

Kinship as a System of Rights; an Analytical Tool for Discovering Elementary Forms

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This paper suggests a way to resolve the differences between descent and alliance theories. It also attempts to provide a way to move from the particular to the general. The procedures suggested grew out of two considerations, one that none of the terms or existing models of kinship, descent or alliance, were directly useful in analyzing Salagama Sinhalese data; and the other that order in that data became apparent only when the question of the transmission of rights was applied.

What Shall We Mean by Kinship, Descent and Alliance?

The data gathered in a cognatic society perforce led me to questions similar to those stated and summarized by Leach, Schneider and Needham.¹ It was necessary to ask what shall we mean by descent, by kinship, by alliance? How shall we analyze these data? While analyzing the data throughout the years of 1970 and 1971 it became clear that delineation of the transmission of rights from one generation to the next was the only way these data could be effectively classified. It was heartening to read in Needham: "Let me simply adopt the minimal premise that kinship has to do with the allocation of rights and their transmission from one generation to the next."² It was encouraging to know that the lack of fit of existing models was not limited to the data of the Salagama Sinhalese. Yet at the same time it led to the questions: Why have the terms kinship, descent and alliance remained ambiguous? and why is kinship theory so weak as an analytical tool?

The Analytical Power of Viewing Kinship as a System of Rights

Kinship is sometimes seen as a term for a concrete or material ego-centered group sometimes as a context free ideal or category of classification, a guide to behaviour. Here, in addition to these individual and cognitive uses, kinship is viewed as a system of rights within a stateable context. Stating the rights and context operationalizes the concept, "kinship," so that it becomes useful for cross cultural comparison. There is a need to state whether a given context is relevant to a part of society, a total society, or to a number of social systems. The ambiguity of the terms "kinship," "descent" and "alliance" is directly related to the failure to specify context and other variables. The ambiguity is overcome by describing kinship as a number of ways to transmit a variety of rights. This reveals relations and segments which emerge from these interactions, each of which can be placed in context. These steps are necessary

1. E. R. Leach, *Rethinking Anthropology*, London: Athlone Press, 1961; D. M. Schneider, "Some Muddles in the Models," In Michael Banton (ed.), *The Relevance of Models for Social Anthropology*, London: Tavistock, 1965; R. Needham (ed.), *Rethinking Kinship and Marriage*, A. S. A. Monograph No. 11, London: Tavistock, 1971.
2. Needham, 1971, p. 3.

because the terms "kinship," "descent" and "alliance" are precise only on the intracultural level. This is the reason why models built on kinship, descent and alliance have had no analytical power. The question of transmissions of rights remains precise when applied cross culturally and therefore does have analytical power.

Issues and Problems in Kinship

The issue to be resolved:

The major issue in descent and alliance theory concerns the nature of basic elements, and whether they are concrete or conceptual. The issue will be clarified when the elements are denoted; and when their concrete and conceptual aspects are delineated. Here the elements denoted are rights, relations and segments. It is suggested that they are concrete in a specific intrasocietal context; and they are conceptual in an abstract cross-cultural context.

Summary of problems:

Problem 1: Abstract and specific segments and relations are not clearly delineated.

Problem 2: Other variables, rights and contexts, are also not recognized, thus making empirical generalization impossible.

Problem 3: In lieu of cross culturally relevant variables, society-centric clusters of elements (typologies) have been mistakenly treated as variables.

Problem 4: Emic and etic context are treated as if they coincided with empirical and/or logical reality.

The Elementary Forms and their Contexts

Each of these problems will be treated individually in the context of the descent and alliance controversy. It will be shown that while alliance theorists appear to emphasize cross cultural analysis, and descent theorists appear to emphasize intrasocietal analysis, neither state those contexts explicitly. Therefore it is not clear whether the elements are concrete or conceptual. In that situation it is not possible to state what combination of rights, relations and segments are relevant in each context. This has kept kinship theory from becoming the powerful tool of analysis it could be. Once the context is distinguished and rights are delineated, relations and segments may be recognized in various distinctive combinations and permutations of social systems. In this way empirical generalizations, i.e. statements of distinctive patterns of relations and segments relevant to one or a number of cultures arise. At the same time relations and segments may be delineated further as belonging to an abstract or particular context, i.e. as being relational and/or segmental abstractions and relational and/or segmental particularities. These four further distinctions state the concrete and conceptual aspects of the elementary forms (relations and segments). They will be shown to be crucial to eliminating ambiguity while the empirical generalizations which they make possible provide the way for moving from the particular to the general. *Thus we conclude that kinship as a system of rights is a precise and powerful analytical tool which specifies elementary forms in both their concrete and conceptual aspects. It is the solution offered to ambiguities in descent and alliance theory.*

Movement from the particular to the general is provided by designation of a series of contexts. Dichotomies like wider-narrower, container-contained, encompasser-encompassed, A is greater than B, abstract-specific, theme-variations,³ all state a kind of continuum of contexts where boundaries are primarily nonlinear and situational (e.g. contents A and B described in the following). Once we recognize a continuum of contexts, the relevant variables, and their position within the context, it leads logically to the ability to move from the particular to the general rather than to limit our perceptions to two (opposites) or three (opposites and a mediator) or any other specified number of levels.

To understand the nature of empirical generalization more fully it is helpful to make one further clarification by distinguishing between emic and etic contexts, i.e. between the context of the user and that of the analyst. The three variables, rights, relations and segments fall within the intrasocietal emic context when they are used by members of the society. For example, a patriline is an emic analytic category of the user in an intrasocietal context. However, when it is derived and stated in model form by an analyst, a patriline is an etic category. Cross cultural concepts such as unilineal and/or cognatic society contexts are exclusively etic analytic categories in the sense that there are no "native users" of the concept.

Data and Method

The Salagama caste of Sri Lanka⁴ provides a case sample to illustrate how we may distinguish contexts and specify other variables. The mode of analysis is a processual one centering on the question of the transmissions of rights. Because we deal with the differences in descent and alliance theories, the transmission considered in greatest detail is the right to a marriage partner. However, we also consider how that right is related to the transmission of other rights. We begin with the processual questions of the transmissions of rights noting the relations and segments which emerge from these interactions. On the first page of Table 1, the three relevant sets of variables (rights, relations and segments) for the Salagama caste are listed. The fourth set of variables is contexts.

When we turn to cross comparison three relevant contexts emerge from and for the transmission of rights to a marriage partner in predominantly kin based societies. Each context describes a right in terms of abstract relations. The wider context A: "Rights to a marriage partner are transmitted by cross relatives" encompasses the two narrower contexts B and C. B: "Rights to a marriage partner are transmitted in terms of cross sex reckoning in bilateral societies" and C: "Rights to a marriage partner are transmitted in terms of residence in unilateral societies." In this case sample context B describes the Salagama caste.

3. My conception of Lévi-Strauss' use of the terms theme and variations is that stated in the above and many other dichotomies such as general-particular, relational and segmental abstractions-significant features, etic-emic, conceptual-substantive, form-content, culture-activity, norm-action, includer-included, greater than-less than, boundary-unit, non A-A, and outside-inside. Dr. Ina Dinerman by her own keen interest and perceptive questioning encouraged me to probe more deeply into the methodological issue of context.

4. Data were gathered in a Sinhalese village on the Southwest coast of Sri Lanka during 1968 and 1969. At that time Sri Lanka was still known as Ceylon. Fieldwork was made possible by a two-year grant from the American Institute of Ceylon Studies.

As summarized on Table 1, in this Salagama Sinhalese case, the rights considered (column one) are rights to names, residence, land and marriage partners. The *relations* by which those rights are transmitted (column two) are respectively patrilineal, ambilineal, bilinear and bilateral. The *segments* (columns three and four) which result are the *variga* (patriline), the *hatmutu paramparawa* (local descendants of either males or females through the generations of seven grandparents), the *pavula* (bilineally reckoned land owners) and the *naena-massina* (cross cousin and more generally cross relative) group. The *context* is the cognatic kinship system of the Salagama Sinhalese, a uni-ambi-bi-lineal bi-lateral system.

The transmission of the rights to a marriage partner follows the Dravidian system. Many descriptions of this have been attempted. Here the following rule is presented. Once a common ancestral sibling pair is found, a relationship reckoned through a brother and sister is a cross cousin one; cross cousins of the same sex transmit the same relationship as their own, the cross cousin relationship; cross cousins of the opposite sex transmit the opposite or parallel cousin relationship. This is illustrated in Figure 1 in Appendix I.⁵ In Appendix I we describe in ethnographic detail the means by which we arrive at this rule for reckoning marriage partners in the Dravidian system.

Marriage rights are not reckoned by locality. They are reckoned by lineality alone, in this case by oppositeness of the sex of connecting relatives a number of generations back to a common sibling connection. To understand the function of this pattern of relations and segments we note its place in the total cognatic setting. The interrelationship between transmission of rights to a marriage partner and the rights to name, residence and land is summarized on page two of Table 1 in lines 3, 5 and 6, respectively. The emergent relations and segments which arise out of these combined transmissions of rights are as follows. Patrilineal name and bilateral marriage rights lead to dispersed multilineal units (the circumscriptive *pavula*).⁶ Ambilateral residence and bilateral marriage rights yield local residence independent of marriage rules

5. Supportive ethnographic data and historically contrastive arguments are presented in Appendices I - III as further clarification and/or "proof" of the validity and usefulness of this mode of analysis.
6. In terms of contextual variables separated out by processual analysis, a corporate group is a specific segment which is unilocal; a circumscriptive group is a specific segment which is dispersed multilocally. The difference between corporate and circumscriptive groups in the emic situation among the Salagama Sinhalese is the variation of the context (a single versus several communities context) e.g. the *hatmutu paramparawa* is corporate, the *pavula* is circumscriptive. These are encompassed by Murdock's descriptive definitions; however, Lee and Devore's definition of corporateness contains variables which are relevant in a wider context which encompasses both the *hatmutu paramparawa* and the *pavula*. The Lee and Devore definition encompasses our corporate *pavula* even though its membership is dispersed. Alliance theorists appear to refer to circumscriptive groups as categories rather than as segments.

G. P. Murdock (ed.), in *Social Structure in South East Asia*, Chicago: Quadrangle books, 1960, on page 5 distinguishes corporate and circumscriptive kin groups as follows: "Corporate kin groups. Families, lineages and clans are almost universally corporate." "Circumscriptive kin groups, i.e., noncorporate groups which never function as units, even on sporadic occasions, but which merely serve to define the limits of certain rights and duties of their members." Lee and Devore in 1968 delineate corporateness as follows: "A corporation requires two conditions: a group of people must have some resources to incorporate about and there must be some means of defining who is to have rights over this resource." (page 8).

TABLE 1: Processual Questions

<i>Rights</i>	<i>Relations</i>	<i>Segments</i>	
		<i>Sinhalese term (emic analysis)</i>	<i>Emergent Structure Anthropologist's term or explanatory analysis</i>
1. Names	From father to children (patrilineal)	<i>variga</i>	patriline
2. Residence	From parent in natal residence to children (nonoptative-ambilineal)	<i>hatmutu paramparawa</i> (generations of the seven grand- parents)	*corporate unit of local kinsmen
3. Land	From both parents to all child- ren equally (bilineal)	*corporate <i>pavula</i>	bilineal joint land-owning group
4. Marriage Partners	Through (bro-sis) opposite sex sibling or cousin sibling connec- tors (bilateral). Also through same sex cross cousin.	** <i>naena-massina</i> members of the <i>pavula</i> in contrast to ** <i>nangi-ayya</i> members of the <i>pavula</i> .	**cross cousins in contrast to parallel cousins

*Circumscriptive — a dispersed membership with marriage rights in common;
Corporate — a membership having land ownership and/or locality in common.
See footnote 4 for further description.

**The existence of only two categories, parallel or cross relatives to ego is crucial to this kind of same-opposite reckoning.

<i>Rights</i> <i>Combined</i> <i>Transmission</i> <i>of rights to:</i>	<i>Relations</i>	<i>Segments</i>	
	<i>Social relationship</i> <i>(structural principle)</i>	<i>Emergent Structure</i> <i>Anthropologist's term or</i> <i>explanation (etic analysis)</i>	
		<i>Sinhalese term</i> <i>(emic analysis)</i>	
1. Names and Residence	patrilineal - nonoptative - ambilateral	***circumscriptive <i>variga</i> (dispersed m and f)	patriline with dispersed adult m and f
2. Names and land	patrilineal - bilineal	corporate multilineal <i>pavula</i> (dispersed m and f owners)	multilineal joint land-owning group
3. Names and marriage rights	patrilineal, bilateral	circumscriptive multilineal <i>pavula</i>	multilineal parallel and cross cousins
4. Residence and land	nonoptative, ambilateral bilineal	<i>binna</i> and <i>diga</i> marriages; — shares inheritance; consolidation of land by local kinsmen; and usufruct	multilineal kin joint land owners; male or female owned residence
5. Residence & marriage rights	nonoptative ambilateral bilateral	agamous hp	local residence independent of marriage rules
6. Land and marriage rights	bilineal, bilateral	equal inheritance for line and affine	land rights for both line and affine

***Circumscriptive — a dispersed membership with marriage rights in common.
Corporate — a membership having land ownership and/or locality in common.
See footnote 4 for further description.

(the agamous *hatmutu paramparawa*). Bilineal land and bilateral marriage rights yield equal inheritance for line and affine (the corporate *pavula*). This is in the context of dispersed patriline (line 1), dispersed multilineal joint land owning groups (line 2) and male or female owned residences (line 4).⁷ In this setting the function of the multilineally reckoned bilateral endogamous unit appears to be to provide freedom from reckoning of marriage rights by locality in a situation of flexible residence. This would be adaptive to a fluctuating population (too many or too few) in relation to available land. It provides for the most advantageous distribution of persons over land.

Analysis and Cross Comparison

Cross comparative analysis of the nature of transmission of several rights reveals that in unilineal societies all transmissions are through the line of members of one sex only, while in cognatic societies transmissions are through the line of members of either or both sexes. Stated in the more specific terms of lineality in a specific case we discover for the Salagama a mixture of uni, ambi, bi and multilineal relations. Bilaterality appears to covary with diversity in the transmission of rights. Unilaterality appears to covary with uniformity in the transmission of rights.

In Appendix II we compare cross relative reckoning as it is recorded in the kinship terminologies of the Iroquois and the Salagama Sinhalese. From the discovery of the nature of cross relative reckoning we can make statement B, that in cognatic societies, rights to a marriage partner are transmitted by cross sex siblings; and statement C, that in unilineal societies rights to a marriage partner are transmitted in terms of residence. From the kin terms it becomes apparent that the crux of the difference between the Dravidian and Iroquoian systems of reckoning cross relatives lies in the third descending generation. In the Iroquoian system the third generation descendants of a pair of opposite sex siblings reckon marriageability by a regular residence rule. In contrast, where residence is not regularized as e.g., among the Salagama, transmission of marriage partners by same-opposite sex relationship, continues on through nine generations or more.

From the analysis and cross comparison it is hypothesized that two basic sets of concomitantly distinctive features embrace a large number of societies. The cognatic set includes the distinguishing features of bilaterality, flexible residence, cross relative reckoning in terms of cross sex connectors and diversity (multilineality) in transmission of rights. The unilineal set includes the features of unilaterality, fixed residence, cross relative reckoning in terms of residence and uniformity (unilineality) in the transmission of rights.

Here the two sets are empirical generalizations arrived at by processual analysis in terms of transmission of rights. The differences are corroborated in the kinship terms of the Dravidian Salagama Sinhalese and the Iroquoian Iroquois. The kinship terms provide a test for the model arrived at by processual analysis.

7. I have described this more fully in : *The Seven Grandparents: Lineage and Locality in Sinhalese Kinship and Caste*, Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1972. Also, *Disharmonic Regimes in Southwest Ceylon* ? Paper written for the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Inc., Chicago, 1973.

Kinship as a System of Rights in the Context of Descent and Alliance Theory: Agreements, Differences, Problems and Solutions

In this section the view of kinship as a system of rights is set in the context of current descent and alliance theory. Its precision as an analytical tool which specifies both concrete and conceptual aspects of elementary forms is contrasted to the ambiguity of kinship, descent and alliance used as idealized concepts only. Agreements with existing theory are noted first. Differences which result from application of the inductive mode of analysis are indicated. Problems are posed consecutively, solutions are suggested as each problem is raised.⁸

The basic agreement with Needham as to the minimal premise to consider the transmission of rights has already been noted. Inductive analysis of the materials of Sri Lanka and Needham's deductive analysis in terms of logical possibilities lead to alternative and in some cases contradictory conclusions. The primary difference is that the inductive method assures consideration of the content within a particular context with its specific segments and relations. It assures that the particular does not get lost in the consideration of the more general or abstract. In addition, it provides a bridge between the two. The crux of this difference is revealed in the suggestion made here that empirical generalization about rights, relations, and segments in distinctive contexts is possible; Needham suggests that empirical generalization is impossible. In Appendix III we note how these differences develop. The significance of the conclusions here arrived at inductively become more clear in the setting of the contrastive arguments arrived at deductively.

To highlight how lack of specificity about rights, relations, segments and contexts accounts for divergence of views about modes of analysis of alliance and descent, we place this analysis in the context of current controversy in descent and alliance theory⁹ as it is summarized by Needham and Schneider.¹⁰

This analysis is perhaps closer to the British nihilistic¹¹ approach to alliance theory advocated by Needham and Leach than it is to the American approach to descent theory presented by Schneider. Yet in addition to agreeing with Needham's basic premise that kinship has to do with the transmission of rights, I found that

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8. We have chosen to elaborate the problems after the presentation of data and method so that the solutions may be offered concurrently. Presenting solutions in the context of problems seems to us to be more convincing and at the same time to call for less repetition.
 9. The current state of ambiguity manifests itself in the use of terms which present a number of problems: (1) The problem of non-designated variables: terms which are used without explicit reference to variables are ambiguous terms. (2) The problem of lack of agreement over designated variables: terms may be assigned different variables by different authors. For example, see footnote 6 regarding corporate and circumscriptive groups. (3) The problem of non-designated contexts: terms which are used without explicit reference to contexts are applied ambiguously. For example, see footnote 21 regarding the terms descent and alliance and consanguinity and affinity. (4) The triple problem of nondesignated variables, clusters of different variables designated for one term and nondesignated contexts.
 10. Needham, 1971, pp. xiii-34 ; Schneider, 1965, pp. 25-85.
 11. Needham in his 1971 book referred to earlier explicitly contends that there can be no such thing as a theory of kinship or marriage.

my analysis also accords well with Schneider's suggestion that we move away from typologies.¹²

On the basis of analysis of kinship as a system of rights we now discuss more detailed solutions for each of the four problems summarized earlier.

Problem 1: Abstract and specific segments and relations are not clearly delineated.

David Schneider's historical summary and analysis of descent and alliance theory models brings to light a major disagreement over the nature of segments, the nature of relationships between them and whether they are concrete or conceptual. This disagreement arises because the theories or models do not clearly distinguish in what context (on the inclusionary continuum from a part of a single society to universal cross cultural) the segments are being treated. As a result crucial distinctions are merged. At the extremes, in the societal context the mutual existence of relational and segmental particularities are seldom acknowledged; in the more general context the mutual existence of relational and segmental abstractions are not stated clearly. In between, the significance of the comparative context b is less inclusionary than a but more inclusionary than c (as 8 is less than 10 but greater than 6) is ignored entirely.

The questions regarding segments have been approached from characteristically different directions by alliance and descent theorists. Descent theorists have emphasized the intrasocietally specific and concrete emic substantive terms and typologies and have at times falsely applied them cross culturally. This has led to reification or over-substantivization. At the opposite extreme alliance theorists appear to claim that there are no concrete segments as substantive fillers for relational abstractions. In their approach relational particularities and abstract segments are emphasized. This leads to the danger of losing one of the variables in each context and of misinterpreting the relationship between those that are recognized.

Here four features, two in each contrastive contextual set are taken into account: abstract relations and segments in the wider inclusionary context and specific relations and segments in the narrower context. Each context of any abstraction-specificity dichotomy within the continuum has two kinds of features, relations and segments. The wider context contains 1) relational abstractions like cross relatives and 2) segmental abstractions or categories like opposite groups. The narrower context of the dichotomy includes two kinds of particularities: 1) relational ones such as cross sex connectors and 2) segmental ones such as agamous multilineal local units. *The solution lies in recognizing the co-existence of relational and segmental features in a continuum of contexts broken down into successive dichotomies of greater than and less than.* It is suggested that instead of considering the nature of segments and the relationships between them, the concern be broadened to consider the respective natures of specific segments, specific relations, abstract segments, abstract relations and the connections (especially the relation of more and less inclusionary contexts) between them. Consideration of these differences resolve a number of dilemmas by clarifying ambiguous statements which have arisen in descent and alliance theory.

12. Schneider, 1965, p. 78.

For example, when we apply the two sets of distinctive features discovered here, they not only corroborate but also specify in an exact way Leach's general conclusion that "the nature of the marriage institution is partially correlated with principles of descent and rules of residence."¹³ The two sets denote very general but exact kinds of correlations: 1) bilaterality, diverse transmissions of rights with flexible rules of residence, and cross relationships reckoned by cross sex connectors and 2) unilaterality, uniform transmission of rights with inflexible rules of residence and cross relationships reckoned by residence.¹⁴

Problem 2: Other variables, rights and contexts are also not recognized thus making empirical generalization impossible.

In Appendix III the analytical power of applying the question of transmission of rights inductively, to specify the elementary forms (abstract and specific relations and segments) has been illustrated. We have emphasized how in conjunction with delineation of context it enables us to get beyond ambiguity to empirical generalization across cultures. This mode of analysis is contrasted to others in Appendix III.

The steps in the process which enable empirical generalization are as follows: 1) processual questions about transmissions of rights are asked 2) emergent relations and segments are classified 3) both abstract and specific aspects of these elementary forms are delineated 4) context is considered.¹⁵

Here an example illustrates how an empirically based generalization for reckoning rights to a marriage partner in bilateral societies comes into being. The empirical base is the Salagama Sinhalese social system. The generalization is arrived at by movement from the wider context (the right to a marriage partner is transmitted by cross relatives—abstract relation—in opposite groups—abstract segment) to the narrower context with more specific stipulations (the right to a marriage partner is transmitted bilineally by cross sex connectors—specific relation—in the context of agamous multilineal local units—specific segments).

The unilateral Iroquoian system provides a contrast for further generalization. It provides an example of a second kind of narrower context in which (the right to a marriage partner is transmitted unilineally by cross relative residence—specific relations—in the context of exogamous unilineal local units—specific segments).

The transmission of other rights than those to a marriage partner may be analyzed in terms of these four features as well. For example, among the Salagama, the transmission of the right to a name results in the specific relation of patrilineal transmission; the specific segment, the patriline or *variga*; the abstract relation of transmitting

13. Leach, 1961, p. 108.

14. Though these are generalities and essential features, we trust we have not "set up an invalid class" but rather have "discriminated a class of phenomena to formulate a proposition which holds for all members of the class" (Needham, 1971, p. 23); in this case to formulate the testable propositions that two basic sets, of four distinctive features each, cluster respectively as a pattern in a relatively large number of societies. Members of one set are referred to as bilateral and the other as unilateral.

15. Varying degrees of inclusionariness in contexts, i.e. the number of social systems to which combinations of variables are applicable depends on the number of stipulations. The more stipulations the narrower the context.

names, and the abstract segment, a uniline. It is clear that these two different transmissions of rights (to marriage partners and names) result in two different sets of relations and segments in each of two different contexts (wider and narrower). To avoid confusion the sets and relative contexts must be clearly delineated from one another. For example, in the Sinhalese Salagama social system it would be a mistake to associate the specific segment (patriline) with the specific relation of the transmission of the right to a marriage partner instead of with the specific relation of the transmission of the right to a name only. If the mixed association between sets is made, confusion results. This particular mixed association is valid in some societies because in those societies the two transmissions coincide. Even though it can be, and is, valid in more than one society, whether or not it is valid always remains an empirical question of the particular permutation of elements in any specific society.

We can, however, as illustrated above, come to empirical generalizations about characteristic permutations of elements as they apply to several similar bilateral societies; and to further generalizations about characteristic differences in permutations between bilateral and unilateral societies. We come to such generalizations by means of treating the transmission of each right as a variable and also treating relations, segments, and contexts as variables rather than treating clusters of each as typologies and comparing typologies across cultures. Delineation of single variables make empirically based generalizations possible because separation and distinction of the variables lend clarity and precision for movement (comparing permutations of elements) within and across varying numbers of societies. The number of societies which fit the stipulations determine the relative width or degree of inclusionariness of the context.

Problem 3: In lieu of cross culturally relevant variables societycentric clusters of elements have been mistakenly treated as variables.

The difference between empirical generalization and a "bundle of rights" or typology has been considered both above and in Appendix III. In further clarification of the usefulness of the method of processual analysis we contrast it to the following suggestion made by Schneider by suggesting a revision: "Instead of typologies we need a series of relevant elements, like descent, classification, exchange, residence, filiation, marriage, and so on; these need to be rigorously defined as analytic categories and then combined and recombined into various combinations and permutations. in different sizes, shapes, constellations."¹⁶

In the light of this experiment and analysis Schneider's suggestion and list of relevant elements might be revised to include a method for arriving at relevant elements and to read: Instead of typologies we need processual questions such as those which ask about the transmission of rights to names, residence, lands, marriage partners and differential rights: they reveal "relevant elements" (variables) the relations and segments within each particular social system. One example is illustrated in Table 1. These variables may be "combined and recombined into various combinations and permutations" which fit various contexts. Each context is also a relevant

16. Schneider, 1965, p. 78.

variable. The processual questions are a discovery procedure which enable us to separate out the relations and segments which are relevant (significant features) within a particular system (context). They also empower us to separate out the relations and segments which are relevant (empirical generalizations) between different systems (broader context).

Problem 4: Emic and etic contexts are treated as if they coincided with empirical and logical reality.

Etic and emic contexts are analytical categories which are related to empirical reality as grammar, a metalanguage, is related to speech. Grammars (etic and emic analyses) are a statement of the order present in empirical situations. As such they are logical constructs derived from empirical observation. The degree to which they accurately state the order in the empirical reality varies from construct to construct. An emic analysis of a social system states the order as the user (an inside analyst) sees it; an etic analysis states it as an outside observer (outside analyst) sees it. The outside observer usually views a system from a broader perspective. As we suggested in the introduction, a patriline (emic analysis) becomes one representative form of a unilineal system (etic analysis). As will be described below, descent and alliance are precise in an emic context but only the question of the transmission of rights to a marriage partner can reveal what is precise in an etic context. This is discovered by observing the segments and relations which emerge as relevant to that context of transmission.

Delineation of the difference between the contexts of users and outside analysts serves to clarify some of the ambiguities in theory and/or terminology.

For example, Schneider¹⁷ has suggested that the key to understanding structure may be outside the realm of empirical reality just as a formula for cutting a puzzle lies outside the puzzle. Here it is suggested that the key to understanding structure lies in the analytical usefulness of the separation and distinction of the variables 1) rights 2) relations 3) segments and 4) contexts. Basic sets one and two summarize the results of this sample application of empirical generalization. We differ from Schneider in that, while we suggest the key to understanding structure (segmental particularities) is a mode of analysis, (and in that sense is perhaps like a formula outside of society), we nevertheless emphasize that the way to the key is internal to the society (in the sense that it must begin with consideration of the transmission of rights and the resultant specific relations and segments in a specific context).

The propositions about cognatic and unilineal societies suggested here may be viewed in emic and etic contexts as follows. In the emic context they are substantive typologies here based on Iroquois and Salagama Sinhalese kinship terminologies. In the etic context they are generalizations with an empirical base, i.e. they are a wider context which encompasses both specific segments and relations on the emic level and abstract segments and relations on the etic level.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 25-85.

In Needham's sense¹⁸ in the etic context the propositions are a comparison by reference to logical features and relational abstractions. The logical features consist in the possible modes of transmission of the right to a marriage partner (in terms of relations, segments and contexts) and their possible and recurrent combinations with other rights. The relational abstractions consist in the logical possibilities of relationships for reckoning cross relatives within the general segmental abstraction or dichotomization into same-opposite groups.¹⁹

Awareness of emic and etic contexts afford a number of advantages. It eliminates ambiguity in the social analyst's use of the categories of alliance and descent by disclosing them as terms which have validity only in the emic context. It makes evident the fact that much of the debate over descent and alliance theory arises out of the nonspecification of context as a variable in analysis. It has been suggested here that the nature of cross relative reckoning in the third and succeeding generations (by residence in unilateral and by cross sex reckoning in bilateral societies) is the significant feature by means of which alliance and descent are stated and distinguished by culture bearers in kin based systems. Because this combination of specific relations and segments differ from unilateral to bilateral social systems it is clear that what remains descent in one becomes alliance in the other (see Figures 3 and 4 in Appendix II for an example). Given the fact that terms designate different things from society to society, there is a paradox in trying to use any one substantive term cross culturally.

Examples of the paradox may be seen in the two sets of terms: consanguinity and affinity, and alliance and descent. They both subsume relations and segments each relevant only to specific societal contexts. The variables may or may not be stated clearly. If they are stated clearly some of them must be dropped to be relevant in varying cross cultural contexts. The less specific the context the fewer stipulations are relevant.²⁰

While these terms are precise²¹ in the emic context of a specific society, they are imprecise, i.e. ambiguous in the wider etic cross cultural context.²²

Because of this impreciseness we agree with Needham who has concluded that marriage should be placed in the same category of odd-job words within which Witt-

18. Needham, 1971, p. 32.

19. Segmental abstractions appear to coincide with Chomsky's concept of deep structure. See Noam Chomsky, *Syntactic Structures*, The Hague: Mouton, 1957.

20. As an example of increased clarity which results from designating contexts we point out that a) cross relative reckoning is a relational abstraction, while b) cross sex connector relatives are relational particularities. Relational abstractions are conceptual and etic. They are found in cross cultural contexts while relational particularities are conceptual but emic. They are found in the societal context.

21. It may be pertinent to emphasize this emic precision. The purpose of alliance and descent to culture bearers in kinship societies is clearly to separate kinsmen into marriageable and non-marriageable relation-segments.

22. In the literature four sets of terms are used more or less imprecisely as synonyms. In the light of the abstraction-specificity dichotomy, the sets exogamy and endogamy and parallel and cross cousins are abstractions which combine relational and segmental elements in one term and are applicable in the context of unique society substantive analysis only. The fact that two variables coincide in one term, make the term analytically indistinct and difficult to apply.

genstein has placed kinship.²³ One reason theories of descent and alliance have foundered is that they have relied on a number of emic terms which become ambiguous when they are used in a wider context and because they have relied on a number of emic typologies which also become ambiguous when they are in the etic or wider context. In foot-note 9 we have referred to the formal manifestations of this ambiguity in terms.

The tool of processual questions remains precise in both the etic and emic context. This etic preciseness and subsequent analytical usefulness is in direct contrast to the chameleon-like nature of the emic terms "descent" and "alliance" when they are mistakenly applied to cross cultural analysis.

The possibility of generalization lies in isolating variables and noting their characteristic combinations and permutations from society to society. Typologies are replaced with processual questions, and comparisons are replaced with generalizations and/or correlations of abstract relations and segments based on specific relations and segments with validity across some cultures though not necessarily with universal validity. Thus it is that the generalizations and correlations are based in empirical reality. This plus the fact that they are at the same time applicable across some cultures makes them specific in both form (context) and content (relations and segments). It is for this reason that they enable us to move from the particular to the general.²⁴

In essence the solution to both intellectual puzzles, the problems of resolving ambiguities in descent and alliance theory, and of moving from the particular to the general offered here, is to 1) find a tool (here the processual question) by means of which 2) one can separate and distinguish variables²⁵ (here rights, relations, segments and contexts); to 3) note their characteristic combinations (here basic sets 1 and 2); and to 4) suggest the relative number of social systems i.e. the context (here unilateral and bilateral social systems) to which particular combinations are applicable.

23. Needham, 1971, pp. 5-8.

24. R. F. Murphy in his book, *The Dialects of Social Life*, New York: Basic Books, 1971, has expressed this power to move from the particular to the general manifested in the combined specificity in form and content when it is found in other aspects of culture (etiquette and ritual). He suggests: "Etiquette and ritual elevate activity to correspondence with culture, a transition from the particular to the general." "They bridge the contradiction between norm and action." (p. 243).

25. In the anthropological vocabulary as well as in many emic vocabularies some terms combine two or more variables. For an example see footnote 22.

APPENDIX I

The Rule for Reckoning Marriage Partners in the Dravidian System: an Ethnographic Example

In the analysis of the transmission of the right to a marriage partner among the Salagama Sinhalese we begin with four rules which state the transmission of marriage rights in single generation terms. We come to one simplified rule which accounts for the reckoning of parallel and cross relations through successive generations.

Figure 1 represents an actual set of parallel and cross cousin relationships in one small sector of a nine-generation genealogy. It also depicts a generalized representation of cousin reckoning by means of the relative sex of a series of ancestral pairs whose starting point is a pair of ancestral siblings. In this system typically classified as Dravidian, exogamous parallel cousin and endogamous cross cousin units are specified. Ego may not marry children related as father's brother's or mother's sister's children and in contrast may marry children related as father's sister's or mother's brother's children. This is extended over the generations by the regular practice of children taking on the same relationship as their respective parents had to each other if their respective parents are of like sex, and taking the opposite relationship of that which their respective parents had to each other if their parents are of opposite sex to each other. For example, if the respective parents are both male and happen to be in cross cousin relationship to each other as G2 and G5 in Figure 1, their children will continue to take the same relationship. As a result H2 and H5 are cross cousins. In contrast where G2 and G4 are male and female respectively and are in cross cousin relationship to each other, their children will take the opposite relationship of parallel cousins. As a result H2 and H4 are parallel cousins.

We are all familiar with the rules which state that (1) children of like sex siblings are parallel cousins while (2) children of unlike sex siblings are cross cousins. This is true for both the Iroquoian and the Dravidian kinship systems. However, in the Dravidian, in contrast to the Iroquoian system, two additional rules simply extend this regularity over an indefinite number of generations. They are the rules which state that (3) children of like sex cousins keep the same relationship their parents had while (4) children of unlike sex cousins have the opposite relationship from that which their parents had. These four rules may be encompassed by the one comprehensive rule that (5) once a common sibling link is found, the relationship between descendants of that pair of siblings remains the same as that of the relationship between the parents if the parental siblings (or in the following generations the parental cousins) are of the same sex. The relationship becomes opposite to that of the parents if parental siblings or cousins are of the opposite sex. This generalized statement is illustrated in figure 1.

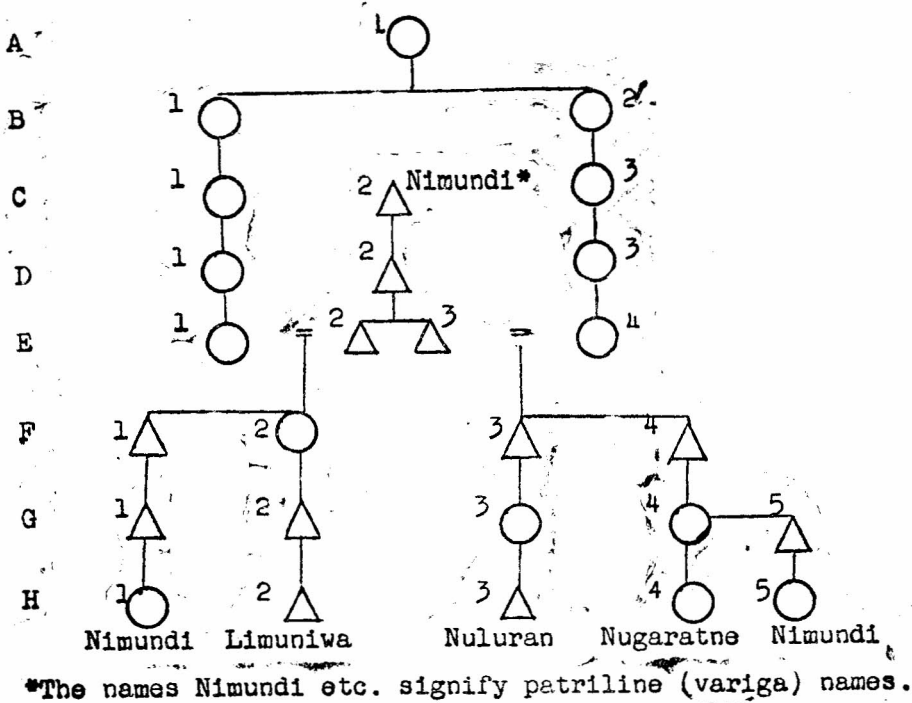
For a particular example, more than one generation in depth, we may look at the relationship between H2 and H4 in Figure 1 from this point of view. The ancestral common siblings are brothers E2 and E3. Therefore, F2 female and F4 male are also siblings or parallel cousins in the system. The offspring G2 and G4 of opposite sex parallel cousins F2 and F4 take the opposite relationship, that of cross cousins. In turn, the offspring H2 and H4 of cross cousins male G2 and female G4 again take the opposite relationship to that of their parents and become parallel cousins.

It is the feature of clearly demarcating marriageable and nonmarriageable persons by the parallel and cross cousin terminology which keeps the Dravidian system so clearly divided into ones own exogamous group (nonmarriageable) and the exogamous group of others (marriageable to ego). Everyone who is nonmarriageable is a sibling or parallel cousin; those who are marriageable are cross cousins.

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Figure 1:

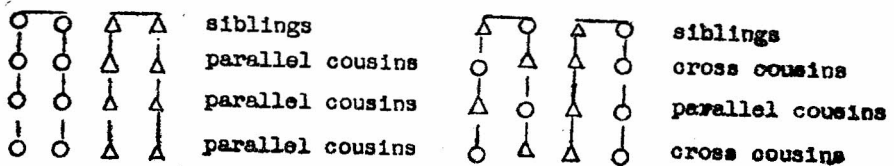
Set of Relationships in One Small Sector of a Nine-Generation Genealogy.



Generalized representation of cousin reckoning by means of relative sex of ancestral connectors.

Same sex ancestral pair transmit a like relationship

Opposite sex ancestral pair transmit an opposite relationship



If the sex of the connecting pair of ancestors is the same, the relationship of the descendants remains the same as that of the ancestors. If the sex of the connecting pair of ancestors is opposite (one male and one female) the relationship of the descendants is opposite to that of the connecting pair of ancestors.

APPENDIX II

A Comparison of Cross Relative Reckoning as it is Recorded in the Kinship Terms of the Iroquois and the Salagama Sinhalese

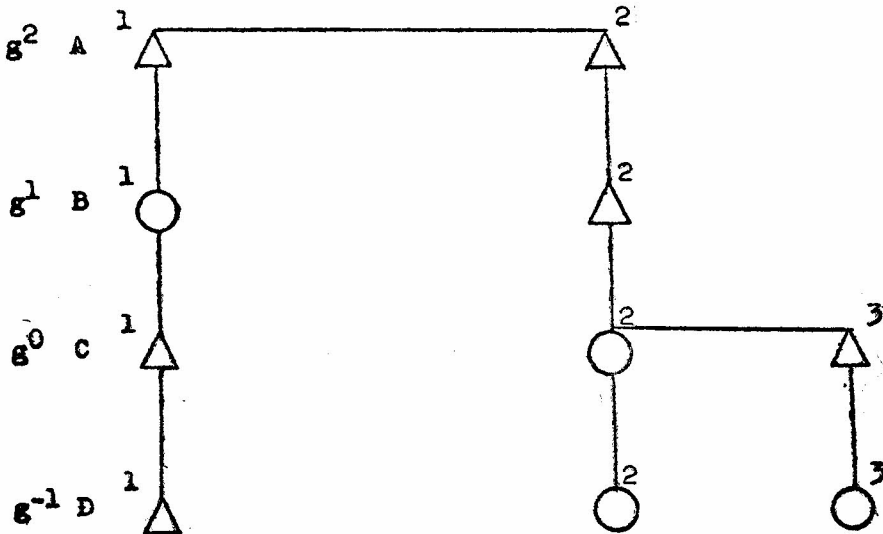
The kinship terms of the Iroquois and the Salagama Sinhalese are depicted in Figures 2 and 3. The systems are alike on ego's generation in terms of parallel and cross cousin terminology, and on the first ascending generation in a bifurcate merging terminology as so long ago pointed out by Murdock and Lowie and others. Because they have usually been compared in those terms only, they have been considered to be very similar and have sometimes even been equated.

However, a major distinction between them becomes apparent when we analyze the terminology on three instead of two generations. On g^{-1} ²⁶ the two systems differ. In the Iroquoian system the children of cross cousins are terminologically identical with the sons and daughters of a female ego while they are nephews and nieces of the male ego. In the Dravidian system, the children of cross cousins of opposite sex become sons and daughters.

Figure 2:

Comparison of Dravidian and Iroquoian Terms for Relationships

The terms are similar on generations 2, 1 and zero; namely brothers, parallel cousins and cross cousins, respectively. They differ as stated on g^{-1} in the terms for children of cross cousins. The terms illustrate the bilateral nature of the Dravidian and the unilateral nature of the Iroquoian systems. We have here postulated that they reflect flexible multilocal residence based on non-optative, ambilateral rules of succession and inflexible unilocal residence based on unilateral rules of residence, respectively.



Dravidian system terms for children of cross cousins

- A — of opposite sex
 1. D1 son to C2
 2. D2 daughter to C1
- B — of same sex
 1. D1 nephew of C3
 2. D3 niece of C1

Iroquoian system terms for children of cross cousins

- A — of opposite sex
 1. D1 son to C2
 2. D2 niece to C1
- B — of same sex
 1. D1 nephew of C3
 2. D3 niece of C1

26. G^0 is the generation of ego, g^1 of his parents, and g^{-1} of his children, etc. When the third generation is used here it designates a g^{-1} speaking of g^1 as the generation of the ancestral sibling connector.

Figure 3:

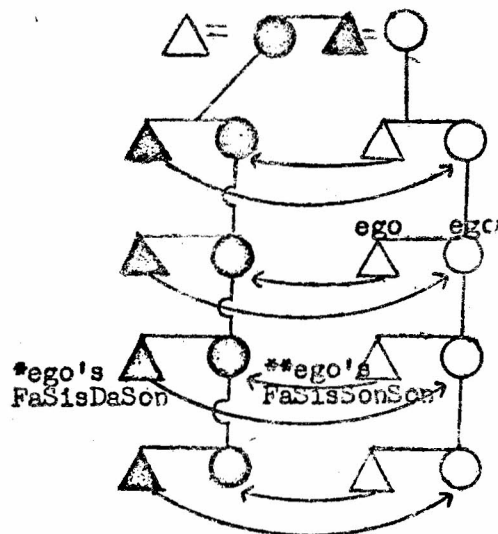
Iroquoian Terminology

*Nephew of male ego lives in opposite residence from male ego as adult.

*Different line than male ego.

*Son of female ego moves to residence of female ego as adult

*Different line than female ego.



**Nephew of female ego; lives in different residence from female ego as an adult.

**Same line as female ego

**Son of male ego; same residence as male ego as an adult. They both move to live uxori-locally.

**Same line as male ego.

*ego's FaSisDaSon -- son of female ego
 -- nephew of male ego

**ego's FaSisSonSon -- son of male ego
 -- nephew of female ego

Residence as adults

same
 different

Matriline

different
 different

same
 different

same
 same

In a matrilineal, uxori-local situation those who live in the *same residence as propositus* are *sons* regardless of matriline; those who live in a *different residence* are *nephews* regardless of matriline.

of both male and female egos thus illustrating the bilateral nature of the system. In Figure 2 this feature which differentiates the two systems is noted in italics in the Iroquoian system. Figure 3 illustrates this difference from the point of view of the connection between Iroquoian terminology and residence. Those who are called sons on g^{-1} live as adults in the same residence as the 'propositus' (ego whether male or female). Those who are called nephews live in the opposite residence.²⁷ In the Iroquoian system then cross relationship is reckoned in terms of residence on g^{-1} . There is a unilateral differentiation of kinship terms by sex on g^{-1} associated with differentiation by sex in the transmission of rights to residence. In contrast in the Dravidian system cross relationship continues to be reckoned by the complimentary rules that "once a common sibling link is found collaterals (siblings or in the next generation parallel or cross cousins) of the same sex transmit the same relationship as their own; and collaterals of the opposite sex transmit the opposite relationship"²⁸. There is no differentiation of kinship terms by sex on g^{-1} . This is associated with no differentiation by sex in the transmission of rights to residence. G^{-1} Iroquoian and Dravidian kinship terms (in 3rd and succeeding generations) state respectively the residentially and nonresidentially based nature of reckoning cross relatives. Same-opposite categories are maintained in the former by same residence-opposite residence; in the latter by same sex connector-opposite sex connector. Same-opposite categories (a segmental abstraction) for reckoning cross relatives (a relational abstraction) are the general or nonsignificant feature which unilateral and bilateral societies have in common. Residence and sex differentiators are the significant features (relational and segmental specificities) which distinguish them from each other. Bilateral reckoning is associated with flexible residence, i.e. there is a built in structural option or choice. Unilateral reckoning is associated with inflexible rules of residence.

By inflexible it is meant that there is only one structural possibility (one specific segment) stated in the kinship terms and in the societal rules, it is not meant that statistically there are no cases which do not accord with the rule. Figures 4 and 5 illustrate the bilateral and two unilateral (matri and patri) directions of exchange of marriage partners. The structural options in choice of residence in situations of bilateral exchange are illustrated in Figure 4. The lack of options in the matrilineal and patrilineal systems of unilateral exchange is illustrated in Figure 5. In the Salagama Sinhalese case sample bilaterality is associated with diversity in the transmission of rights. Elsewhere (here illustrated by the Iroquois) unilaterality is associated with uniformity in the transmission of rights.

In addition to the very wide inclusionary context of the relations and segments, cross-relative and same-opposite groups, there are sets of concomitantly distinctive features or stipulations which include a smaller number of societies, but whose context nevertheless is much more inclusionary than a single society. Cross sex connectors and bilateral parallels cross cousin units belong to this category. It is hypothesized here that two basic sets are as follows:

Hypothesis 1: Basic set 1 includes the distinctive features of bilaterality, flexible residence, cross relative reckoning in terms of cross sex connectors and diversity (multilineality) in transmission of rights.

Hypothesis 2: Basic set 2 includes the distinctive features of unilaterality, fixed residence, cross relative reckoning in terms of residence and uniformity (unilineality) in the transmission of rights.

The set of distinctive features for the bilateral social system were first revealed by a processual analysis of the Salagama Sinhalese system.²⁹ Cross comparison of terminologies of the Iroquoian and Salagama Sinhalese Dravidian systems revealed that distinctive features are stated in the kinship terms. The two basically different kinds of social systems (bilateral and unilateral) have different significant features which can be arrived at by processual analysis. The differences are corroborated in the kinship terms and hence can be arrived at by analysis of the kinship terms as well. The Iroquoian and Sinhalese are systems of direct exchange, one matrilineal, the other bilateral. It is hypothesized that Crow and Omaha, matrilineal and patrilineal systems of indirect exchange will parallel the differences found in matrilineal and patrilineal systems of direct exchange.

27. In the Iroquoian case this means that female egos call those males who as adults live uxori-locally in the same residence as they do, sons, even though they are of a different lineage than their own. Male egos call those males who as adults live uxori-locally in the same residence as they do sons. Those sons are of the same lineage as the male egos. Both male egos have moved away from their place of birth to live uxori-locally. This is depicted in Figure 3.
28. Gamburd, *The Seven Grand parents: Lineage and Locality in Sinhalese kinship and caste*, Section 5. 3. 2.
29. Processual questions have allowed us to "look and see whether there is anything common" (Needham, 1971, p. 30, quoting the philosopher Wittgenstein) as it has been suggested would be helpful.

Figure 4

Bilateral Exchange of Marriage Partners and Flexible Residence

The relationships of patrilineal exogamy and bilateral exchange of marriage partners in conjunction with ambilateral (uxorilocal or virilocal) choice of residence and nonoptative (transmission from the parent in his natal area) transmission of residence which in combination produce and maintain the geographically defined *hatmutu paramparawa* (an agamous local unit).

N.B. Patriline A is distinguished by solid and patriline B by clear triangles and circles; and the vertical line indicates the geographical separation of hp 1 and hp 2.

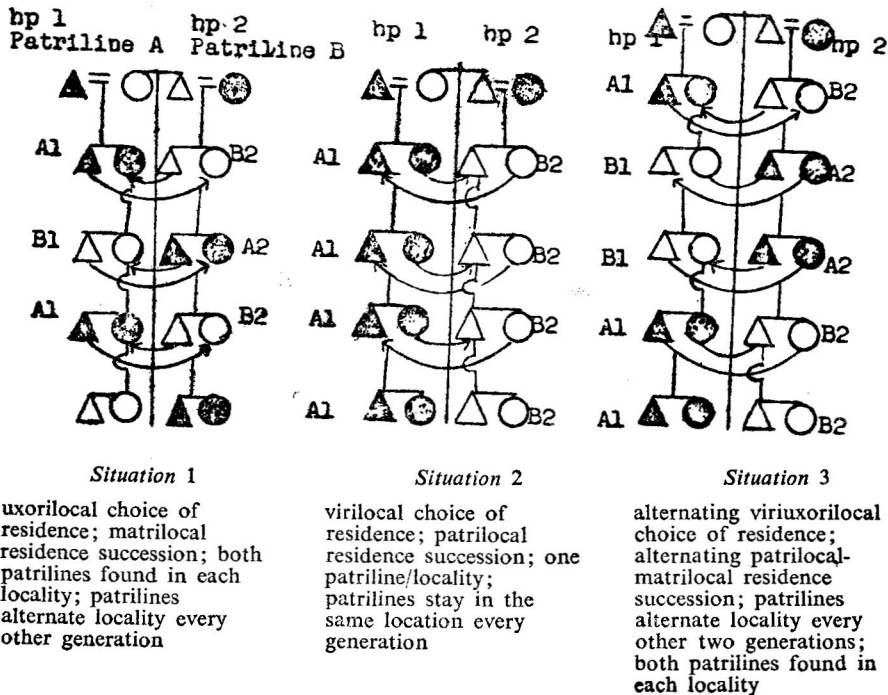
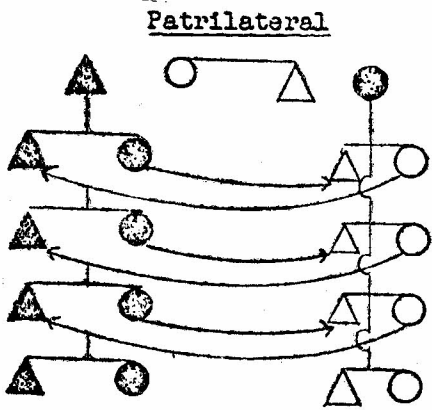


Figure 5

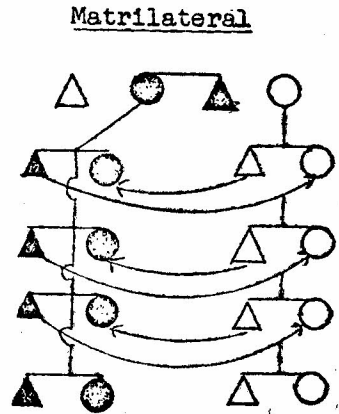
Unilateral Exchange of Marriage Partners and Inflexible Residence

Figure 5 is identical to situation 2 of figure 4 except that residence is transmitted unilaterally. Instead of representing one alternative in an ambilateral situation this represents the only possible decision. When the direction of exchange is patrilateral there is as in situation 2 of figure 4 virilocal choice of residence, patrilocal residence inheritance and a localized patriline. If the direction of exchange is matrilateral there is uxoriocal choice of residence, matrilocal residence inheritance and a localized matriline.



Situation 2

- virilocal choice of residence
- patrilocal residence succession
- a patriline



Situation 2a

- uxoriocal choice of residence
- matrilocal residence succession
- a matriline

APPENDIX III

Theory of Analysis of Kinship and Marriage Reached Inductively from Data of the Salagama Caste of Sri Lanka Placed in the Context of Needham's Deductive Analysis of Descent and Alliance theory.

Rodney Needham³⁰ prefaces his "remarks on the analysis of kinship and marriage" with a quotation from Igor Stravinsky about theory. "What is theory in music composition?—Hindsight. It doesn't exist. There are compositions from which it is deduced." The Salagama caste is the 'composition' from which I have deduced, or more accurately, induced, a theory of kinship and marriage. In this appendix I place my inductions in the context of Needham's³¹ discussion of the state of kinship and marriage theory and analysis. I do this by choosing sections in his discussion which either seem ambiguous, the same as, or contrary to my experience with the analytic mode of delineating transmissions of rights, or which lead to further questions and clarifications.

I begin with the area of agreement. "Let me simply adopt the minimal premise that kinship has to do with the allocation of rights and their transmission from one generation to the next. These rights are not of any specific kind but are exceedingly various; they include most prominently rights of group membership, succession to office, inheritance of property, locality of residence, type of occupation, and a great deal else".³² So far we agree.

In the following contrasts it becomes apparent how the specificity of the model of analysis followed here takes us beyond ambiguity to empirical generalization. In that context I find it difficult to accept Needham's next suggestion that "They are all, however, transmissible by modes which have nothing to do with the sex or genealogical status of transmitter or recipient."³³ Sinhalese data suggest disagreement here as a uni-ambi-bi-lineal bilateral system emerges. The explanation may lie in what seems to me an ambiguous suggestion "These jural systems and their component statuses can be genealogically defined. Why this should be so is a fundamental question that has never been properly resolved, and I cannot take it up here."³⁴ It appears that abstract (jural systems.) and specific relations (genealogies) are the respective referents here. However, ambiguity by definition leaves us at best guessing what may be meant.

I agree that "the word (kinship) has in fact no analytical value."³⁵ However this leads to the question, what does then have analytical value? The Sinhalese data suggest that the relations and segments which arise out of the transmissions of rights are the variables which have analytical value. They are both abstract and specific. They bring us beyond formal logical possibilities of transmissions of rights to the consequences of the transmission. The logical possibilities of the consequences may also be stated. In this way empirical generalization need not be equated with a 'bundle of rights'³⁶ that is with a typology. Rather empirical generalization becomes valid or possible only when it is equated with relations and segments which emerge in a context. Empirical generalization is the notation of permutations of relations and segments which emerge in particular contexts. Statements of comparison depend on delineation of the context as well as delineation of permutations of rights, relations and segments. In sum, specificity is achieved by the recognition and delineation of all four variables: rights, relations, segments and contexts.

In contrast to Needham³⁷ my experience with analysis by the mode of transmissions of rights suggests that terminologies do lead to empirical generalization or at least become one diagnostic feature in an empirical generalization. The empirical generalization reached in this paper is that residence is flexible in a situation of transmissions of rights by a variable diversity of ways; in such a situation or context the Dravidian terminology states the bilateral mode of transmitting the right to a marriage partner. Where residence is inflexible in a situation of invariable uniform transmission of rights the Iroquoian terminology states the unilateral mode of transmitting the right to a marriage partner. Two sets (two permutations) of

30. Needham, 1971, p. 1

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-34.

32. *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 13-16.

rights, relations and segments are found in two delineated contexts: cognatic and unilineal societies. Sociological similarities may end at this very general level. Nevertheless recognition of this general context of comparison provides a degree of clarity and is of predictive value.

If "the point in discriminating a class of phenomena is to be able to formulate propositions which hold for all members of the class,"³⁸ the point is achieved above. The research question which must be asked is whether sociological properties can be ascribed to members of the classes Dravidian and Iroquois; i.e. do they covary with cognatic and unilineal societies? Our hypothesis reached by empirical generalization is that they do covary. Further testing of empirical data is necessary.

The greater clarity of the analytical tool of kinship as a system of rights is illustrated when Needham's return to the ambiguous terms descent and descent groups for Pul Eliya is rephrased in terms of transmissions of rights for the Sinhalese Salagama case. Needham states "Examples of societies with 1) lineal terminologies but 2) without fixed rules of lineal descent or corresponding 3) descent groups are the Sinhalese of Pul Eliya" ³⁹ (numbers added for reference). If we read this in terms of transmissions of rights for the Sinhalese Salagama this becomes "An example of a society with 1) a patrilineal transmission of names but 2) with bilineal transmission of property and 3) ambilineal transmission of residence and a Dravidian terminology for reckoning marriage partners are the Salagama caste Sinhalese."

On the basis of analysis of the transmissions of rights, induction has led us to 1) variables which have analytical value 2) achievement of specificity by the recognition and delineation of four variables and 3) empirical generalizations. The four variables are discovered by induction from Sinhalese Salagama caste data. While induction and deduction do not necessarily contradict each other, induction can tell us more and more quickly than can deduction from formal logic because it draws from the data of many cultures rather than from logical deductive powers based on Western culture alone. Instead of returning us to the ambiguous terminology and other pitfalls of previous theories it allows us to proceed to empirical generalizations.

Instead of delineating a class as a number of objects possessing certain attributes in common; it allows us to classify kinds of phenomena already found to cohere by means of empirical generalization. The phenomena are specified in terms of variables: rights, relations and segments. Sets of phenomena: regularly occurring permutations of rights, relations and segments become comparable in terms of contexts. This inductive approach through variables complements the deductive approach through formal logical possibilities. For example, Needham⁴⁰ suggests effective comparisons can be initiated in terms of relational abstractions. The inductive approach has led to recognition of three further distinctions (elementary forms): segmental abstraction, relational particularities, and segmental particularities.

Thus we are enabled to move beyond "logical and psychic facilities as elementary resources available to all mankind for ordering experience"⁴¹ to elementary forms and consequently to empirical generalizations of sets or permutations of rights, relations and segments in a number of distinctive contexts. We reach these generalizations by the operation of classification suggested here, induction freed from typologies. From the transmissions of rights, relations and segments emerge. Designation of context makes comparison possible.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 32.