

The Kinship Terminology of the Rongmei Nagas

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Since the pioneering works of Hutton (1921a, 1921b, 1922a), Mills (1922, 1926, 1937) and Fürer-Haimendorf (1969), the study of Naga kinship systems has been hampered by the lack of good terminological descriptions. This is especially true of the Nagas of Manipur, whose kinship systems remain largely unknown to date. A tentative discussion of Rongmei kinship system will be opened here in the hope of contributing to fill this void.

Rongmei is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken by some 70,000 people¹ living in the northwestern part of Manipur, mainly in Tamenglong District, although scattered communities are also found in the Imphal Valley (especially Imphal East, Jiribam subdivision), in Senapati and Churachandpur Districts to a lesser extent, as well as in adjacent areas of Assam and Nagaland. As a language, Rongmei retains a complete set of indigenous kinship terms. Only those living in the Imphal Valley, who also call themselves Kabuis, have borrowed a few words from the Meitei (Meithei) language. The Rongmeis call the Kabuis living in the Imphal Valley *Taijang-meï* [*tai* from *Taimëi*, the Meiteis; *jang* (or *jeang*), plain; *meï*, people]. Reciprocally the Kabuis settled in the Imphal Valley call the other Rongmeis *Chingmeï*, literally “hill people”. In Manipur State both groups are officially labelled “Kabui”, which seems to be of foreign, yet undetermined origin.

Some 35 years ago, in an article entitled “Marriage and kinship among the Kabui Nagas of Manipur”,² R. K. Das provided a first description of the kinship terminology of this group. The fact that his work contains a few loanwords from the Meitei language suggests that his informants primarily spoke some dialect from the Imphal Valley. With translations of the main kinship terms from a Rongmei-English-Rongmei dictionary,³ it constitutes our unique source of written information.

The Rongmei language has been classified in the “Southern” (or “Zeliangrong”, or “Zeme”) group of Naga languages, along with Zeme,

¹ Official figures must be taken with caution: the (provisional) 2001 Census of India gives the number Kabuis living in Manipur as 62,216 which indicates practically no change from the previous Census of 1991 (62,487).

² Das, R. K. 1972. “Marriage and kinship among the Kabui Nagas of Manipur”. *Man in India* 52(3) Jul.-Sept. 1972: 228-234, reprinted under the same title in R. K. Das 1985. *Manipur Tribal Scene. Studies in Society and Change*, New Delhi: Inter-India Publications: 35-44.

³ Francis 1992.

Liangmai, Koirao and Maram. The present description pertains to the Rongmeis living around Tamenglong town and speaking the dialect that has become the standard language, although other dialects exist. Missionaries have provided a written form of this language and devised a standard orthography in order to translate the Bible. It is this orthography that is widely used today, and most published works use Tamenglong Rongmei as the standard spelling.⁴ Thus the issue of orthography appears to have been settled through usage.

This paper is primarily based upon elicitations with Rongmei-speaking informants.⁵ The authors are especially thankful to Ringamlung Panmei and Gaikhamdim Marangmei for their useful information and comments. We are also deeply indebted to Mr. Meiripou Gangmei who has giving us the benefits of his own work on this language and has gone through the paper carefully. Nothing could have been achieved without his help.

Note on the transcription

The consonants b, d, g, h, k, l, m, n, p, s, t have their English values. Aspirated sounds are represented by ph, th, kh. c stands for /tch/, r more or less for the rolled English /r/, and ng for the velar /n/, i.e. for the sound of ng in English *sing*. As a common convention among the Naga languages h is the transcription of the syllable-final stop, which is pronounced in Rongmei with a heavy glottal sound.⁶ The vowels a, e, i, o, u have the so-called “Italian” values. Long or doubled sounds are represented by doubling the letters. Diphthongs are represented by groups of vowels, e.g. ai, au, ei, ua (except for /ao/ which is noted ow) and should be pronounced with the Italian value of each letter. Following the general use in Rongmei, as well as the orthography adopted in Fr. Francis’ dictionary (1992), ei is used here with almost the English value of y in *my*.

Rongmei kinship terminology

1. **Pou:** GF, GrGF (with suffix *-dai*), MB, FZH, MBS, WF, WFB, WMB, HF, HB, HFB, ZH, FBDH, FZDH+, MBDH, MZDH
2. **Pei:** GM, GrGM (with suffix *-dai*)
3. **Pu:** F, FeB (with suffix *-thau*), FyB (with suffix *-lau*), MeZH (with suffix *-thau*), MyZH (with suffix *-lau*), HMB

⁴ It is not known to what extent Biblical translations have contributed to the formation of a standard colloquial speech.

⁵ Manipur State still being closed to foreign research, this study is based entirely on conversations and personal correspondence with various Rongmei informants.

⁶ See for example Burling and Phom 1999, French 1983 or Marrison 1967.

4. **Pui:** M, MeZ (with suffix *-thau*), MyZ (with suffix *-lau*), FeBW (with suffix *-thau*), FyBW (with suffix *-lau*), MBD (with suffix *-lau*), MBSW (with suffix *-lau*, if belonging to Ego's clan), FZSW+ (with suffix *-lau*), HFZ
5. **Nei:** FZ, MBW, WM, WFZ, WMZ, HM, HMZ, MBSW
6. **Cai:** eB (with suffix *-bung*), eZ (with suffix *-lu*), FBS+ (with suffix *-bung*), FBD+ (with suffix *-lu*), MZS+ (with suffix *-bung*), MZD+ (with suffix *-lu*), WBW+, HZH+, SWF+, DHF+
7. **Kainah:** yB, yZ, FBS-, FBD-, MZS-, MZD-, FZDH, WZCh, HZCh, WBW-, HZH-, SWF-, DHF-
8. **Cana:** B, all male members of Ego's lineage or clan (m. sp., ref. only)
9. **Tanpui:** Z, all female members of Ego's lineage or clan (m. sp., ref. only)
10. **Tanpu:** B, all male members of Ego's lineage or clan (f. sp., ref. only)
11. **Suanrei:** Z, all female members of Ego's lineage or clan (f. sp., ref. only)
12. **Puning:** B (f.sp., ref. only)
13. **Nah:** Ch, S (with suffix *-mpou*, ref. only), D (with suffix *-aluh*, ref. only), BCh, HBCh
14. **Tou:** GCh, GS (with suffix *-mpou*), GD (with suffix *-aluh*), ZCh, FBGCh, FZGCh, MBGCh, MZGCh, WBCh, FZCh
15. **Tak:** GrGCh
16. **Thang:** direct descendants of the 4th generation
17. **Ru:** direct descendants of the 5th generation
18. **Pai:** direct descendants of the 6th generation
19. **Now:** W (ref. only)
20. **Gaan:** H (ref. only)
21. **Mek:** WB
22. **Puinau:** eBW (m. sp.), FBSW (m. sp.), MZSW (m. sp.), DHM (m. sp.)
23. **Ning:** HZ, BW (f. sp.), FBSW (f. sp.), MZSW (f. sp.), DHM (f. sp.)
24. **Miau':** SW (ref.), FBSW (ref.)
25. **Lu-gaan:** DH (ref.), all husbands of women born into Ego's lineage/clan

General remarks

When a kinship term is used as an appellative, it will normally take *a*, “my”, for address, or *ka*, “his, her, their”, for mention; as a general term, or for purposes of reference, the prefix is omitted and only the root is used. Thus *pui* means “a mother”, or “mother” in general, but *a-pui* meaning “my mother” is the appropriate term of address. *Pu* and *pui*, meaning father and mother respectively, are also used as suffixes to indicate semantic gender in terms such as *tanpu* (“brothers”) and *tanpui* (“sisters”), as is commonly seen in languages of the Tibeto-Burman family.⁸

⁷ The standard orthography for this word is *meau*, in which the letter e has the value of the Italian or French /i/. We have changed it here in order to avoid possible confusion.

⁸ Benedict 1972: 96.

Kinship terms are most frequently used in addressing persons of ascending generations or of the same generation but older. As a general rule, a family member senior to oneself in generation or in age is never addressed by name as a sign of respect, whereas it is quite acceptable that those junior to oneself in generation or in age may be addressed by name.

1. Description

a) *Consanguines*

Ego's own generation

* Siblings and parallel cousins:

Siblings address each other according to their relative age, and use the same pair of kin terms for both male and female speakers: (*a*)*cai* for elder brother or sister and (*a*)*kainah* for a younger sibling. Gender can be specified for elder brother and sister only, by adding the suffixes *-bung* and *-lu* respectively, thus *caibung* for elder brother and *cailu* for elder sister. *Kainah* is always neutral in address as well as in reference. Although the use of proper kin terms is expected between brothers and sisters, it is not a taboo to call even an elder sibling by name, and in daily speech many Rongmeis address their brothers and sisters by using a contracted form of the full name, for eg. *dam* in place of *Kiudamliu*.

In a referential context only, in a conversation with someone who does not know one's own siblings, a male can use general terms such as *a-cana* or *a-cana-pu* ["my brother(s)"] or *a-tanpu* ["my sister(s)"], and similarly a female can use *a-tanpu* or *a-puning* ["my brother(s)"] and *a-suanrei* ["my sister(s)"]. In a restricted sense those terms refer to real siblings or patrilineal parallel first cousins. Thus everybody may refer to their own siblings using *tanpu-tanpu*, and female speakers in particular may use *suanrei* to refer to their own sisters. However, in practice they apply to second or third patrilineal parallel cousins as well, and even to members of one's own clan who may not be true consanguines, for example, today people sharing the same patronym. They can also be used to refer to people belonging to the same phratry but having different clan names in order to express the closeness of the relationship. That is to say that all descendants from the males of the patrilineal group of the same generation are regarded as "brothers" and "sisters". It is theoretically forbidden for them to marry each other as long as they belong to the same patrilineal group and/or have the same clan/phratry name.

All parallel cousins are equated with siblings, both in address and in reference, and as such differentiated by their relative age to Ego; that is *cai* if older (to which the suffix *-bung* for males and *-lu* for females is added), and *kainah* if younger. If one has to ask whether the person referred to as *kainah* is a male or a female, one usually says *kainah-ganmei* or *kainah-*

intumei (*ganmei*: boy; *intumei*: girl). The same rules apply to both male and female speakers.

* Cross-cousins

A distinction is made between patrilineal and matrilineal cross cousins, although not by a specific term. Mother's brother's son and daughter are regarded respectively as "mother's brother" (*pou*) and "younger/little/junior mother" (*puilau*), whereas father's sister's children are classified along with grandchildren (*tu*). Differentiation by age only applies to parallel cousins. When considering cousins in general, no distinction is made between parents' siblings whatever the age difference with their father or mother. To specify, one has to use a descriptive form, for example, *pui-caibung-nah-pou* (MeBS).

First ascending generation from Ego

*Uncles and aunts

In the same way as differentiation by age only applies to parallel cousins at G0, in the parental generation it only applies to parents' parallel siblings. Parents' siblings of the same sex are classified with parents since they all are identified by derivative kinship terms using "father" and "mother". They are also differentiated according to their relative age to Ego's parent. Moreover, the way these compounds are formed is identical for paternal and maternal sides. Thus father's elder brother is *puthau* (elder/senior father), while mother's elder sister is *puithau* (elder/senior mother). Similarly father's younger brother is *pulau* (younger/junior father) or *pu kainah*, whereas mother's younger sister is *puilau* (younger/junior mother).

Puthau, *puithau*, *pulau* and *puilau* are used in a direct address. To differentiate between lineal and colineal lines, Ego's real father is addressed or referred to simply as *apu* with no name or other words attached. In a referential context, parents' siblings are often identified by using *(a)pou/(a)pui* followed by their own name, or through teknonymy in the form: *(a)pu/(a)pui* + child's name + *pu/pui*. Neither form takes into account the relative difference in age. Mother's sisters too can be addressed or referred to as *pui-suanrei*, which is the general term not conveying the relative difference in age.

Parents' siblings of the opposite sex are each identified by a unique term (FZ: *nei*; MB: *pou*), and age within the generation relative to Ego's parent is not expressed. If pressed to be specific, people will indicate the exact relationship by the use of descriptive expressions such as *pui caibung* (MeB), *pui kainah* (MyB), and so on. The mother's brother is classified along with his son (MBS) and also with the grandfather (FF, MF). No differentiation is made between the mother's brothers on the basis of their relative age to the mother, but on the basis of their birth rank.

Where the mother has three brothers for example, the eldest will be referred to as *pou-ganthau-mei* (*ganthau*, eldest), the second as *pou-cung-mei* (*cung*, middle) and the third as *pou-alau-mei* (*alau*, younger/youngest).

Second and third ascending generation from Ego

Grandfather is usually addressed or referred to as (*a*)*pou* only, and grandmother as (*a*)*pei*, for both paternal and maternal lines. If needed, descriptive terms such as *apu-pu* (my father's father), *apui-pu* (my mother's father), *apu-pui* (my father's mother) or *apui-pui* (my mother's mother) can be used to differentiate them. Kin terms for great-grandfather and great-grandmother are formed, as in English, by adding to the elementary term used for parents of second ascending generation a suffix meaning "great", in the sense of "older" (*-dai*), thus *pou-dai* and *pei-dai* respectively for great-grandfather and great-grandmother (referentially and vocatively). Grandparents' siblings are either addressed as grandparents (*apou/apui*) or by the appropriate kin terms used by the parental generation. For example, a male Ego can, like his father, call his paternal grandfather's sister *anei* since she is also his father's paternal aunt.

First descending generation from Ego

In daily speech children and siblings' children are either called by their first names or pet names, or by using the general terms for offspring *alu* (for a girl) and *abung* (for a boy). *Nah* is the term for child in general when the speaker is merely making reference, and this can be broken into *nah-mpou* (son) and *nah-aluh* (daughter). In Rongmei, there is no specific term to designate "nephew" or "niece". A male speaker will refer to his brother's children as his own children (*nah mpou/nah aluh*) whereas a female speaker will call her own brother's children her younger siblings (*kainah*). Sister's children will be referred to as grandchildren (*tou*) by male speakers but as own children (*nah mpou/nah aluh*) by female speakers. There is no specific term either for referring to his/her cousins' children, all of whom are classified along with grandchildren (*tou*).

Second and third descending generation from Ego

Grandchildren and great-grandchildren, as children, are also commonly addressed by their names or by general appellations such as *abung* (males) and *alu* (females). The term of reference is *tou* for grandchildren and *tak* for great-grandchildren. If necessary, gender can be differentiated by adding appropriate suffixes, *ganmei* for males and *intumei* for females. Later generations are identified as *thang* (4th descending), *ru* (5th) and *pai* (6th).

b) *Affines*

Only six elementary terms are used that exclusively denote affinal ties: *gaan* (H), *now* (W), *miau* (SW), *ning* (HZ, BW/f. sp), *mek* (WB), *puinau* (eBW/m. sp.), and among them only the last three are used vocatively. As a general rule affines are not ranked by their own ages but adopt the ranks of their spouses (FeBW, FyBW, MeZH, MyZH, eBW). Also as a rule, Rongmeis never use the same terms as their spouses do in addressing kin-related people. The only exception is when calling grandparents (*apou/apei*), with the equations:

$$\begin{aligned} GF &= WGF = HGF \\ GM &= WGM = HGM \end{aligned}$$

* Spouses

Husband and wife are reciprocally addressed through teknonymy, by using the name of the eldest child followed by *-pu* (father's) for husband or *-pui* (mother's) for wife. The practice of identifying a spouse through his/her child is the norm although it is not taboo to call someone by name. Husband and wife may also use *ka-pui* and *ka-pu* respectively. These are general terms for father and mother, in which the prefix *ka-* seems to function as a kind of third person possessive (*ka-mei*, he/she; *ka-niu*, they) as is the case in several other Tibeto-Burman languages.⁹ Terms of reference for husband and wife are *gaan* and *now* respectively.

* Spouses of uncles and aunts

As already noted, uncles' spouses (MBW, FeBW, FyBW) are treated as aunts (FZ, MeZ, MyZ respectively) and aunts' spouses (FZH, MeZH, MyZH) as uncles (MB, FeB, FyB respectively).

* Siblings' spouses

A male speaker addresses or refers to the wife of an elder brother by using a specific term, (*a*)*puinau*. But Ego's younger brother's wife is simply addressed by her name, and in a referential context only the descriptive term (*a*)*kainah-now* is employed. If Ego is female, all brothers' wives are called (*a*)*ning* (sister-in law) both vocatively and referentially. Sister's husbands are classified along with the grandfather (*pou*) by both male and female speakers, irrespective of the sister's relative age to Ego.

⁹ As for example, the prefix *b-* in Kokborok (Jacquesson, 2003).

* Spouses' siblings

Wife's brothers are denoted by a specific term, *mek*, both in address and in reference, and differentiated on the basis of the relative age to the wife: *mek ganthau-mei* for WeB and *mek lau-mei* for WyB. There is no kin term for wife's sister. In conversation with his children, a man will usually refer to his wife's sisters as *nang-pui-thau* (*nang*, you, your; *pui*, mother; *thau*, elder/senior) and *nang-pui-lau* (*nang*, you, your; *pui*, mother, *lau*, younger/junior). Now *kainah-intumei* is another possibility to refer to WyZ. In a direct address, however, teknonymy is the rule, by adjunction of the suffix *-pui* (mother) to wife's sister child. Normally a male cannot call his wife's elder sister directly by her name, especially if she is older than him. Where the WeZ has no child, she will be addressed as Ego's own child's maternal aunt, i.e. by adding *-puithau* (MeZ) to Ego's own child's name.

A female speaker calls her husband's brothers *apou* (GF, MB) and her husband's sisters *aning*, a term which is also used for her brother's wives. It is to be noted that only female speakers apply a unique term to all their brothers-in-law (*apou*, ZH, HB) as well as their sisters-in-law (*aning*, BW, HZ).

* Cousins' spouses:

All husbands of female cousins are treated as sister's husbands (*pou*), both vocatively and referentially, except the father's sister's daughter's husband. Spouses of parallel cousins are equated with eBW (*puinau*) by males speakers, but with HZ (*ning*) by female speakers. Differentiation is made according to clan affiliation in the case of MBSW, FZSW and FZDH. For MBSW, the general term of address as well as reference is (*a*)*nei*, but where the bride belongs to or is related to Ego's clan she is called (*a*)*puilau* ("little/junior mother"), a term also used for MBD and MyZ. FZSW and FZDH older than Ego are addressed as *apuilau* and *apou* respectively, but *acai* (elder sibling) if they belong to Ego's clan, or even (*a*)*nei* (FZ) and (*a*)*pulau* (FyB) if of Ego's parental generation. The corresponding terms of reference are *puilau* and *pou* respectively.

* Children' spouses

Sons and daughters-in-law are addressed by their names. In a referential context only the daughter-in-law is denoted by a specific term, *miau*, the son-in-law being designated by the term, *lu-gaan* (*lu* for daughter; *gaan* for husband). Some people call their sons-in-law *atou*, although *lu-gaan* is more specific. *Lu-gaan* also has a broader meaning and can be applied to all husbands of women born into Ego's patrilineage, or even to men having married women from Ego's clan, i.e. today women sharing the same surname.

* Parents-in-law

Parents-in law and their siblings are all denoted by using terms of consanguinity: *pou* (FF, MB) for father-in-law, and *nei* (FZ) for mother-in-law, by both male and female speakers. Considering the siblings of his parents-in-law, a male speaker will not differentiate between paternal and maternal sides. Both his wife's paternal and maternal uncles are addressed and referred to as maternal uncles/grandfathers (*pou*), and similarly both wife's paternal and maternal aunts as own father's sisters (*nei*). But female speakers only partially emulate their husbands here: they call their husband's father's brother and husband's mother's sister *pou* and *nei* respectively, but they address and refer to their husband's maternal uncle and paternal aunt as "father" (*pu*) and "mother" (*pui*) respectively.

Variations in speech of Rongmeis living in the Imphal Valley

The dialect(s) spoken by Rongmeis/Kabuis settled in the Valley reveal(s) significant differences from the description presented above. To give one example of those variations, below are a few kin terms which are representative of the dialect spoken in Chingkhram Kabui and the neighbouring villages:

Pou: FF, MF, FFF, FMF, MFF, MMF, MB (with suffix *-bung*), FZH, MBS, HF, HeB, WF, eZH, WFF, WMF, HFF, HMF, HFB, FZS, WeB, WeZH, WFB, WMB

Pei: FM, MM, FFM, FMM, MFM, MMM, WFM, WMM, HFZ, HFM, HMM

Pa: F, FeB (with suffix *-dai*), FyB (with suffix *-ton*), MeZH (with suffix *-dai*), MyZH (with suffix *-ton*), HMB

Ma: M, MeZ (with suffix *-dai*), MyZ (with suffix *-ton*), FeBW (with suffix *-dai*), FyBW (with suffix *-ton*), WFZ

Nei: FeZ, FyZ (with suffix *-ton*) MBW, WM, WMZ, HM, HMZ

Bung: eB, FBS, MZS, HeZH

Kaina: yB, yZ

Pi: eZ, FBD, MZD, FZD (with suffix *-rao*), MBD (with suff. *-rao*), WeBW, HeBW

Gaamei: S

Tumei: D

Tou: GCh

Tak: GrGCh

Now: W

Gaan: H

Mau: SW

Lu-gaan: DH

Cai: eBW, WeZ

Ning: FZD (f. speaking), MBD (f. speaking), HeZ, eBW (f. speaking)¹⁰

The differences appear to be due firstly to Meitei influence:

- *Apa* and *ama*, which are used by Rongmei people living in the Imphal Valley to address their parents, are direct borrowings from Meitei (*pa*, father, *ma*, mother). Similarly many Rongmeis of that area call their FyB and MyB just as the Meiteis do, *apa-ton* and *ama-ton* respectively. *-Ton* apparently conveys the same meaning in Meitei as the Rongmei suffix *-lau*, so that *apa-ton/ama-ton* can be viewed as mere literal translations of the corresponding Rongmei terms *apu-lau/apui-lau*. FeB and MeZ are addressed as *apa-dai* and *ama-dai*, that is in both cases by adding a Rongmei suffix (*-dai*, big/senior) to a Meitei root-word, thus creating a compound word which is neither purely Rongmei nor purely Meitei.

- *Api* for elder sister, or *achaipi* as reported by Das, is another example of this kind of blend. *Achaipi* is a contracted form of *achai-api*, in which *achai* is a Rongmei word and *api* a loanword from Meitei. *Achai* is the root-word of *achai-lu*, the correct designation for elder sister in Tamenglong speech. *Api* comes from *pi*, which first means “grandmother” in Meitei but is frequently used as a feminine nominalizer, as for example in *nupi* (girl).¹¹

Other differences are due to phonological variations. *Api-rao*, which denotes MBD, seems to be nothing but a corruption of the Rongmei word *Apui-lau*. The phonological system of Kabui speech of the Imphal Valley lacks an /r/, as is also the case in Meitei, therefore /l/ tends to take the place of /r/ in many words, such as in *Laguang* instead of *Raguang* (God).

The main differences between standard Rongmei and Plain Kabui are listed below. We have also added the vocabulary given by Das (1972) as “Kabui” which seems to hold an intermediate position between the two speeches. As Das does not indicate where his data has been collected, the possibility that the two have been mixed cannot be ruled out.

¹⁰ The following kin-related people are addressed by their names only:

By male speakers: WyB, WyZ, WyBW, WBCh, WZCh

By female speakers: HyB, HyZ, HyZH, , HBCh, HZCh

By both male and female speakers: Bch, Zch, yBW, yZH

¹¹ Chelliah, 2004: 363.

	Standard Rongmei	Imphal Valley speech	Kabui unspecified (Das 1972)
F/M	<i>pu/pui</i>	<i>pa/ma, po/puai</i>	<i>pu/pui</i>
FB	<i>pu-thau/pulau</i>	<i>pa-dai/pa-ton</i>	<i>pu-thao/pu-lao</i>
MZ	<i>pui-thau/puilau</i>	<i>ma-dai/ma-ton</i>	<i>pui-thao/pui-lao</i>
eZ	<i>caïlu</i>	<i>pi/chaipi/chaimao</i>	<i>pi</i>
S/D	<i>nahmpou/nahlu</i>	<i>gamei/tumei</i>	<i>napu/nalu</i>
FZS+	<i>tou/pou</i>	<i>pou</i>	<i>poumak</i>
FZS-	<i>tou/pou</i>	<i>pou</i>	<i>poutou/nuchanu</i>
FZD+	<i>tou/puilau</i>	<i>pi-rao</i>	<i>puilao/older anuchanu/younger</i>
MBS+	<i>Pou</i>	<i>pou</i>	<i>poumak</i>
MBS-	<i>Pou</i>	<i>pou</i>	<i>poutou</i>
MBD+	<i>Puilau</i>	<i>pi-rao</i>	<i>pu-lao</i>
MBD-	<i>Puilau</i>	<i>pi-rao</i>	<i>nou-chanu</i>
SW	<i>Miau</i>	<i>mao</i>	<i>mau</i>
HeZ	<i>Ning</i>	<i>ning</i>	<i>aninu</i>
HyZ	<i>Ning</i>	<i>ning</i>	<i>amimi</i>

A few terms collected by Das and never heard of by our informants may have been mistakenly recorded by him. Some of the differences listed above do not modify the terminological structure, but others clearly do, as for example those related to the terms encompassing the category “cousins” in English. So it cannot be simply said that Kabui speakers adapt and reinterpret these loans from the Meitei language to fit their own sociolinguistic context. It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss the structural implications of such modifications. For the sake of simplicity here, we will only focus on the analysis of the standard Rongmei terminology.

2. Analysis

Rongmei terminology, along with the majority of Naga kinship terminologies that have been documented so far, represents a variant of a “bifurcate merging” system which is widespread throughout India’s North-eastern region, by virtue of the terminological equations

$$F = FB \neq MB \qquad M = MZ \neq FZ$$

The way of distinguishing between lineal and colineal line in the parental generation by adding suffixes meaning either “big” (or “senior”) and “little” (or “junior”) according to the relative age of parents’ siblings to the parent of the same sex is also shared by most Naga groups, as well

as many other ethnic groups of this area. More specifically, it also exhibits the main characteristics of a true Iroquois system: whereas parents' parallel siblings are equated with parents, siblings of the opposite sex in the parental generation tend to be counted as relatives by marriage; both sexes refer to father-in-law as "mother's brother" (*pou*), and to mother-in-law as "father's sister" (*nei*). Similarly at Ego's generation, parallel cousins are classified as "brothers" and "sisters" and therefore the question of having a marital relationship with them does not arise at all, while cross-cousins are denoted by specific terms and become, at least theoretically, marriageable. While the merging of parents' parallel siblings with parents and consequently of parallel cousins with Ego's siblings seems to be a common feature of all Naga systems, the assimilation of parents' cross-siblings to parents-in-law is restricted to a few groups only: Tangkhul (including Somra group of Myanmar), Liangmai, Sema, Ao, Chang, Konyak, Wancho, Nocte (Doidam dialect) and possibly a few others.¹² Further South, Iroquois systems are widespread among representatives of the Kuki-Chin family.

In addition, Rongmei kin terminology exhibits perfect symmetry in the classification of the kin-related people that would fall into the English categories "uncle" and "aunt", with the equivalences

FB = MZH (*pu*)
 FZ = MBW (*nei*)
 MB = FZH (*pou*)
 MZ = FBW (*pui*)

This is a common feature of nomenclatures of the Zeliangrong group (Zeme, Liangmai, Rongmei) but not of Nagas in general, and among the Naga populations of India it is reported only for the Chang group.¹³ Among Kuki-Chins it is found in particular among the Mizos and the Maras.¹⁴

Terms expressing consanguineal ties predominate over those expressing affinity. Consanguineous and affinals often share a term, as well as lineals and colineals or lineals and ablineals (for example, FF and MB, B and FBS, etc.). With regard to collaterality, bifurcation and gender, the terminology exhibits a sharp contrast between the "central" generational levels (G+1, G0, G-1), and the other levels:

¹² Sema: Hutton, 1922b: 122-129; Ao: Mills, 1926: 164-165; Chang: Hutton, 1922a: 410-411; Konyak: Fürer-Haimendorf, 1969: appendix; Wancho: Boruah, 1977: 21-22; Nocte: Dutta, 1978: 101-104. Confirmed or completed for Tangkhul and Liangmai with our own data.

¹³ Hutton, 1922a: 411.

¹⁴ Lorrain, 1940: 365-366; Parry, 1932: 241.

	Collaterality	Bifurcation	Gender
G+3	-	-	+
G+2	-	-	+
G+1	+	+	+
G 0	+	+	+
G-1	+	+	+
G-2	-	-	-
G-3	-	-	-

Clear differentiations within the lineal kin appear in Ego's generation and Ego's parental generation, with distinction of sex and relative age. Distinction based on relative age is relevant only for siblings (real and classificatory) and parents' siblings. Collaterality is recognized only to distinguish siblings of the opposite sex in the parental generation ($F \neq FZ$, $M \neq MB$), cross-cousins from siblings ($B \neq MBS$, FZS ; $Z \neq MBD$, FZD) and children from sister's children ($Ch \neq ZCh$). Bifurcation is recognized to distinguish between parents siblings, brothers' and sisters' children, as well as patrilateral and matrilineal cross-cousins. Several kinship terms reflect an emphasis on relationship within the father's lineage. For example there is a specific term for husband's sister that a female is expected to use, which is somewhat honorific and denotes seniority in the sense that a female speaker will also apply it to her grandfather and maternal uncle. But there is no kin term for a male speaker to address or refer to his wife's sister, and where she is older than him recourse is made to teknonymy in a direct address instead of a specific kin term.

Relation between kinship terminology and the marriage system

Rongmei society is patrilineal and segmented. Patrilineal descent is important in determining the social identity of a person, his/her rights to inherit and the people whom he or she can marry. The society as a whole is divided into a number of clans whose members reckon their presumed kinship and common ancestry through the paternal line only, and today individuals use their clan name as patronyms in administrative documents.

Clan exogamy seems to be the basic rule everywhere. The Rongmeis will readily assert that they cannot marry within their own clan (*kaikhuang*), whereas they are free to seek their spouse outside it. Sexual or marital union between people belonging to the “same clan” (*kaikhuang chammei*) is incestuous since they are considered as classificatory siblings (*tanpui-tanpu*), and any violation of this rule may lead to public banishment.¹⁵

It is, however, difficult to figure out the exact number of clans as information varies from one source to another, although it is generally assumed that today the Rongmeis have 4 major clans, namely Kamei, Gonmei (Golmei), Gangmei and Longmei.¹⁶ They are all divided into several sub-units which are nevertheless called “clans” (*kaikhuang*), although the Gangmei clan is sometimes reported to stand undivided.¹⁷ Such units are invariably denoted by using suffixes *-kai* such as *Malangmei-kai*, in which *-kai* is a contracted form of *kaikhuang*. The Kamei clan, for instance, is said to be divided into seven sections, namely Kamei (proper), Phaomei, Malangmei (Marangmei), Kamson,¹⁸ Pamei, Shanganmei and Maringmei. Similarly the Gonmei clan comprises several sections including Gondaimei, Dongmei (Dhangmei), Panmei, Riamei (Remmei)¹⁹ according to most informants. The problem arises from the fact that the number of clans, their names, and also their grouping seem to vary to some extent from place to place, to vary over time, and to depend on the degree to which sub-clan identifiers are assumed to be separate clans.

The fact that Rongmei clans are totemic provides an additional criterion for identification. The rule of exogamy primarily applies to people having the same totem and hence sharing the same food taboo (*gai*) since the animal clan-emblem is considered to be intimately related to members of that clan. For example, the seven sections that constitute

¹⁵ At a lower level of social segmentation people belonging to the same lineage or kindred are referred to as “*Mpoulang*” -or *Impoulang* as noted by Francis (1992)- which conveys the meaning of “sons of”.

¹⁶ Traditionally, in hilly areas only the Kamei, Gonmei and Gangmei are represented, whereas representatives of the Longmei clan and its subdivisions, which are said to have originally branched off from Gonmei, are mainly found in the Valley. The Dhangmei, Phaomei, Maringmei, Remmei and Thaimai clans are also widely spread in the Imphal Valley.

¹⁷ This major clan comprises at least four subdivisions, three of them however still bear the original clan name “Gangmei”. They are: Kamang (“tiger”) Gangmei, Asanpuina Gangmei, Zainu Gangmei and Khangchaing.

¹⁸ Kamson is said to have originated from Kamei and the name is used mainly in the Imphal Valley instead of Kamei.

¹⁹ The word Riamei is used in most areas, except for a few places in the Valley where Remmei is used instead.

the Kamei clan are bound together by the same ban on the meat of the Green-winged Dove (*Chalcophaps indica*) which they call *roi* (or *inruai*) *ahuina* and consider as their clan's emblem. Similarly, sections of the Gonmei clan, including the Gondaime and Dongmei, abstain from consuming the meat of the Black bulbul (*Hypsipetes leucocephalus*) which is called *dau*.²⁰ Therefore there is apparently a clear parallel between animals that can and cannot be eaten, and persons one can and cannot marry. But here again, various statements appear to be somewhat contradictory. Members of the Panmei clan abstain from eating the meat of an unidentified bird species (*roi ngou*, literally "white bird"), which they regard as their clan-emblem, although they are generally considered as part of the Gonmei group whose emblem and therefore tabooed animal is the Black bulbul. The closeness between the two clans and the consequent ban on intermarriage was first reported by Bower (1939-1946). Marriage between members of two clans belonging to the same group or phratry is theoretically forbidden, and this rule may well have been strictly followed in the past. But today, although the society as a whole still tries to prevent them, such unions can and do take place provided that no blood relationship can be proven between the two partners.

Interrelations between the various Rongmei clans are reflected in the use of kin terms for addressing unrelated people, although some of them are assigned according to age difference only.²¹ Thus kids addressing adults, as well as adults addressing each other, will often make a distinction on the basis of clan affiliation. Kids of both sexes address adults of the parental generation as they would their own parents (*apu/apui*) if they belong to their father's clan or any clan of the same exogamous phratry, whereas they call them either maternal uncle (*apou*) or paternal aunt (*anei*) if they belong to the mother's brother clan or phratry. For example, since the Pamei and Kamson are considered to be two subclans of the major Kamei clan/phratry, a boy whose mother originally belongs to the Pamei clan will normally address a male adult of the Kamson clan by *apou* (MB), but *apu* (F) if he is himself a member of the Pamei clan. Following the same logic he will call a female adult either *anei* (FZ) or *apui* (M). Non kin-related adults of both sexes normally call each other by

²⁰ Or *indau* according to Francis (1992).

²¹ For example, as a general rule, male adults and elderly persons address children by "*abung*" (for boys) and "*alu*" (for girls) irrespective of the generational difference. Reciprocally children most commonly address any elderly person by *apou* (grandfather) or *apei* (grandmother). Elderly people usually address each other through teknonymy, by using the name of the eldest child/grandchild followed by *-pu/-pui/-pou/-pei/*, or even by suffixing the name of a brother's son by *-nei* (paternal aunt).

name, but can also use *cai* (eB), *kainah* (yB), *cana* (B, m. sp.) or *suanrei* (Z, f. sp.) if they belong to the same clan or group of clans bound by the same food and marriage restrictions.

Traditionally in Rongmei society, a man is encouraged to marry his actual or classificatory matrilineal cross-cousin. It is a point of unanimous agreement among various authors, and Bose (1980) notes that “the marriage with the mother’s brother’s daughter is still the rule in all villages”.²² According to our informants, it is also favoured with a classificatory cross-cousin such as FMBSD.²³ Marrying MBSD is also considered a good union provided the bride and Ego belong to the same age group. By contrast, there is a strict ban on marrying one’s patrilineal cross-cousin: “The most tabooed form of marriage is called *tankhi*, which includes marriage of a boy with his father’s sister’s daughter. Forced separation is the inevitable consequence of such a marriage”.²⁴ Das further indicates that marriage preference goes to a younger matrilineal cross-cousin only. This is consistent with the terminology he provides, in which MBD is denoted by a specific term (*nou-chanu*) if younger than Ego, but called “junior mother” (*puilao*) and classified along with MyZ if elder. However this distinction was unknown to our informants from Tamenglong District, so that it may refer to the language(s)/dialect(s) spoken in the Imphal Valley only. *-Chanu* is reminiscent of “*ichanu*” meaning “child” in Meitei, and might have been borrowed from that language.

It is unclear whether this prescriptive marriage rule results in the establishment of a generalized exchange. Bose (1980), who conducted investigations in villages of Bishnupur District not far from Imphal, is the only author to mention such a cyclic system, operating in some cases with a tripartite division, each comprising a number of clans. But the author also notes that “the marriage regulation is undergoing considerable modification and it is hard to get at the regulation in its original purity”. He further adds that the composition of each section varies from village to village. The example provided by Bose is nevertheless interesting: in Thaninkhun village, the following traditional marriage regulation is

²² Cf. Das (1972): “Marrying Mo Br Da is considered to be the most preferred union. Clearly, the Kabui patrilineal clans are linked with matrilineal cross-cousin marriage. It is almost obligatory on the part of a man to serve his mother’s brother, and the best way he can do so is by marrying his daughter. It also reinforces the tie between the brother’s family and sister’s family.” Such a marriage is popularly known as *Kanei-pi-kadoimei*, at least in the Imphal Valley.

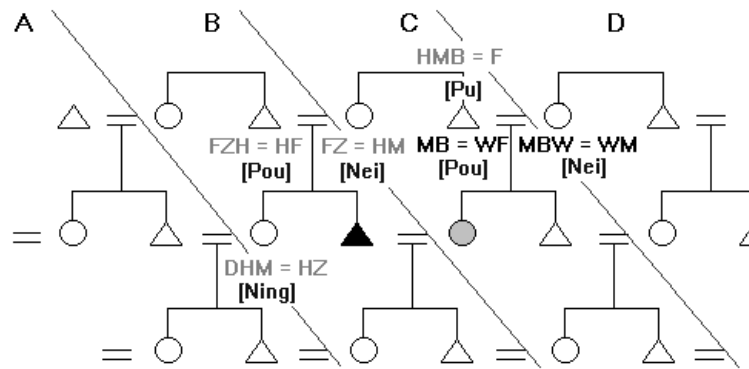
²³ But opinions differ regarding unions with MBSD where the bride belongs to the same generation as Ego.

²⁴ Das (1972: 37). Marriage with the matrilineal parallel cousin (MZD) is also strictly forbidden according to our informants.

reported to unite the 3 clans which are represented, namely Kamei (“*Ka-makai*”), Thaimei (“*Tha-makai*”) and Longmei (“*Long-makai*”). In former times a Kamei man could only marry a Thaimei girl, a Thaimei man had to marry a Longmei girl and a man from Longmei had to seek his spouse in the Kamei clan (1996 [1980]: 127). It is not known whether such a matrilineal connubium, or “marriage in a circle”, is to be found anywhere else among the Rongmeis.²⁵ But the preference for marrying the mother’s brother’s daughter is well attested, at least in the recent past. Moreover, the following equations

- FZH = HF (*pou*)
- MB = WF (*pou*)
- MBW = WM (*nei*)
- FZ = HM (*nei*)
- MB = MBS (*pou*)
- MZ = MBD (*puilau*)
- HMB = F (*pu*)

are all suggestive of marriage preference with the mother’s brother’s daughter, as shown in the diagram below:



in black: relationship considered from a male point of view
in grey: relationship considered from a female point of view
A,B,C,D: patrilineages

²⁵ One must also remember that the empirical evidence of this connubium among the Purums, first noted by Needham, was contested later by some authors. See in particular Ackerman (1964).

This is particularly evident in the use of the term “*apu*” (father) used by a married woman to address her husband’s maternal uncle, whereas the husband simply calls his WMB “mother’s brother” (*apou*) as he would his own MB. This is the sole instance where male and female speakers use different kin terms to denote in-laws. But the distinction becomes relevant in the context of a man marrying his real MBD, for in such a case the husband’s maternal uncle would be the bride’s real father.

Prescribed marital alliance with the mother’s brother’s lineage is also reflected in the terminology by the way MBD is considered a “junior mother” (*puilau*), since in this context a male Ego simply replicates the alliance contracted earlier by his father with the patrilineage of Ego’s mother. It is also interesting to note that among cross-cousins, matrilineal cross-cousins are denoted by terms referring to ascending generations (*pou*, GF, MB; *puilau*, MZ) whereas patrilineal cross cousins are denoted by a term applying to the second descending generation (*tou*, grandchildren). As Fox (1967) has stated for the Purums of Manipur who too prescribe matrilineal cross-cousin marriage, this senior/junior relationship reflects status inequalities between wife’s givers and wife’s takers, the former being superior to the latter.²⁶

The matrilineal cross-cousin marriage preference is also apparent in the use of a term of reference used collectively for the wife-taking lineage or clan, *lu-gaan*, which first denotes DH but is also more widely used to encompass all husbands of any woman born in Ego’s clan.²⁷ One can also observe that MBW and MBSW are denoted by the same kin term, as is the case in the languages of neighbouring groups among which the generalized exchange pattern is well attested such as the Karbis (formerly Mikirs), Mizos (formerly Lusheis) and Maras (formerly Lakhers).²⁸ This indicates a permanent relationship between one’s own lineage and the maternal uncle’s lineage/clan, from which wives have been taken down through generations.

But interestingly here, there are in fact two possibilities for denoting MBSW depending on whether the bride is or not from Ego’s clan. In the first case, she will be called a “junior mother” (*puilau*), as are MyZ and MBD, and in the second case (which is presented by informants as the most common one) as father’s sister (*nei*). The fact that, in the particular context of preferential marriage with the mother’s brother family, the kinship terminology refers to the possibility for the MBS to marry

²⁶ Fox (1967: 250).

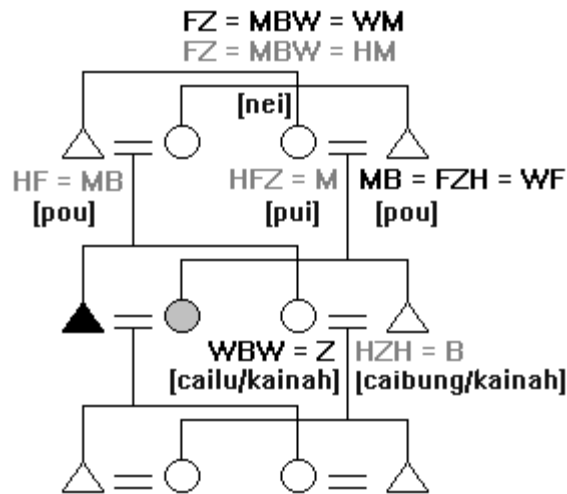
²⁷ See also Francis (1992: 276).

²⁸ For Mizos and Maras, Goswami (1996a: 140). Information on Karbis from our own data.

someone from Ego's clan suggests at least one case of the reversal of kinship alliance. Similarly, the fact that FZSW+ and FZDH+ are treated as siblings if they belong to the father's clan (instead of being called *puilau* and *apou*) is another indication of at least two additional possibilities of alliance reversal. Such instances of the differentiation of kin terms according to clan affiliation are uncommon among the Nagas, although they constitute the most salient feature of Ao and Lhota terminologies as pointed out by Lévi-Strauss (1949). They have been interpreted by him in this context as a clue indicating the practice of restricted exchange pattern and bilateral cross-cousin marriage.²⁹ Indeed, equations such as:

- M = HFZ
- FZ = WM = MBW
- WBW = Z
- HZH = B
- HF = MB
- MB = WF = FZH
- Z = WBW
- B = HZH

are truly suggestive of bilateral cross-cousin marriage. This becomes clearer with the following diagram:



in black: relationship considered from a male point of view

²⁹ That is, for a man, to marry his ZHZ.

in grey: relationship considered from a female point of view

However, the operational kinship system may be different from the picture one obtains after analysing kinship terminology. Here our information becomes less certain as statements from various informants differ to some extent and appear to be somewhat contradictory. Everyone seems to agree that both a true sister-exchange as represented above,³⁰ as well as two brothers marrying two sisters, is considered to be an inauspicious union; some of our informants add that, even though they are not strictly forbidden by tradition, they are believed to bring bad luck to the couple. But opinions differ largely regarding the possibility of marriage between second cousins (grandchildren of siblings) not belonging to one's own clan (MMZSD, MMZDD, FMZSD, FMZDD, FFBDD, FFZSD, FFZDD). They are regarded as too close and hence strictly forbidden by some informants, but permissible by others. Only marriage with FMBSD, i.e. a woman representative of the father's maternal uncle lineal line is considered by everyone to be a good union. Some of our informants also stressed that, when considering the question of a marital relationship with a distant cousin from the father's side, there should be no proven relationship between the partners within the last four generations.

Conclusion

Rongmei kin terminology fits in with what was considered by Lévi-Strauss (1949) as a typical feature of all Naga kinship systems: a peculiar blend of generalized exchange and restricted exchange patterns.³¹ Several equations in the terminology clearly point to cross-cousin marriage of the matrilineal type, whereas others suggest a symmetric pattern of the sister-exchange type, none of them proving conclusive however. The pattern of asymmetrical exchange by marrying the real or classificatory MBD has been reported by most authors, whereas symmetrical exchange has yet to be confirmed empirically and even seems to be prohibited by customary law according to some informants.

But certainly the most striking feature of the Rongmei kinship terminology is that it possesses all the structural characteristics of the

³⁰ Marriage of a man with his BWZ.

³¹ "Il nous reste à examiner un ensemble de groupes septentrionaux (...) chez lesquels l'échange généralisé, tout en restant conforme à sa formule simple, n'apparaît plus pur, mais mélangé avec une formule d'échange restreint" (1949: 317).

“Northern and Central Chin” terminological systems, in so far as it may be presented as a 6-point model:

1. A bifurcate merging terminology: Ego’s father and paternal uncle share the same elementary kin term, as do Ego’s mother and Ego’s mother’s sister, although the colineal line is distinguished from the lineal line by the adjunction of appropriate suffixes.
2. A variant on the Iroquois type, the only difference from the true type being that parents’ siblings are distinguished between elder and younger ones on the basis of their relative age to Ego’s parents.
3. A unique pair of elementary terms to denote siblings of both sexes (Rongmei: *cai/kainah*; Mizo, Zou: *u/nau*; Tarao: *ute/kanao*; Thado: *he-u/nao*; Hmar: *u/sang*, etc.),³² to which gender suffixes are possibly but not necessarily added.
4. A unique elementary term to denote FF, MB, MBS and WF (Rongmei: *pou*; Mizo, Hmar, Paite, Aimol, Chiru, Chothe (Purum), Tarao: *pu*; Thado: *hepu*; Mara: *papu*)³³ and a consequent honorific use of this term indicating seniority.
5. Patrilineal cross cousins, when denoted by a specific term, equated with sister’s children (Hmar) or grandchildren (Rongmei, Mizo), in any case always treated as generational “juniors”.
6. The mother’s brother’s daughter, when denoted by a specific term, called or referred to either as “mother” (Paite: *nu*), “little/junior mother” (Rongmei: *puilau*, Hmar: *nu-te*; Thado: *henunga*)³⁴ or “mother” followed by personal name or nickname (Zou), indicating the reduplication of marital alliance with the mother’s lineage at each generation.

All these traits are typical of the majority of Kuki-Chin systems, especially those of the northern and central language groups such as Hmar, Mara, Mizo, Paite, Thado, Vaiphei and Zou, some of them also being immediate neighbours. In particular the structures of the kin terminologies of the Mizos and the Hmars appear to be closest to the Rongmei nomenclature, the latter living both in Tamenglong and North Cachar Hills and their villages often being interspersed with Rongmei

³² Tarao: Mukherjee & Sing (1996: 164); Mizo: Lorrain (1940: 325, 532); Mara (Lakher): Parry (1932: 293-294); Thado: Hutton (1922b: 417); Hmar, Paite and Zou: our own data.

³³ In Tarao however, according to Mukherjee & Singh (1996: 164), the term for MBS is *thur* or *neng*, depending on relative age to Ego.

³⁴ In such a case MBD and MyZ are referred to by the same kin term.

villages. All these systems are furthermore associated with marriage rules prescribing the union of a man with his mother's brother's daughter. Most of them exhibit the same affinal dissymmetry between wife's givers and wife's takers expressed in the terminology by using the senior/junior generation terms (Rongmei: *pou/tak*; most Kuki-Chin languages of Manipur and Mizoram: *pu/tu*).³⁵

Interestingly, this model also applies to the majority of Nagas living in Manipur, namely Zeme, Liangmai, Mao (Ememei), Poumai and Maram groups.³⁶ But it departs significantly from the structures of kin terminologies of all other Naga communities from Nagaland and Arunachal Pradesh, with the sole exception of the Khezhas established along the Nagaland-Manipur border. As a matter of fact, of the 6 features mentioned above only the first one is common to all Naga groups of India, at least those on which some basic information is available. That is to say that the majority of Nagas of Manipur, with regard to their way of classifying kin categories, share many more similarities with the Kuki-Chins in general than with any other Naga group. Thus, in the same way Naga languages do not constitute a distinct sub-family with clear-cut boundaries but are split by linguists into two branches (each comprising both Naga and non-Naga languages),³⁷ it does not seem possible to delimit a set of specific characters that would isolate the Nagas from their neighbours on the basis of their kinship systems.

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³⁵ Mizo: Lorrain (1940: 366, 518); Mara: Goswami (1996a: 141); Parry (1932: 244). Purum: Fox (1967: 250). Hmar, Paite, Zou: our own data.

³⁶ Tangkhul excepted. Our own data.

³⁷ Linguists have generally classified the northernmost Naga languages into a Jingphaw-Konyak-Bodo (or Bodo-Garo, or Barish, or Sal) branch, and grouped languages of the central and southern groups into a Kuki-Chin-Naga (or Kukish) branch (Benedict, 1972; Bradley, 1997; Shafer, 1966-1974).

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APPENDIX

	Kinship relation	Term of address	Term of reference	Descriptive term
1	GrGF	(a)pou	pou	pou dai
2	GrGM	(a)pei	pei	pei dai
3	GF	(a)pou	pou	pou
4	GM	(a)pei	pei	pei
5	FF	(a)pou	pou	pu-pu
6	FM	(a)pou	pou	pu-pui
7	MF	(a)pou	pou	pui-pu
8	MM	(a)pou	pou	pui-pui
9	F	(a)pu	pu	pu
10	M	(a)pui	pui	pui
11	FeB	(a)puthau/ (a)pu daimei	puthau	pu cai bung/ pu cana
12	FyB	(a)pulau	pulau	pu kainah/ pu cana
13	FZ	(a)nei	nei	pu cai lu / pu kainah/ pu tanpui
14	MB	(a)pou	pou	pui cai bung

15	MeZ	(a)puithau / (a)pui daimei	puithau	pui thau / pui cai lu/ pui suanrei
16	MyZ	(a)puilau	puilau	pui kainah / pui lau/ pui suanrei
17	eB	(a)caibung	caibung	cai
18	yB	(a)kainah	kainah	kainah
19	eZ	(a)cailu	cailu	cailu
20	yZ	(a)kainah	kainah	kainah
21	FeBS	older: (a)caibung younger: (a)kainah	caibung (older) /kainah (younger)	pu kacang nah mpou/ pu cana nah mpou
22	FyBS	older: (a)caibung younger: kainah	caibung (older) /kainah (younger)	pu kainah nah pou
23	FBD	older: (a)cailu younger: (a)kainah	cailu /kainah	pu kainah aluh/ pu cana nah aluh
24	FZS	(a)tou (general term), OR : older: (a)pou younger: NAME	tou	pu caipui nah mpou/ pu tanpui nah mpou
25	FZD	(a)tou (general term), OR : older: (a)puilau younger: NAME	tou	pu caipui nah aluh/ pu tanpui nah aluh
26	MBS	(a)pou	pou	pui caibung/kainah nah mpou OR pui tanpu nah mpou

27	MBD	(a)puilau	puilau	pui caibung/kainah nah aluh OR pui tanpu nah aluh
28	MZS	older: (a)caibung younger: (a)kainah	caibung /kainah	pui cailu/kaina nah mpou OR pui suanrei nah mpou
29	MZD	older: (a)cailu younger: kainah	cailu /kainah	pui cailu/kainah OR nah aluh/ pui kainah nah lu
30	S	NAME or (a)bung	nah mpou	nah mpou
31	D	NAME or (a)lu	nah aluh	nah aluh
32	GCh	NAME or (a)bung/(a) lu	tou	tou
33	GrGCh	NAME or (a)bung/(a) lu	tak	tak
34	BS	NAME or (a)bung	m. sp.: nah mpou f. sp.: kainah	cai bung /kainah nah mpou
35	BD	NAME or (a)lu	m. sp.: nah aluh f. sp.: kainah	cai bung/kainah nah aluh
36	ZS	NAME/ (a)bung	m. sp.: tou f. sp.: nah mpou	cai lu/kainah nah mpou
37	ZD	NAME/ (a)lu	m. sp.: tou f. sp.: nah aluh	cai lu/kainah nah aluh
38	FBSS/FBDS	NAME/ (a)bung	tou	pu cana - tou gaanmei OR pu caibung/kainah tou gaanmei
39	FBSD/FBDD	NAME/ (a)lu	tou	pu cana tou aluh OR pu caibung/kainah tou intumei

40	FZSS/FZDS	NAME/ (a)bung	tou	pu tanpui tou, nei tou.(gaanmei)
41	FZSD/FZDD	NAME/ (a)lu	tou	pu tanpui tou, nei tou (aluh / intumei)
42	MBSS/MBDS	(a)tou	tou	pui tanpu/cai/kain ah tou
43	MBSD/MBDD	(a)tou	tou	pui tanpu/cai/kain ah tou
44	MZSS/MZDS	(a)tou	tou	pui suanrei tou gaanmei
46	MZSD/MZDD	(a)tou	tou	pui suanrei tou aluh
47	W	teknonym y (name of eldest son + <i>-pui</i> , or name of eldest girl + <i>pui</i> if the eldest child is a girl), or <i>kapui</i> , “mother’	now	now
48	H	teknonym y (name of eldest son + <i>-pui</i> , or name of eldest girl + <i>pui</i> if the eldest child is a girl), or <i>kapu</i> , “father’	gaan	gaan

49	WeB	(a)mek	mek-ganthau-mei	now cai bung
50	WyB	(a)mek	mek-lau-mei	now kainah
51	WeZ	older: teknonymy (name of WeZ's child + - <i>pui</i> , or name of Ego's child + <i>puithau</i>) younger: NAME	teknonymy, or <i>puithau</i> , <i>now cailu</i>	now cailu
52	WyZ	older: teknonymy (name of WyZ's child + - <i>pui</i> , or name of Ego's child + <i>puilau</i>) younger: NAME	teknonymy (name of child + <i>puilau</i> , or now-kainah-intumei)	now kainah intumei
53	HeB	(a)pou	pou	gaan caibung
54	HyB	(a)pou	pou	gaan kainah
55	HeZ	(a)ning	ning	gaan cailu
56	HyZ	(a)ning	ning	gaan kainah aluh
57	eBW	m. sp.: (a)puinau f. sp.: (a)ning	puinau/ ning	caibung now
58	yBW	m. sp.: NAME f. sp.: (a) ning	puinau/ ning	kainah now

59	eZH	(a)pou	pou	cailu gaan
60	yZH	(a)pou	pou	kainah gaan
61	WF	(a)pou	pou	now pu
62	WM	(a)nei	nei	now pui
63	HF	(a)pou	pou	gaan pu
64	HM	(a)nei	nei	gaan pui
65	WFB	(a)pou	pou	now pu cana OR now pu caibung/kainah
66	WFZ	(a)nei	nei	now pu tanpui OR now pu cailu/kainah
67	WMB	(a)pou	pou	now pui puning OR now pui caibung/kainah
68	WMZ	(a)nei	nei	now pui suanrei OR now pui cailu/kainah
69	HFB	(a)pou	pou	gaan pu cana OR gaan pu caibung/kainah
70	HFZ	(a)pui	pui	gaan pu tanpui OR gaan pu cailu/kainah
71	HMB	(a)pu	pu	gaan pui puning OR gaan pui caibung/kainah
72	HMZ	(a)nei	nei	gaan pui suanrei OR gaan pui cailu/kainah
73	FeBW	(a)puithau	puithau	pu cana now OR pu caibung now
74	FyBW	(a)puilau	puilau	pu cana now OR pu kainah now
75	FZH	(a)pou	pou	pu tanpui gaan or pui cailu/kainah gaan

76	MBW	(a)nei	nei	Pui tanpu now OR pui caibung/kainah now
77	MeZH	(a)puthau	puthau	pui suanrei gaan OR pui cailu gaan
78	MyZH	(a)pulau	pulau	pui suanrei gaan OR pui kainah gaan
79	FBSW	m. sp.: (a)pui nau f.sp.: (a)ning	puinau / miau	pu cana nah now OR pu caibung/kainah nah now
80	FBDH	(a)pou	pou	pu cana nah gaan OR pu caibung/kainah nah gaan
81	FZSW	older, belonging or affiliated to Ego's clan: (a)cai, (a)nei (if of Ego's parental generation); otherwise: puilau younger: NAME or (a)kainah	puilau	nei nah now, pu tanpui nah gaanmei now

82	FZDH	older, belonging or affiliated to Ego's clan: (a)cai, (a)pu-lau (if of Ego's parental generation); otherwise (a)pou younger: NAME or (a)kainah	pou/ kainah	nei nah gaan, pu tanpui nah- aluh/intumei gaan
83	MBSW	not member of Ego's clan: (a)nei member of Ego's clan: puilau	nei/puilau	pui tanpu nah now OR pui cai/kainah nah now
84	MBDH	(a)pou	pou	pui tanpu nah gaan OR pui cai/kainah nah gaan
85	MZSW	m. sp.: (a)pui nau f.sp.: (a)ning	puinau/ ning	pui suanrei nah now OR pui cailu/kainah nah now
86	MZDH	(a)pou	pou	pui suanrei nah gaan OR pui cailu/kainah nah gaan
87	WBS	tou	tou	now puning nah (gaanmei) OR now caibung/kainah nah mpou
88	WBD	tou	tou	now puning nah (aluh/intumei) OR now caibung/kainah nah aluh.

89	WZS	(a)kainah	kainah	now suanrei nah mpou OR now cailu/kainah nah mpou
90	WZD	(a)kainah	kainah	now suanrei nah aluh OR now cailu/kainah nah aluh
91	HBS	(a)nah	nah	gaan cana nah mpou OR gaan caibung/kainah nah mpou
92	HBD	(a)nah	nah	gaan cana nah aluh OR gaan caibung/kainah nah aluh
93	HZS	(a)kainah	kainah	gaan tanpui nah mpou OR gaan cailu/kainah nah mpou
94	HZD	(a)kainah	kainah	gaan tanpui nah aluh OR gaan cailu/kainah nah aluh
95	WBW	older: (a)cai younger: (a)kainah	cai / kainah	now- puning/tanpu now OR now caibung/kainah now
96	HZH	older: (a)cai younger: (a)kainah	cai / kainah	gaan-tanpui- gaan or gaan cailu/kainah gaan
97	SW	NAME	miau	nah mpou now
98	DH	NAME	lu-gaan	nah aluh gaan
99	SWF	older: (a)cai younger: (a)kainah	cai / kainah	miau pu OR nah mpou now pu

100	SWM	m. sp.: (a)puinau f. sp.: (a)ning	m. sp.: puinau f. sp.: ning	miau pui OR nah mpou now pui
101	DHF	older: (a)cai younger: (a)kainah	cai / kainah	nah aluh gaan pu
102	DHM	m. sp.: (a)puinau f. sp.: (a)ning	m. sp.: puinau f. sp.: ning	nah aluh gaan pui

General use of kinship terms for unrelated people

Adults addressing children	
male adults to young boys	<i>abung</i>
male adults to young girls	<i>alu</i>
female adults to young boys	<i>abung</i>
female adults to young girls	<i>alu</i>
elderly males to young boys (of the grandchildren's generation)	<i>abung</i>
elderly males to young girls (of the grandchildren's generation)	<i>alu</i>
elderly females to young boys (of the grandchildren's generation)	<i>abung</i>
elderly female to young girls (of the grandchildren's generation)	<i>alu</i>
Children addressing adults	
young boys to male adults (of the parental generation)	belonging to the same clan/phratry as the boy's father: <i>apu</i> belonging to the same clan/phratry as the boy's mother: <i>apou</i>
young boys to female adults (of the parental generation)	belonging to the same clan/phratry as the boy's father: <i>apui</i> belonging to the same clan/phratry as the boy's mother: <i>anei</i>
young girls to male adults (of the parental generation)	belonging to the same clan/phratry as the girls's father: <i>apu</i> belonging to the same clan/phratry as the girls's mother: <i>apou</i>
young girls to female adults (of the parental generation)	belonging to the same clan/phratry as the girls's father: <i>apui</i> belonging to the same clan/phratry as the girls's mother: <i>anei</i>

young boys to elderly males (of the grandparents' generation)	<i>apou</i>
young boys to elderly females (of the grandparents' generation)	in general: <i>apei</i> considered by the boy's father as his paternal aunt: <i>anei</i>
young girls to elderly males (of the grandparents' generation)	<i>apou</i>
young girls to elderly females (of the grandparents' generation)	in general: <i>apei</i> considered by the girl's father as her paternal aunt: <i>anei</i>
Adults addressing adults	
male to male adults (of the same generation)	members of the same clan/phratry: <i>cana</i> otherwise: NAME
male to female adults (of the same generation)	NAME
female adult to a male adult of the same generation	members of the same clan/phratry: <i>cai/kainah</i> otherwise: NAME
female to female adults (of the same generation)	members of the same clan/phratry: <i>suanrei</i> otherwise: NAME
elderly males to other elderly males	teknonymy (child/grandchild name followed by <i>-pu/-pou</i>)
elderly males to elderly females	teknonymy (child/brother's child/grandchild name followed by <i>pui/nei/pei</i>), or NAME
elderly females to elderly males	teknonymy (child/grandchild name followed by <i>-pu/-pou</i>)
elderly females to other elderly females	teknonymy (child/brother's child/grandchild name followed by <i>pui/nei/pei</i>), or NAME