

CHAPTER 4

DETERMINANTS

OF

IDENTITY

II

KINSHIP

AND

MARRIAGE

CHAPTER-IV

DETERMINANTS OF IDENTITY-II : MARRIAGE AND KINSHIP

In Chapter III, three attributes i.e. name, territory and culture were studied in detail for determining the identities of the Aka, Miji and their kindred. Though these determinants could not provide clear and distinct identity to these ethnoses, yet, out of this study, Miri-Aka emerged as the only kindred amongst Akas and Mijis who have the characteristics to be different than the other two. In this Chapter, the fourth attribute i.e., kinship will be studied where specific attention will be paid to the Miri-Akas as well, along with Akas and Mijis. Descent having been covered in Chapter III, the other aspects of kinship i.e., marriage, clan endogamy and tribe-exogamy; and the kinship terms will be studied in that order in this chapter. For the purpose of finding out differences and similarities, the aspects, rules and factors as described in Chapter I will be followed. From the similarities and differences so found, the identity of these three ethnoses will be determined, if this becomes possible.

Marriage is the key to all kinship. Generations develop through marriage; also affinal relationships are established and expanded. Marriage is described as the social contract for the satisfaction of physical, biological, psychological and spiritual needs of male and female, leading to the formation of family to bring up children and live together.

It serves as the foundation-stone of the family.

Marriage in these societies as in all other societies, is a turning point in the life history of an individual from where he branches off from the parental roof and establishes a new unit. A girl on her marriage abandons her parent's home and goes to live with her husband.

We have seen in Chapter II, that all the three ethnoses intermarry frequently and have close socio-cultural relations. These intermarriages and close socio-cultural contacts have smoothed out any differences in their marriage systems. It was also seen that they follow almost the same types of rules, rituals and ceremonies. In light of the above, we shall study their common rules, rituals and ceremonies of marriage; the differences, wherever found, will be pointed out separately.

Marriage amongst these three ethnoses generally involves the following considerations :

1. Improvement of social and economic status
2. Addition of a working hand in the fields
3. House-keeping partner
4. Meeting the biological needs
5. Procreation
6. Financial gain to the girl's parents
7. Increase in sphere of influence and cooperation through new relationships.

Priority is for procreation, to meet biological needs, to need a helping hand and for house keeping.

Marriage in all these societies takes place in the following ways :

1. Arranged marriages through negotiations
2. Love marriages
3. Marriages by capture/abduction/elopement

The first one is the most traditional and most popular system of marriage, while the other two, become societally approved, though, with some reservations.

All three ethnoses intermarry and the procedure of marriage system is generally the same amongst them. Among all three ethnoses, marriage by negotiation is generally initiated from the boy's side. The boy who has seen a girl or known her from sometime past and has made up his mind to marry her, may indicate his desire to his parents. Alternatively, parents of near relations of the boy may have selected a girl for the boy. The age for consideration may generally vary from 16 to 18 years for the girl and 18 to 20 years for the boy. Child marriage is not advocated, though not objected either. The status of the family of the girl is given special consideration. A Miji proverb 'A rich man must marry a rich girl and a poor man must marry a poor girl', generally applies to all the three ethnoses while selecting the family from which the girl should be. Other priorities should be that the girl should not be from prohibited rela-

tionship i.e., not from the same clan (except amongst Miri -Akas where marriages within clan are not prohibited due to their less population) and a parallel-cousin of the boy. As far as possible, the girl should be from the relations with whom marriages have been frequent earlier. Once the boy's parents decide upon the girl; then they call the village priest to examine the auspiciousness of the proposal. The village priest makes his diagnosis by killing a fowl and reading through divination; the favourable or unfavourable signs contained therein. With the obtaining of a favourable option from the village priest, the first step towards settlement of marriage is supposed to have been covered, for it is here that a proposal may even breakdown before it reaches the other party as few would dare to conclude a marriage in spite of the unfavourable premonitions of the priest. If the omen turns hopeful, a go-between is summoned to initiate the marriage proposal on behalf of the boy's family. The go-between may be a relative of the boy or some elderly person of his village community. He plays the most important role in negotiating the marriage on behalf of the boy's parents. Success and failure of the proposal depends largely on the knowledge, intelligence and tactfulness of the go-between. If the two parties reach a settlement, the credit is often attributed to the initiative and personal efforts of the go-between. The chief qualities of the go-between, essential for settling of a negotiation, are as follows :

1. He should be forceful enough to resolve any dispute among the two parties and should be the influential and reliable person so that both parties could depend upon him.
2. He should know the traditions and customs and also the history of the tribe, clan and the family in detail which he is supposed to recite at the time of negotiations.
3. He should also be able to take on any dispute arising even after the marriage.
4. He should have intelligence and convincing power, so that he is able to convince the other parties while negotiating the bride-price and the other deals connected with it.
5. He arranges all preliminaries and final settlement proceedings of the marriage for which he is adequately honoured.
6. Generally he should be a common relative of both the parties or a father figure of the whole society.

The go-between should know the fundamental things necessary to initiate the negotiations, such as the bride-price the parents are willing to pay, and the time when they want the marriage to take place. He travels to the girl's village,

meets her parents and tells them about boy's desire to marry their daughter and that of his parents approval. He assures them that the proposal has been duly examined by the priest and declared to be favourable. With this, he also gives an idea of the amount of the bride-price. During the negotiations following rules of negotiations are kept in view:

1. The boy's and girl's clan must not be of the prohibited or restricted relationship, following the rule of clan exogamy among Akas and Mijis.
2. Both clans must be of acceptable status and they must be intermarrying.
3. The boy and girl must preferably be from the same tribe or from among the three ethnoses i.e., Akas, Mijis and Miri-Akas and should not be in any case out of this ethnic group. Marriage outside this ethnic group is prohibited.
4. Both the boy and the girl should preferably be not from the same village i.e., village exogamy is preferred in all ethnoses.
5. Both the families should generally be of equal social status and financial position.
6. The boy and girl must suit each other physically and mentally (with education now, the educated youth

insist on educated girls).

7. The willingness of the boy's side to the bride's price and by the girl's side to pay jewellery in case the bride-price is more than one set i.e., 5 mithuns, 5 pigs, 5 cows, iron hearth and designated number of endy cloths and utensils.

Other points for consideration are as follows :

1. The general repute of boy's and girl's parents.
2. The intermarriages between the two families.
3. The general bride-price being given by the other relations in similar cases and its general net worth.
4. The price of the items to be exchanged to be known to the mediators.
5. Other marriage traditions i.e., before marriage and after marriage, as well as, during marriage how many mithuns/pigs are to be cut, how many to be given in engagement ceremony, how much endy cloth likely to be received from the other side, etc.

The negotiations are conducted by a selected group i.e., three to five selected go-betweens from each side during the final ceremony where the main go-between leads. The parents of the girl and the boy remain as silent spectators as they

all three ethnoses. After the fixing of the marriage date, the days of marriage are counted on the basis of knots made on a cane string, which are opened one by one each day. Around the date of marriage, the marriage party comprising the groom, his parents and relatives and some of the members from the village, start in a procession for the bride's village, where the marriage is to take place. Before they go out of the village, smearing of faces (rangoli type) takes place in joyful mood and 'ho...ho' is shouted while getting out of the village. All their way on the journey, the party makes a lot of noise. On reaching every hill-top, they made a loud shout of 'ho..ho'. As they arrive at the bride's village entrance, they signal their arrival again by a shout. At this, the people of the bride's house accompanied by other villagers, come to receive them. They also give a small feast to the guests at the place of the first meeting. After the feast, the members of the groom's party march to the bride's house with their host. When they approach the bride's house, they again raise a loud shout, and their hosts pull out their swords (daos) as a sign of resistance. The groom's party also pretends a similar gesture and there ensues a mock fight between the two parties for a couple of minutes, with the brandishing of the swords in the air. Ultimately, the bride's people feign to yield and allow the groom's party to enter the house. This demonstration of a mock fight between the two parties seems to be a cultural survival

from the times when run away marriages might have been quite common.

The hosts arrange a big feast in honour of the marriage guests later in the day. The function, which includes songs and dances by the girls and boys of both the parties, goes on for two to three nights. Almost all the villagers participate in the ceremony. The singing and dancing session starts first with the food for all present along with free drinks (lao-pani), thereafter the children start dancing along with the drum and a string instrument. A party sings along with. Everyone from boy's and girl's side is supposed to participate in this dance. Normally considering the large number of participants the children are given very less time i.e., every child changes after one stanza. Thereafter, the girls from both the sides followed by the boys from both the sides participate. The elders are also given the chance but on the final day. Course singing of the legends by the bards also takes place on the last day. The sequence of dancing is summarised as follows :

1. Younger children ; One by one i.e., one from bride's party then the second from bridegroom's party.
2. Elder girls from both sides in the same sequence.
3. Elder boys from both sides in the same sequence.

it may not be as rich as the food to which you are accustomed, in all kindness please accept it'. In case, the marriage is intertribe the parties from the bride's side and groom's side sing one after the other, in their own languages. The languages seem to be no bar in enjoyment, because actions also give out the sense of the songs.

On the following day, the people of the groom's party have to play host to the bride's people in a feast arranged by them. A mithun brought with them is killed in the feast. Later in the day, while the groom's people may take rest in their camp, the people from the bride's side, discuss among themselves the remaining details of the marriage gifts to the bride. Youth go in for arrow-shooting competition. The target is prepared of a wooden cross with a bush soaked in the blood of the sacrificed animal and placed on a tree top. Later on this day, an endy cloth and woollen blanket from groom's house are given to the bride's parents, and sometimes during the day, the elder women of the bride's village dress themselves as men and join the groom's party to gossip and joke with them. The fancy dress of the women and their merry-making creates much fun and frolic among the members of both the parties and they immensely enjoy the novelty.

The third day begins with some other jovial features. The girls of the bride's village take a ceremonial liberty to play jokes with the youths in the groom's party. They

prepare a special blackish paint from wild pine and paint the faces of the boys at first opportunity. The boys also return the compliment with equal enthusiasm and black-paint the girls' faces. This joking goes on for almost the whole day. Lest the boys may take these jokes ill, the elderly people from among the hosts brief them with the custom on the very day of their arrival in the village.

At the conclusion of the three-day ceremony, the marriage party returns to its home. The girls of the bride's village usually come with the party upto the village-gate to see them off. Before final parting, they dance and joke once again with the boys of the marriage party and paint their faces black. They then bid farewell to the marriage guests and the party marches towards its village.

The bride does not accompany the groom to his home soon after the marriage ceremony. She generally stays back with her parents for about a year or more after the marriage. The husband may, however, visit her during this period at her parents' house. At the end of the year, the husband accompanied by the go-between goes to bring her home. The parents and some brothers or relatives of the bride may also come to escort her to her husband's place. There is, however, no need for any special ceremony this time. The bride's people, when they arrive at the groom's house, are treated with honour and given a good reception by the groom's family. The ceremony

in their honour, which mainly consists of feasting and dancing, continues for about four days. They may then return to their home, leaving their daughter in her husband's charge. From now the bride assumes full membership of her husband's family.

Though the traditional custom is for the bride to stay for about a year with her parents after her marriage and before she goes to live with her husband. The usage is now being relaxed and a bride may begin to live with her husband even earlier than the specified time.

At the time of departure, parents of the bride give marriage gifts which usually consist of a silver head-gear, a pair of ear-rings, a pendant, a chest ornament, a pair of bangles, beads of various shapes and sizes, ten medium-size bowls, five silver coated daos and pots. These marriage gifts become personal property of the girl.

Marriage by capture/elopement/abduction

This is a complementary system of marriage among all these ethnoses which goes by the name of marriage by 'elopement' or marriage by 'capture' or 'abduction' in common phraseology. It is taken resort to generally by the young people when they are not sure about their parents' consent to a marriage proposal of their choice or want to avoid the

complex preliminaries to marriage that are necessary under the traditional system. A boy who may be in love with some girl of his own or some other village, or may have somehow selected a girl for marriage, elopes with her to his parental village without giving any notice of the event or of his intentions to her parents. He may or may not have given any indication of his plan to his parents before he actually elopes with the girl to his home. After reaching the house, he sacrifices a pig and invites the village community to a feast. He tells then what has happened. The local priest ties a thread of sheep-hair, around the girl's right hand along with the ancestral ornament of beads. This tying of the thread by the priest gives a stamp of marriage and a kind of social recognition to the marital relationship. With the discharge of this elementary social rite, the bride is supposed to have been united in wedlock, and enters her husband's family as a virtual member.

On knowing of the incident and her whereabouts, the parents of the girl come to the groom's house. They meet his parents and, as they find no other way than to agree quietly to the arrangement already arrived at by their daughter and concluded with the performance of the ceremonial wedding rite, they give their consent to the marriage. The only thing within their power now is to put forward their demand of the bride-price to which they are fully entitled even where the marriage might have been consummated without

their prior concurrence or without any pre-settlement. A meeting is thus arranged between the parents of the bride and those of the groom. Other people of the village may also join them in the meeting. The primary purpose of such a conference is to decide upon the amount of bride price which may be settled after some deliberations. The people of the girl's house then return to their village and she is allowed to stay back with her husband. Obviously under this system it is not necessary for the bride to go to live with her husband at the completion of a year since she already starts living with him after the elopement. The bride-price may be paid by the groom's parents either immediately or they make some mutual arrangement to pay it later. Usually, no dispute arises over this; it is only the failure to abide by the promised payment of bride-price which may create some trouble. Both parties, however, try their best to avoid such a situation.

The principles of clan-exogamy and preferable village-exogamy are respected in this kind of marriage too, and it is only to the elopements within the social sanctions that the community may give its approval.

The marriage by elopement is considered to be a convenient system and is favoured for this reason by the younger generation. It does not necessitate too many precedents or antecedents to marriage, such as the elaborate

negotiations through the mediator, approval by the priest, the fixing and re-fixing of the marriage-date and the conditions for the bride to stay with her parents for another year after her marriage before she may start living with her husband. Nor does it involve any complex ritual ceremonies of the marriage. It is largely due to these practical advantages that elopements, though not considered strictly correct, are often worked at and accepted.

Love marriages : A new phenomenon which has gained recent currency specially between the younger educated generation is that of love marriages. The young boys and girls when studying in boarding schools and living very close to each other for most of the time, develop intimate relations and intermarry sometimes even without the permission of their parents. Generally, these types of marriages are also accepted if they are not against the rules of the society, but the bride-price will have to be settled, which has largely been accepted in society. However relations get strained where, the marriage is within the prohibitory/restrictive relationship or where the due bride price is not settled. In case, the go-between is not used, the part of go-between is played by the Gram-Panchayat to settle the dowry and the decision given by the gram-panchayat is considered binding. Recently, there have been two cases of love-marriages where two Miri-Aka girls were married to Nishi Youth in government service. These two cases initially drew a lot of hue and cry

amongst the Miri-Akas but now these have been finally accepted.

In all types of marriages among all those ethnoses, preference goes to cross-cousin marriage and monogamy. Polygyny is allowed, where preference goes to levirate and sororate. Incest-taboo exists too; and bride-price plays the major role in all marriages. These are the important aspects of these societies and need a detailed study, hence are taken one by one in succeeding paragraphs.

Cross-cousin Marriage : Marriages with one's own cross-cousins are quite popular among these societies. A cross-cousin is, in fact, regarded as a preferential mate. A boy usually prefers to marry a girl whom he might have known from his early age and a cross-cousin, as such, stands nearer to him, being next to his own blood kindred, than any other girl of his community and outside his own clan group. A person can marry his mother's brother's daughter; similarly, a girl can marry her mother's brother's son. Besides, a boy or a girl can also marry his or her mother's sister's daughter or son.

Direct parallel-cousin marriages with one's father's brother's son or daughter are strictly avoided. Since society is organized on patriarchal lines, such marriages would only amount to marrying one's own blood kins and, therefore,

incestuous and hence forbidden.

Besides the cross-cousin marriage, there are a few other social usages related with marriage, such as polygyny, levirate and sororate.

Polygyny

Polygyny is quite common in these societies. A man can marry more than one woman at a time. It depends more upon one's economic and social status than on anything else. Along with this, the consent of the first wife is always necessary which, in fact, is not difficult to obtain. The two wives can share the economic burden better than an individual woman. Thus, when a husband opens before his wife the subject of his second marriage, she often welcomes the proposal with good spirit. The wives often live in good harmony and work together in the laborious pursuits of subsistence. This may be even more ensured, if they happen to be sisters among themselves. In such a case, the usages of polygyny and sororate are combined together. There is no distinction made between the children of the two women. Polygyny enhances a man's status in society since it is indicative of his economic stability to provide for more than one wife. Out of the 73 samples recorded by the researcher 7 cases were of polygyny i.e., 5 had two wives, 2 had more than two wives, one had 6 and the other five.

They all were found to be living happily and were usually well off.

Levirate is popular in these societies. A man usually inherits the widow of his elder brother. He, however, cannot inherit the wife of his younger brother. This practice of inheriting the wife of elder brother may be called the senior levirate. It is customary for a widow to start living with her husband's younger brother as his virtual wife. Where both of them do not favour a union, she may be allowed to live with the man of her choice of course from among the community members, provided the man agrees to pay the bride-price spent on her marriage to her husband's brother. If the woman wants a separation but her brother-in-law (husband's brother), who holds a legal claim upon her, resists, he may, or she may, refer the dispute to the local village council for settlement. The decision of the council would then become legally binding on both of them. There was another tradition earlier in practice, i.e., the widows of father may be inherited either by the elder son (leaving his own mother). They may also be divided among other brothers. Only mother or mother's sisters are not considered as inherited wives. This is because the women are considered as property belonging to father, which after his death must pass on to his son. In some cases, the widow is passed on to the brother of the deceased i.e., in case the sons are not

grown up or the widow has no means of subsistence and has very young children who need support and care. This tradition is now dying down.

Sororate

Another form, i.e., marrying one's sister-in-law, known as sororate, is also prevalent among the people. A man may marry his wife's sisters, either in the former's life-time or after that. The usage of sororate has, like the levirate, a limitation in the sense that one can marry only the younger sisters of his wife, and not the elder; this may be better called the junior sororate.

Both these usages, the sororate and the levirate, may operate simultaneously, and may sometimes also combine polygyny with them. Under both the usages, a man marries his affinal kins - the sisters-in-law, the basic difference between the two being that, while under one it is a matter of acquisition, under the other it is a case of virtual inheritance.

Incest taboo

Marriage or any kind of extra-marital relation within the restricted group of one's own kindred is regarded as incest in these societies. The very idea of incest is repugnant to these societies. The incest taboo, the viola-

tion of which involves heavy penalties, wards off such possibilities. The violations are strictly punishable by the village community. Unlike other social crimes, incest is almost unforgivable. The persons indulging in it may even be killed. Even a reference to sex in the conversation between the prohibited degrees of kinship is considered equally repulsive and both the persons found indulging in such a filthy talk are made a subject of public ridicule. This is supposed to serve as a deterrent for them.

The most important taboo is that which forbids incestuous relations between brother and sister. The incest taboos prevent the breach of the rules of clan exogamy (not so in Miri-Akas) besides making such marital relations with one's kin almost impossible as they are considered highly against the social norm. The incest taboos, thus, in a way, act as a balance for the social norms and values. However, legends of the tribes accept that their origin is linked with sister-brother marriage and their generation is the result of such marriage.

Bride-Price

Marriage in these three societies involves an obligation on the part of the bridegroom and his people towards the bride's parents. This obligation he tries to fulfil by making some payment to the parents of the bride. The payment

is usually made in kind, in the form of cattle, cloth and utensils. In these societies the bride-price consists of mithun (*bos frontalis*), iron-made hearth-stands, and cloth (endy cloth). The amount of bride-price to be paid depends upon the social status of the bride's parents. The higher the position enjoyed by her father in society, the greater will be the number of candidates to claim his daughter's hand, and thus larger the amount he can expect as bride-price.

The cloth, given in bride-price, is of two types, a small piece of cloth and a large piece of cloth. Besides these, the groom has also to give a piece of cloth to each of the brothers of the bride and this cloth then becomes known as sador derived from Assamese word 'chador'. All cloth, given in bride-price, is known by the general name of basa endy, in all three languages.

Mithuns are an essential part of the bride-price, with which an iron hearth and endy cloth are also almost invariably associated. Commonly, one or two mithuns, one iron hearth and four or five pieces of endy cloth are given. A rich man can, however, afford to pay even ten mithuns with two or more hearth-stands and several pieces of cloth in the form of sets as stated earlier. The bride-price is usually required to be paid at the time of marriage but its amount has to be in any case decided well in advance, and on its settlement only, the marriage is supposed to have been

finalised. Marriage negotiations are likely to break off, if the two parties cannot reach any agreement with regard to the bride-price. In case, a man is not able to pay the whole amount of bride-price in one instance, he may be permitted to pay a part of it at the marriage ceremony and the rest afterwards in instalments if the bride's parents agree to the arrangement.

When a man is too poor to raise even the minimum bride-price and yet wants to marry, he may take some sort of service in the house of the bride's parents. He may serve them for about three or four years, and thus earn some amount to raise the necessary bride-price. In return for his service, a part of the bride-price as originally required, may be condoned by his prospective father-in-law and, with the payment of a small amount only, he may be allowed to marry the girl. He can, however, have anticipatory marital relations with the girl even before marriage and during his period of service. It may also happen that, by the time, he is in a position to raise the bride-price, two or more children are born to him, at which the necessity for a separate household for his family becomes still more urgent. He may thus pay off the bride-price, whatever he can, and separate with his wife and children to form his individual family.

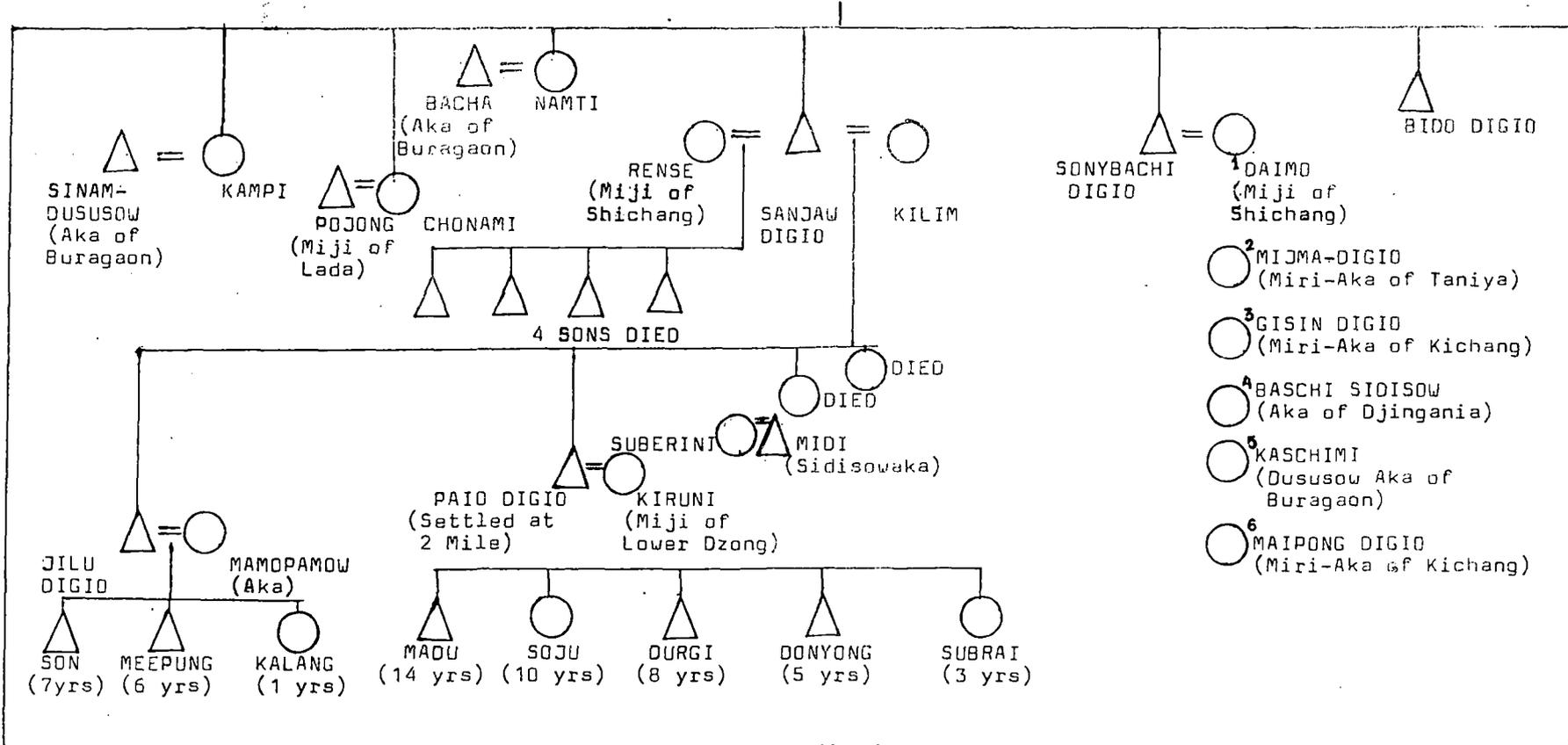
The temporary residence of the husband in his wife's

home, necessitated as it is mainly by economic considerations, does not give rise to any matriarchal institutions or usages related with it, nor does it suggest matrilocal residence.

Akas, Mijis and Miri-Akas, despite of language differences, intermarry amongst each other. This researcher came into many such cases where Aka husband had a Miji wife, and vice versa. Similarly, he met couples having Aka husband and Miri-Aka wife and vice versa as well as Miji husband and Miri-Aka wife and vice versa. Also there are cases where an Aka or Miri-Aka husband had number of wives which also included wives from the other two clans. Case of Dumbing family is given in diagramme 4.1. This is one such case where his son Sony Bachi, a Digio-Pichang (Miri-Aka) had six wives out of which Daimo is Miji of Sechong village, Baschimi and Kaschimi, are Akas; Baschimi being from Djingania and Kaschimi from Buragaon; the other three Mijma, from Taniya and Gibin and Maipong from Kichang are Miri-Akas. Similarly, Dumbing's other son Sanjow has been married to two Miji girls Renre and Kilim of Sachung and Sikang respectively, and daughters Kampi and Nanti have been married to two Akas of Buragaon, Sinam Dususow and Bacho and daughter Chonam is married to Miji of Lada named Pojong. Further, the intermarriages have percolated upto great grand sons of Dumbing as is shown in the diagrammatic layout.

GENEALOGY OF DUMBING - DIGIO-MIRI AKA OF PICHANG

DUMBING DIGIO



Similar cases are available among Akas also. Two such cases which this researcher came across were of Goverdhan of Paliji who has six wives (seventh divorced) out of which two each were Akas, Mijis and Miri-Akas respectively and of Fetcha who has five wives out of which two were Mijis, one Miri-Aka and two Akas. His two daughters and one son were married to Miri-Akas and others to Mijis and Akas. This researcher attended the marriage of one of his son who was married to Miri-Aka girl of Yangse.

If the characteristics of Samples given in Table 2.1 are seen, we find that out of the total 73 recorded samples, thirty samples pertained to intermarriages (13 Akas, 5 Miri-Akas and 11 Mijis while one of a Nissi with a Miri-Aka girl). Out of these, 3 Miri-Akas are married to Akas, 10 Mijis to Akas, 1 Miri-Aka to Miji and one Miri-Aka to a Nissi. Akas of Dzingania and Kayan Valley frequently intermarry within the village with the Mijis and with the Akas, Miri-Akas and Mijis of other adjoining villages. The marriage between Akas, Miri-Akas and Mijis is freely allowed but outside these three, the marriage is not easily acceptable and in the past it was a punishable offence. There were cases where the people who married among other tribes (other than the three) were outcasted and even treated as slaves by the community. However, now two cases of educated Miri-Aka girls getting married to Nissis and one Miji girl marrying with a Bihari were observed by the

researcher and all three families are happily living. These are, however, very recent cases which show that due to the impact of the modern civilisation their old restrictions and taboos are crumbling and they are opening up. However, the Akas have been seen to be more rigid in holding on to the old system and have not allowed to relax any restrictions so far.

As this researcher observed, maximum intermarriages between Akas and Miri-Akas are between the clans of Dzingania, Kayan Valley, 6-Mile, Paliji, Shichong, and Buragaon (All Aka) with Digio clan of Pichang, Kichang and Yangse. Amongst Akas, Sidisows had maximum marriages with these Digios. (Also see the genealogical table given earlier).

Amongst Akas and Mijis, maximum intermarriages are again within the villages of Dzingania, Kayan Valley and 6-Mile as well with Akas of Thirizino. Sachong, Yayung, Buragaon, Kararamo and Karangania, while maximum Mijis who intermarried amongst Akas are from Lower Challang, Upper Challang, Lada, Lower Dzong, Upper Dzong, Nafra and Janaching. The researcher was told that there were around 30 Miji girls married to Aka boys in Kayan Valley and about 20 Aka girls to Miji boys from the same village; which is quite a number, vis-a-vis the total population of these villages.

There is no class system known to Akas or Miri-Akas

while Mijis are stated to have two classes Nyubbu and Nyullu, who do not intermarry. However, this fact could not be confirmed on ground and no one from Mijis accepted that any class system existed amongst them now. Marriages between all the clans were allowed. Among Miri-Akas, marriages within the same clan have also been allowed as they were of one clan only and the relationship with Akas have been strained since last twenty years due to a feud between the villages of Dzingania and Pichang as stated earlier. The first marriage; which took place among the two ethnoses was, after a gap of 20 years; between the nephew of the deceased and the daughter of a near relative of the murderer; at the instance of Panku Sidisow, the elder son of the deceased; this researcher being witness to this. Though, the formal relations have not been established between the Akas and Miri-Akas yet, with this beginning, and with the enthusiasm being shown by Panku Sidisow, they plan a big meeting of the two tribes and to establish full fledged relations after a community function. The period gap of 20 years had however stopped all the intermarriages between Akas and Miri-Akas, and has also drawn them away from each other. The researcher felt that, withdrawing of the Miri-Akas from Akas and their assertion of identities as Pichangs is a result of this strained relation which has been further affected due to bifurcation of Kameng into three districts. With this bifurcation, Akas have remained in West Kameng while Miri-Akas have become

a part of East Kameng; the district mainly dominated by Nissis. The recent marriages of Miri-Akas and Nissis, may be an indication of the desire of Miri-Akas to establish a relationship with the Nissis, which ultimately may result in reducing the domination of Akas over them. During the above stated marriage between the Akas and Miri-Akas, not only the Mugau (Pujari) was a Nissi, but quite a few Nissis were seen to be present at the consultation stage. This is an indication of a new alignment which may, with time, take a new shape. Probably visualising this, Panku Sidisow an Aka and his maternal uncle a Pichang who is now the Gaon Bura of Yangse, a prominent Miri-Aka, negotiations have started to remove all the differences between these two ethnoses.

Having gone through the marriage system of the three ethnoses, the following points emerge :

- (a) All three ethnoses frequently intermarry. No restrictions are laid on inter-group-marriages.
- (b) The marriage system and the marriage rites, rituals and ceremonies are generally the same amongst all the three ethnoses.
- (c) Akas and Mijis follow clan exogamy, while Miri-Akas have allowed marriages within the clan because, they have only one clan i.e., Digio and had strained relations with Akas since last twenty years.

- (d) All three ethnoses prefer tribe endogamy but as they allow intermarriages between each other, this rule of endogamy is extended to the group of the three ethnoses and can be stated as tribe-group endogamy. Marriage outside this tribe group draws heavy punishment. Lately, however, Miri-Akas did not punish the breach of the rule as the girls who married Bangnis were finally let off without punishment and the marriages were ultimately accepted.
- (e) Intermarriages amongst these tribes are more common, where they have close residence and less frequent where distances are more.
- (f) All three ethnoses allow polygyny, though the rule of monogamy is generally followed.
- (g) All three ethnoses allow and prefer levirate and sororate marriages.
- (h) Arranged marriages are the most preferred; while love marriage and marriage by capture and elopement are also permitted.
- (i) Bride-price is the key deciding factor in all types of marriages.
- (j) The intermarriage system is a unifying factor

rather than distinguishing one, as it helps in reducing cultural as well as social differences.

We have seen during the foregoing discussions that marriage forms families; and families form kinship system. Kinship systems depend on the social recognition and cultural implementation of relationships derived from descent and marriage. They normally involve a set of kinship terms and an associated set of behavioural patterns and attitudes which together make a kinship, a systematic whole. All societies distinguish various categories of relationships by descent or consanguinity and most societies distinguish relationships by marriage or affinity as well.

Kinship terminology consists of terms which designate, in the first instance, social relationships or persons occupying such social relationships, established by marriage and parenthood, and which are subsequently extended to relationships formed in other ways.

1. Parenthood establishes the relationship which comprises the nuclear family, namely father, mother, son, daughter, brother and sister.
2. Extension of the same kind of relationships outward from the nuclear family will give such terms as grand parent, uncle, aunt, nephew, niece and grand child.

3. Marriage establishes, primarily a relationship between two persons husband and wife, and secondarily with an indefinite number of affinal relatives or 'in-laws'.
4. Kinship terms are mutually co-relative or reciprocal; the use of one term always implies the use of another or of the same term. Thus father implies son or daughter, and vice-versa; brother requires the correlative sister or the reciprocal brother. The rules for these mutual correlations as laid down by Fred Eggan are given out in Chapter I and their application to Akas, Mijis and Miri-Akas will be discussed later.

Distinction of the terminology may be based on classification i.e., classificatory or descriptive terms or may be based on generation system, bifurcate-merging, bifurcate-collateral or lined pattern of society.

We must first know what all kinship terminology is used by these three ethnoses before we analyse as to what similarities and differences do they have in terminology; and what differentiating and identity determining patterns are formed.

The kinship terms as collected from amongst these ethnoses in the field are put in a comparative form in Volume II and appendix 'N'. The classificatory terms of

these three tribes are given in table 4.1 to 4.3. The common kinship terms are given in table 4.4 while kinship terms having similarities are given at table 4.5.

Based on these terms, structural diagrammes were prepared to show the relationships of the various terms. These structures based on ego-being; a husband or wife are given as per the following sequence :

<u>Diagramme</u>	<u>Structure</u>	<u>Ego</u>
1.	Aka kinship terms	Husband
2.	-do-	Wife
3.	Miri-Aka Kinship terms	Husband
4.	-do-	Wife
5.	Miji Kinship terms	Husband
6.	-do-	Wife

Table 4.1

Aka Kinship Classificatory Terms

a:i:e:/aye/	Brother (Common), Elder-brother,
ya/a:/a:i:a:/	Eldest-brother, Father's-elder-sister's-
a:i:e	husband, Father's-younger-sister's-
	husband, Father's-elder-brother,
	Husband's-eldest-brother
a:si:/a:si:	Father's-brother (common), Father's-
	elder-brother.
a:the:/a:thu:	Father's-sister (common), Father's-
	elder-sister, Father's-younger-sister.
noyu:/nesam/sam	Daughter, Brother's-daughter
kama	Eldest-sister's-husband
amma:	Eldest-sister, Elder-sister,
	Father's-younger-sister, Husband's-
	elder-sister, husband's-eldest-
	brother's-wife, Husband's-eldest-sister.
a:phi:/a:pei	Father's-younger-brother's-wife.
a:khi:	Father's-elder-sister's-husband,
	Father's-younger-sister's-husband.
	Father's-father's-father
nollu:	Husband's-brother (common)
nollum	Husband's-sister (common)
3a:ffu:	Husband's-brother's-wife (common),
	Husband's-youngest-brother's-wife.

contd ...

Table 4.1 contd ...

a:lou	Father's-younger-brother, Father's youngest-sister
au:illie/a:i	Husband's-elder-brother, Husband's- sister's-husband
bufu:	Husband's-father's-father, Husband's- father, Father's-father's-father, Husband's-father, Mother's-father's- father
nishi/nyisi	Husband's-sister (common)
bufa:/bupha	Husband's-father's-father, Husband's- father, Mother's-father's-father, Mother's-mother's-father, Wife's- elder-brother, Wife's-father
nishi/nyisi	Husband's-father's-mother, Husband's- sister (common), wife's-elder-brother's- wife, Wife's-father's-mother, Wife's-mother
uss/a:se	Mother's-elder-brother, Mother's- elder-sister, Mother's-younger-brother, Mother's-younger-sister, Brother's- elder-brother's wife

contd ...

Table 4.1 contd ...

a:ffi/a:ffe:	X	Mother's-elder-brother's-wife, Wife's-
	X	mother.
	X	
a:nei/	X	Mother's-elder-sister, Mother's-
	X	younger-brother's-wife
	X	
a:ni:se:/	X	Mother's-younger-sister's wife, Elder-
	X	brother's-wife
	X	
anye/a:nyi	X	Brother's wife, Husband's-elder
		brother's-wife, mother's
a:khe		Son (Common)
a:khu:		Younger-brother (common)
num		Wife's-eldest-sister, Younger-sister.

Table 4.2

Miri-Aka Kinship Classificatory terms

Kama		Father's-elder-sister's-husband, Father's-younger-sister's Husband, Daughter's-husband's-father, Husband's- eldest-sister's-husband, Husband's- younger-sister's-husband, Husband's- younger-sister's-husband, Husband's- sister's-husband, Younger-sister's- husband.
a:ba/abou	X	Father's-father's-father, Mother's- father's-father Elder-brother, Eldest-brother, Younger-sister's-husband
a:	X	
amma:/	X	
ama		Father's-brother (common), Father's- elder-brother, Father's-eldest-brother, Father's mother, father's-elder- sister's-husband, Brother
ba:e:		Father's-eldest-brother, Father's- father's-mother
bia		Wife's-elder-brother's-wife, Wife's- elder-brother
dia		Wife's-brother, Wife's-elder-sister, Wife's-eldest-sister
uffo:		Father's-younger-sister, Father's- eldest-sister, Elder-sister, Father's-

contd ...

Table 4.2 contd ...

	youngest-sister, Husband's-elder-sister, Husband's-eldest-sister
Sachin	Daughter's-daughter, Daughter's-son
a:cho	Father's-elder-brother's-wife
Pa:n	Elder-brother's-wife, Father's-elder- brother's-wife.
na:	Sister (Common), son
ne:	Son
a:i:e	Father's-elder-sister
a:ma:/anyi:	Father's-father's-father, Father's- mother, mother, wife.
a:ko:	Husband's-brother's-wife (common), Husband's-elder brother's wife; Husband's-younger-brother's-wife, Husband's-youngest brother's-wife
ra:i:n	Husband's-eldest-brother's-wife, Husband's-mother, Son's-wife's-mother.
yu:/u:	Husband's-brother (common). Husband's- elder-brother, Husband's-younger- brother, Wife's-elder-brother.
blei	Husband's-father, Son's-wife's-father.
cha:mi	Husband's-younger-sister, Husband's- youngest-sister, Husband's-sister's husband- Husband's-sister (common), Wife's-younger-brother

contd ...

Table 4.2 contd ...

uise/usi/o:se	Mother's-elder-brother, Mother's- younger-brother's-wife. Mother's- younger-brother's-wife.
alou	Mother's-father
a:ne:/awi	Mother's-younger-sister.

Table 4.3

Miji Kinship Classificatory terms

Miji

amma:	Elder-sister, Eldest-sister, Father's- younger-sister, Father's-elder-sister.
a:mi	Father's-younger-sister, Elder- sister
amo/angoh	Husband's-elder-brother's-wife
neh	Husband's-elder-sister, sister (Common), Younger-brother's-son
nu:h	Brother, brother's-son, Husband's- elder-brother, Husband's-younger- brother.
amu/amo	Elder-son.
dia	Wife's-eldest-brother, Wife's-elder- brother
aba:/abu	Father
a:kuo/a:khiw/	Mother's-sister's-husband,
a:ku	Mother's-younger-brother
a:chi:/acho:	Father's-elder-brother's-wife, Father's-elder-sister. Mother's- elder-brother's-wife, Mother's-elder- sister, Mother's-younger-brother's- wife, Mother's-younger-sister
a:kug:	Father's-elder-sister's husband, Father's-younger-sister's-husband,

contd ...

Table 4.3 contd ...

	Father's-elder-sister's husband, Husband's-elder-sister's husband's, Husband's-sister's husband
awa:ng	Father's-elder-sister's-husband, Father's-brother, Father's-elder- brother, Father's-younger-brother, Father's-youngest-brother
a:lu:/a:lou:/ aluw/a-lugh aluo	Father's-father, Husband's-father, Husband's-father's-father, Wife's- father, wife's-father's-father
a:fu:	Father's-younger-brother, Father's- youngest-brother
a-lugh-mi-khanh	Mother's-mother's-father, Mother's- father's-father.
agro/akro	Husband's-eldest-brother, Husband's- elder-brother, Father's-youngest- brother.
plu:/polu	Husband's-eldest-brother, Husband's- elder-brother, Wife's-brother, Husband's-younger-brother, Wife's- younger-brother, Husband's-youngest- brother, Wife's-elder-brother, Wife's- eldest-brother.
se-ae:	Husband's-eldest-sister, Husband's- elder-sister, Husband's-sister (common), Husband's-youngest-sister, Wife's- contd ...

Table 4.3 contd ...

	eldest-sister, Wife's-younger-sister, Wife's-youngest-sister.
a:i;a:-mukho	Husband's-eldest-brother's-wife, Elder-brother's-wife.
hleh	Wife's-elder-sister, Wife's-eldest- brother's-wife
amo/amoh	Husband's-elder-sister
zuzhi	Younger-brother's-wife
bluh/blue/bleh	Wife's-elder-brother, Wife's-elder- brother's-wife
azhui:	Husband's-mother, Mother's-mother, Mother's-elder-sister, Mother's- elder-brother's-wife.
azhi	Husband's-father's-mother, man-calling- wife, Wife's-father's-mother, Wife's- mother.
ani:am	Husband's-youngest-brother's-wife, Husband's-younger-brother's-wife.
vomagh	Husband's-younger-sister's-husband, Wife's-elder-sister's-husband, Younger- sister's-husband.

Table 4.4

Kinship terms common amongst all three ethnoses

Aka & Miri Aka & Miji : Nil

Aka & Miri-Aka

kama	Eldest-sister's-husband, Younger-sister's-husband
ani	mother
a:ffe:affe:	Mother's elder-brother's-wife
uss, usse, X	Mother's-elder-brother, Mother's-
X	
a:so, a:so X	younger-brother
annei	Mother's younger sister

Aka & Miji

amma:	Elder-sister, Eldest-sister, Father's-younger-sister
a:mu/a:me	Sister (common)

Miji & Miri-Aka

awa:ng	Father's-younger-brother
dia	Wife's-brother, Wife's-eldest-sister.
ra:	Younger-brother

Table 4.5

Kinship terms having similarities

Aka, Miri-Aka & Miji :

ainu (A) , anyum (MA) ,

aiam (M) Elder-brother's-wife

au: , awo: , ao: (A) Father

a:bo, aba, b (MA) aba,

abu bu: , abho,

a:bo: (M)

a:phi (A) a:cho (MA) Father's-elder brother's-wife

a:chi: (M)

anyi (A) ani (A) ani (MA) Mother

anye (MA) , a:nuih (M) ,

any (M) a:ny-a:i: n (M)

Aka & Miri-Aka

a:i:n-mukhram (A) Father's-mother

aii:e: mitung (MA) Mother's-mother

anye: (A) anye (MA) , Mother

a:me, ; a:ne:=(A)

Aka & Miji

a:i:e (A) a:bo: (M) Brother

aiieu-ngo: (A) a-ngeh Elder-brother's-wife

(M)

amma: (A) ammi: (M) Elder-sister

contd ...

Table 4.5 contd ...

a:phe: (A) a:chi (M)	Father's-younger-brother's-wife
anyi: (A) any (M),	Mother
a:i:n () A	
a:nuih (M)	
angin (A) aniam/	Younger-brother's-wife
anyim/aiam (M)	

Miji & Miri-Aka

a:cho (MA) a:chi: (M)	Father's-elder-brother's-wife
a:su (MA) a:ss (M)	Mother's-elder-brother's-wife

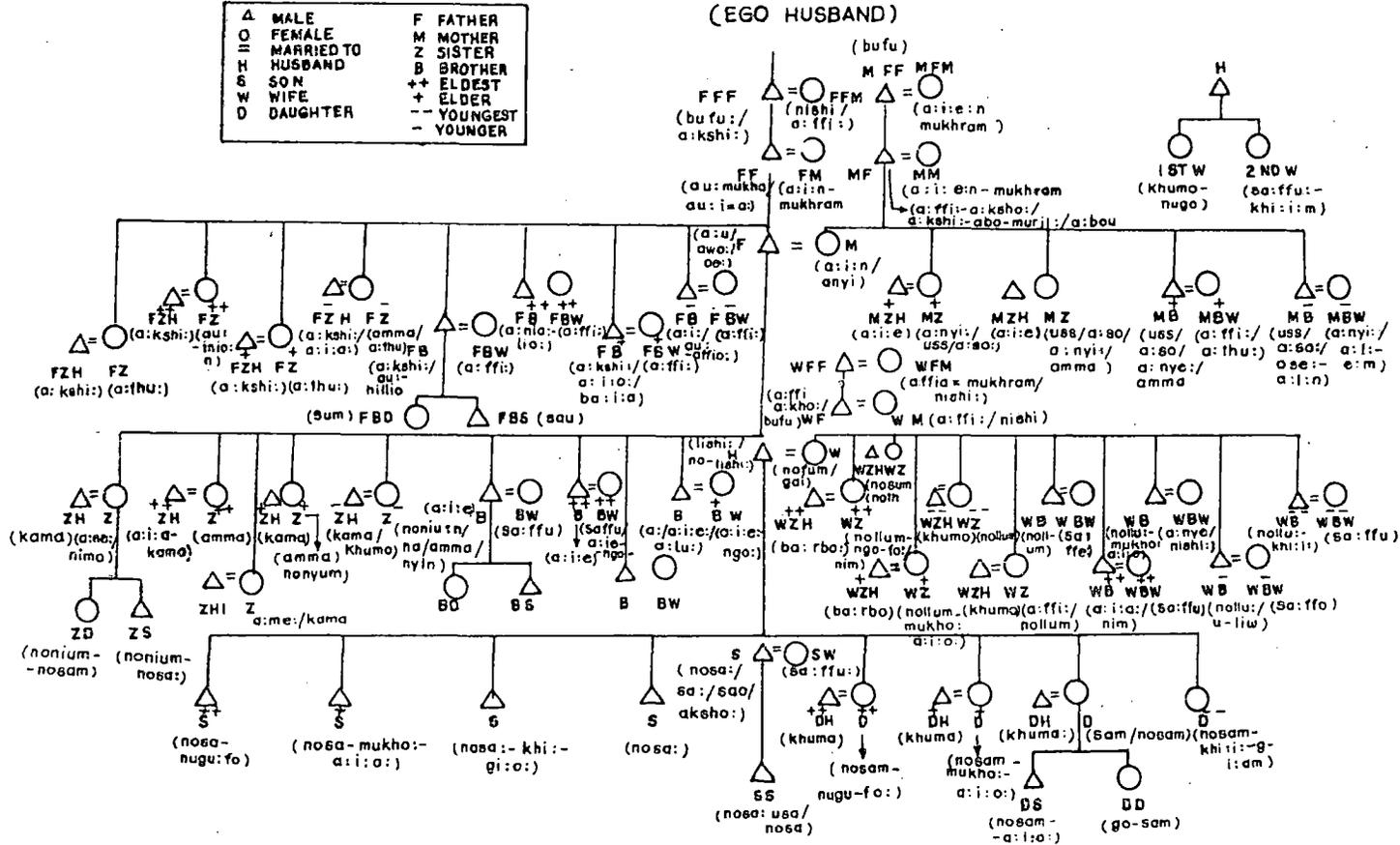
A = Aka MA = Miri-Aka M = Miji

AKA KINSHIP STRUCTURE - I

Fig-1.

LEGEND

△	MALE	F	FATHER
○	FEMALE	M	MOTHER
=	MARRIED TO	Z	SISTER
H	HUSBAND	B	BROTHER
S	SON	+	ELDEST
W	WIFE	+	ELDER
D	DAUGHTER	--	YOUNGEST
		-	YOUNGER



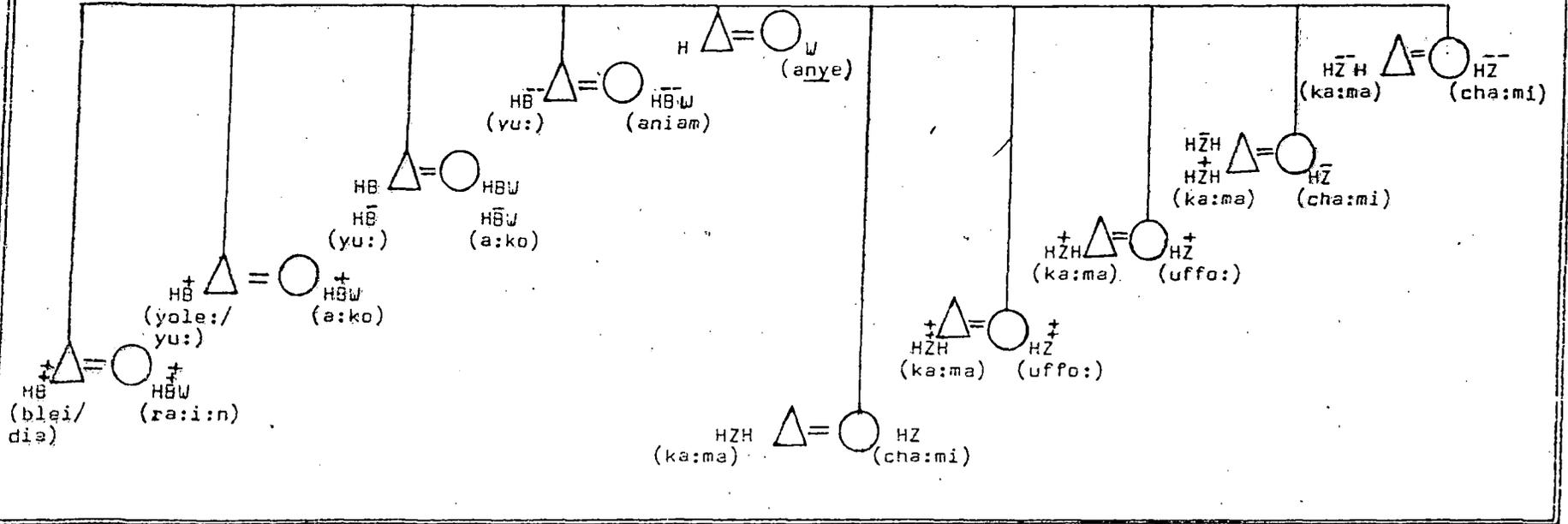
MIRI AKA KINSHIP STRUCTURE - 2

Fig:4

EGO = WIFE

HFF (blei) $\Delta = \bigcirc$ (HFM (blei-murji:))

HF (blei) $\Delta = \bigcirc$ HM (ra:en)



MJI KINSHIP STRUCTURE-- 2

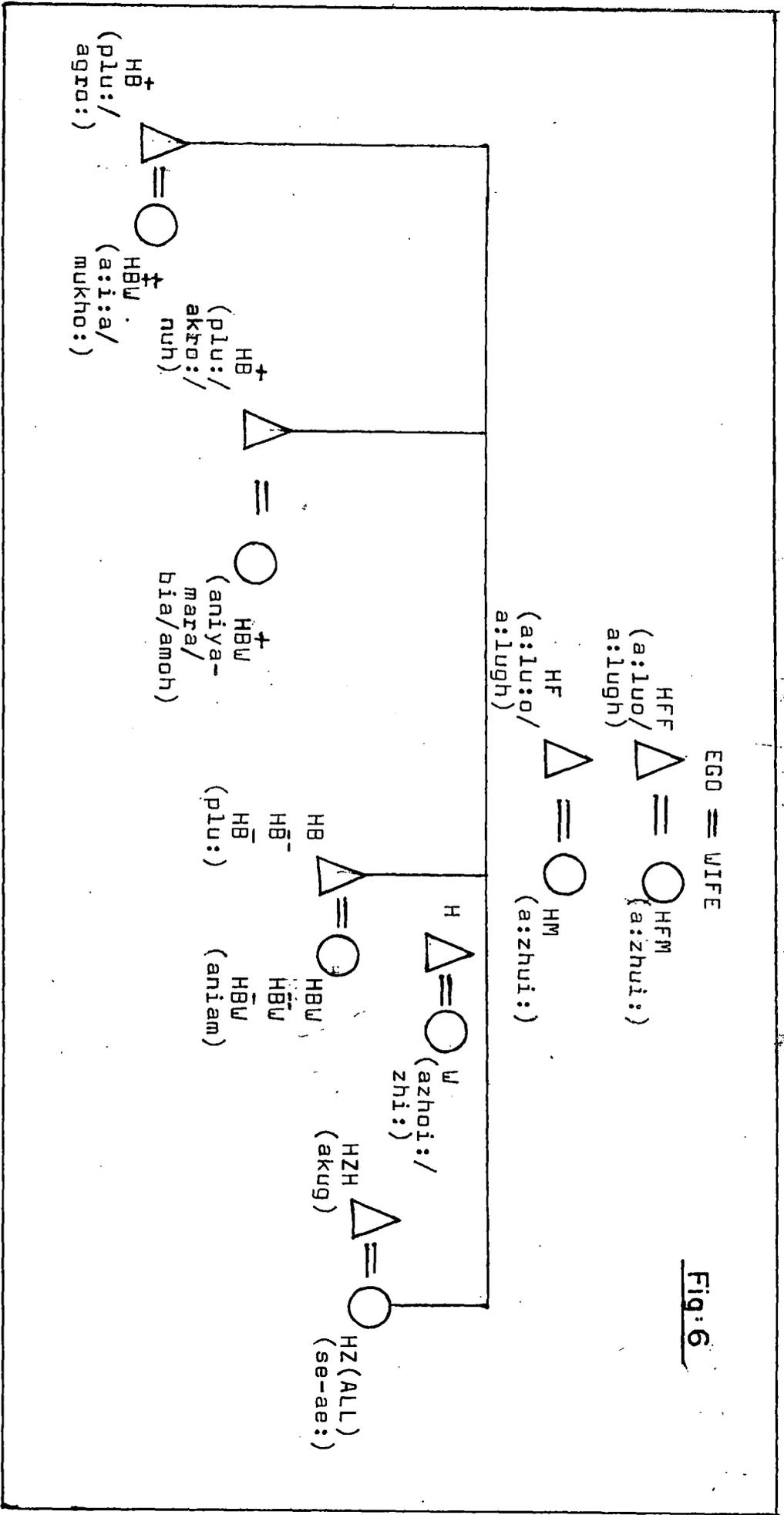


Fig:6

If we analyse the 5 tables and 6 structural diagrammes given out just before, we can infer the following from the various terms :-

A. Aka Kinship Terms :

1. Prefix a: is used to depict higher in age i.e.
a:u:/a:o:/awo: = father
a: kshi: All elder FZH, FFF, FeB
a:ffi: elder FBW, MBW
a:thu/amma: All elder FZ, Z
a:i:e: All elder brothers and MZH
a:ksho/a:so: All elder relations from mother's/wife's
-mother's-sister.
2. Suffix 'm' is frequently used for females i.e.,
nosam, gosam, bosam, nim, mukhram, nollum. Also
compare male words: nosa, nosam, gosa, gosam, bosa,
bosam, mukhro, mukhram, noyu:n, nonium, nollu, mollum.
3. Prefix no/na: is used for equals or younger in
age: e.g., no-lishi, no-fum, no-niu:n, nonium, no-llu,
nollu, no-sa, no-sam no-yu, no-yum .
4. Prefix bu: is generally used for second higher
generation i.e. bu-fu: (FFF, MFF).
5. Suffix fu: fo: or fi: is used for female affines:
i.e., sa:fu: (all BW, all WBW and all SW) .
6. Suffix-sa is used for equal and lower age male
-sanguines i.e., no-sa, bo-sa, go-sa .

10. Classificatory terms indicate that there are numerous common terms for relations and also for both the sexes. Sometimes even the age and generation level is also mixed in these classificatory terminology.

C. Miji Kinship terms :

1. Prefix a: as in Aka and Miri-Aka is generally used for elders i.e., a:lou, a:zai, a:ba/a:bu, a:mma, a:wang, a:chi, a:ss, a:ku; etc.
2. Husband calls all Wife's Brothers as polu/plu while wife calls Husband's brothers by the same term.
3. Husband calls 'se:ae' for wife's all elder sisters and wife's mother while wife calls husband's all sisters by the same term.
4. 'a:cho' is used for MBW. and 'a:chi' is used for FZ, as well as FBW.
5. 'a:ko' is used for MB as well as MZH and awa:ng or akug is used for FZH.
6. 'azui' is used for WM, FM, WFM, FFM, MM.
7. 'alou/alugh' is used for FF and FFF.
8. 'abo:' is used for elder brother as well as father.
9. 'amma' is used for all sisters.
10. 'vomage' is used for wife's sister's husbands.

D. Common Points :

1. All the tribes have a few common kinship terms as 'amma', 'a:chi', 'alou' etc.
2. All the three tribes have classificatory as well as descriptive systems of kinship terminology though classificatory terms are maximum.
3. The terminology is more distinct for relationships of first order but are getting merged and indistinct for second and higher terms.

If we analyse these terms based on Kroeber's 8 point differentiation, we find the following results :

Difference in generation level : All the three tribes maintain difference in generation level. For the purpose of understanding, the 'five steps of ladder' system is adopted here as follows :

1. Step middle : Ego and their generation - 3
2. Step higher 1 : Ego's father and their generation-2
3. Step higher 2 : Ego's father's father's generation-1
4. Step Lower 1 : Ego's son and his generation-4
5. Step Lower 2 : Ego's son's son and his generation-5

<u>Middle step</u>	<u>Aka</u>	<u>Miri-Aka</u>	<u>Miji</u>
1. Ego (husband)	no-lishi lishi: eh- lishi	re:n-chiu; rachi	ni-hae/nigai ni-gae ni-gha:i;

2. Wife	nofum/fum na-fun/gai ufum/ufom	a:ny:e/ue:	azhoi:/zhi: zhi
3. Brother (common)	a:i:e/ meu/nio:	a:ma:	a:bo:/nuh
4. Sister (common)	a:me:/nimo	na:	a:mu/meh
5. Brother's wife	nonium/na	ne:suin	ram/ra
6. Sister's husband	khumo/kama	amma:	goma:/vomagh
7. Wife's brother	nollu:	dia	polu:/plu:/dia
8. Wife's brother's wife	sa:ff/anye	bia	bleyh/bio/ cha:mi
9. Wife's sister	nollum		se:a:i:
10. Wife's sister's husband	ba:rbos/ khuma	kama	vomagh

Higher 1 :

1. Father	au:/awo:/ao: a:i:n/anyi: a-ni/a:ne:	a:bo:/b/aba a:i:e:/ame: ani/anye	aba:/abu/bu abho, a:nuih/ any/a: any-a:i:n
2. Father's brother	a:khi:/a:si:	amma:	awa:ng/a:i:a:
3. Father's sister	a:tho:/athu:	uffo:	a:chi:
4. Father's brother's wife	a:ffi:	pa:n	a:chi:
5. Father's sister's husband	a:khi:	a:me:/kama	a:kug/awa:ng

6. Wife's father	affia;kho: bufu:		a-lugh/alou alou-ken
7. Wife's mother	a:ffi:/nyisi		a:zhi:
8. Mother's brother	uss	uss/ose:	alou
9. Mother's sister	uss/anne:i	annei	a:cho
10. Mother's brother's wife	a:ffi:	a:ffi:	a:chi:/azhi:
11. Mother's sister's husband	a:i:e:		a:ku

Higher 2

1. Father's father	au:mukhro au:i:-a:	a:bo:-murji: abei/aba	a:lou/ahlu: azai/alow
2. Father's Mother	a:i:n- mukhram	a:i:e:-mitung a:nyi:	a:zzi:/azoi: aba:-kam
3. Mother's Father	a:ffi:-a: kho:akhia- bo-murji:abou	a:bo:-murji:	alou

Middle step

4. Mother's mother	a:i:e:n- mukhram	a:i:o: mutam	azai:/azhui
5. Wife's father's father	affia:mukhro		alou/alugh
6. Wife's father's mother	affia-mukhram nishi:		azhi:/azhi: kam

Higher 3:

1. Father's father's father	bufu:	a:ni	alung-mi-khaneh
2. Father's father's mother	nishi:/a:ffi:	amma:/ba:ie:	azhi:khaneh awa:ng
3. Mother's father's father	bufu:	abou	alugh-mi-khaneh
4. Mother's mother's father	bufu:	abou	alugh-mi- khaneh

Lower 1:

1. Son	nosa:/sau: sa:/akho	na:/ne: ne:unga	ra/re-gae/zivu: nia-zu:/zu:
2. Daughter	sam/a:ko nosam/khi,i:m a:i:a:/neg.- mimi-unga	rem/regi	zimai:/zeh/ zumraih
3. Son's wife	sa: ffu:		zuzu-ko
4. Daughter's husband	khumo:	rizi-r	
5. Brother's son	noyum/bosa noni-usa/bosow		nu:h/akhia
6. Sister's son	nonium-nosa	naye:n- ne-unga	
7. Sister's son	nonium-asam	naye:n-neg. -mimi	-
8. Brother's daughter	noyu/bosam cha:sm		neh

Lower 2

1. Daughter's son	khumau/nos'am	sachu	nia:sho:/tsugh
2. Daughter's daughter	giosum/gosam nosa-asam	sachiu	

- | | | | |
|----------------------|-------------------|---------|---------------|
| 3. Son's son | noso:usa
nosam | ka:wa | nia:sho/tsugh |
| 4. Son's
daughter | sa:ffu/gosam | sachong | - |

The analysis of the above brings out the following aspects to light :

- a) The distinction between the relationships increase with an increase of generation gap.
- b) Classificatory terms are applied to the higher as well as lower generations, while descriptive terms are more applicable to the ego's generation only among all the three ethnoses.
- c) Step higher than and lower than 2 have very few terms.
- d) All the three ethnoses use different terms, for most of the relationships showing that the similarities are very poor and differences are significant.

Difference in age levels : Another important distinction made by Kroeber is that of the age. The examples of the same among the three ethnoses are given below on three levels of ages i.e., 1. Same, 2. Higher and 3. Lower.

<u>Aka</u>	<u>Miri-Aka</u>	<u>Miji</u>
------------	-----------------	-------------

Same level

- 1. Same as middle step

Higher age level

- | | | | |
|----------------------|--------|------|-------|
| 2. Eldest
brother | a:i:e: | ama: | a:bo: |
|----------------------|--------|------|-------|

3. Eldert brother	ra/a:lu:/a: i:aa:/i	ama:golup- go:n	awa:ng/agro/ mukhro:
4. Eldest sister	ama:	ime:a:n-fo: n	amma:/amma: kam
5. Elder sister	amma:/nonyum	uffo:n/na:	amma:/ammi:
6. Elder brother's wife	Angin/aiue- ngo:ainu	pa:n/aniam anyum	aiam/a-ngeh
7. Eldest brother's wife	sa:ffu/nyibi	-	aiam-de/ai:a- mukhu
8. Wife's eldest brother	a:i:a/nim	-	polu:/plu:/di:a
9. Wife's elder brother	nollu-mukho- a:i:o/bufu:	u:/bia:	polu:/plu:/dia
10. Wife's elder sister	nollum-mukho- a:i:o:	-	se:a:i:/hleh
11. Wife's eldest sister	nollum-ngo- fo-nim..	di:a	se:/di:a
12. Wife's elder brother's wife	aniny/nishi	bia	bleygh/bio/blu
13. Father	au:/awo:/ao:	a:ba:/b/aba	aba:/abu/bu:/ abho
14. Father's father	au:mukho/ au:i:an:	a:bo-murji:/ abo	a:lou/alugh
15. Father's father's father	bu fu:/a: khi:	a:ni:	alugh-khenh
16. Mother	a:i:n/anyi a-ni/a:ne:	a:i:e:/ame: ani/anye	a:nuih/any/a: a:ny-a:i:n

17. Mother's father	a:ffi:/a:kho abo:	akhia:bo murji:	alou
18. Mother's father's father	bufu:	abou	a-lugh
19. Mother's mother	a:i:e:n- mukhram	a:i:o: mutam	a-lugh-mi- khaneh azai/azhui
20. Mother's mother's father	bufu:		a-lugh-mi- khaneh
21. Wife's father	affia:kho bufu:	-	a-lugh/alou alou-ken
22. Wife's father's father	affia:mukhriu	-	a-lugh/alou
23. Wife's mother	affi:/nyisi	-	azhi/a-zhei
24. Wife's mother's mother	affia:mukhram nishi:	-	azhi:/azhui- kam
25. Father's brother	a:si:/a:khi:	ama	awa:ng/a:i:a:
26. Father's elder brother	a:khi:/a:i:o	ama	a:i:a:/awa:ng
27. Father's elder sister	a:tho:/a:thu:	affo:/a:i:e:	a:chi:/amma:
28. Father's eldest brother	a:niya-liyo	ama:/ba:i:e:	awa:ng
29. Father's eldest sister	a:kshi:/au:	uffo:	a:chi:
30. Mother's elder brother	uss/a:so/nio affia-kho	o:se/usse/ usi ose-gulup- go:n	ahlu:

31. Mother's elder sister	annei/uss/a:so a:ffle:/a:se/ anei	-	azhie/a:ss/ achi:aggi:
32. Mother's elder brother's wife	a:ffi:/a: tho:a:ffe	a:se-ma-laji affe:/asu	a:ss/azhie/ achi:aggi:
33. Mother's sister's husband	a:i:e:	-	a:ku:

34. Lower Age Level :

34. Son	nosa:/sau:/... sao:akho:/sa:	na:ne:/ne- unge	ra/re-gae/ zizu/zu: nia-zu:
35. Younger brother	noniu:n/na memu:a:khu:	ne:su:n/ro: ra:	ram/ra:/miniw/ nuh
36. Younger sister	noniu:n/na/ amma/nimo/ nyim	nu:ne:naye:n	ramaei:
37. Youngest sister	noniu:n	ne:naye:n	rang-mai:
38. Younger brother's wife	sa:ffu:/angin a:i:ngo	ra:iny	anniam/anyim/ aiam/zuzhi
39. Younger sister's husband	khumo:	amma:/kama	go:ma/guma:/ vomagh
40. Daughter	sam/a:ko/ nosam khi:i:m/ a:i:a/ neg.-mimi-unga	rem/regi	zimai/zeh/ zumraih
41. Youngest daughter	nosa:m-khi:i: gi:am	unmim-nya- nge:	mbets/batshou
42. Youngest daughter	nosa:khi:i:g. io	ne:unga- gulup-go:n	mbats/batsho:
43. Husband's younger brother	nollu:khi: i:m-liw	yu:	plu:/nuh

Analysis :

1. Overall there are very poor similarities amongst the terms of all the three ethnoses at each age group.
2. Relationships with the same age level have different terms for each relationship amongst all the ethnoses.
3. Akas and Mijis use similar suffixes to depict 'elder' and 'eldest'; Akas use, 'mukho' for elder and 'ngo' for eldest; while amongst Mijis it is 'mukhro' for elder and 'ngeh' for eldest. Akas use these distinctive suffixes more than Mijis. Amongst Miri-Akas suffix 'gulup-go:n' is used for the 'elder' and 'a:n-fo:n' for the eldest. When the higher age is to be depicted in Miri-Akas suffix 'murji' is commonly used. Amongst Akas, the prefix 'au:' and amongst Mijis prefix 'a:', is generally used to indicate a person of higher age.
4. To depict lower age amongst Akas, the general suffix 'unga' is used, the prefix which has proliferated into Miri-Aka language also, but in Miri-Akas, it is not in frequent use. Amongst Mijis, the suffix 'zu' ; is generally used to indicate the person of lower age. The degrees of lower age i.e., younger as well as youngest amongst the Akas are shown by suffix 'khi:i;o/ khi:i;am' while in Miri-Akas it is 'naye:n' suffix. No such suffix is found among Mijis. Miri-Aka's use

of 'gulup-go:n' both for higher and lower has also been found but only in one case, which may be due to an error.

Difference between lineals and collaterals : This differentiation can be based on the differences between lineals and collaterals separately as follows :

<u>Lineals</u>	<u>Aka</u>	<u>Miri-Aka</u>	<u>Miji</u>
1. Father	au:/awo:ao:	a:bo/b/aba	aba:/abu/abho/ bu
2. Father's father	au:mukho/ au:i:a:i:	a:bo-murji: abo:	a:lou/alugh
3. Father's father's father	bufu:/a:khi:	a:ni:	alugh-khenh
4. Son	nosa:/sau:/sa: sao/akho	na:/ne:ne:unga	ra/regae/zivu: niazu/zu:
5. Son's son	no:so:usa nosa:	ka:wa	nia-sho:/tsugh

Collaterals

1. Father's brother	a:si:/a:khi:	ama	awa:ng/a:i:a:
2. Brother's son	noyom/bosa boso/noni:usa		nuh/akhia

Analysis :

1. The linear terms among all the three ethnoses are closer than to the collateral terms. Father is addressed nearly in the same way among all the ethnoses. Similarly

son is also called in generally the same way. The difference in other terms increases with the distance in relationships, which suggests that originally these ethnoses might have been the same.

Difference in sex of the person through whom the relationship is established : The distinctness and similarities exist in this field also as is shown in the examples below :

	<u>Aka</u>	<u>Miri-Aka</u>	<u>Miji</u>
1. Father's brother	a:si:/a:khi:/ au-hilliohago	ama	awa:ng/a:ia:
2. Mother's brother	uss/a:so/nio	usse/o:se/us	ahlu:/aku:o
3. Husband's brother	nollu:	yu:	plu:
4. Wife's brother	nollu:	di:a	polu:/plu/di:a
5. Father's father	a:u:mukho: a:u:i:/a:i:	a:bo:murji abo:	alou:/azai:
6. Mother's father	a:i:mukhram	a:i:mutam	a:zzi:
7. Husband's father	a:ffia-kho bufu:	blei	a:lou/a-lugh
8. Wife's father	affia-kho:	blei	a:lou/alugh
9. Father's sister	a:tho:/a: thu:	uffo:/a:i:e:	a:chi:/amma:
10. Mother's sister	annei:/uss/ a:so	a:ne:	azzi:/a:cho:/ a:se

11. Husband's sister	amma:	uffu:	se:ae:/neh
12. Wife's sister	nollum	bia	se:ai:/hleh
13. Son	nosa:/sau:/ sa:akho	na:/ne:/ne: unga	ra/ra-gae/zizu:/ nia-zu
14. Brother's son	noyum/bosa/ bosow noni-usa		nu:h/akhia
15. Sister's son	nonium-nosa:	naye:n-ne- unga	nu:h
16. Daughter	sam/a:ko/nosam a:i:a/khi:i:m	rem/regi	zimai:/zeh/ zumrah
17. Brother's daughter	noyu/bosam cha:sm		neh
18. Sister's daughter	nonium-asam	naye;n-neg. mimi	neh

Analysis :

In Akas and Miri-Akas, the terms used are different for the relationships which change with the change in sex, while amongst Mijis, this is not so; where the difference in sex of the person through whom the relationship is established generally does not make changes in the terminology.

Difference in sex of speaker : Man calls differently than the woman as given out below :

	<u>Aka</u>	<u>Miri-Aka</u>	<u>Miji</u>
<u>Husband calling :</u>			
Wife's brother	nollu:	di:a	polu/plu:/di:

Wife's sister	nollum	bia	se:a:i:/hleh
Wife's father	affia-kho' bufu:		a-lou/a-lugh a-lou-ken
Wife's mother	a:ffi:/nyisi	-	a-zhi:/a:-zhu
Wife's sister's husband	khump	-	vomagh
Wife's brother's wife	sa:fo:/sa:ffu:	-	zuzhi:

Wife-calling

Husband's brother	nollu:	yu:	plu:
Husband's sister	amma:	uffu:	se:ae:/neh
Husband's father	a:ffia-kho: bufu:	blei	a:lou/a-lugh
Husband's mother	a:ffi:	ra:e:n	azhui:
Husband's brother's wife	sa:ffu:	a:ko:	aniya-maca/ bia
Husband's sister's husband	barbo/ka:ma	ka:ma	akug

Analysis :

Sex of the speaker makes difference amongst all, though in the terms of Akas and Mijis the difference is less distinctive as is in Miri-Akas where the sex of the speaker generally makes clear distinctions i.e., Husband calls wife's

brother as di:a while wife calls husband's brother as yu: .
 However, the terms comparable, being lesser in Miri-Akas,
 this distinction cannot be stated with definiteness.

Difference in sex of relatives : Distinctions between
 male and female relationship is shown as below :

<u>Relationship</u>	<u>Aka</u>	<u>Miri-Aka</u>	<u>Miji</u>
Husband	no-lishi/ lishi eh- lishi	re:n-chiu rachi	nihae/ni-gae ni-ghai:
Wife	nofum/fum/gai na-fun/ufum	a:nye:/ui:	azhoi:/zhi:
Father	au:/awo:/ao:	abo:/b/aba	aba:/abu/bu/ abh
Mother	a:i:n/anyi a-ni/a:ne:	a:i:e:/ ame:ani/any	anuih/any/a: any-a:i:n
Brother	a:i:e/meu/ neu	a:ma:	a:bo:/nuh
Sister	a:me:/nimo	na:	a:mu/neh
Brother's wife	nonium/na	ne:su:n	ram/re
Sister's husband	khumo/kama	amma:	goma:/vomagh
Father's father	au:mukhro: au:i:a:	a:bo:murji: abei/aba	a:lou/alow azai/alou
Father's mother	a:i:n-mukhram	a:i:e:mutam a:nyi:	a:zzi:/azoi: aba:kam
Mother's father	a:ffi:akho:	a:bo:murji akhia bomurji	alou
Mother's mother	a:i:e:n- mukhram	a:i:o: mutam	azai:/azhu
Son	nosa:/sau:/sa: a:kho:	na:/ne: ne:unga	ra/regae/zivu nia-zu:/zu:

Daughter	sam/a:ko/ nosam khi:i:n/ a:i:a:	rempregi nea-mimi- unga	zimai/zeh zumraih
Son's wife	sa:fu:	zuzu-ko	

Analysis :

The sex amongst Akas-terminology is depicted by the use of 'm' for the female i.e., nosa, nosam, mukhro, mukhram etc., in number of cases while amongst Miri-Akas and Mijis, different terms are used for male and female relationships.

Difference between consanguinal and affinal relatives

	<u>Aka</u>	<u>Miri-Aka</u>	<u>Miji</u>
1. Mother	a:i:n/ anyi/a-ni	a:i:e/ame:/ ane/anye	a:nuih/any/a: any-a:i:n
2. Husband's mother		ra:e:m	a:zhui
3. Wife's mother	a:ffi:/ nyisi		a:zzi/azhui:
4. Brother	a:i:e;/meu nio	a:ma:	a:bo:/nuh
5. Husband's brother	nollu:	yu:	plu:/polu:
6. Wife's brother	nollu:	di:a	plu:/plu:

Also see the terms given while studying the differences in sex through the person whom the relationship is established, as well as differences in sex of relatives.

Analysis :

Akas and Miri-Akas have different terms for consanguinal and affinal relationships. However, among the Mijis no difference is generally maintained between these two types of relationships.

From the analysis of kinship terms and the analysis of differentiation based on Kroeber's 8 point differentiation scheme, the following pattern of these three ethnoses emerges :

1. Similarities

- (a) Distinctions in terms of each tribe are maximum at the ego level but these distinctions get reduced with each step high or low in the ladder.
- (b) Distinctions at same age level are more and decrease when higher or lower level age groups are to be compared.
- (c) Classificatory terms are applied to the higher as well as lower generations; while descriptive terms are more applicable to the ego's generation only among all the three ethnoses.
- (d) Steps higher and lower than 2 have very few terms.
- (e) All the three ethnoses use different terms for most of the relationships and similarities are very poor.

- (f) The rule of uniform sibling applies to all the three societies.
- (g) The lineal terms in all the three ethnoses are closer than the collateral terms.
- (h) The difference in the terms amongst the three ethnoses increases with the distances in relationships, which shows that originally or for the basic terms these ethnoses might have been the same initially.
- (i) All the three ethnoses have classificatory as well as descriptive systems of kinship; though classificatory terms are maximum in all three.
- (j) Prefix a: is generally used to depict elders in age among all the three ethnoses.
- (k) All the tribes have a few common kinship terms such as amma, a:chi, alou.
- (l) Different terms are used for depicting age levels amongst all the three ethnoses.
- (m) Different suffixes are used to show lower age and generation of males and females.
- (n) All the three ethnoses have similar terms which are used for affines through mother, wife or sister.

- (o) All the ethnoses have unilineal and patrilineal kinship relationships.

2. Differences

- (a) The terms among all the three ethnoses differ significantly with only a few terms being the same or similar in all the three or any of the two ethnoses.
- (b) Among Akas and Miri-Akas the terms used are different for the relationships which change with the change in sex while among Mijis the difference in sex of the person through whom the relationship is established does not make changes in the terminology.
- (c) Miri-Akas have more common terms for relatives of the same rank than the other two ethnoses.
- (d) Sex of the speaker does not make difference in the Aka or Miji kinship terms while in Miri-Akas the sex of the speaker makes clear distinctions.
- (e) The sex among Aka-terminology is generally depicted by use of 'm' for female while in Miri-Aka and Miji terminologies different terms are used for male and female relationships.

(f) Akas and Miri-Akas have different terms for those having consanguinal relationships and affinal relationships. However among the Mijis no difference is generally maintained between these two.

(g) Suffix no/na; is used amongst Akas for equals or younger and na/ne; in Miri-Akas for younger in age.

We have seen in chapter III that the geneologies as given in legends have the following trends.

(a) The Akas of Jamiri and Buragaon-complex state themselves to be of royal blood and that their ancestors came from plains and state Bhuslo-Ao as their ancestor. Other Akas are stated to be different from them.

(b) The Miji legends have two trends, one towards their having common ancestral relationship with Akas and Miri-Akas and other towards their being different. The second set of legends claims their ancestors to be Sajolang; the name altogether different from that of Akas.

From this, one can only infer that a group of present Akas living in Jamiri and Buragaon has some differences from

the Akas around Dzingania. This is apparent from the number of intermarriages and close social cultural relationships of the second group with Mijis and Miri-Akas; which is not so with the first group. The first group hence seems right when it claims to be different from the Mijis and Miri-Akas. The second group which has been found to be in line with the thinking process of Mijis and which has close social and marital relationships with them, most likely is a separated group of Akas, which might have got separated during their migrations and moved along with Mijis. Similarly, Miri-Akas who again are likely to be a splinter group of some other tribe, joined this group during migrations. The intermarriages and social relations then, might be the result of prolonged contact.

Alternatively, it may be that all the three ethnoses were originally from the same tribe. During migrations, one group got separated and moved through plains of Assam while the other went to the Hills. During this movement, the group which moved through plains got the better chances of development and gained superiority over the other group when they met again. The main differences which is in linguistic elements of culture and kinship seems to have been developed during long separation and isolation of the second group. We shall analyse this aspect in detail while studying the language attribute.