AKRABALIK KURUMUNA BETİMSEL BİR BAKIŞ: TÜRKİYE ÖRNEĞİ

A DESCRIPTIVE OVERVIEW OF KINSHIP ORGANIZATIONS: THE CASE OF TURKEY

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Öz

Bu çalışma akrabalığa dayalı grupların kendine has özelliklerini incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Akrabalık yalnızca kan bağını değil aynı zamanda evlilik ve ikametle ilgili bağları da kapsamaktadır. Bu makale, tarihsel ve etnografik kaynaklardan verilen özellikle kırsal toplumlarla bağlantılı örneklerin ışığında, her toplumda farklı işlevlere ve rollere sahip olan evlilik, ikamet ve soy kavramlarına atfedilen anlamları incelemektedir. Çalışma, bu üç ilkenin ayrı ayrı ele alınıp tartışılsalar da birbirlerinden ayrılamayacağını kanıtlamaktadır. Her toplum, kiminle evlenileceği, kaç kişiyle evlenileceği ve bir bireyin birden fazla eşle evlenmesine sebep olan gerekçeleri ya da mal varlığının evlilik kurumundaki rolü ve farklı kültürlere sahip toplumlarda farklı türden mal varlıklarının nasıl uygulandığı gibi ayırt edici unsurlara sahiptir. Bahsi geçen bütün bu kuralların, saygınlık kazanmak veya ensesti önlemek ya da sahip olunan toprakları genişletmek, vs gibi kültürel ve sosyal açıdan çeşitli hedefleri vardır. Bu çalışmada, Türkiye örneğine de değinerek, kültürel sistemin kuralları ile ortaya çıkan bütün bu hak ve yükümlülüklerin sebeplerine dikkat çekilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İçevlilik, Dışevlilik, İkamet, Soy, Türkiye'de Akrabalık.

Abstract

This study aims to examine specific features of kinship-based groups. Kinship does not only consist of blood relations but also marital and residential relations. In the light of the examples given from the historical and

ethnographic sources, mainly in relation to rural societies, this article analyses meanings attributed to the terms of marriage, residence and descent that have different functions and roles in each society. This study proves that these principles cannot be divergent although they are discussed separately. Each society has distinctive elements to create rules such as who to marry, how many to marry and what reasons make an individual to marry more than one spouse or how wealth is involved in the marriage and what types of wealth are practiced in societies varying their cultures. All these rules have several cultural and social purposes such as to gain prestige or prevent incest or extend territory and so on. In this study touching on the case of Turkey, consideration is given to the reasons for all these rights and obligations emerged with the rules of the cultural system.

Keywords: Exogamy, Endogamy, Residence, Descent, Kinship in Turkey.

1. Introduction

Every society in which people live and work need groups to build relationships, to meet their needs or just to enjoy their livings. They have a variety of relationships and groups each of which has its own culture. However, the most significant ones are corporate groups which are considered as the basic functional and organizational units of a society. The roles of these corporate groups can vary depending on the society but they have still some common features such as organizing behaviour or determining rules for their members, owning property, producing and distributing wealth, inheriting property, consuming and residing, creating a sense of identity, perpetuating the group over time and establishing alliances between groups. Corporate groups can be divided into two general types as kinship-based and non-kin based groups that the main focus of this study will be the former.

People need kinship-based corporate groups since they need to affiliate with others. Kinship, with some exceptions, can be considered to be the most permanent and lasting one. This system is the combination of three principles: marriage, residence and descent. The first section of this study defines common terms associated with the three principles and then it addresses the theories and hypotheses, surrounding the study of kinship organizations, and stated by several scholars and researchers who have studied on this field. In the last section of the paper, the case of Turkey in historical perspective and Turkish kinship terminology will be focused.

Almost all human beings need to affiliate with others during their lifetime. This affiliation can be in different forms such as friendship bonds, religious communities, political alliances and many more. While membership in some of these groups create strong and

lasting bonds and so can be quite satisfying for the individuals involved, other types of affiliation can be short-lived but still have a vital importance such as a group of workers who fight a forest fire. According to Cassell, out of all these affiliation types, kinship is, with few exceptions, "the most permanent and has the greatest long-term impact on the life, behaviofr, and social identity of an individual" (qtd. in Ingoldsby & Smith, 2006: 79).

In social and cultural anthropology, the term of kinship has been one of the key topics throughout the history. According to Robert Parkin (1997), there are two reasons for this. Firstly, although all the groups of human beings are not constituted on the basis of kinship, they have individually kinship and are connected to each other through kinship. Secondly, for anthropologists, kinship seems to be the main and only form of social organizations for tribal classes which have not been studied anymore. Therefore, many theoretical approaches in terms of social anthropology have focused on how social groups are formed and how the individuals are related to each other through kinship. On the other hand, cultural anthropology has focused on the symbolic aspects of kinship such as meanings which used to describe specific relations or symbols and to inform kinship practices. The second approach have been mostly preferred by American anthropologists and become more effective in the world anthropology. They analyse the domain of kinship into three categories: marriage, residence and descent which are the focus of this study.

2. Marriage

Although marriage has some certain characteristic across cultures, the definitions of marriage can vary from person to person. Different scholars and sociologists have tried to define it. Marrige is "the first step in constructing kinship-based corporate groups" (Eller, 2016: 148). Among the kinship-based units; the strongest, formal and common unit is the family. The family is generally accepted as stated in the quoted lines; "The family which we describe according to the people's culture, beliefs, and economic condition is the smallest unit of the society". (Edis, 2017: 131) Furthermore, Edward Westermarck defines marriage in his famous book, *History of Human Marriage* as "a more or less durable connection between male and female lasting beyond the mere act of propagation till after the birth of offspring" (qtd. in Willcox, 1892: 338). Lowie does not consider marriage to be durable institution as Westermarck but "a relatively permanent bond between permissible mates" (1940: 231). According to Horton and Hunt, marriage is "the approved social pattern whereby two or more persons

establish a family". Johnson (1960) describes marriage as "a stable relationship in which a man and a woman socially permitted without loss of standing in community to have children". The definitions of marriage from different perspectives show us that marriage is a biological, cultural, psychological and social affair.

Marriage has several kinds of rights and obligations. It includes economic functions such as shared labor, distribution and consumption, ownership, inheritance or political functions such as decision-making, problem-solving for members and finally reproductive functions (Eller, 2016: 149). Incest taboo which has been one of the most common cultural taboos prohibits marrying or having sex with kin. The functions of marriage rules are not only to prohibit a kinship circle but also to fix the potential dangers in case the prohibitions are violated (Levi-Strauss, 1969: 46).

Marriage may be divided into two types: endogamous and exogamous marriages on the basis of choice of spouse or the rules of choice of spouse. In other words, endogamy and exogamy, two universal contrasts to organize the marriage, determine who to marry. Endogamy is the combination of two Greek words: 'endo' means 'within' and 'gamy' means 'to marry'. Therefore, endogamy requires the individual to marry within one's own culturally-defined group of which they are members. This group can be a social group or class, a tribe, family or a village. Marrying within caste groups in the caste systems of India is an example for endogamous marriage. On the other side, exogamy refers to a social rule requiring the individual to marry outside one's own unit or group they belong to. Needham divides these marriage rules into two as prescriptive and preferencial. Prescriptive marriage obliges the individual to marry from within or outside one's own group. In other words, the individual has to obey the social rules to set up a legitimate marriage. In preferencial marriage, it is also essential to comply with socially accepted marriage rules (endogamy, exogamy). However, different from the former one, it does not require a criminal sanction when to disobey the rules (qtd. in Leach, 1986: 397).

When the reasons for endogamy have been searched, it is clearly seen that there are several causes depending on the society. Some of them are policy of seperation, extension of territory, sense of superiority and inferiority, religious, cultural and racial differences and geographical seperation. Just to clarify each of them, some people in the society do not want to live with other people of outside their group, therefore they want to live seperately and practice endogamy. Some people practice it because they think that if they marry outside the group, their wealth will go waste but not remain within the same family.

However, if a woman marries in the same group she will bring all the dower and children to that family or group. Some people practice endogamy since they consider their group superior and other groups are inferior. This belief make them to marry within the same group. Religious differences are regarded as another cause for endogamy. Some people think that their blood has purity and others have impurity of blood. Thus, they do not want to mix them since they are prohibited according to their religion. For instance, Islam does not allow a muslim to marry with a nonmuslim. People from two different groups or tribes can live very far from each other, so they may not want to marry and live away from his/her ancestral territory that also causes endogamy.

The choice of endogamy brings some advantages and disadvantages within it. By the help of endogamy, the unity within the group is maintained and it creates we-feeling. There is no sense of superiority or inferiority between partners upon each other and the wealth goes into the same family. On the other hand, partners in endogamy have very limited selection rights. Moreover, the number of relatives is very limited, so this causes to bring some feelings such as jealousy and hatred among members of the group. It naturally creates etnocentric behaviour.

Exogamy is almost the opposite of endogamy which insists that consanguineous people or blood relatives cannot have marital connections or sexual contacts among them. Close relatives are not supposed to marry each other. However, the degree of nearness varies on communities and cultures. For instance in Melanesia in the south of Equator a son can marry his father's wife if she does not have blood relations with him. Various factors can cause exogamous marriages. Some of the causes of exogamy can be as following: the desire of people belonging to small groups to show they are distinct from others can encourage them to practise exogamy, or some people think that they are insignificant on the eyes of society when they marry within the known-circle of relatives. Therefore, they want to go out of the group to select a spouse. The belief that close in-breeding might affect the biological quality of the offsprings can also lead people to the practice of exogamy. Although endogamy and exogamy are almost opposites, they are not mutually exclusive. These two rules of marriage can coexist in some communities. For example, both are practised by the caste Hindus in India. Castes and subcastes are endogamous in nature, however 'gotra' which is a small unit of subcaste is exogamous. Thus, it can be said that the rules can depend on societies. Recently, much attention has been given to the exogamy and exogamous marriages within the field of anthropology (Murphy & Kasdan, 1959: 17) and they have been

widely examined by the scholars and anthropologists. Moreover, there is a greater tendency to exogamous marriages than the past. It is appreciated as progressive and more scientific since it brings people from different social classes, races and religious groups together. Exogamy reduces social distance among people and supports social unity and solidarity. Endogamy, on the contrary, can be said to be more conservative and it has been widely criticised.

As mentioned above, Needham's division of marriage rules is on the basis of preferences. The preference marriages are mostly grouped as cross-cousin marriages, parallel-cousin marriages, levirate and sororate. Levirate and sororate can be examined under the head of second marriage preferences. Cross-cousin marriage which is "essentially a system of exchange" (Levi-Strauss, 1969: 49) is a type of marriage between one's mother's brother's daughter or son with father's sister's son or daughter. This type of marriage can be also divided into three subtypes: matrilateral cross-cousin marriage, patrilateral cross-cousin marriage and bilateral cross-cousin marriage. If a man marries his mother's brother's daughter, this refers to matrilateral cross-cousin marriage. However, if a man marries his father's sister's daughter, this refers to patrilateral cross-cousin marriage. On the other hand, a direct marriage of change in which a man gets married with his father's sister's daughter and his mother's brother's daughter at the same time defines bilateral cross cousin marriage system. Cross-cousin marriage is a controversial issue among scholars. Westermarck and Havelock Ellis both consider cross-culture marriage as the origin of the incest and state that "Most of the marriages between relatives (that is, cousins) are concluded at a tender age, sometimes when the bridegroom and the bride are still infants… The ties between them grow to be very strong, often stronger even than death: when one dies the other also dies from grief, or commit suicide" (qtd. in Levi-Strauss, 1969: 18). Moreover, sometimes the elders of two different families who have no blood ties but are closely connected to each other in terms of friendship make their decision on their children to marry even before they are born (19).

When it comes to how many to marry, briefly stated, the term, polygamy, refers to a general term for the marriage practice of having multiple spouses, either wife or husband. As a more specific term, polygyny occurs when a man marries more than one woman, and polyandry occurs when a woman marries multiple husbands. Recently, anthropologists have given a great deal attention to the fact that monogamy seems to precede over the societies which appear to be at the most primitive technical and economic level. From similar

observations, the studies of anthropologists have reached to almost hazardous conclusions. According to Father Schmidt, the facts about polygamy should be seen "as the sign of man's greater purity in the archaic stages of his social existence" (Levi-Strauss, 1969: 38). According to some other anthropologists, they prove to the existence of some kind of Golden Age before the civilization was discovered. Accepting other observations as correct, Levi-Strauss takes the readers' attention to a different conclusion. He states that evolved societies which have the obstacles of daily existence to the formation of economic privileges at the archaic level, are easily recognized as providing the structure of polygamy. This is what restricts women's existence for the benefit of a few. Regarding to Vienna School sense, purity of soul is not a factor which can more readily be considered as a form of abortive polygamy rather than monogamy since in such societies which approve polygamous unions, the tendency is towards a multiplicity of wives. Social and biological studies show that these tendencies are natural and universal and also suppressed by the limitations of the environment and the culture. Therefore, according to Levi-Strauss, monogamy cannot be called as a positive institution but only it contains the limit of polygamy in societies in which there are strong economic and sexual competitions. These particular characteristics are well accounted by the small unities in the most primitive societies (38).

Monogamy is not a general rule even in small unities such as the Nambikwara who are the indigenous people of Brazil living in the Amazon. This unity proves polygamy for their headmen and sorcerers. One or two important people in a band of almost twenty people secure two, three or four wives. This practice sometimes obliges other men in the band to be celibate. Since male adolescents cannot find wives from their own generation, this privilege is enough to upset the natural balance of the sexes. The growing scarcity of wives seems to be a big problem in this unity. "This deep polygamous tendency, which exists among all men, always makes the number of available women seem insufficient" (39). Therefore, homosexuality or fraternal polyandry among their neighbours can be regarded as solutions given to the problem of the Nambikwara. Primitive societies tend to overcome this problem with several ways. Polyandry which is a marriage practice of a woman with more than one husband, homosexuality in some groups and wife-lending in others and finally more commonly, the premarital relations would be solutions for the adolescents waiting for a wife. Marriage in most of primitive societies or even in rural classes of our societies, has an economic importance but not erotic.

2.1 Wealth in Arranged Marriages

In some societies, wealth is informal issue in the process of marriage. Among the Cheyenne, a Native American tribe emerged in the early nineteenth century, a man used to announce his kin to marry and then if it was approved by the group members, the man gathered wealth and gave it to woman's family. If the woman's kin accepted the pairing, the wealth would be divided among the family members and next day her kin would return the gifts of equal value (qtd. in. Eller, 2016: 152). However, the issue of wealth in some other societies is taken too seriously. We can see samples in the societies which practise arranged marriages.

Arranged marriages have been a significant issue discussed for centuries. Although today especially western societies prefer romance or 'love' marriages rather than arranged ones and they decide whom they marry on their own, arranged marriages have not completely dissappeared. Since the ancient times, some societies such as Indian society practise it as a tradition that parents decide the people who will marry with their children. There are several pros and cons of arranged marriages for sure. Arranged marriage seems as a successful Indian custom since it offers parents the chance to choose appropriate partner for their children. Besides, some people think that as elders decide about their life partner, it can be regarded as safe marriage where the bride and bridegroom are supposed to have a safe and secured life because it is believed that elders take good decisions as they have more experiences in their life. They also believe the divorce rate of arranged marriages is lower than the romantic marriages.

Studies have shown that divorce rate in arranged marriages is much lower than of the western romance marriages. However, this is a controversial claim since the low rate of divorce can be the result of the stigma attached to divorce in societies which practise this tradition. In other words, parents put pressure on couples to stay together no matter what that means as divorce is not an accepted option. Regarding to this, arranged marriages can be accepted as force marriages as the family members, often parents, choose a partner for marriageable youths by neglecting couples' wishes and opinions. This can gradually lead to a lack of understanding between couples since they do not know each other well. Therefore, arguments and unwanted discussions are inescapable. In India, parents match their children with the ones giving the bridegroom a huge amount of dowry which are goods given by the bride's kin to the bridegroom's kin. This results in, among both families, some problems and conflictsthat are the most common disadvantages caused by arranged marriage as bride's families may fail

to reach these expectations by the groom's family. It can be the reason for breaking down the husband-wife relationship. As a result, these explanations of arranged marriages show that it is a device and field for patriachy or male social dominance since man is the one who plans marriages for their sons and daughters (Eller, 2016: 152). Within this context, especially in the situations of hypergamy, a marriage practice in which a man should marry his daughter in a family of higher rank than his own, arranged marriages can cause the abuse of women and even their death.

In addition to dowry, bridewealth is also more commonly practised by especially patriarchal societies. This wealth system plays a significant role in arranging exchanges and sharing the family properties. This kind of system argues that a man should give the family of his future wife either a huge amount of money or valuables before a marriage. In many patrilinial societies another reason for this kind of payment is to get rights to assign children not to their mother's family but to their father's. Bridewealth is another controversial issue since it has been discussed by scholars for centuries. It occurs in twenty-nine percent of societies and is commonly known as a transaction where "substantial property which the groom or his relative give to the bride's kin" (Pasternak et al. 1997: 153). The first European observers of bridewealth systems come to a conclusion that this system reminds of buying a slave. The general view of anthropologists is that the actual funds transfer in a social exchange system supports to bind the bride and bridegroom's families together in the marriage process. For this reason, the exchange of material items such as money, cattle, pigs as well as women is considered as political and symbolic value. Besides, bridewealth contributes to the stability of marriage. If the couples are divorced, the bridewealth should be repaid, therefore the bride's family is keen on finding solutions for any problems the couples come across in order to ensure the stability of the marriage.

By and large, the practice of bridewealth supports the institution of polygyny referring to a marriage of a man with more than one women, since it takes a long time for the groom to save the necessary wealth. It enables the older men who have had more time to save necessary wealth than the younger ones, to marry several women. This tradition was practiced in ancient India in which the rulers got married with women from different villages and different clans to improve their political and economic positions. Even today, bridewealth and polygyny are present in many societies. However, the wealth forms differ depending on the culture they belong to. While some areas use special stones and shells, in others, animals such as pigs,

cattles are used. Kuper (1982) is one of the scholars who emphasized on the importance of bridewealth or *ilobolo* in South African societies. Fathers are expected to find first wives for their sons, although this contribution sets up a debt. A son should deliver the 'lobola' payment that he receives from his first daughter's marriage as a repayment to his father. South African societies find *ilobolo* exchanging cattle considered to be a highly valued wealth object. The cattle are transmitted from the groom's family or himself to the bride's parents before the wedding, and often during the marriage (Rudwick, S. & Posel, D., 2015: 14). The one who is paid, however, does not have fully right to dispose of the animals. He should give them back to his former in-laws in case his daughter divorces or does not give birth to children. "Women in societies that practice bridewealth or dowry are many times kept out of the major economic activities of their community and their work is viewed from a Westernized lens as 'secondary'; this is where the marginalization of women is most prominent" (Jones, 2012: 98). Nevertheless, this can mostly accepted as a Western perspective.

Bride service is similar to bridewealth except it involves a transfer of labor (rather than goods) to the bride's family. This occurs in about fifteen percent of societies but it can sometimes be hard to distinguish between service and goods, especially if there is sometimes a combination of the two given in bridewealth. Gift exchange and sister exchange can also occur in eight and five percent of societies respectively. It has been considered by researchers that, "bridewealth, bride service, and woman exchange [are] compensation for loss of the daughter's labor and reproductive powers" (Pasternak et al. 1997:154).

It is worth mentioning other marriage preferences one of which is levirate when a man's widow must marry his brother to keep being related to the first marriage. The other is sororate in which a widower should marry his deceased wife's sister. These two systems help to maintain group alliances. Levirate marriage is widespread among Middle Eastern communities, Jewish and Arabs in pre-Islamic period, Hindu and Central Asian nomadic tribes in addition to some tribes in Africa, Australia and America (Yuksel, 2010: 2030). Many contemporary societies such as the Igbo and Yanomamo have practiced levirate marriage which concerns with the cross cousin marriage system and performs almost the same. With the two groups' marriage, the couples ensure the continuation of their relation by remarrying a widow to a relative close to the departed husband. For instance, the Igbo, an ethnic group in the southern Nigeria, does not give permission to cross cousin marriage, but still manages to keep the continuation of the unity among kinfolk though it might not last until the next generation.

However, the cause of this custom among them can be understood well with their bridewealth system since after the death of her husband, they make the woman remarry within the family. It is served differently among the Hebrews. The children born with the union of a levirate marriage are considered to be the descendants of her first husband, an older brother of her present husband. Therefore, the levirate marriage focuses on the inheritance through first born sons. Likewise, in sororate society in which the man who has an infertile wife marries her sister. The children of the second union are considered to be children of the first. Because of the exchange rights, even if her husband dies she will be still cared for.

3. Residence

Residence can be considered as the second principle of kinship systems and also the spatial and geographic element of kinship. Having decided on their partner to get married with, people come across with another choice of residence. Regarding to residence issue the difference between patrilocal and matrilocal has a vital importance. These terms refer to the place where a married couple lives with or near husband's family or wife's family. Patrilocality which is a conventional practice for the husband to remain close with his male relatives (father, paternal uncles, brothers, etc.) is "by far more frequent in human societies than matrilocality" (Rodseth et al. 1991: 230). According to Divale, more than two-thirds of the societies in the cross-cultural sample of ethnographic structure of the societies are patrilocal while less than five percent of all recorded commonities practice a matrilocal pattern of residence (Versteegh, 2013: 67).

Patrilocal and matrilocal systems have a number of differences. First of all, the position of the spouse differs in the community. In a patrilocal system, the wife usually becomes part of her husband's family while in a matrilocal ystem, husbands do not usually seem to play a significal role in the community. In this system, brothers are responsible for their sisters' children who stay with their mother. Firthermore, the composition of the group between two systems can be regarded as another different point. There are always newcomers in a patrilocal system like the daughters-in-law. If we accept that the most patrilocal societies are exogamous, marriage partners have to come from outside the group, therefore a patrilocal community has a tendecy towards heterogeneity. On the contrary, a matrilocal residence pattern leads to a homogeneous group composition because the husbands from outside play a minor role in the mother's group. Such a system is "incompatible with local exogamy" (Kloos, 1963: 857) because it

would be difficult for the husbands to effectively apply their authority in their original community if they had to go far away to visit their wives or go live with them (Versteegh, 2013: 68).

Patrilocal groups are lack of stability that makes them heterogenous. On the contrary, the stable composition of matrilineal groups have great contributions to cultural and social stability that show the responsibility of women in these communities. In this context, residence pattern has an important role. According to Helms' investigation, matrilocal residence provides society with a stable and permanent elements in which women are responsible for the preservation of traditional customs. As they mostly stay at home they are not affected by other cultures. Therefore, there is little chance for them to know innovations and continuity in social and cultural traits. As a result of Helms's research, it can be concluded that the stabilising role of women is not necessarily connected with a matrilineal descent system but rather with the matrilocal residence pattern (69).

4. Descent

As the third principle in a kinship system, descent is a chronological relationship between generations. It is a physical fact when it is considered as lines between children to their parents or ancestors. However, it is also cultural because different societies create different kinds of kinship arrangements. In order to explain these relationship, anthropologists use some symbols and abbreviations (see Figure 1 and Figure 2). As seen in Figure 2, one individual is usually labelled as ego. This is the person to whom all kinship relationships are referred. In the case in Figure 2, ego has a brother, sister, father and mother that is called nuclear family consisting of a husband and wife along with their unmarried children.

Figure 1: Kinship abbreviations

M	for mother	Z	for sister	FZS for father's sister's son
F	for father	H	for husband	MBW for mother's brother's wife
S	for son	W	for wife	FF for father's father
D	for daughter	MBD	for mother's brother's daughter	
B	for brother			

In many societies, an individual is affiliated to his or her family group through either the father's or the mother's family line that describes an unilineal descent. In patrilineal descent, the inheritance passes through the father's side of the family. If the kinship affiliation is recognized through the mother's side, it is matrilineal. In this case,

descent is traced through the mother and all the women in the line. "Jewish people are an example of matrilineal religious descent in which the inheritance would focus on the mother's side of the family and would not apply to the father's" (Ingoldsby & Smith, 2006: 83). Another type is double descent in which both patrilineal and matrilineal descent co-exist in the same culture. The Yäko of southern Nigeria is an example of a society with double descent. In this system, one can inherit political and social rights from the father's group and land and also other properties such as household items, coins, mostly moveable property from the mother. The important fact in this system is that whatever is inherited from the mother is not also inherited from the father (83). And in the bilateral descent system, ego has full and equal rights of inheritance to all property social status and privileges from both the father and the mother. This system is common in American and other Western societies. It shows that "kinship obligations are relatively minor and therefore can be shared with many people" (84).

Figure 2: Kinship Diagram Symbols
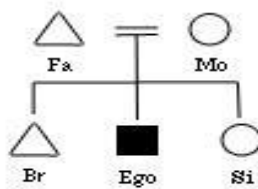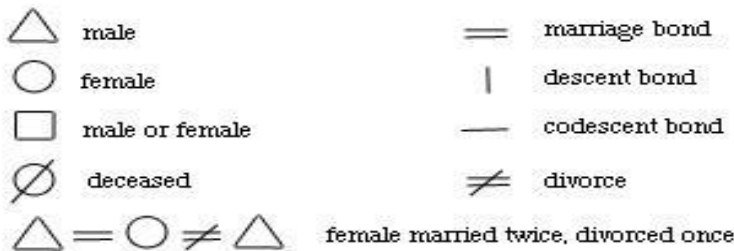
Although examined seperately above, the pattern of residence associates with another distinction between patrilineality and matrilineality. These terms refer to the line in which descent is counted through the father which means patrilineal, or through the mother which means matrilineal. In general, patrilineal systems are patrilocal that "the

sisters go away to their husbands and are replaced in the family unit by their brothers' wives" (Versteegh, 2013: 67). There are a few examples of patrilineal societies with matrilocal residence such as the Yupik Eskimo that is extremely rare. It can be easily said that there is a strong connection between matrilineality and matrilocality; however, matrilocality is not a necessary condition for matrilineality, nor the emergence of matrilineal societies. Indeed, according to Holden "matrilineal societies may emerge even without a preceding matrilocal residence pattern" (qtd. in Versteegh, 2013: 67) "To be sure, matrilineal systems are never completely endogamous, but since it would be difficult for the males to disperse to completely foreign groups, they usually transfer to another community within a larger group so that they can maintain spatial proximity to their consanguineal kin (Rodseth et al. 1991: 230). "Whether descent is matrilineal or patrilineal, the children of the father's brother and of the mother's sister are found in the same moiety as Ego, while those of the father's sister and of the mother's brother always belong to the other moiety" (Levi-Strauss, 1969: 98).

5. The Case Of Turkey In Historical Perspective

In order to examine Turkish kinship organizations, it will be better to give some information about Turkish terms of family and household. 'Family' and 'household' are two most intimate social institutions for Turkish people. The word for family, 'aile' in Turkish has Arabic origin while 'hane' for household is of Persion origin. The word 'ev' is also used as a synonym for 'household' or 'hane'. The first meaning for 'aile' in Develioglu's *Ottoman-Turkish Encyclopedic Dictionary* (1980) is "a person's wife" and the second " a relative" and the third " the members of the household" (25). It is clearly said that these explanations focus on a kinship relation but mainly conjugal relationship. When it comes to 'hane', most of the scholars agree that the 'hane' is the major unit of production and consumption in rural society.

It seems certain that compared with present, in the past the system of household formation in Turkey was non-Europen. This system shares some specific "tendencies both with the "Mediterranean" and with the "East" (European) types" (Duben, 1985: 78). European historians have considered marriage in Turkey as the main characteristic of household formation systems. Residence as an issue after the construction of marriage was patrilocal. Therefore, the authority was in the hands of patriarch. Father had all the power to control over the factors of production since inheritance was left over

until the father of the family died. These features belonging to the traditions of the late Ottoman Anatolia was completely the same with Eastern Europe (78).

One of the most important characteristic of Turkish inheritance system was post mortem while in Western Europe, a person should receive a significant amount of inheritance at marriage. In Turkish system, marriage meant to enter into the husband's household of a bride or 'gelin'. Since the residence system was patrilocal, the family man or the father was responsible for providing a residential area for newly married couples, either in the same house or in close to the parents' household. Moreover, marriage contained the transfer of wealth called 'bridewealth' mentioned in the previous sections. This transfer of wealth was formed into two types: if it is given to the bride, herself, it is called 'mehr' according to the Hanefi School of Islamic law. However, if the bridewealth is given to the father of the bride, it is called 'başlık' which is still a widespread practice in some parts of Turkey (81-82).

Although household formation was characterized as a joint household system even in the nineteen-century rural Anatolian families, the dominant household structure was nuclear family. Duben relates this conclusion with high mortality rate, demographic and socioeconomic factors. His research also shows that extended families were limited to the wealthy elite settled in towns and cities (90). According to Timur's survey in 1968, 60% of Turkish household comprised a nuclear family while 32% of households could be considered to be extended families (qtd. in Kovancı, 2005: 8). Although Turkey has strong historical bonds with Middle Eastern region, it is a Mediterranean country so the culture has been influenced by the traditions of this region. Inspite of religious differences, Turkish kinship system has many common points with kinship structure in Spain, France, Italy and Greece (8). One of them is familial and social values. Turkey has strong family ties and high expectations of kinship support. As in Italy, children are supposed to stay with their parents until they get married and even after marriage they keep their relations strong (qtd. in Kovancı 2005: 9). The situation in urban areas is the same since the elder parents tend to live with their married children instead of staying in care centres. Therefore, the importance of family and kinship in Turkey is also related to the frequent interraction of kinship groups with each other (Duben, 1982: 73).

According to Altuntek, the marriage pattern in Turkey has changed from lineage exogamy system to a system which has no norm due to the effect of Islam. However, she argues that Eastern and

Southern Turkey have still practised lineage enogamy based on tribal system. Therefore, in a multicultural country such Turkey, the differences of ethno-cultural structure should be taken into consideration (Altuntek, 2001: 17).

5.1 Kinship Terminology

As kinship is a complex system of culture, different societies have different ways of understanding kinship relations. Thus, each society has their own kinship terms or names. Kinship terminologies are organized in the way how cultural ideas are organized. They provide a means of classifying relationships with other people in the society. In other words, kinship terminology is a kind of language and code for important cultural aspects of family and kinship. Different societies have reasons to make terminological distinctions. If I call my mother's brother (MB) and father's brother (FB) by the same term, it means they are culturally equivalent for me so I do not need to call them with different terms. On the contrary, if I call them by different terms, this indicates a culturally relevant distinction between two kinsmen. I need to call them by different terms because their roles in the society or towards me in terms of kinship are completely different from each other. For example, in English 'brother-in-law' corresponds to different kinship terms in Turkish such as 'bacanak', 'kayın', 'kayınbirader', 'enişte' (see Figure 3: Turkish Kinship Terms).

Figure 3: Turkish Kinship Terms

Turkish terms	Kin types	Turkish terms	Kin Types
Baba	F	Kayın	HB or WB
Anne	M	Görümce	HZ
Abla	eZ (e for elder)	Baldız	WZ
Abi	eB	Dede	FF or MF
Kardeş	yB or yZ (y for younger)	Anneanne	FM or MM
Oğul	S	Amca	FB
Kız	D	Hala	FZ
Koca	H	Dayı	MB
Hanım	W	Teyze	MZ
Kayınpeder	HF or WF	Enişte	ZH, FZH, MZH
Kayınvalide	HM or WM	Elti	HBW
Kayınbirader	HB or WB	Bacanak	WZH

6. Conclusion

Society is responsible for assigning names, identities, roles and interests to individuals. In other words, it determines the rules which constitute the culture. The responsibility of the society entails to establish corporate groups which have two basic titles: kinship based and non-kin based. This paper has examined the former whose interest is not only the relationships based on blood but also the ones based on affinity or marriages. It has also mainly focuses on the kinship-based groups which have the rules about marriage, residence and descent and changeable principles depending on the society or the culture.

Marriage which has a role in the society to construct a kin-based group has economic functions such as productive activities, ownership and inheritance and so on; political functions such as decision-making, problem-solving for members of the group; and sexual and reproductive functions. It has multiple sub-issues which have variable characteristics in each depending on the place where it is practiced. For example, cross-cousin marriage should be taken as a model of exogamous marriage according to some scholars, on the contrary, some anthropologists think that it is the origin of the incest. In some societies, the tendencies towards polygamy are supported or suppressed by the limitations of the environment and culture. While Western societies prefer romantic marriages, others choose arranged marriage because they think that it will be a 'safer' marriage which is planned by the experienced elders the family. The lower divorce rate of arranged marriages have been proved by surveys. It might seem safer but what makes the divorce rate lower than the romantic ones although the couples choose their partners on their own in romantic marriages. Arranged marriage can be regarded as a device of patriarchal society since the parents, mostly fathers, are responsible of finding couples for their sons and daughters. They put pressure on couples to stay together. Therefore, another name for an arranged marriage is forced marriage. But it is still preferred by some male-dominant societies. Wealth forms are another examples of the marginalization of women in the society. According to some scholars, bride service, bridewealth and women exchange are considered as compensation for the loss of daughter's labor. For this reason, bridewealth also contribute to the stability of marriage.

This study has also shown the signs of patriarchal societies in the residential or spatial issues for newly-married couples. Descent as the third principle has distinctive features to separate the patrilineal one from matrilineal. Kinship terminology is determined by the societies regarding to these differences. What one society calls 'cousin' might

not be called or treated like a cousin in another. If one's father's sister and mother's sister are called with the same term, it means that they are culturally equivalent for that person so it is unnecessary for such societies to call them with two different terms. However, in a society, such as Turkish society, each relative has different roles so each is called by a different terms to show the dominance of the patrilineal descent.

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