CHAPTER III
SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

According to Lowie the study of social organisation of a community deals primarily with the significant groupings of individuals. Man does not live alone and at the same time he has to meet his basic needs like food, shelter and social needs like companionship, recreation, religious activities etc. Therefore, he forms different groups with the help of other men and builds up certain institutions (Lowie, 1967:4). The basic and universal of such groupings are the family, clan and other kin groups. The Killekyatha community too is divided into a number of exogamous clans. The social design of Killekyatha community can be expressed in the following manner:

According to Firth (1956:40) social organisation means the systematic ordering of social relations by act of choice and decision. It is a changing system of human actions. It
explains different groups that people form and how they carry out their relationships through institutions over a period of time. It helps us in the understanding of change and continuity. This viewpoint is used for an analysis of social organization among the Killekyatha community.

THE FAMILY

Functionally and structurally speaking, family is the basic unit of the social organization. E.W. Burguss and H.J. Locke attempted a definition following terms: 'The family is a group of persons united by the ties of marriage, blood, or adoption; constituting a single household, interacting and intercommunicating with each other in their respective social role of husband and wife, mother and father, brother and sister; creating a common culture' (Mitchell, 1979:80). Family is universal a smallest institution. Among all social groups family occupies the most important place.

Table No: 3.1
Composition of the families of Killekyathas:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of families living in the household</th>
<th>Settled families</th>
<th>Nomadic families</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Elementary families</td>
<td>96 (82.75)</td>
<td>22 (64.70)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Extended families</td>
<td>10 (08.62)</td>
<td>3 (08.82)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Polygenous families</td>
<td>3 (02.58)</td>
<td>4 (11.76)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Intermediate families</td>
<td>7 (06.03)</td>
<td>5 (14.70)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 116 (100) 34 (100)

N.B. Figures in parenthesis denote percentages to total.
PHOTO 1: A POLYGyny FAMILY
It was observed that the Killekyathas generally have small households consisting of a married couple and their children which is known as an elementary form. Among the nomadic families four persons have two wives, and in the settled families three persons have two wives. Single members, and persons living with their kin not covered in the elementary and extended families have been included in the intermediate families.

There is one more type, in which the son-in-law lives in the father-in-law's family. If in the Killekyatha family there is no son but only a daughter, they marry their daughter off and give the son-in-law the position of a son, provided he lives with his father-in-law. If there are grown-up daughters and minor sons in a family, the son-in-law works for his father-in-law for a few years, then he gets some property, and sets a home for himself and his wife. In their language it is known as 'Ghar-Jawai'. Sons and daughters are married at a younger age. In some families, sons after their marriage usually do not live with their parents. Married sons move in the neighbouring villages separately with their spouse. After marriage daughters go to live with their husbands. Formerly as the people moved in joint families there were no troubles in taking their young married wives. It was said that with the smaller families
men do not feel secure to take with them their young married wives. Due to most families settling down in village, it is easier for them to leave their young married wives with their near kin. They may take their wives after the latter became mother of one or two children. Sons move in individual families, and whatever is earned is spent for the family. Many times they take members of other families, when they may confront troubles in the form of sharing their incomes. For such works like fishing and leather puppet plays, they may need to go with others as assistance. Sometimes they take with them other members, though they may quarrel but they settle their disputes among themselves. They make necessary adjustment under the circumstances of work conditions.

Educational Levels

Table No: 3.2

Level of Education in the settled and nomadic families

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education level</th>
<th>Settle Families</th>
<th>Nomadic Families</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High-school</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>50</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B.: 1) Parenthesis figures denote percentages to total.
ii) Total population of Killekyathas - 750
iii) Total population of Illiterates - 325
iv) Total population of Literates - 125
v) Total number of children below the age of seven - 300
From Table - 3.2 it is clear that both males and females among settled families are more educated than their counterparts among the nomadic families. Among settled and nomadic families 53.53% and 53.84% respectively are educated up to the elementary level. 34.34% of settled Killekyathas and 46.15% of the nomadic Killekyathas are educated up to the high school stage, but there are no educated youth among the nomadic Killekyathas. There are however twelve persons among the settled Killekyathas who have completed college education.

INTRA-FAMILY RELATIONSHIP

In an elementary or extended or polygenous family, father is the head and the authoritarian person, traditionally exercising absolute control over the household management. In his absence or death, the eldest male member of the family becomes its head and has control over all the affairs of the family. Responsibility of the father is great as he should be just and impartial in his dealings with all the members who should equally co-operate with him in running the family. The intra-family relations may be dealt with emphasizing the relationships between husband and wife, between parents and children and between siblings.
Husband and Wife

When Killekyathas settles down to life, this is generally for good, the conjugal love is similar to what we find in civilized society. In important matters the husband consults his wife. At the time of the marriage of their sons and daughters, the consent of both the father and the mother is essential. There is often a genuine mutual respect between husband and wife. By the legal basis of the marriage, the Killekyatha recognizes the ownership of husband individually, as indicated by the mutual besmearng with 'Bindi' or red vermilion, but only in a minor degree, that of the family of the husband, over a woman. The Killekyatha wife, in spite of her theoretically subordinate position, in practical life has a fair amount of independence and often a position which may be said to be nearly of a co-ordinating nature with that of her husband. Among the Killekyathas, husband and wife carry out the duties faithfully towards one another. The husband gives clothing to wear, lodging and boarding and other essential things which a wife in a normal life requires, while the wife feeds her children and husband by cooking food, for which she collects fuel from the neighbouring fields, forests and brings water from a well or nearby streamlet. Every morning the wife gets up from bed, cleans the house. Over and above, she goes to the field to help her husband. In the daily social life of the people the
FIGURE 3. HUSBAND AND WIFE

Source: (Nayak, 1984 : 9)
PHOTO 2a) : ELD ERLY KIL LEK YATHA PARENTS

PHOTO 2b) : A COUPLE WITH THEIR CHILDREN
Killekyatha woman has a very good position both at home and in the village.

Parents and Children

The father provides support and maintenance, and mother care to the children, till they are able to earn their own living. This is equally the duty of the children to remain obedient to their parents and to take their sole care when they are old. In addition, the parents correct their children if they do wrong. The amount of punishment given to them by parents is usually measured by the intensity of wrong doings. Children between five and six years of age are fondled.

How strong the affection of the Killekyatha parents is towards their children can be seen from the following facts. The mother or grandmother of the children always carries the children even when going to Bhajan, Kirtan and to the field. When a child is attacked with any disease, the parents become restless and sleepless and call in the doctor for curing the child. The parents and child relationship undergoes a change with the skipping over of different phases of life. This relationship is guided by the old notion that fondling should continue till the age of five and no sooner the children attain eighteen years of age, they should be treated as
equals. But children of few nomadic families are engaged in economic pursuits even at the age of six or seven.

**Siblings**

The traditional norm and cultural pattern that guide the relationship between the siblings in a family find expression in respect, love, submission and obedience shown to each other according to age status. Among themselves they foster instituted co-operation and unity that are necessary for the achievement of their prosperity and well being. It is the eldest son who mostly runs the family when the father becomes old, and therefore, he receives respect and regard from all his younger brothers. On the other hand eldest accords fatherly treatment and his wife her motherly affection to her husband’s younger brothers. Being the seniormost of all his brothers, he shares the responsibility of their maintenance, education and marriage and, as far as possible keeps them united for long even after their marriage. However, after some time, conflict and split occur between the brothers which eventually lead to their separation.

**INTER-FAMILY RELATIONSHIP**

Among the affinal kins with whom the family is in constant touch and who pay visits on some occasions or when summoned for some urgent work is the maternal uncle. But the
attachment with the maternal uncle is comparatively great as he renders all help and support, in any problematic situation. Internal differences, conflicts and economic hardships of the family are disclosed to him. The sons and daughters in Killekyatha families treat their maternal uncle like their father.

The relationships with neighbouring families of different communities are guided by economic and community-status. People of the village try to maintain relationship with families of their own community generally condoning their pitfalls. It is not often like this when they interact with families of other communities. However, though conflicts exist among the families of Killekyathas as well as with other communities, smooth inter-family relationships are maintained to shape solidarity of the village. So far as the village unity is considered, the castes, work unitedly and represent a picture of their respective villages. There is unity of the villages, and it cannot be denied that there are caste-conflicts. In villages most of the people establish and call each other by a sort of kinship terms as 'Mama', 'Dada', 'Kaka', 'Ajji', 'Mami', 'Kaki' etc. These terms are used in relation to the age of the individual concerned. The playmates of the children are not restricted to sex until up to the age of 11-14 years. After that, male and female are not allowed to mix so freely owing to the social
norms of the community. From this age onwards, they have friends of their own sex only. The girls are given away to grooms between the ages of 12-16 years, and they have friends of their own sex only. Girls do maintain their relationship by way of paying visits to their parent's place. This is quite common that the girls, after marriage are not free due to their lack of conformity but due to their preoccupations with the day to day household work which leaves them no time to state and stand. Therefore, actually, her friends are her relatives.

The males are better off in this regard, they have plenty of opportunities to keep up the friendship throughout their life-span, the bond of friendship becomes stronger with the transit of time and as they are come up to maturity, share joyous and sadness from one another.

SOCIAL DIVISIONS

The social, organization of the Killekyathas differs from place to place to a considerable extent. Of course, this attitude is developed due to their greater contact with people of the different localities. Their exogamous septs or sections are recognised as clans as said earlier. It was said that they migrated from the Maratha country into different parts of Southern India. They must have come into Karnataka in different gangs, as mentioned by the number of
their exogamous clans. Thus, while the earliest immigrants have only four or five divisions, the more recent ones have eleven or thirteen, and those that are living on the borders of the Dharwar and Raichur districts have as many as thirteen. Of those clans, some hold tribal offices. The names of the clans are as follows:

1. Atak
2. Aivet
3. Neknar
4. Panchange
5. Shinde
6. Salve
7. Sasnik
8. More
9. Shingan
10. Dhurve
11. Dhumalkar
12. Dorkar
13. Vadakar

Of these, some clans have local equivalents - Atak as Ganachari; Aivet as Shivachari; Neknar as Kattimanl; Panchange as Bhandari; Shinde as Halmani; Salve as Hogaluvike; Shingan as Harkari and Dhurve as Mattimani.

Besides these, they also claim to have Gotras. But the majority of the people do not know to which Gotra they belong. Thus according to one account, the 'Mores' belong to the Gautam Gotra while another account assigns them to the Bharadwaja Gotra. So also 'Ataks' are stated to belong to the Parashar gotra by some and to the Bharadwaja Gotra by others and so on. Belonging to the same Gotra is not necessarily a bar to intermarriage, the chief restrictions in this regard still being belonging to the same clan.
MARRIAGE

Marriage is an universal phenomenon. The Killekyathas attach great importance to marriage. They marry to get sons who take them to heaven. They regard marriage as a sacrament, giving son's or daughter's marriage in proper time is considered as Dharma. Parents pass sleepless nights if they do not find a husband for a girl before puberty. To a woman, marriage is the beginning of the fulfillment of her life. Formerly marriage outside the caste was treated with ex-communication. The form of marriage can never be one and the same among these people, it varies from place to place. The well-to-do persons may observe the marriage ceremonies in detail and triumphantly. Traditionally Hindus believed in child marriages and it was held by them that the pre-puberty marriages for girls were essential to keep up their pre-marital chastity. Pre-puberty marriages are quite common among Killekyathas. It means child marriages are quite common as it is found even today among many other Hindu communities. Even after marriage the bride remains with her parents until she attains puberty. Boys are not married unless they are generally well qualified to eke out their living or if pursuing a family occupation. Therefore in such child marriage, sometimes the age difference between the girl and boy is found much more. They are active family workers. Likewise, by the time a girl is married she would
have received lot of training to be a good house-wife and also a dutiful daughter-in-law. The preferred marriage for boys is between the age 16 and 20 and for girls, it is 12 and 14 years. It also varies from place to place. In some areas joint families are still an important institution and the daughter-in-law becomes a responsible member of the joint family immediately after marriage.

Marriage proposals are initiated generally by the bridegroom's side. The settlement of the marriage alliance is marked by a ceremony known as 'Nishchithartha', when the terms of the marriage are all settled, lest there should be any misunderstanding later on in the matter of either giving or taking. Village elders are generally present on such occasion. Usually the marriage takes place in the house of the bride. It is said that formerly it was a rule. But now, the marriage takes place in the house of either the bridegroom or the bride, according to the convenience of the parties and as settled by them. In the olden days, the practice of giving dowry was not prevalent, but the practice of paying therau (bride-price) was prevalent, and even today it is practiced. Distribution of betel leaves and nuts according to the rank and social status of the parties. The bride's father spends more than the groom's father. The old practice of incurring debts for marriage ceremonies still persists. To keep up the social status debts are incurred by
the middle class families of Killekyathas.

Marriages between members belonging to the same exogamous clan are strictly prohibited, and any illegal intimacy between a man and a woman belonging to such a division, is severely punished by putting the guilty persons out of the pale of caste without a chance of expiation, and are not allowed to live in the community and are prevented from taking fire and water from other members of the community. It means they are ex-communicated. The members of the same clan are considered as brothers and sisters. Polygyny is common, but polyandry is unknown. Marriage among close relatives like a person marrying his fathers's sister's daughter or mothers's brother's daughter are common. It means the cross-cousin marriages are permitted and they are frequent. The age of marriage among Killekyathas in the villages as it stood in the past and as it stands now is as shown in the table-3.3.

Table No: 3.3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SI No.</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Age at marriage about 2 decades back</th>
<th>Age at marriage at present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>Girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Amarnathapur</td>
<td>12-16</td>
<td>4-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Surdi</td>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>5-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Agatoor</td>
<td>11-15</td>
<td>4-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Bommagaripal</td>
<td>12-14</td>
<td>6-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Kushalpur</td>
<td>8-12</td>
<td>3-5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There have been practically no inter-caste marriages. Caste endogamy and clan exogamy are strictly observed. Consanguineous marriages are permitted with maternal uncle's daughter or paternal aunt's daughter or with elder sister's.

The Marriage of Killekyathas of Southern Karnataka:

When the parties come to terms an agreement in writing is made to that effect. The horoscopes of the boy and girl are cast, and if the horoscopes agree, the boy's father settles the marriage with her father at a 'Vilya Shastra' (betel leaves ceremony). On this occasion, the girl dressed in the sari presented to her, is seated on a blanket (kambli) in the presence of the caste panchaayat and is made to put on glass bangles given to her in the name of the boy.

The marriage ceremonies start with the worship of an 'ant-hill' (the abode of serpent God). After bathing, from the girl's home, they go to the ant-hill, and after performing worship, pour some milk into the snake-hole, touch it with a 'tali' (the necklace of * symbol) with a serpent engraved on it, which they afterwards tie round the girl's neck which is known as 'huttada tali'. The marriage pandal is raised on four pillars, of which one known as 'muhurtakamba' (scared marriage pillar) or marriage-post. It is brought in by the girl's maternal uncle, and set up by
FIGURE 4. MARRIAGE CEREMONY
Source: (Nayak, 1984: 31)
married women, who tie round it a package containing five kinds of grains and a 'kankana'. The sacred pots (ariveni) are placed within it. And some talis with human figures engraved on them representing ancestors, and a 'kalasa', are also placed near and the puja (worship) performed. A pot filled with toddy is kept there and offerings are made of cooked food, and a goat is killed. A married woman is then specially selected to serve during the whole ceremony as bridesmaid. She has to attend on the bridal pair, and, whenever necessary, smear their bodies with turmeric paste, wave 'arati' (sacred lamp), carry 'kalasa' (sacred jar) and render similar services. Sometimes five married (muttaidis) women are so set apart for the purpose.

On the second day, each party is made to bath separately. The bridegroom is taken to a temple, and conducted thereafter to the marriage 'pandal', at the entrance of which an 'arati' is waved before him. After this, the caste functionaries have each certain definite parts assigned to them in the ceremony. Thus the Shinde spreads blankets on the bridal seats. The bridegroom and bride who are led to the marriage dais and stand facing each other with a curtain between them, held by the Shivachar (Aivet). the Salve, or in his absence again the Shinde recites the names of the gods and the ancestors of the bridal pair and now the curtain is removed. The bridegroom and
bride place jirige (cummin seeds) and jaggery on each others head. The Neknar ties the hems of their clothes in to a knot. The Atak, who is in fact the chief functionary, hands over the 'tali' (marriage disc) to the bridegroom, and he ties it to the neck of the bride. After that 'kankanas' (sacred wristlets) are tied to the bridal pair. The Pachange distributes grains of rice to all the guests, and Atak, Aivat and other functionaries place them one by one on the heads of the bride and groom. The would be couple sit in front of a large vessel and milk is poured. The hands of the groom and bride are joined by the girl's father, a pot of bell metal contains a mixture of water, milk, ghee, honey and curds is held under them. The girl's mother pours over their clasped hands, this ceremony, known as 'dhare ereyuvadu'. After being shown the star 'Arundati' to the bride and groom, the two go round the milk-post and bow before the 'ariveni' pots. Eating together of food by the bridegroom and the bride and the nearest relatives takes place as a practical manifestation of the marital relationship of the two families. On the third day 'Simhasana-puja' (thrown worship) takes place, when the Atak worships a heap of betel leaves and nuts, and distributes them to all in a prescribed order of precedence, the number of tambulas (betel leaves) are entitled to by the recognised custom of the caste.
The fourth day is devoted to 'nagavali', and worship of the ant-hill and the pandal posts. The marriage wristlets (kankanas) are removed after the pot-searching ceremony, and then given a caste dinner. In the evening, the bride is concealed in some place and the bridegroom is made to search for her. After she is searched, she makes a pretense of refusing to go with him, and is coaxed to yield, then all go in state to a temple and worship God. On their return, the bridegroom and the bride are raised on the shoulders of two able-bodied men, and dance takes place on the way. Towards the close of this dance, the husband carries away the newly married wife to his house, but just as he reaches the threshold, he is waylaid and obstructed by men of the wife's side, who release him on his promise to have the first-born daughter to their family in marriage. This entry of the wife to her husband's home completes the marriage ceremonies.

The bride-price varies from hundred to two hundred rupees. The whole expense of the marriage has to be borne by the father of the bridegroom, who has to spend a great deal on liquor. Therefore, at that time a marriage pandal looks often like a drunken brawl. This kind of marriage scenes are common among the Killekyathas of Southern part of Karnataka. Among other sedentary people of Killekyathas of the villages, discontinued the sacrificing the goats on such occasions.
The Marriage of Killekyathas of Northern Karnataka

In the Northern part of the Karnataka, well-to-do persons who are in Government services, landholders etc., follow detailed rituals during a marriage. While describing the roles of the various clans in the performance of a marriage of Killekyatha, Bijapur Gazetteer (1884:192) and Enthoven (1922:232) write that some clans were required to do certain functions. The above mentioned authors give the names of septs or clans as follows:

1. Ganachari
2. Shivachari
3. Neknar or Kattimani
4. Pachange or Bhandari
5. Shinde or Halmani
6. Salve or Hogaluvike
7. Sasnik
8. Mohria
9. Shingan or Harkari
10. Dhurv or Mattimani
11. Vakuda
12. Dorkar
13. Dhumalkar

Among the above clans nine had important roles during marriages as written by the above mentioned authors.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clan</th>
<th>Functions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Dhurv</td>
<td>Bringing articles like wheat, rice, dal and other stores.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Shingan</td>
<td>Inviting the guest to the wedding.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Ganachari</td>
<td>Throwing the rice on the couple.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Shivachari</td>
<td>Drawing the cross called Nandi on the curtain and</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During the field work the researcher noticed the Swastik mark on the curtain held between bride and groom and not the drawing of Nandi. It seems that now a days Killekyathas have replace the Swastik mark in place of Nandi drawing on the curtain. Or it may be that at the time of above mentioned authors the people described the Swastik mark as Nandi-Bull God.
holding it between the bride and the bridegroom.

5. Shindya
Spreading the blanket (kambli) for the couple.

6. Sasnik
Strewing rice on the blanket.

7. Neknar
Tying the hems of the clothes of the married pair into a knot.

8. Pachange
Attending to the five items given below:

1. Making a Serpent of earth on Nagpanchami in the month of Shravan.

2. Distributing provisions equally among the caste people.

3. Taking rupees nine from the bridegroom and spending one rupee for betel leaves and nuts.

4. Preparing fire for smoking tobacco at caste meetings.

9. Mohria*
Whose business it was to weave peacock feathers at the marriage, refused to perform their office. They were put out of caste and marriages have since been performed without the help of peacock feathers.

The remuneration of these various office-bearers are given in the following table no: 3.4

* During the field work the researcher noticed that Mohrias (Mores) were not put out of caste. Many Killaryathas have matrimonial relationship with Mores. However, Mores do not perform their function during the marriage ceremonies and the marriage ceremonies are conducted without the help of peacock feathers.
Table No: 3.4

Remuneration for office-bearers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl</th>
<th>Name of the clan</th>
<th>Number of Betel-leaves</th>
<th>Number of Betel-nuts</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ganachari</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Shivachari</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Neknar/Bagli Patil</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Panchangi</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Shindya</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Salva</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Sasnik</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These facts have been recorded by the above mentioned authors. During the field-work the researcher found that the system has been continued by giving betel leaves and betel nuts. But giving pice (paise) is not common. However Dhurves are not renumerated then and now.

Even today these functions of each clan are explained by the informants in Northern Karnataka area. Only the people of few clans are found in the universe of study. They are Pachange, Dhurve and More. Aivet and Salve were also found in some case which are of recent relationship with other Killekyathas. There is no reference to the Atak and Aivet clans in the Bijapur Gazetteer(1884:192). It seems that the Ganachari and Atak, Shivachari and Aivet clans are one and the same. In fact, in Northern Karnataka area Killekyathas are aware of eight clans, viz., 1)Atak, 2)Aivet, 3)Neknar.
4) Pachange, 5) Dhurve, 6) More, 7) Shinde and 8) Salve. They also know about two other clans, viz., 1) Saskin and 2) Shigan; who are supposed to be staying in Northern and Western parts of Belgaum district. But so far they have no marital ties with these clans of Killekyathas.

Generally the offer for marriage has to come from the bridegroom's side. But now-a-days among some Killekyathas, the initiative is at times taken by the bride's side, particularly when the boy is well educated, rich or holding a good job. The practice of paying bride-price is prevalent in all five villages. The Bride's parents have to pay dowry to the bridegroom but this payment of dowry, instead of receiving bride-price has been adopted in few cases, when they have found that the boy is well qualified. Generally the negotiations are started by the parents. In several cases the bride and bride-groom used to see each other for the time only in the marriage pandal and not earlier. But now-a-days some of them insist on seeing each other before marriage. In settling marriages, assets like landed property, houses, etc., usually receive a lot of consideration. Education is given only secondary importance. Every house-hold prefers to marry its girls to a rich household, than an educated house-hold.
Generally the bridegroom's father starts discreet enquiries about any suitable match for the son and when he finds one, he visits them. This visit is returned by the girl's parents. If they too agree of the alliance a suitable date is fixed for betrothal. This ceremony is known as 'nischaya'. On this day the bridegroom's parents fill the girl's lap with a saree, blouse, fruits, turmeric, betel-leaves and nuts, sugar, etc. They are given a rich feast to which relations and friends are invited.

In the past child marriages were almost the rule. They usually considered it as a stigma to a family honour, to keep any girl unmarried when she reached the age of puberty. Should any such occasion arise, they used to hide the fact of her attaining puberty. But now-a-days most of the marriages are performed after the attainment of puberty. The Levirates and Sorrorates are not practiced now. Monogamy is generally the rule. Though Polygyny is permitted. There are very few cases among Killekyathas of Amarnathpur village, of persons having more than one living wife. Widow marriages are not practiced freely. The divorcee re-marriages are practiced and is a very simple affair and usually not attended by any married women. Such marriages generally take place at night. Also a re-married woman does not enjoy all the social and religious privileges which are enjoyed by other married women.
Except in some cases all the Killekyathas celebrate their marriages at the bride's place. Brahmin Acharyas officiate at the marriages. But in some villages Killekyathas have their own castemen to perform marriages. Till about two decades back the marriage ceremonies used to be conducted for 4-5 days. On the first day, a ceremony called 'Halad Lavani' or the application of turmeric paste used to be performed. The bride and bridegroom used to be anointed with turmeric paste and oil at their respective places and then given a bath. This was followed by 'Devakarya' (God's worship) on the second day, where they sought the blessings of their family deities and arranged a big feast. This again used to be performed independently by the two parties. After this, the bride used to be taken to bridegroom's place for the marriage proper. The foregoing days used to have various ceremonies called by different names. Now all these important rituals are performed within a day or two.

Consumption of a marriage usually takes place at the bride's palace. If the bride has not attained puberty, the consumation is arranged on the 14th day after she attains it. Divorces are permitted due to some reasons. A letter of release given by the husband, is considered sufficient to break the wedlock. Divorces, though permitted are very rare,
as the Killekyatha elders usually prevent such extreme steps. If there be any differences, efforts are made to bring about settlements and it is only in extreme cases, where the differences cannot be resolved, that divorces take place.

**Widow Marriage**

Regarding this, Nanjundayya and Iyer (1930:524) write that the widow marriage is not only allowed and freely practised, but it is said to be compulsory in the case of childless widows. In Northern Karnataka somewhere it is said that, it is practised in the name of 'Uduki' or 'Kuduki' ceremony. In this form, the divorced woman or widow is married with a widower. A bachelor may not marry a widow or a divorced woman, but if there has been a previous intimacy between them, he is first married to an 'Ekka plant' and then to her. The bride-price in such cases varies from forty to two hundred fifty rupees.

If any one intends to marry a widow then, an evening is fixed. For this the intended husband, with the headman and others of the caste, go to the house of the woman's father and give her clothes, bangles and other things, which she puts on. The pair stands in the assembly on a black blanket. The caste headman applies 'vibhuti' (sacred ashes) to their forehead and the husband ties a 'tali' (mangala sootra) to the woman's neck. Then the caste headman proclaims loudly that
the pair have become husband and wife. Pan-supari (Betal leaves and nuts) are distributed. A feast is then arranged. Married women do not take part in the ceremony, but they join the dinner. At the time of field study the researcher came to know of such two 'Udaki' marriages.

Divorce and Desertion

Generally no clean persons allow divorce, but some of the Killekyathas may allow it in special circumstances. Desertion is also practised among Killekyathas. When a husband and wife live separately without social approval or social sanction to divorce, is called as desertion. Cruelty on part of the husband, or his inability to maintain a wife, or his attachment to some other woman, and wife's infidelity, are among the reasons that lead to a divorce. This is apparent from the field reports that the marriage tie is more rigid in Killekyathas and they are not susceptible to social disorganization. The main ground on which a man seeks divorce is the wife's adultery and witchcraft. But in case of man extra-marital relations are tolerated. This means that there is double standard of morality towards sex.

Pre-marital and Post-marital Life

Most of the lovers condone premarital immorality on payment of fine and arrangement of feast to the fraternity provided. The man and the woman involved promise to marry.
Of course it, pre-supposes that the pair belong to different exogamous clans or septs and their relationship could end in marriage. The Killekyathas would excommunicate a girl if she has an affair with a man of same sept or a man of another caste.

INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION

This is stated that the youngest son is given preference to succeed the property of his parents. They follow the 'Makkal Santana' law of inheritance, i.e., from father to son.

Among Killekyathas to adopt a child is of rare occurrence. However, the researcher has noted one or two instances of adoption in North Karnataka.

If a man intends to take a boy of any age in adoption, he first informs the caste headman, and calls the nearest male relatives of the boy whose consent is necessary. If both the parties agree, they declare this in the presence of the headman and the villagers. The male relatives of the boy renounce him and declare him henceforth as belonging to the adopted father. It is also declared that the boy shall have no right of inheritance in the property of his natural father.
MECHANISM OF SOCIAL CONTROL

All of them have acquired some stability and have made these villages as their permanent home place. In most of the villages traditional caste council is seen with homogeneous form of caste-panchayats (caste-councils). Generally at the time of festival, the villages bustle with activities like conducting Harikathas, negotiating marriage, or settling disputes, if any. If they have any problem to be solved they may summon the Caste-panchayat of elders of the community known as 'Daiva'. There is no formal Caste-Panchayat among them, either at the village, or at the regional level. Informally elders meet at some place under a neem tree or in a temple to discuss matters relating to their community. This body is known as 'Daiva'. Any person can call a Daiva if he has any problems, but shall have to bear the cost of betel leaves, betel nuts and 'bidis' (leafy cigarettes) which are usually distributed to the members on the occasion of a meeting. Persons who are leading a settled life have acquired some voice in dealing with the matters concerning their people. The decisions taken by the 'Daiva' are generally accepted by all.

There were however, cases of violations of the decision. Such cases are taken to the local influential political leaders of the village for adjustment, whose verdict is
final. If his decision is not accepted, the offender has no place in there as the 'Panchas' (five influential men) insist on honouring the decision of the political leaders. If they are not satisfied they may go to the court of law for justice.

In course of the survey, two incidents happened in North Karnataka, where Killekyatha youths were involved, one leading a nomadic life, and another educated youth leading settled life, who were involved in fighting with one of the predominant community of the village. The Daiva had asked the youths to apologise personally to the headman of that community. The latter was prepared to mediate in the dispute to avoid any serious consequences. But the youths did not agree. When the elders forced that the youths abide by the decision, they left the village.

In the second visit of the researcher, it was found that the youths were taken into the village only after they had abided by the decision of the Daiva. The Daiva deals with the cases related to the inter-community affairs, settling of weddings, granting divorces, quarrels etc., among the members. Many times it may help to take decisions to deal matters related to inter-caste, and also other issues concerning the village. The Killekyathas are bound together by a strong caste feeling. At the same time, they have no central
authority to settle disputes. For example, if the member violates the Daiva's decision it cannot implement effectively as may be seen from the case of youths. The youths wanted to return to the village as their relatives are living and hence they obeyed the advice of the Daiva.

In the village Surdi, of Raichur district, a person by name Krishnaji is posing himself to be the chief of the Killekyathas. He has developed good contacts with the village Panchayat and Taluka Board representatives. He gets support from them and in return helps them when they require his help during elections. He is consulted for the matters relating to the welfare of the community. It was observed that he is a courageous man. He tries to help the people of his community. He actively participates in festivals, election meetings, funerals etc. He is expecting to get help for building houses and cultivation of land. The neighbouring villages also consult him for their problems.

According to him, a caste association is required for the State. It can strive to establish a hostel for their children in order to educate them properly. The nomadic families cannot send their children to schools under the conditions of nomadism and hence such hostels are very useful for such children. He wants the Government to give them lands and other economic help to take to agricultural work so that
they can settle down at their villages. It seems sure, he will be successful in organizing his people.

**KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY**

The kinship terminologies are used taking both from Marathi and Kannada languages. Here briefly described referential terminologies for consanguineal and affinal kin. For father the terms used are 'ba', 'bap', 'baba' and for mother 'ai', 'amma'; for brother and sister 'bhau' and 'bahin' respectively. But the kannada terms 'anna', 'akka' for elder brother and sister, are also used. 'tamma' and 'tangi' for younger brother and sister are also used.

The kinship terms for Fa Fa Mo Mo and Fa Mo,Mo, are 'ajja' and 'ajji' respectively. No terminological distinction is made at this grand-parental generations. Fa Br, Mo Si Hu, Hu Si Hu, and husband of one's mother's sister are all denoted by the term 'kaka', if younger. And with a prefix 'Thor' if elder. The word 'kaki' denotes the kin Fa Br Wi, Mo Si Fa Wi if younger, and with a prefix 'thor' to refer elder ones. The Fa Si Hu is referred by the term 'mama', if elder, is indicative of the marriage with Mo Br Da. The terms show prevalence of cross-cousin marriage. Uncle-neice wedding also takes place. The terms for distant collateral kin depend upon the age and usage. Such terms like Brother,Sister are used. Younger Kin are referred to by the names.
The Marathi term 'bayako' is used for wife. Husband is referred by the term 'gho'. The common word used for husband in Marathi is 'navara'. Karve(1953:145-150) does not list the term among the terms denoting Husband, but further she writes that in Marathi the term 'gho' is found. She has tried to link it with Bengali 'ogo'. Karve(1953:111 and 173). According to her, the term is used on the West-Coast of Maharashtra. Due to the retention of this specific term, it seems that Killekyathas migrated from West-coast to Deccan-Plataue. In their Kinship system, the terminological structure resembles the Dravidian system. The constant interaction with the Kannada people might have influenced the Killekyathas, a Marathi speaking community.

JOKING RELATIONSHIP

Killekyathas have joking relationship with wife's younger sister. The elder brother's wife keeps joking relationships with sisters of her husband. One can joke with grand-children. Children can joke with grand parents. Mutual joking relationship exist in such relatives. No sexual relation is legally allowed among these relatives. This only gives over recognition and expression to sanctioned intimacies. The relationship between elder brother's wife and younger brother is not of joking, but is of respectful and she is regarded as mother.
PHOTO 3: WOMENFOLK WITH THEIR CHILDREN
PHOTO 4: KILLEYATHA MENFOLK
AVOIDANCE

Killekyathas have certain relatives between whom restraints are called for. They are to avoid some relatives. This avoidance is different from, in quite contrast to joking relationship. Such a type of relations are restricted between a man and his younger brother's wife. The so related woman does not talk, sit or even gossip with anybody in his presence. They do not communicate directly to each other. She is veiled when her husband's elder brother is present in the home. Before her father-in-law she covers her face, but unveils before her mother-in-law. A woman should be respectful with her husband's mother and father and is required to maintain a sort of discipline. She cannot change her dress or suckle her children near certain relations. Such manner might have been intended to overcome the bitterness between daughter-in-law and parent-in-law and subsequently to avoid family quarrels. It also shows a sense of regard to elders.

TEKNONYMY

Generally among Killekyathas, a person is referred as "ba, bap, baba" or "ai, amma" of his or her child. According to Oxford dictionary Teknonymy means practice of naming the parent from children. Those who have avoidance relations.
cannot utter the name of their superior, they use teknonymy. This type of teknonymy is commonly used by the women. The wife, who never calls the name of husband or husband's brother, e.g., calls Pinky's father for her husband etc. She interprets in indirect way. This system is not only restricted to family but also outside the family. Such custom is observed by the younger group of women. It may be safeguard on part of the natal family against mixture of the culture brought by the daughter-in-law. She is considered an outsider until she becomes a mother, then only she is regarded as a part of a family.

**RECREATION**

Though the Killekyathas are mainly engaged in different works throughout the year, they mark out some time for recreation. Social visits to friends and relations both inside a village and further away provides a welcome change from hundrun monotony. The children gather in the open spaces and busy themselves in play. Kabaddi, Chini-pani, etc., are some of the outdoor games they enjoy. The young boys sometimes see cinemas in some adjacent towns. The older people are content to meet in the evenings, to gossip, in playing cards, etc. The women-folk do entertain themselves with the help of folk-songs sung by themselves.
The data collected on the sources of recreation are given below:

List of Sources of Recreation:

**For Men**

i) Gossip  
ii) Playing with children  
iii) Kirtan, Bhajan  
iv) Playing cards  
v) Amateur drama  
vi) Playing musical instruments like tabla, harmonium, etc.  
vii) Listening radio  
viii) Some are spectators of Kusti (wrestling) etc.

**For Women**

i) To attend Kirtan-Bhajan  
ii) Listen to epical stories  
iii) Gossip and criticize  
viv) Playing with little babies  
v) To sing at the time of social function  
vi) Sewing  
vii) Embroidery  
viii) Going to festivals, drama, mela, etc.

Social life of Killekyathas is much sensitive to the present day avenues of changes. Inter-caste marriage is never condoned, yet in certain cases cannot be avoided. The result is the emergence of a new type of social group.

**POLITICAL ASPECT OF LEADERSHIP PATTERN**

In Indian Anthropology the study of leadership through systematic approach in the rural areas of India is a new dimension. Every social group requires some kind of guidance. Guidance is to be given by some one to whose direction and dictation every one submits. Such a person may be called as a leader. More quite so, all those who give off and execute policy and manage men are leaders of the present society. Most visible member of the organization is the leader, his acts becoming symbolic of the entire movement.
This is the role played by a man in a situation within the context of the culture, to a specific goal. The person who performs this role is perceived as a leader.

The introduction of Panchayat Raj in the area has made significant changes in the concept of leadership. The traditional authority pattern has been purely ascriptive and attributive rather than functional. Formerly, respectability was judged with growing age and the older persons were elevated to higher position. The whole system has drastically been changed by Panchayat Raj. As a result, the leadership which was in the hands of a particular family or community, is now free to all. Now every villager has an equal opportunity and right to acquire the post, provided the person has the qualities of good leadership or if the person can mobilize the public opinion in favour of self. The post is ascertained by means of election.

The role of village elders vary from village to village. In some villages, the village elders have simply a nominal role to play and they are mere puppets in the hands of political leaders of the areas. Though these persons hold meetings and discuss an issue of the community concerned, the upper hand is taken by the leaders associated with certain political parties. But the situation is different to some extent in the areas of Surdi and Agatoor, where the village
elders have got independent view and say, not suggested by the leader of a particular party. The present trend of leadership has extended it from caste to inter-caste and hence to the State and National level. The people are prone to elect leaders from their own caste group to guide the course, and advice how to act in a particular time. In spite of that, the village elders' opinion is valued and their say is final in the matters of dispute.

As mentioned previously that the introduction of Panchayat Raj has given rise to new trends on the political thinking of the villages. This system has made the villagers more conscious and aware of their political rights, and they have become more caste or group-conscious. The whole village politics centres round this political institution and it is dominated by caste politics. The villagers are politically grouped to achieve a particular goal.

The Killekyathas present a different set of political sentiment. They are tools of their caste leaders, and feel weighty when some Killekyatha is in the group of political elite. But in the areas, such as Agatoor and Bommagaripal villages, Killekyathas occupy meagre landed property and their political activities deserve no merit. In the areas of Amarnathpur and Kushalpur, some of Killekyathas are supporters of Congress and Janata Party, but all are
inactive. Excluding some persons, all of them are economically weak and have no prominent positions in the political life of the area. They have no inter-village organization. Therefore, they suffer from lack of organization and leadership. With few exceptions, this makes them suppressed and remains groundless.

As for the political life of Killekyathas of all these areas, it is observed that, in almost every village there exists two political institutions: Caste-panchayat and Gram-panchayat. The introduction of Panchayat Raj has evoked a new trend in the political activities of the villages. The village politics mainly centres round the Gram Panchayat. But the aim of this institution is ineffectual by the malpractices of the village politicians. In every election, a majority of votes are mis-utilized due to the manipulation of cunning political leaders and workers. The villagers are so depressed that they fail even to decide who will be their benefactor and whom they should vote. Generally they act according to the directives of caste-leaders. Caste Panchayats still exist in the areas, though their importance is day-by-day fading away. The major stream of politics operates on caste level.