CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL LIFE OF THE PAITE

MARRIAGE

Case History

Miss Tum Who Chin (alias Chin-Nu) and Mr. Vum Za Gin (alias Gin-Pu) did not have a long period of courtship. They were known to each other since childhood as inhabitants of the same village. Mr. Gin-Pu serves in Manipur Rifles and is almost always absent from home. Prior to their marriage, during his leave period, Gin-Pu paid casual visits to the girl at her residence. They decided to work in each other's jhum field by turn. He first gave two day's service consecutively in the jhum field of the girl. His two days' service was repaid on the third day by the girl and her step-mother. During this they decided to marry. His household sent Mr. Neng Za Thang of Tombing clan, the husband of his father's classificatory sister to the parents of the girl as a feeler. He acted as the first messenger. He is not a member of the boy's inndongta. But he is a potential member of the inndongta in the capacity of tanu on the ground that his wife belongs to Gin-Pu's clan of Phaipi. As such he is called gang (a term of address for father's sister's husband). He initiated the marriage proposal at the instance of the boy's household first in the last part of July 1973 without formal gifts. He could bring the representatives of the boy and the girl together for marriage proposal. The father of the girl agreed to the proposal. But he could not finalize it in absence of his younger brother. He directed the messenger to ask the younger brother for approval. The boy's representatives went to meet the bride's father's younger brother in another village with an offering of tea. The proposal was agreed upon. Date for the marriage
was fixed by the younger brother as he had known the opinion of his elder brother. The date for marriage was fixed at 22.8.1973. A bann was also hung up in Lungchin chapel. In the early morning of 22.8.1973 at 6 a.m. members of the boy's inndongta revisited the house of the girl with offerings of tea and rice-beer. Prior information was also given to the girl's father. This was for the discussion of bride price and payment of *thaman* (literally it means labour price in modern parlance). The boy's party consisted of the following members of his inndongta.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of participants</th>
<th>Clan</th>
<th>Office</th>
<th>Kin-relationship to the boy</th>
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<tr>
<td>1. Mr. Thuam Than Neng</td>
<td>Gwite</td>
<td>Tanupi</td>
<td>Father's sister's son</td>
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<td>2. Mr. Sing Za Kham</td>
<td>Ngaihte</td>
<td>Puu</td>
<td>Mother's natal clan member</td>
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<td>3. Mr. Zel Thawn</td>
<td>Phaipi</td>
<td>Thallouh</td>
<td>Father's brother</td>
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<td>4. Mr. Sen-Pu</td>
<td>Tonsing</td>
<td>Thusapi</td>
<td>No kinship</td>
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<td>5. Mr. Hang Za Neng</td>
<td>Phaipi</td>
<td>Beh-vaal</td>
<td>A clansman</td>
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</table>

Members of the boy's party sat at the outer side and in front of the fire-place as they were scrupulous visitors. The *thallouh* of the boy addressed the old grandfather of the girl. He told him that they would like to make payment of *thaman* of Rs.2.00 only. No sooner the *thallouh* started speaking about the *thaman* than the sapi or thusapi of the boy took out a sum of Rs.2.00 from his pocket. He handed it over to the thallouh, the leader of the party. The thallouh deposited the two-rupee note on the floor with a request for acceptance by the other party. The father of the girl said that he could not accept the money in absence of certain members of his inndongta. He asked his old father who were to be summoned. They were summoned and they turned up after a while. The following members of the girl's inndongta were present on the meeting:
After the arrival of some members of the girl’s inndongta, payment of the thaman was accepted. While the proceedings were going on, the male tanupi of the boy served tea and rice-beer. He asked the members of both sides to sip the beer one by one. Then the thallouh of the boy, as the main speaker, tried to explore what would be the amount of bride price. He said in a lowly manner that they liked to know how much was to be paid for bride price even though they might not be able to pay it then. The pressure was rather hard. The girl’s side could not give immediate reply. They left the place for another room at the far end of the house to discuss among themselves. They discussed what amount to be paid and whether they were in a position to accept it or not. After reaching a consensus the father of the girl along with members of his inndongta came out again to the fire-place where the other party waited for them while warming themselves near the fire. Then Mr. Sing Za Kham of Ngaihte clan acting as thusapi of the girl’s side conveyed the desire of the girl’s side to the boy’s party. Here Mr. Sing Za Kham belonged to both the inndongta institutions of the girl and the boy as thusapi and puu respectively. He took the side of the girl. If it were a case of dispute he would be on the side of the boy. He announced that the bride price was fixed at Rs. 470. But the girl’s father was not in a hurry to receive it. At the same time he could not accept it in absence of his younger brother. Actually the boy’s side came
prepared with a sum of Rs. 200.00 for the bride price carried by the thusapi along with the thaman mentioned above. On hearing the announcement of the amount of the bride price almost all the members of the boy's party said simultaneously, "That was what we like to hear". They felt contented. They did not press the girl's side to accept any amount of money for the bride price.

The thallouh of the boy's side demanded payment of customary mou su-puak (rice-beer of the bride) to be provided with them since the marriage was agreed upon and they could prevail with giving the thaman of Rs. 2.00. The male tanupi carried this beer to the house of the boy. Members of the inndongta of the boy enjoyed it along other beer all day long. The marriage was solemnized in the chapel. Celebration of the marriage was done in the house of the boy. Bride price was given later when the bride was in the family way at the meeting of the two sets of inndongta organisations. Payment of bride price was followed immediately by payment of sialkhumsa feast by the father of the wife in 1973. The parents of the girl provided her with bridal goods on the occasion of this sialkhumsa feast. Bridal goods consisted of hoe, axe blades, basket, puanpi quilt etc. The quilt was prepared during a period between her marriage and sialkhumsa feast.

No. 2

Mr. S. was serving in the Indian Armed Forces. He agreed to marry Miss N. as suggested by his parents though he had not dated with her earlier. The girl did not like this proposal but had submitted to the wishes of her parents. The marriage was solemnized in 1973. Now the couple seem to be happy ( cf. chart No. 10 ).
No. 3

The love affairs of Mr. Chin with his wife was not favoured by the parents of the wife. Their marriage was brought about by pre-marital pregnancy of the wife in 1960s. The girl's parents demanded a high bride price of Rs. 400.00. Mr. Chin, in order to tease his father-in-law, collected small coins in the denominations of 2, 3, 5, and 10p. for his bride price amounting to Rs. 400.00. Members of his inndongta handed over the coins to the girl's father, the motive being that the illiterate father-in-law would be confused to count them. The father-in-law told me that his son-in-law's motive was very much thwarted by his clever thallouh.

No. 4

Mr. P. and Miss L were in deep love. Their intimacy was not favoured by their parents. In the mean time Miss L got pregnant. P. took her home on the night of the New Year celebration of 1973. The parents of the boy sent their tanupi and thallouh to see the parents of the girl in the morning. They appraised the parents of the girl of the situation created by the boy and the girl with an affected sense of guilt and submission. The delegates informed the parents of the girl that the representatives of the boy were willing to see them again in the evening. They asked them to see and to receive the inndongta of the boy with consideration and negotiate with them to regularize the marriage. The parents of the girl neither said, 'Yes' nor 'No'. The members of inndongta revisited the parents of the girl with an offer of rice-beer. They did not like to fix a bride price. Instead of it the parents and members of inndongta charged a sum of Rs. 500.00 (inclusive of indemnity and bride price). A thaman of Rs. 2.00 was paid and accepted. The boy's party could not pay the bride price.
To know the amount and fix the bride price in course of marriage negotiation, in the first and second sitting is an indication of absence of major disagreement between the wife-taker and wife-giver. It is a sign of smooth negotiation even the husband does not give the amount immediately. A father may not be willing to fix a bride price of his daughter if the wife-takers are not agreeable to him or if the marriage is against his approval. He may demand higher bride price if their relation is not smooth. As for example, in one case a girl eloped with a boy against her parental approval. The father of the girl did not like members of the boy's inndongta to negotiate with him. At last he delegated his younger brother in Banukot village to receive the negotiation from the boy's side. The younger brother of the father along with members of his inndongta discussed the matter over a feast of tunse (see below) and regularized the marriage.

It follows from the cases described above that a marriage is negotiated at the level of inndongta of the boy and that of the girl. There are certain steps before a high level negotiation can take place. First, the boy and the girl love and agree to marry at individual level or the parents may arrange the marriage. The boy likes to send a messenger to the parents of the girl to which the girl agrees. The boy and/or his parents confidentially send a messenger to the parents of the girl to convey their intentions. This is done verbally and without any offering of formal gifts. The messenger requests the parents of the girl to accept gift of rice beer or tea from a party of the boy's representatives in near future. He even entreats to get a definite date for the next meeting at the inndongta level to negotiate the marriage. The reply of the girl's parents may be a negative. Such a refusal is regarded as a shameful situation on the part of the boy. So the messenger is usually a thallouh or a tanupi of the inndongta of
the boy or a near relative though in some exceptional cases the messenger may be a friend. Either the thallouh or the tanupi is the most confided messenger to initiate a proposal. Mother’s brother (puu) is not requested to initiate a marriage proposal for his sister’s son. Since matrilineal cross-cousin marriage is traditionally a prescriptive one for the eldest son or brother he is a potential wife-giver. So he is not held in equal confidence as the tanupi and the thallouh. He, however, is included among the delegates in subsequent negotiations at inndongta level.

When the girl’s parents do not like the proposal they find some excuses and they try to avoid further negotiations. But if they welcome the proposal they fix a date to receive the boy’s party and offering of rice-beer (zu-puak) or tea. A marriage negotiation is called 

A marriage negotiation is called *zu-puak* (zu = rice-beer; puak = to offer). It connotes an act of offering rice-beer for a marriage negotiation. The discussion is carried over a glass of beer or a cup of tea presented by the boy’s side on a previously appointed date. The household of the girl also donates one pot of rice-beer to reciprocate the boy’s party. Marriage contracted through negotiation at the level of inndongta is called *innbulhel* (meaning a regular and an ideal type of marriage) arranged at inndongta level.

To open marriage negotiation or any other transaction at the inndongta level, rice-beer is the first important item. To accept or to reject the offering of beer (or tea for Christians) has the opposite meaning. Acceptance of the proffered beer means agreement and rejection means otherwise. Here the tanupi of the boy is held fully responsible to arrange and to serve the *zu-puak* beer. He happens to reach the house of the girl before the arrival of other members of inndongta to get things ready. Secrecy still looms large. The parents of
the girl will not taste of the offering drink and they will not summon members of their inndongta if they decline the proposal. The parents of the girl will not allow the beer to be served also. Mr. Ngam Tual retold a case of flat rejection. The boy's representatives were intrusive causing a great wrath of the parents of the girl by repeated attempts to offer beer for marriage negotiation. The offered beer was not tasted at all. The householder threw the beer pots that broke into pieces in the second attempt of the offering. He smashed the third beer pot on the third occasion in a similar way. The wife-seekers had nothing to say. At last the proposal was dropped realising that marriage could not take place in this way by persuasion, solicitation and inducement of the girl's parents. This was an extreme case for both sides. Refusal to drink the proffered beer is enough indication of rejection of the proposal. It is enough warning to refrain from further attempts. Direct rejection is avoided for social punctiliousness. When the proposal is favourable to the girl's parents they partake of the offering. It becomes a beer of agreement. It is taken for granted by every body that such and such are to marry if it is known that there is marriage negotiation at inndongta level. In an agreeable marriage proposal the parents of the girls do not only taste of what it was offered but they also donate one beer pot of similar capacity as offered by the boy's side. They then drink together in a cordial atmosphere.

In marriage negotiation boy's inndongta occupies a lower social position than the girl's inndongta. The girl's inndongta does not turn up till they are summoned personally even though they knew the time for it beforehand. Members of the boy's party arrive at the house of the girl first. Then they press the household to summon members of its inndongta and start the negotiation. In the meantime the tanupi of the
boy makes the bear ready to be served when members of the girl's inndongta come. The parents of the boy may or may not join the party of their inndongta. The negotiation starts with servicing of the drink to the householder first as a mark of respect and subordination of the wife-seekers. A scene of marriage negotiation reflects a show of inferiority on the part of the groom's party, and an air of superiority and indifference on the part of the girl's side. It is a rule that the boy's party, in all marriage negotiations, shows outward meekness. They have to engraft themselves to get the favour of the girl's party. The boys' side is expected to recite numbers' words in simulation of meekness. Each party takes care not to be led too much away. Even agreeable item in a smooth proposal is argued for the sake of defence and argument. A candid approach is often suspected to be a camouflage. Members of the two sides do not sit together and intermingle during the course of discussion. Members of the girl's side huddle together at one side while members of the boy's side flock together in another group. The main speaker, one in each side, is usually the thallouh. Sitting together of the members of the same party facilitates a room for correction if a speaker makes a tongue-slip. Other members of his party can wink at or push him with elbow for correction and intervention. The boy's side always takes an obsequious manner. If marriage is the result of the negotiation the wife-taker assumes inferior status and the wife-giver continues the superior position. The servile attitude adopted by the boy's side in marriage negotiation is expressed: mou keel in hetbuk tawilay (Kumkheathang 1973: 65). This means that negotiators in a marriage proposal do not bring a mace with them. They are to make peace and not a war or quarrelling. This indicates that the negotiators for marriage have to bow low in their attempt to win the favour and permission of the girl's parents and relatives.
They are to accept any humiliating remarks without grudge, at least, until the boy's party can commit the girl's side into acceptance. In the first gu-puk the time for the next meeting is fixed according to convenience. Subsequent meetings of the two sets of inndongta of the girl and the boy are required for payment of bride-price, marriage feasts etc.

Marriage Restriction

The Paite can marry within and out of the clan. The clan system of the Paite does not control the marriage rules or sex life of the people (*cf.* Goswami and Kamkhenthang 1975 : 20 *et sequentia*). It has a greater role to play in the recruitment of members of inndongta than in the regulation of sexual life. Marriage among them is agamous as among many of the cognate tribes. Superstitious belief and affinal relationships rather regulate marriage. In Lungchin village there are seventy married couples. Out of this nineteen (27.14%) are marriages within the clans. The number of inter-clan marriage is fifty one (72.86%) (ref. table No. 1 given below). A man can marry any girl except his sister, half sister, mother and any woman with whom the union will amount to marriage by exchange. In this village there is one marriage of a man with his mother's brother's daughter. There is no patrilateral cross-cousin marriage. There is no particular clan from and to which a man shall get or give a wife. Marriage within maximal lineage (*hiang*) and minimal lineage (*tuul khat kikop*) takes place. Marriage of grandchildren of two brothers is rightful and normal (as found in the maximal or minimal lineage of Leivang of Ngaihte clan). There is a case of marriage of a man of Khuptong clan with his father's brother's daughter. This is also within the minimal lineage.
# Marriage Distribution Among the Clans

## Table No. 1
### Wife-giving Clans

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## Number of Households

| Wife-taking Households | Gwite | Tensing | Lang-el | Khuptong | Tombing | Phaipi | Naulak | Ngaihte | Hauhsing | Valte | Hangtal | Bawmkhai | Hangsing | Tunqlut | Total |
|------------------------|-------|---------|---------|----------|---------|--------|--------|---------|----------|-------|---------|---------|----------|---------|--------|-------|
| No. of Households      | 23    | 9       | 7       | 5        | 5       | 4      | 3      | 4       | 4        | 3     | 1       | 1       | 1        | 1       | 68     |
called *tuul khat kikop*. In these two cases the parents of the girl were dead. The inheritor (*gamlush*) within the minimal lineage married the daughters by way of looking after the handicapped households. This is condonable union as it is not believed to bring dire consequences. But this is not so much popular. There is no marriage within the same household. As such only the household in Paite society is exogamous in marriage. A man can marry the daughter of his half sister by different father as given below. Marriage within the maximal lineage is normal as it is abnormal within the same household. The incidence of marriages within the clan and outside the clan is randomly determined by the number, availability and non-availability of marriable mates. There are thirteen different clans of different households in this village. Twenty two households of the Gwite outnumber all other clans. As such it takes and gives maximum wives from and to other clans. Proportionate to the number of households and individuals the Gwite have maximum alliance within and outside the clan. There is no ideological circle of marriage.

A man cannot marry (1) a member of his household, (2) Father’s sister’s daughter, (3) Sister of his brother’s wife and (4) Sister of his sister’s husband.

The Paite have no definite rule in the choice of mates within the clan or outside the clan. There are definite rules of avoidance of certain individuals in and out the clan. These restrictions are not based on the idea of incestuousness or descent from the same ancestor or ancestress. Supernatural manifestation is greater than the idea of incest on the breach of such marriage restrictions. A man cannot marry his father’s sister’s daughter while he can rightly marry his mother’s brother’s daughter. Marriage of a man with his father’s sister’s
daughter involves marriage by exchange. Any type of marriage by exchange is prohibited in Paite society. Marriage by exchange is called *kt-saseangleh*, meaning literally, 'to return the basket of meat'. There is actual exchange of baskets, meat and women between the two households involved. At the time of father's sister's marriage she was provided with a feast (see marriage feast below) and meat in a basket for the household and members of the husband's inndongta. An equivalent return of feast and meat in a basket is to be made from father's sister's household when one marries one's father's sister's daughter. Feast and meat follow a woman in marriage. This is really an exchange of meat of basket and is automatically a marriage by exchange. It is because no woman is taken again from the same household to which a woman was given earlier. The idea of exchange of women does not come after one generation below a man's father's sister. To make the restriction more stringent it is expressed in a local saying, *Puute toh i teen leh aak i hau* (loc cit p.11). The expression literally means 'we have a brood of domestic fowls if we marry mother's brother's son. Here mother's brother's son is a point of reference to his father's sister's daughter. The saying is an ironical expression. The resultant effect of marriage of a girl with her mother's brother's son is illness and misfortune for the family or families involved in the union. Traditionally a man is responsible for the spiritual well being of his sister's children. For a married woman and her children, her father or brother is responsible for their spiritual well being. A family having such a union is sickly and there is likelihood of running the risk of extinction of the family line. The saying does not at all mean that a family of a girl marrying with her mother's brother's son will be materially blessed with plentiful domestic fowls. It rather means that her sickly family will need more domestic fowls for appeasement of evil spirits. More fowls will be given by
her natal family, as an obligation of puu, for exorcisms as her own family can no more afford to provide fowls. Even after the death of either the father or his sister, marriage of a man with his father’s sister’s daughter is not permissible. Father’s sister’s daughter is the one who is regarded as 'born of his cow mithun' as his own sister or father’s sister. One’s father got a cow mithun and a calf as bride price of one’s sister and father’s sister. A man cannot marry any woman regarded as 'born of his human cow mithun' as if she were his own sister’s daughter. Before her marriage mother’s brother of a girl or the son of her mother’s brother is puu in relation to her household. If she dies before her marriage her mother’s brother or his son becomes the ritual laangkhen in her mortuary function. To marry mother’s brother’s son means for a girl to marry her own ritual laangkhen or puu whose function after her marriage it is to bury her children in the grave. Since the office of puu in the inadongta organisation is associated with funeral rite of his sister’s children, marriage of a man with his father’s sister’s daughter is considered badly portentous. No one in Lungchin village is stated to have ever violated this marriage restriction. I had a case of such violation in Behiang village. The marriage was consumated against the will of all the relatives of both sides. The brothers of the woman did not perpetuate the lines of their descent. Wife-receiver cannot be wife-taker in relation to the same household. Arrangement of persons in their interrelationships become dislocated. Two persons or two households cannot be

*The traditional bride price is cow mithun and its calf. Formerly when a girl was married she was practically replaced by a cow mithun and her calf. This was the bride price paid by her husband’s household to her father’s household. Consequently a married daughter is equated with a cow mithun and is referred to as a 'human cow mithun'. The receiver of the actual cow mithun is regarded as the owner of the 'human cow mithun'.
both a superior puu and an inferior tuu at the same time in their dyadic relationship at personal and household levels through the inndongta.

A boy cannot marry a girl from a household to which his own sister marries. A wife-giving household cannot be a wife-receiving household at the same time as mentioned above. A wife-giving party is superior to the wife-taker. One cannot be both superior and inferior in relation to one person or one household. It should be either superior or inferior. That is, a person cannot be tuu and at the same time puu. Two households cannot be ritually related as laangkhen (see mortuary feast) to each other as two brothers cannot be nuphal to each other (see below). The office of puu in the inndongta is not reciprocal in relation to any particular household unlike thallouh, zawl, nuphal etc. At the same time the spirit of jealousy of the mother's brother will be unbearable for the sister's children even without his consciousness. The families or households exchanging sisters will be much handicapped by the evil eyes of each other if they are related as mother's brothers. The mutual office of puu as laangkhen itself is also horrible. It graphically reminds one of the scenes of funeral rite in the mind of the people as it will be just like a case in a marriage of a girl with her father's sister's son. But marriages of a brother and a sister of one household with the children of two brothers of different households are not marriage by exchange. It is considered as a normal union. The genealogy given below (chart No. 10) illustrates the case in point. Dr. Hau Za Thang married Miss Awi Ngaih Ching who is the younger sister of his father's older brother's daughter's husband. Since Hau Za Thang's father and his father's older brother live in separate households and have different inndongta, this marriage is not considered to be one of exchange though they belong to the same minimal lineage.
Chart No. 10

**MARRIAGES**

Chart No. 11

Chart No. 12
An important criterion to test a marriage whether it amounts to marriage by exchange is to see whether the same households give and take wives in exchange. Locally it is expressed, 'inn khat a pawt, inn khat a luut' connoting entry of a bride into a household should not be followed by the exit of another.

Again a man cannot marry a daughter of his half-sister by the same father. This amounts to marriage by exchange and is equivalent to a marriage with a sister's daughter. A daughter of a man's sister or half-sister is also regarded as 'born of one's human cow mithun' called sialpi sanga guak. Any marriage of a man with the children of his own cow mithun is avoided. Mr. Khai-Pu of Lang-al clan married Miang-Khup who is his half-sister's daughter (see chart no. 12). Though this type of marriage is not regarded as a kind of marriage by exchange it is normally avoided as marriage between very near relatives. This particular marriage is the second marriage for Khai-Pu and the seventh for the wife. The union is not regarded as incestuous so as to invite natural calamities to the community. It is a condonable union.

Local groups with different local customs in the matters of paying meat to mother's brother also avoid for matrimonial alliance. Local groups like village and dialectical groups have different customs of presenting meat to mother's brother by sister's son. As for example, among the villagers of Lungchin, the sister's son is expected to present the basic-ischial part of the animal killed by him to his mother's brother (see mother's brother and division meat below); whereas among Suangdoh villagers the custom is to present the ear-portion of the animal to mother's brother.
When a girl from Lunanchin marries a man from Suangdoh, the girl's son will offer the ear-portion of the meat to his mother's brother according to the custom of Suangdoh village but the mother's brother may demand the base-ischial part according to the local custom of Lungchin village. In such a case a conflicting situation may arise. To avoid such situations marriages between two local groups having different customs in relation to presenting meat to mother's brother are avoided. Mr. Za Nang told me that he had a beautiful old flame in Suangdoh village. But he dared not marry her because of difference in this local norm. Aged persons having unmarried sons explicitly expressed their unwillingness to get daughter-in-law from another local groups on the same reason. Notwithstanding this restriction, educated and Christians now do not mind to take wives from any other local groups. Christianity, education and change of environment greatly weaken this restriction. In such a liberal case the receiver of meat accepts that part of an animal meat the sister's son's household gives as a token of respect to mother's brother.

A person supposed to possess an evil spirit (kau) was carefully avoided in the past for matrimonial purpose. Persons suspected to be in possession of kau are spoken of secretly among only confidants. Accusation of a person as possessing evil spirit is cognisable to a fine. Therefore, it is not easy to identify them.

*About the origin of kau, the evil spirit, a story is current among the people. Once a certain household of a certain clan had a cow mithun. The cow mithun was tethered under the plateauf of a pile dwelling at night within the house pallisade. The mother of that household woke up early in the morning. The urinated on the uncovered portion of a high varndah. Miraculously the cow mithun burst into laughter at the mistress of the house. It said, "I saw the
All prohibited forms of marriage are supposed to result in a deadly consequence. Another strictly prohibited form of marriage is marriage of two brothers with two sisters. To prevent this type of marriage a proverbial saying comes into action as a perpetual reminder. Unau ki-nuphal hoih lou (op cit. p. 180). It means that it is not good for brothers to be nuphal to each other in each other’s inndongta. Brothers cannot be brothers-in-law by marrying two sisters. Husbands of sisters or sisters with their husbands are nuphal siaibawl in their reciprocal relationships of their households (confer ante pp. 87-92). This restriction is only for brothers who are to be thallouh/bangkua, thusa etc. to each other after their marriages. Two uterine sisters can be nuphal to each other as a rule but brothers cannot be so.

In the village of my study, however, two uterine brothers married two uterine sisters (See chart No. 11 above).

Vulva of "my mistress". Members of the household considered the keeping of the animal dangerous and they killed it. The meat was distributed among the members of the inndongta, relatives and neighbours. Members of the inndongta also in their turn, gave token slices of meat to the members of their inndongta. All those who had partaken of the meat were the first victims of the kau. Its possession spread first through the inndongta. Since inndongta is formed by persons of different clans this spread of the possession of the evil spirit is transmitted to the next generation through marriage and descent. A possessed woman transmits the possession to her children. It is also said that a man is possessed of the spirit as soon as he begets a son from a possessed wife. It is further said that girls born of possessed parent or parents are usually beautiful, charming and it is difficult to resist the thraldom. This kind of belief is also current among the cognate tribes and the Meitei. Among the Meitei only members of the weaker sex are the victims. A Meitei thinks, "Better marry a non-meitei girl instead of marrying a possessed meitei girl".
In this case the older couple was very successful in perpetuation of the line of descent and proliferation of issues. But the younger pair had only one son who did not have son in his turn. He had only daughters. The villagers attributed this extinction of the line of descent to the violation of the prohibited rule of marriage by the brothers and sisters. The ritual relationship between husbands of sisters is nuphal sialbawl and the function of this office in the inndongta is to chop meat of mithun killed for a mortuary feast. Two brothers are thallouh to each other after marriage if they do not marry two sisters from the same household. Therefore, they are not expected to denote themselves from the position of thallouh to nuphal sialbawl by marrying two sisters. Thallouh is superior to nuphal-sialbawl in the inndongta. The nuphal's most important function is connected with the mortuary feast of a member of the household of his counterpart. Then the brothers are nuphal to one another. Their ritual functions are not required, as much as when they are thallouh, until a member of the household of either of them dies. In other words a nuphal to be functional he should expect a death in his counterpart's household. Such a wish is against the spirit of the relationship between brother and brother. Therefore, the brothers are expected to avoid a situation which would put them in a position of nuphal to each other. Therefore it is looked down with more abhorrence and awe than any other prohibited forms of marriage.

MARRIAGE FEASTS

From negotiation through marriage to the birth of the first child the Faite arrange a series of feasts. The number of feasts vary according to the local customs and practice. The feasts are as follows:
Tunsa

This feast is organised at the bride's place on the eve of her departure to her husband's place. This is the first major feast in the series. (Tun or Tun = to arrive or reach, sa = meat or animal; meaning the feast of reaching the bride to her husband's place). This feast may also be arranged in regularising an irregular marriage. Members of inndongta of the boy and that of the girl participate in the feast. The boy does not participate in it. After the feast the girl is taken home by the members of the boy's inndongta where she starts living with her husband without any further formality or ritual.

Members of inndongta of the boy and that of the girl assemble in the house of the girl. A cow or bull or a pig or a mithun is killed for the feast. The dressed meat is divided into two halves between the two groups. The respective groups again individually divide their shares. The visceral parts and the head are cooked in a porridge by the girl's party for the feast which is partaken by all the presents. The bride price and other related matters are discussed over the feast. The tanupi and the thallouh of both sides dine together from one big dish inside the house. Before any one is allowed to take meals a member of the girl's inndongta announces the contents of the agreement between the two parties. Then he requests the members to enjoy the feast by swallowing the meat and food along with the contents of the agreement. This connotes that the agreement reached is irrevocable after the feast. The people in Lungchin village combine this feast with sialkhumsa or sapuak. As such they do not have tunsa feast.

Local groups having this tunsa feast pay additional marriage prices: such as thallouh sum (money for the thallouh),
ni-sum (money for father's sister) and min-man (price of name for the name-giver of the bride).

Sial-khumsa

Of all the feasts of marriage, sial-khumsa is held to be the most important. (Sial = a domestic gayal, khum = to give or to offer, ee = animal or meat or feast). So sial-khumsa means a feast for giving mithun for a bride price. The Paite of Mizoram do not have now sial-khumsa unless payment of bride price is made in terms of mithun. But it is a very important feast among the Paite in Manipur and Chin State. Traditional marriage is a long process. Shakespear (1912:144) noted:

The marriage is not considered final nor is any payment made till a child is born, and if this does not occur within three years the couple separate, but on the birth of a child the full price agreed on must be paid up and divorce is not countenanced.

Only when the bride conceived, the marriage is supposed to be on the completion and prestations are exchanged to stabilize the marriage. All the marriage feasts are given by the father or brother of the bride, as a wife-giving group, to the family and inndonta of the wife-receiving group. Pregnancy of the bride stimulates the members of the wife-receiving group and they hand over the bride price and they also receive other prestations of feast. This traditional payment is followed now in Lungchin. In other Paite villages payment of bride price is made now even on the day of the bride leaving for her husband’s household.

- A feast given on the eve of payment of bride price is called sial-khumsa. Traditional bride price in Manipur was a cow mithun and a calf. So the feast given by the bride's father is in acknowledgement of the bride price which may be
in cash or in kind. It is offered only after payment of bride price. Offering of this feast is compulsory on the part of the wife-giver.

To accept bride price means to accept the responsibilities of offering sial-khumsa feast on the part of the bride's natal household. The wife-giver may not be in a position to offer sial-khumsa feast on the day of receiving the bride price or immediately after it. Under such circumstances he can accept only part payment of the fixed marriage price of his daughter in order to defer sial-khumsa. The occasion of sial-khumsa is the time of exchanging 'feminine goods' and 'masculine goods or valuables' between the wife-giver and the wife-receiver with the knowledge of the members of inndongta organisations of the two groups. Proposal of part or full payment of bride price by the wife-receiving party is an indirect means of demanding sial-khumsa. Reversely a proposal to offer sial-khumsa feast by the wife-giving party is an indirect demand for the payment of the outstanding bride price. In sial-khumsa members of inndongta of the wife-receiver and wife-giver are provided with food and drink. It is also regarded as an entertainment in honour of the 'payer of bride price'. It is said, "Mou lei vaak", it means feeding the receiver of the bride.

With regards to the treatment of the feast there are two types of sial-khumsa. Either one of them is followed according to the mutual agreement of the wife-giver and wife-receiver backed by members of their inndongta organisations. In one case members of the wife-giving party and the wife-taking party display their own members of inndongta very conspicuously. Anatomically prescribed shares of meat for the members of inndongta of the two sides are cooked
separately outside the house of the bride's father. The wife-givers and wife-takers maintained their identities separately throughout the feast. Members of inndongta of the wife-giver were paired with their corresponding members of the inndongta of a husband. The way to consume the meat or the way to distribute the shares of meat depended upon the agreement of each corresponding paired members of the inndongta organisations of the two sides. The tanuupi of the wife-giving household and corresponding tanuupi of the wife-taking household could either jointly cook their shares of meat and eat together or they could carry their shares home for their own domestic consumption. In a similar way other members of the inndongta could do with their shares of meat.

For a general feast to be offered to children, relatives, invitees, neighbours and non-members of inndongta only the visceral parts were cooked in a porridge. This system is now discarded in Lungchin. This kind of sial-khumsa discriminates too openly between members of inndongta and non-members. But it maintained the identities of the wife-giver and wife-taker as two opposing forces. Non-members of inndongta could not participate in the feast. So people do not favour this type.

In the second type of sial-khumsa one pectoral part and one half of the animal killed for the feast is given to the wife-taking party. In some cases just a symmetrical half of the meat without the visceral part and the head is given away. The remaining part of meat is retained by the householder for further distribution among members of his own inndongta and a little amount for a feast. Mr. Sen-Pu of Tonsing clan received sial-khumsa from the household to which his sister was married. Out of the meat he got, he apportioned the usual
share of meat to his tanupi. He gave only small slices of unspecified part of meat to other members of his inndongta. The meat retained by the feast-giver was distributed among the members of his inndongta in a similar way. If the residual meat is not sufficient for the feast a part of meat from the shares of the tanupi, tanunau, pyu and zawl is retained. At the same time it is a means of cajoling members of the inndongta who work for the householder concerned. Members of inndongta ought to get slices of meat and feast since they work and contribute their rice beer also.

Sial-khumsa is the occasion on which 'feminine articles' such as hoe-blade, axe-blade, trousseau, bridal presents and other bridal wealth are given to the wife-taking party. In presence of the members of both the inndongta of the husband and the wife's father, transference of goods is made. Members of the inndongta are the living witnesses to the deal. Bridal goods given to a married daughter or sister on any day other than sial-khumsa feast do not form part of the bridal goods. It is a private and personal matter since such payment is not known to the members of the inndongta. The bridal articles are handed over by the tanupi of the girl's father to the members of the inndongta of the son-in-law. The meat is carried by the female tanupi of the husband and gets a piece of cloth (sa seensein) used to cover the basket of meat (see photo No.11). If a compulsory gourd of lard is not supplied on the day of marriage it is taken for granted that the father of the girl is willing to provide the son-in-law with sial-khumsa. If there is no gourd of lard on the occasion of sial-khumsa the father is supposed to be willing to give one more feast. In such a case payment of lard is made in the next feast called sapuck or tanu-sagoh, given below.
Tanu sagoh: A feast for a married daughter

A married woman is given a feast when she revisits her natal home. This feast is not a compulsory obligation if the natal household cannot afford. It is either called sapuak or tanu sagoh. It is an expression of love for a married away daughter or sister. It is a complementary feast. It may also serve to silence the wrath of the in-laws of the married woman in case of disharmonious married life as a case history given below. It exerts to establish the superiority of the wife-giver over the wife-taker. A married girl may be taunted by her mother-in-law on her return from her father. A folk song recounts the laments of a girl returning from her parents without sapuak:

Ningzu aaisa polou buanga,
Khua khal lamphei ka zuih ding aw;
Nutun suihlung mawl a aw e.

Nutun suihlung mawl in zong,
Lungzuan gaalkhua dalllah ta'ng e;
Leichin suihlung mawl a aw.

Free rendering:

Without carrying rice-beer and meat,
I follow the path to my husband's house;
My mother is silly.

I am also silly,
I cannot resist from going back to my husband's;
My brother is silly for not providing me with a feast.
A case history

Mrs. Niang Vung quarreled with her husband's sister over a division of daily work load and she returned home in October 1973. She took with her some of her bridal goods such as axe, hoe, basket and cloths as if she were to dissolve her marriage. She continued staying back and working for the household of her father till harvest was over in December next. The main impasse that underlay the disharmony was non-payment of a part of her bride price. Her father-in-law said that her own father instigated her to stay back in his house as a means of demanding an outstanding bride price amounting to Rs. 250.00 out of the original amount of Rs. 300.00. She was persuaded five times on different occasions by her husband and his friends, her father-in-law and her step-mother-in-law to come back home. But it was of no avail. At last the thallouh (who was her second brother) of Niang Vung's parents' inndongta told the husband and his friends that his wife would rejoin him if he could clear the outstanding due. He further told them that the wife's natal household would offer him a feast of sapuak and let the wife rejoin her husband. The feast was offered in December. It was parken by the members of the inndongtsa of the husband and that of the wife's parents. But the husband could not clear the due. Members of his inndongtsa pleaded for him. Then the wife rejoined him in the same warmth of love on the night of the feast. She was accompanied with meat of her sapuak and a pot of rice-beor which the members of the husband's inndongtsa enjoyed. The wife's father could exert his position by virtue of his feast and the husband's social position was lowered as he could not yet clear his due.
Deferred Payment of Bride Price

Bride price in Paite society is compulsory. Every bride is expected to be paid for. No one is exempted from payment of his bride price. However, deferred payment is allowed on the grounds of financial hardship. Every body likes to make full payment of his bride as early as possible. The Lushai also allow deferred payment (see Shakespear 1912:52). Every wife-giving party gives the settled amount of the bride price, partial or full, according to their means. Non-payment or inability to afford payment of bride price is not considered a reasonable ground to withdraw marriage proposal or to dissolve the marriage. There is a folk song popular among the people:

Tun nial jue nial ahileh khenni,  
Zaang sesum nial a hilileh tuahni;  
Zaang sesum in kung nei na sa a hiam?  
Haibang ngak le'ng siang tuangtung ding hi.

Translation:
Let us not marry against parental approval,  
But let's not care if only money prevents us from marrying;  
Do you think money has a particular tree to bear it?  
If we wait, money will come to us.

This couplet is supposed to have been composed by a girl in love. She serenaded her lover with this song. She requested him to marry her if his parents approved of her and urged him not to let his poverty and inability to pay a bride price hinder them from marriage. By waiting and working for sometime they would be in a position to pay the bride price after marriage.
Formerly payment of either thaman or principal bride price was put in abeyance till the bride conceived. The girl's parents even refused to accept it until their daughter conceived. But now thaman of Rs. 2.00 in Lungchin is paid as soon as marriage proposal is settled. (It varies from Rs. 2.00 to Rs. 10.00 in other villages). Thaman literally means labour charge in modern parlance. (Tha = 'labour' or 'soul'; man = price). Tha also means a soul in some Paite dialects and it is corrupted into kha in some other Paite dialects. So thaman means price of a soul. Thaman is given as it were a compensation to the bride's parents who lose the labour of the daughter. But it should not be mistaken as the price paid to purchase the girl or her labour. Mere payment of thaman does not give the wife-receiver a right to claim the services of his wife in Lungchin. But payment of bride price (mouman = 'price of the bride') gives the wife-taker a right to claim the labour of the bride. Acceptance of bride price confiscates the wife-giver the right to claim the services of the daughter after her marriage. Villagers suspect that part or full payment of bride price is made if a newly married woman is found working regularly for the household of her husband. The actual function of thaman is to transfer the right to the wife-taker to bury the corpse of the wife when she is dead. So thaman is also rightly interpreted as si vuii theihna, meaning 'a right to bury the dead'. Payment of thaman transfers the right to bury the corpse in order to transfer the soul-spirit of the bride from her natal group to the spiritual band of the husband's lineage or clan after death. In case of divorce thaman is not refunded and the husband also loses his right to bury the corpse of his wife. So thaman is said 'to rot away along with the rice from where beer is extracted'. In traditional Meitei marriage there were similar payments called mangkat and bride price of Rs. 50.00 (Chandra Singh
Delayed payment of bride price can cause a threat to the stability of marriage. Father of the bride, camouflaging his intention of getting his daughter's marriage price, may incite his married daughter to return home. This show of running away from the husband is a gesture of demanding an outstanding due of the bride price. In such a case the wife stays at her parents' house for a longer period till her husband's group is set in motion out of the situation. A husband's household will send a party of members of the inndongta to discuss and persuade the parents and members of her father's inndongta to allow her to return. This situation brings together the members of inndongta of the boy and those of the girl who know whether bride price had been paid or not. If the boy can afford to pay his due his inndongta will hand over the bride price to the wife-giver. Members of the boy's inndongta will make a polite apology if he is not yet in a position to pay the bride price. This kind of case happened to take place beneath my nose between a household of Bawmkhai clan and a household of Gwite clan (see a case history given above). Deferred payment of bride price can really become a threat to the social equilibrium of the household or the households of the two in-laws. But temporary withholding of the customary bride price is not a sound reason for the wife and the husband for separation. Their relationship has been strengthened by the birth of children. The position of married couple becomes shaky as their primary relatives usually play behind the screen. Certain fathers are in a hurry to receive the bride price before the husband can pay it though there is a room for deferment of the payment. If two households in marriage relationship are on speaking terms, the bride price will be liberally soft. The amount settled by the members of
inndongta of both sides can be reduced if the relationship of the two households are harmonious. But it cannot be condoned altogether. A boy's party will not withdraw from the marriage proposal if they really intend to marry the girl even high bride price is proposed. It is said, "Singkung kahlah tawp ngei, mou leilah tawp lou" (Kamkhenthang 1973:130). It means that 'a man gives up his attempt to climb a tree if it is unclimbable, but a person who does not afford to buy a wife does not give up his marriage proposal'. This is the norm in the society. The attempt to climb a big tree may involve life if it is not given up. A high bride price which a man cannot clear at one attempt or so can be paid in small instalments. A high bride price is invariably an index of the bride's social position or a reflection of relation between the two parties involved in the matrimony. A proposal of a high bride price may intend to see whether the boy's side is really willing to take the girl. It is also said, 'Ziman ngaak ngei tuikang ngaak ngei' (ibid. p.69). 'It is a rule to wait till one can pay one's own wife's bride price as one waits to get water from a scanty fountain'. If a man cannot make payment of his bride price, even with the help of his brother, he has to wait till he can amass a little amount of wealth and pay whatever is possible. In dry season the village water hole becomes scanty. A woman going to fetch water has to wait for some time to accumulate water in the hole till she can have it. After marriage one's position is bettered as a result of one's joint labour with the wife. A wife helps her husband in clearing their marriage price.

Mrs Khup Luan paid the bride price for her husband to her parents. She told me how she worked hard to pay her own marriage price to her parents. In this case the husband was poor. His natal family could not provide for his bride price. After embarkation on a separate household she and her
husband worked hard and got paddy more than they required. In two years' time they could buy a heifer mithun. Within the next year the mithun calved. This cow mithun and its calf were given as their marriage price. Under tipsy condition the husband is in the habit of saying to his wife that he has purchased her. This prompts the wife to retaliate him by saying that she has purchased herself from her natal people remembering how she worked hard to this end. Bride price can be paid by the wife herself in association with her husband during his life time. A wife's contribution towards payment of her bride price is, however, counted as the joint contribution of her nuclear family.

To pay only a part of the bride price or to defer the payment is considered to be less dignified as it means poverty. Without payment of bride price there can be no sial-khumsa feast. This feast (see above) is payable by the wife's natal household on receipt of an outstanding bride price of his daughter or sister. Indirect means of demanding payment of bride price is often resorted to as mentioned above and in sial-khumsa feast.

Payment of bride price cannot be deferred for good under any circumstance unless the husband divorces his wife before the birth of a child. It is not condoned but not vehemently insisted upon if the thaman has been paid. In spite of the unpardonable nature of bride price it may be allowed to remain unpaid up to the seventh generation. It is said, "Insects do not destroy bride price" (ibid. p. 74). 'Insects do not destroy bride price' is the meaning. Passage of time does not liquidate the unpaid bride price. It is Immuned to the destructive insects that destroy even big trees by the passage of time.
I have met persons in the village who had paid their mothers' bride prices after the death of their fathers or mothers or both. Mr. X paid his mother's bride price long after the death of his father to the inheritor (gamluah) of his mother's people. Mr. Y also paid his mother's bride price in Agalzang village quite late. Another case in which Mr. Z had paid the bride price of his father's mother (e.g. his paternal grandmother) was also reported from another village. Payment of bride price is found more and more difficult after the death of the bride herself. Delayed payment of bride price means nothing but persistent penury of the husband and negligence by the next generation. If this deferment is coupled with the death of the bride, payment is more difficult and it needs fresh negotiations through the cooperation of innagontas of the deceased wife's father. So it is said, "Sub sia lei haksas" (ibid. p.174). 'It is difficult to purchase a skeleton' is the meaning. If a woman dies after marriage, she has to be buried by the husband's people provided they had paid the thaman. She is to be buried in the name of the clan or lineage of the husband. Formerly she was bid farewell with the exoteric clan-song (lapi) of her husband's clan and with the fare-well song (tanu-khakula) of her natal clan (Goswami and Kamkhenthang)1975). Her body got decayed leaving only the skeletal remains in the ossuary. So to make payment of bride price after the wife's death tantamounts to purchasing bones only. A case of this kind is reported in which one of my informants in Lungchin participated in the negotiation as a member of innagontas of the deceased woman's father.

Inordinate delay due to negligence is taken in a serious way as a sign of indifference of the wife-taker to the wife-giver. A poor man delegating members of his innagontas to appraise of his covert to his in-laws with an
offer of either rice-beer or tea will be well understood. He can directly intimate his condition to his in-laws. But it will be less weighty. The voice of his inndonga which he commissions will be weighty and final. Mr. Lamthawn in the village took a second wife from a village in Burma. He could not make payment of any kind even after having one child. He did not send any member of his inndonga to represent his case and make an apology for his inability to pay the bride price to his wife's people. His in-laws took the matter somewhat seriously. His in-laws delegated two of the members of their inndonga to demand payment of their due. At the same time the son-in-law was charged with negligence and contempt for his in-laws for being silent for long. The man found himself guilty of his silence. He could not evade the situation but gave only a patient hearing and apology. He gave the delegates a sum of Rs. 10.00 which he could afford somehow. He said that this sum would be adjusted with the principal bride price after deducting any amount for the compulsory thaman. Children do not suffer from any social stigma even if the father does not make payment of this bride price.

NAME GIVING CEREMONY

A ceremony to name a child is a joyous occasion for the household of the parents and that of the mother's father. The ceremony is arranged within a day or so of the birth of the child. It is done in the house of the child's father. There is a belief that evil spirits are fond of giving names to new born babies. Babies become sickly and may have a little chance of survival if the wicked spirits happened to give names to the babies before human beings can. So non-Christians usually give a provisional name to a newly born child at parturition. The name giving ceremony is called tuilasak, meaning
fetching water. Soon after the birth, the female taoupi of the child’s household goes to the house of the child’s mother’s brother (puu) to fetch a pot of rice-beer. This rice-beer contributed by the child’s mother’s natal household is called tuilakzu (zu - rice-beer). In olden times this tuilakzu was accompanied with two domestic fowls to exorcise the new baby and its mother. In the rite, two domestic fowls were invited besides members of the inndongta of the child’s household and neighbours. This part of the ceremony is followed more intensely in Usichin, Swuubem, Tuimui etc. in Burma. In Usichin village the tuilakzu beer is treated as ordinary one, it has no special treatment. Owls are also given by the child’s mother’s parents. But there is no more exorcism. The exorcist officiated in the rite, he killed the fowls and read omen from the movements of the legs of the dying fowls. Of the two fowls one was given to the exorcist and the other to the nurse who helped in the delivery. The exorcist tied a bundle of white down feathers to the neck of the child and that of the mother. The tuilakzu beer was to be tasted by the child’s mother in order to have abundant breast milk after the exorcist had made magically effective. It was served to the female participants only. It was prohibited to the male participants. A man who had tasted of this tuilakzu beer was supposed to have sudoriferous tendencies. The exorcist and the nurse were invited besides members of the inndongta of the child’s household and neighbours. This part of the ceremony is followed more intensely in Usichin, Swuubem, Tuimui etc. in Burma. In Usichin village the tuilakzu beer is treated as ordinary one, it has no special treatment. Owls are also given by the child’s mother’s parents. But there is no more exorcism. The child’s household retains the fowls. In Christian household the name giving ceremony is called nau min phuak (name giving to a child). The ceremony loses the ritual label of tuilakzu, as there is no rice beer in a Christian function.

In the ceremony alternative names are suggested by the name-giver and discussed at length. The best one is selected. There are definite relationships between the household of the
child and the name-giver as shown below. In a name giving ceremony not only a name is given but a social recognition is also accorded to a child as a member of a family, clan and the tribe. Name is important for both the dead and the living. The dead child will be recognised by its name in the abode of the dead by the ancestors. Still born ones are also given names. Usually they bear a name zui (meaning to follow). Ning-Nu's first child was born dead. It was named Zen Zui. This is to prevent subsequent premature births. In such a case there is no formal ceremony. The nurse attending the mother at parturition may simply give a pseudonym to the child born dead or alive. Such an informal name given at birth is not socially recognised. It is a protection against wicked spirits.

Names given to children may signify various things depending upon the sentimental and physical conditions of the name-giver, etc. But limited number of linguistic units of a name cannot express all what a name-giver likes to convey. There is a definite rule for naming a new born child. Names of the children of a household are given either by a member or a potential member of the innongta of the child. Though a name is expected to consist of more than one word, a name with more than three words is regarded as too long. There is none bearing four-worded name in Lungchin village out of the total 473 persons. Though names are personal identifications it is not unusual to encounter persons bearing similar names. Children of uterine siblings also do not bear similar names. No two individuals bear similar name in the same family. They do not bear even similar terms of endearment if they happen to live together under the same roof.

There is a set of words whose presence in a name makes it feminine. Such words are Niang, Nian, Man, Dim, Ngem, Don, etc. (See a table given below). Generally the combination
of words of a name common to both male and female does not make a name feminine or masculine unless a feminine word or a masculine word is added to it. Thang Kam is a masculine name and Khup Luan is a feminine name. To make the word Thang either a feminine or a masculine name we have to add to it either a prefix or a suffix or some other words peculiar to female or male as the case may be. Thang Chiin becomes a feminine name by the presence of Chiin. The order and combination of the common words and presence of a word peculiar to a particular sex make a name clear.

Linguistic Structure of the Paite Names:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Linguistic units</th>
<th>Complete Names</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Male</strong></td>
<td><strong>Female</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHIN, MANG,</td>
<td>NING, NIAN,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NANG, SUAN,</td>
<td>MAN, NIANG,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUNG, LIAN,</td>
<td>CHIN, DIM,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THIAN, SIAN,</td>
<td>CHING, NGEM,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SING, NENG,</td>
<td>DON, NEM,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOK, HUAN,</td>
<td>NGA IH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KHAI ETC.</td>
<td>NGEM PAAM,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>KHAL HONH ETC.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Male</strong></th>
<th><strong>Female</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GIN ZA THANG</td>
<td>SING ZA KHAM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIM KHO ZAM</td>
<td>NGAI ZA CHING</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Moreover a female child may endearingly be called with a suffix NU (female), NOU (young) and a male child with PUU (sir). These suffixes distinguish a male from a female child. However, there are suffixes like VOM (black), SAN (red), KAANG (white), NGEK (young), PI (great or feminine) etc. These can be added to both feminine and masculine names. In this case the prefix will determine the gender. Mr. Luai-Kho Thawng is endearingly called Thawng-Pi. Miss Ning Khan-Niang is Niang-Pi and Mr. Kam Za Chin is Chin-Vom. Sometimes terms of endearment alone combine to make a nickname of a child. Mr. Zam Za Thang is called Pa-Ngek (young male) and Mrs. Khup Luau is Pi-Ngek. Of the common words for male and female, Za, KHUA or KHO and KHAN always form the middle part of a name except in case of endearment. For the sake of endearment Mr. Thang Kho Pau can be called Thang Khua.

Mr. Vum Za Nang is addressed as Za Nang. Any other words of a name can stand in any part of a name as desired. They can be transmitted and adopted.

Each word in a name has a meaning (see Zam Khan Pau 1975: 20-21). The connotations of a few words of the names are given below. The words may also mean some other things by extension. Either the literal meaning or the derived meaning of the words may be the significance of a name.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Words or Parts of a name</th>
<th>English Equivalent</th>
<th>Derived meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chin (Cin)</td>
<td>Efficient</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ching (Chy)</td>
<td>Sufficient</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dim</td>
<td>To fill, to be full</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gou</td>
<td>Heirloom, Parental properties</td>
<td>The most endearred one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goh</td>
<td>Animals killed in a game as well as in a feast.</td>
<td>Affluent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Words or Parts of a name</td>
<td>English Equivalent</td>
<td>Derived meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoih</td>
<td>Beautiful</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hau</td>
<td>To have plenty</td>
<td>Rich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kam</td>
<td>Luck, Destiny</td>
<td>Intrepid as a tiger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khup</td>
<td>To excel</td>
<td>Meritorious, victorious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lian</td>
<td>Big, great</td>
<td>Powerful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lam</td>
<td>To earn, to possess rich</td>
<td>Treasure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maang</td>
<td>&quot;king, royal majestic&quot;</td>
<td>Magnificent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muan</td>
<td>Dependable, worth relying</td>
<td>The one held in high hopes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mung/Ngul</td>
<td>A support as a trellis or espalier or as a spring of a trap</td>
<td>The main organ of support or dependance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niang</td>
<td>To surfeit, Overfed Exuberant, opulent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nem</td>
<td>Pliable, assuasive to console Consoler consolation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngai/Ngaih</td>
<td>To love, to long for The one held in tenderness</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nial</td>
<td>To reject or to be rejected</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pau</td>
<td>To speak</td>
<td>Influential, Commanding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siam</td>
<td>Skillful, courteous</td>
<td>To be taken care of by God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sian/Thian</td>
<td>God</td>
<td>Holy, clean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sawn</td>
<td>Ten</td>
<td>Manifold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thang</td>
<td>Fame, noted</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vum</td>
<td>A heap or pile (of paddy)</td>
<td>Abundant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Za</td>
<td>Hundred</td>
<td>myriads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zee</td>
<td>Pervasive</td>
<td>To give a pang</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Personal names in Paite society are arrangement and rearrangement of the above words in the best possible fashion. The people are aware that the number of words or names is limited. Hence it is not impossible to bear a part or whole of a name already borne by some other persons. New words are seldom coined for part or parts of a name.

A name is partly derived from the name-giver's name. The last word of the name-giver's name normally becomes the first word of the new name given to a child (See chart No. 13 below). A person may find the last word of his or her name not 'so good' for transmission. Then he or she has an option to transmit the initial word of his or her name, which in fact, is the last word of the former name-giver's name. Some persons hesitate to divulge their names as they find parts or full of their names not 'so good'. Mr. Mang Za Nial felt so. Her whole name may not 'to reject hundred kings'.

Name giving system in Paite society is determined by definite factors. These factors are: 1. Sex of the child; 2. Order of birth of the children and of the fathers; 3. Sex of the name-giver in relation to the child and 4. Position of the name-giver in the inandouts of and in the kinship universe of the child.

The first born child of any sex is generally named by the paternal side of the child. The first son of the eldest son must be christened by the child's father's father. In case he is dead, a member of his family will officiate in

Mr. Thang Za Tuan alias Tuan-nou, a student in Sydney University, gave a name to a son of his elder brother. He called the child Tuan Dip Ong to refer to the degree awarded to him by Pangoon University. (Tuan = Victorious; Dip = Diploma; Ong = to qualify).
his place and the child's name will begin with the last word of the grandfather's name. If the second child is female, the child's maternal side (puu) must give name to this child. The child's household cannot deny the right of the maternal side to give name to the second child of female sex born next to the first son. If the first child is female the paternal side av give a name to her at the derivation of the maternal side. The household of the child may deny the right of giving name to the first born and first female child to the child's maternal side (puu). In that case the next birth and the second female child is to be christened by the maternal side. The child's maternal household, particularly the grandfather, may christen the second son in consecutive births. In such a case the household of puu (mother's brother or father) is supposed not to claim again a second chance of giving name to a subsequent child of any sex. Mother's side enjoys only one chance.

A third chance of name-giving is given to the tanupi. A fourth child is to be named by the thallouh of the child's household. The female tanupi gives name to the third child if the third child is female, if it is male the name is given by the male tanupi. Similarly the male thallouh gives a name to a male child and the female thallouh to a female child. This also depends upon the convenience of the last part of the name-giver's name. That is to say that if the husband's name is found inconvenient to be the basis of a new name of a new born female child, his wife will be the name-giver (Ref. chart No. 13).

A female relative (tanu) is given first preference over a male relative (thallouh) in name-giving system. This first preference given to a married away female (tanupi) against the thallouh which is the household of the child's clan members, has a structural importance also. It is a
reward given to the tanupi for her ritual services in name-giving ceremony or at the time of birth of every child as mentioned earlier. The female tanupi is the busiest member of the inndongta at birth and name-giving ceremony called tuilaak. The privilege given to her or her husband as the case may be, is in recognition of her services. The privilege given to the tanupi in christening the third child is spoken of as tanu goihna, meaning a wage for employing the tanu. It is also spoken of as tuila goihna, meaning a renumeration for fetching water (rice beer called tuilaak-zu) from the maternal people of the child. The thallouh's family stands second in order of receiving privileges at birth and name-giving. This rite is the continuation of the marriage contracted between the families of the child's parents. In subsequent births, from the fifth child the chances for giving name are apportioned by the sisters and brothers of the child's father. They may be holding offices in the inndongta of the child's household. Normally they get their chances in order of seniority. In some cases any one who claims the right of name-giving is given it earlier than the one who sits mum. This situation is applicable only to births subsequent to the fourth one. A final authority to decide as to who will be the name-giver lies with the household of the baby. Wrong appropriation of the privilege or too much intrusiveness for name-giving strains inter-familial relationships. The more the parents have children the more strings of social relationship become renewed and reinforced over the pre-existing ones. It is all the better for the parents and their relatives. Submerged tension usually surface between the in-laws and among patrilineal relatives over privilege of giving a name to a new born baby as shown below.
Persons in the descending generations marked with mnemonic alphabets and numerals are name-receivers from persons marked with corresponding numerals and alphabets in the ascending generations.
Position of a child in a family determines who will be its name-giver. The first son of the second son receives his name from his father's eldest brother or father's father. Any first born son of younger sons receives his name from paternal side to emphasize patrilineality and seniority of the child concerned. The first sons of the younger brothers also get names from paternal kinsmen while the first daughter gets her name from her maternal kinsmen. As in the case of the third child of the eldest brother the tanupi gets a chance to give name to the third child of the younger brother. Death of the first child or the second child in childhood reverts the process. In the chart No. 13 given above Mr. Neng Za Gin (10b) whose name given by Thuam Khan-Neng (10b) died young. This necessitated the name-giver's father, Phung Nok (1,E) to give name to Nok Dou Maang (1a), son of the second brother. In this case Mr. Thuam Khan Neng (10b) was considered to be an inauspicious name-giver. Consequently, the next born son was then given a name by Mr. Phung Nok. The rule of giving names to the children of more brothers cannot follow the same procedure in precision. Importance is given to the first son of the eldest son in which case the male line is strictly adhered to. Seniority and patriliney are much stressed. The eldest son of the eldest son or eldest brother is counted as a person in the main line of descent. He is the link between the generations of his father and his own children. He is also the lineage leader. Formerly he was known as tuulpi, e.g. ritual leader of the lineage. This line of descent is the main line in conical clan system of the Paite (Goswami and Kamkhenthang 1975: 37-39). So long as it continues to exist this senior descent line is regarded as innpi (principal house) by the younger brothers or the cadet lines.
The name-giving system of the Paite serves as an infallible record of pedigree. Depth of generation is ascertainable through the name-giving system as every grandfather transmits the last word of his name to his eldest grandson born by his eldest son. By correlating the names of grandsons and grandfathers one can determine whether a particular son is the eldest son of the eldest son or they are the younger ones. So a son of a younger brother cannot easily claim seniority over the son of the eldest brother and his descendants. The eldest son of the eldest brother has muniments to defend his seniority in the derivation of his name. After knowing the position and sex of a new born baby in a family it is possible to ascertain the probable name-giver. Then a child is born in a family the villagers say, "So and so gives birth to a child". What is the sex of the infant? What is its position in the family? asks someone. "It is the third child and the first female child in the family" came the answer. "Well! if it is so, she will get her name from the female tanupi" concludes the other.

Since patriliny and primogeniture are so much emphasized in Paite society the younger brothers and sisters of the ascending generations are not remembered in the next few generations. But the names of the eldest sons or brothers in each generation are more or less well remembered in subsequent generations as the name-giving system reveals it. Sometimes in some cases death of the eldest brother without a male issue to perpetuate the main line of descent blurs the pedigree. Under such circumstances an alternative arrangement is made, if it is not too late. This is illucidated with a case history (Ref. chart No. 13). The eldest brother (Thuam Hang) of Phung Nok (ego) died without a son. Thuam Hang's son, Thuam Dong (10a) named by the grandfather (10) also died. Phung Nok (1) became the eldest brother or
eldest son and his line of descent the principal line for his minimal lineage group. Then Phung Nok's eldest son filled the hiatus in the genealogy by taking name from his grand-father (Dian Thuam) as his deceased cousin did.

Personal names are immortality of the name-givers. It is a kind of incarnation in the next generation. But there is no belief that an ancestral spirit to enter into the womb of a woman and reborn in the form of a baby to represent the dead ancestor or ancestress on earth. Transference of name from elder person to the younger is a remembrance of the name-giver. Dead persons are remembered in the persons they have given names. Twin babies receive their names from a single name-giver if they were one. As for example, Mr. Thang Kho Pau, the village chief of Lungchin had a twin brother. Both of them derived their names from the same name-giver, Kham Za Thang who was the younger brother of their father. Twins have the initial syllable of their names in common. This is also a means to avoid evil spirits. If evil spirits become the cause of death of one, the other is expected to survive. It is believed that the evil spirits will not recognise the other child having similar initial name as the one already victimized. Twins are regarded to be more closer to each other than ordinary siblings. It is because they are in the same womb at the same time and are supposed to be connected by the same umbilical cord (laigui). There is no superstitious fear or favour for the village community in case there is twin birth in the village. But it is rather believed that if the twin male and female siblings survive either of the parents are likely to predecease them soon. In case of twin brothers or twin sisters there is no such apprehension. Personal names are identifications in the society. This extends to the spirit world also. Personal names are hidden from evil spirits but they are at the same
time intimated to the ancestral manes and wicked spirits for spiritual blessings. Lehman (1963: 188) says that the ever concern of all Chin men and even women is that they should not be forgotten after they are dead. One should be remembered through the names of one's grandchildren and the children of one's siblings. In order to be remembered after death a person is required to have children, grandchildren and his siblings also shall have children through whom a person will be known after his/her death. Every body cannot be a name-giver unless there is a birth of a particular child in a particular family within one's kinship universe. So birth of a child starts members of the kin group. It may make them quarrel over a chance to give name to an infant (Ref. Chart No. 14).

**COMPETITION FOR NAME-GIVING**

![Genealogy Diagram]

Birth of Pau Suan Lian, the second son of an eldest son and name-giving ceremony took place on the 4th December 1963. The patri-grandfather decided that this child should get his name from the name of the child's father's younger brother,
Kara Chin Pau. The first son had already received his name from his grandfather (Tual Za Thang). Since it is a second birth the child's maternal grandmother (Mang Za Nial) expected to become a name-giver. She asked permission for it from the child's grandfather. But she was refused. She was sentimentally hurt and got very angry. She abstained from attending the name-giving ceremony. She barely donated the customary tuilaak beer. Kinship relation can be strained by a competition to become name-giver. It is also possible that unhealthy relationship of the in-laws may culminate in a name-giving ceremony as the one referred to.

Certain parts of names are supposed to be inauspicious while certain names are supposed to be portentously good. So the meaning a syllable in a name is believed to have influence on the fate or lot of the name-bearer. Dah (to feel sorry or be addled), zing (cloudy) are bad ones. Some names are high sounding. Mang (majestic) and Lian (great) are parts of names among the chiefly clans of the Gwite and Sukte in the past. A poor villager did not like to bear such names though they were not the monopoly of the chiefs. Parts of names are manipulated in congruent to the social position of the family.

The Paite do not derive their names from animals, rivers or some other natural objects. But circumstances of the family are rather referred to in the names. A characteristic feature of the Paite that differentiates them from other cognate Chin tribes is strict adherence to this name-giving system. The Hmar, Mizo etc. can derive their names from the circumstances of the family or events of the past etc. They are not as strict as the Paite in the matter of deriving names from certain relatives.
No person in Paite society can change his/her name totally and freely. The basal part of a name in Paite society is not wholly his/her name. It is a common part and a connecting link between the name-giver and the name-bearer. The relationship of a name-giver and a name-bearer as expressed in the transmission of a name is as permanent and unchangeable as their kinship relation. One has to retain the basal part of one's name throughout life and even beyond the grave. To change name leading to the alteration of the basal word is a breach of kinship and a defiance to social norm which the name-giver will mind irritably. It will mean repudiation of relationship to the name-giver. No one in Paite society is known to have changed the whole name. A few persons are known to have changed the terminal parts of their names. They retained the basal or the first part of the name descended from the name-giver. Even such partial change of name is also a matter of social acceptance within the immediate associates. Mr. Chin Dam wanted to change his name to Chin Za Gin. He could not succeed in doing so. His family, villagers and immediate associates did not use the new name. He then resumed his original name. Anyone who could successfully change his name retains the first syllable derived from the name-giver. So Mr. Awn Tuah Nang and Mr. Nok Za Chin became Awn Za Gen and Nok Swan Lian respectively.

Name-giver and Name-bearer

Closer relationship develops between a child and its name-giver. Mentioning of the name-giver's name is a tabu for the name-receiver. Other children taunt a name-bearer with the name of a name-giver when they quarrel. A child protects the name-giver by keeping the name uncommon. Mentioning of the name-giver's name is tantamount to disrespect to the child, the name-giver and the name.
Only the terminal part of a name is used as a term of endearment as stated earlier. The first part of the name is generally avoided. Using the first syllable of a person’s name which is the last part of the name-giver’s name is odd for endearment term. It automatically brings the name-giver to the scene than the name-bearer from the Paite cultural point of view. Paite people say that a child can resemble its name-giver in certain traits and specially in mental characters. If a child is awkward, lazy or peevish then the remark is that the child takes after its name-giver provided such characters are observed in the personality of the name-giver also. Usually the name-giver and the name-bearer are near relatives. There is a room for a name-giver to influence the name-bearer in certain habits. They can still inherit certain phenotypic characters from a common ancestry.

A name-giver has certain moral obligations to please the persons he/she names. The relationship of the name-giver and the persons bearing his/her name is maintained by occasional gifts from the name-giver. Each name-giver hankers something to the children at least during the childhood period of the children, while they can easily be pleased. For a child to get a present in its name from its name-giver is a joy and pride. This paltry gift from a name-giver is called min-man (price of a name). Informant Mrs. Niang Vun said that she had given names to many persons as her husband (Phung Nok) did (ref. chart No. 13) She could not afford to give good materials to them. She and her husband emphatically said that they never failed to give token slices of meat of mithun killed in mortuary rites to persons they had given names. This is the ideal pattern of behavior expected of the name-giver towards the name-bearers. The relationship of a child with its name-giver is most conspicuously felt during childhood days. In adult life no one
cares to know about the name-giver. A name-giver has no say in the marriage proposal of a person she/he has christened. But certain local groups of Paite give a token amount of money to the name-giver when the name-bearing girl marries.

Names tabu

The names of the deceased are not mentioned in vain. One avoids back-biting and mentioning of the dead person's name. A near relative does not like to mention the name of his or her dead relative. Mentioning of the name of a dead person freshens memories of the dead. Formerly ancestral worship was the right occasion to mention the name of the dead relative. It is also embarrassing to mention one's own name. Elder persons are not addressed by their names. A father or mother may be addressed or referred to by the name of the oldest child. To mention a name a person senior to one's self is odd and is a breach of social decorum. An elderly person does not expect his or her spouse and other relatives to be mentioned by his or her junior in his or her presence. A person who does not maintain this social convention is a social escapade. Part of the elder's name is mentioned only with a suffix of appropriate kinship term provided he/she is not very closely related to the speaker. A man will not mention part of the name of his father with a suffix. Even part of the names of his father's contemporary relatives are avoided, in some cases, by punctilious persons. It is more courteous to address a person with a suitable kinship term. Tabu names can only be mentioned for reference in their absence. Children do not mention the names of their parents' parents. No one has a secret name other than the personal name or a term of endearment used by the immediate relatives.
Divorce is possible in Paite society. The process of divorce is more and more complicated as the couple had reached further and further stages of marriage and prestations for the completion of marriage. Formerly marriage was soluble without any complication before birth of a child or marriage itself was not complete before birth of a child. A man can remove his wife on grounds of sexual infidelity, illness, incompatibility of temperament and at the instigation of a member of his family or inndongta. But no one is willing to be a real divorcer. If a wife divorces her husband her bride price and other subsidiary payments are refunded. If a husband divorces his wife he has to lose all payments he had made for his marriage. He has to make full payment of the outstanding due of bride price agreed upon by the two parties. Besides this he has to send his divorced wife home with one mithun as a fine of being a divorcer. A spouse contemplating on a divorce may create an atmosphere unbearable. This is a means to hold the spouse responsible as a divorcer. A wife willing to dissolve her marriage may fabricate stories and family scandals instead of hushing them up. A husband under motivation of divorce may charge his wife with greediness and laziness. In some cases the in-laws of a bride are responsible for the dissolution of marriage. Divorce is concluded by members of inndongta of the husband and the wife's natal people. Case of divorce after having a child in Lungchin village is rare. Elopment, unless regularized by the payment of bride price is not counted as marriage. The eloped couple may simply separated. A sulking wife who runs away from her husband is asked to come back home by members of the husband's inndongta. The husband is expected to request her to come back through his inndongta, if he cannot
bring her home through his own means. It will be a case of divorce by the wife if she does not return on this request made by the inndongta of the husband. The inndongta of the husband may be perfunctorily and nominally requesting the run away wife to return home if the husband is wishing to abandon her. The request may be only to save his point so that he may be exculpated from the blame of being a divorcer and subsequent complicacies. As such even members of the husband’s inndongta pressing for the return of the bride, may be suspected as merely trying to justify their position.

The process of marriage and divorce are controlled by the inndongta. Members of inndongta are consulted to put their heads together when a man likes to divorce his wife. Divorce settlement is done by members of the inndongta of the husband and that of the wife’s natal household as in the case of marriage negotiation. Each side consult the members of its inndongta as to how to proceed with the matter. The decision made by a household is subject to correction, modification and revision by its inndongta. A married life of Mr. Song-pi was not smooth and stable even after the birth of one daughter. His wife and daughter stayed back in her natal home which is his mother's brother's house. His wife did not work for the joint family of her husband though her bride price was paid. The father of the husband invited members of his inndongta over a beer and asked whether they agreed with the idea of his household of abandoning his daughter-in-law after he failed to bring her home at his own level. Members of his inndongta worked and brought her and the young child again to the house of the husband after negotiating with the bride’s parents.
Settlement of marriage dissolution is a steady process as the process of marriage itself is slow with its marriage restrictions. A broken marriage takes a long time for settlement as the two sides want to get the upper hand over the other. If a husband gives up his wife whom he married honourably he has to send her back honourably with one nithan as an indemnity. In all marriage dissolutions caused by the husband the bride price and subsidiary payments are all returned. The thanan of Rs. 2.00 or so is not refundable in any case whoever may be the divorcer. Thanon of Rs. 2.00 or so is said to be 'rotten along with rice brewed for bear'. Unpaid balance of bride price is also to be fully paid. If a wife simply returns her bride price it means that she divorces her husband. This is called saum sukh, (to refund the money by the wife). It is a unilateral declaration of divorce by the wife.

A case of divorce took place in Benasbhin in 1973. Mr. S. did not like his wife & after having one daughter. He did not sleep with her on his return from the liberation war of Bengal. The wife informed her brother of the matter. The wife's elder brother, Mr. S. delegated his thanon, thallouh and other members of his inndogta to inquire whether his sister was to be divorced. He also declared that he would like to file a case against his sister's husband who married his sister honourably and planned to divorce her dishonourably. The boy's father consulted members of his inndogta. As the husband did not like his wife, members of his inndogta also endorsed the decision of the household to divorce the wife. To effect the dissolution of this marriage, members of the inndogta of the husband paid a visit to the house of the wife's brother with an oor of rice-beer. They discussed the matter with members of the mother's inndogta. In conclusion, both the agreement was ratified upon by both sides.
on the day of *sial-khumsa* feast, payment of Rs. 40.00 (a traditional value of one mithun) was made to the girl’s brother as *maakman* (price of divorce). The binding agreement was that the husband would send back his wife with one mithun if he divorces her at all. He would also pay all her bridal goods and unpaid balance of the bride price on the day of divorce. So the outstanding due of Rs. 100.00 out of Rs. 300.00 was paid. All the usual bridal goods of the bride were returned. Pieces of cloth given by the bride as *moutam* (bridal gifts) to different relatives such as the *tanupi, thallouh, puu* etc. of the household of the husband were collected and refunded. (In some cases the same cloth is demanded) The same cloth may be acceptable for refund as in rags. If the original cloth cannot be traced out a substitute is to be agreed upon for refund. Feasts of meat and drink of beer that had been consumed by members of *inndongta* of the husband and that of the wife’s parents in the process of their marriage are not refundable at divorce. They are lost irrevocably. In the words of informants *zu kammang, sa kammang* is the general expression. It means that rice beer is lost in the mouth, meat is lost in the mouth.

**NAUCHING GUAI FEAST**

*(A Feast for mother-in-law)*

This feast is given to a mother-in-law by a man. Generally younger brothers give it to their mothers-in-law. The eldest brother may or may not perform the feast. All the younger brothers, however, do not give the feast; while some eldest brothers give the feast to their mothers-in-law. *Nauching guai* means ‘to feed or pay the baby sitter’. After separation of married brothers from parental home they can hardly get a chance of sending their young children to the
cares of their own mothers. The parents are busy in looking after the children of the inheriting son. Younger brother leaves the young children under the care of his mother-in-law during the day while he and his wife work in their own jhum field. A nuclear family depends greatly on the wife's mother for looking after children. The inheriting brother does not need to send his children to the care of his parents-in-law since he lives with his parents provided they are still alive. A nuclear family cannot stand on its own leg at least before its eldest child can look after the younger siblings during the day time. A man and his wife cannot utilize their full labour together in the jhum to obtain their livelihood had there been no living parents or parents-in-law during the early years of nuclear family. In appreciation of the care taken for the children by a man's in-laws he offers a feast of nauching-guai for his mother-in-law. It is a token of respect given to mother-in-law who gives his wife for progeny and who looks after the children. In Lungchin both eldest and younger brothers give the feast. One informant from Selbung village of Chin State said that his own eldest half-brother paid nauching-guai feast to his own mother-in-law though the latter did not bear the responsibility of looking after the children of the former.

Nauching-guai feast is often compared with tousa (see below) given to the eldest brother by the younger brothers. So it is regarded as a feast given to her natal household by a woman married to a younger brother of another household. Mrs. Lai Nam said that giving a nauching-guai feast to her son's father-in-law or mother-in-law in May 1973, her own daughter-in-law was somewhat equivalent to offering a feast somewhat similar to tousa to her natal home or father or the eldest brother as the case may be.
Mr. Lian Thang, the son-in-law, was very much indebted to his in-laws for all round helps his household received. He reciprocated his in-laws with a feast of nauching-guai even though he is the eldest and only son having a living mother to look after his own children.

Nauching-guai feast is different from tousa. The former is not compulsory while the latter is compulsory. The younger brother may or may not give nauching-guai feast to his mother-in-law even if he sends his children to the care of the in-laws. The eldest brother having his own parent(s) can also give the feast even if he does not send his children to the care of his mother-in-law. In nauching-guai feast there is no formal acknowledgement of the feast with material gifts unlike that of tousa. Mr. Tun Thang, a school teacher of the village gave a nauching-guai feast in 1973. His mother-in-law looked after his children while he went to the school and his wife to the jhum field. He was not given material gift to reciprocate the feast. But exceptionally Mr. Chin Za Thawng of Selbung (Chin State) was given a horse by his in-laws on the occasion of giving a nauching-guai feast.

Aged grandparents are seen associating and looking after many of their grandchildren during the day time. Sometimes more than one unweaned children are left to the care of a grandmother who combines the works of baby sitting and household chores. Such grandmothers are busy and they feel tiresome with a host of grandchildren. But they are psychologically satisfied with having a lot of grandchildren, born by their sons and daughters. Grandparents who live together and look after their grandchildren, born by their daughters and sons are regarded as the happiest parents in Paite society. Lullabies are sung to induce a child to sleep.
One specimen lullaby is given below:

Nau ka awi, nau ka awi,
Kum thum kum li nau ka oih aw
Nau oih man sial hon pia ua,
Ka oih man sial hon pia un.
Apt fallal bon pla un,
Apt goilai ka deihlou e;
Atal kikawng bon pla un,
Atal kikawng ka deihlou e;
Aneck seen hon pla un,
Aneck seen nong piak leh,
Selung sawibeng na e.

Free translation:
I rock a child and rock, rock,
Three or four years I rock a child;
Give me a mithun for rocking a child,
Give me a mithun for my rocking a child.
Give me a gravid mithun,
I do not like a gravid mithun,
Give me a clean-horned bull mithun;
I do not like a clean-horned bull mithun,
Give me only a calf;
If you give me only a calf,
My heart will be satisfied.

This lullaby alludes to the attitudes of a mother-in-law towards the family of her married daughter and her grandchildren. In the lullaby given above the mother-in-law sympathetically makes a flexible request for payment of a token gift for looking after her grandchildren. She makes a very soft request. He knows that the family of her daughter will be hard hit if she makes a big demand. She does not like
to deplete the herd of her daughter's mithun by accepting big gift like a gravid mithun or a full grown bull mithun to compensate her labour. She prefers merely a new born calf of a mithun.

SIBLINGS

Close relationship exists among siblings during childhood. Siblings of the same parents are laigam. It literally means 'joint-navel'. The siblings are supposed to have been attached by the navel cord one after another to a common umbilical cord (Toswami and Hoshentian: 1-74: 34-50). Death is spoken of as laligam. It literally means 'to break off from the navel cord'. Sibling relationship is irrevocable. Death is the only means through which a person is removed from the sibling group. Relationship of sisters is more intimate than that of the brothers. Sisters, being trammelled within certain socio-cultural restrictions, associate with and develop more attachment to one another. In adult life, after the sibling have their own respective households of procreation, things begin to change. Secondary kin members are added to the primary ones. Their inter-household relationship becomes more formal than personal. Absence of sibling, however, compels a person to look for a substitute as discussed above (Ch. III).

The importance of siblings and their inter-relationships are revealed in all socio-cultural life of the people. Even the re-planting of an old jhum field for cotton cultivation reflects the relationship and importance of the siblings and of the members of inndongo. The owner of the jhum field gets the first pick of a small area. Then the siblings and members of his inndongo can select their sites. Partly the villagers can buy a plot in one's old jhum only after the
sibling group and members of one's innongta have selected their own sites. Even a village chieftain cannot get the first pick of a piece of land in the old jhum field of his villager. He cannot supersede the siblings and members of innongta of a villager. Axiomatically the Paite say, "Loutul in song, sanggam song". This saying purports that even an old jhum field scrupulously exercises favours for the sibling group of its owner. In January 1973, Mr. Gin-Za Dal and his brother-in-law, Thuam Khan Neng, the tanupi in his household, made selection of sites for cotton cultivation in the old jhum field of Mr. Gin Za Dal. They also earmarked and aligned small patches of land for Thuam Khan Neng's brother (Ze Neng) and sister (Thawng Za-Nial) who were respectively the thallouh and tanupi of Mr. Thuam Khan Neng (Ref. chart No. 15). Out of the remaining portion a widowed woman reweeded out a small area for her own cotton cultivation.

Chart No. 15

**SIBLINGS AND AN OLD JHUM FIELD**

![Diagram showing sibling relationships and land distribution](chart)
The happy occasion in a family reminds the participants of their love and longings for relatives who were no more. The occasion of killing an animal is a joy for a family and members of its inndongta. In drinking bouts and feasts a person without having a sibling often finds his/her happiness very much minimised. Folk songs tellingly delineate the importance of siblings:

Khawl khawl le'ng lah laizom toh khamllou,
Ka lungzuan kaansaŋ na sawnsawn e;
Lungzuan kaansaŋ ka gual lai ah,
Lungsim naangbang ka diah dual a,
Gual toh tan bang ka kim teitei hi e.

Free translation:
Even when I enjoy a party, I am without a sibling,
My anxieties become more and more heightened;
My longing is mounting high in the midst of my fellows,
I strengthen my heart by steeping it in water as it were a sliver;
And I take heart to regard myself as equal with friends having siblings.

The contented families are those siblings who know each other in mutual consciousness in woe and woel. In order to keep the sibling group well-informed of each other's affairs cordiality is set as the basic principle which is expressed in these couplets:

Diandian in dialdial le'ng u leh nau aw,
Ava nammmin ne bangin tong hou le'ng;
Ava nammmin no bangin tong hou le'ng,
Bakhhipha bang tangkhau ohsawn bei le'ng e.

Free translation:
Younger and older siblings, let us all live in harmony,
Let's consult one another as birds feeding on the fruits of a banyan tree;
Let's be on speaking terms as birds jointly feeding on the fruits of a banyan tree.
Like good beads of a necklace, let's have no separate strings.

U leh nan aw na vaangilum sun guum veng,
Elitli vle in zoundum bong luang le'n;
Dum li te in coontum bong luang le'n,
Mabbi vilave on leh lon geel le'n.

Free translation:
Younger and elder siblings, I like to enjoy your kindness,
Let us flow to other as the water of a stream in one accord;
Let us flow in one accord like the water of a river,
If any one is more talented, let him decide our affairs.

Seuma. Niki kiini chiandal i lam,
Chin tong aw, tsaai saangah aw chive ni;
Chin tong aw, tsaai saangah aw chive ni,
Mamaw il ool thaw-kum i huang ah doki.

It purports:
We shall not count our possessions in terms of money.
Let every elder sibling regard the younger one as a poor sweet;
Let every elder sibling regard the young or sibling dearly,
Otherwise childhood friends will foreshake us.

Chiiy saaa beila thiw bong saaw,
Chiiy phala u leh na a leel siaam ni;
Leel siaam le'a la tong kibou diidial le'n;
Muna puyo chiiy tubam chiiy le'n.
Free translation:
Pay only secondary heed to the hearsay of other people,
Oh my siblings, let's have a discreet wisdom;
Having a prudent discretion and be on speaking terms,
Let's cultivate the legacy of our parents as a sugar cane that sweetens cordialness.

The eldest brother has a heavy burden for the bringing up of his siblings. His role is likened with the roles of the parents towards the children. He is the secondary parent of the younger ones. He is also the lordling (toupa) for the brothers. He is puu (mother's brother) for the families of his married sisters. By virtue of the roles of parents played by the eldest brother, he is more versed with family histories, interhousehold relationship, traditions and the norms of the society. Informants who are not the eldest brothers said that they knew less about the practices of the society as they were not the eldest brothers. This has a germ of practical truth. Seniority or juniority in the sibling relationship differentiates the eldest brother from the younger brothers. Younger brothers are rather ignorant of family histories and practices. The eldest brother is a repository of such stories and knowledge of customary rules and lores. The younger brothers leave such matters as the affairs of family, traditions and responsibilities to the care and attention of the father and the eldest brother. The eldest brother knows well that one day he will be the head of his younger brothers. He is the principal household called impi for the families of his married brothers. The households of his sisters and younger brothers are all his satellites revolving around him. He takes care to learn about all the affairs that concern his household as his father does.
Position of the siblings in a family has a lot to do with the life of the brothers and sisters. Younger brothers and sisters are more care-free about family conditions and its affairs. They have less involvement in the interhousehold relations with members of inndongta. So long as the parents are alive they can remit their attentions to familial and other cares. They do not very much involve themselves deeply in such affairs before marriage. Brothers and sisters pull themselves into the affairs of interfamilial relationship after marriage. Sisters also do not care much to know family pedigree and traditions. In general brothers are well-versed in the oral traditions than their sisters. Sisters also learn more when they get married and become members of the inndongta or when they have their own inndongta.

The eldest brother is encumbered with family cares. He backs up the parents. He is more calculative than the younger brothers. For him it is easier to shoulder the responsibilities toward his siblings if the parents are still alive. Again eldest brothers having living parents are lucky. They can make themselves more free than the eldest married sons who have their parents dead. Parents are the substitutes for the eldest son in many affairs. A father can represent his married son living with him to the inndongta of his son's wife's parents. So long as his parents are still alive and active a married eldest son can neglect his father-in-law to a certain degree in the matter of inndongta relationship. They live together in the same parental home and work for one another. The eldest son gets maximum and longest service from his parents after marriage. So long as the parents are alive domestic affairs are left to their care. Parents are more loveable for the eldest son. When very old they may not physically involve in many of the household activities but give instruction and advice. Their importance in family decision in relation to domestic and inter-inndongta relations
are always on the background. It is said that old parents’ verbal participation is more beneficial to the son’s family than the active participation of any other relative. Sitting at the fire-place they can advise what to do and what not to do. At morning meal times doting parents usually make a family decision final. As for example, a drivelling father of Mr. Kam-Pu often allocated works to his children and grandchildren at meal times. He made arrangement of labour in such a way that his household should not unduly neglect other households of his relatives. He detailed members of his family to go and help such and such households on such and such occasions as situation arised. Longevity of parents favours longer relationship of their family with the families of their brothers and sisters. Due respect is paid to the parents’ siblings: Sibling relationship of the parents influence the degree of attachment of the children to their father’s sister and mother’s brother and vice versa. The importance of sibling relationship of parents is stressed in this song:

Tuun nung sanglou puvon min kilou moh e,
Jua laizom lou ninu min kilou moh;
Tuun aw jua lou in na piang tuam a hiam?
Leengvan besam bang na kaal tuam a hiam?

We cannot have puu (mother’s brother) without a mother,
We cannot have ni (father’s sister) without father’s sibling;
Or are you like a string hanging from the heaven without support?

The eldest son is inseparable from the parents among that group of Paite which follows the rule of primogeniture. His filial duty is to look after the old parents in the parental home after his marriage. But disunity in the family after the son’s marriage may disrupt the usual tranquility of the domestic life of the family. That he should farm for the parents and bury them after their death is a cultural introcession.
Separation of the eldest son from the parental home after his marriage is unusual in the Paite society. Society puts a slur on such misbehaving sons. No eldest married son left the parents behind in Lungchin village though such cases are reported in other villages. Ideally the eldest son shares with the father the jural rights and authority. So theoretically the eldest brother can divorce the wife of his younger brother if he is not pleased with her. The inheriting son owns his parents and vice versa. To demonstrate the authority of the father over the eldest son and the nature of their inseparableness, informants narrated this incidence: An old Paite man from Mizoram joined the Abor expedition (Shakespear 1929: 117 ff.) in Arunachal. Out of his wages he bought a coveted gong, then he got married. Domestic life of the joint family turned into a bed of thorns after his marriage. His family hived off from the parental home. Further disputes followed over the properties. The son liked to take away the gong he had purchased out of his earning. The father objected to it. The case was tried. The judge asked the father and the son to grasp their own respective properties. The son grasped the gong. The father grasped the son. The judge said that the father liked his son but the son did not like his father. As the son belonged to his father so the gong also belonged to the father. This is an ideal judgement which my informants had highly spoken of.

The Paite feel that the eldest sons suffer most from the loss of parents. Younger married brothers, too love their parents. But they do not feel the pains of parents' death as severely as the eldest brother does. It effects the family of the eldest brother sentimentally. He suffers more economically and materially. Death of parents dislocates domestic arrangements of the eldest son. The younger married brothers do not suffer much materially from the death of their parents. After separation of a younger brother from parental
home his family is 'one-headed' (lu-khat) household. It is purely a nuclear family. The eldest brother is now more free than his younger married brothers. The younger brother is now beset with family cares. He is no longer as free as he was in the parental home and as his eldest brother is now. The freedom of the eldest brother is more assured by the presence of his parents and then later by his growing children who can contribute their mites to the totality of his household. It is supposed that the eldest brother shall be more liberal and magnanimous than the younger siblings. In order to assume the role of a leader over the younger siblings he should have adeptness in playing the roles of parents. The difference between the eldest brother and his brothers is expressed in this saying, U Zaw bang omlou. It means that there is none like the eldest sibling. He is wiser by training, suffering and concern for his siblings. He is supposed to be meek, kind, loveable and tolerant towards his younger siblings as the parents are considerate to their children.

Because of the situation into which an eldest son is put he is expected to marry a very considerate bride. She should be as good as her husband towards her parents-in-law and siblings-in-law. She should have a grace to forgive and to forget the faults of her in-laws. This is necessary for running a joint family consistently and smoothly. The lot of the eldest son's wife is considered in some way burdensome. It is equally onerous to be the wife of the eldest son or brother. A girl is referred to as belta buh dih (i.e. willing or craving for rice cooked in a small pot) when a marriage proposal of an eldest son ends in a fiasco. A wife of the younger brother who likes to separate too early from parental home and to free herself from her in-laws is also remarked in a similar way. It is not an actual craving for the rice
cooked in a small pot but yearning for establishing a separate household to avoid in-laws. A wife of the eldest brother does not have full freedom as the wife of the younger brother is free in a nuclear family. She has to share and to guard the sentiments of the in-laws. Another common reply given by an unwilling girl to be the wife of the eldest son is "I shall be condemned and considered wicked by the in-laws even if I am just to them". The burden of making nicotine-water (tubuuk) for parents-in-law by the eldest daughter-in-law is a heavy one in a traditional joint family.

The younger married brothers consult the eldest brother on important matters. He gives candid advice and tries to ease difficult situations. Mr. K. Gin came from Selbung village of the Chin State to Lungchin for his young son's medical emergent care. Before coming to Lungchin he first referred the matter to his eldest half-brother who was his thallouh. The thallouh arranged how to go and who were to accompany him. He detailed other relatives to go along with him. This is an ideal pattern of behavior between siblings even after they are separated from the heir. The eldest brother is the organiser and adviser to the families of his brothers. If he is not leniently dealing with them, the younger siblings will not be after him. This is expressed in a saying, Upa siamlou in naute khawl theilou (Kamkhenthan; 1973:153). It means that an ill-disposed elder brother cannot keep the younger siblings together with him.

In case of ultimogeniture payment of bride price made by the father for the elder sons is regarded as payment made by the youngest son. Whatever a father spends on the account of the non-inheriting sons is the expense incurred by the heir. This is possible if the heir lives with the parents in the same house and farms for them. The heir belongs to the
father as parental properties belong to the heir. The tripartite nature of the relationship of the father, the heir and parental properties is for the benefit of the non-inheriting children in Paite normal jhuming life. Any amount of parental properties left over after the separation of the non-inheriting married brothers becomes the properties of the heir. The non-inheriting sons get their shares by way of paying their bride prices. Another fatherly duty of the eldest brother towards his married brothers is to provide each of them with a dwelling house. Arrangement for separation of the younger brother from parental home is done by the eldest brother. It is odd to show too much eagerness and too early willingness to separate from parental home. In a healthy household separation of the non-inheriting brother takes place after having a child or two. It is difficult to maintain perpetual harmony in a big family. The tranquility of the family may be jeopardized by the womenfolk recruited from different families if they live together too long under the same roof. Separation of the younger brothers becomes a must in order to maintain and to continue smooth relationship. It is so inevitable that even among the evil spirits the younger or the non-inheriting brother is supposed to hive off from parental home.

Once a married brother of evil spirit lived with his parents and eldest married brother in a precipice called Momlaang, now in Mizoram. The younger brother contemplated separation too soon from his parental home. He secretly surveyed another precipice called Hausapi-kawl, now in Chin State of Burma, for his own habitation with his wife. He migrated from Momlaang to Hausapi-kawl with his wife Tual Tung. He did every arrangement without consulting the elder brother. He and his wife stealthily set out for the new abode at Hausapi-kawl. This behaviour roused the wrath of the elder brother. He chased the younger brother and his wife. He overtook them in the Hausapi. They did not like to return to the parental abode. A scuffle ensued resulting in the death of Tual Tung.
Mr. Sum-Pu's younger brother married before him. Mr. Sum-Pu constructed a new house and started staying there along with his unmarried younger siblings. They vacated the parental home along with his parents. This is equivalent to making a new house for a younger brother. The families of this younger brother and his father/brother worked together in one jhum in the first year after separation. Enough paddy to last a year for the nuclear family was given after the harvest. In all other cases the younger brother left the parental home at the initiation of the eldest brother or father as the case may be. A new household of the younger brother is given all the minimal household utensils, pig, fowls etc. to start a new family. The elder brother has to organise a new inndongta for his married brother in his new house. In the case of Mr. Sum-Pu he did not yet provide his brother with a new inndongta. The two households still remained under the protection of the same old inndongta of the parental household (till I left the village in January 1974). Mr. Mang-Pu, on the other hand, along with a brother and mother separated from the family of his half-brother (Pum Kho Zam). This elder half-brother took the initiative in the formation of inndongta for the household of his half-brothers. The step-mother said that her step-son would willingly take the initiative to organise the inndongta otherwise he would run a risk of losing a chance to become the thallouh of her household. She commended, "the eldest half-brother would be afraid of dropping himself out of the inndongta organisation of his half-brothers". To reorganise an inndongta for his unmarried brothers in a separate household Mr. Pum Kho Zam convened a meeting. He contributed a pot of tea for the meeting. In that newly formed inndongta of his half-brother he became the thallouh meaning that he continued to assume the responsibilities of looking after the family of his brothers living with his step-mother. After forming a new
inndongta in a separate household a younger married brother establishes his identity as it were independent unit. Brothers and sisters help one another. They live in such a relationship that they should succour in difficulty. This motto is channelised in the inndongta system and expressed in a saying: U zonz nau in kom, nau zong u in kom. This means that siblings rely upon one another. This nature of cooperation and interdependence of brothers and sisters after marriage is vividly expressed in the following couplets:

Khusuual ah tulta namnih zong khan kikhiap,
Paaapn kisuung dimdiam a mummuang aw;
Paaapn kisuung dimdiam a mummuang aw,
Tulgush luan in a nah laai zawng hi.

Free translation:
Even two trees in the wood protect each other,
The crowns of trees growing adjacentely interlock each other for security:
The crowns of trees adjacentely enterlock each other for safety,
The leaves share the rain with the other.

Ko'n ka laizom neekbang hawstoh agawm ing e,
Aalitakah haihang phelkhap nuam ing e;
Aalitakah haihang phelkhap nuam ing e,
Hdat a pham zong hdat vaam lumbang sung lo'ng aw e.

Translation:
I am not content with small number of siblings,
I like to split a sibling in the middle so as to make two;
I like to cut it as it were a mango so as to have two,
Even one of them dies, I will be assured of a succour of the other.
Inheritance

There are two types of inheritance in Lungchin village. One is primogeniture followed by one household and the other is ultimogeniture. In the primogeniture, the eldest son inherits the parental properties. In Paite society practising a Burmese type of taungta cultivation there is a minimum property to be inherited by the heir. So brothers are not coparceners. There is no permanent possession of jhum site, homestead and garden. Land is not inheritable in the sense of household articles, animals and other moveable articles. The village land is held in common by the residents of the village under the supervision of the village hereditary chief. Daughters do not inherit parental properties. Bridal goods and marriage feasts provided by the father or the heir are the daughter's share out of the parental possession. A daughter has no claim over parental properties by way of inheritance. She can get them only by marriage. Succession to the offices of tanu passes from female to female, i.e. from father's sister to a man's sister. The offices held by men in the inndongta also pass from man to man. But these are not pin-point rules of succession as it varies from household to household depending on availability of sisters and brothers in succeeding generations. But the principle of seniority is the rule where father's eldest sister and father's thallouh are succeeded by the eldest sister and the eldest son of that thallouh respectively. This is immaterial succession though it accrues material gains and involves material loss as well through the inndongta. The office of tanu passes from father's sister to male ego's sister and then to his own eldest daughter. The eldest son of the eldest brother inherits the last part of the paternal grandfather's name (see name giving system above). Social importance,
parental home, old parents, animals and other moveable articles are inherited by the heir. A brother also inherits a property of his brother who dies without a male issue. The heir farms for the parents and lives with them under the same roof. His duty is to farm for them, to bury them when they die. The non-inheriting sons cannot inherit the parents and they cannot bury them in their names if the heir or his son is alive. No married son other than the inheriting son has a chance of occupying the parental bed at the inner side of a fire place in the house. A heir also cannot occupy it during the life time of his parent or parents (Somwami and Kamkhenthang 1974: 13-15).

In the two types of inheritance the principle is the same, but the heirs are of different positions in the family. In ultimogeniture the youngest son by the first wife, in case there is second marriage, is the heir. It is said that in primogeniture of Paite inheritance a bastard cannot be a heir. But in an instance (in Lomka township) such a son of an unwedded mother proved most successful economically than his half-brothers. He is rich. He was favoured by the half-brothers. He inherited the parental properties. In the ultimogeniture type of inheritance the elder brothers leave the parental home one after another as they marry. The old parents and the youngest son are left behind in the parental home after they had squandered parental treasure for their marriage expenses. There is a practical difficulty for the old parents and the youngest son in the material world. Mr. Ngul Thang of Rawakhai clan said that his clansmen and the clansmen of Sukte felt this inconvenience as a social evil of ultimogeniture. They held a meeting at Tedim township some years back. In the meeting it was resolved that they would shift to primogeniture from ultimogeniture. But some parents, he said, favoured a middle son and so on. There was no animosity in actual practice. They could not follow the rule adopted by resolution.
MEAT FOR THE ELDEST BROTHER

The heir (the eldest son in clans practising primogeniture and the youngest son in clans practising ultimogeniture) in Paite society has a privileged position over the other sons. He is at the head of the group of families of his brothers. His household is the principal household called inmai. He may be the thallouh to all the brothers. His brothers give him rice-beer called thallouh-gu (rice-beer for the thallouh) and compulsory share of meat for the thallouh. Besides these payments he gets head, heart, and lungs of a game animal hunted by his brothers. The most vital organs of an animal are given to him. Sisters, however, do not give him meat. But sister's sons present him with meat of wild animals they kill without a companion in the hunt.

A brother may give the whole body of the animal hunted to the heir of his father's properties if they live together in the same village and if the animal is killed by the brother himself without having a companion in the hunt. Such an animal will be treated as if it were a domestic one. The body of an animal killed in a group hunting may be brought to the house of the eldest brother of the hunter who hits the animal first for division of meat among the hunters. If by chance the meat is divided among the hunters elsewhere the head, heart, and lungs of the game shall be brought to the eldest/youngest brother of the chief hunter.

Mr. Tuan Za Neng and Mr. Za Dou always give heads, lungs and hearts of wild animals to their eldest brother, Lian Kho Hau (see chart No. 5, p.67). The latter bore the bride price of the former. On the 14th January 1973 Mr. Lian Kho Hau made a celebration of two heads of deer presented to him by Mr. Za Dou. This celebration is called sa-asvl.
It means making friendship with the spirit of animal killed and the evil spirits herding the wild animals so as to bag more game. The tanuri, tanunau, tanuthumna, thallouh of Mr. Lian kho Hau contributed each one pot of rice-beer besides the householders's contribution of one pot of rice beer for the function. The wife of Lian kho Hau poured libation of rice-beer into the mouth of the severed head of the deer. She invoked the spirit of the animal to bring more of its fellows there (see photo No. 10). Around a bone-fire participants of the function sang songs while the receiver of the meat danced with the skulls of the deer. One of the songs they sang was:

Deihbel ve'ng e, deihbel ve'ng e,
Khisa noqush deih bel ve'ng e;
Man lah ta'ng e, man lah ta'ng e,
Khisa keen-kai man lah ta'ng e.

English rendering:
I like most, I like best,
And what I like most is a deer;
I cannot catch and I am unable to catch,
I cannot kill a swift-running deer.

The younger brothers cannot retain skulls of game animals in their houses. The house of the eldest brother having skilful brothers in hunting can be distinguished from all other houses in a village by the number of animal skulls hanging on the front wall. It is said that formerly the sons of the non-inheriting brothers used to send skulls of animals killed in a chase to the heir of their father's father because the bride price of their fathers had been paid by him. The heir is toupa (lordling) for his brothers in the same way as the master is toupa for his slaves in the past. It might either be that there was no toupa-feast to emancipate the
children from the control of the father's eldest brother or the feast was beyond the means of almost every body to set the children free from the bondage of their father's inheriting brother. The inheriting brother was the head of the maximal lineage called tuulpi. Parents of households were to give heads of wild animals to the ritual head. But a man could free himself from the ritual head or the lineage in the third generation.

Mr. Ngul Thang of Bawmkhai clan said that his son would give the heads of animal killed by him to his (Ngul-Thang's) younger brother who defrayed his (Ngul Thang's) bride price. His son would hang skulls of wild animal in his house only when his brother allows him to do so. He said that his clansmen and other people practising ultimogeniture do not emphasize tousa feast for the inheriting brother though some of them do it as intensively as other Paite clans do it. As such there appears that there was no idea of emancipating the children of non-inheriting brothers from the heir in absence of compulsory tousa among some members of clans following ultimogeniture rule of inheritance.

Half-brothers by the same father also give heads of animals to the heir of their father. In the words of informants, "sons begotten by one penis give heads of animal to their inheriting brother". Mr. Hang Za Neng of Phaipi clan used to send skulls and cranial meat of animals in a dry form to his half-brother in Sialbu village. The eldest brother may not get his customary shares of meat unless he had paid the bride price of his brothers. In the chart No. 16 given below, Mr. Ngul Vum of Khuptong clan did not pay even a part of the bride price of his half-brothers. There was a bad blood between them. As a consequence, he did not get either tousa (see below) or heads of animals
from them. Mr. Thang Thuam paid the bride price of his brothers. His brothers paid him tonsa feast, heads of animals and other meats. Similarly Mr. Ngul Zam defrayed the bride price of his half-brothers with the help of his father living with the half-brothers in a separate household. They gave him tonsa and skull, of game, heart, lungs and pectoral meat in token of his seniority and in acknowledgement of his services to them. He said, "I command respect and get rewards of meat from them".

Younger siblings have less chance of membership in the inndongta. Less number of membership (tsakna) means to have less chance of getting meat and drink. To be the eldest inheriting brother means to get regular gifts of meat and drink. His position is regarded more lucrative than that of his brothers and of sisters. He finds difficult to fulfill his obligations towards his siblings. But he is better off than the other siblings in the long run. This unbalanced relationship between the heir and his brothers is vividly expressed in this couplet composed by one Mr. Hen-Lian to his eldest brother, Zawn Zam.

Nangin tuaideih va zong lechin,
Melmuh in ka saanglou hi e;
Kei in tuaideih va zong le'ng poh,
Haankil ka kal man diam aw?

English rendering:
If you look for a man to be your younger brother,
I think that you will never get one;
If I am to seek for a man to be my elder brother,
I may not cross over the doorway before I can get one.
The contention of the couplet is that everybody likes to be the heir because it is paying in the long run.
Chart No. 16
RELATIONSHIP OF THE HEIR WITH HIS BROTHERS

Ngul Vum (Khupton)

Chart No. 17

Zen Vum (Hauhsing)

Awn Za Thang (Gwite)

Tuol Dou Hau (Gwite)

Thang Kho Kam

Tuen-Pi
One will not get a person to treat one as the eldest brother (or younger brother as the case may be) with respect, from whom one can get regular gifts and tokens of respect. The household of eldest brother gets offerings of rice-beer called thallouh zu-kholh from the households of his brothers in Lungchin besides getting pu-zu-kholh from his sisters. Only the non-Christians practise this thallouh zu-kholh in Lungchin now. All non-Christians do not perform this rite owing to bad harvest in 1972. Only five households got thallouh zu-kholh from their thallouh.

FEAST FOR THE ELDEST BROTHER

(TOUSSA)

Tousssa is a feast given by a younger brother to the eldest brother. Among the clans practising ultimogeniture it is given to the youngest brother. It is a compulsory feast for the Christians and non-Christians alike. Every brother has to offer it to the household of the heir. He can give it even to the son of the heir after the death of the heir. It is given after the non-inheriting brother is married and separated from the parental home. Ordinarily pig is reared by the family of the non-inheriting brother for this tousssa. The first pig reared by the household of a brother is used for this feast. So tousssa is counted as a reflection of a wife's capability and efficiency. Nowadays mithuns, cows and pigs are also killed for it. Every married brother is expected to offer at least one tousssa to his eldest or youngest brother as the case may be. Normally it is given as soon as the household of the brother is in a position to do it. There is no maximum number of tousssa to be given by a man.
One feast is a minimal limit. Poverty of a brother may delay and limit the feast. A man who can perform a tousa three times is regarded as a very capable and well-behaved man in Paite society.

Tousa (tou = lord, sa = meat or feast) is a means of reciprocating the cares and responsibilities taken by the eldest brother for his younger brothers. It is an acknowledgement of the bride price paid by the heir or father. No payment or non-payment of tousa by the younger or the non-inheriting sons to the heir of their father's properties is often correlated with the fact of payment or non-payment of bride price by the heir. Even the eldest half-brother who paid the bride price of his half-brothers also got meat and feast from the half-brothers (Ref. Chart No. 16 above).

Mr. Khan Thang of Khuptong clan came from Khuang-gin village to Lungchin. He married a girl in Lungchin and settled there. He left his parental home and his eldest brother behind him. He married in his own way and means. His brother was inofficious and did not pay any part of his bride price. He managed to pay his bride price with great difficulty. Considering his own poverty, the irresponsibility and indifference of his eldest brother he (Khan Thang) has no incentive to offer a tousa to his brother in his old village.

In Lungchin village old parents are over-anxious to see their younger sons offering tousa during their life time. To fulfill this wish the parents make a feast by killing either a pig, cow or mithun. This is done in the name of the unmarried son for the eldest married son. Parents may not see their sons marrying, offering feast
of tousa and affiliating one another in the inndongta after marriage. Motivated by this anticipation four households were noted to have performed tousa in the name of unmarried sons for the married eldest sons by the parents themselves.

Mr. Tual Dou Hau (vide chart No.17 given above) killed one mithun in 1960s for a tousa feast in the name of his unmarried son, Tuan-Pi for the married son, Thang-Kho Kam. The father employed members of his inndongta to arrange the feast. They got their customary shares of meat. The performers themselves do not regard this as a genuine tousa. It is merely a partial fulfilment of the wishes of the parents out of uncertain future. In such a case the younger brother, after his marriage, cannot claim that he had given a tousa. This is unusual practice peculiar to the villagers of Lungchin. Here the expense is borne by the parents. In a full-fledged tousa the household of the younger or non-inheriting brother bears the expenses and it is done with the natural incentive of the non-inheriting brother.

In a real tousa the giver of the feast initiates and takes the whole responsibility. Married brothers living in different localities go back home along with their whole families to give tousa to their inheriting brothers. Mr. Zam Za Thang of Tombing clan, a male nurse, paid a visit to his eldest brother in Lungchin in 1972. He brought with him members of his family to give tousa feast to his brother, Zen Za Kham. To help him execute the feast he also brought with him his male tanupi. He was to be accompanied by his wife's father or brother (puu) to function as his thallouh in the feast. His in-law could not turn up to join the feast. However, the customary share of meat associated with the office of thallouh was given to him. His in-law was not given the office of puu in the feast of tousa. For this tousa
Mr. Zam Za Thang bought an ox in the village. The meat was dressed by members of the inndongta of Mr. Zen Za Kham. Zen Za Kham liked to reciprocate his compliment of the feast with a gift of a cauldron. But the feast giver did not find the necessity of the cauldron for his household. He rather found it to be more useful for his brother. He did not accept the gift in consideration of his brother.

Tousa is an expression of gratitude to the eldest brother for all the cares and troubles he had taken for the younger brothers. The younger brother is not supposed to be free from the control of his brother before at least one tousa is given. Consequently, it is also said that the younger brother can move or migrate away from the eldest brother after giving him a tousa. Payment of tousa gives a right to a woman to take her husband away from the direct control of the heir. This is to say that she purchases her husband and releases him from the control of the eldest brother by offering of tousa in the same way as she is set free from the control of her father by payment of her bride price by her husband. The wife is released for her husband by the payment of her bride price. The husband is also released for the wife from the direct control of his brother by the payment of tousa. Then both the wife and the husband get their liberty to make independent decisions for the smooth run of their nuclear family. Their children are also supposed to get freedom through the tousa of their parents. Their father is not totally free from his natal home. He gives meat and heads or skulls of wild animals killed in a chase. The non-inheriting brothers cannot retain the heads or skulls of their quarry even after they had given tousa. But the feast of tousa given by the parents set their children free from the control of inheriting younger or elder brother. As such the sons of the non-inheriting brother do not hang skulls of their quarry in their own houses.
But the eldest son of the non-inheriting brother can hang the skulls of his game in his house. Every younger brother or son gives the head or skull of his game to his eldest brother among the group following primogeniture.

The giver of tousa makes use of his in-law as his thallouh. The household of the wife-giver is puu. The father-in-law or brother-in-law of a man has an access to the feast if he functions as thallouh as if he were a brother. Should the son-in-law makes use of any other person as his thallouh, his in-laws would have no place in the feast of tousa. His induction to the office of thallouh is only a means of giving him meat, feast and drink on the occasion of tousa. The ritual transformation of the wife-giver of the feast-giver is only temporary.

In the chart No. 17 given above, p. 206, Mr. Tual Dou-Hau of Gwite clan employed his father-in-law (Zen Vam) as his thallouh on the occasion of tousa given to his elder brother, Awn Za Thang. At the time of his first tousa he did not yet have his own inndongta. Then a new inndongta was organised on the first occasion of the feast. He had offered tousa three times in his name to his oldest brother.

Younger brothers who do not yet have their own inndongta take advantage of the occasion of tousa for the formation of inndongta for their own households. The feast is arranged in the house of inheriting brother who may or may not be a thallouh to the household of the feast giver. So members of inndongta of the feast-receiver are responsible to manage the affairs. A needy brother asks his elder brother for some material helps on the occasion of his tousa. The brother often reciprocates the feast with some gifts such as piglet, gong, cauldron, mithun etc. according to his means and the neediness of the feast-giver. The brother may not explicitly
ask for any gift. Members of the innongta of the brother may know what the elder brother can give and what the younger brother needs. The female tampi, who is either their sister or father's sister, may urge the elder brother to give such and such articles to the feast-giver. But tousa is not performed for obtaining material gains. It is a gesture of submission and respect shown to the inheriting brother. Better-off brothers also give the feast to their inheriting brothers. It is also a sign of cordiality between brothers. The intrinsic contentment of the feast-giver is great. In Sekpi village of Chin State, Mr. Khual Gou performed a tousa by killing a mithun in honour of his eldest brother, Jiang Za Kham. He was greatly moved by the kind gesture of the younger brother shown to him. He composed a song on the very occasion of the feast more or less spontaneously as the traditional Paite are apt to do in joy or sorrow.

Na chin lungzuan sawlbaang zong,
Tuai aw na hawm sial ve chia;
Ka pham zong in tung thangvan ah,
Tuun siang'h hil massa ning e.

English rendering:

You satisfy the sentiment of your elder brother,
Younger brother, How judicious you are!
After my death I will first inform our mother,
Of the matter in the heaven.
Father's sister is ni. Ni is a term of address as well as of reference. She is considered as an endeared person in Paite social life where she occupies an honoured place. Poetically father's sister is called ninu. This is a combination of two kinship terms: ni for father's sister and nu for mother. She is a combination of mother and father's sister. In fact, father's sister is a social mother as she plays the role of mother in many respects to her brother's children during their childhood days. A child displays more personal attachment to its father's sister than to its father's brother's wife. Father's sister occupies an intermediate position between real mother and father's brother's wife. The intensity of relationship between father's sister and brother's children depends a great deal upon the casual factors of marriage, residence, age and personal relation between father's sister and mother. Before marriage she lives in her family of orientation and is in close contact with the children of her brother. She is secondary mother to her brother's children. She hugs, carries and attends them. All the children and sisters of their father do not have the same chance of living together in the same house. The attachment of the children to their father's sister who has a chance to live together in the same house is greater than the relationship with those of father's sisters who do not have the same chance. Some children are lucky enough to see their father's sister marrying off from their house. But they feel the wrench of separation deeply. As she marries off she becomes drifted apart from her brother's family and later on the children of her brother regard her as an outsider maintaining her own separate identity. Before marriage she is
regarded by her brother's children as a member of their group. They speak of certain articles by using the pronoun 'our' to include the father's sister as a joint member of a family. Even a small child differentiates her as a member of another family unit after her marriage. A child no longer uses the pronoun 'our' but uses 'your' and 'our' with reference to family articles to show their different positions. She is tied to the family of her brother through parental bond even after marriage. She is a frequent visitor to the house of her brother or parents though she is no longer a resident of the household. As the father's sister begins to accumulate family cares of her own, her relationship with her brother's children becomes less intimate and less frequent. Her relation is, in part, due to her marrying into different family and in some cases different clan and even in different village. She then becomes an extra-clan relative of her brother's children.

It is said that $ni$ is an ideally soothing term of address. This term is said to be the easiest kinship term to use in laite kinship terminology. It is the most flexible kinship term which can be applied to elders, youngers and age-mates in a particular kin group. Father's sister, in some cases may be younger than her brother's child. Whatever may be the difference in age between a child and its father's sister, the term $ni$ is used to address the latter by the former. A person addresses not only his/her father's sister as $ni$ but extends it to cover all the females, of his/her clan and linked-clans, who are more or less contemporary to his/her father. A person receives at least verbal courtesy from the lady whom he/she addresses as $ni$ even if she is far removed from his/her father in the genealogy. The addressee acknowledges that a woman whom he/she calls $ni$ is a kind of his/her father's sister. And she behaves as if
she were the uterine brother of the addresser. To make such a relationship a child takes an initiative step by using the soothing term, ni. A woman cannot show her verbal courtesy to draw the attention of a child as there is no specific and reciprocal term of ni. The original settlers of Lungchin do not have a reciprocal term of ni. New comers in this village from Mizoram refer to the children as vah with reference to their father's sister.

Husband of father's sister (Gang)

The husband of one's father's sister is gang. He is addressed and referred to as gang. The Lushai (Mizo) do not have a term equivalent to gang. They equate him with father and address him as father. Marriage of father's sister brings in a new addition of relative. Her husband is lumped and paired with her in the kinship organisation. He is a shadow of father's sister and he can represent her to her natal household. There is a pull towards each other between father's sister and her husband. She pulls her husband nearer to her natal household and the husband also pulls her away from her natal household towards his own group. The two, as a single unit, settles at a culturally predetermined position in the Paite social structure. Gang is as much a near relative as ni is. In spite of being in equal footing with ni, gang has no experience of living together with ego under the same roof in patrilocal Paite society where there is no marriage by service. A question in the form of a riddle is asked: "Who is a very near relative but who never lives together with us in the same house?" The answer is gang, i.e. father's sister's husband. After marriage father's sister enters into a ritual relationship with her brother's household.
A substitute father's sister
( Nl-vaangla)

Persons who have father's sister are regarded as lucky ones. For a man it is more important to have father's sister than for a woman. Where a man has no real father's sister custom compels him to take a substitute father's sister for the office of tanu in his inndongta organisation. A woman has no such awkward situation created by the absence of father's sister after her own marriage. On the contrary father's sister delays the absorption of a man's married sister into his inndongta. A substitute father's sister is termed as ni-vaangla, meaning a distant father's sister. In the same vein the husband of a distant paternal aunt is called gang vaangla. Father's sister marrying outside the village of her's affords a good lodging for her visiting brother's children. They feel homely if there is their father's sister in her house. People like to have father's sister as much as they like to have elder siblings who are their mentors. A couplet given below show how much desirable it is to have father's sister and elder sibling:

Ni ka neilouva, tunga ni,
Ni aw, ni aw ka chi e;
U ka neilouva, lua u,
U aw, u aw ka chi e.

Translation:
I have no ni (paternal aunt),
I call ni (the sun) as ni (paternal aunt);
I have no u (elder sibling),
And I call u (frog) of the stream, u (elder sibling).
A substitute father's sister or ni-vaangla is a substitute member of inndongta called zanggam kawiloh. She/he is less intensive in her/his interaction with the household of ego (confere ante pp. 101-102).

Influence of father's sister:

By extension ni means the sun. Like the solar light, father's sister can act in her brother's house in a healthy way and warms up the household. Her presence in her father's or brother's house as a tanu fills the social and ritual gaps. But too much interference or restraint of father's married sister in the domestic affairs results in extreme effects as too much heat or cold in injurious. In some cases it is the father's sister who makes the domestic life of ego's mother unhappy. As among the Tellensi of Africa it is the married sister of one's father who gives rise to quarrels in the natal home among the Paite also. She can visit her natal home as frequently as she is permitted by her in-laws, eat and talk as much as she can before her brother marries. Before her brother marries she is care-free in the house of her father or brother. In anticipating the querelsomeness of women in Paite society it is advised that a married woman will not visit her father's house too frequently after her own brother marries. It is said that there is no peace in the household where a married off woman (tanu-khaak) has too much weighty voice. She has to guard and look to the interest and sentiment of her brother's wife as she demands it from her sister-in-law in her husband's household. She has to behave with restraint because a new comer is recruited in her natal household. Presence of one's mother sets in partial alienation of one's father's sister. Similarly the presence of father's sister in a household brings in an element of alienation to her sisters-in-law. Total alienation of one's father's sister is prevented
during the life time of one's grandparents. Antagonism and undercurrent of jealousy impair the relation between one's mother and father's sister. Relationship of a child with its mother's sister is regulated by the nature of relationship between its mother and its father's sister. Father's sister takes revenge on the child of her brother for her disappointments with her sister-in-law. To release her anger father's sister temporarily withdraws her love and affection from her brother's children. Children suffer if the relation between their father's sister and their mother is strained.

Father's sister is to be shown respect. Her name cannot be pronounced without a prefix ni before her name or part of it. The relationship between a woman and her brother's children is a reflection of sibling ties between brother and sisters. A married sister has more affection for her sister's children than for the children of her brother. Her sisters are different sets of relatives. She regards the children of her sister as her own children. Children regard their mother's sister as a kind of mother and address her as nu (mother) or nunqaaq (a term for mother other than biological mother). Though father's sister is respected she occupies a lower position than mother's brother. She is not supposed to be endowed with supernatural power. She cannot curse her brother's children even provoked by anger as mother's brother can do. Respect shown to father's real sister is much more than an etiquette evoked by a feeling of moral obligation. Social relation between a woman and her brother's household is maintained by her habitual visits in the early evenings to the brother's house along with her children and usually with her husband. The early period of the evening is the usual time for visiting the in-laws's house by a son-in-law. There is a chain of visits among in-laws.
A woman cannot be too liberal to the children of her brother. They cannot take articles from their father's sister's house. Even though she likes to give something to her brother's children she needs prior approval of her husband. One cannot live in the house of one's father's sister for a long time without the consent of the husband of one's father's sister as one can indulge in the house of one's mother's brother. Father's sister's husband is apt to demur against the burden imposed on his family by his wife's brother's children. Members of her family may not always welcome the frequent visits of the children of her brother. Children do not feel at home in the house of their father's sister as much as they do in the house of their mother's brother. A folksong from Paite legendary story* of two orphaned brothers illustrate the relationship between children and husband of a substitute father's sister.

Ka gangna kei bang ka ngiulai in,
Jumluk toh laikuan ka umkhawm hi e;
Jumluk toh laikuan ka um khawm hi e,
Samisal nutuun in ka nei hi e.

Free translation:
While I feared my gang (husband of paternal aunt) as if he were a tiger,
I ate together with pigs, I ate together with pigs;
I took shelter at the warm side of mithun as if it were my mother.

*Two orphaned brothers—Lian Dou and Thang Hour lived in the house of a distant father's sister. She had obtained prior permission from her husband to support the two helpless orphans who were the sons of her clan male member. The elder lived with them but the younger was afraid of the disapproval of the master of the house. He dared not live and eat in the house. He hid himself underneath the floor of a pile dwelling. His elder brother used to feed him secretly under the floor in the midst of pigs by dropping food stuff to him. He dared not sleep inside the house. He slept by the side of mithun at night under the floor. At last he was detected and reprimanded for his hesitation to live in the house of a substitute father's sister. He was picked up, cleansed washed, greased and combed by the ni-y ngla. This illustrates the behavioural pattern in the relationship between father's sister and her distant brother's children in Paite society.
The relationship between sister's children and their mother's brother is well regulated. In principle sister's children can take any article from mother's brother. A man's love for his sister's children is an extension of uterine love existing between him and his sister (Fortes 1949:302, Radcliffe-Brown 1969). Similarly, the love and attachment persons have for their mothers' brothers is an extension of love they have for their mothers. Children are seen continually visiting their mothers' brothers' houses. They mix with the children of their mothers' brothers and often take meals in the house of the latter. Children are prone to taking meals in their mother's brother's house. It is proverbially said, "A lazy person stays at the house of his mother's brother." This means that a lazy person, for fear of parental harassment, takes shelter in the house of mother's brother. Children have quasi-filial status in the home of their mother's brother. The home of their mother's brother is the second home for them. People know well their matrilineal origin and patrilineal descent. These ideas are inseparable in Paita ideal point of view as among the Tellenais (Fortes 1949:30).

In the social structure a man has connections in two directions. He cannot connive at the patrilineal descent and his ethnic origin. Children learn in early childhood that their mother's brother is a person to be loved. This is due to the indoctrination of love in the children by the mother. They follow the example given by the mother who is kind and graceful to her brother. This is further cemented by the loving attitudes of mother's brother to his sister's children. They are expected to be kind, responsive and obedient to their mother's brother. One cannot demand repayment of what one had spent on account of one's sister's children (Goswami and Kamkhentang 1972).
The relationship of a man and his mother's brother is permanent. He cannot give up his mother's brother during his lifetime. Only death ends their mutual relationship. In case of physical distance between a man and his mother's brother a son can make a substitute mother's brother. He cannot suppress and subdue his mother's brother in any way. He cannot disrespect him by withholding meat of his game animal. But sisters, unlike the brothers, can give up and change their puu after marriage. Before marriage a girl's ritual puu is her mother's brother. After her marriage and after having a child, her family has to seek for spiritual blessings from her brother or father. She then gives up her own mother's brother and uses her brother as her ritual puu for herself and her children. The ritual relationship of a woman with her mother's brother is ephemeral in their ritual relationship. The nature of this short-lived relationship is expressed in a saying: *Numei puu loch phaiton lam*. It connotes, "For a woman her mother's brother is as good as the back part of a house". The girl's own mother's brother is under ritually unused as much as the back door of a house is not used for exit and entrance.

A man's sister's children do not belong to his clan or lineage except when their mother marries into her natal clan or lineage. A person does not forfeit his/her clan affiliation even if he/she is brought up in the care of his or her mother's brother. Whatever may be the relationship of a girl with her father's lineage people it is the father's lineage people who receive placatory offerings, marriage proposal and bride price when she marries. The sister's children cannot inherit the properties of their mother's brother.
Mother's brother is held in high respect that his name cannot be mentioned without a honorific term puu as a prefix to his name. He has the power to curse as he has also the power to bless his sister's children. He is held in awe and reverence. He is approached for spiritual blessings. Sister's children cannot live in front of or immediately below mother's brother's house on the same slope. Water spat out after meal by mother's brother is thought to be noxious. In selection of a jhum site sister's son cannot have his jhum site just below his mother brother's jhum site on the same slope of the hill. In the annal of Lungchin village since its existence in 1910 there had been two cases in which a sister's son happened to get a jhum site just below the jhum site of his mother's brother. This happened in 1973. The effect and subsequent arrangement of this position have been described in detail in one of my papers (Paite Dwelling House). It amounts to disrespect to a mother's brother to have a jhum site just above his on the same slope of a hill. This amounts to showing one's anus to the mother's brother. Animals such as piglet and mithun received from mother's brother are believed not to thrive well. They are unfit for breeding purposes. A son-in-law is not willing to rear a piglet given by his in-laws. It is said that a man cannot have a woman and a pig together from the same source. There was a case in which a school teacher of the village got a piglet from his wife's parents. The family of the son-in-law started rearing it. His father came on a visit to the school teacher. He found that the pig was given by the parents-in-law of his son. He did not favour it to be reared. They killed it for a dinner. Pig and mithun given to the household of a married sister or daughter are supposed to have retarded growth and are less productive. Their stunted growth and ill-health negative their utility for meat production. It is said that the
potency of mother's youngest brother's influence is strongest and most injurious for his sisters' children. At the same time the poorest of all mother's brothers has the most injurious evil influence. Formerly children having some anal complaints took a little quantity of lard from the poorest and youngest mother's brother. The lard was used to treat the discomfort in the anus of sister's children. The discomfort was supposed to have been caused by such poor and envious mother's brother. Of the brothers of one's mother, the youngest one gets less laudation. Hence his evil eyes are supposed to be most injurious. Domestic fowls are ready-made items to be given to sister's children in reciprocation of offering of rice-beer called pu-gukholh. It is said, "A hen or a pullet given by mother's brother to his sister's children is prolific". So a hen or a pullet received from mother's brother is usually reared for breeding purpose. It is expected that such chicken will lay more eggs and lead many chicks. Another restriction with mother's brother is that a girl cannot marry her mother's brother's son (see marriage restriction given above).

In many societies the threat of supernatural attack or influence is expected to come from affinal kins and political associates (Itoch 1926:22). In Paite society mystical influence comes only from wife-giving to wife-receiving group. The influence of mother's brother can be regulated to ards unlawful ends, though, sometimes it may have evil consequences. The verbal curse of mother's brother is considered to be so potent that it may physically harm the sister's children. Even at unconscious state the evil influence or the spirit of jealousy of the mother's brother is strong enough to harm the sister's family.
Rice-beer for mother's brother  
( Pu-zukholh)

In order to keep a person in good humour there is an offering of rice-beer from his married sister and her children. This offering is called pu-zukholh: offering of rice-beer to mother's brother. This is a compulsory obligation on the part of every married woman and her children collectively. It is done at the slack period of shifting cultivation. The best season for it is either after harvest or after weeding out the jhum before harvest. Mother's brother does not mind if his sister's children cannot afford to offer him rice beer owing to bad harvest. But one cannot perpetually neglect one's mother's brother by ignoring the pu-zukholh and pu-se ( meat for mother's brother). He has to cajole his mother's brother occasionally. Formerly pu-zukholh was much in vogue than it is now. First importance for offering rice beer was given to mother's brother and then to the thallouh. The importance of pu-zukholh is expressed tersely in a saying: Puute leh gitta in chiaa nasapen (Kamkhenthang 1973: 109). Literally it means that mother's brother and wild sparrows taste first fruits earlier than any other man. Millet was the staple food before rice. The first harvest of millet was cleansed, brewed into beer and offered it to mother's brother. The first harvest was given to mother's brother in the form of beer as he had blessed his sister's children to enjoy sound health and successful millet cultivation.

One of my informants, Mrs. Pi-Ngek is a regular giver of pu-zukholh to her eldest brother's son, Mr. Kham Za Nanj, living in Wanjhem village of Chin State. During my stay in Lungchin her last offering was done on third January 1973. She set out from Lungchin for the village of her late brother with her widowed friend, Mrs. Thuam Zen. Both of them are widows. Thuam Zen acted the role of the husband of Pi-Ngek on this occasion by accompanying Pi-Ngek. Pi-Ngek would go to offer beer in the company of her husband if he were alive. Members of Wanj Hem's inndongta and non-Christians of the
village were invited to join the drinking bout. After tasting her share of beer Mrs. Pi-Ngek cut jokes. She said that she would not leave them till the same gong and drum were played a min as before. Then Mr. Kham Za Nang, receiver of the offering beer (see chart No. 14) was emotionally moved by the indirect hints given by his father's sister. He did not have ready beer to offer and to reciprocate this pu-zukholh. He fetched a pot of rice beer from his own in-laws. With this beer he made a counter offering of the pu-zukholh given by his father's sister. They sang songs in the company of gong and drum in the porch of the house. Mrs. Pi-Ngek herself led the singing party. She was the gong-beater. Few of the specimen of the songs sung on that occasion are given below as retold to me:

```
Taang bang pha aw, taang bang pha aw,
Tusuan aw taang bang pha aw;
Kha ka viakni'n vaithou hong ding hawmthoh na'ng e,
Tusuan aw taang bang pha aw.
```

Free translation:
Be of sound health and magnificent,
Dear niece and nephew, be of good fortune;
I need you to chase flies on my death,
Be of sound health, my sister's children

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Ka phamnua chia ka laukha zong,
Hibang tulvum ah a khawllai diam?
Hibang tulvum ah a khawllai diam?
Zaidoih khoabang a suut lai diam aw e.
```

Free translation:
Will my spirit also after my death,
Abide in happiness like this?
Will it abide like this.
And gossip as heavily as this?
A pham masa i om leh si khawlmuah ah,
Haibang ngak di'n na chiam ugam dia'm?
A pham masa si khawlmuah ah dohsuang tung ah,
Toule'ng vang e, haibang ngak vang e.

Free translation:
If any one of us dies earlier,
Will you dare promise to wait each other at the outskirt of the dead's place?
On the stone slab at the waiting place of the dead,
We will sit and wait for one another.

After singing these songs she cracked another joke.
She said that even she dies earlier she would not wait for any other at the outskirt of the abode of the dead for there would be too many noxious insects. This made the people burst into laughter. In the meantime Kham Za Nang's younger brother (Lian-Nou) who recently separated from parental home appeared in the scene. He brought a young deer on his shoulder. Mrs. Pi-Ngek thought that the younger brother was carrying a head of a game animal to offer to his brother. She stood up quickly to lift it down. To her surprise it was a living deer to be given to the elder brother. Then the elder brother fired shot from his fire-arm in joyfulness and vociferated hunter's song (han' la) to exclaim the deed of getting a game animal. This incident added to their happiness all the more. Songs were selected to suit their sentiment and the occasion. Few other specimen of the songs sung on that occasion are:

Siingkhual ate laitual nong leen in,
Ka ningkhum in ei luan zoulou e;
Ka ningkhum in ei luan takei leh,
Laizom chiin nih thum khawlkhawm houh lai le'ng.

Free translation:
On the occasion when you pay me a visit from other village,
My rice-beer is not sufficient to saturate us,
Even though my beer is not enough to satisfy us,
Let us, we two or three siblings, enjoy each other's company.

Eiteng khawlkhawm chiin leh tuai aw,
Zaangleng sunni tumlam melma'ng e;
Zangleng sunni tumlam melma'ng e,
Ngeih aw gibang khen ding na sa'ng e.

Free translation:
On the day when we, siblings, mix together,
I do not know when the sun sets;
I do not know when the sun sets,
Oh my dear, I feel too painful for our separation.

Attachment between sister's children and mother's brother's people is renewed on pu-zukholh occasions. Relationship between a sister and her brother is also revived. Pu-zukholh is a means of seeking spiritual blessings from mother's brother. Since he is responsible for the spiritual welfare of his sister's children he has to evoke spiritual intervention for the happy growth and successful life of his sister's children. A few years back in Lungchin village children were given bundle of white feathers on the occasion of pu-zukholh to ward off evil spirits. An exorcist tied a bundle of down feathers of white cock around the necks of his sister and her children. This is being done on behalf of the mother's brother. In tying the feathers to the neck of the children the ritual expert muttered that he tied the feathers with good health and success in jhuming. No child now bears a talisman of white feathers in the village. But many careful parents have a collection of feathers and quills of horn-bill for such occasions as pu-zukholh and mortuary rites etc. In pu-zukholh of non-Christian family some of the songs sung are:
The down feathers of cock and cotton thread are matching,
For the sound health of sister's children;
They are suitable for luxuriant growth of sister's children,
May you, wonder lust, live long.

Mother's brother, you live ever as a verdant foliage,
I like to enjoy your greatness and magnanimity.

Pu-zu-holh ritual cannot be accomplished by the
giver and the receiver alone. It also needs participants to
enjoy it and to share the happiness of the offerer and the
receiver. The function is carried out by the participation
of members of inndongta of the receiver of the offering and
neighbours. In Lungchin village the folkway of the people is
that a married woman does not employ her tanu to carry her
beer-pot or tea-pot and to serve the beverage in pu-zukholh.
Mother's brother is given the first sip of the beer to show
respect to him. After this the tanu of mother's brother who
is tending and serving the beer is given a chance to taste
the beer. The receiver of the offering is generally followed
by the giver of the offering. In return and in appreciation
of the beer offered, mother's brother gives something to his
sister's children. The usual gift is a domestic fowl. Non-payment of any gift by a poor mother's brother is not a sign of indifference of mother's brother. In case a poor mother's brother does not have ready fowl he can give any other article such as a hoe, axe, piglet and a token amount of money. A pullet or a hen given by mother's brother in pu-zukholh is much cherished. It is given without submerged ill-feeling on the occasion of offering the beer to him. It is also free from the evil influence of mother's brother and it is said to be a good breeder as mentioned earlier.

Pu-tawp-zu
( A beer to sever relationship with mother's brother)

A married woman puts her own mother's brother asunder. A married woman after having a child needs to pay attention to her own brother. Payment of last pu-zukholh by a married woman severes her ritual relationship with her own mother's brother. Her mother's brother is no longer a ritual laangkhan and puu in her inndongta on death occasion. All the ritual functions are transferred to her own brother from her mother's brother with reference to herself and her children. Her marriage removes her mother's brother though he receives a token amount of money on her marriage as practised in other villages other than Lungchin. Pu-tawp-zu is a symbolic expression for the severance of relationship between a man and his sister's married daughter. It is an outward sign for the severed relationship. Socially he is puu for her family throughout her life. She no longer needs pay offering of rice-beer to him. But she can do so if she likes.

Mrs. Miang Luan offered rice-beer to her mother's brother, Thung Nok a few years back after having her first child. She is a Christian. Her mother's brother is a non-Christian. He did not accept tea in place of rice-beer.
She asked her female tanupi to "brew a beer and make offering to her mother's brother to sever their ritual relationship. Her non-Christian tanupi did everything on her behalf. Her elder sister, Khoi Kho Ngaï also had done the last offering of rice-beer to the same mother's brother after she had her first child to disaffiliate her ritual relation from him. On both occasions, their mother's brother reciprocated them warmly. He gave them one piglet each to start their new family with.

It is felt compulsory for a household to make an offering of beer to all the households to which the household of a man is a tanu of any grade. It is required to make offering of beer to different sets of puu. First importance is given to the puu in whose household or inndongta one is tanupi and so on according to the gradation of the office of tanu and puu. Courteous persons make such offering of beer to distant puu even though they have no affiliation in the inndongta organisation. Pu-zukholh from a household other than the household holding the office of tanu is more appreciated as it is almost unexpected gift. Mr. Kham Kho Gin had made pu-zukholh to Mr. Sing Za Kham. Mr. Sing Za Kham is a distant mother's brother (puu-vangla) for Kham Kho Gin. Mr. Sing Za Kham, being saturated with joy for receiving an offering of pu-zukholh from a putative sister's son, reciprocated him well. He gave a hoe, an axe, Rs 2.00 and a domestic fowl to his distant sister's son (tu-vangla).

Pu-sea (Meat for mother's brother)

Mother's brother has a customary claim over certain anatomical parts of an animal killed by his sister's sons. The people of Lungchin give the medial side of one pelvis including the coxigeal part. Some other Paite local groups pay the carportion while others give the neck-portion to
Their mother's brother. A Zou tribesman gives meat to his wife's parents in addition to the payment of meat to his mother's brother. No one in Tunguliu gives pu-sa to his wife's parents as a compulsory obligation from his game. A man compulsorily presents meat to his mother's brother. He can abstain, if he is so kind, to his son's wife's brother. He can also give meat (pu-sa) to his father's mother's brother. For every male his mother's brother is given first importance and next importance is given either to his father's mother's brother or his daughter-in-law's parents or brother. Non-payment of pu-sa to own mother's brother is a serious breach of customary law. It has been liable to a fine with one mithun. But non-payment of pu-sa to wife's brother or father and father's mother's brother is not cognizable. Mother's brother cannot claim payment of pu-sa in all animals killed by his sister's son. There are certain restrictions and conditions depending upon the nature how and for what purpose the animal is killed (see Division of meat given below). Mr. Kam-Pu had caught a barking deer in his trap. The meat had been decomposed in the woods before he could collect it. His mother's brother living in another village heard that his sister's son had killed a deer. He wondered why he did not get his rightful claim of meat from his sister's son. He charged his sister's son with negligence and holding him (mother's brother) in contempt. He demanded one mithun for non-payment of pu-sa. Then he filed a case against his sister's son. It was found that Mr. Kam-Pu was not unwilling to give the pu-sa to him. The situation in which Mr. Kam-Pu did not pay the meat was beyond his control as the carcass had been decomposed. Then the case was accordingly dismissed. Sister's son cannot escape from payment of either pu-sa or a fine for non-payment of it under normal circumstances.
DIVISION OF MEAT

In Paite society meat and beer go side by side. Meat cannot be left alone without rice-beer or tea. Meat and rice-beer complement each other in the social structure. They are items of offering to the evil spirits and gods. Evil spirits demand them of the living people. They are the most cherished items of food. They have a very high social, ritual, cultural, and economic values. In Paite Christian life tea replaces rice-beer in a changed nature of food habit introduced by Christianity.

The division of meat among different members of inndongta is variable according to the nature of the functions and rituals. It can vary with the nature of animals killed such as wild and domestic animals. Division of meat and rice-beer follows along the line of kinship strings in the social structure. The division of meat and beer is so complex in detail that a man who can dictate how to distribute the shares among the members of inndongta and outside the inndongta circle is rather boastful. There is precedence as to who is to be given first chance in sipping a beer from which beer—not contributed by a particular member of the inndongta. The mode of disposal and sharing of these two important items of luxury are variable again from village to village and group to group while maintaining identical social structure. In Tun-chin the mode of division of meat is more or less uniform from household to household. It has a strong political impact on the people who follow the rule. People usually do not like to accept a particular part of meat which is not traditionally accepted by their local group or ancestors if they have political resistance. Where a man is mean and has no political support and influence he is to get and give parts of meat according to the norm of the majority of his village.
A new comer in a village finds difficult to persuade people to accept a particular norm of his former village or local group in the matter of division of meat. It is also equally difficult to demand that anatomically prescribed part of meat he had taken in his former village. We have said that this limited marriage choice between local groups having dissimilar local norms in the matter of distribution of meat. Mr. Lian Thang of Khuptong clan migrated from Mizoram to Lungchin. He was married to a girl of this village. Meat for mother's brother was the ear-portion according to his practice in his former village. His father-in-law did not like to accept the ear-portion of an animal as pu-sa (meat for mother's brother). He demanded the usual baso-ischial part as current in Lungchin. Mr. Lian Thang was helpless to resist as he was alone sharing his norm. He could not but yield to it.

No single household reserves a monopolistic right over a game animal killed in a chase and domestic animals. Slices of meat are used to express kinship relations and good wishes to the fellow members in the society. Any slaughtered animal is shared together in definite ways (see photo No. 12). Survival of the hunting stage of Paite tradition is markedly observable in the mode of distribution and consumption of meat. Today one person gets meat in abundance. He will not be able to consume it alone in a day or so. He has to apportion the meat to different relatives on his matrilineal, patrilineal, affinal sides and friends through the andongta. One day sooner or later any of the recipients of his meat also kills an animal. He gets back a lump or lumps of meat as he had given away earlier. Apart from serving as a means of expressing kinship and good will toward fellow villagers the system of distribution of meat serves as an investment to guarantee receipt of regular and steady supply of meat for his household.
Had there been no such system of dispensing meat through inndongta certain poor households might not have chances of procuring meat even in a year. A poor household cannot rear and raise pig and poultry successfully. It will be a far cry between the intervals where meat is available for the household.

Meat of animals killed for a feast, ritual and a wild animal for food are not cooked and gorged in one household of the feast-giver or the killer of the animal. Different parts of meat go to different households in a definite pattern. Certain parts of meat labelled as innteksa (meat for the householder) are not given to the public even in a marriage celebration. Even if a man kills a big animal like a cow or a mithun his household retains a little quantity. There is hardly much meat for the public or invitees as different parts of the meat are sent to different household units holding different offices in the inndongta of the feast-giver. There is reciprocal system of obligation in the sharing of meat and drink. Persons who are to get customary shares of meat are required to contribute rice-beer according to their structural importance and relation to the meat-giver.

Meat is regarded as a highly valuable delicacy than beer. It is also said that 'any one asking for meat is to be given'. It is an article of rare and delicious thing. That's why it is regarded as an article not to be asked for. Hence any one daring to ask for it is to be given is the meaning of the saying. Stevenson remarked the Chin, "The Chin literally loves meat. He will devour an almost unbelievable quantity when he gets the opportunity . . . ." People think enjoyable to have a chance to eat meat offered by a household to the helpers in the works like weeding out the jhum, threshing paddy, constructing a house etc. This is for individual satisfaction. Meat given to a person as a customary
share associated with the office in the inndongta is the common share of members of the household who receive the meat. Elderly persons explicitly said that they wished the children of the households, to which they were affiliated as members of inndongta, got married and make feasts so that members of their families could also get meat and participate in the feast.

Broadly speaking, the mode of distribution of meat is divided into two types—*innsa hawm* and *gamsa hawm*. *Innsa hawm* is the distribution of meat of domestic animals while *gamsa hawm* is applied to the mode of distribution of meat of wild animals killed in a chase. In *innsa hawm* the mode of distribution of meat is variable from feast to feast and from village to village or local group to local group even for a similar feast. Feasts on the occasions of joy and of sorrow have different rules of distribution of the meat. A mortuary feast is an unhappy occasion (cf. chart No. 18, 19 and the table given below). The carving of meat and the shares of meat for members of inndongta are different from the modes of distribution in ordinary circumstances of happy occasions (see mortuary feast below). The mode of division of meat among members of two inndongta organisations is different from the mode of division among members of one inndongta. In the case of wild animals the division of meat is variable again from situation to situation. When a man alone kills a wild animal without any companion, the animal is treated as if it were a domestic one. The meat is divided among the members of his inndongta. Members of inndongta have jural right to claim lumps of meat of wild animal killed by a man alone as they have recognized obligations towards him and his household. Meat of small animals such as dog, chick and pig killed in an exorcism and a feast for helpers in a work are not claimable by members of inndongta.
Pattern of meat carving on the two sides of the same animal in a mortuary feast

Chart No. 18

Tanupi
Household of (Tuampi) the deceased

Gauhawl
Pu sahuan, Behvaal & Sialbawl

Tanunau
(Tuamnau) Sisom

Thallouh
Siampi Thalloufhuss

Thusapi
Zawl Nurhal

Pupi

11
9
14
15
7
6
12
13
2
4
3
1

The shares of meat for members of inndongta in Lungchin are found as in the table given below. Members of inndongta get anatomically prescribed and important parts of meat corresponding to their functional importance to the household.

**Table No. II**

**DIVISION OF MEAT OF ANIMALS TREATED AS DOMESTIC ONES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Office of Recipients</th>
<th>DOMESTIC ANIMALS</th>
<th>TYPES OF FEAST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Touse</strong> Feast for the heir</td>
<td><strong>Puu-as</strong> Ancestor Worship</td>
<td><strong>Kogah</strong> Funeral feast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Game Animal</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Householder</td>
<td>Head, liver, lungs, heart and entrails</td>
<td>-do-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Thallouh</td>
<td>Distal part of the thigh <em>(Phei tumtan)</em></td>
<td>-do-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Thusapi</td>
<td>Middle portion of the thigh <em>(phiailai)</em></td>
<td>-do-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Thallouh-thusa</td>
<td>Distal end of one forethigh <em>(liaungpheimon)</em></td>
<td>-do-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Hanzutung</td>
<td>Basal part of the ribs</td>
<td>Distal part indefinite part of forethigh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Tanupi</td>
<td>One side of the rib portion <em>(lik)</em></td>
<td>Two sides of the ribs <em>(lik)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Tanunau</td>
<td>One scapular part</td>
<td>-do-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offices of Recipients</td>
<td>TYPES OF FEAST</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Touga</td>
<td>Pu-su</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Feast for the heir</td>
<td>Ancestor Worship</td>
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<tr>
<td>DOMESTIC ANIMALS</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. Tanu thumna</td>
<td>Abdominal muscles</td>
<td>Muscles of the lower jaw (Khabetuai)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Tanulina</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Pupi</td>
<td>Basal part of the ischium with tail</td>
<td>-do-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. a) Punau</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Divide one side of the ischial part parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Pu-thumna</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Pu-lina</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Zawl</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Sialbawl</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Nuphal</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Behvaal</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>?</td>
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DISTRIBUTION OF THE MEAT OF A PIG

Chart No. 19

Thallouhmang (Hanzutung)
If a wild animal is killed in the company of other fellows the meat of such a quarry is divided among themselves. This is a case of *gamsa hawm*, e.g. division of meat of wild animal. The killer of the animal and all the members of the party divide the meat equally with the exception of some portions set apart to be dealt with presently. All the members get equal share irrespective of young and old and disproportionately to their labour. The head, entrails, liver, lungs and heart are reserved for the killer while certain members of the hunter's inndongta are to be given certain parts of the meat. In *gamsa hawm* type of distribution of meat, mother's brother and other members of inndongta have no share of meat except the tanupi, zawl and sometimes the tanunau. The tanupi gets the usual share in wild and domestic animals. Tanupi is treated more leniently as nothing can be done by the household without the tanupi. Other grades of tanu are given meat when there is enough meat or when the quarry is treated as if it were a domestic animal. Formerly the village headman (*hausa*) and the blacksmith got shares of meat in wild animals killed by the villagers. The village headman exacted one scapular part of the animal as the hunter was under his mercy in his village. The blacksmith got his share of inner vertebral muscle as a bullet ball was made in his forge by him as among the Zahau Chins of Burma (*Stevenson 1937:25*). Nowadays the owner of a gun with which a wild animal is killed gets one scapular part as a fee of his gun.

The occasion of killing an animal, except a mortuary feast, is a great joy for a household and members of inndongta of the feast-giver or the hunter. It is an occasion to heighten their relationship with the exchange of meat and beer or tea. Some quadrupeds such as porcupine and carnivora are not shared and claimed by members of inndongta.
Mr. Tuan Za Neng caught a deer in a trap set with Mr. Tuan-Pu. They were the joint owners of the trap and the quarry. Mr. Tuan Kho Pau happened to be a member of the group as he helped them in chopping the meat on their request. The members of inndongta of Tuan Za Neng such as tanupi, tanunau and zawl got their customary shares of meat though they were not included in the party. Tuan Za Neng, as the killer of the animal, retained the heart, liver, the head and lungs as inntoksa (meat for the householder) as mentioned above. Since he has his elder brother, Mr. Za Dou who was his thallouh in his inndongta in the same village, he passed on the inntoksa to him. The remaining part of the meat was divided among the three members. Mr. Za Dou again invited his male tanupi to chop the meat and cook it in his house in the evening. Some members of his tanupi's family joined Za Dou in a feast in the morning. This is a case in point for gamsa hawn type of sharing meat. Mother's brother cannot demand a share of meat here as the killer of the animal had a companion though non-payment of meat to mother's brother is cognizable in case the hunter kills a game without a companion. A man who first spots out the killed animal is also given the lumbar region of the meat as his additional share. Such a person carries home the head of the killed animal.

Any household receiving a customary share of meat from the hunter acknowledges the receipt with an offer of either rice-beer or tea. Christians make acknowledgement with a pot of simple tea. A neighbour, a clansman and other relatives also get unspecified slice of meat. But they do not need immediate acknowledgement and reciprocation. A good and magnanimous hunter gives away many slices to as many as possible households of the village. Each recipient feels a sense of indebtedness and does not forget the virtuous deed of the giver. It is said, "Chiimnuai a ga kibah, Geltui a kithuk" (Nangkhonthang 1973 : 12). Chiimnuai and Geltui
were the earliest known sites of laito habitation in their history. This saving means that a meat given to a friend while living at Shiimnual and got it repaid only after they had shifted to Welui. The complication is that a receiver of a meat is morally indebted. This indebtedness remains unpaid till a chance comes to express his gratitude by returning the good deeds bestowed upon him. It is never too late to repay a favour of meat or good deeds received earlier.

In Lungchin there is no professional or lineage meat cutter. The elder ones know better how to carve meat than the junior ones as practical experiences have taught them. Even a particular share of meat is carved a bit smaller than traditional standard by mistake it is a point to begrudge under intoxication of rice-beer. It is because a man exchanges his beer for a lump of meat in the inndonga. A disappointed member says, "Your butcherin's knife is too sharp. My share of meat is what I had bartered with a pot of my rice-beer". A brawl may ensue.

Sanctity of cardiac meat.

The cardiac muscle of an animal is included in a ritual meat for the householder. It is more than a meat. The heart is the seat of a soul in Paita traditional belief. The cardiac meat of an animal is a ritual meat. It is a sacred meat. Children are not allowed to partake of the heart of an animal. Even small children do not like to take the heart of a chicken as they are indoctrinated that it is a meat forbidden to the non-adults. It is popularly said that children cannot take the cardiac meat of animal. It is said that children will not have tenacious memory if they eat the heart of animal. The heart is called lung in Paita and mental weakness is called lungmawk, meaning literally silly hearted. It is put like this in the words of
informants, "Naupang in salung a nick leh a lung mawk." It means that a child will have mental weakness if it partakes the meat of animal's heart. It is also further said that if a child takes the heart of a dog it will be as greedy as the dog itself. Traditional supposition was that a man thinks with his heart and retains memories in the heart. Whatever a person remembers and thinks is what the soul feels in the heart containing blood. What imaginary eyes see is what the eyes of the heart (mind) or eyes of the soul in the heart see and so on. Since the heart of an animal is a ritual meat it is always included in offerings to the spirits for propitiation. It is a sacred organ being the seat of the soul and is acceptable for offering to the gods, evil spirits and ancestral manes. It is also for this reason that cardiac meat is not given to children. Blood contained in the heart has the essence of life and soul. It is equally connected with the soul matter like other organs - the brain, entrails and other vital organs. Brain and coagulated blood filled in the intestines are liberally given to lineage head or elderly persons of the descent group. A man living together with his siblings gives the heart to the eldest brother. The cardiac meat forms what is called phungsa (meat for clan members). As a phungsa it is given only to the adult members of the clan of the feast-giver (Cf. Goswami and Tamkhetang 1975 :61-63). It is worth giving to the dead to speed up the soul spirit of the deceased to join the spiritual band of the ancestral shades in the abode of the dead.

Cardiac meat is also designated as upa-aa, meaning meat for elderly persons. It is a meat of seniority. In a family the parents eat it. Actually it is meant for the eldest living lineage member. Mr. Neng Kho Thang of Langel clan said this point in such a way that all elderly persons
were not eligible to take cardiac meat. He illustrated the points by saying that he did not eat the heart of animal whenever he killed a game. He gave cooked and sliced heart to his half-sister, Mrs. Non Dim and Mr. Khai-Pu, the thallouh belonging to his clan besides others. He did not give cardiac meat to Mr. Bou Hau of his clan (puu in his inndongta) whom he regarded as still young to partake of it. He said that his daughter was very silly for taking the heart of animal without hesitation. Another informant interrupted him by saying that his own children have a repugnance to eating of the heart of any animal. They even did not like to taste it.
Death is regarded as a natural end of human life. Socio-cultural activities culminate in the ritual of death among the Paite. In traditional belief death comes when the soul spirit of a person leaves the body. As such there is a belief that the dead can regain life if the departing soul can be persuaded to come back. This has a relation with the practices of shouting, shooting and beating of the walls of the house. It is a means to scare away the evil spirits taking away the soul of the dead. The soul of a person may be injured, kidnapped and tortured by the evil spirits resulting in illness and ultimate death of the person as the dreams are supposed to be the experiences of the soul during sleep. During illness the non-Christians try to appease the wicked spirits held responsible for the illness by exorcism rites. When death comes inevitably it is the direct concern of the inndongta of the deceased in particular and the villagers in general. Actual death is announced by the cries of the relatives of the dead. In a traditional household, death is announced, inter alia, by shooting of guns, beating of gongs and ringing of a bell. Knell has been introduced in a village by Christianity. A sudden gun shot or the sound of a gong during the struggle of a seriously ill patient between life and death fazes the people with a kind of shock.

The mother of the chieftain of Lungchin laid lectually unconscious for some days. During this time a pu-zikholh of tea party was held in the house of Mr. Bem-Pu in the early part of the night. Members of his inndongta and neighbours came to participate in it. The house was more or less full. Some craked jokes and some gossiosed, while the scene bore a lively atmosphere with laughter, the shot of a gun was heard. The villagers were all pre-oc upied with the illness of the chief's mother. All the people in the house broke into silence for a moment to ponder over. Then some of them asked the direction from which the gun shot had been heard. Some said that the chief's mother was dead. But no more shot or beating of gongs or wailing was heard. It was not an announcement of death. Then the blishful atmosphere resumed. The shot was
Women members of inndongta, neighbours and relatives are the first to rush to the house of the dead. This bevy of women who rush to the house of the dead is termed as si-delh. They are those who are supposed to have more sympathy by virtue of kinship and neighbourhood. As such they are supposed to cry positively over the dead. In a non-Christian household a beer called laitah-su (rice-beer of death) is served first.

Womenfolk such as female members of thallouh, tanu, relatives and others sit beside the corpse. The womenfolk cry more than anybody else. Elderly women sing dirges in lamentation till they blubber their faces. The tanunàu is to give one puankseang cloth to wrap the dead. The tanupi is to supply one puanum cloth for enshrouding the corpse. These are additional payments made by members of the tanu besides their contribution of animal meat for a mortuary rite in a non-Christian household. But it is compulsory to do so in case of non-Christian burial also. As such the tanupi is also referred to as tuampi (principal wrapper), the tanunau as tuamlai (intermediate wrapper) and the aison (tanuthumna) as tuampau (junior wrapper). But in this village and elsewhere when ready-made cloth is not available immediately for shroud to the tanu group they can make cash payment in lieu of cloth. But this is not traditional practice and it lacks intensity. So in the case of Mrs. Swang Nia’s death her son quarrelled with the tanu group over the supply of cloths. His tanupi and tanunau paid rupees two and one respectively in addition to animal meat contributed in the mortuary rite (see below). But he did not fired by a young man to kill a wild fowl roosting on its perch in the reserve forest of the village.
like to accept cash payment. He said to the male members of tanu that the illness of his old mother was a protracted one. Her death was imminent. If they were sincere enough to comply to the cultural norm and were sympathetic to his mother they had enough time to procure one piece of cloth each. He charged them with negligence and lack of integrity. He fought a duel with his male tanupi under the influence of rice-beer. They were separated by other members. He killed one mithun for the mortuary rite of his mother. His tanupi and tanunau got the best shares of meat out of it in comparison to the shares of other members of his inndongta. He later explained to me the reasons why he could not accept cash payment in lieu of cloth. He said that members of his tanu group were to supply cloths positively as they got the best shares of mithun meat in the mortuary rite of his mother. On the occasion of death the service and contribution of the tanu group are great; they are proportionately recompensed in the form of meat. Capability to pay cloths by members of the tanu depends upon their economic conditions. At present one puandum cloth sells at more than rupees one hundred. Formerly it was customary for the tanupi to supply one puampi quilt in a mortuary rite of a person who had performed tong feast of merit. Correspondingly the payments made by the tanunau and sisom (tanuthumna) also increased. In such a case the tanunau and sisom gave puandum cloth and puankam cloth respectively. Contributions of cloth made by other members other than the tanu group are usually repaid by the receiver’s household whenever there is death in the households of such donors. Giving a cloth for wrapping a corpse is a token of love on the part of the giver. But within the inndongta the ritual offices determine the type of cloths to be supplied by the incumbents to the offices.
among members of inndongta a giver of cloth likes
that his/her cloth be used for actually wrapping the corpse.
He/she feels content if his/her cloth is used at least as
one of the grave-cloths, if not that one spread directly
either beneath or above the corpse in the coffin. The female
members of the tanu are responsible to arrange the cloths
for the dead. Shrouds supplied by the members of tanu are
readily accepted as grave-cloths as they are the preparers
of the dead for burial. This custom of supplying cloths to
the dead is an important element in the structural relation­
ship in the inndongta organisation. It goes by the tradition­
al saying like this: Si masa puwantum tang. 'A person who
dies first gets wrapping cloth first' is the meaning. By
saying this a donor can press the tanu group to include
his/her cloth to be contained in the coffin as one of the
gra

Any surplus cloths that cannot be contained
in the coffin are usually distributed again among immediate
relatives of the dead as a token memory of the dead. Small
packets of salt and chillies received as token of sympathy
from villagers and friends are also distributed among
relatives by the household of the dead. This is in recipro­
cation of sympathy displayed by the relatives. It is a
last memory of the dead to the relatives. On the occasion
of a death of a girl of 16 years referred to below, there
was no payment of either cloth or cash in the true sense of
the customary obligation of the members of the tanu. She
was given a Christian burial. As such her father and
members of his inndongta did not know whether there would
be traditional supply of cloth from the members of the tanu
group in a Christian burial. Some members of the inndongta
such as the thallouh and the tanupi gave rupees five and
two respectively. The father of the girl did not know
whether this payment was to be correlated with customary
payment of cloths. He did not know whether a demand of
traditional cloth would contradict to the norm of the
Christian organisation. He did not like to interfere with the Church as his daughter wished a Christian burial for her. In his opinion to interfere with the canon of the church would be to slight the wish of his daughter.

Death of a Christian of non-Christian parentage is not fully mourned by the members of inndonkta in a traditional way. Poor members of inndonkta take advantage of Christian burial. They evade many obligations traditionally assigned to them by virtue of their structural kinship positions and membership in the inndonkta. On the day of burial members of inndonkta did not bring their beer-pots. Care is taken not to disturb the activities of the Christian organisation by the members of the inndonkta and the household. They do not indulge in beer drinking in the house of the dead by members of inndonkta till the Christian youths have finished their share in disposal of the dead.

The day after burial is called handaalni. Members of inndonkta bring their beer-pots to comfort the bereft family. Christian households also bring their own tea-pots to express their sorrow and sympathy for the mourning household. Where a full burial ceremony is given members of the deceased's inndonkta have to spend a lot in terms of animals and rice-beer. Members of inndonkta are also hit directly by death. Death of a member of a family is expensive for his/her household. It further leads the household into further depletion of the household's material stock. Relatives come to stay for some time with the grief-stricken household. They are the hosts of the bereft household. So a household having enough paddy to last one year often runs deficit whenever a member of a family dies. Whenever the Paite of different villages meet after harvest they inquire one another the amount of paddy they have as a matter of social courtesy. To such a question a man answers that
his paddy will last till the next harvest if members of his family are of good health, hence a full burial is given the deceased's household spends more as shown below in mortuary rite.

Members of innondo of the deceased are part members of the bereft household and they bear the same sorrow to lighten it. On the day just after burial or on the day after the day of burial each household of which a member is a member of the innondo of the deceased receives offering of rice-beer or tea from members of his innondo. In this way members of the deceased's innondo are further consoled of their sorrow by the members of their respective innondo. Shortly for while the house of the dead has very few visitors. Only members of the deceased's family remain while members of the innondo of the deceased and visitors repair to their houses. Then members of the deceased's innondo receive offering of rice-beer from members of their respective innondo. Such a picture is a house where visitors have just left behind is often compared with a house of the dead having no visitors just after burial. Visitors abruptly disperse at burial leaving the house of the dead empty. The emptiness of a house after the visitors leave the house in ordinary social intercourse is spoken of in a saying: Maji vui khitna nuni bong. It means that it (house) looks likes a house from where a corpse has just been taken away for burial.

Formerly dead bodies were not disposed of very soon. It was kept unburied for an even number of days. Nowadays it is buried as soon as possible within the day of death or by the morrow. The grandmother of the village headman is stated to have been disposed of only on the fifteenth
day after her death. Delayed disposal of the dead met the emotional need of the relatives of the dead. During this time preparations for mortuary rite could be done effectively. Relatives from distant villages could be summoned to participate in the rite and to bid farewell to the dead. Female members of the tanu also had enough time to prepare new cloth for wrapping the corpse. They used to fire an smoke the corpse as practised by Kukuku of Africa (Bejerre: 1956). The male sisem or sthaml and geumawi (tanulin) supplied fuels to smoke the corpse. The tanu group was helped by other females employed by the thallouh, pupi, tanupi etc. as will be mentioned below. In the midst of very obnoxious smell members of the tanu drained away the juice exuded from the decomposing body. The smell and putrefaction attacked flies. Ability to endure such offensive smell of the decomposing body by members of the tanu was a sign of love and sincerity to the dead. Members of the tanu were to chase away the flies in the midst of bad smell lest the corpse might be infested with maggots. So a sister, a daughter or father's sisters like to live in proximity with their brothers, father and puu. To mourn the death of one another and to chase flies from the bodies of one another were what relatives liked most as no distant relative or a substitute member of inndongta would do very wholeheartedly. Hence these songs:

I pham zongs meel kimu lou ding aw,
Khakiak kumvei nua a thang ding aw;
Khakiak kumvei nua a thang ding aw,
Kungtung vaithou hong lou ding aw e.

Translation:

We are not going to see even if we are to die,
Only to get the news of death as a bolt from the blue;
Only to get the news afterwards when it is too late,
And unable to chase the flies away from the corpse.
Many of the traditional practices which Lungchin village does not continue are continuing in many villages on the Burma side as in Haichin, Suangbem, Tualkhiang etc. as late as 1975. In such villages the sisom or sibawl and gaunawl wash the corpse with warm water. The dead body is made to sit on a laang bier constructed by members of siampi (ritual experts) organisation. The corpse faces towards the entrance of the house. It is covered with a puandum cloth contributed by the tuampi as the outermost sheet on the bier. Relatives and members of inndougta who had lost their near and dear ones bring necklaces and cloths and they deposit them on the corpse. They are meant to be sent to the abode of the dead for the lost ones through the spirit of the dead. One informant, Mr. Kham Za Nang himself had lost a sum of Kyats 200/- in his attempt to remit the essence of the money to the spirit of his relative in the abode of the dead. He deposited the money under the laps of cloths on the corpse on the occasion of his nephew's death in 1965. Someone had stolen the money and he could not trace it out. Pupi and his thallouh (ritually known as pu-sassem or pu-sahuan) lay the corpse into the grave. This is the traditional function of puu. It is for this reason that the importance of puu is expressed in a saying: Puu loua haan kitang theilou. It means that we cannot get
into the grave without mother's brother. The leader of the siampi, the exorcist inaugurates the grave digging ceremony called khultang. He makes a cleansing rite of the house polluted by death after burial. This is called hamse-nul, wiping away the curses. The siampi organisation makes all the paraphernalia of grave decoration, bier, grave-post and ritual feathers called sakgesawm. They hang the decoration of the grave such as the skulls of mortuary feast, sakgesawm etc. to the grave-post.

In illness as in death members of inndongta are the first to come to render help. During illness members of inndongta and relatives pay visit to inquire after the health of the patient and to render help to the household. So during the protracted illness of the dead girl mentioned above (p. 48) the thallouh of her household used to visit her and inquired after her health. His daughter also used to spend some nights to attend to the ailing girl before her death. Announcement of death of a Christian in the village is made by ringing a knell. There is no toll in case of death of a non-Christian except gongs and fire-arm shooting. On the occasion of Mrs. Thang Dim's death in June 1973, altogether nine fire-arms were shot in fusilade. They said that their fire-arms also wept in lamentation for the dead. As soon as funeral was to start lamentation and wailing restarted anew. Some shouted out and fired blank shots. Besseignet said that such practices among the Kukis was to chase evil spirits and prevent them from interfering the spirit of the dead in the last journey. Among the Paite, as among their cognate northern Chins, the care for the well-being of the spirits of the dead and that of the survivors cannot be ignored. Shooting into the grave and shouting out in roars are all the means of chasing away evil spirits and speeding up the soul spirit of the dead to join the spiritual band of ancestors in the abode of the dead. At the time of burial
care is taken not to bury the spirit of the dead with that of the buriers. For the exit of the spirits accidentally buried a passage is made in the grave by putting a stick when refilling the grave.

Members of thusa group of the deceased's inndongta invited some of the male villagers to make a coffin in the wood. This is not a voluntary work as digging a grave is now. Only those who are found skilful in wood works are invited. They are given special beer called singui-zu in a non-Christian death. There are two types of rice-beer. They are contributed by pupi and the household of the the deceased. One of these is for members of the siampi organisation and the other for coffin makers. Making of a coffin is a laborious work where there is no plank. Plank is made with axe. So makers of coffin are liberally given drinks of rice-beer. Similarly grave-digging was done formerly by members of the inndongta and invited members of the village. The grave-digging scene bears a new look since it falls to be the duty and responsibility of the village youths. Boys and girls are seen on the grave-digging scene. The youths do the actual digging. Unmarried girls visit the grave yard in a body. They relieve the boys of tiresome grave-digging by giving them tea and cold water. The small lads who are not yet capable of taking part in the grave-digging collect saplings in the wood to align the coffin from the turf of earth in the grave. While these activities are being done in the grave yard, parents and elderly persons of the village pay visit to the house of the dead. They bring token presents according to their means to express their sympathy to the bereft household and regard to the dead. A cupful of milk, a package of salt or chilly or a small amount of money are usually paid to deplore the dead. Death of a person in a village is the concern for all. One cannot neglect the death of a fellow villager. The same death shall visit upon
the other. He/she will need the same kind of service of the fellow mortals on his/her death and on the death of a member of his/her family. One has to invest service in visiting the bereft family so that one's death may not be ignored by others. There is a story often retold as catechism to encourage people to mourn the death of one another in a village. There was a man who lived alone. He expressed grief at every death in his village simply by giving a pot of rice-beer. He was a hard working and laborious man. He thought that his works pressed him all the time more heavily than anyone else. And he could not spare time to while it away in the house of a bereft family as his villagers did. While going to his jhum field he used to give a small pot of rice-beer each to every household of death and went straight to his jhum field. He said that he could not stay as his works in the jhum field pressed him hard. He did in this way till his death. He had given a good deal of beer to mourn the death of so many a villager without spending his valuable time in the houses of the deceased. On his death people did to him what good things he had done for others. Everyone gave a small pot of rice-beer to express their sorrow and they went straight to their respective jhum fields. There were enough pots of rice-beer to mourn his death but there was none to consume the beer.

A corpse cannot be disposed on the same day of death if death takes place either in the afternoon or after the villagers have left the village for jhum or some other works. Burial service needs collective participation of the villagers, members of inndongta and relatives. It is compulsory for the village youths to keep a wake as long as the corpse is not disposed of. Public does not favour keeping the corpse unburied for more than a night or so without reasonable ground or unavoidable circumstances. To keep a corpse unburied for more nights is to compel the youths to keep a wake for more nights. Even before Christianity was introduced
unmarried men and girls also took part in keeping night long watch. But they were compulsorily given rice-beer by the household. Without rice-beer visitors did not have volition to keep vigil throughout the night. As for example, Mr. Dam-Tual could not afford to offer rice-beer to his visiting comforters during a wake on the death of his son in Mauvom village in 1930s. The visitors said that they could not keep awake without rice-beer to invigorate them. They were at the point of leaving the bereft parents and the dead child as the household could not supply them with rice-beer. He was so sorry to be left comfortless with his dead son in the lonely night by the visitors. He requested them to stay on throughout the night to mourn his son's death with a spontaneous song. The song moved the visitors with compunction. Then they fulfilled their social obligation to watch over the corpse in the night even though the father of the household failed in his obligation to offer rice-beer.

Albang adah eimah nih thum,
Khimzin taikhua kiwasalpih nie;
Ka von khakia ngousai ha bang e,
Zen khosawt naubang awi ni gual aw.

Translation:
We three or four depressed ones,
Let's sit up for each other in a wake;
My demised son is as lovely as an ivory,
Friends, let us be in accompany throughout the night for consolation.

It is now the social duty of the youths and girls of a village to keep vigil over the dead for the first night. The young Paito Association of the village resolved that the youths should pay visit to the bereft family for three consecutive nights but not necessarily keeping awake throughout the night after burial. In the early part of the night
mothers and middle aged fathers visit the mourning house.

After their departure the youths and girls visit the house and huddle on the floor. They sing Christian songs. A new practice recently introduced from other Paite villages is the collection of rice and billets of fire-wood from every household of the village for the bereft family. Each household gives a cupful of rice and two to three billets of fire-wood. At first the collection was done by the female members of the tanu of the bereft household. Since the occasion of Mrs. Dam Luai's death in September 1973 the Young Paite Association replaced the tanu of the household in this work. The unmarried girls collected billets of fire-wood and the lads collected rice from each household. This collection is meant to ease the condition of the bereft household during the period they were weakened by their grief. This collection is also beneficial in consideration of the inability of the bereft household to work and depletion of material caused by the relatives mourning the dead as mentioned above earlier.

Elderly persons visiting the mourning house bring pieces of cane or bamboo slips for making weaving or mending certain things while gossiping. People sit in and around the house. In a Christian burial an ordained Church deacon conducts a funeral service in case where there is not a pastor. The youths demand earlier burial as soon as they had finished digging a grave. There is no time for doing all formalities such as singing and reciting of clan songs to bid farewell to the dead in case of non-Christians. The youths do not like to wait at the grave site till formalities are over at home. The youths have to wait till the corpse is buried. Members of inndononta have to submit to the wish of the youths as they alone cannot bury the dead. The start of the last journey is again marked with plaintive cries and gun shots. The corpse is carried with the head pointing to the entrance of the house. It is laid on its back in the
grave with the head pointing to the source of Guun river. In a non-Christian family the tanupi collects ashes from the fire-place after the dead is taken out of the house for burial. She throws it out through the back door of the house. All that is bad is removed symbolically with the removal of the dead and the ash from the house. Burial cannot be done before noon as preparation takes time. Burial and cleansing the fire-place of the ashes are done in the afternoon only. Many elder women of the village do not like to remove the ashes from their fire-places afternoon. A young girl asking for ashes from an elderly woman of her next door for making lixivium afternoon is not given. Taking out ashes from the fire-place afternoon is correlated magically with the corpse being taken out of the house. Hence ash of the fire-place is not removed for any purpose afternoon in Lungchin.

**BURIAL**

All types of burial come under two categories - *kuunvui* and *daakvui*. *Daakvui* has two types. One is a traditional burial accorded a full burial ceremony (ref. mortuary feast given below). This kind of burial is never done under the eaves of the house. The second one is a Christian burial undertaken by the whole community of the village without a mortuary feast and rice beer as mentioned above.

Burial of a child under the floor of a pile dwelling house is called *kuunvui*. It means burial under the eaves. In Lungchin village no case of a dead child before the birth of the next sibling is reportedly found buried outside the homestead. A funeral of this kind is very simple. It never has any mortuary feast. Formerly even a big child was buried under the floor of a pile dwelling house if
that child had no elder sibling born, living or dead. It was treated as an infant in the absence of an elder sibling. All the deads by premature birth are buried under the floor. And all burials under the floor of a house are regarded as a case of still-birth called lamzulh; lam means placenta and zulh means to be abortive.

Cases of dead infants under this category are not the concern of the village community. It is disposed of as simply as possible. The dead infant is wrapped in a shroud. The corpse is put in a broken beer-pot. It is enshrouded with any suitable piece of cloth. The members of the tanu group or other members of the inndongta are not customarily responsible to supply cloth for wrapping the dead. No definite relative or member of the inndongta of the dead infant is responsible to supply a shroud as it is the case in a full burial. But a dead infant must be wrapped in any cloth otherwise the spirit of the child will have no cloth in the land of the dead. In one story there was a woman who did not provide her dead infant with cloth. This woman prematurely delivered a child on her way to her jhum field. She had no cloth to cover the dead child. She abandoned and left the miscarried infant in the jungle without covering it with a piece of cloth. But she simply covered it with leaves of taro. The condition of the spirit of the infant in the abode of the dead happened to be revealed through the spiritual experiences of a certain woman who claimed to be a clairvoyant. She saw the spirit of this abandoned child in a miserable condition. It had no cloth, it moved about nakedly. It donned only a leaf of calocasia. On enquiry the child's spirit said that it's mother did not provide it with any piece of cloth on its death except the leaves of taro. Since this revelation even miscarried babies are provided with cloth at the time of disposal. This is for fear of the spirit being naked and miserable without cloth in the abode of the dead.
Dead infants are buried at night so as not to attract attention of the public. It is intended to dispose of it before dawn if death occurs during the night. The Young Paite Association of Lungchin had in 1965 adopted resolutions as to the disposal of the dead in the village. It was agreed that children below the age of three months could be interred under the house to suit the convenience and the soft sentiment of the parents. All cases of death of infants above three months of age would be disposed of in a newly selected and introduced grave yard at the periphery of the village on sanitary ground. Before introduction of village grave yard the dead were disposed of within the village. Burial of a child under the house is not a public concern but it is an affair of a household. Only some relatives or members of innuongo who helped or nursed the sick render the burial service. There are two inherent hesitations in disposing of the dead child in the day light. It will invite attention of and help from the villagers if the corpse is not buried at night. For the sake of social decorum the villagers need to pay social visit to the house of the dead child if not buried before dawn. This will make each visitor lose a day's labour in his jhum or other works. People will mind it in their heart while expressing their superficial sorrow with their lips. Another inherent fear is of sentimental and psychological nature. The villagers will demand burial of the dead child over three months old at the village communal grave yard. The grave yard is situated at the periphery of the village. Anywhere outside the village is forest supposed to be full of evil spirits. It is felt that the child will be lonely in the midst of unseen forces. The parents find it difficult to put the dead child in a forest away from the warmth of the house and of the village.
The dead child is prepared for burial by the female tanupi. Any other members of the inndongta present there dig a small grave under the house. A dead child is not taken out through the main entrance of the verandah. It passes through a hole near the door in the covered portion of the verandah in this village. In one case of still-birth the hole was too high from the ground. The thallouh could not reach the wrapped dead infant held at the hole by the female tanupi from inside the verandah. Then it was taken through the outer entrance gate. In Maumon village of Chin State the dead child was taken through the back door of the house. Too much lamentation is not done in the case of burial under the house.

Taking the corpse of a first born or first dead child accorded kuunvui burial through a hole in a verandah and handing it over from one to another is to prevent further infant mortality in the family. In imitation with this practice a folkway of passing a living child from one to another person through the door of a house is prohibited. It is believed that violation of it may put the child's life at hazard. The spirit of the child may likely follow the passage of the dead child at the time of burial. It is admittedly said that infant mortality was formerly very high. It was even assumed that the first child should not survive. It was taken for granted that the first child should die. The first child of a couple was regarded as a fee to appease the evil spirits for the survival of subsequent births. It is said, "Ta masa vaan saapa". It literally means that the first child is a fee for the heavens. As such it was further said that a husband and a wife who did not lose their first child were the luckiest persons.

It is a rule that kuunvui type of burial is not elaborate. No gun is fired, no gong is beaten unlike that of a full burial ceremony. "It is believed if any ceremony is observed or lamentation made, the chances of obtaining a second child will be seriously prejudiced."
Woman died of child birth was not given a full burial ceremony. But she was not buried under the house. In some other villages other than Lungchin, the clan songs of the dead were whispered in the ears of the dead child. This is to speed up the spirit of the child to the abode of the ancestral manes. It is believed that the grandparents will not recognise the spirit of the young unless a communication is sent in the form of exoteric songs. In some cases the dead child was bid farewell with a lullaby without beating a drum but by beating a bamboo tube of water. Members of inndongta and relatives pay a visit to the mourning house with small pots of beer. On the occasion when Mrs Thawng Nial gave birth to a dead child it was buried on the night of birth before dawn in December 1973. The next morning was Sunday. People did not go out for work. Eleven of the members of inndongta brought small pots of rice-beer and one pot of tea. They dispersed in the evening. Burial under such circumstances does not entitle the mother's mother of the dead to claim a death-due. Kuunvui type of burial never have a mortuary feast. In case of a Christian family also it is not the concern of the members of either the village church or the Young Paite Association. A dead body of a Christian household can be buried without taking it through a hole of a verandah. But dead children are usually taken through the hole in the verandah at the time of disposal. Two children of Mr. Sen-Pu dead at the age of one year and three months respectively. Both of them were taken through the hole in a verandah of the house.

It is believed that very young infants are able to reach the abode of the dead to join the spiritual band of the ancestors without much interference of evil spirits. Formerly an egg of a domestic fowl was put on the palm of a dead child at the time of burial. This was to swerve the attention of the goddess called Sahnu guarding over the passage to the abode of the dead. The spirit of the dead
child will roll the egg and it will attract the attention of the goddess. During unguarded moment the spirit of the child will pass over the goddess and it will escape from her interference. The spirit of children are said to be very fond of flowers. They will indulge in plucking flowers on the wayside. There is a danger for the spirits being caught by the evil spirits and losing contact with the spirits of the defunct members of the clan. Flowers are usually laid on the grave of children in order to safeguard their spirits. Their spirits will take the essence of the flowers and it will not need go here and there to collect flowers to risk their survival. The concern of the parents of a dead infant over its spirit in relation to the evil spirits and flowers is seen in this couplet.

Lamham paaksil na lou zong in,
Von aw sawlbang baang ke'n;
Von aw sawlbang na baan a leh,
Laaltang dawnbang na tuak ding a;
Na phung mel na më diai ve.

Translation:

Even though you pluck flowers on way sides,
Dear sweet, do not sojourn,
If you loiter, my dear little sweet;
You will encounter with enemies,
Then you will be cut off from the members of the clan.
MORTUARY FEAST

(kosah)

A mortuary feast is indispensable for a non-Christian. It is a full burial ceremony. It is felt more necessary for the old parents. For performing a mortuary feast the bereaved household must kill at least one four-footed animal. Other members of the inndongta also donate animal meat. Each of them must at least offer one half of an animal in case of failure to contribute one whole animal. The quadruped donated by the household of the deceased should be the biggest animal and it forms the principal mortuary animal called kosahpi. The household of the deceased can kill as many animals as it can provide. Here it should be carefully noted that the contributions of the members of inndongta follow the contribution of the bereft family. Whenever a mortuary feast is held, it is done in a more or less elaborate way. Animals are slaughtered. Only one inndongta of the deceased cannot carry out the extensive works of chopping, cooking and distribution of meat and disposal of the dead in the midst of conviviality and intoxication. Each member of the deceased's inndongta brings members of his own inndongta in a mortuary feast. It is a joint undertaking of different sets of inndongta organisations. The household's satellite inndongta organisations bear the whole onus for the smooth division and distribution of meat and drink. It becomes an occasion of inter-inndongta meet. Mortuary feast is to please the spirit of the dead. It also clears off the sagged trail of the spirits to the abode of the dead. The eldest son has to provide a mortuary feast for his parents if he has animals at all. He cannot deny a mortuary feast to his parents by withholding the animal left by his parents out of his sheer selfish interest. The spirit of the dead can haunt the livings if it is not properly sent off. If it
is not satisfied with the living it can cause any sinistral fortune. The disappointment of the spirit of the dead can manifest in the ill-fortune of the son's family and herd of his animals. There may be no use of sparing an animal demanded by the spirit of the deceased parents. It may die in an useless way. A dying old man may say that he does not need a mortuary feast out of love and consideration for his son's future. But his spirit may persistently demand a mortuary feast. Father of r. X asked his son at his death-bed not to make a mortuary feast for him by killing the only cow mithun of the household. He did not like to deplete his treasure that he would transmit to his son. In obedience to his father's verbal instruction the son tried to spare the only cow mithun of the household by obtaining a substitute by purchase. While another mithun was being bargained his own cow mithun got somehow lame. It was inevitable to be killed for the mortuary rite of his father. The interpretation was that the spirit of the father required the mithun even though he said in his corporeal existence that he did not require a mortuary feast and the mithun. Hence his son composed this song:

Jua in la khan khual chi e,
Hemlam a ton dam hi e . . . .

(Father said that he cared for my future,
It was his circumlocution . . . .)

All animals killed in a mortuary feast become the herd of the dead person's animals in the abode of the dead. The kind treatment given to the dead in mortuary rite not only eases the passage of the spirit to the abode of the dead but also it establishes a position among the spirits of the dead. And it was the desire of elderly persons a few years ago that they should have or be capable of
having a full burial ceremony. To facilitate all these things the dead is sent off with meat and drink in the obsequy. The spirit of the dead may not easily leave the mundane world unless satisfied or provided with a mortuary feast. Otherwise the spirit may disturb the mortals. One Mr. Thang Za Chin of Haichin village felt that his father's spirit was annoyed and dissatisfied. He expressed his communion with him in a poetical form in this way:

Ka tuun na zalɔng nou in e,  
Jua laukha lun-zuang chi:  
Ning-zu a khaak, ai-sa a khaak,  
Simuan damtui na dawn in, munin na muangta in.

Translation:
My mother, in your dream,  
The spirit of my father was longing for;  
It was sent off with meat and beer,  
Drink the water of no-more-longing of the dead and remain in peace.

The thallouh of the deceased's household must necessarily provide a pig for the mortuary feast. No other animal other than a pig from the thallouh is acceptable for this ritual. A pig donated by any other male member of the clan will serve the purpose in case the thallouh fails to provide a pig in a mortuary feast. Cooked slices of liver of the thallouh's pig are made into a ritual meat called sasintawi (meaning hepatic meat being carried). Sasintawi is given to the dead in the palm of the corpse. For this purpose no liver of any other animal is acceptable other than a pig contributed by the thallouh or by a male clan member of the deceased. The slices of meat from the liver of the thallouh's pig pave the way for the spirit to the abode of the dead.
No doubt, the animals contributed by other members of the
inndongta add to the glory of the spirit in spiritual world.
But they do not facilitate the passage to the abode of the
dead. Why a particular meat of a particular kind of animal
from a particular relative of the deceased is required for
a ritual meat of gasingtawi? Pig is the domestic animal
usually killed for ancestral worship as in puu-za. The liver
of an animal is one of the vital organs supposed to be
inherent with soul matter. The soul power of an animal seated
in the liver strengthens the soul spirit of the dead and speeds
up the soul spirit of the dead to join the spiritual bond of
the ancestors in the abode of the dead. It is important to
note as to who is the supplier of pig to form gasingtawi.
Importance of patrilineal descent group is emphasized here.
Affiliation of clan membership is permanent for a man though
a woman changes it on marriage with a person of different
clan. Members of the same patrronymic clan are inalienable.
Such members are only eligible persons for partaking of
a ritual meat called phungga (meat for members of the same
clan) (Jf. Goswami and Kamkhenthang 1975: pp 61-63). The
clanmen were the surest avengers in homicide in the past to
please the clansmen and to satisfy the revengeful spirit of
a slain clansman. A clansman is the surest person to bother
for the fate of a spirit of his clansman so that the spirits
of persons belonging to the same clan continue existence
after death. The liver of a clansman's thallouh's pig is
the most suitable meat and a clansman is the most reliable
person to facilitate the soul spirit of the dead to reach
the destination. Clansmen are responsible for the spiritual
welfare of a person after death as mother's brother is
important for the spiritual welfare of his sister's child
during lifetime. Relationship of members of the same
patrilineal Paite clan does not end with physical death.
It continues after death in the spiritual world.
At least the thal'ouh, members of the tanu group and pupi must contribute animals for a mortuary feast of a man if the household of the deceased provides an animal for the rite. Different sets of tanu get good shares of meat out of an animal contributed by the deceased's household (see chart No. 13 table No. II). Pupi cannot claim to be a ritual laanghen unless he contributes an animal for the mortuary rite of his sister and sister's sons. In absence of his contribution of mortuary animal and beer pupi cannot get a death due called cumman on the death of his nephew. The minimum number of animals slaughtered for a mortuary feast as found in Tun chin was four on the death of Mrs. Dom Luci in 1973. The four animals were contributed by five members of her inndonu and her household. Again the maximum number of animals killed as found there in the same year was eight on the occasion of Mrs. Tuang Jim's death. In Tuang Jim's mortuary rite the following animals, with the donors noted against them, were offered:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Animal</th>
<th>Donor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>One mihiun</td>
<td>1. Meng Kho Thong (son of the deceased as the householder)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>One dog</td>
<td>2. Thal'ouh, 3. Sisom (tanuthuma)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>One pig</td>
<td>4. Tanupi and 5. Pupu,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>One dog</td>
<td>6. Tanunau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>One pig</td>
<td>7. Pupi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>One pig</td>
<td>8. Tuu (sister's son)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>One pig</td>
<td>9. Numhal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>One dog</td>
<td>10. Son-in-law (future tanu)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A poor member of inndonts may not be able to contribute a whole animal for a mortuary feast. In such a case two members can jointly contribute one animal for it as shown above. Each of them donates a symmetrical half of the animal meat. This is possible. Half of the animal meat is to be retained by the contributor of a whole animal. Only half of it is to be given for the rite. It does not spiritually matter much to contribute a small animal. But it should be a four-footed animal in any case. In a small-sized quadruped there is less meat for distribution. In joint contribution of one animal by two members of inndonts there is no meat left for the members of their own inndonts. The number of animals killed for a mortuary feast depends upon the material wealth of the deceased's family, members of the inndonts, affection towards the deceased and number of relatives such as married daughters, sons and brothers. Each family contributing an animal for the mortuary feast utilizes the service of the members of their respective inndonts to chop their meat. Half of each animal killed by the members of the inndonts is given to the household of the dead. The donor of the animal does not retain the vital organs such as the head, heart, lungs, liver and entrails. They are all consecrated for the ritual meat. The second half of each animal is retained by the contributor and divides it among members of his own inndonts. The householder further divides the first halves of meat among the members of his own inndonts. The thallouh representing the descent group and pupi representing the alliance group exchange the fore-limbs of their respective animals they contributed for the mortuary rite. The fore-limbs of an animal contributed by pupi is to be given to the exorcist for his service of cleansing the grave site in a ceremony called khultam. This rite is performed to remove hard stones and roots at the site of the grave magically. It is
to make the grave digging easy. But this rite was no longer practised in Lungchin.

As the work in mortuary feast is elaborate the tanupi of the deceased brings his/her own tanupi as a ready helper. The tanupi of the deceased's tanupi in this rite is called tanu puantswi, carrier of the tanu's cloth. The tanunau of the deceased also brings his/her own tanupi to carry the beer-pot of the tanunau. Pupi also brings his tanupi and is called sisom or sibawl in equal footing with the tanuthuma of the deceased to help members of the tanu group in tending the corpse. Pupi employs his thallouh also and is called pu-sahuan, meaning a cook of the meat of mother's brother. It is compulsory for the members of the deceased's inndongta to bring their beer-pots besides animals they contributed. The beer supplied by members of inndongta are more important than beer contributed by neighbours and non-inndongta members.

Carving of meat on the occasion of mortuary feast is done in the following way: (Cf. chart No. 18).

1. Tanupi ................ One whole thigh (Ham of the hind leg).
2. Tanunau ............... One whole fore-leg (Shoulder and fore-thigh).
3. Sisom ................. Abdominal muscles (flank and scapular).
4. Gaunawl .............. Basal part of the rib near the breast, the fore-flank.
5. Thallouh ............ Distal end of one thigh.
6. Thusapi ............... Middle portion of one thigh.
7. Thallouhmthusa ....... Distal part of the thigh of a fore-limb.
8. Hanzutung (Thallouhmang). No definite part is given to him. Any suitable big lump of meat such as the ribs are given.
9. Pupi ............ Ischial part of the basal pelvis.
10. Punau ............ Small lump of unspecified meat or part of the ischium.
12. Pu-sahuan ....
13. Sialbawl, Behvaal . Slices cut from vertebral column near the ribs.
15. Members of Siampi .

The heart, liver and skin of the head of the animals are cooked for a ritual meat. Slices of this meat are pierced with a bamboo slice in a bunch. This bunch of slices of meat is called phung siams, meaning a means of counting clansmen. A bunch of sliced meat is given to all the relatives of the dead who brought their beer-pots to comfort the bereaved family. It is given to all the households of the deceased's clansmen. Cooked pieces of abdominal muscles of the animals are offered to the spirit of the dead and are deposited near the corpse. This meat is called misitel. Another kind of ritual meat called lukhung-sea is also offered to the dead. Children are debarred from partaking of this meat. It is given to the members of siampi (ritual experts) organisation. Slices of liver of pig, as in the case of Thuam Thong's death, were cut by Phung Nok, the exorcist. These slices are from the heart, liver and intestine also. This is ritually called puaktaak, meaning worthy to be carried off. Of this meat seven slices are put in the right palm and five slices in the left palm of the corpse. The slices on the right palm are gifts to be given to those spirits of the dead who meet the dead on its way to the abode of the dead. It will also be used to grease the palm of evil spirits for the smooth course of the last journey. The slices of meat on the left palm are meant for the food of the spirit of the dead during
the journey to the land of the dead. Only a small portion of
the meat is left over after distribution to the members
of inndongta and other participants. Of the grave goods
two beads are to bribe the goddess called sahnu to allow
the spirit of the dead to pass through the gate of the
dead.

OFFERING TO THE DEAD
(Si-ansiah)

Offering to the dead is made in case of a death of
a non-Christian by the non-Christian members of a household
and of the inndongta. This offering is called si-ansiah,
meaning food set for the dead. The custom of offering food
to the dead is dying out in Lungchin. Only the tanupi,
thallouh and the household of the deceased observe it now.
Formerly it was more elaborately and extensively done by
the households of tanupi, thallouh, tanunau, tanuthumna and
pupi of the deceased. The offering consists of small
slices of liver, lung and meat contained in a small
basket called siloh with cooked rice mixed with paste
sesamum. It also consists of a little quantity of rice-beer
kept either in a gourd vessel or a bamboo tube. The whole
set is kept either under the bed of the household head
or at one corner of the house. Maintaining of the offering
for the dead is the duty of a woman of a household. She
changes the contents of the basket and of the tube every
day till a tabu associated with death is lifted. The offering
continues ideally from the day of burial till the next new
moon. So long as the period of offering continues the
households observing the rite are under certain restrictions.
The length of the restriction in each case of death is
not similar. It depends on the phases of the moon. During
the period of mourning, e.g. during the period offering
is continuing, the spirit of the deceased does not leave
the survivors. The physical body is no more but the spirit of the dead lingers on as the memory of the dead is tenaciously fresh. Such offering is made to appease the spirit of the dead and to get the emotional need as well as psychological satisfaction of the bereft. Though the offerings are for the consumption of the soul spirit of the dead it is supposed that it will not physically consume the offerings. Only the essence of the offerings is to be eaten up by the spirit. It is a bad omen if the offerings bears marks of physical reduction as if it were actually eaten of. This is taken as a sign of possible death of a member of a family. At meal time the spirit of the dead is invoked and requested to dine with members of the family. A space and a ladle are kept ready as if the spirit of the dead in a physical form were to join them at meal. A housewife waves her hand by calling to the spirit and says, "Come and have your meals". The offering made to the dead is a means to appease not only the soul spirit of the last dead but also the spirits of the ancestors. But the people of Lungchin do not regard this si-ansiah as an worship of ancestors as done in Mauvom village (op.cit. p.57). Formerly the rite of si-ansiah was elaborate in Lungchin also but now it is done as simply as it can be. It is taken as a means of sending the spirit of the dead away to the land of the dead. The spirit of the dead will haunt the livings if it does not leave the material world. It is cajoled with this appeasement so that it can part from the livings with ease.

During the period offering is continuing it is not permissible to beat a gong or a drum in the house of the deceased. So drinking bout is without the accompaniment of drums and gongs. Some families tried to kill at least one wild animal during this ritual period. If an animal is killed
at all it will be accorded a celebration called sa-zawl described earlier. This celebration is to synchronize with the lifting of death tabu on the new moon day. During the period of si-ansiah it is prohibited to shed blood of any animal in the house. Even a rat will not be killed in the house. Reconstruction of the deceased's house is not done during the agricultural year of death. If it is at all necessary to rebuild a house, the survivors can do so under certain conditions. A bundle of thatch is thrown on the roof over the bedstead of the deceased person. With this process the restriction is averted. In this way a dilapidated house of the deceased can be dismantled and a new house can be reconstructed within the same year of death.

In this village two households contemplating to reconstruct their houses happened to postpone the plans on the grounds of death in the family.

Lifting the death tabu (Siloh paih)

Ideally observation of offering of food and drink to the spirit of the dead is to continue till a new moon appears. But the household of the deceased and members of the inndonpta find this observation a bit troublesome. The offerings are maintained by the female members of each household of the inndonpta. There is practical difficulty for certain households where there is no elderly animistic woman. In the case of Mrs. Dam Luai's death, only her husband in his dotage was left behind. The married daughter, as a female tanupi, maintained the si-ansiah in her father's house with much difficulty rather than in her house. She could not give proper attention. The widower proposed to discontinue the offering by lifting the death tabu before new moon appeared. Lifting of the death tabu is called
giloh pah, meaning to throw away the basket of the dead. The actual removal of the basket and its contents from the households of the deceased and members of inndongta are done by the female members of the inndongta. The articles are taken from the house of the deceased. Members of inndongta maintaining the si-nngish bring the articles of their offerings first to the house of the dead. Then the whole set is deposited on the grave by the female members of the inndongta of the deceased (see photo No. 14).

Giloh pah is the final rite and the last obsequy of the dead. It is a mark of final departure of the dead from the living. The rite is a symbol of finality. It is in this function that the relatives and members of inndongta of the dead bid farewell to the departed soul. On the grave the female members of inndongta bid farewell to the soul spirit of the dead by making fresh offering. They ask the spirit to go in peace.

Death is definite, apparent and real. But it is difficult to accept its reality by the survivors. Abrupt separation from near and dear ones is shocking and painful. To make the wrench of separation by death more tolerable and to mellow the keenness of the edge of their grief the process of separation is made to glide away slowly. Physical death is not taken fully as a final separation out of utter grief. The pang of death retains the memory and the spirit of the dead. Sudden and final separation as the death itself makes the pang more gruesome. So there is a time allowed for reducing the tempo of agony before final separation. Baite culture provides a means to console the grieved and to heal the wound by passage of time.
The day of lifting the death tabu is regarded as something like the second death of the deceased. Memories being revived. It is more or less equivalent to the occasion of the actual death. Members of innongta bring their beer-pots. The householder also contributes a beer for the function. The occasion for lifting the death tabu is another potation for members of innongta. The function lasts till late evening. An exorcist is no longer employed to officiate in the ritual now. It is permissible again to sing or to recite the clan song of the dead on this occasion.

The function of siloh paih can also be combined with the function of a ceremony of animal (sa zawl, see photo no. 10). The practice is that the skull of an animal killed by some other relatives will be celebrated if a new animal cannot be killed during the mourning period. The siampi, the ritual expert, will make a libation of rice-beer to the skull of the animal or into the mouth of a fresh one if it is available. This libation is done before any member of the innongta can have a share of beer. The best part of the beer is given to the spirit of the animal. Mr. Nen Thang combined the rites of siloh paih and sa zawl ceremony in 1973 on the occasion of the death of his mother.