

(C) THE PSYCHOLOGICAL CULTURE

This section of the thesis on the Psychological culture of the Dangs consists of seven chapters, chapters VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, ~~and~~ XII and XIII. These chapters describe the role of various social, economic and religious institutions, beliefs, ideals and attitudes of the Dangis as revealed in their behaviour and responses. These ideological patterns refer to beliefs, attitudes and value systems which the individual ~~and culture~~ incorporates as the result of interaction with society and culture. The ideological patterns are important, for they, irrespective of the reality of the object, determine the individual's approach towards the situations, persons and objects. Behind every material object are the patterns of culture, beliefs and attitudes, sentiments and ideals that

determine the perception of the object, the techniques of shaping and using it. The material equipment is connected with the mental and moral discipline. Psychological culture and behaviour are intimately related. Individual behaves in the only way as determined by his participation in the culture of his society. This participation in the culture develops in him a typical mode of thinking, feeling and behaving. Individual's internal biological behaviour, sexual behaviour, motor habits, perception, cognition, affect, phantasy and even unconscious processes are culturally patterned. (1). Culture is manifested in and through personalities. Personality shapes and changes culture. But in turn it is shaped by culture.

The In the following chapters while describing the institutions, attitudes, and beliefs of the Dangis suggestions have been made about the typical traits of a Dangi personality which are revealed in his inter-personal, intra-familial, inter-group relations, and his responses to the objects of ^{the} physical world and nature. These points have been elaborated in chapter XIV.

- (1) Kluckhohn, Clyde : Culture and Behaviour, in Lindzey G. (Ed.) A Handbook of Social Psychology, Vol. II, pp. 921-968. New York, Addison Wesley, 1956.

CHAPTER VII

PATTERNS OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

I. INTRODUCTION

Society means organisation. This is true for all kinds of society, even for primitive tribes also. There is a definite footing from which social structure and social life evolve. There is a pivot around which the day-to-day life moves on.

Social customs and social sanctions are the unwritten laws of the society which govern the personal, social and social-cultural behaviour of an individual. Social institutions are the operational units. The individual brought up in a particular society automatically and gradually internalises the social beliefs, customs, mores, taboos and the ethics of the society. As a result of which he

becomes a 'point' in the social structure, a personality representative of that society and culture. It is more so in a pre-literate society like the Dangi society where the social life is compact and homogeneous. The following four chapters discuss the nature of social, ^{and religious} economic institutions of the Dangi society. This chapter deals with the patterns of village social life, family life, inter-tribe relations and relations with the kith and kins.

II. VILLAGE AS A FUNCTIONAL UNIT OF SOCIAL LIFE

Except for certain strictly personal or family affairs, for all other purposes the village is a unit of social structure and organisation. In all social, economic and religious activities, in services to government departments the village acts as a unit. The local group is the smallest unit of cultural organisation. In slight details of custom and daily habits and perhaps of dialect the local group is always to some extent different from every other local group. Thus the Dangis of Waghai and

Bardipada range differ slightly in their dress and speech, from the Dangis of Galkund range. Manchhu a servant of Shri Chhotubhai told me, "I come from a village near Bardipada, so I can understand and speak Gujarati well. While a man from Galkund side can understand and speak Marathi well". But their local differences have little bearing on the Dangi life as a whole.

The Dangis living in the same village are not necessarily of one tribe or of one class. But there is a fellow feeling of belonging to a common village. On the occasions like marriage, celebration of a festival, Devpuja, or a trip for fishing all people attend and join together. There is a common holiday in the village. For 'begar' i.e. compulsory labour call of government, one member from each family of the village has to attend, and the amount of remuneration is distributed equally among all.

A village has its own reputation of being 'good' or 'bad'. A quarrelsome man spoils the name of the village, hence he is not liked by the villagers.

III. THE VILLAGE OFFICIALS :

(a) THE PATEL

(a) Whenever I went to visit a village, I was directed to go to the Patel (Patil). The Patel is a governmental head of the village, and in that capacity he is also a social head. The people of the village suggest a certain name as the Patel and government approves the proposal and makes the appointment. If there are grounds for discontent for the people against the Patel, the government replaces him if people make a request to do so. Thus the Patel is the people's man who enjoys their trust and embodies in him the desire and opinion of his people. The Patel's office though not hereditary, by convention, first preference is given to the heir. When Manchubhai, the Patel of Kalibel, resigned his brother Gansubhai was unanimously nominated by the people for the post.

By his office and experience the Patel has a social status. He is the first man of the village, hence first in all social and religious functions. His advice is sought in village as well as family

and personal problems. He, by his prestige, can silence the dissidents, chastise a drunkard or settle quarrels. He is the leader of a representation made to the government or to other villages. His convictions are honoured. If he feels that his people do not obey or believe him, he would say, 'I do not want to hold the post any more. If anything goes wrong I am not responsible'. When the Patel loses the trust of his people he cannot work. The Patel of Chiktya had to resign and run away from the village because people did not want him.

In return of his services the Patel gets a stipend varying from rupees twenty to thirty from government. Moreover, in the annual Darbar he gets articles like utensils, towel, bedsheets etc. as present from the government. He gets rewards for some good service.

The Patel is economically better settled than most of the families in the village. Only then he can spare time to attend to the public duties.

The wife of the Patel has no status accorded to her as the wife of the Patel. She is

not so important as her husband in the community and socio-religious life of the village. Her position is secondary. The Patel is the host of the guests of the village. So the attitude of the wife of the Patel and her manners of treatment create an impression about the village hospitality on the mind of the guest.

(b) The Karbhari. - A Karbhari is a government-cum-public servant in the village. He is a sort of a secretary. He is next to the Patel and in absence of the Patel takes his place. He helps the Patel in maintaining and creating public opinion. The Patel can be common to two villages, but the Karbhari is in every village. His office is not hereditary neither by custom nor by convention. For his services the Karbhari is paid a sum of rupees twenty to twenty five yearly and some presents in the annual darbar. He is also exempted from paying fifty per cent of the land revenue.

(c) The Jaglya. - The Jaglya is a sort of village servant and a full time paid attendant. He runs errands for the village and government business,

even for a distinguished visitor^s. Whenever any information is to be passed to the village as a whole he makes a public announcement or informs every house personally. He attends to the government servants on their visit to the village and is an escort as well as ^acoolie of the officer upto his next halt. I took the services of a Jaglya to carry my luggage from one village to another. The Jaglya as a full time servant can be called upon at any time and place on duty. He is paid rupees eighteen per month.

(d) A Bhagat. - A bhagat is an important religio-medical officer in the village. There are two or three bhagats in every village. 'Bhagat' is not a class but an institution. The detailed discussion is made in Chapter IX of 'Patterns of Religious Behaviour, Attitudes and Beliefs in Magic'.

IV. INTERRELATION BETWEEN THE TRIBES

The Kunbis, the Bhils, the Warlis, the Chodhras, the Gamits etc. in a village form distinct groups. These groups are more or less like ^{the} castes

in the Hindu society. Social relationships are governed in terms of the differences in the tribes. Intermarriages are not allowed. Interdinning is not so much objected as inter-marriages. There is a greater social intercourse between the Kunbis and the Warlis than between the Bhils and others. As a Dangi put to me, 'A Kotwal is polluted if he takes food from a Mangi. A Bhil is polluted if he takes food from a Kotwal. A Kunbi does not accept food from a Bhil and a Chodhra avoids food from a Kunbi.' The social distance thus is more between a Kunbi and a Bhil, a Warli and a Bhil than between a Kunbi and a Warli. Kolgyabhai said, 'An inter-marriage between a Kunbi and a Warli may be grudgingly accepted. But the Bhils are kept at a distance. In a collective dinning the Bhils sit at a distance. In a ceremony celebrated at a Bhil's house a Kunbi cooks the food. If a Kunbi boy marries a Bhil girl he becomes a Bhil and is not allowed to enter the house by his Kunbi father. There are no taboos for sitting, chit chatting, and smoking together". The Kunbis are economically better than others, hence enjoy a higher position in social ranking also.

Iku Karbhari who was a Kunbi said, "A Bhil is a dirty, careless and idle fellow. He does not bother for to-morrow. He shall not work unless he is compelled to do so because of hunger. He is a cow-beef eater, dead-meat eater, which is a sin". Navsubhai said, "The Bhil lives in a dirty house. He does not care for his fields. So the return of his crops are much less and therefore he and his members of the family remain half-starved." The Bhils have nothing to say against this, for they are so, and accept themselves as they are. The Gamits or ^{the} Mavshis form a distinct endogamous group and differ in some respects from other tribes, especially in marriage customs.

Once in the afternoon I went to Kasad from Kalibel. There I went to a house. Two young men were working. I asked, "Are you Bhil"? One of them instantly said, 'No, we are Kunbis'. He offered me a seat, and later on a cup of tea without milk. Next day evening his father met me and told me, "My son talked to me that you had come. But he was angry with you when you asked him 'Are you a Bhil'? He said, he kept control because you were a guest, and therefore probably did not know that the Kunbis are

higher than the Bhils". To call a Kunbi a Bhil offends him greatly."

V. THE PANCH AS A SOCIAL INSTITUTION

In every village there is an informal social institution of Panch. The Panch is an inevitable part of the social organisation. In all matters concerning public interest, ^{the} Panch's decision is final and binding to everybody. "The Panch is the God" says a Dangi proverb. The decision of the Panch is to be respected and accepted. The membership of the Panch is not fixed nor there are any special qualifications for it. It is a group of wise men of the village. Generally the Patel, the Karbhari, one or two 'assamis' (rich persons) and one or two old people wise by age and experience sit as the members of the Panch. They are the mediators who are called to intervene and whose advice is sought in settling the inter-personal, inter-group and inter-village quarrels. The matters of public importance like government's call for compulsory labour, somebody's affair with a married woman, pre-marital sex relation, somebody not calling

his wife, or the wife not going to the husband's house, cases of divorce and return of bride-price, quarrel among the villagers, a cattle disease, or starting a school etc. are discussed and settled by the Panch. The discussion by the members is started not merely for the sake of arguments, but for the sake of arriving at a definite decision. View points are exchanged, the dissenting and half willing persons are persuaded and a unanimous decision is arrived at. Everybody has to carry out the decision ungrudgingly. The Dangis hardly come to blows or settle disputes by fighting to solve inter-personal problems. The arbitration of the Panch sets everything right. One who calls names and does not obey the rulings of the Panch is called an unruly fellow, a 'band'. He is not talked to and is neglected by others.

The inter-village problems e.g. a quarrel between a bride from one village and the husband from another village, are never settled by individuals concerned on their own accord, but through the meeting of the Panchas of the respective villages.

"The Panch", said Kolgyabhai, "never takes any decision on merely hearsay or rumours but insists on providing solid evidence by the aggrieved person for his grievance. A teacher in the primary school in the neighbouring village was suspected having illicit relations with a daughter of the Patel of that village, but in absence of any concrete evidence the Panch could not do anything. Before the Panch all the persons irrespective of their wealth or class are equal. Even the richest man in the village can be brought before the Panch. For example, Bhavdu, a rich man in Kirli was called by the Panch for lopping the trees in his neighbour's field. Once the Patel of this village (Kirli) could not object when his wife was declared a witch by the bhagat". The members of the Panch are interested only in satisfying all and put everything right. It is more powerful than law and police. "The controlling forces of society", says Tylor (1), "are at work even among the savages only in more rudimentary ways than among ourselves. Public opinion is already a great power". The Panch is a powerful social control

1. Tylor : Anthropology, Vol.II.

and wields great influence on the social behaviour of the Dangis. A Dangi under whatever circumstances does not think of beating the wrong doer and set him right himself. He keeps control and appeals the Panch. The Panch is the authority and its source of authority is the people itself. So a Dangi fears the Panch and obeys the decision given by the Panch. Thereby he accepts the voice of the people. Thus, a Dangi by obeying the authority of the Panch helps in promoting the healthy and smooth relations in the social life.

VI. THE PATTERNS OF FAMILY LIFE

(a) The family is the smallest unit in the Dangi social life. Participation in the activities of the village is accounted family wise. A family which consists of the married spouses and their children is a universal phenomenon. A Dangi family also consists of a husband, a wife and their children. But the joint family is not a rarity. The earning sons with their wives in many a cases stay in their parental home. In the case of the Patel of Kunda, his three married brothers, two unmarried brothers

and the widow mother were staying together under one shed. Generally, the married daughters join their husband's family. But if the daughter's husband is a 'Khandhadia', he becomes a member of the wife's family for a few years.

In the event of the death of the son-in-law or son-in-law not calling the daughter, the daughter and her children if any, find resort in the parental house. The children of the dead brother or sister find shelter in the uncle's home.

The reasons for maintaining a joint family are purely economical. If the father has no sufficient land, he would not like to make small divisions of land for his sons. So until a son gets a piece of land from the government he cannot leave his parental home and remain without land and work. The bigger family becomes disbanded into smaller units on various grounds. At the death of the father the sons distribute the property and live apart. A son may go as a 'Khandhadia' and join his wife's family or he may get a job and go elsewhere. But the divided families in the Dangs are not strictly of

the pattern of a modern divided family. There is no dead uniformity and many varieties of families are noticed.

(b) Size of the Family. - The number of the members in a Dangi family varies from two to ten or fifteen. The average strength of the family is 5.5. The children in the family are not always of the same father and mother. If the man has married more than once, the children of all the marriages are brought up together. If the woman's marriage is also a second one and if she has brought with her the children of her first marriage, they also find place in the family with ^{the} children of the man of his previous marriages. To these two categories of children is added a third category, the children of the new marriage. All the children are brought up happily. Neither the father nor the mother is jealous of the step-children.

(c) The Members of the Family. - The father is the head of the family. He exercises direct control over all the members of the family and assigns different duties to different individuals. He

personally looks after the agriculture, income and expenditure of the family and the social and government obligations. An earning son till he is in the family hands over his income to the father. The grown up and earning sons enjoy liberty in their personal matters. In all family obligations the father represents the family, or the grown up son whom he delegates.

The mother, a housewife is a pillar of the family life. She is not so outspoken and extravert as the father is, but she is the real inner spirit behind the working and peace of the family. She looks after the children, feed them, helps the husband in his work, and advise him on many problems.

The children form an important element of the Dangi family life. The parents are not afraid of the idea of getting a child, increasing one mouth to feed. For, a child is a source of an additional income. They laugh at the idea of family planning. A son may be preferred to a daughter, but there is not so much difference if there is one son and many daughters. This situation which is reverse from that in a Hindu family, where a son is preferred to a

daughter and a daughter is sometimes despised is important. A girl and a boy are treated equally, as social equality of ^{the}son and ^{the}daughter, the economic situation and the ideal of marriage are important factors which determine the relation between the sexes in the Dangi society.

The eldest son enjoys a respectable position in the family. He, by his place, is a responsible man and next to the father. In the absence of the father he is the head of the family. In talk he refers to his younger siblings as 'My son' (Āmmā Posā), or my daughter (Āmmī Posī).

The Dangi family is patrilocal and patrilineal. It is patriloc~~al~~, because the girl after her marriage leaves the father's house and joins her husband's family. The wife and the children take the husband's and father's family name respectively. It is patrilineal, for the line of descent is traced through the father. The succession of property is from father to son. The property is neither primogeniture nor ultimogeniture. The property is equally divided among all sons, the eldest getting a bit more.

If there is no son, the daughter inherits the property. If the daughters are more than one and no son, the father instead of dividing property among the daughters, may keep a 'Khandhadia' for one daughter, and make him an heir. The son-in-law becomes a son to the father in his old age. If there is no child, the property goes to the sons of the brother.

Like property the debt, if any is divided among the sons, the eldest paying a bit more. If at the death of the father if the family is divided, the son with whom the father stayed inherits the property as well as the debt. Moreover, this son alone bears the mortuary expenses.

VII. CLANS AND KINS

The tribes in the Dangs, the Kunbis, the Bhil, the Warli, are endogamous social units. That is an individual must find a mate within his own tribe, social unit. Each tribe is composed of numerous exogamous groups, called clans. That is an individual must find a mate outside of his own clan, a social group. The clan is a paternal group. The clan is known as 'Kula' or 'Jat' by the Dangis.

In the survey of 125 families, I came across the following clan names in the Kunbi, the Warli and the Bhil tribes. The list though not complete is sufficient to acquaint us with the varieties of clan names.

The Kunbi Clans : Bagul, Bhoya, Chaurya, Chowdhari, Dokya, Gangurda, Gawda, Gavli, Gaikwad, Gawit, Jadav, Kola, Powar, Raot, Sahre, Thakri, Thakaria, Wagh.

The Warli Clans : Chowdhari, Dalvi, Ghatal, Sonunya, Vad, Valvi, Walu, Zambre, Zatia.

The Bhil Clans : Bagul, Barde, Boradia, Desai, Deshmukh, Gavli, Kunwar, Kanwaria, Lahri, Naik, Powar, Vaslya, Waghmare, Waradia.

It is believed that each clan had an original ancestor and the different families in the clan claim to have descended from that common ancestor. The common descent creates a fictitious blood relationship between the members of the clan. Individuals having same surname belong to a common clan. The person bearing a common surname is referred by the Dangi as belonging to his 'Kula'.

He says, 'He is of my kula, my Katambi'. The membership of the clan is determined by birth as well as by adoption. If the child of a widow is brought up by her husband of remarriage, he adopts the clan of his step-^{father} ~~mother~~.

No family knows the ancestor by name. No man can trace his pedigree beyond fourth or fifth generation. The families of the same clan are spread over the whole land of the Dangs. Hence, persons belonging to a common clan do not necessarily know each other. The same clan name may be found in more than one tribe also. For example, Powar, Bagul, Gavli, etc. are common to the Bhils and the Kunbis. Chowdhari is a clan both in the Kunbis as well as in the Warlis. Thus the Dangi clans are scattered throughout the Dangs. Two families belonging to a common clan may be separated by a long distance, and these families have no other obvious connection except the common name.

VIII. ORIGIN OF THE CLAN AND TOTEMISM

All the clans are of equal social status. No Dangi knows the meaning of the clan name nor does

he know the origin of it. The Bhils of the Dangis are regarded as a hybrid group of Rajput blood and tribal substratum*. Whether the theory of many clans having partly sprung from the old Rajput is applicable to the Dangis or not, it is curious to find among the Dangis, some of the Rajput names like Jadav, Powar, Gaikwad, Chowdhari etc. Many clan names like Deshmukh, Bagul, Dalvi, Gangurd, Gaikwad, Sahre, Waghmare, Valvi, Zambre etc. prevalent in the Dangis are also prevalent among the Maharashtrians. They seem to be an adoption of latter by the former. The names like Gaikwad and Powar are found among the Mahadeo Kolis and the Thakurs. The animal name 'Wagh' is found among the Katkaris and the Warlis of Thana District. 'Bhoi' is found among the Chodhras and the Katkaris, and 'Raot' among the Chodhras and the Dhodias of Gujarat. 'Kola' and 'Naik' Dangi clans are also the clans of the Bhodias. Origin of the clan names of the Dangis can be classified as follows :-

* Refer previous Chapter V, page. 244

1. The name of the animal, ~~as~~ Wagh (tiger).
2. The names of the trees : Vad (Banian tree), Chaurya (chora, a kind of tree which grows in land of hard rain), Chola (a kind of pulse), Zatia (a kind of creeper).
3. The names of the fruits : Dokya.
4. Titles : Kunwar, Naik, Chowdhari, Thakari, (Power, status).
5. Name of the profession : Kanwaria (a bamboo worker), Gavli (a milk man), Baradia (a court player).
6. Local : Barde (Rocky and sandyland).

A tribe is totemistic when it claims mystic ties with some material object, animal or plant species. The totem object or animal is worshipped by the people of that totem - clan. One may get the impression that the Dangi clans, e.g. Wagh, Vad, Chaurya, etc. may be totemistic. But the Dangis do not attach much importance to the totem object, except that they do not in normal circumstances, kill the tiger, but worship it. But the tiger is worshipped and propitiated not only by the persons of 'Wagh' clan but by all. The Dangis are not totemistic as the families or the clans bearing animal, bird or tree names do not worship or show any special regard for them

Kinship Terms :

1. Father	Bāhas
2. Mother	Mā
3. Son	Posā
4. Daughter	Posī
5. Brother	Bhāus
6. Sister	Bhānis
7. Paternal grand father	Motā Bāhas or Davar Bāhas
8. Maternal grand father	Motā Bāhas or Davar Bāhas
9. Paternal grand mother	Aāyā
10. Maternal grand mother	Dosī Aai or Dosī Mā
11. Paternal Uncle	Kākās
12. Father's elder brother	Dādās
13. Father's younger brother	Kākās
14. Father's elder Brother's Wife	Motī Aais
15. Mother's elder sister	Jījīs, Motī Māsis
16. Mother's younger sister	Nāni Māsis
17. Father's sister	Fuīs
18. Father's sister's husband	Māmās
19. Mother's brother	Māmās
20. Mother's brother's wife	Māmīs, Fuīs

21.	Paternal cousin brother	Bhāus
22.	Paternal cousin sister	Bhāhnīs
23.	Maternal cousin brother) Father's sister's son)	Mehunās
24.	Maternal cousin sister) Father's sister's daughter)	Vahnīs
25.	Father-in-law	Māmās, Sasrās
26.	Mother-in-law	Fuīs, Sāsūs
27.	Sin-in-law	Janāi
28.	Daughter-in-law	Vahus
29.	Wife's elder brother	Salo - Bhāvad
30.	Wife's younger brother	Soira
31.	Wife's elder sister	Motī Sālis or Aākād Sāsūs
32.	Wife's younger sister	Dhākli Sālīa
33.	Grand son	Posā
34.	Grand daughter	Posī
35.	Husband	Navaro, Goho
36.	Wife	Navrī, Bāiko
37.	Sister's husband	Bhāvad
38.	Husband's sister	Nandas bāi
39.	Husband's sister's husband	Bābā
40.	Husband's elder brother	Jethūs
41.	Husband's elder brother's wife	Jethbāi
42.	Husband's younger brother	Bābābhai
43.	Husband's younger brother's wife	Bāi

The Dangi kinship terms are of two types, classificatory as well as descriptive. For example, all persons of the father's age are addressed as 'Kākās'. One's own brother and sister and paternal uncle's sons and daughters are called 'Bhāus' and 'Bahnīs' respectively. The females in the village of the age of one's daughter are addressed as daughters and their husbands are referred to as sons-in-law, 'Jamāīs'.

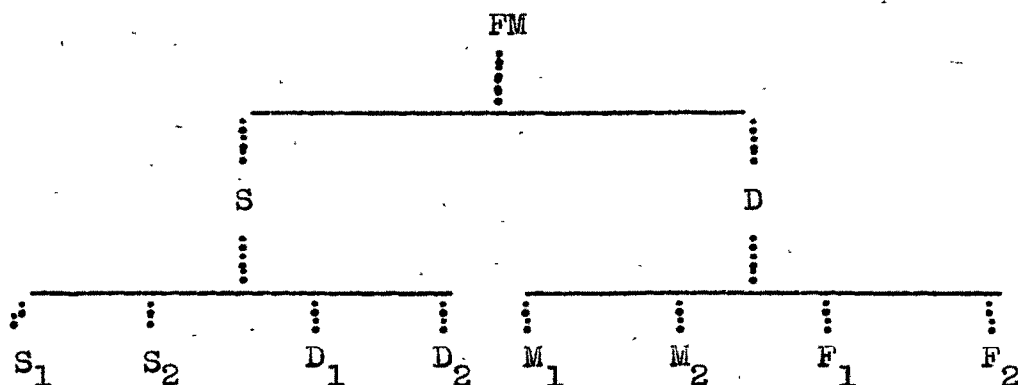
There are descriptive kinship terms like 'Motā', 'Bāhas' or 'Davar Bāhas' and 'Dosī', Aāi' or 'Dosī mā' for the grand father and the grand mother respectively.

The customary rules of the Dangis permit marriage between cross cousins i.e. individual's mother's brother's children and father's sister's children. That is 'Ego' can marry maternal uncle's daughter or father's sister's daughter. Hence the maternal uncle and father's sister's ~~daughter~~ husbands i.e. 'Māmās' and 'Fuās' are potential father-in-laws. So there are common terms 'Māmā Sasarās' for Māmās, Fuās, and Sasarās. Similarly 'Fuīs, Sāsūs' are the terms to address mother-in-law,

maternal uncle's wife as well as father's sister.

'Vahnīs' is a common term for brother's wife, maternal uncle's daughter and father's sister's daughters.

'Mehunās' is a common term for maternal uncle's son and father's sister's sons. ('Mehunnās' and 'Vahnīs' are potential husband and wife.)



S and D are son and daughter of F,M, father and mother. S₁, S₂, D₁, D₂ are sons and daughters of the son S. M₁, M₂, F₁, F₂ are sons and daughters of the daughters D. S₁ is a potential husband of F₁, for they are cross cousins, similarly D₁ is a potential wife of M₁. (For schematical representation of the kinship terminology, refer to Appendix No. IV)

By marriage relation two families come together and some sort of emotional attachment is established between the inmates of both the families. the in-laws are called 'Vevais'.

IX. FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

In Dangi family the father is a disciplinarian. The attitude of the sons towards the father is of submission. Even a grown up and married son would not dare disobey his father. In principle the same subservience is postulated in relation to one's elder brother also. Emotionally the child is more attached to the mother than to the father. Devaji of Sajupada whose son was studying in the Ashrama School at Kalibel spoke to me in a tone of deep feelings for his son and his old mother. He told me "My mother is very old. I look after her and serve her". He was very much pleased when I expressed my desire to take her photo.

The daughter is very much attached to the parental home. Even after marriage many a times she visits her parental house. In case of a broken or unhappy married life she comes back and takes resort

in the father's house. Cross-cousin marriages are permissible. Hence, even after marriage the relations between the sister's and brother's families are continued.

Some relatives are by convention allowed free mixing and talking with each other. They are in joking relationship. A few kins have to avoid each other, or cannot be so much free as they can be with others.

An individual may have joking relationship with his elder brother's wife i.e. with Vahnīs'. With wife's younger sister i.e. Thākli Sālis, one can take liberty in speech if not in action. A Dangi told me, 'The wife and wife's younger sister are same (in relation to sex relations). I can take liberty with my Thākli Sālis and cut jokes with her. One other Dangi youth said, 'I can cut jokes and take take liberty with elder brother's wife. I can in jokes invite her to be a partner of my bed'. The Bhāvads, i.e. sister's husbands and wife's brothers if of equal age can be in intimate and pleasing relations. The husband's sister, i.e. 'Nandas bāi' can joke with her brother's wife 'Vahnīs''.

Joking relationship may be indicative of equality and mutual reciprocity as between the two 'Bhāvads'. It may be indicative of potential sexual relationship between a man and his 'Thākli Sālis' or between 'Deer Bāba and Vahnīs'. Thus both the practice of sororate and levirate are accepted among the Dangis. But it is not much in practice. The friends of the bride's age can talk liberally and tease the bridegroom. But the bridegroom is not so free with them in turn.

On the other hand the son-in-law and mother-in-law cannot be on very intimate terms with each other. The son-in-law cannot be so free and close in talk with mother-in-law as he is with the father-in-law. The daughter-in-law looks upon father-in-law and husband's elder brother with respect and distance. She is very modest and restrained in talk with them and even in their presence. She will not serve the meals to the father-in-law. Similarly the mother-in-law also would not serve meals to the son-in-law. Wife's elder sister is also called 'Sāsus'. That is she is as good as mother-in-law and the man is not permitted to have familiarity with her.

There is a privileged familiarity ^{between} with the nephew and his maternal uncle. The uncle is always kind to the nephew and he has free access to the uncle's house. In case if both the parents are dead the child is brought up by the maternal uncle.

The husband and wife are expected to be modest and restrained in their behaviour towards each other in presence of the elders. No one can call the other by name and cut joke in the presence of elders. The aged husband and wife are not so restrained. In my interviews at many times with the Dangis the wife was sitting by her husband, and she corrected her husband whenever his information was wrong or inaccurate.

X. RELATIONSHIP WITH OTHERS

The Dangis observe a definite code of greeting and reception when they meet kins or acquaintances. Two Dangis known to each other when meet, smile, fold the two palms together and raising the hands to the forehead say 'Ram Ram'. The other will return the greetings in the same manner. They would stop for a moment on their way and one would

ask the other 'Katha Jas ?' (Where do you go?). They again greet each other and depart. A guest at home is received with 'Ram Ram'. The host would say 'Bisa' (Please sit down). If the guest is coming from a distance he would ask 'Pani lagah' (Will you have water). For some dignified guests like us or government servants a cot is brought or he is asked to sit on a chair or a desk nearby. If a guest is to stay for a longer time he is served meals and given a place for sleeping at night. During my tour I had an opportunity to become^a guest of a few Dangi families. I was often asked whether I shall take tea. They asked with hesitation for tea was to be served without milk. I readily accepted their gesture of hospitality. If I happened to spend a few hours I used to get a breakfast of ground nuts, ~~pum~~ pum fruit etc. A Dangi is not so hospitable to other casual Dangi visitors.

It seemed that mutual distrust underlies most relationships in the village. But generally it was not expressed in open conflict. On the surface there was a deceptive show of cordiality, and esteem. For example, in Kalibel when I contacted Iku Karbhari, next day Manchhubhai came to me and said, "Do not rely on Iku. He is not a supporter of the Ashrama".

I told him, 'He comes to the Ashrama often and talks very nicely with me and other people. He also requested the Ashrama teacher to write down an application for him to get land for cultivation. Why did he not go to the 'Talati' for the purpose ? In reply Manchhubhai said, "Openly he is very cordial in relations with us and others but at the critical moment we cannot count upon his support. Partly it is because of his opposition that the requisition of land for the Ashrama School is delayed".

Open conflicts resulting into blows and death are very rare among the Dangis. The police record of the crimes in the district is a proof of this. The reason for this is that the Panch system wields powerful influence. The quarrels among the villagers are not settled by themselves. Moreover, the big, wise persons of the village persuade the dissenting persons and calm down their feelings.

XI. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In the social life of the Dangis the village is a functional unit. The village officers, the Patel, the Karbhari enjoy a social status. They

are the representatives in the socio-religious activities of the village. The Panch is a powerful social control and an important institution which governs the inter-personal and inter-group relations, and solves their conflicts.

The Dangis as a people are formed of mainly three tribes. The social inter-course between these tribes is on the line of the inter-relations among the castes in the Hindu society.

The family is the smallest unit in the Dangi social life. There are varieties of patterns in the Dangi family life.

In the study of personality of the Dangis it is necessary to make the study of the patterns of their social structure and social behaviour. The village social life, family life, inter-personal relations and family relations develop certain traits like regard for the authority of the Panch, mutual distrust, hatred for women, etc. The social conditions like the size of the family, emphasis on maintaining peaceful relations, disregard for aggression etc. are responsible for creating an impression that the Dangis

are not jealous. But the social conditions do not operate in isolation. The economic organisation and behaviour, cultural standards, beliefs, child rearing system\$, ideals of marriage, etc. and patterns of social structure and behaviour are functionally inter-dependent. No one factor can be treated singly in isolation as a determinant of personality trait. The next chapter is "The Patterns of Economic Organisation and Behaviour".