

**LABYRINTH OF NATURE CONTOURS
AND SOCIO-CULTURAL VALUES
IN TENYIDIE POETRY: A CRITICAL STUDY**

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THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN ENGLISH**

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CANDIDATE'S DECLARATION

I, **Shürhonuo Tsürho**, bearing the Registration No. **Ph.D/ENG/00153** hereby declare that my thesis titled *Labyrinth of Nature Contours and Socio-Cultural Values in Tenyidie Poetry: A Critical Study* submitted to the Nagaland University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in English is the record of original and independent research work done by me under the supervision of **Dr. I. Talisenla Imsong**. I also declare that the thesis has not been submitted in part or full to any other university or institute for the award of any research degree, fellowship or any other title and that it did not form the basis for an award of any previous degree.

Date: 24th March 2023

Shürhonuo Tsürho

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SUPERVISOR'S CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis titled *Labyrinth of Nature Contours and Socio-Cultural Values in Tenyidie Poetry: A Critical Study* is the bonafide record of original research work done by **Shürhonuo Tsürho** bearing Registration No. **Ph.D/ENG/00153** (w.e.f. 21/08/2018), Department of English, Nagaland University, Kohima Campus, Meriema during 2018-2023. Submitted to the Nagaland University in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in English, this thesis has not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree, diploma, associateship, fellowship or other title and that the thesis represents independent and original work on the part of the scholar under my supervision. This is again certified that the research has been undertaken as per UGC Regulations May 2016 (amended) and the scholar has fulfilled the criteria mentioned in the University Ordinances for submission of the thesis. A plagiarism test of the thesis has been conducted and a **1%** of similarity has been detected which is permissible under the UGC Regulations 2018.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. The Nagas:

Nagaland is a state in Northeast India existing in the border lines of Assam to both the north and west, Arunachal Pradesh to the north, Manipur to the south and Myanmar to the east and covering a total area of 16, 579 square kilometres. There are sixteen tribes in the state of Nagaland: Angami, Ao, Chakhesang, Kachari, Khiamnuingan, Konyak, Kuki, Lotha, Phom, Pochury, Rengma, Sangtam, Sumi, Yimchunger and Zeme-Liangmai. There are however certain tribes of the Nagas living under different neighbouring locations such as the Tangkhul, Mao, Maram, Kabui, Kachha, Koirao, Koirang and Maring in Manipur state; the tribes Nocte and Wancho Naga in Arunachal Pradesh; the Zeme, Rongmei, Liangmei (North Cachar Hills) in Assam and the Sema in Dibrugarh district. Although there are findings and evidence leading to the possibility that the Nagas belong to the South Mongoloid branch the Nagas have found themselves merged in the formed 'unity in diversity' of India despite its racial difference among the majority of mainland Indians (Roy 2).

On its language, the Nagas use the Tibeto-Burman language family under which there exist multiple languages used by the different tribes. Although English is considered as the official language, there exists a multitude of languages and dialects used by the different tribes and villages of the Nagas. Besides the language of education, English (and the various tribal languages), the so-called 'Bazaar language', Nagamese is also commonly used and is considered the lingua franca of the Nagas. Though it is considered an unofficial language, this creole language is a mixture of languages of its neighbouring states which include Assamese, Bengali and Nepali from

the geographically distanced country Nepal. Besides these common languages, there are no other languages which are used by the majority of the people.

For any name, there are always reasons or stories hiding behind the name. On the term “Naga”, there is no consensus or agreement as to how the name evolved or why people call them so. Numerous theories have been initiated by researchers on the origin of the nomenclature of the word “Naga”.

The origin of the word ‘Naga’ is looked into from several perspectives as collected by Inato Yekhetu Shikhu:

The first theory is based on the account of Claudius Ptolemy, in whose work *Geographia Volume*, the name of the “*Nagaloι*” is used, which means “the realm of the Naked”.

Secondly, the term “*Nanga*” or “*Naaga*” is derived from the Sanskrit word which means “naked” or “mountain.”

Another Sanskrit word “*Nag*” which means “snake” or “snake worshipper” can also be used as a theory. But if analysed in its strictest sense, it does not imply to the Nagas as there is no history of the people worshipping snakes.

Fourthly, the Assamese term for “*Noga*” is yet another possibility as the word translates to “naked” which is quite applicable to the Nagas and their semi-naked nature.

The Burmese term “*Naka*” which means “People with pierced ears” also finds its place in the list as the implication is seen at par with the Nagas piercing their ears for beautification or as an ornamental element to their attire.

While some theories are based on the idea that the word is grounded on the naked bodies of the Nagas, some are based on the nature of the Nagas: their bravery, their use of machetes and even their pierced ears. Besides the terms given or drawn from the mouth of others, some theories have been constructed by the Nagas themselves. While the Kachari language opines the theory that their word “*Nahgra*” implies bravery or their war-based lives as the word can be translated as “warrior” or “fighter,” the theory based on Ao language for the nomenclature is “*nok*” which means “dao.” As the noun is further transformed to “*Noka*” meaning “people with a dao” the idea is further highlighted to the culture of the Nagas and their use of dao or machete for both war and domestic use (Shikhu 3-4).

One of the reasons why there is no particularly accepted meaning of its term is that many tribes are giving theories in an attempt to claim its origin from their language.

Whatever the truth is, as there has been no consensus on the meaning of the word ‘Naga’ because several theories are propagated to provide its etymology, one can at least realize that the theories are all part and partially related to the culture or tradition of the Nagas.

On the theory of their original home, there are again several theories. As collected by A.S. Ayo Shimray, the line of its originality starts with the statement made by the linguist, George A. Grierson which says, “Tradition and comparative philology agree with in pointing to North-Western China between the upper courses of the Yangtse and the Hwang Ho as the original home of the Tibeto-Chinese race” (*qtd.* in Dozo 28).

The second theory can be seen being buried under the caves which are believed to have been used for dwelling purposes. In an excavation made by Chinese scholars at the Hujian Valley in Yunan Province in 1982, they unearthed a cave called “Xiaolongtan.” Here they discovered a list of items made of bronze besides the fossil remains belonging to the Ramapithecus. The bronze articles discovered are the kind of materials used by a number of the tribes of China and south-east Asian countries, including the Kachins, Nagas and the Chin-Mizo-Kukis.

Another theory on their origin is seen through a man named “Lee” or “Li” whose supposed descendant, Jingpo is considered the ancestor of the three brothers: Nagas, Chin-Kuki-Mizos and the Chingphos. Under Jingpo’s lineage, three sons are to be found. Based on their nomadic lifestyle with the necessity of searching for new places or settlements, Jingpo and his second son are believed to have settled in Phuang-Chuang Mountain (Burma) while Jingpo’s other sons are assumed to have found other places for settlement.

Based on the Tangkhul legend, Jingpo’s first son’s descendants are believed to have built a twin village called Hongkha-Muja at Patkai range under the chieftainship of Kabo-Khari and Hongmalai of the Chaphang clan. But as they moved their settlement to Kabo Valley, it transformed their dwelling place into a kingdom, namely Samsok. This further led to a tussle for the throne between the two chiefs and thus the split led to the migration of the second chief finally to Makhel village.

Though these theories may seem unreliable, their regularity in the various myths emanating from Makhel village may be recognized.

On the genealogy of the Tenyimia, multiple theories exist to answer this question which can be found through oral tradition. In continuation of the lineage mentioned above, all the theories may be different but find their source, its ‘kelhou bo-u’ (‘tree of life’; Zhale 4) from one village namely, Khezhakenoma.

The first theory for the name ‘Tenyimia’ can be seen originating from the word ‘Tanyümia’ (Zhale 1) which would be the etymological explanation of ‘people who ran’ or ‘people who migrated’ from Khezhakenoma with several other tribes including the Sumis and the Lothas.

While the second theory emerges from the legend of a man named Vadeo, ‘the father of all’ whose eldest son was called ‘Tenyiu.’ Thus, from Tenyiu, his legacy continued with his successors of several other tribes including ‘Angami’, ‘Chakhesang,’ ‘Mao,’ ‘Rengma’ and ‘Zeliang’.

The third and rather the broadest explanation on this is found in the account of D. Kuolie as he pointed out that the earliest settler, named Kezieu along with his kith and kin settled first in Khesora, which was a minor village in the district of Phek. But as the group expanded in size, the settlers further shifted to Makhel village (the present name of Mekroma) in the district of Manipur State. The continuation of their settlement leads us to the legend of Vadeo once again, and this time with the names of the three sons, ‘Tenyiu’, ‘Tsiezieu’ and the youngest son, ‘Pfuvio’ (2).

1.2. Oral Literature

As defined by G. P. Singh, “the oral literature or the traditional literature, transmitted to us from generation to generation, represents the most valid and appropriate expression of religion, the mythological, historical and cultural milieu of

the rural folk. It was the only form of literature that existed among the tribal society as a vehicle of expression” (*qtd.* in Marak 18).

In a deeper search for what oral tradition is, we may take the words of N. Scott Momaday who stated, “The oral tradition is that process by which the myths, legends, tales and the lore of a people are formulated, communicated and preserved in language by word of mouth, as opposed to writing. Or it is a collection of such things” (*qtd.* in Ao 7).

The above definition stands for what oral tradition is. It includes the very life of the people or the society which is circulated and passed from generation to generation. Here, the main source of the channel is the “word of mouth” and not something written or recorded. These are the rich legacies of the Nagas which were once shared and valued during social gatherings, in an informal institution for the youth or even in a family. However, with time and fate, a chance of recording all these pearls of wisdom has been made possible with the coming of the American Missionaries to Nagaland who helped the people to write and read both religious texts and secular or academic writings. With this, the oral tradition made a transition to oral literature as the people started documenting this knowledge though there is no denying the fact that a lot of these myths, lore, legends, and tales have not yet been documented.

Oral tradition can be discovered as the foundation of knowledge, tradition, social life, or of a nation’s history or heritage. To understand the relation between writing and oral tradition, the earliest form of tradition in the history of English literature especially from the Anglo-Saxon settlers who conquered Britain in the latter half of the fifth century is to be anatomized first. In the words of Arthur Compton-Rickett on the oral tradition of the Anglo-Saxon, “The earliest English literature is

unwritten. It consists of songs and legends, heroic and stirring in character, sung to the harp by the minstrel and gleeman, and handed down from one generation to another. Parents taught these tales to their children, and the younger learned of the elder singer” (4).

Several points from the above statement can be observed, analysed and reflected or compared to several other nations, communities and tribes. Here, when the dissection is made on the words of Compton-Rickett, eight points can be made. Firstly, it was “unwritten” as they did not use alphabets for literary or aesthetic purposes but were used for inscriptions. For the purpose of entertainment was the birth of “songs” which were executed and performed extensively then and still maintain a vast range of lays, tales, and myths recorded in their written form to date. These pieces of narrations were pieces which had stylistic features with emphasis given to the rhythm and stress creating beauty in the sound. They were mostly marked by alliteration and accent in the metre while for its feet, unquestionably four accented syllables and three alliterative syllables were maintained. These narrations were also sung by the people, especially by the “minstrels” and the “Gleeman” who were more than entertainers. They sang and narrated the “legends” of men and their glory which were “heroic” and had “stirring characters.” On this note, Beowulf, the oldest heroic epic poem or ancient heathen saga in the history of English literature can be mentioned as an example. Though it was initially unwritten, (which makes it a part of this ‘unwritten’ or ‘undocumented’ form), it was further recreated under different hands.

Although there are variations, especially to its structure and especially with the Christianised eight century poem with religious allegories and setting written by an anonymous writer, here the focus is on the hero, Beowulf who is a gallant warrior

known for his bravery and strength who also helps the troubled king, Hrothgar by killing the dreary man-eating monster, Grendel. Besides this, other poems such as “Widsith” the wide goer or the wandered, “Doer’s Lament,” “The Seafarer” and “The Battle of Finnsburgh” exist as the remaining remnant of Anglo-Saxon Literature. The fact that the minstrels or the gleeman gained such popularity and demand was because there was no written form for the aesthetic purpose of literature. Thus, these spokesmen eventually became artists who were acclaimed everywhere. Besides the technical aspects of poetry which enhance its artistry, poetry was also sung to the “harp” as “poetry was sung, for in early times, poetry and music were one and indivisible” (7). Lastly, on the last two aspects of oral tradition, these were narrations handed down from “one generation to another” as they were heard through the hearing of a song or narration by parents teaching their children.

Picking up the European-English literature as the base for oral tradition and literature, there are similarities to the Naga oral literature as well. We find “songs and legends” passed and narrated in every generation about heroes or their heroic deeds. These are trends found in all the Naga tribes and communities. Of course, there may not be a shared legend for all its tribes because people lived in hostility towards each other. Yet, these were things which people kept as treasures. The Naga society did not have the gleemen or the minstrels as entertainers. Unlike the agile entertainers mentioned above, they had the inactive and motioned speakers, the elders of the community who dealt in the impartment of these age-old pearls of wisdom ends. On its delivery, we find the Nagas engaged in music and instrument to some extent just as the English entertainers delivered. The difference here once again is mainly in the themes. These songs carried more of their own stories, experiences and legends than those of another supreme mortal. These are songs which carried their pain, sorrow, regret, envy,

happiness and joy. In short, these songs were the most genuine expression of their emotions which they skilfully employed in their songs. Lastly, in the technical art form, there are certain rules and guidelines maintained by the singers or poets. This we see especially in the poems among the Angami-Naga tribe who use a set of uniform syllables for a single line. This fixation is upon the number of syllables in a line which is nine. The syllables cannot be more or less than the number nine. For this, though there are no stressed or unstressed syllables to create patterns, the number of syllables themselves forms the uniformity to its sound. Again, the work of oral tradition is at work here as these poems are part of the narration, both in giving the guidelines and in passing the classical poems they are without losing or altering a letter to this day.

The situation among the Nagas has always been of tumultuous environment. There are two main reasons why the Nagas have, though not strictly divided but not wholly united. Firstly, their apprehensive attitude towards each other because of their 'kill and be known' nature has led to total detachment among the different villages. In Shürhozelie Liezietsu's work *U niedimia*, he pointed out that the constant fear and enmity existing among each other led to complete zilch in communication and that the only known history on communication was through the barter system of the Salt Trade which was popularly executed in Golaghat. During the pre-independent period of our nation India, East India Company further extended its area by making a pact with the Ahom king and from which the Nagas started calling the Britishers as "Company People". It was from the Salt Trade that they communicated with the outsiders for the first time and received this information about the "Company People". Besides the ignorance of the existence of the 'outer world,' the feeling of detachment, isolation and mistrust between inter-tribal, inter-village and inter-clan also existed (5). As recorded:

The Nagas used to obtain the salt and agricultural implements from the plains of Assam by bartering with their products such as ginger, cotton, chilli, mustard seed, etc. thus the infrequent communication with nearby villages the Naga remained in a state of isolation from each other (Roy 36).

Secondly, the British Company brought in their strategy of “Divide and Rule” with which they established their hold on the North-eastern parts of India, or for the sake of history, the whole of India. Thus, the division was one of the features of the Nagas for history to remind us.

Thus, both the internal and external factors led to the division of the Nagas which led to a clearer language barrier. Delving into the diversity of language, the Nagas with its several tribes had several languages. However, with diversity and division in its best union, it further gave birth to several other dialects.

Before the coming of the British “company”, there was no written script to be used by the Nagas. However, there are myths about the formation of the Naga script and how it was lost. This is recorded in Temsula Ao’s poem, “The Old Story Teller” with the narrator in a state of regret and frustration over the change in society and how people were failing to acknowledge the importance of oral tradition. Oral tradition, emerging as one of the most prominent features of culture and myth, we find Temsula Ao’s works as most befitting for this point. The poem “The Old Story-Teller” itself informs the reader of the theme through its title not only in revealing the act of the person but also indicating that the story-teller is indeed ‘old’ and that the practice of storytelling is dying with the old people. In the lines as it reads:

The ones I inherited

From grandfather became

My primary treasure

.....

When my time came I told stories

.....

My own grandsons dismiss

Our stories as ancient gibberish.... (3-42)

While the narrator is in awe of her grandfather's skill and considers it her "primary treasure," her grandsons consider it as "ancient gibberish." The poet stresses on the art of storytelling and also reveals the 'myth' of the "Original Dog" who had eaten the skin of the animal on which the Naga script was written by their ancestors. It can also be noted that the poem through the form of the myth survives from oral tradition.

In the following lines, the speaker narrates her desire to retrieve the script only if time were to take her back to the past:

To wrench the thieving guts

Out of the Original Dog

And consign all my stories

To the script of his ancient entrails. (55-58)

Here, the narrative poem highlights on the existence of a written script and how it was eaten away by the "Original Dog" according to the myth of the Ao-Nagas.

One of the largely accepted conclusions is a myth similar to this. While this second myth holds everything alike to the myth of the Ao-Nagas, one additional detail added here is the material used for writing the script. Several scholars have opined the

theory that the script was actually written on an animal's skin. According to this legend, the people were actually blessed by God with a script which was treasured for years as it was used for learning the script. One day as the family was working in the field with the script kept in a bag, the dog came and took the scroll for its meal.

The third theory again bears resemblance to the two myths mentioned above but only this time the culprit is no longer the dog. It was the children who took the script to be burnt and eaten as they were hungry. Whomever the culprit was or whether the identical theories were true, one can never know. One could only accept it as the closest consolation to the explanation as to why the Nagas do not have a script of their own.

Oral tradition has paved way for the several theories on man's origin. We find this in the myth of the Ao-Naga culture, which traces the originality of life and mankind itself through stones. Again, in the poem "The Stones of Lungterok" by Temsula Ao we find the history, origin and birth of men. The word "Lungterok" in the Ao language literally translates to "Six Stones." In their belief, their forefathers arrived from the earth at a place called Lungterok where three men and three women were formed from the stones. These were the six stone people who were "Born/ Out of the womb/Of the earth" (6-8). They were individuals with all the qualities or that they were the embodiment of mankind with artistic qualities as well as the quality to judge, kill and control as they were:

The poetic and politic

Barbaric and balladic

Finders of water

And fighters of fire... (10-13)

These people were in all forms of being human as they were close to nature, both as its master and its keen observer. They were also individuals who were acquainted with all sorts of skills and knowledge necessary for their very living. They were “potters,” “weavers,” “Planters,” “Hunters,” and “singers,” and also carried both their “Gentle” sides in loving and creating a home while “savage” in their killings. All these qualities, the six individuals carried according to the Ao-Naga legend. They were human in their behaviour and living. Yet, the very genesis of their birth seems inhuman. However, for any historical findings or brave defence to be made on this legend, the focus now is not on its credibility but rather on the source, which is the oral tradition.

Keeping this Ao-Naga legend beside the myth of the Angami-Naga, there is a sticking similarity between the two. While the Ao-Naga legends claim on source of stones as the origin of its people, the Angami-Nagas hold a claim with its legend sticking to one again quite similar to the story found in the Bible of the Tower of Babel. Again, the credibility or reliability of these legends cannot be completely accepted as these are from the oral tradition which at some point should be given its due appreciation. According to the legend shared mostly among the Angami-Naga, its people claim to have once gathered hands to build a mighty tower which could reach the heavens. This act was however halted as their once universal language was suddenly divided and differences entered among them. In the words of J. H. Hutton, “in the story of the Angami Tower of Babel *Kepenuopfü* causes the men who are building a tower up to heaven to speak different languages, because she is afraid that she will have to give them all gifts if they succeed in arriving” (181). This legend is one that had existed even before the coming of the American Baptist Missionaries in the late nineteenth century. Though these can be one mystery confounding people, the fact that the story had existed even before the exposure of the Naga land or that the Nagas had always

lived in isolation and hostility, especially towards outsiders, does not give any reason as to how they could have any verbal communication for Sunday Bible narration seem impossible and illogical.

There is a peculiar similarity in the mentioned parallel between the tribal myths and the Bible. One such instance is found even in the oral tradition in one of the neighbouring states of Nagaland, the Khasis of Meghalaya. On the uniformity of language as written in the Bible, here the Khasis believed and professed to have a legend where the animal kingdom and the human world were united through a common language which is again another. As mentioned in H. W. Sten's work, "the members of both animal and the plant kingdoms were able to speak to the man in the same language. The bull, the raven and the bird could converse with the man even as the serpent spoke to Eve..." (6).

Coming to the comparison once again, the conclusion can be drawn from the fact that both the tribes and its legend holds similarities even remotely close to the authorship of the Bible or the very genesis of the man itself. While the Ao-Naga legend holds the myth of the six individuals with three unions as the utmost beginning of mankind bearing resemblance to the three unions of Noah's sons after the great flood, the Angami-Naga legend bears the similarity to the Tower of Babel.

According to the legend of the Khasis, their people once lived in an era with all its glory and even lived in a place which was considered a "paradise" as reflected in their poems as well: "The Khasi speak of that golden age as the age of righteousness, when God spoke directly to man as he spoke to the Jews patriarchs like Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and the prophets" (Sten 6). Thus, bringing in the connection of all the myths to the very form of the Bible.

While the above-mentioned literature is mythical in its nature, there are several accounts of the origin of the Nagas or their seedbed which are based on similar patterns or rather striking coincidences from the orally transmitted stories passed from generation to generation. Through the accounts and findings maintained by Shürhozelie, there are three locations mentioned- Russia, China and the exposure to gigantic water bodies which may have been the three possible places from which the Nagas migrated accordingly. Again, though the authenticity of these theories cannot be absolutely accepted, there exist and provides sufficient evidence to support the possibilities. The first location mentioned is the place called “Hedzümia rüna” or ‘the place of the Hedzümia people.’ The term “Hedzü” is a Tenyidie word and is so-called as the place is believed to be one, untouched or uncovered by the sky and thus resulting in extreme coldness.

There are three main points gathered from the oral legends which lead to the theory that the place is actually referring to Russia. Firstly, it is said that the inhabitants are men with long beards. This was a trend which ended only after the revolutionising change brought by Peter the Great of Russia (1682-1725) who took up measures to curb the culture of its nation with the intention of doing away with conventional social systems while charging taxes upon those who maintain their beards. Secondly, these inhabitants wore lengthy clothes which again bear close and remarkable resemblances to the Rubakha (oversize shirts), Sarafan (long dresses) or the Kaftan (coats) used by the Russians until the reign of Peter the Great. Lastly, it is from the claim of its extremely cruel climate conditions from which the name of the place and the need for its inhabitants’ mighty clothes and use of furs arise. Apart from these three points, the available accounts also add that the Nagas were people who lived and also participated in barter systems with the inhabitants. The Nagas were people who valued metal or any

of its products with such veneration, since the claim proves that the Nagas were not acquainted with the art of processing metal, they used their livestock in exchange for these essentials. Though the Nagas have had a history of peaceful living with everyone, the need for these metals must have stemmed from the purpose of agriculture or weapons to protect their livestock from wild animals. The place of the Hedzü people is part of the oral tradition. Yet, the theory as to why the Nagas left the place must be based on the fact that the harsh climatic condition prompted them to leave the place and migrate elsewhere leading to the second location, China.

Several accounts can be collected and mounted for the theory that proves that the Nagas either migrated or originated from China. The first analysis comes from the earlier mentioned source where he propounded that the very Tenyidie word '*bagei*' is a term for 'vehicle' which, unlike many words in English vocabulary, is borrowed from other languages. Though the very first car in the world was made accessible to the public only in the year 1908, it can be understood that the civilisation of China was advanced and that it had its own ways of efficiency through the usage of vehicles or what the transmitted word '*bagei*' contributed to its people. From this view, one can also understand the importance of the origin of words and how oral tradition has kept these words or the language in general, 'alive' all these times. The very word '*zoumei*' is a word whose meaning is lost but finds itself stringing back to China. From this, the legend of the Naga leader who possessed an extraordinary aura and luck can be seen again. The possession of this valued object was supposedly the reason for all the success or victory he made. This created enmity between the Nagas and the inhabitants of China and finally, through some schemes, the Nagas had to leave the place as they were no more tolerable by the inhabitants and because they were defenceless and vulnerable without the '*zoumei*'.

Thus, oral tradition is a form of preserving one's ethnicity and identity as these words act as the key to unlocking the doors behind legends and myths which can lead to a deeper understanding of the meaning itself.

Though they were never recorded or documented, the songs of yesterday still live and exist amongst us through the words as the agents, carrying memories of yesterdays. In any Naga tribe, songs of myths, of lovers, of bravery, of wit and all kinds of tales were shared and celebrated. The old but anonymous poem "Our Love" translated by D. Kuolie brings to the reader the meeting of the two lovers at the "festival of Khruonyi" after years of their separation as they were compelled to sacrifice their love for the sake of their families as seen in the lines, "When the villagers were celebrating the festival of Khruonyi, / I took my child for a parental visit; / My beloved came that day." (6-8) The lovers are able to meet only because of the festival which was an act of peace between their respective villages which also shows the practice of strengthening their bonds in spite of the long-lasting wars that had initially led to the lover's separation: "Our love wished for marriage; / Our family felt not friendly to consent, / Wedded me a known lady from afar..." (1-3) As the lovers prepare to separate once again from the crowd, the man "Taking off a chain of best carnelian beads" (14) and knots the chain on her daughter's neck as the last sign of his love for her. His devotion can be understood through the passage of the beads as these ornaments, especially the ones used on festivals, were considered their prized possessions. The poem stands as a true product of folk poetry, passed down even without its authorship through oral tradition Just as the legend of Beowulf or of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight survives till today without an author, similarly the legend of these lovers survives with the mouth as its author.

As many scholars have opined, may it be once again added that oral tradition was best practised through the education imparted to the youngsters with the existence of institutions like the “Morung” or *Kichüki* in Tenyidie. Through these channels, the youngsters are given life skill knowledge and most importantly the art of narration through both poetry and folklore. These institutions were, however, destroyed by the intrusion of the outsiders who changed the society and its tradition at large. The arrival of the British company especially the American Missionaries marked the arrival of written culture with the objectives of bridging the language barrier and further extending and implying their motives for spreading Christianity. This started with the teaching of reading and writing through the use of the Roman alphabet in covering the languages of the various Naga tribes. Here the development included the introduction of schools, textbooks, religious texts, the translation of the Bible into their own languages and the hymn books which were translated from American and British hymnbooks. The contributions of these developments are to be appreciated for it was through them that formal education was introduced. However, their arrival led to the departure of the rich Naga oral tradition, for example- lyrical and classical poems (similar to ballads) were forgotten while folk tunes inscribed with stories and narrations were considered as heresy by some of the newly converted Christians. Thus, the old spoken tradition disappeared as the new written culture entered the lands of the Nagas.

The Naga society has progressed a long way from oral tradition to a culture of writing with the age of time and progress in literacy as introduced to us by the American Missionaries. In Temsula Ao’s perspective as observed, “What we, the so-called scholars are doing regarding the ‘Oral Tradition’: is this: we have converted it into the written world! And that too, in a language not ours! This, I suppose, is the most telling evidence that we have travelled a long way from the days of Lungterok into the 21st

century” (xi). This is the true sign and an appropriate statement to validate that the culture of inheriting literature has shifted from oral narration to documenting them in written form, both through the Second language and the Mother Tongue.

1.3. Tenyidie as a Language: Its Significance and Growth

Tenyidie, as a language, is shared and spoken by the Tenyimia, most commonly, the Angamis. And it has its further division in the language arising in its dialects from village to village mostly because of its geographical division. This could also be because of the wars that occur among neighbouring villages which led to alienation within the tribe settled in different villages. Though there are not enough words or evidence to support this, it has been claimed that in the process of spreading and migrating its community and family, the Angami-Nagas follow the tradition of changing or altering their language briefly as they consider it *kenyu*. Thus, it is understandable that this tradition was followed without any reasoning or questioning against the authority of the Divine Spirit for the Angami-Nagas. Though the reason for this tradition may be vague, it is clear that this belief has actually established its deep-rooted effect upon the tongues of the people and is the reason behind the creation of many dialects and sub-dialects. Based on D. Kuolie’s classification of the Tenyimia group, there exist five divisions according to tribes, namely: 1. Angami 2. Chakhesang 3. Rengma 4. Zeliangrong 5. Mao-Maram. Here, the distinction is based on language.

Our focus here lies on the first category with the language, Tenyidie as the common language but with distinction in its dialects. Under this, four sub-division can be made again arising from region to region, namely: 1. Northern Angami 2. Central Angami 3. Southern Angami 4. Western Angami (5-6).

On the second classification made above, again we have to realise that variations occurred but this time on its sub-dialectical differences, varying from village to village. On its vocabulary, we find that there are variant names attributed to the same things like plants, objects, vegetables, etc. even among the same region. For example, even among the Northern Angami the word for maize can have different words for it even among the people in the same region: while it is called “*süko*” by the people from Kohima village, “*venca*” in the name used for it in Chiechama village.

On its phonology, we see the difference arising even from the articulation of simple words. For this, one example will be used from the word ‘*khutie*’ which means ‘rice’. While for the common Angami speakers, the word is pronounced without any stress as /*khöte*/, the Chiechama people pronounce it as /*khö,te*/

As for the syntax, there is a regular pattern in all the dialects. Though classification occurs in the language of Tenyidie into various dialects, there are signs of influences from the dialects of other tribes as they migrated from place to place looking for greener pastures.

Tenyidie literature has evolved not only through literacy and documentation but has also developed through the merging and borrowing of words from other languages to their vocabulary. This is seen especially through objects which are not known or were not exposed to the people before the coming of any outsider. But with time, development and the need to use certain terms for communication, words had been acquired from English, Hindi, Bengali and even Nepali and are used both directly and through transformation. For this, one instance can be seen in the speech of Shürhozelie Liezietsu at the 50th Celebration of Ura Academy where he mentions that words which are not part of one’s culture tend to find their own word. He also points out the example

of the word ‘dance’ which is not a part of the Angami-Naga tribe and for which they adopted the word ‘helim’ which is a Zeliang word for ‘dance.’ Thus, we see from this standpoint that the semblance of the very colonial language, English which borrowed several words from other languages and the Tenyidie language which has also picked up words from other languages when they found it necessary:

For utensils and materials with words such as *Ketili* (Kettle-English), *kerühie* (Kerai-Hindi), *khakinyi* (Strainer/cheknii-Assamese), *botolo* (Bottle-English) *Kutari* (Knife-Assamese) or *Caku* (Knife/chaakoo-Hindi), *cienyü* (Tin-Hindi) and *sabou* (Soap/saabun-Hindi).

For food and clothes-related words such as *capatta* (Tea leaves/chai patta-Hindi), *cinyi* (Sugar-Hindi), *benganuo* (Tomato/Bengun-Hindi), *Mitha si* (Candy/mithai-Hindi), *puri* (Puri-Assamese), *Mouzha* (Socks/mojabora- Assamese) and *tupi* (Hat/tupi-Assamese).

There are words which may have been adopted like *chüpahi* (Soldiers/sipahi-Hindi) but changed to their own formed words *rüfünuo*. However, it is observed that the former word is still used as it is more common. Or the word *khierki* which is from the Hindi word ‘khidakee’ for a window. It was later translated to *keziekou*. But like the previous word *chüpahi*, the word *khierki* is still in use. Likewise, there are several words which had been translated but their previous words still seem more familiar to the tongues of the people.

There are also words which may have been created though their use may not be there. The language of the people itself is also a reflection of their culture. For example, the word ‘centurion’ for an officer of the ancient Roman army who is in command of

one hundred soldiers. Here, the word is created as many other words for the purpose of translation of the Bible. Though hierarchy existed in the form of the number of enemies being killed or bravery being acknowledged, there was no form of having command over its people in its military realm. Thus, in the process of its translation, it has been transformed into the word “*krie mho kezau*” for Centurion which literally translates to ‘the superior one over the hundred.’ Words used for the Bible include the books *Lievimiako* (Leviticus), *Johan* (John), *Efesako* (Ephesians), *Tita* (Titus) etc. Another example of the irrelativity of language and culture is the word *dukaa* for the shop (Hindi). Except for the barter system or the culture of pawning, the community was hardly structured for trade and commerce. Thus, with the birth of an inter-racial community or the formation of urbanization the class division especially during the middle nineteenth century the need for a shop, or of a shopkeeper emerged which led to the adoption of the word *dukaa*.

While the word Centurion may not find its use in the social context of the people except its use in the Bible, there are also certain humdrum words which are conceived through the purpose of the object. For example, the word ‘spectacle’ is used as *mhiri* which literally translates to ‘covering of the eye.’ The fact that spectacle and other objects were pre-modern inventions, it is understandable that foreign words had to be obtained and some were transformed when passing down to different tongues while some had to be produced as it was.

In many cases, it may be observed that Tenyidie also carry a thick vocabulary in its classifications. For example, the various sets of colours may be confined to some of the most common colours with the prefix ‘ke’ in most of the words such as *ketei* (black), *kekra* (white), *kemehe* (yellow), *keloshü* (blue), *kepejo* (green), *kemerie* (red)

and *meruo* (brown). But in its further analysis, it may be realised that the colour *keti* itself can be further divided into shades; *Tei zei*, *tei krii*, *tei mezie*, *tei rümho*, *tei meyha*, *tei loshü*, etc. This can be seen for the other shades as well.

Lastly, we can realise that though Tenyidie vocabulary is rich on its own, the transition of time and especially globalisation has led to the alteration of its self-sufficient nature. Although attempts have been made to recreate the adopted words, there are still some of them favoured and saved through the tongues of the people. Thus, through interaction with other language speakers in the fields of trade and communication, Tenyidie vocabulary has grown richer by means of borrowing, coinage and alteration of the words.

1.4. Cultural Values among the Angami-Nagas

Edward B. Tylor has pointed out culture 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” (*qtd.* in Rao, 190). In addition to that Raymond Williams categorized ‘culture’ into three aspects:

- (i) the independent and abstract noun which describes a general process of intellectual, spiritual or aesthetic development...
- (ii) the independent noun, whether used generally or specifically, which indicates a particular way of life, whether of a people, a period, a group, or humanity in general...
- (iii) the independent and abstract noun which describes the works and practices of intellectual and especially artistic activity (*qtd.* in Malpas xii).

Here, through this definition, the concept of culture can be seen including the beliefs, and knowledge under the “independent and abstract noun.” On the second point,

we find the “way(s) of life” coming under it which may include all the aspects of life in general, such as habits, while the third point can be seen focusing on the laws, customs, or even the artistic expression of the people.

But once again, the essence of ‘culture’ can be understood as “that which produces and is produced by our individual actions and interactions with others” or the things that emerge when society or individuals come together or from simply “being-together” (Malpas xii).

The word Naga can be considered as the giant with one head, and multiple hands which keep on increasing. The unified term Naga is the Head and the different tribes are the multiple hands. One among the many hands is called the Angamis.

The Angami-Naga society and its history can be divided into three periods. This division is created for a better understanding of the present study about the evolvement of the culture among the Nagas in general and the Angamis in particular. This division can be categorised as the Tribal Phase, the Intrusion Phase and the Post-Independence Phase as observed from this study.

In the previous section, under Oral Traditions, the analysis of several theories on the genesis or migration of its people is mentioned. For this, though we are not able to identify the period of the Nagas’ settlement the first period can thus be marked from the first settlement till the coming of the “outsiders.” In this phase the, tribal people observed culture in their most natural, conventional and undisturbed manner. Here they had their separate beliefs, religion, family structure, institutions, rituals and ways of life.

The second phase begins with the arrival of the British Company and the American Baptist missionaries which can all be traced back to the early part of the 19th century. In this period things were changed as confinement, amendment and alteration entered and affected the very social life of the people and the values they hold in the society. It can be seen as holding both positive and negative effects. On its positive aspect, oral traditions were transformed into a written culture and the exposure between the world of the Nagas and the outside world brought development for a better living and awareness of one's ethnic identity. On the other hand, the negative aspect includes colonial influence upon the Nagas. With the introduction of the Christian faith, many tribal religious beliefs were done away with. This led to the loss of some cultural values in replacement by Christian beliefs and practices.

The third phase commences after Indian independence from the control of the British till date. This phase witnessed the Nagas on their own without the involvement of outsiders in both religion and governance. Political and social issues like violence, social unrest, etc. remain the most prominent themes in the writings of the Nagas. A similar scenario was prevalent in other northeastern states of India. Violence in Northeast is most prominent with ethnic conflicts and these issues have led to the struggle for power, autonomy and independence from the Indian Government. The reason for these motives cannot be completely understood. However, some of the best reasons can be linked to the geographical division, the pool of diverse races' physical features and the culture of mainland Indians. There exist different insurgent groups among the states with further divisions due to divided ambitions. This led to the use of armed struggle, use of sophisticated weaponry, spies, and even kidnapping. Thus, this period witnessed and is still witnessing the writings of its local writers on the tension, violence and cold war arising from these political and military issues.

Keeping in mind that the focus is on the Angami-Naga tribe, a dissection of their society and way of life would be taken into account. In the first part of the definition of culture, Raymond Williams talks about “a general process of intellectual, spiritual or aesthetic development” (*qtd.* in Malpas xii). In its intellectual development, the people maintained informal institutions in the form of dormitories which were called *Kichüki* or *Kichüzhü* which translates to ‘a place to sleep.’ In all the villages there exist these kinds of institutions kept or prepared for the youth where they can lodge. Here, the youngsters are given the life skills necessary for maintaining a household or family.

As mentioned earlier, it is here that legends, myths, lore and even songs are taught which all come under oral tradition. The basic skills were just as the stone people of Lungeterok possessed, these young people were taught to make household items necessary for a family. In short, they are prepared for a life or family of their own. Another form of informal assembly is called *Thehouba* where men of age gathered to share their wisdom and most importantly to talk about the current happenings in and around the village and the neighbourhood. This sort of assembly occupied the early hours of the day before they leave for their respective chores at home or work in the fields. Thus, these institutions were the lifeline of oral tradition where no written document existed. One important point to be noted about these institutions is that they further enhanced the feeling of oneness among the people and for which we call the Naga society in general a close knitted community.

The spiritual development of the people was responsible for bringing orderliness and discipline to the society. Where there was no formal governing body to enforce law and order, religion stood as the main pillar in executing these functions.

Though there is no definite understanding of God or of a Supreme Being, the people believed in the existence of spirits or gods. These spirits are given different names depending upon the notions people perceived. As recorded in *The Angami Nagas*:

Chief of all these is *Kepenuopfü*, usually spoken of with the possessive suffix as *Ukepenuopfü*. This spirit is sometimes spoken of as a creator, but it would seem that this is rather in the sense of the creator of living beings than as the creator of the universe. The word *Kepenuopfü* means “birth spirit” ... *Kepenuopfü* might also be regarded as the ancestress of all spirits...” (Hutton 180 - 81).

The term *Kepenuopfü* and *Terhuomia* are sometimes used interchangeably. At the same time, the difference between them is that *Kepenuopfü* stands as a symbol of blessing and creation or positive attributes while the latter stands for its negative attributes. *Terhuomia* as defined by Charles Chasie means “supernatural beings” and that “it can be both singular or plural although plurality is signified. The word can also mean ‘ghosts’ and ‘spirits’”. Though the term may seem vague it should be understood that the belief of the people was on “ONE omniscient God and several evil spirits responsible for all the ill of humanity” (265).

Some of the *Terhuomia* with their respective attributes are:

- i. Kesüdi: This spirit is considered to be the king of all the spirits with gigantic features and horrifying looks but there are no records of causing death upon mankind.
- ii. Temi: This spirit is known for creating unrealistic hallucination-like experiences such as seeing branches of trees hitting the earth or hearing eerie sounds. These

are usually to instil fear but sometimes result in causing real sickness or even death after having had such experiences.

- iii. Telepfü: This spirit takes the form of a beautiful woman who would lure people away to isolation for days.
- iv. Ruotshe: This spirit is responsible for killing people who die without any sickness or health related problems.
- v. Terhuoümia: These spirits are considered female celestial beings who travel between heaven and earth.
- vi. Tiethereiü: This is a female spirit with pointed lips known for sucking and consuming the brains of people.
- vii. Meciemo: This spirit is considered to reside near the dark rivers with its horrendous appearance. It is the spirit blocking the path to the other world (of spirits) and for any soul to pass through, the soul would have to kill the lice on him after which they would be allowed to pass.
- viii. Miawenuo: This spirit is known for its short stature and its hair hanging till the calves. It is also known as the spirit of luck as it carries a basket filled with luck thus those individuals meeting her would demand for prosperity.
- ix. Rhuolo: This spirit is known for its lunacy because it does not show any sympathy for man and any ill-fated individual who happens to meet it would be killed immediately. For its idiocy, people would trick him and escape death by its hand.
- x. Chühkheo: This is the dominant spirit over animals whom hunters invoke for blessings before their hunt.
- xi. Dzüräü: This is a female spirit known for its dominance over water bodies and its minor catch like frogs, snails, crabs, fish or any consumable insects.

- xii. Rhülie, Tsiechünuo and Rüyhao: Spirit Tsiechünuo is the beautiful daughter of the Rhülie, a spirit. According to legend, the mortal Rüyhao tricked the father, Rhülie into giving his consent for the marriage of Rüyhao and Tsiechünuo by blindfolding the eyes of the father. The marriage happened during the night with the harsh wind, breaking the trees. Thus, this marriage is marked every year with the windy season in the month of May.
- xiii. Kamvülhouphreimia: Though the record on this spirit is limited, it is known only for its vile and merciless nature towards mortals.

This notion of spirits is infused into the minds of the people to guide their behaviour of the people. The fear instilled in them is to prevent untoward actions. Belief in the presence of these spirits can be considered as being superstitious but they also have a vital role in governing the social life of the individuals. Sometimes a person does a certain act in the hope of being rewarded by the spirits and at times the person shuns doing it for the fear of being punished. With the arrival of Christianity belief in such spirits has diminished if not altogether disappeared.

These are the spirits who were feared by the people and for whom the people lived with respect for each other for they dare to meet the furies of these spirits. Besides these spirits, there are some sets of belief which again stands as a controlling force over the people both as threats to their lives and for the sake of their reputation. The most prominent of these include *Kenyü* and *Menga*. A definite definition or meaning cannot be scaped from these potent words however as Charles Chasie has defined on *kenyü* “the nearest equivalent of this word is ‘taboo’” (267) while the word *menga* stands for “a very sophisticated notion of the word ‘shame’”. The religious threats may take the

place of punishing the people but there are also the underlining motives for enforcing discipline and mutual respect in the community.

The word *kenyü* stands for all the aspects of life including family, friendship, kinship and society. Here are some of the many regulations or etiquette on *kenyü* translated from Kiezotuo Zhale's work on the life of the Angami-Nagas:

- i. It is *kenyü* to deceive one's parents
- ii. It is *kenyü* to dismay one's uncles
- iii. It is *kenyü* to laugh at the disabled
- iv. It is *kenyü* to block a public path
- v. It is *kenyü* to eat from the pot
- vi. It is *kenyü* for a woman to walk over a man's legs
- vii. It is *kenyü* to predict possible probabilities
- viii. It is *kenyü* to feed the fowl before sunrise and after sunset
- ix. It is *kenyü* to use words such as, "I do not want to eat/drink"
- x. It is *kenyü* to roast, douse the fire or whistle during the harvest season (52).

Besides all these controlling forces which act to regulate behaviours in the society, there are also customary laws with dos and don'ts. These laws are formulated to meet the needs of maintaining law and order in the society. Regulated by these laws the individual behaves with another individual or the group. There are sanctions prescribed within the laws. A good deed is rewarded and an unethical deed is sanctioned with punishment in varying degrees depending upon the intensity of the misdeed. The customary laws are the unwritten rules framed by the elders in all their wisdom. They are mainly the fruits of their previous experiences. Some of the sanctions are:

1. Adultery (*Pieiü*): If a woman is caught in the act of adultery, she must be shamed publicly by shaving off her hair, chopping off her nose and stripping off her clothes. But for the same act, a male offender is not given any punishment which manifests the strong patriarchal nature of the Angami-Naga society.
2. Murder (*Kedukhrei*): Though intentional or unintentional the case of a murder crime cannot go without facing the consequences. This is a crime without compromise with fixed punishment, that is, seven years of exile from the village for the convict and his entire family.
3. Theft (*Kerügu*): In this case, the accused is to pay back sevenfold what he stole to the owner (*Tsurho*). Though in a different context, the similarity in the concept of sevenfold is mentioned in Genesis 4:15 about vengeance: “Whoever kills Cain will suffer a sevenfold vengeance.” (NSRV)
4. Land dispute (*Kijü Dienya*): In this case, the most common form of the measure taken is swearing before a non-party witness. Here, one of the parties may initiate the swear claiming the rightful ownership and to whom the authority over the land will be given; or both the parties may swear over the land which can bring to a compromise with equal division of the land. The following is the oath under which the swearing is made:

Hauha a lie zo, (This is my land)

A lie mo di a pra tha ro, (If I were to be standing on the land which is not mine)

A bu keviu chü kenü, (May I never be successful)

Lhou mia metoumetha kenü (May I never reach others)

Tekhu bu rei a te, (May tiger also consume me)

Terhü bu rei a gei (May war also kill me)

Tei kijünie donu a be (May I be trapped between the sky and the earth)

Kero kerie, sidi pu rüseyä. (Even upon an erratic life, with these I am swearing)

(Zhale 72)

In addition to these religious and customary laws there exist some individuals in the community who play minor roles in conducting several aspects of their lives. Some of these individuals are:

1. Zievo: They are the priests who perform rituals, participate in witnessing judgments pass in accordance with the customary laws and give their blessings to people.
2. Tsiakrau: In a village, there are sowers of seed who initiate the first act of sowing in the fields without whose start the rest of the community cannot begin.
3. Liedepfü: Similar to the Tsiakrau, the Liedepfü is a woman who initiates the harvest before everyone. She is blessed by elders as they call her “Kedikepupfü” which means ‘the plentiful or the bountiful.’ This act is similar to that of the Igbo people who wait for the chief priest to call the feast of Harvest as seen in *Arrow of God* by Chinua Achebe. The *Tsiakrau* is deemed with huge reverence by its people and for any hunt, he is offered some share to receive his blessing.

The Naga people in general, are people surrounded by thick flora and fauna. The life of the people depends on the graciousness of nature which is a provider to the needs of the community. The people are blessed with fertile soil to till and grow food of various kinds. The basic necessities of life are provided by mother earth. Nature bestows them with fresh air, water, food and also shelter in caves. Apart from the fact

of satiating the bodily needs of the people nature provides them with tools for work and hunting, timber for making houses, wood for burning and cooking, and many other things.

The lives of the Angami-Naga people and their livelihood depends on cultivation. For any new land to till the people depend on signs especially through their dreams. Here is an example of what a farmer would say before leaving the land and foreseeing the outcomes through his dreams:

Avu bu kezetuo üte ru, (Since we two are bound to be together)

Abu hau cie di suota kenyü (May I not fall sick by cultivating this land)

Avu keze kezhüu chü di (May we be suitable for each other)

Abu hau cie di nyilie üthienyü, (May I become prosperous by cultivating this land) (Zhale 37).

After saying these words, the man will rely on his dreams to see if he should continue with the land for his works.

For people who spend half of their days in hard labour, it is essential to make merrymaking, heavy drinking and sumptuous feasts as part of their lives. These are of course not to be used on a daily basis but with changes in seasons or the nature of their work, festivals are celebrated and for which the term “Nagaland – Land of Festivals” is used in the present day. Although we understand the necessity of these many festivals back in the days when agriculture existed as the main source of income and survival, it can also be noted that the phrase mentioned above may not be so apt.

Keeping in mind that this study takes both the traditional and the contemporary culture of the Angami-Nagas the emphasis here will be made on the traditional way of

life through festivals. There are different kinds of festivals celebrated for different reasons on different occasions. Although there are multiple variations in the process of its celebration or rituals to undertake, the focus here is on the most common forms. The following are the different festivals which are celebrated chronologically:

Terhünyi (The Festival of the Dead): Formed from the three syllables, the first two syllables “terhü” stands for “war” while the third “nyi” for the word “festival.” However, it may be noted that the actual word is to be “Terhuo” which means “spirits” and that the term has changed with time. It is called the ‘festival of the dead or the spirit’ as it is observed for the deceased who are believed to be in another place or simply in the afterlife.

This is one of the most celebrated Angami-Naga festivals in a year and is celebrated in the month of December. Before the festival, necessary preparation such as completing household tasks like filling the water containers, searching for meat, filling the barns and preparing the rice, preparing the wine, collecting firewood, or collecting leaves with a certain selection for the ritual is to be done. These are to be completed before the ritual as it will be regarded as *kenyii* to perform certain things once the ritual begins.

On the first day of the morning, which is called *kizie* which means to ‘cleanse’ or ‘mark’ one’s house, it is to be done only by the mother of the house or if necessary, by the daughters. It begins with cleaning the graves of their loved ones early in the morning filled with an environment of mourning and sobbing. On the graves they place wine, containing it inside two leaves which are curled together. The next four days are to be spent indoors with the food, wine or the firewood that they have previously

collected. These are the days when they exchange food and wine and engage in absolute merry-making.

One may find the resemblance of some other societies or religions with that of the Angami-Naga society. Just as the latter observe certain rituals for the dead, the Mexican people observe the same through the Día de los Muertos, or Day of the Dead where offerings are made on an altar or *ofrenda* either at homes or cemeteries with items such as food, water with the picture of the deceased and a candle on the 2nd of November. These measures are taken as a way of showing their love and respect for their deceased loved ones and the feast is celebrated with all its pomp.

The same tradition is also seen in the observation of the Catholics' All Souls' Day which also takes place on the 2nd of November. Though material offering is not made to the departed souls, the people instead offer prayers for the dead either by visiting cemeteries or anywhere.

Lastly, the Han Tradition of the Chinese community and the Qingming or Ching Ming which is also known as the "Tomb-Sweeping Day." As the name suggests, the people observe this day in the month of April and preserve this day to pay tribute to their ancestors. Although the difference here is in the month, the parity between the Terhünyi and the Qingming Festival is found in the act of visiting and cleaning the gravesite. They also make offerings to their ancestors by placing food and burning joss sticks and paper.

The 6th day is to be a day for the collection of any unharvested grains in the fields.

The 7th day is to be a day of ‘collection’ usually by the *Tsiakrau* and the *Liedepfü* where people offer them seeds of any kind and even a minor part of their harvest. As mentioned earlier, it is from these people they receive the blessings.

The 8th or the 9th day is another day for the people to collect any kind of crop which have been left out during the previous harvest.

The 10th day which is also called *Zharü* (suggestive of the number ten) is a day when the people cannot be engaged in any outdoor works or activities.

The 11th day is called *Mi* and it is here that complete and heavy restraints are observed.

The last and the 12th day called *Thena* is the day which marks the end of the festival and after which the people can begin their works in the fields.

There are some minor celebrations such as *Chü metsie* (literally meaning meat and salt) *thesha* or *zha* which are performed during the process of the 12-day ritual. They are usually performed by wealthy families in a community as they conduct mass celebrations with cooked meat and wine. It should be noted that salt itself with was a rare commodity and for which the act of cooking a massive amount of meat with salt was a mammothlike act in itself. Hence, only the prosperous and affluent people could afford these.

These acts of celebrations play the role of social mobilisation for the host as they will be given certain privileges such as: having a round graveyard, bearing the *kikia* (a sign of the horn) on top of their houses, furnishing the walls with ornamental wooden engravings and finally the right to receive any form of service from others.

Sekrenyi (The Festival of Cleansing or Sanctification): The festival meant only for the menfolk, it is one of the most celebrated festivals. Celebrated in the month of February, the men separate themselves from the women physically and sexually during this time.

Like the previous festival, prior arrangements are made before the ritual such as a collection of water, firewood, leaves, separate utensils, wine and a rooster for each one of them.

The first process involves the cleaning of the pond after which women are not allowed to draw water from it.

It begins on the 19th day of the first moon. From the 20th to the 22nd, they are to gather firewood while on the 23rd, they have to once again cleanse the house and the 24th marks the beginning of the *Sekre*.

Early in the morning, all the men would either wash or carry the fresh flow of the spring which is considered pure after which they would claim “All the sickness has been thrown in the water. Bless me with good health and may I never fall sick.” This should be done by giving the first privilege to the eldest men in the community. This is followed by the main ritual which includes performing a *gizie*.

For this ritual, only pure roosters are to be used. The following are some of the indicators of a pure rooster accepted for the process:

- a) A rooster with sharp combs
- b) A rooster with even wattles
- c) A rooster with unmangled capes, backs and saddles

- d) Main tail feathers, sickle feathers and even lesser sickle feathers without any additional colours
- e) A rooster with all its spur, claws and toes attached

This is to be started by the eldest man in a family where they would hold the neck of a rooster and slowly choke in order to observe the parts of the rooster which would decide the fate of the man. If the right leg falls over the left, it is considered a stroke of favoured luck while the left leg landing over the right or the tangled toes would mean the opposite.

The next process which involves slitting the outlines of the cloaca by pulling the entire intestines and placing the thread-like organ on the main post of the house is the most crucial part of the whole ritual. Through these signs, an old person would visit the house and predict whether the man will become prosperous, poor, sick, or suffer for the year. While the meat is being cooked, they drink the wine in a cone-shaped container made from leaves and with the eldest man ushering the blessing by him as given below:

May we be successful with this festival!

May all my outdoor and indoor works be successful!

May our livestock become plenty and extensive!

May my eyes become sharp while the eyes of my prey become dull!

May my eyes become sharp while the eyes of my enemies become dull!

(Kerhüo)

After saying these blessings, they would place a small portion of the cooked liver with some ginger in one corner of the house followed by the consumption of the meat.

The 25th day is the day for them to clear all their belongings which had been previously reserved for them and are kept for the next year again. Here, they finish whatever they have left out before, such as their wine, meat, leaves and water. This day is called the *Pruo* which is called the day to cleanse themselves and receive a blessing. The men will march towards the outskirts of the village gate and pluck the tip of the Silvery wormwood (*Artemisia argyi*) plant which is a sign of sacrificing the plant to the spirit in place of the man. After which they will dust off their shawls with a thud and make the war cry and brandish their spears and machetes into the air. All these are signs of having victory over the spirits and gaining good health and serendipity.

This festival itself reflects the patriarchal nature of the society as women are considered impure or that their presence can be a threat to their immunity from any ill-fate upon the men such as war death or be eaten by a tiger. It also reveals the sense of respect and honour given to the eldest members of their community.

Ngonyi (Festival of Sowing the Seeds): This festival is celebrated before the sowing of seeds celebrated in the month of April. It is a minor celebration which marks the beginning of the works for the people. The celebration continues for eleven days and on the 12th day or the day of *Thena*, the people are to stay indoors and avoid the consumption of wild meat, host travellers or to even give anything to others on this day. These are measures taken in order to avoid risking adulteration or defilement of their houses. Thus, they are observed with complete cautiousness. On the 13th day, the sower or the *Thenau* would begin sowing the seeds while the following day is given to the whole community.

Kerunyi (The Festival of Terrace Cultivation): It is a festival celebrated in the month of June. This festival does not include massive consumption of meat but it also includes the observation of the 12th day or the day of *Thená*.

Chadanyi (The Festival of Clearing the Path): It is the festival celebrated in the month of August. As the name suggests, the people here engage in cleaning or clearings their paths by slashing or cutting the plants and even rearranging the steps. This is done in order to avoid accidents or disturbance when they prepare to go out for their work or to carry things through these paths. It also allows clearer vision for people to see through or to guard their crops.

It also involves another baronial consumption of meat and wine which would be considered *kenyü* to take back the meat to the village once they pack them for their fields. Before the commencement of the work, the village elder would once again call for the blessing upon the path.

Liedenýi (The Festival of Harvest): Celebrated in the month of September, this festival is usually one that involves another heavy celebration for the children. This festival is also known as *Yo-u Khoupfhü* which includes the legend of an orphaned boy named *Yo-u* who would visit different homes while delivering blessings upon the household with plenitude in their barns. Upon changing his village, the people asked what should be done to receive his blessing. This, he replied by instructing them to keep a meal as his share and from which the tradition of sharing or keeping meals for children had begun.

Vate (Blessing for Abundancy and Prosperity): This occasion is both a celebration and a day of restriction after the harvest. Here, when the village elder

announces the observation of this occasion, people will be made to stay home. The people are to collect a pinch of their harvest from all their barns and separate the husk from the grains with their nails and cook them with the rest of their rice. Once the rice is ready for consumption the people would ask for the blessing of abundance.

In the end, it can be realised that religion plays the guise in allowing people to partake in these celebrations as part of providing nourishment and rest to the poor and the rich alike as it involves sharing, creating a feeling of community through mass celebration, to have recreational activities as seen through *Sekrenyi* and include the artistic and creative aspects of life through singing. There is a recurring pattern in all the festivals. It includes almost two weeks of rest, celebration, and consumption of meat and other nutritious food or wine before the start of any work. As the old people say, “rituals are to be consumed” which means that it curbs life and livelihood itself.

1.5. Tenyidie Literature

In a time and a land where oral tradition existed and written tradition was still null and void, the formation of the Ura Academy in 1971 and its contribution to documenting both oral literature of the Tenyimia people and creative and critical writings into written form has led to a remarkable collection of different genres including fiction, dramas, essays, short stories, poetry, translations, and so on.

It is necessary to bear in mind that before the birth of Ura Academy literacy and education took its wings from religion as its nest where mission work started shaping the society through its schools, books both secular and religious, journals and most importantly its literary committee.

It is through these missionaries that educational institutions were set up and people were taught to read and write which further enhanced the formation and growth of the Ura Academy. We find the history of American missionaries recorded in the work of Shürhozelie Liezietsu that Rev. Charles Dewitt King, with the help of his assistant teacher Henry Goldsmith and Sarbey, established the school, Kohima Mission School (now referred to as Kohima Govt. High School) where Tenyidie was first taught.

After King's departure, the next missionary Dr. Sidney White Rivenburg, who is known for his remarkable contribution as he not only studied the people but also their language to bridge the barrier between the missionaries and the natives for the purpose of conversion. Upon his arrival in 1922, he was determined in learning Tenyidie and hence from his effort and concern produced the book, "Kephürda Kerieu" (A Ba Ki Puo Da) using the Roman script after a year of his coming. This was used in the school and from which the students were able to learn the alphabet within six months which was a huge success as compared to the previous teaching methods which took the students almost a year to learn. Besides these, he also prepared an arithmetic book for academic purposes.

Supplee was invited to the Diemvü Committee or the Angami Literature Committee which was created by Rev. J. E. Tanquist to preserve and maintain the written form or literature of Tenyidie. The committee then finished their editing works on Tenyidie Grammar which worked as the foundation for the Ura Academy.

Through the approval of Sir C.R. Pawsey, the two main objectives; learning of word-spelling and word division were to be taught in all schools of Kohima. It was during his time that the Tenyidie language was refined (Liezietsu 58).

Later, further amendments were made especially on its nomenclature and the Diemvü Committee was changed to Ura Academy, while the so-called ‘Angami Language’ was changed to ‘Tenyidie.’

In the translation of the Bible, there were a series of people who attempted this project, especially with their efforts in translating the New Testament. It was initiated by C. D. King whose hands on the book Matthew could not meet its completion as he had to leave for his home. The books, Matthew, John, Acts of the Apostles, and a hymn book were later completed by Rev. S. W. Rivenburg. The book of Matthew was the first of its kind and was published in the year 1890. The gospel according to Mark was translated by the daughter of Rivenburg, Miss Narola in 1915. In the same year, Rev. J. E. Tanquist contributed with his translation of the gospel according to Luke. It was followed by the translation of the last book of the Bible, Revelation in 1918. Eventually, the missionaries and the native leaders worked together in bringing out the whole New Testament in 1927.

In the effort for translating the Old Testament, it is evident that this process met with a lot of setbacks and distractions upon the work which almost took three decades until its final completion. As for the Old Testament, the year 1940 was the beginning of its translation which achieved huge success in its quantity. However, the first setback was met in the Battle of Kohima in 1944 where almost all its manuscripts were lost.

It was only six years later that the first translation of the book Genesis took place. The translation work resumed but only to have yet another blow with the Indo-Naga conflicts in 1956 where many of its manuscripts were lost. Ten years later the Angami Baptist women along with Rev. Deo from Chiechema village took the concern

on themselves which met success with the final completion of the Angami Nagas' Bible on 20th December 1970.

For the history of hymn books, there are several books published by different associations, individuals or bodies in different years. The following (see table 1) is created in observation of the earliest published hymn books or collections in Tenyidie:

Table 1

Earliest Published Works in Tenyidie

Sl. No.	Title	Composer/Editor	Year	Number of Hymns
1	Kenei Tsali	R. Deo Vihienuo	1964	83 (Hindi, English & Tenyidie)
2	Zuyikeve Tsalida	Vamuzo Phesao	1965	56 (Staff Notation)
3	Dieliekevi Tsalida	Rev. George W. Supplee and Kenneth Kerhüo	1970	
4	Jihova Tshelie		1977	464
5	Ruopfü Hükeshü Tsali	Neiliezhü	1977	
6	C.E.F. Tsalida (for children)	Neizonuo Neikha	1977	Tonic-sol-fa
7	Christmas Tsali	Deo Vihienuo	1977	
8	Niepuu Ketshe Tsalida	Tavehü Thingo	1979	56
9	Kerülei Tsalida	Khrieü Sekhose	1979	70
10	Kerüsuo Chielida	Pelhourüo Suokhrie	1980	171 (Tonic-sol-fa)
11	Kuokelie Tsali	Seno Vihieno	1985	Tonic-sol-fa
12	Niepu Ketshe Tsali	Beilieü	1985	50
13	Ketho Mu Kevi Tsali			100
14	Hie Hü Lashücie	Christian Prayer Centre		90
15	Thepfhe Sikelie Chatha	Visielie		Staff Notation and Tonic-sol-fa

Source: Tsurho, Shurhonuo. *Earliest Published Works in Tenyidie*. May 15, 2019.

Besides the Bible which is recognised for its translated form, the monthly journal previously called the *Kohima Mission Leshü* circulated among the Angami Nagas is also to be considered for its significant contribution as the first work which developed the people's creative writings. As recorded in some of its oldest writings, this religion-based journal supposedly started in 1940. The beginning of the journal is attributed to Rev. Supplee who is also its first editor. The journal published some important books such as *Dieliekevi Tsalida* (Hymn Book), *Ketholeshü Kesau* (the New Testament) and *Rüvemia Rüve Dze* (the translated work of John Bunyan's *Pilgrim Progress*). Apart from major writings which consisted of translated works, there were also articles with themes ranging from the temporal to spiritual welfare of the people. Some of these writings include topics related to sanitation, economy, alcohol, schools and students, cultivation of potatoes and most importantly on word division (*diezhoko*) and literature (*diemvüko*).

In the poem "Ura Academy Teicie 50-Nyi" by C. Kuotsu, we find a detailed description of how the day and event of its birth was celebrated which includes the planning for the event, the memorial stone which was brought from Jotsoma village, the youth from Kohima village who volunteered to pull the memorial stone, or the youth from Mezoma who blew the horns of the buffalo to mark the day with all its splendour and pomp:

Lu Kewhizou khriesarüüko,
 Ketsieu shü zo vorüshülie.
 Theva lie mu kehou-o sede,
 Ketholeshü u sedeo chü.
 Mezo zou-o khriekesamia bu,

Rüli kiao khou zoshü dinu, (7-12)

Translation:

(From there the youth of Kohima,

Pulled the stone towards the place.

As evening begin so did the event,

With the Bible as our beginning.

The youth of Mezoma,

Blew the horns.) (7-12)

One will also find the ‘culture’ of reading the Bible (with a prayer) in the poem as an important element of the event, which still continues to this very day. We take emphasis on this part as we find that religion was almost synonymous with any “secular” event among the Nagas in general though it may sound ironic. As seen in the poem “Jihova Nagamia Kekhrrie,” it gives an account of how the Missionaries from America came to Nagaland to spread Christianity.

The fact that this literary society was basically started through an indirect influence of the American Missionaries, we can understand the reason for the irony in a situation where secular is not completely secular.

As for its pioneers, the poem “Ura Academy Chathako” by Kethoselie Zhale which is translated as ‘The Leaders/Guides of Ura Academy,’ provides a list of names but avoids mundanity as the poet skilfully incorporates and weaves the names as the content of the poem.

There are over twenty fiction works, seven anthologies on poetry, nineteen dramas and more than five translated works, to name a few genres which all are growing under the Ura Academy publication house.

1.6. Tenyidie Poetry

In the words of Vizovono Elizabeth, “In oral tradition, poetry is the carrier of culture” (28). Poetry remains one of the oldest and most common forms of genre not just in European or English literature but also in Tenyidie literature. In Tenyidie literature, it is always necessary to realise that the verse form existed as the main source of expression besides songs.

“Geizo”, as called in Tenyidie for ‘poetry’ has its own meaning in understanding its value. The first three letters, ‘gei’ means something ‘belonging inside’ or ‘belonging as a part of something or someone.’ Thus, it can be from the heart or the mind. For this, ‘geizo’ stands as something ‘coming out’ of the poet or a piece of the poet’s soul or mind pulled out through ‘zo’ which means ‘to compose.’ Or as the MKS Dieda (Tenyidie Dictionary) describes the meaning of the geizo, it is “the art of arranging or structuring about the life of a person through the creativity of a person.” Though the definition drawn from this source may seem insufficient, it should be realised that poetry is not only limited to a man as its sole subject but includes many other things. In describing Tenyidie poetry, one may note that poems were actually meant to be sung with both the lyrics and the tune working together as the nine-syllable per line rule is applied to Tenyidie poetry. In many instances, we find the letter “ü” as a prefix in words like, “*ükezomia*” (poet), “*ütsali*” (song) or suffix in “*tsali-ü*” (tune). The letter “Ü”, stands for three things as found in the MKS Dieda. Firstly, it stands as poetry as it is. It also stands as ‘a piece’ of art for hearing. And lastly, it means the notes or the notations

in music. Thus, it can be said that poetry and music were both created or written for each other and that they stand both synonymously but also independently.

Music plays an important role in the lives of the people. There are different types of music which are sung for different occasions as a way of celebrating everything that they do be it works, tending the herds, harvesting, clearing the jungles for cultivation, expressing love for each other and even bemoaning the loss of a loved one. As claimed by many scholars and especially by Shürhozelie, music did not exist from the earliest times. As mentioned earlier under oral tradition, there is no record of the people indulging in music during their initial settlements in ‘Hedzü Rüna’ or China. It was only in the next claimed migration i.e., their settlement near the water bodies that gave them ample opportunities to produce surplus and have more leisure hours for themselves which ultimately led to the evolvement and development of music. The advancement of music is said to have gained from the imitation of an insect known as *Nouzha* which according to its description, may possibly be the Flying Dragon or even called Draco. This species is known not only to have a beautiful melody but also to trick the ears into hearing a group of people singing (U Tsiepfumia Rüve 18). The following are some of the songs used by them:

1. Songs used by youths-

(a) *Thupfhe ü*: This is the song used by those tending the herds. The role of herding is taken by both men and women as they spend their days leading their cows for grazing. This is seen in the famous legend of Tso and Terhuopudiü, the two youths from different villages. Here, the youths fell in love as they meet every day in the forest with their cows and shared their meals and wine during the day but with a misunderstanding that happened between them, they parted ways. They are sung as a

form of entertaining each other or one's self and also to alert the herds with the familiar tunes.

(b) *Tsanu ü*: As a form of courting among the young people, activities such as light hunting and gathering edible plants are performed. On these occasions, songs are used by lovers to communicate and express their feelings for each other. These songs are called *Tsanuii*.

(c) *Chanu ü* is another form of song used by lovers for the same purpose. The only difference here is the location as they are sung when returning from their fields in the evening.

(d) *Weü-o* is a song for maidens which are sung when they are coming back from their fields or when they are strolling on the roads alone. They can be sung as a solo and also as a duet.

2. Songs for works- These are “pfhe” which translates to “sound” and here people do not follow a sentence. Rather, they are sounds consisting of two to three syllables.

(a) *Mhatho pfhe* or *Hutho* which literally translates to ‘work tunes’ are the songs used for all kinds of work with the repetitive chanting of “O HO.” While ploughing the soil or cutting the tree will require a constant making of echoes with a counterpart, the sound would become slower and passive when carrying or shouldering objects.

(b) *Khoureipfhe* is a song used by people when they go out for breaking the soil for plantations. These are sung in a group.

(c) *Ciethu pfhe* is another song used during the pounding of grains. For women engaged in the work they use the chant “Hyohowa” while for men they use “Eyo-eyo.”

(d) *Sishüpfhe* or *Cieshüpfhe* is sung only by men or leaders and is sung when they gather for community works or meetings such as during stone-pulling for its erection and log-pulling for making bridges.

(e) *Seikepie pfhe* is the song used by people when they carry wood for making a house. It involves community work where the people retrieve the wood from the jungle which had been collected days before the call by the owner of the house. While “Ho-ho” is used for making a house, “He-ho” is used for collecting firewood which is called *Seipie pfhe*.

3. Songs during celebrations-

(a) *Tsiakrünuopfhe* is a song mostly sung by youths during work and festivals or festivals.

(b) *Nouza pfhe* is the sound which is sung during *kracü* which is a part of celebrations. Here, the people sit together with all their ornaments on them and sing with their various parts without moving.

(c) *Lizha pfhe* or the *lida pfhe* are sung during the *kracü*. This song is known for its lasting sustains and extended or gradual tempo. The two forms differ in their tune and tempo.

4. *Nuo kepfükecü pfhe* is the lullaby sung by parents with both the tune and sometimes with words such as praise for the child, instilling words of protection and taking the child to its imagination.

5. There are also songs of lamentation called *Thekrü* used during funerals which can be considered as the dirges. The mourners who are mostly women, sing for the deceased while calling or pointing out the emptiness caused by the death of the

departed. Besides the singing, both men and women would perform the war cry. This is one of the many traditions which is disappearing from the Angami-Naga community.

Literature is always a reflection of a society or its milieu. When an analysis is made on the certain vocabulary of Tenyidie words related to literature, the word “Geizo” stands out to be the most prominent and clear in its meaning while the other genres may seem to have evolved with time, globalisation, literacy and education. For example, the word “noudo dze” is the term for a novel, a term which was never present in the past for the fact that a genre as supposedly thick as a novel could not have found itself in a place where literacy itself did not exist. Thus, the record of its vast content was out of the question. It was only after the coming of literacy that both original and translated fiction came about. Some of the earliest fiction as published and dated under Ura Academy are *Puo A Meho Tha Zo* (1981), *Pejokewau* (1982) and *Methuophemia* (1993) which were written by one of the most prominent Tenyidie writertig, Shürhozelie.

Another instance can be the genre, drama for which the term “rusie rhitho” is used. Though the term has been used quite conveniently for everyone, there has to be a realisation once again that this term is yet another adopted term because the Angami-Naga society never had drama as its traditional art form. With time there is now a great number of dramas produced under the umbrella of Ura Academy Publication. With these in mind, it can thus be realised that words tend to emerge as it tries to adapt to the changes or according to their needs.

1.7. Conclusion

History is always necessary for understanding the root or origin of a group of people. Though several theories arise on these issues, it is evident that changing and

unchanging culture of the people is clearly indicated through their oral literature. With the focus laid on Tenyidie literature, it should be noted that religious writings first existed which actually paved the way for the literary societies, especially for Ura Academy to flourish. Under the achievements made by Ura Academy, some of the most prominent writers include Shürhozelie Liezietsu, Rüzühkhrie Sekhose, Beilieü, D. Kuolie, Medo, and many more.

The progress that Tenyidie literature made over more than two hundred years is seen through the various publication that it has produced. From books and text published under its own publications to the local daily paper *Capi*, Tenyidie language and its literature has made considerable progress in its supply to the readers. There are two dictionaries serving as the main guide for people to refer, over 61 religious books and 35 books on customs, culture and folklore of the people, more than 10 books on language, and an accountable number of books on literature based on different genres. Besides the writings, its language and literature are also accounted into High school, Higher secondary and college academic syllabi which are taught by teachers who have completed their Master's courses and even Ph.D. courses at Nagaland University. It is evident that the Angami-Naga literary society has progressed sufficiently in its literary field. The present study will thus provide an analysis of the various dimension of the community and its culture and tradition through its poetry. Having explained the three stages of Angami-Naga society under the section of culture, the themes and the nature of poetry will be on both the past and the contemporary socio-cultural values of the people.

CHAPTER 2: ECOCRITICISM AND CULTURAL STUDIES

2.1. Introduction: Ecocriticism

The need to preserve and consider the consequences of the actions of men is what the environmentalists have called for a revival towards the restoration of the environment. Literally, the word ‘ecology’ stems from the two ancient Greek words, ‘*oikos*’ which means ‘household’ and ‘*logos*’ which means ‘word.’ The term can also be found in the Oxford Dictionary as the “study of relations of organisms to one another and their surroundings” (236). Therefore, ecology refers to the vast web of ground from which we live, breathe, procreate and waste away. It is also the study which focuses on man, animal or living creature and how they affect each other. It was a phenomenon which was called only in the middle of the nineteenth century with the rise of the Industrial Revolution (1760-1820) as people witnessed the ugly effect of what technology or ‘development’ was doing to the environment. The exploitation of excessively available hands also led to ignorance of basic health checks in working places which resulted in the deterioration of both the mental and the physical condition of the labourers. The impact was felt not only by men but even by the ecology, then on humans called ‘household.’

Development and technology had their germ from the revolution which was supposedly a mission to make the lives of men better, but it grew at its peak in the twentieth century which also led to the rise of two massive world wars. These wars left a limping effect on the inhabitant of the world even to this day. What started as a necessity for defence and security, man’s greed and hunger for power led to a fusion of science and technology into “a typhoon of glare, heat, and wind which had swept suddenly over the earth and left a sea of fire behind it” (Junod 44). This was the first

atom bomb dropped in Hiroshima as recorded by Marcel Junod in his essay “The First Atom Bomb” as he narrates the situation when the nuclear war stepped on Japan:

Within a few seconds the thousands of people in the streets and the gardens in the centre of the town were scorched by a wave of searing heat. Many were killed instantly, others lay writhing on the ground screaming in agony... Horses, dogs, and cattle suffered the same fate as human beings. Every living thing was petrified in an attitude of indescribable suffering. Even the vegetation did not escape. Trees went up in flames, the rice plants lost their greenness, the grass burned on the ground like dry straw (48-49).

On the issue of humanity and its progress, there is the typical portrayal of development or advancement projected by the media and its advertising channels where there is a merger of technology and nature. To use nature for healing and growth is its rightful purpose. But to be used for destruction cannot be seen as acceptable and the need for a balance between the two calls for a new humanism called “anti-Technological humanism” (Laurence Coupe 160) which aims to avoid the occurrence of the man-made disaster or from the instance that is discussed above, a nuclear war.

2.1.1. 1970s and The Wake of Environmental Concerns

It is from these aspects we find the terror of ecocide. The term was first used at a conference in Washington DC in 1970 used by an American biologist, Arthur Galston who proposed the term ‘ecocide’ for the destruction of the ecosystem. This term is however technically related to both the destruction caused naturally and by man. Yet, it is important to realise that there are more harms created by men upon its ecosystem, than by nature herself. These are the basic signs as to how the world is in need of a revolution to renew nature once again of its youthful green. As mentioned before, the

concern for the ecosystem emerged gradually only in the middle of the nineteenth century as people slowly started noticing the wrath of nature.

In the year 1973, as the people of Uttar Pradesh, India started realising the damage caused by massive logging or deforestation which led to a monstrous effect on the ecosystem taking lives with floods and disruption of its agricultural cycle, while taking away the resources for the living. The felling of trees, especially Timber trees led to a shortage of food, fodder, fuel and water which all prompted yet another non-violent movement led by women to protect the trees by hugging for which the word '*chipko*' which means 'to cling' or 'to embrace' formed the name of the movement. This trend has its inspiration rooted in the courageous act in the 18th century by the women of Rajasthan (Bishnoi community) as their ruler decided to hack all the *khejri* trees for lime. The women, led by Amrita Devi clung to the trees to stop deforestation but were killed. Later, the king stopped his decree and the cutting of trees was avoided and for this, the sacrifices of these women were acknowledged. For the reoccurring pattern of generations of women protecting the ecosystem by hugging the trees and risking their lives for the cause has led to Goggle pointing out the movement in its 45th anniversary as an eco-feminist movement.

With regard to the United Nations, it formed its Environment programme in the year 1972 while in India, it was in the year 1986 the Environment Protection Act was passed under Article 253, after what the government witnessed from the disastrous effect of the Bhopal Gas Tragedy which led to the death of thousands of people most of whom died several weeks after the emission of the methyl isocyanate gas.

2.1.2. Ecocriticism as a Literary Criticism

Although modernism, with the launch of T. S. Eliot's work, and most of the literary works forming under Avant Garde's theme "make it new" which led to a diverse range of lenses for texts to be studied, there were some of these lenses which sprouted only after the middle of the twentieth century. One among these was ecocriticism which had its first text *The Country and The City* in 1973 written by Raymond Williams who was one of the key fathers of Cultural Studies. In 1975, the book *The Lay of The Land* by Annette Kolodny was also published which was feminist-oriented work and on how nature is used as a metaphor for the female persona. Besides these works, there are also two other texts which helped in the formation of the theory namely, *The Environmental Imagination* (1995) and *The Ecocriticism Reader* (1996) by Lawrence Buell and the duo Cheryll Glotfelty and Harold Fromm respectively. It was also the initiation of the conferences of ASLE (Association for the Study of Literature and Environment) in 1992 and its journal, *ISLE: Interdisciplinary Studies in Literature and Environment* that led to the growth of ecocriticism.

Ecocriticism as a literary criticism has another name, 'Green Theory', the former more commonly used in the USA while the latter in the UK. Both these terms are used interchangeably and are also vital in their own terms. The first term, as it can be seen is fetched from the first two syllables 'eco' from the word 'ecology' while 'criticism' to assert its standpoint. The focus is on ecology and the need for its preservation or as Laurence Coupe has added "the literary *representation* of nature and.... the power of literature to inspire its readers to act in *defence* of nature." Thus, it stands for both 'representing' and 'defending' nature in literature and through literature (154). The term 'Green Theory' is again independent on its own as it represents the

concern for the environment best described through the colour green for plants, trees and other vegetation.

The term ‘ecocriticism’ was first used by US critic, William Rueckert in his essay “Literature and Ecology: An Experiment in Ecocriticism” (1978). It was not until the Western Literature Association meeting in 1989 that the term and its scope were revived by Glotfelty and later supported by Glen Love in the same meeting that the study grew immensely. As defined by Glotfelty:

Ecocriticism is the study of the relationship between literature and the physical environment. Just as feminist criticism examines language and literature from a gender-conscious perspective, and Marxist criticism brings an awareness of modes of production and economic class to its reading of texts, ecocriticism takes an earth-centred approach to literary studies (7).

As pointed out by Glotfelty, the term *ecocriticism* has been favoured over another term such as ‘environmentally conscious criticism’ because of three reasons: firstly, for its terse term which is convenient for its usage for further prefixed terms such as *ecocritical* and *ecocritic*; secondly because of the meaning as *enviro-* is confined to the ‘surroundings’ while *eco*, as it is related to the study of ecology and the ‘relationship’ between the organism and the surrounding, it becomes more applicable as a study in dealing with the relationship between “human culture and the physical world” (8) ; lastly, the prefix *enviro-* reflects an anti-anthropocentric concept as it reveals that the study is solely bounded for the subject, the ‘surrounding’ and not man as the main subject.

Glotfelty further makes an analysis of what literary theory is and what ecocriticism is by parallelizing the relation between what is written and what it is about. Hence, while literary theory concerns itself with the relationship between the literature/the text/the writer and the world, or the philosophy/perspective/structure, ecocriticism concerns itself with the relationship again between the literature/the text/the writer and this time an expanded or extended world which may not necessarily be confined to the abstract institutions and its beliefs but also includes to the ecosystem with all its vegetation and habitation or simply its ‘surrounding.’ It is also to be realised that from the age of Aristotle the concern had only been given to the “setting” in a work of literature until the late twentieth century when the focus shifted or expanded to further disciplines such as environmental history and social sciences.

Joseph W. Meeker in his *The Comedy of Survival: Studies in Literary Ecology* (1972) has also defined ecocriticism in another term as ‘literary ecology’ as “the study of biological themes and relationships which appear in literary works. It is simultaneously an attempt to discover what roles have been played by literature in the ecology of the human species” (qtd. in Glotfelty 7). To understand ecocriticism as a theory to be applied in the analysis of a text, there are fourteen questions posed by Glotfelty that act as a guideline in using ecocriticism:

1. The study of how Nature is represented or portrayed in a poem.
2. The study of the role of the “physical setting” which can include the description of the forest, weather, a valley etc in a work of fiction.
3. To check whether the “values” in a play are in relation to “ecological wisdom.”

4. To study how far the “metaphors” of the setting in a text thrive from what we portray.
5. To sort out how we can generify nature writing.
6. To sort whether from the many “subjects” that one discusses, Nature should be in the form of “place” be fitted in another category as it is done for other forms.
7. To compare how Nature is treated under the hand of a male writer and a female writer, whether it is different or indifferent under the two.
8. To study how writing has affected man in his relationship to the earth/ecosystem.
9. To trace the evolution of the portrayal of the “wilderness” by writers.
10. To check how far environmental issues are getting recognised or are attended to in popular culture or studies.
11. To realise how the US government reports or its other forms of documentaries or advertisements are viewing Nature.
12. To check whether there is any fruitfulness between the science of ecology and literature.
13. To study how far science can open itself as a source for further literary studies.
14. To check the potential or capacity of “cross-fertilization” among various disciplines such as art, philosophy, history, etc. in combination with literature and environmental studies.

Thus, there exists a diverse range of perspectives which involves the issue of how Nature is treated by both male and female writers, or institutions, its proximity to science and other disciplines and how it can be arranged and rearranged in its various

categories and with time. All these are keys to the formation of concepts such as ecofeminism, ecocentrism, aestheticism and the use of pastoral studies. These are the keys to understanding how the literature of a particular culture or community and period comprehended or treated Nature.

2.1.3. Two Waves of Ecocriticism

There are two waves related to this movement. The first wave can find its root in the work of Lawrence Buell who formulated four check-points which can be used to understand or judge whether a work of literature is in its right treatment towards Nature or not. Besides Buell's four points, Cheryl Glotfelty has also established fourteen questions in her edited book, *The Ecocriticism Reader* (as listed in the section 'Ecocriticism as a Literary Criticism') to analyse an environmental oriented work. There are also prominent essay writers in the US like Henry David Thoreau, Mary Austin, Wendell Berry and Annie Dillard, John Muir, Edward Abbey which reflected their interest or source of inspiration from American Transcendentalism. In summation of these writings, it can be observed that the wave's concern was mainly on whether or not the 'moral ethical values' were infused in the text. When the first wave is compared to the second, it can be observed that while the former held on to the belief of 'deep ecology' and its motive of creating a balance between Nature and man, the latter subscribes to 'social ecology' which stands for the notion that distortion in the ecology starts from disparity and imbalance in the social stratification of men and for which priority is to be given on removing 'indifferences' first. Though 'deep ecology' and 'social ecology' contains a uniform structure of a web of structures, the difference between the two is that nature and its relationship is more prominent in 'deep ecology' while social relation is the key feature of the latter ecology. Thus, the focus of the second wave was towards society and its distribution of resources and materialism.

2.1.4. Anthropocentrism and Ecocentrism

Anthropocentrism refers to the act of placing humanity at the centre of everything which gives man complete or ultimate control over everything or that the other forms of life are subordinates to human beings. It can be both the superior attitude and the practical course of considering or using the entire resource or ecosystem for the wants of man. Man's self-centeredness has further given birth to other disaster-related concepts such as 'industrocentrism' (which is a threat or opposite to anthropocentrism and ecocentrism and which could harm both humans and nonhuman alike) and 'technocentrism' (values centred on technology) exist which are all pointing to the fact that there is a need for 'social ecology.'

While 'anthropocentrism' stands for man-oriented, 'ecocentrism' stands for the opposite where Nature and its importance are given equally to man. The term 'ecocentrism' is one used in ecological political philosophy to stand for a nature-centred system of value. Ecocentrism can be best understood when we put in focus on the core value or priority of the subject, Nature.

'Deep ecology' which stands for 'biocentric' or an understanding where Nature and its intricate forms actually go beyond man's interest or existence was formulated by Arne Naess in the article "The Shallow and The Deep, Long-Range Ecology Movement: A Summary" (1973) which stands in total opposition of anthropocentrism and its objectives. Applying this to literature, Lawrence Buell's checklist for an environment-oriented work can be applied as it absolutely goes against anthropocentrism as seen in his work *The Environmental Imagination*:

1. The non-human environment is present not merely as a framing device but as a presence that begins to suggest that human history is implicated in the natural world.
2. The human interest is not understood to be the only legitimate interest.
3. Human accountability to the environment is part of the text's ethical orientation.
4. Some sense of the environment as a process rather than as a constant or a given is at least implicit in the text (7-8).

On the subject of how man is placed, while anthropocentrism deals with man at the centre, there exists 'The Great Chain of Being' which originally means "Ladder of Being" from the Latin word *scala naturae*. It is a concept derived from the works of Plato, Aristotle, Plotinus and Proclus, where a hierarchy is built with a man in between the supernatural beings above him and the other creatures of the world such as the animals below him. Formulated first by Greek philosophers which developed and were refined by German philosophers during the Renaissance period or the Age of Enlightenment, though stands as a 'hierarchy' it still acts in the same response as anthropocentrism. According to this concept, the chain begins with God and progresses downward to angels, humans, animals, plants and minerals. Men may not be placed at the centre with 'surroundings' treated inferior to men. But the fact that men are still placed 'above nature' with all its creature reflects the classical concept of man's dominion over Nature. 'The Great Chain of Being' is an example of how anthropocentrism has been existing and sprouted in the minds of humans with the attitude of ownership and dominion over nature.

On the topic of how anthropocentrism and ecocentrism could come to a balance, ‘ecothology’ serves as a medium. Two concepts are to be argued here; firstly, on Christianity with a man as the supreme controller over Nature and secondly, on the concept of ‘The Great Chain of Being’ which still places man just over nature.

Christianity, as considered by Lynn White Jr. in his work “The Historical Roots of our Ecological Crisis” to be an anthropocentric religion, there is no denying the fact that some parts of their holy book, the Holy Bible are either misunderstood or misread. Genesis 1:26 and 28 of the Bible reads:

Then God said, “Let us make mankind in our image, in our likeness, so that they may rule over the fish in the sea and the birds in the sky, over the livestock and all the wild animals, and over all the creatures that move along the ground ... God blessed them and said to them. “Be fruitful and increase in number; fill the earth and subdue it. Rule over the fish in the sea and the birds in the sky and over every living creature that moves on the ground” (2).

It may be noted that the words or clauses used to suggest anthropocentrism includes “rule over”, “fill the earth” and “subdue it.” These parts of the Bible could cause the understanding that God had given the entire world under the control of mankind.

Moving on to the next concept which is again represented by the Holy Bible, Psalms 8:5-8 projects how man places himself in the hierarchy:

You have made them [men] a little lower
than the angels

.....

you made them [men] rulers over the works
 of your hands;
 you put everything [earthly creatures] under their feet... (485)

These lines clearly suggest how man deems himself to be “a little lower” or below the angels while having authority over all the living creatures.

Although traditional thought leans more towards anthropocentrism, ecocentrism is relatively new and grew with the slow awakening of environmental concerns. Ecocentrism calls for prioritising nature and the need to preserve it for the sake of the survival of humanity. On the note of religious beliefs especially of the Christian ideology which claims that man rules over the entire ecosystem, ‘ecothology’ could be a balancing factor where the interpretation can be reversed to the point where man is only to be perceived as a caretaker or steward of God’s creation. From a literary perspective, it can be understood that ecocentrism also calls for placing nature as the main object or emphasis in a text rather than being treated only as a mere background. Here, nature can be highlighted with all her malevolence as well as benevolence and how the characters or the major motifs in the text get to interact and connect with nature. Thus, ecocentrism requires spiritual and emotional determination and creativity in placing nature at the centre.

2.2. Introduction: Cultural Studies

One of the most recent yet essential studies is Cultural Studies which had its foundation rooted formally and institutionalised only in the late fifties in England. It has become a discipline in itself and has different areas under it as well. The rapid growth of this study has been consistent and has found its way to a global home. On its term, critics and scholars have propounded different terms for it. While some scholars

use the term ‘culture studies’ or even a similar approach called ‘cultural materialism’, the term ‘cultural studies’ is more towards the trend in the academic field.

Cultural Studies is a ‘practice’ which brings forth a collection of approaches to studying society and the trend involved in it. It need not necessarily be confined to the ‘prominent’ but to the ‘popular’ culture. For this reason, this ‘practice’ of analysing and reaping its meaning or significance is broader and hence more liberty is assigned to it in its study of society. It can thus be understood in different approaches; as a way of breaking away from the realm of the elite to the majority commoners, as a way of looking into the perspectives of the marginalized or the minorities whose voices are rarely heard, as a way of breaking from the traditional concept of quality or the so-called ‘high literature’ that are prized in the literary canon and shifting to what is popular among the people in general and lastly, the study of social habits and its interpretation. Hence, Cultural Studies involve literature, art, society, societal patterns, materialism and the connection or the dependence they have within them.

2.2.1. Cultural Studies: Genesis and Purpose

In tracing its origin, it has been assumed that Cultural Studies emerged from the work and effort of the scholars from the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham, it has been realised that it was only their contribution in formulating the concrete image and form of Cultural Studies by clustering the writings and ideologies in a formal manner. The birth of Cultural Studies lies in the writings of Marxist scholars whose writings further added to connecting art with society with all its aspects including its societal condition. Staying true to what Cultural Studies is, it encompassed what human society would be like with all its economic, material, religious and historical conditions. The writings concerned were mostly written by

those fleeing the power of Hitler and migrating themselves from the power. Writers such as Theodore Adorno, Walter Benjamin and Max Horkheimer are to be included in this issue. Ranging from what they called the “culture industry” of the American media and its entertainment industry which mostly dominated its music and movies which were taking the whole world to its charm and becoming a global culture, to “Marxist humanism” with the aim of using art and its production and appreciation as a tool to break from the capitalist society.

The French Structuralists in the 1960s, especially the work of the French critic and literary theorist, Roland Barthes’ work is also associated with its birth. Barthes took into account the mundane activities or objects of his days in his work *Mythologies* (1957) where he contemplated the significance behind them. His ‘readings’ took upon cultural activities which included the idea of materialism in the form of advertisements and media on products such as detergents and cars, the close observation of wrestling and to objects such as French wine. In this way, he was able to locate the connection between the conventions and the significance, especially of the social construct attached to the practices. For example, in his study of comparison between wrestling and boxing, he initially made the observation that boxers would take in blows and punches without many reactions and also that rules were made ‘external’ to the match while on the other hand, wrestling involved more tension and wrestlers would usually involve more drama to the act with its rules ‘confined’ to the match. Thus, this created the idea of how rules in a wrestling match, which are to be observed within the match are disturbed by the ‘villain’ or the anti-hero and hence branding himself as a ‘bad guy’ in the match. This was so to create emotional and mental gratification upon the spectators when they witness the ‘bad guy’ defeated and punished for the wrongs committed by them and

therefore justifying the concept of good versus bad. This approach of Barthes enhanced the study of ‘cultural images’ for the meaning and connotation it carries.

The writings of Richard Hoggart and Raymond Williams are to be regarded as the most important writings in the development of Cultural Studies as they brought for a practical and common form of culture which ultimately called for an equal impetus, especially for the growing urban middle-class. Richard Hoggart was one critic who was familiar with the struggles and life of a financially strained family for he was from one such background. His familiarity with this condition gave him more observation and perspective into what a common culture is as he writes in his popular work, *Uses of Literacy* (1957) where he announces his decision on taking the “fairly homogeneous group of working-class people” (qtd. in Gupta 4). It is this group of people composing the general mass of a society whose taste and trends stand as the majority as compared to the minority elite group and their taste. Thus, Hoggart’s attention drew towards even the slightest of the silliest trends in this group of people’s lives such as smoking, fashion, and picnics at the seaside. Raymond Williams’ work *Culture and Society* (1958) is another achievement in the hallmark of Cultural Studies as he redefines what culture is. In his work *Culture and Society*, he mentions:

Culture is ordinary: that is the first fact. Every human society has its own shape, its own purposes, its own meanings. Every human society expresses these, in institutions, and in arts and learning. The making of a society is the finding of common meanings and directions, and its growth is an active debate and amendment under the pressures of experience, contact, and discovery, writing themselves into the land (75).

Williams has portrayed the simplification of what culture is and how society ought to nestle itself with culture if it (society) is to be made. Thus, this brings out two purposes of Cultural Studies:

Firstly, as the Marxist writers had built the connection between art or the text and the social conditions including its economic, religious and material aspects, it serves to bring an understanding of how a text can speak about its society and its age.

Secondly, as proved by the writings of Raymond Williams and Richard Haggart where the middle-working class and its trends are valued as culture, Cultural Studies also performs in the acceptance of writings besides those which are branded as ‘great tradition’ or are ‘canonised’ by the taste of the elites. It brings in a fresh perspective of reading any creative writings rather than being confined to the conservative canonical canvas of literature.

2.2.2. The Conflict in Cultural Studies

There are certain things that come into conflict when the matter of focus is questioned in Cultural Studies. Indeed, it is a cumulation of all that a society has to be concerned with. But on the topic of where exactly it is to be studied, the tension arises.

Cultural Studies is concerned or focused on the things related to ordinary people and the things, events or cultures they practice or observe. However, it is also related to what actually shapes them or what really shapes their culture. The tension is on the understanding of whether the ‘ordinary people’ really have the liberty in shaping their lives or that there are external and internal forces behind the shaping of their lives. For example, whether or not the people are able to decide for themselves if a product is a really worthy product or if the public is manipulated into thinking that it is worthy

through the act of advertisement. Another conflict arises on how ‘high’ culture gets to retain its place and how the other culture gets to be labelled only as ‘popular’ or ‘mass’. The question is on ‘who’ gets to decide what is ‘high’ and what is ‘low’. For instance, literary works such as those written by William Shakespeare are considered ‘classic’ or of ‘literary genius’ while contemporary works are not labelled in the same manner.

2.2.3. Cultural Materialism

Culture encompasses a wide variety of trends, traditions and patterns besides trivial but necessary issues such as fashion and social interaction patterns, the issue of power autonomy and the mechanism behind building the power structure is equally important. Jonathan Dollimore, Catherine Belsey and Alan Sinfield are the core exponents of this concept which calls for the study of history and social power. Cultural materialism is the concept of how power structure and culture are correlated. Here, the concern is on the use of historical context in analysing texts and how the past and its product in the form of literature is studied through the perspective of the present power relation. According to them, there are three things that form the meaning and reason when merged together: history, literature and politics (Malpas 202-03). Thus, through every period or phase of history, the literature of its era can be seen as a dominant factor in altering culture especially politics. It becomes evident that literary texts played important role in shaping the culture of the society.

Literary texts have to be fully understood in relation to their contexts because “there can be no separation of text and context” (203). These texts play a major role in the contribution of new ideas and shaping of ideology in the society as they exist in a material form preserved by different institutions like churches, theatres and schools.

Thus, they become part and partial of the culture, and contribute to the growth of cultural materialism.

2.3. Conclusion

Tenyidie poetry consists of various themes and concepts dealing with both the past and the contemporary. Its aesthetic quality is appreciated and this can further be seen through Chapter 3. But on its study as texts related to the people and their culture or their perspective towards their beliefs whether old or new, values and power dominance among the many to name a few, it becomes evident that the use of cultural studies and ecocriticism is beneficial in the understanding of the people as a community.

Cultural studies being a diverse and vast area of study allows sufficient approaches in the present study as the Angami-Naga society has shifted considerably over time in all aspects. The literary texts are living proof to say that the society has indeed grown so much as the poems to be studied here present both the orally transmitted texts as well as a reflection of the elements which acted as a catalyst in shaping the transformation of its society. Change of religion, exposure to outsiders as well as other culture and the coming of modernisation which broadened the lenses of the society in general are all reflected through the poems studied here.

Nature being one of the most important sources of building a community, ecocriticism stands as an important tool in analysing the Tenyidie poems. Nature is viewed as sacred and absolute for both spiritual development and physical need. Thus, many of the poems can be seen treating nature as their sole object or source of inspiration. The use of ecocriticism helps in explaining as to how reverence, fear and also concerns are laid out by the poets. It is basically to usher in the projection of nature

especially on the four contours of nature according to the people. This will be further examined in Chapter 4 using ecocriticism. Overall, it can be established that nature is seen as a divine force capable of sustenance and pleasure by applying ecocriticism to its study.

CHAPTER 3: STYLISTIC AND TECHNICAL FEATURES OF TENYIDIE POETRY

3.1. What is Stylistics?

Stylistics is the mixture of both linguistics and literature as it employs both the fields for a better understanding of the effects of a text. Stylistics, also called ‘literary linguistics’, is the study of style applied in writing for it to be read or performed and what it leaves behind upon the readers or listeners; whether they are emotionally, spiritually, aesthetically, or mentally affected. It can be applied either to a single text, a writer’s works or a specific era or period in which common traits or patterns can be observed. Besides the uniformity in its patterns, it can also check on the devices used by writers to create a certain effect. As suggested by M. H. Abrams in *A Glossary of Literary Terms*, on the topic of stylistics he suggested the four linguistics methods which are phonological, syntactic, lexical and rhetoric (305-06). It is the dissection and interpretation of literary texts using linguistics perspectives and thus, literature and linguistics go hand in hand. Therefore, issues to be observed here are mostly on the tone, choice of words, a common pattern of themes, point of view or perspective, narration and so on.

3.1.2. The Origin of Stylistics

There are several sources from which this technique formulated its principles such as New Criticism, European Structuralists and writings by I. A. Richards and William Empson or for its basic development, the Greek or the classical writings. Stylistics owe much of its birth to classical writings as it is through their writings that the art of formulating content by careful selection of the words, its arrangement and its purpose was learnt. It begins from the formulation of ‘material’ or ‘data’ which

proceeds to the use of these materials into arguments for persuasion upon its spectator based on the three Aristotelian tools:

1. Logos (where 'logic' is used as the main argument)
2. Ethos (which invokes or expresses their 'authority' and expertise of the speaker upon its listeners)
3. Pathos (where attempts of the speaker is made to persuade an audience through appeals using assertive and unavoidable 'emotions' such as pity)

According to the Greeks, these three 'appeals' form the first canon. The second canon consists of the ordering for a favourable situation or causes while the third canon consists of making use of the material and stylising them with perfect execution where clarity of the speech, and lexical and syntactic or semantic aspects of stylising are applied. Under the 'appropriateness' of language, there are again three levels of judging or categorising language. They are:

1. High Style (includes language used for literature and poetry which are highly influential towards its reader's emotions or perspective)
2. Middle Style (a mixture of both the High and Low style)
3. Low Style (includes language used for everyday purposes especially in communicating one's ideas or concepts for people to grasp them easily)

After the classical application, another most notable among the influence is the Russian Formalists. Russian Formalists' writings are heavily attributed to this, especially writings by Roman Jakobson. Here, two obvious features can be seen shared with its predecessor. Firstly, their attempt to demarcate between poetic language and mundanely used language is seen, as both claim that the language for poetics should

always be elevated and superior to other languages. The Russian Formalists have a greater goal here as they aim to avert the attention of readers in differentiating between ordinary and literary language by creating a feeling of strangeness. For this, they have focused on the word ‘defamiliarize’ where ordinary things are converted into strange or unfamiliar things. Thus, fulfilling their objective as the literary language is separated from ordinary language. This goes against the Romantic poets whose ideology goes completely against the Formalists as the Romantics wanted to make strange things familiar while using simple language ‘used by ordinary men.’

The situation mentioned above is to be understood for the treatment of its language. The second similarity goes into the breaking and scrutiny of the words or the text as a whole. For this, the “literariness” or their ‘formal’ feature for which they suggest the use of rhyme, meter, or other phonological effects, syntax and figurative languages are evaluated in writing literary pieces and cannot be used for common and humdrum usages. It is the heavy examination of details in the matter of art in its perfection that pulls these two bodies together. The only difference between the classical and the Formalists is that, while the former is more interested in the ‘making’ or creation of art, the latter is busy deconstructing its subject and dissecting them one by one.

In the process of accomplishing their objectives, which are; transforming the evaluation of literature into a formal or methodical study and understanding and spotting what poetic language is distinct, they have formulated their own ways of engaging tactically. Roman Jakobson took under his scholarship the ‘formal’ and ‘literariness’ of poetic language while Propp, through his work *Morphology of The Folktale* (1928) brings in the formal aspects of stories and applies morphology to the

understanding of how parts of stories are formulated. Shklovsky on his part has also worked on bringing to light the usage of ‘defamiliarization’, ‘dehabitualization’ or ‘bestrangement’ (terms translated from his work) in literature.

3.1.3. The Purpose of Stylistics

For a piece of literature, usually the theme, perspective or the meaning of the text is analysed leading to the focus on the text for its content and meaning. On its use or purpose, however, there are two main purposes for stylistics.

Firstly, using stylistics it gives ample opportunity for the reader to analyse the text and understand the text not for its meaning but for unearthing the purposes of the techniques used by the writer by applying linguistics. The question that needs to be realised is ‘how’ a text is written which involves the dissection of the entire text to be sampled and tested for any given purpose, be it for its choice of words, the unapologetic use of poetic license or the response upon the readers, and not ‘what’ it contains which includes the basic things such as its themes and its form. In this trail of study, it is possible to understand the trait or personality of the writer as it can reveal reasons or understanding of why the particular writer chose to write in a certain or peculiar way. This may stand odd against the revolutionary modern writings and their criticisms where they claim the anonymity of the writer and its call for absolute undeterred attention on the texts itself and not on its writer’s life. New Criticism is to be ignored here as Stylistics performs its multi-dimensional revelation in understanding a text, including the personality or preference of a writer.

Secondly, stylistics is for the purpose of tracing the language or its nature and separating literary language from ordinary and everyday language. Therefore, the objective of using stylistics is for the purpose of ‘how’ a text is written by analysing the

pieces through which it affects the readers and secondly in identifying its “formal” qualities as Russian Formalists had insisted which differentiates between ordinary and literary language. With these achieved, there can be both the effect and the ability to judge the work and its merit.

3.1.4. The Tools/Devices of Stylistics

Stylistic is a combination of both linguistics and literary forms as both their methods are used in the study of a text. However, there is of course a stark difference between them. Linguistic Stylistic solely focuses on a text while Literary Stylistic focuses on the authors along with the text; while the former is more inclined towards the devices used, the latter is inclined towards the meaning of the text as well and lastly, the former draws its lines strictly under objectivism as its attention is towards the technical features of the text, the latter is open to subjectivism as well since in its study, the personal dimensions of the writer is welcomed.

Linguistic Stylistic breaks into a text with its tools such as phonology, graphology, syntax, semantic or lexical, and morphology. These are devices which require observation of a text objectively rather than understanding its underlying meanings leading to subjectivity. Under Literary Stylistics it must always be realised that the study is absolutely sensitive to the language or that it treats the language, not in its denotative form but in its connotative meanings. Here, the Literary Stylist aims in decoding the meaning of the text to unveil the psyche or the intentions of the writer. In his work, *Stylistics and the Teaching of Literature*, H. G. Widdowson has explained the meaning of Stylistics as something synonymous with literary criticism. Widdowson understands that the purpose of it is to interpret and bring light the message, or rather publicise the private message of a writer to its reader. As the Russian Formalists had

established the rule of making use of ‘poetic’ language by making things unfamiliar in order to differentiate between the language of a text and language used mundanely, Widdowson’s definition summarises that Stylistics is supposed to churn out the communal meaning from the ‘poetic’ language which writers ought to use according to the Russian Formalists. Their focus is on what the text contains and what it brings out to its readers and their responses. Thus, it can be realised that the ‘interpretation’ of a text becomes the primary objective under Literary Stylistics.

It is with this understanding of Stylistics that we can recall Michael Burke’s statement in his introductory note on Stylistics:

A stylistician can arguably be viewed as a kind of empirical or forensic discourse critic: a person who with his/her detailed knowledge of the workings of morphology, phonology, lexis, syntax, semantics, and various discourse and pragmatic models, goes in search of language-based evidence in order to support or indeed challenge the subjective interpretations and evaluations of various critics and cultural commentators (pp.2).

It is evident from these lines that the role of a Stylistician goes beyond the role of giving subjective opinions on how the text evoked emotional or social catalysts or a commentator on the mode or theme of the text. Burke uses the imagery of a sharp, observant detective analysing the writings of another critic who has written a review on a work of art. The detective studies the writings using statistical accounts and closely watches over the words and their arrangements. Again, using the words of Burke as he defines Stylistics, “It is a kind of linguistic-forensic, literary discourse criticism” (3).

Though ironic as it is for the inclusion of stylistics in a study as this which aims for the exposition of its themes, stylistics becomes an important topic to be analysed as it explores the underlying common traits of the Angami-Naga poets as most of their writings are based on community writing while personal writings form the minority. Using both literary and linguistic stylistic, the Tenyidie poems will be scrutinised and targeted more towards the exposition of the society in general.

3.2. Atmosphere, Modality and Perspective of the Poems

In evaluating any work of art, there is always a need to understand the ambience or mood and tone of the work. There are always different viewpoints in critiquing something and also different types of points of view. As laid down by Boris Uspensky in his work *Study of Point of View: Spatial and Temporal Form*, and later redeveloped by Roger Fowler in his work *Linguistic Criticism*, four types of point of view exist namely; *spatial*, *temporal*, *psychological* and *ideological* point of view. *Spatial* refers to the expanse, its spaciousness or margin from its visual point. Hence, Spatial point of view can be considered the most literal and non-metaphorical in its application.

The *Temporal* refers to the viewpoint based on how the narrator uses time in the form of flashbacks, flashforwards and gaps in its narration. The *Ideological* point of view is an important tool for understanding art as it can be used for the flexibility it provides for its author. It refers to the set of beliefs, perspectives or ‘ideology’ which are infused with the character or the narrator’s words as their ideologies. They can be beliefs which the author himself either believes or supports or that he does not accept at all.

Lastly, the *psychological* point of view falls under the mental, conscious and subjective thought process of the subject. A combination of the *spatial* and *temporal*

can be also applied from a *psychological* point of view. The focus here is rather on the latter type where the poets are kept at the centre to be analysed for the tone and mood used for their writings. Behind the point of view, there exists another narration which gives more light towards the psyche of the first-person narration not only as a witness narrating an autobiography but as a ‘character’ or even the internal dialogues of the characters. Thus, the matter of point of view is not only confined to the poet as someone who had dealt with an experience, perhaps a psychological trauma, or the declining of the moral values of a society but goes beyond the form of an omniscient being who charts out the emotional assumptions of a character and are narrated through the first-person narration. A completely generic analysis cannot be made of course, but here are some of the most common and recurring patterns which became necessary in understanding its themes and what the poems are about.

Narration and the source and its nature is always an important part of studying a work of art. While keeping this in mind, there are some questions that come into consideration. They are:

1. Who is speaking?
2. How is the speaker speaking?
3. What is the source of knowledge on the plot?
4. What is the mode of the speech?

With these questions come the four sets of typologies. They are:

1. Types of narrators – This typology was formulated by Gérard Genette. The application here is on who the speaker really is. There are two types of narrators under this:

(a) Homodiegetic Narrator:

Here the narrator is the character himself/herself and is speaking as he/she experiences or participates in the happenings of the plot. This narrator's overview of other characters is limited.

(b) Heterodiegetic Narrator:

Here the narrator is not the protagonist himself/herself or does not participate but can speak on the experiences of the character.

2. Types of narrative viewpoint - This typology bears the answer to the question of how the speaker is speaking. It was formulated by Uspensky. Two types of narration fall within this:

(a) Internal Narration:

Here the narration can be biased in its nature as the content can be highly subjective. Under Fowler's contribution, this narration can also include the usage of first-person narrative where the character's direct comment or observation is undertaken while the use of a third person narrative can include a narrator describing a character's observation.

(b) External Narration:

Here the narration can be objective in nature. Again, under Fowler's revision, it includes the absence of *verba sentiendi* (words that express abstractness) which leads to an impersonal view of things. The narrator can take a state of unawareness towards the thought of the character. This was however criticised as it puts a strain towards the authority of the author.

3. Types of focalization – Formulated by Gérard Genette as well, this typology directs towards the source of knowledge on the plot. There are three types of focus here:

(a) Zero focalization:

In this exists an omniscient narrator who knows more than any of the characters.

(b) Internal Focalization:

Here the participation of the omniscient narrator is not allowed. There can be a single, twin or even multiple characters with their perspectives and thus, the narrator does not maintain the freedom to know more than them.

(c) External Focalization:

Here the narrator reveals lesser than what the character knows and things are left in suspension without even going inside the consciousness of the character.

4. Types of modality – This typology is concerned with what the tone of the speech is about and how its choice of words can portray it.

(a) Deontic:

Use of modal auxiliaries like must, should or may which express the speaker's confidence over an obligation or condition that is to be fulfilled.

(b) Boulomaic:

Use of modal auxiliaries like wish, hope and regret which express the speaker's 'desire' or ambition for something.

(c) Perceptual:

It is based on the visual perception of an individual and makes statements such as "Evidently, they ruled him guilty".

(d) Epistemic:

Use of modal auxiliaries like possibly, perhaps and maybe which expresses the speaker's lack of confidence or assurance.

Using these typologies, the narration and nature of the poems will be studied on the topic of the atmosphere of Tenyidie Poetry, the viewpoint and the ambience or tone of the poets through: (a) their first-hand experiences and emotions and (b) the semi-fictional experiences will be applied here.

3.2.1. Treatment of Narration and Viewpoint in Tenyidie Poetry

There are different types of poems in Tenyidie poetry which will be further analysed in the following chapters. There is, however, one type of poetry which comes to the attention of readers when it comes to its basis or originality; it is oral poetry which comes under the nature of recited poetry. These are poems which have lost their authorship but prevail because of the legacy it attaches itself to either memory or mostly popular folklore. The purpose of this analysis is for understanding the consequences of treating a poem through personal narration and especially on plots which bear a sufficient amount of authenticity through myths, legends and folklores. Concerning the study here, these poems are mostly adopted under the authorship of Ura Academy and are treated anonymously.

The reason why the narration of this poem is categorised is to shed light on the possibility of how the poem adopts an ‘unreliable narrator.’ An unreliable narrator is one “whose perception, interpretation, and evaluation of the matters he or she narrates do not coincide with the opinions and norms implied by the author, which the author expects the alert reader to share” (Abrams 235). There are some criteria under what makes a narrator an unreliable narrator: (1) it is most commonly presented through first-person narrative (2) the narrator creates tension for its reader (3) the narrator comes through the form of complex characters.

“Sopfünüo” is one such classical poem which will be taken in for the need of recounting its plot, narration and most importantly its authenticity is required.

Attaching itself to the legend of the woman named *Sopfünüo*, the plot is based on the righteous and hard-working woman who was chased away from her husband’s house and met with death as she was on her way to her native village. This legend is known in every household and is carved out on stones to be remembered. No doubt, the need for oral tradition is always present but at the same time, requires more scrutiny. The poem opens with the speech of the protagonist to whom the poem is titled. It is written entirely in first-person narration and is addressed completely to the husband who had presumably betrayed her as we see in the lines:

Lots of girls compete to be your suitor;
Words from them come home by midnight,
‘go’, you chase me out of the home:
Yet our children should not be estranged, (3-6)

The narration here comes under the typology of the homodiegetic narrator as she is both the narrator and the character describing her own plight. There is a constant use of the pronoun ‘you’, and the determiner ‘your’ and ‘our’ which all indicate the personal treatment of the protagonist herself; or when compared to the spoken tale, both the plots are parallel to each other. But the question is on the extension of how justifiable it is to be termed as authentic. Though it is homodiegetic, it does not prove the fact that it is real as fictional works can always be flexible in choosing their narration as well. The fact that the entire poem is presented in first person narrative, and as mentioned earlier, it has a way of grooming subjectivity and fits under the category of an unreliable narrator.

On the question of how it was said, it falls under the internal narration viewpoint as it is narrated in a first-person narrative and also directly conveys the thought process of the character itself:

Like life of the moon, man's life [unlike the moon]

After death does not come to relive.

Alas, who will keep on listening to

Harsh words of others throughout life?

I did set out at midnight..." (11-15)

Readers are made to go through with her reasoning and practical sense as she is trying to understand that; firstly, she knows that unlike the moon which takes numerous birth, she has only one life to live; secondly, it is not fair to listen to scornful remarks against oneself for the whole single life that a man gets; thirdly, she makes up her mind to leave the husband and lastly, she "sets out" and actually fulfils her decision. But there is also a need to realise that the internal narrative point of view can also groom subjectivity.

The poem also attaches its focalization solely on the character and not an omniscient character as we see that the entire poem is narrated in first-person narration and there is no interference of the other characters except the character quoting her husband's single word "'Go', you chase me out of the home" (5). The entire text is confined to the protagonist's perspective and point of view. But there are some lines which convey a sense of mystery as well as doubt about the events:

I did set out at midnight,

Carrying my child, to my native home.

Before I could reach, *terhuothie* hit me;
 My child knew not to rise to proceed;
 Plucking buds, he ate and rotted along with me; (15-19)

In the lines quoted above, the narrator is describing how she made her move to reach her native home but was killed by a *terhuothie* which is something people still do not know what it exactly is and is believed to be a “bamboo or wooden spike of spirits... if a person is hit by spirit with spike, he or she cannot survive” (Shürhozelie 52; Kuolie 13). This ‘object’ becomes vague with its intriguing assumptions based on supernatural supposition and myth but her death which no one was there to see first-hand becomes vaguer. Thus, the situation becomes twice layered with uncertainty and also sets the question as to how far it was authentic. It also creates ‘tension’ or mystery as to why and how the sequence occurred. On the argument of whether the character is unreliable or not, one may also wonder whether she really was taken by the spirits or she took the matter into her own hands to end her misery and shame of being chased out.

On its point of focalization, this narration goes beyond the ‘Internal focalization’ as the character seems to know more than what an omniscient narrator would know for it is usually with the authority of the ‘omniscient narrator’ who would possibly narrate even after the death of a character. Another reason to call the narrator as an unreliable one is based on the fact that the narrator while after her death (supposedly killed by supernatural elements) still holds to her first-person narration and her consciousness and is continuing her report on her child’s death. The readers are still made to listen to the ‘internal narration’ as the character continues to make decisions for herself:

Transforming to wood would lead us to rot,

We transformed into stone and lay at *Virazha*,
 To address to the young people,
 Are the women *Thenudeitsoü*? (20-23)

As quoted in the lines above, the readers get to understand her choice of form for she was to be metamorphosed. She chooses stone and not wood because her reasoning tells her that her wooden form would decay soon but to choose stone meant a lasting-existence. More of her viewpoint is explored as she also imagines herself and her child to be remembered as legends for the upcoming generation.

It is obvious that the poem is clearly based on folklores and that the poem is just a product of the creativity of the writers. But using Stylistics and its purpose of treating a text objectively, it becomes evident that they need to be scrutinized and compared from which the craft of writing Tenyidie poetry is also understood deeper. Thus, it can be concluded with the understanding that though the poem is based on a documented legend, there is also the danger in using first-person narration and because the original legend itself contains a lot of suspense and mystery to it which makes the narrator as unreliable narrators when Stylistics is applied.

On narration, it is also to be noted that the two main forms of Tenyidie poetry have their own form based on narrational style and tone. There are two ways of understanding this:

Firstly, it comes from the fact that most of the oral or narrational poems with plots or those based on tales are written in first person narrative. For this reason, it is also worth mentioning that these poems share the features of dramatic monologue. This

argument will be detailed in the section 3.4 under the topic, ‘Dramatic Monologue: A Similar Perspective.’

Secondly, it is observed that most of the modern poems are based on the tone of teaching and warning. There is a constant call from moral degeneration which had entered the society in all its ways. The poem, “Nagamia Geizo” (Chronology of The Nagas) by Sakuolie K. Kuotsu makes a warning for the people as he uses repeated markings and reminds the people:

*Lieluoya mu Seyie Krütamia,
Kepenuopfü phruokeshü ha ze,
Vi mete zo Joshu-a tuoi;
Rie kesuomia zha zie zolie di,
Shüphrakelie Seyie puo chiicie. (17-21)*

Translation:

(Remember the former deeds, Leaders!
Remember the blessings the Lord has provided!
Remember the righteousness of Joshua!
Out strength the enemies,
Be a Delivered Nation.) (17-21)

The narration shows a severe attempt and effort on the part of the poet in trying to make the people realise their worth and cause. Understanding how important religion is to the lives of the Angami-Nagas, the poet makes use of Christian belief and its reference in his attempt to encourage the people and strengthen them by giving the example of the mighty Bible character, Joshua and his contributions towards rebuilding the army of Israel. This topic will also be further analysed in the following chapter.

3.2.2. Tone and Modality of the Poems

In one of the Tenyidie anthology of poems titled “U Teiki Geiki” which translates to ‘The poems of our times’, the editor wrote in the preface of the collection mentioning how the poems were collected and formed under a common banner. The poems consist of different themes and content but the editor points that out they had one thing in common, i.e., the same period of time under which they were all written. He says that they were mostly written or collected between the years 1984-1989 (Five years span) and also gave some of the main socio-political and cultural conditions of the time. The 80s and the 90s can be considered as the shifting point from which Nagaland had already formulated its new-found culture.

Following are the several features of the period in which he observed how the sudden transformation of the society and their lives gave way to abrupt changes in their cultural, familial, economic and political aspects:

1. The sharp socio-economic stratification of difference that was felt by the society
2. The introduction of new technologies in the society
3. The shift in cultural values especially among the youth as they disregarded age-old values and family norms
4. A great need of teaching and infusing ethical values into the entire generation
5. Mental unrest among the educated Nagas
6. Chaotic socio-political situation of the Nagas
7. Decline of religious attitude among the Nagas
8. Recurring tone of regret
9. Recurring realisation of righteous values of the past

These are the points which will all be discussed in detail later in the following chapter as they are heavily impregnated with highly sensitive and important issues in the society. However, for the sake of highlighting the tone, a poem by one of the most popular Tenyidie poets, Medo, titled “Mia Krünuo Noule” (The Heart of Parents) is here analysed. The poem is in a first-person narration of a parent or a representation of it who shares with its readers as well as its children his concerns. The poem consists of two parts; like any parent, the narrator is anxious and worried when he thinks about raising his children to become someone in life and therefore the first part of the poem consists of him sharing his fears and also the struggles, he has to undergo in order to save for his children. The second part consists of the poet talking to his children as he is heartbroken by the harsh words used upon him by them. By using this poem, I would like to bring out some of the issues mentioned above and how the choice of words and tone highlights the society and its reality especially pertaining to the 80s.

On the issue of the growing gap in its economic state, the narrator here represents the majority of the people who were still extremely dependent on cultivation and manual labour. This and the period after India’s independence was a period where people were making their leaps from agriculture to education in their occupations. As Easterine Kire, in her work *Walking the Roadless Road* points out on the situation of the Nagas after World War II:

Schools were eventually reopened and normal life resumed. But for the Nagas, life as they had known it had been utterly changed and the transition to a modern way of life began in earnest. They had been introduced to a money economy on a much larger scale because many of the road contracts were taken on by young Nagas... Education and government jobs now became their priority (236).

In the poem “Mia Krünuo Noule” (The Heart of Parents) by Medo, the narrator is shown as a father whose only source of income was agriculture but he is desperate to give education to his children in the hope that they have a better life with white collared jobs and thus, tries to elevate their situation: Theke zopie u chü u demia; / Mhie zolie di a kerhei ki ha” (To lift them as equal to their peers, / To make them enjoy life even for a short-while...) (2-3). A desperate father, therefore, toils in his field as he meticulously explains his sacrifices for them:

Kezha le di teirüteinia buo

Rükhumezhü ha kekralie lho.

Nouva mete a va a tshu mo,

Thekhe hiepfü zhate a rhie chü;

Zo tuo dinu vo zo pru nu phi.

Kepa chüpie a nei thulilie,

Puo krako pie kepako se dzie. (5-11)

Translation:

(I faced the rain and the sun.

I sweated profusely while running out of breath.

I packed a meagre meal; my stomach never full,

prevailing my hunger, I worked persistently.

I move to the rest-house –

I picked my torn trouser to change in.

I wrapped myself with the worn-out cloth.) (5-11)

Table 2

Sample of Tone and Modality in Tenyidie Poetry

HYPERNYM (Generic)	HYPONYM (Specific)
Labour and poverty	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - faced the rain and the sun (5) - sweated profusely (6) - running out of breath (6) - (consumed) meagre meal (7) - stomach never full (7) - worked persistently (8) - (used) torn trouser/ worn-out cloth (10-11)
Irresponsibility and negligence of a youth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - fellowship with their friends (13) - neglecting (academic responsibilities) (14) - (Concerned with grooming) (15) - (visiting) cinema halls (15) - (Late returns at night) (16)

Source: Tsurho, Shurhono. “*Sample of Tone and Modality in Tenyidie Poetry.*”

February 12, 2019.

At its lexical level, the poet has picked words with a fixed objective, i.e., create a sense of pity and sacrifice. This is seen especially in the first part of the poem where the narrator talks about his plight. As shown above (see table 2), Hyponymy is used extensively here as he brings out a ray of instances on what labour is.

Words used by the poet here emphasise pain and misery on another level. In the original untranslated version, he uses the word “*teiriüteinia buo*” ‘faced sun and rain’ and “*rükhramezhii*” ‘sweated profusely’ (17) which are words that express the extremity of one’s labour in Tenyidie language. For its actual translation the first phrase can be literally translated as ‘dipping into the sun and rain’ while the second word refers

to the state where one is heavily engaged in a physical activity leading to an extreme flow of sweat streaming from the head and the face.

The narrator also chooses situations and words as miserable as they can be. For instance, to eat a “meagre meal” and to pick “torn trousers”, to work “persistently” or “worn-out cloth” to clothe himself alone is in a sense invoking a sense of sympathy upon its readers. It also gives the idea that the narrator is letting go of his social status by accepting the terms of his situation and choosing to live a life of simplicity exposing his lack of material wealth. Thus, the tone of woe and wretchedness is infused and with which the idea of division in economic stratification is shown here as there exist two main groups of people, i.e., the educated people and those still dependent on agriculture. The father here is someone who knows the importance of education as it has been mentioned in Kire’s words. Realising how education can give jobs and salaries without the labour as the parents had to do, children are constantly pressured to pursue their academic duties. Thus, the father here is trying everything within his means to improve the livelihood of his children and to uplift their social status.

3.2.3. Tone of Anger, Regret and Desperation

A lot of changes have occurred over the time in the face of Naga history in general. The undisturbed and clouded areas of the Nagas had always seemed the same until the early seventeenth century when the British company and its crown tried its extension unto the lands of the Nagas. Religion can be seen as one of the bridges from which the land of the Nagas was opened to ‘outsiders’. Though slow in its pace, the Nagas have nonetheless continued their journey towards the controversial ‘civilization’ and the development which came with it. The once wild yet innocent land now turned into a land of mixture which may not necessarily be of a negative consequence. But for

the eyes of those who had witnessed both the simple old land and the new confused land with ironic duets; of opportunities but vulnerability and nullification of the so-called 'head-hunting' but espionage and violence from external sources used.

The opportunities came in the form of earning not necessarily by toiling in the field but from clerical jobs, teaching, administrating, etc; construction and improvements of the roads, buildings and bridges; the coming of a formal educational institution and the chance of living a more convenient life. But it came with the price of being vulnerable to lethargy, corruption and loss of ethical-traditional values which are actually one of the most prominent themes in Tenyidie poems. Advancement or globalisation has been seen in many of the poems as having a negative impact on the Nagas in general and this creates the tone of regret and grief in the majority of the poems.

Dropping onto the second issue, the opening of the Naga hills to outsiders also brought in a change in belief and perspective which led to a change of faith, especially Christianity. It did help in discarding some adversarial practices of the Nagas, most importantly giving up war among themselves while embracing the virtues of Christianity in the form of peace and forgiveness. But this also led to the inclusion of new ideas and things unknown to the Nagas, such as democracy, politics and all the formal processes of power through the existence of a recognised government which calls for unification with its insertion of cruel power to achieve its means.

On the previous issue of inter-culture and the clash of values, a lot of poets commented on how it has destroyed the work culture and ethos of the natives. They blame both globalisation and the acceptance of the people in living a life where integrity and dignity are compromised.

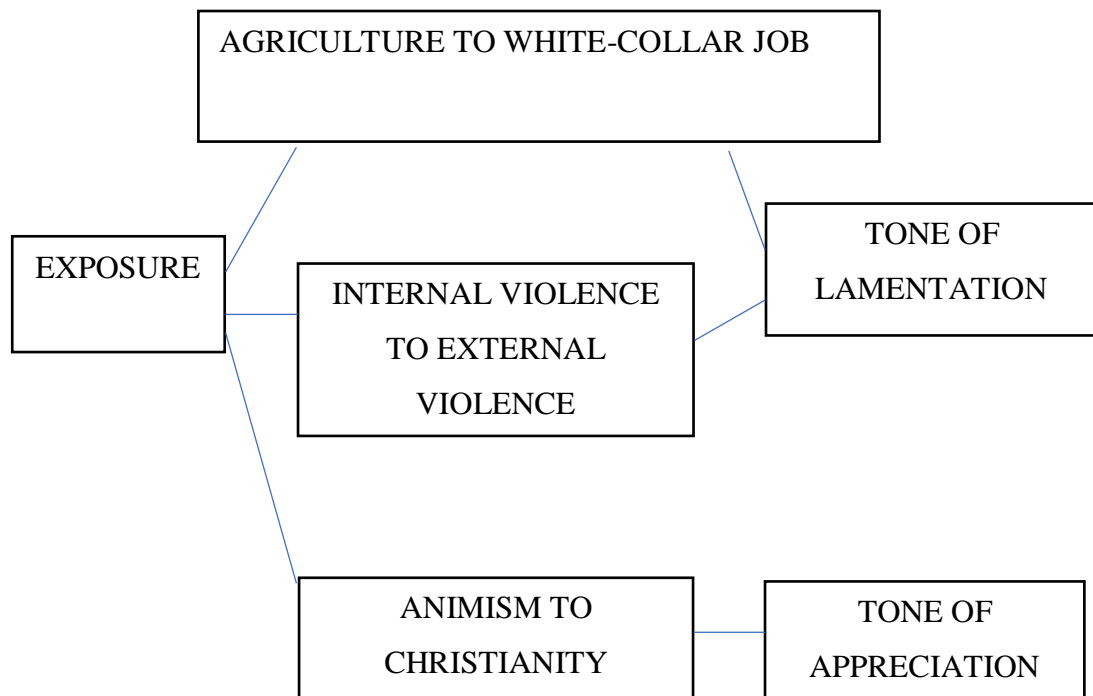


Fig. 1

Source: Tsurho, Shurhonuo. *Elaboration of the then Angami-Naga Society in the Context of Culture and Tone*. April 28, 2020.

As constructed above (see fig. 1), the impact of both exposure and colonialism led to certain things which in general, gave birth to two main tones, i.e., tone of lamentation and tone of appreciation.

On the tone of lamentation, as it has already been stressed enough; it finds its sources from the cause of engaging with other's cultures and lifestyles which transformed the entire structure of the Naga society in general.

The collection "U Teiki Geizo" provides a list of vices in which the people were indulging themselves during the eighties. This period consists of an end to the British rule in Nagaland. The power was, however not free from the practices adopted by the natives which were alien to them at one point. In the very collection of this poetry, poets wrote about various evil practices or cultures.

One of the most prominent Tenyidie poets, Medo who is known mostly for his satirical works wrote on alcoholism. In his poem, “Aya, A Zukhrie Kethelie Kenjüte Le!” (Oh! I Cannot End My Alcoholism), the speaker narrates his struggle with alcoholism and how it was literally killing him and destroying his family. As the speaker falls into extreme drinking to drive his worries away, he finds himself in pain and is taken away to the hospital and meets his ultimate fate:

Keba ki we re ke'r pete,

A khieki we a nou thupeluo.

Nie ha jü ro suonie nie sou chü,

Nie nupfü nie nuo mehotie shi!

Zo tha dinu a therü pra mu

KRIE HIENU REI YALIEYA MIERU,

Siaketa we u nuopfü u nuo.

Kechümia rei u nei pekuo zo- (11-18)

Translation:

(People came to visit me;

Surrounding me and encouraging me,

“Who will take your place if you leave now?

Who will take care of your wife and children?”

But once I am out of sight, they say-

“WE WARNED HIM, BUT HE WAS PERSISTENT

His death will be a relief,

for they will be at peace.”) (11-18)

The hilarious, yet realistic portrayal of the poem is a scene not far from reality as people in this period were dependent on drinking as part of their lives.

The focus here is not elsewhere but, on the tone, and the concern of the writers of “U Teiko Geizo” and especially of the poet here, Medo. Drinking had become a major problem for the people and this prompted the poets, artists, students, womenfolk and most importantly the church to tackle the issue to spare their men from dying due to alcoholism. As J. Hutton has stated in his book, *The Angami Nagas* on alcohol and its use, “Indeed it is more than a drink, it is also the staple article of consumption, the staff of life, and might be reckoned more appropriately as food rather than drink” (97), it is evident that the consumption of alcohol for the Angami- Naga people were equivalent to the food they ate. It was their source of strength and nutrition which was essential for their laborious lifestyle and work nature. Hutton further adds on how vital this substance was for their livelihood as he explains how the beer which they call under different terms (*Thutshe, Zutho, Mekhe/Ruhi*) but all coming down under the common term “zu” which also includes foreign alcohols. There are three main purposes of alcohol for the Angami-Nagas:

Firstly, as Hutton had earlier pointed out, it was a form of consumption mostly synonymous with food. It provided them with strength and nutrition for their sustenance. It was considered medicinal for them and therefore it was consumed by people of all ages.

Secondly, as discussed in the earlier chapter on the section on festivals, it was observed that different occasions were celebrated and observed with a necessary inclusion of meat and traditionally made alcohol. Therefore, it was an object which was served in the process of their merry-making and sacred rituals.

Thirdly, it was also a symbol of wealth and status. Hence, only wealthy people with their barns full of harvest and most importantly sufficient surplus could afford to make a huge amount of alcohol which would be used for feeding an entire village.

With the excessive use of alcohol and change of lifestyle from laborious or agile works to an urbanised form, alcoholism became a huge problem for the people in general. There may not be a prohibition or ban for traditionally made alcohol (although it was discouraged), but the people wanted a change especially with the imported goods which were more disastrous comparatively. Its abuse and impact led to people wanting to abolish these practices. The people considered it a serious matter which was seen as conflicting with their newfound religious beliefs and practices, Christianity. It was in 1962 when the Nagaland Baptist Church Council drafted their resolution for a prohibition of alcohol where they stated:

...and that since Independence the use of liquor in Nagaland has been on the increase which alarms the Naga people we appeal to the Governor of Nagaland to do all in his power to abolish immediately the sale and use of Liquor in Nagaland and divert the fund of political rum to some other welfare project (Keitzar 18).

It was further pushed by the council in 1966 where they demanded their appeal with some resolutions with the objective of, “the rum quota annually received by the Nagaland State Government from the centre under the item ‘Guest Entertainment’ should be immediately discontinued” (19).

It is observed in Keitzar’s “Triumph of Faith in Nagaland” that the Nagaland Baptist Church Council in 1972 wanted Fair elections and also an environment without

people intoxicated or influenced by the use of alcohol during elections. Thus, it is observed that the society was abusing the use of alcohol and for this, the import of alcohol was highly discarded by the Nagas in general. It was only in 1990 that the proposal for the prohibition was accepted and people the state was considered a 'Dry State.'

With the understanding that the Angami-Naga society is a patriarchal one, it can be further realised that the poem above was typical of what it was then, and how the man is considered the head of the family. People took serious notice of the issue because of the fact that the role of the father of the family holds immense privileges. As Pateman writes, "The patriarchal construction of the difference between masculinity and femininity is the political difference between freedom and subjection" (207). The following points are some of the main purposes based on the understanding of the above-quoted definition of patriarchy and the given poem:

Firstly, he is supposed to be the 'breadwinner' of the family and be the legitimate financial provider of the house. For this, in the poem people are seen asking the speaker who would provide for and act as the guardian of his family were he to die then.

Secondly, he represents his entire household and even to the extent of representing his village or community in general for any obligation, without whom the house or the community is seen without a protector. Again, it is seen that the visitors encouraged the speaker by reminding him of his position when they said, "Who will take your place if you leave now?"

Thirdly, he is also the individual who has been viewed to be the main decision-maker both internally and externally. It is the “political difference” (solely for the man) in obtaining the power in deciding for a family with undeniable authority which identifies menfolk as the superior being in a family and elsewhere, which is something a woman could hardly achieve then.

Thus, the status and obligation of a man are significant and for which it becomes important to safeguard the ‘lifespan’ and ‘longevity’ of the menfolk in general; for which it was necessary for the society to abolish and rid a practice as injurious and deathly as alcohol.

The poet also establishes his voice to get more attention by enhancing his style in the writing as he writes the line, “WE WARNED HIM, BUT HE WAS PERSISTENT” evidently with uppercase letters. The “WE” here stands for those who did not fall into the addiction or were bystanders who “WARNED” him or are the vigilantes themselves who initiated the Prohibition Movement. They even took to fasting in order to fulfil their aim of not seeing ‘another’ valued man succumbing to death under its abuse as they may have realised that his ‘persistence’ like many other men’s, was far larger than all their warnings together and that abolishing the substance was the ultimatum over abashing the sinners.

Looking into the tone of the poem together with the social context, it can be observed that people were dealing with a morally dead conscience where addiction replaced family and social obligations. The poet and his era dealt with a situation where people lamented the new cultures and longed for the past where alcohol was only considered as an object of necessity and not evil. It is evident that the Liquor Prohibition Movement was a reflection of the society and its people, both evil and good; the ones

who indulged in it and lost their lives and the ones who watched them die and decided to act upon it; the ones who had no more strength and will to overcome it and the ones whose moral and religious values transformed into a movement.

People of this time were also irked by the loss of morality and goodwill especially in the field of administration and power. Yet another satirical poem by Medo, titled “Kenei Kekra Ki Ketho Yopuo Vi” (Better is One Truth than Abundant Happiness), exposes the dark reality of the society consumed by greed and hunger for power which heightened their insanity leading to the loss of peace of mind. The poet begins by reminding the people that choice and will was always made available to people. But with it, people began to exploit the free will provided by their lavish lifestyle and thus intensify as he uses extreme similes and selective choice of words to present his idea of a hellish situation consumed by greed and ill-intended acts:

Kishüikinyi medo mo biepie,

U ki chü kho tei thunuo ba rei,

Zhü zeli mo telhie u meki,

Rüpreirüle mhale zhü teiso: (6-9)

Translation:

(Greed sends the heart after wealth,

with it we build houses almost reaching the sky.

Yet, we still have restless nights as though sleeping on bug-infested beds;

sleepless nights filled with thoughts till dawn.) (6-9)

The poet here uses the simile of “restless nights” to “sleeping on bug-infested beds.” The message here is to be understood that men with their vile nature and calculated schemes are torn into several thoughts and their plans to succeed rather

become a trap of misery and lack of peace. ‘Sublimity’ is achieved here as the poem is able to transfer the reader to a situation of despair. The poet underlines the fact that though pain may be a part of life, greed and its thirst can be dangerous:

Cüükrie mu u nei keda cü;

Pfhemenei mu u nei keda se;

Lietho nu mu kezhau keda;

Krotho nu rei u neiu keda,

Zolie derei thenou rüü mo. (1-5)

Translation:

(As we dine and drink, we pick and eat favourites;

As we clothe ourselves, we pick and wear favourites;

Even in our occupation, we pick to work the highest;

Even in our friendship, we pick the best person;

Yet, there is no peace for the heart,) (1-5)

The people who are after more wealth in order to fulfil their materialistic hunger and fulfil the new-found ‘consumerism’ culture are doomed to a life where ‘night’ and ‘sleep’ are disturbed by an almost grotesquely narrated and tiring image of a bed with constant yet discreet torture for an entire night. In the previous poem, the poet brings a warning to the vice. In this poem, however, the poet presents a suggestion to rid the peace deprived life. The Prohibition Movement is found to be not the sole child of moral and religious/Christian values. It is also the goodness of ‘Truth’ and honesty which is essential for a righteous life free of guilt and mental torture. It is found in the majority of the Tenyidie poems where the poets are in dire tone for the need and urgency to live righteously as they had lived in the past. This reflects the fact that there has been a massive change of values and attitudes or the society in changing itself into an almost

‘wasted’ society corrupted with greed for more money and discarding the fear of the consequence of their actions. It has been detailed in the initial chapters as how the Angami-Naga society feared the diverse spirits for both their positive and negative attributes. The same fear had governed the people for which the people had always been honest and wise with their use of words while swearing before men as elaborated in the first chapter. But with the passing of the aged-old belief of spirits to a new belief, Christianity, the ‘fear’ which governed and guarded their values was discarded which ultimately led to people deescalating in their ethos. Superstition is not the explanation for this argument but it is the ‘shift’ of attitude and perspective from either ‘being’ punished to ‘not being’ punished. It is an undeniable fact that conscience is a guiding force in making a choice. But to realise that safety from danger or death itself is considered as the primary need than a prickling conscience, this might have trained the mind to believe that ‘freedom from fear’ can be replaced with ‘freedom of choice’ and that conscience, provided by Christian belief is weightless when compared with death or physical atrocities provided by the many spirits.

There are other vices which the poets dealt with. But in general, these are some of its many problems which were considered monstrous for the irrevocable trials or destruction that it gave to the society in the era, especially the 80s and before it. It is from these two poems that the tone of lamentation is highlighted as people were in dire need to reform their new but corrupted ways and look forward to a situation where simplicity and innocence could abide with them again.

On the second form of source, i.e., ‘violence’, it can be observed that people, military and power were overruling the state for which the most common tone turned again into, lamentation. It is observed in Easterine Kire’s words:

Between January 1955 and July 1957, the estimated damage, as a result of the conflict stood at 79, 794 houses burnt, 26,550,000 mounds of paddy burnt and ₹9,60,000,000 worth of goods destroyed. In a private conversation, Hutton revealed that the burning of administered villages marked the beginning of the unrest (244).

The immediate decade after the Independence of India was a tumultuous period especially for the Nagas in general and this leads to the increase of more problems. It was not only the gigantic financial loss and terror which affected the natives; but there were more killings and physical atrocities inflicted upon the people. The Nagas had been demanding a free State prior to the Independence of India from the clutch of British power. Thus, these atrocities were an attempt to dissolve the cause and objectives of the people.

Besides the documentation on the material loss, Kire also pointed out that “The most violent period of this conflict lasted from 1954 to 1964” (244). The highlight of this sentence is the part where this ten years period was only “the most” atrocious part and that these acts had been existing from before. She further adds, “Before that [1954-1964], the torture of young students and adult villagers, the rape of women and girls, and burning of granaries were being reported in the Naga villages” (244). It is because of the call for freedom which led to a suppression that further gave birth to insurgency and thus the endless chain of violence emitted from it.

In a nutshell, it is an obvious fact that the Nagas in general were terrorised with unimaginable situations provided by the instrument of the Indian Government, the military power or to be more precise, the AFSPA and its unquestionable and undeniable authority.

The transition from internal violence to the violence emitted from the external force is the source of lamentation and the tone of pain, regret and misery. In order to achieve what they believed in, the natives had to undergo severe hurdles in the form of training, travelling and keeping their will and spirit together in some of the harshest circumstances. In Kuolie's "Message of The Deaths", he talks about the soldiers and their ordeals:

Leading the good fellows of the nation
 To the thickest forests,
 Beyond the endless horizon:
 To defend the land beloved
 With patriotism, (1-6)

The words "good fellows", "nation", "to defend", "land beloved" and most importantly "patriotism" are in themselves an explanation that the same period of humiliation and dehumanized treatment towards the Nagas and its tribal people was also a period infused with "patriotism" and the will to banish life itself for the cost of maintaining peace and sovereignty to its "beloved" nation. The zeal and enthusiasm in this poem may have created a tone of pride and determination; the reality and the experience may not be the same.

In most of the Tenyidie poems, the tone of "lamentation" can be seen floating with the cord of nationhood, leadership and violence attached to it. The theme of these aspects will be analysed further in the following chapters. However, the focus here will be on the colour and expression of experience.

The poem “Nagamia Di Zotuoü” (Nagas Will Reign Again) by Satuo Yiese is an example of how the narration of tragedy is transformed into a motivation to fight again. The poet writes:

Keteimianuo puo rüpfhünuo ze,

U tsie u vü u ki u kru the,

U ca hou krei lietsu lievo kha,

Tuo palie suo u nuonuo pekhe;

Phichü nhicu kenourhe zo sie,

Rünyie suo rei ketso zolie di,

.....

Ketsa nu rei rüpfhünuo kese, (6-11, 19)

Translation:

(Children of the dark men with their soldiers entered,

Assaulted us and burned our homes and lands,

Caged us in and stopped us from going to our fields,

and we stayed, starving our children;

Old and young in consensus,

Took upon the weak weapons and polished them,

.....

We even prepared soldiers in the jungle...) (6-11, 19)

The experiences explained above are some of the most common forms of mass disciplining or punishment. Here, the poet uses the phrase “the dark men” which is not an indication of racism or insult as the present culture would assume. Rather, it is the most obvious example of innocence and ignorance of the outside world. There are

several other poems especially on the theme of socio-politics where this phrase is used repeatedly. Though the lands of the Nagas had already been visited by “outsiders”, it was however gradual. The detailed narration of the poem given is an example of how language is a powerful instrument in making a reader a spectator or a witness to a tragedy that had unfolded. The speaker leaves no effort in making things discreet or subtle on the scene. The words are blunt statements of the people who suffered and had to see their children starving and dying and basically giving them the most dehumanized treatment. It is the language used in this poem that gives the idea of what it really was to be under the iron fist of military power.

Another example regarding the blunt narration comes from Medo’s poem “U Mezhüe U Rünyie Ki Vi” (Righteousness is Greater Than Weapons):

U chükhopie u bu kengumvü,
Keho kejü kerheiro pevo,
Thenuthenuo merhashü ze le,
Kehouki nu Jihova pese, (9-12)

Translation:

(They divided us and made us turn against each other,
 Killing innocents,
 Dragging our women inside churches,
 Defiling our holy place, dishonouring Jehovah,) (9-12)

The poet is unapologetic in choosing his words and exploiting the tragedy that took place. The poem expresses the poet’s disgust with how evil the atrocities were by pulling up two of the most unpolluted human nature; innocence and religion.

In the first two lines, he uses an image of a group of people who were absolutely unaware of the evil schemes and fell into the traps of those in power as they were “made” to be in hostility against each other. This word also suggests the poet in grief as those who were supposed to be brothers were then enemies. The poet is also counting on the facts when he pulled out the record of how innocent civilians were killed either through suspicions, by getting themselves in the middle of a clash, ambush or war or simply through the ferocious mentality of the Indian Army. In hindsight, it is clear that the predators were on the advantageous side as they were above a group of people who had hunted leaders, limited freedom and no right to fend for themselves. Thus, their innocence and weakness were abused.

The idea of purity and righteousness always comes under the umbrella of ‘religion’. It is this religion that the poet perhaps intentionally picks to support his argument on how brutality and profanity were extended to their religion. It is literally an act of desecration as the abusers once again take on their activities to the next innocent victims, the women. Here, two things are used as an object to claim their irrevocable power; women and their most prized and sacred place, the church. Not only are the women raped, but the house of their worship is also polluted as evil is literally performed inside it. These are based on actual events which the Naga writer, Tamsula Ao has recorded in several short stories of her collection, *These Hills Called Home*. Stories of innocent women being raped inside a church or during a Christian celebration are mentioned in the stories.

The story “The Last Song” is one such narration where the Indian Army on their quest to capture the local army and also to teach a lesson to the villagers for being empathetic and helping the underground army financially and materially terrorize the

people. The main protagonist, Apenyo and her mother with several others were raped during this ambush as the villagers were preparing for the dedication of their new Church building: “Villagers trying to flee the scene were either shot at or kicked and clubbed by the soldiers... the young Captain was raping Apenyo...” (28).

The scene escalates as some were taking refuge under the old church and the Captain had ordered to shoot around the church and “The cries of the wounded and the dying inside the church proved that even God could not provide them security and save them from the bullets of the crazed soldiers” (29).

Though fictionalized, these tales are based on true events which are reflective of how dark the period was and how poets lamented even years after the tragedy had unfolded. This is an example of how the atrocities of external violence violated the rights of the indigenous people and through a collective experience of pain and trauma translates to the tone of anger and frustration expressed in the poems.

3.3. Syllabic Arrangement in Tenyidie Poetry

Poetry and its forms are diverse in nature and according to its ethnic culture. There are several examples of how rules and patterns are associated with ethnic division; the Japanese have their own unique form of poetry such as ‘haiku’, ‘senryū’ and ‘tanka’ which adheres strictly to a number of syllables and the sonnet form of poetry from Italy, with its specific rhyme scheme is adopted into the English literature.

With time and exposure to multiple forms, English poetry as we know has evolved and formulated its own distinct rules to be maintained whether it is to be observed in its theme, subject treatment, rhyme schemes, metrical variations, etc.

The same may be said for Tenyidie Poetry on the observation of its distinct feature, i.e., its syllabic arrangement or what it is called in Tenyidie ‘lige’. It is an important aspect of its writing and cannot be neglected, for the penalty of it would mean an informal repulsion of the text from the community. Modernity and its bold revolutionary nature may call for experimentation. But for a community which is already infused with globalisation and is threatened by the extinction of its own culture and identity, it becomes necessary and also justifiable to realise that an attempt to recreate may create an imagery of the old oral tradition trying to grasp his successor who is simply trying to run away from his clutch to do something new. Thus, Tenyidie poetry has been and is still nurturing its own original form.

Tenyidie poetry follows the nine-syllable rule for every single line which may seem identical to Japanese poetry; but unlike the latter whose number of syllables is imbalanced when compared with each line (1st line: five syllables / 2nd line: seven syllables / 3rd line: five syllables), the former follows a uniform structure of nine-syllable for all its lines.

Secondly, unlike a sonnet which carries a strict format of fourteen lines, there is no limitation on the number of its lines and thus, Tenyidie poems can vary from four lines to a hundred lines.

3.3.1. Sources of the rule “So-hi-mo-zo-so-no-di-yo-le”

Besides the nine-syllable frame mentioned in its title, there exist different frames such as:

“ne-hi-mo-zo-he-ni-di-yo-le”

“suo-ha-mo-zo-suo-nei-jü-ya-di”

“mia-puo-rei-puo-nei-jü-di-lhou-mo”

or

“we-luo-lhou-lie-lo-he-lie-a-zho”

In the words of Vizonyü Liezietsu, a writer and a person well-versed in Tenyidie culture has mentioned that “our forefathers evolved this *lige* (syllable) since they migrated from Khesoma and Mekhroma (Makhel to Khezhakenoma)”. Besides the Angami-Nagas, the Chokri (Chakhesang) have a similar frame for this purpose and with their own version; “ne-hi-mo-zo-ha-nü-di-yo-le”.

It is a matter of regret to realise that there are insufficient materials on the source of this “frame.” But at the same time, it can also be understood that the origin of Tenyidie Poetry may even be linked to the answer to the birth of Nagas in general.

In this day and age, with the coming of Christianity, radical thoughts and its belief have led to a rejection of these words with the understanding that it is related to the old belief, i.e., animism. For this reason, it is forbidden in some of the churches to sing these words. There is no denying the fact that it represents the culture which stood as part of their belief. Yet, the fact that it is a part of the Angami-Naga culture, the frame (9 syllables) and the various melody are used by replacing the words or ‘Christianising’ the songs. Thus, it can be converted into something like this:

Ji-su-Khris-ta-U-ke-la-ke-lieu	(Jesus Christ, our saviour)
Ji-ho-va-sü-U-ki-pu-u-zo	(Jehovah is our master)
Ha-le-lu-ya-Ji-ho-va-tshe-lie	(Hallelujah! Praise the Lord!)

On the issue of why it is considered blasphemous, there is actually no proper explanation to for. But keeping in mind that the Naga culture and its history is vague in itself for the reason that there was no written record of anything, the meaning of these words itself is clouded with some theories as to what it could mean.

In the works of the scholar, Ako Savi, he added the meaning to “so-hi-mo-zo-so-no-di-yo-le” as “suo-ha-mo-zo-suo-nei-jü-ya-di” which unjustifiably translates to ‘there will be no one to love me if you did not exist.’ Here is a distinct demonstration (see table 3) of how a Tenyidie poem “Mehouviü” is divided into its course of a limited syllables:

Table 3

Sample of “so-hi-mo-zo-so-no-di-yo-le”

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Me	hou	vi	ü	ze	ke	tsu	me	tsei,
Lu	Ki	di	zou	Mo	rü	sa	ki	nu;
Khu	tie	pie	cü	u	hie	zu	pie	krie,
Tuo	ü	yie	mu	ha	ke	vi	nhie	ru,
Me	hou	vi	ü	Mo	rü	sa	u	nie,
Ke	rei	mo	di	so	ke	nuo	die	chü
Tuo	ü	zo	di	lhou’	rü	luo	te	le!

Source: Tsurho, Shurhonuo. *Sample of “so-hi-mo-zo-so-no-di-yo-le.”* August 18, 2020.

3.3.2 Morphological Structure in Tenyidie Poetry

Morphology is the study of the internal structure of words. The term is derived from two Greek words “morph” which means ‘shape or form’, and “logos” which

means ‘science or study’. Thus, morphology is the study of the form or structure of words. August Schleicher, a German linguist used for the first time (1859) the term ‘morphology’ as a sub-discipline of linguistics.

In morphology, there are morphemes which are the building blocks. Words have internal structures like simple words and complex words. A simple word does not have an internal structure because it consists of only one morpheme and cannot be split into smaller units which carry meaning. For example, work, eat, sleep, etc. A complex word has an internal structure because it consists of two or more morphemes. For example, ‘player’, ‘teacher’, ‘kindness’, etc. where ‘er’ or ‘ness’ and other prefixes or suffixes are added to the root words. Morphemes are the smallest meaning-bearing units of language.

There are two types of morphemes namely, free morphemes and bound morphemes. A free morpheme is a simple word which consists of only one morpheme and they are words in themselves. For example, home, low, cat, etc. On the other hand, a bound morpheme is a word that must be attached to another morpheme to receive a complete meaning and without which it has no meaning. It can be either in the form of a prefix or a suffix. For example, ‘un’ (unwelcomed), ‘dis’ (disorganized), ‘pre’ (predestined), ‘ness’ (goodness), ‘ful’ (careful), ‘en’ (golden), etc.

In Tenyidie poetry, morphology plays an important role in justifying the nine-rule syllable in poems as words are altered and compromised but not the meaning. There are several technical managements which a poet needs to make in order to fit the poem under the accepted format.

The poems to be discussed in this section will be in their untranslated form for the sake of their true technical working. Keyho has mentioned several aspects of applying this feature in her work where she has added that the letters – ü, u, o, r, i are most commonly used by poets to either extend or decrease syllables in a line. On this, it is to be noticed that the work of suffixes is most common here are the letters are used at the end of the words.

In the first example, she pointed out that the poem “Thenou-Re-Tsonuo” and its second line presents, “*Rükhro cha we two suo mo **caiü***” (2). This line is saved by the letter ‘ü’ as it adds another syllable to the line. It is also used in the poem “Kepethau Rüzühkhrie” by Vikepelhou Meyase where the line presents, “*Kemonu we jüta ü purü*” (19). Here, an addition of ‘ü’ is applied.

On ‘u’ the example of the poem “Lhou Si Mota Athiediu Chü” by V. Mezhüvilie, the line goes, “*Nnhie nunu u **Rhuo-u** sünuo*” (1). Here the letter ‘u’ is added to the word “Rhuo” to add a syllable.

On ‘o’ the example of the poem “Japan Rüwhuo” by Tuonuo and Duonuo, the line presents, “*Tei kijü rei therhie re **vu-o***” (12). Here the letter ‘o’ is added to the word “vuo” to add a syllable.

On ‘r’ there are several ways of using this extension. In the example of the poem “Socüzou-o” by its anonymous writer, the line presents, “*Perie mvü di solo whi **se’r***” (12). Here the letter ‘r’ is added to the word “se” to add a syllable. Besides ‘se’, ‘ke’ and ‘la’ are also applicable. In the poem “Nyiepu Tsia Yopuo” by Medo, the sixth line gives out, “*Zo ba dinu pou **ke’r** nhie we...*” while the twelfth line states, “*Puorhi kekrei lhou kesa **la’r***”.

Besides the act of adding, there are also instances where some letters are dropped by poets which could still be understood. It includes both the exclusion of prefixes and suffixes. In the poem, “Kepethau Rüzühkhrie” by Vikepelhou Meyase, the last line of the poem, “Pregeyaluo **‘Pethau ‘Zhühkhrieo.’**” Here, words have been omitted twice; the second word “Pethau”, it should have been originally called “Kepethau”. But the letter ‘ke’ were dropped; the third word should have been originally used as “Rüzühkhrie”, but the alteration occurred as the letters ‘Rü’ are dropped. Thus, adding to a whole nine-syllable to the same line.

Another exclusion made here is seen in L. Dino’s “Khe Peziyaluo.” In the eleventh line, “Zotatuo mu di **‘rbeitie** shi!” the word ‘rbeitie’ is a shortened form of ‘n rübeitie’ where the letter ‘n’ adds to ten syllables for the line.

The third example to be given here is from the poem “Niaki” by Dino. The line, “Ketsa sei nyü pejo **‘khrei** rüle” (9) is another clever example of how the letter ‘r’ is used to hide the loopholes or the missing letters. The word to be used originally as “rühkhrei” is used here as “khrei.” On a quick pronunciation of the word ‘rühkhrei’, ‘rü’ or ‘r’ is almost lost or missing and for this reason, the poet took it to their advantage.

In another instance, poets can simply drop an entire word yet be discreet in transforming it into a poetic language. Tenyidie oral poems are mostly hard to comprehend or understand for the words with deep, sometimes unknown meanings. Thus, by excluding certain words, some poems achieve their goal of making them look intricate. In the oral poem, “Tsienu Tsu le”, the speaker states, “Nie thenumia tsie rei **kedi** chü...” (4) where he manages to drop the word ‘puo’ between ‘kedi’ and ‘chü’ while remaining understood and accepted.

3.4. Dramatic Monologue: A Similar Perspective

According to the Encyclopaedia Britannica, dramatic monologue is “a poem written in the form of a speech of an individual character; it compresses into a single vivid scene a narrative sense of the speaker’s history and psychological inside into his character.” It is a way of expressing the views of a character and offering the reader a greater insight or understanding into that character’s “thoughts, feelings and associations passing through a character’s mind.”

A dramatic monologue is also called a ‘Persona Poem’ in which the poet speaks through an assumed voice: “an audience is implied; there is no dialogue; and the poet takes on the voice of a character, a fictional identity, or a persona...placing emphasis on subjective qualities that are left to the audience to interpret” (Academy of American Poets). It takes on theatrical quality as its blueprint but is limited to a single speaker, unlike play production which includes a cast of actors. Subjectivity, as mentioned is a part of it which sometimes leads to the creation of an ‘unreliable narrator’ whose narration is often biased or incomplete.

To sum up, all the necessary criteria on what a dramatic monologue is M.H. Abrams’ definition of it can be regarded as the summation of it all as he brings out three points on what ground a dramatic monologue is made:

- (1) A single person, who is patently not the poet, utters the speech that makes up the whole of the poem, in a specific situation at a critical moment...
- (2) This person addresses and interacts with one or more other people; but we know of the auditor’s presence, and what they say and do, only from clues in the discourse of the single speaker.

- (3) The main principle controlling the poet's formulation of what the lyric speaker says is to reveal to the reader, in a way that enhances its interest, the speaker's temperament and character (70).

3.4.1 The Use of Dramatic Monologue in Tenyidie Poetry

A dramatic monologue is employed in most of Tenyidie writings especially in poetry. By understanding what dramatic monologue is and how it is used we can acquire a better understanding of Tenyidie poetry and its nature. The poets used dramatic monologue to express their feelings of happiness as well as frustration in life. Some of the poems in this genre are: "Thy Born Child", "Sorü", "Our Love", and "Sopfünüo" which are compiled by Dr. Shürhozelie and translated by Prof. D. Kuolie.

"Thy Born Child" is about a man who was killed by a warrior from another tribe as he was going to trap birds early in the morning. The wife is the speaker here whose husband is slain by an unknown warrior which is indicative of the then prevalent practice of head-hunting: "That morning unknown warrior from afar slain him." The speaker is the solo narrator of the unfortunate slaying of her husband. She narrates the story as she would to a keen listener, longing to be consoled as her husband is killed by an unknown warrior.

"Our Love" is one of the most famous poems. The speaker here is a man who is meeting his former lover at a celebration. Their union couldn't happen because their parents didn't agree to their marriage. He is heartbroken but happy to see her again and thus gave his necklace of carnelian beads to her daughter, Zevokhrienuo. He implores his beloved not to tell her husband about the giver of the necklace. The use of dramatic monologue is very necessary here because through it we are able to learn what has happened and what is really happening in the interior of the narrator. From his narration

we are informed about his love and concern not only for his old lover but also for his daughter even though she is the child of another man. The reader is pulled into the scene to see what society can do to a person especially in matters relating to love and marriage.

Like the poem “Our Love”, “Sorü” is about two lovers who couldn’t marry as the woman was made to marry another man. The poem is about the same theme of love and marriage as that of “Our Love”. The speaker here is the man again who is narrating the entire scene for us and we get to understand what had happened. Through his narration the readers are made aware of how social norms can sometimes disrupt a happy union and force people to live without true happiness with his or her lover.

In “Sopfünüo”, the speaker is the woman after whose name the poem is titled. The poem is a fictionalized one but is based on the legend of Sopfünüo who is believed to have been killed by a spirit named ‘Terhuothie’. Through the mouth of the speaker the readers come to know about the struggle of a woman after she is married. Sopfünüo is made to live a life she never dreamt of; she is compelled to survive rather than to live. The whole verse is her narration about her flight from her plight.

In these poems we see the employment of dramatic monologue and how it helps in making the stories known to the readers. The speakers are pouring out their feelings which could have gone unheard and unknown had they not made them known through their narrations. All the poems have just one solo narrator through whose voice we are able to hear about what had taken place and what led them to their current situations. The poems reveal truths about life and reality which are often ignored or taken for granted. Through the use of dramatic monologue the poets are able to tell the readers of stories and incidents which have taken place and which would have been erased from

our memory as years go by. Tenyidie poetry can be better understood by knowing why the poets chose to write in dramatic monologue. The story in every poem is narrated by one single narrator with direct knowledge about the incident, story or person.

One of the criteria of a dramatic monologue is that there is a single person, who is patently not the poet who utters the speech that makes up the whole of the poem, in a specific situation at a critical moment. In the poem "Our Love" there is a single narrator who expresses his love for his lover whom he could not marry. He seems to be addressing the narration to a listener when he says, "Our love wished for marriage" (1). And the use of the pronoun "I" throughout the narration implies that there is only one speaker, for instance, "I felt jealous, my love" (5). There is a repetitive use of "I, my, me, our, we, myself, you and your" in the poem. It is a direct expression of feelings experienced and narrated by a single person. The poem is filled with the recollection of the memory of a lover for his beloved which is solely expressed in the first person narrative.

And in a dramatic monologue there is usually a person who addresses and interacts with one or more other people; but we know of the audience's presence, and what they say and do, only from clues in the discourse of the single speaker. In the poem "Our Love" we are introduced about the family and other people through the narration of the author. We know about them only as much as the speaker revealed to us. He speaks of them thus, "our family felt not friendly to consent", "if your husband enquires about it" (16), and "tell him it is from your parents" (17). We are also informed about the presence of others like the family members, the villagers, the husband and the parents. But the poem appears to have only one audience, that is, the beloved of the speaker.

Another trait of a dramatic monologue is that the main principle controlling the poet's formulation of what the lyric speaker says is to reveal to the reader, in a way that enhances its interest, the speaker's temperament and character. In the poem "Our Love", the speaker through his narration is able to rouse our sympathy for him and his lover:

Our family felt not friendly to consent,
 Wedded me a known lady from afar.
 But to leave you to be
 The wife of someone else, I felt jealous, my love. (2-5)

The speaker tells the reader about his sadness at the parting from his beloved because their parents could not consent to their union. Through the narrative the speaker is able to gain the sympathy of the reader and empathise with him and his beloved at their separation.

It is observed Tenyidie poetry can be studied and understood in a better way when we study the poems as a dramatic monologue because most of the poems deal with the recollection of the past or some personal experiences in life, and stories about legends. Looking at the poems as a dramatic monologue facilitates our view to see deeper into the poems and understand the lines and verses from a better perspective.

3.5. Music as the Source of Tenyidie Poetry

Music has been an important part of the Angami-Nagas. It goes beyond the aesthetic purpose and forms itself into essentiality. From time immemorial, they have been using music in all sorts of festivals, celebrations, rituals, and even for daily

communication. They also used different types of instruments to accompany their songs and dance, some of which are very popular till now.

Music and poetry are the different sides of the same coin as the former is to be sung using the latter as its words without any glitch; the nine-syllable rule (so-hi-mo-zo-so-no-di-yo-le) as the formula to its rescue. There is also a common pattern of words or expressions used in all the songs by varying from the theme of the song. Thus, the pattern “Ei he- Ei he-” is used for lamentation; “O he- O he-” is used for threshing the paddy; “O yi-yo-ho” is used for lullaby and “O ho- O ho-” is used by a crowd of workers in harmony while they work in the field.

Their music has been used for expressing various emotions and is viewed as more important than speaking.

As discussed in the initial chapter, music in the form of lamenting or for the death or elegy itself is sung. Here is a sample of lamentation which is documented under Neiliezhü Üsou’s work.

Ei he- Ei he-

had I been rich I would do better

to satisfy the soul of my friend

Ei he- Ei he- do not be afraid

Ei he- (50)

Though the above format is in translated form, the meanings are attached as the writer mentions, “In times of mourning the death the mourner laments his inability to creditably honour his friend due to his material constraints. If he were able, he would make animal sacrifices and host feast for all the mourners” (50). Through the

explanatory note, it can be realised that lamentation could be sung to send a message to the deceased in the first person. Usually it is used as though they were both in the same room together and conversing from which the singer expresses his grief, regret or praise about the dead.

There are several poems written by various poets who had written elegies and mostly praise and glory on the state leader, A. Z. Phizo for his contribution and how tragic yet significant his death was to them and the entire nation. The following are some of the poems on Phizo:

1. *Zapuphizo Nagamia Mvüu* (Zapuphizo, Star of The Nagas) by Meguo-o
2. *Zapuphizo Vi Terhuo* (Zapuphizo, For His Greatness) by Sakuolie Kuotsu
3. *Zapuphizo Nagamia Krüu* (Zapuphizo, Parent of the Nagas) by D. Kuolie
4. *Zapuphizo Nagamia Puo-o* (Zapuphizo, Father of the Nagas) by Medo
5. *Zapuphizo Teikijü Sieso* (Zapuphizo, Next to The Earth and Sky) by Kuosiezo
6. *Zapuphizo Za Pejü Khrielie* (His Name Should Live Forever) by Mhiesisevi
Terhüja
7. *Zapuphizo Zapuzayieu* (Zapuphizo, The Glorious) by Guoviü
8. *Zapuphizo, Rüdi Kemo-u* (Zapuphizo, The Unchanging) by Vezokho
9. *Zapuphizo Seyie Zhazhü pfhü* (Zapuphizo Strived for The Nation's Interest) by
Satuo Yiese

Lamentation has been an important part of the Angami-Nagas' lives and the list provided and the poems under them, it is suggestive of the fact that the people have used their beloved leader with such prestige and honour. From the instance given here, one can see how the speaker would use the qualities, attributes and feats to glorify the deceased. For example, several adjectives are used by poets to describe his life and

lament: Zapuphizo is deemed as a concerning, protective and genuine individual equivalent to a “parent” and a “father”; Zapuphizo is seen almost as a supernatural being for the wonders that he performed out of selflessness that he is called “the glorious”, “the star” or “next to the earth and sky” and Zapuphizo is called the “unchanging” and the one who “strived for the nation’s interest” for his steadfast nature clinging to the cause of the Nagas tirelessly.

The poem titles and the adjectives are sufficient to project what lamentation is about, how it is done and what it means for the Angami-Nagas.

Singing is also a part of the work which the people did with zest and in harmony or echoing patterns. Songs were used thoroughly by the people as they worked in the fields for different work nature.

Here is an example of a threshing song which is commonly used by the Angami-Nagas, collected from an interview with one of the aged elegy singers, Mrs. Lhouyai Chadi from Nerhema village:

O he- O he-

Ketsü thu di tsa dzü rüyo krie

Rinou mo di tiela ka sa tsü

O he- O he-

The same goes for the ‘collective song’ which was collected from the same source through the interview:

O ho- O ho-

Sede nie tsü, shie mhou sü nie so,

Zolie mu u pfhe ü chü kepfhe kho.

O ho- O ho-

The song is in its untranslated form as there is a need to see the primary source presented here with how the patterns come and how the nine-rule syllable falls easily under it. For the sake of the syllabic rule, it is also worth mentioning that the words can be composed and even altered in whatever way the singers want to sing.

The songs of the Angami-Nagas also consist of four parts, under the terms- *Kekie*, *Kerei*, *Nuotse* and *Bonge*. These are the parts which are divided among groups of people and are used for the purpose of harmonizing a song. These parts are also equivalent to classical music with their rudimentary forms- Soprano (*Kekie*), Alto (*Kerei*), Tenor (*Nuotse*), and Bass (*Bonge*).

On music and its form, instruments also become an important part of their songs. for this reason, there are different forms of ethnic instruments used by the Angami-Nagas.

1. *Tati*: *Tati* is a single-string instrument which is one of the most popular instruments among the Angami-Nagas. Made from the dried cave-out bottle gourd, animal's horns, and sheath of bamboo, it measures about 3-4 feet in length and creates a "tum-be-tum, be-be-tum" sound when plucked.
2. *Thekou*: This instrument can be called a bamboo mouth organ in English. It creates a "hatse- hare, sükethu-sükethu..." sound when played.
3. *Kecü*: *Kecü* (trumpet) is used largely for a different purpose. It is made from animal horns but in some cases, it is made from trees.

While exploring the topic of Stylistics, it is always considered as a study of its technical aspects. Thus, applying the theory that music and poetry are like two sides of

the same coin, music and its technical features include its harmonizing parts, its patterns and also its instruments.

3.6. Conclusion

Dexterity and the ability to navigate into a technical aspect by the Tenyidie poet is what this chapter presented; their differences from other poets are what makes their writing unique and distinct and for which the poets are analysed. Poems are seen varying from theme, tone and even narration but are all bound under one rule, the nine-syllable rule. They also varied according to the period from which they were written; the oral and mostly anonymous poems written composed before the interval from the 'outsiders' while recorded after the coming of literacy and the modern poetry written from and after the intrusion of power abuse and the Independence of India.

These poems reflect what the society was about and how its perspective transformed with the changes in the society. The question of superiority from a stylistics perspective cannot be achieved because it is an art which wrestles with the poet's poetic sense (or rule) and emotion for which the two are balanced in creating any poem.

CHAPTER 4: MYRIAD THEMES OF TENYIDIE POETRY

4.1. Outlook Towards Nature in Tenyidie Poetry

4.1.1. Introduction

There is an urgent and arising need, an escalation towards the pressing issue of preserving nature and the realization towards the threat of what global warming has to offer as its consequences to mankind. The urgency to necessitate this affair to the people or to sensitize the community is both haunting (as the symptoms of global warming are evident) and also concerning when one realises that there may be no time left to work on this irreversible fate and that humanity is already on the brink of death with its corrupted intentions which have been corrupting the world of its organic lustre and resources. The present reality has numerous pieces of evidence to show that the destruction towards the earth is inevitable. However, humanity with its undying zest to live and strive has found a new hope to relinquish the fear and to restart from scratch which may seem hopeless for some, but for the rest, a necessity. The mystery is bliss and hopes for a chance to live life without knowing the fate as Alexander Pope writes in his poem “An Essay on Man” (Sebastian et al. 26):

Oh blindness to the future! Kindly giv’n,
That each may fill the circle mark’d by Heav’n:
Who sees with equal eye, as God of all,
A hero perish, or a sparrow fall,
Atoms or systems into ruin hurl’d,
And now a bubble burst, and now a world. (9-14)

It is with this “blindness to the future” that humanity has collected the signs, calculated its possibilities and started an awareness which has reached all the disciplines

to relearn and change the ways. Man is now to borrow the eye of the God here “who sees with equal eye” and perceives all beings as equal and not his own old eyes where he saw the world revolving around him; feeding him, nurturing him, wasting herself for his sake and most importantly, removing his ‘anthropocentrism’ and ‘egocentrism’ with ‘ecocentrism’. The fall which would befall on all the creatures of the earth, including humanity has to realise once again that God “Who sees with equal eye” would want him to save himself as well as his fellow “sparrow” and consider every action as a catalyst either to the universe’s glory or its deterioration.

It is with this need that the study of environment or Green Theory emerged in and around literary and cultural studies. Considering how Ecocriticism was conceived first from the west, as discussed in the second chapter, it may be worth the sake of realising once again how nature and its concern evolved with thinkers like Kenneth Burke who saw the study as a need for the survival of mankind and its fellow “sparrow” and species and delivered a prediction:

Among the sciences, there is one little fellow named Ecology, and in time we shall pay him more attention. He teaches us that the *total* economy of the planet cannot be guided by an efficient rationale of exploitation alone, but that the exploitation part must eventually suffer if it too greatly disturbs the *balance* of the whole (150).

It is with this prediction that humanity has chosen to readjust its attitude and stay aligned with the course of nature and maintain its ‘balance’ to simply maintain its existence and of the others living with it.

Nature has always been a source of inspiration and motivation for most writers and can even be seen as an instrument in concretely portraying or representing abstract

ideas. Nature and humanity are connected souls which cannot co-exist without each other especially for the latter. These two inseparable souls suffer when detached from each other and are healed when brought back together. This is undeniably evident in writers like the Romantic poets of the 18th century who glorified Nature, took her in as its mentor and dwelled in all her bodily forms for its pleasure which Nature should have also taken pleasure from it.

Dwelling on this subject of 'basic' needs and the transcendental intimacy between Man and Nature, the 'rural' life or the countryside has been typically categorized as the ideal place or form for the healing process. Keeping in mind that the study is based on the tribal people of what they were like, what they are like and what they will be like, this brings to the table the importance of Nature for the tribal people and also the blueprint of how the people perceived it.

There is an underlying understanding that Nature was by default a huge benefactor for the tribal people who had two problems for which Nature helped greatly; the need for resources and the need in defeating the 'unknown' in a world where science and its explanation were alien to the people for a long time, religion and belief. This prompted Nature to enhance herself with various faces and figures which made way for culture in itself to be evolved and be affected. In order to deal with these two issues, Nature was literally worshipped; for the providence, for all the signs in which science was not present and much more.

The Angami-Nagas are a group of indigenous people and are one among the sixteen major tribes of Nagaland, who fall under the category of Scheduled Tribes of India. It is evident that its ecology initially played an important role in the creation of the culture of its people as it determined their occupation, their survival, power structure

and even moral beliefs which will be discussed further. It can also be observed that the simplicity of these people bore no threat to the ecology. For instance, taking into consideration that jhum cultivation is one of the common cultivation methods for the Angami-Naga people, one may assume the waste that goes into deforestation and clearing off a plot of land for cultivation. It however proved to be the opposite as it served two purposes; firstly, for the sake of sustenance and for providing “a good sanctuary for some wild animals” which helped the second purpose, that is, “in maintaining bio-diversity” as it helps in “regenerating secondary forests” (Kath 79). The pre-colonised land witnessed simplicity with its eco-friendly lifestyle and minimalist society while making use of crude natural resources such as bamboo and beetle nut leaves for making houses, use of wood and clay for utensils and herbal products for healing while remaining unexposed to a chemicalised environment that is prevalent now.

Looking into the shift of their land, the hand of colonialism which developed into Globalisation is undeniable. The prospect of changing and bringing in development to the land gave way for more exposure by facilitating the colonisers the power to use their resources and for globalisation to take over through its technological expanse and urbanisation. It was not only the ecology which was depleted but also its culture and social structure which was altered. It is accounted that with the exposure, acres of the Rangapahar Reserved Forest area were given to the army cantonment while “on the pretext of good governance and administration the lifelong cultural life of the indigenous people has been twisted and subjugated” (Kath 80, 81).

Here is an attempt on laying out the understanding of Nature and its various features which were adopted by the tribal people, more precisely the Angami-Naga

people specifically during the pre-colonial or pre-Christianity era. For this reason, poems written during this era and the realisation to ‘go back’ for Nature’s former glory will be used.

There are major elements of Nature pointed out by the Angami-Naga poets as seen in their writings. Almost all the poems speak of Nature as the main source of food for the body and spirit while also lamenting the threats laid upon it by human acts. The following features are the chief and most common ideas or themes of how Nature is perceived by the Angami-Naga people:

- a) Nature as a manifestation of the Divine (*Terhuomia*)
- b) Nature as a source of aesthetic pleasure and adoration
- c) Nature as a provider for both sustenance and healing
- d) Nature as a being in distress from the activities of mankind

The Oxford Dictionary has defined animism as the “belief that inanimate objects and natural phenomena have souls” (26). In the belief of the Angami-Naga, animism is one of the most accepted terms to define what it is and though the definition provided above is correct, it is not sufficient because it goes beyond having ‘souls’ to having supremacy and dominance. Kire writes in her introductory note to her collection “Forest Song”:

Tenyimia culture and religion are centred around spirit appeasement and deep consciousness of spirit activity.... When Christianity appears in oral narratives, it is a nativized Christianity that fits into the native cultural backbone of the society. The creation god, *Kepenuopfü* is almost indistinguishable from the

Christian God, sharing the same status as they do and evoking the same response of awe and devotion from their worshippers (Introduction).

Three important key points can be taken from this passage:

Firstly, it is the existence of supernaturalism during the pre-colonised period in which the two realms of mortals and spirits merged which also compelled the former to satisfy the latter through rituals and understanding its ways.

Secondly, it is the coming of Christianity with colonialism when the two groups of people saw fit, a similarity between animism and Christianity for which it was accepted readily by the natives.

Thirdly, it is the concept of ‘God’- the core, which holds the position as a ‘creator’ and the divine being with absolute authority and forces over the world according to both the beliefs.

Hence, the “souls” are not beings of limited attributes but are a form of infinite power. They were perceived by the natives as powerful forces and were referred to as *Terhuomia* which stood its place in the role of the divine creator and was later accepted as *Kepenuopfū*, a term used by the Christians.

It is in the last point that stress needs to be made on the concept of ‘power over the world; Animism holds the view that Nature is the master with all its power to kill and create with its instruments like natural disasters, plagues, famine, storm, drought etc; Christianity holds the view that God is the ultimate creator who is in control of all its creation including the land, animals, forces of nature and the people themselves. The same territory is ruled and governed by different ‘beings’ but under different names.

4.1.2. Nature as a Manifestation of the Divine (*Terhuomia*): The Irony of Ecofeminism and Dualism and the Genesis of Belief

Perhaps, the manifestation of the Divine can itself be considered the genesis of life and knowledge itself as people saw Nature in a supernatural form who was both a force of creation and of destruction. The subject of ‘dualism’ which subsided most of the time with ecofeminism can both be seen in the eyes of the Angami-Nagas.

We see the two faces of Nature; as the Creator and as the Destroyer. Here, Nature takes both forms as a feminine entity giving life to her creatures and for which she is called ‘*Terhuopfü*’ which is a female term represented by the last syllable ‘pfü’ (which is the opposite of the male pronoun ‘pfu’). Also, Nature can also be seen as a male entity bringing in ruthless destruction and merciless judgements for anyone who disrespects the ethics of life and disrupts the “balance” of the world with evil intentions which Burke had previously warned of. The ‘balance’ in Burke’s world suggests the consequence which arises from the “exploitation” committed which stems from greed and lust for power. This ultimately disrupts the “balance” which needs to be restored by wrenching off the disruptors. A similar trend could happen with those who ‘exploit’ people and resources which ultimately leads to punishment which is delivered by none other than Nature in her alternative form as a Destroyer. The same reason Burke called for a new perspective towards Ecology for the sake of putting back the ‘balance’ caused by exploitation, animism and Nature also come in to restore that ‘balance’ by resorting to violence and extreme measures. The difference between Burke’s warning and the warning one can take from here is that, while Burke’s warning goes for the destruction of the planet and its inhabitants as a whole, the latter calls for death or sickness as a punishment.

The short story written by Easterine Kire “River and Earth Story” narrates a chilling plot of how “a young man of the Angami tribe” encountered supernatural elements and reports them to his friend:

“Hmmm, river spirit,” Selhu remarked. “People have seen them before at that house. It was a big mistake to build that house on the river-bed the way they did. It displeases the spirits because it is a taboo thing to do. Do you know they are called *mammy-wota* in Nigeria? Mother of the water? (31-32)

Putting in a blend of beliefs of the Igbos of Nigeria and Angami-Nagas of Nagaland, the writer brings in this story which is validated as true events in her introductory note. Here, the representation of nature is made through the element of earth and river/water, as the title of the story suggests and are called “river spirit” and “Mother of the water” in a human form. Nature is seen as a powerful entity as a destructor who can lure and kill people. In this case, the reason for an attempt to kill is because people build houses on the river bed even when they knew that it was taboo and because people went against the law of the belief it is reciprocated and punished by Nature in the form of these evil spirits. Nature takes the place of a guardian which ultimately takes the tag of ‘supernatural’ power. This supernatural being takes on different forms or all the forms and it is deemed deeper than a resource. For the Nagas in general:

Land is not merely a means of livelihood; land is life. The presence of “life” in the stones, rocks, trees, caves, and streams affirms that subjective and objective distinctions cannot be made between the land and a person. We can see both a natural inter-subjectivity and a natural and “personal” relationship between the

land and human beings. Land has its life, and human life is the extension of that life (Imsong 200).

For the natives, this “life” or spirit resides in all forms and it is with this attribute that the people saw the being in all the elements of nature. There is a co-existence between nature and man for the Nagas and for which people cannot survive without Nature.

Nature is deemed the other face of the Great Being and for which there are numerous Angami-Naga poems which place Nature as a provider and a source of the beginning and inspiration. In the poem “Wind, The West Wind” by D. Kuolie, the poet narrates the simple, rural life of the Naga people before the coming of colonialism and exposure to the outside world in which their lives were ruled by the honesty and humility of the people. In this poem, the creator is addressed in the form of the wind who provided for their sustenance and survival:

Wind, wind, wind of the Nagas,
 You fed our ancestors with your purity
 Since the beginning;
 Led them to stand on their own.
 The flowers that bloom, on giant trees
 Vivify our virgin forest.
 Likewise, your people,
 When their honesty was their beauty,
 Glorified You with their celestial purity.
 What a longing life of time!

The vegetation at their humility
 Reserve your dignity with simplicity.
 Beget fruits to multiply to wider horizon,
 Distributing richer provision to mankind.
 I wish your benevolent attitude in continuity.
 Although I am not deep enough in thought,
 The Nagas cannot live without you. (1 – 17)

In these paragraphs, it is to be noted that the constant use of the pronoun “you” and the determiner “your”, addressing the Creator is prominent. In the second line, it portrays the wind as a provider as it mentions “You fed” while glorifying the worth of this being by mentioning again “your [its] purity”. The poet further explains how “your [its] people” even “Glorified you [it]”. In line fifteen, the poet exalts the wind for all its might and generosity by using the determiner again “your benevolent attitude” proving how the people saw the being/wind as a gracious being and that the people cannot live “without you [it]”.

However, essential some issues are provided here, there are two main ideas that can be retrieved; firstly, the people see the wind as the owner, benefactor and guardian of the people for its prominent use of the determiner “your” and secondly, they see the wind as a source of power and glory for which it is praised and also feared.

On the first note, as it was mentioned earlier, the concept of God/Creator is always to be attached to the image of a powerful source which creates and also provides. For this the Angami-Naga people saw Nature as the form for it is Nature who provides mankind with all his needs. For this, terms like *Terhuomia* and *Kepenuopfii* were used before the coming of Christianity which all indicated the uniform image of a divine

being, capable of creating and guarding. On the second note, it is to be realised that Nature is both gracious and ferocious as seen from the references mentioned above. Bringing in the two sources; of the river spirit from Kire's short story and the poem "Wind, The West Wind" by D. Kuolie, it becomes evident that with its power to bless, it can also destroy and kill. Thus, bringing in the idea of how Nature has two sides.

In continuation with Nature and its dual attribution, it may further be understood that ecofeminism plays the role of both the two qualities. On the question of why the idea of nature is always attached to women, the answer lies in why women are seen as inferior being or that they are "subordinate to men". This is something which culture and society have to frame and accordingly the picture of men ruling over Nature in lieu of women was created (Kerridge, 538).

The reason why the 'irony' became an important issue here is because initially the concept of 'ecofeminism' was directed only to the idea of women and Nature, and how culture presents women as representations of Nature. But when the attitude of the Angami-Naga people was checked through their writings, it becomes evident that Nature is not only to be seen as a 'submissive and docile' force as seen in Kerridge's analysis, but also takes the form of 'power and authority', something which culture always presents men to be. Nature was supposedly a representation of women which followed a formula of:

male/female

culture/nature

reason/emotion

mind/body (Kerridge, 538).

This, however, did not apply to the present argument and that Nature was not only used for her resources but was also worshipped and feared for the danger that lay in going against her ways.

4.1.3. Admiration and Adoration of Nature

The Nagas, in general, are awestruck by the beauty and bounty of Nature. Nature is seen as beauty to be beheld and majesty to be adored. In the words of Imsong:

The Nagas maintain that the land is their mother and call their land “mother land”. The “Mother Earth” from whom people have emanated retains a personal relationship with them. It is the land from which the Naga people trace their origin. Earth is their mother, who gave birth to humanity and gave shelter and providence with her innate power to creativity, fertility and procreation (199).

The so-called “Mother Earth” or “mother land” can be seen as a common term among the Naga tribes and with the Angami-Nagas, specifically. It is a term which represents Nature or “Mother land” as the source of life itself. In the collection of Angami-Naga poems, it can be justifiable to point out that Nature and its glory are undoubtedly the most common themes. It is a theme which further amplifies the fact that Nature is the muse and also the subject for all its poems.

In the poem “Spring, Spring” by Vetsotso Rose, the poet talks about the goodness of the season and praises it for all its providence and for which the season is loved and longed by all mankind and animals alike:

Spring, Spring, for your season,
Loved and awaited by all,
Mankind, beasts and vegetations alike,

Do come and appease us all,
 Spring, Spring, for your season,
 Is better amongst the other seasons,
 During your season,
 Plants and all alike,
 Live again, adorning the face of the earth,
 The birds with sweeter melodies chirp,
 All the beautiful flowers
 Bloom again to brighten the earth,
 And for all these, we long for your season.
 For the mankind,
 Starts his works for the year,
 But after three moons,
 your season will turn away,
 and it will be sorrowful.
 We long to have you forever;
 Like the plants whose lives are renewed,
 we wish the same for the children of men. (1-20)

This poem presents the personification of Nature, more specifically the season of spring as a season of abundance and aesthetic features. In this simple poem with a clear and basic idea of the said season, we see the poet acknowledging the season for all that it gives to both flora and fauna and men alike.

The Angami-Nagas with their deep connection with Nature can be understood through this poem as the poet's keen observation of her surroundings and change on

her land is emphasised as she recollects how the plants “adorning [adorn] the face of the earth” while the birds chirping with “sweeter melodies” and the flowers “Bloom again to brighten the earth” (11). Here, the poet includes all her senses to appreciate the beauty of Nature; with what she sees, what she hears and how she feels elevated with the change surrounding her. The poet not only expresses her happiness in recollecting the load of what the season brings but also shares her desire for a better day where the lives of plants and men are brought together. For this, she uses a simile which intensifies her wishful thought of having a chance to renew and restore the lives of men like that of plants. This shows the philosophical side of the poem as one is reminded of how puny and limited human life is unlike the life of a plant which can be revived and regenerated with the change of weather and season. Thus, this poem proves once again the worth of Nature and how beneficial it is for mankind for both aesthetic and moral purposes.

Besides the season, the Angami-Naga poems also appreciate its landmarks and distinctive places which are noticed by all. In the poem “Dzükou Unvisited” by D. Kuolie, it is once again directed to the beauty of nature, especially here in the most celebrated and recognised valley, Dzükou valley:

Somewhere there lies
 An enchanting land of praises worthy,
 It is named Dzükou, the Beautiful,
 Nestled in the land of Tenyimia,
 a dreamland for all visitors.

 I think there in Dzükou,

Spring prepares the source of living water,
 Forming ice and waiting for the dry season,
 Eying the surrounding
 Greener pasture scene, its beauty,
 I wish to be in tender age again. (1-5, 34-39)

Though deeply pushed to the depth of the wild, the valley is a place known for its endless beauty and pasture and is known deeply for its natural and scenic environment and its seasonal plants, shrubs and flowers. The valley has a long list of rare flora and fauna and is attracted to locals and foreigners alike with its undeniable beauty. The poet, in this ode-like poem invites the reader to hear the glories of the valley which according to him, not only holds beauty for the eye but also has “enchanting” qualities and charms in the valley. He also praises the valley of its undying beauty as he notes how; “Spring prepares the source of living water/Forming ice and waiting for the dry season” (35-36), while the beauty of the scene is protected as “Clouds keep on hovering, / To guard your beauty round and round” (41-42), and that it lasts without failing even “summer falls, your [its] surroundings / Spoil you not by rainy weather. / Rather flowers start blooming” (49-51).

Besides the longevity of its beauty, the poet also compares the beauty of the valley to the celestial scenes, claiming that the valley is lovely and that the “Heavenly bodies, gems of the sky, / Play games of beauty...” (70-71)

The poem is rich in its use of words for praises upon the valley as a range of word selection/phrases includes; “land of praise worthy” (2), “a dreamland” (5), “your prime place” (19), “your virtue” (22), “true purity” (23), “Refreshing and rejuvenating” (32) and “your priceless value” (72).

Besides the word selection, the poet also explicitly informs the reader of what the valley has to offer he mentions:

Richness of nature - wild animals,
 Birds and insects – in accompaniment;
 With blooming flowers,
 That treasure nature evermore. (84-87)

The above lines are the fore reasons for the valley's unending fame, glory and popularity as the valley is known by experts for its flora such as the Dzūko lily (*Lilium mackliniae*) and some rare rhododendron species and the existence of its state bird, the Blyth's tragopan and fauna like clouded leopard, capped langur, the Asiatic black bear, the serow and the stump-tailed macaque (Dzūko Valley).

4.1.4. Nature as a Healer of Both the Body and Mind

Nature is perceived as a source of healing to the body and soul. It revives the soul of the one who takes delight in it, appreciating it for every good thing it offers to humanity. The Angami-Nagas are lovers of nature. They perceive nature as a mother who provides for the needs of the world with food for physical and spiritual nourishment.

Nature provides for her children with all the resources she has along with the toil of mankind. We see the works of the Angami-Nagas on the land procuring good harvests and living a good life. Being an agrarian society, they depended solely on agriculture and rearing livestock for their food. The simplicity of this rural life is seen in the poem, "Wind, the West Wind" by D. Kuolie as he recollects the days of the past:

In the beginning our ancestors lived
 In good taste of life with moral wisdom.

Honesty and integrity led their work-culture,
 To produce lots of rice in field.
 They enjoyed the blessing for richness in cattle. (34 – 38)

The providence of nature is in abundance as the people lived with integrity and honesty, relying on the Supreme Being.

Nature is also healing for the mind and soul for all its beauty and grandeur. In the poem, “Kethuopou” (Rhododendron) by Vikeyieu, it talks of an object as simple as a rhododendron flower and how it gives happiness to people who come across it:

Kethoupounuo ketsa thei gei lhou,

Ketsa kesou va pezie baya.

.....

Pou la pezo themia va pezie,

Zoshü theinyü kethoupou rüdie;

Kelhouyie mu pou pezi'rüluo. (1-2, 9-11)

Translation:

(The rhododendron living on the cliffs of the mountain,
 Brightening the deepest forest.

.....

Bloom at the earliest to brighten the hearts of the people,

May you do so, we beseech;

Come and bloom again.) (1-2, 9-11)

This poem is centred on the flower, the rhododendron tree flower. It talks of its beauty and of its ability to “brighten the hearts of the people”. Similar to this is the poem, “Menyiepounuoyo” (The Loveliest Flower) by Mhiesisevi Terhüja which talks

about the flowers which bloom in abundance in order to inspire mankind;
*“Menyiepounuo mha va kezivi / Puo pounuo pou puo nyünuo the sie, / Mha va pezie
 nhicumia nei chü”* (The flower which adorns its surrounding / Its buds bloom and its
 leaves grow / brightening things and pleasing the children) (4-6). These two poems
 engaged in the visual presentation of pleasure as the flowers are seen to lift the hearts
 of the people. Besides the visual image, nature also produces its song for its listeners to
 enjoy as seen in the poem, “Perayo” (The Bird) by Terhüja:

*Ketsa nu sü perayo sünuo,
 Ruo kho ruo ke kenei pie pesi;
 Nousuo nouzhie khe nou thupeluo,
 Ketsa kechieko nou va pemvü. (1-4)*

Translation:

(There in the wild the bird chirped,
 Singing and announcing joy;
 Consoling the hearts of the broken,
 Lifting the hearts of the old.) (1-4)

In this poem, the poet presents the sound of the bird and its song as a happy
 song cheering the hearts of all its auditors and more especially healing the hearts of the
 distraught and the weak.

The Angami-Nagas people are deeply rooted in Nature and for this reason it
 becomes evident that they associate their spiritual belief with Nature especially for
 healing and consolation. In the anonymous poem “Rheizetuoü”, the story of the woman
 named Rheizetuoü, mauled by a wild beast is narrated but the narration is made from
 her narration and point of view as he mentions, *“Sopro mevi la’rü nie co gei: / Zo zhatuo*

mu a zuo kra hieluo.” (Tell my mother not to cry, / For I will come and sit upon the walls as a butterfly) (28- 29). Through this, the reference is made as the woman gives her mother the assurance that she will be back again to visit them ‘in the form of Nature’. This narration is based on the belief that spirits of the deceased come back to visit their loved ones in different forms as a cricket, a bird, etc which are some of the ways of reminding them not to harm or kill other living species. Besides coming back in other forms of nature, they also rely on created imageries, “*Mia die lie zo nouluoprü se’rü; / A zuo ha cü nou lu lalie yha. / Nou lu monyü re kesa Tsuse.* (After his death, Tsuse went to *Rünyügei*, / He came with a *nouluoprü*, / “Mother, eat this and be consoled) (1 – 4). This “*nouluoprü*” is considered a ‘fruit’ which supposedly gives relief to grieving souls. Thus, proving once again the reliance on Nature, in this case, a fruit.

From the discussion above it is evident that the Angami-Nagas consider Nature as powerful to provide food for the sustenance and healing of the body and soul. Nature is full of herbs and medicinal elements which are used for the treatment of ailments; thus, it becomes the source of healing for the body. People find solace in the laps of nature and relax their weary minds. They go to the mountains or the peaceful valley to recreate their tired minds, finding peace for the mind amidst the serene valleys or the silent mountains wherein they are able to listen to the sounds of nature and admire the beauty of nature. Thus, through its resources and aesthetic property, nature serves as a healer to body and mind.

4.1.5. Nature on the Brink of Extinction

Nature had previously been attached to the idea of beauty and providence. On a closer look, however, it may be seen that nature has been ripped off from its former

self and for which a good number of poets have written on the topic of the danger that lies with nature and its extinction.

Dino's writings are distinctive for her child-like themes, highly imaginative scenarios and simple language. In one of her collections, her poem "Peranuoyo" (The Chick) speaks of a scene where a chick is left in its nest with its mother Bird killed as someone's prey. The poet shares her sympathy and also evokes a deep sense of anguish for the chick as the situation is a reality for most of the people's flora and fauna:

Kedi hiesie mia dzieguo we chü,

Wateluo shi nie zuonuo ha we.

Ruosi kemenuo rie se vorü,

Nie tsütuoü nie seshü dinu;

Teisolie mu pruokeshü sie-i:

Larü mo di sikemopfü chü.

.....

Peranuoyo puo zuo sa mor o,

Rüchü sierü melelie mo nhie;

Ruo pesi zo rünuo miemie-i

Zo le dinu sia jüketa ze. (4-9, 19-22)

Translation:

(How tragic it was,

That your mother became someone's catch,

After appeasing you,
 of fetching fruits for you,
 she flew away early in the morning;
 but never returned again.

.....

How could the chick,
 Grow without its mother?
 Its chirping faded softer and softer:
 Till it ceased and it died.) (4-9, 19-22)

The scene imagined and projected here is of utter misery and helplessness of the poor chick who is left alone without its strength and wings to survive. The victim here is the chick and its mother and the culprit; hunting, humanity and the non-existence of preservation. The chick and its mother represent the many or whole of the ecology and how the activities of mankind alter and disrupt the system. Though dramatic, the poem is a reflection on the loss of mankind's conscience and greed towards their ambition of having more and more, of more exploitation and less of preservation.

The depletion of the environment is something which caused an alarm for the study of Eco-criticism as people realised the need for maintaining the "balance of the whole" and not to overlook this pressing issue as this study was to bring in the equation of how 'exploitation' alone does not work and that the warning gets stronger with the imbalance of preservation and depletion (qtd. in Malpas 158).

It is this ‘exploitation’ which came with the greed and want for more that the poet Kuolie writes in his poem “Wind, The West Wind”:

In the beginning our ancestors lived

In good taste of life with moral wisdom.

.....

Nation after nation had come,

.....

Had sown countless mixtures

Of bad and good things. (34-35, 43, 46-47)

It is the intrusion of ‘bad’ culture and influence which the poet calls as “West Wind” and it can be understood that it is also a reference to development and consumption. For this, the poet also compares the previous society to the present as he observes how simple life was with the procurement of only what was needed and not more of it while time changed and culture evolved downward and towards destruction:

In the beginning God loved us so much,

He made our land pure, greenish, lively:

.....

Yet this age failed to utilize properly,

What would happen! I wish not to be! (52-57)

It is this failure “to utilize [resources and environment] properly” (56) that the chick and what it represents in Dino’s poem is led to its death.

In another poem “Longing for a Good Day”, composed and translated by D. Kuolie, the poet brings in a canvas of scenes, filled with the habitants of Nagaland and cherished the beauty and bounty of the land:

The soil has been moulded by a powerful hand,
Since the time of our ancestors.

.....

Lowlands made them blind in love,
Highlands gave us good scenes;
Both provide us with delightful view,
Where there are green views,
Good blessings befalls unto mankind,
Where there the flowers grow,
All creatures show delightful nature... (2-3, 8-10, 20-23)

Here, the poet connects Nature and its glory almost to the touch of God and His blessing as he points out how the landscape served the people; the high and low parts of the land made their way in defending the people from danger and providing scenic beauty, the lush green scene is seen as God’s favour towards men and the flowers to cause joy and warmth to all the creatures.

This peaceful and rosy scene is however changed towards a haywire-like tone as the ecology got disturbed and the poet ponders on what went wrong, “But why the deep forests, / Nature’s treasures, are destroyed...” (17-19) The poet laments upon the change of the land of the Nagas as he questions why “Nature’s treasures, are destroyed,” (18)

A pinch of the poet's warning and reminder is set as he beseeches upon God's mercy, "May God reveal to the Nagas early / The deep knowledge of Nature's beauty, / And rescue us from ruin" (25-27). Through the poems the people are reminded about the need to care for mother nature. Since nature was worshipped earlier, it can be understood why the need for preservation and conservation of it is inevitable, and thus, the discussion on the topic of nature on the brink of extinction is an important issue.

4.2. The Core Sociocultural Values of The Angami-Naga Society

4.2.1. Introduction

Life is full of values embedded in sociocultural practices since time immemorial. Human beings are guided by the need to 'do good and shun evil'. In order to regulate the socially accepted behaviours of the people various norms are considered as good or right and bad or wrong. In this aspect, the Angami-Nagas have a set of norms to be followed in the society. There are certain dos and don'ts for people to observe in the society. It is this set of norms which serves as the guiding rules for the people when they commute with others or come to contact with one another. The ethical or moral values of life can be seen as reflected in the lines of notable writers who penned down the age-old beautiful values of sharing, loving, caring, and unity in work; and the virtues of honesty, humility, obedience, courage, patience and love. The Angami-Nagas are peace loving people who live by the principles of truth and love. The ethics, morals and virtues upheld by the people are celebrated by the writers in their poems and stories.

i) Ethics

Ethics is a philosophical treatise that studies, postulates, regulates and guides human life and tries to determine what is right or wrong in human behaviour. It is also called moral philosophy as it attempts to understand what is right and what is wrong,

and it tries to see the possibility of practical conduct from these objective norms. Aristotle's ethics commences with the concept that all beings desire perfection. Human beings are no exception to this universal principle because 'happiness' is really to be founded on the attainment of human perfection or self-realisation. He speaks of two kinds of human actions that can assist us in attaining authentic happiness. They are: intellectual and moral virtues. In his own words, "Intellectual virtue owes both its inception and its growth chiefly to instruction, and for this very reason needs time and experience. Moral goodness, on the other hand, is the result of habit, from which it has actually got its name, being a slight modification of the word *ethos*" (Aristotle, 31).

From the above mentioned it has been rightly pointed out that no moral virtue is endangered in us by nature because "nothing that is what it is by nature can be made to behave differently by habituation" (31). He gives the example of a stone which has a natural tendency to fall downwards that cannot be habituated to rise upwards however often one tries to train it by throwing it into the air; or, the impossibility of training fire to burn downwards. Therefore, according to Aristotle, moral virtues are "endangered in us either by or contrary to nature; we are constituted by nature to receive them, but their full development in us is due to habit" (31).

With the general understanding that virtue is a habitual state or disposition of the soul, Aristotle is well known for his dictum that virtue is the golden mean between two extremes. This is why he says that courage is the mid-point between the vice of excess of foolhardiness and the vice of the minimal cowardice. Thus, he concludes, "there are three dispositions, two of them vicious (one by way of excess, the other of deficiency) and one good, the mean" (46). This is what Aristotle calls the famous golden mean between two extremes.

ii) Morals

Moral consciousness is an integral part of human development. It is intimately connected with the progressive development of human consciousness. It would be right to say that moral consciousness has been present throughout the existence of human beings from cave-man to modern human person. It is impossible to understand moral consciousness apart from human consciousness. Therefore, it is essential to understand human consciousness which is a process of becoming because the human person is both 'is' and 'becoming'.

Every person is an 'is-in-becoming' which means everyone is both essence and existence, act and potency, act-in-potency, spirit-body and free-yet-existentially situated. It is because of this presence of both 'is' and 'becoming' a set of norms which is generally accepted for the common good needs to be established. The human person is both an end-in-himself and for others. There is always a tension between the 'is' and the 'ought' of a human person. Since he or she is not the end in himself/herself there is a need for a uniform moral law by which a person will conduct himself or herself. The more he or she becomes himself or herself the more he or she becomes conscious of what he or she should be.

Moral law includes not only general and abstract rules of action which is to do good and shun evil but also concrete moral precepts or values. It is because of the growth of human consciousness which leads to the growing need to understand moral consciousness more and more. This requirement to understand the process of growth from being to becoming leads to the emergence of moral precepts specifying evermore clearly the conduct of a human person. Just like the gradual growth of human consciousness, moral consciousness too is a gradual progressive development. With the

gradual growth of moral consciousness there is development in the world as we can see in the change from the human treatment by the cave-man as compared to the modern human person. This growth is evident from the change we see from ancient slavery to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which was univocally approved in the United Nations General Assembly in 1948. Thus, it is necessary to postulate moral precepts or values to govern our behaviours to form a more humane society.

Through all ages and across all societies love is considered as the core basis for all moral activities. It is the existential basis of the moral order. Love is not just one moral virtue but the form of all moral virtues. In the same manner, love is not just one moral precept but it is the form of all of them. If love is the form of the moral precepts and is a progressive affair, it means that acting according to the moral precepts is acting according to love. By this fact, we can consider love as not only the beginning but also the end of the moral life. In the beginning, it is present as a seed which can develop and grow, and at the end it is the fully mature and fully conscious love. Therefore, it is justifiable to state that if it is in love that a human person perfects himself as human, it is in this fully mature and fully conscious love that he or she becomes a perfect moral being.

It is not for us to decide whether or not man has evolved from sub-human beings but we can readily accept the theory that human consciousness has matured and developed. From the start, the human being was not necessarily conscious of himself or herself as human as we are at the present age. There has been progress in human consciousness which is increased by the fact of experience. We all know that the child is a human being but as it grows it becomes more and more conscious of itself as a human being. Applying this on a larger level we can comfortably try to explain how the

moral law is particularised and concretised in specific moral precepts. Just as a child gains human consciousness the moral consciousness of the human person grew from the experience of facts to the postulation of specific moral precepts or values.

Human consciousness necessarily involves a person's consciousness of oneself as an individual and as a social being. And as human consciousness develops a person simultaneously gains moral consciousness because it is an integral part of human consciousness. As a human being becomes more and more conscious of himself as human, both as an individual and as a social being, he or she becomes more conscious of his or her inter-relatedness and his or her rights and duties as a human being. It is also to be noted that even at the same given stage of human moral consciousness different individuals living in different human situations will live a more or less different moral life. These human situations can be the result of different geographical, climatic and economic conditions of the individuals.

Apart from these human situations moral consciousness is intimately linked to and conditioned by the religious consciousness of the human being. People following different religions will have a different set of moral laws because different religious beliefs have produced different moral values. And through this religious consciousness, a corresponding change in morality is brought forth.

iii) Virtue

Virtue is defined as the inherently excellent moral quality of someone or something in conformity of behaviour or thought with the principles of moral conduct. Thinkers have categorised virtue from different perspectives. The most common among

them are the four cardinal virtues, the three theological virtues and the seven virtues opposed to the seven deadly sins.

Among the founders of Virtue Ethics in Greece is Aristotle who says that the human being is a rational animal. This characteristic of being rational leads to achieving a particular goal or end which he calls virtue. And if a person does something using his or her reason as a rational being then his actions will be directed towards achieving a particular goal or end. In this way the actions of the person are not pointless because they have a purpose. It must be assumed that every action aims at some good.

Not only focussing on doing good where life is based on an assumption ‘what do you want to do?’, a person of virtue focuses on being good where life presupposes the question ‘what do you want to be?’ or ‘what kind of person you are aspiring to be’. According to Aristotle being good is more important than merely doing good. In his opinion, virtuous thinking of a person leads to the performance of good actions which gradually forms good habits. These good habits bring forth virtuous characters that result in what he calls eudaimonia which means happiness, the final goal of every action. Every action is done with the hope of attaining some good. Some actions are end in themselves, which means they are done for their own sake while some other actions are done as means to other ends, which means they are done for the sake of some other end. He claims that all even those actions which are an end in themselves also contribute to a wider end, an end or purpose which is the greatest good of all. This final end or the greatest good is eudaimonia. In simple words, eudaimonia is happiness, contentment and fulfilment. It can be considered the name of the best kind of life which is an end in itself as well as a means to live a good life, a life of virtues.

In his book, *The Nichomachean Ethics*, Aristotle identifies two types of virtue: intellectual virtues and moral virtues. Intellectual virtues are those virtues which can be taught and learnt. For instance, prudence is a virtue we can easily learn from others who are prudent. On the other hand, moral virtues are those virtues which can be achieved by repeatedly doing an action that becomes a habit. These habits which are cultivated lead to achieve the ultimate happiness. And these habits should be temperate and not be too extreme. According to him, virtue is a golden mean between two extremes because “one should choose the mean- not the excess, nor the deficiency- and that the mean is as the right principle dictates” (Aristotle 144).

It must be acknowledged that all virtue ethicists are indebted to Aristotle in one way or the other. The vast majority of them give importance to the character of a person rather than compliance with certain norms of right behaviour. It is not to be misunderstood that they ignore moral obligations, rather they affirm the primacy of virtues. This is so because they believe that moral obligations can only be derived from virtues. Mere performance of duty or good acts without good motives or right intention is not a moral virtue. The action may be good yet it is incomplete because it is not motivated by love. Therefore, it is justified to say that moral virtues alone can ensure the final goal of life, happiness.

Apart from the four moral virtues according to Aristotle and the three theological virtues of faith, hope and love, there are seven cardinal virtues as opposed to seven deadly or cardinal or capital sins in Roman Catholic theology. The virtues are humility, charity, chastity, gratitude, temperance, patience and diligence as opposed to the vices of vainglory or pride, greed or covetousness, lust or inordinate or illicit sexual desire, envy, gluttony, wrath or anger and sloth. These seven deadly sins can be

considered as dispositions towards sin and separation from God (Britannica). On the other hand, the seven cardinal virtues are considered as dispositions towards a righteous life and connection with God. These virtues have ethical values and actions based on them are morally right.

Although the concept of virtue differs from one society to the other, the main understanding of what a virtue is remains the same, that is, whatever is morally good and right. The ancient Greek society considered wisdom, prudence, temperance and fortitude as the cardinal virtues because of the moral values inherent in them. Similarly, the Angami-Nagas uphold certain moral values as presented through the poems. Their love for life, consideration of life as sacred, mourning over the loss of life, care for nature, love for peace, honesty, temperance in food and drinks, promotion of fraternal sentiments, self-control, bravery in standing for truth, and others are some of the moral virtues upheld by the people. They form the core sociocultural values of the Angami-Naga society.

4.2.2. What Makes a Society?

On the question of what a society is or what criteria are required to call a group a society, there can be a number of answers to it, grounded in the opinions and theories of several scholars and thinkers.

MacIver and Page have defined society as, “the web of social relationships” while Harry M. Johnson defined it as “a group of people who share a common culture, occupy a particular territory and feel themselves a unified and distinct entity”. In a deeper analysis of what makes defines a society, we see the characteristics brought in by Harry M. Johnson where he adds:

- (i) Definite Territory
- (ii) Progeny
- (iii) Culture
- (iv) Independence (qtd. in Kikhi 14 - 15).

A society can be defined by its number of citizens, its norms and values, its habits, a range of similar clothing, language, etc. Several ideas can be incorporated into it. However, there is the main bottom line which stands prominent for the sake of this research i.e., its values and attitude. For any society, growth is always a necessity but this requires the sheer dedication of the predecessors in building its culture in accordance with what is appropriate and in reciprocation towards the time and change it faces. For this, Auguste Comte, in his series of the collection, *Course on Positive Philosophy*, propounded the two ideas:

- (i) Division of labour
- (ii) Population growth

According to Auguste Comte, these are the main factors for bringing ‘evolution’ to a society. Comte sincerely believed in the development of the mind to be the main carrier of change in a society as well thus adding further that the change in a society was more of change within oneself first. It is, therefore, the working of the mind through the tasks provided and the activity that one engages in, directing to the division of labour and the growth of a community that grants a group fit for the ‘evolution’ and ‘development’ of the society.

While factors are mentioned, Comte also identified three stages to the growth of social evolution. These are the stages which do not involve the external but the internal, more specifically the source of knowledge undergoing several conditions:

- (i) The theological or Fictitious Stage
- (ii) The metaphysical or abstract
- (iii) The scientific or positive

The first stage deals with superstitions and physical might be represented by the church and the military body. Here, answers to the cause and actions around them were all to be answered by religion and beliefs. An understanding is obvious here as there were no other ways of explaining but to accept the signs and believe in them.

The second stage is a short-lived stage where people believed in the existence of an abstract force or an entity where God is not seen as a concrete being but a creation of the mind.

The third stage involves science with reason and explanation and was seen by Comte as the ultimate source of knowledge in guiding both the human mind and the society in general. With this, he categorised two types of society; The Theologian-Military society and the Scientific society with the latter being the more progressive one than the former.

Auguste Comte formulated three main stages of social development. It is in the first stage, i.e., the Theologian stage that Angami-Nagas' belief can be reflected upon. It is, however, in the first stage which may seem to be more engaged here. The first stage is further divided into three sub-stages which will be further classified and discussed in the next section: (i) Fetishism (ii) Polytheism (iii) Monotheism.

4.2.3. The Cultural Evolution of the Angami-Naga Society

A society is always in a process of evolving and changing according to the needs and change of time, and most importantly its culture. Magnifying the Angami-Naga society on its 'cultural evolution' it may be observed that the society underwent a lot of changes. This matter has been elaborated on and discussed in the previous chapters and for which a detailed discourse will not be made. However, understanding the need for a blueprint of the timeline of the society, Khruvolu Keyho's classification of the timeline from her work *Tenyidie Geizo Cabo Dze Kephrii: Thematic Study of Tenyidie Poetry* will be visited here.

She has first made two main categories; the first period pertaining to the time when animism existed at large and the second period where the culture was transformed through the two important tools – education and Christianity. Keyho further mentions how the themes of poetry had also evolved with time and thus leading to a new era with a range of new themes. She has divided this phase into four parts:

1. The First Phase

It was a phase where the sense of community was strong and their lifestyles were in unison especially in socialising, tilting lands and religion, something which was called *Tsana*. Their belief and sincerity towards their '*Terhuopfü*' whom they as their sole and supreme being is observed. Their lives were governed by good moral values and right behaviours as they believed in the philosophy of 'do good' and to be blessed, 'do evil' and be punished, again governed by the '*Terhuopfü*'. It is because of this belief that their lives are morally upright leading to themes such as being respectful to each other, being polite, obedient and honest, being mindful of others' comfort and benefit, the meek and humble nature of children towards elders, absence of discriminations,

being altruistic and having a sincere love for one another. On the melancholic side, there are themes related to excruciating grief, abandonment, remorse, unfulfilled relationships and longings for lovers.

On the nature of the society, themes such as warfare, killings and enmities even leading to distraught lovers torn apart by the disapproval of the families of their relationship.

2. The Second Phase

Here, the Nagas were introduced to education, literacy, Christianity and exposure to the outside world. Warfare and enmity were common phenomena in the first phase. However, with knowledge about other parts of the world and education, the mindset of the people was broadened. There is a great number of poems written on Christianity and its goodness and eventually even spreading their testimonies in the forms of poetry. The lines are intended to convince and convert people to Christianity. Culturally we see the society maintaining a reawakening of both the mind and soul.

3. The Third Phase

The second phase had no doubt brought in a load of changes to the society and for that people were grateful. It was, however, starting to be noticed as people in their deep and meditative thoughts realised that a lot of moral values pertaining to the first phase were lost. For this, the themes were based on the longing to go back. They lamented the loss of those values which they converted into themes such as the unrest mind, loss of morality, dishonesty and in general the true essence of the goodness of life. The poet also lamented on the observation of how the population, though had its majority towards Christianity, yet failed to reflect the life and goodness of Christ, which

is the creed of a Christian. We see a sense of 'escapism' in the themes of the poems as the poets are seen longing re-live the past era.

4. The Fourth Stage

This was the stage of reawakening as the people resolved to do away with their evil vices and live anew with an ethical lifestyle. We see the poets urging the people to correct their ways. They also bring in the glories and goodness of all that their predecessors had lived with, reminding their readers to look back. Themes related to religion, that is, to live as better Christians and live with a sound mind and heart are also seen here. The poets took in the form of a prophet as they implemented the dire need for change and restoration of their past virtues.

4.2.4. Beliefs

Auguste Comte formulated three main stages of social development. It is in the first stage, i.e., the Theologian stage that Angami-Nagas' belief can be reflected upon. It is, however, in the first stage which may seem to be more engaged here. The first stage is further divided into three sub-stages: (i) Fetishism (ii) Polytheism (iii) Monotheism

Bringing in the society of the Angami-Naga, we see these three stages in progress. Fetishism is a belief where people assumed the presence of life in all forms of Nature and its objects like trees, stones, water, etc. They believed that life was present in all and for which animism was deemed right for this stage. To call the Angami-Naga people under this stage may seem correct as they saw life in all the forces of Nature.

Polytheism was a stage where people appointed the idea of attaching each form and element of Nature to a god or goddess, such as, God of the sun, God of rain God of

fire, etc. This stage may partly be deemed correct as, though the term ‘God’ or ‘Goddess’ was never used by the people, the idea of a guardian or a controller of the forms was equally prepared by the people by calling them ‘spirits’, such as ‘water spirits’, ‘stone spirit’, etc.

The third stage, Monotheism was the final stage where they believed in the existence of a single ‘mono’ God where everything was attributed to a single but supreme and mighty entity. Given the fact that the people believed in the existence of the so-called *Terhuomia* or *Kepenuopfü*, it becomes evident that this stage is also applicable to the use of identifying religion.

One can draw the conclusion from here that the Angami-Naga society was based on superstitions and myths. Though it was stranded in this single stage ‘Theologian Stage’, it was however through the three sub-stages (as mentioned above) the society existed. It was not necessarily an ‘evolvment’ through the three, but rather a belief in the three.

On the question of why humans are religious, Marvin Harris brings out his argument of how a community can become ‘so’ through the explanation of behavioural psychologists. He lays out several analogies as to how an animal, on being constantly ‘rewarded’ upon doing a certain, specific task can learn to do those tasks/acts. While these animals are tricked into a formula or ‘do and be given’, men, according to Harris, is simply existing through religion with the help of chances and coincidences as a baseball player who always spits before pitching a ball may find the satisfaction in believing that his ritual helps in winning when it is a situation of mere chance that among the many pitching some worked while the ritual was done in all of them (398).

On this note, the question of religion and the credibility of it may be questioned. However, it is also religion and belief which stood out as the only explanation when there were no other means of reason, it is yet again natural to understand the existence of religion and belief. In Harris' own explanation, he points out the simple principle of animism and how men live with the other beings, surrounding them and how the belief in the existence of anyone "souls and ghosts to saints and fairies, angels, and cherubim, demons, jinni, devils, and gods" can be accepted as he said, "wherever people believe in the existence of one or more of these beings, that is where religion exists" (399).

There has been enough discourse made on the Angami-Naga's concept of God and the creator in the earlier sections and so, the matter will not be visited again. However, it may be noteworthy of bringing in the words of Khruvolu Keyho, one of the pioneers in the study of Tenyidie poetry and an expert in the study of Tenyimia culture and beliefs as she said:

Thiedzü u tsiepfumiakoe nacünanyü nu pecü se vor. Siro uko kelhou nu keterhuokecü dzeko tsiu kethekhrikecüko pele phi vor. Uko Tsana idi nanyü hau medziya. Tsana kepele nu terhuomia dze kekra kepu tuoya. Terhuomia za kekra rei pu tsiu uko dze si di pukeyie vor. (Our predecessors observed their religion vigorously. Their beliefs were filled with horridly spiritual and mysterious. They believed in a religion called *Tsana*. This religion was covered with oral records of multiple spirits. *Terhuomia* was known by different names and its fame was passed down from generation to generation) (277).

The word *Tsana* stands for Paganism or animism where they believed in the existence of soul and spirit in things around them. Keyho, in her work, mentions the existence of spirit according to the beliefs of the Angami-Nagas, especially in the form

of big trees and rocks. This, she highlights through the reference to the poem “Sopfünüo”, in which the main protagonist, *Sopfünüo* is sent away from her husband’s house with her child but mysteriously vanishes and for which her death is directed to the work of the evil spirit and the weapon *Terhuothie* (a trap which responses to the death of its victim).

Here is an extraction of the anonymous poem “Sopfünüo” translated by D. Kuolie:

I did set out at midnight,
 Carrying my child, to my native home.
 Before I could reach, *terhuothie* hit me;
 My child knew not to rise to proceed;
 Plucking buds, he ate and rotted along with me;
 Transforming to wood would lead us to rot,
 We transformed into stone and lay at Virazha, (15-21)

The spotlight may be shed on the object “*terhuothie*” which is supposedly a “bamboo or wooden spike of spirit” and is believed to be a work of the spirits and whoever gets hit “he or she cannot survive”, meaning the person will die (Kuolie 13). It is this object which serves as an explanation for the disappearance of *Sopfünüo* while this explanation becomes a pathway towards the existence of the spirit world and its communication with the world of the mortals.

On the topic of the spirit world, it is revealed through the poems, a place considered as the resting world for the spirits. This we see through the poem, “*Tsuse*”:

Tsuse sia tsu lu Rünyügei nu,
Mia die lie zo nouluoprü se’rü;

A zuo ha cü nou luo lalie yha.

Nou luo monyü re kesa Tsuse. (1-4)

Translation:

(After his death, Tsuse went to *Rünyügei*,

He came with a *nouluoprü*,

“Mother, eat this and be consoled.”

“Instead of being consoled, I am more troubled.”) (1-4)

The Angami-Nagas were superstitious people who believed in the other realm called “*Rünyügei*”. This poem is about a man who died in a war and his soul went into this resting world but came back to give consolation to his mother. The term “*nouluoprü*” is used as a noun but is actually an abstract object associated with bringing peace and consolation to those who are in mourning. The term is rather a poetic term to denote the act of moving on with life and from the pain caused by death.

Besides the existence of the spiritual world, there are numerous beliefs related to the interaction between the two realms. This is a common belief and is performed by a ‘spiritual head’ or shaman. One among the many acts is the method where a person whose spirit is said to be ‘lost’ in the depth of the forest or ‘captured’ by the spirits. This can be brought back when the person’s physical health is noticed to be deteriorating towards death and a chick is used as the spirit’s prize or replacement- by placing the chick in the middle of the forest while calling out the name of the person, which is believed to be released afterwards (Kerhüo). The anonymous poem “*Rütsolhouü*” is one such poem where the speaker compares herself to a pathetic chick used for the spiritual act; “*Thevünuo puo mia sieshükewa, / Puo krü jü di mecu niaki*

krü / Kebayo we a kelhou mhielie” (Like a chick exchanged for someone / Without its parents, it chirps till dark / And so is my life) (22 – 24).

The society being in a “theological period” lived not only with the mindset of living a moral life but also lived a life or performed acts for the purpose of pleasing the Being. The poem, “*Kelhou Thau*” by D. Kuolie talks of the rich people performing the act of holding a feast for the community to please, “Zudi-o thu kirinuo zie se, / Mechü pehe terhuopfü nei chü,” (With wines and livestock, / Feasting with the community to please *terhuopfü*) (2-3). Through these lines the implications of holding feasts and merrymaking with the entire community are seen as the people believed in the blessings to be showered upon by the *terhuopfü* (the Supreme Being) with manifold blessings, rich harvests, more livestock, etc.

After passing through the three sub-themes under the Theological period, there was a change of belief upon the land which was brought in by the American Missionaries as they paved their way into the hearts of the people with their preaching, The Good News. Based on the discourse and orientation on the coming of Christianity in the earlier chapters, it is evident that the themes of poetry changed their route and focused more on both preaching and praising. There is a number of poems which provides pieces or a whole form of religious beliefs and also poems which ends with the poets evoking the mercy of the Christian Gods to change the corrupted lands of the Nagas.

On the first issue i.e., religious extracts in the writings, the poem “Who Can Please”, translated and written by D. Kuolie, can be used as a reference. The poet presents his philosophical outlook towards life as he points out how life has been evolving throughout the history of mankind as he draws in the parallelism between the

eras- a time when Jesus made his earthly journey and how the present era is filled with corruption and chaos:

Jesus died with immeasurable burden of sins...

Breathed his last in agony, pain.

His death shook the earth,

Caused the light turn to dim fear.

They preached on him, we accepted. (12-16)

The change of culture with time is one part of this extract. The other and more prominent part for discussion is on the preaching made by the poet. As mentioned in the section 4.2.3, Keyho mentions how the second phase was filled with several themes, one among which is on the goodness, glorification and transgression of Christ which the poets commonly included in their poems for the purpose of expressing their gratefulness towards this foreign religion, and the need for more conversion.

In the poem “*Jihova Nagamia Kekhrie*” by Kiezotuo, the poet gives an elaborate explanation of the genesis of the religion, Christianity came into the lands of the Nagas and the revolution and revival that followed:

Kekhrie kezha Dieliekevi hau,

U tso mo ro kesuo dieze chü,

Huo te huo gei kerheiro peka,

.....

Ketsekethou si kemora nu,

Liethomia bu Dieliekevi se,

.....

Themia nou le themia chü kedi.

Zhierüingou kha Ketholeshü se,

U rünyie chü kesuo-u perhie.

.....

U nou rüdi siedze kevi pfhü;

Kelie lanu Niepu-u pezie. (3-5, 10-11, 18-20)

Translation:

(A wonderful grace, the Good News,

Had it not reached us, we would have given in to evil,

Hunting and killing each other,

.....

From a land far and unknown,

Came the Servants with the Good News,

.....

Reaching the hearts and people converting,

Leaving away their weapons and taking the Bible,

As its weapon to defeat evil.) (3-5, 10-11, 18-20)

The “Servants” here refer to the servants of God who came from the land, unknown and unheard by the natives. This land here is referring to the land of America, whose history of bringing Christianity was previously discussed in the first chapter. The last line of the poem is heightened as the poet finally ends with his ‘note of appreciation to God’ being one of the concerned themes as he said, “*U nou rüdi siedze kevi pfhü; / Kelie lanu Niepu-u pezie*” (with a change of heart and a quest for a better future / for all these, thanks be to God). (23-24)

On the second issue, and the method of mentioning towards the end, invoking God's hand on the people, we see the poem "Power of The Night" by D. Kuolie where he calls for God to bring his light and shine upon the dark and gloomy land of the Nagas:

I pray unto the creator, the Almighty,
Go back, Power of Night,
So that Nagas may know your might,
And feel afraid of you. (26-29)

Besides the two, biblical reference may also be notified in these poems where poets contextualise the Nagas with events from the Bible. In the poem "Chronology of the Nagas" by Sakuolie K. Kuotsu, the poet elaborates on the power struggle of the Nagas and their fight for freedom. Here one can however find the parallelism drawn on the Naga's cause with Biblical reference. He encourages the people to take heart as he mentions the battle led by Joshua from the Bible. This we see in the following lines, "*Lieluoya mu Seyie Kriitamia, / Kepenuopfii phruokeshii ha ze, / Vi mete zo Joshu-a tuoi;*" (Remember the former deeds, Leaders! / Remember the blessings the Lord has provided! / Remember the righteousness of Joshua!) (17-19)

The people of the Angami- Nagas were previously centred on living morally upright lives as they believed in an immediate reciprocation or response from the being they dreaded the most. However, with the land exposed to other cultures and religions, a sound and swift change was undertaken and with it, the society and its values changed. In short, religion is culture and a change in religion meant a change in culture.

4.2.5. Traditions

i. Values Taught in the society

The Angami-Nagas are rich in their values and morality as they deem these two to be the guiding principles in building their society and enforcing laws based on these two. It is through their deep sense of wisdom and understanding of life that enable them to continue their lives in the right way. Wisdom and knowledge, though shared orally and through their practices, stand as the most valuable thing for them. In the poem “Beauty of the soul” (*Thenou Rütso*) by Shürhozelie, the poet reminds the people of how wisdom is valuable to the people for their sole survival:

*Medo kevi ükeziomiako,
Theja we kijükhro mhavie;
Rüshü zhü rei Bayie teilie ro,
Pou la parü themia rütso chü. (5-8)*

Translation:

(Through the visions of the poets
the blessings were cared and earthed.
While they were once in hiding underneath,
with spring they sprouted patiently.) (5-8)

Here, he compares poets to prophets treasuring and preserving the age-old values through their writings by using the metaphor of burying them inside the earth. Just as the metaphorical seeds are to grow and sprout with time and their habitat, the poet’s writings are also expected to sprout with readers or auditors responding to the wisdom recorded. For this, there are numerous poems based on teaching, guiding and reminding people on living morally upright lives written by the Angami-Naga poets.

Medo, one of the most celebrated Angami-Naga poets, who writes mostly on satires, comedy and teachings upon his people in his poem “A Diepuko” (My Words) writes: “*I yopuorei tsei mota Iheru, / A ngumezhie a khruohishü di, / Diesuo kepu athiediu chü.*” (Since even the letter ‘I’ will not perish, / Please help me, / Stray from evil words.) (16 – 18). Through this poem, the poet expresses his deep sense of his conscience as he points out how important it is for a being to be disciplined with his words, claiming that a judgement is set for the end and that one should be responsible in imploring the grace of God to help him debarred from evil words.

In another poem, “*A Vi Nhie Ru!*” (My Ego!) he wrote: “*A vi ücü ca kecü yopuo, / Lekelie ze mha kevi kekra*” (My goodness is only a small strand, / On this realisation I changed towards the good) (6-7). Through these lines the poet admits to his ego and pride, and how upon realising this mistake, he was able to gain goodness in himself. This poem serves to remind people of the need of checking themselves of blinded pride and selfishness which can only lead to destruction.

The poem, “*Thehethehie*” (Merrymaking) by the same poet also brings out his undisputed and unapologetic criticism towards the society for its carnal pleasures in the form of food and avoiding abstinence from greed:

Mithuchü cü u va pesuo ü,

Themia kekra panya bouya we.

Ga rübei we cü mecü phre di,

Thevü cha ro gajo bepie mvü;

Kelhe cha ro tathutaruo sa. (8-12)

Translation:

(Claiming that beef disturbs their health,

They complain in uproar.
 Not wanting to have vegetables alone,
 Yet with chicken they add rice-plant porridge;
 Even with the tastiest dishes, they add chutney.) (8-12)

This is a poem by Medo where his sense of satire is at its peak as he draws a picture of delegates and leaders of the Church, indulging in an almost gluttonous attitude with the meals that they eat and having no conscience towards humility and simplicity. The poet does not shy away as he explicitly points out all the complaints made by them and finally makes them realise the importance of setting good examples for their people.

Through these poems, the vices are exposed and virtues are emphasised. The poets are not mere writers, but are overseers of the society and perform their role of moral vigilantes through their writings.

ii. On Women and Patriarchy

The poems written on women are based on the growth of a girl child to adulthood or to be more precise, motherhood. They are also based on the marriages of these women. But as a deeper analysis is made on these issues, it may be horrific to realise that these are actually built on tragic foundations as for these women in the poem, they are more likely seen as second-class citizens of the community. The Angami-Naga community is known for their patriarchal nature which is clearly evident in the form of taking decisions and governing a community in general. Not only in the domestic, and public realm but even in the form of a social gathering, women are excluded as they do not hold the right in sitting in the '*dahou*' (common meeting

ground). Here, the men take the form of a ‘collective community’ and they participate in oral tradition or simply share important information. The existence of an ‘alpha’ male or a village elder, standing while narrating his speech to teach, inform, inspire or remind a group of men who would listen attentively to his words are the things that can be visualised for a daily meeting. The woman may pass or enter the group not to be a part of it, but only to serve her husband, brother or father food or drinks. Thus, her presence as a listener is not at all active. In short, her role in taking decisions for her community is impossible while she is bound more towards domestic chores and responsibilities.

There are various poems based and written on this matter as the poets usually lament the pathetic condition of the girl child and how her life is summed up for responsibilities and domestic chores while having no share for herself as women held no place to inherit ancestral properties. There are two poems which highlight this issue: “Her Life” (*Thenupfü Kelhou*) by Kekuodenuo Nakhro and “The State of Women” (*Thenumia Rüli*) by Neisetuolie Pfukha. However, bring more emphasis on the subject i.e., the girl child, a small analysis will be made by pairing Easterine Kire’s novel *The Terrible Matriarchy* with the two poems. The said novel is based on the life of the main character, *Dielieno*, whose name itself translates to ‘errand girl’ and whose entire life was made of discrimination. This source is selected for the reason that it is based on the typical Angami-Naga society and how women are treated accordingly. Thus, appropriate for the analysis of the poems. The first poem “Her Life”, as the title suggest is specifically highlighted the life of a single subject:

Kenienuo nie ngukelie nhie we,

U miasimia pete nie vasi,

Thenumia ü mia dienuo kela

Derei nie we mehou phi molie.
No we lhou sie mele sedelie,
Kenienuo nie merü kelho chü;
Mhathomahchü Pete nie rüdie,
Kerülei tei pejüyaluolie.
Kitiekinu mhatho re ba rei,
Kiliethoko nie rhierhu pephu,
Nie priinuo dze medo mha rüguo,
Tuoya derei nei shiephruo jülie.

Translation:

(The day you were born to your parents,
 Everyone they met asked about your gender.
 They replied to them, "A girl is born."
 But they did not express their want for you.
 The day you started taking your steps,
 Your parents were happy for they had been eagerly waiting for it.
 The perfect helper you were for every work;
 But you had no time for yourself to rest.
 The day you started shielding your brother's lands,
 You laid your toils working in the fields,
 even when you had the household works weighing on you.
 But nothing was bequeathed to you at the end.) (1-12)

This poem brings out some important aspects which reflect the attitude of the
 society especially towards women:

- (i) It highlights the preference of a male child over a female child
- (ii) The purpose of the girl seen as a substitute for a helper
- (iii) The heavy expectations laid out for a woman
- (iv) The multiple workloads set for a woman
- (v) No inheritance made for the woman.

On the first note, it can be observed that though a girl child is never discriminated against explicitly or to extreme measures, there is always the longing for a boy for the sole purpose of the ‘continuity of the family line’ because a daughter is never to be counted for the line. It is the boy child who would grow up to marry, procreate and carry on the family line. This ‘implied discrimination’ sources from both parents. This is paralleled with Kire’s novel as we find the main protagonist always favoured over her brothers, especially by her grandmother who would treat her brothers with better food and treats: “that portion is always for boys. Girls must eat the other portions” (1). It is the grandmother who treated the girl with more discrimination because she comes from a generation where her status was earned through the identity of her husband as a respectable man in the society and for this, her idea of honour and place roots in the existence of a man.

On the second note, it is the girl child who is considered the doer of all the household chores. Bringing in Kire’s novel, the girl is constantly made to run all the domestic works while her grandmother, who is the antagonist, prepares the girl in becoming a perfect housewife through the works: “Send the girl next time, that is girls’ work. No man in my day has ever fetched water” (3). Here, we see how household chores are reserved only for girls.

On the third note, we find society creating its own standard for women to follow as they are “shielding your brother’s lands” and be the “perfect helper” for everyone. The character Dielieno is one who was to serve people and leave herself out and was even expected to neglect her priorities in her education: “She is getting too impudent having started school”. On this issue, the anonymous poem “*Tsienu Tsu Le*” which is about a woman who, in her state of frustration towards the unrealistic goals and expectations of society on women, pours her argument as to how it is normal for women to be ‘imperfect’ just as nature is. As the poem opens, the brother of the speaker, on finding that his sister was still at home, chides the woman saying, “*Hie prüunuo ler hie ngulie / Nie thenumia tsie rei kedi chü, / Tsu ke mo di hara thaluo di?*” (On seeing me, my brother said to me, / “Woman, why are you still here / and not make your move?) (3-5)

Our speaker here, on receiving this comment was infuriated as she took her moment to reason and understand why he would expect her to be the perfect being by explaining:

Ketsie thuo tsa zecümvü thuo rei;

Kerü nu tsie tsieleu thuo nu

Deiü ba rei dzü-o puokhro tse:

Vüprio pou mhiso pou keduo,

Pfhenuo mezü dei vo puoyuo thu;

Balie mo mu a zuo a ruo hie.

On the fourth note, we find various activities laid out for the girl; from “shielding” her brother’s lands, to toiling in the fields and stretched to do chores confined inside the house and more. This is again reflected in Kire’s novel where the

traditional gender roles are highlighted through Dielieno's character who is bombarded with duties.

Lastly, the girl child from the poem is not to be given a single share of her parents' inheritance as she cannot carry on the name of the family's name. Thus, the only solution left for Kire's Dielieno is a chance to become a good wife and receive basic education fit for the survival of her life.

The second poem "*Thenumia Rüli*" (The State of Women), deals with the condition of women and how her world revolves around others while she is left to survive on her own:

Chüsuo biesuo noule lerü mu,
Nie krü khruohi kitiekinura.
Ciethu dzüü kenienueo khruohi.
seiriegada kenienueo khruohi.
Licha lidza chü pekruopeme
Menuo zo shü kenienueo theke.
Khou-o kalie hie-o shüpie vo
Ba nu zoshü kenienueo rhurhuo.
Rüülie mu lozimia taze,
Kilie perhie rülei tei pejü,
whuorie zo di kenienueo khoya,
Kenyi mholie pejüwa khrie di,
Kiya zo pa mia kethapfü chü;
Zolie metha phichüzha nie tso.
Nie pie zolie mia krü mia zuo chü,

Zotaya mu dichienuya shi!

Translation:

(As discipline and conscience find you,

You became a helper at home;

-Pounding the grain, pouring the water,

-Picking the wood, plucking the fodder,

-Preparing the food

You serve them to your parents.

With the meal on the plate and the filled-cup,

You nurse your parents with all of it.

As you become a woman, you lead your friends,

conquering the task on the fields without a rest,

With zest you serve and aid your old kin,

For you despise your home to be in want.

You marry and become a wife of someone,

But adulthood finds you fleetingly,

You bear a child and become a mother, a parent,

An ephemeral life, how brief it was!)

This poem is yet another reference to expose the attitude of the society. The Angami-Naga society being patriarchal has strict gender roles and womenfolk are attached to the identity of a 'helper' and a 'mother' or a 'wife' and not beyond that. The poet directly states the various activities of the woman where she is to; pound the grain, carry water, collect animal fodders, cook and prepare meals for her family and in general, to be confined within the domestic activities while the menfolk are expected

and also given the opportunity to claim for a status (to be discussed in the next section on ‘status’).

The role of the woman does not evolve even after her early marriage to her supposed life partner and she is still bounded by the identity of her child and her husband and not through her own. As it is common in the Angami-Naga society, (and some other related tribal groups), Teknonymy (the act of addressing a person through the name, especially the child) can be seen as an example here. The poet also laments how short and fleeting the life of a woman is, consumed by her works, priorities as a woman and responsibilities as a parent.

Besides the nullification of her decision or her say on ‘public affairs’, she is limited even in her choice of marriage. There are numbers of Tenyidie poems on women which rarely celebrates love, marriage or union. Women are always expected to be submissive to their parents and their future husbands. It is an expectation that goes without mentioning and this actually leads to tragic endings. On love, there are poems where both the man and the woman are not able to unify themselves for reasons such as enmity or rivalry between their respective villages. For these reasons, they are not given the approval from their parents which they ultimately accept to comply with the wishes of their parents as a sign of obedience and respect to them. In the poem “Tso-o mu Terhuopudiü” (Tso-o and Terhuopudiü), the poet talks about two famous lovers, Tso-o and Terhuopudiü from two different villages who met each other on their crusades of tending their herds and continued meeting each other on the said profession:

Cü suonuolo di Terhuopudiü?

Tso-o Tso-o nei kemo-u sü,

Zoshü imu puo nou suo zosie,

Pfhetie mese puo mhidzünüo tu;

.....

Thopfhinou zou nie khou khiera shü,

Cü cülie di thie rei tsu keze, (20-24, 28-29)

Translation:

(When her mother asked her who he was,

She replied, “that was Tso-o, the one despised by our family.”

She grieved.

Brushing the hem of her skirt with her fingers, she quietly shed some tears.

.....

Plucking out the head of his spear and placing it near his daughter’s plate-

“Eat that and go meet your lover even today,” he warned her.)

(20-24, 28-29)

In this narrative poem, the speaker details the entire plot of the legend of *Tso-o* and *Terhuopudiü*, the two lovers who were bound by their destiny, to be separated for the reason that enmity existed between their villages. It is also seen that the woman was threatened by her father and brothers when the story of their longing for each other came to light. The father even performs the act of taking out the spear’s head for his daughter as a sign of hostility and warning to his own daughter. The spear in itself represents death, killing and bloodshed and that was why the father used it as a symbol of threat. In situations like this, it becomes evident for lovers to be separated.

Another theme related to this is based on a number of poems where the women gave in to an unhappy union. These individuals were known for their intense love for

each other but no matter how much they longed for their union to happen, they had to separate from each other and move on to different spouses. In the most celebrated anonymous Angami-Naga poem “Our Love”, translated by D. Kuolie, we yet again see an unfulfilled passion between two people who had to be separated to obey their parents’ wishes but finally meet again on a festival:

Our love wished for marriage;
 Our family felt not friendly to consent,
 Wedded me [to] a [an] known lady from afar
 But to leave you to be
 The wife of someone else, I felt jealous, my love. (1-5)

The narration with its part shifting from the man and the woman, the man is first seen here expressing his regret on not marrying the love of his life after being forced to marry another lady.

Here, in both these poems, both the man and the woman stand as victims but it is to be realised that in most cases, it was the man who had the upper hand in asking for the hands of the woman. According to their culture, it is never the place of the woman or her representatives to approach the man for that would be considered a shame. Rather, it is the man who would approach the woman after performing rituals to see for signs and approval from the ‘spirits’ and to proceed with his proposal through his representatives is a sign considered for a positive approval. Here, the existence of patriarchy proves its function as a woman has no say but of her parents. Submission, docility and obedience stand for the woman even if she has no longing to marry the man because it is the parents who decide.

Adultery and its consequences are serious issues which were something not tolerated by society. In connection with women's rights here or justice, men were rarely given consequences or were even lauded over their triumph and their promiscuous nature, while women were dealt with in the worst way. We recollect the poem "Sopfünüo" and its plot and how her husband in his state of pride and perhaps for another wife, sent her away from his house leading to her disappearance. The man, in his hypothetical attempt to commit adultery sends her away, "Go', you chase me out of the home" (5) as it is seen in another line, "Lot of girls compete to be your suitor" (3) indicating that he was receiving attention from multiple or 'lot' of women to be his lover.

As collected from one of the interviews, it is said that women caught committing adultery were left to the mercy of the womenfolk/wife of the man she cheated with leading to severe humiliating actions on her or could simply lead to the decision of cutting away the tip of her nose as a sign of marginalising her from the society, a mark she was to carry forever. In some rare cases if she was impregnated out of wedlock or adultery, the foetus is killed by a manual termination method leading to excruciating pain and distress (Chadi).

Women and their rights are ignored for the most obvious reason, patriarchy and its pang which led to their gender being handicapped in all aspects, emotionally, mentally and socially. For this, the womenfolk of the Angami-Nagas suffered being controlled and subjugated while their existence itself was not met with a warm reception in the first place. This is an age-old theme which existed and has been existing in the canon of Naga writers in general.

iii. On Social Stratification: The Existence and Extend of Equality in the Society

Social stratification is always a necessary evil prevalent in all kinds of society and periods of time. On the matter of characterising, there is always the division of 'haves' and 'have not'. It can be in the form of absolute authority with the 'divinely' appointed king, exploiting his subjects. It can be in the form of 'race' as Hitler believed in and for which he called for the extermination of the Jews. It can be in the form of communalism which grew into hatred for which India witnessed the birth of the two nations in 1947, which is unfortunately still slightly prevalent in India. It can be in the form of power and control of materials for which Marxism came into the light to expose the existing heaven and hell like gap between the classes, i.e., the proletariat and the bourgeois. Slightly related to these was the stratification between the rich and the poor which existed in the Angami-Naga society. As defined by the Oxford Dictionary, status refers to "rank, social position, relative importance" (749). Thus, to analyse how the structure is formed, there is a need to first understand how status was built or what defined status before going into the division of the two groups. There are two types of status in the Angami-Naga society in the accumulation of the collection from some Angami-Naga interviewees:

First was the 'social status' which comes from their possessions which were necessary for their livelihood. The people in the community were stratified according to their possessions like lands, woods, livestock (more precisely, bull, cows, mithun) and even their stock of grain and beer.

The second was the 'personal status' which comes from the collection of their trophies which are actually marks of their bravery, courage, excellent hunting skills and sportsmanship. (These are statuses which can be achieved only by men) It can be

trophies which are collected from parts of their prey; for example- a warrior can be accounted for the number of heads the person collects from his killings, or in some cases the number of earlobes. As one of the legends is recounted from one of the interviews, a brave warrior who in his desperate and in a time-bound attack, attempted to collect his ‘trophy’. But as he was still in the land of his enemies and could be discovered and hunted again, resorted to cutting the ear lobes of his enemies for convenience’s sake. It can also be trophies in the form of bird feathers or antlers and horns of herbivorous animals. These trophies could be seen in their houses which are kept as decorative items or are reflected in their attires (Kerhüo).

The disparity between the rich and the poor was extreme. The poor lived at the mercy of the rich. First of all, it should be remembered that labour and material were extremely important for the people. Thus, these were the basic language of their ‘economic dealership’ as barter was carried in the form of exchange between materials and services. Here is a practical exposition of how this ‘dealership’ is carried out based on the narrative of an interviewee. A poor man is born with a small land or no land, to till and grow crops for which his resources become limited for several reasons. His crop is insufficient for his ever-growing family with more mouths to feed every year as the society encourages the practice of having a ‘big family.’ It could also be the famine which affected everyone but the rich man, for he had stored enough grains helped by many hands in the previous cultivation and harvest. In his attempt to feed his children, he approaches the rich man and asks for some grain in exchange for his service for a day on the rich man’s land. (This was the usual way of dealing with or if the situation were to be extreme, the rich could even exploit the poor by extending the days of the service) The exchange is done with the grant of one small basket of grain amounting to a day of service which equals eight to ten hours of labour (7:00 am- 3:00/5:00 pm). This

small container (see fig. 2) is not sufficient and thus the poor man has to continue for more days resulting in missing his own work in his puny land.



Fig. 2

In another instance, the poor man may also witness the death of one of his family members for which he has to fulfil

the religious obligation by distribution of meat to each household in the village.

Source: Tsurho, Shurhonuo. *Basket of Grain*. January 20, 2019.

Since he does not own a bull or a cow but a plot of land, he will approach the rich man once again to trade his land as a wager in return for livestock in the hope that he will be able to bail the land with his service. In most cases, the poor man has to work in his own land for survival, ultimately leading to the failure of tending his service to the rich man and finally having his land seized by the rich man (Tsurho; Kerhüo).

In the monologue-like poem “The Hearts of the Youth” (*Khriesariüü Noule*) by D. Kuolie, the two speakers who are supposedly lovers, exchange their longing for each other as they lay out their desires as well as their situation to one another. In this poem, the most prominent part is on the monologue of the man where he expresses to his lover, his apprehension of not having wealth and property for himself, which he assumes is a hindrance:

Puo hie-o vi puo kinyi pesie,

Zudi-o thu puo phriemia pehe-

Kezha nhie we theguo chüya shie.

.....

Zo ba derei hie neiü ze hie-

Kelie jü rei mhale mo lho nhie? (17-19, 22-23)

Translation:

(With a life of tenacity and wealth,
with kingly wines to feed his folks,
they live with all these to their heart's content.

.....

I may not be able to give you a life of wealth

But I pray that you will not fall for a thought of regret.) (17-19, 22-23)

The poem presents two basic ideas about the 'possible' suitors of the woman here; firstly, it exposes the 'tenacity' of the man which directs the state of mind and zest for life in excess. The second and most important note is on the 'wealth' with which the man is able to share with his people in the form of- "kingly wines" and to live "to their heart's content".

The point of focus here is on the object 'wine' as it is something that only rich people can acquire. It is through this direction we understand the implication that possession of material signifies wealth and status. Thus, the man tries to use the object 'wine' as a symbol of wealth to present the idea that he is a man of poverty without possessions (both as the main object- wine, and perhaps possession of land and livestock).

To give a further analysis, one can take the account of the act of 'performing feasts' which leads to the social mobility of a man. This ritual will be discussed in the next section.

(a) Semiotic: Wine and Walls, a Necessary Sign for Wealth

Taking in the application of semiotics (study of signs and symbols), the Angami-Naga poetry seeks to show how these signs serve as a mark of wealth and abundance. Status for these people is mostly based on ‘Ascribed’ and to some hard-earned extent ‘Achieved’. This is because of the tradition of passing hereditary properties and lands. These lands play a crucial role in pushing a person’s status upward as it is through these, their version of ‘bond’ leading to both ‘servitude’ and/or seizing of properties.

Before discussing the issue, Kerhüo, in her interview, states that it is important to pay heed to the first step of ‘acquiring’ this status i.e., holding the grand feast. This is done through a process called ‘*shahzha*’ which can be completed only by someone possessing a huge amount of wealth in the form of rice, beer, and meat to share with the entire village as a feast. This act can be done more than once and for which they are given the privilege of maintaining the decorated plank (see fig. 3).



Fig. 3

Source: Tsurho, Shurhonuo. *Decorated Wooden Plank*. November 12, 2020.

One important aspect of this was seen in the detailing or decorations carved in wooden planks which bear meaning and are used in the hope of attaining these qualities in life. The emphasis cannot be laid on how it is made or what it is made of as it is not the objective here. But with a sociological perspective, there certainly is a need to understand the value of the planks by adding some questions; Who are the individuals or group of individuals worthy of possessing or authorizing these planks? How is it 'acquired?' What are the meanings attached to these symbols? Thus, only the wealthy can host these kinds of feasts for the entire community.

There are two types of acquiring these planks, both involving social importance. Firstly, it can be acquired for a village for which a village gate is acquired. Secondly, it is the personal significance which be acquired only by people who have completed the process, *shahzha* for which this elaboration is made (Kerhüo).

iv. Representation of Life and Respect Towards Life

Khrüzie puo ü teiso üdinu,

Hie neiunuo thu kesou ze kho;

Pejüwa di la'rü hie zhü gei,

Melou thekre phicha hie zhü tsie,

Hie va chü ü hie puonuo ki pu.

Translation:

(On a moonlit shine, thinking it was already daybreak,

I hurried my love to go with me;

But lost him and I came, falling to my bed,

Pinching my heart and kicking my feet,

But when my father came to ask, I lied on having a stomach ache.) (1-5)

This is an anonymous poem “On a Moonlit Shine” about a woman who just called her lover to accompany her for an errand. But as the moonlit sky deceived them for the day, they became easy targets for enemies/warriors aiming for strayed individuals. The woman managed to escape but the man was not fortunate like her, and ultimately got killed. On making her run, she came falling to her bed, unable to still comprehend her shock and grief, she reciprocated with heart-wrenching acts but on being asked about her erratic behaviour, she was to lie to her father saying she is just having a stomach pain.

In this short but picturesque narrative poem, the reader is made to feel and actually see grief in action. Grief can come in multiple ways; a mother losing a child, a wife losing a husband or a youth losing a good friend, etc. To value life and to respect it simply translates to ‘reciprocation’, again in many ways. Elegy according to the Oxford English dictionary means “a sad poem” or “a lament for a dead person” (“Elegy” 178). It is a written or performed work which centres around the deceased as its main subject for both praise, glorification and grief. In the evaluation of Angami-Naga poets, it is observed that elegy has been one of the few channels for the ‘reciprocation’ of losses.

The poem discussed above is one which threads out multiple scenes and emotions, especially for the woman and her society with its infamous killing for sports, vengeance and even for status. It is pain and the reality of life which makes mankind more ‘humane’ as it is something for all to go through.

The past Angami-Nagas are known for their passionate respect towards life, both humans and other forms. Through their writings, it can be seen that they are deeply ‘empathetic beings’ whose attitudes towards life are sincerely true and lasting. Dino,

one of the most prominent Tenyidie poets, who is known for her simple language yet deep and moralistic themes wrote the poem “Our Life” (translated by D. Kuolie) urging the readers to respect one’s own life. The poem represents the ethos of the Angami-Nagas’ concept of life:

Our life is not nothingness;

Our life is a truest thing’

Our life is not just a dream;

Our life is a deepest thing.

.....

Our life can make the day;

Our life can make the night;

Our life is made by ourselves;

Our life is dismantled by ourselves. (1-4, 9-12)

In this poem, one is made to understand the meaning and purpose of life. The study here is indeed based on the collective response of the subject group i.e., the Angami-Nagas, it is, however, necessary to realise that that ‘collective’ feeling or understanding of life was strangely absorbed by the people in general as this sub-section will bring in the idea of valuing a life and mourning losses of lives.

In connection with death and grief, a beautiful anonymous poem, titled “Rheizetuoü” can be brought in. It is a poem about a woman and her lover who were sharing their deep thoughts about each other in the jungle while plucking and picking plants. This, however, turned unfortunate as *Rheizetuoü* was killed (Supposedly attacked by a wild beast) leaving the man alone. Towards the middle of the poem, the narration shifts to the voice of the woman, now as a soul and sharing her longings:

Hie phou keka hie puonuo ki pu

Pu zotuo ro hie puonuo bunu;

Puo hie shülie puo mho tawaluo.

.....

Sopro mevi la'rü nie co gei:

Zo zhatuo mu a zuo kra hieluo. (21-23, 28-29)

Translation:

(If you choose to share about my demise with my father,

Tell him to keep my share before drinking,

By dipping his finger into his cup and dripping a drop.

.....

Tell my mother not to cry,

For I will come and sit upon the walls as a butterfly.) (21-23, 28-29)

This poem presents two main key points on the treatment of life:

Firstly, the level of love and life is reflected through the woman longing to linger in the mortal world. On this note, the woman has asked her father to keep her share by dipping his finger into his drink and throwing a drip out of his cups; it shows their belief in 'keeping the share' of the spirits of their loved ones. This can be done not only with the drink but even with food as they may scoop and keep aside a small handful of it. This act is a mere sign of remembrance and love towards their loved ones whom they believe are still with them in their immortal/spiritual form. Though it is different from the elaborate rituals and can be dismissed as a mundane act, the meaning behind the act is immense as they believe in making their spirits a part of them/their world. The sense of longingness and love attached to pain and regret can be felt from this act.

Hence, the woman (through the author's narration) expresses her desire to be with her father and to be remembered by making her request.

Secondly, the level of respect towards life is heightened as it mentions a possibility of a reincarnation, in this case, in the form of a butterfly, through which the need for valuing and caring for all forms of life is implied. The Naga tribes in general share similar beliefs and traditions (Kerhüo).

Similar to the Angami-Nagas, the Ao-Nagas also believe in the existence of life beyond the mortal realm, the spiritual journey towards the resting place and the existence of supernatural elements. Temsula Ao, a renowned and celebrated Ao-Naga writer wrote the poem "Soul-Bird" based on this belief. As it can be accounted, "In ancient Ao-Naga religion there is a belief that when a person dies, the soul takes the shape of a bird, an insect or sometimes even a caterpillar. The sighting of birds, especially of hawks, is considered to be the last appearance of the loved one on earth" (Ao 5). Here is an extract of the poem which presents the main idea:

It moved in hesitant circles
 Emitting an unearthly sound,
 Hawk-eyes seemingly riveted

 She draws me closer
 Whispering in my ear,
 'See that keening bird in the sky?
 That's your mother's soul
 Saying her final goodbye, (8-10, 28-32)

This poem is about a girl whose mother died and is supposedly revisited by the mother in the form of a hawk, circling around them while being spotted by the grandmother. This poem exposes the similarity between the two communities; Ao-Naga and Angami-Naga as it brings in the common belief in the afterlife and the sign made by the spirit; the former through the poem “Soul Bird” in the form of a hawk and the latter through the poem “Rheizetuoü” in the form of a butterfly.

Eulogy fused with poetry was part of the Angami-Nagas as these forms of verse were sung and/or said at funerals. These heart-wrenching yet heartfelt poems express anguish yet they also cherish the lives of the deceased. Here is a poem “Neisolhoulie and His Friends” by Tuonuo where the speaker is the grandmother of the boy Neisolhoulie:

Neisolhoulie a kekhrieyo sü,
Puo jü toupie a se nu tsurü;
Kelhou kesa riina kevi nu;
Lhoutatuoü pupie tsali chü,
Zo baya rei hie le mo ba ru;
Puo pfu puo pfü petsuwa dinu
Hie khriezüko puo phou kazhü shie.

.....

Thie Nagamia zho ketho-u we
Zhie rüingou rei keviu kese;
Terhü chü rei mia kevimia si:
Voriücaü puotei we rüdi. (1-7, 15-18)

Translation:

(My beloved Neiselhoulie,

Carrying his hoe and visiting me,
 Singing a song-
 “We will live with a new life in the new land.”

I could not understand it at first;
 One day, after sending his parents away
 We lost away our precious ones.

.....

You look at our true Naga culture,
 We used only good spears and *sword-dao*,
 Even amid a war, great warriors were recognised:
 But now, things have changed with time.) (1-7, 15-18)

This poem is based on the true yet, tragic historical account of the date 18 February 1976, when an unattended hidden bomb planted by the Japanese troops during the Second World War exploded in Kohima and took the lives of eight boys (including the grandson of the speaker of the poem).

The speaker of the poem further laments the lives lost as she points to the fault/reason for the explosion, calling it a dishonourable act as she recounts how the war was fought with the best weapons and with complete awareness of one's enemies.

It is the woman's sheer desperation which repeatedly calls out for the unjust and immoral nature of the death which is uttered and further recorded through this poem. As the woman reminisces about the time when her grandson was still alive, she recollects how he was singing a song foreshadowing his own death and the fate that was ahead of him.

One of the most repeated ‘subjects’ for elegy among the Angami-Naga poetry is the poems written about Zapuphizo, the legendary Naga freedom fighter and the face of Naga resistance. For all his sacrifice, methods, vision and his sincerity for the said cause, he was respected and loved by the Nagas, especially his own community people, the Angami-Naga tribes. Here is an elegy titled “Zapuphizo” written by Medo:

*Kepenuopfü puo zuo va nunu,
 Kedakelie u Seyie puo-u;
 Lhou zo sierü puo za khaki chü,
 Kelie mho nu Kepenuopfü khrie,
 Pfükelie la Kepenuopfü thuo,
 Ja puo tsü di puo kevi pete,
 U seyie la pevokeshüko,
 Yopuopuo di menuo leshü ro,
 Puo nou dietho Kepenuopfü prei,
 kekhrie puo tshu puo noule meya,
 Mia zhazhü sie puo zhazhü le mo.
 Puo diepuko mia nou thupeluo,*

Translation:

(The father of the nation,
 the chosen one of God made even before his birth;
 his life proved true to his given name,
 and the favour of God was upon him,
 For all these,
 he was blessed by God,
 on a detailed account of his efforts-

he gave his all for the nation,
 he feared God and was true to Him,
 he was full of love and kindness,
 he always put others first before himself,
 his words brought comfort to his people.) (1-12)

Through this poem about Zapuphizo, one is to draw the essence of 'patriotism'. But besides this, this poem stands out as an acclamation of reverence towards Zapuphizo who is addressed as the "father of the nation." For all his goodness and effort, he is praised as second to a prophet for the Angami-Naga people. Besides seeing him as chosen by God Himself, the poet chooses words such as 'gave his all', 'feared God', 'full of love and kindness', selflessly 'put [putting] others first before himself' and having the charisma in bringing 'comfort to his people.'

While this poem narrates the superb quality of the subject cornering more towards 'praise' and glory, in another instance/poem "Zapuphizo" written by Mhiesisevi Terhüja (and on the same subject), the theme of regret and lamentation is made:

Mia die mia phrie chüta khrie dinu,
Zapuphizo Nagamia mezhie,
Rükhruotuo ü tuo chiekeshü nhie,
U Nagamia puo sie kepie jü;
Keta lanu puo bu u gei ja. (6-10)

Translation:

(To save his people from captivity,
 Zapuphizo made his journey,

To share the plight of the people,
 But no one came behind him,
 And for this he had to bear grudges.) (6-10)

Through these lines, the poet again assembles the reasons made against the beloved leader even when he was full of sincere cause for the people.

Most of these elegies are written as structured around his birth, his contribution and his ultimate death for which the poet laments his early death. As seen in another poem by Satuo Yiese with the same title “Zapuphizo” once again, the poet mentions how “*Nie kesepie urazou shü tso, / La’r tso mu teigei pfhesei ja, / Thela kejü Nagamia pfhelha.*” (As you were prepared and sent to our homeland/ the rainbow spread on the sky/ the everlasting Naga flag) (8-10). In these lines, the poet dramatizes the actual event of his funeral as people recount how a rainbow was seen when his remains were brought back home. This, the poet and many others see as a sign of an important and epic sign of blessing.

For a society to exist in harmony and prosper, there is always a need for love and respect towards each other, more specifically towards ‘life’. As discussed earlier through the thoughts of Aristotle on ethics, the true purpose of life, being ‘happiness’ can be achieved through a stance of balance between the two extremes; deficiency and excess. Although there exists the social stratification in the society, it may be realised that the early Angami-Naga society lived a life of simplicity. For this, the “mean between the two extremes” comes into the picture where their priority lies mostly on primary needs i.e., food, shelter and warmth and to some extent on status. There is no sense of ‘deficiency’ as the society is a deeply knitted community in kindness shown to one another.

v. Feeling of Oneness: Nationalism in Naga Society

Nationalism is the feeling of oneness among people. In the Naga setting, the feeling of oneness was present only within the particular tribe at the initial stage when one tribe is an enemy to the other tribe as evident in the history of headhunting practices. This feeling got widened when Nagas began their struggle against the Indian government for freedom. The individual Naga tribes joined hands to form a united Naga body imbued with the spirit of nationalism. The increasing sense of oneness to fight for nationhood grew as the Nagas united as one under the banner of the Naga National Council (NNC) which was formerly called the Naga Hills District Tribal Council (NHDTTC). As recorded by Easterine Kire in her book *Walking the Roadless Road*, the NNC in 1946 declared to stand for the solidarity of the Naga tribes. Its first president was Aliba Imti, and T. Sakhrie became its first general secretary. Only in 1946, after his return from Burma, Angami Zapu Phizo joined the NNC (241).

The NNC leader A.Z. Phizo (1913–1990) was acknowledged as the father of Naga Nationalism. He was exposed to Burmese nationalism, saw the effects of the Second World War and came to contact with anti-British organisations such as the Indian Independence League, the Indian National Army of Subhas Chandra Bose and the Japanese intelligence whom he was willing to help to infiltrate into and beyond the administered area of Nagaland. Because of his collaboration with the Japanese, he was imprisoned in Burma by the British. He returned to India after his release from prison (252). Under his leadership, the NNC consolidated and grew as a national movement of the Nagas for freedom. Through his involvement the Naga political consciousness intensified among the people.

The spirit of nationalism diminished as factions were formed out of the NNC. Different factions or groups motivated by different ideologies have given birth to a divided Naga movement. People are confused as to think which of the factions is fighting for the good old cause. It is to be noted that all factions are born out of the goodwill of the leaders to work for the attainment of a free Naga regime. Nevertheless, as time passes on, the good and noble ideologies are misinterpreted and the compatriots with polluted minds began working for their own benefits, name and fame. This is the cause of slow progress in the framework agreement. According to Kire, “the increase in the numbers of factional groups now in present-day Nagaland brings its own problems” (268). There is a decline in the spirit of nationalism as different factions sprouted and bore more fruits of differences and disunity. And with the deaths of two major Naga leaders Isak Swu in 2016, and S.S. Khaplang in 2017, there is a noticeable increase in ideological differences and party loyalties.

The Angami-Naga poets reiterate the evil effects of dividing the united Naga into different factions following the whims and fancies of the leaders. The lamentations on the loss of peace and unity can be read through the lines of the poets who have recounted the shreds of evidence and events which led to this unhappy scenario. The change in the socio-political scenario was not a welcomed one because of the disrupting elements on the peace and unity of the society. Through the eyes of the poets, we can see the tainted picture of the society which has been corrupted by the greed and selfishness of some individuals.

In the book *Raging Mithun* by Abraham Lotha, he recollects on how he grieved over the loss of enthusiasm for the Naga Cause when he visited the 50th anniversary of the United Nations in 1995. This also reveals the decline of the struggle for freedom

after the death of A. Z. Phizo the “Father of the Nagas” in 1990. Several martyrs from other states had been involved in this cause (90). For this cause, the spirit of commonness and oneness was heightened and this is further reflected through the Angami-Naga poems.

The poem “Nagamia Mezhü Jüta Lho” (The Nagas will Not Lose Their Rights) written by Medo reveals the core and staunch nationalistic tone of the people as the poet asserts the rights of the people:

Khrü mu niaki teigei kezhachie;

Japfüthou-u jüta kemochie,

Kerü nu dzü so kemochie,

Dzükezhä nu dzü so kemochie.

Themia pete suo lotsota rei,

U MEZHÜU jütalie lho zo, (2-7)

Translation:

As long as the moon and sun remain,

Until the peak of Mount Japfü disappears,

As long as the river keeps flowing,

Until the water in the ocean runs dry,

Even when every living being turns evil,

OUR RIGHTS will never disappear, (2-7)

The confidence in asserting the right of the Nagas is further pressed as the poet brings together the various circumstances under the law of Nature which can never cease to happen, to the rights of the people, proving his point that the independence of the Nagas is bound to happen. His conviction is further pressed as he calls the

independence of the Nagas their “RIGHT”, intending to share that it is to be given at any cost.

The Nagas have a bitter history when it comes to the public suffering and the military interventions meted out by the Indian Armed Forces. Though there are numerous books written on this, the attention here will be spared to the Angami-Naga poetry and how they reflect these experiences. In one of the poems by Satuo Yiese, “Nagamia Di Zotuoü” (Nagas Will Reign Again), violence and torture are highlighted here:

U tsie u vü u ki u kru the,

U ca hou krei lietsu lievo kha,

Tuo palie suo u nuonuo pekhe;

.....

Rünyie suo rei ketso zolie di, (7-9, 11)

Translation:

(They battered us and burnt our houses,

Confining us and stopping us from going out,

We stayed back while our children starved;

.....

We furnished our inferior weapons,) (7-9, 11)

It is for these reasons and many more that the Nagas had to take up the fight against their enemies even with their “inferior weapons”, indicating that their fight was against something much bigger than their capabilities or standards of their weapons.

In this fight for their “RIGHTS”, history holds the record of hundreds of people who gave their lives, fighting for the cause. In the poem “Message of The Deaths” composed and translated by D. Kuolie, as the title suggests, he envisions the souls of the dead individuals conveying their message to the Nagas of their past struggles for this cause:

Leading the good fellows of the nation
 Of the thickest forests,
 Beyond the endless horizon:
 Roar and roar and back to native land;
 To defend the land beloved
 With patriotism. (1-6)

Through the above lines the reader can get a glimpse of the sacrifices the Nagas made for the cause of a free nation. The poet shows us the reality of the struggle the freedom fighters have undergone. The freedom fighters are “good fellow of the nation” who are led to the forests for training “to defend the land beloved” from the hands of the enemies. They are trained to fight for their beloved land “with patriotism” against the enemies who tried to crush them to nothingness “with all their might and soul” (7).

In the poem “Miavimia Puo” (A Warrior) by Medo, the poet frames the poem in the narrative of a warrior who was killed and his passion towards the cause:

A phou khrie mo a seyieu la,
Zhü ze mo di nhaterha nu lhou.
Nhazü zou cü ngumvümia perhie,

.....

Ngumvüümia gei a khepu zo tha,
Prajolie di a ZIE PEKRUPIE,
A kepenuo kijüu MA chü. (6 – 8, 15 – 17)

Translation:

(I gave my life for my nation,
 Without sleep we lived in the deep forest.
 Plucking and eating the shoots of plants,

 While taking vengeance upon my enemies,
 Unfortunately MY BLOOD WAS SHED,
 It paid the PRICE for my homeland.) (6 – 8, 15 – 17)

The toil and sacrifice that the speaker here spoke of are based on the experiences of the many freedom fighters. It talks of the rigorous training under the shelter of thick forests relying on “shoots of plants” as their food and with no sleep. The speaker here fought a brave fight but was killed. The poet emphasises the phrase “MY BLOOD WAS SHED” and the “PRICE” by using block letters in order to stress the ideologies of the fighters and how they valued the independence of the Nagas as equal to their lives.

In the collective call of the Nagas towards independence of the Nagas, there existed several freedom fighters. This includes people like Haipou Jadonang from Manipur, who was branded as an individual “inspired by Mahatma Gandhi’s policy of non-cooperation with the foreign rulers.” Jadonang was a patriot who wanted his people to be free from forced labour, taxation, and the intolerable rule of the Britishers. (Lotha, 24) While men like Haipou Jadonang existed as a prominent figure in the North-Eastern region, in the lands of the Nagas, the fore-figure was seen to be A. Z. Phizo. As enough

discourse has been made in the previous section, elaborations will not be made. However, a few extracts from some poems will be made again to highlight the importance of the man and the impression he left upon his poem. the first reference here is in the poem “*Zapuphizo*” by Medo, where he said, “*Kepenuopfü puo zuo va nunu, / Kedakelie u Seyie puo-u; / Lhou zo sierü puo za khaki chü*, (The father of the nation, / the chosen one of God made even before his birth; / his life proved true to his given name,) (1-3) where he is called upon by his beloved countrymen as the father of the nation and divinely appointed by God himself. In the poem bearing the same title by Sakuolie K. Kuotsu, the poet says, “*We ndunu theja we serü, / zapuphizo Nagamia Mvüu, / Chü zolie di Seyie chatha*,” (On the day the blessings were given, / *Zapuphizo*, our star, / to be one and to lead people) (1-3). From this extract, he is seen as a true leader again, being called a ‘star’ to lead. There is a good number of poems written on him which are all directed towards his goodness and his leadership qualities. This is a theme of patriotism where the leader is exalted and acknowledged for all his glory and service towards his people.

Several Tenyidie poems exist which deal with the cause of the Nagas, especially poems by D. Kuolie. We see a paradigm shift of interest as well as the courage which was very much needed by the Nagas in the 1990s. We see this theme in the poem “Image of Naga Name” where the poet said:

Nagas, with thoughtlessness,
Perhaps, are becoming empty souls.
It is harsh to think of it.

.....

The image of Nagas is in disgrace. (16-8, 28)

A tone of regret and anguish is felt as the writer remembers the former glory of the Nagas and how with time and a change of culture, people started living a disgraceful life with their “empty souls” and ignoring the rich legacies of their past struggles. On this theme, the said poet also mentions the imagined message of the former fighters through the poem “Message of the Deaths” as a warning and a reminder when they say, “Take this message to younger generation; / Commemorate our sacrifice, though for once, / To show a nation’s pride (10 – 13).

In conclusion, the Tangkhul legend of the beautiful Hornbill bird may be recollected; about a young widow, in desperation who was given refuge and help by a rich man, only to be mistreated by the rich man’s wife. Thus, she ran away, becoming a Hornbill bird to remind people about unity and loving one another through the flapping of her wings. As Lotha had mentioned, Hornbill is a common symbol of “status, valour, beauty and youthfulness” (24) for each tribe, which becomes a repeated symbol of “commonness” and thus binds the people together. Similarly, the poems in this section, though they vary in terms of subject and tone, all point towards one theme i.e., ‘sense of oneness’ united by a common leader and a common objective towards the freedom and transformation of the people.

vi. War and its Ugliness

War and its cause are constantly measured in terms of lives lost and wealth depleted. But there is the issue, the core of it all, i.e., of the futility of it which is mostly meditated upon by poets and philosophers alike. War was an integral part of the Angami-Naga people’s lives where it determined multiple objectives; for the sake of pride, vengeance, defence, building status, collection of trophies and extension of one’s territory. These acts were done either through a small group, a whole troop or even a

single warrior carrying out the killings but with different tactics. The Tenyidie term for ‘war’ is “*Terhü*” which can entertain both the noun (war) and the verb (kill) and its implication is rather glossed more with the grandeur of war and overlooking the act of taking away a life. War was crucial and it was seldom abused by its practitioners. However noble it was or valid its cultural reason it had, it was still an act to be condemned by its people, especially people whose loved ones were taken away from them or with the practitioners themselves making some unavoidable blunders and wasting their own lives or even the lives of their dear ones. As it will be seen in multiple Tenyidie poetry, war has been something never condoned by the poets/speakers and though it is part of their lives and culture, the devastating aftermath is mostly accounted for through the poem, painting war as vicious and disastrous.

Keyho mentions how the early Angami-Naga people respected life and made rituals, asking for more lives and a larger population. But unfortunately, this was rather deduced by the rapid killings and wars leading to a lesser populace. (346)

In one of the anonymous poems, translated by D. Kuolie, “Thy Born Child”, the devastation of war and killing is seen as the wife of the slayed victim reciprocated her emotions through the poem:

Went to trap birds by water one early morning,
 That morning unknown warrior from afar slain him.
 Taking my favourite black shawl with me,
 Ran down hurriedly in skedaddle,
 And covered my dear husband’s body.
 The days when you think me not, nor me in liberality,
 You had parted me not;

[But] When our minds flowed in one course,
 Would thou part me, then? Oh, my beloved! (3-11)

Here, the tone is based on regret as it unveils the relationship between the speaker and the deceased man, revealed to be her husband. As she covers the body with the most favoured shawl, she grieves and admits to how they had to part from each other just when their relationship started growing as “our [their] minds flowed in one course”. Bringing in the matter here, we realise the effect of war/killing upon the speaker and her husband. It is a life lost, but more importantly it is the woman separated from her husband who cannot be brought back and that she will now remain a widow.

On the nature or pattern of war, one may also note that killings were also carried out especially with victims; who are drifted far from the village or in the outskirts, who are wandering alone and at odd hours, who are not with the crowd and especially those who can be easy targets without catching the attention of the community.

Thus, in the said poem, the husband “Went to trap birds by water one early morning” (3) but was killed, proving himself a perfect prey for the hunters as he had moved during an odd hour and alone. Another reference can be seen in the anonymous poem “Khrüzie Puo Ü...” (On a Moonlit Dawn). For the sake of reference, some extracts will be presented again:

Khrüzie puo ü teiso üdinu,
Hie neiunuo thu kesou ze kho;
Pejüwa di la'rü hie zhü gei, (1-3)

Translation:

(On a moonlit shine, thinking it was already daybreak,

I hurried my love to go with me;
 But lost him and I came, falling to my bed,) (1-3)

The most distinctive part here is again on the pattern of how the man was killed. As mentioned, it was still either midnight or early dawn but not daybreak. Meaning it was one of the odd hours that the hunters had anticipated and were waiting for strayed wanderers to pass by. Hence, it is to be concluded that ambush and close vigilance were some of the most common ways to ensure the killings.

Besides these, however, there are killings in terms of an invasion by an entire horde of warriors towards a whole village or community. This is seen through the example of the anonymous poem “Gareiphezou”:

Pedo hu ro kethutiecaü;
No we pedo a we thukhonuo.
Japfüphiki n kewheko ze,
Terhuo nei chü zouü gei keza;
A whuorü mu kuolie suo dinu
Petsurü mu perie tsüye ho

Translation:

(Had it been two bulls, they could have wrestled;
 But you were a bull while I was only a calf.
 You came with the dwellers of the *Japfü* feet, your supporters,
 You killed to please the One;
 You came chasing after me with a might I could not overpower
 I gave way to your victory) (4-9)

This poem is based on the first person narrative with a warrior from the village *Gareiphe* as its speaker. This poem is based on an actual event where the people from Khonoma came to kill the people of Gariphema (called *Gariphezou* then) along with some people from another village. Considering the might, number and power which the invaders carried with them, the speaker had to give in and admit his defeat. On the nature of warfare, unlike the earlier discussed methods, here there is an explicit attack made against a larger group of people unlike the previous attacks which involved single or lesser people. Again, it may also be noted that mightier or bigger villages (Khonoma here) usually attacked smaller units, evidently for more assured victories.

Mass killings/hunting ambushes made by warriors is again another strategy. In another anonymous poem “Chahechü”, the speaker narrates a scene where a peer group were socializing through feasting and courtship. A sudden appearance/attack of the warriors was made in which the man who was with his lover suddenly flees towards his sister, defending and saving her from the killing, “Zoshü metha terhü hechü nu; / Zo lerü mu mia prünuo zo sie. / Mia üpfünuo dzie thera ketse...” (suddenly they came in;/ He went for his sister / grabbing his sister by her hands...) (2-4)

War and its horror are further exposed in the poem “Terhü Geizo” (War Poem) by Chozhüle Kikhi in which the poet elaborately mentions the tragic and fruitless consequences of war and how it destroys lives, both the dead and the living alike:

Nhicu kekra u puonuo pejü;

Kimia kekra u nupfunuo jü;

Tuoü kekra u prünuo pejü;

Sathemi mu merünumia chü.

.....

Terhü lanu unou kechiüko,

Daru cü rei vi lalie molie.

.....

Kesithomia terhü ha pevie,

Miaimia bu kemezhieya die; (7-10, 19-20, 30-31)

Translation:

(Many children became fatherless;

Many wives lost their spouses;

Many lost their brothers;

Becoming widows and orphans.

.....

For the pain caused by war,

No medicine can cure.

.....

The schemers govern the wars,

While the commoners suffer;) (7-10, 19-20, 30-31)

War in any context or given era is always disastrous and for this the poet highlights how it affects especially the common people, the majority who are made to suffer because of the “schemers [who] governs the war” and those who are in power with their schemes destroy lives. It is the public, the family and the individual who loses their loved ones becoming ostracised in the society. It is also the mental and emotional distress from the war which cannot be healed by medicines.

Through this section, a number of poems were discussed directed towards warfare and killings. Though warfare has been a part of the Angami-Nagas' culture and may find a reason to justify it, its consequences cannot be overlooked.

Warfare and killing not only cause harm to the victims but can also affect the warrior. This can be seen through one of the anonymous poems "Mehouviü", translated by D. Kuolie:

Mehouviü saw a dream at every sleep.
 In the house of Morüsa at Kidizou,
 Feasting by plate and drinking by cup
 Are thought of as some good fortune;
 Alas, Mehoviü and Morüsa, the duo,
 Ever come to live to be
 The topic of neighboring villages. (1-7)

This poem is based on the legend of the famous warrior *Moriüsa* and his intended *Mehouviü*. They were from different villages but their fame and worth were known by both the villages because of the man's highly acclaimed status as a great and brave warrior while the woman was known for her physical attributes, skills and nature. This legend is, however, an unfortunate one as it exposes the grim reality of war. As legend has it, the man in an attempt to impress his intended (who was still unknown to him), sought to 'fetch' a hunt for her. This, he succeeds in doing by killing a woman, but the woman turned out to be his own intended.

In this tone of regret and remorse, it is revealed that *Moriüsa* killed his own fiancé *Mehouviü* for the sake of his pride which he wanted to feed, by killing. This

legend and poetry thus, serve as the best example to expose the irony and futility of war and killing.

vii. Settlement of Disputes and Restoring Peace

Disputes are part of life in a society. They can arise out of misunderstandings or disagreements on a certain issue. They can be related to a fight over land, people or properties. Disputes do arise as people think and act differently. But life has to go on, and for which every society has devised ways and means to resolve disputes. The Angami-Nagas also have some ways in which conflicts and disputes are resolved amicably.

Considering how important and common warfare and killings are for the Angami-Nagas, one may assume a society filled with reckless killings and barbaric behaviours created for the then Angami-Naga society. This is, however, not true. The society was rather based on a sound and organised system of judgment where punishments were carried out according to the crimes. In this case, for a crime involving the killing of a person by ‘accident’ or ‘unintended’ the person can be exiled from the village for a certain period of time (usually seven years).

Here is a poem for reference, “*Metou-lhou-nyüo*”, an anonymous poem which talks about a man from Kohima village known for his war skills but was exiled for a mistake. His mistake was an accidental killing of a man: “Kewhimia zie kechüu sünüo, / Terhü chü pa gei kesuo-o gei / Zowa dinu ta ura tsurü” (You were the face of your people, of Kohima, / On your war you killed someone who was not your enemy / For this you came to our village) (1 – 3). From this short extract it is understood that the warrior though known for his strength and fame, killed someone who was not his enemy and for this he was exiled, casting him away from his village, Kohima village.

4.2.6. Conclusion

Nature is a source of life as seen from the sections discussed above. It is through this sense of gratefulness that the Angami-Naga poetry is based on portraying Nature as the sole lifeline of their society while worshipping with all their might. Nature presents both a kind, loving and empathetic being who blesses mankind but at the same time, it is also this same Being which can bring destruction. In short, nature is both praised and feared as it blesses and also kills. For this understanding, a wide range of poetry is written in this discourse.

Culturally speaking, the Angami-Naga society is one which has undergone a load of transformation which changed their point of view over many things. It is on this aspect that the society sees the division of phases as seen through the analysis of Comte and of Keyho as their writings both exposed the shift of beliefs and lifestyle which ultimately changed their culture and attitude. However, one prominent feature can be noticed here, i.e., though beliefs and culture changed with time, the ethical moral values and the urgency to implement them are present throughout the decades of their writings, proving the society worth mentioning for all its traditional practices.

CHAPTER 5: CLASSIFICATION OF TENYIDIE POETRY

5.1. Traditional Poetry

5.1.1. Introduction

The Angami-Naga poetry is vast in its number and anthologies with a collection of more than five hundred poems recorded and published under the main house, the Ura Academy Publication House for over many decades. These poetry anthologies serve in guiding students and scholars alike, in navigating the traces of the socio-historical, socio-political and gender-related issues of society in general. They also serve to elaborate the various themes ranging from elegies and proclamation of love and respect towards a beloved individual to the exposition of human greed and their vices, from folk poetry and folk narratives to modern problems and issues, from the zeal of Christianity to poems embedded with animism and superstitious. These are the various poems swept together for a swift introduction to the Angami-Naga poetry. However, on further analysis, it may be observed that their poetry was an expansion of variation in terms of theme, forms, nature, origin and purpose.

This chapter is an attempt to categorise the Angami-Naga poems into four categories, the four being the most prominent forms/types of poetry in this case:

1. Oral
2. Invocation
3. Romantic
4. Modern

These four classifications may be seen overlapping each other frequently as they all share similarities in some ways. For this, the chapter will be divided into two sections, namely, Traditional Poetry and Modern Poetry and under which the above-

mentioned forms will be discussed with oral and invocation under the former while romantic and modern under the latter. Besides the term ‘oral’ and ‘invocation’, ‘folk’ poetry (also synonymously used for ‘lyrical poetry’) can also be included in this first section.

5.1.2. Traditional Poetry: Its Nature and Themes

The term ‘Folk poetry’ can be appropriately used under the category of Traditional poetry as it is the poetry which finds itself rooted in the deep community of the Angami-Naga people and is also the ‘genesis’ of what the Tenyidie poetry is all about. As it has been emphasised sufficiently in the third chapter of the thesis, further elaboration will not be made. It is, however, worth mentioning once again that folk poetry is an important genre among the classifications mentioned above. Just as the words of Arthur Compton-Rickett had been observed earlier on the oral tradition of the Anglo-Saxon, and that “The earliest English literature is unwritten. It consists of songs and legends, heroic and stirring in character, sung... (4), the same can be said for the Angami-Naga folk poetry or folk song. It can be understood from here that the folk poetry of the natives was the fruit of the oral tradition and its common use among the people. These are the poems which facilitated people to bind the community with a sense of oneness and belongingness.

It is one of the forms which can be considered the first genre among the Angami-Naga society which served for; singing and aesthetic pleasure, communication and expression of emotions and for the narration of a plot.

On its first purpose, it can be said that folk poetry can also be taken as synonymous with, “examples of “lyrical poetry”, or commonly referred to as the folk poem/ songs now” (Pou 98). Singing is a crucial part of the Angami-Naga society for

it is the lyric infused with the melody or even harmonies to create music soothing for auditory reception and pleasure. J. J. Hutton in his work “The Angami-Nagas” collected several poems under the sub-topic “Angami Songs”. Note that the heading is made as “songs” and not “poems” which leads to the justification that the Angami-Naga folk songs and folk poems were synonymous. With this, one of the non-translated Angami-Naga poetry will be cast along the division of the ‘nine (9) syllable rule’ as discussed earlier under Stylistics in Chapter 3 to prove that folk poems are for singing and for recitation. Here is an extraction (see table 4) of three lines from the folk poem “*Thanuo*” for the sake of a clearer understanding:

Table 4

Sample of a Tenyidie Poem Deconstructed into 9 Syllables

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Tha-	du	Ke-	rie	pfü	ke-	nyü	ü-	die;
Pfü	ke-	nyü	ro	di-	chü	hie	tha	du,
Pe-	suo-	wa	di	the-	pfu	ke-	mo-	o.

Under the second purpose, for ‘communication and expression of emotion’, it is to be understood that folk poetry was clearly used for the purpose of creating a dialogue-like poem where single, double or multiple speakers are given the chance to express or exchange words. These lines are purely made for conversations in which the speakers may either express their love for each other or even share their distress towards each other. Death and marriage or wooing among young lovers are frequently used themes in the list of folk poetry as will be seen even in the other poems and for this reason, these three themes will be used here.

Folk poetry was so called for a reason as it included the whole community for its performance or that the need and use were known and understood by all. On this note, it is once again worth mentioning the example of the use of elegies. In a typical setting of the Angami- Naga household where one has died, here, one can imagine the scene filled with the whole community cramped inside the house and courtyard of the deceased. While some are occupied with the responsibilities of preparing meals and butchering livestock to be distributed for social obligations, the so-called singers can be seen and heard, inside the house singing their own words derived from their own creative version of their personal attachment with the deceased.

Here is a lamentation sung by Lhouyanuo Chadi from an interview that deals with the sudden death of a young man:

Ei-he, Ei- he,

(A nuo was sü lhou sier) N kelhou lhou sie puo tei pete nu,

Nhicu mhozü nunu phichü nhicu nei chü vo 'rü,

Khuzü khunhie puo rei mia nei kemo die puya mo, (a nuo sü!)

(jü chie rei lhou wate shi) kijü chie rei lhou wate shi,

(Rünoumothorlie, a nuo sü, Ukepenuopfü medo mu)

No kijü nu ba pechalie lho cüla mia nei kemo chümo tuote.

(Jüchie rei lhouwate shi, a nuo sü!)

Ketsakechiemia nei pete chü vor di, lhou pecha mote mu ha (U ruothorlie, rünoumothorlie)

(Mha kekrei puo chücüwa, pfhenei mha kehou puo rei khipie n sou lie chü, mia tsüwa di n kelalie tie cü süu mo mu)

Translation:

Ei-he, ei-he,

(My child, you grew up) You grew up to be one,

To cheer everyone, young and old alike,

Never did you say a word to hurt people, (Oh my child!)

(How short was your life lived!) Oh! how short was your life lived.

(It is remorseful! Oh, my child! But it is the will of the Almighty)

You lived to cheer everyone because your life was destined to be short-lived.

(How short was your life lived, my child!)

You lived a life pleasing even the old and aged ones but you died young.

(It is regretful! It is remorseful!)

(Had it been a different situation where we could bring you back by trading you with clothes or other materials, we would have done that)

It may also be noted that the elegy can be both sung as well as spoken (the ones under bracket are only to be spoken). Here, the speaker/singer reveals her deep anguish over the death of the young man who died too soon and thus the piece fulfils the purpose of “communicating” her emotions.

On marriage or courtship, here is a specimen to be analysed under this genre translated by Easterine Kire for which the morphology and narratology of the poem will be observed closely. “Adzügweü” is a dialogue poem between two lovers on the subject of love, courtship and social status. The poem follows the three morphological processes; the introduction or opening of the problem, the convincing and debate and finally the derivation or conclusion. The lovers are deep in their emotions as they share

dreams about being together and also detail their apprehensions sourcing from the reality around them:

Woman:

My dear love, let us marry you said

But all things fall according to the will of the goddess

For marriage is not a trivial thing.

Man:

He who would marry you

Will return from far Sehuju

Where he had wandered off to

I hate to be far from you, my love. (1-7)

These lines call for an ‘introduction’ of the problem and presentation of the situation. Here, the speakers are two lovers whose dialogues are exchanged. The poem itself explains what had happened with the two lovers presented in a train of the plot line in its narration. The first passage opens with the woman claiming her desire to marry but also weary of the “will of the goddess” or the ‘*Terhuopfü*’. The woman is sharing her desire for marriage while the man is stating that she should be married to someone with better prospects. The poem being a folk poetry highlights the place of the ‘goddess’ at the pedestal as it was done.

Woman:

Others have bought me with money

Why should you then, fear them?

Those who have eclipsed other men

Are warriors, and those who have won many women

Are also thought of as great.

One day when we go forth to fetch wood

And to gather herbs with *Yahu-u*

Let us, beloved, part from others.

Man:

We would love to part from others

But you women are known to use charms. (8-17)

These lines call for the purpose of ‘persuading’, ‘convincing’ or the debating stage. In these paragraphs, the lovers are engaged in another discussion as to why their relationship should and should not thrive. While the woman claims that the man is to pursue her, the man shares his apprehension of the relationship by blaming the use of “charms”.

Woman:

I went to the woods with my parents

All the day long I waited for you to make your suit

But my waiting was in vain and I returned to the village

With not a word passed between us.

Man:

I stood far off and gazed on my beloved’s place

“Who might my beloved have married?”

Thus I wondered and remorse came upon me afresh. (18-24)

These ending paragraphs are now calling for a ‘conclusion’ of the plot as the cause and effect of the characters’ actions are revealed. While the woman waited for the man to come for her hand, the man is revealed to have done nothing and therefore

he is late in his approach and thus is left wondering whom the woman had married and finally feeling the pangs of regret. The woman is seen persistently informing the man of her intentions but the man is seen keeping away her intentions with reasons mostly dealing with his social status and the better prospects the woman could have by not marrying him. In the end, the man is left with regret as he is touched by the realization that his beloved had already married someone else. As mentioned under the objective earlier, this poem also proves how folk poetry enables a detailed “narration of the plot” besides the elaboration of emotion.

Thus, from the poems discussed above, it becomes evident that folk poetry was used intensely as the main source of channelling emotion and narrating an event to both the subject in the poem or the passive listeners.

5.1.3. Oral Poetry: Its Significance

In retrospection of past lives, oral poetry goes a long way in helping poetry survive. The art of story-telling, reciting and reliving the forms through oral tradition is the most common way of keeping a culture alive. It is also because of this reason that a good number of Angami- Naga poems are based on oral tradition. It is because of this tradition that one is reminded of the poem “The Arrow and the Song” by H. W. Longfellow whose lines state:

I breathed a song into the air,

It fell to earth, I knew not where;

.....

And the song, from the beginning to end,

I found again in the heart of a friend. (5-6, 11-12)

The art and its content are always to be found in the hearts of its listeners, its carriers. But it is unfortunate to recall that this is a dying tradition as the carriers of this art are disappearing from the face of the earth while others are forgetting the art itself. For this, the scholar K. B. Veio Pou has rightly referred to this tradition in his work *Literary Cultures of India's Northeast: Naga Writings in English* as a dying culture and terms his chapter under the title “And they Began to ‘Forget’: Impact of Westernization and Christianisation on Naga Culture.” Pou in his writing makes his point as to how a rich legacy of the people’s culture was lost due to the invasion of the outsiders or in his own word the “white” people which made the natives turn “their backs on their own songs and stories to learn new ones from the foreigner” and how all these lead to “how they began to ‘forget’” (59).

Memory is a powerful tool for the sake of bringing a sense of oneness to a community. But in a culture where literacy had not existed, it becomes impossible for people to preserve these memories. In the Angami-Naga culture, however, the remedy had been an oral tradition which proved essential in spreading and maintaining stories, legends, myths, etc.

One example we find appropriate for this is the poem “Mehouviü”, translated by D. Kuolie. “Mehouviü”, like many other oral poems is one composed by an anonymous writer (much like the 6th century Beowulf) but had remained all these years due to memory and the power of oral tradition. The short poem is about two individuals Mehoviü and Morüsa who were intended to be married but tragedy unfolded, leading to the death of the woman Mehoviü:

Mehoviü saw dream at every sleep.

In the house of Morüsa at Kidizou,

Feasting by plate and drinking by cup

Are thought of as some good fortune; (1-4)

In these lines, it can be understood that the dreams of the woman were all mere foreshadows of what was to come. She had always dreamt of dining and eating at “the house of Morüsa at Kidizou” but could never comprehend the meaning. It was finally only towards the end of her life that the dream made sense and that her death (precisely her head) was supposedly the trophy all along for people to have the reason to dine and celebrate: “Alas, Mehoviü and Morüsa, the duo, / Ever come to live to be / The topic of neighbouring villages.” (5-7)

In an extended explanation of the poem by the editor of the anthology *Üca*- 53, Shürhozelie writes the history of the poem. Here, the editor mentions that the unfortunate legend is based on the life of a famed warrior named Morüsa from Kidima village who, in his pursuit to marry, found a suitable woman from another village. The union had been confirmed and on the day on which the woman, Mehoviü was to come for the marriage, the man suddenly wanted to impress his new wife by bringing a trophy from his hunt. Thus, he went on searching for one but could not, until he came across a woman whom the man initially hesitated and considered a waste to kill for, she possessed extraordinary beauty and physique. But because of the impending desire to impress his wife and friends, he killed her. Later, on trying to understand why his betroth never came, the reality appeared that the woman he had killed earlier was none other than his wife-to-be, Mehoviü. The poem is supposedly a lesson on the vanity of war and headhunting. It, however, serves the purpose of showing how this legend became extremely popular among the Angami-Naga people that it actually became immortalised in the form of this poem as it ends with the line “The topic of neighbouring

villages” implying that the story became known to all the villages. This further justifies how oral poetry, in spite of its origin being unknown can last through the instrument of memory and recitation.

Oral poetry is also a reflection of society. The poem, “Kuthungeü” is an oral poetry translated by Easterine Kire which threads in the theme of the unfulfilled passion of a married couple who had to part ways because of societal problems:

Woman:

In our childhood, my husband, we did not know each other

But we were fated to marry and be together

Though you could have mated with someone better than I

(some problems with in-laws indicated)

You were of the younger generation, and I of the elder

Still I loved you.

But your family members held it against me, treated me as an outsider.

Now I think on it, it wasn't necessary to wed early

You should have said, next year or the next,

I was persuaded and came to marry you

And we are together now, bonded in wedlock.

Do not think so deeply of things, treat it as a jest,

So you would counsel because you are naïve still

And cannot fully know the cause of my sadness.

Life is not all jest,

You are young, my husband, but do think seriously of things

And live accordingly, life cannot be disregarded as a jest.

Man:

There were no women that excelled you,

Men better than I will court you

Why don't you go with such men? (6-20)

Here, the lines reflect the attitude of society towards women and in this case the unfortunate woman whose marriage to a younger man is looked upon with judgmental eyes by the people. But when the focus, however, is shifted to the significance of oral poetry, there are certain things to be taken into account. Firstly, the dialogue resembles that of a drama involving its own distinctive characters and their own speeches. Unlike fiction with an omniscient narrator which could give more insights into the plot, oral poetry presents limited perspectives. The versification and division of the poem between the sections 'Woman' and 'Man' justify this point as similar to the previous oral poems discussed. Secondly, the idea of immortalising emotions in the form of a poem is also an important trait of oral poetry as it allows readers to be immersed in the verbal exchange of individuals whose sentiments are personal and truthful. The fact that the woman is expressing her sorrows and "sadness" over marital problems and the societal pressure she is facing along with the insensitivity of the man as chides him to be serious about life and decisions and implores him to know that "life cannot be disregarded as a jest".

Woman:

My loved one's words stayed in my heart

And caused me such pain that I sighed the whole night.

Even green leaves are caused to fall by the wind.

It grieves me, my husband, to think that we could be thus parted. (21-24)

Nature and its elements are highly common in the writings of the Angami-Naga poets and this is evident once again as the woman uses nature in a metaphoric sense to draw her condition. Just as the wind can force green leaves to fall so was the marriage of the woman which ended prematurely. Once again, these lines prove how poems are used as a channel for delivering their deep thoughts of pain, sorrow, betrayal, disappointment or regret in the case of Kuthungeü and her unfulfilled married life.

It is to be noted that oral poetry is scantily found because of the fact that they are passed down from one generation to the next only based on memory. Poems like “Mehouviü” exists solely because of their horrible legacy, trespassing geographical boundaries and having it immortalised for their moral teaching. Thus, it is understood that oral poetry exists through spoken culture and memory-based art. These are some of the main reasons why sourcing and tracing some primary sources and their interpretation proves difficult or rather impossible. For this reason, the discourse for poems in cases related to animism and the old religious practices proved difficult and for which primary sources are rare and its documentation is difficult. Hence, a main sample primary source traced from the translated works of D. Kuolie will be used in its limited state in the next section under the invocation poetry.

5.1.4. Invocation Poetry: Its Purpose and Use

In any culture at any given age or period, religion has been a form of protection and a blessing. In the world of the Angami-Naga people before the coming of Christianity, animism and its form ruled over the people and on which discourses had been made especially in the first chapter of this thesis. It is, however, worth mentioning that oral tradition in the form of ‘Invocation Poetry’ persisted for the purposes of offering to the Divine Being through community charity by hosting a mega feast, and

for the purpose of marking a person's social status by his wealth. Under this form of poetry, there are several types of prayers used: *zhathoja*, *rüheja*, *tsiakraja*, *liedeja*, *phetsheja*, *kithoja*, and *vithoja*. The most common elements in these prayers as constructed by Keyho are:

- a. They can be pronounced only by a priest or the eldest member of the community.
- b. These speakers are considered as 'messengers' between the physical world and the spiritual world.
- c. Prayers are seen as a medium of exchange between humans and the Divine.
- d. These prayers are sacred and have to be uttered with complete precaution as an error could bear a huge consequence.
- e. They are recited in a distinctive manner or are pronounced solemnly (47).

These prayers are said only by a limited group of people and are not to be said by the common folk. Therefore, it is extremely important to note that the existence of these poems or prayers is scarce and for which only a selected prayer will be made for this discourse.

Here is an example of the prayer "Zhathoja" gathered and translated by D. Kuolie, of what the priest would say in one of these 'events' and the derivation of its meaning and significance to be observed. One can imagine the entire community gathered at the house of the host who had prepared food and drinks in abundance for all to the feast which would mark his position as a wealthy man after this event:

(The priest draws the attention of the feast provider to receive the blessing of God that he is pronouncing.)

Wo... Receive this (blessing),
 For the reason of refusing any misfortunes,
 You have prepared stock of rice-beer and spread delicious food
 and drinks
 Over the best plantain leaves that have been collected from the forest. (1-4)

Here, we see the priest greeting the host with the acknowledgement of the preparation made by the host in serving “stock of rice-beer” and spreading “delicious food and drinks” which are gathered from the forest. This food and drinks would later be consumed by the community during the feast of merit which becomes a signifier of possession of great wealth.

Wo... Your domestic animals that have been killed
 That lies on the surface of this great earth,
Wo... Let your meat be dressed in abundance
 Shall be served in the manner of building of anthill;
 Shall be cut like chopping of tree-trunk
 Shall be cut like breaking of quartz;
Wo... Shall remain impossible to be chopped to end. (5-10)

The livestock butchered and prepared for this event is also acknowledged here and blessed upon thoroughly by using metaphors like piling up the meat “in the manner of the building of anthill” which is to signify plenitude of meat for the feast. It is also worth mentioning that land, animals or livestock were an important indication of a man’s wealth. Thus, it is understood why the priest would draw a special emphasis on meat or the domestic animals that were slain.

Wo... Your distribution of foodstuff shall remain sufficient
and also be in surplus

And extend to your neighbours; yet shall remain full on your hook. (11-12)

The keyword to be drawn from these lines is ‘surplus’ which indicates the abundance of food not only for the host but even to be shared with the neighbours without his store getting emptied.

Wo... Your rice-beer shall remain full like spring-water that
flows,

Like water in river basin and in lake,

It shall remain impossible to be emptied.

Wo... Beyond celebration your rice-beer shall be served
to the needy people

And also shall be let to lend to others. (13-17)

Similar to the offering made for the food, the rice beer is also blessed by the priest for it to be like a “spring-water” which keeps flowing without running dry. The idea remains the same, the rice beer being an important item among the Angami-Naga people symbolises wealth and prosperity, and the priest blesses for it to be in surplus so that it may be shared even with others.

Wo... Let your guests enjoy to the zeal and yelling;

Let them be at din like incessant sparkling of burning of *Zomhou*;

Like non-stop clicking of *sevü* and shower of hailstorm. (18-20)

Here, the priest uses the image of the “burning of *Zomhou*” and “shower of hailstorm” to imply the idea of consistency and the plethora of merrymaking and satisfaction over the feast.

Wo... Let your domestic animals be grown to you,
Overfilling your home and fill your surroundings. (21-22)

As mentioned earlier, the possession of livestock implies wealth and thus the priest offers blessing upon the animals for their excessive pasturage.

Wo... Let your seeds that sown in soil bed be germinated,
Overfilling its bed and shall cover the surroundings. (23-24)

The priest also calls for a high-yielding harvest starting from the nursery bed which should germinate sufficient or more saplings for the plantation. In lines 21 to 24, the priest is ultimately calling upon the prosperity of the cattle and the harvest of grains.

The priest also invokes a blessing upon the very habitat of the host by praying for protection from “poverty”, “ill health” and “death”, meanwhile asking for it to be “a dwelling place of growth and life”. He blesses the house to bring more cause for celebration and intercedes for the host to be blessed with a great flow of wealth to hold more feasts of merit:

Wo... The place that your house stands
Shall not be a dwelling place of poverty;
Neither shall be a habitat of ill health not death;
But shall be a dwelling place of growth and life;
Be a place of festive celebrity;
Be a dwelling place of abundant wealth. (25-30)

At the end of the invocation, the priest concludes by stating that the blessing had been “bestowed” unto the host:

That goodness and righteousness is hereby bestowed unto you

To let you be exemplary in your bearing leading to the merit of a new life.

(31-32)

The feast of merit is the final marking of a man’s reputation and standing in society. Though its purposes are what had been mentioned earlier, it is also to remember that sharing and giving out to the community is crucial for the people and is seen as a moral obligation for those who are capable of providing, thus giving a chance for the poorest people to the feast.

The invocation poetry also serves the purpose of reminding the people of the importance of helping one another as it is evident how the priest calls for “surplus” and bountiful harvest to be shared with “neighbours”. Thus, it signifies the importance of community sharing as well.

5.1.5. Traditional Poetry: Its Style and Popularity

Angami-Naga poetry, like any other literature, also serves the purpose of standing time and cultural trends while exposing the nature and face of the society and its people, of both its virtue and vice, these poems also prove themselves as evidence in exposing the truth. The poems portray the life and values of the people and culture. As understood, literacy or written documents do not attach themselves to traditional poetry as it was purely oral in nature. Yet with the existing limited ‘memorised’ poems which were able to be recorded under the Ura Academy’s initiation, some understanding of the then society can be unearthed.

The Angami-Naga society has always been patriarchal in nature and there is no debate about it. However, it is worth mentioning that the then society was more extreme in its treatment towards the womenfolk. The discourse on the status of women has already been made in Chapter 4 of the thesis, but for the sake of analysing society some references will be made again. In the words of Kire on the status of men and women in the then Angami-Naga society, a good wife was to have qualities like “industriousness” and having an “amicable nature”. She is bound to live “under the protection of her father before marriage and after marriage, lives under the protection of her husband” (68). These lines may present a hint of utter docility and submission a woman is expected to possess which may have led to other instances of not having their will observed. In the folk poem, “*Khrieü*” which stems from the narration of the woman Khrieü, it is observed that she was obligated to be married even when she did not want to. The poem is based on a true folk narrative of a woman whose visit to her maiden home after her marriage was recorded and how the woman spewed her emotions towards her parents and the desire not to return to her husband’s home is seen. When the man came for the proposal, she thought: “*Hie pie’ ciethie thenyü moluolie*” (My parents were supposed to say, “She is not ready this year”) (3). But to her utter dismay, she was given away for marriage. Although it is not explicitly added in the poem, in an extended commentary made by the editor of the anthology *Üca- 53*, Shürhozelie adds to the legend that the woman never went back to her husband after visiting her parents. Though the folk narrative only mentions that she was swept away by the current of the river by a supernatural force, that may not necessarily be the only explanation for her disappearance and some other alternatives may even be present (pp 50).

The wellknown tale of *Sopfünüo*, the woman who was chased away by her husband only to be metamorphosed into a stone is also one instance of how traditional

poem reflects the pathetic condition of women. In the translated poem, “*Sopfünüo*” by D. Kuolie, the narration of *Sopfünüo* is seen as a revelation of how deplorable her situation was as she was relentlessly asked by her husband to leave his home which inflicted the woman’s self-esteem:

‘Go’, you chase me out of the house:
 Yet our children should not be estranged,
 My refusal to depart
 Is misinterpreted. (5-8)

Thus, in an attempt to appease her husband and end her torture, she leaves for her maiden home. Therefore, it becomes evident that a woman has no say in her choice of marriage; while women like *Khrieü* are forced by their parents into a marriage they do not want, women like *Sopfünüo* are chased from home by their husbands. Labour division is another issue but on the choices of marriage alone, patriarchy then was evidently extreme.

Having warfare and killing for sports back in the past, it becomes obvious that the list of traditional poetry also involves themes related to the glory and the misery of killing. In the folk poem, “*Khrüzie Puoiü*” (On a Moonlit Dawn) the speaker presents her horrible ordeal of how within a short moment, her lover was killed by an enemy warrior: “*Pejüwa di la’rü hie zhü gei, / Melou thekhre phicha hie zhü tsie, / Hie va chüü hie puonuo kipu.*” (But I lost him and I came, falling to my bed, / Pinching my chest and kicking the bed, / I lied to my father ‘It’s just a stomach ache’) (3-5). Here, the woman is in extreme pain and also traumatised over the sudden killing of her lover. It is to be noted that killings were too common and for which most of the traditional

poems were based on the vanity of war and the bitter emotions of those whose loved ones have been killed in warfare.

On the topic of style, two prominent features may be observed:

a. Most of the traditional poems consist of a single speaker whose perspective and point of view alone are present. With this, the entire plot is revealed but because of the fact that it is a single person's point of view, the narration may even be biased or just one-sided. In the previously referred poem "*Khrieü*", the speaker spoke of how betrayed she felt when her parents refused her entry inside the house, insisting that they were observing a ritual which forbade visitors into the house. This, however, is only what she heard while in reality there is a high possibility that it is only an excuse for dissuading their daughter from entering because they might have feared that she would not want to return to her husband's place once she stepped into their house.

b. Sincere emotions of love while courting, grief while mourning the death of loved ones, hatred for a betrayal and regret over an unfulfilled love are present in most of the traditional poems. This is obvious, owing to the fact that poetry was used by them as a means of expressing themselves when colloquial conversation failed to get through. Poetry in the form of music was thus used for conveying their deepest affections and afflictions.

5.2. Modern Poetry

5.2.1 Introduction

To demarcate the line between 'traditional poetry' and 'modern poetry' may not lead to a justifiable conclusion as there is no specific event to mark this difference. However, here is an attempt to understand what modern poetry is by unearthing the

trends that led to a transition of Tenyidie poetry from “oral” and “folk” to printing culture. For this purpose, it is essential to once again bring back Keyho’s division of society and literature from her work *Tenyidie Geizo Cabo Dze Kephrii: (Thematic Study of Tenyidie Poetry)*:

- a) The first phase where animism existed and people were morally upright.
- b) The second phase where education and Christianity entered.
- c) The third phase witnessed the aftermath of education and Christianity but also changed the moral values of the people.
- d) The fourth phase which led to a desire for change towards the good. (pp. 80-83)

From this division, it may be considered appropriate to categorise the first phase under traditional poetry while the second, third and fourth under modern. It may also be realised that modern poetry has more variations when it comes to its themes as has been observed in the fourth chapter of this thesis. The section will thus serve only to provide some specimen in elucidating the features of modern poetry and the shift of ideas and culture rather than exposing its diverse themes.

5.2.2. Contemporary Themes: Culture and its Shifts Upon the Themes

There are several points to be noted in this section. Literature and culture shift together and for this there are many things to be acknowledged. Here are some of the most prominent contemporary themes dealing with the currents of culture, more precisely on globalisation, modernisation and the entry of new religion and new educational system among the Angami-Naga people. The first focus will be made on the shifts in religion as to how the society shifted from Animism to Christianity.

On religion, it is worth noting that both the era had teaching on moral and ethical values and both believed in a guiding force that was leading them on. Here is an attempt at the understanding of how the two religions bore similar patterns (see table 5):

Table 5

Comparison Between the Two Beliefs in the Angami-Naga Society

Pre-Christianity/Animism	Colonialism/Christianity
Teachings on leading an upright, honest life mainly for evading punishment	Teachings on leading a righteous life worthy of encouraging others towards Christianity
Presence of an authoritative force- <i>Terhuomia</i>	Presence of an authoritative force- The Holy Trinity
Instant reciprocation of the force-punishment	Gradual or no reciprocation of the force

It may be observed that a good number of modern poems are written on religion where two important features stand prominent; bringing elements of the past religion and its supernatural beings almost as equal to Christianity and secondly on the tone of appreciation upon the coming of the Christian missionaries.

On the first feature, one can notice how the term associated with animism is blended into Christianity as elaborated in the table above. In the first line of the poem “Nagamia Geizo” by Sakuolie K. Kuotsu, “Terhuopfu-o Nagamia ha khrie” (that *Terhuopfu-o has for the Nagas) (1), the poet uses the term *Terhuopfu-o* which actually stands for the Great Being in the pre-Christian faith but is used here ‘synonymously’ for the Christian God.

In another poem “U Rhuo-u U Tenyimia Kekhrie” by Neichüriezo, the poet frames the poem as such which translates to ‘The love our God has over Tenyimia’. He uses the term ‘rhuo-u’ which has again its initial derivation from the term ‘Terhuomia’ which is yet another term for the pre-Christian Supreme Being, a figure almost terrifying and worthy of being feared and worshipped.

In the poem “Jihova Nagamia Kekhrie” (The Love of Jehovah upon the Nagas) by Kiezotuo, the poet again justifies how ‘Jihova’ has been loving the people by ushering in Christianity to the land through the missionaries:

*Ura va di Jihova die se,
Keyietuo ü chüterhü donu,
Ketsa kesou dzükezha pete,
Pfütthe zo se u kijü nu vor. (13-16)*

Translation:

(They came towards our land with words of Jehovah,
Braving in wars,
Braving thick jungles and seas,
Overcoming these hardships, they entered our land.) (13-16)

Here, the poet presents the idea of how Jehovah had actually orchestrated the coming of the missionaries as He had been wanting to make the Nagas know of Him and His love.

On the second feature, on the tone of appreciation upon the coming of Christian missionaries, it can be observed that the poets are filled with the tone of acknowledgement over the sacrifice of the missionaries while also grateful to the

Christian God for introducing the new religion to the people. On this point, the same poem written by Kiezotuo can be analysed again. It is the sacrifice of the people who after “Overcoming these hardships, they entered our land” (16). The poet deems this necessary as he realised how the Nagas could have continued their forsaken fate if not for the coming of Christianity:

*U tso mo ro kesuo dieze chü,
Huo te huo gei kerheiro peka,
Ramie thacü zha pfhütuo üdi;
Zhie rüingou pie huo pfhütie ciü. (4-7)*

Translation:

(To have continued obeying evil,
Hunting and killing each other,
In search of glory and trophies;
We would have been chasing each other with weapons,) (4-7)

The poet makes his point clearer through these lines as he reveals the coarse and vain life of killing each other for blood sports and glory which stands absolutely opposite to the Christian belief of loving each other and doing good instead of harm. Though the pre-Christian faith does call upon upright and moral life, it does not limit the people from hunting and defeating people beyond their own community of the village. Rather, the culture then presented various layers of fame and merit in the form of killing and possession of material assets. Thus, poets like Kiezotuo see the difference between the two faiths and emphasises the importance of Christianity and its various tenets.

In another poem “I Wish Not... Nagas To Be” by D. Kuolie, the poet narrates how, through the coming of Christianity, the land changed: “The gospel of love had reached the Nagas, /The Lord’s love: a heavenly blessing” (Section III).

It can be understood that the new religion with the coming, especially of the American Missionaries upon the lands of the Angami-Naga people changed the lives of the people as the poets write of how their land had transformed for good with the coming of Christianity. It is this new trend and its shift towards its new set of religions that most of the Tenyidie poets write about.

On change of culture, the topic of moral values and its transition may also be added here as an important feature. This deals mostly to do with moral values and the changes especially in families or the family structure and the socio-political situation of the Nagas.

Having the society’s power dynamic changed from traditional self-government to a now formally structured democracy, the society had to adapt to its own election and power control system. The poet Medo, who uses satire and mockery as his signature style in writing poems once again, correctly illustrates how the people were corrupted by this new phenomenon driven by greed and lies through his poem “Tie Hie Kitsa Thenou Mia Kitsa” (The Mouth Stood for our Party While the Heart for Another):

Dzieyha tei sü la vorzhie ru;

Kehoupuorei dojü balieci.

.....

Shükeiraka umhi tshu mo ro,

Tie hie kitsa thenou mia kitsa.

.....

Lutsahatsa se cii phrelie di,

Kehouki nu la vo kehou ro,

Kepenuopfii u nou si phre ru:

Kedipuo pu kecha chütuo shi! (2-3,9-10,12-15)

Translation:

(With the election approaching;

Everyone be prepared.

.....

But with an unsatisfied amount of money,

The mouth stood for our party while the heart for another.

.....

But after taking from all sides,

If we still go to the Church,

What will we pray about?

Since God knows all that is in our hearts.) (2-3,9-10,12-15)

From these lines we can understand several underlying issues:

Firstly, it exposes the illegal and unethical ways of political parties as they use money to lure people and gain votes in their thirst for power.

Secondly, the corrupted ways of the people and the loss of conscience are also evident as people are seen taking money not just from a single party but from multiple.

Thirdly, the issues of conflict between religion and politics, the teachings of the Church and the practices of the parties, and faith versus greed are highlighted.

The poet not only humours his readers of how a person can be divided with his mouth devoted to one party with the making of promises while his hands pressed for another, but he also alerts the readers against the tainted ways of the people. He also contradicts the religion of the past which was feared and honoured with life to that of the Christian faith which became nominal and passive.

5.2.3. Romantic Poetry: Its Commonness in Modern Poetry

On the question of what ‘Romantic Poetry’ is, we find C.M. Bowra’s definition of it or of the poets in his essay “The Romantic Imagination” where he explains how nature and the deep imagination of the poets go hand in hand in the creation of art. He adds that the poets “insisted” on putting the fact that “their creations must be real” and that they were bound on creating their own world, regardless of the reality around them:

Because the Romantics were poets, they set forth their visions with the wealth that poetry alone can give, in the concrete, individual form which makes the universal vivid and significant to the finite mind. They refused to accept the ideas of other men on trust or to sacrifice imagination for an argument (107).

The modern Angami-Naga poems are hugely influenced by the writings of Romanticism where the mind transports itself to the world of imagination and limitless possibilities. In one of the many poems, Medo in his poem “Kenei Kekra Ki Ketho Yopuo Vi” (Better is One Truth Than Abundant Happiness) extends his moral teaching on the state of his people by instructing them on how important it is to be contented with honesty and right living rather than seeking material gains and fame of the world:

Kishükinyi medo mo biepie,

U ki chü kho tei thunuo ba rei,

Zhü zeli mo telhie u meki,
Rüpreirüle mhale zhü teiso; (6-9)

Translation:

(Greed sends the heart after wealth,
 With it we build houses almost reaching the sky.
 Yet, we still have restless nights as though sleeping on bug-infested beds;
 Sleepless nights filled with thoughts till dawn.) (6-9)

In this poem, however, the focus is on his choice of words, use of figurative language and imagination which is to be appreciated. Towards the last part of the poem, he creates an alternative scenario of an ‘abstract world’ where one is transported into a place with a metaphorical tree and its symbolised roots stretching out far and wide. It is this tree which stands for honesty and righteousness that the poet wants the listeners to grab hold of its “scrape” and find its source, that is, the main tree of right living in “truth”:

Zha phi mo rei ketho nuo yopuo,
Mhara zhü di ngulie ümha ro,
Ketho süyo these pielie di,
Süyo mezo menuo zo vo tse,
Vo puobo nu mha kevi pete,
Ngulietuo shie themia pete la. (15-20)

Translation:

(If you ever happen to see,
 Even a scrape of truth laying somewhere,
 Pick the truth into your hands;

And retrace its root,
 For it will find its tree filled with goodness,
 Sufficient to provide for all of mankind.) (15-20)

From these lines, it is evident that the poet intends on using both nature and imagination to strike an understanding inside the readers and to make them realise his principle by transporting them and making them see “scrapes” of “truth” in the middle of nowhere while encouraging them to pick up these abstract items in order to find the truth for themselves.

Keeping in mind the fact that the modern poets were mostly involved in moral teachings and ethical norms of life of the Nagas, issues like ‘truth’, ‘honesty’, ‘respect’, ‘dignity of labour’ and ‘wisdom’, it comes naturally to them the use of imagination again paired with these issues. In another poem on morality, “Thenou Rütso” (Beauty of the Soul) the poet Shürhozelie uses wisdom and goodness of knowledge as the main object of the poem to teach the importance of preserving them through poetry. In this poem, he uses ‘parallel scenario through imagination’ as he makes the comparison of a gardener taking care of a plant or sapling to that of a poet penning down his knowledge on the paper for people to read and gain:

Medo kevi ükezomiako,
Theja ha we kijükhro mhavie;
Rüshü zhü rei Bayie teilie ro,
Pou la pariü themia rütso chü.
Medo mia tsü u krüko za kie, (5-9)

Translation:

(Through the visions of the poets

The blessings were cared and earthed.
 While they were once in hiding underneath,
 With spring they sprouted patiently,
 And brought abundance to the lives of men.) (5-9)

The poet in his deep concern for art and its purpose here, that is, for teaching and guiding the future generation, uses the example of how poetry, like a seed, can be preserved and cared for, can be used as a source of guidance when the seed sprouts with spring or with the message of the poem sprouting at the right time for people to be enriched.

From both these poems, three key points can be drawn:

- a. Moral teaching and its extent in the writings of modern poets.
- b. Nature as their main instrument for delivering their message.
- c. Imagination and exploration for the purpose of striking ideas upon readers.

Thus, it is right to say that the modern Angami-Naga poets were highly romantic in their method and approach. The version of imagination may differ from the English Romantics to our indigenous Romantics as for the former, their imagination dwells in pleasure domes and palatial buildings of Kubla Khan and the festive drinking and merrymaking in Keats' world; while for the latter, their imagination is milder but with more meaning, a scrape of an object for 'truth', a tree for 'goodness and righteousness' and a gardener's hand upon a seed for a poet penning his 'knowledge' on a paper.

5.2.4 Modern Poetry: Its Style and Extent of Use in Modern Poetry

As enough discussions had been made on the mode and approach of modern poetry, it is also worth mentioning the style and extent of its use. Literature is the representation of the then-existing society and its practices. As mentioned in section 5.1.5 regarding traditional poetry, the Angami-Naga poetry revolves around the people and their milieu.

Following the postcolonial period, the post Indian independence phase or to be precise, the Naga society beginning from the second half of the 20th century, the society of the third phase categorised by Keyho, witnessed an absolutely transitional phase financially, socially, politically and culturally. The poems to be discussed here will act as specimens of what the society really was.

With the rise of modernisation, the introduction of formal education also entered the society. Although informal education existed even during the pre-colonial period, it can be mentioned that formal education and literacy were introduced with the coming of British rule as discussed in chapter one. Thus, informal education existed during the pre-colonial era and formal education during the colonial period, but it was only after the mid-twentieth century that the importance of education escalated. This led to a shift in the minds of the people where they moved from an agrarian lifestyle and “Education and government jobs now became their priority” as the society “had been utterly changed and the transition to a modern way of life began in earnest” (Kire 236). In another poem by the satirist Medo “Nuokhrienuo Ru Leshü Si Mote” (Then the Most Favoured Child, Now a Failure), the speaker narrates to his listeners his life story of how he was the most favoured and privileged child of the family, having the opportunity

to use his parents' financial resource for education but he could not fulfil their expectation but 'squandered' away his life and their money:

Shükeiraka khrie mo pie a tsü.

Zozhü derei a kromiako ze,

Kheli meze leshüphrü mecü,

Zhate rühou a krü kinyi cü,

.....

Rükralie di a kromia mengu, (6-9, 16)

Translation:

(Generously investing their money on me,

But I, with my friends,

Gambling and drinking, despised education and studying.

Squandering both my days and their wealth away,

.....

Realising and wishing to be accomplished like my peers.) (6-9, 16)

As quoted earlier in Kire's words, education led to jobs and opportunities in the government sector either in the form of clerical jobs, blue collared jobs and construction deals, all became a way of a more settled and secured earnings. For this, the speaker's parents 'invested' without hesitation in his education hoping for an easy and comfortable life for his future but to his foolishness, he wasted his chance. His friends who had worked hard actually led to the "accomplished" life which he now wishes to enjoy.

On lifestyle, especially drinking and eating, there seems to be a cultural change as well during the said period of time. The Nagas, in general, whose eating and drinking

habits were once simple and healthy had changed to other options based on selective tastes or health consciousness. In another poem “Thehethchie” (Merrymaking) by Medo, he points out the flaw of the society especially through its eating habit as he points out:

Themuo cha rei thevohü mo ro,

Mithuchü cü u va pesuo ü,

.....

Thevü cha ro gajo bepie mvü;

Kelhe cha ro tathutaruo sa. (7-8,11-12)

Translation:

(To eat only pork,

Claiming that beef disturbs their health,

.....

Yet with chicken they add rice-plant porridge;

Even with the tastiest dishes, they add chutney.) (7-8,11-12)

Another poem “Tsiedo Ki Ha” (These Days) by Viketou Thorie is another example of how excessive drinking of alcohol can cause problems. Drinking may not necessarily be a vice but the rampant drinking and abuse of it during the period are what triggered the society into a total condemnation of alcohol and its use: “*U hie pie di mechü zhazhü pu. / Kejü pu hie, zu ma jüya mo./ Supuo pejo supuo yapie ta?* (Holding our cups, we talk of politics. / Never talk of poverty, for there will always be money for alcohol. / Now who to support and who to blame?) (15,18-19).

From these two poems, it can be understood that the change in lifestyle had brought an almost gluttonous nature and abuse on the use of alcohol which were harming the reputation of the society.

5.3. Conclusion

In this chapter, the classification of Tenyidie poetry is dealt with. The most crucial part of this classification was between traditional and modern poetry, and according to how they are separated based on a timeline or historical events.

It can thus be observed that traditional poetry serves three main purposes, namely aestheticism, the exchange of emotions, and the dissection of a storyline. Among traditional poetry, oral poetry is the main source in its material collection and is purely based on memory and repetition of its transfer in the form of songs, legends, myths and tales. Thus, recounts of Mehovüü and Morüsa are narrated as poems and also as a warning towards the danger of killing; while tales of Sopfünuo are shared both as a preservation of the power of the supernatural and also on the plight of women.

Traditional poems are also a great source of storytelling as almost all the poems read to the readers an elaborate plotline of an event. Hence, it becomes natural for readers to understand the psyche as well as the conflict, especially between lovers and their brewing passion for each other. Under traditional poetry, the invocation is one of the vaguest forms for its limited use and reservation made to be uttered only on rare occasions by few selected people. Besides performing the function of reflecting the significance of religion and the Great Being, it also unveils the care and thoughtfulness of the community as it encourages values of sharing, respect and honour among one another. It is, however, to be noted that more research and precise attention is to be given to this poetry and its significance.

When it comes to these two types of poetry, the similarity detected is based on how nature is present either as the main object or a background. Generally, nature is always used and glorified for its goodness and beauty. Besides this, the elegy is also present in both forms though the application and style may differ. Poetry as a medium of emotion greatly established itself in strong emotions like pain and grief. While traditional poetry can be seen as more of a spontaneous flow of mourning as presented in this chapter through the interview, modern poetry can be seen mostly as a properly prepared piece of elegy as presented in Chapter 3 of the thesis.

Since literature is the mirror of its society, it can also say a good deal about the people and the situation it was dealing with. For this, it can be realised that most of the traditional or folk writings were based on the themes of patriarchy and war or killing while modern poetry also had its share in dealing with the ‘culture shift’ which played an important role in changing the course of writing in both its style and theme. Issues like politics, community, election, education, religion, etc. are some of the most prominent topics of interest among modern poets. This is understandably a very natural shift as literature had to shift with time and changes in cultural trends.

On the difference between the two, traditional poetry can be considered as more intense and deeper in the expression of emotions whereas modern poetry focuses more on the issues lying in the society and the filth and problems related to the evil practices of the people led by selfishness and greed. Thus, while the former involves itself in the confessing of passion and love or battering of the chest over the demise of a loved one, the latter is concerned with how people eat or drink, what they prioritise in life and how they live their lives as professed Christians.

In the study of these two forms, the need to make more space for research on the varieties is realised as they all possess their own distinctive features and usage. While varieties like invocation poetry require more materials and interpretation over its form, varieties like romantic poetry require more attention to how it fits both the old and the new and how 'imagination' and 'nature' work in the mind of the Tenyidie poets. Forms like oral poetry also deserve more focus and attention as it is understandably a dying culture which needs a resurrection in the form of preservation in written form.

CHAPTER 6 - CONCLUSION

6.1. Introduction

Globalisation has benefited mankind in so many ways. It has coloured the entire world with one identity. However, this is now becoming a threat in both creating the feeling of supremacy for some certain cultures and giving way to autocracy. There is an urgent need in resurfacing the things that had been previously drowned for the sake of development. One should not linger on in the past for so long. Yet, one should never forget that we are born from the past, that we learn from the past and finally give another life through our past.

The poems analysed are sublime on their own as they present nostalgic feelings. Besides the oral or classical poetry, the modern age which saw an influx of creative writings, especially in the 1980s and '90s after the establishment of the Ura Academy publishing house, the poems and their readers, especially the generation which witnessed the coming of this revolution will always have the sense of attachment. Some of them have even memorised them, which becomes more attached to them. Poetry, like music, food or smell, has a lasting memory that can frequently recur and quickly reciprocate once it is reminded. For the sake of those people, it becomes necessary to preserve them.

These poems also contain elements which can be used and studied. The purpose of these studies is not to be grounded in the past but to pick the remaining trace of the past which are still prevalent in society. If they happen to be positive traces, one should preserve them; if negative, one should exclude them. Besides, the studies should also be used to check society's moral and ethical values. Cultural evolution should of course be entertained with time. With globalisation, it becomes necessary to transform

perspectives and opinions. But values which define one's identity and the essence of a human being, i.e., to be humane, generous, respectful towards nature and realise one's worth by contributing to society should never be altered or forgotten.

Tenyidie poems are a great source for tracing the past history of the Angami-Nagas. They are important as they tell us the tales of legends, myths and social practices through oral narrations and songs. They also show how culture existed in the olden days and how they change in its trend in the form of attitude, power structure, social hierarchy, and even means of determining wealth and status in society. Under culture and tradition, poetry also shows the evolution and interaction of social relationships such as courtship, marriage and divorce. The Angami-Naga society has always been patriarchal in nature but it is realised from the poems that the society then was more intense in its control over women in their decisions and lives themselves.

Tenyidie poems are the greatest means of preserving the language through oral tradition. As seen in Chapters 3 and 5 they also serve the purpose of tracing variations under their style and use. Thus, for elegies, they contain expressions such as "Ei-he, Ei-he", and "O-HO" during community works such as ploughing the land, cutting wood, harvesting, etc., and while pounding grains women folk chant "Hyohowa" and men folk chant "Eyo-eyo".

6.2. Findings

In the course of the research, the emphasis was laid on two main approaches namely Ecocriticism and Cultural Studies mostly related to occupation, mode of living, social structure, power dominance, feminism, consumerism, globalisation, modernisation, etc. In this search, it was thus understood that nature was one of the main sources of inspiration in both traditional and modern poetry. Regarding nature and

animism, the social and cultural values of the people in the past were also seen as interrelated as nature was always seen as a representation of the Superior Being. Thus, life was controlled in adherence to the laws of nature and the people lived in complete respect for nature and towards one another in order to maintain a balance.

Cultural Studies also helped in navigating the change in the Angami-Naga society and this was evident mostly through modern poetry. Besides the various facets of a social construct, it was from this study that the stylistic approach was also analysed proving the fact that music was also an important part of their lives as it was used in every activity of the then society while the syllabic rule and its diction proved aesthetic for the contemporary writing.

As there was a need in tracing a timeline of its poetry, the history and the events of the society became important to be inducted. For this, the demarcation was made using two models. Firstly, by using the British people as a point of reference and dividing the timeline into three sections for this study: (a) the Precolonial period, (b) the Colonial period, and (c) the Postcolonial period. Secondly, the model prepared by Keyho in *Tenyidie Geizo Cabo Dze Kephrii: (Thematic Study of Tenyidie Poetry)*:

- a) The first phase: the existence of animism.
- b) The second phase: entry of Christianity and beginning of formal education.
- c) The third phase: the aftermath of education and Christianity, and the change in moral values of the people.
- d) The fourth phase: the desire for a revival of the good values of the past. (pp. 80-83)

Accordingly, a line between traditional and modern poetry was drawn and in its oral poetry, folk poetry, romantic poetry and modern poetry were all discussed separately.

6.2.1. Tenyidie Poetry is a Mirror Reflecting the Society Then and Now

Legends like the poem “Mehouviü” by an anonymous poet says a lot about the history of the time in the past, especially on how glory and laurel were revered and honoured, and how common it was for killing spree to exist for the sake of honour and a trophy. For an enemy’s head to be acquired by a warrior would mean celebration and merrymaking, and for which the poem narrates how the victim had always dreamt of dining at the famous warrior Morüsa’s house in Kidima (an Angami-Naga village): “In the house of Morüsa at Kidizou, / Feasting by plate and drinking by cup” (2-3). Another poem by an anonymous poet titled “Gareiphezou” is based on the folktale of the two Angami-Naga villages, Gareiphema and Khonoma. Here, the legend is about warriors from Khonoma village who came to Gariphema village with the intention of waging war. Poems like “Thy Born Child” and “Khrüzie Puoü” by anonymous poets also stress on how war and killing can destroy the happiness and union of relationships and marriages as they both narrate tales of lovers grieving over the death of their loved ones.

Folktale like the unfortunate life of the woman Sopfünuo from Rüsoma (an Angami-Naga village) is also a reflection of the patriarchal status of the then society. It is through the poem “Sopfünuo” one sees how she was chased away from her promiscuous husband’s home. It speaks a lot about how men held autonomy even over their marriage and how extramarital affairs were entertained or permitted for men.

On patriarchy and the plight of women poems like “My Inferior Self” and “Khrieiü” by anonymous poets are both spoken by women who share their distraught

and sense of estrangement from themselves as they find themselves forced into the role of a wife, something they consider they do not fit in. Distribution of labour and societal expectation from women are also some important issues seen through the poems “Thenupfii Riili” (The State of Women) by Neisetuolie Pfukha and “Thenupfii Kelhou” (Her Life) by Kekuodenuo Nakhro. Women are perceived merely as a helper as seen in the former poem. While in the latter poem, her position in the family and especially on the acquiring of property is seen as she is left with nothing.

The existence of supernaturalism and animism dominated the society and for this reason, any happening or a coincidence could be directed to the power of the divine being. For this, in the same poem, she is supposedly killed by a scheme crafted by ‘*terhuomia*’ (spirit) called “*terhuothie*” and is supernaturally metamorphosed into a stone along with her child.

The new era ushered in new cultural forces while all these through the Tenyidie poetry serve in highlighting the change in society especially in reflecting the lifestyle, moral values and religious attitude of the people, especially after the third phase. This is done mostly in the tone of sarcasm, satire and teaching. Poems like “Mia Kriinuo Noule” (The Heart of Parents) by Medo highlights the problems of a modern parent who struggles to afford education for the child knowing the value of formal education and the opportunities that come with it.

But the reality dawns as the poem “Nuokhrienuo Ru Leshü Si Mote” (Then the Most Favoured Child, Now a Failure) by the same poet highlights the perspective of the children: *Kheli meze leshüphrü mecü, / Zhate rühou a krü kinyi cü*, (Gambling and drinking, despised education and studying. / Squandering both my days and their wealth away) (8-9).

The change in religion from animism to Christianity is also seen through poems like “Who Can Please?” and “Kelhou Thau” (State of Our Life) by D. Kuolie, “Nagamia Geizo” (Naga Poem) by Sakuolie K. Kuotsu, “Jihova Nagamia Kekhrie” (Jihova’s Love for Nagas) by Kiezotuo, “A Kelhou Sede” (At My Life’s Beginning) by Zhale Mhasivilie, and “A La Mu N La” (For You and Me) by Neisetuolie Pfukha. These are some of the many poems which glorify the coming of American missionaries and introduce Christianity to the people. These are also poems which reflect their love for the religion, their passion for Christ and the salvation the religion has to offer.

Poetry also reflects the vices and degraded moral standards of the people during the postcolonial phase. Medo being a social satirist can be taken as the best example of picking the flaws of the people for all the small nitty-gritty details of how vain and obscure the people had become. Here are some of the poems: “Kiro Vi Ta?” (What Should Be Done?) which deals with leadership issues in Nagaland and how to overcome one’s ego, “Leshü Phi” (Think About It) which aims to remind its readers to eradicate evil, “Mechü Zhazhü La” (For the Sake of Public) which encourages good leadership and the reward of noble leaders, “Mhanüü” (If) which encourages its readers to be true in their speech, “Nuokhrienuo Ru Leshü Si Mote” (Then the Most favoured Child, Now a Failure) which warns its readers on losing one’s opportunity in acquiring education, “Thehethchie” (Merrymaking) which ridicules the choosy nature of people over food and drinks, “Themia Mu Khurinuo” (Man and Animal) which ridicules human nature as how animals have more conscience and better judgment than men, and “Utiemie” (Our Beard) which points out the change in lifestyle and calls for his people to remain steadfast in their principle and ethical stance.

While the above poems involve more on minor social issues and habits of the people, Medo's poems such as "Tie Hie Kitsa Thenou Mia Kitsa" (The Mouth Stood for a Party While the Heart for Another) and "Aya, A Rukhrie Kethelie Kenjütele!" (Oh! I cannot End my Alcoholism) are more concerned with serious issues pertaining to the corrupted nature of politics between the party and its supporters and how money is used for the purpose of buying votes, while the latter poem deals with the exploitative use of alcohol by the people leading to death in many families during the time.

The socio-political situation of Nagaland, in general, is also highlighted in most of the Tenyidie poems as poets present their viewpoints, concerns, regret and even disgust over the scenario. This, of course, is mostly concerned with the post-independence stage. Writers like D. Kuolie had penned down numerous poems based on this theme: with poems like "Message of the Deaths", he laid emphasis on the struggles of the Nagas, fighting for their rights and freedom by going through tumultuous training, journeying through thick jungles and fighting against the military forces of the Indian government. Keywords such as "patriotism", "native land", "nation's pride", "blood of compatriots", "countrymen", etc. are used in this poem to bring in the sense of their thirst and desire for freedom for their people. As discussed under Stylistics, the tone of poets also reveals the situation of the society and the individuals. Poems like "Image of Naga Name" by the same poet also reveal to the readers, his tone of lamentation and regret towards the same cause as he realises how the name of his country is tarnished by the "thoughtlessness" of the Nagas and he also warns them on how they are "relentlessly" going towards the "curse" and wrath of God.

The same author's poem "I Wish Not...Nagas To Be" is also another poem which reveals the poet's tone of warning towards the danger of selfishness and war and

he calls for unity among the people to prevent these dangers. He also points out his vision and hopes to the people in the poem “Longing For A Good Day” as he prays for a day of peace and redemption: “May God reveal to the Nagas early / The deep knowledge of Nature’s beauty, / And rescue us from ruin.” (25-27)

Besides D. Kuolie, there are also several poems based and written on the sacrifices of Angami Zapu Phizo, who was a Naga Nationalist leader and is acknowledged for his concern and initiation taken for the freedom of the Nagas. Thus, poems such as “Zapuphizo Teikijü Sieso” (Zapuphizo, Next to The Earth and Sky) by Kuosiezo, “Zapuphizo Za Pejü Khrielie” (His Name Should Live Forever) by Mhiesisevi Terhüja, “Zapuphizo Vi Terhuo” (Zapuphizo, For His Greatness) by Sakuolie Kuotsu, “Zapuphizo Nagamia Puo-o” (Zapuphizo, Father of the Nagas) by Medo and many poems are written in tribute to the freedom fighter for the Nagas, Angami Zapu Phizo.

6.2.2. Nature is Always Found in Tenyidie Poetry as the Principal Source

It is evident from the reading of the poems that nature has always served as the principal source in Tenyidie poetry. ‘Nature’ is seen in most of the Tenyidie nature poems as the primary source of sustenance for the body and spirit while the tone of lamentation is laid upon it by the acts of the humans. In the “Nature Contours” of Tenyidie poetry, four main features were drawn as the chief and most common ideas or themes of how Nature is observed by the people. They are:

- a) Nature as a manifestation of the Divine (*Terhuomia*)
- b) Nature as a source of aesthetic pleasure and adoration
- c) Nature as a provider for both sustenance and healing
- d) Nature as a being in distress from the activities of mankind

It is without a doubt clear that ecocentrism is applicable in Tenyidie poetry as writers and their writings are strictly based on the idea of glorifying nature for all its beauty and goodness. Nature is present in most of the poems either in the form of it as the main object of focus or as the secondary object in the form of a metaphor, symbol or representation. But in both ways, it is portrayed positively and with didactic values attached to it.

The reason why anthropocentrism is rare or absolutely null in Tenyidie poetry is because of the fact that Nature has always been worshipped or feared as a manifestation of the Divine Being or what the people called “*Terhuomia*”. As discussed, this ‘being’ can be identified or located in any form; as different forms of spirits in the elements of nature such as wind, water, rock, trees, animals, etc., as a woman when applied ecofeminism and referred to as “*Terhuopfū*” or the main creator with a female identity through the suffix “*pfū*”, as both a ruthless destroyer and the benevolent given and creator. Nature can be and was seen in all these aspects and for this reason, it becomes evident that nature was highly respected and given all praise.

The poem “*Sopfūnuo*” by an anonymous poet which deals with a woman and her child turned into stone reflects how a supernatural object such as “*terhuothie*” (which is supposedly a bamboo or wooden spike of spirit having the ability to end someone’s life) represents the work of *Terhuomia*, and its capability to change someone’s fate. According to the legend and the narration of the speaker in the poem, the woman and her child were transformed into stones with the intention of remaining immortal. It could also mean that the act was done by the same being for the purpose of reminding the people of its might and greatness.

In poems like “Wind, the West Wind” by D. Kuolie, which is directly addressed to ‘the wind’: firstly, it is reflected that the wind is made the sole and primary object of the poem making it entirely ecocentrism. Secondly, it is also the wind which represents the Divine Being and is given all the credit for its contribution and blessing towards mankind.

The poet calls on to say how this wind has “fed our ancestors” with its “purity” or simplicity and innocence or how its fruits contributed by “distributing richer provision to mankind” (14). The poet also points how out of love and compassion the wind “made our land pure, greenish, lively” with a “clear atmosphere” and uncorrupted “crystal water spring”. Poems like these serve the purpose of showing how nature was appreciated for its material provision and also for the abstract goodness and wisdom it gave to people.

While poems like “Wind, the West Wind” tune in the goodness of nature for its providence and sustenance through spiritual and temporal benefits, poems like “Bayie, Bayie” (Spring, Spring) by Vetsoso Rose complete nature’s purpose of another contour, i.e., nature and its aesthetic pleasure. The poem uses ‘Spring’ as its main object once again to represent it as a Divine Being, capable of providing and inspiring and also in healing mankind. It is a season “Loved and awaited by all” (2) and thus the language of the poet also reflects the beauty of what the season has to offer. With words and phrases such as “appease us”, “better amongst the other seasons”, “adorning the face of the earth”, “birds with sweeter melodies chirp”, “brighten the earth”, and “We long to have you forever;” (18) it can be understood that the Nature is considered the prime source of joy and happiness on the face of the earth.

Under the contours of nature as both aesthetic and healing for the mind and soul, poems like “Nhamenyiepou” (Wild Flower) by Kekhrievou Yhome serve to show how even a wildflower in complete isolation or barred from the eyes of men still strives to please mankind. Using the flower as an example, the poet also brings forth her moral teaching on how life should be lived to exalt one’s maker.

Another finding of this research was on Nature contour on the state of risk which was present but not to an extremity. Though there are some poems to represent this idea, the topic of ecology in distress is not made prominent. This could probably be because of the fact that though Nature was feared and honoured in the pre-Christian phase, it was never considered to be in threat or in a state of risk. Again, in the post-Christian phase, the theology of the belief may have slightly shifted towards the idea of anthropocentrism and how Nature is seen as a providence ‘made for men’. Though this theology is still under various discourses of whether Christians are called to ‘use’ the resources or to ‘preserve’ them, taking the role of stewards, the conclusion is that emphasis on the need to preserve nature is not sufficient.

It is, therefore, understood that Romanticism is very much present in Tenyidie poetry as it allows both Nature and Imagination to dwell and rule the creative minds of the writers. Objects such as the season ‘Spring’, a ‘wild flower’ or a ‘bird’ are used as the primary objects while objects like the “tree filled with goodness” and “scraps of truth” in the poem “Kenei Kekra Ki Ketho Yopuo Vi” (Better is One Truth than Abundant Happiness) and ‘Spring’ put in parallel to ‘wisdom’ in the poem “Thenou-Rütso” (Beauty of the soul) are secondary objects used for the purpose of figurative language and objects in its abstract forms. In this way, the several contours of Nature

are justified in Tenyidie poetry and that Nature is appropriate to be considered as the principal source of inspiration for writings under the genre of poetry.

6.2.3. Tenyidie Poetry is Highly Musical in Style

The first feature under the ‘musicality’ of Tenyidie poetry can be seen in the form of its arrangement. This is evident as Chapter 3 has given enough analysis of how Tenyidie poetry is musical in style. The second feature to be acknowledged under this is based on the fact that it is diverse in its use of songs, tunes and harmony.

Under the arrangement of poetry, it can be observed that syllabic arrangement or what it is referred to as ‘*lige*’ in Tenyidie, which follows the prototype “So-hi-mo-zo-so-no-di-yo-le”, is considered a must in all the Tenyidie poems. This is most evident in modern poetry as the modern poets stressed the need of reviving the 9-syllable rule and for which the writings were done only through this pattern. Though the source of its origin is vague, the understanding can be made that the Angami-Naga people were highly musical in speech and singing. As enough samples had been done, further examples will not be made. It is, however, worth mentioning that though modern poets had the chance of converting their writings into arrangements as such, ‘oral singers’ at times took some liberty in breaking the syllabic rule. As presented in the singing by Chadi in Chapter 5 under elegy, the 9-syllables rule is not strictly observed. This has been evident in many of the interviews and also in the documentation of some works which could not be added in the course of this research. This could be for the fact that traditional poems were mostly based on deep emotion and rich affection which could sometimes break the conventional rules in the course of the free flow of thoughts. However, it is still safe to say that the majority of the traditional poems are composed and documented by Ura Academy using the 9-syllables rule.

On the second feature, it is appropriate to say that music and poetry in Tenyimia literature were synonymous. This is because of the fact that the syllabic rule was used for poems as mentioned earlier. Poems were songs and songs were poems because of one main reason, that is, to convey a message. Where words are inadequate in fully expressing an emotion, songs translate the emotions into tunes, and these songs are considered musical poetry because of their syllabic arrangement and rhythmic pattern. In its variation of use and purpose, it is observed that certain songs and tunes were used for different events and people. The first variation is songs used by youths and it consists of songs such as *Thupfhe ü*, *Tsanu ü*, *Chanu ü* and *Weü-o*, as they engage in activities such as herding, gathering or while returning from fields and courting.

The second variation is songs for works which are usually just a “*pfhe*” (sound) consisting of two to three syllables and are mostly used during community works. The list consists of songs such as: *Mhatho pfhe* or *Hutho*, *Khoureipfhe*, *Ciethu pfhe*, *Sishüpfhe* or *Cieshüpfhe* and *Seikepie pfhe*. They are all sung in different chants such as - “O HO”, “Hyohowa”, “Eyo-eyo”, “Ho-ho” and “He-ho” and by different people for different purposes.

The third variation includes songs sung during celebrations such as *Tsiakrünuopfhe*, *Nouza pfhe*, and *Lizha pfhe* or the *lida pfhe*.

The fourth variation consists of the *Nuo kepfükecü pfhe* or a lullaby.

The fifth variation consists of lamentation or dirges, also called *Thekrü* used during funerals and are sung mostly by women accompanied by men’s ululation.

Thus, the findings can be concluded on the note that the community was very much connected to music and it was through it that people expressed themselves better

in the form of courting and worked more efficiently in the form of community chanting, harmonising and ululating.

On the question of where Tenyidie poetry stood in the levels of ‘style’ under stylistics as elaborated in Chapter 3, it can be also concluded that the poetry is a mixture of both ‘High’ and ‘Low’. While the poems were ‘High’ for the artistic implication and intention in their arrangement which can be considered ‘poetic’ and intended as seen in both traditional and modern poetry, it can also be considered ‘Low’ as the Angami-Naga people relied on their sincere emotions and thoughts which can also technically be considered as a spontaneous response to their surroundings such as grieving, lamentations and courting. The language may be considered ‘High’ but because of its use and situation, it may be considered ‘Low’ in style.

6.2.4. Types of Poetry Found in Tenyidie Literature

It has been found that Tenyidie poetry is rich in its variation in its types or forms. This is determined based on the two main classifications, that is, style and theme. The following are some of the generalised divisions of poetry:

a. Elegies and Lamentations (Dirges)

These types of poems are present in both traditional and modern and as the title suggests they are to do with death, mourning and grieving. The list of poems written in tribute to Angami Zapu Phizo considering him as “Father”, “star”, and “parent”, etc. are all poems composed in appreciation for his service as a way of remembering him after his death. While the previously mentioned poems are directed to a public person or a freedom fighter which involved a ‘collective’ sympathy towards the person, poems like “Khakelie Nyi Me?” (Who Can Stop?) by N. Sorhie are ‘personal’ poems. It is a

poem which narrated the plight of a widowed mother whose deep anguish over the death of her son is intensified and her struggle of coping with the pain at the loss of her beloved son is seen. Dirges are also part of the traditional poetry as seen in Chapter 5 through the interview with Chadi. These types of lamentations are more personal as they are literally performed or sung at the funeral with the grieving expression “*Ei-he, Ei- he*”. Here, it is both a collective grieving as well as personal as the lamentation is a common practice in the community at the same time the word selection and attachment are personal.

b. Narrative Poems and Poetic Monologue

These types of poetry are more to do with traditional poetry and are more prominent for their style. As discussed in Chapter 3 narrative poems present a detailed storyline in the form of conversations or exchanges of dialogue. Narrative poems or poetic monologues expand in their creativity as readers are made aware of the speaker’s unfiltered and sincere intentions as they engage in quarrels, debates or even in their proclamation of love for each other. While some poems are divided into sections committed solely to two speakers, for example, in the translated poem “Adzügewü” by Easterine Kire where she divided the poem under “Man” and “Woman” to signify the exchange of dialogue and the debate thrown to each other’s court as a way of dramatizing the situation, some poems are not strictly divided into sections but can narrate a plotline with some quoted lines such as: “*Tso-o nei kemo-u sü*” (She replied, “that was Tso-o, the one despised by our family”) (21) as seen in the poem “Tso-o and Terhuopudiü” by an anonymous poet. Thus, these poems can narrate a whole plotline through their exchange of dialogue.

c. Traditional and Modern Poetry

As discussed in Chapter 5, traditional poetry includes oral poetry and invocation. While the former deals with poems based on oral narrations and memory power for its preservation and can be based on any theme, the latter focuses on sacred speech and prayers to be said only by the selected few and only for special purposes in a solemn manner. Modern poetry is an inclusion of all types of poetry that come after the post-colonial phase. It includes more variety in its theme, subject matter, style and narratology. There is, however, a theme more prone and drawn to it and that is, the use of teaching and moral guidance where the poets act as judges and prophets. They perform their role by using their tone and vision as they grieve over contemporary society and its ways, while they also present their warnings and visions of what may come. The poets are concerned with all aspects of the society including politics, personal vices, religion, education, and loss of moral conscience in general.

d. Love Poems

This type of poetry is more common in traditional poetry. As the title suggests, it is supposedly for the profession of love between lovers or suitors. However, it is worth mentioning that here, love poems are not necessarily confined to lovers ending on a successful note but are also inclusive of poems with bitter endings. The poem “Thy Born Child” translated by D. Kuolie is to do with how a spouse grieves over the death of her beloved husband. Though she claimed that their marriage and its true union had just begun, that sweet amber of love could not survive when her husband was killed by an enemy warrior. The same translator also translated the poem “Our Love” which again narrates the unfortunate union of two lovers. Here, the lovers were not able to continue their relationship due to disagreement sourcing from their families.

Another poem by an anonymous poet “Tso-o Mu Terhuopudiü” (Tso-o and Terhuopudiü) is also one such poem which revolves around the two lovers Tso-o and Terhuopudiü and their love which blossomed through their common activity of herding cattle but soon faced separation because of the objection faced from their families.

e. Didactic Poems

These poems are mostly common in modern poetry with writers focussing solely on reviving the old moral principles which they deemed were ideal. In their tone of sarcasm and satire, they bring forth the truth and reality to their readers. Among all the poets, Medo stands as the most prominent poet for this purpose as his poems in their simple and colloquial language strike on sensitive issues of contemporary society such as drinking, eating habits, greed, dishonesty, bribery, religious hypocrisy, lethargy, disunity and other social evils.

f. Nature Poems

Having ecocriticism to treat Tenyidie poems, it is evident that the poets were mostly ecocentric and their gratification towards the beauty and the sustenance of nature is seen. Simplicity in language, the singularity of objects and short poem titles are some of the features of nature poems as seen in poems like “Bayie, Bayie” (Spring, Spring) by Vesetso Rose, “Nhamenyiepounuo” (Wildflower) by Kekhrievöü Yhome, “Perayo” (The Little Bird) by Mhiesisevi Terhüja, etc. Nature is both praised for its beauty and also used to teach the readers to find inspiration through it. Thus, nature poems are both didactic and meant for deriving pleasure.

g. Socio-Political Poems

This type is mostly under modern poetry. They are based on themes related to conflicting issues, especially the state and its need to secure peace and harmony. Most of the poets in this type of poem dwell in the tone of fear, frustration and also their desire for unity of the people. Poems like “Message of the Deaths” by D. Kuolie and “U Mezhüe U Rünyie Ki Vi” (Righteousness is Greater Than Weapons) by Medo point out the brutal and heinous atrocities committed by the Indian Military forces upon the Nagas and how the people retaliated by forming their own army by overcoming harsh training and journeys; whereas, poems like “Nagamia Di Zotuoü” (Nagas Will Rule Again) by Satuo Yiese and “Message of the Cloud” by D. Kuolie call for the affirmation that though temptation in the form of violence, terror and money came along, Nagas can still overcome and achieve their desired goals one day. It is this hope for victory and restoration of harmony that most of the socio-political poems are written on. Kuolie emphasised the restoration of peace among the people through the “gospel”. Thus, these poems deal with the theme of hope for a brighter future for the Naga people.

6.3. Recommendation

Through the course of this research, various areas have been discovered. Yet, there are some areas which need more elaborate study and emphasis which could not be entirely covered due to priorities set for the present study. Some of the key areas which need further research are:

a. Tenyidie literature being a rich one is self-sufficient, especially for its non-translated works. But for the fact that its beauty and teachings have so much to be explored even for those whose mother tongue is not Tenyidie. For this research, the primary source in its translated forms was mostly based on the works of D. Kuolie, a

couple of Easterine Kire's works and the rest by the scholar concerned. Thus, for this reason, more translation works are required.

b. The sources found under Invocation Poetry were extremely scarce. The reason is unknown but the need to search for more oral sources for its material and also the significance of the poetry is the need of the hour.

c. Though stylistics was covered, it was focussed mostly on the tone, language and context of the poems. A thorough stylistics analysis from the linguistics perspective based especially on the non-translated Tenyidie poems would be recommended.

d. Romanticism and Transcendentalism as concepts can be a vital key in unlocking the deep philosophy of the Angami-Naga people drawn from Nature and its creator *Terhuopfii*. Through it, the concept of Nature Mysticism can be further explored as it involves the understanding of the Creator through the creation.

6.4. Conclusion

In the introductory note of the anthology *Dancing Earth*, the editors Robin S. Ngangom and Kynpham S. Nongkynrih rightly stated why the writings of the indigenous had been suppressed for a very long time:

The literacy legacy of the missionaries can be said to be double-edged. While, on the one hand, they gifted the tribes with a common literary heritage, on the other, they made them deny the existence of their own literatures in their rich oral traditions and taught them to be ashamed of whatever is theirs, as something pagan and preposterous (xi).

Tenyidie literature, in general, was fortunate enough to utilise literacy for its own preservation at the earliest through the coming of the American missionaries and

the initiation of the Ura Academy. There are, however, traces of a loophole, especially in the rich culture and legacy of the people. This is seen evidently in oral narration as the number of oral poetry and other oral literature are extremely rare. This indicates how religion may have slightly disfavoured the growth of documentation as folksongs and folk poems were deemed as “pagan” and profane in the eyes of some religious leaders. An exemplary instance of this can be seen through the scare portion of Invocation Poetry as it was observed during the interviews for this research that the people who were supposedly once practitioners or observers of this ritual were forgetting or that their memories were naturally replaced by their newfound belief.

On the cultural aspect of progress and development, there was clear confirmation of things evolving in the Naga society after the coming of Christianity. Religion, no doubt, paved the way for a better life. For this reason, Kire in her work *Walking the Roadless Road* rightly pointed out her observation on the history of the Nagas:

Head hunting was definitely on its way out. Feuding between clans and villages slowly decreased. Western education and schools came to replace the morung system. The medical missionaries made a huge improvement to public health. A kind of cultural renaissance has been going on in Nagaland over the past twenty years, but the place of the church is central to new Naga society (205).

However, some opinions can also be taken into account as “the new religion destroyed Naga cultural life, especially in its missionary zeal of destroying cultural artefacts that were tied to the old religion” (205). This “cultural renaissance” is the very instrument in changing the perspective of the people and this has not only affected literature like Tenyidie’s but also shook the very core of ethos and moral values of the

people for which it is greatly lamented upon. Thus, the culture of the past and its values are very much interrelated to the religion or beliefs of the people. Through this research one can understand how the study of ecocriticism envelops the essence of nature among the Angami-Nagas and also how culture and its values of the past were and how it had changed with time. The need to understand the religious concept of nature through Tenyidie poetry is understood while the need to revive the morality and priority of the people in contemporary society may be emphasised.

Tradition is a beautiful way of finding one's roots and culture is the ultimate tool in celebrating one's identity. It is through these twin concepts that a person's birth, race, behaviour and even purpose are achieved. For this reason, the lives of those through whom we came from and those who shaped history in the hallmarks of the community should be celebrated. This can be achieved best through the literature drawn from their principles, values, and them.

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