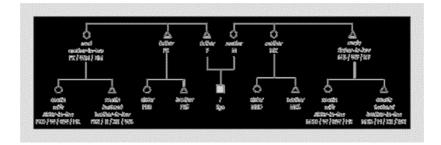cross-cousin. In other words, Dravidian systems distinguish members of a group, tribe, or society as constituting two egocentric entities: first those that are 'affines', comprising all the people who are potentially or actually in-laws (MB, FZ, cross-cousins etc.) and the rest, whom we may called 'consanguines'. Fig. 9.1 displays a Dravidian system using, for pedagogic reasons, the English terminology. Of course, one needs to replace these words with those used in local languages and dialects.

The **Iroquois** system is a variation of the Dravidian-type terminology. While the Dravidian system is a universal system in the sense that the rules of bifurcation and merging operate in the same way in each generation and at each genealogical distance, and thus allow people to know how they stand to each other without even knowing their actual genealogical relationship (see Dousset 2008), the Iroquois systems limits the automatic extension to close kin only. Again, it is not possible here to go into the details of this system and I refer the reader to Godelier, Trautmann, and Tjon Sie Fat (1998). Let us simply underline the fact that in a Dravidian system cross-cousins of cross-cousins are brothers and sisters for Ego, while in an Iroquois system they remain cross-cousins.

The **Hawaiian** system, also called the generational system, is in some respects the simplest since it distinguishes very few categories. In Ego's parents' generation, all women are called 'mother', and all men are called 'father'. Consequently, all co-generationals, i.e. all the children of people called 'mother' or 'father', are brothers and sisters. It is important to note that Hawaiian systems can again be subdivided into two subsystems, largely because of the universal rule of incest prohibition between brothers and sisters. Because in a Hawaiian system Ego only finds brothers and sisters among co-generationals, and because of this incest prohibition rule, possible spouses for Ego need to be distinguished otherwise than by terminology alone. There are two solutions. The first is to limit the use of terminology to very close kin and

p. 220 to apply a strict rule of exogamy (the necessity ↳ to marry out into genealogically or spatially distant families). The other solution, when the terminology is used even among genealogically distant kin, is to differentiate the categories of cross-cousins and of siblings as in a Dravidian system, even though before marriage they are all called using the sibling terminology. In the latter solution, the terminology is of the Hawaiian type but marriage rules follow the Dravidian type where cross-cousins are potentially also spouses. The distinction between pre-marriage terminology and post-marriage terminology is relevant here. I will return to this point.

Figure 9.1.

A Dravidian system filled with English kin terms. Only very close kin are given in this figure, but it must be remembered that Dravidian terminologies are extended. Triangles stand for males, circles for females. Vertical lines stand for filiation/descent, horizontal lines for siblingship. The line uniting Ego's parents below their figure means they are married. The usual abbreviations used are B (brother), Z (sister), F (father), M (mother), D (daughter), S (son), H (husband) and W (wife). All other kin categories are combinations of these elements. For example, MB (mother's brother) is a matrilateral 'uncle'; his daughter, MBD (mother's brother's daughter), is a matrilateral cross-cousin. Additional abbreviations used by anthropologists are 'y' for younger, such as in yB (younger brother), 'e' for elder, 'm' for a male speaker and 'f' for a female speaker. Older ethnographies often write 'm.s.' for male speaking and 'f.s.' for female speaking.