

# CHAPTER IV

## CHAPTER IV

### *Social Structure as a Process*

Social structure is one of the central concept in sociology. According to M.Gensberg, "social structure is a complex of principal groups and institutions which constitute societies" ( Gensberg p 98). From this point of view the study of social structure can be undertaken in terms of institutional arrangement or of the relations between social group or of both together thus social structure can be analysed in terms of major institution and institutions fulfill certain functional prerequisite of the society the minimum requirement of a society are : (i) a system of communication. (ii) an economic system dealing with the production and allocation of goods. (iii) arrangement (including family and education of the socialization of new generation (iv) a system of authority and of distribution of power and (v) A system of ritual serving to maintain or increase social cohesion and to give social recognition to significant personal events such as birth, puberty; constish marriage and death The major institutions and groups are those concerned with these basic requirements. Thus, in context of a tribal society major institutions are (i) family, and kinship (ii) economic institution (iii) political institution (iv) education (v)communication and (vi) system of rituals. In the context of present study, an attempt is made to analyse the process of changes in these major institutions of the Baaman society. However, the present chapter is confined to analyse the dynamicity

of social structure in terms of the institutions of family and Kinship. The other institutions shall be discussed later on separately.

## **Family**

Family is the core unit of social structure. Among the Barman traditionally there has been no concept of lineage organization. The elementary family unit is the strongest structural and functional unit of Barman social organization. According to Barman (1977), rule of residence, women of different matrilineal cannot live in the same household which leads to separation of new nuclear units from the original one within one year of marriage. Therefore, nuclear family pattern has been a common phenomenon among the Barman of Barak Valley. But under the impact of Bengali Hindu society some families have joint family system as well. The structure of family among the Barman can be analyzed in terms of size of family and the type of family.

### **Size of the Family**

For analytical purpose, on the basis of size, the family can be categorized into three categories; (i) Small size family, comprising of one to five members; (ii) Medium size family, comprising of six to ten members; and (iii) large size family, having more than ten members. The distribution of the size of family in the three study villages is shown in table 4.1

**TABLE 4.1**

**SIZE OF THE FAMILY IN THE STUDY VILLAGES**

Sl. No.	Name of the Village	SIZE OF THE FAMILY			Total
		Small (1-5)	Medium (6-10)	Large (11-above)	
1	Kumacherra	21 18.92	72 64.86	18 16.22	111 (100.0)
2	Dormikhal	16 25.81	37 59.68	9 14.52	62 (100.0)
3	Nikama	13 22.41	37 63.79	8 13.79	58 (100.0)
	<b>Total</b>	50 21.64	146 63.20	35 15.15	231 (100.0)

The data reveal that in all the study villages most of the families have medium size families. It was found highest in Kumacherra with 64.86% percent followed by Nikama with 63.79 percent. In case of Dormikhal the percentage of medium size family is 59.68 percent. As far as the cases of large size family are concern in all the three study villages almost similar pattern was found and variation was between the rage of 13.79 percent and 16.22 percent in Nikama and Kumacherra village. As far as case of small size family are concern it was found highest in Dormikhal with 25.81 percent and lowest in Kumacherra with 18.92 percent.

It suggests that most of the Barman have medium size family. The large family pattern is also observed in few cases only.

## Type of Family

As stated above the traditional family type among the Barman has been because of their peculiar role of residence which restricts the living of women of two different matriline under the same roof. Because of this belief after the marriage of son he was supposed to construct his own house (Danda 1977). But after adoption of Hinduism this tribal rule of residence has also gone under transformation and highly Hinduised families had not followed this rule in a strict manner. As a result, the pattern of joint family also emerged among the Barman. But under the influence of modern forces the joint family system has not gained so much importance among the Barman and still most of the Barman families have nuclear families as shown in table 4.2.

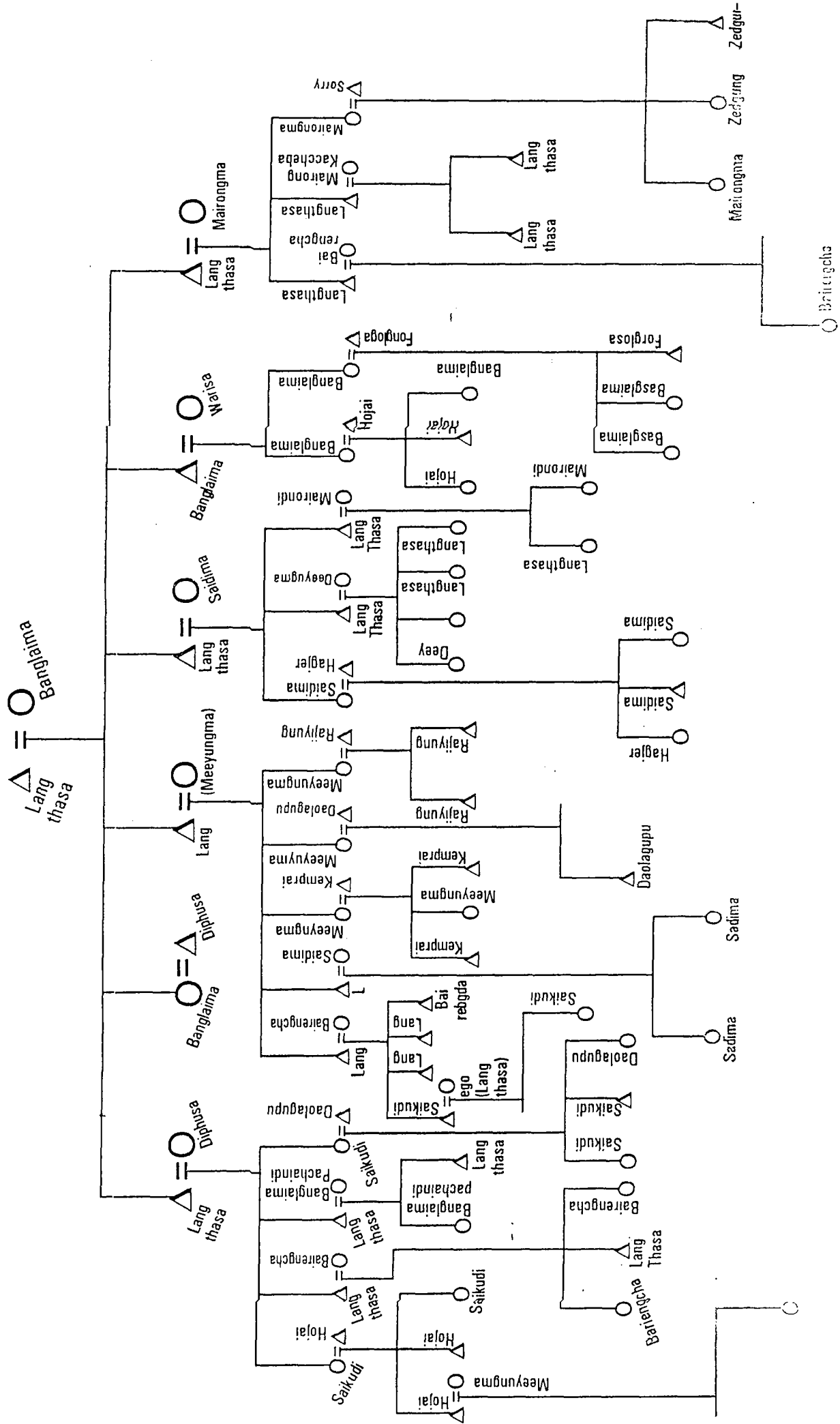
**TABLE 4.2**

### THE TYPE OF FAMILY IN THE STUDY VILLAGES

S. N.	Name of the Village	Family Type				Total	
		Nuclear		Joint		No of Households	Percentage
		No of Household	Percentage	No of Household	Percentage		
1	Kumacherra	99	89.19	12	10.81	111	100.0
2	Dormikhal	57	91.94	5	8.06	62	100.0
3	Nikama	54	93.10	4	6.89	58	100.0
Total		210	90.91	21	9.09	231	100.0

The data of the table reveal that in Kumacherra village 89.19 percent households have nuclear family type and only 10.81 percent have joint family system. In Dormikhal it is observed that 91.94 percent have nuclear family type while joint family system is found only in 8.06 percent cases. While in Nikama the nuclear family pattern is observed in 93.10 per cent cases and joint family system in 6.9 per cent cases only. Thus, it can be said that the nuclear family pattern is still a dominant pattern among the Barman of Barak Valley. The above data also suggest that in all the three study villages there is marginal variation in the case of family type. Thus it can be said that nuclear family pattern is still a dominant pattern among the Barman of Barak valley.

### The Descent System (Kumacherra Village) of Barman



## **Descent**

A descent group is any social group in which membership depend on common descent from real or mythical ancestors. Generally two types of descent system patrilineal and matrilineal are found in tribal society. But it has been reported by social anthropologist that some of the tribal societies double descent is also found.

The Barman of Barak valley represents to a society, which has double descent. In India double descent is found only among the Toda tribe of Nilgiri Hills and Dimasa tribe of North East India. As stated earlier that Barman is a tribe segregated from wider Dimasaa-Kachari society during the early part of 19<sup>th</sup> century. Therefore, there are a number of similarities in their family and Kinship system. Like Dimasas Barman have both patrilineal and matrilineal system of descent. The descent of a man is primarily ascertained from his grandfather and concurrently from maternal grandmother. A woman, however, reckons her descent from her maternal grandmother and secondarily from her paternal grandfather. Thus, the Barman has a system of Double descent i.e. patrilineal and matrilineal from of descent are followed simultaneously.

Among the Barman there is a restriction on making marriage relationship between three clans namely father's clan mother's clan, Fa., Mo. clan of the boy and the girl. Thus marriage can not take place in the matri and patri clans upto third order in case of both the boy and girl.

## **Origin and Order of Clans**

The early history suggests that the original root of the Barman was found in the Dimasa-Kachari dynasty which ruled from Dimapur as its capital. But later on



they shifted their capital to Maibong and finally to Khashpur of Cachar plains. Therefore, the order and origin of the clans among the Barman is somewhat similar to the Dimasas as they had been a part of greater Dimasa-Kachari society till the early part of the nineteenth century. The Barman have a system of double descent i.e. matrilineal and patrilineal are maintained simultaneously, the new male member attains the clans of his father primarily and mother's clans. The female child, however, attains her mother's clan primarily and father's clan secondarily. The male clan is called *semphong* while the female clan is termed as *Julu* or *Juddi*. Thus, *semphong* and *Julu* are important units of the social structure of the Barman society. The *semphongs* were not formed at one point of time but added at different points of time. At Dimapur, it is believed that they had only seventeen *semphongs* namely: (1) Ardao, (2) Mither (3) Diphusa (4) Chengyung (5) Thaosen (6) Fonglosa (7) Hagjer (8) Bodosia (9) Rajiyung (10) Baderbhyga (11) Daolagajao (12) Daolagupu (13) Hojai (14) Kempri (15) Zeedgung (16) Baindo (17) Akher. Later on, the other *semphongs* were added to these seventeen *semphongs* and the number of *semphongs* increased upto 42. but as a result of segregation in Dimasa Kachari society. Two separate tribes namely Dimasa and Barman came into existence in the early part of 19<sup>th</sup> century ( The historical factors responsible for segregation are already discussed in chapter III ). There is a variation in the number of clans among the contemporary Barman and Dimasa society. In a significant anthropological study of Dimasa tribe (Danda 1978) reported that there are altogether 42 patrilineal and 42 matrilineal among the Dimasas. But she listed name of 42 patrilineal and 34 matrilineal among the Dimasa . Barman ( 1978 ) listed the name of Barman *semphongs* and

Julus. According to him, there are altogether 40 semphongs and 42 julus among the Barman. In order to resolve this contrary observation an attempt was made to explore this problem during the course of present study and a comparative chart was prepared which shows not only common semphongs and Julus among the Dimasa and Barman but also Dimasa specific and Barman specific semphongs and Julus. This comparative chart is presented below as table 4.3 and 4.4. //

The data presented in table 4.3 reveal that there are 34 common *semphongs* among Barmans and Dimasa tribes while there are 7 Barman specific *semphongs* namely *Akher*, *Baindo*, *Dhirva*, *Giricha*, *Hacham*, *Rajiyung* and *Johrasa*. Another interesting fact appears from the present studies is that the clan *Hangchengcha* is one among the oldest royal clans but it is now found only among the Barmans but not among the Dimasa. The reason for this may be that at the time of shifting of capital from Maibong to Khashpur there might be total migration of clan from N.C. Hills to Cachar as it was the clan of the king Harish Chandra. Among the other three clans *Rajiyung* is a royal clan and it might have migrated in toto when the capital was shifted to Khashpur. That is why it is not found among the Dimasa. Remaining two clans *Hacham* and *Johrasa* are non-royal clans and perhaps added at a later stage in Barman society. As *Johrasa*, was allocated the occupation of dresser by the king Krishna Chandra. The *Hacham* clan is mainly constituted by agricultural section of the Barman society. //

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Table 4.3

A Comparative Chart of Semphongs among Barman and Dimasa Tribes

COMMON SEMPHONGS AMONG BARMAN AND DIMASA TRIBES	BARMAN SPECIFIC SEMPHONGS	DIMASA SPECIFIC SEMPHONGS
01. Adaosa/Ardao	35. [Akher ]	35. Daliyasanta
02. Baderbagia	36. [Baindo]	36. Daudungsa
03. Bodosa	37. <u>Dhirua</u>	37. Disausa
04. Daudunglanta	38. <u>Girisa</u>	38. Lamphusa
05. Daulagajao (sa)	39. Hacham	39. Londisa
06. Daulagupu	40. <i>Hachengsa</i>	40. Longmailaisa
07. Diphu (sa)	41. Rajiyung	41. Raiusa
08. Jibragedesa/Dibragede	42. Johrasa	42. Surunfansa
09. Golosa/Gorlocha		43. Phurusa
10. Halfnongfansa or Halfnongbar		
11. Hagjer		
12. Hakmaosa		
13. Hapilasa		
14. Hasnusa		
15. Hojai		
16. Johrisa		
17. Kharigaph (sa)		
18. Khersa		
19. Khemprai (sa)		
20. Lafthai (sa)		
21. Langthasa/Langtadaoga		
22. Laobangdi (sa)		
23. Maibongsa		
24. Mither (fangsa)		
25. Naben (gsa)		
26. Naidingsa		
27. Parabsa		
28. Phonglosa/Fonglosa		
29. Warisa/Chhrong		
30. Seingyunsa/Chengyung		
31. Thaosen (sa)		
32. Mramsa/Jrambsa		
33. Nonsia		
34. Zeedung]		

Sources : Danda (1978) ; Barman (1978) ;and empirical evidence of the present study

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of dresser by the king Krishna Chandra. The Hacham clan is mainly constituted by agricultural by section of the Barman society.

Dimasa and Barman but also Dimasa specific and Barman specific semphongs and Julus. This comparative chart is presented bellow as table 4.3 and 4.4. As far as case of Dimasa specific clan is concern there are nine (9) clans which are found only among the Dimasa, these are Daliyasanta, Daudungsa, Disausa, Lamphusa, Londisa, Longmailaisa, Raiusa, Surunfansa and Phurusa as these clans donot appear in the list of royal clans of Dimasa-Kachari society therefore, it can be assumed that these clans were introduced among the Dimasa at a later stage.

It suggests that there is sufficient dynamicity in the patriclan structure of the Barman and Dimasa society as some elements of structure continued and some elements have changed during the course of time.

The data presented in table 4.4 indicate that there are only 10 *julu* or *Jaddi* which are commonly found among Dimasa and Barman. These are *Bairengma*, *Banglaima*, *Mairangma*, *Mairongma daoga*, *Meyungma/Meungma*, *Meeyugma daoga*, *Pachaindi*, *Saidima*, *Saidina daoga* and *Saikudi*. Although *Danda* (1978) mentioned that there are 42 matriclans among the Dimasas but she presented in her list only 34 *Juddis*. Out of these 34, 24 *juddis* are found only among the Dimasa. According to Barman (1978) there are 42 *Julus* among the Barman. Thus, there are 32 *Julus* which are specifically found only among the Barmans as shown in the table 4.5.

Table 4.5  
Julus among the Barman and Dimasa Tribes of Assam

Common Julus	Barman Specific Julus	Dimasa Specific Julus	
1. Saikudi	1. Saikudi Gedeba (not known)	1. Againaju	
2. Banglaima (Mailungdi)	2. Saikudi Kachheba (not known)	2. Anumajilu	
	3. Banglaima Gedeba (Ambika)	3. Bairingma	
3. Pachaindi (	4. Banglaima Kachheba (Binsmudi)	4. Banglaima dauga	
	5. Banglaima Pachaindi (Jambubati)	5. Buguma	
4. Mairongma (Thangjadi)	6. Pachaindi Gedeba (Omrabati)	6. Desrikni	
	7. Mairong Pachaindi Kachheba (Thubangdi)	7. Draingsongma gedeba	
5. Saidima (Kashidi)	8. Mairong Prainsoh (Yashomati)	8. DraingsongmaKhasiba	
	9. Mairong Gedeba (Kousalya)	9. Gachauma	
	10. Mairong Kachheba (Zaludi)	10. Gorni	
	11. Mairongdi Kachheba (Zaolaidi)	11. Hamthaidi	
	12. Mairongdi (Duhani)	12. Kalachanma	
	13. Maireng (Doorabati)	13. Longmaisajilu	
	14. Maireng Gedeba (Lakhidi)	14. Madaima	
	15. Maireng Kachheba (Wain Shrung-di)	15. Maibong gojodi	
	16. Mairengma Zoolu (Samodi)	16. Mairangma	
	17. Maireng Kache (Doobangdi)	17. Miungma	
	18. Mairon Daoga (Jahirundi)	18. Pakhaju	
	19. Maironma Gedeba (Bishnupriya)	19. Panthaobarjilu	
	20. Mairon Gedeba (Nairungdi)	20. Rajama	
	21. Mairon Kachheba (Gungadi)	21. Ranima	
	22. Maironsam Degaswao (Gainchaindi)	22. Sagaodi	
	23. Mairung Gedeba (Daomadi)	23. Saidima dauga	
	24. Mairungma Gedeba (Dehchaindi)	24. Samder sagaodi	
	25. Mairan Gedeba (Loomaidi)	25. Thaliju	
	26. Saidima Gedeba (Basoodi)	26. Tharaju	
	27. Saidima Kachheba (Maimoondi)	27. Yamthaidirao	
	28. Saidima Dagao (Kashimati II)		
	29. Saidima Sgaochhong (Thailoodi)		
	6. Humlaidigumundi (Dehblaidi)	30. Meeyung Kachheba (Anjana)	
	7. Meeyungma Daoga (Rehmadi)	31. Meeyungma Gedeba (Kashimati I)	
		32. Bairangcha (Yashoda)	
		33. Ranchaindi (Rukshini)	
	34. Deeyungma (Chandrabati)		
	35. Khumbasi (Kanchani - a Koch Princess married to King Harishchandra)		
	<b>Recently added Julus</b>		
	36. Phaigindirao (For incoming Women from other communities)		
	37. Phaindiaro (For Female descendents of the out going women)		

**Table 4.4 : Julus among the Barman Tribe of Assam**

1. **Saikudi** (Descendent from Kunjabati –sister of Suradarpa and mother of King Kirthichandra)
  2. Saikudi Gedeba (not known)
  3. Saikudi Kachheba (not known)
4. **Banglaima (Mailungdi)**
  5. Banglaima Gedeba (Ambika)
  6. Banglaima Kachheba (Binsmudi)
  7. Banglaima Pachaindi (Jambubati)
8. **Pachaindi ( Not known )**
  9. Pachaindi Gedeba (Omrabati)
  10. Mairong Pachaindi Kachheba (Thubangdi)
11. **Mairongma (Thangjadi)**
  12. Mairong Prainsoh (Yashomati)
  13. Mairong Gedeba (Kousalya)
  14. Mairong Kachheba (Zaludi)
  15. Mairongdi Kachheba (Zaolaidi)
  16. Mairongdi (Duhani)
  17. Maireng (Doorabati)
  18. Maireng Gedeba (Lakhidi)
  19. Maireng Kachheba (Wain Shrung-di)
  20. Mairengma Zoolu (Samodi)
  21. Maireng Kache (Doobangdi)
  22. Mairon Daoga (Jahirundi)
  23. Maironma Gedeba (Bishnupriya)
  24. Mairon Gedeba (Nairungdi)
  25. Mairon Kachheba (Gungadi)
  26. Maironsam Degaswao (Gainchaindi)
  27. Mairung Gedeba (Daomadi)
  28. Mairungma Gedeba (Dehchaindi)
  29. Mairan Gedeba (Loomaidi)
30. **Saidima (Kashidi)**
  31. Saidima Gedeba (Basoodi)
  32. Saidima Kachheba (Maimoondi)
  33. Saidima Dagao (Kashimati II)
34. **Saidima Sgaochhong (Thailoodi)**
35. **Humlaidigumundi (Dehblaidi)**
36. **Meeyung Kachheba (Anjana)**
  37. Meeyungma Gedeba (Kashimati I)
  38. Meeyungma Daoga (Rehmadi)
39. **Bairangcha (Yashoda)**
40. **Ranchaindi (Rukshini)**
41. **Deeyungma (Chandrabati)**
42. **Khumbasi (Kanchani - a Koch Princess married to King Harishchandra)**

**Recently added Julus**

43. **Phaigindirao (For incoming Women from other communities)**
44. **Phaifindiario (For Female descendents of the Barman girls who had married outsiders)**

An analysis of the name of the ancestors of these Julus is shown in table 4.5. The data reveal that the name of the ancestor of most of the oldest clan seem to be tribal in appearance some of them are commonly found among the Barman and Dimasa. While a number of clans are originated from a Hinduised ancestors as reflected from their name. Some of the clan, such as Khumbasi ; (originated from Kanchani a Koch princes married to King Laxmichandra - 1778-80 A.D.), were originated from Koch princes married into royal family. Thus, extension of the marriage ties beyond the boundary of the tribe has been a source of change in the structure of matirclans. It indicates that a structure of matriclan is not static in Dimasa-Kachari society but was dynamic in nature. Thus, it can be said that the structure of patriclan is relatively stable among the Barman but structurally matriclan are dynamic. Recently two new matriclan have introduced among the Barman which reflects the capacity of adaptation in the social structure of the Barman. In the sense that in recent past there have been some marriages by the Barman boys and girls outside the tribe. It has posed problem before them. The major problem was that when a non Barman women marries to a Barman man she does not have any matriclan, therefore, there is a need to create a new matriclan for the off-springs of such a couple. Instead of giving separate matriclan for each such women recently Nikhil Cachar Haidembo Barman Samiti decided to allocate a new matriclan namely, *Phaijindirao* in all such cases. Another problem, which has been faced by the Barman society is that a number of Barman girls have got married to non-Barman boys. As per rule of Barman society such women have been ex-communicated from the Barman society but if such instances increase it may pose a problem for



the society as a whole therefore, above mentioned samiti decided that the male off-springs of such Barman women will bear their respective fathers clan which will be naturally non-Barman and they will be remain ~~and they will be remain~~ part of non-Barman society but-female off-springs of such women may inherit a matriclan as per Barman customary law and may remain the part of the Barman society and marriage can take place with these girls as in normal course of Barman society. Therefore, in all such cases they have innovated a new matriclan namely *Phaifindirao*. These concrete evidence of inclusion of two new matriclans in Barman society very recently is sufficient to infer that social structure of the Barman society has not been static but passed through a gradual process of social change since the time of Dimasa-Kachari King. It also shatter the impression that the social structure among the Dimasa and Barman is identical as both of them have similar origin. In fact, both the tribes have significant differences in their social structure despite of a number of similarities in their patriclan and matriclan structure. These will be more evident in chapter VIII when ritual structure of the Barman will be analyzed in detail.

## **GENETIC ROOT OF THE CLANS**

After adoption of Hinduism an attempt was made during the period of Raja Krishnachanda (1780/1813 A.D.), to correlate the Dimasa semphongs to Hindu genetic root. The Brahmins tried to relate the semphong with Hindu rishi's from whom the genetic root (gotra) started. This idea of genetic root system was introduced by the Brahmins, who were called by Raja from Banaras and them Barmans adopted some of the elements of Hindu social structure such as allocation of occupation to different clans and genetic root of different clans in Hindu mythology. The

above mentioned Brahmins were called *Baroghoria* and they enjoyed the highest status among the priests of Barman society because they rendered their services to the king and other royal families. As a result the traditional; priests lost their importance in royal court but continued to render their services to the common people. The genetic root of different Barman semphongs is shown in table 4.6.

Table 4.6 : Genetic Root of Semphong among the Barman

S.N.	Genetic Root	Name of the Semphong
1	Agnibasya	Ardao
2	Apcharan	Mither
3	Biswamitra	Diphusa
4	Katyayan	Hagjer
5	Vargab	Thaosen
6	Gautom	Fonglosa
7	Bharadhwaj	Chengyung
8	Agasthya	Rajiyung
9	Chandra Koushik	Baderbhayga
10	Kashyap	Daolagajao
11	Oitikya	Daolagupu
12	Sabarni	Hojai
13	Shandilya	Kemprai
14	Angira	Zeedgung
15	Madkulya	Baindo
16	Batsya	Akher
17	Baiyagrapadma	Riphasgao (Hasnusa)
18	Paitimasi	Riphapharain (Halflong bar)
19	Karna	Bodosa
20	Krishnarjun	Hapila
21	Gorga	Dihrooa
22	Sartayan	Naiding
23	Naidurba	Daodunglangta
24	Krishnavan	Kharigaph
25	Barpatya	Johrasa
26	Sounak	Hacham
27	Ourba	Naben
28	Krishnakoushik	Dibragede
29	Saktri	Langtadaoga (Langthosa)
30	Gotakarna	Giricha
31	Otri	Parbat
32	Batsya	Maibongcha
33	Brishagan	Jahorisa
34	Parasar	Chrong
35	Jaimini	Golocha
36	Aptaban	Hakmaosa
37	Swarna koushik	Mramcha
38	Basistya	Zambo
39	Deval	Labtai
40	Jamadagni	Laobangdi



***Bride of Barman tribe wear Sankha  
(used by married Bengali Women)***

The above mentioned facts suggest that the effect of Hinduisation among the Barman was so massive that they began to identify themselves with the Hindu Munies. But during the field work of the present study, it was observed that most of the Barman people were unaware about their genetic root(Gotra).

## **Patterns of Marriage**

In order to understand the kinship structure an attempt is made to analyse the patterns of marriage in the study villages. As Barmans follow double descent system, this analysis may provide concrete evidence in support of patriclan exogamy, matriclan exogamy and village exogamy.

### **PATRICLAN EXOGAMY**

One of the important characteristics of the Barman is partileaneal descent which restricts them to marry within their patriclan. Therefore, a Barman is expected to marry outside his or her patriclan. Therefore, husband's clan is analysed in relation to wife's father's clan. As per rule of marriage among the Barmans both the husband and wife must belongs to separate patriclan.

In Kumacherra village 121 marriage relations are studied in order to analyse the relationship between husbands clan and his wife's father's clan as is shown in table 4.7.

Table 4.7  
Patriclan Exogamy in Kumachera

Wi Fa Clan

S.No.	R's Hu Clan	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	Total
1	KHEMPRAI	0	1	3	1	1	2	2	1	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16
2	BODOSA	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
3	ZEEDUNG	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
4	FONGLOSA	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
5	DIPHUSA	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
6	HASNUSA	0	0	3	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10
7	LANGTHASA	0	10	0	3	3	9	7	2	8	8	2	9	0	3	1	1	2	2	4	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	79	
	TOTAL	0	12	9	4	6	12	10	4	13	11	3	12	1	4	3	2	2	2	4	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	121	

KEY

1. Bederbaighya. 2. Haiflongbar. 3. Langthasa. 4. Naiding. 5. Bodosa. 6. Thaosen. 7. Khersa. 8. Jeedgung. 9. Warisa. 10. Fonglosa. 11. Hojai. 12. Kemprai. 13. Naben. 14. Daolagapu. 15. Hagler. 16. Johrisa. 17. Rajiyung. 18. Hakmaosa. 19. Diphusa. 20. Johrasa. 21. Hapila. 22. Kharigaph. 23. Daolagajao. 24. Hasnusa. 25. Mither. 26. Maibongsa. 27. Dhirua. 28. Dibragede. 29. Labtai. 30. Girtcha. 31. Langtadaoga.

In Kumacherra village there are seven patrilineal clans namely Kempri, Bodosa, Zeedung, Fonglosa, Diphusa, Hasnusa and Langthasa. These clans are connected through marriage relations to twenty two patrilineal clans. The data show that the rule of patrilineal exogamy is maintained in all the 121 cases. In Kumacherra 10 marriage relations of Kempri clan are studied, this marriage relation connects this clan to ten other clans of the Barman namely, Halflongbar, Langthasa (3), Naiding, Bodosa, Thaosan (2), Fonglosa (2) and Hojai. Similarly Bodosa clan is connected through marriage to Langthasa, Fonglosa and Kempri clans. Zeedung clan in this village is connected with four clans Langthasa, Warisa, Fonglosa and Kempri having one case of marriage in each clan. In case of Fonglosa five marriage ties were found in five different clans namely Langthasa, Bodosa, Naben, Daolagupu and Hagjer with one case in each clan. The Diphusa clan is connected with four other clans, namely, Halflongbar, Thaosan, Warisa and Johrisa with one marriage tie in each clan. In Hasnusa clan ten marriage relations are studied of which there were in Langthasa, two in Kempri and one each in Bodosa, Khersa, Zeedung and Warisa. The dominant patrilineal clan in this village is Langthasa. Out of 79 marriages taken place in this clan ten are in Halflongbar nine each in Thaosan and Kempri eight each in Warisa and Fonglosa, seven in Thaosan, four in Diphusa three each in Naiding, Bodosa, Daolagupu. Two each in Zeedung, Hojai, Johrisa and Rajiyung and one each in Hagjer, Johrisa, Johrasa, Hapila and Kharigaph. Thus this largest clan of the village is connected with other of 20 clans of the Barman society.

In Dormikhal village total 70 cases of marriage distributed over 6 clans namely Fonglosa (14) Halflongbar (22) Rajiyung (3) Khersa (2) Kempri (1) and

Langthasa(28) were studied. The data presented in table 4.8 show these clans have a wider linkage with 29 clans of the Barman society through marriage ties. It is obvious from the table that in Dormikhal village also the rule of patriclan exogamy is strictly maintained (see table 4.8).

In Nikama village, there are eight patriclans namely Halflongbar (2) Thaosen (2) Johrisa (5) Khersa (9) Johrasa (6) Hojai (15) Fonglosa (13) and Warisa (15). These clans are connected with 21 clans by 67 marriage ties. In this village also one can find solid evidence of patriclan exogamy as shown in table 4.9.

It is clear from the above analysis that in Kumacherra, Dormikhal and Nikama villages the rule of patriclan exogamy is strictly maintained.

#### **MATRICLAN EXOGAMY**

The Barman also maintain matriclan exogamy. At the time of negotiation of marriage it is enquired that matriclan of the girl and matriclan of the boy should not be the same. Therefore, marriage can take place only among those who have different matriclans and as well as patriclans. In order to analyse the matriclan exogamy an attempt is made to study husband's mother's clan (Hu. Mo. Clan) and wife's clan in case of 121 marriage cases in Kumacherra, 70 cases in Dormikhal and 67 cases in Nikama. In Kumacherra village 121 marriage cases were distributed over 21 Hu. Mo, Clans and 23 wife's clan. In case of Hu.Mo highest frequency were observed in *Saikudi* with 18 cases closely followed by *Pachaindi Gedeba*(14) *Saidima gedeba* (12) *Banglaima* and *Bairengcha* (11) each. Others have relatively low representation. In case of wife's clan highest representation was found in *Saidima* with 15 cases closely followed by *saikudi* (14) *Pachaindi Gedeba* (11) *Bairengcha*

**Table 4.8**  
**Patriclan Exogamy in Dormikhal**

**Wi Fa Clan**

S.No.	R's Hu Clan	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	Total
1	FONGLOSA			1	1	1	1	1	1	1										1			1	1	1		1						14
2	HALFLONGBAR			2		2	2	1	2	2		1	1	1	1			1		1		1			1	1	1	1					22
3	RAJIYUNG					1				1								1															3
4	KHERSA																1														1		2
5	KHEMPRAI																																1
6	LANGTHASA		2	2	2	1	2	3	1	3	4	3	2		1	1					1				1						1		28
	TOTAL	2	3	3	2	6	6	4	4	6	7	4	3	1	1	1	2	2		2	1	2	1	1	3	1	2	1	1	1	3		70

**KEY**

1. Baderbaighya. 2. Haiflongbar. 3. Langthasa. 4. Nading. 5. Bodosa. 6. Thaosen. 7. Khersa. 8. Jeedgung. 9. Wansa. 10. Fonglosa. 11. Hojai. 12. Kemprai. 13. Naben. 14. Daolagupu. 15. Hagjer. 16. Johnisa. 17. Rajiyung. 18. Hakmaosa. 19. Diphusa. 20. Johrasa. 21. Hapila. 22. Khangaph. 23. Dpolagajao. 24. Hasnusa. 25. Mither. 26. Maibongsa. 27. Dhirua. 28. Dibragede. 29. Labtai. 30. Giricha. 31. Langtadaoga.



Table 4.9  
Patriclan Exogamy in Nikama

Wi Fa Cian

S.No.	R's Hu Clan	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	Total	
1	HALFLONGBAR	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	
2	THAOSEN	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
3	JOHRISA	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
4	KHERSA	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	2	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
5	JOHRASA	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	
6	HOJAI	0	1	3	0	0	2	1	0	2	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	
7	FONGLOSA	1	1	2	0	0	2	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	13	
8	WARISA	0	0	2	0	0	1	3	1	2	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	
	TOTAL	1	2	11	1	0	7	7	2	5	7	4	2	2	5	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	3	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	67	

KEY

1. Baderbaighya. 2. Halflongbar. 3. Langthasa. 4. Naiding. 5. Bodosa. 6. Thaosen. 7. Khersa. 8. Jeedgung. 9. Warisa. 10. Fonglosa. 11. Hojai. 12. Kemprai. 13. Naben. 14. Daolagupu. 15. Hagier. 16. Johrisa. 17. Rajiyung. 18. Hakmaosa. 19. Diphusa. 20. Johrassa. 21. Hapila. 22. Kharigaph. 23. Daolagajao. 24. Hasnusa. 25. Mither. 26. Maibongsa. 27. Dhirua. 28. Dibragede. 29. Labtai. 30. Giricha. 31. Langtadaoga.

**Table : 4.10**  
**Matriclan Exogamy in Kumachera Village**  
 (Source : Data Collected by Self)

**RESPONDENT'S WIFE'S CLAN**

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31									
1	0							2			1									1		2	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1									
2	0		1								1									1			1																	
3		0																																						
4				0								2	1			3	1										4													
5					0			2			1				2																									
6	2												1																											
7						0																																		
8							0																																	
9								0																																
10									0																															
11											0																													
12	1											0																												
13						1	1							0									2																	
14															0																									
15																																								
16																0																								
17	1															0																								
18							1										0																							
19								1																																
20																		1																						
21																					0																			
22																							0																	
23	1							1			1							1							1	2														
24						1	1																1	1																
25									1																															
26	2												1																											
27																																								
28	2							1																																
29																								3																
30																																								
31									1																															
10	4	2	1	10	4	1	1	5	4	0	6	3	0	0	3	7	0	9	1	1	0	11	15	0	5	2	14	1	0	2	12									

**RESPONDENT'S  
MOTHER'S  
CLAN**

Key	
1	Banglaima
2	Banglaima Gedeba
3	Banglaima Kachheba
4	Banglaima Pachaindi
5	Bairencha
6	Deoyungma
7	Mairong
8	Mairang Gedeba
9	Mairang Kachheba
10	Mairong
11	Mairong Gedeba
12	Mairong Kachheba
13	Mairouma Gedeba
14	Mairou Daoga
15	Mairou Gedeba
16	Mairou Kachheba
17	Mairoudi
18	Mieyung Gedeba
19	Mieyung Kachheba
20	Mieyungma
21	Mieyungma Gedeba
22	Pachaindi
23	Pachaindi Gedeba
24	Saidima
25	Saidima Dagao
26	Saidima Gedeba
27	Saidima Kachheba
28	Saikudi
29	Saikudi Gedeba
30	Saikudi Kachheba
31	Khumbasi

**Table 4.11**  
**Matriclan Exogamy in Dormikhal Village**  
(Source : Data collected by Self)

		Respondantes Wifes Clan																																		
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31				
N's MO Clan	1	0																																	1	
	2	0	0																																	3
	3	1	0																																	1
	4	1	0	0																																2
	5	1	0	0																																1
	6	1	0	0																																7
	7	0	0																																	0
	8	0	0																																	1
	9	1	1																																	2
	10	1	1	1																																2
	11	1	1	1	1																															6
	12	1	1	1	1	1																														1
	13	1	1	1	1	1	1																													5
	14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																												0
	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																											0
	16	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																										1
	17	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																									1
	18	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																								0
	19	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																							0
	20	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																						7
	21	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																					1
	22	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																				0
	23	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																			0
	24	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																		7
	25	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																	2
	26	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																0
	27	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1															1
	28	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1														3
	29	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1														2
	30	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1													8
	31	4	3	0	0	8	2	0	2	1	1	1	1	1	4	1	1	0	1	0	5	0	2	0	9	6	0	4	6	5	0	0	1	0	0	

Key

- 1 Banglaima
- 2 Banglaima Gedeba
- 3 Banglaima Kachheba
- 4 Banglaima Petchaindi
- 5 Bairucha
- 6 Deyungma
- 7 Mairang
- 8 Mairang Gedeba
- 9 Mairang Kachheba
- 10 Mairong
- 11 Mairong Gedeba
- 12 Mairong Kachheba
- 13 Maironma Gedeba
- 14 Mairon Daoga
- 15 Mairon Gedeba
- 16 Mairon Kachheba
- 17 Mairondi
- 18 Meeyung Gedeba
- 19 Meeyung Kachheba
- 20 Meeyungma
- 21 Meeyungma Gedeba
- 22 Petchaindi
- 23 Petchaindi Gedeba
- 24 Saidima
- 25 Saidima Dagso
- 26 Saidima Gedeba
- 27 Saidima Kachheba
- 28 Saikudi
- 29 Saikudi Gedeba
- 30 Saikudi Kachheba
- 31 Khumbasi

**Table : 4.12**  
**Matriclan Exogamy in Nikama Village**

(Source : Data collected by Self)

**Respondantes Wifes Clan**

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	
1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	1	1	0	0	1	3
2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
13	1	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	11	
14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11
15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
19	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
21	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
22	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
23	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10
24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
26	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
27	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
28	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
29	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
30	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
31	2	3	3	10	4	1	2	2	4	1	2	2	4	5	3	1	3	1	3	1	5	2	2	7	4	8	1	4	1	67		

**Key**

1	Banglaima
2	Banglaima Gedeba
3	Banglaima Kachheba
4	Banglaima Pachaindi
5	Baireucha
6	Deeyungma
7	Mairong
8	Mairang Gedeba
9	Mairang Kachheba
10	Mairong
11	Mairong Gedeba
12	Mairong Kachheba
13	Maironna Gedeba
14	Mairon Daoga
15	Mairon Gedeba
16	Mairon Kachheba
17	Mairondi
18	Meyung Gedeba
19	Meyung Kachheba
20	Meyungma
21	Meyungma Gedeba
22	Pachaindi
23	Pachaindi Gedeba
24	Saidima
25	Saidima Dagao
26	Saidima Gedeba
27	Saidima Kachheba
28	Saikudi
29	Saikudi Gedeba
30	Saikudi Kachheba
31	Khumbasi

RESPONDENTS  
MOTHER'S  
CLAN



(10) Banglaima (10) and Mecyung Kaecheba (9) others clans have relatively low representation. The data presented in the table 4.10 clearly present the case of matrilineal exogamy in Kumacherra village as in all the 121 classes Hu. Mo. Clans and wife's clans are found different.

In Dormikhal village 70 In Dormikhal village 70 cases of marriage were studied. An analysis of relationship between respondent's mother's julu (matrilineal) and his wife's julu as shown in table 4.11 reveal that in this village 20 julus were identified in case of respondent's mother and 21 julus in case of wife. In all the cases respondent's mother's julu and his wife's julu were found different. It suggests that in Dormikhal also matrilineal exogamy is followed in a strict sense.

In Nikama village 67 cases of marriage were studied and 19 julus were identified in case of respondent's mother and 18 julus in case of his wife. A cross analysis of mother's julu with wife's julus presented in table 4.12.

The data indicate that in this village also matrilineal exogamy is strictly maintained.

Thus, we can say that in all the three study villages matrilineal exogamy is maintained strictly. Through this empirical evidence of marriage pattern in study villages the existence of 31 julus in Barak Valley of Assam is also confirmed.

### **VILLAGE EXOGAMY**

The village exogamy refers to the restriction of marriage within the village. Traditionally, one village was generally inhabited by a single patrilineal and therefore, there was restriction on marriage between a boy and a girl of the same samphong and marriages were taking place with the boy or the girl of some other village in-

abited by a different samphong. As Barmans are patrilocal, the male respondents were asked to mention the native place of their spouse.

A comparative picture of the patterns of clan exogamy and village exogamy in the three study villages is shown in the table 4.13.

**TABLE 4.13**

**PATTERNS OF CLAN AND VILLAGE EXOGAMY**

S.N.	Name of the village	Total no.of marriage covered	Within the village	within the Cachar district	InKarimganj district	InHailakandi	In N.C. village Hills
1.	Kumacherra	121	–	116(95.87)	1(0.83)	5(4.13)	8(6.61)
2.	Dormikhal	70	–	62(88.6)	–	3(4.29)	5(7.14)
3.	Nikama	67	2(2.99)	57(85.07)	1(1.40)	3(4.48)	4(5.97)
4.	Total	258	2(0.77)	235(91.09)	2(0.78)	11(4.26)	17(6.59)

The data indicate that out of 258 marriage relations studied in the three study villages in as many as 99 percent cases the village exogamy was maintained. Only in case of Nikama village two cases of village endogamy were observed. As this village is a developed village and has a high degree of urbanisation, these two cases are result of love affairs between the boys and girls of the village, which shows that the modern education and exposure to urban institution is sufficient to initiate the process of social change in Barman society. In other two villages village exogamy is however, strictly maintained. Another important feature is that in all the three study villages some marriage ties are found in N.C. Hills district. It suggests that the process of restoration of marital ties with Dimasa had already started, even in rural areas, which is an important process of structural change among the Barmans.

From the above analysis it becomes clear that in case of all the three study villages there are few incidents of marriages held with the girl of Dimasa of N.C. Hills district. It suggests now attempts to revive the marital ties with Dimasa have already started. Barman, a broken tribe of Dimasa, accepted Hinduism and maintain its structure, identity by restricting marriage of its member within the tribe. After the division of Dimasa\_Kachari into Dimasa and Barman, the marriage ties between the two group also ceased for about hundred years. The first marriage tie between the two tribes was restored probably in 1950. When Joyvadra Hakger of N.C.Hills district marry Nirupama Barman of Cachar plains. Both were highly educated and it was a case of love marriage. They were having two daughters, one of them again married with-a Barman boy. At present also some attempt have been made to restore marriage ties between the Barman and Dimasa tribe particularly among the

educated youth. The field evidence also suggest that some marriage ties between the Dimasa and Barman exist. But occurrence of such marriage is negligible. It is observed that frequency of giving girls to Dimasa boys is relatively high among the Barman. One of the reason behind this is that the level of education among the Barman girl is high in comparison to Dimasa girls. Therefore, educated Dimasa boys prefer to marry a Barman girl. Another probable reason for this process is that the Barman of Barak Valley are facing a crisis of their cultural identity. They had lost political power in 1832 and in Barak Valley they now constitute a minority group as the Bengalis became dominant community after independence. But before independence the Bengalis were not having a dominant position in Barak Valley but after partition of the country there was a heavy influx of Bengali population from East-Bengal in to Barak Valley and it was further intensified in 1971 at the time of formation of Bangladesh and as a result Barak Valley became dominated by the Bengalis. The original inhabitants of the areas, that is, Barman have turned into a minority group. Thus a fear of identity crisis emerged amongst the Barman and it gave rise to the process of retribalisation among them. They found themselves more near to Dimasas as far as their tribal identity is concern. And efforts for integration of both the tribe are initiated by Dimasa leadership after getting the status of autonomous district council in N.C. Hills district in 1984. After that a movement for the formation of Dimaraji State began in this zone and an attempt was also to integrate the broken tribes of Dimasas namely Barmans of Cachar, Rukni Barmans of Karimganj, Hojai Kacharis of Nagaon, Kacharis of Nagaland started. The occurrence of marriages between Bengali boys and Barman girls in recent past strength-



ened this process of re-tribalisation among them because they have not recognised these marriages. Therefore, instead of giving their girls to Bengali boys they prefer Dimasa boys so that their cultural identity can be secured.

### **RE-MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE**

The system of re-marriage is present among Barmans. In case of male, the marriage is not very uncommon but in case of females it is very rare. Earlier amongst them younger brother was allowed to marry the widow of his elder brother but he never marry widow of his younger brother, similarly in case of females, she is not allowed to marry her younger sisters husband but she can marry husband of her elder sister. This type of marriage takes place in a very simple way where few relatives are called. But after adoption to Hinduism, this type of re-marriage discontinued among the Barman. At present re-marriage held as like as Bengali Hindus i.e. after the death of his wife or her husband he or she can marry another person. But amongst the females such incidents are very rare in comparison to males.

Divorce is very rare phenomena among the Barman. There is no customary law is confined for divorce. Only it should be treated as permissible subject after repayment of *kulty* (bride price). The divorce is allowed on the ground namely, adultery, physically handicapped, Lunacy and impotency etc. At the time of divorce *Khunag* and others are called to settle the matter. And the accused is given some punishment in the form of fine.

### **KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY AMONG THE BARMAN**

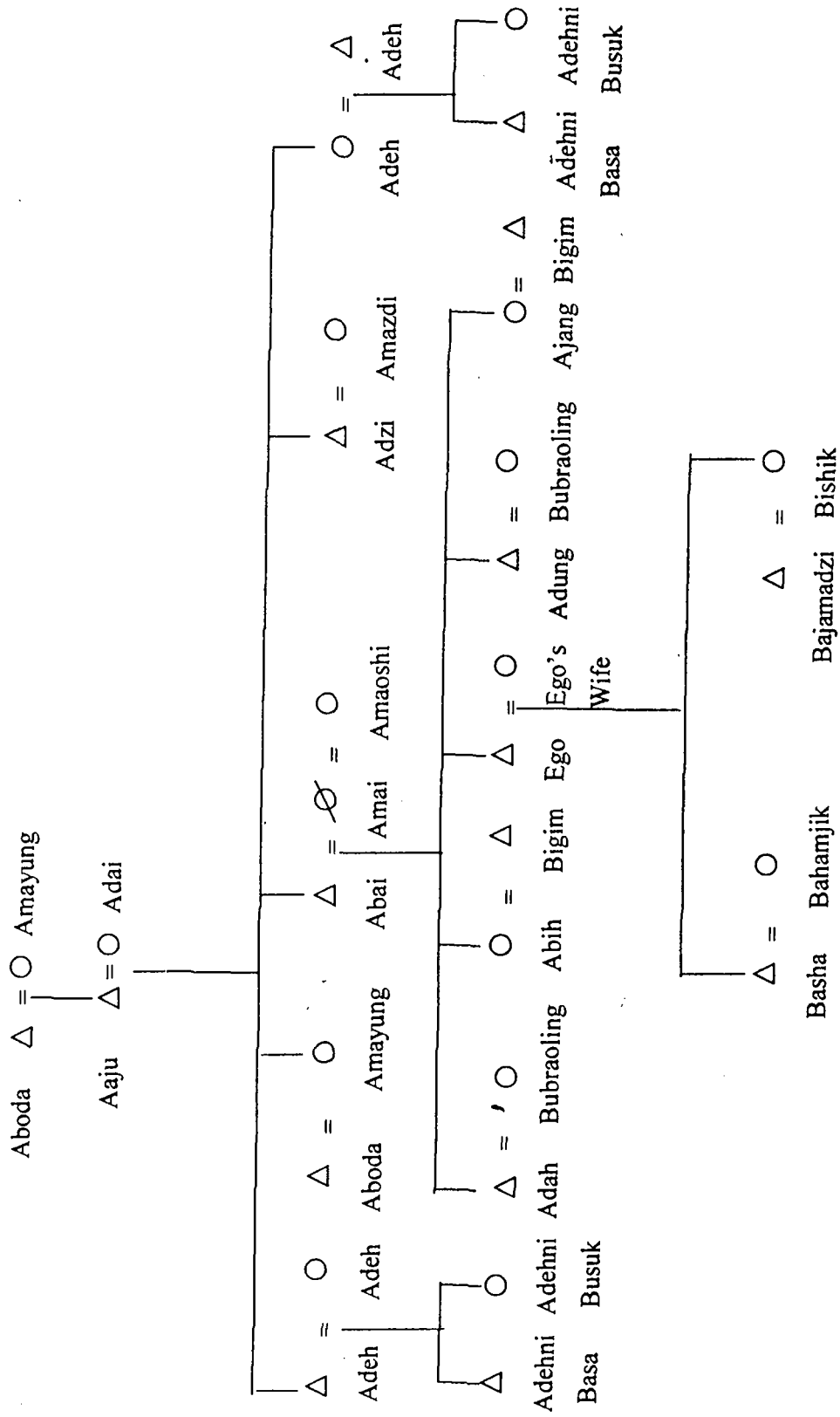
“A part of any Kinship system is some system of terms by which relatives of different kinds are spoken of or by which they are addressed as relatives. The first

step in the study of a Kinship system is to discover what terms are used and how they are used” (Radcliffe-Brown and Forde 1950, 6–7). Thus anthropologists have been keenly interested in studying Kinship terminologies as it help in understanding the Kinship systems. According to Morgan terminology is a method of classification and that what is told is how value systems classify ‘Kin’. (Morgan 1871). The distinguishing feature of a classificatory system of Kinship terminology in Morgan’s usage is that terms which apply to lineal relatives are also applied to certain collateral relatives. Thus, the classificatory terminology is primarily a mechanism which facilitates the establishment of wide-range systems of Kinship.

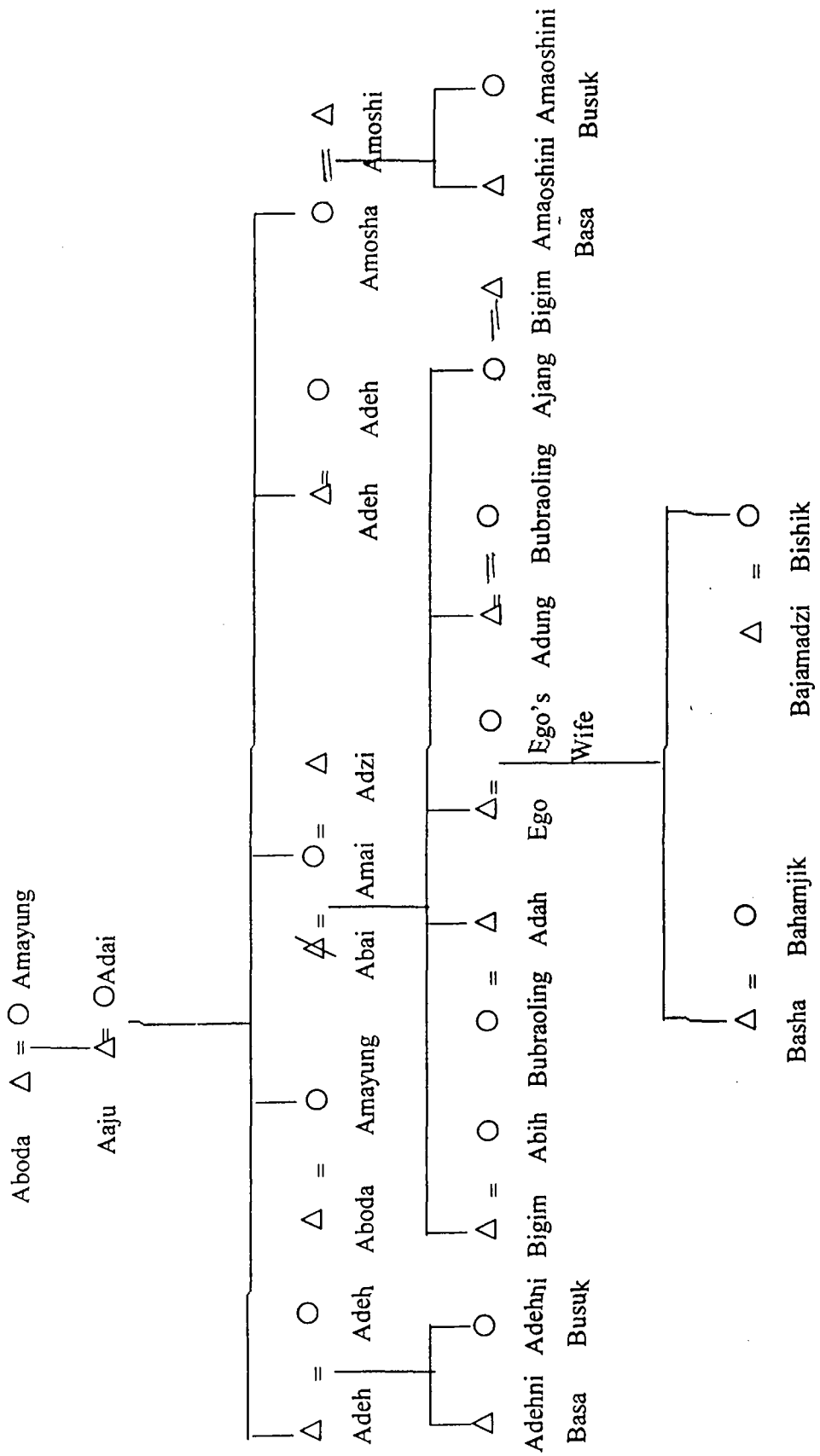
Research in many parts of the world has shown that the classificatory terminology, is used as a method of dividing relatives into categories which determine or influence social relations as exhibited in conduct. The general rule is that the inclusion of two relatives in the same terminological category implies that there is some significant similarity in the customary behaviour due to both of them, or in the social relation in which one stands to each of them, while inversely the placing of two relatives in different categories implies some significant difference in customary behaviour or social relations (Radcliffe – Brown and Forde 1950, 8–9). Morgan tried to classify all terminological system in two classes as being either classificatory or descriptive.

The Kinship terminology of the Barman shows the close relation and affection between matrilineal and patrilineal kin group. The affines are considered as important relatives. The kinsmen of both the sides are called at the time of marriage, death, birth and other important occasion. Among the Barmans it is observed that

# CHART I : PETERNAL KIN TERMINOLOGY AMONG THE BARMAN



**CHART II : MATERNAL KIN TERMINOLOGY AMONG THE BARMAN**



marriage relations is maintained upto 5th order and every new marriage is an extension of the Kinship ties in a new clan. Thus Barmans are structurally well integrated where range of Kinship ties are very wide and cut across most of the clans of their society as they possesses 36 males 42 female clans. Here an attempt has been made to analyse the paternal kin, maternal kin and finial kin of the Barman society.

### **PATERNAL KIN AND MATERNAL KIN**

It has been already stated that among the Barman the paternal and maternal kins are given equal importance. But in case of maternal kin it is not easy to trace the last-three or four generation while in case of paternal kin it is easily traceable upto five and six generations. The chart 1 to 2 reveal the broad principles of the extended Kinship structure. It indicate the typical feature of the classificatory Kinship system where few term are used for both the cases i.e., for both paternal kin and maternal kin. Thus, the term *Aboda* is used for great grand father of both father's side and mother's side. Similarly the term *Amayung* is used for great grand mother of both the sides. In next step that is for grand father and grand mother of both the sides the term *Aaju* and *Adai* is confined for that.

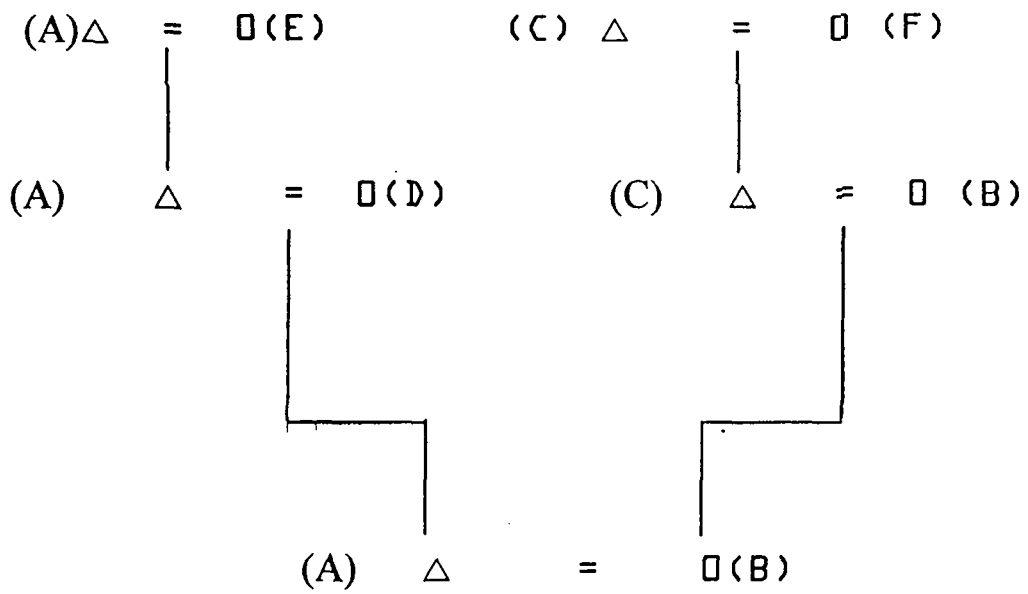
In case of paternal uncle the term *Aboda* is used while in case of maternal uncle it is observed among the Barman that the term *Adeh* is used as well as it is also used for wife's maternal uncle and for father's both elder sister and younger sister and for their husbands. The term *Abai* is used for father and *Amai* is for mother. The term *Amayung*, those which is used for great grand mother of both the sides is also used for elder sister of mother and father's elder brother's wife. The term *Amaoshi* is used for mothers youngers sister and for step mother. Similarly term *Adzi* is used for fathers younger brother and as well as for step father.



## AFFINAL KIN

The bond arises out of a socially or legally defined marital relationship, is called affinal Kinship and the relatives are called affinal kin. The affinal kins are not connected to each other through blood (Majumdar and Madan 1988, 98). Among the Barman a marriage relation those which establish the affinal kin restrict marriage relation between six clan i.e., in case of Barman marriage it is strictly avoided brides father's clan, mother clan and her father's mother clan which is not her own. Similarly in case of groom his father's clan his mother's clan and as well his father's mother clan is considered. From the figure -I the situation may be clear i.e., how the affinal Kinship among the Barman is establish and how the *Semphong's* and *Julu's* are avoided at the time of marriage.

**FIGURE I**



A – Ego’s semphong

B – Wifes Julu

C – Wifes father’s semphong

D – Ego’s mother Julu

E – Ego’s father’s mother’s Julu

F – Wifes father’s mothers Julu.



The notable affines among the Barman are as follows and chart 3 show the pattern of affinal Kinship of the Barmans.

#### **1. ABODA BHAHAO :**

Used for husband's is father's father's father, husband's mother's father's father husbands father's mother's father, husbands mother's mother's father, wifes father's father's, father, wifes father's mother's, father, wife's mother's mother's father wifes mother's father's father.

#### **2. AMAYUNG BUSUMA :**

Used for husband's father's father's mother, husband's fathers mother's mother, husband's mother mother's mother, husband's mothers father's mothers wifes father's father's mother's wifes father's mother's mother, wifes mothers mothers mother and wife's mother is father's mother.

#### **3. AAJU BAHAO :**

Used for husband's father's father, husband's mother's father, husband's, father's, mother's, brother, wife's father's mother's brother, husbands father's father's brother, wife's father's father, husband's mother's father, husbands father's mother's brother, wifes fathers' father's brothers.

#### **4. ADAI BUSHUMA :**

Use for husband's father's mother, husbands mother's mother, husbands father's father's sister, husband's father's mother's sister, husband's fathers

mother's brother's wife, husband's mother's mother's brother's wife. Wifes father's mothers wifes mother's, mother wifes fathers father's sister, wifes father's mother's sister, wifes father's mother's brother's wife, wifes mother's mother's brother's wife.

**5. BAHO :**

Used for husband's father-in-law and for wifes father-in-law.

**6. BUSHUMA :**

Used for husband's mother-in-law and for wifes mother-in-law.

**7. ADEH BAHAO :**

Used for husband's father's sister's husband, husbands mother's brother, wifes father's sister's husband and wife's mother's brother.

**8. ADEH BUSHUMA :**

Used for husband's father's sister, husband's mother's brother's wife, wifes fathers sister, wife's mother's brother's wife.

**9. BUBAOJI :**

Used for husband's elder sister.

**10. BUBAOJINIBASAI :**

Used for husband's elder sister's husband.

11. **Bubraoling** : Used for wife's younger sister.
12. **Buatu** – Used for wifes younger sister's husband.
13. **Bigmi** – Used for wife's younger brother.
14. **Bahandao** – Used for wife's younger brother's wife.
15. **Buai** – Used for husband's elder brother.

From the above discussion it become clear that among the Barman Kinship is treated as most important aspect at the time of marriage. Due to restriction of marriage ties with father's clan, mother's clan and as well father's mother clan it confined the marriage relation only with certain clan. Now they are facing the problem of mate selection in case of both male and female. The tribal identity as far as concern it could not allowed to marry a Bengali boy or girl but it allow to marry a Dimasa boy or girl. So the Barman make adjustment in Kinship structure. For instance they now allow to marry a Dimasa boy or girl but earlier the marriage relation was ceased for sometimes after their adoption into Hindusim. At present they could not possesses 40 semphong because clan is a territorial unit so semphong could not increases as it was already decreased at the time of division of two kingdom.

Another relevant factor for Kinship structural adjustment is that education and occupational diversification, which complicated the situation where at the time of selection of male this two parameters taken into consideration.

**Table 4.14**  
**CONSANGUINAL KINSHIP TERMS :**  
**Kinship Terms of Ascending Generations**

<b>Third Ascending Generation</b>		
<b>Relation</b>		<b>Term</b>
Fa Fa Fa		Aboda
Fa Fa Mo		Amayung
<b>Second Ascending Generation</b>		
<b>Relation</b>		<b>Term</b>
Fa Fa, Mo Fa		Aaju
Fa Mo		Adai
Mo Mo		Amai
<b>First Ascending Generation</b>		
<b>Relation</b>		<b>Term</b>
Fa		Abai
Mo		Amai
Fa el Br		Adeh
Fa el Br Wi		Adeh
Fa yo Br		Adzi
Fa yo Br Wi		Amazdi
Fa el Si		Amayung
FayoSi		Adeh
Fa el Si Hu		Aboda
Fa yoSi Hu		Adeh
Mo el Si		Amayung
Mo yo Si		Amaoushi
Mo el Si Hu		Aboda
Mo yo Si Hu		Amousha
Mo Br (el,yo)		Adeh
Mo Br Wi		Adeh

**Table 4.15**  
**CONSANGUINAL KINSHIP TERMS :**  
**Kinship Term of Ego's Generation**

Relation	Terms of Address
El Br	Adah
El Br Wi	Bubraoling
Yo Br	Adung
Yo Br Wi	Bubraoling
El Si	Abih
Yo Si	Ajang
El Si Hu	Bigim
Yo Si Hu	Bigim
Fa Br So	Adehnibasa
Fa Br Da	Adehnibusuk
Fa Si So	Adehnibasa
Fa Si Da	Adehnibusuk
Mo Si So	Amaoushinibasa
Mo Si Da	Amoushinibusuk
Mo Br So	Adehnibasa
Mo Br Da	Adehnibusuk

**Table 4.16 :**  
**CONSANGUINAL KINSHIP TERMS :**  
**A.Kinship Terms of Descending Generation**

Relation	First Descending Generation	Term
So		Basha
So Wi		Bahamjik
Da		Bishik
Da Hu		Bajamadzi
Br So		Adungbasa
Br Da		Adungbisik
Br So Wi		Adungbahamjik
Br Da Hu		Adung bajamadzi
Si So		Bubaganai
Si Da		Bubaganaija
Si So Wi		Ajangbahamjik
Si Da Hu		Ajangbajamadzi
	<b>Second Descending Generation</b>	
So So		Basathai
So Da		Busuthai
Da So		Basathai
Da Da		Busuthai

TABLE 4.17

AFFINAL KINSHIP TERMS : HUSBAND'S RELATIVE

Relation	Term
Hu	Basai
Hu Fa	Bahao
Hu Mo	Bushuma
Hu el Br	Buai
Hu el Si	Bubraoji
Ilu el Br Wi	Buai
Hu el Si Hu	Bubraojinibasa
Hu Mo Br So	Adehnibasa
Hu Mo Br Da	Adehnibusuk
Hu Fa Br So	Adehnibasa
Hu Fa Br Da	Adehnibusuk
Hu yo Br	Bubraoling
Hu yo Si	Baoji
Hu Fa Br	Adehbahao
Hu Fa Br Wi	Adehbushuma
Hu Mo Br	Adehbaho
Hu Mo Br Wi	Adehbushuma
Hu Fa Fa	Aajubahao
Hu Fa Fa Wi	Adaibushuma
Hu Fa Fa Br	Aajubahao
Hu Fa Fa Si	Adaibushuma
Hu Fa Fa Wi Br	Aajubahao
Hu Fa Fa Wi Si	Adaibushuma
Hu Fa Fa Fa	Abadabahao
HuFa Fa Fa Wi	Amayung bushuma
Hu Fa Fa Wi Fa	Aboda bahao
Hu Fa Fa Wi Mo	Amayungbushuma

TABLE 4.18

## AFFINAL KINSHIP TERMS : WIFE'S RELATIVES

Relation	Term
Wi	Bihi
Wi Fa	Bahao
Wi Mo	Bushuma
Wi el Br	Agmi
Wi el Si	Abhi
Wi el Br Wi	Abhi
Wi el Si Hu	Adah
Wi Mo Br So	Adehnibasa
Wi Mo Br Da	Adehnibusuk
Wi yo Br	Bigmi
Wi yo Si	Bubraoling
Wi Fa Br So	Adehbahao
Wi Fa Br Da	Adehbushuma
Wi Fa Br	Adehbahao
Wi Fa Br Wi	Adeh bushuma
Wi Mo Br	Adehbahao
Wi Mo Br Wi	Adehbushuma
Wi Fa Fa	Aajubahao
Wi Fa Fa Wi	Adaibushuma
Wi FaFa Br	Aajubahao
Wi Fa Fa Si	Adaibushuma
Wi FaFa Wi Br	Abodabahao
Wi Fa Fa Wi Si	Amayungbushuma
Wi FaFa Fa	Abodabahao
Wi Fa Fa Fa Wi	Amayungbushuma
Wi Fa Fa Wi Fa	Abodabahao
Wi Fa Fa Wi Mo	Amayung bushuma

The Barman of Barak valley belong to a society, which has double descent. In India, double descent is found only among the *Toda* of Nilgiri Hills and Dimasas of North East India. As stated earlier that Barman is a tribe segregated from wider Dimasa-Kachari society during the early part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Therefore, there are a number of similarities in their family and kinship system. Like Dimasas, the Barman also have both patrilineal and matrilineal descent. The descent of a man is primarily ascertained from his grandfather and concurrently from his maternal grandmother. A woman, however, reckons her descent from her maternal grand mother and secondarily from her paternal grandfather. Thus, the Barman has a system of double descent i.e. patrilineal and matrilineal forms of descent simultaneously. Among the Barman there is a restriction on making marriage relationship between three clans, namely, father's clan, mother's clan and father's mother's clan of the boy and girl. Thus, marriage cannot take place in the matri- and patriclans up to third order in case of both the boy and the girl.

The semphong (patriclan) and julu/jaddi (matriclan) are important units of the social structure of the Barman society. The semphongs are not formed at one point of time but added at defferent point of time. At Dimapur they had only 17 semphongs and 7 julus. Later on, the other semphongs were added and the number increased up to 42 but as a result of segregation in Dimasa-Kachari society two separate tribes namely Dimasa and Barman came into existence in the early part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. At present, there is some variation in number of clans found between the Dimasa and the Barman tribe. Although each tribe has 42 semphongs but only 34 semphongs are commonly found among them. Among the Barman, 6 specific semphongs have been identified which are not found among the Dimasa. These



are Akher, Baindo, Dhirua, Girisa, Johrasa and Rajiyung.

Similarly, there are 42 *Julus* among the Barman. But there are only 10 *Julus* or *Jaddis*, which are commonly found between Dimasa and Barman these, are *Bairengcha*, *Banglaima*, *Mairangma*, *Mairongma daoga*, *Meeyungma*, *Meeyungma daoga*, *Pachaindi*, *Saidima*, *Saidima daoga* and *Saikudi*. Although Danda (1978) mentioned that there are 42 matrilineans among the Dimasa but she presented in her list only 34 *Julus*. Out of these 34 *Julus*, 24 *Julus* are Dimasa specific i.e. found only among the Dimasa. According to Barman (1978) there are 34 *Julus* which are specifically found among the Barman of Barak valley.

The name of the ancestors of most of the oldest *Julus* seems to be tribal in appearance. Some of them are commonly found among the Barman and the Dimasa, while a number of *Julus* such as *Khumbasi* (Originated from Kanchani a Koch prince married to King Laxmichandra-1778-1780 A.D.), were originated from Koch princess married into royal family. Thus, extension of marriage ties beyond the boundary of the tribe has been a source of change in the structure of matrilinean. It suggests that structurally, Dimasa-Kachari society was not static but was dynamic in nature. Thus, it can be said that the structure of patrilinean is relatively stable among the Barman but structurally, matrilineans are dynamic. Recently, two new matrilineans have been introduced among the Barman, which reflects the capacity of adaptation in social structure of the Barman. In the sense, that in recent past there have been some marriages by the Barman boys and girls outside the tribe. It has posed a problem before them. The major problem was that when a non-Barman girl married to a Barman boy she does not have any matrilinean, therefore, there is a need

to create a new matriline for the offspring of such a couple. Instead of giving separate matriline for each such woman, recently, Barman Samaj, decided to allocate a new matriline namely *phaijindirao* in all such cases. Another problem that has been faced by the Barman society is that a number of Barman girls have got married to non-Barman boys. As per rule of Barman society such women have been excommunicated from the Barman society but if the number of such instances increase it may pose a problem for the society as a whole, therefore, above mentioned committee decided that the male offspring of such couples will bear the clan of their respective father which will be naturally non-Barman and they will remain part of non-Barman society but female offspring of such women may inherit a matriline as per Barman customary law and may remain the part of Barman society and marriage can take place with these girls as in the normal course of Barman society. Therefore, in all such cases they have innovated a new matriline, namely, *phaifindirao*. This concrete evidence of inclusion of two new matriline in Barman society is sufficient to infer that social structure of the Barman society has not been static but passed through a gradual process of social change since the time of Dimasa- Kachari dynasty. It also shatters the impression that the social structure amongst the Dimasa and the Barman is identical as both of them have a similar origin. In fact, both the tribes have significant differences in their social structure, despite of a number of similarities in their patriline and matriline structure.