

FOLK LITERATURE OF THE ANGAMIS: A CRITICAL STUDY

(Thesis submitted to Nagaland University in partial fulfilment of requirements for
award of Ph.D. degree in English)

By

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2021

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Research Scholar

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GLOSSARY OF ANGAMI/ OTHER LOAN WORDS USED IN THE THESIS

Bi-nyi---Taro colocasia esculenta-festival

Capi---Judge

Cha-da-nyi---Road-clearing-Festival

Chadi---Main road

Chakrii---Sung in the village or in the field

Chiecha---Wrap around skirt

Chii-Cha---Animal meat-cooking

Chiinuo---Basket for storing paddy

Chii-Nyi---Millet---Festival

Chu-se-pe---Liver-piercing

Ciena-mi---Artemesia vulgaris-fire

Dzu-se-va---Water-pouring-ritual

Geizo---Poem

Genna---Restriction

Hangamai---Thieves

Hiepu---Cup-Pipe

Hou---Meeting

Jhum---Shifting cultivation

Kedzunga---Reserved

Kekuo---Strength

Kelhoukevi-ra---Better- Place

Kemevo---Priest

Kenhau---straw woven rain coat

Kenyii---Taboo

Keru-nyi---Fix-festival

Keshiinei---Kilt

Kezei---Dark

Kezei---February

Khel-Institutio that bring several clans within the village

Khorii---Basket

Khriiphisia---Mysterious Death

Khutieka---share of Food

Kichiiki---Sleeping place

Ki---House

Ki-ka-po-ro---Where is the House

Kikie—House –Horn

Kizie---Cleaning of ponds and surroundings

Kratsu---congregation of peer group

Kukha---blacksmith

Kuru---pumping instrument

Lhipecha---Sung when dancing

Lhipisu---Male voice

Lideh---Bass

Liede-pfi---Field-Making-Female

Likwino---High pitched song

Lisii---Post pulling

Livo---merry making song

Lohe---Black shawl

Mechuu---Community

Mepfi---Yoddle

Mhaphruo---Talent

Mhoushii---White shawl
Morung---Bachelors Dormitory
Nanyii---Ritual
Ngamai---Perfect
Ngo-Nyi---Physically exhausted-Festival
Nuokhrienuoko---Youngest male member of the family
Nyarii---Bow-like violin
Nyi---Festival
Nyi-Shie---Festival-Announceent
Peli-Kroii---peer-group
Peluo-tuo---more-must
Penyie---Non working day
Pepu ---bountiful
Pezhii---Shield
Phichu---village elder
Phousa-Nyi---New beginning-Festival
Pithucha---Sung when pounding paddy
Razou-The whole village
Riide---December
Ruovi---Good fortune
Sanuo-Neighbouring village
Seimie--- Lagging behnd in walking
Sekre-nyi---Sanctification-Festival
Shili---Forest song
Si-du---wood-cut
Sirie-gada---Collection wood and vegetables
Tati—Long string musical instrument

Tekhou-sekhrii---paddy field-planting
Tekhrie---variety of small bamboo
Tekhruonu---Illegitimate child
Tenyidie---Angami Dialect
Terha---Sash
Terhoma---Spirit
Terho-pe---Spirit-bridge
Teutu---Bamboo flute
Thegoukhopfii-nyi---Toad-Plate-Gather-Festival
Thehu---Meeting
Thekra-nyi---Earning-festival
Thekranyi---Religious festival
Thekrii---elegy
Themumia---seer
Thenu-zhieku---Hen pecked man
Thenyi-thouzuo---Festival-wine making
Thepe-kela---epidemic-save
Thepfe---song
Thesu---Peer group
Thevinyhii---fowl
Thopi---Checking one's luck
Thugiyu---Chaste young boy
Thupfeii---cowherd song
Thu-Thu---Making of rice beer
Tie-krii---rice-mother
Tsakro-nyi---seed-sowing-festival
Tsali---Song

Tsie khie---Table for pounding paddy

Tsiekrii---Seed-sowing

Tsiila---Head gear

Tuonyiimia--- Swift walker

Ukepenuopfii---Birth spirit

Ura Dze---Village-story

Vachie---blouse

Viini---Large Bamboo

Wiipesu---Boys song

Yietho/lhopierii/khocii---Small bamboo basket

Zachie---Soya-bean

Zarii---oval shap rice clean plate

Zhakre---Sith day

Zhangu---Fifth day

Ziephie---November

Zievo---Priest

Zouhe---graminae spp

Zu---Angami Rice Beer

Zu-mho---wine-bubble

Zutshii---cynidon dactylon

ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

CHAPTER- 1

INTRODUCTION

Folklore is probably as old as mankind. However, the term 'folklore' is of comparatively recent origin. By the middle of the nineteenth century, Europeans had started a debate on the 'haves' and 'have-nots', under the influence of German socialists. Accordingly and simultaneously the English antiquarian W. J. Thomas coined the word folklore in 1846 with the purpose of looking into the 'have-nots' or economically lower classes. In the year 1845, William Thomas, using the name Ambrose Merton, wrote a letter to The Athenaeum in which he proposed that a "good Saxon compound, folklore", be employed in place of such labels as popular antiquities and popular literature. William's conception of folklore and his essentially enumerative definition of folklore include among other things manners, customs, observances, superstitions, ballads, proverbs, and so on of the olden times. Definitions of Folklore based upon the folk rather than the lore are more rare, but no more satisfactory. There are still some folklorists who mistakenly identify the folk with peasant society or rural groups. If one were to accept this narrow conception of folk, by the definition one would have to conclude that city dwellers were not folk and hence city dwellers could have no folklore. An equally fallacious view is that folklore was produced by a folk in the hoary past and the folklore still extant today consists solely of fragmentary survivals. According to this incorrect view, the folk of today produce no folklore; rather, contemporary folk are forgetting more and more folklore, and soon folklore would have died out completely.

People commonly conceive and study folklore in three ways. One way is to regard folklore as individual items that exemplify specific forms- folktale, folksong, folk-speech, or folk art, for instance – and to make these "folklore genres" and examples of them the focus of study. Another approach is to consider folklore study a disciplinary subfield of literature studies, anthropology, history, linguistics, or psychology, and to study folklore as one studies other things that serve data for that discipline. A third view is that a folklore is the product and possession of certain groups, making these "folk groups" and their traditions the sources and subjects of folklore study.

In terms of the history of folkloristics, and from the view point of professional folklorist, folklore can be conceptualised and studied in four ways: 1) Historical Artefact 2) Describable and transmissible entity, 3) Culture, and 4) Behaviour. Each of these has its intellectual foundation, a set of assumptions about the nature and province of folklore. These assumptions determine what concepts are central to a folklorist's enquiries and what questions he or she poses and attempts to answer. They also dictate what kinds of investigative and documentation techniques the folklorist uses and how he or she represents and presents folklore to others.

Folklore includes myths, legends, folktales, jokes, proverbs, riddles, chants, charms, blessings, curses, oaths, insults, retorts, taunts, teases, toasts, tongue twisters, and greeting and leave – taking formulaic example: “see you later, alligator.” It also includes folk costume, folk dance, folk drama, mimes, folk art, folk belief or superstition, folk medicine, folk instrumental music, for example: fiddle tunes; folk songs, example : ballads and lullabies; folk speech, example: slang; folk similes, example: as blind as a bat; folk metaphors, example: to paint the town red; and names, example: nicknames and place names. Folk Poetry ranges from oral epics to autograph – book verse, epitaphs; latrinalia, example, writings on the walls of public bathrooms, limericks, ball bouncing rhymes, jump – rope rhymes, finger and toe rhymes; dandling rhymes, example : to bounce children on the knee; counting-out rhymes , example : to determine who will be “it” in games, and nursery rhymes. The list of folklore forms also contains games ; gestures; symbols; prayers; practical jokes; folk etymologies; food recipes; quilt and embroidery designs; house, barn, and fence types; street vendors cries; and even the traditional conventional sounds use to summon animals or to give them commands .

Folklore, to the anthropologist is a part of culture but not the whole of culture. It includes myths, legends, tales, proverbs, riddles, the text of ballads and other songs, and other forms of lesser importance, but not folk art, folk dance, folk music, folk costume, folk medicine, folk custom, or folk belief. All of these are unquestionably worth of study, whether in literate or non-literate societies. All folklore is orally transmitted but not all that is orally transmitted is folklore. Folklore serves to sanction the established beliefs, attitudes, and institutions, both sacred and secular, and it plays a vital role in education in non-literate societies. In addition to its role in transmitting culture from one generation to another, and to providing ready rationalisations when beliefs or attitudes are called into question, folklore is used in some societies to apply social pressure to those who would deviate from the accepted norms.

Folklore is also the study material that is handed on by tradition, either by word of mouth, or by custom and practice. It may be folk songs, folk tales, riddles, proverbs, or other materials preserved in words. It may be traditional tools and physical objects like fences and knots, hot cross buns, or easter eggs; Traditional ornamentation like the walls of Troy; or traditional symbols like the Swastika. It may be traditional procedures like throwing salt over one’s shoulder or knocking on wood. It may be traditional beliefs like the notion that elder is good for ailments of the eye. All these are folklore.

By characterising cultural and intellectual development in evolutionary terms and demonstrating that folklore can be found not only in Europe and indo European – societies, but also among known western and even primitive peoples, researches such as Taylor in the late Nineteenth and Frazer in the early twentieth century, established the fact that folklore is universal. The database for folkloristics, their work indicated, cannot be limited to examples of folklore recorded and reported only in certain parts of the world, such as Europe. Instead, it must include data from all cultures and from people of all kinds.

CHAPTER- II

The Angami Nagas: A Historical Background

The Angamis live mainly in the Central and Northern part of Kohima district which is the capital of Nagaland. Some of them have also settled in Dimapur district. Of all the tribes inhabiting Nagaland, the Angamis occupy the most extensive area. The Angami inhabited area is bordered by the tribes like Zeliangs, Rengmas, Chakhesang and Maos (Manipur). They are divided into more than 96 villages; each village has a slightly different dialect of its own. However, they have a common language called *Tenyidie* which is understood by every Angami. The villages are situated mostly in the sloppy hills at an elevation of about 500 feet and the people enjoy healthy climate subject to neither too hot nor too cold.

The arrival of the British government marked the creation of the Angami inhabited area into four divisions. This was done for the purpose of effective administration and the same arrangement, though bearing different names continue till date. Located in the North-Eastern part of India, Nagaland evokes a sense of awe and mystery among the people at the mere mention of its name. Topographically, Nagaland is mostly a hilly region; the total area of the state is about 16,527 sq km, with a population of about 1.9 million. The land boasts of high peaks and beautiful landscapes strewn with exquisite flora and sparkling serpentine rivers. The Angami Nagas' territory in the present day Nagaland, comprise of Kohima and Dimapur district, which is again divided into four regions, namely, Northern Angami, Southern Angami, Western Angami and *Chakhro* Angami. Very often earlier writers have added Eastern angamis to the present tribe, but this group formed a separate tribe which came to be known as *Chakhesang* (a combination of 3 sub-tribes- *Chokri*, *Khezha* and *Sangtam*) in 1946 and ever since they are counted as a distinct tribe.

The term *Tenyimia* has a wide coverage which does not merely cover the Angamis alone but it includes several other tribes such as *Zeliang*, *Chakhesang*, *Rengma* and *Mao*. Now the question arises as to how a particular section of the *Tenyimia* came to be known as the Angamis. The term was conferred on them by the British and prior to that there was no such name as Angami. In the pre-colonial period, the Angamis, particularly the people of Khonoma used to suppress their neighbouring tribes particularly the Zeliang Nagas by imposing heavy taxes and sometimes they were even being looted. Writing in 1921, Hutton realises this fact when he states that it is very difficult to understand the traditional customs of the Kacha Nagas (Zeliang) as a result of their domination by the people of Khonoma. It could be because of this unacceptable behaviour that the Zeliang people began to brand them as *Hangamai* which simply means "Thieves". Moreover, the Angamis used to carry out frequent raids on the plains of Assam. Therefore, the British must have decided to punish these particular raiders and they were trying to find out their identity from the Zeliangs who were their immediate neighbours. But it seems the Zeliangs did not give them any details but simply called them as *Hangamai*. In the events that followed, the Angamis particularly the village of Khonoma rendered the greatest opposition to the British occupation of the Naga Hills. Thus it may be quite possible that the Britishers must have called this particular group with related dialects of Khonoma people as the Angamis which is a broken form of *Hangamai*.

Hutton suggests that the word Angami derived its origin from *gnamei*, a term which was used by the Manipuris to designate the Tenyimia. But the term does not hold any good simply because it fails to give any tangible meaning. Again, the Maos living in Manipur used to call the Angamis as *ngamai* which means “Perfect” which led to some people to believe that the word Angami may be a broken form of *Ngamai*.

Alemchiba holds the view that amongst the Nagas the Angamis belong to the first wave of immigrants who entered the Naga Hills which also includes the Rengmas, Maos, Semas and Lothas. Oral tradition too seems to support this claim. The Khezhakeno village claims blood relations with the Semas and the Lothas.

Morung as a social institution

The morung was a key institution in Naga society of the past. It was kind of youth dormitory, a large building decorated with elaborated carvings. But its functions were far beyond providing separate shelters for adolescence boys and girls who lived and slept in it until marriage. It was also used as a guard house during times of war when warriors stayed in it.

Language

All the languages and dialects spoken in the state of Nagaland have been classified under Nagaland group of Assam-Burmese branch of Tibeto-Burman sub-family of Tibeto-Chinese family of languages. Shafer Robert (1955:94-111) objected to Konow's classification and said, “one of the major points on which Konow's classification errs is in setting up a Naga group. The Naga languages are all Kukish except the north eastern-most, which is baric.” Shafer places *Tenyidie* (Angami) under eastern branch of Kukish section of Burmic division of Sino-Tibetan family. Benedict Paul K (1972) identified seven primary divisions of nuclei and placed Naga languages under his Kuki-Naga (Kukish); perhaps also Mikir, Meithei and Mru. Benedict pleaded that no sharp distinction between Kuki and Naga can be maintained as was done by Konow, recognizing separate Naga group. Benedict further sub-classified Naga languages into Northern Naga (Ao, Lotha, etc.) and Southern Naga including Angami, Sema and Rengma.

Society

The Angami village is invariably built either on the summit of a hill, on a high saddle, or perhaps more frequently on a ridge of some spur running down from a high range. This site, though generally in a position highly defensible if not impregnable from the point of view of Naga warfare, has not been chosen with a knowledge of the weapon of civilization, and could usually be easily commanded by fire arms from adjoining peaks or ridge. For the above reasons they generally establish their habitation on the hill-tops, below which rivers flow on either sides. There is no sanitary system in a village but hill-top settlements save the problem by natural flow and hilly people are generally found healthy.

Chapter- III

Aspects of Angami Naga Folklore

The Angamis are very superstitious in their approaches and with the daily activities of their day to day life. They are governed by the supernatural elements from the different folklores, legends and more importantly the customs, that, they have been practising since time immemorial. To cite a custom that is still prevalent even today; ‘When you visit a person’s home and enter the house from the front door, you are not allowed and cannot exit nor must exit from the backdoor when you leave, the reason being it is a taboo and it brings bad luck and misfortune to both the visitor and the house owner. Also when an elder offers his cup of wine you must never refuse. Reason being, it is a blessing when an elder offers something to you and it is a taboo to refuse. These are typical superstitions. More picturesque is the belief that marriages should not be made in the month of *Kezei* (February) which the name itself suggests as the dark month. Hence not just having matrimonials are a taboo but even young boys and girls are discouraged from venturing out in the evenings of this very month.

Omen is another important aspect of the Angami belief system. This is their search for the unknown and is known as *Thophi* (checking one’s luck). It has to be consulted on every important event such as during the march to war, hunting, marriage, sickness, etc. The simplest method of observing omen is by tossing two leaves on the ground. If one leaf is right side up and the other upside down, it is a sign of good luck. Another method of observing omen is by slicing a small branch of *Chiese* or *Teise* plant. The branch is sliced into five, seven or nine and is then dropped one after another. The performer is able to tell whether it is a good or bad omen by checking the number of slices that turned upward and downward respectively. The third type of consulting an omen is by strangling a fowl at certain ceremonies such as *Sekrenyi* festival. In this case, if the right leg crosses over the left, then it is said to be a good omen. While making a journey or a mission if a civet, a squirrel, or a snake and the like run across one’s path, then it is seen as a sign of an unsuccessful mission. The Angamis also consult the chirping of certain tiny birds called *Tseiino*. While going out of your house, if the chirping is heard from the leftward direction, it heralds good news. The reason for taking the left-hand side as a good omen is that one usually carries the *Pezhii* (shield) on the left hand.

The Angami also consider dreams to be very significant to foretell their future. Dreams are consulted for any special event in their lives. Dreams used to be a deciding factor in arranging a marriage. Witchcraft and divination is also an important aspect of the Angamis. If someone is seriously ill for a long time, a *Themoumia* (witch doctor) is consulted for the recovery of the patient. Usually it is the witch who tells what to do so as to appease the spirit, which depends on the spirit. The Angamis also consider dreams to be very significant to foretell their future. Dreams are consulted for any special event in their lives. Dreams used to be a deciding factor in arranging a marriage. Even if things seem favourable, a bad dream by anyone between the intending persons may stand in the way from solemnizing a marriage.

Some examples of interpretation of dreams are: If one dreams about cow, it rains; if one dreams about fire it will be a sunny weather; if one catches fish in a dream, he gets money. If a tooth is fallen in a dream, death may occur in the family. Again, if one dreams about a group of people in ceremonial dresses, then it is a prediction for the death of a nearest kin or relative. However, the interpretations may also differ from person to person. Some of the Angamis are also quite apprehensive about the name of the person in their dream because they try to analyze their dream according to the meaning of that particular name. A name starting with the root like *Ruovi* (good fortune) or *Kekuo* (strength) is definitely a good one.

Usually it is the witch who tells what to do so as to appease the spirit, which depends on the spirit. While appeasing sometimes a hen called *Geisu* is released in the jungle or sometimes by throwing a piece of metal. Hutton writes that, “There are also some women who answer questions from trances. They are called *Terhope* (God’s bridge)”. Before she can answer any question, however, it is necessary to force open the *Terhope*’s mouth and put into it new *Zu* and yeast. This new *zu* is not new in the sense of its preparation, but when fresh yeast is added to the already prepared one, it is called new *zu* for the spirits. When the *Terhope* has answered the question, the prepared *zu* will be poured into her mouth and then she will come back to normal. Both *Themoumia* and *Terhope* are mediums who claim to be able to communicate the spirits of dead people. But it is said that such communication is a hard task which exhausts all mental and physical strength. So a witch or *Themoumia* is often reluctant to become a medium due to the physical strain that it involves, though the communication lasts only for a short span of about five minutes at the most. The function of *Themoumia* is basically to save a life. She usually directs a sick person to appease the spirits for his quick recovery and she also acts as a medicine-woman by offering local herbs to her patients. Sometimes, she gives information to the diseased’s family about the things that a dead person requires in the underworld. She also composes *Geizo* (poem) which she learns from her dream. The main function of *Terhope* is to speak on behalf of the dead one who wanted to convey some messages to the living members. When the *Terhope* starts communicating, she loses her personal voice and comes out with the exact voice of the dead person.

The Angamis believe that whoever approaches the foot of the rainbow will die or will be killed by the spirit of the rainbow and also children are warned from pointing their fingers at the rainbow lest their fingers fall off. Some of the prophecies among the Angami Nagas are worth mentioning and it is also interesting to note that the Khasis of Meghalaya not only have the same belief but state it in precisely the same words, ‘Men will become as small as chilly plants, eyes will become as big as cotton balls, and ears will become as big as *Zarii* (oval shaped rice cleaning plates).’

The Angamis tell the story of the Man, the Tiger and the Spirit as three brothers. The legend of *Sopfinuo* is an Angami Naga folktale about a woman whose life was tragically cut short on the way back to their native village in *Riisoma*. *Mehoviu* and *Merusa* is a Naga folktale from the times of headhunting. Folkbeliefs, legends, animal tales, trickster tales, and folksongs- all these form an integral part of the Angami folklife.

Chapter IV

Major Angami Naga Folk Exponents and Writers

The beginning of Angami writers can be seen in the early Tenyidie literature of various poets and story tellers. Early folk poetry was in the form of folk songs composed by women poets or sung in groups as songs. Dinuo and the celebration of Nature and her connection with the Creator and the celebration of life and Nature has been the basis of her creative outpourings. Early writings also denote a lot of melancholy, taking us back into the inherent description by colonial administrators of the Angamis as being melancholic; perhaps a tradition of the folklore influences their tales and their music and lore.

Dr. Shürhozelie Liezietsu

Dr. Shürhozelie Liezietsu is one of the most celebrated writers in Angami literature; he has authored more than 40 books on poetry, novels, history, drama, translations, etc. Several of his books are part of the syllabus in Nagaland University and its affiliated colleges. Most of his writings concentrate on Angami culture, traditions, folklore and the Angami way of life or Tenyimia way of life. His work has stressed on the traditional values of the Angamis, studying the Tenyimia people in its compact whole. Traditional practices of the familial relationship of the family, ancestors and the depth of meaning in respecting the lineage one comes from, clans and *Khels* and the impact of these over the societal way of life in Angami communities is found in his seminal works. The relations between the *Razou*- the big village and the *Sonuo*, the smaller neighbouring villages become a talking point for his characters and his essays.

Dr. Duovituo Kuolie

Dr. Duovituo Kuolie is a pioneer in the field of Tenyidie literature in Nagaland. From starting the Department of Tenyidie in the Nagaland University and collecting the largest number of scholarly research dissertation in his department, he has started a challenge which few will be able to fill his shoes. His books on *Tenyimia* folklore and songs, *Tenyimia* culture and mapping of Naga culture are all seminal works where he explores Angami roots and history into the domain of folk traditions, magic, mystery and brilliance that only folk traditions can reveal to its exponent.

Dr. Easterine Kire

Easterine Kire is a poet and author, who currently lives in Northern Norway. The majority of her writings are based in the lived realities of the people in Nagaland in Northeast India. Easterine Kire brings oral narratives of Nagaland to literary life in her collection of stories within stories. Whether it is in her poetry or her collections of stories and folktales, Easterine's connections with her Angami roots, culture and rich traditions cannot be denied.

Vizonyu Liezietsu

An accomplished agriculturist by profession is another interesting writer who writes both in Tenyidie as well as in English touching upon varied agriculture subjects as well as different genres in his published Tenyidie books.

Kekhrievoü Yhome

Born on April 17, 1970 and hailing from Lhisemia Khel, Kohima Village, KekhrievouYhome has to her credit published 12 novels, 95 poems published in Tenyidie in *Ura Dze*, a monthly literary journal of Ura Academy, the premier Angami Literary Academy and 18 poems published in the book of *Tenyiemia Mhaphruo* published by Ura Academy which has been prescribed as Tenyidie textbook for colleges in Nagaland. She has also written three screenplays.

Chapter V

Angami Naga Folkloristics: Major Trends

Like all other tribes, the Angamis observe major festivals coinciding with agricultural work, like sowing, transplanting and harvesting, besides the major ritualistic festival of Sekrenyi.

The tribal world of the Angamis is replete with customs of *genna* and taboo, which are strictly observed in the Angami villages. The various myths of origin, places, villages, that surround the Angami world are rich with imagery and culturally imagined significances. Folkliterature of the Angamis, which consists of folktales, folksongs/folkpoems, numerous legends, ballads, riddles and proverbs from different sources have been studied to understand the major trends of the Angami Folkliterature.

The Angami festival names are suffixed by ‘nyi’ which means ‘feast or celebration: *Sekrenyi*, *Tsakronyi*, *Ngonyi*, *Kerunyi*, *Chiinyi*, *Chandanyi*, *Thegoukhoupfiinyi*, *Binyi*, *Kezienyi* and *Terhiinyi*. Acts of worship have been called as “gennas” because there is no suitable English word which describes them, and the word *Genna* though by derivation from the Angami *Kenyii* signifying ‘forbidden’ has become regularly used for various incidences. First we have *Kenyii* that is forbidden or prohibited. This word is used to sanction on which the prohibition rests. And it is for this reason that the word Taboo has been rather avoided since there is nothing in the Angami word to suggest the reason of the prohibition. *Kenyii* may refer not only to the bridge of the strict rule of religious observance or the bridge of social law. “Nanyii” is an observance where strict ceremonial rites are performed.

Origins of the Angamis and its villages

According to the oral traditions of many Naga tribes, including the Angamis, their ancestors migrated from Yunnan in China. Some claim they were forced to leave during the construction of the Great Wall of China. Having travelled from China through the jungles of Myanmar, the Nagas arrived at Makhel. The Naga tribes pronounce the name in different ways – Makhriffi, Meikhel, Mekroma, Mekharomei, Mekrimi, Makhel, or Makhrhiofu – but there is no dispute over the exact location of the village or its significance. Makhel is a small village near Sajouba, Tadubi village of Senapati district in Manipur on the border of

Nagaland State. But Makhel existed long, long before the existence of Senapati, Manipur, or even India.

Chapter VI

Conclusion

The major findings of the research have been recapitulated chapter-wise in this chapter emphasizing on the need of many further researches in this field to revive the glorious folkloric traditions and enrich the reservoir of folk literature.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Folklore is probably as old as mankind; however, the term 'folklore' is of comparatively recent origin. By the middle of the nineteenth century, Europeans had started a debate on the 'haves' and 'have-nots' under the influence of German socialists. Accordingly and simultaneously the English antiquarian W. J. Thomas coined the word folklore in 1846 with the purpose of looking into the 'have nots' or economically lower classes. In the year 1845, William Thomas, using the name Ambrose Merton, wrote a letter to The Athenaeum in which he proposed that a "good Saxon compound, folklore", be employed in place of such labels as popular antiquities and popular literature. William's conception of folklore and his essentially enumerative definition of folklore include among other things manners, customs, observances, superstitions, ballads, proverbs, and so on of the olden times. Definitions of folklore based upon the folk rather than the lore are more rare but no more satisfactory. There are still some folklorists who mistakenly identify the folk with peasant society or rural groups. If one were to accept this narrow conception of folk, by definition one would have to conclude that city dwellers were not folk and hence city dwellers could have no folklore. An equally fallacious view is that folklore was produced by a folk in the hoary past and the folklore still extant today consists solely of fragmentary survivals. According to this incorrect view, the folk of today produce no folklore; rather, contemporary folk are forgetting more and more folklore, and soon folklore would have died out completely.

People commonly conceive and study folklore in three ways. One way is to regard folklore as individual items that exemplify specific forms- folktale, folksong, folk-speech, or folk art, for instance – and to make these "folklore genres" and examples of them the focus of study. Another approach is to consider folklore study a disciplinary subfield of literature

studies, anthropology, history, linguistics, or psychology, and to study folklore as one studies other things that serve data for that discipline. A third view is that a folklore is the product and possession of certain groups, making these “folk groups” and their traditions the sources and subjects of folklore study.(Dorson 1972:50)

In terms of the history of folkloristics, and from the view point of professional folklorist, folklore can be conceptualised and studied in four ways: (i) Historical Artefact, (ii) Describable and transmissible entity, (iii) Culture, and (iv) Behaviour (ibid). Each of these has its intellectual foundation a set of assumptions about the nature and province of folklore. These assumptions determine what concepts are central to a folklorist’s enquiries and what questions he or she poses and attempts to answer. They also dictate what kinds of investigative and documentation techniques the folklorist uses and how he or she represents and presents folklore to others.

Folklore includes myths, legends, folktales, jokes, proverbs, riddles, chants, charms, blessings, curses, oaths, insults, retorts, taunts, teases, toasts, tongue twisters, and greetings and leave – taking formulas as example. It also includes folk costume, folk dance, folk drama, mimes, folk art, folk belief o superstition, folk medicine, folk instrumental music example: fiddle tunes, folk songs, (example : ballads and lullabies), folk speech, (example: slang), folk similes, (example : as blind as a bat) folk metaphors, (example: to paint the town red), and names, (example: nicknames and place names). Folk Poetry ranges from oral epics to autograph – book verse, epitaphs, latrinalia, e.g. Writings on the walls of public bathrooms, limericks, ball bouncing rhymes, jump – rope rhymes, finger and toe rhymes, dandling rhymes, example: to bounce children on the knee, counting-out rhymes , example: to

determine who will be “it” in games, and nursery rhymes. The list of folklore forms also contains games ; gestures; symbols; prayers; practical jokes; folk etymologies; food recipes; quilt and embroidery designs; house, barn, and fence types; street vendors cries; and even the traditional conventional sounds use to summon animals or to give them commands .

Folklore, to the anthropologist is a part of culture but not the whole of culture. It includes myths, legends, tales, proverbs, riddles, the text of ballads and other songs, and other forms of lesser importance, but not folk art, folk dance, folk music, folk costume, folk medicine, folk custom, or folk belief. All of these are unquestionably worth of study, whether in literate or non-literate societies. All folklore is orally transmitted but not all that is orally transmitted is folklore. Folklore serves to sanction the established beliefs, attitudes, and institutions, both sacred and secular, and it plays a vital role in education in non-literate societies. In addition to its role in transmitting culture from one generation to another, and to providing ready rationalisations when beliefs or attitudes are called into question, folklore is used in some societies to apply social pressure to those who would deviate from the accepted norms.

Folklore is also the study material that is handed down by tradition, either by word of mouth, or by custom and practice. It may be folk songs, folk tales, riddles, proverbs, or other materials preserved in words. It may be traditional tools and physical objects like fences and knots, hot cross buns, or Easter eggs; Traditional ornamentation like the walls of Troy; or traditional symbols like the Swastika. It may be traditional procedures like throwing salt over one’s shoulder or knocking on wood. It may be traditional beliefs like the notion that elder is good for ailments of the eye. All these are folklore.

By characterising cultural and intellectual development in evolutionary terms and demonstrating that folklore can be found not only in Europe and Indo-European – societies, but also among known western and even primitive peoples, researches such as Taylor in the late Nineteenth and Frazer in the early twentieth century, established the face that folklore is universal. The database for folkloristics, their work indicated, cannot be limited to examples of folklore recorded and reported only in certain parts of the world, such as Europe. Instead, it must include data from all cultures and from people of all kinds.

In incorporating examples of folklore from around the globe into the folkloristic database made western researches aware of previously unknown and unacknowledged similarities among human beings. Certain forms of expression – such as riddles, proverbs, rituals, games, and myths – were soon found to be pervasive, and perhaps and even universal. Furthermore, the folklores of peoples everywhere, it soon became apparent, are pervaded by recurrent preoccupations and themes, such as animal-human liaisons; magical acts, objects, and transformations; and interactions between deities and humans; and intercourse between natural and supernatural beings and realms.

Folklore is the traditional art, literature, knowledge, and practice that are disseminated largely through oral communication and behavioural example. Every group with a sense of its own identity shares, as a central part of that identity, folk traditions - the things that people traditionally believe, viz., planting practices, family traditions, and other elements of world view, do, viz., dance, make music, sew clothing; know how to build an irrigation dam, how to nurse an ailment, how to prepare barbecue; make architecture, art, craft, and say personal experience stories, riddles, songs, and lyrics. As these examples indicate, in most instances

there is no hard and fast separation of these categories, whether in everyday life or in folklorist's work. The word folklore names an enormous and deeply significant dimension of culture. Considering how large and complex this subject is, it is no wonder that folklorists define and describe folklore in so many different ways. Try asking dance historians for a definition of dance for instance, or anthropologist, for a definition of culture, no one definition will suffice.

In part, this is also because particular folklorists emphasize particular parts or characteristics of the world of folklore as a result of their own work, their own interest, or the particular audience they are trying to reach. For folklorists, as for the members of any group who share a strong interest, disagreeing with one another is part of the work-and the enjoyment-of the field, and is one the best ways to learn. One of them uses the word "folk life" instead, which American folklorist, following their European colleagues, has used more frequently of late. None of these definitions answer every question by itself, and certainly none of them is the American folklore society's official definition as they do not have one ,but each offers a good place to start.

One thing to note about these definitions and descriptions is that they challenge the notion of folklore as something that is simply "old", "old-fashioned", "exotic", "rural", "peasant", "uneducated", "untrue", or "dying-out". Though folklore connects people to their past, it is a central part of life in the present, and is at the heart of all cultures-including our own-throughout the world. Folklore is many things, and it is almost impossible to define succinctly. It is both what folklorists study and the name of the discipline they work within. Folklore is in general folktales, folksongs and legends. It is also quilts, boy scout badges,

high school marching band initiations, jokes, chain letters, nicknames, holiday food and many other things you might or might not expect. Folklore exist in many kind of informal communication, whether verbal, oral and written texts, customary behaviours, rituals, or material physical objects. It involves values, traditions, ways of thinking and behaving .It is about art. It is about people and the way people learn. It helps us learn who we are and how to make meaning in the world around us.

Folklore as a meta-culture is used to mark certain genres and practices within modern societies as being not modern. By extension, the word refers to the study of such materials. More specific definitions place folklore on the far sight of the various epistemological, aesthetics and technological binary oppositions that distinguish the modern from its presumptive contraries. Folklore therefore typically evokes both repudiation and nostalgia.

Folklore has four basic meanings. First, it denotes oral narration, rituals, crafts, and other forms of vernacular expressive culture. Second, folklore, or folkloristics, names an academic discipline devoted to the study of such phenomena. Third, in every day usage, folklore sometimes describes colourful folkloric phenomena linked to the music, tourist, and fashion industries. Fourth, like myth, folklore can mean falsehood. It is the study of communicative behaviour with an aesthetic, expressive, or stylistic dimension (Ben-Amos 1974:13). No song, no performance, no act of creation can be properly understood apart from the culture or sub-culture in which it is found and of which it is a part, nor should any “work of art” be looked on as a thing in itself apart from the continuum of creation-consumption. Folklore comprises the unrecorded traditions of a people; it includes both the form and content of these traditions and their style or technique of communication from person to person. Folklore is the traditional, unofficial, non-institutional part of culture. It encompasses all

knowledge, understandings, values, attitudes, assumptions, feelings, and beliefs transmitted in traditional forms by word of mouth or by customary examples. Tradition means not some static, immutable force from the past, but those pre-existing culture-specific materials and options that bear upon the performer more heavily than do his or her own personal taste and talents.

We recognize in the use of tradition that such matters as content and style have been for the most part past on but not invented by the performer. Dynamic recognizes, on the other hand, that is the processing of these contents and styles in performance, the artist own unique talents of inventiveness within the tradition are highly valued and expected to operate strongly. Time and space dimensions remind us that the resulting variations may spread geographically with great rapidity as jokes do as well as down through time (good luck beliefs). Folklore is made up of informal expressions passed around long enough to have become recurrent in form and context, but changeable in performance.

Surely no other discipline is more concerned with linking us to the cultural heritage from the past than is folklore, no other discipline is more concerned with revealing interrelationships of different cultural expressions than is folklore, and no other discipline is so concerned with the imperatives of our human existence, that puts folklore study at the very centre of humanistic study. Folklore though coined as recently as 1846, is the old word, the parental concept to the adjective “folk”. Customarily folklorists refer to the host of published definitions, at their own, and then get on with their work, leaving the impression that definitions of folklore are as numberless as insects. But all the definitions bring into dynamic association the ideas of individual creativity and collective order. Folklore is traditional. Its

centre holds. Changes are slow and steady. Folklore is variable and the tradition remains wholly within the control of its practitioners. It is theirs to remember, change, or participation, folklore is that which is at once traditional and variable.

What is folk life? Like Edgar Allen Poe's Purloined Letter, folk life is often hidden in full view, lodged in the various ways we have of discovering and expressing who we are and how we fit into the world. Folk life is reflected in the names we bear from birth, invoking affinities with saints, ancestors, or cultural heroes. Folk life is the secret language of children, the code names of CB operators, and the working slang of watermen and doctors. It is the shaping of everyday experiences in stories swapped around kitchen tables or parables told from pulpits. It is the African-American rhythms embedded in gospel hymns, blue grass music, and hip hop, and the Lakota flutist rendering anew his people's ancient courtship songs. Folk life is the sung parodies of the battle hymn of the republic and the variety of ways there are to preserve string beans, or join two pieces of wood. Folk life is the society welcoming new members at christening, and keeping the dead incorporated on All Saints Day. It is the marking of the Jews New Year at Roshhashanah and the Persian New Year at Noruz. It is the evolution of vaqueros into buckaroos, and riderless horse, it is stirrups backward, in the funeral procession of high military commanders. Folk life is the thundering of fox hunters across the rolling Rappahannock country side and the listening of hill toppers to hounds crying fox in the Tennessee Mountains. It is the twirling of lariats at western rodeos, it is scattered across the landscape in Finnish saunas and Italian vineyards, engraved in the split-rail boundaries of Appalachian "hollers" and the stone fences around Catskill cloves, scrawled on urban streetscapes by graffiti artist, and projected into skylines by the tempering steeples of churches, mosques and temples.

Folk life is community life and values, artfully expressed in myriad forms and interactions. Universal, diverse, and enduring, it enriches the nation and makes us a common wealth of cultures. Conceiving of folklore as cultural phenomena began long before Edward B Taylor defined the word Culture in 1871 as “that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society” (Taylor 1948: 1). Elias Lonnrot who created the Finnish national Epic, the Kalevala from songs and oral poetry used by rural Finns sought to reflect the shared spiritual values and democratic orientations of his people and who single handedly responsible for the emergence of Finland as a country. (*kai laitainen, the kalevela: the Finnish national epic* in Michael Owen Jones (Los Angeles UCLA, Mythology publications) (1987:33).

Those who pioneered folklore studies were also pioneering students of culture and by the time Taylor advanced his seminal definition of culture and much before anthropology identified culture as the central construct of its focus folklorists were conceptualizing examples of folklore as aspects of culture and were closely analyzing the relationships between folklore and other cultural phenomena. In international officialdom also we find an ostentatious interlink between heritage discourse and folklore in the recommendation of the safeguarding of traditional culture and folklore adopted by the general conference at its fifth session in Paris 15 November 1989: “considering that folklore forms part of the universal heritage of humanity and that it is a powerful means of bringing together different people and different groups and of asserting their cultural identity”(Georges & Jones 1995:7). This same document goes on to define folklore and recommend its identification, conservation,

preservation, dissemination and protection and reiterates the position of folklore as part of the universal heritage of humanity.

Richard M Dorson has outlined four broad sectors of folklore-oral literature, material culture, and social folk custom and folk performing art. Oral literature sometimes called verbal or expressive literature is spoken sung and voiced forms of traditional utterances. Traditionally it has also been known as folk literature enshrining myths, legends, tales, animal tales, trickster tales, tall tales, jokes, numbskull tales, etc. Each of these forms has their own subdivisions with their own manifold distinctions. Oral poetry connected with festive occasions, feasts, ceremonies, etc., are also genres falling under this category. Proverbs and riddles are also part of oral literature. However, they are more structured and have set forms.

Material culture is generally called physical folklore. It responds to techniques, skills, recipes and formulas transmitted across the generations and subject to the same forces of conservative tradition and individual variation as verbal art. This aspect of folklore is visual rather than aural. The student of material culture or physical folk life would take up for investigation issues of how people, especially in traditional societies make their clothes, prepare their food, farm and fish, process the earth's bounty, fashion their tools and implements and design their furniture and utensils. Another important area of folklore and folk life studies, very close to material culture, is the field of social folk customs. Of particular importance are the *rites de passage* connected with birth, initiation, marriage and death.

The Fourth and the last sect of folklore and folk life studies may be designated as folk performing arts. This sector primarily concerns traditional music, dance and drama. The knowledge generated in folklore in general and in folk literature in particular is the result of experience of not one individual but of the community or the society at large. We may call it the wisdom of the people or the learning of the community. This is achieved when acceptance of a particular knowledge system, be it herbal medicine traditions, ethnic ecology, myth chanting, agrarian calendar, reckoning through proverbs is gained by the community.

Early Folklore Studies

Interest in what would now be called folklore had, of course, existed long before the subject acquired its modern name. The works of Herodotus, Livy and Pliny contain references to popular beliefs and practices in ancient Greece and Rome. In sixteenth and seventeenth century England, lively descriptions of traditional ceremonies, domestic and communal, occurred quite frequently in books primarily conserved with other matters. Among these may be mentioned Philip Stabbe's *Anatomie of Abuses* (1583), Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621) and H. Hission's *Memoirs and observations in his travels over England*, it was first published in France in 1698 and translated into English by J. Ozell in 1719. The first important work on the general subject of folklore was *Antiquitates Vulgares*, or, *The Antiquities of the common people* (1725) by the British clergyman and antiquary Henry Bourve (1696-1733) which was largely an account of popular customs in connection with religious festivals. In 1777 the British clergyman and Antiquary John Brand

(1748-1806) published observations on the popular antiquities of Great Britain, which became the standard British work on folklore.

In Germany, the philosopher Johann Gottfried Von Herder and philologists Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm did pioneer work in folklore. Herder published a valuable collection of German folksongs in 1778; the Grimm brothers made the collection of folktales *Kinder-und haus – marchen and household stories* (1812-15) and Jacob Grimm compiled *Dentsche Rechtsal Tertomer* (1828) and *Dentsche Mythologie* (1835); it was latter on translated into English under the title of *Teutonic Mythology* (1882-88). The serious study in the domain of folklore began with the dawn of the current century. With the establishment of folklore societies in different parts of the world, scholars began to take interest in the subject and within a short period of its history the subject assumed the status of an independent branch of knowledge.

Definition of Folklore

Debates about how folklore should be defined have been waged continuously ever since the word was coined in 1846 by William Thomas. Most definitions concern the “lore” but some concern the “folk”. Lore- the materials of folklore rather than the people who use the materials, has been described in terms of origin, form, transmission, and function. However, there has been no widespread agreement among folklorists about what folklore is. Mac Edward Leach sees folklore as ‘the accumulated knowledge of homogeneous, unsophisticated people’ (Leach 1967:23). E.S. Martland defines it as anthropology dealing with the

psychological phenomenon of uncivilized. G.W. Boswell defines folklore as the unwritten history of ancient societies preserved in the minds of the people and handed down through ages by the medium of language or practice. In the International Encyclopaedia of social sciences, the term folklore has been defined as under:

Folklore means folk learning; it comprehends all knowledge that is transmitted by word of mouth and all crafts and techniques that are learned by imitation or example as well as products of those crafts. (Leach 1949: 497)

But A. Taylor, an eminent American folklorist has succeeded to a great extent in defining the term folklore. His definition according to Mazharul Islam is the only one which seems more rational than all others, though this also does not cover all points and lacks in many respects. He defines:

Folklore is the material that is handed on by tradition, either by word of mouth or by custom and practice. It may be folk songs, folk tales, riddles, proverbs or other materials preserved in words. It may be traditional tools and physical objects like fences or knots, hot cross buns, or easter eggs; traditional ornamentation like the walls of troy; or traditional symbols like swastika. It may be traditional procedures like throwing salt over one's shoulder or knocking on wood. It may be traditional beliefs like the notion that elder is good for the ailments of the eye. All of these are folklore. (Dundes 1965:34)

After studying the different definitions of folklore, it may be plausible to express that folklore is the creation of civilization, the creation of the people who live in particular geographical area, share the same language, culture, mechanism or livelihood and living conditions, whose way of life and traditional heritage are bound by a common identity. It is transmitted orally or through one written process from one generation to other and from one country to other. It exchanges its position from oral to written traditions with the advancement of knowledge in that society. The knowledge in the folklore is the result of experience, experienced by persons, community or society as a whole. The individual gains knowledge through experience and when experience and knowledge is combined together it voices the same feeling of the society. This feeling gets its expression in the elements of folklore. In other words we may say that the creation of an individual when accepted by the society as its own wealth. It becomes folklore. The elements of folklore are social products. They are created, retained and transmitted by the folk and as such it stands as the true mirror of the people and the society – not dead like a piece of glass but living one.

Folk Literature

Society as an integrated collectively of human beings possess the remarkable property of self-expression. The experiences gained by the community or the society when find spontaneous expression with some degree of aesthetic and artistic skill, it is termed as folk literature. Like creative literature, folk literature too has two broader categories – prose form and poetry form (Leach 1967: 48). Prose literature include folk tales, myths, legends, fairy tales, fables, animal tales, household tales, numbskull tales, ghost stories, anecdotes folk dramas, allusions, proverbs and riddles. The other forms like ballads, songs, lullabies,

rhymes, folk metaphors, parody and poetic sayings come under the category of folk poetry. Folk literature forms an important element of folklore. Out of twenty one definitions of folklore given in the standard dictionary of folklore, eighteen definitions treat entire folklore as folk literature. It has been observed that most part of the folk literature is generally being created and passed on by word of mouth. It has more social commitment than individual creative literature. While creative literature registers overall, the experiences of an individual, folk literature documents the entire society. Being the product of the society, it described the society and the age itself.

The Nagas inhabit part of the extreme Northeast frontier of India. They are Indo-Mongoloid by race and have a tribal society. On the eve of British annexation of the Naga Hills, there were more than 30 Naga tribes who were not under any homogenous political administration. There are approximately 2.8 million plus Nagas inhabiting a contiguous area, and other different administration of Nagaland, Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur and even in Myanmar.

Nagaland is one of the smallest states in India covering 16578 sq. kms, i.e. 0.52% of the country's total geographical area. The state is bounded by Assam in the North and West, by Myanmar and Arunachal Pradesh in the East and Manipur in the South. The total population of the Nagas within Nagaland according to 2011 census is 19,80,602 having 10,25,707 men and 9,54,895 women. There are 16 main tribes (linguistic groups) in Nagaland as recognised by the government. They are- (i) Angami, (ii) Ao, (iii) Sema, (iv) Lotha, (v) Chakhesang, (vi) Rengma, (vii) Zeliang, (viii) Konyak, (ix) Chang, (x) Phom, (xi) Sangtam, (xii) Khiamnuingan, (xiii) Yimchunger, (xiv) Pochury, (xv) Kuki, and (xvi) Kachari.

The concentration of various tribes is roughly distributed in the various districts as follows: (i) Kohima district is the home of the Angamis, Rengma, Zeliang, and some other minor groups, (ii) Phek district is the home of the Chakesang and Pochury, (iii) Mokokchung district is the home of the Aos, (iv) Wokha district is the home of the Lothas, (v) Zunheboto district is of the Semas, (vi) Tuensang district is the home of the Changs, Phoms, Sangtams, Khiamnuingans, and Yimchungers, (vii) Mon district is the home of the Konyaks, (viii) Peren district is of the Zeliangs, (ix) Longleng district is of the Phom, (x) Kiphire district is of the Sangtams, (xi) Noklak district is the home of the Khiamnuingan, Tikhir and (xii) Dimapur district is a cosmopolitan town and is the home of all the Naga tribes.

The various Naga tribes were not traditionally known as Nagas, but each tribe had its own vernacular term for itself and its immediate neighbours. The name Naga was given to them by outsiders and its original meaning is traced to varied sources none of which may be accepted to the exclusion of the other. Up to the ninetieth century, all the Naga tribes practised head-hunting and this had created isolation and polyglot community. The Naga languages were classified by an American Philologist as belonging to the Burmic and Baric divisions of the Sino-Tibetan tongues, which are highly tonal (Elwin 1944:12). Scientific analysis of the languages shows that the Nagas might have migrated to their present habitat either from North Western China or South-east Asian countries. The local traditions of several Naga tribes also claim to have a common ancestral home, the place being the present Khezhakenoma in Chakhesang area and this point to a South-east Asian country and migration from the said region.

Oral literature of the Angami Nagas begins with the orally transmitted myths, legends, tales, lyrics and taboos of the Angami people of Nagaland. There was no written language amongst the Nagas, which consisted of sixteen major tribes and some sub-tribes and 50 odd different languages that existed at that point of time, of which the Angamis are one of the major tribe. Each of these tribes was different from one another in every aspect, except the practice of head-hunting, which was prevalent in all the tribes. Examples of almost every genre can be found in the Angami Naga folklores, viz., lyrics, chants, myths, riddles, proverbs, fairytales, genna, superstitions, supernatural elements and accounts of migration and ancestors abound. Had history taken a different turn, the Angami Nagas, more importantly the Nagas or Nagaland would be a free country.

The Angami Nagas first contact with the outside world, particularly the Britishers began in the 1840s. It took nearly four decades for the British Empire to occupy the Angami country with the appointment of G.H. Damant as political officer in 1879. After that, waves and waves of humanity in the form of military personals, both Indian army and the British Imperial army started coming to the Angami country, and with that, began, the Angami Nagas interaction with the outside world in the form of wars and letters written to and fro.

With the passage of time, the Angami Nagas were exposed to religion, particularly the American Baptist missionaries and later the Catholic missionaries. But the arrival of these missionaries did more harm than good, because, the populace, more importantly, the converts were forbidden to practice most of their age-old customs, as a result there was a time, when the importance of not only folkloristics, but other cultural phenomena was lost. Having said that, the most important factor which kept the identity of the Angami Nagas was the *Morungs*

(Bachelors dormitory), because inside these *morungs*, young boys were taught about every genre, that is available in the Angami Naga folklore.

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CHAPTER II

THE ANGAMI NAGAS: A HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Angamis live mainly in the central and northern part of Kohima district which is the capital of Nagaland. Some of them have also settled in Dimapur district. Of all the tribes inhabiting Nagaland, the Angamis occupy the most extensive area. The Angami inhabited area is bordered by the tribes like Zeliangs, Rengmas, Chakhesang and Maos (Manipur). They are divided into more than 96 villages; each village has a slightly different dialect of its own. However, they have a common language called Tenyidie which is understood by every Angami. The villages are situated mostly in the sloppy hills at an elevation of about 500 feet and the people enjoy healthy climate subject to neither too hot nor too cold.

The arrival of the British government marked the creation of the Angami inhabited area into four divisions. This was done for the purpose of effective administration and the same arrangement, though bearing different names continue till date. Located in the North-Eastern part of India, Nagaland evokes a sense of awe and mystery among the people at the mere mention of its name. Topographically, Nagaland is mostly a hilly region; the total area of the state is about 16,527 sq km, with a population of about 1.9 million. The land boasts of high peaks and beautiful landscapes strewn with exquisite flora and sparkling serpentine rivers. The Angami Nagas' territory in the present day Nagaland, comprises of Kohima and Dimapur district, which is again divided into four regions, namely, Northern Angami,

Southern Angami, Western Angami and *Chakhro* Angami. Very often earlier writers have added Eastern Angamis to the present tribe, but this group formed a separate tribe which came to be known as Chakhesang (a combination of 3 sub-tribes- Chokri, Khezha and Sangtam) in 1946 and ever since they are counted as a distinct tribe.

The history of the Angami Nagas has been handed down through the generations through oral tradition. It is believed that they migrated from South-east Asia to the present settlement probably in search of land which can be utilised for terraced cultivation. Their ways of life depict close affinities with the Igorots of Philippines in regard to terraced cultivation, while the practice of head- hunting might have something in common with the Dyaks of Borneo. (Alemchiba 1970:12)

The Angamis are known to themselves as Tenyimia and some people believe that the name is derived from Tuonyiimia which means the ‘swift walker’. According to their oral tradition the epithet of Tuonyiimia was given to him (the Angami) because he was always walking ahead of his two brothers who were most probably, Sema and Lotha. This story is likely to have stemmed from their migration days. Their tradition suggests that they might have migrated through Burma and settled for a while at Khezhakenoma which is a village in Chakhesang area, adjacent to Manipur border. From there they moved towards Kohima, the present location.

The Sema, another major tribe was originally known as Siemie which means ‘lagging behind in walking’ and so the Lotha who went ahead and the name ‘Lota’ was given which means ‘who have gone far away’ (Alemchiba 1970:9.). Again their one time close association is also reflected by the fact that they do have some linguistic similarities. B.B.Ghosh gives a comparison of such similar terms in the following (Ghosh 1983: 16):

<u>English</u>	<u>Angami</u>	<u>Sema</u>	<u>Lotha</u>
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Father	Apuo	Apu	Apa
Mother	Azuo	Azo	Ami
Fire	Mi	Ami	Omi
House	Ki	Aki	Oki

The term Tenyimia has a wide coverage which does not merely cover the Angamis alone but it includes several other tribes such as Zeliang, Chakhesang, Rengma and Mao. Now the question arises as to how a particular section of the Tenymia came to be known as the Angamis. The term was conferred on them by the British and prior to that there was no such name as Angami (Hutton 1969:16). In the pre-colonial period, the Angamis, particularly the people of Khonoma used to suppress their neighbouring tribes particularly the Zeliang Nagas by imposing heavy taxes and sometimes they were even being looted. Writing in 1921, Hutton realises this fact when he states that it is very difficult to understand the traditional customs of the Kacha Nagas (Zeliang) as a result of their domination by the people of Khonoma (Hutton 1969:16). It could be because of this unacceptable behaviour that the Zeliang people began to brand them as “Hangamai” which simply means “Thieves” (*Khonoma Diamond Jubilee Booklet* 1972:1). Moreover, the Angamis used to carry out frequent raids on the plains of Assam. Therefore, the British must have decided to punish these particular raiders and they were trying to find out their identity from the Zeliangs who were their immediate neighbours. But it seems the Zeliangs did not give them any details but simply called them as “Hangamai” (Hutton 1969:14). In the events that followed, the Angamis particularly the village of Khonoma rendered the greatest opposition to the British occupation of the Naga Hills. Thus it may be quite possible that the Britishers must have

called this particular group with related dialects of Khonoma people as the Angamis which is a broken/ deviated form of Hangamai. Hutton suggests that the word Angami derived its origin from *gnamei*, a term which was used by the Manipuris to designate the Tenyimia (Hutton 1969:14). But the term does not hold any good simply because it fails to give any tangible meaning. Again, the Maos living in Manipur used to call the Angamis as *ngamai* which means “Perfect” which led to some people to believe that the word Angami may be a broken form of *Ngamai*. (Shiirhozelie 1972:23)

Alemchiba holds the view that amongst the Nagas, the Angamis belong to the first wave of immigrants who entered the Naga Hills which also includes the Rengmas, Maos, Semas and Lothas (1970:12). Oral tradition too seems to support this claim. The Khezhakeno village claims blood relations with the Semas and the Lothas. According to this story, many generations ago there was an old couple who lived in Khezhakeno village with their three sons. It is said that every day they used to spread paddy to dry on a flat stone. This stone was believed to have some magical properties and by evening the amount was doubled. The three sons used to take turns drying their paddy on this stone but one day they started quarrelling over it and fearing bloodshed their parents set the stone on fire which led to the departure of the spirit. As a result, the magical properties of that stone also disappeared. The three sons then separated and became the four fathers of the Angamis, Semas and Lothas. The close relation of these three tribes is also indicated by their similarity of legends though they differ in details.

Again, the Angamis affinity with the Maos is shown by the fact that as late as 1920s most Angami priests waited for the Maos to give the word before appointing the day for the celebration for any important festivals. The Angami tradition also points out that they have some kin relationship with the Karens of Myanmar who are known as *Kerenoma* in Angami (Hutton 1969:7). Local tradition relates of a split that took place between their ancestors and

other tribes called *Kerenomia*. However, the place as well as the cause of splitting is not known to them. There is a clan known as *Kerenomia* in the Angami village at Meriema which is believed to be a branch of Karens of Myanmar. B.B. Ghosh also maintains that some Karens are still found living near Brahmaputra and Sibsagar of Assam. (Ghosh 1983:14)

Morung as a social institution

The *Morung* was a key institution in Naga society of the past. It was a kind of youth dormitory, a large building decorated with elaborated carvings. But its functions went far beyond providing separate shelters for adolescence boys and girls who lived and slept in it until marriage. It was also used as a guard house during times of war when warriors stayed in it. That was why the *Morung* was built next to the village gate or at the strategically most adventurous place. But most important is that it was in the *Morung* that traditional knowledge, skills and customs were transmitted from generations to generations. *Morung* was an institution to save children from witnessing the primal scene and from being an embarrassment to their parent. Haimendorf was of the view that, the *Morung* belongs together with the log drum, the oldest cultural stratum of the Naga hills. *Morung* plays a vital role in the Naga society in the form of social, cultural, religious and educational sphere (Anand 1967:91).

One of the most important features of the social structure of the Angamis is the institution of *Morung*. Though many writers have failed to comprehend the actual role it plays in the life of the Angamis. Even Hutton has failed to assess its worth when he says that the institution of the Angami- *Morung* is insignificant on the contrary, *Morung* plays a very important role in the society. Various names for this institution are given by different authors like male club, men's hall, public school, bachelor's dormitory and so on. However, the

Angamis have their own term *Thehu* which means a meeting house and not *Kichiiki* (a sleeping place) as it is commonly referred to. But in reality it is much more than a place for meeting. In fact, most of the village activities revolve around the male dormitory. The number of *Thehu* varies depending upon the size of the village. In a small Angami village there may be a single *Morung* which is generally constructed by the whole community and it usually stand in the middle of the village.

Sometimes this *Morung* may also be attached to the house of a renowned person. Attaching to the house of the *Morung* is an extended room which serves as a sleeping place for the young boys. However, in a big village, each major clan may have its own *Morung*. In Khonoma village, for instance, all the three major clans have their own respective *Morungs*. As for the entry to the dormitory, the boys who are fit for manual work, can join as regular members who are to be taught and disciplined by their elders. Thus, next to the family, this dormitory system can be called as the most important institution of the village. In this regard Prakash Singh says, “It was in these dormitories or club-houses that younger generation of the village was reared to manhood in the traditions of those particular tribes” (Singh 35). Again, Chattopadhyaya has this to say: “It is here that the foundation of each generation are laid, moulded and built up. The growing youth is taught the meaning and significance of traditions, told of the valour and the heroic deeds of the earlier generations and that it is in the glory of the past that the seeds of the future have to sprout”.(Chattopadhyaya1978:83).

Functions of the *Morung*:

The young boys sit around the fire in the dormitory during the morning hours and in the evening on ordinary working days, but they usually spend their whole time on a feasting day, filling their bamboo or mithun-horn mugs with *zu* (Angami beer) and talk about the season, crops, domestic affairs, adventures in the plains, recounting hunting trips, and village politics.

Morung is also an institution for the young boys to learn about their traditions, legends and heroic deeds of their fore-fathers. They learn about the dos and donots of their society and also render service to their community. Baskets of various designs, indigenous musical instruments, wooden utensils and the like are important arts learnt here. They learn the art of living, the secrets of adulthood, civic duties and social responsibilities. They were taught the art and techniques of war and fighting. They also learn how to use a spear, machete and a shield in a battle. Announcement of an important event, a meeting, death or even a danger are given through this institution.

Again if there is a *genna* (a custom that does not allow people to work) on a particular day, the message is related from *Morung* to *Morung* by a man yelling at the top of his voice. During the festivals when people stop working to celebrate a special event, a wide range of sporting activities like high jump, long jump, shot put and wrestling are held in the yard at the front of the *Morung*. It may be mentioned here that wrestling is the most popular sport of the Angamis. This is done by enclosing one's hands around the back of the opponent and applying clever tricks so as to fall him flat on the ground. It is a great test of stamina needing great skills and energy. So a young wrestler intending to participate in the inter-*Morung* wrestling competition would prepare himself for at least several months in advance by

consuming choice-foods such as fowl and piglet to strengthen his stamina. A star wrestler is looked upon as a real gem of the community, not forgetting the pride of his father.

Rules of the *Morung*:

The account of *Morung* in any case would be incomplete without dropping a hint of its strict rules which maintain the prestige of the dormitory. These rules are called *Thehu-mhosho* in Angami. A *thehu*-maxim goes that, “a son of the *thehu* never gets spoiled” (Zetsuvi 2014:30). On the other hand, one who does not pay much heed to the advice of the *thehu*-elders is branded as *thenu-zhiekku* (hen-pecked man).

Whenever the members assembled at the *thehu*, they lit a fire and sat around as a rule. For that purpose, huge stacks of firewood is stored at the backyard of the *thehu*. Collecting firewood is the exclusive duty of its young members and it is a great shame on their part if it is found out that there is no firewood to be burnt. A junior member cannot refuse when an elder sends him on an errand as it is bound by duty to pay respect to their elder. While discussing something serious in the *thehu*, a murder case, for instance, then an elder by virtue of his age, has to be given the first opportunity to express his opinion and it is quite an offence for a young member to overtake his elders no matter how clever and intelligent he may be. The advice of an elder is always given due importance.

Moreover, there is always a competitive spirit among the different *thehu* in the village. That is, all the *thehu* in the village try to be the first in lighting the fire at dawn because the villagers will discover who gets up earliest in the morning. Again, when there is village social work, every member of the different *thehu* to not be outdone, tries very hard to do the heaviest and hardest task. When there is a disaster, say, a house being gutted by fire the whole village will join hands in rebuilding the house and at such a time the fire victim will not seek any help because it is the accepted norm that their fellow villagers are under social obligation to help them. The *mechii* (whole community) will go to the jungle and cut his posts and other building materials. On such an occasion, different *morungs* usually have a competition to render maximum help to the victims.

Restrictions in the *Morung*:

Even though there is no class distinction as such in the Angami society, yet women do not enjoy the same status as that of their male counterparts. It is a taboo for women to enter into the male dormitory because there is a traditional belief that by doing so bad luck may occur to the males. Misfortunes may come in the form of failure in hunting-expeditions or suffering casualties in the event of a fighting. The *Morung* gives shelter especially to those people who are chased or attacked. Such a culprit takes refuge in the *Morung* as he is safe so long as he remains under its roof until the village elders review his case and settle it. Beatings and fighting are not permitted within the *Morung*.

Girls' Dormitory

Girls too have their own dormitory. A young girl particularly after reaching puberty, go to sleep with her respective peer-group in an attached room which belongs to a reliable and hardworking woman. This particular house is known as *Kichuki* which means a sleeping place. After a whole day's work the girls get together at the maiden dormitory right after their dinner at night. Here they stay late at night and make various handcraft items to give in exchange for gifts from their lovers. This particular institution is also a place where they receive and entertain their lovers. Apart from their parents' instructions the girls learn how to sing folk songs and folktales. They also learn about the religious practices and also various other important roles. Every Angami girl continues to be part of her dormitory till she leaves this house after marriage.

Decline of the *Morung*

The Angami Nagas were purely animist worshippers. It was the coming of the British and the Christian missionaries that turned their society upside down. There were many changes and development that the British brought to the Naga Hills. One of the most significant was the spread of Christianity. Once Christianity spread, missionaries began to implement principles strictly. The candidates for baptism were required to know the doctrines and were not allowed to participate in any heathen rituals nor were they allowed to consume locally made brews. Moreover, the new converts were not allowed to stay in the *Morung*. The *Morung* which was the core of the Naga society was slowly losing its importance with the coming of Christianity. All the traditional rituals, customs and sacrifices were abolished from

the society and the *Morung* slowly faded from the Naga society. Thus the *Morung*, which was once the core of the society swiftly vanished and now only traces can be marked and studied as it still remains a part of the Angami Naga culture and history

Today, the *Morung* is not the same as it was before and it is as good as gone. One reason for its decline is the influence of Christianity which has brought about a new concept of belief from that of their traditional belief. To quote Chattopadhyaya's argument, "It was inevitable that the morung should incur the condemnation of the Baptist mission which put a ban on it as a heathen institution without trying to understand its social implication". (Chattopadhyaya 1978: 83)

V.V.Rao gives two reasons for the decline of the *Morung* in the Naga Hills. Firstly, head-hunting was banned and secondly, hostilities amongst tribes have come to a stop. He also goes on to say that *Morung* has almost ceased in Naga Hills (Rao 1976:136). It is true that *Morung* today mostly exists in physical form without its associated roles and functions. One can say that *Morung* exists even today but in actuality it does not exist but the values and virtues which *Morung* taught is still existent though it has lost its rigidity. V.K.Anand has summarised the *Morung* as, "the club, the public school, the military training centre, the hostel for the boys and a meeting place of the village elders". (Anand 1967:91)

Language:

All the languages, dialects spoken in the state of Nagaland have been classified under Nagaland group of Assam-Burmese branch of Tibeto-Burma sub-family of Tibeto-Chinese

family of languages (Konow Sten 1909 in G.A.Grierson. ed. *Linguistics Survey of India* (Vol.iii part ii.). Shafer Robert (1955:94-111) objected to Konow's classification and said, "one of the major points on which Konow's classification errs is in setting up a Naga group. The Naga languages are all Kukish except the North Eastern-most, which is baric "shafer place Tenyidie (Angami) under Eastern branch of Kukish section of Burmic division of Sino-Tibetan family. Benedict Paul. K. (1972) identified seven primary divisions of nuclei and placed Naga languages under his Kuki-Naga (Kukish), perhaps also Mikir, Meithei and Mru. Benedict pleaded that no sharp distinction between Kuki and Naga can be maintained as was done by Konow, recognizing separate Naga group. Benedict further sub-classified Naga languages into Northern Naga (Ao, Lotha, etc).and Southern Naga including Angami, Sema and Rengma. He has rightly pointed out the close relatedness of these languages but the larger question of relatedness with the Tibeto Burmic languages remains to be established. The classification of Tibeto-Burma languages is a debated question due to the paucity of descriptive and authentic data on many languages spoken in this area. Many scholars have admitted this fact. The exact classification and sub-grouping of Naga languages lie outside the scope of present study. An attempt has been made to provide a detailed linguistic description of one of the major languages of Northern Naga group, known under the traditional name as Tenyidie. This is actually the traditional local name for Angami Naga language as well.

Although Nagaland is a small state within Indian union, yet it has many languages and dialects. Linguistic and ethnic diversity is the hallmark of Nagaland where even each village is said to have its own dialect and clan name. The district of Kohima and Dimapur are dominated by Anagmi, Rengma and Zelianrong communities, Phek district is dominated by the Chakesangs, Wokha district is dominated by the Lotha, the Sema tribe dominates

Zunheboto district, Ao dominates Mokokchung district, Tuengsang is dominated by the Changs, Phom, Yimchunger and Khamniungan and lastly, Mon district is dominated by the Konyak tribe. The language of each tribe is called after the tribe's name, except Tenyidie. Among all the Naga languages, the language of the Sema is very close to Tenyidie.

English is the official language of the state. A pidgin of Assamese language called Nagamese is also popularly spoken in almost all towns, commercial centres and major villages in the state. This serves a kind of lingua-franca in the state. However, there is no promotional propagation for Nagamese by native intellectuals as well as the rural inhabitants. M.V. Sreedhar (1974) studied it under the name Naga pidgin. (Sreedhar 1974)

Tenyidie, pronounce as [téñĩdīE] was the traditional name for the language spoken by Tenyimia group of the Nagas. Tenyimia group includes Angami, Chakhesang, Rengma, Zeliangrong, Mao, Poumai, Memai and Pochury. Although all these ethnic groups at times maintain their own identity yet they all share and trace their origin from the common source. We also find in various records that some of these names like Angami, Mao, Memai etc. are enlisted both as the group of people and the language names as such. Now Tenyidie, being a written language is acquiring wider acceptability among all these ethnic groups. Tenyidie is the largest group of people in Nagaland who share the same language and identity for all their communicative needs. At times we also find that some of the other sub-ethnic groups like Chokri who have their own dialect cannot understand their neighbouring dialect like Khezha and Pochury. In such a situation for church services they adopt Tenyidie, which they learn as a second language.

Tenyimia group of the Nagas covers the districts of Kohima, Dimapur and Phek in Nagaland and Senapati and Tamenglong districts of Manipur state. It also extends to some portion of Cachar district of Assam adjoining the Tamenglong district of Manipur. A geographical map of Tenyimia area is being demarcated for topographical identification. Tenyimia group comprises of Naga tribes, presently called the Angamis, the Chakhesangs, the Pochurys, the Rengmas, the Zeliangrongs in Nagaland and the Maos, the Poumais, and the Memais in Manipur. Historically, the terms *Tenyimia* and *Tenyidie* are both traditional and have a common knowledge of ancestral root to all these tribes. Both the terms are derived from the common cognate *Tenyiu* (the name of one of the earliest settlers' descendant) whose descendants were called *Tenyimia* and the language in which they communicate to each other is called *Tenyidie*. In other words, *Tenyidie* means the language of *Tenyimia* community. Like any other living languages of the world, *Tenyidie* has wide dialectal variations. Other Naga languages are the languages of Ao, Sema, Lotha, Konyak, Chang, Phom, Sangtam, Khamniungan and Yimchunger.

The term Angami language was used till 1970. Its original name *Tenyidie* was recalled because of the traditional, historical and other cultural sources and its continuity of popular usage by the community. Moreover, the term 'Angami' is an arbitrary coinage that carries no meaning. It was a coined word labelled by the early British administrators, probably sometime in the mid-nineteenth century. Although this name is still in use for administrative conveniences and identity of a smaller group-the Angami tribe –the term is no more used as before in *Tenyidie* literature-to equate with *Tenyimia*. It was in the late 1960s that scholars from all *Tenyimia* community came together to deliberate upon the issue and resolved to revive the ancestral term *Tenyimia*. The Angami Literature Committee instituted by Rev. J. E. Tanquist (1913-1947) was thus, expanded and its nomenclature to URA Academy,

established in 1971, to promote, not only Tenyidie literature but also other aspects of life of Tenyimia community through academic study. The institutionalization of URA Academy was made by the assembly of elders of all tribes (presently called the Angami, Chakesang, Rengma, Zeliangrong, Mao, and Poumai). Once this language was put in written records it acquired the form of a standard language in due course of time. It is now being used as the language of radio, education in schools and even at the university level.

To substantiate the evolution of Tenyidie as stated, the record of early British administrators may be referred to. In the record of Sir Robert Reid's 'history of the frontier areas bordering on Assam 1883-1941', it goes as:

Thus Lieutenant G.F.F.Vincent, acting Junior Assistant Commissioner on special duty, Angami Naga hills' writing to his principal Assistant Commissioner at Nowgoan, Capt. John Butler, on the 10th September 1850, describes how he was surprised to find, "the people called by us 'Angamees Nagas' were totally ignorant of the signification of the term and how he learnt that this was a term given by the cacharees of all independent Nagas signifying in their language, "unconquered". This is repeated in 1873 by the great authority Captain Butler, in the long extract regarding the Naga tribes. (Mackenzie 1873)

Dialectal Variation

Since Tenyidie is spoken by a number of ethnic groups over a wide geographical area, the dialectal variations are but natural. Basing on mutual intelligibility, dialectal areas can be demarcated as the following (Kuolie 2006:5):

1. Angami
 - (i) Northern Angami,
 - (ii) Central Angami,
 - (iii) Southern Angami,
 - (iv) Western Angami
2. Chakhesang
 - (i) Chokri,
 - (ii) Khezha,
 - (iii) Pochury
3. Rengma
 - (i) Upper Rengma,
 - (ii) Lower Rengma
4. Zeliangrong
 - (i) Zeme,
 - (ii) Liangmai,
 - (iii) Rongmei
5. Mao/ Maram
 - (i) Mao
 - (ii) Poumai
 - (iii) Memei
 - (iv) Sopus Maram.

Beginning of Literature Age

Nagas have no script of their own and therefore there was no written literature of any form. Till later half of the 19th century, there was no literary activity. The Nagas have rich tradition of folk literature. It contains folksongs, folk-tales, proverbs, myths and jokes, a

mixture of humour and myth. According to such oral literature, God had given script to both people of the plain and the hills. The given script to the plain people was the one written on the stone that it was permanent. The plain people had learnt it and preserved throughout the ages. On the other hand, the script that was given to the people of the hill was written on animal skin. Since the hill people moved on from one place to another in search of better land for settlement, the father of the family kept the scroll in a bag. One day, while the family was in the field, their pet dog had taken it to somewhere and ate it. The script was, thus lost forever and no one could learn it. According to another version, the father of the family kept the scroll in the bag and placed somewhere in the corner of the house. One day when he was out, his children felt hungry and they took about the scroll, supposed to be a dry animal skin, burnt it in the fire and ate it up. The script was, therefore, lost forever.

The growth of literary activity was very slow in the first half of the twentieth century, as mentioned earlier, the teaching of Tenyidie began by Dr. Rivenberg, in 1890s. However, due to the lack of other reading text or written literature, there was not much progress in promoting the status of Tenyidie, despite its continuity in academic teaching from pre-primary level to elementary level in all Tenyimia areas in Nagaland. It was only in 1963 that the Board of Secondary Education, Assam recognized Tenyidie as one of the modern Indian languages (MIL). Following the recognition the students were taught at high school level and students were allowed to appear in the High School Leaving Certificate examination. In 1988, the North Eastern Hill University (NEHU) introduced Tenyidie as a Modern Indian Language (MIL) in pre-university course followed by undergraduate course, both as MIL and elective subject in 1990. Tenyidie was further introduced at B.A. (Honors) level in 1994. In 1997, Nagaland University introduced Tenyidie department for imparting a two-year post-graduate course study in Tenyide Language and Literature. By now, M. Phil. and doctoral

degree programmes have also been introduced. So far, Tenyidie is the only language among various Naga languages, taught at various levels of study including under graduate and post-graduate degree courses and research programmes.

Tenyidie is a very resourceful medium of communication among Tenyimia people both in metropolitan cities and villages. The contribution of All India Radio, Kohima in daily news broadcasting in Tenyidie serves about 75% of Tenyimia community, and it is a helpful source of media to the rural listeners in particular. Besides, there are several print media daily newspapers. *Ura Dze*, a monthly publication of Ura Academy, is the most popular literary journal of Tenyidie. There are more than a dozen other journals in Tenyidie that cater to the need of the people. In print media, daily newspapers such as *Capi* and *Ralha* are popular among the people as a means of daily news. Other well known biblical monthly literary and religious journals are the *Angami Mission Dielie*, *Manna*, *Khedi Dieyie* and others.

Problems in Writing Tenyidie:

Tenyidie is written in Roman script for more than 100 years. It is being taught from primary schools to the university level. Tenyidie is a tone language having five distinctions. But the present writing system has no symbols or diacritic marks to represent tone. Tones are not only important for lexical distinctions but some grammatical distinctions are also made by tones only. Difficulties in writing are faced by the literary writers, teachers, students, and readers as well as some linguists have attempted to do research work on Tenyidie, however, the problem of tonal representation remain.

The structure of Tenyidie has shown a highly agglutinative nature, no scholar has so attempted the problem of morphological complexities of Tenyidie in detail so as to exemplify Tenyidie morphological structure. The various processes of word formations are discussed in its morphological section.

Angami Society:

The Angami village is invariably built either on the summit of a hill, on a high saddle, or perhaps more frequently on a ridge of some spur running down from a high range. This site, though generally in a position highly defensible if not impregnable from the point of view of Naga warfare, has not been chosen with knowledge of the weapon of civilization, and could usually be easily commanded by fire arms from adjoining peaks or ridge. For the above reasons they generally establish their habitation on the hill-tops, below which rivers flow on either sides. There is no sanitary system in a village but hill-tops settlements saves the problem by natural flow and hilly people are generally found healthy and strong.

The village is a compact community and the limit of habitation is marked with stone-walls and gates. The gates serve not only as a line of demarcation but also for the purpose of defence. The gateway is closed by massive wooden door which is hewn out of a huge single tree trunk and during those days it was shut at night to prevent the sudden attack of the enemies. The door is often decorated with carvings of human heads and animals which represent captured enemy- heads and the skulls of animals sacrificed after a raid. The door is closed from inside in such a way that it can be well barricaded in case of an attack. Although the gates practically serve no purpose at the present time, yet they retain certain rituals especially during *gennas*.

The paths leading to the village are well laid with chiselled- stone steps which are annually cleared during *Chadanyi* (road-clearing festival) in September by the side of the road, one finds rest-houses, resting –seats made of stones, bathing places and also stone-made graves. A village is usually surrounded by the terraced and *jhum* fields which are picturesquely studded all over the hill sides and valleys.

In a village, houses are constructed on levelled surface and their sizes and designs depend more on the availability of land rather than the layout of the buildings. An Angami house normally faces east to get sunrise. The typical Angami house is made of thatch, bamboo, wormwood and timber which are fastened with cane and bamboo thongs. The thatch of the building are thickly padded together and a house lasts for five to seven years. The decorations on the front and the gable are put according to the social status of the owner. The carvings on the front are similar to the gate's decorations. Two large planks are placed from the eaves reaching the gable where they converge and give a horn-structure to the house which is known as *kikie* (house-horn). This privilege of designing in such a manner is given to only to a section of the people who have performed certain socio-religious activities. Now a days there are various designs modern concrete houses built on the hills both in towns and villages. But in concrete also many traditional patterns have been built.

Generally a house has two doors, a window and four rooms. In the verandah, stacks of wood are kept. The next room which is quite spacious is meant for storing paddy in huge baskets each of which holds approximately fifteen-twenty maunds of paddy. They are lined

on either side along the wall, parallel to the front wall is a massive wooden pounding mound with three or four deep holes for pounding paddy. It also serves as a common room for all the cows, pigs, dogs, chickens that they kept as their pets. The next inner room serves both as the hearth and the bedroom. The last room is usually very small where liquor vats are stored.

An Angami house is quite untidy especially because the cattle are kept inside in certain seasons. However, some villages have separate sheds for cattle away from the village site. The village well or spring water are usually found within walking distance and the women fetch water early in the morning by carrying pitchers in V-shaped baskets.

Clan System:

During the pre-colonial period, a village was an independent unit in itself. It was with the advent of the British that the various Angami villages had been identified as a tribal village and prior to that, there was no such name as an Angami tribe. Although there existed some kind of confederacy among the so-called Tenyimia, in reality, each Angami village was an independent unit. Again, a village was far from being a united community. In this connection A.W. Davis has observed that, “the unit of Naga society is not the village, but the ‘Khel’ called by the Angamis themselves ‘*Tepfii*’ or ‘*Thino*’” (Davis 1969:548). Within the village, it is obligatory for an Angami to offer his loyalty and identity himself with his own clan. This is natural in the light of the fact that he has descended from his clan and lived in the clan settlement with its well-marked boundaries. So he belongs to that particular society and political set-up of the clan. So distinct in this clan identity that a clan almost acts like a

village within the village. Besides having a strong alliance towards its clan, each clan takes pride of its ancestral heritage and there is always intense competition between the clans in a village. Thus, the villages are sharply divided along this clan lines. In those olden times, there were cases of fierce rivalry and jealousy among the various clans of a village which often culminated into grim riots and fights which continued for years. Likewise, raids were directed upon a particular clan of another village. Thus, when a particular clan from a village was fighting with another clan, then the other clan members generally remained neutral. This was clearly observed by Mr. Carnegie, the political officer in the Naga Hills where he gave a report dated 12th September 1876, which ran as follows:

In the middle of July a party of 40 men of Mezema went over to Kohima, and was admitted by one of the Khels friendly to them, living next to the Pachatsuma quarter, into which they passed and killed all they could find, viz., 1 man, 5 women and 20 young children. The people of other Khels made no effort to interfere, but stood looking on. One of the onlookers told me that he never saw such fine sports (i.e. the killing of the children) for it was just like killing fowls. (Davis 1969:548)

The relationship of the different clans which might appear friendly and cordial was actually lacked warmth and closeness. The clan feeling was reinforced by a more or less permanent confrontational relationship among the various clans of a village. The clan allegiance was an even to a great extent at present is such that in case a man commits a murder who belongs to another clan or even causes an accidental death, then not only the culprits' immediate family but his whole clan is endangered. Retaliation usually falls upon the culprit, but in case he is not traced out, then his relatives and clan members usually face the brunt of attack.

Whenever an important question demanding a collective action such as construction of a bridge, pulling a clan-gate or a land dispute with another clan arises, then a clan meeting is arranged to discuss the issue. There are also social events like particular clan hosting a feast with a friendly clan from another village called *Kekinyi* which creates closer ties with each other. In the past, there were many cases of these friendly clans from different villages who helped one another in fighting against its enemy.

The Angami Family

The Angamis do not favour joint-family system except in some rare cases where, for instance, a physically challenged person who cannot support himself, has to be attached with his family to look after him. When a son gets married, he has to leave his father's house and start a new family by building a house of his own where he becomes the head of the family. The Angamis favour big family and so children are considered to be the wealth of a family. A man with a good number of children is considered as very fortunate. A child is taught to be independent and self-reliant from his early childhood. A lazy boy or girl will often be disciplined by rod. He is taught of his own respective roles that he has to accomplish when he grows up. A girl, for instance, is trained to perform the household chores as almost efficient as a woman is expected. She too has to render certain religious ceremonies as a virgin is demanded. On the other hand, a boy has to learn the art of trapping animals, birds and hunting methods from early age. Moreover, he has to be equipped with the technique of warfare for the defence of the village. A boy has more to play in the religious ceremonies than a girl. He is needed in a marriage, in pulling of a *morung*'s bed, and also when the evil

spirit has to be appeased in certain rituals like *terhochii*, etc. As a rule the eldest son in the family shoulders most of the responsibilities after the death of the father.

Unlike the Khasis and Garos, the Angamis (as it is among all the Nagas) strictly follow patriarchy, where the father is the head of the family. He shoulders the responsibility as the bread winner. He has to work very hard to feed his family and also be at par with other fellow villagers. He also has to do the harder work in the cultivation of terrace and *jhum* fields which is the main occupation of the people. Of course, the wife too lightens his burden in the cultivation in every possible way. The husband tries his level best to supplement the income of the family by making baskets of various designs, wooden platters, spoons, etc. Some husbands even make trade venture into the neighbouring villages to supplement the family income. The husband is also a good hunter who will avail every opportunity to hunt and keep the family supplied with meat. In times of war and danger it is the duty of the husband to defend and protect his family, failing to do so or cowardice in the face of danger is considered a great crime and the whole village will join together in ridiculing such a person. An eloquent and brilliant head of the family is honoured and respected not only in his family circle but also by the entire clan. Such a reputed man in the clan usually becomes leader who holds eminent position in the village level.

Women in Angami Family

In the Angami society a woman is lower than that of her man. More precisely, she plays a subordinate role. She is debarred from inheriting land. Moreover, the relationship through

the female line is not given due recognition. However, it must be noted that she enjoys a considerable freedom all her life. An Angami woman is generally a good partner to her husband. She is the head of the household affairs and in that capacity she has to shoulder quite a lot of responsibilities. Speaking about the Nagas in general, Bhattacharya says, "In the patriarchal Naga society the man is for all purposes the *de facto* head of the family while the wife is the *de jure* mistress in the household" (Bhattacharya in Alemchiba 1975:12). Hence, her work consists of looking after the children, collecting firewood, fetching water, pounding rice, cooking the meal, feeding the domestic animals, weaving for the family and so on. Of course, while carrying out this task, she usually engages the services of her children. Speaking about the Angami women, John Butler says, "They are chaste, faithful, merry, and unlike their brothers- never to be seen idle". (Butler 1969:304)

As stated earlier, the Angamis favour a large family with many children which in turn enhance the prestige of the clan. It is with this line of reasoning that boys are preferred over girls as boys will reinforce the strength of the family and clan respectively in the patriarchal system. However, except for the preference, the Angamis do not have any dislike for the birth of a female child and are reared giving equal treatment. A girl is taught to be well versed not only in household management but also in the technique of cultivating the field. Above all she must learn weaving as it is the exclusive duty for a woman towards meeting family requirements and a woman who is ignorant of weaving is considered 'below standard'.

An Angami girl is given considerable freedom in selecting her husband. As a housewife she performs a variety of functions. The custom permits her the pre-imminent right to entertain guests and in this connection Hutton rightly says that, "The wife assumes the role

of hostess” (*Talie Kosievi* 1984). In fact, it is the wife who regulates the household independently. She is thus in her daily routine of life found herself engaged with works from dawn to dusk. While writing about the Naga woman in general Mr. Davis goes on to the extent of saying that after marriage they “become mere household drudges” (Davis 1969:250). However, this statement does not augur as far as the Angami woman are concerned as they are quite active and indispensable in various aspects of life. One can cite the feasts of merit where a wife performs with her husband full religious rites that consequently earn certain traditional prerogative for the both of them. In fact, the rituals of the feast cannot go ahead without the participation of the wife. Also the pitiful plight of widowhood existing in some societies does not have a place in the Naga society. The custom grants her the right to remarry someone of her choice after the death of her husband. Again, in a marriage affair, a woman is usually assigned to act as a go-between and the negotiator. Moreover, the agrarian Angami society begins the harvest only after the *liedepfii* (the first reaper) made the ceremonial rituals. A woman is also allowed to participate freely with the men in their festivities and amusements. All these involvements certainly indicate her social position that it is far beyond that of a mere household drudge.

Food Habits

The staple food of the Angamis is rice and it is supplemented by millet, maize, job’s tear and such like crops. They also consume plenty of green vegetables and there is a saying among the Angamis that ‘a man can eat anything that a cow can eat’. A fermented soyabean preparation called as *zatei* or *zachie* known as Naga *Dal* by the non-Angamis which is a type of spice is widely used by them. Most of the food preparation is by simple boiling and cooking oil is rarely used in the village.

The Angamis are quite fond of all kinds of meat. Thus, John Butler observes that, “and I believe there is really scarcely any single thing that walks, crawls, flies, or swims that comes amiss to their voracious stomach” (Butler1969:587). P. T. Philip also gives an interesting remark of the Nagas’ definition of meat as being ‘that which moves but not toads and human flesh’ (Philip 1983:35). Again, J. Johnstone gives a description of the Angamis eating habit as “all kinds of animals are readily eaten by the Angamis and those dying of natural death are not rejected” (Johnstone1969:315). Here, Johnstone has completely missed the target when he says that the Angamis do not even spare those animals dying a natural death. On the contrary, The Angamis do not eat such animals. They have a term for such dead animals which is known as *Khriiphisia* (dead without knowing the cause) and to eat such animals is a taboo. Some of their menus are considered as rare items not only by the non-Nagas but also to some section of the Nagas as well. Healthy dogs, for instance, are killed for food and it is not only treated as highly nourishing but even possessing curative properties. But many Nagas including some among the Angamis too do not even like the taste. It should be noted here that dogs are kept as domestic animals and never a stray dog is found. Again, interestingly, some Angamis do not eat mutton due to its strange eating behaviour of grass without any selection. Goat is traditionally considered to be unclean and never used for sacrificial purposes. It is also *kenyii* (taboo) to eat cat. However, basing on the interview conducted, it was found that, eating of cat is forbidden only on the ground that if it is allowed, then cats would be easy prey as they creep through different houses in search of mice.

The Angamis also eat frogs but despise those who eat rats. But all these eating habits are matter of culture, background and religious point of view. Traditionally the Angamis do not have breakfast as such, but they go for three meals a day- morning, noon and evening.

As for drinking, there are three varieties of indigenous beer called *zu*, *khe* and *ruhi* which are fairly intoxicated drinks. The former is made of rice-flour, boiled water and yeast whereas the second is a product of cooked rice and yeast. Between the two, *zu* is preferred and often served as a substitute for food. The third kind of drink which is called *ruhi* involves a lot of manual labour and time. The necessary quantity of rice has to be husked, boiled and after drying, pounded to a fine powder. It is then mixed with boiling water and ferment by the addition of germinated paddy. When the fermentation is completed the liquid is strained through a fine fresh cane basket and stored in large earthen pots, only then it is ready for drinking.

The Angami Naga Marriage

The Angami society permits socialising of both the sexes. Thus in the course of such social life, a strong feeling of affection develops between a boy and a girl. When a boy falls in love with a girl he reveals his desire to get married. His parents will then evaluate the prospect of such a union and if it is found favourable, they will communicate the idea to the girl and her parents through a matchmaker preferably an elderly woman who negotiates. But in case, the parents of the boy are not interested in the girl, they will try to dissuade their son from marrying the girl. In spite of their dissuasion, if the boy persists in the matter, then the parents will proceed on the process of engagement. The negotiator will thus convey the proposal of marriage to the parents of the girl with a view to ascertain whether they will accept it or not. Even if the girl's parents may favour the proposal still they will proceed in

steady manner, requesting the negotiator to visit them another day. In the meantime the opinion of the girl will be consulted by her parents. And in any case she will not be forced to marry someone she does not approve. In case, the girl favours the proposal, the talk continues, but no final word will be given even in the next visit. The talks and negotiations continue for quite some time, until she has given the final word. If at all the girl's family has to turn down the proposal, it is customary to convey the message in a tactful way by creating some excuses and not by way of giving downright 'No' which may humiliate the boy and his parents.

Before the marriage is decided, omens for their future success are to be consulted by the parents. Omens are consulted by strangling a fowl and creating the position of its leg as it dies. If the right leg crosses over the left, then it is believed as good omen. Following this, the boy and the girl will examine their dreams at a particular night. Dreams of weeping, excrement or sexual act are considered to foretell sad future. Marriages do not take place even if there is no dream, but if the dream of any one is bad, then the whole arrangements for the marriage is at once called off.

After the engagement is made, the *thema* (marriage price) will be settled between the two parties depending on the economic status of the two concerned parties. A humble marriage can be arranged even a small number of fowls which is called *theviinyhii*, whereas a normal marriage involves killing of two or more pigs which is known as *Thevonyhii*. Hutton correctly mentions two kinds of marriage that exists: One celebrated with ceremonies and formality, and the other without it (Hutton 1969:219). The formal marriage sometimes carries the stigma of being in conformity with the norms of the society. So the ceremonial form is

preferred, though it is more expensive. The formal marriage has two types: One of such is known as *Thevonyhii*, which is celebrated by killing pigs and the other is called *Theviinyhii*, which is celebrated by killing fowls. Speaking of marriage price, Hutton writes, “The marriage price consists normally of a spear, two pigs and fifteen or sixteen fowls” (Ibid. 220). Here, Hutton mixes up both types of formal marriage. The inclusion of a spear has a special significance as it is presented as a token of showing respect to the girl’s family.

There is also another form of marriage which is quite simple and takes place while working in the field. It is known as *Tapfii*. In this case while working from the field, the bride goes to the bridegroom’s house instead of going back to her house. Then there is *Neikerei* which is none other than marriage by eloping. Eloping generally takes place when the parents of the boy or girl disapprove their marriage. Sometimes the girl’s or boy’s parents may arrange a marriage without their consent. In such cases, they generally decide to elope with whom they love.

Marriage Feasts

As a rule the parents of the bride-groom pay the *Thema* (bride-price) and the feast is arranged by the bride’s parents in their house. Though the nearest relations of the bride-groom also partake in the feast, it is the family and relatives of the bride who are treated more important and they are supposed to enjoy the most in the feast. But there is also a time to treat the relatives of the bride-groom as well. It is customary for the bride’s relatives to send sufficient quantity of *zu* (rice-beer) and some pork to the newly married couple during the next succeeding *Terhiinyi* festival which they will share with the boy’s relatives. Thus, Kolezo Chase says, “This reciprocal sharing on the part of both the parties indicates an

economically well-balanced system of society” (Zetsuvi 2014:23). Besides, the institution of marriage cemented the alliance between the two families and also the clans of the couple.

Marriage Ceremony

Generally all the formal marriages are conducted at night. On the wedding day, when the evening falls the bride shall be accompanied by some friends (mostly males) and some elders to the bridegroom’s house. As the bridal procession proceeds, the friends of the bride shall go on making a cheerful shouting *KI-ka-po-ro* which means, where the house of the bridegroom, calling his name is. On reaching the gate of the bridegroom’s house, a little ceremony will be conducted. The mother of the bridegroom comes out with a gourd-mug of rice-beer which is tasted by a small boy of the bride’s side. The group then proceeds to the yard, where the male friends of the bride jump at a wooden post, especially erected for the occasion. This is a competitive sport displaying their agility and smartness and the spectators mark the one who has jumped at the highest point in the post. After that phase, an unblemished cock which is known as *Thesa* will be presented to the male peer group of the bride who in turn will bless the newly-wed couple with their pronouncements “May you live a long and prosperous life together, let your off-springs be as numerous as the breeding of crabs and spiders” (Zetsuvi 2014:23) and so on. Then the group will return to their respective homes, except the friend of the bride who spends the night with her. On the next day, the household observes *penie*, which means observing the day without doing any work. The following day, the newly wedded couple will have to undertake certain rituals by going together to their field and pretending to do work, then they drink their rice-beer and eat their food which they have brought for the purpose. After the completion of the rituals they return home. For the following three days they have to remain within the village and it is *Kenyii* (forbidden) to visit other villages during this period which ultimately concludes the marriage ceremonies.

Remarriage

After the death of the husband or wife, marriage of the other partner is allowed, but only after a lapse of few years or at least after completing one full year after the death of one of the marriage partners. Otherwise, she or he is branded as being too 'restive' by the society. If a man who has already been divorced or separated by death remarries a virgin girl then he should give the *Thema* to the girl's parents, who in turn arrange the marriage feast to host their kindred. But the remarriage with a widow/ widower is simple and without any formality.

Monogamy is the socially accepted form of marriage. Writing in the 1920s Hutton speaks of bigamy, the only known case according to him that have taken place. Though one or two cases might have happened, it is very rare. Polyandry is unknown in the Angami society. The rule of exogamy is applicable to the Angami society. Marriage within the clan is prohibited. As for an incestuous relationship, it is extremely rare.

Rules governing Divorce

Divorce is easy and quite common. There are many grounds for wanting a divorce. A man may divorce his wife if she does not bear him an issue. And in some cases, a man gets frustrated with his wife for not being able to give him any male heirs. Thus he divorces his wife with the intention to remarry with the hope of getting some male heirs. Being extremely poor is sometimes a cause for breaking up of families. Laziness, extravagance and excessive indulgence in drinking are also some of the causes for divorce. If the husband ill-treats his wife by physical abuse or mental torture to the extent that she can no longer bear it, then a divorce is being sought. If the wife is caught committing adultery, then she will be forced out

of her husband's house. But most cases of infidelity on the part of the husband are being tolerated by the wife.

Division of property

When a divorce takes place, generally the wife gets back all the things she brought from her own house. If both the partners have agreed to get a divorce, the wife gets one-third of their movable properties. If a divorce occurs as a result of the husband's fault, then the wife is entitled to get her share, similar to the previous case. On the other hand, if any divorce happens on account of the wife's infidelity, she will not get any property but she has to leave the house with only her clothes.

Extra-marital affairs

When an unmarried girl is impregnated, as a rule, the man who is responsible will have to marry her. But if he refuses, he will have to keep her in his house at least for one day to own the paternity and responsibility to bring up the child. However, if someone refuses to admit paternity of the child, but the girl claims that he is the father of her child, then the man should take an oath to prove that he is not the child's father. In cases where no one claims paternity or is inconclusively proven then the girl has to leave the village during her pregnancy. And it is only after the birth of the baby that she can come back to her village. This is done with the belief that the birth of an illegal child could bring misfortune to that particular village. An illegitimate child is called *Tekhruonu* (literally means, 'son of echo', perhaps the word 'echo' is used to indicate the illicit nature of the birth) and such a child uses the surname of their mother.

Social life and age-group ethics

Socializing is very much a part of Angami life. Usually, when a boy or girl attains the age of six or seven years, by which time he or she is able to handle a *dao* or spade, they come together and form an age-group known as *thesu*. Prior to that, children are under the protective care of their parents for all practical purposes. During the formative years of *Thesii*, the parents continue to encourage this peerage to work together as a group. During the season of rice cultivation a day is appointed when this peer group of a clan are invited by a rich man to work on his field. Then in the following year during the *Thekranyi* festival he will arrange a special feast for the same group who had worked in his field with the food of their choice. Thus, they have a great time working together in clan-wise.

When the children grow older and get matured enough to know their own responsibilities, these small groups belonging to the different clans come together as a group and form an age-group. The formation of a new age-group takes shape under the guidance of a reputed man in the society and this age-group is named after its caretaker. After the formation of an age-group, the members do *Peli*, that is, they will have to take turns to work in each other's field. During festivals the various age-groups get together and enjoy recreational activities. They spend the day singing folk songs, cracking jokes and getting to know each other better. In times of such merriment, they take great care to avoid hurting each other's feelings and sentiments. No separate group is formed within the age-group. In other words, everyone is given equal treatment and there is no room for favouritism. Such social gathering is also an occasion where the members are on the look-out for prospective future partners and it is not uncommon to have a boy or a girl falling in love in such a situation. But in no way they disclose their affection for each other in front of their age-group, as they are being careful not to show favouritism towards anyone. When a boy and a girl fail to restrain their feelings from each other, they lose their popularity in the age-group circle. However,

there are a number of instances when two lovers kept on exchanging sentimental gifts secretly and love marriages are often culminated on such lines.

There are certain manners which are to be followed by the age-group members. For example, it is considered polite for the girls to carry the boys working tools such as spades and *daos* in their carrying baskets while going to the field. The boys too should shoulder the harder task in the field. While working in the field they make a humming sound like *o-ho, o-ho*, which helps the members to keep timing in the work and it does not give any room for slow and lazy workers who immediately fall behind their peers to their own embarrassment.

The various divisions of age-groups in a village work hard in an attempt to help the village which also brings good name to their group and they mostly undertake the kind of works related to sanitation and beautification of the village. Construction of rest houses by different age-groups is also very common. A man's life is attached to his age-group till his death. Though, when a girl marries someone from another group, she slowly detaches from her age-group. On her wedding day she offers a cock to her age-group which is called *Thesa*, which means her price.

Property is generally divided equally among the sons. Interestingly, another aspect of the Angami Nagas' society is that, the youngest male in the family inherits the parental home, which also signifies that, the latter is responsible for taking care of the former until they breathe their last.

Occupation:

The Angami Nagas are predominantly agriculturists. They are well known for environmental consciousness, since they use their watercourses for terraced wet-rice cultivation. In fact, they are one of the only two groups of Nagas who practice wet-rice cultivation on terraces made on the hill slopes.

Before the advent of the British in Naga Hills, agriculture was and even now is the chief occupation of the people. Speaking about Nagas attachment to their crops, J. P. Mills has said, “A Naga’s very life depends on his crop. It is therefore not surprising that from childhood to old age he spends most of his days in his field” (Mills 1980:75). Two kinds of land ownership prevail, viz., (a) private and (b) community. Among the Angamis who largely practise terraced cultivation, private landownership is recognized, but to those who go mostly for the *jhum* cultivation, land is owned communally. Terraced fields are generally out of the hilly slopes running down on both sides of a stream which could be provided with water by means of irrigated channels. The *jhumming* method of cultivation is done in areas where it is difficult to provide irrigation. Some early writers have also mentioned about the Angami’s terraced system of cultivation. To cite an example, C. D. King (1881), the pioneer missionary to the Angamis comments about the terraced-fields of Khonoma village in the following words:

The hillsides here were steep. Terraces therefore, must be narrow and even so, the distance from one up to the next must be considerable. And nothing would ever keep them from crumbling away or being washed away, except some such measures as these men of Khonoma has resorted to. But to the English officers it was truly a matter of great wonderment to see here among these untaught hill men whose vast reaches of well-protected and thoroughly permanent terraces all securely faced up with stones. They represented what must have been an enormous labour carried out for years. (Zetsuvi 2014:19)

While relating about the same terraced fields, Milanda Ganguli deals in a more comprehensive manner when she says:

The carefully graduated terrace are walled by solid embankments of stones taken out of the soil at the time of preparing the fields, and are irrigated by a remarkable system of channels, in which water is carried by a stream that may be miles away, flowing from terrace to terrace. In some places there are long hollow bamboo trunks that carry the clear mountain water from a terrace higher up to flow an adjoining smaller field. The human effort that must be necessary to construct the enormous network of water channels paved with stones dug out from the soil is undoubtedly tremendous. (Ganguli1984: 48)

Summing up the whole system of terraced cultivation, C. D. King states:

This whole enterprise was a wonderful proof of the sturdiness and industry of the men of Khonoma and a most remarkable feat of engineering when considered as the achievement of man so low in the scale of development as Nagas have always been supposed to be. (King 1984:5)

A series of tasks are undertaken for the cultivation of terraced fields. As soon as the harvest is over, the farmer carries on nourishing the soil with excrements of pigs and chicken,

cow dung and such other refuses that feed the weeds to grow richly on the black soil. Then the farmer will dig the soil and thereby uprooting the weeds which in turn change into manure for the soil when decomposed. Next, the farmer will clear the water channels and brings it to irrigate his fields. Ultimately when everything is decomposed under the water the farmer will puddle the mud and ultimately the paddy seedlings which are already growing in the seed-bed are transplanted. This is done in June and July and the paddy is harvested in October and November. Terrace is a permanent form of cultivation. Its productivity is more and it does not need to lay waste as the *jhum* cultivation does. The paddy seeds which are sown thickly in late March and early April on a patch of ground germinates by the beginning of June and soon after the seedlings are ready for transplanting.

The traditional implements used by the Angamis are hoes which are made of cow-bones. Later on cow-bones are being replaced by metals which are brought from Assam and Manipur. The technique of cultivation is also crude. Every bit of the soil dug is done by hands with the aid of hoe and their method of cultivation requires intensive human labour. Thus an Angami gives his full attention in his field throughout the year and he is free only for a short while after harvest and also on non-working days which are imposed by his religion.

Dresses

One of the most noticeable costumes of the Angamis is the way they dress up their shawl. There are different kinds of shawls, but the most common one is called *Lohe* which is a black cloth with a red and green border on either side of the shawl. However, there is a slight variation of patterns from village to village. In fact, it is possible to identify a person

belonging to a particular village by simply looking at his shawl. In the past, the shawl, which a person wears indicate their social status. There used to be separate shawls for the *Kemevo* (priest), for the warrior and for the person who had performed feasts of merit. It has also considered a great shame to wear a particular shawl which one did not deserve since each person's social status was known to everyone in the village and one would not dare to put a shawl which he does not deserve. Another equally important male dress is his black kilt which is worn like a skirt. It is worn on special occasions and is generally decorated with three or sometimes four lines of white cowry shells. A kilt having four cowry lines has a special significance because it can be worn only by a warrior who has taken at least seven heads. Over the kilt a cotton belt is used to tie at the waist.

The Angamis wear a variety of ornaments. Strings of beads made of precious stones; sea shell, cornelian and glass are worn as neckwear. Sometimes they also wear *biechu* which is a white conch shell around the neck. Again, on a festive day, the young men are seen wearing on their neck *Lophie* which is a beautiful twisted string made of cotton. These items are given by their girlfriends worn as a token of love. In exchange for the twisted cotton the boys also made for their sweethearts different designs of bamboo baskets for trapping and carrying fish which are called *Yietho*, *Khopierii* and *Khocii* in Angami.

As for the earrings, the girls wear lovely jewellery pieces. Young men also wear some smooth and bright items such as wild beetle wings, beautiful feather of birds and anything which catches their fancy. Sometimes they also put on colourful wools on their earlobes. They are seen at times wearing a kind of plant called *Penie* on their ears, not as an ornament, but as a ritualistic act to avert the evil spirit. The males also wear a *Tsiila* which is a headgear

decorated with feathers of hornbill. It symbolises bravery and a feather is added to the headgear for every enemy he kills. As for an ordinary man, his headgear is fitted with only some substitute feathers made of paper. Again, a war hero can wear a black band of bear's hair on his head. They also wear *Chiitho*, an armlet around the top of the arm with ivory which is a slice of about two inches wide, cut-off from an elephant's tusk. On their legs just below the knees they wear a number of *phiso* which are rings made of black dyed cane. Again, on special occasions, the young boys wear two pieces of colourful and well decorated scarves which are placed on the breasts crossing each other. The spear of an Angami warrior is decorated with red dyed hair halfway down the shaft and for this purpose a women's hair was very much sought after in the olden days. But now-a-days it has been replaced by goat's hair.

Female Dresses

For Angami women, on ordinary working days, they wear a black shawl called *Lohe Chiecha* to cover the lower part of her body. But on a special occasion she puts on *Mhoushii* which is a white shawl with brown and black bands on either side. Her upper body is under sleeveless blouse formed by a cloth crossed under one arm and fastened on the opposite shoulder. She also wears a piece of homespun petticoat which is dark blue in colour. In addition to that she wears a shawl-skirt which is worn around the hips and tucked in at the waist. Over the shawl-skirt a tubular cotton belt is tied around the waist, which also serves as a change purse. An Angami woman loves to load her neck with necklaces of all kinds such as glasses, cornelian shells, seeds and stones. She also wears earrings, bracelet and bangles which are made of brass.

Religion, Belief system and practices

Before the advent of Christianity in the Angami area, i.e.1879, all the Angamis were pagans. The Angami paganism owns its origin to both constructive and destructive roles that nature plays in the life of men and his ignorance of the principle in the working of nature. An Angami field contended when he sees the rain falling on a young paddy plant, quickening their growth and the sun ripening the crops. But he feels worried and disturbed as he watches the storm shaking off the grains from their stems or blow off the thatched roof of his hut. But in the absence of any written scripture it is difficult to define clearly as to what he exactly believes. To make things more complicated, though the animist religion has a common feature, yet practices and ceremonies vary from village to village. However, he believes in the existence of a supreme benevolent deity and also many evil spirits. E. A. Gait says that a supreme being and a divine power who is the maker of the world are common in Naga religion. He has no temple or any particular place to worship but the places of worship and sacrificial offering are the home, village road, grave, field or such other open air places as it is needed (Thomas,M.M.,and R.W.Taylor1965:137). Since he has no developed religion as such, in a way we can take it that he has no proper religion, but on the other hand, he is also very religious in the sense that the supernatural power is constantly felt and feared. Many ceremonial rites are performed by an individual as well as by the entire community on various occasions. When a festival takes place, the whole community is involved in performing the *genna* or ceremony.

Artistry

The handworks and artworks of the Angamis, particularly, those made of wood are famous. Angamis conserve bamboos, which grow near their settlements, to be used for various handworks. Nearly twenty six varieties of bamboos are used by the villagers. In the olden days and even now in the remote rural areas, with very few exceptions like the spades, *daos* and spears which are made of metal, all household articles are manufactured locally. As

every family made their own necessities, there is no demand for them commercially. It is compulsory for all the boys to acquire the skill of making basket of all kinds such as carrying traps, winnowing tray, barn baskets, etc. There are some professional basket-makers but each and every male members have the practical skills to make them with their own hands. The raw materials used in making baskets are cane and bamboo. Again, there are some special baskets which are made by highly skilled craftsmen. These are large baskets with narrow bottom and swelling towards the top, which is covered with a pointed-cover.

Another interesting item is their drinking vessel which is made of *Mithun* horn. This mug has its own natural attractive colour with a shiny black base which merges into a transparent yellow at the top. Some mugs are made of *Viini* which is a kind of enormous sized bamboo. For this type of cup, the bamboo is shaved thin towards the top and bottom, having a thick body in the middle with a handle of plaited cane fixed on it. The Angamis also have plates of various sizes and shapes which are made out of wood. There are small saucer-like plates which are used for holding pickles while they eat from the bigger ones. A very common plate is the four-legged one which is scooped out from a piece of wood. They have other essential items like wooden spoons of different designs.

The Angamis also made earthen pots without the use of a wheel, but by hands alone. There were some women who were experts in this field of pottery. This craft, however, was confined to certain pockets where the right type of clay was found. Viswema and Khuzama villages made most of the pots.

The art of weaving clothes as a skill was imparted by all mothers to their daughters when they were five or six years of age. The art of spinning, dyeing and weaving are performed exclusively by womenfolk and every Angami woman is supposed to weave the required clothes for the family.

Again, their love for artistic handicrafts is shown in carving out figures of various designs which are displayed in the public gates and *morungs*.

Musical instruments

Singing was mostly accompanied by certain indigenous instruments. However, they did not have much musical instruments in the past. The typical Angami instruments are *Tati*, which are long stringed ones. *Tati* is about five feet long. A dried gourd shell is cut into half and covered with dried cow's bladder. The gourd is attached with a bamboo handle on which fixed the string, which is usually a tightly spun cotton thread greased with wax to make it smooth and firm. *Nyarui* is an instrument with a bow-like violin. The body is somewhat like a *Tati* but shorter in length. The string is made from a stronger fibre peeling out from *Mecha*-tree. Nowadays horse-tail is also used and if it is played by skilful hands it produced very fine music. Flute is also a recent addition.

The Angami Nagas have a glorious cultural past. The history of Khonoma war proves their strength, tenacity and strong resistance to the aliens. Besides their devotion to honesty, they have been an advanced tribe among the Nagas since the long past.

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CHAPTER III

ASPECTS OF ANGAMI NAGA FOLKLORE

The Angamis are very superstitious in their approaches and with the daily activities of their day to day life. They are governed by the supernatural elements from the different folklores, legends and more importantly the customs, that, they have been practising since time immemorial. To cite a custom that is still prevalent even today ‘When you visit a person’s home and enter the house from the front door, you are not allowed and cannot exit nor must never exit from the backdoor when you leave, the reason being it is a taboo and it brings bad luck and misfortune to both the visitor and the house owner. Also when an elder offers his cup of wine you must never refuse. Reason being, it is a blessing when an elder offers something to you and it is a taboo to refuse. These are typical superstitions. More picturesque is the belief that marriages should not be made in the month of *Kezei* (February) which the name itself suggests as the dark month, hence not just having matrimonials are a taboo but even young boys and girls are discouraged from venturing out in the evenings of this very month.

Omen is another important aspect of the Angami belief system. This is their search for the unknown and is known as *Thophi* (checking one’s luck). It has to be consulted on every important event such as during the march to war, hunting, marriage, sickness, etc. The simplest method of observing omen is by tossing two leaves on the ground. If one leaf is right side up and the other upside down, it is a sign of good luck. Another method of observing omen is by slicing a small branch of *Chiese* or *Teise* plant. The branch is sliced into five,

seven or nine and is then dropped one after another. The performer is able to tell whether it is a good or bad omen by checking the number of slices that turned upward and downward respectively. The third type of consulting an omen is by strangling a fowl at certain ceremonies such as *Sekrenyi* festival. In this case, if the right leg crosses over the left, then it is said to be a good omen. While making a journey or a mission if a civet, a squirrel, or a snake etc runs across one's path, then it is seen as a sign of an unsuccessful mission. The Angamis also consult the chirping of certain tiny birds called *Tseiino*. While going out of your house, if the chirping is heard from the leftward direction, it heralds good news. The reason for taking the left-hand side as a good omen is that one usually carries the *Pezhii* (shield) on the left hand.

The Angamis also consider dreams to be very significant to foretell their future. Dreams are consulted for any special event in their lives. Dreams used to be a deciding factor in arranging a marriage. Even if things seem favourable, a bad dream by anyone between the intending persons may stand in the way from solemnizing a marriage. Some examples of interpretation of dreams are: If one dreams about cow, it rains; If one dreams about fire it will be a sunny weather; If one catches fish in a dream, he gets money. If a tooth is fallen in a dream, death may occur in the family. Again, if one dreams about a group of people in ceremonial dresses, then it is a prediction for the death of a nearest kin or relative. However, the interpretations may also differ from person to person. Some of the Angamis are also quite apprehensive about the name of the person in their dream because they try to analyze their dream according to the meaning of that particular name. A name starting with the root like *Ruovi* (good fortune) or *Kekuo* (strength) is definitely a good one.

Witchcraft and divination is also an important aspect of the Angamis. If someone is seriously ill for a long time, a *Themoumia* (witchdoctor) is consulted for the recovery of the patient. Usually it is the witch who tells what to do so as to appease the spirit, which depends on the

spirit. While appeasing sometimes a hen called *Geisu* is released in the jungle or sometimes by throwing a piece of metal. Hutton writes that, “There are also some women who answer questions from trances. They are called *Terhope* (God’s bridge)” (Hutton 1969:179). Before she can answer any question, however, it is necessary to force open the *Terhope*’s mouth and put into it new *Zu* and yeast. This new *zu* is not new in the sense of its preparation, but when fresh yeast is added to the already prepared one, it is called new *zu* for the spirits. When the *Terhope* has answered the question, the prepared *zu* will be poured into her mouth and then she will come back to normal.

Both *Themoumia* and *Terhope* are mediums who claim to be able to communicate the spirits of dead people. But it is said that such communication is a hard task which exhausts all mental and physical strength. So a witch or *Themoumia* is often reluctant to become a medium due to the physical strain that it involves, though the communication lasts only for a short span of about five minutes at the most. The function of *Themoumia* is basically to save a life. She usually directs a sick person to appease the spirits for his quick recovery and she also acts as a medicine-woman by offering local herbs to her patients. Sometimes, she gives information to the deceased’s family about the things that a dead person requires in the underworld. She also composes *Geizo* (poem) which she learns from her dream. The main function of *Terhope* is to speak on behalf of the dead one who wanted to convey some messages to the living members. When the *Terhope* starts communicating, she loses her personal voice and comes out with the exact voice of the dead person.

The Angamis believe that whoever approaches the foot of the rainbow will die or will be killed by the spirit of the rainbow and also children are warned from pointing their fingers at the rainbow lest their fingers fall off. Some of the prophecies among the Angami Nagas are worth mentioning and it is also interesting to note that the Khasis of Meghalaya not only have the same belief but state it in precisely the same words, men will become as small as chilly

plants, eyes will become as big as cotton balls, and ears will become as big as *Zarii* (oval shaped rice cleaning plates).’

Rythmic Lores form an integral part of the Angami folk life:

Suomia utuoï,unei mia gei di

Suomia utuoï mia neimia gei di

Vo lu tsa nu,vü kekhou te se

No ha cü di vi pe zi tsur

Hie cü cü rei vilie lho sieu

Zangu ki we hiesia ki

Ruwhi tha di

Nyia ru chu lieluo. (Phukuotuolie Dzüvichü, Personal Communication.April3,2016).

Legend says that, once a boy and a girl were courting. One day while they were out, cutting wood, the axe slipped from the boy’s hand and struck the shoulder of the girl. But the girl, out of respect and love for the boy, humbly accepted her fate, and dare not tell her parents. The boy would continue to offer her roosters daily ,but her condition worsened and she told the boy, to collect his axe after she dies and wrapped and placed it on the bamboo platform. The boy did as was told by the girl, and he would go to the place, and wait every morning before sunrise, till the axe dropped off from the girl’s body, and the boy collected his axe

There is a legend called ‘*Chikheo*’s Gift’ where a man used to go everyday to scare birds from the fields and he noticed that everyday someone had been before him and

sharpened his *dao* on a stone, having wetted the stone. So one night as he sat by the side of the river, at dawn *Chikheo* came and began to sharpen his *dao*. He was wearing a raincoat, the man seized *Chikheo*. *Chikheo* said “Don’t kill me and I will give you what you wish for” (Hutton 1969:266). So, the ghosts went. He agreed to his request and *Chikheo* whistled and all the animals came out of the forest and gathered together. Then *Chikheo* said When I go up to the hill, you may kill whichever animal you choose and as he went up to the hill the man looked at the animals but could not decide which was the best. As *Chikheo* reached the top of the hill and whistled, all the animals ran away. A jungle cat in the meantime got trodden on by one of the animals and was killed and so the man took that as a trophy and ate it.

Once a man was travelling to another village but could not reach it that day and as it got dark he killed a ghost with his spear and as he slept that night under a great stone in the shelter of a fig tree and ate its fruit he could see ghosts with torches searching for the friend and calling out in loud voices, “*Chu’o chu’o, shen gatila*” which in Angami means ‘*Kesou dziitahie*’ for the ghost spoke in Naga dialect, and as they called for their comrade the great stone answered them back “Even if he had died he has not come to me today” (Hutton 1969:266). So, the ghosts went away with the dead body of their friend. After this, the man heard another tree call out to the fig tree and do some genna to heal him as he was unwell. But the fig tree replied “I cannot come tonight to do genna for I have a guest” (Hutton 1969:266), after sometime the sick tree fell down as he was having fever for a long time and so the next morning the man got up and ate up the ripe fruit of the fig and as he went up to his village he narrated the whole incident to the villagers. Hence, Angamis consider the fig tree as the chief priest of the trees.

Animal stories abound in Naga folklore. Long ago, the villagers of Kidima were at war with the tigers. No one had the upper hand and the conflict prevented the villagers from venturing out. One day the village headman suggested that they should make a treaty with the tigers,

and so they offered domestic animals to the tigers but they refused. The villagers then offered an unblemished white cock which the tigers finally accepted and a truce was made between them and hence to this day it is a taboo for the villagers to kill or eat a tiger.

Origin stories take one to the Angami story of the Man, the Tiger and the Spirit as three brothers. The man took great care of their mother, but the tiger was always grumbling and snarling, troubling everyone. The man ate his food cooked, but the tiger ate raw food while the spirit had his food dried. Tired of the squabbles, the mother made a mark with grass in the jungle and told the man and the tiger to race for it saying whoever touches it first shall go and live in the villages and the other in the dark jungles. The spirit advised the man saying "I will shoot the mark with an arrow when you call out and you can say you touched it first" (Hutton 1969:261). So as they ran into the jungle, the man called out I have touched the mark and at the same time the spirit drew his bow and struck the mark with an arrow so that it trembled and the tiger coming up while it was still shaking was deceived and went away angry into the jungle. After this, the man sent the cat from the village to the Tiger, After all you are my brother; when you kill a deer please put a leg on the wall for me. but the cat muddled the message and said When you kill a deer put it on the wall for man. And so the Tiger thinking that a whole deer was meant hated the man ever since. As they were once brothers whenever a man kills a tiger he will say that the God's have killed a tiger in the jungle and not him. But the tiger would say that the man has killed his own brother but the tiger is afraid of man because he thinks that the man is very strong as he himself cannot carry stones as great as a basket.

Women form an important part of Naga folktales and are seen in various forms and definitions. *Sopfinuo* is an Angami Naga folktale about a woman whose lives were tragically cut short on the way back to their native village in Riisoma. Sopfinuo was a beautiful girl of Riisome village and she was wedded to a man of another village' from far away Mao. As a

wife she was loyal to her husband and took great care of her husband. But some women could not help but envy their marriage. They instigated him to divorce his wife. Finally Sopfiinuo was compelled to leave him and so one night she carried her child and left her husband's house traversing across the difficult terrain holding a burning pine as a torch. Along the way she was hit to death by a spike of evil spirit and after sometime the child was pierced to death by a rib bone of his mother and they got metamorphosed into stones of human shape. Having heard of the incident, the relatives went in search of them and found the stones, they tried to pull the bigger stone alone but failed because of a fierce storm which signified the necessity to include the smaller stone too. When they were pulled together the wind was completely calm. Sopfiinuo and her child were brought to Riisoma where they exist in the minds of the people as great legends.

“Mehoviu and Morusa” is a popular Angami folktale from the times of headhunting. The story is about two people named Mehoviu and Morusa. Mehoviu was a young girl and Morusa was a young warrior. They lived in different villages. Mehoviu was the most beautiful girl in her village and many people wanted to marry her but she always refused them because she wanted to marry Morusa. Morusa was a famous warrior from the village Kidima and everybody knew him. He was tall and strong and had taken many heads. One day Morusa's uncle asked him to get married to Mehoviu and he agreed. Mehoviu was also happy when her relatives asked her to marry Morusa, and the marriage was fixed. Few weeks before the marriage, Mehoviu started seeing a strange dream again and again. She would see in the dreams that she was sitting in Morusa's house and there was a heaped plate of rice and meat in front of her. For few days before the wedding Morusa decided to impress Mehoviu by doing something great. So he got out of his house in search of an enemy. But he could not find anyone. Finally, he reached a village where there were not many people as everyone was working in the fields. He saw that in the porch of one house a woman was weaving. He

swiftly went behind her and killed her with a spear through her heart. After that he took her head and went back home happily. Soon news reached Morusa's house that a warrior had killed Mehovouiu. Morusa realised that the woman he had killed was actually Mehovouiu who he was going to get married to.

Magic and trickster tales abound in Angami folk stories often told by the fireside with children gathered around. Miacŕo used to steal the food of the children everyday, and when the parents of the children decided to kill him, he said to them 'shut me in a box and push me into the river' and they did as suggested. But when he was inside the box in the river he saw two girls fishing, and he told them that if they let him out he will reward them. After the girls helped him out of the box, he defecated into their basket and told them to take it. The girls went back to their village and told what Miacŕo had done to them. As he was back in the village, he was still a nuisance to the village children, and finally as the villagers were pondering what to do with him, he told them 'pile a thatch on top of me and burn it, that will kill me'. And the villagers again did as suggested by Miacŕo himself again. But as they did, the whole village got burnt and he escaped to plague the villagers in many other ways.

The Angamis believe that there is someone who has greater power, and who is the creator of the heavens and the sky called *Ukepenuopfii*. *Ukepenuopfii* was the first being. Her descendants were many and she ascended into the heaven. Later on her descendants wanted to communicate with her by building a tower up to heaven. However, knowing their thoughts said to herself 'they will all expect presents and I have none for so many men and the building of the tower must be stopped before it gets any higher'. So she made all the men working at the tower to talk different languages so they could not understand one another, and when one said bring a stone they would fetch water or stick and so forth. Hence, the confusion the tower abandoned and comes forth the different tongues of the various tribes of the men. Likewise, there was once a powerful chief with great armies and his people thought

of building a ladder made of wood to reach the heaven. As they built a stair, wood by wood, and upon reaching unimaginable height the man at the top asked for more wood and the man below would answer saying there is no more wood, but to cut the wood from the bottom of the stairs. So the man at the top not hearing and understanding what the man on the ground said replied affirmatively. So they cut it, the ladder fell with a heavy thud and killed all the builders.

There is in a certain place, a village of women only. Intruders especially men were driven away with bows and arrows and the women of the village only kept one male to be among them and the rest, along with newborn males were burned in hot water. It is said the women in that village eat great store of starch and oil to keep themselves strong and ready for battle. Others say that women are so eager for male companions that upon seeing them they seize them and tear them to pieces.

Once there was a poor orphan who went to the King's village and heard that the king's daughter was of age to be married. He went to the king's house and remarked at the king at how dark the king's palace was. The king asked him about his own house and the orphan replied that his house was transparent and that one could see the sky from anywhere in the house. And when the king was eating he asked the king if he had only one dish and the king said yes and he asked about the orphan's own dishes and the orphan replied when i finish one dish I throw away the old one ad eat from a new one everytime. And then he asked again of cows and the orphan said that his house is full of cattle that some stay outside the house. And as the orphan saw the King's grandmother riding on a horse he said why does the king let's his grandmother get so cold because his grandmother is always warm sitting by the fire. The king was elated that he gave his daughter to the orphan. But when the king's daughter and the orphan went to his house she laughed and said, "This isn't transparent; we can't see the sky from here". "Yes we can" he replied pointing to the leaks in the roof. Then she said to

him what are your plates like and he said he make one of leaves every time he eats. Regarding the cattle he said only one, half inside the house and half out. And his grandmother is underneath the hearth. The daughter was ashamed and told her father not to come and visit them for seven years. After sometime the orphan borrowed money from the king 3 times and did some trading, but when the people complained of his dealings, the king couldn't find fault in his dealings and he became very rich.

The legend of the Shrew-mouse (Shrew is the pig of the *Terhoma*) talks of a man who had gone fishing and set traps into the river. As he did so, a shrew came up to him and drove away the other fishes, the man in his rage killed the shrew and this attracted fishes which the man pulled ashore. As darkness fell, the man decided to sleep under a stone called *Tsurnga* on the river bank. Later, a *Terhoma* (spirit) came up the river and called out the stone whether it had seen any bad man that day. The *Tsurnga* answered him no and enquired why he wanted to know and the *terhoma* replied that his pig had not returned home that day and that it was probably killed by some man. So, the man who overheard the conversation was scared and fished in that place no more.

Once there was a dog that had nowhere to go and so he went to live with the tiger but because of his barking the tiger could not get his prey and he was sent away. Then he went to live with the elephants, but the elephants complained of his barking again saying they will be hunted by the tigers. Then he went to live with the wild dog but again they complained because wild dogs hunt in silence but the dog couldn't. Finally he went to live with the deer but he wanted to devour the deer's young and so the deer left him. At last he went to the man and man taught him to hunt and found his barking useful. And so he kept the dog and it became his best companion.

Animal oral narratives abound in Angami folktales as is cited below:

Formerly the man and the red dog lived together and the man sent out the red dog to hunt and kill for him as the red dog was a hunter's dog and whatever the red dog killed he brings it to the man. But one day the man beat up the red dog with a stick and sent him out to hunt but when the dog got out of reach he calls out to the man saying that if he kills he will not come back but put a leg of his kill in the road for him, and the man replied not to do that but to bring it to the house, but the dog called back saying that if he kills he will leave some of the animals hair in his faeces. And so, whenever a wild dog kills and eats the animals' hair can always be seen in his faeces on the path.

One day a monkey and a jackal met in the forest, and the jackal said to the monkey, "I wish i were a monkey, as you can climb trees and get any fruit you like." The monkey replied saying how he wish,he were a jackal as he could enter into people's homes and get rice,meat,fowls and anything that he wants.The monkey suggested saying they should meet up again and each bring whatever food they can and see whose food will be the tastiest.Off they went,and as they met again,the monkey asked the jackal to give his food first to him.After taking the jackal's food the monkey ran off to the top of the tree and ate it up and refused to give his food to the jackal.The jackal was very angry and went away saying he will have his revenge and punish the monkey.As the jackal was laying beside thicket of wild taro,the monkey asked what he was doing.The jackal replied back saying he was eating the sahib's most juiciest and sweetest sugar-cane. Hesitantantly the jackal gave the monkey when he asked for some,saying his sahib will not mind.Then the jackal told the monkey to cut one ,peel the skin and have it.And so the monkey cut the wild taro and began to eat. As he ate his throat itched, his mouth swelled up and he could not even talk. Then the monkey went off to a bees' nest and said to the Jackal, "Don't bite that." But the Jackal wanted to and the monkey wouldn't let him. Then he said the Jackal might as soon as he had gone behind a hill. So when the monkey was out of sight the Jackal bit and the bees poured out and he was badly

stung. Later the Jackal went off to a pool that was overgrown with tank grass and as he sat down the monkey came along and asked him what he was doing and the Jackal replied he was watching the sahib's clothes. 'I'm coming to join you' said the monkey from the tree. The Jackal replied he was not. 'I shall jump down' said the monkey. 'Alright jump down if it pleases you' said the Jackal. And so the monkey jumped down into the water and was drowned.

This story is told likewise by both the Sema and the Lotha tribes: the bear being a stupid animal builds a platform in a tree and goes to sleep on it. When it rained he woke up and said, 'I must have made a mistake, this is not my house, I have built my house so well that the rain could not get through.' So he climbs down the tree and when he got to the bottom he examined the tree and looked up. Then he said, 'This is very funny, it is my own house right enough. I had better go back.' So he climbs up and again goes to sleep on the top and when it rained again he gets wet and repeats exactly what he did before.

One day a little bird went to work at his fields with her friends to help her and the crab was among them. About midday the little bird called her friends to come into the field house. When they were all inside the field house the little bird put a pot on the fire and she perched on the rim and laid an egg into the pot for each of her friends to eat. The next day they went to the crab's field and the crab brought nothing to eat for he had seen what the little bird did and wanted to imitate her. So at mid-day he went to his field house to cook the food and like the little bird he made the fire, put on the pot and climbed on to the rim of the pot and tried to lay his egg but while he was trying, he fell backwards into the pot and could not get out again and thus he cooked himself and died. Meanwhile the crab's friend went inside the field house hoping that he would call them to eat as they were very hungry and as one of them came into the field house he saw the cooked crab in the pot. Then he called his other

friends and told them what had happened to the crab and all of them took out the crab from the pot and ate him as they were all feeling hungry.

Once upon a time, a wild boar regarded as the pig of the Gods, entered into a paddy field and ravaged it. The villagers saw what was done to their paddy fields and began to chase the boar away. While chasing, the boar was wounded by a young boy but it managed to vanish into a mountain gorge. The boy was persistent and followed the blood trail and finally he reached the cave of the mountain. And there he saw a God and the God asked him who he was, what he wants and whether he was the same boy who wounded the boar. As he was frightened he said that he was there only to ask for the Gods daughter's hand. This made the God happy and he asked the boy to choose either of his two daughters. As the boy looked at the two daughters one was ugly with fine clothes and the other was beautiful with filthy clothes. The boy chose the latter and carried her in a bamboo basket to his house. Then he kept the basket at the entrance of the house and called his relatives and friends to witness him taking the bride inside as was the custom. After he had left hunchibily- an ugly and wicked woman reached that place. She removed the lid and saw the girl. She dragged the girl out of the basket and threw her into the nearby river and she got herself inside the basket and tied the lid. To witness him taking his bride inside the house the boy brought along his friends and relatives and removed the cover of the basket but instead an ugly woman came out and all his friends and relatives laughed at him. The boy was confused but decided to marry hunchibily. The girl who was thrown into the river finally turned into a beautiful bamboo tree in the course of time tender bamboo shoot sprouted. One day the boy cut the bamboo shoot to prepare a dish, as the curry was boiling the bamboo shoot started to wail hunchibily la la la hunchibily la la la. This frightened him and he threw away the curry in the backyard. Later, a beautiful orange tree grew where the curry was thrown. The tree started growing and he saw

a beautiful orange in the tree. To his surprise he noticed that the orange comes whenever he reaches the tree, but goes away hunchibily goes near it. One day he plucked the orange and kept inside a basket then something unusual began to happen. Whenever the boy with hunchibily was out in the paddy field, a girl would come out of the orange and clean his bed, throw the garbage, dirt, and cowdung on the bed of hunchibily. As this was going on it made the boy confused, curious and when he asked his neighbours they replied negatively. So one day he was hiding, then at noon after hunchibily had gone out he saw a beautiful girl coming out of the basket cleaning his bed, throwing garbage, dirt, cowdung on hunchibily's bed. To his delight he found the girl was actually the daughter of the cave God. The young boy caught hold of the girl and she narrated what hunchibily had done to her. The boy was so angry he took out his dao, sharpened it and waited for hunchibily's return and after sometime hunchibily returned but the boy killed her with his dao. And Arum plant got soaked with her blood and turned red. Since then, people believe whenever a male person sees a red arum plant he loses his cool.

Folksongs

The Angamis also possess a passion for music. They are particularly adept in playing *Tati* (A single string musical instrument) and *Teutu* (flute made of bamboo). In fact, singing is an essential part of every festival. They also communicate through singing. Traditional dancing also constitutes a part of the Angami culture. The people love to sing and there is music for every occasion. While writing about the Angamis music, George Watt gives an interesting observation when he says:

Music is practically unknown among the Angamis, and their song is the monotonous grunting of the hau-hau in different tones indulges in and kept up by every man

engaged on any kind of work. A song with words I believe to be unknown. (Watt in Elwin 1969:465)

On the other hand, P.T. Philip has rightly observed that, “Nagas in general and Angamis in particular are fond of singing” (Philip 1983:95). In fact, almost all the Angamis can sing in term of singing to a certain degree of harmony.

All the songs are thematic and every occasion has different songs. The themes of the songs are mostly about war-deeds, nature, courtship, love and nostalgic reminiscence of the departed heroes, songs and lovers. *Thepfe* or *Tsali* is a common name for every type of song. Though there may be variations from village to village in regard to the names, wordings and tunes in certain cases, yet the structures are usually the same. Excepting a few cases, all are group songs having different parts.

Young men in the Morung practise and learn to sing the different songs. In fact most of the songs are taught and learnt from this institution. Young women also do the same in their respective dormitories. In former days, all the songs were simply memorised and passed on by rote. Music ushers life and expression in most of the festivals. On a day of festival such as *Thekranyi*, one finds various *Thesu* (age-groups) go on enjoying singing throughout the night. Young men and women also sing together as they work collectively in the field. Again, young boys courting the girls express their love through singing. This is done by *Chakrii*, which is a song meant to communicate their thoughts to each other. Many songs are composed with themes based on love which perhaps reflect the romantic nature of the Angamis. One may also find a good number of patriotic songs that talk about victory over their enemies. There are also quite a lot of songs which depict love for their land or for their departed near ones etc.

Some of the songs and poems are composed which are profoundly deep and today there are only a few elders who can interpret the rich and archaic words of some of the Angami lyrics. An interesting feature in Angami lyrics is that these are by and large romantic and appealing to one's sentiment. There are also quite a number of songs which reflect the uncertainty and brevity of life and the inevitable death, and the fear of it. It may not be out of place to give one of such songs sung at *Thekranyi* festival by the youth of Khonoma which is quoted from Hutton's book.

Men: Seeds are in the Earth, and seeds keep falling to the Earth. Men take them away, but still they spring up, but if men die, riseth not again.

Women: Girls delay not too long to marry, when your hair grow long, you grow old, when you grow old, you die.

Both: The moon waneth, yet it waxeth again, but when I lose my beloved, there is no more meeting. (Hutton 1969: 40)

As there was no writing in the past, the Angamis employed music to reserve and disseminate the heroic history of the past. In fact, a reliable source of information of the olden days is to understand the meaning of the songs.

Type of Songs

The Angami traditional songs can be grouped into various categories. Different songs are sung to suit the different times and occasions. For instance, it is a taboo to sing *Chieli* in the village as it is sung only in the jungle. However, no valid reason is found as to why it was made a taboo. It is rather inappropriate than a taboo to sing a song which is not of that particular season and context. Similarly a war cry can be yelled only in the jungle and at the time of war and funeral. Many of the songs have nine syllables in its metrical system. Writing

about Angamis song, Hutton mentions ten varieties (which are taken from Khonoma Village):

Tsali: Sung particularly at *Gennas* (such as *Thekranyi genna*).

Chakrii : Sung in the village or in the field.

Lhipecha: Sung when “dancing” in the *Thehuba* or similar place at *gennas*.

Pithucha: Sung when pounding *dhan*.

Likwino: Sung rather fast (comparatively that is pitched fairly high).

Lhipisu: Sung by two men. The words are those of *Chakrii* or similar to them, but the tune different.

Wiipesu: Sung by boys sleeping in the *Morung* when they are in the *Machang*.

Sheli: Sung in the jungle only. It is *Kenna* (*Kenyii*) to sing *Chieli* in the village.

Lideh: Sung very slow and pitched very low. (Hutton 1969:283)

In the course of research some more are found which are added below:

Geizo: This has two kinds. One has been transmitted through trance and the other can be composed by anybody who may be inspired in a way or the other.

Thupfeii: The songs of a cow-boy usually sung alone.

Livo: These are generally sung in merry-making and commonly used regardless of time.

Thekrii: Songs in this category are sung to express their grief and sense of loss especially at a funeral. So the deep emotions and sadness find their outlet through *Thekrii*.

The most common form of singing is called *Kewhu* which has no wording but if sung correctly, it produced a very fine music. To sing this song it is rather slow at the bass and goes faster and faster and when it can no longer go any faster, then it ends with some loud yelling known as *Mepfii* by some experts.

Speaking of translation Hutton said that a literal translation made things scarcely intelligible. When he attempted a few, since he did it by hearing only, his Angami itself was almost foreign. To quote an example of his own:

Tsali

“Dozhii”

A Girl speaks:

Thewururi Dozhu Atikru.

When it rains, *dozhu* is my rainshield.

Chipfu Ledi krutze renu

I will take it and go to *Krutze* pond.

No Reliche, Dozhu Meniu

Go slowly, *Dozhu*, dearest. (Ibid. 284)

Proper Angami should be as follows:

Teirii iirei Dozhii a teikhru.

Chiipfii Liedi Krutsoze Riinu.

No Rulicie Dozhii Mia Niu.

In the Angami community the fertility of the crops and the prosperity of the village are closely associated with the dead, whose life substance is conceived of as forming a continuous cycle of reproduction, men to cereals sown, and then back through grain eaten or through flesh of animals that have eaten it, to man again. It is this theory that forms the

philosophic basis of head hunting, while social status is acquired by taking of heads and bringing additional life substance to the community, the other is acquired by the distribution of acquired wealth and feast his fellow family, clan and villagers with pompous ceremonies. The highest rank is associated with the erection of a pair of standing stones. The *Lisv* (post-pulling) *genna* is the next one before the pulling of a stone. As most *gennas* are dictated by the official priest this *genna* is not but is observed according to the direction of any old man who is well versed and known to be an expert in the details that are to be followed. Firstly, a ceremony called *Zhuhetsv* is performed in the month of *Thenyie-krv* (October), beginning on the 16th day of it. *Kizie* is the first day of observance, rice, local brews are fastened to the centre post of the house for the spirits and so begins the ceremony by observing *Penyie* (non-working day). He kills four cows or a bigger number and feasts his closest friends. Three new pots must be used one for the male, one for the female and the third for the performer and his *Thugiyu* (chaste young boy). Likewise three new hearths are also made. Two in the outer room and the other in the inner room, but away from the household hearth. The male guests cook at one of the hearth, the female guests at the other and the third for the performer. Only the performer's own household, himself excluded are allowed to use the regular herd on this occasion. For three days the performer and his *Thugiyu* remain and live together. A new gourd ladle, new funnel are used by the performer's wife for the two to pick it up and drink. The *thugiyu* goes home taking with him *zu*, cooked meat wrapped in a leaf on the third day.

The following *genna* called *Zhangu*, neither is he allowed to visit anyone nor others are allowed to visit him. After the sixth day, called *Zhakre*, he prepares all the materials that is needed for the feast. A day called *Si-du* (wood-cut) forty pieces of meat and gourds of *zu* are taken to the place where the fuel is cut and consumed by the performer and his *Thugiyu* and two of his closest friends. This completes the preliminary *genna*. The following month, *ziephie-khrv* (November), is allowed to elapse and in the following month *rvede khrv*

(December) rice for the *zu* is pounded for the ceremony. On the fifth day of this month *Kevakethe genna* marking the beginning of the harvest and after the *Penyie* the *Phichu* informs the village about the *zu* that is to be watered by all for the upcoming *Lisv genna*. Till the eighteenth day different *gennas* are observed in a very strict manner so as not to bring impurities to the performer and his household. Next, a black bull is killed inside the *bohu* cut up and cooked in separate pots for both the men and women. After this several other *gennas* are also performed by way of chants, tasting of *zu*, chasing away of enemies and calling of spirits by the following words: Post of fertility, path of fertility willingly rise up. Thus, the posts are pulled to the performers' house carried by a warrior followed by veterans, clans in full traditional attire from the youngest to the oldest in their finest ceremonial dress. After reaching the performers house, the performer is left standing while the procession moves off to the village. All this is done to the accompaniment of the most barbaric shouts and cries and the incessant firing of guns. With the completion of the ceremony and a month later and until the first sower has sown the rice the next spring, the performer may not eat outside his own village nor visit another village at all.

The Angamis have glorious tradition of folk culture with diverse celebrations and performances which keep them engaged the whole year in different activities. These activities have scientific significance and when analyzed properly they reveal prominent reasons as to how and why such activities have been designed.

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CHAPTER IV

MAJOR ANGAMI NAGA FOLK EXPONENTS AND WRITERS

The beginning of Angami literary works can be seen in the early Tenyidie literature of various poets and story tellers. Early folk poetry was in the form of folk songs composed by women poets or sung in groups as songs. *Dinuo* and the celebration of Nature and her connection with the Creator and the celebration of life and Nature has been the basis of her creative outpourings. Early writings also denote a lot of melancholy, taking us back into the inherent description by colonial administrators of the Angamis as being melancholic, perhaps a tradition of the folklore influences in their tales and their music and lore. The following famous Angami authors have profuse contributions to Tenyidie literature and hence they have been considered major exponents of Angami Folk Literature.

Dr.Shürhozelie Liezietsu

Dr.Shürhozelie Liezietsu is one of the most celebrated writers in Angami literature; he has authored more than 40 books on poetry, novels, history, drama, translations, etc. Several of his books are part of the syllabus in Nagaland University and its affiliated colleges. Besides writing and politics, Liezietsu has a keen interest in gardening. President of Ura Academy,

the state's highest literary body, he was conferred an honorary D.Litt. by the Nagaland University in 2003. He is also an Indian politician from Nagaland who served as the eleventh Chief Minister of Nagaland from 22 February 2017 to 19 July 2017. He is the president of Nagaland People's Front party.

He was born on 20th November 1936 in Kohima village and belongs to Angami tribe, one of the 16 major tribes in Nagaland. He did his initial schooling in Mission Public School, Kohima and completed his matriculation in year 1956 from Kohima Government High School. He completed his graduation from the prestigious St. Edmund's College, Shillong. He started his career as a clerk in state secretariat before switching to teaching. Some of his notable works in Angami literature are:

Sl.no	Title of Books	Year of Publication
1	<i>Puo A Mehothazo</i>	1981
2	<i>A Puokekhrie</i>	1992
3	<i>Methuophemia</i>	1993
4	Telhe mote	1994
5	<i>Ŭca 53</i>	1982
6	<i>U TeikiGeizo</i>	2011
7	<i>Thenou Rŭtso</i>	1993
8	<i>MKS Dieda</i>	2001
9	<i>Diechie</i>	1997
10	<i>Diekhu and Dierozu</i>	
11	<i>Tenyidie Dze</i>	1992

12	<i>Jusikepenuo</i>	1979
13	<i>Daniel mhieThepfulie</i>	1989
14	<i>Jacob mu puonuonuoko</i>	1989
15	<i>Juketanuou</i>	1989
16	<i>Ruokuothopfu</i>	1972
17	<i>Nehemiah</i>	1994
18	<i>Peli</i>	
19	<i>Mehouviŋ- morusa</i>	1992
20	<i>TeikadoKedukhri</i>	1982
21	<i>RŋsieKedojuKepetha</i>	2002
22	<i>Ketho mu Keyu</i>	2002
23	<i>Khepulie Do</i>	
24	<i>ThehouRusie</i>	2004
25	<i>KijiiriiKenieuBouhou I,II,III.</i>	1992/1994
26	<i>U themiadzeBouhou I,II,III.</i>	2007/2010/2014
27	<i>Pejokewa</i>	1993
28	<i>Raruonuoungo-kijii nu kevo</i>	2015
29	<i>N kelhourideilie vi</i>	
30	<i>A Vor A miaZeKerechii A Aneilie</i>	2001
31	<i>Kesiachii mu Ruochii</i>	2001
32	<i>Johan Dieliekevi</i>	
33	<i>No penuoKesa la morosuo</i>	1993
34	<i>GhandhiDze</i>	1993
35	<i>UKelhounouKetsokeciiKezhathoko</i>	

36	<i>U tsiepfiiimiaRiive</i>	1982
37	<i>Phousanyi</i>	1981
38	<i>U NeidimiaDze</i>	1989
39	<i>KetholeshuRiinako</i>	2014
40	<i>A Ra Kezivi</i>	1984
41	<i>Yuwe</i>	1996
42	<i>Kerheimvii</i>	2011
43	<i>Khedi Baptist KehouDze A Lesi</i>	2018
44	<i>A KelhouDze</i>	2019
45	<i>Ura Academy Dze</i>	2020

Most of his writings concentrate on Angami culture, traditions, folklore and the Angami way of life or *Tenyimia* way of life. His work has stressed on the traditional values of the Angamis, studying the Tenyimia people in its compact whole. Traditional practices of the familial relationship of the family, ancestors and the depth of meaning in respecting the lineage one comes from, Clans and Khels and the impact of these over the societal way of life in Angami communities is found in his seminal works. The relations between the *Razou*- the big village and the *Sonuo*, the smaller neighbouring villages become a talking point for his characters and his essays.

His writings focus on the qualities stressed upon by Angami elders, and truth and honesty, the key stones of Angami culture. Active participation in community work, respect for elders which is reflected in many parts of his writings are based on folk traditions of ancestors. The Angami requirement for courtesy '*mediemerhiekecu*', being independent and living on one's

own efforts which are similar to the lessons of old, when ancestors lived by their own sweat and toil. The key words for Angamis is *Kedzunga* and *Menga*, i.e., to feel shy or keep reservations is found most prominent among Angamis which is not easily a part of other non-Tenyimia cultures. This traditional aspect is what keeps an Angami pride intact and enables one to stand on principles of one's forefathers. Stories of inheritance is explored and portrayed also in his writings, whereby the practice of a man without an heir is exemplified in property passing on to the nearest male heir who may be many generations apart.

Traditional stories of love and sorrow as in the folk legend of Mehovouiu and Morusa come alive again under the skill of his writing where he brings the young generation into the world of bravery, valour, the skill and practice of head hunting and finally the tragedy of beheading the unknown beloved Mehovouiu and bringing her home dead, the lady he was supposed to marry. It also brings to mind traditional concepts of arranged marriages which were common amongst Angamis, a practice handed down from generations earlier.

In his fictional and prose writings are found the basic foundations of Angami family relations and existence of the community. Loyalty to one's clan or *khel*, blood relations, age group relations and also the impact of war on the Angami community as a whole, His stories take us back to the days of headhunting, as familiar as our folk lore, cutting across times and climes and bringing legends and myths alive on his pages. Angami festivals like *Sekrenyi*, *Phousanyi* are portrayed in his writings not only as festivals to make merry and enjoy traditional folk music and traditional food, but seen as a time to make friendships and build bonds of relations that will sustain the community and families for years to come. The

celebration of not only life but of building friendship either amongst individuals but also between clans and *khels* or villages through such festivals of our forefathers.

Much of his writings also explore the gaps between the traditional beliefs and practices and Christianity which found its way into the Angami villages over the years. As an exponent of folk art of storytelling and folk songs and rhythmns, Dr. Shurhozelie has carved a space for himself and a legacy, very few will be able to carry one, taking into consideration his immense research and in-depth knowledge of the Angami folk traditions and ancestral heritage of knowledge. Independence and individual courage without depending on others for one's survival are lessons he conveys through the writings of prose, poetry and fiction.

Dr. Duovituo Kuolie

Dr. Duovituo Kuolie is a pioneer in the field of Tenyidie literature in Nagaland. From starting the Department of Tenyidie in the Nagaland University and collecting the largest number of scholarly research dissertation in his department, he has started a challenge which few will be able to fill his shoes. A national awardee from the Sahitya Akademi and also a member of the National Sahitya Akademy besides being in numerous forums of linguistics and language, he continues to write and critique profusely the upcoming outpourings of Naga literary scene.

If we break the language barrier, we can understand each other better and easily become one. Sitting unruffled and composed in his home space, he declares that Political Science was his favourite subject and it makes one wonder why Dr. D. Kuolie opted for

Linguistics instead. To this, he confesses that a research paper on Japan he read years ago had convinced him that development of our mother tongue is the most important for the development of the society. He adds that biologically our mental exercise and thinking power always shift to our mother tongue where creativity is embedded. He, therefore, decided to dedicate his life to the development of Tenyidie. He is also quick to clarify that he has never once regretted leaving Political Science behind while pronouncing- “it is my destiny; God has given me this profession” (Interview). In the real sense, however, he has stayed with the ancient philosophical thoughts of the likes of Socrates, Aristotle and Plato. His wide knowledge on other subjects is also pretty much intact, evident in the keen interest of his inputs as he touches upon various subject matters. It is hard to bypass the fact that here is one learned man whose concern for social transformation stands genuine. In the course of this *tête-à-tête*, he still brings in Rousseau and Voltaire who he says “were instrumental in developing the minds of the masses during the Great French Revolution”. To which end, he firmly believes that “in order to transform and better our society in all rounds of development, literature is a must” (Interview). A frontrunner in Tenyidie language, he says that “it is a highly expressive language.” Linguistically, he feels ‘it’s a beautiful language...very complex but it has a highly expressive power” (Ibid.). He emphasises that the whole language community should “try to build up literature of our own mother tongue where we can draw the richness of our forefathers”, adding that “it can also be blended with the modern civilisation to refine our society for development.” “We have a highly concentrated oral literature,” he says and feels that we the need to expose ourselves to the outside world because “claiming we have a rich heritage is only half value”. From his perspective, literature in Nagaland is very much alive. “We can enrich it,” he underlines and laments that so far this has not been taken up with any degree of seriousness. According to him, “whether it’s literature or art, the approach is almost same”. He regretfully

inserted that “Nagas are still under the spell of tribalism” while strongly asserting that this “must be broken for our wider interest”, particularly in this fast changing world. Dwelling further on the lines of language, he says, “If we can understand each other we can easily become one”(Ibid.). One must say this is a very noteworthy point. “If we learn each other’s language, we have easy access to each other’s opinions”...(Ibid.) and that is also one of the reasons why he wishes to further the development of Tenyidie Language. “One prospect of learning the language could easily be the fact that the State Capital has all cross-section of the community.” “The world,” he explains, “has become a playground in the field of industries, businesses, education etc.” and while referring to Exchange Programmes of reputed Universities, he says that “it’s only because they want to facilitate each other on their respective cultures”(Ibid.). Yet, Tenyidie is not the only language he propagates. “Come 2010, Nagaland would soon be able to boast of probably the first ‘Institution of World Languages’ in the country.” (ibid.)

A brainchild of Dr. D. Kuolie, the Institution will offer certificate courses as well as PG Diploma courses. This concept was visualised with the need to do away with language barriers. Local dialects like Tenyidie and Ao would be part of the venture while of course, English is definitely in. Four other foreign languages like Korean, Japanese, Chinese and Thai would be special attractions of the Institute. He also said that plans to rope in the languages of the neighbouring nations like Myanmar, Cambodia, Vietnam, etc are on. He is confident that with this academic endeavour, Naga language students would become more highly employable. To his credentials lie many a celebrated moment and in the promotion of literature, his name automatically springs up, yet he remains humble in his approach even when asked about his achievements. With over two decades of experience with writing, his contribution in the literary field is tremendous. Till date, he has translated eight books (from English to Tenyidie) including scientific text translation and Shakespearean plays, among

others. Translation, he opines, is time consuming and challenging but says that it is definitely worth the long hours of effort he puts into it. Dr. D. Kuolie has also authored 14 books that vary in style and content as an accomplished poet and writer.

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1. *DiemvüTheteZho* (Principle of Literary Criticism) –UraAcademy Pub. 1992.

2. *Noumvüzou* (Collection of Short Stories) –UraAcademy Pub. 1993.

3. *Tenyidie:LeKeshüDie* (Topical Essays on Development of TenyidieLiterature)

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4. *UramiaGeizo* (Collection of self composedpoems with introduction on technique of Tenyimia Poetry) - UAP, 1996.

5. *Kerheingunuo* (Translation of Crystobal'sGenevieve) - UAP, 1997.

6. *Nyiepourhau* (Translation of Crystobal's *TheBasket of Flower*) -- UAP, 2001.

7. *TenyimiaMhaphruoGeizoko* (Edition of Modern TenyimiaPoetry) - UAP, 2001

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(b) Article Published (Chapter)

1. “Development of Tenyidie:A Focus On Social Sciences” : *Status of Social*

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6. “Tribal Customs, Traditions, Cultural Mapping of Nagas”: *Tribal Languages & Literature of North East India* - Edited by L. Khiangte, published by Department of Mizo, Mizoram University, Aizawl.

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He has dealt with everything literary. Delving in the contents of his published books, one finds short stories, folklore pieces, poems, and critical analysis of literature on drama, fiction, poetry among others. It is no wonder then that his credentials earned him the Governor's Award for Literature. He is also a recipient of the prestigious Sahitya Akademi Award for his outstanding contribution in literature. Known also as the National Academy of

Letters, Sahitya Akademi was set up by the Government of India to foster and coordinate literary activities in all the Indian Languages and promote through them cultural unity. Over the years, he has participated and attended numerous workshops and seminars on literature across the country besides presenting various papers and lectures. Serving as the Head of Tenyidie Department, and Department of Linguistics, Nagaland University, he is also actively involved with *Ura Dze*, a monthly publication. And you're mistaken if you think his hands are too full for anything else – another novel is also in the making. Before wrapping up things, one may want to delight in a little musing of this celebrated poet, writer and teacher who feels that poetry gives awareness to the follies of the society and goes on to say that "Poetry is an instrument to social criticism". Enlightening a bit more on one his own personal favourite poems, he talks about "Moonlight's Love" which has a symbolic value and here, he sees the moon's light as distribution of equal right, equal love to all the universe whereas the sunlight seems to give more disadvantages to the poorer section of the society by clearly disclosing their poverty and woes. In his own lines:

"...To those who hoard in booty by foul means, in hundred millions or thousand millions are but demigod to many. Virtuous are pushed aside to corners to be crushed is an unthinkable act to regret! (Interview)

Folk traditions, folktales and folk music and songs, folk renderings of the village elder are daily literary interests he has developed over the years. The collections of folklore and translations done by the scholarly writer is a treasure house of Angami culture and traditions appearing on the literary scene through his works of literature and translations. Characters from the oral narratives and oral traditions find themselves on the pages of his

memory and incantations that he writes and enthuses in his creativity, The fusion of tradition with modernity, analysing tradition of folk culture weaves into his stories and his poetry. His books on Tenyimia folklore and songs, Tenyimia culture and mapping of Naga culture are all seminal works where he explores Angami roots and history into the domain of folk traditions, magic, mystery and brilliance that only folk traditions can reveal to its exponents.

Dr. Easterine Kire

Easterine Kire is a poet and author who currently lives in northern Norway. The majority of her writings are based in the lived realities of the people in Nagaland in north-east India. Her motivation to write is summed up in this statement by her in an interview, "I felt we needed to create written Naga Literature. We have so much oral narratives but with oral dying out, it's all going to be lost". The violence of the regime in Nagaland, and harassment which she and her husband were subjected to as a result of her writing, led her in to exile in 2005. Since then she has lived in northern Norway, where she was initially given refuge by the ICORN network, and has dedicated herself to poetry and writing. She has recorded numerous CDs with her jazz group, Jazzpoesi, with whom she has performed on many occasions.

Early life

Easterine Kire was born in March 1959 to an Angami Naga family in Nagaland, India. She did her schooling in Kohima. She did her undergraduate study in Shillong followed by a course in journalism in Delhi. She has a Ph.D. in English literature from SavitribaiPhule Pune University.

Writings

Considered one of the greatest literary voices in her region, she has written various books in English, including volumes of poetry, novels and short stories. Her first collection of poems, *Kelhoukevira* (1982), and her first novel, *A Naga Village Remembered* (2003) both written in English, were the first poetry collection and novel to be published by a writer from Nagaland. The author has been a pioneer in opening up the fascinating and vibrant traditional Naga culture to the rest of the world through her writing. With the aim of preserving and enhancing her mother tongue, Tenyidie, she has collected 200 oral poems in the language in addition to producing a translation into English. Easterine Kire published her first book of poetry in 1982 titled *Kelhoukevira*. This was also the first book of Naga poetry published in English. Her novel *A Naga Village Remembered* published in 2003 was the first novel by a Naga writer in English. Her second novel was *A Terrible Matriarchy* (2007) followed by *Mari* (2010), *Bitter Wormwood* (2011) and *Don't Run, My Love* (2017). Her latest book *Walking the Roadless Road: Exploring the Tribes of Nagaland* was published in 2019. She has also written children's books, articles and essays. Her first children's book in English was published in 2011. Kire has also translated 200 oral poems from her native language.

A Naga Village Remembered is about a battle between the British forces and one Naga hamlet. *A Terrible Matriarchy* highlights the internal and social strife that grips Nagaland as a state in India. *Mari* is a novel based on the Japanese invasion of India in 1944 via Nagaland. It is a true story of a young mother who lost her fiancé in the war and made the decision to move ahead and live her life. This is an example of how Kire through her works has tried to bring to the fore the everyday lives of the people in Nagaland. *Bitter Wormwood*, yet again brought out the human cost (effect on human lives) which was involved behind all the news that made the political headlines from the North-East.

Of particular note is *Mari*, an Indian bestseller which has been translated into numerous languages, and her latest novel, *Bitter Wormwood*, nominated for the Indian Lit For Life Prize in 2013. In 2011 she was awarded the Governor's Medal for excellence in Naga literature. Her books and poems have been translated into German, Catalan, Croatian, Uzbek, Norwegian and Nepali. Apart from bringing a focus on the vibrant Naga culture, Kire's work has also brought out the realities which have changed the lives of Naga women.

Awards and Recognitions

Easterin Kire's *Son of the Thundercloud* has been awarded Bal Sahitya Puraskar by Sahitya Academy in 2018. In 2011, Easterine Kire was awarded the Governor's Medal for excellence in Naga literature. She was also awarded the Free Voice Award by Catalan PEN Barcelona. *Bitter Wormwood* was shortlisted for The Hindu Prize in 2013. *A Terrible Matriarchy* was selected to be translated into UN languages. Furthermore, the books *A Terrible Matriarchy*, *Mari*, *Forest Song*, *Naga Folktales Retold* and *A Naga Village Remembered* have been translated into German. In 2015, her *When the River Sleeps* was awarded the Hindu Literary Prize.

Easterine's writings have also brought more readers and admirers as she writes in English and other foreign languages. She has translated over 200 oral poems from native language, Tenyidie into English. Her other books include *Forest Song* (2011), *A Volume of Spirit Stories*; and *Bitter Wormwood* (2011), and novel on the Indo-Naga conflict. Apart from bringing the focus on the vibrant Naga culture, her work has also brought out the realities which have changed the lives of Naga Women.

Whether it is in her poetry or her collections of stories and folktales, Easterine's connections with her Angami roots, culture and rich traditions cannot be denied. From using Angami words and names, a far cry from English names to the recollections of simple folktales for children, animal stories and fairies and spirits enthrall any reader, both young and old into her narrative of magic.

In her book *Naga Folktales Retold*, she writes that her intention is to rewrite and retell the folktales of Nagas from the view point of the local and not British administrators or anthropologists. These folktales become an area of cultural research for her and she interprets various tribe stories into a collection worth reading. She uses the method of being more reading friendly through the Retold method and thereby brings the young readers closer to the traditions and cultures that are celebrated through such tales. The stories indeed become more acceptable and understandable to a more global readership compared to the strict norms of anthropological writings of the earlier colonial writings. The folktales are first divided into Ancestor and Origin Tales which tells about the Sky and Earth Story, the Origin of Man Spirit and Tiger relations, and the Chicken Leg theory and story as well as the spirit Basket and Angami mepfunuomia legendary story. The Tales of the Supernatural brings the reader into the world of the Man who went to heaven, the Cornelian necklace, the folk tale of the Raindrop and the celebrations of the beauty of the Rain. The stone story of Ciechama still carries the legend of the village right into the global narrative where she brings a fusion of traditional story telling into the global audience.

Familiar categories about Strange Husbands bring humorous tales of various kinds like the Caterpillar husband, Monkey husband, Star husband, the Elephant husband and so on

which reveals the interesting fusion of man and animals in folk traditions of storytelling. Legends of Angami warriors are found in the Tales of Warriors. Tragedy of Krase and the strength of Zemozou and Vihienuo retold in her narrations steeped in colourful language and imagery. Tales of People bring back the many coloured pages of folk myths and legends alive into the collections of stories retold. Magic woman Rhalieu the sorceress, Mezapu the lazy man, Chukhio, a hunter's tale, Puliebadze, the man who built his badze, seat up on the high mountain overlooking Kewhira. There are also tales of horror and Love retold in the collections of folktales. Familiar Angami tales of Mehoviu and Morusa, Tsou and Terhuopudiu and Kimzuings bride. Tree and flower tales found in our folktales come alive in the Fig Tree, the girl who was swallowed by the tree and the woman who died at childbirth. The Animal tales for children are wrapped in animal imagery and childish innocence with familiar animals of the Angami country, The Frog and the Tiger, the Blue Pigeon, The Squirrel and the Bear, the Pigeon and the dove are all stories that bring as fusion of the Aesop's fables and folk tales along with a moral for children to digest and chew upon.

Easterine Kire brings oral narratives of Nagaland to literary life in her collection of stories within stories "The Rain Maiden and the Bear Man." The elders call it forest song, that inexplicable phenomenon of people going missing from the village, only to be found three or four days later, or, like Nito, ten days later. By then, it's too late – they are never the same again. Those who are retraced remember nothing. Except an incredibly sweet music coming from the forest, sweeter than the songs of courtship their age-mates sing at the harvest festival when marriages are contracted and the feast if the harvest combines with the feast of the marriage.

The songs draw them into the forest, deeper and deeper into the heart of the dark woods, until they grow so loud that the singing seems to be inside their heads, sung up close into their ears, their harmonies swaying back and forth and sending them into a deep slumber. The tragedy of Zeno's disappearance, on the fifth day that he was named. She says the name has two meanings, the one who will be ours or the one we claim as ours. Zeno's mother silently sits nursing her son then she smeared her finger with spit and touched it to his forehead and said, 'He's mine, hear me spirits. I have staked my claim.' Easterine brings back the fascination of folk legends alive through the stories, of clan relationships, loyalty and inconsolable grief at the disappearance of the young woman. In her book, 'When the river sleeps', contains wisdom in its truest and most unpretentious sense that is germane to today's world. Easterine has dipped her quill amply into the rich naga folk traditions. When you pick it up, you half expect it to be a socio-political commentary on the exotic naga people and their land. But when the river sleeps is full of witchcraft, heart stones, seers and forest spirits. Kire's narration sets as much store by the supernatural as do her characters and the book makes effective use of magic realism. This is a world where boundaries between magic and reality fall away, make friends and agree to live as one. Of the many narratives, silenced by war, the folktales of the nagas suffered a long period of being silenced. This was because folktales require certain settings in order to be told thee naga war with India after military operations began in 1956, destroyed the settings for oral narratives. One may not think that something as simplistic as a folktale would need to be approached with ritual and ceremony in order that its narration might take place. But it does. The folk tales belong to eras of relative peace in the village community.

In the 1950s and 1960s, many Naga families were displaced by the freedom struggle. People in the villages were most affected and they abandoned their homers to hide in the

forests. They lived in small groups to avoid detection. Two or three families sheltered together and most often the numbers of children were larger than that of adults. Hiding in rough camps in forests, these families survived on the meagre food rations they carried with them and the herbs and berries from the forest. These families have conflict, therefore held very little conversation amongst themselves.

The children were discouraged from talking loudly or playing noisily in the forest because of militarisation. The folktale lost its setting as the ancestral hearths were displaced. Its narrative was silenced throughout the period of the long Indo-Naga war. The peace that is essential to the continuation of oral narratives was uprooted when the grandmothers' hearth in the village world was destroyed with hundreds of villages burned and its people tortured and killed. The warriors also killed off many oral narrators as the silencing of folk narrators brought premature deaths of its carriers. Stories that would have died along with their narrators have been preserved by the efforts of the Department of Art and Culture in the 1970s with the publication of Naga folktales from the four districts of Kohima, Mokokchung, Tuensang and Wokha.

Vizonyu Liezietsu

An accomplished agriculturist by profession is another interesting writer who writes both in Tenyidie as well as in English touching upon varied agriculture subjects as well as different genres in his published Tenyidie books. Some of his publications both in English and in Tenyidie are:

List of books published (*as Co-author in English*):

Resource Book writing, “*Building upon Traditional Agriculture in Nagaland*” 1999
(*International Development Research Centre, New Delhi & International Institute of Rural Reconstruction, Philippines*)

Resource Book documenting, (*India-Canada Environment Facility-ICEF, New Delhi & International Institute of Rural Reconstruction, Philippines*)

Indigenous & Economic Trees of Nagaland, 1994

Alder Tree & Hill Toona Tree, 1995

Integrated Jhum Improvements Model

Dynamics of Micro Credit in Tribal Society, 2001-06

List of books published (*as Author in Tenyidie*):

<u>S/no.</u>	<u>Topics</u>	<u>Year</u>
1	Thekreda (<i>Humor</i>)	1998
2	U Kinyi (<i>Our Wealth</i>)	2001
3	Mia krü-nuo Si kezhü (<i>Parents</i>)	2018
4	Dzieseda (<i>Compounds words</i>)	2019
5	Ciethoko (<i>Climate change & Crops</i>)	2019
6	Dievi (<i>Wise Sayings</i>)	2020

7	NhicuRüzhü 77-ko (<i>Games & Sports</i>)	2020
8	Daru-Nha (<i>Medicinal Plants</i>)	2020
9	TezieKechü (<i>Horticulture</i>)	2021 (<i>In Press</i>)
10	Liecie (<i>Agriculture</i>)	2021 (<i>In Press</i>)
11	NhanyüZasiko (<i>A Pictorial Leaf-exploration</i>)	2021 (<i>In Press</i>)

Translations/Media

: CofiKepelhou (Coffee culture) 1983

: Backyard Horticulture Crops in Nagaland, 1993

: SeikranyüKepelhou (Tea culture) 2005

: News Editor, SeluoDielie, 1994 (*A Weekly Paper in Nagaland*)

: Co-Editor, UraDze 1994- 99 (*Monthly Journal in Nagaland*)

: Editor, KhediDieyie 1996- 2002 (*Monthly Church Magazine*)

Kekhrievou Yhome

Born on April 17, 1970 and hailing from LhisemiaKhel, Kohima Village, KekhrievouYhome has to her credit published 12 novels, 95 poems published in Tenyidie in Uradze a monthly literary journal of Ura Academy, the premiere Angami Literary Academy

and 18 poems published in the book of *Tenyiemia Mhaphruo* published by Ura Academy which has been prescribed as Tenyidie textbook for colleges in Nagaland. She has also written three screenplays.

Some of the works published by her are:

Sl.no.	Title	Year
1.	AzuoKekhriemenguya le (Novel Fiction)	1999
2.	KediethoCapiu (ovelFiction)	2000
3.	Kijŭ nu sŭtseite (Novel Fiction)	2002
4.	Tsie we silite (Novel Fiction)	2002
5.	A Neikethozo Part I (Novel Fiction)	2003
6.	A neikethozo Part II (Novel Fiction)	2004
7.	Jihova n khriya	2003
8.	Longing for my mother's love	2005
9.	Rŭnoumolie (Novel Fiction)	2006
10.	Kephoumazakhra (Novel Ficion)	2008
11.	Kijŭ nu kelhou (Novel Fiction)	2010
12.	Rŭnoumolie (Novel Fiction)	2011
13.	Kepenupfŭ u seba	2014
14.	Ketholeshŭkedipuopushŭga	2016
15.	Tso-o and terhuopudiŭ (Screenplay)	
16.	Phutheguo-o (Screenplay)	

17.	Vikho and Senyö (Screenplay)	
18.	95 Poems in Uradze (Journal of Ura Academy)	1995-2010
19.	18 Poems in Tenyidie (textbook for colleges in Nagaland)	

Kekhrievou Yhome is a prolific writer in tenyidie, with her works on different genres of literature, which has also earned her the Governor's Award in Literature in 2008.

Works Cited

Interview with the authors.

CHAPTER V

ANGAMI NAGA FOLKLORISTICS: MAJOR TRENDS

Like all other tribes, the Angamis observe major festivals coinciding with agricultural work, like sowing, transplanting and harvesting, besides the major ritualistic festival of Sekrenyi. The tribal world of the Angamis is replete with customs of genna and taboo, which are strictly observed in the Angami villages. The various myths of origin, places, villages, that surround the Angami world is rich with imageries and culturally imagined significances. Folk literature of the Angamis, which consists of folktales, folksongs/folkpoems, numerous legends, ballads, riddles and proverbs from different sources have been studied to understand the major trends of the Angami Folk literature.

Festivals

Kohima district is sub-divided into four ranges namely, the Western Angami, Southern Angami, Northern Angami and the Chakhro Angami. In Kohima, data were collected from the three ranges represented by the following villages:

Southern Angami-Kigwema, Viswema and Jakhama.

Northern Angami-Kohima village, Nerhema, Nerhema Model Village and Chiechama.

Western Angami-Jotsoma, Khonoma and Secüma.

The Angami festival names are suffixed by 'nyi' which means 'feast or celebration'. Each of the festivals marks the onset or completion of an agricultural phases of both *jhum* or 'slash and burn' cultivation and the terraced cultivation. The ritual period for particular agricultural activity among some villages are observed by the other villages as festivals. There is a very close relationship between the "ritual" and the "Festival". Also it is observed that depending on the differences in the range or villages the name of the festivals also differs.

Because of the reason cited above there are a number of festivals recorded among them- *Sekrenyi*, *Tsakronyi*, *Ngonyi*, *Kerunyi*, *Chiinyi*, *Chandanyi*, *Thegoukhoupfiinyi*, *Binyi*, *Keziinyi* and *Terhiinyi*. However this does not mean that all these festivals are observed by every Angami village. The following table shows that only six festivals are observed by the different ranges and villages covered under the study.

Festival	Range	Village
<i>Sekrenyi</i>	All	All
<i>Tsakronyi</i>	Southern Angami	Jakhama and Kigwema
<i>Ngonyi</i>	Western, Northern, Southern	All besides Jakhama and Kigwema from Southern
<i>Kerunyi</i>	All	All
<i>Chiinyi</i>	Southern and Western	All Southern and Khonoma from Western
<i>Chadanyi</i>	Western and Northern	All Northern and Western except Khonoma

Of the ten festivals recorded each village celebrate only six festivals annually. Out of which three festivals are common to all the Angami villages viz., *Sekrenyi*, *Kerunyi* and *Terhhiinyi* while the other three festivals differs. The Western and Northern Angami along with Viswema from Southern Angami show common trends in festivals, the Jakhama and Kigwema from the Southern range show some difference. Again Viswema stands out in the fact that they are the only village to observe the *Binyi* festival.

Before their conversion to Christianity, the Angami world was filled with *Terhuomia* or spirits. The chief spirit being the *Ukepenuopfii*, a female spirit, which is literally translated as our birth spirit. It is the *Ukepenyopfii* or *Kepenuophii* who is the creator of man. Sacrificial rituals are performed by designated officials on behalf of the community to propitiate the spirits. Social and religious order is maintained by observances of *Kenyii* and *Penyie* among the Angamis. The term *Kenyii* implies several meanings. *Neinu* gives the different meanings of *Kenyii* as referring to rites or rituals, sacrilege or impious, forbidden and prohibitions and restrictions. He also define *Penyie* as a religious expiatory day associated with abstention from field activity and also as a holiday or a day of celebration (religious or non religious). Violation of the *Kenyii* and the *Penyie* are held responsible for any calamity or misfortune in the village.

Every village has a priest or religious leader almost like the Druids, called the *Kemevo* and/or the *Phichii* and the *Zievo*, who is an elderly member of the priestly clan. He performs

the ritual on behalf of the community. While the *Zievo* officiates at the personal rituals it is usually the *Kemevo* and/or the *Phichii* (the eldest male of the village) who performs the community rituals. The *Kemevo* is a hereditary post where usually a descendant in direct line of the founder of the village is appointed or that he should belong to *Thevomia*. He is the repository of genealogical lore and will direct and fix the days for all public ceremonies.

While performing the rituals and fasting for community the *Kemevo* has to abstain from food, but can have the *zu* or the rice beer. The *zu* is a general term used by the Angami for the variety of the rich and nutritious traditional drink of the Nagas brewed from rice, millet, job's tears or corn. It was a traditional diet of the Nagas which was replaced by tea as a consequence of conversion to Christianity. The *zu* is used not only as a regular beverage but is said to have medicinal values. It has a significant place in the social and religious life of the Nagas. In almost all traditional ceremonial rites performed, a bit of the *zutho* or wine is spilled or offered to the spirits.

The *Kemevo* sets the day for every festival and about a week or so ahead of time the day is announced by the *Phichii*. The *Phichii* is the eldest male member of the village irrespective of his clan. For important community rituals related to agriculture two important officials are appointed the *Tsiekrau* and *Liedepfii*. The *Tsiekrau* is the first sower; a male, usually an old man, who performs the sowing rituals for the whole community. The *Liedepfii* is the first reaper a female, usually an old woman from the thepa group, who is usually a widow who performs the harvesting rituals for the whole community. Both the *Tsiekrau* and the *Liedepfii* have to observe the number of food taboos such as eating rats, squirrels and animals which have been killed by beasts of prey.

The Angamis consult the lunar calendar but at the same time waits for the *Sopfiimia*, the neighboring people of Mao, to start their traditional festivals. Though the Angamis follow the same Lunar calendar for all festivals, depending on the topography and the process of agricultural cycle, the southern region start the festival a little early than the other regions. The number of days kept aside for celebration is also found to differ from village to village.

The Angamis follow a general pattern in preparation of their festivals. As mentioned above, the formal announcement of the festival is done a week before prior to the day and this day is known as *Nyi-shie* (festival-announcement). Although the people are aware of the forthcoming festivals the formal announcement sets the motion for the festive preparation. After the announcement is *Thenyi-thouzuo* {festival wine making}, during which the people start brewing the glutinous rice in preparation for the ‘zu’.

A day is also set apart for collection of firewood and vegetables known as *sierie-gada* which will be used during the festival. The day before the festival is the *Chiicha*, when the people slaughter the animals for the grand feast. Few families can collect money together to buy a pig and a cow for the feast. Each family would get equal share of the meat by cutting into equal parts. Usually dogs are reared by almost every household, for meat as well as domestic guards. So even though dogs are also slaughtered during festivals, it need not be bought as in the case of the pig or the cow. Sometimes people get their share of festive meat , by offering their services for the field works.

SEKRENYI

The ritualistic approach to *Phousanyi* Festival begins with *Siri gada* (collection of firewood and plants): Two, three days ahead of the *Phousanyi* festival, almost all the *Peli kroü* (age groups) go to the village jungles to collect firewood and other plants and vegetables to be used during the festival. This is a compulsory expedition for the age groups. During the expedition, the *Peli kroü* would go to a particular paternal area, very often marked by their *Ki Niepuü* (Godfather and owner of their *Peli house*) and they would collect as much as is needed and bring it back to their respective *Peli Ki* (age group houses), to keep their *Peli Hou* (age group meetings) warm and full. Very often people who do not take part in this expedition are not welcome inside their respective *Peli Ki* (age group houses), but they may, at a latter stage, be allowed to come to their *Peli Ki*, if they bring their share of firewood and vegetables. However, their excuse of not being part of the expedition is not forgotten easily, as their *Pelimia* (peers) would continue to taunt them daily. Another important feature, that goes along with *si ri ga da* is the *Peli thu Thu* (making of traditional rice wine). Most of the *Peli Kro* (age groups) would make their own traditional rice wine, the quantity would depend on the size of their *Peli Kro* (age group) that would last, the entire duration of the *Phousa or Phousanyi* Festival. Another interesting fact that is practiced prior to *Phousanyi* is that, the age groups would try to finish all the manual activities concerning their paddy fields and prepare themselves, anxiously waiting, for the festivity that would soon come.

***Kizhie* (cleaning of ponds and surroundings)**

The festival follows a circle of ritual and ceremony, the first being *kizie*. A few drops of rice wine taken from the brim of *hiepu* (traditional jug) and *the zumho* (bubbles of the rice wine) are put on leaves. These are then placed at the three main posts of the house by the lady of the household, which marks the advent of *Phousanyi*. On this particular day, i.e., *Ki Zhie*,

before sunset, the womenfolk would collect as much water as possible from their community ponds, for their families as well as for their *Peli Ki* (age group houses) and they would also clean their houses and the surroundings as well. After sunset, all the menfolk of the village would make a procession, each holding *Ciena mi* (lamp made of *Artemecia Vulgaruis*) sing along and would clean the ponds of the village ,and as they clean the ponds they would in unison utter :

Theri therie chu ba sie ri

Kesuo ke rhu kha pie ba sie ri

Su ko pete chu kemesa wa te ho.

(diseases, poison, dirt,

evils have been cast away from our bodies as well as from the pond,

and it is now free from any bad omen).

After cleaning the community ponds , there is a theatrical fight amongst the menfolk with their *ciena mitu* (*Artemecia vulguris* lamps) and the bravest youths are made to guard the pond till the next ritual. With This ritual, marks the beginning, of the two day, water *genna* for the womenfolk. And it is a taboo for the womenfolk to draw water from their community ponds as well as take bath for the next two days. And if they do so, they would be ostracized from their village.

DZU–SE- VA (morning ritual Bath, Menfolk only):

On the second day, i.e, after *KI ZHIE*, before sunrise, all the menfolk of the village go to their respective ponds to take ritualistic baths. They have this ritualistic baths to clean

themselves physically, psychologically and spiritually for any eventualities. On this particular morning, The young men wear two new shawls (the white *Mhoushü* shawl and the black *Lohe shawl*) and they would gather around the pond and dip or sprinkle the water of the pond upon their chest, knees, arms, machetes, spears, guns, shake out their shawls and dip the tip of their shawls into the pond, and the *nuo khrienuoko* (youngest male members of the family) would bind their elbow joints, knee joints with *Zouhe* (gramineae spp) to protect them as well as cast away evil spirits or any form of natural calamities that may come upon them. One important aspect of this ritual is the practice of fortune telling and taboos, associated with it. On their return from the ponds, a rooster is sacrificed for *gei zhie* (to see their omen). It is taken as a good omen when the right leg falls over the left leg as it falls down. Also it is considered to be a good omen, when the rooster excretes faeces while it is being throttled. The innards of the rooster are then, systematically pulled and put on the planks of their front houses. This is done to let the elders of the community come and view the details of the rooster's innards and give their opinions about their family, cultivation and their personal life for the coming seasons. For this sacrificial act, the rooster must be a fully fit one and no white rooster is used for this purpose. Another aspect is the laying of rooster livers called *chu-se-pe* (liver piecing). After stabbing and piercing the liver, they mix it with ginger and put the liver under their bed or under the *Tsie Khie* (table) that is used for pounding paddy or under the gigantic *Chünuo* (basket) that is used for storing paddy. While placing the liver under the *tsie khie* or *chÜnuo*, they utter:

Chu terhu bu puo mhi pe zei

A bu a mhi pe zieu tha di, puo te puo gei lieyi.

(Let the eyes of the battles and dark forces be blind,

let my eyes be open and conquer them all).

If toddlers and young kids participate, they utter:

A rei mia ja ki shu zho ho.

(I agree and accept to their favour for blessings)

This particular ritualistic practice is done to prepare one's self psychologically and spiritually for any battles that may take place in future and it is a taboo to glance or peek at it.

SEKRE (Sanctification):

For the sanctification ceremony, only persons who have taken part in *kizhie* and *dzu-se-va* are eligible. During this ceremony they utter:

A tie,a zu

A chu ,a mo bu pepou peluo tuo le

(Let my wants be manifold and let my spirits grow with courage).

During *sekre*, kids and youngsters are advised not to roam about, as *Phousanyi* Festival takes place during the month of *kezei* (dark) and it is believed that, evil spirits roam about, during this month.

PRU (castaway bad omen)

This day marks the end of the rituals, which are associated with *Phousanyi*. On this particular day, before sunset, the menfolks, particularly those who took part in *sekre* rituals throw away their eatable leftovers and go to the village gate in ascending order (youngest to eldest) decked up in their best and most precious attires, to castaway evils spirits, bad omens

and asks for courage and purity by shaking out their attires, particularly their shawls, shoot their muskets in the air . And in unison they chant:

ke chu ke nyu

Kesakesou

Ke shuo ke rhu ko

The pe theruo

Pe te kesakesou

Wa te ho (Phuokuotuolie, Personal Communication, April 3,2016.)

(I am now free from diseases,

bad omens, dirt, epidemic, evil spirits).

Ritual is performed to signify that, they have been cleansed spiritually and they are now prepared for any eventuality that may happen, which is very similar to the Christian adaptation of the Baptism ritual of purification.

KRATSU (congregation of peer groups)

This is a ritualistic gait of songs, merrymaking, rich colours and traditional Angmai grandeur, consisting three days. During these three days, all the *pele kro ko* (age groups) go to their respective *Peli ki* (peer group houses) and sit for the *Thekra Hie* (feast) , feasting,

singing songs (almost every type of genre can be found), and odes like : *Merielhounuo* (ode), *Phou theguoü* (ode), *Metsu kezei* (ode) and love songs .

Inside the *kratsu*, everyone's in their best traditional attires, the menfolk with their *keshünei* (kilt) adorned with shell, *terha* (sash) on their shoulders, their guns and spears by their side and their *tsüla* (headdress) gives more meaning to the festival, on the other hand, the womenfolk, wear *chiecha* and *vachie* (traditional wrap around skirts and blouse) ,with traditional necklaces adorning their necks and breasts, and their *khuru* (baskets) full of eatable stuffs. Beside traditional rice wines, and meat, abound, and the walls of the *kratsu ki* (house) are adorned with colourful shawls of unique designs, baskets full of eatable stuffs. There is a sense of belongingness, unity and everyone is revitalized after going through all the rituals that has been performed for the *phousanyi*

Festivals

***THENYI MI* (end of festival)**

On this particular day, all the village folks including the womenfolk and the peer groups come out from their respective *peli ki* (peer group houses)and feast together. This day, marks the end of *Phousanyi* festival and allows them to prepare themselves for the ensuing season that lay ahead.

TSIEKRÜNYI

This festival has been informed among Kigwema and Jakhama of the southern Angami, in place of the *Ngonyi* festival which is discussed below, and among the *Seciima* of Western Angami just before the *Ngonyi* festival. The *Tsakronyi* is celebrated in the month of January-february for five days. *Tsakronyi* is derived from the term, *tsiekrii* (sowing seed). It marks the onset of sowing seeds for *jhum* field.

Prior to the festivals the *Tsiekrau* performs the rituals of sowing. He fasts for five days during which he cannot take rice .becauseit is said to affect the yield of the seeds, but he can drink the *zu* after the fasyting priod is over he puts on a small raincoat called *kenhou*, although it is not raining.with this put on he goes on to the field and sows the paddy and other vegetables seeds on a small patch of land, which may not be necessarily his field.

The use of *Kenhou*, the traditional straw woven raincoat,is a form of sympathetic magic where it is expected that putting on the raincoat will compel adequate rainfall upon the crops.As he does it he blesses the seed to bear rich crops.only after this ritual has been completed can the others go for sowing their seeds.

The first day of *Tsakhronyi* is *kide* or *kizie* perform by the lady very early in the morning on behalf of the entire household saying:

Hie! Teiru teikhrie bunu u kiju nu vohie cie.u beitei

bu kevika chutuowe.kechukenyu vorhiecie.

let not the rain and wind come in our land.

Let our handy work be better.

Let no sickness befall us’.

Here the rain and the wind refers to the heavy storms which could destroy the crops and are a common feature of high ,mountainous areas of the Angami region.

The first and the second day is spent in feasting and presenting their near and dear ones with their cooked meat, wrapped in banana leaves and ties with bamboo strips. The third day is oderved as a day of rest.On the last two days men and women, both young and old, go to the forest to collect firewood but no field activities are conducted.

This is the first festival observed by the above mentioned villages to mark the first agricultural cycle. The people await the ritual to be observed by the official first sower, the tsiekrau, before sowing their seeds otherwise they would have to face consequences for breaking the custom.This motivates solidarity among the members and also encourages respect for ones custom and traditions. The people once again show kin-affiliation by gifting their near and dear ones with their packed food.

NGONYI

The literal translation of the term *ngo* means ‘physically, mentally exhausted/ unrefreshed/ dull/boring’. *Ngonyi* is a celebration where the people observe the festival with austerity in respect to ritual.This festival is also known as *Tsarhunyi*. *Ngonyi* is observed for ten days

during March to April. It is a period to reactivate and energize themselves before the heavy activities of agriculture begins.

To mark the first agricultural activity the sowing ritual is performed by the *tsiekra-u* or the *phichu*. This period is observed as a festival called *tsakronyi* by some villages as discussed above. While the others consider it as an essential ritual period before the *ngonyi* festival.

The *tsiekra-u* goes beyond the village gate and clears a small patch of land to perform the sowing ritual and invoke blessings. After putting up fences around the spot where he is going to sow the seeds he comes back and the next morning enters his hut where he starts his fasting for five days during which he can drink the *zu* but not solid food, also he cannot talk to people. Then he puts on the *kenho* and goes to sow the millet seed and seeds of other crops to be cultivated in the *jhum* field, as he does that he seeks blessings for the seeds to bear good yield. The next day after he has performed the sowing ritual the other members can go to their field and start sowing. The following day *tsiekra-u* breaks his fast.

A few weeks later when the seed starts to sprout towards the evening he performs another ritual called *Pudu* on behalf of the community. This falls on the following day of the announcement by the priest on *Thenyi-thouzu* for *Ngonyi*. The *Tsiekra-u* clears the place where he had sown the seeds of millet and other crops and invokes blessings for the seeds to produce good yield. After the ritual he has to observe certain restriction in order to preserve the blessings invoked. He should not talk to any strangers from outside the village. It is believed that if he talks to strangers the ritual will become unclean or impure. He should not touch any kind animal for fear that the animals will be provoked to destroy the crops. He

should not take dry food or smoked meat. While cooking if the rice or curry spill over and douse the fire it is a bad omen depicting fire breaking out and destroying. They have a believe that if weeding is done on the fifth day and the tenth day of *pudu* ritual, snakes will come and bite the villagers. Snake being venomous, the restriction is strictly observed. After the main ritual of *Pudu*, the rest of the villagers can start to weed. They have a believe that if weeding is done before the ritual is performed calamities befalls the villagers.

At Viswema, the day before *Kizie* for *Ngonyi* is the *Zhothomi sokre*, during *Sekrenyi* those who had hosted *Sha*/ personal feast or those who could not *sekre* due to ill health observe *sekre* on this morning. The ponds will not be touched by women and these persons will cleanse themselves as described during *Sekre* by sprinkling water and come back home carrying water.

On the first day of *Ngonyi*, womenfolk perform the *Kizie* ritual early in the morning. The same procedure is followed as done in the *Sekrenyi* where *Zumho* is placed on the main post. For the rest of the *Kizie* day it is *Kenyii* or prohibited to talk to strangers or visitors from other village for fear of ill luck befalling on them. For five days from the day of *Kizie* no work is carried out in the fields. The second and the third day after *Kizie*, people go collecting firewood, go hunting and fishing and they weave baskets. But they donot work in the field.

At Viswema a cleansing ritual for infants and babies is performed on the second day is called *Niisocho*. Early morning the mother brings water and make a separate hearth where the mother cooks, she makes a pretension of feeding the baby by touching the lips of the baby

with a little of the food cooked from the new hearth and then she herself will eat. This is said to be performed for the child to grow strong and healthy.

The fifth day is *Penyi*, the day of rest to appease the spirits. In the following days people repair or construct houses. This is done on rotation basis among a group of households who needs to repair or construct their house. Community help and brotherhood is very strong in all Angami villages with its myriad clans and *khels*. Relationships stretch as far as many other villages beyond. People even travel to other neighbouring villages to carry on this tradition of helping other families and bonds of family. The last day is also observed as *penyie*. Though not much feasting by the community as done as in other festivals the people strictly observe the *Penyie*. As the festival is related to the first field activity for the year the emphasis is stressed more on strict rituals observance rather than feasting. According to Hutton, *Ngonyi* has been reported to be the most important of all the gennas after the *Terhengi* or *Terhunyi* (Hutton 1969:198). Since it is a time when all the seeds have been sprouted and blessings are being invoked by the official the *Kenyiis* are strictly observed so that the crops will produce good harvest.

Kerunyi

This festival is also known as *Thekranyi*. *Kerunyi* is derived from the word *Keru* which means ‘to fix’ and *nyi* means ‘feast’. This festival is observed for two to five days in between the later part of April (Southern Angami) and May (Northern and Western

Angami). This is also a feast to thank *Ukepenuopfu* for giving them good saplings and the hope that they would bear good and plentiful crops.

Before the festival a ritual called *Tekhusekhrii* is performed by the *Tsiekra-u*. He puts on his ritual attires in the form of a hat, *Tsiire* and the rain coat made of thatch called *Kenhou*. He takes a handful of saplings and transplants it in his own field saying –Let the saplings bear a bountiful harvest.

He also performs a ritual called *Tiriicha* or ‘asking for rain’ for which he carries a cock with him which is released in the forest saying-

O! hieko khor ntso lie lho te ho, de rei kier nkho pie lie dei dzii-u pie tsiichie!.

Oh! we cannot reach you, but come down and take your basket and give us rain!.

If the cock stamps on its feet and flaps its wings and crows after being released it is said to be very good. It is said to depict good and sufficient rain, prosperity and less illness. But if it does not crow it is said to be bad. After performing the rituals he goes into a fasting period for five days so that the blessing he sought may be fulfilled. Since this is done for the community the people wait for his ritual before starting their respective transplantation.

The *Kizie* ritual is performed on the first day of the festival by the lady of the house. People do not go to the field for the next two days but stay at home and feast. On the third day the age –group or *Peli-kro* feast together forming separate groups, sharing folktales and

singing folksongs. This is a means of how the people pass on traditions to generations through folksongs and folktales. After the *Kerunyi* festival the people can start their transplantation.

Among the Western Angami, the corresponding festival is called *Thekranyi*, the term *Thekra* means 'earning'. It is celebrated for more number of days and with greater festivity. After the announcement given by the priest the people start the preparation for the festival. Age-groups collect rice from each of their members for preparation of the *zu* to be consumed during the festival, which people and those who cultivate a vast stretch of paddy field usually employ different *Peli-kro* to work in their field especially during the transplantation and in return the rich man gives them a pig or rice. The various *Peli-kro* of a *Thechu* collect all their earnings and have feast. This is why it is called *Thekranyi* (earning feast). The feast is normally held in big house called *Kikraki*, and the owner of such houses is known as *Kikrakrii-ii* couples who are rich and have good moral character are usually approached to be the patron of a particular age-group.

On the first day of *Thekranyi*, the *Kizie* rituals are performed by the women early in the morning. On the second day the young boys and girls of the two age-groups dress in their full traditional costume gather at their respective *Kikraki* where they pound a bit of the grains. Then the hostess offer each of them with the *zu* and then they are blessed by the *Kikrakrii-u*. The boys carry the horn of the mithun, *bos frontalis*, while the girls carry the banana leaf cup on which they hold their *zu*. The use of different cup for the male and female show difference in their role in their society. While the horn of the mithun used by the boys serves as a symbol of their strength and power, which is filled to brim by the *zu*, on the other hand the use of the leaf cups made of *Phethonyii* or the banana leaf by the female symbolizes

their fertility. they sing and come out of the *Kikraki* in a procession and meet up with the other peer group and move around in circles at the *Thehouba* for some time continuing with their songs. At the same time the elders and onlookers cheer and encourage them.

At Khonoma they perform the *Kelipie* where they sing and walk around in a circle at the *Pfukha kikie*. This tradition forms as a reminder to all about *Pfukha* who is said to be the first settler of the village. The final part of the song is sung by the two girls, who had been selected for their extraordinarily tuneful voice, along with the boys. After the *Kelipie* the youth go back to their respective homes for dinner and come back to the *Kikra ki* in the evening to continue more singing. It provides a time for the unmarried men and women to socialize at the *Kikra ki*, where they spend the evening singing and feasting together. Songs form a vital form of communication between the men and women.

As a mark of respect and gratitude for their patron the age-groups present the limb of a pig to the couple, which is said to be the choicest part, bought from the collective earnings of the group. This part of the festival is said to attract the entire villagers and the other neighbouring villages too. They come to join in the festivities and enjoy watching the young people sing. The visitors are hosted generously by their friends and relatives. By night time the group disperses to go to their respective homes. This event continues the next day also. The elders perform *Kelipie* and walk around the *Thehuba* like the youth, and return to their *Kikra ki* in the evening, to continue feasting and singing. The fourth day is called *thepekela*. This day is observed to repel plagues or epidemics. Strangers are not allowed to enter the village nor the villagers allowed to go out. If any person goes out, then they are not allowed to enter the village because they believe that they will bring disease or ill-luck from outside. The

sanctity of the village is maintained from all epidemics and plagues through the cooperation of all members by the sheer action of not leaving the village or allowing strangers from entering. It also reemphasizes village solidarity. The last day is called *Thenā*. This day is observed as a *Penyie* non-working day.

Chünyi

Chünyi festival or millet festival (*chü*-millet) is observed among the Southern Angami in July and the Western Angami in the month of August. *Chiinyi* is observed for ten days to celebrate the first harvest from the field, that is the *jhum* field. This is the time when the millet is harvested. Before the festival starts the harvest ritual is performed by the *Liedepfii* also called as *Mshopfii*, after which the rest of the villagers can start harvesting their crops. The role of the women as producers or conduits of production is emphasized by assigning a woman to perform this important harvest ritual for the whole community. The *Mshopfii* fasts for five days in isolation. During this period she will not talk to anyone except her attendant with whom she stays in a separate room, she will not take bath also, because it would amount to washing of the wealth or rich harvest. After the fasting period is over she goes to the field and harvests a handful of the millet plant. During this time also she will not speak to anyone. After bringing in the harvest she plucks the head of the millet and offers it at the village gate and chants –‘let no sickness befall on anyone after consuming it’, and then she comes home and cooks it and tastes it. She also brings in salt water and adds it in her curry. Till she performs the ritual nobody can harvest or bring any vegetables from the fields.

A few days after her ritual a non-working day called *Bi penyie* is observed so that the people can get rich harvest. The following day the people can harvest their millet. Five days after the *bi penyie* a ritual called *Vakete*, ‘pulling in the stomach’ is observed. Now that the first harvest has been brought home the *Vakete* ritual is observed to preserve and accumulate more wealth; for the food to remain plentiful and for the stomach to be small and not eat much. A little bit of rice mixed with salt are placed on two *Pfethonyü* which is offered under the granary. It is believed that if this is offered the spirits of the barn will be blessed with grainfull of basket. On this day it is taboo to offer food or anything to others excepting *zu*, they can go out and bring in or collect things but cannot give to others; they should not bake anything in the fire. Since it is observed so as to preserve and accumulate more wealth people can collect but refrain from giving anything to other people. On *Vakete* morning even the fire in the hearth should contain embers of the previous evening otherwise it is considered a bad omen. If the embers remain it is taken as a sign that the wealth has lasted for long. On this day men will go and collect larvae and crabs while the women collect snails. After returning with their catches a special curry is prepared in the evening by mixing all these. The prepared curry should not be tasted by anyone.

The next day is called *Teükhukhu*, (toad’s plate). The first taste of millet is done by the chaste girls and offering is made to the toad. According to lore when *Ukepenuopfü* and the spirits lived together with man, the toad had said –you offer me my share of what I have brought you; give the virgins first and give me my share... Implying that the grain, millet, was brought by the toad, hence the ritual is in the name of the toad. The children, chaste girls, offer a little bit of the cooked millet to the ground twice and touch it to their forehead and stomach, as a symbol of giving the toad’s share. As they offer it they also say- *cii pepu pelou moroso, a va pesuowa kenyü*, which means – Let it be plentiful, forbid that it should make me ill.

If the house does not have young girls they have to call a girl from their neighbor to perform the ritual before cooking food for the household or cooking even for the pigs, almost every household are said to rear pigs for their consumption. The young girls are presented with specially packed food, which was cooked the previous night by their aunts and uncles. The same but not ritually packed food called *gujoi*, green frog, is presented to the young boys.

The next day is *Tenyithozu*.

The first day the *Kizie* ritual is performed by the lady of the house as stated earlier. People feast on the meat slaughtered the previous day. At Khonoma it is informed that the day before *Kizie* a path clearing day is observed known as *Chadazha* with blessings invoked by a young chaste boy, similar to the *chadanyi* ritual which is stated below. People clear their roads within the village and the paths leading to their fields.

On the fourth day of the festival a ritual *Theviimete*, releasing the chicken, is performed. For warding off epidemics and sickness this ritual is performed by offering a cockerel. The *phichu* accompanied by some elders go outside the village gate and set free the cockerel saying – *kechii kenyi bu ura vor kenyi, thesa thero bu vor kenyi* meaning let there be no illness, let there be no epidemics. Thus saving the lives of the villagers!

During this monsoon period a number of people fall sick and epidemics breakout leading to death which is why the cockerel is again used as a sacrificial offering to save the lives of men. At the Jakhama it is informed that on this day the villagers are not allowed to go out of the village since it is believed that sickness and epidemics are brought from outside the

village. The villagers do not entertain or speak to strangers from other villages since this day is observed to avert the calamities through the intrusion of outsiders. The next day people cannot work in field but can carry in wood. On the seventh morning a ritual known as *Vidziisii* is performed. The *Khel phichü* /elders armed with their doas offer an egg to each at their *khel* gates saying: *kesho kemezhie,thesa thero bu a chienuo nu,a ramie ki vor kenyii-* sickness, epidemics should never come to my *khel* or my village.

Visitors are not allowed and forbidden inside the village. This is performed to prevent or ward off epidemics or illness in the village, reiterating their supplication given on the fourth day, only this time it is with an egg and not a cock. the 'zohu' which is a thorny plant which bears fruits is brought and placed at the gate and their phichii/elders house. This is placed on the right first then on the left side of the door.

During the festival period if anyone dies, a penyie is observed on the eighth day. This is done because in earlier times a dead body is buried along with his share of grains but if no one dies then it is not observed. The last day of the festival is also a non working day.

CHADANYI

Observed by the Northern and Western Angamis (besides Khonoma who observe it as a part of *Chiinyi* festival discussed above), '*cha-da*' means 'path-clear' and '*nyi*' means 'festival', hence a 'path clearing festival'. among the southern angami's this festivals coincide

with *Chiinyi* festivals. the chadanyi falls In the month of July/August about the seven to nine days after the new moon of the month and is observed for five to ten days. During this season monsoon rains not only irrigates the field but results in an over growth of bushes which have been left unattended by the people due to their pre-occupation with the transplantation works. since the busy transplantation of paddy seedling gets over the whole community collectively clear the paths leading to the field.

On the *Thenyi-thouzu* day a ritual day is performed by the *Kukha* or the blacksmith who covers the *Kuru* or the pumping instrument with leafs or chicken feathers at noon and removes the cover in the evening. This is observed in reverence of the iron metal, which is a new material.

Kizie ritual is performed by women on the first day. On this day; two young chaste boys are selected to perform a ritual. Chaste boys are chosen for the path clearing rituals since it is associated with the clearing or removal of obstacles in acquiring wealth or rich harvest. Here the role of men in protecting the community from external forces is emphasized. The following sequence of ritual has been narrated by informants at Jotsoma village. The boys represent the *Thevo* and the *Thepa* group. It is the norm that for every ritual two or even even numbers be used signifying it as a complete whole. Both the boys with their machete are accompanied by two elders to ensure that the rituals is performed correctly. On their way they clear some bushes along- themia *ketuora cha* , *tie zu cha*, *chiiterhii cha*, *mithu perei cha*, which means path of people, path of rice and wine, path of hunts and warfare, path of cattles.

After this they build two mounds out of mud and place grass called *zutshii* (*cynidon dactylon*) on top of the mounds. This ritual is called *tiekrii* which mean ‘mother of rice’. The twin mounds in the form of breasts of women are symbolic of fertility. Both mud and *zutshii* plants use in their ritual signifies strength. While placing the plants on the mounds the boys say- *pepu peluotuo*- ‘it shall be bountiful’

After the ritual, the two young boys will not touch any animal, insect nor talk to any stranger from outside their village. Since the boys are representing the community in their ritual, they strictly observe the avoidance of animals and insect as they believed that any provocation may result in the animal destroying the field. At the same time strangers are avoided in order to maintain sanctity of the village. The next day is *chadi* (main road) day. On this day, the whole community clears the main path which leads to the field and feast together.

Thegoukhopfiinyi

Thegou –‘Toad’: *Khou*- ‘plate’ and *pfii*- ‘gather’ or in this context ‘share’. It is a festival observed in honour of the toad and generally known as the girl’s festival *Thenumianyi*. This festival is observed by the Western and Northern Angami separately while the other villages observed it as a sequence of ritual before the *Chiinyi* festival.

As the privilege of the boys has been given during *Sekrenyi* festival the importance is given to girls in this festival. The festival falls in the month of August/September and lasts four or five days. During this festival the villagers exchange food packages as a sign of

harmony and love among the kins and neighbours in the village. It is also a festival where the rich give the poor people. After the *Nyishie* and *Thenyi-thouzuo* day both parents go to collect fishes, snails, crabs and wasps. The women perform *Kizie* ritual on the first day as is done in other festivals. Another ritual called *Thegou-khutieka* (toad's share of food) is offered to the toad by the mother by placing a mixture of some rice and salt inside or on the granary basket, this is done to seek favour from the toad. The toad is regarded as lucky and having admirable qualities because it does not put too much effort to procure food but simply sticks out its tongue to catch its prey.

With the collection of the *Thenyi-thouzuo* the mother cooks a special dish, called *Khiirhu* which is a mixed curry of the fish, crab, snail, bee larvae, etc collected. This day is special for the young girls as it also instils on the girls of their role of women in the community as conduits for food production. The manner in which a toad easily procures its food by sticking out its tongue is an ideal way of living. It is hoped that the young girls would also grow to be as lucky as the toad with not much struggle in procuring food. For the little girls who are being initiated to the ritual for the first time the special dish *pfirhiu* is presented on a new bamboo plate, they also put on new clothes. Such dishes are presented to them by their kinsmen. And often, girls with many uncles and aunts usually receive a good number of the *pfirhu*. Having received a number of the package if they are unable to complete the food by sunset the leftovers cannot be given to others. The items used in this food could be due to their availability at this season or could also signify more. Crabs, snails, larvae, etc., are beings which do not consume much food but reproduce profusely. Such characters may also be an ideal set for the young girls, as the leftovers of the ritually prepared food are either given to the mother or are buried to avoid animals and bats scavenging on it. This is done so as to retain the blessings by the girl.

The myth related to *Thegou-pfiinyi* is found common to many villages, it relates to how paddy cultivation started in the land through a toad during the course of their search for settlement. Some of the Naga tribes speak of an earlier settlement at Maikhel (Mekhrora) from where their exploration led them to the present Khezhakeno village. Many Angami villages claim they came and settled at Viswema and Kigwema from where they dispersed to their present location. At Kohima village it is told that *Tsiera*, the fore-father of *Tsieramia* of Kohima Village and his followers while exploring for a new location from Maikhel saw a toad sitting on a large stone with a bunch of paddy in its mouth. They took this as an indication that the divine spirit wanted them to settle down in that area. This area is the present Khezhakeno village and the stone where the toad sat is the magical legend stone where, when the villagers spread a basket full of rice on the stone in the morning they get two baskets full in the evening. With the paddy from the toad they got seeds to cultivate and flourished. So every year, as an appreciation to the toad they give a portion of the harvest as his share. The myth sets as a reminder to the people about their origin. From where they came and how they ended up at the present locality. It also conveys the importance of rice as major food of the people. Another story related to the origin of the festival is projected in a different manner.

At Jotsoma, it is told that there once lived a man by the name *Thegou-u*, so called because his body was warty like a toad. Because of his physical abnormality his family and fellow members ill-treated and made fun of him, so he ran away from the village and settled in another village. After this, his family could not get good harvest. When they consulted *Themumia* (seer), they were told that it was because they had mistreated *Thegou-u*. So his family members went to the village where *Thegou-u* had settled to call him back. But he refused to go back to his village but told his family- “*A la vo lhote sirei nieko thenyi puo pemvii di a khou-pfhii chii lie*” which means “I will not come back but you observe a festival

and set a portion of the food for me”. His family came back and did as he requested and that year got a good harvest. Since then, the people have been observing the festival on his honour. This myth instils in the mind of the people not to scorn but to care for the underprivileged. Most of the Northern and Western Angami villages harvest millet right after the *Thegou-u khoupfiiinyi* around mid September.

Acts of worship have been spoken as *gennas* because there is no suitable English word which describes them, and the word *Genna* though by derivation from the *Angami Kenyii* signifying ‘forbidden’ has become regularly used for various incidences. First we have *Kenyii* that is forbidden or prohibition. This word is used to sanction on which the prohibition rests. And it is for this reason that the word *taboo* has been rather avoided since there is nothing in the Angami word to suggest the reason of the prohibition. *Kenyii* may refer not only to the breach of the strict rule of religious observance or the breach of social law. A distinction may be seen in the prohibition associated with the use of wood. On the one hand the burning for firewood of the wood of trees used for building is *Kenyii*. The simple reason being it is wastage to burn a material which can be used for buildings or houses. Also it is *Kenyii* to burn the wood of the tree *Hetho* because the wood of this tree is used for burial ceremonies and wooden carvings. As such, this particular wood is not to be burned or brought to any dwelling for these reasons.

In the matter of dress it is *Kenyii* for a man who has not taken a head to wear a hornbill’s feather, which symbolises a successful warrior. While *Kenyii* is the prohibition laid on a unit of the community *Penyie* is the prohibition ceremony for the whole community. *Penyie* entails entire abstention from work in the fields by the community, when such ceremonial proclamations are given by the *phichii*. But it does not forbid individuals going

for hunting or the women from weaving or doing household chores. But going against the norms of *Kenyii* is said to bring untold miseries and misfortune and if any major incident takes place during this period among the community the whole blame is thrust upon the individual.

Nanyii is an observance where strict ceremonial rites are performed. The ceremony implied by *Nanyii* starts with the offering of a little folded leaf containing a few grains of rice and a sip of liquor which is hung up in the house or on the village footpaths or adjacent to the village gate. At its maximum *nanyii* consists of sacrifice of flesh, part of which is set aside for the spirits for instance when a hunter gets a big game, he leaves a chunk of meat of the game for the jungle spirits. Different villages attach varying degrees of importance to different *gennas*, *penyie* and *nanyii*. But it is a common knowledge and the unspoken rule that these observances bring both fear and the religious ceremonies that goes with it.

An instance when the *genna*, *penyie* and *nanyii* comes into play is the *Binyi* which means *bi* (*taro, colocasia esculenta*) and *nyi* means festival. Before the festival begins *thee liedepfii* performs a ritual for the crop to bear rich harvest. On the morning of the 4th day after the announcement, the elders offer libation to the village gates seeking for good yield of the grains. Then the villagers start to clear the parts of the fields. This is performed to please the spirits and in preparation through which they will be bringing their rich harvest. The next day is *Kizie*. The day after *kizie* a ritual called *Thezukepu* is performed. At night a mouse must be caught and taken to the gate of the lowest *khel* in the village. The ears of the mouse are pierced and cotton balls are inserted like earring. All the male members of the village will *Kehoo* (yoddle) and take the mouse outside the gate saying –

‘no ta kepechie nu votaliechie ketei kezie nu tuoliechie,

Vor hieko dziechieko biewahiechie’

Which means-

‘You go afar to the dark places,

Do not come and touch or destroy our handy works’ (Nagi 2007:42)

Starting from the lowest *Khel* to the top-most *khel* the mouse will be passed on from one elder person to another under their shawl. It is told that if the identity of the person holding the mouse is known it is said to increase pests destroying crops. During this time the womenfolk stay at home and make a lot of noises, beating things from inside their house in the pretext of shooting it off. The mouse is then thrown outside the village gate. This ritual is performed to ward off pests from destroying the crop which is to be brought shortly from the field. The next day is another *penyie* observed to reinforce their defence against not only the mouse but other pests from destroying their products. The last two days are non working days but they can carry wood and timber.

Origins of the Angamis and its villages

According to the oral traditions of many Naga tribes, including the Angamis, their ancestors migrated from Yunnan in China. Some claim they were forced to leave during the construction of the Great Wall of China. Having travelled from China through the jungles of Myanmar, the Nagas arrived at Makhel. The Naga tribes pronounce the name in different

ways – *Makhriffi*, *Meikhel*, *Mekroma*, *Mekharomei*, *Mekrimi*, *Makhel*, or *Makhriohfu* – but there is no dispute over the exact location of the village or its significance.

Makhel is a small village near Sajouba, Tadubi village of Senapati district in Manipur on the border of Nagaland State. But Makhel existed long, long before the existence of Senapati, Manipur, or even India. It is said this village became so prosperous that the people had to leave and migrate to different parts of the region. The community must have grown and flourished because there came a time when the land could no longer provide for all of them. It was time to move once again. It was a time of parting, a time to separate from one's loved ones, search for new lands and establish new villages.

Before they dispersed, the people of Makhel planted a pear tree and under the tree they took a solemn oath that they would one day come together again. Even today the tree stands and is called *Chütebu*. No one was allowed to cut even a small branch of this sacred tree. Legend has it that anyone who tries to cut a branch will instantly fall to his death and a terrible storm will follow. However, if a branch of the tree broke on its own, the chief of Makhel would immediately send a message to all the people of Makhel and they would observe “*genna*”, during which period no one could go to the fields and all had to maintain a state of ritual purity. The fallen branch would be left to decay and return to the soil. This custom was practiced in living memory of Nagas before their conversion to Christianity. In 1880, a British army officer passing the village of Makhel noted that there was a pear tree which had stood for three or four hundred years, and was greatly venerated by the villagers. However, he did not discover the reason for this veneration.

Often Naga scholars have described the tree as an apple tree in an attempt to link it to the Garden of Eden; they have not speculated on the symbolism of the pear tree. Pears are native to China. In ancient Chinese civilisation, the pear tree symbolises longevity and immortality. There is a Chinese superstition that pears should never be shared. In Chinese, the phrase for “sharing a pear” is 分梨 (fēn lí). It is a homophone of 分离 (fēn lí) which means “to separate”. Therefore, sharing a pear would mean you separate from the person with whom you share the fruit. On January 1, 1992, a monolith was erected at the site of the pear tree (*Chütebu*) and the inscription on the monolith reads: “This tree is known as the oldest tree in the history of the Nagas...This tree still stands as a symbol of unity and oneness of the whole Naga tribes...”

As per traditional history the founder of Kewhira Village was late Mr. Tsiera (Stone defender- as he was the youngest son who defended the famous magical stone at Mekhrora also called as Makhel). Before coming to the present Kewhira Village he had surveyed the Kohima Village hillock three times from Gavunyuo hill near the Kezhakenoma Vilage. First he came to the Kewhira hillock and trimmed a tall tree but when he went back he could not see the trimmed tree from Gavunyuo hill. In the second time he came to Kewhira hillock and made a fire so that the smoke could be visible when he goes back but again he could not see the desired location. In the third time he came and made a bamboo mat using a small variety of bamboo (*Tekhrie*) and hanged it on top of a tall tree. When he returned back he could see the bamboo mat blinking when the sun rose up in the morning. From then on he got convinced that he had selected the right location and he made up his mind to set up a new village at Kewhira Village.

When he finally came to set up Kewhira Village he also met a person from Meriema Village who was also on the same kind of mission to set up a new village. The person from Merema Village asked late Mr. Tsiera in what name he would like to call his new village and Late Mr. Tsiera told him that he would like to call the name of his village as Kewhira Village- meaning welcoming all people to come and settle. Then they both selected a plot each at a location in present *Dapfutsuma* Khel (D. Khel). Late Mr. Tsiera, the founder of Kewhira (Kohima) Village had brought his wife from Mekhrora (Makhel) Village but his first wife died very early and so he married Mrs. Mesei-u, sister of Usou and Rhie-o and he had four sons namely: Mr. Viyielie, Mr. Zushu, Mr. Khriemenyu and Mr. Ketsezie. After some years Mr. Tsiera died and Mrs. Mesei-u had brought up her four sons. Later on many people came and settled on Kewhira Village and soon the people of Kewhira Village also became prosperous and they wanted to conduct a village feast (*Sa*).

As per tradition, the founder of the village was supposed to do the rituals of the first village feast (*Sa*) but unfortunately Late Mr. Tsiera had died and as per normal tradition his wife was not supposed to do the rituals for village feast (*Sa*). In this difficult situation the people of Kewhira Village had a general meeting and they have unanimously extended their blessings to Mrs. *Mesie-u*, wife of late Mr. Tsiera and authorized her to do the rituals of the first village feast along with her eldest son Mr. Viyielie (although by normal tradition female members are not allowed to do so). Since then the village feast (*Sa*) started in Kewhira Village and till today only female members of the descendant of late Mr. Tsiera are allowed to conduct village feast (*Sa*) in Kewhira Village and this special relaxation and blessing extended to the female members of the descendant of late Mr. Tsiera goes on to prove without any iota of doubt that Late Mr. Tsiera is the founder of Kewhira Village.

Presently the descendant of Late Mr. Tsiera comprise of the clan of Dzuvichu, Yhome, Vizo, Tseikha and Mepfuo and they are now living in lower Lhisema Khel of

Kohima village. Further marriage between Tsieramia and Rüsomia is not allowed. The reason is that the founder of Kewhira village married Riiso's sister. This reason is unique and so contrary to all the Angami theory and practise of exogamous marriage that one cannot help thinking that it is a purely fictitious reason. Another invariable reason for prohibition of marriage between two clans or kindred is that they are descended from brothers and the reason for the prohibition of marriage between these two villages could be an attempt to explain a prohibition which will never really be known.

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CONCLUSION

The knowledge generated in folklore in general and folk-literature in particular is the result of experience of not one individual, but of the community or the society at large. This holds true for Naga folklore as well as the rich treasure trove of Angami folk narratives and folk songs and the repository of tradition and custom that has expanded into the work of this research. Personal interactions with traditional story tellers has opened the doors of the great need to record the stories of our history and folktales, folk music that is slowly ebbing away with the older generation.

The similarities seen in many Naga folklore of other tribes with Angami folk culture has been encouraging and denotes the root of Naga tradition and stories that weave and bond the Naga family. Many tales have echoes in other folk stories of the Semas and the Lothas and the Chakhesangs. This is more so because of the fact of the origin history and narratives passed down the generations, about the emergence and departure of many Tenyimia root tribes from the Maikhel tree and the Khezakenoma stone. Folk narratives that have built relationships through times and climes till today. These similarities are also found in usage of words and common words in the different languages or dialects of the mentioned tribes. However, the Tenyimia root covers the ten tribes which includes also tribes from the Naga hills of Manipur like the Poumais, Maos, Marams and the Rengmas, Zeliangs and Chakhesangs besides the Angamis from Nagaland. Woven into the politics of a nation striving for self determination are also stories of ancestral kinship and relationships which have deepened over the years into the vision of a Naga homeland, beyond borders. The impact of folk legends and stories

narrated by elders are held with respect and interwoven into the political language of the Naga struggle for freedom and independence today.

This internationalism and a deep sense of humanity also opens another strong wing of folklore as the pulse of the people to discover how well the folk are endowed with the fellow-feelings and love for humanity at large. The world they live is small and very limited, but the heart they sustain is far and far larger to embrace men of all colours and creeds as their own. Stories of warriors and tragic tales of love, orphans who are poor and wise rising to judges in villages, star crossed lovers and animal tales are all found in the narratives of the different Naga tribes, in variations, but maintaining the key themes in most tribes. Whether it is the trickster tales, or stories about the sorceress like Rhalieu, the magic woman from Meriema village, or Mehoviu and Morusa's tragic tale finds its expressions in the Ao tale of Etiben and Jina, still kept for visitors to see their sitting places in the village of Longkhum till today. Very similar tales of women married and returning to family homes finds an echo of Sopfunuo in other tribe tales of the Tenyimia community. Many of the tribes in fact have the same story and character named as Sopfunuo.

The historical background of the Angami Nagas has links with the Tenyimia tribes who also have origin stories and legends very similar to the Angami origin stories of the tribe, places and villages. History, culture, folk literature, anthropological studies have all been used as parameters to analyse and study the Angami folk narratives and culture. The Angami language which is known now as Tenyidie, is mostly understood and written and used by many of the Tenyimia tribes. The advent of Christianity and exposure to education brought forth many educated young men and women, who travelled to distant villages of other

Tenyimia areas, not only to teach Christianity and the Bible to the pagans of animism, but retell folk stories of their forefathers and teach them the common language. Visits to far flung Pochury tribe village of Pongkhuri has the largest group of elderly who speak and write in Tenyidie perfectly, due to the influence of Angami teachers who were sent to evangelise and teach the language too.

The history of wars and battles with the political struggle has indeed silenced the narratives to a great extent. The Angami stories of folk traditions have seen almost a long silence for more than half a century. Chapter I introduces the topic of study and deals with the origins of folklore, definitions of folklore, various aspects of folklore and its impact on culture and history of people and the oral traditions of the Angami Nagas.

In Chapter II, the study of the historical background of the Angami Nagas has been done. Cultural symbols and traditions, language, dress, *morung* and cultural practices, belief system, practices and the religion and artistic expressions, amongst others have been analysed. The status of women, traditional ornaments and rich costumes and the daily life of the people come alive in the songs and music encountered and explored in this historical perspective of narrations.

In Chapter III, the superstitious beliefs, magic, realism, spirit tales are encountered and analysed. Folktales which form the history of the Angami Nagas has been studied including animal stories, trickster tales, etc. Folk poetry and music which form an integral part of the Angami Nagas are analysed and most also conform to the tradition of folk culture, folk literature and anthropological studies carried out by British exponents and narrators of our

tales and stories. It is important to emphasise the need to hear the voice of the local Angami who eats, breathes the air and lives the experiences recounted by others. This kind of research is still open to many Naga scholars who need to turn their attention to the low collection and materials of this dying tradition of story telling and revive their culture and history through such researches in the future,

Chapter IV brings leading Naga writers who have contributed to the traditions of folk culture and narratives. The works of Dr. Shurhozelie have been introduced and analysed. Dr. D. Kuolie, who is a storehouse of ancient wisdom and Angami Tenyidie creativity and narratives has been introduced. Easterine Kire and her collection of *Folktales Retold* where she celebrates the roots of her tribe and her being have been very briefly highlighted. Vizonyu Liezietsu's humorous collection is an art in itself which stems from the tradition of the Angami folk tradition of entertaining through jokes, humour, comedy, riddles and the Angami trait of evoking laughter. There still needs to be more research into riddles, proverbs and humorous tales that will encompass the folk imagination and humour of our ancestors in the midst of war and battles. They still had the time for recreation and good humour.

Chapter V studies the major festivals of the Angamis as one of the major trends of folkloristics. Myths and legends of origin of places and villages have also been analysed in this chapter, though much still needs to be studied by scholars in this particular area. Rituals and understanding and analysis of these ceremonial rites provide a deeper study into the life of the Angami folk traditions.

Thus, we can strongly say that, folklore is the pulse of the people. A doctor can understand the health of a man through his pulse. In an almost similar manner a folklorist or an anthropologist can determine the health of a people and his society through the study of his

folklore, which tells him who the people are, what are their likings and dislikes, their joys and sorrows, their beliefs and customs, their mechanism of livelihood, their emotions and passions, their quality of adjustment and sense of protest, their actions and reactions and many other things, the combination of all of which makes the largest part of the body of a culture.

The possibilities of further reseach into what has been studied are a great challenge to future researchers. Most of our energies have been used in wars and efforts at fighting militancy and peace buiding that academic research has suffered.The work promises a glimpse into sections of folk traditions that can still be garnered and enriched by documentations and research in the years to come.

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