KINSHIP USAGES AND BEHAVIOUR

7.1 Kinship Usages

The rhythm of every human society is maintained through rules and social prescriptions regarding the social relationships. It is the gradual cultural conclave that formulates the social sanctions and usages. The circuitous nature of these usages maintains the uniformity and stability of a given society. However, all these, mostly reflect within the institutions of kinship, which recruits the members into it through descent and marriage. The economic, religious and other interpersonal behaviours between members of the society are recognized through these social relations.

Thus, kinship usage is an important feature of all human society. However, the expressions of usages differ from society to society as per their importance, perceptions and vitality. The Saora kinship is embedded with some specific usages. The interpersonal relations may be accounted taking various forms of behaviours like joking, avoidance etc. The kinship usages found among the Saora society are.

(i) Joking relationship (Guibir)

(ii) Avoidance (Satinance)

(iii) Technonymy

(iv) Amitate

(v) Respect (Limtum)
1.1 Joking Relationship

Amongst all the kinship usages, joking relationship has the interesting corridor. Radcliffe-Brown (1952) has defined "joking relationship as a relation between two persons in which one is by custom permitted and in some instances required, to tease or make fun of other, who in turn is required to take no offence". These joking relationships are of two variety such as (i) Symmetrical and (ii) Asymmetrical. The former is between the members of same generation and the later is between two different generations. In some instances the joking or teasing is only verbal. In others it includes horse play etc. Thus, it can be stated that joking relationship is a codicil of familiarity and antagonism, as sometimes it is one of the permitted disrespect between the members of the society. The particular pattern is very much prevailing in the Saora society.

Joking with grand parental generation. In Saora society, kinship usage prevails among the grand-children and grand parental generation, i.e. between Juju/Yuyu and "Uleng". The grand-children are not classed in terms and no sex differentiation is found as both grandson and granddaughter are termed as "Uleng" in both address and reference. Thus, joking attitude is more prominent for the grand-children during their childhood days and decline after the grand-children attain sexual consciousness and specifically after their marriage. Some examples in Saora society are

G Fa to G Da - Bring cigar for me, I shall select a handsome groom for you.
G Da to G Fa - I do not require you to select a groom for me. I shall not get cigar for you.
G Mo to G Son - I can not wait for you so long. Grow up as soon as possible, I shall marry you.
G Son to G Mo - I shall bring a bride, more beautiful than you, do not look at me.
The above joking relationships are prevalent among the own grandchildren and classificatory one’s also.

**Joking with the same Generation.** Joking within same generation is of three types, male-male, male-female and female-female. The relationships found among the Saoras are:

1. **Husband’s younger brother with elder brother’s wife:** This joking relationship is very much prevalent in Saora tribe. Husband’s younger brother is called “Ever Sey” and elder brother’s wife is called “Bonin”. Verbal teasing are more in picture than the physical one. The relation between these two members is very much familiar, as they are found intimate. For example, the husband’s younger brother often gives false news, i.e., someone is waiting for you, something special I have brought for you and the like.

2. **Elder sister’s husband with wife’s younger sister:** The elder sister’s husband is termed as “Baon” or “Rayam” and wife’s younger sister is termed as “Aler-Boen”. In this case both the member tease each other. Example- ElSiHu to WiYoW1- “I will bring you to my home someday positively and will give you every thing you want”. The WiYoS1 to ElSiHu – “I do not want so, are you the only rich and handsome one? We have given you the beautiful one, do not expect me”.

3. **Joking between Husband and wife’s younger brother:** These two kinds are also permitted under the joking relationship. The husband jokes with his wife’s younger brother, like Sister’s Husband to WiYoBr- “Your sister is a lazy one, you have to give another sister” or “I have found a beautiful partner for you”. In Saora language “Irriiset abalkarmam abeitun atki akai gagai me rayan bajaj teskem innem garaminate, sajata,sinm,rettimim uttiset”
(iv) **Joking between Son’s parent and Daughter-in-law’s parent:** The son’s parent and daughter-in-law’s parents termed each other as “paruhi.” Indirect form of joking exists between them. But these joking relationships are very occasional, specifically when they visit each other’s house. However, this type of joking is not so frequent amongst the Saoras.

Thus, with the help of these four levels of joking relationships, Saora social and cultural platforms are well set with sustainability and durability.

7 1 2 **Avoidance**

Under this kinship usage, some sort of restriction is obligatory between certain specific kins. In other words, specific kinmembers have to follow restrictive behavior towards each other. A R Radcliffe-Brown has considered it as “ritual prohibitions” and defined them by reference to two fundamental principles, using the terms “ritual status” and “ritual value.” He has opined, “A ritual prohibition is a role of behavior which is associated with a belief that an infraction will result in an undesirable change, in the “ritual status” on the person who fails to keep the rule.” Again, “anything—a person, a material, a thing, a place, a word or name, an occasion or event which is the object of ritual avoidance or taboo can be said to have ritual value.”

7 1 3 **Theories of Alliance and Avoidance**

Clarification on the units of measurement of behavior makes unification possible of two approaches that characterize kinship or marriage systems when taken as models of and for behavior: the study of rule-governed preferences (Lévi-Strauss, 1949), and the study of rule-governed avoidances (Barry 2000). Table 7 1 summarizes some relevant dimensions of Lévi-Strauss's classification of marriage systems. Elementary systems avoid key relatives in contrast to prescribing marriage with other categories of close relatives such as the MoBrDa or FaSiDa.
Complex systems prohibit close relatives and lack definitive prescriptive rules but have statistical tendencies such as, for example, homogamy or relinking. Marriage systems are semi-complex, according to Lévi-Strauss, if a multiplicity of special rules about avoidance of many different stacks of relatives acts "as if" there were prescriptions for marriage with certain classes of distant relatives.

Table 7.1 Classification of Lévi-Straussian Models for Marriage Systems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>System</th>
<th>Avoidances</th>
<th>Prescriptions</th>
<th>Examples</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elementary</td>
<td>&quot;Key&quot; relatives</td>
<td>Certain close relatives</td>
<td>MoBrDa, FaSiDa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-Complex</td>
<td>&quot;Stacks&quot; of relatives</td>
<td>&quot;as if&quot; preferences</td>
<td>Crow-Omaha systems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complex</td>
<td>All &quot;close&quot; relatives</td>
<td>Homogamy and relinking</td>
<td>Class systems</td>
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Barry's argument is that, in many societies with residential and descent-group emphasis on the agnatic line, the prevalence of an 'Arab' marriage pattern is not so much a preference for patrilineal parallel cousin marriage as it is an emphasis on avoiding marriage with the uterine line. In his view, the uterine line is as important in establishing social identities of common 'blood' or other substances. For Barry, as opposed to vertical extensions (filiation) of kinship through descent, there are additional prohibitions based on lateral extensions of social or gender identities. Barry identifies four logical principles of prohibition:

1) Prohibitions on the uterine line
2) Prohibitions on the agnatic line
3) Prohibitions on both uterine and agnatic lines (parallel cousins), with cross-cousin marriages allowed

4) Prohibitions on both the parallel- and cross-cousins

In Barry's view cases 1 and 2 are asymmetric in that the privileging of female identity is never exclusive of a complementary male principle, but not the contrary (male descent group exogamy does not usually entail a complementary uterine principle). Hence while case 1 (uterine exogamy) allows a male-based preference for 'Arab' marriage, case 2 (agnatic exogamy) seems to imply an invariable exclusivity of a male descent-group identity principle that does not allow an opposing female-based preference for matrilineal parallel cousin marriage. Case 3 can give rise to elementary types of marriage alliance, and case 4 to "complex" marriage rules. Table 7.2 presents Barry's principles consonant with those of Lévi-Strauss.

Table 7.2 Ordering principles of Barry relative to Lévi-Strauss

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Avoidances</th>
<th>Preferences</th>
<th>Can give rise to</th>
<th>Pfíd</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Case 1 uterine exogamy</td>
<td>allows 'Arab' marriage</td>
<td></td>
<td>FaBrDa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case 2 agnatic exogamy</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case 3 uterine and agnatic</td>
<td>cross-cousin marriages allowed</td>
<td>Elementary Systems (if prescriptive)</td>
<td>MoBrDa, FaSiDa</td>
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<tr>
<td>lines</td>
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<td>Case 4 broad prohibitions</td>
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I have found various examples of this Avoidance kinship usage. There is no specific term for Avoidance. The principle underlying the Avoidance usage is to countermand the incest or...
immoral sexual relationships between opposite sexes among the Saora. The Avoidance between same sex like HuMo to SoWi is very uncommon, which is replaced by a mutual reserve and respect behavior. The items on which the avoidance usage is regulated in Saora society are

1. Name,
2. Food,
3. Physical touching,
4. Witting the face,
5. Route,
6. Dress,
7. Bed

The kin members included under this restrictive behavior are:

(i) Elder brother-younger brother's wife,
(ii) Husband and wife's Elder sister,
(iii) Father-in-law and son's wife

(i) Elder Brother younger Brother's wife

Younger brother's wife is termed as "kam" and Husband's elder brother is termed as "Baon". The Avoidance rule between these two are more severe among all other avoidances. However, a Saora usually needs for hands to work in the shifting cultivation. These two kins are often the member of the Anseer or the labour cooperative. The face witting restriction is therefore not strictly observed. But she is prohibited from physical touching and touching her HuElBr's clothes. Secondly, when the "kam" finds her "Baon" (HuElBr), on her way from opposite side, she usually changes her route whether it is in agricultural field or village lane. She can offer food to her HuElBr but should not touch the contacted utensils after his eating. Touching of personal things and articles of "Baon" is also prohibited for a "kam". Similarly they can not communicate each other frankly and "kam" can not utter her HuElBr's name.

If YoBrWi 'kam' by mistake, touches HuElBr (Baon), then she has to give fine from her parents side. The fine is mainly in the form of liquor. After arranging liquor, she begs excuse from "Baon".

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(ii) **Husband and wife’s Elder Sister:** These two kin members are not so strictly avoided. The husband is called “ongeren” and YoSiHu called “paruhi?” or “Rayam” and wife’s elder sister is termed as “kinar Bo” or “Erel Boen” They can talk to each other. But physical touching is prohibited. YoSiHu should not also take the name of his WiElSi. They can communicate each other without a third person. I could not find other restrictions regarding food, route, dress etc.

(iii) **Father-in-law and son’s wife:**

The avoidance between Father-in-law and son’s wife is very prominent though next to younger brother’s wife and Husband’s elder brother. The son’s wife is termed as ‘kaun’ and Father-in-law is termed as ‘kumar.” Physical touching, not uttering Father-in-law’s name are strictly observed. Like YoBrWi – HuElBr, the son’s wife also does not cross the route of her HuFa. But she serves food to him and also communicates with him frankly. However, she does not play jokes or teases her Father-in-law. Thus, son’s wife behaves politely with her Father-in-law. A prototype of this avoidance also prevails between the daughter’s husband and mother-in-law of the Saoras.

Saoras have no father-daughter or brother-sister avoidance. However, after attainment of sexual consciousness, the sister or a daughter, somehow restricts herself from being familiar in her behaviors with her father and brother.

7 1 4 Tecknonymy

“Tecknonymy” is a Greek derivative, coined by E B Tylor. He had conceptualized and interpreted this, regarding the practice of naming or referring the parents in the name of the child. “Tecknonymy” is a common kinship usage, which usually finds its place in-between personal names and kinship terms.
Tecknonymy also results out of avoidance or uttering personal names. In Saora society neither a husband nor a wife utters the personal names of one another. Very often, the wife or husband refers their eldest child’s name or in the absence of child, they refer to any near kin member (for example elder or younger brother’s (husband’s) child). The husband restricts himself from uttering his wife’s name as it is considered as a sin and vice-versa. They believe that, the eldest child dies, if they would utter each other’s personal names.

7 1 5 Avanculate

The maternal uncle has an important place in the Saora society. Starting from the naming ceremony, through initiation to marriage, he has the specific role to play. In the naming ceremony, after the name is given to a newborn, he visits the houses in the village, door to door, with the child, to acknowledge them (villagers). In the initiation ceremony he has to cloth the nephew with nails and wears it out from his body when the ceremony is over. In the marriage ceremony, he is a special member to be invited and to participate.

I have come across some instances of jocular exchanges between the nephew/niece and maternal uncle. A very familiar relationship exists between them. Moreover, cross cousin marriage is a preference in Saora society.

7 1 6 Respect

Usually this kinship usage is practiced by the elders, seniors in age or in social position in the Saora society. Some kinsmen are neither categorized under joking or avoidance relationships, but social distance and behaviors are maintained with them through respect.

Father’s elder brother “Tata”, and FaYoBr ‘Dading’ are respected. Similarly, Father’s sisters and their husbands are also respected. Mother’s sisters, FaBrWi are categorized under this.
usage The Head or eldest person in the “Kheja” group is also respected by its members. Besides all the contemporary kin members discussed above are also included in this usage. Between maternal uncle and his niece/nephew, a sort of one-sided joking and respect relationship prevails. The maternal uncle jokes with his niece/nephew but on the other hand, the niece/nephew respect the maternal uncle.

Therefore, the kinship usages found in Saora society are the mechanism that moulds the members on a proper way. Joking and avoidance are considered as most prominent usages. Radcliffe-Brown holds the view that “both joking and avoidance are modes of organizing a definite and a stable system of social behavior.” Joking relationship very often countermands the conflicts of a society, to some extent though not totally. Avoidance rule is there to avoid incest, illicit sexual relationship, and other immoral behavior in the society. Respect relationship enumerates the hierarchy of social status among the members of Saora Society. Thus, kinship usages prevent irrational attitudes, provide solidarity among its members and harmonize the social settings in the Saora society.

The relationship with father’s sister is found in a very respectable and popular standard. She is the first person to be invited in every socio-religious occasion if already married. She looks after the family when it is in distress. On the occasion of the first death ceremony (Guar) she lights a lamp till the ritual is over. No change of membership in the father’s birnda clarifies the importance of female members. After her death her brother brings the ash and bone from the funeral pyre, and keeps it till the ‘karjya’ when homage is paid to all the dead ancestors of the particular birnda or more specifically to the ‘kheja’ members.
7.2 Kinship Behaviour

As it is conceived from the kinship usages and terminology (relationships), these are the pertinent vehicle to cover the road of social solidarity and stability. However, the art of social canvas is reflected in the day-to-day and person-to-person interactions among the members of a society. So, the patterned behavioral aspects among the kin members are necessary to fulfill some gap in kinship study, though it can be evident from other Chapters. The prescribed inter-personal relationships between primary, secondary and tertiary kins in Saora society are discussed below.

7.2.1 Primary kins

Husband and wife

Usually the marriage “Barsa Serum” recruits the male and female as husband and wife and thereafter they start their conjugal life, very often in separate residence. The husband is termed as “Tenongba” or “bongeren” and the wife is termed as “hselo” or “tungboi” in Saora. Considering the inter-personal behavior, the husband takes precedence over his wife, in the social position. However, in economic specialization and cooperation, both contribute equally. Normally the wife takes more strain by doing domestic as well as agricultural works. However, there are a few cases where the husband takes the charge of cooking when the grown up daughter or wife is out on other work. Thus, the husband and wife maintain their joint responsibility and support to each other, in decision-making and in managing internal and external activities of the family, marriages of their children, transplanting and harvesting.

Besides being the co-partners in the economic life, they jointly take the charge of their children. The social taboo between these two affinal kins is the non utterance of each other’s name following the belief that, their first child will die if they do so. Nonetheless, they are also
constrained by the conflicts arising out of quarrelsome habit, loose character, disagreement, which ultimately leads to divorce. But minor conflicts are settled. I have come across some instances of later type of conflicts, in my base village. If a husband dies, the wife becomes his widow termed “Joarboi.” However, if the widow is of marriageable age, the husband’s kin members or the widow herself tries to marry out her/herself again.

Father and Son:

Father and son relationship is based on authoritarian relationship but only up to the marriage of the son. In a patriarchal society of Saora, son has certainly important role to play. A son is more concerned about his father than any other members of the kimgroup. Father fulfills the needs, both economic and material, of the son till the son is able to cultivate the agricultural land before getting married. For son’s laziness, disobedience, a father scolds him and even beats him in his teenage. When father holds some office of social positions like “Gomango” “Buyya” or “Mandals” the eldest son inherits his post after his death. However, all the physical properties are equally shared among the sons of a father.

Father and Daughter:

The relation between these two primary kins is very affectionate. No sort of avoidance regulates them. Spontaneously the grown up daughter restricts her familiarity with her father among the Saora families. In selection of groom for his daughter, a Saora father takes the major interest. However, in personal matters, a daughter remains reserve from father where as she is very frank with her mother. It is the duty of a father to take the responsibility of her daughter’s protection, give material support, specifically prior to her marriage. In economic activities a
daughter extends the major helping hand particularly during the agricultural activities. Even after marriage, the daughter serves as a member of “Ameer” group and helps her family.

Mother and Son

The mother-son relation is based on love and affection. In Saora, the relationship between mother and son is more intimate and slightly decreases after the marriage of the son. As part of mother-child relation, these two kinds are very intimate, and some sorts of dependence towards the mother reflect the strength of this relation. No avoidance is maintained even if the son is grown up.

Mother and Daughter

Generally, a daughter is familiar to her mother, though not in a lesser degree to a son. Unlike a son, after the puberty, the daughter is more close to her mother. She manages the domestic works with her mother and also contributes her labour to the agriculture.

Brother and Brother

These two primary kinds are playmates in their childhood. When they grow up, the consciousness about their position arises. They join hands together to safeguard their father’s property and agricultural lands. However, after marriage, they get separated. Quarrels regarding the amount of property share are a few as the inheritance of physical property is based on the principle of “equal-sharing.”

Sister and Sister

This, however, corresponds to the Brother-Brother relationship, though not in all respect. Unlike, Brother-Brother, since childhood and until they are grown up, their relation is very
familiar, and intimate which continues till their marriage. Before marriage, they do all the
domestic and outward activities together but after marriage they have rare interaction. In
personal and practical life, the elder sister is very much instructive to her younger sister. Quarrels
are very rare among them.

Brother and Sister

From the childhood to the attainment of sexual consciousness, the relationship between a
Saora brother and a sister is very much close and they behave each other as two playmates. But
their relationship undergoes change with increase in age. They often play jokes between them,
even after they are grown up. In domestic and outward activities, they work together. Elder
brother and sisters behave cordially.

7.2.2 Secondary Kins

I have noted only a few instances of interpersonal behaviors among the secondary kins.
These are of ego with his/her a) FaFa, b) FaBr, c) FaSi, d) FaMo, e) MoFa, f) MoMo, g) MoBr,
h) MoSi, i) BrWi, j) SiHu, k) SiSo/Da and are discussed below.

FaFa and FaMo: The interaction between one’s FaFa and FaMo are joking type. They are
very much familiar with each other and affectionate to each other.

MoFa and MoMo: This type of relation is a prototype of the former.

MoSi and FaSi: These are the respectable kins, though not avoided but not also joked.
However, they are very suggestive to their nieces and nephews in Saora Society.
SiHu and BrWi: SiHu and BrWi are termed in Saora as 'Baon' (elder SiHu) and kam (YoBrWi) Elder brother’s wife joked while YoBrWi avoided Similarly Elder sister’s husband respected (Baon) where as younger sister’s husband is not.

MoBr and FaBr: FaBr (el) is called Tata and FaYoBr is called Dodung who are respected by their BrSo and Daughters FaElBr has important role during the property inheritance where he has no issue to continue the progeny to inherit the property YoBrSo is also termed as ‘Tata’ MoBr has important position in the Saora society which reflect mainly in the life cycle ritual of niece /nephew From this the grade of relationship with one’s sister’s children and brother’s children are revealed.

7.2.3. Tertiary Kins

Among Saoras, tertiary kins have their specific expectation from their primary and secondary kin members Here, I have cited only a few members of tertiary kins with their roles in the Saora society Those are- FaBrSo, FaSiSo, FaBrDa, FaSiDa, MoBrSo/Da, FaSiHu, MoSiHu, SoWiFa, SoWiMo, DaHuFa, DaHuMo, co-wives

FaBrSo and MoSiSo: Both these kins are termed as "kinoBatata" One’s FaBrSo is more familiar than FaSiSo However, from the kin terms, it is evident that they have similar role and status in Saora society

FaSiSo and MoBrSo: The term “Maranger” is used for them Like the above MoBrSo is more intimate than the FaSiSo to the ego

FaBrDa, FaSiDa, MoBrDa, MoSiDa: They are treated as own sisters and do not feel so close as their own FaBrDa(el) – kam, FaBrYoDa- aing, FaSiDa- Marsibo, MoSiDa to MoBrDa termed as Marsibo FaBrDa is more close than FaSiDa, MoSiDa, MoBrDa, FaBrWi, MoBrWi
FaSiHu and MoSiHu: These kins are categorized under respect behavior. They are termed as Antalai and Tata, Dading respectively. FaBrWi called as Awang and MoBrWi as Awang.

SoWi parents and DaHu parents: They are kins included in the joking usage which is only restricted to verbal joking. They are termed as “paruhi” in Saora.

However, sometimes a reserve type relation is also found where the one is of “Gamango” or “Buyya” and other is from Raita. Nonetheless, they help each other at the time of need and on various social occasions.

Thus, the above picture of kinship behavior in action reveals that primary kins are more intimate kin-members which are gradually marked by lesser intensity among the secondary relatives and further colorless among the Tertiary kins, though they are superior to distant relatives and outsiders. Not only these secondary and tertiary relatives are expected as definite guests during each and every religious and ritual occasions but also they have specific contributions to the feast or occasions on which exchanges are reciprocated on the basis of mutual obligation. This obligation and reciprocity often correspond to the Saora social and cultural network.

7.3 Pseudo Kinship

The intricate and fabulous structure of Kinship often chooses the Pseudo Kinship as a codicil to its ebullient lexicon. Since kinship is socially rather than biologically based, a matter of cultural convention (Barnard and Good, 1984), one has to distinguish between “true” and “pseudo” kin for the proper ramifications of Kinship system. One of the prudent efforts was made by Jallion Pitt-Rivers in his article on “Pseudo Kinship” in “Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, Rivers (1932) opined that “it includes those relationship in which persons are described or
addressed by Kin terms or terms derived from the idiom of kin, but do not stand in such a relation by virtue of the principles.” However, they happen to be conceptualized of descent and marriage. Every society has rules for ascribing kin status to its members, but these do not determine always upon the individual will, of at least the initiator.

Pseudo Kinship is the institution, which establish ties analogous to kin ties. These relations usually result from pre-existing informal relations without any ritual performances. But these pseudo kinship are attained through some rituals and bonds prescribed by the given society. There are two distinct possibilities here, which Rivers (1932) called “figurative” or ritual kinship and Fictive or adoptive kinship respectively. In the first case, kinship provides the idiom for relationship of other kinds, which are complementary to kinship rather than an essential part of it. In the second case, the functions normally fulfilled by certain relatives are wholly or partly taken over by others. Mohapatra (1968) classified it into three types such as a) non ritualized kinship, b) ritual friendship and c) ritual kinship. These three types are discussed below as per their instances and intensity in Saora society.

7.3.1 Non-ritualised Kinship

This variety of pseudo-kinship is usually established without any ritual process. According to Rivers (1932), non-ritualised kinship reflects itself where kin terms are used figuratively in those cases for the purpose of stressing some particular quality associated within. For example, Buda Gamango of Angada village used to address the Manika Dalei of Serango as ‘Sango’ without any ritual performance. Similarly Nilano Gamango and Isac Bhunya of Angada village help each other at the time of need. But no exchange of gift prevails. In the language of Rivers (1932), “they are mere expressions of attitudes, part of common urgency of relationship,
thus they imply a quality of behaviour rather than a status, fraternity rather than the relationship of sibling” This non ritualized kinship is very much prevalent in Saora society.

7.3.2 Ritual friendship

Ritualized friendship is a characteristic feature of Saora kinship. A friend is recruited into the circle of ritual friendship through a ritual is by Mohapatra (1968) defined ritual friendship as friendship established through a ritual and is binding not only on the two individuals but on their respective families, may be, over generations. Among Saoras, this ritual friendship is usually outside one’s “kheza.” There are mainly two types of ritual friendship, such as “Giding,” which is between male members and ‘sango’ exclusively between females. Given below are some of the instances of each type of ritual friendship, which are found in Saora society.

**Giding:** The ritual friendship between male Saoras is termed as **Giding**. This is very widespread among the Saoras. Usually two boy friends of equal age group following their pre-existing friendship or some corresponding familiarity due to informal exchanges through frequent meetings come nearer to each other through the above relationship. When two friends want to establish a relationship called **Giding**, they contact their parents and fix a day preferably on “**Nua-Khia**” day. On this day one friend visits another with a new cloth and the other also offers the same. The family members of the two arrange a feast. In the feast, the friends eat on a single pot or leaf plate and exchange food to each other’s mouth. Then other members join the feast. Thereafter, they address each other as “**Giding**” and not by names. This new relationship reflects reciprocity and mutual help during agricultural works and in construction of house. Their names are incorporated in the lists of guests on various religious and ritual occasions. Very often a
"Gidmg" is a member of their labour cooperative "Aanseer". Some of the examples of "Gidmg" and "sango" are given below.

(i) Kidaru Gamango and Gango Mandala. When they were 12/13 years old since then they are "Gidmg". Both of them are from village Angada and have very much intimacy in their day-to-day life. Their parents had arranged the ceremony to facilitate them under "Gidmg" relationship. This tie is now more than forty years old. During various social and religious occasions they are special guests of each other. At the time of need a "Gidmg" is more accessible than a sibling.

(ii) In Bhubani village, though all are christianized, but still they follow the ritual to be "gudmg". Hanta Raita and Arjanta Gamango are "Gidmg" to each other. The interaction between them is the same as the above.

Sanga: The ritual friendship between the females in Saora society is known as "sango". It corresponds to every assumptions and procedures of ritual to that of "gudmg". The members of this ritual friendship address each other as "sango" and should not utter the personal name of each other. A "sango" is placed in a higher position than a parallel or cross-cousin sister. Some of the examples are (i) Raben Mandalla and Aganti Gamango of village Angada are tied with "Sango" relationship. When they were little girls, they came under this ritual friendship. From childhood, they were friends and when they grew up they entered into the permanent one as the above. After marriage of Aganti, frequent contact between the two could not be held. However, whenever, she visits her father’s house both of them meet each other. Even, they spend nights at each other’s house, use personal decorative and dresses. They also help each other at agricultural field when it is needed.
Damayanti Gamango and Sabitn Raita of Bhubani Village are also “Sanga”. Though they are christianized, they still maintain their traditional ritual pattern to maintain “Sanga”.

7.3.3 Ritual Kinship

The heading signifies that when two persons of a society maintain a kin-like relationship among them, through a ritual, it is connoted as ritual kinship. But I have found very few cases of ritual kinship among Saoras in my study areas. Ritual friendship usually develops between persons having equal status whereas ritual kinship involves inequality, i.e., between godparents and godchild or god brothers and god sisters. Mohapatra (1968) opined that Ritual Kinship is always established through a ritual, a rather formal affair, in which a contract is at least implicit. However, it is observed that Saoras have no serious adherence to Ritual Kinship. But system of ritual kins such as adopted son/daughter, and adopted father and mother are very much prevalent in Saora society.

Thus, Pseudo Kinship tries its best to fulfill the gap by substituting relations and thereby extends the kinship network guaranteeing a closer knitted social bond in Saora Society.