

Questionnaire (put reference #:page # after each entry)

1. Description

1.1 Name(s) of society, language, and language family: Naga, Lotha; Lotha; Sino-Tibetan

1.2 ISO code (3 letter code from ethnologue.com): njh

1.3 Location (latitude/longitude): 26.1° N 94.27°S

1.4 Brief history:

1.5 Influence of missionaries/schools/governments/powerful neighbors:

1.6 Ecology (natural environment): The Lotha Naga “occupies a piece of territory that may be roughly described as the drainage area of the Middle and Lower Doyang and its tributaries, down to the point where it emerges into the plains. Their land can show extremes of climate, from the high spurs of Wokha Hill, where frost is not unknown, to the malarious foot-hills bordering on the plains, where the heat radiated from the sandstone makes life almost unbearable in hot weather. (#2 pg 1)

1.7 Population size, mean village size, home range size, density

2. Economy

2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s): “Rice is the staple food of the tribe and is far and away the most important crop grown” (#2 pg 45)

2.2 Main protein-lipid sources: Mithan, bulls, cows, pigs, and even dogs are eaten (#2 pg 59)

2.3 Weapons: Bow and arrow, blowguns?: The dao (lepok) is of the most importance. Used to slay an enemy, cut up a chicken, fell a forest tree, pare down the finest cane, dig a hole, or cut a thorn out of his foot. These weapons are straight-edged blades, about 12 inches long and 4 inches broad at the top, narrowing down to an inch or less at the haft, fitted into a bamboo handle tightly bound with cane. Those made by the Southern Lhotas are far heavier. The blade is about 12 inches long, the top being 5 inches broad, narrowing down to one and a half inches at the haft. Both edge and back are slightly curved and the junction of the edge and top is prolonged into a small beak.

The next important weapon is the speak (*otso*). The spear is always thrown and never used for thrusting. Thirty yards is the extreme of effective range. Often 6 or more feet.

The cross-bow (*olo*) is used for shooting birds and monkey.

Shield (*otsung*) used to always be carried in are and are used in tiger and leopard hunts. One's made of hide are called *tsungkuk*. (#2 pgs 16-18)

2.4 Food storage: “the Lhotas do not keep their rice in their houses but in little thatched granaries (*osung*) of bamboo which are raised on posts above the ground and stand in neat little groups just outside the village. By this arrangement the food supply is generally saved even if the village be burnt.” (#2 pg 23).

2.5 Sexual division of production: “Spinning, like dyeing and weaving, is performed entirely by women and every Lhota woman is expected to weave the cloths of her husband and family” (#2 pg 36)

2.6 Land tenure: “The method of cultivation is that known as 'jhuming.' A piece of jungle is cut and burnt, and the land cultivated for two years and then allowed to go back to jungle, under which it remains for a period varying from four to fifteen years. If a man is short of land he obviously has to cultivate each piece at shorter intervals.

2.7 Ceramics: “Though foreign articles are being used more and more Lhotas still make most of their own pots. They are round, and slightly contracted at the top, with a curved rim by which they can be lifted off the fire. The only ornamentation used is a string pattern which is applied by patting the pat while still wet with a flat piece of wood covered with coarse string binding.” (#2 40-41)

2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns:

2.9 Food taboos: “Under no circumstances may the flesh of an animal which has been sacrificed be eaten either by the sacrificer or any of his household. It is believed that anyone who broke this rule would go mad.” (#2 pg 138)

2.10 Canoes/watercraft?

3. Anthropometry

3.1 Mean adult height (m and f): 5 foot 8 inches (#2 pg 7)

3.2 Mean adult weight (m and f): 5 foot 5 inches (#2 pg 7)

4. Life History, mating, marriage

4.1 Age at menarche (f):

4.2 Age at first birth (m and f):

4.3 Completed family size (m and f):

4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f):

4.5 Age first marriage (m and f): “Girls usually marry between the ages of fourteen and eighteen, and boys between seventeen and twenty-two” (#2 pg 147)

4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce: “There is no ceremony connected with divorce as there is among the Aos, and the proceedings are not protracted, the wife generally settling the matter by running away to the house either of her parents or some admirer. In that case all that remains to be done is to discuss the return of the marriage-price. Sometimes the girl's parents return the full amount of the marriage-price which they have received up to date, plus a fine of ten rupees, and sometimes, in cases where the marriage-price has already been divided up and spend, it is arranged that the aggrieved husband shall recover the marriage-price from whoever marries his runaway wife. In cases where the woman runs off with another man the co-respondent has to pay the husband the full amount of the marriage-price, plus compensation amounting to fifty or a hundred rupees. It is very rarely a man simply turns his wife out. If he does so he cannot recover his marriage-price and has to pay her parents or their heirs a fine of ten rupees. He naturally, therefore, puts up with a good deal from his wife, sooner than lose his marriage-price. Among the Lhotas she can only claim the thread

- and chickens she bought with her at her marriage or their equivalent, together with the clothes she wears and all the thread there may be in the house. Any ornaments given her by her husband must be returned to him.” (#2 pg 156)
- 4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously: Polygynously and common for a well-to-do Lhota man to have as many as three wives.
- 4.8 Bride purchase (price), bride service, dowry?: A man goes and works for a father-in-law and pays a bride price
- 4.9 Inheritance patterns: “property is inherited exclusively by the male heirs. Failing son or grandsons, brothers, brother's sons, first cousins in the male line, and so on, inherit in that order. The need of the heirs is the primary consideration, a system which in theory is almost ideal and in practice works excellently.” The inheritance works on a needs basis or that if the first son is married and well established his younger brothers would receive more based on their marriage situation and their completion of the 'gennas.' (#2 pg 98-99)
- 4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict:
- 4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals:
- 4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy): “have an exogamous system which is in the process of breaking down... Strictly speaking a man ought to take his wife from a phratry other than his own. On this the Lhota opinion is clear. On the other hand, marriage between members of different clans is allowed everywhere and is especially common among the Southern Lhotas, though it is viewed with a certain amount of disapproval by the conservative members of the tribe. In some villages, again, chiefly among the Southern Lhotas, marriage between members of different kindreds of the same clan is permitted. The reason for these innovations... is that a man's choice of a wife is limited, for he is almost forced by circumstances to take one from his own village, or at any rate from a neighboring village. A man in search of a bride naturally thinks first of marriageable girls whom he knows of near home. The parents of a girl, too, usually much prefer that she should marry a man in their own village, sometimes because they are fond of her, but more often because they want her to come in and give a helping hand in the house or look after them when they are ill.” (#2 pg 87)
- 4.13 What is the belief of the role of males in conception; is paternity partible? Are these “other fathers” recognized?
- 4.14 What is the belief of the mother's role in procreation exactly? (e.g., “receptacle in which fetus grows”)
- 4.15 Is conception believed to be an incremental process (i.e., semen builds up over time)?
- 4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape
- 4.17 Preferential category for spouse (e.g., cross cousin)
- 4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms?
- 4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring
- 4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children?
- 4.21 Adult sex ratio: number of adult males divided by number of (reproductive) females
- 4.22 Evidence for couvades
- 4.23 Different distinctions for potential fathers (e.g., lesser/younger vs. major/older)
- 4.24 Kin avoidance and respect?
- 4.24 Joking relationships?
- 4.25 Patterns of descent (e.g., bilateral, matrilineal) for certain rights, names or associations
- 4.26 Incest avoidance rules
- 4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony?
- 4.28 In what way(s) does one get a name, change their name, and obtain another name?
- 4.29 Is marriage usually (or preferred to be) within community or outside community? (m/f difference?)
- 4.30 Are marriages arranged? Who arranges (e.g., parents, close kin)?
- 4.31 Evidence for conflict of interest over who marries who:

Warfare/homicide

- 4.31 Percent adult (male) deaths due to warfare:
- 4.32 Outgroup vs ingroup cause of violent death:
- 4.33 Reported causes of in-group and out-group killing:
- 4.34 Number, diversity and relationship with neighboring societies (external relations):
- 4.35 Cannibalism?
- 4.36 “By putting a stop to head-hunting the British Government has profoundly changed the mode of life of all the tribes in the administered area of the Naga Hilla. In the old days war was the normal and peace the exceptional state of affairs. War between Lhota villages was rare, and it was absolutely forbidden for one Lhota to take another Lhota's head. But unless peace had been definitely arranged, any village of another tribe was regarded as hostile and fair game. This never-ending state of war affected every man, woman and child in their daily lives. In the morning a band of young men fully armed scouted round the village and had to report no enemy lying in wait before any women and children were allowed to leave the protection of the village fence.” Groups would go on raids often setting traps at village springs or working fields. If they attempted to exterminate a whole village they would typically gather to attack at dawn. If the defense held they would not try push to hard as they wish to put themselves at minimal risk. If the defense was overrun often the village people would flee, leaving the old, women, and children who could not keep up. (#2 105-112)

5. Socio-Political organization and interaction

- 5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size: “may contain anything from a dozen to 350 houses” (#2 pg 22)
- 5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality):
- 5.3 Political system: (chiefs, clans etc, wealth or status classes): “There are three phratries divided into clans (*chibo*) which are in some cases further split up into kindreds (*mhitso*). (#2 87) The phratries are Tompyaktserre, Izumontserre, and Mipongsandre further divided

in clans (#2 pg 88). “Every village is an independent unit in the tribe. Leagues of villages were formed for purposes of war, and in these cases the advice of the most powerful village would carry the most weight... But except for war no village ever acknowledged the authority of other any other village. There are very rarely definite boundaries between the lands of different villages. In the case of villages situated close to one another the lands of individuals of either village are inextricably mixed up... Villages are now managed by an informal council of old men and men of influence, with headmen selected by Government through whom the village is dealt with. The old men are appropriately called *sotsoi* (meat-eaters), for the inflict fines of pork in petty cases and eat the fine. *Sotsoi* are divided into two classes called *tongti*, the upper division, and *chochang*, the lower division. Under them is a council of vague dimensions called *pangi*. Usually the village is run as an undivided whole, but where the 'khels' are big the tendency is for the leading men of each 'khel' to manage their affairs independently.” (#2 pg 96-97)

5.4 Post marital residence: The husband's household.

5.5 Territoriality? (defined boundaries, active defense): “With the exception of those situated on spurs running down from the great mass of Wokha Hill, a Lhota village is invariably built on the very top of a ridge. The two essentials of a site are that it must be easily defensible from a Naga point of view, and near a spring.” (#2 pg 21) “To defend his village the Lhota used neither masonry walls like the Angami, nor hedges of living cane like the Konyak. The outer defense was a ditch cut across the ridge in a conveniently narrow place. The bottom and edge of this were studded with 'panjis,' and it was crossed by a rough-hewn plank which was taken up at night, or in case of attack. The inner defence was a stout fence of sticks and bamboos, also bristling with 'panjis.' This was carried right round the village except in places where the steepness of the ground gave adequate protection of itself. The door was of bamboo, studded with 'panjis.' A few sticks are still stuck up along the line of the old fence every year at the *Pikuchak* 'genna,' and whenever the village preforms the *Oyantsoa* 'genna.' Huge trees stand at the entrance to most Lhota villages. These were preserved to form a wind-screen for the village and to provide convenient look-out posts for sentries. War between Lhota villages was rare, and a powerful village surrounded by friends would regard defense as unnecessary.” (#2 pgs 21-22)

5.6 Social interaction divisions ? (age and sex):

5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships:

5.8 Village and house organization: “A village usually consists of one long street with a line of houses on each side facing inwards. In the middle of the street are the 'genna' stones, graves and stacks of firewood. The villages are swarming with pigs, dogs and cattle, and the state of the street in wet weather can be better imagined than described, though some attempt is made to keep the actual doorways of the houses clean by scarping away the filth with shovel made of shoulder-blades of cattle or mithan. Sanitary arrangements are non-existent. (#2 pg 23)

5.9 Specialized village structures (mens' houses): “In every 'khel' there is a common bachelors' house or “morung” (*champo*), a building which plays an important part in Lhota life. In it no woman must set her foot. At the *champ* raids were planned and discussed, and to it all heads taken were first brought. It is the sleeping place of every Lhota boy from the time he first puts on his dao-holder till he marries, this rule being only relaxed in the case of boys who are allowed to remain at home and nurse an ailing and widowed mother or when the *champo* falls into such a state of disrepair that it is no longer habitable... The *champo* usually stands at the end of, and facing down, the village street.” (#2 pg 24).

5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere?

5.11 Social organization, clans, moieties, lineages, etc: “Every village except the very small ones, is divided into two or more 'khels' (*yankho*). Sometimes, but by no means always, a little strip of open ground marks the division between the 'khel' and 'khel'.. Usually a 'khel' appears to be nothing more than a convenient division of a village in which men of various clans live... Usually a man lives and dies in the 'khel' in which his forefathers lived and died before him. But he is perfectly free to go to another 'khel' if he wants to.” (#2 pg 24)

5.12 Trade:

5.13 Indications of social hierarchies?

6. Ritual/Ceremony/Religion (RCR)

6.0 Time allocation to RCR:

6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine): “*Potsos* are believed to visit earth from time to time and hold converse with the village seer (*ratsen*), coming in pairs with a train of attendants and bringing articles symbolical of the fortune the village is going to enjoy during the year.” (#2 pg 113-114)

6.2 Stimulants:

6.3 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal): “There remain to be described the social 'gennas,' which play such an enormously important part in Lhota life. Beginning from the first small 'genna' they increase in costliness and importance till the ceremony at which two stones are dragged is reached. Almost every one of them entitles the doer to wear a distinctive cloth. The wealth and consequently the importance of a man is gauged by the number of these social 'gennas' he has done, for the Lhota, like all Nagas and members of not a few other races, is a greater respecter of wealth. It is therefore the ambition of every man to perform the full series if he possibly can.” (#2 pg 136-137)

“Like all social 'gennas' the first one, *wozutana*, is usually performed in the cold weather when there is a certain amount of leisure from work in the fields. It is a very simple affair which is often performed by a man before marriage. He invites all the men of his clan in the village who have done *wozutana*, and kills a bull of any colour behind the house. This is divided up among the guests and much 'madhu' handed round. Little presents of meat, too, would ordinarily be sent to fellow-clansmen in neighboring villages. The head of the bull sacrificed on this occasion is not kept. The man who performs this 'genna' is entitled to wear the cloth called *phangdrap*.

The second social 'genna,' *Shishhang*, or, as the Southern Lhotas call it, *Wozuyua*, is a much more elaborate business and is usually not performed till after marriage. A big pig and a bull of any colour are bought and 'madu' is prepared and kept in the middle room. From the time the 'madhu' is made till the end of the 'genna' the man doing the 'genna' must not eat meat from the kill of a tiger or leopard or

other animal. When all is ready he calls a *Wokchung* to his house, gives him a 'chunga' of 'rohi madhu' and formally announces to him that he proposes to do the *Shishang* 'genna.' The *Wokchung* thereupon offers a prayer for the performer's welfare, and after pouring a little of the 'madhu' in to the floor drinks the rest and departs. Then the husbands of women of the sacrificer's clan go into the jungle and fields and bring *yutso* leaves and plantain leaves for cups for the next day's ceremony. Next day the same men kill the pig and the bull in front of the performer's house, the bull by cutting the skin over the heart and then pushing a sharpened stick home, and the pig with a blow of a stick on the back of the head. In 'the good old days' before the Hills were administered the bull was beaten to death as slowly as possible... The two *Wokchungs* and two '*Nchukos* are in attendance, and the latter lay out six small pebbles in the form of miniature hearths in the *mpongki*, a piece of ceremonial for which the Lhotas can give no reason. The meat is then all divided up, and the *Wokchungs* and '*Nchuckos* first go into the house and cook and eat a little of the meat. Then the guests go in and feast. For this day they are mostly the husbands of women of the sacrificer's clan, with a sprinkling of blood relations and senior men. At night, after much singing of songs in which good wishes for the sacrificers are expressed, the guests disperse and the '*Nchukos* throw away the six small pebbles. Next day about midday two small pigs provided by the sacrificer are speared by the *Wokchungs* outside the house. The hindquarters of one are the perquisite of the parents of the sacrificer's wife. The rest of the meat is eaten in the evening, when all men of the sacrificer's clan in the village who have done the *Shishang* 'genna' collect round a fire outside his house and sing and drink his 'madhu.' The *Wokchungs* and '*Nchukos* each hold a cock and sing songs in which the good fortune of the sacrificer is desired. The cocks are then killed and the meat divided among the guests. The rest of the evening and most of the night is given up to singing and drinking, the old men especially getting happier and happier and more and more boastful of the deeds of their youth.

The third social 'genna' is call *Etha*. Nowadays the tendency is to combine it with the fourth social 'genna' at which a mithan is killed, or even omit it altogether. The procedure is much the same as that of the *shishang* 'genna,' except that Humtso, Chami, Kikungm, Pathong and Nguli clans claim that they alone have the right to sacrifice a bull, other clans being content with pigs. The performance of this 'genna' confers the right of wearing the cloth called *ethasu*.

The fourth social 'genna' is that at which a mithan is killed (*Tsirotsoala*). The man who proposes to perform this 'genna' tells the two *Wokchungs* of his intention. The *Wokchungs* tell the husbands of married women born in the sacrificer's clan, and they (the husbands) in turn give public notice in the village and are called *Wothang* ('announcers'). Rice is pounded, with much singing, and 'madhu' prepared. On the day of the sacrifice the mithan, which must be abull without blemish, is tied up in front of the sacrificer's house, with its horns decked with *rezuyo* leaves. It is given a drink of water and allowed to lick salt out of the hand of the sacrificer's wife. The *Wokchung* touches it on the head with a stick and recites *dranda*. It is thrown, and a spear thrust into its heart by an old man, not necessarily of the sacrificer's clan who at once runs away while all present pelt him with lumps of earth. After the mithan is dead its nose is pierced by the *Wokchung* and a string of *kuro* bark passed through and tied to a post in front of the house. The man performing the 'genna' then takes his dao in his left hand and draws it across the flanks and neck of the animal as if he were cutting up the meat. He then cuts the string and walks widdersins round the mithan up to the door of his house, which he enters after washing his hands and his dao. The meat is divided up as follows: the chest to the clan of the performer of the sacrifice, the hindquarters to his wife's clan, the fore-legs to the husbands of women of his clan (*echantyo*), the meat of the head to the *wothangs*, and the tongue to the man who helped to buy the mithan, and the lower part of the stomach to the old man who killed it. The performer must on no account eat any of this meat.

Probably he will avoid mithan meat altogether for a year, in case an enemy should give him of his own mithan meat to eat. The skull and horns must be kept in the 'morung' till the sacrificers has dragged a stone, when he is allowed to put them in his own house. Before the ceremonies begin a man who proposes to drag stone must build a little shed at the back of his house called *emungrangki*, in which he and the household must sleep till the ceremonies finished. All being prepared and a stone selected, two *Wothangs* announce the date of the ceremony on behalf of the performer, who must allow no strangers from other villages to enter his house, and must remain chaste from the time the stone is dug out of the ground till the completion of the ceremonies. On the appointed night rice is pounded in front of his house with much singing and 'madhu' made after daybreak. The 'madhu' is put in baskets to ferment and a bunch of green stuff called *soko-mma* ('madhu-forbidding') is put over the door. On the fourth day after this the performer must feed the *Wokchungs* and their assistants in his house, receiving their blessing in return. The next day a path is cleared for the stone, the workers being feasted on a large pig. On the following day an old man called *lungchakdhro* killed a little chicken in front of the house by cutting its throat with a sharp piece of bamboo, and prays that the stone may be carried up safely and unbroken. The chicken is thrown away. Then the *wokchung* kills a small pig which is cooked by the performer's *echantyo* in his *mpongki*. Everyman is given a piece. The older men eat their portions, but the younger men only touch theirs and throw them down, for it is believed that they would become weak and unable to life the stone were they to eat this meat. Then all the men of the village, the performer's clan and his *echantyo*, go down to the stone, which may be as far as two miles away, and make a frame of bamboo, on which it is put and bound with cane and creepers. When all is ready the two *Wothangs* sprinkle a mixture of 'rohi madhu,' 'sake madhu' and *rarakham* in all directions and make a pretence of lighting the stone. These preliminaries over, all take up the frame and carry the stones with much ho-hoing and grunting up to a place on the path called *zuchanpen* ('stone-discussing-place'). There they are met by a procession of men in full dancing dress, consisting of all men of the dragger's clan who have dragged stones before, the rear being brought up by the performer himself, followed by two men called *Eso* and *Yuso*, *Eso* being the last man of the same clan who dragged stones before, and *Yuso* the last dragger before *Eso*. The performer himself carries an axe wrapped in *yutso* leaves, an egg and a chicken. After the inevitable interval for eating, drinking and talking the senior *Wokchung* holds the chicken in his hand and utters prayers for the prosperity of the village in general and especially for that of the performer and his wife. He cuts the chicken's throat with a sharp piece of bamboo and places it with the egg in front of the stone. The two *Wokchungs* and the performer then all hold the axe together and make eight cuts to the right and eight to the left, as if clearing a way in front of the stone. The stone is then carried up to the village and laid in front of the performer's house. The evening is spent in feasting and singing. The Performer's house. The evening is spent in feasting and singing. The performer supplies a bull, which is killed and divided up. The entrails are cooked and eaten by the carriers on the spot. The head goes to the performer and the meat is distributed to all except the performer and his clan and household. The songs sung are called *orrueya* ('enemy-songs'), and detail the heads taken from every hostile village in the neighborhood. The next day the

Wokchungs show the exact place where the stone is to be set up and a hole is dug. All chant prayer for the good fortune of the performer, holding in their hands curious cups of 'madhu' made of folded plantain leaves ornamented with long horns of *rezuyo* leaves, similar to the cups used by the Aos at their big sacrifices. Two boars are then killed and cooked and eaten. A process now emerges from the performer's house consisting of two old women followed by the performer's wife wearing her *charaksu* cloth for the first time, and another old women. All four must wear their cloths bound round them under the armpits and not over the shoulder. The four women walk round the hold, which they approach from the side opposite to the Road of the Dead. Each one waves her foot over the hole as she passes. They then wash their faces and hands and re-enter the house. The stone is now tipped into the hole, set up and covered with mats, and the rest of the day spent in feasting and gaiety. In the morning the mats are removed and the ceremony is at an end. Among the Southern Lhotas three days elapse between that on which the stone is dragged into the village and that on which it is set up. During these three days the dragger is 'genna.' He must not speak to strangers or eat any unclean meat. (#2 pgs 138-144)

6.4 Other rituals:

6.5 Myths (Creation): "The three phratries are said to be descended from the three brothers, Limhachan, Izumontse, and Rhankhantang who were the first men to come out of the earth." (#2 pg 88-89).

"The nearest equivalent to gods is an order of beings called *Potsos* who live in a world like ours, of the earthy floor of which our sky is the underside. The world of the *Potsos* in turn has a sky which supports yet another *Potsos* world, and so on for an unknown number of layers. The only *Potsos* who affect us are those in the world immediately above our sky." (#2 pg 113)

6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games):

6.7 Sex differences in RCR:

6.8 Missionary effect:

6.9 RCR revival:

6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs:

6.11 Taboo of naming dead people?

6.12 Is there teknonymy?

6.13 Briefly describe religion (animism, ancestor worship, deism, magic, totems etc.) "The religion of the Lhota is of that type which is vaguely termed Animism. He believes in no Supreme Being who rewards the good and punishes the evil. The deities to whom he sacrifices are some of them neutral, if kept in a good temper with the proper offerings, and some of them definitely malicious. Yet he is very far indeed from being devil-ridden and haunted with ghostly fears. He cheerfully carries out what he conceives to be his religious duties and meets his end like a man when the time comes." (#2 pg 113)

7. Adornment

7.1 Body paint:

7.2 Piercings:" All children have the lobe of the ear pierced at the conclusion of the birth 'genna.' At the first *Ramo* 'genna' he attends a boy has a hole pierced in the upper part of the helix. This is done with a pointed piece of bamboo, and no special ceremonies are attached to the operation. Among the Southern Lhotas, and occasionally among the Northern, another hole is pierced in the middle of the concha at the next *Ramo*. The holes in the helix and concha are for the cotton wool with which the ear is adorned and often become much distended in the case of elderly men." (#2 pg8)

7.3 Haircut: "The hair is as a rule straight, though wavy and curly hair is often seen in the villages near the Ao border...// The style of haircutting resembles that of the Semas, Aos and other tribes. The back and sides of the head are shaved all around up to a point level with the top of the ears, the hair on the crown of the head being left long enough to reach to the top of the shaven portion. When asked why they have adopted to this style of hair-cutting they say that their forefathers used to wear their hair long, but took to cutting it in the present fashion because it kept getting into their eyes and catching in the jungle. The custom obtaining in the Southern Sangtam village of Phulangrr perhaps gives the clue to the real origin of the fashion. There no man is allowed to shave the back and sides of his head till he has killed an enemy in way. Till then he wears his hair cut more or less like a European. Little Lhota girls have their heads completely shaved till they are about seven years old, when the hair is allowed to grow. Women wear their hair an untidy bun on the nape of the neck, tied round with a bunch of strings of their own hair.// Baldness and grey hair are both uncommon and disliked, and old men sometimes hide their scanty locks under a wig of black goat's hair on a bamboo frame." (#2 pg 8)

7.4 Scarification: "Circumcision is not practiced and neither sex is tattooed" (#2 pg 8)

7.5 Adornment (beads, feathers, lip plates, etc.): "Apart from the finery in which he decks himself on ceremonial occasions, the well-to-do Lhota usually wears certain ornaments on any occasion when he wishes to be well dressed. In the holes in the helix and concha of his ear are tufts of cotton wool. Usually these are quite small, but old men in villages near the Sema border often wear big wing-shaped pads of cotton wool like those worn by their Sema neighbors, Some small ornament, such as a little brass wire spiral, is worn in the lobe of the ear, or in some villages an ornament formed of two or three porcupine quills, bound with yellow orchid stalk on to a bit of cane boiled ebony black in pig's fat. Like Semas and Aos, Lhotas wear above the elbow armlets (*koro*) consisting of sections sawn from an elephant's tusk. Formerly the sole supply came from elephants killed locally. Now Angami traders buy ivory in Calcutta and Benares and sell armlets ready sawn. Only old men may saw up a tusk. For a young man to do so would be very unlucky. A man who cannot afford real ivory will sometimes wear an armlet made of white wood smoothed and rounded to resemble the real article. Wristlets (*khekap*) of cowries sewn on cloth may be worn by anyone who has done the head-taking 'genna.' A man who has got first, second or third spear in at the killing of an enemy has a little cross of cowries at the top of his wristlets. Those worn by the Northern Lhotas are identical with the Sema type. They are bought from the Aos and are composed of cowries filed down till they are narrow and sewn close together on to a cloth foundation. A red hair fringe (*khezil*) is worn, on the wristlets, ordinarily short, but of long hair in the case of a warrior or note. A man who has been in at the death of a tiger has little bunches of black hair in his red fringe. The wristlets of the Southern Lhotas are of unfiled cowries and the red hair fringe is rarely worn.

The commonest form of necklace is one composed of four or five strings of black beads made from the seeds of the wild plantain

(*eshe*). Sometimes they are worn loosely round the neck, and sometimes are in the form of a tight necklet, the rows being kept in place by narrow pierced conch-shell supports. These supports are sometimes bought from Angamis and sometimes prepared by the Lhotas themselves, with the aid of a primitive but effective pump-drill, with a point made from a piece of an old umbrella stay. To do the head-taking 'genna' entitles a man to wear ornament of one or two pairs of wild boar's tushes (*soho*), with their bases bound with red cane, and fastened with a square conch-shell button with a cornelian bead in the middle.

The women's ornaments are few and simple, and the magnificent strings of cornelian beads worn by Ao and Sema women are rarely seen among the Lhotas. In the lobe of the ear is some simple little ornament such as a bunch of the crest feathers of the kalij pheasant bound round with red wool or yellow orchid stalk. Round the neck the usual plantain seed necklace is worn, sometimes with a big conch-shell pendant (*lakup*) in front. Above each elbow is a thick round pewter armlet (*tiwo*), and on each wrist four or five small flat brass bracelets (*rambam*). The armlets and bracelets are bought ready-made from the plains." (#2 pgs 11-13)

7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment: "The full dress of the Lhota warrior closely resembles that of the Sema and Ao. Besides the ornaments already mentioned, he wears on his head a wig (*thongkol*) either of the long hair from the neck and shoulders of the Himalayan black bear, or of the fur of the arms of the male gibbon. In his wig he may wear three king-crow feather (*yizememhi*) if he has done the head-taking 'genna' once, or if he has done it more than once, one hornbill tail feather (*reching'mhi*) for each occasion. On his ears he hangs big pads of cotton wool, and sticks in the lobe of his ear an ornament (*tera*) of drongo and scarlet minivet feathers. If he has ever in his life raided enemies working in the fields and carried off their property, he adds to the *tera* little brass chains of Assamese, or very rarely, Lhota, manufacture, which he loops over his ears. Across his chest he wears one, or, if he has dragged a stone, two baldricks (*ritsen*), which are really glorified strings for supporting the 'tail,' which in turn is an elaboration of the 'panji' basket. The Northern Lhotas wear baldricks bought from the Semas, made of blue cloth embroidered in scarlet with dog's hair, and edged with a deep fringe of scarlet goat's hair, with a line of yellow orchid stalk at the base of the fringe. Those worn by the Southern Lhotas lack the fringe and are usually embroidered with wool bought from the plains. The human hair 'tails' are of two types, one (*tsichap*) in which the hair falls straight from the little basket, and the other (*tsongotsichap*) in which the hair forms a deep fringe hanging from a piece of wood sticking out behind with a slight upward curve. In the old days the hair for tails was obtained from women killed in raids, but this source of supply being now closed, it is bought from any woman who is willing to sell her tresses. I am told that one lady can produce two good crops, but that the third crop is apt to be coarse. A warrior of note may wear either on his chest or between his shoulders at the back an ornament called *ruho* (enemy's teeth). This consists of a flat piece of wood, about ten inches long and five inches deep, covered with fine plaited work of red cane, with a border of cowries and a fringe of scarlet goat's hair at the ends and bottom. It is supposed to represent the head of an enemy, the red cane being the tongue and palate, the cowries the teeth, and the fringe of red hair the blood pouring out of the mouth. A man who has dragged a stone may wear between his shoulders at the back the head of a Great Indian Hornbill, a bird regarded by the Lhotas as symbolical of wealth. The true Lhota cowrie apron (*phuhorive*), which is now being rapidly ousted by the bigger one worn by Semas and Aos, is about fourteen inches deep and twelve inches broad, the bottom two-thirds being covered with closely set rows of cowries. A man who has been first, second, or third spear at the killing of an enemy may have the plain cloth above the sheet of cowries ornamented with little crosses of cowries. An old ceremonial apron preserved as an heirloom by Ovungheng of the Chorothui clan in Nungying village is possibly a specimen of the original type of this garment. The tradition is that the apron in question, which is a square of red cloth measuring ten inches long by eight inches broad, ornamented with two little circles flanked by little stars of cowries, is an exact copy made two generations ago of the original apron worn by the ancestor of the clan when he came down from the sky. The original was preserved till the time of Ovungheng's grandfather, when it was destroyed in a fire. To within living memory small round brass plates (*pyabi*) was a perforated boss in the centre were worn with cowrie aprons. Exactly similar plates are worn by the Changs and Southern Sangtams at the present day. These plates were worn not only at dances and on ceremonial occasions, but also at the ceremony of calling a sick man's soul. For dances the Southern Lhotas wear huge, bulging Angami leggings (*chri*) of plaited red cane, with a pattern in yellow orchid stalk worked in them. The Northern Lhotas wear a different type, which fits much more closely to the leg. These they buy from the Aos, who in turn get them from the Changs, to whom they are sold by the makers, the Northern Kalyo-Kengyu." (#2 pgs 13-15).

7.7 Sex differences in adornment: "One garment never discarded by a man is public is the *rive*, commonly spoken of in Naga-Assamese as 'lengta.' This consists of a long narrow piece of stout cloth ending in a broad flap. In putting it on the narrow piece is wound once round the waist so that it joins at the back and forms a belt. It is then brought through between the legs from the back, and up through the belt, the broad flap being allowed to hang down in front. The result is a garment either white or dark blue, with horizontal red stripes, broad among the Northern Lhotas and narrow among the Southern. In the old days a dark blue *rive* could only be worn by a man who had done the head-taking 'genna.' but this distinction is being rapidly dropped. A boy's first garment, assumed without any ceremonies when about seven or eight years old, is the flap of one of his father's discarded 'lengtas' hung from a bit of string tied round his waist. The skirt (*surham*) worn by the women is about twenty-two inches deep. It is bound tightly round the waist and the overlapping top corner tucked in in the front of the left hip. The edge which shows shows is often ornamented with iridescent beetle wings or bits of yellow orchid stalk. Among the Northern Lhotas the *surham* is of dark blue cloth with narrow horizontal red stripes in threes, and a band of paler blue embroidered with red three inches broad running round the middle of the cloth. The skirts worn by Southern women have no red stripes, and the pale blue band is broader and nearer the top of the cloth. When about five or six years old a little girl puts on her first skirt (*khondrosu*). This is about ten inches deep, white with a dark blue border and a little red embroidery in the middle.// When working in the fields, or in the hot weather even when lounging about at home, a man usually wears nothing but his 'lengta.' When visiting his friends, however, or to sit about in the shade, or for a journey he always wears a body-cloth measuring about feet by five feet. Usually such a cloth is simply wrapped round the body under the right armpit and over the left shoulder. But for any occupation such as hunting, where both arms must be left free, and whenever a cloth is worn at any 'genna,' it is tied on to the body as follows: The cloth is flung over the back, and the two top corners are brought round, one under the left arm and the other over the right shoulder, and tied across the chest. The two bottom corners are then brought up outside the cloth which is hanging over the back, and crossed and tied on the chest, one passing over the left shoulder and the other under the right arm.// The body-cloths are of various

patterns and indicate the number of social 'gennas' preformed by the wearer. The first is *sutam*, a white cloth with broad dark blue horizontal stripes. This is worn by boys and men who have performed no social 'gennas.' A man who has preformed the first social 'genna' may wear the *phangdhrap*. Among the Northern Lhotas this is a dark blue cloth, edged with broad stripes of red with a broad stripe of white cloth running across the middle of the cloth parallel with the red stripes. Among the Southern Lhotas the red stripes are narrower and a pale blue band near the top of the cloth takes the place of the white band. A Northern Lhotas who has preformed both the first social 'genna' and the head-taking 'genna' wears a cloth called *chamthe*, which is exactly like the *phangdhrap* of his section of the tribe, save that the median band is pale blue instead of white. For the performance of the second social 'genna' no cloth is awarded, but the Southern Lhotas put on the *ethasu* after performing the third social 'genna.' This is a dark blue cloth edged top and bottom with four red bands, the body of the cloth being ornamented with little squares of red embroidery. Finally, a man who has completed the series of social 'gennas' by dragging a stone wears a handsome cloth called *lung-pensu*, which is dark blue with five bands of light blue about one inch broad, and three very narrow lines of light blue at top and bottom. A man who has dragged a stone more than once has four or rarely even five narrow lines at the top and bottom of his cloth, which is called *eshamsu*. The *rukhusu* (enemy-frightening-cloth) of the Southern Lhotas is rarely worn nowadays, and can only be assumed by old warriors of note. It consists of a *lungpensu* or *eshamsu* old warriors of note. It consists of a *lungpensu* or *eshamuu* with a broad median band of white cloth ornamented with highly conventionalized representations of men drawn on cloth with black gum. These bands are made by Rengmas, never by Lhotas. The *rukhusu* of the Northern Lhotas is exactly similar to the cloth ordinarily worn by rich Aos, and is dark blue with six very broad red stripes, set closely together at top and bottom. The median band, which is always bought from the Aos, is about two and a half inches broad, and ornamented with a conventional design representing human heads, mithan horns and tigers.

Like the men, the women usually leave the upper part of the body bare, though filthy waistcoats are nowadays commonly worn by both men and women in villages near the plains. When body-cloths are worn by women they are either flung loosely round the body so that the top outer corner lies over the left shoulder, or bound tightly under the armpits. Among the Northern Lhotas an unmarried girl usually wears a plain dark blue cloth (*muksu*). On the night of her marriage, however, when she goes to her husband's house, she puts on a very pretty cloth called *loroesu*, dark blue, with big squares of narrow white and red lines, giving a sort of tartan effect. When her husband has dragged a stone she may exchange her *loroesu* either for a *lungpensu*, which is almost exactly similar to his, or for a *charaksu*, a cloth closely resembling *loroesu*, but with the tartan squares outlined with much broader red lines. Among the Southern Lhotas unmarried women and wives of men who have not yet dragged a stone wear a cloth called *supang*, dark blue, with a broad light blue horizontal band near the top. When her husband has dragged a stone a woman wears a *lungpensu*.

In wet weather men and women wear slung on their backs light rain-shields (*phuchyo*) made of broad leaves carefully arranged between two layers of basket work, and strengthened by an edging of thin split bamboo." (#2 8-10)

7.8 Missionary effect:

7.9 Types of clothing:

8. Kinship systems

8.1 Sibling classification system:

8.2 Sororate, levirate:

8.3 Other notable kinship typology, especially cross-cousin (MBD/FZD) typology (Crow/Hawaiian/Omaha etc.):

9. Other interesting cultural features (list them):

9.1 "Perhaps the most conspicuous object in a Lhota village is the head-tree, *mingetung*, generally a magnificent specimen of *ningetung*.

It is usually situated on a mound well in the middle of the village. Against its branches were leant the long bamboos from which were hung the heads of enemies taken in war, and at its roots are kept the mysterious *oha* stones. These are counted and a fence is put around the tree whenever the *oyantsoa* 'genna' is preformed. The fortune of the village is regarded as in a way dependent on the *mingetung*. So sacred is it that in some villages it cannot be photographed. To break a twig off it would entail the preformance of the *oyantsoa* 'genna' (village renewing 'genna'), which must also be preformed if the *mingetung* dies or a branch falls. The place of the *mingtung* can never be changed... A small tree close by can be used instead until a new *mingetung* can be induced to grow on the old sight. (#2 pg 29)

9.2 "In a Lhota household each wife has a separate sleeping cubicle with a fireplace (*nchu*) in the middle. A well-to-do Lhota usually possesses three wives. The main building of his house therefore contains three sleeping cubicles and a little store-room (*bhuritheng*) at the back. The cubicle nearest the *mpongki* is called *lhuhrui* and is occupied by the third wife. The middle one is called *olungo* and is the abode of the chief wife. The back cubicle is called *tachungo* and is used by the second wife. Daughters sleep with their mother, or if she is dead, with the step-mother they like best. Servants, if there be any, or a bridegroom working for his bride in his father-in-law's house sleep in the *mpongki*, either on mats on the floor or on the pounding bench. Guests sleep on mats on the floor of the store-room or in one of the cubicles." (#2 pg 31)

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