
* Meyer chheler strī	DaSoWi	Nāti bau
* Meyer meyer svāmī	DaDaHu	Nātin jāmāi
+Bhāiyer chheler chheler strī	BrSoSoWi	Nāti bau
+Bhāiyer chheler meyer svāmī	BrSoDaHu	Nātin jāmāi
+Bhāiyer meyer chheler strī	BrDaSoWi	Nāti bau
+Bhāiyer meyer meyer svāmī	BrDaDaHu	Nātin jāmāi

Descriptive Terms		Terms of Address
+Boner chheler chheler strī	SiSoSoWi	Nāti bau
+Boner chheler meyer svāmī	SiSoDaHu	Nātin jāmāi
+Boner meyer chheler strī	SiDaSoWi	Nāti bau
+Boner meyer meyer svāmī	SiDaDaHu	Nātin jāmāi
+Bhāiyer chheler strīr+bhāiyer meye	BrSoWiBrSo	Nāti
+Bhāiyer chheler strīr+mhāiyer meye	BrSoWiBrDa	Nātin
+Bhāiyer meyer svāmīr+bhatyer chhele	BrDaHuBrSo	Nāti
+Bhāiyer meyer svāmīr+bhāiyer meye	BrDaHuBrDa	Nātin
+Bhāiyer chheler strīr+boner chhele	BrSoWiSiSo	Nāti
+Bhāiyer chheler strīr+boner meye	BrSoWiSiDa	Nātin
+Bhāiyer meyer svāmīr+boner chhele	BrDaHuSiSo	Nāti
+Bhāiyer meyer svāmīr+boner meye	BrDaHuSiDa	Nātin
+Boner chheler strīr+bhāiyer chhele	SiSoWiBrSo	Nāti
+Boner chheler strīr+bhāiyer meye	SiSoWiBrDa	Nātin
+Boner meyer svāmīr+bhāiyer chhele	SiDaHuBrSo	Nāti
+Boner meyer svāmīr+bhāiyer meye	SiDaHuBrDa	Nātin
+Boner chheler strīr+boner chhele	SiSoWiSiSo	Nāti
+Boner chheler strīr+boner meye	SiSoWiSiDa	Nātin
+Boner meyer svāmīr+boner chhele	SiDaHuSiSo	Nāti
+Boner meyer svāmīr+boner meye	SiDaHuSiDa	Nātin
Chheler strīr+bhāiyer chheler strī	SoWiBrSoWi	Nāti bau
Chheler strīr+bhāiyer meyer svāmī	SoWiBrDaHu	Nātin jāmāi
Meyer svāmir+bhāiyer chheler strī	DaHuBrSoWi	Nāti bau
Meyer svāmir+bhāiyer meyer svāmī	DaHuBrDaHu	Nātin jāmāi
Chheler strīr+boner chheler strī	SoWiSiSoWi	Nāti bau
Chheler strīr+boner meyer svāmī	SoWiSiDaHu	Nātin jāmāi
Meyer svāmir+boner chheler strī	DaHuSiSoWi	Nāti bau
Meyer svāmir+boner meyer svāmī	DaHuSiDaHu	Nātin jāmāi
+Bhāiyer chheler strīr+bhāiyer chheler strī	BrSoWiBrSoWi	Nāti bau
+Bhāiyer chheler strīr+bhāiyer meyer svāmī	BrSoWiBrDaHu	Nātin jāmāi
+Bhāiyer meyer svāmīr+bhāiyer chheler strī	BrDaHuBrSoWi	Nāti bau
+Bhāiyer meyer svāmīr+bhāiyer meyer svāmī	BrDaHuBrDaHu	Nātin jāmāi
+Boner chheler strīr+bhāiyer chheler strī	SiSoWiBrSoWi	Nāti bau
+Boner chheler strīr+bhāiyer meyer svāmī	SiSoWiBrDaHu	Nātin jāmāi
+Boner meyer svāmīr+bhāiyer chheler strī	SiDaHuBrSoWi	Nāti bau
+Boner meyer svāmīr+bhāiyer meyer svāmī	SiDaHuBrDaHu	Nātin jāmāi
+Bhāiyer chheler strīr+boner chheler strī	BrSoWiSiSoWi	Nāti bau
+Bhāiyer chheler strīr+boner meyer svāmī	BrSoWiSiDaHu	Nātin jāmāi

Descriptive Terms		Terms of Address
+Bhāiyer meyer svāmīr+boner chheler strī	BrDaHuSiSoWi	Nātī bau
+Bhāiyer meyer svāmīr+boner meyer svāmī	BrDaHuSiDaHu	Nātin jāmāi
+Boner chheler strīr+boner chheler strī	SiSoWiSiSoWi	Nātī bau
+Boner chheler strīr+boner meyer svāmī	SiSoWiSiDaHu	Nātin jāmāi
+Boner meyer svāmīr+boner chheler strī	SiDaHuSiSoWi	Nātī bau
+Boner meyer svāmīr+boner meyer svāmī	SiDaHuSiDaHu	Nātin jāmāi

VIII.   DESCRIPTIVE KINSHIP TERMS AND THEIR MUSLIM AND HINDU TERMS OF ADDRESS FOR THIRD GENERATION FOLLOWING EGO (- 3 GENERATION)

A. *Āpān*	B. *Sat*	C. *Chāchātā*	D. *Jeṭhātā*
E. *Phuphātā*	F. *Khālātā*	G. *Māmātā*	

Descriptive Terms		Terms of Address
+Nātir chhele	SoSoSo	By name, *Puti*
+Nātiner chhele	DaDaSo	By name, *Puti*
+Nātir chheler strī	SoSoSoWi	*Bau, baumā, puti bau*
+Nātiner chheler strī	DaDaSoWi	*Bau, baumā, puti bau*
+Nātir meye	SoSoDa	*Putin, mā*
+Nātiner meye	DaDaDa	*Putin, mā*
+Nātir meyer svāmī	SoSoDaHu	*Putin jāmāi*
+Nātiner meyer svāmī	➡ DaDaDaHu	*Putin jāmāi*

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

[1]Eastern Bangladesh covers the districts of Barisal, Patuakhali, Faridpur, Dacca, Tangail, Mymensingh, Sylhet, Comilla, Chittagong, Chittagong Hill Tracts and Noakhali.

[2]Lowest government administrative unit consisting, on an average, of 10 Union Councils or 158 villages approximately. There is a police station in the *Thānā* headquarters. Plans of rural development and social welfare are implemented by government officials at *Thānā* level through public representatives of respective Union Council.

CHAPTER I

[1]District is an administrative unit with several subdivisions under its control. In Bangladesh there are 19 districts.

[2]The *Musalmānī Bāmlā* is the name given to that form of the Bengali language which is used primarily by the Muslims of Bengal. It takes its name from the large admixture of Persian and Urdu terms to be found therein, and which were introduced into the language by the *Musalmān* conquerors of Bengal.

[3]A government administrative unit consisting of 6 to 7 *thānās*.

[4]*Bāḍī* is a cluster of households situated around a courtyard. All or most of the households in a *bāḍī* are related patrilineally.

[5]Hurricane means hurricane lamp.

[6]*Sūfīs* claim higher working of the mind which enables special perception. *Sūfīsm*, by direct approach to the knowledge of God and by the formation of missionary orders, developed a powerful proseletysing thrust. *Sūfīsm* must particularly be credited with converting the Muslim populations of Southeast Asia. *Sūfīsm* eventually became orthodox, more by changes in the conception of orthodoxy rather than by the dilution of *Sūfīsm*, and its peak was not reached until the eighteenth century. Even today it has a marked influence in Southeast Asia.

[7]A special feature of Bengal *Vaiṣṇavism* is the *Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa* cult. They wear on their foreheads and arms special mark which identifies the sect.

[8]Those who belong to the sect of *Sāktas* adore the *liṅga* or compound type of this god and goddess. They do not make public profession of their tenets, nor wear on their foreheads and arms the mark of the sect.

[9]Chaitanya was a spiritual preceptor. Disciples of Chaitanya were mainly responsible for the prosperity of *Vaiṣṇavism*. In Matlab the book on the life of Chaitanya with the other religious texts is preserved in the house of gods and goddesses.

[10]A general expression indicating persons who are supposed to expound the teachings of Islam.

[11]A person formally trained in Islamic theology and usually possessing a diploma.

[12]*Dhuti* is a cloth of 5 yards length and 1½ yards width wrapped with front and back tucked below the navel and around the hip.

[13]The term applies to a special variety of Bengali literature mainly composed by Muslims.

[14]Arabic word used by Muslims the world over to represent God.

[15]An Arabic expression which means *peace be on you*.

[16]In the early 1960's several studies were done on the presence of caste-like elements and stratification among Muslims in India (Ansari 1960; Z. Ahmed 1962; A. Ahmad 1965, and I. Ahmad 1965).

[17]Srivastava (1974:144) noted that in eastern U.P. of India, generally the dead bodies of Hindu children below twelve years are disposed of in the river. The remains of such children above twelve years are cremated and all other death-rites are lightly performed.

CHAPTER II

[1]Members of a household who trace their birth to a common living male belong to the same *parivār*.

[2]*Pātoyārī* originally meant a village accountant. In the past the *Pātoyārī* was employed for collection of rent. The name of *Pātoyārī* has been transmitted hereditarily, without the duties. Presently at Matlab the term *Pātoyārī* is used only as a surname.

[3]In the rural Panamanian society affines are said to stand between kin and non-kin in importance. One is associated with them and owe them consideration, but one is not expected to respect them in the way one should respect parents. The lack of strong ties between in-laws is correlated with the independence of households and the instability of conjugal unions. Strains do arise between parents-in-laws and in-laws of children, although many have amicable relations. A man in particular seldom has strong economic ties with his spouse's parents since his basic productive resources theoretically come from his own natal household, and the resources of his mate's natal home go principally to her brothers. Sometimes affinal relationships are used to advantage, but such bonds are not perpetually reliable (Gudeman 1976:177). In the study area economic ties with the son's spouse's parents are greatly disfavoured because this may jeopardize the son's support in the parents' old age.

[4]There are different schools of thought in Islam. The first school to take definite form was the *Hanāfite*, founded by Abu Hanifa in the eighth century. He used few traditions, and preferred to go back to the Quran. The Muslims who follow a code of conduct given by Abu Hanifa are known as *Hanāfiā*.

[5]*Hādudu* is a local game, which can be played between two teams of any number, normally varying from four to nine on each side. One player crosses the centre line and touches a player of the other side in a single breathe and tries to return, while the opponent group in a body will try to keep him until he can no longer hold his breathe.

[6]Though dowry (*Var paṇ* or groom price) appears to be a relatively less common practice worldwide than bride price, the former is gaining importance in the study area. Because of the practice of hypergamy in Hindu marriage, every parent made great effort to arrange the marriage of his daughter into the highest social group for gaining prestige. When several offers were made to one prospective groom he found an opportunity for demanding a very high groom price. The payment of dowry serves as a sound economic base to the newly married couple. In Matlab, among both Muslims and Hindus during

the past decade the payment of dowry has been considered a necessary pre-
requisite to marriage. These days even in poor landless families the
bride's father has to arrange for suitable dowry by procuring money through
all possible means. Over a decade ago Karim (1965:311-312) noted, "In the
Eastern part of East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) where Moslem society has
been less influenced by Hindu manners and customs, it was the husband's
family, and not the bride's, which used to pay for marriage expenses and
offer jewellery and other presents. This custom still continues in the
rural areas. However, in recent times a tendency has been developing in
the rising merchant class and educated middle class for presents both in
cash and kind to be demanded from the bride's family, after the Hindu
pattern of giving a dowry." The recent trend of emphasis on groom price
might have contributed considerably in raising the female age at marriage
in Bangladesh. Mamdani (1972:101) in his Indian village study at Manupur
noted that a grown, unmarried daughter can earn part of her dowry by weaving
mats, sewing clothes, and spinning. He attributed the delay in age at
marriage to economic reasons.

[7]During *Ramjān* all Muslims are required to fast from sun rise to
sunset according to the Islamic rules.

[8]Fixed reserved ground to offer *Eid* congregation prayer twice in a
year. Several villages jointly maintain one *Eid-gāh* in a centrally located
area.

[9]With reference to Bangladesh Karim (1965:315) noted that with the
growing secularism, orthodox religious traditional practices have been
gradually losing their importance. In spite of that religious festivals such
as the two *Eids* and *Šab-i-Barat* are observed, sometimes with even greater
enthusiasm than before. These festivals are celebrated as occasions for
meeting relations which strengthen the family ties.

CHAPTER III

[1]Srinivas has indicated how two contrary processes have been gaining
in strength in modern India. Through the sacred method of 'Sanskritization'
the lower castes and tribes are taking over the rites, customs and beliefs
of the higher castes. On the other hand the members of the higher strata
are becoming increasingly westernized (Sinha 1974:515).

[2]The payment of bride price has several functions: (1) It symbolizes
the socioeconomic statuses of the families of the bride and the groom.
(2) It develops an economic tie between the affinally related families which
may contribute to the stability of the marriage.   (3) The wealth procured in
the shape of bride price may be of use as a means of funding the bride price
for future daughter-in-law.

[3]Here the term *Kul* refers to a set of one's own people, taking the
ancestral male *(pūrva-puruṣ)* and not the ego as its referent.   *Kul* might
include *pitṛ-Kul*, father's *Kul*; *mātṛ-Kul*,   mother's father's *Kul*; *śvaśur*
Kul, wife's father's *Kul* and others.

CHAPTER IV

[1]During the past several years, in one of the study villages out of
40 Muslim first marriages of the daughters 23 matches were arranged by the
parents through non-related match-makers.   The remaining 17 marriages were
arranged by the parents through kin members other than fictive kins.   Kin
members those who participated in arranging these marriages belonged to the
ego's own generation and her first ancending generation in equal number with
the exception of one from the ego's second ascending generation.   In all
these marriages only the girls' formal consent was asked for with the
expectation of no refusal.   In these cases no refusal was reported.   How-
ever, by talking with some informants the author learnt that these days a
few refusals could not be ruled out.   These informants emphasized that the
majority of the sons in the study area pleaded to their parents through
friends or relatives for bride selection according to the criteria and
sometimes choice of partners given by them.

[2]If a man divorces his wife, he is obliged to pay *mahr* to her, a sum
of money agreed upon at the time of marriage.   Some husbands refuse to
consummate marriage till the wife voluntarily forfeits the right of *mahr*,
which is recognized in law.   Since Muslim marriage is not complete until
it has been consummated, such refusal   understandably causes a great
deal of embarrassment to the newly-wed wife and results in her yielding
to the husband's wishes (Bhatty 1976:102).   The present author found in his
study area that most of the grooms before consummation paid a nominal sum
of money to the respective bride.   Only on such payment the bride voluntarily
forfeits the right of *mahr* and allows consummation.   The widely prevalent
belief is that without paying a token amount of *mahr* the consummation cannot
take place.

[3]Sur (1973;76) noted that two uncommon kinship usages are reported from north-eastern India in regard to marital rights. There the Garos are required to marry the widowed mother-in-law and the Lakhers have to marry the widowed step-mother. The latter marriage custom was also found among the Bagnis and Daflas.

[4]The Quran, while permitting polygyny lays down the strict condition that a man may take another wife only if he can treat all wives equally. In the study area a saying goes: "If you have enmity with anyone then either advice him to get a second wife or advice him to run for a political office in the local government."

[5]Unlike marrying more than one wife at a time marriage rights extend to the brothers in a very few communities of northern and southern India where polyandry of the fraternal type prevails. Under this type of polyandry the marital rights over the same woman are equally enjoyed by all the brothers in common. In Bangladesh no polyandrous marriage has come to our knowledge.

[6]It is a waiting period for a woman who has been widowed or divorced before she can remarry. The purpose of *iddat* which was normally 3 or 4 months, was to discover whether the woman was pregnant by her previous husband.

[7]It is a practice of burning a wife alive with her dead husband on his funeral pyre. Etymologically the term *Satī* means the chaste woman and *dāha* means burning and therefore *Satīdāha* means burning of a chaste woman. This practice was in vogue in this sub-continent till 1829, when Lord William Bentinck, the then Governor General of India, with the co-operation of Raja Ram Mohon Roy and David Hare, abolished it by law.

CHAPTER V

[1]Anthropological debade over the 'joking relationship' has been about divergent explanations of patterns of exchanges or relationships occurring between individuals, kin, or tribes in which socially disjunctive elements are present but are contained by some overwhelmingly socially conjunctive aspect of the relationship. The joking relationship debate was concerned with relationships in which joking or behaviour deemed to conflict with the norms of social order was contained by its institutionalization. Hence the joking relationship was an institution which contained conflict through a process of mediation. Using this institution as an index of contained conflict implied the presence of some kind of social control, because the institution — the joking relationship — was subordinate within a greater domain of normative social institutions (Johnson 1978;130).

[2]It was pointed out by a few elderly informants that reference to imaginary figures was appropriate for the purpose of scaring children since in reality they will never come across with any one of such figures to get extremely scared in unknown circumstances.

CHAPTER VI

[1]A *gotra* is a clanlike unit. The members of every such clan share the personal name of an original Brahman priest-preceptor *(ṛṣī)*. The people who share the same *gotra* name are said to belong to the same *gotra*, regardless of differences of *kul* or caste. *Gotra* identification is particularly important in matters of worship, and choice of marital partner.

[2]When the unhusked seed is dried by the heat of the sun and husked without boiling the *ātap* rice is prepared.

[3]*Chiḍā:* paddy semi-parboiled and soaked in water for about 12 hours, half fried, and immediately pounded into rice flakes.

[4]*mudi* paddy parboiled, dried, then husked, and afterwards puffed.

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