CHAPTER III

KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE

According to Radcliffe-Brown, 'a system of kinship and marriage can be looked at as an arrangement which enables persons to live together and co-operate with one another in an orderly social life.' The kinship system of a society is based on the interpersonal social relationships in their interactions with each other. The kinship system also follows certain norms that regulate social behaviour and presents a complex set of norms, of usages, of patterns of behaviour between kindred. Descent is an important way of determining the kinship groups. One principle that may be adopted may be the simple cognatic principle. Here descent is traced back a certain number of generation to both the male and female ancestors giving rise to bilateral descent groups. The other principle puts emphasis on the agnatic or uterine ties forming unilineal descent groups either patrilineal or matrilineal. One important way in which unilineal principle may be used is in the formation of recognised lineage groups as part of the social structure. In some rare cases, there are communities which adopt both patrilineal and matrilineal principles, giving rise to double unilineal descent groups (e.g. Todas).

The Changki society follows unilineal principle based on patrilineal descent. The largest divisions in the society based on this principle are in terms of clan, which in Changki dialect is called kin. A kin (clan) is an exogamous unit where each of the members is believed to be agnatically related. All the members of a kin (clan) refer to each other as pacha (among males) and pachalarai (among females) and this forms the basis of identification between members of a clan even if they happen to be strangers. In Changki we find that the information with regard to the origin of the
clans is vague and the people are reticent of their origins. We surmised that this could be because the oral tradition which was the only way to record legends, stories and history of the people have long been forgotten. With the advent of Christianity and education the people gave up such cultural traits with the belief that all these were heathen practices and in the intervening years much of the information was lost.

In Changki Tenik refers to the forefathers who had settled in the village, got married and had children and in the same manner their sons perpetuated the lineage thus establishing different branches of the lineage, called kidong. The notion of clan, which in Changki dialect is called Kin, is very much ingrained in the psyche of the Changki people. The individual clans are identified by a distinct name which is adopted as the surname of an individual. The clan distinctions are one of the most important social arrangements that define and govern the society.

The social recognition of a person is through membership to a clan. The clan in general is called Kin but when a person refers to his own clan the possessive term used is Pacha. The number of Tenik (which is a combination of two words: Teni, meaning ‘of a group’ and Sanik, meaning of ‘same blood’) or branches of lineages of a clan grouped together is referred to as Kidong (which literally means ‘of one tree’).

Thus in Changki, descent is reckoned through the unilineal principle of agnatic lineage. The agnatic lineage of several generations in depth, tracing back to a common forefather is called Tenik. The Tenik of the clans may be one or more, for the person/s who led the clan to the village are considered to be the first settler/s and thus established lineage or Tenik. The arrangements of blood relations by degrees of nearness are based on the several branches of lineages that sprung from the Tenik, and these branches are referred to as Kidong. The group having agnatic descent in which all the members regard one another as in some specific sense kinsfolk is called in Changki dialect Kin or clan.
In Table XVI the names of the Tenik/s of each clan are given. Tenik in the context of Changki refers to the first settler/s who led the clan to Changki and thereafter settled in the village and is thus regarded as the forefather/s of the clan.

The founding clans namely, Longchari, Amri and Changkiri say that they were together from the very beginning and moved to Changki from Jangpetkong where they had settled for a brief period. The different clans and their forefather/s or Tenik and the chronological order of their settlement in Changki village are given below:

The three founding clans Longchari, Amri and Changkiri established the village. The Longchari clan was led by Koba, the Amri clan was led by Melipong, Jempangjiang and Imtisungkum while the Changkiri clan was led by the descendents of Changkiba; Yangrusangba and Imlisangba.
The Alingri clan has two Tenik, that is, one group led by Noksang came from Nemchem while the other group led by Ingkuba came from Mangla. In the course of migration they had separated and were living in these two different places.

The Metsuiri clan led by Apongtuba came from Mangla which is now in the Lotha area of Wokha district.

The Longkumer clan came in three waves. The first group led by Imtsudangba came from Mangla, the second group led by Sentimongba came with four other clans from Changpang, which is in the Lotha area of Wokha district, while Takushilu, came from Longkhum village (Ao village in the Ongpangkong range).

The Tzudiri clan led by Sabangjungha; the Akhori clan led by Imlenjungha and Nokdang; the Moliri clan led by Bendangnokcha, Mayangjungha and Ningtiba; and the Ningdangri clan led by Tebusangba came along with the Longkumer clan from Changpang, now in the Lotha area of Wokha district.

The Pongenri clan led by Mejongri, the oldest Tenik and the third Tenik Chalupong, came from Aitepong which is now in the Lotha area of Wokha district, the second Tenik led by Imnanokchaba came from Lemjen which is close to Changki village and the fourth and youngest Tinumeri came from Longjang village (Ao village in the Asetkong range).

The Losangri clan led by Akitsung came from Mangla which is now in the Lotha area of Wokha district.

With regard to the Emrem Changki clan, the respondent Anoktiba (78 yrs) could not give the information regarding the first settler or the place from where the clan came and instead gave the present living Tenik, namely that of Longrimeren (Elia) Imtisūja and Lanukaba.
The researcher has taken only the names or the Tenik of the first settler/founder because to trace the genealogy of each clan and the various branches of the Tenik would require a complete study of its own. Therefore the respondents of all the clans were asked to give the name of the first Tenik from whom the various branches sprang forth.

In Changki clan exogamy is practised and Changki is a multi-clan village having thirteen clans each distinctly different from the other in its history, lineage and the distinction is emphasised by the clan name which is used as a surname by the members.

Clan exogamy is strictly enforced and any union within the same clan is considered to be incestuous. Although such strictures are imposed, there have been cases when young people of the same clan fall in love, which have resulted in premarital pregnancy. Traditionally the unacceptable same clan union and the pregnancy brought about by such a union was punished by tying the couple together and throwing them off the highest cliff killing the couple as well as the unborn child. Nowadays such cases of same clan unions are punished by imposing fines and ultimately expulsion from the village if the couple decides to marry. In Changki the fine imposed is Rs.100/- and the couple will have to take an oath that they will not stay together but if they go ahead and live together, they are fined Rs.500/- and expelled from the village. The sum paid as a fine might be considered light but any fine even if it is just 50p carries social implications. The loss of face is felt greatly by the one who is fined and the shame associated with the fining and the ill repute it carries is passed on for generations.

The most important aspect of Changki kinship is the affective as well as jural weight attached to the recognition of paternity. The patrilineal norms, as well as the importance of clan exogamy and the sanctity of marriage are reinforced thus, for a child is born not only into a family but also into a clan. The establishment and recognition of paternity gives legitimacy to the child and ensures that the child belongs to a clan and has
an identity as well as certain privileges, rights and responsibilities as a member of the clan. It is only through clan membership that an individual's social standing is established in society.

To understand how clan membership influences every aspect of life, especially for a male, will be difficult unless one belongs to the society but it might be useful to illustrate this point with a story of a woman who in her teens got involved with a boy of her own clan and gave birth to a son. Although the shame associated with premarital pregnancy and eventual birth of a son out of wedlock was painful and distressing, her ordeal became worse when her son began to grow into adolescence and soon became a young man. The young man had no one to call father, for the progenitor did not acknowledge him as his son, or to take on a clan name for he had no such claims. He was part of the age-set system but although he could take active part and be involved in all the work connected with his age-set grade, he had no right to assume leadership for he did not have any right to hold high office within the traditional village political set-up. Even if he reached the grade where he would automatically become a member of the village government, he would never be given any opportunity to be the Village Council Chairman or Gaon Bura. Men of high individual caliber and most importantly of good lineage held such responsible offices. Moreover he would have no right to own clan lands although he might be permitted to make use of it.

If this was not bad enough, his lack of identity deprived him of maternal uncles who play a very important role in a person's life. The maternal uncles cannot be of the same clan as the father's. The Tiuo Tukori (meaning maternal uncles in Changki dialect) are the brothers of a woman and also includes all her clansmen. The role of the Tiuo Tukori is to protect, support and give assistance to the sister as well as to the nephews and nieces. Technically the young man had maternal uncles but in social terms he had no one to call as his Tiuo Tukori. His parents were of the same clan; therefore he had relations belonging to one clan only. In this situation he could call both his parents' brother's abazemba (elder father) and asa
(younger father) only. He could not call anyone ako (term used to call maternal uncle) to signify that he had Tiuo Tukori. The suffering in this case was as much for the mother as well as the son. The son had no place in the society as far as social status was concerned and the mother was held responsible for the young man's predicament.

The son also does not have a future either because should he want to marry, the question of paternity and lineage would crop up and he would have no reply. Being of 'polluted' stock he would not be able to make a good alliance through marriage at least within his own community.

To have no membership to a clan in one’s own community renders this young man rudderless for he has no identity. And to have no identity means there will be no one to claim him as his own. If he gets into trouble or requires assistance he will not have the support base that the clan or the Tiuo Tukori would have provided in his defense for the simple reason that he does not have anyone in those two categories of relatives.

As the story exemplifies, the clan membership forms the basis of the kinship system in Changki. A person’s life is ruled by this all pervasive aspect of clan in the society. The people identify and recognise the relationships between each other by the usage of classificatory terms which is an important feature of the kinship system. The breach of the law of exogamy is regarded as a very serious social offence because it affects the very social structure of the kinship groups. It affects the accepted pattern of kinship terminology as there are separate sets of specific terminology to address relatives and members of clan from the father’s side as well as from the mother’s side. Social relations of individuals are very largely regulated on the basis of kinship, where patterns of behaviour for each of the recognised relationships are formed between the paternal and maternal kindred. The social roles and categorization of individuals into particular social groups are based on kinship as it is the major organisation principle for the social
structure, therefore a child born out of the same clan union cannot find a place and has no role, status or identity.

In cases where a child is born out of wedlock to parents belonging to different clans, should the man decide not to marry the woman but acknowledges the child by giving it a name on the sixth day as is the norm, the child for all intents and purposes, becomes his child and belongs to the father's clan. The child will be given rights to clan lands and will even have a share in the father's property.

**Kinship Terminology in Changki**

**Cognates:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Changki</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Father's father</td>
<td>Aowo</td>
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<td>2. Father's mother</td>
<td>Azü</td>
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<td>3. Father</td>
<td>Aba</td>
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<td>4. Father's elder brother</td>
<td>Abazemba</td>
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<td>5. Father's younger brother</td>
<td>Asa</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Father's brother's wife</td>
<td>If of speaker's mother's clan <em>azümo</em> if older, and <em>anuzai</em> if younger than speaker's mother. Otherwise <em>aya</em> with name.</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Father's sister</td>
<td>Ata</td>
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<td>8. Father's sister's husband</td>
<td>If descended from the speaker's mother's clan <em>Ako</em>. Otherwise <em>aba</em> with name.</td>
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<tr>
<td>9. Mother's father</td>
<td>Aowo</td>
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<td>10. Mother's mother</td>
<td>Azü</td>
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<td>12. Mother</td>
<td>Aya</td>
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<td>13. Mother's brother</td>
<td>Ako</td>
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<td>14. Mother's brother's wife</td>
<td>If of speaker's clan <em>Ata</em>. If not so related but of speaker's grandmother's clan <em>Azü</em>.</td>
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<td>15. Mother's elder sister</td>
<td>Azümo</td>
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<td>16. Mother's younger sister</td>
<td>Anuzai</td>
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<td>17. Mother's sister's husband</td>
<td>If of speaker's clan <em>abazemba</em> or <em>asa</em> according to age. Otherwise <em>sowo</em> with name, <em>aba</em> with name or <em>anga</em> with name.</td>
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<td>Number</td>
<td>Relationship</td>
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<td>Elder brother</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>Younger brother</td>
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<td>Elder sister</td>
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<td>Younger sister</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>Father’s brother’s son</td>
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<td>23</td>
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<td>Daughter’s son</td>
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<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Daughter’s daughter</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Affines:**

1. Husband ---------------------------------- Name. When speaking of him to a third person Kūbaza.
2. Wife ------------------------------------- Name. When speaking of her to a third person Kūnho.
3. Wife’s father ----------------------------- If of speaker’s mother’s clan Ako. Otherwise Aowo with name or Aba with name according to age.
4. Wife’s mother ----------------------------- If of speaker’s clan Ata. If of speaker’s mother’s clan Aya. If not of speaker’s clan but of his grandmother’s clan Azū. If no such relation traceable Azūmo with name, or Anuzai with name according to age.
5. Husband’s father -------------------------- As for wife’s father.
6. Husband’s mother -------------------------- As for wife’s mother.
7. Wife's brother ........................ If his mother is of speaker's clan Kümak. Otherwise Ako or name.
8. Wife's elder sister ........................ If her mother is of speaker's clan Küm. Otherwise Ata.
11. Husband's elder sister ........................ Ithung.
12. Husband's younger sister ........................ Ithung.
13. Wife's elder sister's husband ............... Kuzaba
14. Wife's younger sister husband ............... Kuzaba
15. Husband's elder brother's wife .............. If of speaker's clan Ata. Otherwise Ithung.
16. Husband's younger brother's wife ............ If of speaker's clan Kūnu. Otherwise Ithung.
17. Wife's brother's wife ........................ If of speaker's clan Ata or Kūnu. Otherwise name used.
18. Husband's sister's husband .................. If of speaker's clan Anga or Kūnu according to age. Otherwise name used.

In the kinship terminology we observe that the terms used to address the various relatives are based on clan membership. Apart from a man's immediate relatives from his father and mother's side we also find that clan members play an important role. A man regards all the clanmen who are his father's age as his father or aba, his father's older brothers and those belonging to his age grade as abazemba or older father, his father's younger brothers and their age grade as assa or younger father, his older brother's age grade as anga or older brother, his younger brother's age grade as kenu or younger brother and his age grade as keti or brother. His father's sisters are called ata or sister by the Mongsen speaking group while among the Tsüngli group the father's sisters are called 'oni'.

Both his paternal and maternal grandmothers are called azzū or grandmother, and both his paternal and maternal grandfathers are called saw. The women belonging to his grandmother's clan, regardless of their age, even those who are younger to him will be called azzū. In the same way, his grandfathers' clansmen are called saw or grandfather regardless of their age. All grandchildren whether male or female is called by the same term -
An ego's older sister is called azumō or older mother; his mother's younger sister is called annzai or younger mother. All his mother's clanswomen are called either azumō or annzai depending on their age, in effect all his mother's clanswomen are his 'mothers'. His mother's brothers are called ako and this term is used for all his mother's clansmen.

The most important kinship relations of a man are evidently those with the members of his own agnatic lineage. But the man's maternal brothers are also persons with whom kinship is important and in the same token so are the children of his sister, especially the sons of his sister. In the kinship relationship between the man and the sons of his sister, there is reciprocal exchange of rights and duties. There are various categories of kinship relationships in Changki which are given in the following:

**Relationship with agnates**

We find that in the Changki kinship system the father's brothers constitute one category and the mother's brothers and sister's sons another. A man's agnates are all regarded as father, brother and son depending on their age. All clansmen are regarded as 'abazemba' (older father), 'asad' (younger father), 'anga' (older brother), 'kenit' (younger brother) and 'keti' (brother).

The father's brothers are regarded as the man's 'older' ('abazemba') or 'younger' ('asad') fathers. A man's relationship to his father's brothers is significantly closer for he calls them father and in the event that his father's brothers die without leaving any heirs, he becomes their heir and inherits all immovable property. The father-eldest son relationship is usually one where the father is an authoritarian figure when the boy is growing up. The belief is that the son must respect and defer to the father and through strict discipline, learn to be a 'man'. As the boy matures into early adulthood, the relationship becomes closer with the father consulting the son on every matter, such as building or repairing a house, looking after the rice fields, concerning family matters such as education of the younger siblings and so
on. As the son becomes an adult, much of the responsibilities with regard to property (house sites, rice fields, and forests), family welfare, and clan matters and so on are put on him and his father begins to rely on his judgment and advice. In the same token if the father's brothers do not have any sons, the father's brothers' also look upon their brother's eldest son as their own and take him into confidence and consult him on all matters relating to property, family matters and other sundry matters. As the heir the son is expected to know every detail for he will soon be the head of the family. The man is also is also rendered every possible assistance by his father's brothers but his filial duty towards them is greater and often he has to obey them and carry out whatever responsibilities he has been assigned.

Among the parallel cousins the oldest male is regarded as the eldest brother and thus he become the guardian and protector among them and he is given respect and deference by his cousins. The relationship of the man with his paternal kin is based on obedience and respect and he has legal as well as social obligations to perform according to customary usages.

Tiuo Tukori

In Changki society a great deal of importance is attached to the relationship of mother's brother and sister's son. The mother's brothers are called Tiuo Tukori, which translated means maternal uncles. However when the children address him, he is called 'ako'. The Tiuo Tukori (maternal uncles) is regarded as the guardians of their sister and her children and their role is to safeguard their interest. They are expected to support and protect their sister and her children in everything. If the sister is mistreated or abandoned by her husband, her brothers will be the first person she turns to for help and redress. The nephews and nieces also look to their maternal uncles for material help and moral support. For example, if there is a case against a person, it is not only the paternal uncles and clansmen who will be there to defend him. His maternal uncles will be there too and if the need arises they can also speak on his behalf.
The term *Tiuo Tukori* also applies to all the mother's agnates and the elders of the mother's clan also play an important role especially in times of crisis or celebrations. The *Tiuo Tukori* gives security to the sister as well as to her children. In a sense, for the woman, her position in the natal home as well as in her clan is maintained and the continuity is through the relationship with the *Tiuo Tukori* who acts as her guardian and protector. The *Tiuo Tukori* will never allow any slight or harm to be inflicted on her and on her children and they will always be on call should she need them. This does not mean that the *Tiuo Tukori* can arbitrarily interfere in their sister's affairs. If any crisis should arise between husband and wife they are the one's to act as the mediators and try to patch up things.

The personal relationship between the husband and his wife's brothers is also an important factor but in any event, the *Tiuo Tukori* does not have the right to interfere in their sister's internal domestic affairs. But should the sister misbehave or does not perform her duties, the brothers have the right to upbraid and 'straighten' her out for her behaviour reflects on their standing with her in-laws. The relationship between the *Tiuo Tukori* and their sister's in-laws in general are rather formal and distant and hence each tries to maintain equidistance and decorum. However, the relationship between the children and the mother's brothers is more intimate and friendly and there is more indulgence and affection between the *Tiuo Tuko* and their nephews and nieces. The nephews are called *Kumnak* and the nieces *Kuomo* by the *Tiuo Tukori*.

**Tiuo Tukori and Temnakja**

*Temnakja* are male offspring born to a man's sisters or clanswomen. However the sons born to a man's sister is called the *Temnak Temen*, meaning 'closest by blood'. A man becomes the *Temnak Temen* of his mother's brothers and his sister's sons are his *Temnak Temen*. However the sister's sons are commonly called *Temnakja*. 
The term *Temnakja* roughly translated means 'to guard'. The duty of the nephew is thus to guard his maternal uncle and to be on hand to give support, both physical and material, throughout his lifetime. In the same token, the grandson born to a daughter is also his 'guard' and 'protector'. However it is the relationship between the maternal uncle and nephew that is more specific and important for it is one of dependence and exchange, which in the traditional custom, is an indispensable part of a man's life.

In the same token, the son's of all his clanswomen are his *Temnakja* but his closest *Temnakja* are his nephews born to his real sisters. All *Temnakja* are addressed as *Kumnak*. The call of duty for the *Temnakja* is confined not only to big events like weddings, funerals or for emergencies. He is the one who is on hand for his uncle for every little thing that might be required. The *Temnakja* will stand as witness when demarcation of land is carried out through sale or purchase or when other disputes arises; the *Temnakja* will accompany the maternal uncle on certain occasions such as when going outside the village for medical treatment and so on. The maternal uncle relies and depends on his *Temnakja* not only for physical support but the obedience and duty that he can command from his *Temnakja* also enhances his social standing and respectability in the village. *Tuo Tukori* and *Temnakja* share a reciprocal relationship.

**Chanakri – Relationship with affines**

The sister's husbands (brother-in-law) and daughter's husbands are called *Chanakri* and they have certain duties and obligations towards their in-laws. The *Chanakri* are the male affines through marriage. The *Chanakri* is the caretaker of the sister and daughter and he is the progenitor of the man's *Temnakja* and thus he is accorded due respect and privilege. In times of celebrations, accidents or tragedies etc. the *Chanakri* works in close tandem with the *Temnakja* and undertakes responsibilities according to the situation. A man can call for his *Chanakri's* services anytime and they will be duty bound to carry out whatever tasks have been assigned to them. In the
same token, a man is obliged to give support and help whenever his Chanakri requires.

The difference between the Temnakja and Chanakri used to be emphasised in the meat share, for the share of the Temnakja was bigger than that of the Chanakri. In Changki it is said that the Temnakja is related by blood while the Chanakri are like the ‘nokpang’, which means the handle of the dao (Naga version of the machete), which can be broken anytime. The relationship with the Temnakja is for life and they are an integral part of a man's life while that of the Chanakri could change either due to death or divorce and the Chanakri could become the in-law of another family. Thus the meat share of the Temnakja was always bigger. However such differentiation is not prevalent nowadays.

**Temnakri – Relationship with Temnakja and Chanakri**

Both the Temnakja and Chanakri of a man are called Temnakri. These will include the sons of a man's sister and the sons of his clanswomen, who are his Temnakja and brothers-in-law and sons-in-law who are called Chanakri. The Temnakri are the ones to whom a man will turn to whenever the need arises. In times of emergencies, tragedies, celebrations etc the Temnakri work together. The Temnakja and Chanakri are addressed as Teza Temnak.

At the empirical level we find that although each household is independent and follows the neolocal pattern of residence, the linkages with the clan, the Tiuo Tukori and the Temnakja is one of interdependence. The family affairs are conducted independently and privately but there are certain spheres where the clan, Tiuo Tukori and Temnakja can intervene such as during marriage, funerals and divorce as well as inheritance should there be any dispute regarding the distribution of shares of the inheritance.

The various categories of relatives, described so far, form the various network of kinship relationship in Changki society but the foundation of the
kinship relations is based on membership to a clan. The clan is the most important factor in a man’s life and citizenship in the village is determined by membership to a clan which is by birth.

Clan system

David G. Mandelbaum in Society in India in speaking of the tribal wrote “in tribal life the principal links for the whole society are based on kinship. Individual equality as kinsman is assumed; dependency and subordination among men are minimized. Agnatic bonds form the fundamental web, affinal ties are of lesser significance. Lineages or clans tend to be the chief corporate units; they are often the principal units for land ownership, for defense, for economic production and consumption. Each man considers himself entitled to equal rights with every other.” He went on to say that “most tribesmen have larger corporate groups than the family and wider social cooperation.” According to A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, the term ‘clan’ has been used without any clear definition but that it should be used only for a group having unilineal descent in which all the members regard one another as in some specific sense kinfolk. Membership to a clan is normally determined by birth and the structure of clans from the point of view of an individual appears to be a grouping of his relatives. ‘A clan system, however, also provides a division of a tribe into a number of distinct separate groups, each having its own identity. The clan may then, as groups, play an important part in the social, political or religious life of the tribe.’ B. Malinowski stated that ‘the functions of the clan are mostly legal and ceremonial, at times also magical and economic.’ He went on to say that ‘the clan, by the very nature of its formation, is a dependent and correlated unit.’ The clan is not only a corporate unit in the legal or jural sense but is also the primary political association. The clan system, in the context of Changki society, first of all provides the individual with citizenship, and thus identity, in the village with its attendant legal rights and duties. Secondly the clan forms the principal unit for land ownership and lastly the political association is based on the founding clans who control the majority of land
holdings in the village and who are accepted as traditional leaders by virtue of being the founding clans.

The hierarchical order of the clans is governed by the migration of the clans to the village. The first settlers in the village are called the *Emkümri* or founding clans. Occupation of land for cultivation and settlement as well as reserved forests distinguishes the founding clans from the clans who settled in the village later and are called *Emjenri* or latecomers. The founding of a village usually comprised of many clans so that clan exogamy was maintained. Thus in Changki we find that there are three founding clans, namely the Longchari, Amri and Changkirri clans. Originally there were seven clans, but three clans went their separate ways, while one clan died out. In the intervening years after the village was established if any other clans wanted to settle in the village, they were welcomed for the status of the village as a 'big' village in relation to other villages was enhanced by the increase in the population.

In the earlier days when migration took place, those coming in groups kept their own clan names, for example, the Alingri, Metsüri, Süngalosang, Ongtsüri/Longkumer, Akbori, Tzüdiri and Ningdangri clans and maintained their clan identity. In the case of the Pongenri clan, although it was an individual who migrated to Changki, as he was brought to the village to be the *Tsüngba* or priest, he was given due respect by being allowed to maintain his clan name.

When other groups of people migrated to the village at a later stage, it was also an accepted custom for these groups to attach themselves to the founding clans which is known as *'kin emba'* (literal translation is to cultivate a clan, but it also means to acknowledge or be adopted by a clan) or *'teba emba'* (literally it means to call father) or *'tinu emba'* (which translated means to attach to a clan) but although they were given lands and treated as the sons/brothers of the clan to which they had attached themselves, their origins were not forgotten even after they got assimilated and became a part
of the clan with rights and duties. Thus the people who migrated and settled in the village as a group, family or individual were granted citizenship in the village through this system of adoption. The people who were adopted in the past when the village was established and was strengthening its numerical power have been assimilated and through the ages have become members of the clan that adopted them but even today there are whispers of their origins though such thoughts are not expressed openly. The oral tradition has ensured that the lore and history of the people are preserved and handed down.

Earlier non-Naga individuals were also allowed to attach themselves to a clan elder and call him ‘father’ and were adopted as his son/s. There are a number of such cases of non-Nagas in the village who got married to Changki women and settled in the village and they are accepted as Changki villagers but nowadays the Village Council does not allow the adoption of non-Nagas. The following tables show the groups and individuals who migrated to Changki, attached themselves to the Changki clans and settled in the village.

Table XVII

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No</th>
<th>Village of origin</th>
<th>Adopting Clan in Changki</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Khensa Mastu (from Khensa territory)</td>
<td>Pongemri clan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Khensa Mastu</td>
<td>Amri clan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Khensa village</td>
<td>Metstri clan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Longsa village</td>
<td>Emrem Changki clan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Unger village</td>
<td>Metstri clan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Waronsong village</td>
<td>Longchari clan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Khangtsung village</td>
<td>Metstri clan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Aonokpu village</td>
<td>Longkumer clan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Mangmetong village</td>
<td>Longkumer clan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Nemchem village</td>
<td>Pongemri clan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Japfu</td>
<td>Longkumer clan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Ungma</td>
<td>Emrem Changki clan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table XVII shows the individuals who migrated from various Ao villages and attached themselves to various clans in Changki and settled in Changki. These settlers are those who came to the village circa 1960-1980. As per legend, Changki village was established about eight to nine hundred years ago.

In Table XVIII we find that eighteen individuals who belong to other Naga tribes and non-Nagas have attached themselves to various clans. They have been adopted by members of these clans and have been given plots of land for residential sites and for cultivation. But the land will never become their private property nor will it be inherited by their children. The clan will make the final decision regarding the land upon the demise of the adopted man.

Table XVIII
Other Naga tribes/Non-Nagas that migrated and settled in Changki village

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SL.No</th>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>Adopting Clan in Changki</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bengali</td>
<td>Metsiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Bengali</td>
<td>Metsiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Nepali</td>
<td>Changkiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Nepali</td>
<td>Changkiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Nepali</td>
<td>Changkiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Nepali</td>
<td>Changkiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Nepali</td>
<td>Changkiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Malayali</td>
<td>Changkiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Assamese</td>
<td>Amri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Adivasi</td>
<td>Changkiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Anglo Indian</td>
<td>Tsidiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Manipuri</td>
<td>Longchari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Chang Naga tribe</td>
<td>Changkiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Yimchunger Naga tribe</td>
<td>Longchari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Chakesang Naga tribe</td>
<td>Alimgri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Manipuri</td>
<td>Amri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Yimchunger Naga tribe</td>
<td>Amri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Nepali</td>
<td>Longkumer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The adoption process whereby a group/individual will attach themselves to a clan by calling them father and who will in turn be given land and other rights and duties as per the norm proves the importance of clan membership and how much of a role it plays in the lives of the people. As a rule it is mandatory that a person attaches himself to a clan in order to be a member of the village community. The adoption process was confined to the clan alone. When an adoption takes place, the person who wants to call a clan elder 'father' will find out the possibilities and will send feelers through friends and relatives of the man. If the request is in the affirmative, the 'son' will give a gift of the clan's shawl or take a pig and kill in the 'father's' house, the pig's head will be given to the 'father' and the rest of the meat cooked and the whole family will have a meal together. In this the Temnakri (sister/clanswomen's sons and brother-in-laws/son-in-law) will be present too and the man who has allowed another person to call him 'father' will declare to all the news. In this way, the adoption is finalized. There are no hard and fast rules that a pig must be killed but in the event of a pig being killed by the 'adopted' son at a later date for whatever purpose, he will present the pig's head to his 'father' as a sign of respect. However when it comes to adoption of small children, the people have a belief that should a couple adopt a child, even if they are childless; the adopted child would 'eat' up all the family fortune and bring bad luck. The adoption of children of unknown lineage is discouraged, but the couple can adopt children of their own relatives who are orphaned. However the parentage of the children remains unchanged and they will belong to the clan into which they were born. The question of adopting a child, in addition to a couple's children does not arise at all, because it is believed that the adopted child would take away all the luck, fortune and even life of the couple's own children. Therefore the adoption process remains restricted to the clan only.

The clan is the source from where a man derives his identity, his rights, along with its attendant duties and obligations, and social standing in the village. The people assert that there are no sharp divisions based on clan
membership in the village for each man is regarded as good as the other but we find that there is a differentiation between that of the founding clans and the clans who came later. This is most evident with regard to land and its usage.

With each successive wave of migration into Changki village, the founding clans namely the Longchari, Amri and Changkiri gave land for cultivation and settlement to the clans who settled in Changki later. The Longchari and Amri clans hold the majority of land holdings in the upper khel while in the lower khel vast land holdings are held by the Changkiri clan.

The settlement patterns by clans in the village show that in the upper khel the following clans have settled there namely, the Longchari, Amri, Changkiri, Alingri, Pongenri and Metsüri. In the lower khel we find that the clans who have settled there are Changkiri, Metsüri, Emrem Changki, Losangri, Longkumer, Tzüdiri, Molir, Ningdangri and Akhori. The settlement patterns also indicate the migration of the clans to the village.

Table XIX
Population and households based on clan in Sündakba (upper khel)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SI No</th>
<th>Clan</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>No. of households</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Longchari</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Amri</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Alingri</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Metsüri</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Ningdangri</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Pongenri</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>386</strong></td>
<td><strong>394</strong></td>
<td><strong>195</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Table XIX we find that there are six clans settled in Sündakba or the upper khel and the number of households is 195. The total population stands at 780 out of which 386 are males and 394 are females.
Table XX

Population and households based on clan in Ayim Anet (lower khel)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SI No</th>
<th>Clan</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>No. of Households</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Changkiri</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Longkumer</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Metsiri</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Trúdiri</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Moliri</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Akbori</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Ningdangri</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Pongenri</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Losangri</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Emreem Changki</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>460</td>
<td>426</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table above shows that in Ayim Anet or the lower khel, there are ten clans and there are 261 households comprising a total population of 886 out of which 460 are males and 426 are females. It may be noted that the Metsiri, Pongenri and Ningdangri clans are settled in both the khels. Earlier the Changkiri clan also lived in the upper khel but they have all died out and as such the Changkiri clan is found only in the lower khel at present.

One of the distinctions that differentiate the founding clans from the other clans who settled in the village later is land ownership. When the first settlers established the village, the first ritual was to demarcate a separate site for worship where religious ceremonies would be performed. After this sites were selected for the Arju or male dormitories and for the village meeting/recreational place. Then the founding clans would choose locations for residential sites as well as for jhum cultivation. In this way we find that majority of the land holdings would be in the hands of the founding clans. However when other clans came and settled in the village at a later stage they were allocated land for cultivation and settlement, and these become their lands and the clans have exclusive rights to the land allocated to them.

The founding clans have certain rights and privileges and even though each Changki man is regarded as equal to the other, the concept of Emkümri
(or founding clan) has certain prestige attached. Their status as *Emkūmri* (founding clan) commands respect and in subtle ways they are accorded deference. For example, when they founded the village, the founding clans established their own system of government called ‘emli’. Accordingly the village government was run and when the other clans migrated and settled in the village, they became incorporated into the existing system. Thus ‘emli’ (system of village government) was the established system by the founding clans but in the execution of the administrative work, the later clans also had rights and duties and could be part of the government. The *Emkūmri* use the phrase ‘*i emli teraksa*’ which translated mean ‘don’t break our *emli*’. In other words they are laying claim to the privilege of having been the ones to establish the village ‘emli’ (system of village government) and thereby proclaim their position as founding clans. Sometimes when disputes arises and the other clans express their opinions which is unacceptable to the *Emkūmri* (founding) clans they use the phrase ‘*yasū ra zangairi ningla nū ta metekiti*’, which translated mean ‘you all came only yesterday, what do you know.’ In this way, they effectively assert their dominant position in the village.

With regard to land and its allocation the *Emkūmri* (founding clans) has the major land holdings such as residential sites, cultivation and jhum lands and forests in the immediate vicinity of the village site. The other clan members who might want to utilise these lands or the products from it such as bamboo, wood, etc owned by the founding clans will have to take permission from them. In this way the relationship between that of the founding clans and the other clans was one where there was reciprocity, based on land and its usage. The founding clans dispensed the land and the receiver of the land was obliged to perform certain favours in return, although this is not tacitly stated. In this form of exchange we find an informal system of patron-client relationship although it is not rigidly followed.
We find that in Changki the founding clans are called 'kin asem' which translated simply mean 'the three clans' while the other clans are called 'kin tebenja' meaning the 'rest of the clans'. In this way the people themselves differentiate between the founding clans and the other clans who settled in the village later.

It has been mentioned that other clans who migrated to the village at a later stage can attach themselves to the clans already settled in the village by calling the oldest clan member or other clan elders 'father'. However the origin of the adopted clan/group is never forgotten although they are given land for cultivation and residential sites. Should any clan member migrate to another village, he forfeits all rights to the land and if he has private property he can sell or give only to his clan members. In this way, land never gets fragmented and the stability and continuity of land ownership by the villagers alone has contributed to the traditional land ownership patterns.

According to A. R. Radcliffe Brown, a clan may be spoken of as 'corporate' when it possesses any one of a certain number of characters: if its members, or its adult male members, or a considerable of them, come together occasionally to carry out some collective action – for example, the performance of rites; if it has a chief or council who are regarded as the representatives of the group as a whole; if it possesses or controls property which is collective, as when a clan or lineage is a land-owning group. Following this assertion we may say that the clans in Changki are corporate groups with land holdings that are exclusively meant for the use of members of the particular clan. David G. Mandelbaum also wrote that “tribal lands tend to be vested in clans; the kinsmen of a clan together share a productive territory.” Any other clan members taking out even a twig from the land/forest are fined not only by the clans whose property he encroached but also by his own clan for breaching the code of conduct and bringing shame to his clan. The rules of exclusive rights where land is concerned are so deeply ingrained that violation of the rules is not tolerated. But in Changki nowadays some portions of the forests belonging to the clans are put in the
category of reserved forests and are considered protected areas. In such forests the clan members themselves cannot take anything from it unless the ‘Yimten’ or village government grants permission although the forest and its produce may belong to the clan.

Just as land holdings are exclusive to the clan, personal or the first names are also the exclusive property of a clan and within the clan there can be no duplication of a name. It is believed that if the same name of a clan member is given to another child born to the clan, the minor does not survive for long. Each name has meanings and lore attached that commemorate certain events or achievements, which could be personal or pertaining to the clan. Such names were the means through which the history and legends of the clan were passed on from one generation to the other through the oral tradition.

Certain names also signify the special relationship between clans. For example, the name POKTENBA belongs to the Changkiri clan. Legend has it that at one point of time this clan was about to end with KCHARIBONG (only son of ACHUSANGBA) as no woman was willing to marry him because he was blind. There was a girl called TSUNANGSANGLA of the Alining clan, whose parents wanted her to marry Kharibong, telling her that though he was blind, she could become the mistress of vast landholdings and large cultivated fields and could live a life of comfort for Kharibong belonged to the founding clan. But she refused saying she did not want to marry a blind man.

It so happened that Kharibong was Tsünangsangla’s neighbour and being blind he could not do any work except sit in the kilangmi, which is an open platform built with bamboos, keeping guard over the paddy being dried in the sun. He was given a long stick with which to drive away the chickens when they came to eat the paddy. From the adjoining kilangmi, Tsünangsangla used to tease Kharibong by imitating the chickens eating paddy and he would swing the stick in the direction of the sound. When Kharibong’s parents became aware of this, they tied a charm (AWALONG) at
the end of the stick and when Tsünangsangla teased him the next day, he hit her with the stick that had the charm tied to the end, legend says that she became enamoured of him. That very night, she informed her parents that she would marry only Kharibong and soon they got married. A son was born and he was called POKTENBA, which means 'begins to burst forth' because the clan which was on the verge of extinction began to 'burst forth' with Kharibong. Two more sons YANGRUSANGBA and IMLISANGBA were born, augmenting the great hope expressed through the name of the first born. Thus through this name and the lore attached to it the special affinal relationship between the two clans are kept alive.

Another example is the name IMTINOCHET belonging to the Changkiri clan. The name means 'one who brought a whole clan/group/people'. It refers to the lore where Imdongdangba fell in love with Takuyangrula and in his bid to bring her to the village the whole group from Changpang was brought to Changki village. The historical migration of the group is thus preserved and handed down through generations with the lore attached to this name.

In Table XXI some of the personal names of each clan in Changki are given. These names are unique to the particular clan and the other clans cannot use these personal names. Most of the names are gender neutral. However in a few cases they are gender specific, for example the name Naro (flower) is for females only and the name Anok (Dao-Naga machete) is for males only.

The clans in Changki have no affinity to other Ao clans in the numerous Ao villages in general, except for the Longkumer clan (who were one of the last settlers in Changki) for they can trace their origin to Longkhum village in the Ongbangkong range and still maintain relationships with their clansmen there. It is told that a Longkumer man was careless in setting fire to the jhum field and nearly burnt down the whole village. This was one of the greatest offences a man could commit and
so fearing the penalty of such an offence, he along with his family and his brother's family and some other people fled the village and settled in Mangla, which is now in the Lotha area. From Mangla his brother went back to Longkhum village after some time. The others however moved on to Pangti, then to Aitepong and from there to Changpang which are all in the Lotha area now. It was from Changpang that this clan along with four other clans migrated to Changki and settled there.

Table XXI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No</th>
<th>Clan</th>
<th>Personal names belonging exclusively to clans in Changki</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Longchari</td>
<td>Tinuniken, Tekachang, Talimethong, Kungrola, Taliwabangla, Aorepla etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Azoti</td>
<td>Thaitung, Nisoba, Jungmiia, Mesudien, Relipangla, Angtisung, Melipong, Jempangiang, Yangpichang etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Changkiri</td>
<td>Lolentsungba, Poktenba, Yangrusangba, Tasungba, Karibong, Sangkai, Tsibongnikiem, Yanginok, Yaranmaro, Changkika etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Alingri</td>
<td>Ningsukaka, Noksang, Longendi, Semaa, Ponen, Kupzasti, Lodonga, Mongyang, Ranggo etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Metsuri</td>
<td>Senprong, Imsempirong, Kilangzulu, Imtiaseen, Watisang, Imsenkilepla, Katnangba etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Longkumer</td>
<td>Mosemsa, Risendong, Okipong, Yangpir, Imtsudangba, Imnasosang, Nikenmiri, Supisula, Chungsminaro, Jungmayangla, etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Tsadiri</td>
<td>Pangjunglemba, Nangshikaba, Sanghi, Sabangjungleba, etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Moliri</td>
<td>Kumsangdong, Ts古典ezu, Ningtiba, Tekalema etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Akhori</td>
<td>Imrongzulu, Nokdang, Imlenjungleba, Sühongtemjen etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Ningfangri</td>
<td>Pangerlemba, Tsupokyiimla, Limastingba, Jungkotemba, Nokzenketba, Tebusangba etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Pongesuri</td>
<td>Chahupong, Abangsen, Mejangri, Yimtsülaba, Tsiangsen, Odangba etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Losangri</td>
<td>Tsimangkɛmpong, Semoba, Imnasangla, Aibangnaro, Sühongsangla, Menekchachemla etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Emrem Changki</td>
<td>Anoktiba, Tekangba, Sakumiken, Lamudangti etc</td>
</tr>
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The names of the clans of Changki are also distinctly different from the other Ao clans. J. P. Mills in The Ao Nagas puts forward the theory that
the Changki, Mongsen and Chungli groups represent three waves of invasion of which the Changki group was the first and the Chungli the last. However the Metsuri clan of Changki claims that they belong to the Jamir clan (Ao clan) and collaborates this by the personal names given to their clansmen such as Imsenpirong who belonged to the Jamir clan and was the one who discovered water according to Ao legend. From this we also see how personal names of particular clans can support claims of identification and membership. There is also a story as to why the Metsuri are called by this name. It appears that in the ancient past this clan refused to contribute towards the village fund and so the other Changki villagers called them Metsuri or ‘those who did not participate/contribute’ and the name stuck on. The Alingri clan also claims to have affinity with the Longchar clan, another Ao clan found in various villages. However the Changki Senso (Changki General Assembly) has declared that all Changki clans should retain their original names and do not attach much importance to such claims.

But although the clan as a unit forms a close knit group, we also find that intra-clan rivalry exists and the members compete with each other especially in matters of seniority of Tenik or lineage. Being the ‘oldest’ has certain prestige attached, for he becomes the guardian of the clan and his advice and opinions are sought and his decision becomes final. In the distribution of meat too, the oldest member gets the head of the animal, signifying his position as well as the respect that it brings. As mentioned earlier the clan’s history begins with its migration to the village for this establishes the position of the clan in the village society. The history of lineages of the clans in the village is somewhat vague for many of the old people who knew the genealogical order of the lineages are dead and those who may have some idea prefer not to talk about it because this is another sensitive issue, given that they have to rely on the oral tradition and that certain sections of the people are quick to take offence about the chronological order of the lineages and this has led to misunderstandings and even the taking of fines.
The researcher had a first hand experience of this in the village in the course of the fieldwork. One of the clansmen had given me a chart of the Longkumer clan’s genealogical lineage. When I showed this to the clan’s elders in the village so as to confirm that what I had got was true, it stirred up a hornet’s nest with many of the elders disputing the chronological order and claiming that their lineage was older than the other. I was also warned not to venture into the issue of other clans’ genealogical lineages for I would be fined pigs. Such issues are very sensitive and most people tend to keep to themselves any knowledge, if they have, of such issues to themselves.

The relationship between kinsmen depends on the chronological seniority of clan members and this is acknowledged by way of the respect shown and in the distribution of meat on certain occasions. On the occasion of a marriage the oldest clan member will receive the head of a pig and in this way respect is shown. The presence of clan elders also gives respectability to the people concerned. For example, on the occasion of a funeral it is the oldest clan member who will represent the clan by giving a eulogy, in his absence the next oldest member will do the honour and so on. It is believed that the clan elders give ‘akum’ which roughly translated means to give honour, grace and the acknowledgement of kinship. The presence of clan elders on such occasion gives respectability and importance to one’s standing in society and lends a certain aura emphasising the seriousness of the occasion.

We find that age and generation play an important role in the network of kinship relationships. Status is ascribed on the basis of age and generational levels and a kinship member’s form of behaviour and allocation of material benefits in relation to those of another member are partly determined by age and generational factors. Within the same generation, older members took precedence over younger members; members of a senior generation took precedence over those of a younger generation. Older persons are accorded due respect and younger persons are expected to obey the older
ones. With other clan members age and generational factors also play an important role.

In the interaction between the elders and younger members of a clan we find that they are formal and circumspect. The younger people cannot joke or even speak unless they are asked to in front of their elders and they cannot afford to show disrespect under any circumstances. Any verbal exchange that has sexual connotations is taboo between a man and a woman belonging to the same clan; it is strongly felt that it may be considered as incestuous.

The clan as we find in Changki is an exclusive and corporate body and in order to keep the traditions of the clan active and to ensure that the bonds of clan members are not severed, all the clans in Changki congregate once every two to three years in Changki lusa or territory. Each clan will organise its own ‘Kūbok Waba’ (which translated literally means to go camping) every once in a while. For example, in January 2004 we observed that the Metsüri clan held their camp in the Tzurang area.

The members who are residing outside the village are also informed and are expected to come to the village. The clan elders decide on a place within Changki lusa (territory) and the clan male members set up camp there for about two days and night. In this camp the members get to know each other and the elders tell stories of the clan history, heroes and legends. The younger generations are told about the clan territory, rights, responsibilities and traditions. In this way the bonding between clan members are forged and reinforced and the clan as a tight knit group is strengthened. The youngsters learn the intricacies of clan ningja kuja meaning terminologies, awasū meaning manners, sala sana meaning discussions of the clan nunngtak meaning needs and agenda. Other confidential matters with regard to the clan are also discussed during such camps. At such times a live pig as well as other ration is taken to the camp that has been bought with the money collected for the clan fund, through
membership fees from the clansmen annually. Such money is kept with a treasurer and utilized for purposes pertaining to the clan.

Among the women such camps are not held but the women too have their pachalari (clanswomen) fund which is collected from the members either in cash or kind. For example, the Longkumer clanswomen collected one tin of paddy (a tin holds approximately 10 kg of paddy) from each member and the paddy collected was sold. The money collected from the sale of the paddy was kept with the treasurer of the clanswomen fund. This money is lent out to clanswomen from time to time on an interest of Rs.3 for every Rs.100. The money is utilized for various purposes such as when a clanswoman falls ill then with the money from the fund either cash or kind is given in the name of the clanswomen. Again should a clanswoman get married then a small present is bought from this fund in the name of the clanswomen.

We have stated that the clan as a group forms a close knit and exclusive group and every member is expected to act in cooperation, collaboration and even self-sacrifice for the good of the clan. The clan as a group is very conscious and careful about keeping a good name and image, as it were, and the elders takes pains to ensure that the younger clan members do not bring a ‘bad name’ to the clan and in this way the elders can be authoritarian in their dealings with the younger generation. The phrase ‘ning menok’ meaning ‘defaming the name of the clan and throwing it into the gutter’ is often repeated and told to those who are in the habit of getting into trouble. No matter where a person is settled, the clan elders in the village can summon him to the village if he brings shame to the clan. No one can ignore this summon for even if the person concerned may try to escape, his family and relatives will make sure that he obeys the dictates of the clan elders. In the village the clan elders will roundly chastise, berate and even fine him. But no matter what a person does or how badly he conducts himself, his clansmen will never abandon him. He may be treated with disdain and contempt but when it comes to the crunch in any circumstances
the clan will be there for him, not so much as for the love of that particular person, but for the sake of the name of the clan.

The relationship of the clanswomen with that of the younger generation is more relaxed and intimate but here too, the women often act as the teacher often lecturing the youngsters on how to behave, how to speak and conduct themselves so that the name of the clan will not be tarnished. Obedience and duty towards parents, family and clan elders are emphasised. ‘Tening Tebong eneriron’ this is the usual phrase used by the clanswomen which translated it means ‘bring good name to the clan’. The prestige, good name and reputation of the clan is zealously guarded and all clansmen and clanswomen are keenly conscious of this and accordingly try to preserve and maintain it. It is this obsessive and passionate need to preserve the name of the clan that anything remotely thought of as a slur on the clan exacts an immediate fine and thus other clans are very careful and circumspect when it comes to other clans, as this is a very sensitive issue.

The possessive right that the clan has over the clan members can be best illustrated by the examples of certain clan members who make a name for themselves and reach great heights of achievement in their lifetime. Even if he has settled elsewhere and dies outside the village the clan has the right to demand that the body be brought and interred in the village. In this way the clan’s prestige and reputation is kept for perpetuity and the lore associated with the clan member’s accomplishments is never forgotten thus serving as an example. There is also the belief that should a man of such high stature be buried in an alien soil, the soul would be unhappy and the village will not receive the blessings such as that bestowed on the deceased who brought such glory for the clan and the village.

There have been cases when the body of the deceased could not be brought to the village but after a certain period of time, the bones has been brought to the village and interred in the graveyard of the village. Even if it is only the bones that are brought, the clan ensures that the burial ceremony
is conducted with due solemnity and respect befitting someone who has brought laurels to the clan. This is the ultimate respect and recognition that the clan can give to a clan member. It may also be mentioned that even if a clan member does not achieve anything outstanding, the clan has possessive rights over his dead body and ensures that he is interred in the village even if he had settled outside the village.

The personal name of the deceased clansman will be given to any boy born to the clan thereafter and often it is believed that if the name of a clansman who had accomplished much is given to a newborn, this boy might grow up to bring the same kind of laurels to the clan. But more than that the lore of the glory brought to the clan through the clan member is preserved with the perpetuation of the name.

With regard to the clanswomen, the clan may not exercise such rights over her body although when she dies the clan ensures that their duties and obligations towards her are not neglected at any cost. However the clan has possessive right over her personal name. When a clanswoman marries her father declares to all present when she is about to leave the house, 'from this day onwards, this daughter of ours is yours. Her duty, her devotion, and even her physical being will be yours. But on the day her soul leaves her body, please bring her name back to us.'

‘Giving back the name’ is prevalent even today. When a woman dies her husband or her sons will go to her father's house along with some of her personal effects, symbolising the ritual of giving back the name, and in all solemnity formally hand back her personal name. In the event of a girl being born into the clan thereafter, her name will be given the name to the newborn thus perpetuating the name, which belongs to the clan only.

The clan is for all purposes the pivot in which a person's life revolves. From the day a person is born his every word, deed, and achievement reflects upon his clan. Socialization and social control is exercised through the influence that the clan has on its member. In many ways it is the clan that
gives security and stability to the members and these factors contribute towards maintaining the cohesive and strong ties that bind the members of the clan and for the fact that even today the importance of the clan has not diminished. The notion of clan as has been stated is very much ingrained in the psyche of the Changki villagers and even today this is felt just as strongly, even among the educated young people. The continuity of the traditional social structure is maintained through the clan system and the various roles and relationships forged through it. The function of the clan is the enforcement of social and moral order among the members. Conflicts between individuals or families are normally arbitrated by the committee. As a close-knit group, the clan performs the functions of protecting kinsmen against injustice from outsiders. Inter-clan conflicts are also handled by the committee. The clans dominate collective life of the village that without clan membership a person is socially isolated and without it a person cannot be a citizen of the village.

**Position of women in Changki society**

The position of women in Changki society is secondary to that of the men. The Changki society follows the unilineal principle of patrilineal descent which means that it is the father-son-brother constellation that dominates; while the women's only role is that of being daughter/sister/wife/mother. The man has complete control over property rights and also over his children. The women are debarred from participating in the Village Council, which is the highest decision making body at the grassroots level. In fact they cannot even enter the hall when such meetings take place. The women cannot inherit immovable properties like house sites, rice fields, and so on, either from her father or her husband. She may be allowed to live in the house where she lived with her husband or in her father's house and to use certain portions of the agricultural land during her lifetime but she has no control over such properties. Should the male heirs decide to take back the house or land, she will have no choice but to hand those properties back.
The women perform the role of a wife, mother, child bearer, food producer and household manager. The women have a greater range of responsibilities, ranging from household maintenance to various agricultural activities, and they have greater work burden in both as well. The women are held responsible for the proper management of the family: should the family prosper and the children do well, she earns the respect of the people but should the family fall on hard times due to mismanagement of domestic affairs, it is the women who bear the brunt of ill repute. Clearly the onus of domestic management falls on the shoulder of the women.

The women participate in all agricultural activities and are the main workers in the agricultural sector. Except for ploughing, the women are involved in all the agriculture work such as transplantation, weeding, reaping, threshing and winnowing. The women do most of the drudgery prone and monotonous work. For example, the drudgery of household work like cooking is carried over to the rice fields too because the women usually cook there in the noon. However when it comes to decision making within the family, it is the husband who makes the final decision. At the community level, women are debarred from clan committees as well as from the Village Council.

The girl child is given every opportunity to get an education but we find that if the parents are not well to do, they will inevitably put the sons in a better school, such as the Mission School, while the daughter will be put in the government primary schools. The sons will also get the first chance to study outside of the village. Even if a girl does well and finds a good job, her social status is enhanced only when she gets married. Marriage with a man outside the community is discouraged, especially with a non-tribal, the reason cited being that once a woman goes away, and the relatives will not be able to protect her interests. We find that with regard to children, although all children are regarded as God's gifts, sons are preferred. The woman who has a son finds herself in a better position with regard to her husband's clan, for her son being the heir provides the link through which
she can extract certain benefits such as produce from the clan lands and house and agricultural sites to live and work on. A spinster will have the right to live in her father's house (even if he has expired) during her lifetime and live off the rice field belonging to her father, with the express consent of her brother. If a man leaves behind only daughters then his brothers and their sons will have the right to take all his immovable property. But in many such cases the brothers and their sons allow the woman and her daughters to live in the house and cultivate the rice fields during the woman's lifetime and till such time as the daughters get married. All women who are spinsters, widows or divorcees are called 'Milari'. We find that the status of the woman is invariably associated with her father, brother, husband and son and the husband's agnates.

The women are protected by the men - father, brothers, Tiuo Tukori (maternal uncles) husband and son and by the clansmen. J.P. Mills wrote in *The Ao Nagas* 'An Ao woman is far from being a slave and a drudge. Her position is no whit inferior to that of a man. She always has her clan behind her, and were a bad-tempered husband to bully his wife he would soon have a swarm of angry in-laws buzzing around his ears...’ It is interesting to note that the women themselves expressed the insecurity they feel if there are no male relatives to help, support and protect them in myriad ways. For example, in the case of a divorce, the woman will have by her side the presence of her father, brother, Tiuo Tukori and clansmen throughout the proceedings and if the need arises they will argue in favour of her case and if she is abandoned she will find a place in her paternal home. In the event of a calamity it will be to her father, brother, Tiuo Tukori and clansmen that she will turn to and seek help. For example, in the village when an old lady's house needed repairs it was her clansmen who collected the funds among themselves and took a day off from their personal works to repair her house for she had no one to help as her husband was dead and her children had left the village. In such ways, the women are under the protection of the men and from an early age the men are taught to protect and defend their women.
Marriage

Marriage in Changki society is not only about a couple uniting in matrimony but also two families and two clans strengthening kinship ties. Clan exogamy is strictly followed and this is the most important factor in the marriage negotiations. The family background and personal character of the couple in question are also taken into consideration. A person who is of unknown lineage, whose family has a history of insanity, thievery, violence and so on is obviously not the right choice as a partner. Sometimes clan distinctions also have a major role to play. People would definitely prefer alliance with a founding clan member for obvious reasons. The position and status of a woman married to a founding clan would be enhanced and if she gives birth to a son. Her access to land and its produce would be ensured through her son.

Marriage also signifies the union of two families, therefore the brothers and sisters of the married couple cannot marry one another for they all become the in-laws and hence, relatives. Marriage between parallel and cross cousins up to the third generation is forbidden for it is believed such cousins have too much 'blood closeness'. Marriage with very close relatives, it is believed, sometimes creates tension and upsets relationships, thereby breaking up the solidarity of the family. Another reason given is that the union of close cousins begets abnormal children, therefore marriage between such cousins are restricted. There have been cases where first cousins marry but they are considered to be in an incestuous relationship and therefore are looked down upon. Marriage with one's own people is encouraged, that is, a Changki man marrying a Changki woman is the accepted norm because it is believed that marrying into one's own culture and tradition strengthens the village, for in doing so the ties with the village remain strong through the children. Most importantly, for the family of the woman this will ensure her security and safety as they can keep an eye on her. If a woman marries outside the village she is considered 'lost' to the family and village as she will have to follow her husband. After marriage the wife will not assume the clan
name of her husband and thus she maintains her identity as a member of her father’s clan. But the children will belong to the husband’s clan and will take on the father’s name.

In Changki the clans are exogamous groups but however we find that inter-marriage between the Metsüri and Losangri clans are not allowed. It is said that Losangri being too few in numbers attached themselves to the Metsüri clan as a constituent clan. Therefore as Metsüri and Losangri are said to be ‘mulok emtepba’, which literally translated means ‘joining of two baskets’, they are considered to be close relatives and thereby not allowed to marry each other. To elucidate further, ‘mulok emtepba’ meaning ‘joining of two baskets’ came about because in the olden days, mulok (basket) was the measure used for collection of clan funds which was in terms of paddy. Therefore when two clans merged, it also signified the joining of two clan funds. Although each of the clans keeps its own clan identity, sometimes they are commonly referred to as Metsülosang.

‘Mulok emtepba’ is a socially accepted system whereby a clan can attach itself to another. Thus ‘mulok emtepba’ is a system whereby the numerically stronger clan gives protection to a numerically weaker clan. By accepting the numerically weaker clan as a relative requiring protection, the numerically stronger clan accepts responsibility for the adopted clan. Thus the relationship established is that of an older brother taking care of a younger brother, therefore inter-marriage between these two clans is not allowed. In this system, personal clan names cannot be interchangeably used by these two clans. Inheritance and succession are also confined to the particular clan only; that is, a Metsüri cannot inherit from a Losangri and vice versa.

Inter-marriage between the Changkiri and Emrem Changki clans are also not allowed. This is so because the Emrem Changki attached itself to the Changkiri clan in a process called ‘tinu emba’ which translated means to adopt as father/brother. The Emrem Changki clan when it came to Changki
was adopted by the Changkiri clan as its relative and these two clans lived as brothers, therefore inter-marriage is not allowed between these two clans. In this system, the two clans cannot use the personal clan name interchangeably and they have different 'charu múlok' which literally translated mean 'collection basket', meaning that each clan has separate clan funds. The inheritance and succession also remain within the clan, that is a Changkiri cannot inherit from an Emrem Changki and vice versa. But they are considered to be brothers and therefore as close relatives they cannot inter-marry.

The respondents could not give any accounts of the marriage ceremonies that took place before the advent of Christianity, however some details of the early Christian marriage ceremonies was told. In the earlier days when a marriage took place, the family and relatives of the bride and groom would feast in the day time in their respective houses. Then at night the marriage ceremony would be conducted in the Church after which the bridal couple, their families, relatives and guests would go over to the newly constructed house built by the groom and his family. There in the reception the guests would be given a ball of cooked sticky rice, a betel nut and two betel leaves with some lime. The people were also given black tea while those who could afford it gave tea with milk and sugar. The wedding ceremony was always performed in the night as the other people would be back from the rice fields only then and would be free to attend the wedding.

Since the 1980's the marriage agreement is sealed with a formal engagement. There are no exchange of gifts between the prospective groom and bride. But in recent times, following the western style, an engagement ring is given by the groom to-be to the woman he intends to marry, although this is not mandatory. The manner of getting married is simple and in Changki the western style of getting married in the church wearing a white wedding gown is in fashion. Wedding cards are printed and distributed and a reception where lunch is served is the normal practice. The wedding usually takes place on a weekday and in the daytime.
Although the wedding ceremony is based on the Christian and western mode, some of the traditional customs are still followed. For instance when a couple decide to get married, the boy will formally go to the girl's parents house with his parents, mother's brothers (Tyuo Tukor) and his brother-in-law (Chanakri), should he have one. The boy's father will then inform the girl's parents about the couple's intention and make a formal proposal. In this way, an agreement is made between the two families and discussions follow for the arrangement of the wedding. Usually it is the groom's family that meets the bulk of the expenses and the groom's family takes care of the major portion of the arrangements for the wedding.

A very important ritual of the wedding ceremony is the sala sansa or meeting between the groom's and bride's family and clan elders as well as the Temnakri that usually takes place after the wedding reception. The ceremony takes place after the reception and the meeting is arranged by the groom's family and clansmen. The meeting is formal which begins with a prayer followed by speeches made by the clan elders of both the groom and bride. Here the clan history is told and the importance of the alliance between the two clans through the marriage is emphasised. In this ceremony the groom's family and clan members formally accept and welcome the new daughter into their fold. The father of the bride too formally gives away his daughter and he makes an important declaration to all present that should his daughter die, her personal name should be handed back to the clan. In a sense, the father is declaring that even if his daughter is physically given away, her membership to his clan is inalienable and in this symbolic gesture, he lays claim to this right over his daughter. Most of the traditional rituals connected with the marriage day and the ceremonies associated with it have long been forgotten but this meeting of the families and clans is still prevalent and forms the most important ritual in the present day marriage day and ceremony. Through this ceremony the clan elders acknowledge the union of their members and give their blessings.
Another traditional feature of wedding preparations that is an integral part of the Changki marriage celebrations is the role that the Temnakri take to perform. For example, if a Changkiri man marries, his sister's sons, as well as the sons of the other Changkiri women and the husbands of the Changkiri women will have the responsibility of making the necessary arrangements and preparation for the marriage for they are the Temnakri to the Changkiri man. The brothers-in-law and sons-in-law play a very important role during such times.

The eldest among the Temnakri is selected as the leader by the other Temnakri based on chronological age, and he is given overall charge of the preparations. He will then assign specific jobs to the rest. The pigs are killed, cut and the meat cooked and distributed by the Temnakri. Whenever a pig is presented as a wedding gift, it is the duty of the Temnakri to ensure that the head of the pig is returned to the one who presented the pig. This is a traditional way of acknowledging the gift.

The preparations start a day or two before the wedding and end a day after the wedding. A separate kitchen is built by the Temnakri and this space is meant only for the Temnakri. The Temnakri are given overall charge and they are the one’s who cook and distribute the meat of the pigs killed. They can demand from the house owners whatever they need and they will dispense with the things, as they like. The researcher had attended a wedding in the village in the course of the fieldwork, where the lady of the house went to the Temnakri to voice her disapproval of some of the things that the Temnakri were doing. She was roundly scolded and told in no uncertain terms that she had no right to interfere and was told to stay away from their territory.

The distribution of meat at the time of marriage is a serious task and the Temnakri carry out this by seeing that the clan elders are given the appropriate portions of meat according to seniority and that the immediate family members are also given a token piece of the meat. Even if the
marriage takes place outside of the village in other towns, the Temnakri from the village as well as from the particular town are duty bound to take charge of the preparations and distribution of the meat. The success of the marriage feast and celebrations depends on the Temnakri and no matter where the marriage takes place, whether in the village or in other towns, the role of the Temnakri is the most important part of the celebrations.

Remarriages are allowed; here too clan exogamy is strictly adhered to. In Changki society the sororate form of marriage wherein the man marries the deceased wife’s sister is permitted. Normally the younger sister is taken as the wife although there is no bar on the man taking the older sister as his wife. A man can marry his deceased wife’s youngest sister, if she is unmarried and the reason for approval of such a marriage is that the new wife will not be a step-mother but a younger mother, being the sister of the deceased, and will therefore take better care of the children. If a couple co-habit, without taking any vows in the Church, if they are together for many years and whether they have children or not they are considered to be legally married.

Once a couple gets married it is the custom for the newly weds to set up their own independent household. The neolocal nuclear family is the prescribed norm and the reasoning is that, it is only when the newly weds establish their own independent household, they will become responsible and know the hardships faced in starting and running a family. It is believed that only then will they learn and appreciate and experience the intricacies of family life. When a child is born certain norms are still observed especially with regard to the naming of the child. The child, if male, is named on the sixth day after birth and if female, on the fifth day by the paternal grandfather, if still alive or by the father. The name is chosen with care and after much consultation with other clan members. With all solemnity the name is made known and the family celebrates it by having a feast. A cock is killed on this day and a little bit of the cooked liver is rubbed on the child’s mouth so as to signify that the child has also been included in the feast and
that he has been given his share. After naming the child, if the child does not keep well and frets abnormally, it is believed that the name given is not suitable or agreeable with the child. Even today when such a thing happens, the parents after consultation with the grandparents and elders change the name of the child and thereafter a new name is given to the child.

Within the elementary family or *kibong* the father is the head of the family. His children call him ‘*abā*’, while the mother is called ‘*ayā*’. The father’s authority in the family is respected and the final decision with regard to family matters rests with him. The father is responsible for the conduct and liabilities of his children and he expects unfailing obedience and respect from them. The mother also expects the same considerations from her children but she is more openly affectionate and lenient than the father and is usually the medium through whom he is approached. The husband and wife do not address each other by their personal names, especially in public. For example, if they have children, and the eldest child’s name is Yala, the man will refer to his wife as Yala *tiuō*, meaning Yala’s mother. And the wife refers to him as Yala *teba*, meaning Yala’s father.

The socialization process of the children starts within the family on ways of behaviour expected of them. The older children from an early age learn to be responsible for their siblings and to help their parents. The youngest child, whether male or female, is regarded, as the ‘baby’ and the parents as well as the siblings will look after, protect and indulge the youngest child. *Telakba*, if male, or *Telakla*, if female, is the affectionate name given to the youngest, meaning the ‘tail end’. It is believed that the youngest is the unluckiest because his/her share of the family property and sometimes even of the features such as brains, looks, talents, even luck and so on is the smallest and hence the tendency for everyone to spoil the youngest.

In Changki there are cases when the parents have spoilt their children and in most cases it is the son who is spoilt thoroughly. The sons are the
one's who get most of the attention and for those who are sent out to study in
other places get the maximum amount of pocket money. Some of these boys
who were given too much freedom and money have got trapped in drug
related problems. Drug abuse is beginning to be a problem in the village but
in many cases the families try to hide or deny that such problems exist. The
Village Council has tackled this menace by the simple method of putting the
drug abusers into cages made out of a wood which makes the skin itch even
at the slightest touch.

In one such case due to excessive abuse of drugs the young man who
is now in his twenties has become mentally challenged. The problem was
becoming so bad that his family called on the clansmen, Tiou Tukori and
Temnakri (six in all) and hired one of the vehicles in the village and literally
dragged the young man to Tezpur to be institutionalized in the mental
hospital there. The relatives simply dropped whatever they were doing and
accompanied the young man and his older brother. This case has been
mentioned to show the kind of assistance that clansmen, Tiou Tukori and
Temnakri render in times of need.

We also observe that when it comes to cases of delinquency, the
handling of it involves not only the family but also the clan, Tiou Tukori,
Temnakri and sometimes the Village Council. There was a case when some
Changki youths beat up a person belonging to another village in Longnak
which is in Changki territory. This incident became a matter of grave
concern because the victim reported to his clansmen as well as his Village
Council and the culprits were summoned to the victim’s village.

The culprits were given a thorough tongue lashing by the older family
members as well as the clansmen. But they were accompanied to the victim's
village by the older brothers, a representative from the respective clans, a
Tiou Tukori, Temnakri and a representative of the Village Council. The
matter ended with a fine as is customary in such cases. The support of the
different categories of relatives represents a network of relationships that is obligatory and based on inter-dependence.

In the management of the household we observed that it is the women who shoulder most of the burden. The women look after the children, the house and the finances. This is so because the men folk are kept busy with village works, clan duties and Church activities. All Changki men are part of the age-set system and as per tradition are bound by customary rule to participate in the village administration. The details of this will be given in the next chapter on Political Institution.

Each household is independent and the people are very attached to their homes. We find that of the in the upper khel of the 146 households, 37 households are single member households, which means that 25.34 percent of the total households have only a single person living in the house. In the lower khel of the total of 276 households, 51 or 18.48 percent of the total number of households have only a single member living in the house. A closer observance revealed that these households are composed of old people living on their own. The majority was above the age of 70 but they were adamant not to move out of the house where they had lived most of their adult lives. Their children had moved out of the village and settled elsewhere and despite their entreaties they continued to live alone in their homes determined to die there. The old people have hired help staying with them, usually Konyak (a Naga tribe from Mon district) boys who come to the village to work in the homes in exchange for education as well as upkeep.

We find that household compositions are uniform with nuclear family living in neolocal pattern of residence. There are no married couples living with the parents after marriage as it is considered a shame. Even if they should live with the parents it is just as a stop gap arrangement till they can find a rented place or build their own houses.
When marriage between a man from the upper khel and a woman form the lower khel takes place and vice versa, the woman will leave not only her parent's home but also the khel where she was born and brought up. We find at present there are 21 women from the lower khel who has settled in the upper khel after marriage and 30 upper khel women have settled in the lower khel after marriage. These numbers pertain to only the Changki women who are permanent residents of the village.

We observed that the relation of the wife is always closer to her own parents than her in-laws. But we also observed that should there be any marital discord, the parents urge the daughter to first talk with the husband and in-laws so that there is no escalation of the discord. The wife is expected to bear whatever problem she may be having with her husband with fortitude and patience and these qualities are looked on as virtues. The daughter is not only a wife but also a mother and her responsibilities are serious so she cannot sacrifice her duty and responsibilities for personal happiness. The societal pressures on a married woman to conform to what is considered the 'ideal' wife and mother is greatly felt and some women expressed the opinion that sometimes all of it gets too much and regretted getting married.

The husband on the other hand is expected to provide for his own family but at the same his responsibilities towards his parents, sisters, brothers and clansmen will always be a lifetime duty. In addition he is also the Tiuo Tukori (maternal uncle) to his sister's and clanswomen's children so his obligation towards them is also important.

Young children are looked after by neighbours, grand parents or relatives when the parents have urgent work to do. We observe that the people are indulgent, caring and careful with children. In fact children are loved and we see that the young fathers try to take active part in the upbringing of their children and take care of their children such as babysitting when the mothers are busy and so on. There appear to be a trend
where the young fathers try to be friends with their children rather than authoritarian figures as their fathers may have been with them.

We find that the marital relations are fairly durable in the village and although divorce is not unknown we find that these are exceptions rather than the rule. Divorce in Changki is discouraged through sanctions from the Church as well as societal disapproval in general. Divorce may take place on account of adultery cases, incompatibility, barrenness, and abusive treatment of a spouse or desertion.

**Divorce**

The divorce proceedings always take place in the traditional manner. When a case for divorce comes up, the concerned parties will inform the families who will try their best to make the couple come to an understanding. If this does not work and the parties are adamant, the concerned families will inform the Temnakri and Tiuo Tukori. The Temnakri will then have the responsibility of informing the clan elders and act as go-betweens for the concerned parties and their families. A date will be fixed and the two families with their Temnakri, Tiuo Tukori, Chanakri and clan elders will sit together for a meeting and the eldest clan member of the two parties will preside over the proceedings.

If the husband is the one who wants a divorce he will be asked to speak and give the reasons for calling the meeting. If it is the wife she will be asked to speak first. The relatives and elders will then listen to both the sides. After hearing them out the clan elders and Tiuo Tukori will speak and try to reason with the couple. If their entreaties and argument do not bring about a reconciliation the husband and wife will asked if they wish to continue being married. The one who answers in the negative is considered the guilty party and will forfeit all property that the couple might have acquired when married. The one who does not wish to remain married will walk away with only the bare minimum personal effects. Sometimes divorce may take place with both partners mutually wanting to part ways. In such
cases, the family and clansmen allow the couple to divide the property according to their wishes except for the house site and rice fields which will remain with the man. In case there are children, the daughters will stay with the mother and the sons with the father.

In the case of adultery, the guilty party will be fined three pigs and will forfeit all rights to property, should the spouse demand divorce. Sometimes after the fining, the couple does come to a compromise, and after the guilty party has taken an oath and his/her spouse forgives him/her, the couple can be reconciled. In the case of abuse, the guilty party will forfeit all rights to property and the victim is justified in separating from the spouse. However it may be noted that immoveable property will not be given to the woman although she may be allowed to use it. If she has sons, such property will be in her care till her sons takes over.

In a divorce case there will always be a meeting and each party will argue their case in their own interest. In this way the divorce proceedings can be long winded with the family affairs being aired in public, although decorum is maintained at all time so that the proceedings does not degenerate to mud slingig and become offensive. The clan elders and other relatives ensure that all formalities are observed. But whatever the outcome maybe, the man's right to his children is inalienable and although the woman may have the custody of the children, she cannot deny access to the children for the children belong to the man and through him to his clan. If the woman is at fault she forfeits all rights to property and children. If the children are too small or if she is still nursing the child, she will have custody till such time that they are manageable without a mother. In many cases, the women lose the most in the event of divorce, especially that of the custody of her children and also social standing. This is more so if the woman is not financially independent, therefore we find that often the women will not resort to divorce too easily.
Inheritance

In Changki inheritance is through the males where the eldest son is the heir and gets the majority of the family property. Among the Mongsen group such as the Changkiri, Amri, Longchari clans and so on, the youngest son will inherit the parental house, but the rest of the property, immovable as well as moveable, will be inherited by the eldest son. The eldest son can then distribute the paddy fields and settlement sites among the other brothers, if any. The immovable property always goes from the eldest son to his eldest son and so on. If there are no sons, the ancestral property will go to the next brother and his eldest son will inherit the property and so on. With regard to the parents house the youngest son inherits the parental house and can live there but the land does not belong to him and he cannot sell it.

However among the Tsüngli group such as the Longkumer, Tzüdiri, Ningdangri, Moliri and Akhori clans, the eldest son inherits not only the major share but also the parental home and consequently his eldest son will inherit and so on. The house as well as the land belongs to the eldest son but he cannot sell it for it is considered the ancestral property. The other property such as agricultural implements, household things, paddy and so on is shared equally among the brothers.

If the father is of considerable wealth and means and if he so wishes he can give landed property to his daughters, provided that the property has been acquired by him and does not belong to the clan or is ancestral family property. Such land is usually outside of the village in other towns. But he can give his daughter only during his lifetime and in acknowledgement the daughter will have to make a token payment to the father to seal the deal. Any amount from Re. 1/- to Rs. 100/- is given to the father for the land in front of witnesses. With this payment, the property is considered to be hers to do as she wishes.

A woman who has accumulated wealth or property on her own can dispose of it as she wishes. If she has children of her own she can leave equal
shares to them. But there have been rare cases when her clansmen have laid
claim to her property on the grounds that she belongs to their clan and as
such her property rightfully belongs to the clan and cannot go to another clan
through her children. In case a woman is a spinster and if she has acquired
property on her own, the immovable property goes to the eldest brother and
even if he had died before her death, the eldest son of the eldest brother is
the rightful heir. In this case the younger brothers cannot inherit her
property, unless it is distributed by the rightful heir.

For example, when Miss X died, the brother next to her could not
inherit her immovable property for he had only daughters and therefore no
heir. The brother next had died earlier, but he had a son, so he became the
rightful heir, even though Miss X had other younger brothers. Thus
according to customary law her nephew, that is the son of her second brother,
inherited the bulk of the property she left behind, for accordingly in the
traditional way, the nephew was considered older than his uncles for in the
line of succession he came first. With regard to other property, for example,
jewelry, ornaments and household items, her sisters would inherit these
items and if they so wish they can distribute some of the personal items such
as ani (traditional skirts) and asū (shawls) among the nieces, grand
daughters and close relatives belonging to the same clan.

Just as property is inherited, debts are also inherited and this burden
is borne by the eldest son, however if the debt is considerably high, the other
brothers will also help in settling the debt. Even if the father is dead the
debtors will demand repayment of debts from the son and the son is bound to
repay the debt. However, if the person, to whom debt is owed, forgives and
waives off the debt then the case is settled on the grounds of taochi (mercy).

In case a man dies leaving no heirs, if he has any debts, his clansmen
will then settle the debt. In the same token if a clanswoman dies leaving
behind no heirs, if she had accrued any debts, her clansmen would be duty
bound to settle the debts. In case a man dies, his wife would be allowed to
stay in the house till she dies or till she marries, in which case she would move out to her new husband's house. An unmarried daughter would be allowed to live in her father's house till her death or till she get marries. In either case once the woman dies, the immoveable would revert back to the male heirs, whether it is her brothers or sons. If there no male heirs, the house will belong to the clan so also the paddy fields.

We find that in Changki the relationships forged with both the male and female relatives play an important role. The commonality is established after the birth of the child and through the child, the solidarity of the group is further strengthened through the network of relationships formed from the father's side as well as the mother's side. These relatives are put in distinct categories with well defined roles and responsibilities. But the most important feature of the kinship system is the clan and clan membership. From birth to death this aspect controls a person and through the clan and clan membership a person finds his identity, social standing and support base.

**Friendship**

Another very important relationship that forges strong ties and bonds is through friendship. Friends often become a part of the family and in this way the relationship forms a network outside of the clan but plays an important role within the families of the friends. The friendship ties are taken seriously not only by the friends themselves but also by the families involved. There are also certain terms to denote the friendship ties.

1) **Kuriko**: Female friends who are very close call each other "kuriko" which is a term of affection reserved only for the best of friends belonging to any clan and any age group.

2) **Keti**: Close male and female friends belonging to the same clan and same age call each other 'keti'.

3) **Attino**: Close female friends belonging to the same clan and same age call each other 'attino'.

4) **Kuba**: Close male friends belonging to different clans but who are of the same age-set grade call each other ‘kuba’.

5) **Annala**: Close female friends belonging to different clans but who are of the same age call each other ‘annala’.

From the terms cited above, we find that although friendship is an important part of life, the clan and age-set system plays a very important role and these factors are always kept in mind. The terms used for friends between older and younger persons are denoted by calling the older person ‘ata’ (female) or anga/ako (males).

In Changki we find that the kinship ties and the network of relationships is established through the clan and marriage alliances; and the web of social relations within the village is such that it is said that invariably each and every Changki person is related to each other in one way or the other.

However at the empirical level we find that a group of people who had attached themselves to a clan in the village have been trying to claim the position of the clan which adopted them and in effect have caused problems that vitiated the village as a whole and created intra and inter-clan rivalries that have permeated not only the social but also the political realm as well as the religious institution.

Earlier we have mentioned that one clan that had attached itself to one of the founding clans and at some point of time began to assert itself as the original founding clan and has been trying to claim the position of the founding clan through various intrigues and means.

To elaborate further, we need to refer to the migration pattern of a particular group of people and the manner in which they settled in Changki. Changkiri is one of the founding clans of Changki. At one point of time, which was after the establishment of the lower khel by one Imlisangba of Changkiri clan, one Imchaba accompanied by some others was brought from
Changki Longpok, in the northern part of Changki territory, to Changki village. He opted to settle in the lower khel with Imlisangba of the Changkiri clan because of which the villagers gave him the title 'Emrem Changki' meaning 'the one who sought and adopted Imlisangba of Changkiri clan'. From that day onward Imchaba and his descendants came to be called Emrem Changki.

Later on one Yalemchang and some others arrived at Changki from Alulangba and attached themselves to Imchaba and also came to be known as Emrem Changki. Another group led by Laluk came from Nemchem and attached themselves to Emrem Changki. Thus the Emrem Changki clan comprising of these three groups arrived at Changki at different points of time from different places and lived as constituent clans attached to the Changkiri clan.

The two clans lived in harmony as brothers in the lower khel for ages till about eighty years ago, when some members of the Emrem Changki clan, started intrigues to lay claim as the original Changkiri clan. The subsequent history of relationship between these two clans was that of discord and rivalry that began to spill over to the social, political and religious aspects affecting the whole village.

This discord between the two clans resulted in the formation of two groups comprised of the Changkiri clan and their Tiou Tukori, Temnakri, friends and well wishers on the one hand and the Emrem Changki clan and their Tiou Tukori, Temnakri, friends and well wishers on the other hand thus dividing the Changki society to the extent that the differences in opinion began to affect even the village administration. The intra and inter-clan relationships also began to be impinged upon by the differences between the two clans as some members of the other clans also started to align with either the Changkiri clan or the Emrem Changki clan and were divided among themselves. In this way the solidarity of the lower khel in particular and the village in general began to be affected.
For example, due to this discord and lack of solidarity among the Changki villagers, large portions of Changki territory have been encroached upon by some neighbouring villages and Changki village cannot take action to reclaim its territory. The fall out of this difference between the two clans is most evident in the religious realm, as the Church was split with the Emrem Changki and their supporters forming a parallel Church of the same denomination. Changki has the dubious distinction of being the only village with two Churches of the same denomination. When the state electoral process of party politics was introduced in Nagaland after statehood, the internal groupings within Changki society were further compartmentalized with each group supporting different parties thus vitiating the already divided society. Thus we find that kinship patterns in Changki are deeply influenced by the schism created due to the rivalry and dispute between these two clans.

Summary

In Changki, kinship is based on the unilineal principle of patrilineal descent and on clan membership called Kin in the Changki dialect. The first settlers of each clan in the village are considered to be the forefather and are referred to as Tenik, the various branches or lineages from the Tenik are called Kidong (meaning ‘of one tree’). There are three founding clans in village who are called the ‘EmkümrAILY or Kin asem (literally ‘the three clans’) while the other ten clans are called ‘Kin Tebencha’ (literally ‘the rest of the clans’). Membership to a clan is through birth and as such the most important aspect of Changki kinship is the affective as well as jural weight attached to the recognition of paternity. It is only through this recognition and acknowledgment that a child, especially a son, can assume the clan title and be given rights and duties, especially as inheritance is through the males. This is particularly important if children are born out of wedlock. Until the progenitor acknowledges the child as his and gives a name to the child, he/she will bear the stigma of being an illegitimate child. Clan exogamy is another factor that is zealously maintained. Children born to
same clan unions are considered to be of polluted stock and will have no place in the society.

The roles of women are simply that of mother/daughter/sister/wife and invariably the status of women in Changki society is associated with the males such as her father/brother/husband/son. We find that the traditional and customary kinship pattern is still the norm and the notion of clan is the most important factor in the lives of the Changki people. It is also interesting to note that despite being Christians certain traditions continue to be practised, such as after the western Christian ceremony in the Church, the families of the bride and groom and the clan members and so on will meet to hold the compulsory sala sana (meeting) where the bride is welcomed formally into the groom’s clan and where the bride’s father gives her away and tells her husband’s side to take care of his daughter and when she dies to ‘bring back’ her name to the clan. Although marriages are conducted in the Christian way, divorce always takes place in the traditional manner where the families and clansmen of both the husband and wife meet to discuss the issue. The Church plays no role in the divorce proceedings except in serving excommunication notice to the guilty party.

However we find that the claims of one adopted clan as the original founding clan in the lower khel have created fissures and discord affecting all the clans and have divided the village. But we also find that this inter-clan rivalry has in a way reinforced clan identity among the people and a new self-consciousness which has resulted in integrating the three founding clans in the village into a united front called the ‘Emkumri Kin Asem’ (literally-the Three Founding Clans). In this way, the founding clans are also asserting their dominant position and in doing so are articulating the continuity of the traditional village hierarchical order. Despite the inter and intra-clan rivalry we find that the clans do not become disorganised or break up easily because of the highly integrative character of the kinship system, which help to restrain and resolve conflicts between members of the same clan: as well as the importance that the people attach to the value of clan solidarity and the
traditionally accepted authority of the clan elders. We find that customary usages and tradition are considered reliable and durable and that kinship still provides the most stable alliances of reciprocity and expectations permeating all aspects of Changki social life.

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