

# ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES ON NORTHERN THAILAND

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ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES ON NORTHERN THAILAND

## THE CORNELL UNIVERSITY SOUTHEAST ASIA PROGRAM

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## FOREWORD

This miscellany of papers provides documentation for only a few aspects of the life of a very small number of the many and varied ethnic communities found in northern Thailand. In spite of the limited scope of each of these ethnographic notes, the absence of any common theme running through this collection and its lack of wide or systematic coverage, the editors believe there is nevertheless some justification for presenting these brief regional studies to their colleagues now and in this form.

In the first place, while there has been a recent rise of interest in the northern provinces of Thailand, the available material on the area is still meager, so that there may accrue to the papers presented here some value simply derived in part from the scarcity of other ethnographic data on this cultural frontier of the Kingdom. It is true that for over a century the region of the Khon Myang, "The Countrymen" or Northern Thai, has particularly attracted the enthusiastic interest of both Thai and foreign scholars and observers. The regional literature on the North, in both Thai and Western languages, is more substantial than that on any other section of the country, being rivalled only recently by the spate of worried writings on the Northeast, the lean and hitherto neglected region of Isan. However, the number of professional or useful anthropological studies of the northern provinces is still not large, for anthropologists long failed to exploit this ethnographic treasure house.

Systematic investigations of Northern Thai peasant communities were not undertaken until 1948 when John deYoung, sponsored by the Cornell Thailand Project, began his work in San Pong, just north of the city of Chiangmai. Since then a number of important village studies and rural surveys have been conducted among the Thai in several of the northern provinces. As for the northern non-Thai ethnic groups, data on a number of them were included in the anthropological material gathered and published by the Siam Society during the 1920s. Intensive field research among the northern hill tribes was begun in the 1930s by Prince Sanidh Rangsit, the first Thai professional anthropologist, and by Hugo Bernatzik whose work, Akha und Meau, published in 1947, still

remains today the only major anthropological monograph devoted to tribal people in Thailand. Other field studies of highland peoples began slowly to fill the lacunae in the ethnography of northern Thailand, including the pioneer works of such non-professionals as Boon Chuey Srisavasdi who published his Thirty Tribes of Chiengrai (in Thai) in 1950, and Gordon Young, whose survey, The Hill Tribes of Northern Thailand, was issued by the Siam Society in 1962. In that same year Patya Saihoo, a Chulalongkorn University anthropologist, produced his useful Report on the Hill Tribes of Northern Thailand (processed) which provided a critical review of all the scattered anthropological literature dealing with the northern Thai highlands up to that date. This study was one of a valuable series of reports sponsored by the Hill Tribes Division, Department of Public Welfare, which were designed to aid the work of Thai government agencies responsible for the administration and development of the country's highland populations. The work of such agencies, the Thai universities, the Siam Society, and an increasing number of Thai and foreign scholars interested both in northern Thai studies and in international scholarly collaboration should be significantly advanced as a result of the establishment this year of the Tribal Research Centre at Chiangmai University.

While the number of regional studies of the North has thus been increasing rapidly in the past few years, and while new facilities and interests augur well for a continuing development of research work in this area in the future, it must nonetheless be recognized that the total number of published articles, reports, and monographs is still extremely limited, that a vast amount of research in the library and the field still remains to be done, and that there are still relatively few students well trained and ready for these particular tasks. It is in this context, then, that we hope this volume of ethnographic notes may make some contribution to our knowledge of Thailand's North, and that it may provoke questions which will lead to further research on resources, human and material, which await the student in the libraries and museums of Bangkok and the provincial capitals of the North, in the towns and villages of the populous northern valleys and in the tribal settlements of the remote northern highlands of the Kingdom.

As a second raison d'être for this volume, it may be pointed out that the very heterogeneity of these ethnographic notes well illustrate, though hardly completely, the extraordinary variety of peoples and cultural types found in northern Thailand. The region has been called "an Asian Arcady"; but it is clear that this is no area of Arcadian ethnic simplicity. Thriving cities and valley villages of merchants, craftsmen, and farmers who are now being rapidly incorporated

into the cultural networks of the Thai nation; the hill settlements of tribal shifting cultivators who have become the objects of government concern only in recent years; even hunters and gatherers who either have failed to develop beyond an Old Stone Age level or have regressed there; Buddhists, Christians, and those who speak with their ancestors and make offerings to the spirits inhabiting the hills; those who wear the berets of Laos, the turbans of Burma, the small caps of China, or the felt hats of London; and speakers of Thai, of Mon-Khmer, of Tibeto-Burman, and of Sinic languages, all represent an ethnic heterogeneity found in few other areas of the world beyond the borders of Southeast Asia. Not all, but some of these will be found within the covers of this book.

Finally, this volume includes the work of several younger students whose names are new to the literature on Thailand, so that it serves as a vehicle to introduce them to others who would know more of the northern country. The ethnoecological surveys sponsored during 1963 and 1964 by Bennington College and Cornell University were designed not only to investigate and report on unknown areas in the north of Thailand, but also in the process to provide experience in field observation, interviewing and reporting for Thai and American students of culture who were still in the training stage. All of the contributors to this volume, as well as a few who participated in the field work and were asked but were unable to contribute to our notes, have worked closely together for longer or shorter periods, learning much from each other as well as from the Khon Myang, Thai Yai, Thai Yaa, Thai Khun, the Karen, Lahu, Lisu, Akha, the Miao and Yao and Yunnanese who gave us hospitality and information in such friendly fashion.

The dozen members of the Bennington-Cornell Anthropological Survey received help not only from each other and from local specialists such as Herbert Purnell and that doyen of professional Northern Thai, Kraisri Nimmanahaeminda, but also from many others not represented in this volume. The enterprise was financed largely by the U.S. National Science Foundation and the Agency for International Development, but it could be realized only with the cooperation of Thailand's National Research Council, Department of Public Welfare, Border Police, and Siam Society. Several members of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship besides Mr. Purnell collaborated with us helpfully, as did other friends associated with other religious groups in Thailand. Editorial assistance was provided by Mrs. Susan Rapaport of the Cornell Thailand Project. In the translation of the first two notes from Thai to English we were aided by Mr. Sirin Nimmanahaeminda, who also worked with us for a month in

the field, and by Miss Komkai Chongcharoensuk of Cornell. The first of these two notes subsequently appeared in its original Thai version in Sangkhomsat Parithat (The Social Science Review), 3, 1, 10-14, 1965. In the transcription from the Thai to a romanized alphabet we have in general followed the system adopted for the cataloguing of Thai works in the Wason Collection of the Olin Research Library at Cornell which is described in Frances Bernath, Catalogue of Thai Language Holdings in the Cornell University Libraries through 1964, Ithaca: Cornell University Southeast Asia Program, Data Paper Number 54, 1964. An account of our surveys together with some preliminary findings will be found in our Report on Tribal Peoples in Chiengrai Province north of the Mae Kok River, published in 1964 by the Siam Society.

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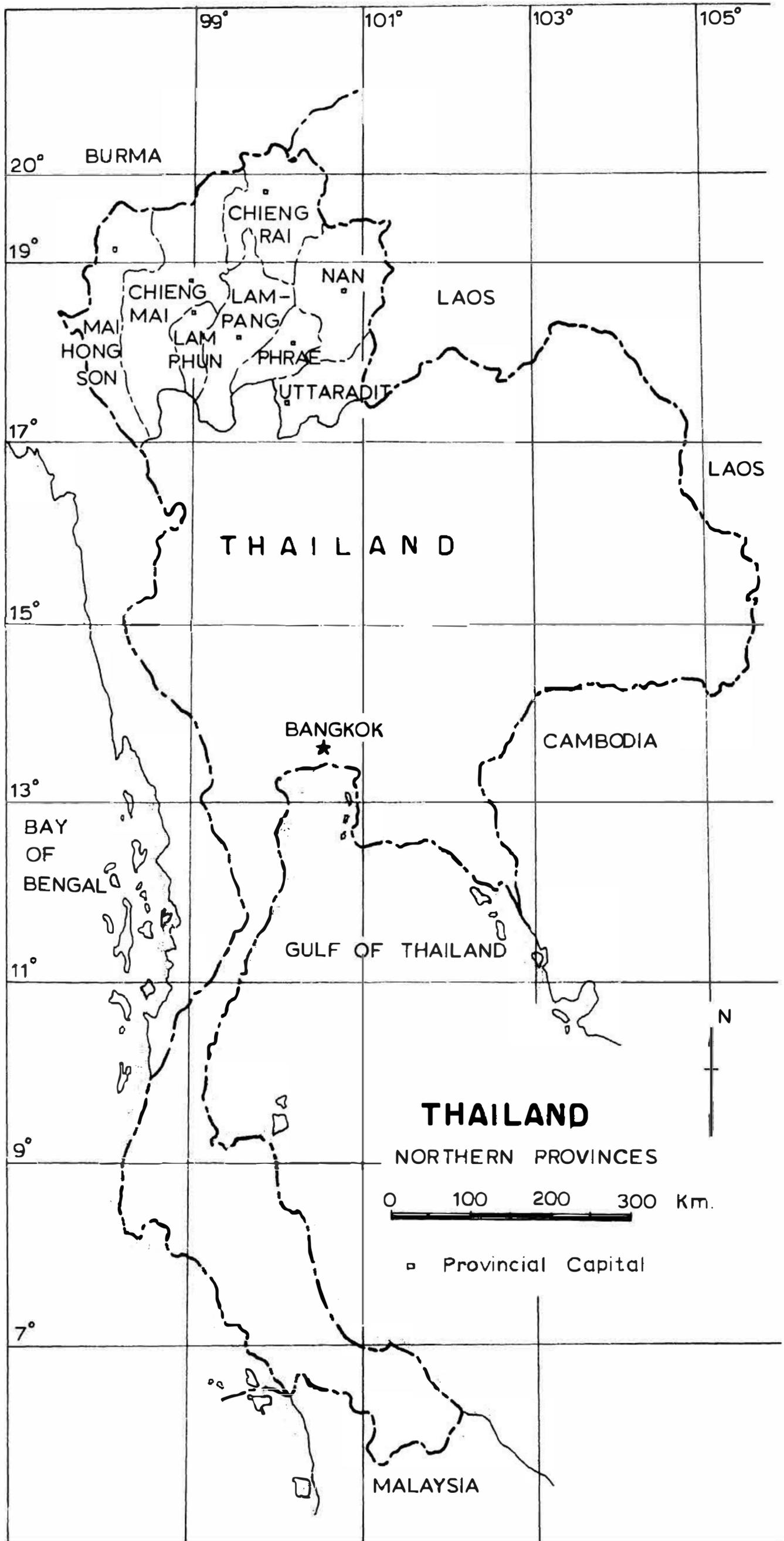
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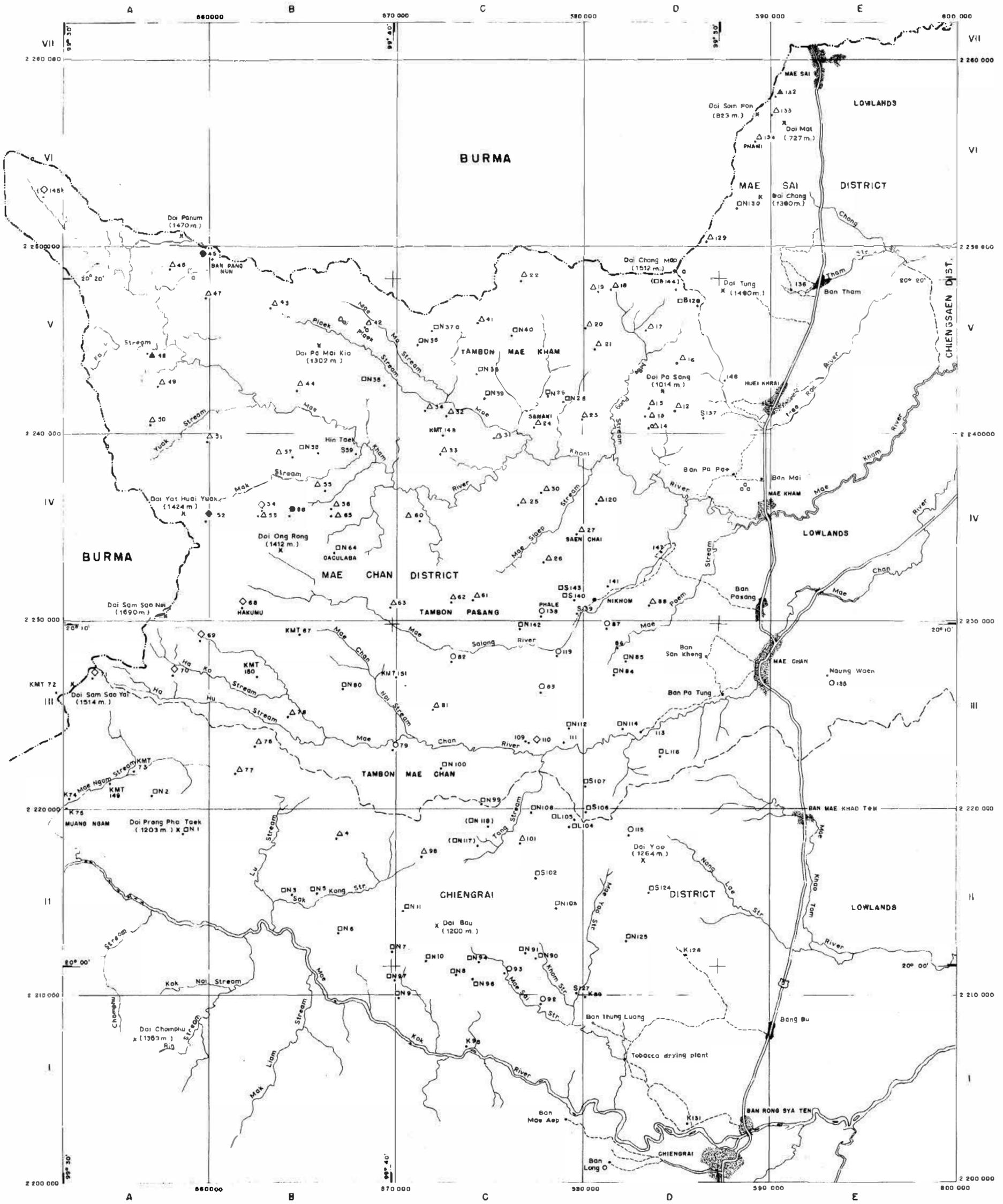
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LEGEND

- △ Akha
- K Karen
- Lahulaba
- L Lahulissu
- N Lahunzi
- S Lahushi
- L Lissu
- S Shan
- Yao
- Amphoe boundary
- Motor Road 1.4 to 2.5 m wide
- (148) Approximate Location

**ETHNIC SETTLEMENTS JUNE 1, 1964**  
**CHIENGRAI PROVINCE, THAILAND**

(NORTH OF MAE KOK RIVER)

SCALE 1:100 000



BENNINGTON-CORNELL THAILAND HILLTRIBE SURVEY, 1963-64; Cornell Thailand Project, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.

Topography compiled from maps published by the Army Map Service, U.S. Corps of Engineers, Washington, D.C., Series L706, Scale 1:50,000.



## THE IRRIGATION LAWS OF KING MENGRAI

By Kraisri Nimmanahaeminda

When M. Camille Notton, the French Consul General in Chiangmai, was gathering chronicles, legends, folk-tales, poems, and other important materials concerning the history of Lannathai, I was very fortunate in being allowed by the Consul to look at these documents. Moreover, I was allowed to copy as much of this material as I wanted. Among the items which I copied was a volume entitled Mangrai Sat, containing laws of King Mengrai, founder of Chiangmai. This is a notable work and should be made known in order to inform people both in and outside of Thailand about the highly advanced civilization and government of the old Lannathai Kingdom.

Unfortunately, soon after I returned the original materials to M. Notton, the 1940 conflict between Thailand and Indochina broke out, M. Notton was called to Bangkok, and the French Consulate in Chiangmai was closed. At that time a group of patriots who called themselves the Khana Lyad Thai broke into the residence and office of the French Consul. They found the materials on which M. Notton had been working, some of which were still in the original palm leaf books. They destroyed many of these invaluable works on northern history and culture by throwing them into the Mae Ping River; the rest were burned. Other property of the Consulate was destroyed in the same way. It is shameful that these priceless Thai documents, gathered over a period of many years by a foreigner, should have been destroyed in only a few minutes by self-styled patriots.

Today, the provinces of the North have the best system of irrigation in Thailand. By "irrigation" in this case, I mean communally operated systems which channel water from the hills to the valley fields. The people dig the canals and construct the dams and sluices by themselves with little or no help from the government. Again, of the northern provinces, none can match Chiangmai in this kind of irrigation. The North is covered with mountains and tropical forests. If the lowland farmers do not irrigate or bring water to their fields through an efficient system of canals and dams, the water will simply run off to the plains, the rice in the fields will not prosper, and the farmers will not be able to survive. Thus the building of dams and canals became a specialized tradition of the

Lannathai people which still endures. When they need water they do not hesitate to construct irrigation systems, nor do they need to ask the government to do it for them. Whenever labor and finances are available, they gather and start to build. For this reason communal irrigation has developed more rapidly in the North than elsewhere.

The development of this kind of irrigation is not confined to recent times. It probably grew out of useful customs and traditions carried over from former times. Even in A. D. 1281, just before King Mengrai conquered the Mon state of Haripunchaya (Lampun), Mon corvée labor forces were utilized to construct an irrigation canal 17,000 wa, or 34 kilometers, long, north of the site on which King Mengrai in A.D. 1296 would build his new city, Chiangmai. This canal was formerly called Myang Khaeng, and later on, during the reign of King Kyna, the ninth king of the Mengrai dynasty, the name was changed to Myang Kaeo. This canal is in the district (amphoe) of Mae Rim in Chiangmai Province, and has been in continuous use until the present day. Some parts of it are now called Myang Wanglao. It brings water to thousands of rai of rice fields and orchards in the districts of Mae Rim, Sansai, Sarapi, and the city of Chiangmai. Although such an irrigation system was technically excellent, lack of discipline and guidance in its use and maintenance might lead to disorder. The Mangrai Sat provided the necessary regulations.

In the old days, canals and dams were believed to be sacred things because without them there would be no rice to eat--no khao pen chao. Therefore, there had to be a san thepharak or spirit house for the sacred spirit of the dams and canals. Whoever dared to harm the spirit house was guilty of inflicting injury upon the spirit of the dam. "Let him restore the spirit house to its former state, provide the necessary equipment and rebuild the dam." This is what the law prescribed, but if anyone refused to restore the spirit house and perform the proper ceremonies, the law provided further that, "If the person cannot repair the spirit house himself or cannot provide the necessary equipment and cannot repair the dam, let him pay for the food and wages of those who make the repairs for him." If he does not do so then "let him pay a fine of 330 ngoen for a large dam, or 110 ngoen for a small one."

Generally, dams in the North were built with one and one-half meter, sharply pointed bamboo poles or stakes. Thousands of these bamboo poles were stuck in the canal or stream bed under water, blocking the entire flow of the waterway. Sometimes a space was left in a dam to allow rafts or boats to pass, but in some places the dams were completely solid. In guiding rafts or boats over the dams, if the steersman damaged part of a dam, either carelessly or on purpose, the law said, "Whoever steers his raft or boat over a dam

and damages it will have to restore it. But if he cannot do so, he will have to pay 110 ngoen for a big dam and 52 ngoen for a small dam.<sup>†</sup> In a case in which a boatman's strength was insufficient to stop his craft before running over the dam, the law said, "If his raft or boat is too large and beyond his ability to control and the dam is damaged, he will have to restore it; otherwise, 52 ngoen will be the payment for a large dam and 32 ngoen for a smaller one.<sup>†</sup> These laws gave justice to all. High fines were imposed on a person who deliberately or carelessly damaged a dam, but only half the amount was due from one who could not control his craft because it was too heavy or the current too strong and beyond his strength.

When the labor of a village was organized to construct a needed new dam or to restore an old one, anyone who did not work, but then wanted a full share of the benefits of the irrigation system, was believed to be guilty of doing serious harm to the community. He might receive a very severe punishment or even be executed. According to the law, "He who does not contribute his labor or money to the construction of the dam and steals water when he needs it, should be clubbed on the head; otherwise, 110 ngoen will be the required fine.<sup>†</sup> If he continued to steal water for use in his fields, although he had been previously punished under this law, the law said, "He should be executed on the spot.<sup>†</sup> Since dams and canals were publicly owned, whoever damaged or destroyed the property was guilty of an offense against the entire community. For example, "He who damages all or only a part of the neck of the canal will be responsible for it. He will have to restore it. If he cannot do so, he shall pay a fine of 330 ngoen for a big dam or 110 ngoen for a small one.<sup>†</sup> If the guilty person had no money for the fine, "He shall be put in prison for three months.<sup>†</sup>

Usually, where there was a dam, plenty of fish were present because the water collected behind the dam, making that part of the river or canal deep and fish from below the dam tried to get to the deep water. Consequently, a dam was a very good place for fishing. Whoever damaged a dam so that fish could enter more easily from below would be fined or imprisoned. If a person tried to catch fish in an irrigation canal which brought water to rice fields, he would be clubbed on the head. This was a severe punishment but such a person might receive a less stringent sentence: his fishing equipment could be taken away or he could be sent to a high official, or Chao Khun, who would give him a warning.

The water in the irrigated rice fields was contained by dikes higher than the level of the fields. If anyone "drains off the water in order to get fish, whether he repairs (the dike) or not, if the rice crop is damaged, let

him pay for the amount of damage he has caused." But if the owner of the field asked the guilty one to restore the dike and he became arrogant and bold and even used profane language, the owner of the field had a legal right to club the guilty man over the head.

In former times a person who took advantage of the community by not doing his share of the work on a dam was believed to be guilty of a serious offense. As we have seen, one who stole water for his field might receive capital punishment. If a person among the canal or dam users took more than his share of water for his field, leaving little for the others, and this caused the other fields to be damaged and to dry up, "Let the greedy one pay for the damage." If he refused to do so and even answered the injured person with abuse, he was fined 130 ngoen. When conflicts about the sharing of water occurred, "Let the Chao Khun distribute water to both sides equally. Then if one person does not obey his decision and again steals water during the night, let him be fined 110 ngoen. If he forcibly steals water, either at night or during the day, carrying arms and weapons with him, let him be killed on the spot or let him pay 330 ngoen." From this law we may assume that a man's life, at that time, was worth about 330 ngoen.

When there was little water and the rice was dying from lack of water, if any owner of a rice field stole water from others for his own fields, that is, more than his equal share as established by the Chao Khun, "let him be clubbed on the head or taken to the Chao Khun to be lectured according to the custom. If he again steals water, let him be killed on the spot."

It will be noticed from the foregoing that the Mangrai Sat prescribed two kinds of punishment for wrongdoers. If the wrong involved taking advantage of the community the punishment was quite severe--even death; but if the wrong was not against the community the law prescribed a lighter punishment--to pay a fine or be warned not to do it again.

I cannot guarantee that the Mangrai Sat was promulgated during the time Mengrai was King of Lannathai, that is during the period A. D. 1258 to 1317. I believe, however, that they were the ancient laws inherited by succeeding generations and altered by changing conditions. It was mentioned in one part of the law that during the Year of the Cock, Chulasakkarat 870, Myn Si was granted permission by Phra Myang Kaeo to restore these laws. From this statement it seems reasonable to conclude that these laws were renewed during the reign of Phra Myang Kaeo, the fourteenth king of the Mengrai dynasty, about the year A. D. 1508. It should be noted that the year Chulasakkarat 870 was not a Year of the Cock. The writer, Myn Si, must have copied the wrong year, but the year 870 was within Phra Myang Kaeo's reign. At the end of the law is

written, "This volume of the Mangrai Sat was copied by Myn Kwan Thung Yung from (the copy of) Phraya Saen Luang Cha Nai who is the ambassador in Yothiya." This evidence shows that these laws were not new, but were in use when Lannathai was still an independent country and had diplomatic representation in Ayudhya.

## "PUT VEGETABLES INTO BASKETS, AND PEOPLE INTO TOWNS"

By Kraisi Nimmanahaeminda

The proverb of our title refers particularly to one period in the history of northern Thailand. The period during the 18th Century when the power of the Burmese over Lannathai first began to wane until they were completely driven out of the region, is called locally the era of "kep phak saj sa, kep kha saj myang". The phrase "kep phak saj sa" means to put vegetables into a chalom or salom, a kind of basket made of bamboo; and "kep kha saj myang" means collecting manpower into the region of a myang, a city or state. The phrase describes a period when leaders begin to rebuild the strength of their country after it has been weakened through internal or external wars.

War in ancient times among the countries of Southeast Asia was not the kind of war which was conducted simply for the purpose of expanding power through the territorial expansion of the kingdom. It was war which had as one of its primary purposes obtaining manpower from the other side, and bringing it to the conqueror's country. Therefore, the victor would sweep the people of the defeated party to his homeland. A country or city which was crowded would thus be robbed of its people after being defeated in battle. That could mean the ruin of a nation with all the towns left empty, the country becoming a land of deserted valleys among the hills and the forests. Such towns in the north of present day Thailand as Chiengsaen, Lo, Thoeng, Wiengchai Prakan, Suttho, and others by the score, have at times been literally denuded of population as a result of war.

The act of taking the people of the defeated country back to the home of the victorious party, besides increasing the raw manpower of that country, rendered benefits to the economy, and brought fame and honor to the country which won the war. For example, the silversmiths who were taken by the conquering Burmese from Chiengmai to Phukam (Pagan) in Burma became the makers of the lacquerware handicraft for Phukam, which is still called yonde by the Burmese, that is, khryang yuan, or northern Thai artifacts. (Yuan or Yonok is a term for the northern ethnic Thai. Now the northerners call themselves Khon Myang, but the Shans or Thai Yai still call them

"Yuan" or "Yon"). Even the skilled craftsmen and artists of defeated Ayudhya were also taken to Burma in order to augment the Burmese king's "royal power" (phra baromma dechanuphap). The central Thai artists introduced styles of singing, music, dancing, masked dancing, and drama (lakhon) into Burma. These can be considered a legacy from the Thai to the Burmese, an important part of Burmese culture today. As for most of the Thai people who had been taken to Burma, they eventually forgot their own language, and became Burmese.

In B. E. 2275 (A. D. 1732), Nai Thip Chang made Lampang independent of Burma and established himself as overlord. This did not last long, however, because this city was again attacked and taken by the Burmese. The younger members of Nai Thip Chang's family escaped to the south to seek protection from the King of Thonburi. Later on, when they had collected enough people, they beat the Burmese and drove them out, but they won back only a deserted country, for Chiangmai, Chiengrai, Phayao, Chiengsaen, Thoeng, and Lø were practically depopulated; the people had either emigrated to other places, such as Lampang, the forests and the hills, or been taken forcibly to Burma. Some had been taken as slaves to reward the higher officers in the Burmese army. And some of the Thai Yuan were swept down to Amphoe Saohai, in the province of Saraburi; Amphoe Sikhiu, province of Nakhon Ratchasima; and Amphoe Myang, province of Ratchaburi. Thus, Chiangmai remained literally abandoned for twenty years until rebuilding was begun in B. E. 2339 (A. D. 1796). As for Chiengsaen, Chiengrai, Phayao, Thoeng, and Lø, they were deserted and practically uninhabited for over a hundred years. They have regained population only in recent generations.

In the year B. E. 2339 (A. D. 1796), Phraya Kawila, a nephew of Nai Thip Chang, came back to Chiangmai from Lampang and began to "kep phak saj sa, kep kha saj myang", that is, he tried to collect all the people who were hiding from danger in the forest and up in the hills, and bring them back to Chiangmai as before. Yet, the old population did not have the numbers or energy to keep Chiangmai as strong as it used to be. In an effort to "put people into the town" the Chao or rulers of Chiangmai sent their armies to fight various towns to the north in the Thai Yai (Shan) and Thai Lu country, the Sipsongpanna. All the people in any towns they defeated were taken down to Chiangmai to increase the manpower. Therefore, the Khon Myang who now make up the inhabitants of Chiangmai are either descendants of Thai Yuan, or descendants of Thai Yai, Thai Lu, Thai Yong, and Thai Khoen, who speak with an intonation similar to that of the Thai Yuan of Chiangmai. As time passed, these latter ethnic groups forgot their language and culture and became northern Thai or Khon Myang.

As for those who emigrated or were driven from various places, they often named their new villages after the names of the towns they left, for example, Myang Mang, whose natives were Thai Lu who came from the Sipsongpanna in Yunnan. As further examples, there were new villages or settlements named Myang Sad, Myang Kai, Myang Len, Myang La, Myang Khon, Myang Long, Myang Lai, Myang Yong, Phayak, and Chiengkhang. Such villages around Chiangmai, even though they were originally Thai Lu, Khoen, Yong, or Thai Yai, have now become Thai Yuan, the people calling themselves Khon Myang.

As noted previously, there have been people moving quite recently, into Chiengsaen, Chiengrai, Phayao, and Thoeng. One reason for their immigration into these towns was because the Thai Yai in the Shan States had fallen under British rule. When the Thai Yai people immigrated into the northern border lands of the Thai country, now Amphoe Mae Sai, the British followed them and wanted to ask for their rights in the new and almost deserted land. King Rama V, then, graciously allowed the people from Chiengrai, Chiengsaen, and elsewhere, who had been taken to Chiangmai, to return to their former home towns to resettle them. Later on in the reign of King Rama VII (1925-1935), a highway was built connecting Lampang, Phayao, Chiengrai, and Mae Sai. So the Thai Lu, Thai Khoen, and Thai Yong who had been taken down to Amphoe Doi-Sa-ket or Amphoe San Kampaeng, in Chiangmai Province, and Amphoe Pasang, in Lampun Province, moved their families up to live in the area of Amphoe Phan, Amphoe Myang, Amphoe Mae Chan, and Amphoe Mae Sai in Chiengrai Province. Furthermore, the land around their former towns was dry so that farming was not easy, and some wished to seek better lands to live on. As the fields in Chiengrai Province were better and about three to four times cheaper, they sold their former farms and moved back to the north. It was for the same reason that the Thai Yuan in Amphoe Hang Dong and San Pa Tong in Chiangmai, moved north to live in Amphoe Fang in Chiangmai Province.

According to the legendary histories of Suwannakhomkham and Singhonnawat, the Khom, an ethnic group about which little is known, had come to live in Lannathai more than a thousand years ago. But, at the present time, there are no Khom in Lannathai; even in the time of the Mengrai dynasty there was no mention in the chronicles of the Khom being in Lannathai. It can be assumed that they must have all become Thai Yuan centuries ago. As for the story of Cham Thewi Wong, in which the Lua or Lawa are mentioned, it is said that before the Mon built Lampun, that is, about a thousand years ago, there had been some Lawa already living there. Therefore, the Lawa who lived close to the Thai Yuan apparently adopted their language and culture which finally turned all of them into Thai Yuan. As for others left until the present time, those who live deep in the mountains or in the forests far away are still Lawa; but they are few in number. Besides, there are the Karens,

who were mentioned in the annals not earlier than a hundred years ago; and there are various hill tribes, for example, the Miao, Yao, Lahu, Lisu, and Akha, most of whom are reported to have immigrated to Thailand within the past two or three generations. They are still gradually moving in.

So it can be seen that the migration of the people from one place to another place is like the flow of water in a river. When the old water flows into the sea and disappears, the new water will take its place, and this is the way it always has been and will be. But the names of the rivers have not changed, for they are still Mae Ping, Mae Wang, Mae Yom, or Mae Nam. It is the same with the people; the former natives move on to other places; then other people from other places flow into their place. The newcomers still use the same name as those who lived in old Lannathai, that is, they call themselves "Khon Myang" or "Thai Yuan" as did the older inhabitants. For this reason, it is usually impossible to determine who they were originally. Those who say that they are "Khon Thai" now, once might have been Khom, Mon, Lawa, or other peoples who had been swept from other areas, had forgotten their own language and culture, and turned to the use of Thai. This will be the same in the next fifty years when the Chinese, Indians, Karen, Miao, Lahu, Lisu, and other hill tribes in Thailand gradually lose their identity by relinquishing their language and using Thai instead, which will finally turn them completely into Thai without their knowing it. In the same manner, some of the Thai people who emigrated from the south of China in the Nan Chao period or in other times up to the recent past, may now speak Mon, Burmese, or Khmer, and have already become people of Burma or Cambodia. In some cases these Thai were moved into a country to strengthen its manpower, just as vegetables are poured into a basket.

## PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES OF NORTHERN THAI

By Robert B. Jones

The division of Thailand into four regions--North, Northeast, Central and South--is based on a variety of cultural, historical, and geographic factors but generally speaking the transition from one region to another is gradual. Cultural differences between the regions seldom cluster in such a way as to provide a clear basis for establishing boundaries between the regions, though from center to center of the regions differences may be relatively striking. In large part this is also true of linguistic variation between regions, but Northern Thailand, unlike the other regions, includes certain specific linguistic features that are common to the entire northern region and can thus serve to define the northern dialect and provide the basis for identifying a boundary between the regions of northern and central Thailand.

Kammyang, as the northern dialect<sup>1</sup> is called by the people of the region, includes many subdialects but differences between these subdialects are well outweighed by the similarities between them. Differences between Kammyang and the central, or standard, dialect are manifested in the phonology, grammar, and lexicon and here we shall consider some of the most significant phonological differences.

Phonological features which characterize Kammyang involve differences of tone, of initial consonants, and the interdependence of these two. Here these differences will be described and contrasted with the central Thai dialect as represented by educated Bangkok speech and the Thai writing system. In the writing system the initial consonants are divided into three tonal classes: middle (M), which includes both voiced and voiceless unaspirated stops, /p t t' c k ? b d/; high (H), which includes voiceless aspirated stops and spirants, /p h t h' c h k h f s h/; low (L), which duplicates the high series of consonants, using different symbols, and includes in addition all the sonorants, /p h t h' c h k h f s h w j l r m n ŋ/. Tones are marked by two symbols which are here numbered '1' and '2' or by no symbol, here zero--'0'. In the latter case the tone is inherent in the initial consonant according to its tonal class: the inherent tone of middle and low consonants is mid-level; that inherent in the high consonants is low-rising. Tone marker '1' with middle or high consonants indicates a low tone, but with low consonants

indicates a high-falling tone. Tone marker '2' with middle or high consonants indicates a high-falling tone, but with low consonants indicates a high tone. Thus the high-falling tone of central Thai is marked in two ways depending on the tonal class of the initial consonant symbol.<sup>2</sup> Also, in the central dialect, tone marker '2', whether indicating a high or a falling tone, includes a feature of glottal, or pharyngeal, constriction which is quite strong in the high tone but varies in the falling tone from noticeable constriction in open syllables to slight or no constriction in syllables which terminate with a sonorant. The same is true of tone marker '1' when used with consonants of the low series to indicate the high-falling tone, but not otherwise. Constriction is then a feature of the high-falling and high tones, however they are indicated orthographically.

Except for onomatopoetic words and some foreign words tone markers are not used in words which have a final stop consonant, /ptt k ?/, the tone being determined by the tonal class of the initial consonant, in some cases by the length of the vowel, and the final consonant. Words which have initial consonants of the middle or high series and a final stop have low tone and the length of the vowel is irrelevant, but words which have initial consonants of the low series and a final stop have high-falling tone if the vowel is long (or a cluster), but high tone if the vowel is short.

If this classificatory system is applied to Kammyang one finds the following differences:

(1) The inherent tone of the voiceless unaspirated stops of the middle series, /ptt c k/, is low-rising and falls together with the inherent tone of the high series of consonants. The voiced stops and the glottal stop of the middle series, /b d ?/, have an inherent higher-mid tone and fall together with the low series as they do in the central region. Thus with '0' tone category the middle series is divided between two tones, but with tone markers '1' and '2' the series is not divided.

(2) Tone marker '1' with low consonants indicates a falling tone but one which begins at a lower pitch than in central Thailand and constitutes a separate, sixth, phonetic tone which is not present in the central dialect; nor does this tone contain any constriction.

(3) The stops of the low series are unaspirated, /ptt c k/, with the exception that the velar consonant is often aspirant [x],<sup>3</sup> in the '0' tone of this series and with all tones of the high series.

The differences in the composition of the three tonal classes of initial consonants are summarized in the following table:

Table ICentral

M /b d ʔ p t c k/

H / ph th ch kh f s h/

L / ph th ch kh f s h m n - ŋ w j l r/

Kammyang

M /b d ʔ p t c k/

H / ph th - x f s h/

L / p t c k(ph)<sup>4</sup> - - x f s h m n ñ ŋ w j l -/

In addition to these classificatory differences the phonetic realization of some of the orthographically defined tones is also somewhat different. The following table indicates the shapes of the tones of syllables with smooth finals in the varieties of Kammyang included in this study as compared with those of Bangkok. Glottal constriction is indicated by the symbol /ʔ/.

Table II

	LO MO(vd)	H2, M2	L2	L1	H1, M1	HO MO(v1)
Prae						
Lamphun Chiengrai Nan						
Bandu						
Chiengsaen						
Chiengmai						
	LO MO	L1 H2, M2	L2		H1, M1	HO
Bangkok						

In spite of the variations in shape of some of the tones there is remarkable similarity in the Kammyang group. But there are also some surprising similarities to the central dialect. For example, the tone marked L2 shows the same pattern everywhere in the north with the exception of Chiengmai where it is very much like the central tone. The same is true of the tone marked H2, M2. It is possible that these similarities reflect influence from Bangkok on the tones of Chiengmai, though in the latter case there is considerable variation among the other subdialects of Kammyang as well. Also the lack of constriction in Prae and the unusual splitting of tones in Chiengsaen are puzzling and further investigation may reveal that these features are peculiar to the idiolects of the informants rather than general features of the two areas.

The following table indicates the tonal shapes of syllables which terminate in a stop consonant. It will be noted that here the differences between the central and northern regions seem to be less pronounced in syllables which contain a long vowel, the principal difference being that the falling tone begins at a considerably lower pitch in the North. In syllables which contain short vowels and initial consonants of the low series the difference is also largely one of pitch but in all cases the pitch is relatively high. It is in short syllables which have initial consonants of the high and middle series that the difference is most striking for with these there is a difference of contour as well as of pitch. In the table (a) indicates syllables with final /-ʔ/, (b) indicates those with final /ptt k/.

Table III

	L-VVS	M-VVS H-VVS	L-VS	M-VS H-VS
Prae				
Lamphun				
Chiengmai				
Chiengsaen				
Nan				
Bandu				
Chiengrai				
Bangkok				

Phonological data of this kind is needed for many more localities before the southern boundary of Kammyang can be precisely defined but the approximate linguistic boundary appears to be between the 17th and 18th parallels of north latitude. It is hoped that more information from this area will soon be available.

#### Footnotes

1. Data on the northern dialect were collected during the spring of 1964 and are presented here as an aid in identifying the region of Northern Thailand in which the Bennington-Cornell Hill Tribes Survey was carried out by means of certain formal linguistic features which may complement other criteria.
2. The system also includes a formal means of converting low consonants to high so that it is possible to have all five tones with syllables whose initial consonants belong either to the low or the high series. Those which belong to the middle series normally occur in only three tones.
3. [x] can be analyzed phonemically as a stop, /kh/, or as aspirant but the important point here is the distinct phonetic difference.
4. (ph) is included here to indicate the occurrence of a few items in this series which have aspirated stop initialst Such instances are apparently the result of earlier consonant clusters which later lost the second member of the cluster leaving an aspirated initial stop. Not included here is a voiceless palatal stop, /ch/, which does occur occasionally in borrowed words which have not been completely assimilated. Bangkok /ch/ of the high series is /s/ in the North; /r/ is /h/.

## TWO GRAMMATICAL FEATURES OF NORTHERN THAI

By Herbert C. Purnell, Jr.

A comparison of the grammars of Central Thai and Northern Thai<sup>1</sup> is not nearly so productive as a comparison of their phonological systems and lexicons because the two grammars are almost identical. Nevertheless, it is of some interest to explore those few places at which the two systems diverge. This paper is concerned with two of those points of divergence: word order and the use of unrestricted intensifiers.

### 1. Differences in Word Order

In the two examples of different word order cited below the construction occurring in Central Thai (CT) as head ← modifier occurs in Northern Thai (NT) as modifier → head

#### 1.1. Compounds with náam 'water'

In CT, compounds with náam<sup>2</sup> are formed in two ways: either with náam as the first form or with it as the second form. The resulting compounds can be divided into several semantic groups as follows:

/náam \_\_\_/

a) 'the liquid (secretion) of  
(made from) \_\_\_'

náamnóm 'milk'  
náamphýŋ 'honey'  
náamplaa 'fish sauce'  
náamtaa 'tears'  
náamsôm 'orange juice'

b) 'water which proceeds from  
(out of) \_\_\_'

náamkók 'tap water'  
náambòò 'well water'  
náambaadaan 'underground  
water'  
náamprápaa 'city water'

c) 'water used for \_\_\_'

náamkin 'drinking water'  
náamcím 'sauce (to dip)'  
náamaw 'intoxicating drink  
(to intoxicate)ó

/\_\_\_ náam<sup>3</sup>/

a') 'a main (chief) \_\_\_'

mĕĕnáam 'river'

b') 'a \_\_\_ where water is located  
or used'

kóknaam 'a tap, faucet'  
bòónaam 'a well for water'  
mòónaam 'a water pot'  
kĕĕwnáam 'a drinking glassó  
hòŋnaam 'bathroom'

c') 'to \_\_\_ with (to) water (lit.  
or fig.)'

rót náam 'to douse, water'  
pen náam 'fluent (to be)ó  
pân náam 'to concoct a story  
(to mold)ó

/náam \_\_\_/

/\_\_\_ náam/

d) 'water which is in the process of \_\_\_ing'

d') 'to \_\_\_ (in the) water'

náamkhÿn 'flood tide'  
 náamtòk 'waterfalls'  
 náamlòŋ 'ebb tide'  
 náamthúam 'floodwaters'  
 náamwon 'whirlpool'  
 náamjǒj 'gastric juice'

ʔáapnáam 'to bathe'  
 tòknáam 'to fall in the water'  
 còm náam 'to sink'  
 wáajnáam 'to swim'  
 damnáam 'to dive'

e) 'water characterized by being \_\_\_'

e') 'water animals similar to \_\_\_'

náamkheŋ 'ice (hard)'  
 náamsôm 'vinegar (sour)'  
 náamsùk 'boiled water (ripe)'  
 náamrǒn 'hot water (hot)'

máanáam 'seahorse (horse)'  
 mɛɛwnáam 'seal, sea lion (cat)'  
 lûuknáam 'mosquito larva (child, young)'

f) 'the manifestation (expression) of the \_\_\_'

f') 'the \_\_\_ of the water'

náamsiãŋ 'tone (voice)'  
 náamcaj 'feelings (heart)'  
 náammyy 'deed, action (hand)'  
 náamnâa 'looks (face)'

ʔajnáam 'steam, water vapor'  
 paaknáam 'mouth of a river'  
 fáŋnáam 'riverbank'  
 thaãŋnáam 'waterway'  
 fǒŋnáam 'sponge (foam)'

g) 'water which has been \_\_\_ed'

náamchÿam 'syrup (to candy)'  
 náamklân 'distilled water'  
 náamkháãŋ 'dew (to remain behind)'

h) 'the result (effect) of \_\_\_ing'

náamnàk 'weight (to be heavy)'  
 náamʔòt náamthon 'patience (to refrain ... to endure)'  
 náamphák náamrɛɛŋ 'effort (to rest ... power)'

The differences in word order in NT involve only a' and b' above as can be seen from the following list:

<u>CT</u>	<u>NT</u>
náamɛɛnáam	náamɛɛ 'river': náamkhǒŋ 'Mekong River' náamkok 'Mae Kok River'
kǒknáam	náamkǒk 'metal cup or water dipper'
bǒcnáam	náambǒc 'well for water'
mǒcnáam	náammǒc 'water pot' náammǒckín 'pot for drinking water' <sup>4</sup> náammǒcsüa? 'pot for "usable" water (not for drinking)'

CTNT

khonthoo	náamtǒn 'pitcher, water jug'
kràbuaj	náambuaj 'coconut-shell water dipper'
khǔ <sup>?</sup>	náamthúu <sup>?</sup> 'woven water bucket'
thǎ <sup>?</sup>	náamkhǔ <sup>?</sup> 'metal pail or water bucket' <sup>5</sup>
thǒ <sup>?</sup>	náamlin 'drain for water'

However, there are other words, in which one would expect a difference of order, which do not change.

hǒ <sup>?</sup> náam	'bathroom'
ha <sup>?</sup> náam	'water trough' (CT ra <sup>?</sup> n 'groove, trough')
há <sup>?</sup> annáam	'stump or shelf on which a water pot is kept'
h <sup>?</sup> éwnáam	'weighted pole with bucket for drawing well water' (CT r <sup>?</sup> éw 'snare, trap')
b <sup>?</sup> òknáam	'bamboo section for carrying water in' (CT krà <sup>?</sup> bòk '(bamboo) cylinder open at one end')

### 1.2. Compounds with cáat- 'very'

NT cáat- is a bound morpheme meaning 'very, really, a lot's'. Semantically it corresponds to CT máak 'many, very', but it bears a phonetic-semantic relation to CT cát 'strong, intense, extreme(ly)'. A difference of word order is involved since both CT words follow the words they modify whereas NT cáat- precedes the words it modifies. But there has also been a semantic shift (compare note 5 above). For example,

NTCT

páaksat	'to have a sharp tongue'	páakcát	'to have a sharp tongue'
cáatkem	'very salty'	khemcát	'very salty'
		lomcát	'to be windy'
		phaajú <sup>?</sup> cát	'to be stormy'
		ceencát (cátceen)	'experienced'
cáatkǎj	'very far'	klaj máak	'very far'
cáatlam	'very tasty'	ár <sup>?</sup> òj máak	'very tasty'

The relation of NT cáat- to CT máak is further seen in the fact that cáat- occurs only with verbal adjectives, the type of construction into which máak frequently enters. On the other hand, the relation between cáat- and CT cát is somewhat clearer after the morphophonemic rule of the loss of vowel length in the initial constituent of a compound is applied, for the phonetic output of cáat- is [cáts~ cǎt]s. Additional examples of cáat- are given in the next section.

## 2. Differences in the Use of Unrestricted Intensifiers

Northern Thai unrestricted intensifiers<sup>6</sup> share the semantic domain of 'very, much, many, a lot, intensely, extremely' although they do not all have the same privileges of occurrence. The line between grammar and lexicon is not clearly defined at this points. Nevertheless, the presence

of some syntactic features allows the intensifiers to be included in this paper. A fairly complete list of NT unrestricted intensifiers is given here with some possible CT equivalents supplied by informants and dictionaries. A short discussion of some of the more interesting features follows the list.

<u>NT</u>	<u>CT</u>
a) /câat-/	
1) câatkem 'very salty'	khemcât
2) câatdii 'very good'	dii mâak
3) câatmúan 'lots of fun'	sânuk mâak
4) câatlâaj 'many, lots'	mâak nâk
b) /-kam léew/	
1) bôdâj kam léew 'not at all'	mâj dâj dêt khâat
2) bôdii kam léew 'no good at all'	mâj dii nêe noon
3) hoon kam léew 'really hot'	roon ciŋ
c) /-lâm paj/	
1) hoon lâam paj 'too hot'	roon (kəən) paj
2) nâk lâam paj 'too many'	mâak (kəən) paj
3) pɛɛŋ lâam paj 'too expensive'	phɛɛŋ (kəən) paj
d) /-nakkeɛ/	
1) nâk nâkkeɛ 'lots, very many'	mâak nâk
2) hâaj nâkkeɛ 'really naughty'	son tem thîi; son aw kaan
3) kâj nâkkeɛ 'really far'	klaj mâak ciŋ
e) /-pâlâm, -pâlón, -pâlóm/	
1) mii ãñãŋ pâlâm 'what all do you have?'	mii àraj tâŋ mâak tâŋ maaj
2) ãñãŋ pâlón '(what) all do you have?'	jàaŋ nîi àraj mâak maaj
3) mii pâlón 'there's a great deal'	mii mâak maaj
4) nîi nîi? ãñãŋ kân pâlóm 'what in the world's going on here?'	thîinîi tham àraj kan jaaŋŋi lâw
f) /-putthóo, -pàtho?/	
1) lam pŭtthóo 'really tasty'	àrɔɔj mâag ciŋciŋ
2) it pŭtthóo 'really bushed'	nýaj càtaaj
3) pɛɛŋ pàtho? 'much too expensive'	phɛɛŋ mâak ciŋciŋ; phɛɛŋ lýa kəən

NTCT

g) /-pələ́ə, -pələ́ə pətə́ə,  
-pələ́ə', -pələ́ə' pətə́ə,  
-pələ́ə khíitə́ə/

- 1) mii pələ́ə 'there's lots'
- 2) mii khon pələ́ə' 'there's lots  
of people'
- 3) mii ànāṅ pələ́ə pətə́ə 'what all  
do you have?'

mii jə́'jé'/; mii mâak maaj  
mii khon jə́'jé'  
mii àraj jə́'jé'?

h) /-tɛ́ɛ, -tɛ́ɛtɛ́ɛ,  
-tɛ́', -tɛ́'tɛ́'/

- 1) mũan tɛ́ɛ nɔ́ɔ 'great fun, isn't  
it?'
- 2) ṅaam tɛ́ɛtɛ́ɛ 'beautiful'
- 3) lăaj tɛ́'tɛ́' 'lots, scads'

sànúk lýa kəən ná?  
sũaj ciŋciŋ  
mâak ciŋciŋ; mâak maaj

i) /...tɛ́ɛ...wâa/

- 1) lam tɛ́ɛ lam wâa 'scrumptious'
- 2) it tɛ́ɛ it wâa 'bushed'
- 3) nak tɛ́ɛ nak wâa 'very heavy'

àrɔ́ɔj lýa kəən  
nyaj mâak ciŋciŋ  
nak lýa kəən

j) /-thýtthýt, -thýtthýt/

- 1) hɔ́ɔn thýtthýt 'really hot'
- 2) khon maa lăaj thýtthýt 'lots of  
people coming from all  
directions'
- 3) mii ṅua thýtthýt 'there are oxen  
all over the place'

rɔ́ɔn càtaaj jùulɛ́ɛw  
khon maa tem paj mòt  
mii wua tem paj mòt

k) /-àlắ?/

- 1) kăj àlắ' 'very far'
- 2) dii àlắ' 'very good'
- 3) năk àlắ' 'very much, a lot'

klaj mâak  
dii mâak  
mâak năk

From the above examples, the following observations can be made:

1. câat (a) is the only unrestricted intensifier which precedes the head; all the others follow the head.

2. Most intensifiers occur only with verbal adjectives. However, (e) and (g) occur with ănāṅ and other types of verbs, and (j) occurs with nouns and verbal adjectives.

3. NT pútthóo (f) is used both as an intensifier and as an exclamation. CT phutthoo has only the latter function. This is another case in which a NT word has the form of one CT word but the function of another.

4. NT téé appears to correspond to CT théé. However, the CT word is used as a verb or secondary verb affirming the truth of the statement (e.g. thían théé; théé cín)<sub>o</sub> not as an intensifier. NT téé is used as an exclamation (téé! 'Right!'), an adverb (téé pèn bəpaj 'Actually, he didn't go. '), or an intensifier (háaj téé 'really naughty'). The use of the combination ...téé...wâa is completely absent in CT.

5. Although not an intensifier, NT lăaj deserves a brief comment since it too has a different function from its CT counterpart. CT lăaj is a number-word, and as such usually is followed by a classifier. NT lăaj retains this function, but is also frequently used as a verbal adjective with the sense of CT mâak. For example,

<u>NT</u>	<u>CT</u>
câatlăaj 'very many, lots'	mâak nâk
lăaj tĕ'tĕ? 'lots, scads'	mâak cín; mâak maa
khon maa lăaj thýtthýt 'lots of people coming from all directions'	khon maa tem paj môt
bəpəp lăaj tâwhy 'not very many'	mâj khôj mâak thâwraj

In conclusion, although the grammars of Central Thai and Northern Thai are almost identical, an examination of two points at which they differ has revealed divergent word order involving compounds with nâam and câat, both with high functional loads, and shifts of function and semantic domain (although still overlapping in some respects) of unrestricted intensifiers<sub>o</sub>. A study of the other points of differences between the two grammars should uncover other interesting features.

#### NOTES

1. The data presented here were gathered in the Provinces of Chiangrai and Chiangmai between 1961 and 1963 when the writer was a missionary with the Overseas Missionary Fellowship.
2. The symbols used are generally those of Haas (1964)<sub>o</sub>. However, those for NT tones are as follows: /à/ low; /ã/ rise; /â/ mid fall; /á/ high long fall; /ã/ high short fall; /a/ (unmarked) high short rise on syllables with short vowel and stop final, mid or mid rise elsewhere.
3. Some groups are paired to show a semantic correlation; others are paired only for the sake of convenience.
4. Note the arrangement of the constituents. These words are from nâamkĭn (drinking water)<sub>o</sub>, nâamsĭa? ("usable" water) plus mĭə (pot)<sub>o</sub>.
5. There has been a semantic shift here. CT khŭ? is a woven basket covered with pitch. There is a NT word khŭ? which means 'a very large, round woven basket in which the rice stalks are beaten', but nâamkhŭ? is a metal bucket, whereas the woven water bucket is nâamthŭ?.
6. Unrestricted intensifiers "have a general use throughout a class or subclass of words", unlike restricted intensifiers which occur with a limited number of words within a class or subclass (Purnell 1963:115)<sub>o</sub>.

## STRUCTURE OF THE MIANG ECONOMY

By Edward Van Roy

The forests covering the slopes of Thailand's northern hinterlands shelter groves of tea bushes (Camellia sinensis, var. assamica). These plants are found growing wild in propitious places or planted here and in neighboring countries. Thai and other ethnic groups inhabiting areas from Assam, through Burma, North Thailand, Yunnan, and Laos, into northern Vietnam manufacture from the leaves of this plant a delicacy known in Thai as miang. Unlike tea, which is the infusion, miang is a preparation of steamed and fermented tea leaves consumed as a masticatory. It is chewed as a stimulant by young and old, men and women, during respite from heavy labor as well as after meals and on social occasions.

Its widespread consumption throughout North Thailand makes miang production and trade remunerative occupations. Though its manufacture and distribution have for centuries constituted an important regional industry, the impact of Western habits and ideas on the regions consumption pattern spells the industry's impending decline. In the larger towns of North Thailand it can already be observed that the youth and educated classes have turned away from miang consumption. Though this change is evident in the towns, it has not yet filtered far into the countryside. The miang producer has not yet been noticeably affected by Westernizing influences working in the urban areas. His life continues to be patterned by institutions endogenous in the traditional Thai agrarian environment.

The intention of this article is to interpret the traditional miang economy at the village level and in its social context. "Orthodox" economic theory is here avoided as a tool of analysis because it has been deemed inapplicable outside the culturally-defined bounds of the society which it was originally devised to describe. The miang economy is here defined not as a resource-allocating market mechanism but more broadly as the complex of social institutions and technological patterns which directs the process of interaction between the cultivator and his environment providing him with want-satisfying goods and services.

The structure of this economy may be exposed through the device of documenting an "ideal" miang cultivator's biography in its economic aspects. The term "ideal" is here employed primarily in Max Weber's sense as a synthesization of diverse individual cases into a "mental construct" permitting the analyst the convenience of a simplified or "pure" image, which directs his attention to crucial segments and articulations in the empirically complex structure. It is to be remembered that this biography is not descriptive of the "typical" cultivator, nor does it identify any but the most significant economic aspects of the miang cultivator's life. The biography is based on data collected from over 120 households, residents of Tambon Inthakhin, Amphoe Mae Thaeng, Changwat Chiangmai, between November 1963 and March 1964.

The biography is concerned with the "ideal" in a second sense, also--with the vision of good fortune entertained by members of the miang-cultivating community. The economic values of Thai peasant life are based on land, land capable of supporting the household on its annual rice harvest. Acquisition of adequate paddy fields is the primary economic problem; once acquired, economic security is virtually guaranteed, and motivations become focused in other directions. Until recent decades rice land was plentiful--thus, the oft-deplored "lethargy" and "absence of economic motivation" among the Thai peasantry mentioned by Western observers. Today free paddy land is no longer readily available to the lowland peasant; the wet-rice land frontier has closed before him. For him the only manner of acquiring fields is through purchase, and purchase implies payment. Miang cultivators cherish as their ultimate economic goal the accumulation of sufficient savings to make possible the acquisition of paddy land, but only in relatively few cases do they realize this end. The biography of the landless peasant who migrates to the miang gardens and years later emerges as a wealthy landowner thus represents the ideal of the typical miang cultivator.

For the lowland wet-rice cultivator, or the offspring of a family of paddy farmers, the transition to miang cultivation is not merely a step into a new occupation, it is a journey into a new life. Miang gardens are located high in the hills (at altitudes over 800 meters) and the transition, therefore, implies a physical and social dislocation of many kilometers from the ancestral lowland community (located in the valley of the Mae Ping at an altitude of less than 400 meters) with its political, familial, economic, and religious ties, its conveniences, and its security.

Why, then, do lowlanders willingly undertake the transition? The reasons seem traditionally to have been the lure of adventure in the temporary wilderness life, and the

possible fortunes to be made in the preparation of the product for sale to merchants in the market centers of the North. With the present century a more powerful motive has been added. As the lowland population has expanded and begun to press on the margins of available wet-rice land, the per-capita subsistence base has been adversely affected. Young men in increasing numbers have found their inherited fields too small to sustain their households, or have found themselves without any fields at all. Among the few alternative income sources open to the dispossessed is the miang industry.

Our "ideal" landless peasant, newly-married and in his early twenties, turns to the promise of employment in the hills and the miang industry after months of frustration seeking wages in the valley's paddy fields. His immediate hope is to find work as a miang picker, woodcutter, and assistant on ox caravans transporting miang and rice between the hills and the valley. Recognizing that employment is most readily available from kinsmen and past acquaintances, the immigrants search out and apply to those miang cultivators with origins in the couple's own valley community. Hamlets of miang cultivators reflect this tendency in that each is composed of a cluster of households with common lowland origins. If work is available, the couple remains in the hill community, perhaps reconstructing for their own dwelling the hut of former hill residents who have retired back to the valley, perhaps being accepted temporarily into the home of their employer and kinsman.

Labor requirements fluctuate seasonally with the tea plant's cycle of leaf regeneration. Four rounds of picking and pickling, or harvest seasons, highlight the agricultural year during the months of March-April, June-July, August-September, and December. In all, about 100 days of harvesting are involved; at an average of fifty bundles of miang picked per man-day and a wage of one baht (about U.S. \$.05) per ten bundles, the couple manages to earn approximately 1,000 baht per year as pickers. With luck, they can augment this income a bit with intermittent earnings from the husband's work as an ox caravan assistant and from the couple's labor in wood- and bamboo-cutting. If wage-labor opportunities appear in the valley, the couple soon learns of them and may decide to divide their attention between the hills and the lowlands in accordance with the overlapping agricultural calendars of the miang and the rice crops, thereby further adding to their earnings.

The couple's subsistence expenditures equal their basic annual earnings of 1,000 baht. At the bottom rung of the economic ladder, they can hardly afford the "conveniences" of Thai rural life, such as shoes and sneakers, meat and fish to supplement the daily rice diet, mattresses, a radio. If they beget children their hardships are multiplied; partly to offset the budgetary problem, children are often sent to stay with relatives or friends in the lowlands.

Following several years as wage-laborers in the miang economy, the couple may decide to abandon the discomforts and isolation encountered in the hills and return to the more congenial social climate, if not the healthier economic environment, of the valley. Or, the two may continue, out of sheer inertia or absence of alternative economic opportunities, to subsist for the remainder of their life span as wage-earners in the miang economy. Or, they may decide to hunt for an opportunity to rent a miang garden and thus turn to miang production on a semi-independent basis. The last course is chosen by the "ideal" couple. Only when a garden becomes available, from a retiring producer or from a well-to-do household which itself has more gardens than it can manage, can the couple make this last choice; such opportunities do not often appear, and many years' wait as wage-laborers may be necessary before the choice is finally presented.

Miang gardens range in size from one rai (0.4 acre) to over fifteen rai each, but output per rai varies significantly with the spacing and age of bushes, hill slope, exposure to sunlight and degree of incline, and soil conditions, so that the value of a garden is never estimated by the cultivator in terms of its area or number of bushes. Rather, value is stated in annual miang output, and rent is calculated as a portion of the average annual output, often a portion as high as half the crop. Garden output of 10,000 bundles of miang may be considered representative (this output being equal to the annual picking capacity of the renting couple); at an index price of four baht for every ten bundles sold, this represents a gross annual income of 4,000 baht. A rent of half the crop leaves the cultivator with a 2,000 baht net income, a situation twice as attractive as the one he faced as a wage-laborer, not to mention the additional benefits accruing from the social elevation.

Subsistence expenditures of the Thai agrarian population are typical of the peoples of underdeveloped economies generally in high inelasticity. As the miang cultivator's income rises with his move from subsistence wage-earner to share-cropping tenant, he realizes savings, which he "invests" primarily in assets that can be easily liquidated, that appreciate in value with time, and that provide supplementary sources of income. A portion of the increased income is spent on consumer goods--lottery tickets, kerosene lanterns, cosmetics--but the marginal propensity to spend on such items is low among hill residents.

Oxen are the asset in which the garden tenant most often invests. They are readily available in valley markets as well as from his neighbors in the miang community and are readily salable. A young ox may be bought for 500 baht. It requires little care and forages for itself in the miang gardens and nearby fields and forest. Within five years it may be resold for double its purchase price. The ox can also

be used by the gardener as a pack animal, transporting his crops to the valley and bringing back rice and other consumables, thereby eliminating transport fees the gardener would otherwise be forced to pay caravan operators. A single ox may earn the gardener 350 baht per year as a pack animal. As additional oxen are acquired, the gardener can earn supplementary revenues in transporting miang and rice for his neighbors.

As the gardener continues to accumulate savings and transfer them into oxen and other forms of wealth which are "profitable" or can be liquidated (such as gold and pigs), he eventually reaches the point where he possesses sufficient savings to move above tenant status through purchase of his own miang garden. The rentier whose bushes he is presently working may be willing to sell them to him, or perhaps the cultivator will purchase another garden in addition to the one he now rents, hiring wage-labor to aid him in the additional harvesting task. The purchase price of a representative garden may here be hazarded as 8,000 baht; but, because gardens rarely come up for sale and cover a wide range of sizes and crop yields, significant deviations from the "normal" price may be expected to occur.

Because gardens are not often available for purchase, the cultivator must be prepared for a long wait before his opportunity appears. He may instead plant seedlings of his own on a cleared hillside near his hamlet. With careful tending to prevent the seedlings from being destroyed by wandering livestock or displaced by fresh forest growth, the new garden will reach maturity within ten years.

The miang garden owner-operator has at this juncture already attained an enviable position within the hill community, a degree of opulence, security, and prestige not reached by many hill dwellers. If it is the garden he formerly sharecropped that he has purchased, his annual income has risen to 4,000 baht. But garden owners who earn 10,000 baht or more annually are not unknown. If the gardener's household has increased to, say, four children, his annual subsistence expenditures have moved up to an estimated 2,500 baht, leaving several thousand, at least, for supplementary expenditure. Clearly, the cultivator has now freed himself from the "low level equilibrium trap," the vicious circle of grinding, self-perpetuating poverty into which fall many of those who migrate to the hills in search of employment.

As before, the frugal cultivator may continue to invest his savings in oxen, rebuilding the herd he liquidated in purchasing his garden. During succeeding years he accumulates additional savings; as opportunities reappear he may enter into negotiations to purchase other miang stands, expanding annual production and income and thereby also raising the

likelihood of further expansion. With his growing operation the cultivator encounters the problem of coping with increasing complexities of administration. To ease the managerial burden he may decentralize, renting out to landless neighbors gardens he previously worked with wage-labor.

The dream of returning to the lowland and the irrigated-rice economy as a riceland owner, a peer among the farmers of his ancestral valley community, now approaches realization. The miang cultivator now turned rentier has in the course of a generation acquired sufficient wealth to purchase rice fields, which sell in this part of Chiangmai Province in the neighborhood of 3,000 baht per rai. He acquires them gradually as his accumulated savings permit, a rai or two at a time. These fields he rents out to sharecroppers, as he does his miang gardens, in anticipation of the day when he will himself return to live in the valley.

The age of retirement from the upland life is reached, as the hill dweller is fond of saying, when he grows so old he can no longer climb the mountains; for some this age is reached as early as their forties; others remain in the hills into their sixties. Then the miang cultivator establishes a compound for his household in the lowland community and takes up life as a paddy cultivator. His miang gardens he may leave under the supervision of his sons, or he may rent them all out to his former upland neighbors.

The hill dweller's dream has been realized--his ideal has been achieved. But the biography of the "ideal" miang cultivator includes yet a further stage of development, one which illuminates for us another dimension of the life of the miang community. As a relatively successful villager, a riceland owner-operator and miang garden rentier, he has not only improved his economic situation but has raised his social status to a position of leadership in the community. Neighbors now turn to him with their problems; the community calls on him as its spokesman; friends rely on him for employment and seek loans from him to finance undertakings of their own. He comes to be referred to and addressed by the honorific title, pō liang, or "father supporter".

From the tenants of his upland gardens he receives each season miang shipments as rental payments. These loads may be transported down the hills on the pō liang's own oxen. They may be immediately disposed of to local merchants or may be stored by the pō liang in anticipation of merchandising the product himself directly to retailers in village market places or to wholesalers in the larger centers of distribution, Mae Thaeng, Mae Rim, or Chiangmai. His tenants and neighboring independent cultivators welcome the opportunity to dispose of their crops through him, for the

establishment of a dependable sales channel and the strengthening of the link between them and their patron enhances their economic security.

The p<sub>o</sub> liang, in turn, finds the role of miang merchandising intermediary a remunerative occupation. He has received a portion of his miang stock free-of-charge as rental payment. The remainder he has purchased at a price of .40 baht per bundle. The entire stock is sold by him at prices ranging generally between .50 and .70 baht per bundle. In addition he earns standard transport fees for shipping the product down from the hills and on to the market centers. On his caravans' journeys up to the miang gardens he may transport milled rice (perhaps grown in his fields and ground in his mill) and other consumer goods which have been requested by his tenants and other clients.

The p<sub>o</sub> liang-miang cultivator's economic relationship is complicated by an intricate network of credit arrangements. Rice is furnished tenants in anticipation of coming miang harvests. Miang households leave earnings in the hands of the p<sub>o</sub> liang for safekeeping. The p<sub>o</sub> liang leaves oxen in the care of trusted clients, receiving a share of transport earnings. Clients borrow funds with which to purchase oxen or gardens. Clients' adolescent children may reside at the home of the p<sub>o</sub> liang and labor in his rice fields or as his caravan assistants.

Unlike the money-lender, the p<sub>o</sub> liang maintains no detailed accounts of the myriad credit relationships in which he is involved; he maintains no strict interest rate schedule, fails to specify due dates on the repayment of loans, and does not require collateral. A bookkeeping system, wherein economic obligations are entered in cash values and balanced against one another to derive net gains and losses, is alien to the patron-client relationship which here prevails. Rather, the network of credit transactions is systematized through a traditionally established order of equivalencies. The garden tenant, for instance, receives consumer goods from his patron in advance of the harvest; his obligations in return include the understanding that he will sell his coming harvest to the patron at a price which, because of his acceptance of the position of client, he is not permitted to bargain for energetically (according to the dictates of customary behavior in the presence of one's patron). Remuneration often five percent below the bargainable price is the result. If the client defaults on the custom by disposing of a portion of his crop to other miang dealers the patron has a variety of powerful expedients with which to counteract such a maneuver, all related to the relatively unstable economic and social

position of his client: viz., the client may suddenly find himself facing a reduced miang price, or may find the rice furnished in advance or the next harvest of low quality or late in arrival. In such a predicament he will have few avenues of escape, for other local pō liang will not be eager to accept a client of bad reputation, nor will they be willing to risk the ill will of their peers by competing away clientele. Similarly, if the patron fails to observe the established obligations of his position, he may find his hard-earned status as pō liang decline as the news of ungraciousness in dealing with his inferiors spreads about the community.

The pattern of involvements existing at each moment between the pō liang and each of his clients is, in other words, complex, including accumulated economic credits, social obligations, and debts of friendship. Strict account of financial transactions within this network of indebtedness cannot be kept, for they are inextricably bound up in the pattern of the larger whole. The economic relationship is here indistinguishable as a discrete body of phenomena; it can be properly viewed only as embedded in the broader socio-economic bond maintained between the patron and his client through the continuous interchange of goods and services, beneficence and homage, friendship and trust, a reciprocative system based on traditionally established equivalencies.

In summary, the structure of the miang economy may be interpreted in terms of its two fundamental institutions, hierarchy and reciprocity. An ascending social scale is presented along which each individual is positioned as superior to those below and inferior to those above. The more attractive stations, superior positions on the socio-economic scale, act as motivation to each individual to seek an occupational ranking carrying with it higher social status as well as increased economic welfare. Also, and here lies the directly pertinent link between the two institutions, the hierarchy of occupational rankings, more broadly stated as the hierarchy of socio-economic status positions, defines the equivalencies, or rates of exchange, governing reciprocal relations between any two individuals. In the biographical scheme sketched here we have emphasized the reciprocal situation existing between the economic paragon (at least, of the village community) and his miang garden tenant. To a less extreme and correspondingly less observable degree, hierarchy patterns reciprocity between all members of the community.

### A concluding note

Prior investigations of Thai village life have dwelt on reciprocity and hierarchy, but have treated them as individual phenomena. Each has been identified as a stabilizing and integrating element in social organization not only in the Thai setting but in social situations discovered in diverse cultures. As observed in the miang economy, these two institutions are not individuated but act synchronously to form a discrete social structure. Such social institutionalization of the economic process has frequently been defined as the evidence of primitivism, as the identifying characteristic of a traditionalist society, and has as a result been pointed to as the critical barrier to economic development, and as the discontinuity serving to bar the peasant world from the transition to industrialization and sustained economic growth.

In stressing the nature of reciprocity and hierarchy as essentially alien to the industrial economy, indicating they act as barriers or discontinuities forestalling development, investigators have perhaps performed a disservice to policy-makers, placing in their minds the notion--may we say misconception?--that a rising level of economic welfare must be accompanied if not preceded by institutional transformation. From this conception of the development process emerges the dilemma that the success of the economist is gained at the expense of social dislocation on a massive scale.

An alternative technique of initiating economic development has yet to be tested. Having identified the guiding forces of the economic system, the technician may have available the knowledge necessary to raise welfare levels in terms of the existing social structure.

In the case of the northern Thai peasant economy, and, more specifically, the miang economy, the question becomes: Must economic development entail transformation from the fundamental structural components, hierarchy and reciprocity, to market institutions, or can development be integrated into the existing social framework? Subsidiary questions include: Does the economic program integrated into the existing institutional structure permit as rapid a rate of growth, as self-sustaining a process of growth, as administratively-feasible a form of growth as does the program disruptive of the going social system?

In the miang industry is seen an excellent potential test case. The miang industry faces declining product demand, decline which will accelerate as Western influences continue to penetrate the region comprising its consumer market. It can be foreseen that clusters of upland communities will

gradually abandon the hills and let their gardens return to wilderness. Yet, miang bushes are tea bushes, and Thailand is a net importer of tea. Small holdings are efficient in both these industries and both employ similar, though not identical, technologies. Herein lies an excellent opportunity, as yet barely exploited, not only for Thailand to develop a fresh agricultural sector in the North, but for the social sciences to carry on a controlled experiment in search of answers to the unanswered questions posed above.

## HEADMANSHIP AMONG THE LAHU NA

By M. R. Wutilert Devakul

I became interested in the Lahu for several reasons. Lahu from Burma had a major part in creating trouble along the northern border by robbing tribal villages in Thai territory and by trying to persuade Lahu in Thailand to move back to Burma to form a new state. I am also interested in Lahu adaptation to the social, economic, and political conditions of Thailand, for one of the problems of the national government is the better integration of tribal people into the Thai nation. For these reasons I chose to study their leadership.

There are several varieties of Lahu in Thailand, among them the Lahu Na (Black Lahu), Lahu Nyi (Red Lahu), and Lahu Shi (Yellow Lahu). Each tribe has its own language, costume, religion and various other customs. I studied the leadership of two Lahu Na villages near the Chiengdao Tribal Welfare Station of the Department of Public Welfare in Amphoe Mae Thaeng, Chiangmai Province. Both were Christian villages, the inhabitants or their parents having been converted by American Baptist missionaries while living in Burma soon after the turn of the century.

The first families of these Lahu villages came to Thailand in 1954 because of political unrest in Burma. Mr. Harold Young, a former Baptist missionary, met them near Muang Fang on the Thai side of the border and arranged with Mr. Prasit Phoomchusri to invite them to live on his tea estate just south of Chiengdao. During the next few years other families came to join them, and they formed a large village. At first Mr. Prasit employed them to pick tea. They also cleared new plots of land for growing upland rice, pumpkins, gourds, and various other vegetables for their own subsistence. The rice they produced was usually sufficient only for their own consumption needs, and few families raised enough extra to sell. They also obtained meat on their weekly hunts which usually began on Friday night and continued through Saturday, for these people had come to regulate events by the Christian calendar, in which Sunday was reserved for rest and religious ceremonies.

In 1961 the Tribal Welfare Station was established in this region in order to help raise the standard of living of

tribal people in the vicinity. The Station superintendent advised the Lahu to grow coffee. Unfortunately, the market price of the coffee was so low that the Lahu gave up this occupation after a very brief try. In 1962, partly because of insufficient lands, about half of the households of the original village moved, establishing a new village on nearby land made available to them by the Tribal Welfare Stations

After this separation the original village, Ban Pang Huei That, had, in December, 1963, 21 households and 107 people, while the second village, Ban Pang Jaj Sukt, had 15 households and 106 people. Although separate and independent, the two settlements were in contact with each other through frequent visiting back and forth. They were separated by about one hour's walk over mountain trails. The population of Ban Pang Huei That had three houses with non-Lahu residents, while Ban Pang Jaj Suk contained only Lahu Na families. Both villages had churches where weekly services were held

In Burma the Lahu were governed under a local Burmese official known by the Shan term Sawbwa (Thai: Chao Fa, or "heavenly lord"). He gave his approval to the election of headmen and issued them certificates verifying their positions as headmen and authorizing them to judge cases of civil dispute. He told each headman the total amount of taxes to be collected (3 to 4 rupees for a small household, and 6 for a large one) and received this tax money, usually about 500 rupees per village. He then returned 10 percent of the tax money to the headman. In addition, he called out the villagers to work on the roads, where they served without pay under the direction of their headman. The local lord further provided security protection and heard disputes which could not be settled in the villages

In Thailand, the two villages theoretically fall under the jurisdiction of the Thai headman of their mu ban or local areas. Since they live near the Tribal Welfare Station, they also fall under its jurisdiction and in fact have considerably more frequent dealings with the superintendent of the Station than with the Thai village headman. Ordinarily the Welfare Station officer mediates between the Lahu and the Thai villages [for instance, in disputes over theft of livestock and destruction of crops which complicate relations between the Thai and Lahu villages--Eds.]

Lahu villages have a religious as well as a secular head. The religious leader, called sala, is in charge of teaching literacy in Lahu in a romanized script devised by the missionaries in Burma; he also leads religious activities. He is elected by the congregation of the local church because of his knowledge of religion and the Bible. Usually this

man does not need to do farm work or hunt because the villagers provide him with rice, meat, and vegetables. He has considerable influence within the village.

The secular head of the village is called li goi. He is expected to be a diligent, intelligent, honest, and broadminded person, ordinarily at least 30 years of age. This age limit is not strictly observed, for Cata, the headman of Ban Pang Jaj Suk, was elected at the age of 28. Because the Lahu live near Thai villages, a man who speaks Thai is preferred, though this may be only a local qualification.

To elect a new headman, the former headman calls a meeting, usually on Sunday because on this day all people tend to be at home. The heads of the households of the village have a right to vote at this meeting. Women may sometimes vote but not children. The eldest man in the village or the religious leader asks at this meeting for opinions about possible candidates. After all the information is given, he nominates a single person. If all agree, this is enough; but if the villagers reject the nominee, a second must be named. In some cases there are two or more candidates. Then a formal vote is taken by lifting of hands or by secret ballot. At the election of the headman of Ban Pang Jaj Suk there were three candidates. In case of a tie, the villagers try to decide which one is the more suitable. He is then named headman, and the second man is made his deputy. Whoever is chosen assumes full responsibility; there is no trace of dual headmanship. In my experience, there is only a single headman. Neither village at present has a deputy.

Since ordinarily there are not many candidates, when the eldest man nominates someone, no one raises objections. The villages are small, so almost every one knows who is the most suitable head. After the election at a meeting, a formal ceremony of appointment takes place on one of the following Sundays. The religious head announces that the former headman has resigned and introduces the new headman. The villagers then congratulate him by shaking his hand.

Once elected, a headman holds his position as long as the villagers respect him. If they are not satisfied, they may replace him with a new man at any time. This happened at Ban Pang Huei. That when a former headman was accused of corruption. If he performs his duties satisfactorily, a headman leaves his position only because of sickness; or a feeling that he is too old to do the work, usually at about 50 years of age; or death. However, a former village headman still has some influence in local affairs.

The headman represents his village in dealing with outsiders and government officials. He receives guests who

come to the village. Often he takes the initiative in introducing village improvements such as the making of a road or maintaining trails or the village water supply.

He also keeps his eye on what is going on in the village. If any household does not have enough to eat, it is the duty of the headman to provide for this household from his own supplies, or by borrowing in his own name, or by enlisting help from the Welfare Station. It is his duty to take any seriously sick or injured person to the hospital. Thus he must be generous and kind. In return for his efforts, all hunters must give to the headman the inside muscle of any animal they shot. Villagers butchering a pig must also give him a two inch slice from the neck. But if any portion of the meat is sold, the headman is responsible for helping collect the price.

In addition the headman acts as judge over civil disputes between villagers. Criminal cases lie outside his jurisdiction and must be taken to the Thai courts for decision according to the national law. The Lahu have no written law. They have instead tradition and custom as a basis for justice. The traditional procedures are well-known. In case of a dispute the headman calls a meeting of family heads. He then makes his investigation in their presence and announces his decision, ordinarily that the defendant will pay compensation to the aggrieved, who does not lodge a complaint lightly. In case the villagers do not agree with the decision, and opinions are divided, the eldest man may try to resolve the difference. If this man cannot resolve the case either, the headman brings the problem to the nearest Thai mu ban or village headman or to the headman (kamnan) of a larger administrative unit, the tambon or commune, for decision. If feelings are still bitter after this decision, some families may move their houses from the village to live elsewhere with another group or to found a new village. Ordinarily this is rare because everyone respects the headman and the oldest man of the village, and the decision conforms with tradition and justice.

The following are examples of customary law by which the headman decides cases:

In case a headman tries to settle an argument between two people and they do not listen to him, he shall rebuke them or fine both of them 2 rupees [Known locally as taep, each worth about U.S. \$.70 - Eds.].

In case of insult, the offender shall be fined 4 rupees.

In case a man and woman cohabit without legal marriage, both shall be fined 4 rupees.

In case of adultery, the two accused shall each pay a fine of 30 rupees; and if the woman wishes to join her lover, he shall pay 120-200 rupees compensation to the former husband.

In case of larceny, the thief shall pay a fine of 8 rupees and compensate the aggrieved for his loss.

In case of assault, the assailant shall be fined 5 rupees. If the victim of the assault is injured, the fine shall be increased, and the assailant shall pay compensation of 30 rupees or more according to the extent of the injury.

In case animals destroy crops, the headman shall determine the extent of the loss and order the owner of the animal to pay appropriate compensation.

In case a man butchers a pig and does not give the headman the required piece of meat, the butcherer of the pig shall pay a fine of 4 rupees. Furthermore, the headman is not obliged to help this man collect money owed for the sale of the meat.

[Here then is a people where governmental power rests on consent, where coercion can only be minimal, and where secession is easy. Intra-village factionalism is well known for the Lahu: there is a great history of village splitting or segmentation. Thus political units--the villages--remain rather small. A group stays together as long as success follows the leader's efforts and benevolent and balanced reciprocal relations obtain among the households. By the same token, a leader might form a raiding or robbing band into a working group for as long as the loot were ample and its division undisputed. A Lahu leader could find little in tradition that would help him hold a wide or multiple village domain. To date the Lahu live most peacefully under the shadow of a stronger sovereign patron who can govern larger areas more coercively. - Eds.]

## "IT'S EXPENSIVE TO BE A YAO"

By Ruth B. Sharp

When you first meet a tribesman coming down the trail from a high village, his jaunty, swinging shoulder-bag seeming not very full, yet containing all he will need for several days; his beret worn at a rakish angle; his loose dark-blue pants not very new or clean, but still not ragged; and his jacket hanging loosely from his shoulders and buttoned across his stomach at one side just over an embroidered pocket, you will know him for a Yao. Indeed, the jacket hangs as if it were an afterthought, and he would gladly shed it. That he is wearing his Yao jacket at all proclaims that he is going on a particular mission, perhaps to another village to visit relatives, or to a market town on business. The jacket also tells a bit more. If it has a wide embroidered band around the edge, he is a youngish man, no matter how old he looks. If it is bordered by a narrow band, he is considered by his family to be "old." The older he becomes, the narrower the colored bands edging his jacket. On his head, whatever his age, once he is no longer an infant playing at home, he wears a maroon beret; on his feet, old sneakers for the trails; while his trousers change only in size through the years from childhood on. Were he not wearing the Yao jacket but an ordinary shirt or jacket from the market, you could not tell very much about him, though the maroon beret might still hint that he was a Yao favoring a fashion acquired years before in Laos.

His wife has made the jacket and the trousers from coarse cotton cloth. In the old times the Yao women wove their cloth, but now no weaving is observed in any of the Yao villages of Chiengrai province. The women say they buy their cloth either from other Yao, or from other tribes, mainly the Lahu, or from the markets of Mae Chan, Chiengrai, Mae Sai, Mae Salaung, or Thakhilek (over the border in Burma). Some Yao buy white cotton and then dye it dark blue themselves, some buy it already dyed. The material for a man's jacket and trousers costs about 40 baht.

It is a wife's job to keep ready for her husband one good jacket with its embroidered and inset bands and solid cross-stitched traditional design on the pocket. The work is fine and requires at least a week to complete for a practiced woman working in her spare time. It is important for an adult

man to have such a jacket not only for special trips away from the village, but also for the ceremonies given in his own home at which it is customary for the host to wear traditional Yao clothes. But for all other aspects of his life he wears just an old pair of trousers, and an anonymous shirt, undershirt, or tee shirt. Then, except for the maroon beret, he looks like any tribesman in the hills going to his fields. In his home, it is the house and the things in it which proclaim his status rather than anything he may be wearing.

For his wife it is a different story. She, regardless of her activity, always wears her traditional Yao women's dark blue pants with their solid rows of cross-stitched embroidery from the bottoms up almost to the waist line. Over them a dark blue robe (costing from 20 to 40 baht for the cloth) hangs from the shoulders to the ankles, and is edged around the neck and down both sides of the front with a bright red wool-yarn ruff which may cost in the market as much as 80 baht. The robe is slit up each side from hem to waist, so the two front panels can be tucked up into a wide sash tied around the waist, and thus free her legs for working or walking. Another wide blue piece, embroidered on each end in the little patterns that repeat themselves on her trousers, is wrapped turban-like around her head from the age she is able to go to the fields or help with the work at home. Her hair is never allowed to show under it, and the manner of wrapping the turban is the only observable way in which the Yao women's clothes vary from area to area. The designs cross-stitched on the pants in red, yellow, white, black, and green are all traditional, named patterns and are the same for all women and girls. The smaller girls do not have such varied patterns, as they begin embroidering their own clothes at an early age when neither their skill nor their patience can last for a complete, fully embroidered pair of trousers like their mothers'. Even the mothers, working in their spare time, take a year to make one pair of trousers. From the time she is seven or eight and no longer an infant, a woman wears this costume everywhere and does not change its style the rest of her life, thus proclaiming wherever she goes that she is a Yao.

However, for herself this is not enough. She keeps at home for great occasions, weddings, ceremonies, festivals such as New Year's, or visits to relatives for funerals or weddings, a special apron, which she puts on over her robe and pants and tucks up when she walks. For her own wedding she has a magnificent hat-like parasol, or roof-like head covering, held above the head by a bamboo frame which fits the head. On the frame is a piece of cloth about two feet square, embroidered all over with great intricacy and made by the bride during her engagement. All these garments, all this embroidery, all the time, energy, patience, and

skill taken to make these elaborate and costly items of a Yao woman's costume, and then there is still her silver!

Even a little girl wears a silver circlet around her neck, the reason given being simply to "make her pretty." As she grows older she adds more circlets, earrings of silver, and perhaps bracelets, usually an inch wide, flat, heavy and not decorated, until she becomes a married woman and is given silver by her husband according to his means. The tribesmen do not make their own silver jewelry but buy it with the year's profits from agriculture and husbandry.

Sometimes the Yao buy silver from other tribesmen, mainly Lahu, who may be temporarily hard up due to the moving of their village, or opium smoking, or illness; more often they go to silversmiths or dealers in the market towns of Mae Chan, Chiengrai, Mae Sai, or Ban Kiu, or, most frequently, to Yao in other areas, such as to those in villages near Phayao, 100 kilometers to the south of Chiengrai.

The most popular dealer in Mae Chan, the most popular market for all the hill tribes of the region north of the Mae Kok River, is Law Ta. He said he used to go into the hills to sell the silver, but no longer dares to go because of the robberies. However, he does go out to buy if he hears there are new tribespeople arriving in the area who want to convert their silver into cash in order to buy rice, as did the Lahu Shi who fled from Burma to the hills just west of Mae Chan in April, 1964.

Law Ta, of Lisu-Yunnanese parentage, started his business as a smith twelve years ago up in the hills in the village of Ban Ca Mai. It was profitable there because the tribespeople were well off, and the opium trade very stable. Then they brought in a good amount of their silver rupees, piastres, or sometimes even bar silver to be converted into jewelry.

But as the opium trade became less stable, his business dwindled, and he decided to come down into the valley and settle in Mae Chan, where he hoped to enlarge his activities to include dealings in peppers, upland rice, straw mats, or almost any other upland product which might realize a profit. He accepts these articles from the tribesmen in direct payment for silver jewelry.

He has learned the traditional patterns and designs of silver worn by the different tribes so that he is able to make any kind of tribal jewelry either from new bar silver, from old silver jewelry brought in, or from silver coins, usually rupees. The finished silver ornaments are sold by weight at fairly standard prices, and there is little need for bargaining.

If a Yao is very poor, he will go to Law Ta or someone like him and convert a few kilos of peppers into a few silver buttons. If he is moderately poor, he still will buy his women what he can of silver jewelry, perhaps about 120 baht worth of silver a year, as do Pan Kwei Ksiew and Fang Chuen Sing, two Christian Yao from the village of Huei Kham. A wealthier man, like Law Su, the headman of Mae Yaw Law Su, buys 600 to 1000 baht worth of silver a year for the three women in his family, adding that the men wear no silver, because they can hardly afford to buy it for themselves and their women too! But Wang Tung Kwei, the headman of Thung Kuei, having extra funds from profits on the sale of peppers, says he spent 2,500 baht on silver for his wife in 1963, and adds that his average expenditure for silver jewelry a year for the women of his family is 2,000 baht, a sum which permits him to adorn them in suitable style.

However, it is the wife of Law Chi, the headman of the village of Phale, who is the most resplendent of all when in her full dress. On her apron are three rows of Indochinese coins brought by her from Laos. Over her shoulder is a multistrand rope of silver as well as several chains around her neck which hang to her waist on either side of a row of oblong silver plaques about 2" by 4", making a kind of flexible breast plate from waist to throat. Also around the neck but dangling down her back are several more chains held together with a medallion in the shape of a fish from which dangle little tools and instruments in three rows: swords, sticks, toothpicks, earcleaners, nose tweezers, in fact, the traditional Chinese grooming instruments. She also wears heavy simple bracelets, the usual earrings, and wound in and out of her turban, two chains of silver. The total value of the silver is over 4000 baht, according to statements by her obviously proud husband. She looks magnificent indeed, and one can understand why it takes her more than half an hour to put all this on and why she is proud to do so. This silver jewelry not only represents the status of her husband, but it also points back to her position before her marriage when she was a girl in Laos, well endowed by a generous father, and it indicates, finally, why her husband, the headman Law Chi, shakes his head wryly, but with some satisfaction too, as he says "It's expensive to be a Yao."

## THE YAO "OFFERING TO THE GREAT SPIRIT"

By Pramote Nakornthab

Like many other tribal societies of northern Thailand, the Yao accord dignified status, prominence, and a role of leadership to the shaman, or spirit doctor (Thai:mɔ̌ phi). The latter not only acts in religious matters as a medium between man and several kinds of spirits, but also as consultant, judge, or arbitrator in settling disputes.

There are two classes of shaman, namely, the major (Thai:mɔ̌ phi jaj), and the minor (Thai:mɔ̌ phi nɔ̌j). It is not easy to learn the skills, especially those of a major shaman. Only males above fifteen years of age and not born at certain inauspicious times of the year are eligible. They must be able to read and write Chinese characters, or else be remarkably gifted in memorization, for a shaman is responsible for at least a hundred incantations and many spirit ceremonies. Law Lu Lin, a man of 48, slim, well-dressed, and very friendly, was the only major shaman in the Yao community of Phale, where he also served as assistant to the headman. Phale has a few minor shamans.

Only a major shaman of mature age is considered competent to give professional instruction. To become a major shaman, one must pay a pig, bowls of rice, a quantity of white rice-paper, and the equivalent of 100 baht in cash, these days preferably in Thai currency. Lessons for a minor shaman may cost a rooster, the paper, and a smaller amount of money. Certain rather costly instruments and materials must be acquired, especially for carrying out the ceremonies of the major shaman: an iron rattle with coins attached, a pair of wood blocks for divining, four flags of four different colors, brocaded robes, drums, slymbals, bells, a flute. These are a minimum of ritual equipment.

All Yao ceremonies demand a shaman, but not always one on the higher level. A minor shaman may conduct such rites as a simple family "eat and drink" (Yao:yan hang, and hop ciw); the annual New Year (Shan:kin wɔ̌) and Forest (Thai:liang phi mɔ̌n) Rites; a Chicken Rite; or a wedding. Only a major shaman may perform the great ordination (Yao:kwatang), and the "offering to the Great Spirit" (Thai:liang phi luang).

On February 27, 1964, the Great Spirit ceremony took place in Huei Mak, a small Yao community seven hours' walk northwestward from Phale, where Phale people maintain some of their fields. A number of Yunnanese also live there with their tribal wives. It is a small market center for many nearby villages.

The Yao are vitally dependent on spirits during the whole cycle of their lives from birth to death. At the beginning or end of an undertaking, they ask for the help of the spirits, or for forgiveness if some error caused offense. There is also a belief that once in a lifetime an individual falls on miserable, evil days. He may lose his loved ones, his wealth, his hope, all because he unintentionally offended a spirit which strikes back heavily. This was the case of a man in Huei Mak. His fields yielded no crops. Plagued with sickness he would have died, had his friends not loaned him rice, money, and other assistance. Yet he maintained faith in the responsibility of the spirits, and in the end, felt he had been saved by their mercy. He was thus obligated to convey his grateful appreciation, and ask forgiveness for whatever he had done to anger them. He wanted also to pray for a blessing for a good year and a future of hope. Thus he decided to give an offering to the Great Spirit. This ceremony had not been held for ten years in Huei Mak, perhaps because it is the Yao's most expensive ritual, save for the upper-class wedding and the ordination. It took the emaciated man a few months to recover physically and financially, but he laid his plans ahead. First he bought a few pigs to start an accumulation of property. Later, with the final purchase of three pigs, several roosters, and liquor (from the local Yunnanese), he felt he had met the requirements for the ceremony. Because the ceremony needs four shamans, one major and three minor, and Huei Mak had none whatsoever, Law Lu Lin and three minor spirit-doctors were requested to come from Phale. Invitations were extended to Yao throughout the neighborhood and region. The forty or fifty who came from Phale were able to combine field work with witnessing this exciting event. Though non-Yao were not invited (with the exception of certain resident Yunnanese), some Chinese, Lahu, and many Akha dropped in to watch, and were welcomed and fed along with the rest. The house of the giver of the ceremony, though smaller than an ordinary Yao house, was able to hold the horde of guests who smoked their pipes, talked, and slept.

More than one ceremony was performed in the 5-day stretch. At the termination of the 3-day offering to the Great Spirit, another propitiatory rite was performed, an elaborated version of the Chicken Rite. It is not clear whether the Chicken Rite, which can be performed by itself, but always only at the New Year, is integral to the Great

Spirit Ceremony or optional. Furthermore, the annual community 2-day Forest Rites, which is followed by a day of interdicted ingress or egress to the village, was also given. The date for the latter, not being calendric, is set by the headman. It may have been pushed forward a bit. In Phale, a Chicken Rite was performed on February 14, and the Forest Rite on March 13. All these ceremonies must be held during the first month of the New Year, which in 1964 fell on February 13-15.

The chronicled events occurred as follows:

- First day: arrival in Huei Mak of Law Lu Lin, the senior shaman. Activities at night only.
- Second day: activities from noon on, and throughout the night.
- Third day: activities from noon on, climax in afternoon. In the evening, the Chicken Rite. Additional incantations all night.
- Fourth day: in the morning, informal incantations, packing up of gear. People might leave the village up until the start of the Forest Rite. In the afternoon, the Forest Rite.
- Fifth day: Interdiction on entering or leaving the village.

#### The Great Spirit Ceremony

Before leaving his house in Phale, Law Lu Lin offered at his spirit altar a half liter of rice, and chanted for 30 minutes, calling on his spirits to accompany him on the way. Then he lifted down from the altar his black wood holy stick, and with his nephew and the latter's wife, and one of the minor shamans, set off on the 7 hour walk with two mules bearing ceremonial gear. Two guests, the present author and Mr. Harvey Price of the Peace Corps, also accompanied him. Law Lu Lin rode the last hour on a horse sent from Huei Mak to meet him.

On arrival, at 6:15 p.m., Law Lu Lin was met by the giver of the ceremony and two minor shamans, who had preceded him. He went at once to the household spirit altar, incanted, and placed his holy stick there. The host handed him a cup of liquor which he sipped. Passing it from hand to hand, each of the other three spirit-doctors drank from it. A cup of tea was similarly passed. Over in a corner, then and for many hours, two or three men were seen with brush in hand, inscribing sheets of Chinese characters. Dinner was then served, beginning with the Yao formal toasting procedures.

On the wall a large cloth bundle had been in evidence. From it, after dinner, sixteen scrolls (1.5 ft. x 4 ft. in size) were taken and placed (unrolled) on the walls around

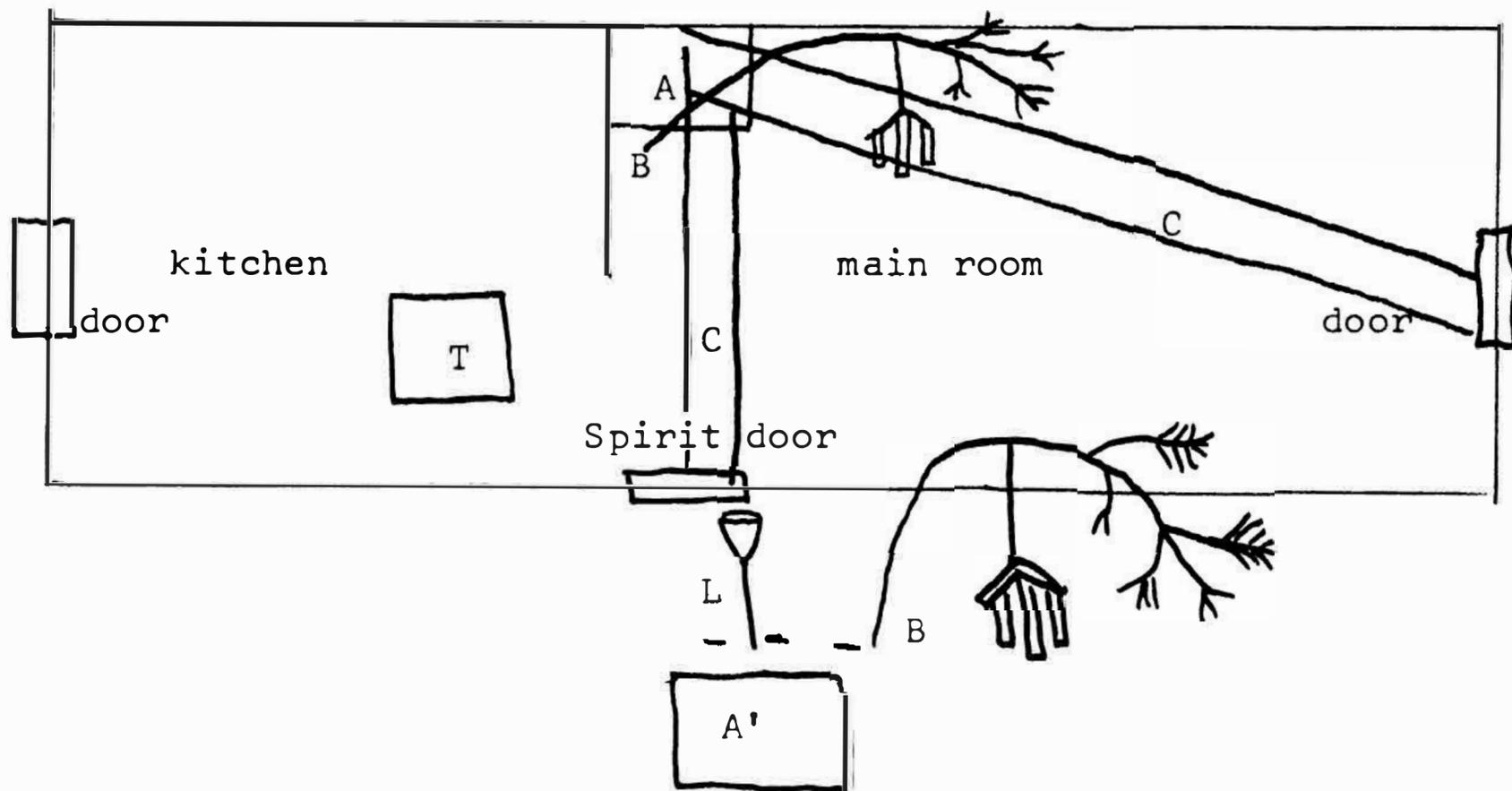
the room. The actual ceremony started with the unrolling, one at a time, of these scrolls, which were bright-colored Cantonese(?) style paintings of spirits much like those of Chinese deities. They represented the sky, dragon, tiger, several different stars, and unidentified objects. If a set of these scrolls is not owned by the host, they are rented for one Burmese taep each. The unrolling was accompanied by the loud sounding of drum, cymbal, flute, and gun-shots, and by the dancing of four boys, in ordinary clothing, who hopped strenuously about, brandishing wooden swords, knives, and axes in make-believe fighting. Meanwhile the shaman chanted continuously. This part of the ceremony lasted the entire night, with only brief intermissions for rest, until 6:00 a.m. the following day. The participants then slept until noon.

On that, the second day, the ceremony was more or less a continuation of the previous activities. Starting about noon, the head shaman, now in a gorgeous brocade coat and turban, circled in front of the altar, holding a sword and chanting. Finally he blew a blast on a great buffalo horn, and burned a stack of paper on which had been written Chinese characters. The four boys then appeared in colorful long Chinese robes and hats. Law Lu Lin's nephew was now one of them. While a man read incantations aloud from a large Taoist book of rites, the boys jumped and hopped in a circle, carrying cymbals, bells, a pair of wood throwing sticks, and the small holy stick of Law Lu Lin. They did not stop until 4:00 p.m. The shamans were all present, smoking and resting. After an intermission until dark, a dinner was served. Then, while one or another of the shamans incanted, the four boys danced until 6:00 a.m.

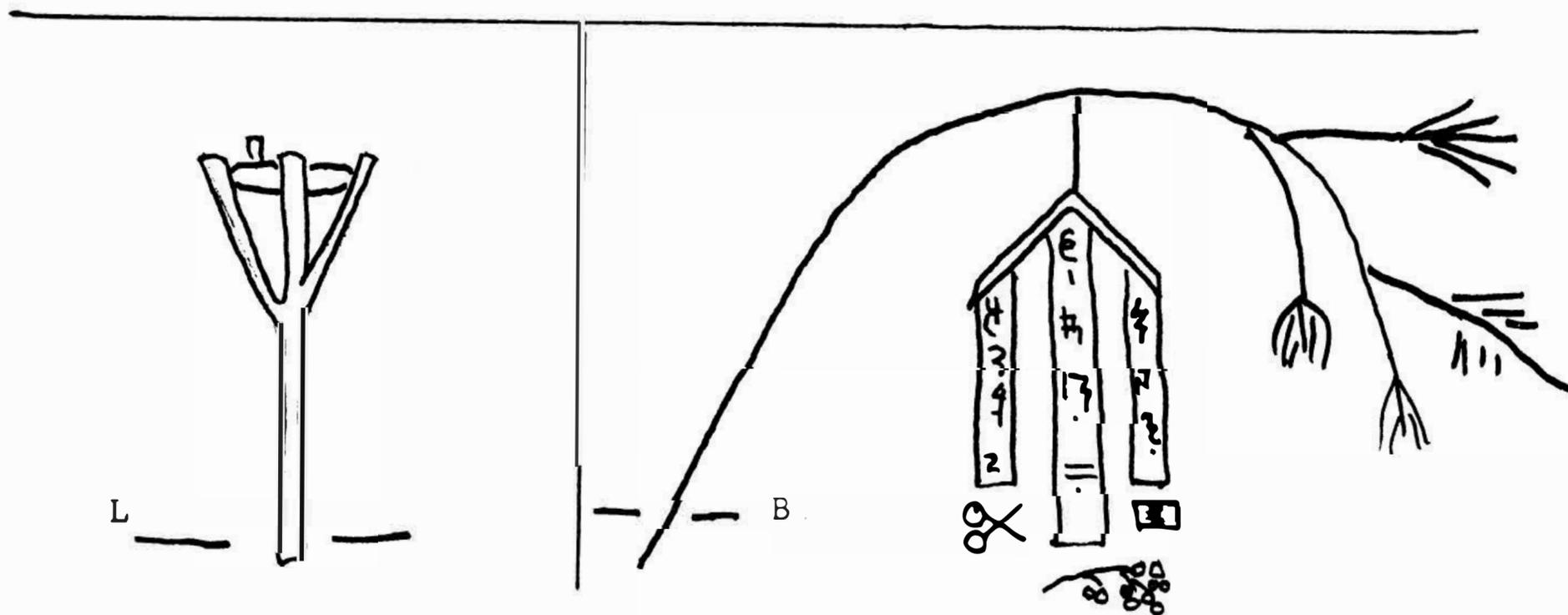
The climax of the ceremony came on the third day. The ritual started about noon as usual with the boys dancing until 4:00 p.m. in front of the altar while the man read aloud from the book of rites. At 4:00 p.m., part of the action moved outdoors. Two long fresh bamboo stalks with leaves were stuck in the ground, one in front of the house-altar inside, and one outside beside the main (spirit) door. A 3-fold cluster of long paper streamers, inscribed with Chinese characters, attached to a little roof-like frame was suspended from each stalk and at the end of the streamers were, respectively, a pair of scissors, a rice stalk, and a small piece of wood.

The senior shaman in his fine costume took his place in the center of the house's spirit door, facing outward, and tossed out handfuls of paddy to the ground. After again blowing the buffalo horn, he incanted for a long while, shaking his iron rattle, and throwing the two wood fortune-telling sticks through which a spirit responds to questions

Figure 1. YAO HOUSE PLAN AND RITUAL PARAPHERNALIA



- A - altar inside house
- A'- outdoor altar
- B - bamboo branches hung with streamers
- L - leaf cup
- C - white cloth
- T - table where family ate



affirmatively or negatively. Meanwhile the donor or host for the rite undressed to complete nakedness, and bathed, pouring water over himself, not in the customary bathroom, but in the kitchen. It was noticeable that he felt shy. Having dressed, he came outside and sat very solemnly on the ground directly in front of Law Lu Lin at the door. A minor shaman placed on the donor's head a winnowing tray filled with maize, on which a pile of papers with Chinese characters, taken from the altar, were then laid and burned. After the burning, Law Lu Lin shook and winnowed the tray, sifting to the top the burned paper which he poured into a leaf cup in a little standard placed to the right side (facing it) of the spirit door. He avoided pouring in the corn. He then went back to the house altar to take up chanting again. A minor shaman and an assistant prepared a small table-altar outside the spirit door, placing on it a cooked whole chicken; a bottle, and a cupful, of liquor; and the burned paper lifted out of the leaf cup holder. The minor shaman then started a long incantation.

At this point the host fetched several yards of new white cloth. Attaching the cloth first at the spirit door, he stretched it to the house altar, then over the longitudinal roof beam of the house, and finally to a side door. A table for dining was set up in the kitchen. All the while the four boys were dancing in front of the household altar, arms churning in imitation of a dragon, and other animals. Finally, Law Lu Lin came outside the house with the host. Someone handed him a large sheaf of rice stalks heavy with seed, and a cloth-wrapped lump of opium large as a fist. He weighed them in suspended scales, placed them on the winnowing tray, and carried them into the house. While a minor shaman burned the remainder of the inscribed papers in front of the outside altar-table, the host, his wife and his children (no one else) seated themselves at the set table and ate a complete meal in front of crowds of spectators. Law Lu Lin, his duties over, settled down for a long smoke.

A dinner for the four spirit-doctors and specially invited Yao and Yunnanese guests from Phale and Huei Mak followed.

After dinner, following the sacrifice of a chicken, four minor shamans performed in succession a Chicken, a Horse, a Snake, and a Tiger Rite. The spirits of these respective animals took possession of these four individuals. First they "bathed in fire," i.e., rushed into the fire and flung coals over their bodies, then hopped in a circle with gestures dramatizing the animal represented. The "tiger," for instance, roamed on all fours, drinking, spitting, eating raw pork and finally grabbed a live chicken, and killed it with his teeth. The host's ancestral spirits were invited to eat to satisfaction, and to confer their

blessing on their kinsman. At the end at 10:00 p.m. the shamans indicated, with a little jump, that the spirits left. A late supper was served, followed by incanting the whole night by people (shamans and non-shamans) taking turns.

At dawn the next day, four beautifully dressed young spirit-doctor apprentices (including the nephew) started informal incantations which lasted all morning. This chanting was said not to be a part of the ritual. The scrolls were removed. By 1:00 p.m. everything was packed up. Those who had to leave might go. If not then, they had to stay over a whole day, during which exit was interdicted because of the Forest Rite that followed.

That afternoon in the forest just outside the village entry, the men performed the Forest Rite, given annually to thank and propitiate the spirits of mountain and field. That year the crops had been excellent. For the pig and four roosters to be purchased and sacrificed, every household, even the Yunnanese and those non-resident Phale Yao who had fields nearby, contributed two baht. The giver of the Great Spirit rite who had had poor crops and sickness gave nothing. After the sacrifice and incantations, the food was cooked and eaten on the spot.

Though no one was supposed to leave the following days, one family did so.

The last day over 40 Yao men, women, and children tramped back to Phale, leading horses, all singing, laughing, and heartily enjoying themselves.

## A YAO WEDDING

By Jane Richardson Hanks

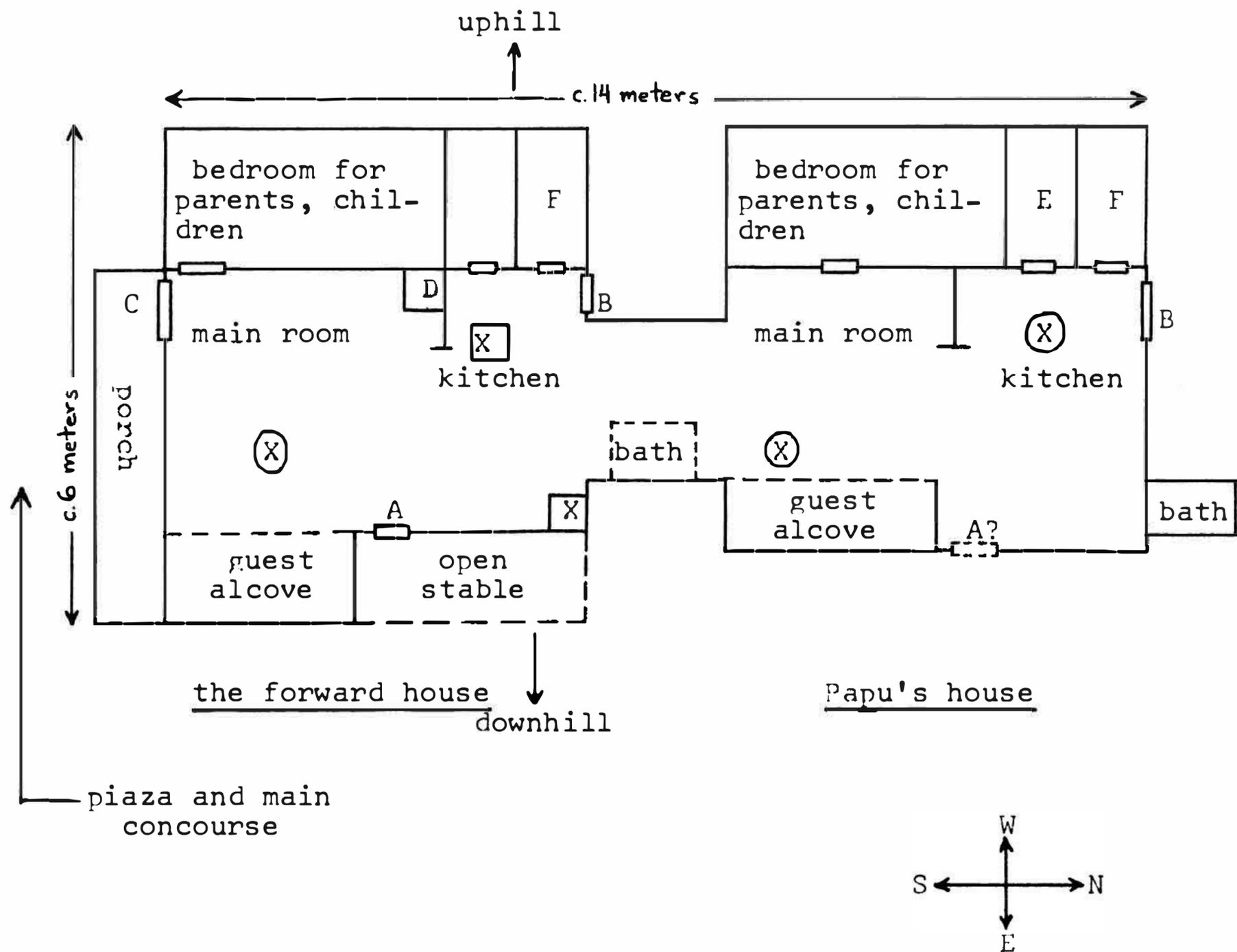
The Yao villages of Phale and Huei Kang Pa (Map 138 and 115) lie about three hours apart by foot in the mountains west of Mae Chan in Chiengrai Province. Both villages raise their own rice on swidden fields, and earn cash by selling pigs, peppers and, formerly at least, opium. Phale comprises 291 people in 41 households; Huei Kang Pa, 81 in 16 houses. The residences, with strong plank walls, thatched or shingle roofs, carry horn-like cross pieces on the ridge pole. On the lower (downhill) side of every house is the "front", i.e. "spirit" door, which is used only on ritual occasions. Daily traffic goes through other exits at each end of the house. Through the front door spirits enter and leave, a coffin is carried out, and a bride enters. Opposite it, inside the house and on the wall of the bedroom, is the altar shelf for the ancestral spirits (ong tai)t

Some brothers live in linked double houses. Though household activities are separate, one spirit door and one altar serve for the whole establishment. For the important

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This paper is to large extent a collaboration between myself and others who know the Yao better than I, yet I must bear the responsibility for it. I am very grateful for the generous cooperation of Mr. Wanat Bhruksasri of the Thai Department of Public Welfare; Reverend Eric J. Cox, and Reverend and Mrs. Herbert J. Purnell of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship; and Mr. Pramote Nakornthab of our research group. Their additions will be marked respectively "W.B.", "E.C.", "H.P.", "E.P.", and "P.N.". Moreover, Reverend Purnell suggested the simplified spellings of Yao words, and made several unmarked corrections. Interestingly enough, the wedding events occurring in Huei Kang Pa were witnessed by the Purnells, while I observed those in Phale, though we hardly knew each other then. Though the material of Mr. Wanat comes from Kang Pan Tao, and of Reverend Cox from several villages, since practically all Yao in Thailand come from the Phong Saly-Myang Sing-Nam Koeng area in Laos, it appears that on the level of this paper, they may be considered an ethnographic unit.

Figure 2. YAO DOUBLE-HOUSE PLAN



- A - spirit, "front" door
- B - back door
- C - side door
- D - house altar
- E - Papu's and Fay's bedroom
- F - mature, unmarried daughter's bedroom
- X - fireplace

In the forward house lived the great shaman Law Lu Lin, with his wife and 10 children. He was Papu's father's younger brother.

In the rear house lived Papu with his parents, of whom he was the second son, third child of 6 children. If there was a spirit door and house altar in this house, it was not used for the wedding rites.

wedding which took place in Phale in January, 1964, and which is the subject of this paper, two such houses functioned as one. Although the groom lived in the rear house of the pair, the forward house served as the ritual headquarters because the front door and altar were located there (cf. Figure 2).

The Yao people have twelve patriclans (fing, or in Chinese, tse)<sup>1</sup>, but not all are found in Thailand. Nominally, the patriclans are exogamous, but actually, the narrower patrilineage within it is the pertinent unit in marriage. The regulations appear to differ slightly from village to village. In Phale,

persons within the same lineage, thus bearing the same clan name, may marry only if they are at least five generations removed from their common ancestor. First cousin marriage on the maternal side is also prohibited. (P.N.)

Another person said intra-clan marriage after three generations is permitted, and second cousin marriage on the maternal side, being out of the lineage. In Huei Kang Pa,

there are no restrictions on marriage other than the auspiciousness of the horoscopes in the shamans' astrology books (H.P.),

while in Kang Pan Tao, marriage of second cousins

is reluctantly permitted provided each relative is paid a certain amount of money and an old person of another clan-family name comes and gives a blessing to the couple. Without this, the children born to the union will be stupid. (W.B.)

Through a lineage naming system, the Yao keep accurate track of seniority of line and of generation distance from each other.

Like the other tribes in this mountainous area, e.g., the Akha, Lahu, and Lisu, the Yao are strongly endogamous. A few Yao women are married to Yunnan Chinese, but no Yao man takes a bride from another tribe.<sup>2</sup>

Most men marry between 18 and 30; women, between 15 and 25. Husbands are hard to find for women over 25 and for widows, out of fear that fewer children will be born. Older brothers and sisters marry before younger, but a younger brother may marry before his elder sisters.... Industriousness in the bride is valued more than beauty. (W.B.)

Pre-marital sex relations are freely permitted. When a daughter is mature, she is given her own room near the back door which is kept unlocked (cf. Figure 2, F.).

She leaves her room-door open until some man comes to be with her. Parents completely ignore the gay noise. Within the village, an assignation may be made 'eye to eye'; if a man is 'brave', he will ask a girl outright for a rendezvous; if not, he negotiates through a go-between. Sometimes he will tap with a stick on the outer wall of her room so that she will come out. But a bold fellow simply enters her house without any previous arrangement. Married men of the village may visit an unmarried girl, but no wife may receive visitors. (P.N.)

Should a girl become pregnant, the boy need take no responsibility for the child if he does not want to. If he does not marry the girl, he pays a fine; but if he does, "the bride-price is higher than that required from other men, because his family is assured of a future helper." (H.P. and E.P.) It should not be assumed that her bride-price is lowered because she has borne a child, for in fact, her fertility is assured. Many girls have borne children before marriage. These children, who bear the name of the mother's lineage and clan, are eagerly kept and raised by her parents, but remain with her when she eventually marries. A man does not divorce a wife for barrenness. He may take an additional wife, but more often simply buys Lahu, Akha, Miao, or Northern Thai children from outside the tribe. (H.P.)

Formerly, parents alone selected wives for their sons. Nowadays, the boy has the freedom to select his own mate, but will not marry her without his parents' consent, even if she has borne him a child. (W.B.)

The Yao believe that animistic spirits control the welfare of men in every regard: health, wealth, success, procreativity, etc. Ancestral spirits, who have the interest of their respective lineages and of the village at heart, are the bulwark of protection against inimical spirits. They live in the spirit world and in the dirt floor of the house<sup>3</sup>, and move when the family moves. They are the focus of most Yao religious activities. As death transforms a family member into a spirit, continuity is not broken, for the ancestors are the elders who have always cared for the younger. Consequently, they continue to receive respect, obedience, and thoughtful attentiveness. The spirits are fed with sacrificed animals, and given stamped paper money to maintain themselves in the afterworld. But even ancestral spirits will attack if hungry,

ignored, or offended, with resulting sickness and misfortune.<sup>4</sup> Then a shaman must be called to ascertain the cause, for he is the one who communicates with the spirits.

The ancestral spirits of a lineage also care for the wives of its members. Thus a major objective of the wedding rite stands clear: the transference of a woman not only from one house to another, but from the care of one group of ancestral spirits to another. She becomes a full-fledged member of her husband's clan. If she becomes sick, even in her own old home, his spirits, not those of her parental lineage and house, are called to cure her. For the same reason, if a marriage breaks up (which is rare), the wife may not return to live permanently under her parents' or brother's roof. She may live there up to eighteen months. If, by that time she has not remarried, her parents will build her a separate house where her husband's spirit guardians, in spite of the estrangement, continue to care for her.

The Yao are a decorous people who dislike slovenliness. For the most part, houses, clothing, and social relations are orderly. Sometimes the women are neatly dressed even in field work; at a festival they are almost regal. It is not surprising, therefore, that their rituals are carefully planned performances.

Very striking is the dramatic quality of Yao rituals.<sup>5</sup> There are on-stage and back-stage roles, property men, costumers, directors, and an excited audience, hushed at climaxes. Preparations are meticulous: for instance, the kneeling pad for the hymeneal kow-tow in the wedding here described was folded and re-folded six times so that it be exactly right. This striving for perfection manifests both the quest for decorum and the compelling nature of the actions which, if right, ensure success.

#### The cast of characters

To implement a smooth production of a wedding ceremony, the delegations on both the bride's and the groom's sides are carefully organized, with allocated duties and titles. During the whole wedding, these individuals are de-personalized. They are addressed not by name, but by title, somewhat like characters in a morality play, or a harlequinade.<sup>6</sup> The personages, with title and function, are as follows:

Groom: tsiang lang

Bride: tsiang bwang

## In the groom's party:

Head of delegation: ching tsiu. He is the master of ceremonies, a member of the groom's lineage, and a shaman. He appoints all other functionaries in the groom's delegation, pursues all final negotiations, kills the pig<sup>s</sup>, responds to toasts<sup>s</sup>, arranges where each guest is to sit at table, mixes the cup of union and preaches to the couple. Stipend: 8 taep, or 56 baht (about U.S. \$2.80).

Assistant shamans Stipends 6 taep and a leg of pork.

Assistant pig killer: tso kien. Stipend: a leg of pork.

Female head cook<sup>s</sup> tso njei. Stipends a leg of pork.

Music shamans tchwi tsio. His supernatural powers draw a maiden to a man<sup>s</sup>, link her to the man's clan, and may include love-magic and bride-purification. He directs a drummer, cymbalists<sup>s</sup>, etc. Stipends 2 taep and a leg of pork.

## In the bride's party:

Head of delegations mui mian. His functions are similar to those of the groom's "ching tsiu", i.e., killing pigs, directing the seating, etc. He is preferably the bride's older brother.<sup>7</sup>

Bride's attendant: mei tchang. She is always the wife of the mui mian (therefore either the bride's sister-in-law<sup>s</sup>, older sister<sup>s</sup>, or her mother's brother's wife). She "stands close to the bride" and helps her arrange her bridal costume.

Head cook of bride's delegation: She should be the bride's father's sister.

Bridesmaids<sup>s</sup> These are always the bride's younger sisters<sup>s</sup>, or her intra-clan (parallel) cousins.

To every member of the bride's delegation who comes to his village, the groom pays one taep. The parents of the bride and of the groom are accorded no title.

The action of this ritual drama achieves the following economic, religious, and social objectives:

- 1) The bride's lineage<sup>s</sup>, which is losing a productive member, is compensated.
- 2) The bride is introduced to the ancestral spirits of her husband and transferred to their care under a purified roof.
- 3) The authority of elders over juniors, whether siblings or not<sup>s</sup>, is reinforced through the organization of the respective delegations and the allocation of duties.

- 4) The couple is joined with the cup of union.
- 5) The future well-being of the couple, and thereby of the lineage, is assured by the propitiation of ancestral spirits, music which fosters fertility and stability,<sup>8</sup> and a feast which sets a precedent for future opulence.
- 6) The secular prestige of the groom's lineage is heightened by a lavish display of wealth and generosity.

### Prelude

In January, 1964, after the rice was harvested, there occurred a Yao wedding of note between two handsome young people: Papu, a young man of 23 from the Li clan of Phale, married Fay Hiang, aged 19, of the Tsan clan of Huei Kang Pa. Both of their families had long carried weight in matters of religion, authority, and wealth.

This was a big wedding (Jo Ching Ja) [dzo tsing ca], held at the groom's house and lasting three days, and not one of the more prevalent small ones (Jo Ching Ja Ton) [dzo tsing ca daun], held for a day at the bride's home. (W.B.) In the old days, wedding festivities might be kept up for four or five days, but nowadays, they last three at the most. (E.C.)

Fay Hiang was the 7th child and 4th daughter of a great shaman and leader. All her elder siblings had been married before her. A year or so before her marriage, she was betrothed to another man who sealed the agreement with a gold ring. Because pre-marital sex relations are expected, they often slept together, and a baby girl was born to them.

One day the young man let it be known he was about to embrace Christianity. Fay Hiang's father, dedicated to the old Yao regime, broke off the engagement at once, and some time thereafter accepted the marriage offer of Papu's father for his second son. But instead of returning the ring, Fay kept and wore it, even on her wedding day. The efforts of the bride's first betrothed young man to get his ring back run through the wedding events like a thread.

### Act I

#### Betrothal

To open negotiations, Papu's parents called on Fay's parents, bearing a chicken which was sacrificed as a decla-

ration of intent and "to invite the witness of the household spirits." (W.B.) They then gave a pair of silver bracelets to Fay's father, who gave them to his wife. She in turn handed them to Fay. The latter expressed her interest in Papu by accepting them; otherwise she would have returned them.

As Reverend Cox describes it:

The groom's father goes to the home of the bride, has a meal, drinks wine [liquor] and then gives his wine cup to the bride's father, who gives his back in return. This is a signal for the discussion to start. The object of the groom's father is to find out what is the year and month of the bride's birth, and this information is freely given him, but not in direct speech. Instead of saying, 'She belongs to the year of the tiger, and was born in the month that the fu-yung tree is in blossom' the bride's father will convey the information by saying 'Near here there is a fu-yung tree, and a tiger rests in its shade.' With this information the father returns home, and the clan's books of magic lore and astrology are consulted, to see if the respective birth times of the proposed bride and groom are auspicious. Only if they are found to be entirely so will the marriage proposal be pursued. (E.C.)

Papu's family's large Taoist volume in beautiful Chinese calligraphy was consulted to see how the five elements (fire, earth, water, wood, and metal) associated with the couple's respective birthdates were related in both the 12- and 60-year cycles. Papu's element, fire, was harmonious with Fay's, which was earth.

Since the prognosis was auspicious, three days later, Papu's parents, bearing a chicken and a bottle of liquor, came again to Fay Hiang's home to discuss the amount of silver to be given; on what day the wedding should be celebrated; and for how many days (one, two, or three).

The groom's father asks the bride's what amount of silver he will require to be paid for the hand of the bride. Various male relatives (especially her brothers) are called in by the bride's father for consultation, and then the reply is made. A common price for wealthy families would be twelve ingots (hang) of silver, each weighing 10 oz.

Half of this sum will go to the bride and groom, and the rest is the bride's father's, and will help pay his side of the wedding expenses. When this sum has been satisfactorily settled, they discuss how many men shall serve as the bride's escort from her home to the groom's home. In a wedding of style, about 30 men would serve as escort, beside those taken along as servants to care for the animals, etc. It is then discussed and agreed how soon after the marriage the bride may return home for a visit; and how many pigs she will be given to take home to her family, as a present from the groom's family, to provide a feast for them.

When all has been satisfactorily discussed, the marriage agreement is written with all these details, and with full details of the marriage feast that will be given at the groom's home. With this agreement, the groom's father pays one length of silver in advance, as down payment for the bride; and he also buys a cloth for the bride to embroider for her bridal trousers and turban. (E.C.)

For Fay Hiang, 8 silver hang, i.e., 2 coj were paid, an investment of some 2000 baht (U.S. \$100.). This was retained by her parents, not shared out among her relatives.<sup>10</sup>

Following her engagement, Fay was released from field-work, as was customary, so that she might embroider her wedding finery. A poor girl might not have been so spared from duties.

During this whole period members of both families watched for omens that might reveal hostile attitudes on the part of the ancestral spirits.

Bad omens that can make a Yao change his mind while going to make the proposal, or perhaps stop a marriage completely, are such phenomena as seeing a fallen tree on the path leading to the girl's family home; coming across a person, who, carrying a bundle of wood, puts it down on the ground; meeting either a barking deer, big snake, pheasant, or tiger; on arrival at the girl's house, seeing someone sweeping the ground, or making a basket; hearing unusual voices of barking deer or pigs while killing a chicken for the ceremony. (W.B.)

Fortunately all signs were favorable.

In time, the Li clan's Taoist books were consulted

to decide on a suitable day for the wedding. Not any day will do. The wedding day must be on one of the days of the 'heavenly king'. The day is decided long before, and then about 15 days before this wedding day arrives, the groom's father sends a pig to the bride's home for a feast. With the pig he sends a parcel of salt, and inside the salt, the promised silver ingots, or some of them. The proposed day of the wedding is announced to the bride's family, and if it meets with their approval they send back some silver rupees [taep] in the same parcel of salt, to signify assent. (E.C.)

The formal wedding rites began when the groom came to fetch his bride in Huei Kang Pa with relatives and in-laws. His parents did not come because the walk was too strenuous. The lavish feasting lasted three days. Papu bought there three large pigs at 600 baht each. The bride-price was handed over, and the groom accorded the customary single bow-of-homage to the ancestral spirits of his bride-to-be. True, the happy scene was disturbed by the sudden appearance of the aggrieved former lover who wanted to get back his gold ring, but he was finally persuaded to leave.

Late in the afternoon of the second day Fay Hiang appeared, wearing the traditional Yao bridal headdress. This consists of a triangular wood (bamboo?) frame, encompassing a "ridge pole" running fore-and-aft with corners up-tilted like the roofs of old Chinese houses.

The wooden frame fits over the crown of the head, and is held tightly in place by the hair being drawn up through it into a knot. The head-piece is attached by beeswax to the head. Over the frame are laid layers of scarlet and embroidered cloth, and skeins of scarlet thread are suspended from it. The bride must wear this for the several days of the wedding festivities, though it is so large that she cannot lie down with it on, so that she must sleep with a block under the neck. (E.C. and E.P.) Despite this, the girls seem eager to wear it for their wedding festivities. (E.C.)

When the feast was over, Fay Hiang, with 30 lineal and affinal relatives, prepared to walk to the village of her future husband. Traditionally, the climactic moment occurs when the bride leaves the house "through the spirit door, used otherwise only to take out the dead" (W.B.). By this

action a bride cuts her ties with her family and the ancestral spirits of her clan and lineage. Perhaps times are changing, or village mores different

To our disappointment Fay Hiang left her house not by the spirit door but by the side door; the groom, supposed to leave the day before, did not do so, and consequently had to walk behind the bridal party. In fact he walked far to the rear, and carried on his back the bride's baby. (E.P.)

As she walked, Fay Hiang's great roof-like head gear protected her from the perils of the forest spirits and other dangers while she was between homes; the cloth hid her face from spirits who might do her harm. To cross the mountains between Huei Kang Pa and Phale this time required part of two days. The party spent the night in a village along the way.

## Act II

### The Entry of the Bride

Meanwhile, in Phale, great preparations were under way in the double house where Papu lived. Tables, benches, lamps, kerosene, china, and chopsticks were set in place, borrowed from other households if necessary, while ritual requisites, clothing, and jewelry were readied. The spirit door and the household altar in the forward house were draped in red. Men spent hours cutting and stamping the paper money in rows of five "coins" that was to be loaded onto the backs of stamped paper horses and sent by burning to enrich the groom's ancestral spirits. For the hundreds of meals to be served, six pigs were bought at 600 to 800 baht each, to say nothing of quantities of liquor and condiments.<sup>11</sup> With fees to ceremonialists and other appurtenances, total costs may have reached 10,000 baht.

Reverend Cox describes the arrival of a bride and her party:

Messengers are sent ahead of the bride's party to announce their approach, and the groom's family also sends out runners, who are to come in and tell as soon as the party gets near the village. A welcome party goes out to the confines of the village, where the bridal party will arrive. At the time of meeting, the musicians make much music, and there is an exchange of polite greetings between the two parties, and much talking of 'polite speech'.

With the musicians heading the now-merged welcome and bridal parties, they proceed to the special house prepared for the party, but a kind of parade is held before entering. The bride is always accompanied by her bridesmaid, and the two are inseparable, sleeping together, until the time of the wedding.

In the house, seats are arranged for all, and girls are sent round with gifts of tobacco for each guest, carrying the gifts on trays, and presenting the tray before each guest. In the same way, following the gifts of tobacco, are cups of wine. Following this, everyone stands and there is an exchange of salutations between members of the bride's party and the groom's family and party. This goes on for a long time, until everyone is weary and hungry, for no meal may be served or eaten until all this etiquette has been gone through, followed by another parade. The groom is not present at any of this. He must not be seen at all at this time, and is probably hidden in the home of a friend. The bride also cannot be seen, though she is present, for her features are covered by the special headdress.

A meal is now served. This has been prepared by the groom's invited male and female friends. First to eat are the musicians. None may enter by the spirit door of the house, but all must enter by the side door.

At midnight a special meal is served for the parents of the bride, for which two fat capons are killed. Before the meal is begun the sorcerer [shaman] must incant and following this wine is drunk, and then the meal is eaten. The bride's parents then declare exactly what she has in the way of possessions of her own. Then if all the silver money was not previously given, the balance is handed over; and half of the total sum is set aside for the bride and bridegroom. A discussion follows as to exactly what time of the day it will be propitious for the bride to enter the main door of the house. The groom's father makes the final decision, and once decided, there must be no departure from that time. (E.C.)

Over 100 guests, vying in a display of silver and embroideries, dined that night to celebrate the wedding in Phale.

The great of several villages, Christian and non-Christian, sat together in celebration.

At dawn the next day in the forward house, two men crouched facing the red-draped open spirit door. One was the head shaman (ching tsiu) shaking a small iron rattle (kim), and chanting to the house's ancestral spirits that a new member of the family was about to arrive: "Up to now there have been 10 persons in this house to care for. Now there will be 11. Please take care of her!" "All good may enter now, but all evil must be discarded." (E.C.) The other was the assistant shaman who threw the pair of wood blocks to obtain the spirit's response.

At 7:30 a.m., also inside the house, a small procession started up: the music-shaman, red sash worn diagonally from a shoulder, and a silver flower pinned to it in back, followed by drummers and a cymbal-player, all playing continuously, circled three times in front of the house altar, and went single file out through the spirit door. Swinging in an arc (possibly to include the houses of the groom's patri-lineage), they went to meet the bridal procession.

At the other end of the village, out of the house in which she had stayed, came the bride preceded by her older brother and two other men. She wore the great red and black lacquer triangular canopied head gear; an apron of blue, edged in white with silver-spangled girdle over her usual embroidered trousers and four-paneled ruffed coat; a red sash over one shoulder and under the other; and a white scarf around her neck and crossed in back, plus neck rings and bracelets. On her hand, besides the bridal double-pointed silver ring, she wore the gold ring of the father of her child.<sup>12</sup> Two unmarried maidens led her by means of a long white embroidered scarf. The two girls were the groom's paternal first cousins; one of them, who also wore the formal apron over her robe, lived in the forward house. Immediately behind the bride came her younger sister holding an umbrella over the bride's head and bearing a large bundle, part of the possessions being brought. Like a group emblem, white embroidered scarfs, circling the throat and crossed in back, identical to that of the bride, were worn by the maidens who led her, and the sister who followed her. Next came a young man with a large wooden chest on his back. Another younger sister followed, carrying the bride's baby, and then came all of her party, men, women, and children in gay attire. This procession led off away from the groom's house, then circled around and met the musicians in front of his house, where four long benches had been placed in a square. Here the groom's parents and a number of his relatives welcomed them. Moving inside the square, the bride and her immediate attendants stood while all others sat facing her. With considerable dexterity, trays of tea, liquor, and cigarettes were passed to one and all, while the musicians played.

The next ritual steps purified the house, linked the respective families as affinal relatives, and brought the bride safely into the house. With the piper leading, the musicians, playing loudly, circled not only the bride but the entire cluster of incipient affinal relatives three times, then wove their way inside and out the crowd, criss-crossing their steps as they went around the bride, finally out and "binding" the group again three times. Thus the families were linked. More tea was then handed around.

Meanwhile, inside the house, the head shaman chanted, a small chicken to be sacrificed in one hand, his rattle in the other. The chicken was being verbally loaded with all the bad luck in the household. Finally the ceremonialist went to the spirit door, squatted at the threshold and muttered more evil onto the chick. Stepping outside, he killed it, let the blood onto the ground, and threw it far outside the house. Then he came in quickly, slammed the door shut, and with a knife made cross-slashings at and on the door. Thereby he barred the way for evil spirits and the evil loaded onto the chick to return. A moment later, after a large mat had been laid down inside, people opened the same door to make way for the bride's first entry.

Preceded by the musicians, and followed by her delegation, she was led in by the maidens. She faced the house altar while her shoes were removed. After a short pause while the shaman chanted, she was taken back through the kitchen to Papu's own home, to the small room with a sleeping platform and mosquito net which henceforth would be her husband's and hers. She remained there all day with her mother, baby, and relatives until almost midnight, when she was called for other ceremonial duties. There she took off the embroidered head-shawl, but retained the triangular head-cover. The bundles of her dowry were stacked in her room.

A huge pig that had been cut into a few large sections was set headless on a table in front of the house altar with five cups of liquor, a lighted tin lamp, and the great wads of paper money and paper horses prepared previously. For almost an hour, the shaman chanted. At the end, the liquor, lamp, and paper were placed up on the house altar. The performance was repeated in briefer form in the kitchen on a small low round eating-table.

Then long tables and benches were set up for a feast; bowls, cups, and matched chopsticks were laid neatly, with bottles of liquor on and under the table at nearly every place. Separate bowls contained "laap" (spiced minced pork), tripe, cracklings, a blood soup, pork and greens, fat pieces, and pepper and garlic sauce. Men and women of the bride's party occupied one whole side of the table,<sup>13</sup> while the two

heads-of-delegation shared the head. Rows of girls and servant-boys served until well into the afternoon. Departing guests made cash donations to the couple on a proffered tray. The groom and bride were absent from this entire feast.

In another house the widow of a deceased brother of Papu's father, who was the mother of one of the girls who led the bride, invited a group of elderly men to dine again and put a therapeutic blessing on her sickly son. Later she served some old ladies.

### Act III

#### The New Lineage Member

That night the central ceremony occurred: the salutation by the bride and groom of the ancestors, the parents, relatives, and guests. The evening started with still another gay feast which jammed the rooms of the big double house. Again at one end of the main table sat the head of the groom's delegation with the bride's brother beside him. The other end of the table was solid with the bride's party. Everyone chatted and laughed. Red paper copies of the marriage agreement in Chinese writing had just been pasted all over the walls, along with blessings in Chinese.<sup>14</sup> The musicians sat to one side and played four times at a stretch, count being kept by means of corn seeds, "because four is like a four-post foundation, strong, and solidly established, as this marriage will be." Eating and drinking started with the usual Yao "toasting" in liquor, eyes meeting eyes, followed by drinking together and eating meat. Women did not participate in this drinking formality. Spirits were high, but decorous. No one was intoxicated. The drinking of toasts and the jovial songs sung by one man or another were also intended to "give strength and stability to the couple".

As soon as the banquet terminated, about 9 p.m., a smaller table was re-set in front of the altar with cups, chopsticks, liquor, and meat. In the center was a bowl of uncooked rice, with silver flowers stuck in it, and a brown mat pei in the middle. Eight elderly men, facing each other in two rows, ate a leisurely meal for an hour, stopping to sing to the couple every now and then. Their final song which announced that they had finished eating was a signal to the musicians to depart and fetch the groom. While the table was cleared of all but the uncooked rice and the mat pei, several thick sleeping-comforters were meticulously folded into a kneeling pad before the table and altar. A towel was folded into a nine by six inch rectangle.

The groom entered, led by a white scarf in the hands of a young man. It was his first appearance during all these festivities. His garb was Chinese in style, totally different from the usual Yao dress which everyone else wore. He wore a red silk turban over a beret, tied with "wings" at each side reminiscent of Ming dynasty hats. His long black coat, reaching to the calf, with sleeves cuffed in gold and black brocade, was topped with a Y-shaped red cloth and a white cloth over his chest and down his back (like a European medieval academic hood). On his hands were the traditional double-pointed wedding rings. After arrival, silver ornaments were pinned to his turban. For 20 minutes he stood, and one saw him being briefed by his father's brother (a great shaman) on how to kow-tow. Then he squatted for half an hour while a cantankerous pressure lamp was tinkered with and revived. Meanwhile all guests kept craning their necks to see the arrival of the bride. People poured into the already crowded house, astonished babies were routed from their slumber, all to witness the event. At last the bride in her full draped hat and garb came slowly in and knelt at the groom's left. Attendants then placed around her neck a red scarf, pinning it to her back with silver flowers brought out of a carefully wrapped package. Of the hundred or so hushed, breathless spectators, a large portion were young girls.

The couple faced the eight respected elders still seated at the table under the altar. To salute them Papu took the folded towel in both hands. Stretching his arms slowly straight out and describing a tremendous downward arc, he bent over and touched his feet, then straightened up, arms following the same outward arc up to eye level. Then the cloth was curiously turned and touched to the breast. For each elder, the groom did this three times standing, then three times kneeling. On the last time, the bride sank to her knees with him in concert as her obeissance. "He kow-tows to each person six times, she once," a Yao explained. After the ancestors, parents and elders were so honored, every guest in the room had his six-fold salutation. Music played continuously. That the slow ritual lasted until long after dawn was felt to be auspicious, for it meant that relatives and guests who gave blessings and money were numerous. It was a tiring, but happy, ordeal for the wedding pair.

The actual wedding service which took place at dawn after all the kow-tows were finished is described by Reverend Cox and Mr. Wanat Bhruksasri.

The master of ceremonies takes two cups of wine, one for groom and one for bride, and stands in front of them, where they are standing in front of the demon shelf [altar]. He mixes the two cups of wine, and then

crosses hands and gives one to each bridal attendant, who in turn gives one to the groom and one to the bride. They then drink. Following this the bride and groom together serve first tobacco, then tea, then wine to each of the assembled guests, without exception. (E.C.)

That the cup of union, though prepared by the shaman, is received by the bride and groom from the hands of attending elder siblings appears to be a reminder of the nature of the bond and the measure of their respective authority and dependence.

The shaman who presides over the gathering stands before the couple and talks to them. He gives them a briefing on the Yao's traditional history down to their present habitat, and tells of the hard life of the Yao ancestors. He also teaches them to be grateful to their parents for their devotion and trouble in bringing up their children from the time of birth to this, their wedding day. To the couple he says that a favorable fate has brought them to be husband and wife, and so they should always be faithful to each other. Marriage is compared to building a house. 'When we have built it, we have to maintain it, and never build a new one after seeing other wood.' Instruction is also given in the duties of the husband, and in particular of the wife. She must be industrious, never have an affair with another man, serve her husband's parents and relatives in obedience and respect, help them during illness, love their children as her own, never argue with her husband in another's presence. Only in a 'big wedding' does the shaman perform this service. (W.B.)

With these ceremonies, the bride was fully incorporated into her husband's lineage. By serving refreshments to the family and guests, presumably the couple at once demonstrates responsibility in their new role.

By ten o'clock the next morning, the tables had again been set for feeding the bride's delegation and fifty or so other guests; and again the bride's brother sat with the spirit doctor at the head. This time the bride, though not eating, was strolling about, chatting with relatives and guests. Because her hat-frame was not canopied, but covered with a simple red cloth and tassel, her face was

visible to all. She would do no work that day but in the afternoon she and her husband would take strips of pork fat to each of the relatives saluted the night before. The next day would be the first time she performed a regular wifely chore: she would bring warm water to her husband to wash his face. That day she would sit long by the fire to melt the bee's wax in order to remove the head piece. (E.P.)

For one month Fay would leave her husband's house as little as possible, but could visit homes in his patrilineage. Presumably thereby, her husband's spirits would become used to her. After that month, the couple would pay the arranged-for visit to her parents.

The Yao have the business acumen to implement the good life they cherish, though they must tailor it to their degree of prosperity.<sup>15</sup> Rituals can be staged modestly or lavishly, but it is felt that greater benefits and prestige accrue from the expensive model, such as this wedding.

However, an impending change on the economic scene may impinge on the ritual life. For several reasons, the Yao are beginning to feel short of cash: the Thai decision to stop traffic in opium will increasingly cut off much Yao income, for which compensation from other sources is difficult to find; the products offered in the lowland markets are proving ever more alluring; a few Yao have decided to try to enter the field of wet rice production, and are putting money into the capital expenses of land, buffalo, and tools. With such shifts, the old religious forms will soon feel the pinch of a cash economy. In fact, the Christian Yao state frankly that one reason for turning to Christianity is that it is cheaper to support than the ancestral spirits. It is likely that the big bride-prices are now paid with silver ingots accumulated from the previous opium-economy. As the familial caches of silver diminish, speeded by an increasing population, and as cash slips into other uses, it is possible that wedding rituals such as we have described may be modified.

Up to the present, in the wedding rite, the direct link of ritual action to the old religious and social premises has not been broken. The objectives are explicit, and the steps to achieve them are coherent and consistent. Yet it is probable that Christianity, the modern technological world, and perhaps Thai Buddhism will soon work subtle changes. However, it is not likely that the wedding of Papu and Fay Hiang will be the last in the old Yao style.

## Footnotes

1. These (with Chinese names in parentheses) are: ley (li); tsew (ciaw); pyen (phan); tang (tyn); pung (fung); tsân (chin); yang (wang); tu (thaw); tsua (tsu); lau (lau); syaw (siaw); lyow (lio). H.P. was told by the chief shaman of Huei Kang Pa that "the lyow (lio) was of Chinese origin, not really one of the original 12 Yao clans, but now accepted as truly Yao". The 12th Yao clan is "taung".
2. H.P. notes that "the Yao occasionally buy children from the Akha, Lahu, and Northern Thai, and rear them as Yao. These children are fully integrated into Yao society, and marry within the tribe." Thus endogamy is a social fiction, and genetic infusion from other tribes occurs.
3. "For this reason the Yao do not build houses on stilts as do the Lahu." (H.P.)
4. See Pramote Nakornthab, "The Yao Offering to the Great Spirit", p. 41.
5. I shall enlist the forms of western drama and present the material by means of a cast of characters, a prelude, and three acts.
6. Even in negotiations, the bride-to-be is never named, but is referred to by circumlocution. Cf. Cox, below, "the fu-yung tree...with a tiger in its shade..." (p. 54).
7. If a bride has no brother, or only young ones, her party is headed by her mother's brother, preferably the older. After her wedding, this bride's husband then assumes the duties for all his wife's younger sisters as they marry, at least until her brothers grow to maturity. Thus a woman's brother-in-law (her older sister's husband), who is outside her clan, sometimes plays this important role. It is never her father.
8. I suspect that to the Yao as to the Chinese, music has the power to effect specific actions and conditions, and to control emotions. Cf. Ed. Chavannes, Les Memoires Historiques de Se-Ma Tsiên, Leroux, Paris, 1897, vol. 3, Ch. 24, "La Musique", e.g., "Faire que....la satisfaction et la joie, le contentement et l'amour, tels sont les effets de la musique" (p. 249).
9. Fire, for example, is also compatible with wood, but not with water; metal, with earth, but not with wood. Moreover, the man must be "ascendant" (presumably this refers to the Yin-Yang concept). "If a girl is born in the sixth month of the Chinese calendar, the wedding must take place at her house." (P.N.) "If the birth date and hour are unknown, divination by chicken thigh-bones is relied on." (W.B.)

10. A poor boy may win a bride of good family, but he who pays no money must live with and work for his wife's people, and "the husband and children take the wife's clan name.s" (P.N.) "One year of work is the equivalent of one hang of silver. Usually a man need not live more than six years with his parents-in-law before taking his wife to his own parents' home. However, if the parents-in-law have only daughters, or young sons who cannot yet work in the fields, the son-in-law tends to live at his wife's house permanently or until her brothers grow up enough to work, or until any of her sisters marry and so bring in a husband as a replacement for him." (W.B.)

In another arrangement, a Christian Yao, supporting aged parents on wages earned at the government welfare station, wished to marry Fay's younger sister. He offered her parents 400 baht to have her come live as his wife. He agreed to give more money after a year, if the arrangement were to be continued as mutually satisfactory. If not, the girl might return home, taking with her to keep any child that might be born to them. He would then receive back his 400 baht.

Reverend Cox noted that "in Christian weddings, every effort is made that a church ceremony be performed at the time of betrothal. Then later, at the usual season for marriages, i.e., in the dry season after the rice harvest, the old ceremony of the bride going to the groom's home is gone through, with a service of praise and prayer in the home. In one or two cases, the big dowry payments, which often hindered a poor man from getting a wife, have been cancelled altogether, and only a small sum has been given by the groom's father for the wedding expenses. More recently, however, a larger sum has been given.s" (E.C.)

11. At a memorable three-day wedding some years before, 14 pigs were killed.
12. Later the distraught lover took his request for the return of the ring to the Thai sub-district officer (kamnan) who ruled that the ring should not be returned to its donor, but should be given to the baby. All seemed satisfied.
13. The wedding feast is the only occasion when women sit and are served beside the men.
14. Blessings in Thai and English from our party were also posted.
15. After a prosperous period under the French regime in Laos, the Yao, caught in the post war disturbances, underwent a financial crisis when their accumulated wealth in Nationalist Chinese currency proved to be worthless. They then moved to Thailand, and now appear to have worked back to prosperity, as suggested by Reverend Cox, "More recently... a larger bride-price has been given". (Footnote 10.)

THE BROTHER AND SISTER WHO SAVED THE WORLD:

A LISU FOLKTALE

By William H. Wohnus and L. M. Hanks

We have given this title to a broadly distributed type of tale about world-wide catastrophe and reconstruction (cf. Thompson, 1955). The present version came from Huei Mahin Fon in Tambon Mae Chan, Chiengrai, where the Lisu wife of the headman told it to Wohnus during an ethnographic study. Because the tale has no known relations to Lisu ritual and was told in an informal fashion, we judge it to be a secular tale in this setting. In the following text the bracketed words are Lisut

"One day a long, long, long time ago there were seven suns that surrounded the earth and made it so hot that all the trees burned down and all the rivers and streams dried up. Everyone who lived on the earth died except two people who were left in a water gourd (fo lú). These two were a boy and his younger sister. They had nothing to eat and no water to drink, save a little in the bottom of the gourd which kept them alive. The girl, looking out of the gourd toward the sky, said to her brother: 'Brother, go up to the sky and ask the Sky God (wu sá) for some rain, for we have very little water to drink, and there is surely not enough to grow any food.' The brother did as his sister said, and soon there was a small rain storm. But it was not enough, for the thirsty ground immediately soaked it all up. The brother went a second time to ask the Sky God for rain, and, shortly, it came. This time there was more water, but not yet enough for plants to grow. So the brother asked again for rain, and this time there was just the right amount for growing food. Because there were also fish to eat in the streams, the brother and sister were happy.

"One day, while they were going about the business of clearing a field, they came across a rice grinder. The boy said: 'Look, sister, the rice mill has two stones with which to grind the rice, and there must be two to do the work. Why don't we become man and wife, and be a pair like the stones in the rice grinder?' His sister replied: 'But we can't do that! You know that a brother and sister may

not become man and wife.' The brother was troubled by this and began to think. Finally he said: 'Sister, I have an idea. Let us take the stones one from the other and roll them in opposite directions. If the two stones come together at some place and can still be put together to grind rice, we shall become man and wife. If not, each of us must try to make his own way in the world.' His sister agreed that this was a good idea. They separated the stones and started them rolling in opposite directions, each following his own stone. Finally, the two stones came together in a distant place. The brother and sister put one on top of the other, and the stones did grind rice.

"According to the agreement, the brother and sister became man and wife. Soon the sister was pregnant. When the child was born, it was not a child, but a water gourd. The sister said to her brother: 'Now see what has happened! We have been punished for doing what we should not have done.' The brother said: 'Do not worry. We shall put the gourd safely by the door, and I shall ask the God what this means. Surely he will know.' So the gourd was placed in safety by the door of their house, and the brother went to seek the God's advice.

"When the brother returned, the God was with him and asked: 'Where is the gourd that was born as a child?' They said: 'It is there by the door, where we put it for safe keeping.' The God looked at the gourd, turned to the brother and sister, and said: 'Good! In that gourd there are one hundred and one languages (i.e. ethnic groups) and two hundred and one people. After I have left, you may open the gourd carefully and let the people out.'

"When he left, the brother and sister did as he had told them, and out of the gourd came all the people that the God had said were there. One of the couples was Lisu. But there was one person, an Akha, without a partner. When he went to the God to ask what he could do to get a wife, he was told: 'You may go into the forest and take a monkey to be your wife.'"

Even a cursory examination of a few references indicates that this tale occurs throughout northern southeast Asia and southwestern China. The present version is either an isolated fragment or an episode from a longer tale, since the reasons for the cataclysm are not given. All other versions tell something about the antecedents. In Szechuan, the Ch'uan Miao describe two brothers who, while preparing their land, were told of an impending disaster and sought to save themselves (Graham 1938:20). From upper Tonkin, Abadie (1924:58) gives a Thō version where the sky god brings on a catastrophe to punish mankind for its sins. Similarly the Laotian version (de Berval 1958:379-380) sets the stage for a disaster by

telling about the offenses of humanity and three earth gods against the sky god. [In a tale from the "Black" Lisu of the Upper Salween (Rose and Brown 1910:252-254), which includes a mill-stones episode sanctioning the brother-sister incest, the couple is saved by riding out the catastrophic flood in the heaven-sent gourd. (L.S.)]

Though Thompson (1955) refers to a Buddhist tale about the demise of the world through drought, the present version is unusual in that the nearest parallels all describe floods. Of course, these Lisu who have drifted south from the high eastern slopes of the Tibetan plateau may have forgotten the destructiveness of floods. To them drought is doubtless a more believable agent to end the world. These people know of crop failures because too little rain came too late. They have watched the village spring go dry, forcing them to settle elsewhere.

Beyond these dictates of habitat the Lisu seem to view water as a special agent for giving and sustaining life. Since young women and girls ordinarily bring water into the house in gourds, it is not surprising to find that this tight container, the one best suited to this daily need, gave shelter to the legendary brother and sister through the drought and then preserved the lives of two hundred and one offspring. When the Lisu wish to build a permanent marker on a grave, they bring stones from the bottom of a brook, even when others are more easily available. Lisu houses are built directly on the earth, and so they seek out new house sites where the spirit-beings of the earth are favorable. Because these spirits are potentially present in every part of the house on every occasion, a man, before building, divines a site to avoid unfavorable influences and offers water to these beings. Though tea or liquor are the proper drinks for ordinary guests, water is the drink that gives a house solidity and sustains friendship with the earth beings. Every day household members splash water on the floor to keep the dust down, but not on the New Year. Then, as if to renew the contract, the household head and his wife ceremonially pour water on a dry housefloor.

The theme that seems to interest the Lisu most is incest, for the tale spends itself telling how the two overcame prohibitions. That Lisu abhor incest seems likely, particularly when we are told the all-but-impossible conditions for an exception: A pair of stones, rolled down opposite sides of a mountain, must come to rest touching each other. Here is an unusual mode of divination that contrasts with the ordinary pair of flat wooden pieces tossed to see whether they come to rest with convex sides showing. In the Ch'uan Miao version of this tale, a second test was also applied: The sister threw a needle off one

side of a mountain while the brother threw a thread in the opposite direction (Graham 1938). When the needle threaded itself, they knew the interdiction had been lifted. However, the reassuring divination did not convince the Lisu girl, for on giving birth to the gourd, she was anxious again. Since only this version of the tale contains such an episode, we infer that the Lisu expect to be punished for incest by bearing abnormal offspring. Only the Sky God could reassure her that she had not sinned.

After such concern for incest it may be asked why marriages between the twins who issued from the gourd should pass unnoticed. The answer is that our modern Lisu no longer consider the marriage of twins to be incestuous. Like the Northern Thai, they believe that twins, instead of being siblings, are the souls of frustrated lovers from a previous existence. Being desperately in love, they will inevitably seek each other out and marry. Consequently the Lisu have one of the twins raised as a member of another patriclan so that the marriage will be socially approved. We find corroboration of this view in the Chronicle of La:p'un (Notton 1930, II:10-11). There the hermit Vasudeba raised and unhesitatingly married four pairs of miraculously born twins. [In the Tabanan area of Bali, H. Geertz in G. W. Skinner, ed., 1959:31) reports that if twins of opposite sex are born to aristocrats as opposed to commoners, "it is thought to be an exceedingly auspicious event, and the brother and sister are expected to marry when adult." (L.S.)] The Miao version avoids the problem by creating the people of the present world from a piece of wood; whole families were created rather than twins.

An interesting feature of both the Ch'uan Miao and the Lisu versions is that the new people of the world are of many varied ethnic groups. The Thō version tells of three boys and a girl who gave rise to the Thō and Chinese (Abadie, 1924). In the Laotian document Thai and Khā peoples issued from differing holes in the three pumpkins. Thus each one accounts for the people it considers significant, and the Lisu, in addition, indicate their low esteem of the Akha by having the left-over male marry a monkey. Indeed, the Akha themselves refer to the akhū, a tribal subdivision, as the descendants of a monkey ancestor (J. R. Hanks 1964). [The Lisu of the Upper Salween (Rose and Brown 1910:253) recount that one of nine sons of the original couple married a monkey. (L.S.)]

Who are the sister and brother who have made possible a continuation of the human race or particular ethnic groups? Who are their kinsmen? They are known all through Tonkin (Abadie 1924); and in Szechuan, the Ch'uan Miao name them mi lo'an and thu nji (Graham 1938). In Laos they sometimes

become the three earth gods, the three Khun. From the nose of their dead water buffalo, given by a forgiving sky god, grew an enormous vine, which sprouted three pumpkins containing the new population (de Berval 1959). We do not know whether this was the same vine that obliterated the sun until Grandfather and Grandmother Gneu cut it down to save humanity from darkness, another kind of calamity for the world. However, Archambault (1964:58) states that:

When the eldest son of the divinities [Grandfather and Grandmother Gneu] founded Luang P'rabang, he modeled it after the original kingdom [Muong Then, or Dien Bien Phu] and accorded a special place to the cult of the two guardian spirits. As the tradition is carried from Muong Then to Luang P'rabang, the personality of the two spirits takes [on] more significance. From servants of the son of the gods, they became parents, took over his descendants -- the founder of Luang P'rabang thus became their son-- and became creators of the world, a world which, according to the cult legends, they caused to arise from the waters by a dance which then became the dynastic emblem of the ruling line of Luang P'rabang.

Now these former servants of the gods turned guardians appear every year in Luang P'rabang to restore order to mankind before the arrival of the New Year. And are they related to Fa-shi and Nü-kua, the primeval pair in ancient China who by inventing the rites of marriage established order between the sexes (Granet 1958:415)? Perhaps they are the same whom Karlgren (no date:229) found sometimes as primeval rulers and sometimes as creatures joined together with "a serpent's body, human face, an ox's head, and a tiger's nose."

Their forms, names, and relationships to each other change, so that we cannot even be sure of their sex, let alone whether they are brother and sister, husband and wife, or unrelated people like the three Khun. Yet their deeds overlap as does the suggestion of their common identity. Even the three Khun became involved in a flood and subsequently repopulated the world. Whether cutting down an enormous vine or making the flood waters abate, Grandfather and Grandmother Gneu also saved the world. They too have become the saviours from chaos like Fa-shi and Nü-kua who ordered the relations between the sexes. In fact all are saviours of the world from disaster and inaugurators or preservers of the social order we now know.

THE LAHU SHI HOPOE:  
THE BIRTH OF A NEW CULTURE?

By L. M. Hanks

During our survey of the hills between the Mae Kok river and the Burmese border, we ordinarily met no difficulties in identifying the ethnic affiliation of a village. Ethnic affiliation was the usual standard of reference. Before visiting a new village, we enquired, and it might be said that the next village along the trail would be Akha, Lahu Nyi (Red Lahu), Lisu, Karen, or Shan. This information was ordinarily reliable, so that on reaching the designated village we found the house types, village lay-out, costumes, and other traits associated with the ethnic group in question. So our work went smoothly until we reached Saen Phrom (Map 1).

By then it was late in our travels, and our own standard of judgement had received at least six months of training. Saen Phrom and fifteen or twenty other villages were all that were left to visit; we had already touched on more than one hundred. Lahu had somehow been given for Saen Phrom, and we expected to find the usual black female costumes with red stripes, tightly-knit grass roofs on elevated houses, etc. Instead, the houses were not carelessly scattered on a side hill but spread around a central square where a New Year's pole stood with an unfamiliar decoration. The houses had roofs of bamboo and woven walls like the Lisu, but the floor was raised on posts like the Lahu. Pigs were "Lisu"; they did not wander about the village but were kept in bamboo pens. The female dress resembled the Lisu yet lacked blue, yellow, and red stripes at the collar line. The young men wore turquoise-colored trousers of the Lisu type; some in a very un-Lahu-like manner even wore the Lisu single ear ring and chewed betel. Used to fitting villages into neat ethnic categories, we were at a loss.

The headman of the village being away, we interviewed his assistant, asking about village movements, crops, live-stock, and other items of our village inventory. The village had moved about in the immediate area for many years. Live-stock and crops seemed better than average. When it came to identifying the village ethnically, the assistant headman said that they were Lahu Shi (Yellow Lahu), though they spoke the

same local dialect as the Lahu Nyi. We were not very satisfied because we had just met people recently arrived from Burma who called themselves Lahu Shi, but who were totally different in observable cultural behavior. Perhaps, we thought, the differences arose because the Burmese Lahu Shi had been converted to Christianity. So when the elderly headman appeared, we seized the opportunity to talk about the village in greater detail. He warmed to the topic and confirmed the identification as Lahu Shi. We then asked him if he had met the recently arrived Lahu Shi from Burma. He replied he had, and that he found them speaking an unfamiliar dialect difficult to understand. So he concluded that the newcomers were Lahu Shi Banla, a term similar to Lahu Shi Balan mentioned by Young (1962:24); while his group was Lahu Shi Hopoe or "Yellow Lahu with blond-maned horses." Until he talked with the newcomers, he had thought all Lahu Shi were alike, but now he felt there was a difference. His group was somehow unique. We then asked about the history. He replied: "It took four generations to make a Lahu Shi Hopoe. In the first generation a Shan, living in the mountains, married an Akha woman. Their children, the second generation, married Lahu. In the third generation they (probably the daughters) married Chinese and lived with the Lisu. In the fourth they took Lahu spouses."

Here was an unnerving statement. It suddenly opened cavernous questions of ethnic identity. We had come to accept with reservations the various assertions about ethnic endogamy after seeing Lisu and Chinese living in certain villages. However, we had not doubted the continuity of an ethnic tradition, for we assumed that the children of these mixed marriages would continue in the tradition of their native villages. Yet here was a group that enjoyed the same label but had neither the culture nor the language of the Burmese Lahu Shi. Clearly, much additional information is needed. How had they acquired the label? Where had these generations lived? What was the sex of the principals in each generation? What kind of Lahu were they? What happened to the other children? The marriage rules of most of these ethnic groups are supposedly known, e.g. neolocal residence for the Shan, patrilocal for the Akha and Lisu, matrilocal for the Lahu. With inter-ethnic marriages, however, convenience and interest often override these cultural rules. We have found Chinese living in the villages of their Akha and Lisu wives, as well as Lisu husbands living in the village of their wives. Thus we cannot sort out the ethnic continuities and discontinuities of mixed marriages without this additional information.

As far as we could tell from inquiry elsewhere, the Lahu Shi Hopoe began in the present generation with the headman's elder brother, Caphù, though the principal actors

were living on the same ridge in the preceding generation and possibly in the grandfather's generation as well. Within the past thirty years the village under Caphu divided into two parts, which in turn also divided to make the present four villages, which we subsequently visited.

According to Scott and Hardiman (1900:680) the Lahu Shi are one of the major linguistic and cultural divisions of the Lahu in Burma, but they fail to mention the Hopoe among the total subdivisions which they give. Some years later Telford (1937:90), also speaking from Burma, gives four Lahu Shi subdivisions without enumerating the Hopoe. Young (1962:24), with experience in Burma as well as Thailand, also omits the Hopoe among his four subdivisions of the Lahu Shi. The only trace of the Hopoe comes from Reverend and Mrs. Neville Long, who during their 1964 period of duty in Chieng Khong mentioned the Hopoe as a Lahu subdivision in Laos, though we do not know whether or not they were Lahu Shi. Izikowitz (1951:21), our most recently published source of information on tribal people in Laos, makes no mention of any Lahu Shi in the upper Mekong region he investigated, where 1649 Lahu Na and Lahu Nyi (Mossu Dam, Mossu Deng) were living.

The Long's information complicates our thesis that the Lahu Shi Hopoe are a cultural nova. We cannot exclude the possibility of cultural continuity between Lahu villages in Thailand and Laos which both call themselves Hopoe. Though the vast majority of Lahu in the Mae Kok region of Thailand seem to have come from Burma rather than Laos, it is still possible that a few households made their way westward across the Mekong to Thailand, as did the Yao. However, this kind of continuity seems doubtful. If there were a Hopoe homeland, it would be best to seek it out in Burma or Yunnan. According to their own statements the immediate progenitors of the Lahu Shi Hopoe have lived in Thailand at least fifty years, and the earlier progenitors, which include Shan and Lisu, do not suggest a Laotian past. Yet as we have seen, not only the genetic but the linguistic continuity has been broken. Only subtle indices developed out of long study are likely to reveal possible cultural continuities beyond the name to which they have somehow clung or attached themselves. Therefore, on the basis of available evidence, we shall make the case for a recent birth of the Lahu Shi Hopoe.

#### The Setting of the New Lahu

The region north of the Mae Kok river is a portion of the hills on the west bank of the Mekong which extend southward like a long finger from the Eastern Himalayas in China's mountain provinces of Yunnan and Chamdo. The tribes have drifted south along these hills for centuries, but their entry

into Thailand has been fairly recent. Thai and Shan residents of the plains stated that several different tribal groups had occupied the hills within their memories. The Lahu and Lisu have been there since at least 1900, probably 1875. Before that time the hills in the region seem to have been practically unoccupied, though a forgotten chapter of Thai history with villages, temples, and roads leading to Burma lies buried in the mountain valleys (cf. Sharp 1964). The former Lisu villages have dispersed and moved farther south, but new ones have taken their places. The first Akha arrived probably some ninety years ago. Yao came out of Laos into the Mae Kok region about seventy-five years ago and many hundred others have followed since World War II. The heavy northward movements of Thai into the province of Chiengrai also took place during the past fifty years.

To obtain a more detailed view of the scene where the new culture arose, we should review our data from villages along the southernmost strip of the Mae Kok region. Here is a ridge about 27 miles long which forms the north bank of the Mae Kok river, to be called the Mae Kok Ridge. Its peaks rise to about 1200 meters above the sea, while the plains lie at 400 meters. Tribal villages lie between 600 and 1000 meters above the sea. The west end of the ridge is broken by the Mae Ngam river where some Karen are growing wet rice. The east end falls off sharply into the Mekong valley where Thai lowlanders are thickly settled. Here is the provincial capital of Chiengrai, a city of about 12,000 people.

Let us compare the villages on the east end of the Mae Kok Ridge, where the Lahu Shi Hopoe live, with the villages on the west end where there are no problems of tribal identification. The line between eastern and western villages was drawn at approximately the geographic center of the ridge. The population data are summarized in Table IV.

Table IV

Population, dwellings and villages of the  
East and West on the Mae Kok Ridge.

	Eastern Villages	Western Villages
Number of villages	19	18
Number of houses in all villages	195	190
Total population	1112	1185
Average (range) number of houses per village	10.3 (5-18)	10.6 (5-23)
Average (range) population per village	58.8 (30-101)	65.8 (25-227)

Though the number of villages is about equal, the western villages are generally somewhat larger.

To gain an idea of the well-being of these villages, we resorted to certain indices of wealth. Each person interviewed, usually the headman, was asked how many pigs he owned and the number of five-gallon tins of paddy that he harvested during the most recent season. These indices are rough and vary from year to year, yet in a general way they show the economic standing of a village.

Table V

Indices of tangible wealth of villages of the  
East and West on the Mae Kok Ridge.

	Eastern Villages	Western Villages
Average number (range) of pigs owned by sample person in each village.	11.9 (1-50)	9.5 (2-21)
Average number (range) of 5 gal. tins of paddy harvested.	200 (50-400)	220 (40-500)

Though the number of pigs raised is greater among eastern villages, the western ones have harvested more rice. By these measures the differences in well-being are not clearly significant.

To obtain a measure of the degree of cultural contact with the lowland Thai, we asked about the number of government officials who visited the village during the past year. Altogether six officials have duties which might have brought them to a village: viz. headman, commune chief, police, health officer, assistant district officer, district officer. We also obtained estimates of the number of Thai speakers in each village. These we have converted to a rating scale, which varied from "two or three" speakers, rated as "1", to "everyone speaks some," rated as "4". We also counted the number of radios. The results appear in Table VI.

Table VI

Indices of the degree of culture contact with the Thai in villages of the East and West on the Mae Kok Ridge.

	Eastern Villages	Western Villages
Average number (range) of visits by Thai officials during past year	1.75 (0-4)	1.3 (0-4)
Average rating (range) of number of Thai speakers in village	2.7 (1-4)	1.8 (1-3)
Total (average) number of radios	21 (0.91)	3 (0.17)

By every index, culture contacts with the Thai are greater among the eastern villages. Though uplanders, if lightly loaded, might reach the provincial capital in a single day from almost all villages, the heavy-footed lowland Thai, like ourselves, required two days to climb to the remoter villages. So the eastern villages were much more visited by Thai traders as well as officials who had to come from the east. These uplanders also visited the markets more frequently.

At this point I conclude that the Lahu Shi Hopoe live in an area of more than average culture contact with the lowland Thai. As a rule this contact is minimal. Uplanders make periodic trips to the village or city markets and return. Lowland traders and some local officials make a few visits a year to the upland villages. Almost no lowlander can speak any of the upland languages, and most uplanders know only enough Thai to make their purchases. Government decrees forbidding the cutting of new fields in the forest or the growing of opium have been made and followed with a handful of arrests and fines. But ordinarily the police are not seen more than once a year in any village. So after a while, when food and money are short, the uplanders turn again to cutting timber and growing poppies. In 1964 a government welfare station for the tribal peoples was opened to the north, but as yet its program has affected only its immediate area. Otherwise the two populations live apart, the Thai in their stable villages adorned with temples, the mobile uplanders looking down from the mountain slopes.

## Some Correlations with Culture Contact

The ethnic identities of the villages on the Mae Kok Ridge appear in Table VII. The villages of mixed identity, the Lahu Shi Hopoe and the three villages of Lahu-Lisu, which we shall describe presently, lie on the eastern end of the ridge.

Table VII

Ethnic identity of the villages of the  
East and West on the Mae Kok Ridge.

	Eastern Villages	Western Villages
Lahu Nyi	8	13
Akha	1	4
Yao	3	1
Lahu Shi Hopoe	4	
Lahu-Lisu	3	

In these villages, if we exclude the Lahu Shi and Lahu-Lisu, ten aliens were living in four eastern villages, while five aliens lived in three western villages. Usually they were Lisu or Chinese, though Khmu and Thai were also represented in the east.

Aside from these statistics the preponderance of mixed peoples on the east end of the ridge will be evident, if we examine briefly the three Lahu-Lisu villages. One of them, Lawlau', with its six houses and 38 inhabitants is an ethnic conglomerate. In four houses Lisu have taken Lahu Nyi wives; in two the husband and wife were both Lahu. In one of the houses designated as Lisu a Chinese grandparent was living, and the architecture resembled Chinese as much as Lisu house-style. Two other villages (Saen Mai and Lopha') consisted altogether of five Lisu and six Lahu households. The headman of one village was the son of the Lisu headman of the other. Unlike the Lahu Shi Hopoe, none of these villages had compounded a new culture. The distinctive Lahu Nyi and Lisu costumes as well as house-styles were evident in the village. In Lopha' and Saen Mai each household ran its affairs according to its own customary procedures, but if conflict occurred, the Lisu customs took precedent. The New Year rites followed Lisu practices.

Among the nineteen eastern villages, let us compare those villages having alien residents with those of apparently homogeneous culture. For purposes of the following table, I have included among the mixed villages not only the Lahu Shi Hopoe together with the Lahu-Lisu, but one Lahu Nyi village and the Yao village of Huei Kang Pa, each with three alien households. The results appear in Table VIII.

Table VIII

Comparison of ethnically homogeneous villages with villages of mixed ethnic composition on the east end of the Mae Kok Ridge

	Mixed Villages	Homogeneous Villages
Number of villages	9	10
Number of houses	82	113
Average (range) number of houses	9.1 (5-16)	10.3 (5-18)
Average (range) population	55.4 (28-81)	61.3 (30-101)
Average (range) number of pigs	13.6 (3-50)	5.1 (1-13)
Total number of radios	11	9
Average (range) years of residence	21.2 (2-30+)	12.4 (1-30+)

The villages of mixed population are smaller in population, wealthier in pigs, and have lived longer on the eastern end of the Mae Kok Ridge.

One might suppose that the eastern and western villages also differ in the number of households that move in and out of a village from year to year. Accordingly we distributed the villages into five-kilometer zones, beginning with the easternmost villages and determined the number of migrants in each zone per village. The results are tabulated in Table IX.

Table IX

The total, average (range) of in- and out-migrating households in villages of the Mae Kok Ridge distributed in 5 km zones from east to west

5 km zone from east to west	Number of villages	Number of migrating households	Average (range) number of migrating households per zone
0-5	6	3	0.5 (0-3)
5-10	9	16	1.8 (0-6)
10-15	11	15	1.5 (0-4)
15-20	4	3	0.8 (0-1)
20-25	4	10	3.3 (0-7)
25-30	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
Total	36	47	

Rather than a characteristic of either the east or the west, the table shows that the greatest mobility occurs at the midpoint of the Ridge. It suggests that the mobility of households is more closely related to village density rather than to any direct effect of culture contact, though an alternative interpretation will be suggested in the next section. The peak of average movement in the 20-25 km zone reflects a local dispute which seems to have nothing to do with population density nor culture contact. Three villages have been omitted for lack of data.

I conclude that greater cultural contact with Thai is associated with greater ethnic mixture, smaller villages, and possibly increased economic well-being. In only two villages (Khaco and 'Ai Saen) on the eastern end of the Ridge have people from the lowland (Thai and Khmu) moved into upland villages. Otherwise the effects of contact have taken place intermittently and at a distance.

#### An Interpretation

In seeking to describe the birth of a new culture, the Lahu Shi Hopoe on the eastern end of the Mae Kok Ridge, it is well to recall the general drift of Tibeto-Burman-

speaking villages out of the mountains of China. If the similarity of villages with the same ethnic background is a satisfactory criterion, they reach Thailand with cultures intact. The small scattered pockets of Shan appear to have left their imprint without shattering village organization. If governments, taxes, corvée, schools and markets have shattered villages, these broken ones have disappeared and the fragments have been absorbed into other villages. The effects were uniform, working in the same direction. Even the Christian missionaries, who worked long and intensively with certain groups and left an indelible stamp, did not dislocate the converted villages. Once in Thailand, however, a stronger force seems to have influenced them.

Cultural contact is always somewhat disruptive, yet this disruption works with varying degrees of intensity. It is easy to chart the gradient as one moves from the market center along a trail. Young men in the first village wear store shirts, plastic sun hats, and canvas shoes. An hour or two farther along the trail, traditional costumes appear, often tailored locally but of store cloth. Today native cotton is woven only in a few Akha villages, yet old timers remember when every village wove its own cloth. So the duration of the contact is also a factor in the degree of disruption, for by and large the Akha are most self sufficient.

If we examine the setting of the Lahu Shi Hopoe, it lies at the point of most severe contact and has undergone exposure for more than thirty years. Indeed, all the mixed villages of the eastern ridge have been exposed for no less than 10 years. These villages are smaller than the more remote ones and seem to have been injured at a vital spot in their social structure. The headman of Phakhong observed the effects when he said: "Formerly there were large villages; now they are small. Everyone wants to be headman of a village." The produce of the market reduces the importance of cooperation in village endeavor. When an energetic man can sell enough peppers to rival the wealth of a headman, a village split is imminent. So groups of households move off to set up smaller villages, perhaps as small as four or five houses. Some, like the village of Cada, may dissolve into a single household. This phase of disruption is best represented, I believe, in zones 5-10 and 10-15 of Table IX where the mobility of households is highest.

In good years a village of four houses can flourish, but in poor years with its small store of total resources it cannot survive. This is how such capable men as Caphū, first headman of the Lahu Shi Hopoe, could gather people to his village. Faced with hunger, households put aside questions of tribal identity. Caphū with his heterogeneous ethnic background was successful in learning about the markets of the valley during his long period of contact and

had cash enough to buy lowland rice when the village crop was poor. His authority sufficed to introduce some of the prestigious Lisu customs learned during his boyhood. That he could forbid the smoking of opium in his village, even though he had grown rich in the traffic, is testimony of his authority. So in the cluster of villages nearest the lowlands there emerged a few stable villages which were undisturbed by the seeming turmoil of their immediate neighbors to the west. In table IX this synthesizing phase is represented by zone 0-5.

At the points of strongest and most prolonged contact new cultures are born. It is contact at a distance, mild enough that the units of one culture are not absorbed by the other nor precipitated into a withdrawal. Then contact may disrupt village organization, yet not in such a drastic manner that a second synthetic moment cannot reorder the pieces. In Tonkin, Abadie's description of variant groups of Lolo (1924:§73-188) gives evidence of such conditions having a similar resultant, even though he considers these groups to be survivors of strong groups from elsewhere. While gradual cultural variation may also have occurred, perhaps the villages he describes were quickly transformed on the spot by culture contact. All of his villages of Lolo type live in small scattered hamlets close to dominant Thai, Miao, or Man (Yao). These so-called Lolo have no cultural similarity to the parent group in China and have lost all recollection of their ethnic forebears. The less-known Fou-la, Xa-pho, and No-nhi show unmistakable signs of being mixed populations. In Burma, Leach (1954:60) describes pockets of mixed groups in certain localities, himself studied a mixed community at Hpalang (ibid. 65, map A), refers to the multiplicity of languages and dialects (ibid. 44-45), and documents the movement of people in and out of fixed cultures (ibid. 2). But how fixed are these cultures? The birth of a new culture is not a local accident in Thailand.

If culture change is swift and rapid in this region, this may well account for the miscellany of tribal names. For example, Scott and Hardiman's (1900:581) list of sixteen Lahu subdivisions has only three which are repeated by Telford (1937:90). In turn Telford's list of four Lahu Shi subdivisions repeats only one of Young's (1962:24). That these people value their name little may be seen from the fact that some villages which we identified culturally as Lahu Nyi reported themselves to be Lahu Na (Black Lahu). To be called a "red" Lahu, as the word "Nyi" is translated, implies affiliation with the communist world and certain groups which raid across the border from Burma. They could refute these charges by simply changing to a more respectable name. So too Abadie's Lolo (1924:§73-188), who neither remembered the Lolo in China nor retained cultural similarity to them, may merely have adopted a respectable name. For these reasons we need not be surprised to find Lahu Shi Hopoe in both Thailand and Laos, who may have little more in common than speaking dialects of Lahu and living in similar settings.

Figure 3. VILLAGES OF THE MAE KOK RIDGE ABOVE THE LEVEL OF THE PLAIN WITH APPARENT ETHNIC AFFILIATION AND LOCATION

Eastern Villages:

<u>Village</u>	<u>Ethnic Group</u>	<u>Map No.</u>	<u>Map Coordinate</u>
*'Ai Khai	Lahushi Hopoe	124	D-II
*Saen Phrom	Lahushi Hopoe	102	C-II
*Caphu	Lahushi Hopoe	106	D-I
*Saen Chomphu	Lahushi Hopoe	107	D-III
*Huei Kang Pa	Yao	115	D-II
*Lawlau'	Lahu-Lisu	116	D-III
*Kae Mai	Lahu-Lisu	104	C-II
*Lopha'	Lahu-Lisu	105	C-II
*'Ai Saen	Lahunyi	125	D-II
Khaco	Lahunyi	108	C-II
Phakhong	Lahunyi	103	C-II
Mae Yaw Fak Sai	Yao	92	C-I
Mae Yaw Law Su	Yao	93	C-II
Camu'ku'	Lahunyi	94	C-II
Huei Bakhiang	Lahunyi	96	C-II
Saen Kham Wang	Lahunyi	99	C-III
Caji	Lahunyi	91	C-II
Kaekq	Lahunyi	90	C-II
Huei Tang	Akha	101	C-II

Western Villages:

<u>Village</u>	<u>Ethnic Group</u>	<u>Map No.</u>	<u>Map Coordinate</u>
Kiw Satai	Akha	76	B-III
Saen Mai	Akha	77	B-III
Law Ta Saung Mia	Yao	79	B-III
Caji (Mae Chan)	Lahunyi	100	C-III
Cawa	Lahunyi	2	A-III
Capi	Lahunyi	1	A-II
Tanje Luang	Lahunyi	3	B-II
'Ana'pukae	Akha	4	B-II
Mau Phi	Lahunyi	5	B-II
Cati	Lahunyi	6	B-II
Cakae'	Lahunyi	8	C-II
Mau Kae	Lahunyi	9	C-I
Cathu	Lahunyi	97	C-II
Saen'ad	Lahunyi	10	C-II
Phu Saen Song Mia	Akha	98	C-II
Hale'	Lahunyi	7	B-II
Akau'ae	Lahunyi	11	C-II
Chang Kham Noi (Mae Chan)	Akha	78	B-III

\*Ethnically mixed

Shan, Karen, and Thai villages were not considered in this study.

## PHILADELPHIA AMONG THE LAHU

By Lauriston Sharp

The convergences of an increasing number of ethnically non-Thai migrant village people in the hill tracts of northern Thailand in recent times poses not only serious problems of administrative policy and international relations for the Thai government, but also raises a number of questions of some theoretical interest for anthropology. Policymaker and anthropologist alike are concerned to discover some of the characteristics and determinants of the movements made by whole villages or segments of villages in these highland regions. Answers found for the ethnically varied dry rice horticulturalists in the uplands of northern Thailand may be relevant to comparable shifting ethnic groups in the high borderlands of Burma, Laos, and China beyond the reach of western investigators.

The ethnoecological study conducted in northern Thailand in 1963-64 by the Bennington-Cornell Anthropological Survey provided data on the ethnic "history" of some 150 hill settlements (Hanks, Hanks, Sharp, and Sharp, 1964). The bulk of these were found within the 600 square mile Maekok Region along the Burma borders of Chiangrai Province; a few, farther east in the Chiengdao area of Chiangmai Provinces. On the basis of self-identification, 116 autonomous village communities were classified as being Tibeto-Burman speaking Akha (55), Lahu (49), mixed Lahu-Lisu (3), and Lisu (9), the remainder of the settlements being Yao (11), and in numbers too small for consideration here, Miao, Karen, Shan, northern Thai, and Yunnan Chinese.

Each Akha, Lahu, Lisu, and Yao village is made up of quite autonomous households which are theoretically free to move out of the village, singly or in groups, at any time except when bride service or other debts are owed to another household of the village, in which case such households would have to move together. The average size of household shows little variation from one ethnic group to another, ranging from a high of 6.3 persons per household for the Lisu to 5.4 for the Red Lahu. Each household is an economic unit, and an average size of five or six persons would seem to be

an efficient number for carrying on the swidden technology which is common to and very similar among all of these groups, producing subsistence foods and fibers and cash crops such as opium, chillies, and some other vegetables. A household which is too small to operate effectively as a family, economic, or ritual unit joins another with which it is affiliated through kinship.

The number of households making up a village varies considerably by ethnic group, the Lisu averaging 18 with a range up to 62 households in one village, the Akha averaging 18 with one village of 48, the Yao 17 with one village of 45, and the 39 Red Lahu villages averaging only 10 households, the largest village having 33. The range in the median number of households per village is somewhat less, running from 16 for the Akha to 8 for the Red Lahu; but it is clear that there are real differences among the ethnic groups in the size of their villages.

If we construct a scale of geographic mobility to indicate the relative frequency with which villages or parts of villages move from one locale to another, and if we further note the extent to which such moves involve the splitting up of villages, and if we combine these findings with what we know about the size of villages, we begin to get some suggestion of the general context in which village movements occur. The most stable communities, and the best integrated, are the large Yao villages; they move on the average only once in any seven to ten year period, and there is a very low incidence of segmentation. The large Lisu villages show a medium to high stability of residence, and a medium rate of segmentation. The large Akha villages have a medium degree of stability, moving once every four to seven years, and segmentation occurs at a medium rate. The Lahu villages, small to medium in size, move frequently, or once in any four year period, and show a high frequency rate of segmentation. We conclude that Lahu villages are small, they move more frequently than do others, and such moves tend to involve a division of the village into still smaller units through segmentation. Lahu villages which are too small to function efficiently may coalesce; or the households of a village which breaks up may move off to join several other villages. The fact remains, however, that Lahu villages are more prone to segmentation than are the villages of other ethnic groups in the area.

If we elicit from the hill peoples themselves explanations of why village movements occur, the commonest reasons given are technological: their fields are unproductive, insufficient, or too far away from the village,

the water supply is inadequate, or there are too few people to prepare the fields. These are the easy answers, as is perhaps suggested by the fact that they are more frequently offered to explain old moves than new ones. More circumstantial are the cases in which moves are said to follow sickness or death or to result from social or political pressures exerted by government or neighbors of a different ethnic group. Finally, factional differences may be mentioned, the loss of a headman and disputes over his successor or other quarrels within the village. This last category of reasons is referred to more frequently by the Lahu than by any other group of hill people, while the Yao never mention factionalism as a reason for the establishment of a new village.

The situation suggests that we should look for variables in the political or social structure of the ethnic groups we are considering. There doubtless are such, but they are not well known, at least to me. Yao villages do seem to have a strong authority structure in the offices of village shaman and headman, which follow a patrilineal succession and require some show of literacy in Chinese characters. The Yao system of patrisibs which are knit together through a ritual division of labor doubtless supports the solidarity of the Yao village. In these respects the Lisu and Akha appear to be intermediate between the Yao and Lahu. But noteworthy among the Lahu, and quite probably related to the frequent segmentation of their villages, is an unusual kinship system which is essentially similar for both Red and Black Lahu, but will here be analysed in terms of the latter with specific reference to the Lahu Na village of Hweitad in Chiengdao.

"Everyone in the village helps everyone else when there is need. We are all awvi-awnyi, older and younger siblings, together." This is a phrasing of community social relations heard constantly among residents of the village. Any villager can find such a siblings, a referent for this term, and usually several, in any one of the twenty-one households of Hweitad. All of the household families of the community are thus bound together by ties of siblingship, by the rights and duties of brotherly and sisterly relations.

The term for "older and younger brother or sister", awvi-awnyi, is a contraction and combination of the specific terms awvipa and awvima which have primary reference to older brother and older sister, and awnyipa and awnyima, younger brother and younger sister. But these terms themselves, as well as the shortened and combined form, are extended in their application to an extraordinary degree: bilaterally to distant cousins in Ego's own generation; vertically and bi-

laterally to parents' siblings and parents' cousins in the generation above Ego; and to the children of Ego's siblings and cousins in the generation below; and finally to the spouses of many of these kin.

Each individual villager must thus consider a very large proportion of his neighbors as actual siblings. The very real sense of mutual obligation obtaining between close brothers and sisters is inevitably extended, although in attenuated form, to more distant kin included in this embracing category. Eventually the extension is made even to non-kin, to older and younger neighbors with whom no relationship need be traced, by the use of a social fiction which permits a village-wide application of an already widely extended kinship usage. The final effect turns the village community into a net work throughout which brotherly and sisterly patterns of kinship behavior are ideally supposed to obtain. Furthermore, whether in a context of close, distant, or fictional kinship, ideal sibling roles involve extraordinarily high standards of benevolent behavior demonstrating, in a wide variety of situations, "brotherly love".

Wealth differences among the households of Hweitad are not great, for each has access to any needed amount of land for its subsistence or cash crop production. Given equal access to basic capital resources such as land, seeds, and tools, and given an opportunity to learn technical skills, each household varies its relative productivity in terms of the differential amount of energy and efficiency and initiative its members apply in their technological activities. Inadequate weeding during the growing season may cut productivity in half. An energetic and imaginative operator such as Lawta, even with a small family, works two fields of rice and other crops and in addition produces a thousand baht (\$50.) worth of coffee. Lawg'u's family works only one field, and is still harvesting it when Lawta has already finished his threshing and begun picking coffee berries. Lawg'u is old and his field is tended by a younger daughter's husband who is living in and serving his father-in-law's household for a three year period in accordance with Lahu tradition. Lawg'u's two older daughters' husbands live near-by and both still provide him with the services of sons-in-law, so that he gets along without having to call on the help of other neighbors.

But there are other households in Hweitad which operate with the slackness of Lawg'u, but who have no married daughters whose husbands must supply their parents-in-law with goods and services, or who lack unmarried sons and daughters

who are labor-ready to contribute to the household production. If illness or other particular misfortune strikes such a household, even though it is normally capable of producing some surplus, a public call will be made on the extra services of all village "brothers", a call which no household feels it can deny, so that each must provide a representative to help its stricken older or younger "brother" or "sister".

This pattern is simply an emergency extension of the normal rule that an unmarried person, who cannot own fields of his own, contributes services not only to his own household but also to the households of his married brothers and sisters in crucial periods such as rice planting or harvesting. Indeed, at such times anyone gives such aid as he can spare to his close kin whom he calls "sibling". Any such extra burden of service is an obligation more cheerfully owed to the households of closer, more friendly, or more industrious "brothers and sisters" than to others. Relations between self-sufficient, economically independent households, where there is no pressing need for mutual assistance, and goods or services are proudly paid for or passed back and forth as gifts, these are the most comfortable of all forms of interaction between siblings. It is the frequently unfortunate or the always less productive households, those which find they must more often call on the brotherly services of neighbors or the entire village, which are likely to experience a decrease in the enthusiasm with which the philadelphic ideal is supported in practice.

At best, the practice of truly brotherly relations is fraught with hazards and strains which become more difficult to handle the larger the kinship circle in which "all men are brothers". The more fortunate or productive Lahu who finds his neighboring "brothers and sisters" frequently invoking the philadelphian rule will be subject to irritation and perhaps shortages if he constantly lives up to the ideal, and to feelings of guilt and dissonance if he does not. His only long-term escape is to move either from the immediate neighborhood of importunate siblings or entirely from the village, preferably to the vicinity of "brothers and sisters" whose households are as productive as his own.

Among the Lahu of Hweitad, the inevitable non-conformities between the philadelphian ideals and the strained actualities of role behavior among siblings which arise in daily living create fault-lines in village social structure which may result in splitting or segmenting the community. The situation is complicated by the fact that these Lahu Na have been resident in Thailand only since 1954, when they left their homeland in Burma because of the troubles the Kuo Min Tang were creating there; and by the fact that all households

of the present village had been converted to Christianity before they left Burma. Thus the common kinship designation, awvi-awnyi, may now carry overtones of the Christian concept of religious "brethren", those sons who are brothers through sharing the parentage of a heavenly father. Yet this term and its particular extensions are no recent introductions among the Lahu Na of Hweitad alone, for similar usage is found among other non-Christian Lahut. Nor is the term the equivalent of the Thai pi-nawng or used in the manner of the Thai as a general reference to relatives. Rather, it would appear that traditional patterns of brotherly and sisterly kinship roles have simply been strengthened by more recent congenial ideas of Christian brotherhood.

Other changes accompanying the shift to Christianity have been less compatible with traditional Lahu ways, the chief difficulties arising in the field of village government and religious or church leadership. These difficulties and disputes were a precipitating factor in a split which occurred in 1962 in which fifteen households left Hweitad to establish a new village on the other side of a mountain. Within the relatively uncramped area of the Lahu village these households, which were congenial to each other and could live with each other as close neighbors with a minimum of stress, had already sorted themselves out in a particular section of the settlement. In Hweitad the "upper" village looked down on the "lower" in more senses than one. The pattern of easy residential mobility within the village, which permitted brothers to disengage themselves spatially from brothers they disliked, could be brought into play when a whole section of the village wished to disengage itself to the extent of moving out and establishing a new and separate community. This was the ultimate escape, in which a group of "brothers" who felt that they could act as benevolently as such together, split off from other "brothers" with whom close daily contact had become a strain.

Our thesis is that more industrious, efficient, or energetic Lahu households, rather than renounce the norms of their ideal kinship system with its involvement of "brotherly love", may band together to escape the actual roles of the system as they have come to exist in a given village. The system not only permits this, but may even encourage such a segment of a village either to move out itself or to ostracize a deviant minority. In either case a separate community is established in which the actual roles of sibling behavior will, at least for some years, more nearly approach the ideal roles. The deviants, whether a majority or minority, will continue to be subject to stress between ideal and actual roles, which may lead to

further fragmentation of their community into still smaller village units. Such a trend of village segmentation has indeed been the actual history of the many Lahu villages in both Burma and Thailand for which we have information covering several generations. To a lesser extent, the same trend has been noted for the Akha, with cases in which opium addicted minority village segments have been segregated by ostracism; but here we do not know whether the Akha kinship system supports such a trend, though clearly it does not prevent it as may be the case with the Yao and Lisu. In the instance of Hweitad, at least, I would claim that the old Lahu patterns of conduct provided a basis for the mobility away from imperfect, actual brotherhood and towards an ideal philadelphia which permitted the division of the village to occur, and which in the long run could only support a continuing trend of cultural diversification among the Lahu.

## APPENDIX: KINSHIP TERMS OF ADDRESS

Male

1. Aw Pu  
Own and Sp P F, P P F,
2. Aw Paw  
F  
(Lopu F, Sp F in old age)
3. Aw Vipa  
P O B  
O B; O Cousin  
Sib and Cousin's So  
older than Ego  
O Sis and O Cousin's Hu  
(Tati F O B; F O Sis Hu)
4. Aw Nyipa  
P Y B  
Y B; Y Cousin  
Sib and Cousin's So  
younger than Ego  
Y Sis and Y Cousin's Hu  
(Ashu F Y B; F Y Sis Hu)  
(Aw Shapa O B So; Wi O B So)  
(Aw Opa P B; P B So older  
than Ego)
5. Yapa           So
6. Aw Phua       Hu
7. Aw Mapa     Da Hu
8. Hu Maw        Ch Sp F

Female

1. Aw Pi  
Own and Sp P M, P P M,
2. Aw E  
M  
(Lopi M, Sp M in old age)
3. Aw Vima  
P O Sis  
O Sis; O Cousin  
Sib and Cousin's Da  
older than Ego
4. Aw Nyima  
P Y Sis  
Y Sis; Y Cousin  
Sib and Cousin's Da  
younger than Ego  
Y B and Y Cousin's Wi  
(Aw Shama O B Da; Wi O B Da)
5. Yami           Da
6. Aw Mima       Wi  
(Apiku Wi)
7. Aw Khyma     So Wi
8. Hu Mawma     Ch Sp M

Male and Female

- |                 |             |
|-----------------|-------------|
| 1. Aw Vi Aw Nyi | Sib         |
| 2. Aw Hoj       | Ch Ch       |
| 3. Aw Ha        | Ch Ch Ch    |
| 4. Aw Pu        | Ch Ch Ch Ch |
| 5. Tatiya       | F O B Ch    |
| 6. Ashuya       | F Y B Ch    |
| 7. Hu Pu Hu Maw | Ch Sp P     |

Notes

Man or Woman speaking

For reference terms, the prefix "nga" ("my") is substituted for "aw".

( ) Alternative terms used particularly by a sub-grouping known by other local Lahu Na as "Lahu Alé", a term the sub-group itself does not recognize. One meaning assigned to "Lahu Alé" is a group originating in Yunnan or farther north than other local Lahu Na who trace their origins to Burma and the Kengtung area.

Thai Glossary

amphoe	อำเภอ	administrative district, made up of tambon
chalom	ชลอม	basket
changwat	จังหวัด	administrative province, made up of amphoe
Chao Khun	เจ้าคุณ	A high ranking official; lord of a town or over- lord of a region.
Chulasakkarat	จุลศักราช	The era which began in A.D. 638 and was used in Thailand until A.D. 1887.
kamnan	กำนัน	administrative head of a tambon
Khana Lyad Thai	คณะเลือดไทย	Literally the "Group of Thai Blood" which might be rendered "Sons of Thailand".
khao pen chao	ข้าวเป็นเจ้า	Literally "rice which is lord"; reference is to the white rice which is eaten every day, i.e., "daily rice".
khruang yuan	เครื่องชวน	northern Thai artifact
lakhon	ละคร	popular form of theatrical performance
Lannathai	ลานนาไทย	Northern Thai term for the region of north Thailand and the state of which Chiangmai was the center. Burmese records at Pagan, according to Prince Dhani, referred to the area as Siam, thus symbolically associating it with cen- tral Thailand ( <u>Journal of the Siam Society, 53, 2, 198, 1965</u> ).
liang phi luang	เลี้ยงผีหลวง	Yao ritual to nourish or support the great spirit

liang phi mon	เลี้ยงผีมอญ	Yao ritual to nourish or support forest spirits
Mangrai	มังราย	Mangrai is an alternate spelling of Mengrai
mo phi	หมอผี	"spirit doctor"
myang	เมือง	town, city, state, or country. Variant forms are used in Burma, Laos, and Yunnan.
myang	เหมือง	canal
Myang Kaeo	เหมืองแก้ว	Proper name of a canal.
Myang Khaeng	เหมืองแข็ง	Proper name of a canal.
Myang Wanglao	เหมืองวังลาว	Proper name of a canal.
mu ban	หมู่บ้าน	smallest administrative unit, a village or a hamlet constituting part of a village community
Mun Kwan Thung Yung	หมื่นกวานทุ่งยุง	Proper name
Mun Si	หมื่นศรี	Proper name
ngoen	เงิน	An old Thai coin which served as a unit of currency of undetermined value. Literally "silver".
phra baromma dechanuphap	พระบรมเชษฐาธิราช	royal power or authority
Phra Myang Kaeo	พระเมืองแก้ว	Proper name and title
Phraya Saen Luang Cha Nai	พระยาแสนหลวงจำเริญ	Proper name and title
po liang	พ่อเลี้ยง	literally "father supporter"; a patron
rai	ไร่	land unit; two and a half rai equal one acre
rupee	รูปี	Burmese (and Indian) unit of currency
salom	สลอม	basket; variant of chalom

santhepharak	ศาลเพชารักษ์	Spirit House; the term Hq bucha means "House (or Palace) of Propitiation" is also used.
Sipsongpanna	สิบสองปันนา	the "Twelve Thousand Fields" region of southern Yunnan.
tambon	ตำบล	administrative unit, a village, sub-district or commune made up of mu ban
taep	แทบ	term current among hill peoples for a Burmese or Indian silver rupee, in Thailand worth about seven baht or U.S. \$.85
wa	วา	land unit; 1/400 of a rai, or 4.784 sq. yds. or 4 sq. meterst One linear wa equals 2 meters.
Yothiya	โยธिया	An old northern Thai term for the former Siamese capital, Ayudhya (cf. Burmese "Yodaya")

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