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KINSHIP SYSTEMS OF THREE CHITTAGONG HILL TRIBES (PAKISTAN)

CLAUDE LÉVI-STRAUSS

A SHORT VISIT to the Chittagong Hill tribes on the Bengal-Burma border in September 1950, while on a mission to Pakistan for the UNESCO Department of Social Sciences, enabled us to collect a few documents on these little known populations¹ including three lists of relationship terms pertaining respectively to the Čakma, the Kuki, and the Mog. These lists will be submitted in this paper together with miscellaneous information on related subjects such as social structure, preferential mating, and the like. Unfortunately, the kinship systems remained incomplete on account of the briefness of our stay in the native villages and the corresponding impossibility of checking on the lists of terms and filling in some obvious gaps with the help of genealogies. Imperfect as they are, they may be found to be a useful addition to the existing literature on neighboring or related tribes in Assam and Burma.

ČAKMA RELATIONSHIP TERMS*

- | | |
|--------------------|---|
| 1. <i>baba</i> | father |
| 2. <i>mā</i> | mother |
| 3. <i>aju</i> | father's father, father's mother |
| 4. <i>nanu</i> | mother's father, mother's mother |
| 5. <i>borobaba</i> | great-grandfather |
| 6. <i>boroma</i> | great-grandmother |
| 7. <i>pua</i> | son; 8. <i>dāŋgar</i> : first born; 9. <i>nukdóm</i> : second born; |
| | 10. <i>honet</i> : third born |

1 C. Lévi-Strauss, *Le Synchrétisme religieux d'un village mog du Territoire de Chittagong* (to appear shortly in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*). Except for a sprinkling of short papers and notes, most of them outdated, our main source for the Chittagong Hill tribes remains T. H. Lewin's three books: *The Hill Tracts of Chittagong and the Dwellers Therein* (Calcutta, 1869); *Wild Races of Southeastern India* (London, 1870); *A Fly on the Wheel* (London, 1885) which contain approximately the same information. See also R. H. Sneyd Hutchinson, "Chittagong Hill Tracts" (in *East Bengal and Assam District Gazetteers*, Allahabad, 1909).

* Orthographic note: Because certain special type are not available, substitutions have been made in the author's scheme of transcription. Č is substituted for ś with hook below (the sound *tch*); a z with a circling tail has been used for ž with inverted caret above (*dj*); ž substitutes for z with inverted caret above (*dz*); w for u with breve below (the semi-vowel *u*)—EDITOR.

- | | |
|-------------------------|--|
| 11. <i>mila</i> | daughter |
| 12. <i>natim</i> | son's son, son's daughter, daughter's son, daughter's daughter |
| 13. <i>dāṅgada</i> | brother (older) ; 14. <i>ṣikūnda</i> : brother (younger) |
| 15. <i>beṅput</i> | brother's son; 16. <i>beṅi</i> : brother's daughter |
| 17. <i>peṅ</i> | sister (older) ; 18. <i>būn</i> : sister (younger) |
| 19. <i>bhagina</i> | sister's son; 20. <i>bhagini</i> : sister's daughter |
| 21. <i>ḡeta</i> | father's older brother |
| 22. <i>kaka</i> | father's younger brother. |
| 23. <i>ḡetatobaṅ</i> | father's older brother's son |
| 24. <i>kurtotobaṅ</i> | father's younger brother's son |
| 25. <i>ḡetatobūn</i> | father's older brother's daughter |
| 26. <i>kurtotobūn</i> | father's younger brother's daughter |
| 27. <i>mama</i> | mother's brother |
| 28. <i>mami</i> | mother's brother's wife |
| 29. <i>mamatobaṅ</i> | mother's brother's son |
| 30. <i>mamatobūn</i> | mother's brother's daughter |
| 31. <i>piṅi</i> | father's sister |
| 32. <i>piṣa</i> | father's sister's husband |
| 33. <i>piṣtotobaṅ</i> | father's sister's son |
| 34. <i>piṣtotobūn</i> | father's sister's daughter |
| 35. <i>maṅi</i> | mother's sister (older and younger) |
| 36. <i>muṅi</i> | mother's sister's husband |
| 37. <i>maṣtotobaṅ</i> | mother's sister's son |
| 38. <i>maṣtotobun</i> | mother's sister's daughter |
| 39. <i>bō</i> | wife |
| 40. <i>ṣoor</i> | wife's father |
| 41. <i>ṣori</i> | wife's mother |
| 42. <i>boroṣala</i> | wife's older brother |
| 43. <i>ṣala</i> | wife's younger brother |
| 44. <i>ḡegat</i> | wife's elder sister |
| 45. <i>ṣali</i> | wife's younger sister |
| 46. <i>buṣi</i> | elder brother's wife |
| 47. <i>bebo</i> | younger brother's wife |
| 48. <i>bōnaṅ</i> | elder sister's husband |
| 49. <i>bōṅṣami</i> | younger sister's husband |
| 50. <i>nek</i> | husband |
| 51. <i>muṣa</i> | husband's sister's husband |
| 52. <i>labwoi ṣoḡun</i> | reciprocal between men married to sisters |

53. <i>zēdi</i>	father's elder brother's wife
54. <i>kaki</i> .	father's younger brother's wife
55. <i>zīzami</i>	daughter's husband
56. <i>pudobo</i>	son's wife

OBSERVATIONS ON THE USE OF ČAKMA TERMS

The Čakma kinship terms are, on the whole, Bengali, but the origin of a few terms remains doubtful, for instance *aju* and *nanu* (perhaps Urdu) for the grandparents; *nukdóm* and *honet* for the second and third sons; *zēgat*, wife's elder sister; *labwoi zoḡun*, two men married to sisters (to be compared, however, with Bengali *sotin*, *sopotni*: co-wife).

On the other hand, there are noticeable discrepancies in relation to current Bengali use. Thus, *mila*, daughter, is Sanskrit *mahilā*, woman; the terms for great-grandparents are different from general Bengali though they consist in a combination of the Bengali terms for father and mother plus the qualificative *boro*: big, much. A similar observation can be made on the terms for brother (younger and elder). While *nek*: husband, is probably Bengali *nayak*: master, the term for wife: *bō* is shifted away from its normal Bengali connotation: sister.² The term for younger sister: *bun* is rarely used, this relative being called by her name. The younger brother's wife *bebo* and the wife's elder sister *zēgat* are prohibited relatives. One cannot either joke with them or address them. The opposite is true with the elder brother's wife *buṣi* and the wife's younger sister *ḡali* with both of whom one enjoys a joking relationship. There is a close connection between *labwoi zoḡun*, two men married to sisters, who work together and help each other.

MARRIAGE AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Theoretically, marriage is prohibited within seven generations. In practice it is allowed when no traceable relationship exists within the preceding three or four generations, and some informants stated that marriage can take place with father's sister's daughter, mother's brother's daughter, and mother's sister's daughter.

There seems to be a certain amount of avoidance between parents-in-law and son-in-law, but we could not find, within the short span of our stay, any trace

² We are indebted to Prof Jules Bloch of the Collège de France for checking on Čakma terms of doubtful origin. T. H. Lewin has quoted some other terms which may not be Bengali. These are *lyngia*, "lover"; *langonee*, "mistress"; *sowalta*, "best man"; *sowullee*, "bridesmaid" (cf. T. H. Lewin, *Wild Races*, pp. 167-168).

of the bashful bridegroom attitude which has been described, in the past, for the Čakma.³

In case of marriage by elopement (*siṅgala* or *deižena*), the guilty couple is fined (*zorimana*) cash and a pig. The pig-fine is called *şokor*. But should the couple repeat their action three times and pay on each occasion the corresponding fine, the marriage becomes final and the girl's parents must abide by their daughter's choice.⁴

Ordinary marriage is by purchase, the bride-price including money, ornaments, cloth, pigs, rice, and rice-beer.

Marriage is ordinarily patrilocal except if a father "likes his daughter very much." In that case he insists on a special type of marriage (*şamaıutha*) where, for the first year or two, the husband should reside at his parents-in-law's house and work for them; the bride-price is then considerably lower.

Political power belongs, among the Čakma, to a patrilineal lineage, where it is transmitted from father to first-born son. There are about thirty such lineages, which our informants called *gusti*.⁵ Formerly once every year, now once every four or five years (on account of the heavy expense), each *gusti* celebrates an offering feast to the ancestors (*morabad dena*) during which possession scenes take place.⁶ Members of the royal *gusti* are endowed with a magical power called *fi*. This power makes them and everything they may come in contact with highly dangerous for people of lesser status, especially commoners. As our informant (himself a member of the royal family) put it, this is "on account of all the gods we carry."⁷ The result of this supernatural load is that while on a journey, a princely individual cannot rest in or even enter a commoner's house lest he bring upon it all sorts of calamities. Thus, he is obliged to remain outside in the heat and sun while his coolies enjoy the freshness and the shade. There are only two ways to escape from that awkward situation, the first one being to ennoble

3 T. H. Lewin, *Wild Races*, p. 178.

4 Already described in Hutchinson, "Chittagong Hill Tracts" p. 97.

5 The term *gusti*, which was the only one used by our informants, corresponds to the term *goza* (Sanskrit *gotra*) given by Lewin with the meaning "clan," "family." There were thirty-three *goza* among the Čakma plus seven for the Toungjynya, a subdivision of the tribe (cf. Lewin, *Hill Tracts*, p. 73).

6 Lévi-Strauss, *op. cit.*

7 This seems the appropriate place to express our gratitude to Mr Rai Bahadur Kumar Birupaksha Roy, a member of the Čakma royal family, who, through the kind offices of Col L. H. Niblett (at that time District Commissioner for the Hill Tracts), consented to become our companion and interpreter and without whose help the material of this and other forthcoming articles could not have been collected. Thanks should also be directed to Mr Aziz Ahmed, Chief Secretary, Government of East Bengal, and Asgar Ali, District Magistrate of Chittagong, who made our trip possible and altogether delightful.

the owner of the house; thus, he becomes able to bear contact with the perilous *fi*. Another process consists, on the part of the owner, of inviting the prince to enter his house. The latter should refuse several times and comply only when given a sum of money by his would-be host which he will return double later on. The *fi* appears to be neutralized by this double inversion of the original relationship between prince and commoner.

KUKI RELATIONSHIP TERMS

- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| 1. <i>pa</i> | father |
| 2. <i>nu</i> | mother |
| 3. <i>ū</i> | father's father, elder sister's husband, husband's elder brother |
| 4. <i>pu</i> | mother's father, great-grand-father, great-grand-mother, wife's father. |
| 5. <i>pi</i> | father's mother, mother's mother, wife's mother |
| 6. <i>nau</i> | son, elder brother's son; 7. <i>umi</i> : first son; 8. <i>naumi</i> : second son; 9. <i>tomi</i> : third son; 10. <i>nlika</i> : fourth son; 11. <i>dynaka</i> : fifth son. |
| 12. <i>šinu</i> | daughter; 13. <i>rolmi</i> : first daughter; 14. <i>milaj</i> : second daughter; 15. <i>tūŋka</i> : third daughter; 16. <i>nlika</i> : fourth daughter; 17. <i>grnaka</i> : fifth daughter |
| 18. <i>topa</i> | son's son |
| 19. <i>atu</i> | daughter's son |
| 20. <i>atunu</i> | son's daughter, daughter's daughter |
| 21. <i>un</i> | brother (elder), sister (elder) |
| 22. <i>sopwi</i> | brother (younger), husband's younger brother |
| 23. <i>sopwiŋa, sapa</i> | younger brother's son |
| 24. <i>upanau</i> | elder brother's daughter |
| 25. <i>sopwipanau</i> | younger brother's daughter |
| 26. <i>šarnu</i> | younger sister |
| 27. <i>nute</i> | sister's son |
| 28. <i>papwi</i> | father's elder brother |
| 29. <i>pate</i> | father's younger brother |
| 30. <i>kaŋapwinau</i> | father's elder brother's son |
| 31. <i>kaŋaptenau</i> | father's younger brother's son |
| 32. <i>kaŋapwisenu</i> | father's elder brother's daughter |
| 33. <i>kaŋaptesenu</i> | father's younger brother's daughter |
| 34. <i>pute</i> | mother's brother, wife's brother, wife's brother's wife |

35. <i>pite</i>	mother's brother's wife
36. <i>ni</i>	father's sister, husband's mother
37. <i>marāṅg</i>	father's sister's husband, husband's father
38. <i>kəninəu</i>	father's sister's son
39. <i>kənisenu</i>	father's sister's daughter
40. <i>nupwi</i>	mother's elder sister
41. <i>nute</i>	mother's younger sister
42. <i>kunupwinəu</i>	mother's elder sister's son
43. <i>kunutenəu</i>	mother's younger sister's son
44. <i>kunupwisenu</i>	mother's elder sister's daughter
45. <i>kunutesenu</i>	mother's younger sister's daughter
46. <i>dōṅ</i>	wife
47. <i>putenəu</i>	wife's brother's son
48. <i>putesenu</i>	wife's brother's daughter
49. <i>kodōṅgunu</i>	wife's elder sister
50. <i>kodōṅgsoṅwinu</i>	wife's younger sister
51. <i>kodōṅgsoṅwinupasal</i>	wife's sister's husband, reciprocal term between men married to sisters
52. <i>kunu</i>	elder brother's wife
53. <i>kaswapoipadau</i>	younger brother's wife
54. <i>sopwinupasal</i>	younger sister's husband
55. <i>kasarnupasalupa</i>	elder sister's husband's brother
56. <i>kasarnupasalnaupa</i>	younger sister's husband's brother
57. <i>samakpasarnu</i>	sister's husband's sister
58. <i>kasarnupasalmrwi</i>	husband's relatives (woman sp.)
59. <i>pasal</i>	husband
60. <i>kopunaṅmrwi</i>	wife's relatives (man sp.)
61. <i>kasamapa</i>	daughter's husband
62. <i>amaunu</i>	son's wife

OBSERVATIONS ON THE USE OF KUKI TERMS

There seem to be no terms for either mother's brother's son or mother's brother's daughter. This may be connected with the position of the latter as preferential mate. As a matter of fact, the terms for mother's brother's near relatives are very close to those for wife's family, e.g. *pu*: mother's father, wife's father, and more generally used as a term of respect, *pu-te* (-*te*, diminutive): mother's brother, wife's brother; *pu-te-nəu*: wife's brother's son; *pi*: grand-mother, wife's mother; *pi-te*: mother's brother's wife. On the other hand *putesenu*: wife's

brother's daughter appears to be the object of a strong prohibition, a feature excluding any secondary preferential marriage of the Miwok type. *Kodōŋgunu*: wife's elder sister, is equally prohibited, but there is a joking relationship between a man and his *kodōŋgopwinu*, wife's younger sister.

The terms quoted above show a general trend toward raising matrilineal relatives through males one generation. There is in Lushai a corresponding trend to lowering by one or two generations the patrilineal relatives through females, merging them under the general name of *tu* which in both systems is used for the grandchildren.⁸ Our Kuki material does not show the latter tendency on account of the use of special terms for father's sister's husband and patrilineal cross-cousins.

A remarkable feature of the system is the development of descriptive terms. Even if some of these were made up by the informants in order to answer our queries, the ease with which they were able to describe impromptu any kind of relationship by creating new terms would be by itself striking. For instance *kodōŋgopwinupasal*: *ka*: relation to the speaker; *dōŋg*: wife; *sopwi*: removed; *nu*: feminine; *pasal*: husband, i.e. wife's sister's husband, or two men having married sisters. Again, *kasarnupasalnaupa*: *ka*: relation to the speaker; *sarnu*: sister; *pasal*: husband; *nau*: male; *pa*: father, i.e. sister's husband's brother, etc.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Kuki of the Chittagong Hill Tracts are divided in moieties called respectively Paŋkho and Banzogi. Men belonging to each moiety wear their hair (which is usually left long) differently: with a bob on the forehead (*makter somor*) for the Banzogi, and with a bob on the nape of the neck (*nuŋter somor*) for the Paŋkho.

The natives state most emphatically that these moieties are not exogamous. The only function of which they seem to be aware is that chiefs are generally chosen from among the Paŋkho. However, villages are exogamous, and there is preferential marriage with mother's brother's daughter, while father's sister's daughter is avoided. Polygyny is allowed, but stepdaughter marriage is strictly prohibited. Since moiety affiliation follows the father's line, the result is that moieties tend to be exogamous though in an indirect way. Another consequence of the system (of which the natives seem to be equally unaware) is that, on account of village exogamy and patrilocal residence, the adult male population of any village (and the children of both sexes) tend to be predominantly either

⁸ See for instance Lorrain and Savidge, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Lushai* (Shillong, 1898).

Paṅkho or Banḡogi. For instance in the village of *Dralaukhan-para* (in Čakma: *Boṣōnto*), where we spent a few days, the unmarried adolescents' dance (*lam*) which we witnessed included twelve participants (three girls and nine boys) out of which only three were Banḡogi (two boys and a girl) and all the others Paṅkho.

The mother's brother is highly respected, and there seems to be a period near puberty when uterine nephews and boys occupying the same status have no other duty than to comb and beautify themselves with flowers and ornaments and to play the rôle of attendants and cup-bearers at their uncle's home. In the case which we observed, the two boys who were occupying a position of that kind at the village headman's house were respectively his brother's son and his sister's son's son.

It may be interesting to give the main links of each household of the village (seven altogether) with the headman:

1. Headman, wife, daughters, son, son's wife and baby;
2. Headman's elder daughter and son-in-law;
3. Headman's sister's son and family;
4. Headman's elder daughter's father-in-law;
5. Headman's younger brother, wife, and child;
6. Headman's younger brother's son-in-law, wife, and child;
7. Headman's classificatory brother's son and family.

Altogether, forty-six persons including 16 men, 15 women, 3 unmarried girls, 4 unmarried boys, 8 small children.

Marriage is by purchase. The price for a chief's daughter is approximately Rs 250, less the value of the gongs (*darkwa*); obtained from Burmese Buddhist monasteries) and buffaloes which would be in any case preferred to money. This is little surprising since buffaloes are reckoned in the marriage price on the basis of Rs 50 per head, while their ordinary trading value per head can go as high as Rs 300.

The bride's father gives his daughter clothes and ornaments consisting of amber necklaces (*sana*) traded on the Burma and Assam borders, silver necklaces of Indian craftsmanship bought in the bazaar, and girdles made of numerous rings of copper tubes. Thus, it was perhaps as an inducement to prospective bridegrooms that the headman's two unmarried daughters were continuously wearing several pounds of jewelry.

Marriage is patrilocal except if the girl's father has no son. In that case he

gives his daughter in marriage matrilocally, a system which is called *samkúm alutkə*.

When a woman dies, her jewelry is disposed of in the following order: son—daughter—husband—father.

When a man dies, the son who is at the moment living in the homestead inherits it. Those who have already left it have no right whatsoever. The widow does not inherit, but the son has the duty to support her.

In case the first three sons have married and left the homestead, the fourth son is obliged to remain with his parents. He will also inherit the house and the cattle. This fourth son's compulsory inheritance is called *naučemmi*.

Some reference was made during our stay to a naming feast, *nau rming pó*. The child's father must offer three pots of rice-beer (*zupwi*) and sacrifice a cock. He nominates an individual to act as name-giver (*rming oŋpo pera*).

When a hunter kills a deer, a boar, or a bear, he must give a feast of meat to the village and provide rice-beer and rice.

An adulterer is fined a pig.

Unlike the Čakma and the Mog, the Kuki do not acknowledge marriage by elopement. In case an elopement takes place, the culprits are fined Rs 20 each.

MOG RELATIONSHIP TERMS⁹

- | | |
|----------------------|--|
| 1. <i>aba, ada</i> | father |
| 2. <i>aŋun</i> | mother |
| 3. <i>napuse</i> | father's father |
| 4. <i>jókma</i> | mother's father |
| 5. <i>abō'ŋ</i> | father's mother, mother's mother |
| 6. <i>sa</i> | son |
| 7. <i>səmi</i> | daughter |
| 8. <i>mŋiŋ</i> | son's son (daughter's son) |
| 9. <i>səmímamŋiŋ</i> | daughter's son |
| 10. <i>mŋiŋma</i> | son's daughter, daughter's daughter |
| 11. <i>kugri</i> | brother (elder); 12. <i>niense</i> : brother (younger) |
| 13. <i>kugrisa</i> | elder brother's son, father's brother's son |
| 14. <i>kugrisəmi</i> | elder brother's daughter, father's brother's daughter |
| 15. <i>niensa</i> | younger brother's son |
| 16. <i>niensemi</i> | younger brother's daughter |

⁹ A few Mog kinship terms somewhat different from our list may be found in Sten Konow, *Notes on the Maghi Dialect of the Chittagong Hill Tracts* (Nachrichten über Angelegenheiten der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, vol. 57, 1903).

17. <i>megri</i>	sister (elder)
18. <i>na'ma</i>	sister (younger), wife's brother's wife
19. <i>tu</i>	sister's son, wife's brother's son
20. <i>tuma</i>	sister's daughter, wife's brother's daughter
21. <i>abagri</i>	father's elder brother, mother's sister's husband
22. <i>abese</i>	father's younger brother
23. <i>mamu</i>	mother's brother, father's sister's husband
24. <i>arisa</i>	mother's brother's wife, father's sister
25. <i>ɔpa</i>	mother's brother's son, wife's brother
26. <i>məʔi</i>	mother's brother's daughter, father's sister's daughter
27. <i>asāŋgri</i>	father's sister's son
28. <i>agrima</i>	mother's elder sister
29. <i>aɛma</i>	mother's younger sister
30. <i>mja</i>	wife
31. <i>sogōŋ</i>	wife's father, husband's father
32. <i>sogōŋma</i>	wife's mother
33. <i>məʔise</i>	wife's elder sister
34. <i>krêma</i>	wife's younger sister, sister's husband's sister
35. <i>ako</i>	wife's elder sister's husband
36. <i>njen</i>	wife's younger sister's husband, sister's husband's brother
37. <i>lāŋ</i>	husband
38. <i>aɣiāŋ</i>	husband's mother
39. <i>osōŋ</i>	reciprocal between men married to sisters
40. <i>səmə</i>	daughter's husband
41. <i>kuma</i>	son's wife

OBSERVATIONS ON THE USE OF MOG TERMS

As with the preceding systems, familiarity with the wife's elder sister (*məʔise*) is prohibited while there is a joking relationship with the younger sister (*krêma*).

Throughout the system one notices a consistent use of a few terms as suffixes, e.g., *-gri*: elder; *-se*: remote or distant; *-sa*: son; *-səmi*: daughter; *-ma*: female. The ending *-ŋ* seems to be reserved to the third ascending or descending generation and to affinal kin.

The natives state that the ideal spouse for a man is his *məʔi*, i.e. the bilateral cross-cousin, a type of marriage well grounded in the terminology as shown in the equivalences of terms 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 34, 36, and in term 33: *məʔise* for wife's elder sister. Such being the case, it is surprising to find special terms for parents-in-law (31, 32, 38): the term for wife's mother is different

from that for husband's mother (32 and 38) while the same term (31) applies to both wife's and husband's fathers. This could perhaps be explained as the result of a conflict between male and female terminology (compare *aṣiāṅ*: husband's mother and *aṣāṅgri*: father's sister's son, for speakers of both sexes), a feature which the main characteristics of the social structure could well support, as will be shown. On the other hand, the shift t/k in *kuma*: son's wife, and *tuma*: sister's daughter, wife's brother's daughter, remains unexplained.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Mog, who call themselves *Morma*,¹⁰ appear to be divided into numerous clans (*ṣaṣaisa*), patrilineal and agamic. The Chief *Hladwāṅg*'s village (on the right bank of the Karnafully River about two miles inland and twenty miles downstream from Rangamati), where we spent a few days, included about one hundred eighty persons belonging to two clans, *Rigiesa* and *Kiōprusa*. Other clans represented in southern villages included the following:

<i>Palaiṅsa</i>	<i>Oiūṅsa</i>	<i>Ok'sa</i>
<i>Kōgdēṅsa</i>	<i>Čerīṅsa</i>	<i>Rāiṅbrisa</i>
<i>Parāṅṣa</i>	<i>Pōlaksa</i>	<i>Sapregia</i>
<i>Lōṅg'dusa</i>	<i>Rwakoṅṅa</i>	<i>Sain</i>
<i>Marōsa</i>		

The *Kiōprusa* clan is said to be the oldest settled in the Hill tracts, while the *Rigiesa* came later from Arakan and submitted their predecessors to their rule. We were told that of the two Mog traditional chiefs, the "Bohmōṅg" chief belongs to the *Rigiesa* and the "Mōṅg" chief to the *Palaiṅsa*.

Only two of the above clan names were mentioned previously in the literature. They are the *Palaiṅsa* and the *Kōgdēṅsa*, transcribed by Lewin as *Palaingtsa* and *Kowkdyntsa*.¹¹ The natives could not suggest any differential function for their clans though they mentioned dialectal and other peculiarities (especially in the way of wearing the turban) which made it possible in the past to distinguish one clan from the other. However, the clans remain sufficiently important for the first question, addressed to a newcomer, to be *ṣatāṅsale*, "Which clan do you belong to?"

Although clans are patrilineal there are several indications suggesting matrilineal trends or remnants in Mog society. It is said that Arakanese Mog are

10 Cf. E. Riebeck, *The Chittagong Hill-Tribes: Results of a Journey made in the year 1882* (A. H. Keane, tr., London, 1885).

11 Lewin, *Wild Races*, pp. 146-149.

matrilocal. This is not the case in the Chittagong Hill Tracts; however, inheritance rules still distinguish between "male goods" (*iokia wain*) including the house, goats, cattle, and land which go from father to son, and "female goods" (*min ma wain*) consisting in ornaments, jewelry, female dresses, spinning and weaving apparatus, fowl and pigs which go from mother to daughter. Usually the first-born son is the main heir except if he has already left the homestead; in that case the male inheritance goes to the youngest son who is always favored in relation to his intermediate brothers.

Girls appear to enjoy a great freedom in their choice of a husband. Should two young people lack their parents' consent and elope, they would be fined Rs 100 or more, but after this formality the marriage is held to be valid. Therefore the Mog go still farther than the Čakma in the acknowledgement of elopement as a normal way to contract a union.¹²

When we visited the Hill Tracts, the Mōᅅg chief of Maničori was said to be an elderly woman who had been ruling for many years, her father lacking male descendants. However, this "lady-chief" had a son who it was understood, we were told, would succeed her. Since our informants were quite positive that a man would be succeeded by his brother before his son, we have several converging indications that the agnatic family may not exist among the Mog.

On a more psychological level, one is struck by the great freedom enjoyed by women, contrasting with both the Hindu and the Muslim patterns which have permeated Čakma society to a greater extent. Mog women mix freely with men, and they do not even avoid foreign visitors. In the chief's house where we stayed lived a divorced son, and another divorced young man was living in the same village. In both cases divorce (*kwair*) took place at the woman's wish and without the husband's consent. The divorce fine (*ražuai*) is simply doubled if one party's consent is lacking. In the last case, the wife was said to have remarried five times.

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¹² See above, p. 43.