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Patrilateral Lineation in Transition

The Kinship System of the Lakher (Mara), Arakan

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Several attempts have been made to classify and to interpret the kinship systems of the hill tribes of Assam and Upper Burma (e. g., Lévi-Strauss 1949, Ruhemann 1948, Murdock 1949, Leach 1951 and 1957). Interpretations were based on kinship terms and marriage regulations; nevertheless the complex of rules connected with the structure of these kinship systems appears more or less obscure, and no principle has been set forth to distinguish the various forms of connections ("descent") and to recognize their mutual relationship within the system. It is with the Lakher that we encounter the most puzzling problems, and it is my aim to disentangle the web of intricate rules and to deduce the underlying principle which is realized in this kinship system determining the interdependence of its elements and their tendencies of development.

1. KINSHIP TERMS

In his study on *Social Structure* Murdock (1949) refers to the Lakher as possessing cousin terms of the Hawaiian type and accordingly lists them under the Guinea type of social organization. Although "differences appear precisely where they are least expected", it seems strange that the Lakher should constitute an exception among all the neighbouring hill tribes of Arakan and Upper Assam who show a striking similarity not only economically but also in respect to their social organization, and nearly all of them possess the

Omaha system. The nearest relations of the Lakher are the various members of the Mizou (Lushai-Kuki) group; and their kinship terms, as reported by Shakespear and others, show some traits analogous to the Hawaiian type. It seems, however, that these elements are not original but are derived from the Omaha type.

When classifying the Lakher, Murdock's source was N. E. Parry: *The Lakhers* (1932). Parry distinguishes between two forms of kinship terms: those used in address and those of a descriptive character. There are only four terms of address for the various degrees of relationship in Ego's generation: *au*, *idi*, *papu*, and *papi* (*ifi* = sister (woman speaking) being used by the Sabeu group only). According to Parry (1932: 240—243)

au is used for: elSibl, FaSiblCh > Ego, MoSiblCh > Ego (but MoBrSo generally *papu*), WielSi > Ego, HuelSibl, HuyoSi > Ego, WielSiHu, HuelBrWi, HuyoBrWi > Ego, HuSiHu > Ego, elSiHu (if man speaking only if older than Ego), elBrWi, yoBrWi > Ego (woman speaking); *idi* is used for: yoSibl, PaSiblCh < Ego, WiyoSi, HuyoBr, HuyoSi < Ego, HuyoBrWi < Ego, yoBrWi (if woman speaking only if younger than Ego). With the exception of addressing MoBrCh the name may also be used.

papu is used for: MoBrSo and WiBr > Ego; *papi* for: WiBrWi > Ego. With the exception of the last two cases (*papu* and *papi* designating originally MoBr/WiFa and MoBrWi/WiMo) and the parents of the children-in-law, who are called by name, all relations of Ego in his own generation may be called *au* or *idi* (or by name), and in regard to the terms of address Murdock's classification may be correct. But we cannot judge the kinship system from terms of address only: the neighbouring low-land people, Burmese and Bengali, may call every person of their age "brother" or "sister". Though the Lakher have special terms when addressing strangers, in certain cases *au*, *idi* and especially *papu* are employed, too. Moreover, *idi* (that is "my *di*") may be no kinship term at all. It cannot be found in any other Kuki-Chin or Naga kinship system hitherto reported, though we may assume that the word itself is known (and

that we have not to turn to Archaic Chinese *di*: younger (female) sibling), for I met it with the Mru of the Chittagong Hill Tracts who use *di* as a term of endearment from boy to girl or from an old man to a cherished boy. Oddly enough, R. A. Lorrain in his voluminous Lakher dictionary does not mention the term at all. We shall discuss this point later on and just pass on to the descriptive terms given by Parry. They are:

- uta*: elSibl, elBrWi (m. s.), HuelBr (sometimes),
nawta: yoSibl, yoBrWi (m. s.), HuyoBr (sometimes),
rilapa: Br (w. s.),
sitanong: Si (m. s.),
naronong: Si (w. s.),
vapa: Hu,
lapinong: Wi,
piapa: SiHu (m. s.),
meunong: BrWi (w. s.), sometimes *uta* and *nawta*, combined with her child's name.

There seem to be no cousin terms at all, but Parry states explicitly the lack for MoSiCh only: "by name (no relation)". *meunong* and *piapa* may be some special terms, and the use of *uta* and *nawta* for BrWiSi (own WiSi are not noted) results from employing the wife's terminology (as may clearly be shown in related systems, v. i.). Thus the cross-cousins are not classed along with brothers and sisters. Since the Lakher possess definite patrilineal sibs, it is at least highly probable that the unreported FaBrCh will be classed with FaCh, and thus Parry's terms yield some variant of the Iroquois type, if not for *pu* MoBr/WiBr of the Omaha type. The evidence is scanty, but cannot be overlooked, the more since the social organization as well as the kinship terms for the older and younger generations are closely akin to the surrounding tribes with the 'Omaha system. Judging from the material only, Parry's account may not be complete. It would be questionable to attempt a reconstruction based on the evidence of the systems of the surrounding tribes. Fortunately

there are new data at our disposal which will help to clear up the problem.

These data are given by R. A. Lorrain's *Grammar and Dictionary of the Lakher or Mara Language* (1951). The author did missionary work with the Lakher from 1907 up to his death in 1944; he translated the Gospel of St. John into the Mara language and prepared primers and other books. We may be sure that he knew the language very well, though he may not have come to know it in every corner of the Lakher hills. Parry, on the other hand, stayed four years in the Lushai Hills District, made excursions into the Lakher country, and had to employ one or even two interpreters (a Lakher and a Lushai). I am not going to distrust Parry, but in questions of dispute, I think, Lorrain is the better authority.

These remarks were necessary, for there are some obvious mistakes in the "Relationship Table" of Lorrain's book. For instance: "if I am a man, mother's brother's son (daughter) is my *vah-pa* (*vah-nô*), I am their *na-no*", "if I am a man, father's sister's daughter is my *tu-nô*, I am their *pu-pa*", "if I am a woman, father's sister's daughter is my *saw*, I am their *na*". As these are reciprocal terms they cannot correspond to the stated degrees of relationship. Lorrain's manuscripts were published posthumously, and the data given in the dictionary itself do not contain these contradictions. But the terms of the dictionary cannot be used by themselves, because they often lack specifications (e. g. "a sister-in-law") and may be applied to more degrees of relationship than stated. Therefore the terms provided by the dictionary must be specified by cautious use of the relationship table. The following kinship terms can be inferred:

<i>ma-paw</i>	: grFa, grgrFa
<i>ma-nô</i>	: grMo, grgrMo
<i>paw, pâ</i>	: Fa, FaBr, MoSiHu
<i>nô, na</i>	: Mo, MoSi, FaBrWi (<i>na</i> only in the 1st person singular)
<i>nô-paw</i>	: Parents

<i>no-nô, na-no</i>	: FaSi, HuMo
<i>pa-ra-pa</i>	: FaSiHu, HuFa
<i>pu-pa</i>	: MoBr, WiFa, MoBrSo (m. s.), WiBr, WiBrSo (all addressed as <i>pâ-pu</i>)
<i>pi-nô</i>	: MoBrWi, WiMo (both addressed as <i>pâ-pi</i>)
<i>u-ta</i>	: elSibl
<i>naw-ta</i>	: yoSibl, HuyoSi, (WiSi?)
<i>u-naw</i>	: Sibling, FaBrSo (m. s.), MoSiSo (m. s.)
<i>ri-la-pa</i>	: Br (w. s.), FaBrSo (w. s.), MoSiSo (w. s.)
<i>si, si-ta-nô</i>	: Si (m. s.), FaBrDa (m. s.), MoSiDa (m. s.), HuSi
<i>na-rô</i>	: Si (w. s.), FaBrDa (w. s.), MoSiDa (w. s.)
<i>na-pi, na-pi-nô</i>	: Wi, (WiSi?), BrWi (m. s.) (<i>lapi</i> and <i>la-pi-nô</i> may equally be used)
<i>va-pa</i>	: Hu, MoBrSo (w. s.?), HuBr, SiHu (w. s.), BrSo (w. s.)
<i>va-nô</i>	: MoBrDa (m. & w. s.), BrDa (w. s.)
<i>myu-nô</i>	: BrWi (w. s.), WiBrDa, SoWi (<i>myu</i> = bride)
<i>nô-ri</i>	: HuBrWi
<i>nô-ri-pa</i>	: WiSiHu (addressed as <i>u-naw-pa</i>)
<i>tu-pa, tu-pa-pa</i>	: FaSiSo (m. s.), SiHu (m. s.), SiSo (m. s.), DaHu (m. s.), HuSiSo
<i>tu-nô, tu-nô-nô</i>	: FaSiDa (m. s.), SiDa (m. s.), HuSiDa
<i>pia-pa</i>	: DaHu (w. s.)
<i>saw</i>	: Ch, BrCh (m. s.), SiCh (w. s.), WiSiCh, HuBrCh
<i>saw-chapaw</i>	: So
<i>saw-chanô</i>	: Da
<i>sa-mo</i>	: grCh
<i>sa-mo-pa</i>	: grSo
<i>sa-mo-nô</i>	: grDa
<i>sa-chhi</i>	: grgrCh

I have had to omit FaSiCh (w. s.). They are not noted in the dictionary; the "Relationship Table" gives *saw* and as its reciprocal term *na*. But Ego is a MoBrDa for her FaSiCh (w. s.), and MoBrDa

is called *va-nô* (m./w. s.). Thus *na* is not correct nor is probably *saw*. In the reciprocal column of the “table”, on the other hand, FaSiCh (w. s.) are given as *pa-ra-pa* and *na-no*; this might be correct, but the same terms are also given for m. s. when they should read *tu*. Well, if a woman calls the parents of her *va-pa* (Hu, HuBr, SiHu) *pa-ra-pa* and *na-no*, it is probable that she will call the son of *pa-ra-pa* and *na-no* *va-pa* (FaSiSo). But the analogy cannot be carried further, because HuSi is called *si-ta-nô*, and this is Si (m. s.) and apparently taken over from the husband’s terms (the same applies to *naw-ta* (yoSibl), which is not given in the table and therefore seems to be a term of address only). Nevertheless *si-ta-nô* might be used as is shown by a parallel in the Khumi system, where HuSi as well as FaSiDa (w. s.) are called by the term used for Si (m. s.). But a Khumi woman may also call her FaSiDa by the same term which she uses for her MoBrDa, viz. *mau*. Furthermore *mau* is used for BrWi (w. s.). In Lakher BrWi (w. s.) is *myu-nô* (Welsh *y!*): Khumi *mau* and Lakher *myu* are derived from the same root. But Khumi *mau* equally corresponds to Lakher *va*, and if FaSiSo is *va-pa*, FaSiDa may be *va-nô* (parallel in the Chawte system: FaSiCh: *-va*). Last and not least it is possible that at present there is no definite term for Lakher FaSiDa (w. s.) at all (parallel in the Mru system, HuSi being called Si (m. s.), too).¹

Lorrain does not mention any terms relating to the parents of the children-in-law. According to the structure shown by the kinship terms, these relations should be classed as cross-cousins. Parry remarks that they are always called by name. When comparing Lorrain’s terms with Parry’s we notice that most of the terms given by the former comprise more degrees of relationship than that of the latter. There is but one point of dissent, viz. *pia-pa*: according to Lorrain it is used for DaHu (w. s.), according to Parry, for SiHu (m. s.). SiHu (m. s.) is given by Lorrain as *tu-pa*, and *tu-pa* also

¹ The data on the Khumi, Mru and Bom were collected by myself during the German Chittagong Hills Expedition, led by Dr. H. E. Kauffmann, from 1955 to 1957.

signifies DaHu (m. s.). If a man is going to use *pia-pa*, he may accordingly use it for SiHu, and thus avoid calling him "nephew". Lorrain's and Parry's statements need not exclude each other.²

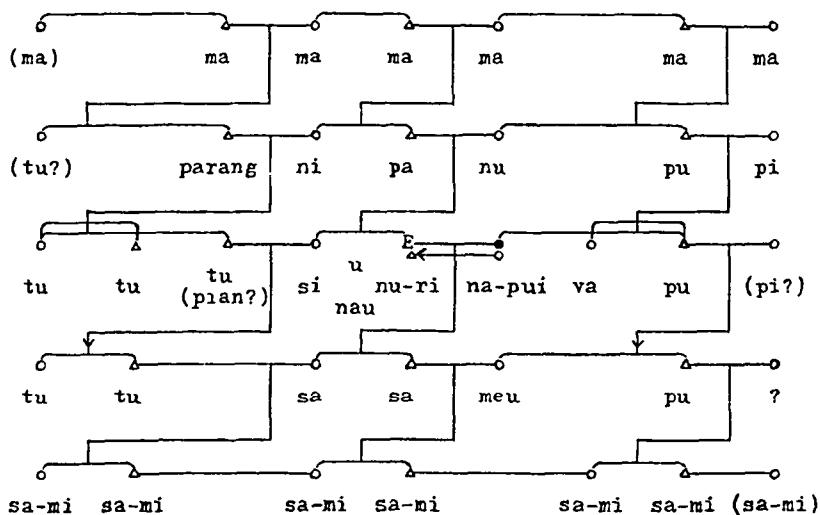
There are five terms mentioned by Parry which Lorrain does not corroborate: *iri*, *salapa*, *chhongchhipa*, *ngazua*, and *patong*. *Iri* ("my *ri*") is a term of address for BrSo (w. s.). Perhaps *ri* is an abbreviated form of *rilapa* (as *si* is of *sitanô*). *Rilapa* is a woman's brother, and *narô* is her sister. Since she may also call her sister's daughter (apparently cherishingly) *narô*, she might accordingly call her brother's son *rilapa*, too. Similarly *ifi* (derived from *si* and used among the Sabeu group of the Lakher only) is a term of address for Si (w. s.) and Da. *Sala* is given by Parry as grgrCh, whereas he calls Lorrain's *sa-chhi* (grgrCh) a "great great grandchild", but Lorrain has *sala* "unruly, an objectional child".

Parry's second term for SiCh (m. s.) *chhongchhipa* means, according to Lorrain, (*chhôchhi*) "exactly alike". Parry's third descriptive term for SiCh (m. s.) *ngazua* as well as *patong* ("maternal uncles or cousins") I cannot trace at all. But it is probable that the Lakher like the Khumi and Mru distinguish between what is called in Kachin *mayu* and *dama*, i. e. the sibs taking their wives from, and the sibs giving their wives to, a man's own sib. Whether *ngazua* and *patong* represent the terms which denote these groups of sibs cannot be decided.

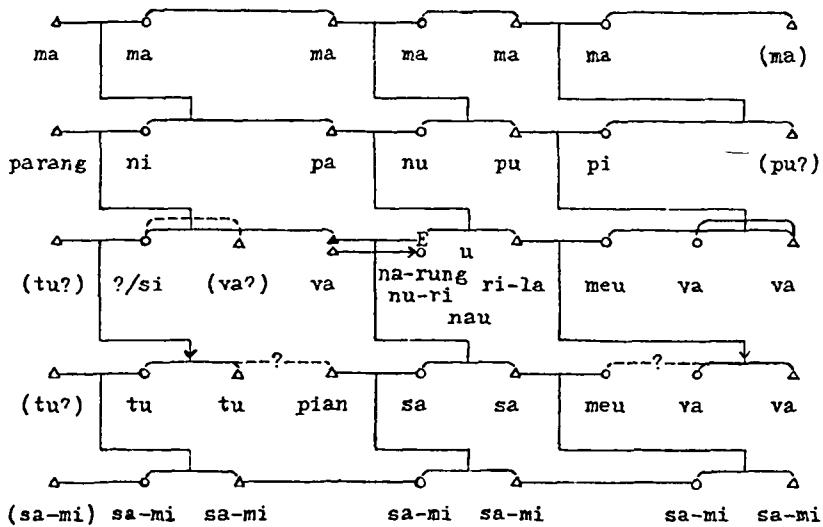
In one point Parry helps us to enlarge Lorrain's data: HuFaFa and WiFaFa are called *mapaw* (grFa), and HuMoMo and WiMoMo are called *manô* (grMo). Thus probably every relative of the second and third ascending generation may be called *ma(paw/nô)*. This implies that all grandchildren will be *samo* and all great-grandchildren *sachhi*. As these terms are the same for man or woman speaking, only the second ascending and descending generations are entered in the following diagrams.

² If my reconstruction *pia* < **pian* is correct, this term is closely related to Mru *pen* which is extended from DaHu to comprise all persons who may marry a woman of a man's own sib.

The man's set of terms

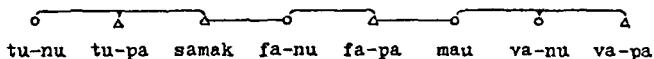


The woman's set of terms



The Mara language has undergone some vowel-changes. In order to facilitate further comparison for those unacquainted with the language, I shall replace the modern forms wherever possible by those formerly used. (*pian > pia and *-rung > -rô (-rong) are uncertain.) paw (< pa) and nô (< nu) denoting male and female are omitted.

Following the indications given by the merging of kinship terms in succeeding generations, the most striking evidence is that the man merges the terms in the male line, but the woman apparently in the female line. Both (man's and woman's) sets involve marriage with a man's MoBrDa. In the man's set *pu* for WiBrSo seems to be a relatively recent term, since *pu* generally corresponds to *tu* and not to *parang*, and judging from the female set one should expect *va*. This is exactly the case in the system of kinship terms of the neighbouring Bom (Bunjogi), where I myself noted the following terms for the first descending generation (cf. also Lorrain-Savidge 1898):



With the exception of *samak* (which probably is a loan from Burmese, where DaHu is equally called *samak*) every form of the Bom system is an exact duplicate of the Lakher system.

But it is possible to go still further: taking *va* MoBrDa (m. s.) for some relic and *va* MoBrCh (w. s.) (Lorrain's dictionary gives *va* as MoBrCh without remark if only w. s.), *va* FaSiSo (w. s.), and *va* FaSiCh (Chawte) for indications, we may reduce the extension of *pu* and *tu* in the man's set completely, reconstructing in this way an Iroquois type of cousin terms. One of the Lakher's neighbours, the Khumi, resemble them not only in possessing patrisibs and favouring a man's marriage with his MoBrDa, but also in that their kinship terms show an ambilineal structure (v. i.) and that there is only one term each for all grandfathers, grandmothers and grand-

children. The Khumi cross-cousin terms are the same for both cousins of the same sex and their wives, but are differentiated for those of the opposite sex.

I have remarked that the kinship system of the Lakher indicates a regulation of exogamy by which a man may marry among his cousins the maternal cross-cousin only. Parry (1932: 293-5) states that "the most favoured marriage is with a mother's brother's daughter", that "the children of two brothers do not marry", and "a man should not marry his father's sister's daughter". This is exactly what we expected, but: "There is no objection to the marriage of the children of two sisters", and a man may even marry his half-sister by the same mother. These regulations definitely do not correlate with the kinship terms, for MoSiDa is called *si-ta-nu*, i. e. sister, and not *va-nu*, i. e. classed along with the marriageable cousin as it is the case e. g. with the Mru, who may equally marry a mother's sister's daughter, provided that her father belongs to a sib from which a man may take his wife (if her father does not belong to such a sib the MoSiDa is designated differently).

Following the indications given by the Lakher kinship term system, the reduction of the matrilateral extension of exogamy seems to be a rather recent development. Parry's explicit statement: "by name (no relation)" for MoSiDa is an excellent illustration of the transitory state during the adoption of the new rules of exogamy in the region where he collected his information. Today the Lakher sibs are not exogamous, but Parry thinks it probable that formerly exogamous sibs were in vogue. There is no evidence to prove it and none to reject it, but as the husbands of two sisters need not be of the same sib (there being even a special term for them which need not exist if they were "brothers"), the sib cannot have constituted the full exogamous unit (though it may very well have been exogamous in itself). This primary unit has to be found in the kin group covered by the parent-sibling-child-complex of terms. As these do not constitute a socially well organized group the secondary character of the reduction of the exogamous group to sib- or lineage-level is plausible.

This assumption probably holds good for the bulk of the related Kuki-Chin and Naga systems and is especially backed by the Lhota regulations (cf. Mills 1922: 93—95). In this context it may be noted that it is impossible to accept Ruhemann's constructions of Kuki-Chin and Naga marriage rules (cf. Ruhemann 1948), for they are based on the erroneous idea that additional kinship terms once constituted special sibs or marriage classes, the author ignoring that "a kinship system is not a social group, nor does it ever correspond to an organized aggregation of individuals" (Murdock 1949: 91).

Summing up, we have seen that the kinship terms given by Lorrain clearly indicate that the Lakher possess an Omaha type of cousin terms and accordingly have to be classed as "Omaha society". Thus the Lakher do not form an exception among the hill tribes of Assam and Burma. Since the Kuki-Chin kinship systems are only insufficiently known and, in consequence of the christianization of the Mizou, most of the original systems are probably lost for ever, the Lakher terms give us valuable information. They seem to show forms intermediate between their northern and their southern neighbours, the Kuki and the Khumi. The development of the present system out of a prior Dakota or Sudanese structure is highly probable, the predominant rôle of the patrilineal concept having likewise affected the rules of exogamous extension as indicated by the kinship terms.

We have seen that the kinship term system of the Lakher comprises two sets: the man's set which, according to the merging of terms, is arranged in the male line, and the woman's set where the terms are merged according to the female line. I call this an ambilineal kinship term system. (Not to be confounded with an ambilineal kinship system!) Since ambilineal kinship term systems are equally to be found in connection with matrilateral extension of exogamy, the Lakher system, to be correct, should be called a patrilateral bilineal kinship term system.

Patrilineal descent groups need not be consistent with a (patrilateral) bilineal kinship term system. Among the Mru e. g., the kin-

ship term system of both man and woman is patrilineal: the terms used by the woman are merged according to the patrilineal sibs. Thus a woman will call her sister's son: son-in-law, son, or brother of daughter-in-law (= brother's son) according to the sib relationship determined by the husband of her sister. On the other hand the special ambilineal form of the Lakher system of terms does *not* correspond to or indicate "double unilineal descent", since it basically corresponds to marriage rules which are typical for patrilineal descent. But, if we compare the Mru system with the system indicated by the Lakher kinship terms, it is obvious that patrilineal descent with the Mru and patrilineal descent with the Lakher are rather different things, and we may find patrilineal descent within the socio-political organization, the system of exogamy, the kin group rules, the kinship term system etc.

In the Mru society the socio-political organization is determined by patrisibs, the kin-groups are, theoretically at least, identified with the sibs, and both the system of exogamy and the kinship term system are patrilineal. With the Lakher, however, the social organization is patrilineal (patrilineages or -sibs), the kinship term system is ambilineal, and the system of exogamy shows constant patrilateral extension and (an apparently secondary stage of) matrilateral non-extension. The very problem lies in the character of the Lakher kin-group which does not constitute a socially well organized unit but is defined by marriage transactions, rules of inheritance etc.

2. MARRIAGE RULES

The Lakher marriage rules (including bride-wealth transactions, social status of the bride, legal position of the children on divorce or death) as recorded by Parry (1932) seem to be rather complicated. Leach (1957) has tried to cope with the problem and reached the conclusion that "with the Lakher . . . marriage is concerned with the begetting of children and the jural status of these children. The husband's group, whose inferior status is emphasized, can be regarded as "hiring" the procreative powers of the bride for the purpose of

raising children of relatively high status. In this way the husband's lineage acquire permanent rights in the children so produced, but they do not acquire permanent rights in the person of the bride" (Leach 1957: 53).

I cannot agree with Leach that the husband's lineage acquire permanent rights in the children, since Parry says (1932: 295): "A woman who has children usually remains in her late husband's house till she marries again, and her children generally go with her to her new husband, but if they prefer to go to their father's relations or to their *pupa* they are at liberty to do so." The new husband need not be of the same lineage as the deceased, and the *pupa*, it will be remembered, is the mother's brother.

Leach, too, admits that the children do not belong absolutely to the husband's group, but he does so for another reason: he assumes that the patrilineage of the bride "retains a kind of lien on her children (particularly her daughters) so that when these daughters come to be "hired out" on marriage her original patrilineage claims half the rent" (Leach 1957: 53). In this way Leach tries to explain the Lakher system of bridewealth transactions, especially that the bridegroom's father has to make a payment not only to the bride's parents but also to her mother's brother, part of which is transferred on to the mother's brother of the bride's mother's brother.

Pursuing his theory Leach interprets the large and extended marriage payments "as an attempt to consolidate the intrinsic weakness of the *patong/ngazua* relationship", so that "if the affinal link (*patong/ngazua*) becomes ineffective it is the marriage itself that is allowed to come to an end" (Leach 1957: 53). There is not a single statement in Parry's book to support this theory. I remarked that the terms *patong* and *ngazua* may denote the wife-giving and wife-taking sibs (or lineages), but Parry himself does not use these terms. Leach takes them to correspond exactly to what is called in Kachin *mayu* and *dama*, and thus bases his analysis on the assumption that Kachin ideology functions among the Lakher.

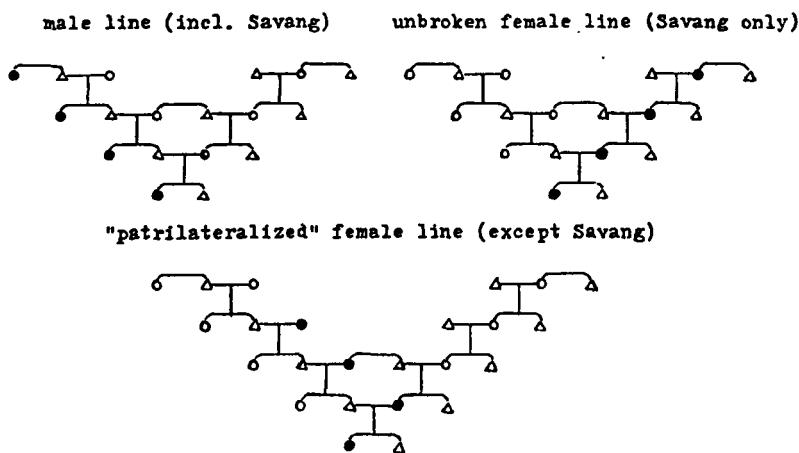
If we are allowed to draw conclusions from analogous systems

at all, we should refer to closely related systems of immediate neighbours, e. g. the Khumi. The Khumi "equivalent" of *mayu* and *dama* is *pakiüng* and *theo'*. But the *pakiüng/theo'* link does definitely not become ineffective when the marriage is allowed to come to an end. On the contrary: marriage ties existing or not, a man may not marry a woman who belongs to a *theo'* sib, and all sibs stand to his own sib in the relation of *pakiüng* or *theo'* (or brother-sib, a relationship which is likewise to be found among the Kachin [Leach 1954: 73]). The same rule applies to the Mru *tutma/pen* relationship, divorce being relatively easy in both societies. Thus, at least with the Mru and Khumi, it is impossible to explain the marriage payments as an "attempt to consolidate the intrinsic weakness" of the wife-giving/wife-taking sib or lineage relationship.

Another fact (which Leach omits to mention) is that the marriage payment is not only divided between the father and the maternal uncle etc. of the bride, but that there are likewise payments to the mother or her sister, the wife of the father (if separated from him) or brother, and to the father's sister (Parry 1932: 312—16). These payments to female persons are the more remarkable as "any property owned by a woman is inherited by her daughter when she dies" (Parry 1932: 318).

The amount of the marriage payment is primarily determined by the social status of the patrilineal "clan". But: in the village of Savang, "if the mother's *angkia* (the basis of all the other prices) is higher than the father's, the daughter's *angkia* will be the same as her mother's" (Parry 1932: 312). In other villages the patrilineal concept is stronger: "For a man to be able to claim a higher *angkia* than his own clan *angkia* for his daughter, it is necessary for both him and his father and grandfather to have married into higher clans" (Parry 1932: 311). These rules may be shown by the following diagram:

Lakher marriage payment tradition



The structures shown by the diagram indicate that an old system of double descent of social status regarding the marriage payment (as retained in Savang) has been converted to a hybrid system which favours the patrilateral descent. Nevertheless the rôle of the female line is still existing. It is with the Kachin that we encounter the strictly patrilineal rule: here the "formal theory is that the bride price is adjusted to the standing of the bride", but actually not even this last position of the female status is retained, and "the scale of payment tends to be determined by the class status of the man rather than that of the woman" (Leach 1954: 149—51). The Mru and Khumi societies are not stratified and the marriage payment is basically the same for everyone.

On divorce the children of a Lakher woman can be claimed by their mother's relatives and would go to their mother's brother if the *angkia*, the payment which is received by the bride's father or brother, were refunded (Parry 1932: 344). Thus the *angkia* seems to be not the price for the daughter of a man but that for the children of a woman, and hence Leach may have obtained the idea of his above

mentioned interpretation. But this impression passes away before the following simple facts: On marrying a woman a man takes her out of another lineage. He can on no account transfer a female of his own group back to this lineage because his sisters and daughters will be married into a third lineage. The only person who can cross the bar is his own son. And he will cross it if there is no marriage payment (cf. also Parry 1932: 255: children of slaves). Thus the marriage payment is necessary in order to establish and to continue the corporate patrilineage!

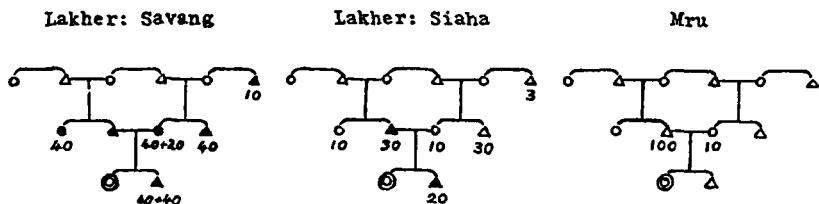
Accordingly it is probable that, where the notion of the female line is relatively strong, the payment will have to be made in the first instance to the representatives of the bride's (ideal) matrilineage. This deduction is confirmed by the rules of Savang, where the payment has to be made according to the social status of the bride's mother. Here the main share is generally received by the bride's brother, not by her father, and "the woman can keep the whole price paid" if the husband takes the children on divorce, and "if the husband does not want his children, the whole of the price must be refunded, and the children become *pupasaw* — that is, are taken by the woman's brother, and become his children for all practical purposes" (Parry 1932: 345). In this way the system is consistent: the marriage payment is received by the bride's own brother (and partly by herself), by her mother's brother (and partly by her mother and her mother's sisters), and by her mother's mother's brother. The only person in the male line who receives a share is a woman, viz. the father's sister, who from a classificatory point of view may be the bridegroom's mother.

Leach's theory of "hiring out" for procreation purposes and his assumption that the Lakher form of marriage transfers the offspring only does not explain the fact that in Savang the relations of a woman who goes back leaving her children with the former husband can keep the whole price, whereas in other places only the *angkia* is kept. Yet it is this very situation which is consistent with the female line and the influence of the socially organized patrilineage.

In Savang the woman's children belong to the members of her (non-corporate) matrilineage as well as to those of her (corporate) patrilineage (as already shown by the status traditions), and therefore the former have no reason to refund the marriage payment. In the other villages the membership is limited to the woman's father's group, and the female line, with the exception of the mother-child relationship, is replaced by the male line. Therefore a woman's father and brother may claim her children or otherwise retain their part of the marriage payment, but the woman's mother's brother has no claim to his niece's children and consequently will be obliged to refund his share.

It is obvious that even in this way the rule is not strictly "patrilineal" in concept; an example of completely patrilineal "descent" is furnished by the Mru where the children always remain with their father, no matter whether he is responsible for the divorce or not; and even the babies will be claimed by their father as soon as they are weaned. The troublesome question whether the marriage payment is to be refunded or not is totally independent of the position of the children. It is consistent that with the Mru the marriage payment itself is received only by the bride's father or his heirs in the male line (though there is still a sort of alimony received by the mother of the bride, called "milk price").

The situation among the Kachin is similar: if the children always belong to their father's lineage there is no reason to trace them in the female line and to make payments to a bride's mothers brother etc. Thus the solution of the problem put forward by Leach, why the Kachin transfer the bridewealth to the bride's patrilineage only, whereas the Lakher include the mother's brother etc., is to be found in the special character of the kin groups and not in the "intrinsic weakness" of the wife-givers/wife-takers link. The correlations may be shown by the following diagram. Only the principal prices (in Rupies) are entered, black signs indicate that the person in question is not liable to refund his or her share if the woman (double circle) leaves children with her former husband.



Generally speaking we may say that though in all societies of the hill people of Assam and Upper Burma the principle of patrilineal descent is fundamental, there is a wide range of possible developments from a bilineal kin group concept of the Savang type on the one hand to the absolute predominance of the patrilineal concept of the Mru and Kachin type on the other hand. Leach rejects the assumption of a submerged principle of matrilineal descent and says that "Kachins and Lakher alike seem to me to have an exclusively patrilineal "ideology" with no concepts at all that can usefully be described as those of double unilineal descent" (Leach 1957: 53). I share his opinion when he hesitates to explain anything by double descent, but I cannot accept his assumption that the Lakher show exclusively patrilineal concepts.

Leach himself acknowledges a matrilineal concept when he thinks that the husband's group, whose inferior status he emphasizes, hires the bride in order to raise children of higher status. This way he really overestimates the importance of the maternal line, for, even in Savang, only the status of the daughter is raised. There is no reason to believe that the son acquires a higher status in such a way that he later on may claim higher marriage prices for his own daughter. We must admit that the bilineal principles of the marriage rule system can be demonstrated for the female members of the society only. Therefore we cannot say that Lakher society shows double descent.

What we meet with is rather a special system that has been called by Seligman asymmetrical descent. Our data go well with the de-

finition she gave: "Descent may be said to be asymmetrical when one form works in a submerged manner while the dominant form only is responsible for clan organization (or any other form of grouping). In this form of descent the dominant form is recognised by both sexes, but . . . the submerged form is recognised by one sex only" (Seligman 1928: 536). The rules of Savang apparently furnish an example for this form of descent. But there is an objection.

Leach (1957) draws our attention to another attempt to cope with the problem of additional lines. Fortes (1953: 34) characterizes them by the term "complementary filiation" and demonstrates it by the "noncorporate paternal line" of the Ashanti. Maybe I misunderstand him, but what Fortes wants to be designated by filiation is, in my opinion, somewhat obscure. At first he takes "it for granted that filiation — by contrast with descent — is universally bilateral", then he assumes that "correctly stated . . . filiation is always complementary" (1953: 33), and at last he uses it to explain the system of double unilineal descent. If filiation is always bilateral, it may never result in double unilineal systems but always in bilateral kindreds, and if it may be called complementary in relation to corporate lineages, it will supply another line and therefore may be taken to be bilineal. In bilateral organizations it need not be complementary at all.

Fortes is not very anxious about terminology (else he would not use such tautologies as "matrilineal lineages"), but it seems to me as if he is using the term "descent" only in relation to those groups which are socially organized, especially to corporate lineages, whereas by "complementary filiation" he designates the alignment of noncorporate kin groups that may be demonstrated by rules similar to those we have been discussing. Thus defined, filiation will tend to show a bilineal character more frequently than descent, but it may cease to be complementary (becoming unilineal) when the spouse "is given no parental status or is legally severed from his or her kin" (Fortes 1953: 33).

In adopting the new term to our problem we recognize that asym-

metrical "descent" equally belongs to the sphere of filiation, since asymmetrical corporate descent groups are an impossibility. But we may not characterize the Lakher or Savang system by "asymmetrical filiation" either, since on the death of the father the children may remain with their mother, their mother's brother or with their father's relations. This regulation demonstrates that the children belong to either kin group. This corresponds to the bilineal character of filiation. This filiation, however, does not explain the rules of status tradition and marriagewealth transactions. I hesitate to characterize these rules as asymmetrical "descent" but they may be called "patrilineal asymmetrical marriage rule system". In my opinion this distinction proves necessary, though both marriage rule system and filiation seem to reflect a common principle. I agree with Leach (1957) in that it is "the whole nature of the concept of "descent" which is at issue".

3. LINEATION

In order to get out of this dilemma, to approach a solution of the problems involved, and to reach a basis to decide why one society is "more patrilineal" (Leach 1957: 54) than another, let me resume some data:

Among the Lakher the patrilateral extension type of the ambilineal kinship term system has been found to correspond to patrilineal descent groups. The predominance of these descent groups which they attain when they become identified with the exogamous unit is going to dissolve the formerly harmonious structure of the kinship term system. Similarly, we argue, it will affect the rules of bridewealth transactions etc. There are many data which confirm this argument. It seems as if the rules of Savang represent an older stage: the status determining the value of the marriage payment is "asymmetrically" inherited. In other villages this rule is replaced by a hybrid system favouring the patrilateral lines. The indication that in this hybrid system the female line is traced through but one generation is confirmed by the rules regarding the refunding of the

marriage payment in case of divorce when the children stay with their father. Yet in Savang where the concept of the female line is unbroken, the payment need not be refunded by either relative. Moreover in Savang the share of the payment received by the relations of the bride in the female line exceeds by far that of the relations in the male line. With the strengthening of the patrilineal concept the woman and her offspring are definitively transferred to the lineage of those who pay a price according to their own status (Kachin).

Thus there are correlations which show that the asymmetrical or patrilineal character of the marriage rule system corresponds to the patrilineal descent more or less in the same way in which the ambilineal or patrilineal character of the kinship term system corresponds to the degree of matrilateral extension of exogamy. And both correlations are intrinsically interdependent, for it is the system of exogamy which is shown by the marriage rules and contributes to the regulation between wife-giving and wife-taking sibs or lineages, and it is the concept of male and female lines which is expressed by the structure of the kinship term system.

Seligman (1928) has connected the "asymmetrical descent" with cross-cousin marriage. Judging from our material we may assume that the asymmetrical marriage rule system corresponds to the ambilineal structure of the kinship term system, insofar as the former may be based on paternal or maternal descent and the latter may imply patri- or matrilateral extension of exogamy. In the case of the Lakher, I suggest, the patrilateral extension type of the ambilineal kinship term system may originally have corresponded to the patrilineal descent type of the asymmetrical marriage rule system. (Here the fundamental difference between these correlated systems and descent (of corporate lineages etc.) becomes obvious: both systems may be consistent with both patrilineal and matrilineal descent!) If my assumption is correct, there must exist a common basis for both kinship term and marriage rule system, and by alterations of this basis we must be able to infer changes which are liable to occur

in the structure of the kinship term system, the regulations of exogamy, rules of status inheritance, marriage payments etc. Inconsistencies may occur, since this "basis" may be not consciously conceived by the members of societies who practise the ensuing rules.

Nevertheless there are hints given by the people themselves. Leach (1951: 31) quotes a passage from Kulp (1925: 168) in which he tries to explain why marriage with the paternal cross-cousin is forbidden: "The latter marriage is taboo because of the traditional attitude that the boy has only his father's blood and the girl has only her mother's blood ... But the mother has the blood of her brother's son because the latter, being a son, has the blood of his father." Thus the son of a man and the daughter of his sister are regarded as if they were related like brother and sister. Similar examples of the idea of ambilineal inheritance of some substance are quoted by Lévi-Strauss (1949: 462).

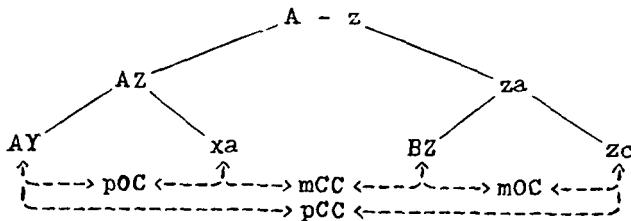
We might argue that if the son has only the blood of his father and the daughter only that of her mother there would be no objection for a brother and a sister to marry like their parents, for the mother to marry her son, and for the father to marry his daughter. But this argument only demonstrate that the concept of "blood" cannot be translated into a simple line if it shall be made responsible for the incest taboo. Leach (1951: 36) quotes another explanation from China cited by Hsu (1945): "Children and parents as well as brothers and sisters are bone and flesh to each other." Let us try to translate this version into a system like this: the son "inherits" primarily his father's line, the daughter "inherits" primarily her mother's line, but both receive an additional line from the opposite sex. In the following diagram males are shown by capitals, females by small letters. p = paternal, m = maternal, OC = ortho-cousins, CC = cross-cousins.

Examining the diagram we see that even with the additional lines the "blood rule" does not work: though both OC cannot marry (pOC contain the a-line, mOC the z-line), the pCC do not possess any line in common. To prohibit the marriage it will be necessary

parents :

siblings:

cousins :



to add Z to AY and/or a to xc. These lines are neither purely paternal nor purely maternal but they represent the father's mother's line for the son and the mother's father's line for the daughter. If we introduce them (translating "blood" by "az") there will be no change in the possible relationship between the mCC, and what ensues is a system of exogamy which permits the marriage between mCC only. Changing the father's mother's line (FM) to the daughter and the mother's father's line (MF) to the son a third system may be found which results in patrilateral cross-cousin marriage. The three types inferred may be shown by the following table (+: lines inherited, -: marriages prohibited):

	F	M	MF	FM	pOC	mOC	pCC	mCC
son:	+	+			-	-		
daughter:	+	+						
son:	+	+		+	-	-	-	
daughter:	+	+	+					
son:	+	+	+		-	-		-
daughter:	+	+		+				

In order to apply the results of my analysis to our material I need a new set of terms. As we are concerned with "lines" I propose to speak of "lineation". For my purpose lineation may be defined as the system of distribution of imaginary lines determined (as will

be shown) not by the actual biological relationship but by the parental bonds according to the classificatory system (and not to be confounded with what has been called "descent lines"). If both children receive the lines of both their parents, I speak of bilineation, if they receive the line of one of their parents only, of patri-resp. matrilineation (v. i.).

In order to distinguish the three types of bilineation shown by the table, I call the first type "simple bilineation", the second "patrilateral bilineation", and the third "matrilateral bilineation". (By extending the broken lines FM and MF to both sexes "double bilineation" will result — marriage prohibited with all first cousins.)

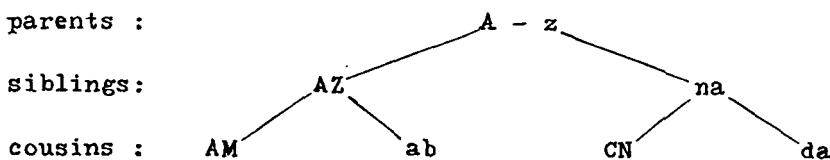
That these types of lineation are not purely speculative appears when we take into consideration that the marriage restrictions are not confined to Ego's own generation but to whole kin groups and may include other persons like aunts, nieces etc. The resulting full system may be seen from the diagrams of the Lakher kinship term systems.³ (NB. the modern rules of exogamy do not correspond to the kinship term system; we shall have to consider them later on.) Furthermore: In Savang the marriage payment is received mainly by the relations in the maternal line (M), additional payments are received in the paternal line (F), but the main share goes to those persons who belong not only to the M-line but at the same time also to the F- and MF-lines, viz. the brother, the maternal uncle and the mother (incl. her sisters) of the bride. Another example of how lineation works is the status of a man's daughter when the man himself is the son of a woman of high status, whereas his father is of lower status. This man's sister is married according to the high status (M), but his daughter is again of lower status because there is no FM-line for women.

Thus our hypothetical system of patrilateral bilineation permits

³ It is possible to develop our notion of lineation from these kinship term diagrams only, since the lines in question can be taken to be represented by the classificatory ancestors in Ego's column (F, M, and FM ($FF = F$) in the man's set and M, F, and MF ($MM = M$) in the woman's set of terms).

us to deduce: (1) the regulation of exogamy (as indicated by the Lakher kinship term system), (2) the relationship degree of the persons who receive a share of the marriage payment (Savang type), (3) the social status of the daughters (Savang type); (1) will lead to a patrilateral extension type of the ambilineal kinship term system, (2) and (3) may be taken to characterize the patrilineal descent type of the asymmetrical marriage rule system.

In order to deduce the present rules of the Lakher (and Kachin or Mru), we will have to manipulate the lineation system. The rules of exogamy, of marriage payment transactions and status inheritance have been interpreted to show a strong tendency towards neglecting the maternal line. In the lineation system this line can be eliminated for the daughter only; it must be kept for the son because of the incest taboo toward his mother. Thus this M-line will start with the mother and must not be confused with her MF-line. The system may be shown like this:



The system may be inverted by eliminating the F-line of the son. The implications of both types may be shown by the following table:

	F	M	MF	FM	pOC	mOC	pCC	mCC
son:	+	+			—	—		
daughter:	+		+		—	—		
son:		+			—	—		
daughter:	+	+		+	—	—		

The first type may be called "extended patrilineation" and the second "extended matrilineation". (Under the condition of "simple

patri- or matrilineation" the broken lines (MF resp. FM) will be eliminated and the marriage restriction will apply to pOC resp. mOC only).

If we pursue the marriage rules of the extended patrilineation type we receive a system which corresponds exactly to what Parry has recorded for the Lakher: a man may marry all his cousins on his mother's side, even his half-sister of the same mother, provided that her father has not the same line as his father. This restriction is not reported by Parry, but is implied in the regulation that a man may not marry any cousin from his father's side. Moreover the same rule applies (in terms of sib relationship) to the Mru system. (The only exception is constituted by the Lakher taboo toward mother's brother's wife, a person who may actually be related to Ego under matrilineal conditions only.) The rules of exogamy ensuing from extended patrilineation equally explain that a man may not marry his mother's sister though she is a woman of the wife giving sib (Mru).

That the broken lines of a woman include only MF (and not e. g. MMF) is shown by the fact that she is free to marry into the lineage of her MoMoBr. By the same rule the FM-line of the man is excluded, and it is by the MF-line that the relationship between the lineages or sibs is regulated. The importance and character of this MF-line may be demonstrated by another rule: The Lakher concept that a girl's status is determined by her father's lineage is plausible from that she inherits the F-line. But the additional possibility that a man may claim a higher marriage payment for his daughter when he, his father, and his grandfather have married women of higher status indicates that also the MF-line will determine a woman's status provided that it can be traced through three generations. This conclusion needs some explanations: according to the classificatory system a man's wife as well as his father's and grandfather's wives are identified with his wife's brother's, father's, and grandfather's sisters. These wives resp. sisters belong to the same "classificatory lineage". Actually these wives may be taken from different descent

groups, but all of these groups are classed to be "wife-givers" (*mayu* in Kachin, *tutma* in Mru etc.). And it is they who constitute the MF-line. Thus it is not the actual (biological) relationship but the realized classificatory link which is taken into account, and the rules of lineation may be seen to represent a highly abstract principle. Nevertheless the actual rules are remarkably consistent with it.

If the limit of the MF-line is extended beyond the third generation it will become practically impossible that the status of a woman may be raised from this side, and the rule will be annihilated. This is exemplified by the Kachin regulations. Likewise the maternal uncle will cease to receive a share of the marriage payment; his rôle will become purely ceremonial (Mru). With the Lakher these marriage rules seem to show a certain lag (like the kinship term system), though the proportion of the payment received by the father has been considerably increased (if compared with Savang).

In discussing the refunding of the marriage payment I concluded that the "female line" is traced through one generation only. This is confirmed by the lineation system for the son by M, for the daughter by MF. Therefore the mother's brother will have to repay his share even if his niece leaves children with her husband on divorce. Yet, to be correct, this problem should not exist at all, because according to the system of patrilineation the children clearly belong to their father's descent group. This concept is not realized by the Lakher, but it has become the rule among the Mru.

That the children at the death of their father are free to follow their mother, to go to their maternal uncle or to stay with their father's relations is no rule of extended patrilineation but clearly reflects the old patrilateral bilineation system.

Thus we may deduce from our hypothetical system of extended patrilineation: (1) the regulation of exogamy (Lakher general), (2) the refunding of the marriage payment (Lakher tendency, Mru and Kachin type), (3) the tradition of social status (Lakher transitional, Kachin type). (1) will lead to a patrilineal kinship term system (nearly achieved in the Mru type), (2) and (3) may be taken

to characterize the patrilineal marriage rule system. The Lakher marriage rule system cannot be said to be patrilineal but it has ceased to be strictly asymmetrical.

If we compare the results gained by the analysis of the Lakher kinship system against the background of the two systems of lineation (patrilateral bilineation and extended patrilineation), we may resume the following points:

- 1) The first of all regulations to be completely adapted to a new system of lineation is the extension of exogamy. It is followed by the Lakher as well as by the Mru and Kachin.
- 2) The rules of extension of exogamy are reflected in the kinship term system. In contrast to exogamy the kinship terms seem to change rather slowly and continue to reflect former rules of lineation. Among the Mru the system may be called nearly patrilineal, the Kachin system still shows a certain lag (cf. the table in Leach 1954, p. 305), the Khumi system has remained almost unaffected, and the Lakher system (as reported by Lorrain) has been relatively stable (affected: FaSiCh, parents of children-in-law, merging in the man's system), though the system reported by Parry seems to be in the very state of dissolution (e. g., no term for MoSiCh).
- 3) Two types of classification of the relations of the second and third ascending and descending generation can be distinguished: the generation type (Khumi and Lakher) in which each term corresponds to one generation, and the descent type (Mru and Kachin) in which the terms are merged according to the relationship established by the descent groups. The generation or Khumi type reflects (former) patrilateral bilineation, the descent or Mru type reflects (achieved) extended patrilineation. Since the Khumi system is associated with cousin terms of the Iroquois and Sudanese type (Lakher transitional), whereas the Mru system is associated with cousin terms of the Omaha type, our

material confirms Murdock's statement, that "most Omaha societies will have passed through a prior Dakota or Sudanese phase" (Murdock 1949: 241).

- 4) The patrilateral extension type of the ambilineal kinship term system (Khumi type) reflects the patrilineal asymmetrical marriage rule system, the patrilineal kinship term system (Mru type) reflects the patrilineal marriage rule system. These rules are shifting easier than the kinship term system but lag behind the extension of exogamy. (The reason why the older rules have been preserved just in one region (Savang) cannot be determined). Like the kinship term system the marriage rule system is not changing harmoniously but splitting up into various aspects.
- 5) Under asymmetrical conditions it is the function of the marriage payment to establish and to continue the corporate (patrilineal) descent group. Therefore the payment is received principally by the members of the maternal line of the bride. They may keep it if the children stay with their father. In the process of patrilinealization the MF-line replaces the M-line. The maternal uncle still receives a share of the payment, but he cannot claim the children of his niece on divorce and has to refund his share. Under strictly patrilineal conditions the children will always remain with their father and the marriage payment will be made to him only. The maternal uncle is honoured ceremonially (*tutma* = MF). A "milk-price" is received by the mother on behalf of her rearing the babies (Mru). Perhaps the Khumi type of the kinship term system tends to be associated with payments to the maternal uncle, the Mru type with payments to the father only.
- 6) The social status according to which the marriage payment is fixed reflects asymmetrical rules in Savang and patrilineal rules with the Kachin. The intermediate system of status tradition with the Lakher in general is of special value insofar as it helps

to determine the theoretical character of what I have called lineation.

- 7) Social stratification does not influence the rules which can be derived from the lineation system to any major degree, for both Lakher (stratified) and Khumi (non-stratified) show rather asymmetrical rules whereas Mru (non-stratified) and Kachin (stratified) are decidedly more patrilineal. But there may exist a correlation between stratification and descent groups. The stratified societies (Lakher and Kachin) possess *lineages* (and non-exogamous sibs) whereas the non-stratified societies (Mru and Khumi) are divided into *exogamous sibs*. Similarly among the Naga the "democratic" Angami are divided into exogamous sibs, whereas the Sema with prevailing chieftainship split up into smaller exogamous units (cf. Hutton 1921: 121, 129). The Chinese rule, however, runs contrary to our assumption which will need further investigation.
- 8) Like the kinship term system the rules of filiation are adapted very slowly to the new lineation system. Among the Lakher property is inherited up to now ambilineally, but male property exceeds by far female property and leads to the general conception that only male persons may inherit (cf. Parry 1932: 286). Under the conditions of patrilineation women are given no opportunity to hand down property in the female line (Mru). The old system of bilineation is also reflected by the regulation that children on the death of their father are free to follow their mother, to go to their mother's brother or to stay with their father's relations. Patrilineation forces them to stay with their father's descent group, even if there are no close relations at all (Mru). Since these rules have no actual connection with the bridewealth transactions Leach's theory of "hiring out" is unvalid for both Lakher and Mru. The same applies to the Kachin where the wife is expected to stay (like her children) always with her husbands group, filiation becoming patrilineal.

- 9) Lineation is a principle which, though of highly abstract character, may be formulated by the people themselves in traditional concepts (such as "blood" or "bone and flesh") and is actually realized in the form of special classificatory systems. It can be deduced from data relating to the rules of filiation, extension of exogamy, and the structures of the kinship term and marriage rule systems. Comparing these rules and structures with the inferred lineation systems, we can determine whether they are consistent with them or not, compare their tendencies of development, and suggest their interdependence; we are not concerned, however, with the origin of the transition itself.
- 10) Descent (of corporate kin groups) should not be confounded with lineation and its rules. Patrilineal as well as matrilineal descent may be consistent with both patrilateral or matrilateral (bi)lineation (e. g., patrilateral or matrilateral cross-cousin marriage). Since all our societies considered are patrilineal in descent and patrilateral in lineation, no final generalizations are justified, but it seems as if an aversion against the "short cycle" (Lévi-Strauss 1949: 562), resulting from patrilateral cross-cousin marriage, may be created if the notion of incest is transferred from lineation to descent (cf. Hsu's arguments nos. 2 and 4, Leach 1951: 36), and that this transference may also favour the identification of linked descent groups with exogamous units, creating secondary "marriage classes". We may assume that it is especially the predominant rôle of the descent group (conditioned by political and economical factors) that stimulates the transition from patrilateral bilineation to extended patrilineation subsequently resulting in changes of marriage rules (extension of exogamy, transactions of the marriage payment, social status of the bride, legal position of the children on divorce), kinship terms (process of merging, shifting from generation type to descent type), and filiation (dwindling of complementary rôle).

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