การนำเสนอและคำอธิบายลักษณะคำระบบเครือญาติ
ในภาษาลงัม

เซโน แวน เบรอเกล*

บทคัดย่อ**

คำศัพท์ในภาษาลงัม (Lyngam) ที่ใช้ในการอ้างอิงและกล่าวถึงสมาชิกเครือญาติ นั้นเกิดขึ้นจากหลักเกณฑ์หลักดังต่อไปนี้ ความสัมพันธ์ทางสายเลือดกับความสัมพันธ์ จากการสมรส สมาชิกในระบบเครือญาติ (clan) และสมาชิกระหว่างกลุ่มในระบบเครือญาติ (phratry: ความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างกลุ่มเครือญาติสองกลุ่มหรือมากกว่า) และยังเกิดขึ้น จากประเพณีการสมรสระหว่างญาติซึ่งในปัจจุบันมีการกล่าวว่าประเพณีนี้ได้เลิก ปฏิบัติแล้ว ในลำดับแรกมีการแสดงคำอธิบายลักษณะที่เกี่ยวข้องกับสังคมลงัมซึ่ง เป็นข้อมูลพื้นฐานที่มีความสำคัญ ในลำดับต่อไปเป็นการแสดงคำศัพท์ในระบบ เครือญาติและหลักการใช้ บทอภิธานศัพท์ภาษาลงัมทั้งหมดที่ปรากฏในบทความ ฉบับนี้ได้จัดทำไว้ท้ายบทความ

คำสำคัญ: ลงัม; ออสโตรเอเชียติก; ภาษากาสี; รัฐเมฆาลัย;
              ภาคตะวันออกเฉียงเหนือของประเทศอินเดีย; คำระบบเครือญาติ

A Presentation and Description of Lyngam Kinship Terms

Seino van Breugel[*]

Abstract[**]

The Lyngam lexicon used to refer to and address kinsmen is shaped mainly by blood versus affinal relations, clan and phratry membership, and the by now said to be largely defunct practice of cross-cousin marriage. Before a presentation and description of the kinship terms and their usages, a description of relevant aspects of Lyngam society that are necessary to provide some background information about the cultural environment in which the kinship terms are used. A glossary of all Lyngam words in this article is provided at the end of the article.

Keywords: Lyngam; Austroasiatic; Khasian; Khasic; Meghalaya; Northeast
             India; kinship terminology

[*] Independent researcher, e-mail: seinobreugel@gmail.com

1. Introduction

The purpose of this article is to present the kinship terms found in Lyngam during the author's fieldwork, and to provide a succinct description of how they are used. The data for this paper were collected in the village of Shallang, and some of them in the village of Umdang, during two field trips with a total time of six months: the first between July and October 2013 and the second between March and June 2014.[1] All Lyngam data are presented phonologically in International Phonetic Alphabet according to van Breugel (2014b).[2]

The Lyngams live in the western part of the West Khasi Hills of Meghalaya state in Northeast India (see Maps 1 and 2 in van Breugel 2015, p. 262) and the adjacent area in Bangladesh. Their language, Lyngam

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[1] I am very grateful to the following people for providing the data on which this publication was based: Miss Amelia Sohbar, Mr. Mathew Sohbar, Mr. Albinus Mawsor, Miss Etilda Rongrin and Mr. Joplang Puweiñ. All mistakes and omissions are entirely my own. The research for this article was made possible by a grant from the Firebird Foundation for Anthropological Research and the heartwarming hospitality of Fathers Marzo, Bartholomew and Jeremias from the Sacred Heart Parish in Shallang, and Father Simeon of the Catholic Mission in Umdang

[2] Baker (2013) presents an alternative analysis of the sounds of Lyngam. Her analysis is not a segmental phonology but rather a description of the sounds that occur in the language phonetically. Moreover, according to four native-speaker consultants in the villages of Umdang and Shallang, with whom I checked her lexicon in appendix 3 (pp. 87-90), some words were not Lyngam. This observation suggests that Baker may have collected some data from speech varieties different than those presented in this article

[Iŋam ~ lə̣ŋam][3], belongs to the Austroasiatic language family, and within that family, its closest relatives are the languages of a group that some linguists call the Khasian or Khasic group (Sidwell, 2009). The number of speakers cannot be established with certainty (see van Breugel, 2015, pp. 276-277). Lewis et al. (2016) puts the number of Lyngam speakers at 6000, of which 5000 are in India and 1000 in Bangladesh. The number of speakers is given as 30,000 by the People's Linguistic Survey of India (Bhasha Research and Publication Centre, 2011, under the tab 'Language sample and impact'). There are multiple varieties of Lyngam, which are all mutually intelligible. Speech variety within Lyngam depends mostly on geographical location and to a lesser extent on clan membership. Some recorded differences between speech varieties are presented in van Breugel (2015).

Although various studies of kinship terminology and kinship systems have been published about Khasi and some of the other Austroasiatic speech varieties of Meghalaya (Chattopadhyay, 1941; Ehrenfels, 1953; Nongbri, 1984; Rabel-Heymann, 1989; etc.), no such studies have so far been published about Lyngam. Eventhough the Lyngams are often considered as a sub-tribe or part of a larger Khasi tribe (Karotemprel) or nation (Gurdon, 1907), they are both culturally and linguistically different from their Austroasiatic-speaking relatives and therefore their kinship lexicon merits a separate description. What is presented in this paper are all the data the author was able to obtain

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[3] Alternative spellings of the autonym of this language in the literature are Lyngngam (Baker, 2013; Lewis, et al., 2016); Lyng-ngam (Grierson, 1904, pp. 17-21), Lyngym (Lewis, et al., 2016), Lynngam (Gurdon, 1907) and Lyngám (Karotemprel, 1986). The exonym for this language used by the neigboring Garo seakers in Meghalaya is Megam

during his time in the field. I hope that future field research will permit the collection of more data, so as to provide a more elaborate description.

Section 2 will succinctly describe the relevant aspects of Lyngam society that are necessary to understand the cultural environment in which the kinship terms are used. Social organisation and marital customs are described so that we can see the relationship between these and the way parts of the kinship lexicon are shaped and organised. Section 3 describes the morphological marking of age difference within one generation. The next section will provide a detailed description of the kinship lexicon and its usage. The terminology will be treated per generation from grandparents to grandchildren. Section 5 describes relationships acquired by marriage; this section is followed by the conclusion. Finally, a glossary of all the Lyngam words that appear in this text is presented in the appendix.

All Lyngam kinship terms can be used referentially or as address terms. Therefore, instead of writing that a certain kinship term can be used to *refer to* or *address* a certain kinsperson, the verb *call* is used throughout the article to fulfil both functions at once. For example, instead of writing "my *koŋ* 'elder brother's wife' refers to or addresses me as *hmbu* 'younger sibling'", I write "my *koŋ* […] calls me *hmbu* […]".

2. Some relevant aspects of Lyngam society

The Lyngams are matrilineal societies of unilineal descent. Clan membership and the inheritance follow the woman's line (see Karotemprel, 1986, pp. 6-9, 13 for a detailed description). The Lyngams are organised in clans or *dʑac* in Lyngam. A village consists mainly of the women of one clan and their husbands, who are from different clans. All these properties of

Lyngam society are similar to those of the other Khasi tribes (Gurdon, 1907) and their Tibeto-Burman speaking neighbours the Garos, including those speaking Atong (Burling, 1963; van Breugel, 2014a), all of whom together form an island of matrilineal societies within a vast area of patrilineal ones (see Jacquesson (2006) for a historical explanation). A clan can have different divisions, which can be useful in times of disputes, when members of one lineage can support each other in their battle against the other lineages within the same clan. These lineages are not indicated in the names of the members, and are based on the geographical origin of the lineage. When a woman founds a new village, a new lineage can be discerned. This founding woman is called *kpoʔ*, which is also a word for 'blood relatives'. When a woman from one village goes to live in another village founded by someone from her own clan, everybody will remember that she and her offspring belong to a different lineage, and so they cannot simply claim part of the land of their new village.

Two or more clans can be linked together in a bond or phratry called a *kur*.[4] A *kur* comes about when one clan helps the other financially or by giving the other clan land to live on. For example, the Langrin, Rongrin, Puweiñ[5], Hashah[6] and Nongrim clans form one *kur*. The members of different clans within the *kur* are considered relatives and cannot intermarry, except for cross-cousin marriage. For example, a boy can marry his mother's brother's daughter, but preferably not one that belongs to the same clan as the boy's father. Thus, not only are clans exogamous, phratries are too.

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[4] Note that in Khasi the word *kur* means 'clan'

[5] The name of the clan written *Puweiñ* is pronounced as [puʔiŋ] in Lyngam

[6] The clan name written *Hashah* is pronounced [ɦaçaʔ]

Belonging to the same *dʑac* 'clan' or *kur* 'bond of clans' or not is so important in Lyngam culture that it is reflected in the lexicon of kinship terms. Terms for relatives that are not from the same clan are marked through compounding with the morpheme *kʰa*, which, in those constructions, means 'relative from another clan'. The morpheme *kʰa* only occurs as a free form with the meaning 'father's sister'; in all other occurrences (see Diagram 1) it is compounded or bound. It is compounded in terms like *tʰawkʰa* 'paternal grandfather' and bound with the reciprocal prefix *mar-* in a term such as *markʰa* 'cousin whose father belongs to the same clan as me'.

There are also some kinship terms that can refer collectively to people from the same clan or phratry, either the same one as the speaker or a different one. These terms are listed in Table 1. Some of these terms can also be used to refer to a more specific relationship, in which case the table refers to the relevant section below.

Table 1

Kinship terms than can refer collectively to people from the same clan

buraŋ	(1) all male relatives of my clan with a married sister
	(2) wife's brother (see 5.1)
ɲaw ~ ʔɲaw	(1) any male relative of my clan or phratry who are of the generation of my mother or older and who is older than his married sister
	(2) father-in-law (see 5.2)
bottʰaw	married female relative of my clan or phratry
gatɕi	(1) husband of *bottʰaw* i.e. male relative acquired by marriage from a different clan
	(2) sister's husband
srri	someone with a spouse of the same clan or phratry

Together, the *buraŋ* and *ɲaw* ~ *ʔɲaw* form the *lumkur* 'male relatives of the clan or phratry who have married sisters'. The *lumkur* has the function of a disciplinary and judicial body within the clan. In the words of one of my Lyngam consultants: "The *lumkur* judge if *bottʰaw* or her husband or the *kʰmon* make mistakes". Since husbands belong to a different clan than their wife and offspring, they have authority in their wife's household only to a certain extent. The *lumkur* have to take any decisions that are deemed very important, for example in divorce cases, or whether or not somebody from their clan has to be taken to the hospital when there is a risk that he or she will die.

All the married female relatives of the same clan or phratry are called the *bottʰaw*. The husband of a *bottʰaw* is called *gatɕi* 'male relative acquired by marriage from a different clan'. One of the eldest or most influential persons within the *lumkur* is the *ʔedʑən* 'agent' of the *clan*. My consultants mentioned that the term and its function are comparable to the Khasi *raŋbaʔ kur* 'head of the clan' (see also Rabel-Heymann, 1989, p. 44). When he dies, his successor is chosen by the *bottʰaw* and *buraŋ*. It is therefore important for an election candidate to be on good terms with both the married men and married women of the clan and phratry.

Boys can cause marital restrictions on his siblings whereas girls cannot. If a boy marries, his siblings cannot marry any of the siblings from their brother's wife. When a girl marries first, her brother can marry his sister's sister-in-law, but then the restriction takes effect and no other siblings can marry within the same in-law family.

Cross-cousin marriage may have shaped part of the kinship lexicon. Firstly, there are specific descriptive terms for cross cousins but not for parallel cousins (see Diagram 1). Secondly, cross-cousin marriage practice in the

past might be the reason why the words for 'mother's brother' and 'father-in-law' (*mama*) and for 'mother's brother's wife' and 'mother-in-law' (*kʰin*) are the same. The fact that both maternal and paternal cross cousins can be referred to by the same terms suggests that cross-cousin marriage was less restricted in the past, i.e. that paternal cross cousins were marriageable. Nowadays, it is even discouraged for a boy to marry his cross cousin if she has the same title as his father. Cross cousin marriages are supposed to strengthen the bonds between two clans, but it poses, of course, serious genetic risks. Cousins are described in more detail below.

Gurdon (1907, p. 78) writes about the Khasis (not the Lyngams) that they could not marry their maternal uncle's daughter during the lifetime of the maternal uncle. After his death, the ban was lifted, although such marriages were frowned upon at the time of his writing. Gurdon (idem) also mentioned that such marriages were totally prohibited by the War. Moreover, a Khasi man was able to marry their mother's brother's daughter after the mother's brother's death. I have not heard of such restrictions for cross-cousin marriage among the Lyngam. Rabel-Heymann (1989, p. 45) mentions about the Khasis that "marriage between cross cousins is permitted though not common". Lyngams frequently marry Garos (including Atongs) among whom cross-cousin marriage is still practiced (see van Breugel, 2014, p. 9).

If a Lyngam marries within the same *dʑac* or *kur*, they are called *srri*. According to the Lyngams, these people and everyone who lives in their house are cursed and are prone to being killed by lightening or wild animals.

3. Morphological marking of the difference in age within one generation

For many relationships and throughout all generations, it is possible to indicate the difference in age of the relatives within the same generation. For siblings and relatives considered siblings, this can be done lexically with the words *hmbu* 'younger sibling' and *hmin* 'older sibling'. For other relationships, there is a set of suffixes that I call the sibling hierarchy suffixes[7]; they are listed in Table 2. The suffixes are used to indicate the number in the sibling birth hierarchy for both males and females, except for *–tʰej*, which can only be used or females. This means that every suffix indicates whether you are the first, second, third etc. child within the line of male or female siblings. These suffixes are not the same as the Lyngam numerals,[8] but most probably had their origin in lexical items that are no longer current in the present-day language.[9] Speculating about an historical source for them is beyond the scope of this article.

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[7] Rabel-Heymann (1989, p. 44) calls the corresponding morphemes in Khasi "modifiers for age ranking"

[8] The Lyngam numerals are, starting from one: *ʔwə~wə. ar. laj, saw, san, hrə, hɲu, pʰra, kʰndaj, tɕpʰu*

[9] According to Rabel-Heymann (1989, p. 45), expressions *irit* and *iduʔ* mean 'the little one' and 'the last one' respectively in Khasi

Table 2

Sibling hierarchy suffixes

1	*-tʰej* ♀ ~
	-heʔ ~ -san
2	*-deŋ*
3/'middle'	*-rit*
4	*-naʔ*
5/'last'	*-duʔ*
6	*-duʔritheʔ*
7	*-duʔritdeŋ*
	etc.

In all tables and diagrams, the underlined kinship terms can take the sibling hierarchy suffixes; terms that are not underlined cannot. As mentioned above, all the suffixes in Table 2 can be used for both males and females except for *–tʰej*, which only has female reference. Below, we shall see that the suffix *–san* has to be interpreted as meaning 'eldest of all siblings' with some specific kinship terms, otherwise it appears to be synonymous with *-heʔ* and *-tʰej*.[10] The suffix *–rit* can be used to refer either to the middle sibling or, more specifically, the third one, depending on the context. As we can see in Table 2, after child number 5, compounded suffixes have to be used. Recorded were only the suffixes *-heʔ* and *-deŋ*, the meanings and or historical origins of which are unknown. Table 3 presents an example of how the suffixes work with the words *koŋ* 'sister' and *baʔ* 'brother'.

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[10] More fieldwork is necessary to find out if this synonymy is the case for speakers throughout the Lyngam area

Table 3

Siblings counted in the birth hierarchy of a family with seven children

child's birth number	child's sex	reference or address with sibling hierarchy suffix	gloss
1	male	*baʔ-heʔ ~ baʔ-san*	first male sibling
2	female	*koŋ-heʔ ~ koŋ-tʰej*	first female sibling
3	female	*koŋ-deŋ*	second female sibling
4	male	*baʔ-deŋ*	second male sibling
5	male	*baʔ-rit*	third male sibling
6	female	*koŋ-rit*	third female sibling
7	female	*koŋ-du*	last female sibling

4. The Kinship lexicon and its usage

4.1 The family from the perspective of *nə* 'I, me'

Diagram 1 gives an overview of a large part of the family and their spouses from the perspective of a first person subject, indicated with the personal pronoun *nə* 'I, me'. The subject can either be male or female. The glosses in the diagram are often underspecified, due to lack of space, but all Lyngam kinship terms will be treated and precisely glossed in the text and can be found in the glossary in the appendix. The single lines in the diagram indicate descent while the double lines indicate a spousal relationship between two persons. The terms occurring in the diagram and the relationships that they refer to will be commented upon below.

Diagram 1. My family

Diagram 1. My Family

4.1.1 The grandparents and great aunts and uncles

The terms *jaw* 'great aunt' and *matʰaw* 'great uncle' are used to refer to the siblings of *tʰawkʰa* 'paternal grandfather', *jawkʰa* 'paternal grandmother', *patʰaw* 'maternal grandfather' and *gjaw ~ bejjaw* 'maternal grandmother'. When my *jaw* 'great aunt' and *matʰaw* 'great uncle' marry, I will call their spouse also *jaw* and *matʰaw*. Great grandparents and great great uncles and aunts are referred to with the same terms as those of the generation of my grandparents. In the case of mother's mother's mother, the compounded term *jawtmmin* can be used. The word *tmmin* means 'old person' and *jaw* is the compound form[11] of *gjaw* 'maternal grandmother'.[12] The root *thaw* 'grandfather' occurs as a synonym for 'maternal grandfather' and in the compound[13] *gjaw + thaw*, which means either 'grandparents' or 'ancestors'. Normally, this collocation will refer to the ancestors through the female lineage.

4.1.2 The parents, aunts and uncles

The term *bej* 'mother' is used to refer to my biological mother or her female siblings and to my father's brother's wife. Paternal aunts are

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[11] Words in Lyngam that have a free form with an initial cluster usually have a compound form without the initial consonant

[12] When I asked my consultants about great grandparents, they said that hardly anybody lives to be that old. This might be the reason for the lack of separate terms for that generation

[13] Haiman (2011, pp. 85ff) calls this kind of construction, where two lexical roots are involved, "symmetrical compounds" for Khmer. In Lyngam, however, the roots do not necessarily form a single phonological word and often occur split up in syntactic constructions

referred to with the terms *mejkha*[14] or *kʰa*. This shows that aunts from the same clan or, in the case of father's brother's wife, potentially from the same clan, are considered mothers, while aunts from another clan are not. In the past, when cross-cousin marriage was supposedly more common and villages consisted mainly of two clans, paternal aunts might have been, more often than not, from the same clan as me.

There is another word for mother, viz. *gmaw*. This word is used to refer to someone else's mother, in which case it usually occurs with the derelational suffix *-baʔ*. In addition, the word *gmaw* is also the general word for mother. The term *mej* 'mother's sister; father's brother's wife' is considered a Khasi loanword by some people, who also acknowledge that the word is used frequently in Lyngam.

Father can be referred to or addressed as *pa* or *papa*. His brothers are also called *pa*, but not *papa*. The uncle by marriage, i.e. *pakʰa* 'father's sister's husband', is marked for membership to another clan, while mother's sister's husband is regarded as a blood relative, probably for reasons given above about past marriage practices.

The word *ma* 'mother's brother' has a reduplicated form *mama* when it is not used with a sibling hierarchy suffix. Throughout the text, a person who can be referred to as *mama* can always also be referred to as *ma* followed by a sibling hierarchy suffix. *Mama*'s wife doubles or has doubled for many as a mother-in-law, therefore she also has a marked term: *kʰin*, but can also be considered as a consanguine mother, *bej*, or a marked mother, with the compound *bejkʰin*.

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[14] The form *mej* is not recorded used to refer to one's biological mother, only the form *bej* is

There are four more kinship terms, not represented in Diagram 1, to refer to (or address) blood relatives, two through my father and two though my mother. Two of these terms can also be used to refer to specific spouses of paternal uncles based on the criterion of different age within the same generation. To start with the latter, the terms are *mejkʰnnaʔ* 'father's younger sister' or 'father's younger brother's wife', and *mejsan* 'mother's eldest sister' or 'father's elder brother's wife'.[15] These terms indicate that father's younger brother's wife is considered as a blood relative, which is possible because she can be from the same clan as the *nə* 'me'. The other two terms not mentioned in Diagram 1 are *pakʰnnaʔ* 'father's younger brother' and *pasan* 'father's eldest brother'.

4.1.3 The siblings and cousins

The following criteria are operative in the distinction of different types of cousins: 1) my clan membership, 2) cross cousinhood, 3) the clan membership of my father in relation to that of my cousin's father. These criteria do not apply equally to all cousins and it is therefore necessary to describe every relationship separately.

The children of mother's sister are parallel cousins of my own clan. They are thus considered my siblings and can thus be called *koŋ* 'sister' or *baʔ* 'brother', but I will usually address them as *hmin* 'older sibling' or *hmbu* 'younger sibling'. Siblings are the only relationship in which difference of age within one generation is expressed lexically rather than derivationally

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[15] The term *mejsan* in with the meaning 'eldest maternal aunt' is compositional since its meaning can be derived from the meaning of the root and the sibling hierarchy suffix (see Table 2). The other meaning of *mejsan* cannot be derived this way

by means of the sibling hierarchy suffixes. When referring to siblings or to indicate that people are siblings, Lyngams do not use the terms *koŋ* and *baʔ* but rather the collective term *tɕəhmbu* 'siblings' regardless of whether the sex of the siblings is the same or different.[16] The term *tɕəhmin* does not exist.

The reason that both maternal and paternal cross cousins share the same terms *koŋkʰa* 'female cross cousin' and *baʔkʰa* 'male cross cousin' was given in section 2. However, as we can see in Diagram 1, the children of my father's sister and those of my mother's brother are treated differently. This has to do with the above-mentioned criterion of the clan membership of my father in relation to that of my cousin's father, which is applicable to my paternal cross cousins. When both my father and my paternal cross cousins' father belong to the same clan, my cousins and me will call each other *markʰa* 'cousin whose father belongs to the same clan as me'. Note that the criterion "sex of the relatives" is not operative on this relationship,

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[16] The term *tɕəhmbu* 'siblings' consists of the prefix *tɕə-*, which its collective interpretation, and the kinship term *hmbu* 'younger sibling'. The collective interpretation of the prefix arises when it is prefixed to words referring to human relationships, e.g. *tɕə-marlok* 'friends' and *tɕə-baʔkʰa* 'cousins'. The same prefix can also be interpreted as the mensural numeral 'one', when it appears on measure words in constructions where quantities are being counted, e.g. *kʰawdar tɕə-kntap* (flat.rice one-packet) 'one packet of flat rice' or *kʰon tɕə-pitor* (sweet.rice.wine one-bottle) 'one bottle of sweet rice wine'. There are two words for 'one' in Lyngam, viz. the cardinal numeral *ʔwə ~ wə* and the mensural numeral *tɕə-*. In collective constructions, it would not make sense for the phrases *tɕəmarkʰa* and *tɕəhmbu* to mean 'one male cousin' or 'one younger sibling' because when individuals (not quantities) are counted with the number one, the construction INDIVIDUAL *ʔwə* is used, e.g. *hmbu ʔwə* (younger.sibling one) 'one younger sibling' or *marlok ʔwə* 'one friend'

whereas it is operative on all relationships within the same generation. Calling a cross cousin *mark^{h}a* means that they are considered unmarriageable and similar to the paternal parallel cousins also called *mark^{h}a*.

Father's brother's children are the only ones that are potentially from the same clan as me: their mother can be my clan member or not. However, what is more important here is the fact that the fathers in the relationship share the same clan membership, which is certainly different from mine. The designation of this relationship *tɕəmark^{h}a* can be translated literally as 'mutually different-clan members'.[17]

There are no fixed terms to refer to the spouses of those cousins who are not considered my siblings, i.e. *koŋk^{h}a, ba?k^{h}a* and *mark^{h}a*. Their spouse may be my sibling or related to me in another way, in which case I use the term that refers to that relationship. If they are unrelated, I can just call them *koŋk^{h}a, ba?k^{h}a* or *mark^{h}a*. Their offspring are called *k^{h}onk^{h}a* 'child of a cousin who is not considered my sibling'. They can be addressed with their names. However, some of these children may be related to me through a clan member, in which case I can refer tho them or address them with some another kinship term. This may happen, for example, when my maternal parallel cousin marries my paternal cross cousin, in which case their children are my *k^{h}mon* (see section 5).

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[17]   The reciprocal prefix *mar-* can be found on lexemes denoting animates, e.g. humans like *mark^{h}llot* 'unmarried girls', *mark^{h}ondeŋ* 'children, kids' (not offspring), *martmmin* 'old people' and *marhmin hmbu* 'siblings'. The prefix can also occur on other lexemes denoting animals, e.g. in the clause *ɲada martɕrrək* (fight RECIPROCAL-buffalo) 'there are some buffalos fighting'

4.1.4 My children and grandchildren

The word for offspring is *kʰon*.[18] This word can be compounded with the words *rakmaw ~ rawkmaw* 'female, woman' or *koraŋ* 'male, husband' to indicate the sex of the child: *kʰonkoraŋ* 'son' and *kʰonra(w)kmaw* 'daughter'. The word *kʰonkoraŋ* also means 'male' or 'man' and can be compounded to other words to indicate the sex of their referent. Compounding for sex distinction can be useful in the case of *kʰmon* 'nephew/niece' or *ksə* 'grandchild', for instance, since these terms do not provide any information about the sex of their referents. By compounding the sex-specific lexemes mentioned above, we get *ksə+kʰonkoran* (grandchild + male) 'grandson' and *ksə + ra(w)kmaw* (grandchild + female) 'granddaughter'. Great grandchildren are also called *ksə*.

5. Affinal relatives through my siblings and my spouse

There are certain relationships that are obtained by marriage, that are not visible in Diagram 1 due to lack of space. These are the affinal relatives that I obtain when my siblings marry and those that I obtain when I marry. They will be described in the sections below. Parents and children can also be lost. Only four words have been recorded that deal with family loss, they

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[18] When a child grows up, Lyngam lexically distinguishes several different stages in its development: *kʰonsaw* 'baby younger than 1 year', *kʰondeŋ* 'child', *kʰllot* 'marriageable girl' (older than 14) and *kʰoraw* marriageable boy' (older than 14)

are: *mawrej* 'stepmother', *pana?* 'stepfather', *kʰonrmpʰa* 'orphan' and *rəmaw* 'widow/widower'.[19]

5.1 My siblings' families

Diagram 2 shows siblings and their spouses and offspring from the perspective of a first person subject, *nə* 'I, me'. The terms of some in-laws depend on the sex of the speaker, the sex of the relative, the sex of the person through which the relationship exists, the difference in age within one generation, the clan membership of the persons in the relationship.

There are different terms for in-laws obtained through my brother, depending on the age of my bother and my sex. On the fraternal side, regardless of my sex, if my brother is older than me, his wife is my *koŋ* 'sister' and I will address her as *koŋ*. If my brother is younger than me, his wife is my *knsaw* but I can also address her as *hmbu* 'younger sibling'. If I am female, I can refer to and address any sister-in-law with the term *maŋku*, regardless of the age of my brother.

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[19] The first syllables of the words *mawrej* and *rəmaw* are compound forms of the words *gmaw* 'mother' and *brə* 'person' respectively. I do not know the origin or meaning of the second syllables
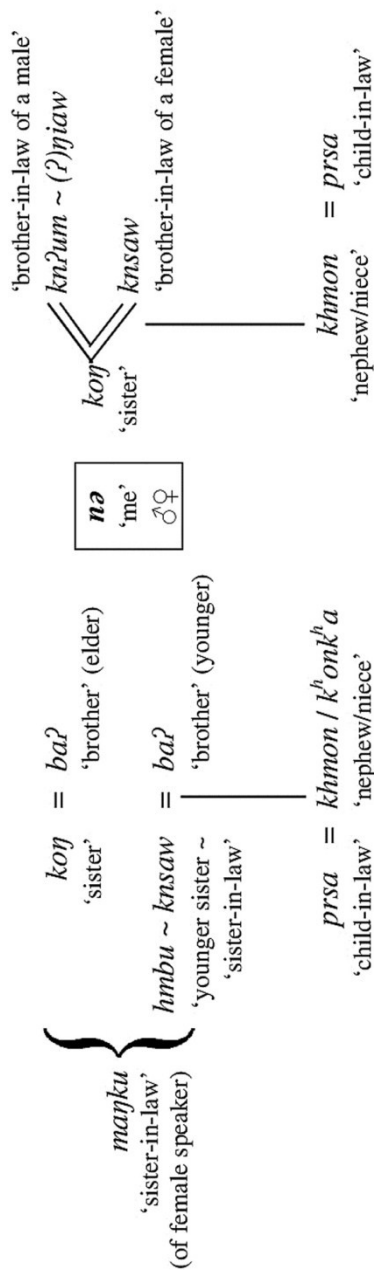
Diagram 2. My siblings' families

maŋku
'sister-in-law'
(of female speaker)

koŋ = *baʔ*
'sister' 'brother' (elder)

hmbu ~ knsaw = *baʔ*
'younger sister ~ 'brother' (younger)
'sister-in-law'

prsa = *khmon / kʰonkʰa*
'child-in-law' 'nephew/niece'

nə
'me'
♂♀

koŋ
'sister'

knʔum ~ (ʔ)ŋjaw
'brother-in-law of a male'

knsaw
'brother-in-law of a female'

khmon = *prsa*
'nephew/niece' 'child-in-law'

Diagram 2. My siblings' families

On the sororal side, the usage of the terms referring to in-laws depends on the sex of the person through whom the relationship exists. When I am female, I or others refer to my sister's husband as *knsaw*. When I am male, my sororal brother-in-law is either *knʔum* or *gaʨi*. These latter terms do not denote the same thing. The term *knʔum* is reciprocal. The term *gaʨi* is not, and can only be used by me. The unidirectional term he can use for me is *buraŋ*. Thus, the relationship between two brothers in law can be viewed as consisting of two distinct relationships, viz. the one between a male and his sister's husband, *gaʨi*, and the one between a male and his wife's brother, *buraŋ*. The term *buraŋ* is also used to collectively refer to all the men of my clan with a married sister. The term *gaʨi* is also used to collectively refer to all affinal male relatives from a different clan, i.e. the husbands of the *botʰaw* 'female relatives of my clan'. The other terms in Diagram 2 are also unidirectional, except for *maŋku*. Table 4 gives an overview of what my siblings' spouses call me. As was mentioned in the introduction, the verb *call* means, 'refer to' as well as 'address', since all kinship terms can be used referentially or as address terms.

Table 4

What my siblings' spouses and their offspring call me

My♂♀	*koŋ* 'elder brother's wife'	calls me	*hmbu* 'younger sibling' or by my name
My♂♀	*knsaw* 'younger brother's wife'	calls me	*hmin* 'elder sibling'
My♂	*knʔum* 'sister's husband'	calls me	*knʔum* 'brother-in-law' or *buraŋ* 'wife's brother'
My♀	*knsaw* 'sister's husband	calls me,	if I am younger than her: *hmbu* or by my name
My♀	*knsaw* 'sister's husband '	calls me,	if I am older than her: *koŋ* 'sister'

According to the author's consultants in the village of Shallang, the children or grandchildren of both my male and female siblings or those relatives of my generation considered my siblings, are my *kʰmon* nephew/ niece', a term which is not specified for the sex of the referent. Great nephews and great nieces are also called *kʰmon*.[20] According to my consultants in the village of Umdang, the (grand) children of my brothers are called *kʰonkʰa* and those of my sisters' *kʰmon* since my sister's siblings are certainly members of my clan whereas my brother's siblings are potentially from the same clan as me. Maybe these siblings are only called *kʰonkʰa* when they belong to a different clan; hence, the compound with the word *kʰa* 'member of a different clan'. More field research is needed to solve this riddle.

When we compare Diagrams 1 and 2, we can see that the term *prsa* 'child-in-law' is used for both one's own children's spouses as well as my sibling's children's spouses. A sex distinction can lexically be made only for a male child-in-law with the term *prsakurim* 'son-in-law'. When this contrast is not required in the discourse, the term *prsa* can be used to refer to both a son- or daughter-in-law, or both of them at the same time.

Some kinship terms are not indicated In Diagram 2. There is a specific term that a female *prsa* 'daughter-in-law' affinal through my siblings can use to refer to my wife, viz. *jawsŋkin* or *sŋkin*, for short. The female *prsa* can also refer to my wife with the terms *bej ~ mej* 'mother' or *kʰin* 'mother's brother's wife'. A *prsakurim* 'son-in-law' through my siblings refers to my husband as *mama*.

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[20] My consultants mentioned again here, that people hardly get so old as to have great grandchildren. This might explain the lack of a specific term for them

5.2   My spouse's family

As was mentioned above, when I marry, I acquire a new family, or, from the opposite perspective, the family of my wife accepts me as a member. In the case of cross-cousin marriage, which has steered the use of the kinship terms, spouses share half of their family members. Most of the kinship terms I use for the family of my spouse, therefore, are the same as those I use for my own family. Table 5 provides a list of what I call my spouse's family members after marriage. Remember from the introduction that the verb *call* in this article means 'refer to' or 'address'. Since some of the wife's newly acquired kin do not belong to her clan, some of the terms have to be marked for that through compounding with the morpheme k^ha, viz. her husband's *mej* is her *mejkʰa* and her husband's *gjaw* is her *jawkʰa*.

According to the author's consultants in the village of Umdang, a husband or wife calls their mother-in-law *bej*, *kʰin* or *bejkʰin*. According to my consultants in Shallang, the term for mother-in-law depends on the sex of the *prsa* 'child-in-law'. A daughter-in-law calls her husband's mother *jawkʰa*. A son-in-law calls his wife's mother *jawsŋkin* or *sŋkin*.

If I am female, my father-in-law is either referred to or addressed as *pa* or *mama*. If I am a male, my father-in-law is called *ɲaw*. In the case of cross-cousin marriage, he is also my mother's brother and I can still call him *mama* 'mother's brother'. Now that cross-cousins marriages have become less common, a boy's father-in-law may or may not be his mother's brother, but he can always be referred to or addressed as *mama* 'mother's brother', or as *ɲaw* 'father-in-law'. The term *ɲaw* can also be used to refer collectively to all male members of the same clan or phratry from the generation of my mother or older who are older than their married sisters.

The fathers of a married couple call each other *ʔɲaw* or *ɲaw*. Together they are *tɕəʔɲaw* 'the fathers of a married couple'. The mothers of a married couple call each other *jawsŋkin*. Men whose wives are sisters are *martɕoŋ*. This term consists of the reciprocal prefix *mar-* and the root *tɕoŋ* 'stay, sit, live'. Since married men live in the household of their wives, these *martɕoŋ* either live in the same household or in the same village,[21] a village that was founded and is dominated by members of their wife's clan.

Table 5

How I call my in-laws

I♀	call my husband's	*bej* 'mother'	*bej ~ kʰin ~ bejkʰin* or *jawkʰa*
I♀	call my husband's	*papa* 'father'	*pa* or *mama*
I♀	call my husband's	*koŋ* 'sister'	*koŋ*
I♀	call my husband's	*baʔ* 'brother'	*baʔ*
I♀	call my husband's	*mama* 'mother's brother'	*mama*
I♀	call my husband's	*bej* 'mother's sister'	*mejkʰa*
I♀	call my husband's	*kʰa*	*kʰa*
I♀	call my husband's	*pa* 'father's brother'	*pa* or *mama*
I♀	call my husband's	*gjaw* 'maternal grandmother'	*gjaw ~ jawkʰa*

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[21] Gurdon (1907, p. 63) writes about the Khasis: "It is almost invariably the case that the grandmother, her daughters and the daughter's children, live together under one roof […]" On page 76, he writes: "[…] after one or two children are born, and if the married couple get on well together, the husband frequently removes his wife and family to a house of his own […]" This seems to be the case with the Lyngams as well

Table 5 (continued)

How I call my in-laws

I♀	call my husband's	*patʰaw* 'maternal grandfather'	*patʰaw*
I♀	call my husband's	*jawkʰa* 'paternal grandmother'	*jawkʰa*
I♀	call my husband's	*thawkʰa* 'paternal grandfather'	*thawkʰa*
I♀	call my husband's	*jaw* 'great aunt'	*jawkʰa*
I♀	call my husband's	*matʰaw* 'great uncle'	*matʰaw*
I♂	call my wife's	*bej* 'mother'	*kʰin* ~ *bej* ~ *bejkʰin* or *jawsŋkin*
I♂	call my wife's	*papa* 'father'	*mama* or *ɲaw*
I♂	call my wife's	*koŋ* 'sister'	*koŋ*
I♂	call my wife's	*baʔ* 'brother'	*baʔ* or *mama* or *ɲaw*
I♂	call my wife's	*mama* 'mother's brother'	*mama*
I♂	call my wife's	*bej* 'mother's sister'	*bej*
I♂	call my wife's	*kʰa*	*kʰa*
I♂	call my wife's	*pa* 'father's brother'	*pa*
I♂	call my wife's	*gjaw* 'maternal grandmother'	*gjaw*
I♂	call my wife's	*patʰaw* 'maternal grandfather'	*patʰaw*
I♂	call my wife's	*jawkʰa* 'paternal grandmother'	*jawkʰa*
I♂	call my wife's	*thawkʰa* 'paternal grandfather'	*thawkʰa*
I♂	call my wife's	*jaw* 'great aunt'	*jawkha*
I♂	call my wife's	*matʰaw* 'great uncle'	*matʰaw*

Conclusion

In this article, I have given a description of the kinship terms in Lyngam. The kinship lexicon is shaped primarily by the custom of cross-cousin marriage and in addition by the parameters of maternal/paternal descent and belonging to the same or to a different clan or phratry. Relative age within the same generation can be indicated with derivational morphology, viz. with sibling hierarchy suffixes. Within the kinship lexicon, the additional parameters influence the use of subsets of kinship terms. The terms of some in-laws depend on the sex of the speaker, the sex of the relative, the sex of the person through which the relationship exists, the difference in age within one generation, the clan membership of the persons in the relationship. The criteria that are operative in the distinction of different kinds of cousins are: my clan membership, cross-cousinhood and clan membership of my father in relation to that of my cousin's father.

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Appendix : Glossary

The underlined words can be used with the sibling hierarchy suffixes presented in Section 2, 0.

_ba?_	brother
-ba?	derelational suffix
ba?kʰa	male cross cousin
bej	my biological mother
bej ~ mej	(1) mother's sister
	(2) father's brother's wife
	(3) mother-in-law
bejjaw ~ gjaw	maternal grandmother
bejkʰin	mother-in-law
bottʰaw	married female relative of my clan or phratry
buraŋ	(1) all male relatives of my clan with a married sister
	(2) wife's brother
dʑac	clan
edʑən	agent (person who looks after the interests of the clan or phratry)
gatɕi	(1) sister's husband
	(2) husband of _bottʰaw_ i.e. male relative acquired by marriage from a different clan
gjaw~ bejjaw	maternal grandmother
gjaw thaw	(1) grandparents (2) ancestors
gmaw	mother
hmbu	younger sibling
hmin	elder sibling
jaw	great aunt

jawkʰa	(1) paternal grandmother
	(2) spouse's grandmother
	(3) spouse's great aunt
	(4) mother-in-law
jawsŋkin ~ sŋkin	(1) mother-in-law of a female
	(2) wife of husband's brother
	(3) the relationship of the mothers of a married couple
jawtmmin	maternal great grandmother
<u>*kʰa*</u> *~ mejkʰa*	(1) father's sister
	(2) husband's mother's sister
kʰin	(1) mother's brother's wife
	(2) mother-in-law
kʰmon	nephew/niece
kʰon	offspring
kʰonkʰa	child of a cousin not considered a sibling
kʰonkoraŋ	son
kʰonra(w)kmaw	daughter
kʰonrmpʰa	orphan
knsaw	(1) younger brother's wife
	(2) brother in law of a female
kn?um	brother-in-law of a male: the relationship between a male and his sister's husband or a male and his wife's brother
kontʰaw	wife
<u>*koŋ*</u>	sister
koŋkʰa	female cross cousin
koraŋ	male, husband

kpoʔ	(1) woman who is the founder of a village and thus of a lineage within a clan
	(2) blood relative
ksə	grandchild
kur	phratry, bond of clans
lumkur	male relatives of the clan or phratry who have married sisters
makʰa	(1) cousin with a father of the same clan as me
	(2) father's sister's husband
mama ~ ma	mother's brother
maŋku	sister-in-law (used only by female speakers)
markʰa	cousin whose father belongs to the same clan as me
martɕoŋ	(1) husband's wife's sister
	(2) the relationship of men whose wives are sisters
matʰaw	great uncle
mawrej	stepmother
mej ~ bej	(1) mother's sister
	(2) father's brother's wife
	(3) mother-in-law
mejkʰa ~ kʰa	(1) father's sister
	(2) husband's mother's sister
mejkʰnna	(1) father's younger sister
	(2) father's younger brother's wife
mejsan	(1) mother's eldest sibling who is also female
	(2) father's elder brother's wife
ɲaw ~ ʔɲaw	(1) all male members of my clan or phratry from the generation of my mother or older who are older than their married sisters
	(2) father-in-law

nə	I, me
pa	(1) father's brother
	(2) mother's sister's husband
pakʰa	father's sister's husband
paknnaʔ	(1) father's younger brother
	(2) father's eldest sibling who is also male
panaʔ	stepfather
papa ~ pa	father
pasan	father's eldest brother
patʰaw	maternal grandfather
prsa	child-in-law
prsakurim	son-in-law
ra(w)kmaw	female, woman
rəmaw	widow/widower
srri	someone with a spouse of the same clan or phratry as themselves
sŋkin ~ jawsŋkin	(1) mother-in-law of a female
	(2) wife of husband's brother
	(3) the relationship of the mothers of a married couple
tɕəbaʔkʰa	cousins
tɕəhmbu	siblings
tɕəmarkʰa	cousins whose fathers are members of the same clan
tɕəʔɲaw	fathers of a married couple
tʰawkʰa	paternal (great)grandfather
tmmin	old person
ʔɲaw ~ ɲaw	(1) all male members of my clan or phratry from the generation of my mother or older who are older than their married sisters
	(2) father-in-law