A Sociolinguistic Study on Hunphun-Tāngkhul Kinship Terminology

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Abstract

Hunphun-Tāngkhul/*hunphun-taŋkhul*/ is originally the dialect of the *hunphun* village which is the district headquarter of Ukhrul in Manipur state. The district comprises of 221 villages with a population of 183,998 as per 2011 census, with almost all the villages speaking a dialect of its own. *Hunphun tui* 'hunphun dialect/language' is the dialect adopted as the *Lingua franca* of the Tangkhul-Naga Community. The dialect is better known by the people as *taŋkhul tui* 'Tāngkhul language.' Genetically, it belongs to the Tibeto-Burman language family. Human language cannot occur out of the social context; it is inextricable from the social norms. The changes in the social norms of *hunphun-taŋkhul* are reflected in the kin terms used among the community. Correct usage of Kinship terms were strictly maintained in the past. However, in the present day, the uses of these terms have been liberalised to such an extent that judging kin relation superficially by kin terms in use is not always reliable. Discussion on marriage, the terms of Address and terms of Reference taking age, sex, generation, cultural-hereditary based hierarchical terms in each clan, kin group (matrilineal, patrilineal)as an important social variable determining the kinship terminology are taken under study. Semantic extension of the kin terms and influx of loan terms are evidence of change in the kinship terminology. The paper attempts to advocate on the reciprocative nature of language and society through a descriptive presentation of change in the use of *hunphun-taŋkhul* kinship terminology.

Key Words: Hunphun-Tāngkhul, Kinship Terminology (KT), Patrilineal, lineage, clan, Cultural-Hereditary Hierarchy

1. Introduction

From the point of view of linguistics, the linguistic items used to refer human relationship with each other are broadly termed as kinship terminology. Kinship terms vary from society to society. The terms considered disrespect in one society may have positive

effect in another. As is in American society, referring to older brother or older sister by his/her name has no negative entailment, while in most Indian societies it is received with contempt and considers impertinent. Kinship terminology among the *hunphun-taŋkhul* is carefully defined as it has the connotation of one's position in the family and in the society. The misuses of these terms result to offense in many cases. In *hunphun-taŋkhul*, calling grandparents or an elderly person fit to be ones' grandparents by name is an insolent manner. To this there's an age-old saying that such person would stumble on the road and fall. However, the use of these terms may deviate when there's a change brought about in the society which affects the mentality of the people living in that society. R.L.Trask(2010) also asserts language change as a result of how individuals and groups perceive themselves and their relation to others.

The purpose of this paper is to study the variables incorporatedin the usage of *hunphun-taŋkhul* kin terms. It is also to study the reflection of social norms in the usage of kin terms with emphasis to change.

2. Marriage in Hunphun-Tāŋkhul

Hunphun-taŋkhul is a patrilineal society; therefore, family line is traced pertaining to male lineage. The community practises two types of marriages: marriage through engagement *mak-kəkham* 'in-law-to reserve' which is known as *ʃək-kəza* 'drink-to eat' and marriage through elopement *ŋəʃu-kəthui* 'sudden-to leave.' Both love marriage and arrange marriages are acceptable. Polygyny was very common before Christianity though monogamous marriage was also practiced. Heterogamous marriage was and is still in practice. A royal descend or a gallantry character among men were usually known of 'polygyny' *ŋəlakhəŋəʃir*; sororal polygyny is also acceptable. Man with many wives was attributed to honour and fame. Polyandry on the other hand has no place in the society. However, on the dead of the husband, the surviving wife can remarry. Man is the head of the family and the inheritor of family property but woman is also treated with respect. In polygyny, not all the wives have the same social standing. There's a primary wife *akhəvaivu* 'head-wife' and the rest are secondary wives *ŋəla-ŋəʃir* 'woman-cluster'. *akhəvaivu* is taken in marriage through *ʃəkkəza* with the blessings and approval of both the parents while the *ŋəlaŋəʃirs* are taken as wife through elopement with or without the proper consent of the parents. *akhəvaivu* need not be the first wife, so her children may be or may not be older than the children of the secondary
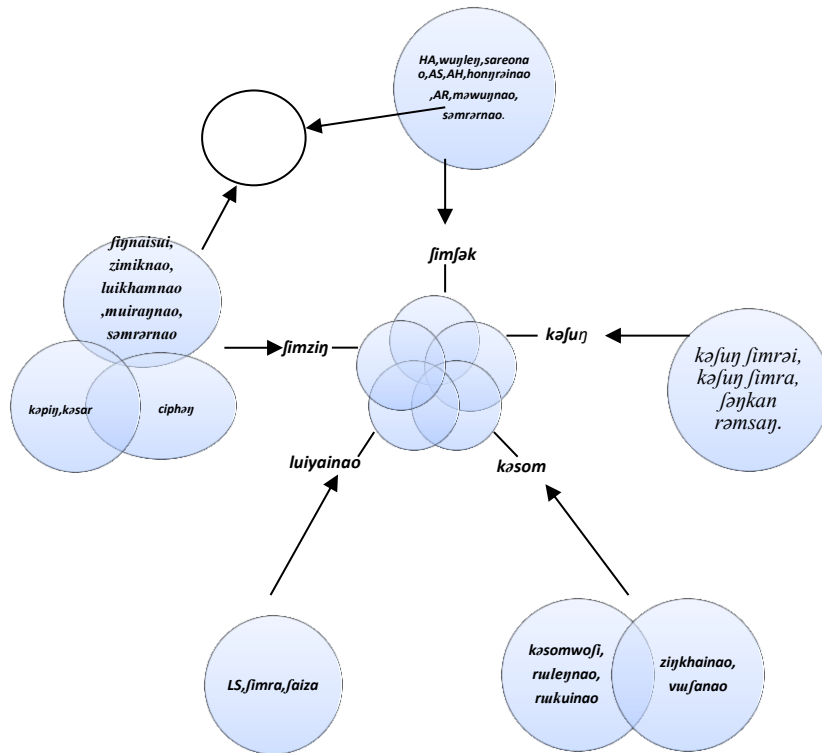
wives. The custom of *hunphun-taŋkhul* favours the eldest son of *akhəvaivu* as the *ʃim-lui-kət* 'house-field-inheritor' or rightful heir of family joint-property.

2.1. Marriageable and Non-Marriageable Clans of *hunphun-taŋkhul*

Hunphun-taŋkhul comprise of twenty-seven*ʃəŋ* 'group' or'clans.'These clans are grouped under *awuŋəʃiwui ʃimʃək* 'king's clan' and four *wuŋvu* 'chief clans' (under the king's clan): *ʃimziŋ/ paroŋʃəŋ, kəʃuŋ, kəsom, luiyainao*. Each major clan resided in each *taŋ* 'locality' in the past. *ʃimʃək* composed of ten clans of which there are nine at present: *hunphun awuŋəʃi (HA), wuŋleŋ, sareonao, suiraŋnao (AS), haobuŋnao(AH), hoŋrəinao, rumthaonao(AR) ,məwuŋnao, səmrərnao*; out of these *hunphun awuŋəʃi* is the head/king's clan, not only of *ʃimʃək* but of the entire community. *ʃimziŋ* or *paroŋʃəŋ* consists of eight *ʃəŋ* with *ʃiŋnaisui* as the head and the rest are: *kəpiŋ, kəsar, ciphəŋ, zimiknao, luikhamnao, muiraŋnao, səmrərnao. Kəsom* comprises of *kəsomwoʃi (head), ruleŋnao, rukuinao, vuʃanao, ziŋkhainao. ŋəjainao* has *luijai ʃimrəi*(head),*ʃimra* and *ʃaiza. Kəʃuŋ* comprises of *kəʃuŋ ʃimrəi(head),kəʃuŋ ʃimra and ʃəŋkanrəmsaŋ. səmrərnao* which is both in *ʃimʃək* and *ʃimziŋ* are counted as a single clan.

With the exception of the sibling clans, clan exogamy is the custom for marriage. Blood relation is given top priority in family affinity. Each clan is considered as a blood line of one man, so clan members are family related by blood. Clan endogamy is an incest *ʃo-la* meaning 'invert-coitus' which signifies the inappropriateness and unusualness of the relation, and the consequence is excommunication from the community. Whoever commits *ʃola* which is a *kəʃar* 'taboo' are believed to be short-lived and some kind of deformity occur to their descendant. The clans within *ʃimʃək* are considered as close kins of *hunphun-wo* 'hunphun-head/king' by blood or adoption. So, marriage between these clans and other sibling clans, within the four *wuŋvu* 'chief clans' under *ʃimʃək*, were considered *ʃola*. The close sibling clans between which intermarriages are restricted are grouped in each circle in the diagram A below. The circles intersecting with each other indicate the possibility of marriage. The *səmrərnao ʃəŋ* 'clan' which is both in *ʃimʃək* and *ʃimziŋ* was just one clan within *ʃimziŋ* in the past but later divided into two, in which the elder brother remained in *ʃimziŋ* while the younger one joined the *ʃimʃək*. However divided they are, they are still consider as one, marriage therefore between the two is still *ʃola* 'incest'; marriage to its sibling clans like *ʃiŋnaisui ,zimiknao, luikhamnao, muiraŋnao* is also consider *ʃola* 'incest'. The younger brother *səmrərnao* also cannot intermarry with the clans within *ʃimʃək*.

Diagram A. Marriageable and non-marriageable clans of *Hunphun-Tangkhul*

When a girl ties node with a man, she leaves her father's last name and adopt her husband's as lineage is traced through male. Cross cousin marriage between the male ego and MoBrDa is acceptable as they belong to different clan while the reverse is culturally unacceptable; it is considered *vu-lət* 'mother-return,' a girl cannot marry a man from her mother's clan. This is probably because clan endogamy is regarded taboo as member of a clan is considered to be children of one father, bonded by blood and flesh. All the male members of the mother's clan are related to the ego as *awo*, the same term for MoBr, whether they are older or younger than the ego.

3. Usage of Kinship Terms

Kinship terms of *hunphun-taŋkhul* are formed with affixes. Usually the formative affix (FX) a- is prefixed to the NOM bound roots as in *a-vu>avu* 'mother', *a-yi>aji* 'grandmother'. Those kinship terms which are not dependent to FX need not be prefixed with *a* as in: *nao-ŋəla-vu* 'child-girl-Fe', *nao-məjər-ə* 'child-boy-M', *pərəi-vu* 'wife', *kəhər-ə* 'husband'. HT kinship terminology is operated vertically upon five generations: two ascending generation, generation of the ego and two descending generation.

There's no separate kinship terms beyond *aji* 'grandmother' and *awo*'grandfather' above ego and beyond *aru* 'grandchild' below ego.

3.1.1. First Ascending Generation

avu 'mother',*ava* 'father', *avu-khə-rər* 'mother-to be-old/mother's elder sister',*avu-kə-tui* 'mother-to-follow/mother's younger sister', *ava-khə-rər* 'father-to be-old/father's elder brother', *ava-kə-to* 'father-to-support/ father's younger brother', *ani*'father's sister', *a-wo* 'a-head/father's sister's husband', *a-ji* 'a-matured+Fe'/ mother's brother's wife', *a-wo* 'a-head/ mother's brother'.

3.1.2. Second Ascending Generation

a-wo 'a-head/ grandfather', *a-ji* 'a-matured+Fe/ grandmother' , *aji-khə-rər* 'grandmother-to be-old/ grandmother's elder sister', *aji-kə-teo* 'grandmother-to be- small/ grandmother's younger sister' , *awo-khə-rər* 'grandfather-to be-old/ grandfather's elder brother', *awo-kə-teo* 'grandfather-to be-small/ grandfather's younger brother'.

3.1.3. Generation of the Ego

aməi 'beginning/starting point+M>elder brother', *acon* 'elder sister', *acui* 'elder brother', *acəi*'elder brother or sister', *a-kə-to* 'a-to-younger+M/younger brother to male ego', *a-kə-tui-vu* 'younger sister to female ego', *a-zər-vu* 'a-zər-Fe/ younger sister to male ego', *a-pá-nao* 'a-carry on back-child/ younger brother to female ego', *a-ci-nao* 'a-ci-child/ younger sister to female ego', *a-mui* 'sister-in-law to female ego',*a-mak* 'brother-in-law to male ego', *pərəi-vu* 'wife', *kəhər-ə* 'husband'.

3.1.4.First Descending Generation

nao-ŋə-la-vu 'child-to-girl-Fe/ daughter', *nao-məjer-a* 'child-boy-a/ son', *a-ru* 'a-egg/ sister's children to male ego' , *a-riha* 'Brother's children to female ego'.

3.1.5. Second Descending Generation

a-ru 'egg/ grandchildren'

Discussion

FaSi play an eminent role in the marriage of her brother's daughter as cross cousin marriage is part of the custom. This is the reason why the term for FaSi and FaSiHu are same
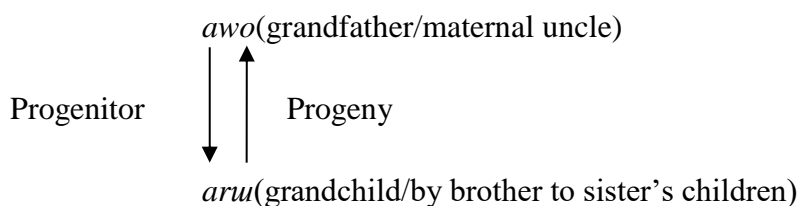
as the term for mother-in-law and father-in-law ie. *a-ni* and *a-wo* as this kind of cross cousin marriage is acceptable. Marriages between children of immediate sisters are restricted due to proximity of blood relation. But after the third generation *phɯ-hǝi* 'body-distant', marriages between great grandchildren are allowed and such relation is termed *cinao-ru* meaning 'sisters-egg'. Contrary to the past custom, marriages between the restricted *ʃǝŋs* 'clans' have come into practice today by many people on the pretext of *phɯ-hǝi* which actually is not applied to the sibling clans.

The role of grandparents in the society is the most prominent one. It is their responsibility to give blessing to their grandchildren for longevity and procreation. The conduct of the grandchildren towards the grandparents is watched, as through it the former will either earn blessing or curse from the latter. Grandparents are therefore given utmost respect. Same as the grandparents, MoBr also is very much responsible in blessing or cursing his sister's children. Brothers are the protector of their sisters. In the absence of the father it is the brothers' responsibility to marry off their sisters. In return they are highly respected by their sisters and the latter even taught their children to do the same. As both grandparents and MoBr share the same responsible of blessing and cursing, the KT are also the same ie.*, ayi* 'grandmother'/MoBrWi and *awo* 'grandfather'/MoBr. Disrespect to MoBo and grandparents are considered *kǝʃar* 'taboo'. The KT for grandchildren and SiSo/SiDa (brother's relation to sister's children) is *arɯ* as *hunphun-taŋkhul* is a patrilineal society and the term *arɯ* which means 'egg' is for the purpose of traceability of family line from whom the ego *arɯ* hail. Likewise, *a-wo* which means 'head' designates the progenitor of the ego *arɯ*. So, if the ego is the *arɯ* then ego is related to *awo* and the reverse as:

awo(grandfather/maternal uncle)

Progenitor　　　Progeny

arɯ(grandchild/by brother to sister's children)

The kin terms for parents and their parallel siblings are also same with the terms for step-father and step-mother as they all share the same responsibility of parenting the children on the dismissal of the biological parents.

3.2.Terms of Address and Terms of Reference

The KT with the FX*a-*are used as address terms. In the case of the terms with no prefix *a-*, 1st PP *i* can be prefixed, which is used both as terms of address and terms of reference.

Example: *i-pərəi-vɯ>ipərəivɯ*

My-wife-Fe'my wife'

i-nao-məjər-ə>inaoməjərə

My-child-boy-M'my son'

In addressing, the above terms with 1ˢᵗPP is often used in formal speech and in explaining the manner of relation of the kin to oneself. In casual speech wife often address the husband with one of the terms used for elder brother as: *aməi, acui, acəi* or along with name as: *aməi-pəm*(name) or *acui-pəm or acəi-pəm*. In the past husband and wife rarely addressed each other by their names, instead prefer the teknonymous term as:

aʃaŋ-ʃi-ava>aʃaŋʃáva

Name-POSS.DET/CL-father>'ashang and his family's father'

aʃaŋ-ʃi-avɯ>aʃaŋʃávɯ

Name-POSS.DET/CL-mother>'ashang and his family's] mother'

Spouse also addressed each other as *nə-vɯ* 'you-mother' to the wife and *nə-va* 'you-father' to the husband. Addressing by name was not a taboo but out of respect and politeness, they avoid calling each other by their proper names. However, in cases like maintaining the cultural-hereditary based social status, it is theduty of the wife to address the husband by the ascribed kin term. The word *aphao* for both husband and wife is used as term of address and reference in literary discourse like folk songs and poems. The kin terms prefixed with 1ˢᵗ PP *i-*, 2ⁿᵈ PP *nə-* and 3ʳᵈ PP *a-* can be used as terms of reference.

i-mak 'my-brother-in-law'

nə-mak 'your-brother-in-law'

a-mak 'brother-in-law' or 'his/her-brother-in-law'

Younger siblings address their elder sibling as *amǝi, acon, acui, acǝi* respectively, while elder ones hardly address the younger ones as *ikǝto, izǝrvɯ, ikǝtuivɯ*. The elder siblings instead use these as terms of reference. However, some family may prefer addressing the younger siblings by these special kin terms, so, we can say, there is no hard and fast rule in addressing the younger kin.

3.2.1. Age and Gender

The term referred to younger brother and older brother i.e., *a-kǝto* 'FX-NOMZ-young' and *amǝi* 'starting point'/ 'elder brother' have the semantic connotation of both age and gender.

Likewise, *a-kǝ-tui-vɯ*< FX-*kǝ*(NOMZ)-*tui*(young)-*vɯ*(NOM+Fe)

'Younger sister' to female ego

The compounded terms referring to form mother's and father's eldest parallel sibling is by the combination of noun+age.

avɯ-khǝrǝr<*avɯ*(a-NOM+Fe>N) 'mother' - *khǝrǝr*(NOMZ-old) 'to be old'

Parallel as well as cross siblings of the mother and father may also be addressed with the designated terms followed by the name of the person as in ,*avɯ-won*(name) >*avɯwon*'mother-won'.

Kinship terms are used as it is by both male and female in terms of reference when referring somebody else's relatives, but there is difference in addressing the younger siblings and brother- in-law and sister-in-law by male and female speakers when reference is made in relation to oneself. A YoSi is an *azǝrvɯ* to ElBr, while the same is an *akǝtuivɯ* to ElSi. Likewise, a YoBr is an *akǝto* to ElBr but *apanao* to ElSi. A man is related to WiBr as *amak* and a woman is related to HuSi as *amui* but not the vise-versa.

Table B. Special kin Terms as used in the Term of Address by Male and Female Speakers and as Terms of Reference in relation to oneself.

Gloss	Source	Transcription	Male Speaker	Female Speaker
Father	*Āvā*	*avɯ*	✓	✓

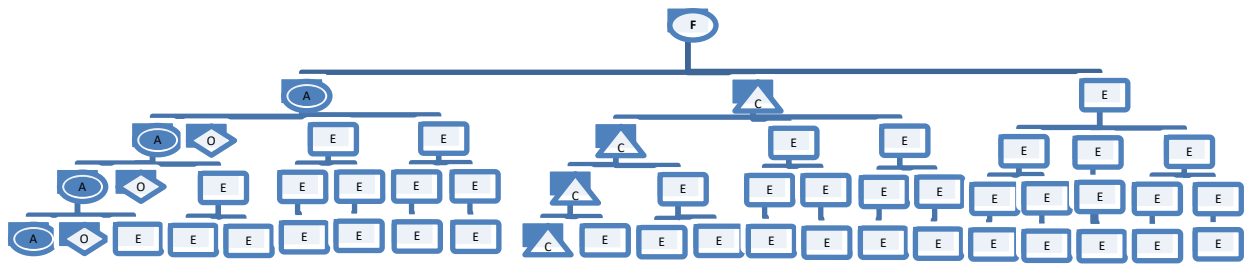|				
Mother	*Āva*	*Avá*	✓	✓
Daughter	*Naongalāva*	*naoŋəlavɯ*	✓	✓
Son	*Naomayara*	*naoməjər-a*	✓	✓
Elder brother	*Āmei*	*aməi*	✓	✓
Elder brother	*Āchui*	*Acon*	✓	✓
Elder brother/ sister	*Āchei*	*acəi*	✓	✓
Younger sister	*Āzarva*	*azə-rɯ*	✓	_
Younger sister	*Ākatuiva*	*akətuivɯ*	_	✓
Younger sister	*Āchinao*	*Acinao*	_	✓
Younger brother	*Āgato*	*akəto*	✓	_
Younger brother	*Āpā(nao)*	*Apánao*	_	✓
Wife	*Iareiva*	*ipərəivɯ*	✓	✓
Husband	*Igahara*	*ikəhər-a*	✓	✓
Mother-in-law/father's sister	*Āni*	*Ani*	✓	✓
Grandfather/ mother's brother/father's sister's husband	*Āwo/ Āwo+name*	*Awo*	✓	✓
Sister-in-law	*Āmui*	*Amui*	_	✓
Brother-in-law	*Āmāk*	*Amák*	✓	_
Son-in-law/daughter-in-law	*Irihā*	*Irihá*	✓	✓
Grandmother/ mother's brother's wife	*Āyi/ āyi+name*	*aji or aji+name*	✓	✓
Mother's elder sister/ father's elder brother	*Āvakharar/ āvākharar*	*avɯkhərər avakhərər*	✓	✓
Mother's younger sister/ step mother	*Āvakatui/ āva+name*	*avɯkətui avɯ + name*	✓	✓
Father's younger brother/ step father	*Āvāgato/ āvā+name*	*avakəto ava+ name*	✓	✓

4. Cultural-Hereditary based Hierarchical Kinship Terms

One notable use of the terms referring to older brother or sister is the cultural-hereditary based hierarchy in every clan. *amǝi* 'eldest male' can be designated only to the first male heir of every clan at its initial stage, and the title is passed down to all the eldest son of his lineage; the eldest daughter is entitled as *acon*. Then, comes '*acui*' in the hierarchy for the second eldest son and the title is passed down to the eldest sons of his lineage. Here the male is addressed as *acui* and female as *acǝi*. The terms after the second eldest are all *acǝi* for both male and female. This differentiation in titleship is to identify the head (the eldest) of every clan and to prevent dispute in future generations (N.Luikham, 2011) as the eldest male is the *ʃimluikǝt* 'inheritor' of family property as well as the person in charge of the commonly owned property of the clan. If *amǝi* marries an *acǝi*, the wife's status will be upgraded from *acǝi* to *acon* as HT is a patrilineal society. On the contrary if an *acui* or *acǝi* marries an *acon*, the husband will still remain as *acui* or *acǝi*; the wife however will retain her *acon* title as the eldest family line in every clan are always given utmost respect, but the title will not be pass down to her children. But in the past marriage hardly take place out of the ascribed social status ie.*acon* usually marries only *amǝi* and the vice versa. As shown in figure 1, F represents the father at the initial stage of the clan, A (eldest), C(second eldest)and E (elders after the second eldest) are sons. O represents the eldest daughter in A's lineage but unlike the male, O doesn't branch out as her title cannot be inherited by her children. There were very few *amǝi* and *acui* in the past as these terms were restricted only to the eldest and second eldest male lineage of every clan. Except on the dismissal of the entitled person, the title can be transferred to the immediate parallel sibling, with the consensus of the clan members, the Chief/king and all the elder-representatives of *hunphun-taŋkhul* clans' *hǝŋŋu* 'village council'/ 'village authority'. As we can see in Figure 1, there was only one *amǝi* and one *acui* in a generation. So, in four generations there would be four *amǝis* and four *acuis*. *Acon* has no fixed number since lineage is traced through male. There can be as many *acǝi* as can be in every generation, there's no limit.

Figure1. *hunphun-taŋkhul*   **Cultural-HereditaryBased**   **Hierarchy**

◯ **With F= Father,** ◎ **with A=** *aməi,* ◇ **with O=** *acon,* △ **with C=** *acui,*

▢ **With E =** *acəi*

5. Loan Terms and Semantic Extension

There has been a notch change in *hunphun-taŋkhul* kinship terminology due to cultural borrowing. Majumdar 2003, discussing on kinship and language, also asserts that kinship terminology is a linguistic phenomenon which is entirely determined by social usages. The loan terms like Mummy, daddy, mama, and papa are attributed to family with educated parents rather than uneducated parents; it is also the outcome of heterogeneous marriage. Aunty and uncle has largely substituted the terms *avɯ, ava, ani, awo*. The loan terms are more appropriate and usable to refer or address anybody irrespective of how they are related to the ego. While *hunphun-taŋkhul avɯ* 'mother' and *ava* 'father' is socially used for ego's parents' parallel siblings or for family friends and those equivalent to ego's parents' age group. *ani* and *awo* on the other hand are used to refer or address to those whose children can be ego's potential mate. Distinctions of these terms become a problem in certain context, so aunty and uncle largely substituted these terms.

Earlier *aməi* and *acon* were restricted terms. Population of the community was at bird's eye view; people were well aware of how to use the terms to whom. They were neatly packed by one sole occupation, cultivation; the community depended their livelihood on agriculture. The touch of westernisation and modernisation has brought about an enormous change in the society. Farming occupation has also been largely substituted by occupations that come along with modernisation. People are occupied with numerous things and which were once an important custom become less significant. Festivals were once a uniting force of the community but at the influence of Christianity, many age-old festivals, customs were left in amnesia. As a result, the once restricted kinship terms are now used more liberally. It's

not easy and convenient enough to trace ones' family line or to ask everyone around whether to address as *amǝi* or *acui* or *acǝi or acon*. Some Tāngkhul-Naga cultures don't even have these varied terms to refer to elder brother and elder sister. So, the term *amǝi* and *acon* automatically extended semantically and used as prototype of all male and female older than the ego. Only the eldest sons and eldest daughters of the eldest male and his lineage of every clan were the rightful person to be addressed as *amei* and *acon* but the terms have also now extended to all the descendants of the eldest male. These terms are also now used for all the dignitaries and outstanding personalities in the society who have no family bond with the speaker. Strangers older than ego are also addressed as *amei* and *acon*. Strangers are addressed according to their age and sex like *awo* and *aji* to older folks, *ani* and *awo* or *avu* and *ava* to ego's parents equivalent age, *amǝi* and *acon* to those little older, *atao* to mates and *ikǝto*, *apanao*, *azǝrvu* and *ikǝtuivu* to younger ones in place of their name in such situation when their names are not known. As a result of cultural borrowing hybrid compound words are also formed to address and refer to parent's parallel siblings:

Mama-kharar

Mama-NOMZ-old 'to be old'

Mama-kateo

Mama-NOMZ-small 'to be small'

Papa-kharar

Papa-NOMZ-Old

Papa-kateo

Papa-NOMZ-small

Mama-khǝrǝr and *mama-kǝteo* are used to address and refer to mother's elder sister and younger sister. *Papa-khǝrǝr* and *papa-kǝteo* are the terms for fathers's elder brother and younger brother.

6.Conclusion

Parents play an imminent role in the marriage of their sons in the past which was reflected in the rule of inheritance. In modern days, this rule is a cause of conflict between the

children of polygamous marriage when father favours one of the sons of the secondary wives rather than the eldest son of the primary wife. There has been a shift in the rule of inheritance with the shift in religion. With the transition to monogamous marriage as a more favourable kind of marriage as propagated by Christian doctrine, the eldest son is entitled the *ʃimluikət* 'inheritor' of the family and other children of both sexes get their share at the will of the parents. Women in the past were restricted from inheriting family property but there is no such hard and fast rule today which is a clear evidence of the change in the social status of women.

The second ascending kin terms *awo* and *aji* function as the hyponyms of ancestors are used in contrast to and *aji* which is kin term also for MoBr and MoBrWi. Likewise the second descending kin terms *aru* which is the hyponym of descendent is used in contrast to *aru* which is used in reference to sister's children. The term *awo* which is used in reference to MoBr and also to all the male members of mother's clan is in opposition to age and generation. This results to inconsistency in the use of this term as it appears obvious to address someone much younger to the ego as *awo* which seem a term for senior kin. As is seen in the use of same terms to different relations, it is known that social responsibility plays a great deal in determining KT in *hunphun-taŋkhul*.

Formative Affix 'a', nominal bound root, Nominalizer, Pronoun of Person, Age and gender, social responsibility of kin towards each otherplay a crucial role in the usage of KT. This is the reason why a man when used in reference to oneself, cannot address or refer his younger sister as *ikətuivɯ* instead of *izərvɯ,* though both the terms refer to the same person. The special kinship terms referring to older kin by the younger ones composed the major terms of address. Special terms for younger kin are rarely used as terms of address in casual speech among the family and acquaintances, however, it is common to use the sibling terms to strangers when their names are not known.

In the past, the cultural hereditary based sibling kin terms hierarchy was more rigid and there was social class like division in the society. The division was not like the Hindu cast system but it was at the beginning, age based hierarchy which became part of the social system. Since marriage was solely based on this hierarchy, it was way easier to maintain these ascribed kin terms which led to creation of greater gap between the three levels in the cultural-hierarchy. Contrary to the past custom, in this modern age, there is no such restriction in marriage which results to amalgamation of these kin terms. The study elucidated

that, restriction in the use of elder sibling kin terms attributed to cultural-hierarchy have become less restricted at present with the breaking down of this system as a result of cultural borrowing and liberalisation in traditional social system.

Another finding is that in the past, kin terms beyond the immediate family members were determined by relation through blood, marriage, generation and sex but at the present age the emphasised has to a great extend shifted to sex and age. Addressing with one of the terms for elder brother to any man from mother's clan who is older than the ego, to which the ego is supposed to address as *awo* is a fine evidence of this shift. Social status was mostly hereditary in the past but at present, it is being achieved through modern education, skills and wealth. The shift is vividly reflected in the free use of the cultural-hereditary based kin terms for elder brother and elder sister. The cultural hierarchy to a large extend broken down due to the wake of democracy and Christianity which shed the ideology of individual rights and equality.

The used of loan kin terms is the result of heterogamous marriage, prestige and also the appropriateness of these terms in the present social context. Borrowing of kinship terms led to a simplification of kinship terminology in Meiteilon (Pramodini: 1989), is the case also in Hunphun-Tāngkhul tui. The message of gender equality that comes along with modernisation is also reflected in the addressing of husband by name when the spouse is of the same age group. Wardhaugh: 1986 quotes, 'As social conditions change, we can expect kinship systems to change to reflect the new condition'. With the change in kinship system, the reflection of the change in its linguistic sphere is inevitable.

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Abbreviations
CL= Classifier
DELC= Declarative marker
E= Elder
ElBr= Elder Brother
ElSi= Elder Sister
FaSi= Father's Sister
FaSiHu= Father's Sister's Husband
Fe= Feminine marker
FX=Formative Affix
HuSi= Husband's Sister
M= Masculine marker
MoBrDa = Mother's Brother's Daughter
MoBr= Mother's Brother

NOM= Nominal bound root
NOMZ= Nominalizer
N= Noun
POSS.DET= Possessive Determiner
SiDa= Sister's Daughter
SiSo= Sister's Son
WiBr= Wife's Brother
Y= Younger
YoBr= Younger Brother
YoSi= Younger Sister
1stPP= 1st Person Pronoun
2nd PP= 2nd Person Pronoun
3rd PP= 3rd Person Pronoun
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