



**RESEARCH PAPER**

**The Universality of Kroeber's Framework of Kinship: An Overview**

**<sup>1</sup>Faryal Gill, and <sup>2</sup>Dr. Muhammad Rashid Hafeez**

1. PhD Scholar, Department of English Government College Women University Sialkot, Punjab, Pakistan
2. Associate Professor, Department of English GC Women University, Sialkot, Punjab, Pakistan

**Corresponding Author** faryalgill84@gmail.com

**ABSTRACT**

The field of kinship, described as a world of shared human ties arose from the pioneering work of L.H. Morgan, who investigated Native American kin systems and categorized the terms into two types: classificatory and descriptive. The extent of this classification was deemed to be limited by proponents of human universals, and then Kroeber provided a universal etic framework of kinship to characterize kin systems and draw comparisons between different systems. Kroeber's universals of kinship served as the foundation for numerous studies spanning from anthropology to sociolinguistics. With the help of predominant studies in the field, this study aims to demonstrate that despite criticism from adherents of new kinship constructs who believe in the theory of behavior and performance, the genealogical and procreation constructs still stand tall and provide a common foundation for the construction of kinship systems that use a finite set of units for linguistic code configuration as empirical evidence.

**Keywords:** Kinship, Kinship Universals, Kroeber, New Kinship Constructs, Sociolinguistics

**Introduction**

The incentive that lurks behind a linguist's mind is his interest in human language and the gears that make it conspicuously human. Lederer (2012) connects language and humanity and reckons that it is language that resulted in the genesis of humanity. Groups of humans in different cultures use language as a tool of communication. They exist in societies and their individualities and groupings are marked by alliances which they cannot leave if they have to coexist. Man's links to his group in the form of family based on blood and marriage bind him to a culture (Shah, 2013). This binding effect is created by some ties called kinship ties and individuals use some specific terms to refer to these ties (Dhayef & Alhussaini, 2018). In the field of anthropology, a significant area is that of kinship. It shows how individuals in a society are tied to each other by various means legal, symbolic, and biological (Peletz, 2003). From the field of anthropology, kinship has entered other realms over due to technological advancements and social deviations and thus it has become crucial to understand how post-modern cultures are reacting to this concept of kinship which binds and connects people in a society.

As cultures vary, languages change but despite these language and cultural differences the ties persist within cultures and so does the concept of specific kinship terminology. They may differ in their quirks, yet they all rest on the same foundation (Wardhaugh, 2006). Despite a universal bedrock, the terms have notorious hues since they do go beyond family boundaries when used in numerous situations or misapplied. Moreover, the usage of terms for non-kin has also rendered confusion which makes this area all the more fragile (Sahlins, 2012). This study encapsulates a chronological journey of kinship across various fields ranging from anthropology to sociolinguistics and it also throws light on the various constructs surrounding this domain.

**Morgan’s Classificatory and Descriptive Systemization**

Morgan worked against the backdrop of Darwin's Theory of Species Evolution, which was regarded as an important model of scientific explanation at the time. Morgan was attracted by Indian practices because he was defending them against expropriation and other exactions committed by European immigrants. He accumulated a great amount of data in his book Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family, which later aided in the classification of kinship systems (Godelier, 2011). He felt that kinship terminologies show the evolution of society from basic barbarism to civilization. His fieldwork with Senecan tribes revealed differences between European and American European systems. At that time the cultural revolutionists were working on kinship but Lewis Henry Morgan’s scientific twist in this contextual area became the archetype of scientific explanation.

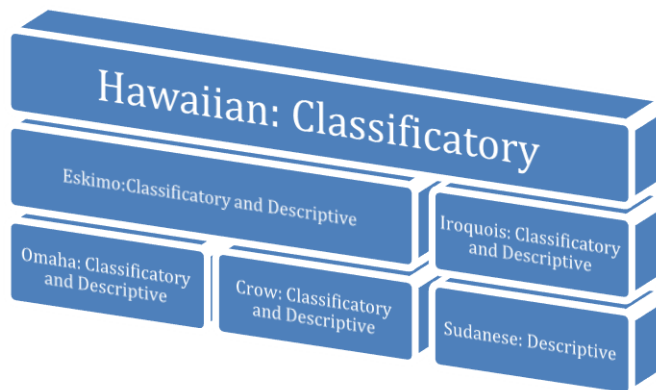


Figure 1. Morgan’s six patterns of kinship terms.

Morgan compared the kin system to a tree with two branches: classificatory, which combines lineal and collateral relatives (father and father's brother), and descriptive, which uses distinct terminology for lineal and collateral relatives (Gill, 2018). He attempted to demonstrate that the classificatory kinship system reflects a broad group of biological kin types from both the new and old worlds, but the descriptive kinship system represents a small group of kin types restricted to Europe and the Near East (Fischer, 1994).

**Lounsbury’s Contribution**

According to Trautmann (2001), the six kinship systems proposed by Morgan were upgraded by another system called the Dravidian system which was more in accordance with Morgan’s Iroquois system but it focused more on cousinhood and gender of ego’s relatives. In this system difference between parallel and cross cousins was shown.

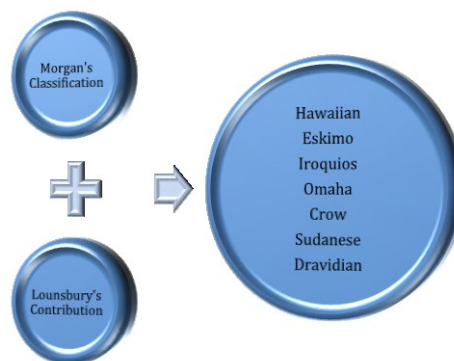


Figure 2. Lounsbury’s contribution.

## Kroeber's Grid Vs Morgan's Systemization

It was believed by many that Morgan's kinship system dealt with closed cultures by focusing on the commonalities found in the linguistic and historical relationships of these cultures. The proponents of human universals found this system very limited since it did not cater to extended cultures. Morgan's research did not take into account the extended societies or the role of semantic criteria for kinship terminology. However, despite the backlash received by the adherents of human universals, Morgan's system persisted as it served as a bedrock for further research in the area.

The kinship system was revolutionized by Kroeber who maintained that unlike sociology, psychology also has a role to play in the lives of individuals (Denning & Kemmer, 1990). Kroeber states that individuals exist in societies and their actions and roles are rooted in their cultures. As cultures vary the individuals change but the human psychology and the basic principles of age, generation, gender etc. persist. It means cultures may diverge but the kinship principles given by Kroeber remain the same. He gave a system of classifying kin which is now termed the universal framework of classifying kin. This universal framework comprised the following:

	Affinal or consanguineal
	Sex of the linking relative
	sex of the speaker

Figure 3. Kroeber's kinship universals.

Lowie added a ninth polarity, which suggests that relationships can sometimes exist as two parties, such as a niece and an aunt (Dattamajumdar, 2010).

### Age

According to this principle, different relationships are given different kinship terms according to age. For example in Urdu kinship terms ego's wife calls ego's younger brother 'dewar' and ego's older brother 'jeth' (Gill, 2018). "Ego" is the standard point of reference for kin relations.

### Generation

From the Ego's standpoint, this principle marks a clear distinction between ascending and descending generations and the terms can move up for 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> or, 3<sup>rd</sup> ascending generation or go down for 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> or, 3<sup>rd</sup> descending generations depending on the cultural family setup and traditions of a society. Thus different generations are identified using this principle.

### Gender

According to this principle kinship relations also differentiate on the basis of gender. For example, the term 'uncle' is used for a male and the term 'aunt' for a female. However, there are terms in languages that do not mark any gender like the term 'cousin' in the English language. In Spanish, plural forms of kinship phrases are in the male gender. In Coast Salish, there are five ways to generate plurals of kinship phrases, such as reduplication or the addition of a prefix to the stem (Keen, 2014). Scholars have also investigated kinship concepts from a linguistic and religious standpoint. A comparison of Arabic and English

kinship terms revealed that, whereas Arabic uses lexical indicators to differentiate between the sexes, English lacks such lexical markers (Al-Sahlanay & Al-Husseini, 2018).

### **Affinal or Consanguineal**

This principle distinguishes relations based on blood and marriage. The terms can vary for blood relations and the relations which are the outcome of a marriage. For example, in French, 'pere' and 'beau-pere' and in English, 'father' and 'father-in-law' (Godelier, 2011). Consanguineal refers to blood relations and affinal denotes relations formed by marriage.

### **Collateral or Lineal**

In kinship terminology, lines of descent are marked by this principle. When there is a direct line of descent like grandfather-father-son then the descent is lineal and when Ego's uncles and cousin are referred to then the descent is termed collateral. Thus, a father's brother (uncle) or a father's brother's son (Cousin) form collateral kin, unlike the lineal kin who happen to be in the same line of descent.

### **Sex of the Linking Relative**

For differentiating between parallel and cross cousins this principle is used. This becomes all the more relevant in the case of marriage as some cultures allow cross-cousin marriages but parallel-cousin marriages are not prohibited. In such cases, it becomes necessary to mark the difference in uncles from the father's and the mother's side.

### **Condition of the Linking Relative (Decadence)**

The condition of a relative is also deemed important in some cultures. For example alive, dead, married, unmarried, or divorced. According to Godelier (2011), in North American Indian languages, when a woman dies, the terms used for father and mother-in-law shift with the change in the situation of the wife, i.e. from living to dead.

### **Kroeber's Grid: Anthropology to Linguistic Theories**

After Morgan, Kroeber's grid of kinship universals gained popularity and twenty years later it was even used by structuralists of Prague school. Societies started using this framework to define their kin systems and the same was also used to draw comparisons between different kinship systems. In 1978 when Allan Barnard spoke about this universal grid in Paris Hunter-gatherers Conference it was evident that researchers had already started using it in the field of semantics, phonology, and grammar. Barnard (2011) emphasized the categorical significance of this etic framework of kinship terms for defining a society and from thereon Kroeber's framework of kinship terminology became an integral part of linguistic studies related to culture and society.

### **Levi-Strauss' Systems of Affinity**

Inspired by Saussure's semiology, Strauss insisted on the concept of a structural grid at the baseline of universals. His 'Alliance Theory' placed him in opposition to anthropologists who focused on descent whereas Strauss talked about marriage and took into account the systems of affinity within kinship systems (Duchenne, 2023). He proposed that family as units have structural domains governed by some rules and categories. The concept of self and other was given by him in the structure of affinity and he distinguished wife givers and wife takers. This transition from an animal to a human world i.e. from 'nature' to 'nurture' had the concept of 'exchange' at its core. This categorization of elementary structures of kinship received a backlash from feminist anthropologists since Strauss' theory did not take into account the experiential and emotional wings of kinship.

Moreover, the objectification of women in Alliance theory was also criticized however the theory still had some enduring marks on kinship studies.

### **Theory of Componential Analysis**

Componential analysis is a technique primarily used in phonological and morphological studies to identify contrasting features and form distinctive categories. In the area of kinship, the technique was used by Lounsbury and Goodenough and they employed Kroeber's kinship framework for this (Pericliev, 2013). Rehman (2010) explored the same technique of componential analysis of kin terms and showed that many kin relations exist in binary opposition. It showed that kindred behavior can be predicted on account of binary opposition, for example, if an uncle is friendly with his nieces or nephews then the father will be strict or vice versa. Volkel's detailed analysis of the English and Tongan languages also highlighted this distinctive categorization found in kinship terms and she used the same kinship universals proposed by Kroeber to prove her point (Volkel, 2016).

### **Optimality Theory**

Optimality Theory (OT), proposed by Alan Prince and Paul Smolensky in 1993, is a theory based on generative grammar theory which was later protracted by McCarthy. This theory was also used in the analysis of kin terms. Kroeber's kinship grid showed how languages vary in terms of kin terminologies on the surface level but a universal set of constraints like age, gender, generation etc. still serves as a baseline which ultimately results in the emergence of an 'optimal' which the theory of generative grammar proposes (Jones, 2010). This theory of constraints which hinges on an 'optimal' unit showing desecration of language by exploring the surface forms of kin terms, proved pivotal in understanding language disparity and similarity.

### **Kroeber's Kinship Universals and Grammar**

Kin language terminologies are natural meeting locations for linguistics and anthropology. Researchers have attempted to keep the area alive from time to time, and only recently have grammatical forms of kinship concepts been expanded. Jones (2010) demonstrated in his research on two languages, Seneca and English, that universals and distinctions in kin terminology are the result of an interface of an innate conceptual structure of the kin system that is congruent to conceptual structures in other domains and language rules of optimal grammatical communication.

The theory that a language's grammar (morphology) influences its kinship emerged from a study of the Nepali language, when studied across affinal and consanguineal variables, along with the variable of age which revealed that prefixes and suffixes play a significant part in the formation of the Nepali kinship system (Sinha, Sarma, & Purkayastha, 2012). For example, the kinship terms 'kaka' (Father's younger brother), 'mama' (Mother's brother), and 'didi' (Elder sister) are all redundant variants of 'ka', 'ma', and 'di'.

Keen (2014) highlighted how the syntax of words varies depending on the embedding language in his study on the function of language in the formation of kinship. Variation in the development of plural forms between languages is one such example. Most nouns do not have a plural suffix, however Telefol kin words have. Majumder's (2018) grammatical study of an Indo Aryan language's kinship terms: Kurmali demonstrated that prefixes and suffixes play an important role in the construction of Kurmali kinship terms. In Kurmali kin words, nouns have morphological gender when they show gender through some form of marker or other specific modification, such as the noun 'kaka' (paternal uncle) taking /i/ and changing to feminine 'kaki' (aunt).

In another research on Kinship terminology of Kurmali used in West Bengal, traditional kinship relationships and Kurmali's linked set of kinship words were investigated (Majumder & Lahiri, 2020). The terms were investigated from both linguistic and anthropological perspectives. A grammatical analysis was also used to refine the formations of such nouns. Furthermore, because Bengali is still the dominant language in the area, the research work compared Kurmali kinship terms to Bengali kinship terms. The comparison was utilized to investigate the contact situation as well as Kurmali's historical evolution. Simple statistical constants were also used to express the comparison. The study was primarily based on primary data gathered from the Kurmi community in the Purulia region of West Bengal, India. According to this study, there are eight terms denoting fundamental consanguineal ties in Kurmali. In Kurmali, there are no gender or age-neutral names for consanguineous connections present in English, such as parents, brother, sister, and so on. In Kurmali, the terms /b°ai / (yB), /d\*ad\*a/ (eB) distinguish age, and the terms /d\*id\*i/(eZ), /d\*ad\*a/ (eB) distinguish sex. The core affinal relations are the affinal relationships formed by marriage through the core consanguineal links. The ego's parent, mother, siblings, and offspring form the main affinal relationships.

Another study on Thangmi kinship terminology based on Kroeber's model, undertaken by Mark Turin, revealed a number of structural patterns. His comparative study demonstrated how in terms of nominal morphology, verbal morphology, vocabulary, and pronunciation, two Thangmi dialects: Dolakha and Sindhupalchok, differ. (Turin, 2004). The study demonstrated how the Thangmi language distinguishes kin based on generation, gender, age (within a certain generation), in-law connections, kin through marriage relationships, and kin through sibling relationships. A number of Thangmi kin words were found to have language-internal morphological analysis. A prevalent manner of doubling was noticed in Thangmi as well, for example, 'mama' (Father's Sister's Husband) or 'nini, (Father's Sister).

### **Cultural Anthropology to Sociolinguistics**

Linguists and social scientists are becoming increasingly interested in the changing forms and grammar of kinship terms. For a better worldview, the qualities of kinship systems and the changes occurring in these systems that create the world of people must be illuminated rather than buried.

In a study on the kinship terms of Likpakpaln, a Gur language of the Niger-Congo phylum, primarily spoken in northern Ghana, Bisilki (2017) argued that there are three major sorts of kinship addresses in Likpakpaln.: agnatic, matrilineal, and affinal, with the latter two being by complementary filiation. He demonstrated that communication goals had a significant impact on the Likpakpaam (Konkomba people's) vocative use of kinship terms in interlocution and then contended that the Likpakpaln kinship repertoire addresses, as well as the frequency with which these kinship addresses are used in communicative exchanges, are inextricably linked to the Likpakpaam family structure and social cosmology. Through this study, he showed that there is a discernible degree of intercultural encroachment in the kinship address terms used by the Likpakpaam.

Kinship terms are an important aspect of communication in every country around the world. Kinship concept comparison and analysis of multiple languages have become more important and required as cultural contact grows. In a relative research on Chinese and English Kinship terms, the author categorized Chinese kinship terms into direct and indirect family relationships and described their characteristics (Miao, 2019). Chinese kinship terms were grouped into marriage and in-law relationships along with consanguineal bonds based on the way they are formed. The consanguinity relationship in Chinese includes both indirect and direct lineage. The first relates to bonds formed during birth and upbringing; the term consanguinity refers to an indirect blood kinship based on spousal relationships. In the Chinese language, gender is an essential and distinct distinction

between males and females. The distinctions between males and females reflect not just physiological differences, but also variations in social elements. Chinese kinship terminologies emphasize the distinction between patriarchy and matriarchy. For example, whereas grandfather (paternal) and grandmother (maternal) both have the same gender and rank in a family structure, their appellations in Chinese kinship words differ because they belong to separate factions of kinship. The author then classified English kinship terminology into core and general kinship terms. English kinship terms into core and general kinship terms and described their characteristics. English kinship terminology is oversimplified. Englishmen, for example, cannot discern one's gender or compare the ages of two persons using the English word "cousin."

In the same generation, the terms for a direct relative and a collateral relative are used differently. For example, Englishmen refer to their offspring as 'son' or 'daughter,' while children of their siblings are referred to as 'nephew' or 'niece' depending on gender. Gender discrimination has persisted in the West for quite some time, such as Mrs. for married woman, Miss for an unmarried one, and Mr. for both married and unmarried males which shows that the title Mr. cannot convey sensitive information about a man. In this comparative research of kinship systems of English and Chinese languages, the author concluded that both languages contain appellation of affinal and consanguineal relations, these two languages distinguish between genders (however the aspect of distinguishing the gender can vary for example the word 'cousin') and age and distinguish members of core family. The two appellation systems differ in their degree of extension and generation. In everyday conversation, Chinese kinship terminology is more prevalent than English kinship terminology. For example, the Chinese prefer to refer to a strange elderly man as "grandfather." However, when communicating with strangers, Englishmen prefer to greet people with 'Excuse me' or 'Hello'.

Bexell (2021) demonstrated how progressive changes in the morphology of kinship terms occur in his study of English and Swedish Kinship terms. The use of the term daddy in lieu of Dad or Dad in place of Daddy depending on the occasion and relationship, as well as the shortening of the word Grandmother to Granny and subsequently Gran, demonstrate the gradual introduction of new words or alteration of old words as society develops. The study also revealed that kinship terms are not always used in the literal kin context; they are also used in pseudo and fictive kin situations, such as calling someone brother even if he is not biologically related.

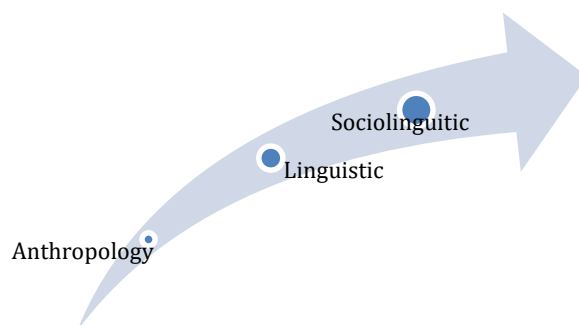


Figure 4. Kinship, from anthropology to sociolinguistics.

When Schneider questioned and challenged the genealogical conception of kin ties the field took a new turn. He argued that the anthropologists did not take into account the cross-cultural relevance of kinship and emphasized the cultural approach, unlike the American views of kinship which focused on blood ties and notions of genes (Sousa, 2003). He believed that kinship goes beyond the biological concepts of sexual procreation and that it is fluid and unfixed. Hence kinship terminology acquired two kinds of meanings:

referential and social and Mashiri (2005) referred to these as literal and relational. From the anthropological and biological realms, the kin codes of language entered the sociolinguistic domain thereby expanding the horizon of kin studies. This showed that when users use kin terms they not only use these terms to name a relation but also to show the nature of relationships between individuals. Thus, language, individuals, and society all come under the umbrella of kin terminology as linguistic codes of a language are used in a society by individuals to perform social functions (Godelier, 2006).

### **New Kinship Constructs**

In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, mechanized setting, David Schneider's studies regarding kinship gained popularity. He claimed that kinship in one or more communities is not based on indigenous procreative concepts (Schneider, 1984). He gave the example of 'American' kin ties and drew boundaries between 'Natural Substance' and 'Code for Conduct' (Carsten, 2023). Thus he showed a clear distinction between American cultural perceptions of kinship by differentiating between bonds of blood and marital ties. However, his idea regarding the cultural approach in kinship studies was still challenged. Under the garb of social dynamics surrounding kinship studies lay a very simplistic and homogenous standpoint. Despite raising the question of the cross-cultural significance of kinship ties, Schneiderians failed to support it with ample empirical data, let alone the fact that their studies were somewhat superfluous in nature. They endangered the scope of ethnographic and comparative research in the area, relied on wishful thinking and the question of focality persisted (Shapiro, 2016). When Watts (2000) studied the social semiotics of Zuni speakers she also laid emphasis on social proximity instead of genealogy to define family core but the problem of focality still persisted. It seemed that new kinship ideologies adopted a deconstructionist approach and rejected the previous theories of descent and alliance but still the 'new' in new kinship studies failed to account for the 'new' in this field. The terminologies went into the background and the focus shifted to the social and locally construed ideas of kinship like re-birth, naming or ritual etc. (Shapiro, 2016). But the question is still the same. How can one create an ideology of kinship without taking into account the baseline? Can one do without the traditional structure and if one rids kinship of a framework like Kroeber's which takes into account multiple dimensions like age, generation, gender, marriage etc. How can future researchers reconstruct the whole arena overlooking the element of focality? Kroeber's grid is vast enough to encompass different social dimensions of kinship and retain the focality and essence of kin terms at the same time. So are new kinship constructs needed and can they justify the 'new'? Schneiderians being adherents of role play and performance cannot ignore the procreative element found in kinship. When Zuni speakers use parental terms for their grandparents the kin relations and the genealogical connections still hold weightage. The key point remains the same i.e. when two people come in a kin relation be it procreative or performative, the reciprocal kin classes have a semantic structure that the performative kin sages cannot ignore despite their grandest of grand claims.

### **Performative Vs Procreative**

The dichotomy of culture and biology gave rise to two major groups in kinship studies: performative and procreative. What is interesting to note here is that even though adherents of the performative construct negated the notion of procreation, they could not rule out the importance of the genealogical grid. They believed that kinship is culture, not biology (Sahlins, 2012). But, this challenges the concept of brain modularity proposed by Chomsky. For example, when an expression like 'just as real' is used for a gay family that acts like a heterosexual unit, the performative notion again latches onto the procreative idea. This brings one back to the idea of focality that to determine a change in kin performance the idea of a heterosexual family is used otherwise why would the term 'family' be used? Thus the theory of behavior rooted in culture and society in opposition to the notion of genealogy and procreation offers no plausible or palpable theory. But Kroeber's grid on the other hand provides a solid bedrock for researchers since it does not rely on



whimsical and peripheral causational notions and uses a finite set of units for the configuration of linguistic codes as empirical evidence.

### **Kinship Metamorphoses**

With the world becoming a global village and the changes taking place in family patterns the kin terminologies across societies have evolved. Around the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, changes in Western family systems were observed ((Furstenberg, 2020). Changes in the institution of marriage took place. Cohabitation, rising divorce and remarriage rates, complex family arrangements, legalization of same-sex unions, and other factors have disturbed conventional family structures, affecting kinship terminologies and practices.

Previously, a patriarchal family was responsible for moral instruction, education, and work for its members. However, the traditional familial rule was interrupted by industrialization, which resulted in the work economy and gradually undermined the powers of elders over the young. Extended families gave way to nuclear families, which sparked heated debate in the fields of social history and anthropology (Goode, 1963).

Different family structures and practices, urban migration, and the history of slavery revealed two distinct types of kinship networks in the United States in the latter part of the twentieth century (Furstenberg, 2009). Moreover, various countries' kinship networks altered as a result of their diverse histories, their population, and culture.

Kinship nomenclatures are not consistent. Significant changes in people's lives, such as the decline in marriages, changes in people's relationships, gendered roles, and the reduction of extended families to nuclear families, transformed the institutions, practices, and mental outlooks that constitute kinship ties. New forms of kinship and family relationships have resulted in new forms of kinship social character. The twentieth century saw the spread of a new capital system from the West to all societies on the planet, culminating in several constitutional and democratic political regimes. The West's global hegemonic impact influenced not only the social fabric of kinship in the West, but also societies vulnerable to its power, dominance, or influence.

### **Kroeber's Kinship Grid Persists**

Be it optimality theory or the theory of componential analysis, the studies of changing nomenclatures of kinship across societies, or the raging debates between adherents of procreation and performative constructs, kinship as an area of study is still alive and the ongoing discussion of the role of genealogy and social behavior is still buzzing. Schneider's rejection of the bio-essentialist view of kinship is loosely defined and fails to account for the biological factors that provide a foundational level for the higher level factors such as social and psychological (Wilson, 2016). Despite his efforts to repair the area, Schneider's works were rejected as he rejected the biogenetic theory of family based on Kroeber's universal framework.

### **Discussion**

The nuanced discussion on the biological and cultural dichotomy presents new perspectives within kinship studies. This dichotomy highlighting the longstanding debate between anthropology and related disciplines shows how the two schools align well with their cultural perspectives and biological determinism. But, the paradox of performative kinship persists despite its attempt to move away from the genealogical ties. Performative theorists' inadvertent need for procreative validation standpoint suggests that even in denunciation of procreation as central to kinship there is an implicit reliance on procreative norms. The use of expressions like 'just as real' and 'family' indicates that cultural constructs are still tethered to biological frameworks.

The performative theory also challenged Chomsky's theory of brain modularity which posits that certain cognitive functions are innate and biologically programmed. But if the adherents of cultural impact themselves look for 'real like' phenomena then it becomes a chanced concession to the notion that certain social and cultural structures might be more deeply rooted in biology than performative theorists would like to admit.

An interesting feature is the question of focality in this whole debate. If heteronormativity is the point of reference then the whole concept of the performative theory breaking away from procreative assumptions becomes contentious.

Kroeber's grid with its empirical rigor relies on a finite set of units to configure linguistic codes thereby providing a solid and scientific foundation for studies in the field of kinship and avoiding the 'peripheral' elements of performative theories by offering a measurable and tangible way to understand kinship.

### **Conclusion**

The studies prove that there is an ongoing discussion between two groups based on biological and cultural perspectives. However, the performatists cannot move away from the gravitational pull of the procreative constructs as the pitfalls of performative theories are covered by Kroeber's empirically grounded approach. One cannot deny that this debate underscores the complexity of kinship as a concept difficult to disentangle from either biological or cultural influences. However, it can be dealt with by considering both constructs when the matter at hand is kinship.

## References

- Barnard, A. (2011). *Social Anthropology and Human Origins*. UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Bexell, G. (2021). *Keeping Mum: An Exploration of Contemporary Kinship Terminology in British, American and Swedish Cultures*. Halmstad: Halmstad University.
- Carsten, J. (2023, September 14). *Kinship*. Retrieved from britannica.com: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/kinship/Kinship-terminology>
- Denning, K., & Kemmer, S. (1990). *On Language: Selected Writings of Joseph H. Greenberg*. Stanford, California USA: Stanford University Press.
- Dhayef, A. Q., & Alhussaini, H. (2018, June). *KINSHIP TERMS IN ENGLISH AND ARABIC: A CONTRASTIVE STUDY*. R
- Duchenne, E. (2023, January 22). *Anthropology and Kinship: Past, Present, and Future*. Retrieved from byarcadia.org: <https://www.byarcadia.org/post/anthropology-and-kinship-past-present-and-future>
- Fischer, M. D. (1994). *Representing Anthropological Knowledge: Calculating Kinship*.
- Furstenberg, F. F. (2020). Kinship Reconsidered: Research on a Neglected Topic. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 82 (1), 364-382.
- Gill, F. (2018). *The Use of Kin Address Terms in Punjabi Speech Community*. Islamabad: Higher Education Commission Pakistan.
- Godelier, M. (2011). *The Metamorphoses of Kinship*. London: Verso.
- Godelier, M. (2011). *The Metamorphoses of Kinship*. US: Maple Vail.
- Godelier, M. (2006). *Les metamorphoses de la parente*. Paris: Fayard.
- Goode, W. J. (1963). *World revolution and family patterns*. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press.
- Jones, D. (2010). Human Kinship, from conceptual structure to grammar. *Cambridge Journals: Behavioural and Brain Sciences*, 33 (5), 367-416.
- Keen, I. (2014). Language in the Constitution of Kinship. *Anthropological Linguistics*, 56 (1), 1-53.
- Lederer, R. (2012). *Lederer on Language: A Celebration of English, Good Grammar, and Wordplay*. Oregon: Marion Street Press.
- Majumder, A., & Lahiri, B. (2020). Kinship Terms of the Kurmali: An Anthro-Linguistic Study. *South Asian Anthropologist*, 20(1), 25-33.
- Majumder, A. 2018. Kurmali Kinship Terms and Its Morphology: An Anthro- linguistic Study. *Jadavpur J. Languages and Linguistics*, 2(1), 38-48.
- Mashiri, P. (2005). A Sociolinguistic Interpretation of the Social Meanings of Kinship Terms in Shona Urban Interactions. *Zambezia*, 22(1), 27-42.

- Miao, Y. (2019). The Comparative Study of Chinese and English Kinship Terms. *Theory and Practice in Language Studies*, 9(2), 212-217.
- Peletz, M. G. (2003). Kinship studies in late twentieth-century anthropology. *Annual review of anthropology*, 24(1), 343-372.
- Pericliev, V. (2013). *Componential Analysis of Kinship Terminology*. UK: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Rehman, T. (2010). *Linguistics for Beginners*. Pakistan: Oxford University Press.
- Sahlins, M. (2012). *What Kinship Is – And Is Not*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Shapiro, W. (2016). Why Schneiderian Kinship Studies Have It All Wrong. *Structure and Dynamics*. 9(2), <http://dx.doi.org/10.5070/SD992032334>
- Shah, S. (2013, October 27). *Kinship: Meaning, Types and Other Information*. SociologyDiscussion.com:
- Schneider, D. M. (1984). *A Critique of the Study of Kinship*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Sinha, P., Sarma, B., & Purkayastha, S. B. (2012). Kinship Terms in Nepali Language and its Morphology. *International Journal of Computer Applications*, 58(9), 43-49.
- Sousa, P. (2003). The fall of kinship: Towards an epidemiological explanation. *Journal of Cognition and Culture*, 3(4), 265-303.
- Trautmann, T. R. (2001). The Whole History of Kinship Terminology in Three Chapters: Before Morgan, Morgan and After Morgan. *Sage Journals*, 1(2), 268-287.
- Turin, M. (2004). Thangmi kinship terminology in comparative perspective. In *Himalayan Languages: Past and Present* (pp. 101-139). De Gruyter Mouton.
- Volkel, S. (2016). Tongan-English language contact and kinship terminology. *World Englishes*, 35(2), 242-258.
- Wardhaugh, R. (2006). *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics* (5th ed.). UK: Blackwell Publishing.
- Watts, L. K. (2001). *The Social Semiotics of Relational Terminology at Zuni Pueblo*. Edwin Mellen Press.
- Wilson, R. A. (2016). Kinship Past, Kinship Present: Bio-Essentialism. *American Anthropologist*, 118(3), 570-584.