CHAPTER VI

THE TARAO KINSHIP

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THE TARAO KINSHIP

Introduction:

In the earlier chapter it has been discussed that the Taraos have some prescribed rules for entering into a marital tie. The rules governing marriage are universally recognised but there are differences. Marriage paves way to the formation of family which may again be comprising of a number of persons as a single unit who interact with each other in an ideal social situation. Thus, it is found that marriage gives birth to two sets of relatives in the broadest sense.

Anthropologists have been taking keen interest in the study of kinship for about a century. During this period it has been engendered more controversy and greater variety of theoretical formulation than have most aspects of human society. The earliest studies dealt with the terminology systems mostly in order to utilise the knowledge for the reconstruction of cultural history. These historical evidences were thought of as vestiges of earlier stages of society. The reaction against such conjectural history went on for quite sometimes. This resulted in a revamping attempt to examine kinship in terms of the behavioural system and with reference to the ongoing society. Some people took interest in the study of changes in kinship systems over time. It was
for L.H. Morgan (1871) to initiate the study of kinship. He put under two broad classes the terminological system known as descriptives and classificatory. This approach of Morgan was highly appreciated by W.H.R. Rivers (1914). A.L. Kroeber (1909) appeared to be a critic and the distinction between descriptive and classificatory was misleading to him. In lieu of this he put down his suggested analysis of some eight "psychological principles" based on the difference of generation, the distinction of lineal and collateral relationships, the difference of age within a generation, the sex of the relative, the sex of the speaker, the sex of the connective relative, the distinction of blood and affinal relationship, the condition of life of the connecting relatives. In fact, he wanted to give a psychological dimension of relationship which is primarily determined by language. R.H. Lowie, an American ethnologist accepted Rivers' idea that kinship terminology is related to social usages and at the same time he subscribed to Kroeber's hypothesis. He further connected the kinship system of plateau Shoshoneans and the Hopi Indians functionally with their clan system. Malinowski in his study -- "The family among the Australian Aborigines, (1913)" drew attention to the significance of "Sociological
fatherhood" in a matrilineal society. He was more interested with the function of kinship. The name of Radcliffe-Brown in the study of kinship system is very prominent who brought out the conception of kinship system both as terminology and pattern of social behaviour and to look into it as an integral part of the larger social structure. He classified the Australian social system into two main types, in each of which kinship, preferential marriage, clan groupings were systematically interrelated.

During the following decade a number of field studies were carried out by students of Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown in which kinship received more adequate treatment. Firth's studies of the Tikopia (1936), Warner's on the Murangin (1930), Evan-Pritchard's on the Nuer (1951), Fortes' on the Tallensi (1949), Tax's on the Fox (1937), Hallowell's on the Ojibwa (1937), Eggan's on the plains and Pueblo Indian group (1937b, 1962, 1950), and Spoebr's studies of the south-eastern Indian tribes (1941, 1942, 1944) are among those researches that have contributed to the development and modification of the structural-functional approach.
From the forties of the present century there has been a departure in the study of kinship involving both method and theory. These are on cross-cultural comparison that employed statistical and corelational techniques, quite a few on linguistic analyses taking help from formal analyses. Murdock (1949) made a cross-cultural study of family and kinship organisation in about 250 societies throughout the world and established that kinship terminology are primarily determined by descent and residence, with marriage rules of lesser importance. He found the linguistic reconstruction highly dependable. Anthropologists have been tempted to construct a scientific bridge between nature and culture and with this spirit Levi-Strauss wrote "The Elementary Structures of Kinship and Marriage" about thirtifive years ago and also "Structural Anthropology" a little later who presented some remarkably original views on the nature of social structure in general and kinship in particular. He observes "The modality of behaviour between relatives express to some extent the terminological classification, and they provide at the same time
a means of overcoming difficulties and contradiction resulting from this classification". It was he who propounded 'elementry structure' which means those structures characterised by preferential marriage with a particular category of kin, usually a cross-cousin. Incidentally, the Tarao is traditionally under this category and have matrilineal cross-cousin marriage system that was also found in Australia and South-Eastern Asia as well as in a few other regions. Levi-Strauss examines the resulting dual structures of wife-giving and wife-receiving groups reflected in many other aspects of society and culture.

Homans and Schneider, in Marriage, Authority, and Final causes (1955) put an alternate explanations based on Radcliffe-Brown's theory of sentiments. Needham appears as a critic in very strong words in his book "Structure and Sentiment (1962)" and reformulates the preferential by calling prescriptive marriage system. But in 1972 in his book "Rethinking Kinship and Marriage" he writes "There is no such thing as kinship and it follows that there can be no such thing as kinship theory". By this he meant the kinship was too poorly

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1. Levi-Strauss, Claude., 1963 : 10
defined theory of it and furthermore, that mere redefinition of it would not help. In his book "Rethinking Anthropology", E.R. Leach (1961) has laid emphasis on ethnographic facts which are free from all priory assumptions and mentioned "Stick to the facts of the care and exercise your imaginations; but don't get so personally involved in the situations that you cannot distinguish between the empirical facts and your private analytic concepts". There have been a limited number of studies about the comparison of kinship system as a whole and in relation to ecological and historical factors as well as to other aspects of social structures. Pioneers in this field were Radcliffe-Brown and Forde resulting the publication of African system of kinship and Marriage (1950). Some anthropologists and Linguists during fifties and sixties returned to the Kroeber's analysis of kinship terminology and developed a more sophisticated approach known as 'componential analysis'. In this regard the name of Goodenough (1956), Lounsbury (1964), Conkling (1964) may be mentioned. Friedrich, in 1964 stated that the Semantic Network Symbolise and is generated by the social network. Co-variation between both networks is significant because it can lead to yet more general inferences about native concepts (1964)".

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4. Friedrich, Paur. 1964: 132
According to some Marxists kinship analysis occupy a central place in a proper science of anthropology whereas some socio-biologists think that scientific kinship analysis will render anthropology outdated.

I fully subscribe to the views of David Schneider who holds that kinship relationships are embedded in their cultural contexts in such a way that they cannot usefully be analysed separately from that context. Therefore it leads me to think that there may be no distinction between kinship theory and culture as social theory. This may further be substantiated from "Concept of Person" edited by Akos Ostor, L. Fruzzetti, and S. Barnett (1982).

The present chapter is concerned with kinship system as wholes and in their ecological, bio-social and economic contexts. In other words, this study will furnish a body of data to explain the relation between culture, as a set of ideas, symbols, and social structure, as a system of social interaction. With a view to organise social relations people depend on kinship organisation that may be meaningfully brought out by cultural explorations. I have also made an attempt to look at the Tarao kinship terminology with the assumption that classifying people and groups through consanguinity, affinity, descent, filiation, etc. are basically the cultural responses.
Kin ties in biological context:

Kinship is the most important aspect in the study of the social structure of a society. This part of study is an attempt to highlight the principles of social organisation. We have found in every community that kinship acts as a chain for linking the internal mechanism of social structure. Kinship relations are also streamlined through cultural mechanism which has multidimensional social institutions. They are patterned through culturally defined sets of customs dictated by religion and inherent in language. The Tarao belongs to the Tibeto-Burman group of languages and hence there are so much of similarities in dialect and culture that kinship organisation at times appears indistinguishable from other neighbouring communities.

Although people may not have enough knowledge on biological relations they normatively viewed that the kinship relationships are permanent because they think it consists of real blood in the close kinsmen. So they are told that biological relationships can never be destroyed. Distance relationships may be spoiled but heredity is never spoiled. It is a most common observation that kinsmen share a common character. To explain this, we can say
that such a character is determined by biology and shared biology is the essence of kinship. That is why the Tarao seldom adopt a child of unknown parents since its heredity is unknown as well as its future character is also unknowledgeable. Some changes, after their conversion into Christianity, have taken place which may be one of the important factors of changing kinship structure. Traditionally Tribe-endogamy based on preferential marriage of mother's brother's daughter was practised at an excellent frequency. But today, they do not object when their sons marry a girl from outside their own tribe i.e. Tribe-exogamy. So the kinship system is taking a different turn. The kinship terminology is different for each group which might complicate the communication between the parties established relationship through inter-tribal marriage. Thus to solve this problem, they sometime communicate through Meitei language since it is the lingua franca of the state of Manipur. It is a common belief that the extension of biological relation could be made through such marriages. Usually people do not go for an adoption. A child is always looked after only by its blood relatives. Children have a legitimate claim over their parent's property.

5. See on Marriage Chapter.
It is the common idea that the biological basis of kinship is variously conceived that consist of shared semen, shared blood, and derivation from a common proximate womb. In this way on all three accounts, an ego is not only related to both father and mother, but he/she is also related equally to the relatives of both, because they (his parents) also received some characters from their parents (grandparents). So the other offspring which is in the same generation as that of ego, of ego's mother/father's brother's son/daughter, etc. Like that, kinship system extends towards through blood and genes received by the younger generation. Viewing the kinship field as comprising two descent groups (father and mother) which overlap in ego, then ego is produced by the same ancestral semen that produced his paternal relatives, on the one side, and his maternal relatives, on the other.

On the same view of the kinship field, ego is related to both his paternal and maternal kinsmen because he and they, respectively, are descended from the same ancestral wombs. As comprising a network rather than two overlapping descent groups, it is blood which is stressed as the shared biological stuff of kinship. Hence the Tarao customs give an emphasis on the integration through the feeling of blood brotherhood (Lukhang-eenshung).
The Tarao kinship ties based on biology is a cognatic system. As biological descent is reckoned through both parents, every member is equally related to the relatives of both. Since each group of kinsmen is biologically distinctive in which each has a distinctive set of the three attributes semen, womb, and blood which determine the biological basis of kinship, howsoever it may not be surprising that maternal and paternal kinsmen are culturally distinguished in the Tarao kinship system. Thus the entire kinship network is divided into two sets of relatives i.e. one set through father (pa-eenshung) and the other through mother (nu-eenshung) and this distinction is replicated throughout the entire kinship down to the smallest circle of the personal kindred. Although there are sentimental, and some jural differences between maternally and paternally related kinsmen, which I shall describe below. Both are theoretically in equal relationship with ego since they equally share with him the biological inputs of kinship.

Although maternally and paternally related kinsmen are equal kin, not all kinsmen are equally treated. A child is believed to be closer to his parents than his siblings, and closer to his parent's parents than to his parents' siblings. The kinship bond between genealogically
distant kinsmen is weaker than that between those who are genealogically close. Thus, the relationship to a parent is more stronger than that to a parent's sibling, the relationship to a parent's sibling is stronger rather than that to a parent's parent's sibling, and so on. Since the society is patrilineal, relationship between the father and the mother, it seems to have genealogically closer to father line. On a more general level, the entire kinship among the Taraos of Manipur may be divided into four genealogical categories as under: close relatives (lukhbang-eenshung), far relatives (shakei-eenshung), paternal relatives (pa-eenshung) and maternal relatives (nu-eenshung).

Towards the conception of distant relationship is of biologically determinant type of kinship which is reflected in and expressed by the kinship terminology, feeling of closed blood ties at some events, negligence of sharing/helping to another as distant kinship bond, etc. First, generational distance is terminologically well-marked throughout the kinship field. So, kinsmen in each generation are differentiated from those in their successively ascending and descending generations. Second, lineal kins are systematically differentiated from parents' siblings, own children from sibling's children,
and so on. It is true that collateral and lateral kin of ego's own generation, siblings and cousins, have the same terms, but they are differentiated by the womb (of different mother) location.

This 'womb' locutions raises an important question about the relationship between biology and kinship to which the answer is ambiguous. Although kinship distance is a function of biological distance, today there is some suggestion, in the mind of the present people of Tarao, that within the same degree of genealogical distance the kinship tie to female seems to be conceived more stronger than that of males. Because of the importance of the womb, the biological stuff of kinship is thought to be transmitted more through females than with males. Thus, throughout the entire kinship field (degrees of kinship) are reckoned by distance from a common womb which is to be assumed as a whole of human society. Here, it is really to be discussed that why the Tarao people encourage marriage within their own community, not with other tribes. Moreover, there was a custom on marrying with one's mother's brother's daughter. How long such a practice had been obliged by the people? The answers is in their positive value with No Br Da marriage; means -- they want to maintain their original blood. Although a Tarao mother is
not in a position of domination over males. So the child's tie to the mother is believed to be rather closer than to the father because it may be the reason that the child comes from her (mother) womb. Moreover, siblings are thought to have the closest kin ties (blood ties) with each other because they have descended from the same womb; is the feeling of the Tarao people. And first cousins are more distant than siblings as they have not descended from the same mother.

It is believed that genealogically lineal are more closer than collateral relatives. The way of tracing their kinship relations might go up to a common ancestor and then down again. To return to the main thesis, kinship distance is viewed as a function of biological, social, psychological distances. There is also emotional attachment between the neighbourhood; even taking into account of brothers and sisters although each belongs to different clan. The dimension of moral obligation or duty -- there is not only a moral dichotomy between the obligations of kinship and non-kinship, but also a moral inclination along which the obligations of close kinship are distinguished from those of distant kinship.
Consanguinity and Affinity:

It is needless to give the definition of consanguinity and affinity. Like Naga Tribes of Manipur, Tarao society is patrilineal and male ascendancy is complete with them. The essential feature of the Tarao Naga family is that of its members are descended from the eldest male resident in the house. The family structure is breached by the marriage of its family members. The sons set up their new huts with the assistance of their parents. The daughters are usually removed by the law of exogamy into another clan. The clan is composed of families, i.e. groups of agnatic kin, and is strictly exogamous. The clan members are believed to have descended from a common ancestor by whose name the clan name is known.

To talk about the types of kinship, in board sense we know there are affinal kinship and consanguineal kinship. Moreover, we can have a closer look into this quotation -- "we may distinguish between the two approaches to kinship labelled 'alliance theory' on the one hand; and 'descent theory' on the other. Alliance theory may be associated with the names of Levi-Strauss, Leach, Needham and Dumont; Descent theory with Radcliffe-Brown, Fortes, Goody, Gough, Gluckman and to some extent
Firth. The distinction between the two is summarised by Schneider (1968). To a degree, both alliance and descent theory are concerned with social structure. But for descent theory, social structure is considered one or another variant of the concept of (a) concrete relations or groupings, socially defined, (b) endure over time. To Radcliffe-Brown, social structure is the network of 'actual social relations'; For Evans-Pritchard in discussing the Nuer it is the enduring social groups, the concrete lineage.

For alliance theory, the problem is not what the concrete patterns of social relations actually are, although these are not neglected; it is not the actual organisation of any specific group like a lineage. It is, instead, that construct or model which is fabricated by the anthropologist and which is presumed to have, as its concrete expression, the norms for social relations and the rules governing the constitution of social groups and their inter-relations (D.M. Schneider, 1968 : 26).^6

In this connection it is necessary to point out that in determining kinship classification it is not the biological fact but also the importance of social recognition by the community. In past, among many primitive

societies the role of a father in the birth of a child is unknown -- in the Trobriand Islanders of Malanesia and in polyandrous Toda -- all children born to her of several brothers are regarded as the children of that particular brother who last socially performed the traditional form of ceremony. But in African primitives, in case a husband dies, a woman assumes the role of father to the expected child of the wife of the deceased. The above statement indicates that for tracing out the network of kinship systems among the primitive societies it was rather contradiction to what is consanguineal kin and affinal kin, etc. However, at present people have at least a little idea on blood tied relationship, distant relatives and friendship. Most of our analysis, based on day to day life of the people, gives more emphasis to what the member of the Tarao think today. Moreover, we shall try to make a comparative study by keeping past and present side by side.

It is not surprising that a conceptual dichotomy is drawn between consanguineal and affinal kin -- biologically close kinsmen are socially distinguished from biologically distant one which may also be treated to the closeness of or the descendants of the ancestral stocks. The criterion for membership is the degree of

relationship to a common ego rather than a common ancestor. Thus, the spouses of the following kintypes and their reciprocals grandparents' siblings, aunts and uncles, cousins, siblings, and children -- are accounted as kinsmen. To sum up, the differentiation between consanguineal and affinal kin (made through kinship behaviour, feeling of same blood origins, kinship terminology, etc.), I shall discuss in the proceeding part of this thesis. It is now clear that one's own parents are terminologically and biologically differentiated from spouse's parents, siblings, etc. On the other hand, affinal kins are frequently designated by the more or less same kinship term as secondary biological relatives through marriage where a spouse obtained some biological characters from her parents on the other. Among the Taraos, when the biological relation is distant, they use common terminology to one and all. The necessary kinship extension toward affinal extends to his wife's lineage mainly, at the clan in which his wife's lineage belonged is sometimes neglected, instead, they used common terms.

Although consanguineal kin are held to be closer than affinal kin, it must be noted that there is also social distance. To a degree, both alliance and descent theory are concerned with social structure. To Radcliffe-Brown, social structure is the network of actual social
relations. There are concrete patterns of social relations which may not be the actual organisation of any specific group like lineage. These are some of the factors, which may be responsible for the internal relationship between the consanguineal kinsmen with affinal kinsmen or within the same group. "The consanguinity organisation is the rule of descent which aligns (not allies) a group into one and that of alliance (affinal), the relationship between two or more such units of which marriage is an expression". The society like the Tarao of Manipur practising cross-cousin marriage (Mo Br Da) is to be noted for enduring such structural features. So far we are discussing about the distinction between consanguineal and affinal kinship on the basis of its closeness or distance. We shall focus its reality in their society in the kinship terminology and kinship behaviour including *behavioural* exchange in economic and other social aspects. To sum up consanguinity is more closer and is of primary relationship among the members of a group and affinal is of secondary. Nevertheless, the type of descent is a bilateral grouping, of course, this recognition of kinship may not have equal weight as it is patrilineal society which always puts more weight on patriline. There common ancestors are of males which may be theoretically *agnates* or patrilineal kin whereas there is no other belief of the descendants of a common
female ancestress. Thus they are related to each other directly through descent (lineal kin), collateral kin (uncles and cousins) and other affinal kin.

Consanguineal kin groups are related by descent, literally blood relatives. Here — "it must be remembered that besides descent rule, a number of other factors and principles shape the social behaviour of the members of a kin group. Each constituent group carries with it a specific context of social relations to which norms and patterns of customary behaviour are attached". It may not be an exaggerated statement that descent is an important scene of organising feeling among the tribes of Manipur. They are in the patrilineal rule of descent resulting so long in the formative succession of patrilineal descent groups or clans and then to lineages. As the study based on the Tarao of Manipur, such rule or norm of descent not only seems to give the entitlement to membership in groups but also granted guarantees in group solidarity and inter-group alliance. Here a Tarao identifies himself with the local kin group beginning from its lineage level which usually extends to clan level. In addition, the recognition of consanguineal kin organisation the Tarao society reveals two levels like clan and lineage.

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The patrilineal clan (Pa-Shakei) is traced out through unilineal descent. Even though they are not able to trace their descent to an actual ascending ancestor. As reported by informants the members of three clans cannot trace their actual genealogical relationship to one another. However, the descending populations of each three clans have a wide distribution in four villages. Today it is quite impossible for a clan to maintain its territorial integrity, mutual kinship, agnatic ties, unity at the clan level. Family is the smallest type of consanguineal kin group, the members of which believe in a common ancestral origin. Lineages within the same clan differ from one to another in structural organisation and functions i.e. in economic exchange, ritual performance, in political atmosphere etc. Each lineage actually share a common household name. It may not be wrong to say that the growing influence of christianity is in a way responsible for the weakening of clanship ties. But on the other hand christianity and clan membership are seldom compatible. Strong clanship ties could help in maintaining solidarity at the tribal level in the past. Even today it seems to perpetuate. Because the population of Tarao is still small, and inter-clan ties are regularly being maintained as it has been seen in marriage part. Although the present day Tarao christians, most of
the traditional norms and rule of behaviour remain un-
changed and only in case of inter-tribal marriage this 
tradition has partly withered away. Due to the increase 
of interaction with the larger society and a greater de-
gree of governmental control, the traditional clan organisa-
tion is becoming less and less important and may be out of 
question in the near future. Warfare, shifting cultivation, 
distribution of the flesh of the game etc. may be accounted 
for clan ties to bring about a greater degree of integra-
tion in the traditional social system. The present situation 
hints to -- -- disappearance of inter-tribal warfare, de-
clining the habit of daily hunting, reduction in the value 
of shifting cultivation and increasing economic ties with 
outside agencies, all these have contributed to the new 
trend and may lead to the weakening of clan ties. Extending 
kinship along clan line has a deeper structural implication. 
In a sense, a lineage is the smallest house of agnatic kin. 
The birth of a lineage ancestor cannot be traced well. But 
they simply believe so without having a clear-cut knowledge 
about the branches.

Kinship ties in normative context:

Although the people of Tarao are not familiar with 
the term biology the essence of the social relationships 
is created by both descent and alliance. Its most important
idiom in the Tarao conception of kinship is of descent value and affinal value. However, the line of paternal descent is more weighted rather than the maternal descent but at the same time may be recognised as a bilateral grouping. To kinship ties, whether they are liked or dislike/admired or disdained/whether their interests and values are shared or different, kinsmen are those whom one is obliged to help, to assist, to care for, to be concerned about. Before collecting data on kinship system I first brought a discussion with the villagers of both educated and non-educated to this subject matter. When they obtained the meaning of kinship organisation I started questioning, that is, kinship is that bond which ego has the right to call upon, and which alter has the duty to respond to, in any life cycle crisis. In times of economic difficulty the duty of kinsmen is to assist; for the performance of an illness rite or a funeral ceremony it is the duty of kinsmen to offer both physical help and financial assistance and to share its sorrow in the suffering; for the celebration of a birth, it is the duty of kinsmen to participate in the rite and share the joy. It may be reported that it is unthinkable for a kinsman not to offer, to share a fellow kinsman's sorrow, so it is unheard of for him not to invite a fellow kinsman to share
in his joy. It is the dimension of kinship — the obligations to share goods, services, to sexual discrimination against their near relatives, food habits between relatives/kins, dinning behaviour or attitudes of a daughter-in-law, obligation to food preparation on any occasions, methods for distributing flesh of hunted animals, distribution of meat among the kinsmen and relatives, kinship role in hunting/fishing/collecting and gathering vegetable or foodstuffs, intimacy of its inter-individual contacts, transmission of hereditary status, hierarchical relations, reciprocal gifts made on the occasions of birth, marriage, death, etc., expression of their appearance while giving/receiving gifts/help, mode of respect/regard, all expressing in their day-to-day life particularly personal bond within kinsmen or between others, and any kind of emotions with a circumscribed set of biologically related individuals, regardless of the personal sentiments which they might feel toward each other — that uniquely characterise the bond of kinship, and serves to distinguish it from all other social bonds, whether of friendship, religion, business, or politics, etc. must be observed.

The Tarao of Manipur emphasizes on moral obligation/duty as the essence of the social bond created by their kinship ties which seem to differentiate the Tarao from
the kinship system of complex society. Schneider (1968) has rightly pointed out about the Americans — "it is not duty but 'love' which is what American kinship in all about" 9.

The term 'duty' what we often use here is conceived to be the essential characteristic of Tarao kinship which may not only be inferred from behavioural observational contexts, but it is explicitly stated in the course of interviews by the villagers themselves. For instance, I asked the villagers to distinguish between kinship and friendship, of all social relationship. They report that friendship, in contrast to kinship, is freely chosen and freely broken, it is initiated by shared interests and sentiments. But kinship is the stronger tie than friendship. The moral dimension of the kin tie is no different at all. One may have more linkings for one's friend even more than a kinsman, but his duty to his kinsman supersedes all other relationships.

To differentiate this moral dimension of kinship from all other social relationships, all close kinsmen — those within the core kindred at least — are always and only addressed by their appropriate kin terms and have specific mode of both physical and moral respects to each 9. Schneider, M., 1968 : 40
other. It is not only kinsmen as a group thereby cognitively differentiated from non-kinsmen, but within the kinship group, the terminological system, which carefully differentiates kin types according to such distinctive features as relative age or generation, serves further to cognitively underscore the differential moral obligations found within the kinship field.

It is morally incumbent upon the young to render esteem and offer type of homage to their elders. This may account not only for kin, but also to non-kin and it plays not only to the members of different generations but also to age differences within the same generation. However, sometimes age grade differences may be broken to both moral obligation and terminology by marriage. The relationship through marriage is newly formed, here one renders his incumbent according to their custom, not by age, at certain terminology. For instance, A marries B. B (A's wife) has got two elder brothers who are younger to A (ego). However A must keep regard to them (his wife's elder brother's) as he marries their sister. So related with each other a Tarao calls Thur and Neng (Wi E Br. and Wi Y Br). The esteem and offer homage to age difference is rightfully applicable to consanguineal kinsmen. Thus, the Tarao address systems are systematically age-graded depending on whether the
person referred to is of a lower, the same, a higher
grade then the speaker.

It is to be reported that this same attention to
relative age is found operating in the kinship terminology
as well. Each generation is a distinctive feature of every
kin term. All kinsmen within the same, the first ascending
and the first descending generations are also differentia-
ted according to relative age. Thus father's elder brother
has a different term (papee) from father's younger brother
(patte), Elder sister (ute) has a different term from
younger sister (kenac), and so on. Moreover, if ego has
more than one elder sister it is differentiated by addre-
ssing 'eldest' (te), 'middle' (to) or 'youngest' (kham)
to the kinship term for multiple elder sisters. For the
multiple brothers they use mo(eldest), ko(next), be(3rd),
and tham(youngest) respectively (Table 41). The same te-
chnique is used at the first ascending and descending
generations. The matrilineal siblings of parents and
grand-parents are seldom differentiated from the patri-
lineal -- mostly similar -- the distinction seems to be
based on relative age remain in full force.

Kinship Organisation in Economic Context:

Raymond Firth (1951 : 122) says that the anthrop-
pologists attempt to explain economic aspect of human beha-
viour of the most general at the universal level but not
to the principles of economics. He finds it is necessary
to examine the picture of economic relationship in the
kind of frame in which the people themselves have set it.
According to him, economic organisation is a type of soc-

dial action. It involves the combination of various kinds
of human services with one another and with non-human
goods in such a way that they serve given ends. This he
means an arrangement of these elements in a system, by
limiting the kinds of relations that can potentially exist
between them. Economic organisation is set of social frame-
work of relations between persons and between groups, ex-
pressed in different conceptual ways and with different
emphases as values, symbols, rules of conduct, patterns
of behaviour. The relation of social anthropology to
economics can be shown best by example. The problem is
complicated by the asymmetrical development of the two
sciences. Whereas some institutional fields of relation-
ships given conventional recognition, above all kinship,
are almost wholly the subject matter of social anthropology,
the economic field is already pre-empted. What Raymond
Firth says is most social relations have an economic as-
pect. The exercise of choice in social situations involves
economy of resources in time and in energy. In this sense
a marriage has an economic aspect in all the decisions
and relations of daily life, even in sex congress, quite
apart from the exchanges of goods and services that may go on. "Relations between persons in virtue of their association in the production or exchange of these goods and services are 'economic relations'. He further opines anthropologists have frequently passed the point of such relations. Now the economic anthropology deals with committed social relations, the specific ways in which the principles are exemplified in a range of given social situations. It is an empirical study, and a comparative one. In another case, more important is that economic behaviour in many types of relation, as for instance, attitudes towards showing or lending, can be equated as between price and non-price systems. Such behaviour is a function of the social structure, with its emphasis on the village community and the kinship group.

It is important in economic anthropology to examine the economic role of a person in a particular situation against his social role, and against that of the system of groups of which he is a member. Economic anthropology deals primarily with the economic aspects of the social relations of persons. The factors in economic process are considered not as abstract entities, as units of labour or capital or purchasing power, but as social entities, in terms of the relations of persons controlling or using these units. The economic anthropologists has a dual role;
to analyse and classify the processes of combining goods and services in circumstances where money does not enter largely into the combination system; and to examine the way in the necessary relations involved in such handling of goods and services affect the system of social relations (Raymond Firth, 1951: 122).

Kinship plays a very little or no role in the complex network of political, economic and religious associations. But in many small scale societies like Tarao kinship, social importance is paramount. To anthropology, almost all social relationships must be based on kinship. John Beattie (1964) says -- "To say of a relationship that it is political, economic or juridical tells one at once which division of human affairs it is concerned with. But to say of a particular relationship that is between, say, a sister's son and his mother's brother, or between cross-cousins, indicates only a presumed biological relationship; in itself it does not tell one anything about its social or cultural content. In fact, when social anthropologists deal with kinship relations they are really dealing with relations of a very different kind, that is, with social ones. These may be relations of authority and subordination, of economic exchange, of domestic co-operation, of ritual or ceremonial, and they may be affectively charged in
various ways. Thus kinship relations are not a special kind of social relationships, like economic relations or legal relations. Rather the categories which kinship affords provide the context and the idiom for many different kinds of social relationships. It is the task of anthropologists to determine, in the culture he is studying, what these are. Moreover, anthropologists usually speak of unilineal descent groups or lineages which are groups of people who do not only think of themselves as descended in one line from a common ancestor, but also have claimed to know what the genealogical links between them are. Here they may act corporately, on a relatively permanent basis, in such social activities as herding, hunting, raiding and in agriculture. It means that they must all live in the same area unitedly. Evidently where there are clans all the members of a lineage must also be members of the same clan. But the bases of their group attachment is at family, lineage and clan level.

The Taraos live in an agricultural oriented cultural life. A number of festivals along with ritual rites is associated with agricultural activities. From these activities one may find how the kinship ties and its organisation play in their cultures to which the Tarao society make distinct from other tribes of Manipur. Such social

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relationship of culture oriented kinship organisation, particularly in the economic context will be observed from family level to lineage, to clans and the community as a whole at the village level.

A kinship system also includes the existence of definite social groups. It is the domestic family which Radcliffe-Brown terms as joint housekeeping. In Tarao like others kinship system as unilineal groups of kindred -- lineage groups, clans and at the village level play an important part. By a kinship system, the total network of social relations can be defined to which Radcliffe-Brown calls social structure. Here he says -- "the rights and duties of relatives to one another and the social usages that they observe in their social contacts, since it is by these that the relations are described, are part of the system. I regard ancestor worship where it exists, as in a real sense, part of the kinship system, constituted as it is by the relations of living persons to one another. The terms used in a society in addressing or referring to relatives are a part of the system, and so are the ideas that the people themselves have about kinship".11

By and large this part of study aims at exploring human relationships through kinship system. Among the Taraos

there are specific roles and duties to play in social and economic spheres. Here I shall talk on kinship ties and its organisation found in the economy of the people. Various researches on human relations are the subject matter of social science and more particularly of the behavioural science. Scholars hold the opinion that human relations may broadly be applied to the interaction and cooperation of people in groups because, groups are formed from various needs and functions. The main theme of this study is based on economy which is apparently influenced by the type of kinship organisations. Among the Taraos such kinship roles in economics is rather an obligatory and traditional while the changing atmosphere suggests that these are conditional, circumstantial and selective.

The tangible way of understanding the economic based-kinship organisation and obligation may be observed like this. Right from household level to village level it pervades. The yearly cycle of economic activities is centering round the mixed cropping of pulse and corn and single cropping of paddy, sometimes they grow other vegetables in the paddy field also. Normally they practised earlier shifting/jhum cultivation on the hill slopes. They did not have plain cultivation. But today some families practise plain cultivation for their own kinship organisation is formed keeping in mind the fraternal relations.
Services of all people such as young and old, male and female are indiscriminately put in the various agricultural activities under the rule of division of labour depending on work load. On the basis of sex, age and other status like widowhood or would-be-motherhood there are certain restrictions upon them as per the custom of the Tarao. On the other hand some other time-tested relationship of a permanent nature does exist.

**Household level:**

Radcliffe-Brown says that the smallest unit of structure from which a kinship system is built up is the group which he terms an 'elementary family' consisting of a man and his wife and their children, may be by adoption as well as by birth. According to Radcliffe-Brown the existence of the elementary family creates three special kinds of social relationship, that between parents and child, children of the same parents, and husband and wife. And when a man is married and has begotten children he belongs to a second elementary family in which he becomes a husband and also father. Such interlocking of elementary families creates a network of genealogical relations, spreading out indefinitely. Thus we can trace such genealogical relationship of third, fourth, fifth or \( n \)th order. In this way in any given society there could be
a number of such relationships which are recognised for social purposes, i.e. they are supposed to be attached to them certain rights and duties, or certain distinctive modes of behaviours. It is the relations that are socially and culturally recognised by the people themselves and that constitute a kinship system.

In the villages of Tarao, the agricultural activities are directed and controlled by the head of the family and the work initiated by a specific man at the village level, has to be followed by others. Generally, all cultivable land and forests are the village property. These are owned by each of the household in the village. The way of sharing the common property depends on the size of the family or of the social status of the head of the family. The remaining part is held as a common property of the village and the benefit from it goes to the common wealth.

Every member in the family does have its specific roles basing on the kinship tie and its obligation. Females and children are not in the position of decision making. Thus they always work together. For instance, field preparation by cutting down the trees, sowing seeds, transplantation, weeding/harvesting, thrashing, etc. are carried on by joint working force. But the heavy works like, cutting down of big trees etc. are done by adult male members.
Moreover, most of the family members are engaged in basketry and others (basket, mat, fishing net making, and weaving). Even a school going boy or girl takes interest in mat/basket making at leisure time to assist his/her family. Particularly mat made by Tarao is very popular in this area. When we compare with other neighbouring tribes we do not find them equal to the Tarao in weaving and basketry.

**Lineage level:**

Next to family is the lineal relationship. A lineage group consists of all the members of a lineage who are alive at a particular time. And one of the common features of kinship system is the recognition of certain categories or kinds into which the various relatives of a single person can be grouped. The actual social relation between a person and his relatives as defined by rights and duties or socially approved attitudes and mode of behaviours, is then to a greater or less extent fixed by the category to which the relative belongs. Thus the nomenclature of kinship is commonly used as a means of establishing and recognising these categories.

In Tarao, the lineage is the larger corporate group. As the society is patrilineal in descent and patrilocal in residence, the eldest man of a lineage plays a cultural role.
These are found in the descendants of the patrilineage. He lays down the course of action for the lineage members based on reciprocal organisation in rotation. Elders of a lineage who sit together with the heads of the family decide various related matters and that is done jointly and moves in turn one after another. In this way, a regular labour force is made available for every family's agricultural work. Their economy is shifting-axe-cultivation. Within the lineage members they requisite the labour force from productive age group in case of necessity. In this labour force, the youths play a subordinate role. They follow the elders who make major decisions. In this way, the Tarao economy is organised smoothly by a joint working force.

Certain kinship behaviours among the people of Tarao have economic value. The consanguineous kin have a common economic pool as being evidenced by their corporate body. Every member of the family barring a few young children and old-aged members, is fully engaged who plays their respective roles in every economic activity. In one sense, females are always an economic partner of a household. Weaving, basketry, mat making and household maintenance are in the hand of the females. Some changes have already been taking place which will be discussed in the economic life of the people.
Clan at the village level:

Clan organisation refers to the largest group organisation. The picture of the kinship structure through economics may be found at the clan-level. It is usually organised in every village. At the clan level it is important to locate kinship organisation.

Over and above, at the family and lineage level, clan is so vital that it gives a definite shape or structure to the community. When they decide to move to a new site for settling the oldest man from Khulpu clan or Khullakpa along with others must set out to look for a suitable village settlement. While doing so they carry with them a stone called Nungthou, a drum, a cock, a cat, an egg, a sword and bow and arrow. The first three items are believed to be the indicators of either good or bad omen. As per the indications the Khulpu(Khullakpa) selects the site. Then he lays down customary laws for the Taraos, which may be either traditional or new. He is the only man who takes leading part in the organisation of the village administrative system. Also he introduces the rites and festivals in the new village.

Economic organisation consists of the ordering and organisation of human relations and human efforts in order to procure as many of the necessities of day to day life as possible by putting in minimum efforts. Co-operative
and collective endeavour have been hailed by some ethnographers as one of the main characteristics of the tribal economic organisation in India.

Now let us examine the relationships associated with economic activities among the people. In the earlier days, they used to have a festival related to the preparation of field before seed sowing season. At that time, an wooden post had to be erected in the courtyard facing the frontal view of every Tarao house. This post is known as Markheeng (a specific tree). Any day during the month of December - January they assembled for the preparation of Jhuming. It is associated with a ritual conducted by an elderly male member either from Tlangsa lineage (Khulpu clan) or from Chanasa clan who initiated the function. The above mentioned ritual performance is officiated by two priests, locally known as Amlan and Amchan. The former made offerings to the deity while the latter recited prayers. This ritual is known as Markheeng-kung-maring. On this day the village used to arrange a feast cooked with a special rice (Masaunu), rice beer, an egg, etc. The first priest has the duty to offer to the deity. After the prayer they (a man either from Tlangsa or Chanasa and the two priests) including the villagers would decide about the part of the land to be cultivated during the current
season. Generally they look towards east-west or north-south directions to the erected post (markheeng). While observing all of them sing a song:

"Pu Ei Markheeng Kuunga O
Reijo Intang Tlakna Amantel
Indi Pamchu Thlung Lining
Insha Panchu Relheining
Reijo Indi Pamshal Ashe In
Amul Intreeng Ran Reijo
Tuibun Paman Kareijo
Nom Khaang Sek Aman Nengreijo."

Then they proceed towards their own area carrying with them the items stated earlier. In other words, a few members from every household would go to their own place, selected in this way. Here they would construct a temporary hut with the motive of staying during the period of work. Then they all come back to the village.

Another ceremony, known as *lalkhar* and *Khakla-kaa* is held in the house of a member of *Rapdousa* lineage (Khulpu clan). All the people gather at the spot and a priest called 'Khulpu' from Khulpu clan closes all the village gates. This closing of gates in relation to *jhum* is locally known as 'lalkhar' (a kind of tree used for the special purpose of closing the gate in this festival).

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12. More, Chanasa, Secretary, the Tarao Literature Society, 1966 (unpublished)
It is followed by arrow shooting (Khakla-kaa). At first it should be shot by an elderly man from Rabdousa family or lineage. The shootings are first towards the earth, second to the sky and third to horizontal direction. After that every young man of the village is asked to perform the same one after another. Until and unless this festival is over no one is permitted to enter the village, both the natives themselves and outsiders. The Khulpu(Khullakpa) opens the gate only when it is over.

*Inthoi* ceremony marks the process of cutting down the forests for jhuming. It is observed at the village level. Selection of site for jhum cultivation is little complicated. At first they are to spot out a specific area where they have to pass through a series of ordeals. The primary task would be to fell the trees but before it begins a collective task must be subjected to a thorough investigation. An elderly man either from Mathangmanai lineage or from Rabdousa lineage, (both Khulpu clan) volunteer to initiate and for the same he would try to cut out the bark of a particular species of tree called Markheeng. In the process he will carefully strike upwardly against the bark of the tree by a *chem*(dao) with an intension that the same is detached from the stem and fall on the ground facing the concave shape towards ground. If he succeeds in doing so they select the site for shifting cultivation. In case it is otherwise they go for a new site and do the same thing till the bark falls down in the way stated above.
The next step will be followed by collective efforts to start the felling of the trees for which every member must come forward with an axe or a dao or both. Before they go for cutting the trees, an elderly person from Katrimsa clan will solemnise all the cutting implements with mantra. It is therefore evident that certain clans and lineages have unavoidable duties which the community compels them to do. In other words, apart from economic relationship between members present there are social relationship that adhere the individuals and generates force and enthusiasm.

While cutting the trees they all stay day and night therein the hut that was already prepared for the purpose. It is done collectively by the villagers. It may further be observed that during their stay for field preparation, the rice, to be prepared, must be obtain from a specific paddy. Hence, in relation to it, it needs husking and that husking -cum-festival should be initiated by a few female members belonging to Khulpu clan and none else. After a few days, the head of each family with other elders must come back to the village while others stay back in the field.

After that they observe a festival called Uichuklung by those heads of the families and elders who have returned from the field. On this occasion a dog must be killed by a member of Khulpuin family(Khulpu clan).
According to the Tarao custom once they begin cutting down the forests no one unties his/her head hair. It should be tied before the work starts. If anyone fails to comply with it he/she is believed to meet with an accident or face difficulties in the course of work. It is also forbidden to eat oily foods like meat so as to avoid any slip of implements from the hands and felling down from the trees. Moreover, no one is allowed to take bath during the field preparation for Jhuming.

At the last stage of field preparation they have a festival where each family seeks the help from others in reciprocity. Here each of the households will arrange this ceremony. It is known as Louvat-lompui, when each family's head summons all the villagers to work in his field. This, they do in turn and thus help to each other till the entire village lands are prepared. This shows that the cutting down the forest is carried out on family level, lineage level, clan level as well as village level but it is always ritualised and celebrated at village level. Thus Louvat-lompui brings an end to the work of jhum preparation. Now they all keep off their tools. The tools are kept clean and tidy. They are now allowed to take bath and eat the food items of their choice. In this way they all return home.

There are some specific roles and duties of certain clans and lineages in some of the festivals associated with economic activities which I feel must not be lost sight of.
For example, in the festival Loumei-Hall (setting on fire the forests) each clan member has specific rights and duties. In Khungs-mathrum festival (learning of drum beating) it should be performed in the house of Katrimsa (Lunglakpa, an administrator). Here the drum beating has to be initiated by an elderly man of Katrimsa clan which will be followed by trumpet (Rasem) by a member of Tlangsa lineage (Khulpu clan) and animals horn is beaten by a member of Chanasa clan. There rights and duties are governed by the Tarao customs.

Chithlak (seed sowing) -- -- is initiated by a ritual ceremony at the field of Tleitlap family (Chanasa clan). It is obligatory on his part to sacrifice an animal and with that the sowing of seed starts in the Tleitlap's field, first of all. Then the other families belong to other clans such as Khulpu and Katrimsa would follow the sowing. In such a way we find relationship between each family in the village. Harvesting, associated with a ritual ceremony called Shyamchat, is inaugurated by a male member from Shaloisanel family (Katrimsa clan). The above initiations are for the Tarao people as a whole in the village.
While collecting the crops from the field there is a typical custom associated with the storing of the agricultural produces. The eldest daughter in the household must initiate the storing of food grains in the granary and then other members would follow. And at the end also she has to carry the remnant to declare the storing closed. This custom is locally known as Shanglienem. In the mean time a pig or a cow is killed which is to be sacrificed over the food grains inside the granary. Here the son-in-laws will prepare and cook the meat. Then some of the elderly male members, above 35 years, from the lineage belonging the family would assemble over the granary, full of paddy. According to seniority sitting arrangement is made on anticlockwise direction. This ceremony is conducted by village Amchan and Aman (priests). They have separate seats there in the get together. After being offered some quantity of meat and liquor to the deity they start eating. Here the following persons are not involved in sharing the food items as well as their physical presence in this get together over the paddy in granary. They are son-in-laws who prepared meat, any female members and any other relatives/members from other lineages of distinguished clans. Thus it has been observed that there are some specific roles and functions for some of the kinsmen. This is applicable to every family of each lineage.
in the community. The above stated offerings are made to Markheeng-kung-maring. At the final stage of this ceremony, Amchan and Amlan, by reciting incantations they will close the granary and after some days these priests only would reopen the granary after that the family can use their food grains.

In addition, the community as a whole is responsible for the proper maintenance of the village roads and communication system. So far we are talking about the kinship organisation and the internal functions of the kinsmen connected with the early period only. But many changes have taken place, especially, after the conversion into christianity.

**Kinship in Socio-Political and Administrative Context:**

"The nineteenth century hypothesis might seem more plausible in the field of political institutions. We know from the study of history how these have developed over the centuries in various part of the world.

Morgan drew his attention to the political evolution of humanity. He called this 'social organisation', and this may be the reason why to many American anthropologists today social organisation means kinship, whereas in Britain it means the total organisation of society. He gave the name 'Political organisation' only to a government claiming authority over a definite territory, and this he called the
state". "The definition which was given by Radcliffe-Brown was that on political system is 'that part of the total organisation' of a society which is concerned with the maintenance or establishment of social order, within a territorial framework, by the organised exercise of coercive authority through the use, or the possibility of the use of physical force (A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, 1940, African Political system)."

"The term 'Political Organization' refers to those aspects of social organisation specially concerned with the management of the affairs of public policy of a society. It is the system of social relationships that provides for the coordination and regulation of behaviour insofar as that behaviour is related to the maintenance of public order". Haviland further says that 'such organization assumes a variety of forms among the peoples of the world, but scholar has simplified this complex subject by identifying four basic kinds of political systems. These are bands, tribes, chiefdoms, and states. The first two forms are uncentralized socio-political system; the latter two are centralized system."
It is commonly known that among bands and tribes, authority is uncentralized and each group is economically and politically autonomous. Political organization is usually vested in kinship, age, and common-interest groups. Here in this part of study I shall try to focus on kinship oriented political organisation among the Taraos. The population of the Tarao is small and relatively homogeneous, and people are engaged for the most part in the same sorts of activities throughout their life.

Generally speaking, most of the tribes of north-east India the organising unit and seat of political authority is the clan and the clan is an association of people who consider themselves to have descended from a common ancestor. Within the clan, elders or headmen are responsible for regulating the affairs of members and represent their clan in relation to the tribe. As a group the elders of all the clans may form a council that acts within the tribe or for the tribe in dealings with outsiders. According to Morgan and Henry Maine, the kinship is the foundation of tribal society as contrast to the territorial foundation of modern state.

The Tarao tribe occupy an area under the jurisdiction of Chandel district of Manipur. The village is administered by nineteen officials headed by Kurung (king).

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The Kurungship was introduced in 1962 after the replacement of Khullakpaship. From the segmentary lineage system to the clan level, other officials are to be appointed representing each of the lineages belonging to different clans. Some of the officials hold hereditary positions while others are nominated by the Khullakpa in consultation with the village elders from different lineages. This tribal council is termed as Aktrok-Akhal. The Kurungship is hereditary which is transferred to the eldest son only after the death of the Kurung. A Kurung must belong to Khulpu clan, Lungalakpa (next to Kurung) from Chenasa clan and so on. In this way the Kurung will nominate all the nineteen officials taking into account the public opinion. People generally consider their candidature on the basis of competence and suitability. But today a remarkable change seems to have taken at least in one village where the Kurungship is no longer hereditary. Rather any suitable person of the village is selected by the consensus of the villagers.

Political affairs at the village level are conducted by the leader. The relationship between the leader and the followers is similar to the patron-client relationship. On the one hand they form village authority under the
influence of state Government. Most of the authority members are from the above tribal council. The two forms of political organisation make joint efforts in order to sort out certain issues pertaining to the village. In the process there is constant interaction between the people within the context on the one hand and the state administration on the other. Land is the most important form of property in the village, not only as an economic asset, but also as a symbol of prestige. However, no stratification system exist in the community on the basis of possession of land or property. Although the Tarea has an autonomous administrative authority the overall control remains with the state Government. It may be noted that the village is not the unit of an artificial administrative system, but a natural social system, the unit within which most of the important social relationship of the villagers take place. Hence, from the inside, village government is the vehicle for constraining individual behaviour within the permissible limits of village customary law, and for coordinating and facilitating those activities of its members which are beyond the jurisdiction of the community.

Although villagers have an opportunity to effect the internal working of their village by participation in the village meetings, presided over by the headman are
seldom put into effect which is however inquired the opinions by the authority while making the decisions. Women have no voice in public matters. Words and opinions of older people are taken to be more important.

Within the four Tarao villages, the most important of the headman's intra-village function relate to conflict resolution. The following problems are also involved in the intra-village functions. They are domestic strife, neighbour's quarrels, charges of petty theft, boundary disputes, and so on are brought to the notice of the headman of that village for adjudication. If the problems concern two villages it has to be brought before the village authorities of both the villages for the purpose of solution. They (headmen) usually try to resolve them informally by offering counsel, pacifying and arbitrating; if not, it will call for an open discussion for formal adjudication. Here villagers are to loathe to take their disputes to the courts (Govt.). In addition to the council, village elders have some functions such as assisting and giving advice to the Khullakpa, acting as councillors to villagers and to the headman (Khullakpa), elders serve as judges or arbitrators in disputes.
The lineage segments among the Taraoos are all equal, and no separate leadership or political organisation is formed. The elderly persons are regarded as their representative in the lineage level. The entire superstructure of the lineage is nothing but of an alliance, active only during conflicts between other segments. In any serious dispute between members of different segments, members of each segment take side of the contest out, to whom they are most closely related. Such a system of informal political organisation may be known as complementary or ballanced opposition. But since things have changed considerably, the relationship pattern has also become the story of the past. Nevertheless, the intra-village disputes are settled amicably and after the adjudication passed by the village authority, the parties involved show a clear expression of acceptance.

Apart from kin group, age-grade is also one of the criteria for the formation of political bodies as is found in this case. Political matters of the tribe are in the hands of the age-grades, and the officials must belong to certain age groups on the one hand and to the particular clan or lineage on the other. The principal tasks of the elders are administrative, judicial and religious. In tribe, political organisation is vested in kinship, age, and common-interest groups.
To sum up, the Tarao tribe vests political authority in the clan, an association of people who trace descent from a common ancestor. The Khullakpa (Kurung) along with a group of elders from different clans regulate the customary laws and represent their kinship group in conformity with other kinship groups. The segmentary lineage system of each clan, similar in operation to the clan, is a rare form of tribal organisation based on kinship bond. The tribal age-grade system also cut across territorial and kin groupings. Leadership is hereditary and vested in men who are the eldest in the family.

**Inter and intra-family relation:**

The study of kinship could be conducted from two angles, one is from terminological point of view and other from customary behaviours, attitudes, avoidance, etc. all of which constitute the network of relations of a society. Thus, kinship organises social relations in terms of cultural patterns. It is evident that kinship systems depend on the social recognition and cultural implementation of relationships derived from descent and marriage, a set of kinship terms and an associated set of behavioural patterns and attitudes which together make up a systematic whole. Within each kin group, whether it is a particular family,
or an extension thereof, like the joint family or the sib, there are certain types of coactive behaviour patterns which exhibit a regularity, a more or less permanent and definite structure. Such types of behaviour, verbal and non-verbal, constitute kinship usages. Some of such usages of Tarao are described below.

With reference to Tarao, I shall discuss on the particular customs by which the behaviour of these relatives is regulated well in their daily life associating various rights and obligations which are mediated through kinship. Moreover, the pattern of behaviours to a given society that prevail between relatives define their relationships and as such they constitute the integral part of the kinship system. As in any other society, the rights and obligations of the Tarao tribe of Manipur are also more or less nicely channeled through the kinship system. As a result the right to membership in a descent group might have depended on the proper marriage of the parents. As we know that the study of behaviour is not an easy task it always needs a scientific observation based on participation. I was in close contact with the people for the last four years. Social and cultural anthropologists have been more concerned with the set of behavioural pattern between relatives and have tended to consider the term used
as linguistic tags representing or symbolising the particular expected behaviours and attitudes between pairs or groups of kin.\textsuperscript{18} The kinship system has various and complex relations with the other social institutions that together make up the total social system, or social structure. The function of kinship terminology in interaction is a symbolic one. When it is used it defines for the participants the general mode of behaviour to be followed in particular social situations.\textsuperscript{19} Thus, terminology behaviour and attitudes suggest its importance in binding men and women together in a society and providing a foundation of social structure.

"In any society, cultural rules dictate the way of kinship relationships are defined. Factors such as sex generational differences, or genealogical differences help to distinguish one kin from another".\textsuperscript{20}

Here we are primarily concerned with cultural conception of kinship and kinsmen, the kin groupings that are produced by the conceptions, and the cultural norms and values that are expected to govern kin relations, both dyadic and collective, within these groupings.

\textsuperscript{18} 'Kinship' in International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, 1968, vol. 7 & 8, p. 392

\textsuperscript{19} Ibid, p. 392

\textsuperscript{20} Haviland, W.A., 1982 : 444
The present analysis on Tarao community, of their dyadic kin behaviour and terminology in daily routine, is presented as follows against this background. I now wish to examine certain kinds of kinship and kinship related behaviour in Tarao. The analysis is confined to the following: father-mother (husband-wife); father-daughter; father-son; mother-son; mother-daughter; father-in-law and daughter-in-law; father-in-law and son-in-law; mother-in-law and son-in-law; mother-in-law and daughter-in-law; brother-brother (unmarried); brother-brother (married); sister-sister; daughter-in-law and daughter-in-law in the family; brother-sister; with spouse's brother; with spouse's sister; sister's husband and wife's brother; brother's wife and husband's brother; sister's husband and wife's sister; brother's wife and husband's sister; a husband with his wife's sister; husband and wife's brother; husband and wife's sister's husband; wife and husband's elder/younger brother(s); wife and husband's sister; wife and husband's sister's husband; brother's children -- sister's children; ego's children -- his wife's brother's children and so on.

My first attempt is on the customs of Taraos by which the behaviour of these relatives are regulated in daily life and various rights and obligations by customs which are mediated through kinship. This analysis is
started from a Tarao family extending to kinship and then to community level as a whole. By proceeding now let us examine the tensions, the relationships expressed through kinship behaviours, and the desire for whose avoidance constitutes at least a partial explanation for the people of Tarao in Manipur.

Like other societies, an affective interaction between a Tarao husband and a Tarao wife in daily routine or outside could play the important role from the family level. The near Universality of the nuclear or elementary family and its role in mating and reproduction have made it a focus for studies of kinship. Here are found the 'primary' relationships of parents and child, husband and wife, brothers and sisters, and it is possible to construct a network of genealogical relationships encompassing the whole society by extension from this nucleus. It is a quite usual that such interaction between husband and wife starts from marriage and continues till death. It will not be wrong to say that kin behaviour and address start its root from the family. In a family, parents take main role which is spreading towards others. Thus family is the most important institution where the social recognition of parenthood that provides a child with a legitimate position in a society like the Tarao. Not only in this
society but also in almost all societies the family is responsible for the care and support of children during their period of dependency and for their education and training for adult life. Here both husband and wife have almost equal responsibility in bringing up their children. All these tasks involve both love and affection and authority and discipline together. As compared with other relatives (primary or secondary) the husband and wife relationship is almost seen stronger and stable. Because during the long period of socialisation within the family or domestic group, the child gradually learns the proper attitudes and behaviour patterns toward his various relatives. These patterns are present in the society in terms of cultural ideas and as behavioural norms, and their observance, is to be reinforced in a various way. There is considerable evidence that in most societies children learn the essentials of kinship rather early. At marriage an individual normally acquires a whole new set of affinal relatives to whom he must make varying adjustments, depending on the patterns of residence and interaction. At an average measurement, a Tarao woman will never try to dominate her husband. If one is dominating upon her husband the public regard the man as henpecked husband. He will not be regarded by the villagers as a man. However, it is a very rare case among the Taraos. There are some families
which live on hand to mouth economy. For maintaining the
daily food both husband and wife take the pain of earning
with complete understanding.

Within the general pattern of relationships there
are wide intra-clan and inter-clan and intra-family and
inter-family differences. The range of inter-clan difference
is more notable because the chieftainship among the
Taraos gives the expression of a hierarchy and also held
hereditarily. So each member of the society put their
respect to the Kurung although there is little or no
genealogical relations. Within the circle of each clan
they establish typical type of relationship expressed
through kinship attitudes and behaviours and treat each
other as related through a common origin. It is nothing
but of the blood-tie in the internal structure.

Among all the lineages the husband occupies a
dominant position and the wife a subordinate position.
At the clan level, the eldest/oldest persons take the
dominant position. Time factors affect the interaction
among all the clans or in between lineages of each clan.
Here the interaction becomes more effective and extends
to all aspects of their life. Such interactions are seen
in economic activities, ceremony, festive occasion, etc.
Representatives of each clan will be there to take decision
on the common issues. It is reported that the wife of a man enjoys almost an equal position with her husband. For instance, in absence of her husband she takes all the family responsibilities. However she cannot finalise any matter without the consent of her husband.

Secondly, the effective interaction in day-to-day life as well as occasional between parent-child at times create tensions among the lineages. The norms governing the parent-child relationship prescribes respect and obligations of children toward their parents and affection and protection that the children are expected to receive in reciprocity.

"Intimate relationships are characterized everywhere by ambivalence, and to stress exclusively the positive dimension of the parent-child relationship -- as is true of those anthropologists who attend to cultural ideas alone -- not only gives a false picture of that relationship, but it impedes an understanding of the behaviour that flows from the ambivalence." 21 The relationship of any kind established in the family group are affected by generation and relative age and by similarities or differences of sex. Moreover, those members of the parental generation who are in a position of authority are entitled to obedience and respect. With relatives outside the family

group there is frequently a greater variety of behaviour patterns, some seemingly based on the model of relationships within the family but others representing obligatory joking or tearing, on the one hand, or extreme respect or avoidance, on the other.

Father-son relationship seems to be of more weightage than the relationship between father and daughter. Father-son relationship depends on the time factor as well as boys are more wanted than the girls in this society. Because a son is after all the heir. Thus there is a sense of positive value for the son. However, in some families, the interaction is partially revoked in the old age of the father since his mind, feeling and thought do not fit well in the family. It is quite natural that during the childhood and adolescence of the son, the father takes the dominant position and exerts his power. But when the son becomes adult he gradually assumes the position of his father and the father gladly agrees to hand over the charges provided the young man is capable. Thus the tension of father-son relationship is more prominent than that of the father-daughter relationship. This interaction is very intimate during childhood and somewhat less during adolescence, but becomes sharply differentiated with the attainment of adulthood. When a woman gets married the relationship with her
parents becomes formal but a married man continues, may not be intimate but the sphere of relationship would be drastically reduced. Thus relationship within the family are rigidly established according to a hierarchy based on rules defining roles and functions. Their criteria are age, sex, kinship ties, degree of alliance, marital status, etc. The hierarchy between the generations, on the one hand, and the equality of members of the same generations, on the other hand, create both vertical and horizontal relationship within the family.

By and large, mother-daughter is more and more effective than that between mother and son. When a daughter is attaining adulthood after puberty the interaction becomes more intensive. Both take share of economic burden in the family in most cases. They work together and discuss time to time on family matters, but never go against the principles of division of labour.

There is somewhat more effective interaction between mother and son than between father, not of economic aspect. Other factors also affects it slowly after his son's marriage. It is again revived in the old age of the parents and also when the mother becomes a widow. The Taro women occupy an important economic position and they have a strong influence in the family
economy. She becomes more important in maintaining the
day-to-day kitchen. The position of mother in taking care
and nourishment of her children is most cardinal. Bringing
up the children, watching them to encourage good behaviour
and relationships between brother-brother, sister-sister,
brother-sister and with others and to impart education,
toilet training, etc. are mostly in the hand of the mother
that she performs as a routined activity. Because a mother
is like a permanent companion of the children.

It is a fact that the child occupies an important
position in the family. Society takes the child into its
care from conception. Thus, throughout her pregnancy, the
would-be-mother is subjected to a whole set of sanctions
and restrictions intended to protect the foetus. From birth,
the child's relationship to his mother is primordial. Body
contact (breast feeding, carrying on mother's back) pro-
vides him with his initiation to communication with others
and surrounding world. In the meantime the father also
assists his wife from time to time. Moreover, the grand-
parents, and the grand-mother, must not be forgotten here
because they also take care of the children. In the tribal
environment the family is the child's universe. They take
much care upon their children today. Among this community
the little girls are also introduced to domestic tasks such
as housekeeping, cooking, babysitting, works on bamboo and cane (basketry), etc. Again parents send their children to school where they are introduced to social life and to the world of moral and religious values. Today schooling is being given an important place.

To sum up the parent-child relationship it is the obvious fact that as the parents grow old and die, they and their generation are slowly replaced by their children. In many cultures the recognition of this is expressed in the relationship between the two generations. In the patriarchal society like the Tarao there are strict rules about the way in which sons may behave towards their fathers. When the son grows up he may assume his father's status and take over his property.

Another behavioural observation is between the brothers, brother-sister and sister-sister. The pattern of interaction of these three pairs of relatives may be taken up together. Compared to other relatives whose pattern of interaction has been considered within the same parents extending to its lineage, between the two different lineages seems not so informal. Moreover, difference in age is one of the most important factors influencing behaviours between brother-brother, brother-sister and sister-sister. But the modern education partially affects the interactions.
However, this change may be noticeably present in an educated family. The childhood is marked by a strong interaction based on familiarity. This interaction varies according to categories of sibling. The childhood intimacy is replaced by adulthood antagonism in brother-brother interaction that brings automatically the feeling of blood tie. It seems to decline to some extent after their marriage. But the relationship is never ceased since they are from the same parents. Similar interaction is found between sister-sister in the family or others. But the difference starts when they get married and the distance may be quite clearly felt.

The childhood is marked by intimacy resulting in effective interaction. With the attainment of adulthood, interaction is marked by avoidance but nevertheless continues to be an effective way. The degree of interaction breaks with the marriage of the sister. In the vertical relationships it demands that younger children should respect older ones, and their parents. Horizontal relationships (members of the same generation) weave quite different ties between people of the same generation. They are based on greater equality, but a certain hierarchical organisation comes into play depending on age and sex.
The tension between parents-in-law (father-in-law) and sons-in-law is another motivational basis for the formation of a household. A son-in-law must show a great respect to his father-in-law. Joking relationship between them is very rare. In the family level a son-in-law (makcha/kimak) has an important role to play on special occasions. Most of the social responsibilities must be shouldered by a makcha to help his father-in-law. A son-in-law must not be seen idly moving in front of his father-in-law. But today it is somewhat different and the son-in-law is not so much constrained. How much obligatory duties and behaviour done by a makcha/kimak will be seen under avoidance.

Relationship between a mother-in-law and a son-in-law have more close than father-in-law. They can freely talk to each other because of Mo Br Da marriage. In case of mother-in-law and daughter-in-law they are treated as real mother and daughter today. But in the past, a daughter-in-law was supposed to keep distance and pay respect even to her mother-in-law.

Avoidance:

In Tarao society a kind of avoidance is maintained between a daughter-in-law and her father-in-law. Likewise a son-in-law's relations with his parents-in-law are found to
be restricted. According to Freud, the kinship usage of avoidance is based themselves on the repugnance for tabooed sexual relations.

It is reported that among the Taraos there is brother-sister avoidance. For instance, brother and sister may not occupy the same room while sleeping even though they may take their food together but usually in a separate plate. However, dinning on the same basket (Budonna) is a common practice. No kind of intimacy or familiarity relating to sexuality ever develop between them. The purpose of avoidance is to prevent sexual intimacy which would amount to incest. Occupying separate chambers in the house by married and unmarried individuals has been shown clearly in Family Chapter.

A woman during her menstruation period is not customarily permitted to serve anything for priest and refrain from any religious activities (see the status and role of women in Family Chapter). In this society it is quite free to use the clothes between brother-brother and sister-sister. But there is avoidance between brother and thur/neng (Si Hu and Wi Br). However, no much restriction is found between a daughter and daughter-in-law in the family. A father-in-law who happens to use the clothes of his sons-in-law is subjected to public ridicule and criticism.
Thus he never tries to do so. In old age exchanging clothes between a man and either his wife's brother or his sister's husband (Thur/neng) is not strictly restricted. A mother-in-law does not use Enku (lion cloth) of her daughter-in-law especially in the past.

Another avoidance for entering a room occupied by the married persons has been discussed in Family Chapters: status and role of women.

Sharing of sacrificed animal's meat by age and sex in relation to kinship behaviour as well as social status has been discussed elsewhere. There is well defined customs for sharing meat prepared from sacrificed animal that (meat) is to be prepared in two separate pots and divided the flesh or organs into two for the purpose. One is for old men and the other for young persons and old women. The specified meat for old male members is prepared from head, liver, stomach, intestine, heart, and some of flesh etc. The rest of flesh of the animal is jointly shared by young men, women of all age groups. For classification of age group the Taraos regard from the age group 0 - 40/45 as youths and 50 and above as old age group. The members between 40/45 to 49 are free to join any one of the above two groups. So far no one has tried to violate the sharing of meat in the religious festivals or others. It shows
that youth respect elders at any rate in the society. People by sex, age grade, etc. do occupy their respective seats while eating or drinking which is specially arranged by customs. All people are aware of their customs and obligatory duties. A young man is not allowed to drink the rice-beer with old age group. If he does so he is given some punishment by the Kurung with the advice of other elderly people in the village. Among the same age group an old man cannot occupy the seat of the village Kurung (Khullakpa). A father never shares the rice-beer with his own son or sons-in-law. But among the females it is less restricted. Drinks between brother-brother is accepted, but not between brother-sister. In the public meetings or administrative affairs youth and female seldom raise their voice.

There are other kinds of avoidance also, like the taboo on using one's spouse's name, and others which are for the most part the outcome of the fear of witchcraft and sorcery that always dominates the primitive mind. It is necessary to point out that in many societies too the attitudes towards tabooed relatives are those of respect and consideration rather than hostile or ambivalent.
Kinship Terminology:

There is no 'right' or 'wrong' way for societies to be organised. Throughout the world both individuals and groups think of themselves in terms of relationships and they organise themselves accordingly. In the same sense a 'society' can be viewed as a network of interrelated kinsmen, both near and distant, related consanguineally (by blood), or affinally (by marriage). This organisation is both longitudinal in that it involves many generations and lateral in that it links families and collateral relatives at a particular period of time\textsuperscript{22}.

"Families vary greatly throughout the world in the manner in which they determine kin relationships ... ... the American system, where both family lines are important in determining kinship is known as a bilineal or bilateral one. In many cultures, however, the people may recognize dual biological descent but may stress a single line of social inheritance. This kind of system is known as unilineal or unilateral one. If the emphasis is placed on the father's side of the family, the system is referred to as patrilineal, but if the mother's side is stressed, the system is matrilineal\textsuperscript{23}. As stated in the preceding part, the system of Tarao of Manipur is of unilineal/patri- lineal one. Thus a Tarao lineage is a descent group which

\textsuperscript{22} Holmes, Lowell D. and Wayne Parris., 1981 : 393
\textsuperscript{23} Ibid. p. 395.
traces relationship patrilineally from a known ancestor. Again a clan is a more inclusive kinship grouping than the lineage in that it represents a composite of two or more lineages of people who consider themselves at least distantly related to a common mythical ancestor. Such mythological founders to Taaroa clans may be of godlike human beings.

"Lewis Henry Morgan (1877) established a principle of classification based on the kinship terms used in describing one's relatives. If the terms defined precise relationships of individuals, they were called descriptive; if the terms tended to put kinsmen in groups or classes, they were called classificatory. Later writers such as Rivers (1910), Kroeber (1909), Lowie (1948), and Murdock (1949) have developed system of kinship terminology based on the relationships of kinsmen as defined by ego (reference individual).

Both Kroeber and Murdock have considerably influenced the defining of kinship terminology. For example, in 1909 Alfred Kroeber set down eight principles on which all kinship system draw. The kinship system of modern Americans, for example, utilizes four of the following principles (1, 3, 4, and 7):
1. Differences in generation level (e.g. father, son, grand-father)
2. Differences in age levels (e.g. younger brother, elder brother)
3. Differences between lineal and collateral relatives (e.g. father, uncle, brother, cousin)
4. Differences in sex of relatives (e.g. brother, sister)
5. Differences in sex of speaker (often different kin terms are used by males and females)
6. Differences in sex of person through whom relationship is established (e.g. father's brother, mother's brother)
7. Differences in genetic relatives and those related by marriage (e.g. sister, sister-in-law, mother, husband's mother)
8. Differences in life status of person through whom relationship is established (e.g. identifications of living or dead, married or single)"$^{24}$.

Again George Peter Murdock (1949) has recognised six basic system for classifying kin. Each uses its own combination of the above principles and each represents

a scheme of merging kinsmen under common terms or separating (bifurcation) them by utilizing different terms.
They are Hawaiian system, Eskimo system, Iroquois system, and so on.

The Tarao kinship system is more or less elaborate. Here, an attempt has been made to deal mainly with the study of relationship terminologies of the Tarao society. There are two lists of Tarao kinship terms which are enclosed in Appendices. There is a pattern of particularisation cycling mostly among the close blood relatives of one's own generation. It is narrow in sense because the number of clans is only three in the Tarao society, within it marriage exchange is done through tripartite organisation and mostly of by mother's brother's daughter marriage to which they believe as a favourite mate in the society. After marriage, terminologies are sometime changed to new one to identify affinal relatives. However, like in Prum, the primary distinctions between 'us', 'wife-givers' and 'wife-receivers' may not be difficult to establish among the Taraos too. There seems to be the presence of green signal on superiority of the 'wife-givers' over the 'wife-receivers' (see Marriage Chapter, Fig. 7). For the present analysis I adopt some of the principles (out of eight) mentioned above.

Table: 39: Synonymous kinship terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No.</th>
<th>1st person</th>
<th>2nd person</th>
<th>3rd person</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>kikthur</td>
<td>akthurr</td>
<td>thur</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>kitu</td>
<td>atu</td>
<td>atu</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>kimbrang</td>
<td>anbrang</td>
<td>marang</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>kanao</td>
<td>kinao</td>
<td>anao</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>kimshal</td>
<td>amshal</td>
<td>amshal</td>
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<td>6.</td>
<td>kahancha</td>
<td>nahancha</td>
<td>ahancha</td>
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<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>kahanchapi</td>
<td>ahanchapi</td>
<td>ahanchapi</td>
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<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>kinee</td>
<td>nee</td>
<td>anee</td>
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<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>kimou</td>
<td>amou</td>
<td>amou</td>
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<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>kimak</td>
<td>makcha</td>
<td>makcha</td>
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<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>kikneng</td>
<td>neng</td>
<td>neng</td>
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<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>maneikung</td>
<td>amnei</td>
<td>amnei</td>
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<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>asha-atu</td>
<td>atu-ate</td>
<td>atu-ate</td>
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<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>kikmei</td>
<td>manei</td>
<td>amnei</td>
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First of all, I observe the terminological relationship between the members in both nuclear (modern) and extended (traditional) type of families in Tarao society. Here I applied the principles No. 1, 2 and 4 respectively (Fig. 22 & 23). The theoretical conceptions on descriptive
Fig. 19: Iroquois Kinship System

Fig. 20: Tararo Kinship System
and classificatory (Morgan, 1877) are the basic tool for me to bring about the terminological relationships found in Tarao social structure. A first I would like to classify the Tarao kinship system in world context. With reference to George Peter Murdock (1949) who recognised six basic system for classifying kin, the Tarao system is more or less closely related to the Iroquois system (Fig. 19 and 20). The difference between the two is that in Iroquois system -- ego's Fa Br is used the same term as that of Fa whereas among the Taraos it has different terms for Fa E Br (pappi) as well as for Fa Y Br (patte). Similarly a separate term is used for ego's Mo E Si (nupi) and Mo Y Si (nute), but in the case of Iroquois the same term is used for.

These are the only difference in terminology between the Taraos and the Iroquois. The figures 19 and 20 show both a comparison and the details of descriptive terms of address in the Tarao kinship system in the proceeding parts.

Modes of address within the family and kinship network have been observed on the Tarao community (see in Appendices). I deal with the modes of address or reference among the members of family. Beyond it, I have attempted to delineate a number of social and cultural characteristics of persons that seem to determine the selection of appropriate kin terms among neighbours who may or may not be
Fig. 2.1. Tarao Kinship System.
related by actual biogenetic or genealogical ties but are in regular and intimate social contact. And this is to talk about persons at the periphery of their kinship networks but most particularly when they do so within the nuclear and extended family or household.

Seniority within the Tarao family or kin groups as described by informants may be of two kinds; senior in age and senior in relationship. The former is self explanatory. The latter is a complex of generational standing and differences in kinship rank. Fig. 22 shows the address form by difference in age level. Each of them -- either elder or younger has an appropriate kin term to address. Youngers always pay both physical and

![Family Tree Diagram]

**Fig. 22:** Address from in Tarao nuclear family

verbal respects towards elders dependable type of relationship i.e. close or distant. There are alternative
specific terms for E Br or E Si and Y Br or Y Si which is used in the family circle only. For instance, the same term -- ute/kanao is used for both sexes (Br/Si) but according to age and seniority. The alternative terms for seniority is given in Table 40. These terms are used by age seniority within family circle only. Beyond the family, one must use either ute or kanao based on seniority in age. On the one hand, most likely beyond the circle of

Table 40

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<thead>
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<th>Tarao Terms Denoting Seniority</th>
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the immediate family and close kindred -- such assumptions (terms) do not hold true they simply used to choose the mode of address either ute or kanao. In addressing to parents by their children of both sexes have utilised kin
Fig. 23 Address form in joint family
terms almost same except between the brother and sister. In Tarao, address for the mother, the appropriate term nu (and no-o) and for father the term pa (or pa-o) may be used.

Observation showed there is no much alternative terms found in this tribe. As has shown in Table 42 (in Appendices) that address to parents by a married son or by his wife are quite different in terminology. Particularly address to parents -- -- pa and nu use by a married (or unmarried) son whereas a wife (a daughter-in-law) uses quite a different term -- -- marang (Hu Fa) and née (Hu Mo) respectively. Similarly it is also applicable to her husband's elder brother for whom she uses the term Kahancha and Kahanchapi to his wife. Others are almost same what a situation (for a daughter-in-law) is clearly illustrated in Fig. 23. Children are generally address by their parents as well as by other persons who are of senior in generation or in age by a given name or nickname (see in Appendices). While a baby is given a formal name in a ceremony shortly after birth, this name may be taken as permanent one in some cases and may be replaced by a new one in other cases.

The regular and customary use of kin terms between brother-brother, brother-sister and sister-sister shown in Fig. 22, are also used even by their respective parents.
Those terms are mo, ko, pe, ang, and tham for male and te to, shang, pe and kham for female (see Table 40). It is a factor that address among siblings, and among cousins of the same generation, relative age is crucial. According to the asymmetric principle of kin term address, elder siblings of either sex are customarily addressed with a kin term while younger siblings are often addressed by name even though there are terms for them. As reported that where there are several siblings of the same sex, if the youngest one is supposed to address to his/her elder siblings he/she must use kin terms denoting of seniority, here let it be the speaker of anyone but have to follow it.

The matter of address between husband and wife is ambiguous. Even in a referential context there are kin terms that would seldom use. Instead of it the husband refers the name of female child, if any, while calling his wife (term of reference is kikmei). In like manner a woman also refers to the name of her eldest son or any son when to call her husband. Thus the names of the children are the medium of communication between spouses in Tarao society. However, when they talk with second or third persons they are almost free to mention the terms of reference (kikmei = wife; kimshal = husband). This is in one sense, after children have been born to a new couple, the two may resort to teknonymy.
Fig. 24  Address form between ego and his affinal relatives
Some informants reported me the personal name of the spouse is almost never used or should not be used by Tarao custom even in reference too. Therefore, women will not even take the name of their husband in order to identify him to a third person and often take either the name of the son or in the indirect form of expression. In brief, teknonymy may be used by referring to one’s child or, failing that, to a nephew or niece (or kisha-ampa means father of my children).

The genealogically appropriate terms of address for the paternal grandparents are pu (Fa Fa) and pi (Fa Mo), puthou (Fa Fa Fa) and pithou (Fa Fa Mo) and so on. From the second ascending generation same kin term pu is used to (Fa Fa, Fa Fa E Br, Fa Fa Y Br, etc.) and pi to their respective wives. Similarly in the third ascending generation the term puthou stands for Fa Fa Fa and FaFa Fa Br and pithou for Fa Fa Mo and Fa Fa Br Wi respectively. There is no distinct terms to identify younger and elder grandparents. The single term itself represents for them. However in the first ascending generation, the term pappi and nupi (Fa E Br and Fa E Br Wi); patte and nute (Fa Y Br and Fa Y Br Wi) and nee and marang (Fa Si/Hu Mo and Fa Si Hu/Hu Fa) are the distinguishing terms for seniority (Fig. 21 and 24).
The next observation is in between daughter-in-law and parent-in-law. It is seen that a woman uses different kin terms for her husband's parents. As illustrated in Fig 25 that the customary terms of address by a daughter-in-law

Fig. 25 Traditional Form of Address by a daughter-in-law to her parent-in-law.

to her husband's parents are different as compare to the term used by her husband. Of course these are traditional terms. But today it is slightly changed in some modern families where the same term used by her husband are also used by her(Fig.26). However such modern form of address is not so far applicable to the Tarao system in general.

Fig. 26 Modern Form of Address in between parents-in-law and daughters-in-law
Fig. 27 Address form for Husband's brother and brother's wife

Fig. 28 Terms of address in between ego and his Fa Si, Fa Si Hu and their siblings

Fig. 29 Term of Address in between ego and her Hu Fa, Hu Mo, Hu Fa Si, Hu Fa Si Hu, and their siblings
A woman addresses her Hu E Si as ute and kahancha for Hu E Si Hu. In the case of younger one to her husband she uses kanao to both (Hu Y Br & Hu Y Br Wi) or even by name is acceptable. Thus we find different terms according to the sex of speaker.

In order to interpret these data on address usages within the family, it is necessary to look at address usages within each family as an integrated whole. Nevertheless, the information at hand is adequate for a beginning to be made in various direction discussed above along with illustrative figures. A man addresses pute and pite to his Wi Fa and Wi Mo respectively. In short he also uses as pu instead of pute and pi for pite. The appropriate term pappi (Mo E Si Hu) and nupi (Mo E Si) are found similar address to Fa E Br and Fa E Br Wi. Again the terms nute and patte are for Fa Y Br Wi and Fa Y Br as well as Mo Y Si and Mo Y Si Hu (Fig. 29).

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Fig. 30 Address formed by Mo Br Da marriage.
These relationships are based on Mo Br Da marriage. So kinship ties are basically affinal, where generational difference towards affinal relationship is often seen to be ignoring. Hence in Tarao kinship system the role of Mo Br is affinal in nature because he is the chief representative of a new category of kinship established through marriage. Therefore, in the Tarao kinship system there is a tendency to classify kinsmen and women from the father's side and from the mother's side but more ties lay in patrilineality. However special emphasis regarding the obligations and duties is put on an extension on affinal side. For instance, the daughter's husbands (kikma) are under the obligation to work on any occasions organised by the family of his father-in-law. Of all, the eldest Da Hu (kimak-antong) has greatest obligation. Thus, every animal sacrificed, the hind leg and the waist portion are kept reserved for the eldest kimak. The other kimaks may also get a share of it. There is a custom that the kimaks are to compensate for any loss/absence at the time of ceremonial performances in the house of their father-in-law. This shows a greater sense of participation on the part of the son-in-law.

Broadly there are two types of relatives -- one related through the father and the other related through
Fig. 31 Tarao Affinal relationship ties

Fig. 32 Tarao Affinal relationship ties
the mother. This is also reflected in the tribal organisation pattern. At the highest level of organisation the tribe may be said to be divided into two groups -- a male group and a female group. In both the groups, there are different stages representing different functional levels. It is interesting to note that even in the kinship terminology two groups of relatives are recognised by them and of different sexes have separate terminologies that we have already discussed in the preceding part. There are lineages of each clan in Tarao society and kinship ties between lineages (of different clans) are extended along the line of inter-lineage marriage (Mo Br Da) under the principle of clan exogamy. The circling of such kinship boundary is narrow in pattern as Mo Br Da marriage is a betrothal one. Beyond it, a non-specific terminology they use. In this system, it draws distinction between cross-cousins and siblings, but it draws no distinction between siblings' children and the children of all cousins equating them with grandchildren, but may form a new kinship ties when Mo Br Da marriage is taken place in that descending generation. However, generally speaking, it must be remembered that though asymmetrical cross-cousin marriage governs the direction in which one sex can marry it has no control whatsoever over the marriage ties, which take both directions and mostly follow the terms used at the
time of first marital tie. Thus the same term indicates siblings as well as parallel cousins. For instance, Fa Br So /Da and Mo Si So/Da are regarded as brother and sister (ute for elder; kaneo for younger by age). Obviously, parallel cousins are treated as one's own brothers and sisters (more close in sense). The practice of matrilateral cross-cousin marriage is also reflected in the kinship terminology. Fa Si Da and Mo Br So are considered to be close kins who are never be the marriage mates.

It should be admitted that kinship as a system has a greater relevance in our understanding of the 'kinship community' or 'kinship society' which is another way of defining a tribe. In Tarao system, it is more or less similar to that of the 'Iroquois system', where siblings and parallel cousins are usually equated under one term (ute -- to elder and kaneo -- to younger), the cross-cousins being distinguished by another term -- thur-neng (male sex) and maneikung/amnei (female sex). However the difference is that there are appropriate terms thur (Mo Br So) for elder and neng for younger to one's wife.

Consequently, the Tarao relationship terminology operates within the limited framework of ego's primary and secondary conjugal families. Broadly, it can be said that the
present study have adopted all the eight principles on
kinship classification and description of Tarao tribe in
Manipur, laid down by Alfred Kroeber (1909).

The Tarao kinship terminological system reveals some
features reminiscent of exchange relationship such as:

i) Fa and Fa Br are distinguished by the terms pa
and pappi (elder)/patte (younger) from Mo Br --
pute (both elder and younger)

ii) Mo -- nu and Mo Si -- nupi (elder)/nute (younger)
are distinguished from Fa Si -- nee.

iii) Parallel cousins (male) -- ute (elder) kanao
(younger) are distinguished from cross-cousins
(male) -- thur(elder)/peng(younger).

iv) Parallel cousins (female) -- ute (elder)/kanao
(younger) are distinguished from cross-cousins
(female) -- amnei.

v) So -- kishakupa is distinguished from Wi Br So
-- kimak.

vi) Da -- kishakumei is distinguished from Wi Br Da
-- kimou.
Indeed, seniority either in age or generation is an important principle in Tareo kinship system. Though relationship terminology itself does not control marriage, it is clear that if marriages were contracted according to the prescribed category the kinship system could be useful in categorising people on the ground their marriages were contracted. For the continuance of inter-lineage relationship and on the immediate bilateral relatives the Tareo traditionally preferred on asymmetrical marital alliance through matrilateral cross-cousin marriages.