

ISSUES IN THE PURUM DEBATE

A Dissertation

SUBMITTED

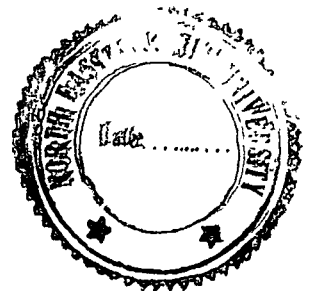
IN

PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY IN ANTHROPOLOGY

Submitted by
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To



DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
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SHILLONG

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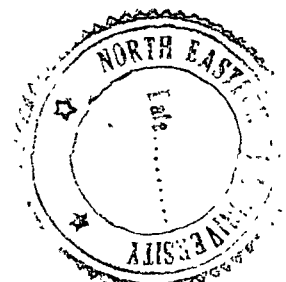
This is to certify that Mr. Nitul Kumar Gogoi has worked under my supervision for his M.Phil Dissertation entitled "Issues in the Purum Debate", and no part of it has been submitted elsewhere for the award of any degree.

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PREFACE

The idea of presenting this dissertation as a M.Phil thesis is the product of inquisitiveness that has been triggered off by the debate between the protagonists of 'alliance theory' and 'descent theory'. The illustrations of the Purum in the book 'Structure and Sentiment: A Test Case in Social Anthropology' (1962) by R. Needham based on T.C. Das's original monograph - 'The Purum: An Old Kuki Tribe of Manipur' (1945), have intensified the debate and much has been written and questioned thereafter in a series of articles published in American Anthropologist during 1964 to 1966.

In the first chapter of the dissertation a general description of Manipur and its tribes is outlined. The second part of the first chapter introduces the Issues in the Purum Debate; the second chapter highlights the debated issues and also tries to analyse the relevant issues in the light of the original monograph. The last chapter apprises of the contemporary Purum and presents the feelings and sentiments of the tribe.

SHILLONG
THE 24th APRIL 1989.


(NITUL KUMAR GOGOI)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am grateful to Professor P.K. Misra who has introduced me to the Purum, for the first time, through a paper designed for my M.Phil Course work. It was later, due to his sincere effort, sprouted into a research synopsis and finally bloomed into a thesis. I feel proud to admit that without his constant presence behind the anvil, I could not have given a shape to the present dissertation.

I also wish to convey my thanks to Professor Budhi Singh, Head, Department of Anthropology, Manipur University, for his continued help and support for conducting a short trip to the Purum. I thank Mr. Joseph F. Khongbuh for his sincere and prompt service to type out my dissertation.

Last but not the least, I acknowledge my gratitude to the Purum villagers for their warm welcome and accommodating nature.

SHILLONG
THE 24th APRIL 1989.


(NITUL KUMAR GOGOI)

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CHAPTER - I

PART - I: MANIPUR AT A GLANCE

PART - II: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE ISSUES IN THE
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PART - I

MANIPUR AT A GLANCE

The valley of Manipur spreading over an area of 22,327 Km is one of the small state in the eastern frontier of India. It extends from 92.03° to 94.78° East Longitude and 23.83° to 25.68° North Latitude. The State is bounded by Nagaland on the north, by Burma on the east, partly by Mizoram and Chin Hills of Burma on the south and on the west by Cachar district of Assam. The central valley, known as Imphal valley is elevated at a level of about 785 m from Minimum-Sea-Level and is surrounded by green hills ranging from about 790 m to 3,000 m. The state has a healthy and salubrious climate with rainfall varying from 149 cm in the valley, to about 380 cm in the western hills; and temperature ranging from 0°C to 40°C. The 2,360 Sq. Km. valley is surrounded by 20,000 Sq.Km. of hilly areas.¹

Once a princely State, under the British rule in 1891, Manipur had a democratic form of Government with Maharaja as the executive head in 1947, under the Manipur Constitution Act.² It attained its full-fledged

1. Statistical Handbook of Manipur, 1985, Directorate of Economics & Statistics, Government of Manipur, Imphal.

2. Roy, J. History of Manipur, Calcutta, 1958.

statehood on 21st January 1972. The State of Manipur, now, with its capital at Imphal, has eight districts with headquarters at Imphal (Central District), Ukhrul (East District); Tamenglong (West District); Senapati (North District); Chandel (Tengnoupal District); Churachandpur (South District); Bishnupur (Bishnupur District); and Thoubal (Thoubal District).

The State shows a total population of 14,20,953 according to the Census of India 1981. The valley has two-third of the population and the rest are scattered on the hilly areas where we find a number of tribes (3,87,977; 1981).

Agriculture is the primary occupation of the people with 88% of the total working population in the hills about 60% of the working population in the valley. Rice is popular as staple food; and minor agricultural produces like tobacco, sugarcane, mustard etc. are also found.

In the ancient time the land was known to its neighbouring people by different names. It was 'Maklay' in Rennell's Memoir; 'Kathe' to Burmese; 'Makeli' to Ahoms; 'Maghli' to the Kacharis; 'Moglan' to the Assamese; and 'Meitei Leipak' to the Manipuris themselves.

Manipur displays a plethora of races - Mongoloid races from Burma mixed with the Indo-Aryan strains from India. In fact, the State provides a congenial platform for different races and culture to mingle together. Besides the Manipuris of the valley, there are 29 mongoloid tribes, which can be broadly divided into Nagas and the Chin-Kuki-Mizo group³ (but this broad classification is not always accepted by all section, for instance, the Anal now claims to be Naga).

There are six well known Naga tribes in Manipur. They are:

1. Kabui (Rongmei and Puimei; 40,257; 1971).
2. Kacha Naga (Liangmei and Zemei; 13,026; 1971), collectively known as Zeliangrong.
3. Mao (33,379; 1971).
4. Maram (4,539; 1971).
5. Tangkhul (57,851; 1971), and
6. Maring (4,589; 1971).

The Chin-Kuki-Mizo tribes are:

1. Gante (6,307; 1971).

3. Tribes of Manipur at a Glance, 1981. Directorate for Development of Tribals & Backward Classes, Government of Manipur.

2. Hmar (23,312; 1971).
3. Lushai (7,483; 1971).
4. Paite (24,755; 1971).
5. Simte (4,177; 1971).
6. Thadou (59,955; 1971).
7. Vaiphei (12,347; 1971).
8. Zou (10,060; 1971).

Besides these two major groups, there is also another group which is linguistically nearer to the Kuki-group and is numerically smaller. There is no specific name for this tribe; but they are grouped as an intermediate group.⁴ This group consists of the following tribes:

1. Aimol (836; 1971).
2. Chiru (2,785; 1971).
3. Koireng (458; 1971).
4. Kom (collectively called Komremle; 6550; 1971).
5. Anal (now claimed to be Naga, 6,670; 1971).
- ✓ 6. Chothe (1,905; 1971).
7. Lamgang (2,622; 1971).
8. Koirao/Thangal (1,620; 1971).
9. Monsang (930; 1971).
10. Moyon (1,360; 1971).

4. Ibid., p. 3.

The Meiteis or the Manipuris are a separate group with their own distinct entity. The genesis of the word 'Meitei' is from the two words - 'me' meaning 'man' and 'thei' meaning 'separate'. The old Manipuri manuscripts like 'Leithak Leikharol' and 'Poireiton Khunthak' speak about the history of the Meitei society, their customs, traditions, religious beliefs, art, culture and literature. They speak Manipuri which belongs to the Tibeto-Burman family. The Meitei consists of seven endogamons 'salai' (groups).⁵

Society is patrilineal but women equally share the responsibilities of any economic activity. A Manipuri household is the smallest social unit with a man, his wife and unmarried children. Marriage is either by engagement or by elopement. Residence after marriage is neo-local but the youngest son of the family inherits the paternal house and looks after the old parents. Paternal property is shared equally among the brothers.

Most of the Meitei festivals are accompanied by dance, music and song. During March-April, they celebrate the 'Lai Haraoba' festival where the creation of life

5. Roy, J. History of Manipur, Calcutta, 1958.

is depicted through dance drama led by priests (Maibas) and priestess (Maibis). This is a pre-vashnavite culture retained by the Manipuris. Holi is another important festival of Meiteis where young and old alike come out and go to the temples. Boys and girls with utmost spirit participate in 'Thabal Chouba' dance. Besides, they have a musical festival where devotional singing (Sankirtana Cholom) is very much popular. During Vasant Purnima, Sarat Purnima and Kartika Purnima, a seasonal drama, the Rasa Lila depicting the eternal love of Radha and Krishna, is performed in strict classical dance style.⁶

The scene on the hill side is equally colourful too. As stated earlier, the hill side is the home of the tribes where slash-burn-type of cultivation is of subsistence nature. Horticulture is also practised by the tribals. They have simple technology with hoe, digging stick and dao. Landholding is of communal ownership. The tribes of Manipur have a highly developed art of weaving.

The Kabuis of Tamendong are one of the major Scheduled Tribes of Manipur. They belong to Mongoloid stock

6. Roy, Nilima. Art of Manipur, Agam Kala Prakashan, Delhi, 1979.

and are linguistically nearer to the Naga. The Kabuis are divided into a number of exogamous clans. Marriage is often by negotiation or by elopement.

The Tangkhuls are predominant in the eastern zone of Manipur, specially in the Ukhrul area. They are also Mongoloid with Tibeto-Burman speech. Family is the smallest social unit. The society is patrilineal and residence after marriage is generally neo-local. Paying of bride price is prevalent among the Tangkhuls and the price depends on the wealth of the parents of the girl. They have five major festivals associated with sowing and harvesting.

Among the Kukis, the important sections like Hmar, Paite are the migrants from the Mizo Hills and Burma. The different sections of the Kuki resemble each other and they are all from Mongoloid group. They are of short stature and sturdy with skin colour varying from dark-yellow-brown to yellow-olive. A Kuki marries any woman except his near kin. The residence is patrilocal but elder brothers establish their own houses after marriage.

Hmars have several clans. Linguistically they belong to Kuki-Chin group of Tibeto-Burman subfamily. Hmars are predominant in Churachandpur area of Manipur. They have similar type of family set up as found among the Manipuris.

The youngest son inherits the property of his father. They practise four different methods of procuring bride; viz. (i) by service (like the 'Yaun-Gumba' of the Chothe); (ii) by intrusion; (iii) by elopment; and (iv) by arrangement. Bride-price varies from clan to clan.

Paites resemble the Mizos in their dress and house type. They follow monogamy. Marriage between the paternal first-cousin (FBD) is allowed among the Paites.

The 'intermediate group'⁷ like the Chothes are also linguistically nearer to the Chin-Kuki Group. They are found in Chandel District and Bishnupur District. The Chothe society is patrilineal and practise matrilineal-cross-cousin marriage. The group has seven major clans with fourteen sub-clans.⁸ Worship of Senamahi (Sib-God) is widely practised among the Pegangs (non-Christians).

7. Ibid, p. 3.

8. Gogoi, N.K. The Present Study, Department of Anthropology, NEHU, Shillong.

PART - II

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE ISSUES IN THE PURUM DEBATE

The Purum,⁹ a small tribe of 303 (1936) of Manipur, has been holding a central stage in one of the most intense debate in the history of Anthropology. The debate was between the protagonists of 'alliance theory' and 'descent theory'. Alliance theory was developed by Levi-Strauss, Dumont, Needham, and others while descent theory was by Radcliffe Brown, Goody, Homans and Schneider and others.

In 1955, Homans and Schneider published a book entitled "Marriage authority and final causes"; a study of cross-cousin marriage, which was a critic of Levi-Strauss's book 'Les structures elementaires de la parente', published in 1949. These books deal with the institution of marriage and briefly the problem is that if a society allows cross-cousin marriage, then only generally it permits marriage between cross-cousins on one side and not other. Levi-Strauss gave a structural explanations while Homans and Schneider said that it was owing to

9. Das, T.C. The Purum: An Old Kuki Tribe of Manipur, 1945.

sentiments. These explanations generated a long debate in which the Purum were used to illustrate the arguments.

Prof. Tarak Chandra Das of Calcutta University had published a book entitled "The Purum: An Old Kuki Tribe of Manipur (1945)", little realising that the book will invite worldwide attention. Before Das, the tribe has been discussed by McCulloch (1859) as a tribe belonging to the 'Kookie' stock; Brown (1873) said that it was a sub-division of Kom tribe; Hodson (1911) looked it as an old Kuki village; Shakespeare¹⁰ (1912: 150-184) projected them as an old Kuki clan; Gupta (1985) defined 'Purum' as a land/territory having hills and forests.

Like any other book, Das's book was reviewed by several anthropologists and as usual they found some portions of the book not so well done as others. For example, Prabhakar found the sections as on 'acculturation' and the future of the Purum as the 'only saving features of an otherwise disappointing work' (1946: 272). Mandelbaum's review was more appreciative but was concerned primarily with the 'acculturation process', and hardly at all with the Purum social organisation (Mandelbaum,

10. Needham, R. Structural Analysis of Purum Society, American Anthropologist, 60:75.

1947). Leach wrote of "defects in the techniques of recording" and contradictions found in it "singularly defective" as regards statements of "cultural norms", and maintained that the author suffered from an "over-anxiety to find norms and standardised behaviour where possibly none-exists" (Leach 1947).

The book's portion on social organisation came under strict scrutiny by a good number of scholars all over the world. While the debate generated by it was fading away, there came a third phase when Census of India in 1971 reported the population of the tribe Purum as nil. What has happened to them? Is it really true that a tribe that generated so much academic interest has disappeared altogether? In order to find out this the Anthropological Survey of India, in 1975, sent a team of Anthropologists to Manipur. Their findings raise new issues and throw light on the earlier ones.¹¹

The history of the Purum debate and the current issues are the important developments in the field of Anthropology and therefore it was felt that a study of the existing literature on the Purum and a brief visit to the Purum may yield new insights into the debate.

11. Basu, Arabinda et al. (Edited) Proceedings of the Symposium on Purum (Chothe) Revisited, (1985).

The objectives of the present study are as follows:

- (a) To prepare an exhaustive bibliography on the Purum.
- (b) To review the literature that is available and bring out the salient features of the debate.
- (c) To draw out such issues which need further investigations.

The present study is based basically on information from secondary sources such as Government and Semi-Government documents; Gazetteer, and published books and articles on the tribe in question. A short visit to the Purum was also made and primary data were collected by using research schedule and interviews.

CHAPTER - II

THE ISSUES IN THE PURUM DEBATE

THE ISSUES IN THE PURUM DEBATE

The intensification of the Purum debate can be traced back to the publication of the monograph "Structure and Sentiment, 1962" by Rodney Needham in which the author tries to explain social institutions in terms of structure and Purum were used as an illustration. The book is a critique of "Marriage, Authority and Final Causes: A Study of Unilateral Cross Cousin Marriage" by George C. Homan and David Schneider, which according to Needham was an attack on Claude Levi Strauss's "Les Structure Elementaires de la Parente". In his book - "Structure and Sentiment", Needham refutes Homans and Schneider's writing and says,¹

"Homans and Schneider have misunderstood and misrepresented Levi-Strauss's views, and so far as their argument relates directly to these, it is wrong from beginning to end",

"They have preferred superficial statistical correlations in place of intensive analysis, forgetting that you cannot compare what you do not first understand; and"

1. Needham, R. Structure and Sentiment: A Test Case in Social Anthropology, 1962.

"Their analysis is fundamentally not sociological at all but psychological, and inapt to the solution of sociological problem".

In the first chapter of the book the argument is on the terms "preferential" and "prescriptive" marriage and to which type of marriage rule does Levi-Strauss's argument apply?

According to Needham, Levi-Strauss's preferential type gives rise to "Complex Structure" and prescriptive type leads to "Elementary Structure". The term preferential means there is a choice between a number of persons whom one may marry; and prescriptive takes away the element of choice. It specifies a particular person standing in a certain relationship for marriage. If this person is not available then other persons standing in the same relationship real or classificatory can be married.

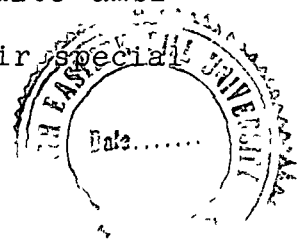
The term preferential, at times is very loosely used in Anthropological literature to designate both prescriptive and non-prescriptive rules of marriage. But Needham argues that Levi-Strauss used this word to designate marriage which are prescribed. In his book, Levi-Strauss made use of the word "Preferential Union" as "the obligation to marry within a group ..."; and

he says, "... these later are not preferential unions, because they cannot, in any group, constitute the exclusive or even preponderant rule of marriage, we would rather term them privileged unions, since they presuppose other modes of marriage, on to which they themselves grafted" - Needham rejoins Levi-Strauss and says that Levi-Strauss's use of 'preferential' shows without any possibility of doubt that he is dealing with "exclusive", i.e., prescriptive rules of marriage.

Homans and Schneider are of the opinion that Levi-Strauss's book is "... not on kinship behaviour in general but on preferential marriage", and they write that - "preferential marriage is the familiar fact that in many societies ego, besides being forbidden to marry certain women, is expected to marry one or more of a class of women standing in certain kin relationship to him"; and unilateral cross cousin marriage is said to exist "when, as between the two kinds of female cross-cousin-mother's brother's daughter and father's sister's daughter - the members of the society say that they prefer or expect ego to marry one of the two, but disapprove or at best tolerate his marriage with the other".

Needham argues that their position is quite ambiguous here and also in the opening words of their special

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hypothesis - "Societies in which marriage is allowed or preferred with mother's brother's daughter but forbidden or disapproved with father's sister's daughter ...", which is a clear indication that they do not distinguish between preference and prescription although from their writings it is quite evident that the marriage rule under question is prescriptive. For instance, "... men of a certain lineage 'always' marrying women of another ..." is quite enough to show a prescriptive norm.

The second issue in the argument is with whom a marriage is prescribed. Levi-Strauss dealt with three types of cross-cousin marriage: (1) Bilateral; (2) Matrilateral, and (3) Patrilateral. Homans and Schneider's book is about the later two. ✓

When Levi-Strauss discusses about marriage with "Mother's brother's daughter", he speaks about the ego's first-cousin as well as a member of a class otherwise defined which merely includes this ego. He maintains that the class of marriageable cross-cousins is determined by eliminating the class that is forbidden. If a first cousin is lacking than any other 'cousin' of the same category may substitute her. He says that relationship is established or perpetuated "between groups rather than individuals".

In this, Homans and Schneider seem to agree to some extent, particularly in defining the word 'cross-cousin'. Their hypothesis - "... deals with the immediate cross-cousins and has nothing to say about more distant ones, such as mother's brother's daughter's daughter". Again they write - "... the ideal system cannot be carried out, ... the men will marry classificatory cross-cousins". This implies that the cousin concerned in the societies under consideration is indeed the first cousin and that not to marry her is to "depart from the norm". But unlike Levi-Strauss they are interested in the sociological feature of linearity as a determinative factor in marriage preferences based on relations between individuals, not with corporate groups.

In the third phase the argument is on solidarity so as to show which type of marriage ensures better solidarity.

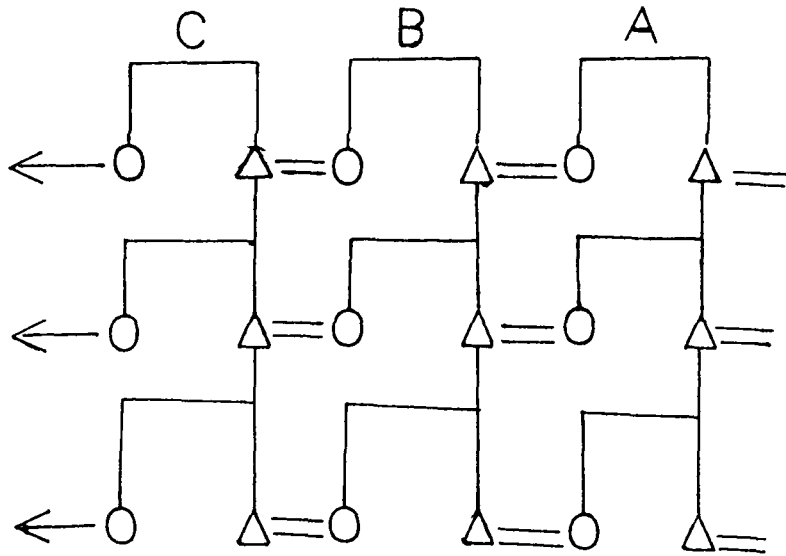


Fig. 1: Matrilateral System

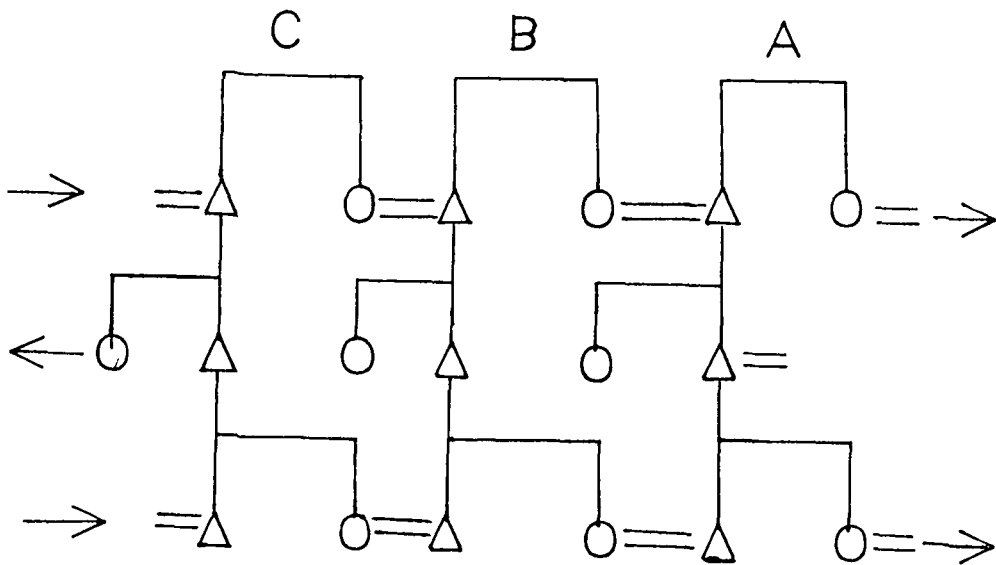


Fig. 2: Patrilateral System

Figure 1 shows that women are exchanged in one direction. Line A gives its women to line B, line B gives to C, and line C gives to line A. This is cyclic exchange, and Levi-Strauss calls this mode of transfer of women "generalised exchange" or "indirect exchange".

In the figure 2, direction of transfer of women is reversed in each generation. Levi-Strauss calls "closed system" which leads to mechanical solidarity, in which there is always a 'perpetual disequilibrium'. He concludes that patrilateral cross-cousin marriage is "not a system" but a procedure. It is for this reason he argues that frequency of matrilateral cross-cousin marriage is more than the other. It gives a better integration to the society.

Homans and Schneider construe Levi-Strauss's argument as far as "better integration" is concerned. But they put it rather in a lighter term as "because it is better for society". But Levi-Strauss's use of 'better' means - 'a greater organic solidarity'.

Needham argues that Homans and Schneider have failed to understand Levi-Strauss's conception of "Organic Solidarity" with regard to marriage.

The fourth point of argument is on linearity and according to Levi-Strauss, matrilinear cross-cousin marriage is possible in either a patrilineal society or a matrilineal society, so long as the system is harmonic. By harmonic he visualises a situation like — matrilineal and matrilocal; or patrilineal and patrilocal. He also says that the structure of generalised exchange does not depend at all on descent - i.e., its structural feasibility is not contingent upon whether the descent system is patrilineal or matrilineal.

Homans and Schneider confront this argument and say - "what we do reject is the claim that matrilinear cross-cousin marriage has nothing to do with linearity; we predict, Levi-Strauss to the contrary that it will tend to occur in patrilineal societies".

Needham here defends Levi-Strauss and says that Levi-Strauss nowhere speaks or implies that linearity "has nothing to do" with rule of marriage. There is no necessary connection between them.

In the second chapter of the book "Structure and Sentiment" the theme of discussion is the distinction between final cause and efficient cause in sociological explanation.

Needham feels that Homans and Schneider characterize Levi-Strauss's theory as final cause and they present their understanding of his theory as - "An institution is what it is because it is good for the society in the sense of creating organic solidarity, and some institutions are, from this point of view, better than others".

They say that a final cause theory is not good enough, there should be an efficient cause theory and they ask for its existence in Levi-Strauss's Scheme. Since, Levi-Strauss does not explicitly speak of efficient cause, they assume that in Levi-Strauss's view - "... members of some societies chose matrilinear cross-cousin marriage because they could 'see', in much the same way that Levi-Strauss himself can 'see', that it is better than other forms. But it is doubtful whether the intelligent recognition of what would be good for society is ever a sufficient condition for its adoption".

Needham here defines a final cause as - "the purpose or end of the thing caused"; and an efficient cause as - "the producing agent". He adds that Levi-Strauss has allegiance to the early Année Sociologique School of France and he does not anywhere in his book speak of purpose or end in relation to unilateral cross-cousin marriage. Thus, the pages in his book as referred to

by Homans and Schneider, so as to represent the aforesaid theory do not really justify their understanding of Levi-Strauss's theory as final cause theory. They argued with quoting Aristotelian paradigm that - "the house is there that men may live in it; but it is also there because the builders have laid one stone upon another". This certainly implies the factor of purpose but it is precisely this factor which is lacking in Levi-Strauss's argument (Needham, 1962).

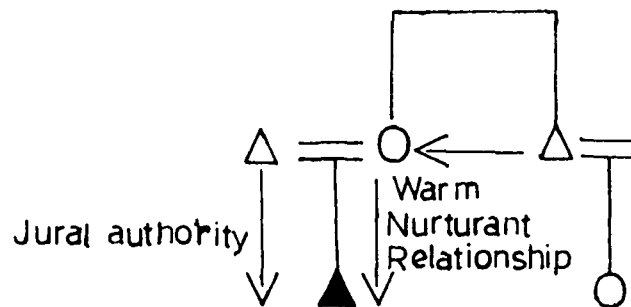
Coming to efficient theory, Homans and Schneider are of the view that for Levi-Strauss efficient theory is human intelligence. Needham too agrees to some extent with them saying that Levi-Strauss did see the formation of institutions as the unconscious production of certain fundamental structures of human mind. He further says that the features to which Levi-Strauss alludes are simply universal grounds for the existence of social institutions and are not to be taken for interpreting either as final cause or efficient cause.

Needham claims that Homans and Schneider are specifically concerned to propound an efficient cause theory which they have derived from Radcliff Brown's paper, "The Mother's Brother in South Africa" (1924); and here they try to employ psychological behaviour as one of

the determinants in the selection of the type of marriage under question.

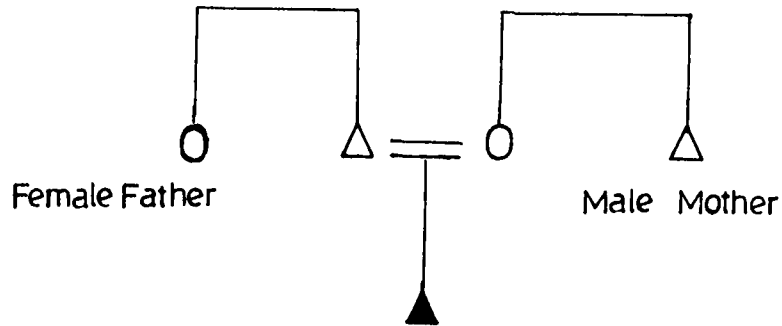
In a patrilineal complex the father exercises a jural authority; and on the other hand, mother and her son relationship is a warm and nurturant which is by its nature extended to the mother's sister and mother's brother. Therefore, the same relationship is exhibited between the ego and his mother's brother.

Fig.3



Homans and Schneider write that in the patrilineal complex the mother's brother becomes a kind of 'male-mother' and the father's sister becomes a 'female father' in which the same "respect and constraint" formula operates between the ego and his father's sister.

Fig.4



Thus the mother's brothers has sentiments for his sister's son and by virtue of his closeness to his daughter, she too develops these sentiments for her cousin. This makes them say that mother's brother's daughter marriage is commonly found in patrilineal societies.

Homans and Schneider's argument is summed up in two propositions, - one, a special hypothesis and the other a more general theory from which the former is deduced.

Their hypothesis is - "Societies in which marriage is allowed or preferred with mother's brother's daughter but forbidden or disapproved with father's sister's daughter will be societies possessing patrilineal kin groups,

and societies in which marriage is allowed or preferred with father's sisters daughter but forbidden or disapproved with mother's brother's daughter will be societies possessing matrilineal kin.

Their general theory is - "The form of unilateral cross-cousin marriage will be determined by the system of interpersonal relations precipitated by a social structure, especially by the locus of jural authority over ego". Needham does not see any necessary connection between the two. Either of them could be wrong.

Needham also tries to negate the psychological explanation of their theory by bringing in the criticism once made by Evans-Pritchard in which he said that the influence of the father should be taken into account in considering the formation of the sentiment towards the mother's brother because the maternal uncle is not only the mother's brother's of Ego, but also the wife's brother of Ego's father; and in a primitive society the wife brother is commonly a "pivotal relative" and the attitude of the husband and the wife are more pronounced towards him than to other relatives. Therefore, some evidence of "clash of sentiments" on the part of the parents will be found also in the attitude of Ego to his mother's brother (Evans-Pritchard, 1929).

Against the backdrop of all these theoretical arguments, the Purum makes its debut as an illustration to support Needham's argument against Homans and Schneider, where he refutes the 'Sentiment' theory to the MBD marriage (Mother's Brother's daughter) which they have put forward. Needham says that from the empirical data shown in T.C. Das's study, 26 out of 54 marriages are with women other than actual MBD, and in that case the ego has "... to be fond of roughly a third of all the men of his father's generation in the total society seems a promiscuous lavishing of sentiments...."

Then again the Purum reappears in "A Structural Analysis of Purum Society"² where he divides Purum society into three "cyclically related" structural groups - Ego group; wife-giver and wife-taker, based on marriage with 'Mother's Brother's daughter'. He also says that "the basic scheme of Purum society is not tripartite but dualistic" (1958a: 97). The fundamental 'dyadic' relationship is between the superior wife-giving group and the inferior wife-taking group and this 'dyadic' relationship is best exhibited in the Purum society through certain symbolic

2. Needham, R. "A Structural Analysis of Purum Society", American Anthropologist, Vol. 60, 1958, p. 75.

"structural principles underlying both social relations of the sorts and other aspects of Purum culture which are not obviously connected with them."³

In support of his argument, Needham gives the following illustrations from the original T.C. Das's work:

1. A Purum house can be visualised in two different compartments, each having a definite positional and functional role in the society. The two parts are the Phumlil marked by the conspicuous position of the hearth and a sacred post called Chatra; the other being Ningan with another sacred post called Senajumphi. The Phumlil is the living room of the head of the family with his unmarried sons and daughters while the Ningan is the place for the visiting married daughters; son-in-laws and the prospective son-in-law undergoing 'Yaun-gimba' (service paid as bride price).

In other words, Phumlil is superior to Ningan, or from the angle who occupies which part of the house, one can say that the wife-giver is superior to the wife-taker. The position of the family hearth is in the Phumlil

3. Ibid

part and the exit door on the side of the Ningam also shows the importance of the each side. Now, when a person enters a Purum house, to his right hand side is the Phumlil and to his left is the Ningam. So right and left has certain value based connotation in the Purum society and as such right is superior to left.⁴ This concept of right and left is also evident from certain ceremonies that the Purum performs.

2. To propitiate the sib-god 'Senamahi' a fowl is sacrificed and the position of the legs of the bird at the time of death indicates the future of the family. If the right leg be placed on the left one it augers well. But it forebodes evil if otherwise. So, here 'right' is auspicious and left is inauspicious or right is superior to left. There is a few more similar rituals where right has a higher value than the left. Say, for - name giving ceremony, in the case of a boy, if the right leg is placed on the left it is regarded as a good omen. But in the case of a female child, a hen is strangled, and if the left leg of the sacrificed hen is placed on the right it augers good health. It suggests that 'left'

4. Ibid.

is attributed to feminine side and 'right' is to masculine side. Similarly, in the village council chamber (Ruishang), the senior sits on the right side and the junior on the left.

3. In a Purum marriage there is a conspicuous flow of material goods in one direction and the female (the bride) in the other. Right from the proposal of the marriage when the father of the prospective groom carries the 'Zu' (rice beer) to the father of the bride, and then, when the maksa (daughter's husband, sister's husband, and father's sister's husband) kills and prepares pork curry at the boy's house and carries it to the bride's place, leading to the transfer of the bride to the boy's house the flow of material goods is towards the bride's house and the flow of the bride is towards the boy's house (patrilocal).

4. Needham also tries to correlate this 'dyadic' relationship with the type of marriage they follow and says that the Purum kinship terminology also "conform with this type of marriage". Giving illustrations from the Purum he writes,

"A man addresses all women of the clan or group of clans of his mother or wife as 'U' (if older), this

being an abbreviation of the term translated as 'elder brother's wife' or Kanaunu, the term translated as "mother's brother's daughter".

"A man of a wife-giving clan is addressed as 'Apu' (if older) and by name, if younger, the term being translated as "mother's brother"; "wife's brother" or "wife's brother's son".

"On the wife-taking side all members of clans which may marry women from one's own clan or group of clans are addressed by terms applied individually to patrilineal relatives. Thus a woman older than ego is addressed as Katunu, translated as 'sister's daughter', and a man as 'Upa', translated as "elder sister's husband" or "father's sister's son".

"Katunu are "those girls only whom he cannot marry owing to clan restrictions on marriage", while Kanaunu are "girls only who are his potential mates".

"Katunu is a term which may be translated as 'father's sister's daughter' or 'patrilineal cross-cousin', and Kanaunu as "mother's brother's daughter" or "matrilineal cross-cousin".

"Thus in the Purum kinship terminology the words Katunu and Kanaunu connote "prohibited woman" and "potential wife" and so the matrilateral prescription. Further, the word 'Apu' which we may conveniently render as 'mother's brother', applies to three generations. Similarly, the term Kanaunu, which we translate as 'mother's brother's daughter', applies to the wife's brother's daughter as well, i.e., to successive generations."

Thus, to quote Needham, "... This effectively makes the point that it is not an individual designation but a category, which includes men/women under one status regardless of their individual attributes of age, genealogical level, etc. - the status of 'wife-giver' or 'wife-taker'".⁵

5. This purported attribution to "the theory of prescriptive marriage systems" on the basis of Purum kinship organization has generated enormous heat and as such there has been a series of criticism and clarification in the American Anthropologist. C. Ackerman⁶ refutes Needham and writes that kinship terminology does not determine the matrilateral prescription. When Needham

5. Ibid.

6. C. Ackerman, "Structure and Statistics", American Anthropologist, Vol. 66, 1964, pp. 53-64.

distinguishes "wife-giving group" from "wife-taking group" he says that to an ego all the men of the 'wife-giving group' are 'pu' - to him and a 'wife-taking member' cannot be called as 'pu'. But there is a wife taker who is also addressed as 'Pu' - the Father's Father's Sister's Husband. Father's Father's Sister's Husband (FFZH) is as much 'wife-taker' as Father's Sister's Husband (FZH) or the Sister's Husband (ZH) or the Daughter's Husband (DH). Thus, Ackerman is of strong opinion that kinship terminology cannot make any clear cut distinction between "wife giving group" and "wife-taking group" and as such it does not conform with the type of marriage that one practices.

6. Ackerman also tries to stress his view by representing a few statistical argument against Needham. For instance, he argues that from T.C. Das's original monograph it is clear that 52% of the marriages are with women of the MB's sib and that 48% of the marriages are with women other than MB's sib. In such a case marriage rule cannot be attributed to as "prescriptive".⁷

7. Ackerman also refutes Needham's analysis of Purum marriage pattern and charges Needham of being unable

7. C. Ackerman. "Structure and Statistics: The Purum Case", American Anthropologist, Vol. 66, 1964, pp.53-64.

to distinguish between the two distinct social orders of 'actual' and 'normative' and says - "... Here two orders of social reality are presented and differentiated - the 'actual' and what may be termed the 'normative'. But there is considerable disagreement between these two orders; they agree in only 25 cases, disagreeing in 32. Adequate analysis of Purum marriage choices must take into account that these are two separate orders of reality and that they disagree: they cannot (or at least, should not be) lumped together into a single category, and Needham, in his version of the ethnographic data, presented in Table 6 and Table 7 of his 1958 analysis⁸ ignores the two different orders in both his presentation and analysis and he fails to distinguish actual marriage choices from normative ones - therefore the system which Needham presents as the Purum marriage system is in fact neither normative nor actual."

8. This refutation of Needham's "Structural Analysis of Purum Society" by C. Ackerman was not well received by many scholars. For instance, William H. Geoghegan⁹ writes that, "... however, the particular statistical

8. C. Ackerman, "A Structural Analysis of Purum Society", American Anthropologist, Vol. 60, 1958, pp.85-87.

9. William H. Geoghegan, "More Structure and Statistics: A Critique of C. Ackerman's Analysis of the Purum", American Anthropologist, Vol.66, 1964, p. 1351.

tests that Ackerman employs seem to us ill adapted to the hypothesis he wishes to verify. In fact, Ackerman's data support the hypothesis he rejects rather than the one he advances". He further adds that Ackerman's assertion that there is "... No tendency to avoid the direct exchange of women exists in the distribution of actual marriages Purum marriage choices are not ordered by a matrilateral connubium". "Contrary to this conclusion there is evidence in his own data both for avoidance of direct exchange and for the existence of asymmetric alliance, e.g. A — B — C — A states the cyclical exchange relationships among lineages when no lineage is both bride-giver and bride-taker in relation to any other lineage. When this criterion is met the matrilateral connubium exists".

George L. Cowgill¹⁰ charges Ackerman's analysis of Purum as an attempt to demolish some of Needham's major conclusions by means of statistical analysis. He says, "... but what I do claim, and most emphatically, is that the data given by Ackerman, taken at face value, do not mean what he says they mean ... it is easy to

10. George L. Cowgill, "Statistics and Sense: More on the Purum Case", American Anthropologist, Vol. 66, 1964, p. 1358.

show that they overwhelmingly support two of Needham's assertions which Ackerman rejects".

William Wilder¹¹ calls Ackerman's article "a distortion of Needham's analysis of Purum Society (1958, 1962) and of the Purum material itself (Das 1935, 1945)."

Ernst W. Muller¹² writes that Ackerman's attempt to disprove Needham's assertion and his procedure is in more than one way unfit for the purpose. He further states that "... Ackerman failed to understand Needham's assertion that it is not the Purum marriage norm to marry and cross-cousin but a matrilateral one, and that it is not the true MBD but a woman of Ego's generation and of his mother's group".

9. Inference

A. The main issue in the Purum debate is the unilateral cross-cousin marriage. As a rule the Purum marry their mother's brother's daughter (MBD). Now the point of argument has so far been that why do they practise matrilateral cross-cousin marriage and how does the social

11. William Wilder, "Confusion Versus Clarification in the Study of Purum Society", American Anthropologist, Vol. 66, 1964).

12. Ernst W. Muller, "Structure and Statistics: Some Remark on the Purum Case", American Anthropologist, Vol. 66, p. 1371.

system dictate this rule? Scholars like, Needham try to give a structural analysis of the Purum marriage system and say that the dyadic relationship that exists in a Purum society presents the structural categories like the "wife-giving group" and "wife-taking group; or potential-wife" and "prohibited women", supported by the kinship terminology that conforms with the matrilineal cross-cousin marriage. Homans and Schneider on the other hand give a psychological explanation to the marriage system in question.

A careful perusal of this debate would indicate despite some over-statement understanding of this process by which people organise their lives is greatly enhanced. If we take T.C. Das's data as empirical and its delimitation in the process of employment (for analysis) and their statistical representation, apparently each analysis has a point. But often it is noticed that the scholars have so chosen T.C. Das's data that they try to prove their own point, ignoring the data which would have challenged their assertion. For instance, C. Ackerman's assertion that both 'wife-giver' and 'wife-taker' cannot be addressed as 'pu'. By doing this Ackerman in the first place agrees to the existence of dyadic relationship in the Purum society, secondly, he has picked this particular instance to negate Needham's assertion that "kinship terminologies conform with the type of

marriage". But there are other terms which overlap both the groups, e.g. "Ka-terr" means both father's elder brother and his wife on one hand, and mother's elder sister and her husband on the other. The term 'Kanaunu' indicates both Younger sister (ZY) and Younger brother's wife (by W). Similarly 'Kapu' stands for all the mother's brothers (MB), Father's father (FF) and also Father's Father's Sister's husband (FFZH).

All these terms, from which Ackerman has picked up the term (Ka) 'pu' for both FFZH and MB, in Purum society are either terms of honour or endearment.¹³ They are not the usual kinship terminology in the strict sense of the term. Thus, it is not justifiable on his part to assert that the Purum kinship terminologies do not conform with the type of marriage they practice. The Purum terms of relationship are intimately connected with social conditions and the prevailing type of marriage often influences the nature and character of these terms (Das, 1948).

B. Both Needham and Ackerman were wrong in analysing the data on MBD's marriage. Ackerman's assertion that from T.C. Das's original monograph, 52% of MBD marriage

13. Das, T.C. The Purums: An Old Kuki Tribe of Manipur, 1945, p. 142.

is not enough to justify "prescriptive" norm sounds dubious because Das himself in his book (p. 241) has said that the "Purum extensively practise cross-cousin marriage of one type, namely with the mother's brother's daughter". and "... thus, out of 85 unions recorded in 1936 in the three villages of the Purum, 63 (or 74.12%) happened to be brought about by union with mother's brother's daughters, in eleven (or 12.94 per cent) cases the bride was taken from the sib of the mother's brother."

C. Homans and Schneiders psychological explanation does hold some ground in Purum marriage type. We cannot totally dismiss the effect of emotion over marriage. The Purum society as it stands is a very compact society composed of five major exogamous sibs with fourteen sub-sibs. So with a total population of 303 (1936), distributed over four villages we can well tell how close a society can be. Under the given environment when it is customary to marry one's Mother's Brother's daughter and the practice of passing the night in the house of a man who has one or more grown up daughters may have the intention of providing an opportunity to the young people to cultivate premarital love which ultimately leads to happy union.¹⁴ Moreover, when every Purum village is

14. Ibid., p. 115.

represented by almost all sibs, marriage alliances are mostly within the village. So, under such circumstances, to be fond of the mother's brother may not be "a very expansive affection" as observed by Needham (1962).

D. The Purum marriage system does represents a "circulating connubium" where women move in one direction only. For instance, a Parpa girl when moves towards Thao family; a Thao girl cannot move towards a Parpa family, she has to go to Marim family.

Marim — Thao — Parpa

This basic rule of marriage is still in practice among the Purums.

E. Needham asserted that Levi-Strauss used the word 'preference' to designate 'prescription'. For Levi-Strauss, the word 'preferential union' means 'the obligation to marry within a group'.¹⁵

This assertion of Needham cannot be taken as it is. It should rather be examined in the light of Levi-Strauss's own statement, i.e. "The notions of prescriptive

15. Ibid.

and preferential marriage are relative: a preferential system is prescriptive when envisaged at the model level; a prescriptive system must be preferential when envisaged on the level of reality.¹⁶ ✓

16. Strauss, Levi. Elementary Structures of Kinship, 2nd Edition, 1969, XXXIII.

CHAPTER - III

PURUM OF 1988

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A. Purum/Chothe Dilemma

The term 'Purum' has been interpreted in a number of connotations by different scholars. McCulloch (1859) meant Purum as a tribe belonging to the Kookie stock; Brown (1873) said that it was a subdivision of the Kom tribe; Hodson (1911) looked it as an old Kuki village; Shakespeare (1912) had projected them as an old Kuki Clan; T.C. Das (1945) called them an old Kuki tribe; and Das Gupta (1985) defined 'Purum' as a land/territory having hills and forests.

Now in 1988, the people, 'Purum' themselves give their own interpretation of the term 'Purum'. According to Mr. P. Sani Chothe, the Hullak (Headman) of the Purum Tampak village, Mr. P.R. Rakungpu, a school teacher (Purum Tampak), P.R. Selhung, President, Chothe General Union, (Chothe Khunou) and Mr. M. Maipuk Yuhlung of Lumlangkhupi village, the term is a corrupted version of the word 'Pulum' which in Chothe dialect means 'termite'. With strong conviction and determination they said that they are all Chothe and they do not differentiate among the so called 'Purums' of the Eastern side and the Chothes of the Western side. Prof. T.C. Das did mention~~d~~ about a Chothe village in the Western side with whom the Purums had marriage alliance. They also said that during their

nomadic stage the section of the Purum had separated from the main section at Ahu-Lungsubung village (in present Churachandpur district) and settled down at the present Chandel district. Mr. P.R. Rakungpu claims that those who were strong enough to face the danger of wandering life could come along and settle down in an area where the Pulum (termite) were in abundance. In course of time, due to outside contacts they often referred themselves to their locality and identified themselves as Pulum to the outsiders. Gradually the term Pulum got corrupted into Purum and the neighbouring Meiteis still call them Purum. Thus the Purums were always Chothe to themselves and are still Chothe and it is only to the outsiders that they were Purum. E.W. Dunn (1886) in the Gazetteer of Manipur called the Purum-Chumbung viillage (one of the Chothe villages in Chandel district) as a Chothe village.

Note: Dr. H.Kamkenthang, Research Officer, Directorate for Development of Tribals and Backward Classes construes the Purum's claim to be Chothe and argues that even among the Payte the termite is known as 'Phulum' and it is of often occurrence that most of the tribes simply refer their identity to their habitat. He says that among the Payte, the people inhabiting on the lower and upper slope of a hill often call themselves as 'Vengkhangte' and 'Vengsakte' respectively. These two terms at times may look to others as two different communities but in reality they are Payte. Termite is also known among the Kom E, Koireng as Phurum and Phuylum respectively.

In the folk-tale of the Chothe it is said that the trib came out of a cave known as huipithoranga. The cave was covered by a flat rock and as commanded by God, it was opened by a wild buffalo by its horn. The place was called Lungleh E Waishu. Most of the men and women were eaten up by the Kamkeirangpa (tiger). Only a son Kachote and a daughter Thanidam were left unharmed because they were wearing shawls with designed resembling the tiger. Thus from the name Kachote the word Chothe emerged.¹

According to Maipak Yuhlung, the word Chothe means:

Choi = hold		= Chote
te = boy		

And Chote is the term derived from the original name Kachote which the God Pakhangba had directed to name the boy.

In the original history of Manipur there are references about the reign of Thangari Chothe, Thanwai, Pakhanba and Pakhanba-Soraren (God of heaven). The worship of Pu-Pakhangba and Pu-Soraren is till in practice among the Pegangs (non-Christian Chothes).

1. Kankung, Abershing. The Original Custom and Culture of Chote Tribe: Purum (Chote), Revisited, ASI, Cal.

According to the census report, the population of Purum and Chothe were:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Purum</u>	<u>Chothe</u>
1931	305	250
1936	303	Not known
1941	Not known	Not known
1951	43	695
1961	82	1035
1971	Nil	1905
1975	Nil	1464

When asked as to what had happened to those Purum shown against 1951, 1961 Censuses, Mr. Maipak Yuhlung said that after the Japanese war there had been a general awareness among the 'Purums' that they should be known as Chothe and in 1975 CGU meeting (Chothe General Union) under the Presidentship of P.R. Shelhong, it was resolved that henceforth the tribe should be known by their old name Chothe. He also argued that while taking census, the enumerators who were mostly Manipuris, were somewhat biased to enroll the Chothes as 'Purum' because to them the Chothes of the eastern side were always 'Purum'. Even during T.C. Das' field work (1932-1936), they were introduced to him as Purum by the Manipuri interpreters that accompanied him.

B. Chote/Kuki/Naga Identity Question

Linguistically, Chote, Kuki, Naga E Meiki belong to the Tibeto-Burmese group and as such there is a close affinity to each other. The Chothe General Union had a student wing which was named as Chothe Naga Student's Union in 1948 and was affiliated to Naga Student's Federation. But the elder members of the CGU were against the idea of identifying themselves in the line of the Nagas and in 1974, the CGU took up the question of being a Naga and delineated the Naga identity. Linguistically they are more close to the Kuki group as 80 - 90% of the words in the dialect are similar to the Kuki group. For instance the words:

	<u>Chothe</u>	<u>Kom</u>	<u>Koireng</u>	<u>Meitei</u>
Thumb finger -	Khutpi	Kutpui	Kutpi	Khubi
Fore -	Khutchai	Kutchai	Kutchal	Khudombi
Middle -	Khutjai	Kutlai	Kutlaita	Khuitjai
Ring -	Khut-tem	Kut-teum	Kut- teniang	Khuningthou
Little -	Khut-te	Kut-te	Kut-te	Khunaobi

Note: This phenomenon can be judged in the line of a few similar incidence like those of the Adis E (known as Abor to the Assamese) and the Naga. The Abor is now changed to Adi but the term Naga has been widely accepted by the tribe.

✓ Similar changes are seen among the Lushais to Mizo; Mikir to Karbi and Miri to Mishing.

	<u>Chothe</u>	<u>Kom</u>	<u>Koireng</u>	<u>Meitei</u>
Hand	- Khut	Kut	Kut	Khut
Leg	- Ke	Ke	Ke	Khong
Eye	- Mit	Mit	Mit	Mit
Ear	- Nukul	Ker	Kor	Na
Nose	- Natung	Nar	Nar	Naton
Tongue	- Lai	Malei	Lei	Lei
Teeth	- Ha	Ha	Ha	Ya

According to Mr. Maipak Yuhlung of Lumlang-Khupi village, there cannot be any reason for the Chote to be included in the Naga sections. The two groups show a wide gamut of differences in cultural traditions and in regard to their origin, custom, manners, dress, laws, and traditional organization etc.

There are references of Chothe in the pre-historical accounts of Manipur, such as Cheitharol Kumbuba saying that there is a wide difference between the Naga and the Chothe.

C. Chothe Clans and their Marriage Alliances

<u>Clans</u>	<u>Sub-clans</u>
I. Marim	1. Rimkung
	2. Rim Kelek
	3. Rimphunchong
	4. Pilin

<u>Clans</u>	<u>Sub-clans</u>
II. Makan	1. Kan Kung 2. Makan-te
III. Khiyang	1. Lungkang 2. Aihung 3. Impi 4. Ingte
IV. Thao	1. Thao-Kung 2. Thao-run 3. Teyu 4. Rangshai
V. Yuhlung	
VI. Rungkung	
VII. Parpa	

1. An Yuhlung boy can marry with girls from:
 - (a) Rimkelek
 - (b) Thao
 - (c) Rangshai

2. Khiyang boy can marry with girls from:
 - (a) Parpa
 - (b) Thao
 - (c) Makante

3. A Makan boy can marry with girls from:

(a) Tranglin

(b) Parpa

(c) Hulpu

(d) Rimkung

Makante boy can marry with girls from:

(a) Trangrim

(b) Hulpu

(c) Pilin

(d) Rimkung

4. Among the Sub-clans of the Marim, they marry with:

(a) Rimkung: (i) Yuhlung

(ii) Trangin

(iii) Thao

(iv) Hulpu

(b) Rimke-lik: (i) Thao

(ii) Makan

(iii) Tranglin

(iv) Hulpu

- (c) Rimphouchong: (i) Kanbung
 (ii) Yuhlung
 (iii) Tranglin
 (iv) Hulpu, and
 (v) Thao

- (d) Pilin: (i) Thao
 (ii) Yuhlung
 (iii) Tranglin
 (iv) Hulpu
 (v) Thao

5. A Thao boy can marry with girls from:

- (a) Parpa
(b) Makan

6. A Rangshai can marry a girl from:

- (a) Rangshai: (i) Hulpu
 (ii) Rimkung
(b) Teyu: (i) Makan
 (ii) Parpa

7. A Parpa boy can marry from:

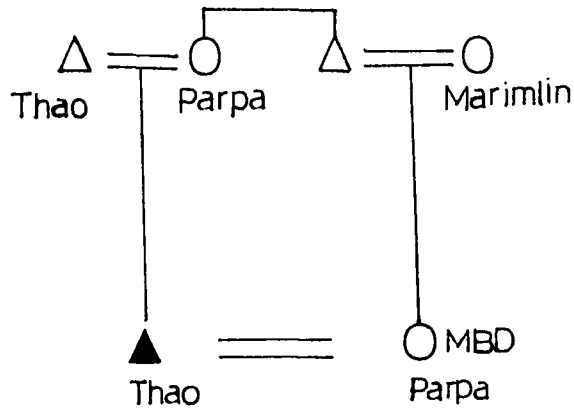
- (a) Marimlin
(b) Yuhlunglin
(c) Rangshai

D. Prescriptive or Preferential Rule of Marriage

The Chothes practise matrilateral cross-cousin marriage and as such they marry their mother's brother's daughter (MBD) or with a classificatory MBD (a woman of the mother's brother's clan).

For instance,

Fig. 5.



When a Parpa MBD is not available, he can marry anybody from a Parpa clan which is then taken as classificatory MBD or he can marry a Makan girl.

Here a Thao is prescribed to marry his MBD. In the absence of MBD he has choice to marry a classificatory MBD or he can marry a girl from the clan he is allowed to marry. Now, apparently he has three 'preferences' say:

Thao = Parpa MBD
Parpa classificatory MBD, and
Makan.

But in practice these preferences were fixed and thus are prescribed. He, in any case, cannot marry outside the prescribed "choice". Thus in this sense the Chothe follows a prescriptive marriage alliance.

Any deviation from the prescribed law is duly punished. Even in the case of an elopement if the girl, in spite of being from the prescribed clan, belongs to another village, the boy is fined by the village council or the Hloukal of the girl's village. Khuntangram is the compensation paid to the Hloukal of the bride's village. But if the girl is from the same village and she is from the prescribed clan, no fine is to be paid.

It is interesting that though majority of the Purums have been converted to Christianity they continue to follow the prescriptive law for their marriages.

Although the Purum debate has abated to some extent there are several issues which have defied clear understanding. Some of the issues have come to light after Basu et al. (1985) paid a visit to the Purum area, my visit too added a few more issues. These issues would need a detailed study of the Purum. I will try to summarise them as follows.

The issues for further study

- (a) Although the Purum are a small tribe, they are still very much there. The question is why the Purum now prefer to be identified as Chothe? This matter is not all that straight as Basu et al. have tried to make out.
- (b) Of late, there are frequent marriages outside the Purum. If this trend continues, then how they will be able to hold on their Purum (Chothe) identity.
- (c) Violation of the prescriptive marriage rule within the group is strictly dealt with by the Purum; while` marriages outside the group are somehow tolerated. Why is it so?
- (d) Matrilateral prescriptive marriage is the axis of the Purum social structure. By marrying

outside the group, apparently the Purum are skipping over a structural arrangement. Is it so? If it is so, then the change is of great theoretical importance.

- (e) Institutions like Ruishang (village council) and maksa are no more functional. The issue then is how the present interpersonal relationships fit into the Purum (Chothe) social system?
- (f) The role of sib-priest 'Pipa' under the new religion is a vestigeal one. Likewise, most of the traditional rituals have become a part of folk-tale to the new generation. Where does the new generation stand under the banner of the Purum?

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