Land Control Land Use and Kinship Structure in 'Lushai' Hills

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The earliest known memories, recollected from verbal tradition, go back to the period when the Mizos were in Myanmar and did not have local chiefs or headmen. Each clan or sub-tribe had its own settlement area. Thus, Lûseis were stationed in Seipui and Khawkawk; Raltes in Suaipui and Saihmun; Chawngthus in Sanzawl and Bochung; Khiangtes at Pelpawl, Belmual and Lungchhuan; Hauhnar, Chuaungo and Chuauhang on the Hasuhnar ranges; and Ngentes, Puntes and Partes at Chawnghawih and Siallam. The probable date for this geographical location of the major 'Mizo' segments has been placed at A.D. 1000 by Rev.Liankhaia; 1500 by Vanlalsiama; between 1300 and1450 by Lalthangliana and Lianhmingthanga.[1]

During that period the various Mizo segments had simple tools. They did not have iron implements for agricultural work. The technology and variety of crops grown were very rudimentary and quantitatively limited, and there probably was no concept of land-ownership. Agricultural implements included those made of deer-horn or of bamboo, and the crops included maize, millet, and yam. Agricultural technology did not permit rice cultivation. This was recollected to be a period of their occupation of the land between the Thantlang range of hills and the river Run in Myanmar.

The westward migratory movement took them to the land bounded by the mountain Lentlang and the river Tiau between 1450 and1700.[2] This period saw the emergence of hereditary chieftainship. In 1580 war broke out between the Luseis stationed at Seipui and the Paihtes (Tiddim). The Lusei group captured Chhuahlawma. Chhuahlawma was treated very much like other members of the Lusei group and was married to a Lusei girl. They had a son named Zahmuaka. Zahmuaka married Lawileri. They had seven sons, but the youngest one died at a very tender young age leaving six sons. Precisely at the same period, Hnamtes (Lusei) stationed at Khawrua and Tlangkhua lost their headman, Chhanpiala, leaving no successor. The Luseis at Seipui advised the Hnamtes to invite Zahmuaka to be their chief. Zahmuaka reluctantly accepted the offer. But not long after Zahmuaka was not happy and decided to go back to Seipui. The Hnamtes then persuaded him to stay on and promised to pay paddy-tax called *Fathang*. This turn of events is said to have ushered in the beginning of permanent paddy-tax given to the chiefs.

All the six sons of Zahmuaka eventually became chiefs. The descendants of Paliana made the first entry into the area corresponding to present Mizoram. Lianpuia, son of Paliana was the first to enter Mizoram. The first village established by him bore the name *Lianpuia tlang dung* (ranges of Lianpuia). The Palians were followed closely by Zadengs, Rokhums, Thangluahs and Rivungs. The Thangurs were the last to enter Mizoram. This was because they were the most powerful and could withstand the raids and onslaughts by the neighbouring tribes. Thangura had two sons, Chawnglula and Thangmanga. Thangmanga was the father of Sailova. In due course the Sailos became the most powerful and successful administrators and all the descendants of Thangura eventually called themselves "Sailo".

It was during this period that cultivation of rice based on jhumming, as we know today, was introduced. There were numerous chiefdoms. The chiefs were now all in all in village administration and there was no clear distinction or demarcation of village territories. The probable date for this was 1580.[3] Further westward movement took them to the land now called Mizoram.

Verbal tradition becomes more vivid as we move to "*Selesih Sangsarih*" (*Selesih*- seven thousand households) where seven Sailo chiefs and seven thousand families are said to have formed a political confederacy under the leadership of Pu Kawlha. The Sailos, before moving westward to Mizoram, decided to come together as a strong group and all the seven Sailo chiefs agreed to move together. This was necessitated by the predatory nature of the neighbouring tribes and the hostile relationship prevalent at that time. They thus felt that they had to form a strong army to oppose those earlier settlers of the land now called Mizoram and other tribes on the eastern side. They thus stationed themselves, after entering Mizoram, at the present Khawbung (S) in Zawlsei territory in eastern Mizoram and established a very strong fortress, "Selesih," in AD 1740–1750[4] or AD 1750.[5] The Mizos now reckoned this as the actual permanent entry into Mizoram.

At Selesih Confederacy, a team of 70 councillors (headed by the seven chiefs) was appointed to govern the village. Members of the councillors were carefully selected so as to represent all the clans and sub-tribes of the village. Pu Kawlha headed the council. The Selesih event was the turning point in the history of the Mizos, as a somewhat uniform set of social customs and established norms emerged, and the migratory movement of the Mizos came to an end. The seven Sailo chiefs at Selesih were: Pu Kawlha, Darpuiliana, Darliankuala, Lalhluma, Lalsailova, Lalchera and Rohnaa.[6]

From Selesih, the seven Sailo chiefs, after vanquishing the smaller groups of tribes (earlier inhabitants) of Mizoram spread themselves in different directions and took possession of the whole land. The earlier inhabitants like the Mirawngs, Hmars, Darlawngs, etc. fled into the neighbouring areas and are now found in large numbers in Manipur, Tripura, Cachar and North Cachar Hills of Assam. Thus, the period between Selesih Confederacy and British consolidation in 1890 was about 150 years. During this period, Mizo chiefs ruled Mizoram without outside interference. The present paper pertains to this 150 years' independent life of the Mizos before British rule.

After consolidating themselves territorially in the area more or less corresponding to Mizoram, all the Sailo chiefs concentrated themselves in local administration. They appointed

"Elders" (*Upas*) to assist them in administration, to keep peace within the village, and to render all possible help to the chiefs. There was no prescribed number of elders, and the chief could appoint any number of elders depending on the size of the village and population composition clan-wise.

The chief and the elders were the proper custodians of the village land.[7] Each year a committee of the chief and elders within the chief's jurisdiction decided upon the method of distribution of jhum land for the year's cultivation. No part of the village lands other than the ranges or stretches agreed upon was to be cleared for cultivation. The brother(s) of the chief or close relatives of the chiefs had the privilege of the first choice of cultivable land and were accordingly called "*Zalen*" (with rights of freedom?). The *Zalens* did not pay any paddy-tax. Next came the elders who paid the usual normal paddy-tax in return for their choice of cultivable land. The elders were followed by another category called "Ramhuals," the third in line privileged to make their choice of cultivable land. They were duty-bound to give double the usual paddy-tax. All the three categories of privileged landholders were wealthy families of the village. They were all expected to help the chief in the governance of the village and even to incur economic expenses, but only the elders were in the inner circle of the government.

The ranges were then publicly opened for the year's jhum cultivation. Each household head would select a plot for his family and the plot would be demarcated from the other plots by small streams or other natural dividing lines or indicators like big trees or fallen trunks. As the villagers were familiar with the village land, boundary lines could also be simply expressed verbally.

The clearing of the jungle started early in January and often lasted till the middle of March. This was the job of men, as the work involved clearing of dense jungle. The fallen trees and bamboos were left to dry up to be burnt in late March or early April. Care was taken to see that the fire would not destroy the jungle in wanton manner. Seedlings of vegetables and cereals other than rice were planted immediately after burning the jhum field. The work was completed during the month of May closely followed by the first round of weeding. The first round of weeding was called *Hnuhlak* or *Hnuhpui*. The weeds were

still young and tender and their clearance did not pose much problem.

The second round of weeding was called *Hnuhhram*. It was considered to be the most strenuous, demanding and taxing job. And it was during this period that agricultural work-partnership among the Mizos was most popular. The agricultural work-partnership among the Mizos differed from the agricultural work party among the Teso.[8] The agricultural work-partnership was largely confined to a particular section, i.e. among the unmarried young men and women. And it did not reflect in any way the status of the members of the work party. It was reciprocal give and take form of agricultural work. Young men and women paired themselves in such a way that the agricultural work would be performed reciprocally on two or more plots of land on alternate days. A girl of plot A might pair with a boy of Plot B. The pair would then perform weeding work on plot A on the first day and move on to plot B the next day. In this way, a group of young people of the opposite or same sex could pair themselves and form a bigger agricultural work-partnership. The most common form was for a young man to pair with a girl, or perhaps, two or more young boys to pair with a girl, but usually never a pair of one man with two or more young women as the latter were considered inferior in strength and skill to men at agricultural work.

The girl was supposed to show courtesy at all times in the Mizo society and particularly to the male partners in agricultural work, by carrying, washing and mending the working clothes of the work-partners whenever necessary. They also had to carry all the agricultural implements and working tools of the male partners to the jhum field and back to the village everyday. It was almost like dating a girl in modern society and the demand for work partnership for a beautiful girl was accordingly very high. Agricultural work-partnership was highly cherished by the Mizos. Old people earnestly retold fond memories of youthful days in terms of agricultural work-partnership and recollections of their work partners became fresh memory. A number of traditional folk songs contained such recollection of youthful days in terms of agricultural work and work-partnership. For young people who did not feel the

burden of family responsibility, agricultural work-partnership was the main attraction to agricultural work.

In this way every Mizo in the past had a kind of romantic attachment to his agricultural and jhum land. In so far as every Mizo, at one time, had experienced this partnership, agricultural work and agricultural land had sentimental value beyond material products. This is confirmed by many folk songs and stories. This was mainly because of the fact that a number of social interactions had taken place during agricultural work in the cultivated land.

It had been observed that social interactions in the agricultural land were of intrinsically intimate nature characterized by perfect cooperation. The interactional processes between members of agricultural work-partnership might take a totally different shape within the village, which might not be governed by perfect cooperation. But in agricultural land, among the agricultural work group, the relationship was governed by mutual adaptation. It was precisely because of this that sentimental attachment to the agricultural land was so great among the Mizos.

Rice was the principal food of the Mizos. But other crops like maize, sesame, and a variety of vegetables were grown purely for domestic consumption. The steepness of the ranges rendered terrace cultivation impossible in Mizoram and the mode of production had to follow jhum cultivation. As such, the level of production had to remain very low. But jhum cultivation provided the ethos necessary for the villagers to experience the feeling of oneness resulting from the common bond derived from the sharing of the village land in a uniform way. The practice of jhum cultivation did not permit permanent land holding system, and this reinforced the sentimental attachment to the jhum land, which materialized itself in affectionate adaptation. Thus, any dislocation in the traditional agricultural system resulted in disharmony in the village solidarity and the whole social structure.

The third round of weeding was called *a thual*, and the fourth and the fifth rounds *a thial* and *a thet thet*. Weeding up to the third round was considered the minimum requirement for the rice to be fruitfully harvested. The fourth and the fifth rounds were performed only when absolutely required,

depending on the nature of the weeds and availability of work force during any particular year.[9]

November and December were months of harvest. It was a time of joy and merry-making. Besides the main jhum land, some families cleared the nearby jungle and looked after what they called *Leipui* where vegetables and cereals other than rice could be grown. Only those families with extra work force could manage this *Leipui*.

Besides the chief's elders, other functionaries of the village were:

1. **Blacksmith:** The job of the blacksmith was usually hereditary, the skill handed down from father to son. Alternatively, one could learn the skill and work as a village blacksmith but such an instance was very rare. The blacksmith made various equipments and implements of iron for jhum cultivation as well as household use for all the families within the village, whom he identified as his clients, free of charge. In return, all the families gave him some amount of paddy to the tune of one and a half tin (kerosene tin) at the time of harvest. He was also entitled to a certain portion of wild animals killed within the village as flesh-tax.

2. **Village-Crier:** Another important person within the village was the village-crier. His job as a village-crier was very important although he was accorded a low status in the society. He was normally a member of a low status clan. He was at the beck and call of the chief and elders as well as Zawlbuk authority. He announced any public announcement from the chief and Zawlbuk (bachelors' dormitory). He was also like a peon acting on behalf of the chief, for example, in collecting court fines of the chief and elders. In return for his services to the village and the chief's court, he was given a basket of paddy called *tlangau fawng* (village-crier's basket) from every family at harvest time. The chief and elders decided on the size of the basket.

The chief, as proprietor of village land, was entitled to collect paddy-tax called *fathang*, the rate of which varied from

village to village, ranging from three baskets-full (equivalent to a kerosene tin) to six or more. In 1927, N.E. Parry, Superintendent of Mizo Hills, fixed the rate of *fathang* at six baskets. The chief was also entitled to *sachhiah* (flesh-tax), the customary pattern of which was the front-leg of any wild animal killed within his territory. In addition, *khuaichhiah* (bee-tax) was to be given to the chief on a particular species of bees. Flesh-tax and bee-tax were statutory even for members of other villages if they happened to hunt within the village territory.

In this way the villagers knew that the village land was for the public to be used freely within the guidelines set by the chief. For the use of village land, paddy-tax, flesh-tax, bee-tax and even salt-tax were given to the chief in recognition of his supervision and protection from encroachment and outside infringement on the village land. The chief and the elders took proper care of the village land, protecting it from wanton destruction. In this way, the Sailo chiefs were able to preserve, not only their respective village territories, but also Mizo Hills as a whole from outside encroachment until the British expedition.

The prevalent belief in evil spirits gave rise to the belief in human spirits. The illness of a subject was attributed to the evil spirits keeping captive of the subject's spirit for intrusion into the abode of the spirits and only by releasing the human spirit would the illness subside. The belief also gave rise to the notion of a world after death. When a person died, his spirit supposedly would remain in the house for three months before proceeding to *mithi khua* (village of the dead). During the three months' period, offerings would be made to the deceased at every meal failing which the spirit would go hungry, as it was helpless to search for food by itself. On the occasion of the festival for the dead held once every year, every household prepared offerings for the deceased family members. The spirits of the dead were believed to have received such offerings.

It was thought that some unknown eyes and spirits closely watched any movement outside the village and the Mizos had to take great care not to offend these spirits. Setting aside a small portion of the meal for unknown spirits always preceded a meal outside the village, in the jungle domain, and the elder member of the team would say "*Khua tlai*" (= "Let the unknown

spirits partake"). The belief in the world beyond was instrumental in moulding the cultural norms and values. There were two types of *mithi khua*. One was the ordinary *mithi khua*, and the other was *pialral* (paradise or heaven). *Pialral* was meant only for those who distinguished themselves and excelled other villagers during their lifetime in economic wealth by giving a number of prescribed ceremonies and feasts of prestige (honour) or in bravery and hunting skills by killing the prescribed number of wild animals. The most prestigious position attainable in Mizo social world was thus intrinsically connected with the belief in life after death and agricultural wealth. Even the predatory character was fashioned, to a large extent, by this belief. And it was this belief that prescribed traditional social value on bravery and wealth.

The ceremonies of wealth took a variety of types each of which was accompanied by a consequential rise in the social status of the performer. On the other hand, it reaffirmed redistribution of village wealth. Only wealthy families were able to perform these ceremonies. Even the simplest ceremony was beyond the means of the ordinary people. Each ceremony required substantial amount of rice-beer and animals. The ceremonies acted as vehicles through which redistribution of wealth took place in so far as the villagers participated in the ceremonial feasts. The social prestige was achieved, not so much on account of accumulation of wealth, but by redistribution of wealth through ceremonial feasts to be performed for one to attain a *thangchhuah* status. The *thangchhuah* status was the highest attainable status, and only *thangchhuah*s were eligible to go to *pialral*.

The feast of *khuangtsawi* narrated by Raymond Firth[10] had the similar consequences of making the performer eligible to enter heaven after death. This illustrates the traditional close relationship of the two tribes. But for the Mizos, there were at least four important ceremonies before one could perform *khuangchawi*.[11]

The first of the feasts was *Chawnfang*, in which two full-grown pigs were required to be killed accompanied by enough rice-beer for all the villagers. The next feast was *Sedawi chhun*, in which two young pigs, one pig and one mithun were required to be killed. Only those who had already performed *Chawnfang*

could do this. The next feast towards the attainment of *thangchhuah* was *Zankhuang*, in which one mithun, one pig and one young pig were required. The feast of *Zankhuang* was followed by *Mithi rawp lam*, which required more expenditure than the previous three ceremonies. Before the arrival of the feast, young men and women of the village prepared firewood in the jungle called *sathing zar*. These young people were given preliminary feast of meat and rice beer. The same people, on a separate date, prepared rice-beer for the ceremonies. All the relatives of the feast-giver in other villages would also be invited to attend the occasion. On the day of the feast, effigies of the ancestors (made of cottonseeds and the best cloths), were made to represent the deceased family members, and the effigies were decorated with necklaces, bangles and earrings. These were placed together in a row to signify the family members who were dead. As such, this ceremony was called the feast of the dead. In the centre they would put a somewhat larger figure smoking a pipe to represent the mythical ancestor of the family. After the ceremonial rituals were completed, the people feasted on the meat and rice-beer. The animals compulsory for this feast were one mithun and two pigs. After the *Mithi rawp lam*, the feast-giver had to perform *Sedawi chhun* once more before he was permitted to perform *Khuangchawi* and attain a *Thangchhuah* status.

Khuangchawi, the final ceremonial feast, was normally held in the month of October, and hence the traditional name of the month *Khuangchawi thla* (the month of *Khuangchawi* ceremony). Like *Mithi rawp lam*, preliminary preparations were necessary before the arrival of the appointed date. The animals compulsory for throwing this feast were four mithuns, one pig and two young pigs, and the feast usually lasted for two days. After *Khuangchawi*, the performer was called *zawh zaw z* (one who accomplished), and was recognized to have attained a *thangchhuah* status. *Zaudawh* was an additional ceremonial feast to be performed as a means of '*thangchhuah* extra' to show the unlimited wealth of the performer as a source of enhancing his social standing. *Zadawh* ceremony was to be performed only after the performer had given three consecutive *Khuangchawi* ceremonies. In the course of Mizo history, only Vuttaia, a Sailo chief was known to have performed this ceremonial feast.

The number of animals required for each of the above ceremonies was the minimum compulsory requirement, and the performer would usually have to add more than that depending on the economic capability of the feast-giver and the size of the partakers. Only the wealthiest families, commonly of the chiefly clans, performed the feasts mentioned above. Each of the ceremonies performed entailed a consequential rise in the social status and prestige of the performer. They were also instrumental in the redistribution of the wealth.

Among the Mizos, there was a clear distinction between kinship by descent and kinship by marriage, although kinship was reckoned and recognized on both lines. As patrilineal society, the rule of descent was strictly based on male line only. A woman was recognized, even after marriage, by her patriclan name. All the children acquired membership in their father's clan group that might be a localized group or might spread horizontally over many villages, and could never acquire membership in their mother's clan group except by a kind of adoption in which case they would not attain true membership in the politico-jural field. Thus, recruitment to any clan was strictly based on descent through the father's line only.

Among all clans, succession rules required that the youngest son should be the proper heir, although other male children had a share in the family property. As the other male children did not have copercenary right over the family property except to demand a split of household non-durable goods and properties, they were forced to split from the paternal family soon after marriage especially after the first child was born to start a new family of their own. As already stated, women did not have any legal claim on the family property except a small share which they could carry with them as a form of dowry at the time of marriage. Even in the absence of a male child, a daughter would not claim, as a matter of right, the family property, but would normally go to the nearest male relatives. Women thus enjoyed a very low status, acquiring true membership in the politico-jural field neither in the natal home nor in their husband's family. Women had no claim whatsoever by way of succession or inheritance in the natal family, while they were strangers in the conjugal family. Even after the birth of the first child, they were referred to as "*monu*"(bride) in the conjugal family.

In the absence of monetary economy, the durable properties were guns, spears, gongs, shields, bells and ornaments. Animals like mithun and pig formed the common standard of payment. Bride price and inheritance centred on these few items of valuables. The bride price was a contractual agreement between the two parties and varied — even widely — between clans and on different occasions. It is, however, observed that the higher the social status of the girl's family, the higher the bride price. As agriculture was the main source of wealth, those who could appropriate and manipulate agricultural wealth were readily accorded appropriate position in the society. It was almost impossible for a man without a certain degree of economic position to become an elder or a Ramhual. Members of the Lusei clans, however, were accorded, irrespective of their economic position, a higher status, and a higher bride price could be demanded for their daughters.

In general bride price directly reflected the social status of the contracting parties. As N.E. Parry observed, there was —

> no marked division into classes with a definite order of precedence and in this the Lushai differ[ed] markedly from the Lakhers. For all practical purposes social distinction among the mass of the (population) people simply d[id] not exist at all. There were, it is true, a few clans like the Pachuau which families used to regard themselves as of superior status and to demand a higher marriage price for their daughters.[12]

Marriage among the Mizos was not merely a contract between man and woman to cohabit and procreate. It meant a rearrangement of a network of relationships between the two groups brought together by marriage bond. The family of the girl was affected more than the boy's. The girl's natal family now entered into a new relationship not only with the girl's husband's family but also with members of its own group through the distribution of bride price which reaffirmed already existing relations or might have even created new relations.

The bride price consisted of mainly valuables like guns, spears, other weapons and ornaments, domesticated animals like mithun. All these items, representing the bride price, were stated in terms of *metna* (mithun) ranging from three to ten

metnas. Cash payment was not known. It was introduced only after the British rule. The bride price was distributed among the members of the clan chosen by the girl's parents. The girl's maternal uncle received special attention and received a portion of the bride price called *pu-sum*. This was normally the only recipient outside the girl's natal clan. If the maternal uncle (the same term "*pu*" was used for the grandfather) did not get his portion of the bride price, meaning, if due recognition was not given to him the customary rule empowered him to call off the marriage. Another category of important recipients was the girl's father's brother(s), at least one member from one's own clan without immediate blood connection, whose share of the portion of the bride price was called *pa-lal*, sister of the bride who must have been married and had children of her own whose portion of the bride price was called *nau puakpuan man*, the girl who accompanied the bride (bride's maid) during the marriage ceremony, aunt of the bride whose portion was called *ni-ar*, and the man who acted as an escort to the bride. These were minimal limit and one might extend beyond this depending on economic capability.

The system of *pa-lal* signified the creation of a special kind of relationship between the receiver of *pa-lal* and the bride. The recipient was bound to protect and shelter the bride in case she got into any difficulty after marriage. The whole amount of bride price went to the father or the nearest male relative (in case the father was dead), who made the distribution to different relatives.

The girl's natal family suffered the loss of one member through the practice of patrilocal residence. The loss of this member, however, may be said to have been compensated by the creation of wider kinship network through the distribution of bride price that reaffirmed intimate relations within the clan. But patrilocal residence upset the familial bond between the husband and mother because the son now had dual obligations and loyalty of being a husband and a son, the most conflicting roles. This often led to the early split of the couple from the natal family.

Epilogue

After the British rule, traditional values have been modified and a new value scale based on education emerged. As clan divisions do not follow variations at the educational level, a new basis of social distinction appeared, based, not on clan division, but on achieved status. Thus education, Christianity and economic wealth represent the new set of values and, since no clan has preponderant position over the other clans in this, there is a wide range of choice in the marriage market, which cuts across clan membership. Clan membership gradually lost its traditional significance in the choice of spouse where a semi-class structure played a more significant role. Marriage between educated and economically well-to-do families resulted in the formation of a prototype of upper middle class largely represented by government officials while petty businessmen, schoolteachers, contractors and clerical officials made up the lower middle class members.

But marriage among the Mizos still retains some of the traditional characteristics, although the distribution of bride price as a means to reaffirm ties between clan members assumed less significance. A change in economic situation without corresponding change (increase) in the amount of bride price has resulted from this. Distribution of bride price becomes simply a kind of fulfilment of marriage rituals on traditional line. In spite of this, marriage still entails a rearrangement of relationship between two groups, the wife-giver and the wife-receiver and this has implications on the societal structure: the emerging middle class members are getting richer while the working class members remain relatively poor, giving rise to greater societal division within the Mizo society. The structural implication of marriage on the formation of class structure, which was absent in the past, is now discernible. The emerging class structure of the society, though very loose, may not necessarily correspond to the economic class structure of the West. This is mainly a consequence of the evolution of modern basic values in education, which replaces traditional notion of clan status.

Traditionally, Mizo society was undifferentiated at least occupationally. This was instrumental in preservation of the

traditional political structure under chieftainship. However, the emergence of economically and occupationally differentiated classes did not permit the traditional political structure to persist. This has been because the traditional leadership structure, based on hereditary character, could not accommodate the emerging middle class. Consequently, chieftainship was abolished, which 'event' marked the emergence of a new political order based on democratic principle.

The emergence of cash economy also changed the developmental cycle. The declining agricultural yields and the rise of occupational differentiation created conflicting interests within the family. In such a situation, the dispersion stage arrived much earlier than what it was before. Moreover, the traditional rule of succession to family property also assumed significant change in actual practice in recent times. It is no longer the exclusive monopoly of the youngest male child to acquire the right to inherit family property. Any male child who gains the favour of the parents may become the inheritor. As the people jointly owned agricultural land, there were hardly any durable goods and properties in the interior villages, and the split of properties was usually fairly easy and did not give rise to any complications. It is with the development of cash economy that inheritance may cause serious conflicts between brothers especially among town dwellers.

The decline of jhum cultivation as a source of value and the increasing emphasis on pecuniary spending forced the Mizos to accentuate small family. However, members of the parental group and affinal group are brought together in a web of familial relationships which become manifest in giving prestations to the members from time to time, and accordingly symbolic importance in times of marriage and other important occasions. This familial hand affords help and assistance to the members from other members in times of need.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

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