CHAPTER 2

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE DIBONGIYAS.

It is my intention to discuss briefly the units of social organization as well as of the links existing between and among them. It may be remarked here that their social relations are marked by an intensive interaction among the members of the village, who occupy an area which is surrounded by the people other than their own community. The critical period of life of an individual affects not only the family of an individual but also of the village as a whole. The individual units of their society have been discussed separately but an underlying unity among those units are readily observable in the social functions which they observe.

JUPĀ(FAMILY)

The primary social unit in Dibongiya society is called that group of people who live in a common residence under a single head of that unit. This social unit is termed jupā in Dibongiya.
Jupa is a Dibongiya word which means family. It includes a man, his wife, children, his married and unmarried brothers and sisters, father and mother, grand parents including an adopted son or daughter occupying a single residential house under a single head of that unit.

There are mainly two types of jupa viz; sukia jupa (40%) and jakaru jupa (60%) in the village under study. This sukia jupa consists of a man, his wife and his unmarried children occupying a single residence with a single mojia under the headship of the father. A jakaru jupa is composed of two or more married brothers with their wives and children, unmarried brothers and sisters, parents and grand parents occupying a single residential house with a single mojia under a single head of the unit. It is interesting to note that the sukia and jakaru jupa can live together in a single long-house but with a separate mojia.

It has been observed that there are two essential elements to constitute a single unit of family, whether sukia or jakaru. These two elements are a residential hut and a common kitchen. One or more of the jointly living brothers, however, may get themselves separated to give rise to a sukia jupa while still living in the
common residence. In due course this separated unit constructs a separate house for the members of his mukia jupa.

FAMILY AND RESIDENTIAL HOUSE:

A typical Dibongiya residential house consists of a structure built on piles. It has two roofs standing on a rectangular ground plan. It is oriented in the direction of East to West and faces the direction of East to West and faces the East. East is considered as a sacred and auspicious direction. Secondly, the midiku is generally situated on the eastern side of the village.

The number of rooms depends upon the number of nuclear unit in the household. The first room on the eastern side is occupied by the gira and his wife and is known as girā-girāshighutali or demāshikutali. He occupies the front room in order to accommodate his younger brothers' families in other rooms according to their seniority of age. Moreover, he is to maintain the rule of avoidance in relation to his younger brothers' wives. Secondly, as a head of the jupa he is to receive
guests in the michon, which is adjacent to his living room.

Dudepāti is constructed on the opposite side of the long corridor in the room of the head member of the family. His younger brothers may also construct dudepāti inside their individual kutāli. The dudepāti is used for gossiping, drinking and eating cooked food by the male members. Sometimes, <sup>19</sup>Khujen lugurubā ritual is performed by the old men sitting around the dudepāti. It should be noted that in this fire-place neither meals nor rice-beer can be prepared though cooked meals and prepared country liquor can be taken round this hearth.

A father allows his married son to occupy a partitioned-part of his room if there is sufficient space. Otherwise, the couple occupy a newly constructed room adjacent to the mojīā. Similarly, the second married son will follow his in occupying a room nearby the mojīā. Consequently, the mojīā has to be extended towards the Western direction. The mojīā is used to prepare <sup>19</sup>sujem, to cook food and to consume them by the womenfolk. Generally, the male members excepting young children do not enter into the mojīā. Because, ego's younger brothers' wives
may be present in the room. The adolescent girls are provided with a separate room in the house. It is interesting to note that an unmarried man whatever his age may be, is not allowed to sleep inside the house. He sleeps with other bachelors in the michong. The grown up boys till their marriage sleep in the bachelors' michong in the village. The description of a Deuri-Chutiya-house was misinterpreted as "a single house will often contain a family of forty persons, in one great room without any compartment but with separate fire places, with a verandah in front, where visitors are entertained." But a Dibongiya residential house has compartments inside the long-house for each aukia-jupa as already mentioned.

**JUPA AND ITS COMPOSITION:**

Membership of a jupa is determined by birth. It can also be acquired through adoption. The main cause of adoption is the economic help to the adopter in the old age. Secondly, if an adopted son belongs to the same jāku, he can offer pindo after the death of his adopted father. But if he belongs to a non-Dibongiya community, then he is not allowed to do so. In such a situation a
kin member of the deceased will offer oblations to the ancestral aanes. Female child is rarely adopted. The membership acquired through birth has more value than the membership acquired by adoption. They have full trust and faith the children born of the same parents in respect of economic assistance and social support in contrast to a sense of distrust shown towards adopted children. It appears that blood ties cannot be replaced by social ties as is evidenced by adoption.

INTERPERSONAL RELATION WITHIN THE SAME JUPĀ:

Parents and children:

Parents love and guide their children in respect of house-hold duties. Sometimes they give light punishment to the children in case of quarrels among themselves. The children respect their parents. They seldom smoke in presence of their parents. But they openly drink ḫumājen and consume cooked food together in the dušepāti along with their parents and other senior male members of the Jupā. The main duty of the parents towards their children is to bring them up so that they can stand in future on
their own feet. In return the parents expect care and nursing from them in their old-age, besides oblations after death.

**Husband and wife:**

A husband has free access to his wife in respect of sex life. It leads to the birth of children and then the formation of Sukia jupa as already described. A husband can beat his wife if the latter disobeys the former. Ill treatment to the husband by the wife is unimaginable. A wife is supposed to be submissive to her husband. The husband usually takes his meal on his personal dish. Generally, a wife should take her meal after her husband as a mark of respect.

**Daughter-in-law (āinyā):**

It is a custom of the society that a daughter-in-law should cook and serve meal to all the members of the household. But in case of monthlies, and child birth she is relieved of her work by other womenfolk of the jupa. Every woman observes tabu at least for three consecutive days in her monthlies. In case of a birth of a child, she is to observe tabu till chuš-lābiruh ritual. (see chapter 4 and section III). The daughter-in-laws treat each other as sisters among themselves and co-operate in all household activities. Sometimes they quarrel but not to an extreme point. They work under
the direction of the girās of the jupā. The eldest daughter-in-law enjoys the highest status among the daughters-in-law.

Daughter-in-law and parents-in-law:

Two distinct terms vis bāng and pong are used to address father-in-law and mother-in-law respectively. These are used generally to address ego's father and mother respectively. They regard parents-in-law as father and mother. So also, the parents-in-law treat them as their own daughters.

A man and his younger brother's wife (dinya):

A man always avoids his younger brother's wife. It is a tabu to accept even areca nut and betel vine leaf, from his dinya. In case of emergency, ego takes the help of an outsider to look after his dinya. If this tabu is broken accidentally, he is to undergo a purificatory ritual known as dāibangā. A few giras offer rice beer and kāt on the floor to Kundimma and request them to pardon the violator of the tabu.

A man and his wife's elder sister:

A man also avoids his wife's elder sister and vice versa. The latter does not consume food in presence of the former. In case of an accidental breach of this rule of avoidance, the man is to undergo dāi-banga ritual
As stated above.

Children:

The elder brothers control their younger ones and the former if necessary the elder siblings can even slap the latter. On the other hand, the younger brothers respect and obey their elder ones. It is a tabu for younger brothers even to raise their hands for physically assaulting their elder brothers. If a man breaks this social code, he is to undergo a čiujen lugurubä ritual (see Chapter 3, section IV).

INTERPERSONAL RELATION IN AND OUTSIDE THE JUPÄ:

SOCIO-CULTURAL LIFE:

During bahagiyo-bisu festival a married man accompanied by his wife visits his father-in-law's residence with čiujen, areca nuts, betel vine leaves etc. They bow down infront to the father-in-law and receive blessings. Presentation of gāmōbē and fīkam to the brothers by their sisters during bisu-festival reflects the behaviour pattern of the members of the jupä. Preparation of čiujen and various kinds of cakes and offering those to the visitors display the pattern of expected behaviour among the members of the community.
Again, dancing and merry making by the villagers irrespective of sex and age strengthen the relationship among all the groups of the village.

**SOCIO- RITUAL LIFE:**

**Mimo- hâruru** ritual which has important bearing in the life of the Dibongiyas, has been incorporated in the chapter 3 and section VI. The head of the family offers oblations to the ancestral manes for the welfare of the members of the *jupâ* and the *jâku*. This ritual unites all the members of the *jupâ* and *jâku* together at the residence of the performer. It is an opportunity for them to meet and eat together in a particular place of worship.

The public rituals vis; midiku-rituals, Iyo-mobâ, midide etc. too (see chapter 3) have greatly influenced the members of the *jupâ*. Atleast an old member from each *jupâ* attends these rituals and pray unitedly to the deities for their individual and group welfare.

Interpersonal relationship is finely focussed in cases of birth, marriage and death. These rituals have been included in the chapter 3. Almost all the members including boys and girls, men and women of the
Jupa and Jaku attend the rituals. A girash or a girl of each Jupa presents a jar of qween to the host-Jupa as a mark of kinship affiliation.

On the whole, these rituals have primarily two fold functions in the society. First, these facilitate social contact among individuals and between individuals and groups. Secondly, they help the people to maintain a sort of psycho-religious link between the human and supernatural worlds.

FUNCTIONS OF JUPA:

The girash of a Jupa supervises all the activities of the Jupa; viz; agriculture, business, ritual etc. He is a member of the village council by virtue of his being a head of the family. He may also be selected for the village priestly council by the villagers.

The malefolk construct houses, plough agricultural lands, cut big trees, collect paddy, etc. The bachelors of the household assist their elders in all their domestic works.

The womenfolk on the other hand are used to engage themselves in all household and agricultural activities viz; transplanting, harvesting, husking,
thwashing, rearing fowls, pigs, weaving clothe etc. under the guidance of the girāhi. Fishing, collection of fuel wood, cooking etc. are also done by the womenfolk help their male counterparts in cleansing edible articles, in collections of firewood, water etc.

A jupā possesses two types of properties e.g. immovable and movable. The former consists of agricultural land, and the latter consists of household articles, agricultural tools, domesticated animals, birds, dresses and ornaments, houses, granaries etc.

primarily all the immovable properties are held jointly under the control of the jupā.

They also recognize individual property right. The femalefolk of the joint household, individually rear fowl, pig, etc. and their income is an individual property of the jupā. The head of the joint family has no right over this individual property.

Division of jupā properties is generally effected amicably within the members of the jupā. But in a tense situation among the brothers, they seek help from a few village oldmen for distribution of the properties. Agricultural land, household, utensils, cows, buffaloes etc. are divided equally among the brothers.
But the eldest brother gets a share slightly more than his younger brothers by virtue of his seniority of age. The parental residential house may be divided by erecting a temporary wall, if the brothers stay in it for a short period. But, it is not divided among them after their complete separation. They must construct their own neo-local residences as soon as they can with the help of the brothers, and near kin members of the village.

Sex-life:

The duty of the parents especially of the mother is to see that their children do not go astray from their normal behaviour. They remonstrate their children even when they talk in lighter veins among themselves. They send the bachelors to sleep in bachelors' michong in the village till their marriage. So there is less chance of breach of familial and clan exogamy in the jupa and jaku. The bachelors are required to sleep in a michong situated in the opposite moiety.

The parents or the girā girāhī have special duty towards their infants, disabled persons and old men and women to give them food and shelter in the jupa.
As for instance an old man (II 5) has an adult disabled son. Both of them are especially treated by the members of the jəkəruə jupə. An important point here is that the disabled bachelor is allowed to sleep in the nichon of the jupə.

It has been seen that a jupa is a bio-socio, socio-economic, and socio-ritual unit of social organization of the Dibongiyas. The oldest male member acts as the controlling head of the jupa by virtue of his age, knowledge and position in all sphere of private and public life. The members of the jupa have their respective rights and obligation towards each other, which strengthen socio-ritual ties among the members of the group. Each jupə gradually expands and forms a larger social unit that is jəku which has been discussed in detail in the following section.
SECTION II.

JAKU (CLAN)

A Dibongiya jaku is an exogamous group of unilaterally and patrilineally related people. The members of a jaku believe that they have originated from a single mythical progenitor.

The Dibongiyas are divided into a number of exogamous units called jakus. Again, a jaku is subdivided into several jupas, including kubaa and jakarua jupa.

There are altogether 14 jakus in Dibongiya society. They are: Sundariyo, Patriyo, Charryo, Chitigayok, Aiyro, Kumatyo, Murang, Sukrang, Telia, Dupla, Kaliachaku, and Mehedayo and Bihya. But only 5 exogamous clans named below were found in 1972 in the village under study.

Sundariyo (5.9%), includes jupa no 1,3,4,7,8,18,21; Aiyro (1.3%), includes jupa no. 5,6,12,13,15,19,23,24,25,26,27; and lastly Kumatyo (8.5%) constitutes of jupa no. 9, 22, 29 and 30.
The primary functions of the above jākus are regulations of marriage and ritual life among the Dibongiyns. These two salient points have described below:

Clan exogamy among the Dibongiyns is depicted in the following case. On 28.11.69, L had sexual intercourse with his father's younger brother's daughter C. A villager saw them and reported the matter to the village council. At first L and his parents denied the allegation brought against them. Consequently the villagers excommunicated them, whereupon they submitted and bowed down before the members of the council. The boy was fined and purified for his commission of pop through a purificatory ritual ('chunchang nā lārubā' - see chapter 3, section IV).

Moreover, an illicit connection among the co-society boys and girls is considered as pop. It has been observed that they have strong feeling for rigorously following clan exogamy.

Again, H's pregnancy was detected by her mother on 12.12.70. She disclosed that B. (Fa. el. B. So) was responsible for the matter. The priestly council
imposed Rs 50/- in cash, one she pig and 4 chickens as fine to B's father. M sacrificed the she pig and the chickens in the compound of the shrine. He prayed to Kundimana to purify the boy from his sin. Later on, the priests consumed a feast in the morung gor.

The most important thing is to be noted here is that the violator of incest has no social status in the society. His name is recorded in the village council's register. As for example, the village priestly did not select J and C as members of the priestly council because of their sinful act committed in the past.

CLAN AND RITUAL RELATION:

1. Sundariyo clan:

A member from Sundariyo clan only can become the bodari. His main duty is to sacrifice all the votive offerings e.g. goats, ducks, pigeons, fowls, pigs, buffaloes etc. on ritual occasion in and outside the village shrine. A sundariyo man must possess the following merits for the office of bodari. He must
be free from yap. His physical and mental health should be perfect. So every one of the Sundariyo clan cannot be a chief priest, if he does not possess the requisite qualifications for the said office. If at all such a fit person is not available in the Sundariyo clan, then a suitable man from Ariyo or Kumatayo clan is selected for the office of barbarali to conduct rituals in the shrine.

2. Patriyo clan:

The main duty of this clan is to supply a man for the office of Saderi. A man of Patriyo clan can only be a Saderi. His main duty is to assist boderi. He holds the legs of the sacrificial animals or birds at the time of performing pusa in and outside the shrine. He can also perform the duty of the boderi in absence of the latter. As a suitable person from this clan was not available in the village, under study, the office of Saderi was laying vacant till 1971.

3. Chariyo clan:

The members of the chariyo clan are bound to
supply a man to the priestly council for the office of bara. Bera collects fuel and dues from the villagers on ritual occasions. As for instance, he belongs to Chariyo clan and holds the office of bara till 1972. He collects chickens, dues, fuels, etc. from the villagers and hands over to bodak. The latter sacrifices these votive offerings to the deities of the midiku.

4. Lagasuyo clan:

A basket maker is selected from Lagasuyo clan to assist other priests in the shrine. His main duty is to make four special baskets called memu which are used as food-stands by the chāri deuri for consuming ritual-feast in the morung gor. The villagers could not select a man for the office of basket maker as this particular clan was not available in the village.

5. Chitigayo clan:

The Chitigayo clan may be called as the cook supplying clan. Chitigayo clan is socially bound to offer a man to the priestly council to prepare ritual-food. As for example, o is the cook of the village priestly council. He belongs to Chitigayo clan. He cooks food
both for the priests and for the deities of the shrine.

There are two classes of Chitigayo clan in the Dibongiya society. They are known as Chitigayo and Laparu Chitigayo. The former Chitigayo clan is likely to supply a cook to the shrine. Laparu Chitigayo has no official function in the village shrine. The two Chitigayo clans can be distinguished according to their mode of living. The Laparu Chitigayo clan has a ritual focus in front of their house which is called Subesani-kutali. Subesani is a household deity. Occasional and annual rituals are performed in the Subesani-kutali by the head of the household for the welfare of the members of the family.

6. Ariyoe clan:

Ariyoe clan is to supply both barbaraì and Sarubaraì to the village shrine. In absence of barbaraì, Sarubaraì can perform the duty of the former. Of course, in practice, the rituals can be performed in absence of Sarubaraì also. During animal sacrifices, the barbaraì and Sarubaraì holds the head of and legs respectively.
The social function of the Airiyo clan is to supply brides to all the clans e.g. Sundariyo, Batriyo, Chitigayo, Chariyo, Lagasuyo, Kaliachaku, Murang, Telia, Dupia, etc. On the other hand, the members of the Airiyo clan select spouses from the above clans.

7. Kumatayo clan:

A qualified man from Kumatayo clan is selected for the office of barharāli or ākumbharāli in absence of a suitable person in Airiyo clan. As for instance, H belongs to Kumatayo clan, is a deondai of the village and is selected as a member of the village priestly council. His late father as well as his late eldest brother was selected as barharāli by the villagers. The Telia and the Dupia serve as in the shrine. They are engaged to supply mustard oil and incense at the time of ritual in the shrine. Other clans viz; Murang, Sukrang, Kaliachaku, Mehedaye have little functions to do in the midiku on account of their recent adoption into the Dibongiya society.

The priestly council of Sisimukh Deuri Gaon consists of the members selected from Sundariyo, Chitigayo, Chariyo, Airiyo and Kumatayo jākus. The following chart shows the distribution of the offices amongst the members of the different jākus in the priestly council of the village.
**Chart 1.**  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Clan</th>
<th>Office</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sundariyo</td>
<td>Bedari. M</td>
<td>Otot  Mme</td>
<td>The chief priest of the council. He sacrifices the animals and birds offerings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chitigayo</td>
<td>Ladan. C</td>
<td>Somdariyo Boderl</td>
<td>He cooks food for the priests and for the deities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do.</td>
<td>Deondai. S</td>
<td>Charlyo Bora</td>
<td>An assistant priest.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The priestly council of the above members has the sole responsibilities for the welfare of the people of the village as well as for the wellbeing of the domesticated birds and animals and also for the bumper crops. The rituals have been elaborately described in the chapter 3.

There is no system of rank among the Dibongiyas. All the clans have equal status theoretically. But in practice, the bodari gets the highest status amongst the priests. Telia, Dupia, Sukrang, Murang, Kaliachaku etc. have less importance in the society as these clans sprang up later in their society. The Bhia clan for example came into existence from a Bhia ancestor (who married into the Bibongiya clan and later on, adopted the Dibongiya society by giving up his affiliation to Bhia section of the Hindu Chutiyas. The descendants of this original family are now-a-days known as Bhia jāku. Similarly, Telia and Dupia jāku came into existence from the day of incorporating Telia and a Dupia into the fold of the Dibongiya society. All the members of the clans except the priests have been found to be of equal status in the society. A priest gets highest honour and respects by virtue of the office he bears. But his sons and daughters are considered as common villagers.
The traditional custom of the Dibongiyas is that seven members from seven clans e.g. Sundariyo, Chitigayo, Chariyo, Patriyo, Lagasuyo, Meheyayo are essential to perform chakohik, chua-lahirubä rituals etc. (see chapter 3). But in practice, if seven clans are not available in a village, five of them can perform rituals. In that case, two additional members are invited from among the available clans to form the religious unit.

As for instance, there are only five clans in the Sissamuka Deuri Gaon. They performed Chakohik, Chua-lahiruba etc. in the name of 7 clans by aiding two more additional giräs of the village. Some informants reported that originally there were only seven clans in the Dibongiya society. Later on, the number of clans increased due to intermarriage between a Dibongiya girl and a non-Dibongiya boy as mentioned already (see page no 27).

INTRA AND INTER CLAN RELATIONSHIP:

Intra and inter clan relationship is best seen in some family and village rituals. Among the family rituals, the most important one is minsegheKEN rubä ritual.
All the villagers irrespective of class join the ritual feast. As for instance, T (H 12) (Ariyo) invited late S (H 20) (Lapuru Chitigayo) as demdai and all the villagers to attend mine-harerubä ritual performed on 6.10.68 at his residential compound. Again, H (H 19) (Ariyo) invited his father-in-law D (H 14) (Chariyo) to perform Asara ritual at his agricultural field on 6.10.68.

*The mine or the cult of the ancestor is one of the cementing factors among the members of the lineage or clan. All the lineage member should participate in the mine-harerubä performed in the household of the oldest surviving male members. mine is offered by the oldest surviving male member of the household. This rite offers an occasion for the agnatic and affinal kins to meet collectively in the household of the host *.2.

This ritual gives an opportunity to all the members of the clans to meet and to be get-together on the spot. It brings friendship and unity between the members of the different clans. Similarly, rituals on birth, marriage, death, crisis of life and festivals stimulate the socio-ritual ties among the members of the different jaks. All the above rituals have included in the chapter 3.
SECTION III.

POJĀ: (MOEITY)

In the previous section, jaku unit has been included. In this section, moiety groups and their relations to each other have been described and incorporated.

A Dibangiya moiety is an exogamous group of related people. The following jupās of Sissimukh Deuri Gaon are divided into two exogamous moieties. For the sake of convenience let us say moiety A and moiety B. Clan affiliation to each moiety of the village stands as shown below:

CHART 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Moiety A</th>
<th>Moiety B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. Chitigaye-de (1, 3, 4, 7, 8, 18, 20, 21, 22).</td>
<td>5. Kumateyo-de (9, 22, 29, 30).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total jupā 15.</td>
<td>Total jupā 15.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The chart 2 shows that there are 15 jupas and 15 jupas in moiety A and moiety B respectively in 1971. There are 3 clans in moiety A and 2 in moiety B.

But there are 9 more jaks in Dibongiya society. These are not found in the village under study. These jaks are affiliated to the moieties as shown below:

**CHART 3.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Moiety A</th>
<th>Moiety B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5. Lagaseyo.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Mehadayyo.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Dupia.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BIRTH AND MOIETY:

The moiety organisation in the Dibongiya society is best seen in connection with birth rituals. Both the halves must be present in the ritual ceremony. A member of the host invites girās from each moiety on previous day to perform chuē- labirubā ritual. This ritual is generally performed after falling of umbilical chord of the baby.

The informants reported that hat paid vis; Sundariye, Chariye, Chitigayo, Lagasuye, Patriyo, Mebedaye which constitute moiety A and Airiyo forms moiety B are essentially necessary for purifying a jupā after the birth of a baby in that family. Again, if one or two of the above mentioned jākus are not available in the village, they invite girās to maintain the total strength of jāku necessary for purifying the members of a family which temporarily become ceremonially impure. As for instance, there are only 5 jākus vis; Sundariyo, Chariyo, Chigigayo Chitigayo of moiety A and Airiyo and Kumatayo of moiety B in Sissimukh Deuri ham. So, they had to invite two additional girā from amongst the above jāku in order
to perform the *chua-labiruba* ceremony properly.

The importance of these 7 jakus in *chua-labiruba* ritual is that the older section of the Dibomgiyas says that in the past there were only 7 clans in the Dibangiya society. Now-a-days, its number increases to 17 jakus to 17 jakus as mentioned in the page no 42. That is why they want to stick to their traditional social structure and perform purificatory rituals viz; *chua-labiruba*, *chakohik*, *kim*, *de-chitere* etc. unitedly and group as a whole.

Each moiety plays a significance role in purificatory ritual. It is shown in the following case. T:(Airiyo), M(Airiyo), B(Chariygo), K(Chariygo), M(Sundariyo), U(Kumatayo), D(Chitigayo) performed *chua-labiruba* ritual at M's (Airiyo) residence on 16.10.68. They offered *sajen* and *kaji* on the floor to Kundimama for wellbeing of the M's new born son and his wife. Here, moiety A and moiety B were represented by Sundariyo, Chariygo, and Chitigayo and Airiyo and Kumatayo respectively. Both the moieties must co-operate each other to purify a *jupa* in connection with child birth and other such similar rites of the village. The members of moiety A cannot purify a new-born baby and the mother singularly.
Similarly, the moiety B also must take the help of the members of the moiety A.

MARRIAGE AND MOIETY:

The marriage of the Bibongiya society is regulated by moiety and clan exogamy. The Chart 3 shows that the members of moiety A select their spouses from the moiety B and vice-versa. Because, each moiety is considered as an exogamous group. If a Sundariyo boy wants to elope with a girl, initially he must see that his mate should not belong to his own moiety. If he does not know the moiety's of the girl, then he consults the matter with his senior members of his moiety. As for example, K of village Sissimukh consulted P of village Babgaya at the time of elopement of his wife in 1969. In case of marriage within the village, a girl as a mate. In this case, a boy first maintains the role of moiety exogamy and then clan exogamy. That is to say his primary duty is to select a girl from the other half of the society. As for instance, K (junior) who was a member of moiety A( chidigayo) eloped his mate I (Airiyo) from moiety B in 1970.
Marriage is also regulated by clan exogamy. Each clan under moiety A and moiety B is an exogamous group. They must not select mates within their group. A bachelor of Sundariyo-jaku cannot marry within his clan. Secondly, he must not marry a girl belonging to his patrilineal moiety. If a boy violates this norm of the society he is heavily punished by the priestly council of the village. (for case see section II, p 31-32).

A negotiated type of marriage was observed at Dibrugarh town performed his marriage ceremony on 19.6.70. C belongs to AriyB jaku. So he is affiliated to moiety B as shown in the chart 3. It was observed that a few girä belonging to moiety B vis; T, G, K, N, H, along with their wives and children attended the marriage ceremony. They presented chum Jan, chickens, rice, vegetables etc. to the host as a mark of their kinship obligations. The members helped the host in all the marriage works. It was also seen that a few oldmen- affinal relatives vis; G, G(junior), D, etc. of moiety A participated in the marriage ceremony. But their participation was limited in comparison to moiety B.
DEATH AND MOIETY:

When the death news of a person is announced, all the villagers men and women, irrespective of their clan and moiety affiliation attend the deceased's jupā with a jar of sujen at their hands. But most of the household works, viz; cleansing the house, offering areca nuts and betel vine leaves, receiving guests etc. are done by the co-moiety members. The other members belonging to other moiety have less duty to perform at the house of the bereaved family at the time of death of a person.

It is a primary duty of the members of the jupā and jāku and ultimately the moiety to dispose off a dead body as soon as possible. Of course, other moiety men and women join them in burial or cremation of the corpse.

The following is an instance of moiety's function in case of death. When C's father J (H 17) of A moiety, died, his clan and moiety members viz; B, K (H 10), D(H14), B(H16), M and P (H 28) and their wives and children took active part in carrying and in cremating the dead body. The members of the other moiety T (H12), L (13), H (H 9)
etc. of B moiety helped the members of A moiety in cremation of the corpse.

On 4th day of the cremation pindo-leruba ritual was performed by the giras of both the moieties at the residence of the deceased. They offered chujam and kaji on the floor to ancestral names of the names of the deceased and requested him to bestow blessings on the living members of the jupā, jāku and the moieties. It has been seen that each of the moieties has special function in the ritual relation of the Dibongiyas.

A moiety's function in respect of economic activities is also observed in certain cases. Miss R, Miss P, Mrs J (H 12) helped M (H 19), in harvesting paddy in the months of Nov/Dec 1970. Both the jupā and jāku belong to B moiety.

In political aspect too especially in quarrel intra moiety co-operation was revealed.

Though bachelors dormitory is not available in Sissimukh, its existence is marked by mihang. It was observed that the bachelors of A moiety (H -1,2) used to sleep in the mihang of B moiety(H 23). Again, bachelors of B moiety( H 23) were found to sleep in the mihang of A moiety (H 21). But moiety organisation is
SECTION IV.

NUJA : ( KINSHIP)

KIN GROUPS AND ITS RELATION.

Huja is a Dibongiya term means kinship. The basic kinship group among the Dibongiya is the nokia jupe. The Dibongiyas themselves recognize mainly two different kin groups viz; eke gochaye or eke meraye or or eke bonkoya and mituro gochaye.

The above two groups i.e. eke gochaye and eke mituro-gochaye are based on kinship relation. In Murdock's words "social groupings based upon kinship ties are called kin groups. Again, Evan's Pritchard says a man's kin are those persons with whom he is genealogically connected through his father and mother.

In this section, it is proposed to discuss the relationship existing between individuals of the categories mentioned above and between the different categories of those kins.

MARRIAGE:

On the day of negotiated type of marriage the consanguineal and affinal kin groups of a boy or a girl take active part in the management of the marriage. (see chapter 2, section III).
A few consanguinal kinmen viz: (D and B), H (H 9), ego's tai, neunari G(H 7), D(H 1b), G(H 1) including the ego's father offered sugen and kaji on the floor to Kundinna and ancestral manes of the ego, and prayed them for all round success of the wedding couple.

B was ceremonially bathed by smearing a paste of green turmeric and black gram first by his yong, buji, married elder sisters, maku etc. Then they were followed by other women of the locality.

B's marriage party consisting of his tai P, dai B, pickiya I, gumi etc. The party was received by the father, mother, dai, maku, sisters, brothers accompanied by other kinsfolk of the bride at the residence of the latter. Ego's dai acted as the head of the groom's party. He offered sharāi to the bride's parents and the latter received the same. Large numbers of presentations were offered to the bride by her consanguinal kinmen according to the degree of relationship as mentioned above. The marriage was completed with the performance of sugen luga ruba ritual.

In case of marriage by elopement, the immediate consanguinal relatives of the eloper and some of his friends
help a boy in eloping a girl from the latter's residence. If the girl's parents or her brothers come to know before her elopement, they give strict resistance to the groom's party. The elopement wedding is held at the ego's parental residence in the presence of the boy's agnatic kins.

The first duty of the parents towards their newly married son and daughter-in-law is to provide a room in their residence. Till marriage, their sons sleep in bachelor's nichonge in the village. The newly married couple should live in the jupa under the protection of the father.

The main obligation of a memäi towards his bangin is to give a mate from his consanguinal group. Because, memäi is not only ego's mother's brother, he is also related through ego's pëi. If the marriage is held within the village, memäi and pëi visit their bangäte parental residence at least with a small pot of upan.

BISU-FESTIVAL:

Bahãgiyo-bisu and Ñãgiyo-bisu festivals bring harmony and close contact among the members of the agnatic
and affinal kin groups. As for instance, on the 2h.h.29, H received B elder brother of H's son-in-law who offered adharā containing areca nuts, betel vine leaves and paisa 25 only. Mrs M, Miss P, Miss S, K and Mrs U, Mrs N, Mrs H offered packets of curry and potful of rice-beer and bowed down to H and received blessings. In another case, K with his newly married wife offered areca nuts, betel vine leaves along with a rupee on a piece of keu-leaf and bowed down to his pēyva. The latter blessed the couple for a long life, health and progeny.

Similarly, Mahīya-bisu also plays a dominant role in the socio-religious life of the Dibongliyas.

"Celebration of bisu by drinking rice beer and other articles from house to house and from village to village by the people also brings about intra and inter village solidarity ".

DEATH:

In the preceding section, the role of intra- and inter-village, in case of death of a person has been discussed. In this section, special attention is given only to the kin-members and their obligation to the
deceased. It is the first duty of the close kinsmen to attend the disposal of the dead body and its mortuary rituals. Elaborate description of duties of agnatic kins have been discussed in the chapter 3 and section V. The affinal kinsmen also attend the deceased's jupā and carry c sujum to the host family. This reciprocal visits of the kinsmen to each other's jupā solidifies the unity and friendship between the two groups.

MIMO-HARERURA:

Kinship relation is specially revealed on the day of mimo-hareruma ritual (see chapter 3, section VI). Almost all the agnatic members gather at the host's residence. The akudē offers oblation to the ancestral names on behalf of the consanguinal kinsmen. This ritual strengthens the solidarity of the consanguinal kin groups.

KINSHIP RELATION:

Kinship relation among the members of the jupā has been discussed in the Chapter 2, Section I and page no. 15-17. The relationship among a few more kins is described below:
Sister-in-law (buji) and husband's younger sister (kimu)

The relationship between buji and kimu is friendly. A buji behaves her kimu as her younger sister. On the other hand a kimu respects her sister-in-law and assists her in household activities and in agricultural field. She also serves as a caretaker of her buji's children.

Buji and husband's younger brother (kimu):

The relationship between the buji and kimu is friendly. They can joke each other between themselves. Buji can marry her kimu after the death of her husband. It is known as junior levirate.

Father-in-law and son-in-law:

A man regards his father-in-law as his own father. Reciprocally, he also gets love from his father-in-law.

Mother-in-law and son-in-law:

The relationship between mother-in-law and son-in-law is like that of mother and son. Respect for one's mother-in-law and father-in-law is best seen at the time of hanyu festivals. A son-in-law bows down to his parent-in-laws by offering a charal containing areca nuts, betel vine leaves, a few coins etc. and receives blessings from them.
JOKEING RELATIONSHIP:

A man can easily joke with a man of his equal age and status belonging to his opposite moiety. As for instance, M(bedař) belonging to Sundariye clan (H 5) for a particular photograph presented by the ethnographer. The former by referring the genital organ asked the latter to entertain him with gumes in lieu of his photograph. P also replied by referring his genital organ that he (P) could consume a gumes at his will.

Joking relationship between grand parents and grand children is observable in their society.

Joking relationship is very common between a man and his wife's younger sister and vice-versal An example is illustrated here: Y has been found to have very intimate relationship with his sister-in-law(Z). An informant disclosed that Y might marry his sister-in-law (Z) in course of time. He was found to visit and halt at his father-in-law's residence frequently.
The following Dibongiya kinship terms have been collected with the help of genealogies.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIBONGIYA (CHUTIYA)</th>
<th>ENGLISH EQUIVALENT</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Moka</td>
<td>Husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Micven</td>
<td>Wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Kai</td>
<td>Elder brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Pekhot</td>
<td>Younger brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Baji</td>
<td>Elder brother's wife (WS &amp; NS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Chinu</td>
<td>Wife's younger brother and younger sister, husband's younger and younger sister.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Bebe</td>
<td>Elder sister, elder brother's wife (WS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Gumi</td>
<td>Elder sister's husband.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Shaelpati</td>
<td>Wife's elder and younger sister's husbands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Iyamu</td>
<td>Son's wife's father, daughter's husband's father (WS).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Iyami</td>
<td>Son's wife's mother (WS &amp; NS), daughter's husband's mother (WS).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
14. Bomol (Dem ao) : Big river.
17. Maku : Father's younger brother's wife.

### EGO'S List ASCENDING GENERATION:

20. Iyoum : Mother, husband's mother (WS).
22. Momai : Mother's elder and younger brothers, father's elder sister's husband.
23. Dai : Father's younger brother, father's father's elder brother's son, wife's father's younger sister's husband.
24. chigirâ : Wife's father, wife's father's elder brother, husband's father's father and whom he calls brother.
25. Chigiräcchi: Wife's mother, wife's father's elder brother's wife, husband's father's father's wife, and whom she calls sister.


27. Mäi: Wife's father younger sister.


29. Mänyu: Father's elder brother's wife.

EGO'S 1ST DESCENDING GENERATION:

30. Picha: Son(MS&WS), elder brother's son, elder & younger brother's daughter's husbands.

31. Bagia (bhagin): Elder and younger brother's son (WS), elder and younger sister's daughter, elder and younger brother's daughters.

32. Ainyä: Son's wife,(MS&WS).

33. Pichäthi: Daughter, younger brother's daughters.

34. Āji: Daughter's husband(MS&WS), younger brother's daughter's husband.
D. EGO'S II ASCENDING GENERATION:
35. Díng or dé dí: Father's father, father's father
     elder brother, wife's father's father.
36. Jing or jiè: Father's father's wife, wife's
     father's mother.

E. EGO'S III DESCENDING GENERATION:
37. Picâu: Sea's son, daughter's son, elder
     and younger brother's son's son's
     daughter's husband.

F. EGO'S III ASCENDING GENERATION:
38. Pàmyu: Father's father's father.

G. EGO'S IV DESCENDING GENERATION:
40. Pímiyā picau: Son's son's son.
41. Pímiyā pichi: Son's son's daughter.

H. EGO'S IV ASCENDING GENERATION:
42. Kai: Father's father's father's father.
43. Buji: Father's father's father's mother.
A woman as Ego.

Chart 5.
Ego's Mother's Brother's Lineage.

CHART 6.
Ego's Wife's Father's Lineage

CHART 7.

Δ=0  O=Δ
Panyu Manyu Manyu Panyu Chigira Chigirachi Mai Mohowr Mai
(according to marriage).

Δ=0  Δ=0  Δ=0  Δ=0  O=Δ
Gumi Bege Shalpati Chimoro Ego Chinu Pichachi Chinu Shalpati.

Δ  O
Pichu Pichuchi.
The village unity is observed in its political aspect of public life. The village consisting of headmen of each household plays a great role in cementing the solidarity of the villagers. The socio-ritual and socio-political affairs of the village are settled by the council. For instance, the village council was held to select a man for the office of the barbarali and to reconstruct the village shrine at the new site. On 13.10.68.

The villagers filed a case against the Mishings who occupied a plot of land of the village in 1956. They did not want outsiders to settle inside their territory. Later on, when the Mishings settlers agreed in Dibrugarh Court to give up the occupied land soon, they also agreed and compromised the matter. But in practice, it was found that the Mishings did not vacate the unauthorised occupation of the land. The villagers were found very unhappy on this matter.

The school is an effective place for maintaining unity among the villagers through its organisation for educating the children of the village. The boys and girls of the village attend the school. They come into contact with
the pupils, teachers irrespective of age and sex.

The village library is a place of meeting ground for all the villagers. They go to the library for borrowing and returning the books. It was observed that the students, youths, of the village gathered at the premises of the Library and observed Silver Jubilee of India's Independence day on 15.8.72. Professor M.C. Goswami hoisted the national flag on request, while he was in the field investigation work.

The bachelors select their michan (see p. 168), according to their will, but preference is given to other half of the society. They sleep there during night and disperse in the morning. As for instance, late G's michan was occupied by his sister's sons T, H, P (H 1 &2). Again, bachelors were found to occupy michan belonging to their affinal kin's residences. For example, L's (Airiyu clan) boarding house was used as sleeping house by (H1) in 1971 (Sundariyo clan). Generally, the bachelors stick to their michan till marriage. The last bachelor who retires from the michan after marriage hands over his belongings particularly musical instruments, cots, clothes etc. to his successors.

The unity and friendship among the villagers are also brought about by communal feasts and festivals.
The mirä and mirächi consume a bean after bisu-däberuba day. For instance, all the boys and the girls enjoyed a feast with drinks on the courtyard of B(H11) on 27.4.72.

Bakatnakana is a public feast held in the month of Kati every year on the bank of Sissi river. The villagers including men, women, boys and girls pray Kundinana before consuming the feast in order to yeild bumber shali crop. P informed that they collected huge quantity of Sali paddy and cereals as a result of bakat make ritual performed in the month of Kati in the year 1972.

Bahägiye-bisu and Mägiyo-bisu (see chapter 2, section IV)p-51-52), festivals are the symbols of social unity and friendship among the villagers.

A few oldmen vis D (H ill) and H (H 9) were observed using nick-name - haribakat while addressing each other in and outside the village. It is observed that whenever the villagers go outside they distinguish themselves from others in the following words: "bä järýe åtígyo meç", i.e. he is a man of our village.

Iyed midi: Iyed midi ritual is an occasion for the villagers including the old and the young, men and women, boys and girls for singing religious songs.
and for being gay and happy. The villagers celebrated the ritual on 16.10.68 and on 15.10.69 at the lower part of the village on the bank of Sissi river.

At the very beginning, the chief priest B, N, the leguä and the lădami took ritual bath in the nearby Sissi river and dressed with white akua and čalemg. They constructed 5 numbers of toy canoes made of plantain sheaths. These canoes were arranged parallelly in the East West direction. The middle three toy canoes and two outer toy canoes were used to propitiate Na-bami, Nu-baidw, Laga-Ligiri respectively. The priests offered ripe bananas, fruits, rice, powdered rice, areca nuts, betel vine leaves, 52 lamp wicks etc. inčarë mu and then these were floated on the river. It is believed that the deity presiding over the disease will leave the village along with the čarë mu.

The social organisation of the Bibongiyas has an outstanding characteristic in the form of a term borrowed from their neighbours. This term is called glišti which covers the lineage and non-lineage groups of the village. In other words, the village is the unit whose unity is manifested in the village shrine. The three units viz; the shrine, its officiants, and the villagers are inseparable units which are linked by
a common tie. This unseen tie is their common allegiance to the shrine. It is observable in all social functions which they observe in their day to day and collective village life.

It may be noted in this context that the village under study is an isolated Dibongiya village which is surrounded by Mishing A and Assamese people. In their social relation they maintain an ingroup attitude in respect of their neighbours. Other Dibongiya villages are situated to the North at a distance of 8,12,14 K.M. They have matrimonial alliances with these villages. But their contact is not a frequent because of the lack of communications. Their seclusion is heightened by the mighty river Brahmaputra which separates them from the Dibongiya villages of Upper Deuri Gaon and New Deuri Gaon near Jerhat (see Map 2,3). The Tengapaniya village and the Borgomya village near Dhing mukh in Sibsagar District are still far away from their habitat.